

Yennayer d yisekkiren-is deg temnaɖin n Tmazya

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Reçu: 20/ 05 / 2024; Accepté: 22/ 10/ 2024, publié: 25 / 12/ 2024

RÉSUMÉ : Cette contribution a pour but de décrire la célébration du Nouvel an berbère dans quelques régions berbères. Elle essaie d'énumérer les rites qui accompagnent cette célébration et d'examiner les représentations sociales qui sous-tendent chaque rite, tout en identifiant les points de divergences et de convergences dans l'ensemble du territoire berbère où ces rites sont accomplis. En effet, en plus des labours ou iweğğiben qui marquent le début du calendrier agraire, le jour du Nouvel an, le mi-Yennayer et le jour de l'emprunt ce sont les parties principales qui caractérisent ce mois. Soulignons que ce descriptif ne traite que des pratiques des femmes et de leur façon de percevoir les changements de saisons. Il se concentre davantage sur la Kabylie, qui servira de point de référence pour les autres régions berbères d'Algérie (Aures, Tlemcen, Bousemghoun) et les Chleuhs de Souss ainsi que les Imazighen de l'Anti-Atlas.

MOTS-CLÉS : Yennayer ; Berbérie ; Représentations sociales ; Rite ; Sacré ; Mythe.

ABSTRACT: This contribution aims to describe the celebration of the Berber New Year in some Berber regions. It attempts to list the rites which accompany this celebration and to examine the social representations which underlie each rite, while identifying the points of divergence and convergence throughout the Berber territory where these rites are performed. Indeed, in addition to the plowing or iweğğiben which mark the beginning of the agrarian calendar, New Year's Day, Mid-Yennayer and Loan Day are the main parts which characterize this month. Note that this description only deals with the practices of women and their way of perceiving the changing seasons. It focuses more on Kabylia, which will serve as a reference point for the other Berber regions of Algeria (Aures, Tlemcen, and Bousemghoun) and the Chleuhs of Souss as well as the Imazighen of the Anti-Atlas.

KEYWORDS: Yennayer; berberie; social representations; rite; Sacred; Myth

Agzul: Awal-nney deg umagrad-a ad yili yef tagnatin n usfugel n yixef useggas Yennayaer d wamek i d-yettili deg Tmazya. Iswi-nney ad d-nesken isekkiren i d-yettilin deg wayyur-a n Yennayer akked wudmawan n umgired d umtawa deg yal tamnaɖt n Tmazya. Awal, ihi, ad yili s tseɖdi yef kuz n talliyin tigejdanin n wayyur n Yennayer d yisekkiren i tent-yettafaren : Lehlal n tgerza ney ayen umi qqaren iweğğiben, amenzu n yennayer, leezla akked umerɖil. Rnu yer waya, ad d- nessissen, s wudem n uqlam, ansayen d tgenas tinmettiyin i mazal ddrent, lada ayen yerzan tigenas n tlawin yef umbeddel n talliyin n useggas. Ayen ara d-neglem da, ad d-yawi s telqey yef tmurt n Leqbayel, sin yur-s, ad neffel i temnaɖin n tmazya anida isekkiren-a akked tegnsas-a mazal ddrent, ama d tid n tmurt n Lezzayer (Wawras, Tlemsan, Busemyun, atg.) ama d Icelhiyen n Sus akked Yimaziyen n Watlas.

Awalen tisura: Yennayer ; tamazya ; tigenas tinmettiyin ; asekkir ; uyris; umyi.

Tazwert

Timetti taqburt n Yimaziyen tesɛa assay yejhed akked ugama d wayen i as-d-yezzin. Ansayen d tegnsas-is cudden nezzeh yer wakal d umahil i d-ittilin fell-as. Tidmi n yimdanen akked tudert-nsen tbedd yef wamek ay ttwalin agama am tagnawt, anefli n wussan akked tizza n useggas. Am tmettiyin akk n umaɖal, lada tid i d-yezzin i yilel agrakal ukud cerken atas n tulumisin, Imaziyen ula d nutni lan atas n wansayen i yettakken azal i wayen xedmen. Deg-s, seg tama, ssijhiden assay i ten-icudden yer wakal, deg-s, seg tama-nniɖen, ttakken azal i ugama d wayen i illan deg-s d tagella. Timettiyin

tiqburin , deg tella tin n Yimaziyeen, tadamsa-nsent tres yef wayen i d-yettakk wakal, dya ayen akken i d-yettakk wakal icudd yer waman n yigenni. Am wakken tcudd dayen yer tkessawt n lmal. Mehsub d imahilen igejdanen deg tmettiyeen tiqburin, yerna cudden mlih yer twenna.

Azal sean waman deg tdamsa i ibedden yef tkerza akked tkessawt yeğga imdanen ad gen azal d ameqqran i tliwa akked d usiden n wussan d wayyuren. Yal tallit icudd yur-s kra n leqdic ney kra n ssenf n wuzi. Ihi, deg tsekka n tudert yecban ta, yal leqdic, yal tallit deg useggas tcudd yer kra n usekkir, ladya ayen yeenan tayerza, imi d win akka ay d tasarut n wayen ara d-yefk useggas. Ma nmuqel s telqey deg tmetti n Yimaziyeen (xersum tamensayt), ad naf ulac leqdic deg ur yelli usekkir i itteddun yid-s. Aman d yimukan deg ttilin ttfen amdiq amezwaru deg tgensas n yimdanen. Am wakken nezmer ad naf tigensas i icudden yer bettu n talliyin d tsemhuyin n useggas.

Tigzi n yisekkiren-a tesra allalen s wayes nezmer ad negzu assay n tmetti-nni akked tfellaht imi isekkiren-a nettaf-iten deg tmettiyeen ilan assay d wakal, yas tettbeddil talya n usekkir, tezdi-ten twuri-nsen tazamulant. Am wakken i d-mmalen yisekkiren-a assay n tmetti-nni akked kra yellan d uyris, imi yal tayawsa ara yexdem umdan, deg tudert-is n yalas, ixeddem-as asfel. Aya nezmer ad t-id-nessegzi, seg tama d asnemmer i lxir ideg yettidir akken ad idum i lebda, seg tama-nniden d asfillet i wayen yelhan akked usenser-ines seg wayen n diri.

Deg umagrad-a, ameslay ad d-yawi anagar yef tallit n yixef useggas Yennayer d wansayen i icudden yer-s, maca ur nezmer ad d-nemmeslay fell-as bla ma nemmeslay-d yef tewwura n useggas, ney ayen yettwassnen s lehlaal n tyerza. Yessefk ad d-nawi awal fell-as acku deg-s i yettili uheyyi i yixef n useggas. Imi atas n yisekkiren cudden srid yer-s. D acu kan, tella yiwet n taluft, ayen ara d-nini yef lehlaal n tyerza ad d-yawi ugar yef wayen skarayent tlawin d wayen igedlen fell-asent. Maca uqbel ad nekcem deg wul n umeslay, yessefk ad d-nesken kra n temsal yerzan tasnarrayt n umgrad-a. Yessefk, deg tazwara ad d-nini akken, imi wessie trakalt n tmurt n Leqbayel, tebda d timnaadin, ula d isekkiren-nsen yerzan tafellaht, tikwal ttemgaraden seg temnaadt yer tayed, yas tecrek-it twuri n usekkir s timmad-is yellan d asfillet. Isekkiren yef ara d-yili umeslay da atas deg-sen cerken gar talliyin akked temnaadin. Yella usekkir ara naf yella deg temnaadt deg kra n tallit, lameena yella deg temnaadt-nniden deg tallit-nniden. Ihi isekkiren ara d-neglem yezmer ad yili deg-sen kra n umyekcem ilmend n yiswi n leqdic-a.

Atas n yisekkiren yef ara d-nemmeslay da, neddem-iten-d akken i ten-id-gelmen yinagmayen akken llan deg tmetti tamensayt. Imi atas n wayen i ibeddlen seg yimir ar assa, ama deg usfugel, ama deg tilin-nsen yakan. Llan wiyeḍ d ayen i d-nesbde nekni ilmend n tannant-nney akked tsastant nga deg temnaadin ay nessen s tirmitt-nney. Isekkiren d wansayen n Yennayer rsen yef ukuz n tizza: tazwara n yennayer , imensi n yennayer , leezla, ad ifakk s umerdil. Ger yisekkiren-a, tella taggayt-nniden n wansayen tcudd yer tgensas tinmettiyeen d wayen yellan d uyris, acku llant atas n tigawin n yalas ay yettwagedlen deg kra n talliyin n wayyur-a.

