

# BROTHER AND SISTER

Type 872\*

## A Cognitive Behavioristic Analysis of a Middle Eastern Oikotype

HASAN EL-SHAMY



*FPG Monograph Series*

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BROTHER AND SISTER

Type 872\*

A COGNITIVE BEHAVIORISTIC ANALYSIS

OF A MIDDLE EASTERN OIKOTYPE

Part I.1

of the

"Brother-Sister Syndrome in Arab Culture"

by

HASAN M. EL-SHAMY

Folklore Publications Group

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## FOREWORD

Present studies of Arab social organization in general, and of the family in particular seem to agree that "...only rarely are there generally accepted customs regulating the duties of brothers with regard to their sisters or vice versa."<sup>1</sup> This notion has led sociologists, anthropologists, and even psychologists to direct minimal or no attention to this particular familial relationship. However, my observation in Arab communities and other categories of empirical data point to the contrary. The brother-sister relationship is of paramount importance in Arab subcultures and plays a decisive role in the formation, development, and maintenance of family structure and all other related organizations. This relationship is also responsible for the development of a distinctive culture and personality pattern characteristic of the Arab, which transcends religious, regional, and social class differences. The brother-sister relationship is multi-dimensional and constitutes a distinctive phenomenon, which I am calling "The Brother-Sister Syndrome."<sup>2</sup>

My analysis of various types of field data of indigenous Middle Eastern cultures, no matter what the methodology applied or collector's theoretical orientation, points out the following familial interactional pattern: brother-sister affection, ego (i.e., brother or sister)-parents hostility, spouse-spouse respect and hostility, ego-maternal uncle affection, and ego-paternal uncle hostility,--the feministic counterpart of this set of relationships, i.e., ego's relationship with aunts, seems to be less stable, but it by no means is neutral or adverse. Direct and symbolic substitutions for brother-sister relationships are found in parallel cousin endogamous marriage and in the development of brotherly or sisterly relations between non-close relative, exogamous, potential marriage partners.

The degree to which the syndrome is manifested is dependent upon factors such as: the location of ego in the family; ego's age and sex; the age proximity of brothers and sisters; the socialization practices which may vary from one culture area to another or according to economic and educational levels.

Expressions associated with the syndrome are by no means survivals of a past matriarchate (in fact the converse is more plausible); nor are they a residue of ancient ritualistic practice. As will be demonstrated in a future essay, the syndrome has both spacial and temporal validity in all categories of Arab society, culture, and characteristic emotional composition.

The following is the first of a series of studies which address the Brother-Sister Syndrome in Arab culture. It treats one of the most open manifestations of the brother-sister relationship as expressed in an international tale type, 872\* Brother and Sister.<sup>3</sup> The narrative labeled text 0 in this study is an example of a full, verbatim rendition of this tale type.

It should be pointed out that the findings of the present study are conclusions to empirical observations. The theoretical framework cited below was not used to prove or disprove the postulates of this study. On the contrary, the empirical findings substantiate the social psychological theory; in turn, the theory lends more credence to the observable findings.

#### Theoretical Orientation and Plan for the Analysis

Students of social psychological behavior have observed:

...human action is characterized by its integration and goal-orientedness. Each interpersonal behavior event must retain these characteristics. It is for this reason that we think of an interpersonal behavior event as beginning with the arousal of wants in the participants. Each phase of the event succeeds the preceding phase in a consistent manner, as action in the event tends in the direction of goal achievement. It is for this reason that the interpersonal behavior event can be characterized as a social instrumental act.<sup>4</sup>

Since a folktale is normally narrated by one person to another (or to others), the telling of a tale can be seen as an interpersonal behavior event. It is a part of human action; it is motivated by specific wants, and is oriented towards the achievement of certain goals. The following analysis seeks to ascertain the nature of the motivating force for the telling of a tale, Type 872\* Brother and Sister, and to establish the goals towards which the narrators of the story direct its different phases.

The tale per se is composed of two sets of components. The first set consists of the words, meanings and descriptions of actions which are organized in a form perceived as a narrative. The second set consists of the feelings which these words and actions generate in the tale teller and in the listener. Both the teller and the audience are fully cognizant of the majority of these words and acts, and of the feelings generated by these narrative components. Thus, the tale represents a cognitive system. Other non-cognitive components of the tale do presumably exist;<sup>5</sup> however, they lie beyond the scope of direct observation.

Cognitive systems differ from one another in a number of ways. Among these are whether a system is composed of a few components (i.e., simplex) or a large number of components (i.e., multiplex); whether a system is interconnected with other cognitive systems, or whether it stands alone (i.e., a cognitive isolate).<sup>6</sup> Systems may vary also in the degree of internal agreement among their parts, and in the degree of their external agreement with the other cognitive systems which constitute an individual's cognitive constellation (i.e., everything that the individual knows); a system in which all parts are in agreement is one characterized by a high degree of consonance; meanwhile, a system in which parts do not agree is one characterized by dissonance.<sup>7</sup>

The tale also expresses a number of attitudes, especially within the kinship group involved in the plot. An attitude may be viewed as being composed of three major cognitive elements: a cognition, a feeling and an action tendency. Things such as a snake or a pigeon, kinship ties such as being a sister or a maternal uncle represent cognitions for an individual. How a person feels about these cognitions, such as the sentiments of hate or love, represent the feeling (affective) component. The action that the individual tends to take towards these objects represents the action tendency component of an attitude.<sup>8</sup>

Attitudes are also organized into systems. Attitudinal systems may be characterized by their multiplexity, interconnectedness, and consonance. As a psychological interpersonal response trait, the feeling component of an

attitude may manifest the quality of consistency, or lack of it, in a variety of situations. Thus, a given sentiment which is strongly expressed in a folktale may also appear in other types of expressive culture, and in actual situations of social interactions; it may also fail to appear in other such pertinent situations.

Attitudes which manifest the qualities of multiplexity, interconnectedness, consonance and consistency represent a stable psychological state. When shared by all, or most members of a social group, this state may be referred to as a modal personality trait. In our present case, the trait is: love and affection between brother and sister.

As a cognitive system composed of characters, objects, acts and feelings, the multiplexity of Type 872\* is readily visible. The objectives of the present inquiry is to establish:

- 1) the degree to which the tale is an integrated cognitive system,
- 2) the extent to which the components of the tale are interconnected and consonant with one another,
- 3) the degree to which the tale is an instrumental social act which helps in realizing the goals of the narrator; since such goals can be numerous, our main concern will be the instrumentality of the tale in specifying and expressing the type of relationship between brother and sister.

The consistency of the feelings and attitudes expressed in this folk story on the one hand, and in other aspects of lore, literature, and actual social life on the other, will only be alluded to in the present work; an intensive study of these systemic qualities of the brother-sister relationship is treated more fully in separate undertakings.

To ensure the objectivity of the present inquiry and to avoid a priori held theoretical biases, the following procedures have been adopted:

- 1) The study will include all available narratives thematically related to any major part of Type 872\*; text 0 represents the contents of this tale type. Thus, texts which may normally be classified under different type numbers (see texts 11, 12, and 27) will be viewed as belonging to our narrative. "Fragmentary" and "poorly" narrated texts are also included.



- 2) All available variants from the Arab-Berber culture areas, where Type 872\* seems to be recurrent, are included in the analysis.
- 3) The consonance and interconnectedness qualities within a given text, and between one text and its variants will be sought under the terms of a tabular analysis. The sex, age, and ethnic descent of the narrator, the sex of the collector, the conditions under which a tale was narrated or collected will be considered whenever they are available. Such conditions are always perceived by a narrator; they are constituents of the cognitive system of an individual and the traditional culture of the social group. The cognitive system's qualities of aspects of the narrative such as semantics, stylistic and structural characteristics and symbols will also be sought under the same terms of tabular analysis.

The present study is mainly cross-sectional. Although some variants of the tale were collected almost a century ago (7, 25, 28, and 29), they still may be considered representative of the contemporary tradition; only very slight social and cultural changes have occurred in their habitat since they were recorded. Ancient parallel cases are not included in the present investigation; however, a longitudinal study of the phenomenon will be undertaken at a later stage of my study of the larger "Brother-Sister Syndrome in Arab Culture."

Before analyzing Type 872\* according to the guidelines just stated, the first full rendition of Type 872\* collected from an adult female will be presented. I chose this text to be the focal point for the analysis on the basis of my thorough familiarity with the narrator, her narrative repertoire, and the specifics of her social, cultural, and familial background. Following this text, all other variants will be cited.

## THE FOLKLORIC PHENOMENON

Text and Résumés of Variants

0. Narrator: female, age 24, Moslem, northeastern Delta, kafr El-Sheikh province. At first the informant denied that she knew the story, but two years later she admitted knowing it and explained that it was improper for her to tell it to me. She explained that this was so because such a tale is not normally told outside female circles, certainly not to an adult male outsider; Source of Narrator: she learned the tale from her paternal grandmother; Collector: taperecorded by Hasan El-Shamy, August, 1970; Direction of communication: female to female to male collector.

## The Girl Who Fed Her Brother the Egg

## While She Ate the Shell

Once there was a woman who could not give birth. One day she prayed to God and said, "God, give me a boy and a girl. I will name the boy Clever Mohammad and the girl Sitt El-Husn [i.e., unsurpassed beauty]."

God responded to her prayer and gave her a boy and a girl. When the children grew up a little, their mother died, and they remained alone. Before their mother died, she said to Sitt El-Husn, "Sitt El-Husn, I entrust you with your brother, for he still does not know the world."

Each year the girl would ask her brother, "If I were to give you the money of your mother and father, what would you do with it?"

The first year he answered her, "I would buy myself a drum and for you, a pipe and we would go out playing in the lane."

She said to him, "You are still a child."

A year or two later she asked him, "If I were to give you the money of your mother and father, what would you do with it?"

He answered her, "I would buy me a cashmere garment, a ratan stick and I would go showing off up and down the lane."

She said to him, "You are still a rash boy."

Meanwhile, she would boil the egg, feed him the inside and eat the shell herself. A year or two later she asked him, "If I were to give you the money of your mother and father, what would you do with it?"

He said, "I'd marry, and marry you [off] and we would live happily together."

She said to him, "Now you have become a man," and she handed over to him the money, clothes, house and everything.

She said to him, "Brother, do not get married except when I marry you [off]."

He said to her, "So it will be, Sister."

He went out and got back and said to her, "Sister, I will marry the daughter of So-and-so."

She said to him, "She will not do for you, for she is such and such."

He went out and came back and said to her, "Sister, I married the daughter of So-and-so."

She said to him, "I hope it is good and blessed."

Her brother's wife came in. At the beginning she would say, "Sister of my husband! Sweetheart!" That was in front of her brother [that is, the girl's brother]. After that she [her brother's wife] kept saying to her brother [i.e., her own husband], "Your sister did this! Your sister did that! Your sister did not do this! Your sister did not do that!" He kept on telling her, "Never mind."

When this was of no use, she started starving his sister until she got sick and lay down [in bed]. One day her brother's wife heard a vendor shouting, "Pregnancy eggs! Pregnancy eggs!"

She bought two eggs from him and she cooked an omelet and gave it to the sister of her husband. She ate it and her stomach started rising.

One day her brother was beating his wife; she said to him [sarcastically], "Before you beat me and pretend to be a man, go see your sister!"

He asked her, "What? What's the matter with my sister? Her finger-nail [clipping] is worth your neck."

She said to him, "Look at her stomach!"

When he heard this, his 'mind flew away' and 'the ground spun underneath him.' He spent all night thinking, and the following day at dawn he called on his sister to pour water for him to wash for the morning prayers. As she bent down to pour water for him to wash for the morning prayers, she got dizzy and the pitcher fell. Her brother stood up and pretended to accidentally have touched her stomach and realized it was quite high. He said to her, "Prepare some 'mercy-crackers' [to give to the poor at the graveyard] for we will go and visit the graveyard."

She said to him, "I will, but this is neither an 'arbi' Aeen [a fortieth day commemoration] nor a sanawiyya [annual commemoration]?"

He said [bluntly] to her, "Prepare them anyway!"

He made up his mind that he must kill her. He took her to the hills and kept on going until they got to a deserted place. He couldn't find it in his heart to kill her. He said to her, "Wait for me here until I go and relieve myself," and he went home.

His sister waited and waited until the 'yellowing of the sun' [i.e., late afternoon]. He didn't come back. She kept on calling him, but there was no reply. Oh, she kept on crying and wailing, "Oh my brother! Son of my mother and father!" until it became dark.

The dwellers of the place (in the name of God the Merciful, the Compassionate) [i.e., the Jinn]<sup>9</sup> came out to her and asked her, "Why are you crying? What are you doing here? What's your story?"

She told them her story and what her brother's wife did to her and said to them, "My brother brought me here and left me."

They said to her, "Do not grieve," and they built her a palace surrounded by a garden full of all kinds of fruits. One day while she was sitting in the sun, she sneezed. Out of her nostrils came two pigeons. The pigeons flew away to her brother's house, their khāl [maternal uncle], that is. The wife of her brother was sitting down

in the yard measuring the wheat crop. The two pigeons landed on top of the heap and started hitting it with their wings. The wheat scattered all around. Her brother's wife would shout, "HMMMMM, you pigeons."

They would answer her, "May you get struck by fever! The wheat is our khāl's and strangers would drive us away?"

Her brother, Clever Mohammad, was listening. He came out and asked, "What were these pigeons saying?"

She said to him, "Nothing."

The following day the two pigeons returned and began scattering the wheat. Then she would say to them, "HMMMMM, you pigeons."

They would answer her, "May you get struck by fever! The wheat is our khāl's and strangers would drive us away?"

He got out and asked her, "What did these pigeons say?"

She said, "Nothing."

The following day he hid himself and heard the pigeons say, "The wheat is our khāl's and strangers would drive us away?"

He said, "Pigeons, I'm not a stranger, this is my wheat."

The pigeons replied, "Our maternal uncle, the brother of our mother, is not a stranger to us," and they flew away.

He watched them fly away in the direction of the spot where he had left his sister. He got his horse and hurried to that place. When he got there he didn't recognize the spot for he found there a palace with a garden. He said to himself [i.e., thought], "For all times this place was ruins. What happened to it?"

His sister looked out of the window and saw him. She sent out the two pigeons to say to him, "Welcome, our maternal uncle, brother of our mother."

He wondered, "Oh glory be to God; talking pigeons!"

His sister put on men's clothes and went out and called on him. When he got inside, he found a huge banquet with everything. He swore, "By God, I will not reach out for food until I have heard the story."

She said to him, "You are the guest and entertainment is on the host;" and told him the whole story.

He said, "No one knows these things except my sister for I am that person. Now you must tell me where she is, for I am very regretful and I want to find her for her to forgive me."

That was it! She unveiled herself and took off her men's clothes, and he saw his sister in front of him. He rushed to her hands, kissing them and crying "Forgive me! For I have made a grave mistake." They hugged each other and kept on crying together.

He went back home and said, "He who loves our Chosen Prophet should set this witch afire."

He went back and got his sister. She made the "dwellers of the place" (in the name of God the merciful, the compassionate, may God make our words light on them) transfer her palace and put it in the place of their old house. That is it.

'And they lived in stability and prosperity and begat boys and girls.'

## The Variants

### Introductory Statement

Thirty-eight additional variants<sup>10</sup> of this narrative (text O) are available. To avoid a priori judgements, the variants are listed here according to their geographic distribution in the Arab culture area. The starting point is the location in which text O was found. Basic data about informants' sex, age, and religion are given, in that order, whenever available. The original texts and sound recordings were used in this study. The ensuing résumés are given merely to provide the reader with some basic data necessary for following the analyses.

### Abbreviations

AUC — The American University in Cairo, collections of "Anthropology 206, Folklore;" undertaken by students in 1971 and 1972; turned in to Hasan El-Shamy. The figure immediately following AUC refers to the serial number of the collection, while the ensuing figure refers to the number of the tale in that collection. For example, AUC3, no. 3 stands for paper (collection) number three in the American University in Cairo collections, tale number 3.

CFMC — Center for Folklore, Ministry of Culture, Cairo, Egypt, A.R.E. Two groups of materials from the Center were used. First, the tape recordings of field materials secured by various researchers in the center. Reference to a specific item in this group is given as follows: 1) region where the item was collected, 2) date item was collected (which is also the call number for the tape); the first hyphenated set of figures represents the last two digits of the year the field trip was undertaken and the month, 71-3 means: March 1971; 3) the second set of three hyphenated figures refers to the number of the reel in that collection, followed by the track number on the tape, then by the number of the item on that track; when the number of the item is undetermined (usually due to the incompleteness of specifying the exact contents of a tape), an 'x' is used. For example, New Valley 71-3, 3-1-1 stands for the New Valley collection, trip undertaken in 1971, March, reel number 3, track no. 1, item no. 1.

Second, materials (referred to as Khidr-Student) which were collected and are owned by the Egyptian collector 'Aumar Khidr consist of about 800 texts. These texts were "collected" and written down by students in intermediate religious schools and turned into Khidr. These narratives are mainly from the students' own relatives. For example, Khidr-Student no. 229 refers to tale no. 229 in this collection. A copy of the collection is deposited at CFMC.

### RESUMES AND RELATED DATA

#### EGYPT AND THE SUDAN

##### The Nile Delta

1. Repository: CFMC, Khidr-Student, no. 229; Narrator: female, age 40, Moslem; source of narrator: not given; collector: written down by a relative of the narrator, who is a male student, age 12-15; direction of communication: unspecified to female to non-adult male.

Brother and sister live together. Brother marries; wife is jealous of sister; wife causes sister to swallow a catfish bone, sister becomes pregnant. Brother discovers the pregnancy: sends his sister off on a camel's back. Village 'licensed barber' finds her; extracts the bone and marries her. Later both go visit brother; the sister asks for milk but cows have become dry. The brother does not recognize his sister; she tells him her story. "He took her into his bosom and kept on kissing her. 'And they lived in stability and prosperity.'"

2. Repository: CFMC, Khidr-Student, no. 235/229A; narrator: female, age 40, Moslem; source of narrator: not given; collector: written down by a relative of the narrator who is a male student, age 12-15; direction of communication: unspecified to female to non-adult male relative.

Brother and sister live together; the sister raises the brother. Brother marries. The wife hates the sister and gives her pigeon eggs; the sister becomes pregnant. Brother finds out through his wife; goes to kill sister but simply abandons her. Pigeons come out of her stomach; they go to "her brother's house." Brother overhears retorts between them and his wife. He brings back his sister and "they live in stability and prosperity."

3. Repository: CFMC, Khidr-Student, no. 79A; narrator: male age 50, Moslem; source of narrator: not given; collector: written down by a student, male, age 12-15; direction of communication: unspecified to male to non-adult male relative.

Parents die; they leave brother and his older sister alone. The brother marries; brother leaves and wife chops sister's hands and legs and throws her out. Fisherman finds her; his business prospers; they marry.

Brother passes by, does not recognize sister; she tells him her story. Brother sets his wife afire, sells all his possessions, goes and lives with his sister in peace.

4. Repository: CFMC, Khidr-Student, no. 79; narrator: male, age 12-14, Moslem; source of narrator: heard it from his mother; collector: same as narrator; direction of communication: unspecified to female to non-adult male relative.

Parents die; they leave brother and sister alone. Brother marries at sister's insistence. Wife accuses sister of all kinds of wrongdoings, but brother forgives sister. Wife kills her own son and accuses sister; brother forgives sister. Wife sticks needles in sister's head; she tells brother that his sister is dead. Brother sends her corpse off on camel's back. King [s son] discovers sister; they marry, she begets two sons. All go for promenade in a car pigeons harass "maternal uncle's wife". They meet the brother; he does not recognize his sister. She asks for milk, but goats have become dry and sterile. Sister tells him her story. They kiss and embrace each other. "She returned with Hasan [her brother], she and her husband return to Hasan's house and [they] lived in happiness and security."

#### Cairo and its Environs

5. Repository: El-Shamy's private collection; narrator: female, age 45, Moslem, works as vendor; source of narrator: "from other women, and all people [in the village];" collector: taperecorded by Hasan El-Shamy in July, 1972. I asked the narrator whether she knew the story and outlined the tale as given in text 0. She told the present story as an actual social incident to correct my own rendition of the story; direction of communication: female to female to adult male collector.



"A true incident"--Brother and sister live alone. Brother marries; wife of brother kills her own son and accuses sister. Brother sends sister to be killed; servant lets her go. She marries. Brother's wife takes a lover; brother runs away and meets his sister. She tells him her story. "He was reunited with his sister and left his wife."

6. Repository: 'A. Ibraheem, "An Annotated Collection of Folktales Collected in Cairo," MS., 1966, no. 3; narrator: male, age 55, Moslem originally from Asyoot City in southern Egypt, currently living in Cairo; source of narrator: not given; collector: dictated to Mr. 'Adly Ibraheem, a folklorist, as a true occurrence; direction of communication: unspecified to male to adult male collector.

"A true incident"--Parents die; they leave brother and sister alone. Brother marries. Sister talks to the moon; wife tells brother "Your sister has a lover." Brother kills sister. Brother later kills wife when he discovers that she had lied.

