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Tiraḍ, gar usemres d wazal n yizamulen i d-mmalent

Tattoos and the values of the symbols they convey

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Agzul

Awal-nney deg umagrad-a ad yili yef uqlam n tecraḍ deg kra n temnaḍin n Tmazya. Ad d-neglem tarrayin i yettusemrasen deg tirmitt-a n uweccem, wi i tt-ixeddmen, aḍayer-nsen deg tmetti akked wallalen i semrasent tcerraḍin akken ad wennent ticreḍt-nni. Taneggarut-a tla azal meqqren deg tgensas n uyref, asemres-ines ila mačči ala yiwet n twuri, ticraḍ tmaggant akken ad sehlunt amdan seg kra n waṭṭanen yecban akazuz, ttecciqqa akked waṭṭan n lemfasel, am wakken i ttilint i umdan d lherz seg yir tiṭ akked teiqert. Iswi n umagrad-a d tirit n wazal i tirmitt-a n tecraḍ deg tmetti n Yimaziyen akked usegzi n kra n yizamulen i d-yettilin deg tecraḍ.

Awalen-tisura : aweccem, aḥajam, azamul, tacerraḍt, tazult

¹ D taselmadt tamnadit deg tesnilest n tmaziyt deg tesga n Tutlayt d Yidles n Tmaziyt, deg tmezdeyt n Tsekliwin d Tutlayin deg tesdawit n Bgayet (Lezzayer). D tamnadit tasertayt deg Usemmas n tagmi (CRLCA). D Lal n tezrawt n Doctorat deg tussnanatala akked 04 n yimagraden : « Timmedyezt n yinzi deg wungal lḥulfan n KaysaXalifi », « Etude descriptive et comparative des pronoms personnels à l'œuvre dans les parlers kabyles situés à l'est de Bejaïa-ville », « Etude de la variation linguistique berbère : Le cas des déictiques à l'œuvre dans le kabyle extrême oriental » akked « Etude descriptive et comparative des modalités locatives à l'œuvre dans le kabyle extrême oriental ». Am wakken i tekki deg sin n yidlisen izdayanen.

Abstract

This contribution aims to describe the practice of tattooing in some Amazigh regions. It tries to list the different techniques, the actors plus the means used to succeed in this practice which has a high value in the society. The use of tattooing is multifunctional; it helps treat some illnesses such as goiter, migraine and rheumatism, as it plays a protective role against bad oil and sterility. The objective of this contribution is to highlight the value of tattooing in Amazigh society and attempt to reveal the secret of some tattoo symbols.

Keywords : Antimony, aḥajam, symbol, tattoo, tattoo artist

Ticraḍ, gar usemres d wazal n yizamulen i d-mmalent

Ticraḍ i txeddem tmeṭṭut deg tfekka-s, deg yiselsa, deg uz-eṭṭa, deg teklut, deg yisyunen akked ufexxar d wid ilan azal meqquer deg tudert-is n yal ass. D izamulen ideg yella wayen ur tezmir ad d-tini qbala i wiyad ama d ihulfan-is ama d tagnit ideg tetteic. Izamulen i d-yettilin deg tecraḍ-a, lan assay d ugama ideg tudert tcudd nezzeh yer lxedma n wakal, nettaf-iten yur yiḡerfan ixeddmn akal merra, tterran izamulen-a, mgaraden kan deg yisekkiren i ten-yetṭafaren (Moreau, 2015).

Deg umagrad-a, ad nefk tixutert i tecraḍ i txeddem tmeṭṭut deg tfekka-ines, imi ula d nutenti d allal n taywalt, lant inumak uf-firen, ad nessissen kra deg-sen. Ad d-nesken dayen timental i yeḡḡan tameṭṭut tamaziyt tettarra ticraḍ-a, s unamek-nniḍen, tiwuriwin i lant tecraḍ-a deg kra n temnaḍin timaziyin.

Izamulen i tterrant tlawin deg tecrađ-a, ur mgaraden ara yef wid i tterrant deg uzetđa, deg yiselsa, deg teklut yef lehyuđ n uxxam akked ufexxar, d izamulen s umata i d-yemmalen assigel (fécondité)ad naf deg-sen : azrem, taxemset, tařaret n yigenni/iselbeđ), wid d-yemmalen tumert d talwit, ad d-nebder: řtir, izi, timceđt, wid d-yemmalen ayen d-yettuyalen am tsemhuyin, gar-asen: ayyur, itřij, itran.

Iswi-nney, deg umagrad-a, d tiririt n wazal i tirit n uwec-cem i řřfent tyemmatin ney tiyemmatin n tyemmatin atas n tsutwin, d tukksa n uyebbar fell-asent. Ad ilint fell-asent tezrawin tussnanin, deg-sent, ad yili uglam n wayen akk icudden yer-sent: asatal ideg d-llant, taggayin-nsent, tiwuriwin-nsent deg tmetti, allalen i yettus-emrasen deg tirit-a akked tmuyli n wiyad fell-asent.

I. Anamek n wawal cređ akked tecrađ

Ařar argalan i d-yefkan awalen: *cređ/creř, acrađ/acrař, ticrađ/ticrař, tacerrađt ney tamecrađt* d “CRD”.

Amyag *cređ/creř*ila sin n yinumak:

- Eđđ ccama deg kra n tyawsa, d tafekka, d afexxar, d isyunen, d lehyuđ, d idyayen, atg. Llant temnađin deg tmurt n tmazya i yeqqaren: nqec, rqem, eellem.
- řleb i yiwen kra, d tiririt n wazal i wayen i as-tefkiđ yakan; MD: yiwen yefka yelli-s, ad yecređ yef yidulan-is kra (d adrim, d læzz...);

Imegdawalen n wawal *ticrad* d *ticerbebb*a akked *rrqem*. Amyag *Cred*, seg tama-s, ila amegdawal *weccem* mačči kan deg tmurt n Wawras ney yer yimsiwal aeraben (Dahmani, 2023, sb.105), yettusemras ula deg kra n temnađin n Usammar n tmurt n Leqbayel (*kabylie orientale*) gar-asent, Isendal deg Drae lğayed, yefruri-d seg-s yisem akmam *lewcam* akked yisem n tigawt *aweccem*, aneggaruya ur yettusemras deg tama n Yigawawen (Dahmani, 2023, sb. 98).

