Book reviews

I Wayan Arka and Malcolm Ross (eds), *The many faces of Austronesian voice systems; Some new empirical studies*. Canberra: Department of Pacific Linguistics, Research School of Pacific and Asian Studies, Australian National University, 2005, v + 278 pp. [Pacific Linguistics 571.] ISBN 0858835568. Price: AUD 63.00 (paperback).

RENÉ VAN DEN BERG

The voice system of the Austronesian language family continues to be a linguistic gold mine. A simple illustration of voice is the Indonesian clause *Dia menulis buku ini* and its counterparts *Buku ini dia tulis* and *Buku ini dituliskannya*, showing a contrast between active and two types of passive voice (this is only one of many possible analyses). Philippine-type languages show very complex patterns which have led to a variety of theoretical approaches, while an all-encompassing typology for voice in Austronesian is still lacking. Add to this the diachronic question ‘How did these systems arise and change?’ and one has a research agenda that will hold its grip on Austronesianists for years to come.

If the current volume can be viewed as just another brick in the wall in this ongoing debate, it is admittedly a strong brick. Its strengths are the detailed analysis presented for several languages, the variety of approaches exemplified in the ten papers, and the broadening of voice typology.

In a fairly lengthy introduction the editors, both of whom are associated with the Australian National University in Canberra, give helpful summaries of the papers and comment on their significance.

Beatrice Clayre’s contribution, ‘Kelabit languages and the fate of “focus”’: evidence from the Kerayan’, differs from the others in that she compares several languages of northeast Borneo rather than focusing on just one. What one sees in the Austronesian family as a whole is reflected here in a relatively small section of Borneo: a gradual reduction of the voice system as one moves south, accompanied by a simplification of the pronominal system, a loss of tense/aspect morphology, and a rise in periphrastic constructions. Much new information is presented here, but much is still unknown, and one can only hope that these languages will soon attract the attention they deserve.

Mark Donohue discusses the voice system of Palu’e (central Flores) in ‘The Palu’e passive: from pragmatic construction to grammatical device’.

On the basis of a number of syntactic tests, Donohue argues that Palu'e has a clear passive clause-type, but that it is highly unusual that there is no passive morphology on the verb. The argumentation is rather heavy on theory and occasionally dense, but certainly convincing. What I would have liked to see is more information on the typology of Palu'e, and some bibliographical references.

A similar topic is addressed by I Wayan Arka and Jeluda Kosmas in 'Passive without passive morphology? Evidence from Manggarai'. Like Palu'e, Manggarai has a passive clause-type which is not morphologically realized on the verb. What makes Manggarai slightly less unusual is that the actor in passive clauses is marked by an oblique preposition *le*, whereas Palu'e only uses word order. I found this article pleasant to read and the argumentation clear and convincing. This type of voice system has not really been recognized before, and in the introduction the editors rightly add it to their typology of Austronesian voice systems.

All languages discussed in this volume belong to the Western Malayo-Polynesian branch of Austronesian, with the exception of Tongan, spoken in Polynesia. Yuko Otsuka writes about 'Two passive-like constructions in Tongan' (these are an agentless transitive clause-type and a VOS construction), and argues that neither construction can really be called passive. This is also a very readable article, with clear syntactic tests and lucid argumentation.

Stacy Fang-Ching Teng writes about 'Grammatical relations in Puyuma', one of the Austronesian languages of Taiwan. Puyuma has a complex system of four voices, case marking on nouns, and an unusually complex set of bound and free pronouns. One of Teng's points is that there are many idiosyncrasies and unexpected patterns in this voice system. Not all verbs, for instance, demonstrate the expected four voice alternations, and the choice of a certain voice affix is often semantically unpredictable. This shows the importance of combining syntactic and lexical research. Although the article is rich in data, I felt it lacked the kind of rigid syntactic argumentation found in the surrounding contributions.

Masumi Katagiri, in 'Voice, ergativity and transitivity in Tagalog and other Philippine languages: a typological perspective', argues forcefully - and convincingly in my view - that an antipassive analysis for the actor voice is untenable. It would be nice to see someone from the ergative-antipassive camp respond to this article. Tagalog is also the topic of Daniel Kaufman's contribution, 'Aspects of pragmatic focus in Tagalog'. Kaufman takes a fresh look at several syntactic structures in Tagalog from the pragmatic perspective of 'topic' and 'focus', and sheds new light on the relation between syntax and pragmatics in Tagalog and the role of prosody. Again, the argumentation is good, although I found the section on prosody somewhat hard going. The absence of explanation of the significance of accent marks on the vowels didn't help.

In 'The richness of Madurese voice' William D. Davies argues that the simple opposition between actor voice and object voice in Madurese, in combination with the object-creating suffixes *-i* and *-agi*, is 'every bit as rich' as a Philippine system. This claim strikes me as an overstatement that ignores the special nature of applicative morphology in Madurese (and related languages) and downplays the uniqueness of the four-voice system of a typical Philippine language. Davies does give a well-reasoned analysis of Madurese clauses, including a fine section on the determinants of voice.

The last two contributions deal with languages of Sulawesi. In 'Topic continuity, voice and word order in Pendau', Phil Quick provides a quantitative analysis of two types of Pendau transitive clauses. The paper is rich in statistics and the analysis is persuasive, but actual language examples are scarce. The section on the stative construction, for instance, offers not one example. Interestingly, word order is not found to co-vary with topic continuity. The final article, by Suree and David T. Andersen, is 'Semantic analysis of the Moronene verbal prefix *moN-*'. Moronene has a remarkable variety of clause types, but the discussion centres on the difference between two transitive constructions, and on ways to account for a large body of apparently exceptional usages. The authors are successful in showing that parameters of low transitivity can adequately account for these exceptions. They also offer a cognitive grammar approach to this problem, which is promising but needs to be worked out in more detail.

I found it interesting to see the different approaches to the question of voice in this book. Most authors approach the topic from a strictly syntactic point of view, but a few venture into a discourse perspective (Quick, Davies), while Kaufman looks mainly at pragmatics and the Andersens at semantics. All of these approaches (and one can think of even more) have something to contribute and are needed to arrive at a comprehensive picture of the richness of voice in Austronesian.

H.W. Dick, *Surabaya, city of work; A socioeconomic history, 1900-2000*. Athens: Ohio University Press, 2002, xxvii + 541 pp. [Research in International Studies, Southeast Asia Series 106.] ISBN 0896802213. Price: USD 30.00 (paperback).

PETER BOOMGAARD

Surabaya is Indonesia's second-largest city. However, in the historiography it is totally eclipsed by the country's primate city, Jakarta. In 2000, Surabaya proper had 2.6 million inhabitants, while Greater Surabaya had 8 million people. In

comparison, Jakarta proper had 8 million inhabitants, and Greater Jakarta 21 million. As Surabaya around 1900 had more inhabitants than Jakarta, it is not only the size of the latter that is more spectacular than that of Surabaya, but also its growth rate during the twentieth century. Nevertheless, the history of a place such as Surabaya merits our attention, not only because of its considerable size, but also because its history might be more representative of Indonesian urban growth in general than the extraordinary story of Jakarta.

Surabaya has now found its biographer in Australian economic historian Howard Dick. In seven chapters, not counting the conclusion, the author guides us through the twentieth-century history of Surabaya, a city to which he returned time and again for at least three decades. In the first chapter, called 'Aspects', we tour the city by car, getting to know its layout, and we witness its (changing) daily and annual rhythms. In the next, much longer chapter ('Episodes'), a brief political, economic, and social history of the city is presented, starting around 1900, with only the briefest flashes of earlier times. In fact, the chapter is in many respects a very brief history of the Netherlands Indies and Indonesia during the twentieth century. In the third, relatively short chapter ('Profile'), historical statistics are presented, not only of Surabaya, but also of Jakarta, in a systematic comparison between the two cities. Data given include figures on population, ethnic composition, migration, occupations (broken down by ethnic group and gender), education, expenditure, housing, access to water, toilets, type of cooking fuel, and ownership of consumer durables.

The next, very long chapter is called 'Government'. The topics it deals with include law and order, garbage disposal, public health, prostitution and venereal disease (usually referred to as sexually transmitted diseases), *kampung* (poor urban quarter) improvement and public housing, markets and street sellers, and education. The development of industrial establishments in and around Surabaya, which is dealt with in Chapter 5, lies at the heart of this book in more than one sense. Here, the economic historian author comes into his own. Thanks to a number of very detailed sources dating back to the nineteenth century, the story in this chapter starts around 1850, with traditional Javanese crafts and with the proto-industrialization phase of Surabaya's industrial development.

The next, long chapter, Chapter 6, deals with land. It is an account of the expansion of the city, starting in 1677, becoming more detailed as it approaches the twentieth century. Much attention is given to the question of how land rights were dealt with by the various parties concerned – an issue that came to the fore each time centrally located *kampung* areas were targeted for the construction of new buildings. Finally, the seventh chapter analyses the changing role of Surabaya as the leading export city of eastern Java, linking that area to local, regional, and international markets.

As the title suggests, *Surabaya, city of work* is a study in which labour, in both its economic and social aspects, is the key concern. It is a thorough, informative historical study by an author who is obviously passionate about the city. He is, moreover, well versed in the twentieth-century economic history of Indonesia, and therefore is in an excellent position to provide the necessary supra-local background to the city's developments.

However, it could be argued that the reader is sometimes burdened by too much background, and that the author occasionally loses sight of the ancillary function that his exposés are intended to have. This weakness contributes to the sense that the book is too voluminous – a more judicious editor who had insisted on a lower word count might have forced the author in the direction of tighter argument and tauter prose.

The book would also have benefited from a reduction in the number of tables, and in the length of the accompanying comments. Strangely enough, there is little discussion of the reliability of the figures, which in some instances seem questionable.

Finally, I was disappointed by the conclusion. It seems to be overly concerned with broader national historical issues, such as the similarities between the late colonial period and the New Order years. It would have been the ideal place to talk about Surabaya's history in an Asian or even global perspective. The author does not appear to be aware that writing the history of a city is an exercise in 'urban history', a relatively new historical discipline. What does the history of Surabaya contribute to this growing field of study?

Nevertheless, the book is an important contribution to this relatively new field, and a must for those who are interested in the ups and downs of large cities, in Indonesia or elsewhere. Indonesian urban history is an underdeveloped field, and the present study is, therefore, more than welcome.

Josiane Cauquelin, *The aborigines of Taiwan: the Puyuma; From head-hunting to the modern world*. London: RoutledgeCurzon, 2004, xviii + 277 pp. ISBN 0415314135. Price: GBP 75.00 (hardback).

WEN-TE CHEN

Dr. Josiane Cauquelin's recent book on the Puyuma of Taiwan is based mainly on her fieldwork in 1983-1984. Her book attempts to provide a thorough picture of the Puyuma in Nang-wang village. It presents a brief history of the Puyuma and describes the framework of their village life, their social institutions of family and age organization, their religious beliefs and specialists, and their material life. A final chapter deals with the incorporation of indigenous

peoples, including the Puyuma, into Taiwanese society since the 1980s.

As a whole, Dr. Cauquelin's linguistic-cum-ethnographic approach to the Puyuma of Nan-wang yields an informative study that should interest both specialists on the indigenous peoples of Taiwan, and scholars of Austronesian societies more generally. With respect to two important issues – the age system and its relationship to the familial horizon (Chapters 5 and 6), and shamanism and its transformations (Chapter 7) – the book also deserves attention beyond the world of Austronesian studies.

While this book has its merits, its implications are limited due to both theoretical and ethnographic shortcomings. As space is limited, I can address only some selected problems here.

To begin with the issue of the age system and its complicated relationship to kinship: a legend concerning the origin of that system is often recounted by the Puyuma. Two brothers killed their father for disobeying a rule that no-one was allowed to approach a Boys' House (*Takoban*) while it was still under construction. Dr. Cauquelin argues that this patricide, together with their earlier killing of their sister after mistaking her for a snake, indicates a denial of their kinship. The substitution of the relationship between god-father and godson for that between genitor and son signifies a transformation from the kinship domain to the communal sphere, and thereby contributes in an important way to the social reproduction of the Puyuma.

In itself this is an insightful interpretation, but unfortunately Dr. Cauquelin goes no further. The implications of the transition from boyhood to manhood could have been explored from better angles if, for example, the author had connected it to the life cycle of both sexes. Her concepts of age-set and age-grade are vague and imprecise, and she seems to be unaware of other relevant discussions (Chen 1989; Kertzner and Keith 1984).

Similar problems are also found in her treatment of shamanism and its transformations. Dr. Cauquelin argues that the Puyuma have undergone a transformation from a male-dominated shamanistic society to one characterized by female shamans, who instead of mastering the spirits are now possessed by them. Her account resembles that of Roberte N. Hamayon (1996) in that two factors are seen as the main causes of this transformation: a change from hunting to farming as the basis for subsistence, and the impact of Japanese colonization, which not only transformed ritual practices but also created a conviction among latter-day shamans that the original shaman had been an effeminate man rather than a woman (pp. 186-95).

At first sight, these ideas seem very informative and plausible. However, they are at best hypotheses and at worst self-justifications. The argument for correspondence between subsistence and shamanistic features cannot be supported either by ethnographical or by historical research. Male shamans (including an effeminate one in the Japanese era) have emerged in Nan-wang

village, but without exception they come only from this particular village. In other words, the relationship between shamanism and colonization needs to be explored further than the interpretation the author provides here. Dr. Cauquelin often pursues her arguments beyond the point at which she can support them with her own ethnographic data. For example, in support of her argument regarding a transformation in the mode of subsistence, she states that those who perform a ritual dedicated to the ancestor Takio are members of a Men's House (*Palakuan*) from the upper moiety. Yet her own data show that they actually belong to a Men's House of the lower moiety (p. 113, Table 6.1; p. 188).

In addition, it is surprising that, having noted the significance of the spatial antithesis upper (*ami*, 'northward')/lower (*timul*, 'southward'), Dr. Cauquelin does not mention another, even more important axis of spatial orientation: *raya* ('uphill', 'mountain-oriented', 'westward')/*rawud* ('downhill', 'sea-oriented', 'eastward'). *Raya* and *rawud* reflect two key pieces of proto-Austronesian vocabulary, and must be taken into account alongside *ami* and *timul* in order to understand the spatial frame of reference in Puyuma life.

Last, but not least, there is an ethical issue that should have been considered more carefully here. Where the Puyuma in the book are referred to by their real names rather than by pseudonyms, I fear that the information presented may cause trouble for Dr. Cauquelin's informants, since very personal matters such as attempted suicide and adultery are revealed.

Regardless of the aforementioned shortcomings, I expect that this English-language book will serve to stimulate international interest in the study of the indigenous peoples of Taiwan, a field dominated in the past by inaccessible Chinese-language publications.

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Mark Turner and Owen Podger (with Maria Sumardjono and Wayan K. Tirthayasa), *Decentralisation in Indonesia; Redesigning the state*, Canberra: Asia Pacific Press at the Australian National University, 3003, xv + 181 pp. ISBN 0731536975. Price: AUD 38.00 (paperback).

DORIAN FOUGÈRES

Turner and Podger's book provides an admirable review and analysis of the planning, implementation, and lessons of Indonesia's decentralization laws, policies, and practices up to 2002. The text consists of short, digestible chapters that include summary lessons, all of which are collected in an appendix; this structuring device makes the policy analysis accessible and immediately useful. The book is primarily oriented toward policy-makers – while the authors employ several analytical concepts, they take these concepts largely at face value and devote little attention to theoretical questions. Nevertheless, the authors write in a reflective and critically constructive tone, rather than one which is overly caustic or romantic. Furthermore, they demonstrate familiarity with key Indonesian policy-makers, provide legislative specifics, and integrate statistical figures where possible.

Briefly, the chapters cover the following topics. The first sketches the book's analytical framework for understanding decentralization – a classification of the *basis* of delegation (territorial or functional) and the *nature* of delegation (within formal political structures, within public administrative or parastatal structures, and from state sector to private sector). Here the authors note the recent popularity of decentralization as a policy objective linked to ideas of democratization, efficiency, and good governance – although they overlook its imbrication with neo-liberalism. The second chapter quickly reviews Indonesia's historical experience of centralized government and earlier attempts at devolving authority, and then provides a detailed exegesis of the political crisis that culminated in the two legal pillars of decentralization – Law 22 of 1999 on Regional Governance, and Law 25 of 1999 on Fiscal Balance between the Central Government and Regions. The third chapter then explores the former pillar in detail, listing changes in the rights and responsibilities of district government officials, and noting that the legislation was massively incomplete insofar as it left implementing legislation unspecified.

Chapter 4 provides a detailed account of the planning process, including the post-implementation (that is, post-January 2001) stage; this is interesting as a historical document, but the contingency of the planning process – its embeddedness in the specific historical context of Indonesia – leaves the chapter's general significance for studies of decentralization unclear. The

next chapter provides a sustained and useful catalogue of major regulations that put the two pillars of decentralization into action (for instance, regulations concerning the election of regional heads, accountability requirements). The very short Chapter 6 looks at the 'local level', focusing on the role of the Regional People's Representative Assemblies. Chapter 7 focuses on the regulations specifying the accountability of state officials, and identifies several ways of evaluating performance and ensuring compliance, although the authors note that corruption remains a central problem. The next chapter looks at the organizational restructuring of government within the country's heterogeneous regions, and includes numerous examples of regionally-specific initiatives. Chapter 9 focuses specifically on the restructuring of the civil service, and the redistribution and rehiring of 2.4 million staff between central and regional governments. Chapter 10 examines the functions, programmes, funding, and structures of five new local government associations, while the brief penultimate chapter examines the role of foreign aid in supporting the implementation of decentralization.

The twelfth and final chapter summarizes major lessons and remaining challenges. These challenges include the lack of regulatory frameworks and certainty; the need to rethink the role of central institutions and to coordinate regional activities; the revision of the regional governance law (which culminated in Law 32 of 2004); the persistent gap in regional equity despite general allocation funds; and the monitoring of service delivery. The post-script, written in 2003, reiterates the lack of a coherent regulatory framework, particularly with regard to regional finances.

Turner and Podger's book serves as a useful reference for scholars and practitioners concerned with the historical policy-making process of decentralization in Indonesia, the array of resulting legislation, weaknesses in resultant implementation, and numerous policy-relevant lessons derived from these experiences. For readers concerned at a higher level of generalization with government and the state, however, the text is theoretically thin (although in their defence, the authors never claim to make a major theoretical intervention). The text's primary shortcoming is its bias toward Law 22 on Regional Governance to the neglect of Law 25 on Fiscal Balance, a structural decision which keeps the book short and readable, yet in privileging politics leaves political economic issues outside the scope of analysis.

Jérôme Samuel, *Modernisation lexicale et politique terminologique; Le cas de l'Indonésien*. Paris: Éditions Peeters, 2005, 589 pp. [Bibliothèque de l'INALCO 7.] ISBN 9042913770. Price: EUR 40.00 (paperback).

ARNDT GRAF

An influential current within sociolinguistics considers the case of Indonesian to be a 'miracle', as Joshua Fishman (1978) has called it. This miracle is seen in the rapid transformation of a comparatively modest means of communication into a simultaneously national and modern language. Against this widespread perception, Jérôme Samuel argues for an approach that attempts to explain the 'miracle' by placing a stronger emphasis on the historical and empirical evidence. In this view, the *longue durée* of the function of Malay as *lingua franca* receives greater attention than the activities of nationalist contributors to the lexical modernization and terminological policy starting in the mid-twentieth century.

