

Storytelling in Chefchaouen Northern Morocco

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Storytelling in Chefchaouen Northern Morocco

*An Annotated Study of Oral Performance with
Transliterations and Translations*

By

Aicha Rahmouni



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Preface

This project embodies a part of myself, a part I have carried with me through four continents in voluntary self-exile as I have pursued the goal of living in a variety of cultures while experiencing life through a diversity of languages.

The idea of this project occurred to me while I was at Cornell University in 2002, but its realization had to wait several years. In 2008, while I was living in Madrid (Spain) and therefore closer to my home town, I began collecting materials for the book and making the recordings of the tales. The book was subsequently written in Vienna during 2011 and 2012.

It is my pleasant duty to gratefully acknowledge the many people whose help made this book possible. Above all, I must thank my two informants: my beloved grandmother, the female narrator, Lālla Ḥusniyya l-ʿAlami, and my friend and mentor Mūlāy Ḥmād ʿAfāq. To their memory I dedicate this work. I also thank the narrator's wife, Fāṭma Riyyān, whose encouragement and patience made the collection of the tales both possible and efficient, as well as a memorable and lovely task.

I am particularly grateful to my friend and English editor Craig Crossen. His unflinching support and unconditional help made the publication of this book possible. Crossen patiently read draft after draft of this book, and discussed in detail all the problematic questions, word by word, before and after its translation and composition. He always showed enthusiasm, concern, and high accuracy through his criticism and valuable opinions, which improved the final result. Crossen has been more than an excellent editor, he has been a critical reader of each line in this book.

I am profoundly indebted to Jorge Aguadé and Hassan M. El-Shamy, who have been very supportive of my research during all its stages, and who kindly took the time to read extracts of the manuscript, and to answer my questions.

I am very grateful to my friends and colleagues, Ángeles Vicente and Stephan Procházka, who had the generous patience to critically read and comment on the entire manuscript. Both have offered valuable corrections and suggestions. Likewise, Peter Behnstedt and Federico Corriente kindly took the time to answer my questions. Their comments are included under their names.

I have also benefited from the support and encouragement of my friends and colleagues Baruch Levine, Bernabé Sanz, Ross Bran, James Nathan Ford, Chaim Cohen, Munther Younes, Christa Clamer, Muhammad Meftah, Gisela Procházka, Mercedes Arenal, Esperanza Alfonso, Layla Benyahia, Javier del Barco, Ahmed Bourhalla, and Abdechafi Boubkir.

Many thanks and much gratitude are also due to Anas Naya for his list of Chaouen's Zawāyas and his information about them; and to Hamid Meftah for his conversation with me at the very beginning of this project on Chaouen's history. Finally, I am grateful to Brill for publishing this book, and to its staff, especially Pieter te Velde, Teddi Dols and Kathy van Vliet for their patience and their help throughout the arduous publication process.

On a personal note, I would like to thank my family for their continuous unwavering and unconditional support. I am grateful to my brother Jalal Rahmouni for his unconditional support and enormous help. I must especially my uncle, Muhammad Rahmouni, who in fact introduced me to one of the narrators, his life-long friend Ḥmād Ṣafāq. It was my uncle who urged me to save this valuable oral tradition by undertaking the present project, and who accompanied me the first time I visited Mūlāy Ḥmād Ṣafāq. Many thanks go to my cousin Imad Rahmouni, who prepared the pictures included in this book. I am also grateful to my immediate family for sharing with me the adventure of writing about Morocco and Chaouen from Vienna: my daughter Sara and my son Elias, and my husband Pablo Sanz, my first reader. Through his loving support he made this book not only possible but enjoyable.

I must confess that the multidisciplinary approach of this work (encompassing Arabic dialectology, anthropology, folklore, philology, sociolinguistics, dialectology, comparative literature, ethnography, typology) makes the entire satisfaction of every reader an impossible goal. Nevertheless I hope I will fulfill at least some of the expectations of each reader.

Needless to say, I am solely responsible for any mistakes contained in this book. I only hope that such errors are at a minimum and that this work will be of benefit to other scholars.

Abbreviations

AED	Wehr, H. <i>Arabic-English Dictionary: The Hans Wehr Dictionary of Modern Written Arabic</i> . Ed. by J. M. Cowan. Ithaca, NY: Harrassowitz, 1994.
ADs	Arabic dialects
<i>Al-Andalus</i>	<i>Al-Andalus: Revista de las Escuelas de Estudios Árabes de Madrid y Granada</i> .
<i>AIPhHOS</i>	<i>Annuaire de l'Institut de Philologie et d'Histoire Orientales et Slaves. Université Libre de Bruxelles</i> .
AQ	Alqantara. CSIC.
<i>Arabica</i>	<i>Arabica: Revue d'études arabes</i> .
<i>ArM</i>	<i>Archives Marocaines</i> .
<i>BIFAO</i>	<i>Bulletin de l'Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale</i> .
CA	Classical Arabic (often used loosely to include MLA)
CAD	A. L. Oppenheim et al., <i>The Assyrian Dictionary of the Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago</i> . Chicago: Oriental Institute; Glückstadt: J. J. Augustin. 1956.
<i>Cahiers du CRASC</i>	<i>Les Cahiers du Centre de Recherche en Anthropologie Sociale et Culturelle</i> .
ChA	Chaouen Arabic
<i>CM</i>	<i>Communication Monographs</i> .
DACH	Moscoso García, F. <i>El dialecto árabe de Chauen (N. de Marruecos): Estudio lingüístico y textos</i> . Zaragoza: Universidad de Cádiz. Área de Estudios Árabes e Islámicos. 2003.
DAF	Prémare, A. L. de et collaborateurs. <i>Dictionnaire arabe-français: Établi sur la base de fichiers, ouvrages, enquêtes, manuscrits études et documents divers</i> . Vol. I–XII. Paris: Édition L'Harmattan. 1993.
DMA	Harrell, R. S. – Fox, Th. – Abu-Talib, M. <i>A Dictionary of Moroccan Arabic: Moroccan-English</i> . Washington, D.C.: Georgetown University Press. 2010.
EALL	Encyclopaedia of Arabic Language and Linguistics. Brill: Leiden.
EB	Encyclopédie Berbère.
<i>EDB</i>	<i>Études et Documents Berbères</i> .
<i>EDNA</i>	<i>Estudios de dialectología norteafricana y andalusí</i> .
EI	Encyclopédie de l'Islam.
EM	Enzyklopädie des Märchens Handwörterbuch zur historischen und vergleichenden Erzählforschung.
<i>GLECS</i>	<i>Comptes rendus du groupe linguistique d'étude chamito-sémitique</i> .
<i>Hespéris</i>	<i>Archives Berbères et Bulletin de l'Institut des Hautes-Études Marocaines</i> .
<i>IJMES</i>	<i>International Journal of Middle East Studies</i> .
<i>IQ</i>	<i>The Islamic Quarterly: A Review of Islamic Culture</i> .

- JA* *Journal Asiatique.*
JMS *Journal of Maltese Studies.*
JSA *Journal de la Société des Africanistes.*
JSAI *Jerusalem Studies in Arabic and Islam.*
LAW *Lexikon der Arabischen Welt: Ein historisch-politisches Nachschlagewerk von Stephan und Nandy Ronart.*
 Lane, *Lexicon* E. W. Lane, *An Arabic-English Lexicon*, 8 vols. London: Williams and Norgate, 1863–1893.
Lisān al-ʿArab J-D. M. Ibn Manẓūr, *Lisān al-ʿArab*, Vol. 1–xv. Beyrouth: Dar-Sader, 2000.
L.O.A.B. *Littérature Orale Arabo-Berbère.*
Le Museón *Le Museón: Revue d'Études Orientales.*
MA Moroccan Arabic
QSA *Quaderni di Studi Arabi.*
RMM *Revue du monde musulman.*
SO *Studia Orientalia: Societas Orientalis Fennica.*
WI *Die Welt des Islams: Internationale Zeitschrift für die Entwicklungsgeschichte des Islams besonders in der Gegenwart.*
ZAL *Zeitschrift für arabische Linguistik.*
ZDMG *Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft.*

Conventional Symbols

- * The original form
- // Phonemic transcription
- [] Phonetic transcription
- { } A root or a nominal pattern
- > Diacronic change from one form to another
- < Diacronic evolved form from another
- ∅ Zero morpheme
- ... Refers to incomprehensible passages in the transcribed version of both corpuses, which are reflected in the English translation. However, in the English version the symbol “...” may be part of the punctuation.

Introduction and Study

1 Preliminary Comments

The purpose of this study is to document and analyze the endangered oral literary tradition of Chaouen, northern Morocco, a vehicle for the transmission of a local culture and language, before it disappears without record.¹ In a relatively short time a way of life that had been maintained for generations has been altered and its linguistic and social characteristics obliterated. What remains now of the speech and cultural traditions of Chaouen, and perhaps of many other large and small Moroccan cities, is being preserved by a handful of elderly men and (particularly) elderly women, who are par excellence linguistically and culturally associated with oral literature, and to whom the preservation of skills of oral narration, transmission, and preservation is entrusted² (unfortunately often only by default).

The present study has two objectives: (1) It seeks to preserve the oral tradition in its form of storytelling in the vernacular language in which it has been transmitted, presenting the original texts without any alterations, or creative or editorial changes, to assure the accuracy and the representativeness of the oral tradition and the verbal art embodied in the language and socio-cultural information carried in them. This includes philological commentary on the Moroccan Arabic used in these stories. (2) To present an English translation of the two sets of stories, with footnotes on the cultural, literary and linguistic matters necessary for understanding this body of oral literature. I wish to preserve the cultural setting of the stories, and provide the tools for understanding them in their cultural context. My working assumption has been that the oral tradition is a part of a “cognitive-behavioristic” system, and that such a system includes the sentiments of the narrator and the audience concerning the

1 See Nicolaisen (1990), 41; Finnegan (2003), 77–78, 217; and the biographical data of both informants below. For a completely different point of view, see the introduction by Lafkioui and Merolla to the collection of folktales from Rif (northern Morocco) by Boughaba Maleem (2007), vi: they claim that the tradition of folktale narration remains vital in both the villages and the cities of Rif despite television.

2 This situation is common in many other Arab countries: see for example the comments about Bāb al-Shaykh (Iraq) by Abu-Haidar (1988), 154 and (1991), 29, 37. Concerning Morocco see for example Sadiqi (2003), 246; idem (2010), 42–46; and Vicente (2009), 23–24 and the bibliographical references there.

verbatim texts involved and their variants.³ A combination of disciplines is applied when dealing with the linguistic and literary features of the present corpus.

2 Anthology and Recording

This anthology contains thirteen folktales and two poems narrated by a man, and nine folktales, four lullabies, and one song told by a woman.⁴ This is the maximum I could record from these two narrators, given their advanced age and their problems in recalling all the details of the large corpus of stories they used to narrate with devotion and high professionalism (though both of them were solely amateurs and not professional tale-tellers). Both endeavored to narrate with great efficiency and without hesitation. The man narrator repeatedly exclaimed to me, “Oh! Aicha, you should have come to ask me for tales years earlier: I could then have filled an entire book for you.” Nevertheless he displayed great narrative skill and the ability to shift from one situation of thought to another adeptly. Moreover, he was able to interrupt his narrative of even a highly complicated tale, interject a comment or ask a question completely out of context, and then resume without hesitation the thread of the narration from the point where he had left it. The woman narrator complained of being tired, and she regretted her weakness. But both of them were aware that this time their artistic narrations and the oral tradition and literature they had embraced since childhood would be perpetuated, and that future generations would tell their stories, and they showed an immense gift, enthusiasm, strength, passion, and happiness in assuring the continuance of an oral tradition that only they knew, being the oldest people with such a talent still living in the whole city of Chaouen. I keenly felt the urgency of this project. The aware-

3 For a significant and extensive commentary on the theoretical approach see El-Shamy (1967), esp. under Part II; idem (1986), 41; idem (1999), 5–6, 20–21 n. 11–21 and the copious bibliographical references mentioned there; and Dégh (1990), 161–173, and Voigt (1990), 403–414 and the bibliographical references in both. Also see Finnegan (2003), 104–111.

4 I saw the need to revise, newly edit, translate, and republish two of the tales, tale no. 20, “*būṭ s-sūltān* / The Sultan’s Daughter” and tale no. 21, “*t-ṭāyṣ l-mḥāddāṣ* / The Talking Bird,” told by the woman narrator to Moscoso, DACH, 254–269, who did not ask the storyteller whether or not she wished to be anonymous but kept her so. My intention had been to newly record these two tales in full; but, due to her delicate health, the narrator could not entirely recall them. She was the one who suggested taking them from Moscoso’s dissertation.

ness of the need to preserve this valuable cultural lore had haunted me⁵ for years because some of these tales form part of the “life space” of many generations.

It will be noticed that tales with animals as the protagonist, which are fables with didactic-moralistic messages and normally attributed to written literary sources such as the *Kalīla wa Dimnah*,⁶ are completely absent from the present anthology.

The set of texts included in this book were recorded during two weeks of intensive fieldwork in May 2008.⁷ The recording of the man narrator took place in the visitors’ room of his apartment in Chaouen, most of the time in the presence of his wife. Once during the recording the narrator’s daughter came to visit him; but she remained a silent member of the audience.

The man mentioned only one source of his stories: he said he had heard tale no. 11, “*sīdi l-būzṭāmi* / Sīdi el-Buztami” from his friend *l-ḥāǧǧ* Ḥmād ət-Tlīdī.⁸ Tale no. 10, “*əṭ-ṭəlmūd* / The Student,” is very popular among men in Chaouen.

The recording of the woman’s stories took place in her room at my parents’ home in Chaouen. Sometimes the recording was made in the presence of other family members. The narrator said that she had learned all the tales from her mother and other women of the family, though she did not elaborate.⁹

5 Many other scholars express this awareness of the rapid disappearance of oral folk narratives in Morocco and elsewhere: see for example El Koudia and Allen (2003), VIII, 147–148. The role of old women, particularly grandmothers, in Moroccan society as the main guardians of folktales, and the potential this had for shaping the cultural identity from the women’s point of view, has been described by many scholars: see for example the commentary of Sadiqi (2003), 247–248, 255–256.

6 Examples of this genre of tales from Egypt can be found in El-Shamy (1980), 185–205, 257.

7 For a detailed theoretical approach to the questions of Where? When? How? Who are the informants? that must be answered before attempting any scientific folk study, see the Postface by Lacoste-Dujardin in Frobenius translated by Fetta (1998), 233. On the relevance of these questions for scientific research on oral traditions, and the problem of re-creative writers producing fabrications and forgeries, see El-Shamy (1999), 3, n. 1 on pp. 18–19, and n. 47 on p. 26 for some empirical examples.

8 This is a nephew of the woman narrator.

9 On the intricate concept of “learn from,” see the theoretical and empirical approach by El-Shamy (1967), 102–133; El-Shamy (1990), 63–65. Some family member informed me that the mother of the female narrator, my great-grandmother, was the transmitter of the tales: Kinza l-Amīn l-ʿAlami was known for her unique talent at storytelling.

Both narrators knew beforehand that the recorded works were going to be published, so they took exceptional care in the telling of their stories. Thus the texts presented here should be considered as cognitive “folkloric behaviour”¹⁰ rather than an actual scene of daily life.

The man did not forget for a moment that his audience consisted of the woman interviewer, and sometimes his wife, the latter of whom most of the time sat silently in the background, occasionally making tea and encouraging him to add one more tale. His wife insisted that for him story-telling was life itself. This same set of stories told by the narrator to an audience of men would have had some significant differences. For example, the narrator did not use any blatant curse, even when the context required it;¹¹ and he censored materials that were overtly or symbolically erotic.¹² And the humor of the narrations contains fewer mannerisms than is usual among men.

The man took his story-telling seriously, narrating *ġarāʾib* “heroic legends,” and *qiṣaṣ* “truthful, serious stories,” as he himself termed them. When I confessed to him that my grandmother knew many tales too, he replied that what she knew are *xrāyaf*¹³ “nonsense, nontruths etc.,” referring to *Märchen*,¹⁴ a genre suggesting irrational and occult nocturnal practices.

This statement reflects the deep and widespread belief in Morocco, and in the Arab world in general, that everything that women narrate is unofficial and unauthorized oral literature, pertaining only to the female inner self-

10 See the previous note.

11 See my commentary in n. 89 regarding one of the curses used by the male narrator, *sīr dǧūf fāyn dmūṯ* “Leave and find a place to die!” tale III, “s-sayyid *bən l-āsād l-qūndi* / S-sayyid Bən l-Āsād l-Qūndi.”

12 Compare tale no. 7, “*qāmr z-zāmān u ḥāyāt n-nūfūs* / Qāmr z-Zāmān and Ḥāyāt n-Nūfūs,” to the tale *حكاية قمر الزمان مع معشوقته* in *ʿalf layla wa layla, The Thousand and One Nights*.

13 El-Shamy (1999), 10, 23 n. 38 adds that “... the term *khurāfah* also stood for ‘myth’ – ‘myth’ being a matter of faith considered to be the truth (usually in a sacred sense) by someone other than the person using the term, for whom the matter was not so.” ‘Myth’ outside its sacred use has been totally marginalized in the Arab Muslim world as nonauthorized cultural background, usually from “The Time of Ignorance.” By disavowing the sophisticated immense and extremely ancient Semitic heritage, intellectual discussion in the Arab world lacks historical, philological, scientific, and theological depth concerning monotheistic religions and other subjects.

14 On the meaning of this German term, its diachronical usage in Western tradition, its crystallized reference to the oral *Volksmärchen* of the Brothers Grimm, and its genre and subgenre classifications, see for example Bausinger (1999), col. 250–274 and the bibliographical references there.

expression and therefore low and insignificant – *xrāyaf* “Women’s Stuff,” which the majority of adult men refuse to narrate.¹⁵ During the first days of recording, the man acted as a mere ‘informant’ in front of the female collector. He showed a defensive and even a contemptuous attitude toward this female collector. Once near the beginning of my task, I innocently asked him if the tale was over and his answer was, *l-bārāka fik a lla ṣāyša* “You are the blessing, O lla Aicha.”¹⁶ No doubt the narrator felt a certain gap between his world and that of the interviewer, and he often supplemented his story with brief explanations which a male listener would not have needed. He used to ask me about all the countries where I have lived and which I have visited, and he would indicate that he preferred Morocco, his country, by quoting the proverb, *ḥna ma mšīna n-spānya, ma mšīna n-mārīka. qālu: “āfrāḥ, ya lli kān fārāḥ l-yūm f-blād u ḡādda f-būldān, u ḡabbəlna ṣla blādna u zyān ṣlīna l-ḥāl. wa frāḥ, ya lli kān fārāḥ mǧ-ḡīna;¹⁷ u rgūd, ya lli kūnna ṣla ḡlību ḡītrān. qītrān blādna wāla ṣsəl d-al-būldān.”*¹⁸ “We did not go to Spain, nor did we go to America. They used to say, ‘Rejoice, O those who rejoice in traveling from one country to another. However when we returned to our own country, our situation improved. Rejoice, O those who rejoice at our return; and keep silence, O those for whom we are like [a stain] of tar in the heart. For us the tar of our own country is better than the honey of other lands.’” He would ask me about the Torah without telling me that *he* knows I know something about it. (In Chaouen everyone knows everything about everyone: as has been said, There are no secrets in small towns).

15 See Domenech Lafuente (1952), 35; Dermenghem in El Fasi and Dermenghem (1975), 13; El-Shamy (1980), xlvi; idem (1990), 66–67; and idem (1999), 8–13, 22–26 for the corresponding footnotes. For the analysis of this data from a generic and feminist linguistic point of view see Sadiqi (2003), 42, 232–233.

16 The narrator here is being sarcastic. For the same attitude see Kaivola-Bregenhøj (1990), 54, who writes, “Sometimes it is difficult for the interviewing researcher to know *who* or *what* triggered off the narrative chain of which the story is part. In order to understand the story it is, however, important to seek an answer to the questions: how did the narrator arrive at this point and on whose initiative?”

17 *mān-ḡīna* > *mǧ-ḡīna*. In Fes the *-n* of the preposition *mān* would drop. However in some cases this same assimilation is attested: see Brunot (1936), 12 and Lévy (2009), 187. Contrast Moscoso, DACH, 55, n. 138.

18 The narrator here cited a proverb he had learned by heart and without alterations at the phonemic level, which explains the interchange between the phonemes /q/ and /g/, unattested in the phonemic repertoire of Chaouen but known for example in the koiné of Casablanca.

Each time he called me *ūstāda* ‘Professor’ I insisted that, due to his vast life experience, knowledge, age, and expertise, he deserves the title more than I, and that while narrating he is the only professor – ‘my professor.’ He would answer with another proverb: *l-šimda šla man dāšdāq, māši šla man dāsbāq* “One has to lie to the one who speaks the truth, not to the eldest.”¹⁹ At all times I endeavored to answer his allegations with conviction, because I knew that the researcher must never compete with his informant, and that the interviewer is in fact a learner, and that the narrator is the master, who at that moment is expressing his right of making sure that his knowledge is appreciated, and trying to create a favorable setting for the authoritative narration of the story. As we continued to work together and our mutual trust increased, there was no longer any need for the narrator to worry about whether or not he was making the desired impression on me. The narrator perceived the seriousness of fulfilling my task of preservation. We soon established a trusting relationship, and after just a couple of days he gave me his full confidence.

The woman narrator, my grandmother, showed happiness and the feeling of renewal. This time confidence between narrator and interviewer was granted immediately. Sometimes I even recorded her in the presence of other family members in an atmosphere of laughter and joy. As she told her stories, I could perceive this great woman’s discreet and tolerant personality through her moral judgments and critical evaluation of both the men and women of the tales, and through her advice, commentary, opinions, and her humor when describing women’s intelligence and their eternal victory over men. In short, the woman narrator owned the authority of the word not only on a artistic and abstract level, but also on a very real one.²⁰



There is an online companion to the print version which contains audio recordings of the texts given in the book. Sound files of the recordings have been prepared for nearly every text and have been deposited on <http://dx.doi.org/10.1163/9789004279131>.

19 Here the term used by the narrator is *sbāq*, which literally means “devancer, aller devant, partir devant, précéder etc.” (see DAF, VI, 22–23). In the context the verb involves the expression mentioned by de Prémare, DAF, VI, 23, “*sbāq nākum l-əd-dunya* nous sommes venus au monde avant nous.” There is a mistake here: it should read “avant vous.”

20 Compare to Sadiqi (2006), 291–293 on other women narrators.

3 Performers²¹

3.1 *Ḥmād ṢAfāq*

My friend and narrator Mūlāy²² Ḥmād ṢAfāq (his name on his identity card appeared as “Ahmed Afak”) was an extraordinary, impressive, wonderful man and an excellent person and narrator. He was born in the Bāb s-Sūq neighborhood of Chaouen in 1912, and died in Chaouen on April 21, 2011. He was the only son of a family known for its Andalusian origins. He did not tell us much about his childhood except for an incident which he said marked him for ever: When Spanish soldiers first came to the city, they gave bread with some meat to some children; but when the narrator told his father about this, the latter became furious, and forbade him to ever take anything from the “colonialists.” One of the mysterious things about the life of this man is his four marriages. His first wife was a widow. She died and he married another widow, whom he divorced. Then he married a third widow, the mother of his children, with whom he spent most of his life. He then married his fourth and final wife, who survived him. He and his third wife had five daughters and one son. One of the most tragic events of his life was the death of one of his daughters at the age of forty,²³ leaving children.

The personality of this narrator is as shrouded in mystery as his private life. As he used to tell me, he could neither read nor write but had been around and had seen a lot. The inhabitants of Chaouen were intensely curious about his life and mysterious personality and still circulate many rumors about him. One of

21 I decided to call the two narrators “performers” to avoid giving the impression that they were automata supplying sociological ‘data’ – as mere sources of information rather than as human beings and the real authors of the narratives. For more on this see Finnegan (2003), 219–220. Scholars have an obligation to give a detailed biography of the storyteller, including age, education, profession, family, personality, social status, world view, and tastes and interests: such information helps place the narrator in a story-telling tradition and explains the special features of their versions of well-known stories. See Nicolaïsen (1990), 45; and Finnegan (2003), 20, 95–96, 123.

22 This term is used variously as a divine epithet, a saintly epithet, and an honorific simply meaning “Lord, Seigneur, Sir.” In Chaouen it is mostly used as a *Ṣūrfa’s* title. However, in the context above, the use of this title is intended to give the narrator the distinction he held because of his unique personality, and because he was one of the most distinguished elderly men of this city. About this term in general see DAF, XII, 278–280; for its specific meaning here see meaning 3. Also see Westermarck (1968a), 36–37.

23 Except for the incident from his childhood, the information about his private life here given was provided by his last wife, Fāṭma Riyyān. Whenever the narrator spoke about his private life, he was elusive: see below.

the stories told about him is that when he was young his father sent him to Tetuan with money to start a business: but he squandered everything and joined Moroccan soldiers going to fight in the Spanish Civil War because he did not want to return to his father empty-handed. After some time he again returned to Chaouen.²⁴ If this last rumor is true, the narrator seemed to want suppress the experience: he told me about several trips inside Morocco but never anything about any trips abroad. He even affirmed, through the above quoted proverb, that he had never been abroad. Nevertheless, shortly after his death I confirmed through his daughter Ḥusniyya that he had indeed spent some time in Spain, though I learned no further details about his stay there from her.

I asked Mūlāy Ḥmād to describe himself, and, in contrast to the woman narrator, he readily did so: *āna ḥmād bən ḥmād bāyḍafūn, qūbbānīyātūn, l-ūštād ḥmād bən ḥmād šāfāq š-šāfšāwni l-āndālūsi. inni šāndi səbša u tšišīn sna. u bāš nāntəssāš l-xātār dyāli u nānəbqa nāhdār u nətkəlləm. ma n-nās qlīlīn d-šāndəm səbša u tšišīn u dəžbār šāndu l-gāna*²⁵ *yāhdār u yītəkəlləm. u kanəgləs yāšni mša žāmāša d-ən-nās – tḥmənyā āw tšəšūd āw šāšra – māy nāhdār, ḥāttja wāḥīd, ma yāšrāf šī šī nānqūl ānāya. u l-ān nānfəğğī l-qūlūb dyāli. nānəgləs nšāwəd u kānfəkkār yāšni n-nās kif gāzəθ u n-nās kif šāšəθ, u n-nās kif kānəθ lād kūn, u klu u šārbu u-šāšu fi-ḥayātīhəm, nānrāttāḥ š-sudūr dyāli, hāda wāḥ əd-dwa.* “I am Ḥmād Bən Ḥmād ... ignoramus.²⁶ Professor Ḥmād Bən Ḥmād šAfāq aš-šifšāwni al-Andalusi.²⁷ I am 97 years old. For relaxation²⁸ I still tell stories and do public speaking. Be aware that there are not many people of 97 years who still have the desire to speak or socialize. I sit with a group of people – eight, nine, or ten – and none of them really understands what I mean when I speak. [I tell stories] so that I can dispel the sorrows from my heart. I sit story-telling, thinking about

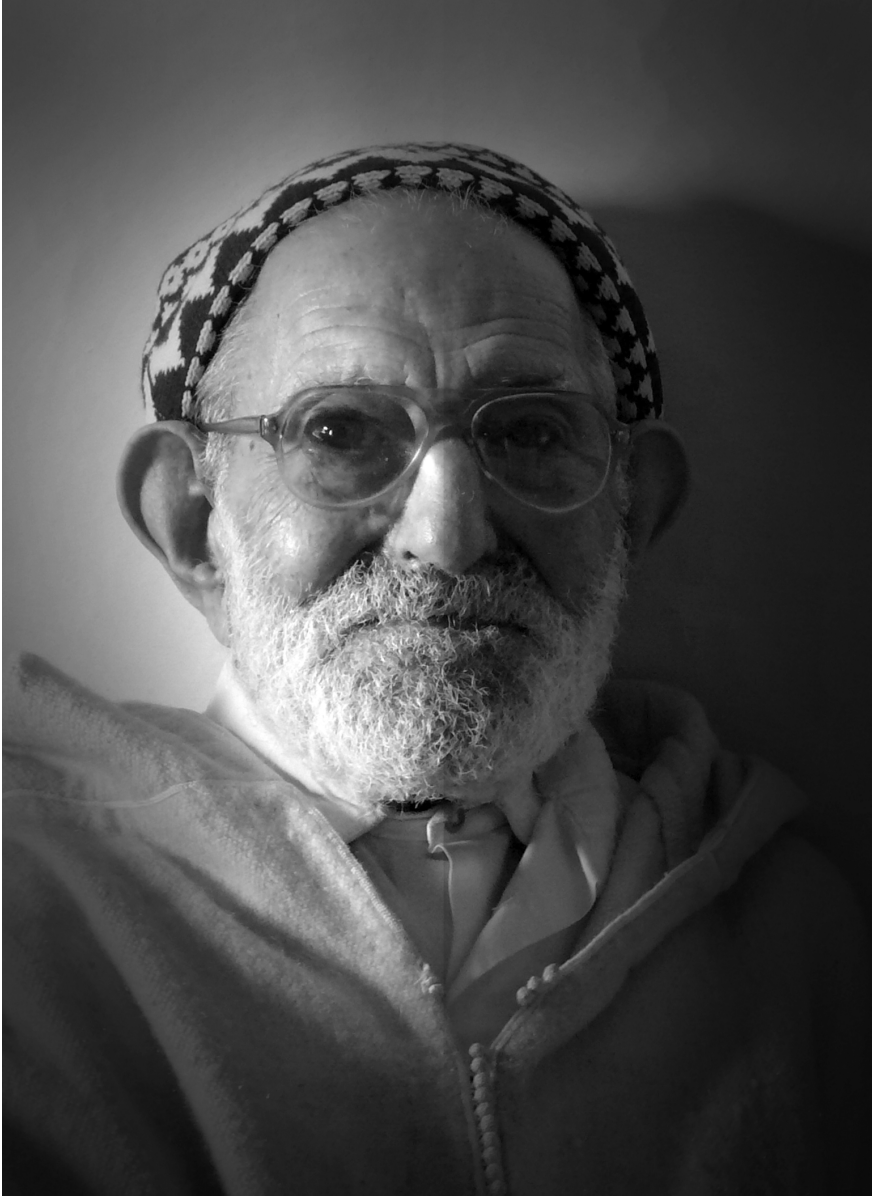
24 I cannot confirm that this is true; but his negative attitude towards Europeans suggests some bitter experience with them.

25 This is a term borrowed from Spanish and used in the same form with the same semantic value. Spanish *gana* means “desire, wish, etc.” See Benyahia and Aguadé (1987), 195–196; and Lévy (1992), 61 under “Hay nociones abstractas que guardan aceptación.”

26 The term used here by the narrator is *qūbbānīyātūn*, which is related to *qūbba* “dome,” referring to “square head,” implying “illiterate.” See DAF, X, 214, under *qəbbāni*; and Gil Grimaud and Ibn Azzuz (1988), 116, n. 14.

27 The narrator claimed his Andalusian origins with deep conviction. He insisted he remembered his family’s comments about their origin.

28 Here the narrator uses the idiom *təssāš + l-xātār + dyāl* (+ pronominal suffix). This expression is equivalent to the one mentioned by de Prémare, DAF, XII, 201, under the figurative meaning of the root *wussāš*: “*x wussāš əl-xātər* [litt. élargir / mettre au large son état d’esprit] mettre / se mettre à l’aise; distraire / se distraire [Tedj]; se faire conciliant.” For more about this expression, see ADF, XI, 201, meaning 2.



Mūlāy Ḥmad Ṣafāq

PICTURE TAKEN BY THE AUTHOR, ADAPTED FOR PUBLICATION BY IMAD
RAHMOUNI

how people were, how people lived, and how people used to be – [how] they ate, they drank, and lived their lives. Thus I find recreation. This is a medicine.”

On his ID card, under the heading “Profession,” is written in CA “دون,” French “sans,” meaning “without.” Indeed he had more than one profession. I asked him about how he earned his living. He said, *künt mʕálləm dārrāz u mən bāʕd samsār*²⁹ *u bārrāh: l-brīh, l-išhār, hād l-išhār, kif n-nūwwa? hāda l-māxzən ġa, lāxāššəm yžtū yīqqūw t-ṭsārāh, n-nās yīqqūw t-ṭsārāh. n-nās māš yšāwwu, yəzzəmməmu. n-nās māš yimštū yhiġġu, yžtū yīzzəmməmu. īwa l-išhār, īwa āna fām 2003 sālīθ.* “I worked first as a weaver,³⁰ and then as a broker and a town crier³¹ – that is, I would announce [official events and duties]. How? The *Maxzen* would want people to know that they must have an identity card to vote, or that they must register for the pilgrimage to Mecca. I would let them know. I retired in 2003.”

*künt nānbārrāh fī l-l-ṣāqīda dīyālī ānāya. nānqūl: ʔašhadu ʔanna lā ʔilāha illā ʔāh, wa ʔašhadu ʔanna muḥammad rasūl ʔāh.*³² *yšāhdu fīlyya ya malāʔikatu s-samāʔ, u yšāhdu fīlyya ya malāʔikatu l-ʔarḍ. ʔašhadu ʔanna la ʔilāha illā ʔāh, wa ʔašhadu ʔanna muḥammad rasūl ʔāh. ʔa ʔibād ʔāh! lāxāššūm dāqqūw u dāqqūw u dāqqūw f-wṭa ḥāmmām, f-bāb d-əl-ṣāyn, l-mwātāf. ma künt šī āna xāddām b-əl-ūzra, l-ūzra wālu, ma fāndi ūzra, wālu. lāyāfīṭwni ālāf d-əd-darḥām f-əl-ṣām. wālākīn āna nānqūl: ʔašhadu ʔanna lā ʔilāha illā ʔāh, wa ʔašhadu ʔanna muḥammad rasūl ʔāh, nānqūl rābbi yžāzīni, rābbi ynāġġīni f-əd-dūnya u f-əl-āxira m-ən-nār u mən ʔdāb l-qbār, rābbi yānšūrni fī mən yʔādīni, fīmmri ma ddāfīθ, fīmmri ma ddābēzṭ. dāʔimān fārḥān mʕa n-nās kāmla, āyy wāḥīd nānāmši n-ʔāndu fārḥān. fāyn ma mšīθ: āhlān mūlāy ḥməd, āhlān mūlāy ḥməd! ġūwwəzṭa bi-fārāh u sūrūr.* “I would announce according to my faith, shouting loudly, ‘(I profess that) there is no god but God and Muḥammad is His Prophet.’ I call as witness, O angels of Heaven, and I call as witness, O angels of earth. ‘(I profess that) there is no god but God and Muḥammad is His Prophet. O people!³³ you must do this or do that.’ [This I would announce] in Ūṭa Ḥām-

29 *dallāl* teller or guide; an intermediary in business deals involving goods or services. A ‘teller’ receives a fee for services rendered. For many years our narrator was known as a seller of used garments and furniture.

30 Chaouen is famous for its weavers and craftsman. See for example the comments by Mouliéras (1899), 144; and Hoenerbach and Kolenda (1975), 121, 122; al-ʔāfyā (1982), 75.

31 Mouliéras (1899), 171 mentions the Chaouen town crier announcing the collection of the offerings for the big pilgrimage to the Saint of Saints Mūlāy ʔĀbd as-Slām.

32 Muslim creed (= doctrinal formula) in CA.

33 The narrator here uses the expression *ʔibād ʔāh*. Concerning this expression see n. 232, p. 225.

mām, in Bāb l-ʿĀyn,³⁴ all the places. I did not have a salary, no salary, nothing. I did not have a salary, nothing. They would give me one thousand dirhams each year. However, by every time saying, '(I profess that) there is no god but God and Muḥammad is His Prophet,' I was imploring God to reward me, to guard me in this world and in the everlasting one, and from Hell, and from the sepulchral agony. God makes me victorious over whoever is hostile toward me. I have never sued anybody. I have never quarreled with anyone. I have always expressed pleasure with everyone. When I visited people they treated me with joy. Wherever I went [I heard], 'Welcome, Mūlāy³⁵ Ḥmād! Welcome, Mūlāy Ḥmād! I spent it [my life] in joy and happiness.'

The narrator was famed among the people of Chaouen for his extraordinary ability at composing verses. Everyone had heard about one of his famous satires, but no one was able to dictate its text. He confirmed all this, and boasted of possessing such an ability. Here is what he said on one occasion:

əš-šīr-u ḥāh ʿīla bla fīxma ʿīla kānu ydūru ʿllyya ʿāšra d-ən-nās āw hāda, u nqūl ləm: lli yāʿrāf š-šīr! wāḥīd dyālu b-ʿāšra dyāli. u hād šī hāda ma nānəkṭəb ma nānāqra. yāʿni r-rās, r-rās! wāḥli! l-āšʿār, l-qšāyīd, yāʿzəbni l-frāza, yāʿzəbni nzāyāh, yāʿzəbni. ʿīwa ḥna ha ḥna māššīn. "Composing poetry – I swear by God and without boasting ten or so people would sit around me, and so forth, and I ask them, 'Who among you knows poetry!' If someone dares compose a single poem, I compose ten. And all this without writing or reading. But, Oh! such a mind I have! I like *divertissements*.³⁶ I like *nzāyāh*³⁷ ... And for us, this is life."³⁸

34 For a historical commentary see n. 74, p. 182.

35 See above n. 22.

36 The use of *frāza* here involves both of the possible meanings for the term mentioned by de Prémare, DAF, X, 47: "1. divertissement pour les yeux, spectacle réjouissant, scène divertissante [Co]; divertissement agréable ... 2. spectacle (en gén.), fête, réjouissances [Mer]." Michaux-Bellaire (1911), 144 defined this term as used in the Jbala area by the following: "la *fradja*: le spectacle, la chose à voir. La *fradja* consiste en danses, "*chettih*", exécutées, soit par des femmes, *chettaha*, soit par des garçons, *chettah*, au son de la musique. Dans les grandes *fradjas*, la musique se compose du "tabbal" et de la "ghaïta"; dans les *fradjas* moindres, du "guembri", petite guitare à deux cordes, et du "tar", tambour basque." Doutté (1994), 508, affirmed that the term *frāza*, "tel est le nom que l'on donne au carnaval marocain, au moins à Fez et dans le sud du Maroc"

37 This term is not translated here because in the present context it has several nuances, all of which are mentioned by de Prémare, DAF, XI, 349: "1. partie de plaisir champêtre (en gén.) [Co, Br, Mer] ... 2. *spéc.* fête publique, pique-nique à la campagne, organisé par toute corporation: artisans et surtout étudiants – *tolba*; il n'y a pas de femme dans ces réjouissances." An additional meaning is the poetic "plaisir, joie (en gén.)."

38 The narrator here said *ha ḥna māššīn*.

He was also a member of the Chaouen *ʿĪsāwa*³⁹ brotherhood. He used to play the *maqīla*,⁴⁰ and to sing and to perform wild dances, punctuated with screams, arm waving, and gesticulating, to the accompaniment of tambourines, drums, and the *bnādār* (a large round tambourine)⁴¹ till he would go into a trance. His character of *ʿĪsāwi* added yet more to his aura as a benevolent, respected, but mysterious man. In Muslim Arab society, individuals who experience trances or ecstasies are often believed to be in special communication with God and are usually regarded with particular esteem. He was the most talented of these and the one who could dance with a tray full of *sfūf*⁴² and lighted candles for hours. Occasionally when dancing he devoured (or pretended to devour) raw meat. As a child, I saw one of his performances, and it made such a strong impression on me that I still remember it vividly, even now, more than thirty years later.

When I asked him to describe his economic status and profession, he avoided the question, instead reciting the following proverbs: *l-ma u l-ʿĪwād u r-rāzq ʿĪla ǧ-ǧəwwād* “Water, firewood, and entreaty to God the Generous provide

39 *ʿĪsāwa* are very popular North African brotherhoods, composed of ordinary people. The first brotherhood is said to have been founded in Meknes, the holy city of Morocco, by Sīdi Al-Hādi Ben ʿĪsa (born in 1456 or 1466) in 1525. This brotherhood, which practices *dīkr* (see n. 235, p. 385) and asceticism, was popularized through its dancing and singing. For more information see Hoenerbach and Kolenda (1973), 35–36 and (1975), 119, n. 29; Lévi-Provençal and Colin (1986), 1200, 1201; Chebel (1995), 109. Mouliéras (1899), 128 already commented that one of the Chaouen Zawāya was of *ʿĪsāwa*, whom he describes as “mangeurs de scorpions et de serpents.” However Hoenerbach and Kolenda (1975), 119, n. 29 listed three *ʿĪsāwa*’s Zawāya in Chaouen. For more on this subject see pp. 66–69.

40 This is the diminutive of the term *maqīla* / *māqīla*. On this term see DAF, x, 420. De Prémare did not mention that this word, as it occurs in this context, could designate a musical instrument made of copper and played with two wooden sticks to set rhythm.

41 For a full description of this typical North African and Moroccan musical instrument see DAF, I, 313 under singular *bāndār*, *bāndāir* [Jb], which relates this term to the Spanish *pandero*, meaning “tambourine”.

42 This term is from CA *safūf* “powdered medicine.” But in MA this word refers to an energy-providing ritualistic dish composed of lightly toasted wheat flour, blanched almonds, cinnamon, and sesame seeds and anise. All these ingredients are roasted, crushed, and kneaded with powdered sugar and olive oil or melted butter: see DAF, VI, 113–114; and Abu-Shams (2002), 167. In Chaouen this is prepared and consumed mostly in Ramadan due to its energy value. Abu-Shams *ibid.* writes that in Rabat, in addition to Ramadan, it is “espec. plato reconstituyente, ritual, servido a la parturienta y a sus invitados, pero también en otras ocasiones (durante el ramadán, por ejm.)”

the means of subsistence”; and *l-mṣkīn ma yīṭṣāššā šī b-ʿad-dīn u ma yīṭḥārraṣ šī b-ʿas-sakkīn* “The poor should neither have dinner on credit nor carry a dagger.” His last wife explained that he had owned some houses in the l-Hawta neighborhood but had sold them all before his death.

I asked him to describe Chaouen and its inhabitants and his answer was: *kīf ma qāl l-māğrāwi qāl: āh! āh! qāwm hād ġ-ğāž! mnāqīr mē-mnāqīr əğ-ğāž. ma yīṭṣāqu wāla yīrdāw b-ṣīq fhāl mən dī yīṭṣām z-zabda m-əl-fnīq āw yīhdi māšmūm n-əl-mšāmam* “As has been said by el-Maghrawi, ‘O! O! owner of these chickens! They are malign like the beak of chickens. They do not love and they do not let anyone love them – like eating butter from a jewelry box;⁴³ or making a present of a bouquet of flowers to someone who is the flower itself.”

Finally, I asked him which saying, verse, or proverb he had repeated most frequently during his lifetime, and, despite his illiteracy, his answer was: *l-xāyl wa n-nisā? wa l-kuṭub lāyfağğīw l-qūlūb* “Women, horses, and books dispel troubles from one’s heart.”

3.2 *Husniyya l-ʿAlami*

Lālla⁴⁴ *l-hāğğā*⁴⁵ l-Ḥusniyya l-ʿAlami (on her identity card, “Hossnia Alami”) was born in the Bāb s-Sūq neighborhood of Chaouen in 1920 and died in Chaouen on November 11, 2010. She is the second daughter in a family com-

43 The term used here by the narrator is obsolete, though he glossed it as “jewelry box.” De Prémare, DAF, x, 169, gives this as the third possible among other meanings of the word: “1. sucrier du service à thé; petit récipient, en bois ou en cuivre, ovale, pour le sucre [Co, Mer]. 2. petit coffre à couvercle glissant, pour mettre les verres à thé [Co]. 3. écrin, coffret à bijoux; cassette (pour pièces d’or) [Co].”

44 This term means “my lady / mistress,” and in ChA “grandmother” as well. In this context it can be glossed as “lady of noble blood” because the al-ʿAlami is one of the principal *Šūrfā* families in Chaouen. This family is descended from the holy patron Mūlāy ʿAbd as-Slām, who was himself descended from the Prophet Muḥammad through his daughter Fāṭima and her husband ʿAlī. The term *Šūrfā* is used in Morocco in general, and designates the descendants, always in the male line, of the Prophet Muḥammad. For more on *Šūrfā* l-ʿAlamiyūn in general see n. 22 above and 12 p. 69 for commentary and references.

45 Concerning the title *əl-hāğğā* see Hachimi (2001), 43; and Sadiqi (2003), 135, who adds that this title is borne by old women because they are not commonly regarded as “sex objects.” Herrero (2008), 96, adds that, “la forma de tratamiento *əl-hāžž* es ambivalente pues, empleada para hacer alusión a alguien que ha realizado la peregrinación a la Meca [as it is used in this context – AR], es una forma neutra ya que hace alusión a la identidad estable del oyente pero puede ser también connotativa si se emplea para aludir a un hombre mayor aunque no sea peregrino como fórmula de cortesía y de deferencia.”

posed of three girls, the first named *lla*⁴⁶ Xāddūž and the third *lla* Mənnāna. She regretted not having had a brother: but she expressed her gratitude to God for a male cousin, *Si l-ŶAyyāši al-ŶAlami*, who will marry her youngest sister, *lla* Mənnāna.⁴⁷

Her most vivid childhood memory was how her father, when he came home from work, would call his three daughters from the main door: they would come running to him, and he would name the first one to arrive before seeing her because of the noise of the anklet⁴⁸ she was wearing. She said that her father was so rich his employees would bring him money on donkeys, and that, because of the small size of Chaouen, her father was thinking of leaving it for Tangiers. However his sudden death forestalled the move. At the age of sixteen (she insisted that she had been fourteen) she was married to *Si l-Ḥasan Raḥmūni*, a modest man from an old established Chaouen *Šūrfa* family. They had five daughters and two sons. Like our male narrator, she too lost one daughter, named *ŶĀyša*, who was only thirty years old. Our narrator recalled this with sadness, sighs, and even tears. A few years later, her husband died. She survived as a widow for almost forty years, living, as tradition and custom required, with her eldest son till she too died. Because of her inheritance, she enjoyed financial independence, and travelled twice to Mecca, and many times to Spain to visit one of her daughters. She would speak proudly about her many trips abroad. During her last years she regretted her old age, because she desired to visit me in the United States.

Our narrator belongs to a traditional and purely oral culture. For centuries many women and some men from Morocco were without books. The women were illiterate; which, however does not mean they lacked practical knowledge and wisdom,⁴⁹ as this extraordinary woman's oral testimony proves.

As I had of Ḥməd ŶAfāq, I asked my grandmother to speak about her life, and to tell me what I should write about her. She refused. She said I would do it better myself because I knew her better perhaps than she did herself. Then

46 Abbreviation of the term *lālla*, see n. 44 above.

47 Old established Chaouen families are known for their endogamy.

48 The original term used here is *xālxāl*, which in this context suggests a sonorous sound, in addition to being a poetic motif. However, in their study on the acoustic system of some terms in three Magrebin speeches Breteau and Roth (1990), 42, 53 n. 23 say concerning this word, "le motif de l'anneau tinteur apparaît fréquemment en poésie et constitue un stéréotype sonore. On relève par contre que les actualisations de la racine *x l x l* restent dans deux de nos sources en deçà du sonore."

49 Sadiqi (2003), 91. On women's illiteracy in Morocco see the detailed study of Sadiqi (2003), 91, and idem (2010), 41–46; and Vicente (2009), 15.



Lālla l-Ḥusniyya l-ʿAlami

FAMILY PHOTOGRAPH, ADAPTED FOR PUBLICATION BY IMAD RAHMOUNI

I asked some of her grandchildren to write something about the experience of her storytelling during our childhood. Here is what two of them wrote:

جدتي هي الشريفة من سلالة الشرفاء ليس نسبا فقط ولكن قيا، أخلاقا وذاكرة. سردها علمنا حب الحياة، حب الجمال، معنى الأمل والتشبث بالحياة. حكاياتها علمتنا معنى الصبر والحكمة. وهي تروي كان كلامها درسا، كان صمتها رفضا وعبرة، كانت ضحكها فرحا. جعلتنا نحيا طوعا. تركتنا ورحلت لكن لم نفقد ذاكرتها، لأنها ذاكرة صابنا. صورتها وصوتها في مخيلتنا رمزا دائما، فهي الوحيدة التي أغنت مخيلتنا بحكاياتها الرائعة. حاضرة نتذكرها دائما تقول: 'الصواب معطاه شي الله نكل شي إلا ناللي بغاه،' 'والصمت حكمة ومنو تفرقت الحكايم.' كانت تؤكد أن الكلام الطيب، والقدرة على السرد والحكاية لا تنفق المال لإقتنائه، بل هو هبة من عند الرحمان لمن يحبه، فلما لا نرده، نمنع ونستمع بساعة. حكاياتها أغنت عالمنا، زودتنا وزودتها بفلسفة التسامح، الإرتقاء والإلتصاق بالحياة. راويتنا كانت رحمة، محبة للصغير والكبير، ومقدرة من طرف الجميع لسبب واحد هو أنها كانت كثيرة الإحترام لنفسها، لذاكرتها، وذاكرة أجدادها، ذاكرتنا، وذاكرة أطفالنا.⁵⁰

Our grandmother was a noble lady, not only because of her noble descent but also because of her values, morals, and memory. Her narratives taught us love of life, love of beauty, the meaning of hope and how to savor life. Her story has taught us the meaning of patience and wisdom. Her speech was a lesson for us and her silence a reproach, a precept, and her laugh a joy. She made us love her voluntarily. She left us and is gone but we did not lose her memory because she is our childhood memory. Her image and voice will always be a symbol in our imagination; for she is the only one to enrich our imagination with her fantastic tales. She is present; we remember her saying always: 'God did not bestow anyone with good manners but only to the one who loved,' and 'Silence means wisdom, and from it all kinds of wisdom emanates.'⁵¹ She often said that good words, the ability

50 I thank my sister Boutaina Rahmouni and my brother Jalal Rahmouni for composing this text.

51 The background of this proverb was a tale related to me by the eldest son of the narrator, my father, Sidi Hmed Rahmouni:

kān wāḥd l-mālīç ŧāndu l-āwlad, wāḥid mənəm ma b?āšī yihdāx. u-qāl bābāh: 'lli yismāf bni layihdār māš nəgñih u-īda kdəb flīyya māš nqāflu. [l-āmīr] bda māši kāyīṭəwwal f l-xla u lā-žbāl, ŧwa u-n-nās müwāh kāyīṣšāmnəu ka māš yihdāx ka māš yihdār ši. u-wāḥ ən-nhār xwāž n-əl-gāba aw ġ-ğbal b-wāḥdu. xwāž u čāf wāḥd l-ḥmāma f-əw-nās d-wāḥd əš-šizba, ṭāḥāṭ man diç əš-šizba wāḥ l-ḥiñš. diç l-ḥmāma bdāṣ kädğəwwoṣ, mənāyn bdāṣ lādğəwwoṣ diç l-ḥiñš ṭlāf l-lila u çla, ṭlāf l-lila u çla, diç l-l-ŧāyəl, wüdd l-mālīç qāl: 'əṣ-šāmṭ ḥikma u-mannu ṭfāwə?āṣ l-ḥkāyəm, ka-kān skəṣ l-ymām kān l-ḥiñš māši ḥāyəm,' wāḥd l-ṭinsān kān la-yiğğəssəs flih, ḥādāç l-ṭinsān lli kān la-yiğğəssəs flih mša n-šānd bābāh, ŧānd l-mālīç

to narrate and tell stories, cannot be purchased with money, but are a gift from the Merciful only to those He loves. Then why should we not repeat it, hear it, enjoy it and cheer others with listening to it. Her tales enriched our world, and provided her and us with the philosophy of tolerance, always looking forwards for the better, and of savoring life. Our narrator was compassionate, she loved small and old, and she was respected by everyone because she honored herself, her memory, and the memory of her ancestors, our memory, and the memory of our future children.

Every child, now adult, member of my family remembers our grandmother's voice, clothing, and fascinating words and many wonderful stories, which we all wish to endure eternally. Our family was almost the last one of the neighborhood to acquire a television set. In the evenings and long nights of winter, we would huddle under a blanket, waiting for the magical hour of storytelling. In this intimate atmosphere our grandmother approached. After making sure that we were all sitting comfortably, she herself would sit down in her squatting position, as she used to do, and begin her story. We would only listen, watch, and sometimes laugh – but usually only quietly, to avoid interrupting her. But sometimes we could not help ourselves but laughed out loud. We enjoyed every evening discovering new worlds and experiencing new adventures. Some

u-qāl lu: 'bnəç lāyītkəlləm.' l-mālīç qālu lu: 'īda kān lāyītkəlləm māš nəğniç u-īda ma tkəlləm ši māš nqəṭləç.' l-āmīr ıçğāç ma lāyītkəlləm ši. žābu dīç r-rāžəl lli qāl l-āmīr lāyītkəlləm bāš yṭāṭlūh. l-āmīr kān təmma, řāzz řlūh, u-hdāb, qāl lu: 'smāřṭnī, u-smāřṭ l-māžāl, 'əş-şāmṭ ḥikma u-mənnu tḫābṭāð l-ḥkāyəm, ka-kān skəð l-ymām kān l-ḥiñš māši ḥāyəm, u-hāyḏāç u-hdābṭ.

“There was a king who had children. One of them stopped speaking. His father said, ‘I will make rich the one who will hear my son speaking; but if he lies I will kill him.’ The prince started wandering in the wilderness, in the mountains, and people followed him, watching whether he was going to speak or not. One day he went out to the forest or a mountain alone. He went out and saw a dove on top of a tree. Under that tree was a snake. The dove started to call, and the snake climbed up to it, it climbed up to it and ate it. The boy, the King’s son, said, ‘silence means wisdom, and from it all kinds of wisdom emanates. If the wild dove had remained quiet, the snake would have gone wandering.’ A man was spying on him. The man who was spying on him went to his father, to the King, and told him, ‘Your son speaks.’ The King replied, ‘If he speaks I will make you rich; otherwise I will kill you.’ The prince returned. He did not speak. They brought the man who said that the prince speaks to kill him. The prince was present. He felt sorry for him, so he spoke, and told him, “You heard me, and you heard the proverb ‘Silence means wisdom, and from it all kinds of wisdoms emanates.’ If the wild dove had remained quiet, the snake would have gone wandering. And despite this you spoke.”

tales she told us many times over; but always with different words and literary devices, so they never seemed the same story. We believed in every word she said. Through her stories, she taught us values, often with a humorous air, but at other times firmly and seriously. My close family deeply enjoyed our grandmother's daily company. Children from large families sometimes were able to attend her performances; but only on ceremonial occasions. She was our first school. This collection of her stories is my way of honoring her.

4 Structure of the Study

4.1 *Phonemic Transcription (in Some Cases Including Allophones)*

The first task is to provide a phonemic transcription of the original texts. This is the usual first stage in the processing of an audio recording into written words, and is a crucial step in any scientific study of any genre of oral tradition.⁵² The transcriptions offered here faithfully follow word for word the recorded original texts. Rules of phonemic transcription (in some cases including allophones) were adopted in this work as in any other scientific work on Arabic dialectology (see the phonemic explanation below). The narrator's lapses, hiatuses, editorial asides explaining otherwise unintelligible texts, clarifications, and comments are enclosed between square brackets. An attempt has been made to capture in words all significant narrator's interventions, moral judgments, critical evaluations, detached comments, explanations, complaints, irony, and humor, even if most of these are often conveyed through performance rather than in spoken words: the words alone are enclosed between dashes.⁵³ All inconsistencies, including grammatical and syntactical ones, in the narratives have been maintained in the original version. These carry information about the narrator's performance at the moment of storytelling, which give oral tradition its peculiarities and value more than any singularities in the central themes of the tales themselves. The phonemic transcription tries to capture the original text without deleting, changing, modifying, or altering anything. I also try to capture through the transcription the body language of the narrator. An effort has also been made to express something of the body language of the narrator through the transcription because oral narrative is a type of theatrical recital: the storyteller is the producer of a performance in which he or she uses every resource, physical and verbal, to entertain the audience. Storytellers also

52 See the Postface by Lacoste-Dujardin in Frobenius translated by Fetta (1998), 233; Finnegan (2003), 104.

53 Finnegan (2003), 177.

employ a great amount of non-verbal behavior, including hand holding, hand gestures, tilted heads, sustained gazes, locked-eye gazes, nodding, facial expressions, gestures, body postures, variations in intonation, emphasized articulation, stress, pauses, laughter, change of volume, change of tempo, frequent touching, etc. All these are difficult to capture and document in a written version, but as many of them as possible have been indicated.⁵⁴ The narrated text is never a closed or a completed text in which nothing can change: in point of fact the story telling is never repeated in the same way even by the same narrator, and every oral presentation of a folktale is a new creative achievement, even if the narrator thinks that he or she is only repeating a story.⁵⁵

The combination and occasional alternation of singing with speaking which occurs in two of the woman's tales has been noted. Other important issues when transcribing an oral performance are punctuation, and sentence and paragraph division.

The transcription used in this study is phonemic, even in personal names with clear CA origin, such as Hārūn ar-Rāšīd. However, for the sake of accuracy, allophonic variations is in some cases reflected throughout the texts. Moreover, CA loanwords and code-switching, the latter used exclusively by the man narrator, follow the norm of CA transcription of the Library of Congress Romanization system but without reference to the length of the final vowel,

54 Body language and non-verbal behavior support the storytelling. Unfortunately, research evidence on the performance such as those done by Calame-Griaule (1970) for the African tale or by El-Shamy (1980) and (1999) for Egyptian and some Arab tales is lacking for Moroccan story-telling. For the theoretical approach to performance in oral traditions and verbal arts in general, see Finnegan (2003), 91–100. Légy (1926), 4 described the performance aspect of storytelling in public spaces thus: “Il est extrêmement difficile de recueillir un conte sur la place publique; les conteurs, en effet, par des répétitions, des accompagnements sur le guembri ou le tambourin, des chants intercalés, une mimique expressive, des interpellations et des invectives directes pour tenir l’auditoire en suspens, transforment le conte en un véritable scénario où le public joue son rôle.” For more on performance and storytelling see Calame-Griaule (1990), 83; Fribourg (1990), 117 citing Calame-Griaule (1970), 39, “La narration orale est parfois à la limite du théâtre”; Bounfour (1994), 2082; Merolla (1994), 2084; Muhawi (1994), 155–156, 171–172; Nemmiche (2002), 39; Sadiqi (2003), 247; Mehadji (2005), 33; and Lacoste-Dujardin (2010), 15–16.

55 Compare tale no. 16, “*kūnna b-səbʿ bnāθ [f-mʾyʾyāǧ nlaʿbu]* / The Seven Sisters [Playing in a Swamp]” narrated by the same woman tale-teller sixteen years earlier to Natividad and Rahmouni (1996), 144–149 and the version here. For some works with empirical examples of this subject from different folktale repertoires see Neumann (1990), 75–82 (Mecklenburg folk stories today); and Calame-Griaule (1990), 83–103 (from the Touareg repertoire).

consistent with the principle adopted when transcribing MA. Every instance of code-switching is printed in Roman type, whereas the transcribed version is in italics. Nevertheless, since the translations are in Roman script, both CA and MA in them have to be in italics, so the reader has the responsibility of recognizing the difference between the two registers. This, however, is easy because of the difference of the systems of vowel transcription between CA and ChA. Otherwise a return to phonemic transcription would be required, with CA in normal script and MA in italics.

The following are the transcription rules adopted in this study:

4.1.1 Vowels⁵⁶

ChA has three long or full phonemes, /ā/, /ī/, /ū/, each of which has different phonemic realizations depending on the consonantal context. ChA has two short vowels, /ə/ and /ǔ/. In the transcription used here the allophones of /ə/ are marked with a caron: [ǎ], [ə], [ǐ], and [ǔ]. Thus, the strict opposition between the short vowel /ǔ/ and the [ǔ] allophone of /ə/ is not indicated. However, the reader can distinguish between the two by knowing that ǔ should primarily be interpreted as an allophone of /ə/ and that instances of the phoneme /ǔ/ mainly reflect CA influence, as in the frequently used words *r-rūmmāna* “pomegranate,” *hūwwa* “he,” *dūnya* “world,” *kūll* “all, everything,” *ǧ-ǧūmʕa* “Friday.” Moreover, in the final position the vocalization is simply /-a/, /-i/, and /-u/ without reference to the length of the final vowel. The same occurs with many diphthongs: /ǎy/ and /ǎw/; /ǎyy/ and /ǎww/; /āw/, /āy/, and /īw/.

	Front	Mid	Back
High	ī		ǔ, ū
Mid		ə	
Low		ā	

56 For a detailed study on the vowel in ChA see Natividad and Rahmouni (1996), 140; Natividad (1998), 112; Moscoso, DACH, 27–37. This last author *ibid.*, 33 limits the preservation of the diphthongs to women’s speech. However, the present collection shows that the diphthong is preserved in both men’s and women’s speech. On the problem of phonological transcription of vowels in northern Moroccan dialects in general and comparisons with other MA, see Heath (2002), 187–205. On the vowels in MA in general see Caubet (1993a), 16–27; Aguadé (2003), 92–99, 104 and *idem* (2010), 95–105; Behnstedt and Benabbou (2005), 17–70, esp. 17–24

	Plosive	Affricate	Fricative	Thrill	Nasal	Approximant	Lateral approximant
Labial	<i>p-b</i>		<i>β</i>		<i>m</i>		
Labio-velar						<i>w</i>	
Labialized labial							
Labiodental			<i>f</i>				
Alveolar	<i>d-t</i>	<i>tʃ</i>	<i>ð - s - z - θ</i>		<i>n</i>		<i>l</i>
Pharyngealized alveolar	<i>t̟ - d̟</i>		<i>ʃ</i>	<i>r</i>			<i>ʎ</i>
Labialized pharyngealized alveolar	<i>d̟ - d̟̟</i>						
Palato-alveolar		<i>ʧ</i>	<i>ʃ - ʒ</i>			<i>y</i>	
Palatal		<i>ç</i>	<i>ç</i>				
Velar	<i>k-g</i>		<i>x-ɣ</i>				
Labialized-velar							
Uvular	<i>q</i>		<i>ʁ</i>				
Pharyngeal			<i>ħ - ʕ</i>				
Glottal	<i>ʔ</i>		<i>h</i>				

4.1.2 Consonants⁵⁷

/b/ voiced labial plosive, and its fricative allophone [β]. /p/ voiceless bilabial plosive. /m/ bilabial nasal. /w/ bilabial semiconsonant. /f/ voiceless labiodental fricative. /t/ voiceless dental plosive, but occurring mainly as the affricate [tʃ], and its allophone [θ] voiceless dental fricative. /t̟/ voiceless dental pharyngeal plosive. /d/ voiced dental plosive, and its allophone [d̟] voiced dental fricative. /d̟/ voiced dental plosive pharyngeal, and its interdental fricative allophone [d̟̟]. /n/ dental nasal. /s/ voiceless alveolar sibilant. /ʃ/ voiceless alveolar sibilant pharyngeal. /z/ voiced alveolar sibilant. /l/ alveolar lateral, and its allophone /l̟/ alveolar lateral pharyngeal. /r/ alveolar flap-trill, and its allophone /ʁ/ voiced

57 For a detailed study on the consonant in ChA see Natividad and Rahmouni (1996), 139–140; Natividad (1998), 109–112; and Moscoso, DACH, 37–53. For a discussion and detailed description and comparative study on MA phonemes see Aguadé (2003), 59–91, 101–104 and the bibliographical references mentioned therein.

uvular fricative. /š/ voiceless prepalatal fricative. /ž/ voiced prepalatal fricative, and its allophone [ǰ] voiced prepalatal affricate. /y/ prepalatal semiconsonant. /k/ voiceless velar plosive, and its allophone [ç] voiceless palatal fricative. /g/ voiced velar plosive, and its allophone [ǧ] voiced postpalatal fricative. /č/ voiceless palatal fricative. /x/ voiceless velar fricative. /ǧ/ voiced velar fricative. /q/ voiceless uvular plosive. /ħ/ voiceless pharyngeal fricative. /ʕ/ voiced pharyngeal fricative. /h/ glottal fricative. /ʔ/ voiceless glottal plosive.

These texts contain footnotes which deal with linguistics and include, when required, diachronic and synchronic philological, phonemic, grammatical, and occasionally phonological and syntactical pattern study within ChA in comparison with other MA dialects in particular, and with Maghrebin dialects in general. This mainly philological approach follows a scholarly tradition based on the idea of words as the essential units of any text.⁵⁸ When it is deemed necessary to comment on the aspects just mentioned to one term, it is done so only on the first appearance of that term.

4.2 *English Translation*

It is a truism that translation from one language to another is virtually impossible.⁵⁹ Even so, a translation of the transcribed corpus into English is provided, which, as much as is humanly possible, is accurate and faithful to the original text. An exhaustive effort has been made to be both literally faithful to the Arabic, and yet capture the cultural nuances hidden behind the words of the two narrators – words that are often loaded and ethnocentric. A priority has been to keep the oral literary style, since the tales are told in a literary language specific to oral prose. The English translation attempts to reflect the narrative flow of the original. However, the task of being literal is complex, first because there is no such thing as a neutral 'literal' or 'exact' rendering to the target language, and second because the original belongs to the oral code whereas the translation belongs to the written one. Briefly, some of the difficulties are unequal semantic values between the two languages; the peculiarity of the semantic inherit within the original language, which expresses a specific cultural reference; and the problem of syntactical and grammatical differences. In addition to these linguistic difficulties, the translator is confronted with conflicting issues of cultural and linguistic differences between the original language and the language of the translation: in other words, the translator faces the opposition between the translatable and untranslatable. In

58 Finnegan (2003), 28.

59 Finnegan (2003), 187–194.

addition, the interpretation of the imagery in both languages, the original one and the target language, requires knowledge of the social and literary contexts of both languages. Thus a literal word-for-word translation is excluded because it might provide a text bereft of sense and would certainly betray the syntax of the English language. On the other hand, though a literary translation might be pleasant reading, it takes too much liberty with the text and thus deprives the story of some of its authenticity and much of its documentary value. So one must find a Golden Mean between the literal and the literary.⁶⁰ I worked side by side with an English editor in order to be sure that the translation is as faithful to both languages, the original and the language of translation,⁶¹ as is possible.

The main concern has been fidelity to the original text, because the authenticity of a folktale is linked to the vernacular language in which it is realized. The oral narrative in the vernacular language means more than the literary form of the message: it includes ways in which the storyteller expresses his/herself, performs, and uses all his/her strategies, and all the topical references hidden within the communication to draw the attention of his/her audience, and to have the desired effect on them. This oral tradition as it was first recorded has been reproduced in the transliterations and translations. The repetitions have been retained because repetition is characteristic of oral forms and expressions, pleasing to the listener and facilitating memorization. Indeed, in some ways repetition is the very soul of oral tradition.⁶² Even when the narrators seemed to have difficulty remembering the stories,⁶³ this has been reflected in both the transliteration and the translation, with explanations provided where required. Any blatant grammatical inconsistencies in the narratives have been

60 See Finnegan (2003), 188–190, 230. For an extensive commentary on these translation difficulties see Mehadji (2005), 33–42 “de *l'intraduisibilité* à la *traduisibilité* de termes dialectaux dans les contes oraux algériens”.

61 During several months I worked side by side with the English editor Craig Crossen on the translation of the texts. We discussed difficult passages in depth before agreeing on a final translated version. I considered the effects on readers who may experience the wording very differently from how it sounds to the translator's inner ear, by reading the English version aloud. In addition, I tried to find the best possible translations of the numerous idiomatic expressions. I cordially thank my friend Craig Crossen for his critical readings, and his valuable suggestions and remarks, which led a substantial improvement of the final result.

62 See Merolla (1994), 2084–2085; Lacoste-Dujardin (2010), 80, n. 10; Finnegan (2003), 175.

63 On the act of memorization, retention of folklore and the issue of forgetting and recalling see the detailed and extensive theoretical and empirical commentary in El-Shamy (1967), 135–182. Also see Finnegan (2003), 114–117.

corrected and commented on in footnotes to the English translation, but maintained in the original version, because such inconsistencies are indicative of the conceptual and emotional states of the narrator and the audience. Occasionally a term has been left in italics without translation, mostly because no semantic equivalent exists in English. In this case a footnote with explanation is provided. Onomatopoeic words are translated whenever possible: otherwise an explanatory note is provided.

Concerning titles: It is widely acknowledged that oral forms do not always have titles in the same way written works do. In this anthology both narrators mostly used the personal name of the protagonist, or the protagonist's most distinct feature or trait, as a title. These titles have mainly been retained, with additions in square brackets made only when necessary for comprehension.⁶⁴

The phonemic transcription of the original text has been used for the transcription of toponyms and personal names in the English version. However, for common Arabic words found in English dictionaries, such as hammam, henna, and jinn, Standard English spelling has been followed.

Finally, the English version includes in footnotes semantic, socio-cultural, anthropological, sociolinguistic, literary, and even socio-religious information. However, most of the relevant cultural background is provided in a separate section of brief essays following this Introduction. This interdisciplinary approach facilitates a better understanding of the socio-cultural setting of the society from which this corpus of stories originates – and most particularly of the different characteristics of its men and women and of their speech.

Semantic comments are provided for a better comprehension, always based on the original ChA within MA and without neglecting the cultural differences between the original and the translation languages. An effort has been made to find the most literal and exact equivalent idiomatic translation for every idiom of the original. The interpretation of the semantic and socio-cultural meanings is based on a sociolinguistic approach that takes into account how the narrator's gender influences the speech style, historical references etc.

Major literary motifs, which differ from one genre to another, are an "ethnically specific"⁶⁵ directory of ethnography which provides an overview of the imaginary universe of the present repertoire. Not only are the major motifs identified, variants of these motifs from the Moroccan, Maghrebin, Arab, and other folktale repertoires are given. The result of this research will help in the

64 Most of the title restorations were first affixed to the English versions as suggested by my editor Craig Crossen, and then added to the original versions.

65 See Aarne and Thompson (1961); Lacoste-Dujardin (1999), 105; Bausinger (1999), col. 254–255; Finnegan (2003), 164.

construction of concordances, the identification of recurrent stylistic patterns, and the comparison of variants of the Moroccan folktale corpus in particular and of the Maghrebin folktale repertoire in general.

5 Study on the Vernacular Language of the Corpus

5.1 *The Vernacular Language of Chaouen*

Chaouen is one of the most venerated of the Moroccan cities and is known for its Andalusian-influenced urban culture. Beginning with its foundation in the 16th century, Chaouen was a refuge for Muslims expelled from Spain. Its language shows many affinities with other Moroccan dialects classified as urban. These dialects are quite ancient and represent the urban Arabic spoken prior to the arrival of the Banū Hilāl and Maṣqil Bedouin in the second half of the 12th century.⁶⁶ The contamination of ChA by the surrounding highland dialects is substantial in men's speech but not in the Arabic of women of the old established Chaouen families. The corpus presented here illustrates both the purest urban Chaoueni dialect, as represented by female speech, and the local men's speech, which therefore can be compared and contrasted.

Colin⁶⁷ was the first to classify MA into three broad categories: a. *ḥaḍari* "urban dialects"; b. *ḡebli* "highland dialects"; and c. *ṣrobi* "Bedouin dialects." In addition there are: d. Jewish dialects. This classification is based on historical data: two waves of arabisation, the first, called the pre-Hilalian occurring in the 8th–11th centuries, and the second, the Hilalian, occurring in the 12th–13th centuries with the arrival of the Banū Hilāl, Banū Sulaym, and Maṣqil.

Colin's general classification was at first widely accepted by scholars but today is considered to be simplistic: the empirical data presented in recent studies on MA in general, and especially from comparative dialectology, shows the difficulty in distinguishing between these groups of dialects. Lévy⁶⁸ stated that "cette classification est plus génétique que chronologique, car des parlers préhilaliens ont continué à s'étendre après le XI^e s., notamment dans le Nord marocain, dans des zones contiguës dans les Ghomara et juste dans Rif central. En outre, aux XVII^e–XVIII^e s. l'arrivée des réfugiés andalous (à Rabat, Tétouan, Chefchaouen) dont le parler a fusionné avec celui des populations voisines,

66 On the history of the city of Chaouen see the brief commentary on Mūlāy Ṣli B. r-Rāṣīd on p. 67, n. 5.

67 Colin (1931), 7; idem (1945), 219–231; idem (1986), 1203–1206.

68 Lévy (1998), 12, 20, 22, 23. For more arguments rejecting Colin's theory see *ibid.*, esp. 19.

s'est traduite par un renforcement des parlers préhilaliens. À la fin du XVII^e s., le repeuplement des villes de Tanger et Asilah, après leur évacuation par les Portugais et les Anglais, s'est fait par un rapport de populations de la région même – Tétouan, Jbala, Anjra – aux parlers préhilaliens.⁶⁹ Recently Heath⁷⁰ also expressed skepticism regarding Colin's view that there was a uniform pre-Hilalian Arabic spoken throughout the western Mediterranean, and suggested a new classification of MA into three groups: a. the northern (sedentary, pre-Hilalian) type, b. the Saharan type, and c. the central type and modern koiné. In addition there are the Jewish dialects, which network he describes as "more uniform structurally than that of Muslim dialects." However, Colin's⁷¹ classification of the dialects of the *Žbāla* area specifically seems to be generally accepted by scholars. Colin classified these dialects into two groups: the northern group lays between the Strait of Gibraltar and west of Ouezzane, and the southern group includes the dialects spoken between Ouezzane and Taza. At the beginning of the scholarship of dialectology, the latter were more widely studied than the former. However today studies of the dialects of the Chaouen area are increasing.⁷² Hopefully the data presented in this work will contribute to these researches.

Only two articles have been published about ChA hitherto, one by the present author and Natividad, and the other by Natividad alone.⁷³ In 2003 a dissertation converted into a book was published by Moscoso.⁷⁴ This could have been a significant study of this dialect but is inaccurate: specific errors in it are pointed out in the footnotes.

69 About the influence of Andalusian Arabic on MA in general see for example, Colin (1931), 7; Lévy (1992), 62–65 (esp. 63), who, following Colin, affirms that "el árabe marroquí se formó en comunión con el árabe hispánico, aunque con substrato diferente"; idem (1998), 12, 14; Vicente (2000), 11–12, n. 3–4, 14–15, n. 18–21, n. 23 and the bibliographical references cited there, especially the references to Corriente's substantial contribution to this field; and Heath (2002), 4–5.

70 For a detailed discussion on MA classification see Heath (2002), 1–12.

71 Colin (1945), 225–226.

72 To this group belongs the MA of Taza, which was studied a decade earlier by Colin (1921), and the MA of Ouargha, studied by Lévi-Provençal (1922), see also Singer (1958), 106–125 and (1958), 229–265, and Assad (1978). For more recent studies see for example the detailed study by Vicente (2000) on Anjra MA, and a few other general contributions, such as Messaoudi (1996), 167–175; Natividad and Rahmouni (1996); Natividad (1998); Heath (2002); Moscoso, DACH; and Aguadé (2003).

73 Natividad and Rahmouni (1996), 139–155; Natividad (1998), 109–120.

74 Moscoso, DACH; and some other articles based on his dissertation.

During the childhood and youth of this collection's two narrators, the city of Chaouen, like other Moroccan cities, was socially divided into old established families and recent arrivals from the country speaking rural dialects. Broadly, two of the features of urban ChA which distinguish it from the many surrounding rural dialects are the glottal /ʔ/ as reflex of *q, and /ɣ/ reflecting *r.⁷⁵ In addition, there are significant differences in intonation, in syntax, and in semantics.

The massive migration from the surrounding rural areas to Chaouen that began in the early 1980s makes the differentiation between the highland and the urban dialects a difficult task. Heath⁷⁶ observed that "the older cities, while still retaining their old dialects to some extent, have also had a considerable influx of persons from rural areas. The urban/rural distinction is thus changing its character, and some 'rural' features are now common in the emerging national educated vernacular." This factor, in addition to many other rapid socio-economic changes in Moroccan society in general, and the influence of such electronic communications as television, computers, and the Internet, have exerted complex pressures that make the retention of local dialects impossible. Furthermore, the access of the younger generation of Chaounites to higher education has resulted in their migration to Morocco's large cities where they feel the social pressure to change their way of speaking to a more a standard one and to adopt a new linguistic status.⁷⁷ The local dialect is then reserved for use with family and local friends, above all for telling jokes. Because of these factors, the stories presented in the present book acquire an incalculable linguistic and socio-cultural value, especially given the age and origin of the two narrators.

5.1.1 Gender-Based Linguistic Variation

As the present collection confirms, one of the most important Chaouen speech distinctions is between men's and women's speech. There is a general consensus that women's speech, especially that of the woman narrator's generation, is more archaic and pure, and preserves more local characteristics, than men's speech. One of the causes of this is the restricted social space which women inhabit. During the youth of the woman narrator, women were allowed to visit the hammam in the company of the mother-in-law, sister-in-law, or other female family members, to attend ceremonies like weddings and

75 The same characteristic is found in Fes and other urban MA: see Heath (1989), 5–6.

76 Heath (1989), 6.

77 For an analogous comment on Tetuan Arabic see Heath (1989), 187.

circumcisions, and to visit their own family.⁷⁸ In contrast, the men's social world was much wider and freer. The difference between men's and women's speech in the present corpus proves that men have broader social networks than women.⁷⁹

This study will first focus on the difference in the use of language by the narrators. They both present "age markers of speech,"⁸⁰ given that they both were of the same old age, both of them were illiterate, and both belonged to old established Chaounite families. However, each one of them presents a proper language behavior.

Gender speech differences are also evident in syntax, phonology, style, and semantics. However, one must keep in mind that the present corpus of stories does not involve a language of interaction and relationship: folktale narrations are considered more as narrators' monologues. Whether transcribed, written, or recorded by an interviewer, folktales indeed tend to have many of the characteristics of monologues.⁸¹ This study will focus first on the phonological aspects, and then on the stylistic ones. The most remarkable features of the woman's speech in the present corpus are the following:

5.1.2 Phonemic Elements

5.1.2.1 *The Phonemic Shift of the Original *q to the Glottal Stop /ʔ/*

This shift is considered characteristic of women's speech in ChA. However, some Chaouen men do use this same phoneme, in most cases alternating it with the original *q. Both younger educated women and men speakers tend to eliminate this most glaring of local idiosyncrasies from their speech, but

78 Moscoso, DACH, 20.

79 For the theoretical approach to this see Brown and Levinson (1992), 31, and the bibliographical references there. Compare the case of Chaouen with the evaluation of women's speech in Tetuan by Herrero (1996), 128–129, n. 159. See also Sadiqi (2007), 648; and Vicente (2009), 15–16, 25 and bibliographical references there. For the discussion concerning the description of women's speech characteristics, and its different concepts and nuances in Western and non-Western countries, see the highly interesting article by Haeri (1987), 173–182 and the bibliographical references cited there.

80 See Helfrich (1979), 63; Herrero (1996), 114, n. 136. In Moroccan society and in the whole Arab Muslim and non-Muslim world elderly men and women are an essential part of the family: they are considered a source of wisdom and experience, and their views are commonly taken into account. Hence they are respected and feel useful. On the evaluation of elders in the northern city of Tetuan and its comparison with Western society see Herrero (1996), 115–119. On the image of "The Grandmother" in general and in Moroccan society in particular see Mderrsi (2008), 107–114.

81 See Herranen (1990), 107.

it can still usually be identified as to a general region of origin and is one of the major phonemic differences between the Chaouen urban dialect and the surrounding rural dialects. This phoneme shift is considered typical of Eastern Mediterranean urban dialects in general, such those spoken in Aleppo, Damascus, Tripoli, Beirut, Saida, Jerusalem, Hebron, Alexandria, Cairo, Malta, Algiers (Jewish), and Tlemcen (Muslim). According to Heath,⁸² in Morocco /ʔ/ is spread among the Muslim and Jewish populations: “In the main urban belt (Rabat & Salé-Meknes-Fes), plus nearby Ouezzane and Sefrou, the Jewish dialects have glottal stop ʔ for *q ... I can also report ʔ < *q as an archaic feature of a few medina Muslim dialects (Tangiers and Tetuan in the north, Fes and Taza in the urban belt”). To these places Heath adds Ksar el Kbir farther south in the Gharb, and, on the basis of two elderly woman speakers, Masmouda and Chaouen. Heath’s comment about Chaouen is based on Natividad’s⁸³ article, which argues that this phoneme is characteristic of women’s speech. Given the textual data presented in the present collection, where once the phoneme /q/ occurs exclusively in men’s tales and /ʔ/ occurs in women’s tales, the arguments of Natividad and Moscoso seem credible. However, as a native speaker of ChA, I grew up hearing some Chaouen men pronouncing both /ʔ/ and /Ɂ/, as in the text narrated by the son of our woman narrator,⁸⁴ and others, like our male storyteller, shunning them as effeminate. Finally, I can affirm that nowadays this phoneme is disappearing from women’s speech just as it has already done from men’s speech.

5.1.2.2 *The Phonemic Shift of the Original *r to /Ɂ/⁸⁵ and /ǧ/*

This shift is also considered characteristic of women’s speech in ChA. However, some Chaouen men do use this phoneme, in most cases in alternation with

82 Heath (2002), 142. For a detailed study on this phoneme in MA, the data and the bibliographical references, see Heath (2002), 141–147. See Aguadé (2003), 87, n. 156 for bibliographical references. About the phoneme /q/ in CA and its correspondence in Moroccan Jewish Arabic, see recently Lévy (2009), 193, 195, 196–206. On this phonological shift in Tetuan Arabic and a sociolinguistic analysis see Herrero (1996), 111–113, 131–137, 243. On the controversy of this shift as characteristic of women’s speech in different ADs see Haeri (1987), 173–182 and the many bibliographical references mentioned there, and, more recently, Vicente (2009), 16–18, 19 and bibliographical references there.

83 Natividad (1998), 111; and, following her, Moscoso, DACH, 48, esp. n. 108 for commentary and bibliographical references.

84 See text in n. 51 above.

85 Aguadé (2003), 78, n. 115 notes that “Aquí se usa este símbolo del IPA sin que con ello se pretenda afirmar que la realización de /r/ en estos dialectos corresponda exactamente a la de dicho fonema.”

*r.⁸⁶ It is one of the major phonemic differences between the Chaouen urban dialect and surrounding rural dialects.⁸⁷ The argument of Moscoso and Aguadé⁸⁸ that the phonemic value of this phoneme in Chaouen and Tetuan is equal and that the only difference between “las voces *ġāyb* ‘ausente’ y *ḡāyb* ‘que se cuaja (leche)’ ... En el primer fonema es evidente la fricativización y en el segundo la vibración,” is simplistic and has to be rejected: the phonemic value of the original *r in Tetuan is so different from the one pronounced in Chaouen that just the pronunciation of this phoneme is sufficient to locate Chaouen or Tetuan as the origin of the speaker. Moscoso’s statement that the *r in Chaouen is simply “/ʁ/ vibrante uvular” has to be discussed. The MA plain *r shifts in Chaouen to /ʁ/ in specific situations. When the environment vowel is *ǐ* and *r occurs in a stem with another pharyngealized alveolar such as *t, *r it becomes /ʁ/ by pharyngealization harmony, as in *tʁɪʔ* “way, path,” *tʁɪyɔʔ* “a small piece of s.th.” When *r neighbors the uvular {*q/ɣ *x *ġ}, it tends to shift to /ʁ/, as in *ʁɪʃa* “cinnamon,” *ʁɪʃd* “monkey,” *ġʁɪʃa*⁸⁹ “bread,” *xmɪʁa* “yeast.” However, when the surrounding vowels are *ǎ* or *ǔ*, the *r shifts to /ġ/, but not always, such as in *t-tġūʔ* “ways, paths,” and *t-tǎġf* “a piece of s.th.”⁹⁰ The present woman’s oral testimony favors the transcription of the original *r only as /ʁ/. I intend in the future to publish a detailed study on this typical Chaouen phoneme through comparative data with other MA in general.⁹¹

86 See the text narrated by the son of the woman narrator in n. 51 above.

87 See Colin (1986), 1204. Compare with Heath (1989), 6.

88 Moscoso, DACH, 42, n. 81. Aguadé (2003), 78–79, n. 115–117 considers this phoneme realized equally in Fes, Tetuan, and Chaouen. However, Behnstedt (2003), 165 affirms that in Taza medina the /r/ is realized as /ġ/. About the difference between the realization of the phonemes /r/ and /ġ/ in other northern Moroccan dialects Behnstedt, *ibid.*, says, “In anderen nordmarokkanischen Dialekten, etwa Tetouan, besteht aber ein leichter Unterschied zwischen den beiden Lauten.” On this shift as characteristic of women’s speech in Tetuan from a sociolinguistic approach, see Herrero (1996), 111–113, 131–137, 243.

89 This noun is from CA رَغِيف after the metathesis.

90 Compare Heath (2002), 149–154.

91 Moscoso, DACH, 41, n. 81 and the bibliographical references mentioned there. I am very grateful to Peter Behnstedt for his opinion regarding this phoneme: “ich höre dieses ‘r’ also eigentlich wie Ghayn.” I am also grateful to Behnstedt for sending the recording to his colleagues Jorge Aguadé, who expresses the same opinion, and to Manfred Woidich, who states that the phoneme, “Klingt mir, wenn lang, wie ein Ghayn [ɣ], wenn kurz, aber leichter. Wenn es also phon. identisch ist mit dem Ghayn, würde ich auslautend etwas wie ein [x] erwarten, das ist aber auch nicht der Fall, sondern höre sowas wie *algəmar/ʁ* im Auslaut. Manchmal auch sowas wie [j] oder [ɹ], also approximant, nicht trill.”

5.1.3 Verbal Morphology

5.1.3.1 *The Use of the Preverbal lā- instead of kā-*⁹²

lā- is a preverbal loan from Berber, where this particle expresses the immediate present. This Berber substrate is common in other MA in the *Žbāla* region in general.⁹³ The use of this preverbal may vary according to the informant. The alternation between the preverbal *lā-* and *kā-* is typical in some men's speech. The present collection suggests that the preverbal *lā-* is typical of women, while men alternate it with *kā-*. But as this implies, Chaouen men do use it: thus it is not exclusively a feature of Chaouen women's speech.⁹⁴ This strong alternation of both preverbals is evidence of the disappearance of an old vestige. Even in women's speech nowadays, the use of *lā-* is rare. The access of women to education, the presence of the media, the gradual decrease of gender segregation, population mobility, and other factors have resulted in a more 'koinécized' dialect in which the use of *kā-* prevails.⁹⁵

5.1.4 Stylistic Elements: Narrative Speech Strategies

5.1.4.1 *Diminutive*

One of the common MA dialect features differentiating women's from men's speech is the frequent use of the diminutive in the former.⁹⁶ In the present collection the woman narrator uses the diminutive significantly more frequently

92 For accuracy the long vowel is used here in the prefix of the preverbal form. However, the vowel that I actually heard is between long and short. Indeed, scholars do not agree on its transcription: see the work of Aguadé in contrast to that of Caubet. (For references see the bibliography).

93 See Vicente (2002), 339–340, and the bibliographical references mentioned in n. 13, 14 and 15; idem (2009), 18.

94 Compare to Anjra Arabic by Vicente: see previous footnote.

95 Another characteristic of Chaouen women's speech according to Moscoso, DACH, 33, 50 is the use of the diphthongs. This is known from other Moroccan and Maghrebin dialects: see for Anjra: Vicente (2002), 339 and idem (2009), 18 for bibliographical references; and for Tunis: Saada (1970), 323. But according to the textual data presented here, it is not typical of women's speech in Chaouen: according to the textual data presented here, the diphthongs are common to both men's and women's speech in ChA. This is one of the features which differentiate the language of this generation from the koiné.

96 Sadiqi (2003), 107, 154–155. For an empirical example of the use of the diminutive in women's speech in tales narrated by Arab women see El-Shamy (1999), 64, n. 8 on p. 361, 293, n. 714 on p. 399, where the use of diminutive between a sister and her brother seems to express endearment. See Abu-Haidar (1991), 37 for Iraq; and Kammoun (2010), 195 for Tunis. For other ADs see the bibliographical references in Vicente (2009), 20, n. 38.

than the man: more than a hundred times, while the man uses it only eleven times in a greater number of tales.

5.1.4.2 *Euphemism*

Women generally are less assertive and make frequent use of euphemisms.⁹⁷ The woman's narratives corroborate this: she uses euphemisms more often than the man and in different ways and contexts. See for example, tale no. 16, "*künna b-səbŧ bnāŧ [f-mx̣ŧyyəǧ nləŧbu]* / The Seven Sisters [Playing in a Swamp]," where the word *bnāŧ* "privates" is used euphemistically;⁹⁸ and tale no. 20, "*bīnŧ s-sūltān* / The Sultan's Daughter," where occurs the characteristically feminine expression *hāsāç* "Pardon the word! lit. 'save your face / may this not apply to you!'"⁹⁹ In the latter tale the term *būla*, which means "urina," is used as a euphemism: the narrator means the donkey's penis and not its "urina."¹⁰⁰ By contrast the man's use of euphemism is limited to expressions like the idiom *yžīb ŋāh l-āfāŧ* "God will put an end to our day,"¹⁰¹ which is a euphemism for MWT "to die," in tale no. 2, "*ŧ-ŧāžār māħmūd* / Māħmūd the Rich Man." And in tale no. 5, "*hārūn r-rāšid [u ŧlāða d-əl-ūzāra dyālu]* / Hārūn ar-Rāšid [and his Three Viziers]," the word *qāniŧ* "dog"¹⁰² is a euphemism for the common noun *ğru*, which has very negative connotations in ChA.

5.1.4.3 *Curses*¹⁰³

The male narrator did not forget for a moment that his interviewer was a woman, and therefore avoided typical male language like cursing, vulgarity, and blasphemy. Instead he used more sophisticated jeers, such as *xrāž, sīr ččūf fāyn dmūŧ* "Leave and find a place to die,"¹⁰⁴ in tale no. 3, "*s-sayyid bən l-āsād l-qūndi* / S-sayyid Bən l-Āsād l-Qūndi." By contrast, the woman's cursing in this corpus is used in a more familiar, less literary and informal context, and comes in single word interjections or vindictive idiomatic expressions pronounced in an imploring tone of voice, calling upon God or the holy saints: see for example tale no. 16, "*künna b-səbŧ bnāŧ [f-mx̣ŧyyəǧ nləŧbu]* / The Seven Sisters [Playing in a Swamp]," with the curses *ūlād l-ʔāħba* "sons of a whore," and *bəŧŧ l-ʔāħba*,

97 Vicente (2009), 20; Kammoun (2010), 189, 191.

98 For a detailed commentary on the context and the use of this euphemism see n. 26, p. 327.

99 For a detailed commentary on the context and the use of this euphemism see n. 170, p. 371.

100 For a detailed commentary on the context and the use of this euphemism see n. 177, p. 373.

101 For a detailed commentary on the context and the use of this euphemism see n. 35, p. 171.

102 For a detailed commentary on the context and the use of this euphemism see n. 193, p. 214.

103 Vicente (2009), 20; Kammoun (2010), 194, 195.

104 For a detailed commentary on this curse see n. 89, p. 186.

“daughter of a whore, prostitute.”¹⁰⁵ Another curse which is frequently used in ChA in contexts of dispute and situations of anger, mostly in women’s speech, is *ḫābbi ma yḥāyyšəç* “May my Lord shorten your days,” or the full form *ḫābbi ma yḥāyyšəç wāla kān ybəllğäç* “may my Lord shorten your days, and keep you from me”.¹⁰⁶ see tale 19, “*l-mwa u ḫbīḫa* / The Woman and her Stepdaughter,” and tale no. 20, “*bīnt s-sūltān* / The Sultan’s Daughter.” Two curses common to both narrators that seem to be more neutral and even idiomatic are *bəḥḥ l-ḫwām* “bastard daughter,” used by the woman twice in the same tale no. 16, “*kūnna b-səbḥ bnāḥ* [*f-mḥḥyḥəç nləḥbu*] / The Seven Sisters [Playing in a Swamp],” and *ūlād l-ḥrām* in the context *ūlād l-ḥrām ma ynāḥsu ma yxällīw d-yīnḥās*, “the bastard does not sleep and does not allow anyone else to sleep,” used by the man thrice, and always in the same context.

5.1.4.4 Code-Switching

Another important difference between men’s and women’s speech in Chaouen is the use of code-switching and of terms borrowed from CA. Both narrators of this collection were illiterate: however the man code-switched spontaneously between MA and CA, while the woman was totally monolingual.¹⁰⁷ This data proves once more that in Moroccan society, chiefly of the generation of these two narrators, CA was an exclusively men’s language and of the male domain of public power to which women had no access. One may say that CA is a ‘public’ language in society where public denotes ‘male power,’ as opposed to the private domain, the ‘women’s realm.’ This difference in space is reflected on the linguistic and symbolic levels. Thus the association of MA with Märchen and their narration in intimate places implies the connection of MA with women, while men’s oral literature belongs more to public places, which are more open and imply the usage of CA. Men participate in public rituals such as the prayers in the mosque, while women are confined to private cultural rituals such as weddings, and birth ceremonies.¹⁰⁸

105 For a detailed commentary on this curse see n. 28, p. 328.

106 For a detailed commentary on this curse see n. 176, p. 372.

107 On the use of code-switching as an empowering communicative device in case of bilingual (Berber and MA) storytellers see Sadiqi (2003), 257–271; idem (2006), 277, 284, 287, 289; idem (2010), 42. Compare to Merolla (1994), 2085, who, concerning Kabylean *timucuha*, comments, “Dans les *timucuha* racontées par des hommes, on retrouve des emprunts à l’arabe alors que dans les *timucuha* racontées par des femmes la langue se caractérise par la présence d’archaïsmes”. For a general survey on women and code-switching see Vicente (2009), 22–23 and the bibliographical references there.

108 For more on this see Haeri (1987), 177; Herrero (1996), 124–125, 129–131 and the bibliograph-

The data presented here shows that the theory of the limitation of the use of code-switching and borrowing from CA to only educated MA speech is wrong, at least in folktale oral literary language and style.¹⁰⁹ It is a fact that even though the male narrator was illiterate, he often used code-switching and borrowings from CA in phrasing and lexicography. He appealed to code-switching from MA to CA, often repeating the same explanation in both languages to ensure clarity for both himself and his listener. Examples are: *āna, ?inni ġaribun, ġarib, āna wāḥ l-ġrīb* “I, I am a stranger, a stranger. I am only a stranger” from tale no. 3, “*s-sayyid bən l-āsād l-qūndi* / S-sayyid Bən l-Āsād l-Qūndi”; *hād ra?yīç l-?aswad, hād rāyyəç lākḥāl* “This was your bad idea, this was your rotten idea,” from tale no. 8, “*hārūn r-rāšid [u l-ġāššāša]* / Hārūn ar-Rāšid [and the Swindlers]”; and *hāda mā kattaba ḡāhu lanā. hāda ma qāddār ḡāh ta?āla wa tabāraka* “This is what God has written for us. This is what God the Blessed and Sublime has willed for us” from tale no. 12, “*l-?āqli f-ən-nāmsi* / l-?Āqli f-ən-Nāmsi [and the Conversion of Austria].” He also quotes some stock CA literary phrases from memory: *lā tayrun yaṭīr walā sayrun yasīr or lā yaṭīru tayran walā yasīru sayran* “There was no bird flying and no living being walking”¹¹⁰ in tale no. 8, “*hārūn r-rāšid [u l-ġāššāša]* / Hārūn ar-Rāšid [and the Swindlers]”; *mar?atun laha bāl, wa lahā ?qal, wa laha wa laha, žamīla* “an amazing woman, intelligent, pretty and beautiful, and clever and so on and so forth”¹¹¹ in tale no. 1, “*r-rūmmāna [h?yya sbāb küll šī]* / [It all Started with a] Pomegranate”; and *subḡān lladi xalaqaha wa ?atāha m-əl-ḡusni wa l-žamāl! l-bənt, māḡsūna bəz-zāf, wāhd l-ġāmāl kbīr!* “God be praised, Who created her and gave her beauty and comeliness! The girl was very beautiful. Such outstanding beauty!” in tale no. 5, “*hārūn r-rāšid [u tḡāḡa d-əl-ūzāra dyālu]* / Hārūn ar-Rāšid [and his Three Viziers].” On two occasions he code-switches to give his narration a CA flavor by both choosing a CA term and borrowing a folktale character protagonist: *fāris* “cavalier,” tale no. 3. “*s-sayyid bən l-āsād l-qūndi* / S-sayyid Bən l-Āsād l-Qūndi”; and *ġulām* “boy,” tale no. 2, “*?-tāžār māḡmūd* / Māḡmūd the Rich Man.” The narrator also appeals to simple CA frozen formulae which might occur in any text, such as *kabīran wa šaġīran and laylan wa nahāran* “day and night”. Furthermore, he draws from CA to formulate questions such as *ma hāda?* “What is it?”

ical references there; Mernissi (1997); Sadiqi (2003), 218–224; idem (2006), 281–284; idem (2007), 642, 645–646, 647 and the bibliographical references mentioned there. The same could be said about other Maghrebin countries: concerning Tunisia, for example, see Kamoun (2010), 192.

109 See Heath (1989), 23–25.

110 For more in this CA stock phrase and its usage in folktales see n. 312, p. 251.

111 For more in this CA stock phrase and its usage in folktales see n. 15, p. 164.

ma hiyya? “What/Who is she?” *ma huwwa?* “What/Who is he?” and *man hāda?* “Who is he?”

On the other hand, the narrator appealed to a spontaneous adaptation of forms from CA, retaining CA vowels and stems but with an entirely MA affixal frame. In some cases, due to his illiteracy, he produced macaronic forms.¹¹² However, the narrator felt himself on safe ground when he borrowed fully assimilated forms from CA. Mostly these involved lexicon, such as, *walad* “boy,” instead of the typical northern lexical isoglosses *l-ṣāyəl* “boy”; or words, which belong to the CA domain, such as *qalam* “pen,” *qirāʿa* “reciting,” *ṣarab* “Arab,” *ṣarabiyya* “Arabic,” etc. or even entire sentences about Islamic religious duty, such as *farāʾiḍ l-ʾislām* “religious duty of Islam,” *l-wuḍūʿ* “the ritual ablution,” *ṣ-ṣalāt* “the prayer,” *ṣiyyām* “fasting [during the month of Ramadan],” and *ʾašhadu ʾanna la ʾilāha illa ʾnāh wa ʾanna muḥammadan rasūl ʾnāh* “(I profess that) there is no god but God and Muḥammad is His Prophet” (see tale no. 12, “*l-ṣāqli f-ən-nāmsi* / *l-ṣāqli f-ən-Nāmsi* [and the Conversion of Austria].”) In addition, he cites some verses from the Qurʾān in pure CA.

Moreover, because he knows that prepositions¹¹³ in MA reduce the vowels, he retains the full vowel of the preposition *fī* “in” – as in *fī-ūdānu u fī-ṣāqlu*. “in his ears and in his mind” in tale no. 2, “*ṣ-ṣāžār māḥmūd* / *Māḥmūd the Rich Man*.” He exploited CA dual endings in code-switched segments, such as the expression *waznan bi-waznayni* “One weight equals two times the same weight of ...,”¹¹⁴ in tale no. 2, “*ṣ-ṣāžār māḥmūd* / *Māḥmūd the Rich Man*” and tale x, “*ṣ-ṣāḥmūd* / *The Student*.” He appeals to words that retain their CA-type vowel pattern, such as *l-kīswa radīla* “soiled clothes” in tale no. 9, “*hārūn r-rāšid* [*u ṭlāḥa d-əṣ-šaffāra*] / *Hārūn ar-Rāšid* [and the Three Thieves],” and *xṭu ṣ-ṣāğira* “his youngest sister” in tale no. 5, “*hārūn r-rāšid* [*u ṭlāḥa d-əl-ūzāra dyālu*] / *Hārūn ar-Rāšid* [and his Three Viziers],” where both adjectives *radīl* and *ṣāğira* follow the CA vocalization pattern but describe former MA nouns. He also uses CA conjunctions and particles, such as *ʾinna* (often plus pronominal suffix) “if, in case; whether,” and *kama* “as, in the same way as,” which are clearly CA. However, other CA conjunctions, such as the conj *kaʾanna* “as if, as though; it is (was) as if,” and *lākin* “however, yet, but,” are creeping into MA speech, which are more assimilated to MA speech in general, and not limited only to educated persons, as the narrator’s use of them proves. This and other linguistic details mentioned above show the difficulty in discerning between code-switching and borrowing.¹¹⁵

112 See for example n. 62, p. 98 and n. 85, p. 103.

113 See for example n. 28, p. 89.

114 On this example of a code-switched segment see our detailed commentary in n. 54, p. 95.

115 This issue is addressed by Heath (1989), 25, 26, 40.

An example of a parody of code-switching between MA and CA is tale no. 10, “*ʿaṭ-ṭalmīd* / The Student.” Its plot is very simple: A Sultan’s daughter, who is undefeatable in rhetoric, challenges all students of the Qurʾān to single verbal combat: whoever overcomes her will win her hand in marriage; all losers will be beheaded. In Chaouen, as in any other conservative Arab society, to be a master of rhetoric means mastery of CA; so the style and the language of this text imitate CA patterns. However, the linguistic patterns in this text do not follow any grammatical rules either of ChA or of CA but are invented for humorous effect. The classicization of the dialect creates a mock-heroic tone; and the narrative is rhymed to enhance the humor. This story is narrated in Chaouen only by men because of its erotic innuendoes, and the humor expressed in it is chiefly male humor.

The narrator’s code-switches between MA and CA are intentional. He wants to emphasize that the stories told by him are not marginalized oral literature. He in fact said that one of his sources was *ʿalf layla wa layla*, the famous One Thousand and One Nights. (See Ḥmād ʿAfāq’s assumption regarding the origin of the tale no. 7, “*qāmīr z-zāmān u ḥāyāt nūfūs* / Qāmīr z-Zāmān and Ḥāyāt Nūfūs,” and my commentary under 8. The Origin of the Tales below). By using CA, he emphasizes his competence, in spite of his illiteracy, in this more ‘civilized’ and more prestigious language. By this he aimed to put some distance between himself and his audience and to avoid being categorized as a common storyteller.

Another source of borrowing in ChA is Spanish. Spanish is considered the second colonial language in Morocco, but the first in northern Morocco. Spanish colonial rule included the northern cities of Tetuan and Chaouen, some coastal territory extending up into the Rif mountains, and the international city Tangiers. However, words of Spanish origin are fully assimilated vocabulary in everyday use in Chaouen. These words occur in both collections of stories, but the narrators are not aware of their etymologies. These words have been pointed out in the footnotes.¹¹⁶

Other indicators of femininity in this oral tradition, such as the woman’s sung passages, speech tone and the difference in gestures between the man and woman as they narrated, belong to the area of performance.¹¹⁷

All these differences might be attributed to the fact that there are stabilized patterns of language use characteristic of men’s and women’s identities; and

116 For a detailed study see Heath (1989), 13–15, see for example, n. 132, p. 117; n. 176, p. 126; n. 180, p. 127; n. 194, p. 130; n. 196, p. 130; n. 232, p. 142; n. 245, p. 145; n. 256, p. 151.

117 See commentary above p. 6.

this is in part an empirical matter, in part a matter of definition of what constitutes a 'stabilized pattern of language use' and of how variable across contexts it is allowed to be.¹¹⁸

6 Available Tale Collections

Morocco enjoys a privileged position as the gateway to Africa from the south, and the bridge to Europe from the north. It is also part of the Arab Muslim and non-Muslim world. Throughout history its Mediterranean coast has hosted many different civilizations, beginning with the Phoenicians. And it has always had intense cultural interactions with Al-Andalus. These factors, and others, give the country its unique cultural character, in which oral traditions and the verbal art are crucial. Moroccan oral tradition constitutes a very important part of Maghrebian traditions in particular, and of the Arab and non-Arab, Muslim and non-Muslim, worlds in general. Morocco, like such other Maghreb countries as Algeria, boasts an original and extremely rich literary tradition worthy of inclusion in the great oral literatures of the world.

As in any other traditional society, storytelling has played a very important social role in Morocco. It was not only a popular family evening entertainment, but was the transmitter of cultural values, giving youth and adults lessons in behavior by presenting examples of virtuous conduct. It instilled historical, literary, and social knowledge. Through symbols and metaphors, stories dealt with problems of human relations. Each gesture, pause, word, and verb of each narrator and his or her oral narrative involved a secret in which the audience was invited to share. Stories are part of the common historical ancestral memory of the society in which they are told.¹¹⁹

There is a consensus among scholars that oral literature and verbal art have been marginalized in Islamic Arab cultures, mostly due to linguistic, religious, and moral biases. Narrating for purposes other than expressing the historical and religious truth of God¹²⁰ is condemned by Islamic dog-

118 For the theoretical approach to this see Brown and Levinson (1992), 29–33; for some empirical data see El-Shamy (1999), 361, n. 8; Kammoun (2010), 189.

119 Compare Nemmiche (2002).

120 *Sūrat* Yūsuf 12:3, *نَحْنُ نَقُصُّ عَلَيْكَ أَحْسَنَ الْقَصَصِ بِمَا أَوْحَيْنَا إِلَيْكَ هَذَا الْقُرْآنَ وَإِن كُنْتَ مِنْ قَبْلِهِ لَمَنَّ* *الْغَافِلِينَ* "We do relate unto thee the most beautiful of stories, in that We reveal to thee this (portion of the) Qur'an: before this, thou too wast among those who knew it not." And *Sūrat* al-Kahf 18:13, *نَحْنُ نَقُصُّ عَلَيْكَ نَبَأَهُمْ بِالْحَقِّ إِنَّهُمْ فِتْيَةٌ آمَنُوا بِرَبِّهِمْ وَرَدَّنَاهُمْ هُدًى* "We relate to thee their story in truth: they were youths who believed in their Lord, and we advanced

ma.¹²¹ In spite of this strong religious condemnation, folklore and other literary and artistic expression (especially poetry, music, and singing) continue to be an important element in Islamic Arab and Berber cultures, and the telling of stories survived outside the mainstream of official culture, though unauthorized and unrecorded. Folktale survived and continued to exercise a deep influence on all types of written literary heritage of all times, and, as El-Shamy states, “no person is lore-free.”¹²²

The first ones who showed an interest in Maghrebin and Moroccan oral folklore, and oral cultural heritage in general, were chiefly French and a few Spanish scholars, mostly missionaries or members of the colonial military and civil service, who always solicited the help and collaboration of native associates. These scholars collected a great number of oral literary texts, mainly folktales. The quality of these collections varies from the highly scientific to the poorly reconstructed, rewritten in the colonial government's language. It is noteworthy that most of these works consider the vernacular language as marginal and non-prestigious, and give only translated versions of these stories. The quality of these collections ranges from the most scientifically accurate to those which neglect to provide any information at all about the texts' narrators, genres, and so on.¹²³

them in guidance.” The quotation of these Quranic passages follows ʿAlī (1989), 546, 710.

- 121 El-Shamy (1980), xlvī–xlvii; idem (1990), 65–66; idem (1999), 13, 26 n. 48 for valuable bibliographical references to early women's folktales; El-Shamy in El Kouadia and Allen (2003), 148; Sadiqi (2010), 45.
- 122 See El-Shamy (1990), 63–117, esp. 66–67; idem (1999), 6, 21 n. 16; idem in Mapero (2002), xxvi, xxvii, n. 83 for the bibliographical references. On the difference of the literary value of the written and oral Moroccan and Arab heritages see for example Al-Asimi (2005), 111.
- 123 Included here are references to only most important contributions to the field. Some of them are scholarly classics. For the Maghreb in general see Basset “Contes populaires berbères,” published in 1887, and “Nouveaux contes berbères” published in 1897. Concerning these works and others by Basset see recently Guy Basset in Basset (2008), 7–17 and Lounaci in Basset (2008), 21–23. In 1926 in “Contes fasis” El Fasi and Dermenghem (1975) published fifteen Moroccan Fasis tales. In 1928 the two authors published “Nouveaux contes fasis,” which contains 23 mostly fantasy tales. Some of the tales from both collections have been republished recently in a new edition, El Fasi (2000). In 1952 Bonjean published thirteen fantasy folktales under the title “Contes de Lalla Touria: Oiseau jaune et oiseau vert”, which were narrated by his Fasi wife: for a more recent publication of these tales see Bonjean (1988), vol. I and vol. II. Spanish scholars recorded folktales from northern Morocco. See for example, the collections of Jewish folktales of de Larrea Palacín (1952) and (1953). Unfortunately, these works do not provide the texts in the

Storytelling texts collected in vernacular language are limited to some Western scholars,¹²⁴ whose main concern was the linguistic features of such nar-

original language *hakitiya* (concerning which see Lévy [2009], 14). Domenech Lafuente, (1952) and (1953), collected folktales from the southern Moroccan Berber city of Sidi Ifni. For other Marghreb folktales, such as from the Algerian Kabylia, see Mouliéras, (1893–1895), who included folktales exclusively from Kabyle. Some of these folktales have been translated into French by other scholars, for example the two volumes by Lacoste-Dujardin (1965), and idem (2010), 28, 29, 35–104, 125–179, where the author includes the translation of some tales based on Mouliéras' original manuscript among others collected by herself. Frobenius' master work, published between 1921 and 1925, has been recently translated from German into French by Fetta (1995–1998) and introduced and postfaced by Lacoste-Dujardin. Dremenghem (1945) includes nineteen tales translated into French from the Haut-Sébaou region of Algeria. For a detailed survey of some of the references see Yaala (2005), 69–73. For Maghrebin folktale collections in general see Massignon (1961) and (1964). For an evaluation and commentary on Western contributions to Moroccan Arab and Berber folklore and beyond, see the “Bibliographie critique” by Chaker (1992). For an evaluation of the contribution of one of the most significant Western scholars of the end of the 19th and beginning of the 20th centuries, ‘le Père de Foucauld,’ see recently Oulad-Braham (2001–2002), 157–173. For more references to some other Maghrebin folktale collections see El-Shamy in El Koudia (2003), 182–183, 148, n. 4; idem (1980), 242; idem in Maspero (2002), XIII, n. 26, who comments that the French study in Maghrebin traditional culture and society is unparalleled for any other region of the Arab world with the possible exception of Vienna's *Südarabische Expedition*, 10 vols. (Vienna 1900–1909). Unfortunately, Vienna's interest was not sustained beyond the early 1900s.

- 124 See for example Stumme (1895), who recorded thirty-five *Märchen der Schluh von Táz-erwalt* in the Berber vernacular language in transcription and with German translation. Socin (1893), 151–203 includes two folktales in transcription with corresponding German translation. Blanc (1905), 168–182 has a tale from the “grand Sokko” storytellers repertoire of Tangiers under the title of “المعاني / El-Ma'ani.” Marchand (1905), 411–472 includes one single folktale text “حكاية ذ محمد ولد الجارية / *hkaia d Mohámmed ould éljária* / Histoire de Moḥammed, fils de la concubine,” in a dialect he labeled “dialecte courant à Tanger, Larache et Rabat.” In 1937 Colin first published “Recueil de textes en arabe marocain 1: Contes et anecdotes.” This publication includes forty Moroccan tales, but only in the vernacular language: in his words, “les textes publiés ici sont tous rédigés dans la langue qui a cours dans les villes du Maroc du Nord. Ils ont tous été fournis par des citadins marocains ignorant complètement le français”; see Colin (1957), 4. In 1939 Colin published “Chrestomathie Marocaine,” a large and varied corpus in vernacular language in Latin transcription. In 1949 Laoust published “Contes Berbères du Maroc” vol. 1 and vol. II: see his interesting bibliographical references to North African folklore and language on pp. XIII–XV. The first volume contains transcriptions of Berber folktales, and volume II their translation into French, with notes. In 1935 Busquets Mulet (1953) recorded one tale at Tetuan in the vernacular language, later providing a Spanish translation.

natives. These scholars were mainly philologists and linguists, and their works focused on MA and Berber more than on the literary value of the texts.

Towards the end of the 20th century indigenous, orally transmitted folk narratives started to receive significantly more attention. Scholars began to deal chiefly with folktales. Unfortunately, with very few exceptions, attention to the vernacular language and dialectal lore itself is still marginal.¹²⁵ Most of the anthologies include only translated versions of folktales, without providing the original texts. In addition, most of the collections provide no information about storytellers, the place where the recording took place, or the genre of the tales, which make the lack of intellectual quality of these publications blatant.¹²⁶

Today oral literature is receiving more and more attention from Arab scholars, who show an awareness of the dangerously increasing loss of folklore, and have expressed their concern for preserving Moroccan oral lore, given its value within the trend of the new historicism, which is closely linked to realism and supported by psychological and sociological accounts of everyday facts.¹²⁷ In Morocco, scholars¹²⁸ contact academic establishments and other government-

125 On this and the urge to include the vernacular language as a crucial part of the preservation of Moroccan oral literature and other kinds of cultural heritage see Youssi (2005), 39–68.

126 Concerning this point see Bounfour (1994), 2082; Galley (1999), col. 349; Nicolaisen (1990), 43; El-Shamy (1990), 74–73, esp. 72, n. 44; idem (1999), 3–4, 18–19, n. 1; idem in El Koudia and Allen (2003), 153–154, 182–183. Concerning Moroccan Arab tales intended for a larger public from different geographical areas see for example Chimenti (1965); Gil Grimau and Ibn Azzuz (1988); Chakir (2010) – (The Moroccan folktales collections published by Chakir in 1978 and 1985 have proven impossible for me to obtain: for their full reference see Yaala [2000] below) – Barton (1980); Laâbi (1992); idem (2007); El Koudia and Allen (2003); Boughaba Maleem (2007) (which includes biographies of, and interviews with, the women storytellers); Guessous (2011). For some exceptions see for example Mernissi (1983) under the title, “Qui l’emporte la femme ou l’homme? كيد النساء؟ كيد الرجال”, as told by a Fasi woman called Lalla Aziza Tazi. Mernissi’s text is presented in MA transcribed in Arab script, and with translations into CA and French. Thay Thay Rhozali (2000a) gives the texts in a vernacular language in Arabic script with French translation. On Berber folktales see Leguil (2000). For a detailed survey of some of these publications and other recent works and theses, see Yaala (2005), 72–80.

127 See for example the comments by Sadiqi (2003), 43–44; idem (2010), 44–45; El Koudia and Allen (2003), viii, 148.

128 See the assessments of Moroccan folktales of the conference and symposium held at Rabat in 2005 under the title “Le Conte Populaire dans le Patrimoine Marocain” and the initiatives, concerns, ideas, projects, and proposals included in the different articles included there – for example Ennaji (2005), 207–227. See also the interesting project

tal institutions to collect, study, preserve, and process folklore materials for use at a national level, such as inclusion in the educational programs of schools and universities,¹²⁹ in literacy programs,¹³⁰ and in theater, cinema, and other artistic endeavors.¹³¹ The possible healing role of folkloric behavior (including story telling, riddling, proverbs, dancing, expressive singing etc.) has also started to be exploited at the very moment when it is gradually disappearing from the Arab world in general and being replaced by purely Western institutions which do not adopt the rich local cultural heritage, but push it aside. The removal and suppression of this heritage makes the adequacy of these purely Western institutions highly questionable.¹³²

The Jewish Moroccan folktale heritage is also interesting. A systematic collection of storytelling materials from Moroccan Jews who had immigrated to Israel is to be found preserved in the Israel Folktale Archives, Haifa.¹³³ Publications¹³⁴ from this corpus show that Moroccan Jewish folktales share patterns,

and initiative of Decourt (1988–1989), 237–258, who gives an empirical model for the integration of folktales from the Maghreb into the pedagogical program of France: in this project the folktales would serve as intercultural mediators.

129 See the previous note.

130 On this and the problematic dichotomy of CA versus MA in literacy programs in Morocco, and the urge to use MA as the only language in literacy programs, see the highly interesting article by Youssi (2005), 39–68, esp. 52–56.

131 Iraqui Sinaceur (2005), 27–29; on the criticism of some cinematic and television initiatives based on folktales see Youssi (2005), 58–60.

132 On folkloric behavior's relationship to healing and cures, see El-Shamy (1972), 13–28 concerning folk practices in Egypt; and El Amrani (2005), 74. On the jinns as disease demons see Westermarck (1968a), 370–371.

133 Noy (1966); Galley (1999), col. 349. The two volumes of de Larrea Palacín (1952) and (1953) include Jewish folktales of the northern Moroccan city Tetuan narrated mostly by women and a few men. Some of the Jewish tales collected by de Larrea Palacín are similar to those told by Muslim narrators from Tetuan, Chaouen, and their surroundings recorded by Gil Grimau and Ibn Azzuz (1988). For the elements of Jewish culture in Moroccan cultural heritage, and the use of Hebrew, Berber, and Arabic intertextuality in folklore, see recently Elmedlaoui (2005), 229–264 and the bibliographical references there.

134 See Noy (1966), who includes seventy-one stories in an English version. Noy points out the problems involved in the collection of these tales in the original language, tales deeply-rooted in a centuries-old tradition of storytelling: "The few such direct recordings of tales told by new immigrants in their mother tongue reflect their formal originality. Unfortunately, however, in the majority of cases the collectors were not familiar with the language spoken by the narrators. The Hebrew spoken by the tellers or by the translators detracts from the original beauty of the tales." (For more see p. 17). Serwer-Bernstein (1994), 67–74, uses the folktales from the Israel Folktale Archives of Haifa, recreating them in her

themes, and types with Muslim folktales. However, a Jewish cultural identity is evident through the influence of Talmudic and Midrashic literature. Jewish folktales not surprisingly contain continuous allusions to the Old Testament, including numerous references to the Patriarchs, Prophets, and Kings of Israel, as well as many stories about Talmudic teachers, about medieval Spanish and Moroccan Jewish intellectuals like Maimonides, and about Jewish saints and miracles. The context of many Jewish and Muslim tales reflects an adversarial relationship between Jews and Muslims, such as rivalry between Jews and Muslims for high position in the palace: see for example tale no. 2, “*ṭ-ṭāzār māḥmūd / Māḥmūd the Rich Man*” in the present corpus. Other types of conflict occur on a more private level: see for example tale no. 4, “*lāqrāṣ bən l-fqi ṯflāṭu / The Bald Son of l-fqi ṯflāṭu*,” where the protagonist curses a Jew with the worst possible curse without the Jew ever having wronged him.¹³⁵

7 The Tales’ Genres

Since the beginning of folktale scholarship, the classification of folktales has been a controversial question that has not yet reached even a minimum consensus. Few tale collections present their corpus according to genres.¹³⁶

own fashion: a chapter of her work contains folktales told throughout the Arab World rewritten by the author. This seems to be “... the first time Arab and Jewish tales can be read side by side in a single attractive volume” (Noy, p. 5).

135 On this feature in a larger Jewish folktale corpus see Noy (1966), 18–19. About the portrayal of Muslims in Moroccan Jewish folktales see Abizah (2005), 265–286.

136 This is also true of collections of specifically Moroccan folktales. In his *Märchen der Schluḥ von Tázwerwalt*, Stumme (1895) classifies his collection into the following genres: “Als Märchen möchten wir nämlich bezeichnen die Nummern 1–17, dann auch 23, sowie 19–21 (welch’ letztere drei wir jedoch speziell für kasuistische ansehen). Eine Legende ist Nr. 18. Schwänke sind Nr. 22 und die beiden Stücke von 24; doch können wir zur Not auch 12 als Schwank bezeichnen. Tiergeschichten liegen in den Nummern 27–29 vor; Fabeln in Nr. 30–34. Unter die Rubrik Scherzreden rechnen wir Nr. 25 und 26; Rätsel, und zwar 27 Stück, bieten wir in Nr. 35.” Légy (1926) categorized his collection of folktales recorded from different women and men storytellers in Marrakech into “Contes merveilleux” (nos. 1–57), “contes d’animaux” (nos. 58–74), and “légendes hagiographiques” (nos. 75–93). Laoust (1949) contains one hundred fifty tales, and groups this collection into “contes d’animaux” (nos. 1–34), “contes plaisants” (nos. 35–89), “contes merveilleux” (nos. 90–125), and “légendes hagiographiques” (nos. 126–150). Seventeen other tales are published in that author’s “Étude sur le dialecte berbère des Ntifa.” Domenech Lafuente (1952), 27, 28; idem (1953) classified his collection into “cuentos de animales” (nos. 1–24),

In CA as well as in MA, the correspondence to the term “tale” might cover different themes, which in fact can be considered as genres and subgenres. The following classification of folktales has been used in the present work:

7.1 *Zauber- oder Wundermärchen / Fantasy / Fairy or Women's Tales*

CA *xurāfa*,¹³⁷ *al-ḥikāya aš-šaḥbiyya* or *al-xurāfa aš-šaḥbiyya*, and MA *xrāfa*, *ḥāž-žāya*, or *mḥāžya*. These terms denote the fantastic and unbelievable, and suggest irrational and nocturnal occult practices. Both sets of stories in the present collection show that this type of story is full of magic, drawing the listener into a world of fantasy. Such tales are quite long and episodic. The narrator's main purpose is to entertain, but this does not mean that these stories have no moral message: on the contrary, all the stories under this category tend to be laden with moral themes and lessons. Their characters are drawn from both

“cuentos graciosos” (nos. 25–38), “cuentos ... ¿Orientales?” (nos. 39–41), “cuentos maravillosos” (nos. 42–44), and “leyendas hagiográficas” (nos. 45–49), plus some poems, legends and songs. Scelles-Millie (1970) grouped her anthology into six categories: “contes d’animaux,” “contes initiatiatiques et romantiques,” “contes facétieux,” “contes moraux,” “contes merveilleux,” and “contes religieux.” Lounaci in Basset (2008), 28, n. 1, 28–36, 37 comments that the texts published by Basset belong to the following categories: “les contes d’animaux, les légendes religieuses, les légendes historiques, les contes merveilleux et les contes divers. Parfois le classement ne semble pas très rigoureux, notamment pour tel ou tel “conte divers” que l’on aurait pu placer dans les légendes historiques ou religieuses ou parmi les contes merveilleux.” On the genres of Berber tales collected by Mouliéras and Laoust see Bounfour (1994), 2083. Leo Frobenius’ masterwork of Kabyle folktales includes these genres and subgenres: Tome I: Sagesse: 1. La spiritualité de la culture et la poésie populaire des Kabyles; 2. Les mythes de la création de l’univers et la conception du monde; 3. Sagesse, philosophie et conception de la vie; 4. Espiègleries, farces, subtilités et sottises; 5. Le jeu de la vie et du hasard / Tome II: Le monstrueux (Das Ungeheuerliche) / Tome III: Le fabuleux (Das Fabelhafte): 1. Les fables animalières; 2. Les contes simples; 3. Contes divers / Tome IV: Autres contes fabuleux. On the theory of genre classification see El-Shamy (1980), xliv–xlvi; idem in El Koudia and Allen (2003), 149, n. 5; Galley (1999), col. 350–351; Thay Thay Rhozali (2000b), 17–33; Yaala (2005), 69–81, esp. 79–80 and the bibliographical references mentioned there.

137 On the semantic value of this CA literary term and the many negative nuances inherent in it see *Lisān al-ʿArab*, vol. 5, 52–53. For *mḥāžiyatun* / *ḥāžiyatun* see *Lisān al-ʿArab*, vol. 4, 49. For more on this genre in Moroccan folktales see Thay Thay Rhozali (2000b), 22–25. I differ from Yaala (2005), 76–77, who considers *ḥikāya al-ʿajībiyya* and *ḥikāya al-ḥurāfiyya* as different genres; for more arguments see Lounaci in Basset (2008), 32–34. For a theoretical approach and a general discussion of this genre, its subcategories, and the problem of plot and theme classification in a universal folktales model, see Apo (1990), 487–500 and bibliographical references there, and the discussion on pp. 501–502. Also see Finnegan (2003), 146–150.

the real and the supernatural worlds. Human beings and jinns act hand in hand to weave a fantasy adventure that most of the time (though not invariably) contains a sense of humor. Finally, the action often takes place in a mostly realistic environment.¹³⁸ The difference between this genre and the following ones is that *xurāfa/xrāfa* mainly reflect the specific local culture. This is the genre in which the tale text is totally open. The narrator has the freedom to create the tale in every new act of narration, if they so desire: they have the freedom to adding events and to suppressing others. One can find multiple variants of the same tale of this genre narrated even in the same geographical area. The narrator of the men's stories in the present collection labels this genre "*ǧarāʔib*"; but the lady narrator calls all the texts narrated by her *xrāyif*, singular *xrāfa*.¹³⁹

This genre is the most frequent one in the present anthology, appearing in the repertoire of both narrators. Among the stories¹⁴⁰ of this genre told by Ḥmād ʕAfāq are: tale no. 1, "*r-rūmmāna [hǧyya sbāb kull šī]* / [It all Started with a] Pomegranate"; tale no. 2, "*ǧ-ǧāžār mǧḥmūd* / Mǧḥmūd the Rich Man"; tale no. 3, "*s-sayyid bən l-āsād l-qūndi* / S-sayyid Bən l-Āsād l-Qūndi"; tale no. 4, "*lāqraqš bən l-fqi iflāṭu* / The Bald Son of *l-fqi* Īflāṭu"; tale no. 5, "*hārūn r-rāšid [u ǧlāṯa d-əl-ūzāra dyālu]* / Hārūn ar-Rāšid [and his Three Viziers]"; tale no. 6, "*[ǧāʕfār l-bārnāki] u l-mǧḥsāda li žāwžītha* / [ǧāʕfār l-Bārnāki and] the Woman who Envy her Husband"; and tale no. 7, "*qāmr z-zāmān u ḥayāṭ n-nufūs* / Qāmr z-Zāmān and Ḥayāt n-Nufūs."

Among the stories¹⁴¹ of this genre told by Lālla l-Ḥusniyya l-ʕAlami are: tale no. 16, "*kūnna b-səbʕ bnāṯ [f-mḥyyaǧ n-ləʕbu]* / The Seven Sisters [Playing in a Swamp]"; tale no. 17, "*ʕāyša ʕmāda* / ʕĀyša Cinderella"; tale no. 18, "*zbiṣa / Zbiṣa*"; tale no. 19, "*l-mḥa u ʕbiṣa* / The Woman and her Stepdaughter"; tale no. 20, "*bīnṭ s-sūltān* / The Sultan's Daughter"; and tale no. 21, "*ǧ-ǧayḥ l-mḥāddəṯ* / The Talking Bird."

7.2 *ḥikāya / ḥkāya*

CA *ḥikāya*, MA *ḥkāya*. The only difference between this category and the preceding one is that the stories belonging to this type are considered to be true,

138 Compare this definition to the one given by El-Shamy (1967), 59–100; idem (1972), 13–28; idem (1980), xlv, xlvi; idem (1988), 11; idem (1999), 9–13 and the corresponding footnote; idem in El Koudia and Allen (2003), 150, n. 9; and Bausinger (1999), col. 253.

139 On Ḥmād ʕAfāq's comments on this genre see above p. 4.

140 Other variations or versions of each story (if any) are listed in a footnote to the main title of the story.

141 Other variations or versions of each story (if any) are listed in a footnote to the main title of the story.

and all of them contain a unique sense of humor. Nevertheless, it is difficult to draw a clear line between *xrāfa* and *ḥkāya*, because frequently a realistic setting abruptly obtrudes upon the supernatural one in the middle of the story without in the least disturbing the audience.¹⁴² The tales under this category are labeled in the present anthology as Realistic and Humorous Tales.

The following tales from the man's repertoire are of this genre:¹⁴³ tale no. 8, "*ḥārūn r-rāšīd [u l-gāššāša]* / Hārūn ar-Rāšīd [and the Swindlers]"; tale no. 9, "*ḥārūn r-rāšīd [u ṭlāṣa d-aš-šaffāra]* / Hārūn ar-Rāšīd [and the Three Thieves]"; and tale no. 10, "*ʿaṭ-ṭalmīd* / The Student."

The woman's repertoire include the following tales of this genre:¹⁴⁴ tale no. 22, "*lālla ḥāyša l-māǧmūba s-sākna f-əl-māṭmūba* / [The Undefeatable] Lady Ḥāyša"; tale no. 23, "*əl-ḥwīsa d-dāwāza* / The Weaver Bride"; and tale no. 24, "*bḥīgəθ zīyyān* / Bḥīgəθ Zīyyān."

7.3 *qiṣṣa / maṭal*

"Moralistic, historical, and religious stories are known as *qiṣṣa*; a serious narrative is always described thus: 'a true occurrence,' 'really took place,' 'did not really happen, but it could have,' or 'a story of wisdom.' Occasionally the term *qiṣṣah* is also used to refer to a traditional story which comes from a printed source. The word *mathāl* denotes a proverb or an example; the word is also used to refer to a serious story, especially when a didactic or moralistic lesson is to be drawn from it. In this respect the 'proverb' and the serious story function as behavioral models to be emulated."¹⁴⁵ The tales under this category are based on religious themes and characters, but they do not have to be considered as religious legends: they are just stories.¹⁴⁶ This category of tale includes mostly oral narratives about such historical and legendary persons as ʿAlī. The narrator of these stories believes that they are based on written and even Qurʾānic sources, since the *qiṣṣa* is thought to be transmitted by God. This genre is intended to edify, exhort, and affirm the faith of believers, and to be a guide to the devout believer.

142 Galley (1999), col. 350–351; Thay Thay Rhozali (2000b), 20–22. On the historical approach to the use of this term see Bencharifa (2005), 31–37; Yaala (2005), 76, 78–79.

143 Other variations or versions of each story (if any) are listed in a footnote to the main title of the story.

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145 El-Shamy (1980), xlv–xlv.

146 In addition to the El-Shamy references mentioned above, see Thay Thay Rhozali (2000b), 18–20.

Only three tales of this type are included in the present corpus and all were told by the man:¹⁴⁷ tale no. 11, “*sīdi l-būzṭāmi* / Sīdi el-Būzṭāmi”; tale no. 12, “*l-ṣāqli f-ən-nāmsi* / l-Ṣāqli f-ən-Nāmsi [and the conversion of Austria]”; and tale no. 13, “*d-dāyīm ṇāh* / God Alone is Everlasting.”

8 The Origin of the Tales

Most of the tales from the man’s repertoire¹⁴⁸ of the present corpus which belong to the first category evoke Hārūn ar-Rāšīd. This brings up to the problem of the origin of the stories included in this study. The fact that some of these stories have been adapted from *ʔalf layla wa layla*, with local flavor, has led some scholars¹⁴⁹ to jump to the conclusion that in fact most such tales are from this written source. But it would be wrong to talk about specific written sources for the tales presented here.¹⁵⁰ Both sets of tales here show relationships with other Arab and Berber stories.¹⁵¹ Even when the Berber and Kabyle influences are documented through the attestation of variants of the same tale, the problem of the relationship between these stories and similar Arabian stories is not easy to solve. Moreover, the Berber and Kabyle tales that I know are not necessarily purely Berber or Kabyle in origin: instead they are the products of a general Mediterranean culture, and often display both Arabian and European influences.¹⁵² In addition, one can certainly find similarities between these tales and those of any other country.¹⁵³ Folklore is basically universal,

147 No variations of any of the following tales are attested.

148 The tales based on *ʔalf layla wa layla* seem to be characteristic of men’s folktales not only in Morocco, but also in the Maghreb in general. On this see Bencharifa (2005), 37, quoting a paragraph from the Al-Maliki thesis on the folktales of Marrakesh: «كما حرصت على استبعاد رواية الرجال غالباً لتجنب السقوط في نقل حكايات «ألف ليلة وليلة»، وهي تلبس أحياناً أردية مغربية، وتتعطر بعطور مغربية، وتتكلّم لغة مراكش العتيقة، وتمتّز في دروبها وأزقتها بما يحولها إلى إبداع مغربي خلق خلقاً جديداً». Concerning this aspect of the Kabyle Algerian folktales, see the comment by Lacoste-Dujardin (2010), 16–17, 18–19.

149 See for example Lounaci in Basset (2008), 33.

150 The collection of Schluh Moroccan folktales by Stumme (1895) contains many tales with Hārūn ar-Rāšīd as a protagonist; for example tale no. 13 “Die Geschichte vom Holzfäller und dem Khalifen Harun Arraschid” (109–114) and tale no. 14 “Eine Geschichte von Harun Arraschid” (114–119).

151 See the references to tale variants included in this study under the stories’ title.

152 See for example the commentary in El Fasi and Dermenghem (1975), 113 regarding the origin of the tale “La fille du menuisier *lala Aicha bent en-najjar*,” (103–111).

153 Aarne and Thompson (1961).

although in some areas certain story themes have been more popular than in others.¹⁵⁴

9 The Tales' Contents

The themes of the texts collected here are varied and rich, linked to realism and loaded with detailed descriptions of psychological and sociological aspects of everyday life. These stories have wisdom, an immense sense of humor, subtlety and refinement, and creative power. Creativity and tradition go hand in hand, and together produced vital variants of other versions of some Moroccan folktales known from other geographical areas which share and reflect regional community life. All the narratives contain to a certain degree elements from the real world, including familiar topography, objects, institutions, and food. But the wealth of detail is in itself a constant that allows a smooth transition from the real world into a fantasy world. The narrator weaves together reality and illusion – but at every moment with the listener's consent.¹⁵⁵

Another crucial question is the global context of the oral narrative, which involves multiple levels of interpretation and understanding. One of the most significant aspects of these narratives is the emotional. Another important aspect is how these narratives express a set of sentiments that are central to the members of the community where the narratives are performed, such as the perception of kinship, criteria of identity, and religious and cultural values and traditions. All these comprise a common ground from which the narrator and the listener perceive the flow of the narration and the meaning of the plot.¹⁵⁶

154 Laoust (1949), vol. I and vol. II; Dermenghem in El Fasi and Dermenghem (1975), 14, 113. See the comment by Zennaki in Leguil (2000), 254. The discussion on origins leads to the question of the signs of authenticity and variability. For a theoretical approach to this question, and the interdependence of the concepts of variability and authenticity, see Haring (1990), 415–416, and the discussion on pp. 417–418; Holbek (1990), 471–482 (esp. 471–473 and 482); and Finnegan (2003), 161–162.

155 Contrast Thay Thay Rhozali (2000b), 206–207.

156 For a detailed commentary on this see El-Shamy (1980), liii; idem (1981), col. 1391–1394 and the bibliographical references on col. 1394–1395; and idem (1999), 13–14, and 26–27 for the corresponding footnote.

9.1 *The Perception of Kinship*

Most of the oral testimonies included in this anthology involve family relationships and complex kinship bonds. Family relationships in the tales are often expressed in symbolic terms. Only three of the stories in this collection involve the brother-sister bond.¹⁵⁷ The first is tale no. 17, “*ʿĀyša ʾmāda* / ʿĀyša Cinderella,” in which the brother is the only one who seems to be able to expose the evil actions of his stepmother and her daughter and save his sister and her three babies. The verses he shouts to his sister¹⁵⁸ while she is in the pit after having been thrown there by her stepmother express his feelings for her. The sister reciprocates his affection: this reflects the nature of the brother-sister bond in the Arab and Berber worlds.¹⁵⁹ The second example of a strong brother-sister bond in the present collection is in tale no. 2, “*ʿt-ʿāžār māḥmūd* / Māḥmūd the Rich Man,” where the brother of nine sisters, the only male son of the family, opposes his father’s decision to sell one of his nine daughters, a decision he reveals to his wife while the young boy is listening in secret. The third strong brother-sister bond illustrated in these stories is in tale no. 21, “*ʿt-ʿāyḥ l-mḥāddāṯ* / The Talking Bird,” where the strong bond between brother and sister is pivotal to the whole plot.

Another important theme in the present collection of stories is the sister-sister rivalry over the same husband. Two of the tales in the present anthology contain this subject: tale no. 21, “*ʿt-ʿāyḥ l-mḥāddāṯ* / The Talking Bird,” and tale no. 20, “*bīnṯ s-sūltān* / The Sultan’s Daughter.” Both tales begin with a routine chat about the sister’s dream husband.¹⁶⁰ In the first tale the sisters dream of the same man, while in the second tale they desire a different type of man: but in both tales sister-sister hostility results in the rivalry and jealousy which shape the events of the plot and involve the maternal aunts.¹⁶¹ In tale no. 20, “*bīnṯ s-sūltān* / The Sultan’s Daughter,” the narrative portrays the antipathy of the rich sister toward her poor sister. Both sisters have a daughter: the rich

157 See El-Shamy (1999), 3, 19 n. 2 for bibliographical references; on the theoretical aspects of the psychological analyses see Finnegan (2003), 32–33.

158 See n. 32, p. 286 with the commentary of the sung passage by the narrator, tale XVII, “*ʿĀyša ʾmāda* / ʿĀyša Cinderella”; and its correspondent English translation.

159 El-Shamy (1979); idem (1980), 241. For examples of Moroccan tales centered upon brothers and sisters, see El-Shamy in El Koudia (2003), 153, n. 34–39.

160 The beginning of this tale is common in folktales: see n. 193, p. 377.

161 For examples of tales with this central theme see El-Shamy in El Koudia and Allen (2003), 153, n. 40–42. However, it seems that in some Berber folktales the aunt often gives the heroine moral and emotional support: see Lafkioui and Merolla in Boughaba Maleem (2007), XI.

sister has a negative, even cruel, attitude toward her niece, while the poor sister acts with confidence and resignation. In both households the role of husband is marginal.¹⁶² Rivalry among sisters can even result in rivalry among men whose wives are sisters.¹⁶³ See for example tale no. 4, “*lāqrāʿ bən l-fqi iflātu* / The Bald Son of *l-fqi* Iflātu,” in which the husbands of the Sultan’s three daughters are in competition in the search for a cure for their father-in-law’s blindness.

Another crucial theme is the relationship between stepmother and daughter-in-law. This relationship appears only in the woman’s stories. It is common in Arab and Berber folktales.¹⁶⁴ The stepmother who, as a ‘mother’ takes charge of the children of another woman, usually one who has died, assumes the role of antagonist (or “villain,” in Proppian¹⁶⁵ terminology). She represents ‘negative femininity.’ Concerning this relationship as portrayed in Kabyle folktales, Merolla states, “What is seen in the narration as an ‘impossible cohabitation’ of the father’s new wife and her stepdaughter is linked to fundamental aspects of the domestic role of women in the family, which is primarily to produce and distribute food, and to be a mother. The stepdaughter/stepmother opposition focuses on such elements as ‘food’ (the stepmother refuses to give food to her stepchildren), and ‘the stepmother’s children’ (the stepmother gives privileges to her natural children).”¹⁶⁶ See in the present corpus tale no. 17, “*ʿāyša ʾmāda* / ʿĀyša Cinderella.” The role played by the stepmother parallels the one played by the aunt in tale no. 20, “*bīnʿ s-sūltān* / The Sultan’s Daughter,” in which the aunt attempts to replace her own daughter as the prince’s bride.

9.2 *Differences between Men’s and Women’s Narratives*

The Mūlāy Ḥmād’s texts were intended mainly to be told to an audience of men, mostly friends of the narrator, and were narrated in public spaces like squares, neighborhood coffeehouses, gardens, or shops. By contrast, the Lālla l-Ḥusniyya’s tales were intended mainly for entertaining children and were narrated in family circles at home, mostly during certain family ceremonies and

162 El-Shamy (1999), 73–75 (esp. 73), tale no. 2 from Saudi Arabia, “The Two Sisters and the Ogre’s Treasure.” For elaborations on this negative role of a maternal aunt see *ibid.* n. 23, 362, 363, and the Iraqi tale no. 35 “The Maternal-Aunt,” *ibid.* 279–285. For a family without a father see tale no. 24 from Egypt, “The Ears that Didn’t Heed the Wife’s Fears,” *ibid.* 199–207.

163 See El-Shamy (1980), 28–32 (esp. 29), tale no. 4, “The Magic Filly”; *idem* (1999), 209, 388 n. 509: “This rivalry is a major theme in *Types 314, The Youth Transformed to a Horse (Goldner)*; and 551, *The Sons on a Quest for a Wonderful Remedy for Their Father.*”

164 On this theme in some narratives from Kabylia, Alg see Merolla (1993), 171–186.

165 Propp (1996), 28–35.

166 Merolla (1993), 173, 176.

domestic celebrations (births, circumcisions, etc.) The woman's stories were not told during daylight for fear that they might cause the story-teller to give birth to a diseased or bald baby.¹⁶⁷

Women's oral literature also includes lullabies, which seem to be an exclusively female literary production and extremely conservative in language and culture – as is shown in the few samples included in this collection. Moroccan women narrators belong to a compact and common oral and verbal art in Arab and Berber story-telling tradition, which shows significant differences from men's traditions in the same society.¹⁶⁸

The men's stories here and in general seem to be almost endless: in most cases they are double the length of the women's folktales. They are more epic. They belong to a stream of oral literature told among professional male story-tellers in professional public places: examples are the narrator of Bab-Guissa in Fez mentioned by El Fasi, and the many professional storytellers of *Žāmāf l-Fna* in Marrakesh.¹⁶⁹ The differences between the men's and women's stories involve not just length, genre, thematic repertoire, and venue of performance, they also include sociolinguistic differences, and socio-cultural differences in gender.¹⁷⁰

167 See Dermenghem in El Fasi and Dermenghem (1925), 8; El Fasi and Dermenghem (1975), 16–18. Dwyer (1978), xi writes, “The menopausal woman alone is free from this danger by virtue of her barrenness, and so can use the folk medium whenever it is appropriate to her pedagogical or artistic desires.” Sadiqi (2003), 246, 247. On the sacralization of the time of the narration see Lacoste-Dujardin (2010), 15–16.

168 See Sadiqi (2003), 42, 44, 232–233, 255–256; idem (2005), 202–203; idem (2006), 289–293; idem (2010), 41–46; Bounfour (1994), 2081. Concerning Algerian Kabyle tales see the Postface by Lacoste-Dujardin in Frobenius translated by Fetta (1998), 233. For Tunis see recently Kammoun (2010), 192, 201. On the lullabies, which are the real private and exclusive feminine oral literary production, see for example Rahal (2002), 59–84, and the bibliographical references mentioned there; Al-Asimi (2005), 112–113; Lacoste-Dujardin (2010), 6–7, 30–31. On this aspect of Algerian Kabyle folktales, see Lacoste-Dujardin, *ibid.* 17–20, who calls men's tales “citadins” and women's tales “paysans.”

169 See El Fasi and Dermenghem (1925), 8–9; Barton (1980).

170 Initially there were no women among researchers investigating Maghrebin women, who remained very closed to foreign contacts. However it seems that some men informants of some scholars narrated from memory stories of the women's repertoire. Some of these were in the collection of Moroccan folktales by Laoust (1949) and Dwyer (1978). For an excellent comment on this see El-Shamy (1980), lii–liii; El-Shamy (1990), 64, n. 3, 83. Concerning the Berber tales Bounfour (1994), 2083 speaks about the “l'incompétence de l'homme-informateur omniprésent ...” See the recent comments by Lacoste-Dujardin (2010), 29 about the women's repertoire as narrated by men to Mouliéras in 1890.

Despite the differences mentioned above, both repertoires include elements of universal themes that echo concerns common to all human beings, such as the desire of a childless couple for a child, of which tale no. 2, “*ʕ-ʕāžār māḥmūd* / Māḥmūd the Rich Man,” is an example. Thus these fairy tales both express a model of a traditional society and show the actual society through human desires and fears. Both the man’s and the woman’s repertoires convey a clear message about good and evil, human nature, injustice, and proper human priorities and values. From a stylistic point of view, both collections include tales composed from semi-independent units linked to each other in the frame of one story. Both corpuses have the same local and socio-cultural flavor because of their origin from the same geographical area, the city of Chaouen, and the fact that both narrators belong to old established Chaounite families. The bottom line is that the present data corroborate the rejection of the exclusivity statement that reserves fantasy storytelling is not reserved to women and women alone.¹⁷¹

10 The Tales’ Characters

The present two collections of stories portray simple, ordinary people of varying social status: thieves, beggars, masters and slaves, sultans, princes and princesses, viziers, wealthy landowners and humble fellahs, shepherds, traders, whitewashers, laundresses, spinners of wool, fishermen, witches and wizards, artists, mystics, young and old, rich and poor. There are fathers and mothers, sisters and brothers, aunts and uncles, cousins, stepmothers and stepchildren.¹⁷²

10.1 *Principal Human Characters*

As has been mentioned, the protagonists in the folktales told by the male narrator of the present collection are chiefly men, while in the stories told by the woman there are only heroines.

10.1.1 Young, Brave, Handsome, Heroic Men

Tale no. 2, “*ʕ-ʕāžār māḥmūd* / Māḥmūd the Rich Man,” relates the extraordinary birth of an extraordinary hero. The parents, unable to bear children, conceive

171 It has long been believed that the narration of folktale fantasy stories is reserved to women. This assumption is being increasingly challenged. See for example Scelles-Millie (1970), 11–12; Merolla (1994), 2084; Lounaci in Basset (2008), 26, n. 1.

172 Thay Thay Rhozali (2000b), 199–200.

him by eating an apple of fertility, following a magician's advice. The circumstances of his birth, the first boy after nine girls, announce his extraordinary character and his role as protagonist.¹⁷³ He is at first designated by the borrowed CA term *ġulām*, which simply means "boy"; but with the development of the tale he ultimately achieves a high position in the king's palace. The CA *ġulām* also means "slave servant," the function that this protagonist has after the vizier bought him for the king. However, from the global context of the tale it is obvious that the status of the *ġulām* "eunuch" is to be distinguished from that of the *ṣabd* "a slave servant" and from the MA *xāddām* (CA *xādim*) "servant."¹⁷⁴

In this tale the *ġulām* was bought in the market from his father by the vizier of the king, who had high expectations of him because of his price, which was his own weight in gold – the price the boy himself told his father to ask for him. First the boy was a simple attendant in the palace; but then the king put him to the test to determine if he was worth the price he had paid for him. The boy gave proof of his extreme talent and intelligence; and the king raised him to the highest position in the palace service, making him his preferred advisor, superior even to the king's old Jewish counselor.¹⁷⁵

Another young male protagonist in the man's corpus, who has an Arab origin, is Qāmr z-Zāmān: see tale no. 7, "*qāmr z-zāmān u ḥāyāt n-nūfūs* / Qāmr z-Zāmān and Ḥāyāt n-Nūfūs." Qamr az-Zamān is young, smart and handsome, radiant, pleasant and sensible. He is the son of a king, and has received an excellent education. Despite falling in love, he does not lose his mind, or become sick, or forget that his ultimate objective is to return to his own country. He enjoys making public display of his power and handsomeness. His two wives equal him in handsomeness, but not in his uniqueness.

In tale no. 3, "*s-sayyid bān l-āsād l-qūndi* / S-sayyid Bān l-Āsād l-Qūndi" the handsome young protagonist chooses exile because of a humiliation he suffers at the hand of his paternal uncle. He leaves in quest of mastery of the two disciplines *par excellence*: Qurʾān recitation and swordsmanship. He finds his heroic Mentor, who helps him become outstanding in both. He is intelligent, resolute, and eloquent, and ready to fight no matter what the odds. His aim is to return and regain his late father's throne. By fighting his paternal female cousin, he proves to his uncle that he did not forget about him, nor his humiliation.

173 Gil Grimau and Ibn Azzuz (1988), 14–16.

174 On this character see the commentary below pp. 52, 57.

175 On the role and position of Jews in this collection of tales see the commentary below pp. 56, 80.

Another type of male protagonist in the man's tales has no specific features or distinguishing characteristics: the listener is not told whether this protagonist is young or old, handsome or ugly. He appears without any vital mission, but, usually inadvertently, becomes involved in a series of adventures during which he becomes more and more focused on an aim – which he ultimately fulfils. This is the case of the main character of the “*r-rūmmāna* [*ḥỵya sbāb ḳūll šī*] / [It all Started with a] Pomegranate,” tale no. 1. From the beginning of the story it is clear that the protagonist has been forced into a situation because of an act by his irresponsible slave. And from the beginning to the end, the protagonist is involuntarily involved in events that he cannot control, prevent, or avoid. He has a mission to accomplish, about which he is only conscious after a certain time. But after that moment, he adapts his actions to a course that is as direct as a geodesico.¹⁷⁶

Another male protagonist that appears in the man's repertoire is the clever bald man. Intelligence, cunning, and skill are typical qualities of this kind of men's folktale hero. This figure appears in tale no. 4, “*lāqrāḥ bān l-fqi īflāṭu* / The Bald Son of *l-fqi īflāṭu*,” in which he is described as a clever man: in the context of this tale this means he is a deceiver, impostor, and charlatan. Despite his character, this protagonist achieves his goals by marrying the Sultan's youngest daughter and later becoming a king himself. This text is a picaresque tale, a genre proper to a somewhat shady hero.¹⁷⁷ This figure is often described as bald because bald individuals were believed to be vulnerable to the influence of jinns.¹⁷⁸

10.1.2 Young, Beautiful, Abandoned Woman Heroine

In the stories of the lady narrator of this collection, the protagonists are mostly women: the youngest sister in tale no. 16, “*kūnna b-sābḥ bnāḥ* [*f-mḥỵyāḡ nlāḥbu*] / The Seven Sisters [Playing in a Swamp],” the stepdaughter in tale no. 19, “*l-mwa u kbīḥa* / The Woman and her Stepdaughter,” ḤĀyša in tale no. 17, “*Ḥāyša kmāda* / ḤĀyša Cinderella,” the undefeatable ḤĀyša in tale no. 22, “*lālā ḥāyša l-māḡmūka s-sākna f-əl-māṭmūka* / [The Undefeatable] Lady ḤĀyša,” etc. In contrast to some of the male heroes, the heroine's inherent innocence is preserved throughout her journey.

In tale no. 16, “*kūnna b-sābḥ bnāḥ* [*f-mḥỵyāḡ nlāḥbu*] / The Seven Sisters [Playing in a Swamp]” any of the sisters could have been the protagonist

176 Gil Grimaud and Ibn Azzuz (1988), 14–16, 19, 20.

177 In Egypt see Dorson in El-Shamy (1980), xxxii–xxxiv.

178 On jinns and baldness see Dermenghem in El Fasi and Dermenghem (1975), 18.

because their father abandoned all of them in the forest. But from the beginning of the tale the youngest sister's innocence sets her apart. She is the only sister to eat the ogress' food, an act which marks her as the protagonist. She is rescued by her older sisters from the ogress, but finds herself alone, defenseless in a hostile environment. The youngest sibling as heroine is a common motif in Berber and Arab Maghrebin oral tradition.

Another typical female protagonist in women's tales is Cinderella, who in the present collection appears in tale no. 17, "*ġāyša ɛmāda* / *ġĀyša Cinderella*." She is conspicuous for her innocence, inexperience, and submissiveness to fate, and therefore the perfect female from the point of view of a patriarchal society. In contrast to her is the woman protagonist in tale no. 22, "*lālla ġāyša l-māġmūka s-sākna f-əl-māṭmūka* / [The Undefeatable] Lady *ġĀyša*," who challenges her patriarchal society male counterpart.¹⁷⁹

10.2 *Antagonists*

The Villain, Intrigant, or Adversary / Antagonist. One typical Antagonist in Lālla l-Ḥusniyya's stories is the stepmother: see tale no. 17, "*ġāyša ɛmāda* / *ġĀyša Cinderella*," and tale no. 18, "*zbiḡa* / *Zbiḡa*." Antagonists in other stories of the woman's repertoire include the aunts and sisters of tale no. 20, "*bint s-sūltān* / The Sultan's Daughter," and tale no. 21, "*t-ṭāyḡ l-mḥāddāθ* / The Talking Bird"; the ghoul/ogress in tale no. 16, "*kūnna b-sabf bnāθ* [*f-mḡyyaġ nləḡbu*] / The Seven Sisters [Playing in a Swamp]"; and the old women in tale no. 21, "*t-ṭāyḡ l-mḥāddāθ* / The Talking Bird." Antagonists in Mūlāy Ḥmād's stories include the wife of tale no. 6, "*ġāḡfār l-bārnāki* u *l-māḡsāda li žāwḡiḡa* / [Ġāḡfār l-Bārnāki] and the Woman who Envy her Husband," who hates and plans to murder her husband. Villains / Antagonists are indispensable for plot development.

10.3 *The Mentor and the Companion*

1. The Mentor advises, helps, and supports the Protagonist in his/her struggle or quest. An example from the man's stories is Yūsəf l-Wāḡbi ?Abu Sāyḡ in tale no. 3, "*s-sayyid bən l-āsād l-qūndi* / *S-sayyid Bən l-Āsād l-Qūndi*," who trains the hero Bən l-Āsād l-Qūndi in the Qurʾān and swordsmanship. The Mentor in tale no. 1, "*r-rūmmāna* [*hīyya sbāb kūll šī*] / [It all Started with a] Pomegranate," is the friend of the Protagonist who advises him about how to

179 This feminine character is common in other Magrebin folktales as a model: see the study of the woman personage "Friponne," who Lacoste-Camille labels as "une féministe au pays des sultans." See Lacoste-Camille (1984), 45–74; and Chadli (2008), 12.

recover his wife kidnapped by the Sultan. An example of a Mentor from Lālla l-Ḥusniyya's narratives is the supernatural character, the *rūḥānīyya*, who helps the Protagonist ḤĀyša Cinderella against the hatred of her stepmother. This same character could be labeled as a Companion as well because she accompanies ḤĀyša Cinderella to the royal gala that leads to her marriage to the Sultan. See tale no. 17, "*Ḥāyša ʾmāda* / ḤĀyša Cinderella.

2. The Companion accompanies and assists the Protagonist on his heroic journey. An example in the present collection is from tale no. 1, "*r-rūmmāna [ḥġya sbāb kull šī]* / [It all Started with a] Pomegranate," in which the Companion of the Protagonist helps the hero recover his wife from the Sultan. Another example is in tale no. 7, "*qāmr z-zāmān u ḥāyāt n-nūfūs* / Qāmr z-Zāmān and Ḥāyāt n-Nūfūs," where the cousin of the hero, Qāmr z-Zāmān, helps him find his loved one. Thanks to the Companion, the continuation of this narrative is assured.

10.4 *Other Secondary Characters*

1. *The Magician or Old Woman*: These characters are universals. They might help the hero, or obstruct him; but the Old Woman more commonly appears as an Antagonist to the hero. She is commonly described as "wily." To a certain extent she is similar to the heroine's stepmother. Both the stepmother and the Old Woman usually come to bad ends because the hero or his relatives take revenge on them. Examples of these secondary figures are in tale no. 17, "*Ḥāyša ʾmāda* / ḤĀyša Cinderella," tale no. 21, "*ṭ-ṭāyḡ l-mḥāddāḡ* / The Talking Bird," and tale no. 19, "*l-mva u kbīḡa* / The Woman and Her Stepdaughter." While the stepmother appears always as an Intrigant, the Old Woman can sometimes be a Mentor and almost maternal. She aids the hero, and particularly the heroine, by giving them shelter and is evidently often rewarded for it. Her advanced age gives this woman a special aura, in which spite for not being young is often mingled with experience and wisdom. Because of this combination of traits, the Old Woman can appear at one extreme as a sorceress-witch, and on the other as a charming old lady. For example, in tale no. 2, "*ṭ-ṭāžār māḥmūd* / Māḥmūd the Rich Man" the protagonist's wife conceives ten children thanks to the advice of an Old Woman.
2. *The Sultan*: Another relevant secondary character in Maghrebin narratives in general and in this corpus in particular is the Sultan. In the present collection of stories there are usually two types of Sultan, who are very different from each other. One is the classic Oriental, Arabian-Nights-like monarch: he appears solely in the man's narrations. This Sultan is described as a character who lives in a magnificent court in a great city, is a fair and just

judge, and pious, sometimes to an extreme. The Sultan is often identified as Hārūn ar-Rāšīd. Examples of this type of Sultan appear in tale no. 8, “*hārūn r-rāšīd [u l-gāššāša]* / Hārūn ar-Rāšīd [and the Swindlers],” and in tale no. 9, “*hārūn r-rāšīd [u t-lāḡa d-əš-šəffāra]* / Hārūn ar-Rāšīd [and the Three Thieves],” where the Sultan walks the streets in disguise and enters the stores of his subjects to investigate whether or not order and justice are being observed in his realm. He is just and right, ready to give a moral lesson to others and prompt in executing justice (see tale no. 6, “[*ǧāʿfār l-bārnāki*] *u l-māhsāda li žāwžiha* / [Ǧāʿfār l-Bārnāki and] the Woman who Envy her Husband”).

The second type of Sultan is more homely and common-place. He appears more frequently in the woman’s tales – as in tale no. 18, “*zbiḡa / Zbiḡa*,” and tale no. 21, “*t-tāyḡ l-mḡāddəḡ* / The Talking Bird,” in which three sisters make incessant demands which are fulfilled by the Sultan. The Sultan character in this narrative is pied à terre.

3. The Jew: Another typical character in Muslim Moroccan folktales, but one which represents a different ethnic/religious group, is the Jew, who is often a vizier: see for example tale no. 2, “*t-tāžār māḡmūd* / Māḡmūd the Rich Man.” The rivalry between the Muslim protagonist and the Jew is often because of the high position the Jew occupies in the Muslim court. In another tale, no. 4, “*lāqraḡ bən l-fqi īflāṡu* / The Bald Son of *l-fqi* Īflāṡu,” the Jew appears as helpless and innocent.
4. “*Ordinary People*”: These usually are simple craftsmen or individuals who pursue common occupations. One such is the fisherman in tale no. 21, “*t-tāyḡ l-mḡāddəḡ* / The Talking Bird,” who is depicted as a very poor man living with his wife. In many tales the fisherman catches a box with a cast-away boy inside.¹⁸⁰ Another common secondary character is the *tāləb*: see tale no. 10, “*ət-təlmīd* / The Student.” A third is the owner of a cook-shop, whose product is of a dubious origin: he often looks like a murderer. See for example tale no. 1, “*r-rūmmāna [hḡyja sbāb kūll ši]* / [It all Started with a] Pomegranate.” Other common people include the carpenter, whose craft is depicted as halfway between art and magic: see tale no. 2, “*t-tāžār māḡmūd* / Māḡmūd the Rich Man.” A merchant appears in most tales, and is generally rich: see tale no. 2, “*t-tāžār māḡmūd* / Māḡmūd the Rich Man,” and tale no. 5, “*hārūn r-rāšīd [u t-lāḡa d-əl-üzāra dyālu]* / Hārūn ar-Rāšīd [and his Three Viziers].”

180 This same character appears for example in El-Shamy (1980) tale no. 2, “The Black Crow and the White Cheese” (14–24), and tale no. 5, “The Grateful Fish” (33–38). In the latter and in El Koudia and Allen (2003), 19–26 (esp. 19), tale no. 4, “The Fisherman,” the fisherman is the main character.

Poor people with very common jobs, but who sometimes turn out to be the Sultan's biological parents: see tale no. 2, “*ʿ-ṭāžžār māḥmūd* / Māḥmūd the Rich Man.” Then there is the slave, generally black: see tales no. 5, “*hārūn r-rāšid* [*u ṭlāṣa d-əl-ūzāra dyālu*] / Hārūn ar-Rāšid [and his Three Viziers]” and tale no. 6, “[*ǧāʿfār l-bārṇāki*] *u l-māḥsāda li žāwžīha* / [ǧāʿfār l-Bārṇāki and] the Woman who Envyies her Husband.”

5. *Slaves*: The protagonist and other characters often speak of slaves with a racist bias, as caricatures, savage and wild, and motivated by envy of their masters. Slaves appear frequently in both women's and men's narratives¹⁸¹ and testify to the deep racial antipathy toward black Africans of the society in which these tales were told.

All these secondary characters are the social landscape of the narrative and the background against which the hero, heroine, and supernatural characters act.

10.5 *Supernatural Characters*

In most of the tales here presented the existence of the supernatural world and of jinns is taken for granted. The belief in jinns and other types of supernatural beings, such as ghouls and afrits, is an important part of Moroccan popular thought.

1. *Jinn and pl. Jinns*:¹⁸² In ancient Arabia jinns were considered semi-divine, the nymphs and satyrs of the desert. They represented the side of nature still rebellious and hostile to man. By the time of Muḥammad, jinns had already become regarded as full-scale divinities. In Islam the existence of jinns is axiomatic: according to Muslim belief, jinns were created of fire, in contrast to the angels, who were created from light. They are considered more powerful than men, but less powerful than angels. The jinn is capable of humanly impossible tasks, and the intelligence of the jinn is considered much superior to that of humans. The belief in jinns is so strong in Muslim and Arab thought that Muslim theologians judge disbelief in jinns as heresy – except

¹⁸¹ See Gil Grimaud and Ibn Azzuz (1988), 49.

¹⁸² On the jinns in Morocco see the masterwork of Westermarck (1968a), 262–478; MacDonald, D. B. [H. Massé] (1965), 560–561; Boratav (1965), 561–562 (on the jinns in Turkey, which have some features in common with those of the present collection of stories); Dermenghem in El Fasi and Dermenghem (1975), 21–23; Scelles-Millie (1970), 160–161; Dordson in El-Shamy (1980), xvii–xix; idem (1981), 316; idem (1982), 11–13, 21 and the bibliographical references mentioned there; Gil Grimaud and Ibn Azzuz (1988), 52, 55; Chebel (1995), 132–133; Thay Thay Rhozali (2000b), 229–232. On jinns and magic see Douuté (1994), 64.

for the *Muṣṭazila*, who dare to question their existence. In folk belief the jinn is one of the most important ‘creatures’; and in folktales, in contrast to professional literature, jinns play a central role and appear in highly anthropomorphic terms. They are considered to be similar to human beings: they are of both sexes and live in communities. They procreate with each other, and are even capable of procreating with a human being. Their societies mirror human societies in social organization, in political, economic and familial institutions, in industry, and in race and religion.

