

SOME OBSERVATIONS ON THE POETICAL LANGUAGE OF LOVE SONGS IN THE DIALECT OF THE JBALA (NORTHERN MOROCCO)

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Resumen: Este artículo trata sobre canciones populares de temática amorosa en dialecto árabe yebalí. Para ello, nos serviremos de material adicional extraído de algunos dialectos árabes. Se mostrará cómo los motivos y situaciones, al igual que el léxico, comunes a este tipo de poesía, son idénticos a los empleados en composiciones de otros dialectos árabes.

Palabras clave: Árabe marroquí. Dialectología. Poesía amorosa popular. Marruecos.

Abstract: This article discusses folk love poetry composed in the Jbala dialect. With the aid of additional material taken from some Arabic dialects, this study shows that the motifs and situations as well as lexical units common to the Jbala love poetry are identical to those used in love poetry composed in other Arabic dialects.

Key words: Moroccan Arabic. Dialectology. Folk poetry. Morocco.

0. Introduction

The principal objective of this article is to address and analyze love poetry composition sung in the dialect of the Jbala (Northern Morocco). The dialect of the Jbala along with other dialects of Northern Morocco, belongs to a group of

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pre-Hilali dialects which are chiefly characterized by a strong influence of the Berber substratum. I will make a justifiable attempt at comparing and contrasting the connection between the Jbala love poetry and those of other dialects in ascertaining their similarities in poetical vocabulary, motifs and typical situations.

The folk heritage of the Jbala remains practically unexplored in oral and poetical context. Certain information of merely ethnographical character pertaining to the music and poetry of the Jbala can be obtained from monographs and articles published in France in the end of the 19th century and also at the beginning of the 20th century.

Notable works can be initially traced to MICHAUX-BELLAIRE and BIARNAY who gave not only the description of performing songs, but also added some samples of the Jbala poetry⁽¹⁾. There are also some works on the music of Morocco⁽²⁾ that touch slightly on the musical tradition of the Jbala and combines the songs of the Jbala into one group with folk songs from different parts of Central Morocco called '*ayta*'⁽³⁾.

Further emphasis can also be found in an article by the American anthropologist CURTIS. She dedicated her work to the feminine folk tradition of the Jbala⁽⁴⁾. Apart from these instances enumerated above with a view to the poetical language of this area, no further studies have been undertaken ever since.

The combination of love poetry with panegyrics, elegies etc. leads credence to the integral part of the folk heritage of the Jbala. I will analyze ten songs that represent love poetry of the Jbala and were performed by a famous Jbala singer, musician and composer named Mohammed Laâroussi (Moḥammed La'rūsi) and his musical group based in Fes. These songs by analysis can be splitted into two separate genres of the Jbala songs. One is categorized as masculine (*ṭaqṭūqa*), because it traditionally is performed by men, and the second one is termed feminine ('*ayyū*') since it traditionally is performed by women. These two categories of songs are characterized by an improvisational nature and their performances occur at various agricultural feasts, during

(1) For instance, MICHAUX-BELLAIRE 1911:152-156 and BIARNAY 1924:104-110.

(2) See CHOTTIN 1940 and AYDOUN 1995.

(3) MAGHNIA & KHARCHAFI 2002:22-24.

(4) CURTIS 2001:129.

pilgrimages to the tombs of local saints and also in everyday life⁽⁵⁾.

Both *ṭaqtūqa* and *‘ayyū* are stanzaic songs⁽⁶⁾ in which number of lines is not restricted. Two types can be defined - one type has each stanza containing two verses and the other has a number of verses in stanzas which could vary from four to eight⁽⁷⁾. Although historically *‘ayyū* and *ṭaqtūqa* are two separate kinds, nowadays they are performed by both female and male singers. Similarly like folk tradition of other Arabic countries⁽⁸⁾, it is difficult to attribute the texts of *‘ayyū* and *ṭaqtūqa* to a certain genre of Classical Arabic poetry (*riṭā’*, *wasf*, *hiğā’*, *madh*, *faxr* etc.). At times, the same song can be attributed to different poetical genres, but I have specifically chosen songs that are maximally close to what can be termed as ‘love poetry’.