Gar wid i d-yesbadun² *ticrad*, ad naf wid yefkan azal i wawal s timmad-is, amezruy-ines akked wid yefkan azal i tigawt akked ugmud (irit ara yilin yef tfekka, ad t-walin medden). Ad naf (Grogard, 1992) yesseqdec awal *ticredt* s unamek n tigawt akked ugmud-is (isem amilan). Yekcem wawal-a, i tikkelt tamezwarut deg usegzawal deg useggas 1860.

Win yerran azal i yirit s timmad-is, mačči i tigawt, d (Breton, 2002), yenna-d *ticredt* d unuɣ-nni ney d irit ara nwali s wallen-nney, d ayen i d-yeğğan later deg uglim n tfekka s yini yemgaraden.

1. Azayer n tcerrađt

Zik, *tacerrađt* tesa azayer imi ttwalin-tt yimezday n leerc-is, ney leerac i as-d-iqerben, tettwazdey, rekben-tt yijenniwen. Tettwamlek syur ayt lxir imi ur txeddem ayen n diri, ttawin-d syur-s ddwa, tujjya akked lherz. Llan wid i as-yessawalen taderwict. Segmi d-yekcem lislam yer da, tirit-a n *tcerrađt* tettwagdel, d lhenni i

² « Le mot tatouage désigne l'opération et son résultat. Il fait son entrée officielle dans le dictionnaire Littré vers les années 1860 »

yuyen amkan n tecrađ, ula d tid i tent-ilan deg tfekka-nsent, ttefrent-
asent tid ara tent-yessizedgen, asmi ara mmtent, s lħenni, akken ur
tent-yettættib æzrayen (Dahmani, 2023, isb.103-107).

Unuyen ney iriten i ttarrant tlawin n tmazya ur mgaraden ara
yef yiyerfan i ixeddmen tafellaħt, dacu mgaraden yef wid n tmura n
Usammar (*l'Orient*), imi wid n tmazya d izamulen inezgiyen (ijerri-
den, iquisisen, uzgen uquisis, atg.), ma d wid n tmura-nniđen n
umađal; ad naf d aferdis i ira bab ney lal n tecređt ara yilin deg te-
cređt-is, s unamek-nniđen ticrađ d unuyen mačči d izamulen ideg
iruh wassay gar tikti akked yirit. D amedya, deg tmura n Usammar,
ad naf deg tecrađ ijeđđigen ma deg tmura n utaram, yecban Fransa,
d ayaziđ.

Deg kra n temnadin n tmazya, gar-asent Tayazut, d ameqqran
n taddart i yessuturen deg tlawin n taddart ad rrent ticrađ yef tfekka-
nsent (Mahmoudi, 1999, sb. 138), ifulka i asent-yettakk d wi³: « -
Wwtemt yef twenza-nkumt iferr n uzemmur ad teqqiment dima d
tuħricin; -Ur ttađđamt ara udem-nkumt d ilem am lexla (ti-
niri).Weccmemt-it ad tilimt telhamt ugar ħur Yillu, ad kunt-
ħemmlen ugar yirgazen-nkumt » (Mahmoudi, 1999, sb. 139).

Ma yella aweccem, deg kra n temnađin timaziyin, gar-asent tamurt
n Leqbayel, ila kra n twuri (asiggel, lħerz, rrcil akked leħzen n wul);

³ « -Parez votre front de la feuille verte d'olivier, et vous restez toujours fraîches ;
- Ne laissez point votre visage nu comme le désert. Tatouez-le ; ainsi vous serez
plus agréables aux yeux de Dieu, car vous serez plus aimées de vos maris ».

deg temnađin-nniđen, yecban læerc Tayazut, deg tniri, tiyita n tecrađ tekcem deg yidles, tasuta tettağğa-tt-id i tayeđ, d ayen ara negzu deg tebdert-a (Mahmoudi, 1999, sb. 138) imi d-yenna :« Deg læerc n Teyzut, ..., ticređt mačči d aweccem menwala, wala d axbac ađerfi. D tazuri, d asegni i d-tettağğa tsuta i tayeđt »⁴.

Deg wayen yerzan tayara n tecređt s timmad-is akked tin i ixeddmn tiritit-nni, Dahmani (2023) yettmeslay-d yef sin n lesnaf n tcerrađin:

- Tin yellan d tamanunt, uræad tefriđ deg tiritit-a. Deg wayen yerzan tahuski ney ccađa n tecređt, ur d-tufrar, ur tecbiđ. S umata ssuturen-tt wid ney tid yuđnen, iswi n tecređt-nni dya d ddwa mačči d ccađa yerna, deg talya, d iriten iđerfiyen, d imecđah (Guenfissi, 2022, sb. 148). Qqaren i tecrađ-a *aceđđab*.
- Tin yellan tefrek, tewwi ssenea deg ufus-is; d tafennant, tessem ama i wunuy n yirit ama i yiniyen ara tefren deg-sen. Ticrađ i txeddem tcerrađt-a cebđent nezzeh, dya d tahuski i d iswi-nsent, qqaren-asant *aneqqad*.

Talya n ssenf-a, tezmer ad tili d tađerfit am wakken i tezmzer ad tili d tuddist, d asefrurex n yirit seg wayeđ, aya ilmend n tehri n wadeg ideg ara tili tecređt-nni (Brousse, 2012; Benazouz & Refrafi, 2023, sb. 294).

⁴« Dans la tribu de Taghazout, ... le tatouage n'est pas un vain et libre crayonnage, ni un simple griffonnage. C'est toute une culture, une éducation transmise de génération en génération ».

