A RESPONSE TO JASON’S REVIEW

Hasan El-Shamy’s Folk traditions of the Arab World: A guide to motif classification, 2 vols. Indiana University Press, 1995, (henceforth: GMC-4) was reviewed in Asian Folklore Studies (1996, vol. 55: 184–86). The reviewer, Professor Heda Jason, raised a number of issues and expressed opinions on a variety of matters dealing mostly with editorial aspects of the work; many of these are impressionistic and require clarification. First, a few general facts need to be presented.

To start, GMC-4, as its title specifies, is designated as a guide that offers primarily relevant themes and concepts to be applied toward generating a full-fledged motif-index, and secondarily “samples of references” (1, xiii—emphasis appears in the original). Producing a complete motif-index for intricate and diverse social and cultural systems, as is the case with the Arab World, requires intensive work on the part of many trained researchers and educators—a condition beyond what has been available to the present writer. Scholars from folklore and related disciplines are expected to apply these motifs to data under investigation, and then make their findings available to other users. These findings would be integrated in new editions of the GMC-4 (or made available to users through other means). Thompson’s Motif Index, first published between 1932 and 1936, was refined and augmented in this manner (Thompson 1955–1958, 1, 26). As of today, some additional 10,000 motifs have been generated and designated for the forthcoming revision of GMC-4.

Second, GMC-4 is computer generated and meant to be made available to users on floppy disks and CD-ROM. In its present format, it represents the outcome of insurmountable trial and error attempts by the author to address certain printing demands, within the limitations imposed by computer technology available to him at various stages between 1986 and 1994, these limitations apply to the computer itself (memory, speed, size of hard disk, etc.), and word processing programs (or databases), in conjunction with the varying capabilities of printers for personal computers in generating foreign language characters (e.g., underlined letters, long vowels, glottal stop). The goal was to produce a single computer file for the entire work, which would allow users to electronically “search” for words or characters, and easily find them. During the 1980s, this goal was not easily attainable (e.g., a file that was about 15–20 pages long proved to be beyond the capacity of the personal computer used, and had to be shortened); today, especially with CD-ROM technology, it is much easier undertaking (p. 1, xxii n. 27).

Third, GMC-4 was submitted as a “camera ready copy” to Indiana University Press: the manuscript was typed, reviser with printing font selected and applied, formatted, and printed as it currently stands by El-Shamy (at a considerable financial cost incurred by him personally). The size of the print and the length of a page were determined by the production department at the publisher, which is also responsible for other features of the printed work (jacket design, paper quality, etc.). Certain financial conditions (including the fact that publishing reference works is not a profit-making undertaking) were considered. An attempt to have the work published jointly with a certain Arab folklore center was not successful.

With reference to “errors,” it is the author’s view that one error in an academic work is one too many; regretfully, there are some in GMC-4. However, even with more personnel
and greater care than El Shamy could ever muster, such mistakes do occur. Thompson’s Mērit-Index contains hundreds of these; some aresemantic. "DAIC... Archiv für das Studium der neunten Sprachen". W. S. H. Smith, Archiv für das Studium der neunten Sprachen. "Other are grammatical omissions: "Corpus Parentis confessi" (Thompson 1959, 1958, 5, 288) — emphasis added). In spite of this century of scrutiny, similar omissions are found in the Tipi Index (e.g., "2014, Charts Involving Conditions (it should read Communication) or Extremes". Emphasis added; ADDIC and TRANSLATIONS 1963). This partial writer appreciates the corrections provided by the reviewer. Yet, it may be pointed out that her lead example where the writer after "say to" page 31, 32 (JASON 1996, 185) demonstrates the degree of difficulty in dealing with this sort of erudite material, especially when done on a larger scale. Her quote is incorrect and should be: "(harp, organ, giant, etc." (EL-SHAMY 1952, 1, xxi). The word "say"—as cited by the reviewer—is not a correct spelling of "sai"; the word "alif"—un- italized in English (see HOLT;S new world dictionary, 1970), and its used here and elsewhere in DAIC - for economy (as will be explained below), had. In this Arabic, it would have been inadvisable and given as: "Arabic (Egyptian) Arabic." The case is the reviewer's quote also exemplifies the confusion caused by the use of single quote marks (', ') and in lieu of 'collected Arabic letters (see my discussion on "a" below).^

With these facts in mind, the validity of some of the issues raised by Jason may be examined. These will be grouped into two categories: (I) general issues on formal, stylistic, and procedural matters, and (II) the role associated with dealing with "religion" and "quasi-religious beliefs within the context of folklore.

