The Hagadah of Pesah in Amazigh Tradition

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Abstract

This document examines the text of the Hagadah of the Jewish festivity of Pesah as celebrated by the North African Amazighs of Tinghir in Morocco. Its beginning presents an overview of the history and the cultures of the Amazigh, Jewish, and Judeo-Amazigh communities in North Africa. The celebration of Pesah, as a milestone in Jewish creed and history, is studied within the North African context and with particular attention to the local Hagadah translations. Among these translations, the Judeo-Amazigh text of Tinghir represents one of the few if not the only known text in existence in a Judeo-Amazigh language. A transliterated excerpt of this text is provided along with an English translation; the Hebrew and Judeo-Tunisian texts are included for comparison as well. Furthermore, the Judeo-Amazigh text is analysed, and the role of each language as well as their overall dynamic are evaluated, and examples of distinctions between the Judeo-Amazigh and the Hebrew texts are listed. Comparisons between the different North African texts and traditions suggest that taking the Amazigh aspect into account, as opposed to the mostly Arabocentric approaches used in the analysis of the history and the texts of North African Jewish communities, would provide a more comprehensive understanding of the particularities of the region.

Keywords: Hagadah, Haggadah, Haggada, Hagada, Pesah, Pesach, Magid, Maggid, Judaism, Judeo-Amazigh, North Africa, Amazigh, Tamazight, Translation
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Acknowledgements

The following dedication is in one of the languages of interest to the work and to the author:

אלכדמה אди מהדיה לכל מ pairwise תאריך יהוד שמאל אפריקיה

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1 Introduction

More often than not, North Africa is viewed as a culturally monochromatic entity within a certain culturally identical region. However, while North Africa may share multiple traits and elements with its neighbouring regions, its cultures are certainly not homogeneous with those of the Arabian Peninsula for instance. This work attempts to shed some light on one of the traditions of a North African community that continues to live, perhaps its last moments, only outside North Africa.

2 Overview of North African Jewish Ethnohistory

Throughout its history, North Africa has been home to a vast number of ethnic, ethnolinguistic, ethnoreligious, and other groups and subgroups. Prior to the Arab invasions, the Amazighs, who represent the major ethnic group of North Africa, were essentially Pagans, Jews\(^1\), and Christians\(^2\), or alternatively, held beliefs characterised by a Pagan substratum and Judeo-Christian adstrata.

The Jewish presence in North Africa dates back, according to traditional and scriptural accounts, to around the time of the destruction of the first Temple; however historical accounts differ\(^3\). Prior to the Arab invasions and the subsequent colonisation and Islamisation of North Africa

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1. Despite their limited number, the academic studies regarding the lineages of Amazigh Jews diverge on whether they would be those of Hebrew Jews that later underwent Amazighisation, or those of Amazigh tribes that converted to Judaism. Seeing that the timespan covers over two millennia, it is very likely that both processes occurred. Related research is further complicated by the presence of numerous and different superstrata and adstrata, as well as other related historical and linguistic elements, e.g. Phoenician and Punic, which bore the result of perhaps the earliest datable Amazigh-Semitic contacts in North Africa. Some of the aforementioned toponymic elements are the names “Carthage” and “Salambo”, the former being the name of a colony established near modern day’s Tunis, and the latter being the name of a nearby village that still bears the same name today, and that is located very closely to the site of the Carthage ruins: Carthage is thought to derive from the Canaanite "נתיב תמר", cognate to the Hebrew "נתיב תמר", and also to the modern Arabic "قلعة حديثة", meaning “new city” or “new village”. Salambo on the other hand, very likely derives from “שלום פה”, transliterated “shalom poh” and meaning “peace here”, and which may have been given to it by Jewish refugees who landed after fleeing the destruction of the first Temple of Jerusalem, which is the aforementioned traditional account of the Jewish presence in North Africa. Aside from toponymic clues, Carthage reportedly had a governing body of Suffetes, reminiscent of the Judean Shofet.

2. The presence of Christian Amazigh tribes is attested even as late as the beginning of the twentieth century. Tribal groups such as the Zkaras, described in length in MOULIÉRAS (1904), believed in indigenous forms of Christianity, and not those reintroduced by the European powers.

3. The oldest synagogue in Tunisia, Sancta Synagoga Naronitana, dates back to the third century. The often cited claim that Elghriba is North Africa’s oldest synagogue remains effectively debatable: Although its current building dates back to the nineteenth century, local tradition attributes its origin to exiles fleeing the destruction of the first Temple of Jerusalem and claims that it is home to the oldest known Sefer Torah, and is built with stone from the ruins of the Temple, conferring upon it supernormal, if not magical, qualities, which is well reflected in its name, “Elghriba”, meaning “the strange” or “the wonderous”. Another account links the founding to the flight of the Kohanim, who brought along a door from the Temple, and put it inside one of the walls. The nearby neighbourhoods of the Jewish community in Jerba continue to convey a simple image of an ancient Jewish life. One of the interesting points about some of the houses in these neighbourhoods is the following: In some rooms, a missing tile, usually in a corner, could be noticed; the meaning of which is to remind the dweller that this house is incomplete, and that the home and the dwelling are in another land.
and until the declaration of independence of the State of Israel, Jewish presence in North Africa was significant both politically and socially, as affirmed by numerous historians, including Alqayrawani in ALQAYRAWANI (n.d.) and Ibn Khaldun in IBN KHALDUN (n.d.). Ibn Khaldun notes multiple tribes that converted to Judaism. Jewish communities were traditionally organised in tribes that were later apportioned over cities. These tribes were essentially Amazigh, with minor Punic and Latin cultural traits.

After the Arab invasion and the multiple influxes of other Jews from the Mediterranean basin that occurred after historical and political events, such as the Spanish and Portuguese inquisitions, the structures have gradually changed, ultimately giving rise to two major communities, among other, namely the newly coming Megorachim on one hand, and those already living in North Africa, or the Tochavim on the other. Our subgroup of interest, i.e. Amazigh Jews, belonged evidently to the latter group; however social changes contributed to their gradual assimilation both with other non-Jewish as well as Jewish communities. Few communities were able to maintain their language, mainly because of geographic isolation.

Later, nineteenth-century European colonialism in North Africa would further add another dimension with an influx of European Jewry, and minor social tensions would arise due to the differences in statuses granted by the Colonial authorities to European Jews, who were deemed closer. In Tunisia for instance, this gave rise to two major communities: The Twensa and the Grana. As the name may suggest, the Twensa were the ones already living in the country when the Grana arrived. The Twensa were the Amazigh Jews and Arabised Amazigh Jews. The Grana on the other hand, were Italian, French, Spaniard and other North Mediterranean Jews that already had access to European languages and were comparatively more secular than the Twensa. Gradually the two communities developed a considerable endogamy and drifted apart, ending up in having each their own pilgrimage customs, or zyarat, cemeteries, markets, and even synagogues. Twensa Jewish families mostly held family names reminiscent of their trade, such as Gamhi, Haddad, Hattab,

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4 For instance, numerous theories, e.g. HALIMI (2006), ALLOUCHE-BENAYOUN (2010), ALILAT (2013), WAGMAN (2015), Akadem (n.d.), and Jewish Virtual Library (n.d.) propose that Tihya, known as the Kahina, had a Judeo-Christian, if not Jewish beliefs. She is mostly known as a fierce and restless opponent to the Arab invasion of North Africa. Other examples of prominent Jewish governors in North Africa prior to the Arab invasion are noted in ALQAYRAWANI (n.d.).

5 The word “grana” is in plural; its singular form is “gorni”. A common etymological explanation of the word traces it to a semantic change from the name of the Tuscan city of Livorno, where most of the Grana are traditionally considered to hail from. Arguably the etymology could be traced either to the Hebrew “גר”, transliterated “gar” and meaning “to live”, or to the Tunisian “gewri”, meaning “foreign”, itself of ambiguous, and possible Amazigh origin.

6 Essentially tomb visits with accompanying rituals of the Twensa Jews; examples of rabbis includes Rabbi Hay Tayeb Lo Met, Rabbi Yaakov Slena, and Rabbi Youssef Elmaarabi, among many other.

7 For instance “Souq Elgrana” in the Medina of Tunis

8 In 1938, the Great Synagogue of Tunis was the first to reunite both Twensa and Grana after around two centuries of separation.
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Wazzan⁹, and other, in contrast to most of the Grana Jews, who held family names reminiscent of their locations prior to moving to North Africa, such as Benero, meaning Venetian, or Sarfati¹⁰, meaning French. The formerly dominant tribal structure continued to loosen. Overall however, the Tunisian Jewish community retained its North African culture and heritage: Both Jews and non-Jews share the same North African and inherently Amazigh physical and cultural traits. Much of the North African culinary tradition is thought to have a Jewish influence if not origin. On the other hand, North African Jews also had their own festivities that were distinct from those of other North African non-Jews as well as other non-North African Jews, e.g. Mimouna. Subgroups within North African Jewish communities also had their own festivities, such as Ch’oudat Yithro¹¹ in Tunisia. The subgroup of interest to this publication, Amazigh Jews or Jewish Amazighs depending on the standpoint of the reader, had in turn its own distinct traditions and festivities that were still celebrated by Amazigh populations even after conversion to Islam. SCHROETER (1999) offers an interesting photographic insight into the populations and their traditions. One of these traditions is Udayn N ‘Achour¹², celebrated mostly in Tizi N Imnayen, but also around Tinejdad, Tinghir, and around Tafilalt in Morocco, although possibly under different themes. Amazigh and Judeo-Amazigh, as the vernacular linguistic varieties for Amazigh Jews, were used to explain the religious texts. Few prayers and blessings were recited in Amazigh linguistic varieties also, as well as our text of interest: The Hagadah of Pesah.