1. Lehlaal n tyerza: tiwwura n useggas

Lehlaal n tyerza, d ass amenzu n uwayt n tfellaht, ibeddu ass 17 tuber, s yin d asawen tezmer ad tebdur tyerza akked tleqqadt n uzemmur. D ass i ibeddun s usfel, Leqbayel sumata zwayen s tmecreḍt, d asfillet akken aseggas ad d-yawi lyella tameqqrant, ad ihudd imelqaden, ad yili fell-asen d aessas, d aseggas deg ur yettili laz. Rnu yer tmecreḍt-a, tilawin ttgent kra n yisekkiren d lfal akken ad yeffey useggas-nni d amerbuḥ u ad yegdel wayen diri. Akken ad negzu ugar isekkiren yerzan ansay-a, ad d-nawi awal, ilmend n wayen i d-yebder Rahmani¹, yef wayen i skarayent tlawin d wayen ur nlaq ad xedment deg wussan n Yennayer deg temnaadt Weqqas d Ayt Emrus, deg tama n usammar n

¹ Rahmani Sliman, 1934: D adlis i d-yewwin awal s telqey yef uwayt n tfellaht, isekkiren akked tgensas tinmettiyeen. Iglem-itent-id deg sin n leercac n teqbilt Sahliya deg Wad Marsa. Leercac-a d Ayt Mhend akked Ayt Emrus.

Bgayet. Imi yen ttgent tlawin deg temnađt-a ur yemgarad ara yef wayen i d-yettlin deg temnađin-nni n tmazya, ad d-nessukk tiđ yef wayen yezdin tamnađt-a yer tamiwin-nni n tmazya. Isekkiren-a msedfaren akk:

-Aheyyi n lemwaen n tgerza (lmaen, tagursa d yigelzam): uqbel ad ffyen yifellaen ad zereen, tilawin dehnent s zzt tazitma akked tgursa akken ad tifsis deg wakal ad t-id-teqlee s sshala. Rennunt eeddlent aemmin yef uqerruy n wayyugen akked lmaen. Aemmin-nni yettawi-d ttmana akken ur nekkren ara yizgaren lmaen, ad kerzen atas, ur d-yettli leuj deg-sen. Eeddlent aemmin-nni ula i tgursa d yigelzam (Rahmani 1934, 59). Asekkir-a yella ula deg temnađt n Yicawiyen (Djedraoui & Ouanassi 2022, 368), anda xeddment tlawin aemmin ama yef tgursa ama deg yimawen n yizgaren.

- Asufey n tyerbalt: deg wass-nni ssufuyent tlawin zerria deg tyerbalt, deg-s ayen yellan d nnwar merra, ayen yettarwen: agusim, remman, tazart, irden, ibawen, lhimes, ajilban, atg., ad ten-smirent deg uđref amezwaru, ad mcečawen fell-asen warrac s tumert d unnecrah. Ad d-ggent kra seg yibawen-nni i zereen, ad ten-id-rrent yer uxxam, ad ten-serťbent deg waman i d-yeddan ssbeđ zik deg ubuqal. Dya xeddment i ubuqal-nni aefaz (tadimt) n uzemmur, ad tili lyella d tameqqrant akken yettnewwir uzemmur. Yewwi-d d-nini akken zerria i tt-yessufuyen deg tyerbalt d tilawin ilan dderya, d lfal akken ad tili lyella d tameqqrant, akal ad d-yefk lxir-is ad yarew, imi tamettut yellan d tijjert, ur d-tettakk tæbbuđt-is tudert (Jean servier 1962, 428) akked (Dahmani & Moreau 2019, 23), d tin i timentelt tagejdant i yettağgan irden n Leqbayel berrun i tmettut ur tettarew, ney dya rennun-d fell-as takna.

- Imensi n Berkukes: imensi n wass amezwaru n tyerza, ilmend n Rahmani (1934, 59), d berkukes i fettlent s yirden d temzin. D berkukes acku d azuran, ifetti. Ad d-erden imeacren, ad cčen deg yiwet n tziwwa s yifassen-nsen. Ad xedmen tamdunt n zzt uzemmur deg tlemmast n tziwwa-nni, d azamul n ssfa d tezmert. Mi ara fakken lmakla, ur sssiriden ifassen-nsen, ad ten-sefden yer ulemsir, d lfal ad tili lbaraka d lyella deg wayen izereen.

-Asewwi n wuftayen d ufaq-nen: Deg temnađt n Usammar n temdint n Bgayet (Weqqas akked Ayt Eemrus) anda i d-tella tsastant, yef wayen i d-yewwi Rahmani (1933, 59/60), irden d yibawen i d-yeqqimen deg tyerbalt i d-rrant tlawin seg yiger mi zereen ađref amezwaru, ad ten-serťbent telteyyam, ad wwen d uftayen mebla lemleđ². Lmelđ xedmen-t mi ara d-wwen wuftayen-nni akken ad tili ssaba deg useggas-nni, imi lmelđ d aejrud.

Asekkir-a, yella ula yur Yimaziyen n Lmerruk, ladya deg Bni Snus. Dinna qqaren-as *cercem*³ (Destaing 1905, 62)⁴, xeddment-t tlawin deg wass wis krađ n Yennayer . Ad sewwent ibawen, irden akked lhimes i serťbent kra n wusan alma wfen, imi ten-kecmen waman mliđ, deg waman imellhen cwiť, ad ten-cčen wat uxxam. Deg tgensas n tmetti ma ufayen mliđ yibawen, irden akked lhimes-nni, ad tikťir lyella deg useggas-nni, ad yeffey d urbiđ.

Asekkir n usewwi n wuftayen deg umenzu n Yennayer yella ula deg temnađin n umalu n Lezzayer, ilmend n wayen i d-yura Bouterfa (2001, 86). Maca deg tama-a n tmurt ila isem-nni nni, qqaren-as *Layla Ibarida* imi uftayen-nni (irden, ibawen akked lhimes) ttwaččayen d isemmađen. Asewjed-nen yettli s tarrayt ixulfen tin yellan yur Leqbayel, dinna uftayen d aserťeb i ten-serťabent talwin, alma kecmen-asen waman mliđ, syin akin ad ten-fewwrent (mačci d aserkem deg waman), ad ten-cčen d imensi n Yennayer , d lfal akken ad yefti lxir deg useggas maynut.

² « Ass n telteyyam, irden d yibawen-nni ad hen-nexdem d uftayen bla lemleđ (axater lemleđ ulac fell-as rrebeđ). Lal n uxxam ad tefreq i taddart uftayen-nni » (Rahmani 1934, 60)

³ Awal-a *acercem/cercem*, asget *icrecman* : yettusemras deg Yiemmucen (tama n usammer n Bgayet deg tmurt n leqbayel), qqaren-t i wuftayen (ibawen, irden)

⁴ «Un peu partout, le troisième jour de l'Ennayer, on mange le plat appelé " chercher ". Pour le préparer, les femmes placent, dans l'eau et pendant plusieurs jours, du blé, des fèves, des pois chiches. Quand ces graines ont gonflé, on les fait cuire dans l'eau légèrement salée... Si le grain a beaucoup augmenté de volume dans l'eau, l'année sera bonne. »

-Asewwi n uyrum aezzuz: Amedya ara d-nawi yef usekkir-a yella deg deg Tgemmont Eezzuz, yef wayen i d-yewwi Genevois (1975, 12)⁵. Hat-a wamek i d-yettili: tilawin, deg wass n uweğgeb, ass deg ara ffyen yifellahen yer tyerza, ad d-kkrent zik, ad sewwent ayrum aezzuz, war tamtunt. Asewwi-ines ilaq ad d-yewjed uqbel ad ffyen yifellahen yer yigran. Ad seflunt ayrum-nni s ukeccu amectuḥ, ad asgent 12 n teflatin, annect n wayyuren n useggas, u ad semmint tiflatin-nni, yal yiwet s yisem n wayyur. Tiflit ideg ara d-yeffey lewfar (lefwar), deg wayyur-nni ara tektir lehwa.

