To Revisit North Africa, See a splendid movie in Tamazight. It is a story of a woman, a people, their struggle and their culture.
Dear Amazigh Voice:

I am a girl from the Rif region of Northern Morocco. This means that I am an Amazigh (Berber) and therefore I would like to know more about my people, things about the old culture, and ancient history. I also would like to know if there are schools where one can study Amazigh history and literature.

Thank you.
Alima Saidi
Denmark

Azul si Bgayet:

Di tazwara tettunefk-iyi tlemmizt ad akin-snemrey yef tiririt-nwen i yi-d-bernan kra n yissalen yef wamek i tidiren Imazigen di Marikan. Maca ayen i yi-isferhen ugar d tiririt-nni s tmaziyt imi tura s tmaziyt di Marikan yer dagi ar Lezzayer, d ayen i dyeskanayen belli tamyawaad tezmer ad tili s tmaziyt. Ulad nek, bgy ad awen-d-fkey kra n yisallenyef tmaziyt dagi di tmurt.

Zahra Abderahmane

Azul fellawen:

First I want to thank you for the efforts you make to promote and develop the Amazigh civilization, culture and identity. I must also tell that what you do has touched many readers worldwide.

I would like to request copies of previous issues of Amazigh Voice because I always try to translate the articles to share with a lot more people.

Tanemirt
Ahmed Oukhira
Meknes, Morocco

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ERRATUM: Our previous issue Vol. 2 and 3 No. 8 and 9 has been erroneously numbered. It should have been numbered as follows: Vol. 8 No. 2 & 3.
Discovering Tamazgha: Adrar N Baya
A movie in Tamazight (Berber) with English subtitles

THE STORY
In a torn French-occupied Algeria, Baya is the daughter of a local spiritual guide, whose community has lost its land to the local feudal lord. During a confrontation between the community members and the lord's soldiers, Baya's husband is killed by a rival who happens to be the lord's son. Baya is humiliated when the feudal lord offers her gold coins as blood money. As her entire community has its mind set on the gold to pay the war tax and get back its land, Baya must decide whether to help her community or keep the money and see her community members turn against one after another.

Isolated in her own community, Baya's find consolation in rearing her only son. However, the survival of a community in an inhospitable environment forces the members to take control of their life and work for the common goal of the community, despite some frequent setbacks. One of the challenges facing Baya and her community is their physical survival on an infertile land in the mountainous area where they have found refuge. They do succeed in reconstructing their agricultural way of life and celebrating their rich cultural heritage in the mountains they now call home.

The movie "The Mountain of Baya" is unlike any movie from North Africa for two reasons: The first is that it is the first major movie whose main character is a woman. The second is that the woman is an Amazigh woman who splendidly portrays the heroic work of all Amazigh women in their daily struggle for the preservation of the Amazigh language and cultural heritage.

The director, Azzedine Meddour, first thought about the idea of "Baya's Mountain" in 1988. Little did he know that it would take him almost ten years to achieve his dream. As a tragedy, its making was even more tragic. An explosion killed thirteen members of his film crew. Although he does not have any evidence of a criminal act, Azzedine still doubts the accident theory. In addition, a former Algerian minister of culture complained that the movie threatened Algeria's national sovereignty and should be scrapped. These events show that Tamazight does not lack enemies.

Along with these two movies in Tamazight from Algeria, "The Forgotten Hill", and "Machaho", "Baya's Mountain", marks the beginning of an era: The Shining of Tamazight. Just like the beautiful sunset captured in the poetic portrait of Kabylia.

The film was selected at the Mostra of Venice in 1997 and at the Amiens and Bastia film Festivals in the same year.

USA UPDATE
The new movie "Adrar N Baya" by Azzedine Meddour has not only played in European cities and Algeria, but also in the USA. Available through ACAA, who financed its English subtitling, the movie has been shown in Chicago, New York, Washington, DC, and San Francisco.

Next Showing
Washington, D.C.
Georgetown University, in the Intercultural Center Auditorium, Saturday, May 13, 2000
3:00 P.M.

Boston, MA
Museum of Fine Arts (MFA)
Avenue of the Arts
465 Huntington Avenue
(617) 369-3300
June 2&3, 2000

Director: Azzedine Meddour
Cast: Djamila Amzal, Abderrahmane Debiene, Ali Ighil Ali;
Photography: Bachir Selami
Year : 1997
Screenplay: Azzedine Meddour and Jean-Pierre Lledo
Music: Amine Kouider and Djurdjura
Duration: 107 mn.
My journey to understanding the Amazigh cause, much less accepting and supporting it, has been a rocky one. Certainly my background did not offer any encouragement, nor did my upbringing or my education. I write these thoughts in the hope that others might come to the same realization: That the fight for Tamazight is a just cause. The fight, as it relates to Algeria, represents the true spirit of the war of independence against the French.

The issue of language is not alien to me. Ironically, on the road to Tamazgha I came to realize the unfairness in my own family's situation. My mother was born in Galicia, an autonomous province in Northern Spain. Although the local language, Galician, is now officially recognized, it was suppressed during Franco's regime. Even prior to that, the bourgeoisie and the peasants and fishermen had a difference in opinion concerning the relevance of the language. My grandmother, whose family had lived in the same house on the same land in the mountains for centuries, proudly spoke her native tongue. On the other hand, my grandfather and his bourgeoisie family did not. To them, Galician was archaic and represented the language of the illiterate and the peasants. While my mother and siblings understand the maternal language, they are unable to speak it. My generation has fully lost it.

At one time, I was not concerned by the Galician language issue, and I simply accepted that a language has to be "practical," and "illiterate" languages were not practical. Although such a premise is entirely wrong for several reasons, it is what those who wish to maintain the status quo repeat, and what most accept at face value. The fact is that both languages, Galician and Tamazight, are literate. Evidence shows that people wrote Tamazight in rural areas at least as early as 138 BC.

My own graduate studies on North Africa did not emphasize the Amazigh people (usually referred to in the texts as Berbers), and generally brushed them aside as a very small minority, politically speaking. Although Morocco's and Algeria's large Berber-speaking population, described as a "large minority," is acknowledged as a linguistic group, the movement for recognition of their language and culture was not considered seriously. In 1995, Hocine Ait Ahmed was invited to speak at Georgetown University, but it was emphasized that he was a "minority" leader. A few Algerians informed me that while he had been one of the revolutionary leaders, today he only represents a tiny fraction of the population, all from his own area (Kabylia). In addition, all the literature I read on the Socialist Forces Front (FFS) said basically the same. Accepting it, at face value, I did not have the slightest thought about the possibility that the Amazigh movement had growth potential or that the very propaganda against the FFS and other "Berber" movements and political parties was effectively brushing the Amazigh issue under the rug.

All that changed in the summer of 1995 when I traveled to Morocco to study Arabic. It happened that one of my Arabic instructors was a Moroccan Berber. He was the first to make me realize the human rights violations in regard to the Amazigh people. Not only were the Berbers completely ignored when their country is claimed Arab, but the authorities also continue to require its citizens to have an Arab name to obtain a position in a government office. Consequently, the Berbers were being forced to abandon their identity and to adapt to the Arab identity to reinforce the image that Morocco is an Arab country. Despite the government' unfair name policy, I still was not yet ready to accept that the language issue was a viable one. My mind struggled with the issue. I did not know enough, and I still accepted the status quo ideas on the subject. As far as Algeria was concerned, I did not see a problem. The situations were not the same I thought because Algeria had a radio station broadcasting in Tamazight well before the country's independence from France.

The issue of identity, however, was a different matter. Understanding and accepting that the Amazigh did not wish to be identified, as Arab was a simple matter: They are not Arab. The history of the Amazigh in North Africa is an old and well-documented one. It is a known fact, at least to anyone that reads history, that the Moors of Spain were mostly Berbers from North Africa, and not Arabs, as they are often called. However, even in this matter, misunderstandings and exaggerations, based on the area's historical mythology, exists. The first mythology was created by the Arabophones to gain the support of the people in the use of Arabic. The second mythology was created by Muslim religious leaders in order to provide legitimacy for their ascension. These myths make it almost impossible to provide an accurate figure for the ethnic Arab population that entered the region. Much less is the possibility to have an inkling of the current population which may
be descendant of Arabs (the term here being used to mean those from the Arabian peninsula, where the Arabs originated.)