1. General Issues

(a) The reviewer found it somewhat disheartening that the list of words does not describe a specific body of texts, but always only from the Arabic figures" (JASON, 1996, 185, emphasis added). This finding by the reviewer is incorrect in two aspects: language and genre. The impression that DAIC draws "only from the Arabic" sources, should be judged in light of the fact that the inclusion of social groups speaking languages other than Arabic is pointed out in the work's introduction (DAIC 1995, 1, xi), it is a matter of research orientation required by the demographic composition of the "Arabic World." Thus, under the heading "Diasporic Influences" in the revised book, it was stated:

(1) to include the traditions of "ethnic" groups who speak languages other than Arabic, but whose society and/or community, religious, ethnic, family structure, aesthetic values, etc. Therefore, to include, for example, Muslim-speaking groups in Egypt and the Sudan, while including Maltese Arabic who have lived in their midst for centuries, would reasonably limit the understanding of the culture of the area as a whole." (EL-SHAMY 1988a, 15, 1988b)

The non-Arabic sources reviewed include Bedouin (Kakhy, Sib, etc.), Nubian (Fallarfi, Koro, Nuba, Soba), Edom, and Swahili. Thus, the assertion that only Arabic groups were chosen from this source, should be evaluated with reference to the following sources cited in the Bibliography: "Abel al-Qudah, Hisham: ['Forty-one Arabic sources']. habl wa al-Hammadi, Hassan. (of death and grief). Amin, Ahmad: "Dictionary of Egyptian Copts, Traditions and Expressions"; Aziz, Idris (ed.), Bethlen, L. Mokhtar, and Wissam; Badayu, Ahmad, et al., "Hedouto: Spoken of Egypt"; Bula-Kurti, Ismail Al-Sunra; [History and beliefs]; Haykai, Mohammad Husein;
"Autobiographical novel"; Hisaya, Tats (Tears of Moery), "Novel"; Khalfih, Mahmoud (Abd al-Zahir) "The Break of Islam: Life from Death to Resurrection"; Malafiz, Nagib: "Autobiographical novel"; Shamy (et al.), Hames: "Relief Characters in Anthropomorphical Psychological Realities"; Tariq, Ahmad: "Vernacular Proverbs"; Müller, John and (Abd al-Rahim) Himmelin: "Old West Medicine." None of these primary data sources—clearly labeled and identified—as a folktale collection. Additionally, there is an assertion by the reviewer that should be considered in light of her own observation:

"It is not always clear whether or not a work is a tale collection, and thus the number of collections examined is unclear. Nor are we informed how many texts a collection contains..." (Levine 1996, 188; emphasis added)

Yet, contradicting her own remark, she emphasizes her impression that the work "draws only from the...." folktale," and that this presumed quality is "disturbing." She also based on this inaccurate impression of El-Shamy’s dealing with tale collections: the reviewer’s view that he does not inform readers of the exact "number of collections examined" and "how many texts a collection contains." The problem with this expectation is that "in-Islamic material—especially when thematically "classified" by non-specialists (Eli-Stevens 1984; al-Sharif 1979, 1-40) and kept away from the general public, field reports, novels, and similar repositories of data do not lend themselves readily to this kind of numerical count of their contents. Besides, this type of information, though it may be significant in other contexts, is of little relevance for a "Guide to Motif Classification" (also compare mathematical fallacies below). One situation where such data is relevant (and may have provided a pattern for the reviewer) is El-Shamy’s evaluation of the data for Ursula Nokwak’s tale-type system where he wrote:

"Resilience is a key criterion according to which a narrative is to be considered a part of tradition and therefore deserving of a type number. A large number of Nokwak’s types are based on a single occurrence of a text. Of the first 50 tale types, 29 cite no variants. The entire work has an average of 1.8 texts per tale-type. Such a relatively limited number of texts leads to problems, particularly in granting the status of traditioality and representativeness to tales which might in fact be apocryphal. (Eli-Stevens 1984, 187)

Clearly, this limitation in Nokwak’s work is inapplicable to data in GMC-A. Attention was paid to more practical matters such as comparing the contents of published collections against the unpublished academic manuscripts (e.g., "Sb:1 1978" and "Sb:1 1974," al-Sharif 1972 and al-Sharif 1984, etc.), or noting numbering/pagination errors so as to spare the reader some trouble (e.g., Al-Sharif 495-35 No. 34 (1)).

Some Texts

"One also wishes for more information of substance: approximately 48% of the entries carry no reference to Arabic text. Some of such "empty" entries are headings and others are not" (Levine 1996, 185).

I am not clear as to what the reviewer means by "substance." Every motif, especially the newly developed, constitutes a substantial contribution to the process of identifying with some specificity the diverse aspects of traditions; this is also true of new motifs that may seem to duplicate already existing ones. For example, new Motif P129.43, "mulahil—marriage: legal
do see for misguiding three-divided wife is in a tradition of the Bent P579. Legal aspects of marriage and divorce." Thompson’s Mefit 1156, Marriage for a night to evade Law (to which El-Shamy added it) in a tradition of Mefit 1156, Marriages at weddings." The references provided by Thompson: "Chosen W.55 No. 14A.4, 1," refer to the story of: "Ali and his Abus al umma" in which the theme of the motif does NOT occur as a happening at a wedding, but as a purely legal aspect of planning for marriage and divorce, in this instance, a father of a young woman who is divorced by her patron’s cause. Ismail, engages the hero for “marriage for a night” to his daughter (in: Meeen 498, 148). The new addendum also includes a comparison made necessary for understanding the text (T156: P579): “The divorce between man and wife is invariable. Thus, compared to Thompson’s T156, El-Shamy’s new motif is more accurate, more systemic, and more substantial at well. Similarly, Thompson’s Mefit 43212.8, “Bural is oldgrave to drive angel,” is further clarified and placed within a broader system by the new motif: A6795, “Interrogative angels (Nikir and Nalir, Minakir and Nakir, etc.) question the dead at the gate of Inana,” and 37510. 45, “Through judgment by interrogative angels. It precedes resurrection,” the latter motif is given as a substratum of Thompson’s “empty” entry—without a reference: E751, “Scott’s Judgment Day.” Another such “empty” motif is E4545.39, “Addressing the dead” (see El-Latify & El-Latify 150, 152, 219-22, no. 20). It is however linked to the major belief system by comparing it to the new Mefit 4660.138, “Dividing the life after death between angels: how to drive interrogative angels (hilal, inkamir)?” (El-Shamy 1985). These conclusions constitute a more comprehensive compilation of practices than by a “complex.”

The reader’s finding about the 4% of the entries are “empty” may be interpreted to mean that 96% of the entries are “full—just a few less for more ‘samples’). Yet, her application of the percent of attributes here holds to constitute an illusion of precision, as what may be labeled a “mathematical fallacy.” Although the present writer and percentages to argue against abandoning the Aarne-Thompson tale type is nothing more than a means for identifying Arabic tales, the question is applied to a different situation. It was thus stated:

Tales which correspond to Aarne’s type... represent more than 98% of the (Urkamsi) Novak’s 49 types. (The toy would be still greater if brief legends—which are not part of all Aarne’s type—were excluded). The need for an independent classificatory schema, such as the one Novak adopts, is thereby diminished considerably (El-Shamy 1985a, 158).