FROLOVA in her monograph on the poetics of Arabic poetry, writes: “For Arabic love poetry a set of standard topics and situations is typical, and hence a set of basic topics and situations that compose an entity represents an integral system”⁽⁹⁾. In analyzing such motifs and situations, the following classification is introduced which emphasizes (classification introduced by FROLOVA for Classical and Folk Arabic⁽¹⁰⁾ poetry with some minor changes⁽¹¹⁾

(5) For more relevant information on such occasions see MICHAUX-BELLAIRE 1905.

(6) Some songs composed in the genre of *ṭaqtūqa* start with a kind of prelude (see for instance Song 1 at the end of the present article).

(7) The structure of the present songs is more diverse than the one in the Middle East described by JARGY - he also defines two types but number of verses for each type is strictly fixed - ‘duettes’ or *Al-Dūbēt* - those that contain two verses and ‘quatrains’ or *Al-Rubā’ī* - those that contain four verses (JARGY 1970:7).

(8) JARGY notes that folk songs in the Middle East can serve multiple purposes. For instance, songs of the Druzes in Lebanon (and some other songs in Lebanon and Syria) can be attributed as love songs and work songs at the same time (JARGY 1970:32).

(9) FROLOVA 1984:8-9.

(10) The monograph is written on the basis of an extensive material collected from love poetry of Iraq, Egypt, Sudan and Tunisia as well as from poetry in Standard and Classical Arabic.

(11) I decided to make these changes because in her monograph FROLOVA merely discusses the lexical groups used in Arabic love poetry; here I am trying to analyze not only the poetical vocabulary of the poetry of the Jbala, but also some motifs and situations typical for it. E.g., it let me make **The separation** an independent part of this classification, while FROLOVA unites it with **The hero of the poem and his attributes when he is glad and when he is unhappy**. It should be also noted that motifs typical for Arabic love poetry often

will be used below)⁽¹²⁾:

1. Love; 2. The object of love and its attributes; 3. The hero of the poem and his attributes when he is glad and when he is unhappy; 4. The rival; 5. The messenger of love; 6. The separation; 7. The nature.

These are further highlighted below:

1. Love

Expression of the love emotion entails the usage of the following lexical units used in the poems analyzed in the present paper: *ḥubb* - 'love'; *ḡrām* - 'passionate love'; *mḥebba* - 'love'; *hwa* - 'love'; *baḥr el-ḥubb* - 'sea of love'; *baḥr el-ḡrām* - 'sea of passionate love'; *ḥarr el-ḥubb* - 'love fever'; *kās el-meḥabba* - 'goblet of love'.

Apparently, the poetical vocabulary used for describing the feeling of love is identical with the one existing in Classical Arabic poetry as well as in folk love poetry composed in various Arabic dialects. For instance, FROLOVA gives an almost identical set of words used in Arabic poetry from other countries for describing this feeling, e.g., *ḥubb*, *biḥār al-ḥubb*, *maḥabba*, *hawā*, *ḡarām*⁽¹³⁾.

2. Object of love and its attributes

One typical trait is the avoidance of calling the object of love by name. (Although in these songs I initiated a name calling instance even though actually the object of love is called not directly by her proper name, but as the daughter of such-and-such)⁽¹⁴⁾. Instead of using proper names pronouns and various

semantically intersect each other, e.g. feeling of love and nature, object of love and messenger of love etc.

(12) FROLOVA 1984:9.

(13) FROLOVA 1984:11 - 13.

(14) However, among several samples of the Jbala poetry given by MICHAUX-BELLAIRE (MICHAUX-BELLAIRE 1911:154), there is one poem structure of which is based on rhyming the final words of each first line with various women names (unfortunately he gives only French translation):

La femme aux bracelets m'a ravi mon cœur!
Sellez moi mon cheval et apportez moi son

epithets are widely used⁽¹⁵⁾.

