

The Rise of the Underground

Moroccan Music festivals between Laughter, Drunkenness, and Excre-Mentality

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This paper treats the concept of laughter and humor in relation to music and music festivals in Morocco, against the dominant bleak background practices of violence, social injustice, poverty, and political corruption. I deal with the festival as a site of theatricality and terrain for the production of laughter, while putting emphasis on the rituals of defiance, anger, cynicism, madness which, by giving birth to complex artistic gags, help explore humor as transgression. Music festivals are seats for the materialization of the politics of excrementality which is developed to describe a type of mentality inspired by images and metaphors of excrementation, disgust, and the violence they presuppose, to create a new platform for dirty-mindedness not as mere vulgarity but as resistance. The festival spurs a carnivalesque atmosphere of celebration involving music and an audience, breaking down the separation between performers and spectators. In such an atmosphere, music pilots drunkenness and drunkenness stirs laughter. Such laughter is complex because, while drunkenness can generate it, it can otherwise be fully cognizant. Should laughter be sparkled by wine, it should also be sparkled by calculation and intent and a seriously somber desire to translate these into laughter, a mixture of sound and grimaces, that makes it all the more drunk. To laugh soberly is to cushion thinking within amusement, to paraphrase an emo-

tion into coded body reactions, aware the worlds of laughter are replete with their own words. The aspect of drunkenness stays, if we consider that excess in laughter produces drunk-like moods. In the midst of this ambiguity, where causes for and reasons behind laughter are lost and definitions of the funny are unattainable, laughter, aided by the general festival disguise, becomes treacherously precarious. When the festival sinks in laughter, we should stop till we have known the reason. In the least, in a festival, laughter is the people's way of triumphing over their terrors (Hollis, 2001).

Are you Laughing at me? No, just the Other that is you

Laughter can be disturbing. In the festival the *I less powerful* could laugh at anything and everything, especially those in power, laughter being perfectly achievable within the atmosphere it creates and creates it. The laughter of the oppressed is produced on the margins of social insecurity and political autocracy. Laughter carries great weight when it comes from the oppressed who, when he laughs, the autocrat knows that it is out of place, produced neither by joy, nor by prosperity. Although the festival can be a good nest for laughter, laughter should still be out of place, because it is not genuinely generated against a pleasurable social reality. When the autocrat fails to find a reasonable laughing matter within the whole orchestration of things, he thinks that if there is laughter where laughter should be scarce, there can be almost only one subject that should be ridiculous for the oppressed and who is likely to reap that much appreciation from the mass, and this subject is himself. The festival weaves out a situation whereby the oppressor cannot jail the oppressed for having exploited the claims of amity and warmth he advances through the festival to make him subject to derision. As a fieldworker, my objective is to unravel the meanings and effects of laughter in urban music and music festivals, together with the large spectrum of power relations the geo-limited terrain of the festival involves between the *I more powerful* and the millions of *Is less powerful* that block the peripheries of social, economic and political life.

The prestigious halo of the modern music festival in Morocco, where millions of dollars are invested, reflects the image of those who make a payment to sell this image to the exterior world. For

Mbembe the search for majesty and prestige in the postcolony contains within it “elements of crudeness and the bizarre that the official order tries hard to hide, but that ordinary people bring to its attention.” (Mbembe, 2001, p.109) While for Mbembe the people do it ‘unwittingly’ in the context of presidential procession, in the festival it does not come by accident. Since agency is calculated the agent laughs because the circulating joke is a reference to a number of observable quotes brought together deliberately to convey a particular opinion. While the festival prestige is meant to offer the festival as a ‘ritual of confirmation’ to use Mbembe’s words, the body in dance- what Mbembe calls ‘assembles en masse’- breaks the silence by inciting the body to break into laughter in the face of the evident lies of the official discourse and the confidence of elites. (Mbembe, 2001, p128-129).

The ‘festival subject’ is not terrified by the prestige, the prestigious, and those who secure stately power and decorations, because their presence at the heart of prestige teases all sorts of statuses. The more powerful brings the mass (mob-ass) or what Bakhtin calls the substratum into the court of power and authority and asks it to behave. If the mass (m-ass) behaves it should produce gestures twice as offensive and improper, especially it is inebriated by laughter and other intoxicating boosters. The festival brings the socially excluded to entertain a ritual of confirmation and reaffirmation of the status of the subject and that of the master, to comfort the status quo, to maintain master-slave, down-top roles and to show loyalty. Laughter therefore designs a battleground for confrontation between two antagonistic discourses. Humour is used in the festival to discuss sombre issues replete with sorry and distrust. It prompts the autocrat to wonder nervously: ‘Are you laughing at me?’, while the response ‘no, just the other’ is a delicate way of asking the question: which other? Once thought to be the other, the other can now reverse the game and declare the self (always associated with those in power) other. However, since the space of the festival, fraught by laughter, music, dance and colours, is almost extraordinary and fantastic, and because it is extraordinary and fantastic there is so no way to edit out the subject from the epistemological complexity of the festival text.