The subtitle of the reviewer’s figures may be assessed with reference to the following sequence from Thompson’s Mogi Index:

J230. Appearance of Luzies.
J231. Fairy’s lilies.
J231.1. Fairy’s root.
In his catalogue of motifs, both Thompson’s work, only the fourth was in reference: the percentage of referenced entries is only 29%, the unrecorded (or “empty”) is 71%. Filling these “empty” reference spaces would not have been a difficult task: consider the following sequence from El-Shamy’s MCE 4:

A1313.4. Deity with animal’s head.
A1313.1.1.4. Beast goddess with cat’s head (Egypt: Dios. 45 94 165...)
(El-Shamy 1995)
The percentage of referenced entries is only 31%; yet, listing “lions vs. . . .” as a reference
for the second item (Maud, 187, 3.) it would have been both logical and correct, it also would have doubled the pencilled value to 666. This increment would have been also achieved by copying the reference given by Thompson for that motif: "Ireland myth: Cross." However, such an addition (applied to hundreds of motifs) would have further taxed the computer's capacity, its and more importantly—induced the size of the manuscript with redundant data, and lowered its chances for publication. Furthermore, one must consider that the manuscript be reproduced, and thus the motif "T and the tree" found in the manuscript of notes and pages, pagination, etc., and also the use of the manuscript data (volume 2). This explanation is not an attempt to blame the computer for its error. Length (size) and cost have always been matters of concern for academic press. The present writer, for example, had to choose the manuscript as published in "(University of Chicago Press, 1980) in eighty thousand (80,000 words) as a non-negotiable condition for its publication (see El-Shamy 1991) and, similarly, El-Shamy's monograph "Becker and the Icon Type 872..." (1979) was accepted for publication in Faber just prior to the length of an article.

Thus, the reviewer's comments on the empty entries is a reminder of what the author has already "allocated." Hopefully, next time spaces will be filled during the coming years.

Issue three

Listing what she sees as problems in El-Shamy's expansion of the motif system, Jason noted: "This expansion" the compiler does without indicating whether a reference to a motif is taken from folk literature or from the description of a custom" (Jason 1990, 189).

Being able to infer the genetic affiliation of a reference requires some knowledge of the nature of the sources: "The Bibliography," An entry such as 1: 474-474.2, Earth supported by hill E NILE EGYPT: "M. Mably, p. 175" should be judged by those who are not familiar with the "sample" of references cited for this case as follows:


2. The source is characterized by El-Shamy as an ["Autobiographical novel"]; this trait is applicable to the contents of all three volumes.

3. If additional information is needed, the novel—particularly in Arabic, volume 1, page 795—is to be consulted; the original is inaccessible, a translation may be a fair approximation (of the human relations, etc. files below). It will be found that this motif is a folk belief that the novelist (Mably) attributes to a good-hearted (nave) another, as recalled by her son.

Also consider the following examples of the citing of references in Thompson's index: "P292.1, Sayer's son [nephew]: Irish myth: Cross," "P297, Nephew B. G. Remmer: The Sayer's Son (Oxford, 1981), C. H. Het: The Sayer's Son in the Medieval German Epic (Berkeley, 1922); Irish myth: Cross." "Thompson: 1955-1958, Thompson provided neither annotations, nor accounted for differences between "folk" (low) or "high" cultures.

Also consider this sample of El-Shamy's amplification of this theme: "P297.2.38,
In this reviewer’s opinion this bouncing together of the concerns of folk-literacy texts with those of folk-belief, costume, and religion (folk archetypes), both are cited in the references) prevents us understanding of the operation of either text” (Jasanoff 1996:185).