3 Pesah in North African Traditions

Pesah is the name of the Jewish holiday celebrated during the second half of the month of Nisan of the Hebrew calendar, corresponding to March or April, and lasting seven or eight days depending on the location or the religious denomination. Pesah is in essence a commemoration of the Jewish Exodus from Egypt that includes, among other, feasting, retelling the Biblical story of the Exodus, and engaging in singing or Torah learning, all through the ritual of the Seder, meaning “order” or “arrangement” in Hebrew.

3.1 The Hagadah of Pesah

The Hagadah¹³ is the set of instructions used for the Seder ritual. The text of the Hagadah is

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9 Referring respectively to wheat, steel, wood, and weighing of expensive materials such as gold, i.e. the professions of farmer, blacksmith, woodsman, and goldsmith
10 Or alternatively “Tsarfati”, meaning “French”
11 Transliterated from the Hebrew “סעודת יתרו”, with “Ch’oudat” being the local pronunciation of the Hebrew “S’oudat”
12 The festivity is alternatively referred to as “Udayn N Tachourt”. The names “Udayn N Achour” and “Udayn N Tachurt” mean “Jews of Ashura”. “Ashura” in turn means “number ten” and very likely refers to Yom Kippur, as it takes place on the 10th of Tishrei. Another possible name is “Id N Udyan”, meaning “Feast of the Jews”.
13 The word Hagadah means “telling” or “reciting”, and is derived from the Hebrew verb “תָּהַדְת”, transliterated
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derived from the Mishnah, which is the first major collection of Jewish oral traditions, and it contains a narration of the Israelite Exodus from Egypt, as well as blessings, Talmudic commentaries, and songs. The symbolisms and the food of Pesah also revolve around the two states that the Jewish people went through, i.e. slavery and freedom.

The aforementioned narration refers to the recitation of the account of the Exodus, and takes place in a core part of the Hagadah named the Magid. The etymological root of the word “Magid” is, itself, reminiscent of that of the word “Hagadah”. The Seder is commonly composed of fifteen steps, and the Magid is the fifth and longest step, preceded by the Yahats, which is essentially the breaking of the Matsah, and followed by the Rahtsah, which is essentially the ritual washing of the hands accompanied by the recital of blessings. The Hagadah texts have been almost the same, despite minor differences, for as long as they have been recited.

3.2 The North African and Amazigh Traditions of the Hagadah

While some particularities may be present in the North African traditions, they do not differ radically. Some of these differences will nevertheless be indicated in the following sections.

3.3 Overview of North African Hagadah Publications

The Hagadah was translated into the languages of the countries wherever a Jewish community lived. This process was also often recommended by religious authorities. PITKOWSKY (2010) argues that different parts of the Hagadah were already being translated since the Gaonic period. The translations sought, among other, to allow the children who did not master Hebrew yet, to be aware of the importance of the text and the tradition.

In North Africa, publications of Hagadah texts in local vernaculars, common standardised varieties, as well as mixtures of vernaculars and standardised varieties can be attested; the translations nearly always accompany the Hebrew text or its transliteration. A few examples, among

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14 Transliterated from the Hebrew word "מגיד"; a preferred transliteration in this document to also help distinguish it from the Maggid of Mezritsh
15 The number fifteen is allegedly somewhat symbolic and mystical in the Pesah celebration: It is celebrated on the night of the fifteenth across fifteen Seder steps, from Egypt to Jerusalem, perhaps metaphorically corresponding to the fifteen steps inside the Jerusalem temple itself.
16 Transliterated from the Hebrew word "יחץ"
17 Transliterated from the Hebrew word "רחצה"
18 Some of the differences between the traditions can be traced up to the Rishonic period, and specifically to amendments introduced or interpreted by the Hagadah texts of Mishne Torah and Mahzor Vitri. However these differences do not make a radical impact on the retelling of the story of Pesah, as they are mostly merely customary.
19 Including Arabic, Castilian, and French, among other
many other, include three Tunisian Hagadah publications by Imprimerie Castro (n.d.), La Caravelle (n.d.), and Maklouf Nadjar (n.d.). The first is the shortest yet the most illustrated and contains the text in the three languages, i.e. Hebrew, Vernacular Tunisian, and French. The second, albeit not dated, seems to be the most recent of the three, and the version of the vernacular used by the editor attempts to sound as close as possible to Classical and Modern Standard Arabic, in contrast to the third, pictured in Illustration 1, which employs a vernacular Judeo-Tunisian of clear coastal influence. All of these versions use Tunisian linguistic varieties transcribed in Hebrew letters. Additionally, GREENBURG (1896), which tries to offer a commentary on the Hagadah practices in Yemen, mentions a Tunisian Hagadah published by Ed. Livorno in 1869, and quotes a well-known Judeo-Tunisian piyut; transcribed incorrectly from Hebrew to Arabic letters in his commentary however, as he mistakes Tunisian “Khallini nesker ya yhoudi”, meaning “O (fellow) Jew let me drink” to “Akkelni nesker ya yhoudi”, meaning “O (fellow) Jew feed me (and) I get drunk”; due perhaps to the author’s likely Arabocentric approach in his analysis of the text, incompatible with the piyut’s Tunisian distinct grammatical structure, and due as well to the possible Hebrew transcription of the first word “khallini” as “כליני”. A possible reprint of the aforementioned publication may be Livorno (1933), which clearly mentions on its title page that the Hagadah is translated into the North African vernacular. Furthermore, while two other Tunisian Hagadah publications, Maklouf Nadjar & Fils (1948) and Maklouf Nadjar & Fils (n.d.), provide the texts solely in Hebrew and French, they do contain prefaces and front page descriptions in Tunisian. This is in contrast to available Hagadah books printed in neighbouring Egypt, where Alexandrie (n.d.), for instance, provides no other language whatsoever, aside from Hebrew and French. Additionally, while another Hagadah published in Egypt in 1917, Reuben Moskovitch Printing House (1917), was accessible; it was only in Hebrew and Classical Arabic. Unfortunately no versions in Vernacular Egyptian has been found to be published, which would have helped in furthering the analysis of this particular dimension of this study.

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20 For instance, instead of using Tunisian negation structure, i.e. particle followed by conjugated verb followed by particle, it uses an Arabic structure that is in-existent in Tunisian, i.e. particle followed by conjugated verb.

21 As clearly exhibited through the usage of “yasr”, for instance, to mean “very” or “plentiful” instead of “barcha”. This is also consistent with the fact that the editing and publishing institution is located in the coastal city of Sousse.

22 This work is valuable in numerous aspects, not the least its particular use of Hebrew letters with Arabic diacritics instead of the Hebrew niqqud to transcribe the Judeo-Yemeni and Arabic commentary.

23 The year has been approximated from the Hebrew year that appears on the publication.
Illustration 1: Front Page of Maklouf Nadjar (n.d.)

Notes: The publisher's description of the work appears on the first page in Judeo-Tunisian and can be possibly transliterated as: “Hagadah matbuaah bahruf kbar yaser wmtarjmah baarbi wbafransis. Tzid farha fi qalb kol men yeksebha ala mayed'thu fi lilet pisah afdilah. Hayth an'h u yujed fi yed'hu hagadah lam rat aiyun sibilha fi ajyul asaqbah. Kamlet ashrut fi kol ma yentlab men atfasir wapizmunim wapiyutim. Wadi tddalha and'hu kammel anshrah'hu wtuul sahrit'hu fi lilet pisah as'idah.”. The translation is “A Hagadah printed in very big letters and translated in Arabic and French. Adds joy in the heart of whoever owns it on his table on the graceful night of Pesah. As there is in his hand a Hagadah that no eyes have been laid on in previous generations. Satisfactory in all what can be sought of explanations, chants, and poems. And she remains at his disposal for all his happiness and the for full length of his night gathering in the joyous night of Pesah.”.

Source: Author's illustration based on Maklouf Nadjar (n.d.)
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Illustration 2: Extract of Maklouf Nadjar (n.d.)

Notes: Inside the book, all three languages can be read. Hebrew in large Hebrew letters, Judeo-Tunisian in smaller Hebrew letters, and French in Latin letters.

Source: Author's illustration based on Maklouf Nadjar (n.d.)

3.4 The Judeo-Amazigh Hagadah Text

The text of interest to this essay contains excerpts of the Magid in another North African tradition, i.e. that of Tinghir\(^{24}\) in Morocco, where Amazigh and Judeo-Amazigh varieties were the local vernaculars. Aside from some fragments in Tasusit found in the Moroccan Souss\(^{25}\) region, this is the only Hagadah text in an Amazigh language known to exist. The text was collected by Paulette Galand-Pernet and Haim Zafrani during an enquiry about traditional Jewish education system in Morocco, and was published in GALAND-PERNET & ZAFRANI (1970). All that is known about the text is that it was based on a recording accomplished in Tinghir in the summer of 1963 that is itself based on a 1959 manuscript and translation that were written by a copyist at the demand of a notary in Casablanca. The recording should be in principle a reading of the manuscript; however the presence of minor differences between the two would suggest the presence of two versions, close yet not identical, of the Judeo-Amazigh Hagadah of Tinghir. The conditions of the writing of the

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24 Tinghir is also one of the places depicted in the 2013 documentary Tinghir-Jerusalem, directed by Kamal Hachkar, which explores the history of the Judeo-Amazigh community between Morocco and Israel.

25 Not to be confused with Tunisian Sousse; both toponyms have an Amazigh origin however
manuscript are unknown, except for the self-evident fact that the copyist was literate, and the possibility that the copyist was likely writing at the same time while reminiscing what was learnt by oral tradition; this does not exclude the possibility that the copyist had access to other copies or drafts that may have existed, and the minor, yet apparent divergences between the recording and the manuscript do not suggest otherwise.