Close examination of the songs analyzed here indicates that the following words were used for describing the object of love (personal pronouns were excluded): *ġzāl(a)* (dim. *ġziyal*) - 'handsome boy; pretty, beautiful girl'; *ḥbīb* - 'sweetheart'; *rāžul* - 'man, husband'; *ḥmām* - 'pigeon'; *azba* - 'young girl'; *ayla* - 'a woman, generally young'; *waḥīda* - 'the only one' (fem.); *mešmūm de-l-nawwar* - 'bouquet of wild flowers' (used to describe a man); *lalla* - 'Miss, Madam, sometimes used with ironical shade of meaning'; *sīd* - 'master, lord, sometimes with ironical shade of meaning'; *zīn* - 'beauty'.

Consequently, the description of the figure of the object of love occurs in the present poems only when the object is a female: *mūlat eš-š'ar* - 'the owner of (beautiful) hair'.

Epithets used to describe the object of love (regardless of the gender) can also be of negative nature: *mnādem* - 'unscrupulous'; *ġaddār(a)* - 'unfaithful person' (masc./fem.); *ḍālem* - 'unjust person, oppressor'; *qlīl en-niya* - 'ill-intentioned'.

Compare lexical units given by FROLOVA: *ḥabīb*, *ġāda*, *fatāt*, *ġazāl*, *ḥamām al-ayk*, *mawlāya*, *seyyīdi/sīdi*, *aš-ša'r al-aswad al-ḥālik* ⁽¹⁶⁾.

Trends prevalent in Arabic tradition for composing love poetry in general are also present in the composition of love poetry of the Jbala. Hence, a comparison of the object of love with a doctor (*ṭīb*) or medicine (*dwā*) that can heal the hero from his/her dangerous illness is also typical⁽¹⁷⁾:

ā džībū liyā ḥabībī
Oh bring me my sweetheart,
huwa dwāya u-ṭabībī
He is my medicine and my doctor!

Mors pour que je monte sur lui la qaīda *Tamou*!

Sellez moi mon cheval à la port d'El-Merisa

Pour que je monte sur lui la qaīda *Aīcha*.

(15) Avoiding calling the object of love by name seems to be known also in the bedouin poetry of Nejd (See KURPERSHOEK 1994:67).

(16) FROLOVA 1984:21-24.

(17) FROLOVA 1971:128.

Compare the following fragment from an Egyptian *mawwāl*⁽¹⁸⁾:

qāl-li dawāk 'ušbi 'andi qulte mā 'ušbak
 He said, "The medicine shall be a herb which I have got."
dānā dawāya - a 'rifuh 'ind-allādi ahwāh.
 "I do not need any herbs; she whom I love has got the cure."

3. The hero of the poem and his attributes when he is glad and when he is unhappy

The hero describes himself only if the hero is a man. For this purpose the following words are used: *'āseq* - 'lover'; *maḡrūm* - 'madly in love'; *mūl baḥr el-ḥubb* - literally 'owner of the sea of love'; i.e., 'the one who is madly in love'.

This can be compared to the lexical units given by FROLOVA: *'āseq*, *maḡrūm*⁽¹⁹⁾.

Similar to Arabic love poetry in general, in the present songs the situation when the hero of love poem is happy and content is quite rare, although some examples of it still can be found as exhibited below:

ḥmāmi 'anaqtu u-fraḥt be-l-wuṣūl
 I hugged my pigeon and became glad with his arrival,
ḥusādi daxlū ma 'āya fe-l-fuḍūl
 And those who envy me already started wondering with me.
lli kunt netmanna f-hāda z-zmān
 This is the only thing I wanted these days-
rža' lī be-ḡwābu ḡānī ferḥān
 He came back with an answer; he came back to me happy.

More common are motifs of suffering, tears and bad luck in love affairs:

lalla 'ayni k-ībkiw u mā dimū 'ī 'ela xaddi
 lalla, my eyes are crying and (here) are my tears on my cheek.

(18) Here and everywhere possible I kept the original transcription of the authors.

(19) FROLOVA 1984:38.

mā biyā šī l-ġurba l-furqa 'an wulādi

I'm not in a strange land and I'm not separated from my children.

