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Generational Change in Berber Women's Song of the Anti-Atlas Mountains, Morocco

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I swear we'll party now, my dear
by God we'll party, for death is near
ullab ard ntnzab-nuns aw-inu
ullab ard ntnzab lmut rad nmud

—Young women's *tazrrart*, Ida ou Zeddout (recorded 8/97)

For women and men of the Anti-Atlas mountains of Southwestern Morocco, community song serves as a discursive medium for expressing displacement and social conflict in ways that Ishelhin (Tashelhit-speaking “Berbers”) consider unacceptable in conversational speech. The social production, consumption, and evaluation of sung poetry engage broader processes of negotiating Ashelhi identity and community membership. Through song, women and men engage differently with what I am calling a “moral economy” particular to the community of Ida ou Zeddout Ishelhin of the Anti-Atlas mountains.¹ The term “economy” is intended to highlight the processual nature of negotiations over morality—their discursive production, consumption, and exchange between people and commercial music markets.

In this first of a two-article set, I focus on an age-cohort that has been overlooked in the scholarly literature on sung expression: youths.² Recent scholarly interest in young people and music has focused primarily on musical tastes and consumption patterns (e.g. Mauerhofer 1997 on Austrian youths; Minks 1999 on American elementary school children; Schade-Poulsen 1999 on young men and Algerian *rai*), and urban youths' appropriation of global musical styles (e.g. Remes 1999 on Tanzania). In this scholarly literature, the transcription, translation, and analysis of song texts offer insights into the referential messages conveyed by song texts.³ Cru-

cial insights can be gained, as well, through a concurrent attention to the non-referential aspects of song and their social production. For rural Moroccans, for example, this requires attention to the transmission of singing skills between peers. Typically, youth song production is treated in the contemporary scholarly literature as either an innovative response to the increasingly global circulation of musical styles and media or, for rural genres, an immature version of masterful adult forms. Scholars' interests tend to head in one direction or the other, rather than considering the relationship between the two orientations. In societies where musical syncretism and innovation predate globalization, syncretic processes may continue to operate in contemporary song productions, drawing from an expanded repertoire of influences that includes the commercial cassettes sold to expanding markets.

For rural youths in non-Western societies, the expansion of mediated cultural forms, including music, means that they make crucial decisions about which aspects of "traditional" song practices to perpetuate and which to let fall into the realm of the ancestors. In the present article, I analyze the indigenous production of youthful rural modernity through song, and explore the ways song mediates the moral tenor of the geographical and social displacements that preoccupy young Berber women. The young women fall in the lifecycle between puberty and marriage, in their teens and early twenties, and by their own standards consider themselves an age cohort (*tekkida*). Many aspects of their daily routines are age-segregated (as well as sex-segregated) throughout much of the year.

Dislocation figures centrally in what it means to be Ashelhi (male Tashelhit-speaking "Berber") or Tashelhit (female) for people from the Anti-Atlas. The causes for displacement are gendered, however. Young men follow the region's hundred-year convention of migrating to urban centers with periodic visits to their *tamazirt* ("homeland," "countryside"). Young women stay behind in the countryside, estranged as a result of exogamous marriage conventions. Women's and men's sung discourses emerge from these displacements as well as from moments in which the community collectively confronts itself with its fragmentation, as during the Muslim holidays of 'Id Limqorn (Arabic Aid Lkbir, or Great Sacrifice) and the August wedding season. Ishelhin participate in a shared moral economy in which they highly value women who maintain the homelands while conferring prestige on men who emigrate to the cities to support their families (Hoffman 2002).

Among Ida ou Zeddout women, the subgroup of Ishelhin among whom I conducted fieldwork and recorded song and talk between 1996 and 1999, two genres of sung poetry are most responsible for conveying themes of estrangement and migration: *tizrrarin* (singular *tazrrart*) and *tindḍamin* (singular *tandḍamt*) (Hoffman 2000a). Song texts and melodies in these

genres remain uncommodified for women.⁴ Older women in the community serve simultaneously as authoritative exemplars and as outdated models against which young women stake out their generational particularity. Although women's sung poetry is not commercially recorded, it is influenced in part by commercial Tashelhit music and has, arguably, influenced commercial music in return.⁵ For many young migrant men today, in contrast, "meaningful words" (*Imaeni*) fill the song texts of commercially recorded cassettes in which male poetic duels (also called *tinqdam*) gratify male youths' preoccupation with their own dislocation that challenges attempts to maintain their honor (Caton 1990).

I focus here on the social production, reproduction, use, and assessment of song forms more than their formal qualities.⁶ Social meaning in the songs produced by both genders is lodged at the discursive and pragmatic levels: in the literary content of song texts, and in the social, spatial, sequential, and generational organization of collective song productions. The Tashelhit song genres I discuss, as well as others falling outside this article's scope, are in constant conversation. For this reason, I discuss only the minimal technical features of each genre in turn.⁷ I concentrate instead on contexts of use which, as Volosinov states, are intersections of human interests "in a state of constant tension, of incessant interaction and conflict" (Volosinov 1973:80). In mountain villages heavily marked by male emigration and female exogamous marriage, song intervenes in "incessant interactions" between Ishelhin as they grapple with the tensions brought about by geographical displacements and youthful aspirations.

Sung Poetry: The Ties That Bind

In the Anti-Atlas mountains, song pervades just about every domain of routine and ritual. Women and girls sing as they perform domestic and agricultural chores. Groups of young women traveling between villages rehearse verses overheard at a local wedding or lines from the latest cassette released by the popular music *rwaïs* (Schuyler 1979a). During the Tashelhit radio programming in the evening hours, people keep battery-operated radios nearby to hear the latest news and music. Married rural women gather for prayers during the fasting month of Ramadan, chanting Quranic verses and reciting what they call *hadith* (cf. Galand-Pernet 1972), rural adaptations of religious and moral teachings transmitted between pious women (Hoffman 1999). In rituals and public gatherings, musical performances take on heightened potency.⁸ But even in informal settings, Ishelhin are attentive to determining whether a vocalist "has something to say" (*ila dars ma ittini*), or whether what he or she sings is "just words" (*gïr awal*) with little moral or aesthetic value.⁹

Tizrrarin: The Glue of Social Interaction

For the Ida ou Zeddout women and girls who remain in their villages as their fathers and husbands migrate northward, the work of maintaining peaceful social relations involves the establishment of boundaries of alliances and the monitoring of movements (of people and goods) into and out of the countryside. Such constant vigilance helps ensure a level of security despite precarious economic, meteorological, and demographic conditions. The sung tizrrarin verses smooth over volatility by evaluating events as they happen according to common sense notions of human nature.

Structurally, the tizrrarin are not flashy. Most of the a capella verses are couplets, although some contain three or four lines (Arabic and Tashelhit *bit*; plural *byut*). They require bare voices with no accompanying drumming, musical instruments or bodily gestures. The first half-line or full line of a verse is sung solo, after which a chorus may collectively repeat the last segment of the soloist's song text, or voice the vocable *yeb*, or sing a set of vocables or a semantically meaningful but referentially meaningless phrase like *anay tabeyan* (literally, "we're just getting by"). Melody, meter, lyrical content, and timbre vary from one cluster of mountain hamlets to the next; young women are socialized into the geographical boundaries of repertoire formulae. Generational distinctions further mark local styles, as I elaborate below. In spite of the conventions governing tizrrarin styles, words and phrases travel freely between this and other song genres, much as they travel between song and talk. From the flow of verse texts and melodies, people track individuals' physical movements across the mountains as they visit relatives, attend weddings, and frequent saints' festivals. Many Ishelhin find such movements a fascinating topic of conversation.