Today, the term "Arab" is used in the field of scholarship and in international circles to mean one whose language is Arabic, or one who comes from a country where the official language is Arabic. It is sometimes also used synonymously with Muslim, as it has in the past. This is quite inaccurate since most Muslims are not Arab, and not all Arabs are Muslims. However, when a North African individual says he/she is Arab, there often does exist the idea that one of his/her ancestor came from the Middle East. Thus, to these individuals, the term is more than linguistic; it is also "racial" (for lack of a better term). The people of Algeria, for instance, are described in all demographic tables as of "Arab-Berber" mixture, which presupposes that Arab is a racial identity. However, historically, nothing concretely proves that "racial" Arabs manned the various "Arab" invasions in any great number. The invasions were rather mostly manned by Muslim and arabized Berbers who received orders from Damascus and Baghdad. However, those in power traditionally write history, and that of North Africa is no exception.

Therefore, accepting the terms preferred by some - Berberophone and Arabophone -, which describes the people, not by racial but linguistic terms, was a simple step to clarifying the situation. But this presented a new set of problems, and failed to clearly explain who Imazighen (plural of Amazigh) are. They include those who were not raised Berberophone but seek their roots, and many referred to as Arabophone in political literature may well be Berberophones who side with the regime, or are more accurately Francophones. Therefore, the terminology can be greatly misleading.

Literature on the Amazigh people does exist in abundance. However, very little objective and documented information appears to be available on the growth of Amazigh awareness in the 20th century. Furthermore, important historical figures in Algerian current history of Amazigh origin (from an Algerian point of view) are either not identified as such, or simply not mentioned in Western literature or at least only mentioned in passing. Whom Algerians consider relevant, is not necessarily whom Westerners have identified as relevant. Scholars who wish to present a balanced picture of history, and who particularly have an interest in truly understanding North Africa and its people, should consider this point. However, emphasis has been given to those men and women (very few women) who the regime acknowledged. Meanwhile, basically ignored are those in particular who died “mysterious” deaths, or whose assassins were not identified, such as Ramdane Abane. Even in the case of Hocine Ait Ahmed, one of the historical fathers of the revolution, the fact that he is a Berber has been used principally to describe the appeal of his party, for the very purpose of marginalizing his FFS opposition party. Ait Ahmed has managed to survive, albeit mainly in exile, despite his opposition of the regime since independence, when he founded the FFS.

State propaganda has continuously linked the Amazigh movement to French influence, claiming that its ideas are imported. Western historical accounts are not different, although their purpose differs. As expected, the French, of course, did influence Algerian history since they occupied the country for 132 years. In addition, many political ideas were truly picked up in France, where some of the Algerian leaders were educated. However, the history books and the government propaganda ignore the fact that the ideology that culminated in a constitution claiming Algeria as Arab and Muslim originated abroad as well. Some of the revolutionaries had spent time in Egypt and other Arab countries. Upon independence, they brought back Egyptian President Nasser’s pan-arabist ideology, as well as influences from the Muslim Brotherhood, all new to Algerians. During colonization, religious debate became a thing of the past due to the lack of training for Islamic scholars and French control of religious affairs. Thus, Muslims in Algeria had to borrow ideas from the East.

Having said that, however, one should note that the Amazigh movement is a product of native Algerians, a direct result of post-independence decisions by the leaders of the state. The argument that ideas of democracy, communism, and any other “ism” are imported is non-constructive. People have, since time immemorial, learned from each other, and adapted what they have learned to fit their own needs. Education abroad meant awakening in people and awareness of their situation and enhancing their knowledge of the choices available to them.

During the revolution, the leadership of the National Liberation Front (FLN) consistently held out for an Algeria that would welcome all Algerians, whatever their ethnicity, language, or religion. The Evian Agreements with France, which brought the war to an end, established this principle. But in 1962, the agreements were ignored, Algeria was established as an Arab and Muslim state, and the Amazigh became a non-entity...
in their own land. Since then, the government and much of the literature on Algeria, have been stressing the words of Ahmad Tawfiq al-Madani, prefaced in his *Kitab al jaza’ir*, published in 1932: “Islam is my religion; Arabic is my language; Algeria is my fatherland.” The slogan became a symbol of the new state and was superimposed as *the raison d’être* of the revolution. Unfortunately, even most scholars present Algeria in these terms.

But scholarship is never enough to understand how people think and what they truly desire. One must talk to the people. But due to betrayals that Imazighen have suffered through the years (not to mention the Algerians in general), to establish trust is difficult. Therefore, one hears more rhetoric and polemics than truly useful information, particularly on the Internet, where many discussions, if one can use such a term, take place on the Amazigh issue. The Internet, a democratizing tool for the education (and misinformation) of millions around the world, can be a very useful tool to pick up the various debates on any subject. However, because it is not a controlled group, it is impossible to draw firm conclusions. Nevertheless, it has helped me at least understand the various issues involved, and it helped me become more aware of what the questions are, and to reexamine statements I had taken at face value.

The Internet has also brought me to the realization that the target of hate language has too often been the Amazigh rather than the terrorists despite the fact that, reportedly, massacres and mutilations have occurred in the hands of the GIA (Armed Islamic Groups) in Algeria, and despite the fact that the Amazigh movement has been a fairly peaceful movement, emphasizing democratic options such as rallies, demonstrations, and the distribution of publications, and school boycott. In addition, the language has been legally denied existence. The arabization policy passed in 1997, ostensibly targeting French, has actually targeted Tamazight. One proof: French is still used in official circles and in official literature. Even President Bouteflika uses the French in official communications, but he adamantly stated that Tamazight would never be official and that it would need a referendum to be recognized as a national language. A referendum to recognize a language that has existed in the area for around 5,000 years!

The hatred against Imazighen that I witnessed among some Algerians, the manipulation of history to obscure and even obliterate, in some cases, the importance of Amazigh participation and leadership in the revolution, the disregard for Amazigh rights that Bouteflika has shown in his callous dealings with the issue of the Tamazight language, worked toward encouraging me to rethink my position of neutrality on such a vital and human issue.

It has been a difficult journey. But it does not end here. There is too much to learn and relearn so that the history of the Amazigh can be taught from the point of view of those who lived it.

Blanca Madani holds an M.A. from Georgetown University. Presently, she is the administrator of Georgetown University’s National Resource Center on the Middle East and North Africa.

Isefra syur Ali Akkache

Hanun Zanun
Am wemic nic ng ikanun
Hanun xanun,
Awal gunman as-brun
Hanun xanun,
Anda qnen iberrun
Ur ttcawad i ye’rsan asebb’i
Beddel tadyant awlidi
Acu tusa yuta ha yiagi
Berka asekfe ‘g Idelli
Agla’ yura deg ass-agi
Yuli was winaat, akwi
Tezrid awal am ustrudi
Sarref-it anid ‘ara yaaddi
Ma yella testufad-d kecchi
Nekk ur-d-stu’fay i tigi
Lhri d tuya lin yer ndukli
T-raf-iyi tseyey ex irk’elli.

D assas g id
Anwi eussey, anwi?
D assas g id,
Wansen-iyi iyerdayan
D assas g id,
Tlam yezzii-d d asari
D assas g id,
Yerna ulac imensi
D assas g id,
Ala nekk d lluci
D assas g id,
Medden tseteri imir-nni
D assas g id,
Tamara teteef-iyi
D assas g id,
Tezzi-d nuba felli.
D assas g id,
Tekka-d mnig lebyi
D assas g id,
Am nekk am nitni
D assas g id,
Alama yuli wass felli
D assas g id,
Ur zri‘ acimi
D assas g id,
Anwi eussey, anwi?
(continued on Page 7)
O! land
Translated by R. Seffal

O! Land where we were born
A land of rain and snow
We are your only family
We have the right to love you
Every day we send you our regards
We call you from wherever we are

By the foot of the fig or olive trees
We know napping is the best
Happy is the heart that sees you
Your valleys match your mountains
Your are a land of light and sun
In peace we will come back to you

Between the ash and elm trees
The sun and the soft breeze
The sick recovers health
They come to you from all places
We will never forget you:
The one that raised us.

O! land where we blossomed
Like you there is no other
You are the land that our ancestors
Plowed the ravines or hills
We will still tell the story
To those who wish to see it.

"It is not me or my songs that the Algerian government has censored, it is my culture, it is my belonging to a Berber society."