In cases where the narration is made on behalf of a woman, she speaks about herself in an exclusively descriptive way, making emphasis based on her good intentions and making complaints about her sorrow, suffering and grief as shown below:

āna ma'u be-n-niya

I am treating him with good intentions,

u-hwā m'āya bī-l-ġuṣṣ

And he is fooling me

Or:

bġīt en-niya u-l-amān tta bqīt marmīya

I wanted good treatment and safety so I became abandoned.

Compare the following fragment from an Iraqi 'atāba⁽²⁰⁾:

ham haqda naSiibi wanjibir bii

And this is my fate which I have to face.

laani atuub w laa 'alla yihdii

I do not repent, nor will God guide him to better ways.

gulli ššifit minni aḍiyya

Tell me, what ill treatment have you received from me?

galbak min Saxar maa Hamm ḡalayya

Your heart is made of stone and has no compassion for me.

The motif of wine is closely linked with the figure of the hero. In one of the present songs (*reggebt 'ala 'Ayn Zōra*) the motif of wine appears when the hero is happy and enjoying the company of his beloved one, and later when he is suffering because of separation from her, so as it is typical for Arabic love

(20) ABU-HAIDAR 1995:13.

poetry in general, wine seems to be the lover's only consolation. In the final stanza of this song, wine is getting modified into whisky (*el-wiskī*)⁽²¹⁾, which the hero is drinking while smoking cigarettes. Probably this combination of whisky and cigarettes according to the poetical plot of the anonymous poet probably reinforces the feeling of grief conveyed to the audience. A typical instance is enumerated below:

ā reggebt 'ala 'Ayn Zōra
 I approached 'Ayn Zōra
u-tšuwuwš xāṭri u-šḥāl bkīt
 And my mind became deranged and how much I cried,
lqīt el-wiskī taqāḍa
 I found that the whisky is finished,
u-š'alt el-gārro u-šḥāl kmīt
 I lit a cigarette and how much I smoked.

4. The rival

The image of a male rival is not introduced in the present song, but in two songs of the genre '*ayyū*', the figure of a female rival appears. The role of a female rival can be played by just another woman or also by a second wife. In such a situation, the female narrator does not hide her negative and often contemptuous feelings, using words such as 'widow' (*hžāla*) (perhaps in order to emphasize the age of her rival and her social status) or just 'second wife' (*širīka*) as shown below:

smaḥ fiya u-xallanī
 He left me and abandoned me,
beddelni be-l-hažžālā
 He left me for a widow!

(21) FROLOVA mentions that in modern songs of Egyptian female professional singers *al-awālim* the word 'wine' (*xamr*) often modifies into 'cognac' (*kūnyāk*), (FROLOVA 1984:49).

5. The messenger of love

In love poems of the Jbala, the role of love messenger can be played by humans, but more often this role is taken up by pigeon (*ḥmām*)⁽²²⁾. The song hero attaches a letter to the neck of this pigeon to deliver to the object of his/her love. This is emphasized below:

rselt lek risāla f- 'anq el-ḥmām
I sent you a letter on the neck of a pigeon.
qrāha u-tma 'an šḥāl de-l-kalām
He read it and pondered - how many words!

The image of pigeon also appears in Egyptian folk songs. For instance, in one of the folk songs collected by LANE⁽²³⁾, pigeon plays a role very similar to the one of the messenger of love e.g.:

A' shik yekul li-l-hamām hāt lee genāhak yóm
A lover says to the dove, "Lend me your wings for a day."
Kāl el-hamām amrak bātīl: kultu gheyr el-yóm:
The dove replied, "Thy affair is vain:" I said, "Some other day:
Hatta ateer fi-l-gó wa-nzur wegh el-mahboob:
That I may soar through the sky, and see the face of the beloved
A' khud widād 'ám wa-rga' yá hamām fee yóm.
I shall obtain love enough for a year, and will return, O dove, in a day."