Jinns assume other shapes, too, and can turn themselves into animals, monsters, men, or women. They can remain invisible if they chose. They normally act at night and mainly against human beings in order to control them, even if on some occasions they do protect a human victim from an unjust act. They are capable of transporting a man immense distances, and will mislead him or help him, depending on whether they are good jinns, who follow Islam, or not. They inhabited the earth before Adam. They live side by side with humans, and inhabit odd spots in human dwellings, such as toilets and abandoned rooms: they prefer desolate locations for their dwellings. They frequent public places such as hammams, ruins, abandoned houses, cemeteries, and some hostels (especially those abandoned and in ruins), where they meet, sometimes for fun and always at night. In Chaouen they are euphemistically called *dīç an-nās* “those people” and *mwālīn l-ʔārd* “the owner of earth.” The latter epithet alludes to a group of jinn also called “Dwellers” or “Inhabitants”—as for example, *ad-dār māsķūna* “the house has dwellers/inhabitants.” The adjective *māsķūn/a* is also applied to people, with the meaning “possessed by jinn.”¹⁸³ In the first context the adjective *māsķūn* has a positive connotation, referring to good jinns as protectors and defenders of the home against outside, malevolent jinns. But the combination of the adjective with a human being is negative, suggesting mental illness. However, even in the latter case a benevolent jinn can teach a man the means by which to deliver himself from the possession of a malevolent jinn through exorcism. According to Islamic doctrine, the benevolent jinns will go to Paradise, while the others will be delivered to the flames of hell. Both jinns can be evoked by magic, in which context they are called “Servants” or “Aids” by the magician who performs the ritual. The jinns’ relationship with *iblis* and *shaitans*¹⁸⁴ is obscure. These last two demoniac characters do not appear in

183 On this and other jinn epithets, see Marçais (1953), 373–375. The use of alternative names and epithets for the jinns are regarded by Marçais as euphemisms because they aim to avoid the direct employment of the jinn’s actual name.

184 For these two demon types, which do not occur in the present corpus, see Dermenghem in

any of the folktales in the present collection.

The confusion between purely human and supernatural beings is common in folktales, as is implied by the common folktale question, “Are you jinn or human?”.¹⁸⁵ see tale no. 18, “*zbiḥḥa / Zbiḥḥa*.” Jinns are sometimes called by their names, such as in tale no. 17, “*Ḥāyṣa ḥmāda / Ḥāyṣa Cinderella*” and tale no. 7, “*qāmr z-zāmān u ḥāyāt n-nūfūs / Qāmr z-Zāmān and Ḥāyāt n-Nūfūs*.” Others are metamorphosed into a human character, as in tale no. 5, “*hārūn r-rāšid [u ḥlāḥa d-əl-ūzāra dyālu] / Hārūn ar-Rāšid [and his Three Viziers]*” and tale no. 1, “*r-rūmmāna [ḥyya sbāb küll šī] / [It all Started with a] Pomegranate*.” In such instances it is difficult to distinguish the supernatural being from the purely human one. One has to be alert to the jinns’ extraordinary acts. This highlights the difficult task of setting clear boundaries between fiction and reality in any given story, which often makes following and understanding the oral narrative difficult. The complete concentration of the audience is necessary, in particular toward the end of the story. In the present corpus, Mūlāy Ḥmād sometimes plays with this device for the sake of subtlety: see for example tale no. 5, “*hārūn r-rāšid [u ḥlāḥa d-əl-ūzāra dyālu] / Hārūn ar-Rāšid [and his Three Viziers]*.” Like humans, extra-human characters are sometimes metamorphosed into animals: see for example tale no. 17, “*Ḥāyṣa ḥmāda / Ḥāyṣa Cinderella*”; tale no. 16, “*kūnna b-sāb ḥ bnāḥ [f-mḥyḥyāḥ n-lāḥbu] / The Seven Sisters [Playing in a Swamp]*”; and tale no. 5, “*hārūn r-rāšid [u ḥlāḥa d-əl-ūzāra dyālu] / Hārūn ar-Rāšid [and his Three Viziers]*.” Jinns are also referred to by names and titles which reflect their nature and roles. In the present stories they include the following two types of beings:

2. Afrit, pl. Afrits:¹⁸⁶ Generally this is an evil jinn, which favors ancient tombs, ruins, and dark temples, feeds on the dead, and kills and devours the living. But there are also afrits who are believers which do good and serve God’s purposes. An afrit is of gigantic size, but consists mainly of smoke. This allows it to compress itself into small spaces. It has wings and can fly. Despite its power, man can control it through magic. But weapons and sharp tools have no effect on it: it has to be first bewitched to be disabled or killed. Like other jinns, afrits intermarry and can even take a human wife/husband.

El Fasi and Dermenghem (1975), 23–24; Wensinck-[Gardet, L.] (1971), 690–691; and Chebel (1995), 132–133.

185 This is a very common question, which indicates the presence of jinns in a tale. See the bibliographical commentary and the bibliographical references in n. 109, p. 355.

186 Chelhod (1971), 1076–1077; Dermenghem in El Fasi and Dermenghem (1975), 21; Gil Grimau and Ibn Azzuz (1988), 52–54. For more references see under jinn above.

Their society reflects Arab society: kings govern them, and they are divided into clans. One background legend recounts that afrits rebelled against the great sage Sīdna Sulaymān, and were locked by the force of his magic ring into large copper vessels sealed with his famous seal and thrown into the Atlantic. If one fishes out and opens one of these vases, the genius comes out as smoke, gradually turning into a frightful giant. In the Qurʾān (27:39) they are mentioned with King Salomon. In the present collection of stories afrits occur less often than jinns. Their appearance is limited to Mūlāy Ḥmād's narrations; specifically tales no. 7, "*qāmr z-Zāmān u ḥāyāt n-nūfūs* / Qāmr z-Zāmān and Ḥāyāt n-Nūfūs," and no. 5, "*hārūn r-rāšid [u ḥlāḏa d-al-ūzāra dyālu]* / Hārūn ar-Rāšid [and his Three Viziers]."

3. Ghoul, f. Ghoula, and pl. Ghouls.¹⁸⁷ This demon appears in a great many folktales. It dwells in both deserts and inhabited places, consumes human flesh, and is capable of changing its appearance and color. It can assume various forms: a wild animal, an old woman, a young man, a beautiful woman. This being often rides long distances on hares, dogs, ostriches, horses, and so forth. Men can kill it: but the first blow must be decisive because a second one restores it to life. The masculine noun *ḡūl* in early CA sources denotes a female being; however, popular usage takes the feminine ending *-a*, such as in MA *ḡūl-a*.¹⁸⁸ Muslim tradition is undecided whether the Prophet denied this being's existence, or only denied the assertion of the Arabs with respect to its mutability. In Morocco, belief in ogres and other fabulous creatures is old and deeply rooted in popular culture. The Ghoul appears in oral literature and everyday life chiefly as a maternal figure, often described with breasts of unusually large size. El-Shamy¹⁸⁹ believes this description may be "... a survival from older Middle Eastern religious beliefs. The ancient Arabian goddess al-'Uzza was described in older sources as 'having her breasts thrown over her shoulders.'¹⁹⁰ In most Maghrebin

187 Much has been written about this fabulous being and its role in folktales, some of the most important works, which include copious bibliographical references, being: Laoust (1947), 253–265; idem (1949), vol. II, p. XVIII, XIX, XXI, XXII–XXVIII; Westermarck (1968a), 398–400; Dermenghem in El Fasi and Dermenghem (1975), 25–26, n. 1 and 2; MacDonald (1983), 1078–1079; Gil Grimau and Ibn Azzuz (1988), 58; Bounfour (1994), 2083; Thay Thay Rhozali (2000b); Lacoste-Dujardin (2010), 20–23.

188 See Thay Thay Rhozali (2000b), 35–39. On the exclusively female gender of this supernatural being, and its malevolent impact upon women's fertility, in Kabylean tales see Lacoste-Dujardin (2010), 20–21, 25.

189 El-Shamy (1980), 55 and the bibliographical references mentioned there.

190 In South Arabian tale no. 16, "Zwei Brüder," in Müller (1905), 89–95 (esp. 91), the ogresses

and Arab fantasy folktales the hero can become invulnerable by sucking the breast of the ogress. There is even a case of adoption by suckling: one of El-Shamy's thematic categories is "ogress who suckles hero claims him as her son T671."¹⁹¹ The suggestion that this fabulous creature was derived from the Assyro-Babylonian Lillith¹⁹² must be rejected: this Mesopotamian divinity was simply a storm demon. In Akkadian texts *lilû*, *lilitu* and (*w*)*ardat lilî* often occur together as three closely related demons whose dominion are the stormy winds. The most salient difference between this demoniac deity and the ghoul/a is the fact that Lilith's sexuality is not a regular kind of sexuality: she cannot bear children, and she does not produce milk but only poison.¹⁹³ In the present collection of stories ghouls occur less often than afrits. Their appearance is limited to one of the Lalla l-Ḥusniyya's narratives, tale no. 16, "*künna b-sabf bnāṯ [f-mḥyāğ nlaṯbu] / The Seven Sisters [Playing in a Swamp].*"

Jinns, afrits, and ghouls are not the product of any certain writer's, poet's, or storyteller's imagination. They are part of the belief system of Arabo-Berber Moroccan culture, and are endorsed by Islam.

10.6 *Animal Characters*

The animals that occur in these stories are common in Morocco.¹⁹⁴ All of them speak to human beings in a known language, or in an animal language which the humans have learned. As Stumme¹⁹⁵ writes, "In jener Zeit waren aber alle Dinge auf der Welt mit Sprache begabt: da redeten die Steine, die Bäume, die

are described: "Wu – elhé 'egehéten 'órbeḥ wu – mésin megāši irbā'ah wu-elhé megāsi dódhi (dódihi) išyóte ṭay di-héyhi, wu-elhé egehéten mésin tídehe 'aṭobínsin le-kízeho. 'Und diese Frauen sind vier und ihre Kinder sind vier und diese Kinder sind Dämonen, die Menschenfleisch riechen, und diese Weiber legen ihre Brüste auf die Schulter.'" For a parallel description in Maghrebian folktale material see Légy (1926), 24–29 (esp. 27) tale no. IV, "Histoire de Moulay Moḥammed el-Anḥach (Monseigneur Le Serpent)" and tale no. XXI, "Le cheval persan" (pp. 94–96). See also Laoust (1947), 260–261, 263, 264; El Fasi (2000), 170. For this same description of the ogress in a Kabylia tale see Lacoste-Dujardin (2010), 21–22, 36, n. 4, 158, n. 5, 165.

191 El-Shamy (1995), 490; Lacoste-Dujardin (1999), 105; Thay Thay Rhozali (2000b), 90, 169.

192 Thay Thay Rhozali (2000b), 35–36, n. 3 for bibliographical references.

193 For a description of this Mesopotamian demoniac deity see Hutter (1999), 520–521 and the bibliographical references there. See also CAD, L, 190.

194 Compare Thay Thay Rhozali (2000b), 200.

195 Stumme (1895), 131–146, esp. 132, tale 16, "Aggelamusch."

Wege, kurz, alles, was es auf der Welt gab." The following animals have the largest roles in the present folktale corpus:

1. *The Dog*: This animal plays a very important role in tale no. 6, "[*ġāʿfār l-bārṇāki*] u *l-māḥsāda li žāwżīha* / [*Ġāʿfār l-Bārṇāki* and] the Woman who Envyies her Husband," in which the lord of the house owns a beloved dog which saves his life from the murderous schemes of his wife. The husband's cruel punishment of his wife, and her humiliation because of her ingratitude, contrast with the extremely human treatment the dog receives as a result of its faithfulness. In tale no. 5, "*hārūn r-rāšid* [*u ʿlāṯa d-əl-ūzāra dyālu*] / Hārūn ar-Rāšid [and his Three Viziers]," the dog is said to be trained by his lord, the protagonist. Here the dog helps his owner recover the magic ring. Also in tale no. 5, "*hārūn r-rāšid* [*u ʿlāṯa d-əl-ūzāra dyālu*] / Hārūn ar-Rāšid [and his Three Viziers]," a human, "*Si Mūḥāmmād*," is metamorphosed into a dog, which is treated kindly or harshly, depending on the context. These instances corroborate El-Shamy's¹⁹⁶ statement that "the theme of a grateful dog as helper is relatively frequent in Arab lore. Formal Islam views dogs as unclean animals and permits ownership of a dog only for the purposes of hunting, shepherding, and guarding property; yet, folk attitudes toward dogs do not always comply with formal dogma."
2. *Birds*: The present corpus alludes to all kinds of birds, sometimes of specific species and sometimes just called "a bird." They appear in a great variety of roles: helper, advisor, messenger, narrator, and oracle (see tale no. 7, "*qāmr z-zāmān u ḥāyāt n-nūfūs* / Qāmr z-Zāmān and Ḥāyāt n-Nūfūs," and tale no. 2, "*ʿt-ṯāžār māḥmūd* / Māḥmūd the Rich Man"). The most frequently mentioned types of birds include eagles, which appear in tale no. 7, "*qāmr z-zāmān u ḥāyāt n-nūfūs* / Qāmr z-Zāmān and Ḥāyāt n-Nūfūs," and doves, the latter always a metamorphosed woman – a common motif in Maghrebin folktales: see tale no. 17, "*ʿāyša ʾmāda* / ʿĀyša Cinderella." In Muslim and Semitic traditions in general, the peaceful, home-seeking nature of the dove is attributed to Noah's blessing on it.¹⁹⁷

196 El-Shamy (1999), 95–101 (esp. 96), the Egyptian tale no. 7, "Fuṭmah and the Pickled Fish Head" and its variants no. 7–1 and no. 7–2 on pages 101–106. On the place of this animal in Islam, and the ambiguity of its role in Muslim culture, see Chebel (1995), 96–97.

197 See El-Shamy (1980), 276, and idem (1995), 52–53, 144 under "*Bird*" and "*Dove*" for general meanings of these motifs in folk traditions of the Arab World.

3. *Lion*: In North African stories, as is almost universally true, this animal symbolizes royalty.¹⁹⁸ When this animal is domesticated, as in tale no. 17, “*Ġāyša ʔmāda* / *ĠĀyša Cinderella*,” it is the protector of the household and of the Sultan’s wife. However, as Laoust remarked, in some Berber folktales a lion is identified with the “ogre”¹⁹⁹ – though this is not seen in any tales of the present collection.
4. *Cat*: Cats often are metamorphosed female jinniya. A cat appears as such once in the present corpus: tale no. 16, “*kūnna b-səbʕ bnāṯ* [*f-mṣṣyyəḡ nləʕbu*] / The Seven Sisters [Playing in a Swamp].” In other Maghrebin folktales, the cat is often described as “chat sauvage.”²⁰⁰
5. *Fish*: The fish is a propitious sign, one with prophylactic properties. Chants evoke fish in formulas designed to ward off evil.²⁰¹ In the present corpus, fish announce the apparition of a benevolent jinn who will help the innocent protagonist, *ĠĀyša Cinderella*, overcome the evil designs and the cruelty of her stepmother and her daughter: see tale no. 17, “*Ġāyša ʔmāda* / *ĠĀyša Cinderella*.”

11 Formulas in the Tales

The use of opening and closing formulas emphasizes the space-time fabric of the narrative, which is different from that of daily life. The ritualization of narrative, such as the use of formulae and the prohibitions about the times of day when tales can told, expresses the passage from one type of space-time into another. These formulae of entry and exit are used with propitiatory or prophylactic intention. Since the taleteller intends to enter an invisible and unknown space, the narration is a magic ceremony. Many of the narrations are derived from religious stories or evoke a partly transcendental world, full of semi-divine and demoniacal characters, in which it is tacitly assumed that both narrator and audience believe. Introductory magical formulae are uttered to safeguard the celebrant and the participants from interference in their lives, and from attack or revenge, by elements of the “beyond.” The breach of

198 Zennaki in Leguil (2000), 269.

199 Laoust (1947), 257.

200 See Marçais (1953), 377; Lacoste-Dujardin (2010), 60; Doutté (1994), 52; Laoust (1949), vol. I, 83–88, vol. II, 125–133 (esp. 126) in tale no. CXIV, “Les deux orphelins et l’ogresse,” and idem (1949), vol. I, 130–132, vol. II, 225–228 (esp. 225, 229–230, n. 4) in tale CXVI, “Aventures de deux orphelins.”

201 See Marçais (1953), 377; El Fasi and Dermenghem (1975), 136–137.

the norms could entail severe punishment, particularly for the narrator, and sometimes for the audience. The narrative “beyond” is sometimes paralleled with demoniac possession. Despite the comments above, the prophylactic formulae do not always occur and are not systematically used in the present narrations.²⁰²

The narrators of the present collection of stories employed different opening and closing formulas:

Lälla l-Ḥusniyya began four of her stories with *sālṭəç kân wāḥ / kânəθ wāḥd* ... “I ask you to consider the case of ...”:²⁰³ tale no. 16, “*kūnna b-səbḥ bnāθ [f-mḥyāğ nləḥbu] / The Seven Sisters [Playing in a Swamp]*”; tale no. 17, “*ḡāyša ʔmāda / ḡĀyša Cinderella*”; tale no. 18, “*zbīḥsa / Zbīḥsa*”; and tale no. 24, “*bḥīğəθ zḡyān / Bḥīğəθ Zīyān*.” She began five of her stories simply by the verb *kān*: *kāəθ wāḥ l-mka* ... “There was a woman ...,” tale no. 19, “*l-mka u kbīḥsa / The Woman and Her Stepdaughter*”; *kānu šāy d-əl-bnāθ* ... “Some girls were ...,” tale no. 20, “*bīnt s-sūltān / The Sultan’s Daughter*”; *kānu ši d-əl-bnāθ* ... “Some girls were ...,” tale no. 21, “*t-tāyḥ l-mḥāddəθ / The Talking Bird*”; *kānəθ dīç l-mka* ... “Once upon a time there was a woman ...,” tale no. 22, “*lälla ḡāyša l-māğmūwa s-sākna f-əl-mātmūwa / [The Undefeatable] Lady ḡĀyša*”; and *kānəθ l-mka* “Once upon a time a woman ...,” tale no. 23, “*əl-ḡūsa d-dāwāza / The Weaver Bride*.”

She closed three of her narratives by the formula *ka kân ḡāndi l-məftāḥ ka ḡāššīəək əṭ-ṭəffāḥ* ... “If I had the keys I would give you apples for dinner”: tales no. 17, “*ḡāyša ʔmāda / ḡĀyša Cinderella*,” no. 19, “*l-mka u kbīḥsa / The woman and her stepdaughter*,” and no. 22, “*lälla ḡāyša l-māğmūwa s-sākna f-əl-mātmūwa / [The Undefeatable] Lady ḡĀyša*.” It is similar to the closing formula mentioned by Légy,²⁰⁴ “Il est sorti un panier de pommes du paradis, que chacun m’en donne une”, and to the Iraqi formula, *wa-hādhī hi[ya] el-ḥichāyah, wa-laww baytanā qarīb l-jibt-ilkum ḥiml zabīb* “This is the tale, and had our house been near by, I would have gotten you a load of raisins.”²⁰⁵

However, Mūlāy Ḥməd’s stories avoided both opening and closing formulas. In only two instances did he use an opening formula: *wāḥ l-ḡinsān kân ḡāndu* ...

202 These formulas are used in all varieties of folktales: see Gil Grimau and Ibn Azzuz (1988), 63–72, 82; Thay Thay Rhozali (2000a), 20–26. On Kabylia folktales see Dermenghem (1945), 205–214; Merolla (1994), 2084; Lafkioui and Merolla in Boughaba Maleem (2007), VII; Lacoste-Dujardin (2010), 15. Compare the comments about the opening and closing formulas in Western folktales, specifically French folktales, by Sautman (1990), 133–134, 142–143.

203 For a semantic and philological commentary on this opening formula see n. 2, p. 323.

204 Légy (1926), 3.

205 See tale no. 35, “The Maternal-Aunt,” in El-Shamy (1999), 279–285, 398 n. 694.

“There was a man who ...” in tale no. 1, “*r-rūmmāna [hǧyya sbāb kull ši]* / [It all Started with a] Pomegranate”; and *hāda wāḥ s-sūltān. s-sūltān d-wāḥd l-l-ḡārd -kayəḥkīw slīh* “Once upon a time there was a sultan ...,” in tale no. 5, “*hārūn r-rāšid [u ṭlāṣa d-əl-ūzāra dyālu]* / Hārūn ar-Rāšid [and his Three Viziers].” He used a closing formula only in tale no. 4, “*lāqrāṣ bən l-fqi ṯflāṭu* / The Bald Son of *l-fqi ṯflāṭu*”: *u ṭəmma xāllīnāhəm u žīna f-hānna*, “There we leave them and return to our way.” In one tale, no. 7, “*qāmr z-zāmān u ḥāyāt n-nūfūs* / Qāmr z-Zāmān and Ḥāyāt n-Nūfūs,” which the narrator claimed to be based on written sources, he ended with *u šādd l-kṭāb dyālu* “He closed his book.”

The Cultural Setting of the Stories

1 Saint Veneration in Chaouen

Chaouen is known as the Sacred and Mysterious, a city of Saints and *Šūrfa* because of its great number of shrines and its historically deeply-rooted traditions of mysticism (see text no. 14, “*sīdi ḥmād l-wāfi* / [A Poem to] Sīdi Ḥmād l-Wāfi,” and text no. 15, “*qšīda d-mūḥāmmād š-šrif l-ḡālāmi* / Mūḥāmmād š-Šrif l-ḡālāmi’s Poem recited by Mūlāy Ḥmād;” and text 29, “*mūlāy ḡābd əs-slām* / Mūlāy ḡĀbd əs-Slām” by Lālla l-Ḥusniyya). The orientalist Mouliéras¹ stated that in Chaouen “chaque quartier a son mausolée, auprès duquel s’élève une zaouiya où grouillent des étudiants, des voyageurs, des vagabonds, des mendiants, des affiliés aux Ordres religieux de l’Islam.” Mouliéras² continued by mentioning some of the mausoleums and mosques, such as the mosque of Sīdi Bou-Khencha, saying, “ce santon ami des écoliers, tolère dans son sanctuaire les chants, la musique et les ébats des étudiants,” which refers to CA *dkīr*, ChA *dkīr* (see n. 235, p. 385).

The conviction in the power of saints of local or national importance, and their ability to mediate between God and man, is strong in Morocco. Saints can help one in all manner of difficult situations, including infertility, childbirth, illness, exams, travel, and so on. Certain saints tend to be associated with specific functions in which they are believed to be particularly efficacious. In Chaouen there are different categories of saints, from the most venerated patron saint of the city, Mūlāy ʿli B. r-Rāšīd (see below), to district saints like Mūlāy ʿli š-Šaqqūr,³ and down to the local holy man whose name is almost forgotten. Between these extremes is the *sayyīd* Sīdi Ḥmād l-Wāfi, whose tomb is marked by a qubba (a chapel surmounted by a dome) and surrounded by a circular wall. This humble saint was of Andalusian origin. His epithet, *l-Wāfi* “the tall, well-built,” refers to his sanctity because his actual family name was *əṣ-Šḡiyyar*, which literally means “of short stature.” (See religious lyric no. 14, “*sīdi ḥmād l-wāfi* / [A Poem to] Sīdi Ḥmād l-Wāfi,” from the male narrator’s ʿĪsāwa corpus). There is even an obsolete domestic mysterious saint known as Sīdi Bu-Nūr located in the house of dār ʿAlāl in the Sawīqa neighborhood. The

1 Mouliéras (1899), 127–128.

2 Mouliéras (1899), 128, 130, 131.

3 See the curious testimony of Mouliéras (1899), 131–136 under “Ali Chak’our, Saint d’Ech-Chaouen, actuellement vivant.”

cult of saints is highly developed in Morocco and undoubtedly was so even before the introduction of Islam, which found itself obliged to tolerate it.⁴

One of the most splendid among all the shrines of Chaouen is that of Mūlāy ʿĪli B. r-Rāšid (= al-Šarīf ʿAbu l-Ḥasan ʿĀli Ben Mūsa Ben Rāšid 1471–1511).⁵ (See the poem 15, “*qṣīda d-mūḥāmmād š-šrif l-ʿĀlāmi* / Mūḥāmmād š-Šrif l-ʿĀlāmi’s Poem” the composition of which the man narrator attributed to Mūḥāmmād š-Šrif l-ʿĀlāmi). He was the founder of the Ben Rāšid Emirate, and of Chaouen in 1471. Despite his formidable personality and his historical importance, documents about him are scarce. He is famous for his political craft and his war-like temperament, which in his youth induced him to cross the Strait of Gibraltar to Spain, where he fought alongside the Granadians among Andalusian villages. He was trained in combat, and later used his skills for his native land against the Portuguese. Between 1480–1485 he built *dār l-ḥukūma* or *dār l-ʿimāra* (= Kasaba / a strong castle), and other important official buildings and towers. He married a Spanish woman, named Lālla z-Zahrāʾ, who was from Veger de la Frontera and had converted to Islam. She would become the mother of the two most important individuals in the history of Chaouen and North Morocco: the famous Emir, Mūlāy ʿIbrāhim ʿĀli Ben Mūsa Ben Rāšid,⁶ and the powerful princess and governor of Tetuan, as-Sayyida l-Ḥurra.⁷ The shrines of both Sīdi Ḥmād l-Wāfi and Mūlāy ʿĪli B. r-Rāšid are located outside the walls of the old city of Chaouen. Hoenerbach and Kolenda⁸ wrote that seven out of the twenty-six shrines actually in the town can be found in the Swīqa quarter alone, which leads to Ūṭa-l-Ḥāmmām Square, where the fāndūq, mādrasa, and Great Mosque are located and a large number of pilgrims used to congregate. But today piety and places of pilgrimage have faded under the pressure of everyday commercial life. Hoenerbach and Kolenda⁹ mention not less than fourteen *zawāya*: “Stadtviertel ʿonṣar: (1) Zāwiya ʿaisawīya – Stadtviertel Andalus: (2) Zāwiya ʿaisawīya, (3) zāwiya ʿalawīya, (4)

4 See Lévi-Provençal and Colin (1986), 1200; Cornell (1998).

5 On ʿAbu l-Ḥasan ʿĀli Ben Mūsa Ben Rāšid and his shrine see Mouliéras (1899), 130; Colin (1934), 273–274; Yebbur (1953); Hoenerbach and Kolenda (1973), 6–8, 32, 34; al-ʿĀfya (1982), 68–70, 83–84, n. 127, 86–94, 276; Ibn Azzuz (1998). For a narrative of a pilgrimage to this Saint by a woman named Fātima see Moscoso, DACH, 224–226: unfortunately this text is inaccurate.

6 See Ricard (1941), 299–316; Hoenerbach and Kolenda (1973), 8–9; al-ʿĀfya (1982), 95–112.

7 See Hoenerbach and Kolenda (1973), 10–12; al-ʿĀfya (1982), 121–139; idem (1989); Ibn Azzuz (1983).

8 Hoenerbach and Kolenda (1975), 119–120.

9 For an enumeration of the *zawāya* of Chaouen see Hoenerbach and Kolenda (1973), 15–16, 35–36 and (1975), 119, n. 29.

Aḥmed b. en-Nāšir, (5) zāwiya derqawīya řāġibiya – Stadtviertel Ḥarrāzīn: (6) Zāwiya derqawīya el-řArbī, (7) Zāwiya řaisawīya, (8) Tuhāmi, (9) Aḥmed et-Tiġāni – Stadtviertel Swēqa: (10) El-Ḥāġġ eš-Šerīf, (11) řAlī řeqūr, (12) řAbdelqādir, (13) Aḥmed el-Buhālī, (14) Belahsen.” Some of these *zawāya* still stand, though several are unused and others appear under a different name: řOnřar Neighborhood: (1) Zāwiya řisāwīyya (closed; to be restored); (2) zāwiya l-msīd (only for men; still open). – řAndalus Neighborhood / řŪřa l-Ḥāmmām: (3) zāwiya dərqāwīyya řāġibiyya (only for men; still open); (4) Sīdi b. ən-Nāřer (closed); (5) Sīdi Māhdī (only for men; still open); (6) Zāwiya Sīdi bən řīsa (only for men); (7) Sīdi l-Būhālī. – Ḥarrāzīn and l-Hāwta Neighborhood / Street Mūlāy řli Bən Rāřīd Neighborhood: (8) zāwiya řālāwīyya (for women only; still open); (9) Sīdi Ḥmād ət-Tiġāni (for men only; still open); (10) Zāwiya řisāwīyya (for men only; still open); (11) Sīdi Tūhāmi (for men only; still open); (12) Zāwiya dərqāwīyya: Mūlāy l-řArbi d-Dərqāwi (for men and women; still open); – Swīqa Neighborhood: (13) zāwiya r-Rāysūniyya (formerly a zāwiya, today a mosque); (14) El-Ḥāġġ əš-Šerīf has been merged into Mūlāy řAlī řāqūr (for men and women; still open); (15) řAbd-əl-qāder aw al-Qādirīyya (only for men; still open).¹⁰

Despite its distance from the city of Chaouen itself, the town’s holy of holies is Mūlāy řAbd as-Slām B. Mřīř l-Ḥasani (also pronounced in Chaouen “řĀbd əs-Slām and řĀb s-Slām”), which is on the top of řbəl řLam. Mūlāy řAbd as-Slām is one of the most famous and important *qutb*, “poles,” of northern Morocco in particular, and the father of Sufism in North Africa in general. (A song referring to him is told by the present collection’s woman narrator: see 29, “*mūlāy řābd əs-slām / Mūlāy řĀbd əs-Slām*). He is still regarded as “the pole” of the West, as řAbd al-Qādir al-řilāni was regarded as “the pole” of the East. Most scholars (for bibliographical references see below nn. 12–14) consider him the disciple of řAbu Medyān řuřaib. However, recently Cornell¹¹ suggested that “most accounts maintain that řAbd as-Slām was the disciple of a fellow Moroccan sharif known as řAbd ar-Raḥmān al-řAřřar al-Madani, a spice merchant from the city of Sabta.” řAbd ar-Raḥmān al-Madani has often been incorrectly identified as řAbu Medyān, who was actually separated from Ibn Mřīř by two generations. However, everyone agrees that Mūlāy řAbd as-Slām was the preceptor of one of the most famous Muslim Sufis, řAbu l-Ḥasan al-řādīli, his only disciple, and the founder of the řādīliyya Sufi order. řAbd

10 My thanks and gratitude goes to Anas Naya for his list of Chaouen’s *zawāyas* and his information about them.

11 Cornell (1998), 148, 329–330 n. 122.

as-Slām is said to have been born in Žbəl ʿLam, into the tribe of the Bni ʿRūs. Mūlāy ʿAbd as-Slām B. Mšīš's birth and life are largely legendary¹² due to the lack of documentation. He is said to have gone to the East at the age of sixteen in pursuit of learning, and to have later returned to his place of birth, where he lived an ascetic life in his mountain hermitage. There is consensus about the circumstances and the date of his death, which was reported by much later authors to have been 625/1227–1228 at the hand of the assassin al-Kutāmi from Qašr Kutāma, who had rebelled against the decaying Almohad power and was attempting to pass himself off as a prophet, and who assassinated the saint because the latter's prestige was an obstacle to his ambitions. Each year after *al-mawlid n-nabawi*, a pilgrimage leaves Chaouen for a three-day visit to his tomb. Ghazwāni played a role in popularizing the cult of Mūlāy ʿAbd as-Slām B. Mšīš and institutionalizing the pilgrimage that now culminates in the yearly *mawsim* (festival of the saint) on the fifteenth day of the Islamic month of *Šaʿbān*.¹³ Only one text by Mūlāy ʿAbd as-Slām B. Mšīš survives, the famous prayer on the Prophet, which is recited in all the brotherhoods of Šādīli filiation, and which is a summary of the Sufi doctrine of Universal Man (*al-ʿinsān al-kāmil*).¹⁴

2 Chaouen and Its Countryside

As tale no. 1, “*r-rūmmāna [hḥyya sbāb küll šī]* / [It all Started with a] Pomegranate,” and tale no. 2, “*ʿt-ʿtāžār māḥmūd* / Māḥmūd the Rich Man,” suggests, water has always played a major role in the history and topography of Chaouen.¹⁵ The town's location in the country and its good and abundant water make it

12 For legends concerning the birth and life of this saint in particular, and of *Šūrfa* l-ʿAlamī-yūn in general, and a survey of early descriptions of the pilgrimage to his tomb see Mouliéras (1899), 159–179; Marçais (1911), 134, n. 10; Michaux-Bellaire (1911), 63, 99–103, 502–508; Doutté (1913), 68; Colin (1934), 273; Hoenerbach and Kolenda (1973), 4, 33; idem (1975), 120, n. 30, 149; Lévi-Provençal and Colin (1986), 1201; Lévi-Provençal [Ch, De La Véronne] (1997), 507–508; al-ʿĀfyā (1982), 83–84, 193–201, 241, 284–285; Cornell (1998), 148, 202–203, 245–246, 329–330, 343, 350. For a testimony and description of the pilgrimage in MA see Colin (1939), 226–230. For more bibliographical references see Le Tourneau (1979), 91.

13 Le Tourneau (1979), 91; al-ʿĀfyā (1982), 284–285; Cornell (1998), 245–246 and the corresponding footnotes on p. 350 about the institutionalization of the pilgrimage.

14 See the translation of this prayer, followed by a commentary on all its difficult passages, by Burckhardt (1978), 68–75.

15 Hoenerbach and Kolenda (1973), 31, 38–39; idem (1975), 109, n. 4, 124–125, 127.

an urban garden in an idyllic rural setting. In Chaouen, as in Granada, spring water from the mountains flows through, and thus connects, both the town and the country. There is also a close link between springs and the town's fortifications, especially its gates: in the event of seige, water must be accessible. This link is implicit in the name *bāb d-əl-ŷāyn*, "Spring Gate," because the term *bāb* means "foundation gate," implying that this was one of the original city gates: clearly it was placed where it was because of the spring. Moreover, in Chaouen, as in other Moroccan areas, there was a strong belief in the magical power of water (see tale no. 5, "*hārūn r-rāšīd [u ṭlāḡa d-əl-ūzāra dyālu] / Hārūn ar-Rāšīd [and his Three Viziers]*") – hence the cults surrounding springs. Thus Chaouenite women in search of fertility visit a spring known as ŷāyn Sidi Ḥamza three kilometers from the town. The abundance of water makes Chaouen an orchard.

3 The Gardens of Chaouen

Orchards, gardens, and yards are mentioned frequently in Mūlāy Ḥmād's narratives: tale no. 1, "*r-rūmmāna [ḥỵya sbāb ḳull šī] / [It all Started with a] Pomegranate,*" and tale no. 4, "*lāqrāṣ bən l-fqi ȳlātu / The Bald Son of l-fqi Īlātu,*" and tale no. 5, "*hārūn r-rāšīd [u ṭlāḡa d-əl-ūzāra dyālu] / Hārūn ar-Rāšīd [and his Three Viziers].*" As these stories imply, both inside and outside the city green spaces were plentiful. De Foucauld (1883–1884) one of the first European explorers to visit Chaouen (and disguised himself as a Jew), particularly admired its gardens, of which he wrote, "... de superbes jardins qui, s'étendant sur le flanc de la montagne, ouvrent un espace immense; les fruits qu'ils produisent, leurs raisins surtout, sont célèbres dans tout le nord du Maroc. Chechaouen [= Chaouen-AR] est renommée aussi pour l'excellence de son eau." While on his way out of the city he observed, "Je ne me lasse pas d'admirer cette merveilleuse quantité d'eau courante qu'on rencontre le long de la route: si ce n'est dans les hautes vallées de la Suisse, je n'ai vu nulle part un aussi grand nombre de sources, de ruisseaux, grands et petits, tous pleins d'eau douce et limpide."¹⁶ The later visitor to Chaouen, Harris,¹⁷ comments, "The place contains acres of gardens in which much fruit is grown. It is justly celebrated for the quality and quantity of the fruit, and the pears I ate there were finer than any I have tasted in the country. No doubt the elevation tends

16 De Foucauld (1998), 9.

17 Harris (1889), 21; see also Harris (1888), 790.

towards this, and the constant supply of water.” Even the orientalist Mouliéras wrote, “... les délicieux jardins de la banlieue d’Ech-Chaouen”¹⁸ Unfortunately, nowadays such spaces are vanishing.

Like any other Mediterranean city, the gardens and orchards of Chaouen had olive trees, vines, fig trees, and pomegranates, as tale no. 1, “*r-rūmmāna* [*ḥỵya sbāb kūll ṣ̌i*] / [It all Started with a] Pomegranate,” indicates. The pomegranate (*Punica Granatum*) is an ancient Semitic symbol of fertility adopted by the Berber-Arab culture in particular and the Islamic World in general. There is a large number of references to the cultivation of this fruit in Chaouen and its surroundings. De Foucauld, when describing one of the landscapes between Tetuan and Chaouen, commented, “... le sentier, bordé d’égantiers en fleurs, ne sort plus des vergers; nous cheminons à l’ombre des grenadiers, des figuiers, des pêchers et de la vigne, dont les rameaux couvrent les arbres: les ruisseaux sont si nombreux que l’on marche presque constamment dans l’eau.”¹⁹ Michaux-Bellaire²⁰ records six different kinds of pomegranate in the *Žbāla* area, and states that, “La culture des grenadiers est moins répandue que celle des oliviers, des figuiers et de la vignes. Il arrive souvent que les grenadiers occupent une partie d’un jardin de figuiers.” Colin²¹ cited a curious story recorded by Ibn Ḥātima of Almería based on the work of Hišām of Ceuta on the reason for the first cultivation of a particular variety of pomegranate brought from Šām named *safari*,²² which is still known in Chaouen as *safri*. Recently, al-Ĥāfyā²³ mentioned this fruit as common in Chaouen and surrounding rural areas like Ġārūzəm.

The pomegranate has a range of meanings in Berber and Arab folklore. In tale no. 1 here, “*r-rūmmāna* [*ḥỵya sbāb kūll ṣ̌i*] / [It all Started with a] Pomegranate,” it symbolises women. It occurs as a convenient merchandise in one of the tales collected by El Koudia and Allen,²⁴ “Nunja and the White Dove” (tale no. 16), in which this fruit has magical connotations. In one Egyptian tale, El-Shamy tale no. 13, “Pomegranate Kernels on Gold Trays,” the pomegranate is identified with gold and its kernels with pearls.²⁵

18 Mouliéras (1899), 145.

19 De Foucauld (1998), 6.

20 Michaux-Bellaire (1911), 207–208.

21 Colin (1931), 27–28, n. 1.

22 See also Dozy, (1927), vol. I, 559 (courtesy Prof. Corriente).

23 Al-Ĥāfyā (1982), 73.

24 El Koudia and Allen (2003), 100–103 (esp. 101).

25 El-Shamy (1999), 143–151, 375 n. 273. For more on the symbolic use of this fruit in oral folklore see El Fasi and Dremenghem, (1975), 152–153; Laoust (1949), vol. II, 212, n. 6;

Another frequent folktale subject is hashish. One of the main characters in Mūlāy Ḥmād's story tale no. 4, "*lāqrāf bən l-fqi iflātu* / The Bald Son of *l-fqi Iflātu*," is stated to be a consumer of *hashish* / *cannabis* / *Cannabis indica*. Another word used during the narrator's time was *maʿšūn*,²⁶ which is not smoked like *ħšiš*, but eaten.²⁷ Mouliéras²⁸ comments that *kif* was cultivated exclusively in Ktama. Unfortunately, beginning around 1980 all the rural area around Chaouen and beyond was given permission to cultivate this substance, which Mouliéras accurately described as "cette herbe presque aussi néfaste que l'opium." Both *kif* and *ħšiš*, and their consumers, are frequent folktale subjects.²⁹

4 Domestic Architecture in Chaouen

Tale no. 5, "*hārūn r-rāšid* [*u ʔlāṯa d-əl-ūzāra dyālu*] / Hārūn ar-Rāšid [and his Three Viziers]" contains a description of the type of house typically found in Chaouen, which consists of two floors, a tile roof, and a yard in the centre. Thus the ground and upper floors form a complex arranged around what is in effect a central court. Another type of house has a yard or detached cooking area or stores at the rear: this called a 'false patio' because the house does not surround the garden as is the case in the real patio of the classic courtyard house. The 'false patio house' is built in areas with sufficient space. The stones for walls as well as the tiles for the roof originate from Chaouen itself. The plaster contains loam or a mixture of soil with lime, but lacks sand. Traditionally the houses of Chaouen were characterized by their suitability to the climate and to the available building material. Complicated gable and truss roofing,

Westermarck (1968a), 107–108, 434; and Chebel (1995), 186–187. For its various motifs and meanings see El-Shamy (1995), 388, under "*Pomegranate*."

26 Chakir (2010), 50, n. 2.

27 For a detailed definition of these two terms see DAF, III, 125. For a detailed discussion of the different types of tabac or *kif* and *Cannabis indica* see Marçais (1911), 185, n. 2, 186; and for the different ways of their preparation see Marchand (1905), 452–455 and Brunot (1931), 56–59, 161–163. A description of *ṭāba*, *kif*, *maʿšūn*, and *ħšiš* in the vernacular was provided by Colin (1939), 244–248.

28 Mouliéras (1899), 96, 97.

29 See from northern Morocco Gil Grimau and Ibn Azzuz (1988), 143–144, and 171–172, tale no. 72, "Dos hashayshiya," and tale no. 112, "Las ventajas del kif." Also see the Kabylean tales from Alger, "Le Hachaichi qui devient sultan" and "L'histoire du sultan et des trois Hachaichis" in Dermenghem (1945), 37–43 and 101–103.

desirable because of the harsh winters, was possible because of timber from the mountains.³⁰

In the same tale mentioned above, the protagonist uses tiles as one of the elements in the preparation of her magic. Tiles were used to roof every house in Chaouen because they offer much better protection from the rain and harsh weather in winter than primitive roofs made of dried thatch and clay. The shape and color of the roof tiles of Chaouen resemble those used in Spain, especially at Granada. The tubular roof tiles turn Chaouen into a “Stadt im Charakter ihrer (der Andalus-Araber) Heimat.” The gabled roofs conform to the old shape of the houses, a shape still found in Granada today.³¹ Harris, after his visit to the city, wrote, “The houses are different from those of any other city in the country, as they do not possess the general flat roof, but are gabled and tiled with red tiles, which gives the place more the appearance of a Spanish than a Moorish town.”³² Colin noted that, “Fast alle Häuser haben mit Ziegeln gedeckte Giebeldächer; denn der Winter bringt starke Schneefälle.”³³

Lime is used in Chaouen for whitewashing the interior and exterior walls of houses (see tale no. 19, “*l-mba u zbiṣa* / The Woman and her Stepdaughter”). This is a common practice throughout the Mediterranean.

5 Hammams and Hammam Culture³⁴

The hammams are considered one of the women’s spaces *par excellence*. Tale no. 18, “*zbiṣa* / *Zbiṣa*,” mentions the bathing ritual of the bride at the hammam. In Chaouen the wedding of the bride is preceded by a day at the hammam:

30 On this see de Sierra (1960), 33–34, with pictures on pp. 79–80; and Hoenerbach and Kolenda (1973), 32–33 and (1975), 128–136 (esp. 135–136), 144. Hoenerbach and Kolenda (1973), 32–33 based in Lasquetti give a list of some “alter Familien und ihrer Häuser.” See the description of one house by the early visitor to Chaouen, Harris (1889), 20–21. For a detailed description of this type of house, including an architectural plan, see Rackow (1958), 2–4, Tafel IV.

31 See Hoenerbach and Kolenda (1973), 19 and idem (1975), 136, n. 69, 145, 150, 152.

32 Harris (1888), 789–790 and idem (1889), 20–21.

33 Colin (1934), 273. For more see de Sierra (1960), 33–34, and al-Ġāfiya (1982), 280.

34 For a detailed and accurate description of the public baths in Tetuan, which would apply to Chaouen as well, see Rackow (1958), 5, 7; and in Rabat Brunot (1931), 58–61, 164–166. Hoenerbach and Kolenda (1975), 120, 121 mentioned only four hammams in Chaouen, which still exist today. For a general description of public baths see Colin (1939), 190–194. On the symbolism of these facilities, which sometimes are the dwelling-places of jinn, see the commentary on jinns above.

all the women of the family or close to the family gather on that day to take the bride to the hammam, at the groom's expense. The bride wears a beautiful white *hāyāk*. Normally, women come to the public bath during the establishment's daytime women's hours, bringing oranges for refreshment and often their children, and stay for a long period. They relax and socialize among themselves without fear of interference or interruption. This is one of the few social situations in which segregation of men and women creates a positive feeling of uninhibited freedom.³⁵

6 The Public Oven

In Chaouen each neighborhood had its own public oven. The woman's task at the beginning of each day was to bake the bread. During the morning, a *ṭāḥḥāh* / *ṭārrāh*, "the apprentice baker"³⁶ (see tale no. 24, "*bḥīgəθ zīyyān* / *Bḥīgəθ Zīyyān*"), would call at every house for bread to take to the oven. As a tip he would receive *ḥūḥṣa* / *qūrṣa*, a small loaf of bread. The following Moroccan proverb from de Prémare³⁷ shows the cultural importance of the public oven: *lferrān sbəq əj-jāmāf* "Before the mosque the oven/ First the oven and then the mosque." The Moroccan vernacular term for "bread" is *xūbz*³⁸ (see tale no. 1, "*r-rūmmāna* [*hūyya sbāb küll ši*] / [It all Started with a] Pomegranate"; tale no. 6, "[*ḡāḥfār l-bārnāki*] u [*l-māḥsāda li žāwžṭha*] / [*Ḡāḥfār l-Bārnāki* and]

35 See for example Dwyer (1978), 16.

36 De Prémare, DAF, VIII, 277 provides an excellent and detailed explanation of the term *ṭāḥḥāh* / *ṭārrāh*: "mitron, qui circule dans les rues et porte au four le pain des particuliers (*garçon du fournier*) [Co, Br, Mar, Mer]; ... le mitron était généralement un enfant sale et mal habillé, pieds nus, une rondelle sur la tête, la tête et les bras chargés de planches à pain; il passait la journée à circuler dans les ruelles en criant: *ḥūn! ḥūn!* [AR – in Chaouen *l-xūbz! l-xūbz!*]; sous son bras gauche, une sacoche contenait les quarts de pain – *kəsrā*-[AR: Chaouen *t-ṭar/wf/tr/wūyyif*, and small loaf of bread *-qūr/ḥṣa*]-que les maîtresses de maison leur donnaient [Kab]." For some expressions and proverbs using this term, see the full discussion of it by de Prémare in the bibliographical reference mentioned above. For a detailed description of this obsolete profession and its cultural implications in Tangiers see Marçais (1911), 26–38, 144–151; and for Rabat see Brunot (1931), 62, 63, 168. Both descriptions are applicable to Chaouen.

37 DAF, X, 93.

38 For a vernacular version of a recipe for bread see Colin (1939), 186. For more on the word *xūbz* and its symbolic meanings in Moroccan culture in general, its different types, and its detailed semantic definition, see Abu-Shams (2002), 102–103. For a jumbled and less accurate recipe of bread preparation in Chaouen see Moscoso, DACH, 246.

the Woman who Envy her Husband”). Bread is the food *par excellence* in the Moroccan diet and loaded with symbolic meaning: bread is sworn upon;³⁹ to share bread is to share trust, mutual confidence, and the road of life; an alliance or a business association used to be sealed with bread; pilgrims are welcomed back from Mecca with bread covered with pure butter and honey; an alms of bread is the most excellent of pious works. No food can be conceived without it, except, of course, *kəsksu*. Along with a hammam, a public oven is found in each neighborhood. Hoenerbach and Kolenda⁴⁰ mentioned sixteen traditional public ovens in Chaouen. As far as I could determine, today twelve survive.⁴¹

7 The Engagement Ceremony

As tale no. 1, “*r-rūmmāna* [*ḥỵya sbāb ḳūll ṣ̌i*] / [It all Started with a] Pomegranate” shows, the marriage contract is concluded through words alone. In normal circumstances there is an initial marriage petition consisting of the groom’s offer and the bride’s father’s (or male guardian’s) acceptance. The actual marriage formula is *žəwwəžtəç / ṛ̌īðəç bənti ṛ̌la sunnat llāh wa rasūlih*: “I married / I offered you my daughter according to God’s and the Prophet’s Sunna.” The marriage is considered legal and binding with the simple act of the utterance of this formula. This shows the power of the word in Moroccan culture. In tale no. 1 the acceptance of the rich man is by itself sufficient to make the marriage promise binding, and all occurs without the presence of the future bride. When the woman is present during this ceremony, she is usually silent.⁴²

39 Westermarck (1968a), 504.

40 Hoenerbach and Kolenda (1975), 120, 137.

41 Marçais (1911), 2–39, 127–151 provided an amazing narrative text on *l-fāwān*, “the public oven,” in Tangiers, and his comments were applicable to Chaouen as well. First he spoke of the symbolic meaning of the Moroccan tradition of preparing different types of bread at home. Then he enumerated the public ovens in Tangiers and their locations, describing the typical architecture of the public oven, its function, and the task and the routine of its workers, the *l-mřälləm* “patron fourmier” and the *řāvāh* “apprentice baker,” and their social position. Rackow (1958), 3, n. 1 provides rich data on Tetuan *řārən* “public ovens.”

42 For more on the marriage ritual see Sadiqi (2003), 55–58. For its contextual occurrence in other Moroccan tales in a parallel context see for example El Kouidia and Allen (2003), 42–52 (esp. 50), tale no. 8, “Father and Daughters.”

8 The Birth Celebration

This istale no. 2, “*ṭ-ṭāžžār māḥmūd* / Māḥmūd the Rich Man.” The original term here is *s-sābāʿ*, the family’s celebration of a birth, which takes place on the seventh day (hence the name of the celebration). In Chaouen, as in any many other areas, this celebration is marked by the slaughter of a lamb while certain Islamic religious formulae are uttered. This ritual is reserved for the men, and takes place in the early morning hours.⁴³ It is followed by other celebrations exclusively for the women. In Chaouen during the same morning a more intimate celebration takes place: the midwife, surrounded with the family’s children, who hold white candles, bathes the baby in an ornate vessel, in the bottom of which are placed a silver bracelet, a hard-boiled egg,⁴⁴ and a few sprigs of mint. When the candles are lit, the midwife begins bathing the baby. Then she dresses the infant in his/her most beautiful clothes. This ritual is a survival from paganism and completely foreign to orthodox Islam. During the same day the siblings are gathered for a mid-day meal. In the afternoon another celebration exclusively for women is held. In some places this day is marked by the henna ceremony.⁴⁵

9 Henna

Henna appears frequently in the woman’s stories, as in tale no. 17, “*ṣāyša ʾmāda* / Ṣāyša Cinderella,” and tale no. 18, “*zbiṣa* / Zbiṣa.” The henna plant (*Lawsonia alba* / *inermis*), *CA ḥinnāʿ*, produces a dye which gives a reddish-orange color of varying intensity. It was known and used in ancient Egypt, and later by the Hebrews, and subsequently by the Muslims, who call it *nūr n-nbi* “the light of the Prophet.”⁴⁶ The Bedouin even had a constellation called “The *Ḥenna*-Stained Hand.”⁴⁷ Women dye their hair with it as well as apply it to the palms and backs of their hands and the soles of their feet in different patterns and

43 On the same custom in Fes and Tangiers see Westermarck (1968b), 379, 387.

44 Westermarck (1968a), 581 comments that “Eggs are used in childbirth rites, owing to the ease with which a hen lays her eggs.” See also Westermarck (1968b), 370–371.

45 See Vonderheyden (1934), 51–52. For a brief and unreliable description of this ceremony see Moscoso, DACH, 247. On this ritual in some rural areas of Habt and Morocco in general see Michaux-Bellaire (1911), 135–136.

46 Westermarck (1968a), 113.

47 It occupied the stars of the classical constellation Cassiopeia. (See Al-Bīrūnī [1934], 78). I am grateful to Craig Crossen for adding this item.

styles. Some old men use it to dye their beards and hair. During the youth of the narrator, gallnut⁴⁸ (see tale no. 17, “*ḡāyša ḡmāda* / *ḡĀyša* Cinderella”) was a very common hair dye. Gallnut is normally mixed with henna to dilute the strong black of the gallnut. If the henna is too light, it is mixed with gallnut to obtain the desired tone.⁴⁹ It is used on all festive and ceremonial occasions, and its symbolic meaning and magical importance extends from the Atlantic to the Ganges. Its preparation and application constitute an important magico-religious ritual, especially in Maghrebin society. It has medicinal properties, closing the pores and reducing perspiration. In Chaouen as in other areas it is used in winter to protect hands and feet from harsh cold. But it is as a cosmetic that henna is most generally used. It has a strong fragrance and thus is ritually used as a prophylaxis.

Almost everywhere in the Muslim world one of the feast days preceding the wedding ceremony is set aside for the ritual decoration and dying of the bride's hands and feet with henna (see tale no. 18, “*zbīḡa* / *Zbīḡa*”). A similar ritual is performed for the bridegroom. The henna must be applied to both bride and groom for protection against the Evil Eye and demoniac powers,⁵⁰ and to enhance the bride's fertility. It is believed that henna pleases the benevolent jinns and repels the evil jinns. Jinns and ghouls, as well as human magicians, use it for protection.⁵¹ Henna has a similar range of functions and meanings in Berber as well as in Arab folklore.

10 Infertility

The husband in tale no. 2, “*ḡ-ḡāžār māḡmūd* / *Māḡmūd* the Rich Man,” explains that his reason for wanting to get married again is that “he would like to have children to inherit from him.” The decision made by the man carries an implicit accusation of infertility against the woman because in a patriarchal society the woman is blamed for a couple's childlessness. Childlessness carries a stigma

48 About this word see n. 26, p. 282.

49 On this see Vonderheyden (1934), 43.

50 For a detailed description of the henna day wedding ceremony see Westermarck (1921), 125, n. 1 in Tangiers, and 141–145, 279, 280.

51 For a detailed definition, and a discussion of henna's substance, preparation, application, idiomatic usage, and magical, ceremonial, religious, and other domestic and non-domestic ritual value in North Africa, see the two articles by Vonderheyden (1934), 35–61 and (1934), 179–202. Also see Colin (1971), 461; DAF, III, 244–245; Douité (1994), 64, 81; Chebel (1995), 197; Welte and Aguadé (1996), 19, n. 2; and Lacoste-Dujardin (2010), 134, n. 7.

second only to immorality, and barren women face the humiliation of divorce or the lowered status of second wife. The Moroccan woman first gets social status when she becomes married; but her social standing is in jeopardy if she fails to become a mother, especially of sons. This social obligation sometimes impels the woman into contracts with the occult arts in search of a remedy for infertility, as is the case in the present tale.⁵²

11 Slaves and Black Musicians in Chaouen

Slaves appear frequently in both women's and men's narratives, such as tale no. 3, "*s-sayyid bān l-āsād l-qūndi* / S-sayyid Bān l-Āsād l-Qūndi," tale no. 5, "*hārūn r-rāšid* [*u ṭlāṯa d-əl-ūzāra dyālu*] / Hārūn ar-Rāšid [and his Three Viziers]," and tale no. 20, "*bint s-sūltān* / The Sultan's Daughter." Regarding the historical background of slavery in Morocco in general, Welte and Aguadé⁵³ comment that "unter dem marokkanischen Sultan Mūlāy Ismā'īl (1672–1727) kamen etwa hunderttausend Soldaten und Sklaven aus dem Songhay-Reich im heutigen Niger nach Marokko, die sich im Laufe der Zeit mit der arabischerberberischen Bevölkerung vermischen."⁵⁴ The autobiography of one of Chaouen's intellectuals, ʿAbu r-Rabiʿ Sulaymān al-Ḥawwāt aš-Šafšāwni (1747–1816), when referring to his family members, describes a slave named Ṣahīb raised and educated by his father:

... الوالد رحمه الله ترك أصولاً وماشية مختلفة داخل البلد وخارجه. وغلاماً قيمياً على ذلك حازماً ضابطاً أميناً ديناً قارئاً ... حتى أقبل الناس عليه إقبالا عظيماً، وخوطب بالسيد من الأشراف، وهو ورق. وكان اسمه صهيياً، فكان حقيقاً بأن يقول في حقه: نعم العبد صهييب الخ، ... إذ كان مولداً عنده [عند أبيه] من عبد اسمه معطى الله، وأمة اسمها زیدی فأحسن تربيته.

My father, may God have mercy on him, left assets and different herds of cattle inside and outside the country. And a boy responsible for all of it, a firm steward, honest believer and reader ... People used to turn to him with great attention, and he was addressed with 'sayyid' as one of the

52 See Thay Thay Rhozali (2000b), 81, 212–215; Hachimi (2001), 42–43; and Sadiqi (2003), 59. For the role of women's fertility in Kabylia tales see Lacoste-Dujardin (2010), 19–20, 188, 189, n. 3 and the many tales with woman's fertility as the central theme there.

53 Welte and Aguadé (1996), 15.

54 For more in this same line about Sultan Mūlāy ʿIsmā'īl and black soldiers and slavery in Morocco and beyond see Delafosse (1923), 1–11; idem (1924), 154–174; Brunschwig (1960), 25–41, esp. 34–35; and Lévi-Provençal and Colin (1986), 1197.

nobles. But in fact he was a slave. His name was *Ṣahīb*, and it was fair to say about him, ‘Yes the slave *Ṣahīb* etc.’ because he was born in his home [the author’s father’s home] to a slave named *Muṣṭī Allah* and a female slave named *Zayda*, and he [the author’s father] gave him the best education.⁵⁵

This testimony proves that in Chaouen, as elsewhere in Morocco, black men and black women (the latter mainly as concubines) were found in considerable numbers.⁵⁶

Moreover, in tale no. 2, “*ṣ-ṣāẓār māḥmūd / Māḥmūd the Rich Man*,” a *ḡulām* was bought in the market from his father by the vizier of the king, who had high expectations of him because of his price. This raises the controversial question of the sale of children as slaves by their parents. The global context of the tale makes it obvious that the status of the *ḡulām* “eunuch” is distinguished from *ṣabd* “a slave servant,” thus corroborating the historical role and position of these figures as described in early Arab sources.⁵⁷ The narrator apparently borrowed this literary figure and the term applied to it from Oriental Arabic sources, and most probably from Muslim Spain, where it is known that *ḡilmān* (pl. of *ḡulām*) often reached high government office. In MA the term *ḡulām* as such is not in use, which might signify that this figure was unknown to the mercenaries in the Moroccan slave market, in contrast to the highly documented term *ṣabd* “slave servant.”⁵⁸

The slave in some tales, such as tale no. 1, “*r-rūmmāna [ḥīyya sbāb kull šī] / [It all Started with a] Pomegranate*” and tale no. 5, “*hārūn r-rāšid [u ṭlāṣa d-ḍ-ūzāra dyālu] / Hārūn ar-Rāšid [and his Three Viziers]*,” is called the *gnāwi* “black man.” This term also refers to a member of the popular brotherhood of acrobats, black musicians, and ecstatic dancers famed throughout North African countries (Algeria, Mauritania, Morocco). Welte and Aguadé⁵⁹ state in their description of the Meknes *gnāwa*: “Eine Gnāwa-Gruppe besteht aus vier Musikern: dem Oberhaupt (*mṣellem*), er spielt die *genbri*, die Gnāwa-Gitarre, dem Zeremonienmeister (*mqeddem*), er leitet das Trancespiel (*ḥedra*) und zwei weiteren Musikanten, die die *qerqāba*, die Eisenklappern schlagen. Um die Musikanten scharen sich nun gewisse Anhänger, die diese begleiten und zu

55 See Himer (1996), 3, 48–49, 121.

56 Concerning slave markets, the customary manner in which slaves were treated before and after their acquisition, and their position in Rabat society see Brunot (1931), 84–87, 193–196. See esp. 195, n. 7 concerning female slaves.

57 Sourdel (1983), 1078–1079.

58 Sourdel (1983), 1081 and the copious bibliographical references mentioned there.

59 Welte and Aguadé (1996), 11–12.

ihrer Musik und ihren Auftritten in Trance fallen.” Some of these groups would occasionally visit Chaouen from Marrakech, Essaouira, Meknes, Fes, or some other large city.⁶⁰

12 The Măxzən / The Government

*Măxzən*⁶¹ appears mainly in the man’s stories (see tale no. 7, “*qāmr z-zāmān u ḥāyāt n-nūfūs* / Qāmr z-Zāmān and Ḥāyāt n-Nūfūs,” and tale no. 2, “*ʕ-ʕāžār māḥmūd* / Māḥmūd the Rich Man”), and alludes to the central Government and everything connected with it, including the Sharīfian administration. In his article on the history of *Maxzen* in Morocco, Buret⁶² correctly states: “In brief, we may say that the *Makhzan* in Morocco was an instrument of arbitrary government, which worked quite well in the social disorder of the country, and thanks to this disorder, we may add, it worked for its own profit and was in a way like a foreign element in a conquered country. It was a regular caste with its own traditions, way of living, of dressing, of furnishing, of feeding, with its own language, *al-lughā al-makhzaniyya*, which is a correct Arabic intermediate between the literary and the spoken Arabic, composed of official formulae, regular clichés, courteous, concise and binding to nothing.”

13 Jews in Chaouen

Jews appear mainly in the man’s stories such as tale no. 4, “*lāqrāʕ bən l-fqi īflāṭu* / The Bald Son of *l-fqi* Īflāṭu,” and tale no. 2, “*ʕ-ʕāžār māḥmūd* / Māḥmūd the Rich Man.” There is no agreement among historians about the date of arrival of the first Jews in Chaouen. Some suggest that the Moroccan Jews known as תושביים had already joined the founder of the city ʕAli Ben Mūsa Ben Rāšid in 1471. However, other historians believe that the first Jewish community was composed of the מגורשים (Sephardic Jews), refugees of the massive expulsion of Jews from al-Andalus in 1492.⁶³

60 For a detailed anthropological approach, and the transcription and translation into German of *Gnāwa* poetry from Meknes, see Welte and Aguadé (1996) and the bibliographical references to other works on *Gnāwa* mentioned there.

61 On the historical background of this term and its usage see Yver (1986), 119; and Buret (1991).

62 Buret (1991), 136.

63 For bibliographical references and discussion see al-ʕAfya (1982), 208 and El-Ḥbüsi (1999), 62–65.

The small Jewish community lived in the *məllāḥ*, or Jews' quarter, situated first outside the city and then in a ghetto within the walled town. This ghetto was encircled by its own walls, which had only two gates, one leading into the Muslim city and the other out to the countryside. Two Moroccan soldiers were placed as guards to protect the Jewish community, which paid their wages.⁶⁴ According to Mouliéras⁶⁵ the *məllāḥ* had a great variety of shops and workshops – apothecaries, groceries, cobblers' stalls, fruit and vegetable stalls, tinsmiths, shoemakers, weavers, tailors, weaving workshops (*drāza*). But this was not the only place where the Jews conducted their commercial activities: other such venues included the Trībʿa and l-Fendaq d-əl-Yhūd, today known as l-Bāzār d-ət-Tlidī.⁶⁶

The Jews' products, especially the garments and linen, were sold in the Muslim city or shipped to Tetuan, a city known for its important Sephardic population. Trading in northern Morocco involved towns in close proximity to harbors, which led to an exchange of goods with Europe. However, this did not happen without Jewish mediation; and the commercial contribution of Chaouen's Jews, which had a positive effect on its economy, is still ignored.⁶⁷

One of the first Europeans to enter the city, Walter B. Harris,⁶⁸ says that “only certain Jews are allowed to go to the town at all, and they must wear a badge to show that they are ‘protected’ by some Moor within the walls.” Mouliéras⁶⁹ adds that Jews did not normally go out of the *məllāḥ* unless on business; and if they did so, they went barefoot and avoided contact with Muslims. This might have been true in the late 1800's; but it was not so centuries earlier⁷⁰ nor some decades later: the two narrators of the present collection told the author about their regular relationship with Chaounite Jews, a family of whom were neighbors of the woman narrator. The Jewish community in Chaouen had close links to the larger one in Tetuan.⁷¹

64 This description is based mainly on Mouliéras (1899), 139, 141; see also al-ʿAfya (1982), 210–211 and Hoenerbach and Kolenda (1973), 34.

65 Mouliéras (1899), 141.

66 Al-ʿAfya (1982), 210–211; Hoenerbach and Kolenda (1973), 17, 30, n. 1, 34; see n. 304, pp. 248–249.

67 See Hoenerbach and Kolenda (1973), 17, 21; al-ʿAfya [1982], 211.

68 Harris [1888], 21.

69 Mouliéras (1899), 144.

70 Al-ʿAfya (1982), 211–212 records a completely opposite situation during the 16th Century.

71 Al-ʿAfya (1982), 211.

According to al-ʿAfya,⁷² during the 16th century, after the foundation of the city, there were 1,000 Jews among Chaouen’s inhabitants. Foucauld,⁷³ who came to Chaouen in 1883, recorded that there were around ten Jewish families in the city. Colin⁷⁴ writes that in the 1930’s the *məllāh* contained 22 houses with around 200 dwellers and two synagogues, one of them “very luxurious.” Unfortunately neither synagogue has been preserved.⁷⁵ Two decades later, the 1953 census recorded only 15 Jews.⁷⁶ This was the result of Jewish migration to the new state of Israel. After this the *məllāh* fell into decay.

Currently there are no visible traces of the centuries-long presence of Jews in Chaouen, apart from the Jewish cemetery southwest of the town, which has around 100 tombstones, some of them from the 16th,⁷⁷ or most probably from the end of the 18th century.⁷⁸

14 Magic

Magic is an essential element in the fantasy tales of both sets of stories here presented: without magic there would be no tales. Without the magic, the storyteller would be deprived of his or her main appeal to the listener’s imagination. However, this does not mean that magic is the storyteller’s invention. It is rather a deep rooted belief in Moroccan culture.⁷⁹ In Chaouen one cannot speak openly about magic and magicians, who are frowned upon, even damned. However, everyone believes in magic, in its good and bad influences and its power. It is associated with a secret, forbidden world. In the stories of this collection, magic is an extremely important literary device and a key factor in plot development. It occurs almost in virtually every plot, but usually in a subtle way. It is crucial for understanding, interpreting, and simply enjoying the stories.

72 Al-ʿAfya (1982), 72.

73 Foucauld (1998), 9.

74 Colin (1934), 273.

75 See also Hoenerbach and Kolenda (1973), 17–18, 22, n. 2.

76 Ferhat (1997), 190.

77 Bouchmal (2010), 48–49.

78 Cressier (1998), 36.

79 On this Doutté (1994), 50, n. 2 comments, “... pour les musulmans d’Orient, le sorcier, s’il n’est ni juif, ni chrétien, doit être maghribin; dans les *Mille et une nuits*, les magiciens sont régulièrement originaires du Maghrib. Au coeur de l’islamisme, à la Mecque, le sorcier classique est un maghribin. Mais tout naturellement, dans le Maghrib, les sorciers seront des orientaux.” See Westermarck (1968a), 577–580

Mūlāy Ḥmād Ṣafāq's Corpus – Transliteration



r-rūmmāna [hǝyya sbǎb küll ši]

wāh l-ʔinsān¹ kān ʔāndu t-ʔižzāra² kbīra bəzzāf. u kif n-hi³ hād ət-ʔižzāra? ʔāndu 1
 ǧ-ǧnānāʔ. u dīç ǧǧ-ǧnān ʔāndu fih mən küll ma xlaq ʔāh taʔāla wa tabāraka⁴
 d-əl-fāwākīh,⁵ mən küll hāža, mən küll hāža. u hiwwa ražul ǧaniy mən l-āǧnǝyya.
 ʔāndu ǧ-ǧnān u z-zāhwa dyaļu yimši n-dīç ǧǧ-ǧnān tamma lāyīǧlās. ʔāndu l-ʔbīd
 u xādəm lādṭāyyəb⁶ f-əd-dār. u l-ʔbīd ǧālsīn lāyqārrbu u ybǎʔʔdu. u yžību lu
 l-bʔīda u yqārrbu lu l-qriba.

wāh l-wǎxt⁷ mša n-ǧǧ-ǧnān, ... [lǎ-hwa] lāyīnfǎx, u l-xrīf kān tǎyīb u ... wūkka, 2
 ddāh n-nawm.⁸ ddāh n-nawm, l-ʔābd ǧamma. l-ʔābd xāllāh u hbǎt kāyīssāra
 f-əl-qāf d-əl-ǧīrsa. žbǎr t-ṭrīq, f-dīç l-qāf d-əl-ǧīrsa fīha wāhd l-wād. wāh l-wād
 ǧāyīz. hbǎt n-əl-wād.

1 On the discussion of the restoration of the CA pronunciation of this term and other nouns with initial /ʔ/ see Heath (1989) 47, 48, 215 under A-1-237.

2 This word is a loan from CA which has been totally assimilated into MA speech. See Heath (1989), 210 under A-1-74.

3 This form derives from *n* + *hǝyya*. On this see de Prémare, DAF, x, 674: “*kīf-ən-huwwa* comment est il? comment va-t-il? *ma ʔrǎft kīf-ən-hǝyya* je ne sais comment elle est [co].” Caubert (1993b), 32 analyzes the infix-couple *n-* of “... une origine berbère (peut-être dans la série démonstrative-relative *-ən, ənna*).”

4 This is a CA frozen expression and another example of code-switching.

5 On this word, lent from CA into MA, see Heath (1989), 211 under A-1-129.

6 In this instance the assimilation of *dṭ* to *ṭ* does not occur.

7 In northern MA the CA *waqt* > *wǎxt*, the CA uvular voiceless /q/ shifting to the fricative /x/. This same shift occurs in other northern MA. See for example Taza: Colin (1921), 43; Tangiers: Marçais (1911), 492–493; Ouargha: Lévi-Provençal (1922), 265; Tetuan: Singer (1958), 109 under ‘Adverbia der Zeit’; *ibid.* (1958), 262; Chaouen: Natividad (1998), 111, n. 9 for bibliographical references, and Moscoso, DACH, 46 (who transcribes *wǎxt*); Anjra: Vicente (2000), 52. This shift occurs in other ADs, such as that of Egypt: see Behnstedt and Woidich (1985), map 185 and (1988), 42, n. 1, where Behnstedt and Woidich comment concerning the Egyptian *dībwaxti*, “mit /x/, das direkt auf */q/ zurückgeht. Die Spirantisierung des */q/ zu /x/ muß sehr alt sein und noch in der Zeit vor der Verschiebung von */q/ zu /ʔ/ stattgefunden haben.” For the Judeo-Arabic dialect of Siverek, see Nevo (1999), 67, n. 8, under point 3. On this shift in general see Bravmann, (1960), 196–197, and Aguadé (2003), 85, n. 152 and the bibliographical references there.

8 The usual ChA word in this instance would have been *nʔās*. However, here again the narrator appeals to code-switching.

- 3 *hūwwa hbəṭ n-əl-wād, u žbār wāhd r-rūmmāna ʕāžiba, r-rūmmāna kbīra. qāl hād r-rūmmāna yṭállʕa n-sīdu u yqāššra, u mənñāy yfiq m-ən-nʕās, yāçla. qbəṭ diç r-rūmmāna u ṭállʕa, u qāššra u žāb wāḥ l-āñṭyya, wāhd əz-zlāfa, u fārfa u nəzzla n-sīdu. hād ṭ-ṭāžār fʔān. ğbār diç əz-zlāfa u diç l-ḥbūb d-ər-rūmmān kaʕannahuma ğ-ğawāhir. l-ḥbūb kbīrīn⁹ qādd l-gāwz. qāyysa ʕāžbāðu. mša lāyāçül f-diç r-rūmmāna yāñāḥ, yāñāḥ, yāñāḥ ʕla ḥāṭṭa kəmmala b-küll ši. qāl: “wa lədda hād r-rūmmāna! ma ʕāṭṭ mənñāyən qāṭṭʕa hād l-ʕābd? a l-ʕābd āži!” qāl lu: “nʕām sīdi?” qāl lu: “hād r-rūmmāna lli nəzzəlṭa li hnāya mə š mən šizra qāṭṭāʕṭa?” qāl lu: “ya sīdi, āna māši qāṭṭāʕṭa. āna ma qāṭṭāʕṭa ši m-əğ-ğnān.” qāl lu: “mənñāy žibṭa?” qāl lu: “ya sīdi, āna nṭīna nʕāš, u āna hbəṭṭ¹⁰ mša ṭ-trīq f-əl-qāṭ d-əl-ğīrsa u šāffīð f-əl-wād, u žbārṭ hād r-rūmmāna hābṭa n-ʕānna, u ššhīða u qāššārṭa u nəzzəlṭa ləç mənñāy dquṃ m-ən-nʕās dāçla.”*
- 4 *qāl lu: “āna çūf šḥāl ʕāndi r-rūmmān, šḥāl ʕāndi l-fāwākīh! u nṭīna hād r-rūmmāna hābṭa mša l-wād ğġība¹¹ li nāçla! ʕlāš ğġība li? āna ma xāššni ši, āna r-rūmmān dyāli çūf šḥāl? ya l-ğnāwi! ya kāda, ya kāda! yāñāḥ wūrrīni mənñāy žibṭa.” hābṭu ʕla ḥāṭṭa n-əl-wād. qāl lu: “m-ən-nāhna ṭállāʕṭa.”*
- 5 *hūma mša l-wād, yžəbru wāḥīd lāyīžni r-rūmmān. zād n-ʕāndu “s-sālāmu ʕāliçūm!”¹² qāl lu: “s-sālām!” qāl lu: “flān!” qāl lu: “nʕām?” qāl lu: “xāššəç dbrī li wāḥ l-ʕīsrīn d-ər-rūmmānāð.” qāl lu: “ʕyāḥ, a sīdi. nṭī ʕāndəç r-rūmmān, wālāçīn ššhīð r-rūmmān dyāli. āna nāʕīç r-rūmmān.” xṭāru ʕīsrīn d-ər-rūmmān kbīrīn, u məzyānīn. u qāl lu: “āḥəb əṭ-ṭāmān dyāləm?” qāl lu: “ṭ-ṭāmān dyāləm kāda, kāda.” qāl lu: “wāḥa ḥāqqəm u ḥāyyəd ʕāšra, u ḥāyyəd xmāštāš.” qāl lu: “ma hāda?¹³ nṭīna žīð dəšri mənñi, u qūṭ li nāqtāṭ ʕīsrīn; u dāba nāçsa mən diç*

9 This is a very rare adjective pattern in MA in general, but a very common plural adjective pattern in ChA.

10 /t/ + /t/ } ṭ. On this see Cantineau (1960), 34–35; Heath (2002), 166; and Moscoso, DACH, 55, n. 132.

11 *dġība* } *ġġība*. See Cantineau (1960), 34–35; for additional examples in ChA see Moscoso, DACH, 54, n. 121. On the affricated articulation of the MA *žim* in general see Messaoudi (1996), 167–175; Heath (2002), 136–138. Concerning northern and Jebli dialects in particular see esp. Heath (2002), 136.

12 This is a spontaneous mixed dialect and code-switched greeting formula which occurs in everyday speech and is considered to be a frozen expression: see Heath (1989), 33. This CA greeting formula shows the survival of the magisterial plural, since the greeting here is addressed to a single person. On this see Herrero (2008), 98, n. 4, quoting Federico Corriente.

13 This is another case of code-switching. The narrator draws from CA to formulate his question.

l-šīrīn. šīrīni šāšra, u zīṭṭni¹⁴ xāmsa, hīyya xmāstāš. šannu hād? šlāš hād šī?”

qāl lu: “hād l-šābd hbāt n-əl-wād, ḡbār wāḥ r-rūmmāna ḡyāləḡ tāḥāḡ f-əl-wād, u žāba li nāḡla.” qāl lu: “u kilt r-rūmmāna ḡyāli?! u kilt r-rāzq dyāli! u māži dāšmāḡni, ḡqūl li šābbi šāšra. āna ma nāsmāḥ ləḡ šī f-ər-rūmmāna ḡyāli. āna xāššni dīḡ r-rūmmāna hādīḡ d-žbātṭa¹⁵ mən l-wād! d-žəbda l-šābd m-əl-wād! lāxāššu yrūd r-rūmmāna ḡyāli.” qāl lu: “la ya wūddi! r-rūmmāna āna kiltṭa. fāyn šāw māš nāžbār ləḡ šāw r-rūmmāna ḡyāləḡ? ādxūl n-əḡ-ḡnān šābbi ḡlāḡīn d-ər-rūmmānāḡ fīḥa.” qāl lu: “wālu, xāššni r-rūmmāna ḡyāli ma nāsmāḥ ləḡ šī.” qāl lu: “a wūddi! ḡāḥ yīhīdīḡ! āsmāḥ li!” qāl lu: “ābādān!” qāl lu: “īwa wa ḡāba š māš nāqqi ānāya? r-rūmmāna hāna kiltṭa. šābbi fīḥa šīrīn. nxāllšəḡ b-ṭlāḡīn nxāllšəḡ. lli qūlt li-nxāllšəḡ, ḡa smāḥ li!” qāl lu: “ma nāsmāḥ ləḡ īlla b-wāḥd l-kāfīyya!” qāl lu: “ma hīyya?”¹⁶ qāl lu: “šāndi wāḥ l-bənt māḥbūsa, u ma lādčūf šī. dxūdḥa žāwḡāṭəḡ. qāl lu nāsmāḥ ləḡ f-ər-rūmmāna. u īla ma yḡūn šī hāyḡa, ma nāsmāḥ ləḡ šī.” qāl lu: “wāxxa!”

ḡamma sāmḥu f-dīḡ r-rūmmān, u mšāw n-šānd l-šdūl, īwa u kṭəb šīḥa. ddāwāḥ n-əd-dār d-bāβāḥa. šməl la wāḥ ṭ-ṭūwḡīq, šməl la šī šrātəl, šməl la šī kīswa yāḡni ḡālīla,¹⁷ rdīla, īwa u dāxxlūḥa yāḡni yqūlu hāḡa. l-šāṭīla¹⁸ ḡyālu kūlla ḡəbki, kūlla ḡḡāwḡəḡ, ḡqūl: “ḡāḥ! u mən hāḡa mūnkār! māži nna¹⁹ ḥna b-hād l-šāyla, ma šānda rāzla ḡqūm, ma šānda šāyna ḡčūf, ma šānda ḡūqma ḡāḥdār bīḥ.”

dāxxāl la l-šābd šī ḡāza ḡ-əl-māḡla. nāzzla la. qāḡ²⁰ lu: “āžmāḡ yīddəḡ! žmāḡ yīddəḡ mən hād l-māšīsa!” mša f-ḡālu l-šābd. kləḡ dīḡ šī. šbāḥ əš-šbāḥ šāwəḡ

14 *zīḡṭni*) *zīṭṭni*. This is a common assimilation in ChA. For more about it see Cantineau (1960), 34–35; Marçais (1956), 110; and Moscoso, DACH, 54, n. 124.

15 *žbādṭa*) *žbātṭa*. See the previous note.

16 This is another case of code-switching. The narrator appeals here to CA to formulate his question.

17 The pattern expected here is *dlīla*. However, the narrator appeals to the CA model pattern.

18 This is a term loaned into MA from CA. On this particular word see Heath (1989), 211 under A-1-109.

19 *l* + (*-na* pronominal suffix 1st person plural)) *nna*. This is a very common assimilation of the preposition *l* followed by pronoun suffix 1st person plural. On this assimilation in general see Marçais (1977), 22, and Heath (2002), 171 under point 3.3.8. Examples from Anjra: Vicente (2000), 57; and from Chaouen: Moscoso, DACH, 55–56, n. 144. For examples in other Maghrebin Arabic: Tlemcen: Marçais (1902), 27; Djidjelli: Marçais (1956), 114; Tunis: Singer (1984), 112–113; Ḥassāniya: Cohen (1963), 23–24.

20 *qāləḡ*) *qālḡ*) *qāḡ*: in this instance the assimilation has not occurred, but the /l/ has been simply dropped, contra Moscoso, DACH, 55, n. 143. Cantineau (1960), 53 commented that in some Maghreb Arabic “D’ autres fois encore, le *l* est tombé purement et simplement: en

hāydāç, bāʕdu hāydāç hātta ʕamləθ təlɕ ʕyyām, l-ʕābd dāxxäl dīç l-māçla u mša yāçla qāθ lu: “āhda! nəzzəl dīç l-māçla u xrāž f-hāləç. ma đqūl li ma nqūl ləç. ma dāhdār ši ma dhādīç ši.” qāməθ, u çəsləθ,²¹ u bəddləθ ʕliha, u qāməθ n-əd-dār dyāla đfərrša u dhādi. hādāç t-ʕāzār dxäl n-əd-dār, yīžbār l-ħiçç f-əl-biθ-amma f-əl-biθ. ʕälləl, çbār yāʕni marʕatun laha bāl, wa laha ʕqal, wa laha wa laha, žamīla,²² māħsūna, l-ʕqäl ʕānda məzyān. ĩwa qāl: “l-ħāmdu li-llāh ʕla hād, hādi kāθ ç-çənniyya! kāθəθ hāyda ʕāwəð ʕəbhāð m-hāða.”

9 *ʕāw nəð r-rāzəl yīfrāh, yāʕməl yāʕni d-dār dyālu. ʕrät n-nās. ʕməl kāða. çūw-wəz ʕəmn ʕyyām qāθ lu: “žāwžī!”²³ qāl la: “nʕām?” qāθ lu: “āna ma ʕiçt ši hāydāya çālsa.” qāl la: “ma nəʕfāl?” qāθ lu: “mši, žib li ç-şūf l-bāyṭa, r-rāzma, žiba li!” [qāl la]: “š ma dāçqi biha?” qāθ lu: “žib li ç-şūf u đçūfni š māš nəʕməl.” çāb la ç-şūf. çāθ n-wāh ç-şāfha đ-əl-kāçit, u žəbbdəθa, u žəbðəθ l-qalam.²⁴ u şānʕāð mən dīç l-kāçit l-mrāmma lli māš đəxdəm biha hiyya, şānʕāð dīç ç-şāfha đ-əl-kāçit, qāθ lu: “hādi ʕəbbiha n-əl-mʕəlləm n-nəççār lli yku²⁵ yāʕrāf yāʕni, yʕāddəl ʕha hādʕyya. yāʕməl l-mrāmma.” mša t-ʕāzār ʕānd ən-nəççār, u ʕāddəl l-mrāmma u žāba. sārāð kādəçzəl dīç ç-şūf kādāʕməl bih s-sda, u sārāð lādəxdəm f-dīç l-mrāmma, u wūççðəθ l-hāyəç. dīç l-hāyəç la miθāla lahu ykūn ʕānd ši wāhid f-əl-blād! la miθāla lahu ykuš ši²⁶ wāhid lāyʕāddlu. şānʕa kbīra hādʕyya.*

10 *çəbðəθ l-ʕābd qāθ lu: “āmši n-mūṭāç t-ʕižāra u biʕ hāða, biʕ hāða.” l-ʕābd ʕəbbāh n-mūṭāç t-ʕižāra. kān çəmma wāh l-üzīr d-əs-sūlṭān, çāfu. qāl lu: “āzi a l-ʕābd, b-şhāl hāða?” qāl lu: “kāða, kāða.” qāl lu: “ha hu.” ʕṭāh l-flūs. hiwwa mša u l-üzīr çəbʕu, yāñāh, yāñāh, yāñāh ĩla hātta n-əd-dār, n-bāb d-dār. l-ʕābd*

face de cl. *çālat laka, çultu lahu* “elle t’a dit, je lui ai dit”, on entend souvent en arabe dialectal maghrébin *çātlek, çutläh (-lə)*. About the alteration of the /t/ to /θ/ see the comments by Cantineau (1960), 37, “Dans certaines parties du Maghreb, plus précisément dans les parlers de sédentaires de l’Algérie et du Maroc, le t subit de curieuses altérations inconditionnées: probablement sous l’influence du substrat berbère ... ou même à se spirantiser en ṭ.”

21 Here the assimilatory shift from the voiced /ç/ to the voiceless /x/, which is normal for this verb in ChA, does not occur. On this shift see n. 9, p. 277.

22 This is another case of code-switching: the narrator uses here a CA stock phrase.

23 The expected dialectal term here is *rāžli* “my husband”, instead of CA *zawžī*. Notice the shift of CA /z/ to sibilants palatal /ž/. On the substantive term and the more frequent loan *zawāž* “marriage” from CA into MA see Heath (1989), 208 under A-1-40.

24 The pattern expected here is *çləm*. Again the narrator appeals to the CA model pattern. The narrator attempts to restore the CA pattern in words which belong to the CA domain.

25 *ykūn*) *yku*: the final *nun* drops. This is one of the numerous examples of the loss in ChA of the *nun* of the verb *kān*.

26 *ykun ši*) *ykuš ši*. This is one of the numerous examples of the assimilation of the nasal -n to the following consonant which occurs not only in ChA but in MA in general.

dxāl u hūwwa rǧāf f-hālu. qāl: “hāna ṣrāfṭ d-dār.” ṣābba dīç l-hāyæç n-əl-mālīç, n-əs-sūltān, qāl lu: “čūf n-nās š lādṣāddəl, ha! čūf hād ṣ-šanṣa kif n-nṣya! hāda l-mṣālləm.” qāl l-mālīç: “hād mūlāṣ ṣ-šanṣa ma xāṣṣa ši dkūn yāṣni ṣānd ḥādd.” xāṣṣa dkūn ṣāndu hūwwa.

qbāṭ s-sūltān u ža hūwwa u l-ūzīr mən mūrāha. wūṣṣlu n-əl-bāb d-əd-dār. u 11
bāβāha šārāt ṣlīh d-dāyṣ ma ydāxxlu ši n-əd-dār, ma ydāxxāl d-dāyṣ, ma ydāxxāl ṣ-šāḥīb, ma ydāxxāl ḡ-ḡār, ma ydāxxāl ḥāṭṭa wāḥīd. məšrūt ṣlīh b-əl-ṣdūl. īwa hūwwa n-bāb d-dār, u hūma wāqfu mṣāh: “a sīdi, dāyṣ lī-llāh. ḥna n-nās bār-rānṣyīn, u ma ṣānna fāyn nāṣsu. u dāba hād l-līla ṣṭīna fāyn nwičkīw.” čāṣṣfīḥəm qāl: “wāha n-nās kbīrīn, ha n-nās məzyānīn. ndāxxləm n-əd-dār. wāḥ l-bīṣ ṣāndi xāwi, nāṣṣfīḥəm ynāṣsu fīh, u f-əṣ-ṣbāḥ yīmšīw f-ḥālləm.” qāl ləm: “mārḥba bīçūm!” dāxxləm u ṣāṣṣāḥəm.

ḡāw ləç hūma žābu l-məškār, ḡa hūwwa u hādāç. ḡa hūma qābṭu hād l-məškār 12
u səkkru l-ṣbīd lli hūma f-dīç d-dār kāmlīn. küll wāḥīd wāḥīd ṣṭāwāḥ l-kwīyyəs dyālu, u ṭ-ṭāžār ṣṭāwāḥ kwīyyəs dyālu. īwa bārku u šəbbru dīç l-mra, u qṣāw bīha. r-rāžəl, ṭlāṣ ən-nḥār, ṭār lu l-məškār, qām, yīžbār ḡnāwa küll wāḥīd u fāy hūwwa mšīyāṣ. īwa ḥīyya hādīç. qām fəṭṭəṣ ṣla l-mra, ma žəbra. [qāl mṣa rāsu]: “īh ya l-ḡrība! ya l-ḡrība hādī! āna bāβāha šārāt ṣlīyya ma ndāxxāl ḥāṭṭa wāḥīd, ma ndāxxāl d-dāyṣ, ma ndāxxāl ḡ-ḡār, ma ndāxxāl ṣlīha ḥāṭṭa wāḥīd. u dāba hādī kbīra hādīyya. kif māṣṣi nāṣməl āna ṣāw nəžbār hād l-mra? ṣ māṣ nāçqi b-rāsi?”

mṣa ṣānd wāḥd ṣāḥbu. qāl lu: “ha ḏ-ma wqāṣ bīyya. ha ḏ-ma wqāṣ.” qāl lu: 13
“lāxāṣṣəç dəmṣi n-əs-sūq u dḡūl, ‘a məd-d-ykūx xāy²⁷ fī-sabīl llāh²⁸ u yāṭləb ṣlīyya ḏ-ma ...” qāl lu: “ṣāndəç ši flūs?” qāl lu: “mūžūd l-māl, əd-dḥāb mūžūd.” “dəmṣi n-əs-sūq u dḡūl ‘a məd-d-yku xāy fī-sabīl llāh! a məd-d-yku xāy fī-sabīl llāh!’ u mə-nāy yīmṣi mṣāç, yqūl ləç āna xāç, ṣābbīḥ n-əd-dār. u yku ṣāndəç ṭ-ṭāžīn d-əl-māçla mūžūda, l-māçla məzyāna, u l-xūbz məzyāna. u nəzzəl lu dīç l-ānīyya ḏ-əl-māçla, dīç ṭ-ṭāžīn u dīç əz-zlāfa l-māçfīyya u kāda. u nṭīna āxrāž dəlṭḥa, āṣməl nəssəç māṣ dāṣməl ši ḥāža. īla ḡa nəzzəlṭ lu, u ḡləs ḡa yāçūl, ma ṭənnāç ma ḥāṭṭa ḡḡi,²⁹ ma ṭənnāç, ma hāḏa, ḡləs ḡa yāçūl, yḥāwwəs u yāçūl, xāllīḥ yāçūl.

27 *mən-d-ykūn xāy) məd-d-ykūx xāy.* Here is the assimilation of the –n of the preposition *mən* to the relative *d*, in addition to the assimilation of the –n of the verb *kān* to the following word *xāy*. On this last instance see the previous note.

28 This stock expression implies a deep Islamic faith: it is slightly modified from CA *fī sabīl-i llāh* (pausal form). Notice here that the preposition *fī-* does not shorten to the normal MA /f-/. On this expression and its other semantic values in MA see DAF, VI, 28, meaning 3. For commentary regarding the analogous CA expression *bī-hawli llāh* “by the power of God,” see Heath (1989), 32.

29 *dḡi) ḡḡi.* For this type of assimilation see n. 11 above.

mənnāy ykəmməl qūl lu, 'wa ḥāh yḥānnīç. xrāž ma ḥna xūð?' qāl lu: “‘māy ʕāw ḡḡīb wāḥīð āxūr, ʕāw nəzzəl lu l-māçla, l-māçla məzyāna u l-xūbz məzyāna u l-ma məzyān. u nəzzləm lu u xrāž f-ḥāləç m-əl-bīð. ıla gləs yāçūl bla ma žīð ši nṯi -yāçūl- u qūl lu, 'ḥāh yḥānnīç.' u ıla žbārṯu, nəzzəlṯ lu dīç l-māçla, u ʕməl yīddu ʕla bāʕīðəm, u gləs lāyīstənnāç ḥāṯṯa ḡḡi nṯina 'ma ṯḡāddīš ši!'”³⁰ yqūl lu, 'ḥāṯṯa ḡḡi nṯina, a mūl d-dār; nṯina mūl d-dār. nṯina ya xāy ḥāṯṯa nāçlu āna u nṯina.” qāl lu: “hādāç ḥūwwa xāç.” [ṯ-ṯāžār qāl lu]: “məzyān.”

- 14 qāl n-əl-lūwwli, qāl n-ət-ṯāni, qāl n-ət-ṯāləð, ḡbār wāḥd ʕ-šāyyād xāh ... ḡāb lu dīç l-māçla, gləs sṯənnāh ḥāṯṯa ža. qāl lu: “kūl.” qāl lu: “ḥāṯṯa nāçlu āna u nṯina.” qāl: “hāda ḥūwwa xāy, ḥūwwa hādāç.” qāl lu: “u ha d-ma wqāf bīyya, ha d-ma wqāf bīyya, u dāba š nāqqi? dāba xāššəç dwūrriṯi š māš nāʕməl.” qāl lu: “ʕāndəç ši māl?” qāl lu: “nʕām, ʕāndi.” qāl lu: “īda ʕāndəç l-māl yāḥāh.” šrāw l-ḥwāyəž d-ən-nisāʕ.³¹ u šəbburu yāʕni wāḥd r-rbīʕa, u bqāw lāyīssārāw, hād lāxāššu, hād lāxāššu, hād lāxāššu, ıla ḥāṯṯa wūššu n-əl-məšwār d-əs-sūltān lāyḡāwvəðu. mʕa ḥīyya ṯālləð, ʕāqləð ž-žāwž dyāla, ʕāqləð dīç hāda. “ka ḥna nṯi?” qāð lu: “hāna ḥna. f-əl-wāḥda d-əl-līl, yku kūll ši nāʕīš, dālqāwni n-nāḥnāya, dhārrbūni.”
- 15 ʕwa kādālīç³² f-əl-wāḥda d-əl-līl. kānu əmmāç. ḡābu ḡ-ḡməl. u rākbu ʕla ḡ-ḡməl u ḥābbṯūha yāḥāh, yāḥāh. u ḥābbṯūha m-əs-sṯāḥ, u xārrzūha ıla ḥāṯṯa n-bārri, u ḥārbi, u ḥārbi bīha. ʕ-šāyyād u ṯ-ṯāžār mšāw bīha.
- 16 l-mālīç nād. yīžbār d-dār xāwya. “l-mra d-ḡībnāha ma bqāš ši³³ l-ḥīss dyāla.” fəṯṯəš ʕliha ma šāba ši. qām, qāyyəm gnāwa, qāyyəm kda, qāyyəm kda. fəṯṯəš ʕliha, qāl ḥna ma rīna ši. qbāṯ ʕāndu wāḥ ḡ-ḡəmli, wāḥ ḡ-ḡəmli lāyqūlu la š-šābīla. nḥār d-ət-ṯrīq lādāʕməl fīh sāʕa, u yūmāyən d-ət-ṯrīq lādāʕməl fīḥəm sāʕāyən. u rkəb ʕla dīç ḡ-ḡəmli, u bda māži lāykāʕʕāb.
- 17 ḡa ʕ-šāyyād qāl n-ət-ṯāžār, qāl lu: “wa nṯina zīd f-ḥāləç mʕa hād ṯ-ṯrīq, nṯina u l-mra, wāna māš nəgləs ḥnāya ḥāṯṯa ywūššāl hāda, u nəðḥānna mənnu.” ʕ-šāyyād ṯāḥ nzəl n-əl-ʕārd. “a rəžli! a rəžli!” ḡbār dīç s-sūltān rāḥ. qāl lu: “š ʕāndəç?” qāl lu: “wāḥīð gāz b-wāḥd l-mra ḥnāya b-wāḥ ḡ-ḡəmli. u zṯām fīna. u dāba ıla nlāḥqu nməṯḡu b-snāni. xāyla, a sīdi rākkəbni mʕāç wāxça ḡa mūra ṯāḥrəç.” qāl lu: “yīh.” ḡa s-sūltān qāl: “āna ma nəṯbārəz ši mʕāḥ hāda. ḥūwwa yīṯbārəz mʕāḥ. yīqəð hādāç, wāna nʕābbi l-mra u nʕābbi ḡ-ḡəmli u nəmši f-ḥāli.” rākkbu

30 ṯḡāddīð ši) ṯḡāddīš ši. This is a very common and typical ChA assimilation, for more examples see below.

31 This is a word loaned from CA into MA. On the preservation of the *hamza* in CA loaned terms see n. 1, p. 85 and n. 69, p. 100.

32 On the total assimilation into MA of this CA demonstrative pronoun see Heath (1989), 226 under A-3-68.

33 bqāš ši) bqāš ši.

*mūra tāhru. hūwwa rākkbu mūra tāhru, u š-šāyyād sāll l-xünğār u t̄ṭṣāl fliḥ m-əṭ-ṭhār*³⁴ – “ād-dāf”

kūwwru ṭamma u lḥāq fīa šāḥbu. lḥāq fīa šāḥbu. š-šāyyād fāndu d-dār f-əṭ-ṭrīq, mənnaḡy wūšṣlu, qārrbu n-əl-mdīna, māš ydxūl n-əd-dār dyālu, qāl lu: “wa ḡāḥ yḡānnīḡ. b-əl-ḥāqq wāḥ l-māsʔāla l-lāzār dyāli, nṡīna ḡāḥ yḡānnīḡ.” qāl lu: “āāhh.”

hūwwa [ṭ-ṭāzār] dxāl n-əl-mdīna, u wāḥīd fāndu, wāḥ l-māṭbāx, fāndu l-māṭ-fām. fāndu r-ruʔūs, fāndu l-kəṭṭa, fāndu l-lḥām, fāndu hāda, lāybīf. hūwwa māzi fīa dīḡ ḡ-ḡəmla, u hādāḡ ṭ-ṭəbbāx ṭfārṛəṭ lu, qāl lu: “b-šḡāl hād ḡ-ḡəmla u ma ḡḡəmməl?”³⁵ cāf fīḥ qāl: “hād ḡ-ḡəmla ma fāndi fāyn nāqqiḡa. nbīḡa ḡsān. ma fāndi ma nāqqi bīḡa, hād ḡ-ḡəmla! š ma nāqqi bīḡa! ma fāndi fāyn nāqqiḡa, nbīḡa lu.” qāl lu: “šḡāl əḡ-ḡməl u ma zəmməl?” qāl lu: “kāda.” qāl lu: “nbāḡāḡ mənnaḡḡ!” qāl: “nṡī, ya l-mra [nzəl].” qāl lu: “āna šrīḡ mənnaḡḡ əḡ-ḡməl u ma zəmməl.” “dyāli ma dyāləḡ.” “dyāli ma dyāləḡ.” nḡəm fī n-nās. nḡəm fī r-rūʔāsa³⁶ d-əl-māxzən ṭāl-lfūḡəm fānd l-māxzən. “qāl ləḡ əḡ-ḡməl u ma zəmməl. ṭbāšṡ lu qūṡṡ lu kāda kāda. xāllsəḡ. yfābbi dīḡ əḡ-ḡməl u ma zəmməl dyālu.” fābba ḡ-ḡməl u fābba l-mra. l-māxzən ḡkəm fīḡəm.

rzāf [ṭ-ṭāzār] fānd š-šāyyād, qāl lu: “ha š wqāf li, ha š wqāf li.” qāl lu: “yāḡāḡ!”²⁰ wšāl fānd ṭ-ṭābbāx. fāndu r-ruʔūs mnəzzlīn. u lwa lu fīa l-wūnnīna b-wāḡd l-yīdd, u b-wāḡ l-yīdd fīa³⁷ f-wāḡ r-rās. qāl lu: “b-šḡāl r-rās, a mūl r-rās? b-šḡāl r-rās, a mūl r-rās?” qāl lu: “kāda, kāda.” qāl lu: “nbāḡāḡ mənnaḡḡ, āḡni rāsəḡ.” “a l-fādāw! māš yqāṡṡāf li r-rās! a l-fādāw!” ḡāw n-nās. ḡāw šḡāb l-māxzən, ṡāllfūḡəm fānd l-māxzən. qāl lu: “āxūr māš ybīf r-rās dyālu!” qāl ləm: “u āxūr māš ybīf l-mra dyālu! l-mra dyālu ḡkəmṡu fīḡ yfābbīḡa, u hāda r-rās dyālu yqāṡṡfūḡ lu.” lāyqūl lu: “āḡni fūnqəḡ, āḡni rāsəḡ. dābi, yībqa li šī ṡrīyyəf m-ər-rās dyāləḡ f-əl-lḥām dyāləḡ, yībqa f-əl-lḥām dyāləḡ šī ṡrīyyəf d-əl-lḥām.” “a l-fādāw! a l-fādāw, a sīdi, nrūdd ləḡ ḡ-ḡəmla, nrūdd ləḡ l-mra. u fābbi ha l-ḡānūḡ u fābbi küll šī. ḡa xāllīni!” t̄wa qāl: “lāwāḡ!” rādd lu ḡ-ḡəmla, rādd lu l-mra, [š-šāyyād] fābba lu l-ḡānūḡ u fāḡa n-əṭ-ṭāzār. qāl lu: “ha mrāḡəḡ, ha ḡ-ḡəmla ḡāṡṡa ḡīyya. bīḡa āw fməl š ḡābbīḡ.”

34 For the atlas of this word, which means “back” in northern MA, see Behnstedt (2007), Karte 77 on p. 41.

35 *dḡəmməl* \ *ḡḡəmməl*. For this assimilation see n. 11 above.

36 This is a word assimilated by MA from CA.

37 The narrator wanted to use the preposition *fīa*, but then changes to *f-*.

ṭ-ṭāžār māḥmūd

- 1 ṭ-ṭāžār māḥmūd ṡāndu ṭ-ṭīžāra kbīra bəzzāf: l-bqār bəzzāf, l-ġnəm³⁸ bəzzāf, l-ṡāyīb bəzzāf, l-xāyl, l-ṡāwdāṡ, mən ġāmīl l-āḥwāl lli ṡāndu ma ṡānda ši mən-nāyən dādāḥṡār. ḥūwwa ṡāyāṡ ḥūwwa u z-zāwža ḡyālu. wāḥ l-wāxt ḥūwwa qām fiha qāl la: “ya žāwžāṡi!” qāṡ lu: “nāṡām, ya ādām?” qāl la: “āna māṡ nāžūwwəž.” qāṡ lu: “ṡlāṡ māṡ dəžūwwəž?” qāl la: “ḥna dāba ṡāna ḡāḥ hād l-xāyr. ṡāna ḡāḥ hād l-xāyr kbīr: l-ġnəm, l-ṡāyīb, l-bqār, l-ṡārd d-əl-filāḥa,³⁹ d-dūyūr⁴⁰ u hāda. ḥnāya ġādda bāṡdu yžīb ḡāḥ l-āfāṡ. hād ši lli ḥṡālnāḥ u ṡmālnāḥ yži l-māxzən yṡābbīḥ āw yžīw n-nās yṡābbīwāḥ, māy ṡīṡ ḥāṡṡa ši ḥāžā. āna lāxāṡṡni l-ṡāwlād.” qāṡ lu: “āhda, dāba dəṡbār ṡlīya mən dāba ṡām, u ṡla ma žāb ši ḡāḥ mən dāba ṡām, dīṡ l-wāxt nāṡīṡ ṡ-ṡāsrīḥ yāṡni žwūž mṡa rāsəṡ.” “wāxxa.”
- 2 ḥīya kādəsṡāl⁴¹ u kādəsṡāl. u kāyžīw n-ṡānda – ḥīya mən kūṡr ṡ-ṡīžāra – kāyžīw n-ṡānda n-nās l-māḥṡāžīn, u küll wāḥīd u ṡ kādāṡīḥ, küll wāḥīd u ṡ kādāṡīḥ. dīṡ n-nās kāyḡārku ṡlīḥa, bdāṡ kādəsṡāṡār mṡāḥəm kif māṡṡa dāṡməl bāṡ dāṡməl d-dūrrīya mṡa hād ... mṡāṡ n-wāḥ l-mra kbīra, wāḥd l-ṡāžūz u ḥakīma, ḥkīma, l-mra ḥkīma. qāṡ la: “lāxāṡṡəṡ dəmṡi ṡānd wāḥd s-sayyid rāḥ f-əl-mūṡāṡ l-flāni. wāḥ l-ṡīnsān yāṡni, wāḥ r-rāžəl kbīr yāṡni, dəmṡi ṡāndu, ḥūwwa yqūl ləṡ ṡ māṡ dāṡməl.” sāmsāṡ dīṡ l-klām mən dīṡ l-mra. u ža s-sayyid, ž-žāwž ḡyāla, u qāṡ lu: “lāxāṡṡni māṡ nəmṡi ṡānd wāḥd l-ṡīnsān f-əl-mūṡāṡ l-flāni.” qāl la: “ṡyāḥ, wāxxa. ḥa l-xāyl.” rākbu ṡla l-xāyl, ṡārrzūḥ. u rākbu mṡāḥa dīṡ žūž d-əl-ṡbīd. u mṡāṡ n-ṡāndu.
- 3 mən-nāyən mṡāṡ n-ṡāndu, qāl la: “wa ḥūġġəṡ qrība, l-ḥūġġə ḡyāləṡ qrība.” qāṡ lu: “ma ṡrāṡṡi ši?” qāl la: “āmma ṡ-ṡāžār māḥmūd” – wa hāda, ḥa l-ḥīkma! ḥūwwa ma lāyīṡṡāl ši biḥa u ma lāyīṡārfa ši, u ṡməl la l-āsəm d-əž-žāwž ḡyāla! – qāl la: “xāṡṡəṡ dəmṡi n-əs-sūq, dəmṡīw n-əs-sūq.” u ṡ-ṡāžār māḥmūd wāla ḥūwwa

38 This word is known with its dissimilation *ġnəm*) *ġləm* “sheep.” About the dialectal distribution of this term and its variant *ġləm*, see Cantineau (1960), 40; Heath (2002), 148, 535 for map 3–16; and Aguadé (2003), 76, n. 98. For the atlas distribution of this term, its variants, and its feminine *ġalma* “ewe,” in northern MA, see Behnstedt (2005), Karte 12 on p. 23, Karte 13 on p. 24, and the corresponding detailed philological commentary in Behnstedt (2007), 10.

39 This is another instance of the use of the CA pattern *filāḥa*. In MA in general it would be *flāḥa*.

40 Again the narrator tries to imitate the CA pattern, inventing this rare plural pattern. In ChA and MA it would properly be *ḡyūr*.

41 On this CA loan into MA and its total semantic assimilation see Heath (1989), 221 under A-2-1.

bān, r-rāžəl hāda! u māš yīmši n-əs-sūq bāš yīšri t-ṭaffāha. hūwwa u l-mra wāh t-ṭaffāha. qāl la: “u mən bāšd dāšrīw dič t-ṭaffāha, qəsmūha. n-nūšš⁴² kūlu nṭīna, u n-nūšš yčūlu hūwwa, wālākīn ūla ūāyn n-nās, dič n-nās d-ykūnu f-əs-sūq. ha nṭi! māš dkūlu wāh t-ṭaffāha f-əs-sūq.” wāh l-ṭīnsān ṭāžār, lābās ūlīh, yāšni, wāh l-ṭāḏāma, wāh l-ṭīnsān hāda! īwa kādālīč. qəbtəθ ha ž-žāwž dyāla qāθ lu: “xāššna ma qāl nāqqīw.” qāl: “wāxxa nāqqīwāh.”

mšāw n-əs-sūq. b-əd-dūxla dāxlu n-əs-sūq, n-nās kāyīntəbbhu, ūūhhhh, u hādi 4
fhāl l-mālīč – t-ṭīžāra, t-ṭīžāra, t-ṭīžāra – ... zādu n-ṭānd mūl t-ṭaffāh. šrāw dič
t-ṭaffāh qəsmūh f-əs-sūq, t-ṭālāš u l-hābāt, l-māši u l-māži, t-ṭāžār māhmūd lāyīšri
t-ṭaffāh m-əs-sūq! hūwwa ūāndu t-ṭaffāh bəzzāf, ūāndu l-fāwākīh bəzzāf, u hūwwa
māš yāčūl f-əs-sūq! īwa klūha.

ma ḏāməθ kda āw kda žāb ṇāh t-ṭīsīr. nəzzləθ wāhd l-bənt. qām t-ṭāžār māh- 5
mūd u ūrət n-nās yāšni kbīr u šgār, u ūməl s-sābāš dyālu ūla yīqqīh ši wāhīd; ūla
yšāmlu ši wāhīd; b-əl-mūkūləθ u l-āšrāb u l-xāyrāθ. īwa ža l-ṭām t-ṭāni, ūāmləθ l-
ṭāyla. ḡa l-ṭām t-ṭāləθ ūāmləθ l-ṭāyla. ḡa l-ṭām r-rābāš, ūāmləθ l-ṭāyla ḡāṭṭa qqāθ
ṭəsṭud d-əl-bnāθ.

t-ṭāžār māhmūd ūməl ṭəsṭud d-əl-bnāθ. qāl: “l-ḡāmdu lī-llāh lli ūṭāna hād 6
l-bənt! zāšma yāšṭīna ūāwəḏ l-wūld.” l-ṭāšār nṭəl l-wūld. wūldəθ wāh l-ṭāyəl. ūūū!
ūla fārḡa u ūla mūsīqa u ūla āfrāh! u ūla n-nās yāšni kāḏākūl u ḏāšrāb, u ūla n-nās
bəzzāf.

zād dič l-ṭāyəl lāyīkbār, ḡāṭṭa ūməl l-ṭāyəl ṭəsṭ snīn. māhma kəmməl ṭəsṭ snīn, 7
kān t-ṭāžār māhmūd ma ūāndu ši, ma bqa lu ši mən l-ṭāmṭīṭa⁴³ wālu. bāš l-ṭzīb
l-lūwwli, bāš l-xāyl l-lūwwli, bāš l-ṭāwdāθ, bāš l-bqār, bāš l-ḡnəm, bāš hāda, bāš
hāda, bqa wālu. l-ṭāyəl ūāndu ṭəsṭ snīn.

rāh l-līl qāl la: “l-mra!” qāθ lu: “n-ṭāš?” qāl la: “l-bārāh kūnna ma ūānna wālu, u 8
l-xāyr kān fāyīt, u l-ṭāyīb qāymīn, u l-bqār qāymīn u kda qāyīm u kūll ši nāyāḏ. u
ḏāba l-ān ma māš yīšbāh nna ši ḡāṭṭa bāš nṭātru. ma ūāndi wālu ḏāba. āna māši
nəsṭa.” qāθ lu: “rābbi ūṭāč u rābbi [zūwwəl] ləč. hūwwa kūll ši d-rābbi!”

qāl la: “ma nəbqāw ši b-əḡ-ḡū!” qāθ: “ma ḏəfṭāl?”⁴⁴ qāl la: “māš nšābbār wāhd 9
l-bənt ṭ-ūlādi u nxārrža n-əs-sūq nbṭīa.” qāθ lu: “āāā! hādi ma qqāha ḡāṭṭa

42 Here the second phoneme /s/ represents the CA /f/, and shows the assimilation of /f/ to /s/: CA *nīšf* > *nūšš* “half.” As Heath (2002), 176–177 notices, this shift occurs “most likely following a metathesis to **nīšs*.” This voice is common to all MA dialects: see Aguadé (2003), 74, n. 88.

43 This is another case in which the narrator borrows terms from CA. The narrator attempts to underscore the importance and value of his repertoire by using CA words as often as possible.

44 *ma ḏəfṭāl*. *ma* is a CA interrogative particle meaning “what?” For *fṭāl* “to do, act, proceed, deal,” see DAF, X, 128. The use of this verb is limited in ChA: the semantically equivalent verbs *ṭməl* and *qqa* are instead heard (see p. 100 n. 71); and from the the root FṬL the noun *fṭāla* “bad behavior, bad act etc.” is commonly used. See DAF, X, 129.

wāḥīd!” qāl la: “la, l-āqdār d-əd-dūnya, kāǧǧīb⁴⁵ kull wāḥīd wāḥīd kāyītṭwāqqāf ʕla, kāyītṭwāqqāff-əd-dūnya. u dāba wāḥīd l-bəntṭ māš nxārrʕa nbīʕa.” qāṯ lu: “wāš mən mənnəm māš dbīʕ, a l-məsʕūd?” qāl la: “māš nqūm f-əṣ-šbāḥ lli nšāddfa, māš nšābbār la f-yīdda u nxārrʕa n-əs-sūq.”

- 10 l-wūld wūdd ʕəsʕ snīn lāyīššānnəṯ ʕla bābāḥ. īwa qāṯ lu: “ḥāḥ u ma qāddār! dāba yāʕni ḥna ma nqādrū šī nāqqīw hād šī hāda! wālākīn dāba, ḥna kūnna ʕ-ʕīzāra kāṯṯ kbūra, dāba mša kull šī, wāḥāāhhḥ šḥāl m-ʕzāyīb, u šḥāl mən dār, u šḥāl m-bqār, u šḥāl m-ǧnām, u šḥāl m-ǧrāsī u kāda, u kull šī mša, u kull šī mša.” l-ʕāyəl smāʕ dīʕ šī kāməl fī⁴⁶–wūnnīh, u fī-ūdanu⁴⁷ u fī-ʕāqlu. u bāyəṯ l-ʕāyəl fāyāq, lāyītṭənnə ṣ-šbāḥ yīšbāḥ. māḥma šbāḥ ṣ-šbāḥ, nād ūqāf wāqīf. dīʕ l-ʕāyəl ʕənnə bābāḥ ynūq. māḥma nād, ʕāf, qāl: “ya ʕabi,⁴⁸ šbāḥ l-xīr, ya ʕabi!” bāsu, bās lu dīʕ s-slām, u bās lu l-wūnnīn, qāl lu: “ya ʕabi, la ʕāxūd⁴⁹ šī xṭī! xṭī ma dāqbāt ḥāṭṭa šī wāḥda mənnəm. nṭī qūlt māš dbīʕ xṭī. āna ḥūwwa, bīʕni!” qāl: “ḥāḥ, ḥāḥ ya wūddī! āna nṭī, nṭīna d-ʕāndī. wāna nəqdār nbīʕāṕ?” qāl lu: “wāla dbīʕ šī ḥāda⁵⁰ illa ānāya bīʕni.” īwa qāl lu: “wāxxa!” šābbār lu f-yīddu u ʕābbāḥ n-əs-sūq, n-əl-mūṭāʕ fāyn lāyīnbāʕu l-ʕbīd, l-ǧulām,⁵¹ l-ǧulām.

- 11 wūqfu. ḥūma wāqīn, u wāḥd l-ūzīr d-əs-sūltān d-əl-ʕārd lāxāṣṣu šī ǧulām. ǧa l-ūzīr lāyīntḥbāḥ. ǧa ḥūwwa qāl lu: “ya ʕabi!” qāl: “nʕām, a bni.” qāl lu: “ḥādāṕ l-wāzīr: ra⁵² ḥādāṕ l-wāzīr, u l-wāzīr d-əs-sūltān d-əl-ʕārd

45 *kādǧīb* } *kāǧǧīb*. On this kind of assimilation see n. 11 above.

46 The vocalization of the preposition here follows CA *fī*. Some of the prepositions in MA are basically identical to those of CA, though some of the vowels are reduced: hence MA uses *f-*. On this see Heath (1989), 27. About the use of this preposition, and for examples, see DAF, X, 189–192. On this preposition on other modern Arab dialects see Procházka (1993), 122–127.

47 The term here is the plural of *ūdan* “ear” plus 3rd person masculine pronominal suffix. For the atlas of this term in northern MA see Behnstedt (2007), Karte 72 on p. 36.

48 On the usage of the kinship terms of CA in our text see under *ʕumm* below. See n. 69 below.

49 The narrator here tried to use the imperative of the CA verb ʕXD following CA rules; but as a good Moroccan, and because of his illiteracy, he produced a hybrid CA and MA imperative form. This is a good example of MA tendency to lose of the *hamza* (see n. 1 and 69 below).

50 *ḥada* is here heard instead of the expected *wāḥīd*. In fact in MA *ḥādd* is used rather than *ḥada*.

51 This is not only a CA loan word, but a borrowed CA literary character. On this see the commentary on pp. 51–52.

52 The particle *ra-* in ChA often has the meaning of “here ...,” and frequently occurs in everyday speech, when it is normally followed by an independant pronoun (same in Tangiers: see Marçais [1911], 305–306), or by the 3rd masculine and feminine pronominal suffix *h/ha*: for example *rāh* “here he is” and *rāha* “here she is.” It rarely occurs with the pronominal suffix (contrary to its occurrence in Anjra: see Vicente [2000], 108–109). However, this same

dyānna.⁵³ *u dāba ža lāyissāra, lāxāšsu yšri ši ġulām. u lākīn āna, āna lāxāššni yšrīni. šāyyaṭ šlih.*” *qāl lu*: “*ya waladi, u mənṇāyən nšāyyaṭ šlih, u yži yqūl šhāl, šhāl nqūl lu?*” *qāl lu*: “*waznan bi-waznayni,*⁵⁴ *šāyīn yūzən əd-dhāb qāddi. əd-*

particle normally occurs plus other pronominal suffixes when it is preceded by the conditional *ka*, such as *ka rāç mšīṭ* “you could have gone,” *ka rāçūm žīṭu* “you could have come.” These instances are sufficient to refute Moscoso, DACH, 83–84, n. 216: “La partícula presentativa *ra* no es muy utilizada” On the use and the origin of this particle in MA in particular and in ADs in general see Caubet (1992), 142–149; Caubet (1993b), 25–27, 30, 35–37; and Vicente (2000), 108–109, n. 136–139 and the bibliographical references mentioned there. For a detailed study of this presentative semiverbial particle see Heath (2002), 59, 251–252 and Moscoso, DACH, 83–84, n. 216–218 for bibliographical references.

53 *dyālna*) *dyānna*. On this very common assimilation see n. 19 above.

54 This is an example of a code-switched segment that corroborates the observation by Heath (1989), 27, 54 that “in code-switched segments it is, of course, possible to use the CA dual endings with any noun and to use the full range of CA forms (*-āni*, *-ayni*, and prepausal counterparts *-ān*, *-āyn*) according to CA rules.” In ChA, as in many other MA dialects, the use of the dual is limited to the time terms *mārrəāyən* “two times,” *yūmāyən* “two days,” *šāhrāyən* “two months,” *šāmāyən* “two years,” and *sāšāyən* “two hours,” and to the numbers *myāšāyən* “two hundred” and *ālfāyən* “two thousand.” These examples show that in these particular cases ChA conserves the dual diphthong *-āyən*. Moscoso, DACH, 138, states that body members take the plural ending *-īn*. This exact same usage of the dual has been attested in Anjra by Vicente (2000), 121–123. For a detailed mapping of the use of the dual, particularly in Jewish and Muslim MA, see Harrell (2004), 100–101 and Heath (2002), 552, Maps 4–46 to 4–49. For a more general approach to the question of the dual in Maghrebin ADs in particular, and other ADs in general, see Cohen (1912), 289–290; Colin (1921), 58; Cantineau (1946), 348–350; Marçais (1956), 345–349; Grand’Henry (1976), 61; Cohen (1975), 185–188; and Brustad (2000), 45–52. For Maltese: see Fenech (1978), 1–9, esp. 4. The use of the dual in Semitic languages in general varies from one language to another. In CA and South Arabic the dual is common. However, in most Western ADs the use of the dual has completely disappeared in verbs, adjectives, and pronouns: it appears, with some variations, with nouns. Marçais (1977), 115–117, in his comparative study of Maghrebin Arabic, states that the dual is more common in Tunisia than in Morocco and Algeria (see Talmoudi [1980], 131). Cohen (1963), 197–198 asserts that “le duel est d’un usage plus répandu en hassane que dans les dialectes maghribins, du moins les dialectes citadins.” However, when comparing the usage of the dual in Western ADs to Near Eastern ADs, it seems that the usage of the dual is more common in the latter. On this Marçais (1902), 100 commented that, “Le duel est d’un emploi beaucoup plus rare en tlemcenien qu’en égyptien, en tripolitain, et même en tunisien.” A theoretical discussion of the causes behind this general non-preservation of the dual is urgently needed. Vicente (2000), 122–123, n. 44, 46, 47 addresses some of these questions with bibliographical references (see op.cit. esp. n. 44, 46, 47): however a detailed study is yet to be done. Another possible approach to the problem of the restriction of the dual in modern ADs is a comparison

dhāb yəttqa f-kāffa u āna f-kāffa. mənnāyən yitqāddəd əd-dhāb m ʕa l-wāzn dyāli, āna yʕābbīni l-mālīç. wāna ya ʔabi, rdi ʕllyya. ʔāh yhännīç! ʕāyyä ʕliḥ: “a s-si l-wāzīr!” ǵa n-ʕāndu. qāl lu: “lāḏəssāra ʕla ʕi ǵulām?” qāl lu: “n-ʕām.” qāl lu: “ha hüwwa ʕāndi!” māhma wqāf ḥda diç š-šābāḃ, š-šābāḃ māḥsūn, žamīl, qāl lu: “b-šḥāl ykūn kāyāʕmāl hād?” qāl lu: “waznan bi-waznaynih, šāyn yūzən d-əd-dhāb, qādd šāyn yūzən d-əd-dhāb.” qāl lu: “nəššwār. ma ḏbīʕu ḥāttā nǵi.” qāl lu: “wāxxa.” mša.

- 12 *mša l-wāzīr xlāt ʕla l-mālīç. qāl lu: “ǵbārtǵ ǵulām, la mīḏāl lāhu ykūn, diç l-ǵulām hādāç! qāl lu ḥāttā ʕxārçəf l-ʕqāl dyāli f-ən-nəḏra diç š-šābāḃ. u ḏāba ... qāl li waznan bi-waznayni, šāyn yūzən əd-dhāb. l-ǵulām f-kāffa, u d-dhāb f-kāffa ḥāttā ytiḥ əd-dhāb u l-wāzn hüwwa hādāç.” qāl lu: “āmši, žibu! mši žibu!” ǵa l-wāzīr lāytīr ʕla ʕānd hādā qāl lu: “nbāʕ mənnəç, yāḥāh!” qāl lu: “n-nāyən?” qāl lu: “l-məšwār, n-əl-qšār, ʕānd l-mālīç.” ǵa ʕānd l-mālīç. nəḥbāḥ fiḥ l-mālīç, “ʔāll ʕūh n-fūq.” qāl: “wāxxa, məzyān.” mša ūznu: ʕṭāh l-mīzān, l-walad⁵⁵ ǵəllsūh yāʕni f-kāffa, u sāru lāyāxwīw d-dhāb f-wāḥd l-kāffa ʕla ḥāttā qādd əd-dhāb m ʕa l-wāzn dyālu. bāḃāḥ ʕābba d-dhāb ma ykāfiḥ, u ykāfi ʕāʔilḏu u l-ǵulām ǵləs ǵələs f-əd-dār d-əl-mālīç.*
- 13 *n-nhār l-lūwwli, n-nhār ʕ-ṭāni, n-nhār ʕ-ṭāləḏ. u wāḥd l-qbila māža kāḏāhdi, māža b-əl-hdir u n-ndīr. māš yihdīw n-əl-mālīç. š māš yihdīw n-əl-mālīç? ǵābu lu wāḥ l-xāyl kāyīšrāb l-ma ḏ-əs-sāqya, u l-ʕālf kāyāʕṭīwāḥ b-əš-škāra, u yūm u nhār d-ət-trīq kāyāʕmāl fiḥ f-əl-mīḏāl žūž d-əs-swāyāʕ ... ʕwa hdāwāḥ lu, ʕāmlu ḥdāḥ. ʕṭāḥəm n-diç n-nās d-əl-qbila d-žābu lu l-hdīyya, ʕāw žāzāḥəm b-wāḥd l-hādīyya. u mšāw f-ḥāləm.*
- 14 *qāl lu: “ǵulām!” qāl lu: “n-ʕām, ya sīḏi.” qāl lu: “ārḱəb ʕla hād l-xāyl!” l-mālīç qāl nçūf ha l-ʕāyəl lli māš yūzən b-əd-dhāb, hādā l-mūzən b-əd-dhāb xāššna nçūfu n-nāṭīža dyālu šən ḥīyya, š yçūn. – āmma ḥna āḏām kif kif. wālākin küll wāḥiḏ u š ʕṭāḥ ʔāḥ: l-māwhība, u l-fīkra u l-ʕqāl. – qāl lu: “ārḱəb ʕla l-ʕāwd,⁵⁶ u žib li šənnūwwa⁵⁷ hād l-ʕāwd d-kān məzyān āw ʕāyyān.” l-mālīç lāyçūf fiḥ, u diç l-ʕāyəl*

with Hebrew, where the dual is found only with a few substantives, never with adjectives, verbs, or pronouns. This is not the case with Archaic Hebrew, in which the dual appears to have been less restricted, as in Ugaritic and CA (see Joüon – Muraoka [2000], 272 and his reference to Fontinoy [1969]).

55 This is a word borrowed from CA (see Heath [1989], 207 under A-1-2) and here used rather than the typical northern MA *l-ʕāyəl* “boy.”

56 For the variants of this voice in other northern MA and its detailed atlas see Behnstedt (2005), Karte 6 on p. 17 and the detailed philological commentary in Behnstedt (2007), 9.

57 *šən + hüwwa*, which Caubet (1993b), 32 relates to CA “*ayyu šay’ yakūn huwa x (quelle-chose-il sera-lui-X), avec une copule verbale devenue nominale et intégrée dans la formation d’un pronom interrogatif.” About this typical northern MA interrogative particle see

“ād-dāf!” f-əl-ṭārd-u ṭlāf ṣla t-ṭhār d-əl-ṣāwd. qāl: “āahhh! hāda hūwwa l-ḡulām!” [l-ḡulām] ṭlāf u hbāt, ṭlāf u hbāt bih qāl lu: “š đqūl f-hād l-ṣāwd? š fhāmṭ f-hād l-ṣāwd?” qāl lu: “ya āmīr l-mūmīnīn! ṣāwd wālākīn fih t-ṭāyra đ-əl-ḥmār.”⁵⁸ “āāā?” qāl lu: “īyyāh.” āmār s-sūltān ṣla n-nās lli žābu dīṣ l-ḥmār bāš yčūf hād l-ṣāyəl, hād l-ḡulām ka lāyqūl wāha, ka lāyīfhām āw ḡa z-zārwaṭi wāhha. sārrād mūra mūl dīṣ l-ṣāwd: “hād l-ṣāwd mənnāyən ṭṭāšālt bih? mənnāyən ḡībṭu? š mən ṣāwda xəlqāṣu?” qāl lu: “ya āmīr l-mūmīnīn! kān ṣāndi wāhd l-ḥmār, yāṣni wāh ššān kbīr, wāh l-ḥmār. twa ma ṣrāfna yāṣni, hād l-ṣāwda hna, u l-ṣāwda hna, šāy žāb ṇāh hūwwa hāda!” “wa ṇāh yhānnīṣ!” qāl: “wāhhh! wa hād l-ḡulām! ṣāndu l-fīkra, ṣāndu l-ṣqāl məzyān, ṣāndu yāṣni l-māwhība.”

ḡūwwzu wāh t-ṭəmn īyyām, u wāh l-qbīla māža hāddāya. š māš yīhdīw? māš 15
yīhdīw wāh t-ṭāyr. t-ṭāyr lāyāhdār u ysəmməl b-āyyi lūga, b-āyyi lūga đ-əd-dāwlaṭ
d-əl-ṣālām. qāl lu: “ḡulām!” qāl lu: “nṣām?” qāl lu: “čūf hād t-ṭāyr šənnūwwa l-
fhāma dyaḷu?” ṭkəlləm mṣāh b-əl-lūga āžnābīyya u žāwbu. ṭkəlləm mṣāh b-əl-lūga
āxra žāwbu. ḡāwbu b-əl-lūga l-ṣarabīyya, ḡāwbu. qāl lu: “ya āmīr l-mūmīnīn! hād
t-ṭāyr la yakūn⁵⁹ ṣānd šī wāhīd! la yakūn ṣānd šī sūltān. wālākīn mḥāddən ṣānd
əḡ-ḡdāda.⁶⁰ əḡ-ḡdāda hāddəntu.” qāl s-sūltān: “ṣāžīb! hād t-ṭāyr kāyāhdār b-əl-
lūsūn ṣarābi u ṣāžāmi. u yakūn hāddənāṣu ḡ-ḡdāda! hādi ma yīmkin šī dkūn!”

ṣāyyāt ṣla n-nās d-dīṣ t-ṭāyr. ṣāyytu lu. [l-ṣbīd d-əl-mālīṣ] ḡābūh. “hād t-ṭāyr 16
mənnāyən ḡībṭu? mənnāyən ḡībṭu? mənnāyən ṣrīṣu?” [wāhīd] qāl lu: “a sīdi, ma
ṣrīṣu, ma žībṭu. āna wāh l-ṭīnsān ṣāyyād. nānāššād, u čūft wāhd t-ṭāyr māši
f-əs-sma. xliṭ fih. dīṣ l-xālya dāxliṭ fih, ḡa f-wāh š-šātba. ṭāh mənnu hād t-ṭāyr.
dīṣ š-šātba kān fīha l-ṣūšš, u dīṣ l-ṣūšš kān fih hād t-ṭāyr. ṭāh mən dīṣ š-šātba.
hāzzīṣu. ma qāl li šī ṣāqli ndəbḥu āw nbīṣu. hūzzṭu u ṣīṭṭu n-əḡ-ḡdāda. ṣməṭtu
n-əḡ-ḡdāda dḥāddən ṣlīh m-əl-bārd, u dāḥdīh mən hāda u mən hāda.” qāl lu: “u
hāna žībṭu ləṣ, ya āmīr l-mūmīnīn. āna wāh l-ṭīnsān ṣāyyād. xliṭ f-əs-sma. ḡāṭ
l-ṣmāra f-əs-šātba, ṭāh hād t-ṭāyr. ṣīṭṭu n-əḡ-ḡdāda, qāməṭ dḥāddən ṣlīh” qāl
lu: “məzyān, ṇāh yhānnīṣ!” ddāh yāṣni b-wāh l-ḡāzā?, u mša.

ḡūwwzu wāh l-xməstāššar yūm u wāh l-qbīla māža dāhdi. l-ḡyūṭ u ləṭbāl⁶¹ 17
u hdīr u ndīr, u ādām hāda māži! māžīn yīhdīw n-əs-sūltān, b-wāhd l-būza.

for Ouargha: Lévi-Provençal (1922), 36; Tetuan: Singer (1958), 247, point b); Tangiers: Assad (1978), 97; Chaouen: Natividad (1998), 117; and Anjra: Vicente (2000), 140.

58 For the variants of this voice in other northern MA, a detailed philological commentary, and an atlas see Behnstedt (2005), Karte 9 on p. 20; idem (2007), 11.

59 This is another case of code-switching.

60 For the atlas of this term and its variants in northern MA see Behnstedt (2005), Karte 24 on p. 35 and the philological commentary in idem (2007), 12.

61 The singular *ṭbəl* has two forms of plural: *ṭbāl* and *ṭbūla* (CA: *fuṭūlat*). This is a very common plural pattern in ChA. About this pattern Corriente (1971), 49 writes, “llama la atención en un dialecto que ha eliminado tantos tipos de plural el vigoroso mantenimiento (que

mənnāyən hdāw lu, hdāw lu wāhd l-bənt, dīç l-bənt, f-əl-šūlūm, l-šilm u l-ḥusn u l-ʔadāb. hdāwha lu, yšāmla ḥdāh. dāxləθ šānd l-mālīç. Šāyḡāṭ lu: “a l-ḡulām!” qāl lu: “āāāā.” qāl lu: “čūf hādi! hādi š dkūn hādi? šənnu ḥīyya?” šəbbār la f-yidda. Šāndu l-qšār yāšni šlīh wāḥ l-māṭla. šəbbār la f-yidda u bdāw ṭālšīn ḥīyya u hu n-šāndu. qāl lu: “ya āmīr l-mūmīnīn! hād l-bənt, lāha šilm wālākīn bāḃāha u yīm māha šārfin.” [l-mālīç qāl]: “āāāā!” mša küll wāḥīd. Šāyḡu n-ən-nās lli žābūha. qāl: “a sīdi, bāḃāha u yīm māha n-nās māš ḡazīn. šārfu, u kbīrīn, ma bqāw yxādmu, ma bqāw yīmšīw, ma bqāw yžīw, u bqāθ ləm f-əd-dār, qālu: ‘ma dkūn hād l-bənt, ulla šānd āmīr l-mūmīnīn, šānd l-mālīç’” ... “məzyān.” twa l-hādīç.

18 *u bda yīçqīh ḥdāh. kāyži l-ḥkām, māhma lāyīwqāf d-dāšī āw l-məđī lāyqūl lu: “ya āmīr l-mūmīnīn! hādāç dālām; hādāç šābba; hādāç.”*

19 *l-mālīç šāndu wāḥd l-ūzīr ihūdi. l-wāzīr dyālu l-āwwāl šāndu ihūdi. dīç l-ihūdi lāyāntḥān, māš yīṭxābbəθ. l-mālīç ma bqa ši yīddīha fīh, ma bqa ši yīddīha f-əl-wāzīr: ma la yīṭšāl bīh la məzyān wāla šāyḡān, ḡa l-ḡulām ḥīwwa küll ši, ḥīwwa, ḥīwwa küll ši, ḥīwwa l-qšār, ḥīwwa küll ši. l-ihūdi yāšni lāyīntšān, lāyīṭxābbəθ.*

20 *l-mālīç šāyḡ n-dīç [l-ḡulām]. sāšāṭān dxāl l-mālīç n-wāḥ l-bīθ dyālu n-əd-dār u šmāl z-zəkrūm ... “ḡulām!” qāl lu: “dāba küll ši qūṭṭ li. dāba xāššəç dqūl li: āna š āna? āna šənnu ānāya?” qāl lu: “ya āmīr l-mūmīnīn! faṭaqtuluni,⁶² māš dāqtəbni?” qāl lu: “ya ḡulām! ma yqəθləç: ulla l-ḥāqq, ṭāḥl l-ḥāqq. qūl li, āna š āna, š kīf āna?” qāl lu: “āmma š-šāšb ḥīwwa fārḥān bīç, kabīran wa šaḡīran.⁶³ u küll ši ḥāydāç.” qāl lu: “twa wa smāš: u ṭabi u ṭummi u hāda?” qāl lu: “la!” qāl lu: “ṭabiç kāybīš, lāyāšmāl s-sfəngç f-əl-bāb d-əl-šāyn, u yīm māç lādbīš l-xūbz f-əl-bāb d-əs-sūq.” “āāā ṭummi lādbīš l-xūbz f-əl-bāb d-əs-sūq.” qāl lu: “šyāh.” “u bāḃa lāybīš s-sfəngç f-əl-bāb d-əl-šāyn.” qāl lu: “šyāh.”*

21 *ṭxāša u sāll s-sāyḡ, u dxāl šla dīç yīm māh. qāl lu: “bī-ḡāḥ! u la ma qūṭṭ l-ḥāqq ulla ma nšābbīç f-yīdd.” qāθ lu: “ma ḥānani ya ṭamīr!⁶⁴ ya ṭamīr, ḥna kūnna*

hemos podido comprobar hasta en individuos de Sūs, berberófonos bilingües) de *fuʿūlat*, relativamente raro ya en clásico: ...” On this pattern see Marçais (1977), 129; Tetuan: Singer (1958), 233; Tangiers: Assad (1978), 80–81; Skoura: Aguadé and Elyaacoubi (1995), 104; Anjra: Vicente (2000), 126, n. 65 under point f; and for Chaouen: Moscoso, DACH, 141–142, n. 367. On MA in general see Heath (2002), 553, Map 5–2. For other Maghrebin Arabic: Djidjelli: Marçais (1956), 361, point 6; Ḥassāniya: Cohen (1963), 202–203 under point d); and for Cherchell: Grand’Henry (1972), 106. Concerning the article *l-*, which occurs before double consonants in ChA, see Moscoso, DACH, 153. The same form of article is attested in Anjra: see Vicente (2000), 133.

62 Here the narrator attempts to conjugate the verb by the CA model; but the result is a macaronic form that is neither Classical nor dialectal.

63 This is a CA frozen formula.

64 The narrator here again appeals to code-switching. For a semantic commentary of the term *ḥānani*, see p. 182 n. 77 under the English translation.

žīrān mṣa bāβāk u yimmāk, mṣa l-mālīç. u l-mālīç ma lāyǎṣmāl ši l-ṣyāl. u žāθ l-mra ḏ-əl-mālīç, qāθ li, u žābəθ li d-dahab, qāθ la, 'ila nzāḏəθ ṣāndi l-ṣāyla u nṭīna nzāḏ ləç l-ṣāyəl, āna nāṣṭiç l-ṣāyla u nṭīna ṣṭīni l-walad.' qāθ la, 'wāxxa.' u ṭṣāhādna mṣa bāṣṭiθna. hīyya nāṣsəθ dīç š-šhār yāṣni ṣla ṭəmn ṣyyām āw kda." u qāl l-mālīç: "hād l-ṣāyla qqāθ l-ṣāyla, u xra qqāθ l-ṣāyəl, dīç ġ-ğāra ḏyāla." mən kūθrāṭi l-xāddāma u l-ṣrāyif [f-əl-qšār], ṣla rāṣdu dīç l-bəṅṭ u žābu dīç l-ṣāyəl mən ṣānd dīç ġ-ğāra. ġ-ğāra qqāθ l-ṣāyəl, u l-mra ḏ-əl-mālīç qqāθ l-ṣāyla. qāθ lu: "u xṭəç rāha lādəsqi l-ma n-ṣībād ṣāh, lādəsqi l-ma, lādbiṣ l-ma." qāl lu: "xṭi lādbiṣ l-ma!" qāθ lu: "ṣyyāh." – dāba xṭu, dīç əl-ṣāyla d-kāθθ xəlqəθ, hīyya ṣābbāθa dīç l-mra dīç ġ-ğāra; u l-mra ḏ-əl-mālīç ṣābbāθ l-ṣāyəl.

xlāṭ l-mālīç ṣla l-ihūdi, ṣla l-ūzīr qāl lu: "ha l-ğulām! āna krāhṭu. dāba māši nqəθlu. lāxāšṣni kif l-qṭila ḏyālu. kif māš nāqqīw lu?" ġa l-ihūdi, l-wāzīr qāl lu: "ma ṣrāṭṭ ši? nṣāmlu wāhd z-zūbīyya⁶⁵ ḏ-ən-nār hāṭṭa ḏāhṣa msāqqām, u nṭəlquh fiha yāhṭrāq, yīmši b-ər-rmād. hāda wālu, hāda!" ṣāyyāṭ ṣliḥ l-mālīç qāl lu: "āna hḳəmt ṣliç. māš nhārəç b-ən-nār." qāl lu: "ya āmīr l-mūmīnīn! qāl lu: "māš dāq-ṭəlni b-əd-dīn l-ṣislāmi u š-šrāṣ l-ṣislāmi, qṭəlni b-əl-ḥadīd,⁶⁶ qṭəlni b-əl-ṣašā,⁶⁷ u n-nār ḥārrma ṣāh taṣāla wa tabāraka ṣla l-mūslīmīn. škūn ṣṭa ṣliç hād l-ṣikra, nāhṭrāq āna b-ən-nār?" qāl lu: "l-wāzīr." qāl lu: "l-wāzīr ihūdi, u bāβāh hūwwa l-ḥāzzān d-əl-yhūd. u hnāya ḡāləs ləç mṣāç hnāya!" [qāl lu]: "āahh! l-wāzīr hūwwa ihūdi, u bāβāh ḥāzzān?" qāl lu: "ṣyyāh, a sīdi."

xrāž l-mālīç ma lāyǎṣrāṣ ši ṭ-ṭriç, mən ṭəmma ṣla ṣānd dīç l-ihūdi. qāl lu: "bāβāç šənnūwwa?" qāl lu: "... ." qāl n-əl-ṣāyəl qāl lu: "āna kūṅṭ māš nhārəç n-nīləç. māš nqəṭləç. dāba māš nəqṭəl l-ihūdi. l-ihūdi. āna ma ṣāndi ši l-xbār biḥ ihūdi." hūwwa ihūdi, ṣmāl yāṣni s-sūlhām biṣanna hūwwa māsləm, u hūwwa ihūdi mxābbāṣ. lāyāçūl mṣa l-ihūd, lāyāṣālli mṣa l-ihūd. bāβāh ḥāzzān. qāl lu: "hūwwa yīsshāl l-ḥriç. hūwwa yīsshāl ən-nār!"

dīç z-zūbīyya lli ḥamma dīç l-wāzīr fiha ṭāh. ḥārqu dīç l-wāzīr l-ihūdi. mən-nāyn ḥṭrāq l-wāzīr l-ihūdi, l-mālīç ṣāyyāṭ n-bāβāh kən lāyǎṣmāl s-ṣfəṅğ. ṣāyyāṭ n-yimmāh lādāṣmāl l-xūbz. u žābəm n-əl-māmlāça. l-ğulām ṣāyyāṭ ṣla bāβāh lli bāṣu. qqāh mṣāh ṣāw f-əl-qšār. u l-ihūdi māθ. u s-sūltān ṭhānna. bda l-ğulām hūwwa kūll ši.

65 This is a rare word in ChA, here used instead of the much more common *fəggīra* (Ber. *Iḡgirt*) "fire." On the latter see Lévy (1995), 191.

66 Here the narrator again adopts the CA pattern instead of the dialectal pattern *hdīd*.

67 The narrator appeals to code-switching by using the CA *ṣašā*. This appears in other MA as *ṣša* (see DAF, IX, 135–136); however more frequently employed in Chaouen are *zūllāt* (DAF, V, 362–363) and *hrāwa* (DAF, XII, 60).

s-sayyid bən l-āsād l-qūndi

- 1 *bən l-āsād l-qūndi. u hāda l-āsād l-qūndi mən dīwwāl l-ṣarab. hād l-walad kən bāḃāh mālīç. kən mālīç u kən lāyāḥkəm, yāṣni wāḥ ši kbīr bəzzāf. ʕāmma māθ bāḃāh. ʕāndu xāh, qāh wāzīr.*
- 2 *u l-ṣayəl [l-āsād l-qūndi] bāqi ṣġīr; l-walad bāqi ṣġīr. ma yīwšāl ši yāṣni ykūn mālīç. bāqi ma ʕāndu ši l-fikra kbīra bāš yāḥkəm l-māmlāça. qqāw xāh. qqāh.*
- 3 *kmāl s-sāna ḏbāḥ l-ṣīd. qbāṭ l-āsād u dxāl n-ʕāndu. hūwwa dxāl ʕlīh, u hūwwa ʕtāh wāḥd ṭ-ṭārša–“ṭ-ṭraq!” qāl lu: “... u dxūl ʕlīyya? šənnu hāda? nṭi bāqi ṣġīr hāyda, u dxūl ʕlīyya bla mšāwra!” ḏārbu b-əṭ-ṭārša.*
- 4 *sār⁶⁸ ıla ʕānd ʕummih⁶⁹ kāyībki b-əd-dmūṣ u l-qālb l-məžrūḥ. “māləç, ya waladi?”⁷⁰ qāl la: “ʕāmmi ḏrābni ṭ-ṭārša n-əl-yūm u ḏāba, mən bāṣd yīqṑəlni, māš yīqṑəlni. āna ma nəġləs ši hna f-hād l-ṭārç. u ḏāba ya ʕummi, ḡāh yāḥnniç. ʕinni māš nšīḥ f-əd-dūnya. māš nçūf; nəmši n-wāḥd l-ṭārç nṣīṣ fīha.” “āḡāh ya waladi! kif māš nəqqi⁷¹ nəṣbār! nṣīna lli ʕāndi, u māš dxāllīni u ḏəmši ṭṭīḥ!” qāl la: “ma nəġləs ši hna f-hād l-ṭārç, ma ḏām hāda ʕāmmi u ḏrābni ṭ-ṭārša f-hād l-yūm d-əl-*

68 The verb *sār* “went, left” is customarily used in narratives (see DAF, VI, 257, under meaning 3); the equivalent in everyday use is *mša*. *sār* is most commonly found in the imperative tense of *sīr* “go! leave!” About the usage of the verb *sār* in general see DAF, VI, 257–258.

69 The narrator constantly uses this CA term (and in this instance with 3rd person masculine singular pronominal suffix according to CA rules) instead of the original dialectal word *yūmmāh*, where the *ʔ is lost. It is well documented that MA shows some resistance to the retention of the CA *hamza*. Thus when the *hamza* is preserved as a root consonant of a word, it is a CA loan. Heath (1989), 45–46 limits its usage to educated people and “rarely or never by uneducated elderly or rural persons.” The present story shows this statement to be wrong, since the narrator was a very old illiterate person. Concerning the restoration of the CA pattern of this word and other kindred terms see Heath (1989), 46, 216 under A-1-245 to A-1-248. On the loss of the *hamza* in MA in general see Heath, (2002), 179–180. For Moroccan Jewish Arabic see Lévy (2009), 205–206.

70 On the term *walad* see p. 96 n. 55 above. The *-i* of the 1st person masculine singular pronominal suffix follows CA rules.

71 This is a very common verb in ChA: the semantic equivalents in other MA are *ṣməl*, *dār*, and *ṣəwwəb/ṣāub/ṣāib*. This verb was formerly heard frequently in northern MA in general: for Tangiers see Marçais (1911), 435; for Ouargha see Lévi-Provençal (1922), 257–258: *lqa* “faire, placer”; and for Rabat see Brunot (1952), 317–318: *rqā* “faire, mettre, poser.” For a detailed commentary on this verb see DAF, X, 393 under *qqa* [11], and p. 473 under QY; and Heath (2002), 44. In the speech of both men and women in Chaouen today there is a tendency to use the equivalent semantic verbs *ṣməl*, *ṣāddəl*, rather than *qqa*. Moscoso, DACH, 71, n. 192

fīd. fādi yiqṭalni!" ... *īwa qāḏ lu: "wāxxa." fāmmrəḏ lu wāh l-məzwūd d-əd-dhāb, u sarržəḏ lu wāhd l-fāwd, u l-ūmūr dyālu. "ḡāh yārḏa fliḡ! ṭriq s-slāma!"*

bda māši l-āsād l-qūndi, yāḡāh, yāḡāh īla ḡāṭṭa wšāl n-wāhd d-dəwār. yčūf fih, sārž ḡāda, u xāyl ḡāda. u fāyəl bāqi ḡḡir! u ḡūwwa ... qāl ləm: "wāš kāyən lli yāsməl fi-sabīl llāh, ānāya, yqārrīni u yfālləmni ḡārb s-sāyf? wāna fāndi bāš nəkḡfih b-əl-mūkūlāḏ dyālu u š-šārāb dyālu u l-libās dyālu? ḡāy yḡəlləsni, yfālləmni s-sāyf, u yqārrīni." qālu lu: "ma fānna ḡādd. ḡāh yḡānniḡ a sīdi. xrāž, sīr ččūf⁷² fāyn dmūḏ."

mša. zād, bqa māši. wšāl n-wāh l-qārya. xārḡu n-nās yčūfu ḡāḏ r-rāžəl, ḡāda māži fīla l-fāwd, ... ḡūwwa wāhd l-fāyəl. qāl ləm: "āna, ḡinni ḡāribun, ḡārib,⁷³ āna wāh l-ḡrib. u ḡāba wāš ḡābb fīčūm ši wāḡīd d-yqārrīni u yfālləmni s-sāyf, u yfālləmni l-ḡārb." qālu lu: "wālu, ḡna ma fānna ḡna." qāl ləm: "fāndi bāš nḡimu b-əl-mūkūlāḏ dyālu, u āsrāb dyālu, u l-libās dyālu, ḡūwwa u l-fāḡīla dyālu." qālu lu: "ma fānna ḡādd. ḡāh yḡānniḡ a sīdi!"

zād ... wšāl n-wāh l-qārya. xārḡu n-nās yčūfūh. qāl ləm: "āna ḡārib, āna žīḡ mən ḡārḏ īla ḡārḏ, u ḡāba kānəssāra lli yqārrīni u yfālləmni s-sāyf." qālu lu: "ma kāyən ši d-yqārrīḡ u yfālləmḡ s-sāyf qādd ḡabu l-yāsfī."⁷⁴ "fāynūwwa?"⁷⁵ qālu lu: "bāqi, lāxāššəḡ dzīd wāhd ... d-əṭ-ṭriq. mši n-fāndu. ḡūwwa lli yfālləmḡ s-sāyf, u yqārrīḡ. ḡna ḡnāya wālu. ḡa ḡāh yḡānniḡ."

šābbār ṭ-ṭriq īla n-fānd ḡabu s-sāyf, ḡabu sāyf. ḡəbbəl fīh, māḡma ḡəbbəl fīh, xrāž dīḡ š-šāyx, š-šāyx rāžəl kabīr, qāl lu: "mārḡba b-əs-sayyid l-mūqdād bən l-āsād l-qūndi!" qāl lu: "man fārrafaka biyya?"⁷⁶ qāl lu: "fāndi ṭ-ṭārīx dyāləḡ f-ḡāḏ ən-nḡār māš drūḡ n-fāndi. mārḡba bīḡ!" āmār yūsəf fīla l-fāwd ydāxxlu n- ..., āmār fīla s-sayyid l-mūqdi ydāxxlu n-wāhd l-fīmāra dyālu, l-bīḡ dyālu, ma yīdxūl m-fāh ḡādd.

affirms that "los hombres en Chauen no suelen utilizar este verbo [*qqa-AR*] sino *fma*, cuyo significado es el mismo." The male narrator also uses this verb, but with less frequency than the woman. So the use of the verb by the women in Chauouen did not preclude its use by men.

72 *dčūf* } *ččūf*: contrast Moscoso, DACH, 54, who suggests a partial assimilation, arguing that /d/ + /č/ gives [tč]: *dčūf* is [tčcu:f]. About the phoneme /č/ in general see n. 133 below.

73 The narrator here appeals to code-switching from MA to CA. And then he repeated the same sentence in MA to ensure clarity for both himself and his listener. On code-switching in general from CA into MA in general see Heath (1989).

74 This personal name seems to be loaned from CA. The word *ḡabu* as the first component in a composite personal name is not used in Morocco. About the use of *ḡab* in MA see de Prémare, DAF, I, 9.

75 ⟨*fāyn* + *ḡūwwa*: cf. Heath (2000), 589 Map 7–27. An analogy can be established between this full form and the example provided by Caubet, (1993a), 171: *škūn ḡūwa lli ža?* "qui est-ce qui est venu?" literally "qui?-lui-qui-il est venu."

76 This sentence is another example of the narrator code-switching from CA.

- 9 *n-nhār l-lūwwli, n-nhār t-ṭāni. n-nhār ət-ṭāləθ qāl lu: “wa žmāš rāsəç. f-əš-šbāh šāndəç l-qirāʔa⁷⁷ ḥāṭṭa n-nūšš d-ən-nhār, dāqra; u m-ən-nūšš l-fūqi māš n-šāllməç dārb s-sāyf.” qāl lu: “wāxxa.” twa ... žābu l-qṭbān, u šṭāh l-qṭib, l-qṭib dyālu. f-əš-šbāh lāyqārrih; u f-əl-ššyā lāyīžmāš m-šāh l-ḥāl ḥāṭṭa lāyrūddu khāl b-əd-dāqq. u f-əl-lil kāyāšməl lu l-būga n-dīç əs-syāti lli kāyḏārbu, u yqūl lu: “šām, yīnšāʔa ḥāh, māš dənšādd u māš d-kūn, u māš d-kūn wāh l-fāris⁷⁸ nṭīna.” l-yūm ila gādda, l-yūm ila gādda.*
- 10 *šāndu, yūsəf šāndu ḥdāšār xālq, ḥdāš d-əl-ṭawlād dyālu. šāndu f-wāh l-māh-ḥāl lāyrākbu šla l-xūyūl,⁷⁹ u kāyīmšiw yīššādu, u kāyīzibu š-šāyd l-kbīr: l-ḡnəm, lārwi⁸⁰ u hāda u hāda. ḥūwwa f-əš-šbāh kāyīšbāh kāyīqra; f-əl-ššyā kāyāqbāṭ l-qṭib kāyīšāllmu dārb s-sāyf. l-yūm ila gādda, l-yūm ila gādda. u b-ən-nī⁸¹ gāləs kāyāšməl lu l-būga n-dīç əs-syāti, n-dīç d-dārb lli yḏārbu. ḥāṭṭa bqa kāyīlqa d-dāqqa, s-sayyid l-mūqdād lāyīlqa d-dāqqa d-yūsəf d hādi. bda lāyīzšām šla l-ūštād, yāšni kbīr. yāšni hādīç lāyqūl lu: “āhda, ya ūštād! ḡa b-əl-lāṭi šliç.” u ḥūwwa ... kāyīzšām šlih, ila ma d-qūl ṭ-šālləm s-sayyid l-mūqdād bən l-āsād l-qūndi d-dāqq d-əs-sāyf, u qārrah.*
- 11 *fāyn rḡāšna hādāç šāmmu šāndu wāḥd l-bənt, u dīç l-bənt šāmləθ t-ṭəšwīrəθ dyāla, u kādārsāl n-əz-zušamāʔ u l-fūrsān lli ḥūwwa šažīš,⁸² fāris. “yzi yīṭbārəz m-šāy, u lli ḡləbni xādəm xdīm šla š-šāšb u l-mdīna.” ḥyā bāβāha mālīç. u lādsār-rād l-kūll wāḥīd wāḥīd. u lli yrūḥ n-šānda kād-qəθlu. lli yrūḥ n-šānda kādšyāyār šlih. šānda yāšni wāh l-šāwd: kād-qābəl s-sāyf mən hād ḡ-ḡīh, u kādārgāš lu mūra ṭāhru d-qūl: “tūy. hāna hnāya!” māhma lāyšāw lāyidūwwār n-šānda -rūbbāma- ila ḥāṭṭa dāqləb lu r-rās dyālu. u ila kān šī wāḥīd, ḥyā b-ən-ngāb, u ila kān šī wāḥīd qāšāh, ḥyā lādṭəyyāḥ əl-lṭām, lādāšməl fih hāhāhəh, u ṭṭəyyār⁸³ lu rāsu. kūll nhār r-rās d-žūž.*

77 This term belongs to the CA domain: in much more common use is *qrāya* “studying.” For more on this see Heath (1989), 210 under A-1-87.

78 The narrator here code-switches to give his narration a CA flavor: he both uses a CA term, and also borrows this character from cavalier novels. On this pattern, which normally occurs in words loaned from CA, see Heath (1989), 210 under A-1-100 to A-1-107.

79 Again the narrator tries to imitate the CA pattern, but ends up inventing a plural pattern. In ChA, and in MA in general, this should be *xyūl*.

80 For a detailed philological commentary on this term see Behnstedt (2007), 11.

81 *b-əl-nīθ* } *b-ən-nīθ*. On this common assimilation see n. 19 above.

82 The narrator uses code-switching here to give his narration a CA flavor. The common MA pattern of this adjective is *šžīš* /CCVC/.

83 *dṭəyyār* } *ṭṭəyyār*. About this assimilation see Cantineau (1960), 34–35; Tangiers: Assad (1978), 16; Chaouen: Moscoso, DACH, 54, n. 125.

wüşləθ n-wāhd l-wūld lāyqūlu lu l-ḥsən lāqrāf, fāris, āāāhhhh, u bāqi šāzri. 12
 rāḥāθ lu l-bra, rāḥāθ lu t-ṭəşwīra. qāl: “l-ḥāyāt dyāli ānāya, šāy ŷīšt, dāba māš
 nāmši n-hād, n-šānd hād l-fārīsa nəṭbārəz mīāha, u nšābbīha xādəm xdīm la
 šdāq la zīmma; la šdāq la kāda wāla kāda wāla kāda.” mšāθ n-šāndu yīm māh qāθ
 lu: “ya bni! hādi lādəqθəl ar-ruʔūs!⁸⁴ u dəqθəl l-šūlāma, u dəqθəl l-fūrsān. dāba
 nṭīna māšša dəqθələç. a bni, ma dəmši ši!” qāl la: “wālu, ya yīmma! āna ḥūwwa ma
 nəṭxālla ši ŷla hādi. āna ḥūwwa d-māš nqāttāf la r-rās.” lādqūl lu: “ya waladi, la
 ṭūqdāri!⁸⁵ šānda l-ḥūrūbāt u ḥrāmīyya kādāf māl l-lāšbāθ.” xāmsīn šfārəθ u šḥīḥ
 u l-hāmm u hāda. u ḥīyya šānda l-lāšbāθ, ḥrāmīyya. əl-ḥsən mən kəθrāt yāfni
 l-fārḥa māš yīmši yītfārəs mīāha, sərrāž l-šāwd, u ḥārrāf b-əs-sāyf dyālu, ḥāzzəm
 bīh, u bda māšši yāḥāh, yāḥāh ila ḥāttā.

yīm māh, ḥūwwa mša, u yīm māh rākbəθ šāwəd ŷla wāḥ l-šāwd u ṭbāfθu. wüşşlu 13
 n-əl-mālšīb fāyn kādəlšīb ḥīyya, šānda wāhd l-mālšīb kbīr, kāyīžmāf ŷiha bāβāha,
 kāyāhbāt b-əl-mūsiqa u ḡ-ḡāyş u l-wīzāra, u n-nās kbīrīn u n-nās şḡīrīn kāyḡalsu
 yītfārřzu ŷla – ḥāl māš yītfārřzu f-əṭ-tīnīs, āw yītfārřzu f-əl-būks āw yītfārřzu
 f-kāda, āw yītfārřzu f-kāda, – l-bilād. u hādāç dīç l-bilād d-əs-sāyf xṭār⁸⁶ mən dīç
 hādīç.

l-ḥsən wüşşāl n-əamma, yīžbār ādām. əamma fūrsān ḡālsīn lāyīttənnāw n- 14
 nāwba. küll wāḥīd lāyīttənnā n-nāwba fīwāx māš yāxrāž yīlšāb mīāha. u ḥīyya
 šānda wāḥ l-mənzāh f-əs-sma, wāḥ l-mənzāh šāli ŷla dīç l-mālšīb. ma lāyīdxūl
 ši wāḥīd n-dīç l-mālšīb, u yībqa ṭālāf ḥābāt, lādqūl lu: “āna nəhbāt ən-nīləç.”
 dādāf rāf ma yīdxūl n-dīç l-mūtāf, yīdxūl ḡa wāḥ s-səzīf, ḡa wāḥ əl-fārīs yāfni.

l-ḥsən ṭənnā n-nhār l-lūwwli, n-nhār ṭ-ṭāni, n-nhār ṭ-ṭāləθ. n-nhār ṭ-ṭāləθ rkəb 15
 ŷla l-šāwd dyālu; nəqqāz ŷla l-šāwd dyālu u dxāl. u l-xālīq⁸⁷ lli ḥīyya əamma

84 *lādəqθəl ar-ruʔūs*. Perhaps the narrator meant to say *lādqāttāf r-ryūs*. The narrator uses the CA *r-ruʔūs* instead of the plural *r-ryūs* (singular *rās*), the C¹āC³ pattern of which shows the drop of the glottal stop. For the pattern C¹āC³ see Marçais (1977), 96, point 8; Skoura: Aguadé and Elyaacoubi (1995), 25–26, 91, n. 3; Anjra: Vicente (2000), 113, n. 13; Chaouen: Moscoso, DACH, 125, n. 295. The present instance could be compared to Hebrew *ʔAlef*, which “can be quiescent when combined with any vowel; but in fact it often represents an etymological orthography, e.g. *ʔšr* ‘head’ (cf. Arb. *r*ʃ with a pronounced *ʔAlef*),” see Joüon-Muraoka (2000), 47–48.

85 The narrator tried to conjugate the root QDR according to CA rules, but because of his illiteracy could produce only macaronic forms.

86 Here is an example of the spirantization of /k/ to a fricative /x/. According to Heath (2002), 140 this shift is “probably stimulated historically by similar alternations in Berber sub- and adstrata ...”

87 This pattern {CaCiC} is not common, though it occurs with some nouns as here. This word appears in DAF, IV, 135 as *l-ḥāliq*, meaning “la création, les créatures, l’ensemble des êtres créés, le monde; les génés, les humains.”

kāmla kādčūf, kādqūl hāda l-fāris ḥāṣṣāltu, mən hād n-nāḥīyya ma māš yāqdār ši yilʕīb mʕa hād l-fārisa, l-fārisa d-əl-māmlāṣa, l-āmīra, bətt̪⁸⁸ l-mālīṣ. ḥābt̪āṣ lādəzgi u dğāwwəṣ u dquḷ lu: “hal ya gāda ġ-ğābhāwāṣ! wāḥ l-xāšba ḥābbṭa l-wād, ya l-ḥlāl bən l-ḥlāl!” lādəzgi u dğāwwəṣ, u lqāṣu b-əs-sāyf. u l-ḥsən dāba ḥūwwa bārəd, l-ḥsən fārtās, l-ḥsən lāqrāʕ, kāyīstġāllu bīḥ yāʕni l-ğdāyīd. bqāṣ mənna⁸⁹ hna n-hna, mənnaṣən čāftu qāsāḥ, qqāṣ n-ngāb ha, l-xīmār ʕmāl ha, u ḥūwwa ʕmāl fiha ha ha. s-sāyf ʕānda kaʕanna⁹⁰ huwwa ʕakṕar m-əl-kūčīyya, l-mḍa, u t-tāwq l-flāni u l-hāda. qātt̪īāṣ lu rāsu, u xāllāṣu ṣāmma, kəsda hna u r-rās hna. u t̪āʕāṣ f-ḥāla n-əl-mənzāḥ dyāla. l-mālʕīb ānksār, l-mūsiqa. dāxləṣ f-ḥāla, bābāha dxāʕ-f-ḥālu; l-wīzāra; ʕībād ḥāḥ lli kādčūfārrəž. r-rās u l-ğəsda bqāw ṣāmma.

16 *yimmāḥ kānəṣ kādčūfārrəž ʕla l-fārāsa d-bna mʕa hād bətt̪ l-mālīṣ. dāxləṣ dādəbki u dnūḥ b-əl-qālb l-məžrūḥ. rāfdəṣ dīṣ r-rās u qqāṣ ʕla sādra u qāṣ lu: “ya āmīr! hādi wāḥ r-rūḥ! ma yībqa ši hna mənšūr, yāʕni, ʕmāl lu qāʕīda mən qāwāʕīd d-əl-ʕīslām.”⁹¹ rāfdəṣ r-rās u mšāṣ f-ḥāla. bdāṣ māšša lādəssāra f-əl-qbāyīl: “wāš kāyən d-yīfdi hād t-tār, fdi li t-tār d-hād bni, d-hād l-fāris, hāda kān wāḥ l-fāris kāyīlqa mīʕāṣ,⁹² kāyīlqa ālāf d-əl-xāyl, kāyīlqa š-šūžʕān, kāyīlqa l-fūrsān. u dāba wāḥd l-bənṭ xdaʕṣu, qṕəṣu. lāxāšṣni d-māšš yīfdi lu t-tār.” qālu la: “xāšṣəṣ dāmši ʕānd yūsəʕf l-wāḥbi. ḥūwwa yīfdi ləṣ t-tār, ḥūwwa yīfdīḥ ləṣ.” bqāṣ māšša laylan wa nahāran⁹³ u ḥīyya māšša ʕla l-xāyl ʕla ḥātt̪a wūšṣləṣ n-ʕānd yūsəʕf l-wāḥbi.*

17 *wūšṣləṣ n-ʕāndu qāṣ lu: “ha!” qāl la: “ma hāda?” qāṣ lu: “hāda wūldi u kān wāḥ l-fāris, u wāḥ š-šažīʕ, l-ḥsən lāqrāʕ!” qāl la: “a l-ḥsən lāqrāʕ! nānāsmāʕ bīḥ” “dāba dāfdi li t-tār! bāš yāfdi li t-tār!” qāl la: “nəfdi ləṣ ət-tār. ʕtāṣ ḥāḥ! rāḥ fāyn, wāḥ l-māʕzīb d-əl-ma rāḥ ḥfūq. rāḥ māš yzi wāḥ l-fāris u māš yšārrāb l-ʕāwd dyālu. māḥma ččūfu māš yšārrāb l-ʕāwd dyālu, āqbāṣ wāḥd l-ʕūkkāz u xār wūṭ l-ma.*

88 For *bənṭ* } *bətt̪*, see Natividad and Rahmouni (1996), 145, and Heath (2002), 177.

89 This is an instance of an *imāla*. For an extensive commentary about the *imāla* in ADs in general and in MA in particular see Anjra: Vicente (2000), 28–29, n. 4–10, 37 and the bibliographic references there.

