

Rossie, Jean-Pierre (2014). Videos on Moroccan children's play and toys available on YouTube: References and Notes till 1.12.2014, 33 p. - These videos are available on YouTube channel: Sanatoyplay Rossie JP.

VIDEOS ON MOROCCAN CHILDREN'S PLAY AND TOYS AVAILABLE ON YOUTUBE REFERENCES AND NOTES

These videos are available on YouTube: channel 'SANATOYPLAY Rossie JP'.

In the references the eventual descriptive note has been integrated.

Jariaa, Khalija (2007). Video : handclapping game 1 « sub a a a, sub o o o ». Village Douar Ouaraben (Tiznit), Morocco, 1.55 minute. Used language: Moroccan Arabic. 3.2007. Filmed with a digital photo camera by Khalija Jariaa.

The children who are playing belong to the very broad group of Amazigh populations to which also the Tuareg belong. Amazigh is the official name now used in Morocco but otherwise the name Berber was and is often used. Amazigh is the name of the ethnic group in their own languages and 'Berber' is seen as a pejorative name coming from the 'Barbarian'. At home the children seen on the video speak Tachelhit, one of the three official Amazigh languages in Morocco. Tachelhit is spoken in the region of Agadir (Souss) and in the Anti-Atlas.

The song is sung in Moroccan Arabic (called Darija). As soon as the children go to primary school they learn Arabic as this is the language of teaching. However, they already learn some of it on the street and/or with other Darija-speaking children living in the same village or quarter, especially in a village like Douar Ouaraben that is very close to the town of Tiznit. In towns both languages are heard most of the time. So a lot of children speaking Tachelhit at home quickly become more or less bilingual. Khalija explains that before this game starts, there normally is first a game draw to decide who will be the leaders when playing "sub aaa sub ooo" (a name not used by the children). She mentions two examples:

1. A game of hide and seek is played. The one who has to search the others is for example indicated by a random counting to 10, the one who is indicated when arriving at the number 10 is the It. In the play area a stone is put on another stone, then the players hide and the search for the others starts. The first two who can hit the stones before being touched by the It will be the leaders of the game.
2. The name of the players is written on pieces of paper and a small child takes out of the heap two pieces of paper. Those whose name is written on the paper are the leaders. Similar proceedings exist based on using other supports e.g. each player choosing some object and pooling these together.

When making with Khalija the translation of the song "sub a a a, sub o o o" it became evident that this is only the beginning of the singing game. The song is sung in Moroccan Arabic.

The translation is as follows:

Who did open the frigidaire?

And who has stolen the apple?

Adila sirwala (no concrete meaning but could be someone's name)

Sub a a a sub o o o - Sub a a a sub o o o (no concrete meaning)

The sign stop

This is not the end of the game. When "stop" has been said then all players must keep their mouth shut. If one opens the mouth or shows teeth then this player must sit down on all fours. The other players put their hands one above the other on this girl or boy's back who is then asked "who's hand is on top?" if she or he guesses wrong the players hit the kneeled one's back and this player is excluded.

When there are only two players left a new phase in the game occurs. The other players are divided in two groups that will belong to the camp of one of these two leaders. This is done as follows: the two leaders walk at some distance and decide what fruit (e.g. grapes and oranges) they choose but without the other players being able to hear them. The two leaders return to the waiting players, stand one in front of one other and join hands. Then each player being hold in turn between the leader's arms must choose she or he likes grapes or oranges and according to this choice must join the camp of the grapes or the camp of the oranges. Finally, a line is drawn on the ground; the players of each camp hold hands and then try to pull the other group of players over the line.

Jariaa, Khalija (2007). Video: handclapping game 2 « un deux tre ». Village Douar Ouaraben, Morocco, 55 seconds. Used language: Moroccan Arabic. 3.2007 - Filmed with a digital photo camera by Khalija Jariaa.

Jariaa, Khalija (2009). Video: handclapping game 1 « nothing for nothing ». Village Douar Ouaraben, Morocco, 1.15 minute. Used language: Tachelhit. Filmed with a digital photo camera by Khalija Jariaa.

Jariaa, Khalija (2009). Video: handclapping game 2 « he ho ». Village Douar Ouaraben, Morocco, 21 secondes. Used language: Tachelhit. Filmed with a digital photo camera by Khalija Jariaa.

Jariaa, Khalija (2009). Video: handclapping game 3 « oh oh oh ». Village Douar Ouaraben, Morocco, 3.59 minutes. Used language: Tachelhit. Filmed with a digital photo camera by Khalija Jariaa.

Jariaa, Khalija (2009). Video: Game of Filistin (Palestine) war (2 parts). Village Douar Ouaraben, Morocco, part 1 : 1.37 minute, part 2 : 1.03 minute. Used language: Tachelhit.

Rossie, Jean-Pierre & Jariaa, Khalija (2009). Douar Ouaraben: the Filistîn-Israïl war. A game inspired by the news on the Moroccan 2M TV channel.

This game took place in December 2009 in the village Douar Ouaraben on the outskirts of the coastal town Tiznit in southwestern Morocco and was observed by Khalija Jariaa who also took the photos and videos (video 1: 1m 37s, video 2: 1m 3s). It shows the growing influence of television images and messages related to the realities of the adult world, on rural children's play and toy making activities. The videos were filmed with a digital photo camera. The language spoken by the players is Tachelhit, the local Amazigh language.

In the morning around eleven three boys play the Palestine-Israel war. Khalija is photographing and video filming the play without the boys noticing it. It is not known who started the play as Khalija only saw them when they were already playing. On the first photo, eleven year old Ahmed with a gun in his hand plays to be an Israeli soldier. The two other boys are Palestine fighters: Brahim, and Rashid, 8 year. Ahmed and Brahim are brothers. Ahmed seems to play the leading role especially when attacking the girls in their playhouses. Towards the bottom of the photo, the big stone represents the border between the Palestinian and Israeli territory. Left of the stone there is a piece of black plastic said to be a bomb.



The Palestine village is situated in the lower half of the next photograph. To its left, but outside the photo, there is a small well. To make the well the players look where the water, thrown away by Khalija who is washing clothes, flows and in the small water bedding they dig out the earth for about 40 cm. At the bottom of this photo there is another bomb, another piece of a plastic bag.



Video 1 (1m 37s): Rashid, a Palestine fighter runs after the Israeli fighter Ahmed. Brahim, the second Palestine fighter is injured and fall dead but the Israeli soldier also fall death. Rashid, the unhurt Palestine fighter walks a bit around and towards the death Palestine fighter Brahim and tells him he is long enough death so he should stand up so they can again attack The Israeli fighter Ahmed. When Ahmed sees they attack him he stands up and runs away this way avoiding to be taken prisoner. Ahmed says to the two other boys “you must be tired because you cannot catch me”.

Then Ahmed, as Israeli soldier, marches towards the Palestinian village, the three small houses of the girls Saadiya, Habiba and Fatima playing household and have arranged the dinner table with clay utensils and other toy utensils. Ahmed disturbs the girl’s small houses, and fires his gun at them saying you are from a Palestinian village. The girls act as if they are injured. The two Palestinian fighters come to protect the girls and hit Ahmed. The boys and girls join forces in taking Ahmed prisoner and bring him to the place where some sand remained used in house construction (at the middle right of the picture above). Ahmed defends himself but cannot escape. They put Ahmed on the sand and hit him. The girls hit him a bit angrily, shouting “why did you destroy our houses?” But Ahmed laughs saying “I am glad I have destroyed your houses”. The mother of Saadiya calls her home for lunch and this brings the game to an end.

After eating they start playing again with a larger group of boys and this about 14.30h. Ahmed and Brahim have invited some other boys to play with them; they are with nine boys now. The Palestinians are represented by five boys: Hamid (9 years), Zakaria (8 years), Smail (7 years), Mohamed (6 years) and

another boy. Four boys, Ahmed (11 years), Brahim (8 years), Rachid (8 years) and Hassan (7 years) represent the Israelis. Ahmed and Brahim also ask four girls, playing household in small houses delimited by stones, to join in the play and the girls accepted. The girls, all neighbors of the boys, are Saadiya (11 years), Fatima (11 years), Ijou (7 years) and Habiba (8 years). On the video the girls are mostly hidden by the smoke of the fire but at 54 seconds a girl dressed in white (Saadiya) appears to the right of the fire.

The play of the Palestine-Israel war starts again with the search for a lighter to light a fire. Ahmed asks another boy if he can get a lighter from his home but that boy says no as his mother doesn't want him to play outside at that time. Then Khalija gives them a lighter from her home. When they start playing again after this short interruption, Khalija makes another video from the flat roof of her house. The cries heard in the beginning of that video come from Khalija's small son.

Video 2 (1:03 minute): A fire is made with wood from the wadi or dry riverbed coming from the mountains when there has been a heavy rain some months before. The boys say that the noise of the wind heard on the video is like the noise of a war. The girls shout at one or the other of the Palestinian fighters, so Saadiya is shouting at her brother Smail whose name is heard on the video at 33 seconds. Smail and the other Palestinian fighters run from the right side of the fire towards the girls who are at the opposite side. Behind some bushes Saadiya and Ijou hide for the Israelis who are at about three meters from the fire. Saadiya throws a stone towards Rachid and shouts "you are death". He falls dead and leaves the game but continues to watch the game. Fatima and Habiba sit in their small house. Ahmed, an Israeli fighter, comes to attack them and they run to the two other girls who hide behind the bushes. Ahmed shoots at Fatima and says "you are death". Fatima doesn't agree and says no it is Habiba. Habiba says "this is not right you are dead". Ahmed confirms that he was shooting Fatima and then Fatima agrees. She falls down and goes to the small houses.

During the game the Palestinian fighters throw stones at the Israeli who have guns. Ahmed made four guns. He uses the gun with a shoulder hold and gives the others guns to the three boys playing with him to be Israeli fighters. The Palestinian fighters don't have arms because "they don't have money to buy them" as the children say. However, to throw stones they use a sling made with the air tube of a bicycle, a stone thrower made with a forked branch and a piece of rubber, or they just throw stones by hand.



The game ends because the girls want to play in their small houses. Thereafter the boys go to play football.

Jariaa, Khalija (2009). Video: preparing food on an open fire. Village Douar Ouaraben, Morocco, 41 seconds. Used language: Tachelhit. 7.2009 - Video made with a digital photo camera by Khalija Jariaa.

Jariaa, Khalija (2009). Video: playing with kites (2 parts). Village Douar Ouaraben, Morocco, 36 & 45 seconds.

As kites the children use a plastic bag attached to a long rope. 8.2009 - Video made with a digital photo camera by Khalija Jariaa.

Jariaa, Khalija (2009). Video: Cars created by boys for a game of gendarmes and hashish smugglers. Village Ikenwèn, Morocco, 43 seconds. Used language: Tachelhit. 8.2009.

This video shows some players with two wheeled cars made for this play activity.

The description of these cars and the game is given in: Rossie, Jean-Pierre (2013). *Saharan and North African Toy and Play Cultures. Technical activities in play, games and toys*. Braga: Centre for Philosophical and Humanistic Studies, Catholic University of Portugal, 360 p. 350 ill. Figures 66-67, p. 97-98 and figures 147-149, p. 145-147. Available on

<http://www.sanatoypay.org/books/Rossie%202013%20Technical%20activities.pdf>

<https://www.scribd.com/search-documents?query=Jean+Pierre+Rossie&escape=false>

<https://independent.academia.edu/JeanPierreRossie>

Jariaa, Khalija (2010). Video: sliding down a slope of a hill of stones for repairing the asphalt road. Village Ikenwèn, Morocco, 2.51 minutes. 10.2010. Filmed by Khalija Jariaa with a video camera Sony.

The boys cut out along its sides an inner tube of a tractor tire to obtain a long rectangle. While sitting on this piece of rubber they slide down the slope of the hill of stones used to repair the asphalt road, left beside the house of Khalija's family in Ikenwèn. There is a three year old boy trying to climb the hill as seen on the video and who, as seen by Khalija but not recorded on the video, is able to slide down from the top of the hill to the bottom without falling of the piece of rubber.