7. Repository: Wilhelm Spitta's Contes arabes modernes (Leiden, 1883) no. 7, pp. 94-104 especially pp. 100-104; English translation, Ernest A. W. Budge, Egyptian Tales and Romances (London: Thornton, 1931), pp. 363-370; narrator: male, presumably adult, Moslem, worked as Spitta's cook; source of narrator: heard it from his mother and "ses tantes," which may refer to either his maternal or paternal aunts; collector: foreign male; direction of communication: female to young male relative to foreign male collector.

After learning a trade which later saves his life, a king's son marries a leek farmer's daughter. His father dies; he becomes king. Wife begets a boy and girl. King dies after telling his son not to marry before his sister does. Sister cares for brother, old woman coaxes brother into marrying her daughter. Old woman gives "aumbar" bird eggs to the sister [in Arabic transliteration: "daughter of the sister of the king"]; she becomes pregnant. Brother discovers pregnancy, imprisons her in palace. Angels deliver the infant (a girl) through sister's right side to "safeguard" her honor. Sister falls ill and dies; the brother buries her within the palace. Her child is taken by angels. The brother leaves for pilgrimage in order to forget his sister's death. The old woman decides to take the sister's body out of the grave and give it to the

dogs. She opens the grave; daughter of sister appears, rebukes her, agrees to become her slave, and is painted black. The brother returns and sees the slave girl; his heart yearns for her for no reason. He hears her conversation with candlestick about what happened to her mother. The brother seizes the old woman and her daughter (his wife); people set them afire.

8. Repository: AUC 3, no. 3; narrator: female, age 60, Moslem; source of narrator: learned it from her mother; collector: written down by Margaret 'Abdul-Malik, female; direction of communication: female to female to female collector.

Sister raises her brother. Brother marries, brother builds sister a palace. King's son throws a "faṣṣ" (a precious stone or the section of a citrus fruit) at the sister; she becomes pregnant. Brother discovers pregnancy through wife; he imprisons his sister. Daughter is born to the sister and is sold as slave to the brother's wife. Brother overhears "slave's" story about her mother [his sister]. "He returns sister to the palace; he goes to find her husband--the king, 'And they begat boys and girls.'"

#### Southern Egypt

9. Repository: CFMC, Khidr-Student, no. 268; narrator: male, age 12-14; source of narrator: not given; collector: same as narrator, written down by him; direction of communication: unspecified to male (collector).

Man and woman go on pilgrimage; they leave their son and daughter alone. Sister raises brother; she finds seven keys to seven rooms and discovers all kinds of commodities in them. She gives them to her brother when he matures. Brother marries on sister's insistence. Wife feeds sister three thorns, "sister dies." Brother sends her off on camel's back. Camel refuses to stop for a man. A boy of medium age rescues her, extracts thorns and marries her. They beget three children. Children are twitted by others for being "maternal uncle-less"; they request to see him. All go to brother's home; ask for milk but buffalos are dry. They see the brother, sister tells her story: "He divorced his wife, and she married him another wife, and they lived happily, she and her brother, her husband and the wife of the brother, and the three sons of his sister in happiness and amity."

10. Repository: CFMC, Cairo, 1968; narrator: female, age 14, Moslem; source of narrator: "Women in the family"; collector: taperecorded by Miss Yosriyyah Ibraheem, a folklorist; direction of communication: female to non-adult female to female collector.

Mother dies; sister raises brother. Brother marries. His wife feeds the sister eggplant; the sister becomes pregnant. The brother discovers pregnancy through his wife. He asks a servant to kill her, servant leaves her in wilderness. She enters into a bitch's hide. King's son and vizier's son offer her food, she marries the vizier's son. "They" open her stomach, out come pigeons. The birds go to her brother's home and harass his wife. The brother follows them to the sister's home. Sister recognizes brother, disguises herself, tells her story. "They lived in happiness and her brother became contented."

11. Repository: El-Shamy's collection; narrator: female, age 19, Moslem; from the city of Minya; source of narrator: heard it from her grandmother, age 70; collector: written down by a 17 year old schoolgirl on behalf of El-Shamy; direction of communication: female to female to female.

A girl and her brother; their mother dies and their father marries a lowly girl. The father's wife kicks the sister and her brother out. The king takes them in. A beast came to the kingdom every year and took a virgin; this year it is the king's daughter's turn. The king offers his kingdom and his daughter in marriage to the brother if he kills the beast. The brother feeds the beast opium and succeeds in killing it. He marries the king's daughter. The sister marries the king's son; she lives in a palace in front of her father's house. She happens to have a pair of pigeons; the pigeons fly to her father's house and harass his wife. The father follows them and finds his daughter in the palace. She tells him about what happened to her and to her brother. He divorces his wife and lives with his daughter in stability and prosperity.

12. Repository: El-Shamy collection; narrator: male age 19, Moslem, illiterate; he has no siblings for he is an only child; works as janitor at a medical office; source of narrator: heard the tale in his village from a Christian woman named Um-Sameer (mother of Sameer) several years ago; she used to narrate to her own son, Sameer, and his friends (the present narrator)

when they were children; collector: taperecorded by El-Shamy in April 1969 in El-Minya City; direction of communication: female to child within the family to male collector.

A woman has a daughter and a son; she gives her daughter the key to the treasury and instructs her not to give the money to her brother unless he proposes to do something useful with it. When the brother finally does so, the sister gives him the key. The sister tells him, "Why don't you marry so that I can keep your money for you." He marries; his wife is jealous of his sister. The wife begets a son. She kills her son and accuses the sister; the brother refuses to believe it. The wife kills her second son and accuses sister, but the brother still refuses to believe it. The wife chops off the hands and feet of the sister and throws her out. The king finds the sister and marries her; she begets two boys. The king is "drafted" in the army; his minister wants to seduce his wife, but she refuses. The king sends her letters; the minister changes their contents to read that his wife must be kicked out. She is. As she washes her sons in the river, one falls in the water and is about to drown. God restores her hands and legs so that she may save her son, and gives her a palace. The brother goes out to look for the sister; the king goes out to look for her as well; all meet. The minister's evil deed is revealed; all live happily and the minister is kicked out.

13. Repository: AUC 19, no. 7; narrator: female, age 70, Moslem, from Asyoot City; source of narrator: her grandfather and mother when she was 10 years old; collector: written down by Miss H. Na'Awad, a collector; direction of communication: female and male to female relative to female collector.

"A true happening"--A man and his wife go on pilgrimage. They leave their daughter and son behind. The parents die; the sister raises her brother. The brother marries at his sister's insistence. In her solitude the sister talks to the moon. The wife tells the brother that his sister has a lover.<sup>11</sup> He eavesdrops and hears her talking; this time she was "talking to the sleep." He finds no proof, but still kills her. He realizes his foolishness and sets his wife afire. When interrogated, he says, "Because she is the one who made me kill my sister."

14. Repository: AUC 19, no. 9; narrator: male, age 59, Moslem, works as gardener; source of narrator: heard it from his mother; collector: same as no. 13, but written down by a male on behalf of the female collector. The collector reported that the informant refused to tell her the tale but offered to tell it to "a man;" direction of communication: female to male relative to male on behalf of female.

A man has four sons and one daughter. His wife dies; he remarries. The wife of the father is jealous of her "husband's daughter." She tells her husband that his daughter is pregnant. The daughter runs away; she is taken in by a man with four sons. He tells his sons, "This is your sister." Father [the rescuer] wants the youngest to marry her, but he refuses; she looks after him. The youngest returns from the fields and finds her asleep in his room, "while air has done what air does." She appeals to him and he marries her. She gives birth to two boys. Her father and youngest brother look for her; they come across her sons and the children invite them in. In disguise, she tells her story: they hugged her, "the man and then his son." And they repeated the wedding celebration for forty days.

#### Aswan Province

15. Repository: Hamed Ammar, Growing Up in an Egyptian Village, (New York: Octagon, 1966), no. 14, pp. 178-179; clearly this text is a reproduction worded in Ammar's own English style. The author himself is a native of the village. He reports (p. 162) that he was unable to witness "normal [narrating] sessions" among children because of his age and status; children refused to narrate in his presence. Narrator: male child, elementary school age (8-12); source of narrator: not given; collector: "recorded[?]" by Ammar, an adult male collector; direction of communication: unspecified to male child to adult male collector.

Seven rich brothers and their sister. Poor male parallel paternal cousin and his sister. The seven brothers kidnap their female cousin. They also tie her brother [their cousin] on the back of a tigress; finally they release him. He kills his seven cousins and is about to kill their sister. His own sister prevents him and tells him she is to be his wife. The wife feeds sparrow eggs to the sister; she becomes pregnant. The sister gives birth to two sparrows. Sparrows harass the

wife; the brother kicks out the sister and the birds. A "prince" marries her; she begets two sons. Brother goes hunting; he meets his two nephews; they invite him as guest. Brother does not recognize his sister; she tells her story. Brother decides "to take his sister back and get rid of his wife. The brother confessed his guilt to his sister ..., the brother and his sister returned and settled in their home, 'and lived happily ever after.'"

### Nubia

16. Repository: CFMC, New Nubia, 1969-10, 10-2-12, Arabic translation on opposite track; narrator: female, age about 40, illiterate; source of narrator: heard it from other women; collector: taperecorded by 'A. Khidr who is a relative of the narrator; direction of communication: female to female to male relative. While the narrator was visiting Cairo, 'A Khidr and myself visited her. I tried to get her to tell me this tale. She refused stating that "this is only for the women and children and maybe a man if he happened to be a brother or so." She, however, narrated other tales to us.

"Himmad and Fannah" - Man and woman die; brother and sister are left alone. Brother marries; his wife becomes jealous of the sister and feeds her yamām eggs. Sister becomes pregnant. Brother discovers pregnancy through his wife; he asks a servant to kill her. Servant spares her life; beasts adopt the sister and build her a castle. She sneezes out two yamām birds; the birds harass the wife; the brother follows them. He does not recognize his sister. She offers him "roasted sheep but without heart, liver or eyes;" he asks for the reason and she tells him her story. The wife asks earth to swallow her; the brother catches up with her, but can chop off only her hair. He and his sister live in happiness.

17. Repository: in mimeographed form, CFMC, Khidr, unclassified, also published in Al-Funūn al-Sha'Abiyyah (Folk Arts), Cairo, vol. 1, 1965, pp. 126-128; also in a German translation in Samja Jahn's Arabische Volksmärchen, (Berlin: Akademie-Verlag, 1970), no. 15; narrator: same as in no. 16; source of narrator: heard it from other women; collector: literary reproduction by 'A. Khidr based on an earlier rendition which he had heard from the narrator

of no. 16, who is also a relative of the collector; direction of communication: female to female to male relative.

"Nugud and Fannah" - Brother and sister live together. The sister is very beautiful and her brother "loves her." Brother marries; his wife becomes jealous of his sister and feeds her yamām's eggs. Sister becomes pregnant. Brother discovers the pregnancy and asks an old servant to kill her. The servant spares her life and abandons her in the wilderness. The beasts adopt the sister and build her a palace. One day she sneezes and two yamām birds come out. The birds fly to their maternal uncle's home and harass his wife. The brother follows them. Disguised sister tells her story. Wife asks earth to swallow her; brother chops off her hair before she disappears. After that the brother and sister live happily. "And each married a good person, and all of them lived in peace and tranquility."

### The Sudan

18. Repository: El-Shamy's private collection; narrator: female, age 49, Dungulah, Sudan; source of narrator: her grandmother; collector: written down by a female student for El-Shamy, June, 1970. I met the informant in Cairo; she told me a number of serious stories. She indicated her knowledge of our present tale, but refused to tell it. "It would be improper," she said. I arranged for a female student to meet with the informant and write down the story. Direction of communication: female to female to female.

Parents die; they leave brother and sister alone. Brother marries; his wife becomes jealous of the sister and tricks her into drinking donkey urine. Sister becomes pregnant. Brother discovers pregnancy through wife. He assigns a servant the task of killing the sister; servant spares her life. Angels build a palace for the sister. One day she sneezes, two pigeons come out; the birds went to harass the maternal uncle's wife. The brother follows them. Sister disguises, tells him story. Went back to kill his wife, but earth swallowed her. Brother goes back to sister and they live together in happiness and contentment.

### Desert Groups in Egypt

19. Repository: CFMC, New Valley 71-3, 3-1-1; narrator: female, age 50; source of narrator: other women; collector: taperecorded by Miss Su'Aad



Hasan, a folklorist; direction of communication: female to female to female.

Girl lives with her brother; she raises him and finds him a wife. Brother's son dies and the wife accuses the sister of killing him; the brother forgives her. This incident happens six times; finally, the brother chops off the hands and feet of his sister and throws her out. The slave of the Sultan finds her; the Sultan marries her. She bears three sons. Sons ask for their maternal uncle. They invite him. The children ask their mother for a story. She tells her story and concludes it: ". . . if a trust is to be fulfilled, this is your maternal uncle and you are the children of his sister."

20. Repository: CFMC, New Valley 71-3, 4-1-X; narrator: female in her 30's; source of narrator: "other women;" collector: taperecorded by Miss Su'Aad Hasan; direction of communication: female to female to female. It is significant to observe that two unsolicited renditions of our tale (19 and 20) appear in Miss Hasan's collection. None appeared in the vintage of three male folklorists who were collecting from males in the same households and at the same time as Miss Hasan.

Parents die and are buried in their room; the mother visits her daughter in a dream and tells her about seven keys to seven rooms. In the seventh she sees the dead parents' tomb. She takes her brother out of the room for fear over him. She raises her brother and marries brother to a girl she had found. The sister brings eggs; some are for pregnancy and some for fattening. The wife exchanges the eggs and the sister becomes pregnant. The brother discovers the pregnancy through his wife; he abandons his sister in a hut in the hills. She bears three chicks. The birds harass the wife; the brother follows them. The sister tells him the story. Brother divorces his wife and marries a new good wife, who "lived, she and his sister, and she begat boys and girls and she married his sister off. 'And they lived in stability and prosperity.'"

21. Repository: CFMC, New Nubia 69-10, 4-1-2; narrator: male, age about 50, settled nomad of the Malki Arabs; source of narrator: heard it from his paternal uncle and other men; collector: taperecorded by El-Shamy; direction of communication: male to male to male collector.

"Salḥah and Saleḥ" - Man dies after telling his son not to marry before

his sister. The sister lives in a cave to worship God. The brother marries; he doesn't tell his wife that he has a sister. The wife follows the brother to the cave; she thinks that the beautiful sister is her husband's mistress. The wife kills her own son and places the murder knife in the sister's cave and accuses her. The brother cuts his sister's hands and feet, puts her in a sack and dumps her. King marries the sister. The king leaves, sister gives birth and sends a letter to the king. The brother's wife intercepts and changes messages. The sister is thrown out of her husband's home. She sets up a free water stand and starts curing people. Prophet Mohammad visits her in a dream and restores her limbs. The king returns; he searches for his wife. He comes across his wife but does not recognize her. She tells him the story. The wife of the brother is condemned and her flesh is sliced away. The sister marries her brother off to a new girl from a good family.

#### NORTH AFRICA

##### Arabic

22. Repository: Micheline Galley, Badr az-Zin, et six contes algeriens (Paris: Arman Collin, 1971), no. 1, pp. 30-57; narrator: female, middle aged; source of narrator: not given; collector: taperecorded and transliterated by Galley, a female collector; direction of communication: unspecified to female to foreign female collector, "After having gained the confidence" of the narrator.

Sultan has seven wives and seven sons. The sons want a sister. The sultan marries an eighth wife. The sons leave and instruct a slave woman to send them a sign explaining the sex of the newborn. Woman has a girl but slave sends sign of boy. The sons remain away. Girl grows up and goes out to seek her brothers, along with two slaves. The slaves betray her; the female slave takes on the identity of the young girl, young girl is tricked into looking like a slave. They reach the brothers; the slave girl poses as their sister, while the sister is sent to care for camels. The sister complains to camels; the animals refuse to eat. The youngest brother is instructed to find out why; he overhears the complaints of the sister to the camels and tells the other brothers. Truth is revealed; the sister remains with her brother while the slave girl

is killed. The sister suggests they go visit their dying father; her brothers agree but their wives object to the idea. The wives trick the sister into eating snake eggs; the sister becomes pregnant. Eldest brother discovers pregnancy through his wife. He instructs the youngest brother to kill their sister and feed her to the hounds. The youngest spares her life. A man discovers her, extracts the snakes, and marries her. The sister bears a son; she wants to show her son to her brothers. She visits her brothers and tells them her story; she shows them the snake. The brothers kill the snake, slaughter their wives, and feed them to the hounds. They take their possessions and their children and they go back to their father's.

#### Berber

23. Repository: Marguerite T. Amrouche, Le grain magique (Paris: François Maspero, 1966), no. 15, pp. 139-148; narrator: adult female, Berber; source of narrator: her mother; collector: same as narrator; literary reproduction by the author; direction of communication: female to own daughter (collector/author) to general public.

Man has a daughter; she accidentally lets her father's bird out of cage. Frightened mother and daughter leave and go to the forest. The beasts kill mother. A she-rabbit saves her fetus and gives it to the sister. The sister raises her brother on marrow of mother's bones. An old woman adopts them but she dies; the brother and sister are left alone. The brother marries, but his wife is jealous of the sister. She feeds the sister snake eggs in partridge eggs; the sister becomes pregnant. The brother discovers the pregnancy through his wife; he takes his sister to the forest and abandons her in a ditch. A knight finds her, extracts the snakes and marries her. She begets a son. The sister wants to see her brother; she instructs her son to inquire about his maternal uncle. She and her son set out to find her brother. She tells him her story. Earth starts swallowing both the brother and his wife; the sister rescues her brother and lets his wife sink.

24. Repository: Emile Dermenghem, Contes Kabyles (Alger: Charlot, 1945), pp. 57-62; narrator: male, only the name of the informant is given; source of narrator: not given; collector: foreign male; direction of communication:

unspecified to male to foreign male collector.

Orphaned brother and sister, the sister is older and she raises her brother. The brother marries at sister's insistence. The wife becomes jealous of the sister. The wife consults an old woman who tells her to feed the sister snake eggs. The wife does so and the sister becomes pregnant. The brother discovers the pregnancy through his wife; he takes his sister out to kill her, but only ties her to a tree. A man rescues her, extracts the snakes and marries her. She bears him sons. The sister tells her sons to say in front of their father "every tree has a stem." She and her sons set out to look for her brother. The brother does not recognize his sister; she tells her story. The brother and his wife sink into the ground. The sister pulls her brother out and lets the wife sink. They give a feast and invite the people of the two villages to it.

25. Repository: Camille Lacoste, ed., Legendes et contes merveilleux de la grande Kabylie: recueillis par Auguste Moullieras (Paris: Imprimerie Nationale, 1965), no. 11, pp. 128-135; narrator: unspecified; source of narrator: unspecified; collector: Auguste Moullieras (in the late 1800's), he stenographed the texts as they were being dictated by the narrators; direction of communication: unspecified.

Mother and daughter are out in wilderness. The beasts kill the mother but hare saves her fetus. The girl raises her brother on the marrow of the mother's bones. The brother marries. The wife and the sister go to gather wood; the wife finds snake eggs and the sister finds partridge eggs. The sister suggests that they exchange eggs; the sister becomes pregnant. The brother discovers the pregnancy through his wife; he abandons sister in the wilderness. The sister finds a man; he marries her, extracts snakes from her stomach. The sister gives birth to a boy; her son wants to see his maternal uncle. They go to the brother's house; the brother does not recognize his sister. She tells her story. Earth swallows brother and wife. She pulls brother out and lets the wife sink; she tells him, "I've saved you twice!" Sister returns to her home. "Her brother took another wife. From then on he and his sister visited each other frequently."

26. Repository: Emile Laoust, Études sur le dialecte berbère du Chenoua (Paris: Ernest Leroux, 1912), pp. 165-168; narrator: male, 13.years old; source of narrator: unspecified; collector: Laoust, male, foreign; direction of communication: unspecified to "child" to a foreign male collector.

A woman has seven sons and is pregnant. Sons tell her to send them sign of what sex the newborn is. Girl is born, but negress raises sign for boy. Sons stay away. Girl grows up. She goes out to seek her brothers and takes slave girl along. The slave girl tricks her and assumes identity of sister; the sister is forced to be a slave. They find the brothers; the sister [now slave] talks to her sheep and tells her story; one becomes sick. A man hears the story and tells the brothers. The true identity of each is revealed. The sister remains with her brothers. The brothers go on promenade; their wives trick sister into eating snake eggs; she becomes pregnant. The eldest brother discovers pregnancy through his wife. He instructs the youngest to kill her and feed her to the hounds, but he abandons her in a pit. A man rescues her, extracts the snakes and marries her. She bears him two boys; they request to see their maternal uncles. Their father reminds them of how he found their mother; they go. Sister tells her story. Brothers kill wives; the wife of the youngest cries in horror "Sors!"

#### LEVANT COAST AND MESOPOTAMIA

##### Palestine

27. Repository: Hans Schmidt and Paul Kahle, Volkserzählungen aus Palästina, 2 vols. (Göttingen, 1918, 1930), vol. 1, no. 45; narrator: male, middle aged; source of narrator: unspecified; collector: foreign male; direction of communication: unspecified to male to male foreign collector.

