Revue d'Histoire Méditerranéenne.Vol.8, n° 02. Juin 2026, p. 280 - 293

P-ISSN: 2716-764X, E-ISSN: 2716-7747

Reçu le : 27 – 02 - 2026	Accepté le : 30 – 05 - 2026	Publié le : 30 – 06 -2026

Asfugel n Yennayer deg Lezzayer: tazrawt tiraɣerfant n yimesnasen, leɛwyed, d wansayen deg kra n temnaḍin

The celebration of Yennayer in Algeria: An ethnographic study of practices, customs, and traditions in several regions

FERGUENIS Lyes
Université de Béjaia, Algerie
lyes.ferguenis@univ-bejaia.dz

Agzul :

Tazrawt n tgemmi d ubaɣur adelsan i d-newret ɣer lejdud qqnen srid ɣer umezruy n ugdud amaziɣ yettidiren deg wakal n tmazɣa. Tazrawt-a terza yiwen gar wansayen iqdimen yeqqnen ɣer uzermezruy : d asfugel n tewwurt n useggas. Deg umagrad-a ad d-nawi ɣef usfugel n Yennayer imi yesɛa adeg deg wulawen n yimezdaɣ n tefriqt ugafa, ama d iɛerbawalen ama d imaziɣen n yiles. Γas aṭas n temsal i ten-yessemxalfen maca llant waṭas daɣen i ten-yezdin am wansay-a. Yal aseggas, yal axxam ad ig tameɣra anda iɛeggalen n twacult akk ad d-zzin i yiwet n terbut ad ččen imensi. Iswi i sɛan deg usfugel-a akk d yiwen : d asfilet akken ad yili useggas i d-teddun d aseggas n lehna ara d-yawin lxir d uɛwin imi yeqqen ɣer waṭas n temsal, ladɣa tafellaḥt.

Iswi amenzu n tezrawt-a d asissen d uglam n wansay-a, d wayen yeqqnen ɣer usfugel-is, deg kra n temnaḍin deg tmurt n Lezzayer, ladɣa leɛwayed-is, tineflisin-is, d yimesnasen-is. Syin ɣer-s, ad neɛreḍ ad d-nesken amek yella umgired n usfugel gar temnaḍt d tayeḍ imi ahat yal yiwet ɣur-s tulmisin d tneflisin i yemxalafen ɣef tiyaḍ, d wa i d iswi-nneɣ awissin deg umahil-a. Ihi deg tezrawt-a ad neɛreḍ ad d-nerr ɣef yiseqsiyen-a : d acu-ten leɛwayed, d yimesnasen i xeddmen yizzayriyen deg usfugel n Yennayer ? d acu-tent tneflisin iɣef ttkenniden ? amek yella umgired gar temnaḍin i t-yesfugulen ?

Iwakken ad nessali tazrawt-a, nexdem tasleḍt tiraɣerfant ara aɣ-yeğğen ad nessiweḍ ad d-neglem u ad negzu tilawtin i iḍerrun. Di tazwara nefreẓ-d yal lɛada iman-is, yal amesnas iman-is ; yal yiwen neqqen-it ma nezmer ɣer tneflisin swayes ttamnen imezdaɣ acku tineflisin kecment deg wayen ur d-yeqqar umdan : *lɛib*. Syin nesserwes gar-asen iwakken ad d-nesken tulmisin n yal tamnadṭ.

Asagem-nneɣ d win i d-nugem s snat n tarrayin. Tamezwarut, nugem-d seg yidlisen i yuran ɣef usentel-a. Tis snat nga tisastanin deg unnar anda nemlal d yimsulɣa i izedɣen deg temnaḍin i iqerben (ɣer Leqbayel d yicawiyen). Anect-a yeğğa-ya-aɣ negmer-d aṭas n yimesnasen, d waṭas n tneflisin, imi tineggura-ya mačči dayen i d-yeqqar umdan s sshala. Tuget n yimsulɣa ttkakrin ad mmeslayen fell-asent. Ma d tid i ibeɛden nḥawec-d isallen s wallalen atraren (zoom, what-up) ɣer yimezdaɣ i nessen i izedɣen ladɣa ɣer yimẓabiyen (deg Tɣerdayt), ɣer yizennatiyen (deg Timimun), neɣ ɣer yicelḥiyen n Nɛama, nekfa tasastant-nneɣ s yiɛerbawalen yettidiren deg Tihert.

Tazrawt-a tesken-d belli ansay-a d amerkansi, yečču̇r d leɛwayed, imesnasen, d tneflisin. Wiyi zemren ad ilin zdin akk timnaḍin ideg nga amahil-a ; akken i zemren daɣen ad ilin mgaraden seg temnaḍt ɣer tayeḍ. Tesken-d daɣen aṭas n tilawin yeqqnen ɣer tneflisin swayes ttamnen wid n zik. Rnu ɣer waya, s umahil-a nessaweḍ ad d-nesken daɣen azal tesɛa tmeṭṭut deg usfugel d uḥraz n wansay-a bac yezger acḥal n tsutwin. D wazal i as-yefka udabu i usfugel-a (ladɣa aṣenseb-is), i t-yeğğan ad yemhaz u ad d-yufrar, ad yuɣal d ass mucaɛen.

Awalen-tisura: Yennayer, leɛwayed (customs), tineflisin (beliefs), imesnasen (practices)

Abstract

This study sheds light on one of the antique traditions, "Yennayer", the new agricultural year of most northern African countries where Amazigh people dwell. Although most of these countries were arabised by the spread of Islam, the celebration is done in every January of each year to perpetuate their ancient identity that has survived for thousands of years. Yenayer festivities often include handy crafts exhibitions, cultural events, and hearty meals symbolizing abundance and prosperity for the coming year such as couscous and some traditional pastries.

The primary objective of this study is to give a concept to this tradition with all of its different fundamentals including costums and beliefs, and to see how the celebration of Yennayer differs from one region to another. Here we seek to clarify these following questions: What Algerians do to celebrate yennayer and what are the main practices and beliefs that are adopted? What beliefs are associated with it? And what are the differences that can be observed among these regions where yennayer is celebrated?

To reach our objectives, we conducted an ethnographic study, which allowed us to report the facts observed in the field. First, we recorded every costum and belief separately and then we linked each other according to their compatibility. Then, we compared the assorted data gathered to identify the specific characteristics of each region under study. Besides, our corpus was assembled using two methods: literature reviews based on books and previous researches that have been done on the subject, and a field survey: participants' observation and face -to- face interviews. In addition, we received some reports and witnesses of local inhabitants of different remote areas using modern communication tools ; this approach allowed us to collect numerous information.

This inquiry has demonstrated how Yennayer as a tradition is very rich. It takes in several practices, beliefs and rituals. Through the present work, we also highlighted the important role of Amazigh women in both the celebration and the transmission of this tradition over the years. Furthermore, the recognition of the government has given it a new significance, promoting its development and an effective understanding of this cultural heritage.

The celebration of Yennayer today differs from that of the past. It is; therefore, likely that future research will focus more on the transformations this festival has undergone over the generations. Similarly, other field studies, more extensive and in-depth-studies, could be conducted to better understand the evolution of this tradition through time to become nowardays an important day in the Amazigh tradition.

Keywords: Yennayer, customs, beliefs, practices.

Contact's email address : lyes.ferguenis@univ-bejaia.dz

Tazwert

S tgemmi d yidles i d-tbennu tmurt amezruy-is; yes-sen i d-tettban, i d-tettufrar gar tiyaḍ. D nutenti i d takerḍiwt n tnekwa n ugdud yettidiren deg-s. Idles n tmura ur yeqqin ara ɣer tektiwin kan, maca yeqqen daɣen ɣer leɛwayed, ansayen, imesnasen d tneflisin d waṭas-nniḍen. Yes-s agdud i yettwassen, i yettzuxxu.

Tazrawt n tgemmi d ubaɣur adelsan i d-newret ɣef lejdud qqnen srid ɣer umezruy n ugdud amaziɣ yettidiren deg wakal n tmazɣa. Tazrawt-a terza yiwen gar wansayen iqdimen yeqqnen ɣer uzermezruy : d asfugel n « Tewwurt n useggas » neɣ « Yennayer ».