Tallit-a n useggas mačči ala ayen i d-nesken i illan deg-s d isekkiren. Llan wiyed rzan kan kra n temnaḍin n Tmazya. Gef wakken nwala, deg wayen d-uran inagmayen iqedcen yef temslat-a, nezmer ad d-nessegzi aya deg wayen skarayen deg kraḍ n temnaḍin: Mæsker, Iḥahen akked kra n tamiwin n Yicawiyen. Ihi, ma nezzi yer temnaḍin-a, ad naf llan atas n yisekkiren i yettwellihen ifellahen amek ara ffyen wayyuren imezwura n useggas d waniwa ayyur ara yili ugeffur s waṭas. Deg yisekkiren-a yella wanida xedmen tahebbijt n tgella yef yihen ney yef uqermud (Genevois 1962, 12). Deg Mæsker, d amedya, ad sersent tlawin deg yid ukuz n tdebsiyin ideg tella tisent, ad tent-semmint yef kuz n wayyuren imezwura n useggas, ad tent-eellment, yal yiwet s yisem n wayyur. Azekka-nni tanezzayt, taḍebisit ideg tuyaḥ tisent d aman, tettneḍda ugar n tiyed, d ayyur-nni ideg ara tiktir lehwa. Ma deg tama n Iḥahen deg Lmerruk, ilmend n Laoust (1920, 198), tilawin ssufuyent deg yid kraḍ n tleqmin n tgella ara sersent yef uqermud, yal yiwet s yisem n kraḍ n wayyuren imezwura n useggas: Yennayer, Furar akked Meyres, ad smirent yaf yal yiwet deg-sent tisent. D isalan ara d-fkent tleqmin-nni azekka-nni ara d-yemlen amek ara teffey tegnewt deg kraḍ n wayyuren-nni. D ayyur n tleqqimt ideg tefsi tisent-nni, ur d-yegri later-is ara yeffyen d ageffur. Fur Yicawiyen, deg læerc n Eli Ben Sabur, ilmend n (Djedraoui & Ouanassi 2022, 367), tilawin ttruhunt, s yiwen wass uqbel n Yennayer yer yidurar :Tayanimt, Qetyan akked Kanda, ad d-kksent rrbie ara seryent deg lkanun, kra deg-s ad t-ḥukkent i yiniyen, d asfillet ad yili d aseggas n lyella akked tawant.

Ger tama n yisekkiren yef d-newwi awal deg wayen yezrin, llan atas n lecyal ur ttgent tlawin deg kraḍ ney kuz n wussan n yiweğgiben. D ayen igedlen, ila assay srid akked tgensas tinmettiyin d teflest tayerfant d wayen yellan d uyris (Moussaoui 2001,58) s wayes i tettamen tmetti. Gar wayen igedlen deg wussan-a, akken i d-yebder Rahmani 1934, 60), nezmer ad nessukk tit yaf waya:

- Ur ttsettilen At uxxam : D lfal akken ad yeymi yimyi s tdukli, ur yettxib, ad yemyi kra deg-s kan, wayed ad yegri *“ul nettsettil ani alma iymi-d uyemmay (ma nsettel ul d-tyemmi ani swaswa)”*

- Ur tessufuy tmettut times seg uxxam : uqbel ad yeymi yimyi, lal n uxxam ur tessufuy ara times yer berra, ney ad as-tbeddel amkan seg uxxam yer wayed, d lfal n diri, d ayen i d-tessegza ula Lacoste-Dujardin (2005, 156). Ma texdem aya ad yiktir uqebli deg wussan-nni, d ayen ara naf deg tebdert-a : *“Deg telteyyam-ayi, lal n uxxam ul tessufuy ani times seg uxxam yer uxxam (bac ul ittili ani uchili)”*

- Ur tessufuy lal n uxxam aferreh: Deg kraḍ ney kuz n wussan-nni, lal n uxxam ur tessufuy afraṭ yer berra. Fas tesrem (tferreh), ad t-terr deg kra n teymert n uxxam, ur itteffey seg wagnes yer berra. Bourdieu (1976, 47) yettmeslay-d wussan ideg yegdel usufey n uferreh, d wid izemren ad yeyzif alma tekfa tallit n *Yisemmaḍen*: Duğember-Yennayer. D asfillet ad teqqim tesraft tečcur d nneema, ur tettakka, ad tili tawant i useggas kamel, ur yettili deg-s llaz, d ayen ara negzu deg : *“Ul tessufuy ani aferreh (bac ul tettakka ani tesraft u ad tili tečcur akken yaččaray ufrag d zzbel)”*

- Ur tettcuḍdu tmettut cceer n uqerruy-is: akken ad kmilent temzin izereen, ad lleywint, lal n uxxam, ur tettcuḍdu cceer-is, ad t-teğg yennebra yef tuyat-is, ad yelleywi fell-asen *“Ul tettcuḍdu ani cceer n uqerruy-is (bac ad tissent temzin ad kmilent akken ittes u ikmil cceer-is)”*. Deg kra n temnaḍin n tmurt n Leqbayel (Fliki), nettun ayanim deg yiger ara izereen, akken ad kmilent temzin, ad lleywint am uyanim yetthuzzu waḍu, yettmil ikennu, ur yettruḥu. Ayanim-nni ad t-id-qeleen deg umenzu n læzla n

⁵ En les faisant cuire, on pique l'une d'entre elles sur son pourtour avec un morceau de bois, y perçant douze trous autant que de mois dans l'année. Si la vapeur s'échappe par l'un de ces trous, le mois désigné sera pluvieux. »

Yennayer ssbeḥ zik, i tafrara, uqbel ad d-yeffey yiṭij. Ad t-id-awin yer uxxam, ad t-fessren yef uqermud. Mi ara ɛeddin telteyyam, ad t-ntun deg tɛmmar n yigran izereen, yal ma ntan yiwen ad asinin : “Nḥerrem-ak a qawsas, akken tɛhrem lɛgnet i umekkas” (Genevois 1962, 18).

- Ur tmecced lal n uxxam aqerruy-is: deg wayen igedlen deg telteyyam-nni dayen amcaḍ uqerruy, imi d yir lfal, ma temced tmeṭtut aqerruy-is, ad tiktir temcedt n yigran, dya ad teny imyi-nni, ur yettimyur.

-Ur tettkeḥḥil: Lal n uxxam ur txeddem ara dayen lekḥul akken ur tettuyal nneema-nni d tazult, “*ul tettkeḥḥil ani deg telteyyam-nni (ma tkeḥḥel, ad teffey nneema-nni d tazult*”

- Tuqqna n lḥenni: Deg tama n usammar n Bgayet, tameṭtut ur tetteqqen ara lḥenni deg wussan igedlen (Telteyyam imezwura n edlen (Telteyyam imezwura n Yennayer) akken ur yettili ara buzeggay deg yigran, d ayen i d-yura Rahmani “*Ma teqqen lḥenni i d-teffey nneema-nni iwwet-itt Buzeggay*”

-Ur tetthukku agusin (acarek): Lal n uxxam ur tezmir ad thukk agusim deg tallit-a imi d yir lfal, akken i t-id-ḡḡan yimezwura; ad yektir ḥrir n yigran ney ḥraruc, ayen ara yesnesen deg lyella.

2. Amenzu n Yennayer (ɛaḡuza)

Ula deg wass-nni n lferḥ ameqqran, amenzu n Yennayer, wid i terza tfellaḥt, am yirgazen am tlawin, yal yiwen seg tama-s, ad yexdem kra n yisekkiren am wakken i gedlent fell-asen kra n tirmiyin, d ayen ara d-nessissen da.

Deg tamiwin n Tmazya anida sfuggulen Yennayer , tilawin n uxxam ad ttebbiḥent iman-nsent d arraw-nsent, ama d arrac, ama d tiqcicin. Ttebbiḥent ula d tiyawsiwin n uxxam: abeddel n yiniyen n lkanun, azway n tduli n wusu, abeddel n umkan i tyawsiwin. Aya yakḥ yedda d tikti n usfillet akken aseggas amaynut ad yelhu ugar n win yezrin; ma win ieddin yennuyna yeččur d isennanen, deg win i d-itteddun ad kksen, ad yesfed leḥzen.

Ɣur yicawiyen, am kra n tamiwin n tmurt n Leqbayel, iyiyed n useggas yezrin, (ttwalin-t amzun d lmut ay yemmut useggas-nni) ad t-terdem tmeqqrant n uxxam akken kra yellan d leḥzen deg useggas-nni merra ad yemmet yid-s. *Ad d-terwi temyart tameqqrant n uxxam azal n tlata n yiṭudan n uwren deg zzit akked ssker, ayen umi qqaren “arekti”, ad t-tesres yef yiniyen, deg-sen ad walint amek ara yeffey useggas amaynut* (Djedraoui & Ouanassi 2022, 367). Deg wass wis sin n Yennayer, lal n uxxam ad d-tesres lḡefna, ad tger deg-s agrud amezzyan deg twacult, ama d aqcic ama d taqcict, ad as-yesmir ugensas ameqqran ayen ziden yef uqerruy-is, imi amyar n twacult d azamul n useggas yezrin, yemmuten, ma d agrud amecṭuḥ d azamul n useggas amaynut ara yennernin, ad yeččar d tizedt. Xeddmn-as-d uftayen umi qqaren deg temnaḍt-a, am Yiemmucen deg tmurt n Leqbayel akked Yimaziyen n Lmerruk, *irecman*, ad yefti am useggas amaynut, ad yimyar ad yesu tazmert. Deg tmurt n Leqbayel asekkir-a, xeddmn-t i ugrud yebdan yessemyay-d tiyennusin, mačči ala deg Yennayer .