A girl, her father and her stepmother. Stepmother feeds the girl a magic cake to shame her; the girl becomes pregnant. The father abandons her in a forest; she joins forty thieves as their sister. She gives birth to a boy. The father brings his daughter back, along with her son and gold. The wife of the father is jealous; she sends out her own daughter. She doesn't treat the thieves kindly and is killed. The stepmother bursts and dies.

Syria

28. Repository: Eugene Prym and Albert Socin, Der Neue-Aramaeische Dialect des Tūr 'Abdīn: Syrische Sagen und Maerchen, vol. 2 (Göttingen: Vanderhoeck, 1881), no. 2, pp. 8-12; narrator: adult male, Christian, speaking New Aramaic, from Tūr 'Abdīn, Syria; source of narrator: unspecified; collector: foreign male; direction of communication: unspecified to male to male foreign collector.

"A true event"--Son and daughter of a deceased man live with paternal uncle, the Chief. The governor of the province wants to marry the girl; the uncle refuses. The uncle is invited to a wedding at the governor's and is killed. His nephew disguises as a bedouin; kills the governor and his assistants, and takes his two daughters, marries one and gives the other to his uncle's son. Daughter of governor lies to the brother saying he saw a man entering his sister's room. Sister denies it, but brother takes her and abandons her in a cave. Two brothers are out hunting; they discover the cave and the girl within. One brother tells the other to get her out. Brothers dispute over whose she is; the eldest brother marries her. Brother of the girl looks for her in the cave; he cannot find her. A fox tells him where she went; he goes there and is told that his sister was virgin. He returns home, kills his wife, gets his possessions and goes back to the palace, and lived there "Beside his sister."

29. Repository: Prym and Socin, vol. 2, no. 2, pp. 8-12; source of narrator, etc., as in no. 28.

A prince has a sister and a wife. The wife slanders the sister. The brother imprisons his sister in a room. The wife gives her snake with water; the sister becomes pregnant. The brother discovers pregnancy through his wife; he takes her to the hills and abandons her. A prince finds her and takes her home; doctors extract the snake. The sister refuses to say anything about herself. A demon kidnaps the sister. She refuses to give herself to the demon; he imprisons her in a subterranean cave. The brother has killed his wife and is searching for his sister. He reaches the palace of the prince who tells him what happened. The brother rescues his sister along with another girl who was "the daughter of the king of the elves." He marries the latter and lets his sister

live with him. The new wife bears children, but all sons die because her relatives steal them. She asks for supremacy over everything within the household; when she receives it, sons remain alive.

### Iraq

30. Repository: Adeebah Al-Khameesi "Gudhoor hikāyāt al-ṣābi'ah fī wādī al-rāfidayn (The Roots of the Sabian narratives in the Valley of the Two Rivers [Tigris and Euphrates]), Al-Turāth (Baghdad, Iraq), vol. 3, no. 10, p. 102; narrator: not given (presumably Christian of Sabeen [Mandaean] extraction); collector: female folklorist; direction of communication: unspecified.

A Sultan dies; he leaves brother and sister alone. The brother takes care of his sister "like the moisture in the eye." He marries, at sister's insistence, a girl she had raised. The sister thought that the girl would not turn against her. The wife bears a son; she kills it and blames the sister. The brother does not believe it. The same thing happens again. The brother consults priests; they suggest he cut sister's legs and hands. He does so and leaves her near a river bank. A poor farmer finds her; he prospers. The wife of the sultan marries her to her own son. She bears three sons. Her husband leaves for pilgrimage. The wife of the brother discovers where she is; she forges a letter from the husband of the sister ordering that the sister [his wife] and her children should be thrown out. She is deserted in a lonely hut. God converts the area into a palace and "prophet's pigeons" restore her hands and feet and tell her that their feathers and the water of the creek should be used to cure. She becomes a famous healer. Her husband returns, finds her and takes her back. The wife of the brother goes to her for curing. The sister refuses money and says that the wife must confess her sins in order to be healed. The brother's wife confesses; she is torn assunder by hungry horses and is set afire. "The husband of the sister gave the brother his own sister for a wife."

31. Repository: 'A Al-Lawand 'Al-hikāyah al mouṣiliyyah (The Stories of Mosul), Al Turāth, vol. 3, no. 10, pp. 96-98; narrator: female, presumably Moslem; source of narrator: the collector states that all narrating within



the household is done exclusively by females (p. 84) and refers to a female narrator (p. 85); collector: male folklorist; direction of communication: female to male relative to general public.

Mother and father die; they leave brother and sister. Sister is beautiful and the brother protects her jealously. He locks her up. One day he forgets to lock the room and an old woman lets the sister smell narcissus flower. The sister becomes pregnant; she gives birth to a daughter. She hides her daughter from the brother in the ground. One day her daughter gets caught in the earth; the sister becomes ill and dies. Her brother entombs her in a crystal casket and keeps it in the house. Brother gets married. One day a servant pulls a lock of hair out of the ground and out comes the sister's child. The child knows the secret of her mother. The wife of the child's maternal uncle is jealous of her and treats her like a slave. The maternal uncle overhears the child talking to candlestick, learns the truth about his sister and her daughter, the "daughter of the narcissus flower." He rebukes his wife, and they live happily.

32. Repository: Ethel S. Stevens, Folk-Tales of Iraq (Oxford, 1931), no. 31, pp. 142-144; narrator: male, Moslem, middle-aged, a teacher; source of narrator: his mother; collector: a female foreign collector; direction of communication: female to male relative to foreign female collector.

Merchant and wife die; they leave a boy and a girl alone. The brother goes to the market and becomes a merchant; the sister keeps house. A neighbor girl tells the sister, "We are like sisters...ask your brother to marry me." The sister asks brother to marry her girlfriend; he does. The wife becomes jealous of the sister. The sister in her loneliness talks to the moon; the wife tells the brother that his sister has a lover. He imprisons his sister, but later he lets her out. The wife has a son; she kills him and puts the knife in the sister's hands. The brother plucks the sister's eyes out and kicks her out. The sister is healed by a woman who teaches her the art. The woman dies; the sister becomes a healer. The brother and his wife come to be healed; the brother has become blind and his wife has elephantiasis.<sup>13</sup> The sister heals her brother but refuses to heal his wife and tells her, "Go and

trouble us no more." The wife goes away. The brother and sister live in the house that the woman physician left for her.

## THE ARABIAN PENINSULA

### Saudi Arabia

33. Repository: 'Aabdul-Kareem al-Guhayman, min 'asateerina al-Sha'Abiyyah (From our Folk Legends), 3 vols. (Beirut, Lebanon, 1967-1969), vol. 1, no. 19, pp. 277-290; narrator: not given; source of narrator: not given; collector: 'A. Al-Guhayman; direction of communication: unspecified.

"A true occurrence"--A man, his wife, and his sister live together. The sister sees the lover of the wife. The brother leaves on a trip and sister becomes sure of the wife's adultery. The wife feeds her 'hamara' eggs; the sister becomes pregnant. The brother returns and discovers the pregnancy through his wife. He abandons his sister in the desert. The sister lives in a cave, produces a baby hamara. The bird goes to her maternal uncle's house; the maternal uncle follows it and finds his sister. The sister tells her story. The brother strangles his wife. "He lived with his sister and deemed it sinful [i.e., prohibited] for himself to take another wife. His sister lived beside him because it was not possible for her to let him be lonely."

34. Repository: Al-Guhayman, vol. 3, no. 1, pp. 1-3; Source of narrator, etc., as in no. 33.

A brother and his only sister live alone. He loves her and treats her kindly. The brother marries. "The wife took the place of the sister in the house; the lass began to wither and her psychological state deteriorated." The brother gives her attention and gifts; the brother leaves on a trip. The wife disguises herself as a man and goes to the sister's room, making sure the prayer-crier sees her. The brother returns; his wife tells him that his sister has a lover. The prayer-crier corroborates her information. The sister suspects that her brother is plotting something with his wife; he intends to bury her alive. She runs away to a male neighbor. The neighbor marries her and treats her like a girl he rescued, not like a wife. She regains her beauty, "and

the mother of his children."

Southern Arabia - Yemen

35. Repository: Dov Noy, Jefet Schwilli Brzählt (Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 1963), no. 41, pp. 129-131; narrator: female, age 60, Arab-Jewish extraction; source of narrator: does not remember, but her son a raconteur, asserted that his mother learned all her tales from her brother (p. 7); earlier the narrator did not allow her grandson (about 16 years old) to listen to her conversation with the female collector (p. 6); collector: Heda Jason, female; direction of communication: unknown to female to female collector.

A brother and sister live alone. The brother marries; his wife doesn't like his sister. She gives the sister something to eat and the sister becomes pregnant. The brother discovers the pregnancy through his wife. The wife and the brother bury the sister alive. A palm tree grows where she was buried. The tree helps women with their laundry; but it humiliates the brother's wife. At the insistence of the wife the palm tree is cut down. The tree transforms itself into an egg. An old woman finds the egg, takes it, and the sister secretly comes out of it to help the old woman with housework, then returns into the egg. The old woman discovers her. Meanwhile the brother accuses his wife of killing his sister, kicks her out and wanders penniless around the world. He searches the city where his sister is. The brother works for the king. "The brother...[sees] his sister" and falls in love with her. He asks the king for the girl in marriage. The king arranges for the two to wed. An angel warns the sister that she is about to marry her brother; she requests a number of beds to be made of various materials. The brother is about to consummate the marriage with her and each bed says, "How can one marry his sister..." Finally the sister reveals her identity; they return to their old home. The sister marries another man and the brother marries a good wife.

Southern Arabia - Oman

36. Repository: David H. Müller, Südarabische Expedition, vol. VII Die Mehri-und Soqutri-Sprache, pt. 3 (Vienna: Alfred Hölder, 1907) no. 25,

pp. 112-114; narrator: male, Bedouin from Dhofar Hills in Shauri language; source of narrator: not given; collector: recorded in Vienna, Austria in 1904 by David Müller; direction of communication: unspecified male to foreign male collector.

"A true occurrence" (a legend) - A man, his wife, his mother-in-law, and his sister live together. A baby boy is born to the wife. The boy's mother [the wife] and his grandmother [the wife's mother] eat him and accuse the sister. The brother is about to kill his sister but finds out that he cannot. The sister finds a witch who carries the brother to a witches' meeting; he sees his wife and her mother dividing the flesh of the son. Undetected, he takes the liver; the next day he confronts his wife, shows her the liver and divorces her. "He remained beside his cattle and his sister remained beside him. And she milked his cows for him."

#### Semi-Literary Variants from Egypt

37. Repository: CFMC, Mansoura City collection, 1965-1966; Narrator: adult male, age 34, Moslem; he was accompanied by his daughter, age 13. This text is a ballad, re-created and versified by the present performer. He is a professional minstrel; he had prepared the ballad for the "1965 mousim (season)" and was introducing it "for the first time" to the collector. The singer's daughter was in the process of learning "the art." She sang with her father in unison, but her words trailed those of the father by a fraction of a second. Evidently she was still learning the text. She, however, stopped about half way and her father finished the text alone. They sang to the music of a flute (nāy) and a drum (ṭār). The traditional melody they used is that of a religious ballad (Ayyoub, i.e., Job); Source of narrator: "old books." It is certain that the book referred to is a chapbook (see no. 38); collector: adult male folklorist; name not given; direction of communication: impersonal and aimed at the general public.

"Ṣalḥah and Ṣaleḥ" - Father on his deathbed tells his son (Ṣaleḥ) to take care of his sister (Ṣalḥah). The sister lives in a subterranean abode to worship God. The father dies. The brother neglects his sister. People urge him to marry; Ṣaleḥ consults Ṣalḥah and she urges against it. Ṣaleḥ married anyway "a beautiful girl, but from a

bad family," and forgets his sister. Buthayna, his wife, gives birth to a boy. Şaleḥ remembers his sister and visits her in her abode. The wife follows him, sees Şalḥah's beauty and thinks she is Şaleḥ's mistress. The wife kills her child and puts the knife in Şalḥah's quarters. The brother cuts off his sister's hands and feet and dumps her outside. A farmer rescues her and he prospers. The king sees Şalḥah and marries her. The king leaves to fight rebellious deputy. Şalḥah gives birth to a boy and a girl. The king's mother writes to him. The brother's wife intercepts the messages between by seducing the messenger. She changes them in order that Şalḥah be killed. Instead, the king's mother puts Şalḥah and her children in a box and has them cast out on the river. Night guards discover the box and build a shrine for Şalḥah next to a saint's. Şalḥah becomes a great healer and Prophet Mohammad restores her limbs. Her husband, the king, wins his battle and returns; he learns of what happened and gathers all those involved; he learns the truth. Şaleḥ's wife confesses to her crime; enraged Şaleḥ slices his wife with a knife. The king hires Şaleḥ and gives him a princess to marry. The king is resolved not to sleep with "the worshipper" [his wife] because of the miraculous restoration of her limbs. Prophet Mohammad appears to him in a dream and advises him to live with her as man and wife.

38. Repository: printed, anonymous, Qiṣṣat Şaleḥ wa Şaliḥah (The Story of Şaleḥ and Şaliḥah) (Cairo: Gomhourriyyeh Bookstore, Al-Azhar District, n.d.), 16 pages. It can be assumed with a fair degree of certainty that an adult male undertook compiling and publishing this printed narrative (see no. 37). Females simply are known not to be involved in this type of economic enterprise; particularly not in folk quarters.

A man on his deathbed directs his son, Şaleḥ, to look after his sister Şaliḥah; she is a worshipper who lives in a cave. Neighbors suggest he should marry; he consults his sister and she urges him against marriage and warns him against women's wiles. He marries anyway and forgets about his sister for three days. He tells his sister of his marriage; the sister criticizes him and he begins to despise her "for sowing discord between himself and his wife." One day he visits his sister in the

She becomes "like a viper." The wife kills her own son, puts his severed head at the sister's cave. The brother cuts off his sister's hands and feet and is about to dump her in the Tigris River. A gardener and his wife see him and he becomes scared and leaves his sister there. The gardener and his wife take her in; their dry garden blossoms. The king [also referred to as Caliph] marries her, but he has to leave to fight his rebellious deputy in Basra. She bears two sons in his absence; the king's (Caliph's) mother writes to her son. The brother's wife intercepts the letters between the king and his mother and changes them to read that Salihah and her children must be killed. Slaves are assigned the task of throwing them in a river. Slaves open the sack, thinking it to be food, find a beautiful girl and want to violate her. But nightguards appear and the slaves flee. The guards set up an abode for her near a saint's shrine and Salihah becomes a great healer. Prophet Mohammad visits her in a dream and restores her limbs. The king returns, discovers the forgery, gathers all those involved. The king learns the truth and resolves that if the brother "does not kill his wife, then he is a pimp and I will kill the two of them." The brother slaughters his wife and chops off her head. The king makes him a prince at his court. The king is resolved not to sleep with his wife Şalihah because of the miraculous restoration of her limbs. Prophet Mohammad appears to him in a dream and advises him to have intercourse with his wife. "He woke up in horror; he looked towards the worshipper and found her sitting up. He told her about it [his dream]. They lived in the happiest state and with their minds at the greatest ease.

#### Comments on the Variants

Although the technique of random sampling was not followed in choosing the subjects for this research, the informants cited above do represent a fair coverage of the significant categories of Arab and Berber communities. The factors of sex, age, geographic location, degree of education, religion and ethnic background are all involved. The methods of collecting the variants cover the entire scope of techniques available and practical at the time of collecting. There are a number of tape recorded texts (0, 5, 12, 16, 19, 20, 21, 22, 37, and possibly 35). Variant 25 may be included

in this category since the collector reports that he used stenotyping.

Although visual recording was not carried out for any of the oral renditions, in a few cases some of the non-verbal aspects of the narrative were observed and accounted for, especially for those recorded by myself (0, 5, 12). The group of tales which can be considered closest to the tape recorded text in verbatim accuracy are those collected by linguists who provided transliterated texts in native dialects (7, 26, 27, 28, 29, 36).

Published renditions, especially those in which the 'author' is a native of the subculture to which the text belongs, and is also acting as an informant (17, 23, 33, 34), often provide explanatory statements and comments normally not found in the oral texts of the folk renditions. The purpose of such additions is often to clarify affective (sentiment) states and cultural values to the intended readers. These explanations are usually not needed in the regular context of oral **narration**, for knowledge of such sentiments and values is shared by all members of the community and is implicitly understood by the narrator and the audience. This technique of amplification in the writing process by professionals was well described by al-Guhayman:

Some readers may remark that I...prolonged [my] talk in analyzing some situations in these narratives. To this remark I may reply that I introduced nothing new, but brought out [only] what is understood behind these lines.<sup>14</sup>

Numerous variants were submitted in writing (especially Khidr's students' collection). In those cases, the writer was a member of the very community to which the narrator and his or her version belong (1, 2, 3, 4; compare 15). Such renditions are more representative of the writer's own writing abilities and state of mind than those of the actual narrators. Yet, these renditions may be considered as accurately representing the broad sentiments, attitudes and values involved in the tradition under investigation.

On matters of specific syntax and verbatim accuracy, the renditions written down by collectors who are not members of the community from which the variant was taken (8, 13, 14) are less reliable. Although the collectors of these variants report that their texts were dictated, it should be assumed that the written texts were, to some extent, influenced by the collector's own perceptions. Most of the texts in the AUC collections fall into this category.

## ANALYSIS OF THE TALE

I. Introductory Episodes

In a number of variants, Type 872\* is preceded by an elaborate introductory episode or story. Only two Egyptian variants (7, 15) have a lengthy introduction. Variant 7 is introduced through a tale based on motifs P 31, "Prince must learn a trade," and P 51, "Noble person saves self from difficulties by knowledge of trade."<sup>15</sup> Variant 15 has an introduction depicting parallel paternal cousins ('awlad 'Aam) in rivalry. The sister is kidnaped by her seven paternal cousins; they tie her brother to the back of a tigress; he is released later. The brother kills his seven paternal cousins and is about to kill their sister, but his own sister advises him that the girl, his cousin, is to be his wife. A similar situation appears in variant 28 from Syria: a governor wants to marry the daughter of the brother of a tribal chief; the chief and the girl's brother refuse. The governor has the chief murdered. In revenge the girl's brother kills the governor, kidnaps his daughter, and marries her.<sup>16</sup>

In North Africa two different introductory events seem to be established:

- a) Type 451, The Maiden who Seeks her Brothers (variants 22 and 26) where a young girl sets out to search for her seven brothers. The brothers had abandoned their parents' home because they "needed" a sister. After a long search and numerous hardships the sister locates her brothers; they were already married and settled. The sister stays with them and their wives.
- b) An episode in which a woman and her daughter flee from their home to avoid the wrath of the father (the woman's husband). The woman is killed by wild animals. Her fetus is spared by a hare who instructs the daughter on how magically to cause her brother to grow to adulthood.<sup>17</sup> These introductory additions will prove to be integral aspects of the tale; in all cases (except 7) they enhance the emotional foundation for the types of sentiments expressed in the story. They also help to create a sense of imbalance; Type 872\* follows.



## II. Parents

Action in Type 872\* commonly begins with the elimination of the parents; this act is expressed in a number of ways:

- a) Both parents are already dead (5, 24); or both die at the outset of events (3, 4, 7, 8, 9, 13, 18, 20, 30, 31, 32).
- b) The mother dies (0--no mention of father, 10, 12, 25); in variants 23 and 26, the mother dies but the father is very cruel.
- c) The father dies, no mention of the mother (21, 37, 38); in variant 22, the father is absent but is about to die.
- d) No mention of either parent; the brother and sister are living together (1, 2, 6, 15, 16, 17, 19, 34, 35). In a number of variants the brother and sister are living together along with another member of the family: the brother's wife (29, 33) or with the brother's wife and her mother (36, compare 7).

In addition to the removal of parents, other paternal figures are also eliminated: paternal uncle (28), an old woman who had adopted the brother and sister (23, also compare 35).

In a few cases the brother and sister live with a stepmother after the death of their own mother (4, 11, see also 14), or with a stepmother who is also a co-wife to their own mother, while the actual mother fades away from action after the initial episode (22). In variant 27 the heroine lives with her stepmother and her stepsister; in this respect this tale converges with Type 480, The Spinning Women by the Spring, the Kind and Unkind Girls; in the Arab culture area, Type 480 is told almost exclusively by women and non-adult narrators. Only one variant (14) which was narrated by an adult male, has a broader familial setting; the heroine lives with her father, stepmother, and four brothers. Here, too, the father plays a role in the ensuing search for the heroine (see 27); in this respect, variant 14 converges with Type 883A, The Innocent Slandered Maiden. A similar overlapping of separate tales appears in variant 12, also narrated by a youthful male; in this rendition, a combination of elements from local renditions of Type 706, The Maiden Without Hands, and Type 883A follow the inaugural episode which includes the themes of the death of the parents, the sister's protection of her brother, and his subsequent marriage. The ratio of disposing with both parents in one

form or another to keeping them is 36:0. Also, the ratio of disposing with the mother--who normally maintains the watch over the observance of the sexual mores within the family--to keeping her is 39:0.