Jariaa, Khalija (2012). Video: doll play wedding feast. Village Douar Ouaraben, Morocco, 15 seconds. Used language: Tachelhit. 1.2012. Filmed by Khalija Jariaa with a video camera Sony.

Three plastic dolls were found in the Oued. The lacking legs and arms have been replaced by pieces of reed. The girls made the cloths. These three dolls represent tourists assisting a wedding feast. Two Moroccan girls came from Brussels for vacation in Douar Ouaraben: the one who sits in the door opening and the older one who stays upright in the beginning of the video. The girl from Brussels sitting in the door opening is making a doll with a reed frame in the form of a cross.

Jariaa, Khalija (2012). Video: throwing tops. Village Douar Ouaraben, Morocco, 2.32 minutes. 1.2012. Filmed by Khalija Jariaa with a video camera Sony.

Group of 7 boys, about 9 years old, using a wooden top. One player starts throwing his top and then the other players throw their top. The goal is to hit with your top, the tops of the other players. One of the players falls on the ground and is comforted.

Jariaa, Khalija (2012). Video: playing shop. Village Imjad, Morocco, 7.11 minutes. Used language: Tachelhit. 2.2012. Filmed by Khalija Jariaa with a video camera Sony.

The players are Mohamed (4 years), Meryem (5 years), Naïma (6 years), a niece of Mohamed and Meryem. Meryem pours chocolate powder, represented by fine sand, in a pot.

Her brother Mohamed wants to help her by adding sand but Meryem refuses. Mohamed complains that the kilo prepared by Meryem has not the correct weight. Then Meryem hits the powder and adds a bit of 'chocolate' to augment the weight. Meanwhile Naïma goes making a tajine. This play activity is followed by a visit of the house and Mohamed together with another boy play with a ball in the inner courtyard of the house.

Jariaa, Khalija (2012). Video: Smal house play. Village Imjad, Morocco, 2.14 minutes. Used language: Tachelhit. 2.2012. Filmed by Khalija Jariaa with a video camera Sony.

A eight year old boy plays in a small house he delimited with stones. There is the dinner room, the kitchen, the bathroom and the terrace. The boy explains that every day he looks after the sheep and that he then always comes to this place. Therefore he does not destroy his small house.

Jariaa, Khalija (2012). Video: Girl and boy play with a donkey. Village Sidi Abou, Morocco, 1.23 minute. Used language: Tachelhit. 1.2012. Filmed by Khalija Jariaa with a video camera Sony. The players are a six year old girl and a three year old boy amusing themselves with a donkey.

Jariaa, Khalija (2012). Video: Girl playing with a dung beetle. Village Sidi Abou, Morocco, 29 seconds. Used language: Tachelhit. 1.2002. Filmed by Khalija Jariaa with a video camera Sony.

The dung beetle represents a cow in a pickup car. The girl says she will seek other dung beetles because it is better to have more cows to have more milk and make butter so that one has it all at home and does not need to go out to buy it. Her two and a half year old sister with the red sweater says that she also wants to look for a 'cow'.

Jariaa, Khalija (2012). Video: Girls playing with a small tent. Village Sidi Abou, Morocco, 49 seconds. Used language: Tachelhit. 1.2012. Filmed by Khalija Jariaa with a digital photo camera.

The five year old girl with the blue sweater and the two and a half year old girl with the red sweater are sisters. The small tent is built by the older girl. Before the tent there is a doll with a reed frame, a TV (a big packet of tea) and a large car (a long reed with six wheels). To the right side of the tent lay the doll's clothes and a Baigon sprayer against insects that represents a fire extinguisher available in many houses. The big girl is holding a reed with on its top a plastic bottle she points to the sky saying in Tachelhit "a Rabbi fêfd amein", "oh God sends us water".

Rossie, Jean-Pierre & Lauras, Luc (2001). Video: Poupées de l'Atlas et du Pré-Sahara Marocain. Filmed by Luc Lauras, Sète (France) : Musée International des Arts Modestes, version of 30 minutes used during the exposition, partie 1 : 21.50 minutes, partie 2 : 12.26 minutes. Used language: French.

A version of about 60 minutes exists in the Musée du Jouet de Moirans-en-Montagne. This 60 minutes video, commented in French by Jean-Pierre Rossie, starts with an overview of all the dolls.

1. The structures of dolls made by children (1'30 " - 3.40).
2. Seven bride dolls and one bridegroom doll (3'40 " - 6 ') dolls made by girls of about seven years from the village Magaman (Goulmima, Pre-Sahara), in 1996 and a model of a dollhouse.
3. A bride doll (6'-7 ') made in 1994 by a six year old girl of the village Ighrem-n-Cherif (Goulmima, Pre-Sahara).
4. Ten bride dolls (7'-11 ') made by girls from six to twelve years of the village Aït Ighemour (Jbel Siroua, High Atlas) and some utensils toys modeled by boys of this village, 1992.
5. Four bride dolls (11'-14'50 ") and three bride dolls made by girls and one bride doll made by a mother of about forty in the village Ignern (Jebel Siroua, High Atlas); and some utensils modeled by the same girls, 1996.
6. Seven bride dolls, one bridegroom doll and a toy sheep (14'50 " - 24'30 "): remade in 1997 by three sisters aged between twenty and twenty-six years and their mother of fifty-five years in the village Ksar Assaka (Midelt, Jebel Ayachi, High Atlas) with a design of the doll house.
7. Bride doll (24'30 " - 26 '): remade by a young mother about twenty years old, Imi-n-Tanoute (High Atlas) in 1992.
8. Female doll (26'-27'50 "): doll made by a girl of about nine years of the Tafraoute region (Anti-Atlas) in 1998.
9. Ten bride dolls and one bridegroom doll (27'50 " - 31 '): Eight bride dolls and one bridegroom doll were made in 1998 by girls between ten and fourteen years and one bride doll made by a boy of twelve, all pupils in the school of the village Imou Ergen near Ergoub (Sidi Ifni, Anti-Atlas).

10. Three bride dolls (31'-37'40 ") made by girls of the village Ksar Hassi Biad (Merzouga, Pre-Sahara) in 1997.
11. Three bride dolls bride and a mother doll carrying a baby on her back (37'40 " - 42'40 ") made by girls of the village Hmar (Taroudannt, Anti Atlas), in 1998.
12. Two bride dolls (43'35 " - 47'30 "): a traditional doll made in 1961 by a primary school girl and an imported plastic doll that is used as the frame for a bride doll remade by a young woman from Marrakech in 1992, together with the desing of a dollhouse.
13. A toy representing the board to wash clothes, Rabat, 1993 (47'30-48'10 ').
14. Two imported dolls (48'10 " - 52 '): one with a dress sewn by a girl from the village Ignern (Jbel Siroua, High Atlas) in 1996 and a *Little Miss* doll bought in a small shop in 1996 in Taroudant.
15. Cardboard dollhouse and bride doll with arms repaired in the traditional way (52'-55 ') made by a nine year old girl from the village Zaïda (Midelt) in 1999.

For a description of these dolls and the play activities in which they are used see chapter 2.14 Female dolls of Morocco in Rossie, Jean-Pierre (2005). *Saharan and North African Toy and Play Cultures. Children dolls and doll play*. Preface by Dominique Champault, Stockholm International Toy Research Centre, Stockholm: Royal Institute of Technology, 328 p, 163 ill.. Available on <http://www.sanatoypplay.org/books/Rossie%202005%20%20Dolls.pdf>
<https://www.scribd.com/search-documents?query=Jean+Pierre+Rossie&escape=false>
<https://independent.academia.edu/JeanPierreRossie>

Rossie, Jean-Pierre (2009). Video: Toys created by Moroccan children: toy animals. Document sur Facebook dans le groupe Toys created by children - Jouets créés par des enfants, 1.06 minute.

Rossie, Jean-Pierre (2009). Video: Toys created by Moroccan children: dolls. Document sur Facebook dans le groupe Toys created by Children - Jouets créés par des enfants, 1.55 minute.

Rossie, Jean-Pierre (2009). Video: Toys created by Moroccan children: toys for games of skill. Document sur Facebook dans le groupe Toys created by Children - Jouets créés par des enfants, 1.28 minute.

Rossie, Jean-Pierre (2009). Video: Toys created by Moroccan children: musical toys. Document sur Facebook dans le groupe Toys created by Children - Jouets créés par des enfants, 1.30 minute.

Rossie, Jean-Pierre & Daoumani, Boubaker (2002). Video 1 (2 parts): doll and construction play in Sidi Ifni, Morocco, 31.1.2002. Filmed with a Panasonic video camera R55 VHS by Rossie JP.

Doll play of a six year old girl, with dolls she made herself and bought dolls, and of a four year old boy. Followed by an interview with the players and the mother of the boy by Boubaker Daoumani. Used language: Moroccan Arabic.

Protocol and dialogues of this video

19 minutes of play activities followed by 26 minutes interview with the players and a mother. The length of the digitized videos does not match the length of the original videos recorded with a video camera Panasonic R55 VHS. The original recordings are in the Musée du Jouet de Moirans-en-Montagne. Parental authorization is given by the mother on the video.

Players

Fatiha, girl, 7 years, born in Sidi Ifni, first year of primary school, speaks Moroccan Arabic at home. Yasin Shmèllal, boy, 4 years 2 months (16.11.1997), born in Sidi Ifni, maternal cousin of Fatiha, speaks Moroccan Arabic at home.

Language and dialogues

Both players use local Moroccan Arabic. Dialogues recorded on the video and on a mini-cassette. Translation of dialogues in French by B. Daoumani and JP Rossie (available in manuscript). Translation from French into English by JP. Rossie.

Place of action

Small rural city Sidi Ifni, Atlantic coast, Southern Morocco, Avenue Prince Moulay Abdallah, in front of house number 28, the home of Yasin, this street lies parallel with the seashore and a camping with several mobile homes.

Small rural town Sidi Ifni, Atlantic coast, Southern Morocco, Avenue Prince Moulay Abdallah, in front of house number 28, the home of Yasin, this street lies parallel with the seashore and a camping with several mobile homes.

Play material

Several self-made dolls and two Barbie-like dolls representing children

Small Donald Duck at one moment representing the primary school teacher.

Sticks, rags, piece white textile fabric representing the play space (possibly a room).

Family situation

Mother of Yasin, about 43 years, childhood in Sidi Ifni but her father comes from the Rif Mountain region in the North of Morocco, sixth year scientific section of secondary school, housewife but regretting not being able to make profit of her studies.

Father of Yasin, about 52 years, comes from the Tafraoute region (Agadir), no formal labor.

Fatiha is a daughter of Yasin's mother's sister. Popular class families.

Electricity, running water, television (no parabolic antenna) available in Yasin's home.

Special remarks

In April 2002 Boubaker Daoumani revisited the players to ask some additional questions.

Fatiha states that she always plays with both type of dolls, the self-made doll and the Barbie-like doll. The reason she gives for this is that she likes to make dolls and that she has not enough Barbie-like dolls to play a game necessitating many persons, moreover there are no little Barbie-like dolls that can take on the role of children. She also says that she sometimes plays the mother role herself, the dolls then being her children. But on other occasions the mother role is given to a doll, the tallest doll, often a Barbie-like doll. She stresses that she does not only play household and mother-child games as she also enacts for example wedding festivities with her dolls. Yasin does not play with dolls when playing alone but when playing with Fatiha he is obliged to do so. He will even accept to prepare dinner but he never wants to make a doll.

Scenes and dialogues

0. View of the environment and play area with the players.

1. Fatiha (F) makes a doll with a wooden spoon (0'55").

2. Yasin (Y) clumsily does as if he makes a doll (Yasin's older sisters who are out of the image tell him that he must make a doll).

3. Fatiha designs a face on the inner side of the spoon.

4. Yasin takes a pencil and makes a trait on his stick.

5. Fatiha is clothing her spoon doll.

6. Yasin does not do much to make a doll.

7. Yasin must hold Fatiha's doll so that she can attach a belt to it (3'50").

Dialogue 1: F "Yasin do as I do. We must make the veil".