Consequently, the book is marked by a profound scepticism against overly hasty explanations of the Indonesian 'case' in the light of overarching theories. This attitude is apparent from the outset in the introductory chapter on sociolinguistic literature on Indonesian. Here, Samuel critically evaluates not only the works of the American-centred 'International Research Project on Language Planning Processes' (IRPLPP) active around Joshua Fishman beginning in the 1970s; his critical comments also target several French colleagues – notably Calvet (1986, 1987, 1996) – for lacking historical accuracy. Similarly, he criticizes approaches by certain Indonesian authors whom he calls 'postmodernists' (particularly Ariel Heryanto) for their 'ideological naivety' in regard of terminological practices (pp. 54–6). Throughout the book, Samuel has a similarly critical eye on the contributions of various other Indonesianists who have written on aspects related to Indonesian language planning, such as Teeuw, Chambert-Loir, and Benedict Anderson.

On a personal level, this book may therefore trigger angry reactions. However, one could argue that criticism of previous approaches is necessary for the advancement of knowledge. In this sense, the book offers new perceptions that may be helpful for further discussion even if the ideas themselves are criticized and rejected in the future.

The most valuable contribution of Samuel's work lies in his very detailed reconstruction of terminological policies in Indonesia under the various political regimes. These passages, constituting the main part of the book, will be one of the major resources, if not the major resource, for further research and discussion on this important aspect of Indonesian language planning. Samuel's reconstruction goes so far that he gives detailed accounts of virtu-

ally 'everybody' who ever worked in or for the various institutions involved in Indonesian terminological policy, especially the *Pusat Bahasa*. This wealth of information is due to extremely diligent research work. The author shows sympathy for the cause of Indonesian nationalism in language planning. The book ends with the focus widening to the Malay world in general, and to attempts at cooperative language planning across national borders. This widened focus makes it likely that the book will be translated into Malaysian Malay, and may thus one day be available to readers who are not fluent in French. Such a translation would also be justified by this book's status as a major work on terminological policy in Indonesia and the Malay world.

However, this particular function of the book may be seen by some readers as a shortcoming: Indonesian language planning and language policy in general are not the topics of the book. Certainly the book does not lend itself to an overarching theoretical approach in this respect – except in that it shows the author's scepticism of such overarching theories. It is thus mostly interesting for researchers who share a similarly strong focus on the empirical details of terminological policies.

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Nicholas J. White, *British business in post-colonial Malaysia, 1957-70: neo-colonialism or disengagement?* London: RoutledgeCurzon, 2004, xvi + 243 pp. ISBN 0415323207. Price: GBP 70.00 (hardback).

KARL HACK

In 1966 just 20 per cent of plantation managers in Malaysia were locals (p. 75), and up to the 1970s 30 per cent of the directors of Malaysia's top 100 companies were British (p. 2). But White rejects the argument that the creation of Malaysia in September 1963 was a neo-colonial plot to crush the left in Singapore, and to safeguard the interests of British business by passing stew-

ardship of Borneo's resources to the collaborative postcolonial elite Britain had manufactured in Malaya. He suggests that the British 'official mind' (p. 32) was moved more by high politics and strategy than by mere economics, thus extending the thesis of his earlier book *Business, government and the end of empire; Malaya, 1942-1957* (Kuala Lumpur: Oxford University Press, 1996) up beyond independence into the postcolonial era.

The book also addresses Cain and Hopkins' notion of gentlemanly capitalism reinforcing British imperialism until, after the Second World War, it began to see empire as an unnecessary and costly distraction from maximizing profits. White demonstrates that postcolonial business elites became more 'gentlemanly', and yet sees the resulting networks of agency houses, merchant bank capital and politicians as serving the marketplace more than they served imperialism. Agency houses (investment and managing businesses which secured rights to import and export various companies' goods, and interests in other businesses) increasingly internationalized, selling Japanese or Swiss rather than British goods. By 1963 Japan was North Borneo's largest trading partner; by 1965, Malaysia's too.

White's main focus is the empirical story of British business representation, moving between company, bank and government archives – from Guildhall to Whitehall – so as to interweave intricate relationships. On agency houses, White concludes that these relationships, including the increasing involvement of serving and former officials, 'points to the tendency for the UK's main business leaders in Malaysia to become more "gentlemanly", more integrated with the British financial and political establishment as empire ended' (p. 15). During the 1950s and 1960s Borneo Company Limited's board gradually took on new members with 'gentlemanly' backgrounds – notably Lord Ranfurley, educated at Eton and Trinity, Cambridge, a Lloyds member and an ex-governor of the Bahamas. Ranfurley later became chairman after Lord Inchcape, who was himself a chartered bank director. Ex-High Commissioner and ex-Director of Operations of Malaya (1952-54) General Sir Gerald Templar joined Ranfurley on the board. The likes of Inchcape could seek representation in London through the Malaysia-Singapore Commercial Association, and in Southeast Asia through functional representative groups such as the United Planters Association of Malaya (UPAM). They were less successful in winning over the Malaysian political elite, though Malaysia did not nationalize key foreign interests or distance itself from British business. In 1970 Lord Inchcape was even able to treat Malaysian Minister of Finance Tan Siew Sin to a week's grouse shooting on his Scottish estate.

White dismisses neocolonial and world systems approaches (Gunder Frank, Wallerstein), and decolonization as imperialism by other means (John Darwin, John Subritzky), in favour of the careful agency of Malaysians in guiding foreign capital to their own ends, increasingly limiting expatriate

employment to higher categories from 1959 onward (pp. 72-9). As early as 1957, Malaya increased tariffs to encourage import substitution industrialization (ISI). Between 1962 and 1970, average effective tariffs soared from 25 to 65 percent (p. 173). Malaysia proved reluctant to modify its ISI policy or compromise the development of its own ports in favour of a common market with Singapore after 1963. In the 1970s, export-oriented industrialization began. The implication is that it is not the fact of foreign capital that matters, but the way you control it. Malaysia, with no Malay-language secondary school until 1957, could not suddenly send foreigners home without the disastrous consequences Indonesia suffered after it seized Dutch enterprises between 1957 and 1963.

Instead, foreign capital and staff (the latter more conspicuous in agency houses than in multinationals) remained important but were gradually countered by cautious 'Malaysianization'. Concerns over the low Malay profile were a rising phenomenon in the 1960s. Tun Abdul Razak's Ministry of National and Rural Development established a kind of 'NEP [New Economic Policy] before the NEP', with official backing for key Malay figures, while the Majlis Amanah Rakyat (MARA) and the private Bank Bumiputera (both founded in 1965) also injected capital into Malay businesses (pp. 78-80, 87). These policies prefigured the New Economic Policy proper with its more intensive fostering of a Malay bourgeoisie.

The book is structured into five chapters. Chapter 1 surveys British business responses to the creation of Malaysia. Chapters 2 to 4 deal with the themes of economic nationalism, security, rubber and tin, and oil palm and diversification. There is a 'Who's Who', although a summary of exchange rates and equivalent values today would also have been helpful. Serious students of postcolonial business, of economic nationalism in newly independent countries, of the origins of the NEP (pp. 42-5, 72-80, 190-1), of the roots of modern transnational business, and of debates on globalization, will be grateful for White's engagement with the detailed fabric of events.

Chin Peng, *Alias Chin Peng: My side of history; As told to Ian Ward and Norma Miraflor*. Singapore: Media Masters, 2003, 527 pp. ISBN 9810486936. Price: GBP 16.99 (paperback).

C.C. Chin and Karl Hack (eds), *Dialogues with Chin Peng: New light on the Malayan Emergency*. Singapore: Singapore University Press, 2005, xxix + 413 pp. ISBN 9971692872. Price: SGD 34.00/ USD 25.00 (paperback).

RUSSELL JONES

I will begin this double review with *Alias Chin Peng: My side of history*. Here we are considering not simply a book, but a remarkable personality and an important segment of history as seen through Chin Peng's eyes. Half a century ago during the Emergency in Malaya, the name Chin Peng conjured up an image of an evil demon in the jungle whose 'communist terrorists' and 'bandits' threatened our daily lives, resulting directly and indirectly in death and oppression on a huge scale. It would be understandable if a reviewer recollecting this experience allowed it to influence his judgement of the book and its author.

Alias Chin Peng, however, is a reminder that we heard only one side of the story. We must remind ourselves too that the author is no longer the ruthless warrior we (thought) we knew of old; he has mellowed with age. After an interview with Chin Peng in 1998 in London, the journalist Neal Ascherson, who could be forgiven if his experience as a young Royal Marine commando in the jungle war against the communists in Malaya had embittered him against the communist leader, described Chin Peng as 'a thickset, benevolent, wise old gentleman of 73 with an intellectual's taste for dialectical argument' (*The Observer*, 14 June 1998, p. 3).

The particular worth of this book is that it helps complement and balance the many, necessarily biased, accounts of the Emergency in Malaya (1948-1960) which emanated from the official side or were based on official sources. The book came about as a consequence of a suggestion made to Chin Peng by Ian Ward in early 2000. It is the result of many sessions with his interlocutors. The collaborative effort has been very successful, and the reader does not get the impression that Chin Peng's story has been distorted. The book was foreshadowed by a feature on Chin Peng broadcast on BBC 2 television on 19 June 1998, during his first and only visit to Britain. And in February 1999 he participated in an academic workshop at the Australian National University, Canberra, as we see in the other book under review (*Dialogues*).

It would be sensible to begin by looking at his early life and development. In the school holidays of 1938, when he was only thirteen, he read intensively on Marxism (p. 49), and became definitely committed to the com-

munist cause. It was in January 1940 (as a fifteen-year old schoolboy) that he became a probationary member of the Communist Party of Malaya, and was put in charge of the Sitiawan cell. When he joined the party formally, he was put in charge of student affairs for the state of Perak (p. 60). In 1941 Britain was at war with Germany, and the German assault on the Soviet Union in June of that year resulted in the Comintern calling for support for Britain. In December of the same year Japan, which had been ravaging China through the 1930s, attacked Malaya. These events gave the Communist Party of Malaya (CPM, known to the British as the MCP) both an enemy and an ally for the forthcoming struggle. The CPM was placed on a guerilla war footing. Chin Peng was appointed to liaise with Captain Spencer Chapman of the British Force 136, who formed a very good opinion of him (p. 343). He set up his own guerilla group operating from the jungle in Perak.

We need not dwell on the early chapters recounting the guerilla war of the CPM from 1942 to 1945 against the Japanese. This is covered well in excellent books published by Force 136 officers such as Spencer Chapman, whose *The jungle is neutral* became a classic. And the ensuing events, Chin Peng being decorated by Lord Louis Mountbatten and receiving an OBE honour, are also well known. We can move on.

Chin Peng's account of the unmasking, and subsequent assassination, of the traitorous secretary general of the CPM, Lai Tek, in 1947 throws light on what was a very murky affair. It is ironic indeed that Lai Tek had nominated Chin Peng as his successor before disappearing.

Equally revealing is the authoritative version we get of the events leading to the outbreak of the communist uprising in 1948, the subject of so much speculation over the years. Thus we know at last that the Calcutta Communist Conference of February 1948 did not directly precipitate the uprising in Malaya. Rather, we now learn, this came about more or less by accident. The secretary general of the Australian Communist Party, Laurence Sharkey, was invited to stop off in Singapore on his return from India after attending the Calcutta Conference. At a meeting of the Central Committee in Singapore Sharkey was asked, 'Comrade, how do you Australians deal with strike breakers?' (pp. 202-3). His reply was to prove explosive: 'We get rid of them', he replied. 'But not in the cities. Only in the outlying areas. The rural areas. The mining areas.'

The discovery that the British colonial government was about to introduce trade union legislation which would hamstring the CPM convinced the Central Committee that an armed struggle was inevitable, but not at once. They made plans to begin armed action, believing however that the British would not move until September 1948 (p. 208). Meanwhile, encouraged by Sharkey's report about measures taken against strike breakers in Australia, the Central Committee issued a directive targeting strike breakers in Malayan

rural areas for elimination. This directive became distorted in transmission, and proved to be a disaster.

On 16 June 1948 Chin Peng was seeking funding in an opulent miner's house in Perak, impatient to get money to establish a headquarters in Pahang (p. 212). Meanwhile, at Sungai Siput only forty miles away, party elements raided a rubber estate and shot the British manager dead. Half an hour later the British manager and young assistant at another estate nearby were murdered, and the rubber stocks destroyed (pp. 215, 222).

The precipitate killing of the planters proved to be a disaster which preempted the CPM's plans. This premature launching of the uprising put the CPM at a severe disadvantage. Chin Peng himself escaped in the nick of time when police raided the miner's house where he was staying. The Malayan government declared a state of emergency.

It is almost incredible to learn that although Chin Peng was the leader of the CPM from the outset, it was not until September 1951 that the government identified him and put a price of 80,000 Malayan dollars on his head (*Alias*, p. 273); this was raised to 250,000 dollars by Templer in May 1952 (p. 299). It says much for the loyalty of his followers that, in his words: 'None of our Headquarters group ever faced an attempt at assassination or betrayal. Nor did we ever feel threatened in this way.'

So long after the events under discussion, it has become acceptable to state that the CPM, albeit inadvertently, did facilitate and accelerate Independence (*Merdeka*) for Malaya. The truth of this is now clear. The peace talks (pp. 368-86) arranged in 1955 at Baling, near the Thai frontier, where Chin Peng negotiated with prospective Malaysian Prime Minister Tengku Abdul Rahman and Singapore Chief Minister David Marshall, were abortive. Chin Peng was no doubt sincere in wishing to come to some agreement by which the CPM could disarm and participate in the political process, but he was not prepared simply to surrender. But when Chin Peng gave an undertaking (p. 384) that '[a]s soon as these two governments [the Federation of Malaya and Singapore] have self-determination in internal security and national defence matters, then we can stop the war immediately', the Tengku acquired a decisive bargaining counter for the ensuing talks in London (p. 395): He could offer the prospect of an end to the communist armed insurrection as soon as the Federation received control over defence and security matters. It was an irresistible offer. Britain conceded independence. In the words of Tengku Abdul Rahman (p. 512): 'Baling led straight to Merdeka.'

But if the CPM helped to accelerate Merdeka, it also arguably left another far less agreeable heritage. The communist uprising in 1948 led directly to the imposition of harsh repressive emergency measures by the British colonial government. Merdeka came before these were repealed. Independent Malaysian governments have chosen to retain many of these

oppressive laws. I do not find this explicitly acknowledged in either of the books under review.

After ten years the uprising had largely spent its force. By the end of 1958 the communists had probably no more than 350 hard-core fighters, and in 1959 they adopted an active policy of winding down the armed struggle. In December 1960 Chin Peng began his laborious 'retreat north', first to Bangkok, Laos, Vietnam, and eventually to Peking. In China the CPM continued in existence, and from November 1969 was given facilities to broadcast from its 'Suara Revolusi Malaya' (Voice of the Malayan Revolution) radio station.

The subsequent story of the remnants of the CPM in Thailand, described in chapters 29 to 31, has surprisingly humane aspects. Following peace feelers put out by the Malaysian Prime Minister, Tan Seri Mahathir, in February 1989 tripartite talks between Malaysia, the CPM and Thailand opened at Phuket. One gets a feeling that in these talks, in contrast with the talks held earlier at Baling, a civilized peace ethos prevailed. The parties really wanted a settlement. When a CPM negotiator collapsed at the talks, he was flown to Kuala Lumpur and put in a special VIP ward, something which Chin Peng describes with reason as 'a truly humanitarian gesture'. Under the agreement, each disbanding guerilla returning to Malaysia would be paid RM 8,000 by the Federal government. Moreover, they were also to be paid RM 300 per month for three years. The Thai government made provision for those who resettled in Thailand. Other outstanding administrative matters were settled amicably. In October 1989 Chin Peng returned to Thailand from China, in time to sign the agreement on 2 December 1989 at Haadyai. He subsequently settled in Thailand (pp. 492-7). Now he feels it his responsibility to look after about 200 old and disabled members. Four 'peace villages' have been named after the Thai Princess Chulaporn. A memorial has been erected to those who died (p. 507).

Ian Ward and Norma Miraflor are to be congratulated on having procured this fascinating and valuable contribution to history. It needs a mental effort to escape from the image of Chin Peng as an evil genius in Malaya during the Emergency, but this book does the trick. It humanizes him.

This account has not been subjected to the post hoc ordering process of a historian's mind. One historian has criticized existing accounts of the events leading to the Emergency, I think very aptly, for neglecting 'the extent to which from first to last both sides were responding to events, rather than initiating carefully formulated strategies' (T.N. Harper, 1999, *The end of empire and the making of Malaya*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, p. 143). This is well illustrated by a felicitous observation of Chin Peng's. In July 1948, when the uprising had just begun and Chin Peng was in hiding in Ipoh and completely isolated from his forces, Sir Alec Newbould, the deputy high commissioner, admitted in a broadcast that the government did not know where the next com-

munist attack would be directed. Chin Peng's laconic comment is: 'If Newbould didn't know where the guerrillas would strike next he would undoubtedly have been immensely relieved to learn that neither did I' (p. 228).

In his foreword to *Alias Chin Peng*, the author makes it clear that this is not to be a history of the Communist Party in Malaya. Rather, what Ward and Miraflor sought was 'the human element of the Emergency story'. In providing this the book succeeds very well.

The second book under review here, *Dialogues with Chin Peng; New light on the Malayan Communist Party*, consistently quotes Chin Peng's words verbatim. This book is the result of a seminar which took place a year before Ian Ward approached Chin Peng about writing the memoirs which were published as *Alias Chin Peng*. As a result, answers will be found in *Alias Chin Peng* to many of the questions arising in the seminar. Nevertheless, *Dialogues* does offer valuable information and insights of its own.

Dialogues records the proceedings of a two-day workshop held at the Australian National University in Canberra on 22 and 23 February 1999. Twelve sessions were crammed into the two days, and understandably not all the ground could be covered in this time. The 23 participants comprised many of the leading scholars in the field, and included several who had actually served in Malaya during the Emergency.

The book gives the reader not only a verbatim record of the discussions, but also an impression of the prevailing atmosphere. This appears to have been a convivial event, punctuated with coffee breaks and [*Laughter*], and with scarcely any hint of tension or rancour. It was indeed a memorable occasion. As Wang Gungwu put it: 'To have with us one of the living protagonists, someone who stood at the centre of it all for all these decades, is itself an extraordinary experience' (*Dialogues*, p. 226).

The editors refer to a 'symbiotic relationship' between *Alias Chin Peng* and *Dialogues with Chin Peng* (p. 29). This is fair, but we should remember that while both books are written for an English-speaking (and largely English-thinking) readership, Chin Peng is a Chinese who was operating in an essentially Chinese environment. In *Alias* we get the story as it is told in English by Chin Peng. In *Dialogues* we are not dependent solely on an English account, it has other lines into the Chinese heart of the story. I find this very helpful.

