

16. w-râ'î l-əhsân li mtabbe' zên əl-ətbâ'⁷³
gowtar ma' al-fēhâh⁷⁴ yəğarğer tēyâba

17. w-râ'î l-əhsân li mtabbe' zên əl-ətbâ'
yâ həlu dagget mənəxrre b-ət-trâba⁷⁵

18. w-râ'î l-əmhêr li mtabbe' zên əl-ətbâ'
gowtar ma' al-fēhâh yəğarğer tēyâba.⁷⁶

19. hâdi 'əl-gasîda w-wəddna nsawwîha 'ala r-rəbâba - hadôl əl-čələmtên
əlli gâlhen xalaf 'âl lədən - 'a-š-šarārāt:

⁷³ This pair of hemistichs is probably superfluous; there may be some confusion in the next two pairs of hemistichs, too.

⁷⁴ -ŷ' > -ŷh; cf. footnote 142 below.

⁷⁵ The poetess longs to see Xalaf among the sheikhs killed by the Šarārāt, but he has had a narrow escape: la-'anno xalaf səlem (DB).

TEXT C

1. 'alla ymassîkom b-əl-xeyr - walla hna wəddna mwaffi ta' lîlətna - yôm
'alla ġâb ha-l-əğwâd ənsōləfhom.

2. hâda 'əbən 'adwân - šêx mašâyex əl-balqa - mâğd əl-'adwân⁷⁷ - w-hâda
mâğed - ma šâf⁷⁸ mətlo b-əl-'adwân lâ l-awwalîn wala t-tālîn - yəfəkk
əl-masğûn - yə'əzz əd-dəxîl - w-mâ šêx yəkrəm karamo⁷⁹ - 'əbən 'adwân.

⁷⁷ Māğed Sultān el-'Adwān, became the head chief of the 'Adwān in 1935, father of the present chief Hmūd; OPPENHEIM, Beduinen II, p. 215; the pedigree of el-'Adwān: PEAKE, Jordan, p. 243.

⁷⁸ The audition is clear; one would expect the form nšâf.

⁷⁹ A koineized syllable structure instead of *krəmo*.

16. The owner of the horse having most skilfully bridled it
Ran far away into the plain gathering the hems of his
clothes.

17. The owner of the horse having most skilfully bridled it,
Oh how sweet it would be to push his nose into the dust!

18. The owner of the colt having most skilfully bridled it
Ran far away into the plain gathering the hems of his
clothes.

19. This was the qaṣīda, and we'll sing it to the accompaniment of the
rebec. The verses recited by Xalaf 'Al 'Idn on the Šarārāt (run as follows):
(b6p)

⁷⁶ The song differs from the recited version in the following points:
(9) əhmayda, bayt, (10) ha-l-'ayb, əhtārayš, baytkom, (11) mənî'anā, (12)
omitted, (13) hallay, (14) farəd, (15) ha-l-xayl, (16) omitted, (17) zayn,
(18) mhayr. Most verses end in -î brought into accord with the tone of the
rebec. DALMAN, Pal. Diwan, p. xxxiv, calls attention to the fact that the
vowels often undergo noticeable changes in songs: "Der ganze dem Arabischen
eigene Vokalismus scheint dann zerstört". Cf. also LANDBERG, Dat., p. 100,
note 1.

1. May God give you a good evening. Well now, we'll bring our evening
entertainment to an end, this day when God brought these good men to whom
we're telling stories.

2. Ibn 'Adwān was the head chief of el-Balqa, Māğed el-'Adwān. A man like
him had not been seen among the 'Adwān, neither among the past generations
nor the last one. He used to set the prisoner free, he used to cherish the
protégé, and no sheikh was as generous as him, as Ibn 'Adwān.

3. *w-yŝîr ʔandhom hanâka ʔarâda⁸⁰ - ʔala zəmən sayyədna ʔabdallah əl-ʔamîr⁸¹ - ʔabdalla gabl la-yŝîr malak⁸² - w-yərkaḇ ʔa-šwēma⁸³ šafra - faras - ǧədîma ʔala dôr ʔali dyāb⁸⁴ - ma-ʔanno šēx əš-šūne w-əs-sēf əb-dāharo - w-ēr-rəməḥ b-îdoḥ - təgantar ʔən.əl-faras u-wəgeʔ w-əngsəmat rəǧloḥ - w-waddūḥ ʔa-l-məstašfa - w-tāb.*

4. *w-əš-šēxān yəzūrūḥ w-əš-šəʔʔār yəzūrūḥ - w-ləfa wāḥad šāʔer mən šəʔʔār əl-balga - w-gāl ʔalēḥ gasīdah - wallah u-ha-l-gasīda wəddna nsawwīha ʔala lsānna w-ənwaffīha ʔala r-rəbāba - yəǧūl:*

5. *yā rāčb alli mā ddāni l-mahāǧīn
talīʔat əl-mītēn lən ǧaffalūḥen*

6. *bakra ləfatni mən bəkār əš-šəʔʔālīn
mən ǧēš bəšər u-šəmməren w-axxadūḥen*

7. *hamra šaʔar dərʔānha təǧəl⁸⁵ gasdīl
təḥəff haff əs-sēd lən xarfalūḥen*

8. *w-alli ǧəles b-əl-kūr ʔəmra b-ʔəšrīn
ʔalli ywassəl əl-həǧḡāt l-alli yəfhamūḥen*

9. *w-ašrab mən əl-bənn fənǧāl w-tnēn
b-ədlāl šāmīyāt⁸⁶ mā harragūḥen*

⁸⁰ The faintly audible final *-h* can be regarded as a secondary pausal feature rather than as a continuation of the *-h* of the older pausal form of the feminine morpheme. The same is true of *gasīdah* c4. Cf., however, SOCIN, Diwan III, pp. 98f. and 205.

⁸¹ The first king of the Hashemite Kingdom of Jordan (1882-1951), Emir 1921-46, King of Transjordan 1946-48, of Jordan 1948-51, second son of Šarīf Ḥusayn of Mecca, PEAKE, Jordan, pp. 105f.

⁸² This form occurs side by side with *malēč/malek*; cf. SCHMIDT — KAHLE, Volkserzählungen I, p. 60* (*malāč/malič*).

⁸³ A well-known breed of horse, MUSIL, Arabia Petraea III, p. 273; JAUSSEN, Coutumes, p. 268.

⁸⁵ The pedigree of Māǧed's mare was known since the time of ʔAlī Dyāb el-ʔAdwān, the head chief of the tribe at the end of the 19th century, PEAKE, Jordan, p. 243; OPPENHEIM, Beduinen II, pp. 213-215.

3. In the time of our Chief, Prince ʔAbdallah, before he became king, there was a parade among them. Ibn ʔAdwān rode a yellow Šwēma horse - a mare - of old stock, from the time of ʔAlī Dyāb, for he was the sheikh of eš-Šūne. He had the sword on his back and the spear in his hand, and he tumbled down from the mare. When he fell, his leg was broken. He was taken to hospital, and he recovered.

4. The sheikhs used to visit him, and the poets used to visit him. One of the poets of el-Balqa came to him and recited a *qašīda* in his honour. Well, we'll recite this *qašīda*, and we'll finish by singing it to the accompaniment of the rebec. He said:

5. You who ride a mount not goaded with sticks,
A mount which would win all the two hundred if they would
challenge it to a race,

6. A young camel which came to me from the young camels of
the Šaʔlān,
From the camel army of the Bišr and Šammar, from those
which bewitch all.

7. It is red-haired, the hair of its shoulders shimmers
like tin.
It steps lightly like the gazelles when they bolt.

8. The man who is seated in the saddle was twenty years old,
Bringing words to those who understand them.

9. I drink coffee, one cup, two cups,
From Damascene pots which never let it burn,

⁸⁵ A form frequently occurring in Bedouin poetry, by ST and DB glossed *matəl*. In the poems published in MUSIL, Rwaḷa, it occurs at least 24 times, in SOCIN, Diwan I, 22 times. It can best be explained as an injunctive 'say', 'you would say', as suggested by CANTINEAU, Nomades II, p. 196 (not 'subjunctive' as erroneously cited by PALVA, ʔAǧ. Studies, p. 58, footnote 3).

⁸⁶ Coffee-pots made in Damascus are often praised in Bedouin poetry, e.g. MUSIL, Rwaḷa, pp. 81 and 321.

10. *w-a^rtîh mən rūḥ əl-kalâm bərəğ bərgên*
gowlât mətəl əd-dərr l-alli yəfhamûhen
11. *wa-hayât bêt allâh w-êda smā^rîn⁸⁷*
w-alli ʔənzal əl-kəlmât w-all ədharûhen
12. *wallâh wədd irûḥ ʔən rəğlak malāyîn*
lākənnah amr allâh u-mâ gaddarûhen
13. *yâ kawkab əl-balga ʔa-dôr əl-məğîmîn*
bî⁸⁸ kətob ʔəndi mtarraxa w-tarraxûhen
14. *yâ kawkab əl-balga ʔa-dôr əl-məğîmîn*
həgûgak barg yəlmā^r w-ədhārûhen
15. *ʔagsed əb-ʔaxu šêxa⁸⁹ b-ha-t-tîb tîbên*
tîb əl-yamîn u-sêfen lənn daharûhen.⁹⁰

⁸⁷ According to Islamic tradition, Ishmael founded the Holy House at Mecca along with his father Abraham, see e.g. Qur. 2:119-121.

⁸⁸ *bî* 'there is, there are' sometimes occurs in narrative style due to a Bedouinizing tendency, whereas *fî(h)* in this function is freely used in the dialects of the small-cattle nomads of the area; cf. PALVA, ʕAğ. Studies, p. 40 and references ibid., footnote 1. Here it can, however, be regarded rather as part and parcel of the poetic language of the Northern Arabian Bedouin; cf. SACHAU, Arabische Volkslieder, p. 33; cf. also footnote 135 below. Although *fî(h)* is not used in the ʕAnazi and Šammari dialects, it does occur in SOCIN's Diwan (I 30,13 and 62,5); cf. CANTINEAU, Nomades I, p. 109, II, p. 208.

⁸⁹ *ʔaxu šêxa* was the war cry of eš-Šāleḥ, Māğed's clan; OPPENHEIM, Beduinen II, pp. 215-217.

⁹⁰ The song differs from the recited version in the following points: (5) *allay, dāāna, l-mahāğayn, maytayn*, (6) *lafatnay mən əbkâr*, (7) *əš-sayd*, (8) *w-allay ġalas*, (9 rep.) *w-ətnayn*, (10 rep.) *w-a^rtayh*, (11) *bayt*, (13) *dawr*, (14) *dawr*, (15) *b-axaw*.