2. Tanudda n lal n tecrađ

Tin i ixeddmn ticrađ, ur tli tanudda irekden, tezmer ney yezmer ad yecređ, acku ticrađ nettarra-tent ama i uqcic ama i teqcict deg yiseggasen imezwura n tlatit, ma yuđen; mi ara tili d tilemzit am wakken i tezmer ad tent-texdem mi ara tuyal d tamyard.

2.1. *Tanudda tamezzyant*

Tezmer ad tesu sin n yiseggasen (amayen), d lherz seg yir tiđ ney i ttabea yellan deg yimma-s n ltuřan-nni (ur tessidir ara), ticređ-nni d tamezzyant, s umata ttarran-as-tt i ltuřan deg tmezzyuř-is, qqaren-as taeyyact; ad t-tehrez seg tmettant, ad as-tili d lherz. Am wakken i tezmer ad tili d tikci n wawal, d lweeđ i rrcil (zik xetben yimawlan deg dduđ).

2.2. *Tanudda taqsaysit (talemast)*

D tin n telmezyin ilan gar 12 akked 18 n yiseggasen i d-yewwđen yer rrcil akked tlawin iran ticrađ deg wadeg n wurey d uzref, imi ur tentufi ad tcebbeđ iman-is yes-sen teg teswiein n lfuruđ.

2.3. *Tanudda tameqgrant*

Tezmer ad tili d tamyard yeddán deg leemer (tasuta tis tlata, d jidda/nanna), d ddwa i kra n wařan ney d lehzen, d tamettant n win yeezizen fell-as (lgerđ n wul).

3. Tallit n tecrađ

Kra i xeddmnt tlawin ila tallit-is, ama deg teyzi n wass (tanezzayt, deg uzal akked tmeddit) ama deg teyzi n useggas (tagrest, tafsut, anebdu akked umwan). S wakka, ula d ticrađ sukksent-d lawan-nsent.

- Tettili-d tyita n tecrađ, ma d tid n thuski, deg tefsut imi twulem i lğerh; ur yetteemmir, ur yettsulum, ad yeħlu s læjlan. Dya ma d ticrađ n lherz, asiggel akked udawi; ur lint tallit irekden, ttilint-d mi ara d-teħder tagnit i tent-srant.
- Leħcawec ara tessexdem tcerrađt i yini (ssbay) ama d timzın ama d selgu, ama d amezzir ama d tuccanin tettheggi-ten-d uqbel n wass n uweccem;
- Tallit ay smenyifent tcerrađin deg wass d tanezzayt, imi ulac irgazen deg uxxam (ffyen yer yiger ney yer uxeddim), tin ara yewten ticređt ur teeyi ara, tezmer ad tlawi leqriħ-nni, ad tesber;
- Tacerrađt tla lweqt ad teass lğerħ-nni, ma ur ħbisen ara yidammen, ad d-taf tifat deg wass (ad as-teqqen aman n umagraman, ad ħbsen yidammen).

Ad d-nesmekti kan da, tiyita n tecrađ mačči am wansayenniđen n tmetti n Yimaziyen s umata, Leqbayel ladya (Azeyyen/tħhara, talalit n uqcic, asufey-ines, asemyi n tyennusin ...), ney ula d irmuden ideg tterran ticrađ yecban azetħa, taklut yef leħyud, akked talaxt umi xeddmn asekkir (Ifal) ama d uħbik, timezliwt n uyaziđ (Genevois, 1964, sb. 41) akked ubexxer n tsegra deg uzetħa, timezliwt n uyaziđ d asfel ney d asefk i uessas n uxxam, ama i dderya, i lmal ney i leula (Westermarck, 1936, sb.17), itbir ney awtul deg teklut (Djabri & Guaoua, 2019). Deg tyita n tecrađ, dya, ur tent-yetħafar usekkir, yetteli-d melba lħess (Dahmani, 2023).

Adeg n temlilit n tcerrađt akked tin yebyan ad tecređ yezmer ad yili d axxam n tneggarut-a, am wakken i tezmer ad truđ yer uxxam n tcerrađt. Ma yella mačči yiwet, d agraw; timlilit tettili-d deg wadeg n tejmaet yellan d ayla n taddart merra (Dahmani, 2023, sb.115).

Ma yella deg tmurt n Leqbayel, s umata, d tilawin ay d ticer-rađin akken tebyu tili twuri n tecređt-nni (tahaski, adawi, lherz, atg.), deg tmurt n Yicawiyen mgaraden wid ilan sseneā-nni akked wallalen i yettusemrasen deg tyita n tecređt, ad naf:

a. *Lewcam* d ticrađ i tterrant tlawin akked yirgazen i ccbađa. Ma yella irgazen ttweccimen taqebbiđt n ufus akked yiyallen-nsen; tilawin, s umata, kkatent ticrađ deg yidgan yemgaraden deg tfekkan-sent (tawenza, tamart, timiđt, atg.). Imend n wayen i d-segzant Rivière akked Faublée (1942, isb.70-72), tid ay xeddmn ssenf-a n tecrađ d tilmezwin uread nezwiđ ney d tid i d-yennebran, d tiririt n wazal i ccbeđa-nsent. Allal swayes i d-yettili lewcam d tissegnit mačči d lmus ney d arazwar, tterran-t gar leđbab, menwala (mači ala win ilan ccfa deg ufus-is) yezmer ad iweccem win iran ad yerr ticređt. Akken ad yesbey yirit n tecređt, tacerrađt, deg tmurt n Yicawiyen trennu tazult; tessemras aslew ney imbuxxen, anagar ma ulac tazult ney lekđuul yerna tdelleg amkan-nni i tweccem s waman n temzin i therres, tżem-itent akkenad d-fkent ini icebđen; adal i d-yemmalen tizzegzewt d lyella.

b. *Ađajam* i ttgen i ddwa, xeddmn-t s lmus yerna kra n twaculin kan i izemren ad yexdem ticređt i tmeđtut yellan d tiseiqert, akken i d-

nenna, ney ur tessidir ara (ad d-nnernin mmuten ney ad ddren kra n wussan ney kra n wagguren), d tid n yimrabden ilan ccfa deg ufusnsen, ney, ilmend n Rivière akked Faublée (1942, sb. 77), syur urgaz yewwin timegređt.⁵