Dialogues gives Chinese characters (and *hanyu pinyin* spelling) for names freely, and one does not have to be a real Sinologist to greatly appreciate the worth of these. Who provided the Chinese characters is not clear. We can be sure that those given for Lee Ann Tong and Ah Chong (p. 157) are accurate, for they were written by Chin Peng on the blackboard at Leon Comber's request, and are depicted in a photo (p. 51). But evidently that was a one-off, for the photos taken in later sessions (pp. 123, 225) show these same Chinese characters still on the board. I would query at least one name. Chin

Peng refers (p. 149) to a Central Committee member with the nickname *Lau Mah* ('Old Horse'). The 'real name' of this man, given as Kah Sin, seems to be incomplete or incorrect, since the character given for 'Kah' (Chinese commercial code number 0857) is common as a given name, but is not so far as I know attested as a surname in Malaya (and does not occur in the conventional 'Hundred Family Surnames' of the Chinese).

Some of the most revealing aspects of the book are contributed by C.C. Chin, who 'had the right languages, the knowledge and the motivation to work closely with Chin Peng' (p. xxvi). In his chapter 'A brief biography of Chin Peng' (pp. 331-77), translated from a Chinese version written in 2003, C.C. Chin brings the reader close to the real Chin Peng. His research included interviews with ex-members of the CPM in China as well as in Southeast Asia. As he narrates the story, C.C. Chin describes Chin Peng's demeanour. Such illuminating asides as 'Chin Peng showed signs of pain when recounting this part of his past' (p. 341) add a revealing human touch.

It appears that the idea of the workshop was actually an initiative of Chin Peng himself, who declared during the event: 'I would like to express my gratitude to Mr Tony Paul and Professor Reid for providing me this opportunity to attend this workshop. Without their help perhaps it is impossible, or perhaps it will be one or two years later.' (*Dialogues*, p. 234.)

Dialogues with Chin Peng concludes with brief biographical notes on all the participants in the workshop, together with a comprehensive bibliography. Like *Alias Chin Peng*, *Dialogues* is well provided with maps and indices. In *Dialogues* the index section is particularly well arranged. Unlike *Alias*, which has only a small number of endnotes, *Dialogues* has copious and informative notes. The fact that these are gathered at the end of the chapters does however interfere with the smoothness of the narrative, making *Alias* the easier book to read.

Both books touch on aspects of Chin Peng's life, such as his dialect, his date of birth and his name. We will consider these. The question of Chin Peng's Chinese dialect has long been controversial. John Davis, who spoke with him in Cantonese, described him in a signal to British headquarters on 21 August 1945 as Hokkien (*Alias Chin Peng*, p. 30). When I asked John Davis about this in 1990, he thought that Chin Peng might have been Hokchiu rather than Hokkien, which is nearer the truth. Chin Peng's father was born in China, in a single surname village – all males being Ong – in the province of Fujian. C.C. Chin (*Dialogues*, p. 38) records simply that Chin Peng was born to a Hokchia (*Fuqing*) family. When I asked Chin Peng about his dialect, he said that in fact his parents both spoke Heng Hua (the dialect of his mother,) and a little Hokchia (*Fuqing*); apparently confusion arose because their home in China, in Heng Hua in Fujian Province, came under the prefecture of Hokchia, owing to a boundary change at some time. As a boy Chin Peng was exposed to a bewil-

dering range of languages. When his paternal grandfather was around they spoke 'Eng Hua' – presumably Henghua, which his parents spoke to each other (*Alias Chin Peng*, p. 32). When speaking to a Catholic priest, his mother always used the Hokchiu (*Fuzhou*) dialect (*Alias Chin Peng*, p. 38). The only town on the Peninsula where the prevalent dialect is Hokchiu is, I believe, Sitiawan. Chin Peng records that he talked to his mother in the Amoy dialect, which she would have spoken in Singapore. As a lad in a Methodist church choir he sang in Hokkien (this would have been the Amoy form too), and as a boy he learned Mandarin and became literate in Chinese (*Alias Chin Peng*, pp. 34, 91). He corresponded with Lai Te in romanized Chinese – in which dialect is not clear (*Alias Chin Peng*, p. 92). He speaks English well. It can be assumed that he speaks Thai. He made a point of learning to speak Malay fluently.

His age presents fewer problems. In 1945 John Davis gave Chin Peng's age as 'approx. 25', making his year of birth 1920. Chin Peng's appointment as secretary general of the Communist Party of Malaya (CPM) in 1947 was said to have occurred some months after his twenty-fifth birthday, implying that he was born in 1922. But in *Alias Chin Peng* (p. 29) he reveals that 25 was his age by Chinese reckoning; by Western reckoning he was only 23, having been born on 21 October 1924. That conservative Chinese at that time calculated by Chinese reckoning is understandable. He goes on to explain, however, that his family never worried about the year of their birth in the 12-year animal cycle, which is surprising. At that time in Malaya a less literate Chinese might not be able to give his age directly, but it was extremely unusual to encounter one who did not know the animal year of his birth. In fact Chin Peng's birth in 1924 was in the Year of the Rat.

During his career Chin Peng had 30 aliases. These two books record only two surnames. The first is his original surname Ong (in Hokkien pronunciation; Wong in Hakka and Cantonese). His original name, Ong Boon Hua in Hokkien pronunciation, is in fact straightforward. His father's surname was Ong, and he shared the generation name Boon with his brothers. When he became a formal member of the communist party he chose the name Ong Ping, that is, retaining his own surname (*Alias Chin Peng*, p. 54). For the *nom de guerre* he subsequently used as a member of the CPM, both in the fight against the Japanese and during the Emergency, he chose a different but equally common surname, Chin (in Hakka pronunciation; Chan in Cantonese, Tan in Hokkien). It will be seen that for the personal name in his *nom de guerre* he chose *Peng*, with its connotations of peace.

There can be no doubt that Chin Peng is a very courageous man. His philosophy was that the most dangerous route is safest (*Dialogues*, p. 181). He was in fact arrested twice by the Japanese, but managed to escape (*Dialogues*, p. 88). The British never caught him.

We are told that Chin Peng read widely as a boy, and it is clear that he still reads voraciously (*Dialogues*, pp. 344, 200). He has carried out extensive research in libraries and archives in Britain and Australia. This man, who attended his local school in Perak, can hold his own now among academics.

Finally, we may assess how these two books see Chin Peng as a man. C.C. Chin (*Dialogues*, pp. 370-2) criticizes some of Chin Peng's actions as party leader. But he also recognizes Chin Peng's achievements, in leading the party for so long and keeping the members together, and personal qualities: 'his exceptional intelligence, charisma, and organisational and leadership skills'. Describing Chin Peng's role in the Baling talks in 1955, C.C. Chin writes that '[w]hat was presented to the world was a gentle and cultivated man, whose calm demeanour commanded respect', and that the CPM leader 'displayed the graceful bearing of a refined and scholarly gentleman' (pp. 335, 363).

In Canberra, Anthony Reid observed, Chin Peng 'was a charming and remarkably fit seventy-three-year-old, with a quiet, thoughtful manner, often searching for the better English word he knew was there [...] whose gracious and thoughtful demeanour made the occasion not only possible but memorable' (*Dialogues*, pp. xxv, xxvii). A number of people have given opinions on Chin Peng since he appeared in public. It is very understandable that one or two have been hostile, but most commentators – *including all those who have met him* – have been quite complimentary towards him. This reviewer, having had a brief opportunity to meet Chin Peng in 1998, was equally favourably impressed by a remarkable figure.

Final reflections: Chin Peng's life, without over-dramatization, would make a very worthwhile film. At one time during the Emergency this reviewer was an immigration officer on the Thai frontier. What a gracious privilege it would be to see Chin Peng appear there now and have his passport stamped to permit him to spend the remainder of his life in the land of his birth.

Saw Swee-Hock, *Population policies and programmes in Singapore*. Singapore: Institute of Southeast Asian Studies, 2005, xvi + 303 pp. ISBN 9812303189, price SGD 35.90/USD 24.90 (paperback); 9812303197, SGD 59.90/USD 39.90 (hardback).

SANTO KOESOEBJONO

This book by Saw Swee-Hock, Singaporean demographer-statistician and observer of the population development of his own country, describes the history of Singapore's population policies and programmes from the end of the Second World War until 2004. As Saw states in his preface, the book can

be viewed as a case study of public policy. It emphasizes the key role of one-party government, and the swiftness with which the PAP (People's Action Party) has reacted to new situations with new measures.

The volume gives a comprehensive account of the different initiatives taken by the government to influence fertility levels and hence the course of population growth. Part I includes the period of antinatalist policy followed until 1975, when fertility fell below the replacement rate of 2.1 children per woman. Part II covers the period of pronatalist policy from 1975 to 2004, during which measures were introduced to prevent fertility from falling ever further below the replacement level.

Rapid population growth, together with serious social and economic dislocations in the period after the Second World War, inspired the establishment of the private Family Planning Association (FPA) in 1949. At the inauguration in January 1966 of the Singapore Family and Population Board, which took over most of the activities of the FPA, the Minister for Health stated that 'our best chances for survival in an independent Singapore is stress on quality and not quantity' (p. 25).

The family planning programme has been an integral part of the social and economic development strategy of the Singapore government. The major element of the population programme is the maintenance of fertility at the replacement level of 2.1 children per woman to stabilize the size of the population as rapidly as possible. Measures taken to achieve this included state support for sterilization and abortion. In addition, the government introduced fertility incentives and disincentives which worked via income tax, education and public housing. Together, all these regulations played an essential role in reducing fertility. By the mid-1970s the fertility decline had overshot the target replacement level of 2.1 children per woman, inducing the government to change its stance in the subsequent period. Until the mid-1980s, pronatalist policies remained socially selective: measures such as matchmaking services and enhanced child relief were introduced 'to encourage better-educated women to produce more babies and the lesser-educated to bear fewer babies' (p. 145). By 1984, however, the total fertility rate had fallen to 1.6, and more comprehensive measures were enacted. These too gradually proved ineffective. In 2004 came a new package of pronatalist measures including both financial and non-financial incentives. This package is described as 'a holistic and coherent approach towards creating a more congenial environment for couples to produce and raise children in Singapore' (p. 195). The total annual expenditure on pro-family measures amounts to around SGD 800 million. Nevertheless, fertility continued falling, reaching 1.33 in 2003 and an all-time low of 1.24 in 2005 (source: Singapore Department of Statistics, <http://www.singstat.gov.sg/keystats/annual/indicators.html>).

Saw recommends extending the pronatalist measures to all women rather

than limiting them, as at present, to women with fewer than five children. He also proposes considering immigration as a way of boosting the resident population (citizens plus permanent residents), which in 2004 numbered 3.5 million (out of the total Singapore population of 4.2 million). Saw's three alternative population projections, each based on a different scenario, predict a resident population of between 3.0 million and 3.5 million in 2050.

The book would perhaps have been more satisfying had it explored the relationships between economic progress, changes in marriage behaviour, and fertility differences between the Chinese, Malay and Indian components of Singapore's population. Surprisingly, specific years in the Chinese animal cycle – the years of the Tiger and the Dragon – still have effects (negative and positive respectively) on fertility in Singapore. A further elaboration of the suggestion for immigration would also have been enriching.

The book is recommended reading for policy-makers in countries where fertility is falling and threatens to remain below replacement level. Experience from other countries besides Singapore shows that reducing fertility is less complicated than is maintaining it at the replacement rate or raising it from a low level.

Domenyk Eades, *A grammar of Gayo; A language of Aceh, Sumatra*. Canberra: Department of Pacific Linguistics, Research School of Pacific and Asian Studies, Australian National University, 2005, xxii + 350 pp. [Pacific Linguistics 567.] ISBN 0858835533. Price: AUD 76.00 (paperback).

YURY A. LANDER

The island of Sumatra gave birth to many languages that occupy a significant place in the sociolinguistic and typological profile of Indonesia today, such as Acehnese, the Batak languages, and last but not least Malay. The Gayo language spoken in the centre of Aceh province does not belong to this list, however. With about 260,000 native speakers, Gayo is far from being endangered; yet this is a small number compared to the three million speakers of Acehnese, the main language of the region. There is almost no published literature on Gayo, so that any scholar of this language has to work extensively with native informants.

Gayo has been the subject of a very few descriptions, including several works in Indonesian and a small grammar in English (*A sketch of the Gayo language* by Giulio Soravia, Catania: Gruppo Linguistico Catanese, 1981), all published in the late 1970s and early 1980s. Since that time, the art of writ-

ing grammars has moved forward, and the same can be said of the study of typological peculiarities of western Austronesian languages. Therefore, the appearance of a comprehensive study of Gayo that gives proper weight to these aspects is very welcome and the description by Domenyk Eades reviewed here is well timed.

The Gayo grammatical system is presented by Eades using a non-canonical approach. Indeed, the picture he draws differs in many details from that of languages that have given rise to mainstream linguistic theories. As the author shows convincingly, Gayo cannot be assigned to either the accusative or the ergative linguistic type (and neither can it be assigned to the 'active' type, as is neighbouring Acehese). Instead, like most Philippine and many Indonesian languages (including the Batak languages bordering Gayo to the south), this language requires special characterization, since it has a symmetrical voice system without the customary formal asymmetry between the active and the passive voices. Moreover, in Gayo the very category of voice, according to Eades, is based more on the semantics of the situation than on syntactic relations (although it does assign a role to the subject).

Against this background, it is not surprising that Gayo has almost no active transitive clauses, since in the closest analogues (at least in their unmarked variant) the language requires incorporation of the undergoer participant. This – together with other features – makes this language interesting for typologists, and adds value to the detailed discussion Eades provides. Note that the absence of active transitives itself may not be a special feature of Gayo as compared to other languages of Indonesia. The incorporation phenomenon is as yet rather poorly described for this part of the world; Eades devotes much space to it and related issues, which makes the combination of the phenomenon with his thorough description especially valuable.

Unfortunately, the author does little to compare Gayo with the neighbouring languages of Sumatra, which might yield clues to certain genetic connections and areal patterns. In fact, the genetic position of Gayo is by no means obvious – perhaps due to the massive influence of Acehese and Malay/Indonesian, an issue to which Eades devotes only a short paragraph. Neither is it clear to what degree other languages have affected the structure of Gayo. To cite just one fragment of the grammar where the comparison may play a role in the analysis, consider certain occurrences of prepositional structures in Gayo. A dative preposition (sometimes glossed by Eades as 'as') can code the result of becoming and some types of predicates in equative clauses. Compare the following examples (the glosses are slightly simplified; *vo* refers to the Undergoer orientation voice, and *DAT* means dative preposition):

- (i) *I-osah* *ama* *rempelam* ***kin*** *ine.*
 uo-give father mango DAT mother
 'Father gave a mango to mother.' (p. 15)
- (ii) *Batang* *kayu=ne* *nge* *mèh* ***kin*** *umah.*
 tree wood=earlier already finished as house
 'The trees have all been (made) into houses.' (p. 234)
- (iii) *Wè* *nge* ***kin*** *tenelen=ku.*
 he already as landlord=my
 'He is my landlord.' (p. 99)

From a typological perspective, this situation is very curious, since *kin* essentially seems to mark a *chômeur* (to use a term from relational grammar), that is, a phrase to which a certain role should be ascribed, yet cannot be because that role is already fulfilled by a different phrase. But if one looks for the origin of this pattern, it should be taken into account that while examples like (iii) are not reported for other languages of the region (to the best of my knowledge), examples like (ii) are found in Acehnese, so the appearance of the equative clauses may be hypothetically considered to be a result of the development of such uses as (ii).

In fact, Gayo is in many ways similar to other languages of the area, including Indonesian. Thus, it can be said to be a language of the 'Indonesian type', with all its features such as the presence of applicative suffixes and the voice system which is reduced when compared to the 'Philippine type'. Eades's detailed treatment of many grammatical aspects may therefore invite a fresh look at corresponding phenomena in other languages (for example, his nice description of the functions of verbal affixes seems to be partly applicable to their Malay correlates).

Notably, the present grammar does not follow the traditional structure of grammars that guides the reader from phonology to morphology and then to syntax. Instead, after presenting the background of Gayo and describing its phonology, Eades presents morphological and syntactic data mixed together, which is probably motivated by his wish to provide the necessary context before a phenomenon is described. For example, the information on verb morphology follows the description of clausal syntax, while preceding the treatment of noun phrases and prepositional phrases. Expression of aspect and modality is treated separately in a later chapter. Some readers may find that this structure makes it difficult to navigate the text.

At the same time, this way of presentation contributes to a better understanding of the unusual material. Further, the typological context (all in all, this grammar is descriptive in nature) helps the author provide a proper

characterization of the language. The Gayo facts are allowed to speak for themselves within the overall picture of linguistic diversity both in Indonesia and in the world.

Derek Johnson and Mark Valencia (eds), *Piracy in Southeast Asia; Status, issues, and responses*, Singapore: Institute of Southeast Asian Studies, 2005, xx + 174 pp. ISBN 981230276X. Price: SGD 39.90/USD 26.90 (paperback).

CAROLIN LISS

Since the end of the Cold War, maritime piracy has become a growing concern in Southeast Asia. This volume seeks to provide an overview of existing piracy studies and to identify areas of future research, laying a foundation for a series of books on piracy in Southeast Asia. Based mostly on updated papers presented at the 2003 'People and the Sea II' conference in Amsterdam, the volume is a collection of essays looking at different aspects of piracy.

The initial chapter by Young discusses the historical background of maritime piracy in the region. It compares the occurrence of piracy in the past and the present and identifies continuities and discontinuities over the centuries. While this chapter places contemporary maritime piracy within Southeast Asia's economic, political and cultural context, it remains difficult to compare the very different forms of raiding/piracy that have occurred in the region over time, particularly because comparatively little is known about the social, cultural and ethnic backgrounds of contemporary pirates. The following chapter provides an overview of current trends in piracy from the perspective of the International Maritime Bureau and the commercial interests it represents, giving the reader a sense of the nature and impact of contemporary piracy. The remaining chapters focus on more specific aspects of piracy, mostly in the context of international relations and the suppression of piracy. Valencia (who is the author or co-author of the majority of chapters in this volume), Chaikin and Hasjim Djalal, for example, discuss the importance of regional cooperation and acknowledge the political barriers to such collaboration between governments due to conflicting interests and agendas. Valencia and Chaikin also consider the possible involvement of countries from outside the region in the control of piracy, exploring the nature and limits of such involvement by countries such as Japan and the USA.

The volume also includes two chapters by Ong and Valencia on possible links between pirates and terrorists. With the increasing threat of terrorism and the rising fear of a maritime terrorist attack in Southeast Asia, this discus-

sion is very timely. The authors approach the topic differently, with Ong arguing that policymakers in Southeast Asia would benefit from linking piracy with terrorism in order to exploit the regional and international concern about terrorism to more effectively combat piracy. Valencia, on the contrary, suggests that it is crucial to distinguish between piracy and terrorism, given that the different motivations of pirates and terrorists result in operations contrasting in nature. In his view, a conflation of piracy and terrorism is therefore counterproductive when it comes to eliminating the root causes of piracy in Southeast Asia. Given the current political environment, further research is needed into possible cooperation between pirates and terrorists and the security implications of such cooperation. Also needed is a broader analysis of the motivations of governments and other interested parties in using the possible link between terrorism and piracy for their own political and economic ends.

