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BOEKBESPREKINGEN

C.B. Wilpert, *Südsee Insein, Völker und Kulturen*. Hamburg: Christians, 1987.

MARTIN A. VAN BAKEL

This well-illustrated paperback provides an introduction to the cultures of Oceania. In about two hundred pages Clara Wilpert, with contributions by Hans Fischer, draws a reasonably clear and vivid picture of life in Oceania. The book is divided into sections covering the geographical and historical setting, the economy, the material culture, religious beliefs, and social relations. In addition, it deals extensively with the recent past, from the discovery of the Pacific by the Europeans to the present. The work, published in German, gives a well-written and fairly up-to-date overview of island Oceania (that is, Melanesia, Micronesia and Polynesia).

I highly recommend this as an introductory book for everyone who is interested in this part of the world. Nevertheless, there are some aspects which deserve comment.

Much of the illustrative material, as well as the whole background of the book, shows that both Wilpert and Fischer are specialists in Melanesian, and particularly New Guinean, culture. In my view, this has resulted in a Melanesia-oriented picture of Oceania, to the detriment of Micronesian and Polynesian coverage. While such a treatment of the material enhances the clarity of the overall picture, it ignores many of the great differences between the various parts of this vast region. And it is just that - the differences between people - which provides interest. For example, the authors' specialization in Melanesian (New Guinean) culture seems to have caused them to concentrate more on slash and burn cultivation than on horticulture in the economic sphere, and on the concept of clan, but not on the ramage (see pp. 104-107) in the social sphere. Both may be more or less relevant to Melanesia, but not at all to Micronesia and Polynesia.

I feel that, as this book is too well written to be just a travel guide, it is a pity that there are no references or index, and almost no references to non-German literature. There is also some carelessness in the use of figures (see pp. 11/12, 115, 169, 217). As a last remark, Fischer is not named as co-author. In my opinion his contribution goes far beyond the three sections and a number of the photographs.

These remarks aside - and every author knows that some justifiable criticism is always possible -, I feel that Clara Wilpert has written a very good introduction to this region, which, as she has shown in the process, well deserves such an introduction.

Leo Suryadinata, *The Ethnic Chinese in the Asean States: Bibliographical Essays*, Singapore: Institute of Southeast Asian Studies, 1989. 271 pages. ISBN 981-3035-10-2.

LEONARD BLUSSÉ

A bibliography can only be properly appraised if it is used for what it is designed for: for research and teaching purposes. In other words, the proof of the pudding is in the eating.

Over the past academie year I have used *The Ethnic Chinese in the Asean States* both as a research and as a teaching tool. The essays on the Chinese in the various Asean states proved to be generally well written and also to dovetail quite well with each other. This is remarkable, for some of the chapters originally were written as contributions to a panel discussion at the Singapore IAHA conference; others were solicited by Leo Suryadinata when he conceived the plan to make an overall bibliographical survey of the ethnic Chinese in the Asean states. Clearly all authors, with the possible exception of Jennifer Cushman, feel most at home with current affairs. As a result there are strange omissions with respect to older times. To give one example: the Chinese chronicle of Batavia, the *Kai-pa-li-tai-shih-chi*, one of the foremost sources on a Chinese community in Southeast Asia - its lack of reliability notwithstanding - is not even referred to. As in so many other books on Southeast Asia, the spelling of Dutch titles is often rather sloppy. Especially the chapter on the religions of the Chinese in Indonesia is riddled with minor errors (misspellings, wrong use of capitals, incorrect word divisions, wrong adjectival endings). These shortcomings are hardly permissible in a bibliographical aid such as this.

If it is ever decided to publish a second edition - and I certainly hope it will be - a separate chapter should be added on recent Chinese mainland publications. Judging from the veritable *tsunami* of recent publications, there is a current upsurge in *hua-qiao* studies in southeastern China (Xiamen and Guangzhou).

In all, *The Ethnic Chinese in the Asean States* marks a 'great leap forward' in the comparative study of Southeast Asia's ethnic Chinese.

Cees Koelewijn with Peter Rivière, *Oral literature of the Trio Indians of Sim'naw*, Dordrecht-Providence: Foris, 1987. [Koninklijk Instituut voor Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde, Leiden, Caribbean Series 6.] 312 pp. ISBN 90-6765-223-7.

G. BOS

This volume contains 100 texts of stories, narrated mainly by an approximately 60-year-old village chief, and former shaman, to the author, Koelewijn, in 1981. Koelewijn worked among the Trio as a missionary schoolteacher from 1973, and at the end of his stay, in March and April of 1981, he recorded 105 stories. These were published in the Trio language, in two volumes, by the Algemeen Diakonaal Bureau, Leusden, The

Netherlands, in 1985. Copies of this *Tarëno tamu inponopipanpira* I and II are available in some libraries in The Netherlands, in Oxford and London, and in the Museum in Paramaribo. These volumes may be of great interest for linguists and anthropologists studying Carib languages and Trio and Carib mythology. Koelewijn, in collaboration with Peter Rivière, translated 100 of these 105 stories into English, making them accessible to a wider audience.

In Chapter I, Rivière introduces the Trio's history, economy, society, and their spiritual world, also describing their conversion to Christianity in the early 1960s. The last chapter contains a commentary on their oral literature, explaining the meaning of Trio stories and briefly comparing Trio and Amazonian stories.

The texts include some 80 full-length myths. These are not reproduced in the abridged form that is typical of the work done in the days before tape recording, say, up to the Second World War. Even Edmundo Magaña's recent book, discussed by Rivière in this journal in 1989 (*BKI* 145:182-183), still presents only synopses of collected myths. Both the older, abridged forms and the more recent synopses may have left out aspects which may prove significant to future comparisons. Fortunately, Koelewijn's work does allow for this.

The myths contain some interesting notes on other tribes, which tell us something of their history. In his introduction Rivière says, 'the myths undoubtedly contain history, whereas history has been mythicized'. These references to other tribes might support further historical investigation. Six stories deal with Trio contacts with Bush Negro trading partners; these stories still contain some mythological aspects.

Another story, describing the coming of the first whites, accompanied by Karina, or coastal Carib, tells of the days when white slave traders took Indians from the interior to the coast; this was probably in combination with raids by the coastal Carib. It is remarkable that such stories about slave trading and raiding, which may have continued until the early 19th century, have been handed down from generation to generation up to the early 1980s - through nine or more generations.

Another five stories tell of visits by identifiable Dutch explorers of the early 20th century; the storyteller, born in the early 1920s, was still able to mention the names of these visitors. One of the stories, about De Goeje's visit to the Trio in either 1904 or 1907, or both, also mentions the name of the village chief, Majoli, with whom De Goeje had several discussions, both in 1904 and 1907. One cannot but marvel at the relative accuracy with which such stories were transmitted through the generations. I said 'relative accuracy', because there are some aspects in the history of the meeting(s) which are not reflected in De Goeje's reports - but to discuss this would be beyond the scope of this review. It is interesting to note that chief Majoli told De Goeje in 1904 that he and his people still remembered stories about Schomburgk's visit to the Trio in 1843. Both this and possibly still older narratives could shed more light on the reliability of Indian stories about the past as found in many reports of early explorers.

The last six stories are interesting animal fables.

In general, the work under discussion is an important contribution to our knowledge of the Trio Indians of Surinam and of their ideas about the nature of their universe, the spirit world, and the outside world as represented by other tribes, Bush Negroes and whites. Hopefully, the editors of this journal will enable Rivière to elaborate on his comparison of the myths recorded by Koelewijn and the summaries of Trio myths collected by Edmundo Magaña. This is important because of the differences observed by Rivière, as he remarked in his 1989 review of Magaña's work in *BKI* 145 (p. 183).

Thomas Gibson, *Sacrifice and Sharing in the Philippine Highlands. Religion and Society among the Buid of Mindoro*, London: Athlone Press [London School of Economics Monographs on Social Anthropology No 57], 1986. x, 259 pp.

GARY BRANA-SHUTE

This is an excellent book and, unlike the over-conceptualized and politically charged nonsense that often passes for anthropology (particularly in the United States), one can learn a great deal by reading it. The text's thoroughly brilliant ethnographic exposition and theoretical postulations are framed in elegantly simple British social anthropology.

Buid social organization stresses individual equality and autonomy in a social/value system that nullifies descent group formation, redistributive economic systems and hierarchy of any sort. An extraordinarily high divorce rate assures a constant circulation of individuals between households, accompanied by a flow of goods and services as compensation. Embedded authority is further diffused as children choose to align themselves with a large number of real (kin) parents or non-related step-parents. The open divorce system avoids the hierarchical relations between wife-givers and wife-takers which arise when women are under the control of senior men. Such an open system is supported by routine rites of intensification. In a flourish, Gibson reports (p. 83), 'The entire adult population [. . .] gathered on moonlit nights to engage in a sort of mock orgy. Men would try and reach up women's skirts with their hands or with symbolic phalluses such as aubergines [...]. The meaning might be made even more explicit by spitting on the end of the object. The women would retaliate by ganging up on one man [...] to squeeze his genitals. During these free-for-alls, distinctions of age and marital status breakdown.'

Buid spiritual life is richly complex and also highly egalitarian. The group feels a collective liability to mystical attack and thus collective responsibility for repelling such offense through seances, spirit mediumship and animal sacrifices. Mediums operate individually and demonstrate an extreme lack of ritual paraphernalia, lack of ecstatic behaviour and a very matter-of-fact way of dealing with the supernatural. Mediums mediate a mystical dependence of the individual on the whole and call for the participation of all members of society - as equals. Sacrifice involves the killing and consumption of 'sacred' animals, who are feit to be sacred

because they serve as mediators between the human and supernatural worlds. Sacrifices function to bring about either disjuncture between humans and undesirable spirits or harmony between humans and desirable spirits. Gibson excels here and writes some of the best ethnography I have ever read, all the while systematically building a model of the Buid world view and animal/human/supernatural classifications.

Finally, the fundamental principles and idioms of Buid life do not exist, nor have they evolved, in isolation. Indeed, the daily flow of Buid life is itself a ritual of resistance against the outside world. Buid emphasis on egalitarian values is part of a larger, regional system in which those values exist in opposition to those of the hierarchical societies of lowland Mindoro, which constantly encroach on Buid territory and polity.

The text is supported by sensible and well drawn maps, an appendix placing the Buid in their regional/cultural context, notes, a seven-page bibliography and a workable index.

Readers interested in ritual and symbolism, ethnicity, resistance and, of course, South-East Asian societies will all profit from this monograph - as a Latin Americanist I certainly did.

Claude Tardits (ed.), *Princes et serviteurs du royaume; Cinq études de monarchies africaines*. Paris: Société d'Ethnographie. 1987. 230 pp., maps, figs. ISBN 2-90116-29-4.