Festival Doppelganger: The Interface between Laughter and Violence

A Humor is the Biasse of the Mind
By which, with violence, 'tis one way inclin'd!

Music and music festivals witnessed radical changes in their core reason of being, marking a shift from innocent celebrations of beauty, love and the arts to celebrations in the times of demise of innocence and the contamination of beauty, love and the arts by the political and the ideological. The death of the festival as beauty followed the failure of organic society, where the concepts of the harvest, the crops, the moussem, blind marriage feasts, the halqa, country dweller, merchant, festivities for blind marriages have been tainted by discursive power, control, antagonism, cynicism and distrust. In fanatical reaction to unsettling local traumas (terror), political disturbances (the bloody quest for democracy in the Arab world in general and the North Africa in particular) and social anomalies superseded by petrifying episodes of social authoritarianism and the widening of underclass anxiety, music and music festivals have given way to profane and violent modes of comic jesting.

Dundes in Cracking Jokes, (1987, p. vii) departs from the assumption that nothing happens in a vacuum, asserting that 'no piece of folklore continues to be transmitted unless it means something—even if neither the speaker nor the audience can articulate what that meaning might be.' Humor as protest in the festival cameral comes heterogeneously pregnant with symbolic and literal violence. Either through theatrical gestures and through music or any other comic manners, the incarnation of violence characterizes the birth of laughter from within a violent language of language (musical text for instance), the body (attires or posture), the social milieu (urban structures, graffiti, urban incongruities between places and concepts). Protest itself signals an amount of counter-violence mounted against existing modes of violence. Protests, either led peacefully through art or violently through blood, capture the violent mindset of the protestor whose gesture hints at a burning desire for change and the sense of struggle that goes with it. Humor's peculiarity lies in its elastic polarity: it can operate for or against, deny or affirm, oppress or liberate. On the one hand, it reinforces pejorative images; on the other, it facilitates the inversion of such

stereotypes. Just as it has been utilized as a weapon of insult and persecution, so, too, has humor been implemented as a device of subversion and protest. (Boskin, 1997, p 38)

Boskin calls our attention to the elasticity of humor. I should only add to that chaos in postcolonial Africa is a wonderful scenery against which laughter instills order. Protest through humor as a quest for restoration is after all a vent for the oppressed to alleviate the sad brutalities of subjugation and inferiority. 'Music and humor provided a more universal outlet for the black', Schechter remind us, 'through the medium of what may be considered "protest" hymns in today's vernacular--spirituals with courageous double-entendre lyrics that provided a small measure of comic relief from the cruelty and hardships of slavery (Schechter, 1970, p. 26).' Indeed, postcolonial laughter (a mixture of order and chaos, sense of humor and sense and sadness, violence and pacification, mischief and good will) brings to the fore the existence of some duality. Such duality arrests an unmanageable set of doubles symptomized by the undying lines, however fuzzy and trespassable, between the margin and the center, the oppressed and the oppressor, the mass and the m-ass, theatricality and reality, humor and sufferance, evil and good.

Plate one, taken from the Boulevard festival in 2010, is a typical example of the *Doppelgänger*, whose acts represent the subject,



according to Andrew J. Webber (1996, 1) as more or less pathologically divided between reality and fantasy. This paper cannot aspire to present an all-inclusive theoretical or analytical account on the *Doppelgänger* and *Doppelgänger* acts in the festival, but it will provide a glimpse into some examples of 'chronischer Dualismus' (chronic dualism) in the music festival, without, of course, dissociating all this from our discussion on humor and laughter.²