4. Taggayin n tecrađ

Ticrađ s umata d iriten ney d izamulen i yettarra umdan s umata, ama d irgazen deg kra n tegnatin, ama d tilawin deg tuget n tegnatin, deg wayen i as-yezzin srid, d talya n tenfalit swayes tettili taywalt yid-s, llan yimassanen i d-yeqqaren d talya taqburt n tira (Grogard, 1992, sb. 19) ama deg tfekka, ama deg yiselsa, ama deg lehyuđ n uxxam, ama deg yisyunen ama deg talaxt, gar yirman i yettwasemrasen, ad d-nebder:

- Rrqem, aellem, nneqc (afniq), ccama;
- Lewcam, ađajam (Icawiyen);
- Aweccem, lewcam (Isendal deg Drae lgayed);
- Lđerqus, ur yettdum ara yerna yesea tallit ideg t-xeddmen (leezla n Yennayer), yettseđđi allen, d ddwa mgal ađđan n tirtaw, qqaren-as *timmi s yimeđđi n uzezzu* (Genevois, 1975-III, sb.11);
- Lđenni, yuy amkan n tecrađ, ikcem-d akked lislam, ur yegdil imi ur yettdum yerna yettili sufell n uglim, ur ttazzalen seg-s yidammen.

⁵ Asekkir-a yettwassnen deg leerc n Ulad Ebderrahman deg tmurt n yicawiyen, yella ula deg Lmerruk anda ttweccimen tametđđut ur nessidir s tessegnit s wayes ixad lekfen n win yemmuten ur nezwiđ (d leazeđ), d ayen i d-yura J. Herber, Le tatouage des pieds au Maroc, dans *l'Anthropologie*, t. 33, 1923, p. 92.

5. Tiwuriwin n tecrađ

Ilmend n Dahmani (2023, isb.136-137) akked Taileb (2021, sb. 511), ticrađ mačči ala yiwet n twuri i lant deg tmetti, mgaraden yiswan n yimdanen i yettarran ticrađ, gar twuriwin-a, ad d-nebder:

5.1. Ccabađa

Tterrant tlawin ticrađ deg wadeg n yisyunen (wurey ney azref) imi amur ameqqran deg-sent d tigellilin, tterrant-tent deg ufus; deg umkan n umeqyas, deg uđar deg umkan n urđif, deg yimegređ deg umkan n ucrur, atg. S tecrađ-a ara d-sekneent zzin-nsent, aladya ma d ticebħanin (Rivière & Faublée, 1942). Am wakken ara naf, amur ameqqran seg tid yettarran ticrađ-a d tid yennebran, yes-sent ara d-jebdent tamuylı (Refrafi & Benazouz, 2023, sb. 293).

Tawuri n tecrađ-a n thuski d tuffra n kra n ccama i yellan deg tfekka, ama d lixsas, ama d timerna. Llant dya teqcicin ilan kra n texas deg tfekka-nsent, ticrađ-nni tıyummunt leeyub-nni, tid ur nli ccær deg leeyun-nsent, xeddment-ten s tecrađ, dument i lebda. Am wakken i llant, dayen, tid ilan kra n ccama deg yigmamen n tfekka-nsent, tıyummunt-itt s tecređt-nni.

5.2. Rrcil ney tebyez

Deg kra n tudrin, tterran ticrađ i teqcicin i d-yewwden yer zzwaj, akken ad d-jebdent tiđ n yilmezıyen ney n yimawlan-is am wakken i kkatent ticrađ tid yellfen ney yennebran. Seg tama-nniđen akken ad d-beyynen taqcict-a temıur ur telli d tamanunt, tezmer ad tebnu axxam, tezmer ad tqabel taært d unezgum n ddunit, s unamek-

nniḍen, tezmer i umyar, i temyart, i yilewsan, i urgaz, atg.Zik, deg kra n temnaḍin n tmurt n Leqbayel, gar-asen At Zmenzer d Tizi Raced, tterran i teqcicin timecṭaḥ, seg 12 ar 16 n yiseggasen akken ad d-inin taqcict-a tewweḍ i zzwagḥ, s umata ticreḍt-nni tterran-as-tt deg twenza.

5.3. Adawi

Tterran, ama d irgazen ama d tilawin, ticraḍ akken ad dawin kra n waṭṭanen yellan deg tfekka-nsen: ineddicen, tawla, tirtaw (Rivière & Faublée, 1942, sb. 76), ttecqiqa, rrumatiz, akazuz, tigezzal akked lkist, d ayen ara negzu deg :

Ticraḍ n udawi ttmaggant deg wadeg ira umdan ad yekkes leqriḥ, am wakken i d-skanayent tecraḍ deg lemfasel akken ad seḥlunt rrumatiz d waṭṭanen n yiṣsan akked d tecraḍ ilan talya n uqusis, i yellan s waṭas deg tmurt n Leqbayel, i usuji n lkist. (Guenfissi, 2022, sb.150)

Ticraḍ-a n udawi (Lacoste-Dujardin, 2005, isb. 334-335) s umata xeddment-tent deg umkan yuḍnen deg tfekka: deg yimegreḍ ma d akazuz (aḥazuz); deg ufud, taqebbiḍt n ufus akked uḍar ma d rrumatiz ney d aserṣer n lemfasel d yiṣsan. Ayen yessemgarden ticraḍ i tterran yirgazen akked tid i tterrant tlawin d talya-nsen: tid n yirgazen d timecṭaḥ ma d tid n tlawin, zemrent ad ilint d timecṭaḥ am wakken i zemren ad ilint d timeqqranin. Aya yettbeddil ilmend n temnaḍin akked umkan yuḍnen, ma d awesean ney d adeyqan. Ma d iḥeddmer ney d idmaren d azamul ameqqran (abernus), ma d iyil, d

tawenza akked tamart; d azamul d amec̣tuḥ (ssxab, aqusis akked usennan n lḥut).