8. Two Barbie-like dolls lean against the wall.

9. Fatiha cuts a rag with scissors, and then tears it further apart while Yasin is holding the rag.

10. Yasin hits the ground with a stick (5'10").

Dialogue 2: Y "here it is".

11. Then he uses the same stick and another one as if he wants to make a cross shaped doll's structure (†) meanwhile he sits with his back towards Fatiha and the play setting.

12. Yasin throws the sticks aside and continues to sit with his back to Fatiha and the play activity.

Dialogue 3: F to Y "make the house", Y replies "but wait, wait".

13. Yasin does nothing for a while sitting with an annoyed face.

14. Fatiha starts to make the † for another doll.

15. Yasin takes a stick and makes a rectangular structure with 4 sticks he takes from Fatiha (7'10").

16. Yasin takes a little ball in his hands for a moment.

17. Yasin takes a cloth and puts it in the rectangular he made.
18. Fatiha makes another small † structure for a new doll.
- Dialogue 4: F “we are going to make the doll nicer (than all the others).
19. Fatiha lays a doll on the rag Yasin has put in the rectangular frame.
- Dialogue 5: F to Y “bring me a stick, the children must be made”.
20. Yasin holds a ball in his hands and plays with it for some seconds.
- Dialogue 6: F to Y “see there the children near her (the spoon doll), go and make them a midday dinner” (3x).
21. Yasin takes two little sticks, holds them as if he wants to make a †, he takes a white rag, then drops all this, he takes the sticks back and puts them together with the lower stick of the rectangular frame (8’40”).
- Dialogue 7: Y to F “where is the tajine (the pottery cooking pot)?” F “prepare it with something”.
22. Fatiha continues to make the new doll.
- Dialogue 8: F “see here her girl and there her boys”.
23. Yasin sits on his knees doing nothing and not looking at Fatiha.
- Dialogue 9: F to Y “go to make the kitchen (2x)”.
24. Yasin takes a Barbie-like doll with long hair, makes a move as if he is putting her on the rag in the rectangular frame, looks at the onlookers and then puts it quickly on the rag (9’25”).
- Dialogue 10: Y to F “Where is the kitchen?” F to Y “make them the lunch”.
25. Yasin takes the ball again in his hands.
26. Fatiha shows something at Yasin that lies before his knees.
- Dialogue 11: F “see her daughter (3x)”.
27. Fatiha continues to make a doll, she also puts a Barbie-like doll in the rectangular frame (9’25”).
28. Yasin changes a bit the place of this doll.
- Dialogue 12: Y “where is the lunch”, F “go to make the lunch”.
29. Yasin wobbles on his knees and takes a white rag and two sticks acting as if he wants to make a †.
30. Fatiha puts her little doll next to the spoon doll and Barbie-like dolls.
- Dialogue 13: F to Y “go to make it”, Y replies, “I don’t have a lunch”.
31. Yasin drops the sticks and white rag, and then he takes only the two little sticks in his hand.
- Dialogue 14: F to Y “go to make it”, Y replies “I don’t have the lunch, I”, F replies “go to make it”, Y replies “I don’t have the lunch, I”, F replies “go to make it”, Y replies “I don’t have the lunch, I”.
32. Fatiha takes the white rag Yasin was using and covers the dolls with it.
- Dialogue 15: F to Y “go to cover them”.
33. Yasin does not do this, so F does it herself.
- Dialogue 16: F to Y “give me the sticks”.
34. Yasin gives Fatiha the sticks; she starts to make another doll.
- Dialogue 17: F to Y “go first to build the kitchen, go first to prepare for us the kitchen, go”.
35. Yasin turns with his finger in his nose doing nothing for the rest (10’45”).
- Dialogue 18: F to Y “but you are going to make the kitchen! (tone is rising), and go to make them lunch”.
36. Fatiha takes a ribbon lying near Y.
- Dialogue 19: Y to F “where is the kitchen, there is no kitchen” Finally Yasin takes the scissors in hand pushing and hitting things with it, he takes a stick and tries to make a hole in it with the scissors.
- Dialogue 20: F to Y “so, makes it with this, see here (2x) make the lunch and the rest” (said with emphasis).
37. Yasin slightly turns his head from right to left (negative reply).
38. Fatiha is making the † of a new doll.
40. Yasin continues to manipulate without much purpose the scissors.
- Dialogue 21: Y to F “where is it (the lunch)?”
41. Fatiha makes a gesture of impatience.
- Dialogue 22: F to Y “where is it?!” “give me, give me and go to make the ‘dwâz’ (plate) and the lunch and the lemonade”, Y replies “where is the lunch? There is no lunch!”
42. Fatiha designs a face on her new doll, then gives it a dress.
- Dialogue 23: F to Y “see here the bride again, see there the girl of the bride (arûsa)”.

43. Yasin takes a long ribbon and does again as if he is making a doll, he drops the stick, tries again and then takes one stick and turns the rag around it (13'05").

Dialogue 24: Y "let's go there". F "go to make us the lunch and all the rest". Y "where is the lunch?". F "make us the meal (plate)". Y "where is the meal?". F "go to prepare us something". F "go to make the lunch and all the rest".

44. Meanwhile Fatiha's new doll is finished and she puts it with the other dolls under the rag covering them. Yasin looks for a while at what Fatiha is doing then he continues to turn the rag around the stick (13'30").

45. Fatiha takes the dolls away from the rectangular structure, she takes the spoon doll and lays it in her lap; meanwhile Yasin continues to turn the rag around the stick.

Dialogue 25: F "see there the lunch, wake up", Y "where is the lunch, I don't see it".

46. Fatiha takes a little doll, puts it on her knees and looks at Yasin; while searching something the doll falls off Fatiha's knees, she takes the spoon doll in her hand still searching something.

Dialogue 26: F "take your breakfast", F to Y "go and prepare us" (13'35"). While Yasin takes the scissors he replies "am I your sister?", F answers "don't forget what you have said".

47. Yasin wants to cut the rag he was turning around the stick with the scissors but as he cannot cut it he strips the rag of the stick.

48. Fatiha looks for a pencil.

Dialogue 27: F to Y "give me the color pencil (3x), Y replies "where is the color pencil?".

49. Fatiha has found the color pencil herself and designs a face on the doll.

50. She puts the little doll against the house wall.

Dialogue 28: F "there they are, the (the children) will leave for school now, go!".

51. Fatiha takes the spoon doll and lays it in the rectangular structure.

Dialogue 29: F to Y "go to make us lunch, see they are going to sleep".

52. Yasin plays disinterestedly with the scissors, he makes a move to cut the rag but drops it immediately.

53. Fatiha puts two other little self-made dolls in the rectangular structure and covers them with the lower part of the rag lying under them (14'40").

54. Yasin looks around holding the open scissors in one hand, he takes a stick and holds it in one hand meanwhile he looks at the onlookers with an annoyed expression on his face.

55. Fatiha wants to make another doll and talks to Yasin.

Dialogue 30: "give me the sticks".

Yasin throws a stick to Fatiha, then he manipulates a ribbon for a while turning it around his fingers.

56. Fatiha makes another doll (15'25").

Dialogue 31: F to Y "give me something".

57. Yasin throws his ribbon and then another rag to Fatiha with a slightly aggressive gesture.

Dialogue 32: F to Y "go to prepare them the dinner (3x), Y replies, "go yourself! I am a man not a woman! I, I am a man not a woman".

58. Yasin plays for a while with the scissors.

Dialogue 33: F to Y "but it is necessary to make them a dinner".

59. Fatiha continues to make a doll.

Dialogue 34: F "they will soon wake up, eight o'clock is approaching so that they will go to school". F to Y "go and make them breakfast". Y replies "tell me, they are going to the school?", F replies "Yes, they enter school at eight o'clock".

60. Yasin still plays with the scissors.

Dialogue 35: F "and eight o'clock is approaching, go to make them breakfast", Y replies "go yourself! Am I a woman!".

61. Fatiha designs a face on the doll.

Dialogue 36: F "their big sister has gone to make them a breakfast, she doesn't care about you".

62. Just then Yasin drops the scissors and takes a stone and a little stick.

Dialogue 37: Y to F "see here the breakfast, see it here, see here the breakfast (2x), F replies "where is it?", Y replies "here it is", F to Y "give me the rag", Y replies "where is it".

Dialogue 38: F to Y “like this one, give”.

63. Fatiha throws a rag to Yasin.

64. Yasin opens the rag and gives it to Fatiha (16’50”).

65. Fatiha uses it to make a dress for her new doll.

66. Yasin wobbles again on his knees (17’).

Dialogue 39: F to Y “go to make something”, Y replies “where is the thing, I haven’t seen it”.

67. Yasin takes the little ball lying against the wall.

Dialogue 40: F to Y “go to make them the ‘dwâz’ (plate) or something, go!”

68. Yasin gives two small white things to Fatiha.

Dialogue 41: F to Y “go to make them the plate and the breakfast.

69. Yasin manipulates the ball for a longer time in a seemingly annoyed way.

Dialogue 42: F “they have gone to school”.

70. Fatiha makes a doll.

Dialogue 43: F “they did not come back yet, go make us breakfast! (an order)”, Y replies inaudibly.

Dialogue 44: F to Y “and so, you have to make the breakfast and the plate. See, their big sister has gone to make the plate. She doesn’t care about you”.

71. Fatiha puts this doll with the other dolls against the wall (18’10”).

Dialogue 45: F “see, she is there, wake up! See there, they did wake up”.

72. Fatiha takes the spoon doll on her lap.

73. Fatiha takes the small dolls in her hand and lays them against the wall.

Dialogue 46: F “see them, they are going to school, they. See them, she has brought them (2x)”.

74. Yasin plays with the ball and says:

Dialogue 47: Y to F “is this the school?”

75. Fatiha puts the spoon doll on the rag in the rectangular structure.

76. Fatiha blows as if she indicates that it is enough.

Dialogue 48: F to Y “go and take them to the room (possibly the school) (2x).

77. Yasin wants to cover the doll with the lower part of the rag.

78. But Fatiha puts first a second doll under the rag.

Dialogue 49: F to Y “go to take them back from school (2x).

79. Yasin covers these dolls.

Dialogue 50: F to Y “go bring them lunch at school.

80. Yasin puts two sticks forming the walls of the rectangular structure in their correct place.

Dialogue 51: F to Y “go to make them lunch and something else”.

81. Fatiha starts playing with the ball.

Interview with the players by Boubaker Daoumani

26 minutes interview recorded on the video and on a separate mini-audiocassette. Both players and Yasin’s mother use local Moroccan Arabic. Translation of interviews first in French by B. Daoumani and JP. Rossie (in manuscript). Translation from French into English by JP. Rossie.

Interview with the players

Fatiha (F.), Yasin (Y.), Boubaker (B.)

B. What are you making know? Who made this doll?

F. Inaudible.

B. What does this doll do?

F. She does the household.

B. What about the household?

F. She makes the dish and she makes them sleep.

B. For whom is she making the dish?

F. For her daughters.

B. How many children?

F. She has three.

B. And you (Y) what have you done?

Y. I am the man.

- B. You are helping her, no? How are you helping her? What are you making (x2)?
- B. And what are the children then doing?
- F. They go out, the sleep.
- B. These things there for what are they used?
- F. It is to sleep.
- B. What is that, it is a room?
- F. Yes.
- B. They sleep there?
- F. Yes.
- B. And when they wake up what are they doing?
- F. They wash their face.
- B. Where is the water?
- F. Look there, see there the faucet or tap.
- B. When they have washed their face what do they do?
- F. They take breakfast and go to school.
- B. What are they doing at school? But who teaches them?
- F. The schoolteacher.
- B. Where is the schoolteacher? I don't see a teacher.
- F. Look there he is.
- B. Is this the teacher?
- B. Show us the situation when the teacher teaches the children.
- F. Look like that he teaches them.
- B. What does he teaches them?
- F. He teaches them reading and grammar in Arabic and reading in French.
- B. Reading in French too? So, they read French!
- B. And when they come back from school?
- F. Inaudible.
- B. Who is making them a dish?
- F. Their mother.
- B. Where is their mother?
- F. Look there.
- B. Oh, there is their mother.
- B. What is their mother doing at home?
- F. She is doing the housework and preparing the dish.
- B. But where is the dish, I did not see it?
- F. See there.
- B Ah this is the dish.
- B. What will they do with the dish?
- F. The will eat it.
- B. I did not see that they were eating the dish.
- F. They did not come back for school yet.
- B. So we will wait till they come back from school?
- F. See there they are coming back from school.
- F. See they are eating.
- B. How are they eating? Show us how.
- B. They are eating isn't it? And after that?
- F. They are going to wash their hands.
- B. They wash their hands! Here do they wash their hands?
- F. At the faucet or tap.
- B. Where is the faucet?
- F. There it is.
- B. And what is their mother doing after that?