90 The CA conj *kaʕanna* “as if, as though; it is (was) as if” is here used by the illiterate narrator. This is yet more evidence contra Heath (1989), 29, who claims that the creeping of CA conjunctions into MA is limited to educated persons.

91 On this verbal noun see Heath (1989), 220 under A-1-342.

92 This is the CA plural of the singular substantive *mīʕah*. Its ChA equivalent is *myāwāṣ/t*: see DAF, XI, 292, meaning 2.

93 This is another case of code-switching: the narrator uses here a CA frozen expression, *laylan wa nahāran* “day and night.”

xārwəṭ l-māʿizəl, xārwəṭ l-ma ʾila ḥāṭṭa l-ma yībda ḥābāṭ khāl. māhma yāhbāṭ l-ma khāl, māš yātlāʿ yčūf ḥādāç l-fāris, yčūf škūn xārwəṭ lu, ṭəm̄ma mən̄nāyən yži n-ʿāndəç u qūl ləç: ‘dxārwəṭ li ḥādīç?’ qāl: ‘āāāhhh! čūf š wqāʿ nna! lāxāšṣna lli yifdi nna ḥād əṭ-ṭār?’ kādālīk wa l-mīṯāl.’

ğāw ḥīṭṭās⁹⁴ d-xūṯu u rābṭu ra fāyn. u wāhd s-sāʿa u ḥūwwa māzi. ğa, u nzəl ʿla l-ʿāwd dyālu, u nəzzəl s-sāyṯ lli žāb. u ṭlāʿ ywūrrād l-xāyl, yšārrāb l-xāyl m-əl-māʿizəl, m-əs-sāqya. u ḥyya sārəṯ n-dīç l-māʿizəl – ʿāmləṯ “ha, ha, ha” – xāb-bəṯṯu. tāḥ l-ma, yāʿni ḥbāṭ b-əz-zbəl, ḥbāṭ b-əl-ūsāx, ḥbāṭ b-əṭ-ṭrāb. ṭlāʿ yčūf škūn lāyxārwəṭ. ğəbrūha ḥyya. qāl la: “māləç nṯi lād̄xārwəṭ l-ma? š ğābəç n-nāhnāya?” qāṯ lu: “ha!” qāl la: “ma ḥāḍa?” qāṯ lu: “ḥāḍa wūldi. u fāris mən l-fūrsān, u ḍāba l-bəntṯ l-flānyya ḥyya lli qəṯlāṯu li!” qāl: “ḥāḍi ḍ-ʿāmmi, ḥāḍi bəṭṭṯ ʿāmmi, wālākīn mən̄nāyən lād̄əffāl b-ər-rīzāl ḥāydāya. āna wālīha māš nəm̄ši nəṯqəṭəl mʿāha.” – mʿa bəṭṭṯ ʿāmmu, bāβāha ʿṭāḥ ṭ-ṭārša. bāβāha ḥūwwa lli ʿṭāḥ ṭ-ṭārša.–

dīç ən-nḥār ma kān krāh. u s-šbāḥ rāfdu mšāw. yimmāḥ d-əl-ḥsān b-ər-rās dyāla māš ḍʿābbih dəfnu f-əl-mūṭāʿ dyāla. u s-sayyid l-mūqdād bən l-āsād l-qūndi māš yim̄ši ʾila n-blādu, n-ʿārḍu, ʿānd ʿāmmu lli ḥādīç.

ḥāṭṭa wūšṣāl n-əl-mdīna, u yīzbār ādām ḥāḍa, u šūžʿān ḥādām, u ʿūlāma ḥādām, u frāyīž ḥāḍi. u n-nās ʿānda wāhd l-fyīšṭa kbīra. “š ʿāndçūm hna?” qālu lu: “l-āmīra yāʿni qəṯləṯ ḥīdāšš⁹⁵ r-rās ḥāḍa ūsbūʿ.” – ḥāḍi wāḥ l-fārisa f-əd-dūnya! ḥāḍi lād̄āğləb d-dūnya kām̄la, ʿarabi⁹⁶ wa āznābi! – dxāl n-əl-mālʿīb qāl lāxāšṣu yīdxūl mʿāha. qāl: “ḥād r-rās ḥāḍa ma ʿāndu ma yīqqi bīh ..., bāβāha ʿṭāni ṭ-ṭārša, u āna māš nəʿṭīḥ ṭ-ṭārša. ʿāwəḍ, nəzzəl ṭ-ṭārša dyāli fīh.” ʿwa bda ṭālāʿ ḥābāṭ. ṭāllʿləṯ ʿlīḥ m-əl-mānzāḥ qāṯ lu: “ğa b-əl-lāṭi ʿlīç. wālī, šḥāl ğāzu fḥāləç! ḥāna ḥābṭa n-nīləç nqāṭṭāʿ ləç r-rās kama⁹⁷ qāṭṭāʿṯu n-əl-ḥsān lāqrāʿ.” ʿwa wāhd s-sāʿa u ḥyya ḥābṭāṯ. ma lād̄ḥāwwəḍ, lād̄ḥāwwəḍ ḍğāwwəṯ u ḍəzgi, u māt̄lāq l-xāyl yāʿni māši ḥādāç, u s-sāyṯ f-yīdda, ḍʿālli yīdda d-dūbbāna lād̄qəsm̄a ʿla rbəʿa. ḥābṭāṯ, ḥyya ḥābṭāṯ u ḥūwwa ʿməl n-əs-sāyṯ, qāl la: “bāš kād̄əṭqəṭəl mʿa š-šūžʿān?” qāṯ lu: “b-əs-sāyṯ u d-dārrāqa.” qāl la: “d-dārrāqa ma ʿāndi ma nəqqi bīha, s-sāyṯ ma nəḍrāb šī bīh. u ḍrābni ānāya, āqṭəl̄ni ānāya!”

94 This is an archaic and obsolete variant of the term *ḥdāš* “11.” It is neither catalogued nor mentioned by Moscoso, DACH, 174.

95 Contrast with *ḥdāš*, which is more commonly used for the term “11” than *ḥīdāššār*. Perhaps the narrator wished to say *ḥdāššār*, which is still heard in ChA but less frequently than *ḥdāš*. See Moscoso, DACH, 174 and the previous note.

96 Again the narrator uses the CA pattern instead of the dialectal *ʿārbi*.

97 This is basically code-switched from CA *kama* “as, in the same way as”: compare MA *f-ḥāl* in this sense. It is normally used with verbs, as seen in the example above. For this particle see Heath (1989), 32, 224 under A-3-6.

21 *ğəbdəθ s-səyf, kādqārbu*⁹⁸ *n-hāḏ ġ-ğīh, ḏḏārbu n-hāḏ ġ-ğīh. u hūwwa ġa kāyīṭ-ḥānāq* *ʕlīha yšəbbra. ḥīyya kāḏḏārāb u hūwwa kāyīṭḥānāq ʕlīha, hūwwa kāyḡūz la mənnə*⁹⁹ *hna, ḥīyya kāḏḡūz lu mənnə hna. wāḥd s-sāʕa u hūwwa šəbbra, ʕāllāha ʕla l-xāyl u ʕāllāha f-əs-sma u šāʕta n-əl-ʔārd, b-əs-šāʕta lli šāʕta n-əl-ʔārd, nzəl mən ʕla l-ʕāwd u sṭām ʕlīha. qāl la: “nṭīna ḥīyya lli kāḏḏāqṭəl l-fūrsān!” l-ʕālām lli ža yṭfārrəž, yčūf hāḏ l-fāris xābbāʕ s-səyf dyālu, ḥāyyəḏ d-dārrāqa bāš kāyīṭḥāyīḏ mʕa l-fūrsān. u qəbta b-kūll ši fḥāl ġ-ğāza u šāʕta n-əl-ʔārd. āāāāhhh! wa hāda s-sāzīʕ! hbāṭ bāβāha qdāmu ḥāfyān u rāsu ʕūryān, ya mūlāna ya rāḥmān! žūḏ ʕlīna b-əl-ğūfrān. hāḏāç l-qārrān kān kḥāl, l-ʕīffa ya ʔāhl ... šāʕta mʕa l-ʔārd u kāyāʕīṭha “nūḏ! kāḏḏāqṭəl r-rīžāl nṭīna.” ʕwa ža l-mālīç u qāl lu: “āhda!” qāl lu: “wa ʕqālṭ ʕlīyya.”*

98 *kātḏārbu*) *kādqārbu*. On this assimilation see Cantineau (1960), 35, Heath (2002), 166.

99 This is another instance of an *imāla*. See p. 104 n. 89 above.

läqräŋ bən l-fqi iŋlātu

ðamma l-fqi iŋlātu, l-ħkīm, t̄wəffa. māθ. xälla t̄lāθa d-ər-rzāl. l-fqi k̄yxyäyät: 1
 yxäyät äğ-ğlālab, u yxäyät l-libāsāθ¹⁰⁰ n-ən-nās. xälla wāhīd f-əŋ-t̄zāra, k̄ybiŋ
 u yiŋri. xälla wāhīd mufallis,¹⁰¹ mfəlləs: ma lāyilbəs məzyān, ma lāyāçül məzyān,
 ma lāyit̄məšša məzyān. māθ bābāhəm. qālu: “lāxāššna l-mät̄rūç, əŋ-t̄ārika d-xälla
 nna bābāna.” bābāhəm ŋāndu wāhd ŋ-šāndūq, wāhd əŋ-t̄rika, ħällūh! yzəbru f-dīç
 ŋ-šāndūq ən-nŋāla bāš kān lāyīmšī, u t̄-t̄ḡçyya, u s-səbsi u l-mät̄wi. “l-ħāydūra
 nāŋt̄waha n-əl-fqi. əŋ-t̄zār māš yfābbi l-ħāydūra. əl-mfəlləs māš yāŋt̄wāh s-səbsi
 u l-mät̄wi d-əl-ħšīš,” bābāhəm kān ŋāndu ğa mnəzzlīn.

läqräŋ, qräŋ u mfəlləs, ma lāyāçül məzyān, ma lāyīnŋās məzyān, ma lāyilbəs 2
 məzyān, wālu. ŋt̄awāh dīç s-səbsi u l-mät̄wi. ŋāmmār s-səbsi ħūwwa rma t̄-t̄fya u
 dīç t̄-t̄fya d-rma, rma yāqūθa d-əd-dhāb, wāhd l-ħāzra d-əd-dhāb dāswa wāhd
 t̄-t̄mān kbīr. qāl: “āāāhh! hād s-səbsi ila ççūfu ŋāndi bətt̄ l-mālīç, dāŋšāçni, u ila
 ŋāšqəθni bətt̄ l-mālīç, āna ħūwwa l-mālīç.” mša nŋāh̄t̄ əš-šəbbāç dyāla fāy lādəgləs,
 nŋāh̄t̄, u ŋāmmār s-səbsi, u t̄k̄yçəf, u rma t̄-t̄fya, rma l-yāqūθa. s-sūltāna lādçūf
 fīh. [qāləθ mŋa rāsa]: “hād l-ħšāyšī! t̄k̄yçəf, u rma t̄-t̄fya, rma yāqūθa. hāða
 ħūwwa! hāða ŋi ħkīm hāða!”

s-sūltān ŋāndu səbŋa d-əl-bnāθ. hādīç l-bənt̄ ŋ-şagīra, ħyya mənñāyən çāfəθ 3
 dīç l-ħikma: läqräŋ lāyikmi s-səbsi u yirmi l-yāqūθa. qāləθ: “hāða ħūwwa l-ħkīm.
 u l-ŋīnsān u l-ħkīm ila kānəθ ŋāndu l-ħikma hādi ħyya d-dūnya.”

qām l-mālīç māš yīzmāŋ ŋ-šūbbān, u ygūzu t̄āh̄t̄ s-sārğəm. u l-bənt̄ lli ŋāzba 4
 ŋi šābb, dārmi līh t̄-t̄ffāha. k̄yāŋt̄ihəm t̄ffāha n-əl-wāhīd. ma yibqāw ŋi yāŋni
 ulādu¹⁰² mšūwwqīn yāŋni f-ər-rzāl. “n-nās ma dšəğğāŋ ŋi dāxtāb mənñi. l-blād
 fīha l-māsākīn u fīha t̄-t̄ğār. t̄-t̄ğār ma yqādru ŋi yzīw n-ŋāndi, u l-māsākīn kādālīç.
 u dāba nāŋt̄ihəm t̄-t̄ffāha lli ŋāšqəθ ŋi wāhīd dšyçäŋ līh t̄-t̄ffāha.” əş-şğīra
 šyçyāš t̄-t̄ffāha ŋla läqräŋ: [u qāləθ mŋa rāsa]: “hāða ħūwwa ğ-ğāwz̄ dyāli: ħkīm
 lāyikmi s-səbsi u yirmi t̄-t̄fya, yirmiha yāqūθa. hāða wāhd ŋi kbīr hāða, ma dārku
 wāla sūltān wāla t̄zār wāla ħātt̄a ŋi wāhīd.”

100 The usual MA pattern for this noun is {CCāC}. However, the narrator uses here the CA pattern with an MA plural ending.

101 The vocalization expected here is *mfəlləs*; however the narrator adopts the CA participle pattern {muCaCCiC}. On this pattern and its loan into MA see Heath (1989), 63.

102 Though the context here refers to “his daughter,” ChA *bnīθāθ dyālu*, the narrator used the common masculine term for “sons,” which would include both sons and daughters.

- 5 *Šamma diç s-sāḡa əs-sūltān mrāṭ, mrāṭ b-əl-šāynīn,*¹⁰³ *nṭəfxu l-šāynīn dyālu, u ma bqa yčūf ši. bda yāmār šla t-ṭūbba. “ila kāyən ši ṭbīb yzi ydāwi l-šāynīn d-əl-mālīç, šāyīn yāṭləb, šāyīn yāṭləb šliḥ d-əl-āmawāl yāšṭiwāḥ, l-māl āw l-ḥāzā lli xāššu dyāl l-ğāyr u dyāl s-sūltān.”* *ṡrāṭ xəānu kāmlīn, u ṡrāṭ ḥāṭṭa lāqrāṡ. ḡa. qāl: “škūn māš yzīb nna hād?” qāl lu t-ṭbīb: “lāxāššəç ḥlīb əl-lbīyya māḥlīb f-ğəld wūldha.” əl-lbīyya, yimmāḥ d-əs-sbāṡ, u yzīb bna u ydabḥu u yşəlxu, u yāḥləb əl-lbīyya u yiqqi l-ḥlīb dyāla f-əğ-ğəld d-bna u yzību n-əs-sūltān ykähḥāl bīḥ, u yīssrāḥ l-šāynīna dyālu. [əs-sūltān] qāl: “škūn ma yzīb hād ši?” [t-ṭbīb] qāl: “lāxtān dyālu, hūma yzību hād ši.” “nsābi?” qāl: “nšām.” qāl: “lāxāšškūm dḡību li hād d-dwa. lābūdda dḡībūḥ.” [fākkru mša rāsəm]: “škūn māš yāqbāt yimmāḥ d-əs-sbāṡ, əl-lbīyya? škūn māš yqābta, u yşābbār bna, u ydābḥu, u yşəlxu u yiqqi l-ḥlīb dyāla f-əğ-ğəld d-bna u yzību n-əs-sūltān ykähḥāl bīḥ? škūn ma yzību?” [t-ṭbīb šāw qāl]: “nsābəç hūma māš yxādmu hād l-xīdma.” qāl lu: “a sīdi, nḡībūḥ, nḡību hād əd-dwa. mən dāba xmāštāšār yūm yçūn qbāṭna l-lbīyya, u nşəbbrūha u nkəṭṭfūha, u nḥālbū l-ḥlīb dyāla, u nḡību bna u ndabḥūḥ, u nşəlxūḥ u nāçqṭw l-ḥlīb dyāla f-əğ-ğəld d-bna.” mšāw n-əl-ğyāb, n-əl-ğāba, lāyfəṭṭšu šla l-lbīyya fāynīyya, škūn māš yāqdār ywūşşāl šānd əl-lbīyya; škūn hāda māš ywūşşāl šānda? qəṭṭṡu d-drābəl dyāləm, qəṭṭṡu žnābəm, –wāāālllluuu.–*
- 6 [lāqrāṡ] *mša šānd xāḥ, qāl lu: “a xāy, āna b-əl-ḥfa u lāxāššni diç ən-nšāla d-wrəṭṭf-bāṡa.” qāl lu: “āzi, ḥa ḥīyya.” qqāḥa f-rəžlu. žbār rāsu f-əğ-ğnān. f-wāḥd əğ-ğnān, u diç əğ-ğnān kif nūwwa?*¹⁰⁴ *m-əl-fāwākīḥ: mən šāy xləq ḡāḥ kāməl ḥāw f-diç əğ-ğnān. ḡna u xārrəfu kəmməl šāw xālləf žbār rāsu f-əd-dār. qāl: “twa āāhh hādām hūma ḥikma! ḥāṭṭa diç t-ṭāḡyīya d-šānd xāy fīḥa l-ḥikma. nəməši n-šāndu yāšṭīḥa li. nəšāḥa lu yāšṭīḥa li nqūl lu-mša ḥūwwa qrāṡ, u n-nāš lāyçūfu lu f-rāsu u lāyṭāḥku*¹⁰⁵ *šliḥ-yāšṭīni diç t-ṭāḡyīya nḡāṭṭi bīḥa l-qārṡa.” mša šānd xāḥ, qāl lu: “xāy?” qāl lu: “nšām?” qāl lu: “ya xāy! āna rāsi kāyībqa šūryān. u z-ğāb ma šāndi*

103 The singular of this term is *šāynīna* “eye” For the atlas of this term in northern MA see Behnstedt (2007), Karte 61 on p. 25, 54.

104 *n + ḥūwwa*. For this same type of contraction see n. 57 above.

105 *lāyṭāḥku* > *lāyṭāḥku*. The shift of /d/ to /t/ is dominant in ChA; however, given that the koiné of the rural area around Chaouen has preserved /d/, the phoneme /t/ is receding. For a detailed commentary and a survey of this devoicing of pharyngealized /d/ to /t/ in ChA see Moscoso, DACH, 40, n. 75; idem (2003), 215, n. 15 and the bibliographical references there. Also see Lévy (1998), 21; Heath (2002), 159–161. About Jewish MA, and for Fes specifically, Lévy (2009), 182, 185–186 states, “un trait distinctif du parler juif est la tendance à l’assourdissement de /d/ > /t/.” This shift is typical of urban pre-Hilalian dialects. It is possible that in Chaouen it reverted either because of the massive *žbāla* migration to the city or because of the koiné. I am grateful to my friend Ángeles Vicente for adding this last remark.

ši f-ər-rās dyāli, u n-nās kāyčūfu li f-ər-rās dyāli u kāyđāhku¹⁰⁶ ūlyya. u dāba ūtīni dīç t-tāgŷya ngātti biha rāsi.” qāl lu: “ha! ha hŷya, ddīha, hāda ši bāqi f-əl-mətrūç đ-bābāna, kāmāl ūbbiðu nŷina.”

qqa t-tāgŷya f-rāsu. ūmāl wāh əş-şbāf hāyda u wāhd l-ihūdi māzi, māzi ila 7
 hātta hša lu dīç əş-şbāf f-ŷāynu, “āāāhhh” l-ihūdi ġāwwəð, bda yfātəš škūnu¹⁰⁷
 hāda, u hūwwa wālu ma lāyčūfu hādd. qāl: “ūūū, hādi hŷya l-hīkma! ūtīð əş-şbāf
 n-əl-ihūdi u ma čāfni ši. mša yšābbārni u ma ūrāf ši mənāyən yšābbārni. āna
 b-hādi māš nādxūl ūla bətt s-sūltān, ūla l-ūrūsa dyāli.” qqāha f-rāsu, dxāl l-bāb
 d-əl-məşwār ma čāfu hādd. dxāl ndāxīl, ma čāfu hādd. hŷya gālsa kādətālāf
 f-wāh l-ktāb, u hūwwa qbāt u gləs hđāha. qāð lu: “ma hāða?” qāð lu: “škūn nŷin
 hātta ...? fāyn nŷin? ādām š nŷin?” zūwwəl t-tāgŷya dyālu, đsibu hūwwa hūwwa.
 qāð lu: “hātta n-nāhna?” qāl la: “hātta n-nāhna!” “šənnu l-mzi dyāləç lli đxūlt
 ūlyya n-nāhna? ūlāš dxūl ūlyya n-nāhna?” qāl la: “bāš nməttāf başari,¹⁰⁸ u nčūfəç
 u nāxrāž f-hāli.” xrāž f-hālu. ūmāl ən-nŷāla, mša n-dīç əğ-ğnān.

wşāl n-dīç əğ-ğnān, ġbār wāh š-šīzra fiha l-kārmūş bāyta u wāh š-šīzra fiha l- 8
 kārmūş kāhla. qbāt dīç l-kārmūş kāhla, l-ğūddān tāyīb, mšārrāt, məzyān, hlūwwa.
 kīl wāhda xrāž lu l-qārñ, kīl t-tānyā xrāž lu l-qārñ. qāl: “ūūū! kūnna bla qrūn, dāba
 ūmāna¹⁰⁹ l-qrūn, u ytāhku ūlyya n-nās.” ġa n-dīç š-šīzra l-bāyta, kīl l-kārmūşa l-
 lūwwlŷya, tāh l-qārñ. kīl l-kārmūşa t-tānyā, tāh l-qārñ. qāl: “wa şāfi hŷya hādi!
 hādi, māš nāŷti l-kārmūş, nāŷtiha n-əl-ūrūsa dyāli dāūmāl l-qrūn. u đəkrāh ən-nsa,
 u đəkrāh l-mālqāð.” ġna l-kārmūş l-kāhla, u žna l-kārmūş l-bāyta, u ūmāl t-tāgŷya
 u dxāl n-fānda.

qāð lu: “ūlāš ġið?” qāl la: “ğībt ləç wāhd t-tūrfa, ūmmrəç ma kīlta. ha ši đğībt 9
 ləç, ūmmrəç ma čŷŷtu, u ūmmrəç ma kīltu.” qāð lu: “ma huwwa?”¹¹⁰ qāl la: “ha.”
 ūtāha l-kārmūşa kāhla, mŷāssla, hlūwwa. fəlqāða klāða, tlad ūla l-qārñ f-rāsa. “āāā”
 qāð lu: “šənnu hāda žībt li?” qāl la: “dāba ūād zyānt, ūməlt l-qrūn fhal l-māŷza.”¹¹¹
 qāð lu: “hāyda māš nəbqa?” qāl la: “lā?” ġbəd l-kārmūş l-būyət, ūtāhəm la. kāləð
 lūwwlŷya, tāh la l-qārñ, kāləð t-tānyā tāh la l-qārñ.

106 In this case the shift of *ð* to *t* does not occur.

107 *škūn* + *hu*. For this form in Anjra see Vicente (2000), 140 and in Chaouen Moscoso, DACH, 166, n. 481, where no mention of this attestation is made, only the use of *škūn* as an interrogative particle.

108 Instead of using the dialectal form *ən-nđār dyāli* “my sight,” or just the noun *ŷāyni*, lit. “my eyes/ my sight,” the narrator appeals here to code-switching.

109 *ūmāna* } *ūmāna*. For this assimilation see n. 19 above.

110 This is yet another case of code-switching. The narrator appeals to CA to formulate his question.

111 For the distribution and the atlas of this term, its variants in plural and its correspondent feminine in northern MA, see Behnstedt (2005), Karte 18 on p. 29 and Karte 21 on p. 32. For a detailed philological commentary see idem (2007), 12.

- 10 *dxāl n-šānd l-mālīç. l-mālīç gləs u hüwwa dxāl šliḥ. “škūn hna?” qāl lu: “xāḥnəç, wūld lli řābba l-bəntǝ əş-şagīra. bāqīn ma žāw nsābəç d-māş yžību l-ḥlīb d-əl-lbīyya māḥlīb f-əğ-ğəld d-bna?” qāl lu: “wālu, bāqīn ma žāw ši.” qāl lu: “āna māş nəməşi nčūfəm fāynūma.”¹¹² řməl ən-nřāla. řdāq řāndəm. wūşşāl n-əğ-ğnān, ālqāḥ l-řāfřīḋ mūl əğ-ğnān lāyřāḥḥāb biḥ, qāl lu: “āmār?” “lāxāşşni lānsāb dyāli nčūfəm fāyn hūma.” qāl lu: “mūžūd.” řāřdu u nəzzlu ḥdāḥəm. qāl lu: “bāqi lāxāşşni wāḥ l-ḥāža.” qāl lu: “ma ḥiyya?” qāl lu: “lāxāşşni l-ḥlīb d-əl-lbīyya māḥlīb f-əğ-ğəld d-wūldha.” qāl lu: “mūžūd.” mša žāb lu dīç l-ḥlīb. dīç l-řāfřīḋ ġāb lu l-ḥlīb māḥlīb f-ğəld wūldha, ma kāyən ši ři wāḥīd, ři ādām yžīb ḥād l-mžīyya ḥādīyya.*
- 11 *xlāṯ řliḥəm. “mənnāyən ġāb l-mžīyya?!” qāl ləm: “wāş qqīḋu?” qālu lu: “ḥna ma nqādru ři nqābtu l-lbīyya u ndəbhūha u ndəbhū bna.” “āā wlād ř-şməyīḋ lāxrīn, nṯūma u nṯūma! āna řṯəwni ř-şḥīmā¹¹³ d-wūnnkūm. kūll wāḥīd yqāṯṯāř ř-şḥīmā d-wūnnu. u nəřṯīçūm ḥād l-ḥlīb d-əl-lbīyya māḥlīb f-əğ-ğəld d-wūldha.” qālu: “wāxxa.” kūll wāḥīd ṯəkka řla qālbū, ṯrāq! u qāṯṯāř. qqāḥa f-wāḥīd əş-şkīyra u ddāḥa n-əl-mālīç. hüwwa ma řārfūḥ ři wāḥīd mənnəm. īwa žāw řānd l-mālīç. žābu dīç ři. lqāwhəm l-wūzāra. u lqāwhəm n-nās. “āāḥ! ḥādām qābtu l-lbīyya u qābtu bna u ḥālbūḥ, u qəḥlūḥ u səlxūḥ u ḥālbū l-lbīyya f-əğ-ğəld d-bna.” qqāw ləm wāḥīd l-mālqa wāḥli qāddāş! [l-mālīç] kāḥḥāl b-dīç ḥlīb əl-lbīyya f-əğ-ğəld d-wūldha, zāḋu mārṯu řāynu.*
- 12 *ārāw māş yřṯi? ř māş řāw yqūl ḥād əd-dwa? qālu lu: “lāxāşşəç l-ma l-ḥāyəl l-mlūqqi ləžbāl.” ləžbāl lāyīṯlāqqāw u l-ma l-ḥāyəl f-wūştəm. u yřāřd dīç l-ma l-ḥāyəl u yžību n-əs-sūltān ykāḥḥāl b-dīç l-ma bāş dəssrāḥ řāynu.*
- 13 *mşāw xəḋānu lāyřāyyū fāynu ḥād ġ-ğbəl lāyīṯlāqqa, fāynu ḥād ġ-ğbəl lāyīṯlāqqa? fāyn hūma ḥād l-ma? lāykāřřbu b-əl-līl u n-nḥār. wāla řābu ři ḥāža. wāla řābu mənnāyən māş yžību ḥād l-ma. řməl ən-nřāla hüwwa f-rəşlu u mša n-əğ-ğnān. ālqāḥ l-řāfřīḋ, qāl lu: “āmār, āmār řliyya ř lāxāşşəç?” qāl lu: “xāşşni l-ma l-ḥāyəl f-əl-mlūqqi ləžbāl.” qāl lu: “nřām, ya mūlāy.” mša l-řāfřīḋ u řfəd l-ma l-ḥāyəl l-mlūqqi ġ-ğbāyəl u žābu f-wāḥīd l-ānīyya [u řṯāḥa lu. mša řānd nsābu] u qāl: “wāş qqīḋu?” qālu lu: “ma qdārna ři nčūfu ři žbāl lāyīṯlāqqa n-āxūr u l-ma bāynāḋəm. yāḥāḥ lāyīṯṯāḥ ḥāyda řāw yīnşādd. řāw yīnşāḥ ḥāyda řāw yīnşādd.” hūma lāxāşşəm yřāřdu l-ma d-ən-nūwwa bāyn ləžbāl. qāl ləm: “dāřṯīwni ř-şbīyyāř s-řṯīṯu dyālkūm, u ḥa l-ma l-ḥāyəl l-mlūqqi ġ-ğbāyīl.” qālu: “wāxxa.” ġəbdu l-xūnğār kūll wāḥīd lāyqāṯṯāř əş-şbāř dyālu u řṯāḥ lu. qqāḥ f-wāḥīd l-ḥūkk b-əl-kāwfār. u rābtu yīddəm. u řābbāw l-ma l-ḥāyəl l-mlūqqi ġ-ğbāyəl n-əl-mālīç.*

112 < fāyn + hūma. Contrast with Heath (2002), 589 Map 7–27; Moscoso, DACH, 191.

113 This expression is more common in ChA as *čāḥmīta* “lobe of the ear”: see Behnstedt (2007), Karte 73 on p. 37. Behnstedt marks the word *šāḥmīta* as common in ChA speech. For a detailed philological commentary *ibid.*, 55.

“āāā hād š-šūžīān qāddās! u hād l-fārāsa qāddās! u hād l-silm qāddās! hātta 14
 mšāw ğ-ğbəl lāyītlāqqa u ğ-ğbəl lāyītlāqqa u ydāxlu bāyn ləzbāl u yrāfdu l-ma
 bāynāθəm. u zābūh n-əl-mālīç māšī ykähħāl bih bāš yīssārhu řāynu.” ēwa zābu dīç
 šī. l-mālīç qāl ləm: “āžīw, nğəm řu, āžīw nāřməl lkūm wāħ l-ħāfla.” qqa ləm l-ħāfla,
 u l-mwākəl u š-šārāb u l-ħlāwi řla küll ānwān u l-māšrübāθ řla küll ānwān. u řāyn
 yqūlu hūya dķūn. kähħāl b-dīç l-ma l-ħāyəl l-mlūqqi ğ-ğbāyəl u wālu, l-řāynīn
 dyālu zādu mārřu.

qāl: “bāqi lāxāřşni ři řbīb řāwəđ yčūf li ř māš nāřməl n-hād řāynī.” ma lāyčūf 15
 wālu, u řāynu kāyħārquh, u řāynu nřāřxu, u řāynu ma bqa yčūf bīhəm wālu.
 [qāl]: “dāba, d-māš yžīb li āna d-dwa?” [nsābu qālu n-əř-řbīb āxur]: “ř lāxāřşu?”
 “lāxāřşu ř-řāffāħ d-řāyřa bəřř mənřūr, l-řādyā səbř bhūr. yřūmm ř-dīç ř-řāffāħ,
 yřūmm řih u yāçlu, u yīnřāřřu řāynu, u yīssrāħ řāynu.” [l-mālīç qāl]: “řāynu hād
 əğ-ğnān d-řāyřa bəřř mənřūr l-řādyā səbř bhūr?” [ř-řbīb] qāl lu: “nsābəç hūma
 yžībūh lli zābu l-ma l-ħāyīl, hūma yžību ř-řāffāħ d-řāyřa bəřř mənřūr l-řādyā səbř
 bhūr, kādən řās řīřř řhūr u kādřīq řīřř řhūr. u hūya sūltāna, kādāħkūm řīřř řhūr u
 kādən řās řīřř řhūr.” qābřu nsābu u rākbu řla l-xyūl u mšāw řāyřīn, řāyřīn ř-əl-xla,
 u řāyřīn ř-əl-ğyāb. mənřāyən māš yğūzu n-řānd řāyřa bəřř mənřūr l-řādyā səbř
 bhūr? řāynūma hād l-buħūr lli māš yğūzu řihəm, u yžību ř-řāffāħ u hāda?

[lāqrāř] řməl ən-nřāla ř-rəžlu, u mřa n-əğ-ğnān, hūwwa dxāl n-əğ-ğnān, u 16
 l-řāřřīθ qāl lu: “hāna, ya mūlāy, āmār řənnu lāxāřřəç, ř ħābbīθ?” qāl lu: “lāxāřřni
 ř-řāffāħ d-řāyřa bəřř mənřūr, d-řādyā səbř bhūr.” qāl lu: “ya mūlāy l-ħakīm,¹¹⁴
 lāxāřřni wāħd ř-řāwr¹¹⁵ kbīr bəzzāř, u nāřməl bih səbřa l-qāddīdāθ. u küll qāddīda
 nřālqa ř-əl-bħār bāš nāřdi n-řānd řāyřa bəřř mənřūr.” qāl lu: “dəbbār rāsəç.” ma
 xāřşu ři yžīb lu hādīç. lāqrāř qāl lu: “dəbbār rāsəç. ma dçūl li hātta ři ħāza.
 lāxāřřni dğīb ř-řāffāħ d-řāyřa bəřř mənřūr.” qāl lu: “nřām, a řīdī.” mřa l-řāřřīθ
 řāyār.

řāyřa bəřř mənřūr řānda l-řāřāřīθ mdūwwra řla l-řārd dyāla. řməl səbřa l- 17
 qāddīdāθ, küll bhār lāřřīh¹¹⁶ řih qāddīda. mřa yžībəd wāħda řāhu b-zūž. lāxāřřu
 wāħda āxra, qāřřāř m-əl-fāçřa d-rəžlu. řāřřīθ! u řəlqa ř-dīç l-bħār u wūřřāl n-
 əğ-ğnān d-řāyřa bəřř mənřūr. ğāb lu ř-řāffāħ. l-řāřřīθ qāl lu: “ħa ř-řāffāħ d-řāyřa
 bəřř mənřūr, řādyā səbř bhūr.” řābba dīç ř-řāffāħ n-řāndəm [n-nsābu d-əl-mālīç].
 qāl ləm: “ř qqīθu?” qālu lu: “řyīna ma nřāyřřu u řyīna ma nğāřřīw, u řyīna ma
 nkāřřbu, wāla lqīna ři žnān, wāla lqīna ři bhār. u dāba nřīna kūθθ řākkīθna. žībř

114 Here again the narrator borrowed a CA pattern.

115 Contrast with Behnstedt (2005), Karte 2 on p. 13, where the word *tūr* “ox,” is marked as common in ChA speech. For a detailed philological commentary on this last term see Behnstedt (2007), 8.

116 *lādřīh*) *lāřřīh*. About this assimilation see n. 83 above.

*nna l-ma l-hāyil, u žibṭ nna ḥlib əl-lbṭyya, dāba lāxāššəç ġġib nna hād t-ṭəffāḥ d-
fāyša bəṭṭ mənšūr.*” qāl ləm: “*bāš nġib lkūm t-ṭəffāḥ d-fāyša bəṭṭ mənšūr, t-ṭəffāḥāθ
dyālkūm dāštāθkūm hādīç dyālkūm dāštōwhəm li n-nīli*¹¹⁷ *ānāya u nāšti lkūm t-
ṭəffāḥ d-fāyša bəṭṭ mənšūr.*” qālu lu: “*ha hi.*” *kūll wāḥid ġbəd lu dīç t-ṭəffāḥa štāha
lu. mša n-šānd l-mālīç. ġāw [nsābu] šāw lqāwhəm: “hāy hāy!” lli xāššu l-mālīç
ġābūh. ġābu t-ṭəffāḥ d-fāyša bəṭṭ mənšūr, l-šādyā səbī bḥūr. māš yšūmm fihəm,
ma yšūmm f-əṭ-ṭəffāḥ u yīšārḥu šāynu.*

- 18 *qbāṭ s-sūltān t-ṭəffāḥa, šāmm fiha, nfəṭṭu šāynu. qbāṭ t-ṭəffāḥa, bda lāyāçla
zyān lu l-ḥāl. tḥəġġa šlih l-ḥāl. qāl ləm: “māš nāšməl lkūm wāḥ l-ḥāfla mazyāna
bəzzāf.” āmār šla š-šāšb lli šāndu l-kāmānġa yžiba, u lli šāndu l-šūḍ yžibu, u lli
šāndu l-gənbri yžibu, u lli yāšrāfyīdrāb f-əṭ-tār yžibu. [l-mālīç] māš yīqqi l-ḥāfla
nə-nsābu, māš yāšməl l-šūrs n-hādām, ġābu lu l-ḥlib d-əl-lbṭyya māḥlīb f-žəld
wūldha, u žābu lu l-ma l-hāyəl l-mlūqqi ġ-ġbāyil, u žābu lu t-ṭəffāḥ d-fāyša bəṭṭ
mənšūr d-šādyā səbī bḥūr. [l-mālīç] māš yāšməl ləm wāḥ l-ḥāfla ma yīqqiha ši
wāḥid, la yakūn f-əd-dūnya, yçūn šməl ši wāḥid, hād l-ḥāfla!*
- 19 *īwa u gəlsu u hāda. īwa bdāw lāyhādru: “ḥna žībna, u ḥna žībna!” qāl lu: “ya
āmīr l-mūmīnīn! hādām kāmīn wālu. āna lli žibṭ l-ma l-hāyil. u āna lli žibṭ ḥlib
əl-lbṭyya māḥlīb f-žəld wūldha. u āna ḥūwwa lli žibṭ t-ṭəffāḥ. štāwni š-šḥimāθ
d-wūnnəm, īla dčūš-šḥimāθ d-wūnnəm mqāṭṭīn.” [l-mālīç qāl lu]: “fāynu šāndəç
l-ḥūkk?” qāl lu: “ha ḥūma fāynūma.” qāl ləm: “l-ma l-hāyəl l-mlūqqi ġ-ġbāyəl ġībtu
ləm, štāwni š-šbīyyāç dyāləm s-štītu –kūlləm bla səbīn, māššūmīn šāndi. āna
ḥūwwa lli šməlṭ ləç hād ši hāda.” [s-sūltān] qāl: “āā! hāda ḥūwwa s-sūltān mūši
ānāya. yāqbāṭ yīmāh d-əs-sbāš, əl-lbṭyya, u yāqbāṭ bna u ydəbḥu u yşəlxu, u
yāḥləb l-ḥlib dyāla f-əġ-ġəld d-bna.”*
- 20 *šməl ləm l-ḥāfla. u šməl ləm hādīç. rġāš lāqrāš ḥūwwa f-ər-rās l-šāli. kūlla
lādbəndāç. hādī l-xrāfa d-lāqrāš. əl-šrūsa dyālu fārḥāna yāšni: ḥīyya kənəθ d-
dālīla, ḥīyya rāžšāθ ḥīyya l-kabīra dyāləm. ḥīyya r-raʔy, u ḥīyya š-šwār šwāra, u
ḥīyya dəfšāl šāyən dḥīb n-ḥīyya.*
- 21 *qqa lāšrās, qqa l-šūrs n-hāda, qqa l-šūrs n-hāda īla ḥāṭṭa wşāl n-lāqrāš. īwa
mənnāyən wşāl n-lāqrāš qāl lu: “qūl li š ḥābbīθ f-əl-xāṭār dyāləç, f-əl-šūrs dyāləç,
nāqqīwāḥ fih?” qāl lu: “dəžmāš l-māsākīn d-əs-šāšb dyānna kāməl u dāšti ləm*

117 *n-līli* } *n-nīli* (+ 1st person pronoun singular feminine). This preposition is a variant of *līl*: Procházka (1993), 154–155: “Die Form *līl*- läßt sich eigentlich nur durch eine Verschmelzung von *lī* (= *ilay*-) mit *l* (= *la*-) ... erklären.” This preposition is widely attested in northern MA: Taza: Colin (1921), 81; Ouargha: Lévi-Provençal (1922), 41; Tangiers: Assad (1978), 103–104; Chaouen: Natividad (1998), 117, 118 and Moscoso, DACH, 178–179, n. 528; Anjra: Vicente (2000), 148, n. 161. In other ADs: Sūsa: Talmoudi (1980), 153; Takroūna: Marçais and Guíga (1960), 3727–3728. For a more detailed comparative approach on this preposition in different ADs see Procházka (1993), 154–155, n. 274, 275.

l-mūkūlāṭ u š-šārāb, u dləbbsəm l-libās, l-libās məzyān. kull wāḥīd wāḥīd dəṣməl lu kišwa.” – wāḥi ši kbīr d-əl-māsākīn d-əš-šāṣb kāməl! māš yšāmlu, nṭi! qāl lu: “wāxxa.” ḡmāṣ l-māsākīn. n-hāḍa kišwa, n-hāḍa kišwa, n-hāḍa kišwa. u l-māṣāl u š-šārāb. ṭəṭṭ ṣyām b-ən-nsa dyāləm, b-əl-ṣyāl dyāləm, b-kull ši dyāləm f-dār s-sūltān.

u ṭəmma xällīnāhəm u žīna f-ḥānna.

hārūn r-rāšīd [u t̪lāθa d-əl-wūzāra dyālu]

- 1 *hāda wāh*¹¹⁸ *s-sūltān. s-sūltān d-wāhd l-ʔārd -kayāhkīw ʔlīh- kayāhkūm ʔla dūwwāl l-ʔarab. u qām u ʔlām b-əl-hūkūma*¹¹⁹ *dyālu lli xrāž f-əl-ʔša ydūr f-əz-zānqa. yʔšābbār, nāʔtīwāh xāmsīn mītrāqa u nxārrzūh ʔla bāb l-blād. yčūn škūn ma hābb yčūn.*
- 2 *ʔamma l-mālīč qāl: “āna qūlt̪ hād̪ l-qāwāla.*¹²⁰ *dāba ma ʔrāft̪ ānāya wāla hād̪ ši yčūn kāyʔāmlūh wāla ma kāyʔāmlūh ši. dāba māš nāxrāž āna b-yīddi nčūf.” ʔmāl wāh l-kīswa radīla*¹²¹ *u t̪hāzzəm b-wāh l-hbəl, u xrāž. hūwwa xrāž wšāl n-wāh ǰ-ǰāmāʔ, žbār wāh l-mūddən kāyšūdd əǰ-ǰāmāʔ, qāl lu: “āhda ya l-mūddən, āna žīθ ʔla t-ṭrīq u bārrāni, u dāba xāllīni nədxūl n-hād əǰ-ǰāmāʔ nənʔās hād l-līla.” hūwwa [əl-mūddən] ʔāndu l-ʔāwāmīr ǰ-ǰāmāʔ ma yīnʔās ʔiha hātt̪ta wāhīd̪, ǰ-ǰāmāʔ ma ybāθ ʔiha hātt̪ta wāhīd̪: əǰ-ǰwāmāʔ mənnačyn ddən l-ʔša, yšāllu l-ʔša, ykūnu ǰ-ǰwāmāʔ məšdūdīn. qāl lu: “wa nṭīna žīθ ʔla t-ṭrīq u žāwʔān, dāba āna māš nšūdd ǰ-ǰāmāʔ u nəmši n-əd-dār dyāli, u nǰīb ləç šayʔun min aṭ-ṭaʔām*¹²² *bāš dət̪ʔāšša, u dənʔās.” qāl lu: “la, ma ǰǰīb li ši t-ṭʔām ǰa ʔt̪āh li ǰ-ǰāmāʔ.” qāl lu: “lā?, hātt̪ta nəmši n-əd-dār dyāli u nǰīb ləç šayʔun min aṭ-ṭaʔām u dāçlu bāš nāʔt̪iç dənʔās.” u l-mūddən mša f-ḥālu, šadd ǰ-ǰāmāʔ u mša f-ḥālu.*
- 3 *hāda l-mālīč, kāyqūlu lu, msəmma hārūn r-rāšīd. ǰlās f-əl-bāb d-əǰ-ǰāmāʔ lāyīšt̪ānna l-mūddən yži, yčūf wāš bāqi ši ʔāwāmīr lli hūwwa dāffʔa f-əš-šāʔb dyālu āw wālu. hūwwa ǰāləs u d-dāwr d-əl-ʔīssa ža. qālu lu: “ša d̪qūl?” qāl ləm: “āna māš nənʔās f-əǰ-ǰāmāʔ u l-mūddən mša yžīb l-məft̪āh d-əǰ-ǰāmāʔ m-əd-dār.” qālu lu: “nūd!” šābbrūh u ʔt̪āwāh d-dāq q u xārrzūh ʔla l-bāb. qāl: “āhyi āna ʔmālt̪ hād̪ l-ʔāwāmīr, ʔmālt̪a ʔidāʔan n-raʔsi!”*¹²³

118 *wāhad* } *wāh*, where the final /d/ has been dropped.

119 This term is a loan from CA which has been totally assimilated into MA. See Heath (1989), 210 under A-1-90.

120 On this term see n. 171 to the English text.

121 The narrator's vocalization of this adjective follows the CA pattern rather than the expected {CCiC}. For this word see DAF, v, 98–99 under the adjective *rdil*, “vil, veule, sans amour-propre, sans dignité, méprisable, abject; ignoble (individu); de basse qualité (chose) etc.”

122 This is another case of code-switching, the narrator using the CA frozen expression.

123 The narrator here uses the form *ʔidāʔan n-raʔsi* “doing hurt to myself.” The first word is from the root *ʔāda*, “to harm, to hurt someone, to cause damage to someone.” However, the pattern used by the narrator, – *ʔidāʔan*, does not appear elsewhere in the texts: the narrator usually uses the CA *ʔidāʔ*, “perjudicar, hacer objeto de sevicias” (Corriente, DAE,

qālu lu xrāž n-əl-bāb dāgləs. ʔ-ʔhār dyālu kāyāhrāq b-əd-dāqq. [bda māši] 4
ħāʔʔa žbār wāħd n-nūwwāra bʔīda fīha d-dāw, ʔbāʔ dīç d-dāw yāñāh yāñāh ħāʔʔa
dxāl. dāqq ʔla dīç n-nūwwāra, dxāl žbār ʔlāṡa d-ər-ržāl. “s-salāmu ʔalaykum.”
qālu lu: “ʔalaykum s-salām.” čāfu f-bāʔīṡəm, ʔāqlūh.

qāl wāħīd, qāl lu: “flān!” qāl lu: “nʔām.” qāl lu: “xāššna dhāllīl nna kāsəç, qūl 5
nna š wqāʔ ləç f-əd-dūnya, ha nʔi fī-ʔāyšəç, māḏām ʔāyšəç dʔīšʔ f-əd-dūnya, šənnu
fʔāʔʔ fīha, u š wqāʔ ləç fīha?” qāl ləm: “āna ʔabi kān wāħ r-rāžəl ʔāžār bəzzāf.
ʔāndu ʔ-ʔīžāra. u ṡamma māḏ dīç r-rāžəl, māḏ ʔabi, qāḏ lī ʔummi: ‘ya waladi nūḏ,
āqbaʔ l-mfāʔāħ d-əl-xzīn u mši n-əd-dukkān, bīʔ u šri mʔa rāsəç:’” qbāʔʔ l-mfāʔāħ
d-əl-xzīn bāš nəfʔāħ, fʔāħʔ l-xzīn u žbārʔ s-səlʔa mūžūda ʔāndu mən kūll nāwʔ.
ʔāndu mən kulli ħabba. āna gləšʔ, u wāħd l-marʔa¹²⁴ māžə n-ʔāndi, ‘a sīdi! ħāḏ
l-ħānūḏ d-flān?’ qāl la: ‘ʔyāh,’ ‘fāynūwwa?’ [‘ʔwāffə.’] qāḏ lu: ‘āñāh, āñāh, āñāh.’ u
bdāḏ ʔla l-būka ... u bqāḏ kāḏḏrāb f-rāsa. īwa qāl la: ‘wa bārāka! dāba ħna bkīna
u sālīna.’ qāḏ lu: ‘māš nəžbār āna ši wāħīd f-ħāl ʔabiç! āna dīç r-rāžəl ħāḏāç kān
lāyāʔməl mʔāy məzyān.’ qāl la: ‘wa l-ħāšūl dīç ši lli kān lāyāʔməl mʔāç bāḃa ħāʔʔa
āna nʔəʔlu mʔāç.’ qāḏ lu: ‘wa bārāk ñāh u fīç!’ īwa u qāl la: ‘wāš ħābbīḏ?’ qāḏ
lu: ‘ha š kūnt nāñhīz ānāya: m-ən-nāwl d-əl-ħārīr nāñhīz kāda kāda, m-ən-nāwl
d-əl-fāḏḏa nāñhīz kāda kāda, m-ən-nāwl d-əd-dhāb nāñhīz kāda kāda, u fħāl žībʔ
l-flūs fħāl ma žībʔ ši l-māl.’ qāl la: ‘wāxxa, ma ʔlīna.’ žbəḏ wāħ l-māntīl kbīr. qāl la:
‘qūl ma nəžbəḏ ləç?’ ‘āra¹²⁵ li ħāḏīç, āra li ħāḏīç.’ ħāʔʔa ʔammrəḏ u sārərəḏ dyāla. u
ʔāyyṡəḏ ʔla wāħ l-māħʔāž u ħāzz la dīç ši. ħūwwa māš yħūzz dīç ši, qāḏ lu: ‘āhda!’
qāl la: ‘š kāyən?’ qāḏ lu: ‘dəmši mʔāy n-əd-dār dyāli bāš ččūfni āna mūši nʔābbi
ləç ħāḏ s-səlʔa. u ma dāʔrāfni ši, u ma dāʔrāf ši d-dār dyāli. xāššni dāʔrāf d-dār
dyāli.’ qāl la: “wāxxa.”

12). Corriente observes that this CA word is followed by the preposition *b-*; but the narrator uses *n-*, which is a dialectal preposition. The use of CA in this expression is augmented by the following noun *raʔsi*: the usual MA pattern is {C¹āC³} *rās* “head.” For the root *ʔada* and its different forms and occurrences see DAF, I, 37–38.

124) Again the narrator prefers to use a borrowed CA form (*i*)*marʔ-at-*, definite *al-marʔat* (*√mrʔ*) instead of *mra* (see DAF, XI, 160; Heath [2002], 425–426).

125) The term *āra* plus the preposition *li*, meaning “give me, show me,” occurs in Tangiers: Marçais (1911), 220; in Rabat: Brunot (1952), 7–8; and in Skoura: Aguadé and Elyaacoubi (1995), 87–88, n. 1 for bibliographical references. This particle is very common in ChA in both singular (as it appears above), and in the plural *ārāw!* + preposition *l* (+ pronominal possessive suffixes). This contradicts Moscoso, DACH, 84, (n. 219, 220 for bibliographical references), who claims that “... *ārāw!* que no he podido documentar en áCh. [= árabe de Chaouen].” Marçais (1911), 220–221 adds that in the dialect of Tangiers *ārānna* and *ārāk* are very common as “formules de transition dans la conversation ou le récit.” Assad (1978), 108 follows Marçais. For this same usage in Rabat: see Brunot (1952), 7. This same semantic value is common in ChA, but solely with *āranna*.

- 6 *šādd l-hānūθ dyālu. h̄yya l-l̄wwl̄yya u h̄wwa mūrāha ıla h̄t̄ṭa n-əd-dār. fəṭḥāθ l-bāb d-əd-dār, dāxləθ n-wəst d-dār. yǝzbār d-dār! āāhhhh ıla dār hādi! h̄yya w̄sləθ n-əd-dār, u h̄yya ʕāyytəθ: ‘xādīza, xādīza, a xādīza!’ qāθ la: “nʕām ya ʕummi.” qāθ la: “āzi, ṭāllāʕ sidi mūhāmmād f-tāhrəç n-əl-fūqi.” qāl: “la, āna nāt̄lāʕ ıla rīzli.” qāθ lu: “la. wālu! n̄əll̄sūç. dāt̄lāʕ f-ət-ṭhār d-xādīza.” “āna nāt̄lāʕ ıla rīzli.” qāθ lu: “la, xāṣṣāç dāt̄lāʕ f-ət-ṭhār dyāla.” h̄āmləθ xādīza ṭāhra,¹²⁶ u rkəb mūhāmmād ıla ṭ-ṭhār d-xādīza ıla l-fūqi.*
- 7 *dxāl n-əl-fūqi, u zbār l-hr̄ir u l-fāddā u d-dahab¹²⁷ ʕānd hād l-mra. “ah ıla ṭīzāra hādi!” ḡāθ ḡəlsəθ. qāθ lu: “hādi h̄yya dāri, hādi h̄yya māhālli.”¹²⁸ ɪwa qāl la: “māzyān.” qāθ la: “bīnṭi!” qāθ la: “nʕām?” qāθ la: “āra dīç l-qārmūd d-ən-nhās.” ḡāθ n-wāhd l-qārmūd d-ən-nhās d̄wwrəθ yidda ʕlīh ṭlāʕ l-fār, ṭlāʕ l-qṭṭ. šābbārəθm qqāθəθm f-əl-māhrāθ, u rākkbəθ s-səkka u lāffəθ. u dālləθ wāhd əz-zlāfa, wāhd l-ān̄yya mʕāmməra b-əz-zrāʕ, u ʕāmləθ n-dīç z-zrāʕ, u šəṭṭəθəθ f-wāst l-māh̄hāl. šəṭṭəθəθ u bdəθ dāhrāθ. h̄wwa lāyçūf, ‘hāda wāhd l-ʕəb! šənnu hāda lādāqqih hāyda! h̄yya lādāhrāθ hna u z-zrāʕ lāyīnbəθ hna, ma kəmməθ b-əl-hārəθ ıla kān z-zrāʕ ṭāyīb.’ qāθ la: “bīnṭi xādīza!” qāθ la: “nʕām?” qāθ la: “zīb l-mānāzil.” zābəθ l-mānāzil.¹²⁹ sārū kāyṣāyyfu h̄yya u bəntə, ṣāyyəf, ṣāyyəf. ḡābu wāhd l-ḡīrbāl, u h̄ākkūh u fārkkūh, u zābu wāhd l-xāšba, u dāqqu dīç z-zrāʕ “ād-dāf, ād-dāf, ād-dāf!” qāθ la: “āra dīç ṭ-tāhūna, āra li dīç ṭ-tāhūna.” ḡābəθ dīç ṭ-tāhūna, nəzzlāθa, u bdəθ ṭ-tāhūna lādāṭhān, u ṭ-ṭhīn xārəž ḡa l-mlīh d-əl-prīmīla, ḡa z-zrāʕ yāʕni, fḥāl l-mlīh. ṭāhnāθ, nəzzləθ əṭ-ṭhīn, u zābəθ ṣ-ṣāh̄fa. u āznəθ u ḡəlsəθ lādʕāddəl r-rḡīfəθ.*
- 8 *“āna nānçūf dīç ši, ḡa nānçūf. ma nāqdār nāhdār ma nāqdār nəṭkəlləm. u hūma b-zūž, h̄yya u bəntə, kāyʕāddlu hād ši. ḡābu l-māqla, qlāw wāhda, ʕāmləθ ər-rḡīfəθ.” qāləθ lu: “ma yīmkin ši ykūn ḡḡi n-əd-dār dyāli u ma dḡāyyəs ši ṭ-ṭfām dyāli. āna ʕmāṭ hād əṭ-ṭfām bāš dḡāyyəs nṭīna.” nəzzlu dīç ər-rḡīfa l-l̄wwl̄yya, kla, ldīda u h̄l̄wwa u māzyāna. qāθ lu: “yāç ma dəsrāb, dāḥṭāž l-ma?” qāl la: “ʕyyāh, āʕṭīni l-ma.” qāθ la: “āra dīç əz-zlāfa.” ḡābəθ wāhd əz-zlāfa, kābbəθ fīha l-ma, māhma kābbəθ fīha l-ma, ʕāmləθ n-əl-ma ha, l-ma ṭlāʕ h̄t̄ṭa n-əs-sqāf*

126 This may be the narrator's mistake. The root is *hml*, but it has to be in the D stem: *hāmməl*. As remarked by de Prémare, DAF, III, 231–232, “... porter (qqn. ou qqch.) sur les reins (un enfant, une cruche, un fagot, une charge quelconque, en tenant le fardeau par une corde ou une pièce d'étoffe qui se fixe aux épaules).” In the present text the correct verb should be *hāmməlāθu xādīza f-tāhra*.

127 This is a borrowed CA pattern instead of the dialectal {CCāC}.

128 The narrator said *hādi h̄yya māhālli* instead of the correct *hāda h̄wwa māhālli* (given that the noun *māhāll* is ma). For this term see DAF, III, 206, esp. meanings 1, 2, and 3. On this CA loan into MA and its total assimilation see Heath (1989), 216 under A-1-252.

129 The expected pattern here is *mnāžəl* instead of that used above.

u hāwwəd f-dīç əz-zlāfa. l-ma hābāt n-dīç əz-zlāfa, u hyya šəbbrəθ dīç l-ma u kādsārrād ʕlīh: “āxrāž ya sūrāʔ ādām! wa dxūlyā sūrāʔ l-kīlb!” dīç ... lli sārredəθ ʕla dīç l-ma, ǧa sīdi mūhāmmād rǧāʕ yāʕni kīlb. hyya šəbbrəθ l-ʕūkkāz u bənʔa šəbbrəθ l-ʕūkkāz, u nəzlu ʕīh lāyhālkū “a l-ʕādāw! a l-ʕādāw! a l-ʕādāw!” lāyǧāwwəθ yāʕni, u xārrzūh ʕla l-bāb, mdəǧdəç b-əl-hrāwa.

mša mən ʔamma qāsəd d-dār dyālu, yāḥāh, yāḥāh ḥāʔṭa n-əd-dār dyālu. dxāl mən ʔamma n-əl-frāš dyālu, nmādd hāyda, u xʔu ʕ-šaǧīra¹³⁰ dāxləθ. dəžbār l-kīlb nāʕīs ʕī-māḥāll¹³¹ xāha, qāθ la: “ya ʔummi!” qāθ la: “nʕām.” qāθ la: “əl-kīlb nāʕīs ʕ-əl-kāma¹³² d-xāy!” ǧāw l-līlu, dārbūh u xārrzūh ʕla l-bāb. š-šʔa lāyʔīh u l-hwa bārəd u l-bārd.

mša n-wāḥd l-bāb d-əl-fūrṇāçī,¹³³ u nksār. hūwwa nksār, u mūl l-fūrṇāçī ʕāmm ʕlīh, ʕāmm ʕlīh u ʕṭāh l-ʕāfyā. qāl: “āāā āna māš nāʕməl wāḥd l-māšʔūllīya.

130 This adjective retains its CA-type vowel pattern rather than the dialectal {CCiC-a}.

131 On this CA loaned preposition see n. 28 above On the word *māḥāll* “house, place” see n. 128 above.

132 This term is borrowed from Spanish *cama* “bed”: see Lévy (1992), 59.

133 This term appears in DAF, X, 93 as *ʕṭnāṭši / ʕṭnāṭši*. The interpretation of /tš/ by de Prémare once again raises the problem of this typical northern MA affricate phoneme /č/. (For Taza: Colin [1921], 41. On this same voice see idem [1966–1967], 10; for Ouargha: Lévi-Provençal [1922], 19; Tetuan: Singer [1958], 110; Chaouen: Natividad [1998], 112 and Moscoso, DACH, 45, n. 96–98; Anjra: Vicente [2000], 44–45; and for Jewish Fes: Lévy [2009], 184). Heath (2000), 139 correctly observes that “this is not a phoneme in CA, but it definitely is in northern and Jebli M dialects, both in Latinate-Romance borrowings and in some native Arabic forms.” In northern Moroccan Muslim Arabic in general, and in ChA in particular, this phoneme occurs mainly with the verb *čāf* versus *šāf* “to see.” There is a tendency to interpret this phoneme in the latter verb as the cluster /t-š/. However, this interpretation of this phoneme would not be applicable to European borrowings, which are more problematic. (For a detailed discussion on this phoneme, and the instructive example [lčīn-a] ‘orange [fruit]’, Spanish *la china*, see Heath [1987], 20, 21–23, 330, 334; idem [1989], 94–95; idem [1999], 170–176). This fact has led some other scholars (for bibliographical references see above) to follow Heath and consider this phoneme as ambiguous and marginal. (Corriente [1992], 54 affirms that this same marginal “africada sorda” phoneme occurs in Andalusian and “procedía habitualmente de préstamos romances, pero en granadino es también resultado de /št/.”) The new data presented here, in which the phoneme /č/ does not seem to be marginal, in addition to the list of terms included in Marçais’s work on Tangiers (see Marçais [1911], 257–258), should encourage a new evaluation of this phoneme. Unfortunately, there are very few words, mainly borrowed from different foreign languages, in the list collected by Vicente (2000), 229 and Moscoso, DACH, 344, 347. The latter author even failed to correctly produce the phoneme /č/ in the very common Chaouen verb, *čāxčāx* “to cut something into small pieces, to crush,” which he presents as *šāxšāx*: see Moscoso, DACH, 104. Some other the onomatopoeic terms from the present data include *č-črāčāq* “castanet” (on this term

*rābbi ma yḥibb ši, āna nānəqəθəl hād ġ-ğru.*¹³⁴ *ḥāff šliḥ xārržu. yizbār l-ḥinka*¹³⁵ *ḍyālu tḥārqəθ, u l-šaynina ḍyālu ḥtərqəθ. u xārržu u qāl: “ya rābbi, wa smāḥ li, ʔinni āna faʔaltu bi-hāda*¹³⁶ *l-kilb fi-n-nār!*¹³⁷ *wāna māš nəgləs nʔālžu u ndāwih. ma nāçul ānāya ḥāṭṭa yāçul ḥūwwa.” xārržu u bda kāydāwih. u šay kāyziḥu lu diç n-nās d-mül l-ḥāmmām, kāyziḥu lu diç l-māçla, kāyʔiḥa lu kāyqul lu: “nʔina ḥūwwa l-lūwwli.” l-yūm ila ġādda, l-yūm ila ġādda.*

- 11 *wāḥ l-wāxt ḥūwwa ġāləs f-əl-bāb d-əl-ḥāmmām u wāḥd l-marʔa u bənça māzyin. ḥūwwa qāl: “hādi ḥyya l-marʔa lli fāʔləθ biyya hād l-fāʔla hādīyya.” ġləs kāyşāḥḥāḥ fiha. ġāθ bənça qāθ la: “ya ʔummi.” qāθ la: “nʔām, ya bənçi?” qāθ la: “hād l-qāniʔ,”¹³⁸ *hād ġ-ğru d-mül l-fūrḥāçi mən dgəbbəlna ra fāyn u ḥūwwa kāyşāḥḥāḥ fiḥa, wāla ḥna šaynu mənna.” qāθ la: “hādāç müşi l-kilb, hādāç ḥūwwa flān, wūdd t-ṭāzār l-flān l-flāni. u dāba lāw kān yiṭṭənnāni ḥāṭṭa nədxul n-əl-ḥāmmām u nəçsəl, māš nʔābbih n-əd-dār ndāwih.” ḥūwwa sāmʔa, mša n-əl-bāb d-əl-ḥāmmām u ġləs ġāləs. sāʔāṭān u ḥyya xārzəθ, şābθu təmna ġāləs. qāθ lu: “yāḥāḥ!” ḥūma l-lūwwliyyin u ḥūwwa m-mūrāḥəm, ḥūma l-lūwwliyyin u ḥūwwa**

see n. 219, p. 221) and *ç-çəq* “Chuk!” from tale no. 5, “*ḥārūn r-rāšid* [u *ṭlāḥa d-əl-üzāra ḍyālu*] / *Hārūn ar-Rāšid* [and His Three Viziers],” and *çrāp* “*Chrap!*” from tale no. 12, “*l-šāqli f-ən-nāmsi* / *l-šāqli f-ən-Nāmsi* [and the Conversion of Austria].” For the moment, pending a more substantial and detailed study which will take into consideration all the possible examples and list of words available, it is likely this phoneme is both onomatopoeic and a result of Latin/Romance influence. Colin (1966/1967), 7 states that this phoneme occurs mainly “... dans de nombreux emprunts turcs ou romans. Mais il se présente aussi dans des mots d’origine obscure, souvent affectifs ou onomatopéiques; il est fréquent dans le ‘vocabulaire enfantin.’” In some other ADs the phoneme /ç/ reflects the allophone /k/: see Marçais (1977), 5; Djidjelli: Marçais (1956), 18–19; in Djidjelli and the Jewish sub-dialect of Tlemcen, in the Bedouin subdialects of the Syrian Desert, Nejd and Iraq: Zawadowski (1978), 37. For bibliographical references to this allophone in Near Eastern ADs see Vicente (2000), 44–45, n. 72.

- 134 For the atlas of this term, its variants, and its diminutive in northern MA, see Behnstedt (2005), Karte 33 on p. 45, and idem (2007), 14.
- 135 This word and *təğnūna* are common in ChA. Contrast Behnstedt (2007), Karte 70 on p. 34, who marks *ḥanka* “cheek” for Chaouen. For a detailed philological commentary on this term see idem (2007), 55.
- 136 This is a code-switching from CA into MA.
- 137 This is another instance of code-switching. On the use of the prepositions in code-switching see p. 35, n. 113.
- 138 Concerning this term see Behnstedt (2007), 14, who comments, “Bei *mqānəʕ*, *məšhōm*, *məzhūm*, *məlʔif* handelt es sich wohl um Epitheta, wobeī *kānəʕ* und *qānəʕ* auch unter ‘Welpen’ wieder auftauchen. Loubignac zitiert 539 *qānəʕ* als ‘surnom du chien’ und *mqānəʕ* ibidem als ‘chien.’” See the commentary in n. 193, p. 214.

m-mūrāhəm ıla hātṭa n-əl-bāb d-əd-dār. fəṭḥu l-bāb. hūma dāxlu, u hūwwa mša yidxūl, u l-šābd šəbburu u lāḥu ... “zīd!” qāl lu. hūwwa [əl-šābd] dxāl, u hūyya qāṭ lu: “fāynūwwa l-kīlb?” qāl la: “āna rāddīṭu.” qāṭ lu: “u ḥāh, u ma žībṭu, ya bən l-gnāwi lāxūr, ya ya ya l-šābd, ıla ma žībṭ šī dīç l-kīlb hādāç, nqāṭṭāṣ ṭ-ṭḥār dyāləç b-əl-hrāwa.”

xrāž l-šābd, šābu nād mša wāḥd l-ḥāyṭ, hāzzu u dāxxlu. qāl la: “wāha hūwwa.” 12
māy dxāl qāṭ lu: “sīdi mūḥāmmād, āna māš ndāwīç, wālākīn dāṣṭīni šāhd ḥāh, ma dənṣāṣni biʔanna¹³⁹ āna ṣmāṭṭ ləç, ma dquṭ āna qqīṭ ləç, ma dāšrāfni, dquṭ āna ṣmāṭṭ ləç šī hāza.” ... ḡābəṭ dīç əz-zlāfa fḥāl dīç əz-zlāfa āxra u ṣāmmṣrāṭa b-əl-ma, dīç əz-zlāfa. u ṭlāṣ dīç l-ma m-əz-zlāfa ıla hātṭa n-əs-sma, u nzəl f-dīç əz-zlāfa ... l-xāṭra l-lūwwlūyya u l-xāṭra ṭ-ṭānya u l-xāṭra ṭ-ṭāṭla l-ma hābāṭ f-əl-qābṭa d-yīdda u šəṭfəṭ ṣlīh: “āxrāž ya šūrāṭ l-kīlb! wa dxūl ya šūrāṭ ādām!” u rḡāṣ ādām kif ma kān. ıla ... ma ra¹⁴⁰ fiha u l-šāynīna dyālu māši mhādka u ıla āxīrīh.¹⁴¹

qāl ləm: “nxārrza.” qāl ləm: “wa nāšrāf. hād l-qṭīb, ha wāḥd l-qṭīb? lāxāššəç 13
dxābbṣu f-əz-zəbṭa dyāləç. ha wāḥd l-lzām. u māš dəmši dūqq ṣlīha f-əl-bāb d-əd-dār dyāla. ha d-dār dyāla f-əl-mūṭāṣ l-flān l-flāni, ha l-bāb dyāla kif n-ḥṣya, dūqq ṣlīha, u māš dāxrāž n-šāndəç, b-əl-xrūž u l-xāṣa, ṭīr ṣlīha u lwi ṣlīha, rākkəb la l-lzām, u žbəd l-qṭīb u rkəb ṣlīha u dəžbār l-xāndāç. qūl la, ‘nṭīna hūyya ... lli lādquṭ ləç ‘āna, āna ...’ u šṣāṭ ṣlīha l-šāwd, u dārba u žūrā. dāçul b-əl-lzām, dəšrāb b-əl-lzām, də-nṣā b-əl-lzām, l-lzām ma dżūwwəlu la šī mən dūqma, u šābbīha.” qāl ləm: “kādālīç.” – rāh škūn gāləs, dīç ž-žūž lli kānu šḥābu mṣāh ṭəmma u hādāç l-mālīç mnnāy dxāl. dāba lāyṣāwəd zāṣma māši ḡa nṭīna klīṭ d-dāç: çūfḥna š ḡāz ṣlīna. – ṭwa ıla āxīrīh.

wšāl n-šānda, fšāl kama qāṭ lu dīç l-mra: hūyya xārrəṭ u hūwwa lwa ṣlīha ... 14
ḡbəd l-qṭīb šṣyār ṣlīha, ṣmāṭ la l-lzām, xārrza, šābbāha. qāl ləm: “wa çūṣṭu dīç ...?” qālu lu: “ṣyāh.” l-mālīç ḡa lāyçūf ha n-nās š wqāṣ ləm.

nād wāḥid āxūr. “wa qūl nna a nṭīna, wa qūl nna a flān š žra ləç.” qāl ləm: 15
“ānāya šāndi ḡ-ḡnānāṭ u r-ryādāṭ. u kullu sāṣatin¹⁴² kānəmši n-əḡ-ḡnān u kānə-ḡləs, yāṣni nārṭāḥ. u bāš ma āmārtṭ u ṣla š ma xāšṣni l-ḥāža šāndi f-dīç ḡ-ḡnān. wāḥ l-yūm āna mšīṭ n-ṭāmma u žbārtṭ wāḥd l-bəntṭ. subḥān llaḏi xalaqaha wa

139 This is a CA conjunction, the MA counterpart of which, *bāš*, is often used by the narrator. This is the only context in which this CA conjunction occurs: it may be considered as an example of code-switching.

140 This archaic verb is from CA *šraʔa* “to see.” This verb is obsolete in ChA, but widely used in the expression *ma çūṣṭ ma rīṭ* “I did not see and I did not view” and its derivations. On this see Heath (2002), 59, 512 Map 2–42.

141 This is a borrowed frozen loan from CA which has been totally assimilated into MA. On the word /ʔaxir/ “end” see Heath (1989), 216 under A-1-240.

142 The narrator switched here to CA.

ʔatāha m-əl-ḥusni wa l-žamāl!¹⁴³ *l-bəntʔ məhsūna bəzzāf, wāḥd l-ğāmāl kbīr!* *gālsa li ʔamma f-əğ-ğnān. qūʔ la: 's-salām ʔalayka ya hādihī l-marʔa.'*¹⁴⁴ *wāla rāddəʔ ʔlʔyya s-salām. qūʔ la: 's-salām ʔalayka ya hād l-bəntʔ,' wāla rāddəʔ ʔlʔyya s-salām. qūʔ la: 'wa nʔina gālsa f-əğ-ğnān dyāli u fə-mʔāʔi, u āna nānsəlləm ʔliç u ma rāddiš ʔi'*¹⁴⁵ *ʔlʔyya s-salām. qāʔ lu: 'āna mūši ma rāddiš ʔi s-slām, āna bni ʔāndi hna f-hād ʔ-š-šīzra, gāləs li f-hād ʔ-š-šīzra, u nānəʔʔənnāh. āna wālu, xāššni nʔābbih. u ma ḥābb ʔi yāhbāt li, u āna ma nāqdār ʔi nāʔlāʔ f-hād ʔ-š-šīzra. u dāba ya mūl hād l-ʔārd, īda dšābbār li hād bni, nāʔiç ma dəʔmānnāh f-əd-dūnya, šāy ma dəʔmānnāh f-əd-dūnya, nāʔiç ləç, ға šəbburu li.'* *qāl ləm: "āna rāzəl xʔif u kānāʔlāʔ f-əš-šīzra mārra."*

- 16 “*u ʔlāʔʔ f-əš-šīzra āna ʔnəzzīʔ ʔlīh, u ḥūwwa rmāni f-wāḥd l-ʔārd ma ʔayrun yaʔir wala sayrun yasīr,*¹⁴⁶ *ma dūbbāna, ma ḥāšāra la ḥāʔʔa ʔi ḥāza wālu, ға r-rāmla ḥāmya, əl-qāyla lādəšwi. wāla žbārtʔ ḥāʔʔa ʔi ḥāza. ma kāyna ʔi ʔi ḥāšārəʔ āw ʔi dūbbāna āw ʔi ḥāza. səbʔ əyyām u āna māši fḥāl l-ḥāyāwān ʔla yiddi u riçli. u kānçūf-ər-rbiʔ lli ḥlu, kānqāʔʔāʔ mənnu dīç ʔ-šənʔūla u kānāçla, kānāʔʔāç biha, ға r-rbiʔ. ən-nḥār səbʔ əyyām ғbārtʔ wāḥd l-qšār. u dxūʔ n-dīç l-qšār, ғbārtʔ fih səbʔa d-əl-qūbbāʔ, səbʔa d-əl-byūʔ ʔḡārīn. ʔālləʔʔ f-əl-lūwli: ғbārtʔu mʔāmmār b-d-dḥāb. ʔālləʔʔ f-əʔ-ʔāni: ғbārtʔu mʔāmmār b-əl-fāddā. ʔālləʔʔ f-əʔ-ʔāləʔ: ғbārtʔu mʔāmmār b-d-dqīq, əʔ-ʔḥīn. ʔālləʔʔ f-ər-rābāʔ: ғbārtʔu mʔāmmār b-əl-ğləm, l-ḥāwli.*¹⁴⁷ *u mən kūll ḥyya ḥāza f-dīç l-qšār, wāla mən ḥwāyāz wāla mən qšāʔi wāla wāla wāla.”* *u qāl: “u mən kūʔr ma kān fʔyya ғ-ğūʔ, nūdʔ u ḥāzzəmt, u dḥāḥʔ ārbīn ḥāwli, u ʔzəntʔ ārbīn xūbzā. māhma wūğəʔʔ¹⁴⁸ l-xūbz, u wūğəʔʔ əl-lḥām, ʔābəʔ f-əʔ-ʔāzīn, kūll ʔi qāwwəmtʔu, u qāməʔ dīç d-dār, dīç l-qšār qām kāməl yğāwwəʔ.*

143 This is CA frozen expression, and yet another case of code-switching by the narrator.

144 The narrator addresses a woman, but the pronominal suffix he uses is *-ka: ʔalayka*. This occurs again and again during these narrations. Some gender studies consider this use of [*s-salām ʔalayka*] as a further confirmation of the maleness of AD speech. However, because the salutation is the CA frozen expression *s-salām ʔalayka* used mostly among men, and because CA belongs to male public space see pp. 33–37, 49, the masculine pronominal suffix used here is most likely simply part of this frozen expression. On the term *marʔa* see n. 124 above

145 *rāddiʔ ʔi*) *rāddiš ʔi*.

146 Again the narrator uses a frozen CA expression, another case of his constant code-switching. On this typical folktale place description formula see under its correspondent translation in n. 312, p. 251.

147 For the atlas of this term, its variants, and its correspondent feminine in northern MA see Behnstedt (2005), Karte 14 on p. 25, Karte 15 on p. 26, and Karte 16 on p. 27. For a detailed philological commentary on this term see idem (2007), 10, 11.

148 *wūğəʔʔ*) *wūğəʔʔ*. On this common assimilation see n. 14 above.

qām ʃ-ʃdāʃ fih, äyyi hāža, äyyi qäʃʃa lādäʔläʃ n-əs-sma u dənzəl ‘äd-dāf, äd-dāf, äd-dāf!’ küll ši lāyǰǰāwwəθ. dxäl fīyya r-rüʃb, u žāni r-rüʃb, u xāʃʔ.

“u wāhd ʃ-ʃāhfa ʃändəm kbīra, qbätʔa¹⁴⁹ u dxült, qült: ‘āna nātłäʃ n-nīla¹⁵⁰ u nəgləs.’ hūma žāw, klu dīç əl-lhām, klu dīç l-xǔbz, u gəlsu yfəʔʔʃu škūn qqa ləm hād ši. qālu lu: ‘a a hāda lli qqa nna hād ši yādhār ʃānna ʃliħ l-āmān, ʃliħ l-āmān, āmān ʔāh ʃliħ, ğa yādhār, a ādām, ya ādām āw ğ-ğin āw kāda āw kāda, yāxrāž n-ʃāndi.’ qlobʔ ʃ-ʃāhfa u xrāžʔ, ... dīç ši lli ʃāddəʔ, dīç l-māçla lli ʃāddəʔ, wāla mən xǔbīz,¹⁵¹ wāla m-əl-laħm, wāla mən küll ši klūh. ma bqa wālu, u āna fīyya ğ-ğūʃ, āna ...”

qālu lu: “mārħba d-ma yži n-nəhnāya, hāda l-qšār, hāw nʔina fih, ha nʔina hnāya. küll nhār ʃāddəl nna hād ši hāda lli ʃāddəʔ l-yūm.” qāl ləm: “wāxxa.” mšāw f-hāləm. nād ʃāw fəkkār mʃa rāsu. qāl: fəkkārʔ mʃa rāsi, ʃāw ʃməʔt wāhd l-māçla, wāh ʃwāy d-əʔ-ʔām, u kilʔu u gləʔʔ gāləs. ʃbāħ əʃ-ʃbāħ, nüdʔ ʃla ʃ-ʃbāħ, dbāħʔ ərbʃin hāwli, ʃžəntʔ ərbʃin xǔbza. māhma wǰǰəʔʔ dīç ši ʃāw hūma žāw. hād ši hǔwwa hāydāç. mən bāʃd ʔəʔʔ snīn wāna xāddām f-hād l-xīdma hādi, mʃūrri ʃla yīddi, xāddām nānāʃməl hād ʃ-šǰūʔ hāda. mənnyən ğāw yxārġu, ğa wāhīd qāl li: ‘āži.’ qǔʔʔ¹⁵² lu: ‘āh?’ ʃābbāni hda wāh l-bīθ. qāl li: ‘āssāra f-hād l-qšār kāməl. u hād l-bīθ hāda, wa ʔyāk dʃəʔħu, wa ʔyāk ʔʔūʔ¹⁵³ b-hād l-bāb! hād l-bāb ma dʔwūʃšəl ši n-nīla!” qāl lu: “wāxxa.” hūma mšāw f-hāləm. qāl: “āna hādi ʔəʔʔ snīn wāna məʃǰūn hnāya, ʔla kān l-mūθ nmūθ, u ʔla kān l-ʃāyʃ nʃiʃ, māš nəʃʔāħ hād l-bāb u nçūʃ hād l-bīθ šənnu fih.” θamma qbāʔ yāʔni qāl: “āna yāʔni šǰǰiʃ f-küll ši, f-əʃ-ʃanāʔiʃ.”¹⁵⁴

“ʔǰāħʔ dīç l-bāb, mənnyən ʔǰāħʔ dīç l-bāb, ğbārʔ wāhd l-xāyl u wāhd l-ʃābd, r-rās dyālu f-əl-hāyʔ u r-ržəl dyālu f-hād l-hāyʔ, u dīç l-bīθ ʔwil. wālākīn dīç l-xāyl ʃūmmri, ma çǔʔʔ āna ʃhālu dīç l-xāyl. – wāha rāna māš nhāddru lkūm. – āna ʔǰāħʔ l-bāb, u dīç l-xāyl qāl li: “īda nʔi mūqīdd, hna māš nhārbu āna u nʔina.” qāl lu: “ma nəʃʔāʔ?” qāl lu: “āra dīç ʃ-ʃāwt, dīç l-ʃīrq rāh fāynūwwa.” qāl lu: “xāʃəç dəbqa dədrāb fīyya, u nāʃrāq ʃla dīç l-qāmquḡ,¹⁵⁵ rāh fāyn hǔwwa, ʃāmmru b-dīç l-ʃrāq

149 *qbätʔa* } *qbätʔa* see Cantineau (1960), 36.

150 *n-lil* } *n-nīla* (+ 3rd person pronoun singular feminine). On this preposition see the commentary n. 117 above.

151 This pattern is rare in ChA. The usual term is *xǔbz*.

152 *qǔʔʔ* } *qǔʔʔ*. This is a common assimilation in MA: see Cantineau (1960), 53. For Anjra see Vicente (2000), 57, n. 134; for Chaouen see Moscoso, DACH, 55, n. 142; and for other ADs, such as Ḥassāniya, see Cohen (1963), 24.

153 *dʔūʔ* } *ʔʔūʔ*. See n. 83 above.

154 This is a loan from CA into MA. In CA *šināʃa* means “trade, industry”; but in the context above this term means “handicraft.” On this frequently loaned term from CA into MA see Heath (1989), 210 under A-1-76.

155 On this archaic word see Colin (1931), 26–27, n. 26, who defines it as “un flacon de cuivre,

lli fīyya, u s-srāž ha hūwwa, u r-rkābāθ hāhūm, u l-lzām hāhu. wālākīn mənnāyən dāqqi hādām kāmīn, ǰa māš yžīw yhadru mīāq u yqūlu ləq hāda, ıla təkəlləmṭ mīāhəm āw dūwwārt fihəm, la āna wāla nṭīna, māš yhārquṇa u wūllīwna rmād. wālākīn īda ma ddiṭa ši fihəm, ma čūf ši fihəm, u ma dāššānnəš ši¹⁵⁶ ʕlīhəm ma dǰāwəb ši ʕlīhəm, āna māš nṭīr f-əs-sāma, u nṭīna ǰa šābbār, yāʕni āna māš nwūššləq ıla māhālləq, ıla bayṭak.”¹⁵⁷

20 “θamma ... u šābbārt s-sūt, u bqiθ nānədrāb l-lāwd u ʕrāq. u sərrābt dīq l-lrāq f-wāh l-qāmquṃ, u rfətt¹⁵⁸ s-srāž u lāqqiθ dīq s-srāž u l-lzām u l-hzām hāttṭa ši xūrša ma dārbəθ f-ši xūrša āxra, wāla d-əl-lzām, wāla d-əs-srāž, wāla d-ər-rkābāθ, wāla hāttṭa ši hāža āxra. u ʕməlt lu s-srāž, u ʕməlt lu l-hzām, u ʕməlt lu, u ʕməlt lu, u šāddiθ ʕlīna hāda, u lsāqt ʕla tḥru. ma kəmməlt nkūn ʕla tḥru, kūnt f-əs-sāma māši.”

21 u māžžīn hādām k l-ǰūnūn, hādāmāk l-ʕāfārīθ: “əḥāh ya fulān ʕməlt nna t-tṭām, u kīnna¹⁵⁹ t-tṭām, u skānt f-əd-dūyyūr dyānna! u dāba nṭīna, āwqāf, āwqāf, āwqāf.” qāl ləm: “āna ʕməlt l-qṭən f-wūnni, l-qṭən f-hād l-wūnnīna u l-qṭən f-hād l-wūnnīna, ma nānəsmāf ma ddiṭa fihəm. ǰa māši f-dīq l-lāwd, f-qfāh, ıla hāttṭa kūtt¹⁶⁰ f-bāb d-əd-dār dyālī. nzəlt ʕla bāb d-əd-dār dyālī, hāwwətt¹⁶¹ dīq l-qāmquṃ, mən dīq s-srāž hāyyəttu,¹⁶² u sīrt nānādhān lu l-ma mən dīq l-qāmquṃ ... l-ʕūnq dyālu u š-šār dyālu ... dīq l-xāyl. dčūfūh?” qālu: “ḥyāh.” ǰbəd wāhd l-qṭəyyəb d-ən-nḥəs qqa lu t-trān f-əl-ṭārd u l-lāwd fərkəl f-əl-bāb. qāl lu: “āftāh l-bāb.” qāl ləm: “wa hūwwa hāda, hāda hūwwa d-žābni.” twa məzyān.

à goulot allongé et étroit,” and relates it to Grec. χοουδοῦμα, Lat. *cucuma*, which have been passed to Turkish-Osmanli in the forms *gümgüm*, *güyüm*. In a written communication Corriente adds that that “más probable que el Gr., que no parece nada castizo, sea otro eco del acadio *kukkub/pu = quqqubu*, de donde el arameo *qūmqūm*, y luego el árabe.” Corriente defines this term as “long-neck bottle”: for a detailed philological commentary see Corriente (1997), 442. In Akkadian the word *kukkub/pu = quqqubu* means “a small container of metal, glass, or clay serving as alabastron, libation jar, and drinking flask” (see CAD, K, 499); and in Aramaic it means “kettle”: see Jastrow (1903), vol. II, 1334. This last meaning has been preserved in Chaouen. For more on the semantic value of this term in MA in general see DAF, X, 428 under *qəmquṃ*.

156 *dāššānnəθ ši*) *dāššānnəš ši*.

157 The narrator here switches to CA. However, due to his illiteracy the vocalization fails even in this two-word CA sentence.

158 *rfədt*) *rfətt*. See n. 14 above.

159 *kīlna*) *kīnna*. About the assimilation of the the third radical of the verb *kāl* “to eat,” and its paradigm in the MA, see Heath (2002) 171, 379–385 under point 6.1.1.

160 *kūnt*) *kūtt*. On this kind of assimilation see n. 88 above.

161 *hāwwədt*) *hāwwətt*. See n. 14 above.

162 *hāyyədtu*) *hāyyəttu*. See n. 14 above.

“nṭīna flān! ḥāllīl nna kāsaç, qūl lna š wqäʔ ləç.” qāl ləm: “āna ʔabi ḥūwwa 22
 l-āmīn d-ǧāmīʔ s-səlʔāð d-əʔ-ʔṭzāra wāla d-əl-bīʔ u š-šra wāla d-kūll ši. t̄wa žāb
 ṇāh māð bāβa. bqa li l-ʔamwāl, bqa li d-dahab, bqāð li l-fāddā, bqa li ʔ-ʔrīkāð, əʔ-
 ʔwārāk yāʔni wāḥd ši ma yīnʔādd ši. āna š ʔməʔʔf-əd-dūnya? kāyāʔzəbni l-ǧināʔ u
 l-məšʔra, u yāʔzəbni l-mūkūlāð, u yāʔzəbni hāda. u mšīð f-ən-nzāyāh u f-əl-ǧināʔ
 u f-əš-šṭīḥ, u l-yūm, u l-yūm u ǧādda, nānbīʔ hādi, nānbīʔ hādi, bīʔṭ dīç l-məʔrūk lli
 xālla li ʔabi. kīʔṭ dīç d-dahab lli xālla li ʔabi, ʔābbāwāh li n-nās, n-nās ʔābbāwāh li,
 ʔābbāwāh li, u nʔāšār n-nās lli ḥūma bla ʔqāl, ma ʔāndəm ši l-ʔqāl, ḥūmāq, ḥāʔṭa
 bqīð wālu.

u l-ʔān¹⁶³ ǧa wāḥīd ʔāfrīð u qāl li: ‘āna ḥūwwa māši nəfdīç, māši nəfdīç f-hād 23
 l-māl lli mša ləç. u hād l-məʔrūk lli mša ləç, āna māši nəfdīh ləç.’ ðamma māzi li,
 māzi li b-əl-xāðəm, b-wāḥ l-xāðəm, māzi li b-əl-xāðəm. qāl li: ‘hāk hād l-xāðəm.’
 qūʔṭ lu: ‘hād l-xāðəm š ma nəʔfāl bīha?’ qāl lu: ‘māhma dāqqīha f-yīddəç nəḥḍār
 ləç ānāya. qūʔ lli ḥābbīð f-əd-dūnya: nəḡību ləç.’ u ḥšīða f-yīddi.” qāl lu: “u qqīð dīç
 l-xāðəm f-yīddi. āna ʔkīð ʔliḥa, u hāda ǧulām qāl li: ‘āṭləb ʔlīyya ma šiʔṭ,¹⁶⁴ qūʔ li
 š māš nəʔfāl’?” qāl: “hādi wāḥd n-nīʔma ʔṭāha li rābbi. hādi ḥsən mən dīç l-māl, u
 ḥsən mən dīç əd-dhāb, u ḥsən mən dīç ši hādāç.”

qāl: “ðamma ʔməʔʔ d-dār dyāli, ðamma ʔməʔʔ z-zāwza dyāli, ʔməʔʔ žūz d-ən- 24
 nisāʔ, žūz – lāṭḥīl u ʔmīl u dəzṭəm ʔla l-ʔārd b-əǧ-ǧmīl, wa zaynuha qalīl,¹⁶⁵ ʔīda
 qabalat qatalat wa ʔīda dabarat fatanat.”¹⁶⁶ hāda yāʔni hāda.

wāḥ l-wāxṭ ǧīð nəʔǧādda. u žābu š-šrāl ǧābu li l-ǧda. ʔǧāddīna. xāllīð 25
 ðamma dīç l-xāðəm ʔla ʔ-ṭāyʔūr. u nūḍṭ, xrāžṭ, qbāṭ māzi wāḥ l-ʔābd, wāḥ l-ǧnāwi,
 ʔāndu č-črāčāq, lāyʔārrāž n-nsa, u lāyʔārrāž n-nās ‘drən, drən, č-čāq, č-čāq, drən,
 drən, č-čāq, č-čāq.’ bārməð wāḥḍa f-āxra, qāðla: ‘ma¹⁶⁷ nəʔṭīwāḥ n-hād l-xāðəm?
 [š ma] nəʔṭīwāḥ n-hād l-ʔābd?’ qāð lu: ‘nəʔṭīwāk l-xūbz?’ qāl la: ‘lā?’ qāð lu:
 ‘nəʔṭīwāk əʔ-ʔīām?’ qāl la: ‘lā?’ qāl: ‘ʔṭīwni dīç l-xāðəm lli ʔla dīç ʔ-ṭāyʔūr.’ ǧāð

163 On this word see Heath (1989), 224 under A-3-18: “/l-ʔan/ ‘now’, CA (ʔ)al-ʔān-a (much less common in MCA than old form /daba/, regional alternative /ḍruk/).”

164 This term is used exclusively in CA, the dialectal equivalent being *bǧa*, *ḥābb*, *ʔmanna*, *qāl l* (+ pronominal suffix) + *ʔāql* (+ pronominal suffix) + preposition *ʔla* + noun of the thing desired. The narrator yet again appeals to code-switching.

165 Most probably this is the narrator’s mistake: he should have said the opposite of what he did.

166 This is a stock CA expression: ... إن أقبلت فنتت وإن أدبرت قتلت تأخذ القلب والناظر إليها ... “... When she comes she seduces; when she leaves she slays, she takes heart and her beholder ...,” is from the tale *ʔalf layla wa layla*. Each time the narrator speaks about feminine beauty, he repeats this expression. Thus the narrator knew some CA expressions by heart, and uses them whenever he has the chance to give Classical flavour to his narrations.

167 The narrator opted here for this CA interrogatory particle instead of MA *šənnu*.

wāḥda qāθ la: ‘la, hādi l-xāθəm d-əž-žāwž dyānna ma nāšitwaha lu ši.’ qāθ la āxra: ‘l-xwāθəm šāndu bəzzāf, əd-dhāb mūžūd šāndu, wāḥd l-xāθəm mənāyn māš dādḥār mšāhəm? nāšitwaha n-əl-šābd, lāyzi lāyfarrāžna, nāšitwaha lu.’ hādīç lli qāləθ, ‘nāšitw l-xāθəm gārbəθ hādīç d-qāləθ ma nāšitwaha lu ši.’ qābṭu l-xāθəm u šitāwaha n-dīç l-šābd.

26 l-šābd māhma qbāṭ l-xāθəm, u qqāha f-yiddu, wqāf mšāh l-šāfriθ qāl lu: ‘āmār, šəbbəç ləbbəç.¹⁶⁸ āna ḥūwwa šābd dyāləç, lli tləbṭ šlyya nāqqih ləç.’ qāl lu: ‘nānā-šrāf hād d-dār b-swāriha b-əl-lsās dyāla dkūn šādwa l-bḥār. drāfda mən hna u dnəzzla šla l-ūža¹⁶⁹ d-əl-bḥār, n-əl-žāzīra.’ d-dār ṭrāfdəθ, u bqāθ gə s-sāha, u l-lsāsəθ māḥfūrīn.

27 gə n-əd-dār ma žbār gə s-sāha, gə l-ṭārd: ma žbār wālu. qāl ləm: “āna gləšt nānxāmməm šla d-dār u šla n-nisā? dyāli, ž-žāwža dyāli fāyn mšāθ. u šāndi l-māšrīfa mšā wāḥd l-fār; u wāḥd əğ-ğru šāndi dyāli, hādāç əğ-ğru kān mrūbbi šāndi. u l-fār¹⁷⁰ šād gə θšāməl mšāna.” “qūlt n-əl-fār: ‘āmši u fṭəç šla d-dār. rəkbu u mšīw f-əl-bḥār.’ u l-fār lāyāšrāf l-mīzra d-əd-dār: mənāynəy n yidxūl l-fār ḥāṭṭa n-əl-wsəṭ d-əd-dār, u yčūf l-xāθəm šānd bən ḥyya, u ž-žāwža dyāli fāynīyya.¹⁷¹ θamma qbāṭ l-fār u tḥāf šla t-ḥār d-əğ-ğru u dāxlu f-əl-bḥār. u āna bqāθ θamma f-əs-sāha.”

28 “yāḥāh, yāḥāh, yāḥāh ḥāṭṭa xārḡu n-əd-dār. l-fār lāyāšrāf l-mīzra d-əd-dār fāynīyya. u dxāl žbār l-šābd gāləs u mnəzzəl šāndu mən küll ma ḥyya ḥāža lli xlāq ḥāh f-wūst l-ṭārd mnəzzla ḥdāh f-wāḥd ... u lāyāçūl mən hādi, küll mən hādi. u n-nsa lāyībkīw b-žūž bīhəm mdārrīn f-bāšitḥəm,¹⁷² lāyībkīw, u l-šābd xāddām

168 This word is related to the CA كَيْلِيك “à tes ordres.” See Spitta-Bey (1883), 108, n. 1, 210 under كَيْلِيك.

169 On the atlas of this term in northern MA see Behnstedt (2007), Karte 60 on p. 24.

170 For the atlas of this term see Behnstedt (2005), 47, and idem (2007), 14–15.

171 fāyn + ḥyya contrasts with fāynūwwa. See n. 57 above.

172 This is probably either an archaic form or the narrator’s mistake: the expected particle here is bāšitūm / bāšitīθəm (CA بعض ... بعضهم, in *sūrat al-kaḥf* 18, 99) “one another, each other, mutually, reciprocally.” The regional variants of this pronoun include Tangiers: Marçais (1911), 233: “bašitēt, avec la série des pronoms affixes pluriels bašitēṭna, bašitēṭkum, bašitēṭhum (bašitēṭum), ‘nous, vous, eux ... les uns les autres’”; Taza: Colin (1921), 76: bašidəm bašid; bašidīyātəm “L’un l’autre, etc.”; Tetuan: Singer (1958), 248, point 5b: “bašid ‘einige’; mša-bāšid mit den Pronominal-suffixen des Plurals ‘miteinander, einander’: mša-bāšitna, mša-bāšitkum, mša-bāšitum ‘wir, ihr, sie miteinander’ oder mša-bāšitēṭna/bāšitēṭkum/bāšitēṭum”; Aj: Vicente (2000), 143: “mša bāšidīyāt, mša bāšitī, mša bāšidī o mša bāšid y los pronombres personales plurales sufijados”; Chaouen: Moscoso, DACH, 172, n. 508: “bāšit, bāšitī, bāšitīθ y los pronombres personales sufijados.” Moscoso incorrectly adds the reciprocal particle bāšitīθ; but in ChA there is no such variant. About Djidjelli comparisons

lāyāçül. qāl l-fār: ‘wāš ğa ma nəθʕāməl mʕa hāda?’ wšāl s-sāʕa d-ən-nāwm, qbāṭ l-ʕābd, u žbəd l-xāθəm mən yiddu, u qqāha f-dūqmu wəkka māš yānʕās, šbāʕ, kīl mən ət-ʕʕām yāʕni kīl mən küll ma hūya hāžā, u dūwwāx r-rās dyālu, u ʕməl l-xāθəm f-əd-dqūm¹⁷³ dyālu. qāl l-fār: ‘š ğa ma zūwwəl la li mən dūqmu?’ šābbār l-fār u ʔlāʕ lu ʕla sədru b-əl-lāṭi u ʕməllu l-qāzziba dyālu f-əl-xnāfār,¹⁷⁴ u l-ʕābd ʕtās ‘t-ʔāf!’ fṭāh dūqmu, l-xāθəm tāh. qbāṭ l-fār šəbbra. l-ʕābd nāq yfəṭṭəš ʕla l-xāθəm. ma kān mən klām hāṭṭa kānu, ğa ğ-ğru. l-fār rkəb ʕla t-ṭhār d-əğ-ğru ʔla hāṭṭa ʕānd mūlāha. ‘ha l-xāθəm ha hāda.’

mša ʕābbāh, dxāl n-əd-dār yizbār l-ʕābd bāqi lāyṕəṭṭəš ʕla l-xāθəm ʔāhāθ lu 29
fāyn ʔāhāθ lu. qāl lu: “ya l-ʕābd, ya l-gnāwi, ksārṭ l-hārm ʕlīyya, u dxūlt li n-əd-dār
dyāli, u kīlt li t-ʕʕām dyāli, u ʕābbīθ li ž-žāwža dyāli u xlāʕṭa li. dāba āna māš
nəʕāl bəç?” ... qṕiθu rxāma f-bāb d-dār: mənnyən nānədxūl nānəṭṭəm ʕlīh, u
mənnyən nkūn xārəž nəṭṭəm ʕlīh, dīç l-ʕābd. “u dḥībbu dčūfu l-ʕābd?” qālu:
“ʕyyāh.” ğbəd l-qṕib d-ən-nḥās dārbu f-əl-ṭārç, u l-ʕābd māzi: “āāhhha ya sidi, l-ʕfu,
xāyla! ḥāh yīhdīç ʔla ma dhādiç ʕlīyya. āna ma nʕāwəd šī. āna ma dṕāḥḥānni šī,
ma dʕāddəbni šī, dṕuddni ḥġār, nānəbrəd, ḥġār la ma nākūl la ma nāšrāb.” qāl lu:
“ma dām āna b-r-rūḥ u nṕina rxāma ʕāndi f-bāb d-dār.”

l-mālīç qāl: “a a a wa hādām hūma n-nās.” qām. šbāḥ əş-şbāḥ, ʔlāʕ ən-nḥār, 30
xrəž l-mālīç. qbāṭ xrəž f-ḥālu. hūma xārġu f-ḥāləm.

ʕāyyāṭ ʕlīhəm b-ʔlāθa qqāhəm wāzāra mʕāh. hāda hūwwa hārūn r-rāšīd. 31
hādām b-ʔlāθa küll wāḥīd u š ʕʕāl.

– wa dāba nṕāmməθ.– 32

with other ADs, see the extensive commentary of Marçais (1956), 479, n. 2, 480, and the bibliographical references mentioned there. On the shift of *d* to *ṭ* see n. 105 above.

173 For the atlas of this word for “mouth” in northern MA see Behnstedt (2007), Karte 65 on p. 29. On this term in general see Heath (2002), 90, who adds that this word is known in Andalusī Arabic (Corriente [1997], 182).

174 Behnstedt (2007), Karte 63 on p. 27, 54 notes that the common term for “nose” in ChA is *mənxur*. However, in both the man’s and the woman’s narratives in the present collection the word used is *xnāfār*, singular *xānfūr*. For a detailed commentary on this word see Heath (2002), 92–93.

[ǰǻřfār l-bārñāki] u l-māḥsāda li žǻwžīha

- 1 *lādāḥsād ž-žǻwž dyāla, u kādākrāh z-zǻwž¹⁷⁵ dyāla, fhāl yās? hād r-rāžəl řāndu ř-řīžāra u řāndu ř-řnādāq d-əl-māl mnəzzlīn. u đīç ř-řnādāq d-əl-māl n-nās kāyřāl-ḥu ləm. lli māř yāřməl s-sābāř, u ma řāndu ři bāř kāysābbāř; kāyži řāndu. lāyqūl lu: “a sīđi, āna řāndi s-sābāř, u ma řāndi ři bāř nsābbāř.” lāyāřməl ḥūřna đ-ər-ryāl u yāřřīha lu. āxūr māř yāřməl l-řūrs u ma řāndu ři l-kmāl bāř yāřməl l-řūrs, lāyži l-řāndu lāyqūl lu: “a sīđi, āna māř n-řārrās, u ma řāndi ři l-māl bāř nkəm-məl l-řūrs dyāli.” lāyāřməl l-ḥūřna đ-ər-ryāl u yāřřīha lu. āxūr mältāž: ma řāndu ři l-frāř, ma řāndu ři l-ğřa, lāyži n-řāndu lāyqūl lu: “āna řūryān, a sīđi, lāxāřřni đāřřīni bāř nəřğāřřa f-əd-dār.” lāyāqbāt l-ḥūřna đ-ər-ryāl u yāřřīha lu.*
- 2 *l-mra kādākrāh đīç ři. kādqūl lu: “řlāř kādāřməl hād ři?” hāđa wāḥđ ři řāyyān řāndu. lāyqūl la: “nřīna ğa skūř sākřa!” lādəřğāđđəd, lādəřmākrāh. “hād r-rāžəl ma řāndi ma nāqqi bīh, lāxāřřni nqəřlu.”*
- 3 *řāndu ārbřa đ-əl-řbīđ, wāḥīđ kāyīřsāxxār řla bārřa, u wāḥīđ kāydūr f-əd-dār: kāyžəffəř u yīmsāḥ u hāđa u yqārrāb u ybāřřāđ, u wāḥīđ mgābəl l-kūzīna,¹⁷⁶ ḥūwwa l-xāđəm. ḥyřya qāləř: “kīř māř nāřməl? nānřəkkār āna hād r-rāžəl nḥāyydu řānni. āna ma nāqbəl ři āna, řānna l-māl u kāyāřřīh n-řībād ḥāh. hāđa lāxāřřu l-frāř, řřīh. hāđa lāxāřřu s-sābāř, řřīh. hāđa řāndu l-řūrs, řřīh. řlāř ḥna māř nāqqīw ḥāyda?”*
- 4 *māḥsāda. řāyyřəř əl-řābd lli kāyīřsāxxār u kāyřřlāqqa b-sīđu. qāř lu: “đāřřāř ř māř đāřməl?” qāl la: “ř māř nāřməl, a lālla?” qāř lu: “mənnāyən yīđxūl sīđəç, řīr lu f-xnāqu u žīyyřu. u nāḥřīwāḥ f-əl-māřřāq d-əl-wāđ u yāřřārra, u yīmři mřa l-wāđ. ma yřūq bīna l-xbār, wāla sūltān wāla, wāla ḥāřřa wāḥīđ, u ḥāřřa wāḥīđ ma kāyīđxūl n-řāndna, u ḥāřřa wāḥīđ ma yāřřāřna ř qqīna.” qāl la: “wāxxa.” l-řābd řḥīh.*
- 5 *mūl d-dār řāndu wāḥ ğ-ğřu, řzīz řāndu, ma yřřğāđđa ğ-ğřu ḥāřřa yřřğāđđa ḥūwwa, ma yīnřās ğ-ğřu ḥāřřa yīnřās ḥūwwa. sīđu đxāl u ḥūwwa řār řlīh yžīyyřu. ḥūwwa řār řlīh u đīç ğ-ğřu nāqqāz b-māwğa¹⁷⁷ wāḥđa. nāqqāz mən řəmma*

175 This is a variant of the first mentioned noun *ž-žǻwž*. Heath (2002), 134, 136 affirms that the verb “‘marry’ is often *žwəž*, but variants like *zwəz* (Sous-M, ADH 40 lines 1, 9, 11) and *zwəž* are also known.”

176 *kūzīna* “kitchen,” French *cuisine* and Spanish *cocina*, is more common today than *kūcīna* (on the literary usage of this last term see n. 61, p. 339). On *kūzīna* see Heath (1989), 290 under C-431.

177 *māwğa* is another term preserving the diphthong in men’s speech.

n-bāṭnu, u *žbæd lu bāṭnu*, *ṭḥān lu*¹⁷⁸ *l-mšārən dyālu*. [*mūl d-dār*] *šābbārr wāḥd* *š-šāndūq u qqāḥ f-dīç* *š-šāndūq u kāwfru*, *ʿmāl lu l-kāwḥār u ġāṭṭāḥ u xāllāḥ*.

amma s-sūltān hārūn r-rašīd, *ʿāndu l-ūzīr ġāḥḥār l-bārnāki*. kulla yawm, ma 6
lāyīṭʿāšša lāysārrād mūrāḥ l-masʿūl: “*āži!*” “*ha āna, ya āmir l-mūmīnīn!*” *lāyqūl*
lu: “*qūl li, xābbārnī d-dūnya š gāz fiha. kif gāz l-mūlūç? kif gāz l-ʿanbiyyā?*”¹⁷⁹
škūn māṯ fihəm, u *škūn ʿāš fihəm?* u *škūn kān ʿāndu*, u *škūn ma ʿāndu ši?*” *kūll*
nhār kāyʿāyyāt lu, *kūll nhār*: *wāḥ l-wāxṭ māži žāḥḥār*, *ʿūmmru ma māš yīnʿās ši*
nhār mʿa ulādu ṭrānkīl.¹⁸⁰ *kūll nhār lāyʿāyyātu*—“*yʿāyyātu lu?*” *l-wāzīr mġāddad*.
hāzz aġ-ġmāl u ža. *qāl lu*: “*wa qūl nna š kāyən?*” [*l-wāzīr*] *skəṯ*. *qāl lu*: “*qūl lna?*”
skəṯ. *qāl lu*: “*ulād l-ḥrām ma ynāʿsu ma yxāllīw d-yīnʿās*.” [*s-sūltān*]: “*hāyda!*”
qāl lu: “*nūḍ yāḥāḥ bārri! xrāž f-ḥāləç!*” *sārrdu*. *hūwwa sārrdu*, u *hūwwa ʿāyyāṭ n-*
aġ-ġādārmīyya.¹⁸¹ – *n-dīç l-qāṭṭāla*. – *qāl ləm*: “*žāḥḥār māhma yzūwwəl ʿānnu u*
yīdxūl f-əl-frāš dyālu, *ġəbdūh u xārrzūh ʿla bārri*, u *ṭ-ṭrīka ḍ-əd-dār lli lādəṭḥār-*
rās hārrʿsūha, u *lli lādānhṛāç ḥārqūha*, *ma yībqa lu ši f-əd-dār ḥāṭṭa ši ḥāža wālu*.
u hūwwa xārrzūh n-əz-zānqa, *yāğləs f-əz-zānqa zəbṭi*.”

zūwwəl ʿānnu, u *dxāl n-əl-frāš*, *hāydəç xārrzūh*, *ġāḥḥār māhma qālu lu*: 7
“*nūḍ*.”¹⁸² u *dxāl n-əl-bīṯ dyālu*, u *zūwwəl ʿānnu l-libās u ṭāḥ f-əl-frāš bāš yānʿās*, u
yīsmāḥ d-dār fiha *š-šdāḥ u l-hdīr*, *ṭ-ṭāhrīs u l-ʿāfyā*. *nād*. “*šənnu hāda?*” *qālu lu*: “*l-*
mālīç āmārna nhārqu ləç ṭ-ṭīyyāb šāy ʿāndəç, *nhārquh*. u *ṭ-ṭrīça ḍ-əl-qāšš*, *l-qšāʿi*,
nhārrsūhəm, *d-ən-nu n-əṭ-ṭāhrīs nhārrsūh*, u *d-ən-nu n-əṭ-ṭāxcxsīr nxāssrūh*, u
xārrzūh ʿla bārri, *hūwwa u l-mra ḍyālu*, *hūwwa u z-zāwža ḍyālu*.” *xārrzūhəm*
yāʿni, *hūwwa ġa b-əl-qmīš n-əz-zānqa*. *šbāḥ əš-šbāḥ*, *šbāḥ ġāḥḥār kān l-āwwəl*,
hūwwa l-wāzīr l-āwwəl, *l-ḥīb d-əs-sūltān*. *šbāḥ mārmi f-əz-zānqa*, *ma libās*, *ma*
ma yāçūl, *ma ma yīšrāb*, *ma ma yāʿməl wālu*.

nḍāmmu l-wūzāra, *qālu nġārbu*¹⁸³ *l-mālīç yāʿṭīḥ ši dwīrīyya ḍ-əl-ḥbūs*, *ši* 8
dwīrīyya – *kif ma kānəṯ* – u *yḍāxxāl l-mra n-nīla*, u *yīsstār*, *ma yībqa ši f-əz-zānqa*,
mārmi. *kādālik wa l-mīṯāl*, *mšāw l-wāzāra ʿānd l-mālīç u ġārbūh*. *ʿāw dāxxlu*,
ʿṭāḥ wāḥd l-bīṯ, *wāḥd l-mūṭāḥ*, *s-sqāf u l-ʿārd*, *ma kāyən frāš*, *ma kāyən ḥāṭṭa*
ši ḥāža. *ġāṯ l-mra qāṯ lu*: “*ma hāda? ḥāṭṭa ḍəwqāḥ bīna hād ši hāda? ʿmāl nna*
l-mālīç hād ši hāda!” *qāl la*: “*āna ʿyīṯ*, *hādi qādda mən šḥār u kūll lil lāyʿāyyāṭ*
li. *lāxāšni nqūl lu*. u *ḥāṭṭa wāḥd l-līla ma yxāllīni nārṭāḥ*. *qūṭ lu ʿulād l-ḥrām*

178 The expected systematic shift of *l-) n* does not occur in this case.

179 This is a CA loan. About the preservation of the *hamza* in loan words see n. 1 above.

180 This term is a loanword from the Spanish *tranquilo/a*.

181 This term is the plural of *ġ-ġādārma*, from the French *gendarme*. See DAF, II, 135, 159 *jādārma / jādārmi*. The CA *rižāl d-darak* is less commonly used. For a detailed commentary on this term see Heath (1989), 323 under C-810.

182 This sentence anticipates what follows. It has been omitted from the translated version.

183 This verb is RGB after the methathesis.

ma ynāʕsu ma yxällw d-yīnʕās.” qāʕ lu: “*hādi xṭīʕ fiha nṭīna. hāda hūwwa l-mālīç, u kūnna ʕāndu yāʕni ʕzāz, b-əcl-dār dyānna məzyāna, b-əl-frāš dyānna məzyān, b-əl-ʕbīd dyānna hūwwa yxällšəm, b-əl-xdəm dyānna hūwwa yxällšəm, b-əl-mūkūlāʕ dyānna hūwwa yxällša, b-əl-frāšāʕ dyānna hūwwa lli qqa. u dquḷ lu ʕlād l-ḥrām ma ynāʕsu ma yxällw d-yīnʕās!*” iwa ḥna dāba fāyn māš nāʕsu? u fāyn māš ngəlsu?” iwa qāl la: “*wa dāba lli ʕta ḥāh hūwwa hāda, dāba ǰa kūwwən. dāba lli ʕta ḥāh hūwwa hāda. ma ʕānna ma nāqqw mʕāh, ma ʕāndi kif nāʕməl mʕāh.*” qāyyālīn gālsīn f-dīç l-bīʕ. rāḥāʕ l-ʕšyya, rāḥāʕ l-māǰrīb, əǰ-ǰūš, dxāl ʕlīhəm ǰ-ǰūš, dxāl ʕlīhəm l-bārd, nāqīš l-libās.

9 qāl la: “*ʕawzati.*”¹⁸⁴ qāʕ lu: “*nʕām?*” qāl la: “*āna māš nəmši nəsʕa d-dyāyāfa. māš nəmši nəddāyyəf ʕānd hādd. yāʕṭīwni nāçul āw yāʕṭīwni ʕayl*¹⁸⁵ *mən l-māl, u nkūnu məzyānīn.*” iwa qāʕ lu: “*wāxxa. ma dətʕāttāl ši. u ʕīb li ma nāçul.*” qāl la: “*wāxxa.*” *xrāž mən dīç l-bīʕ u bda ʕālāʕ mʕa d-dārb, “hād d-dār ndūqq fiha, hād d-dār ndūqq fiha, hādi wa rūbbāma mūlāha lāyāʕrāfni nəḥāššəm.” hāttā wšāl n-wāḥ l-bāb, kbīra wāḥ l-bāb, wāḥ l-bāb, dāqq fiha. dāqdāq, xrāž n-ʕāndu l-ʕābd. qāl lu: “šla xāššəç?” qāl lu: “dāyfi-llāh, ma ʕāndi fāy nənʕās, ma ʕāndi ma nāçul.” qāl lu: “nāššwār.” dxāl ʕānd sīdu qāl lu: “hāda wāḥīd ǰa. ma ʕāndu fāyn yīnʕās, ma ʕāndu ma yāçul, dāba lāyīʕa d-dyāyāfa.” qāl lu: “dāxxlu.”*

10 dxāl, dxāl. dāxxlu n-wāḥd l-bīʕ mfārrāš məzyān. u wāḥd l-kāma f-ər-rās d-əl-bīʕ, l-kāma mfārrāša l-ḥrīr. qāl lu: “*dāxxlu n-əl-ḥāmmām.*” dāxxlu n-əl-ḥāmmām, ǰāb lu l-libās¹⁸⁶ *mən hādi n-hādi, ləbbəs lu. “wa āzi dətʕāšša! āzi n-əl-mūṭāʕ dyāləç dətʕāšša.” dxāl n-dīç l-bīʕ, yīžbār dīç ǰ-ǰru nāʕīʕ f-əl-frāš d-əl-ḥrīr. u ʕāb wāḥ ʕ-ṭāyḫūr kbīr, wāḥ ʕ-ṭāyḫūr lāyḏūwwru ḥāyda, yāḥāh, yāḥāh. nəzzlu u nəzzəl ʕlīh wāḥ ʕ-ṭāzīn. ʕ-ṭāzīn š fiḥ? əṭ-ṭāzīn fiḥ wāḥ l-fārrūz*¹⁸⁷ *kbīr b-əl-xūdra dyālu ... u nəzzəl lu ʕ-ṭrīd, ʕ-ṭūbsīl*¹⁸⁸ *d-ət-ṭrīd, u ʕ-ṭūbsīl dīç əl-fārrūz. u ʕa ndīç ǰ-ǰru: “məšūḏ, məšūḏ!” u qāyyumu: “nūḏ a məšūḏ, nūḏ a məšūḏ!” ǰa məšūḏ mša*

184 The expected form here is *žawza dyāli*. But the narrator, following CA rules, added the pronominal suffix /i/ “my” following CA rules.

185 This is another instance of code-switching.

186 The narrator here uses code-switching to give his narration a CA flavour. The usual MA pattern for this noun is {CCāC}.

187 For the distribution and the atlas of this term, and its variants in northern MA, see Behnstedt (2005), Karte 25 on p. 36, and Behnstedt (2007), 12.

188 Both Heath (2002), 111 and recently Procházka (2012), 203, 215 assume this word is from the Turkish “*tepsi*” *ṭəbse* (turc moyen *tewsi* (chinois? ... ‘plat, assiette.’” But, Abu-Shams (2002), 200 suggests that “En aram. [= Aramaic-AR] tenemos *tabšilā* – DA 331 {ṬFŠL}-, aunque el asunto no está claro.” In Aramaic the word ܬܒܫܐ is related to the common Semitic root ܬܒܫ “to cook, to ripen,” and refers mainly to a cooked dish rather than to a “plat, assiette.” See Jastrow (1903), 1646 and Sokoloff (1992), 575. The Semitic etymology of this word remains doubtful since its corresponding equivalent refers strictly to “a dish.”

n-dīç ƚ-tābla u nazzəl yiddu u nzəl f-dīç l-fārrūž yāçul, l-fārrūž kbīr “əd-dāq, əd-dāq” u yfəttjāð, yāçul m-əƚ-ƚrīd, yāçul m-əl-fārrūž ıla hātƚta xraž űla l-lāxri. u žāƱfār lāyīntbāh.

ġa l-űābd űānd māsűūd űāw rāddu n-əl-frāš. rāddu n-əl-frāš. u fƚāh wāh l-mātbāq f-əl-hāyƚ, wāh l-bāb f-əl-hāyƚ, wāh l-lūha. žəbda, u žbār wāhd s-sənsla,¹⁸⁹ u sār lāyīžbəd f-dīç s-sənsla “āžbəd, āžbəd.” xārgəð wāh l-mra. kīf-ən-nűyja¹⁹⁰ hād l-mra? marʔatun ḡasanatun, žamīlatan min kullin ma yakūn.¹⁹¹ nazzəl wāh əz-zlűyfa d-əz-zīð d-əd-dārd khāl, nazzəl wāh l-xbīza d-əš-šűr yābsa u qāl la: “kūl!” hűyja qāššrəð əƚ-ƚrűyaf mən dīç l-xūbz dīç əš-šűr, u hűwwa nzəl űlīha b-əs-sāwƚ-“əd-dāf!” “kūl!” hűyja qāššrəð wāhd əƚ-ƚrűyaf d-əš-šűr, u qqāða f-dīç əz-zlűyfa d-əd-dārd u hűwwa nzəl űlīha-“əd-dāf!” “kūl!” űāw qābtāð dīç l-qűrša d-əš-šűr gābsa u qqāða u gātƚsāða f-dīç əz-zlāfa d-əd-dārd, hűwwa űāw sāwwƚa. ġa žāƱfār qāl: “mānnāyən kūntj ānāya műa l-mālīç ma çűƚj űi hād l-māndār hāda. hāda mnādəm¹⁹² lāyāűməl hād űi! wāš əġ-ġru yāçűl əƚ-ƚrīd u ġ-ġāž, u ādām māhsūna dāçűl l-xūbz d-əš-šűr, gālsa b-əġ-ġəld khāl, b-əġ-ġəld, bāqa űād lādhdīç. hāda hűwwa lāxāššu l-hűkm hāda.”

gāləs lāyīttjā bāx. ġa wāxƚ ən-nűās, u qāl lu: “nūd, műi n-dīç l-bīð hādāç fīh l-kāma, műi ānűās ƚəmma.” ġāƱfār dxāl n-dīç l-bīð, žbār l-kāma mwűűġda. nād u nűās. hűwwa ġa yīnűās űayʔ min an-nuűās,¹⁹³ u műl d-dār dāq q űlīh “əd-dāf, əd-dāf, əd-dāf.” qāl: “škūn?” qāl lu: “hāda hűwwa műl d-dār. š çűƚj f-műl d-dār məzyān, u š çűƚj fīh māšī məzyān.” qāl lu: “kīf ykūn műl d-dār ādām marʔatun žamīla b-əs-sāmƚa d-əl-hdīd f-űnqa, u s-sənsla mārbūta fīha, ma dāçűl ġa l-xūbz d-əš-šűr u d-dārd, u ġ-ġru, qānīű (xālqu űāh ġru, qānīű) lāyāçűl ġ-ġāž u ƚ-ƚrīd?” űāndu l-űbīd xārržūh, sāwwƚūh űšrīn d-əd-dārbāð b-əs-sāwƚ, qābtūh u űəyyūh űāw f-əl-bīð.

f-əš-šbāh nād mdəġdəç b-dīç űšrīn d-əd-dāqqāð f-ƚāhru. u xraž u žbār műl d-dār gāləs. űāh ġāw əl-lwīzāð. ġāƱfār qbāt ġāw əl-lwīzāð. qāl: “āna ka qűlƚ məzyān, ka űāni xtār. wālākīn mānnāyən qűlƚ āna műl d-dār ma yīšlāh űi, űāni

189 *sənsla* < *səlsla* is from CA $\sqrt{\text{slsl}}$. About this term and its semantic derivations in MA in general see Heath (2002), 148–149; Aguadé (2003), 72, n. 73; and Lévy (2009), 187.

190 This form derives from *n* + *hűyja* and is equivalent to *n-hi*. On both forms see n. 57 and 104 above.

191 The narrator uses here a stock CA description of woman's beauty. This is another example of his code-switching.

192 This is used here instead of the common *bnādəm*, CA *ibnu ʔadam* “son of Adam, human being(s)”: see Brockelmann (1908), 481, n. 3. This is a case of nasality assimilation: on this see Heath (2002), 177. The assimilation *bn* > *mn* is attested in other northern MA including Tangiers: Marçais (1911), 471 and Assad (1978), 2, 16, n. 1; and Ouargha: Lévi Provençal (1922), 260–261.

193 The narrator appeals here to code-switching.

žāw əl-lwizāθ. mša m-əl-kāma yišri l-ftūr n-əl-mra, xällāha f-diç l-biθ. šra ma xāšsu n-əl-ftūr n-diç l-mra u gləs gāləs. šrəf wāhda, wāh əl-lwiza. ġāθ l-ššyya, fāw qāwwam l-šša, fāw š ma xāšsu fāw šrāh la. u fāwəð mša n-diç d-dār. “dāyf lī-llāh.” qāl: “mārħba biç! yāñāh dxül.” dxäl. fāw, māhma dxäl fāw ħāmməmu lu, u qqāw lu l-libās āxūr. u šāy čāf l-bārāh, fāw čāfu l-yūm. məsʕūd qām yāçül ġ-ğāž u t-ṭrīd. u l-mra žabda m-əl-māṭbāq b-əs-sənsla f-šūnqa dākül d-dārd u l-xūbz d-əš-šīr.

- 14 gāzəθ wāh s-sāfa u ħūwwa ža n-šāndu. qāl lu: “š čyft f-mül d-dār?” qāl lu: “ñāh yižšäl fik l-bārāka! kārrəmni u šāššāni u ləbbəsni. mül d-dār ñāh yziðu xāyr f-la xāyr.” smāħ fih u mša f-ħālu. f-əš-šbāh fṭāh səbfa l-lwizāθ. l-lāğādda fāw mša n-šāndu, fāw kādālīç fṭāh səbfa l-lwizāθ. ġāšfār l-bəłja¹⁹⁴ d-kāθθ məzyāna xällāha f-əd-dār, l-qamīs kān məzyān xällāh f-əd-dār. šra l-qamīs, šra n-əl-mra, šra l-frīyyəs¹⁹⁵ fāyn yñšās, fāyn ynāšsu, fāyn dənšās l-mra. fāwəð mša.
- 15 s-sūltān ġūwwəz wāh l-ūsbul u qāl n-diç n-nās dyālu, qāl ləm: “diç ġāšfār lli dhīðu ānāya u ħrāqṭu u ħārrəštü kif n-nūwwa?” qālu lu: “l-mālīç, l-šamāma kif kāθθ fāndu fāw qqāha, š-šūbbāt¹⁹⁶ kif kān fāndu fāw qqāh, s-sūlhām kif kān fāndu fāwəð qqāh.” u ħūwwa lāyāqbāt diç s-səbfa l-lwizāθ mən hādāç, lāyāçül wāhda, u āxrīn lāyāšməl bīħəm l-libās n-diç l-biθ u n-rāsu. qāl ləm: “u āna ħrāqṭu u fārrāçṭu, ma xälliθ lu wālu! u ħūwwa fāndu l-māl mxābbāš fānni! ġibūh.”
- 16 ġāšfār qām f-əš-šbāh u l-wāzāra šəbbrūh ila n-šānd l-mālīç. qāl lu: “āna ħrāqṭ ləç ġāmīš l-māsā?il¹⁹⁷ dyāləç, u ħārrəšt ləç ġāmīš l-māsā?il dyāləç u ma xälliθ ləç ši wālu! u l-yūm fāw šbāhṭ nṭīna lābəs məzyān, u dāçül məzyān, u fārrāšt l-māhḥāl dyāləç məzyān. hād ši mənnāyən lādḡibu?” qāl lu: “hda, ya āmīr l-mūmīnīn, āmma ānāya ila nqül ləç.” qāl lu: “qül!” qāl lu: “ya āmīr l-mūmīnīn, ħrāqṭ li libāsi, u ħrāqṭ li frāši, u ħārrəšt li l-qšāʕi, u ma xälliθ li wālu ħṭṭa ši ħāza illa ñāhi taʕāla wa tabāraka ħūwwa lli krəmni. sʕiθ d-ḍyūyāfa n-wāh l-?īnsān. hādi m-ən-nhār lli dhīθni nṭīna, wāna nānəmši n-šānd diç r-rāžəl. nānəmši n-wāh d-dār

194 In ChA this term is applied to a traditional type of men's and women's shoe. Lévy (1992), 60, 63 states that this word is borrowed from the Spanish *parga*.

195 The suffix -əš / -iš in this term is used as a plural ending marker. This plural ending, also heard as a diminutive morpheme, is used mostly in northern MA. Lévy (1998), 15–16, n. 17 suggests that the morpheme š /əš/ of the diminutive was originally related to Latin plural -es-, another hint of the possible bilingualism of Arabic and 'Latin vulgar (Romanesque)' in Tingitane. For more on this Latin/Romance plural ending see Colin (1926), 65–68; Lévy (1998), 15–16, n. 17; Vicente (2000), 117; and Heath (2002), 4. For more bibliographical references see Moscoso, DACH, 146, n. 392, 151, n. 423.

196 This term means “shoe.” Lévy (1992), 60, 63, states this is a loan from Spanish *zapato*.

197 This is a loan from CA which has been totally assimilated into MA. See Heath (1989), 212 under A-1-150.

n-ṣānd wāḥ r-rāžəl, nānəṭṣāšša, u yāṣməl li l-kīswa, u yḥāmməmnī, u nbāṭ yāṣni məzyān. u f-əṣ-šbāḥ nānāxrāž. nānāxrāž nānəntāq, kulla yawm lāyāṣṭīni səbṣa ḏ-əl-twīzāṭ.” qāl lu: “āāāhhh! fāynu hād l-māṣūq?” qāl lu: “f-d-dār f-əl-ḥāwma l-flānīyya.” qāl lu: “sāṣa mənnāyən dku māši, āži mən mūrāya, nəmši mṣāḩ ānāya, nəḩf hād r-rāžəl lli lāyāṣṭīḩ səbṣa ḏ-əl-twīzāṭ f-ən-nhār.”

wṣāl l-wāxṭ ḏ-əl-mši. gāz mūra l-mālīḩ. mšāw ḥūwwa u hu. dāqqu f-əl-bāb– 17
 “ād-dāff, ād-dāff” dxāl. “škūn?” qāl “wa dāyflī-llāh.” “mārḥba bīkūm! zīd.” ššāwru mṣa mūl ḏ-dār. qāl: “dāxxləm.” dāxxlūḥəm. zūwwlu ləm dīḩ l-libās d-kān ṣāndəm, u ṣməl ləm l-libās āxūr – ha ṭ-ṭīžāra fāynīyya! u n-nās fāynīyya! – ləbbəs ləm, dāxxləm n-əl-ḥāmmām, xārgū u gəlsu gālsīn. u l-ṣābd dxāl, fḩāḩ dīḩ l-bāb f-əl-ḥāyṭ, l-māṭbāq, u gləs lāyīžbəd dīḩ s-sənsla– “āžbəd, āžbəd, āžbəd.” u l-mālīḩ lāyḩūf. (l-wāzīr dyālu ma qāl lu ši hād š māš čḩūf ṣāndəm f-əd-dār. ma qāl lu ši). āžbəd, āžbəd īla ḩāṭṭa žbəd dīḩ l-marʔa, marʔa žamīla, māḩsūna mən ḩāmīf l-māsāʔīl, u ḩyya b-əs-sāmṭa f-ṣūnqa u s-sənsla mārḩūṭa f-dīḩ s-sāmṭa. qāyyəm əḩ-ḩru “məṣūd.” qāyyēmūḩ, u nəzzəl lu dīḩ ṭ-tāyḩūr, kbīr wāḩ ṭ-tāyḩūr, u nəzzəl lu ṭ-tūṣīl yāṣni n-nāwḩ ḏ-əl-māḩla məzyāna u ṭ-ṭrīd. u nāḩ dīḩ əḩ-ḩru u zād n-dīḩ ṭ-tūṣīl ḏ-ət-ṭrīd u kīl. u kīl dīḩ ṭ-tāžīn ḏ-kān fīḩ ḩ-ḩāž āw l-ḩām āw kāda u kāda; u kīl u ḩāṭṭa šəḩḩāṭ kūll ši, u rādduḩ ... u ṣāw dāxxāl l-māyda l-ṣābd. māžži ṣāw b-əl-māyda kama miḩli dīḩ l-māyda ḏ-kīl ṣliḩa ḩ-ḩru. nəzzla lu, nəzzla. ḩārūn r-rāšīd lāyḩūf. gəlsu yīṭṣāššāw. nəzzla lu, gəlsu lāyāḩlu, ḩlu.

qāl: “wa nūdu dnāṣu. ra l-māḩḩāl dyāləḩ ra fāynūwwa; u nḩīna l-māḩḩāl 18
 dyāləḩ ra fāynūwwa.” ḩāṣḩār qāl: “āna l-yūm ma māš nənṣās ši. māš nəššānnəṭ ṣla ḩārūn r-rāšīd māš yāḩūl l-ḩrāwa f-hād l-līla.” u zīd wāḩd s-sāṣa u mūl ḏ-dār dāqq ṣla s-sūltān, “ād-dāf, ād-dāf!” qāl lu: “škūn?” qāl lu: “mūl ḏ-dār,” qāl lu: “a mən ḏ-ra š čūḩḩ f-mūl ḏ-dār?” qāl lu: “mūl ḏ-dār mūžrīm! wāš əḩ-ḩru lāyāḩūl ḩ-ḩāž u ṭ-ṭrīd. u ādām, marʔatun žamīla lādāḩūl ḏ-dārd u l-xūbz ḏ-əs-šṣīr qāṣḩa b-əl-ṣṣa? š ḩqūl n-əḩ-ḩāḩ ya ṣādūw ḩāḩ!” u rḩāḩ f-ḩālu. māḩma kəmməl, mšāw ārbṣa ḏ-əl-ṣbīd u rāfdūḩ mən dīḩ l-frāš u žəbbdūḩ f-əd-dwīra.

ḩāṣḩār ma nṣās ši. lāyīššānnəṭ. ḩūma žəbbdūḩ māš yāṣṭīwāḩ ḏ-dāqq, u žāṣḩār 19
 nāqqāz b-əl-kāṣba u xrāž n-ṣāndəm. qāl lu: “āḩda, ya mūl ḏ-dār! ḩāda ḩūwwa l-mālīḩ! ḩāda ḩūwwa ḩārūn r-rāšīd lli ža n-ṣāndəḩ f-hād l-līla. ṣṭīni ḏ-dāqq n-nīli u ma ḩāṣṭī ši ḏ-dāqq n-ḩāda.” qāl lu: “ḩāda s-sūltān!” qālu lu: “nṣām.” qāl lu: “l-ḩāmdu lī-llāḩ! l-ḩāmdu lī-llāḩ! rābbī ṣṭāni ḏ-dāṣwa ḩyāli ḩəṣṭāšār f-əd-dār ḩyāli, ma ḩāxrāž ši ṣān l-bāb ḏ-əd-dār ḩyāli. ma waqāṣa¹⁹⁸ biyya rābbi b-xbāru bīyya.” qāl lu: “qūl, š ṣāndəḩ?” l-ṣābd ḩāb lu dīḩ əḩ-ḩru, u xārržu dīḩ l-mra m-əl-māṭbāq. qāl lu: “ḩāda ḩ-ḩru ḩyāli, u ḩādi ḩyya l-mra ḩyāli, u ḩād l-mra lli ṣməṭṭ la āna s-sāmṭa u s-sənsla f-ṣūnqa, u ṣḩənta f-dīḩ l-mūṭāṣ.” qāl: “āra dīḩ ṣ-ṣāndūq.” ḩābu

198 The narrator appeals here to code-switching.

ḏiḩ ʕ-ʕāndūq u ʒbār l-ʕābd mkāwfār. [qāl lu]: “man hāḏa?”¹⁹⁹ qāl lu: “hāḏa āna dxūlṭ n-əd-dār u hūwwa ṭār fīyya n-ʕūnqi māš yʒīyyafni, hāḏ əǧ-ǧru dyāli čāf l-ʕābd māš yixnāqni, ṭār ʕlih ʒbəd lu l-bṭān dyālu. dāba ya āmīr l-mūmīnīn māy ʒiṯ ḥāṭṭa n-əd-dār dyāli, āḥkūm ʕlīyya, āḥkūm ʕlīyya.”

20 *qāl lu, āmma l-mra ḥīyya dhāyyəd s-sāmṭa, dhāyyəd s-sənsla u dəmši n-əs-sīʒn. āmma ǧ-ǧru xālqu ʕāh qānīʕ: kīlb ykūn f-əl-mārṭāba d-əl-kīlb. u nṭīna hāḏa ḥūkm ḥkūmṭu b-yiddəḩ, u āna nāḥkūm ʕlī, l-mra dhāʒra u ḏqūm ʕāw ḏəʒwəʒ, dāʕməl l-mra āxra. u hāḏi nrāfdūha nāqqīwḥa f-wāḥd s-sīʒn, liʕanna²⁰⁰ ḥīyya qəṯləṯ hāḏ l-ʕābd mūši ǧ-ǧru qəṯlu. mūši ǧ-ǧru ʒbəd lu bāṭnu. ḥīyya ngāṯu, qāṯ lu ‘mānnāyən yīdxūl sīdəḩ, ṭīr f-xnāqu u ʒīyyfu, u nāqqīwāḥ f-əl-mātrāq, u yāṭḥārra f-əl-wāḏ, u ši ḥādd ma sāq bīna xbar.’ [mūl d-dr qāl]: “liʕanna dāba ʕāh ṭāʕāla wa ṭabārāka ma xfāṯu xāfīyya, rābbi yāʕni, hūwwa ḥāṭṭa ʒiṯ nṭīna, ya āmīr l-mūmīnīn! ǧiṯ n-əd-dār dyāli u fāṕāṭṭ li d-dāʕwa. wāna u nṭa ya āmīr l-mūmīnīn.”*

21 *u ʒāʕfār ālwa ʕlih, u ʕābbāḥ mʕāḥ ʕla ḥāṭṭa n-əl-qšār dyālu. f-əṕ-ṕbāḥ ṕbāḥ wāzīr kīf kān f-əl-āwwəl. qālu l-wāzāra: “ma hāḏa?²⁰¹ l-bārāḥ čūf š ʕməl. u dāba ʕāw ʒa mʕāḥ, ʕāw ʕməllu hāḏ d-dārāʒa, ʕāwəḏ lāyīfrāḥ bīḥ, ʕāw qqāḥ ḥda yiddu uuu.” qālu: “ma ʕrāfna ši š wqāʕ!” ma ʕləm bīḥəm ǧa ʕāh taʕāla wa tabāraka.*

199 The narrator again appeals to code-switching.

200 This is an additional example of the infiltration of some CA conjunctions into MA. Heath (1989), 29, 30 states that “these particular items are thus no longer rigorous indicators of code-switching.” About the syntax of this particle in MA see Heath (1989), 67–70, 223 under A-3-1.

201 The narrator appeals here to code-switching.

qǎmr z-zāmān u ḥāyāt n-nūfūs

hārūn r-rāšid ŷāndu ḥāyāt n-nūfūs. hārūn r-rāšid māliç wāla ḥūwwa bān f-əl- 1
ḥikām dyālu u f-ən-nīdām dyālu u f-ğāmīl l-āḥwāl. š-šāḥb kāməl kāyḥibbu; u l-
ḡālām kāyḥibbu, ŷla l-fikra lli ŷāndu u l-ŷqāl lli ŷāndu. – liʔanna l-ʔinsān ila kān
ŷāndu l-ŷqāl u kān ŷāndu l-fikra ḥākām d-dūnya kām̄la; u ila ma kān ši ŷāndu l-
ŷqāl u ŷāndu l-fikra məzyāna, ma yāḥkəm ši ḥāṭṭa rāsu, ḥāṭṭa rāsu ma yāḡrāf ši
yŷāddlu wa ila āxīrīḥ. – ḥāda l-mālīç šāḥrāmān ŷāndu qǎmr z-zāmān, l-walad
dyālu qǎmr z-zāmān. ǧamma qǎmr z-zāmān qra; qārī, kān miḡlu ʔabīḥ. l-mālīç
l-ğāyūr ŷāndu bəntṭ ʔusamma bādr l-būdūr.

amma wāḥ l-ŷāfrīḡa, wāḥ ḡ-ğənnīyya qāləḡ n-diç l-ŷāfrīḡ, qāḡ lu: “ʔinni āna 2
šūḡṭu²⁰² žamīla, žamīla la yakūn ŷānd ʔaḥadan²⁰³ f-ši ʔārd.” l-ŷāfrīḡ qāl la: “āna
šūḡṭ wāḥd l-wūld lāyīsəmma qǎmr z-zāmān, žamīl, žamīl f-əl-ŷilm dyālu, u l-
fḥāma dyālu, u f-əl-ŷqāl dyālu, u f-əz-zāyn dyālu. dāba, kāxāşşna nçūfu ḥāyāt
n-nūfūs u qǎmr z-zāmān, nçūfu škūn ḥsən.” ḥīyya qāḡ lu: “dyāli ḥāyāt n-nūfūs
ḥīyya ʔafḡalu min²⁰⁴ qǎmr z-zāmān.” l-ŷāfrīḡ qāl la: “qǎmr z-zāmān ʔafḡalu min
ḥāyāt n-nūfūs.” qāl la: “lāxāşşna nləqqīwhəm.” qāḡ lu: “kīf?” qāl la: “āna nḡīb qǎmr
z-zāmān u ḥāyāt n-nūfūs nāʔima,²⁰⁵ nāʔsa. u mənnāyən nḡību qǎmr z-zāmān f-
əl-hwa, f-əs-sāma, u nəzzlūḥ ḥdāḥa, u nəṭməṭṭṭu fīḥəm u nçūfūḥəm škūn ŷṭāḥ ḡāḥ
z-zāyn xṭār” – liʔanna z-zāyn ḥābbu ḡāḥ u nbi.–

rāfdu ḥāyāt n-nūfūs u žābūḥa n-hda qǎmr z-zāmān. āmma l-mālīç šāḥrāmān 3
kāyxātəb qǎmr z-zāmān, lāyqūl lu: “ya bni, lāxāşşni nžəwwżəç fi-ḥayāti ānāya
nkūn āna b-ər-rūḥ, u nŷārrās ləç u nkūn āna b-ər-rūḥ.” lāyqūl lu qǎmr z-zāmān:

202 The expected form here is *çūḡṭ*, not *šūḡṭu*. However, again the narrator tries to Classicize his speech by conjugating the verb $\sqrt{\text{SWF}}$ “to see, to watch” by CA rules. For this last verb, which occurs widely in vernacular ADs, its variants, and its geographical distribution in MA, see Heath (2002), 59, 512, Map 2–41.

203 The narrator here appeals to code-switching. The correct form is *ʔaḥadan*.

204 The expected form here is *ḥsən mən* “better than.” However the narrator appeals to code-switching by using the CA pattern of comparison. On this CA loaned comparative form of adjective, see Heath (1989), 214 under A-1-187 to A-1-192. Concerning the preposition *mīn* (CA *mīna*, and MA *mən*, see p. 35 for commentary on the tendency of MA to shorten prepositions.

205 The narrator here appeals to code-switching. And he repeated the same word in MA to make sure the meaning was clear, because the CA term was not the natural either for himself or his listener. For a similar occurrences and its correspondent commentary see p. 34.

“āna? la! n-nisā? ḥāṭṭa ši bənt ma lādāʕzəbni f-hād l-mintāqa,” ila āxirih. hāda mūlūç²⁰⁶ ğ-ğən, ʕāfrīθ ğāb qāmr z-zāmān fi-s-samā?,²⁰⁷ u nəzzlu n-ḥāyāt n-nūfūs f-əl-frāš dyāla, l-ʕāfrīθa kādčūf ḥāyāt n-nūfūs u kādčūf qāmr z-zāmān, u kāṭsīl yāʕni hād z-zāyn d-hād ž-žūž d-əš-šabāß la miḥāla lahum. ma kāyən ši l-miḥāl dyāləm fi-l-ḥusn wa l-žamāl.

- 4 qām l-ʕāfrīθ qrāš ʕla qāmr z-zāmān, fṭāḥ ʕāynu. fṭāḥ ʕāynu u žbār ḥdāh dīç l-bənt. qāl: “ya ʕayyuha l-ʕažab! āna ma bġiš ši²⁰⁸ nəžūwwəž, u bāβa žāb li hād l-bənt n-ḥdāy bāš nčūfa bāš nəžūwwəž biha. hādi lu kān nəžūwwəž biha ānāya ʕaḥsan m-əd-dūnya u ma fiha. dāba, hād l-bənt hādi nəžūwwəž biha. ida nəžūwwəž āna b-hādi hiyya ʕaḥsana u ʕafḍala²⁰⁹ mnə d-dūnya kāmila u ma fiha, m-əl-fāwākīh dyāla, m-əd-dahab dyāla, m-əl-fāḍḍa dyāla m-ġāmiʕ l-māsāʕil dyāla. hādi hiyya l-marʕa!” šāḥḥāḥ fiha ḥāydāya u čāf qāl: “hādi hiyya dkūn z-zāwža dyāli, hādi hiyya r-rūḥ dyāli, hādi hiyya muḥžat dyāli.”²¹⁰ u ddāh n-nawm.
- 5 u qāršu ʕla ḥāyāt n-nūfūs u fəṭḥāθ ʕāyna, šābəθ ḥdāha šābāß, šābb ma miḥāla lahu ykūn fi-hādīç l-bālād. qāləθ hiyya: “ya ʕayyuha l-ʕažab! wāna nānāḥləm? hād š-šābb hāda žābūh ḥdāy, ʕahli, l-āhl dyāli, u l-āḥbāb dyāli ṭṭāffqu yžību hād š-šābb n-ḥdāy bāš āna nkūn yāʕni nəbġīh.” θāmma sälləθ l-xāθəm mən yidda, u nəzzləθ dyālu, u ḥšāθ lu l-xāθəm dyāla f-yīddu, u žəbdəθ l-xāθəm dyālu mən yiddu u ḥšāθa f-yīdda.
- 6 l-ʕāfrīθ ʕābba qāmr z-zāmān. l-ʕāfrīθa fṭyyqəθ ḥāyāt n-nūfūs, u ğəlsəθ ḥāyāt n-nūfūs kādčāmməm f-hād l-muškila d-hād š-šābāß ḥiyya nāʕima u ža n-ḥdāha hād š-šābāß. “fāyn ykūn hād š-šābāß? ʕayna ʕarḍ,²¹¹ š mən ʕarḍ ykūn hād š-šābāß ḥāṭṭa ža nāḥdāy ḥāydāya? hād š-šābāß hāda ykūn žāwzi. āna bāġyāḥ fi-ḥāyāti d-dunya wa l-Ṕāxira.” ʕāmləθ dīç l-xāθəm f-yīdda, u šārāθ kādčāmməm, qāθ: “qāmr z-zāmān hād š-šābāß fāynūwwa? u š mən ʕarḍ n-ḥūwwa? u fīwāx māš dətṭšāl bih?” lāxāšša dətṭšāl bih b-hād š-šābāß. ʕād dətṭkəlləm mṕāh. āmma hiyya kānəθ nāʕima? ma kānəθ lādāḥləm? ma nāʕirāf? wāš kānəθ f-əd-dūnya? ma nāʕirāf? wāš wqāʕ biha: ma nāʕirāf? ṭəmma ṭʕāllməθ u mārṭəθ.
- 7 ḥāyāt n-nūfūs ʕabiha mālīç ānālūs. mənḥāyən mārṭəθ, mša ʕabiha kāyātłäç d-dīʕāyāθ f-əl-qbāyīl: “lli ydāwīha nāʕīḥ ma yātłəb. nāʕīḥ šən yḥībb.” kāyžību lu n-nās lli lāyḍārbu l-xāṭṭ, u kāyġəlsu kāyqūlu lu: “māġrūma! u bən, ma nāʕirāf?” kāyžību lu l-ātībba māš ydāwīwha.

206 The vocalization expected here is *mūlç* rather than *mūlūç*.

207 This is a term loaned from CA into MA. It is well documented that MA shows a little resistance to the retention of the CA *hamza*. Thus a preserved *hamza* is always proof that a word is a CA loan. On this preposition see n. 1 and 69.

208 *bġiθ ši* } *bġiš ši*.

209 The narrator here appeals to code-switching from CA.

210 This is a loaned word from CA.

211 The narrator appeals here to code-switching.

qāmr z-zāmān ṭwūggəd. u nāḍ u qāl: “ʔabi kāyxātəbni nəṭṣūwwəṣ, u āna ma 8
ḥābbiš ši²¹² nəṣūwwəṣ. ʔamma ḥāṭṭa žāb li hād l-bəntṭ lli ḥyya kāḏxābbəl l-ṣūqūl,
u xābbələʔ l-ṣqāl dyāli u l-muhžat dyāli. u ma ṭsəkkəntṭ ši fə-l-ṣqāl dyāli. u lāxāṣṣni
āna hādīḏ l-bəntṭ. fāyn nṭiḥ biha? wāš mən ʔārd n-ḥyya nəmši n-nīla?”

ʔamma wūdd ʔamma nād dxāl n-ʔānda qāl la: “qūl li ya ḥāyāt n-nūfūs, qūl 9
li māḏa,²¹³ š ʔāndəḏ? qūl li šənnūwwa l-mārtṭ dyāləḏ? ssārīna ṭ-ṭūba šarqan wa
ğarban. ssārīna l-ḥūkāma lli kāykəṭbu u yḏārbu l-xāṭṭ. u lāyqūlu biʔanna nṭīna
māğrūma. fik l-ğarām? qūl li āna.” qāṣ lu: “ya bən ʔāmmi, ʔinni raʔaytu²¹⁴–ma
ʔrāṭṭ ši wāla f-əl-mānām dyāli wāla f-əl-ḥāyāt dyāli – raʔaytu š-šabāḥ la miḏāla
lahu ykūn f-ši balād, ma ykūš ši²¹⁵ f-ši ʔārd. ma ykuš ši f-ši blād. hādāḏ š-šabāḥ
lāxāṣṣni ykūn ž-žāwṣ dyāli.”

rfəd dīḏ wūdd ʔamma u mša kāysīḥ. kāyīssāra, kāyīssāra m-ʔārd ıla ʔārd u 10
wūṣṣāl n-əl-ʔārd d-əl-āmīr d-əl-mālīḏ šāhrāmān. – dāba ḥna škūn ʔānna škūn
ğ-ğār dyānna? ʔānna ġ-ğār dyānna frānsa. ʔānna ġ-ğār dyānna ġ-ğāzāʔr, ʔānna
ğ-ğār dyānna spānya. – kāyīssārāḥəm yčūf hād ši kāyən ši ḥīss ḏ-ši ḥāza. u hād
l-ʔīnsān ıla ḥūwwa bān, ma māʔna hād l-ʔīnsān. hād l-ʔīnsān qāri bəzzāf, u ʔāndu
l-ḥīkām bəzzāf, hād wūdd ʔamma, ıla ḥāṭṭa wūṣṣāl n-dīḏ l-ʔārd.

wṣāl n-wāḥd l-məswūd, žbār n-nās wāqfa, ġa n-nās wāla būdda mənṣūm.²¹⁶ 11
qāl ləm: “ma hāḏa? šənnu hna?” qālu lu: “hādām kāmlīn ṭ-ṭūbba.” “š lāydāwīw?”
qāl: “a wūddi! hād bəṭṭ l-mālīḏ ānālūs mrīṭa, u bāḃāḥa kāyāʔṭi l-āswāʔ n-spānya,
n-əl-ğāzāʔr, n-tūnəs n-kda n-kda. ida ʔāndu ši nās ḥūkāma, ʔāndu ši nās ṭūbba,
yṣṭw yčūfu hād l-bəntṭ š ʔānda. u kūlləm lāyqūlu hādī l-ğarām fiha. u fāynūwwa
hād l-ğarām, ma nəʔrāṭṭ? š mən, ʔayna²¹⁷ ʔārd? ka ḏ-ət-ṭālya, ka mən ālmānya.
l-ğarām ʔānda ma yānʔrāṭṭ ši.” l-ʔārd d-əl-mālīḏ ānālūs.

ğa n-ʔānd [ʔānd qāmr z-zāmān] qāl l[u]: “āna mšiḏ n-əl-ʔārd d-əl-mālīḏ ānā- 12
lūs, u žbārtṭ ṭ-ṭūbba, u žbārtṭ ḥūkāma kāydāxlu n-dār l-mālīḏ ydāwīw ḥāyāt n-
nūfūs. ḥāṭṭa wāḥīḏ, ma lādəṭkəlləm ši. u dāba nṭīna māš nʔābbīḏ ıla n-dīḏ l-ʔārd u
nəmšīw n-dīḏ l-mūṭāṭ hādāḏ fāyn lāyīmšīw ṭ-ṭūbba, u ḏəmši nṭīna, ʔāsa ḥāḥ ḏkūn
nṭīna ḥūwwa ṭ-ṭbīb dyāla, dāwīḥa! u ıla dāwīḥa. l-mālīḏ ānālūs, āṭləb lli ḥābbiḏ

212 *ḥābbiḏ ši*) *ḥābbiš ši*.

213 The narrator here appeals to code-switching by using a CA interrogatory particle. And he repeated the semantically equivalent particle in MA to make sure he was understood. For a similar occurrence see commentary on pp. 34–35.

214 The narrator here appeals to code-switching.

215 *ykūn ši*) *ykūš ši*.

216 *mən+ ḥūm*. *mən* here is a relative pronoun. The opinion of Moscoso, DACH, 170 that this relative pronoun always appears before the preposition *mša* is incorrect.

217 The narrator asks his question by using an MA interrogatory particle first, and then he appeals to code-switching by using a semantically equivalent CA interrogatory particle.

f-əd-dūnya lli dāt̪männāh f-əd-dūnya yǎʕtik.” *l-mālīç ānālūs wāla hūwwa bān.*
[qǎmr z-zāmān] qāl lu: “āna nəmši ya bən ʕāmmi.”

- 13 *rəkbū f-wāḥ s-sāfīna, u mšāw f-diç s-sāfīna l-yūm ıla gād̪da, l-yūm ıla gād̪da ıla ḥāṭṭa rāḥ n-diç l-mdīna. u ʕābbāh n-diç l-mūtāʕ fāyn dxāl hūwwa, u ʕāf diç ʕ-ṭūbba u diç l-ḥūkāma ʕāndəm n-nāwba. müši ǧa yži yīdxūl, la ḥāṭṭa d̪wūṣṣāl lu n-nāwba. hāda ža mən ʕūnəs, hāda ža mən ǧ-ǧāzāʕir, hāda ža mən ʕ-ṭālya, hāda m-əl-lənglīz, hāda m-kda, hāda m-kda. ḥāṭṭa wūṣṣləθ lu n-nāwba. “nṭīna ṭbīb?” qāl lu: “nʕām, āna ṭbīb.” “nṭīna lāddāwi?” qāl ləm: “āna hūwwa nāndāwi.” wūṣṣləθ lu n-nāwba. dxāl. ḥyya hnāya f-hād̪ l-ǧūrfa u hūwwa gləs f-ən-nbāḥ, gləs n-nūḥin. “wa dxūl n-ʕānda.” qāl ləm: “lā?” “wa mən hna māš ddāwiha, mən ʕamma?” qāl ləm: “āyyih, nʕām.” ǧbəd̪ l-qalam, u žbəd̪ wāḥd s-šāfḥa l-kāǧit, u ʕməl fiha “āqra hād̪ l-bra dābra!” u ʕməl diç l-xāṭəm dyāla f-diç l-bra u xālla l-ʕbīd dāxxlūha la. ḥyya məmdūda f-əl-ʕārš dyāla. u n-nās lli hūma d-əl-āmīr kāydāxlu la, n-nās lli māš ykūn ṭbīb bāš ydāwīwha. ʕṭāwha diç l-kāǧit, nāḍəθ žəbrəθ l-xāṭəm dyāla. šāḥḥḥāḍ fiha, ǧəbrəθ l-kāǧit dyāla. fəṭḥāḍ l-kāǧit dəžbār lāyqūl la fiha: “āqra hād̪ l-bra dābra!” qāl ləm: “āna ṭbīb ḥīndāwi nānəžrāḥ u ndāwi.” θamma qāməθ ḥāyāṭ n-nūfūs u xārǧəθ ʕānd qǎmr z-zāmān. fāynūwwa gāləs, f-bāb hād̪ l-māḥāll dyāla.*
- 14 qāl *l-mālīç*: “ya ʕayyuha l-ʕažab! hāda mən ʕayn²¹⁸ mūtāʕ ǧa?” qāl: “hāda ža mən ʕārḍ d-əl-māmlāça d-əl-mālīç šāhrāmān.” “ma āsmu?” “āsmu qǎmr z-zāmān,” “āā.” qām mālīç ānālūs u ʕməl žūž d-əl-krāsa, u gəlləs qǎmr z-zāmān u bənṭu ḥāyāṭ n-nūfūs qqāha f-wāḥd ... u gləs kāyṣāḥḥāḥ fiḥəm. sāʕāṭān yqūl: “bənṭi ḥsən mənnu, u sāʕāṭān yqūl: qǎmr z-zāmān ḥsən mən bənṭi.” müši f-əl-māl, müši f-əl-libās, f-əl-ḥūsn lli ʕṭāḥəm ṇāḥ, f-əl-ḥūsn. dāyyfu wāla m-əl-māçla, wāla m-əš-šārāb. u žmāḥ l-mūt̪ribīn: lli yǎʕrāf̪ yīḍrāb f-əl-ǧənbri; lli yǎʕrāf̪ yīḍrāb f-əl-ʕūd; lli yǎʕrāf̪ yīḍrāb f-əl-kāmānǧa; lli yǎʕrāf̪ yǧānni, lli yǎʕrāf̪ yqūl š-šīr. u hūma gālsīn u l-mūt̪ribīn mxāllṭīn mən kūll mūt̪āʕ, kāyǧānniw. kūll wāḥīd kāyǧānni b-lǧāḥ.

- 15 u [*l-mālīç*] ʕāndu wāḥd ʕ-ṭāyr. hād̪ ʕ-ṭāyr kāyāhdār u kāyīṭkəlləm b-əl-lsān²¹⁹ l-fāṣīḥ. u qāl diç ʕ-ṭāyr: “hāda hūwwa qǎmr z-zāmān, wūld l-mālīç šāhrāmān, la hūwwa bān. u hād̪ qǎmr z-zāmān yǎʕni ʕāndu l-ʕūlūm, u ʕāndu d-dīrāsa məzyāna.” u ʕāndu u ʕāndu u ʕāndu. ʕ-ṭāyr lāyāhdār u l-mālīç lāyīṣṣānnəθ, qāl: “āā, hāda hūwwa n-nsīb dyāli!” θamma āmār ʕla l-ʕdūl, āmār ʕla l-āxlāq, u n-nās ʕ-ṭāyyībīn, kbār u šǧār, ydāxlu n-dār l-mālīç yāçlu u yšārbu. l-mālīç ʕməl l-fārāḥ. l-xāyl lād̪əlʕīb, u lli yǎʕrāf̪ ši ǧūnyā, u lli yǎʕrāf̪ ši āšʕār, u lli yǎʕrāf̪ ši ḥāza kāyīdxūl yǎʕni ʕla hād̪ l-fārāḥ, ʕla hād̪ l-ḥāfla lli qqāha l-mālīç ānālūs l-qǎmr z-zāmān wūdd l-mālīç šāhrāmān, ǧa n-ʕāndu ḥāṭṭa n-əd-dār dyālu. – fāyn māššīn ḥna

218 The narrator prefers to use a CA interrogatory particle instead of the MA *šmən* “in which place/where ...?”

219 This word’s basic meaning is “tongue.” For the atlas of this term in northern MA see Behnstedt (2007), Karte 67 on p. 31.

nḥāmu? nḥāmu hāda mālīç ānālūs u hāda hūwwa mālīç šāhrāmān, hāda mūtāl yāʿni ḏ-tūnəs, u hāda ḏ-əs-sūḏīyya, u hāda ḏ-əl-ḥīrāq u hāda ḏ-kda. ġa n-nās wāla būdda mənñm. – ʧəltʃ ʧyām u n-nās kāḏākūl u ḏəšrāb u l-frāyīç u mən kull mūtāl kādġihəm līstīdīa yžīw n-əl-ḥāfla ʿānd l-mālīç ānālūs.

kmāləθ ʧəltʃ ʧyām. qām qām z-zāmān qāl lu: “ya āmīr l-mūmīnīn, ya mālīç! ʧinnani ʧwāḥḥāšt n-ʧabi u n-wālīdayya, u ḏāba xāššni nəmšī f-hāli. āna ma nəbqa šī gāləs hnāya.” qāl lu: “u z-zāwʒa?” qāl lu: “z-zāwʒa ıla bġāθ dəmšī mīyā, dəmšī mīyā; bġāθ dəgləs, āna nṭālləl ʿla l-ḥāʿīla ḏyāli, u nčūf ʧahli, u nčūf ʧummi, u nčūf ʿāʿīlī, ɪwa u nārġāʿ.” qāθ lu, ḥāyāt n-nūfūs, qāθ lu: “āna ma nəbqa hnāya. nṭīna ʿrāfṭ l-wāldīn ḏyāli; ʿrāfṭ bāβa hāda. āna xāššni nəʿrāf ʿāwəḏ n-nās ḏyāləç: nəʿrāf bāβāç, u nəʿrāf l-ḥāʿīla ḏyāləç, u nəʿrāf yīm māç, u nəʿrāf. nəmšī mīyāç.” qāl lu: “wāxxa.”

qām l-mālīç ʿṭāh ġ-ġāyš, u ʿṭāh l-ḥīd u ʿṭāh l-xdəm, u ʿṭāh l-ām wāl. “ma yīmkin šī ykūn wāḥd s-sūltān ġa n-ʿāndi u nrūddu yāʿni xāwi! ʿāndi ma nəʿṭīh yāʿni ywāššāl ʿānd bāβāh. āna wāḥ l-mālīç f-hād l-ʧārd. lāxāššni nḏāḏd ḏīç l-mālīç hādāç, nḏāḏdu, bāš māš nḏāḏdu b-əl-ʧīhsān u ʧ-šāwāb u l-ādāb.” – lādəḥām a ʿāyša, hādī l-ḡīšša d-“ālf līla u līla” u xādmūha l-ʿāfārīθ? – [qām z-zāmān] bda māši, āḏām hāda, ḥīyya rākba ʿla l-ʿāwd; u ḥūwwa rākəb ʿla l-ʿāwd. u ġ-ġāyš, u l-bḥāyem,²²⁰ u lā-bġāl u l-xāyl māšša mən mūrāhəm. qāw r-rāḥla l-lūwwlīyya, u ġəlsu bāyθīn. u wūššlu n-ər-rāḥla ʧ-ṭānyā, ʿāw bāθu f-wāḥd s-sāḥa u ġ-ġāyš mdūwwra u l-āxlāq.

ɪwa b-əl-līl ḏrābθu l-fāyqa, u ḥūwwa yčūf ʿānda [mrāθu] f-əl-ḥzām wāḥd šī kāyāʿməl ha, ha, ha kāyīšʿāl. qāl: “šənnu hāda?” “ḥāmləθ əd-dahab mən ʿānd bāβāha māš dəmšī ḏwūrrīh n-bāβa. bāβa ʿāndu hād šī kbīr!” mādd yīddu n-ḏīç l-ḥāzra lli kāḏwi u xāz n-bāb l-xāyima yḥāwəl yčūf fīha. ḥūwwa lāyčūf fīha, u wāḥd ʧ-ṭāy māzī f-əs-sma, qqa lu n-nīla hāh, xāṭfa lu mən yīddu u ʧār. ḥūwwa ʧār u qām z-zāmān ʧəbīu. ʧ-ṭāy lāyīmšī ḥāṭṭa yīmšī, u qām z-zāmān ʿla ḏīç l-ʿāfīrīθ lli zāb lu ḥāyāt n-nūfūs, yčūf ḥāyāt n-nūfūs, ḥūwwa kāyxāddmu. ḥāṭṭa ywūššāl ʧ-ṭāy n-wāḥd š-šīzra ʿālyā kāyīgləs, u qām z-zāmān kāyāt lā f-əš-šīzra. ḥūwwa kāyzi yšəbbu, u ʧ-ṭāy lāyʿāwəḏ yṭīr ıla ḥāṭṭa bəllāġ n-wāḥd l-ʧārd, wāḥ l-ʧārd māšīḥīyya, āžnābīyya ḏ-ər-rūm, ma lāyʿārḥu šī l-māsāʿīl ḏ-əl-ʿarab, āw lāyḥāmu l-lūġa ḏ-əl-ʿarab, āw lāyḥāmūhəm. ḥūma māššīn kāyġārrīw, ḥūwwa dxāl f-wāḥ d-dəbna, f-wāḥ d-dəbna ḏ-əl-fīlāḥa. [mūl d-dəbna ḏ-əl-fīlāḥa] qāl lu: “fāyn māši nṭīna lādrəs nna hād šī?” dxāl qāl lu: “āna! wāḥd ʧ-ṭāy ʿābba li wāḥ l-yāqūḏa. u l-yāqūḏa miši ḏyāli, qāl l-yāqūḏa ḏ-əž-žāwʒa ḏyāli ʿābbīḏa la āna bāš nčūfa. u ʧ-ṭāy ʿābbāha li. lāxāššni ḏīç ʧ-ṭāy yīnqəḃt.” “fāyn māš nqəḃtu lu hād ʧ-ṭāy?”