H.J.M. CLAESSEN

In this volume, five French anthropologists - Emmanuel Terray, Michel Izard, Claude Tardits, Alfred Adler and Annie Lebeuf - describe and analyse how the rulers of five West African (early) states tried to cope with the problem of the ever-growing number of royal descendants and functionaries. In all cases under discussion (Gyaman, Yatenga, Bamoum, Léré and Baguirmi respectively) the rulers practised extensive polygyny, so that there was always a large number of sons claiming a position in the governmental organization. No definitive solution was found in any of the five cases. The methods used, such as the creation of new positions, the subjugation of new regions, or the development of a mechanism of 'sinking status', were never adequate. Everywhere there were royal sons and grandsons competing for positions, and even minor positions were highly coveted. The high functionaries (*serviteurs*) not only sometimes posed a threat to the power of the king, but also tried to make their own positions hereditary, after which their descendants entered the already overcrowded job market as well.

In Gyaman, some of the royal princes were entrusted with the administration of districts (*commandements*), but as there were always more princes than *commandements*, this solution did not really work; on the contrary, it created serious tensions between the fortunate few and those who did not obtain a *commandement*. Although the conquest of new regions enabled the ruler to create new positions, this offered only a temporary solution (Terray 1987:39 ff).

Among the Yatenga, a system of 'sinking status' was found to exist. After a number of generations the descendants of a prince here lost their privileges and became commoners (Izard 1987:68 ff). The position of the princes who ruled the villages was complicated by the presence of *chefs de guerre*, who were descendants of subjected title holders. Their position was legitimate in the eyes of the local population, and so they provided a strong counterweight against the influence of the new headmen placed there by the central government (Izard 1987:73). The fact that the king and princes were surrounded by dignitaries all trying to make their positions hereditary, contributed seriously to the problems in the state of Yatenga. Many of these dignitaries had strong claims on the king; they married his daughters, and in return gave sons and daughters to serve him in various capacities.

The Bamoum, as described by Tardits, present a slightly different picture - the tensions between princes and dignitaries here ended in a bloody battle. The princes lost, and many of them were killed. In the next generation, however, the princes succeeded in turning the tables, and the usurping dignitaries were driven away. Even this did not restore peace, for there arose a fierce rivalry between the king's wives. Behind each wife loomed the interests of her lineage, as each one tried to make her son a king (Tardits 1987:133).

The Léré sought another solution, according to their ethnographer, Adler. Royal Léré princes were appointed as village heads far away from the capital. They held these positions only by royal favour and so lacked the opportunity to build a local power base. At best a son could succeed his father as appointed prince for only one generation, after which the family lost its status and became commoners (Adler 1987:143). In this way the ruler of the Léré quite effectively controlled a large area, while his sons never posed a serious threat to his position because of the sinking status mechanism. There still were always more princes than villages. And, since the villagers always had a say in the selection of their future headman, quite a number of princes were sure never to get an appointment as village head. Adler adds that rulers, in an effort to alleviate this problem, sometimes tried to reduce the number of their offspring through abortion and possibly also infanticide (1987:153).

Among the Baguirmi as well, a complex system of balances of power was found to exist. Here the members of the royal family and the descendants of the traditional chiefs (*chefs de la terre*) administered small regions in the centre of the country, while the royal servants and military leaders had large regions in the periphery. By comparison, the position of the dignitaries here seems to have been better than in the other cases; they had large incomes and sometimes could effectively obstruct royal measures (Lebeuf 1987:221).

The general conclusion of the book is that the same problems were found to occur in each case. In each case the rulers tried a solution that was in line with local customs and traditions. The ever-growing number of princes and the ever-growing number of descendants of high dignitaries, however, made a definitive solution impossible. At best the situation was stabilized for some decades. Elsewhere in Africa, where rulers had more

power, more drastic solutions were found for the problem of the royal sons. In Buganda, for example, most of the brothers of the king were killed shortly after his ascension. Elsewhere, in Ankole, the victor in the wars of succession was crowned king, his brothers for the greater part having succumbed in these wars. The problem in every case was the result of an absence of clear rules of succession. Where these were found - for example in Dahomey - the problem of the royal princes was practically non-existent. In this case, moreover, the ruler could also handle the claims of his dignitaries more effectively, as these lacked the potential support of ambitious princes.

Tardits and his colleagues have produced a well-written work presenting a well-documented series of ethnographic cases. This way they have brought the problems of a policy of divide and rule that were certainly not restricted to Africa to our attention.

Gerard Termorshuizen, *P.A. Daum; Journalist en romancier van tempo doeloë*. Amsterdam: Nijgh & Van Ditmar, 1988. 632 pp. D.fl. 69.50.

MARY EGGERMONT-MOLENAAR
and
HAJO JAN WESTRA

According to one contemporary nineteenth-century critic, Dutch literature owes its best authors to the Netherlands East Indies. The most famous among them is undoubtedly Multatuli, whose novel *Max Havelaar* championed the Javanese against the colonial system. The author of the book under review examines the life and work of another, less well-known author, P.A. Daum (1850-1898), who is known for having written the first naturalistic novel in Dutch literature. Daum was an admirer of Multatuli. While still in Holland, he wrote idealistic, uplifting novels. In 1879, already a self-made man, the young journalist departed for the East Indies. Through his reporting he became intensely involved in all the political, social and artistic aspects of his new environment. There are some revealing contradictions. As a laissez-faire liberal he vehemently criticized the government's policies, which even landed him in *ja.il*. Yet he was not against the colonial system per se. He favoured the emancipation of (white) women, and had an eye for the plight of native women. At the same time he was convinced that colonial peoples could not be raised up to the level of their masters.

In 1882 he bought his own newspaper. An important feature of any (colonial) paper was the 'feuilleton', which featured serialized novels. Daum largely filled his own paper, including this item. In 1883/4 *Uit de suiker in de tabak* appeared. The title refers to contemporary economic conditions involving a change from the cultivation of sugar to the more profitable tobacco culture. The plot involves the rise and fall of a plantation

owner. It is the first naturalistic novel in Dutch literature. Daum admired Zola and very much agreed with him that journalism was the right preparation for the writing of novels. The result was a form of writing that was stunningly different from the pious stuff produced before by Daum (although there are significant formal parallels as well, for example, the motif of the reversal of fortune). His newspaper public loved it because of the 'realism' in the presentation of colonial conditions and the colonial mentality, the absence of false shame and sexual prudery, and the (apparent) authorial impartiality vis-à-vis the characters of the novel. In fact, *Uit de suiker* features the first unsympathetic hero in a first-person novel in Dutch literature. The style is fast-paced, without the impressionistic elaboration in vogue at the time. The serial element is evident in a noticeable haste, occasional inconsistency of characterization and plot, and the need to spice up individual episodes with elements not essential to the story line, much like modern situation comedy or soap opera. Sex and the double Standard, marriage and concubinage are the leitmotifs. At the same time Daum managed to hold up a mirror to colonial life by focusing on its vices and corruption, and his audience loved it. Without being overly deterministic, and with his criticism tempered by irony and humour, Daum nevertheless presented an ultimately moral-satirical point of view so familiar from other Dutch literature.

The interrelationship between the journalist and the novelist in Daum is particularly well documented by Termorshuizen, who is also much impressed and intrigued by the phenomenon of a colonial author being the first to abandon idealism and to embrace naturalism. This is explained by the effect his new environment had on Daum, the release from the constraints of the old country, and the remarkable immediacy of the reception of Zola by a single (?) enthusiastic Dutch critic. Another explanation that could have received more emphasis is the commercial success of the genre: Zola's books were picked up quickly by the book trade and a Dutch translation might come out the same year as the French version. This would not have been lost on Daum the businessman.

Termorshuizen obviously admires Daum's accomplishment and his art, but does not lose sight of the perceived shortcomings of the *procédé*. Only towards the end does he part company with Daum's naturalist aesthetic. At the same time it is clear that he feels that Daum's treatment by the Dutch literary critics of his time, who could not stomach his 'honesty', is responsible for the non-acceptance of Daum's work into the literary canon. The biography clearly serves as a rehabilitation of Daum's work, and in that sense Termorshuizen has already been very successful in awakening renewed interest in the novels and the journalistic work among a broader public since the reappraisals of DuPerron and Ter Braak in the 1930's and the more recent efforts of Rob Nieuwenhuys. The biography is somewhat less successful in its coverage of Daum's life. Many questions of detail remain. As the son of an unmarried mother, and obviously sensitive to the status of women, why did he wait with marriage until fourteen days before the birth of his first child? Was it really for religious reasons only that his wife did not want to be buried next to him? Why was it that only 300 guilders were collected after his death for the education of his children, if

Daum was as well-loved as Termorshuizen claims? Why is there no reference to the death of his mother in his writings?

Termorshuizen clearly wants to see Daum as a successful figure in all areas. A good example is (p. 271): 'Daum finally feit at home in Semarang'. In fact, Daum had joined several organizations, including the social club Amicitia. When this club put on a show, perhaps even on Daum's initiative and promoted by him, it turned out a very poorly attended flop. Daum was disappointed ... There is an element of desperation in his attempt to settle in in Semarang.

A distinct merit of this biography is its clear presentation of life in the East Indies in the 1870's-1890's, especially of the process of change and adaptation that the newly arrived colonial went through, which involved a process of evaluation and re-evaluation of people and things in the new and the old countries. This process connects with the life experience of other Dutchmen who have settled permanently abroad, in the past and at present. From the perspective of that experience, Daum's life may seem to have been presented in a manner that is somewhat idealizing. For Daum, idealism was a sin of his youth.

Selwyn H.H. Carrington, *The British West Indies during the American Revolution*, Dordrecht/Providence: Foris Publications, 1988. [Koninklijk Instituut voor Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde, Caribbean Series 8.] 222 pp., bibl. ISBN 90-6765-228-80.

P.C. EMMER

There is little in the historical literature on the Caribbean which provokes more debate than does the 'Williams Thesis'. As far back as 1944, Eric Williams, a historian and former prime minister of Trinidad and Tobago, published his Ph.D. thesis on the relationship between capitalism and slavery. One of the many challenging new hypotheses of this - by now classic - book posits that the Atlantic slave trade (and later slavery itself) was abolished after the sugar producing economies of the British Caribbean underwent a decline at the end of the 18th century, implying that the abolition of slavery was brought about not owing to humanitarian ideals, but as a consequence of economic realities.