10. And I give him a couple of verses from the best fruits of eloquence,
Words like pearls for those who understand them.
11. By the life of God's House and Ishmael's, too,
His life, who gave the Words, and theirs who explained them:
12. By God, I would let millions be lost but not your leg.
But it was the disposition of God, not a decree of men.
13. You Star of el-Balqa, one in the chain of the ancient (chiefs),
I have books written about their deeds, and more will be written.
14. You Star of el-Balqa, one in the chain of the ancient (chiefs),
Your fair judgments flash like lightning, giving light.
15. I sing in honour of Šêxa's brother that he would recover for both his virtues:
The virtue of his (generous) right hand and that of his sword, so that they would give light!

1. *ʔalla ymassîkom b-əl-weyr - walla h̄na wāğəbna b-ha-l-lêla nsôlef - məšân ha-d-ḏyûf - w-ənšalla ʔalla yʔûd ʔalêna b-əl-matar u-ṭfadda l-bâl.*

2. *hâda ʔaffâš ʔəbən ʔadwân ʔaxu - ʔəl-māğed əl-ʔadwân - hâda ʔaffâš ʔala zəmâno gabəl - ʔaffâš dall əl-yôm - ʔa-rây əl-ʔarab xawâss⁹¹ - kân yəzâwed əb-māğed - w-sawwa ʔazîmah - la-dəbbât ʔala zəmân əklûb.⁹²*

3. *fî wâhad ʔəsmoh məbrad šəmməri - mən ʔərbân šəmmer - w-yōmən̄hom ləfu - lāyamathom bənt mazyûnah - w-lamanno ləfa ʔənd ʔaffâš ʔəgb əl-ğada - w-ğâl wallah yâ šêx ʔaffâš - wəddna ... mâ ʔəndak mən šəʔʔâr əl-balga? - ɣâl walla ma fî - wəddo yğəss işûf ʔən fî nâs wəlla mâ fî nâs - ɣâllo ma fî? - walla ya-məbrad mâ fî.*

4. *ɣâl wallah šəftəlli hanûf w-arîdha - maʔ ha-d-darb walla ma-dri hîya - balɣawîya wəlla mâ ...⁹³ - walla rîd aɣûl ʔalêha ɣowl šəmməri - ɣalloh wəš ʔalêh - yəɣûl məbrad - yəɣûl:*

5. *šəfət šowfa haḥḥafatni
yâ malā ya-hl əl-wəhîya*

6. *ʔa-hanûfel lāyaʔatni⁹⁴
yâ walad rəɣlî wənîya*

7. *ʔəddha š-šames ʔəğharatni
šâbøren ɣasben ʔalêya*

8. *ɣəmt ʔaxâbet karhabatni
ṭabbat əl-həmma xafîya*

9. *ɣəmat əl-ʔəmm ʔəktafatni
w-əl-xatîb yəgra ʔalêya*

10. *ṭəbət yōmen xatābatni
ya-š-šfa mən ʔallâh u-hîya.⁹⁵*

⁹¹ Glossed by DB *məwasset*.

⁹² Sir John Bagot Glubb (Pasha), b. 1897, Second-in-Command of the Arab Legion 1930-38, Commander-in-Chief 1938-56.

1. May God give you a good evening. Well, it's our duty tonight to tell stories for the guests. We hope that God will bring us rain once more so that all concern will be removed.

2. ʔAffāš Ibn ʔAdwān was a brother of Māğed el-ʔAdwān. In his time ʔAffāš, who, in the opinion of the Bedouin today, was a mediocrity, was competing with Māğed. He arranged a party for officers; it was in the time of Glubb.

3. There was a man called Mubrad, a Šammari, of the Šammar Bedouin. When they came, they chanced to meet a beautiful girl, and when Mubrad came to ʔAffāš after the lunch, he said, 'Look here, Sheikh ʔAffāš, are there any of the poets of el-Balqa present here?' He said, 'No, there aren't.' Mubrad wanted to find out whether there were able poets (lit. people) or not. He said to him, 'Isn't there anybody?' 'Look here, Mubrad, there isn't.'

4. Mubrad said, 'Listen, I saw a belle, and I want to have her. She was there by the side of the path, but look, I don't know if she is from the tribes of el-Balqa or not. Look, I want to sing her praise with a Šammari poem.' He said, 'Never mind.' Mubrad recited:

5. I saw a sight that turned my brain,
O people, what an owner of God's gifts!

6. I chanced to meet a belle,
O young man, my legs became unnerved.

7. It was as if the sun had dazzled me,
And I delayed against my will.

8. I started groping my way, she gave me an electric shock,
The fever attacked me insiduously.

9. Mother tied my hands behind my back,
And the *xatîb* recited (holy words) to me.

10. When the girl spoke to me, I recovered.
What a recovering! It came from God - and from her!

⁹³ The construction is problematic; *mâ* is most probably a negation, but the way with which the utterance is interrupted suggests that the construction is not complete.

11. *fī mən ʔabīd ʔəbən ʔadwān - mn-əl-ʔabīd əl-ġāʔədīn - ġallo walla yâ məbrad ʔana wəddi ʔarəddlak ha-l-čəłmtēn - hənna wəddna ngūl - gowlat məbrad - w-ənreəddhen gowl... gowlat əl-balgāwi - nsawwīha baʔəd - ʔa-lsānna w-baʔdēn ənsawwīha ʔala r-rəbāba - ġāl əl-ʔabd əlli mən ʔabīd əl-ʔadwān - ġāl:*

12. *nār galbi nār ġalla
məttəlīha b-howġ čāz
gallo məbrad ya-raġəl hī ġallat bəlgūr?⁹⁶ - gallo lā haraz baʔārīn*

13. *lawənnha hī mən⁹⁷... məhi manūtəlla⁹⁸
gətʔa ġūšān əl-əfrāz
ġāl ʔəl-mən? - ġāl lə-ʔammī ʔaffāš*

14. *ʔəgrūnha šəgren tədalla
mətəl harīr əl-əġġāz*

15. *xallat əl-ʔāšəġ ihəlla
damʔen mən ʔeynah əġwāz*

16. *həson yūsef⁹⁹ bīha kəlla
wahabha l-mawlā w-fāz*

17. *zēn mabsem xaləġt alla
w-ət-tanāya təgel māz*

18. *lawənnha hī mən ... məhi manūtəlla
gətʔa ġūšān əl-əfrāz.¹⁰⁰*

⁹⁴ A curious lexical variant of *lāyam*, probably a pseudo-correction of *lāʔam*.

⁹⁵ With poetic licence, *hīya* is here used as a substantive.

⁹⁶ An unusual metathesis instead of *l-əbgūr*.

⁹⁷ Here the bard has apparent problems with memorizing or shaping the line; cf. footnote 100 below.

⁹⁸ = *manwatan-la*.

⁹⁹ The beauty of Joseph is a commonplace in Arabic popular songs; cf., e.g. SOCIN, *Diwan I* 12,15, 47,13, 66,16, 74,26; MUSIL, *Rwala*, p. 196, 1.12; cf. also Gen. 39:6 and Qur. 12:31.

11. There was a man among the slaves of Ibn ʔAdwān, among the slaves sitting there, who said, 'Look here, Mubrad. I want to answer you with a couple of verses.' We'll recite the poem of Mubrad, and thereafter we'll also recite the answer given by the Bedouin of el-Balqa. Then we'll sing them to the accompaniment of the rebec. The poem recited by one of the slaves of el-ʔAdwān runs:

12. The fire of my heart is a fire of dung,
Heedlessly sprinkled over with petrol.

Mubrad said to him, 'Look, man, is it dung of cows?' He said, 'No, it's excrement of camels.'

13. Oh, that she were not his sweetheart,
A possession confirmed with a contract!

He asked, 'Whose?' He said, 'Of my master ʔAffāš.'

14. Blond hang her tresses,
Like the silk of el-Heġāz.

15. She left the lover cry with copious tears;
Tears run from his eyes in pairs.

16. All the beauty of Joseph is in her;
The Lord granted it and won a victory!

17. The (smiling) mouth of this God's creation is beautiful,
And her front teeth are like diamonds.

18. Oh, that she were not his sweetheart,
A possession confirmed with a contract!

¹⁰⁰ The song differs from the recited version in the following points: (6) *hanawfel*, (7) *ʔəddha ha-š-šams*, (9) *yagra*, (10) *yawmen satabatni*, *ʔala š-šfā mn-allāh u-hīya*, (12) *nārə galbī nārə ġalla*, *howġə čāz*, (13) *ʔa-hanawfen mənəwtəlla*, (14) and (18) omitted, (13) is followed by *ʔa-hanawfen xalgat alla*, *grawnahā* (the rest of the hemistich is indistinct), (17) *zēnə mabsem xalgat alla*.

1. *salli ʿala n-nabi - ʿalla ymassîkom b-əl-xeyr - hâda - fîh wâhad mæn ʿarbân hâyel šêx - wallah yəğûz ʿanno mæn wəld ʿali¹⁰¹ - yəgūlūlhom wəld ʿali - w-ʿendo ʿaxu habîla¹⁰² - məstahazi bîh - ʿəsmo ǧalʿūd.*

2. *w-hâda šêx əl-ʿarab kəll əl-ʿarab - hûw allî ymədd bîha w-hûw allî yğāzi bîha - w-yôm hakam ʿalêh əl-wakət¹⁰³ - nəwa ʿa-l-həğğā - yôm ʿəber sənno wəddo yhəğğ.*

3. *ʿəstašār əl-xtiyārîya lli mawğūdin ʿəndo ǧāl ya-ha-r-rabəʿ - wallah ana wədd aḥəğğ - wəddi wâhad - ʿahəttə mətəl wəli ʿahəd - wəkîl ʿala ha-l-halâl u-ʿala ha-l-ʿarbân - yərahḥəlha w-yənazzəlha - w-laww sār ʿalêhom mğaza - yəsîr rağəl gadd hâlo yʿāref yəwarredhom u-yəsəddərhom.*

4. *ǧālu l-xtiyārîya lli mawğūdin ǧālu ya-rağəl - ʿənta məstašîrna wəddak nəsiḥatna? - təğûm badri - ʿalli tšûfo ʿawwal wâhad yəsalli b-al-ʿarab - hâda lli thəttə ʿəmin ʿala halâlak u-ʿala bêtak - w-əthəttəh - ʿəb-məčānak yəsîx əb-ha-l-ʿarab lamannak təğî.*

5. *hâda xûh - mæn u-hû walad zəğîr - lama starğal lama sār ʿəmmo talātîn sana ʿazzābi - lâ yəğî ʿa-l-bêt - maʿ əl-baʿarîn maʿ ər-rəʿyân - ʿəmmāʿino¹⁰⁴ mgattāʿāt u-laww nādāh ʿa-š-šəğğ yəʿayy yəğî - habîla - məstahablo.*

6. *yōmənno ǧām ʿala wasf əl-xtiyārîya wəddo yšûf - mæn-əlli yəsalli l-ʿawwal yôm ladd wənn xûh əb-taraf ʿāl-bel - hûw allî yəsalli ʿawwal ma salla hû - mæn wəddān əl-fəğər.*

¹⁰¹ A tribe belonging to the ʿAnazi confederation. Their territory lies between Tēma, Khaybar and Hāyel, MUSIL, Northern Neǧd, p. 240.