Overall, the editors achieve their goal of providing a foundational volume covering piracy in Southeast Asia, which after all represents only the starting point for a larger project. As they recognize in their conclusion, many aspects of piracy have yet to be explored in depth by researchers. Of particular importance in this regard is the gathering of information about actual pirates and pirate gangs, the socio-economic and cultural factors that are conducive to the occurrence of pirate attacks, and the economic impact of piracy. In fact, in the past three years an increasing number of academics have conducted research, including field research, addressing these questions. With this and future research, many of the questions raised in Johnson and Valencia's volume may be answered in forthcoming books in the series.

Niclas Burenhult, *A grammar of Jahai*. Canberra: Department of Pacific Linguistics, Research School of Pacific and Asian Studies, Australian National University, 2005, xiv + 245 pp. [Pacific Linguistics 566.] ISBN 0858835541. Price: AUD 64.90 (paperback).

JAMES A. MATISOFF

Jahai, a member of the Northern Aslian branch of the Mon-Khmer (MK) language family, is spoken by 1,000 hunter-gatherers in the mountainous rainforests of the Malay Peninsula. Burenhult's excellent grammatical description, based on intermittent but intensive fieldwork during 1998-2000, is a precious addition to the scant literature on Northern Aslian. Although Jahai seems to be in no immediate danger of extinction, it is coming under the increasing influence of Malay, and it is important to document its indigenous MK

features before the process of Malayanization has gone further. Burenhult systematically treats the phonology, morphology, and syntax of Jahai in a description refreshingly free of theoretical bias or obfuscatory formalization.

Jahai initial stops show a two-way manner distinction at four points of articulation; there are nine vowels in a 3 x 3 pattern (seven of which may be contrastively nasalized), and a full MK complement of final consonants (including glottal stop and *-h*, but not *-s*), with the nasals displaying the typical Aslian feature of 'preocclusivization' in this position (pp. 25-7). Lexemes may be monosyllabic, sesquisyllabic, or polysyllabic, with predictable differences in the morphophonemic behaviour of each syllable-type.

Jahai's rich system of word formation is also typical of Aslian, with intricate processes of infixation and prefixation applicable in a rigorously regular way to roots of all types, including foreign borrowings. These processes lead to robust consonant sequences like *pkp-*, *lkl-*, *nms-*; thus */sam/* 'to hunt' is nominalized to */nmsam/* 'the act of hunting' via prefixation of *n-* plus infixation of a copy of the root-final consonant *-m* (p. 77).

The pronominal system distinguishes among three degrees of familiarity/politeness in the second person singular (p. 83), an interesting reminder of the fact that degree of technological advancement has no necessary connection with sociological complexity.

Jahai verbs are defined syntactically as 'words which may be negated' (p. 91), a criterion which works just as well for all the other language families of Southeast Asia. The Jahai verb is subject to semantic elaboration by a wide array of affixes and clitics, many of which specify distinctions of aspect and *Aktionsart* (pp. 93-106). Burenhult applies the term 'aspect' to the 'internal temporal constituency' of the verbal idea (imperfective, progressive, iterative, continuative), and reserves the term 'Aktionsart' for 'inherent spatial or participant constituency or manner' (distributive, reciprocal). Burenhult treats 'causative' as a separate category (pp. 106-9), although it fits nicely with his notion of 'participant constituency'. At least three types of modality (irrealis, desiderative, hortative) are expressed by preverbal clitics (pp. 110-3). Other such clitics include negative, prohibitive, and interrogative markers (pp. 119-21). Proclitics attached to nouns express categories like location, goal, source, and contrast (pp. 115-8). Relativization (treated here as a morphological rather than a syntactic process) is accomplished by the markers *k-* and *t-*; the former may be attached either to a noun phrase or to a clause, while the latter seems to attach only at word level (pp. 123-5).

The class of 'expressives' (morphemes denoting the speaker's sensory or emotional perceptions in relation to a particular phenomenon) does not seem as highly developed in Jahai as in other Aslian languages (p. 113), and seems confined to particular speakers (pp. 160-6). On the other hand, purely onomatopoeic forms are much in evidence; many refer to the sound of a blow-

pipe being fired or hitting various parts of an animal's body (pp. 114-5).

Chapter VI, 'Syntax' (pp. 127-59), deals with such topics as word order in clauses and phrases, arguments of the clause, valence and transitivity, and valence-affecting operations. (The examples in Chapters I to V are numbered from 1 to 207, but the numbering begins afresh in this syntax chapter, which includes 163 more examples.) The typical Jahai clause consists of a stable unit containing a verb and an obligatory preverbal subject agreement marker, referred to together as the core of the clause, which may optionally be preceded by a subject NP and/or followed by phrases expressing the direct object or an oblique argument, with various permutations of the basic order also possible (p. 133). No distinction is made between the subject of intransitive and transitive clauses, so that Jahai does not display the ergative-like patterns described for other Aslian languages (p. 147).

The ever-increasing influence of Malay is apparent in all aspects of Jahai structure, as Burenhult is careful to point out. Jahai has borrowed from Malay such items as most of its classifiers (p. 81); all of its numerals above 'one' (p. 87); the derivational affix *b-* 'progressive' (p. 96); the process of total reduplication to express continuative aspect (pp. 100-1); the relational tense marker *ja-* (< Malay *(su)dah* (p. 119); the negative marker *bokan* (p. 119); the emphatic particle *leh* (< Malay *lah*), which can be placed after any word, phrase, clause, or sentence (p. 121), and which is incidentally also a feature of Malay English; the relative marker *yang*, which is sometimes used to supplement the native preclitic *k-* (pp. 123-4); the subordinating conjunctions *shap* 'because', *lpes* 'after/when', and *kaluh* 'if' (p. 136); and last but not least, one-fifth of its entire lexicon (p. 165). Nevertheless, Burenhult emphasizes the flexibility and adaptability of Jahai language and culture (p. 166); this foreign material has been thoroughly indigenized and subjected to the same rigorous derivational and inflectional processes as native lexemes. For the Jahai, this receptivity has been largely responsible for their survival. (One is reminded of Aesop's fable about the oak tree and the reed, the former toppled by a storm while the latter bends with the wind and survives.) The book ends with two useful appendices: a 'Jahai Rhyming Glossary' (pp. 167-208), and an 'English-Jahai Finder List', containing all the words in the Glossary in the alphabetical order of their English translations (pp. 209-38). In both appendices, Malay loans are marked with asterisks.

Among the many virtues of this grammar is the way Burenhult distinguishes between data recorded during natural speech, and data acquired artificially by elicitation. Thus, of the twelve examples given in section 5.1.3 ('Relative clauses'), eight are marked '(elic.)' (pp. 138-40).

Burenhult is modestly aware that much more remains to be discovered about the details of Jahai grammar: 'It has not yet been possible to discern any distributional differences between [the hortatory clitics] *ha-*, *ca-* and *ka-*'

(p. 113); 'This chapter [...] should be viewed as a brief and tentative introduction to the subject, as several aspects of Jahai syntax are yet to be thoroughly examined and only the most manifest patterns are presented' (p. 127); 'The characteristics of such constructions [action/state nominalizations] are not known in detail' (p. 144); 'Several features are unclear and in need of further investigation' (p. 159).

Despite this inevitable incompleteness (are any grammars really complete?), *A grammar of Jahai* now takes its place as one of the very best grammatical treatments available for an Aslian language, and indeed for any minority language of the Mon-Khmer family.

It is hard to believe that the author is not a native speaker of English. There is only one thing which grates on the English speaker's ear. Burenhult purposely uses 'the colloquial/dialectal' form 'them' instead of 'those' to translate the 'prenominal determining attributive plural pronoun', since it 'corresponds better to the Jahai meaning' (p. 134), leading to infelicitous translations like 'Them strangers are gone'.

Burenhult is to be congratulated for this enduring contribution to MK linguistics.

Ann R. Kinney, with Marijke J. Klokke and Lydia Kieven (photographs by Rio Helmi), *Worshipping Siva and Buddha; The temple art of East Java*. Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2003, 303 pp. ISBN 0824827791. Price: USD 60.00 (hardback).

DICK VAN DER MEIJ

The colonial rulers of the Dutch East Indies had a peculiar way of dealing with the temples and other monuments they found on Javanese soil. While ensuring that archeological sites were excavated and many temples and monuments restored and preserved, they also made sure that the temples would never again be seen in their original state: they often removed what they thought of as the most beautiful statues and by so doing scattered many of these around the world. In this way many statues of Hindu and Buddhist gods, goddesses, and deities found their way from the temples to the Museum of the Bataviaasch Genootschap van Kunsten en Wetenschappen (now the National Museum) in Jakarta, to museums elsewhere in Indonesia, to the Museum voor Volkenkunde in Leiden, and to many other public collections all over the globe, not to mention private collections inside and outside Indonesia. Colonial administrators also saw no problem with presenting statues to visiting dignitaries such as the king of Thailand, who was given

statues of the Buddha from Borobudur and a Ganesha from Candi Singosari; these statues are now in the National Museum in Bangkok.

A few of the relocated statues have since been returned to their original locations: the most beautiful of all temple statues, Prajnaparamita from the Candi Singosari complex, was returned to Jakarta from Leiden during a state visit of Queen Juliana of the Netherlands in 1978 (p. 148). But others have been lost altogether: at least three vessels carrying statues to Europe sank (p. 148), and at least one statue was destroyed by fire during the 1931 Paris Exhibition (it puzzles me that a large stone statue can be destroyed by fire, but this is apparently what happened to the unfortunate Ternavindu).

Besides statues, many metal, gold, and silver artifacts, small statuettes, and other objects found at temple sites were also removed and scattered all over the world, often ending up in the vaults of museums which rarely display them. These objects are also keenly collected by private individuals all over the world.

The aim of the book under discussion is to survey the sites of the temples of East Java and to reunite – in book form – the temples with their original statues to provide an impression of their original grandeur and beauty. I think this was an excellent idea, and the result is a book that is more than beautiful. Lavishly illustrated (300 photos, most in full colour) and beautifully presented, in this respect the book does what it sets out to do. However, the proposed survey and evaluation of recent research in the field (p. 9) has not been done exhaustively. Understandably, no attempt has been made to include the smaller artifacts in the picture. This would have required a completely different setup, and might have been a distraction from the main aim of the book.

The book contains four sections and ends with two appendices, a glossary, a bibliography, an index, and photography credits. Section 1, 'Introduction to the religion and art of East Java', contains a chapter on 'Hinduism and Buddhism in Indonesia' by Marijke J. Klokke, alongside 'The architecture and art of ancient East Java' by Lydia Kieven. Klokke's piece should be on the reading list of everyone interested in Hinduism and Buddhism. Concise, to the point, and wonderfully clear, it explains the gist of what the reader needs to know in order to understand the rest of the book. However, the division of ancient Indonesian history which she mentions (p. 21) should more correctly be viewed as a division of ancient Javanese history. Other areas in Indonesia had their own histories apart from what was happening in Java. Kieven's introduction to art and architecture is unfortunately too short, and the architecture is dealt with in just a few pages. It is also unfortunate that no references have been provided to the illustrations in the book. Had they been added, the examples she mentions could easily have been coupled with the relevant illustrations; trying to find them via the index proved difficult.

Sections 2 to 4 cover respectively the temples built during the three dynasties that ruled in East Java: from 929 to 1222 in Kadiri (Candi Jolotundo, Candi Belahan, Selomangleng Kediri and Selomangleng Tulungagung); the Singasari period from 1222 to 1292 (Candi Kidal, Jago, Jawi, the Singasari complex); and the Majapahit period, 1293-1519 (the *kraton* or royal palace complex, Candi Panataran, a number of major commemorative *candis*, Candi Surowono, Tigowangi, Kedaton, Kendalisongo, and finally Sukuh – actually in Central Java, and as such technically a little beyond the scope of the book). Each section contains a brief introduction on historical and political developments, following which the monuments are described. Appendix A presents (very) brief summaries of selected sites not elaborated in the book, and Appendix B a note for photographers by professional photographer Rio Helmi.

The book endeavours to look at the sites in a comprehensive way. Architectural elements, reliefs, iconographic peculiarities, statues and their positions in the temples are all dealt with in varying levels of detail. This may lead to some disappointment among specialists in the various fields, but for the general reader what is provided is sometimes perhaps even more than adequate. For me, the details provided on texts and their contents are somewhat disappointing and indeed contain some errors. I was, for instance, surprised to read about the existence of ‘various versions’ of the *Nagarakertagama* (p. 83), about ‘Tantri Pancatantra’ (p. 95), which does not exist, and about ‘medieval Kawi’, also a concept new to me. Some of the fables mentioned are not from the *Tantri Kamandaka* as claimed, and the synopsis of the *Angling Dharma* is also not quite accurate. On the other hand the many fine photographs of the temple reliefs, at last collecting the details of the many stories in one volume, is a welcome addition to the library of anyone interested in the field.

The two-page appendix by Rio Helmi on how to photograph temples and reliefs, and the detailed geographical information provided on the locations of the temples, give welcome practical information for prospective visitors. Ann Kinney shows her modesty by crediting all photos to Rio Helmi, whereas many are in fact taken by Kinney herself.

The book expertly shows the richness of the East Javanese temple tradition and temple arts. It also emphasizes once again the importance of viewing the monuments as totalities of architecture, sculpture, and textual iconography. It is of course not exhaustive, and many a statue has not been mentioned or visually presented. Sometimes this is a pity, as for instance in the case of the fourteenth-century statues depicting Mahakala, Mahisha, and Siva which are now in the Boston Museum of Fine Arts. These would have fitted in superbly – the more so since their particularly beautiful style is represented as things stand by only a single photograph (p. 160). However, this is excusable: the book, after all, covers a lot of ground.

In conclusion I would say that there is no doubt in my mind that we are richer in having this marvelous book. We definitively need more like it to enhance interest in, and enjoyment of, this particular field of religious and art history.

Ruben Stoel, *Focus in Manado Malay; Grammar, particles, and intonation*. Leiden: CNWS Publications, 2005, xiv + 281 pp. [CNWS Publication 134.] ISBN 9057891018. Price: EUR 23.00 (paperback).

DON VAN MINDE

For various reasons Malay is the best-studied language of Indonesia. A decisive reason is that the national language is a standardized variety of Malay. Nevertheless, scholars of Malay cannot but envy those that study European languages with their long recorded history, or classical Asian languages such as Chinese and Sanskrit. Those scholars of Malay who are not *a priori* concerned with matters of standard and non-standard varieties inevitably feel a constant need for more reliable linguistic data, because most records consist of written literary texts collected from court circles during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries in the western part of the archipelago. It is only during recent decades that a more scholarly, non-biased approach has been taken to spoken Malay varieties, including those from eastern Indonesia.

It is, however, not only for the above reasons that the present study on a northern Sulawesi dialect is a valuable contribution to Malay studies. Most significant – besides the fact that Manado Malay is an eastern dialect spoken by well over a million first-language speakers and that the study is based on spoken language data – is that the author addresses two notoriously problematic topics in Malay linguistics: the use of discourse particles expressing a speaker's attitudes, thoughts, and desires regarding the propositional content of the sentence, and (pragmatic) focus marking. In many grammars these aspects do not receive much attention, because in the study of discourse particles and focus marking, informants' intuitions and judgements are not very useful. In addition to an intimate knowledge of the language and a substantial corpus of spontaneous dialogues, advanced phonetic research is required as well.

In addition to these specialized topics and the depth of analysis, an essential contribution of this book is the concise and systematic way in which Manado Malay's grammar is presented. Part One has a classical outline: after giving the background of the study and details about the corpus (Chapter 1), it covers sociolinguistic aspects and history, previous studies, and research

methodology, followed by succinct descriptions of phonology, morphology, and syntax (Chapter 2). What facilitates understanding of the feature under discussion is the contextualization of illustrative sentences by means of brief relevant information. Sometimes, however, one wonders whether the author's terse style does not impede a fuller treatment. One example is the author's statement that the cliticized demonstrative forms *tu* and *ni* are 'simply short for *itu* and *ini*, without any difference in meaning' (p. 31). This seems an odd statement, not only given the structuralist tenet that a difference in form inevitably involves a difference in meaning, but also because of what we know about the behaviour of these determiners in other Malay dialects. Given the ongoing debate in linguistics about grammaticalization and verb serialization, one would also welcome a more extensive and holistic discussion of what are called complex verbs (Section 2.5.3 on *dapa* 'can', *kase* 'give', and *beking* 'make')¹ and verb combinations (Section 2.5.3.3 on 'two or more consecutive verbs to express a complex event', which unfortunately has only one example sentence with the verb *pi* 'go' in first position).

That the author does not pursue such a description here is justifiable, however, for Chapter 2 serves mainly to provide background information for the detailed discussion in Chapter 3 of twenty different discourse particles, some of which also occur in combinations. To give an indication of the important role these discourse particles play in daily conversations: they amount to 11.3 percent of all the words in a selected corpus of 10,000 words, with relative frequency of individual particles varying between 19.2 percent (*dang*) and 0.1 percent (*ne*) (pp. 67-8). I apply a simple rule of thumb for evaluating descriptions of such particles, namely: be critical whenever you read that a certain particle's function is to emphasize a certain piece of information, because 'emphasis' is a vague term in itself and it becomes altogether meaningless when different particles share this same function. Contrary to such impressionistic identification, here we find extensive characterizations and ample illustrations, such as for *dang*: 'It expresses that the clause in which it appears is a further specification of something that has either been said before or is given in the context. [...] [T]he clause with *dang* describes the consequence of the event that is expressed in the preceding clause. [...] [T]o present the information that a speaker initially could not recall from memory. [...] A speaker may also use *dang* to correct what he has said before. [...] [*D*]*dang* is also used to ask for additional information. [...] A question with *dang* is not necessarily a yes-no question, but may also be a question-word question. [...] The use of *dang* suggests that, in the given context, a request should really be unnecessary [...]. A final function of *dang* is to introduce a new topic.' (pp. 74-7). It is

¹ The author uses phonetic IPA symbols throughout the book, whereas I use ordinary Latin script for the sake of convenience. My spelling follows the conventions used for standard Indonesian, including the symbol *k* at the end of words designating a glottal stop.

unfortunate that the author – perhaps in his desire to stick to objective facts – does not, with the exception of a few items, indicate what the probable or possible lexical source of the particles is. Now that this study is available, it seems worthwhile to conduct a comparative study, for it appears that apart from a number of particles that are specific to Manado Malay and which were perhaps borrowed from local Minahasa languages, cognate forms of *dang*, *no*, *le*, *jo*, *to*, *kan*, *kata*, *e*, *so*, *kek* occur in other dialects. One result that could be gathered from such a comparison is an insight into different patterns and paths of grammaticalization. Chapter 4 on major intonation patterns concludes the first (descriptive) part of the book. Relevant fundamental notions from autosegmental theory are briefly and cogently explained prior to a discussion of basic and special intonation patterns. The analysis is particularly insightful in understanding how speakers of Malay apply (sentence) accent and (word) stress as independent operators, and in addition how intonation is used to mark emphasis or emotion and polarity focus.