5.4. Aḥraz

Tettili tecređt dayen d lḥerz seg yir tiṭ i tmeṭṭut ur tessidir dderya. Tin ixedmen ticrađ, tessaman iman-is am wakken tella kra n tezmert dixel-is ad tḥudd seg wayen n diri (Hallouche, 2022, sb. 376). Md: tid i itterran ticrađ deg yiwerzan-nsent akken ad tent-ḥudent seg ssem n yizerman.

5.5. Asderwec ney agezzen

S umata xeddment tcerrađin ssenf-a i uḥraz n telmezyin ur nezwiğ deg lawan n tṭrad s umata, akken ad tent-ḥerzent seg yirgazen, ad qqiment d tilmezyin ur ttwayayent kra, d ayen i d-tebder Ait Berri (2017, sb. 66) deg yiwet n temnađt umi qqaren Ayt Suxman deg Lmerruk. S umata, ttekksent-asant lḥerz-nni mi asent-yas unexḍab, teqreb-d tmeyra. Deg tmurt n Leqbayel; yella wanda ssurufent temyarin tilmezyin ur nezwiğ azetṭa; mačči s tyita n tecrađ, akken ur tteeddayen yirgazen yef lḥerma-nsent.

5.6. Tuzzuft

Kkatent tlawin ssenf-a n tecrađ akken ad d-sseylint argaz-nsent, ur yettwexxir fell-asant, s umata aweccem-a yettili-d deg yidgan uffiren n tfekka, ala lal ney sut tecređt d win ney wid tḥemmel ara t-iwalin yirit-nni (Belhassen, 1976, sb.67). S umata, idgan ideg d-tilint tecrađ-a d: tibbucin, timiṭ akked tayma.

5.7. *Areqqes*

Kkatent tlawin ssenf-a n tecrađ akken ad reqqæent kra n umkan yettwayen deg tfekka, tterrant-tent tid ixuss kra deg-s, ad ffrent ney ad reqqæent ccama-nni s tcređt ara rrent deg umkan-nni. Md: timmi, i tid ur nesæi cceer nnig tiđ-nsent; tuqlibt i tid i d-ilulen s kra n ccama, rant ad tt-ffrent.

5.8. *Tawuri n usiggel (fertilité/fécondité)*

Lbaraka d asfilet i leemara; txeddem-itent tmeđtut yellan d tieiqert akken ad d-tesæu dderya ney tin ur ten- nessidir, ttmettaten mi ara d-lalen, ney ur tteddren ara, qqaren i tmettut-nni tin iyezzazen arraw-is. D ayen i d-tessegza Rivière d Faublée, tenna-d :

Tikwal ticrađ ur lint ara assay srid d wađtan n tin i tent-yerran, maca i kra swayes tumen, yeffey tazmert n umdan, am tmeđtut ara igen ticređt acku ur tessidir ara arraw-is, ttmettaten d imezzyanen, ad ddren kra n wussan ney kra n wayyuren (Rivière & Faublée, 1942, sb.76).

Deg tmetti n Yicawiyen, tarrayt swayes xeddmn ticrađ-a, d wid i tent-ixeddmn mgaradent yef tecrađ menwala, dya yemgarad ula d isem-nsent. Ma yella ticrađ n thuski qqaren-asant *aweccen/lewcam*, akken i t-id-nessegza i usawen, xeddmn-ten s tessegnit, win ney tin yessnen tezmer ad tweccem tin iran ad teg ticrađ; *ađajam* yellan d ddwa, xeddmn-t s lmus yerna kra n twaculin kan i izemren ad yexdem i tmeđtut yellan d tieiqert. Ilmend n Rivière akked Faublée (1942, sb.77), d timrabđin i ilan ccfa deg ufus-nsen, ney d argaz

yewwin timegređt⁶. Amkan n *uħajam* deg tfekka n tmeđtut ara yettwacerden, yemmal-it-id uęersiw i tettaf deg lemnam (ma d tafunast, ad yili deg twenza, ma d ayyul, ad yili deg tgellgit n uđar, s umata unuy i as-xeddmn d iferr n tđmer imi yettaru, d ađidan. Dya ula d aqcic-nni amezwaru ara tessider, yettawi ula d netta ticređt, s umata tterran-as-tt deg umezzuy-is, qqaren-as taęeyyact, ad tđudd mgal lmut, ad as-tili d tudert.

5.9. *Tawuri n ccfawat*

Ssenf-a n tecređt ad t-naf deg sin n wattalen: ama d lmut n win yeęzizen yef lal n tecređt, ad yeqqim deg ccfawat; ama d lęerħ n wul, inebran ur tebyi lal n tecređt ad tesfeđ ass-nni imi ur thewwen argaz-nni ney d tagnit tarzagant ur tebyi ad tettu.

5.10. *Tawuri n lhiba (le charisme et l'authorité)*

S umata nettaf ticrađ-a yur temyarın ilan tislatin akken ad asent-d-ssegzint i teslatin-nni d nutenti ay d aqerru n uxxam, d awalnsent ara yeddun, ad ttucawrent, ad ttuqadrent, ulac ara d-yekken nnig-sent skud mazal ddrent.

5.11. *Asizdeg n tfekka seg yidammen n diri*

S tecrađ-a, ad bedden, ama d irgazen ama d tilawin, idammen ijdiden (Lħięama n tura) ney d asizdeg n yiysan-nsen seg kra n

⁶ Asekkir-a yettwassnen deg leerc n Ulad Eebderrahman deg tmurt n Yicawiyen, yella ula deg Lmerruk anda ttweccimen tameđtut ur nessidir s tessegnit s wayes ixađ lekfen n win yemmuten ur nezwię (d leazeb), d ayen i d-yura J. Herber, *Le tatouage des pieds au Maroc, dans l'Anthropologie*, t. 33, 1923, p. 92.

ddnub; ad fken ayen iezizen fell-asen (idammen) d tabzert akken ad yifsus wallay-is seg kra yexdem (Hallouche, 2022, sb. 378).

6. Adeg n tecrađ

Adeg ideg tetterra tcerrađt irit-nni, deg tfekka n lal n tecređt, yemgarad ilmend n sin n yittewlen, tarakalt akked ugman n tfekka n umdan, aya ilmend n twuri n tecređt.

