Narratives and Poems from Ḥesbān

Arabic texts recorded among the semi-nomadic *ǝl-ʿAǧārma* tribe (al-Balqāʾ district, Jordan)

By
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To Professor Øystein LaBianca
with best regards,
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CONTENTS

1 The Material

The texts in this study were recorded by the author at *Həsbân*, a pictur-
esque village on the slopes of the hill on the top of which the ruins of
Heshbon of the Old Testament are situated, about 25 km southwest of ꜥAmmān
and 10 km north of Mādaba, in January - February 1970.[1] The recordings
included in the present study were made during two evening entertainments
with ten to fifteen participants from the tribe *əl-ꜥAǧârma*.

The chief performer at the soirees was the clever young bard of the tribe,
Dâmen ꜥAbd əl-ꜥAzîz əl-Barâri of the sub-tribe *əš-Šəreǧiyîn*, born in 1930,
Muslim, and literate. He recited and sang with rebec (*rəbâba*) accompani-
ment 20 songs in all, 12 of which are odes (*gasîda*), 6 ditties (*hǧêni*),

and two parodies of love songs (*ǧazal*). Most of the songs are preceded by a narrative in prose (*sâlfa*).

It is well-known that the language of these poems is seldom representative of a local dialect; rather, their language can usually be defined as a poetical koine. Some of them have been circulating in Northern Arabia and the adjacent areas for many generations. Although protected against arbitrary alterations by the bound form, the poems have nevertheless changed considerably during the long course of oral transmission. To be sure, the narratives told in prose do not reflect plain colloquial speech as it is used in everyday conversation, either, but they represent a style variant called artistic colloquial.

The difference between the language of the narratives and that of the vernacular is most striking when the narrative originally comes from another dialect area, e.g. when Bedouin stories are told by peasants. In our case the language of the narratives is, however, in general identical with that of the vernacular, the most important difference being that of style: on the one hand, the artistic colloquial holds fast to conservative features of the dialect, and, on the other, the narrative style abounds in stock expressions which do not usually occur in the vernacular.

Since the primary aim of this study is to add to the dialect material previously published by me in ʕAǧ. Studies[2], it seemed to me most suitable to choose out of the recordings those texts that have the relatively longest narrative parts. Thus, I have selected six texts spoken by Dāmen, here marked *a, b, c, d, e,* and *f,* only one text, *g,* being narrated and recited by another speaker.

Dāmen is both a poet (*šâʕer*) composing poetry of his own, and a reciter (in Classical Arabic called *rāwī*) of poems composed by others. Due to the character of orally transmitted poetry, no sharp line can be drawn between these two functions. This is, of course, primarily true of orally composed poetry, but to a considerable degree it is also true of literarily

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[2] The dialect of the tribe is a North Arabian type, more particularly one of the dialect group of the small-cattle nomads of the Syro-Mesopotamian area, but it also exhibits several features typical of the neighbouring sedentary dialects. See PALVA, ʕAǧ. Studies, p. 55.

composed poems, especially if they have been circulating orally for a couple of generations or more. In oral poetry there is actually no fixed original text which the reciter slavishly tries to memorize, but, as MONROE puts it, the poem "exists in a fluid state and is recreated with each new performance".[3] As a matter of fact, the first transformations of a qasīda of some length already take place during the creative act.[4]

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[3] MONROE, Oral Composition, p. 8. In his article the author successfully applies the so-called Parry — Lord theory to pre-Islamic Arabic poetry which, as he shows, follows the formulaic pattern typical of orally composed poetry. According to this theory, the smallest separable unit of the language of orally composed poetry is not the individual word, but the formula, defined by PARRY as "a group of words which is regularly employed under the same metrical conditions to express a given essential idea". Instead of conscious memorization, the oral poet resorts to a large repertory of themes, motifs, plots, proper names and formulas. For further details and references, see MONROE's article. The theory has been applied by ALWAYA to the oral qasīda poetry of the Syro-Palestinian area, especially the Negev; the reciter-poets are portrayed in Bedouin Oral Poetry, p. 56.

It must, however, be kept in mind that the Parry — Lord theory is only applicable to the orally composed Arabic qasīda with several reservations. In contradistinction to the Homeric Greek and contemporary Yugoslavian - as well as the Finnish Kalevala - epic, the Arabic tradition stresses the difference between the roles of creator and transmitter (even though the poems are to some degree recreated by the transmitters). Great value is attached to originality of phrasing, and repetition of whole lines is disliked. Most qasīdas consist of a score or two of lines, and very seldom more than a hundred, and though they contain some epic elements, they cannot be regarded as epic poems. See BATESON, Structural Continuity, pp. 33-36.

[4] MUSIL, Arabia Petraea III, pp. 232-234, and Rwala, pp. 283f., gives an account of the act of composing oral poetry among the Bedouin of the Syrian Desert and its western periphery. Musil first searched for the original wording of the poems, but gave up because "if two Bedouins know the same verses of the same poem, they never recite them in exactly the same way but change the original words and often whole verses. Sometimes these changes are due to later improvements by the poet himself, but in most

The qaṣīdas circulating among the Bedouin of the Central and North Arabian area are different versions of both orally and literarily composed poems, varying between lengthy qaṣīdas and fragments comprising a couple of lines. Many reciters write down the poems they hear, and after some training are ready to recite the poems publicly. Thus the difference between originally orally and literarily composed poetry diminishes or often vanishes completely, and even orally composed poems may have secondarily fixed texts which the transmitters actually memorize rather than reshape.

All the texts published here are examples of those memorized (*ḥafaḏ*) and transmitted (*nagal*) by the reciters. Though the techniques often are more important than the mechanical memorization, it is certainly a very time-consuming task to acquire and maintain a repertory large enough for several evening entertainments (*taʕlīla*). Thus Ḏāmen, who no doubt has an exceptionally good memory and, for his age, advanced mastery of the techniques, has since 1972 been too occupied by the work on his farm and in his newly planted olive grove to be able to cultivate his poetic talent. It is characteristic of modern trends that people get together more and more rarely to spend their evenings telling stories and reciting poems, and much of the finest traditions of popular culture will be irretrievably lost. Fortunately, there are signs of an increasing appreciation of popular literature also in circles who used to consider folk-poetry sub-literary and unworthy of serious attention.

The speaker of text *g* is also a farmer and a member of the same clan, *Mḥammad əl-ʕĪd əl-Barâri*, born about 1910, Muslim, illiterate, a skilful storyteller and one of the best speakers of the genuine dialect of the tribe (not to be confused for the speaker of the text published in ʕAǧ. Studies).

cases his own unconscentious or careless friends are to blame. The Bedouins often quarrel as to the original wording of the verses and frequently ask the poet himself about this, but even he is not always absolutely sure" (Rwala, p. 284).

II The Transcription

The system of transcription followed in this study is the same as that used by the author in ʕAǧ. Studies. The inventory of the consonant phonemes of the dialect is as follows, given in the Arabic alphabetical order: *ʔ, b, t, ṯ, ǧ, ḥ, x, d, ḏ, r, z, s, š, ṣ, ḍ* (equivalent to Literary Arabic *ḍ* and *ẓ*), *ṭ, ʕ, ġ, f, g* (in ʕAǧ. *g/ǧ* are phonetically conditioned reflexes of LA *q*), *k, č* (in ʕAǧ. *k/č* are the reflexes of LA *k*), *l, m, n, h, w*, and *y*. The velarization (*tafxīm*) of consonants other than *ṣ, ḍ* and *ṭ* has not been marked. The syllabic realizations of the semi-vowels *w* and *y* are transcribed as *u* and *i* respectively, except in post-pausal position, e.g. *həlu* b17p, *ʔənt u-wlədak* a9, *b-ulə́dak* a10, *ḏahab u-gallo* a12, *wəddo yǧəss išûf* d3, but – *w-lamma* a14, – *w-ynaggi* f8, – *ywaddi* f10.

The ʕAǧ. dialect has four short (*a, e, o*, and *ə*) and five long (*ā, ē, ī, ō*, and *ū*) vowel phonemes.[5] In the transcription, however, the vowel length is marked phonetically: when a long vowel phoneme has been rendered as short, the phonemic length is not marked. When a long vowel occurs in an unstressed syllable, the length is marked by an upscript hyphen ($\bar{v}$), whereas the circumflex ($\hat{v}$) stands for both the length and the stress, thus being identical with ($\bar{\acute{v}}$), which is not used here; e.g. *yəgūlûli* a9 = /yəgūlūli/, *yəgbalu* a3 = /yəgbalū/, *ʔəlli* a19 = /ʔəllī/.

In transcriptions of Literary Arabic the accent is not marked, and this is why the circumflex is not used. The upscript hyphen also stands for the vowel length when the syllable is stressed according to modern standard pronunciation. The circumflex is not used in dialectal words either when the transcription is not given in italics.

Allophones of consonant and vowel phonemes have in some cases been given in square brackets. Faintly audible consonants and ultra-short vowels are

[5] See PALVA, ʕAǧ. Studies, pp. 14-19. It may be worth mentioning here that a centralization tendency among short vowels other than *a* has led toward a binary system of short vowel phonemes with a contrast /a/ vs. /ə/ (non-*a*).

marked by upscript small equivalents, e.g. ya^rti^{2h} a12, $^{2a}halan$ a32. These transcriptions have not been harmonized, but the transcription reflects the actual fluctuation mostly brought about by tempo as well as pre- and post-pausal phenomena.

An acute ($\acute{v}$) is used to indicate a stress when its place is not easily predictable. Breath groups are separated by dashes (-); suspended utterances are marked by three dots (...). Otherwise, punctuation marks are not used. The question mark is an exception: it is actually necessary in order to mark the interrogative accent (pitch) in interrogative clauses not containing an interrogative pronoun or adverb.