- F. She is preparing the room for them.
- B. Who has given you the blanket with which you cover them?
- F. It is from the house.
- B. Where are the dolls you did not make yourself
- B. Where are the dolls you did not make yourself?
- F. There they are.
- B. Give them to me. Who did clothe them that way?
- F. We bought them.
- B. Who did buy them for you?
- F. My mother.
- B. And this one did your mother buy it too?
- F. Yes.
- B. Which is the prettiest, this one or that one?
- F. That one (she points to the Barbie-like doll with hair).
- B. And why is she the prettiest?
- F. This one has hair and the other one is bald.
- B. It is your mother who did by you this one!
- F. Yes.
- B. On what occasion, at which moment?
- F. During summer.
- B. For the Moussem (the yearly festivities in July).
- F. Yes.
- B. Is it really during the Moussem?
- F. Oh yes!
- B. And the other one where did she buy it?
- F. She bought both of them for me during the Moussem.
- B. And why during the Moussem, they don't exist in the market?
- F. They are not sold in the market.
- B. Many of these are sold during the Moussem?
- F. Yes.
- B. Is it really during the Moussem?
- F. Ah yes!
- B. And the other one where did she buy it?
- F. She bought both during the Moussem.
- B. And why during the Moussem don't they exist at the market?
- F. They are not sold at the market.
- B. Many of these are sold during the Moussem?
- F. Yes.
- B. And you (speaking to the boy Yasin), what did your mother buy for you during the Moussem?
- Y. She bought me clothes.
- B. She didn't buy you a bride doll?
- Y. Negative reply by shaking his head.
- B. You don't play with dolls?
- Y. No!
- B. I have seen that you don't want to play with your sister. You don't like to play with dolls?
- Y. Reply inaudible.
- B. With what do you like to play?
- Y. With this (indicates the sticks).
- B. What do you make with them?
- Y. Reply inaudible or no reply.
- B. Takes the Donald Duck in his hands and talks to Y.
- Y. This is mine, pointing at the Donald Duck.

- B. Who did buy you this?
 Y. My father.
 B. Where?
 Y. At the market.
 B. They exist at the market?
 Y. Yes.
 B. This one (Donald Duck) what was it?
 F. The teacher.
 B. Is this one the teacher?
 F. Replies with a smile.
 B. Why is this one the teacher?
 F. Because it is a man.
 B. Who did prepare the meal you or she?
 Y. It's her.
 B. And you, you can prepare nothing?
 Y. I am a man!
 B. You are what?
 Y. A man.
 B. Oh! You are a man and you don't like to prepare a meal isn't it?
 Y. Agreement is expressed non-verbally.
 B. Tell me what can you make?
 Y. Like this.
 B. Like this?
 Y. Like this.
 B. Like this?
 Y. Yes.
 B. But I have seen your sister making this.
 Y. No reply.
 B. What else can you make?
 Y. -----
 B. Who has made the house in which the children did sleep?
 Y. Me.
 B. It's you who made it?
 Y. Yes.
 B. With what?
 Y. With this.
 B. Show us how you did this.
 Y. Shows it.
 B. But it is not like that. Show us how the house was really made some minutes ago.
 Y. Starts to make the house.
 B. What is missing?
 Y. This is left.
 B. Where did you get this?
 Y. From our home.
 B. Who did these nails?
 Y. My brother.
 B. And what is this. With what are they covered?
 F. No it is on it that the children are lying down.
 Y. It is here that they sleep.
 B. Show us how.
 Y. They sleep here, it is done like that (Y starts to prepare the house).
 B. It is like that that you do? Where are the children?

- Y. They are here.
 B. What do you do with them?
 Y. Shows how the dolls are put in place.
 B. Where do you put them, above or under? Show us how you do it.
 Y. Shows how it is done.
 B. Now it is night and they sleep.
 B. This one you don't change her (Barbie-like doll) clothes?
 F. No.
 B. And why they always stay with the same clothes?
 F. It's only a doll.
 B. This one is yours and the other is hers, isn't it?
 Y. This one (the doll with hair) is mine; my sister brought it for me.
 B. It's yours (the doll without hair)? That one is hers and this one is yours?
 Y. No! It's the other one and that one is hers.
 B. Take yours (to the girl) and this one is his, he doesn't want the bald doll.
 F. Reply inaudible.
 B. OK. Your doll has a name?
 F. Her name is Yasmina.
 B. And the name of your doll?
 Y. Zohra.
 B. And the other ones do they have a name?
 F. Khadija, Rquia, Fadma, Fatima.

Interview with Yasin's mother (about 43 years old) by Boubaker Daoumani

At the end of the 26 minutes interview recorded on the video.

(M) Yasin's mother, Boubaker (B.)

B. How do you view children's play?

M. I always let my children play outside at least those that don't go to school and those going to school I let them play when there is no school.

B. What about the dolls and other toys?

M. The dolls have been bought for some occasion like feast for example. The children themselves make the other toys. The mother or the older children teach the small ones to make toys just as they did themselves. Dolls existed before (in the mother's child time) but it was only the Christians (Spanish and other Europeans) and the rich who could buy them.

B. Since when do you live here in town?

M. Since the time of the (Spanish) colonization (1934-1969).

B. How do the children make dolls and why is a spoon used?

M. The children make their dolls with sticks or they use a wooden spoon because it already has the shape of a head and so it is easy to make a face, it is not the same as with a simple stick. We played like that in the 1960s.

B. Where are your families from?

M. My father comes from the Rif (North Morocco), my children's father is from Sous, Tafraoute region.

B. You know French well, where did you learn it?

M. I learned it at school as I continued until the sixth year of secondary school, scientific section.

B. Oh fine!

M. Yes, but it is a pity because I stay at home.

B. Tarenja (name of the doll made with a wooden spoon and used to ask for rain) is from the Rif?

M. No, it is a name from here and I don't know how they call it in the Rif. When my father died I only was 40 days old. His father came with the Spanish army to Sidi Ifni before the birth of the mother.

M. We did play with Tarenja to ask for rain. We walked around at night and people gave us some sugar and money, and with that we organized in a street a feast with a religious aspect called 'mârûf'. This is a feast to obtain something from God and/or to receive blessings and not like the feast today without

Tarenja. Then we walked around with Tarenja and each girl or boy takes her or his Tarenja that is dressed like an °arûsa or bride.

B. What kind of roles do the children play?

M. They imitate all they see.

B. What are your children doing?

M. I have three girls going to secondary school. Fatiha just started to go to primary school.

B. And the father?

M. The father is retired and receives some allocation because he participated in the resistance against the Spanish.

B. No problem with photographing your children?

M. For Fatiha and Yasin, everybody is allowed to photograph or videotape the little children when they are playing it isn't a problem.

B. You don't direct the play nor intervenes in it. You don't pay attention when they are playing?

M. No, we let them play, they can play as they like, they speak as they wish. Nowadays children also learn to make things at school; there is a special moment for making objects in wood, with gypsum. So the one who plays well at home works well at school in the lesson of manual training. There are children who can make nothing and they don't get good points. Those who play well can thus ameliorate their school notes. These play activities are a leisure time. Even when a child isn't intelligent it is possible that it can create objects better than it can be successful in reading or writing.

B. And what with the games and toys nowadays?

M. Those who have to care about these games are the Sleuh (Amazighs) because these games come from them. The people who aren't from here, the people from the interior are more developed and they buy toys but our children play with simple things like rags, wood and all they find at home.

Rossie, Jean-Pierre & Daoumani, Boubaker (2002). Video 2: the Sidi Ifni Toy Maker, Morocco, 2.2.2002. Filmed with a Panasonic video camera R55 VHS by Rossie JP.

Toy creation by a ten year old boy in the company of his six year old brother. Interviews with the older boy and his father. Used language: Moroccan Arabic.

Protocol and dialogues of this video

35 minutes and 40 seconds of play activities are preceded by 3 minutes interview with the father and followed by 6 minutes interview with the players, both by Boubaker Daoumani. The length of the digitized videos does not match the length of the original videos recorded with a video camera Panasonic R55 VHS. Boubaker Daoumani also interviewed the father in his house prior to the video filming, an interview recorded on audiocassette. The original recordings are in the Musée du Jouet de Moirans-en-Montagne.

Parental authorization is given at the beginning of the video.

Players

Ilyas, boy, 10 years and 1 month, born on 08.01.1992, third year of primary school, speaks Moroccan Arabic at home.

Abdallah, boy, 6 years 8 months, born on 24.05.1995, brother of Ilyas, speaks Moroccan Arabic at home.

Language and dialogues

Both players use local Moroccan Arabic. Dialogues recorded on the video and on a mini-cassette.

Translation of dialogues in French by B. Daoumani and JP Rossie (available in manuscript). Translation from French into English by JP. Rossie.

Place of action

Small rural town Sidi Ifni, Atlantic coast, Southern Morocco, Avenue Prince Moulay Abdallah, in front of house number 28, the home of Yasin; this street lies parallel with the seashore and a camping with several mobile homes (staying for shorter or longer periods during tourist season between November and March).

Play material

Rectangular and round cardboard boxes, sticks, strings.

Family situation

See interview with the father of the players at the end of this protocol.

Father: 52-years-old, mother tongue Tachelhit, speaks also Moroccan Arabic and Spanish.

Mother: 40-years-old, mother tongue Tachelhit, speaks also Moroccan Arabic.

7 children: 5 boys and 2 girls.

Popular class family.

Electricity, running water, television with parabolic antenna.

Special remarks

In April 2002 Boubaker Daoumani revisited the players to ask some additional questions.

Fatiha states that she always plays with both type of dolls, the self-made doll and the Barbie-like doll. The reason she gives for this is that she likes to make dolls and that she has not enough Barbie-like dolls to play a game necessitating many persons, moreover there are no little Barbie-like dolls that can take on the role of children. She also says that she sometimes plays the mother role herself, the dolls then being her children. But on other occasions the mother role is given to a doll, the tallest doll, often a Barbie-like doll. She stresses that she does not only play household and mother-child games as she also enacts for example wedding festivities with her dolls. Yasin does not play with dolls when playing alone but when playing with Fatiha he is obliged to do so. He will even accept to prepare dinner but he never wants to make a doll.

Scenes and dialogues

0. View of the environment and play area with the players.

Interview with the father recorded on this video (3'): see at the end of this protocol.

1. Ilyas is putting part of a round cheese cardboard box, serving as wheel, on the cardboard vehicle using an old metal wire as axle (3'20").

Abdallah is looking at his brother's doings.

Meanwhile Ilyas talks to Abdallah who doesn't reply.

2. Ilyas puts another wheel on the vehicle.

Abdallah sits down and continues looking at him.

3. Ilyas takes a fourth round cardboard box and fixes it to the vehicle.

Meanwhile Abdallah is looking around.

4. *Ilyas speaks to Abdallah to direct his younger brother's attention to what he is doing*

Abdallah does as he is told and looks at his brother (4').

5. Ilyas takes a pair of scissors and a piece of cardboard. Then he asks Abdallah to hold the other end of the cardboard piece, what Abdallah does.

6. Ilyas carefully cuts several times the front part of the rectangular piece of cardboard.

Abdallah observes this.

7. Ilyas has made eight cuts parallel to each other's and at more or less equal distance creating something like a dentition. Then he bends upwards each second lid.