Galand-Pernet and Zafrani note the difficulty of the interpretation of the text, due in a major part to the dispersion of the Amazigh Jews of Tinghir. Aside from the lack of comments, this dispersion did not allow for neither a definition of the bilingualism or trilingualism of the Amazigh Jews of Tinghir nor an easy collection of Judeo-Amazigh and Amazigh speech samples of the Todgha Valley, in order to compare with the linguistic variety of the text. While it was rather uncomplicated to recognise the text as Amazigh, the exact identification and confirmation of its variety occurred only after a brief enquiry that took place in Northern France among Moroccan workers from Imiter, a village that is twenty to thirty kilometres away from Tinghir known for its silver resources. Collection of language samples allowed for a confirmation of the language of this Hagadah, and the variety was described as familiar and understandable, yet bearing a certain mode of expression that was not quite the workers' own. Furthermore, certain differences in the construction of some sentences, as well as the difference in the pronunciation of the sibilants confirmed it as a Judeo-Amazigh vernacular, albeit an archaic one, with certain passages of ritual text remaining ambiguous. The text was claimed to come from the Glaoua tribe, situated around two hundred kilometres to the west of Tinghir; however this was discarded because of many factors, not least the linguistic differences between the Amazigh vernaculars of Tinghir and those of the Glaoua tribes. In GALAND-PERNET & ZAFRANI (1970), this claim is explained by the possibility of more or less arbitrary attributions of vernaculars that seem different to a reader. The authors nevertheless take note of this allegation, and further elaborate on the position of the Glaouas as a well-known tribe whose political influence was extended amongst the Moroccan Amazighs, and who inhabited a region that may have had a particular prestige for the Jews of the south-east of Morocco, as it hosts numerous places of pilgrimage for both Jews and Muslims.

The authors of GALAND-PERNET & ZAFRANI (1970) aimed to present the Judeo-Amazigh Hagadah as objectively as possible, in spite of the lack of complementary information, while marking the shortfalls in the text, and expressing their hope that this would allow rectifications and criticism in further research in North Africa and Israel, in order to reveal more information about this Hagadah, which is an objective equally shared by this study. One axiomatic information remains: The document is very valuable. The following description given by Galand-
Pernet and Zafrani suffice to illustrate this:

Although previous studies about Moroccan Jews mentioned Amazigh-speaking Jews, no sample of Judeo-Amazigh vernacular, except about ten lines, has been noted. The emigration and the dispersion of Amazigh-speaking Jewish communities of Morocco, during the last years, gives further value to this Amazigh Hagadah.

Aside from the aforementioned brief record of fragments that deals with some aspects of Judaism, this is the only text in existence in a Judeo-Amazigh language and the first Judeo-Amazigh text ever to be published, to the extent of the author's knowledge. This information should be representative of the importance of the manuscript as a sample of a dying language and tradition, and a window to the history of a community whose roots remain mysterious. This information should also be representative of the immense task that future researchers need to be aware of in undertaking the task of explaining the Judeo-Amazigh Hagadah text, and of the gratitude that the researchers in Jewish and North African relevant academic fields, and the handful of researchers of Judeo-Amazigh studies in particular, owe to Haim Zafrani and Paulette Galand-Pernet, and to the multitude of other researchers who preceded them and who contributed to similar works.

GALAND-PERNET & ZAFRANI (1970) is cited by most secondary sources, including Haim Zafrani’s own ZAFRANI (1974), Le Matin (2005), HADDADOU (2009), Fishburn Books (2011), and other works that quote the Amazigh Hagadah. Reportedly, it provides a Latin-script-based transcription of the Judeo-Amazigh Hagadah recording; a transcription that is not strictly phonological however, seeing that the interpretation of certain elements was unachievable due to the lack of sufficient information, according to the work’s own notes. As the primary source was not accessible to the author, the content of all of the accessible secondary sources was retrieved, centralised, thoroughly examined, and scrutinised, since they often offered different, if not inconsistent transliterations. These differences in transliterations are, however, due almost exclusively to the same differences in pronunciations present within the Amazigh linguistic spectrum, and to the translators' own pronunciation and transliteration choices, such as the production of the voiceless alveolar sibilant, /s/, and the voiceless palato-alveolar sibilant, /ʃ/, as well as the differences in the transcription of the open front unrounded vowel, /a/, the near-open front unrounded vowel, /æ/, and the open-mid front unrounded vowel, /ɛ/, among many other. Additionally, a line-by-line French translation accompanied by photocopies of the manuscript from where the text is collected can be found in the end of the aforementioned publication. In this

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26 This quotation is translated by the author from French. The original text in French reads: “Si les études antérieures sur les Juifs marocains faisaient état des berbérophones, aucun échantillon de parler berbère juif, une dizaine de lignes exceptées, n’avaient été noté. L’émigration et la dispersion des communautés juives berbérophones du Maroc, au cours de ces dernières années, donne plus de prix encore à cette Haggadah berbère.”.
publication, two of these photocopies have been retrieved from Fishburn Books (2011)\textsuperscript{27} and can be seen in the following tables.

**Illustration 3: Photograph of a Black on White Page from a Facsimile of the Original Manuscript**

![Black on White Page](image1.png)

Source: Fishburn Books (2011)

**Illustration 4: Photograph of a White on Black Page from a Facsimile of the Original Manuscript**

![White on Black Page](image2.png)

Source: Fishburn Books (2011)

\textsuperscript{27} The work of GALAND-PERNET & ZAFRANI (1970) is referenced in Fishburn Books (2011) as “Supplement I, Volume I (1970). Supplement I, Volume II (1970). Together with a facsimile of the Haggadah (used by the editor?). 1970 [9177]” and described as presenting the following characteristics “Original wrappers, 24cm. Volume I - 1-171 pp. Volume II - 172-374 pp. There is a collection of photographic plates that is a facsimile of the original manuscript. 30.5cm in cardboard folder, titled “Haggadah en Judéo-Berbere”. The photographs below are of the facsimile – some pages are black on white/brown, some are white on black. The facsimile is reproduced at the end of Volume of the Supplement.”.
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In this study, aside from the Tifinagh transliteration that none of the accessed transliterations offered, and which this document introduces in an attempt to contribute to the literature corpus written in the Amazigh linguistic varieties' very own script, the author presents a transliteration in Latin Amazigh script, precisely Tameemmerit, in addition to an English translation of the Amazigh text, presented in a structure parallel to the Hebrew text, unlike the order of the Judeo-Amazigh manuscript. This translation seeks to commit to the highest degree of fidelity towards the Amazigh text when it comes to the semantic aspects and the structures of the used sentences, while attempting to avoid possible minor grammatical incoherences, and while taking a critical note of the French translation provided in the GALAND-PERNET & ZAFRANI (1970)\textsuperscript{28}. The Hebrew text, based on Maimonides’ Mishne Torah, as well as a Judeo-Tunisian Hagadah, are transcribed and provided from Maklouf Nadjar (n.d.) to the reader.

The Magid traditionally starts with raising the tray containing the matsot and passing it to the participants. Content of the table is henceforth read.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Judeo-Amazigh</th>
<th>Transliterated Judeo-Amazigh</th>
<th>English</th>
<th>Hebrew</th>
<th>Judeo-Tunisian</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ⵚⴰⵔⵓⵍ ⴱⵢ ⵙ ⴰⵢ ⵙ ⵜⴰⵔⵓⵍ ⴱⵢ ⵙ ⵜⴰⵔⵓⵍ</td>
<td>S tarul ay s nffeɣ y Maṣr.</td>
<td>By fleeing it is that we exited Egypt.</td>
<td>בכנווי יאניא</td>
<td>כנהוי יאניא</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ⵉⵢⴷⴷⴻⵖ ⵏ ⵍⵖⵔⵓⵎ ⵉⵢⴷدس钨 ⵏ ⵏ겔ు钨</td>
<td>Ayddeɣ n uɣrum</td>
<td>In fact it was an unleavened bread that our parents ate in Egypt.</td>
<td>מקיא אסימא</td>
<td>מקיא אסימא</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ⴸⵏⴼⴼⴻⵖ ⵖ ⵎⴰⵚⵔ ⴸⵏⴼⴼⵆⵖ ⵖ ⵎⴰⵚⵔ</td>
<td>Snffeɣ ɣ Maṣr.</td>
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<tr>
<td>ⵉⵝⴰⵍⴷⵉⵏ ⴷⴰⵜⵜⵙⴰⵏ ⴸⵝⴰⵍⴷⵉⵏ ⵆⴰⵝⵑⵏ ⴷⴰⵝⵑⵏ</td>
<td>Urdimta da ttsan lwaldin nneɣ ɣ Maṣr.</td>
<td></td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>ⴰⵢⴷⴷⴻⵖ ⵏ ⵓꦒ supremacist ⴰⵢⴷدس钨 ⵏ ⵓнесен supremacist</td>
<td>Kullu mad yaɣ All who have</td>
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</tbody>
</table>
### The Amazigh Text of the Magid and Corresponding Transliteration, Translation, and Other