¹⁰² The feminine morpheme is here used in a derogatory sense. BROCKELMANN, Grundriss I, p. 420, §227f, points out that adjectives denoting blemishes on men's character can, in Old Arabic, be used with the feminine suffix. He also mentions that this usage is still alive in the dialect of ʿOmān, cf. REINHARDT, ʿOmān, p. 59, §90. The feature is also known from Palestine, the instances given being *habîle* 'Dummkopf' and *hatîše* 'Stumpfbold', SCHMIDT - KAHLE, Volkserzählungen I, p. 83*, §23d. A similar case is *kəsiḥa* 'disabled', PALVA, ʿAğ. Studies, p. 78, footnote 26. The same morpheme is used in a pejorative sense in Classical Arabic as well; according to

1. Pray for the Prophet. May God give you a good evening. There was a man from the Bedouin of Hāyel, a sheikh. Well, perhaps he was from the Weld ʿAli, a tribe called Weld ʿAli. He had a feeble-minded brother whom he held in contempt. His name was ǧalʿūd.

2. The man was the sheikh of the tribe, the whole tribe. It was he who led them on their campaigns, and it was he who led their raids. When it was time for him, he decided to undertake the pilgrimage. When he grew old, he had to make the pilgrimage.

3. He took counsel with the old men who were there with him. He said to them, 'Listen, fellow tribesmen, look, I'm going to make a pilgrimage. I want to have a man to make him a deputy sheikh, to be a supervisor of the cattle and of the tribe, to give order when they want to decamp and encamp, and if they are attacked by raiders, to be in command of the situation, a man who would know how to let them come and go.'

4. The old men who were there said, 'Look here, man, you have taken counsel with us. Do you want to have our frank advice? You should get up early, and the first Bedouin you see praying is the man you shall charge to look after your cattle and your household, and whom you shall charge to be the sheikh of the tribe until you are back.'

5. This brother of his, ever since he was a little boy, until he had grown to manhood, until he had become thirty years old, and was still unmarried, wouldn't come to the tent. He was (always) with the camels and with the herdsmen. His clothes were ragged, and when (his brother) called him to (the men's compartment of) the tent, he refused to come, because he was feeble-minded; his brother regarded him as feeble-minded.

6. When he got up as the old men had advised him (lit. according to the description of the old men) in order to see who would pray first, he found to his surprise that his brother who was on the camels' side of the camp was the one who was praying. He was the first to pray, early at daybreak.

FLEISCH, Traité, pp. 460-463, it is an affective suffix, which in the pejorative function does not have anything to do with the gender/sex, but is rather "un moyen d'extension en longueur pour créer l'expressivité" comparable with nominal suffixes such as *-an* and *-ān*; cf. also *ibid.*, pp. 326f.

7. *ʔaʔwal yôm - tani yôm - tâlet yôm - la-hadd ʔāšart ʔyâm ma læga wâhad
yəsalli ġeddâmo - ġâl ya-hari¹⁰⁵ ya-nâs la-sâr hâda habîla - w-əl-xtyārîya
yənsahûni - wallah wədd arədd - ʔaʔid əs-səʔâl ʔalêhom.*

8. *lâken ʔaxûh xayyâl - lawənno habîla dâyman râšeb ha-l-faras - yəsgîha¹⁰⁶
mən halîb ha-n-nyâg - w-dâyman - ġanəb la-ha-n-nyâg - mâ sârat kâyəna -
ʔalêh - w-hû maʔ dîl-bel hatta ybayyen tîbo - məstahablîno.*

9. *ġâl la-l-xtyārîya wallah ya-r-rabəʔ - ha-l-wasf alli wassaftûni yûh
mâ lægêto ġeyr ġâlûd - sâlli¹⁰⁷ ʔāšar¹⁰⁸ ʔyâm ʔagûm mm-əl-fağər ʔaʔwal
ma yəsalli hû - ġâl - hatta lawənno ġâlûd ʔammno - wəkâd ʔənno laww
məhu ma... ʔamîn - w-ʔəndo dîn - məhû w-hû habîla ġâʔed yəsalli.*

10. *hâda yômənno rawwah ha-l-ʔasər - nâda ʔalêh ya-ğâlûd ya-ğâlûd ma
radd ʔalêh - hâda ġâlûd ʔayeš mən halîb ʔâl-bel w-əl-ğahawa ma yʔarəfha
- ġeyr ʔadatan - tarîh¹⁰⁹ b-əl-lêl - ʔəgəm-ma tənkeff ət-taʔlîla -
ʔa-dlâl ʔaxûh yəğî yəšrab - w-ma nâs dâri ʔənno - tarîh kēf¹¹⁰ əl-ğahawa.*

11. *râh ʔalêh axûh u-gawwamo w-gallo wallah ya-xûy wəddak təğî ʔala š-šəğğ
w-ana rağəl wədd ġhəğğ - w-wəddi ... ʔawallîk ʔala ha-l-mâl u-ha-l-ʔəyâl
w-ašayyək b-əl-ʔarab lamanni ʔağî.*

¹⁰³ The dialect of the tribe has both *wakət* and *wagət* (cf. PALVA, ʔAğ. Studies, Text 31, 34), the former of which seems to be more current, as it also is in the sedentary dialects of the area. The /k/ reflex of the Old Arabic /q/ only occurs in a few lexical items, see BLANC, CDB, p. 27 and note 49.

¹⁰⁴ mm- [mm] < mw- (məwāʔîn, sing. māʔîn); cf. mayy [m] < mwayy.

¹⁰⁵ This form has also been recorded by me in es-Salt, el-Karak and et-Tafile. It is mostly used with personal suffixes and is synonymous with *hayy-*, e.g. *harî hön/hayyo hön* '(look,) he's here' (es-Salt). Etymologically, *hari-* is most probably formed from the older *raʔā* in the same manner as *harʔi-* from the lexical variant *raʔā*. For *harʔi-*, see BERGSTRASSER, Sprachatlas, §74 and Map 30; FISCHER, Dem., pp. 193-195.

¹⁰⁶ Koineized form used instead of *yəsgîha*.

¹⁰⁷ Regressive assimilation (sâr-li).

7. This happened the first day, the second, the third day; for ten days he didn't find anyone who would pray before him. He said, 'Well, look here, men, this won't do, he is feeble-minded. But since the old men advised me, I'll ask them once more.'

8. But his brother was a brave horseman. Even if he was feeble-minded, he always rode a mare which he let drink camel's milk. He was always with the she-camels. No raid had been made on him. So he was with the camels until he could show his ability, and people regarded him as feeble-minded.

9. He said to the old men, 'Listen here, you fellow tribesmen. I didn't find anyone who fitted your description other than Ġalsūd. For ten days now I have got up at daybreak, and the first one to pray is him.' They said, 'Even if it be Ġalsūd, trust him. If he weren't trustworthy and devoted, he, the feeble-minded one, would certainly not get up to pray.'

10. When the sheikh went home in the evening, he called him: 'Ġalsūd! Ġalsūd!' He didn't answer him. Ġalsūd had been feeding himself with camel's milk. Coffee was something he didn't know. Now and then, however, at night, when the evening entertainment was finished, he came to his brother's coffee-pots to drink, when nobody knew, and learned to enjoy the coffee.

11. His brother went to him, woke him up and said, 'Listen, my brother, you must come to the tent. I myself shall make a pilgrimage, and I'll make you the supervisor of the property and the family, and I'll let you be the sheikh of the tribe until I come back.'

¹⁰⁸ There is some fluctuation between the use of {-t} and {-Ø} in this numeral construction, cf. ʔāšart ʔyâm e7 above. The form with {-Ø} may be regarded as a Bedouinizing feature used instead of the genuine ʔAğ. {-t}.

¹⁰⁹ I have only recorded this word with pronominal suffixes; therefore the quantity of the first syllable is uncertain. The form can be associated with *tara* (occurrences given in FISCHER, Dem., pp. 195-198; used also in Mecca, SCHREIBER, Mekka, pp. 30f.) rather than with the Damascus Arabic word *târi* (see GROTZFELD, LF, p. 48).

¹¹⁰ *kēf* is a substantive, whereas the corresponding interrogative particle is *šêf*. This is one of the few minimal pairs indisputably showing the phonemic status of /č/ in the dialect, see PALVA, ʔAğ. Studies, pp. 12f.; cf. MUSIL, Rwala, p. 583, and SOCIN, Diwan III, p. 199.

12. gallo wallah ya-xûy šûf ġêri ?ana raġel habîla w-daššærni ġâl læ-lla - mâ fîh ?aslah mænnak - ?an-nhâya tabbago - sallamo ha...ha-r-ræzga w-æl-mâl ?alli ?endo w-æl-ba'arîn - w-ħællto w-?ayâloħ - w-wadda'ûh u-gowtar la-l-əħġâz.

13. w-hâdi l-ħəġġa yəsəfrûlha gabəl b-əšharên u-gabəl əb-talâta - yəṭawwəlu gabəl - ?ərbân əl-awwalîn hađôl ?a-l-fətra - wâhad yəħəġġ əmn-awwal əs-sana ba'adhom - hâda ?əġəm-ma gowtar - w-râh ?alla ysahhel ?alêh - w-hâda xûh ġâm əs-səbəħ idəgg əl-ġ'hawa w-idêwənu ?əndo rab'o.

14. w-lama təzəll ?ən əd-dəhor¹¹¹ - yərkab əfrəso w-yəlhag bəllə - mən gowm i'ādu ?alêha - mən māyəla - w-yələdd təwāref əl-?arab - wənnə z-zləma šār šêx - ġāmat əsm mart axûh - ?əddāwro - wəddha nno yəftə'el bîha.

15. ?awwal lēla tani lēla ġâlha ya-mara - wallah ana hâdi mâ təġri mænni - ?ənti marat ?axûy - w-ana mâ ... ma bûg əl-?ahəd ?alli ?âhad ?axûy ?alêy - ?an-nahâya taradha - mâ radd ?alêha.