Abdallah is continues looking at his brother's work.

8. Ilyas shows the result to Abdallah. He then cuts of the upward bended lids with the scissors. (5'06").

Abdallah rubs his eyes.

9. The wind blows away the cardboard vehicle but some on looking children bring it back.

Ilyas controls the position of one wheel.

Abdallah still rubs his eyes.

10. Ilyas takes the pair of scissors and makes a horizontal cut in the smaller side of the cardboard box (5'20").

11. In this cut Ilyas introduces the long rectangular piece of cardboard but with end opposite the tooth like part.

12. Ilyas sees that the cut is not wide enough and enlarges it with the scissors.

Abdallah is looking attentively.

13. Ilyas pushes the long rectangular piece of cardboard up to its middle through the cut.

14. Ilyas takes another piece of flat cardboard that is somewhat larger than the small side of the cardboard box.

15. Abdallah takes in his hand the long rectangular piece of flat cardboard by its tooth like end but only for a second. Then he loses his grip.

Meanwhile Ilyas is pulling the vehicle towards himself to put in place the two wheels that fell when the vehicle was blown away (6'56").

16. Abdallah holds one upper edge of the vehicle as if he wants to keep it in place while Ilyas fixes the wheels (7').

17. Ilyas takes smaller rectangular cardboard box, puts it away, takes an even smaller one and then another cardboard box.

Abdallah looks at what his brother is doing.

18. Ilyas takes the pair of scissors and starts to cut in the small cardboard box.

Abdallah stretches out his hand to prevent the wind to blow away the vehicle.

19. Ilyas puts the vehicle in between him and Abdallah.

Abdallah has taken a flat rectangular piece of cardboard in his hands (7'35").

20. Ilyas cuts out a door in the small cardboard box and takes a long rectangular flat piece of cardboard he seems wanting to attach to it but then he drops it.

21. Abdallah gets hold of the long flat rectangular piece of cardboard that passes through the cut in the vehicle as if he wants to put it in place (8'20").

22. Ilyas picks up the small cardboard box and puts it inside the vehicle.

23. Abdallah keeps the vehicle at one upper edge with both hands.

Ilyas takes a ballpoint and starts to design some lines on a rectangular flat piece of cardboard (8'30").

24. Ilyas designs a perfect circle and some other lines in this circle.

25. Ilyas then takes the scissors and cuts out the circle.

Meanwhile Abdallah holds the vehicle at an upper edge with both hands.

26. Ilyas starts to design on another piece of cardboard.

Abdallah watches this closely (10').

27. Abdallah holds the vehicle and one wheel while

Ilyas cuts out the designed piece.

Both players look now and then at the talking onlookers.

28. Abdallah sits down and watches his brother.

Ilyas designs two lines on another rectangular piece of cardboard, then folds it.

29. Ilyas shows his younger brother how to do this.

Abdallah watches attentively.

30. Ilyas bends the flat piece of cardboard in such a way that it looks like the upper structure of a car.

Then he places it on another flat piece of cardboard serving as the basis of the car.

Abdallah continues to watch all this closely (12'20").

31. Ilyas now cuts off the part of the car's basis at the place where the upper structure stops (12'50").

32. Ilyas verifies if all is well. He then takes another flat piece of cardboard.

Abdallah seems to show his brother where the ballpoint lies.

33. Ilyas takes the ballpoint and designs a small round on the cardboard and cuts it out. It is as if he wants to attach this round to the car but he puts everything on the ground.

Abdallah continues to watch closely.

34. Ilyas takes a short iron wire and puts it through the center of the wheel (14'10").

35. Ilyas takes the basis of the car and at both ends he designs a line. He then skillfully makes a small cut where the lines are using the big pair of scissors.

36. Ilyas takes the upper part of the car and cuts out two lids that should fit in the cuts made in the basis.

37. Ilyas bends the middle lid upward and the two side lids downwards. After doing this he pushes the middle lid through the cut in the basis of the car.

38. Ilyas holds the middle lid with one hand and cuts off the two other lids (16'10").

39. At the other side he only puts the middle lid in the cut of the basis (16'40").

40. Ilyas flattens a little bit the upper structure of the car (the wind is disturbing his work and blows away some pieces of cardboard).

41. Ilyas takes a long small rectangular flat piece of cardboard and cuts it in two with the scissors.

Abdallah recuperates some pieces of cardboard while remaining seated, then he gets on one knee and crawls somewhat further bringing back several pieces of cardboard (17').

42. Ilyas cuts the piece of cardboard in the wanted shape.

Abdallah gives a cardboard box to his brother (17'30").

43. Ilyas cuts a T shaped piece of cardboard, tries to fix it at the back of the car but then puts it aside. Abdallah is still watching.

44. Ilyas takes a piece of rectangular flat cardboard, puts it down and takes another piece. At the left side of this new piece he makes two parallel cuts up to about half of its length. Tearing off the two pieces at both sides of these cuts the left half of the rectangular piece of cardboard gets a T shaped form. Ilyas then does the same with the right half of the cardboard.

Abdallah rubs his eyes because of the sand blown into them by the wind, but he continues watching his brother (19'25").

45. Ilyas puts the T shaped piece at the back of the car but not being satisfied with the result he takes it away (19'45").

46. Ilyas puts the car away and looks for some other piece of cardboard. He takes the small wheel he made earlier and puts it at the front of the car (20'32").

47. Ilyas takes a piece of flat cardboard, takes off a wheel and uses it as model to design another wheel. Abdallah looks around for a while but then concentrates again on what his brother does.

48. Ilyas also looks shortly around, and then he designs a circle. He cuts out a new wheel, designs another circle and cuts it also out. Finally he uses this last round as a model to cut out one more wheel but without first designing a circle (22'12").

49. Ilyas takes the car and adjust somewhat its different parts. He puts an iron wire through a wheel and fixes it at the back of the car.

Abdallah is still watching.

50. Ilyas tries to put the wire into the basis of the car, then he takes the scissors and cuts of a little part on the side of the basis (24').

51. Ilyas pushes a piece of wire serving as axle through the basis at the back of the car and fixes the wheels. Then he does the same at the front of the car.

52. Ilyas takes the ballpoint and designs some lines on the front of the car (25'20"). He notices that a wheel is missing and looks for a piece of cardboard.

Abdallah gives him a round piece of cardboard.

53. Ilyas designs some lines on the wheel then puts a piece of iron wire through it and fixes it at the back of the car.

Abdallah continues to look at his brother.

54. Ilyas takes the greatest vehicle on his knees and adjust two wheels. He wants to fix a round cardboard piece at the front of the car but then decides not to do so.

55. Ilyas puts the car on its four wheels. He then looks for something and finally takes two small cardboard boxes (28').

56. Ilyas takes the scissors does as if he wants to cut in a cardboard box, then drops it and takes the other one.

Abdallah sits on his knees, turns his fingers for a moment but then watches his brother again.

57. Ilyas who is cutting a cardboard box talks to his brother who starts to look more closely.

58. Ilyas now cuts out a door in the cardboard box (representing a house), opens the door and designs lines on it.

Abdallah slowly bends his upper body forward and backward and looks at his hands (28'40").

59. Ilyas puts down his house, takes the large car to adjust a wheel.

Abdallah is moving his upper body more visibly.

60. Ilyas talks to Abdallah who moves his body forward to see better what his brother does.

Ilyas pulls of a wheel to adjust the wire and then pushes a small piece of cardboard on it.

Abdallah again moves his upper body forward and backward (29'50").

61. While Ilyas continues to push the small piece of cardboard over the wire,

Abdallah takes a little stick lying before him and plays with it (30'15") (filming is stopped for about 25").

62. To keep the wheel in place Ilyas puts a small piece of cardboard over the wire serving as axle. Abdallah looks at how this is done while continuing to play with his little stick (31').
63. Ilyas puts does the same with the other three wheels. Abdallah is looking without much concentration.
64. Inside view of the big car.
Ilyas takes the little car and puts it on top of a small cardboard box. He puts this car aside and takes the small box in his hands (31'30").
65. Ilyas has made windows n the cardboard house.
Abdallah continues to sit down but without really watching his brother's work
66. Ilyas attaches a string to the large car (32'40").
67. Ilyas takes a piece of a plank.
Abdallah has taken the large cardboard house and designs some lines on it (33').
68. Ilyas finds the nail he is looking for, flattens it with a stone, and then pulls it through the small plank using the same stone (33'35").
(15" without images)
69. Ilyas hits the nail with a stone, receives some nails from onlookers, takes another nail and drives it through the plank. He then looks if the nail passes through the plank (33'55").
(10' without images)
70. Ilyas has attached the small car at one end of the plank with a string and fixes the other end of the plank with a nail into a wooden block (34'40").
71. Ilyas tries to use this device to make his little car going forward by moving the small plank to the left (35'30").
72. Boubaker Daoumani begins to talk with the two boys (35'40").

Interview with the players by Boubaker Daoumani

6 minutes interview recorded on the video and on a separate mini-audiocassette. Interview with Ilyas (10 years) and Abdallah, (6 years). Both speak Moroccan Arabic. Translation of interviews first in French by B. Daoumani and JP. Rossie (in manuscript). Translation from French into English by JP. Rossie.

Interview with the players

Ilyas (I.), Abdallah (A.), Boubaker (B.)

B. You are going to school?

I. Yes, in the third year.

B. And Abdallah?

I. He is in the first year.

B. Who taught you to make all this?

I. I myself alone.

B. You are doing well in the course of esthetic education, you like this course?

I. Yes, Oh yes, I have the mention 'good' (7/10).

B. What are you playing?

I. I am constructing houses and I play with my brother.

B. You don't play with the others?

I. Yes I play with my neighbors: Yassin, Khalid.

B. When you play with your friends are they boys and girls?

I. No we only play among boys.

B. The boys and the girls they play separately?

I. The girls play among their own.

B. These toys you made what are they?

I. I have not finished them... There is a tractor, I still have to finish it.

B. Why isn't it finished?

I. I need some more cardboard.

B. Where do you get the cardboard?

I. In one or the other shop.

B. What is this (pointing to some sticks)?

- I. This is a device to turn the small car and to make it go forward.
 B. Like a motor of the car?
 I. Yes.
 B. And what is this (pointing to a cardboard box)?
 I. A school.
 B. You make other things?
 I. I make a lot of things.
 B. What kinds of things?
 I. I also make cars and airplanes.
 B. You just make things?
 I. Yes.
 B. And you play with them?
 I. Yes.
 B. How do you play with this car for example? You only turn it around?
 I. Yes.
 B. And when you make a school, how do you play with it?
 I. It is not finished yet.
 B. What is still missing?
 I. I must add a man. He must stand upright and so I fix him with some tape. Then I fix to this figure a piece of cardboard so that I can move him.
 B. Who is this man?
 I. He is the school guardian.
 B. You also make pupils?
 I. No.
 B. You never played with dolls?
 I. My little sister does.
 B. Your sister doesn't play with the things you make?
 I. No.
 B. So your sisters play with dolls and you play with all this you make yourself?
 I. Yes.
 B. If one gives you dolls you will play with them?
 I. Shakes no with his head.
 B. Why?
 I. Laughs and bows his head.
 B. Why don't you want to play with dolls?
 I. No answer.
 B. But tell me why?
 I. Continues laughing and says: I don't like them.
 B. And you Abdallah do you play with dolls?
 A. Shakes no with his head.
 B. Abdallah you can make things like your brother?
 A. Shakes no with his head.
 B. So, what is he doing here? Abdallah, you are making toys and he what is he doing?
 I. I am making the toys and everything I am making I give it to him to play.
 B. So, you only make toys and he only plays with them?
 B. Who taught you to make those things?
 I. I myself.
 B. In school they teach you to make such things and to play with them?
 I. Shakes no with his head.
 B. Your sisters they don't like to play with the things you make?
 I. Yes they play with them. They also know how to make certain things and my older brother also knows how to make them.