Liaisons with elision are indicated by ligatures ($\smile$), which also are used in some cases of assimilation over external junctures.

For the purpose of references to the texts, they are more or less arbitrarily divided into short sections. Since it is sometimes of capital importance to know whether the instances are taken from the prosaic or the poetic sections, the latter are referred to by the use of p after the number of the section. Thus, for instance, when the item $^{2}ab-$ in the glossary is followed by the symbol e42p, this at once shows that the form occurs in a poem.

The transcription of quotations from other sources has not normally been changed. Some over-complicated transcriptions have, however, been slightly simplified, and symbols such as u, i, r, and h have been replaced by w, y, g, and x respectively. The somewhat misleading symbols $\check{z}$, d/z, and k used by MUSIL have been replaced by the in the actual case more correct $\check{g}$, d, and g respectively.

III The Metres of the Poems

The poems included in texts a - f are all both recited and sung, whereas the one in text g is only recited. In all these poems the basic unit is the line divided into two hemistichs with alternating rhymes. There are no strophes, but the performer usually recites the lines, as it were, strophically: every line except the last, and sometimes the first, is repeated before the next line is recited. This is also done when the poems are sung. The reasons might be mnemotechnical, as this method both gives the reciter more time to recall the poem and makes it easier to preserve the right, or the most suitable, sequence of lines. Because a skilful reciter, however, often resorts to his mastery of the traditional techniques rather than to mechanical memorizing, while he is repeating a line he is actually giving shape to the next. At the same time the listeners are given an opportunity to learn the contents of the poem well enough to enjoy it when it is repeated to the accompaniment of the rebec.

For very obvious reasons, there are differences in the form of one and the same line when it is recited or sung several times (usually four). Most of the divergences are insignificant, such as w- or $\emptyset$- at the beginning of the hemistichs. The conjunction in this position is optional; from a stylistical point of view it is illustrative of the paratactical style ("adding style") used in the composition. A comparison of the recited and sung forms sometimes displays more substantial differences, usually of a phonetical or prosodical character. In the transcription the first recited form is always given, and the deviations, except for w-/$\emptyset$- at the beginning of hemistichs, are indicated in footnotes.

A thorough analysis of poems of mainly Neǧdi origin led SOCIN to the conclusion that the contemporary qasīda poetry of the area must be regarded as an organic continuation of the pre-Islamic and Classical poetry. There is a striking similarity of themes, and the language of both can most properly be defined as a poetic koine, i.e., a conservative artistic form of the language, different from all local vernaculars, and used all over the cultural area where this kind of poetry is composed. Moreover, the metrical system of Central and North Arabian Bedouin poetry is - like that

of pre-Islamic and Classical poetry - based on syllabic length, and most metres used today can, according to Socin, be identified as modifications of those codified in the eighth century by the grammarian al-Khalīl Ibn Ahmad.[6]

The mainly quantitative metrical system of the pre-Islamic poetry was, of course, closely connected with the syllabic structure of the language, and the substantial changes due primarily to the loss of the *ʔiʕrāb* during the first Islamic centuries naturally affected the metrical patterns. The development of unstandardized spoken Arabic was slowly followed by analogous changes in the poetic koine. As long as oral poets were aware of the grammatical functions of the *ʔiʕrāb* vowels, these could still be used as archaistic linguistic elements, and the old metres could be preserved, but as soon as the *ʔiʕrāb* lost its grammatical relevancy, the vowels used in the same positions survived only as purely metrical elements forming short open syllables.[7]

In the course of time the use of the grammatically redundant short final vowels became optional, and, as a result, the relative frequency of long syllables in the metrical patterns increased.[8] Another development leading in the same direction was the loss of the non-final short vowels in open syllables in certain positions.[9] In this respect the trochaic dialects of the ʕAnazi and Šammari groups remained more untouched than the atrochaic nomadic dialects mainly spoken in the periphery of the Central and North

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[6] SOCIN, Diwan III, pp. 46-48, 55, 70-72; cf. PETRÁČEK, Drei Studien, pp. 14 and 51f.; MONROE, Oral Composition, p. 12.

[7] Cf. SOCIN, Diwan III, p. 75.

[8] In the old poetry the ratio of long to short syllables was actually somewhat higher than in prose. See BATESON, Structural Continuity, p. 31.

[9] This generally affected the sedentary dialects to a much higher degree than the nomadic idiom. Together with the influence of local cultural substrates, this gave rise to new metrical systems in Arabic poetry, based on accents rather than syllabic length, and usually with a strophical structure. See PETRÁČEK, Drei Studien, pp. 49-55.

Arabian dialect area.[10]

Statistical surveys have shown that no less than half of the pre-Islamic poems are composed in *tawīl* (50.41%). Other frequent metres are *kāmil* (17.53%), *wāfir*, and *basīt* (together 24.77%); thus the share of the remaining eleven or twelve metres is only 7.29%.[11] In contemporary Bedouin poetry, too, *tawīl* is by far the most frequently used metre. Among the 112 poems published by SOCIN there are 61 in *tawīl*, and all the seven poems published by WALLIN belong to the same category. Other popular metres are *ramal* (12 in Socin's Diwan, but only 0.43% in pre-Islamic poetry), *basīt*, *hazaǧ*, and *raǧaz*.

The old acatalectical *tawīl* is composed of two hemistichs on the pattern ◡-◡/◡-◡-/◡-◡/◡-◡-. SOCIN gives eight different variants of the metrical pattern of the "new *tawīl*", the longest variant of one hemistich being (◡)--◡---/◡--◡---.[12] The shorter variants are mainly the catalectic type.

The comparison of the two patterns shows that as a rule the new *tawīl* has a long syllable where the old *tawīl* permits either short or long (anceps), but the rhythmic kernel ◡- (*watid maǧmūʕ*) occurring in every verse foot

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[10] The contrast between the trochaic and atrochaic dialects can be illustrated by instances like *nâgati* vs. *nâgti*, *čálbati* vs. *čáləbti*. See CANTINEAU, Nomades I, pp. 54-58, II, pp. 156-164. Two features characteristic of the Central and North Arabian dialect area seem to be entirely alien to the poetic language, viz. the developments CVCVCV- > CCVCV (e.g. *bagara* > *bgara*, *darabak* > *drəbak*) and aXC- > XaC- if X is *h*, *ḥ*, *ʕ*, *x*, or *ǧ* (e.g. *ʔahmar* > *hamar*, *gahwa* > *ghawa*). For the syllabic structure, see CANTINEAU, Nomades I, p. 66; SOCIN, Diwan III, p. 206; JOHNSTONE, EADS, pp. 6-9; PALVA, ʕAǧ. Studies, p. 24.

[11] VADET, Contribution, tables pp. 315 and 317, cited by MONROE, Oral Composition, p. 34, and BATESON, Structural Continuity, p. 30.

[12] SOCIN, Diwan III, p. 64.

of the old _tawīl_ is still obligatory.[13] The most important exception is
the first syllable of every hemistich, which is optional in the new _tawīl_,
in other words, it allows acephalic hemistichs.

All the poems included in the present study, except those in text _d_, can
be regarded as variants of the new _tawīl_. In many cases it is very diffi-
cult to discern the metrical pattern, but for the most part analysis
causes few problems, e.g.:

a45p   sêfa ʕala kəll əl-maxāliǧ tâyel
       sē.fah. ʕa.lā.kəl.ləl / ma.xā.lī.ǧə.tā.yel

a46p   lâ xâyəfen mənni w-la haggen ʔərǧâh
       lā.xā.yə.fen.mən.nī / wə.lā.hag.ge.nər.ǧâh

a46p   w-lâ ǧâlyen ʕənni w-lâ hû msâyel
       (wə.)lā.ǧa.lə.yen.ʕən.nī / wə.lā.hū.mə.sā.yel

a42p   təmtor ʕala daxna w-dəlʕân hâyel
       təm.tor. ʕa.lā.dax.nā / wə.dəl. ʕā.nə.hā.yel

b13p   təsʕîn šêx ʔalli gədarna šərâba
       təs. ʕī.nə.šē.xal.lī / gə.dar.nā.šə.rā.bā

b15p   təgâmazen ǧərf l-əbdûn əl-mahâba
       ʔət.gā.ma.zen.ǧər.fəl / bə.dū.nəl.ma.hā.bā

c6p   bəkra ləfatni mən bəkâr əš-šərâlîn
       bək.rah.lə.fat.nī.mən / bə.kā.rəš.šə. ʕa.līn

c8p   w-alli ǧəles b-əl-kûr ʕəmra b-ʕəšrîn
       wal.lī.ǧə.les.bəl.kūr / wə. ʕəm.rah.bə. ʕəš.rīn

c13p   yâ kawkab əl-balga ʕa-dôr əl-məǧumîn
       yā.kaw.ka.bəl.bal.gā / ʕa.dō.rəl.mə.ǧī.mīn

c15p   ʔagsed əb-ʔaxu šêxa b-ha-t-tîb tîbên
       ʔag.sed. ba.xū.šē.xah / bə.hat.tī.bə.tī.bēn

e43p   mətl əs-sərâb ʔalli maʕ əl-həzən mərmâš
       mət.ləs.sə.rā.bal.lī / ma. ʕəl.həz.nə.mər.mâš

e46p   w-laddât b-əd-dənya maʕâmîl u-frâš
       (wə.)lad.dā.tə.bəd.dən.yā / ma. ʕā.mī.lə.wəf.râš

e49p   mərbâʕhen gâra w-nəbʕed ʕən ət-tâš
       mər.bā. ʕa.hen.gā.rah / wə.nəb. ʕəd. ʕə.nət.tâš

f17p   ʔal-ǧars ha-lli šarraʕû-bah əʕdâna
       ʔal.ǧar.sə.hal.lī.šar / ra. ʕū.bah. ʕə.dā.nā

f22p   mən ʕəgəb tamr əl-ǧowf ʕəndi tarîfa
       mən. ʕəg.bə.tam.rəl.ǧow / fə. ʕən.dī.ta.rī.fa

f24p   ʔas-seyf mâ hû bâtəlen b-al-yamîna
       ʔas.sey.fə.mā.hū.bā / tə.len.bal.ya.mī.nā

g23p   w-rîf əl-həbûš ʔalli ddûr ət-təʕami
       (wə.)rī.fəl.hə.bū.šal.lī / tə.dū.rət.tə. ʕa.mī

g24p   w-balûteh mâ mən hadîdeh əlhâmi
       ʔū(?).bal.wa.tah.mā.mən / ha.dī.dah.lə.hā.mī

g35p   w-əl-hamdu lə-llâh mâ rbûʕi ǧəlîlîn
       (w)əl.ham.du.ləl.lā.mā / rə.bū. ʕi.ǧə.lī.līn