It is essential for a reader of Arabic to be able to determine when "understandings" represent representations of cultural artifacts (hereinafter) without constructing an objective study through one of the recognized research methods (e.g., statistical, longitudinal, cross-sectional, cross-temporal, etc.); or through an application of “Archival Material" (hereinafter) without reviewing the "relevant" literature and determining whether the method is specified under the title "ARCHIVAL MATERIALS" (Eizenman 1995:1, v). The following example should clarify the practice: "Nabil (1.1.13), Archaeological Manuscript as a source of information" (Jasanoff 1996:1, v).
extensive work on type and motif classifications. Perhaps she should have provided examples of materials ("information") that she views as merely "preparing" and ought to be removed from this work, which is not designated as an index of folklore literature. Manifesting with "beliefs, customs, religion, etc." are unarguably a vital division of the motif classificatory system. These motifs are the core of myths and "Religions" and constitute major components of other (e.g., A. Mythological Motifs, D. Magic, P. Society) in Thompson’s motif index; such traits also constitute the totality of many folklore works on religious belief systems, such as Dow Norman’s (Nat) classification of Jewish beliefs (1959). Even in the case of literature that is not manifestly expressed as "belief," religious beliefs still may constitute the content for its meaning, in and continued raison d'etre (E. Evans-Pritchard 1960, 197–20). To MacIntosh and Edward (1952), "Belief in old grave to decrease angels" (cited above), a religious belief about death and divinity that makes the human ancestor, in which the motif appears, meaningful (these beliefs are designated as part by part Motif; A 419, B 4611, etc.). Thompson adhered to this fact by comparing Monda’s (1921) Motif 419, "Tales of the world" (Thompson, 1955, 1958).

The experience on the basis of which the present writer makes his comparison with the HRAI is more than just a piece of "academic folklore" (in the mid 1950s it served as a filing clerk, and chief filing clerk "Anthropology" at the HRAI at Indiana University, then a faculty member in the Anthropology Department, not to the library as the case was). Compared to the motel system, the HRAI’s system (even when reached by a potential two-good, and creative, etc.)’s analogue for addressing the myriad of cultural variations on a single idea or theme (motif). However, the comparison between the HRAI and Thompson’s motel indexing system is given in a footnote and is meant to highlight the independence of a folkloristic (rather than an anthropological) accomplishment.

Last five “The discipline generally uses an asterisk in front of an addition: standard usage is thus N293.55 (Elliott-Smyth 1975) and not N293.55. Everybody has the right to invent his own symbols, of course, but it is an inconvenience for the user” (Loosely, 1996, 18).

Computer-managed programs (databases, etc.) are future tools for indexing, archiving, retrieving, etc. A requirement of these systems is that each sign or symbol be unique, especially for "search-and-find" purposes. An asterisk is already used in a number of other functions in both the ARLM-Thompson motel-type system, and in Thompson’s motel system (Elliot-Sharp 1995, 1, xvi, n. 14).

Within the context of computer-generated indexes (containing "files"), an asterisk to the left of the new additions (motifs, or tale-types) would result in the computer "sort- ing" segments one with an asterisk (from A to Z, or 1 to 5000); followed by another without an asterisk (from A to Z, or 1 to 5000), such as "A1", "A2", "A3", "A4", etc. That means "AD" is indexed by the computer as less than "AD" or "AD", while the index to the fact that the ASCII value of the asterisk (1) is less than the value of the zero (0) is 048. The same is true of tale-type "new tale-type **2006," for example, would be computed as less than "old" tale-type "1." Additionally some an asterisk within a motif number may be preceded by a period (i.e. "**") or followed by a comma (i.e. "", **"), it will not be differentiated from both the preceding and the following characters to terms in the ASCII value of such. Consequently, within the motel system, the presence of its asterisk will generate a non-sequential "sortting": "N290.55" will be sorted as lower than N290.5, and will precede it.

Considering the above effect of the asterisk, the discipline will eventually have to view its use as dysfunctional. It is also very likely that the discipline will have to switch to a four-digit system for numerical identification of tales and tale-types (e.g., Motif: A1001, 20010, Z0135), etc. Types: Type 0001, 0001A, 0252, 0706, 0706A, 2125, etc. and decimals will also
have to be it at least two digits, i.e., A0101.0285. In the current system, type 2315 would be
listed before 325, and 725 after 2315. (The four-digit format is the system for the unprinted
version of GMC-A, and the forthcoming OOTY.) A. The problem with this unreasonable sys-
tem is that, in spite of its efficiency, it does not look visually appealing in print, and consumes
much space.

Thus, under these conditions, the system followed by "the discipline" would not have
been the spurious choice for GMC-A. The newly adopted sign $\exists$ seems to be less disrup-
tive, and, consequently, more adequate.

low as

"The use of the sign $\exists$ to indicate the Semitic consonant "ain" is a completely new invention
and strikes the reviewers as very old" (Jansen 1996, 196).