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<tr>
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| ⴱⵍⴰⵣ ⵉⴷⴷⵓ ⴰⴷ ⴰⵜⵙ | laz iddu ad its; mad yaf iddu ad isu | hunger eat; who have thirst drink | כל תראק יטיב | פסט.
| ⴱⴰⵙⴳⴳⵯⴰⵙ ⴷⴷⵇ🚫 ⵜⵎⴰⵣⵉⵔⵜ | Asgg asdey y tmazirt ddey; imal y Bit Lmekdes. | This year in this land; next in Bit Hamikdash | התויה קבא | ארצי שראעא.
| ⴱⵎⴰ ⵏⵃⵢⴰ ⵉ ⵢⵉإبداع ⵎⴰⵏ ⴽⵓⵍⵍ ⴱⵉⵢⴹⴰⵏ | Ma nḥya i yiḍ ddeɣ men kull iyḍan? | What difference is in this night from all nights? | דַזֶתה תּאנתו דַהֵיֵתليلוּ יֵאין תּאנתו דַהַנְתclusion דַהַנְתכלוּ? | אליאים?
| ⴱⴽⵓⵍⵍⵅ ⵉⴹⴰⵏ ⴷⴰ ⵏⵜⵜⵙⴰ ⴷⴰ ⵏⵜⵜⴷⵓⵡⴰⵣ ⴰⵡⴷ ⴱⵢⵓⵜ ⵜⵉⴽⴽⴻⵍⵜ ⴱⵉⴹ ⴷⴷupplier ⴱⵙⵏⴰⵜ ⵜⵉⴽⴽⴻⵍ | Kullu y iḍan ur dantduwaz awd yut tikkelt; iḍ ddeɣ snat tikkel. | All the nights we eat not soaked at all; this night twice. | שזֶשתּתכל דַהיֵתليلוּה יֵאין תּאנתו דַמתְטהִתביהִלין אאהִפילתו דַזֶאתּחת; דַזֶאתּחתו דַוְדיֵתليلוּה | אדי פי גמיע אליאי ליס אחנא נגו הִטסו 31.
| ⴱⴽⵓⵍⵍⵅ ⵉⴹⴰ%! ⴷⵙⴽⴽⵢⵏⵉ ⴷⵡ?sⵏⴰⵡ ⴱⵃⵡⵦ ⵉⵎⵜ sóc ⴷⵎⵡⵦ ⵉⵎⵜⵉⵏ ⴷⴷⵡⵦ ⵡⴰⴷⴷⴰ ⴷⵉⵙ | Kullu iḍan nkk ni da nttsa wenna y imten neɣ ur imtin; iḍ ddeɣ wadda ur imtin. | All the nights, we eat whatever (of) our leavened or unleavened; this night particularly unleavened. | שזֶשתּתכל דַהיֵתليلוּה תּאנתו אוותְכהִלין תּחיֵמץ תודַמתְטהו; דַזֶאתּחתו כתכתלוו דַמתְטהו | אדי פי גמיע אליאי אחנא נאכלו כמיר או פתיר ואלילה הֵאדי זוג大理石 | אדי פי גמיע אליאי ליס אחנא נגו הִטסו 31.

29 In the Rambam Hagadah text, which represents the most common basis for other Mediterranean, North African, and West Asian Hagadah texts, there is a passage after this sentence in the end of the Aramaic part that is unaccounted for in the Judeo-Amazigh Hagadah. This passage is "שדַשתּתתא תּהתּדא דַעתְביֵדי, תְלשדַשתּתתא תְתדתּאתְתתּיא תְתביֵני חוויֵרי" or alternatively "תּהשדַשתּתתא תּהתּכא דַעתְביֵדי, תְלשתּשתּנה דַהתּתבתּאה תְתבדַאתְרתּעא תְדהִישתּריֵאל תְתביֵני חווהִרין", and it could be translated as "This year slaves; next year, (in the land of Israel) free men". Although the focus text mentions the slavery at a later points, it seems to omit this passage situated right before the four questions or "Ma Nishtana". Although they do echo this passage in their translations, the Moroccan and Tunisian Hagadah texts add another passage before this section, further explained later in the footnotes, that states “today we are freemen” and continues with the prayers to be in the land of Israel next year. In this case, this may point out that the passage was truncated all together in order to deal with the possible invalidity of the slavery statement for the Judeo-Amazigh community of Tinghir, leaving only the hope and prayer to be in Jerusalem next year.

30 This first portion of the Hagadah text is in Aramaic, except for the Hebrew expression "לשנה הבאה". A rough translation to Hebrew could be the following:

This year the slaves; next year, in the land of Israel, free men. Although the focus text mentions the slavery at a later points, it seems to omit this passage situated right before the four questions or "Ma Nishtana". Although they do echo this passage in their translations, the Moroccan and Tunisian Hagadah texts add another passage before this section, further explained later in the footnotes, that states “today we are freemen” and continues with the prayers to be in the land of Israel next year. In this case, this may point out that the passage was truncated all together in order to deal with the possible invalidity of the slavery statement for the Judeo-Amazigh community of Tinghir, leaving only the hope and prayer to be in Jerusalem next year.

31 The word is copied as it appears on the source: While two “lamed” letters appear in the singular form, "אלילה", only one consistently appears in the plural form “אליאי”, which is uncommon in the Judeo-Tunisian vernaculars familiar to the author. In other Tunisian Hagadah texts, the word is transcribed as it is more commonly found in the vernaculars, i.e. “אליאלי”.

32 The word is copied as it appears on the source, where a symbol appearing as a hiriq under the gimel is used to indicate that the letter should be pronounced as a voiced velar fricative, /ʒ/, instead of a voiced palato-alveolar sibilant, /ʃ/, which is the value that it transcribes for the major part of the text. This is similar to the use of a dagesh or a geresh.
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Kullu īḍan nkk&quot;ni da nttsa, nsu, swa ney&quot;zdem swa ngg&quot;en; īḍ ddey akk&quot; ny&quot;zdem.</td>
<td>All the nights we eat, drink, either sitting or lying down; this night we are all sitting.</td>
<td>שזֶשתְתבתּכל דַהיֵתليلוות תּאנתו אוותְכהִלין יֵתבין יוושתְשהִבין; דַהדַתלתְיתּלה דַהזֶתזה כתכתּתלנתו תְמכסהִתבין.</td>
<td>אדי פי גמיע אליאי אחנא נאכלו ונשרבו סוא 33 קאעדין וסוא מתכיין ואליה האדי מער.</td>
<td>All the nights we eat and drink what vegetables we find; this night the maror.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kullu w īṭan nkk&quot;ni da nttsa aydda nufa lxx&quot;drt; īḍ ddey Imaṛur.</td>
<td>Servants we were for the Pharaoh in Egypt.</td>
<td>יButtonDown גמיע אליאי אחנא נאכלו בקיית עטרה ואליה מער.</td>
<td>Our God took us out by a strong arm; by a robust arm.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ixeddamen ay nga i Perėu 9&quot; Maṣr.</td>
<td>Our God took us out by a strong arm; by a robust arm.</td>
<td>יButtonDown גמיע אליאי אחנא נאכלו בקיית עטרה ואליה מער.</td>
<td>Our God took us out by a strong arm; by a robust arm.</td>
<td></td>
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</tbody>
</table>

33 The word “swa” is present in both Judeo-Amazigh and Judeo-Tunisian to mean exactly the same word, which is “either”. It very likely comes from the Arabic “ سواء.”

34 For some reason, the word appears to have a different spelling than the previously used “אתאן". In the Manuscript, the words could have been inconsistently transcribed both as “אתאן" and “אדאן".

35 This form of negation is very particular and uncommon in Tunisian and Judeo-Tunisian vernaculars, which is marked by a pre-verbal particle, e.g. “me”, and a post-verbal particle, “ch”. The North African vernaculars' negation system is very different in this respect from Arabic, and this negation system could be explained by the similar system of the Amazigh substratum of these vernaculars. This Judeo-Tunisian Hagadah's negation usage could be explained by the context, i.e. the translator's potential tendency to formalise this literal text, and hence very likely attempting to avoid non-Arabic grammatical structures.
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>n Maṣr.</td>
<td>Kullu mad d isgudiyn ad Maṣr</td>
<td>we must retell about the exodus of Egypt.</td>
<td>לשלואדו פי כרוו</td>
<td>מצר.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Lemzriyat y rbbi Liseizir u rbbi Iwsue u rbbi Leζar mimmi s n Maṣr tannit wadday ituskar.</td>
<td>All who collect the recounting about the exodus of Egypt is worthy of praises.</td>
<td>גרא פי רבי איעזר ורבי יהושע ורבי אלעזר בן עזריה ורבי עקיבא ורבי טרפון:</td>
<td>ומכיע אמכתר ילעאודו פי כרוג מצר.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Ayyliɣ gulan wadda selmden nnan asen: A syadna; iwut lukt n tyuri s Sime n şsbha.</td>
<td>Sitting at Bni Birak reciting about the exodus of Egypt all night long.</td>
<td>לʽזמר איי גאו תלאמדהם וקאלאיהם: אתא אדיא גאו תלאמדהם וקאלאיהם</td>
<td>שיעדו פי כרוו מזר צייט מצר כל סל הארדר אליליא. אנות מאלא.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Inna rbbi Leζar mimmi s n Ezrya: Ha y yi nekkin amm mimmi s n sbein n ussg′as;</td>
<td>Until they who were being educated said: O masters; comes the time of the reading of the Shema of the morning.</td>
<td>תאת אדיא גא תלאמהדמ זמריאים אמשא:אתא אדיא גא תלאמהדמ זמריאים אמשא</td>
<td>קא רבי איי גא תלאמהדמ זמריאים אמשא.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Ur yuṭɣ aynna</td>
<td>I have not</td>
<td>יא אים זמריאים אמשא</td>
<td>מתיא אצבריא.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