16. hâda - lamma ləfa xûh - w-əġbalu ntahûh - w-əstagbalûh - w-?ənd-ma ləfa - wənn əl-əm'azzba mâ lâdat ?alêh wala sallamat ?alêh wala ġato - ləfu ha-z-zələm ha-š-šyûx yəsallmu ?alêh u-hallu bîh w-axûh - yōmænno lâd b-əl-lêl wəddo ynām ġâlat wallah ma təwəšš manāmi - lēh? - ġâlat ?ənta hattêt ha-l-habîla ?əndi kəll lēla haġam ?alêy wəddo yəftə'el bîya - w-laww māni mara gadd hâli ma fakkêt hâli mænno.

17. lah ya-bənt əl-ħalâl ġâlat hâda lli ġâk¹¹² - hâda tədāyag ġâl šədd¹¹³ asāwi? - lən dəbaħto? - ?adbaho s-səbəħ? - ?adbaho? - ?all adaššəro? - ma xallâh galbo - ġâl wallah wəddi ?âwdo ?ala blâd əmgattə'a - w-adbaho w-atrayyah mænno.

¹¹¹ Glossed by DB ba'əd šalât əd-dəhor.

¹¹² It is uncertain whether the suffix -k should be regarded as an object marker used in the lively narrative style as the result of the visualizing and actualizing tendency (thus BLAU, Syntax, pp. 102 and 130, about the form ?aġġāk occurring in SCHMIDT - KAHLE, Volkserzählungen), or as a deictic particle comparable with the -k element in the demonstrative pronouns (hā)đâk, (hā)đōlâk, etc. (thus JOHNSTONE, The Verbal Affix -k, about ġa + k in the perf. and imperf. in MONTAGNE, Contes, JOHNSTONE, Further Studies, and id., EADS). Johnstone's theory is supported by the fact that the

12. He said to him, 'Listen, my brother, look for another one. I'm feeble-minded, let me alone.' He said, 'No, for God's sake! There is no-one more capable than you.' At last he persuaded him and left all the property which he had, the camels, his home and his family to his care. They took leave of him, and so he left for el-Heġāz.

13. When people in the past made a pilgrimage, it took a couple of months, even three months. In the past, they used to stay long, the Bedouin of olden times, at that time. One usually made the pilgrimage in the beginning of the year, that is some of them. When he had gone and was off - 'may God make his way even' - this brother of his began to pound coffee, and his fellow tribesmen sat and conferred with him.

14. When the time of the midday prayer had passed, he used to mount his mare and tend his camels. There were enemies who would raid them from the sides (of the camp), and he used to watch the flanks of the camp of the tribe. The man had become sheikh indeed. Now the wife of his brother - shame to say - began to make advances to him. She wanted him to make love to her.

15. One evening she did this; the next evening, too. Then he said to her, 'Look here, woman. This is actually something that I cannot do. You're my brother's wife, and I'll not betray the confidence which my brother has shown me.' The result was that he dismissed her and didn't give in to her request.

16. When Ġāl'ūd's brother then came back, they received him. They hurried to meet him and received him, but the mistress neither came out to meet him nor greeted him when he came back, nor did she come to him. The men, the sheikhs, came to greet him, and they welcomed him, and his brother, too. In the evening, when he came inside in order to go to bed, his wife said, 'Listen, you shall not come to my bedstead.' 'But why?' She said, 'You put that feeble-minded one to be with me, and every night he forced himself on me and tried to make love to me. If I hadn't been a woman who has the situation well in hand, I couldn't have got rid of him.'

17. 'Oh no, you daughter of good people!' She said, 'Look, this is what happened.' Now the man was caught in a pinch. He thought, 'What shall I do? Should I kill him? Should I kill him in the morning? Should I kill him or leave him alone?' His thoughts gave him no peace. He thought, 'Well, I'll take him to an out-of-the-way place and kill him and be rid of him.'

18. *hâda s-səbəh gâl ya-r-rabəʔ ʔana wallah ʔalêy məšwâr ʔa-rabəʔ yəʔazmu ʔalêy - gâl ʔana ʔalêy məšwâr ʔana w-ğalʔūd wəddna nəsel hân - w-laww wəsəlna nəği - w-baʔdên əssawwu ġada - w-hâda yəshabo w-hû yəbʔed bîh b-arəð máxəlyə - gallo ya-walad - wallah îdi məhi mətmaddəda ʔalêk tədbahak - w-lâken əl-blâd ʔalli ʔana bîha la-ddalli bîha - marra - lən šəftak ʔaʔaddmak əl-haya.*

19. *gallo bass wəddi səbab wâhad wallah ana ma-ʔâd ʔawâğhak - bass wəš əl-ʔəlla? gâl əl-ʔəlla hîç hîç - gâl bala walla - hâda gowtar u-xabatlo ʔala šêx - mən šyûx nağəd.*

20. *ʔalla ġâb əš-šêx ʔalli xabat ʔalêh w-əl-ʔarab ʔalli ġâha - bēno w-bēnom harâba - ʔalli tayeḥ mən ətrəfēn¹¹⁴ fēn rāyeh? - hâda ləfa ʔənd əš-šêx ʔawwal lēla tani lēla baʔəd əsbûʔ - ʔənšədo¹¹⁵ l-əmʔazzeb - gallo ya-rağəl - wəš əddawwer? - gâl wallah adawwer šəğəl.*

21. *gâl wəš məhəntak? təgdar əssawwi ghawa təgdar əthəttəb təgdar ...? gâl lâ wallah mâli hîla - ha-s-sanʔa lli təsnaʔha wəšən¹¹⁶ hî? gâl wallah ana ʔatti haššâš - ʔarʔa sʔit əl-xeyl w-aḥəššəlha - hâda lli ʔana ʔagdar ʔalêh.*

22. *gâl hâda ha-l-xeyl əstələmha - w-xallik sâyes maʔha - hâda kəll lēla yxalli lamann əl-maʔāzib ikəffu la-t-taʔlîla - w-iğîb əl-xeyl əb-taraf əš-šəʔib ġanb ha-l-ʔarab - yəhətt əl-hašîš ʔəndhen - w-əflâhen ʔəndhen.*

23. *w-wakət¹¹⁷ rabîʔ - w-əblâd ətʔûs hâdi ma... ma təmḥel - w-âxr əl-lêl yôm ətkəff ət-taʔlîla yədroğ ʔa-l-bêt - ʔala š-šəğğ - wənn ha-d-dalla ʔala n-nâr - məšrûba məhi məšrûba¹¹⁸ ysaffi mənha w-yəšrab.*

suffix seems to have no other forms than -k. On the other hand, the -k of e.g. *nəğîk* (PALVA, ʔAğ. Studies, Text 43, 46, 57) and *ma yxafûk* (ibid., 44, 89, 90) is a pronominal suffix rather than a deictic element. Yet it is difficult to see any difference of principle between the instances cited by Johnstone and those found in other texts.

¹¹³ <wəš wəddi, a high-tempo shortening.

¹¹⁴ <tarafēn; for the syllabic structure of the dialect, see PALVA, ʔAğ. Studies, p. 24.

¹¹⁵ <nəšado, according to the rule CVCVCV->CCVCV-; cf. preceding footnote.

18. In the morning he said, 'Listen here, fellow tribesmen. Look, I must make a trip to some Bedouin who have invited me - he said - I must make a trip, me and Ġalʔūd. We'll be back. When we come back, you may prepare the lunch.' Then he took him and drew away with him to a lonely place and said to him, 'Young man, look here. My hand cannot be stretched out against you and kill you, but you shall not remain in the country where I am, never. If I see you, I'll deprive you of your life.'

19. He said to him, 'But I want to know just one reason. By God, I'll never meet you again face to face. So tell me what's the reason?' He said, 'The reason is so-and-so.' He said, 'Oh no, by God!' He got going and came across one of the sheikhs of Neğd.

20. As it was (by God's guidance), the sheikh whom he came across and the tribe to which he came were at war against his own tribe. A man coming to the camp from any side, where was he supposed to go? This man came to the sheikh. He remained one night, two nights; after a week the host asked him and said, 'Look here, man, what are you looking for?' He said, 'Well, I'm looking for a job.'

21. He said, 'What's your trade? Can you make coffee? Can you gather firewood?' And so on. He said, 'No, look here, I'm not able to do that.' 'What work can you manage, then?' He said, 'Well, I used to feed the animals. I watch and tend horses and gather grass for them. This is what I can do.'

22. He said, 'Take care of these horses and be groom to them.' Every evening he waited until the hosts had gone to the evening entertainment, took the horses to the valley near the tribe's camp, gave them and their colts grass.

23. It was springtime, and the tract was hilly, there was no drought there. Late in the evening, when the evening entertainment was finished, he used to stalk to the tent, to the men's compartment. There he found a coffee-pot on the fire. The coffee was almost finished, but he poured the last drops from the pot and drank.

¹¹⁶ A Bedouinizing feature used instead of the genuine ʔAğ. *wəš hî*. Forms with -ən are used in the area at least by Bani Saxar, among whom I have recorded *wəšənḥū*, *wəšənḥî*; cf. CANTINEAU, Nomades II, p. 207.

¹¹⁷ The article inexplicably omitted.

24. *ʔalli fatnatlo bənt əš-šêx - təšûfo kəll lēla yfût ʔala d-dlāl
u-yəšrab mənhen - ʔəgəm-ma ynāmu l-ʔarab ʔəgb ət-tnâʔəš ʔəgb əs-sâʔa
tnâʔəš.*

25. *baʔəd šahar šharên gâl l-əmʔazzeb - wallah yâ ʔarab ʔəhʔna wəddna
nəgazi - w-hâda ʔādatan¹¹⁹ ʔâl-ʔarab yôm ətgazi tnaggi l-farrâs ma txalli
ğeyr ... ʔalli mâ-boʰ əl-fâyda - b-əl-ʔarab - ʔabîd ma ʔabîd¹²⁰ ...
rəʔyân hâda ʔəlli ydalli.*

26. *hadôla rəšbu - gowtaru ydawwru ʔa-l-ğazi - w-hâda l-əmğāza yəšəsbu
halâl baʔadhom - nâhb u-manhûb - hadôl yərûhu mən hân - ʔəgəm-ma ġābu
yômên talāta ʔəbʔadu - wallah iğîb gowm ətlətt bəll ... ʔəš-šêx u-ʔərbāno
-ʔənd-ma lattato - fazzʔu - ʔər-rəʔyân ifazzʔu.*

27. *fîh ʔabəd ʔəndo ʔəsmo səʔîd - ġāmen əl-harîm yənwen əb-səʔîd - w-ğāmat
əl-bənt naxat ... haššâš - sammûh - yəgûlûlo haššâš ʔamənno yəhəšš la-l-
xeyl - ya-haššâš mâ-bak fâyda ya-rağəl tərkaḇlak faras u-trədd - laww
raḥâyel - təhadda¹²¹ ha-l-gowm - gâl wallah ya-banât əl-ʔəğwād ʔana ḥatta
l-xeyl ma ʔref ʔarkab.*

28. *barrakat ʔalêh əl-məʔazza bənt əš-šêx - ġābatlo ʔâl-faras əz-zêna
w-šaddatlo - w-rəšeb - mâ ʔəref yərkaḇ əgbālîhen b-əl-ʔəmād - gâl
ʔatʔîni¹²² lə-xalag¹²³ sêf u-rəməh - ġadîni ʔatəhadda mən ha-l-gowm.*

29. *w-hâda bass rəšeb b-dāharha - ḥatt əs-sêf b-ərgəbto - ʔər-rəməh
b-îmîno - w-ğəza ʔən əl-ʔarab - w-ḥawwed¹²⁴ ʔənha w-šədd əmʔaragətha
zên u-rəšeb əb-dāharha w-ətlab əl-gowm.*

¹¹⁸ See footnote 38 above.