Plate 1

Andrew J. Webber outlines his definition of the Doppelgänger in a series of premises.³A major premise has it that Doppelgänger acts center around what J. Webber calls ‘double visions’, which are concerned around the visuality of the Doppelgänger and also his capacity of self-seeing, being a subject who ‘beholds its other self as another, as visual object, or alternatively is beheld as object by its other self.’ This duality, according to J. Webber, or visual ‘double-bind’ affords the model for the broad conflict-ridden objectification of the subject in the example of the Doppelgänger. The festival Doppelgänger (plate 1) is a master of theatrical visuality. The colors he uses put him into the center as an outstanding lookable element, strange and familiar. He is strange because he comes into an eye-catching visuality that triggers in the observer a sense of curiosity that the unusual character of the Doppelgänger puts forward. He is familiar because while he stresses the estrangement factor, he activates a sense of familiarity by enacting the character of the Joker, whose face thrives in polysemy. This leads us to Webber’s one more premise of doubletalk. Doubletalk goes analogously with double vision, and it is condition marked by an instance of recurring chaos at the level of speech. Far from merely creating a visual scandal, the Doppelgänger functions doubly on language.

The language of duality spoken in plates one and two summarizes the characteristic of doubletalk. The two photos portraiture the flowing of a double dialogue system. On the one hand, the Joker wears two faces, and, on top of them, two statements (sadness and imposed joy). Laughter is drawn on his sad face in the same red color with which a tear is dotted under his right eye. On the other hand, the plate two shows a scene where death is doubly mocked. First the woman draws her fingers into a gun, but tries at the same time to turn her facial language into evidence for the seriousness of death. She is proposing a funny parody where death is a woman who displays a “be scared or else I will kill you, and if you don’t believe me see how grim and fierce I’m” face. The to-be-killed guy, tongue protruding, is subject



Plate 2

to the finger-shaped gun yet he wears a 'yes kill me, please, while I'm making the peace greeting' mockingly laughing posture. The I'm-sad-but-smiling and a fake-gun-will-kill-me-and-I'm-smiling engage theatrically in a double but chaotic act of Doppelgänger speech. Theatricality addresses the third premise, performance.

Doppelgänger performances lie at the heart of festival. For Webber, the Doppelgänger is 'an inveterate performer of identity', where the subject puts on shows his 'performative character.' In the act of performance, notifies Webber, 'selfhood a metaphysical given is abandoned here to a process of enactments of identity', so much so that the performances by the Doppelgänger will look like try-outs or 'rehearsals' of a twofold role, which reminds us of role of Lacanian mirror. Similarly, the festival subject who performs a sense of humor against a grim reality narrates, within the histrionics of doubleness, identity as he feels it torn between a two-faced selfhoods.

The Politics of Transferability in the Festival: Time, Body, and the Urban Space

Festival mass turns festal terrains into spaces for primordial practices. First, it does something to subjects as we have seen that makes them dividable. It also downloads programs of interaction and being that adhere to the logic of laughter and drunkenness, which, in turn, render both time and body transferable. I use the term festival transferability to make up for a complex network of connections and practices that render situatedness, essence, hierarchies and meaning impossible to grasp. In festival celebrations time pours backward from future to present and from present to past (Firmat, 1986, p. 9). This is an instance of transferability that is charged by uploads and downloads of different shapes of time that all together, in the end, form a situation of present pastness or modern primordiality. That is to say, festival drunkenness, intermingled with laughter and its excesses, take the festival and its guests into a dimension between reality and non-reality, between the modern and the primordial, whereby civilization momentarily gets freed of its civility, its subjects unbound to any ties of civilization. The body goes forward to the future while getting transferred momentarily into a pastness where the belly and the lower parts become the center of the body, which, delivered constantly in laughter and trance, loses all connection with modernity.

Therefore in the context of festive performance, liminality, as understood by Victor Turner, can be thought of in terms of festival transferability because the pre-event (preliminal) transfers us to the event (festival as liminal stage), which transfers us to the forming of union or the m-ass (mob ass) within the festival where action starts to take place. Festival transferability permits to understand how bodies transferably transform from one shape to another (from ordinary look to disguise back to ordinary look), or how times transfers as we have into liminal time marked by its own chronological sense, or how hierarchies and power within the festivals shift in speedy and dramatic ways to give shape to the festival monster, uncharacterized by demarcation or compartmentalization, suffused by the quest for wholeness, which upsets the initial boundaries set by the festival organizers to discipline the mass, which, in its evolvment into a m-ass which is bawdy, laughing and drunk, resists containment and classification.