Because the meanings in tizrrarin are so keyed to the human landscape, they demand an alert ear. The social, poetic, and musicological qualities defining the genre are too subtle for the Moroccan "folklore" circuit performed in package tourist hotels. Indeed, the genre is the only non-commercialized, non-folklorized genre from the Sous region of Southwestern Morocco.¹⁰ The practice of singing tizrrarin brings about an atmosphere of intimacy, expressing human vulnerability and frailty as well as their antitheses, determination and resolve. Women produce verses in response to particular contexts. For instance, during each stage of a wedding ceremony, vocalists select verses that convey the relative spatial organization of participants, houses, and fields (El Mountassir 1998). The jurisdiction of tizrrarin, I submit, is limited to off-stage venues, marking liminal moments by filling gaps between what people consider events: waiting to be served meals, riding atop a pickup truck from the bride's village to the groom's village, or welcoming guests into a village.

Performance Venue: Guests' Quarters, a Wedding

When Ishelhin sing or drum in the course of their daily labors and social rounds, they draw on the realm of pleasure. Festive events are moments in which pleasure takes precedence over laboring. The association people make between music and pleasure turns musical performance and listening into fertile sites of social regulation (Foucault 1990), and wedding venues are a case in point. The monitoring at weddings is inter-generational as well as intra-generational; mothers in particular encourage their daughters to sing and dance, but urge them to exercise restraint and participate moderately so as not to attract too much attention. In sung performances, as in casual conversation, Ishelhin value the quality of "having something to say." Singing tizrarin, then, is a key site for demonstrating both verbal agility and moral respectability.

Not surprisingly, weddings are key performance venues for tizrarin and other musical performances (see Diagram 1). Each afternoon of the week preceding a wedding, while the bride is restricted to her parent's home, the bride's female friends visit her and the group sings tizrarin and listens to commercial cassettes. During the afternoon preceding the day in which the bride relocates to the home of the groom's parents (see Wedding Day 1), the bride's parents typically host an evening meal for fellow villagers. Women and girls sit lining the walls of a long room, leaving the room's center clear so that guests can be served easily and dinner tables brought in at meal time. A respected mother or grandmother from the bride's village marks the opening of the wedding festivities by "picking up" (*tasi*) a tazrart verse. The bride's young friends do not show their sadness, yet, at losing their friend's company. Married women, on the other hand, sing out the verses with lumps in their throats and tears in their eyes. They comment on displacement, singing as authorities.

On the first night of one wedding I attended in 1997, women strung together an extended sequence of tizrarin until someone announced to the group that the male *ahwas* performers had arrived from neighboring Ida ou Finisse. The young women gathered their wits about them, palms sweating from the thrill and fear of anticipated mixed company, and pushed outside to welcome the visitors with more tizrarin. A village that does not welcome its guests in this way is considered inhospitable. The young women called out:

ila marhba bikum brrkat
kkat ayur ula sin
ma fiyyid uskant tirmt-ns

Welcome,
 stay a month or even two
 it's no problem to feed you for that time

Diagram 1: Song performance venues at a wedding, Ida ou Zeddout, SW Morocco

Week preceding wedding		Wedding day 1	Wedding day 2
Afternoons:	Inside home of bride's parents <u>tizrarin</u> - young women <u>rwais</u> - cassettes of commercial Tash pop (visits by village girls and women)	Late afternoon: Inside home of bride's parents m and f villagers attend <u>tizrarin</u> - young women (waiting for guests' arrival)	Late afternoon: Inside home of bride's parents m and f villagers attend <u>tizrarin</u> - young and older women (waiting for departure to groom's village)
		Early evening: Outside, mountain roads, in pickup trucks (<u>tanggift</u>) <u>tizrarin</u> and <u>tindamin</u> – bride's f. villagers and family (en route from bride's to groom's village)	
		Evening: Outside bride's home <u>tizrarin</u> - m. guests and f. villagers (upon arrival of male singers)	Evening: inside or outside groom's parent's home <u>tizrarin</u> - f. hosts and f. guests (between guests' arrival and performances)
		Night: Outside field in bride's village ahyaš - village and guest men agwal - village young women	Night: Outside cleared space in groom's village ahyaš - village and guest men agwal - village young women

From the rooftop of the bride's parents' house, a male villager reiterated this welcome by juxtaposing his own verse before the women had finished the second verse of their slow, deliberate *tazrrart* in which they beckoned, "Welcome to all, you've come to the music / be at peace." The male visitors sang greetings of *tizrrarin* in kind, acknowledging the warm welcome.

At that moment, men's *tizrrarin* and those of women temporally overlapped. The result was heterophony, as each group in turn produced a drone under the other's melody, an element typical of the *tarkib* style of Arab music that, like Berber music, uses no harmony (Camilleri 1973:60). The men's and women's couplets thus did not formally constitute a call and response sequence. Instead, men's and young women's melodies overlapped in a complementary fashion. An overt call and response sequence would have suggested a kind of conversation between men and women that *Ishelhin* roundly consider shameful during public events, in contrast to the mixed sex call and response musical genres practiced by groups of Berbers elsewhere in Morocco.

Communication through *tizrrarin* is commonly indirect, whether between the sexes or between single-sex members of different villages, but verses may pose pointed questions. For example, a male performer from the *Ida ou Finisse* group queried his *Ida ou Zeddout* hosts in one *tazrrart*, "It has been years since you called us in to sing / What did we do to keep you away?" Such verses hint at the uncertainty of moments of displacement in the mountains, the abiding desire to link geographically-distanced people, and the reassurance that, just as if the visiting performers were emigrant sons, it would be "no problem to feed you" for a stretch of time. Indeed, the male performers were fed dinner by the bride's family before the other guests were served. They then headed outside to a cleared section of the harvested barley fields and performed their collective song and dance for three hours. Although welcomed to stay for "a month or two," the performers left during the early morning hours, as did the fellow villagers who returned to their homes.

On the following afternoon (Diagram 1, Wedding Day 2), the villagers returned to the bride's parents' house for a second meal. At the close of the second afternoon, villagers climbed into Peugeot pickup trucks and followed the bride to the groom's village where the marriage was to be consummated. The cycle of festivities was repeated at the groom's home, where musical dance performances were the evening's highlights, first the men's *aḥwaš* and then the young women's *agwal*, a sequence that lasted from around 2 a.m. until near dawn.

In describing a single wedding and its verbal performances in some detail, I aim to suggest participants' movements through multiple song

genres, noting the particular role of tizrrarin in holding the multi-day event together. Wherever they are sung, tizrrarin are not the explicit focus of attention. Instead, they powerfully suggest commonality where there may appear to be little, mediating between social groups in potentially messy situations in which the people gathered may harbor antithetical agendas. Wedding guests often number three to five hundred, and at times certain of them watch others as though they were all sitting on a tinderbox. Bad will on an individual's part may wreck the festivities, it is said; an ill-wisher may face blame if the newlyweds encounter trouble in their marriage.