This is of course not the only possible analysis, but it is the one most
closely following the traditional system. Another analysis is applicable
primarily to external junctures, which are often actually open in the re-
citation. Thus, the second hemistich of g23p could also be analyzed with
open external junctures:
       (wə).rīf.ʔəl.hə.būš.ʔal.lī / tə.dūr.ʔət.tə. ʕa.mī.
This analysis would, however, introduce a category of syllables unknown to
the traditional metrical system in non-final positions, viz. that of over-
long syllables (CVC, CVCC). This kind of analysis therefore seems to me
less pertinent to the metrical structure of the poems published in this
study. Nevertheless, it must be admitted that many verses fit into the
standard pattern only after arbitrary emendations.

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[13] The acute accent ˊ˗ does not imply a word accent, but only the metrical
ictus, the existence of which in pre-Islamic and Classical Arabic poetry
was proved by WEIL in his article Das metrische System; cf. BLACHÈRE,
Métrique, and references there.

A comparison of the verses as recited by the ʿAǧārmi speakers with those given in the theoretical metrical analysis shows that there are no noticeable grammatical differences between the two forms, but both deviate from the ʿAǧ. dialect in some respects, the most frequent being the occasional occurrence of *tanwīn* in the poetry and the pron. suffix for sing. 3. masc., which in the poems is usually -*a*/-*ah* (occasionally -*e*/-*eh*), while ʿAǧ. has -*o*.[14] Naturally enough, the most striking difference between the vernacular and the poetic language is lexical.

The recited versions as a rule follow the phonemic structure of the dialect. This also holds true of the syllabic structure except CVCVCV->CCVCV- and aXC->XaC-, which on the whole do not occur in poetry.[15] When sung to the accompaniment of the rebec, there are slight divergences: some short vowels are added, long vowels are occasionally pronounced as diphthongs, and some consonants at the end of hemistichs are changed to fit the rhyme. Major differences are to be found, however, between these two renderings of the poems, on the one hand, and the forms given in the theoretical metrical analysis, on the other. For one thing, the phonemically long but phonetically shortened final vowels are long in the metrical analysis. Secondly, the older non-final short vowels, which are often reduced or dropped when they occur in open syllables in the dialect, are almost always metrically preserved.[16] Moreover, the theoretical analysis occasionally implies insertion of additional short final vowels in order to form short syllables[17], e.g. a45p *maxālĭǧə*, a42p *dəlʿānə*, b13p *təsʿīnə*, e43p *həznə*, e46p *laddātə*,

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[14] Cf. PALVA, ʿAǧ. Studies, pp. 44f.

[15] See footnote 10 above.

[16] For the system in ʿAǧ., see PALVA, ʿAǧ. Studies, pp. 14-18 and 24.

[17] That such vowels generally occur in the recited and sung forms of Bedouin poetry, too, is a well-known fact. WALLIN, ZDMG 6, p. 193, states that "die von mir in der Transscription hauptsächlich des Versmaasses wegen eingeschalteten kurzen Vocale beim Hersagen oder Singen von den Beduinen nach Belieben ausgesprochen oder weggelassen werden"; cf. WETZSTEIN, Zeltlagern, pp. 129f. (= ZDMG 22, p. 193); SOCIN, Diwan III, pp. 55 and 78f.; STUMME, Beduinenlieder, pp. 26-30 ("Interpolationsvokale").

maʿāmīlə, f17p *ʾal-ɣarsə*, f22p *ʿəgbə*, *ʾəl-ǧowfə*, f24p *ʾas-seyfə*.[18] Although these metrically conditioned vowels usually occur in positions where Classical Arabic would also have a short vowel - usually a case morpheme without *tanwīn* - this cannot be regarded as evidence that the additional final vowels perform any grammatical function. In our texts such vowels actually occur in the sung version of d12p: *nârə galbī nârə ǧalla / məttəlīha b-howǧə čāz.*

The metre of the parodies of love songs in text *d* is *ramal*, which is frequently used in satires and short songs.[19] The metrical pattern of the acatalectical dimeter variant of the old *ramal* is twice ⌣⌣--/⌣⌣--. The most regular lines in the songs in text *d* follow this pattern strictly, the only difference of principle being that the neutral (anceps) syllables in the older pattern in the new *ramal* are long as a rule, e.g.:

> d5p   *šəfət šowfa hafhafatni*
>   *šəf.tə.šow.fah / haf.ha.fat.nī*
>
>   *yâ malā ya-hl əl-wəhîya*
>   *yā.ma.lā.yah / ləl.wə.hī.yā*
>
> d6p   *ʿa-hanûfel lāyaʾatni*
>   *ʿā.ha.nū.fen / lā.ya.ʾat.nī*
>
>   *yâ walad rəǧlī wənîya*
>   *yā.wa.lad.rəǧ / lī.wə.nī.yā.*

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[18] In some cases additional short vowels are also needed in non-final positions for metrical reasons, e.g. b11p *mənîʿna rawwah ʿala taləǧt əl-bâʿ* fits into the pattern of the new *tawīl* if it is analyzed *mə.nī.ʿa. nā.raw.wah / ʿa.lā.tal.ga.təl.bāʿ*, where the additional *a* in *mənîʿanā* has the position, but not the function, of the ancient case morpheme.

[19] SOCIN, Diwan III, p. 64; the poems in *ramal* included in Diwan are different variants of trimeter.

The same is true of the catalectic variant d12p - d18p:

d12p nâr galbi nâr ǧalla
      nā�put: rə.gal.bī̄ / nā.rə.ǧal.lā

      məttəlîha b-howǧ čâz
      mət.tə.lī̄.hab / how.ǧə.čāz

d17p zên mabsem xaləǧt alla
      zē̄.nə.mab.sem / xal.ga.tal.lā

      w-ət̲-tanâya təgel mâz
      wət̲.ta.nā̄.yā / təg.lə.māz.

Contrary to the poems in *tawīl*, the phonemically long final vowels often
appear metrically short here, e.g. d16p *həson yûsef bîha kəlla* should be
analyzed *həs.nə.yū̄.sef / bī̄.ha.kəl.lā̄*. Here, too, as in the case of the
poems in *tawīl*, some lines fit into the metrical pattern only after arbi-
trary emendations. In addition to the confused first hemistich of d13p
(= d18p), the words *ʔəgrûnha*, *mətəl harîr* d14p, *damʕen* d15p, and *wahabha*
d16p break the normal rhythm of *ramal*.

All the poems published here have double rhymes of the type ababab, which
implies that every hemistich is rhymed. As a matter of fact, the hemistichs
have a more independent status than in pre-Islamic and above all Classical
poetry, where accentual groups may bridge the caesura. This is actually an
important contrastive feature in the comparison between oral and literary
poetry. In pre-Islamic poetry there is little internal enjambement of the
caesura, whereas literate Arab poets of later mediaeval times frequently
and deliberately used the displaced caesura as a rhetorical device to
achieve certain artistic effects.[20]

In a great majority of the present poems the alternating rhymes are
furthermore given prominence by alternating accents. This is the case
in the following poems:

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[20] MONROE, Oral Composition, p. 27; as an example he gives the Nūnīya of
the Andalusian poet Ibn Zaydūn, where more than half the caesuras are
displaced.

text *a*   CVCCáh/y (in some cases artificial; exc. a47p –wḗtây)
             (CV)Cáyel

text *b*   CVCCáʕ
             CVCába

text *c*   Cín/Cén˙ (exc. c7p gasdîl)
             CaCúhen

d12p-d18p   CVCV́lla
             (CV̄)CVCáz

text *g*   Cín/Cén
             CVCámi

In two poems the accent in the last verse foot of the hemistich falls on
the penultimate syllable:

d5p-d10p   CaCátni
             CVCíya/CVCeya

text *e*   CVCCáš
             CVCCúd (exc. e43p lâ‿nûd and e45p –ra ʕûd).

The same accent pattern is followed in the rhymes of the poem of text *f*,
but in other respects it has exceptional rhymes: in the second hemistichs
there is only one rhyme, (CV)Cána, but the first has two different rhymes,
CVCína/CVCéna (f11p - f14p, f19p, f20p, f23p - f26p) and CVCífa (f15p -
f18p and f21p - f22p). This is apparently due to the fact that the poem is
a dialogue between a father and his treacherously jailed son, though it
seems difficult to restore the poem to its former shape.

IV The Texts

TEXT A

1. ʔalla ymassîkom b-əl-xeyr – walla hənna nəhǰi mən hân mən ǧarit[21] həsbân – ʔəl-məstašreg ḏêf ᶜəndna l-lêla mən – fənlanda – w-wəddna nsôlfo mən səwâlef ʔəǧwâd ʔalla.