Chapters 5, 6, and 7 form the second part of the book, which is exclusively concerned with focus marking in relation to topics discussed in Part One: constituent order, discourse particles, and accent placement in declarative sentences. These topics were studied using various types of experimental approaches, all of which involved a significant number of native speakers. Using these complementary procedures considerably diminishes the chance that systemic features remain unnoticed. Thus, for instance, the author is able to show that S, V, SV and S, VO, O focus structure is fully acceptable in case of intransitive SV and transitive SVO sentences respectively (while alternative constituent ordering is much more restricted given a certain focus), that *no* is the only focus-marking particle in Manado Malay (whereas formerly he claimed that *sto* and *to* had a similar function), and that sentence accent falls on the last word of a focus domain (which is not necessarily the case in languages such as English or Dutch). What the experiments also show is that an experimental approach involves quite a lot of research, since all logical possibilities must be carefully checked and tested.

Despite the author's concluding call for a more thorough investigation of Manado Malay grammar, it is obvious that researchers cannot afford to ignore this important contribution to the study of Malay and Malayic languages.

Pamela J. Stewart and Andrew Strathern (eds), *Expressive genres and historical change; Indonesia, Papua New Guinea and Taiwan*. Aldershot: Ashgate, 2005, x + 268 pp. ISBN 0754644189. Price: GBP 50.00 (hardback).

DIANNE VAN OOSTERHOUT

This collection of nine essays focuses on how expressive genres such as music, dance and poetry reflect and generate processes of social change. Examples from Papua New Guinea, Indonesia and Taiwan are used to unravel how historical changes modify these forms of expression to adjust them to altering social and political needs. The main intention of the authors is to demonstrate that expressive genres, products of ongoing human agency and social behaviour, are of eminent importance in social life. The most compelling contribution of this (by intent) comparative study, however, is the way in which it portrays the imagination and emotions of performers – as expressed or symbolized in words, gestures, mimic, costumes, or music – as central to the enactment and interpretation of processes of change. The contributors, Andrew Strathern, Pamela Stewart, Lisette Josephides, Janet Hoskins, Alan Rumsey, Volker Heeschen, Anne Schiller and Tai-Li Hu, eloquently demonstrate how transformations in the political or religious landscape are reflected and enacted in reformulations of local cultural heritage and expressive styles. This volume is probably of interest to sociolinguists and symbolic anthropologists, particularly those familiar with the areas it describes. But it takes some effort to get through the massive quantity of details and local terminology presented, which means that the essays are not very accessible for a wider audience.

The editors claim that the case studies presented share an Austronesian ethnolinguistic background which provides sufficient grounds for comparison and for assuming a 'correspondence of sensibilities'. This correspondence is portrayed as encompassing symbolic forms and personal as well as cultural meanings: 'Expressive activities, such as songs, dances, folktales, rituals, art, and literature, are often referred to as revealing the inner sensibilities of people and their forms of cultural continuity' (p. 3). Eastern Indonesian heroic tales are thus compared with their counterparts in highland Papua New Guinea, while aesthetic expressions from Taiwan are said to show correspondence with New Guinean aesthetic notions. The authors implicitly reject the more narrowly defined comparative arenas of Melanesia or (Southeast) Asia, but the proposed wider frame of reference in the form of 'sensibilities' shared throughout the Austronesian world is neither altogether convincing nor worked out very well. More troublesome still is the fact that the New Guinean case studies in this volume (Duna, Eipomek, Huli, Kewa Ku Waru, Melpa, Yale) are generally acknowledged by linguists

to be Trans-New Guinean languages belonging to the the Papuan, not the Austronesian, linguistic domain. This undermines the proposed comparative basis of the volume entirely.

Despite an elaborately synthesizing introduction, the impression remains that this is a random collection of essays on various forms of cultural revival in the Asia-Pacific region. It seems rather puzzling that several disputable examples have been chosen despite the fact that there are other ethnolinguistic groups within Papua New Guinea (and West Papua) that could convincingly be labelled as Austronesian, and that would likely have provided interesting material on expressive genres as well. Readers hoping for a thorough comparison of genres or even sensibilities, or for a theoretical contribution to the field of Austronesian (or rather Austronesian and Melanesian) studies, will probably be disappointed. What remains is shared grappling with personal and group identity and autonomy through expressive media. The proposed correspondence of sensibilities is in principle a legitimate ground for comparison. This approach is a challenging one, but one that remains somehow hidden beneath extensive descriptions of cultural and political contexts. An overwhelming emphasis on local symbolic meanings, and on nuances in the texts, likewise stands in the way of a comprehensive analysis. The ostensible theme of the volume, the ways in which expressive forms may serve to display, enact and reshape human reflections on processes of social change, unfortunately does not always come to the fore.

The concept of sensibility plays a central role in explaining how expressive genres relate to social changes. Sensibilities are subject to change and are also creatively reshaped over time. In this approach of sensibility the authors have found a comprehensive tool to interpret the relationship between performance, cultural continuity, and changes in the social and political domain. The creative re-use of cultural symbols to mediate questions of political identity, for instance, unravels the ways in which traditions may be recreated through expressive genres. Reformulations of ethnic identity within national arenas are rather common and well documented, but rarely have they been extensively described through the lens of dance, music or poetry. Another significant contribution of this volume to the general body of knowledge on identity transformation lies in the ways in which the individual essays integrate expressive forms, emotions, and aesthetics, and treat ritualistic or daily expressions of emotions in much the same way as literature and art. Emotions are deeply rooted in local symbolism, which is often incorporated into new genres such as political speeches, films, or Christian songs. The incorporation of 'registers of feeling' into new tales or new songs may be used to overcome personal or societal experiences of alienation, fear, grief, or disappointment in the face of social or political changes. Through richly described and illustrated transformations of expressive forms, this book acquaints us with

the flexibility and dynamics of aesthetic and narrative genres, and with the dilemmas, emotions and strategies of people in transitional situations.

Johszua Robert Mansoben, *Sistem politik tradisional di Irian Jaya, Indonesia; Studi perbandingan*. http://www.papuwaweb.org/dlib/s123/mansoben/_phd.html [originally: PhD thesis, Leiden University, 1994]

ANTON PLOEG

Johszua Robert Mansoben was for a long time head of the anthropology department at Cenderawasih University, Jayapura. His comparative study of traditional political systems in western New Guinea (Irian Jaya, Papua), originally a Leiden University doctoral thesis in anthropology, is today a frequently accessed fixture of PapuaWeb, an internet information network hosted by the University of Papua, Cenderawasih University, and the Australian National University. A slightly revised version of Mansoben's thesis was published jointly by the Indonesian Institute of Sciences (LIPI) and Leiden University in 1995 (ISBN 9798258061).

Sistem politik tradisional di Irian Jaya culminates a much longer effort, based in part on library research, in part on fieldwork by the author himself, and in part on other field research carried out by students and junior colleagues in various parts of western New Guinea in the 1970s and 1980s. Among Mansoben's other works on the subject are two publications in English: 'Leadership and authority among the Keenok Asmat', *Irian; Bulletin of Irian Jaya Development (IBID)*, 3-3:51-60 (1974), and (with Malcolm Walker), 'Indigenous political structure and leadership patterns in Irian Jaya', in: *IBID* 18:17-24 (1990). *Sistem politik* itself is written in Indonesian, to facilitate its use in teaching and also for administrative purposes. It deals with sociocultural arrangements that obtained in the past, before first the Dutch and later the Indonesian authorities started imposing their rule. Mansoben bases much of his analysis on published data collected during fieldwork in the 1950s and 1960s. However, in one of his *stellingen*, the 'propositions' which doctoral candidates in the Netherlands are required to include in their dissertations, he approvingly quotes Ronald Berndt's statement that '[t]raditional themes, variable and vulnerable as they are, have a decided bearing on contemporary political thinking'.

Mansoben distinguishes four, or alternatively five, types of political systems, exemplified by nine lengthy case studies. The ambiguity about the number of types results from his subdividing one type, with Big Men as leaders, into two subtypes: one in which Big Men were primarily warriors

and war leaders, and another in which they were prominent in exchanges. The other three types were: first, the *ondoafi* system that obtained in the northeast, in the area near Jayapura; second, the *raja* system of the western and southwestern coastal areas and offshore islands; and third, a 'mixed' type (*kepemimpinan campuran*) found around Cenderawasih Bay and on the north coast of the Bird's Head. Mansoben borrows this last expression from Margaret Mead, who coined it to analyse her Manus data (p. 223). Mixed systems were diarchical in that they combined two heterogeneous forms of power: inherited power by elders, identified on the basis of kinship criteria, and achieved power by proven war leaders.

While the latter three types of systems were geographically restricted, occurring only in coastal areas and primarily (but not exclusively) among speakers of Austronesian languages, the Big Man system occurred in by far the largest part of Irian Jaya, and among by far the largest part of its population. Mansoben illustrates it using five case studies: Mejbrat, Me, Muyu, Dani (more specifically, Grand Valley Dani) and Asmat. In the first three of these cases, Big Men gained their status primarily through their role in exchanges; in the latter two, through war and fighting. However, the five examples make it clear that variations within the Big Man type also went beyond this basic dichotomy (pp. 123-48).

Mansoben's discussion of the *raja* and *ondoafi* systems is most welcome, since these do not appear to have occurred elsewhere in Melanesia. Moreover, other ethnographic information about the peoples concerned, where it is available at all, is scattered and difficult to find. Nor are these peoples mentioned in the Oceania volume of the *Encyclopedia of World Cultures* edited by Terence E. Hays (1991). The *raja* and *ondoafi* systems contrasted with Big Man systems in several respects, including greater emphasis on inherited power, greater centralization of power, and greater stratification. Mansoben also notes the presence of bureaucracies (p. 34). The *raja* type was a Melanesian adaptation of Moluccan forms of government, resulting from centuries of sustained contacts. It predated the arrival of Europeans in the area. The *ondoafi* type, however, cannot be explained in a similar way, which makes its occurrence the more intriguing.

In the opening chapter Mansoben outlines his theoretical approach. He favours a holistic approach in which political systems are examined in their sociocultural context, and succeeds in sticking to this in his admirably thorough contextualization of his case studies. In addition, Mansoben aspires to combine structural and processual data. In this respect he is less successful, since his discussion focuses on structure, in several cases because data on process are insufficiently available.

In the final chapter Mansoben examines four influential theories to assess whether they can advance the comparative study of political systems in

western New Guinea. The theories in question are Sahlins' identification of Polynesia and Melanesia as areas characterized by ascribed and achieved power respectively; Stagl's hypothesis that the power of Big Men is balanced by that of elders; Friedman's argument that a monopoly over prestige goods helped bring about the emergence of social stratification, whereas its absence made Big Man polities possible; and Godelier's 'Great Man' theory.

In Mansoben's view, none of these ideas is straightforwardly applicable to western New Guinea. Contrary to Sahlins, there were many instances of inherited power in New Guinea polities. Contrary to Stagl, the power of elders was often outbalanced by that of Big Men. Contrary to Friedman, in many New Guinea social formations – including Big Man polities – prestige goods did not play a prominent role at all. And with respect to Godelier, Mansoben views the 'Great Man' theory as a microtheory applicable only to one ethnic group, the Baruya (p. 274). On this last point, in my opinion, Mansoben misjudges the scope of Godelier's hypotheses. Like Mansoben, Godelier noted the differences among New Guinean polities. He also speculated on how these differences came into being historically, an undertaking also in line with Mansoben's own work.

Mansoben ends his analysis by stating that a satisfactory theory accounting for the variety of political forms in western New Guinea is not available – a modest but in my view realistic conclusion. His book is a most valuable contribution to the study of New Guinean political systems, thoroughly discussing the entire range of those systems. Regrettably, the book as a whole remains inaccessible to most anthropologists because it is written in Indonesian. The electronically available version does, however, include a 17-page summary in English.

Timothy B. Barnard (ed.), *Contesting Malayness; Malay identities across boundaries*. Singapore: National University of Singapore Press, 2004, xiii + 318 pp. ISBN 9971692791, price SGD 32.00/USD 25.00 (paperback); 9971692953, SGD 55.00/USD 45.00 (hardback).

NATHAN PORATH

This is a very important book for Malay studies in particular and Southeast Asian studies in general. An indication of its importance is that most of the chapters are republications, having first appeared in an issue of the *Journal of Southeast Asian Studies* that quickly sold out. Most are based on presentations at a conference, held at Leiden University in April 1998, which attempted to

explore the concept of the Malay world (*Alam Melayu*). Most of the authors are historians or literary critics, and this is reflected in the book's (minor) weaknesses as well as in its strengths.

Contesting Malayness is book of 12 chapters (excluding the introduction) that explores historical issues relating to Malay identity processes. Reid's paper briefly raises the very important issue of civic and ethnic nationalisms, and then further explores the changing meanings of Melayu over different periods. Vickers explores the colonial discourses on Malayness and ethnicity in both Malaysia and Indonesia. The origins of Malays and the concept of Melayu are the concern of Andaya's paper, while Sutherland describes the process of adaptation of eighteenth-century Makassar Malays. Barnard reveals how the emergent independent Siak identity was tied into piracy. Van der Putten shows us the shifting identities and survival strategies of Bugis Malays. For Malaysia, the history of the development of Malay identity is explored by Shamsul. Hooker discusses the reconfiguration of Malayness and Islam in the same country. Collins focuses from a linguistic perspective on the fluidity of identities in Borneo. Derks writes on the Indonesian literature in Malay, while Pak Tenas Effendi's contribution is a lengthy poem on the fate of the Malays. Finally, Milner concludes the book with further suggestions for research on the history of Malay ethnicity.

Although I like the title of the book, it is itself elusive and there does not seem to be any indication that this is intentional. Does the phrase *Contesting Malayness* refer to different regional identities struggling to set the standard for Malayness, for example (as Andaya would argue) in the case of seventeenth-century Aceh's contestation of Johore Malayness? Or does it mean contesting the concept of Malayness as an ethnic category (which is more of an academic enterprise)? If it is the former, then the concept of Malayness as a civilization process should have been explored further. If the latter, then the concept of ethnicity should have been developed and explored within the context of Malayness. In fact the content of the book is an exploration on both levels without much theoretical input. The various authors frame their arguments with respect to their own individual notions of what 'ethnicity', 'ethnic' and related terms mean, without elucidating those notions theoretically or contrasting them with others. The concept of ethnicity, in fact, is not really explored at all, even though the book is all about ethnicity, ethnicism, ethnicization, and ethnogenesis as well as identity and civilization processes. Consequently, *Contesting Malayness* is less theoretically integrated than its title suggests. For example, whereas Reid writes of an *ethnie*, the concept of ethnicity underlying Vickers' paper is very different from the concept of Malay ethnicity underlying Andaya's. Pak Tenas Effendi's poem, in which the Orang Melayu figure as an unproblematic and idealized ethnic category, seems inconsistent with the whole theme of 'contestation' anyway. Where

and how, then, are we to locate the concept of ethnicity (regardless of whether one wants to challenge it or not) with respect to the concept of Malayness in this book?

It is rather a shame that the book does not include an article on the Orang Asli, specifically the southern Aslian and the Riau groups, as these groups are as much part of the *alam Melayu* as Malays from Johore are. A look at what these groups reveal about Malayness (and by extension Orang Melayu) would have enriched the book. Finally, an article on the Malay-speaking Muslims of greater Pattani, and those descended from Pattani living in the central region of Thailand, should also have been included in the book for completeness (although Collins does mention them in the conclusion of his article).

The topic of this book, and of the 1998 Leiden conference from which it emerged, is less unique than it seems. An earlier conference on 'Tribal peoples of the Malay world', organized by Geoffrey Benjamin and Cynthia Chou in Singapore in 1997, had already explored issues of Malayness from the perspective of the tribal peripheries. Some of the authors in *Contesting Malayness* also published in the book resulting from the tribal peoples conference (Geoffrey Benjamin and Cynthia Chou, editors, *Tribal communities in the Malay world; Historical, cultural and social perspectives*, Singapore: ISEAS, 2002). Outside of Malay studies, yet another conference-based volume has explored similar issues within the Tai-speaking world (Andrew Turton, editor, *Social identity in Tai states*, Richmond, Surrey: Curzon, 2000). These three end-of-the-twentieth-century books seem to reflect the end-of-the-twentieth-century academic preoccupation with unravelling the overly rigid categorizations of peoples and identities which were constructed during the colonial era, and which were ultimately accepted in part by those they were applied to.

Joel Bradshaw and Francisc Czobor (eds), *Otto Dempwolff's grammar of the Jabêm language in New Guinea*. Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2005, xiv + 116 pp. [Oceanic Linguistics Special Publication 32.] ISBN 0824829328. Price: USD 17.00 (paperback).

GER REESINK

In their Translators' Preface to this translation, Bradshaw and Czobor mention two competing goals: on the one hand, a translation aims to reflect as accurately as possible the original author's meaning and style, while on the other hand, a translator aims to present the work as intelligible and useful to a new readership, not only in another language, but also in another place and time. This work was intended to accomplish both goals, and thus it is

one of the shining specimens of grammars written during the first half of the last century available to today's linguistic community, preserving quite well Dempwolff's original meaning.

There are a number of excellent grammars available in Dutch and German of both Austronesian and Papuan languages of the greater New Guinea area, written mainly by missionaries or colonial officials. Of course, such grammars can be, and have been, consulted by linguists interested in areal or typological features, but often they can only be found in university libraries, and the descriptions often need close reading because the original authors were not in the habit of providing morpheme-by-morpheme glosses.

Otto Dempwolff began his career in New Guinea as senior medical officer for the German colonial troops, but he immersed himself in local languages and in due course became a founding father of Austronesian comparative linguistics. At the request of Lutheran missionaries, Dempwolff agreed to write a grammar based on sketches and more than 400 typewritten pages of stories collected by Heinrich Zahn. Zahn himself wrote a highly appreciative foreword (pp. ix-x) for the resulting book, *Grammatik der Jabêm-Sprache auf Neuuguinea*, as Dempwolff had just passed away in 1938.

Dempwolff explicitly (p. 11) rejects the traditional European framework (based on Latin) when presenting Jabêm lexical categories, in order to convey the genius of the language – Bradshaw and Czobor preserve here the German *Sprachgeist* ('language spirit'). This helps the reader truly understand the structures and their functions in this Austronesian language. As Bradshaw and Czobor note (p. xi), Dempwolff appears to have been familiar with Pilhofer's grammar of Katê, a Papuan language with a switch-reference system. He gives a lucid account of serial verb constructions recognizing same and different subject sequences (pp. 100-14). Indeed, his work is the foundation for much recent work, most of which is given in a list of references (p. xiii), including Bisang (1986) and Bradshaw (1999).

Jabêm is one of the few Austronesian languages with lexical tone, as was recognized by Dempwolff, but later analysed more comprehensively by Bradshaw and Ross. A good summary can be found in the sketch by Ross (2002), who also refines the description of the verb conjugations and the role tone plays in this domain. One of the reasons Ross included his sketch in *The Oceanic languages* (Lynch, Ross and Crowley 2002) was that 'Despite the study that has been devoted to Jabêm, there is no easily accessible account of it'.

Not only have Bradshaw and Czobor provided a good translation, they have also done readers 'in another place and time' a great service by providing near morpheme-by-morpheme glosses for each Jabêm example. Occasionally they point out in footnotes when Dempwolff's translation seems to be at variance (p. 62) with the comprehensive Jabêm dictionary (Streicher 1982), 'itself a translation and revision of a German original by Zahn' (p. xi).

The reader in another time is served by references throughout this translation to equivalents of a particular structure in other New Guinea languages (pp. 20, 52-53), to possible etymological sources of certain terms (p. 65), to better analyses, such as Bradshaw's discussion of verb conjugations (p. 16), and to interpretations of Dempwolff's statements (p. 100).