Articulating the Community: Generational Differences

Given the potential for strife in public gatherings, tizrrarin verses serve the crucial function of declaring bonds between people. They do this by articulating collectively-held moral and social norms. As is true of the aḥwaš performances Schuyler analyzes, the production of tizrrarin serves to “glorify communal unity” so as to help “enforce the code of social behavior” (Schuyler 1979b:72). Enforcing moral codes is a task largely delegated to older, married women who mediate disputes so as to maintain unity between factions. Likewise, they orchestrate the sequencing of young women's songs, yet they do not direct their content just as they please. It bears note that young women will become the informal moral “council” of the next generation, as one young man playfully called the older women who confer on village news in the pre-sunset hour, sitting on stoops under the shade of their house awnings. How the future “council” will “judge” and assure social bonds in the future remains unclear. For the moment, unmarried young women sing more commonly about daily, immediate matters than questions of social unity. Young women's verses explore themes of friendship, reunion, and the pain of parting. For older women, however, the thematic focus is broader. Lomax suggests that “folk music,” generally speaking, has the ability to “produce a feeling of security for the listener by voicing the particular quality of a land and the life of its people” (1960:xv in Bohlman 1988:52). For senior women, in contrast to young women, a concern with maintaining security through interdependence between social groups and villages tends to be articulated explicitly, such as in the verse transcribed in Example 1:¹¹

<i>a yen a nga nkki-dun</i>	We are one, me and you (plural),
<i>yen nšrk</i>	we share walls
<i>nšrk diidek waṭa</i>	our fields share boundaries and
<i>d-laeyun nswa ukk^wn</i>	springs as one they are irrigated
<i>ule targ^wa-inaḡ nswa nsu winun</i>	from our channels we water yours

Example 1: Elderly woman's *azzarrat* "y'en a nga"

Ida ou Zeidout
(recorded 1997)

♩ = 222

Me 1

Soloist: a ha yen — n - ga — n - kki — du — n — yen - n - su - r n - s - ra — ki —

Chorus: yeh —

Me 2

Soloist: n - s - rk - di — d - k - wa - ja — d ja — yun - n - swa — u - kk'w — ni — [ululation] — yun n - swa — u - kk'w — ni —

Chorus: yeh —

Me 3

Soloist: u - we le tar — g - wa - i - ma - b — n — swa n - su wi - nun a — yi — yeh —

Chorus: yeh —

For Anti-Atlas women, being “one” means sharing the very stuff of life—land and water. But it also means sharing boundaries. “We are one” not because we are friends, or because we are from the same lineage, village, or tribe, but because our plots “share walls.” Some tizrarin acknowledge the potential for social conflict even more explicitly (see Example 2):

<i>a rbbi dawm lbhna tawi-tid erraḥt</i>	Oh Lord, bring us calm and rest here
<i>han sdaε ur iṣwi</i>	troubles aren't good
<i>da tfsaḍn lemwal</i>	they waste money ¹²

Likewise, older women may foreground the theme of communal harmony when they arrive from the bride's village to the home of the groom. They may, for example, inform the host that they do not expect royal treatment:

<i>nkki rdiḡ s-aynnad ukk^wn ka</i>	I'm happy with whatever
<i>tiwi loḡt</i>	time brings
<i>ur nṣrk udi</i>	even if we don't share butter
<i>d-izzammarn</i>	and mutton

The older women's verses in Example 1 and Example 2 have a similar solo-chorus patterning. In each, the soloist sang the entire first line of the verse, after which the chorus repeated the second half of the line just sung. Then the soloist completed the first half of the second line alone, after which the chorus joined her for the second line's second half. Whereas the lines in Example 1 are melodically similar and comprised of two parts each (as indicated by section markers a+b, a'+b² etc.), in Example 2 lines are less similar melodically; motifs recur in Example 2, yet melodies do not. It is notable that Example 1 contains three lines because this is a convention with which several of the young women in the chorus were not familiar. As a result, some chorus members ululated after the jointly-sung second half of the second line (b²), and then followed up with the collective “yeh” used by young women to mark the close of a verse (see Example 1 bit 3), thereby inviting another woman to pick up a subsequent verse. The chorus' “yeh” constituted an error, however, for the soloist launched into the third and final line of her verse, at the end of which the chorus wrapped up the verse with a collective “yeh.” As Example 3 illustrates, young women's solo-chorus patterning generally follows a more consistent and predictable structure. The result is that many young women today are not familiar with the older women's structural repertoire for tizrarin verses.

In contrast to the older generation's thematic focus on community and good will, young unmarried women sing about friendship and the pain of parting, as in the following verses patterned on the melody in Example 3 and recorded at several wedding events:

Example 2: *tazzart* "dawn lhcana"

Ide ou Zeddout
(recorded 1997)

The musical score is written for a soloist and a chorus. The lyrics are as follows:

Soloist: ha - r - bbi - daw - m l - h - ma
 Chorus: [ululation]

Soloist: ta - wi - tid er rah - t ye - h
 Chorus: ta - wi - tid er rah - t ye - h

Soloist: ha - n s - dag ur i - \$wi
 Chorus: da - tf - sa - qn le - m - wal
 Soloist: sa - qn le - m - wal

Legend: ↓ - pitch approximately a quarter tone lower

Example 3: Young woman's *tazriar* "anay tabayan"

Ida ou Zeddout
(recorded 1997)

The musical score is written for Soloist I and Chorus. The lyrics are as follows:

Soloist I: a la la — sy a da la — a - lla - hu ak - bar - a a he déu - ni . t i - ku - frm̄ — a - na - y ta - ba yan

Chorus: a la la — ay la - da la — ar u - kk - n̄ ta - ja b - na - dim wa - xa sulin a - na - y ta - ba - yan

Chorus: b - na - dim wa - xa sulin a - na - y ta - ba - yan

The score includes a pitch diagram at the bottom right, which shows a quarter tone lower pitch indicated by a downward arrow (↓) and the text "pitch approximately a quarter tone lower".

<i>allabu akbar eddunit takufrmt ar ukk^wn taṭa bnaḍm waxa suln</i>	I swear, the world is a heathen it divides people though still alive
<i>allabu akbar urd lmut ka-ġ llan imṭawn ula tabḍit-ad n-ddunit ḥrrant</i>	I swear not only death brings tears this separation in the world is bitter
<i>allah ibhnikum a tamddak^wlt a rbbi ibḍa-nġ wa iġ-km ktig ar alaġ iġ-km tuġ bhnaġ</i>	Farewell oh my friend God divided us if I remember you I'll cry if I forget you I'll be fine
<i>mmuqar aġ ukk^wn sngarn wafatn maġamt ad ur ngarn ulawn</i>	Even though hills separate us struggle not to separate our hearts
<i>allabu akbar awllidi yen tmyart ar ukk^wn lah ifld aṭan ġ-lḗql</i>	I swear my children the one you're used to when he goes away he leaves the mind ill
<i>is a tag^wmat n-baba¹⁵ trit annsslim ur ukk^wn riġ a ble ayyin tflt aḍo ġ-ufus</i>	Oh my aunt do you want us to greet I only want you to leave your smell on my hand

Although certain verses are generation-specific, both generations may sing about the joy of reunion, a theme preoccupying young women and grandmothers alike:

<i>ba ġass-ad ya wass ġ-lžnt aġerwasn liġ nzra lḥbab-inu zrin-ġ</i>	Today is like a day in heaven since we saw my loved ones [and] they saw us
---	--

Many but not all verses, then, appear to this researcher to index the vocalist's generational membership as well as her village identity. Ida ou Zeddout women also perceive each generation's song repertoire as fundamentally distinct. Young women may hear their mothers singing and learn some turn-taking conventions from them, but they select to perform only the song texts considered fashionable by their age cohort, and prefer solo-chorus patterning that is simpler and more consistent than that of older generations, thus minimizing error on the part of the less experienced young women. Older Ida ou Zeddout women recognize that they are transmitting few verses intact to the younger generation. One mother explained to me that teenagers consider their mothers' verses appropriate only for old women, "old fashioned," we might say. This is not because the young women do not "know" them, as one woman in her mid-fifties explained:

The girls *do* know them, but they don't sing them, because they're too hard. They don't want to sing the ones we taught them; they have their own. When I married, our songs were all the same. A girl (*tafruxt*) picked up a verse, then a [married] woman (*tamgart*), then an old woman (*tafqirt*), then a newly-married woman ("bride," *tislit*). Anybody could sing any verse in those days. There weren't *lmodat* (from French *les modes*, "fashions"¹⁴) until now.

For this mother, laziness explains young women's reluctance to learn older women's verses. But, we might ask, what makes the present generation of young women more prone to laziness or followers of "fashion" than earlier generations may have been? More to the point, is there something new about the ways these young women conceptualize youth as a life stage that departs from the lifecycle categories used by earlier generations of Ishelhin?