¹¹⁹ Borrowing from Literary Arabic.

¹²⁰ See footnote 38 above.

¹²¹ According to the rules of mutual raiding, enough pack camels, food, and equipment must be left in the camp to get to the nearest kinsmen, SWEET, Camel Raiding, p. 284.

¹²² See footnote 35 above.

24. The one who kept an eye on him was the sheikh's daughter. She saw him coming to the coffee-pots every night and drinking from them, after the Bedouin had fallen asleep, after twelve, after twelve o'clock.

25. After one or two months the host said, 'Listen here, Bedouin, we'll make a raid.' When the Bedouin made a raid, they usually chose every horseman, and they only left those who were of no use. Among the Bedouin it was just slaves and herdsmen and the like who were left.

26. They mounted and went off to find booty. When raiding, the tribes tried to take one another's cattle. They made raids and were attacked by raiders. The men left the camp, and when they had been away two or three days, they were far away. Now it happened (by God's guidance) that a band of enemies came to rob the camels of the sheikhs and his fellow tribesmen. When they were robbing them, the camel-herds immediately called for help.

27. The sheikh had a slave called Saʔîd, and the women started encouraging Saʔîd. The daughter of the sheikh started encouraging the Feeder - they had given him a nickname, they used to call him Feeder, because he used to gather grass for the horses - 'Feeder! Can't you do anything? You man, can't you mount a mare and return the camels, at least pack camels? Ask the band to give them back.' He said, 'Look, you daughters of good people, I cannot even mount a horse.'

28. The mistress, the sheikh's daughter, wished him success, brought him the best mare and saddled it for him. Then he mounted. Before then, he couldn't mount in an orderly manner. He said, 'Give me any worn-out sword and spear. Perhaps I can ask the band to give something back.'

29. As soon as he had mounted, put the sword at his side, taken the spear in his right hand, and ridden out of the tribe's camp, he got off the mare, tied the saddle well, mounted the mare, and started pursuing the band.

¹²³ The preposition *l(ə)-/(ə)l-* introduces the object of a transitive verb, giving it a shade of indefiniteness. The same construction is frequently used in the Lebanese dialects, where its function does not differ from that of the direct object. According to FEGHALI, Syntaxe, p. 362, the feature is due to the influence of Syriac.

30. *ʔal-ḥadīya ya-ha-r-rabəʔ - rahāyel la-ha-l-bêt la-há-l-ʔarab - gālu ʔaʔtūh - ʔəlo ʔəšrīn bəʔīr ʔaʔtūh - ʔal-ḥadīya ya-ha-r-rabəʔ ʔantūh* 125
ʔašar baʔarīn - ʔal-ḥadīya ʔtūh xaməs baʔarīn - rədd təḥaddāhom gālu ḥādi məhi talāba ya-raḡəl - xalas - ḥənna ʔaʔtēnāk u-gowter.

31. *gāl la-ʔād taʔūlha yamməku! - w-yəlked ʔalēhom u-yḡīb - ʔarbəʔīn əglāʔa mənhom - ʔarbəʔīn əglāʔa ʔarbəʔīn faras - yədbəh ʔarbəʔīn fāres u-yḡīb ʔarbəʔīn - faras - ʔalli ḡābhen - galāyeʔ - yōmənnoḥ - radd ál-bel - w-ḡāb əl-xeyl wənn ḥāda l-ʔabəd səʔīd - rāčəblo ʔala ḥsān barbīr.*

32. *gallo ʔəsməʔ ya-səʔīd - gāl ʔā - ḥadōla ʔəbʔadu ʔən ər-rəʔyān - mā fīh ḡeyr səʔīd - w-ḡalʔūd - gallo la tʔallem ʔənni ʔana fakkēt ál-bel - ḡūl ʔana ya-səʔīd* 126 *fakkētha - ʔana ʔād wədd aḡḥad ənni fakkētha - w-xəḍ ḥamīdha nta - gāl xāyef ətʔallem ʔənni w-baʔdēn yədbəhni š-šēx - gāl ʔabda* 127 *- mā ʔallem ʔənnak.*

33. *w-ḥəmma nāksīn u-rāddīn ál-bel ḡāb ʔarbəʔīn əl-faras - xada ʔarbəʔīn əl-əʔnān əlli b-əl-xeyl - ʔəlli məḥtūtāt b-əḥmən - w-ləfa ʔala ḥaḡar - ʔət-tagdīr ʔənno talātīn əzləma ma yənhadūh - w-nahad əl-ḥaḡar u-ḥatṯhen taḥt əl-ḥaḡar - w-radd əl-ḥaḡar fōghen.*

34. *w-rawwəh - w-mən ʔəḡbal səʔīd ḡām yəṭāred b-əl-məṛāḥ gāl zāḡerten lə-ʔammčēn - fakkēt ál-bel - ḡālen u-ḥəššāš? gāl ʔi wallah mā-boḥ əl-fāyda - ḥawwad ḥəššāš ḡānb əl-ʔarab u-rawwəh ʔa-rəḡlēh - w-ləbes bəṛdaʔáto - ʔalli yḥəššlo ha-l-xeyl bīha - w-rāḥ ʔa-l-xeyl - b-əl-lēl yōm ləfa l-ál-ʔaša - yəṇəšdēnno gāl wallah mā fakkētha wala ʔadrīlha - ḥāda səʔīd fakkha.*

35. *ʔəl-ʔələm yəḡi ʔala š-šēx u-ḥū b-əl-əḡāza - gālu ʔál-bel rāḥat - bəll əl-ʔarab kəllha w-ləḡəgha səʔīd u-raddha - gāl ḥārem ʔalēya - ḥārem ʔalēya ʔənnoḥ lawənnəḥ səʔīd əl-ʔabd əlli fakk ál-bel ḡeyr ʔaʔtūh bənti.*

124 Descriptive imperative of narrative style; such is also šədd; see PALVA, Descriptive Imperative.

125 See footnote 35 above.

126 See footnote 32 above.

127 Probably an older obsolete form used instead of the current ʔabadan, either a genuine ʔAḡ. form or a Bedouinizing feature.

30. 'Look here, men! Give back part of the booty! Give back pack camels to some families, to some Bedouin!' They said, 'Give him something.' When he already had twenty camels which they had given him, he shouted, 'Listen, men! Give back something!' They gave him ten camels. 'Give back something!' They gave him five camels. He asked them again to give back something, but they said, 'No, look, man, haven't we given you what you have asked? It's finished. We have given you enough. Just be off!'

31. He said, 'Very well, then. Come on to the camels and stand your ground!' Then he assailed them and took forty ḡlāʔa from them. He took forty ḡlāʔa, that is forty horses. He killed forty horsemen and took forty horses. The horses he brought were the spoils of war. When he returned the camels and brought the horses, he saw the slave called Saḡīd riding a hack of a horse.

32. He said to him, 'Saḡīd, look here!' He said, 'Yes.' They had gone far away from the herdsmen, and there wasn't anyone besides Saḡīd and ḡalḡūd. He said to him, 'Don't tell that it was me who set the camels free. Say: "It was me, Saḡīd, who set them free", and as for me, I'll deny that I've set them free. You take the honour.' He said, 'I'm afraid that you'll tell about me, and then the sheikh will kill me.' He said, 'Never, I'll not tell about you.'

33. When they had come back and returned the camels ...; ḡalḡūd brought forty horses. He took the forty bridles which the horses had had, which had been put in their mouths. Then he went to a stone weighing so much that thirty men couldn't lift it. He lifted the stone and put the bridles under the stone. Then he put the stone back upon them.

34. Then he returned to the camp. But as soon as Saḡīd had come, he started galloping to and fro on the cattle yard and shouting, 'Set up a cheer for your master! I set the camels free!' The women asked, 'And how about Feeder?' He said, 'Well, you see, he couldn't do anything.' Feeder dismounted near the camp of the Bedouin, went home on foot, and put on his ragged clothes, those which he used to wear when he was gathering grass for the horses. Then he went to the horses. In the evening, as he came to dinner, the women asked him (about what happened), but he said, 'Look here, I didn't set them free, nor do I know what happened. It was Saḡīd who set them free.'