Slimane Azem, an Amazigh singer whose songs had not been broadcast in Algeria since the end of 1967 (see Article by M. Mahfoufi on Page 16).

Slimane Azem was born on September 19, 1918 at Agouni Gueghrane, a village at the foot of the Djurdjura Mountains. At 15 years old, he left for France. He died on January 23, 1985.

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1- D izizwiden ay ameddakʾel

Tagi t-tamacahutt n yiwen wergaz (a s-nsemmi Aalī) asmi yekker ad isewweq yer yiwen n ssuq, i baenzen azal n sin w-usan n tikli γef udar. Degʾ webrid iluheq Waali i teddun ula d netta yer ssuq-wni anīγer yegmen Aalī. Ihi kemmlen tikli akken di sin alammi d lewhi n tmeddit.

Yenteq Aalī yer Waali yenna-yas:

“I kečč tura, yella wanida ara tensed id-a?”


Waali: I nekkini?

Aalī: Illa tawil. Tzemrẹd ad teeddu yidi, amaana illa cceγ.

Waali: D acut cceγ-agīγ?

Aalī: Mi newweed yer wexxam n wemed dakʾel agi yin, ayen id-nniγ, kečč ini-d akka i tella.

Waali: Ma d ayagi xas ekkes aybel i wul-ik!


Aalī: Suref-yiy kan ay ameddakʾel, tamamt-a bbʾ acutt?

Bab n wexxam: Amek bbʾ acutt? n tizizwa!

Aalī: Ih, amaana... annect ssawdγent tizizwa yagi nwen?

Bab n wexxam: Xzu ccitαn ay ameddakʾel. Tizizwa-inu annect n tid n medden.

Aalī: Seqsayʾ-k-id axater tizizwa di tama-nneγ meqqʾ er-it, annect izamaren! Neγ ala a Waali?!

Waali: Ndah ay ameddakʾel, semzı-tent cwı̂t Akken ad kent degʾ mi t-tuγγ rast!

2- Awtem yinu, tawemt yinem.

Tagi t-tamacahutt n yiwen twacult, argaz akʾ t-tmettut-is, Qasi akʾ d Tasadit, ur nuriw ara. Yal aseγg as, mi d tewweq Leid Tameqʾ rant, zellun ikerri am niti am medden. Γursen yiwen n wugur isen-ittarran ussan n Leid d imir n ṣrad: awal arzagan, tuzzmiwiγ, ayunzu; tadsa deg umawen-nseγ tufeg. Amama, tayri tugar kra n wugur ma yella. Nudan, ufan-as ixeγ i wugur-nni: Ufan-d amek ara bdẹn ticiγin n weksum akken yiwen ur itllumu wayeγ. Inna Qasi i tmettut-is:

“Iyya a tt-nefru γef tikkelt. Ayen illan isem-is d tawemt, yinem, ma d awtem, yinu.”

Tmeyyez Tasadit kra n dqīq qaara-yas-d:

“D awal igerzen!”

Ass n Leid, bdan di buzelluf. Ikker wergad az yebuγ:

“Tagi t-tamezzyut, yinem, tagi t-taxenfuct, yinem, tit Yinem…”

Qasi it-id-isahen ala idarren!

Azekka-yin mi tekker Tasadit add sebbʾ, inna-yas Qasi:

“Err-anẹγ kra n tasemteγ. yak tezrid ṣemmlẹγ-ṭt.”

Yewwed-ed yimir n bètuγ, tebda Tasadit afraγ:

“Wagi d aberdi, yinek, tagi t-tabugezzalt, yinu, wagi d amegreγ, yinek, tagi t-tayett, yinu, ...
...tagi t-tasemteγ, yin.”

Qasi yeγγer wur�em-is, yeγγαf afuš-is i Tasadit, isuγγ:

“A d iniγ d assem neγ ad yeglu yissem”!
3- Efka lemqud a tayliṭ...


Ass amenzu d buzelluf, ččan ṭwan. Yenteq inebgi-nni yenna-yas i wummeddk el-is:

“A w’iddren alamma yerra-ak lxir-a!”

Ass wis sin, imensi d seksu s weksum. Ičča lwacul d inebgi-nsen. Yenteq inebgi yer Uyidir d twacult-is, yenna-yasen:

“A w’iddren alamma rriy-awen lxir-a!”

Ass-en m’ifuk weksum, iddem unebgi abernis-is, yenna i Uyidir:


Yaadda yimir n ibawen ilqaqen, yewweḍ-ed win n tbexsisin. Yibba’s kan Uyidir yenna i tmeṭṭut-is.

“Ekker kan a yerzef yer wummeddaṭ el-il Akli. Yak tefčić yaaed-ay tikkelt-nni mi-d yerzef yurney i tagrest-nni yaaddan.”

Wden inerzafen yer wexsam n wAkli. Akli yefreh-yissen maći d kra. Yewweḍ-ed yimir n imensi, d seksu akken kan d aherfi. Ihi, yebda-d wAkli deg awal akken ad fehmen inebgawen-is belli ur itu ara lxir-nni is-xedmen, yerna ula d netta yures tafentazit-is. Yenna-yas:

“Ay ameddaṭ el, bber kan ar azekka, a nruḥ yer tnxq’lin. Γ’uri kra n teγliδin, a tent-naf akken kan bb’ant.”

Azekka-yin yewweed wAkli ak” d inebgawen-is yer tnxq’lin. Ihi ufan tiγliδin-nni am akken id yenna wAkli: urwent alammi knant, yerna yeḇba’a.

Uyidir yebda la d yettarew yimi-s aman. Yuli kan γef yiwer n tenq’elt yebda asleyzem di tbexsisin. Igumma ad yerwu!

Imuql wAkli yer taylit-nni ff ayef yuli Uyidir, iwala tquc. Tyad-it! Ihi yebda-d deg’ awal akken ad yefhem Uyidir bellı atas iy yečča, yenna:

“Efka lemqud a tayliṭ, ad-am-yernu ula d afri wen!”

Isla-s-d Uyidir, yerra-as-d:

“I wass-en mi-k-zliγ tayat, teččid-ul a d acciwen!”

Dr. Arezki Boudif is a current editor of Amazigh Voice.

Faces, a Cobblestone publication, has published an educational issue on the Berbers. The issue includes eight articles that focus on Berber culture, history, and people. Despite a few erroneous facts such as the total Amazigh population, it allows a discovery of the Amazigh world. Included is a map of North Africa, indicating areas when Tamazight is spoken.

However, the issue failed to mention the cultural apartheid enforced by the North African states on the Amazigh people: In Morocco, for example, citizens cannot give Berber names to their newborns.

Finally, Faces should know that Imazighen is the plural form of Amazigh.

To order call 1-800-821-0115, cost is $4.95.

Faces: People, Places, and Cultures

Berbers

1 Imazighen: The Free Men
2 Women in Berber Society
3 Matmata: A Town Underground
4 Rural Festivals and Marriages
5 At home with the Berbers
6 The Marathon des Sables
7 Gifts of the Earth
8 Brothers in Arms
The Noun in Tamazight: Isem
by
Hsen Larbi

The following are abbreviations used in this lesson:

INTRODUCTION

Two kinds of nouns are found in the Amazigh language:\(^1\):

• Noun-substantives
• Noun-adjectives

The difference between the two kinds of nouns is that the second may describe the first. Both are affected by gender, number and state (construct versus non-construct states).

PART 1: Gender/ Tawsit

Two genders exist in Tamazight: feminine and masculine.

• Masculine Nouns:

  Masculine nouns all begin with the vowels “a”, “i”, or “u”. These vowels are actually the indication that a noun is a noun-substantive.