It has been suggested that teenagers around the world today, and perhaps even in rural mountain villages such as those of the Ida ou Zeddout Ishelhin, form more cohesive units within their own societies than they did in decades past. Anthropologists have found that in many societies the all-encompassing experience of schooling tends to intensify cohort solidarity among youths at the expense of intergenerational connection (Amit-Talai and Wulff 1995). For the case at hand, however, the few Ida ou Zeddout young women who attended primary school stayed only for a few years. I found no evidence that they were in any way socially differentiated from unschooled young women in the village context.

Rather than the schools, I think we might fruitfully look to the markets. There has been an explosion of consumer goods in rural Morocco, in number and variety, and migrant men are increasingly able not only to purchase goods in the cities but also to transport them to daughters, sisters, and wives in the countryside. There is a well-established network of public and private transportation that ensures this flow of people and goods. Moreover, it increases the indexical possibilities available to young women for displaying particular images of themselves through dress and through musical preferences. For young women, such self-displays are instrumental in garnering the admiration of their female peers as well as soliciting eventual marriage proposals from young urban merchants of their choosing. Young men seeking wives from the countryside evaluate potential spouses not only according to family reputation, but also according to young women's familiarity with urban tastes and skills; in earlier generations, a young woman's competence in agricultural labor was a more valued asset.¹⁵ Such social changes lead Ishelhin Berbers across the generations constantly to compare practices that they call "traditional" (*taqlidi*), meaning characteristic of older people and thus revered or despised (or both), with practices

that they call “modern” (*εsrī*), new, hip and appealing to other youths.¹⁶ Just as young women tie their headscarves according to the latest mountain fashion (which may or may not be influenced by the media and urban esthetics), they also strive to present themselves as “modern” (*tiεsrīyyin*) through the verses they sing at weddings and other public festivities.

In summary, generational productions of tizzarin vary predictably in at least five ways that are evident from comparing the grandmother’s verse in Example 1 with the young woman’s verse in Example 3:

- First) In terms of their poetic sophistication—that is, older women are more artful in arranging lyrical syntax to fit melodic rhythms. Contrast the strategies of the two soloists: in Example 1, lines 2 and 3, the soloist grandmother extends a single word across several pitches, a rest, and between line halves (as indicated by the dotted lines under the words *laeyun* and *nswa*). In Example 3, the young woman sings a more syllabic text, matching phonemes to pitches. For emphasis, she mimicks speech, inserting the semantically meaningless vocable of exasperation in Tashelhit, *he*, in the phrase *a he eddunit tkufremt* (“The world is a heathen”);
- Second) In terms of melodic variations on an underlying tune—that is, older women are more likely to vary a tune from one verse to the next, whereas young women tend to hold a single standard melody for an entire set of verses (albeit singing embellishments on that melody, as notated in Example 3);
- Third) In terms of the alteration of word forms for the sake of euphony—that is, older women are more likely to insert, elide, or alter vowels to fit a melody¹⁷ (especially the phoneme *i* at the end of a line, an aesthetic preference in Tashelhit poetry and other genres of Tashelhit folk and commercial song);
- Fourth) In the extent to which turn-taking between soloists and the unison chorus is uniform—that is, older women soloists have variable expectations of the chorus which require the chorus to be more closely attuned to the timing of a soloist’s pauses (as evidenced in Example 1 in the error that young women committed by prematurely ending a verse with *yeb*); and
- Fifth) In terms of metaphorical lexicon¹⁸—that is, older women are more likely than young women to employ archaic metaphors (such as addressing unmarried young women as “bangs,” a reference to the hairstyle that used to mark their marital status).

Despite differences in the themes and complexity of verses voiced by women and girls, individuals “pick up” (*asī*) verses in a chain, one following the other. A common thematic thread usually clues participants into moments to offer appropriate verses. Verse sequencing is a practical issue as well. The vocal force required to produce the verses at high volume tires the singers, so older women rely on unmarried young women to do most of the singing. Older women ensure that the young women produce a steady stream of verses, stepping in when the young women fade. Unex-

plained pauses signal displeasure, so guests try to avoid insulting the hosts through silence.

Female Emigration: Who Sings the Songs?

Further compounding the generational incongruities in song production are its residency requirements. Occasionally, daughters and wives of migrant merchants spend a portion of the year in the city, taking turns handling household chores. These women have fewer opportunities to hear and rehearse community song genres such as *tizrrarin*, and for this reason they tend to be less competent performers. They may sing out an occasional verse they feel confident of performing adequately, but they are not part of the core group of singers. Less competent still are second-generation, urban-dwelling young women whose public silence at rural festivities marks their marginal inclusion belying the sentiments and social networks that motivate their repeated, albeit brief visits.

Young women who spend the year in the city without hearing sung poetry tend to be unable to produce *tizrrarin* even if they are competent Tashelhit speakers. Locality-specific variability in conventions of meter and melisma must be memorized; arcane lexicon infuses metaphors in the verses. Perhaps more difficult still is that vocalists must know not only how, but at what moments, and in which order to produce *tizrrarin* verses. As such, communicative competence (Hymes 1972) in this genre extends beyond linguistic competence. Turn-taking between verses, themes, and singers is strategic, processual, contextual, and never taken for granted. The stream of verses must fit the occasion at hand, remark on its participants, and effectively respond to unanticipated developments as the evening unfurls. Individuals may attempt to “take the floor” when they “pick up” verses by opening with a slower sequence of pitches and then speeding up the tempo when their position is affirmed. The young vocalist in Example 3, for example, opens with a three-note sequence in a notably slower tempo than the one she uses for the subsequent body of the verse.

The locality-specific variability of technical requirements for knowing lyrics, meter, and melody means that it is largely year-round village residents who sing in public. Yet there is a moral, non-technical factor as well. Even if an urban-dwelling young woman knew the songs, the prevailing moral economy would pressure her not to perform in public. After all, her fate differs from that of the year-round village residents, disqualifying her from articulating village realities. Her absence nullifies her moral authority, for many lyrics meditate on strictly local experiences, albeit couched in universal terms. The following verse illustrates this point. It is sung by a young woman from a sparsely populated village who had watched her few remaining peers marry outside the village:

ah ah nḍḍrus
ur gigi ma isawaln
mmuqar nḍḍrus
a ilabi aewn-g

We're so few left
 I have no one to talk to
 even though we're few
 oh God, help us

The verse holds no moral authority if voiced by a woman living in a crowded city, for she presumably is unaffected by the demographic drain from the countryside. Only those who anticipate dislocation through marriage have the social license to sing:

a immi-nu a immi
ma-im innan bnnaḡ
iḡ did-m ur giwarag
swiḡ-dim atay

Oh my mother
 who told you I was happy
 when I don't sit with you anymore
 and drink tea.

It should be clear from these generational and residency requirements that singing tizrarin is as much a social activity as it is a poetic, musical or linguistic performance. Actors' words are embedded in social relations, and performers must master local rules of decorum. Successful performance requires "knowing one's way around," a familiarity that results from extended residence and from sharing information on kin and acquaintances both present and absent. Migrant women do not fully participate in village performances for the simple reason that they lack the requisite familiarity with individuals whose alliances and moral worth are subject to evaluation in public discourse.