From what we have observed, it is safe to conclude that the parents, the sister, and the brother represent a triadic system;<sup>18</sup> the parents block the satisfaction of the wants of their two children. Thus an imbalance is created within the triad. The removal of the parents establishes a balanced dyad comprised of the brother and sister, but under socially unacceptable conditions, since the young sister and brother live alone together. The ensuing part of the tale then addresses itself to this problem.

### III. Main Characters

After the removal of the parents, a new triad develops; it is composed of the brother, his sister, and the brother's wife. This triad is present in all variants except 7 and 36. In the former, the brother's mother-in-law plays the villainous role against the sister and the daughter of the sister, while the brother's wife remains passive. In the latter, both the wife and her mother are equally guilty. The number of brothers is restricted to one in most cases; only variant 14 has four brothers, while variants 22 and 26 have seven brothers, presumably as a result of combining Type 451, The Maiden who Seeks her Brothers with Type 872\* (also compare variant 15 where the wife of the brother is his parallel paternal cousin, bint 'Aam; she had seven brothers). A sister's husband appears in a number of variants (especially subtype II; see section VI); however, he plays a minor role.

### IV. The Nature of the Brother-Sister Relationship

The nature of the brother-sister relationship prior to the introduction of the brother's wife rests on the sister's protective and supervisory functions over her younger brother. The role of the little girl as mother's helper is institutionalized in Arab traditional cultures and is expected to begin as early as the age of five or six, when the little sister is put in charge of her younger siblings. Although only three variants (3, 13, 24) state explicitly that "the girl is older than the boy," the sequence of birth in some Berber variants (23, 24, 25) indicates that she is older. This fact is also implicit in other variants except 22 and 26 where the sister is the

youngest; this situation is the result of annexing our tale (Type 872\*) to Type 451 in which the sister who seeks her seven brothers is the youngest sibling.

The sister's protective measures toward her brother are expressed in various forms: it may figure as an altruistic sacrifice of her own share of food in order to sustain her brother (0, 9, 19). This act acquires major proportions in two Berber variants (23, 25) where the sister appears with her brother, then only a fetus in the mother's womb and is saved by a helpful animal from wild beasts who have just devoured the mother. The sister raises her brother to adulthood on the marrow of their dead mother's bones. The sister may also assume economic supervision of her brother. She keeps the parents' wealth away from him until he has given her the correct answer to the question, "What would you do with your parents' money?" (0, 2, 3, 7, 8, 9, 10, 12, 13, 19, 20, 24). In variant 8 the father wills all his money to the sister, an unusual act in real life; however, she gives it all to her brother.

In a number of variants the same protective role played by the sister recurs at the close of the narrative in an explicit manner (23, 24, 25, 28, 36). In three Berber variants (23, 24, 25), both the brother and his wife sink into the earth, as the sister narrates about her experiences. The sister saves only her brother.

A few variants overtly express early attachment of the brother to his sister: he wards off a princely suitor (28); he is "jealously protective," because of her beauty (31), or "he does not marry on the account of his sister" (30). Other types of commitment are also expressed; in variant 32 the brother goes to market to "buy and sell" while the sister remains at home; in variants 7 and 21, the father of the two children, while on his deathbed, asks his son not to marry before the sister is married; in variants 37 and 38, the dying father instructs his son Saleh (the brother) to look after Salhah (the sister) and "never to do anything without her advice," the father repeated his advice until "...his soul moved to the realm of God."

Another quality of the relationship between the brother and his sister

may be inferred from their brief expression of intentions at the beginning of the tale (0, 2, 3, 7, 9, 10, 12, 19, 20, 24). The sister asks her brother, "...What would you do with your parents' money?" His answer is practically invariable and reflects the strength of the bond between brother and sister. At first the immature brother wants to purchase toys and games. Whereas in nine of the ten above cited variants he plans for himself and his sister to play together, only in variant 10 his plans for play do not include his sister; a ratio of 9:1 in favor of being together.

When the brother matures, he expresses his intentions for himself and his sister to get married. The semantic aspects of the verbal exchange in this situation are significant indicators of the nature of their relationship. The statement "aggàwwiz wagàwwizik," "I'd marry and marry you" (variants 0, 2, 10; compare 20), reveals the nature of the type of motivation underlying the choice of words, and implicitly expresses the strength of the brother-sister bond. As such, this semantic aspect is congruent with the total affective content of the narrative. The overt meaning of the brother's reply is: "I'll find myself a wife and you a husband." In variants 4, 5, 9, 13, 18, 19, 21--concluding episode, 23, and 25, it is the sister who tells her brother, "...agawwizàk," that is, "I'll marry you (off)."

The audible difference<sup>19</sup> between the colloquial Egyptian Arabic "agàwwizik" [I (masc.) marry you off]; that is, find you a husband, and "agàwwizak" [I (fem.) marry you off]; that is, find you a wife on the one hand, and "aggàwwizik" [I (masc.) marry you]; that is, take you for a wife, and "aggàwwizàk" [I (fem.) marry you]; that is, take you for a husband, on the other hand, is only a matter of phonemic stress. Alternative, but more precise, types of morphology and idioms are rarely used: "titgawwiz," [you (masc.) get married], appears in three texts (30, 34, 35); meanwhile, "titgàwwizi," [you (fem.) marry]; "tilaaqi bint el-ḥalāl," [find the right girl]; "tikàmmil nūṣṣ deenak," [complete the (other) half of your faith]; "ashoofak 'Aarees," [see you as a bridegroom]; "ashoof lak 'Aaroosah," [find you a bride], and so on, do not appear. Narrators either avoid or simply do not perceive these alternatives in this particular situation.

In variant 7 the father, on his death-bed, advises his son, "ma titgawwizsh illa lamma titgàwwiz 'ukhtak," [don't marry until you marry your

sister], thus setting the marriage of brother and sister simultaneously. The synthetic verb "tiṭṭawwiz" may denote "she marries" or "you (masc.) marry." A less ambiguous verb would have been "tiṭṭawwiz" (transitive for marry off), or "tukoon ukhtak itṭawwizit," [your sister had been married]. In variant 21 the dying father instructs a friend, "Ṣaleḥ (masc.) is for Ṣalḥah (fem.) and Ṣalḥah is for Ṣaleḥ," an idiom used only for marriage betrothal. A more appropriate idiom, "liba'Aḍ," [to be for one another], signifies only affiliation and friendship; it is not used in this context.

In variant 12 the sister asks her brother, "Why don't you marry so that I can keep your money for you," while in variant 24 the brother asks his sister to marry but she refuses and states, "I prefer to finish raising you and still guide you in life. It is you who [should] marry first." Thus the sister assigns herself an additional task in her brother's household.

The sister stays with the brother after his marriage in all but four variants. As expressed in variant 7, the brother "took his wife to his sister." In variant 8 the sister lives in a palace by herself while the brother and his wife simply reside in an apartment, thus signifying the importance of the sister. In variants 21, 37, and 38 (all of which belong to subtype II of the tale; see section VI below), the sister is already living in a subterranean hermetic abode. The brother's marriage and the brother and sister "living together" are sometimes expressed simultaneously (variants 0, 10, 12, 20). The strongest expression of this semantic indication of the brother-sister relationship appears in variant 20; the brother tells his sister, "Sister, you will marry me [off], raise me, and stay with me at home and not leave me."

The marriage of the brother is as equally apprehensive to both the brother and the sister as it was to their father in variants 7, 37, and 38: the brother warns his sister against his own marriage and predicts that his wife will certainly cause her trouble, yet the sister "marries him off" (variants 4, 9, 13, 23, 30). Meanwhile in variants 0, 21, 27, and 38, the brother chooses a girl and marries her against the advice of his sister.

The disruptive influence of the brother's marriage over the strong brother sister-bond is more explicitly expressed in variant 23:

One evening Resika turned to her brother with determination and said him, "Ali, my brother, I am going to marry you [off]!"

He responded, "My sister, are we not happy? Why bring a stranger between us who will separate us?"

But the sister retorted, "Someone can separate us! Be assured nothing in the world can separate us!"<sup>20</sup>

The nature of the brother-sister attachment may be further explained in terms of how the brother perceives his sister in their own little world of two. The sister's physical qualities do not usually figure, except at a later stage when the sister's beauty is contrasted to that of the brother's wife or when the brother is about to kill her. In variant 17 from Nubia, however, the expression of the sister's beauty before the advent of the sister-in-law is found at an early stage of the events:

The sister (Fannah) was breathtakingly beautiful with a round face, full cheeks, wine-colored skin, black eyes with heavy lashes, a tiny nose adorned by a gold crescent [nose ring]. She was young, not older than sixteen. Her full brother (Nujud) loved her adoringly.<sup>21</sup>

The perceived image of the sister and the emotional intimacy between brother and sister are further expressed in a number of contexts denoting the association of sister (or brother) with elements of a cognitive system which may be characterized as having erotic significance. The sister in bed<sup>22</sup> appears in variants 1, 23, and 35; these renditions are separated from one another geographically, but they were all narrated by adult females. In variant 1, after the brother was married and his wife had caused the sister to become magically ill, the tale proceeds as follows:

...her brother came, as she was lying down in her bed, calling her, "O Mona," as he habitually does. She didn't answer him. Then his wife said to him, "She is ill." He went to his sister as she was lying down on her bed and said to her, "What is the matter, Mona?" She pointed at her mouth.

In variant 23, an old woman offers the fleeing sister and brother refuge and food, and prepares "two beds" for them. The separate sleeping places is a significant detail which reveals awareness of sex mores and related social proprieties. The Jewish Yemenite variant (35) includes an explicit expression of associating brother, sister and bed within one cognitive system; it also reveals the underlying emotional stress this association generates, especially

in the absence of the parents who watch over their children's conduct. After their separation, the brother falls in love with his sister and they are about to get married without either one recognizing the other. All the wedding formalities are completed, but an angel warns the sister that she is marrying her brother. The strategy she devises to inform her soon-to-be husband is significant. She orders several beds to be made out of different materials:

On the [wedding] night as they went to sleep, he led the maiden to the glass bed, "Come we want to sleep." They lay down, but as soon as they did that the bed said, "Ah, a..., a..., one marries his sister [!] Who could do that, what is this?" "What did the bed say?" asked the youth. "Oh, I don't know, come we will lie on the other bed." But as soon as they lay there, the wooden bed said, "A..., ah...."<sup>23</sup>

The same thing happens with the third bed. Finally, the sister reveals her identity and tells him the story. This type of "lingering" over the expressing of what may be called "sex flirtation" does not appear in any other context in the twenty tales collected from the Jewish narrator, nor in any of the hundreds of tales given by my own informants; nor does it, to the best of my knowledge, appear in tales illustrating the husband-wife relationship in Arab folk literature.<sup>24</sup>

Awareness of the vulnerability of the brother and sister to violating sex mores is further expressed under a symbolic guise through a detail motif. In a Berber variant (23), the sister had magically raised her brother to pre-adolescence; the age at which "he could be a shepherd." Once, she and her brother slept in the shade of a tree; "a gust of wind awakened them." A similar event, but one which is instrumental in the development of the plot of the tale, appears in variant 14. The heroine was informally adopted by the father of four brothers as their "sister." She looked after the youngest brother. The boy's father offered the girl to him in marriage, but he refused. One day the girl fell asleep in the boy's room; the youth returned from the field unexpectedly and saw "his sister" asleep:

...the air has done what air does; messing up her hair I mean. The boy was polite; he went out [treading] lightly and closed the door after himself. She woke up at the [noise of] the closure of the door and got up hurriedly to get out, and she found him. They looked at each other; she looked attractive to him at that time. He said to his father, "I want to marry 'So and So,'" the girl that is.

Interestingly enough the same girl, as she was fleeing her original family, had fallen asleep before in the field of her paternal rescuer without any

consequences to either of the two. The symbolic significance of these two events (14, 22) involving 'air' may be further clarified if we take into consideration that the word hawa may signify either "air" or "erotic love" or "desire."<sup>25</sup>

Additional descriptive details in the other variants indicate the same general state of apprehension concerning the violation of sex mores. The motif of the forbidden chamber appears in two variants (9, 20). In variant 9, following the death of the mother, the sister found the keys to seven rooms; in the first six, she found common household objects: wheat, corn, barley, pots and pans, bedding and chairs, and the seventh room was the living room. In that room, she asked her brother what he would do for the person who gives him his parents' belongings. He answered, "I and you would play..." In variant 20 the girl's dead mother 'visited' her during her sleep [that is, in a dream] and told her about the place where they [the parents] had buried the keys to seven rooms in the house. [In the first six] she found gold, silver, barley, and rice. The significance of the seventh room is expressed by a seemingly unwarranted deviation from the logical train of thought: "She opened the seventh room...;" here the adult female narrator abruptly stated with excitement, "She is virgin (bint-e-bnoot)!" The narrator then continued, "She saw her mother and father buried [there]. She left immediately lest her brother see them and pass out."

A similar "deviation" occurs in a variant from Syria (28). Ose, the brother, took his sister Amsche, whose physical assets had not been presented before, to kill her after his wife had slandered her. They enter a cave, "...Ose with his sister Amsche, who was as beautiful as no one else in the entire world."<sup>26</sup>

Both cases of "deviation" may be regarded in the light of psychological projective techniques and free association.<sup>27</sup> Forbidden rooms and caves evoke the sense of violation of sex mores--a recurrent theme in other Arab narratives. The narrator of variant 20 was reminded of the sister's virginity only when the brother and sister are alone in a forbidden chamber. The tomb of the dead parents generates fear in the sister. Similarly, the narrator of



variant 28 thought of the sister's beauty only while she and her brother were in a cave.

The same associative process that links together the brother, the sister, a chamber or cave, and the sister's physical qualities is manifested in other variants in which a brother and sister are living together in a palace, "qasr," (0, 3, 8, 16, 17, 31, cf. 20). In contrast to a mere house, a palace usually carries stronger symbolic association with erotic activities. Related expressions in the same folk cognitive systems from the Oasis area reveal and substantiate the presence of this systemic relationship. A riddle, for example, states: "[What are] two in the palace, two in Cairo, two in the field, and two on the wall [i.e., sky]?" The answer is: bride and bridegroom; al-Hasan and al-Husain [saints]; the ax and the plow; and the sun and the moon, respectively.<sup>28</sup> Similarly, the "palace" appears in the same erotic context in the folksong traditions of the same Western Oasis area (home of variants 19 and 20), as well as other parts of Egypt. A song sung by an adolescent girl states:

Palace, whose windows are overlooking those oases;  
Inside you is the handsome-one who entangled us [with love] and left.

O, who would bring me my sweetheart to stay comfortably;  
[to] eat of the peaches and roll over the roses.

Who will bring me my sweetheart on the bed at night;  
to eat from the peaches and roll over the roses.<sup>29</sup>

Taken within its broader sequence of songs, the palace of the foregoing song is of particular interest to our present inquiry. The previous song was sandwiched between two others; it was directly preceded by a song in which the same adolescent female singer insisted that she will not marry anyone except a "person with a governmental job and high rank." Then the second song cited above blends with a third song about "the...victory of my brother...which made the government happy." Briefly stated, the girl's message, expressed in three consecutive songs, is: I will marry only a person with a high governmental rank. I want my sweetheart to enjoy me inside a palace; my brother is the one with the high governmental rank. Thus, these three successive songs, though seemingly independent, clarify one another, represent an integrated emotional continuum, and express an attitude toward the brother, the overt expression of which is socially unsafe.<sup>30</sup>

The 'minor' deviations from the main narrative course, therefore, represent additions indicative of the emotional component of the narrative which may not always be overtly expressed.

#### V. The Brother's Wife

The brother gets married to a girl who is usually of unspecified social status. This lack of details concerning the wife seems to be a part of the general ambiguity of her identity except for her evil role as the hater of the sister. It may be assumed, however, that the wife comes from a group equal in social rank to that of her husband; in variant 15 the wife is the parallel paternal cousin (bint 'Aam) of the boy and his sister. Another trend is for the brother's wife to be of the lowest social groups; she is a beggar (4, 9), an abandoned child (20, 30), a wandering scaldhead (30; compare with 11).<sup>31</sup> Only in variants 21 and 28 is the wife of upper or elite rank.

From the perspective of the narrators, the marriage of the brother does not alter his identity; he is always perceived as the brother of his sister rather than as the husband of his wife, even in situations where he is interacting with his wife. Only after the sister is removed is he referred to as husband. A vivid expression of this pattern of perception appears in variant 35 from Yemen. The narrator begins her story as follows:

Once there lived a brother and a sister. The brother married, and the wife [Frau] did not like the sister. She thought of how she could get rid of the sister. She continually kept telling the brother that the sister was bad, that he must drive her out of the house. The brother did not, however, want to [even] hear about it. She pretended to be good to the sister and gave her something to eat, as if it were medicine...She seemed as if she were pregnant. Then the wife ran to the brother and said, "See what disgrace your sister has brought upon us! Now we must kill her! Now the brother also saw no way out and agreed!"<sup>32</sup>

The first reference to the brother as husband occurs only after the sister has been buried alive and a palm tree grew out of her grave. Conflict develops between the wife and the palm tree and the wife is humiliated:

She ran to the house and said to the husband [dem Mann], "Tomorrow you go and saw the palm tree off."

The reason for the enmity between the sister and the wife of her brother is sometimes not given; it simply appears as an enactment of the

typical role played by a brother's wife.<sup>33</sup> In some cases the brother anticipates the conflict. In variant 4 for example, the sister asks the brother to marry, but he replies, "No, she [the wife] will give you a hard time;" in variant 20 he states, "No, she will harm you!" In variant 37, a ballad sung by an adult male, it is the sister who advises her brother not to marry because women "are sly and their hearts are cruel." In this case, however, this narrative element seems to represent the viewpoint of the male narrator of women in general, but excluding the sister.

Most variants, however, specify the cause for the development of the hostile relationship between the sister and the brother's wife. One reason is the wife's reaction to her husband's (i.e., the brother of the sister) affection for his sister (16, 17, 18; see also 22, 24, 34.) The narrator-writer of variant 34 elaborates on this factor by stating, "...the wife occupied the place of the sister in the home...the girl withdrew and her psychological condition deteriorated...[thus] she [the sister] received more attention and gifts from the brother."

Variants 14, 16, 17, 18, 20, 21, 37, and 38 point to the sister's beauty as the reason for the hostility of the brother's wife towards the sister. In variants 21, 37 and 38 (all told by male narrators) the wife follows her husband one night during one of his rare visits to his sister in her hermetic seclusion. The wife is stunned by the sister's beauty, which resembles that of the sun, the moon, and the stars (37, 38). She realizes that she is not "fit even to become her [the sister's] servant." Mistakenly, the wife thinks the sister is the mistress of her husband. The theme of jealousy echoes also in variant 20; the sister purchases two sets of eggs, one for pregnancy for her brother's wife, and the other for fattening (a mark of beauty) for herself. In variants 22 (implicit), 23, 24, 26, and 29, enmity develops because of the higher status of the sister and the influence she exerts over her brother or brothers, especially concerning matters which the wife considers as lying within her own domain. Enmity may also develop because of sheer dislike for the sister (2, 12, 35).

Only three variants (15, 28, 33) cite reasons which are not directly related to the sister's relationship with the brother's wife per se.

Vendetta may be a major factor in the development of the wife's hatred for the sister in variants 15 and 28; the brother had killed the wife's seven brothers (15) or father (28). It may be assumed that the wife was only seeking revenge. In variant 33 the sister witnesses the wife's adultery, thus reiterating in her own mind the worthlessness of the wife. Presumably the wife's fear of the sister's eventual testimony motivates her to get rid of the sister.

It is interesting to observe that in variant 7 the mother-in-law of the brother (i.e., the wife's mother) is the one who commits the crime against the sister. Yet, the innocent wife still is killed along with her mother. We may, therefore, conclude that the deviation from the triadic set of relationships through the introduction of the mother-in-law does not alter the basic structure of sentiments expressed in the tale. The wife is hated and must be removed.

The wife's status in her husband's home is always uncertain;<sup>34</sup> this situation may be viewed as another factor which generates the sentiments of hostility between the wife and her in-laws. The wife is not sure of her husband's feelings towards her, especially since the husband-wife relationship is not one based initially on love and affection. This viewpoint is outlined in variant 22; the sister who had just been reunited with her seven brothers (Type 451) stays with them "...dear to them" and became "al-mutaṣarrifah (the administrator)" of the household. She told her brothers of the illness of their father and that they all should go back home:

But it happened that the wives of the brothers were not from the country of the father of their husbands, but from the country where they were living [at the time; i.e., the wives' country]. And they said, "Now, who is she that wants us to leave? We! And make us leave our country. We leave the country of our parents? By God, no!"

The tenuous nature of the wife's relationship with her in-laws is portrayed in variant 37 where the brother, after the death of his parents, servants, and a neighbor woman who cooked and cleaned for him, seeks a wife to perform these chores. The sister, reacting sarcastically to her

brother's attachment to his wife and to his consequent neglect of her, says:

Go, loved one (ya habeebi), enjoy your comrades (or bosom friends, khillan), forget your loved ones ('ahbabak), but don't forget your comrades. There is no longer a place for me in your heart nor [a share in] your affection.