Examples:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Nouns starting with “a”</th>
<th>Starting with “i”(^2)</th>
<th>Starting with “u”</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>argaz</td>
<td>ixf</td>
<td>n. head, tip</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>alemmas</td>
<td>ingel</td>
<td>n. pine tree</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>adrar</td>
<td>islì</td>
<td>n. groom</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>azeg g ãγ</td>
<td>irrig (irrij)</td>
<td>n. hot coals</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>asklu</td>
<td>iferr</td>
<td>n. leave</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>aţidan</td>
<td>iri</td>
<td>n. edge</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Exceptions:
The nouns that do not start with the vowels listed above are either parental nouns\(^3\) or may belong to one of the non-exhaustive list shown below:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>fad</th>
<th>(n. thirst)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>seksu</td>
<td>(n. couscous)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>rekkù</td>
<td>(n. rotting)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>medden</td>
<td>(n. people, pl. of amdan(^4) a person)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
While the previous nouns are common to all Amazigh idioms, some others are not. Such nouns can be found in Tacawit, Tacenwit or Tarifit. The following are examples for the masculine from Tacawit:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Noun</th>
<th>Gender</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>dar</td>
<td>(foot)</td>
<td>adar</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fus</td>
<td>(hand)</td>
<td>afus</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>muc</td>
<td>(cat)</td>
<td>amuc</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fud</td>
<td>(knee)</td>
<td>afud</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

As can be seen from the above examples, such nouns should not be viewed as exceptions to the rule. This is rather the result of a tendency of some Amazigh idioms to lose the initial vowel in some nouns. This phenomenon happens also to the feminine noun such that the mark of the feminine, i.e., the initial t is kept while the vowel that should follow is dropped. Examples:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Noun</th>
<th>Gender</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>tlussi</td>
<td>(butter in Tacawit)</td>
<td>talussi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tmart</td>
<td>(beard in Tarifit)</td>
<td>tamart</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In the perspective of a “Pan-Amazigh” notation, the belief is that the initial vowel should be restored. This is supported by the fact that most Amazigh idioms have retained this initial vowel.

Another exception is the nouns that start with a "w". There are not many such nouns, but they are all masculine and are usually nouns of plants or animals. A few examples are:

waḥrir, wajdim (both plants),

waɣzen (ogre).

Other exceptions are nouns of Arabic origin. These nouns may either have kept their Arabic form or been adapted, i.e., given an Amazigh form. In the first case, the Arabic initial consonant would be still present. In nouns starting with: c, d, d, n, r, s, γ, t, t, z, the initial consonant is “l” and it is pronounced. Examples are:

lmut (death),
lbir (a well)

In nouns starting with: c, d, d, n, r, s, γ, t, t, z, the first sound is stressed (the initial “l” is assimilated, i.e. disappears as a result of a contraction). Examples are:

ṭrmel (sand),
ṭṭbel (drums)

In the second case, the same rules shown in this lesson apply regardless of gender. Examples are:

tawerḍett (nf. rose, ar.: werḍ weṛda)
ajjdid (adj. m. new, f: tajjdit)
arfiq (nm. friend, f: tarfiqt)

**Feminine Nouns:**
The feminine noun is used to express the female gender, a diminutive, or a group name (usually in the plant or the animal world). Sometimes, it is used in a pejorative way.

All feminine nouns start with a “t” except for parental nouns (see below). The letter t is thus a feminine indicator. It is followed by the same vowels as the masculine noun. It is spirant in all the Amazigh idioms having the tendency for “spirantism”, such as Taqbaylit, Tacawit, Tarifit, etc. (mostly the languages of the north of Tamazīɣa). Furthermore, among the latter, there are a few in which this t sound becomes an h sound.
When they are singular, feminine nouns end with a t or a tt, in one category, or a vowel, which can be either a or i in another category.

a) t or tt:
The feminine ends with a t in all nouns for which the masculine ends with a consonant. Examples:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Masculine</th>
<th>Feminine</th>
<th>English Translation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>tayett</td>
<td>ticerkett</td>
<td>trap (usu. for hunting), also fig. trick played on someone.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tidett</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tiferrett</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tixercett</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tirgett</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Nouns ending with a consonant may also end with a tt. Examples:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Masculine</th>
<th>Feminine</th>
<th>English Translation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>tajgutt</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tarzutt</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tulmutt</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tazzutt</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Feminine nouns may also have a final t or tt if their corresponding masculine ends with a vowel such as a, i or u.

Ending in i+t:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Masculine</th>
<th>Feminine</th>
<th>English Translation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>tislit</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tamullit</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tagejdit</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Ending in i+tt:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Masculine</th>
<th>Feminine</th>
<th>English Translation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>tizitt</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tisnitt</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tag nitt</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>turtitt</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Ending in u+tt:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Masculine</th>
<th>Feminine</th>
<th>English Translation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>tajgutt</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tarzutt</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tulmutt</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tazzutt</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Some feminine nouns ending with \( t \) are constructed from the corresponding masculine by adding \( w \) or \( y \) before the final \( t \). Note that, here, \( w \) and \( y \) have the status of consonants instead of semi-vowels. Examples:

- tameksawt n. shepherd m. ameksa
- tinebgiwt n. guest m. inebgi
- taɣenɣawt n. spoon m. aɣwenغا (ladle)
- tagawawt n. person from Igawawen m. agawa
- taɣerdayt n. mouse m. ɣerda
- taqerruyt n. head m. aqerru

b) a or i:

Examples with “a”:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>targa</th>
<th>irrigation channel</th>
<th>Examples with “i”:</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>tamda</td>
<td>pond, small lake</td>
<td>tili shadow</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tafrara</td>
<td>dawn</td>
<td>tizgi forest</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tagara</td>
<td>end, ending</td>
<td>tiɣri call</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>taɣma</td>
<td>thigh</td>
<td>tiɣzi voluntary community work</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tansa</td>
<td>address</td>
<td>tiziri moonlight</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Rule: There are no feminine nouns ending with \( u \).

Examples of feminine nouns ending with \( t \):

- tæebbuɣ n. stomach m. æebbuɣ
- tacibuɣ n. blister m. acibuɣ
- tamag ɣat adj. coward m. amag ɣad
- tasemmaɣ adj., cold m. asemmaɣ
- tafwaɣ n. internal organs m. afwad
- taɣalaɣ n. stone bench m. ɣalad

All of these nouns are actually, nouns ending with a consonant before the final \( t \) (d or \( d \) in this case). They are constructed as follows:

- tæebbuɣ = t + æebbuɣ + t
- tacibuɣ = t + acibuɣ + t
- tamag ɣat = t + amag ɣad + t
- tasemmaɣ = t + asemmaɣ + t
- tafwaɣ = t + afwad + t
- taɣalaɣ = t + ɣalad + t

In a sense the use of a \( ɣ \) makes the notation a phonetic one. The trend, however has lately become clear as far as this notation is concerned. Most writers, today, chose to use the grammatical notation (above) instead of the phonetic one. The contraction of \( d \) and \( t \), or of \( d \) and \( t \) into \( t \) is called assimilation. There are many other types of assimilation in Tamazight. These will be covered in another lesson.

Exercise No. 1:

Find feminine nouns-substantives in each of the required categories:
- 3 nouns ending with \( a \)
- 3 nouns ending in \( tt \)
- 2 nouns ending with \( u \)tt
- 2 nouns ending with \( i \)tt
**Exercise No. 2:**

Find the corresponding feminine nouns to the following masculine nouns:
aggur, abla, ungif, iccew, azrem, ilili, anezmi, ajenwi, amenzu, agrud, gma, ameksa, anagi, acullid.
If any of the nouns does not have a feminine equivalent, state so.

**Exercise No. 3: Reading:**

Text taken from the novel: *Id d Was* (Night and Day) by Amar Mezdad (page 47).
Read the text. Underline the masculine and feminine nouns. Find the nouns of French or Arabic origin.

Extra credit: classify the feminine nouns according to the categories described in this lesson.


**References:**

*(To be continued)*

Dr. Hsen larbi, the former ACAA President, contributes regularly to AV.

Footnotes:
1 This lesson is mainly based on Tamaziyt spoken by Igawawen, i.e., Taqbaylit (North of Algeria), but can be extended, with a few minor changes in vocabulary, mainly, to most Amazigh languages.
2 Some nouns may start with “i” in Taqbaylit, but may be found with the original vowel in other languages and vice-versa. We believe that, in a modern notation, the original vowel should be restored. Examples based on Taqbaylit - Tacawit:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Tamazig</th>
<th>Arabic</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>iyil</td>
<td>aïyl</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ilili</td>
<td>alili</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ilef</td>
<td>aylef</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

3 Parental nouns will be covered in the next lesson.

4 Note the existence of the regular plural form imdanen.

5 The reader should not be surprised to see Arabic names in the lessons presented. They point to a sociological reality and the dynamics of languages in general. Often, the Amazigh name exists but is supplanted by the Arabic one. It is the case here, and the Amazigh equivalents of these two nouns are respectively: *Tamettant* and *Anu.*

6 To express the idea of a smaller size, i.e. for something that is normally not that small, a feminine name is used. Such names are sometimes made up when they do not exist.