"Fate"? Longing in the Right Register

The tizrarin and tinḡḡamin I am discussing here articulate young Ida ou Zeddout women's ongoing concerns, yet they avoid the bald expression of unfulfilled aspirations that is more appropriately reserved for conversational speech. In countless conversations with me and amongst themselves, young Ida ou Zeddout women expressed their will to move to "the city" (Casablanca), to escape the *temmara* (hard manual labor) of rural life. Meanwhile their sung poetry suggested that they embraced the inevitability of marriage, separation, distance, and longing that characterize the life of rural women. The discrepancy suggests the authoritative pressure of older community members, few of whom share the desire or opportunity for permanent urban relocation. While it may be acceptable for young women to express distaste for the tamazirt in the speech genre of conversation (*tjmmeat*), uttering such a thought in public risks bringing shame on a family. None of the songs I heard or recorded among Ida ou Zeddout young women explicitly mentioned this desire to flee the countryside's labor.¹⁹ Rather, young women collectively voiced submission to the "written slate" upon which God has already determined their fortune / fate (*rzq*):

*kulu ma ittran ġ lub lmaħfuḍ
ar flaġ iṣrf rbbi ble ḍnubi*

All that happens is on the slate of fate
may God not count our sins

*ignwan d-ikaln ad ur itmitin
emma lrzq ar idli tmitin*

Skies and earth do not move
but fate it moves

Such articulations of young women's lack of control over their futures belie the extent to which Berber women actively negotiate their own fates and those of their loved ones. Song, in this manner, fulfills a contrarian role to spoken discourse. This is most evident in the public reassurances older women offer young women when they declare their intentions to further young women's best interests where marriage is concerned. Older women know first-hand the difficulty of living among strangers, as when one older woman took the voice of a young bride:

*a miyya dif allah
a ist lmuḍaε
leib-inu ad ur ig yet
ur xalidġ*

Hundred times, please
women of the village
don't pay my shameful ways mind
I don't know my way around

Young women themselves are active negotiators of their own fates, at least in the complementary understanding of rzq as "marriage" or "marriage suitor."²⁰ Normative discourse suggests that women have little control over the timing of their suitors' arrivals, for men are free to propose marriage whenever they like. While largely untrue, the normative discourse reinforces patriarchal pretensions, a reassuring check for absent fathers that they still claim authority over their distant daughters. In practice, a young woman in the Anti-Atlas mountains is relatively free to refuse suitors' proposals, provided her father has not already accepted the proposal without his daughter's consent. Still, young women calculate that they should not wait too long to marry, lest they lose their marketability, a state they articulate with some bitterness in the verse:

*a ttut uglas i lenbar
sul imzziken
ieṣsaqn at ur iẓẓin ard ikmml*

He picked the barley flower
while it was still tiny
its admirers won't let it finish growing

While male suitors are granted agency in such declarations, young Ida ou Zeddout women carefully weigh their own interests and those of their parents, calibrating the timing to maximize their availability only when the men they favor come calling. Within these constraints, young women actively negotiate their own rzq, all the while articulating resignation to older women and to men alike, deferring to publicly sanctioned discourse on morality.

“Something to Say”: Talking and Singing the Moral Economy

I turn now to a more explicit discussion of the moral economy that governs verbal productions among the Ida ou Zeddout mountain dwellers. First I examine discrepancies between the conventions that govern speech and song. Then I turn to a second genre of sung poetry performed by young women, *tinqdamin*, which I argue glorifies peer attachment and thus challenges the affective links between kin that are more prevalent in spoken discourse in this moral communicative economy.

Just as Ishelhin distinguish between conversational speech (*tjmmeat*) and meaningful speech (*lmeana*) (El Mountassir 1992), they also construe singing (*lhwa, laeb*) as something apart and more valuable than conversational speech. The contrast in part shapes the ways people contrast everyday life (*tudert*; Arabic *al hayat*) with extra-ordinary festive events (*timğariwin*, singular *tamğara*, or *lfrab*). Broadly speaking, life for year-round residents of the Anti-Atlas mountains is a balancing act between two extremes of human existence: *temmara*, “hard labor” and *lhwa*, “playing,” which often implies music. In moments of transition, most notably weddings, the importance of “having something to say” (*ila dar-s ma ittini*) takes on elevated importance. Collective identity is publicly displayed in these contexts, in contrast to the practices of concealing knowledge prevalent in other discursive domains.²¹

Language ideology (Woolard and Schieffelin 1994; Schieffelin et. al. 1998) among the Ida ou Zeddout holds that individuals need not talk about their emotions, for everyone knows that specific situations bring about anticipated affective states. This ideology relegates discourse on emotional bonds to the realm of song rather than talk. Unmarried young women evoke a level of affective attachment to their female peers, in particular, through song, that exceeds the normative for everyday talk. The modalities of song and speech thus differ in their expressive capacities among Ishelhin Berbers, as has been demonstrated for other societies (cf. Merriam 1964:190).

Skill in selecting the appropriate modality, then manipulating words and images to convey a message is highly valued among Ishelhin. In the everyday speech of mountain dwellers, word play, irony, and sarcasm are commonplace.²² The artful use of exasperation punctuates Tashelhit narratives, a mainstay of Berber interaction. The young woman in Example 3 employed this quality typically associated with speech to mimic the resignation suggested by her lyrics (“I swear the world is a heathen / it divides people although they’re still alive”). Straightforward, unembellished truth statements are valued only in situations where there is no more room for negotiation over the facts, infrequent occurrences indeed in Anti-Atlas commu-

nities. Still, the powerful affective states elicited by song texts of both the tazrrart and tinḍamin genres leave little room for negotiation. The songs' power lies in their rhetorical effect.

Tinḍamin—Extended Meditations on Affective States

I turn now to a tanḍamt (an “ordering,” from *andḍam*, literally “to order”) that illustrates two points I am making about the Ida ou Zeddout people's verbal expression of affect: (1) there is a rhetorical construction of affect conveyed by song that is considered shameful in conversational speech; and (2) peer attachment vies with kin links in its importance in young women's lives. Tinḍamin, like tizzrarin, belong to a sung poetic register in which women express longing, sadness over leaving family and friends, and supplications to regional saints, as one verse pleads, to “show us how to speak.” This style of tanḍamt contains structural aspects of the tizzrarin in Examples 1 and 3. In tinḍamin, each line closes with a motif such as *lbaz omlil*, “the white falcon,” or as in the segment of Example 4, *a sul ur alaḡi*, “I no longer cry.”

The tanḍamt I discuss here was popular in the late 1990s, spreading over the course of two wedding seasons from women in one village to the next through the region. When one young woman in Ida ou Zeddout heard me humming the melody, she remarked that she had heard it previously in the Indouzal mountains (bordering on Ida ou Zeddout lands). The melody was brought there by young women from Taggmout, a pre-Saharan village that is reputed to supply “good words” in festive times, as well as good laborers in bountiful agricultural years such as the year the song's popularity spread. The tanḍamt includes variations on parts of song texts commercially recorded by Raïs Akhttab from the Imi-n-Tanout region of the High Atlas.²³

Performance Venue: Bridal Procession

The performance of this slow, somber tanḍamt took place during the bridal procession (*tannḡift*) to the groom's village in the late summer of 1997. We stood in the flatbed of a slow-moving pickup truck as we followed the bumpy dirt road weaving alongside harvested rocky fields over low, winding hills. Periodic screeches of young children fighting over the spots they staked out, cries of infants strapped onto young mothers' backs, and peals of joy from adolescents broke the otherwise pensive mood as the truck threw its riders from side to side with each unexpected bump and pit in the dirt path. Everyone knew that once the guests arrived at the groom's village, the bride would join the groom's household and leave her loved ones behind. At that point, the young bride would work her hus-

Example 4: *kandjama* "ura sul alag"

Ida ou Zeddour
(recorded 1997)

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The musical score is written in a single system with two staves. The top staff is for the Soloist and the bottom staff is for the Chorus. The lyrics are written below the notes. The score is divided into three systems of music.