The preceding segment of the narrative in all thirty-nine variants outlines the attitudinal structure of the brother-sister-"brother's wife" kinship triad. The balanced dyadic situation wherein the sister is the main character in her brother's life and wherein positive relations exist between the two, is disrupted by the introduction of the brother's wife. The brother's love for his sister is challenged by the wife. The two females compete for the attention of the same man; this dissociative process results in a highly unbalanced triadic system of relationships.

To restore a state of balance to that system, action follows; action that will seek to remove the source of the imbalance. The triad may be balanced through the development of positive relations among all three parties, but this possibility never arises. Balance may also be achieved through the removal of either the sister or the wife; which one of the two will be eliminated depends on the narrator's point of view and sentiments. As will be demonstrated later, none of the thirty-nine narrators sides with the wife. Consequently, the tale never moves in the direction of removing the sister.<sup>35</sup>

As perceived by the narrators, it is always the wife of the brother (or wives of the brothers) who act maliciously to remove the sister from the scene. The sister, by contrast, is never viewed as evil, and thus never attempts to get rid of the wife. In a few variants (7, 11, 14) in which the brother's wife is not directly involved, another female relative commits the main treacherous act; in variant 7 it is the brother's mother-in-law, while in variants 11 and 14 (compare with 27) the stepmother performs the vile act against the sister. In variant 31 it is an "old woman" who just happens to be passing by.

At this point, where action against the sister is about to be initiated, the narrative branches out into three major subtypes, with four sub-branches included in subtype I. The means by which the sister is

slandered shape the contents of the remainder of a variant.

## VI. The Subtypes

### Subtype I: Pregnancy of the Sister

Twenty-one renditions of the tale include the motif of the sister's pregnancy: 0, 2, 7, 8, 9, 10, 15, 16, 17, 18, 20, 22, 23, 24, 25, 26, 27, 29, 31, 33, and 35, also see variant 4. This subtype falls into four sub-branches.

#### Subtype I.a: Pregnancy through bird's eggs

The brother's wife (or wives) tricks the sister into swallowing eggs (0, 20, 27, see also 35 in which the sister herself is transformed into an egg, an element which suggests previous connection with the main narrative). Most variants specify the type of eggs; they are generally those of a bird associated with love and erotic activities. The birds recognized as fitting within this framework are: pigeons (2, compare with 10), "yamam," a small variety of wild pigeons (16, 17), sparrows (15), or those of a local variety of wild birds, "aumbār," quail (7), "ḥamra," i.e., red (fem.) bird (33); in variant 10 the heroine is fed eggplant, yet she produces two pigeons. Variant 15 combines this theme of magic pregnancy with that of the sister's marriage to her rescuer and subsequent bearing of "children."

#### Subtype I.b: Pregnancy through snake's eggs

A special branch based on the motif of pregnancy caused by swallowing eggs is associated with the snake, an erotic symbol. Swallowing snake eggs appears in five variants (22, 23, 24, 25, 26); in variant 29 the heroine swallows a snake along with water. All of these variants except 29 come from North Africa. In variant 24 the eggs of a snake and that of a hen are cooked into an omelet.

The symbolic significance of the snake echoes in a number of other variants. In variant 1 (and presumably 9) it is a bone of garmoot (catfish), an animal which is usually equated with the snake and which has both explicit erotic and magical connotations.

Subtype I.c: Maternal uncle and sister's daughter

Three variants (7, 8, 31) represent another branch of this subtype. In this group the sister is supernaturally impregnated and delivers a baby girl. The main line of action involves a triad composed of a niece (the sister's daughter), her maternal uncle, and his wife. The sister, that is, the niece's mother, is either dead and her corpse is kept within the household (7, 31) or she is only imprisoned (8). The characteristics of this subtype do not appear until a later stage when the tale deals with the sister's offspring (see sections X and XI).

Subtype I.d: The seemingly dead sister

Three variants from Egypt, narrated by an adult female (1) and two adolescent males (4, 9), include elements of Type 410, Sleeping Beauty. Motif D1364.2, "Sleep-Thorn," which sets off the sister's adventures away from her brother's home, is particularly evident here. The sister is fed a thorn; she chokes and seems dead. The brother himself washes the body of the dead sister for burial (4, 9)--an unthinkable act in actual life. It is significant to observe here that both narrators were males in the early stages of puberty, a critical time in the development of the brother-sister relationship. The brother places her on a camel's back (1, 4, 9) with oral instructions to the camel not to carry her except to "good people" (1), to stop only when ordered to go (4), or along with a load of gold and written instructions pinned to the camel's forehead (9). The reason for not burying the seemingly dead sister is not given. Thus the cruel act of casting the sister away is substituted by the compassionate act of refusing to bury her.

In all three variants (1, 4, 9) the sister is rescued and the rescuer marries her. None of the three variants includes the motif of the sister's pregnancy prior to her marriage; the brother simply thinks his sister is dead. Variant 4, however, seems to deviate from this trend at least implicitly. Though no accusation of pregnancy is levied against the sister, later on in the tale she gives birth to pigeons which subsequently go to harass the maternal uncle's wife. The inclusions of the birth of the pigeons in variant 4 seems to indicate the narrator's exposure to the subtype of the tale which is represented by our main text (0). The sleeping beauty motif may have been introduced by the adolescent narrator to avoid mentioning the sister's illicit pregnancy (see also variant 11); as will be demonstrated, adult male narrators eschew this theme. Evidently, the "Sleep-Thorn" motif is a local variation of subtype I.a and is restricted to Egypt.

A similar mechanism seems to be involved in variant 15, narrated by a male youngster. This abridged text states that the sister is magically impregnated. She delivers two sparrows. The birds reunite her with her brother, but the brother's wife is not disposed of. The wife complains about the sister and her offspring. The brother kicks them out. She marries a prince and begets two daughters. A more stable reunion between the sister and her brother follows.

#### Further Remarks on the Systemic Qualities of Subtype I

Pregnancy may also be ascribed to other objects, such as: donkey urine (18), the smell of narcissus (31), an eggplant (10), or a "faşş" (a precious stone or the section of a citrus fruit) which--in variant 8--is thrown by the king's son into the mouth of the unsuspecting heroine (i.e., the sister).

Eggs, snakes, catfish, eggplant, and donkey, all have erotic significance in local cultures; they appear frequently in explicit sexual contexts in other categories of lore. Here, cognitions about eggs and snakes are related to pregnancy and sex in general. In other folk literary expressions, the fragility of the egg is often equated with the vulnerability of a maiden, and the cracking of the egg shell with the loss of virginity. In another tale narrated by the same informant of variant 22, the egg also appears in this symbolic role of representing the chastity and fragility of a young, virgin woman.<sup>36</sup>

In the majority of cases, the heroine is deliberately caused to become magically pregnant. The brother is never involved in this act. In the North African variants, the sister is deceived by the wives of her brothers into swallowing the eggs. In one account (22), she is provoked by their challenge, "She whose brothers are dear to her should swallow these eggs!" The sister swallows them readily. In variant 25 it is the sister who suggests the exchange of her partridge eggs for the snake eggs which the wife of her brother has. In turn, she swallows the snake eggs wilfully (compare with variant 20 where the sister buys "eggs for pregnancy" and "eggs for fattening").



Pregnancy in variants 8 and 31 were purely accidental. As has already been pointed out, variants 7, 8, and 31 form an independent branch (c) within subtype I.

The distribution of the variants which contain the theme of the heroine's illicit pregnancy is not limited to any geographic area; however, it seems to be largely confined to female narrators. A total of twenty-one variants involve the illicit pregnancy of the heroine; variant 27, narrated by an adult male, involves the heroine in her role as a daughter, not a sister. Of the remaining twenty variants, twelve were told by females, four by adolescent males up to fourteen years of age (4, 9, 15, 26), two by unspecified narrators (25, 33) while only two variants (7, 29) were told by adult males; variant 24 was also narrated by a male but his age was not specified.

Variants 27 and 29, as will be demonstrated in the ensuing analysis, deviate widely from the dominant pattern. Variant 27 may be considered either a totally transformed rendition of Type 872\* or an extremely "poor" rendition of Type 480 (which in local Arab culture is also a feministic theme revolving around the rivalry between two stepsisters and climaxing into conflict over marriage to the same man); it also reflects some influence from Type 676, Open Sesame, which normally depicts the rivalry of two brothers over economic and prestige matters. Similarly, variant 29 develops equally peculiar associations with themes uncommon to Type 872\* such as rescuing the sister from supernatural adversaries and acquiring a supernatural wife. Both narratives were told by adult male informants to adult male European collectors;<sup>37</sup> this is also true of variant 24, however the age of its male narrator was not given, nor any other personal data beyond his name. It, therefore, may be concluded that adult males usually avoid the theme of the sister's pregnancy. That this is so is further substantiated by variant 7 which includes a seemingly insignificant "error" that warranted no comment from the collector and editor, Wilhelm Spitta (probably because he did not even perceive the narrator's "error").<sup>38</sup> In the Arabic transliterated text of the tale, the narrator states that the brother's mother-in-law gave the magic eggs to "bint 'ukht ibn el-malik," that is, "The daughter [not even born yet] of the sister of the king's son," and consequently not to the sister (as is usually the case).

This "error" is totally congruent with the general tendency for adult male narrators to eschew the theme of illicit pregnancy of the sister. Among adults the ratio of female to male narrators of this salient trait of the narrative is 12:3. If we include within the female group the non-adult males -- who have not yet developed strong observance for the strict rules of social distance among sex groups<sup>39</sup> and who are still close to female circles -- the ratio jumps to 16:3. Furthermore, if we consider the "error" in variant 7 to be emotionally binding (especially since Spitta's informant specified that he had learned all his tales from women relatives), the female-male ratio would then climb further to 17:2.

### Traditions in Transition

Additional pieces of evidence reinforce the view that subtype I, especially Ia, is a feministic specialty. The narrator of text 0 told Type 872\* to her niece frequently, but she was literally coerced into telling it to an adult male (myself); however, she readily told me other tales. Also, Ammar points out that he could not find any females who knew the tale.<sup>40</sup> Considering that this narrative is definitely recurrent in the Aswan province area, we should conclude that at least some of Ammar's female informants knew the tale, but refused to admit this fact. As pointed out earlier, in résumés nos. 19 and 20, female informants in one community told the tale readily to a female collector, however they did not tell the tale to any of the male collectors. Also, the male informants in the same community did not tell the tale to any collectors, male or female. This is also the case in the narration of variant number 18; the Sudanese informant refused to tell me the tale, but she willingly told it to a female collector.

A number of texts told by young males (variants 4, 12, and 15) seem to bear evidence to the transition from typical feministic themes to characteristic male themes. A male member of a community must go through this transition to become a "man", and join adult male circles. It is essentially a process of resocialization.

Variant 4, which is classified as a branch (I.d) of this subtype,

may provide an insight into the defensive mechanisms which inhibit a male's expression of the anxiety-fraught theme of the sister's illicit pregnancy. In this variant the wife accuses the sister of being pregnant and the brother dismisses the accusation by saying, "My sister is honorable." The wife puts the sister into magic sleep. Later the sister marries and begets two human sons, yet pigeons (the product of magic impregnation) still appear and assault the wife calling her "Maternal uncle's wife." The assumption here is either that the narrator had learned the tale originally in its 0 form, and as he went through age-group personality changes, he integrated new elements (sister's marriage and offspring) into his narrative, or that he fused two independent subtypes and retained portions which, for him, were cognitively salient. It therefore may be concluded that the introduction of the magic sleep motif was successfully utilized to avoid the sister's illegitimate impregnation. Nonetheless, the original theme where the pigeons are actually the maternal nephews of the hero (brother) still appears, not because of its instrumentality in revealing the truth which is achieved by other means, but because of its cognitive or emotional salience as a residual from the narrative originally heard in its 0 form. The pigeon's episode is, therefore, illogical but it is emotionally meaningful.

Similarly, the narrator of variant 12 (subtype II), a nineteen year old male, abandons the initial feministic theme of "sister's protection of brother" in the 0 form and adopts themes based on Types 706, The Maiden Without Hands, and 881, Oft Proved Fidelity (which sometimes appears merged with Type 883A, The Innocent Slandered Maiden). Here, it may be argued that since the narrator of variant 12 is an only child (with no sister), his avoidance of the sister's impregnation theme essentially represents a cultural cognitive value rather than a psychological sentiment based on personal experience within his own family. This argument is further substantiated, as will be demonstrated, by the fact that in his story the brother's wife is dropped out of the action after she had committed the treacherous act against the sister. A male seducer is substituted as the real villain; it is he, not the brother's wife, who is punished at the end. Like variant 4, this narrative demonstrates the transformation of feministic themes into adult male themes as the male child acquires adult-

male roles and personality traits. This viewpoint is further substantiated by the fact that the narrator stated that he had learned the tale from an adult female. When I presented the outline of text 0 to him, he stated, ". . . Probably I heard it first in the way you are telling it now."

In variant 15 the narrator combined two separate subtypes: the feministic Ia and II. The decisive episode which accomplishes the reunion between the brother and his sister is not associated with subtype I. (It would be interesting to follow the development of this tale as the informant matured.)

#### Subtype II: The mutilated heroine

A group of variants (3, 5, 12, 19, 21, 30, 32, 36, 37, 38, compare 15) shows strong connections with salient themes from Type 706 The Maiden Without Hands and related tale types (712, Crescentia, and 881, Oft Proved Fidelity). In nine variants (all except 3), a son is born to the brother and his wife. The wife murders her own son and accuses the sister of the crime. Narrative 36 was given as an actual occurrence in which the wife and her mother are witches; they slaughter the son and eat his flesh along with other witches.

The wife's crime is sometimes amplified when she murders not only one son but three (12, 13) or seven (19). In these cases the wife murders her own children consecutively, each time accusing the sister. The brother, however, still forgives his own sister for her alleged act. This motif also appears in variant 4 but without narrative (typological) consequences. The punishment that the sister receives may take various forms. In several variants (12, 19, 21, 30, 37, 38), the brother personally severs the hands and legs of his sister; in variant 30 he does so at the suggestion of the sheik (priest). In variant 32 the brother pierces her eyes; in variant 5 he asks a servant to kill his sister (but the servant lets her go), while in narrative 36 the brother tries to kill his sister with a sword but is incapable of doing so.

Variants 5 and 19, narrated by adult females, revert to the main course of action of the 0 form, characteristic of subtype I. Narrative 36, a local legend, maintains its independent course, while variants 21, 30, 32, 37 and

38, the sister is aided by a poor but honorable farmer; his withering garden blossoms and the curious king comes to inquire about the cause. The king marries the sister and she bears him children, but through the treachery of her brother's wife she is cast out anew.

As pointed out earlier, in variant 12, narrated by a 19 year old male, the brother's wife is dropped out of the action and the husband's vizier assumes the villainous role, a characteristic of Type 881, Oft Proved Fidelity. It is significant to observe here that in contrast to the male narration of variant 12, variants 5 and 19 which are narrated by females revert back to subtype I, particularly with regard to the role of the sister's children. This can be seen as substantiating the evidence for the feministic nature of the 0 form.

In variant 3 it is the brother's wife who herself tortures the sister and casts her out while in variant 11 it is the stepmother who casts both the brother and sister out of their father's house. Both the brother's wife and the father's wife are regarded as intruders on the normal familial setting. This is particularly evident in those variants (2, 7, 18, 20) in which the heroine tells the birds [often begotten by her] to go to their "maternal uncle's" house and harass his wife. When the wife tries to drive them away they reply in rhyme that the goods and the house belong to their own maternal uncle (0, 2, 16, 17, 18, compare 15), or that these goods belong to the heroine (4) and wonder, "How can a stranger drive us away!" This is also the case in variant 11 where the villain is the stepmother. That the brother's wife and the father's wife are viewed as intruders is further demonstrated by the disruptive role they play in the tale; thus the substitution of one for the other does not alter the basic types of sentiments expressed in the story.

### Subtype III: Mere Slander

A small group of variants (6, 13, 28, 32, 34) have the wife accuse the sister only of having an illicit affair. After the brother's marriage, the sister, in her loneliness, talks to the moon (6, 13, 32). The brother's wife overhears her talk and reports to the brother (her husband) that his sister has a lover who visited her. In variant 28 the wife simply "lied" to her husband about his sister. In variant 34 the wife dresses like a man and

visits the sister in her room upstairs where she, the wife, can be seen by the prayer crier; he later corroborates the wife's accusation against the sister. Four of the five variants in this group were narrated by adult males; only variant 13 was told by a seventy year old female. Two variants (28, 29) narrated by the same male informant may provide us with further evidence concerning the division of subtypes along sex lines. Variant 28 belongs to subtype III, which is told mainly by males. It is well told and completely integrated. By contrast, variant 29 belongs to subtype I.b, which is told mainly by females and includes the theme of the impregnation of the sister; it is poorly rendered and contains numerous individualistic elements. Among these uncommon elements is the marriage of the brother to the daughter of the King of the Jinn.

#### VI. Testing the Wife's Claim

It is always the wife, in congruence with the villainous role ascribed to her, who informs the brother (her own husband) of the sister's condition. In variants where the sister has more than one brother, it is usually the wife of the eldest who informs him. Another unintentional "error"<sup>41</sup> appears in variant 20. The wife says to her husband, "...put your head on her stomach and see [i.e., listen to] your children playing in [her] tummy." Thus, whereas the male narrator avoids the theme of the sister's impregnation this female narrator has the wife indirectly implicate the brother in his sister's pregnancy.

Testing the wife's claim always involves the physical closeness of the brother and sister (in variant 27 between father and daughter). This closeness is described as the brother laying his head down in his sister's lap (8, 16, 17, 22, 24, 25), or more specifically in the gap between her knees (23), or as the sister cleaning her brother's head (20, 24, 26, 27). In variants 16 and 17 from Nubia, the brother combs his sister's hair in the yard<sup>42</sup> of the house but she can bear neither the sun nor the shade, which is a sign of pregnancy in local beliefs (also in variant 27).

Sometimes the brother asks his sister to pour water for him, for ablutions prior to his performing the prayers (0, 2, 10). In variant 28 the brother asks his sister, "Is it true that someone seduced you?" She answers,

"No, my brother, look, I am unmolested [just] like sweet milk." The implication here, as in variants 1 and 4 where the brother washes the corpse of his seemingly dead sister for burial, is the exposure of the sister's body to her brother.

In contrast to the physical closeness between the brother and his sister in the aforementioned sixteen variants, only four variants do not include this element explicitly, a ratio of 4:1. In variants 30, 32, and 34, other people are involved in the confirmation, or denial (32), of the wife's claim, while in variant 13 the brother eavesdrops on his sister. In six other variants (5, 14, 28, 29, 33, and 35), the entire event of the verification of the wife's claim is lacking and therefore no verification is sought.

#### VII. Punishment of the Sister

The punishment of the sister assumes various forms. In all cases, the brother is directly responsible for the punitive measure. Only in variant 3 does the brother's wife perform this act, while in variant 35 she assists the brother in burying his sister alive. The brother takes his sister to the wilderness to kill her, but decides to let her live (0, 2, 24; compare 36). In variants 22 and 26, the youngest brother, who is the closest to the sister in age,<sup>43</sup> receives the order to kill her from the oldest brother who, in the absence of the father, is a paternal figure.

In variants 5, 10, 16, 17, and 18, the compassionate executioner who lets the sister go is a servant. The brother also casts his sister out or leads her astray in the wilderness (15, 20, 23, 25, 28, 29, 33, also 27 where it is the father). In variants 14 and 34, the sister runs away; whereas in other variants mostly belonging to subtype II (12, 19, 21, 30, 32, 37, and 38) the sister is mutilated and cast out. In this context, where the brother is unusually cruel, only variant 19 was narrated by a female (see also variant 30, given by a female collector); as pointed out earlier, this course of action lacks the theme of the sister's pregnancy. It therefore may be inferred that most women do not view a brother as capable of inflicting cruel punishment on the sister, especially when she has not committed a major "crime" (i.e., illicit pregnancy or murder).

In two variants (6 and 13, see also 35) the brother actually kills his sister, as is customary according to the honor code in ideal Arab culture. In subtype I.c, the sister dies of grief (7), or shame (31), or is imprisoned (8). In subtype I.d, (1, 4, 9), the sister is put to magic sleep by her brother's wife; thus no punishment is administered on the part of the brother.

This segment dealing with the suffering of the sister functions to set conditions for the brother-sister reunion under socially acceptable terms. The death of the sister is actual and permanent in two variants (6, 13); thus reunion is impossible (see also variant 35 discussed below). In variants 7 and 31 of subtype I.c, the body of the sister is kept within the house in a crystal casket (31), while in variant 8, which belongs to the same subtype, the sister is alive but kept in isolation. Separation between the brother and sister in subtype I.c is, therefore, symbolic rather than actual. In variant 35 the sister was actually murdered; to allow for the reunion, the narrator, an adult female, introduced the atypical theme of the incarnation of the murdered sister.