36. *yōmənno ləfa gāl mən fakk ál-bel? - gālu fakkha səʔid - yā haššâš
ʔənt məʔo? gāl ʔi walla məʔo - ya-rağəl ġadi-nta? gāl lâ wallah ya-rağəl
əlli fakkha səʔid - gāl ʔana ħalaft imîn ġeyr ʔádæxlo ʔa-bənti.*

37. *hâda báʔəd-ma trayyah əš-šêx ʔəlo sabəʔ tamant iyâm - ġazz ha-l-bərza
hanâk u-gāl ʔəragšu la-səʔid u-tádæxlo ʔa-l-bənt əstâhal əl-ʔabd əlli
fakk əl-mīlân¹²⁸ hâdi stâhal yāwədha.*

38. *w-gāmu yəragšūlo - gabl əd-daxla b-lêla - kəll lêla - haššâš yəği
ʔâxr ət-taʔlîla s-sâʔa tnâʔəš - w-yəği ʔala d-dalla - yəlgâha msağğaʔa
biha sərîb yəğarğəbhen ʔašar fanāğîl xaməs fanāğîl yəšrabhen - ʔəl-bənt
məštakka ʔənn əlli fakk ál-bel - haššâš - mâ hû ... məhu l-ʔabəd -
w-təğawweh abûha gāl wallah mâ-leč ʔəffa? - ġeyr aʔtîč əl-ʔabəd.*

39. *hâdi gabl əd-daxla b-lêla - ʔətsawwi l-ğahawa ʔâxr əl-lêl - w-əthətt
ʔalêha bhâr əl-ʔâda - w-mâ ... ma ntaragat¹²⁹ ʔən ... ʔən əl-əbhâr
u-thətt əd-dlâl ʔala ġâl ən-nâr əssahhîhen - ġalat čanno r-rağəl - ʔənn-
əl-ğammîn - wənnə hûw əlli fakk ál-bel hassâʔ əla šâf əl-ğahawa - ġədîda
- w-šəreb mənha - yəfton ʔalêh - mahâği z-zēnîn u-ysôlef - la-ʔənnə sâllo
ʔəndhom mæddat sənʔtên - ʔənnə ma dâg əl-ğahawa ġeyr əs-sərîb - ʔəl-
əmsağğaʔa.*

40. *hâda yōmənno ləfa mətəl ʔatto - w-ʔallagatlo r-rəbâba b-əs-sâha -
ʔər-rəbâba ʔallagatha b-əs-sâha - w-ən-nâs nâmat w-əš-šêx əsharân -
w-kəll əl-ʔarab nâmat yōmənno ləfa wənn ha-n-nâr - ħayya - wənn ha-d-dlâl
ʔalêha gadab əl-fəngâl u-sabbha - w-šəreb - wənnha məhi l-ğahawa lli kəll
lêla - šəreb - fəngâlên talâta ʔarbaʔa yaʔlam alla lama kayyaf - w-gâm
ʔala r-rəbâba w-tənāwalha.*

¹²⁸ Glossed by DB *ħalâl*.

¹²⁹ DB: Usually the *ğahwaği/ğahwiği* tastes the coffee before he pours it for the guests. In this case the daughter of the sheikh did not even taste - she knew that there was plenty of the choicest ingredients in the coffee - but kept the coffee untouched, *bəkr*, for Ġalğūd. Samīḥ el-Bunduq: *ma ntalagat* 'she didn't save'.

35. The news came to the sheikh while he was on the raid. They said, 'The camels were lost, all the camels of the tribe, but Sağid followed them and took them back.' He said, 'I have sworn; I have sworn that even if it be Sağid, the slave, who set the camels free, I'll give him my daughter.'

36. When he came back he said, 'Who set the camels free?' They said, 'Sağid set them free.' Look, Feeder, weren't you with him?' He said, 'Oh yes, by God, I was with him.' 'Look here, man. Perhaps it was you?' He said, 'No, look here, man, the one who set them free was Sağid.' He said, 'I have sworn that I'll let him marry my daughter.'

37. When the sheikh had taken a rest of seven or eight days, he pitched a wedding tent there and said, 'Dance in Sağid's honour and let him go to the girl. The slave who set the livestock free has deserved to marry her.'

38. One night before the wedding, they started dancing in his honour. But Feeder used to come every night after the evening entertainment, at twelve o'clock, and he used to come to the coffee-pot and find that it was stale. There were just leftovers, which he lapped up. He used to drink them, ten cups or five cups. The girl had suspected that it was Feeder and not the slave who had set the camels free. But when she asked a favour of her father, he said, 'Listen, don't you have any decency? I must give you to the slave.'

39. One night before the wedding the girl made coffee late in the evening, and put the usual ingredients in it. She didn't taste the ingredients, and then she put the coffee-pots close by the fire and let them settle. She thought, 'If the man is a brave warrior, it must be him who set the camels free. Now when he sees the coffee is new, and will drink of it, it will call the life of the good men back to his mind, and he'll speak up.' The fact was that he had already been with them for a period of two years, and he had never tasted coffee besides leftovers, the stale coffee.

40. When the man came as he used to - she had also hung up a rebec on the curtain - the people had fallen asleep, but the sheikh was awake. All the Bedouin had fallen asleep. Coming in he found that the fire was still burning and that there were coffee-pots on the fire. He took the cup, filled it and drank. He found that it was not the same coffee as every night. He drank two cups, three, four, God knows how many, until he had got enough. Then he got up to take the rebec, and took it in his hands.

41. w-gâm yəhəzz ʔalêha - ʔəl-ʔarab nôma - ʔənd-ma gâm yəhəzz ʔala
r-rəbāba - bənt əš-šêx gâmat ʔala būha w-əgʔadato - gâlat əgʔad - ʔəsmar
haššâš wəš-do¹³⁰ yəgûl ʔala r-rəbāba - wəddna ʔād əngûl əl-gasîda
ʔa-lsâna w-ən-rədd ənsawîha ʔala r-rəbāba - yəgûl:

42. ʔab-atamanna¹³¹ w-âl-əmna xarrab əl-ğâš
yâ galb ya-lli ʔəddk al-ğass¹³² əl-marğûd

43. məṭl əs-sərâb ʔalli maʔ əl-həzən mərmâš
ʔayya w-ʔayyâni ʔən ən-nôm lâ-nûd

44. w-ən wannat¹³³ mən sara l-lêl haššâš
ʔəgb əl-haya yədrob ʔala kəll mangûd¹³⁴

45. bî¹³⁵ dallten marbûbten ʔəddəha š-šâš
w-bhârha mægdâr xamsat ʔašara rûd¹³⁶

46. w-laddât b-əd-dənya maʔamîl u-frâš
šabš əl-ğanam yədhar ʔala z-zâd marğûd

47. ʔawwâh ʔa-sahben ... ʔâ ...
sahben yənagres lâ-d-dəha kəll məhbâš
təʔagab əl-səfra ʔarəğîb əl-rûd

48. ʔawwâh ʔa-səfren yôm zowʔât l-ədbâš
səfren mağâtîren yəbren ləhom sūd

¹³⁰ < wəš wəddo, a high-tempo shortening.

¹³¹ A form contracted in a proclitic position: ʔabi ʔatamanna > ʔaby
atamanna > ʔab-atamanna, sing. l. of the defective verb yabi (imperfect
only) 'to wish' < yabgi (?); cf. abgi atamanna menweti 'I wish to ex-
plain for what I long', MUSIL, Ruala, p. 514.

¹³² Glossed by ST ʔəlli wâgeʔ.

¹³³ The construction is not clear, probably due to some confusion. There
is perhaps a word missing after the word wannat, since the metre implies
the sequence --- between the syllables wan and mən.

¹³⁴ DB and ST state that it means the rebec.

41. He started playing on it while the Bedouin were sleeping. When he
started palying on the rebec, the sheikh's daughter got up, went to her
father and woke him. She said, 'Get up and listen to what Feeder will
sing to the accompaniment of the rebec.' Now we'll recite the qasîda,
and then we'll repeat it, singing it to the accompaniment of the rebec.
He said:

42. I still have hopes, though the hopes have only ruined my
innermost soul.
O you heart which deemed yourself to be choked by a burden!

43. Like the mirage compelling one to blink with annoyance,
It denied me sleep, I could not slumber.

44. But even if Feeder has moaned late in the night,
After the shyness he (now) will play with all the voice of
the rebec.

45. In a coffee-pot there was new coffee, shining like the
muslin,
And its ingredients were fifteen pairs of cardamon grain.

46. The good things of the world are the coffee implements and
the mattresses,
And a ram shining at the top of a meal, piled in heaps,

47. And the brown (coffee-beans) pounded in every mortar until
the sunrise,
And strings of lute following after the dinner.

48. I miss səfr camels when (it is time to look for better
pastures because) the herds are starving,
səfr and mağâtîr she-camels, black camels going with them.

¹³⁵ The preposition b- may, for metrical reasons, have the lengthened form
bî, probably in analogy with b-/bî- plus pron. suffix (= f22p below); cf.
WALLIN, ZDMG 5, p. 12, 1.6, and ZDMG 6, p. 191, 1.15, as edited by SOCIN
in Diwan I, pp. 281 (No. 2,6) and 282 (No. 3,15); WETZSTEIN, Zeltlagern,
pp. 118f. (= ZDMG 22, pp. 182f.). Cf. footnote 88 above.

¹³⁶ Glossed by ST habbet bhâr.

49. *mərbâ^hhen gâra¹³⁷ w-nəb^hed ʔən ət-tâš¹³⁸
w-məgîd^hhen daxna¹³⁹ lya sarram əl-ʔūd*

50. *w-ana ʔala mət^l ən-nədâwi¹⁴⁰ lya hâš¹⁴¹
lyâ hašê^t ʕa^hbi tæg^l tō^h bārūd*

51. *w-ana ʔala mət^l ən-nədâwi lya hâš
lyâ sâr ʔendi gtayyehen¹⁴² hass ġalʔūd.¹⁴³*

wallah salāmtak u-wəddna nsawwihen ʔala r-rəbâba.

52. *hâda š-šēx yōmənno sām^h əl-gasîda - b-ədno - lâd ʔalê^h w-əntaxa ʔendo
w-gallo ya-rağ^ləl - ʔərfo - yôm gâl mərbâ^hhen gâra w-nəb^hed ʔən ət-tâš -
ʔəref əl-goum əlli hû mən^hom - w-gâm ʔalê^h - w-gâl la-l-bənt zâğ^herti -
gâmat əl-bənt əzzağret u-fəzʔat əl-ʔarab - gallo ʔād ʔənt əlli fakkêthen?
gâl wallah ana lli fakkêthen - w-gâm ʔalê^h w-ədxalo ʔala l-bənt.*

53. *ləfa l-ʔabəd səʔîd gâl ma fakkhen ʔana lli fakkêthen - gâl əlli ha^htt
əl-ʔəna taht əl-hağar - yərûh yətlə^hhen - ʔarbəʔîn ʔənân taht əl-hağar
lən ʔətlâ^həthen ya-səʔîd mən taht əl-hağar ʔətlâ^həthen ʔənta? - yōmənno
râh - ʔəšrîn mət^ləl masʔūd ... səʔîd ma yənha^hdu l-hağar - darnag ʔa-l-hağar
ʔəğlâbo w-ətlâ^h əl-ʔəna mən tahtî^h 144 - w-ədxalo ʔala bənto - w-ənsawwi
ha-l-gasîda ʔala r-rəbâba.¹⁴⁵*

¹³⁷ Oasis east of al-Ğöf.

¹³⁸ Glossed by ST ġazu.

¹³⁹ Watering-place in al-Gasîm (middle Neğd); occurs also in a42p.

¹⁴⁰ Glossed by DB ʔâl-faras, by ST nō^h mn-əl-wəhûš ʔaww biğûz əd-dəlûl;
cf. Glossary.

¹⁴¹ Glossed by DB wəddo yĥawēš.