Ɣas mačči d tameṭtut i ixeddmn tafellaḥt, tetteawan argaz deg-s. Dya akken ad tesfillet ad tili lyella tameqqrant deg useggas amaynut, tameṭtut yettarwen, ur telli d tijert; ad tekcm yer yiger izereen deg umenzu n Yennayer , ad tesmir aman d ssker deg-s am wakken i tnettu ayanim deg yiger, d asfillet akken ad kmilent temzin annect n uyanim, ur tent-iyelleb waḍu (Djedraoui & Ouanassi 2022, 368). Asekkir-a deg tmurt n Leqbayel yettili-d deg leezla n Yennayer mačči deg umenzu-ines, d ayen ara nwali yer sdat. Deg wass, ad texdem lal n uxxam ticlamin (ticumay) i warrac ideg ara tger ayen ziden, ama d nnwar (ayusim, lluz, tazart d tṭmer), ama d tizidanin-nniṭen (leḥlawat, lmeqrut). Ad tent-teččar mebla cceḥ, ad ččen alma rwan, ad uraren ad nnecraḥen, d asfillet i tawant d tumert deg useggas amaynut. Dya tilawin ssaggadent igurdan ur nekfi taclamt-nsen s temyart n Yennayer umi qqaren “ɛaḡuza”. Akken i tella deg teflest tayerfant, ɛaḡuza ul-is yeqqur, tettett arrac ur nettay awal, ad asen-teldi aεebbuḍ-nsen, ad t-teččar d alim. Tamyart-a tettuyal-d ula deg yimensi n wass-nni, llant temnaḍin, ilmend n wayen i d-yura Bouterfa (2001, 86) ideg ssaggaden igurdan ad ččen nnig tawant,

ma ur řwin deg yimensi n yennayer , ur ten-itteffey llaz aseggas kamel, gar-asen tamnađt n Xerrata deg tmurt n Leqbayel. Am wakken i llant temnađin ideg ssaggadent-ten, ur ilaq ara ad ččen alma řwan, ad d-ğğen kra seg umur-nsen i Eğuzat Yennayer , mulac, ad ten-tečč nutni, gar-asent tamnađt n Busemyun deg Lbeyyed, Ğazawat akked Tlemsan (Bouterfa 2001, 96)

Yessefk ad d-nesmekti, mi d-yedda deg wawal, isem n temyart “Eağuz” (Genevois, 1962), deg kra n temnađin n tmazya, yettunefk i Yennayer s timmad-is, gar-asent timnađin n tmurt n Lmerruk akked Xerrata deg tmurt n Leqbayel. Deg temnađin n umalu n Lezzayer, akken i d-yura (Bouterfa 2001, 86), asekkir-a yettili deffir n yimensi n Yennayer mačči deg wass, yerna ttsayalen deg-s ama d ilmezyen (d ticlamin ara awin); ad aysen ad yali wass akken ad tent-seknen i yilmezyen n taddart (win yewwin akter n wayeđ), ama d imeqqranen ara ieawzen alma d talemast n yiđ, ad ččen tizidanin-nni (ayusim, lluz, lğuz, řmer, zzbib, atg.) s ttay d nneenee, amexluđ-a n tizidanin, dya qqaren-as *Mxalat*

- *Asewjed n wayen ilan tamtunt*: uqbel imensi n Yennayer, deg wass ama ssbeğ zik ama yer yimekli, lal n uxxam txeddem ayen ilan tamtunt, d azamul n fetti d zzyada, ad ternu tunt (amur) n tirit-nni.

Učči-nni yemgarad ama d isem-is seg tama yer tayed, llan wid i as-yeqqaren lexfaf/lesfenğ, llan wid yeqqaren tiyriřin/tirqiqin/tibuejajin/lbuejaj, yella wanida qqaren talilayt, atg. Deg kra n temnađin n tmurt n Leqbayel, am Weqqas, xeddmn i yimekli n umenzu n Yennayer ayen ilan tamtunt, deg tiyeđ am Lğemea n Sahariğ (Genevois 1975-III, 11) akked Bni Snus (Destaing 1905, 60) ttağğan imekli n temtunt am lesfenğ akked teyriřin i wazekku ya n Yennayer .

Fur Yicawiyen n Eli Ben Sabur, (Djedraoui & Ouanassi 2022, 368), rennunt-d tlawin řtemmina yemmuggen s tamemt, d lřal ad tennerni tizedt deg useggas amaynut. Dya qqarent temyarin ma lint teyriřin, řatent-d seg lřila ideg llant, ad yeffey useggas-nni d urbiğ. Dya ttfarasen tagnit deg umenzu n Yennayer ad gren dixel n řziwwa n usyar agrud amežžyan deg twacult (azamul n useggas amaynut ara yemyaren ad yennerni), ad as-yesmir umeqqran n twacult (azamul n useggas yezrin) ayen řiden yef uqerruy-is⁶, ad t-ččen at uxxam s tumert, d lřal i tizedt d tezmert deg useggas isthellen.

- *Imensi n Yennayer* : S umata, timnađin n tmazya, tterrant i yimensi n Yennayer ayaziđ (d ayen izemren ad zlun merra yimdanen, ad yemtawa win yesean akked ugellil), d asfel ney d asefk i uessas n uxxam, ama i dderya, i lmal ney i leula (Westermarck 1936, 17) akken ad yirid, ad yesfeđ wayen yellan deg useggas aqđim, ad yebdu wayeđ d amaynut. Mačči d ayen yezla yiwen i ilan azal maca d idammen-nni i yuzzlen, d asfel-nni ney deg kra n temnađin n tmurt n Leqbayel tađeggaft yewwin akked yidammen-nni ayen diri (Genevois, 1975III, 09). Asekkir-a, yettili deg tirmiyin ilan azal deg tudert n umdan merra (lebni n uxxam, aksab n tkerrust, lebni n yinu, atg.), yal ma iga asurif agejdan deg tudert-ines, aya yettbeēēid tiř, idemmen leic day qqaren deg yinzi : *win izlan rric, řemney-t i leic*. D tanakti-ya i d-yessegza Genevois (1964, 41) yenna-d : “*Deg yisekkiren n usřillet i lřir, ad d-nejmee wid n tmezliwt i ubeēēed n lmasayeb d wayen n diri, ad tili lřaraka, ama deg wayen ara yekseb d amaynut, ama deg kra n uxeddim ara yebdu ama deg kra n usurif deg tudert-is ideg ara yekcem*.”. Deg sin n leerac n Yicawiyen, Wlad Dawed akked Wlad Eebdi, Mimouni akked Taibi (2018, 55) i d-igelman asekkir n tmezliwt deg Yennayer , ufant-d akken asekkir-a mačči d tamsalt n wučči n uksum maca d win n lřerz, ad ibeēēed lebla ama yef at uxxam, lmal akked yiger, ad d-yefk wakal lřir-is, ad ččaren yikufan, ur yettili ccer deg useggas kamel.