In variant 1 the sister is merely choked by a fishbone; she is alert and able to converse with her brother and point to her throat. Nonetheless, the brother still sets her "corpse" on a camel's back and sends her away (compare with variants 4 and 9). This seemingly illogical act is an emotional necessity for the main objective of achieving the reunion under socially acceptable conditions.

#### VIII. The Fate of the Sister

The fate of the sister after her punishment is treated in thirty-six variants of the tale (in variants 6 and 13 the sister is actually murdered, while variant 27 deals with father and daughter). Two major branches of the narrative develop here. First, the sister remains unmarried until she is reunited with her brother (0, 2, 8, 16, 17, 18, 20, 29, 32, 33, 35, 36; compare 27); in variants 7 and 31 (subtype I.c; see also 8) the body of the dead sister is kept within the brother's household. The male narrator of variant 29 introduces a unique episode. The sister is rescued by a prince; the snake



was extracted from her stomach but an 'Afreet kidnaps her and imprisons her in a castle until she is rescued by her brother. Second, the sister is rescued and marries her rescuer (1, 3, 4, 5, 9, 10, 12, 14, 15, 19, 21, 22, 23, 24, 25, 26, 27, 30, 34, 37, 38; see also variant 11 where the brother kills a dragon, marries the king's daughter while the king's son marries the sister). In some variants of subtype II (12, 21, 30, 37, and 38), the sister is rescued by a poor farmer, but the king marries her for her blessedness and beauty in spite of her physical handicaps.

Sometimes the sister receives help from a supernatural source: a magic ring (3, 19),<sup>44</sup> angels (7, 18), the Jinn (0), or in subtype II (variants 21, 30, 37, and 38) from the Prophet [Mohammad], or the Prophet's pigeons (30). In variant 12 her hands are restored miraculously as she tries to save her drowning children. Variant 10 acquires a motif from Type 409A, The Girl as Goat (Jackdaw) where the heroine wears a bitch's skin (she chooses to eat the bread offered to her by the vizier's son rather than that of the king's son).

In a few variants, in addition to the "guilt feelings,"<sup>45</sup> the brother also suffers an ill fate which corresponds to that of his sister.<sup>46</sup> His milk animals run dry (1, 4, 9); he loses his wealth (5, 35); or he is stricken with blindness (31; figuratively in 16 and 17). In one legend (5; see also 33), he is also disgraced by his wife's adultery.

The marriage of the sister does not usually terminate her troubles. The heroine's husband (that is, the sister's husband) plays a minor role in most cases, especially in feministic subtypes. As is the case with the "brother's wife," the "sister's husband" is usually presented in a hazy form which, in most cases, corresponds to his minor role in bringing about the brother's reunion with the sister. The sister marries a young boy (9), the son of a vizier (10), the son of a king (11, while the brother marries the sister of his sister's husband), a king (4, 12, 19, 21, 28, 30, 37), the caliph (38), a rich knight (23), the son of a well-to-do man (14), a neighbor (34), a licensed "health barber"<sup>47</sup> (1), a poor grass gatherer (22), a fisherman (25), or a man whose social rank is not specified (5, 24, 25, 26).

Thus, unlike the brother's wife, the general tendency is for the sister's husband to be a worthwhile person. In variant 29 (which, as pointed out earlier, is of a highly individualistic nature), an ogre kidnaps the sister from the palace of her royal rescuer and imprisons her. She is rescued later by her brother (see 25 where the sister sees a light in the wilderness and hopes to find an ogre who might devour her, instead she finds a man who marries her).<sup>48</sup> The theme of a sister abducted by an ogre then rescued by her brother is quite common in the folk literature of the area.

It is interesting to observe that the sister's marriage to a patriarchal figure (i.e., king) occurs most often in the tales told by adult males (12, 32, 37, 38; see also variant 30 where no information about the source of the tale is given). This trait is associated more with subtype II (Type 712, Cresentia). Only variant 19 is told by an adult female while in variant 4, submitted in writing, the adolescent male narrator begins with "king's son," but later the word "son" is deleted and only "king" is used. As will be demonstrated the identity of the husband in subtype I (exemplified in variants 9 and 14) reflects similarities between him and the brother.<sup>49</sup>

The sister's husband does not play any active role in bringing about the reunion between the sister, (that is, his wife) and her brother. In variant 23, for example, when the child insisted on finding his maternal uncle, the child's father "looked at him and did not utter a word." Only in subtype II (variants 12, 21, 30, 37, 38) does the husband play an indirect role in bringing about the brother-sister reunion when he investigates the eviction and disappearance of his wife during his absence when, in spite of his orders, she was cast away.

#### IX. Relationship between Sister's Husband and Brother

The relationship between the brother and his sister's husband is mostly neutral and sometimes potentially negative. Only one account (28) assigns positive feelings between the sister's husband and the sister's brother: upon learning the whereabouts of his sister, the brother seeks the husband and asks him whether his wife (i.e., the sister) was a virgin. The husband replies positively and asks, "Why?" When he learns the identity of the

questioner, he takes him to her. The brother and sister "...saw each other and cried, and after this they kissed each other and Ose [the brother] said, 'Never mind, as if you have come to your own home....'" The husband then presented him with a mare<sup>50</sup> with a gold and silver saddle and with princely clothing.

In variant 38, after the truth has been learned, the Caliph, who is the sister's husband, assigns the brother the task of punishing his wife. The Caliph resolved that, "If he [the brother] doesn't kill his wife, he [will have proven to be] a pimp; then I'll kill the two of them." After the brother has killed his wife, his sister's husband confers upon him the rank of "a prince in his court," while in variant 37 he employs the brother as ma'mour (sheriff, lit., the one who receives orders to carry them out), both ranks being those of subordinates. More often, however, the husband is dropped out of the action (1, 2, 3, 14, 23, 24); this deletion act allows for a more inclusive brother-sister reunion.

The most explicit expression of this negative type of relationship between a brother and his sister's husband appears in variant 15; the events involve two sets of parallel paternal cousins: the heroine and her brother on the one hand, and the female parallel paternal cousin and her seven brothers, on the other hand. First, the seven brothers kidnap the heroine and tie her brother (their own cousin) to the back of a tigress. Although this early event does not involve a sister's husband or her brother per se, it does involve a potential sister's husband (that is, one of the seven brothers). The act of the seven brothers seems illogical; in view of the strong social mores which give a paternal parallel cousin the indisputable right to "take" (that is, marry) the daughter of his father's brother. Their act, therefore, negates their right to take away in marriage the sister of the hero. When the brother is released, he kills his seven cousins and is about to kill their sister, but his own sister prevents him from doing so and tells him that she [the cousin] will be his wife, thus setting the stage for the elimination of her female cousin in the role as the brother's wife. The elimination has to be accomplished under socially acceptable conditions. The possible separation between the brother and sister through their

respective marriages to their cousins is nullified by the villainous acts committed by the cousins, first against the brother, and later, against the sister. These acts have, therefore, contributed to a stable reunion between the brother and his sister under socially acceptable conditions. Had the action in this rendition proceeded logically according to the guidelines provided by ideal culture, full reunion between brother and sister would not have been achieved. The brother would have enforced his right to marry his father's brother's daughter; meanwhile the sister would have been claimed by one of her seven cousins for a wife. The sister would have moved out of her brother's home to join her husband.

In variant 23 the child, at his mother's instigation, asks his father to let him and his mother go see his [maternal] uncle. The father replies in a taunting manner: "...you have no uncle. I found your mother in the woods." The child persists and his mother, evidently for the first time, informs her husband, "It has been eight years that I've not learned anything about my brother," and implores, "Let us go and God will be good to you for it." Significantly stated by the native writer-narrator, the reply comes from "the father," in his role as such rather than in his role as the husband of the wife; "the father looked at her and did not utter a word."<sup>51</sup> This ambivalent attitude of the father of the boy toward the boy's maternal uncle, who is also the wife's brother, certainly has its reasons which are readily perceived by the native listener.

#### X. The Sister's Offspring and the Sister's Relationship with Her Husband

The sister, usually as a result of magic impregnation, gives birth to birds<sup>52</sup> (0, 2, 4, 5, 10, 15, 16, 17, 18, 33; see also 11). As pointed out earlier there is no magic pregnancy in variant 4, yet the birds episode appears, while in variant 11, birds also appear but only as pets that the heroine has raised. The sister also gives birth to [male] snakes<sup>53</sup> (subtype I.b; variants 22, 23, 24, 25, 26, 29). Female humans are also born as a result of magic impregnation (subtype I.c; 7, 8, 31). In subtype I.c the remainder of the tale deals with a triad composed of the "bint ukht" (sister's daughter), her "khal" (maternal uncle), and the maternal uncle's wife.

In variant 27 (told by an adult male narrator, cf. Type 480), the heroine gives birth to a boy who unlike his counterparts in all other variants, does not play any role in reuniting the heroine with her father (i.e., his own maternal grandfather). By contrast, the nephew-maternal uncle relationship is both dominant and affectionate. This finding asserts the individualistic deviant nature of this male rendition (27) of a feministic theme.

Special care is always given to implicitly preserve the heroine's virginity in spite of the pregnancy and the delivery: birds usually are born through the nostrils after sneezing (variants 0, 6, 17, 18), or through the mouth (20). In all variants where snakes are involved (subtype I.b), the rescuer feeds the heroine much salted meat. She is then hung by her feet over a pot of water or milk (29); the thirsty snakes come out of her mouth to drink (22, 23, 24, 25, 26, 29). In variants 7, where angels deliver the child, and 10, delivery occurs through a caesarean, while in variant 2 the female narrator simply states that the birds "came out." Only in variants 15 and 31 is normal birth implied; the editor and translator of variant 15 used the idiom "bringing forth" to refer to the delivery (in variant 8 of subtype I.c, where the heroine delivers a girl, normal birth may be inferred).

The adult female narrator of variant 20 presented this theme in a stressful and commanding tone of voice: "The heroine instructed the birds, "Whence you entered, you must come out." Evidently this careful preservation of the heroine's virginity is the counterpart to adult male narrators' avoidance of the sister's pregnancy theme; the presence of this theme in most variants (eleven out of fourteen) may be viewed as a lesser manifestation of that avoidance.

While magic pregnancy produces birds, male snakes or female children, the actual marriage of the heroine produces male children. Only variant 15, where two daughters are born to a normal marriage, deviates from this pattern. The boys are always instrumental in bringing about the reunion of

the sister and her brother (that is, their mother and maternal uncle); a role which contrasts sharply with that of the sister's husband, who never seeks his wife's brother. The heroine bears her husband one (22, 23), two (4, 12, 14, 15, 21, 26, 37; 38 a boy and a girl), three (9, 19, 20), or simply "several" children. Only one variant (23) names the nephew as Vouïedhmim, or Hawthorn, a name which refers to a wild plant. We may infer from this name that it signifies his lack of recognized maternal ancestry,<sup>54</sup> and consequently reveals his low social position in the community.

In her husband's home, in spite of her new role as a mother and wife, the sister still yearns for her brother, a trait with deep emotional roots and structural consequences for the narrative. In variant 23 Amrouche, a narrator-collector, elaborates on the condition of the sister in her husband's home; thus she writes:

...but she, amidst much wealth, she in spite of plenty of love, did not forget her brother because beside him she has left her heart.

It is evident from the foregoing passage that the sister did not reciprocate her husband's love; or at least, the husband's love was not enough for the sister. The same sentiment towards the brother appears in variant 16, also given by a native narrator-collector. In this variant the sister does not marry; she realizes that her brother followed the two birds and arrived at her palace:

...her face lit up....She wished that she would hurry to her "full brother" so that she could throw herself in his arms....

Whether openly expressed or simply implied, the need for the sister to be reunited with her brother constitutes a motivating force which determines the ensuing components of the tale. As pointed out earlier, it is the type and the degree of potency of motivation which controls the development of events and is responsible for their organization into a structurally distinct and transmissible form (i.e., a tale). The meaning of this form is largely an affective experience rather than a logical conceptualization perceived only on the cognitive-logical level.

The sister may also seek her brother on her own (2), or accompanied by her husband (1, 4), or with only her children (22, 24, 25), or with both her husband and her children (9). In variant 14 the heroine's father and one brother search for her; the other three brothers are dropped out of action. The father and the brother are met by the children who guide them to their house as their own guests (see 14 and 27 where the father is reunited with his daughter).

In subtype I.c, where a daughter is born, the niece tells her khal the truth about her mother (his sister) while working as a slave girl for the khal's wife (7, 8) or after a servant girl at the khal's house finds a lock of hair and when she pulls it, the niece is released from her burial (31). In variants 5, 12, 28, and 29, it is the brother who seeks his sister, or they meet accidentally (3, 5, 15--second reunion). In variant 12 both the brother and the husband independently search for the heroine. In variant 35 the brother falls in love with his sister not knowing her identity, and they are about to be married.

In subtype II, which is narrated mainly by adult males, children are born to the sister and her husband (all except 5, 32, and 36 where the sister does not marry) but they do not play a role in realizing the brother-sister reunion (12, 21, 37, 38; also compare variant 30 where no information about the narrator is given). In text 3, narrated by a fifty year old male, the sister marries but no children of hers are mentioned (compare with number 19, narrated by an adult female, where the nephews ask "Where is our Khāl?"). This adult male's attitude toward the nephews stands in sharp contrast with that expressed in the female-bound narratives in which the sister's children seek their maternal uncle. The difference may be the product of the view an adult female has of her own male children's relationship with her own brother; this female's view differs from that of an adult male's towards the children of his sister who carry their own father's name.

As a result of the injustices dealt to the sister, the brother also suffers various ordeals: he is impoverished (5, 35), stricken with blindness and his wife with elephantiasis<sup>55</sup> (32), or his cattle's milk runs dry (1, 9), which is usually viewed by Moslem philosophers and theologians as signifying

a disorder in the natural order of the universe.<sup>56</sup> In variant 9, for example, the sister, her husband, and their children set out to find the brother. She learns that the milk of her brother's cattle has run dry (see also variant 1):

...after that she went down the road. She saw her brother, Clever Mohammad. She said, "You are my brother and I am your sister." He said to her, "My sister! She is gone and I have lost her forever. From where [i.e., how] will my sister return? Now my sister is decayed, earth has worn her out and perhaps people are treading over her grave [right] now, without anyone knowing it."

The brother also expresses remorseful, nostalgic lamentations over the loss of his sister. In variant 16 the native narrator-collector expresses the event of the cattle's milk running dry figuratively; the brother's fate is lamented:

Since her [i.e., the sister's] departure the spring of affection in his home has run dry; he had no more confidence in those who surround him. All these disasters fell on him because of that damned one, his wife.

#### XI. Reunion

Reunion between brother and sister is relevant to all variants except 6, 13 and 27. The first two are reported as true occurrences where the sister is actually murdered;<sup>57</sup> whereas in the third (variant 27), a father-daughter relationship dominates.

Of the remaining thirty-six renditions only two (11, 34) deviate slightly from the dominant pattern. In variant 11 the final reunion is between the heroine and her father; however, union between the brother and his sister has already been accomplished through their respective marriages to a royal brother and sister (see sections VIII and XIII).

In variant 34, however, the sister escapes her brother's home and takes refuge at a neighbor's; the neighbor marries her and "treats her not as a wife...." Understandably, she still lives close to her brother. Thus in both "deviant" renditions the reunion is still a basic theme and is implicitly accomplished, but in a less inclusive manner. In subtype I.c (7, 8, 31), the body of the dead sister is buried within the brother's



household; action in this branch of the tale type concentrates on the niece and her mother's brother, rather than on the brother and sister. The ratio between the occurrence of the reunion between brother and sister on one hand and its failure to materialize on the other is 33:0. If we assume that subtype I.c expresses a "union" of some sort, the ratio would be 36:0.

When they meet, the brother does not recognize his sister in a total of twenty-two variants (0, 1, 3, 4, 9, 10, 12, 14, 15, 16, 17, 18, 19, 22, 23, 24, 25, 26, 30, 32, 34 implicit, 35). The failure to recognize the sister occurs as mere inability, or, less often, as a result of the disguise of the sister (0, 10, 14, 16, 17, 18). In four variants (21, 36, 37, 38), it is the husband who cannot recognize his mutilated wife. With the exclusion of the ten variants where the incident is irrelevant (5, 6, 7, 8, 11, 13, 27, 29, 31, 34), only four variants do not include the brother's inability to recognize the sister (2, 20, 28, 33). The ratio of the presence to the absence of this episode in the context of the brother-sister reunion is 22:4.

In subtype I.c (7, 8, 31), the daughter of the sister narrates her mother's story to a candlestick (7, 31), or a silver washbasin and a ruby jug (8)<sup>58</sup> in the presence of her maternal uncle. Golden coins fall into her uncle's lap, attesting to the truthfulness of her story, sometimes coupled with a statement from these objects confirming the niece's truthfulness and reiterating her kinship position to her maternal uncle (8, 31).

#### The Achievement of the Reunion Between the Brother and His Sister: A Prologue

Reunion is brought about when the birds fly to their khal's (maternal uncle) house and harass his wife by reciting a verse wishing her death and declaring their right to their khal's (or mother's) property (0, 4, 10, 15--first reunion, 16, 17, 18, 20, 33; also compare with 11). Reunion may also occur when the children demand to see their khal (9, 19, 23, 24, 26) as a result of other children's taunts, which accuse them of having no khal (9); it also takes place when, at the mother's instigation (23, 24), the son tells his father, "All little boys of the world have [maternal] uncles whom they go see except me; I want someone to take me to my uncle Ali" (23); or "...papa, there is no tree without roots" (24). This affectionate relation-

ship between nephew and maternal uncle is also explicitly expressed in variant 16 where the two birds flew to their maternal uncle "alighted on his shoulders...and kissed him with their beaks."

The injustice done to the sister and her suffering necessitates a reorganization of the triadic relationship between the brother, the brother's wife, and the sister; this unbalanced triad had displaced the preceeding tranquil dyad composed only of the brother and sister. Action follows in the direction dictated by the "newly" discovered truth.

## XII. The Fate of the Wife

The fate of the wife is an overwhelmingly violent one: she is killed through unspecified means (6, 26, 28, 29), burned alive (0, 3, 7 along with her own mother, 13, 30), fed to the hounds (22, all seven wives of the seven brothers), slaughtered and decapitated (38), strangled by hand (33), her flesh is sliced while she is naked (21,37), dismembered (30), left blind to roam (32), or the earth swallows her alive (16, 17, 18, 23, 24, 25).<sup>59</sup> otherwise she is divorced (9, 11 [stepmother], 20, 36), abandoned (5), or kicked out (15). In variants 5, 29, and 35, the punishment occurs before the reunion of the brother and sister. Even when the wife was innocent, as is the case in variant 7 where only the mother-in-law plays the villainous role, still the wife was killed.

In narrative 27 (Type 480) the heroine's stepsister is killed by the robbers who had become the heroine's "brothers." Subsequently the step-sister's mother (the heroine's stepmother) bursts and dies; thus, the same structure of sentiments (vis-à-vis other members of the family) characteristic of Type 480 in Arab culture remains unchanged. Sometimes the wife is simply dropped out of the action (2, 10, 12, 19, 34). Only in three cases (4, 8, 28) there is no mention of punishment; also in variant 14 where a stepmother makes the false accusation against the heroine, punishment is not mentioned. Meanwhile in variant 31, where the role of the maternal uncle's wife was limited to her harsh treatment of the niece, she is only rebuked. In variant 12, where a vizer replaces the brother's wife as the villain, the punishment is limited to "kicking out" the minister.

The severity of the punishment varies according to the affective

component of the attitude of the narrator.<sup>60</sup> Punishing the wife would represent a negative type of sentiment toward her. But punishment can assume either a mild form or a very strong one.<sup>61</sup> The stronger the punishment, the more negative the emotional component of the attitude. As expressed by various narrators, the fate of the brother's wife is highly indicative of how the brother's wife is perceived. Not a single narrator of all 37 variants viewed the brother's wife in positive terms; at best, she is viewed in neutral terms (either she is dropped out of the action, or no punishment is inflicted upon her). By contrast, the affective component of the attitude toward the sister is never negative or neutral; that is, it is always positive. This trait is by no means limited to the Moslem Arab; variants from other ethnic and religious subgroups in the Arab culture--Nubians of the Kunuz group (16, 17), black Arabs of the Sudan (18), Berbers of the Kabylie group in North Africa (23, 24, 25, 26), a Christian Jacobite sect speaking a Neo-Aramaic language (28, 29), Sabians, a Judaeo-Christian gnostic Baptist sect in Mesopotamia, Christians of Saint John (30), and a Jewish-Arab group from Yemen (35) give evidence for the consistency of this trait.