- Ilmend n temnađt: llant kra n tamiwin yettweccimen tafekka merra, llant tiyađ kra n yidgan kan. Amedya, deg wudem: deg tmurt n Leqbayel ad naf ticrađ deg twenza akked tamart, ma deg tmurt n Yicawiyen; leħnak, anyir, tamart akked yixf n tenzert (Refrafi & Benazouz, 2023, sb. 293).
- Ilmend n twuri n tecređt: mgaraden yidgan n tecređt ilmend n ssebba iyef muggent, tid n thuski d amedya ttilint deg yidgan i ttwalin medden (udem, ađar akked yiyil); tid n tuzzuft deg yidgan yeffren (taɣma, timiđ akked tebbuct), tid n udawi (lemfasel, tawenza, imegređ akked tqebbiđt n ufus d uđar). S umata, nezmer ad naf ticrađ deg tfekka merra (Dahmani, 2023, isb. 110-112), gar yidgan-a, ad naf:
 - Udem (anyir, tamart) ɣur Leqbayel, (leħnak, anyir, tamart) ɣur Yicawiyen; nezmer ad t-naf deg yimezzuyen, timmi, tawwurt n uqerruy.
 - Tamegređt, amegređ, aæenquq, aæenqiq, rreqba;
 - Idmaren (abernus neɣ azrem);
 - Iffan neɣ tibbucin

- Iyallen, taqebbiđt n ufus, ayemmur, tiwwa n ufus, iđuđan;
- Timit, lqaē n tæbbuđt;
- Azagur, tigg^wa, tiwwa;
- Tigezzelt ney lqaē n tiwwa;
- Tadawt, tayma ney timeccacin;
- Tamessađt;
- Tagecirt, aqejjar, aqeccir;
- Taglult, tigellgit
- Takeebubt, takeeburt, taqebbiđt n uđar;
- Iwerz, igerz, agerz;

7. Imecwaren ney tizza n uweccem

Ticrađ ur d-tilint ara deg yiwet n tiremt (ssaēea ney ass), d tirmitt i yettađtafen afus, ma ur d-ffiyent tecrađ akken i tent-tra lal-is, ad asent-tales alma tewweđ lebyi-s, yerna tiyita n tecrađ tetteedday-d yef kra n tizza, seg-sent, ad d-nebder:

a) Ad teqqim tcerrađt d tin ara icertēn yef ugertil ney yef ulemsir, ad tt-id-tqabel ma yella deg ufus ney deg yiyil i tra ad terr ticređt; ad tezzel d tanegnit, ad tesres aqerruy-is yef tgecrar n tcerrađt ma d udem ney d imegređ i tebya ad tewcem.

b) Ad textir lal n tecređt adeg akked ugama n tecređt i tesra, ma d win n udawi, d win n thuski ney d win n lgerh n wul. S umata, irit ney azamul ara terr deg tfekka-s, mačči d nettat ara t-ifernen, d taweccamt ara yezren anwa i ilaqen, d nettat i yegzan azal-nsen. Lal

n tecređt i tt-yecqan d agmuđ (ħellu ma d adawi, tahuski ma d ccbaha, lħerz ma i tit).

c) Aheyyi n wallalen n tecrađ : Allalen i ssemrasent tlawin deg uweccem d imensayen, segmi d-tella termit-a almi tenger, ur d-yelli fell-asen kra n ubeddel, asetrer ur tt-yekki deg-sen (Dahmani, 2023, sb. 116), d wi :

- Asennan n lkermus ney n ubuēeqqar, idmim, asennan n usebbarariw, asyar n uxlenğ ney n tuzzalt,
- tissegnit, lmuss n uħeffef, arazwar,
- imessaken i d-ttawint syur yieētāaren;
- Ayen ilan leqdeē ama d tamencart ama d amger;
- abgas n taduť,
- acettiđ n ubernus ney menwala, adyili kan yettwaxedmen ;
- acettiđ s wayes sefđen i lmeyyet, ma d tukksa n ttabēa i tijjert (Herber, 1923, sb. 92);
- Tameqqunt n taduť iraden, tqerdec ney temced;
- Aslew, ilewyan ney imbuxen ara d-yettwakksen seg uťajin⁷ (ēddan fell-as lejnun ;
- Tirgin i qeblen lejnun izedyen tacerrađt (Dahmani, 2023,sb.117);
- Lmidad n taduť, ayen ara d-yeqqimen mi ara tery, ad t-tger deg waman ad yefsex;

⁷Awal-a ila atas n yimegdawalen : afan, bufraħ, atg.

- Ccæer n tayat, isennanen n llim;
- Lekħul, leħkul, tazult akked nnila ;

Ad ddzent tuccanin akked yiferr ibawen deg tmurt n Leqbayel (Guenfissi, 2022, sb. 148) ney timzin d yibawen ilan ini n urbiei yur Yicawiyen (Benazouz & Fefari, 2023, sb. 292), ad as-rnunt kra n waman, yella wanda ttebbiyent tcerrađin tissegnit-nni deg yizi n uyaziđ ney n yitbir (Taileb, 2021, sb. 514) akken ad d-yeffey yini n tcređt-nni d arbiei mliħ.

d) Ad tessired tcerrađt amkan i tra ad tweccem s waman im-muzejlen ney ad tedhen amkan-nni s waman n yimejj n ukermus, ad t-tħukk mliħ akken ad ddun yidammen. Syin yer-s, ad tæellem ticređt-nni. Ad teflu aglim s usennan (akermus ney idmin) ara tger deg lekħul ney deg yilewgan⁸ i d-tekkes ddaw uťajin. Tasnazamult n yini-nni aberkan d abeæeden tiť, n yir lfal, yettili dima usemres-is deg usfel (tayaziđt taberkant).