2. ʔəhna hassâᶜ mən ǧarit həsbân nəᶜallel ᶜala l-badw əl-awwalîn – w-ᶜən əl-harâyeb əl-gədîma[22] – w-ana law-ənni walad zəǧîr ǧəbassha[23] mn-ən-nâs – ʔana ḏâmen ᶜabd əl-ᶜazîz əl-bərâri mən ǧarit həsbân.

3. hâḏa[24] ᶜâdat ən-nâs əl-awwalîn yôm wâhad yədbah wâhad – mâ yəgbalu səlha ʔəlla baᶜəd sabᶜ əsnîn – lâzem yəǧla[25] sabᶜ əsnîn u-baᶜəd sabᶜ əsnîn əssîr əs-səlha – mâ-hu mətl əl-yôm yədbahu w-baᶜd əsbûᶜ yəkəddu l-ǧâha.

4. kəsîm əd-dəwîš ᶜəndo[h] walad ʔəsmo fêsal[26] – w-hâḏa fêsal – ǧâli ᶜəndo – w-hu wlədo[27] l-čəbîr – w-gara hûwa w-əsbêh – ʔaxu ᶜowda ʔabu tâyeh – garu maᶜ baᶜaḏhom əb-mədrasa[29] wahda.

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[21] When the sing. fem. morpheme in st. pronom. (*-at-*) or st. constr. (*-at*) is preceded by a semi-vowel, the *a* is usually dropped. In some cases the semi-vowel now becomes the crest of the syllable and is realized as a vowel, either short or long, e.g. *ǧarya – ǧarit* a1, *lâgya – lâǧit* a9, *balwa – balûteh* g24p, *manwa – manûtəlla* d13p, d18p; cf. SOCIN, Diwan III, p. 185. The lengthening may be due to analogy with cases like *markûbîya – markûbîto* f4, *sᶜîya – sᶜît əl-xeyl* e21.

[22] Probably a koineized variant used instead of the older genuine ᶜAǧ. *ǧədîma*, cf. c3 below.

[23] *sth>ssh/sh* can here be regarded as the result of dropping *t* in the consonant cluster rather than as an instance of progressive assimilation.

[24] Ḏâmen uses the non-velarized variant *hâḏa*; cf. *hâḏa* in g1 below and PALVA, ᶜAǧ. Studies, pp. 28f.

1. May God give you a good evening. We are speaking from here, from the village of Hesbān. The orientalist who is our guest tonight is from Finland. We'll tell him stories about God's good people.

2. We are now entertaining from the village of Hesbān by telling stories about the ancient Bedouin and the wars in olden times. As a little boy I already learned stories from people. I am Ḏāmen ᶜAbd el-ᶜAzīz el-Barāri from the village of Hesbān.

3. It was the custom of the people in bygone days that if a person killed someone, reconciliation was not accepted before seven years had passed. The killer had to spend seven years in exile, and after seven years the reconciliation took place. It was not like today, when they kill, and hasten to arrange the reconciliation after a mere week.

4. Kesīm ed-Duwīš had a son called Fēsal, and Fēsal was dear to him. He was his eldest son, and he and Sbēh, a brother of ᶜAwda Abu Tāyeh, attended the same school.

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[25] On the banishment of a man who has killed his fellow tribesman, see MUSIL, Arabia Petraea III, pp. 359-369; *ibn el-ᶜamm lâ yidbah ibn ᶜammih, lâ yagᶜod ᶜendana, yiǧla!* (ibid., p. 361).

[26] Fēsal b. Sultān ad-Duwīš (d. 1932) was the paramount sheikh of the Mutēr and the greatest leader of the *ʔixwān* movement; see DICKSON, The Arab, p. 353 and passim; OPPENHEIM, Beduinen III, pp. 76-78. There is, however, scarcely any connection between him and the Fēsal of our story.

[27] < *wálado* according to the CVCVCV>CCVCV syllable pattern, see PALVA, ᶜAǧ. Studies, p. 24.

[28] ᶜAwda Abu Tāyeh (d. 1924), the head chief of the Hwētāt, had the reputation of being a brave and unequalled warrior. OPPENHEIM, Beduinen II, p. 293, tells that ᶜAwda had been wounded 13 times and had defeated 75 adversaries in man to man fights. In the capture of al-ᶜAqaba in July 1917, ᶜAwda played a central role; PEAKE, Jordan, p. 98.

[29] It was by no means unusual that the Bedouin had schools in their camps. A teacher, most often from a town or a village, was engaged to teach the boys of the tribe, especially those of the leading clans, see MUSIL, Arabia Petraea III, p. 227.

5. *w-əmdallal fêsal u-fêsal had əl-marrât yədbaḥ – walad ʿammo*[30] *– w-hû*
ʿazab bʿado ma təǧawwaz – w-kəsîm hû šêx əl-ʿarab.

6. *w-əl-ʿâda ʿəndhom ʔənno yəǧla – sabʿ əsnîn – w-baʿdên əssîr ... ʔəssîr*
əl-ǧâha w-əl-waǧah – hâḏa maʿ-ənno šêx əl-ʿarab – w-əl-walad ǧâli ʿəndo mâ
ǧallâh.

7. *ʔawwal yôm – tâni yôm – ʔəsbûʿ – ʔəsbûʿên – wənno ma ʿa-bâlo*[31] *yǧalli*
wlədo – ǧâmu š-šyûx – yənkaffu ʿənno rabʿo – w-ǧâmat əl-ʿarab tərḥal –
w-ləfu ywaǧǧhu l-ʿarab ʿalêh.

8. *ḡâlûlo walla ya-kəsîm – hâḏa ḥaǰi ma ysîr – ʔənta wəddak təḡədd ši*
bênna ma sâr – ya-xûy ḥatta law-ənnoh ənta – dəbâḥət – ǧêr təḡla – walla
w-ənta b-xâtrak yâ təgsem b-əwlêdak yâ təgsem bîna ya[32] *rabʿak.*

9. *hâḏa b-əl-lêl ʿəǧəm-ma nkaffu mən ʿəndo – nâda ʿa-l-əmʿazzba – hîya*
wlədha fêsal – w-ǧâllha ya-lâǧît əl-xeyr[33] *– wallah – ʔəd-dəwîš yəgulûli –*
ʔəda ma wəddak əǧǧalli wlədak lâ bə-llâh – hənna nərḥal ʿənnak – w-ənxallîk
ʔənt u-wlədak – wəš râyeč?

10. *ḡâlat lâ bə-llâh – b-ulêdak u-mît walad mətl ulêdak wala b-rabʿak –*
gallo yâ walad – ʔana wəddi ʔaʿtîk mâl – ʔalli yəkfîk sabʿ əsnîn – w-aʿtîk
ʿabîd yəmšu maʿak.

11. *w-ulêdi – sər raǧəl – w-təʿannat mən ʿərbân hâyel – mn-əšyûx əl-ʿarab –*
la tâxed mən ʿabât əl-ʿarab[34] *u-təǧawwaz – ʔəda habbêt əl-ǧiza – w-aʿtîk*
bəll.

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[30] *walad ʿamm* normally means 'cousin', whereas *ʔəbən ʿamm* is 'fellow tribesman'; cf. footnote 25 above and a12.

[31] Haplological contraction of *ʿala bâl*; BARTHÉLEMY, Dict., s.v. *bâl*; WOODHEAD – BEENE, Dict., s.v. *bwl*; MALAIKA, Bagdad, p. 7.

[32] The pronominal suffix *-na* has been epexegetically complemented with an apposition preceded by the vocative particle, a construction frequently occurring in the vivid narrative style. The same construction is found in e32 below, and in another recording not published here: *w-ana gsədlak ʔana ya ḏâmen – ʿan rabaʿna l-ʿaǧârma kəllhom* 'and I, Ḏâmen, shall recite poems for you on behalf of our group, of all the ʿAǧârma.'

22

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5. Fēsal was a spoiled child, and once he killed a cousin (or a fellow tribesman). This happened when he was still unmarried. He had not yet married, and Kesīm was the sheikh of the tribe.

6. It was the custom among them that he had to go into exile for seven years, and then the parties would meet for the reconciliation to take place. But although Kesīm was the sheikh of the tribe, he didn't exile him, since the boy was too dear to him.

7. The first day, the second day, a week, two weeks passed, but he didn't wish to exile his son. The sheikhs, his fellow tribesmen, began to fall away from him. When the tribe was about to move camp, the tribesmen came to speak to him.

8. They said to him, 'Look here, Kesīm, this is something that won't do. If you want to show off among us, it won't do. My brother, even if you were the killer, you would have to go into exile. Well, that's at your discretion: you must oust either your son or us, your fellow tribesmen.'

9. In the evening, when they had left his tent, he called the mistress, whose son Fēsal was, and said to her, 'You fortunate one, look here. The men of the Duwīš clan said to me: "If you don't intend to exile your son, then, by God, we'll move away from you and we'll leave you and your son alone." What do you think?'

10. She said, 'Oh no, by God, (you must oust) your son, and even one hundred sons like your son, but not your fellow tribesmen.' He said to his son, 'Look here, my son. I'll give you enough money for seven years, and I'll give you slaves to go with you.

11. And you my son, grow up into a man. Select carefully from the Bedouin of Hāyel, from the Bedouin sheikhs, don't take just any Bedouin, and get married, if you wish to marry. I'll give you camels, too.'