### XIII. The Nature of the Reunion

As will be pointed out later (p. 69), the brother-sister reunion is uninhibited and very emotional. By contrast, in subtype II, the husband-wife reunion (12, 21, 30, 37, 38) is restrained and unemotional. Furthermore, the husband sometimes experiences "sex aversions" (37, 38) upon learning how the limbs of his wife (the hero's sister) were restored; he is resolved never to have further intercourse with her. However:

He saw the prophet (may God's prayers and peace be upon him) in a dream and [the Prophet] said to him, "Sha'Aban, get up and make love to your wife." He woke up horrified; he looked at the "worshipper" [that is, his wife] and found her sitting up; he told her about it. And they lived in the happiest state and with their minds at the greatest ease. (38)

It should be pointed out that at the outset of variant 38, the sister had vowed never to get married and advised her brother, "never to marry;" yet he marries and later so does she, but only under very strenuous conditions. At the end the brother kills his wife and remains with his sister and her husband without remarrying. He therefore fulfills his sister's wish.

The strongest and most direct expression of the sentiments underlying the brother-sister relationship are represented in a group of variants (0, 3, 5, 16,<sup>62</sup> 18, 22, 26, 33, 36) in which the wife is decisively disposed of and the sister is reunited with her brother, thereby restoring the original dyadic state under which they had lived together after the death of their parents. When the action in the story does not provide for the explicit removal of the disruptive third party, that party is simply dropped out of the narrative and is not mentioned again. Such is the case with the sister's husband (1, 2, 3, 15, 23, 24, 29) and the brother's wife (1, 2, 10, 19). This deletion of the third party again demonstrates that the main objective of the tale is for the brother and sister to be reunited in a more stable dyadic relationship. In variant 15 the brother and sister were reunited<sup>63</sup> after the 'birds' flew to the brother's home; however, this union was unsatisfactory because the brother's wife was still a part of the family setting. The tale proceeds (abnormally) to a more inclusive brother-sister reunion in which both the brother's wife and the sister's husband were disposed of.

Fervent expression of the emotional state of the brother and sister during the reunion is sometimes described. In contrast to the restraint evident in the husband and wife reunion, the brother and sister hug each other and burst out in tears (0, 4, 17, 28), or, as in variant 1, they hug and kiss each other.

Sometimes the brother acquires a new wife (9, 17, 20, 21, 25, 30, 37; see also 29--discussed below), usually after his reunion with his sister. In variants 9 and 21 it is the sister who "marries him" to a new wife. In variants 28 and 38 the brother lives with the sister and her husband and does not remarry (compare 10). Only in variants 4, 9, and 20 do the brother and his wife and the sister and her husband reunite. The brother and his original wife (4) or new wife (9, 20) are reunited with the sister. In this new setting, the adolescent male narrator of variant 9 provides us with an insight into how relationships in this kinship group are perceived:<sup>64</sup>

He divorced his wife and she married him another good-hearted wife and they lived happily...[-] she and her brother [,] her husband and the wife of her brother and the three 'sons of his sister' [-] in happiness and amity.

Thus, the narrator has symbolically reorganized the ties within the family unit. As perceived by the narrator, the new situation permits maximum brother-sister closeness, for in the new setting the sister and brother are perceived as one unit; the two intruders, the sister's husband and the brother's wife, are grouped together as another unit. The "sons of the sister" are, significantly, grouped with their father. Therefore, happiness and amity, should follow.

A folk belief with important psychological implications appears in variant 29 in connection with the brother's second marriage; this narrative element is a unique addition peculiar to the adult male narrator of that story. Among numerous Middle Eastern groups, it is widely believed that a human may marry a Jinni; it is also believed that a female Jinn may, out of jealousy, kill or steal the children of a human mother. In this variant (29) the brother took his sister to the hills to kill her; however, he abandoned her in a cave. A prince rescued the sister. Instead of marrying her royal rescuer, the sister was kidnaped by an ogre and was imprisoned in a palace by her captor and his 'Afrit assistants. She was rescued by her brother who also found with her "the daughter of the king of the Jinn."<sup>65</sup> He ". . . took his sister and that other one home and married the latter while he let his sister live with him. He got a son . . . ." In this new reorganized familial setting, the sister remains with her brother, but conflict seems to develop anew between the sister and the supernatural new wife.

All the male children of the brother die; only females survive. The party who suffers the most from this loss is the brother's wife for being unable to give him male children. When asked the reason for this, the supernatural wife explains, ". . . my relatives steal them," and demands, "Give me sovereignty over everything in the house[hold]." This demand is made with reference to the domineering role of the husband's human sister in her brother's home. See variant 22, above, where the sister becomes the 'administrator' in the household of her married brothers. When this demand is met, the wife bears him sons who survive.

If this belief from Syria is similar to its Egyptian match--in which a human male has two supernatural counterparts, a loving one referred to as "sister," and a harmful one referred to as "spouse"--then it may be concluded that the hero of this tale (29) married his supernatural sister. The

link between the supernatural wife's demand to be given "sovereignty" and the "death of her male sons" substantiates this argument. The harmful counterpart of the supernatural wife is the human sister of the brother.

In cases where the heroine has more than one brother (14, 22, 26), only one assumes the major role in their reunion, thus providing further evidence that the reunion is between a sister and a specific brother. In variant 14 the heroine is a sister of four brothers; she is reunited with her father and only one brother. In variants 22 and 26, the eldest brother becomes the head of the family. He assigns the youngest brother the task of killing their sister, who is the youngest of all eight siblings. He sets her free. In variant 22 the sister addresses herself only to one brother, who kills the snake to which she had given birth and kept until then. It is worth noting in this context that in the introductory portion of this variant (Type 451) it was also the youngest brother who saved the sister from her forced role as a slave.

Variant 26 provides a significant detail which indicates the degree of hostility between the sister and each of her brother's wives. Only the wife of the youngest is singled out to scream in horror at the time of the killing of the wives of the brothers. This happens in spite of the fact that it was the wife of the eldest brother who urged her husband to kill his sister. This detail indicates more acute hostility between the sister and the wife of her "favorite" brother; this hostility is congruent with the overall structure of sentiments within the familial situation where the affectionate relationship is usually the strongest between the brother and sister who are closest in age.<sup>66</sup>

It may be argued that reunion between brother and sister can also occur under a symbolic guise. In some cases, the sister marries a person whose characteristics parallel those of her own brother (9, 14), or the brother may marry the sister of his sister's husband<sup>67</sup> (11, 30; also compare 37). In variant 9, for example, the young brother comes to his seemingly dead sister:

...he found neither sound nor breath in her. So he put gold in a box and his sister in another, loaded the two on a camel and wrote for that camel a message on its head on a paper that it should kneel down to no one or lie down on the ground to no one unless sworn to by 'Aalia [the sister's name], the one with dalāl<sup>68</sup> and good omen. The camel went down the road. A man wanting to make it kneel on its knees met it, but the camel did not kneel. After that a young boy of medium age wanting to

make it kneel met it, but the camel did not want to. That boy saw [the] paper on the camel's head; he snatched it and ran away and read all that was there and knew that the camel would not kneel unless "By the life of 'Aalia the one with dalāl and good omen" was said to it . . . .

The boy opened the two boxes. He saw that the first was full of gold and saw in the second the girl who is the sister of Clever Mohammed, that is "'Aalia the one with dalāl and good omen."

The careful description of the rescuer's age reveals that it corresponds to the age of the brother;<sup>69</sup> being of the same generation suggests that the narrator identifies the sister's rescuer and future husband with the brother. The camel's refusal to "kneel" to the man who is presumably older, substantiates this viewpoint; it is a detail motif which could have well been deleted from this very compact rendition had it not been for the contrasting of the ages of the two possible rescuers and for the preference of one over the other. Similarly, in variant 14, the heroine is a daughter of a well-to-do farmer, "a man who has four men [that is, grown sons] and a daughter." She marries the youngest of four brothers after their well-to-do farmer father takes her in and instructs his four sons, "Keep this sister of yours beside you and let no one make her unhappy." The actual sister never appears beyond the mere mentioning of her as a characteristic of her father (i.e., a man has four sons and a daughter). In both cases the husband's age, his place among other siblings, as well as the rank of his family correspond to those of the brother.

Perhaps the inclusion of the episode of the inability of the brother to recognize his sister (see p. 66 above) is motivated by an underlying incestuous tendency. In one variant (35), as pointed out earlier, the brother was about to marry his sister unknowingly, but the sister--fully aware of his identity--allows sex teasing and flirtation to develop between the two of them. However, full sexual activity is averted at the last moment. As will be demonstrated, the manner in which the tale is concluded tends to substantiate the argument on behalf of an underlying sexual attraction between the brother and sister. The overt expression of such a desire would be socially unacceptable.

In its strongest form this psychological mechanism of identification may be called identity transformation. Numerous other tales involving this mechanism can be found in the repertoires of several of the narrators of the variants of Type 872\*. One such tale carries the title of "Raḥmat Allah, (God's mercy)."<sup>70</sup> It was narrated by the same female informant of variant 31. The tale is a combination of Types 923B The Princess who was Responsible for her own Fortune; 1651 Whittington's Cat; and 1651A Fortune in Salt. It may

be summarized as follows:

A king has three daughters. Before commencing on a trip he asks them what can he get them. The youngest asks for God's mercy. He kicks her out. She lives with an old woman who has a lazy son. [Later he is referred to as Mohammad]. She forces the boy to accept to go to work. A merchant asks him, "Would you prefer two legitimate dinars or ten sinful ones?" He replies, "I'll ask my sister." She [the heroine] directs him to choose what is legitimate. He travels with the merchant. Upon their return the merchant gives him his wages saying, "Buy a gift for your sister." He buys a cat. The cat helps him achieve wealth which he gives to his sister. She buys a palace and instructs her "brother" to befriend the king and invite him to their home. During the king's visit she recites the Koran. The king weeps and states, "I had a daughter whose voice resembled this voice." When "Mohammad's sister" heard that, she came out, kissed his hand and said, "I am your daughter and this is God's mercy which made you angry [at me]." The king was happy and gave her to Mohammad in marriage. They lived happily.

The narrator's perception of the identity of the heroine in relationship to the other characters in the story is highly indicative. Throughout the tale, the heroine is referred to eighteen times as Mohammad's sister and only twice, at the opening and close of the tale, as the king's daughter. Even in the presence of her father and "brother" (that is, would-be husband), she is referred to as "Mohammad's sister." Thus her perceived identity as a sister dominates over her's as a daughter.<sup>71</sup> Neither Mohammad's "old" mother nor the heroine's two sisters appear beyond the initial mentioning of their presence. Thus, the tale deals with two partial families: a father and his daughter on the one hand, and a mother and her son on the other. When fused, the halves would constitute a full nuclear family (corresponding to that with which Type 872\* opens). The "mother" and the two sisters are symbolically eliminated. In variant 14, the sister of the four brothers is dropped out of action, and the heroine seems to take her place. The heroine marries one of her "brothers." (See note no. 36).

Since a father normally would not evict his daughter merely because she asked for "God's mercy," we may conclude that the eviction happened because of the nature of the act for which "God's mercy" was being sought. The heroine states at the end of the tale: ". . . this is God's mercy which made you angry;" in this respect she was referring to the successful and happy life which she was leading--living in a palace--with her "brother" Mohammad. The father, in tears, gives her to Mohammad in marriage.

The unavoidable conclusion is that "God's mercy" which the daughter had requested from her father, and which evoked sufficient "anger" in him to evict her (from the palace) was the daughter's implied request to marry her brother.



#### XIV. Formulaic Endings

Formulaic, or stylized, endings provide yet another semantic aspect which contributes directly to the achievement of the fullness of the brother-sister reunion (0, 1, 2, 3, 8, 10, 14, 15 [in English], 16, 18, 33, 36; see also 11 and 20). The following are concluding statements through which the brother-sister reunion and its emotional impact are explicitly expressed. Both stylized (indicated by single quotation marks) and non-stylized endings serve to achieve the main goal and fulfill brother-sister love and affection needs:

Variant 0: "He went back and got his sister. She made . . . [the Jinn] transfer her palace and put it in the place of their old house . . . 'And they lived in stability and prosperity and begat boys and girls.'" <sup>72</sup>

Variant 1: "He took her into his bosom [i.e., hugged her tightly] and kept on kissing her. 'And they lived in stability and prosperity and begat boys and girls.'"

Variant 2: "He went [and] set his wife afire, sold his property and went [back] and lived with his sister in peace."

Variant 8: "He went to his sister and brought her to the palace and he went to her husband, the king. 'And they [?] lived in stability and prosperity and begat boys and girls.'"

Variant 15: "The brother and his sister returned and settled in their home, 'and lived happily ever after.'"

Variant 33: "He lived with his sister and deemed it sinful for himself to take another wife. His sister lived beside him because it was not possible for her to let him be lonely. 'And she became pregnant and completed [;] and in the finger of the little one it became full of pus.'" <sup>73</sup>

Variant 36: "He remained by his cows and his sister remained by his side. She milked the milk of his cows for him."

It may be argued that the importance of the closing stylized sentences (0, 1, 3, 8, 33) for the content of the narrative rests on the affective nature of these formulae. This argument can be further strengthened by pointing out that variant 33 was given by al-Guhayman as a salifah, that is, an actual occurrence.

Al-Guhayman also points out that the stylized ending, "And she became pregnant . . .," is not used with such narratives about true happenings; rather, it is used with the unrealistic sabhoonah, <sup>74</sup> that is, *märchen* or novella. Yet this formula appears in the context of a true story expressing brother-sister relations. We should also observe that in variant 34, given by the same source, the sister did not actually stay with the brother; significantly, no stylized ending was

used. Therefore, we may conclude that although the occurrence of the ending formula in the context of variant 33 represents a deviation from the 'normal' conventions of narrating, its appearance is, nonetheless, in complete congruence with the overall emotional characteristics of the narrative and indirectly reinforces it.

The closing formulae, therefore, can be seen as an integrated part of these narratives; they are elicited by the same type of motivation which motivates a narrator to tell a specific story in a given manner. The tale in its entirety is an integrated behavioristic whole.

### CONCLUSIONS

As a folk story Type 872\* represents an interpersonal behavioral event; it is an integrated instrumental (goal oriented) social act. The tale displays and is controlled by a set of cognitive-logical as well as affective factors. Some cognitions within the tale may vary from one narrator or culture area to another, but in all its manifestations (as a fantasy Märchen-novella, or realistic local legend-true occurrence), the affective components of the narrative are highly stable. The story delineates a segment of the broader structure of sentiments and attitudes within the family. This broad structure may be called the brother-sister syndrome. The syndrome is characteristic of indigenous Middle Eastern, especially Arab, groups; its locus is: brother-sister love and affection, husband-wife hostility, sister-brother's wife rivalry, young nephews and nieces-maternal uncle affection. The affection between a mother's child and the mother's brother is a necessary outcome of the mother's love for her own brother; children stay by the mother and identify with her.

The entire narrative spectrum: sex and age of the narrator and audience, the direction and routes for communicating<sup>75</sup> the story, the structure and content of the tale, the semantics involved in expressing its various aspects (even "errors"), as well as the symbols involved, are all congruent with its emotional contents on the one hand and with the structure of sentiments within the traditional Arab family on the other. Taken separately, each aspect by itself may not be of great value in determining the motivating force which underlies the

tale, but taken together they are highly indicative of the nature of that motivating force. The narrative is a response to specific stimuli; it is an integrated behavioristic event in which motivation (or stimuli, wants, or goals), intermediary stimuli (or cues, the context in which narrating occurs), as perceived by the narrator, elicit the tale. The tale, in its entirety, may be referred to as the measurement of that response.<sup>76</sup> Thus, the tale is an instrument for accomplishing the goals (or fulfilling the wants) of the narrator. Both the affective as well as the intellectual contents of the narrative are congruent with other cognitive systems (i.e., world view) characteristic of the narrator and his or her social group.

Actions, which constitute the tale plot,<sup>77</sup> move in a successive way. "Each phase of the event succeeds the preceding phase in a consistent manner, as actions in the event tend in the direction of goal achievement."<sup>78</sup> In the tale, action proceeds from an unstable triad of parents-brother-sister to a brother-sister socially unacceptable dyadic relationship, to a brother-brother's wife-sister triadic relationship of conflict, to the final brother-sister socially tolerated dyadic relationship, or to brother-sister-brother's wife (sometimes sister's husband) symbolically reorganized triadic relationship in which brother and sister enjoy maximum closeness to each other.

The motivating force which determines the sequence of these events is that the brother and sister want to be together. The narrator perceives this motivating force and behaves within its guidelines. With the fulfillment of this want at the end of the story, the underlying motivation diminishes and the tale reaches a conclusion which is emotionally comfortable for both the narrator and the listener. This point can be further substantiated throughout the North African examples (22, 26) in which a sister seeks her seven brothers who had abandoned their father's home because they wanted a sister. This tale normally ends with her reunion with them. But in our present variants, the very fact that the brothers were married when their sister found them made the reunion emotionally uncomfortable. Type 872\* emerges to provide the necessary conditions for the removal of the wives and, therefore, for the attainment of the sisters' (and the narrators') goals (see also variant no. 15).

The occurrence of Type 872\* in a different cultural milieu should enable

us to test the validity of these conclusions. A Swahili rendition of our tale was cited from the Island of Zanzibar. The narrative belongs to Type 706, The Maiden Without Hands; it is unquestionably derived from an Arabic source which belongs to the group of variants designated above (pp. 53-54) as subtype II.

"Blessing or Property"<sup>79</sup>

A wife and her husband begat a daughter and a son. When each parent died, the daughter and the son were asked to choose either blessing or property. The daughter chose blessing; the son chose property. The son went and told the woman his sister, 'Put out all my father's and mother's things.' He took everything.

The sister grew pumpkins and sold them; people liked her merchandise and she acquired some property.

The brother's wife complained to her husband that his sister would not give her pumpkins because they were all gone. He threatened his sister with cutting down her plants; she replied, "You dare not, unless indeed you cut off my hand first." He does so and leaves her to wander in the forest.

She hid in a tree and a king's son rested under the tree while hunting. The girl's tears fell on him and she was discovered. He married her and a son was born to them.

The brother, now a beggar, learned about his sister's marriage. While her husband was away, the brother told the king, "Your child married . . . a witch," and that they should "kill her." The king and the queen decide to "put her out of town with her son."

She helped a snake escape the heat of the sun by allowing him into her basket. The grateful snake helped her restore her drowned son. Following the snake's advice, she used both her forearms to search for her son in the water; her missing hands were restored.

Meanwhile her husband returned from his trip. His parents told him that his wife and child had died; they showed him two graves they had prepared.

The wife acquired magic objects from the snake's parents and returned to her husband's town. She asked her magic ring to produce a "great house." Many people including her husband and her brother came to see the new palace. She served them food and later told them her story. ". . . the king's son went to embrace his wife and they wept much." He asked her, "What shall we do with your brother?" She answered, "Only put him out of town." And she dwelt with her husband till the end in joy.

In its Swahili milieu, the story maintains the basic kinship relations (characters) and the general plot of subtype II: parents, a brother, a sister, a brother's wife, a sister's husband, and a sister's son. The Swahili story, however, projects a structure of sentiments which differs radically from that expressed in all the variants treated above. From the outset the parents generate a sense of competition between their children: the brother is openly

hostile and cruel to his sister; the sister is less hostile towards her brother but is not very affectionate; the role of the brother's wife as the sister's hater is insignificant; love and affection is displayed between the husband and his wife. The concluding episode is congruent with the sentiments displayed in the tale; the husband and his wife are reunited, the brother is driven away. Significantly, the sister chooses that her brother be only evicted, rather than forgiven or severely punished. This mild punishment is congruent with the mild feelings which she had displayed towards him.

None of the nine Arab variants of subtype II manifests the sentiments expressed in this Swahili variant; none of the thirty-nine variants cited earlier even deviates towards its course of action. Of the Swahili tale and its Arab counterparts each displays a plot which is congruent with the structure of sentiments expressed in each.

Fragmentary, confused, and illogical renditions of Type 872\* and its related narrative forms have all maintained the same basic structure of sentiments. Thus, the structure of the tale, regardless of the tale's narrative qualities, need not be logically meaningful, but it must be emotionally so. If this is the case, then the following seemingly plotless narrative may be seen as having the perfect structure, when viewed from the affective point of view:

#### "Brother and Sister"<sup>80</sup>

A man was married; he had a wife and two children, a boy and a girl. At his death he entrusted his son to his wife telling her to let him do whatever he pleased. In turn, the mother made her daughter, who was older than the boy, also swear to that, and the mother died. [Parents are disposed of.]

One day the boy, against his sister's advice, burned everything they possessed. The sister saved a few items and took them to a neighbor's. The brother followed the traces of her footsteps in the sand and burned the neighbor's house also. The neighbors tried to kill them and they ran away. They arrived at a Zariba (where some people lived) and because of their good looks they were hired. The owner entrusted his three children to the care of the boy. He killed them all. His sister discovered what he had done and they fled. The owner pursued them. [Conflict with the social system.]

The fugitives spent the night under a gigantic tree "under whose shade they sleep awaiting daybreak." In the morning the boy said to his sister, "Look, under the tree...this is the chief. I am going to send my excrements onto his face," which he did. The chief and his men tried to cut the

tree down. A huge bird overheard the conversation of the brother and sister that followed and flew them away. The boy tickled the bird in the anus. The bird dropped them but they landed safely on the sand in the country of darkness. [Conflict with the social system.]