Deg yimensi n Yennayer , igensasen n uxxam ttetten nnig tawant, acku ttwalin s wakka ara tili tawant deg teyzi n useggas. Lal n uxxam, txeddem amur ama i wat tudert ama i wat laxert ney i yiřriben, ula

⁶ Asekkir-a deg Xerrata, deg tmurt n Leqbayel, xeddmn-it tlawin i uqcic ara d-yessemeyin řayennust tamezwarut, melmi yebyu yili wass-nni, mačči deg umenzu n Yennayer kan. Rnu yer waya mačči d ameqqran n uxxam ara yesmiren řizidanin yef uqerruy-is, d win ney d tin ilan řiyennusin ticebřanin yerna ddukklent akken ad yebdu ugrud-nni deg-s. Rnu mačči řas řizidanin ara yilin deg řyerbalt-nni, rennun-as ula d nnwar ilan tudert (ayusim, lluz, irden, ibawen) dya sewwayen-ten d uřtayen, d lřal ad yennerni ugrud ad yefti.

d iëssasen n uxxam lan amur-nsen ass-nni. Srusun deg teymert n uxxam ney yer lkanun amur n yiëssasen ihudden axxam (Lacoste-Dujardin 2005, 156). Iëssasen-a, d awal-is ay d anamek-is, zgan-d i lmendad n wayen yettidiren deg uxxam merra, ama d imezday-is ama d lmal-is, ama d sseaya-ines, tthuddun fell-assen aţtan akked tiţ, dya tteddun deg leemara-nsen, fettin, seëeun tazmert. Genevois (1994, 2136) yeqqar-assen i yiëssasen *tiwkilin*, yettmeslay-d yef sin n lesnaf : *tiwkilin n lğamee* akked *tewkilin n teerict*. Gef waya , hat-a wayen yenna :

“..., tiwkilin n teerict zedyent deg teerict. Ttbanent-d s lhess i skarayent deg yid, mi ara ggnen At uxxam. Qeddcen deg yicmax d yikufan, sewwayent-d lbaraka,...Ur nezmir ad tent-nettu deg leewayed d leewacer. Deg wussan-nni ilaq ad asent-d-nesres taðebsit ideg yella wayen i d-yemmuggen ass-nni merra. Dya azekku-nni, ad tt-id-naf tefrey, deg-s limara n tfettusin-nsent.”

Deg Tawrirt n At Mengellat, deg tmurt n Leqbayel, ttetten deg yiwet n tziwwa, am yirgazen, am tlawin, am yimeqqranen, am yilmezyen, am yigurdan. Srusuyen-d tiyengawin ula i wid ur nelli (d iyriben ney mmuten) ad ten-yejmeë yimensi n Yennayer , ad ten-tezdi tawant d tdukli akked lbaraka deg useggas kamel (Genevois 1975-III, 11)

Deg temnađin n umalu tmurt n Lezzayer, (Bouterfa 2001, 92), ttilin sin n yimensawen n yennayer, mačči yiwen. Illa win umi qqaren isemmađen ney akken i asen-qqaren deg temnađin-a *Layla lbaraka*, d imensi yezwaren yennayer , yettili s yirecman ney uftayen akken i d-nezwar yakan deg wawal, tetţafar-it ssehra n tţidanin, akked yimensi umi qqaren *ihmayanen* ney *Layla lhamiya*, yellan d imensi n Yennayer , yemmuggen s lmerq n uyaziđ d ttid.

Llant kra n temnađin yiwen n usekkir yeddandeg deg umezruy, yella ula deg tyermiwin tiqburi (Iruumanen) akked tmura n Usammar (Ijapunen) (Bouterfa 2001, 114), asekkir-a mazal-it yedder s talya umi qqaren “Ayrađ” deg Bni Snus akked “Amyar n Uqruc” ney “Buefif” deg temnađt n Djemea n Sahariğ (Genevois 1975-III, 13). Deg waţas n temnađin n tmurt n Leqbayel, *amyar n uqruc* xeddmenn-t deg teacurt mačči deg Yennayer .

Deg Tmurt n Yicawiyen, yer yisekkiren n ubeddel n yiniyen akked tfellaht, llan wiyed n usfillet ney n ukacef, gar-assen ilmend n Djedraoui akked Ouanassi (2022, 368-389) :

- Ttruht tlawin n læerc n n Eli Ben Sabur yer yiwen n wadeg ideg llan sin n yisekla, seg i d-ttawint lbaraka, tazmert, yerna ssuturent deg-s ageffur ma ulac lehwa deg wussan imezwura n Yennayer . Dewwirent seba tikkal i yiwet n tzemmur i d-yezgan deg Qiqba, sfillitent tazmert. Am wakken i yella yiwen n useklu umi qqaren yimezday n temnađt-a “*Hasetta n yicelliqen*” ideg tteelliqent deg-s tlawin kra n ucettid, suturent ayen i tent-ixussen deg useggas yezrin, ssarament ad t-awđent deg useggas amaynut. Deg umezruy, asekkir-a tteelliqen deg-s yimerhal n Sehra kra n ucelliq akken ur asen-yettie ubrid mi ara d-uyalen seg tkessawt (ttawin lmal-nsen yer wanda tella tizegzewt), dya tilawin nwant-as deg lbaraka, dya ttzurent-it yal ma yekcem useggas ajdid.

- Ma ulac ageffur deg 10 n wussan imezwura n Yennayer, ffyen d ayurar, ttruht temyarin yeddandeg deg leemer yer yiwen n yifri “Lexlut” i d-yezgan deg temnađt n Tahamact, ceelent cmeë d lebxur, srusayent lmakla deg tyemmar n yifri, ssuturent iëssasen ad d-fken ageffur, ad srewlen ayen diri deg useggas amaynut. Dya deg usekkir-a, ttekkir deg-s ula d irgazen imi keččmen yer yifri-nni, yerssen deg-s aqerwac d asfel, ad d-yebbru ugellid n yigenwan i waman.

Ula deg umenzu n yennayer mačči d ayen isekkiren-a ay xeddmenn tlawin, llan atas n lecyal n yal ass ay gedlen fell-asent. Ihi lecyal-nni nezmer ad ten-id-nebder deg wayen ara d-nernu da:

- Ur yettili uzeţta deg terkent: deg umenzu n Yennayer , ur ilaq ara ad yili uzeţta deg tesga, yef wayen i d-yewwi Moreau (2015, 24), azeţta ur d-yettili deg wussan n tgerza, seg 17 Tuber alma d talemast

n Yennayer; imi yekrez wakal, teqleb-it tgursa, ad rajant alma yuḡal wakal i umkan-is (Bourdieu 1976, 47). S umata, ma tebd-t tmeṭṭut deg Tuber, ad as-texdem tiwizi. Ma, yeffey tazmert-is, ur ifukk, ad teqlee ifeggagen (inewwuren) seg tesga, ad ten-id-terr mi ara eddin wussan n tgerza (lexyud n uzetta d yiyanimen d lfal n wayen yettemgidilen (ayen ur neddakal) am yigenni d lqaea (Yacine 2008, 146), ad xerben wussan n useggas-nni.

- Asired n yiqennucen : Ur tessirid lal n uxxam iqennucen n yimensi n Yennayer ma ur d-yegri kra deg-s. Sumata, ad tzeyyed akken ad d-yegri, ur tettayamay ara terbut d tilemt. Llant twaculin ay t-ixeddmn usekkir-a al ass-a, deg teḡzi n useggas, akken ad tili lbaraka deg uxxam, ur yettili llaz, ma yekfa yimensi, ad ḡḡen kra n uqennuc war tarda, akken ad ččen deg-s neḡ ad t-mechen yiessasen n uxxam mi ara gnen at uxxam. Asekkir-a mačči anagar deg temnaḡin n usammar n Bgayet (Ayt Mhend d Ayt Eemrus) i yella (Rahmani, 1934), yella ula deg temnaḡin-nniḡen n tmurt n Leqbayel am Tawrirt Mengellat (Genevois 1975-III, 11).

- Aferreh: deg wayen igedlen deg umenzu n Yennayer, ur tettferriḡ tmeṭṭut ama d agnes n uxxam ama d afrag, rrwi n wass-nni d azamul n rzeq, ad d-yuḡal d rrebḡ d tawant i useggas d akemmali, dya llant kra n twaculin i mazal ttammen s waya, qqaren seg lexmaj i d-ittekk rzeq d lxir. Tagensest-a mačči deg temnaḡin n usammar n Bgayet (Ayt Mhend d Ayt Eemrus) kan i tella, ilmend n wayen i d-yura Rahmani (1934, 60), ad tt-naf ula deg Tawrirt n At Mengellat (Genevois 1975-III, 11).

Llant kra n temnaḡin deg tmurt n Leqbayel, ur zellunt ara ass n Yennayer, am Tagemmunt Eezzuz, At Eebbas akked Iyil Eli, segrayen-t neḡ sezwaren-t. Asezwer neḡ asegr-a yezmer ad yili s yiwen n wass neḡ ugar, lhasun ur yettili ara deg tallit i qqaren “*ssbue n Sidna Eisa*” gar 25-31 Dujember, neḡ isemmaḡen. Imezday n temnaḡin-a tterran asekkir-a ḡer wansay n waeraben umi sawalen *kitab El Khitat* neḡ *Hazouz* deg uwitay n Eajami⁷. Deg temnaḡin-a, ur ttazzalen yidammen deg wass amenzu n useggas amaynut (Genevois 1975III, 10).