Asentel-a mačči aṭas n tzerawin tussnanin i yellan fell-as, tuget ad ten-naf d imagraden deg yiɣmisen kan. Gar yimahilen ussnanen yemmugen ɣef usentel-a ad d-nebder sin n yimagraden: win n E. Destaing (1905) i d-yewwin ɣef leɛwayed d yimesnasen deg Bni Snous ; d win n K. Ouaras (2022) i d-yewwin ɣef tarrayin n usfugel n yennayer tura d twuriwin-is. Ad dnebder daɣen sin n yidlisen, amenzu d win n S. Bouterfa (2001) i d-yemmeslayen ɣef taḍra n yennayer, azamal* d leɛwayed yeqqnen ɣer wayyur-a d wassaɣ yesɛa d *Janus*, d wunniḍ afukan* d wuniḍ agguran*. Wis sin d adlis amazday i d-yessuffeɣ Useqqamu Unnig (2020), deg-s aṭas n yimagraden ɣef usfugel n yennayer. Imahilen-a d tigejdit deg tezrawin tiraɣerfanin, imi d-wwint ɣef waṭas n yimesnasen yerzan yennayer.

Yennayer, Nnayer, neɣ Yennar akken i as-sawalen ɣer yicawiyen, d awal i « yeqqnen ɣer wayyur n *Janvier* alaṭini, « Januarius mensis », i d-yekkan seg wawal Janus i yellan d Rebbi, d

aɛessas n twura ; d netta i yefkan isem-is i wayyur-a n Yennayer, i yellan d ayyur amenzu n useggas, ayyur swayes i ileddi useggas mi ara yenneqlab yiṭij. Snat n twura n uneqlab-a neğrent-d abrid i sin n yizegnan n umnenniḍ aẓudyak, win yettalin d win i d-yeṭarayen » (Boulifa, 2001 :16)[1].
Llan daɣen kra n yismazzaɣen i t-yeqqnen ɣer
« turda n Yennayer - yan ayur (= yiwen wayyur) (anamek-is zun «ayyur amezwaru») i skaren kra n yimassanen ibujaden n tutlayt, d asemluffeq kan. Acku awal Yennayer, i d-yettbanen s tidet amzun d awal amaziɣ, lemmer d-yekki seg tmaziɣt, acuɣer ur nekkat ad d-nessefhem akka, s tarrayt-a, ismawen n wayyuren-nniḍen am furar, ibrir, mayu, yunyu, yulyu, ɣuct, ctember, tuber, nunember, dujember ? » (Rabḥi, 2020 : 127).

Deg ugafa n tefriqt, yal axxam yesfuggul ass amenzu n yennayer, tikti n usfugel-a d tin yeqqnen ɣer ddin lmasiḥ ɛlaḥsab n El Briga (1996), imi d nutni i yesfuggulen talalit n Ɛisa Lmasiḥ, lɛid n tuccfa, lɛid Lqalandus. Ihi, Yennayer « yesserta tameɣra n tlalit n ɛisa yellan deg 24 Duğember, i iteddun akked Nuwal amasiḥi » (idem)[2].

D turdiwin kan i yellan ɣef tuget n yisallen i yellan ɣef laṣel d umezruy n yennayer. Aṭas yimahilen i yemmugen ɣef taḍra-ines, maca aya ur d-yekcim ara deg yiswan n umahil-a. D Janus neɣ Cacnaq, di Maser i d-yeḍra neɣ di Qerṭaj, asfugel n Yennayer yesɛa adeg deg wulawen n yimezdaɣ n tefriqt ugafa, ama d iɛerbawalen ama d imaziɣen n yiles. Γas yemxalaf udrum-nsen d yini n wudmawen-nsen, ɣas yemxalaf wadeg anda ttidiren, yezdi-ten wansay-a, yal aseggas ad gen tameɣra anda iɛeggalen n twacult akk ad d-zzin i yiwet n terbut (H. Genevois, 1975).

Iswi i sɛan deg usfugel-a akk d yiwen : d asfilet akken ad yili useggas i d-teddun d aseggas n lehna d lxir, ad yewwet ugeffur wad imi yeqqen ɣer tfellaḥt ɣer wayen akk i d-yettak ugama, acku, ur ilaq ara ad nettu dakken imaziɣen imezwura, neɣ ɣas ad d-nini imdanen imezwura deg umaḍal, ttamnen dakken ayen i iḍerrun deg ugama, ama d aḍu, d ageffur, d ideflawen, d rrɛud, d zznazel, atg., d tunṭicin n Rebbi Ameqran i yimdanen i d-yexleq, ɣef wanect-a ilaq ad qerben, ad ḥemmlen, ad knun, ad ɛebden irebbiyen imeẓyanen, zun yella Rebbi n waḍu, yella Rebbi n udfel, atg. Tikti-ya d tawessart maččі d tamaynut, aṭas n yimesnalsiyen i imalen ɣer ɣur-s, yerna uran fell-as am A. Lang (1904), W. Schmidt (1912-1955), d E. B. Tylor (1871).
Tazrawt-a ur terzi ara tasleḍt d unadi deg umezruy ɣef laṣel n yennayer, maca terza amek sfugulen imezdaɣ n tefriqt ugafa yennayer. Deg umahil-a, ad neɛreḍ ad d-nesken ma yella umgired deg usfugel, amek yella umgired gar temnaḍt d tayeḍ imi ahat yal yiwet ɣur-s tulmisin d tneflisin i yemxalafen ɣef tiyaḍ. Ihi deg tezrawt-a ad neɛreḍ ad d-nerr ɣef yiseqsiyen-a : d acu-ten leɛwayed d yimesnasen i xeddmen izzayriyen deg usfugel n Yennayer ? amek yella umgired gar temnaḍin i t-yesfugulen ?

Iwakken ad nessali tazrawt-a, neɛreḍ ad d-nagem, isallen ɣef leɛwayed, ansayen, imesnasen d tneflisin yettmagan/ yettilin ilmend n usfugel n Yennayer, s snat n tarrayin :
- Taɣuri n yidlisen: Nugem-d kra deg-sen seg yidlisen i yuran ɣef usentel-a;
- Tasastant deg unnar: syin nga tisastanin deg unnar iwakken ad nessiweḍ ad d-negmer tulmisin i iferẓen yal tamnaḍt ɣef tayeḍ. Llant tsastanin deg unnar i nga nekkni s yiman-nneɣ, deg temnaḍin i iqerben : am Tmeẓrit[3] akked Uzellagen[4] deg tmurt n Leqbayel, am Icemmul[5] ɣer yicawiyen) . Ma d

[1] « correspond au mois de janvier latin, « JANUARIUS MENSIS », mois de janvier, qui tire son nom de Janus (l'anuarius), à la fois dieu et gardien des portes, qui a donné son nom au mois de janvier, qui est le premier mois de l'année, celui par lequel elle s'ouvre, à partir du solstice d'hiver. Les portes solsticiales donnant accès aux deux moitiés ascendante et descendante du cycle zodiacal. »
[2] « celui-ci soit assimilé à la fête de Mouloud Aïsa du 24 djambir (décembre) julien, correspondant au Noël chrétien »
[3] Taɣiwant n tmeẓrit, d tɣiwant i yernan ɣer ugezdu n Bgayet. Tebɛed s 40 ikilumitren fell-as. Zzint-as-d tɣiwanin Sidiɛic akked Ifnayen seg ugafa, Imsisen akked wat Jlil seg unẓul, taɣiwant n Yiẓnayen seg usammar, taɣiwant Sidiɛeyyad seg umalu.
[4] D taɣiwant i yellan ɣer yiri n ubrid ameqran wis 21, tettwassen s waman n « Ifri ». Tezga-d deg ugezdu n Bgayet, iɣef tebɛed s 55K. Tezzi-yas-d tɣiwant n Cmini seg tama n ugafa, taɣiwant n Uqbu seg unẓul, taɣiwant n Sedduq seg usammar, ma yella seg tama n umala d At Ziki (Tizi wezzu)

tid i ibeɛden nḥawec-d isallen s talelt n yimsulɣa i aɣ-d-ixedmen tisastanin deg unnar: deg Tnent[6] ɣer yicelḥiyen[7] , deg Ugrut[8] *ɣer yizennatiyen*. Deg temnaḍin-a i ibeɛden daɣen llan isallen i d-nejmeɣ s wallalen atraren (zoom, what-up) ɣer yimezdaɣ i nessen i izedɣen ladɣa ɣer yimẓabiyen (deg Berriyan[9]), neɣ ɣer yimaziɣen d yiɛerbawalen n Tihert, deg Mellaku[10].

Deg ugmar n yisallen d yisefka isnilsanen, neḍfer tarrayt n "udiwenni usrid" akked yimsulɣa, imi tarrayt-a ad aɣ-d-teğğ ad nemlil srid d yimɣaren akked temɣarin, u ad nejmeɛ ugar n yisallen, i iseḥḥan, i yeččuren d tidet akked tilawt tamettit.

S yiseqsiyen i d-nheyya yakan, akked kra n leɛwayed d yimesnasen i nessen yakan nekkni, neḍfer snat n tarrayin n useqsi:

1- Aseqsi usrid: amedya: d acu i t-xeddmen deg yimensi n yennayer? tzellum neɣ xaṭi?