Further research on this topic has not supported the economic argument for abolition, however. In fact, Seymour Drescher, in his *Econocide; British Slavery in the Era of Abolition* (Pittsburgh 1977), shows that the slave economies of the British West Indies were thriving and that some of them were actually expanding in the final decade of the 18th century. In spite of these new findings, the 'Williams Thesis' remains attractive. Economic realities are easier to understand than ideological motives, and Selwyn Carrington has published his book - based on his Ph.D. thesis - in defence of Eric Williams no doubt with this idea in mind. The book tries to demonstrate that the British West Indies indeed declined economically towards the end of the 18th century. The main cause of this decline was the secession of the British North American mainland colonies from the

British empire. After the end of the American War, the British West Indies were unable to continue production on the same level as before 1776, let alone to expand production.

In support of this argument, Dr. Carrington has produced a strange, rather badly organized text.¹ After discussing the history of the 'Williams Thesis' in his Introduction, the author provides an overview of (1) the growth of cash crop production in the British West Indies in the 18th century; (2) the dependence of the British West Indies on trade with both Western Europe and North America; and (3) the negative effects of British mercantilism on the economic growth of the islands. Even in these first two chapters the author reveals himself as a bad organizer: he throws facts, tables and statistics at the reader without any indication of what is new and what is simply a summary of existing literature.

No doubt, the most innovative part of the book is chapter 4, which demonstrates how disastrous the effects of the American War of Independence were on the traditional trade relations of the British West Indies. In this section the author focuses on the main development supporting his 'decline' thesis: the reduced trade with the North American mainland colonies, affecting both the export of rum and - more importantly - the import of slave food and of construction materials. The impact of the reduced trade relations with North America is discussed further in chapter 7. Confusingly, the intervening chapters (5 and 6) deal with British and North American merchants, who were very successful in smuggling North American products to the West Indies. In the discussion of this issue, the author suddenly shifts his analysis from the macro- to the micro-level, providing information on individual merchants and undermining his own argument that trade with North America came to a virtual standstill during the war.

However, the disruption of trade during a war is one thing, a continuing structural change in trading patterns another. Which arguments in support of such a structural negative change in British Caribbean trade relations does the author really substantiate? First, the author points to the rising operating costs of plantations without providing any information as to whether these increased costs were perhaps offset by higher incomes. Secondly, Carrington points to the rising percentage of slaves who were brought to the British West Indies and then re-exported. Unfortunately, the re-export of slaves is not necessarily proof of the claim that the British West Indies were economically in decline. The re-export of slaves only indicates that other areas in the Caribbean were in need of manpower. A third argument concerns the volume of cash crops, and here the author experiences obvious difficulties in denying that the sugar production of the British West Indies again reached its pre-war level. Thus Carrington concentrates on the 'decline' in the volume of exports of minor crops without indicating their value. Such a specification would have shown that

¹ For a better presentation of Carrington's arguments see Selwyn H.H. Carrington, '"Econocide - Myth or Reality?": The Question of West Indian Decline, 1783-1806', *Boletín de Estudios Latinoamericanos y del Caribe* 36 (June 1984), pp. 13-48, with a reply by Seymour Drescher, 'Econocide, Capitalism and Slavery: A Commentary', pp. 49-65, and a 'Post Scriptum' by Carrington, pp. 66-68.

sales of British West India coffee and cotton on the London market increased in value, this value far surpassing pre-war levels.

As was pointed out above, the presentation of the main thesis in the book is unsystematic. For instance, the author suddenly stops short in the middle of the presentation of his arguments in chapter 7 to insert three chapters (8, 9, 10) surveying the political history of the white segment of the population of the British West Indies. These chapters, which tell a story of their own, have no connection with the rest of the book and should have been omitted. They reveal that the white colonists in the various British isles had much sympathy for the rebellious settlers in North America. As might have been expected, however, the extreme racial divisions in the islands as well as the dependence (increasing, according to the author) of these islands on the metropolitan economy provided insurmountable obstacles to a loosening or, indeed, severance of the imperial ties.

Is there anything the author contributes to the debate on the economic position of the British West Indies which goes undisputed? The answer is, yes, there is. Firstly, without agreeing that the decreasing imports of slaves into the older sugar colonies, to which the author has pointed, necessarily indicate an economic decline, I admit that these reduced imports provide an important explanation for the resignation of Barbados and Jamaica to the abolition of the Atlantic slave trade. Also, one must agree with Carrington that the British imperial policies not only assured the British planters of a protected home market for their products, but also at times hampered the economic growth of the British West Indies.

Carrington's main thesis of economic decline can be rejected by adducing the conditions for continued economic growth in the West Indies as summarized by the author himself, viz.: 'Thus, the loss of the American colonies clearly demonstrated that the West Indian economy could not survive without adequate food supplies, fresh lands, a large and cheap labour force and rising world demand for sugar and rum' (p. 126). After the War of American Independence, all these conditions for further growth were restored. American supplies continued to flow into the British West Indies, albeit at higher prices; new, fresh areas were brought under the system (Trinidad, Demerara), and the increasing slave trade provided constantly more slaves, while the world demand for sugar was rising. Carrington has not demonstrated that any of these growth factors was seriously affected by the American War. After 1784, Caribbean slavery was alive and flourishing.

R. de Ridder and J.A.J. Karremans (editors), *The Leiden Tradition in Structural Anthropology: Essays in Honour of RE. de Josselin de Jong*, Leiden: Brill, 1987.

JAMES J. FOX

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'Distancing', as Professor Arie de Ruijter argues in this volume, 'is fundamental for cultural anthropology'. Distancing is also appropriate in approaching this collection of essays originally offered to Professor P.E. de

Josselin de Jong on the occasion of his 65th birthday. A somewhat belated review of this book may provide the extra distance from which to put it into perspective.

Almost one third of this volume is taken up with a 'short history' of Professor de Josselin de Jong and the Leiden tradition. This 'history', by H.F. Vermeulen, includes both a bibliography of published and unpublished materials and an appendix listing the dissertations supervised by Professor de Josselin de Jong up to 1986, plus a list of the dissertations supervised by his predecessor, Professor J.P.B. de Josselin de Jong. Professor de Ruijter then provides a brief but particularly pertinent introduction to the essays in the volume. His introduction is followed by Lévi-Strauss' 1973 address (in French) on receiving the Erasmus Prize, in which he paid special tribute to the Leiden tradition and in particular to Professor de Josselin de Jong. The rest of the volume - its core - consists of ten essays by students. The editors, R. de Ridder and J.A.J. Karremans, each provide an essay of their own plus an editorial preface.

Since the publication of this volume, Professor de Josselin de Jong has officially retired as Professor of Anthropology at Leiden, but he has remained active in the advancement of the Leiden tradition. Under an enlightened rule that allows emeritus professors a period of five years in which to supervise students' dissertations, Professor de Josselin de Jong has continued to serve as an important thesis supervisor. A number of the students contributing to this volume, and to a second volume of essays in his honour, *Time Past, Time Present, and Time Future*, have now completed their dissertations under his direction. By a straightforward count, professor de Josselin de Jong has supervised more doctoral students since his retirement than in the first decade of his appointment as professor. This simple fact is evidence of the personal intellectual impetus he has given to the Leiden tradition.

Vermeulen's contribution to this volume is a substantial piece of work written by someone with a considerable ethnographer's interest in Leiden. It is a chronological account, interspersed with interesting anecdotes, of Professor de Josselin de Jong's career and his relationships with teachers, colleagues and students, but it also analyses, with close attention, the development of ideas in Professor de Josselin de Jong's writings. This study is clearly an important sourcework for anyone interested in the Leiden tradition. It is important, however, to note that Professor de Josselin de Jong and Vermeulen have also combined efforts to write an extended account of anthropology in Leiden from its foundation in 1877 to 1940.¹

Most of the ten students' papers in this volume offer tantalizing morsels of work in progress. The ethnographic diversity of the contributions is considerable. Papers, mostly based on extensive fieldwork, focus on Indonesia, India, Africa, and Mexico; while several others deal with issues in the theoretical analysis of different oral traditions. Each takes as its

¹ 'Cultural Anthropology at Leiden University: From Encyclopedism to Structuralism', in: Willem Otterspeer (ed.), *Leiden Oriental Connections 1850-1940*, pp.280-316. Leiden: Brill/Universitaire Pers Leiden, 1989. [Studies in the History of Leiden University 5.]

starting-point some basic theme that derives from the work of Professor de Josselin de Jong.

Danielle Geirnaert sketches an outline of the ceremonial exchange systems among the Laboya people of West Sumba. The paper is written with a comparative eye to the practices of other societies in eastern Indonesia but, as is so often the case with the presentation of new ethnographic material, the Laboya instance prompts further consideration of our understanding of the region. Geirnaert looks at the values associated with the contrast in annual agricultural ceremonies between *padu*, the 'bitter' period of prohibitions linked with the hunting of wild pig, and *nyale*, the time of fertility associated with the swarming of the seaworms. She stresses a distinction between the values of renown and fertility, but what is particularly interesting is that the extreme undervaluation in Laboya of maize and other dryland crops as opposed to rice has, it seems, shifted the values associated elsewhere with planting from *padu* to *nyale*.

Gerard Persoon develops a fascinating contrast between the accounts of two civil servants stationed on the island of Siberut, in the Mentawai archipelago, off the coast of Sumatra. The first account is that of a Dutch civil servant, J. van Buuren, in the 1930's; the second that of an Indonesian government officer, Hasan Basri from Padang, stationed on Siberut in the 1980's. Most of the paper consists of comments from these two 'participating outsiders' on the nature of Siberut society and their particular operational approaches in 'enhancing' this society. Although Persoon examines the contrasts between these perceptions of Siberut, he also makes clear the values shared by both administrators. Education, the use of cash, the acceptance of a proper religion, and reliance on rice rather than sago are seen as appropriate to development. Examinations of this sort are needed and Persoon succeeds in pointing to an area where more research should be done.

J. Brouwer presents a vignette recounting the myth of a 'lodestone fort' that is told by different Visvakarma subcastes in the South Indian State of Karnataka to explain their fall from Brahmin status. The tale can be seen as a myth of the loss of precedence and purity resulting in a contemporary situation where certain subcastes, which are considered the 'ancestors' who came 'before' the other subcastes, have been seduced into a more lowly state than those subcastes who fled and are now described as 'latecomers'. Brouwer merely hints at the significance of these differences and notes that they will be given broader discussion in his thesis, *Coping with Dependence*, which has since been presented (1988).

Sj. M. Zanen and A.W. van den Hoek offer the most beautifully written paper in the volume: a lucid examination of the structural, moral and cosmological opposition between cattle camp and village among the Bor Dinka of the Sudan. Drawing on Hubert and Mauss' essay on Sacrifice, they examine in particular the mass sacrifices of cattle, suddenly selected at random as if by lightning from God. The authors argue that these extraordinary sacrifices give primacy to the idea of sacralization over that of expiation. This paper, written to be read in terms of the ethnography of Evans-Pritchard and Lienhardt, provides a mutually interpretative perspective on what is described as the 'Nilotic field of study'.