220 For the atlas of this term and its variants in northern MA see Behnstedt (2005), Karte 23 on p. 34; idem (2007), 12.

- 19 [hāyāt n-nūfūs wūššləθ n-wāhd l-ʔārd] āmru biha l-āmīr lli ʕləm,²²¹ frāḥ biḥəm l-āmīr. qāθ lu: “āna hūwwa āna.” qāl: “āyīh.” qāləθ: “āna hūwwa qāmr z-zāmān.” u ʕāmləθ š-šān yāʕni d-ər-rūžūlʕyya, u ʕāmləθ s-sāyfd-ər-rūžūlʕyya, u ʕāmləθ l-libās d-ər-rūžūlʕyya, u qāθ lu: “āna hūyya qāmr z-zāmān.” qām ʕtāḥəm wāḥ l-qšār dāxlu u gəlsu.
- 20 [qāmr z-zāmān lāyqūl m ʕa rāsu]: “ha t-tāyr škūn māš yšəbbbru? hād t-tāyr fāyn mšə? lāxāššna dīç l-yāqūθa fāynʕyya, hādi māši dyāli, hādi d-əž-žāwža dyāli, u lāxāššni ma ngāyyra ši biʔanna āna ʕābbiθa la.” gləs gələs tamma; l-mūçul u š-šārāb dyālu, u l-māsāʔil dyālu.
- 21 hādāç l-mālīç [fāyn wūšləθ hāyāt n-nūfūs] ʕāndu wāḥ l-bənt kənəθ lādmāθəl hāyāt n-nūfūs. qāl: “āna ʕāndi hād l-bənt.” “š lādəssəmma?” “lādəssəmma bādr l-būdūr.” ma māʕna “bādr l-būdūr?” lādqūl n-əl-bādr āšrāç āw nəšrāç min kuθri ḥusniha wa žamāliha.²²² kātḥil u tḥil u dəsḥām ʕla l-ʔārd b-əç-çmīl. twa [hāyāt n-nūfūs] wūšləθ θāmma, ç-çāyš dyāla, l-ūmūr dyāla. ʕānd dīç l-mālīç, wāklīn šārīb, b-kūll ši dyāləm, b-çāmīʕ l-māsāʔil.
- 22 sāʕāḥən u hād t-tūyūr, çāw tḷāθa. u žāw n-wāḥīd u dəbḥūḥ f-əl-bāb d-əl-xāyma d-qāmr z-zāmān. u dīç l-yāqūθa ʕāndu hna f-əl-ḥāngūra dyālu. nād qāmr z-zāmān u žbād dīç l-yāqūθa. dīç t-tāyr lli ʕābbāha lu ḥākmūḥ yāʕni l-ʕāfāriθ dyālu. u žābūḥ dəbḥūḥ ḥdāḥ ʕla l-xāsāra lli xsār yāʕni qāmr z-zāmān, b-dīç l-kāʕba lli žārra, u hāžār l-lāyāli, u hāžār n-nūḥūr; u msāmāḥ f-əl-mūkūl dyālu, u msāmāḥ f-əl-frāš dyālu, u msāmāḥ yāʕni f-çāmīʕ l-māsāʔil, l-māsāʔil kbīra bəzzāf. tamma šābbār l-yāqūθa qāl: “ha l-yāqūθa hūyya hādi, u hāyāt n-nūfūs fāyn dkūn?”
- 23 āmma l-mālīç l-çāyūr qāl lāxāššu yāʕni hād qāmr z-zāmān, hūyya hāyāt n-nūfūs, yžūwwəža b-bəntu. žūwwəž hāyāt n-nūfūs bādr l-būdūr. ma žūwwəža u dāx-ləθ hāyāt n-nūfūs ʕla bādr l-būdūr, bādr l-būdūr lādāḥsād l-ḥūθ ma f-əl-bḥār, u n-nžūm ma f-əs-samāʔ. ‘hāy, hāy, hāy!’ hādʕyya ḥāḥḥa hūyya [hāyāt n-nūfūs] lādāḥsād l-ḥūθ ma f-əl-bḥār u lādāḥsād ən-nžūm ma f-əs-samāʔ. šəbbərəθ twa dāxləθ ʕliha. hāyāt n-nūfūs bənt, u hādi bənt l-çāyūr bənt. tamma žūwwəθ l-ʕāmāma, u ḥāqəθ s-sāləf dyāla. qāθ lu: “ha āna ḥdāç. wālāklīn r-rāžəl dyānna ʕād la būdda ma nəḥqāsmu fih. ykūn dyāli u dyāləç. u dəsḥārni, āšḥārni ysəḥrəç ḥāh! ma dḥul ši hādi āw hāda, āšḥārni! u mənḥāyən yži qāmr z-zāmān, ānāya kānsəl-ləm ləç bih, āna nḥibbəç dəžūwwəž bih, hūwwa ž-žāwž dyāli.”
- 24 qāmr z-zāmān šābbār dīç l-yāqūθa. ʕāw bda lāyīžri ʕla ḥāḥḥa n-dīç l-ʔārd [fāyni hāyāt n-nūfūs]. ça n-dīç l-ʔārd, çbār ādām hāda, u žāyš hāda, hād ši d-əl-mūlūç l-kbār, l-mūlūç l-kbār. “ma hāda?”²²³ dxəl n-ʕāndəm [smāʕ] ça wāḥ

221 The narrator said *āmru biha l-āmīr lli ʕləm*, but this sentence should have been *āmru biha l-āmīr, m-lli ʕləm ...*

222 This is another case of code-switching; the narrator here uses a CA stock phrase.

223 The narrator appeals to CA to formulate his question.

l-mālīç hnāya lāyqūlu lu qāmr z-zāmān hūwwa qāl: “[hādi] hūyya [ḥāyāt n-nūfūs] žāð n-nāhnāya u qqāð l-āsəm dyāli ſliha.” kif yāſni māš yīt lāqqāha, hāða qāmr z-zāmān la hūwwa bān. ğbæð l-qalam l-ğalið u ktəb “ya ḥāyāt n-nūfūs, ſinni kunt muftaqir²²⁴ ſla ſarði u ſlādi ... u l-ān āna žið. u šabbārt l-ḥikma dyāli lli ſabbīð læç, u ſābbāha li t-ṭāyr.” u qqāha f-diç l-kāğit u qāl læm: “dāxxluha n-qāmr z-zāmān,” dāba hūyya ḥāyāt n-nūfūs. māhma dāxxlu la diç l-kāğit, u šabbəð diç l-yāqūða. qāð la: “qāmr z-zāmān hāw ğa.” qālu: “qūlu lu yidxūl.” twa dxāl, səlləmu ſlih: “hāðſyya hūyya bādr l-būdūr u āna ḥāyāt n-nūfūs, u nſina hūwwa qāmr z-zāmān. u nſina hūwwa ž-žāwwž dyānna. āna ma nəfrāç ſi hādi.” u hādiç lādqūl: “āna ma nəfrāç ſi hādi. hādi hūyya ṭāyyiba u āna ſāwəð yāſni ḥāyda nkūn.” xādəm, gləs gāləs mſāhəm, ſālm u biḥ u ma wqāſ biḥ. ğa l-mālīç l-ğāyūr frāḥ bi-farah wa surūr.²²⁵

[qāmr z-zāmān] qāl māš yīmſi f-ḥālu. qāl lu l-mālīç l-ğāyūr, hādiç l-ṭārd ſāndəm fīha z-zāyṭūn bəzzāf. “u dāba māš nəſməl læç wāḥ l-ſāſra d-ət-tnən, ſāſra d-əl-qšāſi kbār. u nəſməl læç fīhəm əd-dahab, u māš nsāqqāf ſliḥəm b-əz-zāyṭūn bāš diç əd-dhāb yrūḥ læç ſla ḥāṭṭa n-əd-dār dyālīç.” – wa dāba çūf əd-dūnya kif nhūyya! mən āwwāl d-dūnya, l-māl ſānd l-ğāmīſ, l-mūlūç āw ykūn ſkūn ma ḥābb ykūn. liſanna ſla kān māl ḥāh hūwwa kūll ſi. qāl ſ-šāſir ſidna qāddūr l-ſālāmi (nſāſna ḥāh bi-bārākātīḥ!) [qāl]: – “ſla kān ṭſāmi kūll wāxṭ hāðār, nğəm ſu ſliyya ḥbāſi, – l-ḥbāb kāmīn yžtū n-ſāndi, u kāmīn yrāſſu bḥyya. – ‘u ſla xābni ḥāh, l-mxāyyār ma f-ḥbāſi l-mxāyyār ma f-ſiſrāni yḥūzz li r-rās kāſāna hūwwa ſūmmru ma ṭənnāni.’ wāla ḥmæð wāla mūḥāmmād wāla ſāyſa wāla xāddūž.”

[qāmr z-zāmān] qāl lāxāſſu yīmſi f-ḥālu. ſāmmru lu l-fāxxārāð d-əd-dahab u sāqqū ſliḥəm b-əz-zāyṭūn. diç l-ṭārd, ṭārd d-əl-ğāyūr ſāndu z-zāyṭūn bəzzāf, u hāð z-zāyṭūn, u kif nhu hāð z-zāyṭūn! u qqā diç l-yāqūða d-ḥāyāt n-nūfūs, qqāha f-wāḥd t-tūnna u mšāw māš yīmſi f-əl-bḥār, f-əl-bāxira.²²⁶

u ḥābbtu diç s-sālſa n-əl-bāxira, u rkəb f-əl-bāxira qāl: “āā! ſkūn ānāya! āna! hādi māſi m-əl-ādāb! āna gləſ mſa hāð n-nāſ, u kilt u ſrābt mſāhəm, u ſtāwni yāſni žāmīſ ma yākūn, u ḥāṭṭa ḥāh yḥānnikūm ma qūlṭa læm ſi.” nzel m-əl-bāxira u ṭlāſ yqūl læm: “ḥāh yḥānnikūm! bqāw ſla xāyr! ḥna māšyīn f-ḥānna.” hūwwa ṭlāſ [n-əl-qšār] u l-bāxira qāllſāð b-əz-zāyṭūn dyāla, b-əd-dhāb dyāla, b-bādr l-būdūr

224 This is another instance of code-switching; the narrator uses the CA VIII stem of the verb *faqara* “to be in need, to be in want (of s.o., of s.th.) etc.” This CA verb requires the preposition *ila*, but the narrator here uses the preposition *ila*. The verb *fqār* is attested in the MA (see DAF, X, 132) but not in this stem.

225 This is another CA stock expression, and another instance of code-switching.

226 This is a loan into ChA from CA, which the narrator uses instead of the more common Spanish technical loan words *bābūr* or *bārku* “boat.” About these words see Lévy (1992), 59, 61; Heath (1989), 185.

u ḥāyāt n-nūfūs, mšāw f-əl-bāxira. fāyn bqa? bqa mša dīç l-mālīç l-gāyūr. “ma wqāf bīç?” qāl lu: “bqīð f-əl-qālb dyāli u f-əğ-ğāwārīh dyāli, d-māš nəmši f-ḥāli, u ma žiš šī²²⁷ nəštāqbləç, nəssāmāh mšāç šla l-mūdda d-ğūwəwəzna hnāya, yāfni frāhṭ bīna bəzzāf.”

28 [mənnāy qāmr z-zāmān rǧāf] ġbār l-bāxira mšāð. qāl lu: “l-bāxira lādǧi ġa m-əl-wāxt n-əl-wāxt; wāxt z-zāyṭūn, mənnāy lāyzi l-wāxt d-əz-zāyṭūn lādǧi dšābbi z-zāyṭūn, šla šām. dāba ma šāndəç šī ma dāfməl, ha nṭi ġāləs nṭīna ḥāṭṭa šāw dǧi l-bāxira. šād dəmši f-ḥāləç.” qāl lu: “āna xāššni nčūf. āna nārəkəb šla wāh l-fārās u nhāžār l-lāyāli, u nhāžār n-nūhūr ḥāṭṭa nūwšāl n-šānda.” qāl lu: “s-sūyyāb bəz-zāf, u t-tūrūq qbiha, u d-dāwla ḥāṭṭa ḥyya ma d-xāllīç šī ġa ži u ġūz. u l-bāxira lādəmši f-əl-bḥār ma yādīha ḥāṭṭa wāhīd. u dāba ġa ṭhānna u ġləs hnāya.” ġləs ṭəmma.

29 ḥūwwa ġāləs ṭəmma, wūšləð l-bāxira n-əl-mūṭāf, n-šānd ṭabīh, mālīç šāhrāmān. u nəzzləð s-sālša. [bāβāh] qāl [n-mūl l-bāxira]: “āna lāxāššni mənnāyən ġībṭu hād z-zāyṭūn, u žībṭu hād l-māl, u žāw n-nisā d-bni. hād l-bāxira šāw dārgāf šla n-dīç l-mūṭāf dǧīb li ūldi. u šla ma dǧībūh šī, māš nəṭrāç hād l-bāxira u nəṭrāç hād n-nās lli fiha.” əmma nəzzlu dīç s-sālša, u rāžš u n-dīç l-ṭārd, yrāfdu qāmr z-zāmān. l-bāxira rāžšāð dǧīb ġa qāmr z-zāmān.

30 bāš šārfu, žāð ḥāyāt n-nūfūs. bāβāh ma la yāšrāf šī ḥāyāt n-nūfūs, bāβāh ma la yāšrāf šī bādr l-būdūr. “ma hāða?” “hādi ḥyya ž-žāwža dyālu [ḥāyāt n-nūfūs], u āna [bādr l-būdūr], ṭabi šṭāni n-qāmr z-zāmān. u ṭšāhīdna āna u ḥāyāt n-nūfūs [qāmr z-zāmān] ykūn ž-žāwž dyānna.” qāl: “qāmr z-zāmān yži!” twa rāddu l-bāxira šla n-dīç l-ṭārd. u ṭālš u šhābīn l-ḥāl u ṭālš u n-nās d-əl-māxzən.

31 mənnāyən ḥābbṭu dīç z-zāyṭūn, u mənnāyən ḥābbṭu dīç l-fāxxārāð. [qālu n-əl-mālīç l-gāyūr]: “fāynu hād r-rāžəl lli kān ḥdāç?” qāl: “ha hu.” qāl: “yāñāh!” ḥābbṭūh n-əl-bāxira rāfdūh šla šānd ṭabīh, u šānd nāsu, u šānd ṭāhlu u l-wāṭān dyālu, l-wāṭān dyālu. hāw: rǧāf qāmr z-zāmān n-əl-ṭārd d-blādu. hāw: rǧāf n-žūž d-ən-nisā?, ḥāyāt n-nūfūs u bādr l-būdūr.

32 ṭabīh qušūr šāndu, qāl lu: “āxtār ya waladi: kādəṭmənnā nāfməl ləç qāšr šla l-bḥār, ka nāfməlləç l-qšār šla l-ğrāsi? fāy dḥībb dəskūn? fāy dḥībb ykūn šāndəç l-qšār dyāləç?” qāl lu: “šla l-bḥār, ġīð šla bḥār, u l-qšār dyāli ykūn šla bḥār, u l-bāxira dādxūl, nčūfa u nšābbi š-šāh dyāla mənnāy ġāð.” qqa lu l-qšār dyālu šla bḥār, l-qšār kbīr ... ḥūwwa u bādr l-būdūr u ḥāyāt n-nūfūs. u qāddāš n-nūwwa hād l-qšār? dəssāra fiḥ ṭəṭ ṭyām, u ma dāšrāf šī l-bīð hāða mən hāða. kbīr l-qšār, wa farāšuhu²²⁸ ḥarīr wa dāhab, u l-mūkūlāð dyālu, l-mūkūlāð d-əl-ḥāyāwān, l-

227 žīð šī) žīš šī.

228 The expected form here is *l-frāš dyālu*. Again because of his illiteracy, the narrator produces the form used above instead of CA *fīrāšuhu*.

mūkūlāḡ d-əṣ-šāyd d-əl-wāḥš. mayāçlu ši l-lḥām yāʕni d-əl-māʕza āw d-əğ-ğdi,²²⁹ ğa ṣ-šāyd d-əl-xla: l-ḥmām u l-ḥğəl u lārwi u l-ğzāl u kāḡa u kāḡa u kāḡa. hāḡi kŭll nhār kādxŭl hāḡ l-mūkūlāḡ, kāyixŭl l-ḥāyāwān. ḡamma ğləs qām r z-zāmān, wŭṣṣāl n-ʔabih, u wŭṣṣāl n-ʔummih, wŭṣṣāl yāʕni n-əl-ʕāʔila ḡyālu. šādd l-kḡāb lli kāyʔālləf. qām r z-zāmān wŭṣṣāl n-ʕānd l-ʕāʔila ḡyālu bīma kān kāyṭmənna u šādd l-kḡāb ḡyālu.

229 For the atlas of this term, its variants, and its correspondent feminine in northern MA see Behnstedt (2005), 30, 31, 32.

hārūn r-rāšīd [u l-gāššāša]

- 1 *hārūn r-rāšīd kān řāndu wāh l-ūzīr kāyqūlu lu žāřřār l-bārnāki. qāl lu: “lāxāřřna nčūfu l-wāřān dyānna kifn-hīwwa. nāssārāw.” qāl lu: “wāxxa, ya l-mālīč dyānna.” lābsu l-libās, l-libās radīl,²³⁰ māši l-libās d-əl-māmlāça, l-libās řhāl d-ən-nās d-əř-řīžāra.*
- 2 *xālřu řla wāh l-gəzzār, řāndu l-lhām mřāllqa: řāndu l-lhām d-əř-řmāl, řāndu l-lhām d-əl-bqār, řāndu l-lhām d-əl-ğnəm, řāndu l-lhām d-əl-mřāz, řāndu l-lhām d-əl-ğzāl, řāndu l-lhām d-əl-kāydār, řāndu l-lhām đ-hāđa. qālu lu: “nřīna gəzzār hnāya?” qāl ləm: “řyyāh.” qālu lu: “māř nqūlu ləç wāhđ l-kālāma,²³¹ wālākīn dəřřārna.” qāl ləm: “řənnūwwa?” qālu lu: “hnāya hūma hām māra, u břyyāřa u řār-rāya, u řrīna řřāy l-bqār u řřāy l-řhūla. řāmma wřřřālna n-wāhđ l-řārđ bīhəm, řāřfu, mādřu nna. u qūmna đbāhnāhəm, u řlāxnāhəm, u hāřyyəđna l-lhām dyāləm. b-řhāl lādībīř l-lhām ntīna?” qāl ləm: “āna nānbīřa b-bəssīřa.” qālu lu: “hna nbīřūha ləç ğa b-bəlyūn, nbīřūha ləç rxīřa, wālākīn əl-lhām řāyřa. dāba đāqdār dhīza nřīna?” “řyyāh ř řāndkūm řībūh b-hāđ ř-řāmān hāđa.” “řkūn nřīna a sīđi?” qāl ləm: “āna ř-dār l-řlān l-řlāni, āna řlān.” “řřīna a sīđi l-āsəm dyāləç.” řřāhəm l-āsəm dyālu, u đ-əl-hānūř dyālu, u đ-əd-dār dyālu. qālu lu: “māř nřību ləç hāđ əl-lhām, lāxāřřna nřībūha ləç hāđi mūřřāřīra, ma ykūn, yčūřna hāđđ.” qāl ləm: “wāxxa.” “wa nřīna qābəl đbīřa?” qāl ləm: “āna qābəl.” “xāyla řməl lna ha l-řīma²³² đyāləç hnāya ř-ha l-kāğīř.” nəzzəl xāřř yđđu. “řānna bəzzāř, əl-lhām mūžūđa.” u mřāw řhāləm.*
- 3 *đāxlu řānd wāhīđ. řəbru řāndu, lāybīř z-zīř. “b řhāl đbīř z-zīř?” qāl ləm: “kāđa u kāđa.” qālu lu: “hna hūma hām māra u nānbīřu u nānəřrīw ř-əz-zīř, u řrīna z-zīř bəzzāř, u nəzzənnāh²³³ ř-wāhđ l-řāndāq mīřāl, – wāhđ l-řīnđa āw hāđřyya, – u l-řāndāq mřāmmār b-əl-řīrān, u đāxlu řīha²³⁴ l-řīrān ř-đīç z-zīř. řbārnāh²³⁵*

230 This is an adjective borrowed from CA which the narrator uses instead of *rdīl*. It seems that the narrator uses this pattern often with this term because of its association with CA literary style. For the use of the same pattern but with different terms see Heath (1989), 209 under A-1-44 to A-1-46. For more commentary see p. 35.

231 See the commentary on the term *qāwāla*, which corresponds semantically and morphologically to n. 120 above and n. 171 to the English text.

232 Apparently this term is from the Spanish *firma*.

233 *nəzzəlñāh*) *nəzzənnāh*. For more about this assimilation see n. 19 above.

234 This is a mistake by the narrator: since *zīř* is masculine, it should have been *řīh*.

235 This has to be *řbārnāh*, referring to *zīř*.

mšāmməra b-əl-fīrān. dāba dāqdār dəšriha mənna. zūwwəl dīç l-fīrān u bīç z-zīð? nṭīna dḅīçu b-bəssiṭa, ḥna nbīçūh ləç ġa b-žāw l-bənyūl, rxīš.” qāl ləm: “ġībūh, š řāndkūm, ġībūh.” “řīṭina a sīdi l-āsəm dyāləç.” qāl ləm: “āna flān bən flān, f-əl-mūtāř l-flāni nānbīç z-zīð.” *mšāw f-ḥāləm.*

mšāw, yšibu wāḥīd řāndu wāḥ l-qīdra “đ-əl-ḥikma,” d-əl-frāqīš, ma hi sxūna ma hi bārda. u řāndu wāḥ l-qūffa, wāḥ l-qūffa đ-əl-gāwz mqāššār, u řāndu l-qūffa đ-əl-gāwz řḥīḥ. “ša dāqqi nṭīna b-hād l-gāwz?” qāl ləm: “a sīdi lli yāḥši yīddu f-hād l-qīdra, f-hād l-mrāç d-yīğrāç nāřīṭi lu n-ər-rās hāyda, qādhīyya, yāçūl l-gāwz řla ḥāřṭa yīšbāř mən hāda āw mən hāda.” “hāyda?” qāl: “řyāḥ!” qbāř l-ūzř ḥša yīddu f-dīç l-qīdra, nzəl řlīḥ “əd-dāř!” “dāřīmān²³⁶ hnāya?” qāl lu: “āna dāřīmān hnāya!” *u mšāw f-ḥāləm.*

mšāw n-əl-qšār. qāl lu: “wāšə qqīna?”²³⁷ qālu lu: “řīḥna f-řlāřa đ-əl-ġāššāša: lli lāybīç z-zīð u l-ġāzzār u lli yḥībb yāçūl l-gāwz. ma řāřna ři hādāç ř mən řāḥrāmīyyař řāndu, ma řāř?”

l-lāġādda řbāḥ əš-řbāḥ, řbāḥ l-mālīç f-əl-qšār dyālu u f-əl-ḥkām dyālu. qāl ləm: “ġību li lli lāybīç z-zīð.” ġābūh. qāl lu: “kif nṭīna lādḅīç z-zīð mřāwwār b-əl-fīrān? řāḥu řīḥ l-fīrān, n-nās yāçlu l-fīrān. ya l-ġāššāš, nṭīna ḥūwwa ḥrāmi!” “dđřwāḥ n-əs-sižn, n-əs-sižn l-qabīḥ.²³⁸ ġību l-ġāzzār l-flāni.” ġābūh. qālu lu: “ḥa xāřṭ yīddəç, ḥa nṭi l-āsəm dyāləç, nṭīna lādḅīç əl-lḥām ġāyfa.” “la a sīdi! āna řūmmri.” “ḥa xāřṭ yīddəç. ḥna řrīna mənnāç.”

wāḥīd řāndu l-mīssa řlīḥa žūž d-əl-qřəf d-əl-gāwz, gāwz mqāššār u gāwz řḥīḥ, u lāyqūl: ‘lli yḥībb yāçūl l-gāwz yġāřṭəs yīddu f-hād l-qīdra, yāřīṭīḥ qādhīyya.’ “ġībūh.” ġābūh. qālu lu: “kif nṭīna lādəšri l-gāwz b-əl-flūs, u đqāššru u đqūl nna lli yāřīṭīç qādhīyya, yḥībbu yāçūl řḥāl ma ḥābb, bla mīzān? qūl řənnu l-māřmūl dyāləç?”

qāl lu: “ya āmīř l-mūmīnīn! ḥāqq ṇāḥ řlīç! āna kūnt wāḥd l-řīnsān řāžār, u řāndi lā-bġāl nānřāmmərəm b-əs-səlřa, u nānġīb s-səlřa, nānbīç s-səlřa. wāḥ l-yawm²³⁹ māži b-ārbřa lā-bġāl mřāmmrīn b-əs-səlřa, u s-səlřa řiḥa māl. u žbāřṭ

236 This is a common MA term borrowed from CA: see Heath (1989), 66, 226 under A-3-49.

237 The narrator uses *wāšə qqīna* instead of *wāša qqīna*. In this case it is more correct to speak about the palatalization of the vowel *a* rather than *imāla*. I am grateful to Ángeles Vicente for calling my attention to this.

238 This is another case of code-switching. On the use of the loaned CA adjective *qabīḥ* in place of the dialectal *qbīḥ*, see the commentary on p. 35.

239 This term seems to be the CA *l-yawm* “day.” Notice that the diphthong has not been contracted. The dominant form in Chaouen in particular, and in northern MA in general, is *l-yūma* “day”: see Heath (2002), 451, 452, who states that *l-yāwm* is “absent from the north except Ouezzane (1/2), but co-dominant from the urban belt (including Oujda) to the south except Marrakesh-Ouarzazate.” In MA *l-yūma* “today” does not occur with the indef-

wāhd l-fqi lāyqāttāš l-ʔārd.” qāl lu: “ya hād r-rāžəl, dxül n-nəhna f-hād l-ʔārd hādi! wāhd s-səlfa řāndəç, řāmmār hād lä-bğāl b-əd-dhāb u l-fāddā.” [qāl lu]: “u mənñāyn nədxül n-əl-ʔārd š ma nğib ləç?” qāl lu: “ğib li wāhd l-kṭāb, hāw ṭəmma wāhd l-kṭāb, řāfdu u řību li. u nğina řāmmār hād l-bhāyīm b-əd-dhāb u l-fāddā.” qāl lu: “āna, ya āmūr l-mūminīn, āna xälliθ řāndi s-səlfa māši d-dhāb, māši n-nūqra. u qūlt n-řāmmār l-bhāyīm b-əd-dhāb u l-fāddā ḥsən mən dīç s-səlfa.” u dxült f-dīç l-bāb, l-bāb l-lüwwlıyya, u ṭ-ṭānya, u ṭ-ṭāltā, səbfa l-biřsān, ḥāttā kānřāddār dīç l-kṭāb. řābbārṭ dīç l-kṭāb u ḥālliθu. u qūlt, ‘hāda ykūn hād l-kṭāb ḥsən mən hād əd-dhāb u l-fāddā. hād l-kitāb āna n-řābbīh.’ u xābbāřtu, u xrāžṭ řānd dīç l-fqi. “fāyn l-ktāb?” qāl lu: ‘ma žbārṭu ři.’ ‘fāyn l-ktāb?’ qāl lu: ‘ma žbārṭu ři.’ qāl lu: ‘ma žbārṭu ři?’ qāl lu: ‘la.’ qāl lu: ‘āñāh yḥānnik!’

9 qāl lu qūmṭ nəndāh lä-bğāl dyāli. mšīθ wāhd s-sāfa d-ət-ṭriq u āna nānəžbār rāsi mārmi f-əs-səlf l-xāli ma f-əd-dūnya. la ṭayrun yaṭīr wala sayrun yasīr. la dhāb la fāddā, la səlfa la bhāyīm. ğa l-qāyla ḥārra, u r-rāmla ḥāmya u āna dāyāř, əğ-ğūř u l-řāř u āna māši. wāla mfa bən nāhdār, la yaṭīru ṭayran wala yasīru sayran. u bqiθ a řidi səbř äyyām wāna māši f-əl-xla b-əğ-ğūř, u nəbki b-ğālb əğ-ğūř.

10 dāba, ḥāttā wūřšāllṭ n-ʔārdi u blādi u kānřāřsi nəřsi lli ḥıyya lli ğārrəθ biyya, řābbiθ l-kṭāb n-dīç r-rāžəl n-dīç l-fqi u ma řāmmārṭ ři d-dhāb, l-bhāyīm nānřāmmār b-əd-dhāb. īwa māy žiθ, řməlt əṭ-ṭrābi n-rāsi. lāyāřīwni l-qādhıyya, nānhūzz rāsi u nānqūl n-rāsi: ‘dəřṭhāl.’ āna kūnṭ yāřni f-ət-ṭižāra u r-řifāha u r-rāḥa u l-hāna ḥāttā řbāḥṭa la bhāyīm dyāli, la səlfa lli kānəθ řliḥəm, la d-dhāb bqa lli řāmmārṭ, la n-nūqra. bqiθ b-əğ-ğūř səbř äyyām u āna māši, nānəmři mfa l-ḥāyāwān řla yiddi u rəžli f-əl-ʔārd, u l-ʔārd ḥāmya b-əl-qāyla u ğa r-rāmla.”

11 qāl lu: “ğāřšāř! s-sižn, u mən bāřd ṭāqtīř r-rās. ma²⁴⁰ nqāttāř l-çç rāsəç. xāddāř! u l-xāddāř kāyīřḥāl l-qatl.” řābbāwāh, u hāda u hāda u qāwāh f-əl-ḥābs.

12 l-lāğādda qāl l-māliç. qāl lu: “wa dāba hādi ha ḥna qdīnāha, ha ḥna çūfnāha, dāba lāxāřna ṭ-ṭābbāxa lli kāybīřu l-māçla n-ən-nās, nçūfu hād l-māçla d-ən-nās ř kif n-riyya. nçūfūha, řl lāyṭāyybu.” – çūř s-sālātīn kif kānu lāyḍārbu l-qīma n-ř-řāřb, n-ř-řāřb! – qāl lu: “řyyāh, nçūfu hād ṭ-ṭābbāxa.” l-lāğādda xārğū. wūřřlu ḥda wāhd l-māṭřām, yřūmmu ři nəřma d-əl-kəřta, ři kəřta āḥla ma ḥıyya. qāl lu: “yāñāh ndāxlu nəqqīw ři qṭıyybāθ d-ha l-kəřta řānd ha ṭ-ṭābbāx.” ža l-ūzīr qāl lu: “lāř,” ... “qāl lu,” nəmřiw n-əl-māḥḥāl dyānna, u nəqqīw l-kəřta d-əğ-ğāğ, āw d-əl-ḥmām, āw d-əl-qlāyīn, āw d-hāda āw d-hāda, yxādmūha nna quddāmna.

inite particle *wāh*, but with the term *nhār* “day.” Moreover, given that this term appears solely in this context, it is likely a case of code-switching. For a parallel example, *hāda l-yawm* “this day (adverb form),” see Heath (1989), 32. For examples of the preservation of the diphthongs in the ChA dialect see Moscoso, DACH, 33–34. However, Moscoso incorrectly limits the preservation of diphthongs to female speech.

240 This is the abbreviated form of *māř*.

hna nāçlu l-wsāx đ-hād. ma řanna ma nāqqīw biham.” qāl lu: “*la, yāñāh.*” *l-ūzīr kāyxāṭāb ġāřřāfydāxlu řānd l-kāffāñi.*²⁴¹

qābtu dāxlu. řāndu wāhd l-māhhāl kbīr. mən nəhnāya n-nās lāyāklu. u n-nās lli hūma ġlītīn u smīnīn lāyġūwwzəm mən hna. mən nəhna řāndu mřārrřīn ġa l-hşūr. l-hşūr mřārrřā řla l-hwa, māhma lāynəzzəl řlīha lāyhābbtūç n-ṭāhṭ, n-ṭāhṭ řāndu ṭāġəzzārt, lli kāyṭīh ṭəmma, kāyḏəbhūh u kāyīṭṭāyyəb, u kāyīṭṭāllāř n-ən-nās n-əl-māçla. řamma māhma wūşşlu u qqāw rəžləmf-ḏīç l-hşūra, ṭāhu. ġa l-ūzīr qāl: “hāda məzwəḏ u lādşūdd.” qāl lu s-sūltān: “hād raŷiç l-řaswad, hād rāyyəç lākḫāl.”²⁴² āna nānqūl ləç yāñāh f-hānna!”²⁴³ yşību r-rzāl mşəmm³rīn, u mnādəm mřāllāq, u ř-şfāri lādqāṭṭāř, lāyqāṭṭīhūhəm, u yīqqīwhəm f-ət-tnāžār, u yṭāyybu. u n-nās lādādxūl dākūl. lāyřāddlu biha l-kāřṭa, lāyřāddlu biha ṭ-twāžən, lāyřāddlu biha kūll ři. u n-nās lādādxūl dākūl. qāl s-sūltān: “wa hādi hīyya ṭ-ṭāyha, hādi đ-əl-řmār. l-bārāh qbāṭna n-nās lli řāndəm ṭāxāddāřṭ, u hāda hūwwa māş yāqbāṭna ma yīqṭūlna.”²⁴⁴ xāllāhəm ṭəmma mārbutīn, mārbutīn řhāl wāh l-hāwli, āw řhāl wāh əġ-ġdi, āw wāh l-řhāl mārbut, mkəṭṭəřḫāṭṭa ywūşşāl lu ṭ-tūrnu²⁴⁵ u yqāṭṭīhūh.

şbāh əş-şbāh, ġa ḏīç l-ġəzār qāl ləm: “şkūn mənķūm yīsəbāq?” ġa l-ūzīr qāl lu: “āna nəsbāq. hāda ġa xāllīh, qāṭṭāř n-nīli ānāya.” đəbhū u s-sūltān lāyçūf, qāṭṭīu u s-sūltān lāyçūf. qāl: “u hādi hīyya, āna hāyda řāw māş yīqqīw bīyya hādām. ř ġa ma řākkni? řla bən māş nřāyyāřṭ? řkūn māş yġīřni?” iva qāl: “*ānāya ma yġīřni ulla řāh tařāla wa tabāraka, u ma yřūkkni ġa řāh. ida řməłṭ ři āřmāl məzyāna mřa rābbi, rābbi māş yřūkkni. u ıla kān l-āřmāl dyāli ānāya qbiha mřa ř-şāřb, āna řāw māş nəřqāṭṭāř, kama qāṭṭāř hāda, řāw yqāṭṭīūni ānāya.*”

şbāh əş-şbāh, ġa mūl [l-māřřām] qāl lu: “n-nāwba đyāləç.” qāl lu: “āhda!” qāl lu: “hādāç đ-əl-bārāh đ-qāṭṭāřṭu řhāl řūwwāřṭ řūh, řhāl nəzzəl đ-əl-māl?” qāl lu: “mīřāl nəzzəl nna mya āw myāřāyən āw ṭəłṭ mya.” qāl lu: “xāllīni āna b-r-rūh, kulla yawm nəzzəl ləç ḏīç l-māl. u xāllīni b-ər-rūh.” [qāl lu: “ş māş dəřřāl?” qāl lu: “žib li l-kīṭṭān, u žib li l-řrīr b-əl-ālwān, b-lāxdār, u lāhmār, u lāşřār u māş nāxdəm ḏīç ři, u dbīř ḏīç ři b-wāhd ṭ-ṭāmān kbīr. řsən ləç mən ha l-māřřām kāməl!” “āh, řsən mən ha l-māřřām kāməl?” qāl lu “řsən mən ha l-māřřām kāməl. āna māş ġġīb li s-şhān u l-řrīr, u nāxdəm ləç l-māsāřil u dbīř, u hād s-səłřa hādi lādəřriha

241 On the Arabic pattern of this originally Turkish word see Procházcka (2012), 203, 217 and the bibliographical references there.

242 *hād raŷyaç l-řaswad // hād rāyyəç lākḫāl.* For literary purposes the narrator uses *l-řaswad*, which parallels *lākḫāl*: thus he alternates a CA adjective with its semantically equivalent dialectal counterpart. For similar instances see commentary on p. 34.

243 *f-hālna* \ *f-hānna*. On this kind of assimilation see n. 19.

244 The common form of this verb should be *yīqṭəlna*. However, as has already been observed in many other verbs, this thematic vowel is highly attested in ChA.

245 This seems to be from the Spanish *turno*.

ǧ-ǧāzāʕir miθāl, āw lādəsrīha frānsa, āw lādəsrīha kāda. lādbiʕa b-wāhd t-tāmān kbīr, u dšūwwār wāhd l-māšwār kbīr bəzzāf.” qāl lu: “wāxxa.” mša žāb s-šhān u žāb l-ħrīr ānwāl²⁴⁶ u ʕtāha lu. u gləs ha r-rāžəl.

16 ha r-rāžəl kān mša n-wāhd l-ʕard d-əl-blād d-əs-sultān fārtās. īwa žāb lu l-ħrīr u ža lāyāxdəm. kān mša nṭəmma u žāb wāhd l-bənt, bənt s-sultān fārtās. u hīyya ʕāllmāθu yītrāz. qāha ž-žāwza dyaļu. u ma lādqūm, hīyya dqūm dāʕməl ši hāža āw dətqəlləm mʕāh, lāyqūl la: “ʕīni hātṭa āna nāʕməlləç ši fāydāθ.” lādāʕtīh, lādəgləs dwwrīh hādi ha kif, hādi ha kif. qāl: “š-šanʕa īla ma ǧnāθ, dəsṭūr, u wāqīla²⁴⁷ dṭəwwəl f-əl-ʕmār.”

17 xdəm l-xīdma l-lūwwlīyya. bāʕa b-wāhd t-tāmān, xdəm l-xīdma t-tānyā: bāʕa qbāt wāh t-tāmān. hārūn r-rāšid qbāt l-ħrīr u ktəb fīh: “āna ʕānd ət-twāžni f-əl-ħāwma l-flānīyya f-əl-mūtāʕ l-flāni. rāni māqbūt māš yīdbāhni.” u ktəb dīç ši. mənnaṅn kəṭbu, ʕābba dīç s-səlʕa, fħāl wāh s-sābnīyya āw wāh l-ħzām, qāl lu: “lādāʕrāf?” qāl lu: “āāā?” qāl lu: “hāda: īla lādāqbāt ālfāyn, māš dāqbāt ārbāʕ āləf, u īla lādāqbāt ārbāʕ āləf, māš dāqbāt təmnn āləf, u īla lādāqbāt təmnn āləf, māš dāqbāt ʕīšrīn āləf. ṭāllīu n-əl-məšwār u yīšrīwāh mənnaç bəšħāl ma qūṭ.”

18 t-tābbāx ma ʕməl ši b-əl-ħsāb bīʕanna hūwwa hādāç hūwwa s-sultān, ma ʕməl ši b-əl-ħsāb d-dīç s-səlʕa lli ʕəmla hārūn r-rāšid məktūb fīha: “āna hūwwa flān rāni māqbūt ʕānd ət-twāžni l-flāni f-əl-ħānūθ māš yīdbāhni.” ʕābba dīç ši n-əl-məšwār. dāxxlūh n-dāxīl d-dār. qābtāθ l-bənt, bənt s-sultān fārtās, əž-žāwza dyaļu, šəbbrəθ, dəžbār š-šanʕa dyaļa u məktūb θəmna: “āna mšābbār ʕānd ət-twāžni f-əl-mūtāʕ l-flān l-flāni, f-əl-mūtāʕ l-flān l-flāni. hāmīlu l-kiṭāb lli ža l-hāda, šəbbrūh.” ət-twāžni wāqīf lāyīṭṭənnā yāʕni yžīh ǧ-ǧwāb šħāl māš yīqbāt d-əl-māl, u l-mxāznīyya lūwwāw ʕlīh kəṭṭfūh ... mšāw n-dīç l-māhħāl, māš yqūlu: “hna ǧ-ǧādārma,” māš yqūlu: “hna l-pūlīs,” māš yqūlu hna. – nās dīç l-wāxt!-īwa xārržūh mən θəmna. xārržu l-mālīç u rāyṭlu dīç n-nās, dīç n-nās kāmīn qəθlūhəm, īwa u xādu s-sultān.

19 qāl: “š-šanʕa īla ma ǧnāθ, dəsṭūr, u wāqīla dṭəwwəl f-əl-ʕmār. taʕallumu l-ʕašyāʕa ʕafḍalu min žahliha walaw kānat ħarām.”²⁴⁸

246 This is a case of metatheses of *l* and *n*, which can be found in other northern MA, for example in Tangiers: Marçais (1911), 483; Taza: Colin (1921), 43: *nūl* (نُونْ); Chaouen: Mouliéras (1899), 616, n. 11, Moscoso, DACH, 333. However *lou*n / *lawn* is attested in Ouargha: Lévi Provençal (1922), 259, and in Anjra: Vicente (2000), 240. For a detailed semantic definition of *lūn* / *lawn* see de Prémare, DAF, XI, 107; and for *nōl* / *noul* see 501.

247 For this same adverb see de Prémare, DAF, X, 458 under meaning 2; and Vicente (2000), 153.

248 This is a standard quote from CA see n. 317, p. 254.

hārūn r-rāšīd [u t̪lāḡa d-əš-šəffāra]

hāda hārūn r-rāšīd, sūltān l-ʔārḡ u l-blād. u s-srāyāq dāʔimān lādqūm f-əl-blād. 1
u ḡ-dāw u l-ʔsəs mūzūdīn, u s-sārqa mūzūda.

wāḡd l-līla t̪hāzzəm u ʔməl wāḡ l-kīswa radīla-l-kīswa yāʔni d-əš-šəffāra-u hbāt 2
n-wāḡd l-wād. u dīḡ l-wād ma yāqdār yīmši n-nīlu, wāla ʔāfrīḡ wāla ādām. hūwwa
šaʔīʔ, šaʔīʔ yāʔni f-dārb s-sāyʔ. hūwwa hbāt n-dīḡ l-wād, u t̪lāḡa xārḡu mʔāh.

“a ma hāda?” qālu lu: “škūnu hāda mustatir hnāya?” qāl ləm hūwwa: “āna 3
hūwwa šəffār, u lli fāḡ ḡdāy, rāni nālʔāb bīh nqəḡlu. āna s-sāyʔ dyālī, āna ʔāndi
hād s-sāyʔ kānəlqa bīh yāʔni rižāl.” qālu lu: “wa māḡzūm nḡīna. ḡna b-ḡlāḡa. hāda
lāyʔḡām, ḡākəm, mənḡāyn lāyʔnbāḡ ʔlīḡ ḡ-ḡru lāyʔārʔu š lāyqūl. hāda lāyšūmm
f-əl-ḡāyḡ d-dḡb, l-māl ʔāyḡnūwwa. hāda lāyʔḡb l-ḡāyḡ u lāyʔbəd d-dḡb u ʔāwəd
yrūdd l-ḡāyḡ kif ma kān. u nḡīna š mən ʔāyda [ʔīḡ]?” qāl ləm: “āna ykūn r-rāzəl
kif ma ḡābb ykūn, māḡma wqāf ḡdāya, ma yībqa ši r-rīq f-dūqmu: ma yībqa
d-dāqqa d-ər-rīq f-dūqmu. yībqa ḡa yīḡḡār ʔād b-wāḡdīḡu.” “a a hād š-šāzāʔa! nḡīna
šḡīʔ, nḡīna dəmši mʔāna! dḡkūn mʔāna nḡīna!” qāl ləm: “ʔāyḡn māšša nəmšīw?”
qālu lu: “l-yūm ʔānna wāḡ n-nāḡḡa. māš nəmšīw n-wāḡ l-xzīn d-əs-sūltān, ʔāyḡn
ʔāndu ḡ-ḡnādāḡ d-əd-dḡb, u n ʔābbīw wāḡd ḡ-ḡāndūḡ d-əd-dḡb.” qāl ləm: “nəmši
mʔākūm, yāḡāḡ!”

f-dīḡ l-mūtāʔ ʔāndu wāḡ l-kīlb, wāḡ l-kīlb kbīr, wāḡ l-kīlb, īla ykūnu ʔāšra d- 4
ər-rzāl yḡārri ʔlīḡām. hūma qārrbu, u dīḡ ḡ-ḡru ʔməl “ʔāw! ʔāw! ʔāw!” u ḡāwwəḡ
ʔlīḡām. qālu n-hādāḡ lli lāyʔḡām, lli lāyʔārʔ, n-əl-ḡākəm qālu lu: “hād ḡ-ḡru š
lāyqūl?” qāl ləm: “lāyqūl s-sūltān mʔākūm.” “nḡīna wālu! nḡīna ma bqīḡ dāʔrāʔ
wālu! u hād s-sūltān māš yzi yīsrāq mʔāna! āāāhhh!” hūma kāyḡību l-lḡām mʔā-
ḡām, u l-lḡām yāʔni kādməskār. māḡma dīḡ ḡ-ḡru yāʔni kāyāqbāt dīḡ ḡ-ḡārʔ d-əl-
lḡām, u hūwwa šḡyḡu lu-kbīr ḡ-ḡārʔ d-əl-lḡām- ḡ-ḡru kāyākul dīḡ ḡ-ḡārʔ d-əl-lḡām,
kāyḡīḡ ḡāʔī. kāyḡqīw l-ʔīʔla ḡyāləm, kāysārqu, ʔāw kāyḡəbdu, kāyxādmu l-xīdma
ḡyāləm: ḡa mīl l-ḡāyḡ ḡqəb l-ḡāyḡ, lli žbəd l-māl, ḡbəd l-māl u rādd l-ḡāyḡ.

ḡālḡu, hūma ḡālḡīn yāḡāḡ, yāḡāḡ, wūšḡu n-wāḡ ḡ-ḡbəl. dāxlu n-wāḡ l-kāʔ. 5
[s-sūltān] ḡbār dīḡ l-kāʔ mʔāmmār b-əḡ-ḡawāḡir wa d-dahab wa l-fadḡa wa
t-tiyāb mina l-ḡarīr. dīḡ ši ma yīḡxāmməl ši! qālu lu: “ḡna ḡna nānəzzlu šāy
nānsārqu, u šāy nānḡəmḡu, ḡna nānəzzlīḡ. dāba nḡīna nāʔḡīwāk ši ḡāza mən
nəhnāya. ḡməḡḡāʔ! čūf ši ḡāza dʔāzḡbəḡ.” qāl ləm: “dāba, āna n-nḡār l-lūwwli ma
nāqdār ši hād ši ḡyālḡūm, ən-nḡār l-lūwwli ma nāqdār ši n ʔābbīkūm ši ḡāza, ma
n ʔābbi ši wālu.” qālu lu: “ḡməḡḡāʔ! čūf šāy yʔāzḡbəḡ. ḡna ḡ-ḡawāḡir, ḡna d-dahab,
ḡna l-fadḡa, ḡna l-ḡarīr.” qāl ləm: “ma n ʔābbi dāba ḡḡḡa ši ḡāza.” zāḡu u mšāw
f-ḡāləm.

- 6 *hūma māššīn, qāl ləm: “āžīw dāba fāyn dəmšīw?” qālu lu: “dāba ʕānna š-šǧūl. u mənnaḡyən nǧəddīw m-əš-šǧūl nəmšīw nnāʕsu.²⁴⁹ f-ən-nhār nānāʕsu, u f-əl-lil nānbədu nsārqu. čūf š ʕānna f-dīç l-kāf. ʕāmmārnhār b-dīç ši hādāç. gādda, yīnšāʔa nāh, f-əl-wāxç lli tǧāqqīnāç l-yūm ʕāw nəǧlāqqāwāç gādda. dʕāwəd dəmši mʕāna dhāwwəs.” qāl ləm: “wāxxa.”*
- 7 *l-lāǧādda l-mālīç tǧāšša, u ʕməl l-kīswa r-radīla-ǧa ši çəllūqa-u ḡāzzəm b-əl-ḡbəl u tǧārrəf b-s-s-sāyf dyālu u xrāž. mša n-dīç l-mūṭāf. ḡūwwa mša n-dīç l-mūṭāf u hūma tǧāqqāwāh: “a dāba ʕād ḡīʕ.” “āh, dāba ʕād.” “wa yāḡāh. māš nəmšīw n-wāhd l-xzīn d-wāh tǧāžār, ʕāndu l-fāddā, n-nūqra.” “hādām čūf l-kāf mʕāmmār b-kūll ši! u hūma kūll nhār lāyqūlu hāda.” qāl ləm: “dāba f-ən-nhār ša dāqqīw? š mən š-šǧūl lādāqqīw?” qālu lu: “wālu. ma ʕānna šǧūl.” “u f-əl-lil?” qālu lu: “f-əl-lil hāda š-šǧūl dyānna.” qāl ləm: “ma ʕāndkūm ḡāttja ši hādīyya?” qālu lu: “hāda l-mūddən kāyīddən f-əǧ-ǧāmāf l-flānīyya, u hāda ḡūwwa n-nāḡīr dyāla lli kāyīšrəf ʕīha: u kāydāxxāl l-kra dyāla, u hāda ḡūwwa l-īmām.” hūma tǧāda, l-mūddən u n-nāḡīr u l-īmām. “u nṭūma šəffāra?!” qālu lu: “āāhh.” mša f-ḡālu. n-nhār l-lūwwli, n-nār tǧāni, n-nhār tǧāləð ʕāw srəq mʕāhəm. qāl ləm: “āna ḡūwwa ma nʕāwəd ši nḡi mʕāçūm. ʕāndi l-māl ma yīkfīni bāš nəšri tǧāʕām, u ši ḡāža āxra ma ʕāndi ma nāqqi bīha.” mšāw f-ḡāləm.*
- 8 *šbāḡ š-šbāḡ, u rābbūna l-fəttāḡ. āmār l-mālīç ʕla š-šābāḡ, qāl ləm: “ən-nāḡīr u l-mūddən u l-īmām d-əǧ-ǧāmāf l-flānīyya dāba ykūnu hnāya.” ma kān mən klām, yāʕni yšəbbrūhəm b-tǧāda. ḡābūhəm. qāl ləm: “wa kif dḡīssu b-rāskūm? wāš bāqi r-rīq f-əd-dqūm dyālkūm?” qālu: “lā?” qāl ləm: “kif ma lādḡīssu b-əd-dāð dyālkūm, xāwfānīn āw šəžʕānīn?” qālu lu: “xāwfānīn, ya āmīr l-mūmīnīn.” qāl ləm: “wa ḡūwwa āna lli kūnṭ mʕākūm nānəsrāq. l-qṭīna ma dāqṭenkūm ši! u s-sīzn ha nṭūma fīh ʕla l-ābād, ʕla ḡāttja dḡūdu.” ha tǧāda l-mūddən u l-īmām u n-nāḡīr. š-šəffāra. nqāṭʕāð s-sārqa, kūll ma ḡāyyəd hādāmāç ma bqāš š²⁵⁰ l-blād dənsrāq, ḡāššāl, ḡūwwa byīddu ḡāššāl š-šəffāra.*

249 *dnāʕsu*) *nnāʕsu*.

250 *bqāð ši*) *bqāš ši*.

aṭ-ṭəlmīd

wāh ṭ-ṭəlmīd f-wāhd ġ-ġāmāḥ, f-wāhd ġāmāḥ ṭ-ṭūlba. u hūwwa ma yāqdār ši ši 1
wāhīd yāhdār mṣāh. Ḥlāš ma yāhdār ši mṣāh? lli yāhdār mṣāh ma lāyḥəhmū ši. u
yāḥməl l-klām, u yāḥməl l-qūšdān u ṭ-ṭūlba kāyḥāggzəm. u qānnṭa bīhəm. fāhmū,
“čūfu,” qālu, “hāda, xāššna nšāġġbūh fāyn nqəḥlūh. xāššna nqəḥlūh. ma yībqa
ši mṣāna. hāda fūwwəḥ yiddu bəzzāf ḥlīna. hāda!” qāl: “ḥlāl yāš māš nqəḥlūh?”
“māš nšārrdūh ḥānd bəṭṭ s-sūltān lli kāṭāləb l-ḥulāma u kāṭāləb š-šūšḥān yīmši
yīṭkəlləm mṣāha. dġəlbū dġāṭṭāḥ lu rāsu.”

qālu lu: “a xsāra ḥlīç! a xsāra ḥlīç ya fūlān!” qāl ləm: “ḥlāš?” qālu lu: “bāš nsəm- 2
mīwāç nṭīna fūlān ḥāṭṭa dəmši ḥānd bəṭṭ s-sūltān, u dəḥhādīç mṣāha f-əl-klām,
u dġəlba.” u kādəšrāṭ ḥlā n-nsa dḥābbīç ž-žāwž dyāla, xādəm xdīm, la šdāq la
zīmma, u dġūn ḥāndəç nṭīna nūšš əš-š qāl ləm: “wa hādi qriba hāḍīyya. ha
ha ha nāḥrāfāna ḥābbīša.” u hūma lāyḥārfu l-ḥulāma lāyīmšīw lādqəḥləm.

qbəṭ u bda māši ṭ-trīq n-dār s-sūltān yāḥāh, yāḥāh. ḥīyya kāṭba l-mānāšīr: 3
“lli ġəlba f-əl-klām yḥābbīha la šdāq wāla zīmma wa rāw l-ḥulāma, wa rāw
l-fūhāma, wa rāw l-ḥūqāla, n-nās lāyḥəhmū, u yḥāqlu, yītkəlləmu mṣāy u lli ġləbni
f-əl-klām [nəžwəž bīh], u lli ġləbṭu ma nqāṭṭāḥ lu rāsu. kāyən lli nqāṭṭāḥ lu rāsu;
u kāyən lli nəqḥwāwāh f-əs-sīzn, u kāyən lli nzūwwəlu lu l-libās.” kūll wāhīd u kif
dāḥkəm ḥlīh.

hūwwa dhīhəm, nəwlu l-kḥūla. dhīhəm mūši byāṭ: kḥāl, ḥūslī. mša nṭəmma u 4
ġləs ġələs ḥlā ... qāl: “dāyḥāh.” qālu lu: “mārḥba bīç! dxūl.” dxāl. ṭḥāšša. ləbbsu lu,
bāyḥəh f-āmān ḥāh, mnīh.

f-əš-šbāh qālu lu: “wa nūd.” hūwwa ġa d-dāyḥbāyḥəḥ l-līla: “f-əš-šbāh nūd ṭməš- 5
ša, nṭīna wāḥ d-dāyḥ.” qāl ləm: “Ḥalam taḥlam ḥanna d-dāyḥa yarūh wa yāṭḥāšša,
wa ḥinda ṭulūḥi š-šams yuftaru wa yuġlasu, yīṭār u yġləs.”

[bəṭṭ s-sūltān] səmḥāḥu. ġāḥ qāḥ lu: “ma taqūl?” qāl la: “layqūlu li āxraz!” 6
[qāḥ lu]: “d-dāyḥu ṭaḥāšša wa ḥinda ṭalāḥ l-fažr yqūm yīṭməšša.” qāl la: “žalūsi
ḥala nāḥīḥi, wa mašyi ḥala mahli. u l-mši dyāli b-əl-lāṭi ḥlīyya.” qāḥ lu: “Ḥalam
taḥlam anna ḥāḥa laqad ḥarrama z-zinā, u nṭīna xāssəç dəġləs mṣāya.” qāl la
ḥi-l-ḥašri: “wa tawāššaw bi-š-šabri!²⁵¹ ma žib li ši ānāya hāḍ l-klām hāḍāç, qāl la
āna mənnāyən nāhdār mṣāç anāya, wa qāl, ‘ḥi-l-ḥašri wa tawāššaw bi-š-šabri!’”
qāḥ lu: “Ḥalam taḥlam lu kān fika l-xayri ma yuswaddu wažhuka, ka kān ḥiç l-xāy
wāḥ l-ḥīnsān məzyān, ma yxārrəž ləç ši ḥāh hāḍ l-ūža kḥāl.” qāl la: “Ḥalam taḥlam

251 For this quotation from the Qurʾān see n. 332, p. 259.

ʕanna d-ḏāyfa yarūḥ, wa yaṭṭāšša, wa ʕinda ṭulūfi š-šams yuṭṭaru wa yuḡlasu. ʕamma āna ʕaswad, ma yusswaddu ʕilla l-miska, waznan bi-waznayni: *wāḥd l-ūzna d-əl-məsk b-žūž d-əl-wūznāš d-əd-dhāb.* *qāš lu:* “ʕamma ḏaḡīqu l-faḥmi fi-r-rkāyīn yṭṭābba.” *qāl la:* “ma yusswaddu ʕilla l-miska, waznan bi-waznayni, ʕamma ḏaḡīqu ḡ-ḡīri²⁵² l-mlāyīn b-dirhama.”

7 *qāl la,* “salāmu ḥāhi ʕala ʕummi, salāmu ḥāhi ʕala ʕabi. ʕamma ḡ-ḡīr ḥimlayni bi-dirhama. wa ʕamma l-miska waznan bi-waznayni. *ḡ-ḡīr* yubna wa yuhdamu. wa ʕamma ḏaḡīqu l-faḥmi fi-ʕaynika²⁵³ yursalu. *ḡ-ḡīr* yubna *ʕāw* yuhdam. *u l-ʕāynīn dyāləç kūḥāl š ḡa ma ḥāddməm?*” *ʕāwəḏ ... qāl la:* “salāmu ḥāhi ʕala ʕummi, salāmu ḥāhi ʕala ʕabi, salāmu ʕala r-rawḏa wa fiha muḥammadi.”

8 *qāl:* “salāmu ḥāhi ʕala ʕabi, salāmu ḥāhi ʕala ʕummi, *u ʕla ṭ-ṭūlba* fi-kulli mašhadi.” – *lli wūššlūh n-ʕānda! u xrāž b-ər-rūḥ, u lli yḏxūl n-ʕānda kāməl lādqəθlu.*–

252 This word means “lime.” On the semantic value of this word and its popular usage see Colin (1931), 10–11, n. 2.

253 The narrator addresses a woman; however the CA pronominal suffix used is the *-ka*. For this phenomenon see n. 144 above.

sīdi l-būzṭāmi

s-si l-būzṭāmi rāžəl l-ṡūlūm, u wällŷy ṡāh, wāḥīd m-əl-āwlyyya. š lāyāṡməl? lāyžīb 1
l-hāydūra, u lāyṡəlqa ṡla l-bḥār u lāyīmši yīssāra f-əl-bḥār. l-yūm ṡla gādda.

wāḥ l-wāxṡ ḥūwwa ṡməl l-hāydūra ṡla l-bḥār, u l-hāydūra bdāṡ māšša yāṡāh, 2
yāṡāh, yāṡāh. wāḥ s-sāṡa u ḥŷyya ḥwāləṡ n-əl-blād d-ən-nṡāra. “wa dāba ḥādi
ṡ-ṡrīq d-ən-nṡāra. āna ma nəmši ši n-ən-nṡāra.” ṡāw qābṡa, ṡāw yḥāwwla ḥāyda.
ṡāw mšāṡ wāḥd əš-šwīwəš ṡāw ṡḥāwwləṡ n-dīṡ l-mūṡāṡ. ṡāw yḥāwwla n-hāda,
ḥŷyya kādəmši n-əl-blād d-ən-nṡāra. u ḥūwwa yḥāwwla ma ḥwūššāl ši n-əl-blād
d-ən-nṡāra. ṡdān sāṡda, sāṡda l-hāydūra, nəzzla f-əl-blād d-ən-nṡāra, wāḥd l-ṡārṡ
d-əl-ṡāžām. gləs gāləs qāl: “wāna ṡūmmri ma ṡməlṡ ḥāḥ l-libās ūrūppāwi, ṡūmmri
ma ṡməlṡu. nāṡməl l-kūrbāṡa, u nāṡməl š-šāppu²⁵⁴ u nāṡməl ḥāda. āna māš
nāṡməl ši wālu!” gləs gāləs yxāmmām š māš yāṡməl.

ḥūwwa gləs gāləs, u n-nāwm ddāh. u wāḥ l-hāḥṡ ḥāzzu, qāl lu: “ṡwa nūḡ, ālbəs, 3
nūḡ, ālbəs l-kīswa.” yīžbār l-kīswa ūrūpāwŷyya ṡla kmāla ṡla āxīriḥa: b-əš-šāppu
dyāla, b-əl-kūrbāṡa dyāla, b-əl-bəlḡa. xālla dīṡ l-kīswa ṡāmma, u mša n-ra fāyn.
u ṡāwəḡ gləs yxāmmām š māš yāṡməl. u n-nṡās ṡāw ddāh. ṡāw ža dīṡ l-hāyza qāl
lu: “nūḡ, ālbəs ṡlīṡ.” u qāl: “wa dāba ḥāḥ ši mən ṡānd ṡāh.” ālbəs dīṡ l-kīswa. u bda
ṡālāṡ n-əl-mdīna.

ḥūwwa ṡālāṡ n-əl-mdīna, u l-ṡāžām d-dīṡ l-mdīna, kūlla māšša lādḡārri, kūlla 4
māšša lādḡāṡṡ. ālwāw ṡlīḥ: “āāa nṡīna ḥnāya! zīd!” “š ṡāndṡum?” qālu lu: “ṡān-
na wāḥ l-ḥāṡla ḡ-ər-rāḥīb l-kbīr dyāləm.²⁵⁵ u ṡāndu xūṡāb māš yīxṡāb ṡlīna f-
ḥāḥ ən-nḥār. yāṡāh! zīd!” ṡābbāwāḥ mṡāḥəm, yāṡāh, yāṡāh ṡla ḥāṡṡa n-glīsyā²⁵⁶
dyāləm.

u glīsyā kbīra. ṡwa dxāl. ḥūma gəlsu, u gəllsūḥ ḥāṡṡa ḥūwwa mṡāḥəm. xrāž 5
r-rāḥīb, dīṡ r-rāḥīb l-kbīr, qāl ləm: “l-ṡāžām!” qālu lu: “nṡām, ya.” qāl ləm: “wāḥ l-
ṡarabi dxāl n-ṡāndṡum. wāḥ l-ṡarabi.” lli lāyīnṡbāḥ ḥdāḥ lāyīžbār ḡa xāḥ. yīnṡbāḥ
ḥdāḥ yīžbār ḡa xāḥ. yīnṡbāḥ ḥdāḥ yīžbār ḡa xāḥ. qālu lu: “l-ṡarabi ma mṡāna
ši!” qāl ləm: “l-ṡarabi ḥna mṡāṡum.” ḡrāb ṡlīḥəm u ḥāṡṡa wāḥīd ma ḡāfu. qāl
lu: “ya ṡarabi, nūḡ fi-wūṡṡ ḥāḥ l-ṡāžām. nūḡ! ma dxūṡṡ ṡlla māš ḡāḡḥār!” kəm-
məl wāqfa sīdi l-būzṭāmi, kəmməl wāqfa. [r-rāḥīb] qāl lu: “ša ḡqūl?” qāl lu: “māš
nsāṡləṡ ṡla myāṡ māšṡāla. ṡla ṡṡīni l-ḡāwāb dyāla, ra nṡīna l-ṡāžām māš yrāṡḡūṡ

254 Here the narrator chooses a European French garment, *chapeau*.

255 See the commentary to the translation of the text, n. 339, p. 262.

256 This is the Spanish word *iglesia*, “church”: see Heath (1989), 186.

- f-əs-sma. u ıla ma ʕtīθni ši l-ğāwāb dyāla, māš yʕābbīwāç šwīyya wāhīd.*” qāl lu: “qūl.”
- 6 *sār r-rāhīb kāyāʕti s-sūʔālā*²⁵⁷ *n-əs-si l-būzṭāmi. hāḏa sīdi l-būzṭāmi, māhma kāyāʕtīh dīç r-rāhīb, kāyāʕti s-sūʔāl*²⁵⁸ *n-əs-si l-būzṭāmi, l-ğwāb d s-sūʔāl lā-yīnkṭəb f-əş-şālʕa ḏ-dīç r-rāhīb. hūwwa yāʕtīh s-sūʔāl u bāš māš yžāwbu s-si l-būzṭāmi: lāyīnkṭəb f-əş-şālʕa ḏ-dīç r-rāhīb. lāyçūflu ş-şālʕa lāyīžbār dīç l-ğāwāb. lāysāʔlu ʕla hāḏi, ysāʔlu ʕla hāḏi. ma xālla ši ʕla ma sāʔlu, ma f-əs-sāmāwāt, ma f-əl-ʔārd ... ma f-əl-būhūr ma kāḏa ma kāḏa.*
- 7 *ğa s-si l-būzṭāmi qāl lu: “wa nṭīna sʔāltṭni myāθ sūʔāl. u āna nsāʔləç wāhd s-sūʔāl, u lāxāşşəç ḏğāwəbni ʕlih.” u hāḏ r-rāhīb kāyīşʕāṭ rāsu n-əl-ʔārd– “ṭrāq!” qāmu l-ʕāžām qālu lu: “ya bāβāhəm*²⁵⁹ *l-kbīr, nṭīna sʔāltṭu mya ḏ-əs-sūʔāl, u ʕtāç l-ğāwāb dyāləm! u nṭīna wāhd s-sūʔāl u ḏəşʕāṭ f-rāsəç?” qāl ləm: “əs-sūʔāl d-hāḏa şṭib bəzzāf.” qālu lu: “wa nqūlu lu!” qāl ləm: “ş nqūl āna ḏqūlūh nṭūma.” qālu lu: “naʕam.” qāl lu: “məftāh l-ğənnā ma hūwwa?” qāl lu: “ʔašhadu ʔanna la ʔilāha ʔilla ʔāh wa ʔašhadu ʔanna muḥammad rasūl ʔāh.”*²⁶⁰
- 8 *şāy kān f-dīç l-ʔārd d-dāxlu n-dīç glīsyā, kāmīn šāhhdu b-sīdna mūḥāmmād şālla ʔāh ʕlih wa sālləm! u rāžʕu bi-ʔannahum fi-dīn l-ʕislām.*²⁶¹

257 This is a very common ChA plural of the CA loan word *s-suʔāl* “question, query.” On the latter plural form see Moscoso, DACH, 149, n. 359 for bibliographical references.

258 This is a loan word from CA which has been totally assimilated into MA. For this term see Heath (1989), 215 under A-1-231.

259 See the commentary to the translation of the text, n. 342, p. 263.

260 The Muslim creed (= doctrinal formula) is always uttered in CA: *ʔašhadu ʔanna la ʔilāha ʔilla ʔāh wa ʔašhadu ʔanna muḥammadan rasūl ʔāh*

261 The narrator appeals here to code-switching.

l-ŷāqli f-ən-nāmsi

*l-ŷāqli f-ən-nāmsi ġmāš l-hūkāma d̄yālu u l-ŷulāma d̄yālu kām̄līn qāl ləm: “ŷrāftu 1
 ŷlāš ġmāšt̄çūm ānāya?” qālu lu: “la, ya āmīr l-mūmīnīn,²⁶² ma ŷrāfnāç ŷi. š māš
 d̄qūl lna?” qāl ləm: “lāxāššni xāmsa d̄-əš-šāhāba d̄-mūhāmmād. dāba kādāŷt̄wīni
 wāhd l-fīkra d̄yālkūm, qqīw l-fīkra d̄yālkūm: kif nāqqi bāš nāššəbār hād xāmsa
 d̄-əš-šāhāba? ŷayna²⁶³ hūma hād š-šāhāba? qāys wa mūŷāwīyya wa z-zūbāyr wa
 ŷālha – ya rābbi mša li hāda, xāmsa d̄-əš-šāhāba? – lāxāššni nšəbbrəm. u ila
 šabbārtəm, hāna šabbārt l-ŷrāb kām̄līn, küll ŷi.” qālu lu: “hādi sāhla hādi. hād
 l-hūğğā hādi qriba hādi.” qāl ləm: “f̄hāl yāš?” qālu lu: “māš dāsməl wāh l-ŷāšra
 d̄-ən-nās u yŷāmlu l-l̄hi, u yŷāmlu t̄-ŷsābāh f̄hāl l-muslīmīn, u yīmšīw ŷānd n-nābi
 u yqūlu lu, ya rāsūl ŷhāh, n-nāmsa h̄yya səlmeθ kām̄la, dāba lāxāššna xāmsa
 d̄-əš-šūhāba: muŷāwiyya wa ŷukayša wa ŷālha wa z-zubayr.” qālu lu: “hādi sāhla.
 çūf hād ŷāšra d̄-ən-nās yīmšīw ŷānd n-nābīyy yqūlu lu n-nāmsa kām̄la səlmeθ.
 [d̄ic l-ŷāšra hūma yqūlu lu], ‘u dāba ŷt̄ina hād xāmsa d̄-ən-nās yŷāllmūna š-šāla,
 u yŷāllmūna farāŷīd²⁶⁴ l-ŷislām, u yŷāllmūna l-ādāb.’ mūhāmmād yŷt̄ikūm hād
 l-xāmsa. yāŷt̄ina hād l-xāmsa d̄-ən-nās u nğībūhəm ... ya s-sūltān d̄yālna, ŷməl
 bīhəm d̄-hābbīθ.” qāl ləm: “hāt̄ta hāda raŷy, məzyān hād raŷy ŷməlŷūh nŷūma.”*

*ŷāyyāt n-dīç l-ŷāšra d̄-ən-nās, u kfāhəm mən l-māl, u kfāhəm mən l-libās, u 2
 kfāhəm mən küll hāža. “wa lāxāšškūm dāqđīw hād l-ğārād.” qālu lu: “ūh, ŷh, ŷh!
 āmhīç²⁶⁵ wa āmrīk ya l-mālīç d̄yālna.” wūğğdu ləm l-xāyl. wūğğdu ləm s-suyūf.²⁶⁶
 u bdāw māžīn m-ən-nāmsa ila ŷānd l-mādīna d̄-ər-rāsūl.*

*hādām āžnābīyyīn ġāw ŷānd r-rāsūl. [qāl ləm]: “š lāxāšškūm, š ġt̄iθu dāqđīw?” 3
 “a sīdī rāsūl ŷhāh. h̄nāya, n-nāmsa kām̄la – n-nāmsa dāwla kbīra – u rāha səlmeθ
 küll ŷi. wālākīn h̄na xāŷīŷīn kif nəŷwūddāw, kif nŷārŷu l-ādāb d-əl-ŷislām, kif nŷārŷu
 kif nšāllīw, kif nŷārŷu nəŷkəlləmu. dāba āŷt̄ina hād l-xāmsa bāš yŷāllmūna.” ġa
 r-rāsūl qāl ləm: “wāxxa, nāŷt̄ihəm lkūm.” āmār sīdna mūhāmmād šālla ŷhāh ŷlīh
 wa sālləm wa ŷāla ālīh, āmār ŷla xāmsa d̄-əš-šāhāba, u žāw u qāl ləm: “hād l-ŷāšra
 žāw m-əl-ŷārd n-nāmsa səlmeθ. u nŷūma māšša d̄əmšīw d̄ŷāllmūhəm l-wuđū?*

262 This is a mistake by the narrator. The reference here is to the Christian king.

263 The narrator here uses a CA borrowed particle instead of the MA *ŷāynūma* “Where are they ...?”

264 The narrator uses a loan word from CA to refer to Islamic religious duty.

265 On this unattested term see n. 349, p. 264.

266 The narrator here appeals to the CA pattern instead of using the regular MA *s-suyūf*.

wa ʕ-ʕala wa ʕ-ʕiyyām,²⁶⁷ wa farāʔiḍ l-ʔislām *kāmla*, u qawāʕid l-ʔislām *kāmla*. u *hūma māš yāʕīwkwūm yāʕni b-əl-mākūl dyālkūm*, u *š-šārāb dyālkūm*, u *žāmīʕ l-māšāʔil dyālkūm*.” qāl: “wāxxa, ya rāsūl ʔāh: ʔna nəmšiw.” qābtu hād l-ʕāšra rākbu ʕla l-xuyūl, bdāw māššīn.

4 *bqāw bāʕda* θalāθatu ʔayyām²⁶⁸ *f-əl-madīna*²⁶⁹ *mʕa r-rāsūl*. u *hūma yqūmu yīqqīw ʕ-ʕāhrāmīyyāθ dyāləm*, *zāʕma lāyʕšällīw*, u *hūma wālu*. u *hūma lāyʕəb-bḥu*, u *hūma wālu*. “lakum dīnukum wa liyya dīn.” *īwa n-nhār ʕ-ʕəʕt ʕyām*, *bdāw māššīn yāḥāh*, *yāḥāh*, *yāḥāh*. *qqāw wāḥ r-rāḥla l-lūwwlīyya*, *rṕāḥu*, *bāyḍīn*. *r-rāḥla ʕ-ʕānyā*, *rāḥu*, *rṕāḥu*. *r-rāḥla ʕ-ʕālṕa*, *hūma gəlsu*, u *žūž d-əl-ḡrāb nəzlu*, *sāru mʕa bāʕīθəm*, “*črāp! črāp!*” ... *hāda yīqəθəl hāda*, *hāda yīqəθəl hāda*, *hāda yīqəθəl hāda*, *lāyḥādru-wālu*. – *sīdi ʕābd ʔāh bən ḡāʕfār*, *ʕ-ʕāḥābi hāda kən mʕāḥəm* – *hāna ʕḡkkārtu!* – *kāyīḥām lāḡt ʕ-ʕūyūr*. *l-māʕza mənnaḡyən lādḡāwwəθ lāyīḥām š lādḡūl*. *l-bāqra mənnaḡyən lādḡāwwəθ*, *lāyīḥām š lādḡūl*. *l-hāšūl*, *ḡāmīʕ l-hāyā-wān mənnaḡyən kāyāhdār kāyḡḥmu*. *qālu lu*: “*sīdi ʕābd ʔāh*, *hād ʕ-ʕūyūr š kānu yqūlu ḡdāna hnāya?*” *qāl ləm*: “*īda nqūl lkūm*, *ma nziḡu ši xālfa wāḥda mʕa hādām*.” [*qālu lu*]: “*ḡna*, *ḡa qūl nna*, *ḡna sārṕadna n-nābi*. *wāxxa yīqqīw bīna š-šwīyya*, *wāxxa yqāṕṕāʕna šwīyya*, *ḡna ma nrāžʕu ši*, *sārṕadna sīdna mūḡammād*.”

5 *qāmu bdāw māššīn*. *wūšslu n-ən-nāmsa*. *wūšslu n-ən-nāmsa*, *yžəbru qāwm*, *ma yīrwīha wāla ma wāla ʕaḡām*, *āāhhh!* ʕla *ādāmi*, ʕla *ādāmi hāda ymīl*, u *žāyš hādi wāqfa*. *māḡma wūšlu*, *ḡāʕfār qāl ləm*: “*ha ḡna māš nwūšslu*, *māš ykəṕṕfūna*, *u ymāḡḡnūna*, *u yžūwwʕīna*.” *qālu lu*: “*ya s-si ʕābd ʔāh*, *ḡna ma nrāžʕu ši!* *wāxxa nəmšiw rmād*, *ma nrāžʕu ši ḡāṕṕa nḡāddīw*, *mūḡammād sārṕadna*, *māš nəmšiw*.” *wūšlu žəmʕīḡəm* u *kəṕṕfūḡəm*.

6 u *ʕāndəm wāḡd l-bīr bʕīd* u *ʕīḡ wāḡd ʕ-ʕāxra*. *wāḡ l-ḡāzra ʕla dīç d-dqūm d-dīç l-bīr*. u *dīç ʕ-ʕāxra ʕla ma ykūnu ši ārbīn d-ən-nās ydāʕfūha āw yžəbdūha yḡəṕḡūha ʕla dqūm l-bīr*. *ma kāyn ši lli yāqdār hāda*. *ārbīn d-ən-nās lāxāšša ydāʕfūha*. *dəllāwhəm f-dīç l-bīr b-xāmsa bīḡəm*, *ḡa səllās*. “*ma hādā?*” *qāl lu*: “*hāda ma kattaba ʔāḡhu lana*.²⁷⁰ *hāda ma qāddār ʔāḡ taʕāla wa tabāraka*. *sārṕadna sīdna mūḡammād*. *ma ʕānna ma nʕāmlu*.” *sāʕāṕān*, u *hūma qālu ma ... l-fāṕḡa*, *ʕ-ʕāwāssūl*. *ṕwəsslu*: “*ya rābbi l-hda!* *ya rābbi*, *ya ʕyḡyədna mūḡammād*, *ya rāsul ʔāḡ!* *ḡna f-ḡma ʔāḡ* u *f-ḡmāk*, *a sīdi rāsul ʔāḡ!* *āʕṕāqna!* *ḡna yāʕni ḡ-ḡūʕ*, u

267 The narrator uses a loan word from CA to refer to Islamic religious duty. On the term *ʕyḡyām* see Heath (1989), 208 under A-1-29.

268 This is a spontaneous code-switched phrase in a religious context used even by illiterate people.

269 There is no adaptation to the MA vocalic system in the toponym Medina.

270 This stock phrase expressing deep Islamic faith follows CA rules of vocalization and has to be considered a case of code-switching.

sállās, ma hna nāfsīn, ma hna gālsīn. ġīθna, ya sīyyədna mūhāmmād! ġīθna, ya sīdi rāsul ḡāh!”

*nzəl l-wāhm*²⁷¹ *fla sīyyədna mūhāmmād-šälla ḡāh flīh wa sálləm!- qāl lu: “əṣ-ṣāhāba māqbūtīn, xāṣṣəm yqūmu” āmār sīyyədna mūhāmmād-šälla ḡāh flīh wa sálləm!- flā sīyyədna fāli. fāyyāṭ flā fāli: “ya fāli, filla fānta,²⁷² ya fāli! āmši n-ən-nāmsa. ġīθ xāmsa d-əṣ-ṣāhāba. xāmsa d-ṣhābi fānd n-nāmsa mār-būtīn.” mša sīyyədna fāli yīzbār dīç n-nār, hdīr u ndīr, u l-fāzām kāmla mhāḍça! u fyiṣṭāθ hādī, u fwwāwi hādī, u mūsīqa hādī! qbāṭ sīdna fāli qāl: “š fāndçüm?” qālu lu: “ma fāndəç xbar?” sīdna fāli kān fāndu səbfa lsūn. kāyīhdār āyyi lsān d-əd-dāwla, d-əd-dāwla d-əd-dāwlāθ. kāyāhdār m fāhəm, qālu lu: “mānnāyən ġīθ?” qāl ləm: “āna zīθ m-əl-ḡārd l-flānīyya. hāṭṭa āna zīθ nāhdār l-hāfla. dāba, fāynūma fāndçüm dāba hād hādāç?” qālu lu: “hāwma²⁷³ fānd bu ḍālfā.” “u bu ḍālfā fāynūwwa?” qālu lu: “rāh līhən, lāyāhmi wāhd z-zūbīyya māš yhāmmīw dīç ṣ-ṣāhāba fiha.”*

wūṣṣāl fānd bu ḍālfā. yīzbār dīç l-bīr hdāh fəmma. dīç l-hāzra lāydəffūha ārbfīn šaxṣ, šabbār sīyyədna fāli fāhā dəffā, u dəlla yīddu u fāllfām b-xāmsa. u šəbburu s-sūyūf. hādīç l-līla, ma ṣbāh əṣ-ṣbāh, ma ṣbāh ġa lli lāyqūl: “fāshadu fānna la fīlāha illa ḡāh wa fānna muḥammadan rasul ḡāh.” kāθθ l-mdīna d-əl-fāqli f-ən-nāmsi ṣābhāθ d-sīyyədna mūhāmmād-šälla ḡāh flīh wa sálləm!- mən l-blād d-əl-ḡislām. ṭlāqqāw ṣ-ṣāhāba lla fānd sīdna mūhāmmād.

271 See n. 355, p. 267.

272 The use of this expression instead of the MA *ġa nṭīna* “only you” has to be considered another case of code-switching.

273 *hā + hūma*) *hāwma*. The deictic particle *hā-* “here is/are ... or here [comes]” plus pronoun (independent or suffix) is common in Maghrebin ADs. This particle is normally contrasted with the abstract one *rā-* (n. 52 above). On this particle in general, see Marçais (1977) 194–195; Caubet (1992), 139–142; idem (1993b), 27; and Heath (2002), 250–251. For its attestation in northern MA see for Anjra: Vicente (2000), 154–155, n. 181; and for Chaouen: Moscoso, DACH, 195–196. For other Magrebin dialects see for Djidjelli: Marçais (1956), 445–446; for Takrouna: Marçais and Guíga (1961), 416–418; and for Tunis: Singer (1984), 259–260.

d-dāyīm ḡāh

- 1 ḡāh taṣāla wa tabāraka, subḡānahu ṡazza wa ṡall. *kān xlāq wāḡd ṡ-ṡāyṡ fi-āwwāl d-dūnya. u xlāq lu ārbṡin mdīna ḡ-əz-zwāl. u nādāḡ ḡāh taṣāla wa tabāraka n-dīṡ ṡ-ṡāyṡ, qāl lu: “mānnāyən ḡkəmməl hād l-lārbṡin d-hād əz-zwāl, māš nəqbāt l-ṡmār dyāləṡ.” u dīṡ hād ṡ-ṡāyṡ kāyāṡūl ḡūbba f-ən-nḡār, u bda dīṡ ṡ-ṡāyṡ kāyāṡūl ḡūbba f-ṡəṡṡ ṡyṡām. u ṡamma ārbṡin mdīna ḡ-əz-zwāl. u māṡ u mša dīṡ ši. u d-dāyīm ḡāh*

sīdi ḥməd l-wāfi

ya bādi f-ən-ndām u msəbbāq b-əsmäy l-kāfi!²⁷⁴ u šǧa, ya fāhəm əl-lǧa qāwli, u 1
 nǧība f-əl-ǧārs š-šāfi, u ḥlūwwa f-mdiḥ küll wāli kāyīnwi u yqūl m-əl-kāwn yišfi
 u yšāfi, u yfārrəž yūm d-ḍya hwāli. a sīdi ḥməd l-wāfi, šādāqni m-əl-xāyr! a sīdi
 ḥməd l-wāfi, ḍāyf ḥāh lī-llāh ya l-wāli! sūbhānāk! ya rāf s-sma! ya məl la²⁷⁵ yišha
 wāla ynām! ya mən bīh l-wārd ma sma. ṭāǧfār li mən ḡāh s-slām! nāṭwūssəl ləç
 bu fātma, ṭāž l-šāra, zāhw n-nyān. šālla ḥāh līh. qādd f-wāmu u šrāfi. u šdād
 l-mlāyka s-sma l-šāli, u šdād l-ḥūt, u l-mṭār u ššūb š-šāfšāfi u tyūr lādsəbbāḥ
 m-əǧ-ǧnāni, u nžūm ḍāwya f-la l-qībla u žwāfi, f-la š-šārq u l-ǧārb u l-hnāni. a
 nžūm z-zūhra!²⁷⁶ ya ṭnāni! šādāqni m-əl-xāyr a sīdi ḥməd l-wāfi. subhānāk! ...
 [wa mšāḏ li] d-dūnya, lžūd u l-fīqh, d-dūnya n-əl-šilm u r-rzāq ... [nsīḏ].

274 The expected form here is *b-əsmə l-kāfi!*, which could have been another example of *imāla*, see p. 89 above.

275 *mən la*) *məl la*.

276 This is a loan word from CA used in MA poetry. See de Prémare, DAF, V, 395 under *zāhra* meaning 3: “*z-zəḥra* / *z-zəḥra*, [class. الزهرة] la planète Vénus (brillante et de bon augure) [Co].” De Prémare also gives examples from poetry: DAF, V, 395, meaning 3.

qšīda d-mūhāmmād š-šrif l-ṣālāmi

- 1 *āsmi mūdūḥ. ya hli, ḡ-ḡāhīr ma hu xāfi. ṣālāmi mən dāyr hlāl. ma nsītūni ma nsītḡūm. rābbi šāhīd ya hla l-wfa. r-rāfa u ḡ-ḡūd mənḡūm, u slāmi līḡūm kāffa. rāh qālbi fāni b-šāwqūm, u l-ḡūdra ṣāndi mšārifa. a xūḡi, rāni ḡrib, u š-šāwq rāh xlāḡ dīwāni. rāni mən ḡārr l-fḡād mdāwi mən kədd l-ūkād. a mən fikūm rāḡḡi, u rāḡḡ rūḡi, mūlāy ṣli bən r-rāšīd.*

*Mūlāy Ḥmād Ṣafāq's Corpus –
English Translation*



[It All Started with a] Pomegranate

There was a man who was extremely rich. How rich was he? He owned gardens.¹ 1
 In one garden he had all the fruits that God the Sublime and the Blessed had created, everything. The man was among the richest. He had a garden, and his pleasure was to go and sit there.² At home he had slaves and a servant in charge of cooking. And the slaves fetched³ things for him. They brought him whatever was too far for him to reach – and whatever was near him, too.

Once he went to one certain garden [The breeze] was blowing and the 2
 autumn fruits were ripe. ... He lay down, fell asleep. The slave was there with him. He [the slave] left him there and descended, wandering about, to the bottom of the garden. He found a path at the end of the garden. A river crossed it. He descended to the river.

When he got to the river, he found an amazing pomegranate, a huge pome- 3
 granate. He took the pomegranate up to his lord and peeled it, so that when his lord would wake, he could eat it. He took the pomegranate with him, peeled it and brought an eating utensil, a bowl. And he broke it up⁴ and put it in for his lord. The rich [lord] woke up. He found the bowl with the seeds of pomegranate like pearls. The seeds were as big as walnuts. He tasted it and liked it. He ate and

1 The term used here by the tale teller is *ǧnānā*ؑ, the plural of *ǧnān*. The narrator will later substitute *ǧīrsa* for this term. However, there is a semantic difference between them: *ǧīrsa* refers to the “garden near by / or surrounding the house” or, as Hoenerbach and Kolenda (1973), 39, 40 put it, “*ǧersa* (‘Garten’) bezeichnete Freigelände innerhalb der Ummauerung. ... die *ǧersa* ist ein hausnaher, geschlossener Gemüsegarten mit nur geringem Obstanbau.” On the other hand, *ǧnān* is “eine entlegenere, offene Baumpflanzung” and a much larger propriety area outside the city, not closed by hedges, walls, or ditches. On the differing topographical meanings of *ǧīrsa* and *ǧnān* in Chaouen see Hoenerbach and Kolenda (1973), 38–40. For their meanings in general in the *Žbāla* area see Michaux-Bellaire (1911), 189–190, 196–197. The terms *ǧnān* and *ǧīrsa* are very common in the genre of Moroccan poetry known as *šrōbi*, in which they symbolize women: see Stillman and Stillman (1978), 74.

2 Compare the beginning of tale no. 17 “Die Geschichte von einem Sultan, seinem Sohne, einem Garten und von zwei Mädchen nebst ihren Westen,” in the collection by Stumme (1895), 146–166 (esp. 146).

3 *yǧību lu l-bīda u yqārribu lu l-qriba* is a typical expression for describing the efficiency of the servants.

4 The verb used here is *fārḫār*, meaning “7. *trans.* fendiller, briser en petits fragments; effriter, émietter [Co]; 8. disloquer un ensemble [contr. *rakkāb* 3] [Co].” See DAF, X, 78.

ate and ate until he had finished all the pomegranate. He said to himself, “How delicious this pomegranate was! Who knows where the slave picked it? Slave come!” He answered him, “Yes *Sīdi*?” He asked him, “From which tree did you pick this pomegranate that you put in here for me?” He answered, “O Lord, I did not pick it from the garden. I did not pick it from the garden.” He asked him, “Where did you bring it from?” He told him, “O Lord, when you fell asleep, I went down the path to the end of the garden and I found myself at the river. I found this pomegranate floating down to us, and I desired it. And I peeled it and I put it in for you so that when you woke up you could eat it.”

4 He said to him, “See how many pomegranates I have, how many fruits! And yet you brought me this pomegranate from the river to eat! Why did you bring it? I don’t want it. Don’t you see how many pomegranates I have? O nigger!⁵ O you blankety-blank!⁶ Let’s go. Show me where you brought it from.”⁷ They went down to the river. He [the slave] told him, “I got it from here.”

5 When they were near the river, they found a man harvesting pomegranates. They approached him, “Peace be upon you!” He answered them, “And upon you!” He [the rich man] said, “Fellow!” He answered him, “Yes?” He told him, “You must sell me twenty pomegranates.” He said, “Yes, O Lord. You have plenty of pomegranates, but you desire my pomegranates. I will get them for you.” They chose twenty big, good pomegranates. And he asked him, “How much?” He answered, “The price is thus-and-so.” He told him, “Take the price [of the twenty], and keep ten and fifteen of them.” He [the man] asked him, “What do you mean? You came to buy from me, and you told me to get twenty, and hold back from the twenty. You gave ten back to me, and then five, which makes fifteen. What is the matter? Why do you do this?”

6 He answered him, “This slave of mine went down to the river, found a pomegranate of yours that had fallen into the river, and he brought it for me

5 The term used here by the narrator is *gnāwi*, of which Welte and Aguadé (1996), 15, n. 1 say, “*Gnāwi* wird in Marokko synonym mit ‘Schwarzer’ gebraucht, und die Mehrzahl dieser Schwarzen stammt aus der Region des Niger-Flusses. Das Wort stammt vom berberischen *ignawen* ‘Stumme’ (= Plural zu *agnaw*) ab, von dem sich auch Guinea herleitet.” For more on this term see DAF, X, 740; and commentary on pp. 78–79.

6 The words of the narrator here are *ya kāda, ya kāda*, which gives us a free parameter for translating according to the immediate context and thereby allows us to take into consideration the preceding term *gnāwi*. See the previous note.

7 The slave picked up the pomegranate near the river, and the protagonist ate it. Then he feels the need to beg pardon of the owner. This parallels passages in tale no. LXXV, “*Légende de sidi be ‘Abbès Sabti*,” in the collection of Légy (1926), 261–264 (esp. 261). In the latter tale a fig replaces the pomegranate.

to eat.” He said to him, “You ate my pomegranate?! You ate my daily bread! And [now] you came to fool me, telling me to keep ten. I do not forgive you for taking my pomegranate. I want that same pomegranate, the one the slave took from the river! I want him to give me back my pomegranate!” He pleaded with him, “No, O friend! I have already eaten the pomegranate. Where can I find your pomegranate? Enter my garden and take thirty pomegranates in its place.” He replied, “No, I want *my* pomegranate. I do not forgive you.” He pleaded with him, “O friend! May God lead you on the right way! Forgive me!” He answered, “Never!” He asked him, “What should I do now? I already ate the pomegranate. Take twenty. I will pay you for thirty. I will pay you. Whatever you ask for them, I will give it to you. Just forgive me!” He [the man] replied, “I will forgive you only if you do me a service.”⁸ He asked him, “What is it?” He told him, “I have a daughter who cannot see, confined [at home]. You take her to be your wife.⁹ Then I will forgive you for the pomegranate. And if you do not do so, I will not forgive you.” He [the rich man] replied, “Very well!”¹⁰

They left the pomegranates there and went to a *ṣādāl*,¹¹ where they signed the marriage record.¹² They took him to her father’s house. He [the rich man]

7

8 The author uses the obsolete term *l-kāfḥyya*, which could be related to the verb *kāfa* “to reward” (see DMA, 60) and DAF, X, 610–611.

9 The basic plot of tale no. LXXV, “Légende de *sidi bel ‘Abbès Sabti*,” in the collection of Légy (1926), 261–264 (esp. 263) parallels the present tale (see n. 7 above). In that story, the owner of the fruit, who is a woman, makes her forgiveness conditional upon marriage to the man who ate the fig.

10 See p. 75.

11 This is the plural of the technical legal term *ṣādāl*, which basically means, “the marriage contractors.” Their legal function is “notaire au sens de témoin instrumentaire – et non pas notaire selon le sens connu en Europe [AR: ou aux Etats Unis: in America this could be what is called a ‘notary public’] – accrédité le *cadi*, lequel, seul, authentifie les actes qu’il a rédigés [Co, Mer]; le *ṣādāl* est choisi par le *cadi* pour sa probité et la fidélité de son témoignage; il reçoit les dépositions orales faites en arabe courant par les parties qui requièrent ses services, et les rédige en arabe littéral selon les formes consacrées; il atteste, sous forme écrite, les faits juridiques dont il a personnellement connaissance; il a le monopole de la rédaction des actes juridiques passés devant lui par les contractants.” For more about the legal function of the *ṣādāl* see DAF, IX, 47; on this profession in the *Žbāla* area see Michaux-Bellaire (1911), 47. On this pre-nuptial ceremony see Westermarck (1921), 17–22, 22–32. The latter pages contain a detailed description of this ceremony in Fes, which is comparable to that performed in Chaouen.

12 The verb used here is *ktāb* + the preposition *ṣla*, meaning “to sign a marriage record.” For this exact same expression see DAF, X, 519 under meaning 8. In this context the act of signing the contract seems to be a formal act.

signed a document, and gave her [as a dowry] bracelets and he gave her¹³ an ugly and hideous dress. They bid her enter because they had no other choice.¹⁴ The whole family wept, cried, and exclaimed, “O God! What an abomination! He brings this girl, who has no feet upon which to stand, no eyes by which to see, no mouth through which to speak!”

8 The slave brought her some food. He put it down for her. She ate it. She told him, “Take your hand – take your hand off this food!” He left. She ate everything. A new day broke with the same thing. The day after too. When the third day was fulfilled, the slave brought her the food and tried to eat. She exclaimed, “Stop! Put that food down and get out! Say nothing to me and I won’t say anything to you. Don’t speak to me; don’t do anything.” She rose up, bathed, dressed, and started to fix up her house and such things. The rich man entered the house. He heard some noise in the room – perhaps from [her] room. He glanced into the room and found an amazing woman, intelligent, pretty and beautiful, and clever¹⁵ and so on and so forth. He said, “Thank God, she is a jinn. She had been one way and now she has changed.”

9 Then the man got ready a new celebration, to celebrate his new household. He invited people. He prepared this and that. He spent eight days. She said to him, “Husband!” He answered her, “Yes?” She told him, “I did not live before without doing anything.” He asked her, “What am I supposed to do?” She said, “Go, bring me white wool, a bundle of it, bring it to me!” “What are you going to do with it?” She told him, “Bring me the wool and you will see what I am going to do.” He brought her the wool. She took a piece of paper, and she took out a pen. And she fashioned on that piece of paper the loom she would use. She fashioned on the piece of paper, told him, “Take this to a master carpenter to

13 The verb used by the narrator is the polysemic *šmal + l*. This must be part of the *šdāq*, which essentially means “dowry” (see n. 104 below). On the use of this term and its legal and ritual implications in the marriage contract in Morocco see Westermarck (1921), 59–61, and 63–64, 75–76, n. 1 and 2, which include an example from Fes which can be compared to the custom in Chaouen.

14 This translation is based mainly on the context. The words of the narrator here are *yāšni yqūlu hāda*, which literally mean “saying this” but imply resignation or submission to the inevitable.

15 This description of women occurs again and again in stories told by men. It is one of the most important stylistic elements in the present folktale corpus, where it occurs as a formula normally expressed in CA. The synthesis of beauty and intelligence characterizes the Ideal Woman as described in folktales and literature in general in both the Arab and Berber worlds: see for example Scelles-Millie (1970), 70; Drouin (1984), 1–30 on this requirement “sois belle et stitile” in Touareg society; Chadli (2008), 10–11 and the bibliographical reference there.

make a loom like this one.” The rich man went to a carpenter, who made the loom. He brought it [to her]. She spun the wool into fine threads. She wove the threads on the loom till she had finished making a *ḥāyək*.¹⁶ No one possessed a *ḥāyək* like this one! No one could make one like it. It was a very amazing handicraft.

She took aside the slave and told him, “Go to the market place and sell this, 10
sell this.” The slave took it to the market place. The Sultan’s vizier was there [and] saw it. He asked him, “Come O slave, how much is this?” He told him, “Thus much.” He said, “Here you are. Here you are.” He gave him the money. The slave left and the vizier followed him – following, following till he arrived at the house, at the house’s door. The slave entered, and the vizier turned back. He said [to himself], “Here I am. I know this house.” He took the *ḥāyək* to the King, to the Sultan, told him, “See what certain people can make! See how this creation has been made! This was a master!” The King said, “The one who made this creation must not be with anyone [but me.]” He wanted to have her.

The King and the vizier decided to abduct her. They arrived at the door of 11
the house. And her father¹⁷ had made it a condition [on her husband] that he not take any one in as a guest, not take any one into his home as a guest, neither friend nor neighbor, no one. He had submitted to such a condition before the *ṣdūl*. [Her husband] came to his house door, and they [the Sultan and his vizier] met him: “O lord, we ask to be taken in as guests. We are foreigners, and we have nowhere to spend the night. And the night has come, so give us some place to lie down.” He looked at them and said [to himself], “These people are old, and

16 This was the typical outer garment of Chaouen women. It was made of pure white cotton, wool or silk. Rackow (1958), 21, mentions every type of this garment known in Tetuan and Chaouen, including: حايك المحريل “aus Wollfäden gewebt, die hier und da kleine Knötchen haben;” حايك ذ السكر “aus besonders weißer Baumwolle für den Sommer”; and حايك ذ الحاشية (الحاشية ذ الحرير) “aus Baumwolle mit angewebtem seidenen Rand.” For more on this garment, other technical terms associated with it, and its detailed design see *ibid*, 21, Tafeln xxiv, xxv–xxix. Presumably the veil in Chaouen would have been made from the *ḥāyək* and not, as in Tetuan, as a separate garment. See al-Ṣāfya (1982), 229 for pictures. Mouliéras (1899), 144 commented on the beautiful *ḥāyək* made in Chaouen and Tetuan that were sold in the Jewish market of Chaouen. On this garment in Morocco in general see the definition in Westermarck (1921), 87, n. 1 and the bibliographical references there; DAF, III, 293–294, meanings 1 and 2. In Chaouen this garment was replaced in the late 1980s by the *ǧallāb* (see n. 122 below).

17 This episode, which narrates the kidnapping of the woman, her rescue by the protagonist and his friend, who kills the kidnapper and gets back his woman, corresponds to aspects of tale no. CXVII, “Le barbier amoureux” in Laoust (1949) vol. I, 133–135; vol. II, 231–234.

they seem good people. I am going to allow them to enter the house. I have one empty room. I will offer it to them to spend the night, and in the morning they will go their way.” He bid them, “Welcome!” He allowed them to enter the house and offered them dinner.

12 They both had brought sleeping potions with them, both of them. They took the sleeping potions and made all the slaves that were in the house unconscious. They gave to each of them a small cup of sleeping potion, and one to the rich man as well. They knelt down, picked up the woman, and fled with her. When a new day broke, the man became conscious,¹⁸ rose up, and found the black men sprawled each one in a different place, and such things. He rose and searched for his wife, but did not find her. “What a strange thing! What a strange thing! Her father made it a condition that no one should enter, no guest, no neighbor, no one. And now something very grave has happened. What should I do to find the woman? What can I do myself?”

13 He went to his friend. He told him, “This is what has occurred to me. This is what has happened.” He [his friend] told him, “You must go to the market and say, ‘O he who wants to be my brother in the cause of God, I will give him anything.’” He [the friend] asked him, “Do you have some money?” He replied, “Money is available, and gold too.” “You have to go to the market and say ‘O whoever wants to be my brother in the cause of God! O whoever wants to be my brother in the cause of God!’ The one who will go with you, telling you that he is your brother, take him to your house. You will have a *tāžīn*¹⁹ of food ready, a good meal and good bread,²⁰ and you put that dish of food down, that *tāžīn*, and that *zāfa l-māxfīyya*,²¹ and such things. And you have to delay: leave as if

18 The verb here is *tār* + *l* (pronominal suffix) + *l-maskar*. Compare the expression *tārət əs-səkra*, which means “les vapeurs de l’ivresse se dissipèrent.” For the term *tār*, see DAF, VIII, 397–398, meaning 10.

19 Concerning *tāžīn* [ⲗ Aramaic. Syriac: *tīg[ā]nā* and Rabinic: *tiggāna* < Greek. *téganon* / *tégenon*], Abu-Shams (2002), 202 proposes an Egyptian origin. For its detailed definition see de Prémare in DAF, VIII, 265, 362: *tājēn* / *tājīn* / *tājēn*: “large poêlon circulaire, terrine en terre cuite, vernissée, peu profonde, sans queue ni anse, munie d’un couvercle conique [not always: AR] se terminant par un bouton; on y mijote et sert les ragoûts.” On this term and its usage in Chaouen see Hoenerbach and Kolenda (1975), 134, n. 55. For a detailed semantic definition, its derivation, and its different types according to the area of fabrication, and the various dishes prepared in it, see the excellent commentary by Abu-Shams (2002), 202–204, 461 figures 12–13. For drawing and a detailed description of this utensil see Rackow (1958), 9, Tafel VII and LIV.

20 See pp. 74–75.

21 This term refers to a kitchen utensil made of clay in which *kəsksu* would be served, especially on the occasion of the yearly pilgrimage to Mūlāy ʕli B r-Rāšīd (For more on

you are going to do something. If, as soon as you put [the food] down for him, he begins to eat, he does not wait for you till you come, he does not wait for you and continues eating, gobbling and eating, let him eat. When he finishes, tell him, 'Goodbye. Leave. We cannot be brothers.' And he [also] told him, "When you bring another one, again place food, good food and good bread and good water for him. Place everything and go out of the room. If he sits eating without waiting for you to come – he eats – then tell him goodbye. But if you find that after placing the food for him, he sits with his hands crossed, waiting for you to come, and when you tell him, 'You did not have lunch!' he replies to you, 'I am waiting for you to come, O owner of the house. You are the owner of the house. O my brother – [you are my brother] only if we eat together'" – he told him, "This last one is your brother."²² "All right!"

He said this to the first one, the second, and the third, till he found a hunter, his brother He brought him the food, and he [the hunter] waited for him till he came. He told him, "Eat." He answered him, "When we eat together." He said [to himself], "This one is my brother." And he told him, "This is what has happened to me, this is what has happened to me. And now what should I do? Now you have to show me what I should do." He [the hunter] asked him, "Do you have money?" He answered, "Yes, I have." He told him, "If you have money then let's go." They bought women's clothes.²³ They took a cash box, and they started peddling. This one wants this, that one wants that, till they arrived in the Sultan's plaza²⁴ shouting [their wares]. At that moment she [the

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this subject see p. 67). Today this custom and its associated utensil are virtually obsolete. For drawing and a detailed description of this utensil see Rackow (1958), 9, Tafel LIV: زلفة.

22 This could be interpreted as a test of friendship. For this motif see Aarne and Thompson (1961), 184, 187, "H1558, *Test of friendship*," and "F601.2, *Extraordinary companion helps in suitor test*," and the related motif "H1558.0.1.1, *Apple test of worthiness for friendship*" [How food is divided], and other related motifs, "T0292.0.1, *How much is this head? + Wife sold unwittingly by husband*," and "0938c, *Wife Unwittingly Sold, and Restored with Help from Grateful Friend*."

23 See El Fasi (2000), 221–228 (esp. 224), the tale "Mhammed le magicien."

24 The term here is *māšwār*. El Fasi (2000), 211–212: "*Les méchouars étaient des places d'armes pour les défilés militaires et les fantasias. Sur le Vieux Méchouar, le Sultan, vêtu d'un burnous blanc, rendait la justice, du haut de son cheval, abrité du soleil par un parasol tenu par un esclave noir ...*." Another definition of this term goes back to the time of Mawlay al-Ḥasan, and refers simply to the administrative wing of the palace and the courtyard with galleries built around it wherein were the offices of the grand vizier and of the *qāʿid al-māšwar*, the latter a kind of captain of the guard who also brought petitions to the Sultan. For more see Michaux-Bellaire (1991), 135. For the semantic value of this term see DAF, VII, 220.

woman] looked, and she espied her husband, she espied him. [He called], “Are you here?” She told him, “Here I am. At one o’clock, when everyone is asleep, meet me here to help me flee.”

15 So that night they were there. They had brought a she-camel. They stood on it and took her down slowly. They took her down from the terrace, took her out and escaped with her. The hunter and the rich man left with her.

16 The King woke up. He found the house empty. “The woman that we have brought has vanished!”²⁵ He searched for her but he did not find her. He got up, woke the slaves, woke everybody. He looked for her. They said, “We didn’t see anything.” He took his she-camel, the one he had named *š-Šābīla*,²⁶ who made the journey of a day in one hour, and of two days in two hours.²⁷ He mounted this she-camel, and started travelling fast.

17 The hunter told the rich man, saying, “You and your wife must proceed straight ahead, and I will stay till he arrives, and we will get rid of him.” The hunter [pretended] to fall down to the ground. “Ah my feet! Ah my feet!” He found that the Sultan had arrived. The Sultan asked him, “What is wrong with you?” He told him, “A man just went by with a woman and riding a camel. He ran over me. If I catch him I am going to chew him up with my own teeth. Please, O Sir, carry me with you even if behind your back.” He replied, “Okay.” The Sultan thought, “I am not going to fight with that man. I will let this one fight with him. He will kill him for sure, and I will take the woman back and I will take the she-camel back, and I will leave.” He mounted him behind him. As soon as he let him mount behind his back, the hunter took out his dagger and stabbed him in his back – “Thud!”

25 This translation is based mainly on the context. The idiom used here is *ma bqāš šī l-ḥīss dyāla*, literally “not even the slightest trace of her remained; she completely disappeared.” For the meaning of the noun *ḥīss/ḥāss* and the many expressions that use this term as a components, see DAF, III, 112–113; for its use in the above idiom see meaning 5.

26 This name could be related to the feminine form of the CA word *šābil*, which means “lush, beautiful” and seems to fit the context here. For this CA term see Corriente, DAE, 581. *Lisān al-ʕarab*, Vol. VIII, 16 gives the same meaning of the CA adjective شابل, when describing a youth. According to de Prémare, DAF, VII, 24, 25, in MA the women’s adjective *šābla* means, “blanche et bien en chair (femme),” and the noun *šābəl* is a poetic term which occurs in “dans les évocations du corps féminin, l’alose est souvent utilisée comme métaphore de la cuisse.”

27 The speed of this camel makes it a magical animal and enhances the magical atmosphere of the story. This kind of description of speed is very common in folktales: for an example see Légy (1926), 139–142, tale no. XXXI, “Chouiter ou le septième frère,” in which the speed of the horse of the Afrit is described, “en une minute, il fait la marche de huit jours et, en une semaine, la marche d’une année.”

He rolled him away and he overtook his friend – he overtook his friend. The hunter had a house on the way, when they were almost at the city. When the hunter was about to enter his house, he told him, “And goodbye to you. But one last thing: my payment. [Then] goodbye to you ...” He answered, “Of course.”

When [the rich man] entered the city, there was a cook shop – someone had a cook shop. He was selling animals’ heads, minced meat, meat, odds and ends. When the cook [saw him] coming on that she-camel, he detained him, and asked, “How much do you want for this camel and all that is on it?”²⁸ He looked at him and said [to himself], “I do not have anywhere to put this camel. It will be good if I sell it. What do I need this camel for? What do I need it for? I do not have anywhere to put it. I will sell it to him.” He [the cook] asked him, “How much for the she-camel and all that is on it?” He told him, “Thus much.” He replied, “Deal!” He said, “You, wife, [step down.]” He [the cook] told him, “I purchased from you the she-camel and all that is on it.”

“Mine, not yours!”

“Mine, not yours!”

People gathered. The officers of the *māxzən*²⁹ gathered to watch. They took the men up to the *māxzən*. “He asked you for the she-camel and all on it. You agreed and asked him for thus much. He paid you. He can take the camel and all that is on it.” He took the camel; he took the woman. The *māxzən* had spoken.

He [the rich man] went back to the hunter. He told him, “This is what has happened to me.” He told him, “Let’s go!” They went to the cook. They arrived. There were [animal] heads lying around. He seized his [the cook’s] ear with one hand, and one of the heads with the other hand, and asked him, “How much is the head, O owner of heads? How much is the head, O owner of heads?” He told him, “Thus much.” he replied, “I purchase it from you. Put your head down.” “Help! He is going to cut my head off! Help!” People came. The *māxzən* officers came, took them up to the *māxzən*. They said, “How could this one sell his head!” He [the hunter] replied, “And how could this one sell his wife! You sentenced she be taken, so cut off his head too!” And he told him, “Put your neck down, put your head down. Be careful, I do not want to leave any piece of your head on your body, so your body will remain entire.” “O help! O help!

28 The sentence here is *ǰ-ǰəmla u ma ǰǰəmməl*. The cook uses two phonetically similar verbs, one of them with its proper semantic value, as if they were the same term: he wants to confuse the protagonist. He would pronounce these two words very quickly to make them sound the same, first saying *ǰməl*, “camel” and then *ǰəmməl*, which means “acheter en gros, par grosse quantités, en bloc” (see DAF, II, 232–233). Through this ruse, he hopes to keep both the camel and the woman.

29 For more on this subject see p. 80.

Sir, I will give you back the she-camel, I will give you back the woman. Take the shop and take everything. Only spare me!" Then he said, "Are you sure?" He gave him back the camel, he gave him back the woman. [The hunter] took the shop from him and gave it to the rich man saying, "Here is your wife, here is your she-camel too. Sell it or do whatever you want with it."

Măḥmūd the Rich Man³⁰

Măḥmūd the wealthy owns much merchandise: a lot of cows, a lot of sheep, a lot of land, a lot of horses, mares – all kinds of things without limit. He lives with his wife. Once he suddenly addressed³¹ her and said to her, “O my wife!”³² She replied, “Yes, O man?” He told her, “I am going to get married.”³³ She asked him, “Why are you going to get married?” He told her, “We, now, God has given us good things. God has given us many riches: sheep, land, cows, fields, houses, and so on – sooner or later³⁴ God will put an end to our day.³⁵ The *māxzən*

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- 30 A variant of this tale narrated by a woman named “Fatīma Chelḥa,” is in Légy (1926), 181–182, tale no. XLVI, “Histoire du vieux *‘aref* ou *‘akel*,” in which the protagonist is a wise old man sold by his children to the king, rather than a young boy. This variant parallels only the episode’s beginning, with the king’s solicitation of the protagonist’s advice. For the latter tale-type see Aarne and Thompson (1961), 182, “513C, *The Son of the Hunter*.” [King assigns tasks: one present provoked demands for another that must be acquired.]
- 31 The immediate context requires the meaning of the verb *qām* to be “se dresser.” See DAF, x, 462, where this verb is followed by the preposition *ʕla* and *b-*; but no examples are given that include the preposition *f-* as used by the narrator here.
- 32 Despite the fact that the woman plays a crucial role in this tale (at least at the beginning of the story), she remains nameless. The tendency of a male narrator to suppress the names of female characters in a story has a socio-cultural basis, for which see, for example n. 170, pp. 371–372 and pp. 49–51, for commentary and bibliography.
- 33 The introduction to this tale, which deals with a rich man with no children who attempts to get offspring with the help of a magician or a wise man, is typical of Moroccan Jewish and Muslim folktale introductions: see for example Légy (1926), 24–29 (esp. 24), tale no. iv, “Histoire de Moulay Moḥammed el-Anḥach (Monseigneur Le Serpent),” and 52–55 (esp. 52), tale no. x, “Histoire de la jeune fille à la tête et à la peau d’âne”; El Fasi and Dermenghem (1975), 139–152 (esp. 139), the tale “Le langage des oiseaux”; and de Larrea Palacín (1952), 38–40, tale no. 9, “El mal sino.”
- 34 The time expression used here is *ǧādda bāʕdu*, which de Prémare, DAF, ix, 339 translates “aux calendes grecques.”
- 35 The idiom *yʕīb ʔāh l-āfāʕ* is a euphemism for MWT “to die.” The term *ʔāfāt* is mentioned in de Prémare, DAF, i, 57 as “accident fâcheux, incident, malheur qui frappe; avarie”; but de Prémare gives no instance of this expression or any other expression using this term with the meaning of “to die.” In ADs in general, figurative expressions are the most common euphemistic device for such topics as death, as in the present case. For some examples of euphemisms related to death in Maghrebin dialects see Marçais (1953), 352–353. In Levantine dialects see Farghal (2007), 70–71.

and the people will come and take all those things that we have gathered and have made, and nothing will remain. I would like to have children.” She told him, “Wait. You must be patient with me now for one year, and if God does not provide for one year, then I will give you permission to get married for your own benefit.”³⁶ He answered her, “Very well.”

2 She began inquiring and continued inquiring. They brought her – because she was very rich – they brought her people in need, and to each one she would offer something different. To each one she would offer something different. These people came to her³⁷ and she asked counsel of them on what to do to become pregnant with this She went to an old woman,³⁸ an old wise woman, wise, a wise woman. She told her, “You have to go to a certain man in such-and-such a place, to a man; in other words, to an old man. You go to him, and he is going to tell you what you should do.” She heard that verdict from the woman. When the gentleman, her husband, came, she told him, “We have to go to a man in such-and-such a place.” He answered her, “Okay. Fine. Here is the horse.” They mounted the horse and prepared to ride. They mounted two slaves with them, and she went to him [the old man].

3 When she got to him, he told her, “Your matter is imminent, your case is near solution.” She replied, “I don’t understand.” He answered her, “Concerning the merchant Māḥmūd ...” – This is Art! He did not know, and had never known her; and yet pronounced³⁹ her husband’s name! – He told her, “You have to go to the market; both of you have to go to the market.” The merchant Māḥmūd is famous. He is an exalted personage. And yet he must go to the market to buy an

36 Genesis 16:1–2: וְשָׂרַי אֵשֶׁת אַבְרָם לֹא יָלְדָהּ לוֹ וְלֵהּ שִׁפְחָהּ מִצְרַיִת וְשִׁמְהָ הָגָר: 2 וְתֹאמַר שְׂרַי אֶל-אַבְרָם: “Sarai, Abram’s wife, had borne him no children. She had an Egyptian maidservant whose name was Hagar. And Sarai said to Abram, ‘Look, the LORD has kept me from bearing. Consort with my maid; perhaps I shall have a son through her.’ And Abram heeded Sarai’s request.” The quotation of this Biblical passage follows the JPS Hebrew-English Tanakh (1999), 27.

37 The narrator uses here the verb *kāyḏārku* + *ʕliha*. This is a common verb in Moroccan Arabic (see DAF, IV, 264–265), but its combination with the preposition *ʕla* is not widely heard.

38 Consistent with the role played by this character, the narrator chose *mra kbīra*, lit. “old woman,” which has a more positive connotation of wisdom and experience than the semantically equivalent *ʕāwwəz* “old woman,” discussed in the commentary p. 55.

39 The suggested meaning “to pronounce” here for the common MA term *ʕməl* once more demonstrates the polysemia of this verb. It might be literally translated as “to put, to write.”

apple.⁴⁰ He and his wife must share an apple! – He [the old man] told her, “And after you buy the apple, you must split it. You eat one half, and he must eat the other half while being watched by the people who are in the market. You! Both of you must eat an apple. You must eat an apple in the market.” – How [can] a man who is rich, who is wealthy, with such known character – [how can] such a man [do this]! – And they did this. So she took her husband and told him, “We have to do what is said.” He told her, “Very well. We will do it.”

They went to the market. As soon as they had entered, people stared at them. 4
Oh, he was like a king! – opulence, wealth, abundance They approached the merchant of apples. They bought one apple and they divided it in the market, [with a multitude of people] coming up and going down, coming and going. The wealthy Māḥmūd was buying a single apple in the market! He has plenty of apples, he owns plenty of fruits, and he is eating in the market! They ate it.

Very soon⁴¹ God made her pregnancy easily fulfilled.⁴² She gave birth to a 5
girl. Māḥmūd the rich invited people, young and old, and he celebrated the name day of birth.⁴³ No one could equal it, no one could do anything equal; with food and drink and all good things. The second year came, and she gave birth to another girl. The third year came, and she gave birth to a third girl. The

40 In this context the apple, as in many other Moroccan and Arab folktales, is a symbol for fecundity: see for example the commentary in El Fasi and Dermenghem (1975), 152–153 and El Fasi (2000), 244–249 (esp. 244), “Les pommes de la fécondité,” where the apple is called *taffāh laḥbala*; and the tale “Choumicha شوميشة” in Thay Thay Rhozali (2000a), 83–92 for the MA version and 75–81 for the French translation; *ibid.* 177–187 the tale “Lounja لونجة,” for the MA version and 133–138 for the French translation; and for a summary *idem* (2000b), 59. The motif of the apple as ‘Fruit of Fecundity’ also occurs in some Moroccan and Maghrebin tales: see for example Laābi (2007), 11–24 “La pomme de fécondité”; and Lacoste-Dujardin (2010), 157–163 (esp. 163, n. 16, 164–165), the tale “Le fils du sultan et le chien des chrétiens.” For this motif in folk traditions of the Arab World in general see El-Shamy (1995), 28: “*Magic Apple Produces Fecundity D1347.1*.” For this tale-type in general see Aarne and Thompson (1961), 237, “675*, *Birth of Child from Eating Apple*.”

41 The expression *ma dāmaḥ kda āw kda* uses the indefinite particle referring to time, which means here “tant et tant.” For a detailed discussion of the meaning of *kda* and *kāda*, which can apply to objects, persons, and time, see DAF, x, 535–356.

42 This idiom is *ḡāb ḡāh ḡ-ḡīsīr*. For this expression and other idioms formed with this verb, see DAF, XII, 316 under *tīsīr*. This common folktale event refers to the fecundity of the apple, its potency in producing pregnancy, and the fact that after eating the fruit a miraculous birth occurs. On this see Lacoste-Dujardin (1999), 100, and n. 40 above. For this motif see Aarne and Thompson (1961), 100, “*T548.1, Child born in answer to prayer*.”

43 See p. 76.

fourth year came, and she gave birth to a fourth girl, and she continued until she had nine⁴⁴ girls.

6 Māḥmūd the wealthy had nine girls. He said, “Thank God! He who has bestowed upon us this girl. He will give us a boy.”⁴⁵ The tenth given was a boy. She gave birth to a boy. Oh! Oh, such joy! And such music! And such celebrations! And so many people eating and drinking! – a multitude of people.⁴⁶

7 The boy continued to grow, till he became nine years old. As soon as he became nine, Māḥmūd the rich lost everything. He was left with nothing, no property, nothing. He sold the first land. He sold the first horse. He sold the mares. He sold the cows. He sold the sheep. He sold one thing and another. He was left with nothing. The boy had turned nine years old.

8 One night he said to her, “Woman!” She answered, “Yes?” He said to her, “Yesterday we had nothing [no children], and we had a superabundance of goods, much land, plenty of cows, and this and that and everything was available. And now we are left with nothing, not even breakfast. I own nothing. I am going

44 The number here may be euphemistic. In stating the number of his children, the father tries to protect them from the Evil Eye with the number “nine,” which shows gratitude to God and the father’s submission to His power: even if God has bestowed him with only daughters, the father expresses happiness. So God rewards him with his tenth and last child, a boy. The term “nine” in MA is *təsʕūd*, which literally means “to be happy.” For the word “nine” in MA, and other numerological euphemisms, see Marçais (1953) and Aguadé (2010), 275–282.

45 This demonstrates the protagonist’s resignation to God, the only Powerful, for giving him only daughters, though his most ardent desire is for a son. Here again is expressed the surrounding society’s preference for boys over girls. In the present tale, the boy carries the plot line – which is consistent with the cultural importance of male offspring in perpetuating the family name whereas girls have the secondary role of keeping the family together through affection and aid. Traditional Moroccan society prefers and even adores male offspring. On this gender inequality in Maghreb and Moroccan society see Lacoste-Dujardin (1987), 127–158 and the bibliographical references there; Naamane-Guessous (1997), 16–18; Sadiqi (2003), 59 (who pointed out that “the first boy is usually referred to as *waly l-ʕahd* ‘Crown Prince,’ that is, the one who will perpetuate the family’s name”); and for Moroccan folktales, Thay Thay Rhozali (2000b), 81.

46 Westermarck (1968b), 374. Sadiqi (2003), 58–59 comments, “According to the Moroccan tradition, if a woman gives birth to a boy, the baby is welcomed by women’s *ʕu-ʕu*’s ‘cries of joy’ to express the family’s happiness: three *ʕu-ʕu*’s for a boy and only one or, preferably none, for a girl. This immediately establishes a gender hierarchy: boys are welcomed to this world; girls are not.” The woman narrator said that this was also the case for her Jewish neighbors.

to beg.”⁴⁷ She replied, “God gave it to you and God has taken it from you.⁴⁸ All things are the Lord’s!”⁴⁹

He said to her, “We can’t remain hungry!” She asked him, “What are you going to do?” He told her, “I am going to take one girl of my children and go out to the market and sell her.” She replied, “Oh, oh! No one has ever done such a deed!” He told her, “No, this is our life’s fate. Each and everyone is led to stumble, to stumble in life. And now I am going to take one of the girls out to sell her.” She asked him, “Which one are you going to sell, O fortunate one?” He answered her, “I am going to wake up and take the first one that I come across. I will take her hand and lead her out to the market.”⁵⁰

The nine year-old boy was listening to his father. Then she said to him, “God forbid that we commit such a thing! However, we were very rich, and now we have lost everything. There was so much land, so many houses, so many cows, so many sheep, so many gardens and such, and everything has vanished, everything has vanished.” The boy heard all that with alert ears, with his ears and his mind. And he passed the night awake, waiting for a new day to break. As soon as the new day broke, he [Māḥmūd] rose, he stood up. The boy waited for his father to wake up. As soon as he [Māḥmūd] woke up and saw, he [the

47 The exact words of the narrator here are: *āna māšī nāsfa*. Some lines below the narrator corrected himself, saying “(the wealthy Māḥmūd) is going to take one of his girls out to the market and sell her.”

48 See Job 1:21: *וַיֹּאמֶר עָרָם יָצִיתִי יִצְאֹתִי מִבֶּטֶן אִמִּי וְעָרָם אָשׁוּב שָׁמָּה יְהוָה נָתַן וְיְהוָה לָקַח וְיְהִי שָׁם יְהוָה* *מְבָרָךְ* “He said, ‘Naked came I out of my mother’s womb, and naked shall I return there; the LORD has given, and the LORD has taken away; blessed be the name of the LORD.’” This same expression is used in the Iraqi tale no. 35, “The Maternal-Aunt,” in El-Shamy (1999), 279–285 (esp. 280, 398 n. 686). The quotation of this Biblical passage follows the JPS Hebrew-English Tanakh (1999), 1658.

49 Deuteronomy 10:14: *הֲלוֹ לַיהוָה אֱלֹהֵי יִשְׂרָאֵל הַשָּׁמַיִם וְשָׁמַיִם הַשָּׁמַיִם הָאֲרֶזֶץ וְכָל-אֲשֶׁר-בָּהּ* “Mark, the heavens to their uttermost reaches- (*c-c Lit.* ‘and the heavens of heavens’) belong to the LORD your God, the earth and all that is on it!” The quotation of this Biblical passage follows the JPS Hebrew-English Tanakh (1999), 398.

50 Because the wealthy man loses everything, he decides he must sell one of his children. This circumstance occurs in other folktales and provides the motivation for the narrative to be carried to a new place and time. See for example the beginning of the tale no. 38, “Le petit pois magique” in Frobenius, translated into French by Fetta (1997), 194–200 (esp. 194). For the same motif in Moroccan Jewish folktales see de Larrea Palacín (1953), 82–84 (esp. 82), tale no. 111 “El sino bueno”; and Noy (1966), 82–85 (esp. 82), tale no. 24, “The Poor Woman who Became a Princess.” In the latter tale, a daughter who was sold disguises herself as a man and subsequently is appointed judge and seated at the right hand of the king. At first her position in the palace parallels that of the young boy in the present tale; but then she reveals herself and becomes a princess.

boy] told him, “O, my father, good morning, O father!” He kissed him, he kissed his hands and his ears,⁵¹ and told him, “O father, do not take my sister! Do not take any of them. You said that you are going to sell my sister. I am the one. Sell me!”⁵² He told him, “By God, by God, my dear! You are the only boy I have. How can I sell *you*?” He replied, “Do not sell anyone but me. Sell me!” He told him, “Very well!” He took his hand and took him to the market, to a place where slaves were sold, boys, boys.

11 They were standing. While they were standing, a vizier of the Sultan of the land was looking for a young boy [to buy]. The vizier was searching. [The boy] said to his father, “O father!” He answered him, “Yes, O my son.” He told him, “That is the vizier: there he is, the vizier of the Sultan of our land. And now he has come searching. He wants to buy a boy.⁵³ But I would like to have him buy me. Call him!” He asked him, “O my son, when I call him, and he comes and asks how much, how much should I ask from him?” He told him, “My price should equal my weight in gold.⁵⁴ My weight equals the same weight in gold. Gold has to be put on one scale-tray and myself on the other scale-tray. When the gold equals my weight, the King can take me. Concerning me: O my father, please beg that God be pleased with me.⁵⁵ Goodbye!” He [Māḥmūd] called him, “O,

51 This salutation seems to be a common as an expression of respect and worship. Mouliéras (1899), 162–163 narrates the birth legend of the Muslim northern saint and religious authority Mūlāy ʕĀbd əs-Slām (see pp. 68–69) thus: “When Mūlāy ʕĀbd əs-Slām was a newborn, myriads of bees flying from the four corners of the horizon descended upon him. At this moment ʕĀbd-el-Qāder el-Žilāni [the illustrious Muslim saint, born in el-Žilāni, near Baghdad: 1078–1167 B.C.] appeared at the threshold, reassured Mūlāy ʕĀbd əs-Slām’s mother, *put away* the black swarm of insects, and kissed the child’s eyes, forehead, ears, and mouth. Then he addressed the people around him saying, ‘My place is not here anymore; someone greater than I has just been delivered in Morocco. This boy is Mūlāy ʕĀbd əs-Slām. He will be the glory of Islam and of the world!’”

52 Even if there is no definite information concerning the enslavement of children sold by their families (see Brunschvig [1960], 25, see n. 53 below), the context here tends to confirm that such things actually occurred.

53 The term used here is CA *ḡulām*, which literally means “boy.” However, the actual meaning is instead “slave” rather than just “boy.” Thus the usage of *ḡulām* in this context is euphemistic. On this see Brunschvig (1960), 25.

54 See El Fasi (2000), 158–168 (esp. 160), “La petite chatte,” where the Sultan asks for the weight of his daughter in gold as her dowry. This same stylistic expression is used in Kabylian tales: see Spitta-Bey (1883), 30–42 (esp. 33), tale no. III, “Histoire de la dame des arabes Jasmin”; and Frobenius translated by Fetta (1998), 5–24 (esp. 14), tale no. 41, “L’homme racheté reconnaissant.”

55 This is a very common expression used when asking for a blessing from God or from parents, *rġa + ʕla* (+pronominal suffix). See DAF, V, 134 under meaning 4.

Ṣī⁵⁶ Vizier!” He came to him. He asked him, “Are you looking for a boy?” He answered, “Yes.” He told him, “I have one here!” As soon as he came close to that young boy, a handsome, beautiful youth, he asked [Māḥmūd], “How much does he cost?” He told him, “His weight equals gold. His weight in gold.” He told him, “I am going to consult [with the Sultan]. Do not sell him till I come back.” He replied, “Very well.” He left.

The vizier left and went to the Sultan. He told him, “I found a boy. There isn’t anyone like him. Such a boy!” He told him, “I almost lost my reason while gazing at that youth.⁵⁷ And now ... [his seller] told me his price is his weight in gold. The boy must be put on one scale-tray and the gold on the opposite scale-tray, till the weight of gold equals the boy’s.” He [the Sultan] told him, “Go and bring him! Go bring him!” The vizier went flying to that man [Māḥmūd] and said to him, “He has been purchased from you. Let’s go!” He [the boy] asked him, “Where to?” He replied, “To the palace, to the King.” He came before the King. The King looked at him. “Take him to the upper floor.” “Yes, at once.” He weighed him. He gave him the scale: he made him sit on one scale and they started⁵⁸ piling gold onto the other scale till the amount of gold was the same as his weight. His father took sufficient gold for him and for his family, and the boy remained in the King’s house.

The first day, the second day, the third day went by. A tribe came to offer presents, coming with noise and hubbub.⁵⁹ They were going to present a gift to the King. What were they going to offer the King? They brought him a horse that drinks water only from a fountain and to which they gave his ration of barley in a sack.⁶⁰ And it would take that horse only two hours, for example, to

56 This is a shortened form of *sīdi*, which itself is a shortened form of *ṣḥyād*, and thus another variation of the most typical of Moroccan honorific titles. It is used as an epithet for the Prophet Mūḥāmmād and for saints, and is applied to *Ṣūrfā* or old men in general. Both *sīdi* and *sī* mean “Sir, Lord etc.” For the different semantic nuances of these two terms see DAF, VI, 255–257. On this title see the recent commentary by Herrero (2008), 93–103 (esp. 99 and 101).

57 This sentence might have pedophilic connotations: cf. El-Shamy (1999), 377 n. 286.

58 *sāru* is from the root *sār*, meaning “... se mettre à [= *sār*, voir rac. SYR III سير] ... se mettre et et continuer (à faire telle ou telle chose).” See DAF, VIII, 147 under meaning 4; and SYR III: *sār* in DAF, VI, 260.

59 This term seems the B word of the pair *hdīr* and *ndīr*. The context suggests that these two words share the same semantic field, “noise, hubbub.” This term also occurs in a religious context with the meaning, according to de Prémare, DAF, XI, 334, of “l’avertisseur, le prophète qui met en garde contre le châtement / contre les dangers du péché [Co].”

60 In a Moroccan tale in Légy (1926), 89–93 (esp. 89), tale no. XX, “Le fils du roi et la fille du nomade,” the horse of the king’s son is said to drink only from fountains. Compare this to

make a journey of one or two days Then they gave it as a present to him [the Sultan]. He brought it near to him. And he rewarded the people of the tribe that had brought him the gift; he compensated them with a present. And they left.

- 14 He called him: “Boy!” He answered, “Yes, Lord?” He told him, “Mount this horse!” The King said, “We have to see if this boy, that weighs like gold, which has been weighed with gold—we must see if he is worth it,⁶¹ if he can prove his worth.”⁶² – We humans are equal. However God has bestowed upon each differently: talent, thought, mind. – He told him, “Mount this horse, and report to me whether the horse is good or bad.” The King stared at the boy, and the boy struck the ground – “Thump!” – and mounted the horse. He [the King] said, “Oh, oh, oh! Such a boy!” He [the boy] mounted and dismounted the horse once, and again [...].

He [the King] asked him, “What do you have to say about this horse? What do you judge about this horse?”

He told him, “O Commander of the Faithful! It is a horse but jumped like a donkey.”

“Really?!”

He answered, “Yes.”

The Sultan summoned the people who had brought that donkey in order to check that boy, that boy, if he was just talking: if he really knew, or if he was just pretending. They sent for the owner of the horse: “Where did you get the horse from? Where did you bring it from? Which mare gave birth to it?”

He replied, “O Commander of the Faithful! I had a certain donkey, an exalted⁶³ donkey. So then, we did not know – a horse was here and a mare was there, and this is what God gave!”⁶⁴

the horse of the protagonist in the Kabylia tale “Amor Ceqqa” in Lacoste-Dujardin (2010), 63–72 (esp. 72), which is described as “... cheval qui y vécut sans être attaché, ne mangeant que du blé et des dattes, et ne buvant que du lait de chamelle.”

61 The narrator’s words here are: *xāššna nčūfu n-nāṭīža dyālu šən ḥīyya*. In a variant of this tale in Légy (1926), 181–182, tale no. XLVI, “Histoire du vieux ‘aref ou ‘akel,” the king has the same purpose in asking the opinion of the old man about a mare offered to him as a present.

62 The narrator said: *š yčūn*.

63 The idiom here, *wāḥ ššān kbīr*, equals the CA رفيع الشأن / عظيم “high-ranking etc.” For the term *šān* and its meaning and many idiomatic usages in Moroccan Arabic see DAF, VII, 8–9.

64 This translation corresponds exactly to the Arabic idiom *šāy žāb ṇāḥ ḥūwwa ḥāda*. The subject of *hybrid animals* is the main theme in tale no. 12, “Le propriétaire de l’ânesse et celui de la chamelle,” recorded by Leguil in 1949 at Ait Teghdouine, and tale no. 13, “Le propriétaire de la vache et celui de la jument,” also recorded by Leguil in 1950 at Ait

[The King bid him], “Goodbye!” [and] said, “Oh, oh, oh! This boy! He has understanding, he has a good mind, he has talent.”

Eight days passed, and another tribe came with presents. What present are they going to give? They are going to give a bird, which repeats and speaks quietly⁶⁵ in every language, in the languages of all the countries of the entire world. He [the King] said, “Boy!” He replied, “Yes?” He told him, “Check this bird. What [languages] does he understand?” The boy spoke to it in a foreign language, and it answered him. He spoke to it in a different language: it answered him, it answered him in Arabic, it answered him. He told him, “O Commander of the Faithful! Nowhere does anyone have a bird like this! No other sultan has it. But it has been brooded by a hen. A chicken has brooded him.” The Sultan said, “How strange! This bird speaks different languages, Arabic and non-Arabic. How could it be that he was brooded by a chicken! This is not possible!”

He summoned the people who had brought the bird. After summoning them, they [the King’s servants] brought it. “Where did you bring this bird from? Where did you bring it from? Where did you buy it?” [One of them] told him, “O *Sīdī*, I did not buy it, and I did not bring it. I am a hunter. I was hunting and I saw a bird flying in the sky. I shot at it. When I shot it, it fell down onto a branch. He fell from it. In that branch there was a nest, and this bird had been in that nest. He fell from that branch. I took it. I could not⁶⁶ sacrifice it or sell it. I took it and gave it to the chicken. I put it with the chicken to brood him, and to protect him from cold and such things.” And he continued, “And here I brought it to you, O Commander of the Faithful. I am only a hunter. I shot in the sky. The bullet fell in the branch and a bird fell. I gave it to the chicken and it brooded it [...]” He [the King] said to him, “Fine, Goodbye.” He rewarded him, and he left.

Teghdouine: see Leguil (2000), 27–29 and 30–35. These two tales and the present passage show that nonsense comes from dishonesty, and that the true nature of things must be revealed.

65 The term used here is (y)*sammāl*, which is not attested in MA. This term could be related to the CA expression *سمتل بالتقول* / *سمتل بالتقول* meaning “hablar con dulzura” (see Corriente, DAE, 558). Another possibility is to read *basmāl* instead of *sammāl*: the first consonant /b-/ might have been dropped because it is preceded by the conjuncton *u-*. The verb *basmāl* means “to pronounce the formula *b-ism allāh* ‘in the name of God.’” For this verb and its derived noun and participle see DAF, I, 233–234. However, this meaning does not fit the context because the complement of the verb is *b-āyyi lūga* “with every language.” Moreover, the verb used by the narrator is in the D stem.

66 The Arabic idiom used here is *ma qāl li šī šāqli*, which literally means, “my mind did not tell me.”

- 17 Fifteen days passed by and a tribe came to give a present [to the King], with *l-ǧyūt*⁶⁷ and drums, noise and hubbub. So many people were coming! They were coming with a palanquin⁶⁸ to give a present to the Sultan. When they gave him the present, it turned out to be a girl,⁶⁹ learned in science, handsome,

67 This term is the plural of *ǧāyṭa*, which DMA, 48 defines as a “type of Moroccan oboe with holes in place of keys.” De Prémare, DAF, IX, 454: “instrument de musique à anche; sorte de hautbois ou de clarinette etc.” De Prémare states that this term, in combination with *t-tbəl*, means “en grande pompe.” The example given by de Prémare is, “*ja b ət-tbəl ul-ǧēṭa* ‘il est venu en grande pompe, au vu et au su de tous [Br] [comp. provençal tambourin et galuber]’ [Co]” (DAF, IX, 454). De Prémare’s definition is confirmed by the context here. Concerning this musical instrument and its use in wedding ceremonies see Westermarck (1921), 199–200.

68 The original term used here is *l-būža* “wooden box with a pointed roof, in which the *virgin* bride is carried to her husband.” This now almost archaic term in the Chaouen dialect has been replaced by its synonym *šammāšyya*, normally used in Tangiers. Comparing both terms Rackow (1958), 11 comments that, “... also in erster Linie die Brautsänfte, die überall im Norden Marokkos mit dem klassischen Wort *šammāriya* oder als *qōbba* (Fes) belegt ist. Einzig und allein in der Stadt Tetuan heißt die Sänfte بوجة *būža* (pl. بواج *bwāž*), meistens *būža* ausgesprochen.” For the discussion on the etymology of this term see Rackow (1958), 11, n. 3, who suggests the term originates in the Hindustani Nepali *bōghā* “Last, Ladung.” He adds that this term was common in Andalusī Arabic as well. Corriente (1988), 23 and idem (1997), 70 defines the Andalusī Arabic root *{BWJ} as “bier, litter, Chariot.” In a written communication Corriente adds that “Dozy (1927), vol. 1, 125 lo da como derivado del ‘hindostani بوجا palanquín’ pero según McGregor (1993), 743 *būcā* significa ‘earless; incomplete ... maimed; without bangles,’ y tampoco encuentro nada apropiado en persa, que debiera haberlo transmitido hacia occidente. Por eso dije en mi *Dictionary* ‘perhaps < L *pōdium*,’ lo que es aceptable fonética y semánticamente.” The term here is used in a different context, but its technical usage might have an Andalusī origin. On the term *šammāšyya* see Marchand (1905), 467–468, and Michaux-Bellaire (1911), 131, n. 1. For a detailed definition of this term and a description of this wedding ritual, and the morning after the nuptial night, in Tangiers, which could be applied to Chaouen, see Westermarck (1921), 148, n. 2–149, 199–200, 240, 281, 284, 301. And for the detailed semantic definition of the term see Marçais (1911), 391. For a precise and detailed description of the Tetuani palanquin / Brautsänfte see Rackow (1958), Tafel x.

69 This kind of gift to the Sultan seems to have been common in Morocco. See for example the tale in the collection of “Bou-Louan” by Chimenti (1965), 21–27 (esp. 22). In the variant of this tale in Légy (1926), 181–182 (esp. 182), tale no. XLVI, “Histoire du vieux *šaref* ou *akel*,” the king requests the opinion of the wise old man about his young and beautiful future bride, and the wise old man confesses the truth: “Certes, cette jeune fille est d’une grande beauté, et tu ne pouvais mieux choisir. Mais sa mère, au temps de sa jeunesse, est descendue dans la rue (s’est prostituée).” No doubt this must have been the actual reason in the present tale too, rather than the expressed one, which seems too weak. This might be a case of result of self-censorship by the narrator, since his audience was the female interviewer.

and well-mannered. They gave her to him, put her near him. She came to the King. He called the boy, “O, boy!” He replied, “Yes?” He told him, “See this! Who is she? What is she?” The boy took her hand. The palace had a dias.⁷⁰ He put his hand in hers and they started to go up to him [the Sultan]. He told him, “O Commander of the Faithful! This girl has science, but her father and mother are old.” [The King replied,] “Really!” Everyone had left. They called back the people who had brought her. [One of them] said, “O *Sīdi*, her father and her mother are decrepit. They became old, ancient, and stopped working, and they did not go anywhere. And she [the girl] was left at home. And they said that she must be only with the Commander of the Faithful, with the King ...” He told them, “Very well.” and so on.

The Sultan kept the boy near him. When the time to give a judgement came, after the accuser or the plaintiff had spoken, the boy would tell him, “O Commander of the Faithful! This one is an oppressor ... That one stole ...” – and so forth. 18

The King had a Jewish vizier. His First Vizier was Jewish. This Jew felt furious and outraged. The King began to ignore him. The King began to ignore the Vizier: he stopped consulting him regarding right and wrong. The boy meant everything. He became everything. He was the Palace; he was everything. The Jew became angry and bitter. 19

[One day the boy] was called by the king. The King entered a room in the palace and locked it [... with the boy inside]. “Boy!” [the King] said. “So you have told me all things. Now tell me: Who am I? What am I?” He replied, “O Commander of the Faithful! Do you want to kill me?” He answered, “O boy, there is no one who can kill you: only truth, the justice of the people. Tell me, who am I and what am I?” He told him, “Your people are happy with you, both the old and the young. And everything is well.” He [the King] asked him, “Then listen: What about my father and my mother and so forth?”⁷¹ He answered him, “No!” He told him, “Your father makes, sells *s-sfəng*⁷² in the Gate of the 20

70 The narrator uses the term *māṭla*, which might correspond to *māḍalla*, stated by de Prémare, DAF, VIII, 202 as meaning, “auvent de toile à l’entrée d’une tente d’apparat ... [Co].” The translation “dias” here fits the context. In ChA the phonem /t/ corresponds to the phonem /ḍ/ of CA: see Moscoso, DACH, 49.

71 The question above suggests the folktale motif, “woooz, *Nobility of character is due to descent (pedigree/origin/?ʕ! paternal descent/ḥasab, in-laws/nasab)*.”

72 DMA, 152 translates this word by the English “doughnut”; more adequate is its translation “sponge-fritters” by Westermarck (1968b), 166: DAF, VI, 116, “n. coll. [⟨ grec spóngos ‘éponge’ ⟩, n.u. *sfənja* beignets de pâte, en forme de couronne, frits dans l’huile bouillante [Co].” For more on the semantics of this term see Abu-Shams (2002), 167–168. This term

Spring,⁷³ and your mother sells bread in the Gate of the Market.”⁷⁴ “Oh! Oh! Oh! My mother sells bread in the Gate of the Market?” He replied, “Yes.” “And my father sells *s-sfənġ* in the Gate of the Spring?”⁷⁵ He replied, “Yes.”

- 21 He disguised himself and drew his sword. He burst upon his birth mother. He told her, “By God! If you do not tell me the truth I will do you in!”⁷⁶ She replied, “Be calm,⁷⁷ O Prince! Prince, we were neighbors of your [adoptive] father and mother. And the King could not have boys, and his wife came to me and told me. And she brought me gold, and said, ‘If you give birth to a son and I give birth to a girl, I will give you my daughter and you will give me your son.’⁷⁸ I told

has been left untranslated here because of its sociocultural background and nuances. The profession of *sfənġi/šfənġi* was normally held by poor men.

- 73 See the next footnote. The name here is *l-bāb d-əl-ʕāyn*, lit. “The Spring Gate.” This attests to the importance of water in Chaouen. See Pp. 69–70.
- 74 In this study proper names have generally been left untranslated because each proper name or toponym usually has its own cultural, historical, philological, and literary context apart from its literal meaning. However here *Bāb-əs-Sūq* and *Bāb d-əl-ʕāyn* have been translated because they have direct relevance to the meaning of the story. One of the first – and few – explorers of the city, Harris (1889), 20, mentioned *Bāb-əs-Sūq* as the principal gate of the town. Concerning this gate and the mosque and shrines near it see Mouliéras (1899), 131; Hoenerbach and Kolenda (1973), 31, 38–39, and idem (1975), 109, n. 4, 124–125, 126, 127.
- 75 A similar answer is given by a wise old man in the variant of this tale related by Légy (1926), 181–182, tale no. XLVI, “Histoire du vieux ‘aref ou ‘akel.” The king heard the wise man revealing the truth about his origin: “Mais que peut donner le fils d’une boulangère et d’un rôtisseur de mouton, si ce n’est du pain et de la viande rôtie?” A similar answer is also given concerning the rule and the origin of an usurper Sultan in the Kabylia tale no. 41, “L’homme racheté reconnaissant” in Frobenius translated by Fetta (1998), 5–24 (esp. 24): “... Sachez que le Sultan que vous voyez devant vous n’est qu’un usurpateur! Sa mère était revendeuse de galettes, et son père était boulanger.”
- 76 The expression used here is *īla ma nʕābbīġ f-yidd*.
- 77 The narrator’s words are: *ma hānani*. The narrator again tries to restore CA in a dialectal expression. There are two possible interpretations, both relating this expression to the verb *hān*: (1) If *hān* is interpreted as meaning “... traîner qqn. avec mépris / dédain, avoir du mépris pour qqn.; avilir / ravalier / humilier qqn.; faire honte à qqn., le dégrader [Co, Mer]” (see DAF, XII, 107), then the verb here must have been *ma dhūnni šī*, which translates, “do not humiliate me.” (2) If *hān* is interpreted as “... considérer comme aisé / non pénible” (see DAF, XII, 106–107), then the phrase can be translated as “take it easy, be calm.” However, this second option cannot properly explain the 1st person suffix attached to the verb. Thus the translation implied by (1), “do not humiliate me,” seems the best possible.
- 78 The wife of the king desperately needs a boy to be *waliy l-ʕahd* “Crown Prince.” See below how this petition and its fulfillment are crucial in the development of the plot: without

her, 'Very well! We made this promise to each other. She gave birth that same month – which is to say after eight days or so.' The King [repeating what he has heard] said, "That woman gave birth to a girl, and the other one gave birth to a boy." Because of the many servants and midwives⁷⁹ [in the palace], they could take away the girl, and bring the boy from the neighbor. The neighbor gave birth to a boy and the King's wife gave birth to a girl. She told him, "Your sister is drawing water for the people. She's drawing water, selling water." He exclaimed, "My sister is selling water!" She said, "Yes." – About his sister: She was that woman which the neighbor took, the girl born [to the King's wife]. And the King's wife took the boy.

The King went to the Jew, to the Vizier, and told him, "That boy! I hate him. Now I am going to kill him. But I have to scheme out how. How should I do him in?" Then the Vizier told him, "You don't know? Make a pit of very hot fire, and we will throw him into it and burn him to ashes.⁸⁰ This one beats everything!"⁸¹ The King called him [the boy] and told him, "I sentence you. I will burn you with fire." He answered, "O Commander of the Faithful!" He told him, "Kill me according to the Islamic religion and the canonical law of Islam. Kill me with a weapon, kill me with a club. God the Blessed and the Sublime has prohibited fire to Muslims. Who has given you this notion, that I shall be burnt by fire?"

22

the "Crown Prince" there will be no tale. In Morocco every boy is considered by his family as a *waliy l-sahd* "Crown Prince," and not solely in terms of kinship. (On the veneration of the male child in Moroccan society see n. 45 above). The motif of the king's wife who has not produced a male heir is common in Arab folktale tradition: see for example El-Shamy (1980), 121–122, tale n. 18, "When Azrael Laughed, Cried, and Felt Fear."

79 The word used is *ṣrāyif*, the plural of *ṣrīfā*. The semantic value of this term covers many areas; however the context here requires the translation given above, which is mentioned by de Prémare, DAF, IX, 78–79 as a possible fifth meaning option: "5. [péj.] matrone; mégère, garce [Co, Mer] etc." Another possible meaning mentioned by de Prémare also fits the context here: "3. vieille esclave de confiance, qui a la haute main sur le harem d'un haut personnage où elle est chargée de la surveillance de la discipline [Co, Br]." This term refers both to professional women who deal with quarrels between women or with cases of prostitution, as well as to those involved in weddings, births, and other ceremonies.

80 This is a common punishment in Maghrebin folktales. Death by fire is the worst possible death because it is believed that the bones are the seat of the soul, and that they therefore should not be destroyed. See El-Shamy (1995), 185 under "Fire" (such as "Ordeal by Fire H22r") and Lacoste-Dujardin (2010), 71 n. 13, 75, 106 n. 5. For interreligious rivalries and animosities, see motifs "V0351.1, *Interreligious rivalries*" and "K2287.3, *A Jew as villain*" in Aarne and Thompson (1961).

81 The idiom used here is *hāda wālu, hāda*, which literally means "this one is worth nothing, this one"

He replied, “The Vizier.” He told him, “The Vizier is a Jew, and his father is the Chief Rabbi⁸² of the Jews. And yet he sits with you here!” “Oh! The Vizier is a Jew, and his father is the Chief Rabbi of the Jews?” He told him, “Yes, O *Sīdi*.”

23 The King left and, though almost blinded with rage,⁸³ found his way straight to the Jew. He said to him, “What is your father!?” He answered him “[...]”. He told the boy, he told him, “I intended to burn you, to kill you. Now I have decided to kill the Jew. The Jew. I did not know that he was a Jew.” Though a Jew, he disguised himself in the cloak of a Muslim: he was a clandestine Jew. He ate with Jews, and prayed with Jews. His father was the Chief Rabbi of the Jews. He told [the boy], “He deserves fire!”

24 The Vizier fell into the pit of fire that he himself had fed. They burned him. After the Jew was burned, the king summoned his father, who was making *sfənǧ*. He summoned his mother, who was making bread. He brought them to the kingdom [palace]. The boy summoned his father who had sold him. He placed him with him in the palace. And the Jew died. And the Sultan was at peace. The boy became everything.⁸⁴

82 The original word here is *ḥāzzān*, following Mouliéras (1899), 143, In Chaouen this term refers to the “maître d’école israélite”; DMA, 251: “a rabbi.” DAF, III, 100 defines this term as “rabbīn, lettré juif, grand rabbīn.”

83 The idiom used is *ma lāyā ʕrāfši t-trīq*.

84 This same verdict is applied to Muslims in Jewish tales: see for example tale no. 5, “*El hajam y el rey*,” and no. 7, “*La reina infiel*,” in de Larrea Palacín (1952), 25–29 (esp. 29) and 30–32 (esp. 32); and tale no. 35, “*The Sherif who Was Burned by his Hatred of the Jews*,” in Noy (1966), 98–103. Moscoso, DACH, 239–240 records what typically has been said about Jews in Chaouen. See under the commentary about the Jewish Moroccan folktale heritage on pp. 41–42, and my commentary about the historical background of Jews in Chaouen, and their relations with Muslims on pp. 56, 80–82.

S-sayyid Bən l-Āsād l-Qūndi⁸⁵

Bən l-Āsād l-Qūndi. This is l-Āsād l-Qūndi from an Arab country. The father of the boy was a king. He was a king and he ruled – I mean firmly. Then his [l-Āsād l-Qūndi's] father died. He had a brother, whom he had made vizier. 1

And the boy [Bən l-Āsād l-Qūndi] was still young. The boy was still young. He could not be king. He was not ready to be king. His ideas were not big enough⁸⁶ to rule the kingdom. They appointed his [father's] brother: they appointed him [king]. 2

In his regnal anniversary,⁸⁷ he offered sacrifices on the day of the *ʕīd*. Al-Āsād l-Qūndi decided to come to him. When he barged in [his uncle] slapped him – “Smack!” He told him, “... And you barge in? What is this? You are only a boy and you dare to barge in without asking for permission!” He slapped him. 3

85 Here an actual historical figure – a self-exiled heroic individual and master of Qurʾānic recitation – is converted into a legendary, epic, and even fantasy character. The protagonist, Bən l-Āsād l-Qūndi (sometimes referred to by his full name, l-Mūʾīqdād Bən l-Āsād l-Qūndi) can be identified with the well-known Companion of the Prophet, al-Miqdād b. ʕAmr b. ʕaʕlaba al-Bahrāʕī, born in Kinda, who had to flee to Mecca after he had wounded a fellow-tribesman in the foot. In Mecca he was adopted by al-ʕAswad b. ʕAbd Yağūt al-Zuhri. It is reported that he was called al-Miqdād b. al-ʕAswad until Qurʾān, 33, 5 was revealed, legalizing adoption in Islam, whereupon he once more became known as the son of ʕAmr b. ʕaʕlaba. This all explains the names used by the narrator in the present tale, who shifted from al-ʕAswad to al-ʕAsad, a personal name which adds more heroic qualities to this protagonist, given that al-ʕAsad literally means “lion.” al-Miqdād is known for his heroic role as a fighter in all the campaigns launched during the Prophet’s lifetime and immediately after, and as one of the Prophet’s Muḥammad’s archers. In addition, he was known for his recitation of the Qurʾān. These two characteristics are found in the present protagonist but in a pagan folktale context. On this historical personage see DAF, x, 252, and Juynboll (1993), 32–33 and the bibliographical references there.

86 The narrator uses here *l-fikra kbīra*, literally “big thought.”

87 Since the time of Mūlāy al-Ḥasan (1893–1894) the regnal anniversary in Morocco has been celebrated by the day of *al-bayʕa*, when the *ʕulamāʕ* and notables of each town and tribe proclaim the day of *al-bayʕa*. The act of *al-bayʕa* is not modern or contemporary: its medieval character is revealed by the fact that the *ʕulamāʕ* and the notables take an oath of loyalty and fidelity in “the name of people,” to the sovereign. However, the modern *ʕīd al-ʕarṣ*, lit. “The Feast of the Throne,” was introduced in 1933 during the reign of the Sultan Sīdi Muḥammad b. Yūsef, and officialized in 1934. For more see Michaux-Bellaire (1991), 134, 135.

- 4 The boy went to his mother in tears and with a wounded heart. “What happened to you, my son?” He told her, “My uncle slapped me today. And now he may kill me. Certainly he will kill me. I cannot stay in this land. So now Mother, Goodbye. I am going to wander the world. I am going to find a land where I can live.”⁸⁸ “Oh, by God, my son! How can I endure this! You are the only one I have, and you will leave and will go wandering!” He told her, “I am not going to stay in this land because, O Mother, my uncle has slapped me on this feast day. It is likely that he will kill me!” ... Then she said, “Very well.” She filled a bag of gold for him, and she saddled a horse for him and [provided] all necessities. “May God be pleased with you! Journey safely!”
- 5 Al-Āsād l-Qūndi proceeded until he arrived at a village. [They] stared at him. Such a saddle! And such a horse! And he was just a young boy! ... He asked them, “Is there anyone here who will act in the cause of God and teach me and train me in swordsmanship? I can supply him with food, drink, and clothing. He has only to house me, train me in swordsmanship, and instruct me.” They replied, “There is no one. Goodbye, O *Sīdi*. Leave and find a place to die!”⁸⁹
- 6 He left. He went on. He arrived at another village. The people came out to see the man who was coming on a horse In fact he was just a boy. He said to them, “I, I am a stranger, a stranger. I am only a stranger. Now is there any one of you who would teach me and train me in swordsmanship, who would be my tutor and teach me swordsmanship.” They answered him, “No. We have no one here.” He told them, “I can provide him with food, drink, and clothing for himself and his family.” They said to him, “There is no one. Goodbye, O *Sīdi*!”
- 7 He continued ... He arrived at [a third] village. The people went out to see him. He told them, “I am a stranger. I have been going from land to land in search of someone to teach me and train me in swordsmanship.” They told him, “There is no one who can teach you and train you in swordsmanship like ʔAbu

88 The self-exile of the protagonist, who refuses to remain in an inhospitable and hostile country, is a common theme in folktales. See Frobenius as translated by Fetta (1997), 179–186 (esp. 182), tale no. 36, “Les enfants de la marâtre.” In some folktales exile is, however, a punishment: see idem, 173–178 (esp. 173), tale no. 35, “Le grain magique.”

89 The curse here is quite harsh and direct: *sīr ččūf fāyn dmūθ*. This is not a common curse in ChA, but a rather sophisticated one. The narrator, having two women as his audience (his wife and the interviewer), restrains himself from using vulgar and typically male curses. This implies a social control involving taboo words. Generally the strongest taboos involve words associated with women’s sexuality, which are completely avoided in mixed company and public spaces. For more on this see Sadiqi (2003), 78–80; and Cheikh and Miller (2009), 177–182.

l-Yāsfi.”⁹⁰ “Where is he?” They told him, “You must continue ... the way. Go to him. He is the one who will teach you swordsmanship, and instruct you. Those of us here do not know [how]. We can only say goodbye to you.”

He took the road straight to ?Abu s-Sāyf, ?Abu Sāyf. As soon as he appeared, the Sheik, who was an old man, came out to him and greeted him, “Welcome, s-Sayyid l-Mūqdād Bən l-Āsād l-Qūndi!” He asked him, “Who introduced me to you?” He replied, “I have your history”⁹¹ [which says] that you are going to arrive today. Welcome!”⁹² Yūsəf gave orders [to his slave⁹³] to let the horse in ... He gave orders that s-Sayyid l-Mūqdi⁹⁴ should enter his cell, his room. No one should enter with him.

The first and second days passed. On the third day he [?Abu Sāyf] told him, “Prepare yourself.”⁹⁵ In the mornings there will be recital [of the Qurʔān] till midday: you recite and after midday I will teach you swordsmanship.” He answered, “Very well.” Then They brought sticks. He [Abu Saif] gave a stick to him, his own stick. In the mornings he taught him; and in the afternoons he beat him⁹⁶ till he turned black with bashes. And at night he [?Abu Sāyf] put *būġa*⁹⁷ on his wounds, where he had beaten him, telling him, “God willing, in

90 The narrator refers to this individual by several names: ?Abu l-Yāsfi, Yūsəf or Yūsəf l-Wähbi, and ?Abu s-Sāyf or ?Abu Sāyf. The last one, which literally means “the master/lord/possessor of the sword,” seems to be more an epithet than a personal name and is apparently intended to emphasize the crucial role of this secondary protagonist, who is the classic Mentor figure.

91 The vernacular expression used here by the narrator is *šāndi t-šārīx dyāləç f-hād ən-nhār māš drūh n-šāndi*, which alludes to the magical power of sheikh ?Abu l-Yāsfi. In addition to his heroic character and religious knowledge, the sheikh possesses the ability to read the past and reveal the future. On the combination of magical power with clairvoyance see Doutté (1994), 351–352, 384. For the magical character of many folktale protagonists see my commentary on Magic on pp. 55–60, 73, 77, 82.

92 The power of divination is characteristic of sheikhs and saints. For an analogous context and occurrence see El-Shamy (1980), 173–175 (esp. 174), tale no. 40, “The Thigh of the Duck.”

93 See my commentary on pp. 78–79.

94 This is yet another name for Bən l-Āsād l-Qūndi.

95 The idiom *šmāf rāsəç* is a common one in MA. For this expression, see DAF, II, 226 under meaning 7.

96 This expression uses the same verb as the previous one, *šmāf* + the preposition *mfa* + (pronoun suffix or personal name). For this expression, see DAF, II, 226 under meaning 7: “... (suivant le contexte) flanquer une gifle à qqn. / tirer un coup de fusil sur qqn.”

97 This term refers to the traditional way of healing a wound, which is here used by ?Abu Sāyf. De Prémare, DAF, I, 351, states that in the *Šbāla* area this term means “cendre très fine sur un tison, et que l’on ne peut palper.” This remedy is still used in Chaouen by *Šūrfā* bestowed with *l-bārāka* to cure bone fractures.

one year you will be stronger and become a true hero.” Day followed day. Day followed day.

10 He had – Yūsəf had eleven offspring, eleven children. They were in a certain place riding horses. They would go hunting and bring back big game: sheep, mouflons, and such things. He [l-Āsəd l-Qūndi] spent the mornings reciting; and in the afternoon he would take the stick and be taught swordsmanship. Afterwards he would put his *būġa* on the bruises where he had been beaten. Day after day, day after day, till he began to parry the strikes, *s-Sayyid* l-Mūqdād began to parry the strikes of Yūsəf. He began to challenge his teacher. He became a great adept. He formerly had told him, “Stop, O teacher! Go slowly.” He ... began to dare to attack him – that means l-Āsəd l-Qūndi learned swordsmanship and he [ʔAbu Sāyf] instructed him in the recital [of the Qurʔān].⁹⁸

11 Now we return to the uncle, who had a daughter. She placed her picture [everywhere] and she sent to leaders and heroes that anyone who thought himself a brave cavalier “should come and meet me in single combat. And the one who overcomes me will be given servants from the nation and the city.”⁹⁹ Her father is a king. She sent to one and all. And she kills each one who faces her. She strikes each one who faces her. She has a stick: she parries the sword from one side, ducks behind the person, and says, “Aiee! Here I am!” And as the person turns toward her, she perhaps cuts off his head. She wears a veil, and if the opponite proves difficult, she pulls off the veil, stares at¹⁰⁰ him, and beheads him.¹⁰¹ Every day she beheads two.

12 And then she arrived at a man named l-Ḥsən the Bald, a very fine¹⁰² cavalier. He was still unmarried. He received the letter and he received her picture. He said, “This is my life, and what I have lived for. Now I am going to meet this woman¹⁰³ cavalier in single combat, so that I can take her as my personal

98 This combination of characteristics is common in the protagonists of Moroccan folktales. See for example El Fasi and Dermenghem (1975), 60–75 (esp. 61–62), the tale “Qartbone.” See pp. 52–53.

99 This is a standard formula used in such scenes: *xādəm xdim ʕla š-šāʕb u l-mdīna* or simply *xādəm xdim* (see for example tale 10, *əṭ-ṭalmīd*).

100 This is the literal meaning of the idiom *lādāʕmāl fih hāhāhəh*. It is yet another illustration of the polysemy of the root ʕML, which in this case is followed by the preposition *f*. The power of the woman comes from her ability to attract her opponent. In this context staring is a metaphor for sword: she uses her beauty as a weapon by removing her veil and revealing her face. For a parallel to this character in Touareg oral literature see Drouin (1984), 14–15.

101 For the expression *ṭṭəyyār lu rāsu* see DAF, VIII, 398 under meaning 2.

102 This adjective is expressed in the original text by the sound.

103 By calling the woman *mra*, the speaker implies she is sexually active. For more on this term see for example Hachimi (2001), 41–42; and on the term *bənt* “girl” see n. 184 below.

servant without bridal money¹⁰⁴ or material dower;¹⁰⁵ no bridal money, or anything.” His mother went to him and said, “O son! She beheads men! She kills learned men, she kills cavaliers. Now she is going to kill you. O Son, do not go to her!” He replied, “No way, O mother! I am not going to be defeated. I am going to behead her.” She told him, “O my son. You cannot! She has swords, and she is a trickster playing games.” He [l-Ḥsən] has fifty afrits and is strong and is unfortunate¹⁰⁶ – and so forth – and she is a game-playing trickster. Because of his fondness for meeting her in single combat, l-Ḥsən saddled his horse, belted on his sword, and proceeded onward.¹⁰⁷

His mother, after he had left – and his mother took another horse and followed him. They arrived at the arena where she competes. She has a very big arena. Her father [the King] would descend there where there was music, and were gathered the army, and the viziers, and old and young people; and they would sit and watch ... – as when men watch a tennis match, or a fight, or some other sport. The arena¹⁰⁸ – in that arena the sword fight was more important than anything else.