2-Aseqsi arusrid: tikwal terra-yaɣ tmara, ad d-nezzi i tmeslayt iwakken ad d-nḥawec kra n yisallen uffiren, imi tuget n yimsulɣa ttsetḥin ad d-mmeslayen ɣef kra n tneflisin ladɣa ayen yerzan lerwaḥ akked leğnun.

Ayen yerzan imsulɣa, nefren imsulɣa imeqranen deg leɛmer: wid yesɛan ugar n 60 n yiseggasen imi d nutni i d-yecfan ɣef leɛwayed n zik, yerna, ssnan leɛwayed n tura; rnu ɣer waya, imi ssnen tineflisin swayes i ttamnen wid n zik. Gar yirgazen d tullas, negmer-d isallen ɣer 12 n yimsulɣa, mebla wid i aɣ-d-ixedmen tisastanin.

Ayen yerzan ineggura-ya i d-nebder (imsulɣa i aɣ-d-ixedmen tisastanin), nefren iselmaden n tmaziɣt yesɣarayen dinna, imi nutni ssnen tarrayin tussnanin n unadi. S talelt n yiseqsiyen i asen-nefka i d-gan tisastanin.

1- Kra n timiḍranin yesɛan assaɣ d usfugel n yennayer

Tazrawt n usfugel n yennayer yekcem deg taɣult n tesnamdant tadelsant neɣ tiraɣerfant n yimesnasen n usfugel. Timiḍranin « amesnas », « taneflist », d « lɛada » sɛant azal d ameqran deg tegzi n unadi-ya. Amesnas d « tagruma n yirmad, s unamek-nniḍen d aẓeṭṭa yettwaddsen s tigawin »[11] (T. Schatzki, 2002:71).), xeddment medden yal tikkelt mi ara d-yaweḍ wass n usfugel neɣ i uheyyi-ines. Tuget n yimesnasen sɛan tinelisin, swayes ttamnen yes-sent medden. Yal amesnas ɣur-s tanefliset yeqqnen ɣer-s, taneflis-a « ur telli d tilawt n telkint tamagdazt, ur telli d tanfalit n uxayel, maca d aṣeggem angaw i tikti « amzun akken », tulmisit-is dakken taflest d ccekk ttilin lwaḥi deg wansay-nni »[12] akken i d-yenna A. Piette (1993: 114). Anect-a mačči d alugen imi llan yimesnasen ur sɛin ara taneflist, neɣ ahat d rwaḥ i truḥ kan (deg temnaḍt-nni). Taneflist ihi dayen swacu i ttamnen akken medden, nwan ma xedmen lḥağa ya ad d-yeḍru waya d waya!

Ayen yettmagan akk akka qqaren-as lɛada, laɛada-ya tewwi-d lğehd-is seg tnummi, d uqader n wansay, d tikkin n waṭas n medden deg-s, dayen i tt-yeğğan mazal tettidir deg tmetti, am usfel i xeddmen akk medden.

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[5] D taɣiwant i d-yezgan deg yidurar n Luris, deg ugezdu n Batent, tebɛed fell-as s wazal n 53Km, tezzi-as-d Fumṭb seg ugafa, Tiɣanimin seg unẓul, Yabus akked lḥemmamat seg usammar, Arris seg umalu.

[6] D taɣiwant deg ugezdu n Nɛama, tebɛed fell-as s wazal n 96 K, tezzi-as-d Ɛin ben xlil seg ugafa, Burzeg seg unẓul, Ɛin Ssefra seg usammar, Lemlaliḥ (tamurt n Lmerruk) seg umalu.

[7] Mi nga tasastant nufa dakken imezdaɣ n Tnent ur ḥsiben ara iman-nsen d icelḥiyen, mi ara nettmseslay d yimsulɣa, i nenwa d icelḥiyen qqaren-aɣ-d : « *Nečni nessawal tamazixt, ul nessiwil cay tacelḥit, d aɛraben i d-an-iɣ-d-aqqaren d icelḥiyen nečni* », meḥsub nutni ttmeslayen tamaziɣt, d aɛraben i zedɣen gar-asen i sen-yesswalen icelḥiyen.

[8] D taɣiwant deg ugezdu n Ɣerdaya, tebɛed fell-as s wazal n 44 Km, tezzi-as-d Leɣwaṭ seg ugafa akked umalu, Bunura seg unẓul, Lgerrara seg usammar.

[9] D taɣiwant deg ugezdu n Nɛama, tebɛed fell-as s wazal n 96 Km, tezzi-as-d Ɛin ben xlil seg ugafa, Burzeg seg unẓul, Ɛin Ssefra seg usammar, Lemlaliḥ (tamurt n Lmerruk) seg umalu

[10] Tebɛed s wazal n 20 Km ɣef Tihert.

[11] « a practice is a bundle of activities, that is to say, an organized nexus of actions »

[12] « La croyance n'est pas l'affirmation d'une certitude absolue ni l'expression d'une pure illusion, elle est une disposition pragmatique à agir "comme si", caractérisée par la présence simultanée de la confiance et du doute, au cœur même de l'activité rituelle. »

Asfel d timezliwt n umuddir (tisenɣit), s yisem n tesreḍt neɣ xaṭi. Asegzawal *Le Robert en ligne* yesbadu-t-id akka: « Tuntict tusekkirt i tayuct, yesɛan tulmist n useddrem (timenɣiwt s tidet neɣ timenɣiwt tasaɣant, s usruɣu) neɣ tiğğit s lebɣi i wayen akken yettwabuddun [13]».
Asekkir-a n usfel yella si zik, ur ssawḍen ara imazrayen ad as-gen azemz melmi i tebda, llan wid i t-yeqqnen ɣer tɣermiwin timezwura am tɣerma tasumarit, d tɣerma tamaṣrit taqdimt
(J-P. Albert d B. Midant-Reynes, 2012); lla wid t-yeqqnen ɣer tarwa n Adem am Leqran d Ṭurat.

Asfel ɣer Leqbayel « yeskananay-d tafugla n userwel, sexdament iwakken ad sejjin aṭṭanen yemxalafen (leqriḥ n uqerruy, tawla, telmej…) ladɣa tid yettwaḥsaben kkant-d seg tezrirt n wayen n diri (yit tiṭ, tagrint, tiɛiqert…) ; yal yiwen seg waṭṭanen-a yesɛa asfel d ayla-s[14] »
(Abrous, 1989 : 961). Timezliwt n umuddir, ama d amdan[15] ama d aɣersiw (yettferfir neɣ iteddu), i ttakken yimdanen (-nniḍen) d asfel yettili-d ilmend n kraḍet n tmental-a, akken i ten-tt-id-tebder (Virolle, 1999 : 177).

1- Iseflan yesɛan assaɣ d wunniḍ n ugama (iseflan n teswast tafuktant akked tin n tfellaḥt).

2- Iseflan n teswast tineslemt. am yikerri n lɛid ameqran, neɣ ikerri i zellun mi ara d-ternu teqcict ɣer twacult.

3- Iseflan yesɛan assaɣ akked tudert n talsa. Tawsit-a ur tesɛi ara assaɣ d ddin neɣ d ugama, maca tesɛa assaɣ akked tudert n uterras, am tmezlit-nni i zellun Leqbayel i yiɛessasen n uxxam (leğnun) mi ara d-bnun lsas-is, neɣ am tmezliwt i zellun mi ara yaḍen yiwen neɣ ad yezwej.

2- Ass n Yennayer

Deg tmurt n Lezzayer, yessuffeɣ-d uselyay n tigduda n yimir, Ɛebd Lɛaziz Butefliqa, aṣadef uṭ° 18-12 n 18 Cewwal 1439 i d-yeɣlin ass n 2 yunyu 2018 yessenfalayen yerna yettsemmiden aṣadef uṭ° 63-278 n 26 yunyu 1963 ideg yella wummuɣ n tmeɣriwin tunṣibin. S uṣadef-a yuɣal wass n Yennayer d ass n Lɛid n tmurt akkit: d ass n *lficṭa* (d ass i yettwaxelṣen, war axeddim). S wanect-a asfugel n yennayer yellan zik n zik s tuffra d tuṣra sfuggulen-t akk izzayriyen (d imaziɣen neɣ d iɛerbawalen) deg yixxamen-nsen akked twaculin-nsen, yuɣal ɛinani.
Asfugel n Yennayer yella-d i tikkelt tamewarut s wudem unṣib ass n 12 Yennayer 2019, maca deg tilawt ass n umenzu Yennayer yemxalaf seg temnaḍt ɣer tayeḍ.