36 In this instance and other, the word “קאל”, meaning “to say” seems to be intentionally missing a “lamed” letter in the end, and is written as “קא”. It is written correctly as “קאל” in other Tunisian Hagadah texts.
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<tr>
<td>inna ufuɣ n Maṣr g yiṭ alilɣ t i芻 t mimmī s n Zuma.</td>
<td>understood the time when the exodus of Egypt is said at night but when explained (it) the son of Zoma.</td>
<td>חורז מצר, יאש אליך, בכרולת עד דא צויא, עתך שוט.</td>
<td>בחרז מצר, יאש אליך, בכרות עתך עד, שבך בוט.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Inna: Afad at tk”tit ass ufuɣ nnekk g tmazirt n Maṣr akkw liyam.</td>
<td>(It is) said: So you would remember your exodus from the land of Egypt all days.</td>
<td>כיה קא אפסוק נбот תפוכר תוקר גיא דילא, יאמה תפאר, ארץ מצר תום, מציר כאליפ.</td>
<td>כיה קא אפסוק נбот תפוכר תוקר גיא דילא, יאמה תפאר, ארץ מצר תום, מציר כאליפ.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The Judeo-Amazigh text on the table is all that could have been retrieved from the aforementioned sources. The sentence that follows in the Hebrew text is “תְיֵמי דַחזֶתייתּך דַהתּיהִמים, תּתכל תְיֵמי דַחזֶתייתּך דַהיֵתليلוות. דַואחתּכהִמים אוותְמהִרים: תְיֵמי דַחזֶתייתּך תּהעוותּלם דַהזֶתזה, ותכל תְיֵמי דַחזֶתייתּך, תְלתּההִביא הִלימוות דַהתּמשהִשידַח”, and its Judeo-Tunisian counterpart is “אייאם חיאתך אאייאם, טול אייאם חיאתך אליאי. ואחאדקין יקולו: אייאם חיאתך אדניא האדי, טול אייאם חיאתך, ליגיב אייאמאת אלמשיח”. These sentences explain the previous affirmation of rabbi Elazar, i.e. that he, as a seventy-year-old man, has only understood the importance of reciting the story of the Exodus at night when Simeon ben Zoma explained it; and hence the statement that the Exodus of Egypt is to be remembered for all the “days” of one's life: As these “days” include the nights, the importance of the recital at night is clear. Rabbi Elazar's statement is further detailed by what the sages say, i.e. “All the days of this present-day life of yours until the coming of the days of the Messiah”. After these sentences, the Magid section continues with “ברוך נטעו, ברוך נה. ברוך נשעט תורה חמה ישראיל, ברוך הנה “. At the end of the Magid, the Rahtsah, i.e. washing the hands accompanied by a blessing.

### 4 Analysis of the Judeo-Amazigh Text

When confronted with the Hebrew and Judeo-Tunisian texts, the Judeo-Amazigh text presents certain points of distinction.

#### 4.1 Language of the Judeo-Amazigh Magid

While the language of the text is evidently a Judeo-Amazigh vernacular variety of the valley of Todgha, the purpose of this section is to assess the etymologies, grammar, and other aspects of
the words and phrases used in the text, and interpret them from semantic and structural perspectives within their Amazigh-Arabic-Hebrew influence sphere and with regards to the text's own Aramaic-Hebrew construction. In this respect, some of the points raised in GALAND-PERNET & ZAFRANI (1970) are echoed in the paragraphs below and are further developed and expanded.

4.1.1 Judeo-Amazigh

Within the dynamic of the text, each language occupies a particular pillar: Judeo-Amazigh, as an Amazigh linguistic variety, is the main language of the translation and the primary strata. Hebrew and Arabic represent the source-languages for borrowed words. Aramaic is the language of the first announcement of the Magid in the Hebrew version.

The lack of old Amazigh linguistic benchmarks hampered the evaluation of what may be archaisms or dialectal traits. GALAND-PERNET & ZAFRANI (1970) states that no old texts were accessible apart from very brief twelfth-century texts. Some sixteenth-century Tasusit works are known to exist, yet they are not published. However, it may be easily apprehended that the language of the text is archaic. Furthermore, as with every liturgical text, the language is hypothesised to be a composite language, argue Galand-Pernet and Zafrani, who cite Homeric Greek and Literary Tasusit as examples. The authors admit nevertheless the lack of absolute proof, yet the presence of multiple presumptions to support the theory.

Overall, in the Judeo-Amazigh version, the Baal or Baali Hahagadah invested remarkable attention and sophistication onto a notable translation, and made use of the available syntax and vocabulary instruments to the best extent, making the Amazigh translation even more tangible at points than the Hebrew text, and rendering the images of the text well described and adapted to local perceptions, all in spite of possible problems of translation, such as one relating to explaining slavery in a system where the notions of “slave” and “dark-skinned” are not distinct, or to translating “hand” and “arm” without expected knowledge from the readers of the allegories and metaphors that “hand” and “right hand” present in Hebrew and in Biblical Hebrew in particular. In some occasions, the translator opted for Amazigh words that were rather distant, unconventional, or unorthodox vis-à-vis the Hebrew text. As every translation can be tantamount to an opinion, this translation seemed to aim at rendering the Exodus account more accessible, hence giving it a rather more autonomous character in comparison with the Hebrew text, succeeding nevertheless in captivating the spirit of Pesah. The general characteristic of this translation, in contrast to the Hebrew and Judeo-Tunisian texts, is its different local trait and its simplicity and avoidance of abstraction, in spite of the number of allegories present in the Hebrew Hagadah text and its complicated semantics, often explaining the rather intriguing combinations of certain Judeo-
Amazigh words. It does nevertheless follow the Hebrew text and fulfil its objective, and it does so by aptly translating it into Judeo-Amazigh for Amazigh Jews.

One intriguing point is the inconsistencies in the Judeo-Amazigh transcription exhibited through, among other, the different ways the same expression can be found, for example “all nights” is transcribed as “kullu y içan”, “kullu içan”, and “kullu w içan”, and also the inconsistency in transcribing words that contain phonemic labiovelarisation of consonants, for example “akk” nʕ“zdem” and “akkw liyam”. Many of these inconsistencies and others related in particular to vowels may be due to the fact that the text was initially transcribed in Hebrew script and in an abjad alphabetical system that lacks vowels, as apparent from the photographs provided in Fishburn Books (2011), and may also be due to the lack of a standardised Amazigh orthography.

4.1.2 Arabic and Hebrew

Undoubtedly, the translator is knowledgeable of Hebrew. The Hebrew Hagadah as well as the Moroccan Hagadah were possibly accessed by the translators, who may have also had in memory the text of one or many of its versions, argues GALAND-PERNET & ZAFRANI (1970). Despite it being a delicate task to indicate whether one version is inspired from another one in a different language, the Judeo-Amazigh version seems to be close to that of Mogador and that of the Moroccan Souss region.

When the Judeo-Amazigh lexical resources lacked, be it those of the language or the translator, borrowed words are attested, and some of these words can indicate a lack of consistency at times, reflected through the usage of numerous adjectives to mean the same at multiple points of the text. Although these words are mainly borrowed from Arabic and Hebrew, they naturally do undergo a process of Amazighisation, e.g. vowel replacement, phonological and consonantal mutations, … etc. in order to obey Judeo-Amazigh phonotactics.

The presence of Hebrew proper nouns is evidently natural seeing the liturgical nature of the text. Aside from these proper nouns, very few Hebrew loanwords are accounted for. The number of Hebrew terms is reportedly lower than those present in other North African Hagadah texts. In addition to undergoing phonological shifts to suit Amazigh phonetics and phonotactics, these terms are displayed in structural calques of the Hebrew syntax. These syntax calques constitute the majority of Hebraisms. In contrast, the majority of borrowed vocabulary is rooted in Arabic, which represents an adstrata language offering liturgical and high register terms in Judeo-Amazigh as well as the vast majority of Amazigh varieties. These borrowed words may be already present in the Amazigh variety or varieties of the Todgha Valley or of other regions, and they may have been also
borrowed for the first time for the purpose of this translation; a vocabulary practice reminiscent of 
Tasusit literary texts. The absence of diachronic and synchronic data about Amazigh and Judeo-
Amazigh vernaculars permits solely the suggestion of hypotheses through comparison with other 
Amazigh dialects.

4.1.3 Aramaic

In the Hebrew text, Aramaic is the language in which the very first passage is announced, 
and the songs of the end of the Seder are sung. This is likely because Aramaic was the common 
vernacular of the Jews at the period of the redaction of the Hagadah; an aspect that would be 
elaborated and discussed further.

The very beginning of the Magid features the Ha Lahma Anya passage; an intriguing section 
language-wise. In most of the Hagadah texts in the world, the passage is the only one entirely in 
Aramaic, except for the Hebrew expression "תְלשתּשתּנה דַהתּתבתּאה" meaning “next year”, which is itself an 
Hebraism introduced by later writers. It is therefore natural to enquire about the reasons of the text 
being in Aramaic.

The passage is reportedly in Aramaic because, as previously mentioned, it could have been 
the vernacular of most of the Jews during the Babylonian exile, when the Hagadah text is posited to 
be amended. This is echoed in the Mahzor Vitri, according to BRACKMAN (2012), which stated 
that the passage is written in Aramaic because it predates the Second Temple Hagadah text and is 
dated back to when the Jews were in Babylonia. This is also consistent with the idea that Aramaic 
and Hebrew, aside from being linguistically close, were used interchangeably by the Jews of that 
era, depending on the contexts and purposes, with Hebrew remaining particularly reserved for 
prayers and Aramaic used as the language of every-day life. Another explanation states that the 
passage is in Aramaic because it was the tradition to have an announcement, a monograph, or a 
responsum written in Aramaic at the time of the composition of the text. Aside from the era of this 
passage, the other point that needs to be taken into account is the content of this passage: A 
description of this uncommon bread found on the table, an invitation for the hungry to come and eat 
and for the needy to come and celebrate, and a prayer to be free in Israel next year. This could be a 
clue to some of the explanations provided in ETSHALOM (1998): One approach concerns the 
recreation of the setup of Egypt, stating that the invitation and the prayer are reminiscent of what 
Jews would have said to each other in Egypt to share together the meagre meal and to hope for 
freedom. However, insisting on saying the passage in Aramaic can only be a recreation of the 
Babylonian exile, where linguistic associations are more common even in the Tanakh. Hence, 
supposing that it would be a part of the fantasy of the evening would indicate that it should be said
in Hebrew like the rest of the Hagadah. Another explanation states that saying the paragraph in Aramaic, or in a vernacular, is kin to declaring that we are celebrating an incomplete Seder, specifically since it is coupled with a prayer to celebrate it in “the right manner” next year. The prayer said in the vernacular is therefore the last point of reality before embarking in the retelling the story of the Exodus.