¹⁴² Diminutive of gata^h/gə^htâh plus tanwîn; for -V̄^h > -V̄h, cf. gə^htâh g20p,
fēhâh b16p, b18p 'plain', (ə)ntâh 'a woman', PALVA, ʔAğ. Studies, Text 1.

¹⁴³ The song diverges from the recited version only in the following points:
(45) bay dallten marbawbten, (47) sung without the slight confusion in
the beginning, (42-51) the first hemistichs always end in -āi^h, practical-
ly all the ends of hemistichs are "swallowed".

49. Their spring pasture is Gāra, far away from the raid,
And their midsummer pasture is Daxna, when the plants get
dry.

50. I am like a hunting falcon when it is ready to attack,
When I make my talons ready to pounce, they are like the
shot of the gun.

51. I am like a hunting falcon when it is ready to attack,
When there is a sand grouse near me, ġalqūd scents it.

Well, peace be upon you. And now we'll sing it to the accompaniment of
the rebec.

52. When the sheikh heard the qašîda with his own ears, he went in to him,
took an oath before him and said, 'Look here, man' - he had recognized him
when he had said "their spring pasture is Gāra, far away from the raid",
he recognized the group which he belonged to - he went to him and said to
the girl, 'Set up a cheer'. The girl set up a cheer, and the Bedouin woke
up. The sheikh said to ġalqūd, 'Now tell me, was it you who set them
free?' He said, 'Well, it was me who set them free.' Now he let him marry
the girl.

53. The slave, Sağîd, came and said, 'He didn't set them free, it was me
who set them free.' ġalqūd said, 'The man who put the bridles under the
stone may go and take them away. There are forty bridles under the stone.
Would you take them off, Sağîd, from under the stone? Would you take them
off?' When he went, (it appeared that) twenty men like Sağîd wouldn't lift
the stone. Now ġalqūd stooped down over the stone and took off the bridles
from under it. Then the sheikh let him marry his daughter. Now we'll sing
the qašîda to the accompaniment of the rebec.

¹⁴⁴ In the dialects of semi-nomadic tribes of the area as well as in the
sedentary Balgāwi, prolonged forms such as tahtîha, gablîha, fōgîha are
used side by side with tāhətha, gābəlha, fōgha; cf. PALVA, ʔAğ. Studies,
Glossary, s.v. taha.

¹⁴⁵ The motif of e20 - e52 also occurs in SOCIN, Diwan I, pp. 268-275
(No. 110), where the slave is called Masqūd. The qašîdas belonging to
the stories are, however, quite different.

1. *hâda ʿəbər rašīd hâkem nağəd - ʿəbəd ʿəbər rašīd¹⁴⁶ - w-fī gowm
yəngâlhom ʿəbən ... ʿəbən sarrâh¹⁴⁷ b-əl-ğowf - hadôl mən ʿərbân əl-ğowf
u-lākənhom b-həkəm ʿəbər ... ʿəbər rašīd - hâda ʿəbən sarrâh b-əl-ğowf
u-b-həkm əbər rašīd u-təmarrad ʿa-bər rašīd.*

2. *w-šâx ʿəbən sarrâh - šâx mən hâlo - ywaddîlhom ʿəbəd ʿəbər rašīd
yəwaddîlhom - ʿayyu yəğū - ʿarab gəwîya ʿəbən sarrâh ʿəndo^h ... markūbiya
zēna - w-ma radd ʿa-ha-l-hači.*

3. *hâda ʿəbəd - ġəmaʿ ər-rašīd - gâl walla wəddna nrûh ʿalêhom hanâk -
b-əl-ğowf - w-ənħawwed ʿalêhom - w-baʿdên nʿazəmhom ʿazîma w-ənġîbhom
ʿəndəna - w-əla ġəbnâhom ənħəttom b-əs-sağən - nədbah əlli nədbaho -
w-əl-bāği nhəttə b-əs-sağən lâ-ma ytiʿu.*

4. *hâda ʿəbəd u-markūbîto rəčbu w-ħawwadu ʿala bən sarrâh - yôm ħawwadu
ʿa-bən sarrâh ħtaramhom u-ğâm ihalli bîhom - w-ğâm walad ʿəbən sarrâh -
ʿəbən sarrâh l-əxtîar ʿəsmo ršēd - gâl la-bû^h u-la-rabʿo - ya-r-rabəʿ -
ʿəbər rašīd ġāna b-ħîla - wəš râyku xallîna nədbahhom ʿa-l-frâš? - ʿaħsan
ma yədbahūna baʿdên.*

¹⁴⁶ In 1838 the founder of the dynasty of Ibn Rašīd, ʿAbdallah Ibn ʿAlī Ibn Rašīd (d. 1847), sent his brother ʿObəd (d. 1869) with about 3,000 camel riders against the disunited settlements of al-Ğōf and forced them to pay him tribute. Some details of the qašīda recall this incident, cf. footnote 157 below, but for the most part the story seems to deal with the events fifteen years later. In 1853 the settlements of al-Ğōf took arms against each other, and the more powerful party refused to continue to pay the tribute to their overlords at Hāyel. Now Tālāl, eldest son and follower of ʿAbdallah, sent a strong force under the leadership of his uncle ʿObəd, to whom al-Ğōf soon capitulated; see PHILBY, *Arabia*, pp. 134f.; MUSIL, *Northern Neğd*, pp. 238f. According to DOUGHTY, *Travels II*, pp. 41f., ʿObəd "was a conductor of the military power of J. Shammar, in Abdullah his brother and in his nephew Telal's days. He was a martial man ... (and) an excellent kassād". He also had the reputation of having been feared for his fraudulence (cf. f4 - f5). Thus, there is a story in SOCIN's *Diwan* (No. 24, I, pp. 48-51), where ʿObəd is said to have broken his oath and treacherously slain his enemies. - Three versions of a poem perhaps composed by ʿObəd are found in PALVA, *ʿAğ. Studies*, pp. 62f.

1. Ibn Rašīd, i.e. ʿObəd Ibn Rašīd, was the viceroy of Neğd. In al-Ğōf there was a clan called (the clan of) Ibn Sarrāh. They were of the Bedouin of al-Ğōf, but they were under the rule of Ibn Rašīd. Now this Ibn Sarrāh, living in al-Ğōf under the rule of Ibn Rašīd, fell away from Ibn Rašīd.

2. Having become the sheikh, Ibn Sarrāh ruled independently. Ibn Rašīd sent for them (i.e. the sheikh and his nearest men), but they refused to come. The clan of Ibn Sarrāh were strong; Ibn Sarrāh had a fine troop of riding-camels, and he didn't pay any heed to what Ibn Rašīd had said.

3. Now ʿObəd gathered the men of the Rašīd clan and said, 'Very well, then, we must go to them there, in al-Ğōf. We'll drop in on them, and then we'll invite them to visit us, and we'll bring them to us. When we have brought them, we'll put them in jail. We'll kill some of them, and the rest we'll put in jail until they'll obey.'

4. ʿObəd and his troop of camel-riders rode away and dropped in on Ibn Sarrāh. When they dropped in on Ibn Sarrāh, they were received with all due respect and welcomed by him. Now Ibn Sarrāh's son - Ibn Sarrāh, the old man, was called Ršēd - said to his father and to his fellow tribesmen, 'You fellow tribesmen, look here. Ibn Rašīd has come to us insidiously. What do you think; should we kill them while they are (sleeping) on the mattresses lest they kill us later on?'

¹⁴⁷ DB first says *ʿəbən sarrâr*, but then corrects the name to *ʿəbən sarrâh*. According to WALLIN, *ZDMG* 5, pp. 13-15, the Sarrāhīn were allied with the ad-Dalhamīya settlement in al-Ğōf, cf. footnote 157 below.

5. gâllo 'abûh ya-wlêdi walla ma ysîr ha-l-haçi hâd - hâdi ma ġarat
 'anna nbûg - 'ad-dyûf - ma ysîr - gâl lən tər'tûni 'atlə'hom - 'ab-
 səġîfa¹⁴⁸ tăn̄ya harîhom - 'ana lən raddêtu 'alêy hassâ' ənfût 'alêhom
 b-ha-s-səġîfa w-nədbahhom dabha wahda - walla lən ma tər'tûni ġeyr
 yədbahna 'əbər rašîd.

6. 'ayya l-əxtiyâr ərsêd gâl ma ysîr ya-hattâb - ma ysîr nədbah 'əbər
 rašîd - w-xeyr - hâda ba'd əl-ğada w-bât 'əndəhom u-tâni yôm ġada 'ənd
 wâhad u-ğarad 'əndəhom hawâli sbû' - w-həm yə'azəmûh.

7. gâl walla ya-bən sarrâh - mâ gowter mən hân u-ma rčəbtu məri kəllkom
 ya-šyûx əl-'arab - 'ala barzân¹⁴⁹ təġaddu¹⁵⁰ 'əndi - w-yə'tadru mənno
 walla ya-bər rašîd mašġulîn u-'azîmtak wâsəla - w-hənnə mər-rab'ak -
 wallah ma wəddna ngowter yâ raġəl.

8. gâl wallah ma r'kab 'ana w-ġamâ'ti w-ma rəhtu məri 'ala barzân -
 hanâka ddi'fu 'əndîlkom sbû' iyâm a'zəmku - w-tənkusu - w-ynaggi mənhom
 'arbə'în šêx 'alli 'alêhom əl-ma'mad 'əlli həmma šyûx əl-'arab - w-həmm
 əl-farrâs - w-yaxəd'hom məri'o.

9. w-gabəl la-yəşlu barzân - ġasro b-hâyel - yədbah mənhom ətnên
 u-talātîn wâhad - w-yxalli təmânya - kəll 'aşara dəbah mənhom təmânya -
 w-ġâb əl-bāġîn ət-təmânya w-hatt'hom b-saġen - saġen taht əshâla w-ġâm
 iwaddîlhom əmn-ət-tamr əl-yâbes 'alli ma 'alêh ši - lama təlfu mn-əl-ġû'.

10. ywaddi 'âd 'əbən sarrâh b-əs-saġen - ywaddi la-bûh ġasîda - wəddna
 nsôlef 'əlli hna 'arfîno mənha - w-ba'p'dên əngûlha 'ala r-rəbâba - yəġûl
 'əbən sarrâh u-hû b-əs-saġen - yəġûl.¹⁵¹

¹⁴⁸ Glossed by DB 'əs-səġîfa ma'nâtha dâr - 'ala zəmən gabəl səġîfa -
 ġəssêb (reed) u-haġar. Here the speaker uses the koineized form səġîfa
 instead of the older genuine səġîfa which occurs in the poem (f15p, f21p).