Deg tama n Iyil Eli, deg tmurt n Leqbayel, ur zellun ara ayaziḡ, d aksum i ttetten i yimensi n Yennayer , llan wid i t-id-yettayen, llan wid i izellun ixef ama i yieggalen n twacult ama i yieggalen n udrum neḡ n taddart (timecredt), neḡ maḡi d acedluḡ n leid yezrin. Am wakken i llant temnaḡin deg tmurt n Tmazya ur netterra i yimensi n Yennayer seksu, ttbeddilent-it s tgella-nniḡen yeban berkukes, acebbaḡ, aḡeddur, atg. Aya yella ama deg tmurt n Leqbayel (Genevois 1975-III, 10/11) ama deg tmurt n Yicawiyen (Djedraoui & Ouanassi 2022, 367), imi leftil n seksu deg umenzu n Yennayer , ilmend n tgensas timettiyyin yettawi-d awettuf i uxxam deg unebdu, ad yiktir am yieeqqayen n seksu, ad yeswiḡ leula n uxxam.

3. Læzla n Yennayer

Deg tlemmast n wayyur n Yennayer , ad yebdu ad ittseggim lḡal, ad tuḡal tmeṭṭut ḡer lecyal-ines, am uzetta akked ufexxar. Tallit-a yemgarad yisem-is seg temnaḡt ḡer tayed. Yella anida i as-sawalen læzla imi d tallit deg ibeddu itteffey usemmiḡ, teezzel asemmiḡ n tegrest ḡef wussan yelhan n tefsut, tettafar llyali, tessezwaray timḡarin. Tallit-is temgarad gar wid yuran ḡef uwitay n tfellaḡt⁸: Llyali/Isemmaḡen – Læzla – Imiryan/Timḡarin (Bourdieu 1976, 46). Dya ḡef uzḡal ibeddun ittlat, qqarent temḡarin: “*Di Yennayer ad yettlal uzḡal deg teebbuḡt n texsi annect n uḡebbu n lleft deg wakal*”, ad yezzegzu wakal ad yefreh lmal, ad yefti.

Deg tallit-a, yettattafen s umata seg tlemmast n Yennayer alma d amalas aneggaru deg wayyur-a (23-24 Yennayer), tawacult tettakk azal meqqren i sin n yiferdisen igejdanen deg tmetti: dderya akked

⁷ D tadyant n tlalit n Sidna Eissa, anda i teqqim Meryem, imma-s n Sidna, sebea n wussan deg yifri mi d-teḡḡa mmi-s (ur nesei baba-s), dya terwel ḡef yimawlan-is i yebyan ad tt-nyen. Teqqim sebea n wussan d wuḡan i usemmiḡ d ccer, dya yuzen as-d Yillu leḡdur i tezla, tečča, tessufey ccer, temnee-d seg lmut. (Genevois,

⁸ Genevois (1975-I, 27) yettmeslay-d ḡef kraḡ n wussan : 20-23 Yennayer , amyar-ya s timmad-is (Genevois 1975-III, 07) yefka-d Yumayen : 21-23 Yennayer , ma d Rahmani (1934, 63) yenna-d tallit-a tetteṭṭef sebea n wussan

lyella ama d lmal ama d imyi deg yiger, txeddem ayen umi tezmer d lfal akken ad yimyr, ad yennerni seg tama, akken ad t-tehrez seg tama-nni. Lufan seg yir tit, ma d iger ney d lmal seg yir ibeεac ara t-yeshelken. D acu-ten yisekkiren i d-yettlin deg tallit-a?

3.1. Aħeffef n yigurdan (Genevois 1975-III, 15)

Deg tallit-a n leezla, tħeffifen i yigurdan yelfan aseggas ney sin deg tudert-nen, d aħeffef-nen amezwaru. Ula da, amgired gar temnađin n tmurt n Leqbayel ney n tmazya s umata anda yella usekkir-a, yella ama deg talya n tteřila, ama deg win ara isettlen i ugrud (ameskar). S umata tettheyyi-t-id yemma-s, ad as-tesles abernus, d azamul n sser d teqbaylit. Yettay-as-d umeqqran n uxxam, ama d baba-s, ama d zizi-s ama d emmi-s aqerruy n uzger, d asfillet akken ad yuayal d bab n ccan d tmussni (amyar n taddart, n leerc ney n tmurt). Llant temnađin ideg tettakk yemma-s ney nanna-s n ugrud tamemt d zzit akken ad yiziđ wawal-is ad yecceg am zzit, ur d-yettaf ikerrisen deg ubrid-is. Deg tiyađ, tettakk tmeřtut n uxxam, seksu inetden deg useksiw, d acetan mebla zzit ney ddhan akken ad iyer ad yuayal d bab n ccan d tussna, ad ijerreb tihercewt n tudert, ur yettwexxir sdat n yiyeblan d yikerrisen.

Llant kra n temnađin, ma yella d aqcic n ccuq, ur t-id-tesea yemma-s almi tzur kra n lemcam, mačči d imawlan-is i as-yettsetřilen. D win i as-d-ixedmen abgas akken ad terfed, ara isettlen i ugrud ney d yiwen n uwtem deg twacult-is (Rahmani 1939, 58), dya ad as-yawi baba-s d yemma-s n ugrud tarzeft. Ma deg wayen yerzan aħeffef-nni s timmad-is, ilmend n temnađin, llant snat, llant temnađin i tent-yessemgaraden ilmend n talya, llant tiyeđ i tent-yessemgaraden ilmend n tnudda:

a) Wid ilan aseggas: Deg tewrirt Mengellat (Genevois 1975, 15), d ccuca yef unyir ney d kra seg ucekkur n tama tayfust gar tit d umezzuy ara d-isettel zizi (jeddi-s) n ugrud ney baba-s, yerna allal ara yessexdem d arazwar mačči d lemques, d lfal akken agrud ad yemyr ad igezzem awal. D ameqqran n uxxam ara as-isettlen akken ad tiyzif ula d netta tudert-is ad yedder alma yewser. Mi ara yekkes asettel, ad as-texdem yemma-s cwiř n zzit, tamemt akked lřebbar i d-ttayan beddemma i usekkir-a syur bu yiεeqqaren, ad ternu ad as-telleq kra n lfeřa deg yidmaren-is, ad t-tehrez seg yir tit, ad as-tili d lhijab (Genevois 1968-IV, 16)

Deg leerc n Ayt Mħend, yef wayen i d-yewwi Rahmani (1939, 58), mačči d talya n usettel i ilan azal maca d tanudda n ugrud, qqaren-as *asemmud n tlalit*, isemmed aseggas segmi d-ilul, anis yebyu yekkes-as-d kra n ccer, i lbaraka. yin akin ad as-ikemmel baba-s ney ad t-awin yer uħeffaf, deg yiseggasen-a ineggura.

b) Wid ilan emayen: Ma yewweđ-d Yennayer yufa-d agrud ney igurdan deg uxxam, ur settlen ara ead mađi, d tagnit ad settlen, dya d ameqqran n uxxam ara asen-isettlen. Ula d asekkir-a yemgarad seg temnađt yer tayed ama deg tmurt n Leqbayel ama deg tamiwin-niđin n tmazya, d ayen umi qqaren *asemmud n tebbuct* (Rahmani 1939, 58) ney *asemmud n usureř* deg temnađt n Weqqas ney leerc n Ayt Mħend s umata. Deg Tawrirt n At Mengellat, d talya usettel i yessemgarden agrud n emayen yef win n useggas mačči d tuttđa. Ittekkes ameqqran n uxxam kra n ucekkur seg tmelyiř n uqerruy (talemast), qqaren-as *tag^wnant* amzun d agellid (Genevois 1975-III, 16). Ayen i txeddem tmeřtut deg usekkir-a ur yemgarad yef win i txeddem i ugrud n useggas.

Aħeffef n ugrud ur iħebbes ara kan yer usekkir-nni, d tagnit n lferħ ara d-yessemlilen snat n twaculin ilan assay n yidammen akked rrcil, ad mlilen leemum akked lexwal n ugrud. Ilmend n sseaya n twacult, s umata ttayan-d at uxxam n ugrud ney xwal-is aksum n yimensi ney zellun ixef. Llant temnađin deg tmurt n Leqbayel anda i d-yettlin wurar am wakken i xeddmen ayen ilan tamtunt deg wass-nni akken ad tali, ad tennerni tunt n ugrud-nni:

- Aħeddur deg tewrirt Mengellat akked Tgemunt Eezzuz;
- Afđir deg Lřemea n Sahariř;

- Acebb^wad (acewwad) akked tmellalin tuftayin deg At Iğger

Ma deg Tagemmunt Eezzuz akked Yiwadiyen, tiyift tamezwarut ara d-yewwen, tterrant-tt tlawin yef uqerruy n ugrud akken ad isehhi ad yesu tazmert.