- B. Your older brother is helping you sometimes?
 I. No he doesn't help me. I make things alone and he makes things alone.
 B. You always play on this spot?
 I. I also play inside my house.
 B. I see here these big scissors. Are they yours?
 I. No I got them from the neighbors.
 B. Each time you ask for these scissors they give them?
 I. No only for today.
 B. When you don't have these scissors what are you doing?
 I. I have small scissors.
 B. Do you like it that we are filming you today?
 I. Shakes yes with his head.
 B. When you finish making the toys and gave them to Abdallah do they stay a long time with him?
 I. No regularly he breaks them when playing as he doesn't know how to manipulate them well.

Interview with Bilal, the father of Ilyas and Abdallah, by Boubaker Daoumani

First interview recorded on mini-audiocassette, taking place in the house prior to the video filming.

Second interview recorded on the video's first 3 minutes.

These interviews offer the following information on the player's family:

- The forty-year-old mother has done some years of primary school and helps her children with their school exercises
- The father Bilal works on a big fishing-boat and is away from home for months. He obtained a diploma of electrician for ships at a Spanish school in Sidi Ifni.
- This family belongs to the Ait Bamraan Amazigh and is from Sidi Ifni.
- According to their father, the players sometimes speak Tachelhit. During this play activity they speak Moroccan Arabic.
- This family has seven children, a girl being the youngest one and the older boys are at work.

These interviews offer the following information on these children's play and pastimes:

- According to his father, Ilyas finds the inspiration to make the toys in his own imagination: "when he starts to make toys he just makes what comes to his mind".
- Satellite TV is available in this home and during the school vacations these boys can watch TV regularly. The father says that when they go to school TV watching is being limited.
- When asked if TV helps Ilyas to make such toys, the father answers "maybe a little".
- On a question about the players imitating their father's occupations, the father replies that the children always want to play something different.
- The children decide what toys they make and they also look for the needed material themselves.
- The children are free to play during vacations but when they must go to school little time is given for playing. "When it's school time, it is school (that is important). When it's play time they (can) play".
- Question: do you think these games and (self-made) toys are useful for them in relation to their schooling? Father's reply: yes, this helps them a lot.

At the end of the interview recorded at the beginning of the video, the father is questioned about his studies and his ideas on his school time and that of his children:

- The father has been to the Spanish school (between 1934 and 1969 Sidi Ifni was a Spanish enclave).
- As main difference between the Spanish school he visited and the Moroccan school of today he mentions craft teaching such as woodworker or mechanic and the availability of a place to play, both lacking in the Moroccan school. He also indicates that when he studied parents were invited at school when their children did not make their homework and that schoolbooks are too expensive nowadays.

Rossie, Jean-Pierre & Daoumani, Boubaker (2002). Video 3: doll play in Sidi Ifni, Morocco, 10.2.2002. Filmed with a Panasonic video camera R55 VHS by Rossie JP.

Doll play of two nine year old girls and one seven year old girl using Barbie dolls and other dolls. Followed by an interview with the players. Used language: Moroccan Arabic.

Protocol and dialogues of this video

39 minutes of play activities followed by 6 minutes interview with the players by Boubaker Daoumani, interview continued on mini-audiocassette. The translation of the interview is lacking in this protocol of video 3.

The length of the digitized video does not match the length of the original video recorded with a video camera Panasonic R55 VHS. The original recordings are in the Musée du Jouet de Moirans-en-Montagne.

Written parental authorization has been given by the father of Awatif and Jalila.

Players

Awatif Atbib, girl, 7 years 4 months, born in Sidi Ifni, primary school, speaks Moroccan Arabic at home.
Jalila Atbib, girl, 9 years 3 months, born in Sidi Ifni, sister of Awatif, primary school, speaks Moroccan Arabic at home.

Malika, girl, 9 years, primary school, born in the village Tioughza (Sidi Ifni), friend of the other two players, speaks Tashelhit at home and also Moroccan Arabic.

Language and dialogues

The players use local Moroccan Arabic. Dialogues recorded on the video and on a mini-cassette.

Translation of dialogues in French by B. Daoumani and JP Rossie (available in manuscript). Translation from French into English by JP. Rossie.

Place of action

Small rural town Sidi Ifni, Atlantic coast, Southern Morocco, on the flat roof serving as terrace of the hotel-restaurant Suerte Loca, owned and run by Awatif's and Jalila's mother's family, located near the seashore and a camping with several mobile homes.

Play material

Several Barbie dolls Awatif and Jalila received from family members living in France and from a few regular hotel clients, a baby-like doll, a few very small figurines, some teddies and soft or plastic animals. Toy beauty-set, toy utensils, toy telephones, set of imitation Euro banknotes, musical toys.

Small chairs, tables and armchairs of the hotel, wooden frames to put cushions on.

Family situation

Mother of Awatif and Jalila, about 40 years, comes from an Arabic-speaking village near Sidi Ifni, sixth year of secondary school, housewife, speaks Moroccan Arabic and French.

Father of Awatif and Jalila, about 45 years, born in Mesti in the Sidi Ifni region, seventh year of technical secondary school, speaks Tashelhit, Moroccan Arabic and French, employee of Maroc Telecom.

The parents of Malika are illiterate.

Middle class family (Awatif and Jalila). TV with satellite antenna, Awatif and Jalila go to an Internet shop to play games and have a computer at home used especially to make designs. They come into contact with European tourists on a daily basis.

Popular class family (Malika).

Scenes and dialogues

Jalila, 9 years, dressed with a white T-shirt and jeans.

Awatif, 6 years, wears jeans and a headband in her hair.

Malika, 9 years, wears a long skirt above knitted pants and her hair in a pigtail.

0. View of the environment and play area with the players

1. Malika arranges the 'utensils' on the small chair serving as kitchen.

Jalila arranges the dolls in one place.

Awatif gives two Barbie dolls and a soft doll to Jalila.

2. Jalila takes the lower part of a moving Barbie with the motor and does as if she drinks.

Awatif manipulates a few dolls and then she combs the hair of a doll.

Malika continues to arrange the kitchen and takes some beauty-set objects.

3. Malika takes a mirror.

Awatif continues to comb the doll's hair.

Dialogue 1: Awatif says "I shall comb her hair kindly".

Jalila takes the toy phone, makes it ring but doesn't talk.

4. Malika says something about a doll to Jalila, she takes a lady's handbag and puts it near Jalila.

Dialogue 2: Malika says to Jalila "Where are this doll's earrings?"

Dialogue 3: Malika says "No, these are not the earrings I said".

Jalila puts the phone on the ground and takes the handbag Malika putted near her.

Dialogue 4: Malika tells Jalila "Put them in the sac and then I shall show you, OK".

Awatif takes the elastic out off her hair.

5. Awatif tries to put the elastic in the doll's hair but as she cannot do this she asks her older sister to help her.

Dialogue 5: Awatif says "Who wants to put an elastic in this doll's hair?"

Malika takes a toy cooker, puts it on the kitchen table and stirs in it with a plastic spoon.

Dialogue 6: Malika says "Where are the cups, I didn't see them".

Jalila opens the bag, takes the doll from her sister and puts the elastic in the doll's hair while looking at Malika and replying

Dialogue 7: "There are no cups".

6. Jalila finds this doll not suited to put an elastic in the hair and takes a humanized animal with long hair and a long tail (like my little pony). She starts to put the elastic in the horse's hair.

Awatif looks at her sister and makes the girls laugh by saying something about Jean-Pierre.

Dialogue 8: "Just like the one who makes the program, like Jean-Pierre, Jean-Pierre, Jean-Pierre".

Jalila replies "you must do as if the camera isn't there".

Malika continues to stir in the cooker, says something and then takes a bundle of toy keys.

7. Awatif takes a musical box, winds it up and plays the music.

Malika makes some noise with the keys, takes the handbag, looks in it and puts something inside.

Jalila continues trying to put the elastic in the horse's hair.

Dialogue 9: Malika says "Give me the dolls".

8. Jalila removes the elastic and starts again. Now it works.

Awatif takes something and talks to the girls.

Malika takes the music box and then takes a textile bag.

9. Awatif asks the keys who are around Malika's wrist. She stands up, puts her slippers on and walks outside the home area. From there she stands watching for a moment while turning around the handbag.

Dialogue 10: Malika tells Awatif "Go to the market to do errands".

Malika gives the keys to Awatif.

Jalila manipulates two dolls and a teddy, looks at Malika, takes things out of the small textile bag Malika putted on the ground.

Dialogue 11: Malika says to Jalila "No, it isn't there where they sleep".

10. Awatif comes back, takes of her slippers and enters the 'room', looks at the other girls.

Malika and Jalila look at some objects that represent the jewels and talk about these.

11. Malika found what she wants, namely earrings she tries to put in her ears.

Malika continues trying to put the earrings in her ears. Then she talks to Jalila.

Dialogue 12: "Let me use these earrings, my ears are pierced".

Awatif puts the handbag and the keys under the chair serving as kitchen. She starts the motor in the detached lower part of the moving Barbie doll with a Hawaiian dress and raï music from Cheb Khaled is played (3').

12. Awatif takes the telephone but puts it immediately back on the ground.

Jalila puts a first earring in Malika's ear.

13. Awatif makes a cup fall down from the kitchen table. She takes the telephone and pushes a button and puts the telephone back on the ground. Then she lifts the little cup from the ground and lays it back on the table.

Jalila puts the second earring in Malika's ear.

14. Malika takes the handbag and the keys from under the chair serving as kitchen table.

Dialogue 13: Malika says to Awatif "No, no, go now to make the errands and only come back when we say you to do so".

Jalila takes the telephone and pushes the buttons.

Dialogue 14: Jalila says "Hallo, hallo, it's you who are asking for me a moment ago?"

Awatif takes the handbag, the keys and a second telephone. She stands up and puts her slippers on.

15. Jalila arranges the table, takes the textile bag and puts some small objects in it.

Malika stands up but stays on the carpet in the room. She talks over the telephone to Awatif.

Awatif responds to Malika over the telephone while walking around.

16. Malika stops phoning to Awatif. She turns around and an earring falls down.

17. Jalila lifts the earring from the ground.

Malika takes the earring from Jalila and tries to put it back in her ear.

18. Jalila takes two bags and puts them behind front part of a traditional tent standing on the terrace and used for the tourists.

Malika asks Jalila to help her with the earring and Jalila does it.

19. Jalila and Malika take something from the ground.

Dialogue 15: Malika says "Eh crazy girl, come here you, I shall speak to you, come".

Awatif enters the room and goes to the other two girls saying.

Dialogue 16: Awatif says "Hallo, hallo".

Then she walks out of the room (4'37").

20. Malika takes a telephone, hits the numbers (her way of handling the phone shows that Malika is less used to do this than Jalila and Awatif).

Dialogue 17: Malika says to Awatif "067176413, go, go further away".

Dialogue 18: "Did you bring with you the things I asked for?"

Awatif answers a few seconds later while walking around on the terrace and holding the handbag and the keys.

Dialogue 19: Awatif: "What shall I bring?"

Malika: "You should bring a small tin can of tomatoes".

Awatif: "What are you saying?"

Malika: "A small tin can of tomatoes".

Awatif: "I didn't hear you".

Malika: "A tin can of tomatoes and also a dirham of yeast".

Awatif: "Oh" (said in a way that indicates it is too much).

Jalila is working in the room at the table.

21. Malika stops phoning, puts the telephone between her legs and puts back an earring that fell down from her ear.

Jalila puts small objects in the small textile bag and then she helps Malika to put the earring in place but this is quickly broken off.

22. Jalila takes the earring and puts it in the bag that she closes with a string.

Malika opens a box she holds in her hands.

23. Malika drops the box and takes a doll's dress. She shows it to Jalila.

Jalila takes a Barbie doll, places it among the other dolls and takes another Barbie doll she quickly lays back.

24. Malika takes another Barbie doll and puts the dress on it.

Jalila takes a dress for a small girl, shakes it out and then walks with it to her sister.

Dialogue 20: Jalila says to Malika "Do you have a hairclip for me over there?"

25. Malika continues to dress the Barbie doll and walks to the upper left corner of the carpet.

Dialogue 21: Malika answers "There it is".