13

104 The word used here is *ṣdāq*, which refers to the sum of money that the future groom pays to the family of his future bride. The *ṣdāq*, the *ṣdūl* (“marriage contractors”), and the utterance of a specific formula (see commentary on p. 75, n. 42, and n. 11 above for bibliographical references) are all necessary for making the marriage promise binding.

105 The term used here is *zīmma*, apparently a technical term for “material dower” because the narrator himself defines it as “a sum of money, land, or property given by the groom to the bride.” This term is not attested in the DAF of de Prémare. In CA the meaning “camel halter, nose rope of the camel; rein, bridle; halter; day book; register; ground, land” is attested for the term *azimma* (see AED, 442–443; Corriente, DAE, 493–494). Another possibility is to relate this term to the common MA expression *damma* “garantie” (DAF, IV, 338), which fits the context. However the narrator’s explanation of the term should be accepted as authoritative.

106 The expression used here is *u l-hämm u hāda*.

107 The battle between these two folktale characters may echo the historical battle between l-Ḥsən, the governor of Kairouan, and the undefeatable Berber woman Kāhina. On these two historical persons see Doutté (1994), 32: “H’asan ibn No’mān ayant demandé aux habitants de Cairouan s’il restait quelque chef puissant dans l’Ifriqiya dont il était gouverneur, ils lui répondirent que la Kāhina était la reine des Berbères, que son pouvoir était absolu et que s’il parvenait à la vaincre, tout le Maghrib se soumettrait. H’asan partit donc en expédition contre elle, mais fut battu; pendant plusieurs années la Kāhina régna sur les Berbères, mais fut enfin vaincue par H’asan vers l’an 704 de notre ère dans un combat où elle périt.”

108 Here the narrator uses the term *l-bilād*, which is a rare word from the CA root BLD, one meaning of which, “arena,” suits the context here: see *Lisān al-Ṣarab*, vol. II, 138.

- 14 L-Ḥsən arrived there, found lots of people. Cavaliers were sitting, waiting their turn. Each one waited his turn to come. She has a pavilion¹⁰⁹ in the sky, a high pavilion above that arena. When someone enters the arena and begins pacing back and forth [waiting for her], she would say to him, “I am coming down to you.” She knew beforehand that everyone who enters that place must be a brave man, only a cavalier.
- 15 L-Ḥsən waited the first day, the second day, the third day. The third day he mounted his horse; he immediately jumped onto his horse and entered. All creation was there watching, saying that this cavalier would defeat her or he would not be able to compete with the heroine. She is the kingdom’s heroine, the princess, the daughter of the King. She went down screaming, shouting, and saying, “O cavalier presenting his horse with audacity!¹¹⁰ [In fact you are] like a piece of wood floating down the river, O son of honorable people.”¹¹¹ Shouting, screaming, she met him with her sword. And l-Ḥsən was calm, l-Ḥsən Fārtās, l-Ḥsən the Bold. She attacked again and again.¹¹² When she saw he was a true challenge, she pulled off her veil, she jerked off the veil. He stood staring at her, [unaware] that her sword was sharper than a razor. – Sharpness! And such armor! And all! – She beheaded him, and left him there, his head next to his body. And she went back to her pavilion. The arena quieted, the music [ceased]. She left. Her father went his way; the viziers, the common people who were attending the performance, too. The body of l-Ḥsən remained laying by his head.
- 16 His mother was attending the cavalier duel between her son and the King’s daughter. She entered [the arena] crying and wailing with a broken heart. She took the head and put it upon her bosom and said [to the King], “O Prince!

109 The term used here is *mənzāh*. Two possible meanings mentioned by de Prémare fit the present context: “1. [F] belvédère, à l’étage supérieur d’une maison somptueuse, largement ouverte, d’où l’on jouit d’une vue étendue sur la campagne [AR: in this context, over the arena] [Co, Br]”; and “3. pavillon où le Sultan donnait ses audiences au Palais, à Fès [Co]. [AR: given that the protagonist is a princess].” See DAF, XI, 350; and El Fasi (2000), 132.

110 Here the expression used is *gāda ḡ-ḡābhāwāṣ*, a traditional stock phrase for describing the heroic act of a cavalier. For *gāda* see DAF, X, 744; and for the nomun rectum, *ḡ-ḡābhāwāṣ*, see DAF, II, 147 under *jebha*.

111 Idiom: *l-ḥlāl bən l-ḥlāl*. For the term *ḥlāl* see DAF, III, 204, which mentions similar idioms using this term.

112 The translation “again and again” is based on both the immediate and the global contexts. However, the literal translation of the narrator’s words, which are *kāyistǧāllu bih yāʕni l-ḡdāyid*, has to be, “[She] took profit of / used him [el-Hsen] (to calm down) her nerves.” For *stǧāll*, see DAF, IX, 408; and for the term *ḡdāyid*, see under *ḡodda* in DAF, IX, 338.

This means a life! It must not remain here exposed. Please abide by the law of Islam.” She took the head and left. She began wandering among the tribes. “Is there someone to avenge the blood, to avenge the blood of my son, of this cavalier, who had been a hero, who had met hundreds, thousands of other knights, who met brave men, who met cavaliers. And now a girl fooled him and killed him. I am looking for someone who can avenge his blood.”¹¹³ They told her, “You must go to Yūsaf l-Wāhbi. He is the one who will avenge your blood. He will avenge your blood.” She rode day and night till she came to Yūsaf l-Wāhbi.

She arrived and told him, “Here it is!” He asked her, “What is this?” She said, 17
 “This is my son, and he was a hero, he was brave, l-Ḥsən Fārṭās the Bald!” He [Yūsaf] replied, “Yes, l-Ḥsən Fārṭās the Bald! I heard about him” ... “Now avenge my son’s blood! So you avenge his blood!” He replied, “I will avenge your son’s blood. God will provide! There is a brook in that upper slope. A cavalier will come there to water his horse. When you see that he is about to water his horse, take a stick and vigorously stir the water. Stir it vigorously in the brook, stir the water till the water begins to flow thick. When the water flows thick, the cavalier will descend to check to see who is stirring it. He will come to you and say, ‘Why do you stir the water?’ Tell him, ‘Oh, oh, oh! See what has happened to us! We need someone who will avenge this blood’ and all the rest.”

His eleven brothers came and tied their horses on one side. An hour passed 18
 and he came. He came, dismounted from his horse, and laid down the sword that he carried with him. He dismounted to lead his horse to drink from the brook, from the stream. And she stirred the water – “unh, unh, unh” – till it was muddy. The water flowed, and it flowed with dirt, flowed with dirt, flowed with mud. He went up to see who was making the water thick. He found her. He asked her, “Why do you make the water thick? Who brings you here?” She told him, “Here it is!” He asked her, “What is that?” She told him, “This is my son. He was one among the cavaliers, and now that so-and-so girl has killed him!” He said [to himself], “This must be of my uncle. This must be of my uncle, because she does so with men. She is my ward. I am going to fight with her” – with his cousin, whose father had slapped him. Her father is the one who had slapped him.

That day nothing evil happened. And the next morning they left.¹¹⁴ L-Ḥsən’s 19
 mother carried the head that she will bury in her place. And *s-Sayyid* el-

113 This context parallels the one in tale no. VIII, “Histoire des cent têtes coupées et une tête et de la fille du Sultan,” in Légy (1926), 44–47 (esp. 46).

114 The narrator’s words here are *rāfdu mšāw*.

Mūqdād Bən l-Āsād l-Qūndi is returning to his country, to his land, to his uncle, the one who had slapped him.¹¹⁵

20 He arrived at the city, and found a multitude of people, brave men and learned men, and much music. People were holding a great feast.¹¹⁶ “What are you doing?” They told him, “The princess beheaded eleven men this week.” – This is a unique heroine in the world! This one vanquishes the whole world, Arabs and non-Arabs alike! – He entered the arena. He said he wanted to enter the lists with her. He said [to himself], “This is it, nothing else can be done ... Her father slapped me and I am going to slap him back. I am going to slap him.” Then he began pacing back and forth [in the arena]. She leaned from her pavilion and murmured to [herself], “Just wait and see. Oh, how many like you have passed by! I am going to descend to you, cut your head off, just as I beheaded l-Ḥsən the Bald.” An hour passed by and she went down. As she came down, she came down shouting and screaming, and ran with the strides of her horse’s gallop,¹¹⁷ her sword in her hand. She lifted her hand: she was able to cut a single fly into four pieces. She descended. As soon as she descended, he put aside his sword, and asked her, “With what do you fight brave men?” She answered him, “With sword and armor.” He told her, “I do not need armor. I am not going to strike with a sword. Here I am. Strike me, kill me!”

21 She unsheathed her sword. She hit him on one side, and beat him on the other. And he only tried to seize¹¹⁸ her. She beat him and he tried to seize her again, going this way, and lunging the other way. In a flash,¹¹⁹ he caught her, placed her on the horse, lifted her toward the sky, and then cast her roughly to the ground. After he had thrown her to the ground, he got off his horse and

115 The words used by the narrator are *ʕāmmu lli hādīʕ*, meaning “his uncle” + the relative pronoun *lli* “who” + the term *hādīʕ*, which leaves a free parameter for adapting the translation to the meaning required by the context.

116 The narrator uses here the term *fyīʕta*, which is from the Spanish *fiesta*. This illustrates that in the ChA of this generation the reservation of the diphthong was common to both men and women. On the term *fīʕta* see Benyahia and Aguadé (1987), 195.

117 This is a typical narrative expression: *mātlāq l-xāyl*. For it see DAF, VIII, 340 meaning 3.

118 The words of the narrator here are: *kāyīʕhānāq ʕlīha yšəbbra. ʕhānāq ʕla* corresponds to the verb *ʕhānnək ʕla*, which, according to de Prémare DAF, III, 255 meaning 2, is: “peloter qqn., lui passer la main dans le dos ... être collant.” This meaning should apply to the context here. In this example the voiceless uvular plosive /q/ has been replaced by the voiceless velar plosive /k/. This may occur due to pseudocorrection. For the opposite process see Heath (2002), 139; Lévy (2009), 199–200.

119 This probably is the most adequate translation of the narrator’s words *wāhd s-sāʕa* because of the notions of suddenness and surprise that are implicit in the sentence that follows it, *u hūwwa šəbbra* “and he caught her.”

he trampled her. He said to her, "You are the one who killed the cavalier!" The world who had come to see the show, saw this cavalier sheath his sword, put off the armor with which cavaliers protect themselves. And he caught her with everything like a chicken and threw her to the ground. Oh, oh, oh! This is a brave man! Her father came down to him, bare footed, and bare headed: "O our Lord the Compassionate! Bestow upon us your forgiveness. That cuckold was black. Just pardon, O people of" He smashed her on the ground and told her, "Stand up! You kill men." The King came and told him, "Stop!" He answered him, "You remember me!"

The Bald Son of *l-fqi* Īflāṭu¹²⁰

1 Then *l-fqi* Īflāṭu, the wise, died. He died. He left three men [sons]. The [eldest, the] *l-fqi* sews:¹²¹ he sews *ġlālāb*,¹²² and he sews clothes for people. He left one

120 A partial variant of this tale, which includes only the final incidents, is Stumme (1895), 119–131, tale no. 15, “Die Geschichte von den beiden Knaben, die das Herz und den Kopf des Vogels gegessen hatten, und von der Rhalia Bint Manssor.” A variant of the opening this tale, which constitutes an independent plot, is told by a storyteller named “Zahra, ancienne esclave de Moulay-Ḥasan, qui l’avait surnommée sa petite Schahrazade,” in Légy (1926), 14–18, tale no. 2, “Histoire de la fille du roi et du teigneux,” where the same three magical objects are used by the bald protagonist to win the Sultan’s daughter. An additional variant of the episode involving the remedies for the King’s sickness is found in Légy (1926), 132–138, tale no. xxx, “Le ghoûl et le fils du bûcheron,” also narrated by a woman named Lalla el-Ghaliya Raḥmaniya. See also tale no. cxiii, “Le fils du bûcheron et son cheval magique” in Laoust (1949), vol. I, 119–123, vol. II, 204–209 (notes on pp. 210–215). This last tale has two central themes, the first theme a variant of the present tale while the second theme does not occur here at all. Another variant of this tale is in Scelles-Millie (1970), 82–94, under the title “Histoire d’Abderrahman.” A Kabyle Algerian variant of it is “Les sept années de malheur de Hâroûn ar-Rachîd” in Dermenghem (1945), 119–127 (commentary 193–196). In this tale a disguised Hâroûn ar-Rachîd, like the protagonist of the present tale, bears the epithet “The Bald” and has magical powers. Another Algerian variant of this tale is tale no. 1 “La pomme de Alia, la fille de Mansour qui vit au-delà des sept *bhours*,” in Mehadji (2002), 12–16, where the King places three impossible conditions on the man who wishes to marry his daughter. Two of these demands parallel those of the present tale: “La pomme de Alia, la fille de Mansour qui vit au-delà des sept *bhours*” and “le lait de la lionne dans une outre faite avec la peau de son lionceau.” The protagonist in this tale is the *debbār* (“*debbār* désigne en général un conseiller, un négociateur, une personne réputée pour dénouer les situations les plus inextricables”) instead of the typical *qraṣ*, “Bald.”

121 This sentence has an important cultural allusion: the people who sewed *ġlālāb* were customarily Qurʾān students and reciters because while sewing they would recite the Qurʾān. Most sewers were located in the *Swīqa* (lit. “small market”) neighbourhood. Thus while walking through this neighbourhood one could hear the murmuring of Qurʾān recitation on every corner.

122 This is a traditional garment: a full-length hooded cloak normally of wool, slipped on over the head. During the narrator’s youth, this kind of garment was worn by men, while women would wear *l-ḥāyək* (for which see n. 16 above and the many references to this garment in Lalla Ḥusniyya’s texts collected here). For a detailed discussion of the term *ġllāb* used in the North/Rif and Essaouira, see DAF, II, 204. For its precise design and technical features see Rackow (1958), 23, Tafeln xxxi, xxxii and xxxiii, which gives a standard Moroccan variant of this word, *jəllāba*.

[son] in business, buying and selling. He left another one ruined, completely ruined: he neither dresses nor eats or walks well. The father died. They [the three sons] said, “We desire the inheritance, the inheritance that our father left for us.” Their father had a box. Such a sweet inheritance! In it they found the slippers in which he used to walk, and a *tāgġyya*,¹²³ and a smoking pipe.¹²⁴ “We will give the *hăydūra*¹²⁵ to the *Fqih*. The merchant will get the *hăydūra*

123 This is a cap or callote with the magical property of rendering the wearer invisible, the feature that makes the Bald One the protagonist of this tale. This specific meaning of *tāgġyya* is cited by de Prémare, DAF, VIII, 375: “*spéc. [dans les contes] calotte magique qui rend invisible celui qui s’en coiffe [Co].*” For this garment’s precise design and technical terminology see Rackow (1958), 23, 1, Tafel XXXIII under “Feste marokkanische Kopfbedeckungen der Männer.” A variant of this tale in Légy (1926), 14–18, tale no. 2, “Histoire de la fille du roi et du teigneux,” involves the same three objects inherited by the trader’s sons but used only by the Bald One: “une vieille chéchia, une peau de mouton et une pipe à kif,” which have the same magical functions, and will help the Bald One, the protagonist, win the Sultan’s daughter. See also tale no. XIV, “Histoire de moitié d’homme (celui qui sait ce qui est dans sa tête et dans la tête des autres),” in Légy (1926), 63–70. The Kabyle equivalent of this magical object is “La chéchia rendait invisible celui qui la posait sur sa tête.” See also the tale “La jinnia du Jebel *Waq Waq*,” in Dermenghem (1945), 129–136 (esp. 134); and Lacoste-Dujardin (2010), 76–86 (esp. 77), the tale “Mhamed, le fils de la négresse et ses six frères.” For the magical qualities of this garment in various tales see Aarne and Thompson (1961), 130, 215, type-tale, “581, *The Magic Object and the Trolls*,” and “581*, *The Wishing-Hat*,” and motif “D1361.14, *Magic cap renders invisible*.” For more details see below.

124 The term here is *sabsi*: see DAF, VI, 18; Chakir (2010), 50, n. 1. For the Turkish origin of this term, *sipsi*, see Procházka, (2012), 203, 213 and the bibliographical references there. For the magical property of this object, see the following narrative. In a variant of this tale in Légy (1926), 14–18 (esp. 15), tale no. 2, “Histoire de la fille du roi et du teigneux,” the magical character of this object is described thus: “Mais la pipe était enchantée et, au lieu de rendre des bouffées de fumée, elle se mit à cracher un petit lingot d’or chaque fois que le fumeur aspirait le parfum de la drogue.”

125 *hăydūra*: The meaning given by DAF, XII, 31, 118 of this Berber word is required here: “bisquain (peau de mouton lavée et tannée avec sa laine) servant de tapis.” Colin (1931), 31, n. 1, following a manuscript of Ibn Ḥātima of Almeria (XIth century), which is based on the work of Hišām, defines this term as: هيدورة – لفظة أعجمية العرب تستعملها المشلاخ. In a written communication Corriente adds that this term “es evolución semántica de {*hd/dr*} ‘parlotear’) bagatela, cosa de poco precio”: see Corriente (1993), 77–87. The magical property of this object is mentioned in the variant of this tale by Légy (1926), 14–18 (esp. 15), tale no. 2, “Histoire de la fille du roi et du teigneux,” as “Quant à la peau de mouton, elle transportait au gré de sa fantaisie celui qui s’asseyait dessus.” In the present tale the narrator mentions this object here, but forgets to use it in the plot.

too.¹²⁶ We will give the ruined one the hashish¹²⁷ smoking pipe,” which their father had not used but kept.¹²⁸

2 The bald, the ruined one, was bald. He neither ate well nor slept nor dressed well, nothing. They gave him the smoking pipe. He filled it and when he threw out the ashes, in the ashes he threw out, he threw out a precious stone.¹²⁹ It was a precious stone of gold, of high price. He said, “Ah, ah, ah! Ah! If the King’s daughter sees that I have this smoking pipe, she will fall in love with me. And if the King’s daughter loves me, I *am* a king.” He went beneath her window, where she usually sat, beneath, and filled the smoking pipe, and he smoked it. And when he threw out the ashes, in the ashes he threw out, he threw out a precious stone.¹³⁰ The Sultana was looking at him, and [said to herself], “This is a real hash smoker! He smoked it, and when he threw out the ashes, he threw out a precious stone. This one, he may be a Magian!”

3 The Sultan had seven daughters. That girl was the youngest. She saw a learned act: the bald man smoking the pipe and throwing out a precious stone. She said, “This is a Magian! And someone who has wisdom has everything!”¹³¹

4 The king decided to gather the youth to pass beneath the [palace] window, and the girl who liked a certain young man would throw an apple¹³² to him. The

126 The brothers first speak about one *hăydūra* in the inheritance, then they seem to speak of two. The narrator apparently became confused.

127 See p. 72.

128 Folktales frequently begin with the distribution of an inheritance among family members. See for example the Jewish Tetuani tales no. 26, “Los hijos del mercader,” and no. 31, “El cuñado de los affris,” (in which the inheritance is analogous to that of the present tale) in de Larrea Palacín (1952), 89–97 (esp. 89) and 106–112 (esp. 107). For inheritance in folktales see tale-type “1650, *The Three Lucky Brothers*” in Aarne and Thompson (1961), 470.

129 This implies that the smoking pipe and other objects contain magic, and that the only person who will possess them is the protagonist, usually characterized as “The Bald (one).” On this see Lacoste-Dujardin (1999), 101, who comments concerning these motifs, “Objets magiques conquis par le héros, qui produisent des effets surnaturels; c’est de beaucoup le plus fréquent de tous les motifs ...” For the magic pipe in other folktales see Aarne and Thompson (1961), 210, tale-type “570, *The Rabbit-herd*.” [In the attempt to buy the pipe from him, the princess or the queen kisses him or lies with him.]

130 This passage parallels that in the tale XI, *الجيبلي مع العفريت* in Chakir (2010), 115–138 (esp. 132–133), where the protagonist acts like a magician to impress the Sultan’s daughter while she watches him.

131 The narrator uses the idiom *hādi hÿya d-dÿnya*.

132 The Apple, often a golden apple, as a token of love is a general symbol in folklore. On this see the variant of this tale in Stumme (1895), 119–131 (esp. 123), tale no. 15, “Die

king handed an apple to each of them. His daughters would no longer yearn for men. “People do not dare ask for their hands. There are poor men and rich men in the country. Neither the rich nor the poor dare to come to me. So now I am giving an apple so they can throw it to the one they desire.”¹³³ The youngest one threw an apple to the bald one. “This will be my husband: a Magian¹³⁴ who smokes a pipe and throws out with its ashes a precious stone. This is a great thing. Neither king nor rich men nor anyone can achieve this.”

Soon after, the Sultan fell ill; he fell ill with an eye disease. His eyes were inflamed and he couldn't see. He called for doctors:¹³⁵ “If there is a doctor who can heal the King's eyes, the King will give to him whatever he requests, whatever money he requests, anything he asks for, whether it belongs to the King or to another person.” He invited all his sons-in-law, including the bald one. He came. He [the King] asked, “Who will bring me¹³⁶ this?” The doctor

Geschichte von den beiden Knaben, die das Herz und den Kopf des Vogels gegessen hatten, und von der Rhalia Bint Manssor”; Légy (1926), 83–85 (esp. 85), tale no. XVIII, “Le verre enchanté,” and tale no. xxx, “Le ghoûl et le fils du bûcheron” 132–138 (esp. 133); El Fasi and Dermenghem (1975), 152–153 and El Fasi (2000), 158–168 (esp. 159, 160), “La petite chatte”; Laoust (1949), vol. I, 119–123, vol. II, 204–209 (esp. 206; 212, n. 6) in tale no. CXIII, “Le fils du bûcheron et son cheval magique,” where the king's daughter throws an apple to her chosen future husband; and for the same sequence in the variant mentioned above by Scelles-Millie (1970), 99, n. 9. See also Thay Thay Rhozali (2000b), 241–242. For this motif in the Arab folk tradition in general see El-Shamy (1995), 28 under “Apple.”

133 This plot sequence is frequent in Berber and Arab folktales: see for example Basset (2008), 134–136, tale no. 109, “La pomme de jeunesse”; and the Egyptian tale no. 4, “The Magic Filly,” in El-Shamy (1980), 28–32 (esp. 31). In the latter tale a shawl is used instead of an apple.

134 The term used here is *ḥkīm*: for the semantic value of this term in general see DAF, III, 185. El Fasi and Dermenghem (1925), 12, n. 2 leaves this term in the main text, translating it in a footnote as “Sage, magicien, savant, artiste.” On this term in folktales, and the arguments for the meaning above, see Dermenghem in El Fasi and Dermenghem (1975), 33. On this term and the historical background of its semantic value see Westermarck (1968a), 579–580, and Doutté (1994), 27–57 (esp. 28–29).

135 In a variant of this tale, this role is filled by an old woman, not by a man as here. In folklore medicine is usually associated with magic and its rituals; and in North Africa magic is associated with women rather than men.

136 Here the narrator is using the 3rd person suffix masculine plural. A frequent feature in these narrations is a sudden shift from 3rd person singular to 3rd person plural. For clarity, this stylistic feature has been corrected in the English translation; but it has been preserved in the transliteration of the original text.

had told him, “You need the milk of a lioness milked in her son’s skin.¹³⁷ One must bring the lioness, the mother of the lion, and her son, sacrifice him and skin him, and milk her and pour the milk into her son’s skin; then bring it to the Sultan to smear, and his eyes will heal.” [The Sultan] asked, “Who will bring this thing?” He [the doctor] said, “Your sons-in-law should bring it.” “My sons-in-law?” He answered, “Yes.” He said, “You have to bring me this medicine. You must bring it.” [They murmured among themselves], “Who will be able to catch the lion’s mother, the lioness? Who will be able to catch her, and seize her son, and sacrifice him, and skin him and put her milk into the skin of the son, and bring it to the King to smear upon his eyes? Who could bring it?” [The doctor repeated], “Your sons-in-law. Your sons-in-law will do this work.” They replied, “O *Sidi*, of course we will bring it; we will bring this medicine. Within fifteen days, we will have caught the lioness. We will catch her, and bind her, and milk her, and seize her son, and sacrifice him, and skin him, and pour her milk into her son’s skin.” They departed into the wilderness, into the forest, looking for a lioness. Where is it? Who can get to a lioness; who is the one able to get to a lioness? Their clothes were rent; their flesh was cut.¹³⁸ – Nothing.–

137 For this same request or requirement in other variants of this tale, see Stumme (1895), 119–131 (esp. 124), tale no. 15, “Die Geschichte von den beiden Knaben, die das Herz und den Kopf des Vogels gegessen hatten, und von der Rhalia Bint Manssor,” in which “die Milch einer Löwin in dem Felle eines Löwen holen; eine Löwin muss das tragen und ein Löwe ihr vorangehen” is demanded; and Légy (1926), 132–138 (esp. 133), tale no. xxx, “Le ghoûl et le fils du bûcheron,” in which “du lait de la Lionne dans la peau chaude d’un des ses petits” is prescribed as a cure for the king’s illness. See also Laoust (1949), vol. I, 119–123, vol. II, 204–209 (esp. 207), tale no. CXIII, “Le fils du bûcheron et son cheval magique,” where “du lait d’une lionne, trait dans la peau d’une lionne et porté ici sur le dos d’un lion!” is required as a remedy to cure the sick king. The same request as above – “du lait de lionne dans une outre de peau de lionceau” – occurs in the variant of this tale, “Histoire d’Abderrahman,” in connection with which Scelles-Millie mentions other Maghrebin tales where this same request is made. Another tale where a similar demand occurs is the Kabylian Algerian story “Les sept années de malheur de Hâroûn ar-Rachîd” in Dermenghem (1945), 119–127 (esp. 124, 125): here Hâroûn ar-Rachîd seeks “du lait de lionne dans la peau d’un lionceau attachée avec les moustaches du lion.” And in the Algerian tale no. 1, “La pomme de Alia, la fille de Mansour qui vit au-delà des sept *bhours*,” in Mehadji (2002), 12–16 (esp. 14), the king requires “le lait de la lionne dans une outre faite avec la peau de son lionceau” as a condition for marriage to his daughter. In addition to its medicinal value, the milk in itself is considered to have magical power: see Doutté (1994), 352, 353.

138 The idiom here is: *qāttʕu ʒnābəm*.

[The bald one] went to his brother [and] said, “O brother, I am barefoot and I desire the slippers you have inherited from my father.” He told him, “Come, here they are.” He put them on his feet. He found himself in a garden. And that garden, what was it like? There were fruits: all the kinds that God has created could be found in that garden. He picked and harvested. When he had finished, he stepped forth and found himself at home. He said, “Oh! These [my father’s things] contain wisdom.¹³⁹ The *ṭāgǝyya* that my [other] brother has contains wisdom¹⁴⁰ too. I will go to him and he will give it to me. I will ask him to give it to me, and tell him ...” – Because of his baldness, people stared at his head and laughed at him. – “... he will give me that *ṭāgǝyya* to cover my baldness.” He went to his brother, “Brother!” He replied to him, “Yes?” He said, “O my brother, my head is bare. I have no hair on my head, and people stare at my head, and laugh at me. So now give me that *ṭāgǝyya* to cover my head.” He told him, “Here! Here it is. Take it. This is what has remained of our father’s inheritance. You are the one who has taken all of it.”

He put the *ṭāgǝyya* on his head. A Jew was coming. He gave him the finger.¹⁴¹ He advanced and stuck his finger in his eye. The Jew cried, “Oh, oh, oh, oh!” and tried to see who it was, but he couldn’t see anyone. He said, “Oh, this contains magic. I stuck the Jew with my finger and he did not see me. He wanted to grab me, and he did not know where to grab for me. With this [*ṭāgǝyya*] I am going to go to the Sultan’s daughter, to my bride.” He put it on his head, and entered the Sultan’s plaza door. No one saw him. He entered, and no one saw him. She was reading a book, and he sat close to her. She said to him, “What is this!” She said to him, “How dare you?¹⁴² Where are you? Are you a human being or what?” He took off the *ṭāgǝyya*, and she discovered that it was him. She demanded, “So close?” He said, “Very close.” “What was your purpose for coming here? for coming so near to me?” He told her, “So I can enjoy the view, and look at you and then go my way.” He left. He put the slippers on, and returned to the garden.

139 The original text uses *hikma*.

140 This refers to the magical cap of invisibility: see El-Shamy (1980), 5 in tale no. 1, “The Trip to ‘Wag-el-Wag’” (3–14). See the commentary concerning this issue in n. 123 above.

141 The expression is: *hša l* (+ pronominal suffix) *əš-šbǎʕ f-šǎyn* (+ pronominal suffix). This expression is equivalent to the idiom *šta š-šbǎʕ*. It is an obscene gesture which consists in directing the middle finger toward the insulted individual. For this meaning see DAF, VIII, 17 under *šabbǎʕ*. This expression is not, however, attested in de Prémare.

142 The expression: *škūn nṭīn hǎṭṭa* + a verb.

- 8 When he arrived, he found a tree with white figs and a tree with black figs. He picked a black fig,¹⁴³ a kind of long black fig with a white streak,¹⁴⁴ ripe and sweet. He ate one, and a horn popped out. He ate a second one, and another horn popped out too. He said, “Oh, oh, oh! I¹⁴⁵ had no horns, and now I have horned myself.¹⁴⁶ People will laugh at me.” He approached the white fig tree. He ate a fig, and one horn disappeared. He ate a second fig, and the other horn disappeared too. He said, “That’s it! That’s it! I am going to give a fig, give it to my bride so she will have horns. This way she will hate women and socializing.” He picked the black figs and the white figs, and he put his *ṭagṭyya* on and he entered to her.
- 9 She asked him, “Why have you come?” He told her, “I brought you something rare and precious,¹⁴⁷ which you have never eaten. This is what I have brought

143 Chaouen and its region formerly was famous in Morocco for their figs and grapes: see Michaux-Bellaire (1911), 200–203, who recorded seventeen different varieties of figs in the *Žbāla* area. See also Colin (1939), 223, and Ruiz de Cueva (1973), 83. One of the words for “fig” is *kārmūš*, which is used in this context. For more about this term see DAF, X, 567. Figs are the most common fruit in the orchards of this region. The sycamore tree symbolises life, fecundity, and abundance, and has considerable ritual and magical importance in Moroccan, as well as in Egyptian, folklore: see the comment by Gil Grimau and Ibn Azzuz (1988), 77. The sycamore motif appears in the following folktales: Domenech Lafuente (1953), 261–265 (esp. 261), tale XLIV, “El hortelano que fue rey”; Lacoste-Dujardin (2010), 167–175 (esp. 168 n. 5), “Le maître du blanc”; and El-Shamy (1980), 86–93 (esp. 87), tale no. 12, “It Serves Me Right!”

144 This is a variety of fig named *ḡuddān* / *ḡoddān* and described by DAF, IX, 342 as “variété de figues allongées, à l’intérieur rouge, à la peau blanche ou noire, ou noire à striures blanches; son figuier ne produit pas de figue fleur – *bākōr*–”: see Colin (1939), 223.

145 Here the plural suffix is used instead of the 1st person singular.

146 This shows that figs possess magical power. See the variant of this tale in Légy (1926), 14–18 (esp. 17), tale no. 11, “Histoire de la fille du roi et du teigneux,” in which the Sultan’s daughter eats black figs and immediately two huge horns sprout from her forehead; then she eats two white figs and the two horns vanish, after which the protagonist states, “Maintenant, je sais que j’épouserai la fille du Roi.” In that tale the incident is a crucial part of the protagonist’s effort to win the Sultan’s daughter. By contrast, in the present story the incident seems to serve as comic relief. In Laoust (1949), vol. I, 112–113, vol. II, 190–191 (esp. 191), tale no. CVII, “Les poires magiques,” the pears have similar magical power. For more references see Laoust (1949), vol. II, 191, n. 1. In other, mainly European, folktales this same effect is produced by a magic apple: see tale-type, “566 *The Three Magic Objects and the Wonderful Fruits (Fortunatus)*.” [The hero eats an apple that causes horns to grow on his head; later he finds a fruit that removes them.] See the motif, “D992.1 *Magic horns (grow on person’s forehead)*,” Aarne and Thompson (1961), 207.

147 The term used here is *ṭūrfa*, which de Prémare, DAF, VIII, 293 defines: “1. primeur (*fruit ou*

you! You have never seen such a thing, nor ever eaten anything like it.” She asked him, “What is it?” He said to her, “Take!” He gave her one black fig, sweet and delicious. She cut it into two parts and ate it. A horn popped out from her head. “Ah, ah, ah!” She said to him, “What did you do to me?” He told her, “Only now have you become pretty. You have horns like a goat.” She asked him, “Will I remain so?” He told her, “No.” He took the white figs and gave them to her. She ate the first one, and one horn disappeared. She ate a second one, and the second horn disappeared too.

He went to the [blind] King.¹⁴⁸ The King was sitting and he surprised him. 10
 “Who are you?” He told him, “Your son-in-law. The one who married your youngest daughter. Have your sons-in-law, who went to bring you the milk of the lioness milked into the skin of her son, come yet?” He replied, “No, they haven’t come yet.” He told him, “I am going to look for them.” He put on the slippers. He went straight to them. He arrived at a garden. The afrit, owner¹⁴⁹ of the garden, met and welcomed him, and said to him, “Your command?” “I would like to see where my brothers-in-law are.” He told him, “They are here.” He took him and placed him down near them. He told him, “I still have one other wish.” He asked him, “What is it?” He replied, “I want the milk of the lioness milked onto the skin of her son.” He said, “Here it is.” He went and brought him the milk. That afrit brought the milk of the lioness milked into the skin of her son to him. There is no one, no man, who could have obtained that good thing.

He surprised them. “Where did he bring that good thing from?!” He asked 11
 them, “What have you done?” They told him, “We could not seize the lioness and sacrifice it and sacrifice her son.” “Oh! Oh you sons of a swindler¹⁵⁰ you! You give me your ear lobes. Each one of you must cut off an ear lobe. And I will give you the milk of the lioness milked into her son’s skin.” They told him, “Very well.” Each of them grimaced¹⁵¹ ... Chop! ... It was cut. He put them in

légume) [Co] – 2. [Tr] aliment rare / de choix; emploi adjective *hāja torfa* chose de valeur, curieuse et précieuse [Co, Tgr].” This word is no longer used.

148 Blindness and the protagonist’s search for a magic object with which to cure it are common motifs in folktale traditions: see for example El Koudia and Allen (2003), 85–89 (esp. 87–88), tale no. 13, “A Tale of Two Women.” Also see El-Shamy (1995), 56 under “*Blind and Blindness*.”

149 This is a clear sign that the afrit is the owner of the garden. About this see my commentary on Jinn and Afrits on pp. 57–61.

150 This curse is normally used between men. For its use as an adjective see DAF, VII, 178.

151 The idiom here is *ṭakka šla qālb* (+ pronominal suffix). A semantically parallel idiom is mentioned by de Prémare, DAF, II, 77 under meaning 1: “*ṭakka šlā naṣṣo* se forcer, faire un effort sur soi-même [Co].”

a small bag and brought it to the King, who could not recognize that he was one of [his sons-in-law]. They came to the King. They brought that thing. The viziers met them. The people met them. “Oh, oh, oh! They seized a lioness and its son and they milked it, and they killed it and skinned it, and they milked the lioness into its son’s skin.” They greeted them with a very big¹⁵² reception! He [the King] smeared the milk of the lioness in her son’s skin on his eyes, and his sick eyes became worse.

12 Let’s see what the doctor is going to say, what he is going to prescribe as a cure. He¹⁵³ told him, “You need musty water from [the saddle] where two mountains meet.”¹⁵⁴ Two mountains touch each other and the musty water is between them. And one must take that water and bring it to the Sultan to smear on his eyes so that his eyes will heal.

13 His sons-in-law inquired where those mountains are, which touch each other. Where is that mountain, which touches another? Where is the water?

152 The Moroccan expression used here is: *wāhli qāddās!* This phrase is meant to intensify the adjective that follows and therefore in effect means “very.” This is how this expression is typically used in Chaouen; but for its various other meanings and general semantic usage in MA see DAF, XII, 286.

153 In the original text the narrator uses the 3rd person masculine plural instead of the 3rd person masculine singular when referring to the doctor. Such inconsistencies occur rather frequently in the original and are indicated where they occur; but in the English translation use the same person is used throughout to maintain the flow of the narrative.

154 This request is consistent with the essential topographic features of the city of Chaouen, where mountains and water have symbolic meanings in the imagination of its inhabitants and thus play central roles in their folklore: see Graf (1930), 44–46, and Hoenerbach and Kolenda (1975), 104–106, 109. However, this seems to be a genuine request and occurs in other variants of this tale: see Stumme (1895), 119–131 (esp. 126), tale no. 15, “Die Geschichte von den beiden Knaben, die das Herz und den Kopf des Vogels gegessen hatten, und von der Rhalia Bint Manssor,” in which the sons-in-law “müsst Wasser zwischen zwei Felsen herausholen, die sich nur einmal im Jahre öffnen”; and Légy (1926), 132–138 (esp. 135), tale no. xxx, “Le ghoûl et le fils du bûcheron,” in which “... *Elma ellî tzhghert wa el-qṣab ellî ichtah* ... de l’Eau qui pousse des youyous et le Roseau qui danse”; Laouist (1949), vol. I, 119–123, vol. II, 204–209 (esp. 206), tale no. CXIII, “Le fils du bûcheron et son cheval magique,” in which “l’eau d’entre les sept rochers” is requested as a remedy to cure the sick king; and the tale “Histoire d’Abderrahman” in Scelles-Millie (1970), 82–94 (esp. 88 and n. 6 on 95–96), where an old woman, serving the role of the doctor in the present tale, requires “l’eau d’Entre-deux-monts” as a remedy. This same request occurs in other folktales: see for example Frobenius translated by Fetta (1997), 201–212 (esp. 207), tale no. 39, “Les sept soeurs abandonnées.” A very touching and beautiful tale titled “Oum-Hani,” which has the mountains of Chaouen as its setting, is Chimenti (1965), 6–10.

They ran day and night. But they did not find anything. They did not find where to bring the water from. He [the bald brother-in-law] put the slippers on his feet and went to the garden. The afrit met him, said to him, “Ask me, ask me. What do you want?” He told him, “I want musty water from [the saddle] where mountains touch each other.” He told him, “All right, O my lord.” The afrit went and took the musty water from [the saddle] where mountains touch and brought it in a pot. [The bald one went to his brothers-in-law] and asked them, “What have you done?” They told him, “We couldn’t find a single mountain touching another with water between them. There are only mountains which open this way and close the same way,¹⁵⁵ which open this way and close the same way.” And they needed to take the water that was [in the saddle] between the mountains. He told them, “Give me your small fingers and here is the musty water from the mountains that touch each other.” They replied, “Very well.” Each one of them took his dagger and cut off one of his [small] fingers and gave it to him. He put them in a small box with a mummifying ungent. They bandaged their hands. And they brought that musty water from the mountains that touch each other to the King.

“Oh, oh, oh these brave men! What great insight! Such great knowledge! They went to a mountain that touches another mountain, and entered [the saddle] between those mountains and took the water between them. And they brought it to the King to smear on his eyes to heal them.” They brought it. The King told them, “Come, gather around. Come! I will prepare a party for you.” He arranged a party – and food and drinks and all kinds of sweets and all kinds of drinks. Whatever they desired was granted to them. He smeared the water, that musty water from the mountains that touch each other. But to no avail: his eyes got worse. 14

He said, “I need a doctor again to find out what can be done for my eyes.” He couldn’t see a thing. And his eyes hurt him. And they became inflamed. And he could not see anything at all. “Now, where is the one who will bring me a remedy?”¹⁵⁶ [His sons-in-law asked of another physician], “What does he need?” “He needs the apple of ĞĀyṣa the daughter of Məṇṣūr, the one who 15

155 A saddle between two mountain peaks form a ridge from which water drains down both faces: obviously it is difficult to find standing water which has become “musty” in such an area.

156 For the quest for a cure in folktales in general see Aarne and Thompson (1961), 197, tale-type “551, *The Sons on a Quest for a Wonderful Remedy for their Father*.” [The youngest succeeds with the help of an eagle or a dwarf and various magic objects. The brothers gain possession of the remedy.]

crossed the Seven Seas.¹⁵⁷ He has to smell that apple, to smell it and to eat it, and his eyes will open and will be healed.”¹⁵⁸ [The King asked], “Where is the

157 A similar demand for a medicine for the King’s sickness occurs in other variants of this tale: see Stumme (1895), 119–131 (esp. 127), tale no. 15, “Die Geschichte von den beiden Knaben, die das Herz und den Kopf des Vogels gegessen hatten, und von der Rhalia Bint Manssor,” where “einen Apfel aus dem Garten der Rhalia Bint Manssor, die über den sieben Meeren wohnt” is requested; Légy (1926), 132–138 (esp. 135), tale no. XXX, “Le ghoûl et le fils du bûcheron,” in which the requirement is “... une Pomme du jardin d’el-Ghalliya Bent Manşour, qui habite la septième mer” (*Tffâh dial El-Ghalliya Bent Manşour elli sâkna seb’a bhoûr*); Laoust (1949), vol. I, 119–123, vol. II, 204–209 (esp. 208), tale no. CXIII, “Le fils du bûcheron et son cheval magique,” where the request is for “une pomme du jardin de Zahra, fille de Zhor!” A similar demand – “des pommes du jardin de Rabia bent Mançour” *elli qetâ sbâ bhour âla dehar en-nçour* (Rabia bent Mançour qui traversa sept mers sur le dos de l’aigle) – occurs in the tale “Histoire d’Abderrahman” in Scelles-Millie (1970), 82–94: see esp. 89, n. 7 p. 96 for other references to tales that contain this same demand. In the Jewish Tetuani folktale “Los hijos del mercader” a possible parallel with the legendary ʕĀyša, the daughter of Məṇşūr of the present tale appears in the character of “Zahora Bentsojara, Sihara hija del sol, viviendo en los siete mares”: see de Larrea Palacín (1952), 89–97 (esp. 93), tale no. 26. Another tale where a similar legendary character appears is the Algerian Kabylia tale “Les sept années de malheur de Hâroûn ar-Rachîd” in Dermenghem (1945), 119–127 (esp. 123, 124): here the protagonist Hâroûn ar-Rachîd seeks “*taffah en naqfa ’llî redd er-roûh*, La Pomme de senteur qui rend l’esprit.” In the Algerian tale no. 1, “La pomme de Alia, la fille de Mansour qui vit au-delà des sept bhours,” in Mehadjji (2002), 12–16 (esp. 12–13), the King demands an apple of Alia as a condition for marriage to his daughter. The Seven Seas also seem to be a common motif in the folk traditions of the Arab World: see El-Shamy (1995), 454, “*Seas Encircle the World A872.*”; and “*Seas Surround the Earth Z71.5.2.0.18.*” In the present tale the Seven Seas are used to describe the location of the legendary character, the jinn, ʕĀyša the daughter of Məṇşūr; in others it is used to describe the dwelling of one of the protagonists: see for example El-Shamy (1999), 262–269 (esp. 268), tale no. 33, “Pearls-On-Vines,” in which the co-protagonist’s dwelling is located “between the Seven Seas.”

158 This apple is known as the “apple of life” in the Kabylia tale no. 2, “La femme ingrate,” in Frobenius translated by Fetta (1996), 19–35: see esp. 22, 23, “... ces pommes de vie qui ne poussent que dans un pays lointain, un pays situé bien au delà des mers, un pays duquel personne n’est jamais revenu vivant! ... les Sept Mers pour enfin atterir au fameux pays des pommes de vie.” In both the Kabylia tale as well as the present tale (see below), the protagonists need a number of pieces, mostly seven, of a very big (black) bull to obtain the apples. This could be interpreted as residual or remembrance of paganism in the form of a sacrifice to a goddess. As has been stated, the apple as a motif in folk traditions of the Arab world has various meanings. In the present tale and its variants (see for example Laoust [1949], vol. I, 119–123, the vol. II, 204–209 (esp. 208, 214, n. 9), tale no. CXIII, “Le fils du bûcheron et son cheval magique”) the apple is the “*Magic Healing Apple D1500.1.5.1*” of El-Shamy (1995), 28.

garden of that ḤĀyša the daughter of Məṇṣūr, the one who crossed the Seven Seas?” [The physician] told him, “Your sons-in-law who brought the musty water, they can bring you the apple of ḤĀyša the daughter of Məṇṣūr, the one who crossed the Seven Seas. She sleeps for six months, and remains awake for six months, and she is the Sultana who rules six months and sleeps six months.”¹⁵⁹ The sons-in-law mounted the horses and went at hazard, aimless, into the wilderness, and at hazard into the forest. How are they going to find the way to ḤĀyša the daughter of Məṇṣūr? Where are the seas they are supposed to cross to bring the apple? – and so forth.

He [the bald son-in-law] put the slippers on his feet and went to the garden. As soon as he had entered the garden, the afrit said to him, “Here I am, my lord. Command whatever you desire.” He replied, “I want the apples of ḤĀyša the daughter of Məṇṣūr, the one who crossed the Seven Seas.” He said to him, “O my wise lord, I need a very big bull, and I will make from it seven pieces of *qāddidā*.¹⁶⁰ I will spread them over the seas so that I can get to ḤĀyša the daughter of Məṇṣūr.” He [the bald] replied, “That’s not my problem!”¹⁶¹ – He

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159 On this legendary figure see n. 157 above. In a variant of this tale in Stumme (1895), 119–131 (esp. 129), tale no. 15, “Die Geschichte von den beiden Knaben, die das Herz und den Kopf des Vogels gegessen hatten, und von der Rhalia Bint Manssor,” this same legendary personage under the name of “Rhalia Bint Manssor” is described as follows: “Sie pflegt ein ganzes Jahr zu schlafen und ein ganzes Jahr wach zu bleiben.” Légy (1926), 71–73, a tale told by a storyteller named Zahra, an old slave of Sultan Mūlāy l-Ḥassan, describes this young and beautiful female demoniac character and the way to reach to her in a way which parallels the present tale: see tale no. xv, “Histoire d’el-Ghaliya Bent Manşour (souveraine des sept mers et des oiseaux).” Légy (1926), 132–138 (esp. 136), tale no. xxx, “Le ghoûl et le fils du bûcheron,” which could be a variant of the present tale, this jinn is said to “... dormait et son sommeil durait un mois et son réveil un mois.” See also El-Shamy (1980), 63–72 (esp. 67), tale no. 9, “The Promises of the Three Sisters.” ḤĀyša the daughter of Məṇṣūr might also be an ogress.

160 DMA, 112 “meat cut up to be smoked.” According to de Prémare, DAF, x, 251, this term means “viande de conserve coupée en lanières et salée; on la mange telle quelle ou on en fait du confit – *xliṣ* (AR: this word occurs in tale 18, “*zbiṣa* / *zbiṣa*,” see n. 124, p. 360) [Co, Co Ġzāwa, Br, Loub].” The singular is *qāddida*, which de Prémare says means “n.u *qāddida* un morceau de cette viande [Br].” The sacrifice of a bull is required to ready *l-qāddid* | *l-qāddidā*. The sacrifice is made before entering ḤĀyša’s cave, which is guarded by the sea. On this same context and its interpretation see Légy (1926), 132–138 (esp. 136), tale no. xxx, “Le ghoûl et le fils du bûcheron,” and Scelles-Millie (1970), 96, 98, the tale “Histoire d’ Abderrahman.”

161 The idiom used here is: *dabbār rāsəç*. This same expression appears in DAF, IV, 215, but with a preposition *l* after the verb: *dabbār l rāsək* “débrouille-toi!, tire-toi d’affaire comme tu pourras ...” This expression also occurs in the plural: *dabbəru l roşəkum* “débrouillez-vous vous même!”

did not want to bring him that thing. – The bald one told him, “That’s not my problem. Do not tell me anything. I just want you to bring me the apples of ʕĀyša the daughter of Məṇṣūr.” He replied, “All right, O my *Sīdi*.” The afrit vanished.¹⁶²

17 ʕĀyša the daughter of Məṇṣūr has afrits encircling her land. The [afrit] made seven *qāddīdāʕ*, and he spread¹⁶³ one over each sea. He needed another one: he was trying to take one *qāddīda*, two fell [onto the sea]. So he cut [the lost one] from his thigh.¹⁶⁴ He was determined! And he spread it over the sea and arrived at the garden of ʕĀyša the daughter of Məṇṣūr. He brought him the apple: the afrit told him, “Here is the apple of ʕĀyša the daughter of Məṇṣūr, who has crossed the Seven Seas.” He took the apple to them [the sons-in-law]. He asked them, “What have you done?” They said, “We got tired from running and got tired from dashing around. And we did not find the garden. We did not find the sea. And now you should arrange this for us. You brought us the musty water, you brought us the milk of the lioness, and now you have to bring us the apples of ʕĀyša the daughter of Məṇṣūr.” He told them, “For me to bring you the apples of ʕĀyša the daughter of Məṇṣūr, you must hand over to me the apples that were given to you [by the King’s daughters]. In exchange I will give you the apples of ʕĀyša the daughter of Məṇṣūr.” They told him, “Here they are.” Each one took out an apple and gave it to him. He went to the Sultan. They [the sons-in-law] came. [The people] went out to receive them: “Huzza, huzza!” They had brought what the King needed. They brought the apples of ʕĀyša the daughter of Məṇṣūr, who has crossed the Seven Seas. He will smell them. As soon as he smells the apples, his eyes will heal.

18 The Sultan took one apple, smelled it. His eyes opened. He took an apple and began to eat it and he felt better.¹⁶⁵ He recovered very well.¹⁶⁶ He told them, “I

162 The expression used here is: *mša* + the subject + *tāyār*.

163 This translation is based principally on the context. The verb used here is *lāttih*, which is from *tāh*, basically meaning “to fall.” About this very common verb and its many idioms and expressions see DAF, VIII, 391–394.

164 Compare the parallel contexts in variants of this tale in Stumme (1895), 119–131 (esp. 129), tale no. 15, “Die Geschichte von den beiden Knaben, die das Herz und den Kopf des Vogels gegessen hatten, und von der Rhalia Bint Manssor”; Légy (1926), 132–138 (esp. 136), tale no. xxx, “Le ghoûl et le fils du bûcheron”; and “Histoire d’Abderrahman” in Scelles-Millie (1970), 82–94 (esp. 91, n. 8), 96–98. In a tale with a different context, but which includes this same universal literary motif, see Lacoste-Dujardin (2010), 76–86 (esp. 82), “Mhamed, le fils de la négresse et ses six frères.”

165 Idiom: *zyān ʕlih l-hāl*. This semantically equals the next expression: see the following note.

166 Idiom: *ʕəḡḡa ʕlih l-hāl*. This expression and the previous one are interchangeable.

am going to have a wonderful party for you.” He gave orders to his people. The one who had a violin had to bring it, the one who had an oud had to bring it, the one who had a mandolin had to bring it, the one who knew how to play the tambourine had to bring it. He was going to have a party for his sons-in-law. He was going to celebrate the wedding of all of them, who had brought the milk of the lioness milked in the skin of its son, and who had brought the musty water found [in the saddle] where mountains touch each other, and who had brought the apples of ħĀyša the daughter of Məṣṣūr, who has crossed the Seven Seas. He was going to give a party that no other person could give. Nobody in this entire world could throw such a party!

They remained seated there – and so forth. They boasted, “We are the 19
Bringers, who have brought!” He [the bald man] said, “O Commander of the Faithful! All these men are worthless. I am the one who brought the musty water. I am the one who brought the milk of the lioness milked into its son’s skin. And I am the one who brought the apples. They gave me the lobes of their ears. See that the lobes of their ears are cut off.” [The King asked him], “Where is the small box?” He replied, “Here, here it is.” He told him, “I brought them the musty water found [in the saddle] where the mountains touch each other, [and] they gave me their small fingers – none of them has that finger. I marked them. I am the one who managed to do everything.” [The Sultan] said, “Oh, oh, oh! He is a real Sultan and I am not. He was able to catch the mother of the lion, the lioness, and its son too, and sacrifice it and skin it, and milk her over her son’s skin.”

He had a party for them – he had a party for them. The bald man took the 20
highest place.¹⁶⁷ Everyone bowed in reverence before him. This is the bald’s man tale. His bride felt happy: she had been the insignificant one; she became as the important one. The decision is hers, and the consent is hers.¹⁶⁸ She does as she likes.

He celebrated the wedding of the [first] of his [sons-in-law], and of the 21
following, till he reached the bald one. When the bald man’s turn arrived, [the

167 The expression used here is *x f-ər-rās l-šāli*, the meaning of which is given by de Prémare, DAF, IX, 220, meaning 4: “d’un haut rang social ... il jouit d’une grande considération; il occupe un rang prestigieux.” De Prémare cites several idioms under this meaning, though not the one the used here.

168 The idiom *ħġyya r-rāy* can be compared to the one mentioned by de Prémare: *r-reyy kullu dyāli*, which means “toute l’initiative de prendre une décision m’appartient.” For this expression and its numerous usages see *rāy* in DAF, V, 20–21. Concerning the equivalent semantic idiom *x š-šwār šwār* (+ pronominal suffix), see DAF, VII, 219, where, however, the present expression has not been mentioned.

Sultan] asked him, “Tell me what you desire¹⁶⁹ for your wedding. I will bring it to pass for you.” He said, “To gather all the poor of our people and offer them plenty of food and drink, and to dress them in fine clothes. You make clothes for each one of them.” – For such a large number of poor people from the entire nation! – He answered, “Yes.” He gathered the poor people. He made clothes for this one, and the other one, and so on. There was plenty of food. [They held the wedding] in the Sultan’s house for three days with their wives and their children. They had all what they needed in the Sultan’s house.

22 There we leave them and return to our way.

169 Idiom: *š ḥābbiʕ f-əl-xāṭār dyāləç?* The term *xāṭār*, especially in combination with different verbs, is commonly used in Moroccan Arabic: for example *ḥābb* (+ \emptyset or + preposition *f*) + *xāṭār* and *qāl, ǧa* (+ preposition *ʕla*) + *xāṭār*. For various meanings, usages, and examples of this term see DAF, IV, 103–105.

Hārūn ar-Rāšīd [and His Three Viziers]¹⁷⁰

Once upon a time there was a Sultan, the Sultan of a land (they said of him) 1
 who ruled over some countries of the Arabs. One day he rose and proclaimed
 to his counselors that if anyone was found wandering the alleys in the evening,
 he should be seized, beat fifty lashes, and banished from the country, no matter
 who he may be.

Then the King [took thought within himself] and said, “I gave this order.¹⁷¹ 2
 Now I do not know whether or not they are going to carry it out. I will go out
 myself to check.” He put on soiled clothes fastened with a cord, and went out.
 He went out and came to a mosque [and] found a muezzin locking the mosque.
 He said to him, “Peace be upon you, O muezzin. I have come a long way. I
 am a stranger, so please let me enter this mosque to spend the night.” He [the
 muezzin] had been instructed not to allow anyone to sleep in the mosque at
 night, to spend the night in the mosque. After the call to the evening prayer,
 when the prayer is over, all mosques must be closed. So he [the muezzin] said
 to him, “You have come a long way. You must be hungry. Now I am going to lock
 the mosque, and go home and bring you some food. Then you can sleep.” [The
 Sultan] replied, “No, do not bring me any food. Just open the mosque for me.”
 [The muezzin] said, “No, not until I go to my house and bring you some food.

170 A variant of the third and final theme of this tale is in Frobenius translated by Fetta (1997), 194–200, tale no. 38, “Le petit pois magique,” in which ‘le petit pois magique’ is substituted for the magic ring. Another difference between the present tale and this variant is the highly sophisticated role of the animals owned by the protagonist of the stolen ring. Another variant of the present story is Laoust (1949), vol. I, 102–103, vol. II, 165–167 (notes on 167–169), tale no. c, “Le fils de la cardeuse.” In this story the thief of the magic ring is a Jew, and the role of the mouse in the present tale is played by a cat, which recovers the ring when the dog loses it in the sea. In any case, in both versions the victims recover the magical ring and the thieves receive their just desserts. For this tale-type see Aarne and Thompson (1961), 199, “554, *The Grateful Animals*,” [the task is to bring a ring or key from the bottom of the sea], and “560, *The Magic Ring*.” [The grateful animals (cat and dog) recover the ring.] See *ibid.*, 202–203.

171 The narrator uses here the term *qāwāla*, meaning “order, allegation, plea,” which is semantically equivalent to the Moroccan *qōl / qawl / qoi*, the active noun from the verb *qāl* “allegation.” For detailed information on this term and its use as a component in different expressions see DAF, X, 456–457. This MA term could be related to the CA noun *qawla* meaning “máxima, sentencia.” For this meaning see Corriente, DAE, 983 under *qawl*.

You should eat so you can sleep.” The muezzin left – closed the mosque and left.¹⁷²

- 3 This King, they said of him, was named Hārūn ar-Rāšīd. He stayed in the mosque’s door waiting for the muezzin to come back, to check if the order he had given to his people¹⁷³ was being observed or not. While he was seated, the change of the night watch passed. They asked him, “What do you have to say for [yourself]?” He answered, “I am going to spend the night in the mosque and the muezzin went to bring the mosque’s key from his house.” They told him, “Stand up!” and they seized him, beat him, and threw him out of the city. He said [to himself], “Oy veh!¹⁷⁴ By giving this order for everyone, including myself, I am doing hurt to myself!”
- 4 They told him to leave and to stay out. His back hurt after the beating. [He followed the road] until he saw a lantern¹⁷⁵ far away. He followed the light till he came to [the place of the lantern]. He knocked, entered, and found three men. “Peace be upon you.” They replied, “And upon you peace.” They [the three men] stared at each other [in surprise because] they recognized him.
- 5 One said to one of the others, “You, fellow!” He answered, “Yes?” “You have to read the tea leaves for us from your teapot¹⁷⁶ and tell us what has happened to you in this world, since you were born; all about your life since you came

172 For an analogous beginning to this story, see tale no. 110, “Haroun er Rachid et la fille du roi des génies,” in Basset (1897), republished in Basset (2008), 136–138 (esp. 136).

173 The narrator’s words here are *ʔāwāmīr lli hūwwa dāffā f-əš-šāʕb dyālu*. Here the root *DFʕ* is followed by the preposition *f-*. This combination in this particular context is not common. One example from ChA is the verb *x dāffā f- Y*, meaning “to push s.o. to do something” or simply “to push s.o.” In de Prémare, *DAF*, IV, 296 one example is attested under *dāffā: idāffāʕ* + the preposition *f-* as “s’efforcer.” But even if the preposition used here is the same as the one used in the context above, the verb in the present context is not intransitive, and the stem is different: de Prémare uses a *D* stem in the example, while the narrator uses the *G* stem. The verb *dfāʕ* followed by the preposition *l-* and the preposition *ʕla* frequently occurs in ChA as well as in MA generally, as has been recorded by de Prémare. For the detailed meaning of this verb and its many uses and expressions see *DAF*, IV, 294–296.

174 The original used here is *āhyi*.

175 The narrator uses here the term *n-nūwwāra*, which does not occur as such in any of the nouns derived from the root *nōwwar*, “illuminer, éclairer (qqn. ou qqch.),” in *DAF*, XI, 492–494. However, the context of this text indicates that the semantic field of this noun has to be related to *nōwwar* and its basic meaning.

176 This is the meaning of the expression *dhāllīl nna kāsəç*. This expression occurs only in this tale, but repeatedly in different passages, and always in the same context and with the same semantic value. The meaning of the verb *hāll* included in de Prémare, *DAF*, III, 201, under number 7, “analyser, expliquer, dégager qqch. de ses obscurités, décomposer dans ses détails [Co],” fits the context here. However this expression is not mentioned by de Prémare.

into the world, what you have done, and what has happened to you during the course of your life.” He told them, “My father was a very rich man. He owned a business. Then that man died – my father died. My mother told me, ‘My son, arise, take the keys of the store, go to the store,¹⁷⁷ buy and sell for your own profit.’¹⁷⁸ I took the keys of the store to open its door, opened it, and found all manner of articles that he had owned. He had of every kind. I took a seat and a certain woman came to me: ‘O *Sīdī!*¹⁷⁹ Does this store belong to its owner?’ I answered her, ‘Yes’. She asked me, ‘Where is he?’ ‘He passed away.’ She said, ‘God, God, God’ and started crying [...] and she lashed herself. Then I told her, ‘Enough! We have already finished with the mourning.’ She asked me, ‘How can I find another person like your father! That man used to treat me with courtesy.’ I told her, ‘Be assured that I will treat you as my father did.’ She replied, ‘God bless you!’ Then I asked her, ‘What do you want?’ She answered, ‘This is what I used to take: From this type of silk¹⁸⁰ I used to take so-and-so much. From this type of silver I used to take so-and-so much. From this type of gold I used to take so-and-so much, whether I had brought the money or not.’ I told her, ‘All right, it does not matter.’ She took a large tablecloth [and] I asked her, ‘Say what should I take out for you.’ ‘Give me this and that and the other thing,’ till she had filled [the tablecloth]. And she bound up what was hers. She called upon a beggar to carry it for her. The moment he tried to take it, she told him, ‘Oh stop!’ I asked her, ‘What’s the matter?’ She told me, ‘You must come with me to my house to see that I do not intend to steal your goods. You do not know who I am; you do not know where my house is. I want you to know where my house is!’” He answered her, “Very well.”

He closed his store. She led and he followed her to the house. She opened the door of the house [and] entered its courtyard. What a house he found! Such a marvelous house! When she arrived at the house, she called, “*Xādīža*,

177 Again the narrator uses a CA term: *d-dukkan*, “store.”

178 The idiom used here is: *mša rāsəç*.

179 De Prémare, DAF, VI, 255 explains that this term is a reduced form of *sīyed*, used when it appears as the first term in the construction chain, and when it is followed by a personal name. In the present text this form is attested repeatedly by the vocative. For a detailed use of this term, its wide semantic nuances, and examples see, DAF, VI, 255–256.

180 Hoenerbach and Kolenda (1973), 17, 40 note that silkworm breeding was done in both Chaouen and Granada, although this industry no longer exists. One of the first European visitors to Chaouen, Harris (1889), 21 wrote, “In the house in which I was, I noticed three large baskets of silkworm cocoons, and no doubt the cultivation of the silkworm is carried on to some extent, owing principally to the great number of mulberry trees.” Al-Ṣāfya (1982), 221 says that the production of silk in Chaouen was done by women.

Xādīža, O Xādīža!” She answered, “Yes Mother?” She told her, “Come, carry *Sīdi Mūḥāmmād* on your back¹⁸¹ to the balcony.”¹⁸² He said, “No, I will use my own feet.” She answered, “No. No way! We will carry you, you will go up on Xādīža’s back.” “I will go up on my own feet.” She told him again, “No, you must go up on her back.” Xādīža carried him on her back.¹⁸³ Mūḥāmmād rode on her back up to the balcony.

- 7 He entered the upper rooms of the house and found that she had silk, silver, and gold. “Oh what richness!” She came and sat down. She told him, “This is my house, this is my place.” Then he replied, “Good.” She called, “My daughter!”¹⁸⁴ who answered, “Yes?” She told her, “Give me that bronze tile.”¹⁸⁵ She reached for the bronze tile and took hold of it and [immediately] a mouse appeared and a cat too. She seized them and put them on the plow and set up the plow and used it. And she reached for a bowl and a container full of seeds, and she scattered those seeds and spread them in the middle of the place. She spread them and began to plow. He just stared: “This is amazing! What is she doing!” She plowed here and the seed grew there. When she had finished plowing, the seed had ripened. She called, “My daughter Xādīža!” She answered, “Yes?” “Bring me the sickles.” She brought the sickles. She and her daughter began to harvest. They continued harvesting. They brought a sieve, and they rubbed and pressed [the seed in the sieve]. And they brought a piece of wood and they beat the seed. “Thump! Thump! Thump!” She told her [daughter], “Give me that grinder, give me that grinder.” She brought that grinder and put it down, and the grinder began to mill, and yielded the finest flour, wheat flour of a very good quality. She finished grinding. She put the flour [aside] and brought a large clay plate. She kneaded [the flour] and sat down to prepare bread.¹⁸⁶

181 The man is carried on the woman’s back in northern Morocco normally in the rural areas, and only on the nuptial night: see for example the Moroccan tale no. x, “Histoire de la jeune fille à la tête et la peau d’ane,” in Légy (1926), 52–55 (esp. 55). This sentence, and indeed the whole passage, might have sexual implications: compare El-Shamy (1977), 60.

182 See pp. 72–73.

183 See footnote 181 above.

184 The term *bənṭi* puts the mother in a socially superior position to her daughter. She thus controls the events of the story. On the many meanings and attitudes associated with the term *bənṭ* “(presumably virgin) girl, maiden,” which is heavily loaded with information about a woman’s social and moral status, see Dwyer (1978), 61–62, Herrero (1996), 127, and Hachimi (2001), 41–42.

185 See p. 73.

186 The exact meaning of the term *r-rġifāḥ* is the diminutive plural of *rġifa*: “crêpe très mince de pâte huilée, repliée en manière de feuilleté, cuite au poêlon, mangée enduite de beurre et de miel.” See DAF, V, 151–152, esp. under meaning 1. For a detailed definition of this term

“I stared at this thing, just looked. I could neither speak nor talk. And both 8
of them, she and her daughter, made that thing. They brought a bread pan, and
she made bread.” She told him, “You cannot come to my house without tasting
some of my food. I prepared this food for you so that you can taste it.” They made
ready the first bread. He ate it – delicious, sweet and good. She asked him, “By
the way,¹⁸⁷ do you wish to drink? Do you need some water?” He answered, “Yes,
give me some water.” She told her, “Give me that bowl.” She brought one bowl,
and as soon as she had poured water into it, she made a gesture¹⁸⁸ and the water
shot to the ceiling and fell back into the bowl. As the water fell back into the
bowl, she took it and uttered,¹⁸⁹ “Come out, O image of man! And come in, O
image of dog!” And as a result of her exhortation of the water, *Sīdi Mūḥammad*
was changed – in other words, into a dog.¹⁹⁰ She took a stick, and her daughter

see the same reference under meanings 2, 3, and 4. For a more detailed definition of this
dish and its recipe, see Abu-Shams (2002), 137–138. This term is derived from the CA رغيف,
which refers to “all kinds of bread.” The MA *rǧīfa* is of limited use in Chaouen; its synonym
fīra, plural *fīyār* is more common. In Egypt the latter are famed as special delicacies of
country cuisine (see El-Shamy [1999], 377 n. 291).

187 De Prémare defines the use of the interrogative particle *yāç* + *ma* as: “[*en interr. négative, introduisant un soupçon*] *yāk mā* est-ce que, par hasard, ce ne serait pas ...?” For this specific use see DAF, XII, 297, meaning 2. For other possible combinations and meanings see under meanings 1, 3, and 4 on 297–298.

188 The original sentence is: *šāmlāθ n-əl-ma ha*. This statement was accompanied by a gesture by the narrator: through *ha* he shows what the woman did to the water. Concerning the magical power of water in folktales see n. 190 and 196 below.

189 The narrator here uses the verb *kādsārrād šlth*, which derives from the verb *sārrād*, basically meaning “... débiter ... lire un texte ... [Co].” See DAF, VI, 70 under *sārrād II*. The effort to cast a magical spell involves making a specific gesture (or gestures) accompanied with, or followed by, the intonation of a formula or incantation. Doutté defines the latter in this way: “L’incantation est un rite oral: c’est-à-dire que le geste de la magie imitative y est remplacé par son équivalent phonétique; la seule énonciation du phénomène désiré suffit à le susciter.” For a detailed commentary on incantations and oral rites see Chapter III in Doutté (1994), 103–142, 143.

190 The metamorphosis of a man into a dog appears in other Moroccan folktales, such as Légy (1926), 59–60 (esp. 59), tale no. XII, “Le pauvre et le chien.” Magical water and an incantation are often involved in this process: see for example the Libyan tale no. 38, “Brother Deer,” in which, as he is about to drink, the protagonist hears a voice saying, “He who drinks from this well will become a dog!” See El-Shamy (1999), 293–299 (esp. 295). Another instance of the metamorphosis of man into dog, but this time by means of a pin, occurs in an Egyptian tale in El-Shamy (1980), 54–63, 254 (esp. 61, 62), tale no. 8, “Louliyya, Daughter of Morgan”: the heroine is transformed into a dog as soon as she is pierced by pins stuck into her by an ogre. The metamorphosis of humans into animals is a frequent objective of magical rituals: see Doutté (1994), 52.

took another stick, and they began beating him. “Help! Help! Help!” he cried. And then they threw him out, black and blue from his bruises.

9 He went from there directly to his house, hurrying, hurrying till he reached his house. He went straight to his bed, [and] laid down. His youngest sister entered. She found a dog sleeping in the place of her brother, and said, “O mother!” She answered, “Yes?” and she told her, “A dog is sleeping in my brother’s bed!” They approached him, and beat him and threw him outside. It was raining, a chill wind was blowing, and it was cold.

10 He went to the entrance of the [hammam’s] furnace¹⁹¹ and collapsed. The furnace attendant caught him – caught him and threw him into the fire. Then he said, “How could I do this, this is a fault. God does not like it. I am killing this dog.” He seized him and pulled him out. He found that his jowl was already scorched, and his eyes were already burnt out. He took him out and he said, “O God, forgive what I have done to this dog! I threw him into the fire. I am going to restore him and heal him, and I will not eat till he eats.” He took him out and started healing him. And whatever food they brought for the owner of the hammam, the food they brought he gave to him, telling him, “You go first” day after day, day after day.

11 Once he [the dog] was sitting at the entrance to the hammam¹⁹² and a woman and her daughter came. He said [to himself], “This is the woman who made me look so.” He sat staring at her. Her daughter told her, “O mother.” She answered, “Yes, O daughter?” She told her, “This hound,¹⁹³ this furnace attendant’s dog, has been looking at us since we appeared. He has not stopped staring at us.” She told her, “This is not a dog. This is so-and-so, the son of the merchant so-and-so, and now if he waits for me till I have entered the hammam, and have bathed, then I will take him home to heal him.” He heard, and he went to the hammam’s entrance and sat down. Soon after she came out from the hammam, and found him sitting there. She told him, “Make haste!” They led and he followed them, they led and he followed them, till they got to the door of the house. They opened the door. They entered. He tried to enter too, but a slave took him and threw him out ... He told him, “Move!” He [the slave] entered, and she asked him, “Where is the dog?” He told her, “I kept him out.” She replied,

191 The original expression is *mūl l-fūrnāci*. Contrast this with the expression *mwālīn al-ferrān* by Rackow (1958), 3, n. 1. and pp. 74–75, 117, n. 133.

192 See pp. 73–74.

193 The term *qānīʕ* is an euphemism for the common noun *ǧru*. De Prémare, DAF, X, 442 mentioned this term as *qānāʕ* [zool.; euph.] meaning “chien. [Co, Co Mrkch, Loub.]”; see n. 138, p. 118.

“By God, if you do not bring him in, you son of a nigger¹⁹⁴ – Yeah! Yeah! Yeah! You slave, if you do not bring that dog, I will break your back with this stick.”

The slave went out, and found that he was standing up near a wall. He carried him and put him inside. He told her, “Here it is.” When he entered she told him, “*Sīdi Mūḥāmmād*, I am going to heal you, but you promise me, by God, not to speak about this. Do not to say what I have done to you. You do not know me. I did not do anything to you.”¹⁹⁵ ... She brought a bowl like the other one and filled it with water. That water shot from the bowl toward the sky and fell back into the bowl. Once, twice, thrice the water fell back to her hand and she called(?),¹⁹⁶ “Come out, O image of dog, and come in, O image of man.” And the man changed back to man, as he had been. When ... he tried to see her, his eyes weren’t like they had been before – and so forth. –

[The narrator] asked them [the men who were sitting with him there], “Should I make her appear?” He told them, “You know this stick, this one stick?¹⁹⁷ You must hide it within, next to your body. Here is a bridle. You go and knock at the woman’s house door. Her house is the place so-and-so. Her door looks such-a-way. Knock at her door, and she will come out to you. When she comes out, she will be breathless with surprise. Seize her and carry her off. Bridle her, take out the stick, and mount her. You will find a trench. Tell her, ‘You are the one that says, ‘I and I and I.’ Slap her with the stick. Hit her and pull her. She must eat with the bridle, drink with the bridle, and sleep with the

194 The term *gnāwi*, not just in this peculiar context but in general, has the overtones of a racially-charged curse, suggesting it should be translated into English as “nigger.” About this term see de Prémare, DAF, X, 740; and under n. 5 above and commentary on pp. 78–79.

195 This is a common request that spirits / jinns make. See the Moroccan tale no. XIII, الضفدعة الحامل in Chakir (2010), 144–147 (esp. 147).

196 The verb used here is *štaf* + the preposition *ʕl*. This verb occurs in de Prémare, DAF, VII, 29 *štaf*: “laver/savonner du linge et l’essorer en le foulant aux pieds en cadence sur une longue pierre plate etc.” This basic meaning corresponds to CA *šattaf*, “aclarar la ropa, enjuagar” (see Corriente, DAE, 603). One of the expressions under this term mentioned by de Prémare, which may fit the context here, is, “*štafhātaf* ou *štaf ʕaitaf*: tout en piétinant, l’homme dit et répète à haute voix, pour s’encourager et marquer la cadence.” The translation here of this verb as “to utter” is based mainly on the parallel verb mentioned above, *kādsārrād ʕlīh*, which occurs in exactly the same context: on its meaning see n. 189 above. However, based on the definition of de Prémare in the expression mentioned above, it might be translated it as “to utter (and repeat in high voice)” or “to call out.” The woman’s utterances are a magical incantation to empower the water.

197 This makes reference to a magic wand, which is a common motif in *ʔalf layla wa layla*: see for example in حكاية هارون الرشيد مع محمد علي الجوهري. For more on this motif in the folk traditions of the Arab World see El-Shamy (1995), 484 under “Stick.”

bridle. She must not take the bridle out her mouth. Take her with you.” – He was sitting there with them there, the two men, who were his friends when the King came in. They told the story to say that, You are not the only one who has been beaten: see what we have experienced – and so forth. –

14 When he reached the woman’s house, he did to that woman as he had been told: When she came out he seized her ... he took out the stick, he threatened¹⁹⁸ her with it. He put the bridle on her. He took her out, he took her with him. He asked them, “Do you wish to see the woman.” They answered him, “Yes.” The King marvelled at¹⁹⁹ what has happened to these people.

15 Another one rose. “Tell us, O tell us, fellow, what has happened to you.” He answered them, “I had lands and gardens.²⁰⁰ I often would go to the garden and sit and idle. And whatever I ordered, and everything I needed, I found in that garden. One day I went there and found a maiden. God be praised, Who created her and gave her beauty and comeliness! The girl was very beautiful. Such outstanding beauty! She was sitting there in the garden. I said to her, ‘Peace be upon you, O my lady.’ But she did not reply to my greeting. I said to her, ‘Peace be upon you, O young lady.’ She did not reply to my salutation. I told her, ‘You are sitting in my garden, and in my property, and I am greeting you, but you do not answer my greeting?’ She answered me, ‘I did not mean to ignore your salutation, but my son is here in this tree. He is sitting in this tree, and I am waiting for him. I have no choice. I must take him. However, he does not want to descend, and I cannot climb up the tree. And now, O owner of this land, if you catch my son for me, I will give you whatever you wish in the world. Whatever you wish in this world, I will give it to you if you only catch him for me.’” He told them, “I am an agile man and I climbed the tree immediately.”

16 “I climbed the tree, I touched him,²⁰¹ and he cast me into a land where there was no fly, no insect, nothing at all. Just hot sand [and] a burning sun. I did not find anything. There was no insect or fly or anything. I spent seven days wandering like an animal on all fours. I looked for the sweet grass. I cut from it

198 The immediate context of the verb *šyyār* here suggests this translation. For the different meanings of this verb see de Prémare, DAF, VII, 257–258 under the verb *šyyār*.

199 The narrator uses here the expression *ǧa lāyčūf*, literally “only looking.”

200 About agricultural production in Chaouen see Hoenerbach and Kolenda (1973), 38–40; and in general concerning these terms see p. 161, n. 1 and pp. 70–72.

201 The ChA term used here is *tnəzzīθ flīh*. This verb has to be related to *CA naza*, stem *tanazza*, which in this context basically means “to spring, jump etc.” Wehr, AED, 1125; Corriente, DAE, 1160. This verb is obsolete today in ChA, perhaps because of its sexual connotations. See Ibn Manẓūr, *Lisān al-Šarab*, Vol. 14, 239.

that long white wheat²⁰² and ate it to save myself. Just grass. The seventh day I found a castle. I entered that castle, found in it seven rooms, seven small rooms. I looked into the first one: I found it full of gold. I looked into the second one: I found it full of silver. I looked into the third room: I found it full of fine flour and coarse flour. I looked into the fourth one and I found it full of sheep, male sheep. In the castle one could find everything, there was everything: clothes, kitchen ware, and lots more.” And he said, “Because I was very hungry, I rose and tightened [my waist-cord] and sacrificed forty²⁰³ sheep. And I kneaded forty loaves of bread. As soon as I had prepared the bread, and had prepared the meat, which was well done in the *tāzīn*, and had made everything ready, all the house, all the castle started shouting. The noise grew [and] everything, including the kitchen ware, shot up to the sky and then fell – ‘Thud! Thud! Thud!’ Everything was shouting. I was terrified, and I felt scared. I was very frightened.”

“They had a large pot of clay. I climbed in.²⁰⁴ I said to myself, ‘I can jump into it and sit down.’ And they came. They ate the meat, ate the bread, and started looking for he who had prepared [the food] for them. They told me, ‘Oh, oh, oh, he who has done this for us must appear in front of us. He is under our protection, he is under our protection! He is under God’s protection! Just appear, O man, whoever you are, human being or jinn, or such-a-thing. Come out to us.’ I raised the large pot of clay and I emerged Everything that I had made, the food that I had prepared, bread, meat, they ate everything. Nothing remained, nothing, and I was hungry. I”

They told him, “Welcome whoever is coming to us here. This is the palace. You stay in it, you can stay here. Every day make for us what you made today.” He replied, “Very well.” They left. He rose and he took time to think. He said,

202 *šəntīla* is what de Prémare, DAF, VII, 194 terms *šəntīl*: “[Ġzāwa] / *āšəntīl* n. [berb.; bot.] sorte de blé blanc, plus long que la *šqālyā* [lat. secale ‘seigle’] sorte de blé primitif à chaume plein ... *Triticum monococcum*” (see DAF, VII, 140). Another variant of this term is *šəntī / šəntīya / āšəntī*, which de Prémare defines as “sorte de céréale ressemblant au seigle ...” (DAF, VII, 192). Michaux-Bellaire (1911), 119, 188 defines *اشنتيل / āšəntīl* (variant of ChA *šəntīl*) as “sorte de blé à paille courte et à très petit grain.” Michaux-Bellaire added that “la *chqallīa* et l’*achentīl* ne sont pas coupés à la faucille comme les autres céréales, mais arrachés avec leurs racines ...” In this context see Colin (1986), 1206.

203 Forty is the number usually used in Maghrebin folktales to mean any large number: see Lacoste-Dujardin (2010), 76–86 (esp. 77, n. 5), the tale, “Mhamed, le fils de la négresse et ses six frères.” For other literary meanings of this number see n. 358 and 359 below.

204 This translation follows the context, in which the subsequent sentence describes the action of climbing. The original text reads *qbātṭa u dxūlt*, which literally means “I decided to enter it / I took and entered it.”

17

18

“I Considered. I prepared some food again, a little bit of meal, and I ate it and remained seated. A new day broke. I awoke at dawn. I sacrificed forty male sheep, and I made forty loaves of bread. And as soon as I had prepared everything, they came again. Everything happened again.²⁰⁵ Three years passed and I did this same job, with my robe sleeves pulled up, doing this same work. When they were about to go out, one of them approached me and said, ‘Come.’ I replied, ‘Yes.’ He took me near a certain room and told me, ‘Wander through the entire castle. But beware of approaching this room, or of going into it! Take care! Do not even approach its door!’²⁰⁶ He replied, “Yes.” When they left, he said to himself, “I have been here for three years and I am jailed here. If it is death, I will die; and if it is life, I will live; [but] I am going to open that door and see what is in that room.” Then he said to himself, “I am brave, [and have] all skills.”

19 “I opened the door. When I opened the door, I found a horse²⁰⁷ and a slave. The head [of the horse] was at one wall and his feet were at the opposite wall,

205 The expression used here is *hād šī hūwwa hāydāç*.

206 This refers to a room/space which the hero should not enter because the door leads to a room or other space inhabited by jinns. Entering the forbidden space signifies his heroic nature. This is a universal folktale motif, and very common in Arab and Berber Jewish and Muslim folk tradition. The hero’s refusal here is usual, too. For analogies see tale no. 10, “Die Geschichte von Achmed Unamir,” in Stumme (1895), 102–105 (esp. 103, 104); Laoust (1949), vol. I, 119–123, vol. II, 204–209 (esp. 205, 211–212, n. 4), tale no. CXIII, “Le fils du bûcheron et son cheval magique”; the Tetuani Jewish tales in de Larrea Palacín (1952), no. 21, “El médico viudo” 81–84 (esp. 81), and no. 31, “El cuñado de los affris” 106–112 (esp. 111); and de Larrea Palacín (1953), 212–215 (esp. 212), tale 142, “El cuarto prohibido.” Also see the tale “Les deux jeunes servantes” in Scelles-Millie (1970), 123–125, and n. 1 on 125–126 for a detailed comment on the “chambre interdite.” Also see El Fasi (2000), 106–113 (esp. 107), the tale “Aïcha, la fille du dragon.” For more examples see the Moroccan tale no. XXI, *غزالة السلطان* in Chakir (2010), 232–236 (esp. 233, 234). For a detailed commentary on the motif of “the forbidden room” in Moroccan folktales see Gil Grimau and Ibn Azzuz (1988), 19, 213–214, tale no. 136, “La hija del ogro.” This same motif is common in Kabyle Algerian folktales: see for example “La jinnia du Jebel *Waq Waq*” in Dermenghem (1945), 129–136 (esp. 130); and Lacoste-Dujardin (2010), 113–120 (esp. 114, n. 7) and 157–163 (esp. 158, 164), the tales “Milaq-la-gâtée” and “Le fils du sultan et le chien des chrétiens.” For an Egyptian variation see El-Shamy (1980), 38–46 (esp. 41), tale no. 6, “The Maghrabi’s Apprentice.” On this motif in folk traditions of the Arab World see El-Shamy (1995), 436–437 under “Room”; and for this motif in folktales in general see Aarne and Thompson (1961), 105 “*C611, Forbidden chamber. Person allowed to enter all chambers of house except one.*”

207 According to the description below, the horse here is a jinn. See El-Shamy (1980), 63–72, tale no. 9, “The Promises of the Three Sisters,” in which the protagonist is said to have found a horse which was the son of the King of the jinn. In the present context the reference is to a flying horse, a well-known motif throughout folk literature and mythology,

and the room was a large one. The horse was like nothing I had seen before. [Later] I will have the horse actually speak to all of you too. As soon as I opened the door, the horse told me, ‘If you are resolute, you and I are going to flee.’ He asked him, ‘What must I do?’ He told him, ‘Bring that stick and that cane²⁰⁸ over there.’ He told him, ‘You must keep beating me, and I will sweat into that bucket. Fill it with my sweat. And here is the saddle, and here are the stirrup and the bridle. But when you do all of this, they will come to speak with you, and they will tell you something. If you speak to them or turn your head towards them, neither you nor I [will live]; they will burn us into ashes.²⁰⁹ However, if you do not pay attention to them, do not look at them, do not listen to them, do not answer them, I will fly into the sky, and you only have to grasp me. Thus I will take you to your place, to your home.’

“Then ... I took the stick, and I kept beating the horse. And he sweated. And I put his sweat into the bucket. And I carried the saddle, and I joined that saddle to the bridle and the belt, making sure that no ring of the bridle or of the saddle or of the stirrups or of any other thing hit another [ring]. And I saddled him [the horse] and I put the belt on him, and so on and so forth.²¹⁰ I belted myself and I clung to his back. As soon as I was on to his back, I was already flying in the sky.”

And those jinn and those afrit [said] “By God, O fellow, you made food for us, and we ate that food, you dwelt in our house! So now stop, stop, stop!” He told them, “I put cotton in my ear, one piece of cotton in each ear. I did not hear them; nor did I pay attention to them. I just kept riding that horse, on his back, till I reached the door of my house. I got off at the door of my house. I took the bucket, I took off that bridle, and I started to anoint him, that horse, his neck

including such Moroccan tales as the Jewish tale no. 108 from Tetuan, “El jugador,” in de Larrea Palacín (1953), 67–73 (esp. 70). The winged horse even appears as the central theme in a few stories, such as Basset (2008), 127–128, tale no. 105, “Le cheval magique” and Lacoste-Dujardin (2010), 157–163 (esp. 158, n. 7 and commentary on 164), “Le fils du sultan et le chien des chrétiens,” which parallels the present context. In this latter tale a magical horse is also found in a forbidden room. This motif is normally labeled under international type T314 following Aarna et Thompson (1961): see El-Shamy (1980), 269. For additional motifs associated with horses see “(Mule) with Magic Speed B184.1.1” and “Escape on Flying Horse B542.2” in El-Shamy (1995), 238. For this motif in folktales in general see Aarne and Thompson (1961), 109, “G550, Rescue from Ogre,” “B. 184.1.6, Flight on magic horse,” and “B184.1, Magic horse.”

208 Corresponds to *ṣīrq*. For an approximate meaning see DAF, IX, 84, meaning 4.

209 This expression, *wūllīvna rmād*, occurs in Marchand (1905), 454 as follows: “حرقوه وردّوه رماد.”

210 The expression used here is *u ṣmāḷṭ lu, u ṣmāḷṭ lu*.

and his hair ... with some water from the bucket Do you want to see him?" They answered, "Yes." He took a bronze stick.²¹¹ He hit it on the floor and the horse kicked (on the door). They told him. "Open the door." He said, "And here he is: he has brought me." Then good.

22 "You, fellow! You have to read for us the tea leaves from your teapot.²¹² Tell us what has happened to you." He told them, "My father was the chief of all merchants, of all purchases and of all sales, and of all other things. Then God willed that my father died. I was left with money, and the gold with the silver,²¹³ and the inheritance, such an inheritance, which cannot be counted! And I, what did I do in life ...? I like singing and spending. I like food and whatever.²¹⁴ And I went on outings, singing and dancing, day after day. I sold it, I sold the inheritance that my father had left me. I ate the gold that my father had left me. People snatched it from me, people snatched it from me, they snatched it from me. And I associated myself with people without sense – they had no sense, crazy – until I was left with nothing.

23 And then an afrit came and told me, 'I will replace the money that you have lost. And the inheritance that you have lost, I will recover it for you.' Then he brought me, he brought a ring, a ring, he brought a ring. He told me, 'Take this ring'. I asked him, 'What should I do with this ring?' He replied, 'As soon as you put it in your hand, I will make myself present to you. State whatever you want in life: I will bring it about for you.' I slipped it into my hand." And he said to him [sic!] them, "I put the ring²¹⁵ in my hand, I pressed it and this boy-servant

211 This motif occurs in other Moroccan tales, such as the tale no. x1 *الجيبلي مع العفريت* in Chakir (2010), 116–139 (esp. 119). For other meanings of this motif see El-Shamy (1995), 484, under "Stick."

212 For this expression see n. 176 above.

213 The incalculable amount of gold and silver means that this house is owned by jinn. This is a very common motif in Maghrebin folktales. On the association of unimaginable wealth in gold, diamonds, silver, and other valuable things with spiritual beings, see Doutté (1994), 92–93.

214 This translation is not literal but reflects the repetition of *u yāš'zābni hāda*.

215 This refers to "Magic Ring D1076": see El-Shamy (1995), 434; and for this tale-type see Aarne and Thompson (1961), 202–203, "560, *The Magic Ring*." See also El Fasi and Dermenghem (1975), 139, n. 1; and the variant of this tale in Laoust (1949), vol. I, 102–103, vol. II, 165–167, 168, n. 3, tale no. c, "Le fils de la cardeuse." Concerning the tale "Amor Ceqqa," Lacoste-Dujardin (2010), 63–72, 74 (esp. 66, n. 8) comments, "'Anneau de puissance" *taghatem el hukma* en kabyle; l'anneau magique est l'objet de quête le plus fréquent dans la littérature kabyle. Il a des pouvoirs sans limites et a pu être acquis par le héros de naissance, signalant sa prédestination, ou parfois quêté, et alors conquis après des épreuves." On the designs on magical rings in Morocco see Doutté (1994), 82–83. p. 55, n. 214.

[appeared and] told me, ‘Ask me whatever you desire, tell me what must I do for you.’” He said to himself, “This is a blessing the Lord gave to me. This is better than money, better than gold, and better than any thing.”

And he said, “Then I built my house, and I got married. I married two wives, two. She wiggles, slithers, and strides forth seductively: her beauty is slight. When she comes she slays; when she leaves she seduces.”²¹⁶

One day I came home to have lunch. They [my wives] brought me saurel²¹⁷ They brought me lunch. We had lunch. I forgot that ring on the table, and stood up and left. Then one slave came, a *gnāwi*.²¹⁸ He played the big iron castanet.²¹⁹ He entertained the women, and entertained the people – ‘Chuk, chuk! Drin, drin!’ One (wife) turned to the other, and asked her, ‘What should we give this servant? What should we give this slave?’ She asked him, ‘Should we give you some bread?’ He replied, ‘No.’ She asked him, ‘Should we give you some food.’ He replied, ‘No.’ He said, ‘Give me that ring which is on that table.’ Then one said to the other, ‘No, this belongs to our husband. We are not going to give it to him.’ The other [wife] told her, ‘He has many rings, he has plenty of gold. How will he notice that a ring is missing from this abundance of rings? We shall give it²²⁰ to the slave. He came to entertain us. We give it to him.’ The one who suggested giving the ring implored the other. They took the ring and they gave it to the slave.

“As soon as the slave took it, and put it in his hand, an afrit appeared to him and said to him, ‘Order. I am yours to command!’²²¹ I am your slave. Whatever you request, I will do it for you.’ He told him, ‘I simply want to see this house with its pillars and with its foundation crossing the sea. You carry it from here and

216 Regarding this expression see n. 166, p. 123.

217 For the term *šrāl* and its etymology and occurrences, see DAF, VII, 87.

218 See pp. 78–79 and p. 162 n. 5 above.

219 The narrator here uses the onomatopoeic word *črāčāq*, a term for a percussion instrument used especially by *gnāwa* that consists of two big shells of iron usually fastened to the thumb and clicked together by the other fingers. In other MA the term for this instrument is *qarqāba*, which de Prémare DAF, X, 304 defines as a “grande castagnette de fer, des Gnāwa [= *qarqāba*]; au pl. *qrāqab* paire de mi-cymbales mi-castagnettes des Gnāwa, liées ensemble l’une sur l’autre; chaque paire est constituée de deux disques de fer ayant chacun en son milieu un ‘umbo’, les deux étant réunis par une bande de même métal [Co].”

220 In both the present tale as well as in its variant, the woman is the one who gives the ring to the thief. Thus the woman unwittingly facilitates the theft: she is the dupe. On this see Laoust (1949), vol. I, 102–103, vol. II, 165–167, 169, n. 4, tale no. c, “Le fils de la cardeuse.”

221 The original expression used here is: *šabbāç labbaç!* This is a stock phrase, which afrits typically utter when they appear. See n. 168, p. 124.

take it over the surface of the sea to the island.”²²² The house was carried off, and there remained just a square pit [where it had stood], and its foundation dug.

27 [The husband] came to the house and found only a square hole in the earth: he found nothing else. He told himself, “I will sit down and think about where the house, my women, my wife may have gone. I know a mouse; and I have my dog²²³ that has been trained by me. But the mouse²²⁴ has come just to make a deal with us.” “I told the mouse, ‘Go and look for the house. Ride and go to the sea’. The mouse knows the drains of the house: when the mouse has entered the house, it will learn who has the ring, and where my wife is. Then the mouse mounted the back of the dog and they entered the sea, and I remained in the square [hole].”

28 “They went on till they got to the house. The mouse knows where the drains of the house are. He entered and found the slave sitting in the courtyard with all the kinds [of food] that God has created served for him He was eating this and that, this and that. The women were embracing and crying, crying and the servant eating. The mouse said [to himself], ‘How should I do this?’ Siesta arrived, and the slave took the ring from his hand and put it into his mouth and laid down to sleep, his appetite satisfied, having eaten the food. Having eaten from everything he had eaten, his head became dizzy, and he put the ring in his mouth. The mouse said [to himself], ‘How will I be able to get [the ring] out of his mouth?’ The mouse climbed up his chest slowly and put his tail into his nose, and the slave sneezed ‘Atchoo!’ He opened his mouth; the ring fell down.²²⁵ The mouse seized it. The slave rose up looking for the ring. There was

222 This motif refers to a “*Magic Transportation by Ring D1520.12*”: El-Shamy (1995), 434. Also see Laoust (1949), vol. I, 102–103, vol. II, 165–167 (esp. 166) in tale no. c, “Le fils de la cardeuse” which is a variant of the present tale; and Frobenius translated by Fetta (1997), 194–200 (esp. 196–200), tale no. 38, “Le petit pois magique,” in which a pea substitutes for the ring as a medium for magical transport.

223 The dog in this tale plays the role of faithful protector and loyal friend of his owner, showing his fidelity by helping him recover his magic ring. A parallel role for a dog is found in a variant of this tale in Laoust (1949), vol. I, 102–103, vol. II, 165–167 (esp. 166, 169, n. 5) in tale no. c, “Le fils de la cardeuse.” On this see El-Shamy (1999), 96 and n. 238 below, and the comment on p. 62. For references to other Moroccan folktales with grateful animals as a central theme see El Fasi and Dermenghem (1975), 136–138. On the dichotomy in the perception of dogs in Moroccan culture and society see Westermarck (1968b), 303–306.

224 In Laoust (1949), vol. I, 102–103, vol. II, 165–167, tale no. c, “Le fils de la cardeuse,” a cat plays the mouse’s role.

225 The motif of “*Mouse’s Tail in Mouth of Sleeping Thief: Coughs up Magic Ring K431*” is listed by El-Shamy (1995), 434. In Frobenius translated by Fetta (1997), 194–200 (esp. 198), tale no. 38 “Le petit pois magique,” the dove plays the mouse’s role, snatching the pea from the thief’s mouth.

no time to say anything, before the dog came. The mouse rode the back of the dog straight to his lord, ‘Here is the ring, here it is.’

He [the dog] took him [the man] away, entered the house and found the slave still looking for the ring that he had lost. He [the man] told him: “O slave, O nigger, you broke your trust,²²⁶ you entered my house, you ate my food, you took away my wife and frightened her. Now what am I going to do with you?” ... “I put him as a tile on the doorstep of my house:²²⁷ when I enter I tread on him, and when I walk out I tread on him, that slave. Would you like to see the slave?” They replied, “Yes.” He took out the bronze stick and struck the floor with it, and the slave came [saying], “Oh, oh, oh *Sīdi*, I beg your pardon! May God show you the right way if you have compassion for me. I will not make the mistake again. Please do not torture me, do not convert me into stone, being cold, having nothing to eat or drink.” He told him, “So long as I am alive you will be for me a tile on the doorstep of my house.”

The King said [to himself], “Oh, oh, oh these are the real people!” And he stood up. Morning came with a new day. The King left, took his way. The three men took their way.

He summoned the three of them and made them viziers. This is Hārūn ar-Rāšīd. These are the three, and what each one had done.

Now this is the end.

226 The phrase *ksārt l-ḥārm* + preposition *ʕla* must be added to the many expressions attested by de Prémare with the verb *ksar*, “... faire défaut; anuler ...”: see DAF, X, 577–578, esp. under meaning 6. The second term of this phrase, *ḥārm*, here refers “to the house where the wives were.” (For this definition see DAF, III, 84 under *ḥorm / ḥarm / ḥārm / ḥōrōm*). The house in this context is considered sacred territory which men who are not close family members should not enter when the husband is not present. The home is considered a sacred place: on this see Thay Thay Rhozali (2000b), 233–234, and the bibliographical reference in n. 1. For a similar observation, with an example from a folktale, see El-Shamy (1980), 143–145, tale no. 27, “Blow for Blow.” The term *ḥūrma* normally refers to a “married woman; wife.” For more about this term see Ritt-Benmimoun and Procházka (2009), 39. De Prémare, DAF, III, 84 offers the example *l-mṛa ḥorma*, which he incorrectly translates: “la femme est un être faible qu’il faut respecter [Co].” On the translation of this term see rather Westermarck (1921), 297, who explained the term *ḥorma* through the *Chlōh* proverb: “*Tamḡart zud agūrram*, ‘Une femme est comme un saint’. En temps de guerre ou de révolte, on laisse les femmes en paix, car une femme est *ḥorma* ou, en chellḥa, *ḥōrōm* – on ne doit pas la toucher.” But de Prémare’s translation “est un être faible” is more an interpretation than a translation: the latter might be “woman must be respected / honored etc.”

227 This same punishment is applied to one of ʕĀyša Cinderella’s co-wives in tale no. VI, “Histoire de la jeune fille qui naquit d’une pomme ...” in Légy (1926), 34–37 (esp. 37).

[Ġāḡfār l-Bārṅāki²²⁸ and] the Woman who Envies Her Husband

- 1 She envies her husband. She hates her husband. Why? The man has possessions, and he has chests of money stored. But [other] people benefit from those chests of money. The one who is going to celebrate the name day [of his son's birth], who has not the wherewithall to celebrate it, would come to the man and tell him, "O *Sīdi*, I have a birth ceremony and I have nothing with which to celebrate it." [The man] would take a handful of *ryāl*²²⁹ and give it to him. Another one is going to celebrate a wedding and does not have enough²³⁰ for the wedding: [that man] would come and say to him, "O *Sīdi*, I am going to celebrate a wedding but I haven't the money to complete my wedding." He would take a handful of *ryāl* and give it to him. Another one is in need: he has no bed, and no covering. He would come to him and say, "I am naked, O *Sīdi*. I need [you] to give me [something] with which to cover [myself] at home." He would take a handful of *ryāl* and give it to him.
- 2 The woman hates that. She asks him, "Why do you do this?" [She thinks] this is a bad thing in him. He replies, "You just shut up!" She gets irritated, and feels badly treated. "I do not need this man, I would like to kill him."

228 Žāḡfār al-Barmakī [narrator: Ġāḡfār l-Bārṅāki] was a Persian minister and family member of Hārūn r-Rašīd and famous for his knowledge of law. He appears in some of the *ʔalf layla wa layla* tales, such as *ḡakāya ḡarūn ar-rāšīd maʕ muḡammad al-ǧuḡarī* and *ḡakāya ḡarūn ar-rāšīd maʕ ǧaʕfar al-ǧarāya*, as well as other popular folktales. See for example tale no. 28, "She whose Reason Couldn't be Made to Slip" in El-Shamy (1999), 229–233 (esp. 231; 394, n. 584). Virtually every one of these tales reflects the inharmonious relationship that historically existed between Hārūn r-Rašīd and al-Barāmika. On the Barāmika in general, and Žāḡfār in particular, see for example Sourdel (1960), 1064–1067, and the bibliographical references there.

229 Lévy (1992), 65, idem (1995), 190–191, says of this currency, "El *rial* (real español y portugués), usado comúnmente desde el siglo XVI, y acuñado como moneda marroquí entre 1881 y 1917 (*rial ḡasani* de cinco dirhames), sobrevive, hasta hoy [aunque cada vez menos-AR], en el habla popular, como moneda imaginaria que corresponde a cinco antiguos francos (*céntimos* del dirham actual)." For an extensive commentary on this currency and its value see de Prémare, DAF, V, 270–271.

230 This is a translation based on the context rather than the literal meaning of *u ma šāndu šī l-kmāl bāš yā šmāl-l-šūrs*, which is "and he hasn't [a sum of money] to complete [the needed amount] to celebrate the wedding."

He has four slaves. One is in charge of shopping. One stays at home, cleaning and polishing and so forth: he fetches things in the house.²³¹ And another one is in charge of the kitchen; he is the servant. She said to herself, “What am I going to do. I intend to put this man away from me. I do not accept [that] we have money and he gives it to [other] people.²³² This one needs coverings, he gives him [money]. This one needs to celebrate [his son’s] name day; he gives him [money]. This one has a wedding; he gives him [money]. Why are we doing this?”

She was envious. She called the slave in charge of shopping and of opening the door for his lord. She told him, “Do you know what you are going to do?” He asked, “What am I to do, O Lalla?”²³³ She instructed him, “When your lord enters, harry [seize]²³⁴ him by his neck and strangle him. Then we will stuff him into the drain²³⁵ till he putrefies, and flows out of the drain. No one will know,²³⁶ neither the King nor any one else, because no one visits us, and nobody will know what we have done.” He said to her, “Yes.” The slave was very strong.

The lord of the house had a dog,²³⁷ a beloved dog. He didn’t eat until the dog ate; he didn’t sleep until the dog slept. The lord entered and he [the slave] seized him to strangle him. But when he tried to seize him, the dog²³⁸ jumped

231 See n. 3 above.

232 The expression used here is *ṣībād ḡāh*, meaning “servant of God, people, a person.” This is the same expression used in CA: *ṣībād* “servant of (God).” See Wehr, AED, 685; Corriente, DAE, 737.

233 The title *lālla* in MA means “my mistress/my lady.” (See n. 44, p. 13 on this title and the bibliographical references there). Its use here shows that, because the husband is absent, and since the wife is the only family member at home with no mother-in-law or sister-in-law present, she is the one to enjoy authority. During certain hours, or under special circumstances, the house becomes a female domain: the wife is the one who makes decisions and gives orders to the slave-servant, whose duty is to obey her. This event shows that the woman in this particular context is not inert or powerless in the inside/interior space. On Moroccan women’s subtle subversion of gender roles in the family see Sadiqi (2003), 68–72 and (2007).

234 The MA verb here is *ḡir*, which occurs with the figurative meaning of “aller très vite; se propager rapidement de l’un à l’autre ...; sauter etc.” Motion is involved here. For more see DAF, VIII, 397, meanings 2 and 3.

235 The term *māṭrāq* is no longer used and does not appear in de Prémare. The context dictates the given translation.

236 The expression *ma ysūq bīna l-xbār* uses the verb *sāq + b* (+ pronominal suffix) + *xbār* and means “apprendre ou apporter une nouvelle etc.” See DAF, VI, 241, 242.

237 See n. 223 above and the bibliographical references there.

238 This is how grateful and faithful animals act in fairytales. For this motif see Aarne and

like an ocean breaker at him. He jumped straight at his belly, tore his intestines, crushed his bowels. [The lord] took a box and put [the slave] into it and mummified him. He put him in unguent and covered him and left him [there].

6 Once upon a time a king, Hārūn ar-Rāšīd, had a vizier Ğāʕfār l-Bārnāki. Each day, as soon as he had finished dinner, he sent an official [to call him], “Come!” “Here I am, O Commander of the Faithful!” [Hārūn ar-Rāšīd] would ask, “Tell me, inform me of what has happened in the world. How have the kings spent [their time]? How have the prophets lived their lives? Which one of them has passed away, and which one of them is still alive? Who has what, and who has not?” He called him every day, every day. One day Ğāʕfār came, with [the feeling]²³⁹ that he would never again be able to sleep quietly with his children: every day they called him – “Call him!” The vizier felt harassed. He rode the camel and came. [The Sultan] said to him, “Tell us what has happened.” [The vizier] remained silent. He instructed him, “Tell us!” He remained silent. Then he said, “The bastard does not sleep and does not allow anyone else to sleep.” “What!” He ordered him, “Arise and leave! Go away!” He [ordered him] to leave. As soon as he had left, he called the policemen – those killers.²⁴⁰ He told them, “As soon as Ğāʕfār takes off his clothes and goes to sleep on his pallet, seize him and cast him out, and smash what is breakable of the furniture he has at home, and burn what is burnable, till nothing belonging to him remains in the house, nothing. And cast him out of the door, naked.”

7 Ğāʕfār took off [his clothes] and went to bed. As soon as he entered his house, and took off his clothes and fell asleep in his bed, he heard in the house the sounds, the noise, the smashing and the fire. He rose. “What is this?” They told him, “The King has ordered us to burn all the clothes that you possess. We have to burn them. And the crystal furnishings, the kitchen ware, to smash them. We must break what can be broken, and ruin what can be ruined, and cast you²⁴¹ outdoors, you and your wife, you and your spouse.” They cast them

Thompson (1961), 190, “B350, *Grateful animals*” and “B391, *Animal grateful for food*.” For the kind of the food served to the dog see below.

239 The context of this passage requires the restoration of this noun here.

240 This is the narrator’s comment; but it is a widely held opinion about the police. As El-Shamy (1999), 376 n. 283 states, “A policeman is a character that is often associated in lore with abuse of power, dishonesty, and inflicting physical pain.” He adds the following motifs: “P143.2§, *Abuse of Power (Authority) by Police*”; and “S92§, *Cruel Policeman (Jailor; Executioner, etc.)*.”

241 In this passage the original text switches from the 3rd person masculine singular to the 2nd person masculine singular. Such inconsistencies are frequent in oral narrations. For the sake of the clarity, in the English translation the quote has been kept in the 3rd person masculine singular throughout.

into the street with only a shirt. A new day broke, and for Ġăġfăr too. [Ġăġfăr] had been among the first. He had been the first vizier, the Sultan's beloved. [Now he was] cast out of the door, with no clothes, with nothing to eat, nothing to drink, nothing to do.

The viziers gathered, and they decided [among themselves] to implore the King to give him [Ġăġfăr] a mortmain hut, a hut – it did not matter how it was – to put his wife inside, so he could be sheltered, so that he would not have to remain out cast on the street. Thus²⁴² the viziers went to the King and implored him. Then he made him enter again, and he gave him a room, a place with only a ceiling and the ground, with no furniture, nothing. Then [his] wife said to him, “What is this? How has it happened that the King has done this to us?” He told her, “I got tired. Each night for months he called me. I had to answer him. And there was not one single night that he let me rest. And I told him, ‘The sons of a bastard do not sleep, and do not let anyone else sleep.’” She said, “You were wrong to do this. This is the King, and we were loved by him, with our beautiful house, with our nice furniture, with our slaves paid by him, with our servant paid by him, with our food provided by him, with our furniture made for us by him. And you said to him, ‘The sons of a bastard do not sleep, and do not let anyone else sleep!’ Where are we going to sleep now? And where are we going to sit?” Then he said to her, “This is what God wills for us now, so just be quiet. This is what God wills for us. There is nothing we can do about it. I have no other way of dealing with him [the King].” They spent the whole day sitting in that room. The afternoon came, evening came. Hunger, hunger overcame them.²⁴³ Lacking clothes, cold overcame them.

He said to her, “My wife.” She replied, “Yes?” He told her, “I am going to ask to be taken in as a guest. I am going in order to be taken in as a guest by someone. They will give me [something] to eat or some money, and we will be well.” She replied, “Fine. Do not be late. And bring me something to eat.” He said, “All right.” He went out of that room, and he started going up the alley. [As he walked he thought], “I might knock on this door, I might knock on that door. But perhaps the owner of this one knows me, and I will be ashamed.” Then he arrived at a big door, one door. He knocked on it. He kept knocking and a slave came out to him. He asked him, “What do you want?” He replied, “I ask to be taken in as a guest, for God's sake. I do not have a place to sleep, and I do not have anything to eat.” He told him, “Consult [your master.]” [The slave] entered

²⁴² The expression used here is *kādālik wa l-miṭāl*.

²⁴³ The expression *dxāl slīḥam ḡ-ḡūf ... dxāl slīḥam l-bārd* is mentioned in DAF, IV, 234, under meaning 12 – for example: *dḥal slīya-j-jūf* “la faim me saisit” and *dḥal slēna l-hārr* “la chaleur nous accabla.”

[and went] to his lord and said to him, “There is a man who has come. He has [no] where to sleep, and he has nothing to eat, and now he is asking to be taken in as a guest.” He replied, “Bid him enter.”

- 10 He entered. He entered. He [the slave] bid him enter a room beautifully furnished. There was a bed on the far side of the room, and the bed cloth was of silk. [The lord] said to the [slave], “Bid him enter the hammam.” He bid him enter the hammam. He brought him clothes and everything.²⁴⁴ He dressed him. And he told him, “Come for dinner! Take your place at dinner.” He entered that room and found a dog sleeping in a silk bed. And [the slave] brought a big [round] dinner table, rolling, rolling it forth.²⁴⁵ He put it [in place] and put a *ṭāžīn*²⁴⁶ upon it. And what was inside the *ṭāžīn*? The *ṭāžīn* contained a big chicken with vegetables ... and he served him *ṭrīd*;²⁴⁷ a whole plate of *ṭrīd*, and a whole plate of chicken. And he went to that dog: “Məsʕūd, Məsʕūd!” And he woke him up, “Wake up, O Məsʕūd! Wake up, O Məsʕūd!” Then Məsʕūd came to the table and put out his paws²⁴⁸ and started eating the chicken, the big chicken – “Chomp, chomp!” – and cutting the *ṭrīd* into pieces and eating it;

244 The phrase is *mən hādī n-hādī*.

245 The dinner table would be set no matter who is the guest, and where he is seated. If the table was heavy, they would not carry it, but rather roll it out to where the dinner will take place: normally these circular dining tables are made from thick wood and therefore are very heavy.

246 See n. 19 above.

247 This is a dish composed of thin cakes or pancakes made of wheat flour, water, oil, salt, and butter to which a sauce, sugar, and small pieces of meat are added: see Gil Grimau and Ibn Azzuz (1988), 72; and El Koudia and Allen (2003), 143. Michaux-Bellaire (1911), 136 stated that “... *trid*, mot employé à Tanger, à Fès et à Mékinès pour désigner des espèces de crêpes très minces, appelées *ftit* à El-Qçar et dans les tribus arabes [n. 1 de la vallée du Lekkous]. Les Djebala ne font pas cette sorte de pâtisserie.” Westermarck (1968b), 166 comments that “Among the Rifians of Tēmsāmān the supper on New Year’s eve consists of fowl and *ttrīd*, very thin cakes made with salt butter or oil.” But in Chaouen it seems that this dish was common, at least in folktales. According to de Prémare, DAF, II, 42, *trid* is “mets composé de larges crêpes très fines, déchetées dans une sauce (pour faire un pâté feuilleté ...) avec du sucre et des fragments de viandes, très huilées ... elles sont consommées comme dessert, beurrées, chaudes, avec du sucre et de la cannelle pilés, ou avec du miel [comp. *ṭāyər*; *rjāyər*] (–AR: see n. 186 above)] [Co].” Lévy (1992), 54, n. 4 defines this term as “hojuelo; especie de ‘crêpe’,” and relates it to the CA root *trd*: “*trid* evoca ‘migas, pan desmenuzado en caldo’ y otras ‘frutas de sartén.’” For a detailed semantic definition, its derivation, and its different types according to the area of fabrication, and the various dishes prepared in it, see the excellent commentary by Abu-Shams (2002), 74, 391–392, 456 figures 18.

248 The term used here is *yīddu* “his hand.”

eating the chicken and eating the *ṭrīd*, till he had finished the last piece of everything.²⁴⁹ And Ġāḡfār could only stare.

The slave came to Məsṫūd again and took him back to his bed. He made him return to his bed. And he opened a door in the wall that led to a cellar.²⁵⁰ There was a door of wood in the wall. He reached for a chain and pulled it, and kept pulling that chain – “Pull, pull, pull!” A woman came out.²⁵¹ How did that woman look? The woman was in every way pretty and beautiful. He put out a small bowl with dregs of black oil. He put out a small [piece of] dry barley bread and told her, “Eat!” She cut a piece of barley bread and he hit her with the stick – “Thump!” “Eat!” She cut a small piece of that barley [bread] and dipped it in the bowl of dregs of oil and he hit her again “Thump!” “Eat!” And she took that small and dry bread of barley and put it in the bowl of dregs of oil, and he struck her again.²⁵² Ġāḡfār said [to himself], “When I was with the King I did not see this kind of scene. How can a man do this thing! How could it be that a dog eats *ṭrīd* and chicken, and a handsome human being eats barley bread, sitting dressed in black leather, leather, still trying to survive.²⁵³ This man is one who deserves to be condemned!”

He sat disgusted. Night came. [The slave] told him, “Arise, go to that room where there is a bed.” Ġāḡfār entered the room, found the bed prepared. He got ready to sleep. As he was trying to fall asleep, the owner of the house knocked at his room – “Knock, knock, knock.” He asked, “Who is there?” He replied, “This is the owner of the house. What have you seen in the owner of the house

249 *xrāž ṣla l-lāxri*. The verb *xrāž* + the preposition *ṣla* is attested in DAF, IV, 40–41. But this expression is not mentioned by de Prémare.

250 See DAF, VIII, 258–259. The context shows that in Chaouen the word *māṭbāq* had the same basic meaning as cited by de Prémare: “1. [R] trappe, panneau qui ferme l’entrée d’une cave souterraine ... 2. caveau, cachot, local souterrain ...; caverne, grotte; galerie souterraine reliant secrètement deux locaux.” However, the word is no longer in use at Chaouen. For the same term used in another folktale see Marchand (1905), 467, line 74.

251 This same kind of brutal punishment is inflicted on a woman who seems to have given birth to puppies in Frobenius translated by Fetta (1997), 201–212 (esp. 210), tale no. 39, “Les sept soeurs abandonnées,” and its variant tale no. 40, “Les enfants aux cheveux d’or” (213–219, esp. 214). Both tales are variants of a story told by the woman narrator, tale no. 21, “The Talking bird.”

252 Aarne and Thompson (1961), 256, tale-type “750, *Punishment of a Bad Woman*” [The man is kind to the beggar, but the wife is unkind (Q1, Q2).]

253 *bāqa ṣād lādhādiç*. This expression gives the listener freedom to envision the scene and its action in a variety of ways. The term *lādhādiç* has no precise semantic value, but takes its meaning from the immediate context, which here suggests such possible translations as “still trying to cope with the situation” or “trying to survive.”

11

12

that is good, and what have you seen that wasn't good." He said, "How can the owner of the house [allow] a human being, a beautiful woman with a metal collar around her neck attached to a chain, to eat only barley bread and dregs of oil, whereas a dog, a hound (God has created him dog) was eating chicken and *ṭrīd*?" [The owner of the house called] his slaves. They took him [out], and beat him twenty times with the stick. They seized him, and put him back in the room.

13 In the morning he woke up bruised because of the twenty blows upon his back. He went out and found the owner of the house sitting. He [the owner] gave him two *lwīzāḡ*.²⁵⁴ Ğāšfār took the two *lwīzāḡ* and said to himself, "If I had said that [he] is good, he would have given me more. But since I told him that the owner of the house is of no account, he gave me just two *lwīzāḡ*." He went straight from his bed to buy breakfast for the wife he had left in the room. He bought what he needed for the breakfast for his woman and remained sitting there. He spent just one *lwīza*. Afternoon came. He prepared dinner again, and he bought what he needed and she too. And he went again to that house. "I ask to be taken in as a guest, for God's sake." [The slave] told him, "Welcome! Let us enter." He entered. Again, as soon as he entered he bathed him, and he dressed him in different clothes. And what he had seen the day before, he saw today. *məsūd* rose to eat chicken and *ṭrīd*. And he [the slave] took the woman with the chain around her neck out from the cellar to eat dregs of oil and barley bread.

14 One hour went by and [the owner of the house] came to him. He said to him, "What is your impression of the owner of the house?" He told him, "God bless you! He honored me, and he gave me dinner and he dressed me. May God provide the owner of the house with good upon good." He [the owner of the house] left him there and went his way. In the morning he gave him seven *lwīzāḡ*. The next day he went to him again, and he again gave him seven *lwīzāḡ*. Ğāšfār used to have nice slippers that he had left at home; he used to have a nice shirt that he had left at home. He bought [another] robe, he [bought something] for [his] wife, he bought bed linen in which to sleep, where they could sleep, where [the] wife could sleep. And he left again.

15 After a week the Sultan addressed his people, asking, "That Ğāšfār whom I cast out and [whose house I] burned and smashed, how is he?" They said

254 This is a French gold coin worth about twenty francs. It is from the French *louis*, specifically referring to Louis XIII, during whose reign this coinage was first minted. This term in ChA is feminine *lwīza*, plural *lwīzāḡ*. However in DAF, XI, 101, 111 the expression appears as *lwīz*. For more see Lévy (1992), 65. The word now survives only in folktales and is used by both men and women story-tellers (as can be seen in the present collection).

to him, “King, he has a turban²⁵⁵ like the one he used to own, shoes like the ones he used to own, a new cloak.” And he took seven *lwīsat* from that [house owner] and spent one on food, and with the rest bought clothes for himself and [furnishings] for his room. The Sultan exclaimed, “I burned and took all his belongings away from him, and did not leave him a thing! He has money hidden from me! Bring him to me!”

The next morning, Ġāġfār woke up and the vizier seized him [and brought 16 him] straight to the King. He said to him, “I burned everything you owned and broke everything you owned and didn’t leave you a thing! And today you are dressed well, and eat well, and have furnished your place well. From where do you get all these things?” He said to him, “Stop! O Commander of the Faithful, allow me to speak.” He replied, “Speak!” He said, “O Commander of the Faithful, you burned my clothes, and you burned my furniture, and you broke all [my household] goods, and you did not leave me anything but God the Sublime and the Blessed, Who has been generous to me. I asked to be taken into the house of a man as a guest. Since the day you cast me out, I have been going to that man’s. I go to his house for dinner. He dresses me, he bathes me, and I spend the night well. And in the morning I go out. I go out and I speak [to him], and each day he gives me seven *lwīzāḡ*.” He exclaimed, “Oh! Where is this wretch?” He replied, “In a house in the such-and-such neighborhood.” [The Sultan] told him, “The hour when you will go, come for me. I am going with you, to see this man who gives you seven *lwīzāḡ* every day.”

The time to leave came. He [Ġāġfār] went to pick him up. They went together. 17 They knocked on the door – “Knock, knock.” They entered.²⁵⁶ “I ask to be taken in as a guest, for God’s sake.” “Who is there? Welcome! Enter.” “Consult the house’s owner.” [The owner of the house] said, “Bid them enter.” They bid them enter. They bid them take off their clothes and they put different clothes on them. – Look what richness! Look how people were! – He had them dressed, he had them take a bath. They went out and sat down. The slave entered, opened the cellar door in the wall, and started to pull the chain – “Pull, pull, pull!” And the King watched. (His vizier [Ġāġfār] had not told him what he was going to see in the house. He did not tell him a thing). Pull, pull till he took out the woman,

255 The narrator here uses the term *smāma* instead of *rāzza* to emphasize that Ġāġfār has not lost his status. Both words mean “turban”; but the CA loan word *smāma* in Tetuan, as Rackow (1958), 23 explains, refers to “eine größere, voluminösere Turbanform, die von den Qādis und den Gelehrten getragen wird.”

256 The original text uses the 3rd person singular masculine. However, for the flow of the English version, the plural (which refers to the King and his minister Ġāġfār) is retained here.

in all manner a pretty, beautiful woman [with] a collar around her neck and the collar fastened to a chain. He woke up the dog: “Məsʿūd!” They woke him up, and put him at the dinner table, a very big table, and they put a plate for him of delicious food and *trīd*. The dog rose and came to the plate of *trīd* and ate from it. And he ate the *ṭāžīn* of chicken and meat or this and that; and he ate till he had licked everything clean. And he was taken back to his bed. And he [the slave] prepared the dinner table again. He came again with the same dinner table like the one the dog had eaten at, and he put [food] for them.²⁵⁷ Hārūn ar-Rāšīd watched. They sat down to have dinner. They put [food] for them.²⁵⁸ They ate. They ate.

18 He said [to them], “Rise [and go] to sleep. This is your place; and your place is there.” Ğāʿfār said [to himself], “I am not going to sleep today. I am going to listen for when Hārūn ar-Rāšīd will be beaten tonight.” An hour went by and the owner of the house knocked at [the door where] the Sultan slept – “Knock, knock!” [The Sultan] said to him, “Who is there?” He said to him, “The owner of the house,” and asked him, “What is your impression of the owner of the house?” He told him, “The owner of the house is a criminal! How could it be that a dog eats chicken and *trīd*, and a human being, a beautiful woman, eats dregs of oil and dry barley bread? What dare you say to God, O enemy of God!” And he returned to his place. As soon as he had finished [speaking], four slaves came in and carried him from the bed and took him out to the house’s courtyard.

19 Ğāʿfār did not sleep. He was listening. As soon as they stretched [the Sultan] out to beat him, Ğāʿfār rose quickly and walked out to them. He said, “Stop, O owner of the house! This is the King! This is Hārūn ar-Rāšīd who comes to you this night. Beat me and do not beat him.” He [the owner of the house] exclaimed, “This is the King?” He told him, “Yes.” He said, “Thank God! Praise Be to God! God offers me [the opportunity] to ask within my household, not outside it, for advice concerning my affair. Only God knows what has happened to me.” [The King] told him, “Tell what is with you.” The slave came with the dog, and they took the woman out from the cellar. He explained to him, “This is my dog and this is my wife, the same woman around whose neck I have put the collar and the chain and jailed in that place.” He said [to his slave], “Bring the box.” He brought the box. [The King] found the slave mummified: he asked, “Who is this?” He said to him, “This [man] grabbed for my neck to strangle me when I entered my house. This is my dog, which, when he saw the slave trying

257 See the previous note

258 See the previous note

to strangle me, jumped upon him and bit out his belly. Now, O Commander of the Faithful, since you have come to my home, judge me, judge me.”

[The King] told him, “As to this woman, she must remove the collar, pull off the chain, and go to prison. As to the dog, God created him a hound: a dog must be in the place of a dog. And you sentenced yourself by yourself, and I sentence you to abandon²⁵⁹ this woman and to marry again, to take another woman. And we are going to take this one and put her in prison, because she is the one who killed this slave. The dog did not kill him. It wasn’t the dog that disemboweled him. She egged him on, telling him, ‘When your lord enters, grab his neck and strangle him. We will put him in the cellar and he will putrefy in the drain, and no one will know about us.’” [The owner of the house said,] “Because from God, only God the Sublime and the Blessed – no secret is hidden from Him, with the will of God you came, O Commander of the Faithful! you came to my house and you solved my case, [just] you and I, O Commander of the Faithful!”

And [Hārūn ar-Rāšid] took him [ĠāĠfār] away with him to his palace. And a new day broke. [ĠāĠfār] became vizier as before. The viziers [said among themselves], “What is this? Look what Hārūn ar-Rāšid had done” – and so forth. “And now he brings him and restores him. He is [so] happy with his presence that he puts him by his side.” They said, “We do not know what has happened!” Only God the Sublime and the Blessed knows.

259 The narrator here uses the verb *hżār* meaning “to abandon, desert, neglect etc.” (See DAF, XII, 21, meaning 1 under *hjar*). The legal termination of the marriage contract is effected when the husband says *nti mṭallqa*, “you are divorced,” three times successively to the wife. The narrator uses the term *hżār* intentionally. The protagonist punished the woman doubly: first by sentencing her to jail, and then by divorcing her. In the eyes of Moroccan society in general, the disowned and divorced woman is disgraced. However, unless the cause of her divorce is very prejudicial to her stature as a woman and wife, her parents will do everything to renew the marriage contract and induce her husband to take her back into his house. On this in folktales see Thay Thay Rhozali (2000b), 217.

Qāmr z-Zāmān and Ḥāyāt n-Nūfūs²⁶⁰

- 1 Hārūn ar-Rāšīd had [a daughter named] Ḥāyāt n-Nūfūs. The King Hārūn ar-Rāšīd was known²⁶¹ for his sagacity, for his system of rule, and for many other things. Everybody loved him; and he was loved by the entire world, too, because of his way of thinking, and because of his intelligence. – Because if a man has brain and intelligence, he can control the entire world; but if he has no brain and no good reasoning, he cannot control himself, he does not know how to manage even himself. – The King Šāhrāmān had a son named Qāmr z-Zāmān. Qāmr z-Zāmān was a learned person; he had an education. He was like his father. The King l-Ġāyūr²⁶² had a daughter named Bādr l-Būdūr.²⁶³

260 This story is a variant of the tale *حكاية قمر الزمان مع معشوقته* of *ʔalf layla wa layla*. Another Moroccan variant of this tale occurs in Scelles-Millie (1970), 32–47, 50 under the title “Roman de Salah et de la fille de noble famille.” Another possible variant, at least of the first episodes of this tale, is the Tetuani tale no. 42, “La novia del rey,” in de Larrea Palacín (1952), 140–142, which, however, lacks the detailed description of the present story: among other differences a frog and a raven replace the *jenniya* and the afrit of the present tale, and the cousin replaces the brother. Another partial variant at least the first episodes of this tale, with Ḥāyāt n-Nūfūs and Qāmr z-Zāmān as protagonists, is the Jewish Tetuani tale no. 103 “El resucitado por amor,” in de Larrea Palacín (1953), 50–57. For this tale-type in general see Aarne and Thompson (1961), 183, “576, Faithful John.” [I. A prince becomes enamored of a faraway princess by (a) seeing her picture or (b) by dreaming of her. II. The princess is carried off. III. Perils of the voyage.]

261 *wa-la ḥūwwa bān* is a typical expression in these men’s narrations, in which the verb *bān* has the specific meaning of “to become a known personality, to be known for sth.” About this definition see DAF, I, 380, under meaning 4.

262 Ġayūr can be a personal name or an epithet meaning “the Eager [one].” The hero’s personal name, and the motifs used in this tale, mark it as of Arab origin. The narrator himself considers it a tale from *ʔalf layla wa layla*. For more on this point, see the commentary on p. 36.

263 This personal name implies feminine beauty, and occurs in other folktales too. See the Kabylian tale no. 48, “L’histoire du rêve de Hassan,” from Frobenius translated by Fetta (1998), 96–114 (esp. 98), “La belle jeune fille, appelée Clair de Lune pour sa beauté exceptionnelle ...” An analogous description of beauty occurs in the Fasi tale, “La petite chatte” in El Fasi (2000), 158–168 (esp. 162). In the present tale, as well as in the Kabylian tale, magic and dreams which reveal the future seem to be the dominant motifs. For the meaning of dream motifs in the folk tradition of the Arab World see El-Shamy (1995), 144–145, under “Dream.” See also Aarne and Thompson (1961), 557, under “Dream.”

[One day], a jinn said to an afrit, she told him, “I saw a pretty, beautiful [girl] like no one else in any land.” The afrit replied, “I saw a handsome boy named Qāmr z-Zāmān. His learning, his knowledge, his intelligence, and his appearance are attractive. Now, we have to compare Ḥāyāt n-Nūfūs and Qāmr z-Zāmān to see who is better.” The jinn said, “Mine is better than Qāmr z-Zāmān.” The afrit said, “Qāmr z-Zāmān is better than Ḥāyāt n-Nūfūs.” He said, “We must make them meet.” [The jinn] asked, “How?” He said, “I will bring Qāmr z-Zāmān when Ḥāyāt n-Nūfūs sleeps, is sleeping. I will bring Qāmr z-Zāmān through the air, through the sky, and we will place him by her. Then we both will enjoy looking at them. This way we will see upon whom God has bestowed more beauty” – because beauty is loved even by God and the Prophet.

They took Ḥāyāt n-Nūfūs and brought her and placed her near Qāmr z-Zāmān. The King Shahraman had addressed Qāmr z-Zāmān saying, “O my son, I must marry you away while I am still alive. I hope to live to arrange a wedding feast.” Qāmr z-Zāmān replied, “Me? No! I do not like any girl in this area” and so forth. The king of the afrits brought Qāmr z-Zāmān through the sky, and placed him by Ḥāyāt n-Nūfūs on her bed.²⁶⁴ The afrit gazed at Ḥāyāt n-Nūfūs, and then at Qāmr z-Zāmān, and considered the beauty of these two young people, which has no equal. There exists no comparable beauty and handsomeness.

The afrit pinched Qāmr z-Zāmān, and he opened his eyes. He then found the girl by him. He said, “Oh! What a strange thing! I did not want to get married, and my father brought this girl to see and to marry. It would be better for me to marry her than to have the entire world and its possessions. Now, I am ready to marry this girl. Marrying her would be better, even better, for me than having the entire world and its possessions – than its fruits, gold, silver, and everything. I am ready to marry this one. She is a woman!” He gazed at her intensely and said, “This is the one who will be my wife. This is my soul, this is my life.” And he fell asleep.

They [the jinn and the afrit] pinched Ḥāyāt n-Nūfūs, and when she opened her eyes, she found by her a young man like no other she had ever seen in that country. She said, “Oh what a strange thing! Am I dreaming?”²⁶⁵ This young man was brought near me. My family, my people, and my dear ones agreed together

²⁶⁴ This is a contradiction by the narrator: the next page makes it clear that Qāmr z-Zāmān was brought to Ḥāyāt n-Nūfūs, not *vice versa*.

²⁶⁵ For this same sequence see the Moroccan tale no. XX, *بياع الورد* in Chakir (2010), 218–229 (esp. 219). The narrative use of the dream here assumes the inherent rationality of dreams, which is axiomatic in ancient Semitic cultures, predating even Joseph’s interpretation of Pharaoh’s dreams in the First Book of Moses. On this see Doutté (1994), 397–401. For this motif see Aarne and Thompson (1961), 183, “T11.3, *Love through dream*.”

to bring near me this young man. Thus I love him.” Then she slipped the ring from her hand. She took his. She put [her ring] on his hand, and removed his ring from his hand and put it on hers.²⁶⁶

6 The afrit took Qāmr z-Zāmān away. The jinn woke Ḥāyāt n-Nūfūs, and she began thinking about the problem of that young man who had been by her while she was sleeping, the young man. “Where could that young man be? From which country, from which country has that young man come to be near me? That same young man must be my husband. I love him in this life and in the life to come.” She held his ring in her hand, and she wondered, “Where must this young man be? In which land does he live? When am I supposed to be introduced to him?” She wanted to meet with the young man. Only then would she be able to speak to him. Had she been sleeping? Perhaps she had only been dreaming. Who knows? Was she still in this life? Who knows? What had happened to her? Who knows? Then she felt pain, and she became ill.

7 The father of Ḥāyāt n-Nūfūs was the King Ānālūs [Hārūn ar-Rāšīd]. When she became sick, he announced to the tribes that he would give to whomever healed her whatever they requested. “I will give him whatever he wishes.” [His servants] brought fortune tellers, and they said, “She is in love! And who knows with whom?” They brought doctors to heal her.

8 Qāmr z-Zāmān awoke. He rose and said, “My father asked me to get married, and I refused. Then he brought me that girl who bewitches minds, and she has bewitched me and my heart. And I cannot find peace of mind. I want that girl. Where will I find her? In which country must she be so I can go to her?”

9 He [her cousin] entered to visit her and asked, “Ḥāyāt n-Nūfūs, tell me, what has happened to you? Tell me, what is your sickness?²⁶⁷ We journeyed around,

266 The confusion of lovers between the dream world and the real world is common in folktales and fantasies. See the Kabyle tale no. 48, “L’histoire du rêve de Hassan,” Frobenius translated by Fetta (1998), 96–114 (esp. 111, 112), where, as in the present tale, “Au cours de la nuit, Hassan offrit, à la jeune femme sa bague gravée à son nom. En échange, celle-ci lui offrit sa propre bague gravée au nom de Hajads el Muds. Le lendemain matin, les hommes de l’*agellid* s’emparèrent de Hassan encore endormi et l’emportèrent pour le ramener là où ils l’avaient enlevé.” In that story humans are responsible for abducting the protagonist, while in the present story demons are the responsible ones. But in both instances the ring will permit the lovers to identify each other: see El-Shamy (1980), 6 in tale no. 1, “The Trip to ‘*Wag-el-Wag*’” (3–14). For the meaning of the ring in Arab folk traditions see El-Shamy (1995), 434; and in folktales in general see Aarnee and Thompson (1961), 577 under the ring references.

267 Love sickness is a universal motif in folktales and all other literary genres. For an example of it in a Moroccan folktale see the story no. xx, *بياع الورد* in Chakir (2010), 218–229 (esp. 223).

[and brought] doctors from east and south. We looked for wise people, who read the future. [All] say that you are in love. Are you in love? Tell me.” She answered, “O my cousin, I saw – but I do not know if it was in my dreams or in my waking life – I saw a young man like no one else in any country, in any country whatsoever. I want this young man to be my husband.”

Her cousin determined to journey forth in search [of that young man]. He traveled and traveled from one land to another till he arrived in the land of the prince, of the King Šāhrāmān. – Now we ... Which are the countries that are our neighbors? There is our neighbor France. There is our neighbor Algeria. There is our neighbor Spain. – He traveled to all of them in search of a sign. And that man [her cousin] was outstanding, a real man. The man was extremely learned, and he had an abundance of wisdom, this cousin of hers. [He traveled] till he arrived in the land [of Qāmr z-Zāmān].

[Before he had traveled, Ḥāyāt n-Nūfūs’s cousin] came to a *l-məswūd*.²⁶⁸ He found people standing there, very important people. He asked them, “What is the matter? What has happened to her?” They replied, “All these men are doctors.” “Who are they are supposed to be healing?” They said, “O friend! The daughter of King Ānālūs is sick, and her father has announced [in] Spain, Algeria, Tunisia, and so forth, [asking] if there be wise people, or doctors, to come to examine the girl. And all of them have said that she is in love. But where and who her love is, who knows? In which land is he? He could perhaps be from Italy, or from Germany. The cause of her love is difficult to fathom. This is happening in King’s Ānālūs’ Land.”

He came to [Qāmr z-Zāmān] and told him, “I went to the land of King Ānālūs, and I found physicians and wise men who were in the king’s house to heal Ḥāyāt n-Nūfūs. But she did not speak to any one. And now I will take you to that land and we will go to that place where physicians go. You will go yourself. May God help you be her physician, to heal her! And if you heal her, you can ask whatever you desire in this world from King Ānālūs. Anything you desire King Ānālūs, the famous King, will give to you.” Qāmr z-Zāmān replied, “I will go, O my cousin.”²⁶⁹

They boarded a ship. And they journeyed on that ship for days till they arrived at the city. He took him to the place where he [the cousin] had already been and they entered. He [Qāmr z-Zāmān] saw physicians, wise men, standing

268 The noun is from the root SWD which means “black” and is symbolically used for funerals or other sorrowful events or places. In this context the word refers to Ḥāyāt n-Nūfūs’s death-bed because of her love sickness.

269 Qāmr z-Zāmān does not refer to his actual biological cousin here, since he is the cousin of Ḥāyāt n-Nūfūs.

in line, awaiting their turn. One could not enter whenever he liked, only when his turn came. One was from Tunisia, another from Algeria, another from Italy, another from England, another from a certain country, and another from a different one. When his turn came [they asked him], “Are you a physician?” He answered, “Yes, I am a physician.” “Do you heal?” He said, “I certainly do heal.” His turn arrived. He entered. She [Ḥāyāt n-Nūfūs] was in a room, and he remained sitting in the corridor. He sat down at some distance. “Come in to her.” He replied, “No.” “Are you going to heal her from here?” He replied, “Yes, that is right.” He took a pen, and a piece of paper, and he wrote on it, “Read this letter and be healed!” And he put her ring with that letter and gave it to the slave²⁷⁰ to hand to her. She was lying on her throne. And the royal family was visiting her, and the physicians who were supposed to be healing her were there. They gave her the piece of paper. She took²⁷¹ it and found her ring. She looked at it, realized that the paper was hers too. When she opened it she found written, “Read this letter and be healed!” [Qāmr z-Zāmān] told them, “I am an Indian doctor. I can both heal and hurt.” Then Ḥāyāt n-Nūfūs rose and went to where he was sitting by her door.

14 The King said, “How astonishing! Where did he come from?” They told him, “He came from Šāhrāmān’s kingdom.” “What is his name?” “His name is Qāmr z-Zāmān.” [He exclaimed,] “Oh. Oh. Oh!” The King Ānālūs rose and placed two chairs, and made Qāmr z-Zāmān and his daughter Ḥāyāt n-Nūfūs sit on each. And he stayed gazing at both of them. One hour he said, “My daughter is better than he, Qāmr z-Zāmān.” And the next hour he said, “Qāmr z-Zāmān is better than my daughter.” It was not because of money, or because of clothes, but was the beauty that God had bestowed upon them, beauty. [Qāmr z-Zāmān] received hospitality, plenty of food, plenty of drink. [The King] gathered musicians: the one who knew how to play the mandolin came; the one who could play the oud came; the one who could play the violin came; the one who could sing, the one who could recite poetry. They sat with a mix of musicians from every place, singing. Each one was singing his own song.

15 [The King] had a bird. And that bird used to speak, to utter in pure Arabic. The bird said, “This is Qāmr z-Zāmān, the son of the King Šāhrāmān, the renowned one. And Qāmr z-Zāmān is learned in science, and he has a good education” – and he has this, and he has that. The bird spoke, and the King

270 The original text uses this noun in the plural: *l-šbīd*.

271 The verb used here, *nāḍaḍ*, is from the verb *nāḍ*, which literally means “to get up, to wake up etc.” (See DAF, XI, 496–497).

listened [and] said, “Oh, *this* is my son-in-law!” Then he ordered the jurists, the learned, educated, and pleasant people, young and old, to enter his house to eat and drink. The King held a wedding feast. The performing horse, and the one who knew song, and the one who knew poetry, and the one who knew anything [diverting]²⁷² attended the feast, the party that the King Ānālūs arranged in honor of Qāmr z-Zāmān, the son of King Šāhrāmān, who came to his house. – How should we understand this? We should understand that both King Ānālūs and King Šāhrāmān acted like, for example, the king of Tunisia, or the king of Saudi Arabia, or of Iraq, or of anywhere. All the very important people were invited. – The invitations to attend the party of King Ānālūs went to every land. People ate and drank for three days, with entertainments.

The three days ended. Qāmr z-Zāmān rose and said, “O Commander of the Faithful, O King! I miss my father, my parents, and now I must leave. I do not want to remain here.”²⁷³ He [the King] replied, “And your wife?” He said, “My wife can come with me if she wants; otherwise she can remain till I have visited my family and have seen my people and my mother, and my kin, and I return.” She said, Ḥāyāt n-Nūfūs said to him, “I will not stay here. You already know my parents; you know my father. I would like to know your people too: know your father, know your family, and know your mother, and to know [all]. I am going with you.” He said, “It is well.”

The King rose and put an army at his disposal. He offered him slaves and gave him servants and gave him money. “It would not be fitting that a son of a sultan came to me and returned empty handed! I have to enrich him, so he arrives to his father [enriched]. I am the king of this land. I have to show up²⁷⁴ that other king. I will indeed show my opposition to him, and will let my rivalry be manifested in benevolence, rightness, and high manners.” – Do you

272 The original text reads *u lli yāṣṣrāf šī ḥāža*.

273 This decision parallels the one made by the protagonist in the tale no. v, “Histoire de Dalāl” in Spitta-Bey (1883), 61–79 (esp. 63), where, as here, the protagonist says to the father of his new bride, “Je suis le fils d’un roi et sultan; je voudrais emmener ma femme et partir, pour aller dans le palais de mon père et y rester.” A similar response can be found in Kabylian tale no. 48, “L’histoire du rêve de Hassan,” by Frobenius translated by Fetta (1998), 96–114 (esp. 102), in which the protagonist, Hassan, in response to the suggestion of his bride’s father that he build a beautiful house, answers, “Merci beaucoup, dit Hassan, mais je veux emmener ma future épouse dans mon pays, et vivre avec elle dans la demeure de mon père. Je suis moi-même le fils d’un noble *agellid*.” These responses are not arbitrary: they are rooted in strong patriarchal traditions.

274 This translation is derived from the context. The verb used here is *ḍadd*, meaning, “contrarier qqn., le contrecarrer [Co]”: see DAF, VIII, 170.

know, Aicha, this is a tale from ‘One Thousand and One Nights’ but reworked by afrits? – He [Qāmr z-Zāmān] took his way [with] numerous people. She [Ḥāyāt n-Nūfūs] mounted a horse; he mounted another one. And the army, the beasts²⁷⁵ and mules, followed them. They did the first stage, and they spent the night. They did the second stage, and they spent the night in a square with the army surrounding them, holding court.

- 18 During this same night Qāmr z-Zāmān woke up,²⁷⁶ and suddenly saw that something was sparkling, gleaming in his [wife’s] girdle. He said, “What is this? She carried gold from her father to show to my father. [She does not know] that my father owns an abundance of things!” He grasped the stone which was glowing and took it to the door of the tent to inspect it. While he was looking at it, a bird flew from the sky, took it from him,²⁷⁷ snatched it out of his hand, and flew away.²⁷⁸ Qāmr z-Zāmān went after him. The bird flew as fast as he could, and Qāmr z-Zāmān mounted the afrit’s back,²⁷⁹ the same afrit that had brought him to see Ḥāyāt n-Nūfūs [and] served him. When the bird sat in a very high tree, Qāmr z-Zāmān climbed that tree. When Qāmr z-Zāmān tried to catch it, the bird flew again till it arrived at a certain land, a Christian land, a domain of the Romans, who do not understand Arab customs, or their language, or anything about them. They both were running, and he [Qāmr z-Zāmān] came into a field, a cultivated field ... [The owner of the field] said to him, “Where are you going, threshing [our field]?”²⁸⁰ He [Qāmr z-Zāmān] entered and said to him, “Me? A bird took a precious stone from me. The precious stone is not mine.” He said, “The precious stone belongs to my wife. I took it from her to

275 The term in the original is *bhāyām*, the plural of *bhīma*, which de Prémare, DAF, I, 330 defines as: “bête de somme, de labour, de pâture ou de boucherie, de transport et de monture (bovin, mulet, âne, ovin, caprin) [le terme ne s’applique pas aux chameaux et aux chevaux de selle] ...”

276 An idiom is used here: *drābθu l-fāyqa*. It is not mentioned by de Prémare.

277 *qqa lu n-nīla hāh* here means “to take it from him.” The verbs *qqa* and *šmāl* are polysemic and acquire their semantic value from the context.

278 This context could be labeled under the motif “*Bird Carries off Ring Taken from Sleeping Mistress’s Finger N352*” in El-Shamy (1995), 434.

279 Afrits can take the form of any type of bird, including eagles. See for example the variant of this tale in Scelles-Millie (1970), 32–47 (esp. 48–49, n. 5), “Roman de Salah et de la fille de noble famille.” On Jinns and Afrits see commentary on pp. 57–61.

280 This passage, which seems to be inconsistent with the flow of the narration, should be compared to the corresponding passage in the *ʔalf layla wa layla* tale mentioned n. 260 above. On this see the comment in Scelles-Millie (1970), 51 concerning the tale “Roman de Salah et de la fille de noble famille” (32–47), which is a variant of the present story.

look at it, and a bird snatched it from me. I would like the bird to be caught.” He [the owner of the field] thought, “Where are we supposed to catch that bird for him?”

[Ḥāyāt n-Nūfūs came to a land]. The prince [of that land], when he received news [of her arrival], rejoiced at their presence. She [Ḥāyāt n-Nūfūs] said, “I am me.” He replied, “Yes?” She told him, “I am Qāmr z-Zāmān.” She acted²⁸¹ with the same manly character, she wore a manly sword, she dressed in manly clothes, and told him, “I am Qāmr z-Zāmān.” The prince gave them [her and her entourage] a palace. They entered it and dwelt there. 19

[Qāmr z-Zāmān murmured to himself], “Who is going to catch that bird? Where did it go? We need that precious stone. Where is it? It isn’t mine, it belongs to my wife, and I do not want to annoy her because I took it from her.” He stayed there; he had enough food and drink, and all that he needed. 20

The King [where Ḥāyāt n-Nūfūs had arrived] had a daughter similar to Ḥāyāt n-Nūfūs. He said, “I have this daughter.” “What is her name?” “She is called Bādr l-Būdūr.” – What does “Bādr l-Būdūr” mean? Her beauty and her loveliness outshines the full moon. –²⁸² She sways seductively and walks flirtaciously, and strides with assurance.²⁸³ [Ḥāyāt n-Nūfūs] stayed there [in that palace] with her army and everything that belonged to her. She stayed with that king, with all that she needed, eating and drinking. 21

Some time passed, and three birds came. They caught²⁸⁴ one and sacrificed it at the door of the tent of Qāmr z-Zāmān. The precious stone was in its throat. Qāmr z-Zāmān rose and took out the precious stone. The bird that took it from him was controlled by his afrits. They brought it near him to sacrifice it, to compensate him for all that he had lost: for all his running, and for all the lost nights, and the lost days; for the food which he had had to give up, for his bed which he had had to abandon, for everything which he had had to leave, very important things. Qāmr z-Zāmān took the precious stone and said, “Here is the precious stone. Where is Ḥāyāt n-Nūfūs?” 22

281 An idiom is used here: *u šāmləθ š-šān*.

282 The description of feminine beauty here is comparable to that in the Fasis tale, “L’histoire du roi des djnoun, de sa fille et du fils du sultan” in El Fasi and Dermenghem (1975), 154–176 (esp. 156, n. 2): “Or cet enfant était beau comme la lune et il pouvait dire à la Beauté: “Brille ou je brille”: *tayquol lazzin dhoui aou nadhoui*.”

283 *kāṭḥil u ṭmīl u dāstām šla l-?ārḍ b-əḡ-ḡmīl* The narrator uses this dialectal expression each time he describes women’s beauty.

284 The verb used here is *ḡāw* + the preposition *n-*, which literally means “to approach, to come.” For the different meanings of this common verb see DAF, II, 278–281.

23 King l-Ġāyūr wished ‘Qāmr z-Zāmān’, who in reality was Ḥāyāt n-Nūfūs, to marry his daughter. In fact he made Ḥāyāt n-Nūfūs marry his daughter, Bādr l-Būdūr. After he had wed them and Ḥāyāt n-Nūfūs had gone into²⁸⁵ Bādr l-Būdūr, Bādr l-Būdūr envied the fish in the sea, and the stars in the sky: “Oh, oh, oh!” And [Ḥāyāt n-Nūfūs] also envied the fish in the sea, and the stars in the sky. When she met her, they found out that ‘he’ was a girl, and that she was a girl. [Ḥāyāt n-Nūfūs] took off the turban, and let her long hair down. She told her, “Here I am close to you.²⁸⁶ But we are going to share our husband [Qāmr z-Zāmān]. He will be mine and yours. But you have to protect me. Please protect me, and may God guard you! Do not say anything:²⁸⁷ protect me! And when Qāmr z-Zāmān comes, I will resign him to you. I would like you to marry him, even though he is my husband.”

24 Qāmr z-Zāmān took the precious stone. And he started running till [he arrived at] that land [where Ḥāyāt n-Nūfūs was]. When he arrived at that land, he found a multitude of men, a mighty host – signs of great kings, great kings. “What is this?” He came and he heard that the king named Qāmr z-Zāmān had come ... He [Qāmr z-Zāmān] said, “This is she [Ḥāyāt n-Nūfūs] who has come here and who has taken my name as hers.” How can [Qāmr z-Zāmān] meet her, ‘Qāmr z-Zāmān,’ a celebrity. He took his thick pen and wrote, “O Ḥāyāt n-Nūfūs, I was away from my land, and my children [...] and now I have returned. I seized the wisdom that I took from you, and a bird took it from me.” And he put it

285 The verb used is *dxāl* + the preposition *ʃla* + pronominal suffix or personal name. The same specific use is cited by de Prémare, DAF, IV, 233, meaning 3, with the example: “*spéc. lă-ʃrīs dḥal ʃāl lă-ʃrōʃa le nouveau marié pénétra dans la chambre de la nouvelle mariée (pour consommer le mariage).*” For more examples see *op. cit.*

286 Women disguised as men are very common in both Maghrebin and Oriental folktales: see the comment by Scelles-Millie (1970), 50, and tale, “Vie de Si Mohamed Bou Chama,” *ibid.* 71–79 (esp. 77). For an example see Légy (1926), 143–147 (esp. 144), tale no. XXXII, “La jeune fille mariée a un ghoûl.” This passage might subtly allude to a lesbian attraction, especially because both women reciprocally affirm their ties to Qāmr z-Zāmān: “This is Bādr l-Būdūr and I am Ḥāyāt n-Nūfūs, and you Qāmr z-Zāmān. You are our husband. I am not going to separate myself from her.’ And Bādr ʔl-Būdūr says, ‘I am not going to separate myself from her. She is a kind person, and me too.’ He [Qāmr z-Zāmān] took them; he remained with them.” On this motif see El-Shamy (1999), 382 n. 401: “*Mot. T462.0.1ʃ, Pseudo-lesbian attraction (love): woman falls in love with another woman who turns out to be a man in disguise*”; and “T28, *Princess falls in love with a man disguised as a woman*.” See Aarne and Thompson (1961), 299, tale-type “881A, *The Abandoned Bride Disguised as a Man*. Cf. *Type 884A*.” [I Experiences abroad. The bride, disguised as a man (K521.4.1.1), is chosen king or given other high honors in a strange land.]

287 The original expression here is: *hādī ʔw hāda*.

in that paper and ordered the paper be given to [her], telling them, “Present it to Qāmr z-Zāmān,” meaning to Ḥāyāt n-Nūfūs. As soon as they had given it to her, and she had found the precious stone, she told her [Bādr l-Būdūr], “Qāmr z-Zāmān has come.” They said, “Bid him enter.” When he entered, they greeted him: “This is Bādr l-Būdūr and I am Ḥāyāt n-Nūfūs, and you Qāmr z-Zāmān. You are our husband. I am not going to separate myself from her.” And [Bādr ʿl-Būdūr] says, “I am not going to separate myself from her. She is a kind person, and me too.” He [Qāmr z-Zāmān] took them; he remained with them. They informed [the King] ... that he [Qāmr z-Zāmān] had come and what had happened to him. The King l-Ġāyūr came and rejoiced with great joy.

[Qāmr z-Zāmān] said he must leave. In the land of King l-Ġāyūr there were many olive trees. [He said,] “Now I am going to prepare ten amphoras, ten big pots. And I am going to put gold in them; and I will cover it with olives to take home.” – And now see how the world is! From the beginning of the world, money belongs to every king, no matter who he may be. Because if money granted by God is available, that means having everything. As *Sīdna* and poet Sīdi Qāddūr l-ʿĀlāmi²⁸⁸ (may God grant us His blessing!), [said], “If my food is available all the time // My beloved ones gather around me.” ([Meaning:] All

25

288 This is the Sufi saint, spiritual master, and poet Sīdi Qāddūr l-ʿĀlāmi (1741–1850), known as the *Mālḥūn* sheikh of Meknes. There is a controversy about his place of birth. According to Ibn Zaydān, al-l-ʿĀlāmi was born in Meknes. However, Kharchaf (see below) states that according to local sources he consulted during his field work at Jbel el-l-ʿĀlām, l-ʿĀlāmi’s place of birth was the *dšār* (section) of Cheqaqra in the village of el-Ḥcen. Sīdi Qāddūr l-ʿĀlāmi seems to have moved with his family to Meknes, where he continued his studies, and where he died. He was buried in the house of his father, which during his lifetime had become a *zāwīya*, and after his death was converted into a shrine, to which the devoted go in search of the saint’s *bārāka*, “blessing.” Sīdi Qāddūr al-l-ʿĀlāmi is famous for his *MA qṣāyad*, which touch upon a variety of subjects, from the purely religious and mystical to songs about love and life and even about social differences – all in pure *MA*. His cultural background was both religious and popular, based on oral tradition. Sīdi Qāddūr l-ʿĀlāmi consecrated his life to a *s-šyyāḥa r-rūḥīyya* “spiritual quest,” with the goal of becoming an adept in the Sūfi path and mystic knowledge. He had many disciples, among them Sultan Mulāy ʿAbd ar-Raḥmān. Sīdi al-ʿĀlāmi left a rich literary corpus in pure *MA*. See the note by Karchafi Azzedine in *Horizons Maghrébins, Rihla/Traversée: Musiques du Maroc*. The doctoral thesis by Kharchafi, *Abd-al-Qādar, dit Sīdi Qaddūr al-ʿAlami: 1154–1266/1741–1850: le célèbre poète du Malḥūn à Meknes: corpus, transcription, traduction et confrontation des versions*. Thèse de doctorat. Aix-en-Provence, 1992, unfortunately proved impossible to obtain. As early as 1920 one of al-ʿĀlāmi’s most famous poems was published in *MA* in Arabic script and translated into French by Levi Provençal (1920), 1–21. And de Prémare frequently cites al-ʿĀlāmi’s poetry and sayings in his dictionary. I am grateful to my aunt Nazīha Meftah for sending me the above mentioned bibliographical references.

the dear ones come to me, and all of them exalt me). “And if God fails me, the best of my dear ones and of my acquaintances nods his head at me as if he has never waited for me” – no Ḥməd; nor Mūḥəmməd; no ʕĀyša nor xādūž.

26 He [Qəmr z-Zāmān] said that he must go. They filled amphoras with gold and covered it with olives. The land’s King [l-Ġāyūr] had a lot of olives, such olives! And he put the precious stone of Ḥāyāt n-Nūfūs in one amphora and prepared to travel by sea in the steamship.²⁸⁹

27 After they had carried all the cargo down into the steamship and he had boarded the steamship, he said, “Oh, oh, oh! What am I! How could I! This is not gracious! I stayed with these people. And I ate and drank with them, and they offered me all that I needed, and I did not even say goodbye to them.” He left the steamship and ascended [to the King’s palace] to say, “Farewell. May God guard you! We are going to depart.” As as soon as he ascended to [the palace], the steamship weighed anchor with the olives, with the gold, with Bādr l-Būdūr and Ḥāyāt n-Nūfūs. They left in the steamship. And where did he [Qəmr z-Zāmān] remain? He remained with the King l-Ġāyūr. “What has happened to you?” He replied, “You remained in my heart²⁹⁰ and in my feelings. I am going away, and I did not come to see you before, to beg your pardon for all the time we spent here. You treated us with great generosity.”

28 When he [returned to the dock], he found that the steamship had left. He [the king] told him, “This steamship comes back at a certain time each year: in the season of olives, when the olives must be shipped. Now there is nothing you can do. You must stay here till the steamship comes again. Then you can go your way.” He replied, “I must see: I am going to ride a horse night and day till I arrive at the steamship.” He [the King] told him, “There are many bandits, and the way is bad, and the *dawla*²⁹¹ does not readily permit passage.²⁹² The steamship travels by sea, no one can harm it. Now be calm and stay here.” He remained there.

289 The term here is *bāxira* “steamship.” This word is not mentioned in de Prémare, but is a common term in ChA, borrowed from CA. The setting of this tale suggests a desert environment; however, a parallel variant in *ʔalf layla wa layla* (see the reference above in n. 260 above), explains the sudden shift to maritime transportation. On this see Scelles-Millie (1970), 51–52, who comments on another variant of the present tale, “Roman de Salah et de la Fille de Noble Famille” (32–47).

290 The idiom: *bqīṯ f-əl-qālb dyāli*.

291 Due to the ambiguity of this term in this context, it has been left untranslated. For its use see de Prémare, DAF, IV, 387 under meaning 3, “gouvernement (*en gén.*) [Har]; abs. et spéc. *əd-dūla* [durant le régime du protectorat] le gouvernement français, l’occupation français.”

292 The original sentence here is: *ma dxālliṯ šī ġa ži u ġūz*.

While he was there, the steamship arrived at its destination, his father, the King Šāhrāmān. The cargo was unloaded. [His father the King said to the ship's captain], "I want [you to return to the land] from where you have brought these olives, and you have brought this money, and you have brought my son's wives. This steamship must return to that place and bring my son back to me. If you do not bring him, I will destroy this steamship and the people that came in it." Then they carried out the cargo, and they returned to that land, to fetch Qāmr z-Zāmān. The steamship returned with the one [purpose] of bringing Qāmr z-Zāmān back. 29

Know that Ḥāyāt n-Nūfūs had come [in that ship]. His father did not know Ḥāyāt n-Nūfūs and he did not know Bādr l-Būdūr. [He asked], "Who are these?"²⁹³ "This is [your son's] wife Hayat an-Nufūs, and I am [Bādr l-Būdūr]. My father offered me in marriage to your Qāmr z-Zāmān. And we promised each other, I and Ḥāyāt n-Nūfūs, that [Qāmr z-Zāmān] will be our husband." He repeated, "Qāmr z-Zāmān must come back!" Then the steamship returned to that land. And the people knowledgeable in mystic love²⁹⁴ came aboard, and the *māxzən*²⁹⁵ people too. 30

After they had carried out the olives and after they had carried out the amphoras, [they asked the King l-Ġāyūr], "Where is the man who closely attended you here?" He said, "Here he is." They said, "Let's go!" They descended to the steamship and they carried him straight to his father, to his people, to his kin and his home country, his home country. Here he is: Qāmr z-Zāmān has returned to his home land. Here he is: he has returned to his two wives, Ḥāyāt n-Nūfūs and Bādr l-Būdūr. 31

293 This translation is suggested by the immediate and the global contexts. The question in the original text is "*ma hād?*" which literally means "What is this?"

294 The expression used here is: *šhābīn l-ḥāl*. The term *ḥāl* has strong religious and mystical connotations: equivalent words are *māzdūb* and *ḥāḍra*. For a detailed discussion of this term see DAF, III, 280–181, under meaning 8; for the expression *šhābīn al-ḥāl*, see meaning 9. The city of Chaouen is known for its history of mysticism practised by men and women, poor and rich, noble and common, official and unofficial. On this see al-Ṣāfya (1982), 192–205, 231–235 (esp. 193, and 201–202, which names some of the mystics of Chaouen and its surrounding rural regions, among which were Mūlāy ṢAbd as-Slām, who is discussed in n. 51).

295 In this context this term refers to the authorities, government representatives, and important officials representing the local power – such as for example the Pacha or a Caid. For a detailed discussion of the meaning and the nuances of this very significant and important term in Moroccan politics, administration, and royal tradition see DAF, IV, 73. For more see my commentary on p. 80. On this institution and the folktales in which it appears see Thay Thay Rhozali (2000b), 198.

32 His father owns palaces. He told him, “O my son, make a choice: Do you desire that I build a palace upon the sea or I build you a palace in the gardens? Where do you wish to dwell? Where do you want your palace to be?” He replied, “Overlooking the sea. I have traveled on the sea, and I want my palace to overlook the sea so I can see each steamship entering and I will know²⁹⁶ from where it comes.” He built a palace overlooking the sea ... he, Bādr l-Būdūr, and Ḥāyāt n-Nūfūs. How big was that palace? One could spend three days wandering around it, with difficulty telling one room from another. The palace was very big, and its furnishings were covered with silk and gold, [its] food from wild game. They did not eat goat meat, or lamb. They ate only hunted animals: dove, partridge, mouflon, gazelle, and so forth. Every day food was carried, animals were carried to [them]. Then Qāmr z-Zāmān dwelt there. He arrived to his father, and he arrived to his mother; he arrived to his family. He finished the book he was writing. Qāmr z-Zāmān returned to his family with all that he desired, and he closed his book.

296 An idiom is used here: *nʿābbi ʿ-ṣāḥ dyāla*.

Hārūn ar-Rāšīd [and the Swindlers]²⁹⁷

Hārūn ar-Rāšīd had a vizier named Ġāṣṣfār l-Bārnāki. He told him, “We have 1
to see how things are in our home country. We will travel.” He replied, “Yes, O
our King.” They put on clothes, soiled clothes, not royal clothes. Clothes like
traders.²⁹⁸

They surprised a butcher. He had meat hanging: camel meat, cow meat, goat 2
meat, gazelle meat, horse meat, meats of many types. They asked him, “Are you
the butcher?” He answered, “Yes.” They said to him, “We are going to tell you
something,²⁹⁹ but you have to protect us.”

297 A variant of this tale from Chaouen is in Gil Grimau and Ibn Azzuz (1988), 205–206, tale no. 131, “La hija bordadora del sultán.” However, the protagonist of their tale is the daughter of the Sultan and not the Sultan himself, as in the present tale. Another substantial difference is the rich descriptiveness of the present tale, in contrast to the basic, direct, and a very brief manner of the narrative in Gil Grimau and Ibn Azzuz. A variant of the fourth and final section of this tale, which starts with the King and his vizier inspecting cook shops, was recorded by Leguil in 1950 as told by a man in Aït Teghdouine: see Leguil (2000), 95–101, tale no. 18, “Le roi et le gargotier.” Another possible variant of the of the last episodes is tale no. VII, “Histoire du prince qui apprit un métier” in Spitta-Bey (1883), 94–104. See also the Jewish variation in de Larrea Palacín (1953), 174–178, tale no. 131, “Aprended un oficio.”

298 Hārūn ar-Rāšīd frequently appears in folktales disguised as a merchant or a thief. In some tales he appears alone, such as in the present one, and in others with his vizier. This motif is common in Moroccan Muslim and Jewish folktales: see for example Stumme (1895), 114–119 (esp. 118), tale no. 14, “Eine Geschichte von Harun Arraschid.” In Jewish tales King Salomon takes Hārūn ar-Rāšīd’s role: see de Larrea Palacín (1952), 25–29 (esp. 26) and 30–32 (esp. 31), tale no. 5, “El hajam y el rey”; and tale no. 7, “la reina infiel”; idem, (1953), 115–120 (esp. 116), tale 118, “El casamiento, del cielo”; and Noy (1966), 76–78 (esp. 76), tale no. 20, “A True and Righteous Judgement.” For an instance in a Kabyle Algerian tale, “L’histoire du sultan et des trois Hachaichis,” see Dermenghem (1945), 101–103 (esp. 101). For other examples from other Arab folktale traditions see for example El-Shamy (1980), 63–72 (esp. p. 63), tale no. 9 titled, “The Promises of the Three Sisters.”

299 *kālāma* in this context means “something (secret), (secret) words.” This term with this vocalization does not conform either to MA or to CA. It might be analyzed by analogy with *qāwāla*, which occurs in the preceding tale: see n. 171 above. Heath (1989), 208, under A-1-37 mentions the term “/kalam/ ‘speech, words’ (less common than /klam/) from CA *kalām*.” Thus the term above could be related to this last word, or to the CA *kalīma* “word.”