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[33] Periphrasis of direct addressing, used when the name is unknown or lacks importance in the story. It can also be used in direct address in the same way as, e.g., *ya baʿdi* or *ya mʿawwad.*

[34] Glossed by DB and ST *mən hayyalla ʿarab.*

23

12. *w-hâḏa yəhamməllo – w-yaʕtiʔʰ gətiʕên bəll – w-yatʕiʔʰ 35 ḏahab u-gallo yâba36 waddaʕo w-gallo ʔallâh yəsahhəl ʕalêk u-ʕəndak ʕərbân ʔəbər rašid – ʔəb-nəss hâyel w-ənzəl – w-ənšâlla rḥamt alla ǧəriba – w-ǵadi rabʕak yəsfaḥu ʕənnak u-yəlhaguk yəǧibûk – w-əda ma ǧâbûk m-ənt ʔaḥsan mən garaybak əlli yəḏbaḥ ʔəbən ʕammo w-yəǵla sabʕ əsnin.*

13. *hâḏa fêsal gowtar yôm wəsəl ʕərbân ʔəbər rašid əb-hâyel – w-banna ha-l-əmtowlat u-nəzal – təʕāzamuʰ ʕərbân ʔəbər rašid.*

14. *tabʕan37 əš-šêx bəʕid ʔəbər rašid – w-əš-šyûx əktâr – təʕāzamuh – w-hû ʕazəmhom – w-lamma təʕârafu šahar šʕaharên talâta – w-təsâdag hû w-iyâhom gâllhom walla ya-r-rabəʕ ʔana – ʕallamhom əb-gəssto – ʔənni ʔana ǧləwi – walla w-hâḏi mədda sabʕ əsnin – wallah u-wədd ... ʔarid ən-nasab mənku – w-hâḏi ʕatt əǧwâd ʔalla.*

15. *wallah u-yətəlbûlo bənt šêx – mən ʕərbân hâyel – ʕərbân ʔəbər rašid – w-yəǧǧawwaz.*

16. *w-əl-walad čərim – ʔəd-dəwiš – fêsal əd-dəwiš – w-təsamaʕat biʰ ʕərbân ʔəbər rašid u-gâmat təkəff yammo w-hû čərim u-yəḏbaḥ – w-yəʕāzmuʰ u-hû yəʕāzəmhom.*

17. *wallah ləfu garrâbt əs-saḥən – haḏôla ya...yâklu mən saḥən ʔəbər rašid – w-ʕalêhom bass ǧêb əl-əxbar – mnên ʔəgbalt əl-yôm? gâl wallah mən ʕənd – ʕərbân fêsal əd-dəwiš – raǧəl əǧləwi – w-sawwâlo xada ʕərbân hâyel kəllha – sârat ʕarab ʕalêh.*

18. *wallah ya-bər rašid hâḏa laww gaʕad sabʕ əsnin hâḏa ma ... ma ydalli – ǵeyr kəll əl-ʕarab tətbaʕo – hâḏa yəǧûz yəzâwdak ʕala š-šêxa – gâl ya-r-rabəʕ hâḏa ma yəǧûz hâḏa raǧəl əǧləwi ma ǧləwi38 – tarak əs-sâlfa.*

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35 The speaker makes use of three lexical variants: *ʔaʕta* (e.g. a12, a27, e30), *ʔanta* (e30), and *ʔatʕa* (a12, e28); the last-mentioned variant has also been attested in some sedentary dialects, viz. those of Hebron, BAUER, Pal., pp. 15f., and Jericho, BERGSTRÄSSER, Sprachatlas, Map 34. Both sources mention that the metathetic variant is used by Bedouin (loci cit.), according to Bergsträsser those camping in the neighbourhood of Hebron. Bauer does not localize the occurrence. In the semi-literary Bedouin narratives published by LITTMANN this variant occurs frequently, see Beduinenerzählungen I, Gloss., s.v. *tʕy* (p. 53).

12. He loaded for him and gave him two herds of camels. He also gave him gold and said to him, 'My dear son!' He took farewell of him, saying 'May God make your way even. Remember to go to the Ibn Rašid Bedouin in Hāyel town. Get settled there, and God willing, God will soon show mercy (on you) so that your kinsmen will forgive you, follow you and take you back. But if they won't take you back, (remember that) you are not better than your relatives: he who has killed a fellow tribesman, must go into exile for seven years.'

13. Fēsal got going, and when he came to the Bedouin of Ibn Rašid in Hāyel, he pitched a tent with three centre poles and got settled. The Bedouin of Ibn Rašid invited him to visit them.

14. It was, of course, a long way to sheikh Ibn Rašid, but there were many sheikhs. They invited him to visit them, and he invited them. When they had got to know each other better during a couple of months, three months, he trusted himself to them and said, 'Look here, comrades. I'm' — he told them his story — 'I'm an exile, and, you see, this is the blood price of seven years. Look, I wish to join your kin (by marriage). This is the custom of God's good people.'

15. Well, they proposed for him a sheikh's daughter from the Bedouin of Hāyel, from the Ibn Rašid Bedouin, and he got married.

16. The young man, Duwiš, Fēsal ed-Duwiš, was generous, and when the Ibn Rašid Bedouin heard from each other of him, they began to visit him, because he was generous and used to slaughter (for his guests). They used to invite him, and he used to invite them.

17. Well, the parasites came to eat from the plate of Ibn Rašid. Their only duty was to bring news. (Ibn Rašid asked,) 'Where did you come from today?' A man answered, 'Well, from the Bedouin of Fēsal ed-Duwiš, an exile. He has made ... he has taken all the Bedouin of Hāyel; they have become his Bedouin.

18. But listen here, Ibn Rašid. If this man stays seven years, there won't be anyone left, all the Bedouin will follow him. Perhaps he'll compete with you for the sheikhdom.' He said, 'Look here, you fellow tribesmen, It's impossible. Anyhow the man is just an exile.' He let the matter drop.

19. ba'ad ʔasbûʕ ğato sâlfa ṯânya maṭəl ha-s-sâlfa - wallah mən ʕənd ʕərbân fêsal ʔəbən ... fêsal əd-dəwîš - gâl ya-ʕabîd gowtəru hâtûli fêsal - xallîni ʔašûf fêsal hâḏa ʔəlli - ʔəl-ʕərbân ʔərkat ʕaléh.

20. ləfa fêsal - w-fât ʕa-l-ʔamîr ʔəbər rašîd u-sallam ʕaléh - w-yôm ladd ʔəbər rašîd - hadôl naḏrathom baʕîda[39] š-šyûx w-əl-ʔəmara - yôm-ənno ladd wənno rağəl ğəlîl u-walad šabb.

21. w-gasslo s-sâlfa w-gallo walla ya-ʔəbər rašîd - ʔana law-ənni b-taraf hâyel taht əčnəft allah u-čnəftak - wallah ana - mən gəṭaʕt əl-əhdûd - ʔaʕref ʔənni mhami - laww ma tədri ʕənni.

22. w-halla bi^h əbər rašîd u-waddâ^h ʕa-l-maḏyaf - w-ʕəməllo^h - ğada w-karramo - w-gallo čannak nâges ʕalêk šî - xallîni ʔaʕṭîk gallo xalaf allâh ʕalêk - w-gowtar.

23. ğâbat əs-sâlfa yəği šahar - wənnhom nâksîn - mâ radd ʕalêhom - ṭâlet marra nkəsu baʕdên gâl la-l-ʕabəd gowter ʔəḏbaho - w-fəkkni mən ha-š-šağla.

24. hâḏa fêsal dâyman - yəlhag ál-bel - rağəl əğləwi w-əmʔammen - w-yəlhag ál-bel b-əl-ʕəri[40] - w-b-ha-t-towb ərfâli - w-yôm təred ʕala ... əs-sannâyât ʕa-l-bîr - yəğef ʕəndha.

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note 36

36 Children addressing their parents with yâba [yaːba] and yəmma [yumma] often get an echo-answer, the use of which can be extended to cases like rûh yâba 'go, my son'.

37 Loan from Literary Arabic, freely used in plain colloquial.

38 The repetition of the word with ma gives it a shade of depreciatory indefiniteness; the same construction occurs in e23 and e25 below; cf. BLAU, Syntax, §124c, p. 187; BLOCH — GROTZFELD, DAT, 12,22, 130,25, 156,25 (not exactly the same usage).

39 It is commonly held by the Bedouin that the emirs and sheikhs are far-seeing and sagacious; a sheikh must see clearly, šôfteh baʕîde, MUSIL, Rwala, pp. 52 and 471; cf. PALVA, ʕAğ. Studies, Text 23, 25, 36.

40 The unarmed man is 'naked', i.e., he has not girded on his weapons. In Biblical Hebrew, ʕârôm is used similarly, Am. 2:16.

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19. After a week more news like the first news reached him: 'Well, (we come) from the Bedouin of Fēsal ed-Duwīš.' He said, 'Look, slaves, go and bring Fēsal to me. Let me see this Fēsal by whom the Bedouin support themselves.'

20. Fēsal came and went in to Emir Ibn Rašīd and greeted him. When Ibn Rašīd looked up - sheikhs and emirs are farsighted - when he looked up, he noticed that he was a high-born man but still a young man.

21. He told him the story and said to him, 'Look here, Ibn Rašīd, even if I'm living on the outskirts of Hāyel, I'm under God's protection and your protection. Look, since I passed the boundary I have felt myself protected, even if you haven't known of me.'

22. Now Ibn Rašīd welcomed him and sent him to the guest room, had a lunch prepared for him, and received him hospitably. He said to him, 'If you are in need of anything, let me give it to you.' He said to him, 'May God compensate you for it (=many thanks, but I don't need anything).' Then he left.

23. In about a month the affair was buried in oblivion. Then the parasites came back, but he (i.e. Ibn Rašīd) didn't take any notice of what they said. When they had come back a third time, he said to a slave, 'Go and kill him and let me be rid of this affair.'

24. Fēsal was always watching the camels. He was an exile, and he felt safe; he was watching the camels without weapons, with ungirded clothes on. Once when the drawing-camels were letting down the bucket into the well, he was standing right by.

25. Then, when the slaves were drawing water and watering the camels at the source-water wells, and he was standing and holding the halter of his mare, he suddenly saw a black slave and a black mare and shouted, 'O my God (lit. Protector), my God!'