In summary, while Ross's sketch of 2002 is certainly a valuable introduction to the language, various aspects of Jabêm which Ross did not deal with, or looked at only in passing, can now be learned about from this translation of Dempwolff's original work. We should be thankful to Bradshaw and Czobor for making Dempwolff's lucid description of this Austronesian language so highly accessible. To say it in their own words: '[They] have ended up turning reasonably straight furrows and [...] the crop is worth the labor of reaping' (p. xi).

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Jon Fraenkel, *The manipulation of custom; From uprising to intervention in the Solomon Islands*. Wellington: Victoria University Press, 2004, 262 pp. ISBN 0864734875. Price: NZD 34.95 (paperback).

Clive Moore, *Happy isles in crisis; The historical causes for a failing state in Solomon Islands, 1998-2004*. Canberra: Asia Pacific Press, 2004, xi + 265 pp. ISBN 0731537092. Price: AUD 35.00 (paperback).

JAAP TIMMER

Gaining independence from Britain in 1978, by 1998 the Solomon Islands

had slipped into a deep economic crisis due to armed conflict, the breakdown of effective governance, poor management of the economy, and lack of commitment to sustainable natural resource development. The crisis saw a violent unleashing of tensions between different regions, in particular between Guadalcanal and Malaita. The violence eventually brought about the removal of the government in 2000 and culminated in the intervention of an Australian-led Regional Assistance Mission to the Solomon Islands (RAMSI) in 2003. The two books under review here seek to trace the historical, social and cultural roots of the crisis in discontent among the communities of the Solomon Islands over issues of land and resources, over the complex entwinement of traditional culture and modern society, and over poor governance and poor economic performance.

Both Fraenkel and Moore have a history of engagement with the Solomon Islands, and have paid short visits to the regions involved. Yet their analyses of the conflict are based largely on open sources (archives, newspapers, and internet chat rooms). Missing from them is a careful assessment of the societal problems confronting the peoples of the Solomon Islands, of religious revivalism, of the sociology of relations between local groups, and of the prevalent ideas of sovereignty with respect to region, ethnicity, and state.

Fraenkel's account is a socio-political reconstruction of recent developments with a focus on the linkages between militant groups, the government, Melanesian *kastom* ('custom'), and international players, in particular Taiwan and Australia. Particular attention is paid to the ways in which the Westminster system which the Solomon Islands inherited from the British has been adapted in the light of local practices and traditions.

Moore's historical analysis leans towards the perspective from Malaita as it details the history of labour recruitment for sugar plantations in Fiji and in Queensland, Australia, from the 1860s until the early twentieth century. This period of so-called 'blackbirding' has left a strong negative imprint in the collective memory. Foreign influences are readily seen as detrimental to the livelihoods and morality of Solomon Islanders, an attitude that fuels current suspicions that RAMSI is enslaving the islanders to white interests.

While balanced at the level of historical and political analysis, Moore's account suffers from a poor understanding of *kastom*. For example, he explains people's violent behaviour after 1998 and during the 2000 coup as resulting from the disturbance of a 'cosmological balance' that is 'fragile and rather like living comfortably in the vortex of a cyclone' (p. 216). This cosmological balance comprises 'complex symbolic links' that people recognize 'between human relationships, lands, gardens, music, dance, everyday thoughts, speech, their ancestors and now Christianity' (p. 216). This valuable observation leads him to conclude that peace and reconciliation involve customary ways in combination with Christian faith and Western-educated

leadership, but he hastens to add that 'old balances' still need to be achieved (p. 219).

To which point in time Solomon Islanders need to return to restore old balances remains unclear, but Moore observes that they are hard to restore because '[m]alevolent spirits circulate in the winds, and constantly try to get in. [...] RAMSI chased out the malevolent spirits, but this was hardly a cosmological solution'. It is an interesting thought that with the restoration of cosmological balances, roads to peace and progress may be found in the Solomon Islands. However, the details of the proposed programme, in particular the close interaction between *kastom* and Christianity and modernity, are not fleshed out by Moore.

From my own work in the country, I can say that when Solomon Islanders themselves are asked about the reasons for the conflict that broke out in 1998-1999, their explanations range from the inappropriateness of introduced Western ways of government (in particular the judicial system, which clashes with custom) to growing individualism, unbridled criminal behaviour among elites, and a general descent into Babylonian apostasy (often taken as one of the many signs presaging the end of time). It is out of this experience that people search for alternative ways of governing themselves, and reflect on the power and usefulness of tradition or *kastom*. Some begin to revitalize traditions of relative freedom allegedly enjoyed in the past and promised in the Christian concept of redemption.

The cultural logic of *kastom*, in fact, derives from Christian lore, and much of the impetus behind the revival is the result of Christian denigration of indigenous culture. When looking at concerns and politics at the level of communities, *kastom* and Christianity are not merely layers of identity that somehow unite people and make them peaceful, and on which nationalism can be easily built. Rather, they are resources that are employed in people's politics, whether to support peace, or (deliberately or otherwise) to widen existing fault lines between ethnic and religious groups and between national elites and rural communities. There is a large body of anthropological literature on this topic.

Fraenkel's account of the role of *kastom* in the 'ethnic conflict' in the Solomon Islands builds fruitfully on the extensive literature on invented traditions in the Pacific. His methodology explicitly underlines the historical and cultural fact that 'introduced institutions have been thoroughly indigenised' (pp. 43, 185). The juxtaposition of externally-driven and indigenous influences, Fraenkel also observes, is prominent in the way Solomon Islanders themselves understand the tensions within their communities, regions, and nation. The conceptions of *kastom* that then come to the fore range from 'authentic and rooted' (and thus good), through 'powerful' (in the sense of affording access to traditional sources of power and knowledge) to

'destructive' (as in the case of *wantok* networks, based on common linguistic or kinship bonds, within the bureaucracy).

Fraenkel focuses on *kastom* in relation to the compensation payments which played such a debilitating role in the Solomon Islands during the crisis. The central government was presented with compensation claims relating to the suffering of Malaitans who were expelled from Honiara during the conflicts in 1999. Fraenkel realizes that these claims are about much more than money; they are also expressions of frustration and demands for respect and dignity. What he does not fully acknowledge is the mobilizing force of *kastom* as a source of roots, precedence and rights in relation to self-defence, struggles for autonomy, and attempts to obtain access to state and natural resources. Nevertheless, Fraenkel does recognize the growing sense of Malaitan distinctiveness and urban anomie that is expressed in revived foundation myths that build on such ideas as the 'lost tribe of Israel' (p. 77).

For Solomon Islanders, it is important to understand, such revived or invented myths belong squarely within the realm of *kastom*. When discussing foreign institutions such as RAMSI and Asian business ventures, islanders tend to use *kastom* more in reference to all that is perceived as indigenous, valuable and vulnerable than in the strict sense of 'tradition'. In many cases specific concepts associated with *kastom* – 'community', for instance – become 'objectified' and begin to lead political lives of their own. It is disappointing that the two accounts reviewed here pay only limited attention to the role of such objectification of tradition in the buildup of ethnic tensions. Nevertheless, both works are rich accounts of a crisis that escalated with dizzying speed and that still perplexes most foreign observers. There remains an urgent need for more research on the topic, but *The manipulation of custom* and *Happy isles in crisis* are solid and well-informed points of departure.

Peter Burns, *The Leiden legacy; Concepts of law in Indonesia*. Leiden: KITLV Press, 2004, xix+ 307 pp. ISBN 9067181757. Price: EUR 28.30 (paperback).

BRYAN S. TURNER

Much has been written about the nature and function of *adat* and *adatrecht* – that is, 'custom' and 'customary law' – in Indonesia. Perhaps the most influential contribution to interpretative anthropology in this debate about 'local custom' and 'universal law' came from Clifford Geertz in his *Local knowledge* (New York: Basic Books, 1983). Peter Burns' volume is not, however, merely another scholarly contribution; it can be said to reorganize the field by exam-

ining the analysis of Indonesian *adat* in the context of the evolution of Dutch law. More importantly, Burns interprets the *adat* controversy and the quest for legal legitimacy as an aspect of the political process of constructing Dutch sovereignty. As such, this is a significant contribution to the sociology of law.

Burns writes with a commendable clarity, directness and precision. He is concerned with a twentieth-century debate about the nature of legality. On 17 September 1901 the young Dutch queen announced an 'Ethical Policy' towards the East Indies, in line with the new direction of the 'Christian cabinet' of Abraham Kuyper. The changes promised included a recognition of colonial responsibility. In the same year, Cornelis van Vollenhoven accepted an academic appointment to the chair of colonial law and administration at Leiden University. In his inaugural lecture he redefined *Mohammedaansch recht* (Islamic law) as *adatrecht*. The change of name indicated a new field of inquiry – the customary laws of Indonesia, which were not merely a pale reflection of Islamic law. This perspective on the law was a product of the German *Historische Rechtsschule*, as expounded most notably by Friedrich Karl von Savigny (1779-1861). Its core doctrine was that the law is always the evolutionary expression of the development of a nation. This school was a nationalist-romantic reaction against the abstract legal rationalism of the Enlightenment. Because the law is necessarily deeply embedded in a national culture and language, adherents of the *Rechtsschule* argued, external, alien laws cannot be grafted onto such a body of 'living law'. The Leiden School, accordingly, came to see customary law as the natural expression of Indonesian culture.

Van Vollenhoven published his *Miskenningen van het adatrecht* in 1909. This was an open juridical challenge to the conventional view that the Dutch state was the supreme master over the lands of the Netherlands East Indies. *Miskenningen* exposed a bureaucratic muddle of decrees, statutes, ordinances and regulations. This problem in fact went back to the very foundation, in the era of the Dutch East India Company (VOC), of what Harry Benda defined in 1966 as a *Beamtenstaat*, a self-perpetuating, self-justifying administrative system ('The pattern of administrative reforms in the closing years of Dutch rule in Indonesia', *Journal of Asian Studies* 25:589-605). The official response to Van Vollenhoven came from G.J. Nolst Trenité, a senior adviser on agricultural policy, in his 'The right of the state to land in the directly governed Outer Possessions of the Netherlands East Indies', prepared in 1912 and published as an appendix to the *Agrarisch reglement voor de Residentie Sumatra's Westkust* in 1916.

The attempt to defend the idea of universal abstract law came to be associated with the so-called Utrecht School. The doctrines of the Leiden School did not fit easily with the economic and administrative needs of empire or capitalist enterprise. Nolst Trenité recognized that the romantic view of law was an implicit threat to Dutch authority in (for example) giving legitimacy

to the indigenous process of 'adjustment'. The Leiden School argued that in Indonesian customary law there was no equivalent to 'penal law', and that the idea of '*adat* tort law' was equally nonsensical. Indonesian penal processes were closer to the idea of 'remedy', in which the judge seeks to avoid danger to the community rather than to impose punishment on the individual. The Utrecht School claimed that customary adjustment as a restoration of communal harmony was clearly inferior to a rational legal system that demanded recognition of evil intention and which balanced punishment with the scale of an offence. An imperial power that recognized such irrational customary practices had simply forfeited its right to rule. For Nolst Trenité and his colleagues, there was just too much scholarly attention given to *adat* practices.

Burns's study is essentially a historical study of the ideological confrontation between these two positions in which technical debates about land rights, legal process, tort and punishment were controversies over the issue of sovereignty. Whereas the function of the Leiden School was to invent Indonesian nationhood, the Utrecht School sought to nurture the Dutch polity. In the long run Leiden's ideals and methodology were vindicated in Indonesia's political independence, but paradoxically the Basic Agrarian Legislation (BAL) of 1960 was a triumph of Utrecht legal realism. While the BAL affirms *adatrecht* (*hukum adat*) as a national tradition, in reality it appropriates to the state the right to allocate land. Under the notion of 'in the interests of the state', the New Order regime (1966-1998) did not concede any priority of local rights. The BAL in reality recognized the argument of the Utrecht School that the right of land allocation belongs to the state.

Burns concludes by arguing that *adat* became an anomaly in an independent Indonesia. As with most post-colonial states, the Indonesian government is confronted by legal pluralism involving the Shari'a, customary law, the remains of (Dutch) colonial law, and various components of international law. However, conventional analyses of legal pluralism are unsatisfactory because they accept 'the myth of the polity as given' – that is, 'they accept the pretensions of the dominant nation state to absolute jurisdiction within its boundaries' (pp. 255-6). The theoretical conundrum of legal pluralism is solved by 'forum shopping' (seeking out an appropriate legal framework that will satisfy partisan interests), but the results tend to produce a juridical mess. Finally, and controversially, 'the West – like *adat*, Indonesia and Asia – is a myth' (p. xvi); that is, a social construction brought about by political struggle and juridical imagination.

This is an inspiring study which is of critical interest not only to scholars of Indonesia, but also to academics concerned to understand the quest for legal legitimacy on the part of colonial powers and the legal gymnastics required to secure that sense of rational security.

Terry Crowley, *Bislama reference grammar*. Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2004, xv + 205 pp. [Oceanic Linguistics Special Publication 31.] ISBN 0824828801. Price: USD 27.00 (paperback).

KEES VERSTEEGH

In the section on yes/no questions in Bislama, the national language of the Republic of Vanuatu, the author of the reference grammar under review here remarks (p. 147) that the appropriate answer to such a question is either *yes* or *no*, and then he adds 'or obviously "I don't know"'. This addition is typical of the style of this reference grammar: the author is concerned with the way people communicate with each other in real life, rather than with the abstract structure of the language. With this aim in mind, he gives a short survey of the phonology (pp. 11-23), and then an integrated account of the morphology, and especially syntax, of Bislama; he even devotes five pages at the end to discourse structure, a topic often neglected in reference grammars.

Since Bislama is a creolized variety of English, one might have expected a treatment on the basis of English, but the author has chosen a different approach. He treats Bislama as a language completely separate from English, not even supplying etymologies for words whose English origin is not immediately clear. This has the wholesome effect of presenting the language as a linguistic system in its own right.

The relationship between Bislama and English is changing, however. In the introduction on the historical and sociolinguistic background of the language (pp. 1-10), two points are striking. In the first place, while Bislama is a second language for most inhabitants of Vanuatu (whose first language is one of the 80 languages spoken in these islands), there is an emerging group of first-language speakers. Intriguingly, Crowley refers (p. 4) in passing to the lack of distinction between its use as a first and a second language.

The second point of interest is the increasing importance of English as a school language. In fact, throughout the book there are references to exposure to English as a source of variation. The present situation in Vanuatu resembles that in other areas where a creole language interacts with its (former) lexifier in a post-creole continuum, in which new forms from the target language compete with the original ones. The author does not deal with this topic systematically, but it is clear from his book that there is a nascent diglossia, in which English has come to function as the High variety. He mentions instances of hypercorrection (the insertion of /h/ in *ae* ~ *hae* 'eye', p. 15), and ascribes some cases of variation to the difference between speakers with and without higher education (that is, with or without exposure to English): educated speakers tend to restore the deleted /t/ in verbs before the transitivizing suffix *-em*, for example *pen-em* ~ *pen-t-em* 'to paint' (p. 78); they use *masbi*

< *must be* (p. 97); they avoid the use of *i* with plural nouns, and use *oli* instead (p. 111); they use *wetaot(em)* 'without' (p. 129); they introduce manner questions with *hao* (p. 158); and they use *afta* and *bifo* (p. 190). In other cases, too, it is obvious that the variation correlates with knowledge of English, even though the author does not mention this explicitly, for example, the use of the plural ending *-es* (p. 44); the avoidance of *tugeta*, *trigeta* as pronouns (p. 48, where the use of *trigeta* is described as 'being a sign of an unsophisticated rural background'); the use of *wij* before a noun instead of *wijwan* (ascribed to 'some speakers', p. 154, n. 3); and the use of *sud* 'must' (p. 94, compare p. 100). Crowley does not deal with this variation systematically, partly because of the lack of relevant studies. In some places, for instance in the description of phonetic variation (p. 14), one would have liked to know whether there is a correlation between the variant and the speaker's level of education. The official spelling of Bislama in some respects reflects this relationship with English, for instance by making a distinction in orthography between *dog* and *dok* (p. 20), which is not realized in pronunciation.

In the introduction, Crowley states that his intended audience is broader than just professional linguists, and includes new learners and native speakers. Consequently, he discusses fundamental linguistic notions like classification into parts of speech. I am not sure this is always helpful. For the average reader, the discussion may be a little confusing, for instance when the author claims that the definition of the parts of speech will be strictly according 'to the behavior that words exhibit in Bislama speech' (p. 25), that is, by not taking into account semantic notions but only syntactic behaviour. Yet on page 27 semantic criteria are used in the discussion of the difference between nouns and pronouns.

At one point, the discussion of fundamental linguistic notions is actually a bit misleading, namely when the author distinguishes a category of non-predicative sentences (pp. 108-9). In the sentence *hemia reva blong mifala* 'that's our river', he claims that 'we are only talking about a single noun phrase (*reva blong mifala* "our river"). The other part of the sentence (*hemia* "that") does not say anything at all about what the river is like or what it is doing.' This leads to the curious result that the sentence just quoted is non-predicative, while a sentence quoted a few lines below, *hem i wan polis* 'he is a police officer', is predicative. Yet another sentence, *hemia i no pikinini blong krae* 'that's not a cry-baby' (p. 115), is said to be a 'kind of predicate construction'. It becomes even more confusing when equational sentences like *man ia tija blong mi* 'that man is my teacher' (p. 115) are classified as non-predicative, just like sentences with *blong* in the sense of 'ought to' (pp. 116-7), for example *mi blong karem raes* 'I'm the one who should get the rice'. If one compares this last sentence with the definition quoted above (predicates express what the subject is like or what it is doing), the average reader is bound to become confused.

Such minor problems aside, this reference grammar is a very rich source about Bislama, containing a tremendous amount of linguistic material. Its richness is not even exploited to the full by the grammar itself. A good example is the adverb *nomo* (< English *no more*), for which the numerous examples throughout the book provide more information than the concise statement (p. 144) that *nomo* means 'only, just', and may be used as a postmodifier with any kind of constituent, as in *bae mi kam naoia nomo* 'I will come right now'. For this latter use, no examples with verbs are given on page 144, but they may be found elsewhere, for example *mi ges nomo* 'I just guess' (p. 182). Throughout the book, numerous sentences with *nomo* suggest that its semantic scope is richer than 'only, just'. It often occurs in combination with *olwe* 'always', with a connotation of 'exactly, no less', for example *Joseph i giagiaman nomo* 'Joseph always lies' (p. 75, compare p. 84, p. 142; p. 30 with *evri taem*). This could also be its meaning in the sentence *Saki i singsing olsem Fred Maedola nomo ia* 'Saki sings just like F.M.' (p. 6), and in the idiomatic combination with *olwe* 'really' in *Santo hem i hot krangki olwe nomo* 'Santo is really, really hot' (p. 142), and perhaps even in ... *mo ples i waet nomo* '... and everything was white' (p. 75). Another meaning of *nomo*, not referred to on page 144 but mentioned elsewhere (pp. 57, 58), is found in combination with reflexives, as in *yu stap luk yu nomo* 'are you looking at yourself?' (p. 57).