He said, “What?”

They said to him, “We are muleteers, buyers and sellers, and we bought some cows and some oxen. When we arrived in a certain land with them, they died. They died on our hands, and then we arose and slaughtered them, and we skinned them. Then we took their flesh. How much is the meat that you sell?”

He told them, “I sell it for one *peseta*.”³⁰⁰

They said to him, “We will sell it to you for just 25 cents³⁰¹ of a *peseta*. We will sell it to you cheap. But the meat is not licit.³⁰² Now will you take it off our hands?”

“Yes: whatever you have, bring it at this price.”

[They asked him], “Who are you, O *Sīdī*?”

He told them, “I live in so-and-so house, and I am a Nobody.”³⁰³

“Give us, O *Sīdī*, your [full] name.”

He gave them his name, and that of his store, and that of his house.

They told him, “We will bring you the meat, but we must bring it to you in secret. No one should see us.”

He replied, “All right.”

[They repeated], “So you do agree to market [it]?”

He told them, “I agree.”

“Please put your signature on this paper.” He signed.

[They added], “We have a lot of meat available.” And they left.

- 3 They entered another [store] of another person. They found that he sold oil. [They asked him], “For how much do you buy oil?” He told them, “Thus much.” They told him, “We are muleteers, and buy and sell oil, and we bought a lot of oil, and we stored it in a caravanserei³⁰⁴ or a cook shop, or something like that.

300 This is a Spanish coin equaling 1/5 of the Moroccan *ryāl*. This term continued in use in northern Morocco until the late 1980s, when the franc, the name of French currency, replaced the *peseta*. For more information about this term see de Prémare, DAF, I, 231.

301 The word *bəlyūn* comes from the Spanish *vellón* which is one-fourth of a *peseta*. For more information about the term *bəlyūn* see de Prémare, DAF, I, 310.

302 The Chaouen expression *əl-ḥām ǧāyfa* means “it has not been slaughtered according to the Islamic ritual.” About the verb *ǧāf* see de Prémare, DAF, II, 288–289.

303 Translated literally *āna flān* is “I am *Flan*.”

304 The term used here by the narrator is *fāndāq* “caravanserei.” For a detailed description and discussion of the types of this *māxzən* institution see Brunot (1931), 54–56, 158–160. Brunot’s discussion is based upon the *fāndāq* of Rabat, but applies equally well to those of Chaouen. Hoenerbach and Kolenda (1973), 29 and idem, (1975), 122, following Lasquetti, mentioned the following Chaouen caravansereis: “Naheliegende frühere *fondaq*-Einrichtungen (1. *Fondaq del-Yehūdī* in der Swēqa-Strasse; 2. sog. “Kleiner *Fondaq* der Silberschmiede” am Eingang derselben Strasse; 3. sog. “Obere *Fondaq*” und 4. “Unterer

And the caravanserei was full of mice, and the mice got into the oil. We found it full of mice. And now can you buy it from us and take out the mice and sell the oil? You [usually] buy it for one *peseta*; but we will sell it to you for just 50 cents, very cheap.” He told them, “Bring it. Whatever you have, bring it.” “Give us, O *Sīdi*, your name.” He replied, “I am so-and-so selling oil at such-and-such a place.” They went their way.

They left and found one with an amphora of “wisdom,” [but actually] of *l-frāqīš*³⁰⁵ which is neither hot nor cold. And he had a bag of shelled walnuts, and a bag of unshelled walnuts.³⁰⁶ [They asked him], “What are you doing with these walnuts?” He replied, “O *Sīdi*, he who puts his hand into this amphora, in this sauce, who dips [his hand], we strike him on his head this way,³⁰⁷ right on his skull.³⁰⁸ He can hit me and eat from the walnuts until he is satisfied by both.” They asked him, “In this manner?” He answered them, “Yes!” The vizier took and put his hand into that amphora, and he struck him – “Smack!” [They asked him], “Are you always here?” He answered them, “I am always here.” And they left.

They went to the palace. They said [to themselves], “What have we accomplished?” They replied [to themselves], “We have encountered three swindlers: the oil merchant, the butcher, and the one who likes to eat walnuts. We do not yet know the evil this last one commits. Who knows it?”

The day after, [when] the new day broke, the King appeared in his palace [before] his counsellors. He ordered, “Bring me the one who sells oil.” They

Fondaq” am Ūtā el-Ḥammām; 5. sog. “Fondaq des Sīdi Ben Nāṣer” und 6. “Neuer Fondaq des Ḥādri” am selben Platz; vgl. Lasqetti 19–20); wurden ausser Betrieb gesetzt (no. 2, 4 und 5) bzw. ihrer ursprünglichen Marktfunktion entfremdet (Fondaq del-Yedūdī = heutiger Bazar Talīdī, “Neuer Fondaq” = heutiges Kaffeehaus), lediglich der “Obere Fondaq”, das periodische Treiben beherrschend, erfüllt noch seinen Zweck.” However, today none of the caravansereis function as such, and just one building is known to conserve the original architecture of a caravanserei, “Unterer Fondaq” in Ūtā l-Ḥammām, the rooms of which now serve as a bazar.

305 The term *frāqīš* is the plural of *fārquš*. According to DMA, 38, this term means “hoof.” In DAF, x, 85 de Prémare writes, “pied fourchu de bête de boucherie (bovins, ovins) dont le sabot comporte deux onglons [Co, Ferré].” This is one of the most characteristic dishes of Chaouen.

306 Translated literally *l-gāwz šihī* is “entire walnut.”

307 The term *hāyda* was accompanied by a gesture from the narrator.

308 The term *qādhīya* does not occur under the root QdḤ / GDḤ / KDḤ in de Prémare, DAF, x, 243. The nearest word is *qdēha* in the expression *qdēha ar-rāš* “le crâne, la boîte crânienne [Co].” Since in this immediate context the preceding word is *ar-rās*, there is good reason to interpret this term as emphasizing the act of striking.

brought him. He said to him, “How do you sell oil full of mice? The mice fell into it: the people must eat mice. You swindler! You are a scoundrel! Take him to the prison, to a dungeon! Bring me the butcher so-and-so.” They brought him. He said to him, “Here is your signature, you! Here is your name. You sell illegal meat!”³⁰⁹ “No *Sīdī!* I have never!” “Here is your hand. We sold [the meat] to you.”

7 [The king ordered], “The one who has a table³¹⁰ with two bags of walnuts, shelled walnuts and unshelled walnuts, and who says, ‘He who wants to eat walnuts, he must dip his hand into this amphora, and he must give me only small change’. Bring him!” They brought him. He said to him, “How do you buy walnuts with [your own] money, and you shell them and you said to us the one who gives you only [a slap] can eat all that he wants, without using the scales? Tell us what should be done with you?”

8 And he replied, “O Commander of the Faithful! The Divine Truth is yours! I was a rich person, and I owned mules, which I used to load with goods. And I used to bring merchandise, sell merchandise. One day I was coming with four mules loaded with merchandise, and merchandise means money. And I found a man learned in the Qurʾān crossing the land.” He told him,³¹¹ “O man, enter this land! There is merchandise for you. Load these mules with gold and silver.” He asked him, “And when I enter the land, what must I bring you [from it]?” He told him, “Bring me a book. There is a book. You take it and bring it to me. And you load these mules with gold and silver.” And he said to him, “And I, O Commander of the Faithful, I abandoned all my merchandise which had no gold or silver. [I said to myself], ‘I must load the mules with gold and silver [which is] better than my merchandise.’ I entered that door [to the land], the first door, the second, the third ... seven doors, till I come to that book. I took that book, and I opened it. And I said [to myself], ‘This book must be better than this gold and silver. This book I will take, I will sell it.’ I hid it and went out to the man learned in the Qurʾān. [He asked], ‘Where is the book?’” He replied, “I did not find it.” He asked him [again], “Where is the book?” He replied again, “I did not find it.” He told him, “No, [surely you did not].” He said to him, “Farewell!”

309 Islam prohibits the consumption of meat from dead animals. See El-Shamy (1980), 82, 187.

310 In this instance the narrator uses the word *mīssa*, which is from the Spanish *mesa*.

311 Here there is a shift from the narrator’s voice to the 3rd person. This shift is common in oral tradition. The reader must be aware of these inconsistencies. Each occurrence is mentioned in these footnotes

He spoke and I arose to drive my mules. I went one hour along the way and found myself cast into the most isolated and desolate place in the world. There was no bird flying and no living being walking.³¹² No gold or silver. No goods and no mules. Just a burning sun and burning sand and me wandering, thirsty and hungry and walking. There was no one to speak to; there was no bird flying and no living being walking. And I remained, O *Sīdi*, seven days walking in the wilderness, hungry, and crying because hunger overcame me.

“Now, till I arrived back in my land and my country I was berating myself for misleading me [because] I took the book from the man learned in the Qurʾān and did not load the gold that I could have loaded on the mules. Then, when I returned, I [decided] to educate myself. When they beat me, I nod my head and say to myself, ‘You deserve it’. I was, in other words, in wealth, luxury, leisure, and happiness, till I ended up without my mules, without the merchandise I had loaded on them. No gold that I loaded remained, no silver. I spent seven days wandering, walking with the animals on all fours on the ground. And the ground was hot with sun, just sand.”

[The King] said to him, “Swindler! [I sentence you to] jail, and then decapitation. I am going to have you beheaded, swindler! And a swindler deserves to be killed.” They took him, and so forth, and put him in prison.

The next day the King said to him [his vizier], “And now that we have solved this, and have seen to this, we must observe the cooks who sell food to the people, to check how the people’s food is. We will see what they cook.” – See how sultans used to be, caring for their citizens! – He told him, “Good. We will observe these cooks.” The next day they went out. They arrived near a cook shop, and they smelled meatballs, the sweetest meatballs. He [the vizier] told him, “Let’s enter and make a few skewers of these meatballs in [the shop] of this cook.” He told him, “No, ...”: he said to him, “Let’s go to our place, and make meatballs of chicken, or of doves, or of rabbits, or of other things; they will prepare it in front of us. How could we eat the dirt of this [cook]. We do not need him.” He answered, “No, let’s go in”: the vizier implored the King to enter that cook’s.

³¹² This literary and stock expression in folktales refers to a fictitious region which is vague, wild, enigmatic, cryptic, mysterious etc. For this expression see El Fasi and Dermenghem (1975), 48–59 (esp. 53, n. 1) in the tale, “Et-Taj Ahmed Ben Amar”; *ibid.* 60–75 (esp. 65), in the tale “Qartbone”; and the Kabylian tale, “L’histoire de Mhammed et de la gazelle d’or,” by Dermenghem (1945), 31–36 (esp. 32).

13 They went forth and entered. [That cook] owned a very big place. On one side people were eating. And the people who were fat and fleshy had to pass over [another place] which was covered with only a mat. The mat was spread out over thin air, so as soon as one stepped upon it he fell into the cellar. Below there were butchers. Anyone who fell there they sacrificed and cooked, and brought to the people to eat. When they came and stepped on that mat, they fell. The vizier said, “This is a storage bin. We are locked in.” The Sultan replied, “This was your bad idea, this was your rotten idea. I’m telling you, let’s get out of here!” They found men with their sleeves pulled up and people hanging, and knives cutting them, and [men] putting them in pots and cooking. And the people were entering [the cook shop] to eat. They made of it meatballs, and they made of it *ṭwāžən*. They used everything. And the people entered to eat. The Sultan said “This fall means the end of our lives. Yesterday we seized the people who were doing the duping, and now they will seize us and kill us.” [The butcher of the cook shop] left them tied up, like lambs, or like billy goats, or like bulls, tied up and tethered till their turn³¹³ came to be sliced.

14 A new day broke. The butcher came. He said to them, “Which of you wants to be first?” The vizier said, “Me. I go ahead. Leave this one [referring to Sultan]. Cut me down.” He sacrificed him while the Sultan was watching. He sliced him up and the Sultan watched. He [The Sultan] said, “This is the end. These [people] will do the same to me. How can I save myself? Whom should I call? Who will rescue me?” Then he said, “Only God the Sublime and the Blessed can save me. And only God can redeem me. If I have done good before God, God will ransom me. But if my deeds were bad with my people, I too will be cut into pieces: like they cut [the vizier], I too will be cut off.”

15 The next day, the owner of [the cook shop] came. He told him, “Now is your turn.” He said, “Stop!” and asked him, “That [man] yesterday whom you cut, how much did you get from it? How much money did you make from him?” He told him they made, shall we say, a hundred, or two or three hundred.

He told him, “Spare me: each day I will make the same amount of money for you. Keep me alive!”

“What are you going to do?”

He replied, “Bring me linen, and bring me many-colored silk of green and red and yellow and I will fashion something, and we will sell that thing for a very high price. Better for you than all this eatery!”

313 *ṭurnu*: this term is not attested in de Prémare. It seems to come from Spanish *turno* “turn,” and it is of common usage in ChA.

“Oh, better than this entire cook shop?”

“You will bring calico and silk, and I will fashion for you those things and you will sell [them]. These goods are bought by Algeria, for example, bought by France, and bought by others. You will sell for a very high price, and you will have a very high income.”

He replied, “All right,” and went and brought calico and different colors of silk and he gave them to him. And the man [the Sultan] sat down.

This man [the Sultan] had gone to a certain place in the country of the Sultan Fārtās. Then he had gone there and brought back one girl, the daughter of the Sultan Fārtās. And she taught him embroidering. He took her as his wife. When she arose to do something and was speaking to him, he used to say to her, “Allow me, me too. I want to do something useful.” She would show him this [had to be done] this way, and that that way. He had said, “If handicraft does not make a man rich, [it] sustains [him], and perhaps saves life.” 16

He did his first piece of work. It sold for a high price. He did his second piece of work: it sold for a high price. Hārūn ar-Rāšīd took the silk and wrote in it, “I am with the cook so-and-so in such-a-place. I am being held. He is going to sacrifice me.” And he wrote that thing. When he had written it, he took that article, let’s say a scarf or a belt, and said [to the cook], “You know something?” He asked, “What?” He said, “This: If you earn two thousand, you can make four thousand, and if you earn four thousand, you can make eight thousand, and if you earn eight thousand, you can make twenty thousand. Take this to the plaza [of the royal palace] and they will buy it from you no matter what price you say.” 17

The cook did not realize that this was the Sultan. He did not realize that in the article Hārūn ar-Rāšīd had made was written, “I am so-and-so, and I am being held in the store of the cook so-and-so. He is going to sacrifice me.” He took that thing to the [palace’s] plaza. They bid him enter the house. The daughter of the Sultan, the daughter of the Sultan [Fārtās], his wife, took [the article] and found her handwork, and written in it, “I am being held by the cook so-and-so in such-a-place. Seize the messenger who brings this.” The cook was standing waiting for all the money he was going to be given, and the *mxāznǝyya*³¹⁴ arrested and bound him. They went to [the cook’s] place. They said “We are *ǧādārma*.”³¹⁵ They said, “we are policemen.” They said we are – [Behold] how they used to be, the people before us! – Then they rescued him, 18

314 See under *māxzən* in n. 295.

315 This term of French origin, *gendarme*, means “policemen.” For philological comments see n. 181, p. 127; and for semantic and literary comments see n. 240 above.

they rescued the King, and they destroyed that place, and killed all its workers. And they took the Sultan.

- 19 He concluded, saying, “If handicraft doesn’t make a man rich, it sustains [him], and perhaps saves life.”³¹⁶ [The moral of this story is:] “Learning things is better than ignoring them even if they are forbidden.”³¹⁷

316 A parallel statement occurs in the tale no. VII, “Histoire du prince qui apprit un métier” in Spitta-Bey (1883), 94–104 (esp. 99–100), where the king says to his son, *jā ibny ʕan’atan fi ’ljadd timna’ elfaqr wetṭawul el’umr*: “C’est vrai, mon fils: un métier en main te protège de la pauvreté et prolonge ta vie.” This moral or lesson could by itself provide the narrative unity for a tale.

317 The narrator here cites a CA proverb: *ʕaʕallumu l-ʔaʕyāʔa ʔafḍalu min ʕahliha walaw kānat ḥarām*. This proverb is criticized by orthodox Muslims, who believe that learning evil things is not good, and that it is forbidden to study what harms.

Hārūn ar-Rāšīd [and the Three Thieves]³¹⁸

This is Hārūn ar-Rāšīd, the King of the land and the country. Robberies were frequent in the country. Despite the street lights and the vigilance of the night watch, there were robberies. 1

One night Hārūn ar-Rāšīd gird himself, and he put on soiled clothes – in other words, thieves' clothes – and went down to a river. Nobody can go to that river, neither afrit nor human being. He was very brave in swordmanship. He descended to that river, and three thieves confronted him. 2

“Oh! What is this?” They asked him, “Who are you, hiding here?” 3

He replied, “I am a thief, and he who crosses my path, I play with him, I kill him. I meet men with my sword.”

They told him, “You are bold. We are three. This one understands and is wise, he interprets what it says when a dog barks at him. This one can smell money or gold in a wall. And this one can cut into a wall and take out the gold and restore the wall to the way it was. And you, What are you worth?”³¹⁹

He told them, “As soon as any man, no matter who, stands near me, his mouth goes dry: not a drop of spit remains in his mouth. He only stands trembling.”

“Oh! Oh such boldness! You are courageous. Join us! You must be with us, you!”

He asked them, “Where are we going?”

318 This is a tale satirizing clerical corruption.

319 Translated literally *u nṭīna š man fāyda [fiṭ]?* means, “And you, what are you worth?” This passage and the description of the function of each thief parallels passages in some Moroccan tales: for example, tale no. XLIX, “Les quatre voleurs et le roi,” in Légy (1926), 190–192 (esp. 191); and tale no. I, *حياة النفوس* in Chakir (2010), 8–29 (esp. 13). Another example of what might be called a ‘team of specialists’ are the seven brave servants of the mysterious and cruel king of the tale “La fille du Sultan qui fut la cause de la chute de cent têtes moins une tête” in El Fasi and Dermenghem (1975), 178–205 (esp. 197). See also El Fasi (2000), 151–157 (esp. 151), tale “Histoire du Sultan-Bourreau”; and Gil Grimau and Ibn Azzuz (1988), 218–220, tale no. 139, “Los tres hermanos y el *Ifrīt*,” where each of the brothers has an extraordinary gift that he contributes to the defeat of the *Ifrīt*. In the Kabylia tale “Milaq-la-gâtée,” in Lacoste-Dujardin (2010), 113–120 (esp. 116; commentary on 123), each of the brothers of the protagonist Milaq has an unusual and malicious talent or strength.

They told him, “Today we have an easy task.³²⁰ We are going to the Sultan’s storehouse, where he has boxes of gold, and we are going to take a box of gold.”

He said to them, “I will go with you. Let’s forth!”

4 In that place [the Sultan] had a dog, a big dog, a big dog, a dog [which] could frighten away even ten men. When they approached, the dog barked “Woof! Woof! Woof!” at them. They asked the one who understands, who knows how to interpret [dog talk], they asked this wise one, “What is this dog saying?” He replied, “He is saying that the Sultan is with you.” “You zero! You don’t know anything! How could the Sultan come with us to steal! Oh ho ho!” They had brought meat with them, and the meat, it should be explained, would made one unconscious. As soon as that dog, in other words, took the meat which they threw to him – a big piece of meat – the dog ate the piece of meat and died.³²¹ They did their work: they stole everything. They did their work as always: the one who knew the walls cut into the wall, and one took out the money, took out all the money, and [the first one] restored the wall again.

5 [Afterwards] they started climbing until they arrived at a mountain. They entered a cave. He [the Sultan] found that cave full of jewelry and gold and silver and silk clothes. [So many] things that they could not be moved by anyone! They told him, “We put what we steal, and what we gather, here. Now you, we will give you something from here. Enjoy! See [pick out] something you like.” He told them, “Now, it’s just my first day. I cannot take anything from you the first day. I should not take anything from you. I am not going to take anything.” They said, “Enjoy! See something that you like. Here are jewelry, gold, silver. Here is silk.” He told them, “I refuse to take anything now.” They left and went their way.

6 While they were walking, he said, “Come: where do you go?” They replied, “Now we have to work. And when we finish working, we go to sleep. During the day we sleep, and we spend the night thieving. You have already seen what we have in that cave. We filled it with all those things. Tomorrow, with God’s will, we will meet you at the same time as today. Tomorrow you will go with us thieving.” He replied, “Yes.”

7 The next day the King ate his dinner, and he put on soiled clothes – just a rag fastened with a cord – and belted on his sword and went out. He went to that

320 This translation is based on the comparison between the obsolete term *nāqha* and its exact etymological CA equivalent: see Corriente DAE, 1200; and Wehr, AED, 1168. This term is not attested in de Prémare, nor any longer used in ChA.

321 An idiom is used here: *tāh šāfi*, “to die.” This idiom should be added to the many idioms using the verb *tāh* mentioned by de Prémare, DAF, VIII, 391–395. It seems that this is a euphemism for the verb *māt* “to die.”

[same] place. He arrived at that place and they met him: “Oh, you just got here?” “Yes, I just arrived.” “Let’s go. We are going to the store of a rich man. He has silver and money.” [The Sultan said to himself], “See this cave filled with things! Yet every day they say the same thing.” He asked them, “Now, what’s your day job? What work do you do?” They replied, “Nothing. We have no work.” “And at night?” They replied, “And at night this is our work.” He asked, “You do not have another occupation?” They said, “This one is the muezzin³²² who calls to prayer in such-and-such a mosque. And this other is the administrator³²³ who runs it: he collects its rent. And this is the imam.” They are three, the muezzin, the administrator, and the imam. He exclaimed, “And you are thieves?!” They said, “Yes.” He went his way. The first day, the second day, the third day he joined them thieving. [Then] he told them, “I am not going to come again. I have enough money to buy food, and I do not want anything else.”³²⁴ They went their way.

A new day breaks by means of our God, The Opener. The king ordered the young [guards], saying, “The administrator and the muezzin and the imam of such-and-such a mosque – they must be here now!” Without questioning, they seized the three of them. They brought them. He asked them, “How do you feel? Is there spit in your mouths?” They replied, “No.” He said, “How do you feel, frightened or bold?” They said, “We are frightened, O Commander of the Faithful.” He told them, “I am he who accompanied you stealing. There are no shackles sufficient for you! You will be in jail for always, till you die.” See? Three, the muezzin, the imam, and the administrator are thieves. Robberies ceased. As soon as³²⁵ [the Sultan] removed just these three, robbery did not occur in the country anymore. He caught them himself. He caught the thieves.

8

322 One of the thieves in tale no. CXIV, “La lampe mystérieuse,” in Laoust (1949), vol. I, 125–127, vol. II, 215–217, is a muezzin.

323 The original term *n-nāḍīr* refers to the caretaker / administrator of any public well or similar property or facility donated by pious private individuals (*ḥbūs*). On the history of this term see Michaux-Bellaire [1991], 134, 136. On its semantic value see DAF, III, 11). Concerning Chaouen, Hoenerbach and Kolenda (1973), 36, n. 2 define the function of the *nāḍīr* as “als Moschee-Kurator kontrolliert den aus Stiftungsgütern für gemeinnützige Zwecke bestehenden Fonds; bzw. die Regierung behält sich unmittelbare Einsicht in denselben vor.” See also Michaux-Bellaire (1911), 15, Rackow (1958), 7, and al-Ḥāfya (1982), 271.

324 This is an approximate translation of *u šī ḥāža āxra ma šāndi ma nāqqi biha*, lit. “and another thing I do not have anything to do with.”

325 For this meaning of *kūll ma* see DAF, X, 622 under meaning 8 b.

The Student

- 1 There was a student in a mosque, in *ṭūlba*'s³²⁶ Qurʾānic school. No one dared to speak with him. Why could they not speak with him? Because when anyone conversed with him, they could not understand him. And he would plan conversation and he would compose poetry, and he would challenge them. He annoyed them. They considered, came to a mutual understanding, said, "This one, we have to figure out where to kill him. We have to kill him. He cannot remain among us. This one has gone too far.³²⁷ This one!" They said, "How are we going to kill him?" "We are going to send him to the Sultan's daughter, the one who is asking for learned and brave men to come to debate with her.³²⁸ She will defeat him and behead him."
- 2 They said [to the student], "O what a pity! O fellow, what a pity!" He asked them, "Why?" They answered him, "In order to be named a Fellow, you must go to the Sultan's daughter, and challenge³²⁹ her with words, and vanquish her." And she has made this a condition for you to be her husband and her real servant without the (bridal) dower or material dower,³³⁰ and you will own half of [...]. He told them, "This will be easy to do. Ahah! Ahah! I know that I will marry her." But they knew that erudite people had gone [to her]: she had killed them [all].³³¹

326 This is the plural of *ṭālāb* (CA *ṭālib*), which refers to a student of the Qurʾān and of the *qirāʾat*, *sunna*, *ḥuṣūl l-fiqh*, *l-iḥmāl*, *l-qiyās*, grammar, and Islamic law. *Ḍbāla* are well known for their devotion to Islam: they show great piety, and Qurʾānic studies are very much in favor with them. Many of them become schoolmasters practicing their calling in the plains, š-*Šarṭ*. The association of *ṭālāb* and *ḏebli* is common, and their gluttonous character is the subject of many jokes. For a satiric description of Tangiers *ṭolba*, see Marçais (1911), 90–109, 184–198. For an orientalist but instructive description of the *ṭolba* of *Ḍbāla* see Moulières (1899), 9–10 under "Écoles, Mosquées, Étudiants djebaliens." See also de Segonzac (1903), 290; Michaux-Bellaire (1911), 77–98; Lévi-Provençal and Colin (1986), 1200; and Lévi-Provençal (1986), 1208.

327 The idiom used here is *fūwwəθ yiddu bəzzāf slīna*. For the verb *fūwwət* see DAF, X, 177, where this expression does not occur.

328 This translation is suggested by the context. The original text has *yitkalləm mṣāha*, which could be translated literally as "he speaks to her, he addresses her, etc."

329 This translation is suggested by both the immediate and the global contexts. The expression used is: *u dāḥādīṭ mṣāha*. The narrator thus turns a demonstrative pronoun into a verb, the meaning of which is derived solely from the context.

330 See n. 13 and n. 104 above.

331 The daughter of the Sultan challenges men: only a man who can defeat her in single

He took the way and started walking, walking to the Sultan's house. She had written a public notice: "The one who vanquishes me in debate, him I will marry the (bridal) dower or material dower [...]. Bring the erudite, bring the knowledgeable, and the rationalist to converse with me. The people who understand, who reason. The one who defeats me when we debate [I will marry]. And the one I defeat, I will behead. In some cases I will behead him; in others I will cast him into jail, and there I will strip him." This was how she sentenced each one differently. 3

He was a black man. His color was dark. He was black, not white: mulatto. He went to [the Sultan's daughter's house] and he sat there ... He said, "[I ask to be taken in] as a guest, for God's sake." They told him, "Welcome! Enter." He entered. He had dinner. They dressed him. And they allowed him to spend the night well! 4

In the morning they told him, "Get up," that in fact he was only a guest spending the night there: "In the morning you must get up and walk; you are a guest." He told them, "Perhaps you do not know that when a guest comes in, a dinner must be offered to him, and at sunrise he must be served breakfast and then invited to remain seated. He must eat breakfast and remain seated." 5

She [the Sultan's daughter] heard him. She came and asked him, "What are you saying?" He answered her, "They told me, 'Leave!'" [She said], "When the guest has been served dinner, at dawn he must walk." He told her, "I am sitting for my own benefit, because I like to walk slowly. I walk slowly." She told him, "Perhaps you do not know that God bans fornication, and you want to sit with me." He told her, "(As it is said) in *l-ʿAṣr*:³³² be patient, and do not talk thus when I speak to you!" And he said, "In difficulty, be patient!" She replied, "Perhaps you do not know that if you were a benevolent man, your face would not be black. If you were a benevolent man, a kind person, God would not have created you with such a black face." He told her, "Perhaps *you* do not know that when a guest comes, a dinner must be offered to him, and at sunrise he must be served a breakfast and he must sit. And if I am black, musk is as well. And its weight equals two: One weight of musk equals two weights of gold." She retored, 6

combat will be given her hand in marriage. This is a well-known motif in Maghrebin tales. See tale no. 30. 3, "La femme du cafetier. Le métier," in Frobenius (1921) translated by Fetta (1995), 135–148 (esp. 135, 138); and Légy (1926), 44–47 (esp. 45), tale no. VIII, "Histoire des cent têtes coupées et une tête et de la fille du sultan."

332 The narrator here alludes to the Qurʾān's verse in *al-ʿAṣr* (*Sūrah* 103:3): *وَتَوَاصُوا بِالْحَقِّ وَتَوَاصُوا بِالصَّبْرِ* "... In the mutual teaching of Truth, and of Patience and Constancy." The quotation of this Quranic passage follows ʿAlī (1989), 1693.

“Coal powder hides in corners.” He rejoined, “Only musk is black. One single weight [of it] equals two, whereas millions of lime³³³ cost one dirham.”

7 He told her, “God’s peace be with my mother, God’s peace be with my father. Two weight of lime equals one dirham. One single weight [of musk] equals two [of gold]. Lime is used to build, and then is destroyed. But the powder of coal you smear on your eyes. We build with lime, which has an end. But your eyes – who can destroy them?” ... He said to her, “God’s peace be with my mother, and God’s peace be with my father, and upon Paradise and Mūḥämmäd.”

8 He said, “God’s peace be with my father, and God’s peace be with my mother, and with the students in every assembly” – [students] that had encouraged you go to her! But you came out alive, even though she kills everyone who comes to her.

333 See pp. 72, 73, 150 n. 252.

Sīdi l-Būẓtāmi

Sī l-Būẓtāmi is a man of science, a man close to God and one among the saints. 1
What does he do? He brings a carpet,³³⁴ and he spreads it on the sea and travels
over the sea³³⁵ for days.

Once he put that carpet on the sea. It proceeded, going further and further. 2
Then it changed its direction toward a Christian country. “And now this is the
way to Christians. I am not going to the Christians.” He took it and changed its
course. It went a little way but again swung back toward the same place. He
tried to direct its way, but it took the direction toward the Christian country.
He tried again to alter its course and prevent it from going to the Christians’
country. And then he decided to do as the carpet did:³³⁶ he put it in Christian
territory, in a non-Arab land. He sat down and said, “I have never dressed in
European garments. I have never put them on. I have to put on a tie, and to put
on a hat and everything. I refuse to put any such on me! Any of it!” He sat down
to think about what he should do.

As soon as he sat down, he fell asleep. Someone shook him. They said to him, 3
“Wake up, get dressed, rise up, put on your clothes.” He found a complete set of
European clothes with all its accessories: a hat, a tie, a pair of slippers [shoes].
He left the clothes there, and went to the place that was before him.³³⁷ He again
sat down to think about what to do. Sleep overcame him. Someone shook him
and said to him, “Wake up, and put on your clothes.” Then he said, “Now this
must be God’s will.” He put on the clothes. And he started toward the city.

334 This word was not translated in the previous text (see n. 125). The reason for translating it here as “carpet” is the well-known motif of “The Flying Carpet”: the carpet in the present story is clearly meant to be magical. See El-Shamy (1995), 77, under “*Carpet*.”

335 The sea in this context symbolizes the purity and sanctity to the protagonist, who will prove his immaculate religious character. On the many symbols and meanings of the sea, see Scelles-Millie (1970), 69, 79–80, n. 2; and Lacoste-Dujardin (2010), 53, n. 6.

336 The word used here is *sāḍa*, which, according to de Prémare, DAF, VI, 97, means, “acquiescer à la demande formulée par qqn., déférer à son désir / à son souhait etc.” This meaning fits the present context very well, given that this verb must refer to the magical power of the *hāydūra*/carpet.

337 This translation is based on the immediate context. The expression used here, *n-ra fāyn*, basically means “there.” See DAF, V, 4, under meaning 6.

4 As he approached the city, all the non-Arabs of that city, all of them, came quickly, running. They seized him, “Oh, oh, oh you are here! Come!”³³⁸ “What is the matter with you?” They told him, “We are holding the festival of our³³⁹ big priest. And he is going to deliver sermons to us today. Let us go! Come!” They escorted him to their church.

5 And the church was very big. He entered it. They sat down, and made him sit with them too. The priest came, the big priest. He addressed them, “Non-Arabs!” They answered, “Yes, O [Father].” He told them, “One Arab has come with you. One Arab.” Each of them looked around himself [but] found only his brother. Each of them looked around himself [but] found only his brother. Each of them looked around himself [but] found only his brother. They told him, “There is no Arab with us!” He replied, “The Arab is among you.” He walked among them³⁴⁰ but they did not see him. He said, “O Arab, stand up in the midst of these non-Arabs. Stand up! Having entered, you must make yourself known!” As soon as Sīdi l-Būzṭāmi heard this, he stood up, he leaped to his feet. [The priest] said to him, “What have you to say?” He continued, “I am going to ask you one hundred questions. And if you answer them, then the non-Arabs will exalt you to the sky. And if you do not answer them, they will chop you into small pieces.”³⁴¹ He replied, “Ask me.”

6 The priest started asking questions of Sī l-Būzṭāmi. As soon as that priest had asked Sī l-Būzṭāmi a question, the answer to that question appeared written upon the priest’s forehead. When he asked him a question, Sī l-Būzṭāmi could answer him: it was written upon the priest’s forehead. [Sī l-Būzṭāmi] looked at his forehead, and he found the answer. He asked him one question after another. There was nothing on earth, in heaven, in the seas, and so forth he did not ask him about.

7 Sī l-Būzṭāmi said to him, “You have asked me one hundred questions. I am going to ask you just one, but you must answer me.” And the priest struck his

338 For this meaning of the root *zād*, see DAF, v, 432, meaning 3.

339 The narrator is careful not to use the 1st person even when merely quoting the Christians; that is why he uses *dyālam* instead of *dyānna*. The translation uses “our” here to avoid confusion.

340 The verb used here is *ḍrāb* + preposition *ʕla* + pronominal suffix *həm*. For the same semantic value of this verb see DAF, VIII, 174, under meaning 10. In ChA this verb is rarely used independently, though it does occur in expressions like *ḍrāb wāhd l-māsāfa ʕla rəžlu* “he did / went a long distance by foot,” *ḍrāb ət-trīq ʕla rəžlu* “he did the route by foot,” *ḍrāb ʕla l-xālfā* “he started/continued walking” etc. For more expressions see the reference mentioned above.

341 The expression used here is *yʕābbwāç šwīyya wāhīd*.

head against the floor – “Thud!” The non-Arabs rose and asked him, “O big Father,³⁴² you have asked him one hundred questions, and he has answered you! And you are requested to answer one question, and you strike your head?” He [the priest] replied, “This question is very difficult.” They told him, “We must answer him!”³⁴³ He [Sī l-Būzṭāmi] said, “You must repeat what I am going to say.” They replied, “All right.” He asked, “What is the key to Paradise?” He [the priest] answered him, “(I profess that) there is no god but God and Mūḥāmmād is His Prophet.”

All that were in that land, that had entered that church, all swore by our Lord 8
Mūḥāmmād – God bless him and grant him salvation! – And they converted to Islam.

342 The same statement as in n. 339 above also applies here: the narrator uses *ya bāḥāhəm*, which literally means “O their [sic] big Father,” to avoid speaking in the 1st person voice of a Christian even merely rhetorically.

343 The narrator here uses *wa nqūlu lu!* which literally means “let us tell him!”

I-ŶĀqli f-ən-Nămsi [and the Conversion of Austria]

- 1 I-ŶĀqli gathered all his wise and learned men in Austria. He asked them, “Do you know why I have gathered you?” They replied, “No, O Sultan,³⁴⁴ we do not know. What are you going to tell us?” He said to them, “I want five of the Prophet Mūḥāmmād’s Companions. Now, you must give me your thoughts, express your idea: How should I get these five Companions? Where are they, these Companions? Qays, MuŶāwiyya, Ṭalḥa. – O Lord! I missed one.³⁴⁵ There should be Five! – I want to capture them. If I capture them, it will be as if I have captured all the Arabs.” They told him, “This is easy. This goal is imminent.” He asked them, “How?” They replied, “You have to select³⁴⁶ ten people and they must let their beards [grow]. They must take rosaries like Muslims, and they must go to the Prophet and say to him, ‘O Messenger of God, all Austria has become Muslim, and now we want five of the Prophet’s Companions: MuŶāwiyya, Ŷukayša, Ṭalḥa and z-Zubāyr.’³⁴⁷ It is easy. Look for ten people to go to the Prophet to tell him that all Austria has become Muslim. [Those ten must say to him], ‘And now give us those five people to teach us the prayers, and to teach us the religious duties of Islam, and to teach us the rules of conduct.’ So Mūḥāmmād³⁴⁸ will give you five people, he will give us five people. And we will bring them [...] O our King, and do with them whatever you want.” He replied to them, “This is [good] advice too. What you have suggested is good.”
- 2 He called ten people, and gave them enough money, and enough clothes, and enough everything. “You must carry out this matter.” They answered him, “Oh, Oh, Oh! To your command,³⁴⁹ and your order, O our King.” He made the horses

344 The narrator incorrectly says *āmīr l-mūmīnīn* “Commander of the Faithful,” which obviously would not apply to a Christian ruler.

345 The narrator intended to say “I missed two” because there are five Companions in all and he mentioned only three.

346 The verb used here by the narrator is *māš dāṣmāl*. The context of the numerous occurrences of this verb indicate that it can adopt any meaning required by the context and therefore its semantic value equals “ø.”

347 This still adds up to only four Companions. The narrator later adds the omitted name.

348 Because a Christian King is speaking here, the name of the Prophet is not followed by the customary blessing.

349 The word used here by the narrator is *āmhīç*. According to the context this term is linked with the following one, the widely attested verb *āmriç*, by the conjunction *wa-*. This could be cited as an argument for reading this otherwise unattested term as the first component of a fixed formula meaning, “To your command, and your order, O our King.”

ready for them. He prepared swords for them. And they departed from Austria for the Prophet's city.

These strangers came to the Prophet. “What do you want? What did you come to do?” “O Lord, Messenger of God. We, all Austria – Austria is a big country – have become Muslim, everyone. However we are ignorant about how to perform the ritual ablution, how to learn Islam's rules of conduct, how to learn how to pray, how to learn how to speak. Now give us those five in order to teach us.” Then [the Prophet] told them, “Fine, I give them to you.” Our Lord Mūḥāmmād – God bless him and grant him and his descendents salvation! – called five Companions. And they came and he told them, “These ten came from the land of Austria, which has converted to Islam. And you are going to go to teach them the ritual ablution, the prayer, and fasting, and all the duties and the basic teachings of Islam. They will supply you with your food, your drink, and whatever you may need.” They said, “It is well, O Messenger of God. We go.” The ten men mounted horses, and they went their way.

They had stayed three days in the City with the Prophet. Acting with malice,³⁵⁰ they had pretended to be praying when they were not. And they had pretended to praise God, but did not. “You have your religion and I have my religion.”³⁵¹ The third day, they [the ten men and five Companions] started their journey ... going, going, going. They completed the first stage. They rested, spent the night. They completed the second stage. They arrived. They rested the third stage ... While they were sitting, two ravens landed and began to quarrel with each other “*Chrap! Chrap!*” – [...], to fight, and to fight heavily. One fought the other over and over, and they spoke at each other. Sīdi ĠĀbd Llāh Bən Ġāḥfār, one of [the Companions] who was with them – now I remember him! – understands the language³⁵² of birds. When a goat bleats, he understands what it says. When a cow lows, he understands what it says. In short, he understands all animals when they speak.³⁵³ They asked him, “Sīdi ĠĀbd

350 The idiom used here is *yġāmlu ṭ-ṭāḥrāmīyyāθ*.

351 This is the verse of *al-kāfirūn* (Sūrah 109:6), لَكُمْ دِينُكُمْ وَلِيَ دِينِ, “To you be your Way, and to me mine.” The quotation of this Quranic passage follows A. Y. ĠAlī (1989), 1708.

352 This translation is based mainly on the context and on the meaning of the verb *fhām*, “to understand.” The narrator here uses the word *lāḡṭ*, in which sound and sense go hand in hand, and which Breteau and Roth (1990), 37, 38 defines sound as “‘produire un bruit confus’ (foule) relève par l’un de ses constituants (confus, réduit à indistinct) de la catégorie *continu-indistinct*. Le trait continu peut être induit.” For a detailed meaning of the verb LĠṬ see de Prémare, DAF, XI, 59.

353 The hero's knowledge of animal language is a common motif in folklore, occurring mainly in fairy tales. On this see for example the comment by El Fasi and Dermenghem (1975),

Llāh, what were these birds by us saying?” He replied, “If I tell you, you are not going to take one single step [further] with these [ten people].” “Just tell us. The Prophet sent us: even if they might chop us into pieces, if they might chop us into pieces, we are not going to return, because our Lord Mūḥāmmād sent us.”

5 They rose and began to walk. They arrived in Austria. When they arrived in Austria, they found a multitude of people – so many people that it is a wonder that there was enough food and water for them all! “Oh, oh, oh! So many people, such a multitude of people walking about and such an army standing!” As soon as they arrived, ... Ġāʕfār had told them, “Here we are. We are going to arrive, and they are going to bind us, and torture us, and starve us.” They told him, “O Sidi ʕĀbd Llāh, we are not going to return! Even if they might turn us to ashes, we are not going to return till we have fulfilled [our duty.] Mūḥāmmād sent us. We will proceed.” They arrived. They seized them, and they bound them.

6 And [those people] had a distant well and upon it a rock. A stone covered the well-mouth. And not even forty people could move that rock, or take it off to open the well-mouth. There was no one who could do so. It needed at least forty people. They lowered the five [Companions] down into that pit. There was only darkness. “What is this?” They answered [themselves], “This is what God has written for us. This is what God the Blessed and Sublime has willed for us. Our Lord Mūḥāmmād has sent us. We cannot do anything.” Some time passed, and they murmured the *fāṭḥa*.³⁵⁴ They sought God’s assistance, imploring him: “O God, lead us to the right way! O Lord, O our Seigneur Mūḥāmmād, O Messenger of God! We are under God’s protection, and under your protection, O Messenger of God! Rescue us. We are hungry. There is darkness. We can neither sleep nor sit down. Save us, O Lord Mūḥāmmād! Save us, O our Lord Mūḥāmmād, Messenger of God!”

152. On this motif in folk traditions of the Arab World see El-Shamy (1995), 279: “*Animal Language Learned B217*”; “*Magic Knowledge of Animals’s Language D1815.2*.” For this motif see also Aarne and Thompson (1961), 186, “*B215.1, Bird language*” and “*B216, Knowledge of animal languages*.”

354 This term does not refer to the opening *Sūra* of the Qurʔān, the *fāṭiḥa*. A *fāṭḥa* is a solemn invocation pronounced in public by a respectable person imploring God for a benediction or help. The normal manner of addressing God is with raised hands, the open palms turned upwards, and the face looking towards the sky. Upon the conclusion of the prayer the spread hands are passed over the face. For other semantic values of this term in MA see DAF, X, 13 and Marçais (1911), 165, n. 3.

The revelation³⁵⁵ descended upon Our Lord Mūḥämmäd – God bless him and grant him salvation! – He was told, “The Companions have been seized, they want to [...]” Our Lord Mūḥämmäd – God bless him and grant him salvation – called *Sīdna* ʿAlī. He called ʿAlī, “O ʿAlī, only you, O ʿAlī! Go to Austria. Rescue five Companions. Five of my Companions are bound in Austria.” *Sīdna* ʿAlī went, found a fire, noise, and hubbub:³⁵⁶ all non-Arabs worked up in such a way!³⁵⁷ There were such festivities, such lights, such music! Our Lord ʿAlī entered [the scene] and said, “What’s going on?” They answered him, “You do not know?” *Sīdna* ʿAlī knew seven languages. He could speak with every person of every country. He speaks to them. They asked him, “Where did you come from?” He answered, “I come from the land of so-and-so. I also came to attend the festivities. Now, where do you have those Muslims?” They told him, “They are with Bu-Ḍālfa.” “And where is Bu-Ḍālfa?” They told him, “There he is, stoking a fire in order to burn the Companions in it.”

He went to Bu-Ḍālfa. He found him close by the well. *Sīdna* ʿAlī seized the rock which only forty³⁵⁸ people can move and moved it with a single push.³⁵⁹

355 The narrator uses the term *wāḥm*, which means “imagination, delusion, etc.” (see DAF, XII, 287), instead of the CA *wāḥy*, meaning “revelation.”

356 This term seems the B word of the pair *hdīr* and *ndīr*. The context suggests that these two words share the same semantic field, “noise, hubbub.” This term also occurs in a religious context with the meaning, according to de Prémare, DAF, XI, 334, of “l’avertisseur, le prophète qui met en garde contre le châtement / contre les dangers du péché [Co].”

357 The term used here is *mhādça*.

358 In this genre the number forty has to be considered a “*Formulistic Number: Forty* Z71.12”: El-Shamy (1980), 274, and (1995), 195. For more on the number forty and its literary meaning in folktales see nn. 203 and 359.

359 This act of ʿAlī is known from other Arab folktales, such as the Egyptian folktale, “Imamu’ ʿAali and ʿAantar,” (El-Shamy [1980], 154–156 [esp. 155], tale 31) in which, “The fence had an iron door which could be opened only by forty mighty men. Of course they thought they were safe, for if forty mighty persons could open their gate, neither Muhammad nor anybody with Muhammad could open it. They were all inside asleep. The door had a small hole in it through which they could look outside. Imamu ʿAali put his little finger in this hole and pulled. Then it [the door] came, out of the wall. He flung it into the air, and no one could find any trace of it. ʿAali wondered, ‘Where is the gate?’” This act has to be considered not as a miraculous one, because of the religious genre of this tale, but an act proper to a folktale hero. In tale no. 2 in El-Shamy (1980), 14–24 (esp. 18), “The Black Crow and the White Cheese,” the protagonist, a young boy, by himself moved a boulder blocking a cave entrance that otherwise could be moved only by forty strong men. In the Kabylian tale no. 48, “L’histoire du rêve de Hassan,” in Frobenius translated by Fetta (1998), 96–114 (esp. 105), the protagonist moves with one hand in just one minute a rock that two black men (négres) had been trying to move for twelve years.

He reached down and pulled the five of them up. They seized their swords. After that same night, with the break of the new day, each and every one of them dawned, saying, “(I profess that) there is no god but God and Mūḥämmäd is His Prophet.” It was the city of l-ʕĀqli f-ən-Nämsi [and] became the city of our Lord Mūḥämmäd – God bless him and grant him salvation! – one among the Muslim countries. And the Companions went straight³⁶⁰ to meet our Lord Mūḥämmäd.

360 This uses the preposition: *īla* + *ʕänd*.

God Alone is Everlasting

A short tale: God the Sublime and the Blessed, Praise Him. At the beginning of the world, the Great and the Powerful created a bird. And He created forty cities of canary grass seed only for him. And God the Sublime and the Blessed called that bird, and told him, “When you finish eating these forty cities of canary grass seed, I will put an end to your days.” And the bird began eating one single seed every day, and then one single seed each three days. But in [the end] he finished the forty cities of canary grass seed. He died, and nothing remained. God alone is Everlasting. 1

[A Poem to] Sīdi Ḥmād l-Wāfi

- 1 O one who begins composing after evoking the name of the Protector! Listen, O one who understands the sound of my words, which I mean to be the pure planting, which is sweet when singing the praise of the saint, whose existence is healing and health, and [who] brings comfort to my disturbed soul with his brightness. O my Lord Sīdi Ḥmād l-Wāfi,³⁶¹ add faith and kindness to my words! O my Lord Sīdi Ḥmād l-Wāfi, I ask to be taken in as a guest of God, for God's sake! God be praised! O Saint, who is exalted above Heaven! O who neither drowns nor slumbers. O the one that is exalted only by the recitation of his litany! Forgive me through the power of the intercession of [our Lord ʿĀbd] ʿs-Slām. I implore before you Bu-Fāṭma, the crown of my confidence, and the pleasure of my moan. God bless him! My nobility equals his years. The one who knows the number of angels in the high Heaven, and the number of fish, and the rain and the seed of poplar and birds praising [the Lord] in my garden, and the stars shining toward the qiblah and toward north, toward east, west, and here. O star of Venus! O my echo! O my Lord Sīdi Ḥmād l-Wāfi, add faith and kindness to my words. God praise you! ... Life means generosity, knowledge, learning, and gratification through God.

361 See chapter, The Cultural Setting of the Stories, under point 1. Saint Veneration in Chauen.

Mūḥammād š-Šrīf l-ʿĀlāmi's Poem³⁶²

My name reveals clarity. O my people, what is visible cannot be hidden.³⁶³ 1
 ʿĀlāmi of the Hlāl kinship, I did not forget you and you did not forget me: I
 have God as witness. O people of faithfulness, the well-being and the generosity
 are yours, and my salutation goes to you all. My heart is perishing, longing for
 you, and I turn all my attention to the Omnipotence. O brother, I am a stranger,
 and [my] longing creates my divan. The ardor of remembering heals me from
 going in for the painful task.³⁶⁴ O you in whom I find my soul, comfort, and my
 refreshment! O Lord ʿli B. r-Rāšəd!³⁶⁵

362 The narrator attributes this poem to Mūḥammād š-Šrīf l-ʿĀlāmi. He adds that this man was a carpenter and an excellent poet, but unfortunately could not remember most of his poems.

363 The original expression here is *q-dāhīr ma hu xāfi*, which may refer to the on-going discussion concerning the *Šūrfa* title. On *Šūrfa* al-ʿĀlāmiyyūn see n. 22 on p. 7, n. 44 on p. 13, n. 12 on p. 69 and the bibliographical references there.

364 This is a very complicated context, making it very difficult to provide a precise translation for *mdāwi mən kədd l-ūkād*. For the first term see DAF, X, 538 under *kədd* [11]. For *ūkād* see DAF, I, 59.

365 See p. 67.

*Lālla Ḥusniyya l-ʿAlami's Corpus –
Transliteration*



kǔnna b-səbɪ bnāθ [f-mv̥y̥y̥əǵ nləʃbu]

sältəç kān wāh ɪ-ɪāžəl ʃāndu səbɪa d-əl-ʃyāl. ʃāndu səbɪa d-əl-ʃyāl, u ʃāwəd 1
 žwəž, ʃānda l-mɪa wāh l-ʃāyla, l-mɪa wāh l-ʃāyla ʃānda, ʃānda wāhd l-ʃāyla,
 ūwa u hūma dīç l-ʃāyla mʃəššəša ʃāndūm mxānnəa. u hūwwa wāh n-nhāɪ ʔāθ
 lu dīç l-mɪa: “ɪ-ɪāžəl, āwa nāvm̩w ūlādna u nāʔʔw t-ɪɪd u ǵ-ǵdād u nāvm̩w
 ūlādna.” ǵa hūwwa ʔāl la: “wāxxa.” dəbɪu ǵ-ǵdād u ʃāžnu t-ɪɪd. ʔāl la: “wa ʃāyn
 māš nāvm̩w hād l-ʃyāl?” ʔāθ lu: “nāvm̩whəm!” ʔāl la: “wa ɪa dyāləç nʃābbɪha
 mʃa l-ʃyāl dyālɪ nāvm̩ha.” ʔāθ lu: “lāʔ bəntɪ māš nāvm̩ha b-yiddi, u nʃɪna ɪmi
 dyāləç.” hūwwa ndāh ūlādu ʔuddāmu ʔāl ləm: “yāṇāhu a ūlādɪ nāḥṭāb lkūm
 l-ʃwād, yāṇāhu nāḥṭāb lkūm l-ʃwād.”

ʃābbāhəm n-əl-ǵāba u ʔəlʔām f-əl-ǵāba, ʃābba l-mzīwda mʃāmmɪa b-əɪ-ɪmād 2
 u z-zəɪɪɪa d-əl-kīṭān māxlūta mʃāha lāylaʔʔūha u yāklūha u xāllāhəm ʔāl ləm:
 “āḥāṭbu l-ʃwād wāna māš nǵɪb lkūm l-ʃwād, ʃābbɪw āzdəm n-əl-wāḥɪd.” ʔālu lu:
 “wāxxa.”

dyāla hšāəa f-əs-sūlla d-əz-zbɪβ, s-sūlla mʃāmmɪa b-əz-zbɪβ. ɪəkkāθ f-ʔālba 3
 bəntə, u hšāəa ɪamma u xābʃāəa, ʔāθ lu: “āna ɪmɪə.” ūwa u hūma dīç l-ʃyāl,
 ɪāh l-lɪl. [hūwwa bābāhəm ʔəb ma yīmšɪ ʃāllāʔ ləm l-mv̥zba, bdāθ dīç l-mv̥zba
 dāʔʔi “əɪ-ɪān, əɪ-ɪān, əɪ-ɪān.” dāʔʔi lu sṭṭwa:] “a bāβa āʔʔi li zdīdəm dyālɪ ʔāddi.”¹
 dʃāwəd dʔūl lu āɪa: “a bāβa āʔʔi li zdīdəm dyālɪ ʔāddi.” u hūwwa dīç l-ʃwād
 lāyɪʔʔw “ɪāʔ, ɪāʔ?” l-xla wāhha, l-xla. “a bāβa āʔʔi li zdīdəm dyālɪ ʔāddi. a bāβa āʔʔi
 li zdīdəm dyālɪ ʔāddi” u hūma lāyɪāžmṭu ḥāṭṭa nɪzəl l-lɪl. nɪzəl ʃlīhəm l-lɪl, ǵəssu²
 yɪbkw, ma ʃāndəm nāyn yīmšw. āvm̩w ʃāynəm n-wāh ǵ-ǵəbəl ʃābu ʃɪh d-dūxxān
 u d-dāw məšʃūl. ʔālu n-bāʃəəm: “yāṇāhu n-dīç ǵ-ǵbɪy̥y̥əl nčūfu škūn ʃɪh ʃla ṇāh
 ydāxxlūna.”

mšāw n-dīç ǵ-ǵəbəl. bʔāw māššɪn, māššɪn, māššɪn ḥāṭṭa wūšlu, ʃābu l-ǵūla, ʃābu 4
 ʃɪh dīç l-ǵūla. mnāyn ʃābūha ʃɪh ʔālu la: “xālṭi, ya xālṭi, ḥna žɪna n-ʃāndəç ya
 xālṭi.” hūya ʔāθ ləm: “māɪhba bīçūm a ūlād xṭi! māɪhba bīçūm, māɪhba b-ūlād
 xṭi.” dāxxāləəm, ǵāllāəəm, nāʃəə ɪāsa, ɪy̥y̥hāθ l-ʔūffa d-əl-ʔməl, nāʃəə ɪ-ɪāš
 d-šɪ ǵɪbu āw d-šɪ ḥāmm ʃāwəd l-ʔməl, ḥālbəθ ǵ-ǵāɪwa, ʔāθ dīç l-ḥlɪb d-əǵ-ǵāɪwa
 u dīç l-ʔməl u ɪy̥y̥əbəəəm u nəzzləθ ləm yṭʃāššāw ʔāθ ləm: “wa ɪʃāššāw!” l-ʃyāl

1 This sentence was sung by the narrator, and each time the passage occurred the narrator sung it with the same melody.

2 *ǵəlsu*) *ǵəssu*. About the assimilation of /l/ to the following /s/ see Cantineau (1960), 52–54; however, this particular instance is not mentioned by Cantineau.

*kbīwīn kānu yīʔʔīw m-nəssəm*³ *lāyāçlu u yḥāwʔūh f-əl-ʔāwç*, *u sʔīʔwa lādāçūl: bīha ğ-ğūl ma dāʔwāç šī, yʔūlu la: “ma dāçūl šī!” ynāxšūha u yʔūlu la: “ma dāçūl šī!”* *dīç l-ḥāyla dābki, dīç l-bki dʔūl ləm: “xālli l-ḥāyla dāçūl.” “a xālṭi çūf lāyqūlu li ma dāçūl šī.” “xāllīw l-ḥāyla dāçūl.” bʔāθ lādāçūl, hūma lāyāçlu dīç l-hāmm, dīç l-ʔməl, u ʔāmu ynāʔsu.*

- 5 *dīç l-ğūla kān ʔānda bna bʔīzəʔ msəmmi, kān ʔānda bna msəmmi bʔīzəʔ. ʔāθ ləm: “xāşşkūm dāʔīʔwīni xṭçūm s-sʔīʔwa dənʔās mʔāya.” – bāş dʔūm f-əl-līl dāçla – “xṭçūm s-sʔīʔwa dāʔīʔwha li dənʔās mʔāy.” ğa hūma ʔālu la: “wāxxa, u nʔīna ʔīna bʔīzəʔ.” ʔāθ ləm: “nāʔīḥ lçūm,⁴ ʔābbōwāh.” hūma ʔābbāw bʔīzəʔ u ḥīya ʔābbāθ xṭəm s-sʔīʔwa bāş dʔūm dāçla. ğa hūma ʔālu ndīç bʔīzəʔ: “ʔīwāx lādənʔās yīm māç?” ʔāl ləm: “yīmma lādənʔās māy yçūnu l-ğwāyən lāyʔāwʔu f-bāṭna u l-ḥyāy lāyīzğīw f-bāṭna u l-fībān lāyīzwīw f-bāṭna lādķūn yīmma nāʔsa, lāyķūn l-ḥāşāwāθ kūlləm f-bāṭna lāyğāwwθu lādçūn yīmma nāʔsa.” ğāw hūma ʔālu lu: “wa xyāw.” bāyθīn yīşşānθu ʔla dīç l-məlʔūʔa l-ğūla. dīç l-ğūla, ʔāmu l-ḥyāy yīzğīw, ʔāmu l-fībān yīzğīw, ʔām kūl šī yīzğī. ʔālu: “wa ḥāy nāʔsa.” wāʔdu xṭəm u ʔābbāwha u wāʔdu bʔīzəʔ u nəzzlu la bʔīzəʔ dyāla ʔūddāma u xṭəm ʔābbāwha u xwāw u mşāw lāyīzçīw.*
- 6 *bāyθīn yīzçīw, āzçī ya məl-la dāzçī! āzçī ya māl-la dāzçī! ḥīya ʔāṭnəθ, l-ğūla ʔāṭnəθ. mənṅāy ʔāṭnəθ, şāʔləθ l-ḥāyfa u ḥşāθ dīç l-ḥāyəl⁵ f-əl-būwma, ʔānd bāla l-ḥāyla, ʔāθa ṭṭīb.⁶ ʔāθu lāyṭ-ṭīb, ḥūwwa lāyīğli, yīʔʔi la: “a yīmma! l-ḥbīḥa ḍyāli, ya yīmma! āna bʔīzəʔ kəbdəç, a yīmma.” dʔūl lu: “bʔīzəʔ kəbdi? a bəṭṭ l-ḥkām! bʔīzəʔ kəbdi?” ṭ-ṭāʔ u dāçūl, ṭāʔ u dāçūl, “bʔīzəʔ kəbdi? a bəṭṭ l-ḥkām!” ḥāṭṭa bəllğəθ n-əw-əwīḥa ḍyālu. mṅāy bəllğəθ n-əw-əwīḥa ḍyālu, şābθu l-ḥāyəl. ğəlsəθ “a bʔīzəʔ kəbdi! a bʔīzəʔ kəbdi! a bʔīzəʔ kəbdi! a bʔīzəʔ kəbdi!” dādğāwwəθ ʔla bʔīzəʔ, ğəlsəθ lādəbki ʔla bʔīzəʔ, xāwçəθ dəzçī, xāwçəθ dəzçī ka dəθlāʔāḥəm, ka şşībəm, şābəθəm mşāw, mşāw.*
- 7 *lāḥʔāθ l-xyāl dyāləm, lāḥʔāθ ṭāxf mənṅām, lāḥʔāθəm. [hūma mənṅāyn səm-ḥūha māğğə, ğəlsu ʔla wāḥd d-dūkkāna u bdāwyʔūlu: “ʔālli bīna, ya ḥzāw, dʔābbi l-ḥāsna u l-āzāw. ʔālli bīna, ya ḥzāw, dʔābbi l-ḥāsna u l-āzāw.”]⁷ lāḥʔāθəm, şābəθəm ğəlsīn ʔla wāḥd d-dūkkāna ʔālyā f-əs-sma. ğāθ ḥīya ʔāθ ləm: “āḥābṭu n-ʔāndi, a ūlād xṭi, āḥābṭu n-ʔāndi!” ʔālu la: “lāʔ, nʔīna ṭlāʔ n-ʔāndna.” ʔāθ ləm: “ma ʔāndi*

3 *m-nəʔsəm* > *m-nəssəm*. About this assimilation see Heath (2002), 177.

4 In this corpus it is evident that the preposition *l-* loses the vowel.

5 This occurs in northern MA lexical isoglosses versus /dri/ “boy” in Fes and Meknes. On this see Heath (1989), 6.

6 *dṭīb* > *ṭṭīb*. About this assimilation see n. 83, p. 102.

7 The narrator forgot this passage, recalling it only after the recording had been made. She insisted that I should add it. Normally the passage between quotation marks was sung by the narrator.

ši bāš nātlāf, ma nāqdār ši nātlāf.” ġāθ hīyya ʔāθ ləm: “āʔīw li hzīma f-hzīma u nātlāf.” fəsxu l-hzīma u vābʔūhəm f-bāʔtəm u bdāw yʔāllīūha. mənāyn yʔāl-līūha, dāʔī ləm “ha na fiçüm, a ūlād l-ʔāḥba! hāna fiçüm!” ʔāw yīʔīw la ʔ-tāff-dīç l-ʔāfyā. ʔāw “ha na fiçüm, a ūlād l-ʔāḥba! hāna fiçüm!” hīyya, ʔālu la: “ma nʔāllīūç n-ʔāndna ḥāʔṭa dīwwāx nna hād əğ-ğbəl b-əl-ʔāfyā.” šəʔləθ l-ʔāfyā kūlla. dāʔī ləm “ha na fiçüm, a ūlād l-ʔāḥba! hāna fiçüm!” ʔāw yīʔīw la ʔ-tāf, ḥāʔṭa dāwʔxāθ ma bʔāš šīʔ dāʔdāx dānhāzz. dīç s-sāʔāθ ḥābʔu ʔānda. ʔāθ ləm: “āflīw li a ūlād xʔi, āflīw li.” ġalsu yīflīw la, ʔāʔdu la l-ʔwād f-bāsa. ʔāʔdu la kūll ši f-bāsa. twa xāllāwḥa θāmma u mšāw fḥāləm.

bdāw māšyīn, hna īla hna, hna īla hna, hna īla hna, ḥāʔṭa bəllġu n-wāḥ l-māwġ. 8
 bəllġu n-dīç l-mbīyyəž. dāxlu n-əl-māwġ. ġalsu yxāslu, zūwwlu s-ş-bāβəʔ mən
 bəžləm, zūwwlu hādīç, ġalsu xsəl⁹ nʔi nāxsəl āna, xsəl nʔi nāxsəl āna, xsəl nʔi
 nāxsəl āna ḥāʔṭa dāʔyāw. u s-şīʔwa fihəm kān ʔānda l-xālxāl, l-xlīxāl f-bəžla,
 zūwwləθ dīç l-xlīxāl, xāllāθu, kāθ lādāxsəl u nsāθu θāmma u mšāθ f-ḥāla.
 mšāw f-ḥāləm, mnāyn mšāw f-ḥāləm, ḥāʔṭa bəllġəθ ma ʔāθ¹⁰ nāyən,¹¹ mšāθ wāḥ

8 bʔāθ šī } bʔāš šī. For this type of assimilation see n. 30, p. 90.

9 This verb is related to CA غسل / *ġasala* “to wash, to clean etc.” Here is an example of an assimilatory shift from the voiced /ğ/ to the voiceless /x/. About this shift in general see Brockelman (1908), 162; Cantineau (1960), 72; and Heath (2002), 162, 163. In Morocco this shift is attested in Tangiers: Marçais (1911), 280 and Assad (1978), 12–13; Taza: Colin (1921), 44; Tetuan: Singer (1958), 114, n. 5; Anjra: Vicente (2000), 48, n. 90, 91; Chaouen: Natividad and Rahmouni (1996), 141 and Moscoso, DACH, 46–47 (n. 102 for bibliographical references); and Skoura: Aguadé and Elyaacoubi (1995), 31. About this shift in Jewish MA see the detailed commentary in Lévy (2009), 194. This shift occurs in other Magribin ADs as well: Tlemcen: Marçais (1902), 18; Djidjelli: Marçais (1956), 23; and Cherchell: Grand’ Henry (1972), 12. And it occurs in other ADs: for Mardin see Jastrow (1978), 148: *xasal*, *yaxsəl* “waschen”; for peripheral Chadian Arabic see Abu-Absi (1995), 32: *as-saxayyar* “the little”; and for Andalusi Arabic see Corriente (1977), 55 and idem, (1992), 57.

10 *ʔād lāyən* } *ʔād nāyən* } *ʔāθ nāyən*. For a detailed study on the particle *ʔād*, see Caubet (1994), 173–184 esp. under points 2 and 4. For a detailed semantic definition of *ʔād* see DAF, IX, 274–275; and Vicente (2000), 154. On the syntax of *ʔād*, *ʔāwəd* in Magribin Arabic see Grand’ Henry (1977), 237–239.

11 This both locative and temporal particle is from CA *ʔayna*. It occurs in MA often as *f-/mn-/l-/ḥatta f-āyn* and *mnūn* “where/from, where/till when?” See Caubet (1993c), 99; idem (1993a), 172–173; Taza: Colin (1921), 92; Anjra: Vicente (2000), 151: *lāyn*; Tlemcen: Marçais (1902), 191: *mnāin* “lorsque”; Djidjelli: Marçais (1956), 555: *mnāyēn* “lorsque, quand, du moment où, à partir du moment où”; and Ḥassāniya: Cohen (1963), 227: *mnēʔn*, which is “hypothétique est assez rare, l’introduction de l’hypothèse est réalisée en général au moyen de ligatures spéciales. La ligature essentielle est *īdā* ou *īlā* qui marque aussi bien la simple éventualité que la probabilité.”

əš-šwīwəš, ʔāθ ləm: “a xūθi, āna nsīθ l-xlīxāl. l-xlīxāl dyāli xāllīθu f-əl-māxǧ. u dāba māšša nəmši ngīb l-xālxāl dyāli. ma nāʔdāx ši n-xāllīh.” ʔālu la: “wāxxa.” ʔāθ ləm: “ila wīθu hād d-dāwḏāwa xḏāwāθ u θnāʔnīyāθ, āṭṭənnāwni, āṭṭənnāwni, āṭṭənnāwni, āʔāwḏūni hāna māšša nəžbāx l-xlīxāl. u ila wīθūha sḏāwəθ u māθəθ, āmšīw, āhāwbu, āhāwbu, āhāwbu, ʔāxḏu ǧālgju ʔābbāni.” mšāw msāçən,

9 bdāw māššīn, māššīn, māššīn, māššīn, māššīn, māššīn, māššīn, hīyya mskīna mšāθ dəʔtəš ʔla l-xālxāl. šāba ǧālgju. ʔābta u hšāha f-əl-məzwəd dyālu u mša biha. mša, bda yʔul la: “āθkällām, āθkällām, a mziwwəṭṭi¹² āw nāçləç.” dāʔʔi lu: “kūnna b-səbʔa bnāθ f-mḏyḏəž nləʔbu, nsīθ xlīxli u wǧāʔt l-līlu.”¹³ u hūwwa māši lāyʔul la: [“āθkälləm, āθkällām, a mziwwəṭṭi āw nāçləç”].

10 hūma, dīç l-bnīθāθ bʔāw māšyīn, māšyīn.¹⁴ – xṭəm ʔābbāha ǧālgju – hāṭṭa bəllgu n-wāhd d-dāx mūlāθa l-ʔīṭṭa.¹⁵ l-məa l-ʔīṭṭa. dāʔʔu ʔla dīç l-ʔīṭṭa. xāxǧəθ n-ʔāndəm. u hīyya l-məa hīyya l-ʔīṭṭa. ʔālu la: “xāyla dāxxālna n-ʔāndəç, dāyḏ l-lāh, ngəlsu mḏāç.” ǧāθ hīyya ʔāθ ləm: “āna ūlādi ʔāndi s-sūyyāb, ūlādi ʔāndi s-sūyyāb, ʔāndi l-ʔzāwa u nṭūma l-bnīθāθ, u ūlādi sūyyāb māš yxāwǧu n-nīlkūm, lāʔ.” ʔālu la: “xāyla āhšīna fāyn ma kān, ʔəkkīna fāyn ma kān, ma ʔānna ši n-nāyn¹⁶ nəmšīw.” ǧāθ hīyya ʔāθ ləm: “ʔāndi wāh l-bīθ fih t-ṭbən.” ʔālu la: “hšīna mḏa dīç t-ṭbən, xābbāʔna f-əṭ-ṭbən.” dāxxlāθəm, xābbʔāθəm f-əṭ-ṭbən. u ūlāda dīç s-sūyyāb lāyʔayyulu f-əl-ǧyāb.

11 t̄wa f-əl-līl ǧāw dīç l-ʔzāwa, šābu yīm māhəm šəṭṭbəθ u wākknəθ, d-dāx ʔānda lādəšʔāl. ʔālu la: “yīmma, škūn ǧa n-ʔāndəç f-hād ən-nhāw?” ǧāθ hīyya ʔāθ ləm: “ma ža n-ʔāndi hād, a ūlādi. āna šhāhṭ, āna wəžʔt šhīha.” ʔāl:¹⁷ “xyāw.” ǧa wāhīd ʔāl ləm: “āna ǧādda māš nəǧləs nāhḏīha.”

12 l-lāǧādda šbāh wāhīd xāhəm yəhḏīha. šbāh lāyəhḏīha, škūn ǧa n-ʔānda. wālu šəmθu n-nīās ma čāf ši.

13 f-əš-šbāh ʔālu lu: “škūn ǧa n-ʔānd yīmma?” ʔāl: “ma wīna hād. u ma ža hād n-ʔānda. yīmma šhāhāθ, yīmma wəžʔāθ šhīha. lādəʔʔi š-šǧūl.” ʔāwəd l-lāǧādda ʔāl ləm āxūw: “āna māš nəmši.” ʔāwəd, šbāh hāyḏāç ʔāwəd. wāh ən-nhāw d-əs-ṭṭīṭu fihəm, ʔāl ləm: “āna māš nāhḏīha, nṭūma ma lādʔāxḏu ši!” s-ṭṭīṭu šbāh lāyəhḏīha, šbāh lāyəhḏīha. ʔa mnəssu nāʔīs, ʔāməθ hīyya, ǧāw dīç l-bnāθ, xāxǧu

12 mziwwəṭṭi } mziwwəṭṭi. For this assimilation see n. 14, p. 87.

13 n-līlu } l-līlu. The opposite process is more common, see n. 19, p. 87.

14 In this instance the assimilation māšyīn } māššīn does not occur systematically: the narrator alternates the two forms.

15 For the atlas of the equivalent m. of this term in northern MA see Behnstedt (2005), Karte 34 on p. 46, and idem (2007), 14.

16 l-nāyn } n-nāyn. See n. 19, p. 87.

17 The expected sentence here ʔālu la. However, the narrator simply uses the verb in in the 3rd person singular ʔāl. She does this several times in this corpus.

mən dīç t-ṭbən u sətṭbu la, u zəff^o fu la, u bāyytu, u šabbnu, u ??āw š-šgūl kāməl. u lādāŷiṭhəm əz-zgŷyfa d-əl-lbən u l-xūbz u dāxlu fhāləm.

ğə hūwwa, ?āl ləm, mnāyn ġāw, ?ālu lu: “škūn ġə ŷänd yimma?” ?āl ləm: “ha 14
š kif u ha š kif, ha šku ža, ha šku ža.” hŷyya xāwğəθ dīç l-ŷāyla, ŷāḏa dīç əl-lbən
u dīç l-xūbz u bna xwāž, šəbbāw f-dīç l-ŷāyla, qāməθ dğāwwəθ dīç l-ŷāyla. ġəθ
yimmāh ?āθ lu: “ğə xälliha!” ?āθ la zāŷma: “ma māš yāŷməlləç wālu.” ?āl la: “ḥāh
ya yimma l-ŷyāl lāy?āyyulu yxādmu mŷāç u lādāŷiṭhəm z-zlāfa d-əl-lbən u l-xūbz,
šāy nānāçlu ḥna ŷiṭh la.” hūma kānu lāydəbḥu ġdāda f-ən-nhāw n-əl-wāḥid. küll
wāḥid yŷābbi ġ-ğdāda dyaļu yāw l-fāwḡ. “dāba nṭi dāŷiṭha ġə z-zlāfa d-əl-lbən,
š māš dā?i la z-zlāfa d-əl-lbən?” iwa mənnayn ġāw xūðu.

šābu dīç l-ŷāyla gālsa, hŷyya gālsa. ?āl xūḏa bā?yīn. ŷāw xāwğə dīç xūḏa. 15
ṭāḥu lāy?i?i w š-šgūl külləm. dīç l-ŷāwə fāwḥānīn biḥəm, žəwžu biḥəm külləm,
küll wāḥid ŷābba wāḥda. žəwžu biḥəm. ??āw l-ŷūw, ŷŷāwḥsu. u sṭiṭwa bā?a ŷänd
ğālglu. ġālglu lāyŷiṭa biḥa.

wāḥ ən-nhāw hūma dāba ŷwāyŷ, gālsīn külləm u ġālglu māzi yŷiṭa. ġālglu māzi 16
yŷiṭa b-dīç l-ŷāyla. ?āl la: “āḏkəlləm, āḏkəlləm, a mziwwəṭṭi āw nāçləç.” dā?i lu:
“kūnna b-səbŷa bnāθ f-mbŷyāğ nləŷbu, nsīθ xliçli u wğāŷṭ l-līlu, ŷābbāni ġālglu
u ḥšāni f-mziwwəṭṭu.”¹⁸ ġə hūma [?ālu]: “hādi xṭna!” ŷā?iḥa. ?ālu n-dīç ġālglu:
“xāyla ya ġālglu ila ma dəmši dŷābbi nna l-ğda n-əl-xāddāmīn ŷändna wa fāyn.”
?āl ləm: “wāxxa.” ŷāwāḥ dīç l-ğda. ?āl ləm: “dāba dŷāṭḥu li hād l-mziwwa!” ?ālu
lu: “lā?, ma nŷəṭḥūha ši.” ŷāwāḥ dīç l-ğda. ?ālu: “mənnayn ġğⁱ¹⁹ nxällsūç.” ?āl
ləm: “dābi dŷāllqūha li f-əd-dūxxān.” ?ālu lu: “lā?, ma nŷāllqūha ši f-əd-dūxxān.”
hūwwa mša, u hūma ŷāllqūha f-əd-dūxxān. hūma ŷāllqūha f-əd-dūxxān, u hŷyya
?āθ ləm: “a xxi! a xxi! d-dūxxān d-xṭi.” – d-dūxxān d-xṭa zāŷma. – fəṭḥu dīç l-
mziwwa, šābu xṭəm. ṭāšəθ fiḥəm xṭəm dəfəḥ biḥəm, hūma fāwḥu biḥa, dāxxlūha
n-əl-ḥāmmām, xāslu la, hāwḏu la, ??āw la ŷiṭa.

dīç ġālglu bəllāğ l-ğda, u ža. xällsūḥ u ŷāwāḥ l-mziwwa dyaļu. ?āl ləm: “dābi 17
dḱūnu fŷāḥṭūha?” ?ālu: “lā?, ma fŷāḥna ši.” ŷābbāha bda y?ūl la: “āḏkəlləm, āḏkəl-
ləm, a mziwwəṭṭi āw nāçləç.” wālu. “āḏkəlləm, āḏkəlləm, a mziwwəṭṭi āw nāçləç.”
wālu. ma dā?dāw ši dāhdāw, ma dəŷwəf ši, ma dāhdāw ši, ma dāhdāw ši. bəllāğ
n-wāḥ l-māwğ ?āl: “u ḥāh, lakūṭṭ ġə nāçūl hād bəṭṭ l-?āḥba! u ḥāh ḥāṭṭa nāçūl.”
bəllāğ n-wāḥ l-māwğ u sāwəḥ wəžlu. hūwwa mša bāŷda dīç ġālglu, hūma dīç l-
mziwwa ma ??āw lu ši fiḥa xṭəm: xṭəm ŷābbāwḥa ḥāyydūha. ??āw fiḥa l-gwāyən u
l-ḥyāy u fikwān u l-?ṭūt, ŷāmmə lu l-məwəḏ. hūwwa m-ən-nāy lāy?ūl la: “āhdāw,
āhdāw!” küll ši y?ūm yilği. māy fŷāḥ wəžlu u gləs gələs. fəkkāḥ wəžlu ŷla dīç l-māwğ,

18 This passage was sung by the narrator, and each time the passage occurred the narrator sung it with the same melody.

19 *dği*) *ğgi*. For this assimilation see n. 11, p. 86.

māši yāçla. řānd bālu hÿyya lādānkīh, lādāřři lu dīç šši. řāðħa. l-řbūbu(?) nřāblu řāyñu, l-ħāyya řlīřwāð lu řla řūnřu, l-ğwāna²⁰ řāwð lu řla xñāřbu – yāw š ħāmm řřāð lu. – külləm. māð, māð dīç ġālglu, māð ř-dīç l-māřğ.

18 *hūma řřāw l-řūw n-dīç xřəm u řābbāwha n-dīç d-kān bāři. u řāwħānīn māš yřību, u yīmmāħəm dīç l-řřā řāwħāna bīħəm māš řřīw.²¹ ūlāda ma kānu ġa sÿy-yāb.*

19 *u bāřāħəm ġa yīřa. bāřāħəm d-řmāħəm, ġa yīřa řāndəm. ma yřāřəm ři. ġa ydūřř, dāřř ř-əl-bāb. māy xāřğ, řābūh bāřāħəm. řāřlūh. řālu lu: “ya bāřāna, nřīna řmīðna ř-ğğ-bəl u ħnāya u řāħ ma nāwřwāç.” dāxxlūh u xāslu lu, u ħāwdu lu, u baddlu lu řānnu. u řālu lu “wa ġləs ħāřřa đmūð.”*

20 *– wāħa məzyāna hād l-xwāfa. wa řāw řānnəð řlīħa ka ma ġği hÿyya hādīç.–*

20 For the atlas of this term and its variants in northern MA see Behnstedt (2005), Karte 56 on p. 70.

21 *dřīw*) řřīw. For this assimilation see n. 83, p. 102.

ḡāyša ḡmāda

sālṭəç. sālṭəç, kānəð wāḡ l-ḡāyla ma ḡānda ši yīmṡāha ḡa mḡāð bāḡāha. mḡāð 1
 bāḡāha ḡānda lādṭāðla u dčāxčxa b-əd-dṭū? u dḡāšṡiha u dḡāmmda b-əḡ-ḡmād.
 kāðð dṭūl la ḡa ḡāyša ḡmāda, ḡāyša ḡmāda, ḡāyša ḡmāda, ḡāyša ḡmāda. dīç
 l-ḡāyla mīskīna ḡa dābki, ḡālsa f-əl-kūčīna.²² ma lādāhbāṭ ši n-əs-səfli. ṡwa ḡānda
 bāḡāha, bāḡāha zāḡma məzyān mḡāha. u mḡāð bāḡāha ḡbīḡa. ṡwa mḡāð bāḡāha
 ḡbīḡa, dāxḡāž, ma dāxḡāžā ši mḡāha. ma d-xāllīha ši dāxḡāž, ḡa š-šḡūl u ḡ-ḡmād
 mḡāmmda fīh. ṡwa mšāð.

wāḡ ən-nḡāḡ ḡāməð dīç mḡāð bāḡāha u xāllāð la ḡbīna d-əš-šḡūl. kānu māš 2
 yīmšīw n-ši ḡāyyāla. xāllāð la ḡbīna d-əš-šḡūl. ḡābəð əz-zḡāḡ u ḡ-ḡmīyya, l-ḡāšīl
 l-ḡāwṭ kāməl, u xūllṭāðu la mḡa bāḡṭu, u ḡṭāð la ḡ-ṡāba ḡādd-ma ṡla.²³ ḡāð la:
 “mānnāyən nḡi, xāšṡni nṡīb kūll wāḡīd b-wāḡdu. nṡīb ḡāð əz-zḡāḡ kūll wāḡīd
 b-əṡ-ṡāba dṡālu b-wāḡdu. u māš nḡi.” u xāllāð la ṡṡa d-əl-ḡwīðāð, ḡāð la: “ḡāð
 l-ḡwīðāð ṡḡḡḡbəm, xāsləm u ḡlīḡəm.” u xābbḡāð la d-dlu d-əl-bīḡ bāš ma dṡīb ši
 bāš dāzḡəd l-ma, bāš dābḡa māḡḡūla. ḡābbāð əd-dlu xābbāḡṡu. ḡāð la: “dābbāḡ
 n-ḡāṡəç bāš dāzḡəd l-ma. u xsəl ḡāð l-ḡūð u ḡlīḡ. u ṡla dḡāyyāḡ²⁴ mānnu ḡa fəṡṡa
 nṡāyya ləç mən ḡnābəç.”

22 This obsolete term is a loanword from Latin *cocīna* / *coquīna*, Andalusian Arabic *kučīna*, Spanish *cocina*; Italian *cocina*. An excellent definition of its meaning in MA is given by Heath (1989), 286: “cooking area, kitchen (especially as part of a larger room used for storage); (pejorative) dirty or messy kitchen area.” This term was formerly used in Tangiers: Marçais (1911), 446; in Jewish-Sefrou: Stillman (1988), 59: *kučīna*; Heath (1989), 286 under c-384: “/kššīn-a/ (F) or /kʷššīn-a/ (Mk, Mr and F area)”; and in Chaouen: Moscoso, DACH, 321, n. 1070 (and the bibliographical references there). Lévy (1995), 193 explains the evolution of this voice in MA with admirable succinctness and clarity: “El mozárabe *kotšīna*, ‘cocina’, dio el árabe granadino *kotšīna*, forma que se mantiene en Tanger y Tetuán [I add here Chaouen too-AR] (*kotšīna*/*kətšīna*) y cuya evolución dio *ktīna* en judeo-árabe de Fez, y *kaššīna* (Rabat), *ksīna* (Mequínez), *ksīna* (judeo-árabe de Marrakech). El castellano medieval *cozina* se encuentra en judeo-español con [germinación *sic!*] geminación: *kozzīna*, y sin geminación en diversas hablas árabes: *kuzīna*.” This last term, *kuzīna*, is the one commonly used in contemporary ChA.

23 On this expression see DAF, X, 248, meaning 4, which mentions the “expr. *qədd-ma ṡlo* d’ une taille énorme, de très grandes dimensions (masc.) – *qədd-ma ḡi* m.s. (fém.) [Co] – *qədd-ma ṡlo* combien il est grand! [langage des femmes] [Br].” The plural ending *-īn*, which occurs in this context, refers to *ḡāyna* “her eyes.”

24 *dḡāyyāḡ* } *dḡāyyāḡ*. This assimilation occurs mainly with a verbal prefix. On this same assimilation in Fes Jewish MA see Lévy (2009), 185.

- 3 *hīyya mšāḏ f-ḥāla, xāwǧḏ hīyya u bənṭa, u dīç l-ḥāyla gəlsəḏ dəbki. ma fānda mənṇāyən dəbda dīç əš-šǧūl. [kʃ] māš dəḥməl? ābki yībki, ābki yībki, ābki yībki ya fāyna d-əl-ḥma. mšāḏ dšǧǧəb dīç l-ḥūḏ, mšāḏ n-ḥla wāḥ l-bīx, mšāḏ dāǧbāḏ l-ma ma fānda bāš. ??āḏ dīç l-ḥūḏ f-əl-ḥšīḥa u dəllāḏu f-əl-bīx b-ši ḥbəl – āw b-ši ṭwāl āw bši ḥāmm – bāš yīçṭsəl. māy ṭəllāḥḏu, šābəḏ mšāḏ wāḥda. gəlsəḏ lādəbki u ḏǧǧəwāḏ.*
- 4 *ṭālḥāḏ n-fānda wāḥ l-məxa mnə²⁵ l-bīx. hīyya lādəbki ḥāyḏāk, u wāḥ l-gwīza, l-gāwza ššāyyəḏ m-əl-bīx u žāḏ f-wūst d-dāx. žāḏ f-wūst d-dāx, ??āḏ č-čāḥ nḥəlḥəḏ, xāwǧḏ mən ḥālbə l-məxa. xāwǧḏ mən ḥālbə l-məxa ḥāḏ la: “bəsm llāḥ ḥlīç a bənṭi, bəsm, bəsm llāḥ ḥlīç. bəsm llāḥ ḥlīç, š fāndəç, ya bənṭi? š fāndəç? āš fāndəç?” ḥāḏ la: “ḥa š fāndi: fāndi mḥwəḏ bāḥṣa xāwǧḏ u xāllāḏ li ḥāḏ z-zwāḥ ḥāḏ li nḥāwzu, küll wāḥīḏ nāḥṭḥ b-wāḥdu. u ma fāndi mənṇāyən nəbdāḥ. u xāllāḏ li šṭa ḏ-əl-ḥūḏāḏ ḥāḏ li šǧǧəbəm u ḥlīḥəm u xāsləm. ma ḡbāxṭ bāš nxāsləm: əd-dlu ḏ-əl-bīx xābbḥāḏu. ma fāndi bāš nxāslu, mənṇāy dəllīḏu f-əl-bīx mšāḏ li wāḥda.”*
- 5 *ḡāḏ hīyya ḥāḏ la: “ṭwa wa skūḏ. ma dəbki ši.” dīç l-məxa ??āḏ č-čāḥ u ḡāḏ f-wūst l-bīx. ḡābəḏ ṭ-ṭūḥsil ḏ-əl-ḥūḏ u šǧǧəbḏu u ḥlāḏu u ṭəllāḥḏu la, u ḥāḏ la: “ṭwa wāḥa l-ḥūḏ.” ṭūḥsil māḥli mšǧǧəb. u dīç əz-zwāḥ ??āḏ lu ānfəš, ānfəš, ānfəš, ānfəš, ānfəš küll wāḥīḏ b-wāḥdu. ḥāḏ la: “ṭwa wāḥa wa skūḏ ma dəbki ši!” (ḥ-wūḥānīyya). ṭwa ḥāḏ la: “wāxxa.”*
- 6 *mšāḏ dīç l-məxa ḥāḏ la: “yāḥāḥ n-əl-ḥāmmām nəxsəlləç.” fābbāḏa n-əl-ḥāmmām, u xāsləḏ la u ḥāwḏəḏ la. ??āḏ la bāḥda f-wāsa l-ḥāḥṣa.²⁶ u xāsləḏ la u ḥāwḏəḏ la, u ḡābḏa n-əd-dāx. u yībbsəḏ la u ??āḏ la l-ḥīnna. ḥāḏ la: “ṭwa gūz!” ḡābḏəḏ ləç l-ḥwāyəž ḏ-ma ḥūma fānd ḥādd, u žīyynəḏ n-dīç l-ḥāyla, žīyynəḏ la mātlū?. u l-ḥāyla kāḏḏ ḡzāla f-ūžāḥa ḡa l-yāḥḏu.*
- 7 *ḥāḏ la: “wa yāḥāḥ n-ḥāḏ ḏ-ḏūḥḥīyya ḏ-dāx s-sūltān. əḏ-ḏūḥḥīyya ḏ-əs-sūltān, māš yīmši yāxṭāw l-məxa š māš ḏḥāzbu, yāḥāḥ!” fābbāḏa. hīyya ḏāxləḏ, u dīç xṭa, dīç l-ḥāyla ḏ-dīç l-məxa, kānu fānda āwḥa ḏ-əl-ḥāyṇīn, āwḥa ḏ-əl-ḥāyṇīn f-ūžāḥa, ḏāḥḥi la: “a yīmma, čūḥḥāḏi fāyṣa wḥāḏa. ḥāy žāḏ fāyṣa wḥāḏa.” ḏāḥḥi la: “āskūḏ sākḏa! ḥālləç fāyṣa wḥāḏa! fāyṣa wḥāḏa māš ḡḡi n-nāḥnāyā! bāš māš ḡḡi fāyṣa wḥāḏa, fānda ši ḥwāyəž? fānda ši ḥāžā? fāyṣa wḥāḏa ma ḡāḏ ši.” ḏāḥḥi la: “u ḥāḥ ṭa ya yīmma fāyṣa wḥāḏa!” ḏāḥḥi la: “lā?” ṭwa u bḥāw gālsīn.*
- 8 *ḥāḏu dīç l-ḥāyāla u kəmməlu u māš yīḥḥāwḥu. māš yīḥḥāwḥu, ḡāb s-sūltān əṭ-ṭnūžāw ḏ-əz-zəḥṭ, z-zəḥṭ u kābbu f-əl-bāb ḏ-əl-mīskīn, ḏ-māš ḏḥāzbu māš yṭəkki la š-šəḥbil ḏyāla f-dīç l-ḥāmm dīç l-lzā?²⁷*

25 Another example of *imāla*. For more examples see n. 89, 99, 274, p. 104, 106, 157.

26 This is the word *ḥāḥṣa*, “galle tannifère,” after a metathesis. For more about this term see DAF, IX, 133 and 161.

27 This is a variant of *ḥāḥ*?. About this word see DAF, XI, 49–50.

bdāw xāwǧīn, xāwǧīn, xāwǧīn, xāwǧīn, xāwǧīn mən-nāy xāwǧəθ dīç l-ṣāyla dāba 9
lli xāšsu yfābbīha, d-nhīyya ṣāyša ɛmāda ləssā? la dīç l-fāwdi f-əz-zəfj, ləssā?
la dīç l-fāwdi. mšāθ dʔālʕu, ma nʔlāʕ la ši. ʔāθ la yimmāha (zāʕma hīyya dīç
əw-ɛūhānīyya): “ǧa xāllīh, ǧa xāllīh!” [ʔāθ la]: “a yimma š-šāwɓil dyāli, š-šāwɓil
dyāli.” ʔāθ la: “ha š-šāwɓil āxūw.” ǧəbdəθ š-šāwɓil āxūw, ǧəbdəθ š-šāwɓil āxūw ʔʔāθu
la f-ɛīzla, u ʔābbāθa f-ḥāla n-əd-dāw, zūwwləθ la ʔānna. ʔābbāθ dīç l-ḥwāyəz, u
šāǧǧbəθ la, ʔāw ɛāddəθ la ɛ-ɛmīyyəd dyāla ʕla ʔāhwa, u ǧəllsāθa ǧālsa. u hīyya
zāθ hīyya u bənta. u zāθ hīyya u bənta n-əd-dāw. ǧəlsu ǧəlsīn.

n-əl-lāǧādda šābhū yfəʔṣū. ʔābbāθ l-xāddāma dyālu dīç l-fāwdi d-əš-šāwɓil 10
ḍ-māš yzi ʔāddu hāḍīç l-mwa dyālu. ʔābbāθ dīç l-fāwdi d-əš-šāwɓil u bdāθ dəssāwa
mən hāḍ d-dāw n-hādi, n-d-dāw hādi. ʔāyyəs hāḍa, ʔāyyəs hāḍa, hāḍa yʔāyyəs,
hāḍa yʔāyyəs, hāḍa yʔāyyəs. küll ši lāyʔāyyəs.

ma za ši ʔādd dīç l-ṣāyla dyāla, u āxwa kān kāxāšsa bənta. xāwɓzəθ la bənta. 11
ʔāθ la: “ha ʔāyyəs la.” lūwwāθa f-əl-ḥšīwa bāš ma yḍāhɛu ši dīç āwɓa ḍ-əl-ʔāynīn,
ǧāʔṭāθ la ūzāha b-əl-ḥšīw. ḍʔūl la: “ʔādda la! ʔādda za, ʔādda, ʔādda, ʔādda.” ʔāθ
la: “mūši ʔādda. ma yfābbīha ši. mūši ʔādda.” ɛwa ʔāθ la māši ʔādda.

ʔāθ la: “ma bāʔi ləç ši ši bnīθa?” ʔāθ la: “lāʔ! ma bāʔi li ši, hādi ma hīyya, ma 12
ʔānna ǧa hādi.” ǧāθ hīyya ʔāllāθ ʔāyna, dīç l-ṣāyla ʔāllʔəθ. dīç l-ṣāyla ʔāllʔəθ,
čāfθa. ʔāθ la: “hīyya ha hīyya! hīyya l-ṣāyla ha hīyya.” ǧāθ hīyya ʔāθ la: “hāḍīç
dāba l-hāmm ʕla səfda, wāḥ l-xwīdma. ma hi ǧa l-xwīdma. wāḥ l-xwīdma θamma
f-əl-kūçīna ǧālsa. ma ḍāḍāhbət ši m-əl-kūçīna. ǧālsa ǧa f-əl-kānūn. hāḍīç mūlāθ
l-kānūn. hāḍīç māši məzyāna.”

ǧāθ hīyya ʔāθ la: “dāba, məzyāna hābbṭa, ʔbīha hābbṭa, kāθθ f-əl-kānūn hāb- 13
bṭa, ḍkūn fāyn ma hābbəθ, mūlāha ʔāl ləç fāyn ma kānəθ āwāha lu!” hābbṭāθa.
ʔālu la: “hābbṭa!” hābbṭāθ dīç l-ṣāyla. mənnaṣ ʔāyyəsəθ dīç š-šāwɓil, ʔādda. ʔāθ la:
“ha, š-šāwɓil ʔādda. hādi l-mwa ḍ-sīdna.” ʔāθ la: “ɛwa čūf, bīz²⁸-llāh, u ʔʔiθ yīddəç
f-hād l-ṣāyla, u ʔāššīθa yāw ʔʔiθ la ši ḥāza, ɛla ḥāʔṭa ḍāwəf mwa ɛāsəç. hādi l-mwa
d-sīdna. dāba hīyya š-šāwɓil ǧa ʔādda. hīyya l-mwa dyālu.”

ɛwa mšāθ ʔālda lu, fɛāḥ u ʔāw, ḥūwwa ǧa yxāṭba mən bāβāha, xāṭba. ʔʔāw 14
l-ṣūw, ʔāwɓu u ḥūma fāwḥānīn māš yṭīw.

mḥāθ bāβāha ma ḥmələθa ši ʔlāš ʔābbāθ s-sūltān. ma ḥmələθa ši. ʔāwɓu. bʔa 15
ɛ-wāzəl mwa l-mwa dyālu ḥāʔṭa ḍāfya, u mša msāfāw. mša wāḥ ən-nhāw msāfāw.
ʔāl la: “wa ḍābi dəʔṭāḥ n-mḥāθ bāβāç!” ʔāθ lu: “lāʔ.” hīyya kāθθ mīskīna ǧa l-
būhālīyya. əw-wāzəl mša msāfāw, u mḥāθ bāβāha zāθ. ḍāʔʔāθ ʔlīha “čāh, čāḥ, čāḥ.”
“škūn?” ʔāθ la: “āna.” ʔāθ la: “wāna l-bāβ məšdūda ʔlīyya.” ǧāθ hīyya ʔāθ la: “xāyla,

28 This is another case of the preservation of the vowel /i/ in this frozen expression. The comment by Moscoso, DACH, 177, n. 524 that the preposition *bī-* occurs only when followed by the pronominal suffix of 1st person is incorrect.

Ǿānda, gəlsəθ mǾāha, mən n-nāhna nihna, mən n-nāhna nihna. ġāθ hiyya Ǿāθ la: “hād l-bīθ š Ǿāndkūm fiḥ?” Ǿāθ la: “hād l-bīθ d-əs-sbūfa.” Ǿāθ la: “l-bīθ d-əs-sbūfa māši dyānna. Ǿānna fiḥ əs-sbūfa, əs-sbūfa, əs-sbūfa lāyāçlu mnādəm.” ġāθ hiyya Ǿāθ la: “a nṯálləl fiḥ.” Ǿāθ m-nəssa māš dṯálləl, ḥšāθ diç l-məlsūða, diç l-Ǿāyla. ḥšāθ diç l-məsa mfa s-sbūfa u šāddəθ Ǿliha. u Ǿāw mšāθ. xállāθ bənta θamma u mšāθ hiyya f-ḥāla. mšāθ f-ḥāla.

hiyya, diç s-sbūfa yzīw yāçlūha – lāyāçlu mnādəm, lāyāçlūh. – dṯūl ləm: 21
 “āhdāw Ǿa l-məsa d-sīdkūm! āhdāw Ǿa l-məsa d-sīdkūm! āna l-məsa d-sīdkūm!” u Ǿāwəð yḥāyydu mənna. yǾāw yīmšīw yāçlūha. Ǿāwəð dṯūl ləm: “āhdāw Ǿa l-məsa d-sīdkūm! āna hiyya l-məsa d-sīdkūm! āna l-məsa d-sīdkūm!” ḥāṯṯa ġa wāzla. ġa w-wāzəl dyāla. wāḥ ən-nḥāw Ǿāw šāba ḥāydāç. Ǿāl la: “šənnu hāða?” Ǿāθ lu: “Ǿāwəð diç ši ḥūwwa hāðāç.”

Ǿāl āṯṯyṯálləl Ǿa s-sbūfa, dxəl yṯálləl Ǿa s-sbūfa dyālu. ysəmfa lādṯūl ləm: 22
 “āhdāw Ǿa l-məsa d-sīdkūm! āhdāw Ǿa l-məsa d-sīdkūm!” hādi dādṯūl ‘l-məsa d-sīdkūm,’ škūnni³¹ hādi?” dxəl n-diç l-bīθ. fṯəš f-əl-bīθ, šāb l-məsa dyālu. [Ǿāw Ǿāl la]: “a ḥāḥa ya wūddi! šənnu hāða?” Ǿāθ lu: “ya wūddi, d-kṯāb ḥūwwa hāða! Ǿāwəð šəmθəni, u fṯḥṯ la l-bāb.” t̄wa xāwəž diç l-məsa. Ǿāl la: “u bənta āwa nçūfu ma nāṯṯw la!” Ǿāθ lu: “ma dāṯṯi la wālu. ġa šāyṯa la, ġa Ǿṯiḥa la.” Ǿāwəð ṯlāṯ diç l-Ǿāyla, səggda f-ḥāla. Ǿāl la: “mši f-ḥāləç!” u ḥūwwa bṯa mfa l-məsa dyālu f-əd-dāw dyālu. bṯa f-əd-dāw dyālu. Ǿāwəð bṯa ši āyyām, xāy wəbbi.

u Ǿāwəð mša msāfāw. mša msāfāw, hiyya mṯāṯṯla. w-wāzəl sāfāw u hiyya 23
 mṯāṯṯla, l-bṯān ṯūddāma ṯādd-ma Ǿla. Ǿāl la: “dābi! dəfṯāḥ n-mwāθ bāḃāç!” Ǿāθ lu: “lā?” Ǿāwəð ġāθ ddūṯṯ u dḥāwəš, u dḥāğḃa u dḥāwəğ fiḥa. kāθ dṯīzz Ǿliha, Ǿāwəð fəṯḥāθ la. fəṯḥāθ la, dāxcləθ, gəlsəθ mǾāha, gəlsu yṯḡḡammfu, gəlsu yḥādḥu. t̄wa Ǿāməθ dəssāwa, Ǿāθ la: “āna xāşşni nəssāwa f-əd-dāw dyāləç.” Ǿāməθ dəssāwa. dəssāwa mən nāhna n-nāhna, mən nāhna n-nāhna, u şābəθ l-bīw, Ǿānda l-bīw. ġa Ǿāθ la: “hāða šən ḥūwwa?” ġāθ hiyya Ǿāθ la: “l-bīw, l-bīw.” ġāθ hiyya Ǿāθ la: “āṯṯ! n-Ǿāwəḥ nçūfu.” Ǿāwəð, Ǿāθ nəssa māš çūfu, şyḃəθ fiḥ diç l-məlsūða. şyḃəθa f-diç l-bīw. xállāθa f-əl-bīw, lādḡāwəθ f-əl-bīw. škūn māš yçūfa u d-dāw ma fiḥa ḥādd. şyḃəθa f-əl-bīw u mšāθ f-ḥāla. u xállāθ bənta, Ǿāw mzyyna mşāğḃa, gālsa.

Ǿāwəð bṯa w-wāzəl šḥāl u ža. mənṯāy ža, şāb ġa diç l-məlsūða d-diç l-Ǿāyla. 24
 Ǿāl la: “šənnu hāða Ǿāwəð?” Ǿāθ lu: “ḥa šənnu.” Ǿāl la: “škūn ġa n-Ǿāndəç bāš wḡāṯṯ ḥāyda?” ġāθ hiyya Ǿāθ lu: “xāy, xāy ġzīzəl – ḥūwwa xāḥa d-əl-Ǿāyla āxwa [Ǿāyša] – xāy ġzīzəl, ġzīzəl msəmmi ġzīzəl.” ġa ḥūwwa Ǿāl la: “u š dḥīb n-hād ġzīzəl? š nāṯṯw lu?” ġāθ hiyya Ǿāθ lu: “nṯāṯlūh.” – hiyya [Ǿāyša Ɓmāða] ma kāθ ši dəsxa dṯāṯla – “nḥībb lu d-dbiḥa m-əš-şāḥma n-əl-lāḥma u ṯ-tāngūw d-əz-zəṯṯ

31 škūn + hiyya. See n. 57, p. 96.

lāyīgli yīnkābb ślih.” *ġa hūwwa ʔāl la:* “*wāxxa.*” *ġāb z-zəfṭ, u ʔʔa z-zəfṭ yīgli.* *šāyṣəṭ mūka l-məlśūʔ d-dīç l-ḥāyəl.* *ġa dīç l-ḥāyəl.* *gləs gāləs.* *ḥāyṣəṭ n-əl-mlāḥīʔ d-māš ydābhūh.* *ʔāl ləm:* “*ṭāhnu š-šfāwi.* *māš ndābhū hād l-ḥāyəl ślāš lāyzi n-ḥānd xṭu.* *š ġa yīʔʔi?*”

25 *hūwwa dāba, mənṇāy kəmməlu u māš ymūddūh, ġa hūwwa ʔāl lu:* “*xāyla, ma ṭlābt śliç ġa ḥāyṭa śla hād l-bīx.* *ġa nḥāyṣəṭ śla hād l-bīx u dābhūni.*” *ġa hūwwa ʔāl lu:* “*š māš yzīd fīç l-bīx?*” *ʔāl lu:* “*yḥāyṣəṭ ślih u šāfi, ġa nḥāyṣəṭ ślih.*” *ṭwa ʔāl lu:* “*wāxxa, ha l-bīx.*” *ṭṭāh lu l-bīx.* *ʔāl lu:* “*wa ḥāyṣəṭ.*” *hūwwa ḥāyṣəṭ ḥāyṭa.* *ḥāyṣəṭ la:* “*a xṭi, u ḥāzz ḥbāḥsi.* *u š-šfāwi lāyīntāhnu li, u ṭ-ṭnāžāx d-əz-zəfṭ lāyīglīw li.*”³² *ġāṭ ḥīyya ʔāṭ lu:* “*xāy, u ḥāzz ḥbāḥsi.* *u l-gḥāyīn çlu lāhmi, u l-ḥyāy sāffu dāmmi.* *u l-ḥsən u l-ḥūsāyn u ḥūwāṭ l-ḥāyn śla ḥūžwi.*”³³ *u s-sūltān lāyīsmāḥ, “āāāāhhhh.”* *hūma ḥāw žāw n-nīlu māš yžābdūh, ʔāl ləm:* “*lāʔ, ḥāṭṭa yḥāw yḥāyṣəṭ.*” *ʔālu lu:* “*wa ḥāwəḍ ḥāyṣəṭ!*” *ḥāwəḍ ḥāyṣəṭ:* “*xṭi, u ḥāzz ḥbāḥsi.* *u š-šfāwi lāyīntāhnu li u ṭ-ṭnāžāx d-əz-zəfṭ lāyīglīw li.*” *ġāṭ ḥīyya ʔāṭ lu:* “*xāy, u ḥāzz ḥbāḥsi u l-gḥāyīn çlu lāhmi, u l-ḥyāy sāffu dāmmi, u l-ḥsən u l-ḥūsāyn u ḥūwāṭ l-ḥāyn śla ḥūžwi.*”

26 *ʔāl lu:* “*ma dābhūh ši.* *xāllīw l-ḥāyəl.* *xāllīw l-ḥāyəl.*” *ʔāl lu:* “*āgləs, a bni.* *āgləs gāləs.*” *dīç l-ḥāyəl gləs:* *ḥwāḥ u gləs.* *u hūma, ʔāl:* “*āka wāḥ l-ḥūffa.*” *ġāḥu l-ḥūffa u š-šwīṭ.* *u dāllāw l-ḥūffa.* *dāllāw l-ḥūffa ṭlāḥ l-ḥāyəl.* *ʔāṭ ḥīha l-ḥwīyyəl, nəzzəlṭu.* *u ḥāw dāllāwha, ḥāw ṭlāḥ l-ḥwīyyəl āxūx, ḥāwəḍ nəzzəlṭu.* *ḥāwəḍ dāllāwha ṭāḥḥāṭ l-ḥwīyya.* *ḡlāḡa d-əl-ḥyāl.* *mīskīna wūldāṭəṃf-əl-bīx b-wāḥda, ṭwa ḡlāḡa d-əl-ḥyāl.* *dāllāw ḥāllāf.* *ʔāl lu:* “*āḥāw ḥāllāf.*” *dāllāw ḥāllāf u ṭ-ṭwāl u ṭāllīu dīç l-mka.* *ṭālīn bīha.* *māy ṭāllīu yḥību l-mka, šāb l-mka ḡyālu.* *ʔāl la:* “*ḥāḥ ya wūddi! šənnu hāda? hād ši ʔāṭ ləç mḥāṭ bāḥāç!*”

27 *yḥīb*³⁴ *dīç xāha.* *tāš ḥīha, ḥwāḥ:* *yḍāwḥāḥ xṭu u xṭu lāḍḍāwḥu u yībkīw.* *dīç l-ḥwīnnəš*³⁵ *ġzīwlīn.* *mšāw.* *ʔāl la:* “*š ḍḥībb la n-bənṭa? ha bənṭa ḥāy ḥnāya dāba.*” *ġāṭ ḥīyya ʔāṭ lu:* “*dāba š kān māš yīṭṭʔa n-xāy, yīṭṭʔa n-nīla, nḥībb la ġa d-dbīha m-əš-šāḥma n-əl-lāhma u ṭ-ṭānġīx d-əz-zəfṭ yīnkabb śliha.* *šāy kāṭṭ māš ḍāʔʔi nxāy, nāʔʔīh ən-nīla.*” *mša n-nīla u dābhā, u ʔāṭṭṭa b-əṭ-ṭwīf u ʔāḥa f-wāḥ ṭ-ṭāyḥūw*³⁶ *u ʔʔa la yku dīç əz-zəfṭ – yāw š ʔʔa la – u ḥāyṣṭ n-nīla, n-əl-xāḡna ḡyālu.* *ḥīyya māši*

32 This passage was sung by the narrator, and each time the passage occurred the narrator sung it with the same melody.

33 This passage was sung by the narrator, and each time the passage occurred the narrator sung it with the same melody.

34 This is 3rd person masculine, but the subject refers to the feminine *ḥāyša*. About male features in female speech see the commentary see n. 144, p. 120, and commentary on p. 33–37, 49.

35 The ending morpheme *š /əš/* in *l-ḥwīnnəš*, “the babies, small children,” is related to the Latin plural *-es*. For more on this see n. 195, p. 130.

36 About this voice see Heath (2002), 111; and n. 85, p. 347.

dyālu. šāyft n-yimmāha. ṛāl la: “ā?ṛi, āṛkāt n-nās, wāna māš nā?ṛi laç ət-ṭṣām, māš nṭāṣməm.”

fāṣḥāna yimmāha māš ḏ-ṭīṛ, s-sūltān māš yī?ṛi la ṭ-ṭṣām. ṛānd bāla āxva māṓəṓ f-əl-bīṛ, u ḥīyya nəžḥāṓ. bənta nəžḥāṓ ṛānd bāla. ṭwa n-nās gālsīn. l-ḥḏāḇi u l-bnādəṛ u z-zgāṓəṓ u d-dūnya lādčūf, u l-ṛwāyəs mbāṣṣzīn u küll ši. ṛāṣṭāṓ n-nās. u ṭ-ṭṣām māži, ṭ-ṭāyṫṫṫ ṛla Ե-Եās d-əl-xāddāmīn māži. dāxxlāṓu “yuyuyuyu” lādžāgṫəṓ.³⁷ mənnāyən ṛāṣṫṫṫ dīç ṭ-ṭāyṫṫṫ, dṣīb bənta ḥīyya l-lūwwlīyya, dīç Ե-Եās b-āṣḇṫa ḏ-əl-ṛāynīn mbəṣṫāz ḥīṫṫṫ l-lūwwli. ṫāḥəṓ lādḡāwwəṓ, ḏṛāyyāṫ b-əl-ṛādāw. ḥīyya lādḡāwwəṓ, dīç n-nās ḏ-kānu ḥāḏḏāḇīn lāyḡāwwṫu.

mšāw yḥāṫṫ, mšāw yīžṫṫṫ f-ḥāləm, küll wāḥīḏ lāyīžṫṫ. ḥīyya bṛāṓ lādḡāwwəṓ b-wāḥḏa. dīç n-nās ḥāṫṫ, mšāw f-ḥāləm. u ḥīyya lādṛāyyāṫ b-əl-ṛādāw, u dīç ṭ-ṫāngīṛ ṛūddāma, dīç l-ḥāmm, dīç ṭ-ṫāyṫṫṫ d-əl-ḥāmm.

ḥāṫṫa ža wāḥ l-ṛwīyyəl yīsṫa. ṛāl ləm: “ḥāḏi d-dāṣ š fiḥa?” ṛālu lu: “l-ṛūṫs, ḡāṓəṓ l-ḥḏīyya.” xāṫḡəṓ n-nīlu, ṛāṓ lu: “ḏāḏčūf š nānā?ṛi?” ṛāl la: “xāyla, ya lālla ṫla ma ḏāṫṫīni wāḥ əṫ-ṫṫṫyṫṫṫ d-əl-xūbz u wāḥ əṫ-ṫṫṫyṫṫṫ d-əl-lḥīma. āna, ṛālu žāç əṫ-ṫṫṫ.” ḡāṓ ḥīyya ṛāṓ lu: “žāni ṫ-ṫṫṫ!” “āḏḏāf, āḏḏāf, āḏḏāf!” ḥāṫṫa šāḥḥāṫṫ. ṛāṓ lu: “ma nāṫṫiḥa laç ḥāṫṫa ḏāḇṫa ḏāḇki, ḥāṫṫa yṫāžṫṫ ṛāynəç ḫāl dyāli, ḥāṫṫa yīnbəṓ laç ḡṫṫṫṫṫṫṫ³⁸ f-ṛāynəç.”

ḡlās lāyīḇki, bṛa lāyīḇki u wāḥ l-mṫa ḡāyza. ṛāṓ lu: “š ṛāndəç, a bni?” ḥīṫṫṫ māṫṫṫṫ ṛānda. Եḇṫṫṫ. ṛāl la: “l-mṫa žāḥa ṫ-ṫṫṫ, u žīṓ n-ṛānda, ṛūṫṫ la ḏāṫṫīni wāḥ əṫ-ṫṫṫyṫṫṫ d-əl-xūbz, u wāḥ əṫ-ṫṫṫyṫṫṫ d-əl-lḥīma. ḏāba ṛāṓ li nəḇṫa nəḇki ḥāṫṫa yṫəḇṫu f-ṛāyni ḡṫṫṫṫṫṫṫ.” mšāṓ n-əl-xla, žāḇəṓ l-ṛḇīṫa ḏ-ḡṫṫṫṫṫṫṫ, ṛṛāṓa lu ḥāyḏa ṛla ṛāynu, u ḡlās “a lālla, a lālla, xṫāž! ḡṫṫṫṫṫṫṫṫ nəḇṫu. a lālla, ḡṫṫṫṫṫṫṫṫ nəḇṫu. a lālla, ḡṫṫṫṫṫṫṫṫ nəḇṫu.” xāṫṫəṓ n-nīlu, ṛṫṫṫṫ ḥlūka f-ṫḥṫṫ, n-dīç l-ṛāyəl, u mša f-ḥālu. u ḥīyya bṛāṓ ḏəḇki u dīç bənta – mšāṓ ḏəḫnāṓa – yāw š ṛṛāṓ la.

ka kān ṛāndi l-məṫṫāḥ ka ṛāšṫīṓəḋ əṫ-ṫṫṫṫṫṫṫ.

– ḡzāla ḥāḏ l-xṫāfa, ṫwa mṫəwwla ḥāḏ l-xṫāfa, ṫwa xāyla šānnəṓ ṛlīḥa kif ḡāzəṓ?–

37 *lādžāgṫəṓ*) *lādžāgṫəṓ*.

38 The ending morpheme *š /əṫ/* in *ḡṫṫṫṫṫṫṫ* “watercress” is related to the Latin plural *-es*. For more on this see n. 195, p. 130.

zbiṣa

- 1 sālṭəç, kân wāḥ Ɓ-Ɓāžəl ʔāndu d-dāƁ. ʔāndu d-dāƁ məzyāna u ʔāndu s-ṣṭāḥ u ʔāndu hād šši. u l-ʔāyla kāṓṓ məsžūna ma lādāxƁəž šī. ma lāyxälliha šī dāṭlāʔ n-əl-fūʔi. ma lāyxälliha šī dāṭlāʔ n-əṣ-ṣṭāḥ. ma lāyxälliha šī dəmši ḥāṭṭa n-ši mūtāʔ. diç l-ʔāyla, hādik ma kāṓṓ ʔāndu, ǰa diç l-ʔāyla.
- 2 ɪwa ža ḥūwwāç wāḥ ən-nhāƁ ʔāməṓ ḥȳya xāḅǰəṓ, ṭālʔāṓ n-stāḥ. mənnāy ḥābtāṓ, dāxləṓ n-wāḥ l-miskīn. dāxləṓ n-diç l-miskīn ma sūmmƁa ma lādđxūl n-nilu. dāxləṓ n-diç l-miskīn f-əl-fūʔi, u ṭāḥṭ mənnu l-ḥwānəṓ, l-ḥwānəṓ. ṭāḥṭ mənnu l-ḥwānəṓ, u ḥȳya dāxləṓ n-diç l-miskīn u ǰəlsəṓ fih.
- 3 ḥȳya ma lādāʔƁāf əl-lḥām kif nḥiyya, ma lādāʔƁāf əǰ-ǰdād kif ən-hūma, ma lādāʔƁāf l-ḥūṓ kif n-ḥūwwa, ma lādāʔƁāf šī. u Ɓ-Ɓwāʔāṓ ʔliha səbʔa d-əƁ-Ɓwāʔāṓ, ma lāyçūfa ḥādd. mənnāy yṭállʔu la l-lḥām, dʔūl ləm: “šənni hādi?” əl-lḥām lāxāṣ-ṣa d̄kūn bla ʔṭām, bla hāda bla hāda. wāḥ ən-nhāƁ ṭállʔu la l-ḥūṓ. ʔāṓ ləm: “šənnu hāda?” “l-ḥūṓ.” ʔālu la “hādi š-šūç. l-ḥūṓ b-əš-šūç. l-ḥūṓ b-əš-šūç.” u kānu lāyʔāb-bīwāḥ la bla šūç, l-ḥūṓ b-əš-šūç. “hādām š-šūç, d-əl-ḥūṓ.” ʔāṓ ləm: “xyāƁ.”
- 4 wāḥ ən-nhāƁ ṭállʔu la l-lḥām. kānu lāyṭállʔu la l-lḥām b-əl-ʔṭām, b-əl-ḥāʔʔ māši ḥāydāç. ṭállʔu la l-lḥām b-əl-ʔṭām. ǰāṓ ḥȳya Ɓāfdəṓ diç l-ʔṭām. l-xāddāma lli lādsāxxāƁ la, ṭállʔāṓ la diç l-ʔṭām. ǰāṓ ḥȳya Ɓāfdəṓ diç l-ʔṭām, l-ʔṭām b-əl-l-mūxx. ʔāṓ la: “šənnu hāda? hāda š lāyʔūlu lu?” žāṓ ḥȳya ʔāṓ la: “hāda l-ʔṭām b-əl-mūxx, lāyṭāʔʔūḥ u yāḥbāṭ mənnu l-mūxx u lāyāçlūḥ, məzyān.” ǰāṓ ḥȳya ʔāṓ la: “wāxxa.” diç l-xāddāma ḥābtāṓ, u ḥȳya mšāṓ n-diç l-ʔṭām ṭāʔʔāṓ, ḥbāṭ mənnu l-mūxx. ḥbāṭ diç l-mūxx kilṓu u ṭállʔəṓ f-diç əṭ-ṭūʔba.
- 5 diç l-ḥānūṓ kāṓṓ msāʔʔfa b-əž-žāž, b-əž-žāž. ṭállʔəṓ mən diç ṭ-ṭūʔba dšib ǰūǰ d-əƁ-Ɓžāl šƁāw ǰ-ǰbān. šƁāw ǰ-ǰəbna u nəzzlūḥ. – aḥsəb dāba ḥāydāya. – āxūƁ mša yçūfa ǰƁāḥ yīddu. ǰƁāḥ yīddu, ǰa ḥūwwa ʔāl lu: “ūḥləç! n-bən šəbbiṓ hād l-xādd ḥmāƁ ḥāyda u ǰ-ǰbān byāṭ? n-bən šəbbiṓ hād l-xādd?” ǰa ḥūwwa ʔāl lu: “hād l-xādd šəbbiṓ n-əl-xādd d-əs-sūltān ǰāʔfāƁ u l-mđiǰǰa d-ǰūḥāƁ.”
- 6 ǰāṓ ḥȳya šāḥāṓ dənsīāƁ ʔla diç s-sūltān ǰāʔfāƁ. xāṣša dżwūž biḥ. “fāyn nṭi lādʔāƁfu?” ma lādʔāƁfu šī, məṭāṓ. məṭāṓ diç l-ʔāyla. bdāw n-nās yžīw yṭállʔu ʔliha. hāda yži yṭálləl, hāda yži yṭálləl, hāda yži yṭálləl, hāda yži yṭálləl. ma xālla šī bāṔāḥa šī dwa ma ʔāḥ la n-diç l-ʔāyla. u l-ʔāyla māʔdūma. ḥāṭṭa šābūḥa, nəḑƁu la yāw š ʔʔāw, šābūḥa mṣīṭa ʔla s-sūltān ǰāʔfāƁ. ḥāʔʔəʔu la mṣīṭa ʔla s-sūltān ǰāʔfāƁ.
- 7 ʔbāṭ bāṔāḥa l-Ɓa u šāyṭa n-əs-sūltān ǰāʔfāƁ, ʔāl lu: “āna xāṣṣni nāʔṭiç bəṭṭi.” ǰa diç s-sūltān ǰāʔfāƁ ʔʔa l-Ɓa ʔāwəṓ ʔʔa lu fiḥa, ʔṭāḥ l-kṓṭyṭəb u ʔṭāḥ l-ʔinnība u ʔṭāḥ šī ḥāmm āxūƁ, qāl lu: “hād bəṭṭəç lli ṭṭāmmāʔ f-əƁ-Ɓāžəl d-ən-nās dʔābbiḥ. ḥa l-ḥbəl bāš dƁābṭa, ḥa l-mūs bāš dʔāṓla.” ʔʔa lu diç l-Ɓa ʔbiḥa. bāṔāḥa ma Ɓda

ši. *bāḅāha* ṛbāt dīç l-bəntɿ u ʃtāha n-əl-xāddām ʃāndu, əl-ʃābd. ʃtāha n-əl-ʃābd, ṛāl lu: “xāṣṣəç dʃābbi hādi n-ši māḅḅāla bʃīda, u dʃāḅla. ha ʃ-ʃkɿt̪ bāṣ ḅḅāḅta, ha ʋ-ḅḅūma fāṣ dāʔi la d-dəm dyāla, ġibu li nšāḅbu. ġib li d-dəm dyāla nšāḅbu.” dīç l-məlʃū? dīç l-ʃābd ma sxa ši biha, ʃāzzəḅ ʃliḅ. hīyya bdāḅ lādəbbi māṣ dəmši f-ḅāla māṣ ʔḅāḅla. ṛāl lu: “māṣ dʃābbiḅha dʃāḅla u ʃla ma ʔḅāḅta ši, nṅīna māṣ nʔāḅləç f-mūṭʃa, f-mūṭʃa māṣ dmūḅ nṅi.”

u ʃābba dīç l-ʃāyla u mša. mša hūwwa lāyibki, u hīyya lādəbbi dīç l-ʃāyla. bəllġa 8
n-əl-xla, n-əl-ʔiṭā? d-əl-xla. ṛāl lu: “twa hna māṣ nʔāḅləç.” twa ġāḅ hīyya ʔāḅ lu: “xāyla! āna mzāwġa fīç!” bʔāḅ dḅibb lu ʋāsu u dḅibb lu ʋiḅlu u dḅibb lu yīddu. “āna ʃūmmḅāç f-əd-dūnya ma ččūf³⁹ l-xyal dyāli, ġa xāllīni b-əḅ-ḅūḅ. ʃūmmḅāç ma dāʃləm ʃliyya fāyn āna.” ṛāl lu: “āḅāḅ, ya bənti.” ʔāḅ lu: “wālu.” u ʔəlʔa, hūwwa ʋġāʃ f-ḅālu, mša f-ḅālu. ʃābba dīç əḅ-ḅḅūma, ḅḅāḅ ġ-ġāḅwa u ʔa d-dəm dyāla f-əḅ-ḅḅūma, u ʃābba dīç l-ʔinniba u ʃābba dīç ši n-bāḅāha, u ṛāl lu: “āna bəllāġta n-əl-xla u ʔḅāḅta.” ṛāl lu: “ṣāfi.”

hīyya mīskīna bʔāḅ māšša, māšša, māšša, māšša, māšša ḅāṭṭa dṣāḅəḅ lāyib- 9
fāw l-mʃāz u ġ-ġəḅyān f-əl-xla. ġāḅ hīyya mšāḅ n-ʃānd dīç n-nās lli ʃāndəm dīç l-mʃāz. u hīyya māy kāḅḅ xāḅḅa. māy kāḅḅ xāḅḅa dāba, ʃtāḅa yimmāha žūḅ l-ġāwzāḅ, l-ġāwzāḅ lāyṣāḅḅfūḅəm d-əl-māl. ʃtāḅəm dīç l-ʃlūs. ʔāḅ ləm: “āʃiṭwni ġa l-kāḅsa u ġ-ġəld, u l-lḅām ʃābbīwha.” xāllṣəḅ dīç ġ-ġdi. l-lḅām ʃābbāwha. hīyya ma ʃānda ma dāʔi biha: hīyya f-əl-xla māḅmīyya; ma ʃānda ʔṣāfi, ma ʃānda ši. hūma ʃābbāw dīç šši. hīyya mšāḅ n-dīç l-kāḅsa u xsəlḅa u yibḅəḅa; u mšāḅ n-dīç ġ-ġəld u xsəlḅu u yibḅəḅu. ġ-ġəld ʔāḅu ʃliha u l-kāḅsa ʔāḅa ʃla ʋāsa. ma ʃāḅfa ḅādd š n-hīyya. u bdāḅ māšša. u hīyya kāḅḅ ġzāla – ʔālləç – f-ʃiḅa, ġa l-yāʔūḅa, u kān ʃānda ʃ-ʃiḅ ġzāl. u bʔāḅ māšša, māšša, māšša, māšša, māšša.

hīyya māšša f-əl-xla ḅāṭṭa ṭāḅāḅ f-wāḅ d-dāḅ, ṭāḅāḅ f-dīç d-dāḅ ʃānda ʋ-ḅyāḅ, 10
dīç d-dāḅ ʃānda ʋ-ḅyāḅ. dāxləḅ n-dīç əḅ-ḅyāḅ u ḅkəmmšəḅ f-əl-lil. u ḅkəmmšəḅ f-əl-lil. u hīyya d-dāḅ dīç s-sūltān. – fāy šku māṣ yāʃiḅ! – dāxləḅ n-dīç əḅ-ḅyāḅ u ḅkəmmšəḅ. dīç s-sūltān f-əl-lil ṛāl n-əl-xāddāma ḅyālu: “sīḅ šūdd l-bāḅ d-əḅ-ḅyāḅ. u čūf dābi ʔçu ši wāḅīd ḅāmma. šūdd l-bāḅ d-əḅ-ḅyāḅ.” xāḅġəḅ dīç l-xāddāma dšūdd l-bāḅ d-əḅ-ḅyāḅ. mənḅāy xāḅġəḅ, ṣāḅḅa hīyya mkəmmša, hīyya mlūwwya mkəmmša. hīyya ma ʃāḅḅa ši⁴⁰ šən hīyya, dīç ši mlūwwi. dāxləḅ, ʔāḅ lu: “ya sīdi, wāḅ l-hāmm ḅāmma mlūwwi. āna ma ʃāḅḅu ši, ma ʃāḅḅu la žənn wāla ʔinsān, mlūwwi dīç šši, ma ʃāḅḅu š n-hūwwa.” ġa hūwwa ṛāl lu: “sīḅ, sāʔsiḅ, ṛūl lu, ‘ka žənn āṅṅina ka ʔinsān?’” ʃāwəḅ xāḅġəḅ ʔāḅ lu: “nṅīna žənn yāw ʔinsān?” ġa hūwwa ṛāl lu: “āna ʔinsān.” ʔāḅ lu: “āna ʔinsān, ma na ši ġ-ġən.” dāxləḅ ʔāḅ lu: “hūwwa ʔinsān, lāyṛūl ʔinsān.” ġa hūwwa ṛāl lu: “ṛūl lu yīdxūl.”

39 *dčūf* } *ččūf*: On this assimilation see n. 72, p. 101. About the phoneme /č/ in general see n. 133 on p. 117.

40 The expected assimilation given in n. 30, p. 90 does not occur here because of the last vowel.

- 11 *dāxxlu. kān fāndəm wāhd l-bwḥyyəθ. dāxxlu n-dīç l-bwḥyyəθ. dāxləθ n-dīç l-bwḥyyīθ, dāxlu n-fānda sāʔsāwḥa. ma la dəfɪfɪhādd, ma la dəfɪfɪhātta ši ḥāza. gəlsəθ gālsa θamma. bʔāθ mɪfāhəm. bʔāθ mɪfāhəm. lāyāfɪtwha dāçūl, u yāfɪtwha dəškāb. ma fāfɪha š n-ḥyya. ḥyya məksḥyya b-əğ-ğəld b-əs-šfāx. u kāsā fɪh l-kāvsā: kāsā mlūwwi b-əl-kāvsā. l-kāvsā, l-kāvsā fɪa kāsā mlūwwya b-dīç s-səlk, b-dīç ši ma fāfɪha ši. ḥāwwma lāyāfɪtwha l-lāh, u ḥyya ḥāy mɪfāhəm.*
- 12 *šābəθ fāndəm l-fūks, māš yīʔʔw l-fūks d-wūdd əs-sūltān: əs-sūltān ġāfɪfāx māš yīʔʔi l-fūks. māš yīʔʔw l-fūks. – ha, d-kāθ lādāhmāʔ fɪh – ḥyya ma fāfəš ši š kāyən. māš yīʔʔw l-fūks. ḥūma lāybḥyyu, ġāθ ḥyya ʔāθ ləm: “āfɪtwni wāh šwḥyyəθ d-əğ-ğḥ nbḥyyāʔ l-bwḥyyəθ dyāli.” ʔālu la: “ma xāššəç ġa dbḥyyāʔ! āntḥina l-ʔāwfa! nḥina ʔāwfa u nḥi māš dbḥyyəʔ l-biθ!? ḥānnīna u mši f-ḥāləç.” gəlsəθ gālsa dəbki. ġa s-sūltān ʔā la: “š fāndəç, š fāndəç a zbīḥa, š fānd zbīḥa?” ʔā la: “š nḥi msəmməya?” ʔā lu: “zbīḥa.” dīç s-sāfa ʔā la: “š nḥi msəmməya?” ʔā lu: “zbīḥa.” “š fāndəç a zbīḥa, š fānd zbīḥa?” ʔā lu: “ʔūlt ləm yāfɪtwni ġ-ğḥ bāš nbḥyyāʔ l-biθ dyāli ma ḥābbu ši.” ʔā ləm: “āfɪtwha ġ-ğḥ, āfɪtwha ġ-ğḥ dbḥyyāʔ l-biθ dyāla.” fɪtwha ġ-ğḥ, bḥyyəθ l-biθ dyāla.s*
- 13 *ʔʔāw l-fūks, wūğğdu. u ʔʔāw l-ḥālwa u ʔʔāw kull ši. māy ʔāmu yīʔʔw l-ḥālwa, mšāθ dāʔʔi mɪfāhəm l-ḥālwa, ʔālu la: “ma dāʔʔi ši mɪfāna l-ḥālwa. māš dtḥyyāḥ nna d-dšīš d-əl-ʔāwfa. āntḥina ʔāwfa.” gəlsəθ dəbki, ābki, ābki, ābki, ābki, ābki, ābki, ābki. ʔā: “š fānd zbīḥa?” ʔā: “xāšša dāʔʔi mɪfāna l-ḥālwa u ḥyya ʔāwfa ttḥyyāḥ nna⁴¹ d-dšīš.” ʔālu la: “lāʔ.” ʔā ləm: “āfɪtwha dāʔʔi l-ḥālwa.” fɪtwha dāʔʔi l-ḥālwa.*
- 14 *ġa l-fūks, nəzzlu l-fūks. ʔālu la: “wāyāḥ mɪfāna n-əl-fūks.” ʔāθ: “la. ma nəmši ši.” ʔʔāw bāfda l-fāšfa, ʔālu ma yīʔʔw la ši l-fāšfa: ḥyya ʔāwfa, š māš dāʔʔi b-əl-fāšfa. ʔāθ ləm: “la, ma nəʔʔi ši l-fāšfa.” l-fāšfa ʔʔāθa b-yidda. ḥyya dāba lādāʔʔi fāwūz u būwūz. ʔʔāθa b-yidda u ʔʔāθa f-kāsā. u mšāθ n-əl-ḥāmmām, u xsəθa, u fāw lūwwāθ dīç l-kāvsā fɪa kāsā. ʔālu la: “yāḥ mɪfāna n-əl-fūks.” ġāθ ḥyya ʔāθ ləm: “lāʔ.” ʔālu la: “ġa yāḥ.” ʔāθ ləm: “lāʔ, ma nəmši ši.”*
- 15 *ḥūma mšāw n-əl-fūks, u ḥyya ʔāməθ u zḥyyənəθ. ġḥ dāba fānda l-ḥwāyəz, dīç l-ğāwzāθ fānda fihəm kull ši. l-ḥīkmāθ, l-ğāwz d-əl-ḥīkma. ġəbdəθ l-ḥwāyəz, u zḥyyənəθ u šāğğbəθ u fāddləθ. u kāθ yāʔʔūθa b-əz-zāyn lādəšfāl u š-šfān u kull ši. u mšāθ n-əl-fūks.*
- 16 *mənnāy mšāθ n-əl-fūks, gəlsəθ, kull ši məbhūt fīha, n-nās fūmməwām ma čāfīha. kull ši yāšḥḥāḥ fīha, kull ši yāšḥḥāḥ fīha. ġāθ n-fānda yūmmāha d-əl-fūsa. ġāθ fānda yūmmāha d-əl-fūsa ʔāθ la: “xāyla, ya bənti! ngəllsəç nbəwzəç f-mūtāf l-fūsa. l-fūsa zāfma māši mziwna: u nḥina mziwna, ḥsən mənna, ngəllsəç f-mūtāf. nḥina ādhāx.” ġāθ ḥyya ʔāθ la: “wāxxa, wāxxa, məššāb!”⁴² gəllsāθa,*

41 *dtḥyyāḥ lna*) *ttḥyyāḥ nna*. About these types of assimilations see n. 83 and n. 19, p. 102 and 87.

42 *mən-šāb*) *məššāb*. Concerning this word, which expresses wish or desire, Lévy (2009), 240 comments: “*Məššāb* a une forme contractée *mšāb* (*məššāb* en ancien fassi, à Rabat

bəwəzāṭa. “l-ḥūsa ḡzāla, l-ḥūsa ḡzāla.” kull ši yḡl: “l-ḥūsa ḡzāla, l-ḥūsa ḡzāla, l-ḥūsa ḡzāla.”

h̄yya, mənṅāy bdāw māš yiftāḡu, ḡāməṭ h̄yya, ḡbəl mənṅām. mšāṭ f-ḥāla 17
n-əd-dāw. mšāṭ f-ḥāla n-əd-dāw, u zūwwləṭ ḡānna. ḡāw bāddəṭ dīç l-kāwša u
bāddəṭ dīç əç-člālā⁴³ u ḡəlsəṭ, hāyda u žāw. ḡāw, ḡālu la: “ḡāh, ya zbīṣa, ḡla
ḥūsa! l-ḥūsa ya zbīṣa ḡa l-yāḡḡūṭa!” – h̄yya, h̄yya ḡ-kāṭṭ mbəwəzə. – “ḡāh ya
zbīṣa, ḡla ḥūsa yāḡḡūṭa! l-ḥūsa ḡmmāwṅa ma čūfṅa dīç əz-zāyn ḡ-nhu f-dīç
l-ḥūsa! ḡa l-yāḡḡūṭa!” ḡāṭ h̄yya ḡāṭ ləm: “u ḡāh yāḡḡiḡa ḡ-ḡisīw, ḡāh yšāxxāš la!”
səḡəṭ. ḡāṭ ləm: “u l-ḥūsa ḡzāla.” h̄yya ḡəlsəṭ, zāḡma ma ḡānda ḡḡḡḡ.

hūma n-əl-lāḡādda ḡāwəḡ mšāw. n-əl-lāḡādda ḡāwəḡ mšāw. mšāṭ ḡānda yīm- 18
māha d-əl-ḥūsa, ḡāṭ la: “xāyla, ya bəṅṅi, āḡi nḡākkəḡ nḡīna f-əl-ḡāmmāwḡyya.
nḡīna ḡsən mən bəṅṅi. nḡīna dəwəḡ f-əl-ḡāmmāwḡyya.” ḡāṭ la: “wāxxa.” wākkəḡṭa
f-əl-ḡāmmāwḡyya. mšāṭ l-ḥūsa f-əl-ḡāmmāwḡyya. wākkəḡ f-əl-ḡāmmāwḡyya. “ḡzāla,
ḡzāla! ḡzāla! ḡzāla! ḡzāla!” nəzzlūha, ḡəllsūha ḡla l-mḡāwba ḡūddām s-sḡw, u l-
ḥūsa d-nḡyya d-əṣ-šāḡ ḡšāwḡa ḡḡḡ s-sḡw. xābbḡūha ḡḡḡ s-sḡw. ḡāḡṭ la yīm-
māha d-əl-ḥūsa: “mənṅāyn yḡəlləsūç, u yībḡa šwīwūš, āzbəḡ l-ḥūsa, nəzzla f-
mūḡḡa, u nḡīna mši f-ḡāḡç.” mənṅāyn ḡāḡḡṭ: nəzzləṭ l-ḥūsa f-mūḡḡa, u h̄yya
mšāṭ f-ḡla n-əd-dāw dyāla. mšāṭ f-ḡla n-əd-dāw dyāla. hāyda u žāw, fḡāḡ kull ši.

u žāw. ḡālu la: “l-ḥūsa ḡzāla! hāy māš ḡḡi u čūfa. ḡa l-yāḡḡūṭa, ḡa l-yāḡḡūṭa! ya 19
zbīṣa, ḡa l-yāḡḡūṭa!” h̄yya ḡəlsəṭ f-əl-mūḡḡ fāyn lāḡḡḡləs l-ḥūsa. ma zūwwləṭ
ši ḡānna f-dīç s-sāḡāṭ. ḡəlsəṭ f-əl-mūḡḡ d-əl-ḥūsa. dāba n-nās lāççūf⁴⁴ l-ḥūsa
ḡzāla. mənṅāy kān l-ḥūs māš yīdxūl, ḡəbdəṭ dīç l-ḥūsa u nəzzələṭa f-mūḡḡa. u
h̄yya mšāṭ f-ḡāla. h̄yya mšāṭ f-ḡāla. w-əzəḡ mənṅāy ḡxəl n-nāwba l-lūwḡyya,
ānbḡḡ f-dīç z-zāyn, kāṭṭ bāḡa ma ḡbəḡṭa, ānbḡḡ, ānbḡḡ f-dīç l-ḥūsa ḡa l-
yāḡḡūṭa! ḡbāḡ ši xāṭəm – ḡləm ḡāh ḡāddāš – kāṭṭ f-yīḡḡu, sālla mən yīḡḡu u
ḡəkkāha la f-yīḡḡu. ḡəkkāha la f-yīḡḡu. h̄yya žəbəḡṭa u nəzzələṭa ṭāmma. h̄yya
mḡāha w-wāḡi lāyḡāwnūha. u h̄yya mšāṭ f-ḡāla.

hūwwa mənṅāy kəmməl dāba kān lāyḡālli – yāw š kān lāyḡḡi – u kəmməl u 20
ḡləs ḡāləs ḡūddām l-ḥūsa, u ḡləs yīḡḡḡ mḡāha u yçūfa, yḡiba māši h̄yya ḡāḡḡ;
māši ḡāḡḡ ḡ-çāf. nḡāw fīha, ḡāl la: “fāy wāḡ l-xāṭəm d-ḡḡḡḡç?” ḡāṭ lu: “āna ma wīṭ
xāṭəm. ma ḡḡḡni ši!” h̄yya ma ḡānda ši. ma çāḡṭ ši, mīskḡna. ḡāl la: “wāna ḡḡḡç
l-xāṭəm!” ḡāṭ lu: “āna ma çūḡḡ ši! nḡūw š ku ḡābbāha.” ḡxəl ḡūs māḡli ḡla ḡālu.

musulman, et, en interjection, à Fès juif: *məṣṣāb!*; *mənṣāb* à El Jadida, Safi et Marrakech juif, ainsi qu'à Alger juif). For a detailed semantic definition of *mən-ṣāb* see DAF, VIII, 140.

43 The singular of this word is *çəllūḡ-a* / de Prémare *šəḡḡḡ-a*. On this term see DAF, VII, 167, “n. chiffon, loque [comp. *dərbāla*] [Co].” See Marçais (1911), 257: *çəḡḡḡ*. On the typical northern MA phoneme /ç/, see the commentary n. 133 p. 117.

44 *lāḡḡḡ* > *lāççūf*. On this assimilation On this assimilation see n. 72, p. 101. About the phoneme /ç/ in general see n. 133, p. 117.

ma ḥāḥḥl-mḥa fāy mšāḥ. zbiḥa ṣābhāḥ b-əl-kāḥša ḍyāla, u l-mṣāwān dyāla, u ḥīyya lādāḥḥāš, ma ṣānda xḥāḥ. u ḥīwwa hāw ṣāndu l-ḥūsa, ma ḥīwwa fāḥḥān ma hu mūši fāḥḥān. dīḥ l-ḥūsa ḍ-ḥāf māši hādīḥ. ḥfād ḥāsu.

- 21 ḥīyya [zbiḥa] dāxləḥ ṣānd l-ḥūsa. u l-ḥūsa ḥāḥ la: “xāyla məkḥəl⁴⁵ li dīḥ l-mḥāya nḥūf wūžāy.” ḥīyya məkḥələḥ la l-mḥāya. sābbḥāḥ dīḥ zbiḥa ḥāfəḥ f-dīḥ l-mḥāya. ḡāḥ ḥīyya ḥāḥ la: “ṣlāš ḥūf-əl-mḥāya ḍyāli? l-mḥāya ḍyāli! ma ḥūf ši fīha!” bəzḥāḥ ṣlīha. bəzḥāḥ ṣlīha, ḡəlsəḥ dəbki. ḡəlsəḥ dəbki, ḡa l-ḥūṣ ḥāḥ la: “š ṣānd zbiḥa? š ṣāndəḥ a zbiḥa?” ḡāḥ ḥīyya ḥāḥ lu: “āna, l-ḥūsa ḍyāləḥ ḥāḥ li məkḥəl li l-mḥāya, mənḥāy ṣḥīḥa la u ḥūft, fīha, bəzḥāḥ ṣlīyya.” ḥāḥ la: “ma ḍṣāwš ši,⁴⁶ āskūḥ.” ḥāzzḥa u səkḥəḥa.
- 22 ṣāwəḍ wāḥ ən-nḥāḥ ḥāḥ la: “xāyla məkḥəl li l-mīšḥa.” ḥīyya məkḥələḥ la l-mīšḥa, ḥīyya ḥāḥḥa f-ḥāsa. ḥāḥ la: “ṣlāš dāḥḥi l-mīšḥa ḍyāli f-ḥāsa?” ṣāw ḡəlsəḥ dəbki. ṣāw ḥāḥ la: “wāxxa.” wa ḡāyḥu. – anā dāba nṣīḥa, ḥīyya ḡzāla kānəḥ ḥād l-xḥāfa –
- 23 wāḥ ən-nḥāḥ ḥāḥ māš ysāfāḥ. dāba l-mḥa ḥāy f-əd-dāḥ. māš ysāfāḥ. šāy ṣḥa ḥāḥ ḥīwwa ḥādāḥ! māš ysāfāḥ. ḥīyya mənḥāy ḥāḥ mṣāḥəm l-ḥāḥḥa, ṣābbḥāḥ ḡāwš l-xūbzāḥ ḥḥāḥəḥ u xābbḥāḥəḥ, ḥḥāḥəḥ, mənḥāy kān māš ysāfāḥ, wāḥḥa ṣāmmḥāḥa lu b-əl-xlīḥ u wāḥḥa ṣāmmḥāḥa lu b-əs-smən. wāḥḥa l-lūwḥīyya ḥāḥ lu ṣlīha dīḥ l-xāḥəḥ d ṣḥa ḥīwwa n-əl-ḥūsa, ḥāḥḥa lu ṣlīha. ḥīyya mənḥāy ḥāḥḥu māš ysāfāḥ, ḥāḥ lu: “āžī, nḥūl ləḥ, a sīdī.” ḡa n-ṣānda, ḥāḥ lu: “ḥād l-xūbzā ḥādī mṣāmmḥa b-əl-xlīḥ. mənḥāy dḥāḥḡ n-əl-mūḥāḥ l-flāni, kūla, ābda bīha. kūla. u l-xūbzā ḥādī ḍ-əs-smən mənḥāy ṣāwəḍ dḥāḥḡ n-əl-mūḥāḥ l-flāni, ṣāwəḍ kūla.”
- 24 mšā. ḥīwwa bəllāḡ n-dīḥ l-mūḥāḥ l-flāni, ḥḥāḥ dīḥ l-xūbzā, ysīb dīḥ l-xāḥəḥ ḥīyya l-lūwḥīyya. ṣāb dīḥ l-xāḥəḥ ḥīyya l-lūwḥīyya, ḥāḥḥa f-yīddu u mšā f-ḥālu. ḥḡāḥ, ḥḡāḥ, ma sāfāḥ ši, ḥḡāḥ. ḥūma ḡālsīn, səḥḥūḥ ḡa. ḥālu: “ḥīwwa hāw ḡa. ma mšā ši.” ḥāḥ. ḥāḥ mən ḥḥḥa n-dīḥ l-bīḥ d-zbiḥa. ysība mḥḥyina ḥāḥḥa dāḥḥāḥəḥ b-əz-zīna! u ḡzāla, lādāḥḥāḥ ḥāyda b-əz-zāy. u dīḥ l-mīskīn, – ḥāḥ ləḥ – mḥḥyən b-dīḥ l-fḥāš ḍ-ḥūmmḥəm f-əd-dūnya ma ḥāḥḥu! u ḥīyya ḡzāla ḡa l-yāḥḥa.⁴⁷ ḡbəḍ dīḥ l-xāḥəḥ ḥāḥ la: “ḥa, ḥūf!” ḡāḥ ḥīyya ḥāḥ lu: “ḥāyda,” ṣād ṣāwdəḥ lu n-nāzīla. ṣāwdəḥ lu n-nāzīla. l-mḥa ḥḥa ḥāḥ la: “mšī f-ḥāḥəḥ.” mšāḥ f-ḥāḥa n-əd-dāḥ dyāləḥ, l-məḥḥūḥa ḥūsa, u ḥīyya ṣābbḥāḥu b-əs-ṣāḥ – ḥwa ḥa nḥi, ḥa š lāyīḥḥ n-nāš! – ṣābbḥāḥu, ṣābhāḥ bīḥ.

45 məkḥən } məkḥəl. Here is a clear example of a shift from *n* to *l*. For this term see Marchand (1905), 465. For more about this shift see Heath (2002), 148. According to de Prémare, DAF, XI, 234 this term means, “ext. remettre qqch. entre les mains de qqn., tendre qqch. à qqn. (afin qu’il le prenne), lui mettre qqch. en main etc.”

46 ḍṣāwḥ ši } ḍṣāwš ši.

47 This is the only instance where this term does not double the /ʔ/.

l-ṁḁa u ḁḁīḁa

kāḁḁ wāḥ l-ṁḁa ḁānda bəḁṁṁa. u ḁ-ḁāžəl ḁāndu bəḁṁṁu. wāḥ n-nḁāḁ ḁāžnāḁ dīç 1
l-ṁḁa l-xūbzā u ḁḁāḁ l-ḁūḁḁa. ḁḁāḁ l-ḁḁīḁa u ḁāləḁ n-bəḁṁṁa u n-dīç l-ḁāyla xḁa, ḁ-
ḁḁīḁa ḁyāla, ḁāḁ ləṁ: “ḁāḁw ḁād l-xūbz.” wāḁda māš dḁābbi ṁ-ṁāyḁw d-əl-xūbz.
bəḁṁṁa ḁḁāḁa ṁ-ṁāyḁw d-əl-xūbz dḁābbīḁ. u āxḁa ḁḁāḁa sāḁḁādu dḁāmmḁu b-əl-
ṁa. – s-sāḁḁādu ṁḁḁḁūb. – ṁšāw lāyīžḁw.

dīç l-ḁāyla ṁšāḁ n-əs-sāḁya dḁāmmāḁ sāḁḁādu, ḁyḁa dḁāmmāḁ u ḁwḁwa 2
yīḁāḁ?, ḁyḁa dḁāmmāḁ u ḁwḁwa yīḁāḁ?, ḁyḁa dḁāmmāḁ u ḁwḁwa yīḁāḁ?, ḁyḁa
dḁāmmāḁ u ḁwḁwa yīḁāḁ?. l-ṁa māš ywāḁ?ḁu f-sāḁḁādu? u āxḁa ḁābbāḁ ṁ-ṁāyḁw
d-əl-xūbz. ḁ-māš yžī l-lūwḁwī māš yḁābbi l-ḁūḁḁa. bəḁṁṁa ḁḁāḁ l-lūwḁwīyḁa, ḁābbāḁ
l-ḁūḁḁa.

āxḁa bḁāḁ māšša ḁāyḁḁḁ ḁāṁṁa ḁābəḁ wāḥ l-ṁḁa. māšša f-əs-sāḁya. ḁyḁa 3
māšša f-əs-sāḁya, s-sāḁḁādu l-lūwḁwī u ḁyḁa māšša ṁūḁāḁ lādḁḁḁḁ. ḁābəḁ dīç
l-ṁḁa lādḁḁḁḁ. ḁāḁ la: “lla ḁyḁāṁ! a lla ḁyḁāṁ!” žāḁ ḁyḁa ḁāḁ la: “āa škūn
lāyḁūl li lla ḁyḁāṁ, āḁāḁ yḁḁḁḁ lu sāḁdu u zmānu.”⁴⁸ ḁāḁ ḁyḁa ḁāḁ la: “āna.”
ḁāḁ ḁyḁa ḁāḁ la: “xyāḁ.” ḁāḁ la: “dxūl.” dāxləḁ, ḁāḁ la: “ṁa ḁāz ši ṁəḁ ḁna wāḁd
sāḁḁādu?” ḁāḁ la: “ḁāz. sāḁḁādu ḁa ḁu.” ḁāḁ ḁyḁa ḁāḁ la: “wa ḁxūl,” ḁāḁ la: “š ṁəḁ
bāb ndāxxləç: ḁla l-bāb d-əd-dḁāb yāw ḁla l-bāb d-əl-xāṁḁa?” ḁāḁ ḁyḁa ḁāḁ la:
“āna ṁa ṁa ḁa d-dīḁwīša. dāxxālni ḁa ḁla l-bwība d-əl-xāṁḁa.” ḁāḁ ḁyḁa dāxxlāḁa
ḁla l-bāb d-əd-dḁāb.

ḁāḁ la: “š ṁəḁ kūḁsi ḁḁəlsəç: ka l-kūḁsi ḁ-əd-dḁāb ka l-kūḁsi ḁ-əl-ḁwāḁ?” ḁāḁ la: 4
“la, ḁḁīni ḁa l-kūḁsi ḁ-əl-ḁwāḁ.” ḁḁāḁa l-kūḁsi ṁəzyān. ḁāḁ la: “š ṁəḁ ṁāçla māš
nəzzəl ləç: ka l-xūbz d-əl-ḁmāḁ u l-lḁām u ḁ-ḁḁāḁ, ka l-xūbz d-əd-dḁa u l-bāyḁḁ
u l-lḁḁḁa?” ḁāḁ ḁyḁa ḁāḁ la: “āḁḁīni ḁa fḁīḁa ḁ-əl-bāyḁḁ u fḁīḁa ḁ-əl-lḁḁḁ:
bāḁāka ḁlḁḁa. ṁa ṁa ḁa d-dīḁwīša.” ḁḁāḁa ḁ-ḁḁāḁ u l-lḁām. ḁāḁ la: “š ṁəḁ xūbz
nāḁḁḁ?” ḁāḁ la: “ḁḁīni l-xḁīza ḁ-əd-dḁa.” ḁḁāḁa l-xūbz d-əz-zḁāḁ d-əl-ḁmāḁ. kləḁ u
šāḁḁḁ.

ḁāḁ la: “š ṁəḁ kīḁān nəzzəl ləç: ka ḁ-əd-dḁāb ka ḁ-əl-xāṁḁa?” ḁāḁ la: “ḁḁīni ḁa 5
l-kwīḁāḁ d-əl-xāṁḁa.” ḁḁāḁa l-kwīḁāḁ ḁ-əd-dḁāb u ḁḁāḁ la ḁāy. māšša f-ḁāla ḁāba.

48 For this same semantic construction in Fes Jewish MA see Lévy (2009), 244: “... *byād əḁḁāḁd* ‘destin heureux’ qui s’oppose à *swād-əḁḁāḁd* ‘destin noir, funeste.’” Compare this last expression to our *āḁāḁ yḁḁḁḁ lu sāḁdu u zmānu* “May my Lord blacken his luck and his days!” About the transitive verb *kḁḁḁ* “ruin,” which occurs in the semantically parallel context, see Heath (2002), 336, 565 Map 5–77.

ṛāḥ la: “š mən ḥmṛyyāḥ nāšṭiḥ yšābbiḥ: dən-ḥūwwa šḥiḥ yāw dən-ḥūwwa ḥwāš?”
 ṛāḥ la: “šṭini ġa dən-hu ḥwāš.” šṭāḥa dən-hu šḥiḥ. ṛāḥ la: “bāš nšāmmāḥ ləḥ š-šwāḥi:
 ka b-əl-xāṭṭa ka b-əd-dhāb?” ṛāḥ la: “āna ma šāndi ma nāʔi b-əd-dhāb? āna
 ma na ġa d-dīwīša: šṭini ġa l-xāṭṭa.” šṭāḥa u šāmmwāḥu la b-əd-dhāb. ṛāḥ la: “š
 mən ḡḥṭwi yīndāḥ biḥ? š mən ḡḥṭwi nāšṭiḥ?” ṛāḥ la: “ḡḥṭwi, šṭini ġa d-ən-hu ḥwāḥ.”
 šṭāḥa d-ən-hu b-šāyṇu. ṛāḥ la: “š mən šābd yīndāḥ biḥ: d-ən-ḥūwwa lāyāšwāš āw
 d-ən-ḥūwwa šḥiḥ?” ṛāḥ la: “šṭini ġa d-ən-hu lāyāšwāš.” šṭāḥa d-ən-hu šḥiḥ.

6 u bda māši biha: “ṭw, ṭw! lālla žābəḥ nīnnu. ṭw, ṭw! lālla žābəḥ nīnnu. ṭw, ṭw!
 lālla žābəḥ nīnnu. ṭw, ṭw! lālla žābəḥ nīnnu.”⁴⁹ xāwzu bāβāḥa u mḥāḍ bāβāḥa
 yčūfu. xāwzu, yšibūḥa žāḍ mṭāxṭxa, mžyyna, mšāḡḡba u dīḥ l-ḥmāḥ mšāmmāḥ
 b-əd-dūhbān, u fāwḥāna māš ṭṭiḥ. nəzzləḍ dīḥ l-ḥməl d-əl-ḥmāḥ, nəzzləḍ dīḥ šši, u
 ḥūma fāwḥānīn biha māš yṭiḥu.

7 u n-əl-lāḡādda ṛāləḍ n-bənṭa, šāwəḍ šāznāḍ, šāwəḍ šāznāḍ. āxḥa d-kāḍḍ šāb-
 bāḍ šāwḥādu šṭāḥa l-xūbz. ṛāḥ la: “nṭi šābbi l-xūbz n-əl-fāwḥān. mənṇāy ḡḡi, šābbi
 l-ṛūḥša.” u āxḥa bənṭa šṭāḥa s-šāwḥādu.

8 bənṭa ḥyṇa māšša mūḥa dīḥ s-šāwḥādu, ḥyṇa māšša mūḥa dīḥ s-šāwḥādu,
 ḥyṇa māšša mūḥa dīḥ s-šāwḥādu, ḥyṇa māšša mūḥa dīḥ s-šāwḥādu, ṭāḥ la mən
 yīdda, bṛāḥ lādəžwi, šāwəḍ šābəḍ dīḥ l-mḥa lādbḥyāṭ. šābəḍ dīḥ l-mḥa lādbḥyāṭ,
 ṛāḥ la: “lla kaffāsa! a lla kaffāsa.” ḡāḍ ḥyṇa ṛāḥ la: “āa škūn lāyṛul li a lla kaffāsa?
 wābbi ykaffəs lu sāḍdu u zmānu!” ḡāḍ ḥyṇa ṛāḥ la: “āna. āna nānṛūla ləḥ.” ḡāḍ
 ḥyṇa ṛāḥ la: “āna ḥyṇa lla bḥyāṭa māši lla kaffāsa.” ṛāḥ la: “ka wāḥd šāwḥādu
 ka ma ḡāz ši mən hna?” ṛāḥ la: “ḡāz.” ṛāḥ la: “ṭwa dḥūl. š mən bāb ndāxxləḥ: šla
 l-bāb d-əd-dhāb yāw šla l-bāb d-əl-xāṭṭa?” ṛāḥ la: “wābbi ma yšāyṣəḥ? dāxxālṇi
 šla l-bāb d-əd-dhāb!” dāxxālḥa šla l-bāb d-əl-xāṭṭa. ṛāḥ la: “š mən kūḥsi nəzzəl ləḥ
 dəḡləs šliḥ: d-əd-dhāb āw d-əl-xāṭṭa?” ṛāḥ la: “āna ḡəlləsni šla l-kūḥsi d-əd-dhāb.”
 ḡəlləsḥa šla l-kūḥsi d-əl-xāṭṭa.

9 ṛāḥ la: “š mən māḥla nāšṭiḥ: ka l-xūbz d-əl-xlīṭ u l-bāyṣāḥ u l-lbḥyṇa, ka l-lḥām
 u ḡ-ḡdāḍ u l-xūbz d-əl-ṛmāḥ?” ḡāḍ ḥyṇa ṛāḥ la: “āna šṭini l-xūbz d-əl-ṛmāḥ u
 šṭini ḡ-ḡdāḍ u l-lḥām.” šṭāḥa dīḥ l-ḥāmm āxḥ: l-bāyṣāḥ u l-lbḥyṇa ḥāmṭīn u šṭāḥa
 l-xūbz d-əd-dḥa.

10 ma ḥābbəḍ wāla dāḥūl wāla dāḥlāʔ. u ṛāməḍ māš dəḥṣi f-ḥāla, ṛāməḍ māšša
 f-ḥāla. ṛāḥ la: “š mən ḥmṛyyāḥ nāšṭiḥ: ka n-ḥūwwa b-wīžlu u məzyān ka n-ḥūwwa
 mḥiṭ?” ṛāḥ la: “šṭini l-məzyān, ma dāšṭini ši l-mḥiṭ.” šṭāḥa l-mḥiṭ. [ṛāḥ la: “bāš
 nšāmmāḥ ləḥ š-šwāḥi: ka b-əl-xāṭṭa ka b-əd-dhāb?” ṛāḥ la: “šāmmḥu li b-əd-dhāb.”
 šāmmwāḥu la b-əl-xāṭṭa.] ṛāḥ la: “š mən ḡḥṭwi nāšṭiḥ: d-lāyčūf yāw d-ən-ḥūwwa
 ḥwāḥ?” ṛāḥ la: “šṭini d-ən-hu lāyčūf.” šṭāḥa lāḥwāḥ. ṛāḥ la: “š mən šābd yīndāḥ

49 This passage was sung by the narrator. When a parallel passage later occurred in a different context, the narrator sung it with the same melody.

bīç: ka đən-hu b-Ʋīžlu ka đən-hŷwwa Ʋăžž?” ʔāθ la: “Ʋīīni đ-ən-hu b-Ʋīžlu.” Ʋīāθa đ-ən-hu Ʋăžž. ġāθ.

*mənnāyn bdāθ māğğa, đāʔʔi “īw, īw! lālla žābəθ xīxxu; īw, īw! lālla žābəθ xīxxu; 11
īw, īw! lālla žābəθ xīxxu; īw, īw! lālla žābəθ xīxxu.” dīç ġ-ğƲīwi lāyʔūl la ħāţţa
bəllğəθ. mənnāy bəllğəθ, xăvžu yīžƲīw bāβāha u yimmāha, yşibu l-xţāwi u l-ğyūs
u l-hāmm. kŷll ši mxābbăţ, ħŷya mxābbţa. dīç l-ħmāƲ mxābbăţ. kŷll ši mxābbăţ
nəzzləθ dīç l-hāmm. ššăƲəθ mƲāha yimmāha u bāβāha, Ʋăşşāwħa. ʔālu la: “ka
ħād ši lāyžibūħ, çŷflāllāθ xţəç š ġābəθ.”*

– ka kān Ʋāndi l-məţţāħ ka Ʋăşşīθək əţ-ţəffāħ.–

12

bīnṭ s-sūltān

- 1 *kānu šāy d-əl-bnāṭ, kānu f-əl-līl gālsīn,*⁵⁰ *sāmḅīn, ma lāyīʔʔīw šǧūl.*⁵¹ *īwa hāyda, u gāzu šāy n-nās, gāzu šāy n-nās u səṁfūhūm lāyhādḅu. ʔāləṭ wāhd əl-bīnṭ, ʔāləṭ hīyya lāyxāšša dʔābbi wāžīl u yḅūn ʔāžīḅ u wāxxa ykūn ʔābd mšāḅḅāṭ lāhnāç.*⁵² *žāṭ āxḅa ʔāṭ la: “āna xāššni nʔābbi wāžīl u ykūn ʔāžīḅ, zāfma, u ykūn māši l-ʔābd, ykūn wāžəl ʔāžīḅ.” āxḅa, š-šǧīḅa dyāləm, ʔāləṭ lāyxāšša dʔābbi wāžīl ykūn ʔāləḅ, lāyīʔʔīwa, wāxxa ykūn dāḅwīš, ma ʔāndu wālu,*⁵³ *ǧa ykūn lāyīʔʔīwa.*
- 2 *ǧa wāḅ əl-ʔīnsān yāxṭūḅ dīç əl-lūwlīyya, ʔābbāha, ʔābd mšāḅḅāṭ lāhnāç, ʔāndu l-flūs bəzzāf, bəzzāf əl-flūs ʔāndu d-wāsəṁ. ǧa āxḅa ʔāw ʔālḅəṭ dīç əḅ-wāžīl, ʔāwəḍ āxūḅ d-ka xāšša. ʔāwəḍ ʔābbāḅu. ǧa ḅ-wāžəl d-əš-šǧīḅa, xāšša wāžəl ʔālḅ u ykūn dāḅwīš, ma ʔāndu wālu, ǧa ykūn ǧa ʔālḅ, ǧa lāyīʔʔīwa məzyān. ʔābbāḅu, ʔābbāḅu.*
- 3 *āxḅīn ʔāndəṁ əl-flūs bəzzāfu āxḅa ma ʔāndə*⁵⁴ *š. ǧāḅ āṅāh, māḅṭāḅ, ʔʔāṭ l-ʔyāl ... f-bāṭna, māḅṭəḅ. kāxāšša*⁵⁵ *ši hāžə dākla. ǧāṭ xṭa,*⁵⁶ *ʔāṭ la: “a xṭi, āži n-ʔāndi, šənnu yʔūl ləç ʔāʔləç ʔlīh, nāʔʔīh ləç.” ʔāw mšāṭ, ʔāw āxḅa ʔāw ʔāṭ la: “āži xṭi n-ʔāndi, šənnu lāyʔūl ləç ʔāʔləç, nāʔʔīh ləç.” mšāṭ hīyya n-ʔānd xṭa l-lūwlīyya, mšāṭ n-ʔānd xṭa l-lūwlīyya, ʔāṭ la: “a xṭi, āna ʔāl li ʔāʔli ʔla kəksku, xūššni kəksku ykūn ... m ... hāḍīç ... u ykūn ma nāʔḅāfši dīç əš-ši” ǧāḅ hīyya, ʔāṭ la: “wāxxa ...” ʔʔāṭ la dīç kəksku u ʔāyṭāḅ la. hīyya māddəṭ yidda dāçūl, hīyya ʔəkkāḅ la yidda f-ʔālb u hāḅṭəḅ la yidda. “āṅāh ya xṭi, āṅāh ya xṭi, āṅāh ya xṭi! yiddi, yiddi, yiddi!” ʔāṭ la: “lādāǧli, [hāḍa] lli yʔūl xāššu wāžəl dāḅwīš, nṭīna ʔūlṭ xāššəç wāžəl dāḅwīš, wālu, ma kāyn ši.”*

50 Moscoso, DACH, 254 incorrectly understands this to be *gālsīn*.

51 Moscoso, DACH, 254 incorrectly transliterates this as *ma lā-yīʔʔīw š-šǧūl*.

52 Moscoso, DACH, 254 incorrectly transliterates this as *ʔānd mšāḅḅāṭ lāhnāç*. This term is the first component of the expression *ʔābd mšāḅḅāṭ lāhnāç*, meaning “a slave with scarred cheeks.”