I did not find any example of depicting the messenger of love as a pigeon in FROLOVA's monograph, she gives only the following lexical units: *rasūl al-*

(22) The figure of pigeon as the messenger of love seems to be quite popular among the Jbala poets traditionally. MICHAUX-BELLAIRES gives us a sample of the Jbala love poetry 'ayyū' that contains the following fragment (MICHAUX-BELLAIRES 1911:154):

Tir hamam mouāli ou nzel āla ma habit
Vole, colombe, élève-toi et pose toi sur celui que j'aime.
El-Mahboub diali ichmāa fi qaā el-bīt
Mon bien-aimé est comme une lumière dans me chambre.

(23) LANE 1989:369.

ġarām, mīrsāl, marsūl⁽²⁴⁾.

6. The nature

The nature is an integral part of Arabic poetry including love poetry. Although descriptions of the nature (*waṣf*) seem to be uncommon in the poetry of the Jbala, the nature still remains an important and integral motif of love poetry. For instance, love date normally takes place in the garden, where birds are singing⁽²⁵⁾:

āḥ b'ad-mā ġāt el-besātin
After she came to the gardens,
eṭ-ṭyār tganni u-tšuwuwš l-'aqāl
The birds were singing and the mind was deranged.

Compare the following fragment from an Egyptian *mawwāl*⁽²⁶⁾:

Kum bi-nē yā khillē neskar
Up with us, O true love! Let us intoxicate ourselves
Tahta dill el-yāsameeneh
Under the shade of the jasmine.

Love date often happens during the night time, when the moon is lightening the mountain horns:

(24) FROLOVA 1984:57.

(25) See also a poem cited by MICHAUX-BELLAIRE (text given in MICHAUX-BELLAIRE's transcription and French translation), here are the first two stanzas of this 'ayyū' (MICHAUX-BELLAIRE 1911:154):

Dak el-djenan el-āli ou et-tyiour ibathou
Dans ce jardin élevé les oiseaux dorment,
Elly bgha zin ikhṣar ali mta'ou
Celui qui recherche beauté dépensera pour elle tout ce qu'il a
Linkaça, linkaça, tar ez-zhar min raça
Poirier, poirier, les fleurs sont tombées de son faite.
Dak el-mahboub ialâsel fitta ça
Celui qui est mon bien-aimé est comme du miel dans un vase.

(26) LANE 1989:365.

‘Awīša l-ġuzāl
 Oh beautiful ‘Awīša,
el-gumra tal’ā
 The moon is rising
‘alā qrūni l-ġebāl
 Over the horns of mountains.

The song *reggebt ‘ala ‘Ayn Zōra* portrays a sad situation where the hero suffering from undivided love climbs the mountain and drinks whisky in hope that it will help him to forget what has happened to him.

7. The separation

As it is typical of love poems of any cultures, the motif of separation is a necessary part of this genre. It can be traced practically in all songs analyzed in the present paper, regardless of who is the narrator - a man or a woman. Separation can happen due to certain circumstances that do not depend on the couple or, more often, because the object of love was heartless or even ill-intentioned. For instance, the situation when a man abandons a girl after he has seduced her is very typical of feminine poetry of the Jbala. Even in the song *reggebt ‘ala ‘Ayn Zōra*, which belongs to pure masculine genre, the hero speaks about it in quite unambiguous way⁽²⁷⁾. In order to describe the fact of separation a set of clichés and stock phrases are used:

smaḥ fiya u-xellāni
 he left and abandoned me

(27) The hero of this song puts this idea in the following way:

ā allā allā yā waḥīda
 Ah, oh the only one,
u-llī šāfak rā bāġi yeddik
 Everyone who has seen you, asked for your hand.
ya’fīk el-kull u-r-ruṭūba
 He will give you everything and tenderness.
ḥatta yaqdī ḥāġtū w-yexallik
 And after he gets what he wants he will abandon you.

Or:

smaḥ fiya u-nsāni
he left me and forgot about me

Or:

nsāni men bālu
he forgot me from his mind etc.

It coincides with the observations of FROLOVA: she gives the expression *sāfar wa-xallāni* as a classical example of such clichés⁽²⁸⁾.