Trudeke Vuyk attempts a comparative structural analysis of two related societies, the Kuba and Lele of Zaïre, in the central African 'matrilineal belt'. Shorter in length but more ambitious in scope than the paper on the Dinka, this essay deals with so many aspects of these remarkably complex societies that its conclusions appear more suggestive than conclusive.

The two papers on Mexico form an interesting pair, both dealing with pre-Columbian cosmological representations of time and space. Rosanna Lok examines the house as microcosm in an Indian village in the highlands of Puebla, while Jan A.J. Karremans examines similar cosmological structures in the barrios of a lowland town in Puebla. A pervasive dualism, an orientation system consisting of the cardinal points around a centre, and the symbolic prominence of the numbers five and seven in temporal and spatial orders appear to define the cultural core of a distinct ethnological field, at once similar to and yet quite different from that of the Indonesian study field. This impression is enhanced by Rob de Ridder's essay on the forms of parallelism in the Popol Vuh, the 16th-century manuscript of the Quiche Maya of Guatemala. Here, as in many parts of Indonesia, a semantic and syntactic parallelism, expressed most frequently in couplet form, appears to provide the linguistic basis for an encompassing dyadic view of life. The question raised by these papers is how, within the Leiden tradition, one advances comparisons not within a single ethnological field but between two different and quite separate ethnological fields.

R. de Ridder's brief essay offers but a taste of his brilliant, thorough-going thesis, *The Poetic Popol Vuh*, for which he obtained his Ph.D., under Professor de Josselin de Jong's aegis, in 1989. In addition to this paper, there are two other papers on oral tradition. Kees P. Epskamp compares a number of mouse deer tales told mainly as popular trickster tales among Javanese and Malays. He sees these stories as moral fables intended to impart social values to villagers, in contrast to the holy stories embodied in myths and preserved by festive events of a cosmological nature. Henk A. Molenaar concludes the volume with a probing disquisition on the nature of myth, situating anthropological analysis in an epistemology grounded in historical self-awareness.

If one were to look for a common factor in all of these diverse offerings, it would be that identified by Lévi-Strauss in his reprinted oration. Since the early 1920's, the Leiden tradition has systematically explored the implications of the ideas of the group of the *Année Sociologique*. This has continued to the present generation. The works most often cited in these essays, as well as implied in their analyses, are those of Durkheim and Mauss on Primitive Classification, Hubert and Mauss on Sacrifice, and Mauss on The Gift. (The only work not cited - and for some reason seemingly undervalued within the Leiden tradition - is Mauss and Beuchat's essay on the Seasonal Variations of the Eskimo, which would have been particularly pertinent to a number of papers in this volume.) Following on these seminal figures are the contemporary French interpreters of the ideas of the *Année Sociologique*, particularly Lévi-Strauss and Dumont. Dumont's ideas on hierarchy and value are now prominently displayed in various essays. What is impressive in this collection is the continuity and the vitality of a common intellectual tradition.

Professor de Ruijter, however, sounds an ominous note in the conclusion to his essay. As he points out, 'most of the authors to this collection'... 'find themselves outside of Academia'. They have been relegated to 'a sort of vagrant, marginal research proletariat [who] are blocked in their development rather than being encouraged in it'. If this continues to be true, the very continuity that has defined the Leiden tradition may be at risk and this volume, instead of being a portent of new promise, may in fact mark the decline of a notable intellectual tradition.

H.U.E. Thoden van Velzen and W. van Wetering, *The Great Father and the Danger; Religious Cults, Material Forces, and the Collective Fantasies in the World of the Surinamese Maroons*. Dordrecht (Holland)/Providence (USA): Foris, 1988, 451 pp.

SILVIA W. DE GROOT

The Maroons in Surinam are the descendants of runaway slaves who fled the plantations in the 17th and 18th centuries. Most of them made peace with the colonists in the mid-18th century and thereupon were declared free people. They built their settlements deep in the forests, along the rock-strewn rivers.

The culture of Maroon societies is based on an Afro-Surinamese religion. The political structure is manifest through a hierarchy of self-appointed political functionaries, who are confirmed in their office and paid by the Surinamese government. The dominant kin ideology is matrilineal.

Though fairly autonomous, the Maroons were never completely isolated. Their relations with the coastal area are based on trade and, for the most part, the execution of menial work. Religion plays a central role in the Maroon community. A Supreme Being, 'Nana', is the dominant figure in a complex cosmology, which conceives of a supematural world consisting of four or five spirit domains or pantheons. There is a spirit medium cult representing each of these spirit domains on earth.

Two such cults are the subject of the book under discussion. They manifested themselves in the 19th century among the Ndjukas, located for the greater part in the south-east. The authors have devoted many years of anthropological study and research to the Ndjuka Maroons, and have published copiously on them. This book is based on contemporary research, as well as on archival and published materials, and, most importantly, on oral traditions gathered from local historians.

The two opposing cults - that of the Gran Gadu or Gran Tata (The Great Father), and of the Na Ogii (The Danger) - manifested themselves in the late 19th and early 20th century. Though new in form, the essential core was embedded in the traditional spiritual philosophy of the Maroons, or their collective fantasy. Central to both these cults is the belief in witchcraft. Witches - often old men or women - are believed to bring down illness or death upon their victims out of spite and jealousy. They spread fear among that part of the community that is better off. This, in a sense, economically based doctrine is clarified in this book. In 1890, gold was

found on the upper reaches of the rivers in Surinam and French Guyana. The Maroons - that is, the young and able-bodied ones - profited greatly by the resultant gold rush, transporting thousands of gold seekers along the rivers, which they alone could navigate. The ensuing discrepancy between the Standard of living of the boatmen and the other villagers gave rise to an explosion of fears of witchcraft. These fears were channelled by a group of priests, who, together with the affluent boatmen, profited immensely. The priests grew rich on the proceeds from fines and confiscations of legacies (of deceased declared witches), while the boatmen were spared accusations.

With the working out of the gold deposits (1910), a countercult sprang up. The Gran Gadu (Great Father) cult leaders came to be accused of manipulation and greed, while obviously witchcraft had not been controlled by them. Charismatic and authoritarian prophets promised better cures against these ills. They proclaimed themselves mediums of a powerful spirit of the forest: Na Ogii (The Danger). Their activities met with success, but their own greed and extravagant life-style in turn brought about their downfall. The Gran Gadu cult survived until 1972, when a new prophet demolished its spiritual centres and destroyed the power of its priests. This new prophet again went the way of his predecessors, and witchcraft was not overcome - jealousy and greed after all are part and parcel of the *condition humaine*.

The authors offer the reader a fascinating psychological insight into the relevant society as well as the individual. Explanations are provided through the use of Freudian concepts. These concepts may help us to understand this exotic world from a European point of view, but in my opinion an explanation of the behaviour of the Ndjukas from within their own cultural framework, based on the authors' deep knowledge of and subtle insight into their culture, is much more gratifying. In this work the number of protagonists often seems excessive and this diverts the attention from the core of Ndjuka history.

Nevertheless, the book provides a comprehensive view of a fascinating society. It is very well written, and is a pleasure to read. The illustrations (mostly by the authors themselves) are unique and very illuminating. They are, unfortunately, not very well reproduced.

Frederick Errington and Deborah Gewertz, *Cultural alternatives and a feminist anthropology; An analysis of culturally constructed gender interests in Papua New Guinea*, Cambridge etc: Cambridge University Press, 1987, 185 pp.

PAUL VAN DER GRIJP

The Chambri people comprise about 1500 persons, scattered over three villages in the East Sepik Province of Papua New Guinea. Margaret Mead and Reo Fortune studied them in 1933, when they were called the Tchambuli. In her well-known book *Sex and Temperament in Three Primitive Societies* Mead stated that Tchambuli (now Chambri) men were dominated by women. The power of these women was based on their economic

independence. This 'discovery' made quite an impact on the American world of the early thirties. 'Many American women believed they too could achieve their independence if they had their own charge cards and mortgages, as well as banks and business', according to Errington and Gewertz, who have refuelled the discussion.

These two anthropologists have reinterpreted Mead's analysis on the basis of their own field work, and conclude that it was to a large extent incorrect. Mead tended to project Western patterns on non-Western gender relations. As for sex-linked personality development, she underestimated cultural differences. Like the later feminist anthropologist Nancy Chodorow, Mead shared Freud's basic assumption that the key to both male and female personality development was to be found in the organization of women's groups, and the relationship of little boys and girls to women. For Freud, the degree in which a child considers its mother as a nurturant accounted for ego differentiation. Freud also supplied us with the idea of 'penis envy', explained as follows: in a very early stage girls dissociate from their mother, who is blamed for the fact that they have no penis. They develop a leaning towards the father, and later towards men in general. Mead and Chodorow criticized Freud on this point. He failed to see that most girls and women are not successful in dissociating from the affective link with their mother. In spite of differences among themselves, Mead and Chodorow both considered individuals as 'subjectivities created by emotionally formative influences over time'.

Errington and Gewertz correctly argue that one should not compare separate aspects of sociocultural systems, but the systems as a whole. It is interesting to see how they applied this in their own analysis. They define dominance as 'a relationship between individuals (or groups) in which one unjustifiably deprives the other of the capacity to make and enact what are regarded as reasonable decisions'. Consequently, not all forms of constraint are called dominance, for example, those between parents and children. Mead's mistake with respect to dominance was that she viewed Chambri men and women in Western terms, as 'subjective individuals seeking self-expression through an economically derived individualism'. But, in order to be able to judge whether Chambri male-female relationships are characterized by dominance, we must have a clear understanding of these people's self-image. It is this method the authors have followed; only then does comparison with the West take place.

Chambri men and women are both indebted towards their ancestors, but each in a different way. In both cases, those who have generated life remain more important than the lives they have generated. But men tend to become each other's equals, as a result of which they always aspire to more power than they are actually able to acquire. A Chambri man tends to increase his own power at the expense of that of other men, and in so doing acquires a specific male identity. This strategy leads to continual mutual competition. The strategies employed by women, on the other hand, supposedly are fairly straightforward and thus less complex. By giving birth to children, women can replace those who have generated their own lives. By showing their true worth in this way, they are apparently exempted from the mutual struggle for relative equality via the accumulation of power.