26. When he approached him, he didn't greet him. Fēsal said, 'Look, man, what's the wicked design you have in mind?' He said, 'Listen, we have no wicked design in mind, but we must cut off your head.'

26 27

25. w-ha-l-ʕabîd – ʕala ha-l-əbyâr əl-ʕədd – yəsnu há-l-bel yəsǧûha[41] –
w-gâḍeb əb-rasan əfréso w-wâǧef wənn ha-l-ʕabəd ʔaswad w-əl-faras sowda –
gâl ya-səttâr – ya-səttâr.

26. ʕənd-ma gbal ʕalêʰ mâ sallam – gâl ya-raǧəl šu[42] šarrak? – gâl wallah
má-hna šarr – ǧeyr gaṭəʕ râsak.

27. gâl yâ raǧəl – yâ sâter – wəš əlli ʔâmar əb-gaṭəʕ râsi? gâl wallah
əbər rašîd – galloʰ ya-raǧəl – ma təṭʕîni məhla – w-təgṭaʕ râsi w-ana
b-ḍahr əl-faras?

28. gâl wallah ya-d-dəwîš ma məʕi ʔamər – ǧeyr ʔagṭaʕ râsak mən ʔasʔlak –
w-hû yômi biʰ b-əs-sêf u-yəlaggâha[43] b-îdo – bani ʔâdam – lawu îdo mənno
yəlagga bîha – w-hû yəhəffo wənno gâṭeʕ – yəmnâh.

29. ʕənd-ma wəgʕat ʔîdo gallo ya-ʕabəd waffi waffi – xalas ma ḍall b-əl-
haya fâyda – gâl wallah mâ ʔagdar ʔawaffi lama stašîr ʔəbər rašîd.

30. nəkas ʕala ʔəbər rašîd u-gallo wəš sawwêt? gâl wallah yâ sîdi – ḍarabto
– təlagga b-îdo w-daššarto gâl – daššro yəʕîš ḍəlîl.

31. w-hâḍa rawwah ʕala rabʕo – ʔənsəbâh – ʕalâmak? gâl walla hâḍa lli sâr
– w-gabəl əhkéma ma fîh – təbûb ʕarab – gâmu yəǧûlo dəbəs – w-yəǧûlo
saman.

32. w-lamma ʔîdoʰ – ʔəǧmédat[44] u-tâbat – w-gâl la...lá-l-mara ʔəlli ʕəndo
ya-bənt əl-halâl – habbêti ddalli ʕənd ahâleč – w-ən habbêti təmši məʕi
ʔaʰhalan wa-saʰnalan walla ha-r-raǧəl əd-dîra lli ngaṭʕat ʔîdi bîha ma ḍalli
bîha.

33. təfaṭṭan b-əl·lêl u-hû nâym – wên ʔarhal? wên ʔarûh? təfaṭṭan ʕa-l-
hʷêtât[45] – xâber ʔənno gara hûwa – w-əsbêh ʔaxu ʕowda ʔabu tâyeh əb-
mədrasa – gâl ʔana wədd aẋîl mən ... mən hâyel u-...ʔaǧarreb – ʕala bu
tâyeh.

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[41] Here the affricated variant of /g/ is curiously used in the contiguity
of a back vowel (root analogy). Normally, ʕAǧ. has a morphophonemic alter-
nation yəsǧi – yəsgu; cf. PALVA, ʕAǧ. Studies, pp. 10f.

[42] Koine form used instead of the genuine wəš.

27. He said, 'Look here, man. O my God! Who (lit. what) has given the order
to cut off my head?' He said, 'Look, it's Ibn Rašîd.' He said to him,
'Listen, man, can't you give me a little time and cut off my head when I'm
sitting on horseback?'

28. He said, 'Well, ed-Duwîš, I have no order other than to cut your head
off your body.' But when he smote him with the sword, he put his hand in
its way. If a human being has a normal hand, he puts it in the way. What
was cut off when he slashed him was his right hand.

29. The moment his hand fell down, he said to him, 'Look, you slave, carry
it through! Carry it through! It's finished, there's no longer any use to
live.' He said, 'Look, I cannot carry it through before I take counsel of
Ibn Rašîd.'

30. He returned to Ibn Rašîd, and he asked him, 'What have you done?' He
said, 'Well, my master, I struck him, but he put his hand in the way. His
hand was cut off, and I left him.' He said, 'Leave him, let him live crip-
pled.'

31. Fēsal went back to his fellow tribesmen, to the relatives of his wife.
'What's the matter with you?' He said, 'Well, this is what happened.'
There were no doctors before, just Bedouin medicine men. They started cook-
ing grape syrup for him, and they cooked fat for him.

32. When his hand had healed up and recovered, he said to his wife, who was
there with him, 'Look here, you fine woman. Would you like to stay with
your family? But if you want to follow me, you're welcome. By God, verily
I shall not stay in a territory where my hand has been cut off.'

33. At night, when he had gone to bed, he thought, 'Where shall I betake
myself? Where shall I go?' He thought that he would go to the Hwētāt. He
recalled that he and Sbēh, a brother of ʕAwda Abu Tāyeh, had been at school
together. He thought, 'I'll leave Hāyel and go westward to Abu Tāyeh.'

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[43] Form V imperf. used without the reflexive morpheme (either ellipsis or
contamination of II and V). The form occurs twice, and the audition is very
clear; cf. təlagga a30.

[44] Form I, ∠ǧəmadat, cf. footnote 27 above.

34. *gâlat əl-hərma wallah ya-raǧəl əl-blâd əlli wās⸱ʿátak – ma dḍiǧ bîya –
wallah ana maʿak – w-hâḏa yəǧi šâyel – w-bəllo w-ʿabîdo^h – w-yǧarreb ʿa-l-
h^ə⸱wētât.*

35. *yôm ləfa ʿənd əl-h^ə⸱wētât – ʔəntahû^h əl-h^ə⸱wētât u-banu l-bêt məro –
w-təsâlamu həm wīyâh – w-gallo sbêh walla ya-fēsal ... ʿalâm ʔîdak? gâl
wallah ya-xûya – təgántarat ʿən əl-faras ú-ngsəmat.*

36. *w-kəll lêla ʿənd wâhad – ʔəl-h^ə⸱wētât – w-ʿə́gəm-ma yənkaff əl-ʿaša
yəgowtəru yəʿallə̂lu b-bêto – hâ-l-ǧada ʿənd wâhad – w-əl-ʿaša ʿənd wâhad –
w-ət-taʿlîla – ʔəb-bêt fêsal əd-dəwîš – karâmah əlo.*

37. *lêla m-əl-ləyâli – yôm kaffu mn-ət-taʿlîla yəsmaʿ ʿowda wənno^h –
yəgassed u-yəwanwen əb-ha-l-bêt – gallo ya-sbêh – gûm ʔəgʿad wara bêt
fêsal əd-dəwîš – tari čân ʔaxûk sâyer bî šî – rəfîǧak – tari hassâʿ yəsôlef
b-ha-l-gasîda.*

38. *hâḏa yôm kaffat ət-taʿlîla – w-gaʿad mən hâlo – fətnu ʿalê^h rabʿo –
w-fətnat ʿalê^h gatʿat yaddo^{46} – w-fəten ʿalê^h ʔəbər rašîd mâ-lo hîla
yətûlo – w-law-ənno yətûlo mâ-lo hîla yəhârbo.*

39. *w-gâm sawwa ha-l-gasîda – wəddna nəgûlhalkom u-nsawwîha ʿala r-rəbâba
báʿəd-ma ... ngûlha ʿa-lsânna – yəgûl:*

    *40. ya-llâh ya-lli ʿayšîn əb-raǧwâk^{47}
    yâ məʿti ll mâ madd yadd əl-baxâyel*

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[45] Different subtribes of the Hwētāt are found in a vast area stretching
from Egypt to al-Ǧof and from the Dead Sea to the northern Heǧāz. Here the
subtribe of Hwētāt Ibn Ǧazi, in what is now southern Jordan, is meant,
especially the section of at-Tawāyha. See OPPENHEIM, Beduinen II, pp. 291-
308; PEAKE, Jordan, pp. 210-214.

[46] As in the dialects of other small-cattle nomads of the Syro-Mesopotamian
area, the vernacular form of the word in ʿAǧ. is ʔîd (ʔîdi etc.). Here the
form of the ʿAnazi and Šammari dialects is used; cf. the comparative table
in PALVA, ʿAǧ. Studies, p. 54, where *yäd* (or *yadd*) should also be read in
the second column (Group B, Šammari).

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34. His wife said, 'Well, look here, man. The land which is wide enough
for you will not be narrow for me. Look, I'll follow you.' So he departed
with his camels and slaves, and went westward to the Hwētāt.

35. When he came to the Hwētāt, they hurried to meet him and pitched the
tent with him. They greeted each other, they and him, and Sbēh said to him,
'Listen, Fēsal, what's the matter with your hand?' He said, 'Well, my
brother, I tumbled down off my horse, and it was broken.'

36. Every evening the Hwētāt were in someone's tent, and after the dinner
was finished, they went to spend the night in his tent. The lunch was eaten
in someone's tent, the dinner in someone else's tent, but the evening en-
tertainment was (always) held in Fēsal ed-Duwīš' tent in his honour.

37. One night when they had gone home after the evening entertainment,
ʿAwda heard that Fēsal was reciting poems and humming sadly in the tent.
He said, 'Sbēh, look here. Get up and sit down behind the tent of Fēsal
ed-Duwīš. Maybe something has happened to your brother, your friend. Look,
now he's reciting a qasīda.'

38. When the evening entertainment was over and Fēsal sat alone, he recal-
led his fellow tribesmen, he recalled how his hand had been cut off, and
he recalled Ibn Rašīd. He had no means of getting at him, and even if he
could get at him, he had no means to fight him.