In BRACKMAN (2012), the author argues that, at the end of the Aramaic passage, as well as the Ma Nishtana passage, the Mahzor Vitri writes a word at the end that is not found in other Hagadah texts: “Veloez”, meaning “Translate”. This could be an explanation for the common custom of translating this passage in particular also to the vernacular of the community where the Jewish community lives. This is particularly noticeable in the Tunisian Magid traditions, be it those that were examined or those familiar to the author, where the tradition is to make the announcement in Aramaic and then translate it into Tunisian; and often this part is the only translated part as the rest of the Tunisian Hagadah continues in Hebrew.

To elaborate on all of the aforementioned elements, it could be drawn that, similarly to the manner the Aramaic text survived since the Gaonic period to testify about the importance of making the initial Magid announcement in the vernacular of the era, a parallel could be drawn with the custom of making the announcement not just in Aramaic but also in the local language, which is attested in most if not all the surveyed Hagadah texts as well as Hagadah recordings. The Moroccan and Tunisian Hagadah texts in particular make the announcement in both Aramaic and then their local respective vernaculars.

On the other hand, Had Gadya is an omnipresent song in the vast majority of the Hagadah texts. The song is in Aramaic, and its cumulative structure and lyrics have been interpreted to signify Divine retribution. In North Africa, Had Gadya is sung in local vernaculars and evidently with local musical scales. The region has its own particular set of Seder songs that are sung in the region's vernaculars.37

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37 One of the famous Tunisian Pesah songs, is “יא אלהנא” or “יא אלהא”, transliterated “Ya Elahna” or “Ya Elana”. The song starts with a prayer calling for a certain Rabbi Nissim to be present along, and continues with a description of the experiences a man and his wife are going through during the thirty days between Purim and Pesah, and the preparation for the Seder. Much of the vocabulary of the song indicates that it was written either in the late nineteenth century or during the early twentieth century. The identity of Rabbi Nissim remains debatable: While it could refer to the prominent Nissim Gaon of Kairouan, Yosef and Tsivia Tobi state in TOBI & TOBI (2014, p. 327) that it could refer to a certain Rabbi Nissim Elmasri, or Nissim the Egyptian, mentioned in the oral and written traditions of Pesah. The authors also add that Rabbi Nissim may equally be a metonym for the miracles needed for the festival preparations, particularly seeing that the word “nissim” means “miracles” in Hebrew, and cite the example of a tale about the prophet Eliyahu appearing as a human being with the name of Rabbi Nissim the Egyptian to a poor Jerusalemite on the eve of Pesah. The work also cites two other Tunisian Pesah songs titled “Ftayr Elmekina”, i.e. “The Matsot of the Machine”, and “Mnemet El’eteris”, i.e. “The Sleep of the Sheep” or “The Dream of the Sheep”. Furthermore, in the Moroccan and Tunisian Hagadah texts, there is an interesting poem said in the vernaculars right...
4.2 Distinctions in the Judeo-Amazigh Text

4.2.1 The Beginning of the Judeo-Amazigh Magid

One of the many interesting points in the Judeo-Amazigh text is its first sentence: "ⵙ ⵜⴰⵔⵓⵍ ⹣ⴰⵢ ⵙ ⵏⴼⴼⴻⵖ ⵖ ⵎⴰⵚⵔ”, transliterated as “s tarul ay s nffe Ma r”. This sentence, meaning “by the flight, or by the fleeing, or in a hurry, we left Egypt” finds slightly different equivalents in the Hagadah texts of neighbouring communities, varying in length and in content, as the following observations would suggest.

One close equivalent can be found in the nearby Judeo-Moroccan tradition as the sentence “בבראהי, ציאנו מנסיםך”. The sentence “בבראהי, ציאנו מנסיםך” is often attributed to the Hagadah text of Maimonides' Mishne Torah, and it is a mixture\(^{38}\) of both Aramaic “בבראהי” and Hebrew “ציאנו מנסיםך”. This sentence is preceded in the Judeo-Moroccan Hagadah tradition, from the example retrieved through AMAR (n.d.), a ten-inch long-play vinyl disc, undated and only catalogued as TAM 252, by “אתמול היינו עבדים, היום בני חורין. היום כאן, לשנה הבאה בארעא דישראל בני חורין”. The Moroccan Hagadah subsequently contains the aforementioned “בבראהי, ציאנו מנסיםך” and afterwards continues with the “תּהא דַלתְחתּמא דַעתּיא” section. Interestingly, no equivalent of the “בבראהי, ציאנו מנסיםך” sentence can be found in the Tunisian Hagadah traditions familiar to the author, nor in any other examined Tunisian Hagadah text; however almost all of the Hagadah texts of the Tunisian tradition insist on the necessity of saying only the part of “אתמול היינו עבדים, היום בני חורין. היום כאן, לשנה הבאה בארעא דישראל בני חורין” three times while raising the Matsot tray on the heads of the participants after pouring the second glass of wine, and is usually accompanied by ululations\(^{39}\). In contrast, the beginning of the Yemenite Magid contains only the expression “בבראהי, ציאנו מנסיםך” before the Magid, i.e. during the Yahats: When the host takes the three matsot and splits the one in the centre into two pieces in order to use the bigger one for the Afikomen, he elaborates on this action and chants: "האכדא קסם אללאה לבחאר, עלא תנאש תריק. חין כרג'ו ג'דודנא מן מאסאר, עלא יד סידנא ונбинא, מוסא בן עמרם חין פככהום וגאתהום, מאלכדמה אססעיבה לאלחורריא”. Note that the text is transcribed by the author, and unlike what the combination of gimel and geresh would indicate in Modern Hebrew, here it is used to indicate a voiced palato-alveolar sibilant, /ʒ/, and not a voiced palato-alveolar affricate, /ʒ/. The chant can be transliterated and translated into Classical Arabic as: “هكذاقسم الله البحرين. على أثني عشر طريق. حين خرج أجدادنا من مصر. على يد السيدنا ونبنين”. Note that this is qualified as a “translation” because of the differences that exist between Vernacular Moroccan and Classical Arabic, not only in phonology and grammar, but also in the meaning of certain words; the author has nevertheless attempted to keep as much of the Moroccan vernacular as possible, despite possible minor differences in the spelling and meaning. An English translation may be the following: “As such God has split the sea, into twelve paths. When our ancestors exited Egypt, by the hand of our master and our prophet, Moses son of Amram. When he took them (by force) and saved them from the hard labour to the freedom.”. The twelve paths are evidently a reference to the twelve tribes, and the passage seems to take the act of splitting the Matsah into a metaphorical dimension, and attempt to enhance the storytelling of the evening.

\(^{38}\) Such mixtures can be attributed to Hebrew and Aramaic being read at near equal levels in Medieval Jewish literatures, and almost exclusively for liturgical purposes. Both languages had each their own particular position.

\(^{39}\) This passage is intriguing for multiple reasons: It takes place right before the “Ha Lahma Anya” passage, yet its content could be seen as contradictory to it. The passage, mixing Hebrew and Aramaic as well, translates as:
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4.2.2 Ha Lahma Anya

At the very first section, "תּהא דַלתְחתּמא דַעתְנתּיא", which is written in Aramaic, it can be observed that, while the Hebrew and the Judeo-Tunisian indicate that the invitation is to the hungry and to those who need to come and celebrate the feast of Pesah, the Judeo-Amazigh equivalent extends the invitation to the hungry and to the thirsty to come in order to eat and drink. One possible explanation may be the following: As the spirit of the Judeo-Amazigh text suggests that its objective was to reproduce the scenes of the Hagadah as tangible as possible, distancing itself from the metaphorical images, the absence of a verb meaning “to spend passover” in the Judeo-Amazigh vernacular has rendered it so, that the translator had to approximate. The approximation therefore either linked Pesah to the particular wine drinking ritual specifically, or alternatively linked the invitation to drink with its other preceding element, i.e. to eat, hence postulating the feast as the combination of both eating and drinking activities.

The subsequent sentence, enunciating the wish to be in the Holy Land on the following year, ends with a different terminology from the one present in the Hebrew and Tunisian texts, which use “Israel”, in contrast to the Amazigh text, which uses “Bit Lmekdes”, i.e. “Bit Hamikdash”, as a euphemism. Explanations of this particular usage, which is not by any means strange or unaccounted for in similar contexts, remain debatable and unfulfilling due to the lack of sociopolitical and historical data from the period, as well as the motivations of the text’s different translators and transcribers.