D tidet Leqbayel sfugulen ass amenzu n yennayer ass 12 Yennayer agriguri n yal aseggas, am nutni am yizzayriyen ugafa asammar. Deg temnaḍin-nniḍen yemxalaf cwiṭ wazemz n usfugel ɛlaḥsab n yimsulɣa-nneɣ. Deg unẓul azzayri, Ugrut akked temnaḍin tizennatiyin i as-d-yezzin (Gurara), sfugulen-t ass n 14 Yennayer agriguri. D ass iwumi qqaren *lefḍila*, deg-s irgazen d tullas ur xeddmen ara, anager tid ara yerren ticcuyin. Ti zemrent kan ad sewwent učči, ma yella d axeddim-nniḍen ur ilaq ara ula i nutenti. Ma yella deg Trent (Nɛama) sfugulen-t ass n 13 Yennayer agriguri, s umgired n yiwen wass. Ma yella d imẓabiyen n Berriyan akked temnaḍin i as-d-yezzin sfugulen-t ass n 6 d yiḍ n 7 Yennayer agriguri n yal aseggas. Amgired yella meḥsub s 6 n wussan gar-as d leqbayel, Aɣmis El moudjahid (n wass 10. 01. 2022) iga amagrad ɣef usfugel-is ɣer wat Mzab.

[13] « offrande rituelle à la divinité, caractérisée par la destruction (immolation réelle ou symbolique, holocauste) ou l'abandon volontaire de la chose offerte »

[14] « un rite d'expulsion employé pour soigner les maladies les plus diverses (maux de tête, fièvre, panaris...) mais aussi et surtout celles que l'on considère comme résultant d'influences maléfiques (mauvais œil, épilepsie, stérilité...) ; à chacune de ces maladies correspond un *asfel* déterminé ».

[15] Deg kra n tɣermiwin tiwessarin, asfel yezmer ad yili d amdan, anect-a yella ladɣa deg uzermezruy. Deg tuget, asfel i ttbuddun i Urebbit-nni d tameṭṭut i icebḥen mliḥ, am teslit-nni i ttaken leqbayel i Anzar.

3- Aheyyi i yennayer

Qqaren deg yiwen n yinzi :« *tameɣra n yiwen n wass tettaṭṭaf aseggas* ». Uqbel ad teldi tewwurt n usaggas s kra n wussan lal n uxxam, ad d-theyyi axxam-is iwakken ad temmager Yennayer s leqdeṛ, s lferḥ akked tezdeg.

Ama deg tmurt n Leqbayel, ama daɣen deg tmura-nniḍen, am yicawiyen, icelḥiyen, d wiyaḍ, d tagnit i tullas ad d-nexxlent akk axxam. Ad selɣent leḥyuḍ d yiɣṛaben s lğir d tarfa, ad seggment agnes, ad cuddent tirbuyin n wakal, atg.

Deg kra n temnaḍin, am yicawiyen, mačči kan d tagnit maca yessefk ɣef lal n uxxam ad sizdeg yal tiɣmert uqbel akeččum n Yennayer.

Xeddmen amesnas-a imi deg tneflist-nsen, ttamnen dakken ma yella axxam yumes, yečču̇r d ilefḍan, neɣ leḥyuḍ čču̇ren d tifla, lerwaḥ n diri ad d-keččmen seg tefla-nni, wad d-nejmaɛen, ad zedɣen axxam-nni, ur tteffɣen ara.

Deg tneflist n leqbayel, imẓabiyen akked yicawiyen, ilaq kra n leqdic, ccɣel, axeddim n uxxam, i yebdan, ilaq ad ifakk uqbel ad yekcem yennayer ladɣa azeṭṭa yemmegren. Ticki tamɣart n uxxam ur tessaweḍ ara ad tessali aẓeṭṭa-s deg lweqt, ad theyyi imensi (lweɛda) ad tessiwel i tğiratin ad tt-ɛiwnen. Ma ulac, lerwaḥ n diri keččmen gar lexyuḍ, tikkwal ttmettaten; deg useggas-nni ad yemmet yiwen seg wat uxxam-nni: ama d amdan, ama d lmal. Deg tneflist-nsent, leğnun ttarran-d ttar ma yuɣ-iten kra.

Ula d lecɣal n tfellaḥt daɣen akken. Uqbel ad yekcem Yennayer, ilaq irgazen d tlawin ad ffɣen ɣer tebḥirin-nsen (leğnan) iwakken ad salin kra n ccɣel urɛad ifuk am ukraz d uṭerref neɣ azraɛ akked wuẓu, ma ulac ad yeččeḥ wayyur n Yennayer fell-asen.

Deg tsastanin i nga ur d-nufi ara lğerra-a n wanect-a ɣer yizennatiyen n Gurara, icelḥiyen n Tnent akked yiɛerbawalen n tihert imi, ɛlaḥsab-nsen, ur sɛin ara deg tneflist-nsen anect-a : « *nečni irgazen teffɣen melmi xsen* » i aɣ-d-yenna (H. R.), yiwen gar yimsulɣa.

Imesnasen-nniḍen d win yerzan iniyen n lkanun. Ger Leqbayel neɣ ɣer yicawiyen kraḍ n yiniyen ideg ttilin yiɛessasen n uxxam, ilaq ad ɛiwden, ad d-awin ijdiden.

Ger yicawiyen ladɣa, send yennayer s yiwen wass neɣ sin, ad tebrez lal n uxxam lkanun, ad d-tekkes iɣed akked yiniyen iqdimen, ad ten-tger deg uqecwal, wad ten-tawi ɣer wasif neɣ yiɣzer anda ara taf tullas-nniḍen. D tagnit ttemlilint *tmeṭṭutin* akken ad qeṣrent, rnu tturaren warrac-nni.

Deg zzhu-ya d lferḥ-a, ad d-nadint iniyen imaynuten. Deg tneflist-nsen, yal amkan ansa i ten-d-tekksent, yesɛa d acu i d-yemmal (Djuedjiba, 2020) : ma yella adeg anda yella yini-nni yezzi-as-d rrbiɛ adal, anact-a yemmal-d dakken d aseggas ara d-yawi nneɛma, ayen yettwazerɛen d wayen yeẓẓan ad yeğğuğeg, wad yebbeṛbeṛ ; ma yella ufant ijirmeḍ neɣ kra n tkeččawt ddaw n yini-nni, yemmal-d dakken ad d-yernu uqcuc s axxam ; ma yella d taxxamt n uweṭṭuf i yufant, ayen i d-yemmal yemxalaf ɛlaḥsab n uweṭṭuf i yufant : ma d aweṭṭuf urumi, ad tili tuga d wayen ara ččen yizgaren d tsita, ma d aweṭṭuf aberkan, i tiɣeṭṭen iwumi ara d-yas wučči s ṭṭaqa, ma yella d aweṭṭuf amellal, d lɛic n wulli, ad yaf anda ara d-ikes.

Ma yella ɣer yicelḥiyen n Trent akked yiɛerbawalen n Tihert, ur ttrajun ara yennayer iwakken ad sizdgen axxam imi xeddmen anect-a yal mi ara yames. Ma d *ilemsi* (lkanun s tcelḥit) ilaq ad yettwibrez i yennayer, ɣas ma qqimen yiniyen iqdimen. Akken daɣen izennatiyen n Gurara, asizdeg ur yettili ara ɣef ddemma n yennayer, maca iniyen ttbeddilen-ten, ttawin-d wiyaḍ d imaynuten deg umkan-nsen.

4- Asfel n Yennayer

Asfel n yennayer dayen yettferfiren, yesɛa assaɣ akked umezwaru i d-nebder senniɣ (unniḍ n ugama). Yal mi ara d-yaweḍ Yennayer leqbayel d yicawiyen akked yiɛerbawalen n Tihert zellun ayaziḍ : d wa i d asfel i ttakken.

Qqaren deg yiwen n yinzi « win yezlan rric ḍemneɣ-as lɛic ». Deg leɛwayed n leqbayel, yiwen n wass uqbel ad d-yekcem yennayer, ad zlun « ayaziḍ n leqbayel » (win n uxxam mačči win n lbiɛ), ma yella d aberkan yerna yesɛa tacriḥt akken axir imi d asfel ara d-yawi asigna yečču̇ren d aman, ara d-yawin ageffur swayes ara tsew lqaɛa wad tili ṣṣaba aseggas-nni.

Sumata, aɣersiw ara zlun ilaq ad yili d bu tferret akken iɣeblan n useggas ad frefren d terwiḥt-is mi teffeɣ seg tfekka-s, idammen-is serwalen leğnun d lerwaḥ n diri yettidiren deg uxxam. Rric-is ur ilaq ara ad yettwiḍegger ɣer ugudi, maca ilaq ad t-zuzren deg tebḥirt akken ad yizur lxir d lɣella aseggas-nni.