The concept of humor and festivity we are addressing in this writing is central to the acceptance of the phenomenon of reversal (which we can otherwise call transferability, doubleness, and dualism, etc) because the latters spring from within the strictures deposited by a whole (in)distinct forms of culture-bound symbolism and specificities and obligations of the historical timeliness where they open up, conditioning the repertoire of the texts we have studies so far. These inform us about their relation to and impact on festive behavior. The following lyrical content show how urban music best describes the state of reversal in music festivals. In his 'The Police', Bigg the Don uses a number of techniques in his song (ridicule, irony, satire, etc) to strip the police of their charisma, and to break the limits of fear that dissuade ordinary citizens from expressing their abjuration of some police practices.

The Police⁴

The Police, police, police, police
The Police...
Have gone nuts, stopping who they want
Stopping who they want
Shamelessly, shamelessly
The police can talk to your pockets and lie with
power

'You went through the green light in speed, 70
Kilometres per hour!'

'But if you give us 50 (Dirhams)'

'That should be fine' (x4)

'Beyond this option, there's no way, you must pay
a fine'

'Either be with us or against us!'

If the police stops you keep head down

If you are not faulty, attack with a frown

If you are riding a 103 motor bike then wear a
*casque*⁵

Give the police the chance to wear no mask

Don't violate the laws, for a safer stand

Are you sick or round the bend?

The police serve they with a money wand

(Chorus)

If a tiny car you have, they'll cause you lots of
trouble

And if a big car they will salute you with no rub-
ble

Or if the car is charismatic, with code A-1 ⁶

Then you really need the protection of no one

And if your car looks like trash so crashed

They will stop you 't n' say the lamps are scratched

Or be like 'why are the lights off in the day?'

Or 'why did you go through the green light in
the night?'

Or that 'you look more like a thief, not at all like a
good civilian!'

Wonna win the respect of the police?

Go and buy a Mercedes

Or go buy a ticket in the *tobis*⁷

(outro)

There's the white in the police

There's the black in the police

The black in the police has ruined our lives

Oh Morocco treat your police well, so that they
treat us well!

This is the plan! Oh you policemen when I see
you...
I hope when this track comes out you won't be
stoppin' me at every junction...
No evil is meant black and white, peace be upon
you...

Bigg has performed this song during the Mawazine festival, and was the audience's double on stage. Through reversal of role, the artist manages to contain the forces of the system (the police) and corner them into a sentiment of perplexity and impotence. Bigg brings street politics on stage, and demonstrates through funny examples how the police engage in practices of corruption and oppression. He throws the police behind the bars of suspicion, and declares them culpable and responsible of many street sins. This is a situation where the artist on stage weaves a discourse of criticism crisscrossed by the appreciation and co-singing of the audience. Bigg tries to project an instance of street injustice and inequality, where the Moroccan with a 103 motor bike is a sub-citizen in the opinion of the police, who many times is treated with impunity and humiliation. This song is a veritable example of the modes of doubleness, festive transferability and reversal that disrupt the laws of power in society, and that allocate voice to the Moroccan nigger. Bigg pokes fun at the police and provokes laughter in the festival, a rare situation where criticism against those in power can be effected successfully through art with no repercussions possible. Bigg further provokes the police during the outroduction, leaving the song while expressing his hope that the police won't hold this song too much against him, and take revenge in the street. By saying this, he further confirms his argument that the police are above the law, and their decisions are often based on unlawful pronouncements. In brief, what the phenomenon of reversal should teach is that festive practices upset structures of continuity and linearity and therefore declare the collapse of fixed meanings, of unbending expectations, declaring rapture and change of paramount importance to the rites of reversal, that to humor there is pain, to reality there is theatricality, to politeness there is vulgarity, and to uncontaminated mentality there is excrementality.

In the main Vulgarity is a question of intention and opportunity; One can be vulgar when one's intentions to be vulgar meet an op-

portunity. Vulgarly in the music festival takes place in the music and the festival. The festival, awash with its own musical vulgarity and profane performance, makes a reference to, and is in itself a reference to the mood of the era where it is produced. It holds a mirror out to the badness of the epoch, to the crookedness of social lines, to the absurdity of life, to unscrupulousness of the worth of human relations and emotions. In our post-colonial world, art has been ushered, or probably itself ushered itself, by obligation not by choice, into a world of the words and images of unprecedented vulgarity.