Jalila walks back to the place where Malika is standing and takes a hairclip out of Malika's hair.

26. Malika pulls out the dress that is too big for a Barbie doll and drops it. Now she hangs the small textile bag over the doll's shoulder.

27. Jalila talks to Malika and comes back to the room where she takes off her slippers.

Malika turns herself towards Jalila (6'45").

28. Jalila points to something with stretched out arms and says "look".

Dialogue 22: Jalila says to Malika "Give it to me".

She takes the dress dropped by Malika and then puts her slippers on.

Malika continues trying to hang the small bag on the doll's shoulder.

Dialogue 23: Malika says "Don't come Awatif, stay there a bit longer".

29. Jalila takes another hairclip from Malika's hair but drops it.

Dialogue 24: Jalila says "We will put on their clothes".

Malika shows where it is while continuing to put the little bag over the doll's shoulder.

30. Malika hangs the small bag on the doll by putting the string over its head meanwhile she talks to this doll as if it is a child.

Dialogue 25: Malika says to this child (doll) "You are going to school". "These ones will stay at home".

To one of the other girls she says "Come here to teach them".

The school is represented by a wooden frame to put cushions on and used as a bench.

31. Malika walks with the child (doll) towards Jalila and says

Dialogue 26: "Go take them to school, go, go!"

Jalila answers "wait, wait, not yet".

Malika runs back to the room.

32. Jalila hangs a doll's dress with Malika's hairclip on a rope fixing the tent.

Awatif stands near Jalila with her handbag, the keys and a telephone in her hands.

Dialogue 27: Awatif tells Malika "You are going to answer the phone?"

33. Malika is putting dolls and teddies on her arm to bring them to school.

Dialogue 28: Malika says each time she puts a child (doll) on her arms "You are going to school".

Jalila looks at the things Awatif keeps in her hands and then she walks to the room.

34. Awatif is waiting near the room and imitates a ringing telephone "srr, srr". She wants to phone to her sister.

Dialogue 29: Awatif says several times to Jalila "Hey, I am calling you".

Jalila doesn't answer the phone call.

35. Awatif reacts by hitting with her foot Jalila's foot.

Jalila now takes a telephone.

Dialogue 30: Jalila to Awatif "hello, who is talking?"

36. Malika sits with some dolls and teddies on the bench. She takes a baby-like doll and puts a dress on it.

Awatif starts talking to Jalila without using a phone.

Dialogue 31: Awatif: "Hey, you see I didn't find tomatoes".

Jalila: "Yes, and what about the carrots?"

Awatif: "Carrots! I haven't brought them with me yet".

Jalila: "Hurry, the children are still in school. At the same time ask the teacher if they work well in class".

37. Jalila has a phone in her hand and talks to Malika:

Dialogue 32: Jalila: "Hello, look you did not take one of them with you, crazy one",

Malika: "What? Which one of them?"

Jalila: "Look she is at home".

Malika: "The one who is so small?"

Jalila: "Yes".

Malika: "This one is still small, that is why I didn't take her along".

Jalila: "May God beware us (from this foolishness), bring her to the school for the little ones".

Malika: "Bring her to me".

Jalila: "Eh, eh! (a way to express refusal) I am preparing dinner. Send the one who is with you".

Malika: "Go yourself".

38. Malika continues to cloth the baby-like doll while talking to this doll.

Dialogue 33: "Put on your sweater your dirty one".

Malika puts the doll back, takes it again and says

Dialogue 34: "She doesn't want to grow up, this one".

39. Awatif brings the remaining dolls to the school and gives them to Malika. Then she goes to sit on the bench and looks how Malika dresses a doll.

40. Jalila is still in the room, puts on a small backpack and her slippers and walks to the school area.

Awatif leaves the school, walks towards her sister Jalila but is passing her while saying

Dialogue 35: Awatif: "What did you say about the missing carrots? I shall bring them".

41. Jalila arrives at the school area and sits down with a phone in her hand.

Dialogue 36: Jalila to Awatif "You know how many (children) did not arrive yet (in school)?"

Awatif: "That one, and that one, they should go to school, isn't it? Those two should go to the school for the little ones, not only one?"

Jalila: "Eh! I did tell you two".

42. Malika sits on the bench. She wants to take the mobile phone out of Jalila's hands while saying:

Dialogue 37: "Give the mobile phone so that I talk to this one (Awatif). You must teach them, you must play the teacher".

Jalila takes the mobile phone back.

Malika pulls Jalila's arm while standing up. Then they walk three steps together.

43. Malika takes the mobile phone from Jalila and gives it to Awatif.

Awatif walks away two steps with the phone.

Dialogue 38: Malika says to Jalila "you will teach them now, you will play the mistress".

44. Jalila stands with her two hands on her hips in front of Malika and talks to her (10'45").

Dialogue 39: Jalila says to Malika: "no, I don't want to do this".

Jalila walks away as if she is angry and speaks like that.

Malika quickly follows her.

Awatif is walking on the terrace.

45. Malika arrives first at the room and lays down the mobile phone.

Jalila walks towards the room and puts off her backpack.

Dialogue 40: Malika says to Jalila "These (children) are too small. You gave them some milk? You didn't give them anything!"

Jalila replies "I gave them (milk)".

46. Jalila takes some objects and puts these on the little chair serving as kitchen table.

Meanwhile Malika puts some toy-utensils on the kitchen table saying to Jalila

Dialogue 41: "Oh! What has she been doing to me in the kitchen a second time".

Jalila reacts by repeating exactly the same phrase in an ironic way. (11'20").

47. Jalila arranges the utensils.

Malika takes over this job.

Awatif puts down on the carpet the phone, handbag and keys.

Dialogue 42: Awatif says to Jalila "Eh, put these (plastic flowers) in the kitchen".

Malika says to both girls "The carrots are they cut?"

Jalila sings "lalalala...".

Malika: "Give me a plate but don't make dirty the other one. No, no, I put it there especially. Oh! This one she (Jalila) is tiring me".

Awatif: "I shall teach the boys, teach them kindly".

Malika: "Look!"

Jalila: "You don't want me to help you?"

48. Awatif takes two phones and steps off the carpet. She puts on her slippers, takes the handbag and the keys and walks away.

Malika arranges the cups.

Jalila wants to help.

Dialogue 43: Malika says to Jalila "Don't disturb me, look what I have done".

Jalila replies "OK".

49. Jalila stands for a while with her hands on her hips, she walks to the other side of the table and pulls out the mobile phone's antenna.

Malika continues to arrange the table.

50. Jalila speaks in the mobile phone.

Dialogue 44: "Hello, Hello".

Awatif sits on the bank with the pupils (dolls)

Dialogue 45: Awatif to Jalila "Hello, what's the matter?"

Jalila answers "Listen, bring the girls now".

Awatif: "OK".

Malika says to Awatif "If you cannot bring them all, leave some".

51. Awatif takes half of the dolls and walks towards the room.

Meanwhile Malika goes to the rest of the dolls and brings them also to the room".

52. Jalila talks to Malika.

Dialogue 46: "Bring this big one (doll)".

Malika answers "That one, that one it is dressed. If she needed to be dressed, she is already dressed. What are we going to do to these (dolls)? They don't want to sit down. Look, what are we going to do with them now?"

53. Malika starts to put one child (baby-like doll) at the dining table. Then she takes a teddy and does the same with it.

Jalila comes back with the little girl's dress.

54. Jalila takes a Barbie doll lying on the ground and speaks to it while moving her finger before it saying "look you!".

Dialogue 47: Jalila to Awatif "give me this jar (conical music playing part of a Barbie doll), give, give".

Then Jalila takes the moving part of a Barbie doll puts it outside the carpet and makes it play music.

55. When it reaches the wooden frame serving as school, Jalila says to Malika

Dialogue 48: "give me this one (a doll)" (2x), Malika replies "no, no, leave this one here, I want to put it on top".

56. Malika finally can take of the little bag of the doll and then puts the doll back at the table where she is putting all the dolls. (13'50").

Jalila brings up both her arms and expresses her admiration for Malika's arrangement of the dolls by using the stereotyped expression "tbaraka Allah" said when one sees something wonderful but at the same time serving as protection against the evil eye.

Dialogue 49: Malika takes the Hawaiian Barbie saying "see them". Jalila looks at her and says "and the other one?", Malika "its like she stands upright here, that is why I did place her like that".

57. Malika puts the other dolls in a second small chair next to the other one. She sings "āido milad" (happy birthday). Jalila wants to help but Malika refuses this. (14'20"). Jalila stops trying to help and looks at the scene with her hands on her hips.

58. Somewhat later Malika sings in English "happy birthday to you", "yalala" (15'50").

59. Jalila is still filming with the moving part of a Barbie figuring a video camera, meanwhile Awatif continues to lay down. Malika stands up.

Dialogue 50: Malika about Awatif "she will not come to the anniversary, this one", Jalila to Awatif "hey, hey, wake up you", Malika to Awatif "hey, wake up you", Jalila "this one, sleepiness has overwhelmed her", Malika "hey, it is the anniversary, you crazy one", Malika "finally I did arrange them, isn't it", Jalila "me also".

60. Jalila now films Malika (17'15").

Dialogue 51: Jalila "where is your face?", Malika "oh my little mother (ih amwemti, an expression used to indicate astonishment), Jalila I want you the camera to see them all, crazy one, sees them all".

61. Jalila speaks to Awatif who lies on the ground (17'35").

Dialogue 52: Jalila to Awatif "move, so that I can turn this on", Malika reacts saying "no, I do not want you to turn this on", Jalila "no, no, I want", Malika interrupts her saying "no, no, leave it". Jalila insists on doing it.

62. Malika goes to the wooden frame used as classroom and puts the Hawaiian Barbie on it (18'20").

Meanwhile Jalila continues to film her and Awatif is lying down.

Dialogue 53: Jalila asks "what are they going to do?" answering herself "they will come to the anniversary", "get up, get up".

63. While Awatif is still lying on the ground, Malika transports the other children to the wooden frame. (19'30")

Dialogue 54: Malika to Jalila “turn it (the music) on when it stops, turn it on, turn it on quickly, quickly, now they will sing”. Jalila now changes the video camera again into a music player, then she moves her body while listening to the music, afterwards she uses it again as video camera.

64. Malika deals out the Euro banknotes (22’30”).

Dialogue 55: Malika “to the ones who are great we will give three and to those who are not great I shall give only one, one to this one here, one to this one there”. Jalila reacts “eh no!” (she does not want Malika to separate the banknotes). Malika whispers “it is on purpose, on purpose”, Jalila “hey no, no on purpose, it is not my problem this on purpose, daughter of shame (bint el hram is an insult), if you cut another banknote I shall show you, we have only brought them (to our house) with great difficulty”. Quickly after this discussion Malika asks Awatif, who is taking out objects from a bag and putting them on the wooden frame, “where is the comb?”.

65. Malika and Awatif phone to one another (23’30”).

Dialogue 56: Malika “tell them that I shall come for the aïd el kebir”, Awatif “OK”, Jalila walks towards Malika and states “we will all come, not only you!”, Malika adapts to Jalila’s reaction saying to Awatif “it is to say we will all come, did you here?”, Awatif “yes”, Malika “oh it is broken of (the communication), may God give you” (bad things, expression used when something is not well or goes wrong).

66. Malika takes the phone and talks to Awatif, Awatif has another phone and replies to Malika, Jalila wants to take the phone away from Malika and after a short dispute she gets it, Jalila then phones to A. (27’). Later on it is Malika who tries to take the phone from Jalila, Jalila first refuses but then gives in. (33’).

Dialogue 57: Awatif to Malika “hello (4x) give me Jalila”, Malika “OK she is here, take, speak to your aunt Aïcha, derreta” (derreta is an expression for an insulting joke), Jalila “my aunt Lubna (a modern name) not Aïcha (a traditional name)”, Awatif “hello Jalila, my mother has said that you will all come for the aïd el kebir”.