Izennatiyen akked yicelḥiyen n Nɛama, ur ttakken ara asfel mi ara d-yaweḍ yennayer; mi nesteqsa iwacu, nufa dakken deg lɛada n yizennatiyen ur ilaq ad zlun imi « *wi ttɣasen ad iɣas i Mulana, g ddin-nneɣ wel nettcarek ci, aɣra Sidi Rebbi it cirk*[16] », akken i d-yenna (W. Z.) yiwen gar yimsulɣa. Timentelt iɣef ur zellun ara teqqen srid ɣer ddin n lislam, maca ɣas akken, ggaren aksum ɣer teccuyt n yimensi n yennayer.

Ma yella d icelḥiyen n Nɛama ɣur-sen timentelt-nniḍen i yeqqnen ɣer tneflist-nsen: timezliwt d arwas n tmettant, ma zlan ad mmten deg useggas-nni yiqerray i sɛan ama d lmal, d tiɣeṭṭen neɣ d ileɣman. Γef wanect-a ur ggaren ara aksum ɣer teccuyt n yimensi n yennayer. Ula d tuẓga n uyefki-nsent ur tlaq ara, ma ulac ad yenneqḍaɛ fell-asen uyefki aseggas-nni.

Llan daɣen wid izellun adandiw neɣ aytul am Lmerruk, neɣ d aqelwac, akken ad yili uksum ara tečč akk twacult.

5- Imensi n yennayer

Iḍ n yennayer, d iḍ i d-ijemɛen akk at uxxam, : wid yellan tikkwal d wid yemmuten, ɣer yiwet n terbuyt. S umata, imensi i ten-d-yezdin d seksu neɣ ṭṭɛam akken i as-qqaren izennatiyen i sewwayen s 7 n yisufar (lḥemz, lɛeds, atg), deg kra n temnaḍin 7 n lesnaf n lxedra am Tihert, Batent d kra n tmura tiɛerbawalin; deg kra n temnaḍin-nniḍen ɣer leqbayel (At mlikec) sfuṛayen seksu-nni s 7 n lesnaf n yimɣan am uffal d umadaɣ (Oulebsir, 2015). D seksu s ubisar neɣ s lmerqa, d seksu n yirden neɣ n temẓin, d wa i d amesnas agejan deg usfugel n yennayer. Ad as-gren ayaziḍ-nni d kra n ucedluḥ ad wwen akken.

Deg umesnas-a, asewwi yettili-d s yisɣaren yettriḥin (am usɣar n usefsaf), imi axxam ad yettriḥ akken iwata, u yerna ad ceyyɛen izen i wat uxxam ur ẓẓaren ara (leğnun, iɛessasen n uxxam).

Deg leɛwayed n kra n temnaḍin n leqbayel, mi ara fakken imesni, lal n uxxam ad teččar uraw-is d seksu, wad truḥ ɣer yal yiwen ad as-tefk ad yečč seg ufus-is, deg umesnas-a ilaq yal yiwen ad d-yini : « dayen rrwiɣ, icaṭ », akken aseggas d win ara d-yawin tawant. Akken daɣen, i ttağğan taqessult teččurt d seksu d tqejjart neɣ tiferret n uyaziḍ ɣer umnar n uxxam, sbeḥ ad tɣer temɣart n uxxam limarat n useggas i d-iteddun ma ad yelhu neɣ ala.

Icelḥiyen n Nɛama tteggen *Lmerdud* (tawlaft.1), yemmug am ubazin (berkukes) ɣer leqbayel, i yettewwan s 7 n yisufar n lxedra n tebḥirin-nsen. Ma yella ẓran asafar-nni ur d-yettaweḍ ara lmaḥel-is, ilaq ad t-id-heyyin uqbel, wad sseɣren (am uṭumaṭic, d yifelfel d *lyaqur*[17] (lleft)). Sɣarayen ula d lfakya am *wammaz*[13] (lxux) d *umecmac*[10] (lmecmac) ara sxedmen i mmi-tsen i d-ilulen aseggas-nni.

Llan wid i d-irennun isafaren-nniḍen i yimensi n Yennayer am *lefliq* (yemmug s temẓin, yettwadhan s wudi, ẓer tawlaft.2) akked *sseffa*[18] (tawlaft.3). Uqbel ad t-id-sersen ɣer ṭṭabla[19], tteffren deg-s 3 n yiɛeqqayen n ttmer, win i ten-yufan ad yiɣzif leɛmer-is wad seggmen wussan-is.

Asewwi n yimensi n yennayer ɣur-sen, ilaq ad yili deg *tegdurt* (taccuyt) d tajdiḍt iwakken ad sfilten ad yelhu useggas ajdid. Ma d ikesman, akken i d-nenna sennig, ur ilaq ara ad yekcem ɣer tegdurt ɣas ma yella tella kra n tijji[20] i tejmeɛ temɣart n uxxam. Rnu ɣer waya ayen qerriḥen, ur ilaq ara ad tres teqreḥ ɣer ṭṭabla (d tifleflilin, d lehris neɣ d ifelfel irkcen), ma ulac aseggas ad amaynut ad yas qerriḥ ɣef wat uxxam-nni.

[16] S teqbaylit : « *ma yezla yiwen ad yezlu i Rebbi yiwen, nekkni deg ddin-nneɣ ur ilaq ad as-tgeḍ acrik*»

[17] D awalen n tcelḥit, nessefhem-iten-d s teqbaylit gar tacciwin.

[18] Učči-ya tettak anzi ɣer « lmesfuf » i xeddmen leqbayel.

[19] Ɣas akken deg lɛada-nsen, nutni akked yizennatiyen, ttɣamayen ɣer lqaɛa s urebbeɛ n yiḍarren tetten deg yiwen uḍebsi iwumi ara zzin deg 6 neɣ deg 8 yid-sen.

[20] tijji: anamek-is : « ayen tjemmeɛ tmeṭṭut d uččiten i wass n lxir d wass n lɣir » (Bouamara, 2017 : 227).

Ticki yewwa yimensi, ssan-d učči, yal yiwen seg wat uxxam ad d-yennejmaɛ s axxam-is ɣas ma yella yebɛen, ad d-zzin akk i tẓiwa. Ma yella kra n win iɣaben (ur yezmir ara ad yuɣal am win yunagen ɣer tmurt-nniḍen), ad d-sersen *tiwina*[10] (idɣaɣaen), yal lɣayeb ad tili *twent* deg umkan-is. Ad ččen akk lwaḥi, ma yella kra n yilemẓi yugin ad yečč ad s-siwlen i *tamẓa*, ad d-tas ad t-tečč.
Tamẓa neɣ Tamẓa n at Hekku, d yiwet n tneffust yellan ɣer yicelḥiyen n Nɛama, ha-tt-an amek tt-id-ttalsen: Tella yiwet n teqcict i yettidiren akked tawğa-nes (tawacult-is): imawlan-is d watmaten-is deg yiwen n uxxam, maca yal mi ara d-yeɣli yiḍ, tettuɣal d tamẓa (lɣula, tteryel). Yal iḍ ad teffeɣ ad tečč ixef seg lmal yesɛa baba-s. Akken yal iḍ almi d asmi i d-ifaq baba-s dakken xussen-as waṭas i yixfawen seg tqeḍɛiwt-is; seg yimir, yuɣal yettɛassa-ten. Mi d-yeɣli yiḍ, iwala yelli-s tekcem addayni, kra n lweqt teffeɣ-d syin s wudem-nniḍen, tuɣal d tamẓa, tettazzal ɣer lexla. Dɣa, yeffeɣ-d s lemɣawla seg umkan anda yeffer, yeṭṭef-d yelli-s ; mi tt-yesseqsa iwacu akka, tenna-yas sɛiɣ imdukkal yettidiren dinna deg lexla. Yuɣal-d s axxam, yeḥka-yas i tmeṭṭut-is ayen yeḍran, tenna-yas ilaq ad tezwej teqcict-a. Azekku-ya, selsen-as i yelli-tsen lqec yelhan d uɛelleq yebhan, wwin-tt deg yiḍ ɣer lexla, ɣer umkan i asen-d-tesken. Mi wwḍen ɣer din, tekker teslalu teqcict-nni, tfuk alewlew-is tennerfad yiwen ur yeẓri anda terra.