3.2. Tiyyita n Lherqus

Ayen i xeddment tlawin deg tlemmast n wayyur n Yennayer d ayen icudden yer yizri, kkatent lherqus i wallen-nsen d wat uxxam merra imi iseffu yizri, ladya wid mazal mezzi, ur yeddi ara deg leemer. Amek i d-yettili usekkir-a?

Deg umenzu n laezla ad tecel tmettut n uxxam isyaren n uzzu akken d izegzawen, irrij-nni ara d-yebur, ilmend n temnadin, ad d-iserreh i tmiqwa d tiberkanin, ad temdi tmettut leqdee n umger ney n lmezber, ad tent-id-tejmea deg-s, ad as-tell i ugrud timmi yes-sent, qqaren-as *timmi s yimetti n uzezzu* (Genevois 1975-III, 11). Deg temnadin-nniden n tmurt n Leqbayel, am temnadit n Weqqas, mirruj ara d-iserreh ukeccut n uzzu, ad t-tessens ney a t-tesseksi, ad as-tesmir cwit n waman deg wayen yellan d uzzal damger, d lmezber ney d agelzim, dya ad tedleg timmi n ugrud s uslu ney s yiluyan-nni. Imi yeqseh, tit-is ad tettru, imettawen-nni d tarda i d-ssiriden tit, iseffu yizri n ugrud, ad uyul ad yettwali ula d ayen yeffren yef wiyeḍ.

Deg Bni Snus asekkir-a yettiti-d deg umenzu n Yennayer mačči deg laezla (Talemast n wayyur-a (Destaing 1905, 68)⁹. Dya, ma yebya yiwen ad isehhi yizri-ines; ad yaf ula d timellalin n tsekkurt deg umaday, ad yewt lherqus i timmi-ines, deg yid, ad yesres ayelbal yef wudem-is, ad yehseb itran deg yigenni. D ayen ara yeḡḡen izri-ines ad yeqqim yeḡhed yas yedda deg leemer. Asekkir-a yuy izuran deg umezruy, yef wayen i d-yebder Destaing, 1905, yebder-it-id yiwen n umezray umi qqaren Ibn El Hadj El A'abderi¹⁰ (1320, 180)

3.3. Azway n treknin n uxxam d uerur n Lmal s tceṭbubt n yilili

Deg laezla n Yennayer, asekkir i txeddem tmettut n uxxam ila azal deg tceṭbubt-nni n yilili s wayes ara tezwi tiyemmar n uxxam, lqecc n tduli, ayen deg wacu yettiti rzeq am ukufi, tugi n usendu, d ayen ara ibeēden lejnun akked ttabea imi ilili amerzag, ila rriha i tityunfun lejnun, srusayen-t ddaw n tsumta, deg dduh n utufan akked uwermi. Taceṭbubt-a n yilili tettbeēid dayen abeēuc n diri, awettuf i uxxam, takkuct i tduli akked wakuz i leula. Lal n uxxam, tzewwi dayen ass-nni n laezla aerur n lmal uqbel ad yeffey ssbeh akken ad tbeēed fell-as aṭṭan, tit, d lfal ad yefti ad yennerni; ur inegger ur iteēef (Genevois 1975, 18), dya ad tzewwi ad as-teqqar : *“Tasetta n yilili, lmal-iw ad yefti ad yettiti”*. Ibeēac i d-ikečmen yer uxxam akked wid yettabaen lmal, am wakken i d-nezwar yakan deg wawal, tettbeēid-iten lal n uxxam s tceṭbubt n yilili, imi deg tgensas n medden d imyi i ireqqa Nnbi, yessemres-it d ddwa i tikkelt tamezwarut Sidna Adem (Genevois 1975-III, 17). Taceṭbubt-a nettunt-itt tlawin ney ifellahen, ilmend n temnadin, ula deg yigran izereen akken ur ten-ikeccem lehlak am qawsas akked maras, ma kecmen iger, ad isellaw yimyi ad yewriy, ur yettaf aman deg wakal. Dya deg kra n temnadin n tmurt n Leqbayel ideg yella usekkir-a, mi ara ntunt tlawin kuz (04) n tceṭbubin-a n yilili qqarent, akken i t-id-yeḡḡa Sidna Adem:

Ta n zekka ;
Ta n Mekka,
Ta i lbaraka ;
Ta deg yimi-m a tawekka

⁹«Si l'un de nous veut arriver à découvrir, dans les broussailles, les oeufs de perdrix, il se teint, le premier jour d'Ennayer, le bord des paupières avec du collyre ; puis la nuit, se plaçant un tamis sur le visage, il compte les étoiles du ciel. Cela afin de renforcer sa vue».

¹⁰«Les yeux sont passés au collyre, grâce à quoi l'individu acquiert une vue perçante qui lui permet de découvrir oiseaux et reptiles de petite espèce, sans qu'aucun reste caché pour lui».

Ma yella deg umur ameqqran n temnaḍin, d ilili ay nettun deg yiger deg lëezla n Yennayer , llant temnaḍin i ittezzun ayanim, deg tama n Yiëezzugen, anda i seḍfaren kra n leqwal akked usekkir-a, ad d-nebder :

Hreb, hreb, ya Maras,
Γef a k-id-yaf uxemmas,
ad ak-yerz deg wammas

Deg temnaḍt n Fliki, deg wass amezwaru n lëezla n Yennayer, ad d-gezmen kra n uyanim ssbeḥ zik, uqbel ad d-yeffey yiṭij. Mačči d antaw ara t-ntun deg yiger ass-nni, ad t-id-awin yer uxxam, ad yens i yitran yef lqermud kraḍ n wuḍan. Deg tsebhit n wass wis kraḍ, uqbel ad d-yeffey dayen yiṭij, ad t-ntun yifellaḥen deg yiger izereen, ad stebeen tanfalit-a (Genevois 1975-III, 18):

Nḥerrem-ak ya qawsas,
akken teḥrem lḡennet i umekkas

4. Amerḍil, areṭṭal n tayyaṭ ney ass n tayyaṭ

Deg wansayen n timawit n Leqbayel, ttawin-d umyi yef wass ssebba yeḡḡan ayyur n furar inqes-as yiwen wass. Akken yella deg wullis, yas akken ggtent tsenfal, mi d-iban iffeṭ lḥal, ikfa usemmiḍ aqeshan, yiwet n temyart tamcumt i iksen tayyaṭ-is teuyer yennayer, tenna-as : “ccah deg-k, teffyeḍ war ma txedmeḍ kra!”. Yef waya, yennayer yessuter seg furar ad as-d-yerḍel yiwen wass akken ad yerr tṭar deg temyart i t-iëuyren. Din din, tignewt teččur-d d asigna, yeṭli-d usemmiḍ d aqeshan, ywwet-d udfel s lḡehd, ur temnie temyart-nni, ur yemnie lmal-is. Hata wamek i d-segzan deg tmetti tamensayt acu yeḡḡan furar d ayyur agezzlan deg useggas. Ma nuṭal-d tura yer wumyi-nni s timmad-is, akken i d-nezwar da, llant ayendin n tsenfal i ittbeddilen seg temnaḍt yer tayeḍ.

4.1. Tamyart akked tayyaṭ

Am wakken i d-nezwar yakan awal, llant temnaḍin i d-yewwin awal yef temyart akked tayyaṭ i iëuyren yennayer , gar-asent tamnaḍt n Ayt Gubri, d ayen i d-yewwi Servier (1962, 298-300) akked Genevois (1975, 34). Hata wamek itt-id-ttawin :

« K'a yekka yennayer ur teffiy ara temyart seg uxxam-is (gg^wexxam-is): ula ansi teeddi ad d-tawi ula cwiṭ n lqut ney taelluqt i tayyaṭ-is. Ifukk yennayer, yeqq^wel-d yiṭij. Teffey temyart ad tesselmuy i yiṭij. Tessufey tayyaṭ-is tewwi (tebb^wi) imsenda. Telleq imessenda-nni ad tessendu ayefki n tayyaṭ-is. Tinna tettes ar rrif-is. Teuyer yennayer , tenna-yas: “teṭ i tiṭ-ik, a eemmi yennayer , ffyeṭ am nekk am yess-i, ur iyi-texdimeḍ acemma”. Yennayer yenḥa teuyer-it tayyaṭ. iruḥ ar furar , yenna-yas:

A eemmi furar
Rḍel-iyi-d lil u nhar
Teuyer-iyi-d wekt lbaz m-lear
Ad remley aqerruy-is i yennar

Imir-nni irdel-as-ten-id. Deg teswiet iqleb Rebbi tignawt: tereed, tebreq, tuy-d lehwa tebda tekkat. Yetteylay-d ubruri, ur iweḡḡel ara i temyart ad d-tefsi imessenda, teqqel ad as-tiniḍ teyli deg temda.