Students of the Arabic script (in the case of the present writer where he taught the lan-
guage) will recognize that a close approximation of the "ain" sign (e.g., $\Sigma$, $\lambda$, $\Lambda$) has been
used to designate the "ain" and letter. Among them, for example, is the transcription of the
spoken Arabic of various groups: the Jews from Tunis (Corbin 1984), speakers of colloquial
in Egypt (Schwartz 1981), and others (e.g., Can-Porto 1988, 129-34, 222-28). "The "ain" sign
was adopted for practical reasons: signs typically used to designate the "ain"","", or ""—the
letter $\Gamma$; in uppercase, usually slackly—also were used for other purposes. "I", the closest
in form to the Arabic "ain", however, it is also economical: a computer set containing
only the sign $\exists$ requires 382 bytes to generate, a file containing only the letter $\Gamma$ requires 667
bytes—a difference of 285 bytes. When multiplied by hundreds of occurrences in a manuscript,
the cost in computer disk space, memory, and time is substantial.

Thus, as can be seen, in the absence of a specific Latin letter designating the "Semite" phe-
nomen, KI-Samy's use of the uncommon $\exists$ as an ad hoc practice, though seemingly "odd"
to some

II. THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN "RELIGION" AND "FOOLISH"

The rules a folklore expert by dealing with folk traditions is illustrated by the reviewer's fol-
dowing general remark.

Note

"The list of Islamic covenants (Appendix 2, "Islam-based worldview", 1-44) seems either
superfluous to the Encyclopedia of Islam, second ed. (1980), or insufficient for a whole worldview of
a culture cannot be confined in a mere two pages" (Jansen 1996, 196).

This evaluation is to be considered in light of the clarification El-Shamy makes con-
cerning the relationship between "religion" on the one hand, and one of the main worldviews
based on rather the religion on the other. This fact is also indicated by the article "Art,"
which is missing from the reviewer's quote, and by further detailing the worldview as:
"The supernatural belief-practice system in the Contemporary Folk Cultures of Egypt." The
treatment is of "religion among the folk" not of "folk-religion", it should be also not
that the title specifies "cultures," not a single culture. It was clearly stated thus:

Since the present work treats Arabic-Islamic materials, an outline of "an Islamic-based
Worldview" ... is provided as an example. By examining that outline, users of GMC-A
will be apprised of the debates behind the author's decisions concerning revisions to
existing motifs, development of new ones, and their placement within the motif index-
ing system. ... Also, the overview of Egyptian balladry (Appendix III, pp. 405-8, below)
should serve this purpose. It should be noted that the Title of the Appendix also NOT
Jason's labeling of the system "Islamic" and her citing the Encyclopaedia of Islam disregard this unequivocal plus; her limiting the context of GCM-'s contributions to the field of belief to "a mere two pages" does not take into account the expressed purpose of those "two pages" and the systematic structure of the data given, nor the hundreds of terms and documents designated (of which a sample appears in this essay), with references to primary sources such as works by Islam, and Wadki, el-Nahas, el-Damhur, and Khalil Khallal, among others. The Encyclopaedia of Islam addresses Islam; El-Shamy's GCM does not address Islam, Christianity, or Judaism as religions, but rather folkloric phenomena interrelated with those denominations as they are experienced by social groups in the Arab World (with emphasis on Moslem groups). Mixing the formal (ideal culture) with folkloric (folkloric behavior and stability) and listing the one apart from the other are serious errors. Respectfully, numerous individuals in the field of "folklore" do not seem to perceive (or acknowledge) this elementary distinction, with consequences that are often grave for folklore scholarship and for folklore.