Deg tmurt n yicawiyen, xeddmen Čexčuxa[21] (tawlaft.4) s 7 n lesnaf n lxedra daɣen. *Hameṭṭut* tacawit, tetteg daɣen « irecmen » i d-yettmaggan s yiɛeqqayen n yirden, lḥemz, ibawen, akbal. Tessewway-iten akken deg yiḍ-nni alma yuli wass. Sbeḥ tafeğrit, ad kkren yiɛeggalen n uxxam (argaz d tmeṭṭut-is) ad sensen i teccuyt. Deg umesnas-a yessefk ad ilin i sin. Mi tismiḍ teccuyt-nni n yirecmen, ad d-ɣren limarat i yellan deg-s : ma yella tesɛa tikufta, aseggas ad yili diri-t, d aseggas amcum ; ma yella tesfa, aseggas ad yelhu, ad yaget deg-s lxir. Syin ad tebdu tmeṭṭut aruccu n waman n yirekmen deg yal tiɣmert n uxxam, syin ad as-tɛiwed s waman izedganen bac akken ad ffɣen leğnun. Mi ara fakken, ad rren srid ar tejnant ad tt-sewwen, ladɣa imɣan i d-ikecmen deg usewwi n yirecmen.

Ma d izennatiyen n Gurara, fettlen seksu s 7 n lesnaf n yiɛeqqayen (irden, timẓin, akbal, lḥemz, lɛeds, ibawen, iɣes n ttmer, ajilban, atg.) ara ẓden alma yuɣal d awren, syin ad yettwiftel iwakken ad sewwen yes-s *Ferfec* (tawlaft.5)
Lmarqa n Ferfec, d tin i d-yettewwan s 07 n lesnaf n lxedra n tebḥirin-nsen, akked 07 n lesnaf n yikesman.

Ma yella d imẓabiyen xeddmen Rrfis (tawlaft.6) s yisafaren mellulen (ssmid, ayefki, ssker, …atg) deg kra n temnaḍin, neɣ Cexcuxa deg temnaḍin-nniḍen.

Deg waṭas n temnaḍin am Tihert, deg tneflist-nsen, imensi n yennayer ilaq ad d-yeggri i uzekku-ya, ilaq ad feḍren daɣen yes-s, ma ifukk ad yenneqḍaɛ lxir ɣef uxxam.

6- Deffir n yimensi n yennayer

Deg tmurt n yimẓabiyen, imaziɣen d yiɛerbawalen n Tihert, icawiyen d yizennatiyen, mi ara fakken imensi tetten « Carcam » neɣ akken i s-qqaren s taɛrabt *Lmukasirat*, neɣ *lemqermecat* i d-yettmaggan s wayen yeɛan iɣes : lluz, lğuz, yezmer ad yesɛu lkawkaw, abelluḍ, zzbib, tazart, atg. d wayen ziḍen : tazart (*timanaḍin*), zzbib, atg., akken yesɛa yiwen ad yečč, tura rennun ula d *lpistac d lkaju*.
Deg lɛada n tuget deg-sen daɣen, iqbac swacu ččan imensi ilaq ur ttriden ara, ilaq ad qqimen akken wesxen alma d ssbeḥ, ma ulac ad yeḍru wayen n diri deg uxxam.

Iḍ yettkemmil kra s temɛayin d teḥkayin (Leqbayel), kra s turarin am tuqqna tuffra, ɛelwan, čiwiciw (leqbayel, imzabiyen, icawiyen). Ma d lal n uxxam, iḍ kamel nettat d abexxer, seg tzeqqa ɣer tayeḍ, ma mačči d lɛenber d lğawi, ad tafeḍ-t tettbexxir s *lḥermel*[13] d *tserɣint*[22].

Ɣer yizennatiyen n zik, mi ara fakken imensi ttemlilint tullas deg ḥedd n yifragen, yal yiwet ad d-tawi ayen terra (tsew), d timsizelt n wučči yelhan. Ɣer taggara ad fernen yiwet n ṭṭbeq ara yawin arraz. S umata arraz mačči d adrim, maca d učči akked yiselsa.

[21] Llan wid ias-yessawalen daɣen **«** Cexcuxa **»**. Učči-ya yettak anzi ɣer « ufettet **»** xeddmen leqbayel
[22] d awalen n tzennatin akked tcelḥit. Mmalen-d kra n lesnaf n lebxur.

7- Turarin timellaɣin n Yennayer

Deg tallit n lḥif d laẓ, imdanen snulfan-d kra n turarin. D turarin i tgen deg yiḍ iwakken ad sedhun iman-nsen, ad seḍsen medden neɣ iwakken ad jemɛen kra n wučči i wiyaḍ ; gar turarin i yellan ilmend n yennayer yella win iwumi qqaren : *Ayred*, neɣ *ayrad*.

Awal *Ayred* d awal awessar, anamek-is « izem », izem d azamul n tezmert d lǧehd. Ayred xeddment ladɣa deg Bni Sennus (Servier, 1985 : 448). Saridj (2020 :105) yenna-d belli deg Bni Sennus, Ayred xeddment deg 03 n wuḍan uqbel yennayer.

Ayred-a, d argaz yeddmen talaba n yizem netta akked tsedda-s d kra n yimdanen-nniḍen s ucamar amellal yelsan lqec yeqqersen, yečču̇ren d tifawtin ara d-yesseknen lḥif d lixsas. Ayred d ugraw-is ad d-ffɣen deg yiḍ, anda yella umerkansi deg lɛerc ad t-awḍen, taddart ɣef taddart, tawwurt ɣef tewwurt; deg tegnit n lferḥ d ccḍeḥ s ubendayer neɣ mebla abendayer ara d-jemɛen ayen ara siwḍen i yimeɣban. Ma yella win yugin « tasedda ad teɣli ɣer lqaɛa zun temmut, Ayred mi ara iwali tawtemt-is teɣli ad as-yini d kunwi i tt-yenɣan, ad ten-yeqher alma fkan-as-d kra seg wayen sɛan » (Galleze, 2020 :53)

Deg yinurar terza tezrawt-a ur nufi ara anect-a, ladɣa deg temnaḍt n leqbayel, akken i d-yenna (Servier, 1985 : 449): « Deg wayen i d-yeqqimen deg usammar n Lezzayer, asmekti n turarin timellaɣin ruḥent. Akkin i usammar ladɣa ɣer Leqbayel[23] ». Maca yella wansay- nniḍen ɣur-sen (ɣur leqbayel) iɣer yettakk anzi, ansay-a qqaren-as: « amɣar n uqecwal ».

Amɣar n uqecwal neɣ akken as-qqaren daɣen deg kra n temnaḍin-nniḍen n leqbayel: amɣar n uqruc, neɣ amɣar n uceqquf; llan daɣen wid i as-yessawalen: « buɛfif » neɣ « tamellalt n buɛfif ». D yiwen n wansay n tgemmi tadelsant n leqbayel ladɣa wid n Bgayet.

Ansay-a xeddmen-t yilemẓiyen n taddart yal aseggas uqbel ad d-taweḍ tefsut (uqbel aderyis s kra n wussan) iwakken ad sedhun iman-nsen s leɣna d ccḍeḥ, yerna ad jemɛen lɛula (timellalin, irden, zzit…) ara farqen ass n uderyis ɣef wid ur nesɛi ara (iẓawaliyen).

Amɣar uqecwal am tceqquft n umezgun tameẓyant tturaren-tt seg 4 ar 6 n yiterrasen (yiwudam), yal wa d acu i d tawuri-s. Yella umɣar, d netta d awudem agejdan: d argaz yelsan ibidi acebḥan, ad yessels i wudem-is kra n tɣawsa yesɛan anẓaden, ara t-yeffren ur yettwaɛqal ara am uhidur. Ahidur-a ad as-gen tifla anda llant wallen, anzaren akked yimi.

Tella daɣen temɣart, d nettat d awudem wis sin: d argaz daɣen ad iles leksiwa n leqbayel, ad iqqen lemzaleg, ad yesbur acembir ɣef uqerruy-is iwakken ur yettwaɛqal ara.

Yettili daɣen yiwen neɣ sin kkaten abendayer, yiwen neɣ sin kkaten tajewwaqt; zemren ad ilin kter.