e) Ad tenqer tcerrađt aglim, ad tesseflu seg 4 ar 5 tifla syin yur-s ad tcelleħ aglim yellan gar tifla-nni akken ur d-tteddun ara yidammen s waťas, ad ten tesfeđ s tmeqqunt n tađut tazedgant. Idammen-nni ara d-yeffyen d asfel ad yeddu yid-sen waťtan swayes yehlek win yewten ticređt-nni (Genevois, 1964, sb.43). Am wakken i llan yimusnalsen, gar-asen afilandi Edward Wastermarck (1936, sb.17) i d-yeqqaren asfel-a nessufuy yes-s lejnun izedyen amdan, d arraz i

⁸ Awal-a ila aťas n yimegdawalen deg temnađin n tmurt n Leqbayel: iselwan, ilewyan, imboxen, buxsus, bufsus.

lejnun imi hemmlen atas idammen (ulac acu i ten-yifen), ad ten xtiren yef tfekka ideg llan, dya ad d-ffyen seg-s. Am wakken i llan wid yettarran idammen-a, ara d-iwezzeen, yer usizdeg n tfekka n umdan seg kra n ddnub (Hallouche, 2022, sb. 378) ney seg kra n waṭṭan akked ssem (Taileb, 2021, sb. 518)

f) Tacerraḍt ad tedleg lḡerh-nni, uqbel ad yekkiw, ama d tazult ney nnila, ama d ssbay i d-tessuffey seg kra n yimyan ilan ini arbiei. Yemgarad yimy-nni, ilmend n temnaḍin: tuccanin, iferrawen n yibawen, timzin, atg. Ad ten-teddez ass-nni yakan, ad asen-ternu tiqqit n waman akken ad d-brun i lliqa tarbieit. Llant temnaḍin timaziyin ideg rennun yer tazult akked lliqa n yimyan izi n uyaziḍ akken ad tecbeḥ tecreḍt-nni ugar.

g) Tacerraḍt, ad teass lḡerh-nni alma yehla, yezmer ssmana ney ugar. Seg tama, ad terr lwihla-s yer tyara n uglim ma ur isulem, acku tettay deg-s tawla; yettawef tikwal yetteemmir. Seg tama-nniḍen, ad twali ma teffey-d tecreḍt-nni akken i tt-tra lal-is ney ad as-ales tik-kelt-nniḍen.

II. Kra n yizamulen d wayen i d-mmalen

Izamulen-a mačči kan deg tecraḍ n tmetti n Yimaziyen i llan, cerken talsa merra (Haddadou, 2000, sb. 160; Moreau & Dahmani, 2019). Yella kan kra n ubeddel deg kra deg-sen, dya aya yella ula gar yigrawen n tmazya, ad naf azamul tikwal yeččur deg kra n tama, yefsus deg tiyaḍ. Dya tikwal d limara swayes ara tettwaεqel tmettut-nni mačči n læerc ney taddart-nni, tercel-d seg tamiwin-nniḍen.

S umata izamulen i tterrant tlawin ney irgazen yef tfekka-nsen d iriten inezganen (*géométriques*) zdin iyerfan iqburen⁹, zdin rrqem s umata: ama d yen yellan yef tfekka (ticrađ) ama dayen yellan yef talext ney afexxar, ama d ayen yellan deg uzetđa, ama d ayen yellan deg yiselsa ama deg yizraren ney isyunen, d ayen i d-yessegza ula d Camps imi d-yenna :

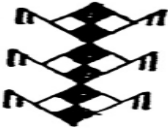
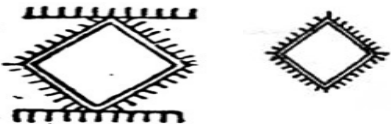

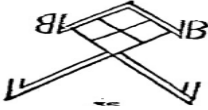
Ayen i wumi sawalen tazuri tamaziyt deg tefriqt ugafa d tnezruft tikwal ala i wayen yellan s talya taqburt i yettwacebbħen, teffey-d s tarrayt n uferdes. S umata, temmug s yizamulen n tinezgit i nessen yer tuget n yidelsanen n wagrakal i yettnernin seg wakud yer wayeđ (Camps, 2011, sb. 276)

Gar yizamulen-a, ad naf, wid i d-yessegza Haddadou (2000, isb. 161-165), ismawen-nsen s teqbaylit, mgaraden seg tama yer tayed, amđan-nsen 27 n yizamulen d wazal-nsen deg tesnazamult: Izimer, azger, tazemmurt, tiyirdemt, izi, ibezzinzer, tissist, tizizwit, amillus, azrem, azrem n wayyur, tařaret n yigenni, agđiđ, tifirellest, azemmur, irden, tasetđa, lħebb/zerrića, afdis, lmelzem, acaqqur, aneccab, tafukt/iđđij, ayyur, timceđt, lbabur, tařaret n ugđit,..

⁹ Le tatouage amazigh en général défini comme une « sorte d'écriture déchiffrable par les initiés » (Brousse, 2012), comportant des formes qui « sont géométriques, généralement rectilignes. Des cercles et demi-cercles sont rares. Les éléments de base sont limités à la ligne droite, le zigzag, la croix, le chevron et le losange » (Searight, 1993).



Tafelwit 1



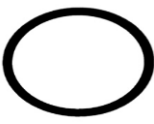
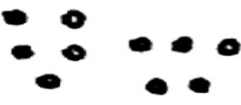



Iriten n yiyersiwən

Azamul	Anamek n uzamul
 <p data-bbox="162 465 283 496">tiyirdemt</p>	<p data-bbox="656 326 1009 395">Azamul-a yemmal-d t̄tar, tawayit akked tmettant.</p>
 <p data-bbox="162 690 265 722">Tayyult</p> <p data-bbox="424 690 612 722">Aqerruy uyyul</p>	<p data-bbox="656 524 1009 593">Azamul-a yemmal-d Rgem, leḥqer, leyben.</p>
 <p data-bbox="162 829 404 861">Tiyennusin n yinisi</p>	<p data-bbox="656 743 1009 812">D azamul n useḥbiber d tebyest.</p>
 <p data-bbox="162 1050 306 1081">Aydi/aqjun</p>	<p data-bbox="656 888 1009 992">Llan wattalen ideg d-yemmal taqriḥt, deg watalen-nniḍen d liser</p>