Tberrez s axxam am nettat , am tayyaṭ-is. Berrzent ar ufnu n tmes bac ad sekwent, tečča-tent tmes i snat.

4.2. Tayyat iman-is

Gar temnađin ideg d-tettwabder tayat iman-is deg umerđil ney arettal, tamnađt n Ayt Iraten akked Ayt Eemrus. Deg wumyi i d-ttawin yimezday deg yilsawen-nsen, uran fell-as yimeskaren, d tayat ay euyren Yennayer , dya irra deg-s ttar. Hat-a wayen i d-yeddandeg yidrisen yuran:

-Ađris n Henri Genevois (1975, 32): “ Yiwen ubrid di lawan ggennayer, yella ugeffur, adfel d usemmid, teħbes tayat aggur kamel, asmi ifukk waggur ggennayer, icreq-d yittij, tekker cwit n tizzegzewt di tmurt. Ass-nni teffey-d tayat yel lexla iεjeb-itt lħal, tenna-yas : « ttezz deg-k a eemmi yennayer , teffyed ur texdimeđ acemma ». Akken yesla Yennayer i lehđur-agi, iqlee-d wul-is deg wurfan, inna-yas i eemmi-s furar:

Txil-k, a eemmi furar
Rdel-iyi-d yibb^was di nhar
Ad wtey amaεiz bu lear
Ad wtey aqerru-s yer nnar

Irđel-d furar yiwen deg wussan-is. Imir-nni kan teččur tegnawt d asigna, teflali, terēed, la tekkat lehwa, abruri d udfel; ađu la yettružu ttjur. Imir-nni tayyat-nni yellan deg berra teqqur s usemmid, temmut. Gef wannect-a i yettusemma wass aneggaru n yennayer amerđil; yesεa wayyur n furar yiwen wass qell n wayyuren-nniđen ».

- Ađris n Sliman Rahmani (1934, 62) : « Illa zik-nni tenna-yas tayyat : « Keħ ! Tez! deg yimi n baba Yennayer . S lyecc inna-yas baba yennayer:

Ya meeza bent elεar
Welleh a lukan i d-reṭley nhar
F baba Furar
Alamma griy icc-im deg nnar
Wa ađar-im ad t-eellqey yer bab ddar

Ass-nni issawey-itt udfel, u tiyetten twint deg lyaba. Temmut tayyat-nni, zlan-tt ul ufan anida ara tteellqen s udfel. Eellqen-tt yer bab ddar, u zelfen aqerruy-is deg lkanun. Lmeεna: Tayyat-a tħessen teffey cctewa, teuyer Yennayer, luqen baba Yennayer yettef deg-s tamart, u irtel-d nhar yef baba Furar u inya-tt».

- Ađris n Bensedira Belkacem (1887): « Deg zzman amezwaru, tella yiwet n temyart, tezdey weħed-s deg udrar, yur-s yiwet n tayyat. Yiwet tikkelt, deg wayyur n Yennayer, yella-d ugeffur, adfel, akked usemmid. Teħbes temyart-nni, nettat d tayyat-is, ayyur kamel deg uxxam-is, ur tufi amek ara d-teffey. Asmi iffuk wayyur n Yennayer , tecreq-d tafukt, teffey-d temyart-nni d tayyat-is; tessenduy iyi, tebda a tettlaqab ayyur n Yennayer , teqqar-as :

Xemsa deg wallen-ik
A eemmi Yennayer,

Teffyed ur texdimeđ ara
Dya mi as-yesla wayyur n Yennayer, yerfa atas fell-as; yezzi yer wayyur n Furar, yenna-yas:
Txil-k a eemmi Furar,
Rdel-iyi yiwen deg ussan-ik,
Ad nyey tamyart-agi, aqemmuc n lear!

Irđel-as Furar yiwen wass deg ussan-is. Imir-nni yeččur-d yigenni, yekkat-d ugris d udfel, yerna-d wađu asemmađ. Tamyart tamcumt, yettef-itt udfel deg beħra, teqqur s usemmid, temmut nettat d tayyat-is. Yerra-d ttar deg-s wayyur n yennayer.

Seg yimir-nni, ayyur n yennayer yejmeɛ ass-nni i s-d-yerɗel wayyur n Furar, ur as-t-yerra ara. D imi i s-qqaren i wass aneggara n yennayer “amerɗil”. D imi dayen ay yesɛa wayyur n furar yiwen wass aqell n wayyuren-nniɗen: ixus-as wass-nni yerɗel i wayyur n yennayer ».

4.3. Tamyart d yizgaren

Deg Tlemsan, deg tmurt n Yicawiyen d tamytart (Djedraoui & Ouannasi 2022, 365) ney deg Tewirt Mengellat akked Fliki deg tmurt n Leqbayel qqaren tamytart tkess izgaren, teuyer Yennayer, dya yerfa. Yefka-d adfel irdem-itt nettat d yizgaren-is. Deg Tewirt Mengellat, mi tessufey temytart izgaren deg wass aneggara n Yennayer teslewlw, ma deg fliki tekkat deg ubidun. Deg snat n temnaɗin-a, tenna-yas i uzger deg umezzuy-is (Genevois 1975III, 20):

Freɥ ay azger (beccrey-k a lebger)

Yeffey Yennayer

Taggrayt

Isekkiren d tegnsast tinmettiyin yef d-newwi awal da fell-asent i ibedd unagarw n wumyiten d yisekkiren n tmetti n Leqbayel tamensayet. Amur deg-sen mzal ddren ar ass-a, llan wiyed ruhen amzun twattun maca uyalen-d iseggasen-a ineggura segmi yuɣal wass n umenzu n yennayer d ass ayelnaw. Tigzi n yisekkiren-a tesra i yittewlen-niden, gar-asen assay n tmetti-nni akked tfellaht imi isekken-a nettat-iten deg tmetti-yin ilan assay d wakal. Ʋas tettbeddil talya n usekkir seg tmetti yer tayed, tezdi-ten twuri-n sen tazamulant. Am wakken i d-mmalen yisekkiren-a assay n tmetti-nni akked teflest d wayen yellan d uyris, imi yal tayawsa ara yexdem umdan, deg tudert-is n yalass, yettili deg-s usfel. Seg tama d asnemmer i lxir deg yettidir akken ad idum i lebda, seg tama-nniɗen d asfillet i wayen yelhan akken ad yenser i wayen n diri.

Gas Asfuggel n yixef n useggas ney ayen umi qqaren *tawwurt/tabburt* n useggas mačči deg tmetti n Yimaziyen kan i yella (turda n Ugellid Imaziyen Cacnaq i yesseylin Aferɛun Ramses III) imi, akken i d-nezwar yakan, yella deg tmetti-yin ilan assay d tfellaht deg umaɗal merra ama d tid n Utaram ama d tid n Usammar, gar-asent timura i d-yezzin i yilel agrakal. Isekkiren i d-yettlin merra deg wayyur n Yennayer, Ʋas mgaraden wudmawen n usfugel-n sen seg uyref yer wayed, ula gar tamiwin n Timmuzya, iswi-n sen d yiwen, d asfillet i useggas ideg ara tili talwit, asiggel (ad yefti deg-s yiger, lmal akked umdan), ad ten-yehrez seg waɗtan d tit.

Igensasen n twacult ttikkin merra deg yisekkiren n Yennayer, d acu, dya am yisekkiren-nniɗen i icudden yer tudert s umata, d tameɗtut ay ten-ireffden, teherbib ama yef twacult, ama yef yifecka n uxxam, ama yef lmal akked yiger yellan d aybalu n tudert s wayes tidiren At uxxam merra (aksum, taɗut, ayefki, udi, timzin, irden, atg.

Ʋer taggara, neɥsa llant atas n temsal i icudden Ʋur uwtay n tfellaht, ladya tid yerzan asfugel n yixef useggas i yuklalen asekkel u ad d-yili fell-asent umeslay s telqey. Assayen gar yisekkiren d tgenas akked wayen yellan d uyris d yiwen seg wudmawen-a i yessefk ad nwali sya d asawen. Yessefk dayen nwali amek tlufa deg tallit-a d wamek beddlent, ma yella beddlent, imi timetti tatrart yettbin-d tettef nezzeh deg wansayen-a.

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