It should also be noted that in all songs, composed on behalf of a woman (genre 'ayyū'), the motif of separation, pain and suffering is the central one, which probably can be explained by the origin of this genre, when initially during various events and festivities,⁽²⁹⁾ the Jbala women used to perform such songs in the form of dialogue, i.e., each female participant is singing two lines, the next one is adding two following lines in response⁽³⁰⁾, etc. It is obvious that historically one of the most frequent topics of this genre was the misfortune of woman. For instance, in the song *širika* 'second wife' the woman whose husband brought into their house a second wife is saying to her children:

bābākum beddilni
Your father has left me (for another woman),
w-anā li-min niški
To whom can I complain?

This motif also seems to be quite popular in the genre of female poetry called *ḡnīwāt*, popular in the Bedouin tribe *Awlād 'Ali* (Northern Egypt) and described by ABU-LUGHOD. For instance, this is the manner in which one of

(28) FROLOVA 1984:70.

(29) For more relevant and detailed information on such occasions see MICHAUX-BELLAIRE 1911, SALMON 1904, MOULIÉRAS 1899, and BIARNAY 1924.

(30) CURTIS 2001:129.

the women of this tribe appeals to her absent husband for some consideration to all that she has given to him⁽³¹⁾:

shaḥanit khāṭri bghalāk
I took myself upon your love
biḥḍūlak marāsī dīrlī
kindly make me a place to rest.

Also:

tarāku 'alē mashkāy
They let me to suffer
'aggāllū bghaw dāy māsakin
wise ones, they had but withheld the cure.

8. Conclusion

The attempts made in the present paper with the purpose to analyze and describe some features of love poems of the Jbala allowed me to conclude the following:

- 1) It is quite obvious that in all that entails the song structure and rhyme pattern, neither the traditional genre of the *qaṣīda/qiṭ'a* nor the genre of the *zajal/muwašṣaḥ* (also in their traditional meaning) has direct connection with the folk poetry of the Jbala.
- 2) Apparently, the origin of the Jbala folk poetry and the act of performing should be sought within the Berber poetic tradition⁽³²⁾ and initially within the Rifian one. Meanwhile it can also be seen that in entirety, motifs, heroes and situations typical for the Jbala love poems are identical with those common for love poems composed in other Arabic dialects.
- 3) With some minor exceptions, the poetical vocabulary, used in the present

(31) ABU-LUGHOD 1985:254.

(32) For instance, Moroccan scholar Bahraoui (NAMIR:2005) sees the origin of the *'aiṭa*, of which the *ṭaqtūqa* and *'ayyū* represent a northern branch, in the symbiosis of the poetical tradition of the tribe of Banū Hilāl and Berber tradition of the Atlas, or, in wider sense, it is a sort of cultural mixture arisen thanks to the first immigrants from the East of the Arab world and local population.

poems, including lexical units used for describing motifs, heroes and situations listed above, is of pure Arabic origin and does not have any loan words from the Berber language.

Samples of Love Songs

Song 1⁽³³⁾ (*taqtūqa*)⁽³⁴⁾

Prelude

1. *ā u-kās el-meḥebba rā herrasnā*
 Oh the goblet of love, we have broken it,
u-fe-l-bḥār rmīnā šqūfū
 And thrown its pieces into the sea.
u-llī 'alīk rāk 'amīlti
 And what you had to do - you did it,
u-llī 'līyā dāba n-nās tšūfū
 And what I had to do - people now see it.

2. *ā u-baḥr el-ḥubb rā ṣa'īb*
 Oh the sea of love is difficult,
u-mūlā 'omru mā yinsā
 And its master will never forget it,
w-ilā ḡāb ez-zīn 'an 'ayūni
 And if the beauty vanished from my eyes,
fi-l-minām bqīt inšūf ḥrūfū
 I will keep seeing its letters in my dreams.

⁽³³⁾ Song was taken from audiocassette 1 (see Section **Audiocassette Material** below).

⁽³⁴⁾ In Songs 1 and 2 each stanza is followed by refrain.