Tafelwit 2





Iriten imezgiyen (géométriques)

Azamul	Anamek-is
 <p data-bbox="162 1338 322 1369">Astay yeldin</p>	<p data-bbox="656 1255 1009 1324">D tuzzuft n tmettut, yemmal-d a assigel (<i>fécondité</i>)</p>
 <p data-bbox="162 1489 553 1520">Sin n wastayen ldin d ijerriden</p>	<p data-bbox="656 1392 1009 1496">Yesbeyyin-d tuzzuft n urgaz, d azamul n tirugza d ussigel.</p>

Azamul	Anamek-is
 Sin n yisatayen	Sbeyyinen-d argaz d tmeđđut, d azamul n tayri d leqder
 Sin ijerriden Ajerrid	Sbeyyinen-d abellar; d Argaz i yellan d azamul n tafat, d tumert
 Aqisis	Yesbeyyin-d ayyur, d azamul n tmeđđut, n thuski.
 Tineqqidın ney itran	Sbeyyinen-d itran ney tieeqqayin, d azamul n tarrawt.
 Ameyrun	D tayrast n tzizwa i d-yeskanayen tuzzuft n tmeđđut, d azamul n usiggel
 Zeddi n wađas imeyrunen	Yesbeyyin-d leecc n tzizwa, d azamul n tudert d usiggel.
 Sin yisatayen	Sbeyyinen-d timazzayin n tayađ, d azamul n tudert d usiggel



Tafelwit 3

Iriten igmawanen (imyan d yisekla)

Azamul	Anamek-is
<p>Ađerđar</p> 	<p>D azamul n tayri, sexdament-it dayen tlawin i yiheckulen.</p>
<p>Asefşaf</p> 	<p>D azamul n unefray (<i>sensible</i>).</p>
<p>Takermust</p> 	<p>Yesbeyyin-d uzamul-a acengu, isennanen-is qqaren-asen iserdasen iřumiyen, yezmer dayen ad yili d azamul n usiggel</p>
<p>Tazemmurt</p> 	<p>D azamul n tezmert, n tyurad, n trugza, n tarrawt akked liser.</p>


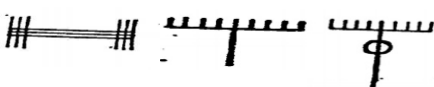

Tafelwit 4

Iriten imtiwganen (iřtiř, ayyur, itran)

Azamul	Anamek-is
<p>Iřtiř</p> 	<p>Azamul-a yesbeyyin-d itran i as d-yezzin i wayyur, d tugna n warraw i as d-yezzin i tyemmat, d azamul n thuski d ussigel</p>
<p>Azgen n wayyur</p> 	<p>Yesbeyyin-d iffan n tmeřřut, d azamul n tudert d ufares.</p>

Tafelwit 5

Iriten n tyawsiwin

Azamul	Anamek-is
 <p data-bbox="164 451 246 477">Akersi</p>	<p data-bbox="652 321 1011 390">D azamul n tayri d leqder, yellan gar urgaz d tmettut</p>
 <p data-bbox="164 607 540 633">Timcedt n ucekkuh ney uzetta</p>	<p data-bbox="652 503 1011 572">D azamul n tezmert, n tdukli d umsawi.</p>
 <p data-bbox="164 841 258 868">Tasarut</p>	<p data-bbox="652 659 1011 729">D azamul n uħraz n wayen n diri, d yir titt.</p>

Izamulen i d-nekkes seg tezrawt n Djabri Celia & Gaoua Badra (2019/2020)

Ɛas aħas n tezrawin i d-yellan taggara-ya yef tecrađ, segmi tejla tirit-nni s timmad-is, ama yef yizamulen i d-wwint (Haddadou, 2000), ama yef usatal ideg d-llant (Dahmani, 2023) ama yef twuriwin-nsent (Taileb, 2021 akked Benazouz & Refraf, 2023), mazal ur d-iban wangal i d-ttawint tecrađ-nni. Ɛas mazal llant temsulya ara d-yemmeslayen yef tecrađ maca qqarent-d ayen byant, yella waħas i ffrent, ad t-awint yid-sent i użekka, ilaq asatal uzzig akken ad tent-id-yessenteq umnadi, ad d-ylint deg wawal. Tizrawin i d-yewwin yef tecrađ almi d assa, seg tama:

- Wwint-d yef kra n twuriwin kan, tin yettwazerwen s waṭas d tin n udawi (Guenfissi, Dahmani akked Benazouz), maca mazal tiyaḍ, yuli-tent uyeḅbar, yecban tid tuzzuft, laḍya tid n ugezzen akked usiggel.
- Mgaradent tezrawin i d-yewwin yef tecraḍ deg tegzi n yiriten ney n yizamulen yellan yef tecraḍ-nni. Ad naf yiwen n uzamul, yal tazrawt amek i t-id tezzegza, MD: azrem, imiyeḅ ney ifiyer. Seg tama, azamul-a, yemmal-d yur (Haddadou, 2000, sb. 162) udem aqbur n ddunit, yaṣ d aḃersi w i yunzan madden; deg tesnazamult n Yimaziyen, yeskan-d asiggel, fetti akked leemara. Seg tama-nniḍen, irit-a, yessegzay-d yur (Brahimi, 2010, sb.19) tazmert, luɛara akked leqsaḥa, d azamul n uwtem am wakken i d-yemmal day lḥerma n uxxam, d aɛessas n wagnes.

Seg tama-nniḍen, timsulya yakan ur lint ara aṭas n ccawat, nutenti yakan yef yinumak n yizamulen-nni, yewt yiḃisi gar usemres-nni n tecraḍ akked tezrawin i d-yellan fell-asent, aṭas n tezrawin i d-yellan yef tecraḍ deg tmetti n Yimaziyen maca asegi n yizamulen n tecraḍ-nni yebna yef tid i d-yellan yef yigduden d tyermiwin-nniḍen (Moreau, 1967, 2015, 2019).

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