67. Awatif is trying to get the other player’s attention for a while

Dialogue 58: Awatif “are you playing with me or what are you doing?”, Malika “wait (3x)”, Jalila to Awatif “hello, what do you want?”, Awatif “do you play with me?”, Jalila “what, what do you want?”, Awatif “I am phoning to you since yesterday during the evening and you do not want to listen to me”, Jalila “we have been sleeping yesterday evening and we have closed down the mobile phone, we have closed it down”, Awatif “OK”.

78. Malika and Jalila discuss about what they shall do with the children.

Dialogue 59: Malika “listen, we will take them to pass summer (have a vacation) for a while, OK?”, Jalila “no, till tomorrow (2x), not now”, “but crazy you, now that it is warm, get up, take this”, Jalila repeats in an ironical manner “take this”.

79. *Dialogue 60:* Malika “hey you, speak fusha Arabic (standard Arabic)”, Awatif “and then”, Jalila “no, no, you speak ta’arabt (Arabic influenced by Amazigh: Moroccan Arabic)”.

80. Malika and Jalila are discussing over the phone:

Dialogue 61: Malika to Jalila “not yet, I shall send them (the children) to you but I am waiting for a money order to come”, Jalila “money order for what?”, Malika “shut up (3x), don’t you know the money order?”.

Dialogue 62: Jalila “I shall go out”, Malika “where are you going, where, where?” Malika “that is none of your business”, Malika “where are you going?” Jalila “I shall go out, is that your business?” Malika “we will find you in that cafe, OK., with the little ones, OK?”.

Dialogue 63: Jalila “hello”, Malika “where? You will leave for Spain you?” Jalila speaking in an ironical manner “you will leave for Spain you? is that your business?”, Malika “you are going as a clandestine or what?”, Jalila continuing in an ironical manner “I shall go by airplane me, give me my red bag”, Malika “give her the red bag, watch it if you stay longer than twenty days once more”, Jalila “I shall stay longer than twenty days and I shall visit my friends that’s it, I shall stay longer than twenty days, is that your business? It is not for you to command me the whole day”.

Rossie, Jean-Pierre & Daoumani, Boubaker (2002). Vidéo 4: doll play and construction play in Lagzira (Sidi Ifni), Morocco, 4.3.2002. Filmed with a Panasonic video camera R55 VHS by Rossie JP.

Doll play and construction of small houses by a six year old girl and her nine year old brother. Snail shells represent the dolls. The interview with the father has been recorded on an audiocassette. Used language: Tachelhit.

Protocol and dialogues of this video

43 minutes of play activities. The interview with the players and their father is done by Boubaker Daoumani. The length of the digitized videos does not match the length of the original videos recorded with a video camera Panasonic R55 VHS. The original recordings are in the Musée du Jouet de Moirans-en-Montagne. Parental authorization is given at the beginning of the video.

Players

Halima, girl, 6 years 5 months (13.09.1995), first year of primary school

Fadil, boy, 8 years 4 months (17.10.1993), brother of Halima, third year of primary school

Language and dialogues

Both players speak Tachelhit at home and during the play. The dialogues are recorded on the video and on a mini-audiocassette. Translation of dialogues in French by B. Daoumani and JP Rossie (available in manuscript). Translation from French into English by JP. Rossie.

Place of action

Isolated house, near the asphalt road in the Lagzira area, 8 km before Sidi Ifni when coming from Tiznit and at the foot of a hill where the small Amazigh village Lahfart is located 2 km up road, Atlantic coast, Southern Morocco. The play activity takes place in a free area close to this family's traditional house. The filming was done on a rainy day after a rain shower.

Play material

Numerous shells are used as dolls, the ones enveloped in a white gaze represent the bride and the bridegroom, the others represent their family members and guests.

Sardine tins figure wedding cars.

Small houses are made with stones and mud.

Part of an old telephone represents a mobile phone.

Family situation

Father 42 years, unschooled and illiterate, goes fishing with a rod in the Ocean.

Mother 40 years, unschooled and illiterate.

5 children, 3 girls and 2 boys between 6 and 16 years, all children are school going. The older boy sometimes meets tourists staying with camping cars at Lagzira beach.

Household living at subsistence level, having neither sheep nor goats, is collecting mussels. The family lives in its own house build on its property. No electricity in the house, no television since a long time.

Special Remarks

Both players show a certain embarrassment and shyness when being video filmed for the first time. This is probably due to their limited contact with foreigners and not being used to be photographed or filmed. This has certainly influenced their verbal behavior as the use of language in their doll play is unusual limited even if their on looking older siblings more than once stimulate them to speak by saying to the players: "why don't you speak as usual?".

When Boubaker Daoumani, the primary school teacher of the two players, asked them the following day about their play for the video camera, they clearly stated that they normally perform during such a play activity the wedding festivities and do sing songs related to this event, of which some examples were sung on the mini cassette recorder during the interview.

Scenes and dialogues

0. View of the environment and play area with the players.

1. Halima (H) and Fadil (F) drive the car, represented by a sardine tin and in which the bride and the bridegroom are sitting, clearly tracing the road they are following, meanwhile they now and then sing or make car sounds (35").

2. View of the play area with the houses and surrounding area (2'20").

3. Close view of the cars being still driven by H and F (2'40").

4. While continuing to drive his car F looks at the camera in a seemingly embarrassed or questioning way (3'35").
5. An older brother, Saïd (14 years), says to the players to proceed with their play activity, what they do (3'55").
6. Close view of a car (5'10").
7. The players just continue to drive the cars around the path (6').
8. An older sister, Khadija (10 years), says to the players "but speak, speak louder, speak" (6'30").
9. H and F look at each other (6'50").
- Dialogue 1: F says to H "speak you".
10. The driving of the cars is continued while both players make car sounds (7'30").
11. Saïd approaches the players saying "talk, talk, talk louder, talk" (8'10").
12. Khadija does the same (8'30").
13. H arrives first with the car at her miniature house and starts to arrange the dolls while F still drives his car (8'50").
14. H puts the parents of the bride and bridegroom in their correct position, she also arranges the other dolls with the opening of the shell, representing the head, on top (9'10").
15. H continues to put the dolls with their head upright (10').
16. Saïd says to F "go on Fadil, put the car in the garage". H looks in the direction of F (10').
17. H takes a few stones and gives them to F. F sits at his miniature house just after stopping to drive his car (10'30").
18. F works at making a wall and H continues to arrange the position of her dolls (10'50").
19. F and H continue the same activity but F looks once more quickly at the camera (11'30").
20. H looks at F and asks him something while whispering. F throws a stone or mud to H (11'33").
21. While making his wall F asks something to H (11'50").
- Dialogue 2: F to H "bring me some mud"
22. H then walks away (11'55").
23. F still builds the wall adjoining his small house. Meanwhile H is walking further away (12").
24. F looks shortly in the direction of H but continues to build the wall (12'25").
25. H is still searching for mud at some distance (12'50").
- Close view of H building the wall of a small house with stones and mud, close view of this small house with two cars in the garage (12'50"-15'20").
26. F speaks to H who answers (15').
- Dialogue 3: F to H "eh!", answer inaudible.
27. H asks F to come to her (15'20").
- Dialogue 4: H to F "Fadil", F answers "what?". This is repeated four times. Then F says to H "What do you want?" and H answers "come".
28. F stands up and goes quickly to H (15'25").
29. F arrives at the place where H is searching (15'45").
30. F takes a few stones in both hands and returns to his small house (16'20").
- H follows him quickly with some other stones in her hands.
31. F arrives at his small house putting his stones down (16'45").
32. H arrives at her small house and puts her stones there, she immediately starts to manipulate some mud (16'55").
33. H begins to build a little wall for a small house using only mud and quite near her first house (17'15"). F is already working at building a new wall.
34. H and F look at each other and whisper while continuing their activity (17'25").
35. Close up of H's wall making, she has six pieces of mud already lying nearby on a plastic and takes one of these. She puts it in line with the first part of her new housewall (17'50").
36. F is putting stones on the lower part of the angle wall he is constructing (18'30").
37. H still tries to adjust the second part of her new housewall to the first part (18'48").
- F continues his building.
38. H and F talk to each other. H takes the plastic plate with mud bricks and puts it before her house (19').

Dialogue 5: F to H “bring some mud, hey you bring some mud, bring that one there, bring”, H “what?”, F “that mud there, bring that mud there”, H “what?”, F “bring that mud there, the mud”, H “wait”,

39. F takes the plastic plate with the remaining mud bricks away from H’s house and puts it next to his house (19’10”).

H continues to arrange her wall.

40. F rubs some mud from the ground and uses it for the house he is building (19’30”).

41. H looks at F and talks to him. (19’35”).

F throws some mud to H, she works it with both hands to make it into a brick, then puts it after the other two bricks.

42. H and F talk to each other while continuing their job (20’20”).

Dialogue 6: F “bring the mud Halima”, H “what?”, F “bring the mud”, H “what?”, F “bring the mud (2x), bring the mud, hey you! bring the mud (2x), hey Halima bring some mud”.

F takes the plastic plate and hits the ground with it to make the remaining mud fall of.

43. H takes some other mud, makes a brick with it and puts it in row with the other bricks (20’25”).

F uses the plastic plate for a while.

44. F whispers something inaudible to H (20’37”). H walks away.

45. F talks louder to H who is at some distance and looks in her direction (20’48”).

46. F continues to build his house (21’).

47. Detail of H’s house and of the threshing floor (21’20”).

48. F throws mud on the wall of his second house, then he flattens the sides of the wall with a stone in one hand and the plastic plate in the other hand (21’40”).

49. H comes back and gives some mud to F, then she takes the rest of the mud to the wall she is building (22’25”).

50. H works the mud with both her hands (22’40”).

F throws some more mud on his wall.

51. F and H continue to build their house (22’56”).

52. F takes a few stones (23’21”).

53. F asks H for mud but she does not do it. Finally, H brings some mud to F (23’25”).

54. F then takes some mud away from H’s place (23’30”).

54. H shows her resentment and F throws some mud back to her (23’46”).

55. F and H continue to work with their mud (24’20”).

Interview with the players by Boubaker Daoumani

Interview of Halima (6 years) and Fadil (8 years) has been recorded on a mini-audiocassette. Both speak Tachelhit. Translation of the interviews first in French by B. Daoumani and JP Rossie (available in manuscript). Translation from French into English by JP. Rossie.

Interview with the players

This interview reveals the following information:

- Halima as well as Fadil they bring the bride doll and bridegroom doll, sitting together in the wedding car (sardine tin), to the small houses.
- During the construction play Fadil takes the role of a bricklayer because he already knows well how to build a small house and Halima who is not yet so qualified is the bricklayer’s helper.
- When Fadil assembles the shells representing the invited people on two rags he is putting them in place to have dinner.
- When their game is over everything is left in place and protected with some covers so that the animals will not destroy everything. Yet, this still happens and at the beginning of new similar play session reconstruction must take place.
- Fadil and Halima always play together, for exaple ball games
- During the wedding ceremonies, when driving the wedding car etc., Fadil and Halima sing Teshelhit songs, as well traditional ones as new ones heard on the radio or on cassette.

The players mention these songs have been mentioned by the players on the mini-audiocassette after the interview with their father.

These songs are:

1. The large scarf is only nice when accompanied by the henna (on a woman's hands and feet), on the foot there is a slipper and this way it is nicer, my brother (or friend).
2. He won, he got her, the one who has patience, I swear it, he will win.
3. The chain has lost its pieces of gold and its precious stones.
4. The small tea table is well placed and the beauty (bride) is well seated next to it.
5. If your house (of the family-in-law) is far away stay the night over with us. If your house is near go to your place. (kind of joking song sung by the bridegroom's family to the bride's family during the ritual dispute when the bride is taken to the bridegroom's place.
6. Religious song in relation to Allah
7. Car from Tiznit you leave everybody here and you run to go where? (One of the songs their older sister has learned them).

Interview with the players' father by Boubaker Daoumani

Recorded on mini-audiocassette. The interview is conducted in Tachelhit.

Interview with the father

This interview starts with giving the authorization to film the player's game.

Then the father gives some general information on the household and its members.

He also stresses that Halima and Fadil often play together on the same spot in front of the house.