4.2.3 Ma Nishtana

Ma Nishtana, or the Four Questions, is the following section detailing some of the aspects

“Yesterday we were slaves, today we are freemen. Today here, next year in the land of Israel as freemen.” In comparison, one of the “Ha Lahma Anya” passages that come later in the Hebrew Hagadah, and is incidentally unaccounted for in the Judeo-Amazigh Hagadah, reads "תּהשדַשתּתתא תּהתּכא דַעתְביֵדי, תְלשתּשתּנה דַהתּתבתּאה תְתבדַאתְרתּעא תְדהִישתּריֵאל תְתביֵני חווהִרין", and is translated as “This year slaves; next year, in the land of Israel free men”. The first point to note is the indication of the Hebrew Hagadah Hal Lahma Anya passage that the slavery continues “this year”, while the Judeo-Tunisian and Judeo-Moroccan texts contradict this with the addition of former passage, before reaffirming it again in the Aramaic passage. This could lead to the interpretation that, while the Hebrew texts hopes to be in Israel next year and become free, the North African texts hope to be in Israel next year and remain free, and withal reaffirming the slavery in the Aramaic passage. The second point to note is that the North African text also uses a different time indication than the yearly Seder comparison, and opts for “yesterday” and “today”, granted that their sense is metaphorical. The reasons to explain this amendment custom remain rather problematic; in any case, it certainly remains a local particularity that could be interpreted within the the text’s process and storytelling of the multiple milestones of Jewish history.

The Tunisian Hagadah itself uses an expression invented specifically for the occasion, which is “יָעַיְיֶד פָּסָח", transliterated as “ye'ayyed Pisah” and meaning “to celebrate Pesah”.

Footnote: 40 The Tunisian Hagadah itself uses an expression invented specifically for the occasion, which is “יָעַיְיֶד פָּסָח", transliterated as “ye'ayyed Pisah” and meaning “to celebrate Pesah”.
that make the night of Pesah special, among other. The questions originate from the Mishna, but can be found differently in the Jerusalem and Babylonian Talmuds: The first quotes three elements: Dipping twice instead of once, eating the Matsah, and the roasting of the Qorban Pesah meat. The second quotes the Maror in addition. As the Qorban Pesah sacrifice has not been practised after the destruction of the Temple\textsuperscript{41}, the element was omitted, and a new part about reclining at the celebration was added. The differences of the Judeo-Amazigh Hagadah are presented in the following subsections.

Raising the Four Questions can be further explored if seen through the eyes of the young children who ask "Ma Nishtana", i.e. "What changed"? A young child sees at this event the following: A kiddush, hand washing, the unusual dipping of a vegetable in something, and the splitting of unleavened bread. These procedures, as well as an announcement in Aramaic, seem unconventional compared to the weekly procedures of Shabat, and ought to raise questions in the mind of the child, in turn leading to the answers about these differences, and the explanations of the reasons of these differences through the subsequent retelling of the story of the Exodus. The importance of these explanations is a further clue in understanding the motivations behind the “Ha Lahma Anya” and the “Ma Nishtana” sections being translated into the vernaculars. As with the previous section, the order of the Mahzor Vitri to translate is viewed by BRACKMAN (2012) as a “source for the custom in many communities that a child recites the “Mah Nishtana” in the Hebrew and then translates it into Yiddish”. This translating tradition is also found in Yemenite communities: After “Ma Nishtana”, the smallest child recites a translation called "מה קבר", transliterated “"Ma Khabar”, and is then rewarded with an egg.

4.2.3.1 The Order of the Four Questions

One of the points of difference between Hagadah texts across the world is the order in which the four elements, i.e. Matsah, Maror, Dipping, and Reclining are presented. The aforementioned order is a common one amongst Jewish communities, particularly Ashkenazi and related groups. In contrast, the most common order for Sephardic, Mizrahi, and most Mediterranean groups, as well as Hasidic groups is the one found in the Rambam's Mishne Torah, id est Dipping, Matsah, Maror, and then Reclining. This is the order presented in the Tunisian Hagadah texts. Interestingly, the Judeo-Amazigh Hagadah presents a different order: Dipping, Matsah, Reclining, and then Maror, hence inverting the last two steps of the common Mediterranean four questions order.

The reasons of this different order remain debatable to say the least, and are related to the symbolism of the Four Questions. The Seder is very metaphorical in many aspects: Among other,

\textsuperscript{41} Qorban Pesah has been substituted by the Afikomen tradition in some communities.
the bitter Maror herbs are a reminder of the bitterness of slavery. Dipping the Maror is symbolic of the sweetening of the bitterness of this slavery. Eating the unleavened Matsah symbolises the haste of the departure of Jews during the Exodus, as such that they were unable to wait for the bread to rise. The reclining symbolises the nobility and freedom in contrast to a slave who had to stand while the master ate.

Aside from non-deliberate changes, the text of the Four Questions has reportedly adapted slowly throughout the centuries to incorporate some of the elements of local norms, Greco-Roman ones for instance, as GREENSPAN (2012) notes. Ma Nishtana reportedly included three statements only, and had a statement about eating roasted meat that it does not contain any longer. One of the points that signal this evolution is the fact that, within the four statements, two may sound redundant, as the Dipping part concerns dipping the Maror in the Haroset\(^{42}\), and therefore it would perhaps seem that there would be no need for another separate statement about the eating the Maror. On the other hand, others argue that the structure of these four statements contrast the biblical and rabbinic aspects of the holidays.

While the reasons for this particular order change in the Judeo-Amazigh text seem unclear, assuming it was not a transcription error, it remains important to remind that the section overall fulfils its intended purpose of raising awareness of the importance of the night. To conclude, the Four Questions are not actually questions, they are answers that need to inspire further questions, and as the aforementioned source notes it: It is indeed the ability to ask questions by children that constitute a beginning of freedom.

### 4.2.3.2 The Content of the Four Questions

Aside from the earlier-discussed difference in the order of the four questions, another equally interesting point in the Judeo-Amazigh Magid's Four Questions, is the content of one of the phrases. In the Hebrew and Judeo-Tunisian Hagadah texts, the phrases discussing the Reclining are as follows, respectively in Hebrew and Judeo-Tunisian, "שֶׁזוֹשֶׁת תַּבְשִׁלָה תָּכַנְךָו תַּאֲן הַוַּכְּלִין יֵתֵבָנָה יֵתֵבָנָה תַּכָּנְכָה; דַּהֲדַתְּלָה דַּזְּתָסְתְּלִין קָטַנְנִי תַּכָּנְכָה;" and "אַדָּי פֵּי גְּמִיעַ אֲלִיאָי אֲחַנַּא נֵאָאַלְו נִנֵּשַרְוָנְו סֵוָא קָאוַדְיָנְו סֵוָא מַטְקְיָנְו וַאֲלִיאָי נֵאָאַלְו סֵוָא מַטְקְיָנְו וַאֲלִיאָי נֵאָאַלְו סֵוָא מַטְקְיָנְו אַדָּי פֵּי גְּמִיעַ אֲלִיאָי נֵאָאַלְו נִנֵּשַרְוָנְו סֵוָא קָאוַדְיָנְו וַאֲלִיאָי נֵאָאַלְו סֵוָא מַטְקְיָנְו וַאֲלִיאָי نِدُ�ُّلْلَة يَا نَلْتَسَ نَسِعَا نَنَزُدُم سْوَا نَنْغُزِنَى; אֱלֹהִים אֲלִיאָי נֵאָאַלְו נَنֵזַדְמ". Both phrases clearly indicate that, in this night the participants eat while they are reclining. Interestingly, the Judeo-Amazigh phrase transliterated as “kullu iḍan ṏkk‘ni da nttsa nsu swa neɣ̣ “zdem swa ngg’en; iḍ ddeɣ akk‘ nɣ̣ “zdem”, and roughly translated word to word as “all nights we are eat drink or sitting or lying down; night this all sitting.” presents a noticeable difference. The sentence clearly does not describe the participants celebrating in the same way their other co-religionists would, i.e. “reclining”, but describes them as “sitting”, which somewhat

\(^{42}\) Or vinegar for Yemenite communities, among other
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contradicts the purpose of the question, as the intention was to point out that this night, Jews, now masters of their own freedom after the Exodus, can eat while reclining as the nobles of the time could.

Reasons to explain this enigmatic translation, provided in GALAND-PERNET & ZAFRANI (1970) as well as its secondary sources remain ambiguous. It may be possible, supposing no human error has been made through the process of collection and translation, and supposing that the meaning of “neɣ“zdem” in Judeo-Amazigh maintains its meaning of “sitting”, all while bearing in mind that the translation attempts to stay far from metaphors and present a tangible account, that the translator chose to use it to convey the same nobility aspect in a different manner, in contrast to the perhaps more common way of eating while lying down. This would mean a break from the Hebrew text not just in content but also in the form, since the Hebrew text presents a narration pattern of “either A or B, … but B”, while the Judeo-Amazigh text exhibits the pattern “either A or B, … but A”, with A referring to sitting and B to reclining.

Another possible explanation revolves around a misinterpretation of the meaning of the words “neɣ“zdem” and “ngg”en” in GALAND-PERNET & ZAFRANI (1970) or their secondary sources. Supposing that this misinterpretation is due to the possibility that the word in Judeo-Amazigh had a different meaning, or was borrowed from another linguistic variety where the word had a different meaning or experienced semantic change, we could suppose that the sentence would have a content consistent with the Hebrew text, i.e. “all the nights we eat and drink either lying down or sitting; this night we eat lying down”. While this would bridge the content divergence gap, it would still indicate yet another break in form vis-à-vis the Rambam Hagadah text, as the presented pattern would become “either B or A, … but B” instead of “either A or B, … but B”, i.e. the inverse of the Hebrew text order of the actions of sitting and reclining, referred to respectively and in accordance with the previous paragraph as A and B.