Among men as well as women, individual power rests on esoteric knowledge of ancestral names. Each Chambri receives, from his or her kinsfolk, certain totemistic names which represent the incarnation of their kinship links. Through patrilineal links men inherit both more, and more powerful, names than do women through matrilineal links. These names give access to particular economic resources, for example, to a set of sago palms that once belonged to a certain ancestor. Furthermore, social ups and downs are attributed to these names. Individual identity is not expressed, as in the Western world, in terms of what one 'really is', but in terms of what one does and of the totemistic names one owns. Individuals thus are considered as the embodiment of their particular social contexts, as a sort of catalogue of their transactions.

The totemistic names of men, unlike those of women, provide the means to gain power over others, and so form the basis and focal point of political competition. The power of women - reproduction of human life - cannot be transmitted to the male domain. Neither are women ever considered as followers of certain men, nor as their 'usual victims'. Men think it only normal to seek power over others, whereas women do not seek competition with men (nor with other women) to defend the rationale of their existence. On this point, the aims and strategies of the two genders diverge considerably. It cannot therefore be considered adequate to say, as Mead did, that women dominate men. The reverse, male domination of women, does not hold, either.

At the end of their book, the authors discuss the prevailing Western view of individuality, which they contrast with the Chambri's view. In the Western world, (paid) work and consumption are the domains in which men and women show, compare and evaluate their subjectivity. Indeed, there is a difference between a 'good job', which pays well, leaves room for initiative, and is interesting, and a 'lousy job', which lacks all these qualities. To the extent that a woman is a non-worker, her identity as a person is valued lower than that of a man. Domestic labour ranks somewhere between paid work and free time, but does not confer the prestige of the former, or provide the possibility of relaxation and self-expression of the latter. In other words, when a man comes home, his spouse can claim no free time, because she has not really worked. For working women arriving home, on the other hand, there is the domestic work still waiting. Willingness to do domestic labour is said to be motivated by love. Money, the recompense for work, is an objective and general criterion, love is a subjective and particular one.

Usually, when Western women are non-workers, it is because they are women. This may be very de-personalizing in a cultural context in which individuality is highly esteemed. Because men are judged merely on the basis of their paid work, they conceive of themselves as more objective, more adult. After all, their subjectivity is tempered and refined in the objective world. Women, by contrast, are viewed as more subjective, as childish and sensitive, as slightly less than adult, as dependent, irrational, unreasonable and impulsive. However, the ascription of more sensitive qualities implies the supposition that women have greater ease and ability in interpersonal contacts and more refined aesthetic taste. Sometimes, women among

themselves describe their husbands as 'big babies'. But then, these are to be manipulated in such a way that they continue to bring money into the household and are prevented from spending it in an impulsive manner. This does not detract from the general image, however, according to which men dominate women in public as well as in private matters.

Unlike their counterparts in Western societies, the authors conclude, Chambri 'men and women are largely able to allow each other to pursue their separate strategies for acquiring worth, and rarely seek to dominate each other'. So Mead was right in her observation that Chambri women 'conducted their lives with more assurance than do American women'. The lesson we may learn from the Chambri is that it is not inevitable that 'male strategies for achieving worth result in the domination of women'. In short, 'male domination is not inevitable'.

The generalizations which Errington and Gewertz make about the Chambri seem to be more convincing than their sweeping statements about Western society. They did their own field research among the Chambri. They have detailed ethnographic material to support their arguments. And yet, they remain outsiders. It is often said that one 'has to have been there' in order to be able to judge. The complement to this aphorism is that from a distance, via the detour of intercultural comparison, one's vision at home becomes sharper and one's judgement more subtle. The authors mention in passing that their statements about the Western world merely concern American middle-class married couples. But don't these form exactly the most important breeding ground for the dominant Western ideology?

The relevance of anthropology has often been questioned. Other sciences contribute cures for deadly diseases, discover new sources of energy, or find solutions for other world problems. For a while, anthropology seemed to have shown its worth through Margaret Mead. She was said to have discovered the unique case of a human society in which men were dominated by women: that of the Tchambuli (or Chambri). Now, Errington and Gewertz have revised this view and concluded that there is neither oppression nor dominance of one sex by the other among the Chambri. This conclusion is less spectacular than Mead's, but no less valuable. That is to say, if we agree with them and with Mead that other societies have significance for us 'by demonstrating the range of human possibilities', and by 'help[ing] us clarify our objectives'. However, this does not mean to say that other societies, like that of the Chambri, can serve as models or actually provide cultural alternatives.

Annette ClaBen, *Kann die Gupta-Kunst Kālidāsa's Werke illustrieren?* Teil I: Text; Teil II: Abbildungen. Berlin: Dietrich Reimer, 1988. [Marburger Studien zur Afrika- und Asienkunde, Serie B: Asien, Band 11.] 90, XLV pp., 10 figs, 32 pis.

MARIJKE J. KLOKKE

The relationship between literature and sculpture is an interesting subject that is receiving more and more attention. In the Indian context it has not

yet often been dealt with separately. Annette ClaBen's study therefore forms a welcome contribution to the subject. She focuses on one art style, Gupta art, which flourished in North India between c. A.D. 370 and 550, and on one author, Kālidāsa, probably the best-known author of classical Indian literature, who lived some time between A.D. 370 and 470.

In the first part of her book, ClaBen starts off by delimiting her subject, defining Gupta art - basing herself for the dates of this on Joanna G. Williams (1982, *The Gupta art of India*) -, establishing the *post* and *ante quem* dates of Kālidāsa's lifetime, and listing the texts, or parts of texts, that can with certainty be attributed to Kālidāsa. She then proceeds to present passages from various of the texts listed (Meghadūta, Kumārasambhava, Raghuvamśa, Abhijñanasakuntala, Vikramorvaśiya, and Malavikāgnimitra) and to point out correspondences between the passages quoted and various pieces of Gupta sculpture. This leads her on to interpretations of the individual sculptures and to a number of general conclusions, which she presents separately at the end of part one. In the second part of the book all the sculptures dealt with in part one are illustrated with reproductions of photographs published previously by other scholars.

It has more than once been suggested that Gupta sculpture was inspired by descriptions in Kālidāsa's literary works. As Annette ClaBen states (p. 8), the usual mode of proceeding - strewing descriptions of pieces of sculpture with quotes from Kālidāsa's works - has self-evident shortcomings. ClaBen herself makes a greater effort to arrive at a systematic comparison of the two. The title of her book suggests that she is primarily concerned with the identification of series of reliefs representing stories narrated in the said works. This is not the case, however, for, apart from a number of reliefs depicting episodes from Rama's life (the story of which is told in the Valmīki Ramayana and in Kālidāsa's Raghuvamśa, for instance), such series apparently do not exist in large numbers. Instead, ClaBen concentrates mostly on correspondences between descriptions of feelings and emotions (*bhāva* and *rasa*) in Kālidāsa's works on the one hand, and the way in which these are portrayed in Gupta art on the other. In this connection she also brings into the discussion the Bharatīya Nāṭyaśāstra, a handbook of dancing and drama, which meticulously describes the different movements, gestures and expressions characterizing the different states of mind.

ClaBen makes a number of interesting observations. Her most important conclusion is that the sculptors did not actually use Kālidāsa's texts, but that correspondences between his texts and the Gupta sculptures are due rather to the fact that both Kālidāsa and the Gupta sculptors drew on the same tradition in the expression of the various moods and emotions, a tradition laid down already in the Bharatīya Nāṭyaśāstra, presumably dating from the first centuries A.D.

The book also provokes some more critical comments. For instance, it is a matter of regret that, judging from her preface, ClaBen did not have (and possibly was not given) the opportunity to pay any visits to the monuments and museums housing the sculptures she deals with. Photographs in books always are inadequate as basic material, as they show their

subjects, in this case sculptures, only from one angle, and often are badly reproduced. If ClaBen had herself been able to see the sculptures, this would have saved her having to comment more than once that it is difficult to make out particular details in the photographs (cf. pp. 16, 43, 73, for instance). Further, some more information on the theory of *abhāva* and *rasa*, on the contents of the texts cited from, and on the contexts of the Gupta sculptures dealt with would have been useful. Finally, not all the author's interpretations of the individual sculptures seem to me equally convincing. She has, in my opinion, often been a little too hasty in relating the quoted passages to the sculptures. Although I have my reservations about some of the author's interpretations, her main line of reasoning and final conclusions definitely make the book stimulating reading.

Michael Young (ed.), *Malinowski among the MagL The Natives of Mailu*, London and New York: Routledge, 1988. [International Library of Anthropology.] viii + 355 pp. ISBN 0-415-00249-4.

J. KOMMERS

The greater part of this book is an annotated re-edition of Malinowski's first ethnographic field monograph, *The Natives of Mailu: Preliminary Results of the Robert Mond Research Work in British New Guinea* (pp. 77-339 in this book, including 8 pages of annotations by Young). This monograph was published in 1915 in the *Transactions and Proceedings of the Royal Society of South Australia*, which had a circulation of only about three hundred. Therefore, the work has always been difficult of access. For this reason alone the re-edition is welcome, not only to those interested in Melanesia but also - and perhaps even more - to the general reader interested in the beginnings of anthropological field work, and especially in the way the ideas and practice involved in this particular method matured with the man who initiated it in anthropology.

The lengthy introduction by Michael Young, which makes the book much more than just an annotated reprint, is apparently directed to both categories of readers. The introduction begins with a comprehensive account of not only the personal and scientific circumstances of Malinowski's stay in Australian Papua, but also the sensitive political circumstances, which were all the more important since Malinowski was a former citizen of the Austro-Hungarian Empire and, as such, was suspect to many people during those war years.

In the first section Young explores the significance of the monograph as an 'apprentice work': the field experience offered Malinowski the opportunity to gain confidence as an ethnographer and to formulate working strategies. But more than that, it enabled him to learn from his mistakes. This was important, for, as Young makes clear, Malinowski was very well aware of the weaknesses in his work. The fifth section of the introduction is called 'The Politics of Publication' and addresses the questions why

Malinowski published his monograph in such an obscure place and why he finished the work in such great haste. In a later section Young explains that the quality of the work suffered considerably because of too strict an application of categories used in the *Notes and Queries*, Malinowski's field manual. According to Young, the hurry in terminating the monograph was one of the reasons why Malinowski clung too strongly to the structure of the field manual. So the Mailu project also proved an important lesson in 'publication politics'.

In comparing the monograph with the three surviving field notebooks and with a copy of the original typescript, Young offers important background information on the genesis of the work, which proves especially valuable for the textual analysis of the ethnography. Perhaps inspired a little too much by the literary studies of Clifford and associates, Young gives rather a lengthy exposition of the construction, rhetoric and style of the monograph. To be sure, the analysis contains some very valuable information (e.g., concerning the technique for assessing the ethnographer's credibility), but in some places the argument seems somewhat too far-fetched (e.g., concerning the 'Aunt Sally trick', pp. 36-38).