Refrain

reggebt 'ala 'Ayn Zōra
 I approached 'Ayn Zōra⁽³⁵⁾
u-tšuwuwuš xāṭri u-šḥāl bkīt
 And my mind became deranged and how much I cried,
mā biyā šī blādi
 It is not the fact that I have forsaken my country,
biya ḡa-l- 'azba llī xallīt
 It is only about that maiden I left behind.
āna mzāweg ya ḡemā 'a
 I beg you, oh people,
ḥubb ez-zīn rāni netwalla' bī
 I am consumed with intensive desire of love for the beauty.

Refrain

reggebt 'ala 'Ayn Zōra
 I approached 'Ayn Zōra
u-tšuwuwuš xāṭri u-šḥāl bkīt
 And my mind became deranged and how much I cried,
mā biyā šī blādi
 It is not the fact that I have forsaken my country,
biya 'a-l- 'ayla llī xallīt
 It is only about that girl I left behind.
āna mzāweg ya ḡemā 'a
 I beg you, oh people,
ḥubb ez-zīn rāni netwalla' bī
 I am consumed with intensive desire of love for the beauty.

Stanza 1

ā ga 'adnā f-bāb d-el-xīma
 Oh we were sitting by the entrance to the tent.
l-bināt tḡanni u-l-kās yedūr
 The girls were singing and the glass was circling.

(35) 'Ayn Zōra is a locality in the province of Nador.

xallīt yimma u-babbā
 I have left my father and mother
u-tba 'tak yā bināyat Qaddūr
 And followed you, oh daughter of Qaddūr.

Stanza 2

ā ktib ktib yā ṭālib
 Write, write oh scribe,
u-llī 'indī f-el-xwīma na 'ṭik
 And I will give you everything in my tent.
u-llī 'indū šī ḥasid f-qalbū
 And the one who has envy in his heart;
rā tta me šāb yikfī
 Even (only) what he found will be enough for him.

Stanza 3

ā u-znad l-lisān ma 'a swālī
 Oh my tongue fired the question,
teṣḥīt fe-l-weḥša u-šeddīt el-kās
 I woke up with melancholy and took the glass.
dīrī gelbek fī-hwāya
 Understand my love,
u-l-kādeb gā 'maxzī be-n-nās
 Liar is entirely held in contempt by the people.

Stanza 4

ā šuft el-ḥarra u-l-ḥluwwa⁽³⁶⁾
 Oh I have seen good and bad things,
u-ḥarr el-ḥubb 'omrī mā nensā
 And I will never forget the heat of love.
u-ila tiyyaqtū bi-llī nsaw el-kās
 And if you believed those who forgot the glass,
rā huwa mūlā

(36) *šuft el-ḥarra u-l-ḥluwwa*, literally 'I have seen peppery and sweet (things)'.

It is me who is its master.

Stanza 5

ā šuft el-ḥarra u-l-ḥluwwa
 Oh I have seen good and bad things.
u-l-kittān fe-l-qbār yehferū
 And the shroud was buried in the grave.
lillā yā hadūk ed-dāyzīn
 For God's sake, oh those who are passing by (me),
gūlu l-yimmī rā wlīdak defnū
 Tell my mother: your son has been buried.

Stanza 6

ā allā allā yā waḥīda
 Oh the only one,
u-llī sāfak rā bāgi yeddīk
 Everyone who has seen you, asked for your hand.
ya 'ṭīk el-kull u-r-ruṭūba
 He will give you everything and tenderness.
ḥatta yaqdī ḥāḡtū w-yexallīk
 And after he gets what he wants he will abandon you.

Stanza 7

ā lūkān hlī yesā 'fūnī
 Oh if my folks will agree with me,
nbī' blādī u-nexassirha 'al bināt
 I will sell my country and waste it on girls,
ndīr derbāla u-'ukkāz
 And later, I will put on the derbala⁽³⁷⁾ and hold a stick,
fi-mā raḥet eš-šemš enbāt
 I will sleep where the sun goes down.

(37) *derbala*: in Morocco an old threadbare garment.