Example:

Amdun, nm. paddle --> tamdunt (or tamduct)  

*nf.* means a small puddle.

Conversely, a larger size is usually expressed with a masculine noun.
Example:

tayengawt nf. spoon --> aynagaw, a ladle,
i.e., essentially a larger spoon.

7 Sometimes a feminine noun is used where a masculine one is in order. It is used to express the idea of diminished value or quality.

8 Tamazya is the land where Imaziyen live. It extends from Western Egypt to the Canary Islands in the North and stretches southward up to Niger and Mali, including parts of Burkina Faso and Sudan.

9 This is a characteristic of Tacenwit, Tacawit and Tarifit. Tacenwit [phon. Thashenwith] is the Amazigh language spoken by Icenwiyen [phon. Ishenwiyen]. The latter live in Northern Algeria, in the Chenoua mountain region located west of the capital Algiers. Tacawit [phon. Thashawith] is the Amazigh language spoken by Icawiyen [phon. Ishawiyen], who live in North-eastern Algeria, covering a large region that includes the Aurès mountains. Finally Tarifit is spoken by Iriiffany who live in the Rif mountains of Morocco. The Amazigh idiom spoken by Iznasen and Isnusen of North-eastern Morocco have the same characteristic since they are almost identical to Tarifit. This phenomenon is actually a localized one even within these areas. It seems to result from a rather strong tendency to "spirantism" (spirantization). This makes the h sound a very soft one and sometimes goes as far as to the complete loss of the initial t [case of Tacenwit and Tarifit]. However, the original t sound is retained whenever confusion with the masculine may arise.

Some examples:

asirt nf. grinder, mill --> hasirt
tazart nf. dried figs --> hazart
tament nf. honey --> hamemt, amemt
tripart nf. hole --> iyarart

10 e is not considered a vowel in Tamazight (ilem), therefore it is the sound before e that is referred to as the last consonant before the final t.

ACAA's celebration of the 20th Anniversary of Tafsut n’ Imaziyen “Amazigh Spring” in New York

Saturday, May 13, 2000, 7:00 PM - 2:00 AM at the Auditorium of A. Fantis Parochial School of Sts Constantine & Helen Cathedral at 195 State Street, Brooklyn Heights, Brooklyn, New York City, Metro: M, N, R, 2, 3, 4, 5; Station: Borough Hall/Court Street

Live Amazigh Music with Mohamed Toufali with songs from the Rif and the DC-based Amazigh Group GIBRALTAR, Kamel & Hassen Zennia. Amazigh art & books will be exhibited.

(Continued on Page 15)

(Continued from Page 20)

chanson kabyle contemporaine. Thèse de 3ème cycle. Université de Paris VII «Jussieu»/
Laboratoire de psychologie sociale-CNRS.


Yacine Tassadit, 1990: Aït Menguellat chante... Bouchene/ Awal. Alger. (Poésie).


(Continued from Page 24)

One such example is that of the origin of the Berbers, according to Ibn Khaldoun. He links the Berber people to one single ancestor, Berr, who had two sons, Bernes and Medghis. “This need and desire to be linked to a common ancestor is symbolic”, Farah says. “With this value-symbol, the unity of a tribe around its chief is effected, with the tribe adopting the chief’s name as its own”.

From the Exile Soliloquy to the New Wave Art
by
Mehenna Mahfoffi
Translated to English for Amazigh Voice by Khaled H. Bounar

Retrospective of the Kabyl Song in Immigration

When the blue collar Kabyl community first settled in the industrial French centers, Kabyl music was sung by Kabyls who became musicians in exile. The Kabyl music was, at the time, confined mainly to their neighborhoods, the hotels-cafés run by other Kabyls, or at the work place.

The veteran singers, whose presence in France was evident from biographical entries or musical recordings, were Sheikh El-Hasnaoui, Zerrouki Allaoua, Farid Ali, Slimane Azem, Moh Saïd Ou Belaid, and Sheikh Arab Bouyezgarane, among others. Sheikh El Hasnaoui came to France in 1932. Slimane Azem came in 1937 but did not start to sing as an amateur until seven or eight years later. In fact, most of the Kabyl immigrant musicians started as manual laborers. The only known exception was Sheikh El Hasnaoui, who was already a professional singer in Algeria. The other Kabyl immigrants started musical careers as amateurs, with the hope of becoming professionals.

Many became talented musicians. Slimane Azem, a longtime manual laborer at the steel factory of Longwy and in the Parisian subways, won the Disque d’or (Golden Disc) award in 1970 for most of his songs recorded by the Pathé Marconi label. Noura won the same award that year.

The semiprofessional singers made weekly tours of the compatriot cafés and played in groups among crowds of workers on Friday and Saturday evenings, and on Sunday afternoons until 10 PM. Until the end of the sixties and during Ramadan, the month of fasting, many more musical events were held in the evenings from Wednesday through Sunday.

Kabyls owned most of the Maghrebin cafés. The famous El-Djazaiâr (pronounced Al-Jazeer) cabaret, on Huchette Street in Paris in the forties, was transformed to a Middle Eastern cabaret by Mohand Seghir, a Kabyl taxi driver. In fact, from this period on, the musicians played at different cabarets of the French capital, with Arabophones (Arabic-speaking) singers of various nationalities. Family immigration started at the end of the fifties. A few years later, it allowed the Kabyl singers to perform at family ceremonies.

Many Kabyl musicians were accompanied by Arab musicians as backups playing instruments that the Kabyls could not play yet, such as the cither (qa’noon in Arabic), the lute (oo’d in Arabic), the flute (nay in Arabic), and at times, the violin and the banjo.

The Kabyl song of Paris has been an undeniable part of the so-called Arabic music of France since the turn of the century because of the pool of musical talent and the loyalty of the intended audience. The Kabyl community has always represented more than half the Algerian immigration in France. For a long time, the Kabyl artist has held a prevalent position in artistic circles: concerts, radio productions, recording studios, etc... In its recording and distribution catalog of Arabic music, Pathé Marconi had the songs of Cherif Kheddam and Slimane Azem, with Mohamed Abdelwahab and Farid El Atrache, two well-known Egyptian musicians. In speaking of Algerian Arabophone singers, a Kabyl singer who sings in both Kabyl and Algerian Arabic said this: "It is among us that they earn their living", (in Kabyl "Yid ney I tetten ayrum"). He meant that without the Kabyl audience, the Algerian Arabophone musician in France would not have been able to perform as often. A case in point is Dahmane El Harrachi, a well-known folk singer (shaabi in Arabic) of Algiers, who pursued his Parisian musical career almost exclusively for a Kabyl audience.

The frequent collaborations of the Kabyl musicians with the Arabophone musicians are often found in the musical composition and the recordings of the fifties and sixties. Amraoui Missoum, an Algerian Arabophone, played quite a bit with Kabyl singers such as Allaoua Zerrouki, Oultache Arezki, Mohamed Said, Slimane Azem, Khedjida. Mohamed Jamoussi, one the greatest Tunisian composers to immigrate to France, had for a long time been seen in Kabyl musical circles, and had conducted many orchestras that accompanied Kabyl singers. He also instated the modal Arabic music of certain singers, among them Amouche Mohand and Cherif Kheddam. This consisted of the playing of the lute, and the theoretical rudiments of the modes (nagh'maat in Arabic) and the rhythms (mawa’zin in Arabic).

Recording studios such as "La
Voix du Globe" or "L'Oasis" and afterwards, the "Club du disque arabe" had monopolized the Berber music recordings. Up until the end of the seventies, these recording studios brought many Kabyl singers to fame. Mohamed El Kamel (alias Mohammed El Hamel), Algerian Arabophone actor and singer (student of Rachid Ksentini) led a musical theater group. Starting in the late forties, he hired Kabyl artists like Slimane Azem and Farid Ali. The latter performed with Mohamed El Kamel in the play produced by J. Yala (alias Mohand Said Yala) in 1949 at the Pleyel house. This enabled the Algerian artist's theater group to attract, during his tours of the Maghrebin working neighborhoods, both the Arabophone and Berberophone (Berber-speaking) Maghrebins. On the other hand, some Kabyl singers such as Akli Yahyaten, Saadaoui Salah, Mustapha Halo El Anka and others started singing in Algerian Arabic. Further, the success of the Kabyl artist in the working community encouraged and justified the increased programming of activities in the Kabyl department of Radio-Paris. This department, run by a group of journalists and Kabyl radio hosts, produced a variety of shows (news, theater, poetry and music). The sheer volume and wealth of this department's productions led to the creation of a section dedicated to Kabyl recordings at the Arab discothèque/sonothèque of ELAB. The Radio-Paris Kabyl department helped organize shows to communicate the political propaganda directed at Algerians of Kabylia during the Algerian war. A studio in the city of Reims specialized in the recording of theatrical plays and songs.