53 Moscoso, DACH, 254 forgot to translate *ma*, and incorrectly transliterated *ʔāndu wālu*. If this was the narrator’s mistake, a footnote should have been added providing an explanation and correction.

54 About the *imāla* in general see n. 25 above for references. For the *imāla* in this context see Moscoso, DACH, 254, n. 756.

55 Moscoso, DACH, 254: *ka(n) yxāšša*. It is doubtful that Moscoso’s narrator used this form; but if so, Moscoso should have provided a note with the correct form and an explanation. The correct form is *kān xāšša* or *ka xāšša*.

56 Moscoso, DACH, 254 incorrectly transliterates *ūxṭa/i* here and in the following sentences, without giving any explanation for the *ū* – if in fact the *ū* really was retained by the narrator.

mšāṭ f-hāla dādəbki, mšāṭ f-hāla dādəbki. čāfu b-wāžəl dyāla. čāfūh n-nās, 4
 “wāš řāndəç fūřšān?”⁵⁷ řāl ləm: “lə-məa ha š wřāř la, ha š wřāř la, ha š wřāř la.”⁵⁸
 řāw lu dīç kəsksu u řāğğbūh lu u řāwāh lu.

řāwəd řāl la řāřla řla ři řāža lāyřūlu “bū-ūdən.” řāl la řāřla [řla] “bū-ūdən.” 5
 řāw mšāṭ n-řānd xřa āxəa, řāṭ la: “řāl li řāřli [řla bū-ūdən]” “āš xāšřəç xři?”
 řāṭ la: “xāšřni bū-ūdən.” řāṭ hřya, řāṭ la: “wāxxa, nāřřih ləç.” řāwəd řāṭu la
 u řāğğbāṭu⁵⁹ la. hřya mšāṭ dāklu. hřya řāw řəkkāṭ la yidda řih, řāw řāwřāṭ⁶⁰
 la yidda. řāwřāṭ la yidda. řāṭ la: “hād əb-wāžəl əlli yřābbīw n-nās wāžəl dīřwīš?
 ma řāndəç wālu!” řāməṭ dəbki řāřřa řyāṭ. řāwəd ən-nās, řāwəd əl-řāwma, řāw
 řəmřu lu, řāwəd řāw lu dīç əš-ři kāməl. řāw břāw hāyđāç ři āyyāmāṭ.

dīç əl-řāyla dāba ... dīç əb-wāžəl, dāba dīç əř-řāžəa, đāyyřu⁶¹ s-sŭltān, đāyyřu⁶² 6
 s-sŭltān n-řāndəm. řābūh n-řāndəm ... řābūh n-řāndəm, mnāyn řābūh n-řān-
 dəm, hřya, dīç lə-məa, dīç əl-řāyla, dīç lə-məa d-řānd əb-wāžəl dīřwīš, řānda ři
 řāyla hāyda, lādřřřf b-əz-zāyn,⁶³ məzyāna bəzzāf. řāṭ hřya, řālṭ la: “xāylla ya
 xři, māš yři n-řāndna s-sŭltān u māš nđāyyřūh⁶⁴ u dāřa āřřini bəntəç ddāxxāl
 əl-řāřāři.” řāṭ hřya, řāṭ la: “wāxxa.” řāṭ la: “sīř⁶⁵ a bəņři n-řānd xālřəç.” mšāṭ n-
 řānda, dāxxləṭ la l-řāřāř⁶⁶ u wəğğdəṭ, xāsləṭ ləm yiddəm, dāxxləṭ lu l-ma yāxsəl
 yiddu. səll l-xāṭəm mən yiddu u břa řānd dīç əl-řāyla ř-yidda. řāžbāṭu l-řāyla,
 řāžbāṭu l-řāyla, řāha dīç l-xāṭəm.

mnāyn xāwřəṭ dīç əl-řāyla, řāl lu: “mnāyn řāṭṭəç ha l-řāyla? ři l-řābd, křāl 7
 mkəffəs, l-řābd, u ha⁶⁷ l-řāyla, mnāyn řāṭṭəç?” řāl lu: “dyāli, bəņři.” řāl lu: “b-ən-
 ni,⁶⁸ řāh ya wūddi! bəntəç māš dkūn hāyda?!” řāl lu: “bəņři.” u hřya māři bəņři.

57 Moscoso, DACH, 255 understands the question as follows: *wāš řāndəç? fūřšān*.

58 Moscoso, DACH, 255 transliterates this as *ha řu řřa řla*. But if phonologically correct, then Moscoso should have explained why. This can probably come from either *ha řu wřāř la*, which means, “This is what has happened to her,” or from *ha ř řřāw la*, “This is what they [her sisters] have done to her,” both of which fit the context.

59 Moscoso, DACH, 255 incorrectly transliterates this as *řāğğbāṭu*, though perhaps the narrator mistakenly pronounced ř instead of ř.

60 Moscoso, DACH, 255 *řāwřāṭ*

61 Moscoso, DACH, 255 *đāyyřu*.

62 See the previous note.

63 Moscoso, DACH, 255 *b zāyn*.

64 Moscoso, DACH, 255 *nđāyyřūh*.

65 Moscoso, DACH, 255 transliterates *sīř* here.

66 Moscoso, DACH, 255 *l-řāřāři*.

67 Moscoso, DACH, 255 *hā əl-řāyla*.

68 Moscoso, DACH, 255 *bni yāñāh ya wūddi*. The first term here, *bni*, does not fit the context: it might instead be the particle *b-ən-ni*, “that, which.” Furthermore, the following expression is *əñāh ya wūddi*, and not *yāñāh ya wūddi*.

ḡāl lu: “dāḡīṭha li.” ḡāl lu: “nāḡīṭha laḡ.” xāṭba mənnu, ḡāḡha lu. ḡāl lu: “nāḡīṭha laḡ.” ḡābbāha.

- 8 ḡīyya dīḡ al-ḡāyla, dīḡ l-xwīṡma xābbḡāḡa, ma wūḡḡāḡa ləm ḡi, ma wūḡḡāḡa ḡi n-xāḡṭa. xābbḡāḡ dīḡ al-xāḡam, mḡāḡ f-ḡāla [mə]n ḡānd xāḡṭa, n-ḡānd yīm-māha. ḡāmu yīḡḡw l-ḡūḡs. ḡāl: “māḡ yxūḡḡu l-ḡūḡs.” dāba b-ḡāḡal d-ḡābba⁶⁹ l-ḡāyla, lāyxūḡḡu l-ḡūḡs. mḡāḡ ḡīyya ḡāḡ la: “xāyilla ya xṡi, āḡīṭni bəntəḡ dbīyyāṡ mḡāy d-dār.” ḡāḡ la: “wāxxa.” ḡāḡa la, bḡyyṡḡ mḡāha d-dār. ḡāḡ la: “xāyilla ya xṡi, āḡīṭni bəntəḡ dəmḡi mḡāy n-əl-wād bāḡ nəmḡḡw n-əl-wād nḡābbnu. dəmḡi dḡābbən mḡāy l-ḡwāyḡḡ.” ḡāḡ ḡīyya, ḡāḡ la: “wāxxa.”
- 9 dāba bənta mḡāḡḡa, ka ḡānda bənta, b-əl-ḡāḡ? bənta l-xāḡəm, xāḡəm, ḡbiḡa. ḡūwwa ḡāl lu: “ḡāḡḡ bənti.” ḡūwwa māḡ yḡākkəb lu l-xāḡəm, māḡ ... yāḡīṭ ḡi ḡāḡḡ, bəntu māḡ yāḡīṭ u ḡāḡḡ ḡa lāyīḡḡw biḡa t-ḡīḡ?
- 10 ḡāḡ lu:⁷⁰ “āḡīṭni bəntəḡ.” ḡāḡa la. mḡāw n-əl-wād yḡābbnu, mḡāw n-əl-wād yḡābbnu, ḡābbnu u ḡāḡḡbu u ḡāḡḡu l-ḡwāyḡḡ. ḡāmḡ dīḡ al-ḡāyla dəssāba. dāba l-ḡāyla d-əl-xāḡəm. dāba l-ḡāyla ḡīyya mḡīwna. ḡāmḡ dəssāba u ḡābḡ wāḡ l-yāsmīna, ḡābḡ dīḡ al-yāsmīna məlwāḡa, yābsa. ḡāḡ ḡīyya ḡāḡ la: “xāyilla ya bənti, ḡā ma dəsḡini u dnāḡḡini, āḡāḡ yīḡḡāl xāddi f-xāddəḡ u fīḡḡi f-fīḡḡḡḡ.” ḡāḡ ḡīyya ḡāḡ la: “wāxxa.” mḡāḡ n-dīḡ al-yāsmīna u nāḡḡāḡa u sḡāḡa u zūwwlḡ la mənna z-zbəl u ḡāḡḡbāḡa u ḡāḡḡāḡa. ḡāḡ la: “sīḡ a bənti, āḡāḡ yīḡḡāl fīḡḡi f-fīḡḡḡḡ u xāddi f-xāddəḡ u ḡāddi f-ḡāddəḡ.”
- 11 mḡāḡ f-ḡāla. mḡāḡ f-ḡāla, ḡāw ḡāḡ ... ḡāw zāḡḡ n-nīḡn. zāḡḡ n-nīḡn, ḡābḡ l-wābda ḡāw yābsa, ḡāḡ ḡīyya, ḡāḡ la: “xāyilla ya bənti, ḡā ma dəsḡini u dḡūḡḡni u dnāḡḡini ...” ḡāḡ ḡīyya, ḡāḡ la: “wāxxa.” ḡāḡ la: “āḡāḡ yīḡḡāl xāddi f-xāddəḡ u fīḡḡi f-fīḡḡḡḡ.” ḡāḡḡ al-ḡāyla bāyṡa⁷¹ u ḡāmḡa, ḡāyḡa dāḡḡḡāl. ḡāw mḡāḡ n-nīla, sḡāḡa⁷² u ḡāḡḡāḡa u ḡāḡḡbāḡa. ḡāw ḡāḡḡ f-ən-nāwl āxūḡ. ḡāw dīḡ al-ḡāyla, zāḡḡ, zyānḡḡ.
- 12 u zāḡḡ n-nīḡn, zāḡḡ n-nīḡn u ḡābḡ wāḡ lā-ḡmāḡ – ḡāḡāḡ! – ḡmāḡ, ḡābḡ lā-ḡmāḡ, ḡāl la: “xāyilla ya bənti, ḡā ma dḡāḡḡābni u dḡāmməl li ...” ḡāḡ ḡīyya, ḡāḡ la: “wāxxa.” ḡā ḡūwwa, ḡāl la: “āḡāḡ yīḡḡāl ḡāyini f-ḡāynəḡ.” ḡāḡḡu ḡāyina ḡādd-ma ḡīḡlān. xāmmḡ lu, ḡāḡḡbāḡu, wūkkḡāḡu u ḡāḡu yāḡūl u ḡāb u ma xāḡḡu ḡāṡṡa ḡi ḡāḡa.

69 Moscoso, DACH, 255 incorrectly transliterates this as *d-ḡābbāḡ*, which has no meaning.

70 This is another example of male features in female speech: see the commentary see n. 34 above for references.

71 Moscoso, DACH, 255 *bāyṡa*.

72 Moscoso, DACH, 256 incorrectly transliterates here *sāḡāḡa*. If this was the narrator's mistake, a footnote should have been added providing an explanation and correction.

mšāṭ f-ḥāla. mšāṭ n-ṣānd xālṭa, ṛāṭ la: “ṣlāš wǧāṣṭ ḥāyda, mazyāna? fāy 13
kūṭṭ?”⁷³ ḡāṭ ḥīyya ṛāləṭ la: “āna mšīṭ ḡa wāfāyn!”⁷⁴ ṛāṭ n-bənta: “sīw u nṭīn
ṣāwəd!”⁷⁵ mšāṭ bənta, mnāyn mšāṭ bənta, mšāṭ dəssāra, šābəṭ dīç əl-yāsmīna
ḥīyya l-lūwwlīyya ṣāwəd. ṛāṭ la: “xāylla ya bənti, ıla ma dəsṛīni u dnāṛṛīni”
ḡāṭ ḥīyya, ṛāṭ la: “wābbi ma yṣāyyšəç! āna ḥīyya bəṭṭ əs-sūltān!”⁷⁶ āna ḥīyya bəṭṭ
əṭ-ṭāžīw u māš nṣābbi s-sūltān! u āna bəṭṭ əṭ-ṭāžīw u māš nṣābbi s-sūltān!” ḡāṭ
ḥīyya, ṛāṭ la: “āḡāḥ yīžṣāl l-wbā? dyāli yxūwǧu f-lāḥməç u š-šūç dyāli yxūwǧu
ləç f-lāḥməç.” u wāǧṣāṭ mṣāmməka b-əš-šūç, mṣāmməka b-əl-wbā?. ḡāṭ əl-ṣāyla,
ṛāddəṭ ma kānəṭ mšūwwəça, ṛāddəṭ ma zāddəṭ ṛbāḥəṭ

zāddəṭ n-ṣānd əl-wāwda, zāddəṭ n-ṣānd əl-wāwda, ṛāṭ la: “xāylla ya bənti, ıla ma 14
dəsṛīni u dṣūššni” ḡāṭ ḥīyya, ṛāṭ la: “wābbi ma yṣāyyšəç! āna ḥīyya bəṭṭ əṭ-ṭāžīw
u māš yṣābbīni s-sūltān! u āna ... wābbi ma yṣāyyšəç.” ḡāṭ ḥīyya, ṛāṭ la: “āḡāḥ
yīžṣāl əš-šūç dyāli ynəβṑu ləç f-lāḥməç.” ṣāw wāžṣāṭ mṣāmməka b-əš-šūç.

dīç əl-ṣāyla, ṣāw mšāṭ n-ṣānd ... ṣāw zāddəṭ n-nīḥīn, šābəṭ lā-ḥmāw, kif šābā- 15
ṑəṭ əxwə, šābəṭ lā-ḥmāw, ṛāl la: “āḡāḥ, xāylla ya bīnṭi, ıla ma dṣāmməl li u
šāwəbni” ḡāṭ ḥīyya, ṛāṭ lu: “wābbi ma yṣāyyšəç wāla kān ybəllǧāç! ... āna ḥīyya
bəṭṭ əṭ-ṭāžīw u māš nṣābbi s-sūltān!” ḡa ḥūwwa, ṛāl la: “āḡāḥ yīžṣāl əl-būla dyāli
dənbəṭ ləç bāyn ṣāynəç.” mšāṭ f-ḥāla ... mšāṭ mšūwwəça dīç əl-ṣāyla, ma fīḥa ma
yīnčāf. ma fīḥa ma yīnčāf. mšāṭ mšūwwəça, ma fīḥa ma yīnčāf.

ṛāmu yīṛṛw l-ṣūw, ṛāmu yīṛṛw l-ṣūw. mnāyn ṛāmu yīṛṛw l-ṣūw. ṛāṭ la: 16
“xāylla ya xṭi, ıla ma dāṣṭīni bīntəç nṣāwzə f-ən-nḥāw d-əṭ-dḥōw.” ḡāṭ ṛāṭ la:
“wāxxa.” ṣṭāṑa la. ṣāwəd, ṣāwəd n-nḥāw d-māš dāddāwəb l-ṣāyla, māš dəmšī
f-ḥāla n-əd-dāw dyāla. ṛāṭ la: “xāylla ya xṭi, āṣṭīni bīntəç nṣākkəba dəmšī, zāṣma,
ḥīyya lā-ṣūsa.” mšāṭ. ṣṭāṑa la. ṣṭāṑa la.

dīç əw-wāžəl, məskīn, mnāyn ṣṭāṑa dīç ... wākkbu dīç əl-ṣāyla. dxəl ḡbāw l- 17
ṣūsa ḡzāla. səbbṛu⁷⁷ bāṣda, bāwzūha dīç əl-lūwwlīyya, ḡāfflāṑu⁷⁸ ḥāyḏāya,
ḥūwwa ḥayyəd u ḥīyya ḥāyydəṭ⁷⁹ dīk əl-ṣāyla u nəzzləṭ lu dīç əl-məlṣūṛa, ḥīyya
... ṛbīḥa ... d-ḥīyya dyālu. nəzzləṭ ḥāddīç. w-wāžīl mnāyn yṣālli l-wžāḥ d-lə-mə

73 *kūnt* } *kūṭṭ*. On this assimilation see n. 88, p. 104.

74 Moscoso, DACH, 256 incorrectly transliterates here *n-ḡa*.

75 Moscoso, DACH, 256 incorrectly understands this as *nṭīn ṣāwəd*. For the common northern MA independent pronoun *nṭīn* with its variants *nti* and *ntīna* see Moscoso, DACH, 160, n. 456.

76 This was the narrator's mistake, who immediately corrected herself in the following sentence.

77 Moscoso, DACH, 256 *səbbūṛu*.

78 Moscoso, DACH, 256 *ḡāfflāṑu*.

79 Moscoso, DACH, 256 *ḥāyydəṭ*.

yṣīb f-nāwl.⁸⁰ mḅāṭ, dǧīnnān, dǧīnnān u mḅāṭ, dǧīnnān u mḅāṭ. *в-вāžəl lāymūṯ, lāymūṯ, lāymūṯ. dīç əl-hāmm, dīç əl-ḡāyla*⁸¹ bḡāṯ ḡālsa. *ma ḡāndu ši l-ḡāyn lli šāḡṭa fiha, ma čāffiha, ma ḡḡa ši u mḅāṭ, mḅāṭ.*

18 *sāḡəṯ lu lā-xbāx ḡyḡya dīç əl-ḡāyla, dāba, dyālu, dānni ḡyḡya mziwna, sāḡəṯ lu lā-xbāx bānnu mḅāṭ, mḅāṭ u mšāṯ dāḡḡāṯ f-əl-bāb u mšāṯ n-ḡāndəm. dāba ma ḡḡāṯ ḡa ši ḡūlla ... dḡḡa, ḡāyḡāya mhāḡka*⁸² *u mšāṯ n-ḡāndəm. ma ḡāləṯ ši škūn ḡyḡya. mšāṯ n-ḡāndəm.*

19 *ṣābəṯ yimmāh mhāḡka. dāxləṯ n-ḡānda, ḡāṯ la: “xāyilla, āna žīṯ n-ḡāndkūm dāyflī-llāh.”*⁸³ *ḡāṯ ḡyḡya, ḡāṯ la: “wāxxa, ādxūl, maḡḡāba biç.” dāxxlāṯa, ḡāllsāṯa f-əl-kūzīna. ṣābəṯa lāḡḡāḡi lu l-ḡḡāba. ḡāṯ la: “āna ḡāndi bni mḅīṭ, nānāḡi lu l-ḡḡāba.” ḡāṯ ḡyḡya, ḡāṯ la: “wāxxa.” ḡyḡya, dīç əl-xwiṯma ḡ-kān ḡāḡa, ḡābbāṯa mḡāha. yimmāh ḡāyḡəṯ ḡāyda šwīwəš u ḡyḡya səlləṯ dīç əl-xwiṯma u ḡḡāṯa lu f-dīç əṯ-ṯwīsa ḡ-əl-ḡḡāba. ḡāṯa lu dīç əṯ-ṯwīsa ḡ-əl-ḡḡāba. yimmāh ḡābbāṯ lu l-ḡḡāba.*

20 *ma čāḡa ši dīç l-xāṯəm. ḡūwwa šwāb dīç l-ḡḡāba. ṣāb dīç əl-xwiṯma. ḡāḡla, ḡāḡ dīç əl-xāṯəm, ḡāḡ dīç əl-xāṯəm, ḡāyḡāṯ n-yimmāh ḡla škūn mḡāçūm. ḡāṯ ḡyḡya, ḡāṯ lu: “ma mḡāna ḡādd, ḡa wāḡ əl-ḡāyla wāḡa ..., wāḡ əl-ḡāyla žāṯ n-ḡāndna, ḡāy*⁸⁴ *ḡālsa f-əl-kūzīna.” ḡāḡ la: “ḡūl la dḡi n-ḡāndi u nḡūfa.” ḡāṯ lu: “a wūldi,*⁸⁵ *š māš dāḡḡi biha?” ḡāḡ la: “ḡūl la dḡi n-ḡāndi nḡūfa.” dāxləṯ n-ḡānda, ḡāṯ la: “bni yḡūl ləç dḡi n-ḡāndu yḡūfəç.” mnāyḡ dāxləṯ, ḡāḡla, ḡāḡ l-xāṯəm*⁸⁶ *dyālu d-ḡāḡa u ḡāḡ dīç əl-ḡāyla. ḡāḡ la zāḡma: “škūn nḡi?” ḡāṯ lu: “ḡa škūn āna u ḡa kif u ḡa kif,” ḡāwdəṯ lu dāba. ḡāḡ la: “u āmši f-ḡāḡəç, ḡa āna māš nḡi nxāṯbəç.” sswāḡ, ma bḡa ši mḅīṭ, sswāḡ u mša yxāṯba mən bāḡāha. āxḡa mšāṯ f-ḡāḡa, d-kāṯəṯ kāḡla mšāṯ f-ḡāḡa. ḡūwwa xāṯba u ḡḡa la l-ḡḡāba u ḡābbāha.*

21 *– məzyāna l-xḡāfa? ... āḡāḡa nḡīna, āḡāḡa.–*

80 Moscoso, DACH, 256 *fən-nāwl*. If this was the narrator's mistake, a footnote should have been added providing a correction.

81 Moscoso, DACH, 257: *dīç əl-hāmm mən dīç əl-ḡāyla*. If this was the narrator's mistake, a footnote should have been added providing an explanation and correction. This expression does not require the preposition *mən*.

82 Moscoso, DACH, 257 *māḡka*.

83 Moscoso, DACH, 257 *lī-ḡāḡ*.

84 This is an abbreviated form of *ḡa ḡyḡya*. About the deictic particle *ḡā-*, see the commentary in n. 273, p. 155.

85 This probably is *wūddi* rather than *wūldi* because the latter word is not at all common among the narrator's generation. In this particular case I do not correct the text because I have to make sure by hearing the original recording; so I retain the sentence given by Moscoso, DACH, 257.

86 Moscoso, DACH, 261 transliterates *xāṯəm* here. However this term often was expressed in the ChA of the time of the narrator as *xāṯəm*.

t-ṭayv l-mḥāddəθ

kānu ši d-əl-bnāθ sāmḁīn, gālsīn u gāzu šāy n-nās, šābūhūm lāyhādḁu. ṛālu 1
wāḥda, ṛāləθ xāšša v-vāžīl, yfābbīha v-vāžīl, dbīyyāṭ lu d-dāv b-š-šəṭṭāba ḁ-əḡ-
ḡīv. – t̄wa āskuθ – b-əš-šəṭṭāba ḁ-əḡ-ḡīv. āxva ṛāθ la: “āna lāyxāššni vāžīl, məššāb
ḡa yfābbīni vāžəl, nāxsəl lu d-dāv b-əl-ḥālʔa d-əl-ma.” āxva ṛāθ la: “āna lāyfāb-
bīni vāžīl, nšāšši lu l-mḥālla dyālu b-əv-vbāš d-əṭ-ṭfām.” āxva ṛāləθ ḥīyya yfāb-
bīha vāžīl dāḡsi lu l-mḥālla dyālu b-əl-wbīʔa ḁ-əṣ-šūf. s-sṭīṭwa fīhīm ṛāləθ ḥīyya
xāšša yfābbīha vāžīl dūwlād lu ṭ-ṭwām, dāḁāṭlūb m-āi-ṛāh yāṭīha ṭ-ṭwām, əḡ-
ḡūḡ d-əl-ṛyāl, l-ṛāyla u l-ṛāyəl. yṭāḥku,⁸⁷ dəšvāʔ əl-ṛāyla. yībkīw, yṭīḥ š-šṭa. yxāslu
yīddīm, yxāllīw⁸⁸ l-būri yīḡli f-əl-ma. yxāllīfu, yxāllīw l-lāžūka ḁ-əd-dhāb u āxva
ḁ-əl-fīḍda mən mūvāhīm.

ḡāb āḡāh dīḡ əv-vāžīl māš yfābbīhəm kāmlīn. ṛābba l-lūwvlīyya. ṛābba l- 2
lūwvlīyya, šābhāθ f-əd-dāv. ṛāl: “nšāmmāv la š-šəṭṭāba ḁ-əḡ-ḡīv.” ṛāl la: “t̄wa
ṛūm, bīyyāṭ⁸⁹ d-dāv.” ṛāθa f-əl-ḥāyṭ, yībsəθ. ṭəllʔa.

ṭəllʔa, ṛāwəḁ ṛābba āxva, ṛābba āxva, ṛābba āxva. ṛāwəḁ ṛʔa la l-ṛīks, ṛāwəḁ 3
šābhāθ f-əd-dāv. ṛāmmāv la l-ḥālʔa – l-ḥālʔa nānāʔṛw f-yīddna bāš n-xāyṭu
l-ṛfa. – ṛāmmāv la b-əl-ma. ṛāl la: “t̄wa ṛūm, sīyyāʔ d-dāv.” kābbāθa f-əl-ṛāvḁ,
yībsəθ. ṛāw ṭəllʔa.

ṛāwəḁ ṛābba āxva – hūma l-xūθ, vāžəl wāḥəd ṛābbāhəm kāmlīn. – ṛābba 4
āxva, ṛāwəḁ ṛtāha l-wbīʔa d-əṣ-šūf. n-nḥāv šəbhəθ f-əd-dāv, ṛāl la: “t̄wa ṛūm, āʔṛi
lūm l-ksāwi.” ṛāθ ləm l-xwīṭma f-yīddəm, l-xwīyyāṭ. ṛāwəḁ ṭəllʔa.⁹⁰

ṛāwəḁ ṛābba āxva, ṛābba xṭ āxva, ṛāwəḁ ... kīyyəl lā-vbāš d-əṭ-ṭfām, ṛāl la: 5
“t̄wa ṛūm, ṛāšši li l-mḥālla dyāli.” ṛāwəḁ mšāθ n-dīḡ əṭ-ṭfām, u zādāθu⁹¹ l-mlāḥ
u ṛāmmāv əd-dūnya b-əl-mlāḥ u sāʔṛāθ ləm u ṛtāθəm u bṛāw b-əḡ-ḡūf. mšāw
n-ṛānd sīḁəm. ṛālu lu: “ḥna b-əḡ-ḡūf ...” ṛāl la: “fāyn dīḡ əṭ-ṭfām lli ṛṛiθ n-ən-nās?”
ṛāθ lu: “ḥīwwa ḥāda.” ṛāl la: “āmsi f-ḥāləḡ.”

ṛābba s-sṭīṭwa dyāləm, d-lāyxāšša d[āʔṛi] l-ṛyāl. ṛābba s-sṭīṭwa dyāləm. 6
bṛāθ mṛāh. ṭṭāʔṛləθ. ṭṭāʔṛləθ, bdāw dīḡ xūθa⁹² yṛūlu la: “ḥna nḡību ləḡ l-ṛābla.
āxṭi ḥna nḡībbīw ḥna ṭ-ṭbīb, āxṭi ḥna nḡību ləḡ l-ṛābla, āxṭi ḥna ḥna

87 *yḁāḥku*) *yṭāḥku*. On this shift see n. 105, p. 108.

88 Moscoso, DACH, 261: transliterates *yḥāllīw* here.

89 *bīyyəḁ*) *bīyyəṭ*. See n. 105, p. 108.

90 Moscoso, DACH, 261 contrast with the same verb *ṭəllʔa* above.

91 Moscoso, DACH, 261 transliterates *zādāṭu* here.

92 Moscoso, DACH, 261 incorrectly transliterates this as *əl-xūθa*. It is not possible to have a

*nānā??īw*⁹³ *ləç l-ʔābla.*” *hīyya məskīna ʔla nīyya, māy kāθθ māš dūwlad, ʔāyyāʔā*⁹⁴ *n-xūʔa.*⁹⁵ *ʔāyyāʔā n-xūʔa, žāw xūʔa, ǧābu l-fīxāʔ*⁹⁶ *d-əǧ-ǧba, ǧwīžāʔ, f-əb-bīʔa. ǧābu ǧāwž ši fīxāʔ d-əǧ-ǧba f-dīç əb-bīʔa.*

- 7 *lə-mba wūldəθ ma ʔbāf kāsə š wūldəθ. mnāyn wūldəθ, kəmmləθ, ʔālu la: “nīi wləʔʔ⁹⁷ əǧ-ǧba.” hīyya wūldəθ əl-ʔwīla u l-ʔwīyəl. ʔālu la: “nīina ʔīiθ əǧ-ǧwīwāʔ, ʔmləʔ əǧ-ǧwīwāʔ.” ʔāʔ lu: “l-ħāmdu lī-llāh ya sīdi bābbi, āna ʔlābʔ ʔlīç l-ʔyāl u nīi ʔīiθni*⁹⁸ *ǧ-ǧba, ma ʔāndi ma nʔūl ləç.” ǧəlsəθ mʔca dīç əǧ-ǧba. ǧə b-kāžəl, ʔālu lu: “lə-mba wūldəθ əǧ-ǧba.” ʔāl: “l-ħāmdu lī-llāh.” ʔāl*⁹⁹ *əǧ-ǧba hāwm ǧālsīn. hīyya ... dīç əl-ʔyāl, ʔāʔəθm dīç l-ʔāwwəz,*¹⁰⁰ *dīç l-ʔāwwəz ... ʔāʔʔəθ*¹⁰¹ *la sūbka u kāθθ mʔāha. ʔāʔəθm f-dīç əb-bīʔa u mšāʔ ʔālʔāʔa*¹⁰² *f-əl-bħāb, b*¹⁰³ *-əl-ʔwīnəš u xāllāw la ǧ-ǧba. ʔālʔāʔəθm*¹⁰⁴ *f-əl-bħāb.*
- 8 *wāħ əb-bāžəl kān dābwiš bəzzāf, ma ʔāndu ǧə kūmša d-əl-ʔyāl, hāyda. ʔābħāʔ lu lə-mba ʔāw mūlūda. wūldəθ lu lə-mba. wūldəθ lu lə-mba, mša n-əl-bħāb ʔīššād ši hwiʔāʔ bāš ʔtāyibəm n-dīç lə-mba u ʔāʔīħəm la dākləm,*¹⁰⁵ *ma ʔāndu ma ʔāʔīħa, ma ʔāndu hāʔʔa ši hāža. hūwwa lāyīššād u dīç əb-bīʔa žāʔ n-ʔīddu. dīç əb-bīʔa ʔīħa dīç l-ʔyāl ǧāʔ n-ʔīddu. ʔəθħa, ʔāl: “l-ħāmdu lī-llāh ya sīdi bābbi – u čūf āmnādəm*¹⁰⁶ *lāyāħməd āḡāh!*–¹⁰⁷ *āna ʔāndi l-fābxiḥ u ʔāw zīʔni*¹⁰⁸

pronominal suffix and an article simultaneously. If this was the narrator’s error, a footnote should have been added providing an explanation and correction.

93 Here may be the narrator’s mistake: it should be *hna nā??īw*.

94 Moscoso, DACH, 261 incorrectly transliterates this as *ʔāyyāʔāʔ* instead of *ʔāyyāʔā*.

95 Moscoso, DACH, 261 incorrectly transliterates *n-xūʔa* here instead of *n-xūʔa*.

96 Moscoso, DACH, 261 incorrectly transliterates *l-fīxāʔ* here instead of *l-fīxāʔ*.

97 *wlədʔ*) *wləʔʔ*. On this assimilation see n. 14, p. 87.

98 Moscoso, DACH, 261 incorrectly transliterates *ʔīiθni* here instead of *ʔīiθni*.

99 Moscoso, DACH, 261 transliterates *ʔāl* here, which does not fit the context. This is probably a typographical error.

100 Moscoso, DACH, 261 incorrectly transliterates this as *əl-ʔwəz* instead of *l-ʔāwwəz*. If this was the narrator’s error, a footnote should have been added providing an explanation and correction.

101 Moscoso, DACH, 261 incorrectly transliterates *ʔāʔʔəθ* here instead of *ʔāʔʔəθ*.

102 The reference here is to the *əb-bīʔa*.

103 Moscoso, DACH, 261 incorrectly transliterates the preposition *f-* here instead of *b-*.

104 The personal pronoun here refers to the children.

105 Moscoso, DACH, 261 incorrectly transliterates here *u ʔāʔīħəm lā-dākləm* here instead of verb + proposition *l* (+ 3rd feminine singular suffix) “to her” + verb *dākləm*.

106 Moscoso, DACH, 261 incorrectly transliterates *a mnādəm* here instead of *āmnādəm*. Because this is the narrator’s comment concerning the protagonist, the vocative would be the correct form.

107 Moscoso, DACH, 261 did not realize that this is the narrator’s comment.

108 *zīdʔni*) *zīʔni*. About this assimilation see n. 14, p. 87.

*tāyhīn mən wāsəm, w-kyāl, w-kyālāθ tāyhīn mən wāsəm. n-nās nβāhtu*¹¹⁹ ... *hūwwa lāyīžmāš, lə-mwa lādsəlləç ləm ʔla wāsəm. hūwwa lāyīžmāš, āžmāš, āžmāš. šwa ləm l-ħwāyəž, šwa ləm z-zwāš, šwa ləm ... šwa küll ši, šwa d-xāššəm kāməl. fāwħān māš yṯiw b-dīç l-ʔyāl. šwa küll ši. ʔʔa s-sābāš, ʔʔa küll ši dyālu. hūwwa fāwħān b-dīç l-ʔyāl. bdāw dīç əl-ʔyāl, mnāyn yṯāħku də-šwā? əl-ʔāyla, mnāyn yībkīw yṯih š-šṯa. ʔād ʔāšfu mənəyāš. bdāw dīç əl-ʔyāl ... hūma fāwħānīn b-dīç əl-ʔyāl.*

12 *dīç əl-ʔyāl bdāw ... kəbvu, bdāw yxāllfu. mnāyn yībdāw yxāllfu ... dāba mnāyn ysəlləç ləm yīddu*¹²⁰ *ʔla wāsəm, yībda w-kyāl hābāt*¹²¹ *mən wāsəm. mnāyn yībdāw yxāllfu, bdāw yxāllīw l-lāžūwa d-əd-dhāb u āxwa d-əl-fīdḏa, mūwa ṯāħwəm, ǰa məššāb ǰa lāyīṯlā?ʔāt.*

13 *kəbvu u ʔāʔu bīħəm dīç xāltāθəm. ʔāʔu bīħəm, bāʔyīn f-əd-dūnya, hšābəm dāba w-māwhūm f-əl-bħāw u māθu. wāħ ən-nhāw, hūma dīç əl-ʔyāl, dīç bāβāħəm dāba, dīç əw-wāžil d-wābbāħəm, wžāš ṯāžəw u bəzzāf, ʔāndu māsx d-dūnya,*¹²² *ʔāndu bəzzāf. ʔʔa d-dyāw u ʔʔa l-flūs u ʔʔa l-ħwāyəž, küll ši, hāṯṯa wāħəd ma hu fhālu. hūma ... bāβāħəm kān əs-sūltān d-dīç l-ʔyāl.*

14 *hūma, dīç l-hāmm, dīç əl-ʔyāl xūwǰu n-əl-bāb yläšbu u dīç lə-mwa dāβa d-ʔʔāθəm f-əw-wbīʔa u w-māθəm f-əl-bħāw, gāyza dīç l-ʔgīwza, gāyza, ʔāθ ləm: “kūn kūtṯu*¹²³ *ʔānd bāβākūm ʔzāz, ka ʔʔa lkūm əǰ-ǰdīwḏa d-əd-dhāb u ulāda d-n-nūʔwa.” dāxlu yībkīw, dāxlu yībkīw. ǰa š-šṯa hābāt b-əl-ħzīz. ǰa dīç əw-wāžəl d-wābbāħəm, lāyīžwi: “š ʔāndkūm a ulādi? š ʔāndkūm?” yṯul lūm: “ulādi, š ʔāndkūm? š ʔāndkūm? š ʔāndkūm?” ʔālu lu: “xūššna, ka kūnna ʔāndəç ʔzīzīn, ka ʔʔiθ lna ǰ-ǰdāda d-əd-dhāb u ulāda d-ən-nūʔwa.” ʔāl ləm: “nāʔʔiħa lkūm.” ʔʔāħa ləm, ʔʔāħa ləm u žāba ləm.*

15 *ʔāw ǰūwwzu ši āyyāmāθ, hūma lāylāšbu b-dīç əǰ-ǰdāda d-əd-dhāb u ulāda d-ən-nūʔwa, dīç əl-ʔgīwza ʔāwəḏ gāyza, ʔāθ ləm: “ka kūtṯu ʔānd bāβākūm ʔzāz, ka ʔʔa lkūm ṯāʔa n-əs-šəmš u ṯāʔa n-əl-ʔmāw u ṯāʔa n-bīw əl-bħāw.” ʔāwəḏ dāxlu yībkīw u yħābbṯu,*¹²⁴ *ʔāwəḏ ʔʔāħa ləm.*

16 *ʔāwəḏ ǰūwwəz ma šāʔ āṇāh u ʔāwəḏ ǰāzəθ dīç əl-ʔgīwza u dīç əl-ʔyāl ʔāwəḏ lāylāšbu. ʔāθ ləm: “ka kūtṯu ʔānd bāβākūm ʔzāz, ka ʔʔa lkūm wāyħāna dəšṯāħ*

119 *nβāhdu*) *nβāhtu*. On the shift of *d*) *ṯ* see n. See n. 105, p. 108, and n. 87, 89 and 114 above.

120 Moscoso, DACH, 262 incorrectly transliterates *ysəlləç ləm yīdda ...* here. If this was the narrator's mistake, Moscoso should have added a footnote explaining that it has to be *ysəlləç ləm yīddu ...* or *dsəlləç ləm yīdda ...*

121 Moscoso, DACH, 262 incorrectly transliterates *hābāt* here instead of *hābāt*.

122 Moscoso, DACH, 262 incorrectly transliterates *mwūssxa d-dūnya* here instead of the idiom *māsx d-dūnya*. About this idiom see the translation of this text on n. 223, p. 382.

123 *kūntu*) *kūtṯu*. This is a very common assimilation.

124 Moscoso, DACH, 262 incorrectly transliterates *yħābbṯu* here instead of *yħābbṯu*.

*u lāžūwa dkäsdāh u l-hūθ läsfär ſla ſ-ſfäyāh läyſäffär.*¹²⁵ *ſāwəd dāxlu yibkīw, ſāwəd yhäbbū, ſāwəd ??āha ləm.*

wāh ən-nhār dāba bāš dā?ṭāf ləm d-dbūh, ?āθ ləm: “ka kūtṭu” ſāwəd 17
ṭlā?āθəm, ?āθ ləm: “ka kūtṭu ſänd bāβāçüm ſzāz, ka ??a lkūm əṭ-ṭāyB l-mḤāddəθ,
läyğānni b-ğnāh.” u ṭ-ṭāyB l-mḤāddəθ, fāyn yſībūh? əṭ-ṭāyB l-mḤāddəθ əlli ybəlləğ
n-ſāndu, läysəllək ſlīh lāymūθ, mūſi lāymūθ, fhāl dāba nāyəm, fhāl nāſīs.¹²⁶ u
l-ſāzvi ?ām ... yīnblät.¹²⁷ ?āl lu: “a bāβa, māš nəmſi nğīb əṭ-ṭāyB əl-mḤāddəθ.” ?āl
lu: “a bni, əṭ-ṭāyB əl-mḤāddəθ mūſi kāyn d?ābṭu, ma yīn?bät ləç ſi.” ?āl lu: “māš
nəmſi nğibu.” ??a lu s-sāwž,¹²⁸ ſāğğāb lu s-sāwž, ??a lu l-ſwīn u ??a lu ma yſābbi u
mša.

mnāyn mša, hūwwa māſi u yṭṭlā??a¹²⁹ wāžəl gāləs f-əl-?ſīka d-əl-bəllōṭ, wāžəl 18
f-əl-?ſīka d-əl-bəllōṭ gāləs. ġa hūwwa, ?āl lu: “s-sālāmu ſlikūm.” ġa hūwwa, ?āl
lu: “ſlīç s-sālāma a wūdd¹³⁰ əs-sultān. u ḡāh u ka ma sbā? slāmi n-slāməç u
klāmi n-klāməç, həṭṭa ka ??iθ lāhməç f-ſāṭṭa¹³¹ u dəmməç f-šūwba¹³² u ſṭāməç¹³³
nšyyāw¹³⁴ bīh n-əs-sma. dāba nṭi māš dəmſi dğīb əṭ-ṭāyB l-mḤāddəθ?” ?āl lu:
“yyāh.” ?āl lu: “īla yhāddwāç¹³⁵ ma dhāddəu u īla yīdkāw ləç ma dədkūw lu u
īla yāṭḥāk ləç ma dāṭḥāk lu həṭṭa yīnſās, yāhmāw ſāynu u ykūn nāſīs,¹³⁶ ſād
ā?ābṭu.” ?āl lu: “wāxxa.”

125 Moscoso, DACH, 262 transliterates *wāyhāna dəſṭāh u lāžūwa dəſṭāh u lāžūwa dəſṭāh*. This probably is not a mistake of the narrator; the original form is *wāyhāna dəſṭāh u lāžūwa dkäsdāh u l-hūθ läsfär ſla ſ-ſfäyāh läyſäffär*: see the corresponding translation on p. 383, n. 230.

126 Moscoso, DACH, 263 incorrectly transliterates *nāſyəs* here instead of *nāſīs*.

127 Moscoso, DACH, 263 incorrectly understands this as *yīnbūlūt* instead of *yīnblūt* or *yīnblät*. This verb is related to the root *BLD*: see DAF, I, 298, meaning 2. About the shift of the *d*) *ṭ* in *ChA* see n. 105, p. 108, and n. 87, 89, 114, 119 above.

128 This is a common folktale formula: *??a lu s-sāwž* “he placed a saddle for him.” Moscoso, DACH, 263 incorrectly understands this as *?āl lu, “s-sāwž.”* But even if this is what the narrator actually said, then the order has to be through the verb in the imperative: *?āl lu, “s-sāwžəž.”*

129 Moscoso, DACH, 263 incorrectly transliterates this as *u yṭṭlā?a*.

130 *wūld*) *wūdd*. On this very common assimilation see Moscoso, DACH, 56, n. 145 for bibliographical references.

131 Moscoso, DACH, 263 incorrectly understands this to be *f-əl-ſāṭṭa*.

132 Moscoso, DACH, 263 incorrectly understands this to be *f-əl-f-šūwba*.

133 *ſṭāməç*) *ſṭāməç*. See n. 105, p. 108, and n. 87, 89 and 114, 119, 127 above.

134 Moscoso, DACH, 263 incorrectly understands this to be *nšyyāw*, which does not require a preposition, unlike *nšyyāw* + preposition *b*. This is a fixed expression which every child and adult in Chaouen knows and uses.

135 Moscoso, DACH, 263 incorrectly understands this to be *yhāddwāç* instead of *yhāddwāç*.

136 Moscoso, DACH, 263 incorrectly transliterates this as *nāſyəs*.

- 19 *Ḥāw zād n-nihīn, zād n-nihīn, Ḥāw šāb wāh əv-bāžəl f-əl-ʔšīva d-əl-bāyṭa, gālas. ʔāl lu: “s-sālāmu ʔlikūm.” ǧa hūwwa, ʔāl: “ʔliṣ s-sālāma a wūdd əs-sūltān. u ʔāh ka ma sbāʔ slāmi n-slāməç u klāmi n-klāməç ḥāṭṭa ka ʔʔiʔ lāḥməç f-ʔāṭṭa u dəmməç f-šūʔba u ʔtāməç nšīyyāk bih n-əs-sma. māš dəmši dǧīb əṭ-ṭāyṅ əl-mḥāddəθʔ?” ʔāl lu: “ʔyyāh.” Ḥāwəd ʔāl lu ḥāyḏāk, ʔāl lu: “[ila] yḥāddəvəç ma dhāddəv u ila yāṭḥāk ləç ma dāṭḥāk¹³⁷ lu u ila [yādkāk ləç ma dəkūx lu] š ma ʔməl ləç.”*
- 20 *hūwwa zād, hūwwa mša, bəllāǧ, yṣīb dīç əṭ-ṭāyṅ əl-mḥāddəθ lāyīdkūx ... lāyīdkūx āṣāh. dāba d-dkūx dyālu məzyān bəzzāf. lāyīdkūx. māyn nāšāš əl-līl u ʔāšʔāš əl-līl u n-nāq¹³⁸ yʔūl: “a mən di ywūnnəs l-ǧṣīb f-əl-līl əṭ-ṭwīl, a mən di ywūnnəs l-ǧṣīb f-əl-līl əṭ-ṭwīl.”¹³⁹ dāymān lāyʔūl ḥāyḏa, “a mən di ywūnnəs l-ǧṣīb f-əl-līl əṭ-ṭwīl.” hūwwa ʔāl lu: “āna nwūnšəç.”¹⁴⁰ hūwwa ʔāʔ bih ḥāw mḤāh, səlləç ʔliḥ, ṭāyyḥu mḤa ʔibād āṣāh, ḥāḏūk lli mṭāyyḥīn ṭəmma.*
- 21 *hūwwa mnāyn kān māši dīç əl-ʔāyəl, xālla n-xṭu wāh əl-māḥbāʔ, māḥbāʔ dyāla u māḥbāʔ dyālu. ʔāl la: “āsʔihəm fḥāl bāʔtūm u ānʔšəm fḥāl bāʔtūm. ila xḏāwāθ dyāli u θnāʔnʔəθ fḥāl dyāləç, āḤāʔfni āna māš nǧīb ṭ-ṭāyṅ l-mḥāddəθ u nǧi. u ila šfāwāθ dyāli u dyāləç məzyāna āḤāʔfni ṭ-ṭāyṅ əl-mḥāddəθ nṣyəmni, māši nǧi š.” ḥīyya dyāla ... dəšʔihəm mḤa bāʔtūm u dʔāddləm¹⁴¹ mḤa bāʔtām u ḥīyya [dyāla] lādəxḏāw u dəθnāʔnāʔ u dyālu šfāwāθ. ǧəlsəθ dādəbki n-bāβāha, dʔūl lu: “xāššni nəmši,¹⁴² ... nəmši, nəmši, nəmši, nəmši, nəmši.” Ḥāw ʔʔa la dīç əs-sāwž dyāla u ʔʔa la kull ši dyāla. Ḥāwəd mšāθ.*
- 22 *Ḥāwəd mšāθ, Ḥāwəd ṭlāʔʔā¹⁴³ dīç əv-bāžəl, mūl l-ʔšīva d-əl-bəllōṭ. Ḥāwəd ʔāθ lu: “s-sālāmu ʔlikūm.” ǧa hūwwa ʔāl la: “ʔliṣ s-sālāma a bəṭṭ əs-sūltān. u ʔāh, ka ma sbāʔ slāmi n-slāməç u klāmi n-klāməç ḥāṭṭa ka ʔʔiʔ lāḥməç f-ʔāṭṭa u dəmməç*

137 Moscoso, DACH, 263 transliterates *yāṭḥāk* here instead of *dāṭḥāk*. If this was in fact the narrator's mistake, then a footnote should have been added providing an explanation and correction.

138 Moscoso, DACH, 263 incorrectly transliterates this as *n-nās* instead of *n-nāq*, “to stand up, to wake up etc.,” which fits the present context.

139 Moscoso, DACH, 263 forgot to mention that this passage was told by the narrator with a light melody, and that each time the passage occurred (see below) the narrator repeated it with the same melody.

140 Moscoso, DACH, 263 transliterates this as *nwūššəç*. In this case the assimilation does not occur.

141 Moscoso, DACH, 263 incorrectly transliterates *dāʔddləm*. If this was actually the narrator's mistake, then a footnote should have been added providing an explanation and correction.

142 Moscoso, DACH, 263 transliterates *ma xāššni nəmši*. But the addition of the negative *ma* here is a mistake: this sentence has to be in the affirmative. If this was the narrator's mistake, then a footnote should have been added providing an explanation and correction.

143 Moscoso, DACH, 263 transliterates *ṭlāʔāθ*.

dāḥṣa ṭ-ṭūḥḥa, ṭ-ṭūḥḥa, u l-ṣāzḥi l-ṣāzḥi. hūwwa ḥa, hūwwa ḥa, dīḥ ... wāḥad ən-nḡāwa. hūwwa dxāl, dāba hūwwa dxāl dīḥ əv-vāzḥəl, dīḥ əs-sūltān dxāl ṣānd dīḥ əv-vāzḥəl u ḡləs u n-nḡāwa ḡāḥ, ḡābəḥ əz-zḥāḥ f-dūḥma¹⁵³ u ḡəlsəḥ lādākūḥ f-wāḥad əṭ-ṭāḥa.

27 *hūwwa dāba mnāyn kān dāxīl, dīḥ əl-bəntḥ ḡāməḥ dəṭṭəxābbāḥ, zāḥma v-vāzḥəl d-ən-nās dāxīl. ṭṭəxābbḥāḥ hūwwa bāḥāha. ṭṭəxābbḥāḥ u ṭṭəxābbḥāḥ u āxūv dāba ḡa lāyḥūf, ma hḍḥ ṣi, hāyḍa, u ḡāḥ lu: “ṣzūba! u ṣzūba! u n-nḡāwa lādākūḥ əz-zḥāḥ f-əṭ-ṭāḥa!” ḡa hūwwa, ḡāḥ¹⁵⁴ dīḥ ən-nḡāwa, dāba n-nḡāwa, kān yḥḍv, māṣi hāyḍa. ḡāḥ dīḥ ən-nḡāwa, ḡāḥ lu: “ṣzūba! u ṣzūba! u l-bəntḥ dādəṭṭəxābbāḥ mən būha!” zāḥma hūwwa bāḥāha ṭṭəxābbḥāḥ lu, ma lādḥāḥḥu ṣi bāḥāha. ḡāḥ lu: “ṣzūba! u ṣzūba! u l-bəntḥ dādəṭṭəxābbāḥ mən būha.”*

28 *ḡa hūwwa, ḡāl lu: “māṣ nsāl ləḥ ṣla hāḍ əl-ṣyāl mnāyn ḡāwəḥ,” dīḥ əv-vāzḥəl. ḡa hūwwa ḡāl lu: “māṣ nsāl ləḥ ṣla ha l-ṣyāl mnāyn ḡāwəḥ.”¹⁵⁵ ḡa hūwwa, ḡāl lu: “... ha mnāyn ḡāwḥni u ha mnāyn ḡāwḥni l-ṣyāl.” ḡāl lu: “āna kūṭṭ dāḥwīṣ, ma ṣāndi wālu, u mṣīḥ nəṣṣād.¹⁵⁶ ṣəbḥəḥ li lə-mḥa mūlūda u ṣāndi l-kūmṣa d-əl-ṣyāl, v-vwīna d-əl-ṣyāl, u ṣāndi lə-mḥa ṣābḥḥəḥ li mūlūda u mṣīḥ nəṣṣād. mnāyn mṣīḥ nəṣṣād, ḡāḥ n-yīddi dīḥ əv-vbīḥa, ḥiḥa l-ṣyāl. ḥṭḥṭa¹⁵⁷ ṣībṭ¹⁵⁸ l-ṣyāl ḥiḥa.” ḡāl lu: “ṣābbīḥəm n-əd-dāv u vābbīḥəm u kəbbāḥṭəm u dāba mnāyn kānu yṭḥḥku, dādḥṣāḥ əl-ḡāyḥa, mnāyn lāyībkīw, lāyṭīḥ əṣ-ṣṭa, mnāyn lāyṣəllək ləm ṣla vāsəm lāyṭīḥ əv-ḥyāl mən vāsəm.” ḡāl lu: “mnāyn lāyḥāllḥi, yḥāllīw l-lāzūwa ḍ-əd-dḥāb u āḥḥa ḍ-əl-ḥīḍḍa.” ḡāl lu: “āna ṣīṣṭ mṣāḥəm.”*

29 *ḡa hūwwa, ḡāl lu: “āḡāḥ ysāmāḥ ləḥ f-kūll ṣi, ṣāy d-ḡḡīḥ mṣa ... ṣi nḡūl ləḥ, kāməl ṣābbīḥ, u ulādi māṣ nṣābbīḥīm ...” ḡywa ṣābbāwāḥ ... ḡāl lu: “a bāḥa, dīḥ əv-vāzḥəl d-vābbāna¹⁵⁹ ma dṣābbi lu ḥāṭṭa ṣi ḥāza, nṣābbīw lu ḡa ha ṭ-ṭāyḥ əl-mḥāddəḥ, hāda māṣ nəmṣīw nṣābbīw ...” xāllāwāḥ mūsū?. “u ḥna māy dāḥṭāzḥna nḡīw n-ṣāndəḥ.” ṣābba ulāḍu u mṣa. xāḥḥḥ dīḥ əḡ-ḡḥa, kəbḥu, vāzḥu ḡādd əl-ḥlālḥ¹⁶⁰ u dāxḥāl lə-mḥa, məskīna, kāḥḥ mḥḥmīyya f-lə-ṣṭwān mṣa ḡ-ḡḥa u ḡa ṣāḍ s-sābāḥ n-ulāḍu u ḡa ... ṣāḥi.*

153 Moscoso, DACH, 264 incorrectly transliterates *f-dḡūma* here. If this was the narrator's mistake, then a footnote should have been added providing an explanation and correction.

154 Moscoso, DACH, 264 *ḡāṭ*.

155 Moscoso, DACH, 264 *māṣ nsāl ləḥ ṣla l-ṣyāl ha mnāyn ḡāwəḥ*. If this was the narrator's mistake, then a footnote should have been added providing an explanation and correction.

156 Moscoso, DACH, 264 transliterates *nṣṣād*.

157 Moscoso, DACH, 264 incorrectly understands this as *fṭḥṭa*.

158 Moscoso, DACH, 264 *ṣābṭ*. If this was the narrator's mistake, then a footnote should have been added providing an explanation and correction.

159 Moscoso, DACH, 264 transliterates *d-vābbāḥəm*. Most probably this was the narrator's mistake. A footnote should have been added providing a correction.

160 The singular of this term is *ḥāllūf* “wild boar.” For the atlas of this term and its variants in northern MA, see Behnstedt (2005), Karte 39 on p. 51; idem (2007), 15.

lālla ṣāyša l-māḡtmūwa s-sākna f-əl-māṭtmūwa

kānəθ dīç l-mwa ma dətnāzəl ši. lādʔül hýya ma dādəḡtʃləb ši. hýya ma dādəḡtʃləb 1
ši. b-ḅžəl lāyʔül la: “b-ḅžəl lāyḡǎlbu!” hýya dʔül lu: “n-nsa lāyḡǎlbu.” “b-ḅžəl
lāyḡǎlbu!” hýya dʔül lu: “n-nsa lāyḡǎlbu.” “b-ḅžəl lāyḡǎlbu!” dʔül lu: “n-nsa
lāyḡǎlbu.”

wāh n-nhāw ʔʔa la d-dāw dyāla ʔāhʔ l-ʔāwɖ. u bnāha la, u šāḡḡba la u səkkna 2
fīha. u ʔāl la: “u čūf, ka b-ḅžəl lāyḡǎlbu, ka n-nsa lāyḡǎlbu.” ʔāθ lu: “n-nsa
lāyḡǎlbu.” twa u bʔāθ ḡālsa f-dīç d-dāw. *wāh ən-nhāw ʔāl la: “a lla ṣāyša, āna māš*
nəžwəž.” ʔāθ lu: “āžwəž! āžwəž!” ʔāl la: “b-ḅžəl lāyḡǎlbu!” “n-nsa lāyḡǎlbu.” ʔāl la:
“a wūddi, b-ḅžəl lāyḡǎlbu!” ʔāθ lu: “n-nsa lāyḡǎlbu.” bʔa yʔül la hāyḏāç.

wāh ən-nhāw ʔāl la: “lla ṣāyša!” ʔāθ lu: “āā?” ʔāl la: “āna māš nəmši nzūw.” ḡāθ 3
hýya ʔāθ lu: “āḡāh yāʔtīç ʔ-ʔtīsūw. āḡāh yāʔtīç ʔ-ʔtīsūw. fāyn?” ʔāl la: “f-wāh s-sāyyəð
lāyʔülü lu sīdi nūw [sic!] šūw, sīdi šūw.” ḡāθ hýya ʔāθ lu: “wa mši! fīwāx māšši?”
ʔāl la: “n-nhāw l-flāni, ha fīwāx u ha fīwāx.” ʔāməθ hýya u wūḡḡdəθ u šāḡḡbəθ,
u šāddləθ wāsa u zýynəθ, u mšāθ. səbāʔəu, səbāʔəu n-dīç s-sāyyəð. wāh hūwwa
n-dīç s-sāyyəð, l-ṣmāwaf-əs-sāyyəð mṣāmmwa. u hūwwa ḡāləs f-əs-sāyyəð. u hýya
məzyāna, hýya kāəθ ḡzāla.

čāfa l-ṣābd d-dīç b-ḅžəl dyāla. [mša ʔāla n-sīdu]. čāfa məzyāna, řāžbāəu. ḡləs 4
yʔül [n-əl-ṣābd dyālu: “ʔül] n-dīç l-mwa, ‘xāyla māš ḡji nʔššāw mṣāha f-hād l-līla.’
čūf š māš dʔül.” u hýya mḅāəu. ḡāθ hýya ʔāθ lu: “wāxxa. ʔül lu yži b-əl-hāʔʔ
b-əš-šāw: yīdxül fā-sälläs,¹⁶¹ u yāxwəž fā-sälläs. u ynəzzəl ḡāza mən hḡwāyžu. wāh
l-hāza dyālu ynəzzla li.” ʔāl la: “wāxxa.” mša ʔāla lu. ʔāl lu: “wāxxa, nəmši.”

mənnāy ḡa n-řānda, ḡa dxāl fā-sälläs, u xwəž fā-sälläs. u nəzzəl ḡāza mən 5
l-hḡwāyž dyālu, u mša f-hālu. mšāθ l-mwa n-əd-dāw. ḡəlsəθ ḡālsa f-əd-dāw dyāla.
u wūldəθ. wūldəθ l-ṣāyəl, səmmāəu sīdi šūw – wa čūf dāba hād l-xwāfa nāy hi
šāwḡa – səmmāəu ‘sīdi šūw.’

hūwwa řāw ḡa, ḡūwwəz ši āyyām, ma řāndu xbāw b-əl-ṣāyəl xlāʔ, ḡūwwəz ši u 6
řāwəð ʔāl: “l-mwa lla ṣāyša, škūn lāyḡləb? ən-nsa āw b-ḅžəl?” ʔāθ lu: “ən-nsa.” ʔāl
la: “ʔül, ‘əw-ḅžəl!” ʔāθ lu: “ən-nsa.”

ʔāl la: “āna māš nəmši nzūw.” ʔāθ lu: “fāyn?” – hādīç ka mša n-sīdi šūw – ʔāl la: 7
“n sīdi nūw.” ḡāθ hýya ʔāθ lu: “ḡāh yāʔtīç ʔ-ʔtīsūw. fīwāx māšša dəmši?” ʔāl la: “ha
fīwāx u ha fīwāx.” u řāha ʔ-ʔāwīx. u hýya lādəlʔtə mənnu. řāw səbāʔəu. ʔāθ küll

161 On this Berber voice *lls* “les ténébres,” which Marçais considered a euphemism, see Marçais (1953), 350; and DAF, VI, 155–156 under SLS.

ši ḍyāla, wūğğdəθ küll ši ḍyāla. u ẓyynəθ u şəğğbəθ, u ğāθ hāyda lādəbhāt. ḥȳya fāw gəlsəθ gālsa, ẓyynəθ u şəğğbəθ, gālsa f-ḍiç l-fmāwa. u ḥw̄wwa fāwəð çāfa. çāfa, fāẓbāθu, fāẓbāθu. fāw ṗāl n-əl-məlfū? d-lāȳissəx̣x̣ lu: “xāyla s̄w ṗul n-ḍiç l-mwa māš n̄gi f-hād l-līla n?āşşāx̣ m fāha.” mša ṗāla la. ṗāθ lu: “yzi. māx̣ḥba b̄ih. b-əl-hā? ȳidx̣ül fā-sällās, u yāx̣wāẓ fā-sällās, u yx̣älli li hāza mən ḥwāȳzu.” fāw ḍx̣äl fā-sällās, u x̣wāẓ fā-sällās, u x̣älla la hāza mən ḥwāȳzu.

8 t̄wa n-əl-lāğādda mən̄nāy mšāw f-hāləm. ṗāl la: “t̄wa a lla fāȳša, l-fmāwa k̄āθθ məzyāna. ṗāh f̄la fmāwa! māşşāb ka k̄ūt̄t̄ mš̄iθ ya lla fāȳša.” ṗāθ lu: “l-fmāwa məzyāna. b-şāh̄h̄āθk̄üm, şāh̄h̄āθk̄üm.” ṗāl la: “şk̄ün lāȳiğləb, n-nsa āw w-şz̄āl?” ṗāθ lu: “n-nsa.” [wūldəθ l-fāȳəl, səmmāθu s̄idi n̄w̄].

9 ğ̄w̄wəzu ma şā? ṗāh. fāw z̄āθ fmāwa x̣wa. ğ̄āθ fmāwa x̣wa. ṗāl la: “a lla fāȳša, wāna fāw māş nəm̄ši n̄z̄w̄.” ṗāθ lu: “ṗāh yāf̄tiç əţ-t̄is̄w̄. ām̄ši. z̄w̄. fāyn?” ṗāl la: “f-lālla h̄āmmālāθ l-ṗs̄w̄.” ṗāθ lu: “ṗāh yāf̄tiç əţ-t̄is̄w̄. ām̄ši, ṗāh ybəllğāç f̄la x̄āȳw̄.”

10 ḥȳya fāw ṗāməθ, u ẓyynəθ, u şəğğbəθ u fāddləθ. u fābbāθ l-māçla, u fābbāθ küll ši. fāw gāẓ m fāha, fāw çāfa. fāw çāfa, ṗāl x̄āşşu ȳim̄ši n-fānda. ṗāl x̄āşşu ȳim̄ši n-fānda, ṗālu lu: “ām̄ši!” ğ̄a yṗül la. ṗāθ lu: “wa ṗül lu yzi. b-əl-hā? ȳidx̣ül fā-sällās u yāx̣wāẓ fā-sällās, u yx̣älli li hāza mən ḥwāȳzu.” fāwəð ṗa hāȳdāç. fāw ḍx̣äl fā-sällās, u x̣wāẓ fā-sällās, ma māş ȳihdāw ma māş ȳiθk̄əlləm.

11 mša z̄āw, u z̄a f-hālu. n-əl-lāğādda ṗāl la: “a lla fāȳša!” ṗāθ lu: “āāā?” ṗāl la: “wāna z̄iθ mən əz-zyāwa.” ṗāθ lu: “u mən̄nāy z̄iθ, ṗāh ynaşşāç əz-zyāwa. kif k̄āθθ əz-zyāwa?” ṗāl: “ğzāla.” u k̄ān u şnāf u t̄wāç. ṗāl la: “şk̄ün lāȳiğləb, ən-nsa yāw w-şz̄āl?” ṗāθ lu: “n-nsa. wāxxa d̄ā? ṗi ş ma ṗiθ, ən-nsa, ən-nsa lāȳğälbu w-şz̄āl.”

12 ğ̄a ḥw̄wwa ṗāl la: “wāna māşşa nəz̄w̄z̄.” ğ̄āθ ḥȳya ṗāθ lu: “ila z̄w̄z̄t̄, ṗāh yāf̄tiç əţ-t̄is̄w̄! āz̄w̄z̄! āz̄w̄z̄! mbāwāç məs̄f̄ud̄.” z̄w̄z̄. t̄ləb l-mwa: fābbāha. ṗa l-f̄w̄s̄. ṗa l-f̄w̄s̄. nhāw l-f̄w̄s̄, ən-nhāw d-k̄āθθ māş ğ̄gi l-mwa. ẓyynəθ n-ḍiç l-fyāl, s̄idi ş̄w̄ u s̄idi n̄w̄ u lālla h̄āmmālāθ l-ṗs̄w̄, t̄lāθa d-əl-fyāl, ğ̄āwz̄ əd-dk̄w̄a u l-fāȳla. l-fāȳla f̄tāθa l-ȳibwa, u l-fāȳəl wāh̄id f̄tāθu l-mṗāşş u wāh̄id f̄tāθu l-kāğğiṗa d-əl-x̄āȳt, l-ṗānnūṗa¹⁶² d-əl-x̄āȳt. u t̄əlṗāθəm. ṗāθ ləm: “ām̄šiw! l-fāw̄wāşin lāȳfāw̄w̄su, u nṗūma ṗātt̄f̄u, ṗātt̄f̄u ləm.”

13 t̄wa mšāw ḍiç l-fyāl, gəlsu yṗātt̄f̄u u yfətt̄θu. n-nās lāȳfāw̄w̄su ş-şwāw, u ḥūma lāȳṗātt̄f̄u. ḍiç d-dk̄w̄a lāȳṗātt̄f̄u, u ḍiç l-fāȳla lād̄w̄āṗāf. ḍiç n-nās lāȳṗūlu ləm: “āh̄āşmu!” n-nās d-əl-f̄w̄sa: “āh̄āşmu! āh̄āşmu a l-fyāl! l-fyāl, ām̄šiw f-hālk̄üm! l-fyāl, āh̄āşmu! l-fyāl ām̄šiw f-hālk̄üm!” n-nās ma fāşfu ḍiç l-fyāl mən̄nāy x̄āw̄ğ̄u. ḥūma x̄āw̄ğ̄u mən t̄āh̄t̄ l-ṗāşd̄. mwālīn d-dāw ma fāşf̄uhəm mən̄nāy ğ̄āw. x̄āw̄ğ̄u fāṗləm m̄fa ḍiç l-fyāl. t̄ālf̄u f-şāsəm. fāȳyṗu f̄la w-şz̄əl, f̄la l-f̄w̄s̄, f̄la bāṗāhəm. (ḥūma ma lāȳfāşf̄uh ši bāṗāhəm) fāȳyṗu lu, ṗālu lu: “şāy l-fyāl nsālt̄u f̄līna, ma

162 On the etymology of this word, see Lévy (1995), 191: “la palabra puede datar del árabe hispánico como *qannoṭ* ((cañuto, ‘carrete de hilo’).”

ʕbāfna mənnaḡən ǧāw. hñāya nānfāḡḡsu u hūma lāyʔāṭṭu. š nānʕāllʔu hñāya
 ḏ-əḡ-ḡwāʔāḡ ḏ-əl-ʕḡsa, lāyʔāṭṭuḡhəm, u xṭəm lāḏḡāʔʔāḡ b-əl-yībva. ma xāllāw
 nna ḡāṭṭa čəllūʔa.” mənnaḡy nā-nəḏḡḡwhəm lāyʔūlu nna: “ḏ-dāḡ dāḡ bīna, u bnāy
 l-klāb yḏāḡḡbūna.”¹⁶³ dāba āzi ḏčūfəm škūn hūm.”

mənnaḡy ʒa bāβāḡhəm, ʕāyḡāṭ n-ḏiṭ l-ʕyāl. ǧābu lu ḏiṭ l-ʕyāl yčūfəm. ʔāl ləm: 14
 “mənnaḡy ʒiḡu?” ʔālu lu: “m-ən-nāḡna, ḡna m-ən-nāḡna.” ǧa ḡḡwwa ʔāl ləm, nḏāḡ
 f-əl-kbḡ ʔāl lu: “š nṭi msəmmi?” ʔālu lu: “msəmmi sīḏi šūḡ.” nḏāḡ f-āxūḡ ʔāl lu: “u
 nṭi š nṭi msəmmi?” ʔāl lu: “āna sīḏi nūḡ.” nḏāḡ f-əl-ʕāyḡa ʔāl la: “š nṭi msəmmya?”
 ʔāḡ lu: “lālla ḡāmmāḡ l-ʔḡḡḡ.” šābəm ūlāḏu. šābəm ūlāḏu.

dḡa ḏiṭ l-fāḡḡāšḡn, ʔāl ləm: “ʕābbḡw l-fḡāš dyālkūm u mšḡw f-ḡālkūm!” u ūlāḏu 15
 xāllāḡhəm hūma ḡāḏāḡḡ, ʔāl ləm: “nṭūma ūlāḏi.” šābəm ūlāḏu. [mšā ʕāḡḡ mḡāḡu
 ʔāl la: “a lla ʕāyša, ṭāḡ mən ṭəmma. ən-nsa lāyḡālbū!” ṭəllʕa, səkna f-əd-dāḡ
 ǧzāla – kāḡḡ sākna ṭāḡṭ l-ʔāḡḡ. ən-nsa lāyḡālbū.

ka kān ʕāḡḡdi l-māṭṭāḡ ka ʕāššḡḡkūm əṭ-ṭāffāḡ. 16

– wa ḡāḏi ḡṡyā.–] 17

163 This obsolete verb is used exclusively in this tale and in this context. It comes from *dəhhəb* “chasser, expulser, faire partir, faire disparaître, faire fuir”: see DAF, IV, 352–253. The semantically equivalent sentence “*Ed-dar dar Bouna ou oulad el Klab iy Kharjouna*: La maison est la maison de notre père et les fils des chiens nous en chassent,” appears in the Fasi variant of this tale published by Dermenghem and El Fasi (1975), 89–100 (esp. 100, n. 1), “La fille du marchand et le fils du sultan – *Lalla Aicha bent et-tajar ou would es-sultan*.” There the verb *xārrəž* occurs in the same formula, “*Ed-dar dar Bouna ou oulad el klab iy kharjouna*,” and is semantically equivalent to *dəhhəb*. On the difficulty of recording these last passages see p. 391 n. 255.

əl-ḡbūsa d-dāḡḡāza

- 1 *kānəθ l-mka gālsa hḡyya u bənta, hḡyya gālsa hḡyya u bənta. hḡyya lādāʔʔi l-ftāyāx u bənta lādāçül. hḡyya lādāʔʔi l-ftāyāx u bənta lādāçül. hāyda žāθ n-ḡāndəm wāh l-mka. mənḡāy žāθ n-ḡāndəm diç l-mka, gəlsəθ mḡāhəm. dāʔʔi hḡyya l-ḡāyla, yīm-māha dnəzzəl l-ftūka, hḡyya dʔül la: “yīmma nəḡwi?” dʔül la: “ḡwi!” ḡāwəd dāḡfəd hādīç dāçla. ḡāw dʔül la: “yīmma nəḡwi?” dʔül la: “ḡwi! āḡwi!” hḡyya lādəḡwi.*
- 2 *ḡāθ diç l-mka mīskīna ʔāləθ n-əl-mka [yīm-māha]: “ha l-ḡāyla ša lādəḡwi ləç? ḡa nəḡwi, nəḡwi, nəḡwi. ḡwāθ səbḡa d-əḡ-ḡāyyāθ u d-dhūx bāʔa ma sšāllāθ.”¹⁶⁴ ḡāθ hḡyya ʔāθ la: “lādəḡwi ḡ-ḡāḡi.” ʔāθ la: “lādəḡwāf dāxdəm əd-dḡāz?” ʔāθ la: “šḡīna la d-dḡāz u lādəḡwāf dāxdəm əd-dḡāz. u lādəḡwi ḡ-ḡāḡi.” ḡāθ hḡyya ʔāθ la: “xāyla ḡḡiha li n-bni. nəžūwwəž biha bni.” ʔāθ la: “wāxxa.” ḡāθa la, žūwwəžāθa. žūwwūžāθa u ḡābbāθa. ḡa l-wāxtḡ d-əl-ḡḡs.*
- 3 *ʔāmu yīʔʔw l-ḡḡs. ʔāw l-ḡḡs. ḡāmmu. diç n-nās, ḡla nḡyḡəθm, šḡāw la d-dḡāz, u šḡāw la l-mḡāmma u šḡāw la küll ši, u nəzzlüh la. gəlsu yīḡḡənnāwha ḡḡi. mənḡāy žāθ l-ḡbūsa, gəlsəθ gālsa, ḡḡāḡsəθ. bʔāθ mḡāḡsa ma ḡa šḡāl hāmm. bʔāθ mḡāḡsa.*
- 4 *wāh ən-nhāx ʔāθ la l-ḡāwwəz: “ḡwa ʔūm a bənti, dāxdəm əd-dḡāz. ḡna šḡīna ləç əd-dḡāz, u šḡīna ləç ḡ-ḡūf, u šḡīna ləç küll ši. ʔūm dāxdəm.” ḡāθ hḡyya ʔāθ la: “ma nānāḡwāf ši.” ḡāθ hḡyya ʔāθ la: “hḡyya nḡīna ḡwīθ səbḡa d-əḡ-ḡāyyāθ u d-dhūx bāʔa ma sšāllāθ!” ḡāθ hḡyya ʔāθ la: “ma nāḡwāf ši, āna ḡūmmḡi ma ḡwīθ əd-dḡāz.” ʔāθ la: “wāš küḡḡ dəḡḡwi, āḡwi, āḡwi, āḡwi. ḡwīθ səbḡa d-əḡ-ḡāyyāθ u d-dhūx bāʔa ma sšāllāθ!” ḡāθ hḡyya ʔāθ la: “küḡḡ nəḡwi l-ftāyāx u nāçül. ʔāθ la, yīmma lādāʔʔi wāna nānəḡwi u nāçül. hāda š küḡḡ nānāʔʔi āna, āna d-dḡāz ḡūmmḡi ma ʔʔiθu.”*

бкĭġəθ zĭyyān

sāltəç, kān wāhd бкĭġəθ zĭyyān tāh f-əl-γdīka ma bān. l-γmīla bkāθ hātta ſmāθ, 1
 mšāθ n-ġmāyyāx u ttkāθ. ġmāyyāx hādmūn.¹⁶⁵ ġa t-ṭāwwx gāz mən ſuddām dīç
 ġmāyyāx. ṗāl lu: “š ſāndəç, a ġmāyyāx hādmūn?” ġa hūwwa ṗāl lu: “ſla бкĭġəθ
 zĭyyān tāh f-əl-γdīka ma bān, l-γmīla bkāθ hātta ſmāθ, mšāθ n-ġmāyyāx u ttkāθ.
 dāba ġmāyyāx hādmūn.” ġa hūwwa ṗāl lu: “hātta na, b-hād l-γbūn msənṭāh nkūn.”
 ġa hūwwa sənṭāh l-γbūn u bda māšši.

bda māšši, gāz mən ſuddām wāhd d-dāx. gāz mən ſuddām dīç d-dāx, yṣīb wāh 2
 l-mka lādšāwəð ġ-ġūhāx. ġāθ hĭyya ṗāθ lu: “š ſāndəç, a t-ṭāwwx msənṭāh l-γbūn?”
 ġa hūwwa ṗāl lu: “wāš nəṗṗi ſla ſūdki u māṣdūwi: ſla бкĭġəθ zĭyyān tāh f-əl-γdīka
 ma bān. l-γmīla bkāθ hātta ſmāθ, mšāθ n-ġmāyyāx u ttkāθ; ġmāyyāx hādmūn.
 āna tṭāwwx msənṭāh l-γbūn.” ġāθ hĭyya ṗāθ lu: “wāna bhād əw-βha ſla ṗālbi nkūn.”
 ṗāθ dīç əw-βha ſla ṗālba u bdāθ māšša.

bdāθ māšša, u l-ſyāl gāzu m-əġ-ġāmāſ. ġāw m-əġ-ġāmāſ, šābu yĭmmāhəm 3
 b-əw-βha ſla ṗālba lādšāwəð. [ṗālu la]: “š ſāndəç, a yĭmma, ṗāh ya yĭmma!
 w-βha ſla ṗālbəç u nṭi lādšāwəð?” ġāθ hĭyya ṗāθ ləm: “a ſlādī, бкĭġəθ zĭyyān tāh
 f-əl-γdīka ma bān, l-γmīla bkāθ hātta ſmāθ, mšāθ n-ġmāyyāx u ttkāθ, ġmāyyāx
 hādmūn, t-ṭāwwx msənṭāh l-γbūn, āna b-əw-βha ſla ṗālbi nkūn.” ġa hūma ṗālu la:
 “hna bhād l-γlūma f-xnāfāwəna nkūnu.” hšāw l-γlūma f-xnāfāwəm u xāwzu.

xāwzu, šābu wāh l-xādəm māšša dəsṗi. šābu dīç l-xādəm māšša dəsṗi, ṗāθ ləm: 4
 “š ſāndçūm, a ſlādī b-əl-γlūma f-mnāxāwəkūm?” ġa hūma ṗālu la: “u š nəṗṗi ſla
 ſūdki u māṣdūwi: ſla бкĭġəθ zĭyyān tāh f-əl-γdīka ma bān. l-γmīla bkāθ hātta

165 Caubet (1993a), 133 classifies the suffix *-ūn* as a diminutive ending, adding that in MA this suffix has the function of an augmentative. This fits the context of this children's tale. Notice that the narrator uses this suffix in words lacking the ending *-ūn* as part of the radical in order to create a rhythm and harmony with the words that do contain *-ūn* as a part of the root, such as in *γbūn* “horns,” *nkūn* “I will be,” *nkūnu* “we will be.” This is contra Moscoso, DACH, 151, n. 421, who adopts the position of Marçais (1956), 297 that the suffix *-ūn* forms a diminutive “tanto caritativo como despectivo.” The three examples mentioned by Moscoso seem to be based on this same text: for example *həsmūn* [sic!], which he translates “decrépito,” is in fact *hādmūn* “destroyed, collapsed.” Moscoso seems to have recorded this text from the same narrator, but he has not yet fully published this tale. For the same function of this suffix attested in Djidjelli: see Marçais (1956), 297. In MA as well as in Djidjelli this suffix is used in personal names: see Caubet, *ibid.* 134; and Marçais, *ibid.*

ḡmāḡ, mšāḡ n-ḡmāyyāḡ u ṡ-ṡkāḡ. ḡmāyyāḡ ḡādmūn. ṡ-ṡāwwḡ msəntāḡ l-ḡḡūn. yīmḡmāna b-əḡ-ḡḡa ḡla ḡālba ḡkūn, ḡna b-ḡāḡ l-ḡlūma f-əl-xnāfḡḡ dyānna nkūnu.” ḡa ḡūma ḡālu la: “u ḡnāya b-ḡāḡ l-ḡləl ḡḡāḡḡsīn ḡla ḡāsna nkūnu.” kānu māšī yīsḡḡw. ḡāḡḡsu ḡḡḡ l-ḡləl u ḡḡāwhəḡ ḡla ḡāsəḡ u bdāw māššīn.

5 bdāw māššīn, mšāw n-əl-ḡāyn. ḡāḡ l-ḡāyn ḡāḡ ləḡ: “ḡ ḡāndḡḡm b-əl-ḡləl ḡḡāḡḡsīn ḡla ḡāsḡḡm?” ḡa ḡūma ḡālu la: “ḡ nāḡḡḡ ḡla ḡūḡḡi u māḡḡḡḡi: ḡla ḡḡḡḡḡ zḡyyān ṡāḡ f-əl-ḡḡḡa ma bān, l-ḡmīla ḡkāḡ ḡāṡṡa ḡmāḡ, mšāḡ n-ḡmāyyāḡ u ṡṡkāḡ. ḡmāyyāḡ ḡādmūn. ṡ-ṡāwwḡ msəntāḡ l-ḡḡūn. lālla b-əḡ-ḡḡa ḡla ḡālba ḡkūn, ūlād sīḡi b-əl-ḡlūma f-xnāfḡḡḡ; u ḡna b-ḡāḡ l-ḡləl ḡḡāḡḡsīn ḡla ḡāsna nkūnu.” ḡāḡ ḡḡyya ḡāḡ la: “ḡāṡṡa na l-ḡāyn ḡāṡḡḡn.” ḡāṡḡḡ u yībbsəḡ.

6 ḡa l-mḡālləḡ d-əl-fāḡḡān yīsḡḡi, ḡāl la: “ḡ ḡāndəḡ, a l-ḡāyn ḡāṡḡḡn?” ḡa ḡḡyya ḡāḡ lu: “ḡ nāḡḡi ḡla ḡūḡḡi u māḡḡḡḡi: ḡla ḡḡḡḡḡ zḡyyān ṡāḡ f-əl-ḡḡḡa ma bān, l-ḡmīla ḡkāḡ ḡāṡṡa ḡmāḡ, mšāḡ n-ḡmāyyāḡ u ṡṡkāḡ. ḡmāyyāḡ ḡādmūn. ṡ-ṡāwwḡ msəntāḡ l-ḡḡūn. lālla b-əḡ-ḡḡa ḡla ḡālba ḡkūn. ūlād sīḡi b-əl-ḡlūma f-xnāfḡḡḡ. [l-xāḡḡm b-əl-ḡləl ḡḡāḡḡsīn ḡla ḡāsa ḡkūn.] āna l-ḡāyn ḡāṡḡḡn.” ḡāl la: “ḡāṡṡa na b-əl-māṡḡāḡ ḡāḡḡi f-sūwwḡi nkūn.”

7 ḡa ṡ-ṡāḡḡāḡ ḡāl lu: “ḡ ḡāndəḡ, a l-mḡālləḡ b-əl-māṡḡāḡ ḡāḡḡi f-sūwwḡəḡ?” ḡa ḡūwwa ḡāl lu: “ḡ nāḡḡi ḡla ḡūḡḡi u māḡḡḡḡi: ḡla ḡḡḡḡḡ zḡyyān ṡāḡ f-əl-ḡḡḡa ma bān, l-ḡmīla ḡkāḡ ḡāṡṡa ḡmāḡ, mšāḡ n-ḡmāyyāḡ u ṡṡkāḡ. ḡmāyyāḡ ḡādmūn. əṡ-ṡāwwḡ msəntāḡ l-ḡḡūn. lālla b-əḡ-ḡḡa ḡla ḡālba ḡkūn, ūlād sīḡi b-əl-ḡlūma f-xnāfḡḡḡ, [l-xāḡḡm b-əl-ḡləl ḡḡāḡḡsīn ḡla ḡāsa ḡkūn], l-ḡāyn ḡāṡḡḡn, l-mḡālləḡ b-əl-māṡḡāḡ ḡāḡḡi f-sūwwḡu ykūn.” ḡa ḡḡḡ ṡ-ṡāḡḡāḡ ḡāl lu: “ḡāṡṡa na b-ḡāḡ l-ḡāḡḡḡda d-əl-ḡāḡya ḡāḡḡḡḡa ḡla ḡūḡāy nkūn.” ḡāḡ ḡḡḡ l-ḡāḡḡḡda d-əl-ḡāḡya ḡla ūḡāḡ u mša dxāl n-wāḡḡ ḡ-ḡḡḡa.

8 ṡlāḡ n-ḡḡḡ ḡ-ḡḡḡa. ḡāḡ ḡḡyya ḡāḡ lu: “ḡ ḡāndəḡ?” ḡa ḡūwwa ḡāl la: “ḡ nāḡḡi ḡla ḡūḡḡi u māḡḡḡḡi: ḡla ḡḡḡḡḡ zḡyyān ṡāḡ f-əl-ḡḡḡa ma bān, l-ḡmīla ḡkāḡ ḡāṡṡa ḡmāḡ, mšāḡ n-ḡmāyyāḡ u ṡṡkāḡ. ḡmāyyāḡ ḡādmūn. ṡ-ṡāwwḡ msəntāḡ l-ḡḡūn, lālla b-əḡ-ḡḡa ḡla ḡālba ḡkūn, ūlād sīḡi b-əl-ḡlūma f-xnāfḡḡḡ, [l-xāḡḡm b-əl-ḡləl ḡḡāḡḡsīn ḡla ḡāsa ḡkūn], l-ḡāyn ḡāḡḡḡn, l-mḡālləḡ b-əl-māṡḡāḡ ḡāḡḡi f-sūwwḡu ykūn, āna b-ḡāḡ l-ḡāḡḡḡda d-əl-ḡāḡya ḡāḡḡḡḡa ḡla ḡūḡāy nkūn.” ḡāḡ z-zəbbāla ḡāḡ lu, “anā nāḡxūn.” nṡāḡḡāḡ z-zəbbāla.

9 – *īwa ha nṡīmāḡ*.¹⁶⁶

166 This same variant of the personal pronoun is mentioned by Singer (1958), 246 in Tetuan, about which he commented, “... vor allem von Frauen gebraucht.” See also Heath (2002), 270. Anjra: Vicente (2000), 136–137, n. 120, 122. Concerning the addition of -ḡ in ChA Vicente, *ibid.*, writes: “... Sin embargo, en los datos que disponemos hasta ahora del dialecto de Chefchauen (= Chauen) este rasgo no aparece.” In addition to the example mentioned above, in ChA the adverbs *ṡammāḡ* “there,” *ḡāyḡāḡ* “so; this way!” and *zāḡmāḡ* “that means; in other words” are common. See p. 399 n. 276 on the recording of the tale.

sīdi

sīdi, sīdi! u sīd sīd u mnə ġ-ġāmāʕ n-əl-msīd, u l-bəlġa u l-ksa ġdīd. vābbi yṭāwwəl 1
 li f-əl-ʕmāʕ, u ysāfāʕ li f-əl-ʕmāʕ, yžīb li l-ħīmīš u ʕ-ʕmāʕ u š-šāʕbīyya nšūdd əd-
 dmāġ. sīdi u sīd syādu! ma f-əʕ-vžāl f-ħālu. lāħiʕu məzyāna, u l-ħāġġām yʕāwwṭa
 lu. sīdi! u sīd sīd u mən ġ-ġāmāʕ n-əl-msīd, əl-bəlġa u l-ksa ġdīd. vābbi yṭāwwəl li
 f-əl-ʕmāʕ, u ysāfāʕ li f-əl-ʕmāʕ, yžīb li l-ħīmīš u ʕ-ʕmāʕ u š-šāʕbīyya nšūdd əd-
 dmāġ. sīdi ma nbəkkīh, wāna ħāžṭi fih. nʔāʕvi u nħāffəṭ ya sīdi, u nāṕi l-ʕūḍyān
 bīh. sīdi hlāl hlāl, ya kīnzi u vās l-māl, ya sikkīn mdāhhḥḥa, bīha nāṕi l-ʕūḍyān.

ābyāṭi*¹⁶⁷ *ya na ya na

- 1 *ābyāṭi ya na ya na! sūʔṭ ʔl-ḡbūsa n-bni, kāḥla u ma ʔāžbəḏni. ʔəllāṭṭa n-ʔl-ḡḡḡfa*
nfəšṭ la dīç ʔv-ḡḡffa, ʔāššīḏa b-ʔv-ḡḡkka.
- 2 *ābyāṭi ya na ya na! sūʔṭ l-ḡbūsa n-bni, ʔəllāṭṭa n-ʔṣ-ṣāla, ʔəlləmṭa l-ḡūd u l-ʔāla.*
- 3 *ābyāṭi ya na ya na! sūʔṭ l-ḡbūsa n-bni, ʔəllāṭṭa n-ʔs-sḡḡḡi fəḡḡḡṣṭ la ḡānbīli.¹⁶⁸*
- 4 *ābyāṭi ya na ya na! sūʔṭ l-ḡbūsa n-bni, ḡāska dāḡḡḡḡya u š-šəḡmṭa məṭlīyya,*
- 5 *ābyāṭi ya na ya na! dāwwi ʔlīh u ʔlīyya. byāṭi ya na ya na sūʔṭ l-ḡbūsa n-bni.*

167 The same use is attested in Ouargha: Lévi-Provençal (1922), 43: “*ā-biāḏ* (avec les affixes) ‘bravo!’ For Jewish MA examples see Lévy (2009), 244: “*ābyāḏe* ‘quelle joie! Comme mon bonheur est gran!’ qui se conjugue: *ābyāḏna bəṭṭōra de mossə rābbəno!* ‘grand est notre bonheur (avec) d’ avoir la Torah de Moïse notre maître!’”

168 This term is *ḡānbəl* (see DAF, III, 245–246): the *-i* is added for the rhythm and harmony required in this text’s genre. This term also occurs as *ḡāmbəl* in Marchand (1905) 465, where *nb* shifted to *mb*. On this instance see the comment by Marçais (1902), 27: حنبل.

lālla bənṭi u bəṭṭ būha

*lālla bənṭi u bəṭṭ būha, ḡāw l-xūtṭāb xəṭbūha. ɾāmu ləṣda u ɣəyybūha. ɣəyybūha, 1
fāy ɣābūha? ɣṭāw fīha s-sāwm ḡāli, myāθ ɾnṭāx u mya d-əl-fdāli.*

hčən hčən čənčna

- 1 *hčən hčən čənčna, wāḥd l-ḡwīla ḡāndna, xāṣṣa ḡa š-šīḡ u l-ḡna, u ʔ-ʔāw mḡa č-čənčna, bābbi yḡūn f-ḡāwnna! wāḥd ḡwūyyəḡ ḡāndna nəḡlūwwāw fīh kūllna! āsāḡdāḡna ya ḡna.*

mūlāy šābd əs-slām

kāni māšši wāna nsāl hāttā n-mūlāy šābd əs-slām, dāwū šālyā bāyn əd-dyāw u 1
ṭwīṭu məlwīyya, kāni wāḥdi wāḥd l-ǧwīb, la mən ysāl šlīyya. kāni wāḥdi wāḥd
l-ǧwīb, la mən ysāl šlīyya. ṭālīa u n-ǧāmāš l-kbīw, u čnīčāḏ yīṭṭw l-hdīw u fkwēsš
ḥābbāwī, wābbi u mūlāy šābd əs-slām dāxlīhəm mən dāwī, wābbi u mūlāy šābd
əs-slām dāxlīhəm mən dāwī. kāni ya bəwkāni ǧwīb, la mən ysāl šlīyya. u ṭālīa
ḥābṭa kifəd-dlu, nās l-ḥāwma yīštāšzbu, u yṭūlu āḏṭya, āḥāh yīblīhəm b-əl-ǧwām,
u yžāwbu ma bīyya! āḥāh yīblīhəm b-əl-ǧwām, u yžāwbu ma bīyya! kāni wāḥdi
wāḥd l-ǧwīb la mən ysāl šlīyya, ṭālīa u n-ǧāmāš l-kbīw, u čnīčāḏ yīṭṭw l-hdīw u
fkwēsš ḥābbāwī, āḥāh yīblīhəm b-əl-ǧwām, u yžāwbu mən dāwī! kāni ya βəwkāni
ǧwīb la mən ysāl šlīyya.

*Lālla Ḥusniyya l-ʿAlami's Corpus –
English Translation*



The Seven Sisters [Playing in a Swamp]¹

I ask you to consider the case of² a man who had seven little girls. He had seven³ children, and he got married again. The woman had one girl. The woman had one girl. She had one girl, so that girl was spoiled and pampered. And he ... one day the woman said to him, “Husband, let’s throw our children away and make *ṭbīd*⁴ and chicken, and throw our children away.”⁵ He replied, “Very well.” They sacrificed the chicken and they kneaded *ṭbīd*. He asked her, “And where are we going to throw these children away?” She replied, “We’ll throw them away!” He told her, “Let me take yours together with my children: I will throw her away.” She said, “No, I will throw away my daughter myself, and you throw away yours.” He drove his children in front of him, telling them, “O my children, let’s go to gather firewood for you. Let’s go to gather firewood for you.”

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- 1 A variant of this tale is El Koudia and Allen (2003), 118–119, 150, n. 22, title no. 22, “Three Sisters.” Another variant of this tale is “حكاية سبع بنات / Le conte des sept filles,” Thay Thay Rhozali (2000a), 60–69 (MA version) and 63–68 (French translation); and idem (2000b), 58 for commentary.
 - 2 The narrator uses here the term *sāl*, which basically means “interrogate, consult” + pronominal suffix *-ka* “you.” The opening formula *sāḷṭək* – literally “I ask you, I consult you” – makes the listener the narrator’s partner in the story-telling. For this meaning see de Prémare, DAF, VI, 7, meaning 1. This opening formula is equivalent to the Oriental Moroccan tale opening formula *ḥāžūtāk*. Concerning the latter word see Thay Thay Rhozali (2000a), 21; idem (2000b), 24–25; and DAF, III, 32 under *ḥāja*.
 - 3 The number seven – in many cases, as in the present tale, referring to girls or sisters – is extremely common in folktales. See for example the Jewish tales from Tetuan in de Larrea Palacín (1952), 17–19, 19–21, and 128–130, tales no. 1, “La muchacha celada,” no. 2, “La cabra y el lobo,” and no. 37 “Hurida y los ladrones.” See also the Kabyle tale “Dzidza,” and “Mhamed, le fils de la négresse et ses six frères” in Lacoste-Dujardin (2010), 52–62 and 76–86. The latter, (52 n. 1 and 76 n. 1) comments that this number symbolizes fertility, and in the oral traditions of Kabyle often refers to boys. On this number as a motif in folk traditions of the Arab World see El-Shamy (1995), 454 under “Seven.” The mythological importance of the number “Seven” was common in ancient Semitic and non-Semitic cultures, including the Biblical world.
 - 4 See n. 247, p. 228.
 - 5 The beginning of this tale is common in Moroccan Arab and Berber folktales: see for example Stumme (1895), 71–73 (esp. 71), tale no. 1, “Die Geschichte von zwei Kindern und einer Hexe”; Laoust (1949), vol. I, 83–88, vol. II, 125–133, tale no. XC, “Les deux orphelins et l’ogresse” and its variants under “le parler des Aït Bou Oulli” and “le parler des Aït Sadden.”

2 He took them into the forest and left them in the forest.⁶ He had taken a small skin bag⁷ full of ashes mixed with flax grain. They picked it up and ate it. And he left them and told them, “Gather some firewood. And I am going to gather firewood for you too, so each one of you can have her [own] bundle of firewood.” They replied, “Okay.”

3 [His wife] had put her daughter into a raisin basket,⁸ a basket full of raisins. She had stuffed her daughter into the middle, and she stuffed her there and hid her. She told him, “I threw her away.” Night overtook the children. Their father had hung a bunch of firewood⁹ before he left them. That bunch of firewood made such noise! – “Donk, donk, donk!” The little one called him, “O Father, make for me a bundle of firework my size. O Father, make for me a bundle of firework my size.” And some wood of the bunch of firewood went “donk, donk” – the forest’s sound. “Donk, donk, donk.” Only the forest. The forest. “O Father, make for me a bundle of firework my size.” Another one said, “O Father, make

6 This is a very common reaction of the father in response to the evil petition of his new wife, the stepmother. It is a frequent motif in Arab folktale prologues. See the comment by Lacoste-Dujardin (1999), 100. Some examples are the tale “La belle-fille *الرئيسية*,” in Thay Thay Rhozali (2000a), 120–127 for the MA version, and 97–101 for the French translation; and El Koudia and Allen (2003), 90–95 (esp. 90), tale no. 14, “Aamar and His Sister.” On this motif in folk traditions throughout the Arab world see El-Shamy (1995), 193, “*Cast-off Wife and Child Abandoned in Forest s441*”; and for folktales in general see Aarne and Thompson (1961), 94, 116 tale-type “327, *The Children and the Ogre*” and “302A, *The Youth Sent to the Land of the Ogres*,” and the related tale motifs “s321, *Destitute parents abandon children*,” “s301, *Children abandoned (exposed)*,” and “s143, *Abandonment in forest*.” The Forest here symbolizes all that is outside the civilized world, thus anticipating the apparition of the ogress; on this see Thay Thay Rhozali (2000b), 95, and Lacoste-Dujardin (2010), 55, n. 8.

7 The narrator uses here the term *mzīwda* “small bag,” a diminutive of *məzwəd* “bag.” For this term and its figurative meanings see DAF, v, 408. Notice that the use of the diminutive is more common in the woman’s narrations than in the man’s. On this see the commentary on pp. 31–32. Indeed, it is a feature typical of women’s speech. On diminutives in MA in general see Caubet (1993a), 132–146; for northern MA see Taza: Colin (1921), 64–67; Tetuan: Singer (1958), 241–242; Tangiers: Assad (1978), 66–70; Aj: Vicente (2000), 130–132; and Chaouen: Moscoso, DACH, 149–151.

8 The word used here is *sūlla* “grand panier en forme d’ amphore, en roseaux coupés ou en jouc.” As this context proves, it is used to store raisins, olives etc. For a more semantically detailed definition and other usages of this term see Micheaux-Bellaire (1911), 214, and DAF, VI, 170, under *salla* | *sulla* [111].

9 The term used here, *mūzba*, which means “bunch of firewood,” is now obsolete. But this is a motif common in children’s stories in Europe as well as in North Africa and the Near East. See Laoust (1949), vol. I, 87–88, vol. II, 132–133 (esp. 132) in the variant “dans le parler des Aït Sadden” of tale no. XC, “Les deux orphelins et l’ogresse.”

for me a bundle of firework my size.” And they kept babbling this nonsense¹⁰ till night overtook them.¹¹ Night overtook them. They started crying. They had nowhere to go. They cast their eyes¹² toward a mountain. They saw smoke on it, and a light shining.¹³ They said to each other, “Let’s go to that small mountain to see who is there. Let’s implore God that they will let us come in.”

They left for that mountain. They began walking, walking, walking till they arrived. They found an ogress.¹⁴ They found in it an ogress. When they found her, they said to her, “Our Aunt, O Aunt, we came to see you, O Aunt!” She replied, “Welcome, O nieces! Welcome. Welcome my nieces.”¹⁵ She begged them enter, she begged them to sit. She disentangled her hair¹⁶ and shook the lice into a basket. She unfrazzled the hair¹⁷ of a dog or of some other miserable creature for more lice. She milked a bitch.¹⁸ She mixed the milk of the bitch

10 The verb here is *ṣāẓmāṭ*. De Prémare, DAF, IX, 35, cited it solely in the following sentence: “*ka-iṣājmāṭ ṣlēna* ‘il nous débite des bobards [Co].’” This example and the present context suggest that this verb may occur with or without the preposition *ṣla*.

11 This description anticipates the imminent appearance of the ogress, and reminds us that demons appear at night. On this see Thay Thay Rhozali (2000b), 95, 100–101.

12 This idiomatic translation matches exactly the original idiom *āṣmāw ṣāynām*.

13 For this sign of an ogress’ dwelling, see Laoust (1949), vol. I, 87–88, vol. II, 132–133 (esp. 132) in a variant of the present tale XC titled “‘Les deux orphelins et l’ogresse’ dans le parler des Aït Sadden.” Also see the Jewish tale from Tetuan. in de Larrea Palacín (1953), 88–94 (esp. 91), tale 113, “La doncella y los ladrones”; the Kabyle Algerian tale “La mère dénaturée, le garçon courageux et le roi des Iwarzeniouen” by Dermenghem (1945), 69–75 (esp. 70); and El-Shamy (1999), 319–326 (esp. 321), the Sudanese tale no. 46, “Fair Fâtmah.” In the “Märchen der Schluḥ von Tázzerwalt” by Stumme (1895), 71–73 (esp. 71), tale no. 1, “Die Geschichte von zwei Kindern und einer Hexe,” the ogress is replaced by “eine Hexe.” From the moment that the girls meet the ogress, they resume their role as protagonists. On this see Thay Thay Rhozali (2000b), 64–67, 72–74, 97, 98, 99, 114, 120–121. For folktales in general see Aarne and Thompson (1961), 116, under the tale-type “327, *The Children of the Ogre*” and the motif “N776, *Light seen from tree lodging place at night leads to adventures.*”

14 On this supernatural character see commentary on pp. 60–61.

15 The greeting of “niece” (lit. “daughter of my sister/aunt”) by an ogress – as in the present context – or by any old woman of potential victims is common in Maghrebin folktales: see Thay Thay Rhozali (2000b), 94, 116. For other examples see Frobenius translated by Fetta (1996), 9–18 (esp. 11), tale no. 1, “Le combat des Amazones”; and idem (1997), 78–94 (esp. 79), the tale no. 22, “Akli et les sept soeurs.” On hostile relations between sisters in the present corpus, and in Berber and Arab folktales in general, see commentary on pp. 48–49.

16 The original text uses *ḵāsa*, which literally means “her head.”

17 See the previous note.

18 The milk of the bitch mixed with henna was a common folk medicine used for children: see Vonderheyden (1934), 187; Westermarck (1968b), 306–307.

with the lice and she boiled them and put them out as a dinner for them. She said to them, “Have dinner!” The older ones pretended to eat and threw it on the floor.¹⁹ But the smallest one ate: she was hungry. She did not understand. They [her sisters] said to her, “Do not eat!” They nudged her and told her, “Do not eat!” That girl cried. When she cried, she [the ogress] said, “Let her eat!” She said, “O my Aunt, see! They are telling me not to eat.” “Let the girl eat!” She kept eating. They ate those horrible lice and went to sleep.

- 5 The ogress had a son named Bžīžəṭ.²⁰ She had a son named Bžīžəṭ. She told them, “You must give me your little sister to sleep with” so she could wake up during the night and eat her. “Give me your little sister to sleep with.” They replied, “Okay. And you give us Bžīžəṭ.” She said, “I give him to you: take him.” They took Bžīžəṭ, and she took their little sister so she could wake up during the night and eat her. They asked Bžīžəṭ, “When is your mother asleep?” He told them, “My mother is asleep when frogs croak in her belly, and serpents hiss in her belly, and mice squeak in her belly. When all the insects in her belly cry out it means that my mother is sleeping.”²¹ They said, “All right.” They spent the night listening to that horror, the ogress, that ogress. The serpents started to hiss, the mice started to squeak, everything started to sound forth. They said, “She is sleeping.” They took their [little] sister. And they carried Bžīžəṭ and put Bžīžəṭ by her.²² And they took their sister and left, running.

19 This alludes to the stock folktale prologue motif which Lacoste-Dujardin (1999), 101, 107 defines as “refus de consommer la nourriture de l’ogresse pour ne pas tomber en son pouvoir,” stating that this motif underlines “... l’importance des fonctions féminines nourricières et du pouvoir qu’elles peuvent donner.” For an anthropological interpretation of this context see Thay Thay Rhazali (2000b), 102, 105.

20 This name seems to be in the diminutive: “my little” El-Shamy (1999), 64, n. 8 says this name pattern is “a pleasantry that denotes endearment and is typical of ‘women’s parlance,’ and ‘parlance of the little ones’ (baby talk). Adult males refrain from using such speech, especially in the presence of strangers.” On the usage of the diminutive in women’s speech in general see commentary on pp. 31–32.

21 This is a frequent situation in Moroccan and Maghrebin tales. See for example, Laoust (1947), 263; Laoust (1949), vol. I, 87–88, vol. II, XXVI–XXVII, 132–133, tale no. XC, “Les deux orphelins et l’ogresse”; idem (1949), vol. I, 98–99, vol. II, 157–159 (esp. 158), tale no. XCVII, “Histoire de Loundja du Rocher”; idem (1949), vol. I, 140–143, vol. II, 241–244 (esp. 244, 246, n. 4), tale no. CXX, “Enceinte d’un serpent”; Bonjean (1988), vol. I, 51–64 (esp. 54), “Hadidane le rusé ou le petit poucet arabe”; and Laâbi (2007), 41–51 (esp. 44), the tale “Lounja-la-gazelle.”

22 This is normally how the protagonist responds in this type of situation. Compare it to the way the Kabyle protagonist Mqidech reacts to save his brothers from the ogress in Lacoste-Dujardin (2010), 105–108 (esp. 106), “Mqidech-la-misère-qui-ne-dort-et-n’a-pas-

The rest of the night they kept running. Run, O runners!²³ Run, O runners! 6
 When she woke up – the ogress woke up – when she woke up, she made a fire and put the boy into a caldron, thinking that he was the girl. She put it on to boil, she put him on to boil. As he was boiling, he called to her, “O my Mother! O my dear, I am Bžīžəṭ your dear one,²⁴ O Mother!” She replied to him, “Bžīžəṭ my heart? O bastard daughter! Bžīžəṭ my heart?” She tore²⁵ and ate him, tore and ate him. “Bžīžəṭ, my dear one? O bastard daughter!” until she reached his privates. When she reached his privates,²⁶ she discovered that it was a boy. She

sommeil-et-m'a-tué-mes-sept-filles.” For the same reaction and events see for example El-Shamy (1999), 319–326 (esp. p. 321), the Sudanese tale no. 46, “Fair Fâtmaḥ.” For this tale-type see Aarne and Thompson (1961), 101, 116, 360, “311, 312, *Three Sisters Rescued from the power of an ogre*” and “119, *The Ogre Kills his own Children*,” and the related tale motifs “G400, *Person falls into ogre's power*,” “K525, *Escape by use of substituted object*,” and “K1611, *Substituted caps cause ogre to kill own children*.”

23 The original expression is *āžvi ya mäl-la dāžvi!*

24 The narrator said *āna bžīžəṭ kəbdəṭ*, literally “I am Bžīžəṭ of your heart.” The literal meaning of *kəbda* is “liver,” one of the common implications of which is, as de Prémare, DAF, X, 510, meaning 2 says, “siège de l’amour et de l’affection en général (pour les êtres ou les objets); spéc. siège de l’amour maternel et paternel [rarement de l’amour filial.” For more examples see de Prémare, *ibid.*, 510. Dwyer (1978), 157 commented that in Taroudannt it is common to hear “women say that their own *kibda* (liver or ‘heart’ in our sense) is given over to children while men’s *kibda* is devoted to business, same-sexed peers, and other women.” El-Shamy (1999), 76, commenting on tale no. 3, “Mother’s Liver,” states, “A liver is perceived, especially among women, to be the place of residence for empathy – chiefly in situations that generate acute feelings of pity, compassion, and similar sentiments connected with pain and sorrow.” In ancient Semitic cultures the “liver” is considered to be the seat of the emotions and of the “heart, thought, and even mind and spirit.” There is no doubt a link between the usage above and liver divination, a practice which goes back to Sumerian times and was highly developed by the Babylonians early in the 2nd millennium BC. Thus this context echoes some very old Near Eastern cultural features. See for example the related Akkadian words *gabidu* (CAD, G, 6), and *amūtu* (CAD, A/II, 96–97), both meaning “liver”: the latter term appears in Mesopotamian mythology. However, in Akkadian the semantic field of the etymologically – related word *kabattu* (*kabattu*, *kabittu*) “liver(?)” seems to be uncertain: CAD (K, 11–14) states that it means “1. inside (of the body), liver(?) 2. emotions, thoughts, mind, spirit.” But even in this case the term *kabattu* parallels *libbu*, one of the principal meanings of which is “heart, abdomen, entrails, womb” (CAD, L, 164, 167). In Ugaritic, for example, the etymologically-related *kbd* means “liver, innards, bosom, mind”: see del Olmo Lete and Sanmartín (2004), 424–425.

25 The noise made by the ogress when tearing Bžīžəṭ is expressed through onomatopoeia: *ṭā?*. For more see DAF, VIII, 245, under *ṭāq*.

26 The original word here is *ḥwiḥa*, which is the diminutive of *ḥūḥ*. It is translated here as “his privates” instead of “his penis” because in the present context the narrator intended

sat crying, “O Bẓiẓəṭ my heart! O Bẓiẓəṭ my heart! O Bẓiẓəṭ my heart! O Bẓiẓəṭ my heart!” Lamenting for Bẓiẓəṭ, she sat crying for Bẓiẓəṭ. She left running. She went out running to confront the girls, to find them. She discovered that they had already left.

- 7 She overtook their shadow. She overtook some of them. She overtook them. When they heard her coming, they sat on a big rock and said, “O rock, ascend with us, so you will find a happy ending and a reward. O rock ascend with us, so you will find a happy ending and a reward.”²⁷ She came to them and found them sitting on that rock high in the sky. She urged them, “Come down to me, O my nieces, come down to me!” They replied to her, “No, you come up to us.” She replied, “I do not have anything to go up with, and I cannot get up.” Then she told them, “Join your cords together [like a rope] so I can get up.” They undid their cords and tied them together, and started pulling her up. As they pulled her up, she said, “I will get you, O children of a whore!”²⁸ I will get you!” Then

this term to be an euphemism. On this see Farghal (2007), 69–72 (esp. 70). For this use see de Prémare, DAF, v, 234, who gives the following definition: “verge d’enfant [Co Ġzāwa],” used by *Ẓbāla*. However, de Prémare forgets to mention that in this area, which he calls *Ẓbāla*, the term *rōḥ* refers to the “privates” of both men and women. This general usage explains the use of the diminutive here by the narrator. About this term, its semantic value, and its idiomatic usages, see de Prémare, DAF, v, 233–235. Concerning the diminutive in female speech in general, see the commentary on pp. 31–32. On the use the euphemism in women’s speech see Sadiqi (2003), 155–156. At this point the ogress realizes that she has eaten her son. On similar events in other Moroccan tales see the story “Hammou l’astucieux *جمو لحرايبي*” in Thay Thay Rhozali (2000a), 1–8, 29–33 and the commentary in idem, (2000b), 56.

- 27 This is a common motif in Maghrebin folktale tradition: see Frobenius translated by Fetta (1997), 173–178 (esp. 175), tale no. 35, “Le grain magique,” in the context of “Prends ce pain et élève-toi, ô, rocher! Élève-toi, rocher, pour que m’apparaisse le pays de mes parents! ...”; Laoust (1949), vol. I, 83–86 and vol. II, 125–130 (esp. 125, 129), tale no. XC, “Les deux orphelins et l’ogresse,” and its variant under “le parler des Aït Bou oulli”; and idem (1949), vol. I, 130–132, vol. II, 225–228 (esp. 225), tale CXVI, “Aventures de deux orphelins.” For other Kabyle tales see Dermenghem (1945), 63–67 (esp. 65), the tale “Amar Nofç”; and Lacoste-Dujardin (2010), 22, 63, n. 5, “Amor Ceqqa”, 63–72 (esp. 63). This motif could be interpreted “*Magic Rock (Stone) D931*”: see El-Shamy (1995), 436. In the Egyptian tale “If I am your Sister, I can’t Become your Wife” (tale no. 46-1) in El-Shamy (1999), 327–328, 404 n. 788 the protagonist escapes by climbing a sesban tree, which replaces the rock of the present narrative.
- 28 This curse in the singular distinguishes between masculine and feminine: thus *wūdd l-ʔāḥba* is “son of a whore” and *baṭṭ l-ʔāḥba* “daughter of a whore.” About the use of *wūdd*) *wūdd* as a component in curses, see DAF, XI, 266–267 under meaning 7. Notice that the second noun component in this insult, the term *ʔāḥba* “a whore, prostitute,” shows how sexism is involved in the insult. See pp. 32–33.

they slung her – Thud! – into the [mountain’s] fire.²⁹ And once again, “I will get you, O children of a whore! I will get you!” (They had told her, “We will not pull you up to us till you surround this hill with fire” and she ignited the fire). She kept telling them, “Oh I will get you, O children of a whore! I will get you!” They dropped her down again, – “Thud!” – till she became too weak to move. That hour they descended to her. She told them, “My nieces, check my head [for lice]. Check my head [for lice].”³⁰ They sat down to check her head, they braided firewood into her hair. They braided more and more. Then they left her there and they went away.

They went their way from one place to another, going on until they came to a swamp.³¹ They reached a small swamp. They entered the swamp. They bathed. They took their shoes off, they disrobed,³² and they sat down – one bathed, another bathed; one bathed, another bathed; one bathed, another bathed – till they got tired. The small one among them had an anklet,³³ a small anklet on her

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- 29 Folktales ghouls are usually killed by fire, which is considered the instrument most effective against them. On this see for example Laoust (1947), 264; and Bonjean (1988), vol. 1, 51–64 (esp. 64), the tale “Hadidane le rusé ou le petit poucet arabe.” On this motif see El-Shamy (1995), 185: “*Demons Flee From Fire F405.12*”; “*Ogres Chased Away by Fire G58r*”; “*Ogre Deceived into Setting himself on Fire G524.2§*.” See also Aarne and Thompson (1961) “*G526, Ogre deceived by feigned ignorance of hero. Hero must be shown how to get into oven (or the like). Ogre shows him and permits himself to be burnt*,” and “*G512.3.2, Ogre burned in his own oven*.” These events put into question the real power of the ogress: see Thay Thay Rhozali (2000b), 108, 178; and commentary on pp. 60–61.
- 30 The verb used here is *fla*. About this and other usages of it see de Prémare, DAF, x, 161, where its basic meaning is given as, “*abs. chercher ses poux, pour les éliminer; s’ épouiller [Co]*.” The delousing is a sign of affection. It is often a prelude to love: see Lacoste-Dujardin (2010), 41, n. 7. On this typical description of the ogress’s head, where lice abound, and a description of ogresses in general, see Thay Thay Rhozali (2000b), 89, 90.
- 31 This is a very important step in the plot, which occurs in many other Berber and Arab tales. See for example the *Märchen der Schluḥ von Tāzerwalt* by Stumme (1895), 71–73 (esp. 72), tale no. 1, “Die Geschichte von zwei Kindern und einer Hexe,” where a “Quelle” with magical power is mentioned.
- 32 The narrator says here *zūwwlu hādīç* “they took off x” instead of *zūwwlu l-ḥwāyāž* “they took off their clothes” or *zūwwlu ślīḥam* “they disrobed.” This may be because of the narrator’s intentional self-censorship, suppressing the verbal image of the girls’ nudity, or simply because she forgot the precise term. The semantic value of *hādīç* is equivalent to “ø.” This term thus leaves a free parameter allowing the listener (and translator) to fill in the meaning proper to the context.
- 33 This is the most important point in the plot of this tale: the flow of the story follows the actions of the youngest sister, who therefore is its main character. About the youngest sister / the youngest brother as a main character in folktales see my commentary on

foot. She took that small anklet off. She left it. She was bathing, and she forgot it there. And she left. They left. When they left – when she arrived at a certain place, having gone only a little way, she told them, “O sisters, I forgot my anklet. I left my anklet in the swamp. And now I am going back for my small anklet. I cannot leave it.” They said, “Okay.” She told them, “If you see that hackberry become green and lush, wait for me, wait for me, wait for me: know that I am going to find the anklet. And if you see it became yellow and withered, and its leaves fall off, and die, go forth, flee and escape: know that Ġāġġlu³⁴ has gotten me.” They left, the poor ones.

9 They proceeded onward. She, the poor one, went in search of her anklet. The Ġāġġlu found her. He seized her and put her in his bag of skin, and left with her. As he walked, he said to her, “Speak, speak my little bag of skin, or I will eat you.” She said, “We were seven girls playing in a swamp. I forgot my anklet, and I returned to get it.”³⁵ While he was walking, he kept saying, “Speak, speak my little skin bag or I will eat you.”

10 They, those girls, continued walking along farther and farther (their sister had been captured by the Ġāġġlu) till they reached a house, whose owner was a cat,³⁶ a woman who looked like a cat. They knocked at the cat’s. She came out to them. She was a woman but she looked like a cat. They said to her, “Please let

pp. 53–54. Concerning the term *xālxāl* “anklet,” which the narrator often expresses in the diminutive, see DAF, IV, 120. About the tradition of wearing a *xālxāl*, “anklet,” see the commentary on p. 14. In many folk traditions as well as in real life, anklets, which were worn principally by female children, had a prophylactic purpose – that is, as a way of warding off certain demonic spirits and of protecting the children from the Evil Eye. On the deeply rooted belief in the Evil Eye in Moroccan popular culture see n. 294 below, p. 403, and 76–77, 174 n. 44.

34 This name may be a variation of the noun *ġūl*, “ogre.” Its repeated syllable is perfect for catching the attention of young listeners. About this term see DAF, IX, 439. For its literary usage and role in folktales, see the commentary on pp. 60–61.

35 See Aarne and Thompson (1961), 103, “31B*,” *The Singing Bag*.

36 Marçais (1953), 377 correctly states about the Maghreb in general, “Le ‘chat’ suspect de n’être qu’un djinn camouflé” Cats are considered as household guardians, as a kind of jinn of this space. This is attested widely in Moroccan folktales. See for example the role played by the black cat, who in fact is a jinn, in Légy (1926), 7–13, tale no. I, “Histoire du pèlerin, de ses sept filles de la bonne ‘Afrīta et du fils du sultan,” and *ibid.*, 61–62, tale no. XIII, “Histoire d’une femme et d’une chatte noire.” In Kabylīan tales as well cats are considered “*īassassen* “guardians”, sortes de génies des lieux”: see Lacoste-Dujardin (2010), 60. The cat in the present tale indicates a magical metamorphosis of the jinn (on this see Westermarck (1968b), 309; Doutté [1994], 52 and p. 63). This same character appears as a “chat sauvage” in a parallel context in Laoust (1949), vol. I, 83–88, vol. II, 125–133 (esp. 126)

us enter. We ask to be taken in as guests, for God’s sake. We would like to stay with you.” Then she told them, “I have sons, but they are bandits. My sons are bandits. All of them are men and you are maidens. And my sons are outlaws; they will attack you. No.” They asked her, “Please! Put us anywhere. Please put us anywhere! We have nowhere to go.” Then she told them, “I have a room with straw.” They said to her, “Put us with the straw, hide us in the straw.” She made them enter and hid them in the straw. And her sons, the bandits, they spend the day in the wilderness.

At night the boys came. They found that their mother had swept and tidied: 11 she had made the house shine. They asked her, “Mother, who came to you today?” She replied, “No one came to see me, O sons. I have recovered: I have gotten healthy again.” They said, “Fine.” One of them told the others, “Tomorrow I am going to stay to watch her.”

The next morning, one of the brothers stayed to watch her. The next morn- 12 ing, he watched her. He wanted to see who visited her. But sleep deceived him³⁷ and he did not see anything at all.

The next morning [his brothers] asked him, “Who came to see our mother?” 13 He said, “I did not see anyone. No one came to see her. My mother has recovered. My mother is well. She is the one who is doing the housework.” The next morning another one said, “I am going to [stay].” The same thing occurred. He too fell asleep. One day the youngest among them said, “I am going to watch her. You don’t know anything!” The dawn came with the youth watching her. He pretended to be sleeping. She [his mother] arose. The girls came, came out from the straw, and swept for her, wiped, cleaned, and whitewashed with white lime.³⁸ They washed the clothes and did all the housework. And she gave them a sip of *lbən*³⁹ and bread, and they returned to their place.

When his brothers returned, he informed them. They asked him, “Who 14 comes to visit our mother?” He told them, “This is what happened, and this is what happened. Such-and-such a person came to her; so-and-so came to her.”

in tale no. XC, “Les deux orphelins et l’ogresse”; and *ibid.*, vol. I, 130–132, vol. II, 225–228 (esp. 225, 229–230, n. 4), tale CXVI, “Aventures de deux orphelins.”

37 The narrator uses the expression *šəmθun-nšās*, which literally means “sleep deceived him, played a trick on him.” For the verb *šmāt* see DAF, VII, 177.

38 Concerning this term see the commentary on pp. 73, 150 n. 252.

39 This is the English “whey,” the watery part of the milk that is separated from the coagulable part, or curd, especially in the process of making butter. This is a common drink in Chaouen, and even more in surrounding areas, where it is mixed with *kəksu* in a dish called *šāykūk* (a term not attested in de Prémare). About *lbən* and its idiomatic usage see DAF, X, 25; Abu-Shams (2002), 295.

When that girl came out and she [his mother] gave her *lbən* and bread, he, her son, came out and seized the girl, who started to shout. His mother told him, “Just leave her alone!” and she assured her, “He is not going to harm you.” He told her, “By God, Mother, the girls have spent the day working for you, and you give them [only] a bowl of *lbən* and bread! Give them what we ourselves eat.” They used to sacrifice a chicken each everyday. Each of them would get a chicken or a cock. “You are giving her only a bowl of *lbən*! It is not enough for her to have a single bowl of *lbən*.” His brothers came, and he told them everything.

15 They found the girl sitting. She remained sitting. And she said that her sisters remained. They came out. All of them continued working. The young men rejoiced in them. Each took one: they married them. They prepared their wedding. They celebrated their wedding. The little one was still with the Ġälġlu. Ġälġlu begged with her.

16 One day while they were still new brides, they were all gathered and Ġälġlu came to beg. Ġälġlu came to beg with the girl. He told her, “Speak, speak my little skin bag or I will eat you.” She said, “We were seven girls playing in a swamp, I forgot my anklet, and I returned to get it. And Ġälġlu kidnapped me and put me in his skin bag.” They exclaimed, “This is our sister!” They recognized [her voice]. They said to Ġälġlu, “Please, O Ġälġlu, carry this lunch for the workers that we have there.” He said, “Okay.” They gave him the lunch. He told them, “Do not to open this skin bag!” They replied, “No, we will not open it.” They gave him the lunch. They said to him, “When you return we will reward you.” He told them, “Do not hang this skin bag over smoke.” They replied, “No, we are not going to hang it over the smoke.” They replied, “No, we are not going to hang it over the smoke.” As soon as he left, they hung it over the smoke. When they hung it over the smoke, she exclaimed, “How disgusting!⁴⁰ How disgusting! Is smoke my sister! Is smoke my sister!” They opened the skin bag, found their sister. She jumped out to rejoice with them. They had her enter the hammam. They bathed her, rubbed her, and dressed her.

17 Ġälġlu delivered lunch and came back. They paid him and gave him back his skin bag. He asked them, “You were careful to not open it?” They replied, “No, we did not open it.” He took it and said [to it], “Speak, speak my little skin bag, or I will eat you.” Nothing. “Speak, speak my little skin bag, or I will eat you.” Nothing. She could not speak: she did not comprehend. She did not talk, She did not talk. He arrived at a swamp and told her, “By God, I am going to

40 The term used here is *xxi*, “ugh,” an exclamation of disgust. About this usage see DAF, I, 19 under *ehh*. De Prémare writes it in Arabic script عح. However, when he transliterates this exclamation, he writes *ehh*. This expression should be included as an entry in volume IV (Ḥ-D) and volume I (A’-B/P) of DAF, where it is mentioned only as a variant.

eat this daughter of a whore! And by God I am going to eat her.” He reached a swamp and stretched out his feet. – After Ġälġlu had left to take [the lunch to the workers], they had not put their sister back into the skin bag; her sisters had taken her and hidden her. And they had filled it with frogs, serpents, turtles, and cats. When he said, “Speak, speak!” each one of them would answer in its own tongue. – He sat down and stretched out his feet. He stretched his feet out into the swamp, preparing to eat her. She was making such noise that he thought she was trying to irritate him. He opened. The snails pecked his eyes, and the serpent coiled around his neck. The frog jumped at his nose – or some other appalling thing. – All of the animals [did something to him].⁴¹ He died. Ġälġlu died. He died in that swamp.

And they prepared for the wedding of their sister and married her to the young man that remained, and they all mounted on wings of joy.⁴² And their mother, the cat, mounted on wings of joy. Her sons were all bandits. 18

[One day] their father came to beg. Their father, who had cast them out, came to beg. He didn’t know them. He came to knock. He knocked at the door. When they went out, they found their father. They recognized him. They told him, “O Father, you cast us out in the mountains. [But] by God we are not going to chase you away.” They urged him to enter. They bathed him, they massaged him, and they dressed him in new clothes. They told him, “Stay with us till you die.” 19

– This is it. This tale is good. Listen to it again to see if has been well told. – 20

41 This passage parallels one in tale no. XCII, “Hamou Bou Tekiout et l’ogresse,” in Laoust (1949), vol. I, 88–89, vol. II, 138–139 (esp. 138), where Hamou the protagonist plays a trick on the ogress.

42 The idiom used here is *u fāḥḥānīn māš yṭīru*.

ĠĀyša Cinderella⁴³

- 1 I ask you to consider the case of a girl who had no mother, only the wife of her father. Her stepmother beat her, thrashed her with blows, and hit her, and covered her with ashes. She dubbed her, “ĠĀyša, the one who is covered with ashes. ĠĀyša, the one covered with ashes. ĠĀyša, covered with ashes.” The poor girl knew only weeping while sitting in the kitchen. She was not allowed to come down to the first floor. Of course she had a father. Her father was nice to her. But his wife was mean. His wife was mean. When she went out, she did not take her with her. She did not even allow her to go out. She could only work and stay covered with ashes. Then she [the mother-in-law] went out.

43 A variant of this tale is narrated by a storyteller named “Lalla el-Ghalia Rahamaniya” in Légy (1926), 19–23, tale no. 111, “*Āicha rmāda*: ‘Āicha souillée de cendres (Cendrillon).” The first episode parallels the present tale, though in the parallel version ‘Āicha gets married to the King thanks to the help of her dead mother’s spirit. Other parallel episodes includes the stepmother and her daughter throwing the pregnant ĠĀyša into the pit, where the King finds her with her baby after his return from war. Légy (1926), 34–37, tale no. VI, “Histoire de la jeune fille qui naquit d’une pomme ...,” narrated by the same storyteller, includes the episode of the insertion of the pin into ĠĀyša’s head by her co-wives, and her resultant metamorphosis into a bird, while her husband was on a trip: ĠĀyša as a dove entertains the workers until her discovery by her husband the Sultan upon his return. Other possible northern Jewish and Muslim Moroccan variants of this tale are: de Larrea Palacín (1952), 50–55, tale no. 13, “La Cenecera”; El Koudia and Allen (2003), 19–26 and 100–103, tale no. 4, “The Fisherman” and tale no. 16, “Nunja and the White Dove.” Another possible variant of this tale, though with substantial differences, is “Cendrillon de Fez,” recorded by Bonjean (1988), vol. I, 65–88 (esp. 74–83). A variant of this tale from the Algerian repertoire covers the third and last trip of the Sultan to the end: it is Frobenius translated by Fetta (1997), 179–186 (esp. 183–186), tale no. 36, “Les enfants de la marâtre.” Decourt (1988–1989), 249–257 gives a curious variant of this tale which includes the stepmother casting ĠĀyša Cinderella into the pit and the call of her brother: it begins in a completely different manner and continues with these parallels and was told by a Maghrebin immigrant called “Mme Omeir” (origin: Sétif) to Montferré-France. Other parallel tales told by Arab women are El-Shamy (1999), 255–262, tale no. 32, “Zlaizlah and ‘Omm-ZaBġbaġ”; 271–277, tale no. 34, “The Fisherman’s Daughter”; and 278–279, tale no. 34-1, “Fsajrah.” For a parallel folktale see Aarne and Thompson (1961), 175, “510, *Cinderella and Cap o’ Rushes*” and the many related motifs there.

One day her stepmother rose up and left [ʕĀyša] with a lot of⁴⁴ work. They [the stepmother and her daughter] readied themselves for a day out. She left a lot of work for her. She brought grains of wheat and kernels of corn – in other words, all kinds of seeds, and mixed them up and put out a large amount [from the] harvest.⁴⁵ Then she told her, “When I come back, I must find everything sorted. I must find every seed in its proper group.⁴⁶ I for sure am coming back.” And she left six small fishes,⁴⁷ and told her, “Prepare the fishes, wash them and fry them.” She hid the leather bucket of the well, so she [ʕĀyša] did not have anything with which to draw water: she would feel frustrated. She took the leather bucket and hid it. She told her, “Draw water as best you can. You have to wash the fish, and fry it. And if you lose any of it, I will tear it from your own flesh.”

She [her stepmother] left: she went out with her own daughter. And the girl [ʕĀyša] remained, weeping. She could not figure out how to start the work. How is she going to manage? She wept and wept and wept till she was almost blind.⁴⁸ She was about to prepare the fish, went to the well, tried to draw water. But she did not have any way to so. She put the fish into a small pot and lowered it into the well with a rope (or a cord or some other wretched thing) in order to

44 According to de Prémare, the noun *ǧbīna* basically means “profond chagrin (causé par une douleur morale / un affront / une humiliation / une vexation / une frustration / une déconvenue) etc.” This term also occurs as a verb, *ǧban* “attrister (qqn.), lui causer de la peine etc.” For this word and its many derivatives see DAF, IX, 334–335. However, as a result of semantic development, in ChA this term now means “many, a lot of s.o/s.th.; a large number of s.th. etc.” – for example: *ǧāw ǧbīna d-ən-nās* “many people came/have come,” and *b-əǧbīna bīhəm* “many of them” The justification for positing a semantic relationship between these two terms is that the present context expresses the frustration, humiliation, and pain ʕĀyša feels about her stepmother. (On the figure of the stepmother in folktales see pp. 48–49). The term *ǧbīna* “many, much, numerous etc.” is no longer used by the younger generation.

45 The original term here is *š-šāba*. About this term see DAF, VIII, 141.

46 The same task is required by the ogress of her victim in tale no. XXIV, “Moulay Hammam, la jeune fille et les ghoules,” in Légey (1926), 104–111 (esp. 105); and by the stepmother Jasmina of Cendrillon Gérardium, her stepdaughter in “Cendrillon de Fez”: Bonjean (1988), vol. I, 65–88 (esp. 75–76).

47 In the Cinderella story and its variants fish are a symbol of good fortune: see below. See also Laoust (1949), vol. II, 241. On the many fish symbols of Maghrebin speech in general and in folktales see for example Marçais (1953), 377; El Fasi and Dermenghem (1975), 136–137; and Bonjean (1988), vol. I, 65–88 (esp. 75), the tale “Cendrillon de Fez”; and commentary on p. 63.

48 This translation attempts to reflect as much as possible the expression used by the narrator here, *ābki yībki ya ʕāyina d-əl-ʕma*.

be washed. When she took it out, she found that she had lost one fish. She sat weeping and whimpering.

4 A woman came up to her from out of the well.⁴⁹ While she was weeping so hard, an almond, a small almond, was cast up out of the well into the house's courtyard. It went “Tchah!” and it split, and a woman came from inside it. The woman that came from it said to her, “The name of God is with you, O my daughter. The name of God is with you. What has happened to you, O my daughter? What’s wrong? What’s wrong?” She answered her, “This is what has happened: My stepmother has left seeds for me to sort. I have to sort each one by type. I cannot figure out how to begin. And she has left me six fishes and told me to prepare them and to wash them and to fry them. I don’t have anything with which to wash them: she hid the well’s leather bucket. I don’t have anything with which to wash them. When I tried to lower them into the well, I lost one.”

5 She [the woman] told her, “Now calm down. Do not cry.” And the woman made the same noise – “Tchah!” – and returned into the well. She took with her the plate of fish and she prepared it, and she fried it, and she brought it back up to [ĠĀyša], and said to her, “Here is the fish.” It was a plate of fish, fried and ready. And she took the seeds and sorted, sorted, sorted, sorted, sorted every grain into its proper group.⁵⁰ And she told [ĠĀyša], “Now here, here. Do not cry!” ([The woman was] a spirit).⁵¹ She replied, “Okay.”

49 The *būr* “well” gives access to the lower world or netherworld (Doutté [1994], 64; El-Shamy [1995], 383–384) – in this story the world of *ḡhānġyya*. The latter term refers to a kind of Muslim *ġinnġyya*: the first words she uttered as she comes out of the well are, “The name of God is with you.” This same sequence occurs in Jewish tale no. 3, “The Wondrous Gifts and the Wicked Old Woman” in Noy (1966), 33–39, esp. 34.

50 The expression here is *kūll wāḡīd b-wāḡdu*.

51 *ḡhānġyya*, a loan word from CA *rūḡ* “soul, *spiritus*,” literally means “demonic spirit.” De Prémare defines this as a “djinn femelle [Co.],” and gives its masculine equivalent as *rōḡāni* “esprit démoniaque, génie possesseur, être (d’un rang supérieur) appartenant au monde des esprits – *jānn*, *ḡāfrīt* – (spéc. ceux invoqués par les *Gnāwa*); fantôme / revenant, génie aérien vivant entre ciel et terre [Co, Co Tgr].” For more examples see DAF, v, 237. The use by the narrator of this term instead of *jinn* in feminine is not arbitrary because in the context of this tale the spirit here plays a very active role in helping the girl ĠĀyša against her stepmother. Moreover, these tales are told to children, in whose presence the uttering of the term *jinn* is prohibited. In the event that someone accidentally utters any of the demon names, the formula “In the name of God, the Beneficent, the Merciful! I take refuge in God from Satan!” must be uttered immediately to protect the child from demonic influences. Laoust (1947), 262, and idem (1949), vol. II, pp. xxv–xxvi, noted that this term is used in various Berber areas: “... chez les Tamsaman (Rif) et quelques autres, empruntées à

The woman said to her, “Let’s go to a hammam. I will bathe you.” She took her to the hammam, and she bathed her, and she massaged her. Before, she put gallnut dye⁵² in her hair. And she bathed and massaged her, and brought her back to the house. And she dried her and she put her henna⁵³ [on her hands]. She told her, “Let’s go out!” She took out some clothes like no one else’s, and she made the girl up. She primed her to the last detail. The girl had a face as beautiful as a precious stone.

She told her, “Let’s go to the gala⁵⁴ in the Sultan’s house. At this gala, the Sultan is going to choose the woman he likes best, so let’s go!” She took her. When she brought her in, her stepsister, the daughter of her stepmother, who had four eyes, four eyes in her face, said to her mother, “O Mother, look! ʕĀyša Cinderella is here. ʕĀyša Cinderella has come!” She replied, “Shut up! Who said anything about ʕĀyša Cinderella? How could ʕĀyša Cinderella come here? With what would ʕĀyša Cinderella come? Does she have clothes? ʕĀyša Cinderella did not come.” She told her, “By God, Mother, she *is* ʕĀyša Cinderella!” She answered, “No!” So they remained there.⁵⁵

They attended the gala. They finished. And then they prepared to go their way. They were about to leave, when the Sultan brought big pots of tar and

l’arabe comme *aruḥani* “ogre”, B. Messaoud (Blida), de *ruḥ* “âme, souffle,” et en Kabylie “folie, épilepsie” du nom du jinn, auteur présumé du mal (en tachelhit, le mot *rroḥaniyen* s’applique indistinctement à toutes les catégories de jnoun, mais plus particulièrement à ceux qui vivent entre le ciel et la terre).” For more on this borrowed CA term used as one among the diverse names of jinns, see Westermarck (1968a), 269, who comments that “at Fez a certain yellow fish, which I have been unable to identify, is called *roḥāni*, or *jenn*.” See also El Fasi and Dermenghem (1975), 23, 225–240 (esp. 225), the tale “le caftan d’amour tacheté de passion: *Qaftan el houbb lamnaqqat bel lahoua*”; and Bonjean (1988), vol. I, 65–88 (esp. 76–77), the tale “Cendrillon de Fez,” in which this spirit is replaced by the mother of the cats (*jinnīya*), whom Cendrillon Gérardium fed with the fish her stepmother had ordered her to cook. As a reward this spirit helped Cendrillon of Fes marry the prince.

52 See p. 77.

53 See pp. 76–77.

54 *ḍūḥḥīyya*, this word could be related to the noun *dhōr* / *dhōr*, meaning “midi, milieu de la journée” (see DAF, VIII, 220). In ChA this term refers particularly to the second-day wedding celebration offered to the bride, which takes place after late midday prayer. However, in the present context this term has the general meaning of any festive occasion.

55 In the Fasis tale “Cendrillon de Fez,” by Bonjean (1988), vol. I, 65–88 (esp. 80–81) the description of the stepmother’s readying herself and her daughter for the gala is followed by the account of the mother cat helping Cendrillon Gérardium make ready for the Prince’s gala. The identification of Cendrillon Gérardium’s stepsister with her, and the stepmother’s denial, are also paralleled.

poured it into the room's doorway. He will place the slippers of the one he likes in that wretched stuff,⁵⁶ that goo.

9 They began to leave.⁵⁷ A slipper of the girl he wanted for himself, who in fact was ĠĀyša Cinderella, was glued onto the tar. The slipper was stuck on it. She tried to pull it off, but it was impossible for her to do so. Her mother (meaning the spirit) told her, "Leave it, leave it!" "O, Mother, my slippers, my slippers!" She replied to her, "Here are other slippers." She took the other slippers, she took other slippers and put them on her feet, and took her home. She undressed her. She took off the clothes, and returned her to the way she had been before. She put ashes on her back again, and made her sit. And she [the stepmother] came with her daughter. And she came with her daughter to the house. They remained [at home].

10 The next morning, they [the Sultan's officials] began searching. One of the Sultan's servants⁵⁸ took the single slipper. The one who fits it will be his [the Sultan's] wife. She [the servant] took that single slipper and began searching house to house. One person tried it on, and another one, and another, and so forth. Everyone tried.

11 [The stepmother] desired that the slipper would fit her daughter. She took her daughter out to [the Sultan's servant and] told her, "Here she is! Have her try it." Before, she had rolled her in a reed mat so her four eyes could not be seen: she had made sure her face was covered by a mat. She said, "It is her size, no? It does fit her. It does fit her, fit her, fit her. It does not fit her?"⁵⁹ She [the

56 The narrator uses the expression *dīç l-hämm*. This expression often occurs in the form *hād l-hämm*, "cette source d'ennuis! cette saleté! cette saloperie! cette ordure! [Co]" (DAF, XII, 85, meaning 3) and can refer to both humans and objects. This expression is used so much more frequently in women's speech that it can be considered a women's expression. By analogy, the same can be said concerning the term *məlsū?*, feminine *məlsūʔa* "unfortunate, miserable etc.," which normally refers to people.

57 The use of the past continuous tense here reflects the original's five repetitions of the participle of the verb *xəḡḡ* "to go out, to leave, etc." The narrator said *bdāw xāwḡḡin, xāwḡḡin, xāwḡḡin, xāwḡḡin, xāwḡḡin*.

58 The word used here is *xāddāma* "female servant." On this term and its semantic connotations, and its comparison with *šābd* "slave," see Wensinck (1978), 931–932.

59 This same sequence occurs in a variant of this tale in Légy (1926), 19–23 (esp. 21), tale no. III, "*Āicha rmāda*: Āicha souillée de cendres (Cendrillon)"; and in the Jewish Tetuan tale no. 13, "La Cenicera," by de Larrea Palacín (1952), 50–55 (esp. 55). For the same sequence see also the Qatari tale no. 34-1, "Fsajrah," in El-Shamy (1999), 278–279; and the Egyptian tale no. 46-3, "The Sister's Shoe," idem, 330–331. On the symbolic significance of the act of inserting a foot into a shoe (Mot. z186.4.3.1§), see El-Shamy (1977), 60, n. 42 and El-Shamy (1999), 279, 398 n. 681, 404 n. 792. In the Fasis tale, "Cendrillon de Fez," in Bonjean (1988),

servant] replied, “No, it does not fit her. He [the Sultan] is not going to take her.” She told her that it was not her size.

She asked her, “Do you have another girl?” She answered, “No! I have none 12
other. This is the only one.” [The servant] looked up: the girl [ʕĀyša] glanced out; the girl glanced out: She [the servant] saw her, and she told her [the stepmother], “Here she is! Here is the girl!” Then she told her, “That one is lowly.⁶⁰ She is a minor servant. She is only an insignificant servant. She is an insignificant servant who sits in the kitchen. She never leaves the cooking area. She attends the stove. She is the Lady of the Stove.⁶¹ She isn’t nice.”

Then she [the Sultan’s servant] told her, “Now, if she is nice, have her come 13
down. If she is ugly, have her come down. If she attends the stove, have her come down. She can be the way she likes to be. Her lord told you to bring her to him no matter what she is!” She had [ʕĀyša] come down. They told her, “Come down!” The girl came down. She tried the single slipper. It fit her. [The Sultan’s servant] told her [the stepmother], “See, the slipper fits her. This one is our lord’s wife.” And she also told her, “Now see, by God, if you touch this girl,⁶² or hit her, or do anything to her, you will know for yourself the consequences.⁶³ This one is our lord’s wife. Now the slipper is her size. She is his wife.”

vol. 1, 65–88 (esp. 82), the shoe is replaced by “babouches,” and the sequence is different. Also see El Fasi (2000), 58–64 (esp. 59), the tale “Attoche et Fadhel.”

60 The idiom here is *l-hāmm ʕla sāsʕda*, literally “may her good luck cause pain, affliction, sadness / may her good luck be affliction/pain/grief/sorrow/distress.” Concerning the word *hāmm* and its semantic value in stock phrases, see n. 56 above. About the noun *sāsʕd*, “bonne chance, bonheur; chance, sort (bon, mauvais ou hasardeux, déterminé par les astres),” see DAF, VI, 98–99, where many expressions have been mentioned, though not the present one, which is characteristically female; and pp. 32–33.

61 In old Chaouen houses, the kitchen area would be a remote room located in a remote corner of the house: it was considered a strange place inhabited by jinns. Compare the description of an oven room in an Egyptian country-style house in El-Shamy (1999), 363, n. 38.

62 This translates exactly the original’s *u ʔʔiʕ yiddaʕ f-hād l-ʕāyla*.

63 This is the most appropriate translation for the expression *ila hāʕʕa dāʕwāf mʕa vāsəʕ*, which combines the verb *ʕwāf* “savoir qqch.; connaître qq. ou qqch.; savoir ce que c’est que telle chose” (see DAF, IX, 75–76, where many other expressions are mentioned, though not the present one), with *mʕa vāsəʕ*, the preposition *mʕa* + the noun *vās* (+ pronominal suffix), which, according to de Prémare, DAF, V, 14, meaning 22, is “forme d’insistance; s’emploie avec de nombreux verbes pour insister sur la part que le sujet prend à l’action ou à la situation en cours, ou sur l’intérêt ou le plaisir qu’il en retire] en tête à tête avec soi-même, en aparté, sans être troublé par autrui; seul et bien tranquillement, bien à son aise etc.” On the term *vās* in general and its many uses see DAF, V, 6–14.

- 14 Then she left and told him [the Sultan]. He rejoiced and felt glad. He went to [ḤĀyša's] father to ask the girl's hand in marriage. He asked for her hand in marriage. They celebrated the wedding. They celebrated the wedding. They all had great joy.⁶⁴
- 15 Her stepmother did not accept [ḤĀyša's] marriage to the Sultan. She could not stand it. They had the wedding. The husband spent a long time⁶⁵ with his wife, and [then] left on a trip. One day he traveled. He had told her, "Beware! Do not open the door for your stepmother!" She replied, "No." [But] the poor thing was naïve. As soon as the man [the Sultan] had left on a trip, her stepmother came. She knocked – "Knock, knock, knock!" "Who's there?" She replied, "It's me." She told her, "The door is closed and I am inside." Then she asked her, "Please, O daughter, open the door for me. Please! It is only your stepmother. Open the door so I can see you. I long to see you, and my heart yearns for you!⁶⁶ And now, open!"
- 16 She opened for her. She opened for her. She entered. She took her seat and she joined her. She told her, "Let me check your head. It must be full of lice." She replied, "There are no lice on my head. You do not have to check it." She said, "No, let me check your head! Let me check your head!" Then she pulled her, saying, "Sit down to have your head checked. Sit down!" She sat down. She pretended that she was checking her head, but took a pin and stuck it into her brain. As soon as she had stuck the pin into her head, the girl became a dove⁶⁷

64 The narrator's words here are *fāḥḥānīn māš yṭūu*. About the combination of the adjective plural *fāḥḥānīn* with the verb *ṭār*, see n. 42 above.

65 The narrator used the expression *ḥāṭṭa ḏāṣya*, which literally means "until he got tired."

66 The expression here is *ḡālbī lāyṭ ḡāṭṭāṣ ṣlīḥ*. The verb *tḡāṭṭāṣ + ṣla* has the figurative meaning "avoir le coeur déchiré de douleur au sujet de qqch. [Co]." For this expression and various other ones see de Prémare, DAF, x, 369, meaning 4.

67 The metamorphosis from girl/woman to dove is a very common motif in Magribin and Arab folktales in general. For two versions of the story see Frobenius translated by Fetta (1996), 207–221, tales no. 18 and 19 "Les femmes-pigeonnes"; and idem, (1998), 5–24 (esp. 18), tale no. 41, "L'homme racheté reconnaissant." Also see Légy (1926), 34–37 (esp. 35), tale no. VI, "Histoire de la jeune fille qui naquit d'une pomme ..."; El Fasi (2000), 244–249 (esp. 247, 249), the tale "Les pommes de la fécondité"; Laoust (1949), vol. I, 95–96, vol. II, 150–152, tale no. XCVI, "Histoire d'une jeune fille abandonnée et élevée par des gazelles"; idem vol. I, 140–143, vol. II, 241–244 (esp. 242), tale no. CXX, "Enceinte d'un serpent"; and idem vol. I, 143–145, vol. II, 249–251 (esp. 249), the tale CXXI, "La colombe et le fils du roi." The same motif can be found in the Tetuani Jewish folktales no. 20, "La paloma encantada," and no. 55, "la tres toronjas," in de Larrea Palacín (1952), 78–81 (esp. 79) and 178–183 (esp. 182–183). And see Domenech Lafuente (1953), 253–259 (esp. 257–258), the tale XLIII, "La doncella que vivió con las gacelas"; and Laâbi (1992), 27–59 (esp. 49–50,

and flew away. She did not remain a human. She became a dove, and went to be with other doves.

And she [the stepmother] made her daughter up, fixed and fussed over her, and had her stay [in the Sultan's house]. She told her, "Now remain here. And when he comes, tell him you are his wife." And she left, leaving the girl there. 17

The man was gone two days and returned. When he arrived, he found the woman changed,⁶⁸ different from what she had been. He asked her, "By God, dear! What is this? What makes you look this way? What's wrong with you?" She replied, "Nothing, only my longing for you. I only feel longing for you. I missed you!" He asked her, "And what has happened to your hands?" She told him, "My hands? I was climbing the walls so hard." He said to her "Your feet are twisted!" She answered him, "My feet? I was climbing so many steps so hard." He asked her, "And you, what is wrong with you?" She told him, "I was constantly thinking of you."⁶⁹ He told her, "Okay" and lapsed into silence. – People were naïve [then]: they did not know much. – He remained there. 18

The next day he went to his work place. He found that the workers had not done the work; they had not done the work. He said to them, "By God! What is this? Show me the work you have done! I was away and you did not get the work done?" Then they told him, "A dove comes. She entertains us. She distracts us. She asks, 'How is my lord the Sultan doing with his wife?' We told her, 'He is miserable!'⁷⁰ Then she leaves crying." He [the Sultan] asked, "When does she come?" They answered, "At such-and-such a time." At that time he came and sat. "Where does the dove land?" They told him, "There." He sat in the dove's place. As he was sitting, the dove flew in – "Whoosh!" – and landed on his lap. 19

55, 56, 57), the tale "La pomme de grossesse." For the metamorphosis of a human into an animal (dove, dog etc.) by the use of a pin motifs see El-Shamy (1980), 251 and (1995), 383: "Transformation by Sticking Magic Pin into Head D582," and "Disenchantment by Removal of Enchanting Pin D765.1.2." On the dove and its association with women, its place, and its Islamic symbolism see Chebel (1995), 106–107.

68 The expression used here is *mbəddla mən lāwna*. The first component is the passive participle *mbəddəl / mbəddla*, which means "... qui a subi une transformation, qui n'est plus dans son état normal, altéré ..." (see DAF, I, 161). Another possible semantically equivalent expression is *tbəddel + lūno* [de Prémare / *lāwnu*: AR], meaning "il a changé de couleur; il s'est altéré" (see DAF, I, 160). The narrator chose the first expression mentioned above to indicate that ǾĀyša Cinderella has been changed against her will, and without even being conscious of it.

69 The search for convincing pretexts to explain change from beautiful to ugly also occurs in tale no. XIX, "Monseigneur 'petite tête,'" in Légy (1926), 86–88 (esp. 88).

70 The narrator's words here are *kīfl-hāmm*. See the commentary on the term *hāmm* in n. 56 and 60 above.

She sat on his lap. He rejoiced in her, and petted her. He did so until, as he gently touched her head, he found the pin stuck into her head. He pulled it out and found that it was a pin. He had not known about it before. He removed it. As soon as he pulled it out, the dove turned into a woman, his wife. He discovered that she was his wife. He discovered that she was his wife. He exclaimed, “By God, dear! What is this? And who did this to you?” She said, “My stepmother.” He asked her, “What do you wish to be done with her daughter? She is at [our] home. What do you wish for her?” She answered him, “Nothing. Only drape her [in the *ḥāyək*] and send her back to her mother. I wish her no harm.” The poor thing, she was naïve.⁷¹ Then the woman changed back to a woman and lived with her husband, and he draped that girl [in the *ḥāyək*] and sent her back to her mother.

20 Then the man stayed [home] a long time. And one day he traveled again: he went away again. Again the stepmother came knocking. He had told her [ĪĀyša], “Be sure⁷² not to open to her again!” She promised him, “I will.” But she opened to her again anyway. She entered. She dallied with her, putzing around. Then she asked, “What do you have in this room?” She answered, “This is the lions room”;⁷³ and she repeated, “This is the lions room, not ours. We have lions. Lions [are] in it. Lions eat human beings.” She told her, “Wait. I will take

71 The original term here is *n̄yya* (see Colin [1931], 21, n. 2), which literally means “positive intention; good will.” Another possible meaning is “interest in others, willingness to please.” This word is used mainly pejoratively in descriptions of women’s attitudes toward life and its problems: their lack of *n̄yya* as a more comprehensive positive virtue implies their inferiority and inexperience. See Dwyer (1978), 137, 159. On this term in a magical context see Doutté (1994), 329.

72 The term used here is *dābi*, which, given the immediate context, should mean, “Be aware! Be sure! Be careful!” This term may be related to the adverb *dāba*: “maintenant, à présent; tout de suite, à l’instant, immédiatement; actuellement.” (See DAF, IV, 205–206). About the adverb *dāba* see Tangiers Marçais (1911), 289; Corriente (1997), 190; and Moscoso, DACH, 303, n. 940. This very common usage of *dābi* in Chaouen has not been mentioned in previous studies. This term is equivalent to the MA *šāndāk* / *šāndāk* / *šāddāk*, meaning, “[Zaē] loc. exclam. à valeur impérative ... prends-garde / prenez garde / prenez garde! – *šāndāk* / *šāndāk* lā + v. à l’innacc. garde-toi de (faire telle chose) etc.” (See DAF, IX, 256, under meaning 8).

73 The reference to domesticated lions living in a room of the same house where the tale’s protagonist dwells is found in many Muslim and Jewish folktales. See for example Spitta-Bey (1883), 123–136 (esp. 134) tale x, “Histoire du rossignol chanteur”; and de Larrea Palacín (1953), 19–21 (esp. 20) tale no. 92, “El tiempo largo.” Lions as companions of humans is in fact the central theme of some folktales: see for example “Histoire du lion et de ses compagnons avec l’homme” in Laâbi (2007), 53–60. For this motif see El-Shamy (1995), 288, “Domesticated Lion B256.14S.” In some Moroccan Berber tales this animal has the rôle of

a glance into it.” She acted as if she was only going to glance into it, but she put the unfortunate girl inside, that girl. She put the woman with the lions and shut her inside. And she went away again. She left her daughter there and went away. She went away.

When the lions came to eat her – they eat people – [ʕĀyša] said to them, 21
 “Stop! This is your lord’s wife. Stop! Be careful with your lord’s wife. I am your lord’s wife!” And they stepped back. They tried again to eat her. And again she said to them, “Stop! Be careful with your lord’s wife. I am your lord’s wife. I am your lord’s wife.” Then her husband came. [This kept on] until her husband came. One day he discovered the same predicament as before.⁷⁴

He took a moment to check his lions room. He came in to check his lions’ 22
 room. He came to check his lions’ room. He heard her saying, “Stop! I am your lord’s wife. Stop! I am your lord’s wife.” [He asked himself,] “This one saying, ‘Your lord’s wife,’ who is she?” He entered the room. He checked the room, and discovered his wife. “O, by God, dear! What is this?” She told him, “O dear, this is destiny! She fooled me again, and I opened the door to her.” Then he took that woman out. He said to her, “Let’s see what to do with her daughter.” She told him, “Do not do anything to her. Just send her to her [the mother]; dispatch her to her.” He released that girl. He sent her her way. He told her, “Leave!” And he remained with his wife in his home. He remained at home. He spent some time [there], a long time.⁷⁵

And he traveled again. He went away while she was pregnant. The man 23
 traveled and she was pregnant. She was carrying a huge belly.⁷⁶ He told her, “Be careful! Do not open to your stepmother!” She told him, “No.” Then she came knocking again, banging at the door, imploring and begging. She felt sorry for her, and she opened to her again. She opened the door to her. She sat with her. They sat to chat, and to talk. She [her stepmother] rose up and moved around. She told her, “I would like to go about your house.” She did so. She ambled from one place to another, from one side to another, and she found a pit. There was a pit. Then she asked her [ʕĀyša], “What is this?” She told her, “This is a

the ogre: on this see the comments by Laoust (1949), vol. II, p. XVIII, XIX, XXI. For this animal as protagonist in other folktales see Aarne and Thompson (1961), 268 under “*Lion*.”

74 This is a literal translation of the expression *ʕāwəd dīç šī hūwwa hādāç*.

75 The idiom here is *xāyḅ ḅābbi*. This expression means “many/a lot of/ a large number/numerous.” In the present context this expression refers to time and thus means “a long time.” This same expression is cited by de Prémare as *ḥēr-əllāh*: see DAF, IV, 188, meaning 3, where both expressions are mentioned.

76 The idiom *l-bṭān ʔūddāma ʔādd-ma ʔā* is literally “a big belly in front of her / carrying a huge belly.” For *ʔādd-ma ʔā* see n. 23, p. 281.

well, a well." She told her, "Wait! I want to uncover it to look." She uncovered it. She pretended that she was going to glance into it. She threw [ĠĀyša] the unfortunate into it. She threw her into the pit, and she left her inside the pit, screaming in the pit.⁷⁷ There was no one in the house to see [or hear] her. She threw her into the pit, and she left. And she again left her daughter primped and fixed up, sitting.

24 The man spent a long time away, and he came back. When he came back, he again found the same unfortunate girl [the stepmother's daughter]. He again asked her, "What is this – again?" She told him, "This is what?" He asked her, "Who came to see you and make you become so?" She replied, "My brother Ġzīzəl. My brother Ġzīzəl." – In fact he was the brother of the other girl [ĠĀyša]. – "My brother Ġzīzəl, Ġzīzəl ... His name is Ġzīzəl." He asked her, "What do you wish for Ġzīzəl? What should we do with him?" She told him, "We will kill him." – Understand? ĠĀyša Cinderella [herself] had not consented to killing. – "I want him to be sacrificed from one ear to the other,⁷⁸ and that a big pot of boiling tar be poured on him." Then he told her, "Very well." He brought the tar, and he boiled it. He summoned that unfortunate lad. The lad came. He sat. [The Sultan] summoned the unfortunate sacrificers. He told them, "Sharpen the knives. We are going to sacrifice this lad because he visited his sister. What business has he here?"

25 When they had finished and were about to lay him down, he [the lad] now implored him [the Sultan], "Please, I only ask you for one scream into this pit. After I have screamed into this pit, you can kill me." Then he [the Sultan] asked him, "What is the good of the pit to you?" He replied, "I will only call into it." Then he [the Sultan] said, "Fine. Here is the pit." He opened the pit for him. He told him, "So call." He cried out once, calling her: "O sister, the dearest among

77 For a parallel act in a variant of this story see tale no. 6, "M'hmed Aserdun chez l'ogre" in Frobenius translated by Fetta (1996), 69–85 (esp. 74); idem (1997), 179–186 (esp. 183–186) tale no. 36, "Les enfants de la marâtre"; Légy (1926), 19–23, tale no. III, "Āicha rmâda: Āicha souillée de cendres (Cendrillon)"; and El Koudia and Allen (2003), 90–95 (esp. 93), tale no. 14 "Aamar and His Sister." This is a common motif in oral folk traditions of the Arab World and is labeled by El-Shamy (1995), 383 as "*Impostors Throw Hero into Pit K1931.4*." The woman hero is normally pushed into the pit by another female character, usually the stepmother or one of the other wives – as in El-Shamy (1999), 293–299 (esp. 296) tale no. 38, "Brother Deer." For this motif in folktales in general see Aarne and Thompson (1961), 133, "Q465.1, *Throwing into pit of snakes as punishment*."

78 The idiom here is *m-əš-šāhma n-əl-lāhma*, literally "from the greasy uttermost to the other fleshy side." This expression refers to the way the boy is to have his throat slit by knife in the proper Muslim manner when sacrificing animals for legal food.

my dear ones. The knives are sharpened for me and big pots of tar are boiled for me.” She [ʕĀyša] answered him, “My brother, the dearest among my dear ones, frogs ate my flesh, and snakes sucked my blood. And l-Ḥsən and l-Ḥūsāyn⁷⁹ and Qūrrāθ l-ʕĀyn⁸⁰ are sitting in my lap.” And he [the Sultan] was listening: “Ah ha!”

79 The selection of a specific personal name in fiction, in addition to facilitating character identification, derives from the cultural background and usually expresses some symbolic meaning. With the exception of some names like those used here, many folktale names are not used in everyday life; they are indeed only story names. The two Arabic names in the present context normally refer to babies and are very common in Magribin folktale tradition. A variant of this episode is in Frobenius translated by Fetta (1997), 179–186 (esp. 183–186), tale no. 36, “Les enfants de la marâtre,” in which the protagonist gives birth to two boys, one named Ahcen and the other Lhocin, in a pit. Another example of these two names is in Frobenius / Fetta (1998), 96–114 (esp. 113), tale no. 48, “L’histoire du rêve de Hassan”; and in Dwyer (1978), 59, tale no. 9, “The Afterlife.” In El-Shamy (1999), 178–182 (esp. 179), tale no. 18, “Who Will Enter Paradise First?,” where the protagonist, the Prophet’s daughter Fāṭima, says, “... I am the Prophet’s daughter! And I am the mother of el-Ḥasan and el-Ḥusain! And I am the mother of ʕes-Sayyidah [Zainab]” (For ʕes-Sayyidah see n. 424 on p. 383: “it is commonly used to denote ‘The Lady,’ i.e., the female descendant of the Prophet, or the she-honorable; i.e., Zaynab.”) This gives the background of these proper names in Arab folktales in general. In Egyptian folktales in particular these three names refer to a council of saints called the Diwān. Concerning his tale no. 30, “An Arch-Saint’s Attempt to Punish Sinners,” El-Shamy (1980), 151–152 comments, “The most important component of the council is a triad formed of a sister and her two brothers. They are Prophet Muhammad’s grandchildren: Zainab, the sister who presides over the council, and her brothers al-Hasan and al-Husain. Unlike their father ʕAali, they represent domestic and nonmilitary supernatural personages. The concept of the Diwān harks back to the ancient Egyptian Ennead, a council of gods also headed by a triad of one female and two male deities. The role played by the modern Islamic triad corresponds to that of Isis, Osiris, and Horus, the ancient Egyptian trinity” In the present tale the triad is preserved, while in a variant of this theme mention is made only of the two boys. On these two names in Moroccan folktales see Thay Thay Rhozali (2000b), 238. For symbols and metaphors of Fāṭima and her sons see Chebel (1995), 97, 161, 196, 235, 261–262.

80 Unlike l-Ḥsən and l-Ḥūsāyn this personal name is not a common one in tales (see commentary in n. 79 above). Nor is it a typically MA name. *qorrat l-ʕayn* (in the present text *ʕūrrāθ l-ʕāyn*) is a CA Qurʕānic expression: see *Sūrah* 25:74 and 28:9. De Prémare, DAF, x, 280, mentioned this expression’s use in the poetry/Melḥūn of Sīdi Qaddūr ʕĀlāmi. (About this poet see the see commentary in n. 288, p. 243). The fact the woman narrator here uses a CA name proves both the reliability of her memory and the authenticity of her story, because she had no exposure to CA and was simply reciting the story as she had learned it. By contrast the man narrator of the present collection of stories, though like the woman narrator unable to read or write, would have had much more contact with CA and more

When the sacrificers tried to seize him again, he [the Sultan] said, “No: after he calls again.” And he told the lad, “Call again!” And the lad called, “O sister, the dearest among my dear ones. The knives are sharpened for me and big pots of tar are boiled for me.” Then she told him, “My brother, and the dearest among my dear ones! Frogs ate my flesh, and snakes sucked my blood. And l-Ḥṣən and l-Ḥūsāyn and Qūrrāθ l-ʿĀyn are sitting in my lap.”⁸¹

²⁶ [The Sultan] said, “Do not sacrifice him. Leave the lad. Leave him.” He told him, “Sit down, O my son.⁸² Sit down.” The boy sat down: he rejoiced and remained there. And he [the Sultan] told them [his servants], “Hand over a basket.” They brought a basket and a rope. And they lowered the basket [into the pit]. They lowered the basket and brought up a boy. She [ʿĀyša] had put a boy in it. She had placed him [there]. And they lowered it again, and they brought up another boy. They lowered it again and a girl came up. Three children. The poor [ʿĀyša] had given birth to them in the pit by herself. Three children. Then they lowered a big basket.⁸³ He told them, “Give me that basket.”

occasion to use expressions, idioms, and phrases from it. The use of CA is one of the key distinguishing features between the tales of the man and woman narrators and probably was one of the distinguishing features between the men's and women's speech of their generation in general. For more on this see commentary on pp. 27–37.