39. Then he composed a qasīda, which we'll recite for you, and after we
have recited it we'll sing it to the accompaniment of the rebec. He said:

    40. O God! We live fixing our hopes on you!
    O Giver of a helping hand, not that of the niggards!

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[47] In the recited version of the poem the first hemistichs do not rhyme,
but in the song they all end in *-ây*. This is actually the only point in the
song where it deviates from the recited form. As far as *-ât/-ây* is concern-
ed, it is worth noticing that the fem. plur. morpheme in the dialect of
Hāyel is {-āy}, ABBOUD, Najdi, p. 12; cf. *-a^h*, CANTINEAU, Nomades I, pp.
20f. (Ǵömūr, Slūt). The old pausal form *-āh* frequently occurs at the ends
of hemistichs, SOCIN, Diwan III, pp. 106f.; cf. WETZSTEIN, Zeltlagern, p.
112 (= ZDMG 22, p. 176).

41. *ya-l-masnad əl-mawred ʿala masnad əd-dənyâh*
    yâ marzag əl-ğanna ğəzîl əl-fadâyel

42. *mən mézənten mən górənt ha-l-ğarəb maddâh*
    təmtor ʿala daxna[48] w-dəlʿân hâyel

43. *tənšədni ya-sbêh ʿən gatəʿ yəmnây*
    həbît yâ rağlen əblayya hamâyel

44. *wəgaʿat yadi[49] ya-sbêh w-ana tahallâh[50]*
    ʾəs-sêf bâdeh mâ yədâwi[51] ğalâyel

45. *w-ana balâya dâlmen gass yəmnây*
    sêfa ʿala kəll əl-maxalîğ tâyel

46. *lâ xâyəfen mənni w-la haggen ʾərğâh*
    w-lâ ğâlyen ʿənni w-lâ hû msâyel

47. *w-əl-haməd l-alla l-yowm ʿənd əl-həwētât*
    nəzəlt ʿənd əmʿəmmrîn ən-nətâyel[52]

48. *čam ğârten --˘ ʿowda nəmagrât[53]*
    časabha mn-əd-dowhât mâ-hom šaxâyel[54]

49. *w-salâmtak u-wəddna ngûlha ʿala r-rəbâba.*

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[48] Watering-place in al-Gasīm. Daxna and the hills of Hāyel in Ğabal Šammar have water even in the middle of summer.

[49] The form is metrically conditioned (˘-); therefore neither the genuine ʿAğ. ʾidi nor the ʿAnazi and Šammari yaddi can be used; cf. a40p and footnote 46 above.

[50] Explained by DB and ST as tahallêt (cf. footnote 47 above) and glossed by ST tfarrağt ʿalêha, ttallaʿt ʿalêha.

[51] ST: yədâwi is used instead of the passive yədâwa ('but the enmity cannot be healed'); cf. f24p, footnote 166, and g40p, footnote 196.

[52] nətîla is a heap of ashes and coffee grounds near the fireplace. A high heap shows the hospitality of the host. Some of my informants heard nəfâyel 'exploits', 'heroic deeds', which does not fit the context. Cf. Glossary.

41. O you Source and Support of the world!
    O you who grant paradise and good things in abundance!

42. O you who send the rain cloud from the corner of the west,
    And bring rain over Daxna and the hills of Hāyel!

43. Sbēh, you are asking me about how my right hand was cut off.
    All is finished for me; I am a man without kinsmen.

44. Sbēh, my right hand fell down before my very eyes.
    The sabre has slashed (it), but it does not heal enmity.

45. My plague is an oppressor who cut off my right hand.
    His sabre reaches all human beings.

46. He is not afraid of me, nor can I ask for justice.
    He need not go into exile for my sake; he does not even wonder what happened.

47. But thanks to God, today I am among the Hwētāt,
    I have settled down with the makers of high heaps of ashes and coffee grounds.

48. How many attacks has ʿAwda turned off victoriously,
    Winning battles in open terrain, not in ravines!

49. And peace be on you. Now we'll sing it to the accompaniment of the rebec.

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[53] The line seems to be confused. DB replaced the indistinctly heard word after ğârten by časabha, ST by taradha; these are, however, metrically unsatisfactory. The last word in the line is clearly heard as nəmagrât, which DB glossed ğâbha kəllha, but the word remains obscure. KHAIRALLAH ʿASSĀR:"la-magrâh 'to the final place of settlement', cf. Cl.Ar. maqarrah 'place of residence'." Thus, the n- could be the result of a partial assimilation, and the correct translation would be 'has turned off, all the way back.'

[54] According to DB, dowha means a great herd, fowg əl-mîtên, čətîra!, šəxîl a little one, xams rûs, ʿašar rûs. ST glossed the words əl-ʾard əl-wəsîʿa and əl-ʾarâdi d-dêga, bâb l-əfrûʿ respectively.

1. *hāḏa – ʔalla ymassîkom b-əl-xeyr – haḏôla š-šarʕlân w-əš-šararât –*
yətʰârabu – w-əš-šarʕlân w-əš-šararât mən ʕərbân sūrîya w-mən ʕərbân
əl-ʔərden – w-mən ʕərbân – ʔəs-səʕūdîya – yətlâyamu ʕa-l-hᵊdûd u-bəxəššu⁵⁵
b-əhdûd baʕadhom.

2. *had əl-marrât yəǧzu š-šararât ʕa-š-šarʕlân⁵⁶ – w-yətlâyamu ssîr dabha*
bênhom – w-yəndəbeh əmn-əš-šarʕlân u-yəndəbeh əmn-əš-šararât u-yəndəbeh
əšyûx u-xeyl bênhom – w-yənxâḏ⁵⁷ əmnâʕa⁵⁸ – w-ʕâtt əl-ʕarab – mən məzâya
l-ʕarab əl-gədama – ʔənno l-manîʕ yərǧaʕ – laww râh yəʕûd.

3. *ʔəš-šarʕlân xaḏu mnaʕa – w-haḏâk əl-hîn – sattâm ʔəbən šarʕlân u-xalaf*
ʔâl ləḏən⁵⁹ – w-yôm ʔənnhom ləfu w-ətlâyamu b-əl-ʕarab əš-šêx əl-əflâni
wêno? gâl dəbeh⁶⁰ əš-šêx l-əflâni wêno? dəbeh – gâlu mən ləfa mnaʕa? gâlu
walla ǧâbu – ʔəmnâʕa – ʕənd əš-šêx ədbâǧ u-mnaʕa b-bêt ... hazzâʕ ʔəbən
šarʕlân⁶¹ – talabhom xalaf ʔâl ləḏən – w-ǧâbhom ʕala š-šəǧǧ u-dəbahhom.

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⁵⁵ A koineized form; the *b*-imperfect is not used in the older genuine
dialect of the tribe; cf. PALVA, ʕAǧ. Studies, p. 48.

⁵⁶ This took place in 1902 while the head chief Sattām Ibn Šaʕlān was
visiting the Sultan ʕAbd al-Hamīd in Constantinople. The attack was re-
garded as unusually outrageous, since the Šararāt had made a treaty of
friendship, *səhba*, with the Šaʕlān (Rwala), see MUSIL, Rwala, pp. 603-618.

⁵⁷ Form VII of *xaḏa/ʔaxaḏ*, as if from **xâḏ*.

⁵⁸ In a battle, "he who sees certain death before him asks for pardon in
these words: 'Give pardon, O rider! *əmnaʕ əmnaʕ yâ xayyâl*' The pardoner is
called *mâneʕ*, the pardoned *manîʕ*. The mount of the pardoned belongs to the
victor. Having stayed three days as a guest, the pardoned is allowed to
return home. He may be given a riding-camel, which he, however, must send
back." See MUSIL, Rwala, pp. 529f., id., Arabia Petraea III, p. 391. Kil-
ling or selling a pardoned enemy is a flagrant violation of the Bedouin
law, cf. Rwala, p. 615, MONTAGNE, Contes IX 6.

⁵⁹ Sattām b. Hamad b. Šaʕlān (d. 1904) was the head chief of the Rwala
tribe, MUSIL, Rwala, pp. 253-255 and passim. Xalaf ʔĀl ʔIdn b. Zēd was
"Sattām's chief lieutenant", ibid., p. 596 and passim. Xalaf was also
known as a poet, id., Arabia Petraea III, p. 239.

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1. May God give you a good evening. The Šaʕlān and the Šararāt carried on
war against each other. The Šaʕlān and the Šararāt are Bedouin from Syria,
Jordan, and Saudi Arabia. They met each other on the borders, and they
crossed each other's borders.

2. Once the Šararāt made a raid against the Šaʕlān. When they had met each
other, a bloody battle broke out between them. Many of the Šaʕlān were
killed, and many of the Šararāt were killed, among them, sheikhs and
horses. Pardoned captives were also taken, and it was a good custom of the
Bedouin, a practice of the Bedouin in the past, to allow the pardoned cap-
tives to return. Even if they were lost (in the battle), they came back.

3. The Šaʕlān took pardoned captives. At that time there were Sattām Ibn
Šaʕlān and Xalaf ʔĀl ʔIdn. When they had come and met the Bedouin, they
asked, 'Where is the sheikh So-and-So?' Someone said, 'He was killed'.
'Where is the sheikh So-and-So?' 'He was killed'. They asked, 'Who were
the pardoned captives?' They said, 'Well, the men brought a group of par-
doned captives to the tent of the sheikh Dbāǧ, and there is another group
of pardoned captives at the tent of Hazzāʕ Ibn Šaʕlān.' Xalaf ʔĀl ʔIdn
sent for them, took them to his tent and killed them.