Robert Pattison asks the question that if we are torn between the sureness that the 'vulgar will join civilization' and the likelihood that 'civilization cannot survive vulgarity', then are we not to lapse into the fate Rome, at a time where the 'young rebels' attitude being 'For God's sake, burn it down! (Pattison, 1987, p.v) The victory of vulgarity, Pattison contends, withholds no promises of the annihilation of 'elite culture' but the 'reinterpretation' of that culture in a popular style (Pattison, 1987, p.vi). The visions of vulgarity are pre-apocalyptic, and not at all apocalyptic, yet they contain a sense of bitterness, a mood clouded by what is coming, that what is coming is worse than what is being lived. George Bataille, in his *Death and Sensuality*, while speaking of the ogreness of /in feasting, whereby 'we can always imagine a heavy vulgarity taking the place of frenzy' without possessing the ability to disallow the chance of a 'state of exaltation' made of the intoxication that goes with the ogry, the erotic and ecstatic (Bataille, 1962, p.112). As I see it, a sense of decay drifts in the spectacle as an arena of feasting, creating a state of cohesively vulgar imagination that can't escape the attractions of its own social afflictions, or the underpinnings of its own creative makings. A vulgar imagination is one which produces and consumes, speaks and listens, performs and applauds, sings and dances; it recognizes the vulgar and has intentions to sustain it. It is not synonymous with dirty-mindedness, this being the consumption of the vulgar for vulgarity's sake. It is synonymous with excrementality, a mentality which, in its ideological framing, creates and innovates, inspired by excrement, its functionality and symbolism. While the dirty-minded has a dirty mouth, bawdy thoughts, and lewd gestures, he is incapable of being otherwise. The excremental, on the other hand, enjoys a mentality for profanity, without such a mentality leading to any case of behavioural standardization

or sameness, like being vulgar all the time, regardless of alertness to intention and opportunity, context and selectivity. While dirty-mindedness is libidinal (controlled and minded and performed by the body), excrementality is triggered first by a mental code, then second performed by the body. Far from being solely product of physicality, excrementality is physical language contaminated and motivated by intention and purpose, and not the opposite.

In other words, it should be conceded that while excremental must not be disparaged in overly romantic provisos, as pigeonholed by the excesses of the body, we should agree, and at least recognize the presence of brain power. The social condemnations of the excremental as obscene should be at any case be taken with a pinch of salt, for as Justice John Marshall Harlan's reknown line that 'one man's vulgarity is another's lyric,' indicates the clumsiness and absurdity of managing a sober criticism of vulgarity could maintain a sharp and trenchant sense of objectiveness and preciseness. Vulgarity in music festivals, especially that sprawling from musics is a product more of the cognitive, less of the emotive, though both of them make the language of the excremental. In brief, vulgarity is meant to disrupt that which is sacred. Especially in a the festival context, marked by *resistance*, it is taken for granted at some point that vulgarity is rudimentarily indispensable to the proposed message, and for latter to have the desired impact, excrementality has to be deliberate, the excremental agent premeditating its consequences, regulating its repercussions. Presumably, an extreme fit of excrementality is as sacrosanct as its underlying objectives (change, expression, criticism, revolution, revenge, etc). Most of the time they perform the very *khsoriya* (vulgarity) expected of them, by performing that through art, as in the case of Bigg *lkhasar* (Bigg the vulgar, this being the original name for Big the Donn), who cannot be polite, because to do that is to lose his aura.

The orations of politeness can not only be found in the general behaviour of an audience during the spectacle, but is firmly established in the rituals of singing in Moroccan culture as a form of dependability on and praise of the status quo. In rap music, commercial rappers, those who seek money and fame and the blessing of the system, eulogize the order of things, singing forever, in some form of neo-patriotism, about the "white" side of the country, and they call it *lface zwin* (the nice side). This would demand the gra-

cious congratulation of the accomplishments of the governments, state politics, ignore state violence, corruption of local agencies, foregrounding a discourse of persuasion as to the efficiency of the mainstream order. Underground rappers find commercial rap contemptuous, and could even call commercial rappers infidels, shoe lickers, because they overlook 'l'face lkhayab' (the bad side), delving into the excesses of lucrative optimism and hypocrisy in exchange for material rewards. The orations of vulgarity are employed to reveal certain truths about corruption, dishonesty, wretchedness as they are seen and discussed by these young Moroccans, standing out not merely as artistic categories of production, liable to passive models of consumption, but linked to cultural, social and political forces.

Transgression between Power and the Illusion of Power, between the Individual and the M-ass

In 2010 I interviewed popular Moroccan singer Said Mouskir, among other artists. Mouskir complained quite respectfully, when I asked him about his opinion of rappers in Morocco.

Many radios are now open for us, but these should be controlled. Not everything goes! Radio opens a door unto houses, with respectful families. I wouldn't want my mother or sister or son listen to some of what rappers say. Some hip hop songs are good, with beautiful messages! I respect them, so does the great audience they have.