System 1:

Soloist: wa la la... la - la li yech yek a ta - g - mat i - du - dan... a ku - hu yen... u - fus ay... wa sul ur a - la - gi

Chorus: a sul ur a - la - gi

System 2:

Soloist: wa sul ur... a - la - gi yech... wa yen i - brim i - g i - da - mnan ufn ukk - n... i - wa - yad ay... a sul ur... a - la - gi - ay

Chorus: ay... [a sul ur... a - la - gi - ay
ur a sul... a - la - gi - ay]

System 3:

Soloist: a sul ur... a - la - gi - ay a he - n... lwa - li - da - yn ka mu ya - la yen ay... ur a sul a - la - gi - ay

Chorus: ye - - h

System 4:

Soloist: wa la la... la - la li ya... i - ni izd u ta - kki - da... n - yen u - la... k - min ay... wa sul ur... a - la - gi - ay

Chorus: ay... [ur a sul... a - la - gi - ay
ur a sul... a - la - gi - ay]

band's fields and rarely see her mother. Her time with childhood girlfriends (and certainly male friends) would be rarer still, as she would risk her husband's jealousy and her own honor by talking with non-kin at the occasional wedding celebration or saint's festival. For unmarried young women, the *tanngift* sung atop a moving pickup truck affords a moment of reflection on an event that shapes each woman's life. In the *tanddamt* below, a young mother sang the verses alone; women around her supplied the refrain. Her lyrics evoked the pain of displacement that accompanies marriage and is experienced by not only the bride but also her estranged peers. (Text in parentheses marks solo refrains, subsequently repeated by the group, then repeated by the soloist before she moves into the succeeding verse. See Example 4 for melody and solo-chorus patterning of the first two verses.)

"I No Longer Cry" ("ur a sul alaġi")
tanddamt

<i>a yek tag^wmat iḍuḍan kulu yen ufus</i>	(<i>a sul ur alaġi</i>)
<i>a yen ibrin ig idammn ifkitn ukk^wn i-wayaḍ</i>	(<i>a sul ur alaġi</i>)
The family is like fingers, all on one hand	(no longer do I cry)
one finger is gashed, the blood flows onto another	(no longer do I cry)
<i>a ben lwalidayn ka mu yala yen</i>	(<i>a sul ur alaġi</i>)
<i>ini izd ula tekkida n yen ula kmin</i>	(<i>a sul ur alaġi</i>)
It is only parents for whom one must cry	(no longer do I cry)
tell me is that so, or also for one's peers and for you (f.pl.)?	(no longer do I cry)
<i>allabu akbar sawa gis yen iša wakal</i>	(<i>ur a sul alaġi</i>)
<i>ġ-wa lli iġabn ġ-igi ur-atn zaraġ</i>	(<i>ur a sul alaġi</i>)
Oh suffering, the one eaten by earth is the same as	(I no longer cry)
the one above earth who is far away and I don't see ²⁴	(I no longer cry)
<i>allah a familia a-dek sul ur ntini mit</i>	(<i>ur a sul alaġi</i>)
<i>flawn iqbl rbbi lxir snaġ awant</i>	(<i>ur a sul alaġi</i>)
Goodbye family, we don't have anything to say to you anymore	(I no longer cry)
except God accept you [thank you], I know your goodness	(I no longer cry)
<i>a rbbi lmenšar ibbin tassa fl-ḥilat</i>	(<i>mammenik ur alaġi</i>)
<i>ad-aġ ur tlkmt idammn a rbbi yala ul</i>	(<i>mammenik ur alaġi</i>)
Oh Lord, the saw that cut my liver to pieces	(how is it I do not cry)
don't go to my blood [family], my heart will cry	(how is it I do not cry)
<i>allabu akbar ġikad-nġ ka mu yela yen</i>	(<i>mammenik ur alaġi</i>)
<i>ur nmun d-lwalidayn ule wali riġ</i>	(<i>mammenik ur alaġi</i>)
Oh suffering, the way we are now should make people cry	(how is it I do not cry)
we don't follow our parents or the one I love	(how is it I do not cry)
<i>ida lrzaq ad izwarn talalit</i>	(<i>ur a sul alaġi</i>)
<i>a kuyyen yawit rbbi s-ġillin ur itim</i>	(<i>ur a sul alaġi</i>)
Fate goes before birth	(I no longer cry)
the Lord takes each person places they never would have dreamed	(I no longer cry)

Each verse in the *tanddamt* above furthers the theme of the preceding verse, subtly debating the relative pain that estrangement brings to one's "blood" (*idammn*, colloquially "family") and to one's peers (*tekkida*), and considering the relative emotional centrality of these components of young women's social networks. The *tanddamt* mediates the tension in a moral economy where attachment to family is normatively articulated, but where peer companionship sustains young women in their daily lives. The tension emerges in both the song texts and in their social production. Members of the bride's family performed the song with her peers, implicitly acknowledging the significance of both groups to the bride. Although rhetorically the soloist took the voice of the bride, in reality the performers embodied their own pain at bidding farewell to their loved one. They had all witnessed it before, of course; many of the participants shared a roof with sisters-in-law and knew first-hand about power struggles between young wives and their mothers-in-law. The affective states that the song text evoked are easily translated into shared human experiences.

Ida ou Zeddout women index normative social relationships when they sing *tizzrarin* and *tindamin* verses. Lutz notes that "while emotions are often seen as *evoked in* communal life, they are rarely presented as an *index of* social relationship rather than a sign of a personal state" (Lutz 1988:4; emphasis in original). It is not so much that the particular Ida ou Zeddout women singing the verses are experiencing the inner states at the moment they voice them aloud, although they often are.²⁵ Rather, the practice of singing about them supports a moral economy in which certain affective states have become predictably associated with life cycle events. This collective sanctioning of the social order takes place within loosely structured limits, as people deem each verbal expressive form appropriate to certain contexts and inappropriate to others (Abu-Lughod 1986; Grima 1992).

Transmitting Poetic Competence

In the largely age-segregated communities of the Anti-Atlas mountains, there is little adult mediation in youth socializing. Mothers leave older daughters and daughters-in-law to labor together. Younger girls likewise gather water and chop wood in small groups of age-mates. Teenage and adolescent girls gather outside after dinner while the older villagers and children sleep. Lyrics and singing styles are thus more commonly transmitted between members of an age cohort than from one cohort to another. In such informal contexts, sources of inspiration for poetic creations include songs from Tashelhit pop cassettes that young women work into their own genres by experimenting with tempo, rhythm, and melody.

When they socialize with teenaged young women, pre-adolescent girls

begin to learn verses and melodies from those commonly understood to belong to the next cohort up. Only at adolescence do girls “pick up,” that is, sing the verse solo in front of the other women. A young woman who commits an error in public elicits roars of laughter. Consequently, one does not sing out until she feels confident that she can produce an entire verse without fault. Yet even the verses that teenagers sing are not easy to the uninitiated ear, even though their verse structures are less complex than the verses of their mothers and grandmothers. Like other genres of poetic speech, the placement and length of syllables and intonation differ from informal speech. Gender and number agreement are unpredictable. The aesthetic concern of fitting poetic texts to music, or euphony, makes grammar conventions less strict in Tashelhit poetry than they are in informal speech. Given these variables, the process of learning the song repertoires is collectively monitored. It is no wonder that some individuals bow out altogether; when a singer errs she is mocked if her error does not harm, but if it breaks the mood, the verse is simply ignored.

These conditions set several limitations on research about the production of Tashelhit song. First, it is impossible for an outsider to assume an apprentice role in the group. One cannot learn in one-on-one sessions how to produce *tizrrarin* or *aḥwaš*, for that matter; both are context-dependent. Second, although the outsider may participate in practice sessions, ultimately only the initiated perform under the eyes of spectators. The researcher thus fits into an audience niche that comprises emigrants visiting from Casablanca, local government administrators, and sundry aficionados of the *amarg*, the “music” or “mood” (literally “yearning,” “longing,” cf. Schuyler 1979b:65) that an event brings about, that which is “easier to evoke than to define” (Lakhsassi 1986). As outsiders, none of them is responsible for building that music or, consequently, the much sought-after mood. Insiders make music for outsiders as well as for themselves.