Through its unrelenting presence and loyalty, the Kabyl immigrant population always supported the Algerian artists. Since the beginning of the immigration until the present, wherever Kabyl musical performances occur, the show organizers are assured a full house. Even today, the Olympia, the Zénith, the "Palais des Congrès, the Théâtre de la ville, and other big Parisian concert halls are always sold out for any of the scheduled performances. It is true, however, that several singers still perform only in the cafés-restaurants of the compatriots where workers and single men gather on the weekends, for the ticket prices at concert halls are too expensive for the workers.

**Recording of the Kabyl Song**

The first known recordings of Kabyl music recorded in Europe, in particular in France, go back to 1910. But F.S. Daniel, in his general study of Arabic music, showed at a conference at the library of the Conservatory de Paris that one aspect of the Kabyl music in France goes back to 1865.

Most of the professional recording of Kabyl music since the turn of the century has been well positioned in the catalogs of the European recording studios of Arab and Kabyl music. Gramophone, Voix de son maître, Odéon, Pathé, Pacific, Teppaz, Phillips, and others recorded hundreds of songs by dozens of Kabyl singers. Today, the recording of Kabyl music in France today is mainly in the hands of Kabyl recording studios. However, the amateur work of these studios prevents them from evolving beyond the Kabyl circles, despite a genuine demand for Kabyl music in other quarters. As a result, many singers with growing success do not work with the Kabyl recording label and deal solely with "foreign" studios, which have a good reputation in the recording and international distribution industry.

**Historical References**

The history of Kabyl music that came out of the immigration can be divided into three major periods. The first starts at the beginning of the Kabyl immigration and goes to the late forties. The second period corresponds to “l'époque de la découverte” (the discovery period), by the Kabyls and the artists of the Middle Eastern music, of Egypto-Lebanese films, and of orchestras in the Middle Eastern cabarets of Paris. The third period is the arrival from Algeria of singers with a renewal of Kabyl music rooted in the home country. These singers include Aït Menguellat, Idir, Meksa, Nouredine Chenoud, and Fherat (Imazighen Imoula band), later followed by Matoub Lounes, Malika Domrane, Menmad and others. The songs of the seventies broke tradition with those of the previous generation that some young artists considered being definitely sclerose.

**The First Generation of Kabyl Singers in France**

The first generation of Kabyl singers in France goes back to the beginning of the Algerian immigration. A detailed study of any available data is necessary to identify the early immigrant Kabyl singers and performance whereabouts, and to better understand their compositions.

The most well-known veteran singer is Sheikh Amar El Hasnaoui, who arrived in Paris in 1932. However, the turn of the century witnessed the production of Kabyl albums in Europe by singers such as Yamina and Houria, Si Moh and Si Saïd (1910), Si Saïd Benahmed (1911), Saïd Ou Mohand (1924), Sâid Elghoundillot (1927), Fettouma Blidia (1927), Amar Chaqal (1929), and Yasmina
(1932). Among these artists, only Amar Chaql is "commonly" known and frequently mentioned by the earlier Kabyl immigrants.

The Second Generation

The second generation of singers is the one that endeavored to modernize the music: rupture with the type of orchestra dominated by the percussion musicians: two-sided drums (tibel in Arabic) and flute (ghaita in Arabic).

The first true elements of the artistic pantheon of musicians known to the immigrant community are, among the men, Slimane Azem, Sheikh El Hasnaoui, Zerrouki Allaoua, Farid Ali, Moh Said Ou Belaid, Arab Ouzzellag, and Arab Bouyezgarene; and among the women, Hanifa and Khadidja.

At the same time, the list of musicians who appeared in Paris includes Mustapha Halo El Anka, Hsissa, Amouche Mohand, Cherif Kheddam, Kamal Hamadi, Karim Tahar, Oultache Arezki, Youcef Abjaoui, Akli Yahyaten, Saadaoui Salah, Noura, and Farida. These musicians brought a novel character to the immigrant song of the fifties and sixties, making it distinct from what it was before then. For example, there was no more percussion accompaniment to songs by Sheikh Boulaaba, Lla Zina n Aït Wertilane and some songs of Sheikh Nourredine in the forties. The then so-called modern orchestra was composed of musical instruments such as cithare, lute, flute, violin, cello (contrebasse), clarinet, banjo, accordion, derbouka (drum), and tambourine. These musical instruments were definitely adopted in the Kabyl song. In reality, this type of orchestra corresponds to the one portrayed in the Egypto-Libanese films, then on the Cairo radio.

One of the best-known modern musicians in the orchestration of that era (1956 through 1962) is Cherif Kheddam. His musical work comes as what we call the first revolution of the Kabyl song: melody writings as far as their collection at the SACEM by a Kabyl singer, and harmonization of some of these songs, which were homomorphic. While working at the factory, Cherif Kheddam learned about the fundamentals of musical notation, which enabled him to write his melodies quickly and to reach the level of French and Jewish scribes. The latter had normally been asked to render their services to Arab and Kabyl artists who do not write their own music. Cherif Kheddam, a Kabyl composer who was attracted by the Egyptian orchestra became close to Arabophone artists in Paris. One of them, Mohamed Jamoussi, introduced Kheddam to modes and modal improvisation in Arabic "savant" music. Since the fifties, Kheddam had recorded many harmonized melodies with the symphony orchestra of Radio-Paris, run by J. Buguard. Writing the music gave Cherif Kheddam new possibilities to anticipate the form of the melodic phrase of his songs, and to reduce or even exclude improvisations that were previously kept against his will. The end of the phrase and the instrumental refrains were fixed in song writing.

On the other hand, the rest of the Berber songs of the same era continued to depend on the spontaneous inspiration of the accompaniment. Other polyphonic orchestrations were attempted in the forties. Further studies will probably reveal one day that the recording of harmonies of Sheikh El Hasnaoui going back to the German occupation of Paris when he was accompanied by the symphony Orchestra of Muscat. The indirect influence by Mohamed Iguerbouchen on the melodic-rhythmic style that some Algerian artists in particular Sheikh El Hasnaoui, felt by the adoption of the style proper to the forties and fifties. In addition, Iguerbouchen inspired the use of the Afro-Cuban rhythms (clave). These rhythms are found in his compositions and discernible in some of his Kabyl songs and other rhythmic Shaa’bi songs of El Anka. Mohamed Iguerbouchen was an esteemed friend of the Barreto brothers.

Increasingly, the orchestra was enriched with new instruments brought in by Maghrebin musicians (Muslims and Jews) living in France. The orchestra for Kabyl and Arab songs of Paris was mostly conducted by Amraoui Missooun, Mohamed Jamoussi, Kakino de Paz and Zaki Khreief. The radio recordings were almost exclusively by these conductors. During the fifties, Radio-Paris broadcast a show reserved for the amateur Algerian singers. The latter performed Kabyl and Arabic songs accompanied by one or two other musicians. Farid Ali was in charge of recruiting friends to appear on the radio; one of them was Oukil Amar. It was the era where, in the Arabic music of Paris, the Egyptian song was highly regarded. The Arabic movies were shown in specialized halls, and were a success among the people and part of the artist community, among whom were Amouche Mohand, Cherif Kheddam, Brahim Bellali, and Kamal Hamadi, all big lovers of the Middle Eastern music and admirers of the Egyptian singers.

The Third Generation

Towards 1973 came a radical rupture of the Kabyl song from the previous generation. This rupture was inspired and promoted by young singers like Aït Menguellat, the productive duo of Idir (music and song) and Ben
Mohamed (poetic lyrics), and Ferhat in his own way. Together, they changed the way songs were produced and performed.