Mi ara d-yaweḍ lmeɣreb, ad d-nejmaɛen akken ma llan deg umraḥ n tadddart iwakken ad msefhamen anta taddart iɣer ara rzun iḍ-nni. Mi ara tewlelles lḥala, ṭṭlam iɣum yal tiɣmert, ad bdun tikli deg yizenqan n taddart-nni tawwurt tettakk-iten i tewwurt ad tteddun ad ttɣennin: « tamellalt ittezwiq, deg leɛnaya-k a sidi seddiq, ad aɣ-yemneɛ Rebbi seg ddiq, ccafiq rrafiq, llahuma amin ncallah », neɣ « tamellalt, tamellalt i Buɛfif, ad aɣ-yemneɛ seg lḥif, amin ncallah», lḥasṣun yal tamnaḍt amek qqaren. Mi ara bedden ɣer ḥedd n tewwura ad yendeh umɣar-nni, wid i d-yeddan yid-s ad qqaren amin: « aa xali Muḥend[24] ! (neɣ s yisem n bab n uxxam-nni), kkret ad tilim yid-neɣ, kkret ad yekker sseɛd-nwen, amin. Ldit-aɣ-d tawwurt ay at uxxam, ad wen-d-yeldi Rebbi tiwwura mebla tisura, amin. Ad iceɛceɛ Rebbi tafat-nwen, amin. Ad ken-ig Rebbi am temrijt n Ɛennaba rrbiɛ aman, amin». Ma mazal ur d-yeffiɣ ḥedd seg wat uxxam-nni, izem ad ikemmel ad ideɛɛu s lxir i wat uxxam-nni: « ad ken-ig Rebbi am tɛeqqayt n ččina s ufella tecbeḥ sdaxel terbeḥ, amin. Ad ken-ig Rebbi am texsi Ɛamer taɛrurt telsa taɛebbuḍt teṛwa, amin. Ad ken-ig Rebbi am yiqudas n rreḥwa wa ad yettak aman i wa, amin. Ad ken-ig Rebbi am yiqeṛmuden wa ad yesdaray wa, amin ». Ma yella mazal ur d-yeffiɣ ḥedd ad yessiwel umɣar i tikkelt tis kraḍet: « aa xali Muḥend! kkret ur aɣ-ttḥeccimet ara, awer ken-iḥeccem Rebbi, amin. awer yenneqḍaɛ lxir deg uxxam-nwen, amin. Awer

[23] « Dans le reste de l'ouest algérien, le souvenir des mascarades semble avoir disparue. Plus à l'est, et tout particulièrement en kabylie (…) »

[24] Sawalen s yisem Muḥent imi ulac axxam deg tmurt n leqbayel anda i yulac isem-a, d isem i yellan mucaɛ nezzeh.

yeffeɣ lğehd iɣallen-nwen, amin. Ad wen-yefk Rebbi tizmert n tzemmurt, amin. ccbaḥa n tsekkurt, amin. lhiba n yizem, amin ».

Ad rajun cwiṭ (azal n 2 n dqayeq) ma mazal ur d-yeffiɣ ḥedd, ad teɣli temɣart-nni ɣer lqaɛa, ad testeɛmel amzun yella kra i tt-yuɣen. Amɣar mi iwala akken tameṭṭut-is deg tɣerɣert ad t-yeffeɣ leɛqel, ad ibdu ad isṭebṭub deg tewwurt n uxxam-nni ad yessawal: « ddwa n temɣart attan ɣur-wen ! awim-d timellalin, mulac timellalin awim-d awren ». S umata tteffɣen-d wat uxxam-nni, ttakken-asen-d tamellalt neɣ sant neɣ uraw n uwren. Ad yeṭṭef umɣar-nni timellalin-nni, ad asent-ifk i temɣart-is; nettat ad d-tekker ad tent-tger deg yicciw-is wad ruḥen ar uxxam-nniḍen, ad tteddun ad ttɣennin « tamellalt ittezwiq… ».

Ma ur d-yeffiɣ ara bab n uxxam-nni, neɣ yella win i d-ifeqɛen fell-asen, ad yebdu daɣen umɣar ddɛawi n ccer am: « awer d-yekcem lxir axxam-nwen, amin. Ncallah ansa tekkim d ṭṭlam, amin. Ad ken-ig rebbi am yiqerdacen wa ad ixebbec wa, amin, Atg. ».

Ansay-a yeqqim-d ar ass-a, wa yesselmad-it i wayeḍ. Ass-a ula d tidukliwin ttheyyint yal aseggas « amɣar uqecwal » teddun seg lɛerc ɣer wayeḍ.

Akken i nwala sennig, aṭas n tulmisin i icerken « ayred » d « umɣar uqecwal », amedya deg yiḍ i ttmagar i sin yerna deg tegnit n ccḍeḥ d lferḥ; amedya wis sin xeddment iwakken ad jemɛen kra n wučči ara ferqen ɣef wid yuḥwajen. Llan waṭas n yimedyaten-nniḍen fiḥel ma nɛawed-iten-d.

8- Tifugliwin yerzan arrac imeẓyanen

Tifugliwin n Yennayer ɣer yimaziɣen rzant arrac kan, ma d tiqcicin ur d-nufi ara kra n umensay neɣ n umesnas i xeddmen i tent-yerzan, anagar ma yella kra s tuffra ! Imi imaziɣen n zik smenyifen aqcic ɣef teqcict. Anect-a yella akk deg umaḍal « Seg uzermezruy almi d kra n yiseggasen kan ɣer deffir, tameṭṭut tettwaḥsab temgarad ɣef urgaz deg ugama-ines, d netta i tt-yifen, yerna s uɣadem mecṭuḥet. Dayen i tt-yeğğan, ur telli d asentel, ur telli d aferdis deg umezruy[25] » (Bernos, 2004 :8).

Ґer Leqbayel, akken i d-yura (Servier, 1985 :377), mi ara d-yaweḍ yennayer, amezwaru mi d-yerna uqcic ɣer twacult, argaz n uxxam ad s-ig ttesḍila tamezwarut, ad s-yekkes ukuẓet n tcenguḍin : yiwet seg tama taẓelmaḍt, tis snat seg tama tayeffust, tis kraḍet seg tama n twenza, tis ukuẓet ɣer deffir seg tama n uɛenqiq. Assen, yemma-s n uqcic-nni ad d-niwel seksu n lmerqa s yibawen akked uksum, ad d-ɛerḍen wid iqerben ad ččen yid-sen. Amesnas-a ur yelli ara deg yinurar i terza tezrawt-a, yella kan ɣer leqbayel, maca yella kra n umgired, imi ɣur-sen ttṣeṭṭilen kan i uqcic, ulac aniwel.

Tafugla-nniḍen yerza taswiqt tamezwarut n uqcic: taswiqt n Yennayer. Mi ara d-isewweq uqcic i tikkelt tamezwarut, ad d-yaɣ baba-s aqerruy n uzger, ad d-niwlen ɣer yimesi, aqcic-nni ilaq ad yečč deg-s, s wanect-a sfilliten ad yuɣal yiwen wass d aqerruy n taddart, n uxxam. Anect-a yella ɣer Leqbayel n zik, ma d tura ur txeddmen ara. Ma d timnaḍin-nniḍen ur d-nufi ara ula yiwen n yisali n tilin n tfugla-ya ɣur-sen.

Tafugla taneggrut i d-nuf d tin n uḍegger n tẓidanin ɣef uqerruy n uqcic. Leqbayel, icawiyen akked yicelḥiyen xeddmen-t ɣas yella kra n umxilef gar-asen. Mi ara d-yaweḍ umenzu n yennayer, ad teddem lal n uxxam taẓiwa ideg ara tger aqcic-nni, seld ad smiren fell-as tiẓidanin-nni (tazart, amecmac yeqquren, tiḥjurin n sker, atg.), ɣer yicelḥiyen rennun ula d iɛeqqayen (am yibawen, lluz, atg.). S wanect-a sfilliten ad s-ẓiden wussan-is.

9- Asfugel n yennayer ass-a

S umata asfugel n yennayer yettili-d deg umraḥ n taddart neɣ anda dakkalen leɛruc . Yettili-d daɣen deg yixxamen n yidles, ixxamen n yilemẓiyen, deg tzeqqa n tmeɣriwin, atg.

Asfugel-a yettili-d ass n 12 yennayer n yal aseggas. Tidukkliwin n taddart neɣ n lɛerc ad d-heyyint ahil d ameṛkansi i wass n usfugel.

[25] « Depuis l'Antiquité et jusque récemment, la femme, a été considérée comme d'une *nature* différente et inférieure à l'homme, et juridiquement comme mineure. Conséquemment, elle n'a été ni sujet, ni même objet d'histoire »

Ass-a ula d timendawin n uwanek sfugulent ass n 12 yennayer, ad neddem aɣlif n usegmi (tterbeya) d amedya, imi yal aseggas (seg useggas n 2018 ar ass-a) tettak-d lamer i yakk inemhalen n tenmehliwin n usegmi n tmurt n Lezzayer iwakken ula d nutni ad d-fken lamer i yinemhalen n yiɣerbazen d tsenawiyin akken ad sfuglen ass n yennayer.
S umata irmad yettilin deg wahil i ṭṭafaṛen ur yemxalaf ara seg temnaḍt ɣer tayeḍ ; gar yirmad ad naf :

- **Asarag**: ad ɛerḍen yiwen n umussnaw, neɣ ad d-sbedden yiwen gar-asen i yessnen azal n yennayer, ad d-yemmeslay i medden, ladɣa tisutwin timaynutin, ɣef yennayer iwakken ad gzun azal-is.
- **Timsizzlin**: ttilint aṭas n tewsatin n temzizzlin, ad d-nebder gar-asent : timzizzelt n wučči, timzizzelt n llebsa, timzizzelt deg tmedyazt, atg.
- **Timzikent**: anda i d-ttawin kra n yiqbucen n zik, ad ten-d-fesren ad ten-walin medden, ladɣa ilemẓiyen ur nessin d acu-ten, am : tagersa, lmaɛun, akufi, atg.
- **Amuggar n yidlisen** (s usnuzu neɣ war asnuzun n yidlisen): ad d-awin idlisen yuran s /ɣef tmaziɣt iwakken ad issinen medden izewlen yuran s / ɣef tmaziɣt, wad ẓren daɣen belli aṭas i yettwarun s / ɣef tutlayt-a- nneɣ, anect-a ad yefk afud i usnulfu.
- **Asečči**: s umata ttheyyin-d seksu s ubiṣar neɣ s lmerqa, sseččayen at taddart d yinebgawen d wid i d-yusan ad yesfugen yid-sen yennayer.
- **Tameɣra**: d wa d armud aneggaru i yettilin deg wahil i d-heggan. Tameɣra-ya tettili-d iwakken ad sedhun medden, ad kksen ɣef wulawen-nsen. Ad ceɛlen takaṣit neɣ ad d-awin icennayen neɣ iqalağiyen ara d-isekren taraɣma, ara yesseḥmun zzedwa.