Comparing the monograph with other contemporary ethnographies on Papuan peoples, Young makes clear that Malinowski's early work, although falling far short of the standards of his later masterpieces, is rich in detail. Young's discussion of Malinowski's relationship with his missionary host Saville - who later attended Malinowski's lectures in London and himself published a book on the Mailu - offers a fascinating glimpse of a brief episode in a period which marked the turning-point in the relationship between anthropologists and missionaries. Together with the concluding section on 'the Text and its Editing' (pp. 67-69), this part of Young's introduction is of special interest for the 'historian' of anthropology, as well as the generally oriented anthropologist. Sections X-XII (pp. 54-67), assessing Malinowski's monograph in relation to more recent studies on the Mailu and discussing his treatment of the *govi maduna*, or 'big annual feast', is especially important for readers interested in Melanesia.

Therefore I feel that Young's re-edition of Malinowski's early monograph, which until now has remained very much a 'wallflower', constitutes a welcome contribution to the Melanesian as well as to the general anthropological literature. It is an edition worthy of the great master.

Bernhard Dahm and Götz Link (eds), *Culture and Technological Development in Southeast Asia*. Baden-Baden: Nomos Verlagsgesellschaft, 1988.

NIELS MULDER,
Universität Bielefeld.

This book is the product of a series of national conferences organized under the auspices of the Development Policy Forum of the German Foundation for International Development (DSE) in 1985. Meetings in Manila, Bangkok, Kuala Lumpur and Singapore were attended by social scientists, educators, technical experts, theologians and religious leaders,

and representatives from the worlds of the arts and politics. Together they addressed the broad topic of 'Culture and Technological Development'.

If a meeting of so many 'experts' does not lead to a confusion of tongues, then at least it will produce a generous erop of common-sense statements of the type fashionable among urban intellectuals who deliberate on such subjects as 'The Impact of Technological Development on the Daily Life of the Family and the Community, on Religion and Education, on the Arts, Crafts and other Traditional Occupations in Rural and Urban Areas'. Whether the deliberations have produced the hoped for 'new insights on the dimensions of conflict between cultural traditions and new technologies imported from alien cultures' may well be doubted, although some 'informative material on the changes resulting therefrom' (p. 24) has certainly been brought together.

The book is a typical product of the conference and expert group culture that thrives on the cash from foreign foundations or government and United Nations initiatives. However noble the purpose of and painstaking the preparations for such conferences may be, the discussions are generally not guided by well thought-out premises and hypotheses. In this particular case, the concepts of 'culture', 'culture change', 'technology', etc, were never defined or placed in any theoretical framework that would lend them relevance. Cultural dynamics have therefore remained unclear, the role of technology vague, and the use of words like 'tradition', 'modernization', and 'development' (used on almost every second page), or 'individualism' (e.g., p. 47), enigmatic.

The better parts of the book are the sweeping introductory statements about development policy and cultural tradition and some characteristics of cultural traditions in Southeast Asia (pp. 11-23) by professor Dahm, and the chapter on technological development and the political, economic and social life in Malaysia by professor Awang Had Salleh (pp. 97-102). Yet, both of them would certainly have written more incisive papers if they were to have been measured by the standards of critical scholarship, instead of being prepared under the stresses and strains of a number of ad hoc conferences. As it is, the contents of the book answer but poorly the expectations to which its pretentious title gives rise.

F. von Benda-Beckmann, K. von Benda-Beckmann, E. Casino, F. Hirtz, G.R. Woodman and H.F. Zacher (eds), *Between Kinship and the State; Social Security and Law in Developing Countries*, Dordrecht: Foris, 1988. vii + 495 pp.

JAN MICHIEL OTTO

This book contains the collected conference papers presented at the fourth symposium of the Commission on Folk Law and Legal Pluralism in Tutzing, Germany, in June 1986. This meeting was organized in co-operation with the Max-Planck Institut für Ausländisches und Internationales Sozialrecht at Munich for the purpose of analysing the mutual relevance of social security and folk law in the Third World.

The two organizing institutions in a way represent different worlds: on

the one hand that of the legal anthropologists of the Commission, with their well-known scepticism regarding the use and effectiveness of written state law and prevailing government policies, on the other hand that of the lawyers and policy makers, the 'social engineers', of the Max-Planck Institut. 'Social security' seemed a promising theme for bringing these two groups together, offering opportunities for the folk law specialists to focus on the local norms underlying arrangements for mutual material support, and the jurists to deal with nation-wide social security systems devised by the state.

Of the 27 contributors to this book, the folk law specialists outnumber the social security specialists by far. Consequently, only a minor part of the book (notably parts of the contributions by Zacher, Fuchs, Kludze, Hirtz, Wanitzek, Kaufmann, Azer and Pijuan) devotes more than casual attention to government intervention in the case of specific social security schemes. Most of the other contributions contain reports of anthropological field research in a variety of countries. In some cases these are very to the point, but in others they relate only vaguely to what is commonly understood by 'social security'. Thus interesting articles that are primarily focused on colonial history, slavery, agrarian law, farm economy, bureaucratic behaviour, income-generating development projects and legal aid also form part of this book. A few authors (Kludze, Bossert, Hirtz and Wanitzek) have succeeded remarkably well in giving a systematic treatment of both formal and informal arrangements for social security in the usual sense, and of their effectiveness.

The geographic diversity of the underlying studies contributes further to the kaleidoscopic character of this book. So there are nine papers concerning African countries (three of them Tanzania and two Ghana) and eight concerning Asian countries (three of them Indonesia and two the Philippines). Of the remaining contributions, one is focused on Latin America (Columbia), one on North America (Alaska), one on Moluccans in the Netherlands, and one on the Netherlands themselves.

The theme chosen addresses the all-important question of by what means poverty in the Third World can be and is being alleviated. However, no conceptual and systematic elucidation has been achieved, according to the preface (p. 5), although this was particularly badly needed in view of the interdisciplinary approach chosen, and no common conclusions are presented. After reading the various contributions, the reader will probably draw the conclusion him- or herself, however, that traditional social security systems are often - though not always - losing ground because of social and economic developments such as individualization and liberalization. Moreover, even if there are social security schemes in developing countries, these often - though again not always - fail to reach the majority of the rural population.

The above-indicated limitations as to coherence do not imply that this book does not contain interesting and well-written contributions. The reverse is true. These papers will prove of special interest to legal anthropologists and generalists in the field of rural development in the Third World.

Rainer Carle (ed.), *Cultures and societies of North Sumatra*, Berlin and Hamburg: Dietrich Reimer Verlag, 1987. [Veröffentlichungen des Seminars für Indonesische und Südseesprachen der Universität Hamburg, Band 19.] 514 pp.

NIGEL PHILLIPS

This valuable collection of 23 papers results from the interdisciplinary and international symposium on North Sumatra held in Hamburg in 1981. The book is wide in scope, consisting of sections on history and politics, religion and anthropology, ethnomusicology, local languages, and geography.

In the first section, a paper by Anthony Reid, 'The identity of "Sumatra" in history', discusses the question whether Sumatra as a whole should be distinguished as a field of enquiry. It argues that the island has long been bound to its neighbouring islands and to the Malay peninsula, and has never had much internal unity, partly because of poor Communications; in fact, 'it has been easier for Sumatrans in modern times to relate to a distant government in Java than a close one in Sumatra'. The other papers in this section, which there is no space to discuss here, are Jean Paul Barbier's 'The megaliths of the Toba-Batak country'; E. Edwards McKinnon's 'New light on the Indianization of the Karo Batak'; Wolfgang Franke's 'Chinese settlement in North Sumatra as seen from epigraphic evidence: A preliminary report'; Edward M. Bruner's 'Megaliths, migration and the segmented self'; and Basyral Hamidy Harahap's 'The political trends of South Tapanuli and its reflection in the general elections (1955, 1971 and 1977)'.

The section on religion and anthropology begins with Lothar Schreiner's 'Nommensen in his context - aspects of a new approach', which calls for a rethinking of the Danish missionary's role as 'apostle to the Batak' and points to the important contributions of others, both Batak and foreign, to the evangelization process. The paper by Susan Rodgers, 'City newspapers in the creation of a Batak political heritage', shows how a Medan newspaper is creating a new mythology about a Batak 'national hero', as part of the Bataks' claim for a position in Indonesian culture. The story of this national hero's dynasty is told in Sitor Situmorang's paper, 'The position of the Si Singamangarajas from Bakkara in relation to the three main *marga-gmups*: Borbor, Lontung and Sumba'. Jansen Pardede's paper, 'The question of Christianity, Islam and the Batak culture in North Sumatra', discusses the different ways in which those two religions have responded to old Batak culture, including Christianity's more selective approach to *adat* - favouring some aspects and discouraging others. The paper by Rita Smith-Kipp, 'Karo Batak rice rituals then and now', compares data from the early years of the century with her own recent observations and considers why rice rituals are now in decline. The second part of this section of the book is devoted to four papers on the social order: Sandra Niessen's, entitled 'Can van Wouden's model be reconciled with Toba Batak social structure?'; Henry Guntur Tarigan's 'Kinship terminology in the Karo community'; M.K. Portier and H. Slaats on 'Women and the division of parental land in Karo society'; and R. Griffin Coleman on 'Pakpak marriage ritual as a cultural performance: Use and meaning of the term *adat*'.

Section 3 of the volume, on ethnomusicology, begins with Artur Simon's paper 'Social and religious functions of Batak ceremonial music', which includes a description of the music of a Karo *erpangir kulau* ceremony. Margaret Kartomi's paper, '*Kapri*: A synthesis of Malay and Portuguese music on the west coast of North Sumatra', describes a form distinct from both pre-Muslim and Muslim music, which plays a dominant part in the two major life-crisis ceremonies of the area, namely weddings and baby-thanksgivings. Deriving the word *kapri* from *cafre* (*kafir*), i.e. the African slave-musicians brought in by the Portuguese, Professor Kartomi concludes that the Portuguese elements in *kapri* reached the west coast of North Sumatra indirectly from other Malay regions which had had more intense contact with the Portuguese. This section concludes with 'Lagu "Mengungsi". Sada lagu perjuangan kemerdekaan i Indonesia', a Karo Batak song about the independence struggle, transcribed and translated by Terbit Sembiring.

The remaining papers, which unfortunately cannot be discussed here for want of space, are: Tindi Radja Manik's 'Masalah penyusunan kamus bahasa Dairi Pakpak - Indonesia dan kamus bahasa Batak Toba - Indonesia'; Giulio Soravia's 'The current state of the Gayo language'; Ulrich Scholz's 'The impact of natural conditions on the structure and development of smallholder farming in Sumatra'; and 'The urban area of Medan - growth, development and planning implications', by Ursel Wolfram-Seifert.