Conclusion

In the communicative moral economy I have been describing, singing is cathartic while permitting a person to save face. My emphasis on the social context of expressing affect concerning displacement is not intended to suggest that young women are indifferent to songs of sorrow and loss. Instead, they may be singing about powerful emotions that replicate their experiences in a genre that presents personal sentiment as universal human experience. Mina from *Ida ou Zeddout* articulated this process eloquently:

Say you've been sitting and talking with a boy for months. He tells you he is going to marry you, over and over. Then he proposes to someone else. Well, you wait for a wedding or some public occasion and then pick up a verse like

ezina eli yen ibnun
s-imins
iwaliyun
lis idark atn ikemml

Dear to me is the one who builds
 with his mouth
 his words
 he carries through on them

It's like the weight comes right off your shoulders. You feel better singing it. If he hears through other girls that you sang it, he'll know what you meant. But other people don't have to know that it happened to you—because you're singing about what everyone goes through, about life in general.

The broader point Mina made in her explanation was that there is a time and a place for the voicing of emotional states in different verbal registers. The expressive modality of song provides an important counterpoint to speech for the negotiation of collective morality. Sung verbal expression, in both the process of its social production and the literary content of its verses, is implicated in the ways *Ida ou Zeddout Ishelhin* negotiate group representation and their adherence to shared values. The social organization of who sings the songs varies by gender, generation, and place of residence, as do normative regulations involving the circumstances in which men and women can express certain affective states as well as ambiguity over social status (cf. Koskoff 1987). The social organization of song production varies as well according to residence and absence, in that most men migrate while women remain in their native villages.

Unmarried youths in their teens and twenties are uniquely positioned to transform the practice of performing community song, if indeed they hold on to the practice at all. It appears that they will, for *Ishelhin* from the Anti-Atlas mountains, regardless of age, consider *tizrrarin* and *tinqdamin* genres as integral components of the customs (*adat*) that make them distinct from other social groups. If, as Bohlman contends, "The processes of canon-formation result from a community's transformation of cultural values into aesthetic expression" (1988:106) then we should expect that as cultural values change from one generation to the next, aesthetic expression will shift in turn. Young *Ida ou Zeddout* women indeed are refashioning the structural and lyrical content of their mothers' song repertoires. Yet we need more ethnographic detail around the specific processes through which expressive culture is reproduced and transformed among peers, not just between generations.

In the meanwhile, the question remains whether generation-specific song repertoires will remain constant as youths become mothers and grandmothers, or whether today's young women will, one day, take up those verses they now dismiss as "old-fashioned." The creative process of refashioning community or folk song is ongoing; "it never comes to an end as long as the tradition is alive" (Herzog 1949–1950:1034). That is the crux, to be sure: so long as *Ishelhin* keep the tradition alive, they will continue

to innovate in their performances. Although their contours are limited only by human imagination, song innovations may be patterned and traceable, as I have attempted to describe here. Among Ishelhin Berbers, it appears that these verses have disappeared from communities in which their members have stopped recycling them. Put in a more positive light, we might recall that expressive culture of any kind tends to fluctuate until people self-consciously codify it. What then, we might ask, are the conditions under which folksong is codified, and what meanings do people give to the change that brings about codification?

Young *Ida ou Zeddout* women are simplifying the formal structure of their mothers' *tizrarin* and borrowing lyrics from popular music and from the poetic repertoires of other regions rather than composing their own lyrics after their mothers' fashion. Yet they are not abandoning the singing of *tizrarin* altogether. Some Tashelhit-speaking communities *have* abandoned the practice, as I learned during a visit to a largely agricultural village in the fertile Agoundis Valley of the Moroccan High Atlas, a mountainous region far less marked by male migration than the dry Anti-Atlas mountains I have discussed here. Squatting beside a pot of boiling water in the village saint's sanctuary, plucking a wet turkey with other village women in preparation for a collective meal, I began to hum a *tazrrart* verse. The elderly Granny *Lugstaf* looked up at me in the dim light of the stone-walled room, craning her ear to listen. She asked me to tell her the words. I repeated the *tazrrart*, then sang another. She smiled approvingly and said, "Ah, the old songs. You must have heard them in the *Sous*. Here we've forgotten them now."

Notes

1. Fieldwork in the Anti-Atlas mountains and *Sous* Valley plains over three years (August 1996—July 1999) was generously supported by grants from the Wenner-Gren Foundation for Anthropological Research, the Fulbright/IEE, and the Social Science Research Council's Program for the Near and Middle East. Predissertation research and training from September 1995 to August 1996 was funded by the SSRC's International Predissertation Fellowship Program.

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2. A second article under preparation concerns young men's roles in this discursive moral economy (Hoffman n.d.). It examines *tinddamin* sung poetic duels popular among young migrant men. (See also Hoffman 2000a:221–35, 280–85.)

3. There has been a more longstanding scholarly interest in the education of young musicians, in particular apprentice-style mentoring relationships, such as the Moroccan example discussed in Schuyler (1979c).

4. Men's tinḡdamin are now recorded locally and commercially distributed in the Sous.

5. Young women's influence on Tashelhit commercial music has been less direct than that of Algerian Kabyle women on Kayble commercial song. The musician Idir, for example, explicitly modified Kabyle rural women's songs for his popular commercial compositions, removing gendered and religious references to "modernize" song texts (Goodman 2000). Algerian Arabic-language raï music, an urban genre, has also drawn inspiration from the lyrics of women performers, or *shikbat* (*šixat*) (Schade-Poulsen 1999). Reciprocal borrowing between amateur and professional musicians has long characterized men's *aḡwaš* and *rwaïs* genres (Schuyler 1979a:73).

6. A fuller consideration of musicological elements of these genres is in process. Native Ishelhin scholars stressed to me the importance of a *gestalt* approach to studying Amazigh music, emphasizing the embeddedness of meaning in song form as well as its referential content. Omar Amarir, scholar of Amazigh poetic symbolism, insisted that an analysis of lyrics outside accompanying melodies denies the cultural and social "baggage" that Ishelhin carry when listening to *amarg* (personal communication, August 1999). Abdessalam Bouzid, who has published on more technical aspects of Amazigh music, told me that any transcription of lyrics without their accompanying metric score is scientifically irresponsible because it is incomplete (personal communication, August 1999).

7. At least one ethnomusicologist has suggested that "text, tone, and tune" must be analyzed together to understand the effect of sung oral poetry (Coplan 1988:338). Yet Ishelhin offered sufficient meta-musical commentary to convince me that what they valued most about the community and commercial songs were their lyrics.

For more detailed discussions of technical, metrical, and musical aspects of Tashelhit song, see Amarir (1975), Bouzid (1996) and Jouad (1977) for amateur aḡwaš, Olsen (1994b, 1997) for men's and women's aḡwaš, and Schuyler for rwaïs (1979a) and aḡwaš (1979b) genres. On the distinction between the male inḡdamn and rwaïs, see Lakhsassi (1986). The song texts of the classical rwaïs are well-documented in Amarir (1975, 1987), Galand-Pernet (1972), and Justinard (1928), particularly from poetic and linguistic perspectives. Joseph and Joseph (1987) detail the production of Riffi sung verse whose structure resembles Tashelhit tizzrarin but whose theme of carnal love is absent in the verses I collected.