One controversial topic in the syntax of Pacific English pidgins and creoles is that of the so-called 'predicate marker' (p. 110) in sentences like *hem i singsing* '(s)he is singing'. The author refers to alternative analyses in a footnote, to which could be added Roger M. Keesing, *Melanesian Pidgin and the Oceanic substrate* (Stanford, California: Stanford University Press, 1988), who gives a thorough refutation of the standard analysis of *i* as a predicate marker in Bislama and Tok Pisin (see especially 1988:159-170), and Crowley's own *Serial verbs in Oceanic; A descriptive typology* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002), which contains very interesting remarks about the relationship between the 'predicate marker' in Pacific English pidgins/creoles and verbal serialization (especially p. 226).

In this connection, note that sentences like *hem i no swim yet* 'he has not yet bathed' are said (p. 112) to effectively have two subjects. The author states (p. 112) that *mi* and *yu* do not occur with any 'predicate marker'. But this is contradicted by some of his own examples, such as (p. 123) *mi mi wantem*, (p. 129 n. 4) ... *se yu yu stap wokbaot wetaot*, (p. 135) ... *se yu yu save rod*, (p. 163) *mi (nao) mi*, (p. 169) *bae mi livim yu yu stap long haos* 'I will leave you at home'. In this last sentence, *yu* is called a 'second predicate marker'. I would prefer to analyse all examples quoted here as 'predicate markers' (as subject marking on the verbal predicate, along the lines of Keesing 1988), rather than as 'second subjects'.

Crowley's own work on serial verbs is also relevant for the analysis of *kam*

and *stap* (p. 101), which are said to be used as inchoative auxiliaries but never before verbs. This is contradicted by examples like *hem i kam luk mi* (p. 178). Crowley analyses such examples as sentences with deleted complementizer *blong* (compare Crowley 2002:220), but it is not clear to me why they could not be regarded as instances of core juncture verb serialization, along the lines of Geoffrey Pullum, 'Constraints on intransitive quasi-serial verb constructions in modern colloquial English', in: Brian D. Joseph and Arnold M. Zwicky (eds), *When verbs collide; Papers from the 1990 Ohio State Mini-Conference on Serial Verbs*, pp. 218-39 (Columbus, Ohio: Ohio State University, 1990).

The comments given here are intended to illustrate the usefulness and richness of this reference grammar. One has to thank the author for his very readable outline of Bislama structure. Even those of us who like to read grammars for fun will readily admit that not all grammars are easy to read. This one is, thanks partly to the author's light style and partly to the many examples and the subtlety of the argument, which invites readers to carry out their own analysis of the material provided.

REVIEW ESSAY

MATTHEW ISAAC COHEN

Transnational and postcolonial gamelan

Lisa Gold, *Music in Bali*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005, xxiii + 178 pp. + accompanying audio CD. ISBN 0195141605, price GBP 24.99 (hardback); ISBN 0195141494, price GBP 10.99 (paperback).

Margaret J. Kartomi, *The Gamelan Digul and the prison camp musician who built it; An Australian link with the Indonesian revolution*. Rochester, New York: University of Rochester Press, 2002, xxiii + 123 pp. + accompanying audio CD. ISBN 1580460887. Price: USD 75.00 (hardback).

Marc Perlman, *Unplayed melodies; Javanese gamelan and the genesis of music theory*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 2004, xix + 254 pp. ISBN 0520239563. Price: USD 49.95 (hardback).

Ted Solís (ed.), *Performing ethnomusicology; Teaching and representation in world music ensembles*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 2004, vii + 322 pp. ISBN 0520238745, price USD 60.00 (hardback); 0520238311, USD 24.95 (paperback).

Henry Spiller, *Gamelan; The traditional sounds of Indonesia*. Santa Barbara: ABC Clio, 2004, xxiii + 295 pp. + accompanying audio CD. ISBN 1851095063. Price: USD 60.00 (hardback).

Andrew N. Weintraub, *Power plays; Wayang golek theater of West Java*. Athens, Ohio: Ohio University Press, 2004, xvii + 295 pp. + interactive multimedia CD-ROM. ISBN 089680240X. Price: USD 30.00 (paperback).

Gamelan, Indonesia's traditional gong-chime musical ensemble, occupies a curious social and cultural position in relation to heritage and world arts. It is a symbol of traditional identity, a *pusaka* or magically charged heirloom

bound up in customs and rites. At the same time gamelan is a musical resource inspiring a host of European and American composers, including Claude Debussy, John Cage, and Steve Reich, a sound source regularly sampled in film soundtracks and progressive rock music. Playing and listening to gamelan is occasioned by social circumstances distinctive to the cultures of Java, Bali, and other parts of Indonesia and the Malay world, and as a result gamelan offers a ready subject for ethnographic field studies. Simultaneously, any general discussion of gamelan today cannot ignore the export of hundreds of gamelan to the United States, United Kingdom, Australia, Japan, the Netherlands, and many other countries over the last decades. Gamelan finds a significant place in community arts in countries outside Indonesia and is the most important ensemble for hands-on instruction in world music in universities around the world. In short, gamelan is an emblematic portmanteau of Indonesian traditional culture and world music's global soundscape.

Recent American and Australian introductions and specialist monographs have centrally addressed gamelan's intermediate location between venerable local tradition and global modernity. Ethnomusicologists write in awareness that readers are likely to be familiar with gamelan from studying, listening, and performing outside of Indonesia. The scholars themselves likewise draw on long experience teaching and performing gamelan in universities and the community. The small population of Indonesians living abroad and limitations of Indonesian embassies' cultural programming mean that direct Indonesian involvement in Indonesian gamelan production abroad is relatively uncommon. Gamelan is largely free of the sort of diasporic identity politics that weigh so heavily on other ethnic arts. That is not to say that gamelan outside Indonesia lacks a contingency, or a social network of support. Recent gamelan books, I would like to suggest, aim as much to describe musical institutions and practices in Indonesia as to provide models for performance and critical reflection for an international gamelan community, a loosely defined network of performers, students, promoters, scholars and enthusiasts in the United States, United Kingdom, Australia, Germany, the Netherlands, Indonesia, France, Canada, and other countries. The names on the title pages are at least as well known as academicians as they are as performers, teachers and producers of musical events.

Introducing gamelan to non-Indonesians

Henry Spiller's superb 'introductory exploration of the musical processes' (p. xix) of gamelan ably situates gamelan in terms of both traditional Southeast Asian cultural patterns and global flows. Detailed comparisons of Javanese and Balinese gamelan to traditional music of Thailand, Cambodia, and other parts of Southeast Asia demonstrate how music mediates social structure,

legitimizes cosmology, and propitiates spirits. Spiller shows, for example, how the principles of simultaneous variation and interlocking parts model tolerance for individuality and cooperative work patterns. While folk music uses simple materials found in nature such as bamboo and wood, gamelan's material culture of forged bronze keys, sound kettles, and gongs make it a status marker.

Roughly half of Spiller's book treats Sundanese gamelan traditions of West Java, with special attention to the use of gamelan in dance, including *ketuk tilu*, *tayuban*, *bajidoran* and *jaipongan*. Spiller speaks in the voice of the scholar-practitioner when he examines the rare pleasures a male dancer takes in surrendering to the groove, displaying masculinity, interacting playfully with the drummer, and dropping social inhibitions in a controlled aesthetic environment. The book provides many of the basics, patiently explaining colotomic form and the significance of a *pancer* pitch, and also offers sustained analyses of social meanings and cultural change. Spiller's ethnographically-supported conclusions are significant. He shows that gamelan no longer buttresses the traditional aristocracy, but is becoming a marker of ethnic identity in contemporary Indonesia. Attending and sponsoring live gamelan performances, studying and playing music, and consuming audiocassette (and more recently video CD) recordings are active assertions that one participates in local culture. This participation is often oppositional to global currents. Gugum Gumbira Tirasondjaja, who developed the popular Sundanese dance music *jaipongan*, claimed to be inspired by President Sukarno's admonition 'to eschew foreign influences and look to Indonesian roots for contemporary expressions' (p. 236). But this was not a naïve nativism or a crass folklorization of tradition. While one of *jaipongan*'s early presentations was at the Third Asian Arts Festival in Hong Kong in 1978, *jaipongan* quickly became a popular craze, moving from the concert stage to the recording studio, television studio, disco floor, roadside dance stall, and ritual event. Gugum's 1987 album *Tonggeret* (rereleased in 2003 by Nonesuch and now downloadable on the Web) remains a perpetual world music hit. Tradition was thus reinvented as commercial culture.

Spiller's introduction to gamelan can be read as an invitation to play and dance to gamelan. While historicizing the links between Sundanese identity construction and traditional music, he provides non-Indonesian readers with the cultural knowledge to cultivate a personal relation to gamelan. The late American composer Lou Harrison is critiqued for using gamelan to accompany solo Western instruments such as violin, thus unintentionally reifying colonial power imbalances. At the same time, Harrison is held up as a model for active participation in gamelan tradition, rather than as someone who stands outside of it. The book is appropriately appended by 'additional resources', including books, audio recordings, videos, websites, and compact

disks of Batak, Cirebonese, Central Javanese, Balinese and Sundanese music.

Lisa Gold's *Music in Bali* is constructed even more clearly from a participatory, experiential perspective. The book is tightly cued to an accompanying audio compact disk and is punctuated by activities that ask the reader to listen to a musical piece in a particular way, sing and tap out rhythms, even 'construct your own dance drama using [...] colotomic meters' (p. 124). Many of the CD's tracks are of Sanggar Çudamani, a youth gamelan with exacting performance standards founded in Ubud in 1997. Çudamani benefits from active involvement of non-Indonesian musicians well known to the international gamelan community. As the book moves back and forth between thick description of music in cultural context and instructional manual, the awesome spectacle of Balinese music, with its impossibly fast figurations, rapid shifts in tempo and mood, precisely choreographed moves, and brightly coloured outfits, is de-exoticized and humanized. You realize that you might not have the performance chops to execute the interlocking *kotekan* patterns, but there are principles underpinning the different gong structures that are available to be heard and appreciated, and reproduced within limits. Gold does not see Balinese music as a closed system, but also draws on examples of *kresai baru* (new creations typically written for *gong kebyar*) to show how principles of Balinese musical tradition are deployed for novel aims and circumstances.

Music in Bali thus clearly defines a reading position for you: you are intended to read the book in the same way you would read an introductory language textbook, as a grammar for understanding and generating action. This pedagogic frame is reiterated in the book's conclusion, which presents a thick description of a cremation ceremony, with special attention to the soundscape defined by the *balaganjur* processional gamelan. Gold addresses the reader: 'Now you have the tools to understand what you are experiencing in this ceremony' (p. 151).

If there is one criticism that might be made against Spiller's and Gold's introductory accounts, it is that both tend to emphasize *communitas* over conflict. There is limited attention given to the rivalries among artists, performing groups, and regional styles which preoccupy performers and serve to define standards and distinction. The contested place of gamelan within cultural nationalism, and the sometimes strained relations between performing artists and representatives of official religion, are downplayed. Most significantly, perhaps, access to musical knowledge appears uncontested. There seem to be few social obstacles for a non-Indonesian to gain competency in gamelan. Sketched crudely, both books are based on the premise that through practice, perseverance and diligent study and application of the ideas and practices detailed in their books, you too can become a gamelan player and share in the experience of communal music making. Recent specialized books on teaching world music, on postcolonial *wayang golek* in

West Java, on postcolonial Javanese music theory, and on a gamelan orchestra constructed in the prison colony of Boven Digul and transported to Australia during World War Two have provided an instructive counterbalance to this cheery impression of gamelan, showing that the practice, instruction and representation of gamelan are often conflict-ridden.

Teaching gamelan abroad

The collection *Performing ethnomusicology*, edited by Ted Solís, collects the theorized musings of 16 academics who use 'ethnic ensembles' for introducing foreign musical cultures to university students. Seven of the contributions deal in part or whole with gamelan. In one of his last published pieces, Mantle Hood (recipient of the title of 'Ki' and the prestigious Dharma Kusuma award from the Indonesian government) speaks candidly in an interview about his feelings regarding the instruction of gamelan and other ethnic ensembles in the United States. Hood took practical instruction in gamelan in Amsterdam with Bernard IJzerdraat while he was writing a theoretical dissertation on the subject of *pathet* (musical mode) in Javanese gamelan under IJzerdraat's mentor, Jaap Kunst, in the early 1950s. Hood returned to Los Angeles with a gamelan purchased in Europe and formed an extra-curricular study group at UCLA in 1954 to play traditional Javanese music. Though trained as a composer, Hood describes his own attempts at writing new pieces for gamelan as filled with trepidation. Hood declares that 'you should stay within the tenets of a tradition, no matter how refreshing or different you want to be' and cautions that 'some composers are not sufficiently informed about either Javanese or Balinese music to write it' (p. 286).

Also represented in this volume by an interview is Hardja Susilo, Hood's research assistant in Java in 1956-58 and later a gamelan teacher and associate professor at UCLA and the University of Hawai'i. As the first Indonesian artist in residence at an American university, Susilo understood himself to have functioned initially as a 'salesman' working to give a good impression of Indonesia. Susilo plays down the accomplishments of his American performance groups. Following the precedent of Ki Hadjar Dewantoro, he sees his role as primarily a teacher of *tatakrama*, 'behaving with adherence to common courtesy' (p. 65), through the medium of gamelan. Susilo enjoins students to efface ego when playing as an ensemble and show reverence to musical tradition and the instruments they play on. He represents himself secondarily as a 'bridge' (p. 60) that provides basic instruction as preparation for motivated students to go to Indonesia to study music in its cultural context.

Other essays in Solís's collection probe tensions between creative impulses and authenticity; strains between academic structures and gamelan pedagogy; and the often conflicting demands of product and process. Sumarsam

charts his autobiography from East Javanese village gamelan enthusiast, to student and instructor at Surakarta's high school for the performing arts, to Wesleyan University adjunct professor of music. Teaching American students gamelan made Sumarsam conscious of how gamelan as taught at Indonesia's arts academies is shaped by postcolonial forces. Roger Vetter recounts his frustrations of having to produce two annual concerts with Grinnell College beginner students who lack the opportunity to progress, and coping with feelings of guilt for being 'a non-Javanese individual making a living by teaching Javanese cultural property' (p. 124). David Harnish addresses Orientalisms occasioned by teaching gamelan in northwest Ohio, and provides strategies for avoiding the spectacle of exoticism. Among these strategies is the following rule of thumb:

I try to avoid saying 'The Balinese do this' or 'They believe that', because these objectify a group and make them abstract, romantic, and monolithic; instead I say 'I saw this' or 'My teacher said this' to explain music and culture, conveying personal experiences whenever possible. (p. 135)

J. Lawrence Witzleben relates his unique experience of teaching gamelan in Hong Kong. His students often come with extensive experience in playing Chinese traditional music, but find it hard to ignore their custom of learning through notation, and to adjust to the aural mode that is preferable for learning gamelan. David Hughes relates an anecdote of a SOAS student who assumed that he would start to improvise after two hours of learning basic gamelan techniques. He questions how possible it is to achieve creativity within the restraints of tradition for non-native university students.

Postcolonial gamelan theory and practice

The academic gamelan teachers contributing to *Performing ethnomusicology* repeatedly point to strains between ideal modes of gamelan instruction and the demands of the academic systems in which they are situated. But they manifest broad consensus on the question of why playing gamelan is useful to university students, and articulate a shared body of practice developed through trial and error in the classroom, emulation of mentors and senior teachers, and adaptation of contemporary theories of practice-based teaching and learning to the teaching of Indonesian music.

Stronger conceptual divides are evident in the theorizing of melody by Javanese intellectual artists, as discussed in Marc Perlman's *Unplayed melodies*, a technical and far-reaching study in music cognition. The development of the notion of melody within Javanese music theory coincides with the introduction of musical notation in the latter half of the nineteenth century to represent the gamelan canon to non-Javanese and translate Christian hymns

for Javanese devotional practice. The idea of a singular melodic line was new to Java. The concept of melody does not fit comfortably with the polyphony and interlocking parts of gamelan. The project to objectify practice using this European concept was nonetheless promoted by cultural nationalists such as Ki Hadjar Dewantoro, who wished to develop a gamelan theory comparable to European music theory, which conceives of music in terms of melody, harmony, rhythm, dynamics, and pitch or tone.

European scholars initially identified gamelan's melody as being the notes played by the *saron* family of metallophones. These instruments typically follow a very regular pattern of four notes per phrase (*gatra*), making the part easy to notate but hard to memorize out of context. The *saron* part was dubbed the *balungan* (skeleton) in the 1910s, and has been conceived by scholars as a figured bass, cantus firmus, or nuclear theme that is elaborated by other instruments. The problem, as Perlman demonstrates at length, is that *balungan* provides at best an imperfect guide to other parts. It is very difficult if not impossible to extrapolate what other instruments should play on the basis of *balungan* alone. Different theorists and practitioners have proposed different responses to the European challenge of melody and the practical problem of how to communicate the essence of a musical piece without a full gamelan at one's disposal.

Martopangrawit, described as 'a highly respected senior performer and theorist at the state conservatory in Solo, Central Java' (p. 8), articulated the view that *balungan* was the 'guide' (*pedoman*) to musical realization, but when he actually taught new musical pieces he would hum a combination of different parts (including that of the *kendhang* or hand drums). Suhardi, director of the Yogyakarta gamelan group Ngudyo Wiromo, devised his own idiosyncratic practice for notating *lagu* (melody), filling in spaces between *balungan* beats with additional notes to provide requisite information for elaboration. This was an ideal rather than a real part – it was not something that could be played idiomatically by any instrument. Sumarsam, who was Martopangrawit's assistant before moving to the USA, developed a concept of *lagu batin* (inner melody), which was 'unconsciously sung by musicians' (p. 134). In performance, the *rebab* (spiked fiddle) part conforms most closely to this unplayed melody, but tends to be more elaborate. Composer and ethnomusicologist Supanggah devised the concept of *balungan gendhing* or 'essential melody', of which the *saron* part is a corruption.

Drawing on the postcolonial theory of Partha Chatterjee, Perlman argues that Sumarsam's and Supanggah's reference to ideas of 'essence' and the notion that there is an inner spiritual world that cannot be observed directly by non-participants is a typically anticolonial response. Both artist-scholars write in dialogue with Western scholarship, a reflex of international travel, education, and reading. They valorize invisible cultural essence, with spir-

itualist overtones, over the material domain that is subject to non-indigenous scrutiny and control. Suhardi, in contrast, was a working musician who 'was not in on the conversation' (p. 170) with Western musicology and thus could develop a more concrete concept of melody. Suhardi lacked the influence of Martopangrawit, Sumarsam and Supanggah in Java, but his ideas received international scrutiny nonetheless through publications of his student, American ethnomusicologist R. Anderson Sutton.

Perlman's study, while theoretically sophisticated and nuanced ethnographically, is primarily intended for an ethnomusicological readership. Its long sections on ethnotheory and conceptual innovation in music theory will have limited interest for most Indonesianists. But not all ethnomusicology is so technical. A good example is Andrew Weintraub's *Power plays*, which applies the methods and insights of cultural studies to Sundanese *wayang golek* (rod puppet theatre) and its accompanying gamelan music, and comes with a CD-Rom that will appeal even to children. While outside Indonesia, gamelan is typically performed in concert settings, in Java and Bali gamelan is usually linked to theatre, dance and processions. Gamelan finds its most important use in puppet theatre, and it is in the context of shadow and rod puppetry that most of the significant innovations have been introduced or popularized.