Stanza 8

ā allā allā ya ummī
 Oh my mother,
yā ḥnā u-‘alāš ka-ymūtu l-wulād
 Oh my grandmother why do boys die?
u-‘alā ḥamrit eš-šināyif
 For the redness of lips,
u-‘ala kaḥlit l-a ‘yūn ila ḡāt
 For the blackness of eyes, if she comes.

Stanza 9

āḥ b ‘ad-mā ḡāt el-besātin
 After she came to the gardens,
eṭ-ṭyār tḡannī u-tšuwwuš l-‘aqāl
 The birds were singing and the mind was deranged.
nūḍ itsāra u-tnizzah
 Rise, walk and stroll,
wa-ḥṭī rāsek u-rudd el-bāl
 Put your head down and be careful.

Stanza 10

ā reggebt ‘ala ‘Ayn Zōra
 I approached ‘Ayn Zōra
u-tšuwwuš xāṭri u-šḥāl bkīt
 And my mind became deranged and how much I cried,
lqīt el-wiskī taqāḍa
 I found that the whisky is finished,
u-š ‘alt el-gārro u-šḥāl kmīt
 I lit a cigarette and how much I smoked.

Song 2⁽³⁸⁾ ('ayyū')

Refrain

anā yimma ha wulīdi
 Oh mother, oh father,
w-anā bālī ma 'ā ġzālī
 My mind is with my beloved.

Stanza 1

w-anā bālī ma 'ā ġzālī
 My mind is with my beloved.
li-n-huwāya f-bālī
 (With) the one who is in my mind.

Stanza 2

ā u-l-ġzīyal dyālī
 Oh my handsome boy.
ġāb u-bqīt nestinna
 He disappeared and I keep waiting for him.

Stanza 3

hādi muddā mā šuftu
 I have not seen him for a long time.
twaḥḥašt lū nšūf wūḥah
 I miss seeing his face.

Stanza 4

u-l-ġzīyal dyālī
 My handsome boy.
smaḥ fīya u-nsāni
 He left me and forgot about me.

(38) Song was taken from cassette 2 (see Section **Audiocassette Material** below).

Stanza 5

bālī kullū ma'ā ġzālī
 My mind is with my beloved.
waḥšū rāh bekkāni
 Longing for him makes me cry.

Stanza 6

sidī l-ġzīyal dyālī
 My Mister handsome.
rā yensani men bālu
 He forgets about me in his mind.

Stanza 7

l-ṭšā dyālī blā ḥbībi
 Life without my love
rahā 'andi kif'wālu
 It is like nothing.

Stanza 8

xallānī wi-nsāni
 He has abandoned and forgotten about me,
fihī bqīt netfekker
 I keep thinking of him.

Stanza 9

u-lā smāḥā yā rabbi
 Do not forgive him, my Lord,
le-menādem el-ġāddar
 This unscrupulous and unfaithful person.

Stanza 10

ā l-mešmūm e-dyālī
 Oh my bouquet,
yā l-mešmūm de-n-nāwwar
 Oh my bouquet of wild flowers.

Stanza 11

u-huwa xeddām el-ġūšš
He is telling lies.
w-anā mā 'andi xbār
And I did not know about it.

Stanza 12

a l-ġzīyal dyāli
Oh, my handsome boy,
kān 'azīz 'alīyya
He was so dear to me.

Stanza 13

huwa xeddām el-ġūšš
He is telling lies
w-anā mā 'andi nīya
And I do not trust him.

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AUDIOCASSETTE MATERIAL

1. Mohamed Laâroussi, reggebt ‘ala ‘ayn zōra. Fes Maatic, Fes, z. Indus. - Sidi Brahim 814 No 39.
2. el-ḥažž Moḥammed La‘rūsi, āna bāli ma‘a ḡzāli. Fes Maatic, Fes, z. Indus. - Sidi Brahim 814 No 39.
3. Mohammed Laâroussi, rāžli huwa ḍālem. Fes Maatic, Fes, z. Indus. - Sidi Brahim 814 No 39.
4. Sahra ma‘a awlād La‘rūsi (songs by Mohamed Laâroussi are Nos 6 and 7). Fassiphone, Fes, Belgium SPRL 59 rue des Palais 1030 Bruxelles (Belgique).