8. The debate over whether Islam condemns or condones music and song is outside the scope of the present work. Ethnographically-minded scholars have found that Muslim musicians and amateurs refute the claim that musical performances are counter to the Quranic or hadith teachings (Sakata 1983 on Afghanistan; Levin 1996 on Uzbekistan). Still, these studies and my own research suggest that Muslims evaluate different musical and song genres as acceptable or not, but as Levin suggests in his study of Central Asia, the criterion for acceptability as often as not supports local tradition (1996:212). For a discussion of Islamic hadith concerning Islam and music, see During (1988). Sakata (1983) argues for attention to indigenous taxonomies for sound genres, and to indigenous sound theories, suggesting that Western ears sometimes mistake certain uses of voice as music when they are not locally understood as such. For a broad-sweeping review of "art" and folk musical traditions, instruments, and song genres in the Islamic world from the advent of Islam to the present, see Shiloah (1995).

9. Because there are so many emphatic sounds in Tashelhit, and because many syllables contain no vowel at all, I transcribe Tashelhit with one grapheme per sound. The following conventions are for sounds shared with Arabic: ḡ (Ar. ح, emphatic ḡ); ḥ (Ar. ح, emphatic ḥ); š (Ar. ش, emphatic š); t (Ar. ط, emphatic t); e (Ar. ع; in Tashelhit the Arabic 'ayn is softened; in transliteration of Arabic this is often indicated with the '); ġ (Ar. غ, voiced uvular fricative, as in the French r, with a nasal quality); q (Ar. ق, glottal stop); r (Ar. ر, once-rolled r, as in the Spanish *pero*); x (Ar. خ, voiceless uvular fricative, as an emphatic French r; an exception is the Ar. borrowing *makhzen* which I transliterate according to scholarly convention); š (Ar. ش, the sh sound as in English *shoe*); ay (Ar. آ, a diphthong, as in an exaggerated English *tray*); i (Ar. ي or إ, or the ī in Arabic transcription for the English word *sheet*); and ž (Ar. ج, as in the initial consonant of the French *Jacque*). Two sounds particular to Berber are ʷ (a round sound

whose preceding letter is stressed) and *z* (an emphatic *z*). A doubled letter indicates stress. I spell the words Tashelhit (*tašlḥit*) and Ishelhin (*išlḥin*) according to Anglophone convention, without diacritical marks.

10. Other genres of sung verse, such as the Moroccan Arabic-language *ayu'a* of the Jebli region south of Tangier that resemble Ashelhi *tizrarin* in their structural and literary aspects and in the contexts in which women produce them, are commercially available on cassettes in regional markets (see Curtis-Richardson 1999). The only recordings of Anti-Atlas women's wedding *tizrarin* available were made by Miriam Olsen at an Ida ou Zeddout wedding in 1977 and are commercially available on a CD whose liner notes include examples of numerous Anti-Atlas and High Atlas musical genres (Olsen 1997).

11. The attentive reader may note discrepancies between lyrics in the notations and song texts in the article; these are intentional. In Example 1, the phonemes actually voiced are graphically represented and grouped approximately as words. In the poetic verse in the article's body, however, I have chosen to represent the song texts as semantically accurate to speaking as possible, removing the poetic elements to focus on referential content. These dual graphic representations allow the reader to both gloss the semantic meaning in the song text and identify the points of euphony and melisma, the processes by which a singer adapts language to fit structural demands of the melody and refrain. The text version in the musical notation also hints at points where an Ashelhi sonic aesthetic requires the addition or extension of vowels, such as the common Tashelhit poetic convention of adding an *i* sound to the end of poetic lines, so that the spoken *nšrk* ("we share") in line 1 becomes *nšraki* when the singer inserts a medial *a* vowel to accompany the rising pitch and then completes the line with the final *i* sound.

12. A similar verse in my corpus replaces "troubles" with "desire":

<i>a rbbi dawm lbanna tawi-tid erraḥt</i>	Oh Lord, bring us calm and rest here
<i>ma šbwa ur išwi da tfaḍn lemwal</i>	desire isn't good, it wastes money

Galand-Pernet defines *šbwa* as "something agreeable to the taste," whether honey or automobiles (*quelque chose d'agréable au goût*; Galand-Pernet 1965 in Lefebvre 1992:254). I heard the term most frequently in reference to excessive desire, longing, or greed.

13. *tagmat n-baba*, literally "father's female relative," can mean paternal aunt, cousin, etc.—any of whom would tend to be intimately involved in a woman's life.

14. The *markat* (singular *marka*; French *les marques*; literally "brands") is also used to refer to a "kind" or "variety" of something as in "The two sisters wear different *markat* of scarves; one is yellow and the other is blue." Thus commercial "brands" and taxonomic "kinds" are conflated; each implies multiplicity.

15. Concern for fashion extends into other non-linguistic aspects of self-presentation such as hairstyle. Among the Ida ou Zeddout, an unmarried woman does not groom her hair as married women do, with two braids tucked under a sheer black scull-capped scarf trailing down the back of her neck, in what they consider their husbands' "custom" (*ada*), which may differ from that of their own female ancestors. Younger married women may wear the tight scull scarf, but they do not necessarily braid their hair underneath.

16. Perhaps significantly, both terms in the opposition are Arabic borrowings.

17. Best notes in his classic study the difficulty that euphony creates in translating Maori songs, especially when shortening or lengthening a vowel for poetic effect ostensibly changes the word's meaning (Best 1924, 1925). See Merriam (1964) for a review of classic case studies on this subject.

18. As Merriam notes, "Special language use is apparently a common feature of song texts" (1964:189). In some societies, the preservation of the "speech of former times" as the Tikopia called it (Firth 1940[2]:264) is more important than understanding the precise meaning of particular words or phrases. See Seeger (1987) for a discussion of Brazilian Suyá borrowing of song texts from languages they do not understand.

19. *Tizrarin* from other areas of the Anti-Atlas do mention migration, primarily as a force

that takes away men (personal communication, Abdallah El Mountassir, July 1999). See Lefébure 1992 for an overview of migration themes in pre-WWII *izlan* (a genre similar to tiz-rain found among the Tamazight speakers of the Eastern High Atlas region), and modern popular Tashelhit song. The theme of male migration especially to Europe is common in rwaïs lyrics (Galand-Pernet 1972; Lefébure 1992, 1995) as well as in Eastern High Atlas itinerant poets' *amdyaz* (Lefébure 1987).

20. In speech, *rzq* is used not only to mean "destiny," "God's will," or "fate," but also more specifically in reference to a marriage proposal or the institution of marriage itself. For example, a question commonly asked of educated, unmarried women in their thirties is, "Why aren't you married yet?" to which a woman may reply, "My *rzq* hasn't arrived yet."

21. For a discussion of practices of concealing and revealing information about personal identities among the *Ida ou Zeddout*, see Hoffman (2000b).

22. Irony and sarcasm are common in wedding festivities where guests are segregated by village affiliation. Women may sing verses about the hosts' generosity and fine glasses when they have been sitting for an hour and not even brought the customary cup of coffee.

23. I am grateful to Abdelmajid Araaman for this insight.

24. This phrasing is reminiscent of the Uzbek aphorism, "The suffering of the road is like the suffering of the grave (*yol azâbi, gur azâbi*)" (in Levin 1996:1).

25. An account of how emotions are indigenously experienced is outside this article's scope. The construction of subjectivity and the role of power in that construction (e.g. Foucault 1990) are also important concerns beyond the present discussion. What concern me here are verbal expressive forms, and the social roles that talk and song play in ordering and negotiating the social universe and various senses of identity within this universe. Affect, or more precisely emotional connections between individuals, is understood in the Anti-Atlas to influence a person's sense of identity. Several anthropologists have offered ethnographic accounts of the cultural construction of emotions that defy universal psychologically-grounded explanations for affect as revelatory of an inner state (cf. Lutz 1988:6; Abu-Lughod 1986; Fajans 1985; C. Geertz 1973; H. Geertz 1959; Lutz 1988; Myers 1979; Rosaldo 1980).

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