James J. Fox (ed.), *To Speak in Pairs; Essays on the Ritual Languages of Eastern Indonesia*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988. [Cambridge Studies in Oral Literature **15.**] xi + 338 pp.; bibl.; ill.

R. DE RIDDER

Traditional communication, both oral and written, among a large variety of peoples all over the world is characterized by the use of parallelism: sentences, clauses and words may correspond to each other as a result of the repetition of syntax. Variation is found in the actual words and expressions that are combined by the repeated syntax. When one studies this type of speech, two aspects must be taken into account: the relation between the varied words, and the relation between the word combinations and the context in which they are used. In this volume, James Fox has brought together ten essays which all deal with parallelism in traditional speech in a single broad cultural area, Eastern Indonesia. It is remarkable that in all the examples given, the parallelism involves pairs of words. This is also found in other parts of the world, though larger groupings of combined words are found, too. Another similarity is the abundant use of metaphors: many pairs of parallel words refer not to the sum of the meanings of the words but to something altogether different, although metonymic relations also occur.

According to the editor, this collection of articles makes it possible to compare the use of parallelism within the area. This is only partly true; all the articles deal with ritual language - the speech accompanying ritual, whether directed to spirits and deities or to other people - but the authors' focus is not always on the same aspect, and their aims and methods often differ. The value of this volume lies not so much in the possibility it offers to compare the use of this type of speech by different groups of people as in the fact that different authors supplement each other.

Hoskins' focus, for instance, is on the 'articulation of the universe', and she points to the relation between ritual speech and cosmology. Mitchell studies the use of metaphors concealed in word pairs. Renard-Clamagrand emphasizes the importance of ritual: 'ritual formulae form pairs in which one phrase is balanced by the other; drums and gongs are partners; the living and the spirits are partners in speech'. Kuipers analyses a single prayer without, however, confining himself to parallelism - other structural principles are also investigated. Forth notes that pairs of synonyms, as well as antonyms, may function as metaphors for single objects, events and concepts. The use of spatial metaphors in bridewealth negotiations is described in great detail by Nakagawa. Fox himself gives an account of a highly interesting experiment, in which he told some Rotinese a story contained in a text acquired by Jonker in c. 1900. The contemporary practitioners of ritual speech guessed that the text had been supplied by a contemporary colleague. There is a difference to be detected between ritual speech from Roti and that from other societies: in Roti the use of parallelism seems to be much more regular, and certain formulaic sequences as markers of the beginning and end of passages are discernible (or is it that the other authors just did not recognize this principle in the texts they studied?). Aoki and Lewis deviate from the theme of parallelism by focusing on the context in which ritual speech is used. Aoki analyses different texts concerning the same event (a detailed description, rumours, trials by ordeal, and curses) and tries to answer the question of why the curses (considered as ritual language because of the occurrence of parallelism) were ineffectual. Lewis wonders why a storyteller may vary his narration of a certain creation myth. Zerner and Volkman try to analyse a fragment of a ritual speech by asking professional interpreters for comments. As ritual language practitioners make use of dialect forms and metaphorical expressions, many people claim they do not understand the texts, while the speakers themselves sometimes disagreed about the meaning of certain passages.

The above summary of the contents of the articles does no justice to the quality of the volume. As was stated above, both the aims and the methods of the authors in their analysis of parallelism differ. If a comparison of the use of ritual language among different peoples within the same area is what is wanted, the point of departure should be the same for all of the authors. On the other hand, if one assumes that the principles involved in the use of ritual language in a given area are to a large extent similar - as seems to be the case in Eastern Indonesia - then different approaches may be applied to the same body of texts simultaneously. The great merit of this book is, in fact, that it brings together - for the first time, as far as

I know - articles on parallelism as it occurs within a single area but as analysed from various points of view. This way, Fox has made possible a better understanding of the phenomenon in general. In addition, he has made several tools available for unravelling language as spoken in pairs.

Serge Tcherkézoff, *Dual Classification Reconsidered* (Translation by Martin Thom), New York/Paris: Cambridge University Press & Editions de la Maison des Sciences de l'Homme, 1987, 157 pp.

MATTHEW SCHOFFELEERS

Hertz linked the pre-eminence of the right hand with the sacred-profane opposition. He highlighted the sociological aspect of the problem by noting that societies do not correct the slight natural inequality of the two hands but rather persecute the left hand quite openly, so despising it that right-handedness has become an ideal to which everybody must conform. Once Lévi-Strauss had shown how the 'savage mind' used binary opposition in classificatory schemas, a firm framework for the solution of this question would seem to have been found.

Tcherkézoff argues that such a solution has proved too narrow, as it disregards 'the vast and shifting domain' which Hertz - by placing the right-left opposition on the same level as the sacred-profane one - had discovered. His point is that these oppositions are not just part of an abstract system of thinking, but are crucial also in shaping morality and politics. Needham argued for this extension as far back as 1960, saying that Hertz' ideas could be fruitfully linked to Dumézil's concept of dual sovereignty. Needham's contribution, however important and provocative in itself, is nevertheless said to have involved a reduction of Hertz' position. Tcherkézoff therefore advocates a 'hierarchical analysis', over against Needham's binary method, which in his opinion does not, or does not adequately, allow one to take a society's system of values into account.

He illustrates this thesis with a reanalysis of Needham's well-known article on the Mugwe, a religious functionary among the Meru in eastern Africa, who was the subject of a monograph by the Italian anthropologist B. Bernardi. It appears that in the case of the Mugwe it is the left hand which is considered sacred, and not the right, as Hertz would have it. Needham solved this problem by declaring Hertz to have been wrong on this point: the Mugwe's left hand is sacred, and yet is inferior, because ritual power among the Meru is considered to be inferior to secular power. Tcherkézoff, on the other hand, argues that the Mugwe is central to the Meru religious and political culture. In a number of mythical tales the Mugwe (or a similar functionary) is marked by 'the two', which is understood to be 'the totality par excellence, the one which divides into two asymmetrical parts and which, when reconstituted, is more than the simple juxtaposition of the two parts. In fact, it is *totalising duality* (p. 23).' This totalising duality is not something that the Mugwe possesses from the

beginning. On the contrary, it is a quality that he acquires only after being captured, freed and 'recreated'. In Tcherkézoff's view there is reason to suppose that this renewed creation is not a simple return to a previous state. It means rather that from that point on, the Mugwe represents not only himself but the whole people. This transformational perspective gives Tcherkézoff's analysis added attraction.

De dagregisters van het kasteel Zeelandia, Taiwan 1629-1662. Deel I: 1629-1641, uitgegeven door J.L. Blussé, M.E. van Opstall en Ts'ao Yung-ho, met medewerking van Chiang Shu-sheng en W. Milde. [Rijks Geschiedkundige Publicatiën, Grote Serie 195.] 's-Gravenhage: Martinus Nijhoff, 1986. xxi + 548 pp., map, indices; ISBN 90 689 00 595.

G.J. SCHUTTE

In 1624 the Verenigde Oostindische Compagnie (VOC) built a fortified factory on the Tayouan peninsula of Formosa (Taiwan). After the Dutch had unsuccessfully tried to get a major share in the trade with China through direct commercial contact, by obstructing the trade of one of their Iberian competitors, and by establishing a settlement in the Pescadores, the Formosan adventure represented their most ambitious bid for control of the East Asian trade. They intended a Dutch Taiwan as the pivotal trade centre of the Chinese seas, dominating the trade routes between China, Batavia, Japan and the Philippines. But reality in Asia soon put paid to these plans. Neither the Chinese and Japanese governments nor the Portuguese and Spaniards yielded to the wishes of the Dutch. The Formosans themselves - both autochthonous Formosan tribesmen and immigrant Chinese - resisted Dutch domination. Governor Pieter Nuyts (1627-29), moreover, made things worse with his high-handed, undiplomatic behaviour.

In 1629 Hans Putmans was sent to Formosa to replace the inefficient Nuyts. Putmans and his successors managed to make a moderate success of the Formosan settlement. Dutch rule was extended over parts of the island, and the VOC's participation in the Asian trade was carefully guided through the difficulties posed by the rapid changes in the political and commercial climate of the region. In 1662, however, the Dutch dream ended: they were obliged to give up Formosa to the powerful Chinese 'pirate' Cheng Ch'eng-kung (alias Coxinga, as the Dutch called him).

Putmans, and all later Dutch Governors of Formosa, were under explicit instructions to keep a journal (*dagregister*), copies of which had to be sent regularly to the High Government in Batavia, together with the copies of the decisions of the Governor and Council. The Dagregister of the Taiwan settlement, preserved in the VOC archives at the Algemeen Rijksarchief in The Hague, contains detailed information on a wide variety of subjects. It offers data, some of them of a serial nature, on local trade and shipping, on the geography and climatic conditions, on the Dutch and other inhabitants of Formosa, on political and military affairs, and on the contacts

or conflicts between the different nations and powers of Southeast Asia. All this makes the Dagregister one of the most important sources for the seventeenth-century history of Taiwan and the surrounding region.

The index gives an indication of the impressive range of subjects that kept the VOC managers and their scribes busy. Among these, the subject of silk looms largest on the journal's pages, while the frequent mention of such commodities as rice, sugar, salt, fish, pepper, gold and deerskins testifies to their importance for the VOC trade as well. But the Company managers were not only engaged in commerce; they also had to maintain law and order and to defend their ships and 'castles'. The references to well over eighty pages bear testimony to the missionary efforts of the Calvinist ministers, who, in their religious zeal, tried to make a Protestant nation out of the animistic Formosans. Besides data on these important subjects, the Dagregister also contains stories with a human interest. The accounts of the Chinese widow who carried on her deceased husband's business and of the corporal who 'for unknown reasons' committed suicide may be mere footnotes to seventeenth-century history, but they are illustrative of social and psychological conditions in Formosa.

No complete series of the Dagregister survives. The lacunae, however, have been adequately filled in with summaries of other VOC archive materials, such as letters, reports and the records of the meetings of the Governor and Council. The editors have given a great deal of attention to the difficult identification of geographical names, and have added a glossary, indices, and references to relevant archive documents.

Olaf H. Smedal, *Lom-Indonesian-English and English-Lom Wordlists*, NUSA Linguistic Studies of Indonesian and other Languages in Indonesia, Vol. 28/29, 1987. viii + 165 pp.

H. STEINHAUER

Besides what is indicated by the title, this NUSA publication contains a brief introduction, a short bibliography, a 200-item vocabulary for Lom itself as well as for four other Bangka dialects, and finally four short Lom texts with a translation and notes, one of which also has interlinear glosses.