Amgired yellan gar zik d tura yerza ula d tineflisin. Zik timezliwt n uyaẓiḍ ɣur-s azal deg tneflist n wid n zik. Ma d tura tuget n medden ur ttamnen ara s tiyi zellun ayaẓiḍ, u yerna tura ttaɣen-d ayaẓiḍ tezla tmacint! iwakken kan ad ččen aksum (akken i d-yenna M. A. yiwen gar yimsulɣa).

Aṭas n yimesnasen i yettruḥun, kra s kra akken i qqaren. Tura deg yiwet n taddart ad tafeḍ gar uxxam d wayeḍ mxalafen yimesnasen i d-yeqqimen: ad tafeḍ axxam mazal ixeddem taswiqt n yennayer, lğar-is xaṭi; ad tafeḍ axxam mazal iggar 7 n yisuar i teccuyt wayeḍ ur as-d-yecqi ara.
Tura tbeddel, drus-iten wid i izellun i yennayer: ttaɣen medden ayaziḍ-nni i tezla tmacint, i treyyec-it tayeḍ.

Taggrayt

Yennayer mačči d tafugla kan, maca d tigemmi n tɣerma tamaziɣt i aɣ-d-ğğan lejdud, imesnasen i ttgen d tneflisin swayes ttamnen zeggren acḥal n tsutwin bac akken yewweḍ-d ɣur-nneɣ wayen nessen ass-a.

Tazrawt-a tiraɣerfant tesken-d dakken asfugel n yennayer yesɛa adeg d ameqqran deg wul n yizzayriyen merra (am yimaziɣen am yiɛerbawalen); neɣ ini-d deg wul n yimezdaɣ n tefriqt ugafa.
Tazrawt-a tesken-d daɣen belli ansay-a d amerkansi: yečču̇r d leɛwayed, imesnasen d tneflisin. Nufa-d llan leɛwayed i d-yettuɣalen deg yal tamnaḍt, am uniwel n yimensi n yennayer i yezdin akk timnaḍin yerza umahil-a. Aya yemmal-d dakken tella teɣlalt tadelsant, yerna taḍra n ugdud d yiwet. D anect-a ladɣa i yeğğan ad yili usfugel-is d azamul n tnekwa d tikkin ɣer ugdud amaziɣ. Rnu ɣer waya, nufa-d deg wacu i mxalafen, llan yimesnasen yettwaseqdacen deg kra n temnaḍin ulac-iten deg tiyaḍ, am zellu n uyaẓiḍ (asfel). Amesnas-a i yellan, akken i d-nebder sennig, d agejdan ɣer Leqbayel d yicawiyen: « ulac seksu mebla ayaẓiḍ ». Deg temnaḍt n yizennatiyen dayen ur nlaq ad yexdem yiwen (d ddnub ameqqran).
Amgired-a iḥuza ula d azemz n usfugel, asafer n wučči (ma d seksu neɣ Cercem, atg.), yekcem ula ɣer tneflsin swayes ttamnen. Amgired-a yemmal-d belli amhaz d usenfel deg usfugel yettemxalaf seg temnaḍt ɣer tayeḍ ilmend n waṭas n tmental (tazrirt n tesreḍt d amedya).

Gar igemmaḍ iɣer nessaweḍ daɣen, nufa-d dakken tuget n yimesnasen d leɛwayed sɛan tineflisin. Meḥsub, anect-a yeqqen ɣer trussna n medden, imi tikkwal kkaten ad d-segzin ayen ur

yezmir wallaɣ-nsen ad yegzu s sshala, am uruccu n leḥyuḍ s waman n yirekmen iwakken ad srewlen lerwaḥ diri, d wayen ara d-yawin imenɣiyen d wunuɣ i wat uxxam. Tikkwal daɣen yettili d asirem akken ad yelhu uzekka-nsen, d asfilet ɣer wayen yelhan, amedya d amesnas-nni anda lal n uxxam ad d-teccar uraw-is d seksu, u ad ad asen-tefk i yiɛeggalen n uxxam ad ččen yiwen yiwen. Deg tneflist-nsen d asfilet i sfilliten akken ad yili useggas amaynut d aseggas n tawant mačči n laẓ.

Si tama-nniḍen, ma nemmuqqel-d seg berra ɣer leɛwayed-a d yimesnasen-a ad naf dakken ayen txeddem lal n uxxam, neɣ ini-d tameṭṭut s umata, deg usfugel-a, yesɛa azal meqqer. Tawuri n tmeṭṭut d tagejdant, imi d nettat i irefden anezgum n usfugel-a : ad naf tejmeɛ kra n yisafaren i ikeccmen ɣer teccuyt 6 neɣ 7 n wayyuren uqbel yennayer, tettekkes aẓeṭṭa, atg. Uqbel n yennayer s kra n wussan d nettat i yessizdigen axxam, i yettbeddilen iniyen, d nettat i yessewwayen imensi n yennayer, atg. Anda yella kra n umesnas d uɛebber-is (tineflisin yezan amesnas), tessen-it yerna kullec ɣef wufus-is i d-yettɛedday. Anect-a yemmal-d dakken tameṭṭut tesɛa azal meqqer deg uḥraz n wansay-a, yes-s i d-yezger acḥal d tisutwin.

Asfugel unsib n wansay-a tura d agummu n yismazzaɣen imezwura, i yennuɣen bac ad taweḍ tmaziɣt anda tewwed ass-a. Asfugel-a unṣib yewwi-d aṭas i tutlayt tmaziɣt, yerna yessuffeɣ-itt-id seg usatal alemssaw ɣer berra. Aṣenseb-a mačči d armus menwala imi yerra tamaziɣt d azamul n tdukkli taɣelnawt (gar akk izzayriyen), n tuṭṭfa deg tnekwa tamaziɣt.

D tidet, asfugel gar zik d tura yemxalfa, aṭas i d-yernan (isaragen, timsizlin …), aṭas daɣen i iruḥen (ladɣa ayen yerzan tineflisin), maca ad yeqqim usfugel d aseddag deg yal tawacult.
Tazrawt-a mačči d tin i yemmden, maca d tawwurt i yessekcamen ɣer waṭas n yinadiyen i yezmer yiwen ad ten-ig. Atat ad ilin wid ara ixedmen ɣef ubeddel-a i d-yellan, ad ilint tsastanin ara d-yawin akk ɣef ugafa n tefriqt d waṭas-nniḍen.

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Iɣmisen

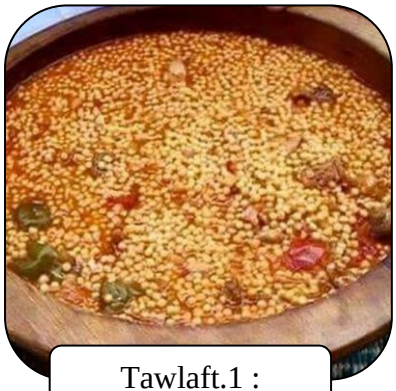
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Tijetaḍ

1- Amawal

Awal	Agdazal-is s trumit	Awal	Agdazal-is s trumit
abaɣur	Avantage	Taɣlalt tadelsant	Continuité culturelle
Amuggar	Foire	talkint	Certitude
armus	Acquis	tarussna	Ignorance
aseddag	Familiale	unniḍ afukan	Cycle solaire
azamal	Symbolique		

2- Tiwlafin



Tawlaft.1 :



Tawlaft.2 : **Lefliq**



Tawlaft.3 : **Sseffa**



Tawlaft.4 :



Tawlaft.5 :



Tawlaft.5 : **Rrfis**