Clues to either possibilities include the following: One one hand, the root of the word “ngg”en” can mean in multiple other Amazigh linguistic varieties “to remain”, “to stay”, “to squat”, “to sit”, or “to sit for a long time”, among other. Two close roots, “GW” and “GWR”, mean respectively “to be inside” and “to squat” in Tamazight, among other. Similar words can even be found in modern North African vernaculars; for example the word “gawwen”, which means “to gather for the purpose of celebration” or “to come for the purpose of celebration” in the Tunisian vernacular. On the other hand however, it needs to be noted with utmost attention that, while acknowledging the different meaning of the word “ngg”en” would make the content more consistent, despite the previously described break in the pattern, it remains in contradiction with the
two following elements: First, while the meaning of the root of the word “neɣwzdem” can be reinterpreted in Judeo-Amazigh, it is merely “to sit” in Tamazight. Second, reinterpreting the meaning of the root of the word “neɣwzdem” would oblige its reinterpretation in a subsequent passage where it reappears again in the text as “ɣwzdem” and where GALAND-PERNET & ZAFRANI (1970) and its secondary sources translate it as “sitting”. This reinterpretation would however harmonise the Judeo-Amazigh translation with the Hebrew text and the Judeo-Tunisian Hagadah where the meaning of the word in both passages is “reclining” and not “sitting”, and all the passage reads “शेषितו תמכסה היתביתני תבדרק” meaning “they were reclining at (a Seder in) Bni Berak”, in contrast to the Judeo-Amazigh “ɣwzdem Bni Birak” meaning “they were sitting at (a Seder in) Bni Berak”.

Alternatively, the usage of “ɣwzdem” in “ɣwzdem Bni Birak” could also mean the consistency of the translation in highlighting the translator’s own previously chosen nobility status of “sitting” by consistently reapplying it to the sages, if the reader would chooses the first explanation, or the translator’s consistency in making the misinterpretation of the different usage of the word, if the reader chooses the second explanation. If only one option has to be chosen, the author, while cautious of the validity of the first explanation, would choose the second explanation, i.e. a possible misinterpretation of the meaning of the word, since it would allow for more harmonisation with the Hebrew text and with similar translations, despite hinting at the unlikely possibility of flaws during the process of retrieval, translation, and possible examination of the text.

As a final note to this subsection, it may be worth indicating that the Egyptian Hagadah, written in Classical Arabic and retrieved from Reuben Moskovitch Printing House (1917), shows the same Hebrew passage “שे�שתו תמכסה היתביתני תבדרק” translated as “they were gathered in Bni Berak”, using the Arabic word “اجتمع” and a different syntax, all while properly translating the Reclining passage in the Four Questions using “sitting” and “reclining” in the same pattern and content as the Hebrew text, i.e. “on all nights we eat sitting or reclining, and on this night we all recline”.

4.2.4 Other

After the “Ma Nishtana” section, one interesting word in the Judeo-Amazigh text is “Perɛu”. The world is seemingly pronounced, or at least transcribed, in the same manner as the Hebrew text, i.e. “פרע”, despite the voiceless bilabial stop, /p/, not being present in Amazigh languages. Another particularity is not undergoing a phonological change to the more common voiceless

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43 The root is “ZDM” or also “JDM”. Switching between sibilants, in this case the voiced alveolar sibilant /z/ and the voiced palato-alveolar sibilant, /ʒ/, is very common in all North African linguistic varieties, be it Amazigh or not. For instance the Arabic “زوج”, meaning “pair, is pronounced in Tunisian as “zuz” and in Moroccan as “jjú”.
labiodental fricative, /f/, in contrast to the Tunisian version where this change occurs. Nevertheless, neither the Judeo-Amazigh nor the Judeo-Tunisian adopt the Classical Arabic equivalent ٍفرعون “فرعون”, as the alveolar nasal, /n/, is not present on the last onset.

As an example of how word borrowing from other languages into Judeo-Amazigh works, both semantically and phonologically, the passage 알יאנו  אֱלָהָה מָצָא בִּלְתָם אֶתְרָאָת בָּטָו could be examined: While the Hebrew text translates roughly word-to-word as: “And took us, God, our God, out of there with a strong hand and a stretched arm”, the Judeo-amazigh text reads “issuf χ αχχ Rbbi nne χ dinna χ s ufus n ddrė; s ufus ikuwan” and can be roughly translated word-to-word as “took us out God of ours of there with a hand of an arm; with a robust hand”. As it can be observed, the main difference is the usage of “hand” twice. This is a result of the fact that “ufus”, here found in the word’s construct state, could mean at the same time “hand” and “arm”, in Amazigh and in other North African vernaculars as well. The lack of a proper word hence seemed to orient the translator into using the word “ddrė”. If this term is supposed to be borrowed, which is very probable seeing the presence of the voiced pharyngeal fricative, /ʕ/, on its final onset, it would very likely be borrowed from the Arabic “ذراع” but could also be possibly borrowed from the Hebrew “זרוע”, with both sharing a common etymological root and both meaning “arm”. The sentence used to translate the metaphor about the arm in Judeo-Amazigh is “hand of an arm”, and the first part could simply be interpreted as “took us out with an arm”. The second part, “s ufus ikuwan”, can be an example of the slight meaning distortions that could take place: While the Hebrew text states that the arm was stretched, i.e. “תְּנטתותּיה”, the Judeo-Amazigh text states that the hand, or arm, was merely “robust” in lieu of “extended” or “stretched”. The word “stretched” itself is used in the Hebrew text to mean “strong”, a word which the Judeo-Amazigh uses straightforwardly in a manner reminiscent of high-context to low-context language translations. The Judeo-Amazigh translation remains at odds with the Tunisian translation that uses the word “ رمضان” to describe the arm, which has the exact same meaning as the Hebrew word “תְּנטתותּיה”. One question remains unanswered however, and it concerns the order in which the statement was provided: The Hebrew text mentions a hand then an arm, and in contrast the Judeo-Amazigh text mentions an arm explicitly at first then a hand or an arm depending on the respective dialect. The translator could have used “issuf χ αχχ Rbbi nne χ dinna χ s ufus ikuwan; s ufus n ddrė”, or alternatively “Issuf χ αχχ Rbbi; Rbbi nne χ dinna χ s ufus ikuwan; s ufus n ddrė”, to further harmonise with the structure of the Hebrew text.

Furthermore, another example of a word in the same paragraph of which the etymology can

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44 The Classical Arabic word is itself likely borrowed from Hebrew, as the main channel of transmission would have likely been the biblical texts.
45 As opposed to its free state, i.e. “afus”.
be questionable is “ikuwan”: While the term seems to share a common etymological root with the Arabic “قوي”, meaning “strong”, it is not known whether the term has been long borrowed from Arabic into Judeo-Amazigh or from another Amazigh variety where the term’s meaning was established, or the possibly unorthodox option that it was not borrowed, and that it might have been part of the common Amazigh vocabulary, particularly seeing its basic meaning, which must have certainly been present in earlier stages of the development of the language.

One example of a borrowed expression is “Sim n 獯binary to mean the Hebrew “שד’אֶחָריִית”. The word “登入” is from the Arabic “صباح”, which is the exact word present in the Judeo-Tunisian equivalent of the expression, i.e. “שמע מתאע אצבאח”. The word “Sim” is from the Hebrew “שד’א”. As it can be observed, both Judeo-Amazigh and Judeo-Tunisian expressions copy the structure of the Hebrew expression, i.e. in regards to the usage of the preposition to express genitive construction, despite other alternatives being possible.

Expressions and euphemism related to Divinity, such as “Haqadosh Barukh Hu” or “Adobai Elokenú”, are simply substituted by “Rbbi”, from the Arabic “ربي” meaning “my God”. The word “Rbbi” does not present other declinations when the context indicated a different meaning: For example “Our God” is not written as the Arabic “ربنا”, transliterated “Rabbana”, which would mean “Our God”, yet the Amazigh usage is “Rbbi nneך”, which, while meaning “Our God” in Judeo-Amazigh, would literally mean “Our God of Mine” if each word were to be translated accurately and with their initial meaning taken into account. The usage of “Rbbi” can be hypothesised to be explained, either by the common practice present within Amazigh linguistic varieties tending to add vowels at the end of borrowed words, in this case the Arabic “رب”, or the possibility that the Arabic “ربي” was borrowed to initially mean “God” in a general manner, and not “my God”. This feature, i.e. using “Rbbi” or “Rabbi” to mean “God” and not particularly “My God”, is also present in other non-Amazigh North African vernaculars. In comparison, the Judeo-Tunisian and the Egyptian Hagadah texts use the same euphemisms as the Hebrew text. The Reuben Moskovitch Printing House (1917) Egyptian Hagadah, written in Classical Arabic and not in Egyptian vernacular, uses the Arabic word “الله”, which has a stronger Islamic connotation, in contrast to “الرب”, which is more common in non-Muslim religious texts in Egypt, in order to refer to God.

46 The author has opted for the usage of this euphemism in the main text to transcribe the known similar Hebrew expression containing the letters “n” and “h”.
47 Incidentally “Rbbi” is the same transcription of the Hebrew word meaning “rabbi”, here in the text transcribed with an initial lower-case letter to avoid confusion.
5 Conclusion

This document sought to research, to the best possible extent, a rare document and testimony about the existence of a now-virtually-inexistent community, as well as its history and one of its main festivals, Pesah, revolving around the Seder, in turn around the Hagadah, in turn around the Magid, and in turn around the very same history of the Jews. The information presented here would hopefully be a contribution to further future research about the Judeo-Amazigh communities, one of the least studied Jewish groups despite the rich history and the proximity within the Mediterranean basin. While Arabocentric politics in North Africa have not been very keen on encouraging research on Amazigh history and cultures, let alone those of the Judeo-Amazighs, research elsewhere has nevertheless continued to explain and explore the Hagadah texts for centuries. Hopefully the author has been able to unveil some of the essence and the particularities of the Judeo-Amazigh Hagadah text; and in case not, then leshana haba.

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