Removing this grave situation is an incident triggered between 1987 and 1988 at the University of Kuwait, where it was provocatively and emotionally claimed in newspapers, magazines, and leaflets distributed on campus corners that El-Shamy's research was "The Brother and Sister Syndrome..." (leagues, spirit possession cases, literature, etc.) an attack on "Islam" and that she slanders sacred brother-and-sister figures about whom legends are told and folk beliefs are spoken (e.g. AHOONTS 1987a, 1987b). The more academic, academically erroneous as it was, resulted in summary condemnation of El-Shamy and his research by the University of Kuwait's high administrators and intensive supervision by officials (AHOONTS 1987a). Consequently, Husam El-Shamy has been formally banned from "Arab Gulf States" (and their spheres of influence). Whether supported by sincere concerns for the South, or by other less "selfless" urge, the claim was shown by El-Shamy to be based on false premises, fragmentary understanding of the discipline of folklore—misunderstanding the folly for the formal, and, as amply demonstrated in several "replies," failure to read Arab Arabic terms correctly. His articles appeared in terms in a foreign language (El-Shamy 1987a, 1987b, 1994a). The article prevailed: the ultimate loser is objective scholarship, the discipline of folklore (currently under constant attacks), and social groups whose folk traditions are inherited (or altered in order to avoid such attacks). Thus, the "study" of these traditions becomes a monopoly for the "author" who emerges as the sole folklorist in the region.

Naturally, El-Shamy is now suggesting that the researcher is motivated by such intrans personal insecurity, nonetheless he applies curious objections to his work without verifying his whole lead to arguments that are accurate, and potentially dangerous.

Firstly, Jason seems to be inconsistent with El-Shamy's atypical sort of scholarship. She appears to view his deviation from the usual path in folklore scholarship as a result of a need to merely diffuse and declare that although "[e]verybody has the right to insert his own symbols," such inventions constitute an "intrusion for the wise" (JASON 1996, 185, emphasis added). Similarly, assessing out of his works ("Oriental Tales and the Thousand Nights and a Night: The Demographic Factor," El-Shamy 1990), she did not address the "demographic" aspect of the study (e.g. gender, class, etc.) and took exception to his citing the debate between Walter Andread and Al-Mubarak ibn al-Fikri in the folk and night traditions—to use her words (JASON 1996, 185). She reached a conclusion congruent with what
is argued here to be her perception of El-Shamy’s work as motivated by a sort of having it his “own way.” Thus she quoted him as

“finding it interesting to pick up today [in 1990] an argument from the early 1990s with Wacouste [1991]. Apparently no jumps are possible and everybody has to have his own experience.” (JONI 1992, 145, emphasis added)

Missing from the reviewer’s considerations are the ideas that the great debate between Anagnost and Wacouste constitutes an organic part of El-Shamy’s theoretical framework of folklore as behavior, with the Anagnost-Wacouste debate discourse (involving such theoretical issues as “memory,” “societal folklore,” culture, and performance) at its center (El-

Shamy 1967, 21-26, 1974a, 51-54). Given missing is the fact that El-Shamy’s new research and tale types, their contexts in which they occur, and how they portray and address only remnants is the broader system of “Folklore Behavior" through which aspects of “the Brother-Sister Siblings’" (rather than the presumed “Religious Complex”) are profoundly explored (e.g., El-Shamy 1976b, 1979a, 1981; 1982, 22-29. See also El-Shamy 1995 vol. I 445, bull. no. 1-4:1-4:27)

It was noted that “behaviorism is an psychological concept cannot be taken in his and pieces, no universal behaviorism alone account for the cross-folkloric phenomena” (El-Shamy 1976b, 1982, 13-21). Folk traditions of the Arab World: A guide to many classification alone toward folkloric literature in which it occurs, it should be carefully and objectively considered within the system of which it is only one component. If such a broad perspective is incor-

mable, then it should be evaluated in terms of its unorthodoxly stated objectives.

REFERENCES CITED

AGASSI, AMIR, AND ISRAEL TITTSCHON 1963 The types of the folklore. FF Communications 10. Helsinki: Academia Scientiarum Fennica


354 RESPONSES
RESPONSES


1987. The Hassan Al-Shafi'iy Boyhood [By Hassan El Shaman Christy], al-Qadah (December) 7, no. 3594.


Hassan El-Shafi'iy
Indiana University
Bloomington, Indiana