The brother gathered a heap of stones and made a fire. A gigantic ogre appeared threatening those who had lit the fire. The brother threw the fiery stones into the ogre's belly. It exploded and the sun shone anew over that land of darkness. The ogre was a sorcerer who had turned his rear towards the sun, preventing its light from reaching that land.

The king of the country arrived with his army. The brother and sister hid in a hole. The king found the "mashed" beast and beside it a woman's sandal. He ordered that he who had done that feat must be found. They were discovered. The sister threw herself on the ground and implored the pardon of the king, who realized that the sandal belonged to her. She was assured of her brother's safety. She got him out of the hole. The king offered his throne to the brother, but the boy answered, "Sire, if you will, I'll be your vizier but only on the condition that my sister never leaves me." "This will be done," said the king. [Reorganization of the social system.] And they lived for many years in all happiness.

In light of this evidence,<sup>81</sup> there seems to be much more than just rhetorical value to the universal Arab adage, "al-khāl wālīd," (i.e., the maternal uncle is a father [literally, "birth-giver"]).

## NOTES

<sup>1</sup>Raphael Patai, Golden River to Golden Road, (Philadelphia, 1969), p. 444.

<sup>2</sup>See Hasan El-Shamy, "The Brother-Sister Syndrome in Arab Culture: A Preliminary Report" in IX International Congress of Anthropological and Ethnological Sciences. Supplement II, Plan of Congress and Résumés of Contributions, (Chicago, Ill., 1973), Abst. no. 1717. The brother-sister affectionate relationship and some of its effects on the structures of the family has recently been stressed; see Michael E. Meeker, "Meaning and Society in the Near East: Examples from the Black Sea Turks and the Levantine Arabs (II)," International Journal of Middle East Studies, 7(1976): 383-422, see especially pp. 385-390 and 408-409.

<sup>3</sup>Antti Aarne and Stith Thompson, The Types of the Folktale, (Helsinki, 1961). Refers only to a Norwegian and to a Catalan occurrence of this tale type.

<sup>4</sup>See David Krech, R. S. Crutchfield and E. L. Ballachey, Individual in Society, (New York, 1962), pp. 5-6.

<sup>5</sup>The present study is not concerned with subconscious mechanisms characteristic of the psychoanalytic approaches.

<sup>6</sup>See Krech, et al., Individual, p. 42.

<sup>7</sup>See Krech, et al., Individual, pp. 40-42.

<sup>8</sup>See Krech, et al., Individual, p. 140; also cf. C. Sherif, M. Sherif, and R. Nebergall, Attitude and Attitude Change, (Philadelphia, 1967).

<sup>9</sup>In traditional Egyptian beliefs, the "Jinn" will be summoned by the mere mention of their name. The narrator utters a religious phrase as a precaution against the harm the Jinn may cause.

<sup>10</sup>An earlier draft of this monograph treated 38 versions of this tale; it was completed in 1973 and presented to the American Folklore Society during its annual meeting at Portland, Ore., in 1974. Subsequently I located another variant (no. 26) which seemed to contradict some of the basic conclusions of this inquiry. I rewrote the entire work in order to include the newly uncovered data.

<sup>11</sup>According to local ideal rules of honor, the brother is expected to kill his sister if she allows herself to be violated sexually. See Richard T. Antoun, "On the Modesty of Women in Arab Muslim Villages: A Study in the Accommodation of Traditions," American Anthropologist, 70(1968): 671-697.

<sup>12</sup>Ammar, p. 163, writes; "The first eleven [of eighteen tales in his collection] . . . are common stock for most of the boys and girls in the village, but I found no girl [my italics] who knew any of the rest. . . ." Our story, given under no. 14, was thus told by a male.

<sup>13</sup>Stevens reports that she substituted "Leprosy" for the elephantiasis because leprosy sounded better; I restored the original.

<sup>14</sup>Al-Guhayman, From Our Folk Legends, vol. I, p. 13.

<sup>15</sup>Linking independent tales together through the attribution of the actions which each describes to the same 'hero' seems to be characteristic of the style of Spitta's informant.

<sup>16</sup>For a discussion on marriage by abduction, see Helma Granquist, Marriage Conditions in a Palestinian Village, pt. II Communications Humanarum Litterarum, vol. 8, (Helsinki, 1935); Abner Cohen, Arab Border Villages in Israel, (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1965), pp. 71-93; and M. Meeker, "Meaning and Society," p. 412.

<sup>17</sup>The motifs involved in this episode are : B520 "Animal's save person's life," B569 "Animals advise men," and T615 "Supernatural Growth."

<sup>18</sup>On the concept of "balance", see F. Heider, The Psychology of Interpersonal Relations, (New York, 1958). According to Heider a triadic system is unbalanced if there are two positive relations and if there is one negative relation.

<sup>19</sup>In variant 20 the narrator clarifies her statements as follows: the brother says to his sister, "Oh sister, we should get clothes, garments, and livestock for us to raise in the house and, sister, you get. . . , you marry me off . . . you get a person (fem.) [and] marry me [off] and you after raising me, stay with me and marry me off and be staying with me at home and not leave me."

<sup>20</sup>cf. Amrouche, Le grain, p. 142.

<sup>21</sup>Compare the near identical description by Najib Mahfouz of the sister as seen by her brother: Hasan El-Shamy, "The Traditional Structure of Sentiments in Mahfouz's Trilogy," Al-'Arabiyya, 9 nos. 1-2 (1976), pp. 53-74; see especially pp. 57-58.

<sup>22</sup>As will be demonstrated in a forthcoming phase of the "Brother-Sister Syndrome" research, a great deal of hostility develops between parents and their children when parents separate the sleeping quarters of boys from those of the girls when they reach the "grown up" age.

<sup>23</sup>cf. Noy, Jefet, p. 131.

<sup>24</sup>Compare, for example, the spiteful relationship between husband and wife as expressed in Type 879 The Basile Maiden. Two variants of Type 879 appear in the repertoires of two of the narrators of Type 872\*; see Galley, Badr, no. 5 and Noy, Jefet, no. 79; these tales were told by the informants of versions no. 22 and no. 35 respectively.

<sup>25</sup>Considering "what air does," especially to a female attired in traditional Arab garb, may further be explained by a joke current among school children: "A gym teacher was instructing a class of young boy pupils. A gust of wind blew up her skirt; too much of her was seen. She asked one boy, "How much did you see?" He replied, "Oh, me. I saw only your knees." She replied, "You are suspended from school for a week!" A second boy answers, "I saw only your thighs," and she replied, "You are suspended for a month." Then she notices another boy collecting his things and heading towards the school gate. She



asks him, "How much did you see?" He replies, "As for me, I will be expelled permanently."

<sup>26</sup>This variant includes an event which might at first appear to be a mere addition with no clear narrative function toward the development of the plot. Upon closer scrutiny, however, it becomes clear that this element is completely congruent with the set of attitudes expressed in the narrative repertoire of the informant. The sister was discovered in the cave by a royal rescuer; the rescuer's own brother, who took part in her rescue, contested the brother's right to marry the girl and asked to have her for himself. The main rescuer told him: "Go away. How will I give her to you for a wife? She belongs, no matter what, to me." There are no narrative consequences to this event, neither in the structure, nor in the content of variant 28. However, this seemingly free floating episode is simply the "tip of the iceberg," representing relations between brothers concerning a potential bride. Rivalries between brothers over the same woman are recurrent in the folk literature of the area. These include: Type 303A Six Brothers Seek Seven Sisters as Wives, Type 550 Search for the Golden Bird, and Type 551 The Sons on a Quest for a Wonderful Remedy for their Father; these tales are recurrent mostly among males.

The converse in which the sisters are rivals over the same man is also recurrent and is represented by: Type 425N Bird Husband; Type 480 The Spinning-Women by the Spring, The Kind and Unkind Girls; Type 510A Cinderella; and Type 707 The Three Golden Sons. These narratives are told almost exclusively by females.

<sup>27</sup>See Robert M. Liebert and Michael D. Spiegler, Personality: An Introduction to Theory and Research (Homewood, Ill., 1970) p. 80, pp. 87-93.

<sup>28</sup>Collector: Miss Su'Aad Hasan from an adult woman, CFMC, New Valley: 71-3, 1-2-x. Most Egyptian riddles occur in the form of a statement rather than a question.

<sup>29</sup>Collector: S. Hasan, from a 14 year old girl, Ibid.

<sup>30</sup>Compare with "God's mercy," discussed below; see note no. 66.

<sup>31</sup>In variant 11, it is the father of the brother and sister who marries "the daughter of a pot vendor."

<sup>32</sup>The perceptual phenomenon may be explained in terms of the influence of the frame of reference upon perception of objects. In our present case the judgment of the narrator of each kinship relationship is a function of the total series of relationships which serve as a frame of reference in the given situation. See E. G. Wever and K. E. Zener, "The Method of Absolute Judgment in Psychophysics," Psychological Review 1928 (35) 466-93, where the frame of reference principle is applied in a context of perceiving physical objects, and H. R. McGarvey, "Anchoring Effects in the Absolute Judgement of a Verbal Material," Archives Psychol. 1943, no. 281, where the principle is applied in a sociocultural context. Also this folkloric phenomenon tends to substantiate the "adaptation-level theory" advanced by Harry Helson which is essentially another approach to the

"part-whole" or "frame of reference" (p. 581) principle. Helson's theory attempts to explain and predict the "universality of shift in scale value with change in comparison-stimulus." (In our case the shift of the value of the wife with the removal of the sister; i.e., with change in comparison-stimulus.) See H. Helson, "Adaptation Level Theory," in Sigmund Koch, ed., Psychology: A Study of a Science, vol. I, Sensory, Perceptual, and Physiological Formulations (New York: McGraw Hill, 1959), pp. 565-621; see also H. Helson "Current Trends and Issues in Adaptation-Level Theory," in Gerald M. Murch, ed., Studies in Perception (Indianapolis: The Bobbs-Merrill Company, Inc., 1976), pp. 219-236. For a résumé of Helson's theory, see S. Howard Bartley, Principles of Perception (New York: Harper and Row, 1969), pp. 171-172.

<sup>33</sup>A wife's view of her female in-laws is expressed in the adage, "A mother-in-law is a fever and a husband's sister is a deadly scorpion!" See also El-Shamy, "The Traditional Structure of Sentiments...", pp. 59-61, for a literary portrait of a brother's wife's relationship with the sister of the husband.

<sup>34</sup>See Granquist, Marriage Conditions, pt. II.

<sup>35</sup>See also notes no. 8 and 18 above.

<sup>36</sup>In a tale entitled "The Ray of the Sun" (see Galley, Badr Az-Zên, pp. 182-99), there are two brothers, "one a sultan and the other a well-to-do man; one has a son and the other has seven daughters." The brothers wanted to go on pilgrimage, but the father of the seven daughters was afraid to leave them alone; his counselor advised him to buy seven eggs and ask his daughters what should be done with them. "The Sultan got seven eggs" and presented all his daughters with the problem: "...I have seven eggs; if I take them, I am afraid they will break; if I leave them, I am afraid they will spoil." All the six elder sisters suggested he should cook the eggs. Only the youngest recognized the similarities between the seven eggs and the seven maidens. Thus she stated, "Papa, these seven eggs are us..." (p. 184). He put her in charge of her elder sisters. It should be pointed out that this tale manifests the same "identity transformation" projected in the story of "God's mercy" (see p. 73 above). The girl's father's brother's son (i.e., her ibn 'Aam) tries to seduce them. Significantly, the narrator ("erroneously") refers to him as "the Sultan's son" (Galley, pp. 190, 194). The girls, it should be remembered, are the children of the Sultan, and the boy is not. Thus, with this type of "identity transformation," the seduction, or the fear that the eggs may spoil, comes from within the kinship group. The tale ends with the character identified at the beginning of the tale as the Sultan's youngest daughter marrying the character identified at a later stage of the tale as the Sultan's son (i.e., her brother. See also variant 22, p. 73, above).

The theme of correlating eggs and unattended young virgins also appears in the tale of "The Daughter of the One-Eyed Serpent," given by the same female narrator (see Galley, pp. 207, 208).

<sup>37</sup>For a discussion of the differences between the narration of an "informant" and that of a member of a society who is not acting as an informant, see Hasan El-Shamy, "Folkloric Behavior: A Theory for the Study of the Dynamics of Traditional Culture," Ph.D. dissertation, Indiana University, Bloomington, 1967, pp. 54-58.

<sup>38</sup>The same "error" also appears in Budge's translation (see résumé no. 7). According to Budge, his translation relied on the Arabic manuscript.

<sup>39</sup>For example, see Ammar, Growing Up, Chapter II.

<sup>40</sup>See note no. 12 above.

<sup>41</sup>See also p. 50 above and note no. 38; also compare variant 33, p. 74 above.

<sup>42</sup>According to the collector-translator of variant 17 (see résumés), this is a common practice among Nubians. An Egyptian psychologist, L. al-Ghaṭṭeet (in a personal communication, 1971), states that it is not unusual among urban middle class youth for a brother to comb his sister's hair.

<sup>43</sup>My field data (to be published at a later stage) indicate that the strongest emotional attachment develops between the brother and the sister who are closest in age. Also see El-Shamy, "The Traditional Structure of Sentiments . . .," pp. 57-59.

<sup>44</sup>Usually associated with Type 706 The Maiden Without Hands.

<sup>45</sup>It is difficult to assess whether these feelings do represent "guilt" or "shame." See Hasan El-Shamy, "Mental Health in Traditional Culture: A Study of Preventive and Therapeutic Folk Practices," in Psychiatry and the State, Mark C. Kennedy (ed.), Catalyst (Fall 1972, Petersborough, Ontario), pp. 13-28; especially pp. 24-27.

<sup>46</sup>For a discussion on the causal system as perceived by folk groups in Egypt, see Hasan El-Shamy, "The Supernatural Belief-Practice System in the Contemporary Folk Culture of Egypt?" (in press, Folklore Publications Group Monographs Series, Bloomington, Indiana).

<sup>47</sup>In Egyptian villages the title "Health Barber" refers to a barber who is licensed by the Health Department to perform minor medical and surgical operations.

<sup>48</sup>In traditional Middle Eastern narratives, a girl's father and a woman's husband often appear as ogres. In this narrative context, both characters are perceived as threatening forces especially in their roles as the disciplinarians of a female.

<sup>49</sup>My interviews with young Egyptians and other Arab subjects show that a high percentage of those interviewed prefer a future spouse who resembles their favorite brother or sister. "Politeness," "manners," and "honor" of the intended spouse are the manifest reasons for the choice. Sometimes physical attraction is also cited as a reason. Also see El-Shamy, "The Traditional Structure of Sentiments . . .," pp. 62-69.

<sup>50</sup>In Arabic lore a "mare" is often used symbolically to denote a young woman.

<sup>51</sup>Amrouche, Le grain, p. 146. The love which a child displays towards his mother's brother, in addition to a woman's love for her brother, can be

an object over which jealousy develops between a man (who is the father of the child and the husband of the woman) and his wife's brother (who is also the maternal uncle of the child). This theme appears in literary writing also; see El-Shamy, "The Traditional Structure . . .," especially pp. 59-60 and p. 62.

<sup>52</sup>It is not specified whether the "pigeons" are male or female. In the plural form the word hamām is masculine while in the singular form a hamāmāh is always feminine unless otherwise specified. In dual form the gender becomes undifferentiated. In variant 33 the bird is a single hamra, thus referred to as feminine, while the two sparrows in variant 15 are masculine (also referred to as "sparrow sons").

<sup>53</sup>In Arabic, the words thu'Abān and hanash (snake) are invariably referred to in the masculine; the word for "viper" is invariably feminine.

<sup>54</sup>Maternal uncle is crucial in implicit (folk) personality theory. The character of a person is always attributed to the influence of his khāl (maternal uncle); being 'Aadeem el-khāl, i.e., without a maternal uncle, signifies character defects and dubious legitimacy. Meanwhile being mikhwil means having good maternal uncles, and therefore, having good character. See also Antoun, Arab Village, pp. 114-16.

<sup>55</sup>See note no. 13 above.

<sup>56</sup>See note no. 46 above.

<sup>57</sup>The actual murder of the sister occurs also in variant 35; however, the introduction of the theme of the reincarnation of the dead sister makes the reunion possible.

<sup>58</sup>It is significant to observe here that candles, candleholders, and pitchers have salient erotic connotations and that the sister died of "shame." These aspects of the tale will be dealt with in a separate context.

<sup>59</sup>The pattern of geographic distribution of this theme suggests a direct relationship between Berber and Nubian traditions. In the Berber variants, however, the brother also sinks into the ground but is rescued by his sister.

<sup>60</sup>See "valence" in Krech et. al., Individual in Society, pp. 141-42.

<sup>61</sup>The strength of a particular punishment may vary according to how this punishment is perceived within the group. A married woman may, for example, perceive being beaten by her husband as a lesser punishment than divorce, while another may perceive the opposite. These variations, however, would not apply to extreme reactions such as "burning" or being killed and fed to the dogs.

<sup>62</sup>In variant 17, a literary rendition of variant 16, the learned male writer introduced an additional element: each brother and sister married a good person; the writer's original source, a female Nubian narrator of variant 16, does not include this element. In the original version only the brother and sister remain "and they lived, farḥāt toad (children of happiness)." Yet

the sequence in which the events were arranged in variant 17 implicitly maintains the original ending of the oral rendition: "After that Nujud [the brother] and Fannah lived happily . . . and each of them married a good-hearted person. They all lived in peace and accord." Thus the writer used three dots, "...", to set apart two major events: first, the brother and sister lived happily; second, each married an unspecified "good-hearted person" (see pp. 72-73 above). They all lived in peace and accord; notably happiness is reserved for the brother and sister living together.

<sup>63</sup>See pp. 83-85 above.

<sup>64</sup>See note no. 33, and corresponding data on p. 44.

<sup>65</sup>Prym and Socin, Der Neue, p. 398, translate "Afreet" as "Unhold," and "Jinn" as "Elf"; however, the original word for "Riese" is not clear. I was unable to find the equivalent in the original text since it is "new Aramaic."

<sup>66</sup>See note no. 43 above.

<sup>67</sup>This form of sister exchange marriage is common among numerous groups. A modern form of it used to be very common in marriage advertisements in a weekly magazine; one of the most common proposed barter is a brother offering to marry the sister of the person who is willing to marry his own sister. See "Sister Exchange Marriage," in Antoun, Arab Village, pp. 134-39.

<sup>68</sup>Dalāl is a word designating "playing it cool" or "hard to get," usually between lovers.

<sup>69</sup>See note no. 61 above.

<sup>70</sup>A. Al-Lawand, "Al-Ḥikāyah al-Mouṣiliyya" (The Tales of Mosul), Al-Turath al-Sha'abi (Baghdad), 3, no. 10 (1971-72), pp. 83-98; pp. 85-87.

<sup>71</sup>See note no. 36 above.

<sup>72</sup>This formula is particularly characteristic of Egyptian Märchen; it is rarely used by adult males.

<sup>73</sup>This stylized ending formula seems to be found only in Saudi Arabia. The first part of the formula refers to the completion of the pregnancy period; however, the second part does not seem to be overtly related to the first; yet both parts are related to family concerns with children.

<sup>74</sup>Al-Guhayman, From Our Folk Legends, vol. I, p. 13.

<sup>75</sup>The phrase "direction and route for communicating" is meant to designate the intricate interpersonal process of communicating a folk tale; compare with the social psychological technique of "sociogram." For a concise description of this technique, see John McDavid and Herbert Harari, Social Psychology (New York, 1968), pp. 424-427. Also compare with the concept of "conduit" proposed in Linda Dégh and Andrew Vazsonyi's "The Hypothesis of Multi-Conduit Transmission in Folklore," in Folklore Performance and Communication, D. Ben-Amos and K. Goldstein, eds., (Mouton, The Hague, 1975), pp. 207-52.

<sup>76</sup>See Hasan El-Shamy, "Behaviorism and the Text," in Folklore Today: A Festschrift for Richard M. Dorson, Linda Dégh, Henry Glassie and Felix Oinas, eds. (Bloomington, Indiana, 1976) pp. 145-60; especially p. 151.

<sup>77</sup>The evidence which this study provides does not coincide with C. Lévi-Strauss' superorganic argument: "Nous ne prétendons donc pas montrer comment les hommes present dans les mythes, mais comment les mythes se present dans les hommes, et à leur insu." Le cru et le cuit (Paris, 1964), p. 20.

<sup>78</sup>See note no. 4 above.

<sup>79</sup>See Edward Steere, Swahili Tales as Told by Natives of Zanzibar (London, 1906), pp. 391-407.

<sup>80</sup>Yacoub Artin, Contes populaires inédits de la vallée du Nil (Paris, 1885), no. 12, pp. 149-56. Artin attributes this tale, which he recorded from an oral Arabic source, to "Africains-Negres, Soudain Oriental."

<sup>81</sup>The degree of inclusiveness of this evidence is a subject for two additional studies by the present writer. The results will be published shortly.

1) An analysis of the märchen-novella repertoires of the narrators of variants 0, 23 and 35.

2) The analysis of an entire community's narrative repertoire, as represented in one integrated field collection from the oasis area in the western Egyptian desert.