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⁶⁰ Pass. perf. of *dəbah*. The finite forms of the internal passive are not,
however, productive in the dialect of the tribe. As in most dialects of
Arabic, they are confined to a few lexical items, the number of which
seems, generally speaking, to be greater in nomadic than in sedentary
dialects. One of the major reasons for the loss of productivity of the
finite internal passive forms was undoubtedly the regressive assimilation
of the vowels of the first syllable (e.g. CaCiC-, CuCiC- > CiCiC-). After
the total or partial neutralization of the morphological contrast active
vs. passive, the internal passive forms were gradually replaced by active
n- or *t*-forms with which their functions already overlapped. In isolated
cases, however, the passive forms survived and were lexicalized. See, e.g.
FEGHALI, Kfarʕabīda, pp. 198f.; SOCIN, Diwan III, pp. 151f.; REINHARDT,
ʕOmān, pp. 154-157 (productive?); WILLMORE, Egypt, p. 120 (a list of 16
verbs); ABBOUD, Najdi, pp. 19 and 47 (productive?); ROSSI, Sanʕāʔ, pp.
36f.; LANDBERG, Daṯ., pp. 405f.

MUSIL, Rwala, gives the impression that the finite internal passive might
be productive: the short quotations in prose abound in such forms, e.g.

4. *yōmənno ǧābhom ʿala š-šəǧǧ gâl ʿalêhom čələmtên – wəddna ngûlhen ʿala lsānna w-baʿdēn nsawwîhen ʿala r-rəbāba.*

5. *ʔal-mnāʿa ʔalli ʿənd ədbāǧ[62] – rakkabhom ʿala bəll – kəll wâhad ʔarʿtâh dəlûl – w-raǧǧaʿu – ʿa-š-šarārāt – w-əmnāʿa š-šarārāt ləfu – ʿala baʿarîn kamân ʿa-š-šaʿlân – ʔalli mn-əš-šaʿlân – ʔamma l-əmnāʿa ʔalli b-bêt hazzāʿ – ǧābûhom – w-fharûlhom ǧəddâm əš-šəǧǧ – ǧəddâm šəǧǧ sattâm b-šaʿlân – w-gâllhom xalaf ʔâl ləḏən – gasad ʿalêhom čələmtên gâl ya-htêm –*

6. *ya-htêm[63] ya-hêl[64] l-əhtāriš w-ər-rgâʿ*
   yamm nafxa b-əl-yadd masr əl-ǧərʿâba[65]

   ʔəntu lli b-awwal ḏowgna[66] sâbku t-tmâʿ
   ləhəǧ darak hêl əl-byût əl-mahâba.[67]

7. *fî xaddāḏa b-bêt ʔəbən šaʿlân əmn-əš-šarārāt ʔəsəmha hmêde – mâ fî mn-əš-šarārāt nâs hāḏər ǧeyr əlli wəddhom yəndəbhu – w-ǧâm ʿalêhom u-ǧəlad rûshom u-dəbahhom.*

8. *lâḏat əš-šarārîya xaddâma ʿənd ʔəbən šaʿlân – gâlat walla š-šarārāt ǧəyyâb – w-ana walla ya-šyûx ʔarît təsmahûli – ʔarədd ʿən əš-šarārāt – gâlu ya-šarārîya wəš wəddeč tərəddi? – gâlat walla ʔana b-waǧh[68] ʔəbən šaʿlân – b-waǧh sattâm ʔəbən šaʿlân ha-č-čələmtên əlli məʿi čələmtên wədd agûlhen – w-salāmətku – gâlu – lâ bə-llâh gûli – wəddna ngûlhen u-baʿdēn ənʿîdhen ʿala r-rəbāba.*

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wuxid 'was captured' (p. 330), *ǧîr ʿaleyh* 'an attack was made on it' (ibid.), *enǧemt* 'I was led astray by the stars' (p. 399), *lâ yedâm* 'he must not be injured' (p. 465), *čân yeʿedd* 'he was classed' (p. 593). The internal passive forms used in poetry and proverbs are often due to the conservative linguistic tradition of this kind of artistic colloquial, but in many cases they can be regarded rather as conscious stylistic loans from the literary language. Thus, several instances given by BROCKELMANN, Grundriss I, pp. 537f., do not reflect the actual structure of the dialects.

[61] Probably Hazzāʿ b. Nāyef b. Šaʿlān, the head chief of the Rwala in the second half of the 19th century, father of Nūri b. Šaʿlān, MUSIL, Rwala, pp. 58, 418, 577. By this time he was already dead. His name may have come here from the poem, b12p, where the leaders of the Rwala are referred to as Hazzāʿ's heirs.

4. As he took them to the tent, he recited a couple of verses to them. We'll recite them, and then we'll sing them to the accompaniment of the rebec.

5. The pardoned captives who were in the tent of Dbāǧ were put on camel-back. Everyone was given a riding-camel, and they returned them to the Šarārāt. And the pardoned captives taken by the Šarārāt came back, also on camel-back, to the Šaʿlān, (I mean) those who were from the Šaʿlān. But as to the pardoned captives who were in Hazzāʿ's tent, they were brought (to Xalaf), and a pit was dug for them in front of the tent, in front of Sattām Ibn Šaʿlān's tent, and Xalaf ʔĀl ʔIḏn said ... composed a couple of verses on them. He said, 'O Htēm!'

6. O Htēm, the people wearing tatters and rags,
   Look, you are blowing disgusting entrails in your hands.

   It was you whom the covetousness for our herds seized first,
   You hankered after the level of the people of the grand tents.

7. In Ibn Šaʿlān's tent there was a churner called Hmēde, of the Šarārāt. There were no people of the Šarārāt present besides those who would be killed, when he (i.e. Xalaf) laid hands on them and cut off their heads, killing them.

8. The Šarāri woman who was a maid at Ibn Šaʿlān's tent, came in (from the women's compartment) and said, 'Look here, the Šarārāt are far away. Listen, you sheikhs. If you permit, I want to answer on behalf of the Šarārāt.' They said, 'You Šarāri woman, what do you want to say in answer?' She said, 'Well, I want to recite a couple of verses under the protection of Ibn Šaʿlān, Sattām Ibn Šaʿlān, a couple of verses which I have (composed), and that's all.' They said, 'Oh by God, recite by all means.' We'll recite them and then repeat them to the accompaniment of the rebec.

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[62] The captives killed by Xalaf were more probably those brought to Dbāǧ's tent, cf. b11p.

[63] Htēm is the common name of the despised pariah tribes (Slēb, al-Hawāzem, al-Fhēǧāt, aš-Šarārāt, ʿAzem), MUSIL, Rwala, p. 136.

9. gâlat əhmêde kəll hərğa b-əl-ʔawgâr
   xaddâdten b-əl-bêt raddat ğəwâba

10. ha-l-ʕeyb mâ hûwa b-əl-əhtarîš w-ər-rgâr
    dabh əl-mənîr əb-bêtkom ya-š-šəyâba

11. mənîʕna rawwah ʕala taləğt əl-bâr
    ʔamma mənîr ədbâğ la-d-dabəh ğəyâba

12. laww əl-xasâra mən məwārit hazzâr
    ʔal-bêt hədm[69] u-sâr lown əl-xarâba

13. ʔalli zʕalatkom ğârten b-awsat əl-gâr[70]
    təsʕîn šêx ʔalli gədarna šərâba[71]

14. xamsîn sâbeğ kawwaʕen fard məkwâr
    b-əl-ğərəf u-ma-ktar ʕasîb ər-rəbâba[72]

15. w-əl-xeyl b-əš-šêxân katten əl-əryâr
    təgâmazen ğərf l-əbdûn əl-mahâba

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[64] Diminutive of ʔahl/hal. As the result of the "gaháwah syndrome" (BLANC's term, PALVA, ʕAğ. Studies, p. 24), the ʔ in this word is usually missing in the Bedouin dialects; cf. hala < ʔahlan and the secondarily formed verb halla (a22, e16, f4); WETZSTEIN, Zeltlagern, note to 18,7; LANDBERG, ʕAnazeh, I 56.

[65] Glossed by DB məsrân. Here the Šarārāt are blamed because of their disgusting and unhealthy food. MUSIL, Arabia Petraea III, p. 150, gives a list of the parts which are usually regarded as inedible.

[66] Glossed by DB ʔál-bel, by ST xêlna.

[67] Pronounced in the song ya-htaym ya-hayl l-əhtārayš w-ər-rgârî ... ğərâbāy ... hənt awwal b-awwal dawganā sâbəku t-tmârî ... mahâbāy.

[68] "Protection granted by a man against his tribesmen or allies to a person regardless (of) whether present or not is called a countenance, wağh", MUSIL, Rwala, p. 438.

[69] Pass. perf. of hadam; see footnote 60 above.

[70] I.e., the Šarārāt have not attacked the Šaʕlān from ambush but in the open field.

Right column English translation

9. Hmēde says every word to the point,
   A churner in the tent gives an answer:

10. The disgrace is not to wear tatters and rags,
    But to kill the pardoned captives in your tent, you grey-
    ~haired sheikhs.

11. Our captives returned home on the back of swift-footed camels,
    But Dbāğ's captives were put to death.

12. If it be pity on someone, it's pity on Hazzāʕ's heirs.
    The house is doomed to perish and to have a semblance of ruins.

13. What made you furious was an attack in the midst of the plain,
    The ninety sheikhs whom we defeated in a bloody battle.

14. Fifty chargers tumbled down at one time
    On the bank of a wādi; How many strings of rebec!

15. The horses carrying the sheikhs dashed away towards defiles,
    Racing one another into the awe-inspiring gorge of the ibexes.

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[71] Glossed by ST damn, əl-môt yaʕni.

[72] ma-ktar is an admirative form; according to SOCIN it seldom occurs in Central Arabian poetry, Diwan III, p. 173; cf. BLAU, Syntax, pp. 51 and 114. The strings of rebec are made of horsehair. After the bloody battle there was both horsehair enough for innumerable rebecs and an exhaustless source of songs.