Aït Menguellat had left the country to record assiduously in France where his songs reveal a poet determined through his songs to expose the social problems of his people. Then Idir moved to Paris around 1976/77. In 1978, it was Ferhat's turn to sing and record in Paris. His first album, "Le Travail de Réveil des Consciences (The Awakening of Conscience)", was done under the auspices of the Berber association in France.

The Berber Academy in Paris, created in the sixties, had a goal of teaching the Algerian nationalists and internationalists that the Berber culture is an integral part of the Algerian culture. Slimane Azem, whose songs had not been broadcast in Algeria since the end of 1967, told me on his deathbed in December: "It is not me or my songs that the Algerian government has censored, it is my culture, it is my belonging to a Berber society." This artist participated in all concerts organized by the Berber Academy in Paris in the sixties and seventies. Ironically, at the same time, the Amicale des Algerians (Algerian Association) in Europe, the antechamber of the Algerian authority of that era, invited him to perform in community galas.

To overcome the stifling of the Kabyl song by the older generation, and the technical difficulties of recording in Algeria (such as the lack of high quality private recording studios), young Kabyl singers had to invent new musical styles and other means of production. This was an alternative to the non-existence of individual freedom and creativity imposed by the state radio orchestra: one unique orchestra for all variety of songs (chanson de variété). From this emerged bands like Ferhat's Imazighen Imoula band, the Abranis band, the informal band of Idir, the Igoudar band, and the Yougourthen band whose musical instruments and style were not part of the radio orchestra.

The arrangement of the musical instruments, such as derbouka, qanun, Middle Eastern ud, nay and the violin were rejected. In fact, for many years, when Idir, the Abranis, Ferhat, and even Aït Menguellat (with the exception of occasional songs) were accompanied solely by one fretted string instrument (such as a mandol) and a derbouka. They rejected being accompanied by the Algerian radio orchestra, even it were "modern" like the one under the leadership baton of Cherif Kheddam. This marked the new song that overcame the control of the Algerian state radio orchestra.

However, the rejection of the Middle Eastern accompaniment, conceived by new singers, lead Idir and those inspired by his style of orchestration and of composition, to an inevitable Westernization of Kabyl song. This Westernization, characterized by the utilization of "exogenous" instruments and a new type of polyphonic accompaniment, was, at the beginning, neither intended nor expected to be a lucrative project. The Western imprint, a stamp of the new Kabyl song, resided then in its instrumentation (drum, piano, guitar, electric organ and synthesizer), in its polyphonic orchestration (harmony not well mastered at first) and, especially, in rhythms that underlie the melody. In fact, the songs of Idir, which at first had relative success among the general Kabyl public, were made of rhythms that were not appropriate for the village dance. What led to a successful new song in the Kabyl villages, even if it came from Paris, was primarily its rhythmic character. The villagers either danced or didn't dance to it. The success of songs with new themes, made of foreign rhythms, came after a long and continuous improvement of the quality of the music. This was intelligently undertaken mainly by Idir and a few others in France and other countries abroad for about twenty years. Indeed, whenever the Kabyl listeners find that the song is suffocating again, a new innovative talent brings in new styles, which reassure the music fan and enrich this form of expression that is issued from a strong creative oral tradition and transmission. To this effect, Takfarinas, among others, blessed with an exceptional voice and musical talent, is the principal contemporary Algerian artist who develops, with his "arranging" artist, a new musical language, even when it appears at times audacious or full of twists and turns. This innovation is also found in songs of Zerrouki Alloua, Karim Tahar, Cherif Kheddam, and Youcef Abdjaoui in their peak or at the start of Idir's career.

From the women's side, Malika Domrane is the Kabyl contemporary singer whose style of interpretation is the most audacious. While she is inspired by the feminine tradition which fits her perfectly, Domrane, (tragedienne d’envergure), has such mastery of the harmonic underscoring of her melodies that she manages to safeguard the original stamp of the Kabyl village music that she savors while mingling with the village women during her stays in Kabylia.

Nowadays, the songs of Ferhat, Idir, Rabah Asma, Karima, Takfarinas, Malika Domrane and others that were produced while in emigration, are part of the private music collection of the Algerian Arabophones, and even of the Europeans. Some Kabyl songs were translated to Arabic by
These questions were tackled in a songs in the last twenty-five years. at the heart of several hundreds of tory in Algeria. Such themes were democracy, the recognition of militant. These themes included Algeria, tackled new themes just of the seventies in the independent suite of singers who were engaged authority in Algeria. After this, a composed against the colonial. Many militant songs were also twined. culture and politics being, in fact, in politics as well as in culture - free expression for the Algerians, has always served as a form of immigration, the loneliness of single men, the xenophobia, alcohol, etc....., were themes sung in hundreds of songs. Immigration has always served as a form of free expression for the Algerians, in politics as well as in culture - culture and politics being, in fact, at times inseparable and intertwined.

Many militant songs were also composed against the colonial authority in Algeria. After this, a suite of singers who were engaged in the war, the coming generation of the seventies in the independent Algeria, tackled new themes just as militant. These themes included democracy, the recognition of Berber existence, and the objective consideration of Berber history in Algeria. Such themes were at the heart of several hundreds of songs in the last twenty-five years. These questions were tackled in a straightforward, backhanded, or subtler manner; some singers were more militant than others in their poetic expression.

**Attempt at the Legitimization of Patrimony in Immigration**

The Kabyl artists of France are often inspired by traditional or pseudo-traditional airs belonging to Kabyl singers who are very familiar to many of us Haifa, Cherifa, Azem and others. Some contemporary singers think that they are under no copyright obligation when they record original songs. To legitimatize the traditional vernacular culture is one thing, but to mislead people as to the origin of some work and deny an author his copyright is another thing. Future artists must uphold the highest respect for ethics and reveal, at any cost, the origins of a poetic and musical inspiration. Homage to bygone artists by contemporary singers, who happen to be unethical and opportunistic, does not honor these authors.

Kabyl emigration music is composed of thousands of songs created in conditions that are very interesting to learn about. The legal storage at the Phonotheque nationale of Paris, the stock of magnetic band and discs of the INA and private collections not yet compiled, would help in reconstituting the complete history of Kabyl song from the turn of the century until the present. May this first summary serve as the beginning of such a project. The principal authors of this history, authors, composers, interpreters and editors, are aging and leaving us, taking with them irreplaceable memories. Amraoui Missoum, Slimane Azem, Zerrouki Allaoua, Hanifa, Farid Ali, Cheek Arab Bouyezgarene, Abchiche Belaïd, Mustapha Halo El Anka, Mohamed Iguerbouchen, and many others have already left us. There should be no more delay to compile witness accounts from the people who knew these artists. These artists have done marvelously but did not write about themselves or their era. Cheikh El Hasnaoui, Khedidja and a few others are still alive ...

**Mehenna Mahfoufi holds a doctorate in ethnomusicology and has written extensively on Kabyl immigrant music.**

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Amazigh Melodies and Songs with International Instruments:
Abdelli's Bold Innovation
Interviewed for Amazigh Voice by Khaled Bounar.
Translated into English By Khoudir Medjani

Interview with Abdelli, April 1, 2000, 6 P.M., Brussells, Belgium, 11 A.M. in Boston, Massachusetts. By Khaled H. Bounar.

Amazigh Voice (AV): We would like to introduce you to the North-American public in general and our Amazigh or North-African community in particular. So, tell us who is Abdelli?

Abdelli: I am first and foremost an Algerian from Kabylia. I sing in Kabyl and I live here in Belgium. I arrived in 1986 in Brussels, where I still live… It's been almost 15 years. I produced an audio-cassette in Algeria in 1986 and another one here in Brussels entitled 'Abdelli in Brussels'. After that, I started a long project on the New Moon album, which lasted three years. It actually took five years of recording from beginning to its release. It took an additional three years of research, studio, reflection, etc.

AV: From what I gather your band has members of different nationalities.

Abdelli: When I arrived here, there were many Chilean refugees fleeing the Pinochet regime. It was very hard for them. In the neighborhood where I lived, there were many Chileans, so we became acquainted. We met in the streets and we introduced our music to each other. We started giving small performances together, without ever thinking about making an album. That happened quite by chance, I invited them to listen to some of the cuts I was recording and while they were listening to my music, they felt the urge to do similar things with their music. For instance, the Goubahi from Kabyla sounds very much like the Joropo music of Venezuela. They also found resemblance between the Kabyl Berpuali and the Cuban Rumba. So they felt that we could possibly work together. And this is how I invited them…it was destiny that invited them to be part of the New Moon album. We continued to work together even after the album was released, for we had become good friends. It is hard to give up good friends with such style and quality.