- ⁸¹ The answer of the Kabylian protagonist in that variant of this tale is more sophisticated. See tale no. 36, “Les enfants de la marâtre,” in Frobenius translated by Fetta (1997), 179–186 (esp. 185): “Assis sur la margelle, le frère se pencha vers le fond du puits et lança: “Ma chère soeur, je vais bientôt mourir!” La soeur répondit du plus profond du puits: “Mon frère, je ne peux pas t’aider! Sache que depuis que je suis au fond du puits, j’ai donné naissance à deux beaux garçons que j’ai nommés l’un Ahcen et l’autre Lhocin. Ahcen dort sur mon genou droit et Lhocin sur le gauche. Je ne peux plus bouger, car sur ma droite, le monstre Luahc me surveille, prêt à bondir pour me ravir Ahcen et le dévorer! Sur ma gauche, l’hydre à sept têtes Lafâa s’apprête à s’emparer de Lhocin pour le dévorer vivant. C’est pourquoi je ne peux bouger pour te venir en aide.”” Also see El-Shamy (1999), 293–299, tale no. 38, “Brother Deer,” in which the brother was metamorphosed into a deer, and, when the servants went to slaughter him, galloped to the well where his sister had been thrown by her co-wives, and at the well wailed (*nawwah*). For the exact words of the wailing see *ibid.*, 296–297, with the Arabic version on pp. 399–400 in notes 719 and 720.
- ⁸² The term *bni* “my son” does not necessarily signify an actual father-son relationship. The broader meaning of “my son” is indicated by the word *ūldi* in other MA, where the term *bən* “son” is used more as a first *nomen rectum* in a construct chain, as the first component of a composed family name, or as the first component of various other expressions. For examples see DAF, I, 318–319.
- ⁸³ The narrator uses here *ʿāllāf*. This word appears in de Prémare in the feminine *ʿāllāfa*, which means “... sorte de couffin en doum suspendu au cou de l’animal (cheval, mulet,

They lowered a big basket by a rope and they pulled up the woman. They pulled her out: when they pulled it up, they found a woman. He [the Sultan] found his wife. He asked her, “O God, dear! What is this? Is this what your stepmother has done to you?”

She found her brother there. He hugged her, he rejoiced; he embraced his sister and his sister embraced him, both weeping. The babies were beautiful. They left. And [the Sultan] asked her, “What do you wish for her [the stepmother’s] daughter? Her daughter is here [in the palace].” Then she told him, “Now what she wished for my brother, I wish be done to her. I want her to be sacrificed now from one ear to the other⁸⁴ and big pots of tar poured upon her. The same thing she wished to be done to my brother, I wish to be done to her.” He took her and sacrificed her, and cut her into pieces and put her on a tray⁸⁵ and he put tar – or I do not know what he made. And he sent a word to her, to his mother-in-law. She doesn’t belong to him. He sent a word to her mother. [But first] he told her, “Do this, and invite people. And I am going to provide food for them; I’m going to feed them.”

Her mother rejoiced very much:⁸⁶ “The Sultan is going to make food for her!” She thought that the other one [ʕĀyša Cinderella] had died in the pit, and that she had succeeded. She thought that her daughter had succeeded [in fooling the Sultan]. People were seated, music, dance⁸⁷ tambourines and lululling, and

âne) ...” (see DAF, IX, 201). Such a meaning fits the present context. However, by analogy with the word *ʔūffa* mentioned earlier in a similar context, it has been translated here as “big basket.”

84 This expression is commented in n. 78 above.

85 According to de Prémare, DAF, VIII, 408, meaning 1, a *t-ṭṭayfūr* is a “petite table ronde en bois, à haut rebord vertical, munie d’un couvercle en sparterie – *mkabb* –, et, au dessous, de deux planchettes disposées verticalement sur le champ long, faisant office de pieds; elle sert à transporter les offrandes, les cadeaux de noce, et à exposer le trousseau de la mariée [sorte de ‘corbeille de mariage’] [Co, Br].” This is how the word is used in ChA. However, in areas surrounding Chaouen (and, according to de Prémare, in Tangiers, Tetuan and other *Žbāla* rural areas) a *t-ṭṭayfūr* is a “table basse et ronde à quatre pieds, sans rebord circulaire verticale, sur laquelle on mange [Mar] [comp. *tābla, mīda*].” (See DAF, VIII, 408 under meaning 4; Rackow [1958], 9–10, who includes a detailed image in Tafel VIII; and Abu-Shams [2002], 309–310, n. 178 Figures 14 and 15). ChA preserves the diphthong using the form *māyda*: for this form see Colin (1931), 17, n. 3. For more on the use of this term in Chaouen see Hoenerbach and Kolenda (1975), 133, n. 52, who, following Alcalá, suggest that this word is used “auch im granadischen Arabisch.” On this voice see Corriente (1988), 26 under *tfr.

86 This is *fāvḥāna ... māš d-ṭūr*. About this expression see n. 42.

87 *l-ḥḍāwi* is the plural of *l-ḥḍāwa*. In this context *ḥḍāwa* refers to the music played by women

the world was watching. The brides were sitting in a high place, and everything. And the food was coming: the trays of food were coming on the heads of the servants. She caused it to enter with “lu-lu-lu!” She was lululling. When she uncovered the tray, she found her daughter on top, her head with her four eyes placed on top. She screamed,⁸⁸ crying out loudly. When she screamed, the other people attending screamed too.

29 They fled: they went running, each his own way. She remained alone, crying. The people had fled. They went their way. And she remained, crying loudly, with that big pot near her and that tray of wretchedness.

30 Then a boy came begging. He asked them, “What is happening in this house?” They told him, “There is a wedding, where [they] have received the marriage gift.” She [the stepmother] went out to him, and told him, “Do you not see what I am doing?” He asked her, “Please lady, give me a piece of bread and a morsel of meat. They told me that you received food.” She replied, “Why should I receive food!” [And she beat] him – “Thump, thump, thump!” – till he was limp. She told him, “I am not going to give it to you until you weep and weep, and your eyes become like mine – till green watercress⁸⁹ grows in your eyes.”

31 He remained crying. He kept crying and a woman passed by. She asked him, “What is the matter, O my son?” He was tied up: she [the stepmother] had tied him up. He told her, “The woman [of this house] received some food, and I came to her, and asked her to give me a small piece of bread, and a small piece of meat. But she told me that I must cry until green watercress grows in my eyes.” The woman went to the wilderness, brought a bunch of watercress, put it on his eyes and began calling, “O my lady, come out! The watercress has grown. O my lady, the watercress has grown. O my lady, the watercress has grown.” She

musicians, while women attending the wedding ceremony dance and enjoy the festivities. Chaouen has a long and rich tradition of women's musicians' groups, called *ḥāddāwīn*, who perform a broad range of religious and non-religious songs. I intend to publish a detailed study of this corpus, the texts of which have already been collected. About the term *ḥāddāwīn* and its religious connotations, see de Prémare, DAF, III, meaning 3.

88 The expression used here is *tāḥəθ lādǧāwwəθ*. The verb *tāḥ* basically means “to fall down, to fall” (see DAF, VIII, 391–394). But in the present context *tāḥ* functions as an auxiliary to the main verb *ǧāwwəθ*, “to scream,” which it is meant to intensify: thus in effect here it means “to commence an action and to continue doing that action.” The end of this tale parallels the end of Légy (1926), 19–23 (esp. 22–23), tale no. III, “*Āicha rmāda*: ‘Āicha souillée de cendres (Cendrillon).’”

89 The word here is *ǧərwīnnəš*. For this technical term see DAF, X, 717 under *ǧərwənnəš*, which de Prémare defines: “n. [Jb; bot.] cresson [= *ǧərwīnnəš*] [Co Ġzāwa].”

went out to him, and she furiously beat the boy on his back. Then he left. And she continued crying and went to bury her daughter – or I do not know what she did. –

*If I had the keys I would give you apples for dinner.*⁹⁰ 32

– This tale is wonderful. This tale has been harmoniously narrated. Please listen to it and tell me how you find it. – 33

90 On this closing formula see the commentary on p. 64.

Zbīṣa

- 1 I am going to tell you about a man who had a house, who had a wonderful house, he had a terrace,⁹¹ he had all such things. And the girl was confined: and she didn't go out. He did not allow her to go even to the balcony. He did not allow her to go up to the terrace either. He did not allow her to go anywhere.⁹² He had only one daughter. She was his only daughter.

91 *s/ṣṭāḥ* is a flat house roof forming a terrace on which the open air can be enjoyed. For more see DAF, VI, 91. This space open to the sky represents the outside world for the confined protagonist. See for example Légy (1926), 7–13 (esp. 8) tale no. 1, “Histoire du pèlerin, de ses sept filles de la bonne ‘Afrîta et du fils du sultan” in which the confined women characters say, “Nous allons monter sur la terrasse respirer un peu l’air lumineux et voir ce qui se passe dans la rue.” See also the Jewish Tetuani folktale no. 84, “El viajero,” by de Larrea Palacín (1952), 247–250 (esp. 247). About this architectural space and its function in Chaouen houses see de Sierra (1960), 33–34, 79 picture 16, who describes it as follows: “gran parte de esas viviendas visitadas [en Chaouen-AR], tienen una estupenda azotea *cubierta a una vertiente* con un tejado que formaba sobre la azotea un magnífico solárium.” See also Hoenerbach and Kolenda (1975), 130, 145, 148. For its architectural analogue in Fes see El Fasi (2000), 132. This space shows the restrictions upon women’s mobility: women tend to be closely confined to the home, where this area open to the sky, but not to the city around, is the only place where a woman can enjoy some freedom. Concerning the folk literary importance of this living space, and its occurrence as a folktale motif, see El-Shamy in Maspero (2002), XIX, n. 46: “P604.1§, *House-Top (Flat Roof) as Terrace or Living Quarters*”; “P605.9.2.1§, *Upper Floor for Intimate Living*.”

92 This is a common motif in Jewish and Muslim folktales. See Stumme (1895), 77–81 (esp. 77), tale no. 3, “Die Geschichte von dem Mädchen, das mit den Gazellen lebte”; Légy (1926), 124–128 (esp. 125), tale no. XXVIII, “Le fils du roi, la fille du roi et le roi des ghoûls”; El Fasi and Dermenghem (1975), 215–224 (esp. 224, n. 1) tale “Atiq et Edh-Dhahi”; El Fasi (2000), 158–168 (esp. 158), “La petite chatte”; de Larrea Palacín (1952), 38–40 (esp. 40) and 145–150 (esp. 145), tale no. 9, “el mal sino,” and tale no. 44, “La princesa gacela”; de Larrea Palacín (1953), 108–115 (esp. 108), tale no. 117, “La canal de vidrio”; Domenech Lafuente (1953), 253–259 (esp. 253), tale XLIII, “La doncella que vivió con las gacelas”; and Scelles-Millie (1970), 71–79, tale “Vie de Si Mohamed Bou Chama.” In the latter see esp. p. 71 and p. 79 n. 1 where Scelles-Millie mentions other tales with this same contextual reference. In addition, see Bonjean (1988), vol. I, 23–37 (esp. 23), the tale “Oiseau jaune et oiseau vert”; El Koudia and Allen (2003), 27–32 (esp. 27), tale no. 5, “Rhaida”; Frobenius translated by Fetta (1996), 129–138 (esp. 129), tale no. 11, “le mauvais génie, ravisseur de jeunes filles”; and Gil Grimau and Ibn Azzuz (1988), 211–213 (esp. 212), tale no. 135, “La hija del Sultán.”

One day she got out [and] went up to the terrace. When she descended, she entered a room. She entered the room in which she had never been before. She entered that room behind the balcony, and under it there were shops. Under it there were shops. And she entered the room. And she sat down in it. 2

She did not know how meat looks. She did not know how chicken looks. She did not know how fish looks. She did not know anything. Over her were seven curtains: no one could see her. When they [the servants] brought her meat, she would ask them, “What is this?” She wants meat without bones, without odds and ends. One day they brought her fish. She asked them, “What is this?” “Fish.” They explained to her, because they usually brought it to her without bones, “These are bones. Fish has bones. Fish contains bones. These are fish bones.” She answered them, “fine.” 3

One day they brought meat to her. They would give her meat without bones,⁹³ except for what they had just brought her. They brought her meat with a bone. She took out the bone. The servant who served her brought her that bone. She took out that bone, the bone with its marrow. She asked her, “What is this? What do they call this?” She told her, “This is a bone with its marrow, they tap, tap the bone on its end⁹⁴ and the marrow falls down from it and they eat it. It is good” She answered, “Okay.” The servant went down [stairs], and she 4

The confined daughter motif reflects how Moroccan society shelters the maiden virgin daughter because virginity reflects the honor of the family first and then that of the girl. Girls must be controlled, and even confined: this is what society demands. On the veneration of virginity in Moroccan culture see Naamane-Guessous (1997), 163–202; El Fasi (2000), 98; Thay Thay Rhozali (2000b), 264; and Sadiqi (2003), 80–81. For some Arab tales, which deal with the danger of “sexual shame,” or the tarnishing of the “sexual honor,” see Palestinian tale no. 6 by El-Shamy (1999), 89–91, 365 n. 83, “Mother, See What I’ve Got for You!”; and Egyptian tale No. 9, “Father of Seven Joys and Father of Seven Sorrows” in idem, 113–128, 369 n. 155. El-Shamy writes (114) that the latter “tale also challenges the universal Arab ethos of highly valuing sons and distrusting daughters; a daughter is perceived as vulnerable to temptation and, thus, a constant threat to her family’s sexual honor (*ʿird*).” On the anthropological interpretation of the outside world and women in present-day Morocco see Naamane-Guessous (1997), 32–39.

93 The serving of boneless meat is a common motif in Moroccan folktales, and often associated with confined children. See El Fasi and Dermenghem (1975), 48–59 (esp. 49, 59 n. 1), the tale “Et-Taj Ahmed Ben Amar”; Scelles-Millie (1970), 71–79, the tale “Vie de Si Mohamed Bou Chama” (esp. 71 and 79 n. 1 and the bibliographical references there); Bonjean (1988), vol. I, 23–37 (esp. 23, 24), the tale “Oiseau jaune et oiseau vert”; and Gil Grimau and Ibn Azzuz (1988), 211–213, tale no. 135, “La hija del Sultán.”

94 This translation is intended to express both the image of tapping and the sound of the onomatopoeic verb *tāʾtāʾ*? (see DAF, VIII, 315).

took the bone and she tapped, tapped and the marrow came down from it. The marrow came down and she ate it and she peered through the hole.⁹⁵

5 The shop was roofed with crystal. She looked through the hole and saw two men who had bought cheese. They bought one block of cheese and put it down. – You should know that they placed it this way⁹⁶ ... – One went to see how it was and cut his hand. He cut his hand, and said [to his friend], “Oh, oh! Who would you compare to this red cheek in such a [white face] as this cheese?⁹⁷ Whose cheek is like it?” He replied, “This cheeks looks like Sultan Ġăṣṣfār’s cheek and several strings of beads.” Then she fell madly in love with Sultan Ġăṣṣfār. She wanted to marry him. [Her father asked her], “Where do you know him from?” She did not know him.

6 The girl became sick. People began to visit her. This one and that one came to visit her. Her father didn’t leave any remedy untried for the girl. And the girl remained sick. Then they found out, perhaps after divination or something of the sort – they found out that she was sick over Sultan Ġăṣṣfār. They studied her case and found out that she was really sick over the Sultan.

7 Her father took and sent a letter to Sultan Ġăṣṣfār, telling him, “I would like to offer you my daughter.” Sultan Ġăṣṣfār answered him with a letter and with a handbook, a rope, and some other ill-omened things: “Your daughter desires to take a stranger.⁹⁸ Here is a rope to tie her, and a knife to kill her.”⁹⁹ He sent him a foul letter. Her father did not accept it. Her father took the girl and gave her to a servant, a slave. He gave her to the slave, and told him, “You have to take

95 For this motif of the loved, cherished, only daughter, confined by her father and surrounded by servants, who will discover the outer world by means of the hole through a meat bone see Bonjean (1988), vol. 1, 23–37 (esp. 24), the tale “Oiseau jaune et oiseau vert”; and the tale no. xx, بياع الورد in Chakir (2010), 218–229 (esp. 218).

96 The narrator here gestured with her hands to demonstrate how they handled the block of cheese and where they put it.

97 The comparison of the color of a face with that of cheese occurs in other Moroccan folktales. See for example Laâbi (1992), 13–25 (esp. 15), the tale “Un drôle de voeu et ce qu’il engendra,” which has the description “... Et puis, au teint blanc comme ce bout de fromage que je mange! ...”

98 The narrator is using the common idiom *ḡ-ḡāṣṣal d-an-nās*, literally “man of the people” = “a stranger.” See n. 247 below.

99 The suggestion of this harsh punishment implies the great significance of the family responsibility to ‘protect’ female family members. The father would have the last word on the future of his daughter regarding marriage, while the brother would be moral guardian of his sister because of his access to the detailed and often delicate information provided by his peer group. On this see Dwyer (1978), 20; and for other bibliographical references see above p. 212, n. 184.

this one to a remote place, and kill her. Here is the rope to tie her. And here is a bottle in which to put her blood, so you can bring it to me to drink. Bring me her blood to drink.”¹⁰⁰ The wretched slave could not easily separate from her,¹⁰¹ and felt sorry for her. As she was leaving to be killed, she began to cry. Her father had told him, “You will take her and kill her. And if you do not kill her, I will kill you instead. You will die in her place.”

He [the slave] took the girl and left. He left crying, and the girl too. He arrived 8 at a deserted place in the wilderness, and said to her, “Now I am going to kill you here.” Then she said to him, “Please! I implore you!” She began kissing his head and kissing his feet and kissing his hands. “Let me live, and you will never see even my shadow. Just let me live, and you will never know anything about me or where I am.” He replied, “O, by God, my daughter!” She implored him, “No!” And he let her go. He returned. He went his way. He took the bottle, and killed a bitch and put its blood into the bottle.¹⁰² And he took the rope and everything

100 The father, though she is his only and beloved daughter, orders this because he is subject to social pressure. The order by the father or master to the servants to kill an innocent person and bring back their blood, liver, hands, or other organ is a very common plot device in Semitic-Arab and Berber folktales: see for example, the biblical story of Joseph, whose coat is soaked in the blood of a kid to make his father believe that he had been devoured by a wild beast. For two tales involving this same story-line see Spitta-Bey (1883), 80–93 (esp. 86), tale no. VI, “Histoire de la fille vertueuse”; and Stumme (1895), 77–81 (esp. 77), tale no. 3, “Die Geschichte von dem Mädchen, das mit den Gazellen lebte.” For similar punishments in different contexts see Stumme (1895), 119–131 (esp. 127), tale no. 15, “Die Geschichte von den beiden Knaben, die das Herz und den Kopf des Vogels gegessen hatten, und von der Rahalia Bint Mansoor”; Légy (1926), 89–93 (esp. 91–92), tale no. XX, “Le fils du roi et la fille du nomade”; and tale no. 96, “Histoire d’une jeune fille abandonnée et élevée par une Gazelle” in Laoust (1949), vol. II, 150–153, n. 2, in which the father is ordered by his new wife to kill his child from his first wife and bring her the blood-soaked robe but soaks the robe in the blood of a kid instead. See also the Jewish tales no. 14, “El novio predestinado,” and no. 44, “La princesa gacela,” in de Larrea Palacín (1952), 55–58 (esp. 57) and 145–150 (esp. 146); Domenech Lafuente (1953), 253–259 (esp. 254), tale XLIII, “La doncella que vivió con las gacelas”; Sceilles-Millie (1970), 177–186 (esp. 180, 187 n. 2), tale “Le bûcheron et l’oiseau aux oeufs d’or”; El Koudia and Allen (2003), 33–38, (esp. 37) and 42–52 (esp. 47–48), tale no. 6, “The little Sister with Seven Brothers,” and tale no. 8, “Father and Daughter.”

101 The verb *x sxa* + the preposition *b* (+ *y* or pronominal suffix) means “consentir aisément à abandonner qqn. / à le laisser partir / à le quitter, se résoudre à se séparer de qqn. sans peine ni douleur; [emploi surtout au négatif] (as is cited here).” See DAF, VI, 56, meaning 2.

102 The response of the slave in this context corresponds to the response of other characters charged with the same role in different tales: see Spitta-Bey (1883), 80–93 (esp. 87), tale no. 6, “Histoire de la fille vertueuse”; Stumme (1895), 77–81 (esp. 78), tale no. 3, “Die

to her father, and told him, “I took her into the wilderness and killed her.” He replied, “It is finished.”

- 9 The poor girl wandered till¹⁰³ she found [some people] tending goats and sheep in the wilderness. She went to the goatherds.¹⁰⁴ As she had left, her mother had given her two *gāwzāḡ*.¹⁰⁵ The *gāwzāḡ* could be changed like money. She gave them the money. She told them, “Give me only the innards and the skin, and you take the meat.”¹⁰⁶ She paid for the kid. They [the goatherds] took the meat. She could not use it: she had been cast into the wilderness; she had no pots, she had nothing. They [the goatherds] took that thing. She took the innards and washed it and dried it; and she took the skin and washed it and dried it. She wore the skin and put the innards on her head.¹⁰⁷ No one could

Geschichte von dem Mädchen, das mit den Gazellen lebte” (in which the brother of the protagonist killed “einen Hasen” and brought its blood to his father); de Larrea Palacín (1952), 145–150 (esp. 145), tale no. 44, “La princesa gacela”; Scelles-Millie (1970), 177–186 (esp. 180–181), the tale “Le bûcheron et l’oiseau aux oeufs d’or.”

- 103 This translation is intended to express the meaning of the narrator’s repetitions *b?āḡ māšša, māšša, māšša, māšša, māšša*.
- 104 Here the original is *dīç n-nās lli ḡāndam dīç l-mḡāz*, literally “... to the people who owned goats.”
- 105 The basic meaning of this word is “walnut” (see DAF, x, 747, where no mention of the meaning required by the context of the present tale occurs). Walnuts seem to have had some magical significance. They appear in other Moroccan folktales, such as Légy (1926), 48–51, tale no. ix, “Le fils du roi et la grenouille,” in which the protagonist “elle ouvrait la première noix et y trouva de beaux vêtements pour s’habiller; elle ouvrait la seconde et y trouva ses pantoufles, ses bijoux, sa ceinture et se mouchoirs de tête. Et elle ouvrait la troisième et y trouva une poule d’or et des poussins d’argent.”
- 106 This is a common occurrence at the moment of disguise. See for example El Fasi and Dermenghem (1975), 48–59 (esp. 53), the tale “Et-Taj Ahmed Ben Amar”; and Chakir (2010), 154–172 (esp. 165), tale no. xv, *ملك البحر الأخضر*.
- 107 The skins of lambs, sheep, and other animals are common disguises in folktales. See Stumme (1895), 77–81 (esp. 79, 80) and 131–146 (esp. 141), tale no. 3, “Die Geschichte von dem Mädchen, das mit den Gazellen lebte,” and tale no. 16, “Aggelamusch”; Frobenius translated by Fetta (1996), 64–68 (esp. 67), tale no. 5, “Kaci le voleur et l’ogre”; Légy (1926), 89–93 (esp. 92), tale no. xx, “Le fils du roi et la fille du nomade.” See also the Jewish tale no. 14, “El novio predestinado” in de Larrea Palacín (1952), 55–58 (esp. 57) and 145–150 (esp. 146), tale no. 44, “La princesa gacela.” In Scelles-Millie (1970), 82–94 (esp. 83, 94 n. 3) the tale “Histoire d’Abderrahman,” the male protagonist, like Zbīḡa, “Il eut donc l’idée de tuer un mouton, d’en mettre les tripes sur sa tête, ce qui lui donna la teigne. A la faveur de sa tête pelée, Abderrahman s’en fut gagner sa vie dans un autre pays.” In the Kabylia Algerian tale “Les sept années de malheur de Hâroûn ar-Rachîd” in Dermenghem (1945), 119–127 (esp. 120, 121), the protagonist Hâroûn ar-Rachîd is disguised in the same

have recognized her. And she resumed wandering. Her face was very pretty, they say – like a precious stone – and her hair was beautiful.¹⁰⁸ She continued wandering.

She walked in the wilderness until she came upon a house with – she came upon a house with a garden. She entered the garden and she huddled down. It was night when she huddled down. And it was the Sultan’s house. How could one recognize her? She entered the garden and she huddled down. When it was night the Sultan told his servant, “Go close the garden door. See if someone is there, and then close the door.” The servant went out to close the garden’s door. When she went out, she found her huddled down and wrapped up and rolled up. The servant did not know what it was, this rolled up thing. She returned, and said to him, “O Lord, a woe-be-gone thing is huddling there. I could not recognize what it is. I do not know if it is jinn or human. That thing is rolled up, and I do not know what it is.” Then he told her, “Go, ask him if he is jinn or human.” She went out and again she asked it, “Are you jinn or human?”¹⁰⁹ Then she answered her, “I am a human being”; she told her, “I am a human being. I am not a jinn.” She entered and told him, “She says she is a human.” Then he told her, “Bid her enter.”

They all came in. They had a small room. They came in to that small room. She came in to the small room. They came in to her, queried her. She didn’t

manner and referred to by the same epithet, “le teigneux” and “*Bou Kercha*” because of “des intestins (*kerch*) de mouton qu’il était mis sur la tête.” However in both Spitta-Bey (1883), 80–93 (esp. 91), tale no. VI, “Histoire de la fille vertueuse,” and El Fasi (2000), 221–228 (esp. 225), the tale “Mhammed le Magicien,” the protagonist exchanges her/his garment with those of the boy shepherd and uses them as a disguise. For numerous appearances of this motif in the folk tradition of the Arab world see El-Shamy (1995), 138–139. For this motif in folktales in general see Aarne and Thompson (1961), 113, “D. 671, *Transformation flight. Fugitives transform themselves in order to escape detection by pursuer.*”

108 The description of the woman’s hair here echoes its importance in Arab and Islamic traditions. According to Islamic doctrine, a woman must keep her head covered while in the presence of all but immediate relatives.

109 A very common question, which proves the frequent presence of jinns in folktales. See for example Légy (1926), 202–205 (esp. 204), tale no. LIV, “Histoire de *khchiba bent el’Aoud* (Madrier, fille du bois);” El Fasi and Dermenghem (1975), 139–152 (esp. 144, n. 1), and 215–224 (esp. 223), the tales “Le langage de oiseaus” and “Atiq et Edh-Dhahi.” Concerning this formula, El Fasi and Dermenghem (idem, 144, n. 1) comment: “formule courante dans les contes orientaux, quand on se trouve en présence d’un être apparu en de mystérieuses circonstances.” See also the Jewish story Noy (1966), 44–47 (esp. 45), tale no. 7, “The Cruel Creditor and the Judge’s Wise Daughter.” And see El-Shamy (1999), 293–299 (esp. 298), tale no. 38, “Brother Deer.”

know anyone; she didn't know anything. She remained there. She stayed with them. She stayed with them. And they gave her food, and they offered her drink. They did not know who or what she was. She – poor thing! – wore a skin with hair. And on her head she wore the innards: her head was wrapped with innards, innards; a stomach was bound around her head with a cord. In that stuff she was unrecognizable. They provided for her, for God's sake, while she remained with them.

12 She found that they were preparing for a wedding. They were going to celebrate the wedding of the Sultan's son: Sultan Ġāḥfār was going to celebrate his wedding. Sultan Ġāḥfār was going to celebrate a wedding. He was going to celebrate a wedding. – See? the one she was crazy about. – But she did not know what was happening. They were about to have a wedding. They were whitewashing the house. Then she said to them, “Give me a little bit of lime to whitewash my small room.” They replied, “This is the only thing that you need? – only whitewashing? You're bald! You are bald and you think you need to whitewash the room! Leave us in peace and go away!” She sat crying. Then the Sultan asked her, “What is it? What is the matter with you, O Zbiṣa?” (It was then that he had [first] asked her, “What is your name?” She told him, “Zbiṣa.”) “What is the matter with you, Zbiṣa?” She answered, “I asked them to give me lime to whitewash my room and they did not want to.” He told them, “Give her lime. Give her lime to whitewash her small room.” They gave her lime and she whitewashed her small room.

13 They prepared to celebrate the wedding and made pastries and readied everything. As they were preparing the pastries, she tried to make some with them, and they told her, “You must not make the pastries with us. You are going to flake dandruff. You are bald.” She sat crying, crying, crying, crying, crying, crying, crying, and crying. He [the Sultan] asked, “What's wrong with Zbiṣa?” They said, “She wants to make pastries but she is bald. She will flake dandruff.” They told her, “No.” The Sultan ordered them, “Allow her to make pastries.” They allowed her to make pastries.

14 The day of the wedding arrived, and the celebration of the first wedding day began.¹¹⁰ They told her, “Come with us to the wedding.” She replied, “No, I am not going.” Before, they had applied gallnut dye.¹¹¹ They decided not to apply gallnut dye [to Zbiṣa]: she was bald. Why would she need gallnut dye? She told

110 On the first day of the wedding, the celebration begins in the bride's father's house. For a detailed description of the first wedding day celebrations in Fes and Tangiers, which are comparable to those of Chaouen, see Westermarck (1921), 77–79, 116–119, 121–126, 144–145. For a full description of these celebrations in Chaouen see Moscoso, DACH, 230–232.

111 See p. 77.

them, “No, I am not going to use gallnut dye.” Then she applied it herself. She by herself was a cunning artificer!¹¹² She prepared it herself and she put it in her hair by herself. And she went to a hammam, and she bathed, and she wrapped the innards around her head. They said to her, “Let’s go to the wedding!” She replied, “No.” They told her, “Just come!” She answered them, “No, I am not going.”

As soon as they had left for the wedding, she rose and made herself up. Say 15
that she had clothes because her *gāwzāḡ* contained Art, the *gāwzāḡ* of Art. She took out the clothes, and she primped, and she fixed herself up, and she made herself up. And she was a precious stone, gleaming with beauty – her hair and everything else. Then she went to the wedding.

When she arrived at the wedding and sat down, everyone was astonished 16
at her beauty. People had never seen her before. Everyone was staring at her, everyone was eyeing her. The mother of the bride came to her – the mother of the bride came to her and asked her, “Please, O daughter! I wish to display you¹¹³ in the bride’s place instead of the bride. The bride is not beautiful: you are beautiful, more than she. I will make you sit in her place. You will be displayed.” Then she told her, “Yes. Okay. With pleasure!”¹¹⁴ She made her sit down: she displayed her. The bride was beautiful; the bride was beautiful. Everyone was saying, “The bride is beautiful! The bride is beautiful! The bride is beautiful!”

112 The idiom *ḡāwzāḡ u būwzāḡ* was very common during the narrator’s generation. The two components of this idiom are technical architectural terms. The first component, *ḡāwzāḡ*, must be related to *ḡwzāḡ*, cited by de Prémare through the example *dāffa ḡāwzāḡ*, “chacun des deux vantaux en bois d’une grande porte, et qui est découpé de façon à constituer avec son vis-à-vis une sorte d’arc outrepassé [Co]” (DAF, IX, 62). The second component, *būwzāḡ*, is related to the noun *bowzāḡ*, which basically means, “tour, sur plan circulaire ou polygonal, adossée à un rempart ou isolée etc” (see DAF, I, 170–171 under *ḡorj*). The combination of these two architectural terms is intended to imply that the protagonist was able to do complicated, sophisticated, elaborate deeds. This idiom is not cited by de Prémare.

113 Here the narrator uses two different verbs successively, but with the same tense and stem: *ngāllsāḡ nbāwzāḡ*. However in the translation it has been deemed preferable to use the second verb, given that the act of “displaying” involves “making someone sit” in just the manner implied by the context. About this special meaning of the verb *bāwzāḡ* see DAF, I, 186: “*spéc.* exposer une jeune mariée fardée et parée à l’admiration des invitées sur un siège d’apparat [Co].” For this motif see Aarne and Thompson (1961), 133, “*κ1911, The false bride (substituted bride).*”

114 *māḡḡāb* is a frozen exclamatory expression, which literally means, “Ah! if I only can! Oh! if only it was true/real!” The translation proposed above takes into consideration the immediate and the global contexts of the tale: the protagonist does not wish to betray her desire to be the one who marries the king/prince. On this voice see n. 42, pp. 290–291.

17 Before people began to leave, she rose up. She went back to the house. She went back to the house and got undressed. And she put on the innards and she put on her rags¹¹⁵ and she sat down till they returned. When they returned, they told her, “By God, O Zbīṣa, such a bride! The bride, O Zbīṣa, is a precious stone!” – [But] she, *she* was the one who had been displayed. – “By God, O Zbīṣa, such a precious bride! We have never seen a beauty such as the bride! A real precious stone.” She told them, “May God make it easy, and may God make all things well for her!” She fell silent. And then she said, “Really, the bride *was* beautiful?” She sat down, as if it was none of her concern.

18 The next day they went again. The next day they went again. And again the bride’s mother approached her, and asked her, “Please, O daughter, come to mount the bridal palanquin.¹¹⁶ You are better than my daughter. You will mount the bridal palanquin.” She replied, “Very well.” She mounted her on the bridal palanquin. The bride rode in the palanquin. She was mounted in the palanquin, “Such a Beauty! Such a Beauty! Such a Beauty! Such a Beauty! Such a Beauty!” They put her down and made her sit on the *mṭāṛba*¹¹⁷ by the bed, and the real bride was put under the bed: they hid her under the bed. The bride’s mother had told her [Zbīṣa], “After they have sat you down, wait a little while. Take the bride and put her in place.” And she did so: she put the bride in her place, and she went home. She went home. And they came back. [The guests] dispersed.

19 And they came back. They told her, “The bride is beautiful! She is coming and you will see for yourself. She is a precious stone, such a precious stone! O Zbīṣa, a precious stone!” She sat down on the bride’s place. She did not immediately change. She sat down in the bride’s place. The people saw that the bride was beautiful. When the groom was about to enter, she took the real bride and put her in her place. And she left. And she left. When the man entered the first time, he was astonished at such a beauty. (She [Zbīṣa] had not yet taken her out). He was astonished; he was astonished at a bride that was like a precious stone! He took a ring from – only God knows how big! – that he had on his hand. He slipped it off his finger and he put it in her hand. She took it out and she left it there. She had spirits¹¹⁸ with her, helping her. And she left.

115 See n. 43, p. 91.

116 On the wedding ceremony in Chaouen in general see n. 54, 87, 110 above, and n. 119, 160, 179 below; and pp. 73–74, 77.

117 These are large mattresses / sofas placed along the walls of a room. See DAF, VIII, 39, under *saddāri* [= ChA *kātri*], and 272, under *mṭāṛba*. Rackow (1958), 6 calls this furnishing a “Divanpolster.” For an image of one see *ibid*, Tafel IV.

118 See the commentary in n. 51 above.

When he had finished praying¹¹⁹ – or who knows what he was really doing – when he had finished and sat down by the bride and began talking to her and watched her, he realized that she was not the same one. She was not the one he had seen. He looked at her, and asked her, “Where is the ring I just gave you?” She told him, “I did not see any ring. You gave me nothing!” She had nothing. She had not seen anything, the poor [thing]. He said to her, “I gave you a ring!” She replied, “I haven’t seen anything! Go find who took it.” He fulfilled his wife with much reluctance.¹²⁰ He had no idea about where the other woman may have gone to. The next day Zbīṣa wore the stomach, and its bowels, carrying on as if nothing had happened. And he was with his bride, neither sad nor happy. The bride that he saw was not the same one. He left.¹²¹

[Zbīṣa] entered to the bride. And the bride told her, “Please hand me the mirror so I can see my face.” As she was handing her the mirror, before giving her the mirror, Zbīṣa saw herself in the mirror. Then she [the bride] said to her, “Why do you look in my mirror? This is my mirror! Do not use it!” And she spat upon her. She spat upon her. Zbīṣa sat down crying; Zbīṣa sat down crying. The groom said, “What is the matter with Zbīṣa? What is wrong with you, O Zbīṣa?” She told him, “Your bride told me to hand her the mirror. When I gave it to her after I had looked in it, she spat upon me.” He told her, “She is not going to do it again. Calm down.” He comforted her and she became quiet.

One day she [the bride] told her, “Please hand my comb¹²² to me.” As she was handing it to her, she put it on her [own] head. She asked her, “Why do you put

119 Before the the consummation of the marriage, the groom says prayer which is intended to banish evil spirits and assure good seed. For this religious wedding ritual see Westermarck (1921), 223.

120 The idiom here is *māʔli ʔla ʔālbū*. The first component of this expression, the passive participle of the verb *qla*, has the basic meaning of “frit à l’huile; grillé à l’huile; grillé (en gén.),” and a figurative meaning of “estomaqué, qui ne trouve rien à répondre [Co]; ... i.e. – *x bqa maqli* il resta sans voix [= *māzwi, mākwī*] [Co].” (See DAF, x, 420, under *maqli*).

121 The idiom here is *ʔfād ʔāsu*, which literally means “he carried himself up; he gathered himself up,” implying “he left.”

122 The comb is a frequent motif in Muslim and Jewish Moroccan Berber and Arab folktales: see de Larrea Palacín (1953), 154–161 (esp. 159), tale no. 126, “La muchacha triste.” In the context, “Entonces el affrí le dió un peine que se lo pasaba por la cabeza y echaba polvo de oro.” On this motif in the folk traditions of the Arab World, see El-Shamy (1995), 97, under the term “Comb.” See Aarne and Thompson (1961), 446, tale-type “1543A*, A combing-machine (seduction).” [A worker buys a combing-machine for a girl. She becomes pregnant. They drive the worker away, but the girl wants to keep the combing-machine.]

my comb on your head?” Again she began crying. Then he [the groom] told her, “Yes.” and in brief – the tale is wonderful, but I forgot – .¹²³

23 One day he said he was going to travel. Now, his wife was supposed to remain at home. He was going to travel. This was God’s will! He was about to travel. She [Zbīṣa], as she made pastries with them, baked two loaves of bread and hid them. When he was about to travel, she sliced them and filled one for him with the *xliṣ*¹²⁴ and filled the other for him with salted butter.¹²⁵ In the first loaf she put the ring¹²⁶ that he had given to the bride: she put it for him beneath [the *xliṣ*]. When she saw that he was about to travel, she told him, “Come, I must speak to you, O Lord.” He came to her. She told him, “This is a loaf of bread filled with the *xliṣ*. When you reach such-and-such place, eat it, begin with it. And this other bread has salted butter. When you reach such-and-such a place again, eat it also.”

24 He left. When he reached the mentioned place, he broke open the bread. He found the ring first. He found the ring first, put it on his hand and went his way. He returned: he did not continue his trip. He returned. They were sitting and they heard that he had returned. They said, “He is back. He did not go.” They dismounted. He went straight to Zbīṣa’s room. He found her made up: such adornment made her more beautiful! She was beautiful, and her beauty was

123 The expression used here, *wagāyṭu*, is now obsolete but was very common in the narrator’s youth. It is a sort of verbal cadence showing that the end of the story is nearing. The semantic value of the expression is equivalent to CA ^عبَاقِيَةٌ. De Prémare, DAF, IX, 328, meaning 5, alluded to this usage in this example: “*ġāūt al-’āmāṣ / ġāito* bref, en un mot; finalement, en définitive, en fin de compte [Co, Mer].”

124 This is beef or lamb meat cut into strips, salted, dried in the sun (= *qāddīd*; see n. 160 on p. 205), and then cooked with fat and olive oil. It can be preserved for a year or two in jars, and is a characteristic dish of Chaouen. It is prepared each year by Chaouen families in large quantities, and stored for use, mainly during the winter. For more see DAF, IV, 127; and Abu-Shams (2002), 110–111, 455, foto 16. On this food in Fes see El Fasi (2000), 93. From this episode to the end, the present story parallels the Jewish Tetuani tale no. 87, “El anillo suelto,” in de Larrea Palacín (1952), 260–265 (esp. 264–265).

125 This is salted old butter found in every house in Chaouen and frequently used in cooking. For more see DAF, VI, 200; and Abu-Shams (2002), 173–174 and the bibliographical references there.

126 This same sequence occurs in the Fasis tale “La petite chatte,” in El Fasi (2000), 158–168 (esp. 165–166). This same motif is mentioned by Aarne and Thompson (1961), 130 and El-Shamy (1995), 434: “*Identification by Ring Baked in Bread H94.2*.” See also tale no. 35, “The Maternal-Aunt” in El-Shamy (1999), 279–285: for rings as identifying objects see especially p. 284.

glowing. And the room, as it has been told, was adorned with furniture. They had never seen anything like it in the entire world! And she was beautiful like a precious stone. He took out the ring and told her, “Here it is, see!” Then she told him, “[It was] this way,” and she narrated to him what had happened. After he told him what had happened, he told the other woman, he told her, “Leave!” She went back to her house, the ill-starred newly-wed, and she [Zbīļa] took him for real. – See how people act! – She took him, and the same day she had him.

The Woman and Her Stepdaughter¹²⁷

- 1 There was a woman who had her own daughter. And her husband had his own daughter. One day she kneaded bread and made a small loaf. She made a very small loaf and told her daughter and the other girl, her stepdaughter, she told them, “Take this bread [to the public oven]. One will take a tray of bread.” She gave her daughter a small tray¹²⁸ of bread to take [to the public oven]. And she gave the other one [her stepdaughter] a sieve and sent her to fill it with water. The sieve was full of holes.¹²⁹ They departed immediately.

127 One of the tales collected by Laoust under the title “Friħa et les deux filletes” of Beni-Snous might be a direct variant of the present tale (for a specific bibliographical reference to this tale see Laoust [1949], vol. II, 260). Another Moroccan folktale variant of the present tale is tale “يا لالا تفریح وتفریحة ويا لالا تفریح وتفریحة” / *L'ogresse qui donne le bonheur et le malheur*,” in Thay Thay Rhozali (2000a), 166–176 (MA version), 123–131 (French translation), and Thay Thay Rhozali (2000b), 63, 169–175 for commentary. See also El Koudia and Allen (2003), 131–133, 151, n. 25, tale no. 28, “The Modest Girl.” Yet another possible variant of this tale is El-Shamy (1999), 255–262, no. 32, “Zlaizlah and ’Omm-Zabağbağ.” For numerous examples of this kind of tale see Laoust (1949), vol. I, 146–147, vol. II, 259, tale CXXIV, “Les jnoun,” and his commentary on 260–261, which includes references to other tales with the same theme. For Jewish tales with the same basic theme see for example tale no. 47, “Lo que cada una se merece,” in de Larrea Palacín (1952), 154–157; and tales no. 91 “Las tres peticiones” and no. 143 “El cestillo de fresas” in de Larrea Palacín (1953), 17–18 and 216–218.

128 The narrator uses here the word *tāyfiḥ*, which refers to a round tray of wood used for taking bread to the public oven. (About this term see n. 85 above). Another term with the same basic meaning is *wūṣla* (de Prémare *wōṣla*), a “tablette rectangulaire en bois / planche à pain, sur laquelle on porte le pain à cuire au four public pour le rapporter à domicile après cuisson.” (DAF, XII, 216, meaning 4).

129 Challenging and frequently impossible demands by a stepmother, ogress, or other evil character are common in Magribin folktales. See for example the demand made on the protagonist by the ogress in the Kabylian tale “la fille de l’ogre” of the protagonist: “donne-lui un tamis et charge-le de vider la mer jusqu’à ce qu’on voie le fond” Also see Frobenius translated by Fetta (1996), 44–63 (esp. 47), tale no. 4, “La fille de l’ogre,” and 69–85 (esp. 76–77), tale no. 6, “M’hmed Aserdun chez l’ogre”; Dermenghem (1945), 63–67 (esp. 64), the tale “Amar Nofç”; and Lacoste-Dujardin (2010), 98–103 (esp. 99 n. 7), the tale “Le fainéant et ses deux fils.” For this motif see El-Shamy (1995), 461: “*Task: Carrying Water in Sieve H1023.2*,” and El-Shamy (1999), 319–326 (esp. 322), in the Sudanese tale no. 46, “Fair Fâtmaḥ”; and see Aarne and Thompson (1961), 370, tale-type “*n80, Catching Water in a Sieve*.”

The girl [her stepdaughter] went to the stream to fill the sieve. As she filled it, it emptied. She tried to fill it, and it emptied. Again and again and again and again. How could water be carried in a sieve? And the other one [the woman's daughter] took the tray of bread. The one who came first took the small bread. Her daughter was the one to come first, and she took the small bread. 2

The other one [her stepdaughter] continued till she found a woman. She continued following the stream, following the stream. The sieve floated away with the stream and she ran following it. She found a woman whitewashing a house. She addressed her, "Lady who whitens! O lady who whitens!" She replied, "He who is calling me the Whitening Lady, may God make him lucky and his days white."¹³⁰ Then she told her, "It is me." She said, "Good." She told her, "Come in!" She entered, she entered and asked her, "Has a sieve passed here?" She replied, "It has. Here it is." Then she told her, "Come in!" She asked her, "Through which door do you wish me to have you enter: through the golden door or through the cow-pie door?" She answered, "I am just a poor [girl]. Make me enter through the small cow-pie door." She had her enter only through the golden door. 3

She asked her, "Which stool do you wish me to have you sit on: the golden stool or the firewood stool?" She answered, "No. Give me just the firewood stool." She gave her the good stool. She asked her, "Which food should I serve you: wheat bread with meat and chicken, or whole-grain bread¹³¹ with *bāyṣāḥ*¹³² and 4

130 This translation is the equivalent of the narrator's *āḥāh ybḥyāṭ lu sāḥdu u zmānu*. The attitude of the stepmother toward her own daughter in this and the following episodes can be compared to the attitude of the rich daughters toward their poor cousins in the Jewish tales no. 13, "La Cenicera," and no. 89, "La novia trocada," in de Larrea Palacín (1952), 50–55 (esp. 51–52) and 268–272 (esp. 269–270). In addition, the contrasting of white with black is very common in folktales. Compare Lacoste-Dujardin (2010), 63–72 (esp. 69, n. 11), "Amor Ceqqa," and 76–86 (esp. 77, n. 4), "Mhamed, le fils de la négresse et ses six frères," and see the comment by Lafkioui and Merolla in Boughaba Maleem (2007), xi. On these two colors and their various symbolic meanings in folk traditions of the Arab World, see El-Shamy (1995), 55 under "Black" and 553 under "White."

131 Bread made from whole-grain flour is considered inferior to that made from wheat flour. For more on this common motif see for example the Egyptian tale no. 36, "The Cow of the Orphans," in El-Shamy (1999), 286–289 (esp. 287, 398 n. 698). In Kabylean tales the contrast is between white bread and brown bread, and between soft bread and dry bread: see Lacoste-Dujardin (2010), 167–175 (esp. 167 n. 3), the tale "Le maître du blanc."

132 This is a dish of cooked and mashed fava dried broad beans served with olive oil, cumin and paprika (see DAM, 8). As Michaux-Bellaire (1911), 120 stated, this is "le véritable plat national des Djebala." For a detailed semantic definition and bibliographical references to this term and dish see Abu-Shams (2002), 69–70, who suggests that this dish is of Egyptian

lupine beans?” She answered, “Give me only a little serving of *bāyṣār* and a little serving of lupine beans: it is sufficient for me. I am just a poor one.” She served her chicken and meat. She asked her, “Which bread should I give you?” She replied, “Give me whole-grain bread.” She gave her wheat bread with seeds. She ate and drank.

5 She asked her, “Which glasses should I set for you: golden or cow-pie?” She answered, “Give me just the cow-pie glasses.” She gave her the golden glasses, and prepared tea¹³³ for her. Now she had to leave. She asked her, “Which donkey should I give to you: the strong one or the lame one?” She answered, “Give me just the lame one.” She gave her the strong one. She asked her, “With what should I fill the saddlebags: cow-pie or gold?” She answered, “What am I going to do with gold? I am only a poor one. Give me just cow-pie.” She filled the saddlebags with gold. She asked her, “Which dog do you wish to lead you? Which dog should I give you?” She answered, “Give me the blind one.” She gave her the one which could see. She asked her, “Which slave do you wish to take: the lame one or the strong one?” She said, “Give me just the lame one.” She gave her the strong one.

6 And it [the dog] began going with her “Hi Ho! Hi, Ho! My lady has brought very pretty things. Hi Ho! Hi, Ho! My lady has brought very pretty things. Hi Ho! Hi, Ho! My lady has brought very pretty things. Hi Ho! Hi, Ho! My lady has brought very pretty things.”¹³⁴ Her father and her stepmother went out to see. When they came out, they found that she was returning elegantly made up,¹³⁵

origin and says it is known throughout North Africa and in Arabic Andalusia. Abu-Shams, *ibid.*, 339–340 gives a recipe for this dish from Rabat comparable to that of Chaouen. See Moscoso, *DACH*, 241–242; *idem* (2003), 211–212, who gives two different versions of the preparation of this dish in transcription and in Spanish translation. Both Moscoso’s versions contain mistakes; but the second version seems to be more reliable, even though he labeled its language as less pure and conservative than that of the first version. For a recipe of this dish from the northern village of Anjra see Vicente (2000), 167–168, text 18: *l-bāyṣār*.

133 The preparation of tea in Moroccan society in general is a ritual act. On this ritual see Colin (1939), 189; Rabat Brunot (1931), 18–21, 115–116; Abu-Sahms (2002), 409. Mouliéras (1899), 480–482 includes a poem and its correspondent French translation from Ouezzane: “Éloge du thé.” For a poetic elegy to tea in Sidi Ifni titled “Otra canción del té” see Domenech Lafuente (1953), 325–326.

134 The statement in this passage parallels one in the tale “Les deux jeunes servantes” in Scelles-Millie (1970), 123–125, esp. 125: “*Zbing, zbing! Lalla djabet lou-lou ...* (la maîtresse t’apporte un symbole de pierres précieuses de bonheur).”

135 The narrator uses here the participle *mṭāṣṭxa*, which means “elegantly / extremely elegant / extremely primped.” The literal meaning of the verb *ṭāṣṭāx* is “tremper (qqn.) très

adorned, primped, and the donkey was loaded with gold, and she was on wings of joy.¹³⁶ She put the donkey load down, she put it down, and all of them were on wings of joy.¹³⁷

And the next morning she [the woman] addressed her [own] daughter. 7
She was kneading, she was kneading. She gave the bread to the one who had taken the sieve, and told her, “You take the bread to the public oven. When you return, take the small bread.” And she gave the sieve to the other one, her daughter.

She followed the sieve, followed it, and followed it. She lost it. She started 8
running. She again found that woman whitewashing. She found that woman whitewashing. She said to her, “Filthy lady! O filthy lady.” She replied, “Who is calling me ‘O filthy lady’? May my Lord blacken his luck and his days!” Then she answered her, “It is me. I am saying so.” She told her, “I am the Whitening Lady, not the filthy.” She asked her, “Has a sieve passed here?” She answered her, “It has,” and told her, “Come in. Through which door do you wish me to have you enter: through the golden door or through the cow-pie door?” She answered, “May God shorten your days!¹³⁸ Have me enter through the golden door!” She made her enter through the cow-pie door. She asked her, “Which stool do you wish me to have you sit on: the golden stool or the cow-pie [sic]¹³⁹ stool?” She answered her, “Make me sit on the golden stool.” She made her sit on the cow-pie stool.

She asked her, “Which food should I give you: whole-grain bread with *bāyṣāḵ* 9
and lupine beans, or wheat bread with meat and chicken?” She answered, “Give me wheat bread and give me meat and chicken.” She gave her the other wretched swill: acid lupine beans and *bāyṣāḵ*. And she gave her whole-grain bread.

copieusement; fig. combler (qqn.), de biens, etc.” In DAF, VIII, 270 under meaning 2, de Prémare cited the example, “x *ja mṭəḥtəḥ b əš-šta* il arriva trempé de pluie [Co].” This word occurs in Chaouen as *mčaxčax* (de Prémare *mṭəḥtəḥ* / *mčəḥčəḥ* see DAF, II, 36).

136 This is a frequently used “joy” idiom: *fāṣḥāna māš tṭiv*. About this expression see n. 42 above.

137 See the previous note.

138 The women’s curse *kābbi ma yṣāyyšəç!* is a curse frequently heard in Chaouen among women. The verb *ṣāyyəš* (D-stem of *ṣāš*) means “faire vivre, laisse vivre, laisser en vie, permettre de vivre (en parlant de Dieu) etc.” (DAF, IX, 307). The examples mentioned by de Prémare “*ḥāh iṣāyyšək* que Dieu te laisse en vie longtemps! – *ḥāh iṣāyyšək lna* que Dieu te laisse en vie pour notre joie / pour notre profit! [Co].”

139 By analogy with the first episode in the story, this should be “firewood stool” (see the parallel passage above).

10 She did not want to eat or anything else,¹⁴⁰ and she rose to leave. She asked her, “Which burro¹⁴¹ should I give to you: the sure-footed and good one, or the one that is sick?” She answered, “Give me the healthy one, not the sick one.” She gave her the sick one. She asked her, “With what should I fill the saddlebags: cow-pie or gold?” She answered, “Fill them with gold.” She filled the saddlebags with cow-pie. She asked her, “Which dog do you wish me to give you: the one who can see, or the blind one?” She answered her, “Give me the one who can see.” She gave her the blind one. She asked her, “Which slave do you wish to take: the one with feet, or the lame one?” She answered, “Give me the one who has feet.” She gave her the lame one.

11 She came [to her house]. While she was approaching, the dog repeated till she arrived, “Hi Ho! Hi Ho!”¹⁴² My lady has brought a disgusting thing.¹⁴³ Hi Ho! Hi Ho! My lady has brought a disgusting thing. Hi Ho! Hi Ho! My lady has brought a disgusting thing.¹⁴⁴ When she arrived, her stepfather and her mother rushed out, only to find a mound of cow-pie and mud and other filthy stuff. And everything was messed up. She was messed up. And the burro was messed up. She unloaded that wretched stuff. Her mother and her father were wroth with her. They beat her. They scolded her, “How could you bring this after what your lady sister has brought!”

12 *If I had the keys I would give you apples for dinner.*

140 This idiom often occurs in negative contexts as *ma ḥabbəθ wāla dāçūl wāla dāḥlāʔ*. The second verb is meant to intensify the first verb. This expression is cited by de Prémare under the verb *ḥlāq*, the basic meaning of which is: “raser, faire la barbe etc.” De Prémare gives this example: *mā ṣāndi ma nəḥlāq biha [M] / nəḥlāq biha [F]* “je n’ ai rien à faire d’ elle [Co].” (DAF, III, 196). This example and the present context imply that *ḥmāl* is semantically equivalent to *ḥlāq*.

141 Here the narrator uses the diminutive *ḥmīyyāw*, from *ḥmāw*. About the diminutive in women’s speech see n. 7 above. About the diminutive in ChA see pp. 31–32.

142 The original is *ḥw, ḥw!*

143 *xīxxu*, de Prémare *ḥēḥḥe*: “[language bébé] c’est mauvais! c’est sale! saleté! caca! [tedj, Caub.]” (DAF, IV, 185).

144 The vernacular term here is *xīxxu*, from children’s speech. The term *xīxxu* has to be related to the verb *xxu, īxxa* “to be ugly, naughty, evil”: see Laoust (1949), vol. II, XVII, n. 3; and n. 40 above. The statement in this passage parallels the one in the tale “Les deux jeunes servantes,” in Scelles-Millie (1970), 123–125, in which occurs an analogous context: “*Zbing, zbing! Lalla djabet khou-khou ...*.” (la maîtresse t’ apporte un symbole de mauvaises choses).” For this tale-type in general see Aarne and Thomson (1961), 134, under “403A, *The Wishes*.”

The Sultan's Daughter¹⁴⁵

Some girls were sitting together one night, whiling the night away.¹⁴⁶ They were not working. Then some people went by. As they passed, they heard them talking. One girl said that she wanted to get married to a rich man even if he were a slave with scarred cheeks.¹⁴⁷ Another one said, "I want to get married to a rich man. He has to be rich, but he must not be a slave." Another one, the smallest among them, said that she wanted to marry a *ṭālāb*, a reader [of the Qurʾān], even if he is poor, owning nothing. He only has to know how to read [the Qurʾān].

A man came to ask for the first girl's hand in marriage. He married her. He was a slave with scarred cheeks. He had a lot, a lot of money, an enormous amount of money.¹⁴⁸ The hand of the second girl was asked in marriage by a man she wanted, and she married him. The man for the smallest one – she wanted that man to be a *ṭālāb*, even if he was a poor man, and even if he had nothing. She took him, she took him.

The [two] other [sisters] have a lot of money, and the other one [the smallest] hasn't. God's will was that she became sick She became pregnant.¹⁴⁹ She became sick. She wanted something to eat. Then her sister told her,¹⁵⁰ "O my sister, come to me and I will make for you whatever you wish." She went to the other one [the other sister], she told her too, "O my sister, come to me and I will make for you whatever you wish." She went to her first sister. When she came to her first sister, she told her, "O my sister I would like¹⁵¹

145 For this tale-types in folktales in general see Aarne and Thompson (1961), 132–134, "403, *The Black and the White Bride*. Cf. *Types 450, 480, 510, 511*"; and for the belonging motifs "s. 31, *Cruel stepmother*" and "L55, *Stepdaughter heroine*." See also El-Shamy (1990), 76, 83, n. 99 and the bibliographical references mentioned there.

146 The word *sāmīn* used here also refers to evening parties with conversation and dancing.

147 For this expression see de Prémare, DAF, VII, 72 under the term *mšəṛṛəṭ*.

148 The idiom used by the narrator here is *əl-flūs šāndu d-wāsəm*. The expression *d-rās* + (pronominal suffix) means "many, much, numerous, a large number."

149 The idiom here is *ʔāṭ l-šyāl f-bāṭna*.

150 The translation above takes into consideration all the contexts in which this usage occurs. Contrast Moscoso, DACH, 257, who translates this as "vino su hermana ..."

151 The idiom here is *ʔāl li šāʔli šla*. For this expression see de Prémare, DAF, IX, 186–187: "*qāl li šāqli* l'idée m'est venue (de ...); cela m'a dit (de ...); je supposais, je conjecturais, je

kəsksu.¹⁵² I want the *kəsksu* to be thus, and this has to be” She replied, “Okay, my sister, I will make it for you.” She made her the *kəsksu*, and called her. When she reached out her hand to eat, she [her sister] dipped it into it and burned her hand.¹⁵³ “By God, my sister! By God, my sister! By God, my sister! My hand, my hand, my hand!” She replied to her, “It’s boiling. [To] anyone who says she wants a poor man – you said you wanted a poor man! – This is nothing [worse than you deserve].”

4 She left weeping. She left crying. They saw her husband; people saw him: “Why are you angry?”¹⁵⁴ He replied, “This is what has happened to my wife; this is what happened to her.” They made *kəsksu* for him. They garnished it for him and gave it to him.

5 Once again she was craving for something. It was called *bū-ūden*.¹⁵⁵ She desired *bū-ūden*. She went to her other sister. She told her, “I would like” “What would you like, my sister?” She answered, “I want *bū-ūden*.” Then she told her, “Fine. I will make it for you.” She prepared it for her with all the fixings. When she was going to eat it, she [her sister] pushed [her hand] into it. She burned her [sister’s] hand. She burned her hand. Then she told her, “This is what anyone who marries a poor man deserves. You do not have anything!”¹⁵⁶

m’imaginais (que ...); mon sentiment est (que ...); la fantaisie m’a pris (de ...) [= *qāl li rāše*] etc.”

152 Also spelled “couscous” and “*səksu*.” This is a typical Moroccan and North African dish made of milled wheat steamed in meat broth. For its recipe and mode of preparation see Colin (1939), 187–188. For a detailed semantic definition of this term, its origin, and a listing of dishes using couscous, see Abu-Shams (2002), 280–284, n. 163, 347–352 and 450, Photographs 5 and 6. Moscoso, DACH, 242–243 gives the recipe of this dish in Chaouen. However, Moscoso’s text mingles different types of dishes, recipes, and occasions for the preparation of the various dishes.

153 The protagonist sticks his/her hand on a hot, or in a boiling, dish in similar circumstances in Loast (1949), vol. I, 61–62, and vol. II, 87–88, tale no. LXXIII, “Histoire des trois hommes”; and in Scelles-Millie (1970), 82–94 (esp. 82, 94 n. 1), “Histoire d’Abderrahman.” In a Jewish tale of Tetuan a similar punishment by the sisters occurs: tale no. 36, “El doblón de oro,” in de Larrea Palacín (1952), 125–127 (esp. 127). See also the tale “Attoche et Fadhel” in El Fasi (2000), 58–64 (esp. 60). A similar kind of punishment is meted out, but with the objective of finding the truth and therefore in effect a trial by ordeal, in Stumme (1895), 114–119 (esp. 116), tale no. 14, “Eine Geschichte von Harun Arraschid”; and in Légy (1926), 211–213, tale no. LVI, “Histoire de Moulay ‘Atfīq.”

154 Contrast Moscoso, DACH, 258: “¿Qué te ocurre? Estaba enfadado.”

155 A type of local homemade pasta similar to macaroni. It was one of Chaouen’s characteristic dishes. For more about it, see Moscoso, DACH, 236.

156 Contrast Moscoso, DACH, 258.

She cried until she was exhausted. Once again the people, the neighborhood gathered for him and prepared for him [*bū-ūden*] with all the fixings. They [all] carried on normally for some days.¹⁵⁷

The girl ... [and] the rich man now invited the Sultan, they invited the Sultan 6
to their home. They brought him to them. They brought him to their house. When they brought him to them ... The woman, the girl married to the poor man, had a very beautiful girl. Her beauty blew one’s mind.¹⁵⁸ She was very pretty. She [the sister with the rich husband] told her, “Please, O my sister, the Sultan is coming to us, we will invite him. So give me your daughter to serve him.”¹⁵⁹ She answered, “Yes,” and told her [daughter], “Go, O my daughter, to your aunt’s.” She went to her: she served on her behalf, and she readied everything. She washed their hands. She brought him [the Sultan] water to wash his hands.¹⁶⁰ He took a ring from his hand and it remained in the girl’s hand. He liked the girl. He liked the girl. He gave her the ring.

When the girl went out, he asked him [the rich husband], “Where did you 7
get this girl from? You are a slave: you are extremely black,¹⁶¹ a slave. Where did you get this girl from?” He answered him, “She is mine, my daughter.” He replied, “By God, O fellow!¹⁶² How can your daughter look this way?” He said,

157 The expression here is *ṣāw bṭāw hāyḏāç šī āyyāmāṣ*.

158 The English idiom here is the exact equivalent of the original *lādxṭūfb-əz-zāyn*. About the verb *xṭəf*, see DAF, IV, 109, meaning 3: “captiver, ravir, séduire, charmer; faire perdre (la raison, la tête, l’esprit).”

159 The expression here is *dāxxāl əl-ṭšāfi*. The translation given is not a literal one, but is required by the context and certainly meant by the narrator. This type of expression is not mentioned in de Prémare.

160 Contrast Moscoso, DACH, 258. This is a traditional way of honoring guests at weddings and all other social gatherings before the actual feast. A family member or servant brings a special basin, called a *ṭās d-əš-šlāl* “bassin de rinçage,” and soap, washes the hands of every guest, and then offers a *fūṭa* (“towel”) for drying their hands. Concerning the *ṭ-ṭās d-əš-šlāl* de Prémare writes, “bassin de l’aquamanile, en cuivre jaune, à orifice circulaire, dans lequel tombe l’eau savonneuse qui a servi au lavement des mains des convives; il est recouvert d’une plaque ajourée – *ḡṭa* – qui dissimule les eaux sales et sert de support pour l’aiguère; cette plaque comporte aussi un petit réceptacle où l’on met la savonnette [Co, Co, Mrkch. Mar, Mer]” (DAF, VIII, 242). For more on this ritual and the design of this basin see Rackow (1958), 10, Tafel VIII. However, the technical terminology of this object’s pieces are slightly different in Tetuan and in Chaouen.

161 The idiom here is *khāl mkəffəs*. This idiom is not mentioned under *mkəffəs* in DAF, X, 605. Moscoso, DACH, 258 incorrectly translates it as “no muy afortunado.” On the association of the color black with disgrace in MA in general see Marçais (1953), 386–388.

162 Moscoso, DACH, 258 translates this idiom as, “¿Qué estás diciendo ...?” The original *ṇāh*

“She is my daughter.” (But she was not his daughter). He asked him, “Are you going to give her to me to marry?” He answered him, “I give her to you.” He asked for her hand. He gave her to him: he told him, “I give her to you.” He took her.

8 She hid the ring; the girl did not show it to them. She did not show it to her aunt. She hid the ring. She left her aunt and went to her mother’s.¹⁶³ They [her aunt and the aunt’s husband] started to prepare the wedding. He [the Sultan] said that he wanted the wedding soon. Now that man [the Sultan] wanted the wedding. She went [again to her sister] and asked her, “Please, O my sister, give me your daughter to whitewash the house with me.” She replied, “Very well.” She gave her to her. She whitewashed the house with her. She asked her, “Please, O my sister, give me your daughter to go with me to the river to wash, to wash the clothes with me.” She replied, “Fine.”

9 Her [own] daughter was spoiled. She had a daughter, but she was black. She was black and ugly.¹⁶⁴ He [her rich husband] said, “That one [her sister’s daughter] is my daughter.” [But] he wanted to marry off¹⁶⁵ the black one.¹⁶⁶ He was not going to give him the one he liked: he was going to give him his [own] daughter. And they were taking advantage of the other one.¹⁶⁷

ya wūddi! has the meaning given in the present translation. About this expression see de Prémare, DAF, XII, 169: “*exclam. ā-wuddi / yā wuddi* ô mon cher, ô mon bon ami! terme familier [AR: In Chaouen, this a very common men’s expression, and can also mean “of course.”] adressé à un interlocuteur du même âge ou un peu plus jeune]; ô mon vieux, ma veille [Co, Br] etc.”

163 Moscoso, DACH, 258 incorrectly translates this as, “y se fue a casa de su tía, a casa de su madre.” The original text is *mšāḡ f-ḥāla* [*mə*]n *šānd xālṭa, n-šānd yimmāha*.

164 The term *xādām* here simply refers to the girl’s skin color, “black”: it is not used in its more general meaning of “black servant.” For more about this term see DAF, IV, 30. Moscoso, DACH, 258 incorrectly translates, “Pero su hija (entonces) era la criada, criada, mala.” How could she be a spoiled daughter and a servant at the same time? The narrator here meant to describe her physical appearance as *xādām* “black” and *ʔbiḥa* “ugly.” It is widely documented that in North Africa this word is used with the pejorative sense of “nigger”: see Marçais (1953), 386–388; Wensinck (1978), 931–932. The opposition of white/black as a motif in this plot (see above) parallels the same color opposition in the Kabylian tale “Mhamed, le fils de la négresse et ses six frères” in Lacoste-Dujardin (2010), 76–86 (esp. 76 n. 2, 87), and for commentary; and p. 57.

165 In this context *ywākkəb lu* means “to marry off” – not as Moscoso, DACH, 258 mistranslates, “Iba a subirle a la criada (sobre el palanquín).”

166 Moscoso, DACH, 258, “la criada” has to be rejected. See n. 164 above.

167 This expression, *x šmal b* (+ pronominal suffix or *Y*) *t-twiʔ*, is very common in ChA and means “to use someone for personal ends or gain.” It is not found in DAF. Moscoso, DACH, 258, mistranslates it, “aquella sólo era para que hicieran con ella el camino.”

She told her, “Give me your daughter.” She gave her to her. They went to the river to wash. They went to the river to wash. They washed and rinsed and hung the clothes. And the girl, the one who had the ring, the beautiful girl, went on a walk and she found a jasmine; she found a dry and withered jasmine. Then it addressed her, saying, “Please, my daughter: if you water me and clean me, may God put my cheek into your cheek, and my fragrance into your fragrance.” She replied, “Very well.” She went to the jasmine and cleaned it and watered it, and removed the trash from it, and fixed it, and arranged it. She told her, “Go my daughter. May God put my fragrance into your fragrance, and my cheek into your cheek, and my appearance into your appearance.”

She left. She left and continued. She continued on. She found a rose, also dried, which said to her, “Please, my daughter, water me; and sprinkle me with water and clean me ...” She replied to her, “Very well.” She said to her, “May God put my blush into your blush, and my fragrance into your fragrance.” The girl changed to white and red. She was glowing in a special way. She went to it, watered it and sprinkled water over it, and trimmed¹⁶⁸ it. Then her appearance changed. The girl became even more beautiful.¹⁶⁹

And she continued on. She continued on and found a donkey – Pardon the word!¹⁷⁰ – a donkey. She found a donkey, which told her, “Please, my daughter,

168 The verb used here, *ṣāġġbāṣa*, does not really mean just “to trim” but “to fix, to arrange” (DAF, VIII, 65). It has the semantic function of adding a specific, detailed description to the meaning of the verb preceding it. Another example of the use of this verb is the expression *ṣāddal u-ṣāġġəb*, which means “to do and to fix / to make and arrange.”

169 For this motif see Aarne and Thompson (1961), 133, “D1860, *Magic beautification*.”

170 The term *ḥāšāḥ*, which is common in Jordan as *ḥūšāk*, lit. “save your face / may this not apply to you!” is a formula uttered in Morocco mostly by women after the mention of anything deemed to be socially objectionable, such as animals like donkeys, dogs, and pigs, toilets, shoes, etc., and to unsavory attributes like recklessness and stupidity (on this see Farghal [2007], 72). The uttering of this formula by the narrator brings the listener into the story, and proves how the narrator is carefully observing the traditional rules of speech etiquette. It shows the importance of the interaction between the listener and the narrator: the storytelling must occur in a trusting and secure environment. For more about the usage of this formula see DAF, III, 131; and Sadiqi (2003), 79, who classifies this term as a women’s formula, adding that “in some rural parts of Morocco, this word is uttered before mentioning the word *lemra* ‘the wife, woman’: *lemra ḥafek!*” as if women were “unpleasant objects which should not be referred to directly, instead euphemisms are employed”: see Herrero (1996), 125–126 and (2008), 99, 100, n. 13. (The same applies to the obsolete ChA expression *l-īdhūdi ḥāšāk|ḥ!*: “the Jews – Pardon the word!”) Hachimi (2001), 48, says that “Using *l-mra* ‘the-woman’ in association with *ḥāšāk* is no doubt disappearing from language usage in Moroccan society nowadays.” El-Shamy (1980), liv–lv

water me and clean me and clean (my place).¹⁷¹ She told him, “Fine.” He told her, “May God put my eyes into your eyes.” Her eyes became very big¹⁷² and beautiful. She cleaned (his place), and she watered and fed him. He drank. He was full. He was satisfied.¹⁷³

13 She took her way back. She returned to her aunt’s. She asked her, “How did you become so beautiful? Where have you been?” She answered, “I only went over there!” She [the aunt] told her daughter, “You go too!” Her daughter went. And when she went on the walk, she found the jasmine at the first spot. She told her, “Please, my daughter, water me and clean me ...” She replied, “May my Lord shorten your days!¹⁷⁴ I am the daughter of a rich man, and I am going to marry the Sultan. I am the daughter of a rich man, and I am going to marry the Sultan!” Then she told her, “May God cause my leaves to grow upon your skin,¹⁷⁵ and put my thorns there too.” And she became full of thorns, full of leaves. This girl became covered with many thorns, and even uglier.

14 She proceeded on to the rose. She approached the rose, which said to her, “Please, O my daughter, water me and sprinkle me.” Then she replied to her, “May my Lord shorten your days! I am the daughter of a rich man, and I am going to marry the Sultan! And me ...” Then she told her, “May God make my thorns grow on your skin.” She became full of thorns.

15 That girl proceeded again ... She continued on. She found a donkey, the same way that the other had found it. She found a donkey who told her, “By God, please, O my daughter, clean (my place), and water me.” She told him, “May my Lord shorten your days, and keep you from me!¹⁷⁶ I am the daughter of a rich

and (1999), 152, 200, 377 n. 290 observes correctly that, “... the prevalent practice in traditional communities is of the husband not addressing his wife by name, but by the euphemism: ‘daughter of [good] people (*bint en-nās*),’ by her child’s name as: ‘Mother of So-and-so,’ or namelessly.”

171 By analogy with the prior petitions of the jasmine and the rose, Moscoso, DACH, 259, translates incorrectly, “y me limpias bien ...” It is evident that the verb *xāmməl* means “to clean and fix (a place).” For this meaning and its many occurrences see DAF, IV, 153–154.

172 Moscoso, DACH, 259 incorrectly translates the expression *q/ʔādd-ma ilin* as “sus ojos se volvieron como inclinados ...” For more about this expression see n. 76 above and n. 23, p. 281.

173 The expression *u ma xāṣṣu ḥāṭṭa šī ḥāža* literally means, “and he did not need anything else.”

174 Concerning this expression see the commentary in n. 176 below. Moscoso, DACH, 259, did not understand that the particle *ma* is a negative here, and so translates, “Que Dios te haga vivir,” which is the exact opposite of the actual meaning.

175 For this possible usage of the term *ḥām* see DAF, XI, 36, meaning 5.

176 The stock phrase *kābbi ma yṣāyṣəç wāla kān ybāllġāç!* is not attested in DAF, I, 301 or DAF,

man, and I am going to marry the Sultan!” Then he told her, “May God make my tool¹⁷⁷ grow between your eyes.” That girl left: the girl left disfigured. One could not look at her. She could not be beheld: she was disfigured. One could not look at her.

They prepared to celebrate the wedding. They prepared for the wedding. 16
When they where about to celebrate the wedding, she told her, “Please, my sister,¹⁷⁸ give me your daughter to display [as the bride] during the wedding day celebration.”¹⁷⁹ She replied, “Very well.” She gave her to her. And the day when she [the bride] was supposed to mount [the palanquin] to go home, she asked her, “Please, O my sister, give me your daughter to mount her [in the palanquin] so that she goes as if she were the real bride.” She went. She gave her to her. Indeed, she gave her to her.¹⁸⁰

That man [the Sultan], the pitiful, when she gave him ... They mounted that 17
girl [in the palanquin]. When he entered, he found a beautiful bride. They first displayed the first girl. She [the bride’s mother] distracted him. As soon as he withdrew, she removed the [beautiful] girl [and] placed the ill-starred ugly one, the one they intended for him. She placed her for him. When the man lifted the woman’s face, he found a different face. He fell ill. He became possessed by jinns.¹⁸¹ He became possessed by jinns and fell ill. He became possessed by jinns and fell ill. The man was dying. He was dying, certainly. He was about to

ix, 307. Nevertheless it is frequently used in ChA in contexts of dispute and situations of anger, mostly in women’s speech. It can be employed instead of a direct ‘in-your-face’ insult, or for politely refusing to do something, or to accept a judgement. Moscoso, DACH, 359 mistranslates, “Que Dios te haga vivir mucho y te haga llegar.” For the verb *bällä/aj* see DAF, I, 301, especially under meanings 1 and 5.

177 The term *būla* is used here as a euphemism. The narrator refers to the donkey’s penis and not its “urina,” as Moscoso, DACH, 259, “orina,” would have it. On this term and its use as a euphemism in other Magribin Arabic dialects see Marçais (1953), 370–372. For a detailed commentary on the use of this euphemism in women’s speech and bibliographical references see p. 32.

178 Moscoso, DACH, 259 translates here, “por favor, hija mía.” But the original reads *xāyla xti*.

179 Moscoso, DACH, 259 incorrectly translates here, “el día señalado.” This episode and the wedding ceremony in this tale can be compared to the Jewish Tetuani tale no. 89, “La novia trocada,” in de Larrea Palacín (1952), 268–272 (esp. 271). On this celebration see n. 54 above.

180 The nefarious deeds of the maternal aunt here parallel the evil behavior of the maternal aunt in the Iraqi tale no. 35, “The Maternal-Aunt,” in El-Shamy (1999), 279–285 (esp. 282, 284).

181 Concerning this see p. 58, n. 183.

die. That wretched girl remained there. He could not bear to look at her.¹⁸² He did not look at her. He did not do anything. He became sick, sick.

18 That girl – that is, his, the beautiful one – received word that he was ill. She received word that he had become ill. He had become ill. And she went to knock at the door; she went to them [the Sultan’s family]. On this occasion she was dressed in poor clothes, anyhow; and she went to them. She did not say who she was. She went to them.

19 She found his mother in a fit.¹⁸³ She came in to her. She told her, “Please, I have come to you to ask to be taken in as a guest, for God’s sake.” She replied, “Very well. Come in. Welcome.” She begged her enter, she begged her sit in the kitchen. She found her making for him *ḥbīka*.¹⁸⁴ She told her, “My son is sick. I am making him *ḥbīka*.” She replied, “Very good.” She [the girl] had brought with her the small ring that he had given her. His mother stepped aside for a moment, and she slipped the small ring into the small bowl of *ḥbīka*. She handed the small bowl of *ḥbīka* to him, his mother took *ḥbīka* to him.

20 He did not see the ring. As soon as he had drunk the *ḥbīka*, he found the small ring and recognized¹⁸⁵ it. He recognized the ring. He recognized it. He called his mother [asking] who was with her. Then she told him; she answered him, “No one, only one girl. One girl came to us. She is sitting in the kitchen.” He told her, “Bid her come to me, so that I can see her.” She asked him, “O my son, what for?” He told her again, “Tell her to come to me so that I can see her.” She went

182 The expression *x ma ṣāndu šī l-ṣāyn (lli) (y)šāṣṣa f* (+ pronominal suffix or *Y*) means “unable to bear looking at someone’s face; unable to stand seeing someone; to hate.” Moscoso, DACH, 260, does not understand this expression and instead translates, “No tenía ojos ya que éstos habían sido perturbados por ella al mirarla.”

183 The sentence is *šābəθ yimmāh mhādka*. The term *mhādka* gives the translator a free parameter.

184 This is a typical Moroccan soup. In Chaouen, this dish is made from vegetables (onions, carrots, celery, coriander), tomatoes, a small quantity of chickpeas, fine noodles, a few small pieces of meat, and various spices (contrast DMA, 246). This dish is customarily eaten each evening during Ramadan to break the daily fast. For a detailed definition of this culinary term, its variants, and a recipe see Abu-Shams (2002), 88, 337–339, and 447 Photograph 1. For a recipe for this dish from Chaouen see Moscoso, DACH, 248.

185 Given its immediate and global contexts, the verb *ṣṣāl* should be translated “to recognize, to identify” and not as Moscoso, DACH, 260, translates it, “recordar.” However, both meanings are possible: see DAF, IX, 185, under *ṣqəl*. Here this verb appears without the preposition *ṣla*. For this same sequence see El Fasi (2000), 58–64 (esp. 61) in the tale “Attoche et Fadhel.” See Aarne and Thompson (1961), 290 tale-type “870, *The Princess Confined in the Mound*.” In the present tale a necklace instead of a ring is used.

to her, and told her, “My son tells you to come to him so that he sees you.” When she entered, he recognized her. He had recognized his ring that he had given her, and he recognized the girl. He asked her, “But who are you?” She told him, “I am so-and-so.” She explained to him everything that had happened. Now he told her, “Leave, so I can come to ask for your hand in marriage.” He recovered, he got well. He recovered and he went to ask her father for the girl’s hand in marriage. The other one, the one who was black, returned [to her family]: she left. He asked for the girl’s hand in marriage, and he celebrated the wedding, and took her.

– The tale is good. Now read¹⁸⁶ it for yourself. –

21

186 Moscoso, DACH, 260 incorrectly translates this term as “rebobinar.” The narrator clearly means “to read” – or in this context “to play again.” For “rebobinar” a technical term is required, the verb *sənsər*: see DAF, VI, 211.

The Talking Bird¹⁸⁷

- 1 Some girls were passing the night sitting together. And some people chanced by and found them talking. They [the people] related that one said she wanted a husband, she wanted a man to marry her, and she would whitewash the house

187 A variant of this tale is Légy (1926), 38–43, tale no. VII, “Ṭir el-Gabouri (L’oiseau du Pays de Gabour),” narrated by a storyteller named Chérifa Lalla Ourqiya. The first episodes of that tale closely parallel the present tale, with the substantial difference that the King married all four sisters. Also, the magic objects requested by the sister are quite different. For other Moroccan variants of the opening episodes of this tale see tale no. CVI, “Si le roi m’ épousait ...,” in Laoust (1949), vol. I, 107–110, vol. II, 185–188, and the note on 188–190. In the Laoust variant, the fisherman adopts the boys, and they grow up and learn the Qurʾān: Laoust comments, “Ce récit est une variante altérée et incomplète du conte universellement connu des *Mille et une nuits* (de Galland, t. VII, p. 227) Histoire des deux soeurs jalouses de leur cadette.” In the Imeghran variant, “La fille aux écussons d’ or” is included by Laoust in the vernacular transcribed version, but not translated: see Laoust (1949), vol. I, 110–112. An additional Moroccan variant of this tale is the Jewish Tetuani tale no. 34, “las hermanas envidiosas,” in de Larrea Palacín (1952), 118–122. The central theme of these two tales is the same, but the development of the events different: the Jewish version is reduced and direct. Kabyle variants of this tale in Frobenius translated by Fetta (1997) are tale no. 39, “Les sept soeurs abandonnées” (201–212), and tale no. 40, “Les enfants aux cheveux d’ or” (213–219). About the latter Frobenius comments, “Il s’ agit d’ une autre version, moins bonne et mal racontée, du texte précédent [tale no. 39].” Another Kabyle variant is recorded by Dermenghem (1945), 49–55 (commentary on 153–163) under “Histoire d’ el ghoul Amelloul et de sa soeur Hadezzine.” The events in this tale are different from those of the present tale, but both share some common motifs, such as the role attributed to the old woman, the rescue of the children by the fisherman, the request for magic objects, the talking bird in one story and the golden tree in the other. Dermenghem states (155) that these fantasy objects are similar to the one mentioned in the *ʔalf layla wa layla* tale “L’ oiseau qui dit tout.” Another partial variant of this tale from the Algerian repertoire is tale no. 2, “corne d’ or et corne d’ argent,” in Mehadji (2002), 17–20. From the Egyptian repertoire see tales no. x, “Histoire du rossignol chanteur,” recorded by Spitta-Bey (1883), 123–136, and no. XI, “Histoire d’ Arab Zandyq” (137–151). The former might be considered a variant of this tale, since some of its passages and its central theme correspond to those of the present tale. Another variant of this tale is El-Shamy (1980), 63–72, tale no. 9, “The Promises of the Three Sisters.” The present tale is a variation on Aarne and Thompson (1961), 242–243 tale-type “707, *The Three Golden Sons*,” “707C, *Infants Cast away*, (by *Jealous Co-wives*, *Mother-in-law*, *Slave*, etc.), and *Subsequently Reunited with their Parents*,” and for the belonging motif “T144.3.1, *One wife divorced, another (new) acquired*.”

for him with one single brushful of lime – Be quiet!¹⁸⁸ – with a single brushful of lime? Another one said, “I want a man. I only hope that a man will marry me. I will wash the house for him with one thimbleful of water.” Another one said, “If a man takes me, I will give a dinner to all his companions¹⁸⁹ with a quarter of *kəsksu*.” Another one said that [if] a man took her, she would dress [all] his entourage with one sheet of wool. The smallest among them said that she wanted a man to take her and for him she would give birth to twins. She would ask God to bestow on her twins: two children, a boy and a girl, who would make the sun come out with their smile and the rain fall with their tears.¹⁹⁰ When they washed their hands, they would leave the water swarming with spiny loach.¹⁹¹ When they walked¹⁹² they would leave behind one brick of gold and another one of silver.¹⁹³

God’s will was that a certain man would marry all of them. He married 2 the first one. He married the first one. She came home.¹⁹⁴ He said, “I will

188 Moscoso, DACH, 260, n. 763 writes: “¡cállate! Le dice a su nieta que está presente durante el relato y se pone a hablar.”

189 This translation of the *mḥālla* is based principally on the context. For a more detailed definition of this term see DAF, III, 206.

190 For an analogous expression see El-Shamy (1999), 279–285 (esp. 281), tale no. 35, “The Maternal-Aunt.”

191 Moscoso, DACH, 265, translates this phrase incorrectly: “... cuando se lavaran las manos, la lisa que hierva en el agua se volviera dulce.” According to de Prémare DAF, IX, 413, meaning 2, the verb *ǧla* is “grouiller, fourmiller (foule, masse qui s’agite, vermine, vers, etc.)” and not “se mettre à bouillir etc.” In ChA this usage is common: *l-mūṭāf lāyāǧli b-ən-nās* “the place is swarming with people”; *kānāṭ d-dūnya lādāǧli* “the place was swarming.”

192 Moscoso, DACH, 265, translates here, “cuando marcharan rápidamente.” However, the verb *xāllaf* means the exact opposite – that is, “to walk step by step.” For this meaning see DAF, IV, 134.

193 This way of beginning a tale is common in both Muslim and Jewish Moroccan and Magribin folktales. See variants of this tale in Spitta-Bey (1883), 137–154 (esp. 137), tale no. XI, “Histoire d’Arabe-Zandyq”; and Frobenius translated by Fetta (1997), 201–212 (esp. 202–203), tale no. 39, “Les sept soeurs abandonnées,” and its variant no. 40, “Les enfants aux cheveux d’or,” 213–219 (esp. 213); Laoust (1949), vol. I, 107–110, vol. II, 185–188 (esp. 185), tale no. CVI, “Si le roi m’épousait ...”; de Larrea Palacín (1952), 85–86, 118–122 (esp. 118–119), and 133–136, tales no. 24, “La nieve asada,” no. 34, “Las hermanas envidiosas,” and no. 40, “Los tres almudes”; Gil Grimau and Ibn Azzuz (1988), 204–205, tale no. 130, “Las tres hermanas costureras”; and El Koudia and Allen (2003), 96–99 (esp. 96), tale no. 15, “Three Women.” In a different context this same kind of initial request is made by three *faqirs* in the tale “Histoire de Trois Faqirs” in Scelles-Millie (1970), 155–160.

194 The expression *ṣābhāṭ f-əd-dāx* literally means, “the next morning she was already home.” About this usage of the verb *ṣbāḥ* see DAF, VIII, 7.

soak one single brushfull of lime,” and he told her, “Now, arise, whitewash the house.” She stroked [the brushfull of lime] on the wall, and it dried. He divorced her.

3 He divorced her, and he married another one. He married another one. He had a wedding celebration for her, and she too came home. He filled the thimble – the thimble which we put on our finger when sewing the hem ... the back of a cloth¹⁹⁵ – he filled it for her with water. He told her, “Then arise, scrub the house.” She poured it on the floor, and it dried. He divorced her.

4 He married the other one – they were sisters, the same man married all of them – he married another one. He gave her a sheet of wool. The day that she came home, he told her, “Hurry, arise, make a garment for them.” She made them a small ring of a very fine thread for their fingers. Again, he divorced her.

5 Then he again married another one, he married another sister. Again, he weighed a quarter of *kəsksu*. He told her, “Hasten! Make dinner for my entourage.” Again, she took the *kəsksu*, and added salt to it. And she added enough salt so the *kəsksu* would fill the dishes and she poured the [sauce] on it for them and she gave it to them, and [they] remained hungry. They went to their lord saying, “We are hungry ...” He asked her, “Where is the *kəsksu* that you prepared for the entourage?” She told him, “Here it is.”¹⁹⁶ He told her, “Leave!”

6 He married the smallest among them, the one who wanted to get pregnant.¹⁹⁷ He married the smallest one among them. She remained with him. She became pregnant. She became pregnant, her sisters began to tell her, “We are the ones who will bring you the midwife.”¹⁹⁸ O sister, we are the ones who will

195 This term *qfa* refers to “the back of a cloth”: see DAF X, 392, under meaning 5.

196 Moscoso, DACH, 265, leaves this entire sentence untranslated.

197 The idiom *d[āʔʔi] l-ḥyāl* (which Moscoso, DACH, 265, left untranslated) means “to become pregnant.”

198 The term *ʔābla* (CA *qābila*) refers to a traditional midwife, who would always be an old, respectable, and normally unmarried woman. For this definition of *qābla* in Rabat see Brunot (1931), 124, n. 2. For comparative lexicographical features in other ADs concerning this term see recently Ritt-Benmimoun and Procházka (2009), 47. In the Kabyle Algerian variant of this tale, “Histoire d’el ghouel Amelloul et de sa soeur Hadezzine” by Dermenghem (1945), 49–55 (esp. 49 n. 1) and 153–163, and the Algerian tale no. 2, “Corne d’or et corne d’argent,” in Mehadjji (2002), 17–20 (esp. 17–18 n. 5), a woman called a *settoût/settouta* “sorcière, vieille femme méchante et sournoise, spécialisée dans les actions et les tractations négatives” has the role of midwife. In the tale “La femme jalouse et l’oeuf de serpent” in Dermenghem (1945), 57–62 (esp. 59) this figure is described as: *Settoût oumm el bahoût allah lâ irhamhâ nahr itmoût* – “la mère des mensonges, que Dieu ne lui fasse pas miséricorde à l’heure de sa mort!”

bring the doctor.¹⁹⁹ Sister, we are going to bring you the midwife. O sister, we are the ones who will choose²⁰⁰ your midwife.” She, the pitiful, in her simplicity,²⁰¹ called her sisters when she was about to give birth. Her sisters came. They brought puppies, two in a box. They brought two small puppies in a box.

The woman gave birth without knowing herself what she had borne.²⁰² After she had given birth, and finished, they told her, “You gave birth to puppy dogs.”²⁰³ But she had given birth to a boy and a girl. They told her, “You gave birth to small puppy dogs. You gave birth to small dogs.” She said to them, “Praise be to God, O my Seigneur, my Lord! I asked you for children, and you have bestowed upon me dogs. I have no complaints.”²⁰⁴ She remained with the dogs. When her husband came, they told him, “She gave birth to dogs.” He said, “It is from God!”²⁰⁵ He said that the dogs would remain.²⁰⁶ She ... As for the children, the old woman²⁰⁷ put them ... that old woman ... cut their umbilical

199 Moscoso, DACH, 265, does not translate this sentence.

200 This translation takes into consideration the immediate context, though the verb *ʔa* means “to make, to do, to put” rather than “to choose.” On this verb see n. 71, pp. 100–101.

201 For this expression see DAF, XI, 506–507, 515.

202 The narrator’s words here are *ma ʕāf ʕāsa š wūldəʕ*. Concerning the noun *rās* (+ pronominal suffix) “himself, herself, etc.” see DAF, V, 12, meaning 13.

203 The replacement of babies with young dogs is common in folktales. See a variant of this tale in Spitta-Bey (1883), 137–151 (esp. 138–139), tale no. XI, “Histoire d’Arab-Zandyq”; Frobenius translated by Fetta (1997), 201–212 (esp. 203), tale no. 39, “Les septes soeurs abandonnées”; Légy (1926), 38–43, tale no. VII, “Ṭīr el-Gabouri (L’oiseau du Pays de Gabour)”; Laoust (1949), vol. I, 107–110, vol. II, 185–188 (esp. 187), tale no. CVI, “Si le roi m’ épousait ...”; and El Koudia and Allen (2003), 53–63, tale no. 9, “The Jealous Mother.” In the Algerian variant of this tale, “Histoire d’el ghoull Amelloul et de sa soeurs Hadezzine,” in Dermenghem (1945), 49–55 (esp. 49 n. 1) and 153–163, the dogs are replaced by “deux petits chats”; and in an Algerian variant of this story, tale no. 2, “Corne d’or et corne d’argent,” in Mehadji (2002), 17–20 (esp. 17–18), the author chooses “un corbeau” instead of young dogs. See also Aarne and Thompson (1961), 242–243, tale-type “707, *The Three Golden Sons*.” [(a) The elder sisters substitute a dog for the new-born child and accuse the wife of giving birth to the dog. (b) The children are thrown into a stream but rescued by a miller (or a fisher). (c) The wife is imprisoned (see below).]

204 The expression is *ma ʕāndi ma nʔul ləʕ*, which literally means “I have nothing to tell you.”

205 The phrase used here is *l-ħāmdu llāh*, “Thank God.” It is a statement that expresses complete resignation to God’s will.

206 Moscoso, DACH, 266, incorrectly translates, “y pensé en los perros que estaban sentados.”

207 The word used here by the narrator is *l-ʕāwʕəz* “old woman or mother-in-law.” It has strong negative implications because in Moroccan society old women as mother-in-laws are seen as authoritarian and tyrannical (see Sadiqi [2003], 69). Otherwise the narrator would have chosen *l-mra l-kbīra* lit. “old woman,” which suggests an elderly lady who is experienced, wise, and patient, and therefore has more positive nuances.

cord,²⁰⁸ and [the sister] that was with her put them in a box, and she [the midwife] left, threw it into the sea,²⁰⁹ with the babies, and left the dogs for her [the mother]. She threw them into the sea.

- 8 There was a very poor man, who had nothing but a handful of children, so many! His wife dawned with a new child. The woman gave birth; the woman gave birth. He went to the sea to catch some fish to cook and give to the woman to eat.²¹⁰ He didn't have anything else to give her: he did not have a thing. As he was fishing, the box came within reach. The box with the children came within reach. He opened it and said, "Thank God, O my Seigneur Lord!" – See how a human thanks God! – "I have babies and you are adding²¹¹ others to me. This means I have nothing to feed them. But because²¹² their people surely cast them away, I am not going to cast them away."

208 Moscoso, DACH, 266, seriously straying from the original text, translates, "aquellos niños, les hizo aquella deformidad, aquella deformidad." Here the reference is to the midwife that her sisters brought for the expectant mother. For other terms for "midwife" in different ADs see Ritt-Benmimoun and Procházka (2009), 47, 61, 65, 70.

209 This is a very common literary motif in Moroccan Muslim and Jewish folktales. It reminds us of the Old Testament Moses. This sequence occurs in all variants of this tale: for example, Légy (1926), 38–43 (esp. 39), tale no. VII, "Tīr el-Gabouri (L'oiseau du Pays de Gabour)." For a Jewish Moroccan folktale with the same motifs see de Larrea Palacín (1952), 103–106 (esp. 104, 105), tale no. 30, "La rica y la pobre," in which the boy is confined in a pumpkin rather than a box. In de Larrea Palacín (1953), 22–24 and 82–84, tale no. 93, "No sé," the little boy is thrown into a river. See also de Larrea Palacín's tale no. 111, "El sino bueno." And see Noy (1966), 57–61 (esp. 58), tale no. 15, "The Tale of Three Children." For the same motif in folktales in general see the detailed references in Aarne and Thompson (1961), 242–243 above in n. 187 above.

210 This refers to a fisherman. The portrayal of a fisherman as poor, and the father of many children with yet another mouth to feed, is very common in Maghrebin Berber and Arab folktales. See for example "La djinnia poisson / *El houta ej-jinnia*" and "Les langages des oiseaux" in El Fasi and Dermenghem (1975), 126–135 and 139–152 (esp. 144); and the Algerian Kabyle tale, variant of the present tale, "Histoire d'el ghoull Amelloul et de sa soeurs Hadezzine," by Dermenghem (1945), 49–55, 153–163. On this motif see El-Shamy (1995), 186, under "*Fisher: Rescues Abandoned Child R131.4*." In a variant of this tale, Algerian tale no. 2, "Corne d'or et corne d'argent," in Mehadji (2002), 17–20 (esp. 17–18), the story uses "un bûcheron" rather than a fisherman. See Aarne and Thompson (1961), 242–243, tale-type "707, *The Three Golden Sons*," which includes the motif "*R131.4, Fisher rescues abandoned child*."

211 The text reads here *zīṭṭni* (about this form see n. 108, p. 302), which is from the verb *zād*, meaning "to add, to annex, to tack on, to increase, to augment etc." (See DAF, V, 430–433). Moscoso, DACH, 266, incorrectly translates here "enviar."

212 Moscoso, DACH, 266, here translates the expression *b-əl-ḥāʔʔ* by the Spanish expression

He sealed the box again, and took it, and went his way back to his wife. 9
 The woman had her baby by her, the one she had given birth to, and the other
 children before her. Such chaos!²¹³ And she was sitting there. She had nothing.
 He said to her, “Wait till you see what I have brought you!” She asked him,
 “What did you bring me?” He told her, “Here, I brought you some children.”
 Then she replied to him, “Welcome them! Welcome them! Welcome them! May
 God provide for them! We have nothing, and the Lord gave them to us. Welcome
 them! Give them to me.”

He gave them to her. She nursed them. She gave them to suckle. She gave 10
 them to suckle. And she rolled them in cloth, because she had no clothes, and
 nothing. She rolled them in cloth, placed them by her; she put her own aside.
 She placed them near her to warm them. She put them by her, near her. She
 nursed one, and she nursed the other one, and the other one.²¹⁴ When those
 children began crying, rain began falling like arrows, a heavy rain. They did not
 understand why.

Then those children started to grow. When they began rollicking with 11
 them²¹⁵ – when they fondled their heads, fondled their heads, fondled²¹⁶ their
 heads – money started to fall from their heads: *ḫyāl*,²¹⁷ a *ḫyālāṯ* fell from their
 heads. People were astonished ... He gathered [the money], and the woman
 caressed their heads. He gathered more and more. He bought them clothes, he
 bought them grain, he bought them ... he bought everything, he bought them
 everything they needed. He was on wings of joy with these children. He bought
 them everything. He celebrated their name day²¹⁸ doing all that should be done.

“por lo que se ve.” For a detailed explanation and different idioms see DAF, III, 171, meaning 1.

213 The narrator uses here a common ChA expression *ḫwīna*. For this term see DAF, V, 250, meaning 3. Moscoso, DACH, 266, translated this word according to the context: “... y a los pequeños que eran muchos para poder criarlos.”

214 The verb *ḫāttāṯ* in the D-stem means “to nurse at the breast, suckle, breast-feed.” Contrast Moscoso, DACH, 266.

215 Moscoso, DACH, 266, incorrectly translates here, “fueron a felicitarlos. Empezaron a felicitarlos ...” But in this particular context *ḫfāḫ b* (+ pronominal suffix or *Y*) means “être content, se réjouir, s’égayer, se féliciter etc.” (See DAF, X, 48, meaning 1). Though one of the meanings mentioned by de Prémare is in fact “se féliciter,” that meaning does not fit the present context.

216 Thus translates Moscoso, DACH, 266. However this meaning is not included under any of the those for the word *sāllak* in DAF, VI, 164.

217 For *ḫyāl* plural *ḫyālāṯ* see n. 229, p. 224.

218 About this celebration see p. 76.

He was happy with these children, for whose laughter the sun shined and for whose tears the rain fell – they now knew how. These children started ... And they were happy with these children.

12 The children started to grow ... They grew, they started walking²¹⁹ ... Now, when he caressed their heads with his hand, *ḡyāl* began falling from their heads. When they started walking,²²⁰ they left one brick of gold and one of silver behind them. Oh, who could²²¹ collect them!

13 They grew up, and their aunts took notice, they took notice that they were still alive²²² – they who thought they would die when they cast them into the sea. Their father, the man who had raised them, became rich – very. He became filthy rich.²²³ He possessed so much! He had houses, he had money, he had clothes, everything. No one was like him. They did not know their [real] father was a Sultan.

14 They, the unfortunate²²⁴ ones, those children went outside to play, and the woman who had put them into the box and cast them into the sea, that old woman, was passing by, she was passing by. She told them, “If your father loved you, he would have given to you²²⁵ a small chicken of gold and chicks of silver.”²²⁶ They entered [the house] crying. They entered crying. Rain began falling

219 See n. 192 for the same remark about Moscoso's translation.

220 See n. 192 for the same remark about Moscoso's translation.

221 For the expression *māṣṣāb* see n. 114 above.

222 The idiom here is *bāʾi f-əd-dūnya*, which literally means “to be still be alive.”

223 The idiom here is *māsx d-dūnya* see n. 122, p. 304.

224 About the term *l-hāmm*, see n. 56 and 60 above.

225 The verb used here by the narrator is *ʔa lkūm*, literally “he puts/makes for you.” The difficult demand by an evil old woman is a recurrent motif in folktales, and serves as a plot device for motivating and initiating the hero's adventures. See for example tale no. 6, “M'hmed Aserdun chez l'ogre,” in Frobenius translated by Fetta (1996), 69–85 (esp. 70): “... Un jour qu'ils étaient en train de jouer dehors, une vieille femme à l'air hargneux s'approcha d'eux et leur lança sur le ton du défi: “Si vous étiez des hommes, votre soeur n'aurait jamais été enlevée par un ogre ...””; and *ibid.* (1997), 173–178 (esp. 173–174), tale no. 35, “le grain magique”: “Elle s'était toujours crue fille unique. Un jour qu'elle jouait en toute innocence, le coeur léger, la vieille femme vint à passer par là. Elle observa la jeune fille si gracieuse et s'approcha pour lui lancer d'un ton méprisant: “tu n'a pas honte d'être si joyeuse, toi qui as fait exiler tes sept frères!””

226 This demand, almost impossible of fulfillment because it can be achieved only in the land of the ogres, ogresses, and demons, occurs often in Moroccan tales: see for example tale no. xxxi, “Chouiter ou le septième frère,” in Légy (1926), 139–142 (esp. 141, 142); and the tale no. iv, مولاي الزاس, and tale no. vi, بروكش, in Chakir (2010), 42–48 (esp. 46) and 64–68 (esp. 67).

like arrows. The man who raised them came running: “What is the matter with you, O my children? What is the matter with you?” He kept imploring, “My children, what is the matter with you? What has happened? What has happened?” They answered him, “We want ... If you loved us, you would have made for us a golden chicken and its chicks of silver.” He replied, “I will make it for you.” He made it, he made it, and brought it to them.

Some days passed. They were playing with the golden chicken and its silver chicks, and the old woman passed by. She told them, “If your father loved you, he would have placed a window²²⁷ toward the sun for you, a window toward the moon for you, and a window into the deepest sea for you.” They entered the house again, crying and disconsolate.²²⁸ He did it so for them again.

In the fullness of time,²²⁹ that old woman again passed by while the children were playing. She told them, “If your father loved you, he would have made you a myrtle which dances, a brick which claps, and yellow fishes which whistle over a flat rock.”²³⁰ Again, they entered crying and disconsolate,²³¹ and he made everything for them again.

One day, hoping to finish them off,²³² she told them, “If you were loved by your father, he would have given you a talking bird which sings its own song.” –

227 The narrator here uses the word *tāʔa*, a typical Chaouen term for window but which today is being replaced by *sāḅǧəm*. The term *tāʔa* literally means “niche.” For a detailed definition of this term in a different context see de Prémare, DAF, VIII, 375. Rackow (1958), 28, Tafel xxxiv, when describing a house in the north-western village of Bnī Ḥôzmar, translates the term as “Wandnische.” The reason the word is falling into disuse is that *tāʔa* also has a coarse/vulgar sexual connotation through its use in the women’s expression *tāʔa d sūwwʕa/u* “anus.” For a parallel expression see de Prémare, DAF, VIII, 375, under meaning 6, “[fig. et grossier] anus – *yəḥši šəbʕo f tātqo* qu’il se fourre le doigt dans l’anus (si ...)! [Co].”

228 The word *hābbəʔ* used as the second component in the idiom *bki + hābbəʔ* does not mean “to cause to descend, to cause to go down etc.” (For more see DAF, XII, 12). The expression *bka u hābbəʔ žnābu* means “he wept and tore his clothes.” This same meaning is mentioned in DAF, XII, 12, meaning 2, but in different combinations. The literal translation here by Moscoso, DACH, 267, “... llorando y bajaron,” must be rejected.

229 The idiom here is *ma šāʔ āḡāh*, literally “What God wills!”

230 Compare to Moscoso, DACH, 267: “... un arrayán que dance, un ladrillo que dance, un ladrillo como si danzara, un arrayán que dance y un pez amarillo que sobre las planchas de piedra amarilla.” But this translation must be rejected.

231 See n. 228 above.

232 The idiom here is *dāʔtāʔ ləm d-dbūh*. The translation of Moscoso, DACH, 267, “... en el que ella les estaba cortando la carne sacrificada,” must be rejected. This is an idiom that is not attested either under *ʔtāʔ* in DAF, X, 364–367, or under *dbūh* in DAF, IV, 212.

And where would they find this talking bird? The one who approaches the talking bird and pets him dies. (He does not die really, but falls asleep, becomes as if asleep). And the boy started babbling²³³ ... told him, “O my father, I am going to bring the talking bird.” He replied, “O my son, there is no one who can catch the talking bird. You will not be able to catch him.” He [the son] answered, “I will bring it.” He prepared a saddle for him, he placed a saddle for him, he provided him with an assistant and provisions, and he left.

18 He left. As he proceeded, he met a man sitting on a small acorn. A man sitting on a small acorn. He [the boy] said, “Peace be upon you.” He replied, “Peace be upon you, O King’s son! By God, if my greeting had not preceded your greeting, and my speaking had not preceded your speaking, I would have swallowed your flesh in a single bite, and drunk your blood in one gulp, and would have thrown your bones into the sky.²³⁴ Now, are you going to bring the talking bird?” He

233 This also could be translated as “talking nonsense.” Moscoso, DACH, 267 misanalyses this term, translating it “se dio la vuelta.”

234 Contrast Moscoso, DACH, 267, who did not see the conditional clause and thus misunderstands the context. This formula belongs to ghouls’ speech and occurs in numerous Maghrebin and Arab folktales. See for example Spitta-Bey (1883), 137–151 (esp. 142), tale no. XI, “Histoire d’Arab-Zandyq,” a variant of the present story in which the ogress “répondit: ‘Si ton salut ne prévalait sur tes paroles, je mangerais ta chair avant tes os.’” Also see Légy (1926), 38–43, 63–70, 94–96, and 104–111, tales no. VII, “Ṭîr el-Gabouri (L’oiseau du Pays de Gabour),” no. XIV, “Histoire de moitié d’homme (celui qui sait ce qui est dans sa tête et dans la tête des autres),” no. XXI, “Le cheval persan,” and no. XXIV, “Moulay Hammam, la jeune fille et les ghouls,” in which the ghouls says, *koûn ma slâmek sbeq slâmi, ndir lḥamek fi dorma, ou demek fi jorma, ou ‘Azamek nterkonhoum bin snâni* “Si ton salut n’avait pas devancé mon salut, j’aurais fait de ta chair une bouchée, de ton sang une gorgée, et j’aurais écrasé tes os entre mes mâchoires.” In Laoust (1949), vol. I, 87–88 and 114–116, vol. II, 132–133, 192–195 (esp. 193), a variant “dans le parler des Aït Sadden” of the tale no. XC, “Les deux orphelins et l’ogresse,” and tale no. CIX, “Le bûcheron et les objets magiques,” the ogress says, “... j’aurais fait une bouchée de votre chair, une gorgée de votre sang et broyé vos os entre mes dents!” The same expression occurs in Jewish tales of Tetuan: see de Larrea Palacín (1952), 206–211 (esp. 207, 208), tale no. 67, “Los tres regalos del negro.” It also appears in Muslim northern Moroccan tales such as El Kouidia and Allen (2003), 72–80 (esp. 73), tale no. 11, “Lunja,” where the ogress states, “... ‘I’d have sucked your blood in a single drop, eaten your flesh in one swallow, and cast your bones to the seven skies’”; and in the Kabylia Algerian tale “La mère dénaturée, Le garçon courageux et le roi des Iwarzeniouen,” by Dermenghem (1945), 69–75 (esp. 70). See also Lacoste-Dujardin (2010), 105–108 (esp. 108), the tale “Mqidech-la-misère-qui-ne-dort-et-n’-a-pas-sommeil-et-m’-a-tué-mes-sept-filles,” in which the protagonist Mqidech repeats the ogress’ formula: “leur chair en une bouchée, leur sang en une gorgée!” It also is found in the South Arabian tale no. 16, “Zwei Brüder,” in Müller (1905), 89–95 (esp. 92), where the ogress said, *Wa* –

answered him, “Yes.” He told him, “If it talks to you, do not talk to it; and if it recites²³⁵ for you, do not recite for it; and if it laughs at you, do not laugh at it –

‘eméroh heš hō – hō le‘ám – é‘ál ‘édogk ménhi tódi la-‘emérenki tey lúqmeh “Und sie sprach zu ihm: O, wenn du aus meiner Brust nicht gesaugt hättest, würde ich dich als (zu) einen Bissen verschlucken (machen)”; and in the Egyptian tale no. 8 in El-Shamy (1980), 54–63 and 63–72, “Louiyya, Daughter of Morgan,” and tale no. 9, titled, “The Promises of the Three Sisters,” where the ogress replied, “Had your greeting not preceded your speech, I would have devoured/munched on your flesh before (gnawing on) your bones. What do you want / What bring you here?” (see esp. 57, 58, 70); and El-Shamy (1999), 240–247 (esp. 245), tale no. 30, “The son of Seven [Mothers],” where the ogress used the same formula.

- 235 The verb **ḌKR** literally means “mentioning (the name of God).” In the present context its precise meaning is “to sing religious chants/ perform religious recitations.” In Chaouen this is usually an afternoon or evening ceremony. Once a week, and daily during the week of the Prophet’s Muḥammad’s birth (*l-mawlid n-nabawī*), a large number of men come together in a mosque or shrine, but mainly in a *zāwīya*, to perform religious recitations. This performance consists in exalting the Divine in prayers, songs, music, and dance. There are different forms of these practices according to a particular brotherhood’s doctrine, school, and religious tendency (for the enumeration of *zawāyas* in Chaouen see pp. 67–68). The prayers and songs vary from the over-intellectualised, as is the case of the *zāwīya* l-Qādiriyya, to the purely the popular. They can even be mixed with magic, as is the case in the *zāwīya* l-Ṣīṣāwiyya. Most of these religious practices involve physical and emotional sensations aroused through songs, dance, and music. The performers evoke God, and seek union, or at least an intense communication, with Him through words. The use of musical instruments varies depending on the brotherhood: some do not use instruments, but only sing a cappella, such as the *zāwīya* š-Šāqqūriyya, in which traditional movement and breathing patterns replace the music. The dance movement reflect the Mawlana fraternity of Turkey (founded by the disciples of Żalāl d-Dīn ar-Rūmi 1207–1273). However, the adaptation of the circular dance of the whirling dervishes to North Moroccan rhythm and style is obvious. The performance of all of the brotherhoods is a mystic exercise of the highest degree. The North African tradition is deeply influenced by Oriental and Andalusian mysticism. One of the most famous corpus of songs is by the major figure of Sufism, the great Andalusian poet al-Šuštari (1212–1269), whose poetry is still sung nowadays, such as in the tradition of *q-dīkr wa s-samāf*, preserved in the recording by Pneuma titled “*Dhikr y Samāf: canto religioso de la cofradía Sufi-Andalusí Al-Shushtari*,” which includes the poems and their translation into Spanish by F. Corriente, and P. Beneito. Currently Chaouen is enjoying a renaissance of many of the *zawāya* through the participation of groups of young Chaoueni men. In Chaouen this is not limited to men: women’s performances are also known, and seem to be rooted in this city’s folklore practices. For more about this see **DAF**, IV, 313; For the historical background of the role of the *zawāya* in Chaouen cultural life see al-Ṣāfiya (1982), 192–207, 231–235; El-Ḥbūsi (1999), 383–386. On these ceremonies with regard to Egypt see El-Shamy (1972), 19. For the health benefits of these activities see El-Shamy (1972), 13–28, esp. 19; and the commentary on pp. 66–69.

until it falls asleep and its eyes become red: then it must be asleep. Then seize it.” He replied, “Okay.”

19 He proceeded onward; he continued. He again found another man, sitting on the shell of an egg. He told him, “Peace be upon you!” He replied to him, “And with you, O King’s son! By God, if my salutation had not preceded your salutation, and my speaking had not preceded your speaking, I would have swallowed your flesh in a single bite, and drunk your blood in one gulp, and would have thrown your bones into the sky. Now are you going to bring the talking bird?” He answered him, “Yes.” And he told him the same thing: he told him, “If it talks to you, do not talk to it; if it laughs at you, do not laugh at it; and if it recites to you, do not recite to it and whatever it tries ...”²³⁶

20 He continued on. He left. He arrived and found the talking bird reciting. It was reciting religious songs.²³⁷ Now, its verses were very beautiful. It was singing. At midnight, when night became very dark,²³⁸ he started, “O who is the one who will accompany a stranger during the long night! O who is the one who will accompany a stranger during the long night!” (He always would say, “O who is the one who will accompany a stranger during the long night!”) He [the boy] answered him, “I will accompany you.” He [the bird] realized that he was with him. He caressed him and made him fall [unconscious] with God’s servants, those who had already fallen there.

21 When he had been about to depart, the boy had left his sister flower pots, his potted plant and her potted plant. He told her, “Water them equally, and hoe²³⁹ them equally. If mine becomes green and verdant like yours, know that I am going to bring the talking bird and come back. But if mine turns yellow and yours becomes beautiful, know that the talking bird has made me sleep-struck: I am not going to come back.”²⁴⁰ She began watering them equally, and tending

236 By analogy with what is going to be said to the sister below, the narrator should have added “until it falls asleep, and its eyes become red; then seize it.”

237 See n. 235 above.

238 The idiom here is *ṣāšṣāš al-līl*. According to de Prémare, DAF, IX, 120, the meaning of the verb *ṣāšṣāš* is, “1. bien engraisser (une personne, un animal) [Co]. 2. dorloter (qqn.) [Co].” This expression has to be added to the dictionary of de Prémare.

239 Moscoso, DACH, 268 translates this term simply as “cuidar.” This is a technical term meaning “to hoe.” See DAF, XI, 444, under *nqəš*, meaning 3: “biner (la terre, spéc. dans des pots de fleurs) [Co].”

240 This statement appears frequently in folktales. See for example, Spitta-Bey (1883), 123–136 (esp. 125), tale no. x, “Histoire du rossignol chanteur”; El Fasi and Dermenghem (1975), 178–205 (esp. 183), the tale “La fille du sultan qui fut la cause de la chute de cent têtes moins une tête”; Laoust (1949), vol. I, 127–129, vol. II, 218–221 (esp. 218), tale CXV, “Histoire

them both and hers began to become green and verdant, and his yellow. She sat down to cry to her father, and told him, “I want to go, to go, to go, to go, to go, to go.” He placed the saddle for her, and he provided her with everything. She left too.

Again she went. Again she met that man, the one of the small acorn. She again told him, “Peace be upon you!” Then he answered her, “Peace be upon you, O Sultan’s daughter! By God, if my greeting had not preceded your greeting, and my speaking had not preceded your speaking, I would have swallowed your flesh in a single bite, and drunk your blood in one gulp, and would have thrown your bones and your tongue into the sky. Now, you are going to bring the talking bird, true?” She answered him, “Yes.” He told her, “If it talks to you, do not talk to it; and if it speaks, do not speak. When its eyes become red and round and open with a fixed stare, it is sleeping. At that moment seize it with your hand, and carry it off.” She replied to him, “Okay.” 22

She again went forward, and she again arrived at the one sitting on the shell of an acorn. She greeted him too; she greeted him, “Peace be upon you!” He replied to her, “Peace be upon you, O Sultan’s daughter! By God, if my greeting had not preceded your greeting, and my speaking had not preceded your speaking, I would have swallowed your flesh in a single bite, and drunk your blood in one gulp, and would have thrown your bone into the sky. Are you going to bring the talking bird?” She answered, “Yes.” He told her the same thing as before: “And now, if it laughs at you, do not laugh at it; if it talks to you, do not talk to it; and if it recites to you, do not recite to it. Act as if you weren’t there.”²⁴¹ She told him, “Very well” and left. 23

She went on. She too found it. She too found the talking bird in his aerie, singing. It kept singing, it kept reciting, it kept chanting ... till it became tired. And then it began repeating, “O who is the one who will accompany a stranger during the long night! O who is the one who will accompany a stranger during the long night!” in order to see if someone was near by, if someone was nearby, singing only in order to see if someone was nearby. “O who is the one who will accompany a stranger during the long night! O who is the one who will accompany a stranger during the long night!” 24

des deux frères”; and the tale no. 1, *حياة النفوس* in Chakir (2010), 8–29 (esp. 18). In a Kabyle Algerian variant of this tale, “Histoire d’el ghoual Amelloul et de sa soeurs Hadezzine,” in Dermenghem (1945), 49–55 (esp. 52 and the commentary on 153–163), the plant is replaced by the fig tree. See also the Kabyle Algerian tale by Lacoste-Dujardin (2010), 167–175 (esp. 168), “Le maître du blanc,” and the Jewish folktale no. 1, “The Young Man who Gave the King’s Daughter the Power of Speech,” in Noy (1966), 25–32 (esp. 28).

241 This English expression exactly translates the original *ḥsāb vāsəḥ māši ṭamma*.

25 She acted as if she was not there, was dead. She was quiet.²⁴² She stayed quiet till it fell asleep. When it fell asleep, and its eyes became round and open with a fixed stare, she seized it and put it into a cage. As soon as she had seized it and put it into the cage, it said, “I talk to you, O Sultan’s daughter, I talk to you! They are the Sultan’s children and they are cannot receive the news²⁴³ I speak to you.” It told her, “Now pull out one feather from my wing and pass it over all these people so they wake up.” She pulled the feather out from its wing, and she passed it over God’s servants. All of them woke up, all of them saying to her, “I am your slave.” One said, “I am your servant.” Another said the same. Another said it too. Her brother woke up among them.

26 She came back with the talking bird. She came back with the talking bird. The Sultan received the news about it. He knew that he [the two children’s foster father] had the talking bird, the like of which nobody else had. And he had great wealth. He [the Sultan] told him, “I am coming to have dinner with you.”²⁴⁴ He replied to him, “Very well. Welcome!” He prepared the dinner, and he prepared everything so that he could come. The girl was young and nubile,²⁴⁵ and the boy too. The Sultan came. He came in. And the sparrow²⁴⁶

242 The idiom here is *ʔāṭṣāṣ ʔl-ḥīss*, meaning “to shut down, to be quiet.”

243 The idiom here is *ṣānd* (+ pronominal suffix) *xbār*, “to receive the news, to learn of something etc.”

244 Contrast Moscoso, DACH, 268, who misinterpreted this entire passage: “(El pájaro hablador) les hizo saber (todo) ... Informaron al Sultán de que en su casa estaba aquel pájaro hablador (.....) y él tenía todo el comercio.”

245 The idiom here is *l-ṣāyla, dāṣa ṭ-ṭūfla, ṭ-ṭūfla, u l-ṣāzki l-ṣāzki*. The word *ṭ-ṭūfla* is applied to a young woman of marriageable age; a young, nubile woman. This term could also be understood as “virgin” or “maiden.” This expression involves hidden cultural nuances. See Naamane-Guessous (1997), 18–25; Webster (1982), 182, who notes that, “a Moroccan woman’s life is divided into three phases: pre-child bearing years, the child-bearing years, and the post-child bearing years.” Hachimi (2001), 41 adds that: “What is of great importance here is that each phase in the life of the woman is carefully observed and reflected in cultural idioms, Moroccan folk wisdom.” For more see n. 92 above. Moscoso, DACH, 269, did not understand this idiom and thus incorrectly translates it literally as “La niña, ahora la niña era la niña y el niño el niño.”

246 *Lisān al-Ṣarab*, Vol. XIV, 309, where the term *التَّعْرَة*, feminine *التَّعْرَة*, is defined as *طائر يُشبهه بلبل الغصنور / بلب* ... Lane, *Lexicon*, vol. 8, 2817, says the word refers to “Certain birds like sparrows or a species of sparrows with red beak.” However, according to Corriente (1997), 534 the etymologically corresponding Andalusī Arabic word *naḡrah* + *naḡar* means “grey or hooded crow.” In a written communication Corriente confirms his analysis of this word: “sigo creyendo que es del Lat. *nigra*, eufemismo para no llamar por su nombre a un pájaro de mal agüero; además fonéticamente *nuḡarah* no da *nágra*, pero sí *núgra*, tanto por la apertura de /i/ ante /ḡ/ (Sketch 1.2.3), como por la ley de Philippi (Sketch 5.1.3).”

... When he came in, now when the man came in ... the Sultan came in to the man [the father]. As soon as he sat down, a crow came. It carried a seed in its beak and sat eating on a window.

When he [the Sultan] was about to enter, the girl rose up to hide, because a stranger²⁴⁷ was entering. She was hiding from her father! She hid, she hid, and he only stared, he did not speak. She, the girl, said to it [the crow], “What a weird thing! What a wondrous thing! – that a crow eats seed in the window!” Then it (the crow usually doesn’t talk) – the crow said, “What a weird thing! What a wondrous thing! The girl has hid from her father!”²⁴⁸ – meaning that he was her father, and she had hid from him. She did not know that he was her father. It said to him again, “What a weird thing! What a wondrous thing! The girl has hid from her father!”

Then the Sultan said to him, “I would ask you from where you got these children.” He [the Sultan] said to him, “I would ask you from where you got these children.” The man replied, “... I got them thus; I got these children in this manner.” He told him, “I was a poor man, I did not have anything, and I went to fish. My wife had given birth that same morning, and I had a handful of children, a chaos of children, and I had a wife who had given birth the same morning, and I went to fish. When I went to fish, a box came within reach, in it were children. I opened it [and] found children in it.” He told him, “I took them home, and I raised them. And whenever they laughed, the sun shined. Whenever they wept, it rained. When I caressed their heads, *kyālāṣ* fell from their heads.” And he continued, “When they walked,²⁴⁹ they left behind a brick of gold and one of silver.” He added, “I lived with them.”

He [the Sultan] told him, “I ask God to forgive you for all that you [have gained from the children], for all that you have done with ... What should I tell

Fátima, one of the interviewees of Moscoso, DACH, 237, 333, n. 1160, explained that this term does not refer to “raven or hooded crow” in Chaouen but to “a bird multicolor: white, black, pale blond, etc. which is more similar to a stork than to a crow or raven.” Indeed, these small “sparrows” were almost domestic known as *būrṭāl* (see Westermarck [1968b], 341). Unfortunately, today their number is decreasing. However, the eldest son and daughter of the narrator confirm that this term refers to a small black bird with some grey feathers, which would fly from nearby villages to Chaouen. This makes it more plausible that the Andalusí Arabic word and the discussed term refer to the same bird.

247 The same idiom is mentioned in n. 98. Moscoso, DACH, 269, translates this idiom literally and incorrectly as “el hombre de la gente.”

248 The bird here seems to speak human speech. For a parallel example see Frobenius translated by Fetta (1996), 19–35 (esp. 32) in tale no. 2, “La femme ingrante.”

249 See n. 192 above.

you? Take everything; but I will take my children ...” Then he took them²⁵⁰ ... They implored him, “O father, do not take anything from the man who raised us! We will take only the talking bird. This is all that we are going to take.” They left the man loaded.²⁵¹ [The children told] him, “When you need us we will come to you.” He [the Sultan] took his children and left.²⁵² He threw the dogs out: they had grown; they had become enormously fat.²⁵³ And he ordered the poor woman to enter:²⁵⁴ she was banned to the entrance hall with the dogs. And he celebrated the name day of his children, and he did. ... The End.

250 Moscoso, DACH, 269 mistranslates this whole passage, most particularly by the phrase “y bien, ellos lo cogieron.”

251 The narrator here uses the adjective *mūsūʔ*, which is from the verb *wsəq*, “to load; to upload, charge, pack.” See DAF, XII, 204–205.

252 Moscoso, DACH, 269, misunderstood the meaning of these lines and mistranslated them: “... dejadlo con todas las riquezas y nosotros, si necesitamos (algo), vendremos a su casa.”

253 The idiom here is *bāžʔu ʔādd əl-ḥlālaf*, which is the plural of *bāžʔ ʔādd əl-ḥllūf* “to become very fat/big/huge.” For this expression see DAF, III, 195. Moscoso, DACH, 269, did not understand this idiom and instead translates literally, “se habían vuelto como los cochinos,” which in Sp has a very different implication.

254 The same motif is attested by Aarne and Thompson (1961), 242–243, tale-type “707, *The Three Golden Sons*” and motif “s451, *Outcast wife at last united with husband and children*.”

[The Undefeatable] Lady ʿĀyša²⁵⁵

Once upon a time there was a woman who could not be vanquished. She claimed that she couldn't be defeated. She stated that she couldn't be defeated. 1

255 The recording of our text was difficult. The storyteller had difficulties remembering the end of the tale, so we made two recordings of it, each of which had some different details. I include both in the audio. The transliterated text is a synthesis of both versions, made with the storyteller's help and permission. The translation of the title here is more interpretative than literal. The original title is *lalla ʿāyša l-māǧmūka s-sākna f-əl-māṭmūka*, lit. "The Lady Aisha the Tormented, the Anguished; the One who Dwells Underground." The vernacular word *māṭmūka* refers to an underground storage chamber in which peasants kept wheat or barley (see El Koudia and Allen [2003], 143). On the term *ǧmər*, which is used in MA in poetry, see DAF, IX, 415–416. Mernissi (1983), 16, n. 2 gives a different version of this sentence in the Fasi variant of this tale: "Aisha la *Maqhora* // habitante de la *matmora*," correctly explaining *Maqhora* as "vaincue, défaite, soumise, qui a perdu." Compare to this titles given by other anthologists to the variants of this tale. This story recurs in Morocco with a fair degree of consistency among women narrators. Six archival variants have been collected from various regions. In Fes a variant was first documented by El Fasi and Dermenghem (1975), 89–100 under the title, "La fille du marchand et le fils du sultan / *Lalla Aïcha bent et-tajar ou would es-soultan*"; then by Mernissi (1983) under the title, "Qui l'emporte la femme ou l'homme? كيد النساء؟ كيد الرجال?" as told by a Fasi woman called Lalla Aziza Tazi. Mernissi's text is presented in MA transcribed in Arab script, with translations into CA and French. A variant of this tale was recorded in Tetuan in 1935, and published by Busquets Mulet in 1953 as "El hijo del sultán y la hija del carpintero." Another Tetuani version of this tale in its full version is in Gil Grimau and Ibn Azzuz (1988), 179–182, tale no. 118, "La hija del carpintero o la albahaca." Yet another tale which contains the same thematic variants as the present tale, but within a different story frame, is the Jewish Tetuani tale no. 40, "Los tres almudes," in de Larrea Palacín (1952), 133–136. Another Moroccan variant from the city of Taroudannt is found in Dwyer (1978), 96–99, tale no. 20, "Aisha, the Carpenter's Daughter." (In her anthropological study Dwyer did not provide any information about her informants: see El-Shamy [1990], 72, n. 44 for a criticism of this). And two Egyptian variants are in El-Shamy (1999): 159–168, no. 15, "The Daughters of the Bean Vendor"; and 229–233, no. 28, "She Whose Reason Couldn't Be Made to Slip." Finally, Busquets Mulet (1953), 10, n. 1 mentions a variant of the first episode, the Spanish folktale "La mata de albahaca" in Espinosa (1923), 31–40, who includes four variants of this tale collected from different places in Spain: Toledo/Toledo, Aldeorno/Segovia, Granada/Granada, and Barbadillo del Mercado/Burgos. This last version occurs under a different title, "Las tres hijas del sastre," the same name used by some Moroccan variants of this tale. This tale

The man tells her, “Men control!”²⁵⁶

She replies, “Women control.”

“Men control!”

She says to him, “Women control!”

“Men control!”

She responds to him, “Women control.”

2 And one day he built an underground house for her: and he constructed [it] for her, furnished it for her, and made her dwell in it. He told her, “See that men control women!” She replied, “Women control.” She remained seated in that [underground] house. One day he told her, “O Lady ḤĀyṣa, I am going to get married.” She replied, “Get married! Get married!” He told her, “Men control!” [She answered] him, “Women control.” He told her, “O my dear, men control!” She told him, “Women control.” He insisted on ragging on her.²⁵⁷

3 One day he said to her, “Lady ḤĀyṣa!” She replied, “Uh huh?” He told her, “I am going on a pilgrimage.”²⁵⁸ And she told him, “May God make it easy for you.”²⁵⁹ Where?” He told her, “To a saint named Sīdi Ṣūr,²⁶⁰ Sīdi Ṣūr.” Then she told him, “Go! When are you going to leave?” He answered her, “On such-and-such a day, at such-and-such an hour.” She rose up and prepared and organized, and

has been filmed in Chaouen as a 90-minute drama by Farida Belyazid under the title *Keïd Ensa* (1999). For a critique of this movie and others which deal with Moroccan folktales see Youssi (2005), 58–60.

256 The basic meaning of the verb *ḡlab* is “vaincre, triompher de, l’emporter sur (qqn.); spéc. battre (qqn.), gagner (au jeu)” (see DAF, IX, 398). However, one of the derived meanings of this verb better fits the present context: “placer (qqn.) sous sa coupe, s’imposer à lui, le subjuger.” See DAF, IX, 398, meaning 3. Compare to titles given by other anthologists to the variants of this tale in n. 255 above.

257 The narrator says here *bʔa yʔūl la ḥāyḍāç*. By using *ḥāyḍāç* the narrator invites the listener to join her in the story-telling task. Thus it leaves a free parameter for the listener/translator to visualize, understand, and interpret.

258 Another possible translation here is “on a visitation” (see below). The verb used here by the narrator is *nzūr*, the meaning of which in this particular context is “faire une visite pieuse sur la tombe de qqn.; spé. effectuer un pèlerinage au tombeau d’un saint.” (See DAF, V, 409, meaning 3).

259 The idiom here is *āḡāh yāʔḡiç ḡ-ḡīsūk*. For other variants of this expression see DAF, XII, 316 under *tīsīr*.

260 In the Fasis variant of this tale published by Dermenghem and El Fasi (1975), 89–100 (esp. 96, n. 1) under the title “La fille du marchand et le fils du sultan – *Lalla Aïcha bent et-tajar ou would es-sultan*,” this same name appears, which they explain as follows: “Un lieu près de Fès, du côté de Bab Sidi Bou Jida, s’appelle *Bin es-Sour ouad Dour* (entre le mur et le pourtour).”

primped and made herself up and left. She overtook him [arriving first at] that saint. When he arrived at the saint's place, a multitude of people were crowding during the shrine's votive feast.²⁶¹ And she was sitting in the shrine. And she was pretty and beautiful.

Her husband's slave saw her. He [her husband] saw that the woman was pretty, and desired her. He told him, "Please say to the woman that I am going to spend this night with her. Find out what her response will be." [He did not realize] that the woman was his wife. She told him [the slave], "Fine. Tell him to come. But on one condition: he must come in darkness and go in darkness, and he must leave behind one article from his clothes – he must put off something of his clothes."²⁶² He [the slave] told her, "Okay." He went. He told him. He replied to him, "Good, I will go."

When he came to her, he entered in darkness. And he went out in darkness. He left something from his clothes, and he went away. She left. She remained in her house, and she gave birth, and she gave birth to a boy, whom she named Sīdi Šūr. – Pay attention to where this tale will lead. – She called him Sīdi Šūr.

He returned again. He had tarried. He did not know that a son had been born. He had tarried. He repeated to his wife, "Lady ʕĀyša, who controls? Men or women?" She told him, "Women." He told her, "Say, 'Men.!' " She answered, "Women."

He told her, "I am going on a pilgrimage." She asked him, "Where to?" – first he visited Sīdi Šūr. – He told her, "To Sīdi Nūr."²⁶³ Then she replied to him, "May God make it easy for you. When are you going?" He told her, "On such-and-such

261 The words of the narrator here are *l-ʕmāra f-ʕs-sāyyəd mʕāmmiʕa*. De Prémare gives *l-ʕmāra d al-mūsam* as an example of the same semantic use, translating it "le moment où la fête patronale bat son plein [Br]; ext. *l-ʕmāra* la foire patronale elle-même, la fête votive d'un saint (annuelle ou même deux fois par an pour les saints importants) [Co, Br]." (See DAF, IX, 235, meaning 12).

262 This story has a flagrant omission regarding the articles of clothing the man is required to leave with the woman each time he sleeps with her during his three pilgrimages. She clearly means to produce these articles of clothing at some time later to prove to him that 'I know what you were really doing!' [I thank my editor for calling my attention to this point.] The use of clothes as evidence occurs in other folktales as well. See for example the Jewish tales from Tetuan collected by de Larrea Palacín (1952), 41–44 (esp. 43, 44) and 81–84 (esp. 82), tales no. 10, "La buena hija," and no. 21, "El médico viudo." See also idem (1953), 73–78 (esp. 75, 78), tale no. 109, "La Hija del Doctor." This last tale is atypical, since the stepmother is a kind and protective toward her stepdaughter, treating her as if she was her real daughter.

263 Mernissi (1983), 31 in the Fasis version of this tale mentions the name "Dour دور."

a day.” He gave her the date. And her ear heard all he said.²⁶⁴ And once again she overtook him. She made everything, she prepared everything. After she had primped and made herself up, her beauty was dazzling. She again was sitting, primped and made up, during the shrine’s feast. And he saw her: he saw her, he desired her. He said to his unfortunate servant, the one who fetched things for him, “Please go and tell that woman that I am coming to spend this night with her.” He went and told her. She replied, “He can come. I welcome him. But he must come in darkness and go in darkness. And he must leave here one article from his clothes.”²⁶⁵ Once again he entered in darkness, and he went out in darkness, and he left something from his clothes.

8 The next day they left. [Afterwards] he told her, “So Lady ḤĀyša, the pilgrimage was good. By God it was wonderful! I wish you could have come, O Lady ḤĀyša.” She replied, “The pilgrimage was good. I am glad you enjoyed it. Good for you,²⁶⁶ good for you.” He asked her, “Who controls, men or women?” She told him, “Women.” [She gave birth to another boy, whom she named Sidi Nūr.]

9 They spent [the time] God willed. And another pilgrimage arrived, another one. He told her, “Lady ḤĀyša, I am going again on a visitation.” She told him, “May God make it easy for you. Go. Visit. But where?” He told her, “Lālla Ḥāmmālāθ l-Qṣūr.”²⁶⁷ She told him, “May God make it easy for you. Go. Have a safe trip.”

10 And she rose up again, and she made herself up. She organized and made ready. And she took food, and she took everything [she needed. In the shrine] he passed near to her, and he saw her again. And he saw her again, and he said that he wanted to go to her. They [their servants] told him, “Go!” He [one of his servants] came to tell her. She replied, “Tell him to come. But he must come in darkness and go in darkness, and he must leave here one article from his

264 The expression here is *u ḥýya lādélʔūt mǎnnu*. The verb *x lʔūt mǎn Y* has the figurative meaning “to pick up with ear [his words] from him.” For this expression see DAF, XI, 68.

265 This corroborates the idea that saints’ shrines are places where women feel free of men’s influences. On this see Sadiqi (2003), 220–221 and Gellner (1969): the latter refers especially to Berber women.

266 The narrator here uses ironically the common Moroccan term *b-ṣāḥḥāθkūm*. For the many expressions which have this term as a component see DAF, VIII, 30, meaning 1.

267 In the Fasis variant of this tale published by El Fasi and Dermenghem (1975), 89–100 (esp. 99), under the title “La fille du marchand et le fils du sultan – *Lalla Aicha bent et-tajar ou would es-soultan*,” this name appears as “*Lalla Hamamet El Qṣur* ‘la colombe des Palais.’” See also Mernissi (1983), 32. Lālla Ḥāmāmat l-Qṣūr / حمامة القصور seems to be the correct name.

clothes.” Then he did the same thing. Once again he entered in darkness, and he went out in darkness. He mustn’t speak, he mustn’t talk.

After the visitation, he came back. The next morning he said to her, “Lady ʕĀyša!” She answered him, “Yes?” He told her, “I came from the pilgrimage.” She replied, “Since you have come back, may God grant benefits from your visitation. How was the visit?” He told her, “Wonderful!” – and so on and so forth.²⁶⁸ He asked her, “Who controls, men or women?” She answered him, “Women. Whatever you try, women. Women control men.”

He told her, “I am going to get married.” She told him, “If you have decided to get married, then, may God make it easy for you!²⁶⁹ Get married! Get married! Good luck and congratulations.” He got married. He asked for a woman’s hand: he took her as a wife. He prepared for the wedding day. He celebrated the wedding. On the wedding day, the day when the bride is supposed to come [to the groom’s house,] she [Lady ʕĀyša] dressed her children, Sīdi Šūr, and Sīdi Nūr, and Lālla Ḥāmmālāθ l-Qšūr – three children, two boys and one girl. She gave the girl a needle, and to one boy she gave scissors and to the other she gave a bobbin of thread, a thread bobbin. And she let them go. She told them, “Go! When the servant in charge of the appointments is done, you cut them up, you cut it for them, you cut it for them.”

Then the children went and began to tear and cut the appointments into pieces. The manservant put out the bride’s trousseau, and they cut it up. The two boys cut, and the girl sewed. People told them, “Stop it!”²⁷⁰ The bride’s family [told them], “Stop it, stop it boys! You boys leave! Boys, stop it! Boys, leave!” People did not know from where these children had come. They had come up from the ground. The owner of the house did not know from where these children had come. They drove them crazy.²⁷¹ They had had it up to

268 The expression used here is *kān u šnāʕ u tṛāç*. This stock phrase is resorted to when one wishes to avoid going into details. Here the protagonist does not want to tell his wife the whole truth about his pilgrimage. This idiom is mentioned by de Prémare in DAF, II, 46: “ʕšāl / ʕmāl u trāk: x ʕšāl li / ʕmāl li u trāk li x m'en a fait voir de toutes les couleurs – ḥā(h) ʕšāl lak u itrāk lak Dieu te comble de toutes sortes de biens / t'accorde toutes sortes de faveurs! [Co].”

269 The expression here is *āḥāh yāʕtīç t-ṭīsīw*. On this expression see n. 259 above.

270 The verb *āḥāšmu!* literally means “Shame on you!” See DAF, III, 127. However in the present context this verb is in the imperative and thus can be understood as, “Stop it!”

271 The idiom here is *xāwṣū ʕāʔlām mʕa* (+ pronominal suffix). This expression and many similar to it are cited by de Prémare in DAF, IX, 186 meaning 3, where a close variant of the present phrase is mentioned: “x, ḥrāj ʕāqlo il a perdu la raison, il a perdu la tête (de colère, de fureur).”

here with them.²⁷² They called the man, the groom, their father. (They did not know that he was their father). They called him. They told him, “Some children have overwhelmed us, and we do not know from where they have come. We decorated and they tore. All the bride’s curtains we hung; they cut them up, and their sister sewed [them] with the needle. They didn’t leave a single cloth whole. When we [tried to] throw them out they told us, ‘This house belongs to our father. And the sons of a bitch throw us out?’ Now come to identify them.”

14 When he came, he called the children. They brought to him the children so he could see them. He asked them, “Where did you come from?” They replied, “From such-and-such a place. We are from such-and-such a place.” Then he talked with them. First he looked at the eldest, and asked him, “What is your name?” He replied, “I am named Sīdi Ṣūr.” He looked at the other one. He asked him, “And you, what is your name?” He replied to him, “I am Sīdi Nūr.” He looked at the girl. He asked her, “What is your name?” She told him, “Lālla Ḥāmmālāθ l-Qṣūr.” He realized that they were his children.

15 He threw out the manservant in charge of decorations, telling him, “Take your stuff and leave!” And he kept his children there, saying to them, “You are my children.” He had discovered that they were their children. He went to [his wife] and told her, “O Lady ṢĀyṣa, come up from there. Women control!” He raised her. He made her live in a beautiful house – not underground, where she had been living before. Women are victorious!

16 *If I had the keys I would give you apples for dinner.*

17 – That’s it. –

272 The idiom here is *ṭāṣuf-kāsām*. For this expression see DAF, VIII, 327, meaning 4. For many other idioms composed from the verb *ṭāṣ* see meanings 2 and 3.

The Weaver Bride²⁷³

One upon a time a woman and her daughter were sitting together. She was making *ftāyāḅ*²⁷⁴ and her daughter was eating them. She was frying *ftāyāḅ* and her daughter was eating them. A woman came. When she came in she sat down there. The mother put down a *ftāyāḅ* and her daughter called to her, “Mother should I fold it?” She answered, “Fold it!” [After folding it] she [the daughter] took it and ate it. And she called to her again, “Mother should I fold it?” She told her, “Fold it! Fold it!” So she continued folding [the *ftāyāḅ*].

That poor woman [who had just come in] asked the other woman, “What is this girl folding? Fold, fold, fold! She has already folded seven times and the midday prayer has yet to be prayed.” She answered her, “She is folding a loom-length of wool fabric.” She asked her, “She can weave?” She replied, “We bought her a loom and she knows how to weave. She is folding loom-lengths of wool fabric.” [The second woman] begged, “Please give her to me for my son. I want her to marry my son.” She replied, “Okay.” She gave her [daughter] to her, and she married him, she married him to her son. And she took her.

When the time of the wedding arrived, they decided to celebrate the wedding. They celebrated the wedding, and they finished. The well-intentioned people [of her new family] bought her a loom, and they bought her a shuttle and they bought everything else, and they set it down for her. They waited for her to come. When the bride came, she remained with them as a newly-wed bride. She passed who-knows-how-much delay as a newly-wed bride. She remained a newly-wed bride.²⁷⁵

273 The title of this tale shows that in addition to their usual household work, women would work at home as weavers. On this see for example Brunot (1931), 30–31, 126–128 under “شغل العيالات في الدار / ce que font les femmes à la maison.” See Dwyer (1978), 17. For Chaouen see al-Āfya (1982), 221. Another tale with the same central theme – the knowledge of spinning and weaving as a condition for marriage – is Légy (1926), 159, tale no. XXXVII, “Les fileuses.” In that tale too the mother’s main goal is to get her daughter married. See also Aarne and Thompson (1961), 427, tale-type “1463B*, *Secret Instructions in Weaving*.” [In contrast to the present tale, the latter tale’s protagonist is a youth looking for a wife. The girl does not know how to weave, but understands how to interpret the instructions of the youth given in riddles.]

274 In ChA *ftāsa* plural *ftāyāḅ* is semantically equivalent to *ḳǧīfa* plural *ḳǧīfāḅ*. See the commentary in n. 186, pp. 212–213. For more about this term in MA in general see DAF, X, 124.

275 Even for some time after the wedding ceremony the new bride is still subject to certain

- 4 One day her mother-in-law told her, “Now rise up, O daughter, to weave. We have bought you the loom, and we have bought you the wool, and we have bought everything. Arise and work.” Then she told her, “I do not know [how].” Then she replied, “But you made seven folds before the midday pray was prayed!” She answered, “I don’t know [how]. I have never ever folded loom-lengths before.” She [her mother-in-law] asked, “But what were you folding, fold, fold, fold. You made seven folds before the midday prayer was prayed!” Then she told her, “I was folding *fṭāyāʿ* and eating.” She told her, “My mother was frying them and I was folding and eating them. This is what I would do. I have never ever weaved.”

prohibitions, as is attested here. For a detailed description on the duties of, and prohibitions on, new brides in Fes and Tangiers, which can also be applied to Chaouen, see Westermarck (1921), 262–263.

Вѣгѣθ Zīyyān²⁷⁶

I am going to tell you about²⁷⁷ someone named Вѣгѣθ²⁷⁸ Zīyyān, who fell into 1
 a small amphora and disappeared. A tiny louse wept till it became blind and
 went into a small sheaf²⁷⁹ and hid. The small sheaf was destroyed. A bull passed
 by the small sheaf. He asked him, “What happened to you, O scattered small
 sheaf?” Then he told him, “Because Вѣгѣθ Zīyyān fell into a small amphora
 and disappeared, a tiny louse wept till it became blind and went into a small
 sheaf and hid. I now am a scattered small sheaf.” Then he told him, “Me, I will
 be a hornless bull.” He smashed his horns and started walking.

While he was walking, he passed near a house. As he passed near the house, 2
 he found a woman grinding²⁸⁰ beads. She asked him, “What is the matter with

276 Due to the genre of this tale, the storyteller expressed some difficulties in remembering all its details. But with the help of some family members, and thanks to the good will and interest of the storyteller, we could recover the text. The reader might notice some discrepancies between the audio and the transliterated versions. To avoid confusion, we basically transliterate the text as first recorded; but when possible difficulties in comprehension arise, a silent correction is made – though always with the approval of the narrator. This is the only tale in this corpus which can be labeled as a “formula tale.” Following El-Shamy in El Koudia and Allen (2003), 151, n. 29, calls this genre “a form of narrating in which the contents are simple and usually subordinated to the form of presentation (performance).” A variant of this tale is the Egyptian tale no. 27, “The Virgin’s Louse,” in El-Shamy (1999), 223–228. For other variants of this same genre from northern Morocco see Gil Grimau and Ibn Azzuz (1988), 89–93, tale no. 2, “El gatito,” tale no. 3, “La perdiz,” and tale no. 4, “La hormiga y el ratón.” See also tale no. 26, “M’Hirez the Adopted Child,” in El Koudia and Allen (2003), 127–128. For texts of this kind of narrative and genre from the Kabylean repertoire see Frobenius translated by Fetta (1997), 67–77, tale no. 18, “Le bélier rebelle,” (67–69), tale no. 19 “L’ogresse et la mouche” (70–71), and tale no. 20, “Breroc, le jeune berger” (72–73), which are included under the category “Les contes simples (conte/fable à enchaînements).”

277 See n. 2 above.

278 This name is a diminutive of the word *bǎgǎθ* “flea.” The narrator uses this extravagant name to catch children’s attention.

279 The narrator here uses the diminutive *ǧmǎyyǎθ* of *ǧmǎθ*. For this term, see DAF, IX, 415. On the frequent use of the diminutive in women’s speech see the commentary in n. 7 above.

280 In past decades almost every neighborhood in Chaouen had its own public mill, though

you, O hornless bull?” He replied to her, “This is my excuse:²⁸¹ Because *Βῆῖḡḳḳḳ* *Zīyyān* fell into a small amphora and disappeared, a tiny louse wept till it became blind and went into a small sheaf and hid; and the small sheaf was scattered. I am hornless.” Then she told him, “And I will have a millstone²⁸² upon my chest.” She put the millstone upon her chest and started walking.

- 3 While she was walking, [her] boys came from²⁸³ the mosque, they came from the mosque. They found their mother with the millstone on her chest grinding [beads]. “What has happened to you, by God, O Mother with the millstone upon your heart grinding?” Then she told them, “O my sons, because *Βῆῖḡḳḳḳ* *Zīyyān* fell into a small amphora and disappeared, a tiny louse wept till it became blind and went into a small sheaf and hid, and the small sheaf was scattered, and a hornless bull [came], and I have the millstone upon my chest.”

one would also find a millstone in every house. About the verb *šāwḳəd* see DAF, VII, 64. In this context grinding beads is a metaphor. On Chaouen millstones see n. 282 below.

- 281 The idiom here is *ʕla ʕūḏḳi u māʕḏūki*, both terms of which are derived from the noun *ʕūḏḳ*. The first term is simply *ʕūḏḳ* + pronominal suffix; and the second term is the passive participle *māʕḏūk*, which literally means “my excuse and my good reason for being excused.” About *ʕūḏḳ* (de Prémare *ʕūḏar*) see DAF, IX, 42. On *māʕḏūk* (de Prémare *māʕḏūr*) see DAF, IX, 43.
- 282 The *rḥa* “millstone,” was one of the typical Chaouen kitchen utensils, but Chaouen was also known for its abundance of running water, which encouraged the construction of public mills. A survey of Chaouen mills by Hoenerbach and Kolenda (1975), 108, n. 3 following Lasquetti, lists the following: “Hauptbach: (1) Rḥā al-Ḥāḏri, (2) Rḥā de Ben Mālek, (3) Rḥā de Benī ‘Aiš, (4) Rḥā el-Ġarnāṭi, (5) Rḥā de Šqūrī, (6)–(8) Rḥā de Bū [B]Kīr, (9) Rḥā de Rīyān, (10) Rḥā Selām Yaḥlef, (11) Rḥā de Sīdī Aiasa, (12) Rḥā del Aisar, (13) Rḥā el-Fōqīyā, (14)–(15) Rḥā de Ben Šahbūn, (16) Rḥā de Zīyyān und (17) Rḥā Šfā’iḥ. Nebenbach: (1) Rḥā del ‘Arbi, (2) Rḥā en-Nesā, (3) Rḥā del Ġāma‘ Rif eš-Šebbānīn und (4) Rḥā de Raḥmūni. Entlegene Mühlen: (1) Neġāra, (2) Fawwāra und (3) Debībah. Diese nach Lasquetti, *Chefchauen*, 21–22, mitgeteilte Liste haben wir in den Punkten 1, 2, 6–7, 10, 14–17 (Hauptbach), 1 (Nebenbach) und 2 (entlegene Mühlen) am Ort bestätigt gefunden.” As far as I was able to verify, all the mills mentioned above, with the exception of (15) Rḥā de Ben Šahbūn, had really existed. Moreover, Hoenerbach and Kolenda and Lasquetti had missed several mills: on the right side of Rās l-Ma: (1) Rḥa d-əl Kwīra, (2) Rḥa d-əl-Qāḏī Tqāṣas, (3) Rḥa d-Wūdd z-Zārhūnīyya; and on the left side of Rās l-Ma: (1) Rḥa d-əl-Bayša, (2) Rḥa d-əl-ʕMārti Qurayš, (3) Rḥa d-Bāb Bu Ḥlīl, (4) Rḥa d-əl-Bāʕbūʕi. All of these mills are now out of service, though a few of them have been converted into coffee houses.
- 283 The verb here is: *gāz* “to go by, to pass.” However, the context here justifies the translation above. About this very common MA term see *dāz/gāz* and its derived forms in DAF, II, 262–264 and Heath (2002), 137, 532, mapa 3–2.

Then they told her, “And we will have these fountain pens up our noses.” They placed the fountain pens up their noses and went out.

When they were out, they found a servant going to draw water. They found the servant going to draw water. She asked them, “What has happened to you, O my sons with pens up your noses?” Then they told her, “This is our excuse: Because BṚĪĠĀṬ ZĪYYĀN fell into a small amphora and disappeared, a small louse wept till it became blind and went into a small sheaf and hid. The small sheaf was scattered. A bull is without horns. Our mother has the millstone upon her chest. And we are with these fountain pens up our noses.” Then she told them, “And I will have these broken water jars on my head.” She was about to go draw water. She broke the jars and put them over her head and went on.²⁸⁴

She went on to a fountain. Then the fountain asked her, “What is the matter with you [carrying] broken jars upon your head?” Then she told her, “This is my excuse: Because BṚĪĠĀṬ ZĪYYĀN fell into a small amphora and disappeared, a small louse wept till it became blind and went into a small sheaf and hid. The small sheaf was scattered. A bull is without horns. Our lady mother has the millstone upon her chest; and the sons of my lord have fountain pens up their noses; and I have broken jars on my head.” Then she told her, “And I the fountain will be sick.” It became sick and dried up.

The baker of the public oven²⁸⁵ [arrived] to get water, [and] asked it, “What is the matter with you, O fountain?” Then she told him, “This is my excuse: Because BṚĪĠĀṬ ZĪYYĀN fell into a small amphora and disappeared, a tiny louse wept till it became blind, went into a small sheaf and hid. The small sheaf was scattered. A bull is without horns. The lady has the millstone upon her chest. The sons of my lord have fountain pens up their noses. The servant has broken jars on her head. The fountain is dry.” He said to her, “And I the baker will have

284 I find this same kind of punishment in the Kabylia tale no. 35, “le grain magique,” in Frobenius, translated by Fetta (1997), 173–178 (esp. 173) in the following context: “Si notre mère donne le jour à un huitième frère, nous briserons nos pots contre nos fronts et nous quitterons notre pays pour un pays étranger.”

285 The expression here is *l-mṣāllam d-əl-fāṣṣān*. A similar expression used in Chaouen is *mūl l-fāṣṣān*, which, as Abu-Shams (2002), 243 attested, was common among Fes Jews as well. For this expression, see DAF, x, 93, where it is translated “patron fourmier.” The term *l-mṣāllam* “patron, master,” is a common title of respect for any professional person: the title is normally followed by the name of the profession. On this see Herrero (2008), 101. About *fāṣṣān* [⟨ Latin. *furnus* from Greek. *furnos*; Aramaic. Rabinic: *ṣurnāh* and *ṣurnī*; and CA: *farrān*] (de Prémare *fārrān*, see DAF, x, 93); Abu-Shams (2002), 243. See also pp. 74–75.

a shovel-handle²⁸⁶ up my ass.”²⁸⁷ – Be quiet! What’s a shame! your father is here. –

7 Then the apprentice baker²⁸⁸ asked him, “What is the matter with you, O master with the shovel-handle up your ass?” Then he told him, “This is my excuse: Because *Bḥīḡəθ Zīyyān* fell into a small amphora and disappeared, a tiny louse wept till it became blind and went into a small sheaf and hid. The small sheaf was scattered. A bull is without horns. The lady has the millstone upon her heart. The sons of my lord have fountain pens up their noses. The servant has broken jars on her head. The fountain is dry. The baker has a shovel-handle up his ass.” Then the apprentice baker told him, “And I will pour this tile²⁸⁹ with live coals over my face.” He poured the tile with its live coals over his face and left.

8 He went to a tree. He climbed it. Then she asked him, “What is the matter with you?” Then he said, “This is my excuse: Because *Bḥīḡəθ Zīyyān* fell into a small amphora and disappeared, a tiny louse wept till it became blind, went into a small sheaf and hid. The small sheaf was scattered; a bull is without horns; the lady has the millstone upon her heart; the sons of my lord have fountain pens up their noses; the servant has broken jars on her head; the fountain is dry, the baker has a shovel-handle up his ass; and I have a tile with live coals poured on my face.” ...

9 – Here you are. –

286 The *māṭṭāḥ* is a long wooden shovel-handle, in Chaouen usually made of cedar, by which the baker puts the bread inside the oven. However, this term, as has been pointed out by de Prémare, has the figurative meaning “membre viril.” De Prémare thought this last meaning was limited to Marrakech, but the present tale proves that this figurative use occurs in Chaouen too. For a more detailed definition and its idiomatic uses see DAF, VIII, 278; Marçais (1911), 14–16, 137–138.

287 After using the taboo term *sūwwa*, which literally means “bottom, ass, butt” (see DAF, VI, 245), the narrator laughed with the other female family members gathered around. For other taboo terms used by females see Ritt-Benmimoun and Procházka (2009).

288 See p. 74.

289 See pp. 72–73 for this term and the use of tiles in Chaouen.

Sīdi

Sīdi and *Sīdi!* The *sīdi* of *sīdis* [goes] from the mosque to the Qurʾānic school with slippers and new clothes. May God prolong my life, till he travels to the moon, brings me chickpeas,²⁹⁰ dates, and a long, gold-embroidered silk scarf²⁹¹ to tighten around my head.²⁹² *Sīdi* and *Sīdi!* The *sīdi* of *sīdis!* There is no man among men like him. His beard is beautiful, and a barber²⁹³ trimmed it. *Sīdi* and *Sīdi!* The *sīdi* of *sīdis* [goes] from the mosque to the Qurʾānic school with slippers and new clothes. May God prolong my life, till he travels to the moon, brings me chickpeas, dates, and a long, gold-embroidered silk scarf to tighten around my head. I do not make *Sīdi* weep, because I have an interest in him. I teach him and make him memorize – O *Sīdi!* – so I can confound enemies with him. *Sīdi* is a crescent talisman,²⁹⁴ my treasure and my wealth,²⁹⁵ a golden scimitar, with which I confound the enemies.

290 On the symbolic meaning and importance of this crop in some ceremonies, such as New Year's and Childbirth in Morocco see Westermarck (1968b), 163, 166, 265, 401.

291 The term used here is *š-šābbīyya*, meaning, “voile qui couvre la tête et tombe sur les épaules; *spéc.* Longue écharpe de tête en tulle de soie ou en crêpe, noire, décorée à ses deux extrémités de larges bandes transversales brochées de fil d'or.” (See DAF, VII, 57).

292 The word normally used for head is *ḡās*. However, the narrator here uses the less common word *dmāġ*, which can mean both “head” and “brain.” See DAF, IV, 335–336.

293 Barbers in North Africa have lost their character and functions, which used to involve elements of magic, divination, and medicine. Formally, the barber would treat minor illnesses, and was responsible for circumcisions. And, as the present story shows, the barber used to play an important role in certain domestic ceremonies, such as the first haircut, at which he usually received marks of consideration, but not necessarily a compensation. On this see Colin (1939), 184; Westermarck (1968b), 408–409; Doutté (1994), 40. The barber persona has a very ancient Semitic cultural background: see for example the definition of the Akkadian *gallābu*, “barber,” in CAD, G, 14–17.

294 The narrator says here *hlāl hlāl* instead of the common MA *ḥarʿ* or *ḥzāb* “talisman.” About the expression *hlāl hlāl* see DAF, XII, 76, meaning 3. A talisman might be a magical symbol or pictograph or simply an object under certain astrological influences, the aim of which is to protect and guard its bearer from the Evil Eye, illness, and other dangers. On the different types of talismans, their preparations, status, contents, values, influence, and functions, see Westermarck (1968a), 208; Doutté (1994), 144–219.

295 The expression is *ḡās al-māl*. According to de Prémare, DAF, V, 9, meaning 8, this expression literally means, “le principal, le capital engagé, les fonds investis dans une affaire, la mise de fonds etc.”

O Me! Such a Happiness for Me!²⁹⁶

- 1 O me! Such a happiness for me! I brought a bride for my son, who is black and whom I did not like. I made her come up to the veranda room, and I unraveled her hard and bushy wig, and I beat her with the distaff.²⁹⁷
- 2 O me! Such a happiness for me! I brought a bride for my son, I made her come up to the chamber and I taught her the oud and Andalusian music.²⁹⁸
- 3 O me! Such a happiness for me! I brought a bride for my son, I made her come up to the bed²⁹⁹ and I extended for her a *ḥānbīli*.³⁰⁰
- 4 O me! Such a happiness for me! I brought a bride for my son, a golden candelabrum,³⁰¹ and a painted candle.
- 5 O me! Such a happiness for me! which illuminates him and me. O me! Such a happiness for me! I brought a bride for my son.

296 The expression is *ābyāṭi ya na ya na*. For similar expressions see DAF, I, 374 meaning 7.

297 See under *ṛokka* / *ṛakka* / *rukka* in DAF, V, 201. This term is now obsolete because hand-weaving is no longer practised in Chaouen.

298 For *ʔāla* see DAF, I, 109.

299 For the term *srīr* see DAF, VI, 74. The *-i* at the end of this noun is added to rhyme with *ḥānbīli*.

300 This term is a variant of *ḥāmbəl*. De Prémare in DAF, III, 245 defines it as “tapis, beaucoup plus long que large, tissé à plat, à laine rase, présentant quelques bandes transversales à points noués; la décoration consiste en raies de différentes couleurs dans les parties tissées et en quadrillage dans les bandes points noués; le *ḥānbəl* est fabriqué particulièrement à Salé, fort peu à Rabat [AR: and in Chaouen].” Brunot (1931), 30, 126 mentioned that the fabrication of *ḥnābəl* (plural of *ḥānbəl*) “tapis à laine rase” is the women’s task. For a detailed definition of this term in Rabat see Brunot (1952), 191; for Tangiers see Marçais (1911), 269.

301 See under *ḥāska* [III] in DAF, III, 115.

My Lady, My Daughter and the Daughter of Her Father

She is my lady, my daughter and the daughter of her father. An [or] the inter- 1
mediary³⁰² came to ask for her hand in marriage. Then enemies arose and
slandered her. They slandered her. But where will they find her [like]? They
[returned] and they paid for her a high price, hundreds of silver coins³⁰³ and
hundreds of benefits.³⁰⁴

302 For the term *xúttāb* / *ḥoṭṭāb* see DAF, IV, 101.

303 The term meant here is *ʔintāx*. For this term see under *qanṭār* in DAF, X, 118–119, meaning
4.

304 See under *fḍal* in DAF, X, 119, meaning 4, and in DAF, V, 9, meaning 8.

Нчән, Нчән, Нчән

- 1 Hchen, hchen, chenchna! Only one girl have we. She only wants dance, and songs, and the tambourine with jingles. May God help us! We have only one small *hāyək* with which to cover all of us! O such happiness for us!

Mūlāy ʿĀbd əs-Slām³⁰⁵

Here I am, going and imploring till I reach my lord, ʿĀbd əs-Slām. His shrine is the most exalted among shrines, and his way is tortuous. I am alone and I am a stranger. No one asks about me. I am alone and I am a stranger, and no one asks after me. I go up to the Grand Mosque, and [my] small slippers³⁰⁶ make noise, [and with] a small *fwīwəs ḥābbāwi*.³⁰⁷ May God and Mūlāy ʿĀbd əs-Slām rid them from my house. May God and Mūlāy ʿĀbd əs-Slām rid them from my house. I am a foreigner and a stranger with no one to ask after me. I go up and down like a leather [well]-bucket, and the neighbors wonder, and say that I am a scourge. May God smite them with infatuation, so they can experience what I have! May God smite them with infatuation, so they can experience what I have! Here I am alone and I am a stranger with no one to ask after me, going up to the Grand Mosque, and [my] small slippers make noise, [and with] a small *fwīwəs ḥābbāwi*. May God confound them with infatuation, so that they experience my misfortune.³⁰⁸ I am alone and I am a stranger. No one asks about me.

305 The text here translates the basic words of the song, and not the repetitions sung by the narrator. On Mūlāy ʿĀbd əs-Slām see pp. 66, 68, 176 n. 51.

306 The term here is *ʿniṣāʿ*, the plural of *ʿniḳla*, which is the diminutive of *čānḳla*, plural *čānḳlāʿ*. About the phoneme /č/ see n. 133, pp. 117–118. Concerning the diminutive see n. 7 and the references there. This is a very modern variation of the traditional slippers worn by the women of Chaouen, which were described by Harris (1889), 21 as “... black slippers instead of the red. This is a curious fact, as black slippers are worn in parts of Algeria also, though I believe Sheshouan to be the only place in Morocco in which they are to be found.” Hoenerbach and Kolenda (1973), 34, n. 1, citing Rackow (1958), 22, stated that, “Die Frauen in Rabat tragen die *riḥīya* in schwarz. Schwarz ist aber sonst in Marokko und in Nordafrika überhaupt die den Juden auferlegte Erkennungsfarbe in der Kleidung schlechthin.’ – Nach *Dikrā*, 6, war der bis vor kurzem in Xauen getragene schwarze Frauenpantoffel ein Zeichen der Trauer um den Verlust Granadas (*ka-ḥidādīn ‘alā madīnati Ġirnāṭa*).” Al-ʿĀfya (1982), 231 notes that this type of shoe is known as a *riḥīya*, made by hand from a soft, fine black leather. It is said to have been worn by women to express their mourning for the fall of Granada.

307 The term used here by the narrator is *fwīwəs*, the diminutive of *fwāš*, which basically means “1. tout ce que l’on étend sur le sol pour s’asseoir ou se coucher (tapis, nattes, matelas).” (See DAF, X, 63–64). Nevertheless in this context the term *ḥābbāwi* indicates that *fwīwəs* is being used in a technical manner, and refers to *l-ḥāyək* (see n. 16, p. 165). De Prémare in DAF, III, 10 defines *ḥābbāre* as an adjective used mostly in Tangiers. He gives the following example: “*ḥāik ḥābbāre* variété de ḥāik [Co Tgr].”

308 For this meaning, see under *dār* in DAF, IV, 376–377, meaning 9.

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