Before publication of this book, the scarce available linguistic information on Lom (dating from the middle of the 19th century) allowed of the conclusion that Lom was considerably different from all the Malay dialects which were known at the time and which were supposed to be spoken also in the non-Lom villages of the island of Bangka. As a result Lom was identified as a non-Malay language, for instance by P. Voorhoeve in his *Critical Survey of Studies on the Languages of Sumatra* (The Hague 1955, p. 24). It became further stigmatized as a totally different language by the conspicuous hatching in S.A. Wurm and Shirö Hattori (eds), *Language Atlas of the Pacific Area, Part II, Japan Area, Philippines and Formosa, Mainland and Insular Southeast Asia* (Pacific Linguistics C-67, 1983, map 38), where Lom is further given the qualification of 'group level isolate'.

In his introduction, Smedal explains that the deviating forms of those

words which provoked the qualification of Lom (or Mapor) as a non-Malay language were the product of recurrent sound changes and less fortuitous spellings. He further states that the present-day Lom can be identified with the Lom of older sources.

The 200-word lists for Lom and the four other Bangka dialects, moreover, show that Lom does not stand on its own as a Bangka dialect. However, it is impossible to conclude whether or not there are any sharp isoglosses dividing 'regular' Bangka dialects from Lom-like dialects, since Lom and the four Bangka dialects with which it is compared are all spoken in northern Bangka. The exact locations of these languages are not clear, incidentally, since neither the names of the dialects nor some of the geographical names used in the book are indicated on the map (p. viii). What is clear, however, is that Lom and the other, neighbouring dialects are all varieties of Malay.

These findings are interesting in themselves, and this justifies the publication of Smedal's data. One might ask, however, whether this should have been done the way it has. The author duly apologizes for not being a linguist. As he is an anthropologist, one would have expected some background information (anthropological or otherwise) of the Lomspeaking community. Unfortunately, such information is completely lacking.

What is also evidently lacking is an insight into phonetics and phonology. Perhaps the author is not to blame, but at least the editors of NUSA should have guarded him against the most obvious contradictions in his discussion of spelling and sounds. This way, a number of other inconsistencies might have been avoided as well. Sometimes the Indonesian (BI) and English (E) glosses of one and the same Lom item have dissimilar meanings (e.g., BI *nyamuk* and E 'sandfly', 'midge', 'gnat')- Morphological information is given inconsistently, and where it is given, no explanations are provided. Compare, for example, the following entries:

Lom	Indonesian	English
<i>pikér (de-)</i>	<i>pikir</i>	think; figure
<i>pukol (de-)</i>	<i>memukul</i>	beat; hit
<i>sibut (desibut, nyibut)</i>	<i>bersetubuh</i>	copulate
<i>tegok (de-, negok)</i>	<i>telan (men-)</i>	swallow (vb); gulp down

I have the strong impression that diacritical signs have been omitted in the process of printing in a number of instances, and have perhaps sometimes been added where they do not belong (compare, for instance, the otherwise identical notes, on pp. 16 and 77, accompanying the items *bisa* and *able*).

The data for the word lists seem to have been derived from different sources. The author states that he has 'tried to ensure that every word in the transcribed and translated texts ... appears in the vocabulary' (p.3). However, the vocabularies contain various items which do not appear

in the texts, so that other sources must have been used besides. Conversely, a number of items occurring in the texts are not included in the vocabulary. Nor are all of the author's bibliographical references listed in the bibliography.

The origin of the four texts, their background, and the identity of the narrator are not specified, nor is the occasion on which they were recorded or the recording technique. Three of them are mouse deer stories, probably deriving from the same source, in view of the similar, asthmatic, style of presentation. The fourth text represents a funeral speech, and it is implied that it is influenced relatively more by Indonesian (p.3).

This apparent heterogeneity of the data is only partly indicated, namely through the use of asterisks to identify words taken from the latter text (p. 3). Even so, the word lists contain quite a number of Lom items which only occur in the funeral speech but lack the asterisk. Moreover, given the number of items which do not show any of the sound changes which seem to be typical of Lom, one may surmise that Smedal's data are more heterogeneous than is explicitly stated (compare *burogng* 'bird', *burong antek* 'owl', and *burung dare* 'pigeon').

As a consequence of these and similar shortcomings and inconsistencies, the linguistic data presented in this book can only be qualified as raw linguistic material. At best they indicate some directions for further research. What obviously needs further investigation is the exact nature and scope of the sound changes, or indeed the relative degree of 'purity' of the current dialect.

As far as Smedal's data permit, I conclude with some tentative generalizations as to Lom word forms. There are indications that the proto-Malay opposition *a vs *a in final syllables has been preserved in some form in Lom, although there is also a tendency to centralize vowels in final syllables (raising *a to *é* and *e* ([a]?), and lowering *i to *é*, *è* and *ei* and *u to *o* or *e*), so that innovation and retention have similar effects.

Furthermore, it seems that final syllables tend to be accompanied in pronunciation with laryngeal activity, resulting in 1. what Smedal calls '(pseudo-)glottals' after originally word-final *i and *u (the latter lowering to *e* ([a]?) in this position), 2. '(pseudo-)glottal' articulation of word-final *k, *t, and *p (sometimes preceded by a short nasal, such as in *anengk* 'child' (BI *anak*), *ange(n)t* 'hot' (BI *hangat*)), and 3. what must be a kind of 'checked' nasals, written as *dn*, *gng*, *dn* and *bm*, from originally word-final nasals (compare *keridn* 'dry', *dategng* 'come', *Teledn* 'way', and *gerebm* 'salt' (BI *kering*, *datang*, *jalan*, and *garam* respectively)). Presumably previous to this laryngealization, word-final *h had disappeared phonetically, with a compensatory lengthening of the preceding vowel.

As to Lom morphology, it is remarkable that there are reflections of all the common Malay prefixes (except *per-*), whereas neither Smedal's texts nor any of his almost 2000 vocabulary items contain a trace of any of the Malay suffixes (except, perhaps, *-n* in *memandin* 'bathing place', marked as funeral speech Lom, if it is comparable to BI *per-mandi-an*).

Smedal's study underlines the necessity of further linguistic field research on Malay dialects in general and those of Bangka in particular.

Janet Bateman, *Iau Verb Morphology*. Jakarta: Universitas Katolik Indonesia Atma Jaya, 1986. [Nusa, Linguistic Studies of Indonesian and other Languages in Indonesia 26.] vi + 78 pp.

CL. VOORHOEVE

The Iau language is spoken by a small group of approximately 400 people living in the Western Lakes Plains area of Irian Jaya. To the outside world Iau became known only in the late nineteen seventies, after the Summer Institute of Linguistics had started field research in the Lakes Plains area. As a member of a SIL team, Janet Bateman has been working among the Iau speakers for several years, and the Nusa volume under discussion contains some of the results of her linguistic investigations. Under the somewhat misleading title *Iau Verb Morphology* it presents two articles, one on the function of tone morphemes on the Iau verb, and one on the function of tone morphemes on so-called status particles. Segmental morphology in Iau is restricted to compounding.

Janet Bateman has analyzed Iau as a tonal language with no less than eight contrastive tones. In addition there are 11 different combinations of two contrastive tones that can occur on a single syllable. On nouns, the 8 basic tones and their combinations serve to lexically distinguish otherwise homophonous nouns from each other. In other words, they function phonologically as tonemes. On verbs, however, their main function is to express eight different 'aspectual viewpoints'. In her first article, 'The tone morphemes and aspect in Iau', the author presents a detailed analysis of this aspectual system, in which the eight tones are arranged according to two contrastive parameters: punctual-durative-incompletive, and totality of action-resultative-telic (with a blank on the resultative-incompletive intersection).

In the second article, 'The tone morphemes and status in Iau', the author deals with six postverbal status particles that 'mark the realis-irrealis distinction in terms of the temporal occurrence characteristics and the temporal definiteness of the proposition'. Six of the eight tones combine with each of the status particles to indicate grades of factivity (established as fact - actually realized - possibly realized) and temporal conditions for reality (reality at some time - immediate reality - not an immediate reality). The remaining two tones occur only on negative particles. To give one example: the reality status partiële *di*, which marks a situation as 'a single unit occurrence at some temporally definite point in time', can combine with tone 9 (high tone) to indicate that the proposition is a fact; with tone 3 (low fall tone) to indicate that the proposition has already been actualized; or with tone 7 (high rise tone) to indicate that the proposition may or may not be realized.

Together, the two articles give us a picture of Iau as a language with an exceptionally rich tonal system with a variety of functions which allow expression of an impressive diversity of shades of meaning.

It is this very richness which will fill the reader acquainted with Papuan

languages with a certain scepticism. Real tone languages are rare in New Guinea, and so far four tones has been the maximum number observed. Within New Guinea the eight-tone system of Iau would be unique; among the world's tone languages it would be a rarity. Given the interest its discovery was certain to generate, one would expect Ms Bateman to have prepared the ground carefully by first presenting a detailed phonology, including a description of lexical tone, before turning to the complex and often elusive facts dealt with in this volume. Unfortunately this is not the case. A look through the bibliography to the first article shows us that such a phonology does not yet exist, not even in manuscript form. Instead, the reader is presented with a very summary overview of Iau segmental phonology, and a few short remarks about stress, lexical tone, and intonation. In view of the influence intonational patterns can have on the realization of tones, it is to be regretted that the author has not given more attention to them beyond the remark that 'intonational patterns are characterized by changes in speed of speech - from fast to slow' (a strange extension of the notion of 'intonation'), and also 'by a wider versus narrower pitch range'. The tones themselves are assumed not to be affected by intonation. Still, that something of an interplay between tone and intonation might be possible appears from the description of tones on medial verbs (pp.25/26). Medial verbs do not carry all the possible aspectual tones: tone 9 (high), 5 (high-low), and 3 (low fall) are usually replaced by tone 7 (high rise), tone 4 (high fall), and tone 8 (low) respectively. One could easily regard these changes as being the result of a rising intonation on the medial verb instead of a change in 'aspectual viewpoint' in medial verbs. Another intriguing feature of the Iau tone system is the complete absence of tonal sandhi. The tones line up, syllable after syllable, clear and uninfluenced by each other, carrying their various semantic loads. Even when two tones combine on one syllable, their respective meanings remain sufficiently intact to ascribe the marking of a certain change of state to the combination.

Janet Bateman has done the linguistic community a service by bringing the existence of an undoubtedly most interesting tonal system to its attention. Still, although one may be enchanted by so much beautiful complexity, one retains the nagging feeling that her solution is neither the simplest nor the most elegant. One can only hope that Ms Bateman will furnish us in due time with a detailed phonology of Iau which will allow of a more well-founded assessment of her work on Iau tone morphemes.