AV: Given the fact that you have Latin musicians in your band, would you say that this influences or precisely reinforces Amazigh music?

Abdelli: Of course! The fact such peoples are brought together is a step forward for the Berber culture. We must not stop at exposing our Berber culture to others, we must also open up to other cultures. I think that is very important, but often when we open up to other cultures, we select the French, English, or the North Americans. This comes naturally because the Western cultures are already well-known, and their music is already in the market. In the mid eighties, to open up to peoples that were forgotten was very difficult. At that time, there was no World Music that included music of Cuban style, etc. That made things very difficult… The Chilean musicians didn't join my band to play Kabyl music; they really played their own music. I sang in Kabyl, I composed in Kabyl, in Tamazight, but I did not do it with these musicians in mind. They listened to what I have done, and they did what touches their hearts. You see… these are not just influences, it is really something that comes deep from the heart. It comes from the gut.

AV: What sort of reactions do you get on your music style
from your fans and the listening public in general?

Abdelli: Judging from the public's reaction to our performances in Austria, Portugal, Spain, and other places in Europe, our music is well received, appreciated, and also respected. This is not a survey, it is not my style. It is really for sharing these precious moments with the public that you go on stage. These positive public reactions are what drive us to keep working and performing.

**AV:** You seem to like live performances. Do you prefer that over working in a studio?

Abdelli: Being on stage has a certain magic to it. I enjoy being on stage because it is the moment when you feel liked, and it is a very comforting feeling. It is harder to improvise on stage, you have butterflies in your stomach, and you always have some fear... I believe this feeling is shared by all performing artists, and that comes with the territory. Also, we can only judge an artist on stage. A lot can be done to enhance recording an album in the studio by using sophisticated hardware, talented technicians, and other means. Being on stage with his musicians is what is precious; it is when the real music comes out.

**AV:** Is there a recurring theme in your music?

Abdelli: There is a touch of melancholy in my music, but that does not mean I am a sad person. It is what nature gave me. As for the themes, they reflect everyday life, including social ills and exile. But first and foremost, the defense of the Berber cause and the Berber culture is primary. I defend this culture, for it is this culture that gave me everything I have. In turn, I give it all I can, not in a political sense, but in a cultural one.

**AV:** There's this misconception among many Algerians that supporting the Berber culture is an attempt at division between --

Abdelli: Arabic and Berber? In a way, there is this prejudice of extremism. Those of our generation has suffered a lot in this area. In Algeria, we have already fought these attitudes. I grew up with the revolt that shook the country in the late 70's - I was a member of the Cultural Movement for Democracy, a coalition of Amazigh cultural associations in Algeria - and early 80's. I defend my people, my culture, and my language without trying to alienate any other group's culture or language. What I ask of others is that the respect and recognition for everyone's culture must be mutual. This is how we can build a happy and understanding world.

**AV:** Perfect! ... Now, tell us more about your North American tour. What are your objectives on the personal level and on a cultural level?

Abdelli: My first objective is to show the public that Algeria has a multi-cultural society. This is an objective that is shared by many who have helped me and to whom I am forever grateful. I have tried very hard to convey this message over the years. It has been a difficult struggle; one that all our compatriot artists have faced or are facing. Indeed, it is very difficult to be an artist... I am especially hoping to show that our identity and our culture are all about tolerance towards all languages and religions... that we are not just fighting for our own culture, but for the universal culture of all humanity in all its richness and diversity. That's what I believe in, and this is what I am defending.

**AV:** This reminds me of something I would like to ask you. We all know how hard it is to succeed as a professional artist, so have you thought about projects that would make things easier for our aspiring young artists?

Abdelli: I am not currently working on any specific project. I started working with some associations in Brussels, with the ultimate goal to create a "Music of the World" school. Such a school would offer opportunities for artists from around the world to come and teach their own music and culture. There would be exchanges between different groups and cultures. My greatest wish is for such a project to extend to Algeria, but the current political conditions are not ripe for such a project in the near future. I really want to go back there and help my people with whom I share so many childhood memories.

**AV:** That sounds like a great project, especially if it doesn't focus on Europe only, but on the whole world.

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Abdelli: Absolutely! During the time when Dell’Amore was still alive, he ran this foundation called 'For the Promotion of All the World's Cultures'. Recently, the 'Association of the Leopold neighborhood' in Brussels proposed that I take over the Dell’Amore project. It is in the planning stages, but I have been very busy lately trying to finish other ongoing projects. I would rather wait to commit to a project until I can dedicate adequate time to it. I have met lots of musicians from different parts of the world, including those I have worked with, who I would like to see contribute to the Dell’Amore project. As Dell’Amore said, "education is the forming of man, but culture is the forming of education."

AV: Finally, is there an artist in the US that you admire and with whom you would like to share the stage?

Abdelli: There is Jose Arthur that I would like to invite. I met him while I was in New York two years ago. There's also Loreena McKennitt with whom I worked before. And all the other artists that I know, if they happen to be at one of my performances. In fact, I would really like to see Peter Gabriel come and share a moment with us. If Algerian artists are in town while I am performing, I would be happy to meet them as well.

Dr. Khaled Bounar, a former President of ACAA, and Dr. Khoudir Medjani contribute regularly to AV.

Kamal Uymilas lives in Germany where he is a researcher in Tamazight.
New Book on Berber Tales from the Rif (NETHERLANDS, GERMANY):


Commemoration of the 20th anniversary of the Amazigh Spring (20 April 1980):

In addition to a general strike, a massive demonstration is planned from the "Carrefour du 20 Avril" to the Oukil-Ramdane stadium in Tizi Ouzou. A major concert will take place at the stadium, where well known Amazigh artists will perform, including Aït Menguellet, Idir, Cherif Kheddam, Nouara, Ideflawen, Agraw, Takfarinas, Izri, Ahres, Asma, Tagrawla, Taleb Rabah, Ali Meziane et Rabah Lani.

The motto for this commemoration will be the official recognition of Tamazight in Algeria as well as a tribute to the martyrs of Tamazight and democracy.

First Amazigh Book Fair. Tizi Ouzou, Algeria.

Organized with the support of the Liberte newspaper and the CIAT of Tizi-Ouzou, the first book fair took place at the Mouloud Manmeri hall of culture. Mr. Mohand Ouidir Ait Amran (of the Algerian HCA) opened the fair. Many personalities of the world of the Amazigh culture and arts were present as well. Several seminars took were delivered by university professors from the 2 Tamazight literature departments in Algeria.


The book, titled "Le Maghreb de Traverse" is by Rene Gallissot, and is divided into five parts.

1 - Revisiting History: historic nationalism, including a text entitled "the broken dream of a Maghreb of peoples".

2 - This part includes a text on the history of unions in the Maghreb.

3 - The Berber Question. Total of five texts.

4 - Hot Debates, including violence, religion ..

5 - Maghreb-Europe relations, Maghrebs living in Europe, cultural and identity issues facing them.

Cost: 145 FF. Edition Bouchene 113-115, rue Danielle-Casanova 93200 Saint-Denis, France Tel : (33) 01 48 20 93 75 e-mail : edbouchen-@aol.com

MORE BOOKS (ALGERIA):

More and more recent discoveries of fossil skeletons prove that the original man is African, and why not, Amazigh. The above sentence shows the acute need for more accurate studies on the origin of Berbers. At the beginning of the year, and to balance the lack of information endured by the Amazigh cause, the HCA (Haut Commissariat à l’Amazighite, Algeria) proceeded with the publication of a book entitled "A Look at Thirty-three Centuries of the History of Imazighen". The original text is by Mohammed Chaffik, with an excellent version in French by Hocine Ouarab. While the content is excellent, the printing quality is not so. Too bad, because the book suggests several necessary points of reference, as well as useful observations, not only historical, but also sociological, linguistic, ethnographic, cultural, and religious.

On the same topic, another book by Abdelaziz Ferrah has come to strengthen the contribution of Algerian historians to their own history. Although most elements have been painstakingly collected from various authors going as far back as the Greek Herodote, who wrote a book entitled "The Barbarian Orient". This diversity of sources and references remains one of the main difficulties in researching Berber history. Another consequence of this multitude of references is the rather approximate character of the information available.

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