¹⁴⁹ The fortified residence of the reigning family at Hāyel, see MUSIL,
 Northern Neġd, pp. 22, 34, 239f.

¹⁵⁰ Either imperative or haplological imperfect.

¹⁵¹ The poem seems to be a dialogue between the old father and his son
 imprisoned at Hāyel, originally consisting of either oral or written
 messages composed in the forms of qasîda and thus representing the very
 popular genre of letter qasîda (epistolary poem); cf. PETRÁČEK, Drei

5. His father said to him, 'Look here, my son, this is something that
 absolutely won't do. We have never betrayed our guests; it won't do.'
 He said, 'If you obey me, I'll show where they are. Look, they are in
 another house there. If you do as I say, we'll now attack them in the
 house and kill all of them at the same time. Look, if you don't do as
 I say, Ibn Rašîd will certainly kill us.'

6. Ršêd, the old man, didn't give his consent. He said, 'It won't do.
 Look here, Hattâb, we cannot kill Ibn Rašîd, all right?' When he had
 eaten, Ibn Rašîd stayed overnight with them, and next day there was
 lunch at someone's. So he stayed with them about a week, and they in-
 vited him.

7. He said, 'Look here, Ibn Sarrâh, I'll not set out from here unless
 you ride with me, all of you, you sheikhs of the tribe, to Barzân, and
 eat with me.' But they made excuses to him, 'Look here, Ibn Rašîd, we
 are busy, and we appreciate your invitation. We are your fellow tribes-
 men. Look, man, we don't want to leave.'

8. He said, 'By God, I'll not ride away, I and my comrades, unless you
 follow me to Barzân. You may stay there as my guests a week, I do invite
 you, and then you'll come back.' Then he chose forty of their sheikhs,
 men who had commissions of trust, men who were sheikhs of the tribe, and
 brave horsemen. He took them with him.

9. Before they arrived at Barzân, that is his castle at Hāyel, he killed
 thirty-two of them, and spared eight. Out of every ten he killed eight
 men. The remaining eight men he brought (to Hāyel) and put them in jail,
 an underground jail. Then he sent them dry dates and nothing else until
 they fainted with hunger.

10. Now Ibn Sarrâh (the younger), who was in jail, sent a qasîda to his
 father. We'll recite what we know of it, and then we'll sing it to the
 accompaniment of the rebec. Ibn Sarrâh composed this poem in the jail:

Studien, p. 53. This may explain the unusual irregularity of the alter-
 nating rhyme which, as a rule, follows the pattern ababab, whereas the
 rhyme scheme of this particular poem is abab ... cbc b ... abab. Lines
 17-20 and 25-26 give the impression of being the father's answers to
 his son.

11. *ya-llâh ya-lli fowgna mæ^otalîna*
hænna w-mæn yarġa tawâbak əhdâna
12. *yâ rabb lawla talabtak mâ bagêna*
wəš^o ʔādna bə-mawtna ma^o hanâna
13. *yâ târšen la-wâldi sallem ʔalêna*
ʔaliâh la yablâh b-alli balâna
14. *b-əmsâfag al-ʔadlât¹⁵² yown əltagêna*
sârat fəġġdat kəll ʔaşra təmâna
15. *lâken¹⁵³ ma tə^ot šôri yômænna b-əs-səġġfa*
yômen təġġl šhnâ w-ana ġul hâna¹⁵⁴
16. *ʔana šhad ʔənn ʔəbêd ġâna b-hîfa*
w-ana šhad ʔənnah salatten mæn səmâna¹⁵⁵
17. *w-la l-əbča yənfə^o bəčêna mrîfa¹⁵⁶*
ʔa-l-ġars¹⁵⁷ ha-lli šarra^ou-bah ə^odâna¹⁵⁸

¹⁵² The translation is uncertain. *məşâfag al-ʔadlât* was glossed by ST *məxâlat əl-xêl*, which is probably a guess.

¹⁵³ A superfluous literary word standing outside the metrical pattern.

¹⁵⁴ The lack of mutual understanding is illustrated by using two forms of the word 'here', representing two different dialects; for the forms, see FISCHER, Dem., pp. 115-126.

¹⁵⁵ *səmâna* stands here for *ʔəs-səma* in order to fit the rhyme, *mənšân əl-ġâf* (ST).

¹⁵⁶ The translation is uncertain. According to a guess, *mrîfa* could be n. loci: *biġġuz əl-maħall əlli ndabahu biha* (ST).

¹⁵⁷ The Sarrāhīn had now fallen victim to the same treatment which their enemies in al-Ġōf had experienced on their side. Their allies, the inhabitants of ad-Dalhamīya in al-Ġōf, had invited eleven young men from the Xadma quarter to discuss the settlement of their old controversies. During the meal the hosts unexpectedly fell upon their guests, killing four of them and capturing another four; only three escaped. Now the men of ad-Dalhamīya, supported by the Sarrāhīn, started negotiations to set the captives free. The conditions were extremely hard: in addition to

11. O God, you who are high above us!
We and everyone who asks a reward of you, take charge of us!
12. O Lord, if it had not been your will, we would not be living.
But what does our death or our luck matter?
13. O you messenger who are on your way to my father, come to greet us (and tell him:)
May God not plague him as he plagued us:
14. In the sudden reversal of what was right when we (last) met each other,
The loss out of every ten was eight.
15. You did not follow my advice when he was in the house,
When you said this and I said that.
16. I bear witness that ʔObēd came to us insidiously,
I bear witness that the power comes from Heaven.
17. If it were of use to cry, we would cry in abundance (?)
Over the palm plants which our enemies uprooted there.

a large sum of money, the allies demanded that the inhabitants of Garṣāwi abandon their quarters and move to Xadma. The conditions were fulfilled, the captives were returned, and Garṣāwi was totally destroyed by the allies. Later on, the clans of Xadma and Garṣāwi called on ʔAbdallah Ibn Rašīd for help (in 1838?). He sent ʔObēd with a strong force to al-Ġōf. Having won an easy victory ʔObēd compelled the allies to pay back the money and added to it the blood price of the four killed men. Moreover, ad-Dalhamīya was levelled to the ground, and its inhabitants had to move to the Sarrāhīn; see WALLIN, ZDMG 5, pp. 13-15. In his commentary to the qaṣīda composed in honour of the victor, Wallin mentions that ʔObēd's men cut down palm groves and took nursery plants (*ġars*) of the valued palms of al-Ġōf with them to Ġabal Šammar, ZDMG 5, p. 18.

¹⁵⁸ The meaning of the verse is unclear; ST glossed *ġars* with *katəl* (sic), and *šarra^ou* with *sawwu*, but these may be mere guesses.

18. *ʔal-yowm ya-ḥattāb mā-bah ḥasīfa*
*ʔalli štaǧalna təstaḥəǧǧ əlhāna*¹⁵⁹
19. *w-mən ʔəǧəm-ma nāda l-xalāyeǧ wətēna*¹⁶⁰
ʔal-yowm b-ər-rəǧlən kəllen wətāna
20. *w-mən ʔəǧəm-ma nāda l-xalāyeǧ wədēna*
*ʔal-yowm laww yābi*¹⁶¹ *səfiḥen wə-dāna*
21. ... *ma tərʔt rāyi yōmənna b-əs-səǧǧifa*
*yōmen təǧūl šhna w-ana ǧūl hāna*¹⁶²
22. *mən ʔəǧəb tamr əl-ǧowf ʔəndi tarīfa*¹⁶³
*ʔal-yowm natna məǧʔəden bi*¹⁶⁴ *ʔašāna*
23. *w-la šār mən zaml əl-mahāmel məšēna*
ḥənna ʔalēna ḥardhom wəš balāna
24. *ʔas-seyf mā hū bātəlen b-al-yamīna*
*dābb al-asfan*¹⁶⁵ *sāḥbah ma ydāna*
25. *ya-bīd rədden əl-malātem ʔalēna*
hāten malātəmčən u-xəden əlhāna
26. *ḥəttən xalāxīl əd-dahab b-īdēna*
*təǧalladen b-əsyūfna ya-nsāna*¹⁶⁷
27. *w-wəddna ngūlha ʔala r-rəbāba.*

¹⁵⁹ *ləḥya*, chin beard, is a symbol of honour and human dignity, MUSIL, *Rwala*, p. 116; cf. f25p below.

¹⁶⁰ Passive perf. See footnote 60 above.

¹⁶¹ The vowel of the first syllable is lengthened for metrical reasons.

¹⁶² The verse is superfluous; what was probably originally *šôri* has been accidentally replaced by *rāyi*, a lexical item frequently used in the koineized colloquial.

¹⁶³ Explained by ST *mən trāf ət-tamər - yaʔni mən-ət-tamr ər-radi*.

¹⁶⁴ See footnote 135 above.

¹⁶⁵ 'The pale one' is a metaphor of the sword.

18. O Ḥattāb, today there is no (chance of taking) revenge.
 What we have done is worthy of our honour.
19. We used to trample people before, now we have been trampled.
 Today everybody tramples us with both feet.
20. The people used to appeal to us before, now we have become
 the ill-treated party.
 Today if a foul-mouthed man wants to, he can scorn (us).
21. You did not follow my advice when he was in the house,
 When you said this and I said that.
22. After the dates of al-ǧōf I have rejected dates.
 Today there are stinking and shrunk dates in our dinner.
23. O that pack camels would come and we could go home!
 But their anger lies upon us; o how much it has plagued us!
24. The sabre is not useless in the right hand,
 Whoever carries a glowing sword, cannot be scorned.
25. O you white-faced ones, give your veils to us,
 Give your veils and take our beards,
26. Put the golden bracelets in our hands
 And hang on our sabres, o you women of ours!

27. And now we'll sing it to the accompaniment of the rebec.

¹⁶⁶ Form III passive imperf.; cf. footnotes 51 and 196.

¹⁶⁷ In the recited version of the poem, the lines 21, 25 and 26 have not been repeated. The word *lāken* (line 15) is also omitted in other versions than the first recited one. In line 24 the last word has been repeated in the active form *ydāni*. In the song there are several divergences from the recited form of the poem, viz. (11) *ya-l-lay*, (11) *w-man*; the first hemistich of line 11 is repeated before the second hemistich is sung, whereas the second hemistich has not been repeated, (12) *laww mā*, (13) *la-l-wālday*, *b-allay*, (14) *ʔašrā*, (15) *rāyi*, the lines 15 and 16 have not been repeated, (17 rep.) *ha-l-lay*, (19, 20) *ʔal-yowm*, (24) *ydāna* but (24 rep.) *ydāni*, (25) *bayd*. The order of the lines after 11 is as follows: 18, 22 (not rep.), 24, 25, 26, 19, 20.