The call for respect and politeness, however, do not blend with the mentality of vulgarity and change. I could discuss this idea of change with anthropologist and DJ Joseph in May, 2010, at the ALC (American Languages Center) where he teaches. Because he mentioned at a previous meeting he studies music and change, I asked him about the kind of change music would promise.

'First personal change.' He replied. 'If you look at ghettos in Brazil, ghettos in South Africa, ghettos in America, music offers people an escape. Music offers people a way to leave the pain of their reality, and to express themselves a lot of times in a happy way. It gives them joy. It gives them meaning. It gives them purpose. And most people

in life are looking for that. `Josef stop for a second and go on, `if you look at hip hop in Palestine right now. People are surrounded by a wall. They cannot move. They cannot leave, but music breaks the wall. Music gives them the chance `to fly` -here he uses his fingers to draw quotes in the air- as clichéd as it is , but music gives them freedom.

Music, according to Joseph, leads to freedom, or the illusion of freedom. I think it is necessary, when dealing with Africa, to speak about freedom and the illusion of freedom, democracy and the illusion of democracy, order and the illusion of order, love and the illusion of love, peace and the illusion of peace. These are concepts that come with their shadows. It is interesting to ponder how the illusion of freedom could substitute freedom and act like its model.

Joseph mentions how music breaks the wall, how repressed people transcend their reality

(the wall) through music to attain freedom. However, reality has it that the wall is always there. In the Moroccan context, Big the Donn together with all the subculture artists I interviewed reflect a grim and miserable underground reality, this being music that hinges on social realism to break the wall, which in its basic functions restrains the freedom of both individuals and groups. All of them use language to refer to the problem, which should otherwise stay unspoken. The problem (the wall, poverty, corruption, and the like) stays. However, these musicians find the platforms available (festivals) to speak and be heard. Festival promulgates, driven by artistic imagination of both artists and organizers, into positioning transgression in a liminal space between power and the illusion of power, between singular demonstration and collective demonstration, between the festival and the street, between resistance and trance, or what I call resistance. The term resistance hinges on contradictory states, reality and reverie, violence and peace, puppeteered transgression and expression, dispatch and receipt, power and vulnerability, soberness and drunkenness, rage and elation, integration and alienation, tension and relief, control and stupor. Re-

sistance and trance, once mingling, piloted by rhythm and dance, take in for questioning these many incongruous gestures and mindsets.

Resistance, however, is neither exterior nor interior. It is resistance supervised from above, and regulated from below. That's to say, it is a constructed resistance, in the sense that the terrains of sublime transformation in youth settings from meek to wild are part of a theatrical set up that materializes when it materializes through preparation, approved applications and plans, funding, organization in brief. For Andrew Smith in festive terrains 'transgression takes place not in some random anarchic splurge, but within and around particular, recognized and recognizable forms that constrain but also enable'. We end up having an exterior epitome of authority (ministry of culture), notably assisted by different-size wallets (partners or sponsors) constructing a frame for what will grow into a theatre of resistance, aided by exterior boosters, a mob, drugs, and music. Such are what Andrew Smith calls 'the paradoxes of transgression, conceived as a violation of norms and normative conduct, which in turn constitute (but not "follow") new norms of human expression—recognizable forms by a community in transgression⁸.

Notes

- 1 Shadwell, Thomas. "Preface to *The Humorists, A Comedy*," in *Critical Essays of the Seventeenth Century*, ed. Spingarn, 2:162.
- 2 As cited in *The Doppelganger: Double Visions in German Literature* (Webber, 1996, 1).
- 3 These premises are borrowed from his book *The Doppelganger: Double Visions in German Literature* p 3-4-5 , 1996.
- 4 I have translated the song from Moroccan Arabic into English
- 5 103 is a very tiny motor bike, that looks more like a bike. Motors riders need to put on a casque (helmet) to avoid police harassment.
- 6 A1 cars are vehicles matriculated in the capital, Rabat. Bigg is trying to refer to street power relations and the politics of reversed fear, when many times the car has signs that refer to the power or status of he who owns it, and as such is enough to discourage a police man from stopping it.

- 7 Autabus in Moroccan Arabic. *Tobis* is borrowed from French and appropriated in daily speech.
- 8 I would like to thank Prof. Andrew Smith for his pertinent comments and deep and insightful contribution to the current discussion on festivals and transgression.

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