Weintraub examines changes in the practice and representation of *wayang golek* since the establishment of the New Order government, with careful attention to innovation in performance techniques, new sorts of sponsorship, relations between live theatre and media, and the politics of performance. He focuses on what he dubs 'superstar dalang', the top puppeteers who attract government patronage, corporate endorsements, media contracts, and high fees, principally Tjetjep Supriadi, Asep Sunandar Sunarya, and Dede Amung. These puppeteers have been at the vanguard of cultural change in an unceasing contest for recognition and popular support.

Weintraub describes how puppeteers allude to controversial subjects such as political corruption, emphasizing comedy to appeal to a mass audience while at the same time assuaging the egos of their patrons. They plumb the slow-motion techniques of martial arts films, imitate the antics of American cartoon slapstick comedy, and devise new figures that vomit noodles or spout blood. In the 1980s, the top puppeteers adopted the use of what Weintraub calls a 'multilaras gamelan', which has more than seven notes per octave and thus allows for playing a variety of musical repertoires (*pop Sunda*, *degung*, *pelog* dance pieces, Cirebonese gamelan, *jaipongan*) in addition to the traditional *salendro* pieces associated with *wayang golek*. These new gamelan were expensive to build and transport, but created a 'spectacle of sound' that attracted audiences to live and televised performances. They were also difficult to play, requiring special training from musicians. The superstar dalang worked for media companies to devise new audio and audiovisual interpreta-

tions of wayang. For example, they made one-hour *wayang bodoran* audiocassette recordings, 'comedy performances in which panakawan [clowns] play the main roles' (p. 179). Asep Sunandar Sunarya, Sunda's most popular puppeteer who frequently tours abroad, even created an Indonesian-language sketch comedy show for a national television station starring Cepot, the principal panakawan character, with guest celebrities.

These innovations aroused huge interest in *wayang golek* in West Java in a period of generally declining interest in traditional culture. The puppeteers simultaneously roused the ire of cultural officials and traditionalists, who viewed them as violating rules of performance. The fustian officials responded by writing diatribes and rule books, organizing seminars, and establishing festivals and contests (including the biannual Binojakrama) to instate their idea of order. It is hard not to be sympathetic to the dynamic superstar puppeteers attuned to local and global pop culture – and as Weintraub was hosted by a number of them during his years of research in West Java it is even harder for him to bite the hand of those who, quite literally, fed him. Yet as Weintraub points out, the superstars' popularity adversely affects less accomplished or older puppeteers who cannot afford the superstars' expensive equipment and lack a media profile. Superstar performances attract thousands of spectators, while less able puppeteers do not get hired.

Perlman and Weintraub occupy a different position with respect to their informants than did previous generations of researchers. Both are scholar-practitioners who are engaged with the tradition they study. They research performance to acquire data to be written up for publication, and to learn practical skills for teaching gamelan and performing. While earlier researchers attributed cultural knowledge to 'the Javanese', disguised the names of informants to protect them from unwanted scrutiny, or dealt with gamelan as a cultural system without regard to individual creativity, Perlman and Weintraub treat master performers as older kin. They esteem them as artists and teachers but are also not afraid to criticize them with due tact and respect. Perlman and Weintraub write with an understanding that their relationships with the artists they document will endure beyond the book project. By providing names, locations, and biographical details, they implicitly invite readers to enter into our own personal relations with Indonesian performers.

Transnational gamelan as material culture

Most of the many Javanese and Balinese gamelan located outside Indonesia have rather mundane stories attached to their acquisition and transport. Typically they have been specially ordered from gamelan factories or purchased from economically desperate village artists. A few, including the two

gamelan collected by T.S. Raffles and the Field Museum's gamelan from the 1893 World's Columbian Exposition, have attracted scholarly interest due to their rarity, historical significance, or unique musical properties. One of the most special gamelan outside of Indonesia, and also most plain in outward appearance, is the subject of Margaret Kartomi's monograph, *The Gamelan Digul and the prison camp musician who built it*.

The simple set of instruments known today as the Gamelan Digul was constructed in 1927 from scavenged materials such as packing cases, sardine tins, a large earthenware water pitcher, and *rantang* (food containers) by political prisoners in the prison colony of Boven Digul in Dutch New Guinea. Digulists suffered from many deprivations, but the Dutch conspired to present a face of 'ethical normality' to the outside world. Like the concentration camp inmates of Theresienstadt, Digulists were induced to artistic activity. The gamelan was used regularly to accompany *wayang kulit* (shadow puppet theatre), *wayang wong* (dance drama), and *kethoprak* (costume drama). Other ethnic groups formed clubs to put on their own cultural performances.

Oral and written testimony by ex-Digulists has it that the Gamelan Digul was the handicraft of master Solonese musician Pontjopangrawit (1893-c.1965), who was imprisoned in Digul from 1927 until 1932. Pontjopangrawit was an ardent nationalist and a musician of the royal court of Paku Buwana X (r. 1893-1939). He had studied gamelan making from his brother-in-law, the famous *empu* (smith) Raden Yasa Pradangga. After the war, Pontjopangrawit landed a teaching job at Surakarta's high school for performing arts, and taught at the tertiary academy for performing arts after his retirement. Among his students in the 1950s was Mantle Hood; an elegant and tuneful field recording of Pontjopangrawit's *rebab* playing made by Hood is included as an 'extra feature' on the CD appended to Kartomi's monograph. Painted onto the instruments are the inscriptions 'TJOKRO 39' and 'KOESMENDI 10', perhaps the names of prisoner-musicians who repaired or painted the instruments in the 1930s or 1940s. While Kartomi goes into great detail about Pontjopangrawit's career, she does not provide information about either of these men, nor others involved with the gamelan's making or use.

The Digul political prisoners were transported along with other Indonesian and Dutch residents of unoccupied Dutch New Guinea to Australia in 1943, and their gamelan went with them. Charles O. van der Plas, representing the Dutch East Indies government in exile, convinced Australia to intern ex-Digulists along with Japanese and Germans in the prison camp of Cowra, but the Indonesians were released after seven months and found work in Brisbane, Sydney, and Melbourne, despite Australia's official 'whites only' policy. For a period of about two years, the gamelan was used regularly to give floor shows of music, dance, and theatre at Melbourne's Hotel Metropole, and to accompany occasional classical dance and *ludruk* (all-male

comic drama) public performances. Kartomi suggests this public outreach bolstered Australian sympathy for the Indonesian independence struggle. Most Indonesians residing in Australia were shipped at Australian expense to Indonesian Republican territory in the year after August 1945, and the gamelan was donated to the Museum of Victoria. It remained there, unplayed, until 1977, when it was donated to Monash University. The fragile instruments have rarely been played at Monash, but have been conserved thanks to Kartomi's efforts. A recording of all the instruments played individually by A.L. Suwardi on the appended CD demonstrates that despite its unorthodox materials the gamelan's sound quality is comparable to that of many other iron gamelan constructed in the early twentieth century.

Kartomi presents a compelling yarn, though parts of it could have been told with greater economy. The two chapters devoted to Pontjopangrawit's life before and after his interment in Boven Digul are not proportionate to the paucity of details provided about the gamelan's use in Australia, and there is too much organological information about gamelan in general that can easily be found elsewhere (including on the Web). The book begs the question: who is it written for? A foreword by Rahayu Supanggah suggests that it can be read as a tribute to 'the achievements of Bapak Pontjopangrawit' (p. xvi), while Judith Becker in another foreword reads it as an 'intimate view of a fragment of history that worked toward mutual trust and reconciliation' (p. xv) between Australia and Indonesia. The two forewords prefigure the book's double focus. It is both hagiography, a ritualistic kowtow to a deceased elder of the Surakarta academic gamelan community, and an act of symbolic repatriation of a Javanese legacy. The instruments remain unplayed in Melbourne, but their sounds, images, and history are available to the international gamelan community.

Directions forward

Recently published English-language books on gamelan indicate that gamelan outside Indonesia is not a passing craze. Javanese and Balinese traditional music have found a lasting place in ethnomusicology, composition, and world music. Increasingly, the gamelan world is being desegregated. The line between 'being here' (the location where non-Indonesians teach and write on gamelan) and 'being there' (Indonesia, where they study) is blurred. Gamelan 'boot camps' and special courses outside Indonesia offer unique learning experiences – often more intensive than anything available in Java or Bali. Exciting intercultural productions created by transnational Indonesian composers such as Rahayu Supanggah, Sawung Jabo, and Tony Prabowo might not be presented in Indonesia. Gamelan-sampled albums such as David Parsons' *Ngaio Gamelan* (1999) and Jalan Jalan's *Bali* (1999) and *Bali Dua* (2001) are created for

non-Indonesian New Age listeners to accompany yoga and relaxation exercises. There are many other signs that gamelan has been unmoored from Indonesia – to the dismay of some Indonesian government officials, who would like to claim gamelan as intangible cultural property of the Indonesian state and police its performance around the world. This new cultural landscape cries out for multi-sited ethnography and global historical approaches.

The publications reviewed here focus on traditional gamelan, which impress physically and sound strikingly exotic to most Westerners. As an emblem of musical Otherness, gamelan is a relatively easy sell to the university administrators and city councillors who provide funding for their purchase and space for their housing. But gamelan in Indonesia today is not as Other as it sometimes appears in academic publications or on university stages. Popular gamelan fusion artists and groups such as SambaSunda, Gamelan Swara Naga, Balawan and Batuan Ethnic Fusion, Krakatau, Warogus, Sujiwo Tejo, Djaduk Ferianto, and Kyai Kanjeng frequently appear on Indonesian television, give stadium shows, and tour internationally under the auspices of international promoters. Some of these bands have been individually studied by academics (SambaSunda comes up for quick discussion by Spiller) but the fusion phenomenon has yet to be studied a whole.

Musical creoles of a related sort were popular in the late colonial period, yielding such jazz-inflected, gamelan-based genres as *gambang kromong*, *tanjidor*, and *tarling* in West Java. Such was the clime that Jaap Kunst romantically justified his research as an attempt to salvage gamelan from its inevitable corrosion by ‘European-American civilization’, described as ‘so utterly foreign to the Indonesian cultures that it cannot be assimilated’ and ‘so aggressive and expansionist that it cannot be rejected or warded off either’ (*Music in Java; Its history, its theory and its technique*, third edition, The Hague, Martinus Nijhoff, 1973, p. 4). Pace Kunst’s pessimistic forecast, ‘European-American civilization’ did not bring about gamelan’s end. Sukarno’s anti-imperial policies favoured more pure traditions of gamelan at the expense of hybrids, and this anti-miscegenation attitude carried over into the New Order. As we have seen, gamelan revived and prospered in academic contexts. One can only speculate what reception gamelan would have garnered in Europe, the United States, and Australia had Mantle Hood’s pioneering practice-based research occurred at a time of greater popular hybridization. This points to another research direction: the interaction between Indonesian cultural policy and gamelan theory and practice.

English-language scholarship on gamelan in transnational and post-colonial contexts tends to highlight European interactions with gamelan, from Francis Drake’s possible 1580 sighting onward. But gamelan has long been implicated in translocal relations with other Asian polities. Alliances between the sultanates of Malaysia and Indonesia resulted in royal gamelan

ensembles being established in Malaysia by the seventeenth century; some were directed by Javanese artists in residence, but gradually gamelan became indigenized. Visits of Thai royalty to Indonesia in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries resulted in the export of Javanese musical instruments and the creation of gamelan-based Thai music by composers such as Luang Pradit Phairau, who was part of Prince Woradet's entourage in a 1915 trip to Java. Conversely, Pontjopangrawit composed music for a set of Thai instruments presented by Thailand's king to Paku Buwana X in the early 1930s, although this work of Pontjopangrawit's is no longer remembered today (Kartomi, p. 45). When Indian modern dancer Uday Shankar visited Java and Bali in 1935, he returned with crates full of gamelan and other performance instruments for use in his dance spectacles at his arts school in Uttar Pradesh. The existence of related types of gongs and bronze drums in southern China and western Indonesia testify to musical contacts going back a millennium or more. Musical relations between Indonesia and other Asian countries has been hugely understudied, and will undoubtedly receive more attention in the future.

The so-called war on terror has fuelled Islamic fundamentalism in Indonesia, with detrimental effects on traditional culture. Concern that the anti-pornography bill being considered by Indonesia's parliament in 2006 will impact negatively on gamelan-related activity prompted the use of the gamelan listserv for circulating and signing a statement of concern addressed to President Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono. This statement was printed in the national newspaper *Suara Merdeka*, encouraging the movement of opposition to the bill and generating anti-Semitic paranoia and charges of neocolonialism from the Islamic right. Islam does not have a monolithic position on gamelan. Islamic apostles have historically used gamelan as a medium for *dakwah* (proselytizing), a tradition continued today by puppeteers such as Asep Sunandar Sunarya and by performance poet Emha Ainun Nadjib's gamelan fusion ensemble Kyai Kanjeng. But there is also a long-standing Islamic belief that every gong has a *setan* (demon) inside it. Relations between gamelan and Islam will likely preoccupy gamelan scholars and practitioners for years to come.

REVIEW ESSAY

VICTOR T. KING

People and nature in Borneo

Tim Bending, *Penan histories; Contentious narratives in upriver Sarawak*. Leiden: KITLV Press, 2006, x + 181 pp. [Verhandelingen 233.] ISBN 9067182621. Price: EUR 25.00 (paperback).

Rajindra K. Puri, *Deadly dances in the Bornean rainforest; Hunting knowledge of the Penan Benalui*, 2005, xi + 408 pp. Leiden: KITLV Press, [Verhandelingen 222.] ISBN 9067182397. Price: EUR 35.00 (paperback).

Reed L. Wadley (ed.), *Histories of the Borneo environment; Economic, political and social dimensions of change and continuity*. Leiden: KITLV Press, 2005, vi + 315 pp. [Verhandelingen p231.] ISBN 9067182540. Price: EUR 35.00 (paperback).

Environmental issues loom ever larger in research on Borneo. We have been treated to a feast of publications, academic and popular, during the past 20 years, on the effects on local populations and ecologies of the destruction of the rainforests, the devastation wrought by forest fires, the extensive pollution of rivers, markedly increased erosion and flooding, the serious loss of biodiversity, and the massive increase in plantation development, as well as large-scale transmigration in Indonesia and the forced resettlement of interior communities following the construction of the Batang Ai and Bakun dams in Sarawak.

So it is no surprise to receive three books on various aspects of human-environment interactions in Borneo published within the space of a year. Appropriately they have been issued by the KITLV, which, through its EDEN project, has established an international reputation for research on the environmental history of Indonesia. As one might expect, the three books say and do different things, although they are all concerned to a greater or lesser extent with continuities and transformations. Wadley's book is the most wide-ranging of the volumes; it adopts a much more directly historical approach and for this reason has a much greater EDEN feel about it. Indeed, Wadley's claim for the venture is that it is one of the few contributions in Southeast

Asian and Borneo studies to examine 'the links between the historical and the contemporary environment, between continuity and change from the distant and recent past to the present' (p. 5). As a model for his work, he holds up the environmental-historical studies on southeastern Borneo by Han Knapen, a one-time member of the EDEN project.

Wadley and his contributors address an array of topics; these comprise the environmental effects of the Chinese demand for long-distance trade products on northern and western Borneo from 900 to 1900 (Tagliacozzo); local people's conceptions and practices with regard to the exploitation of different natural resources, either for subsistence or for long distance trade, in the northern regions of East Kalimantan (Sellato); the problematical distinction between environmental conservation and sustainability on the one hand, and destruction and overexploitation on the other in relation to the extraction of gutta-percha and aloes wood in the Apo Kayan region of East Kalimantan (Eghenter); colonial environmental perspectives, policies and practices (in conservation, mapping, demarcation and commercial exploitation), the economic value generated from forest resources (gutta-percha, timber, *jelutung*, cutch), and the conversion of formerly forested areas to tobacco and rubber estates (Potter); changing Western perceptions of resources in relation to changes in the colonial project and the consolidation and strengthening of colonialism – specifically with reference to Rumphius's construction of the myth of the 'poison tree' [*upas*] in the late seventeenth century and its popularization in Foersch's account in 1783, and subsequently St John's (and others') 'domestication' of the tree from the perspective of rational science during the nineteenth century (Dove and Carpenter); the effects of the creation of boundaries and the control over access to resources in the Anglo-Dutch-defined colonial borderlands of West Kalimantan from 1800 to 2000 (Wadley); the effects on natural resource access and use of the colonial imposition of Western property law and post-colonial rural development programmes in Sabah from 1881 to 1996 (Doolittle); and, in the same state, the effects on local people and resources of Western-derived 'predatory' stereotypes and cognitive models of local communities and ecologies, and the associated development programmes, which acted to dismantle the viable 'cultural ecosystem' of the Rungus (Appell); changing economic activities and the cultural values attached to them, specifically in relation to changes in rice agriculture, and the mediating role of rice between the 'traditional' agricultural-based 'symbolic economy' and the 'new' urban- and market-based economy among the Kelabit of Sarawak (Janowski); and, finally, the changing European perceptions and myth constructions of Borneo ecologies, and the environmental perspectives of local people, captured in a historically grounded, concluding and summary overview (Saunders).

The other two books each focus on a particular ethnic group. Based on field research from 1996 to 1999, Tim Bending presents a detailed and

intriguing analysis of the events, circumstances, and explanations surrounding the protests of a village of Eastern Penan (in the Apoh-Tutoh region of northeastern Sarawak) against the logging of their lands, as well as their more complex interrelationships with logging companies, representatives of the Malaysian state, and foreign environmentalists. In many respects Bending addresses themes which emerge in Wadley's book: local and other perceptions of the environment and of human-environment interactions in particular; but Bending specifically focuses on the personal, contradictory histories or narratives of particular individuals.

Finally, Rajindra Puri examines in commendable and meticulous detail the hunting knowledge and practices of Penan Benalui communities in the Lurah Valley of interior East Kalimantan, based on long-term and intensive research conducted at various times during the 1990s. The Penan Benalui are an offshoot of the Western Penan of Sarawak. Puri records a segment of what is more generally in Borneo a fast-disappearing way of life, and one which has been rapidly undermined among the related Sarawak Penan whose lands have been directly subjected to large-scale, destructive logging. Although the Penan Benalui are semi-settled, hunting still played a very significant role in their lives in the 1990s – indeed, 'hunting is at the core of their cultural identity' (p. 37) – and it is the nature of this significance (in social, economic and cultural terms) which Puri explores. He also notes that this is the first study of the Western Penan in East Kalimantan 'where the colonial experience and effects of modernization and national integration are significantly different from those in Malaysia' (p. 6).

In certain respects some of the material before us, at least in thematic terms, covers rather well-trodden ground. The tensions and interactions between different perceptions (foreign and local) of the environment, and the variations and transformations in human-environment relationships, which Wadley's volume explores, as do Bending's and Puri's to some extent, have been persistent themes in the study of environmental issues and processes in Borneo and more widely. In this connection the perspectives and interventions of the state, or rather those who debate, decide upon and implement government policies and programmes, have been well documented for various parts of Southeast Asia, and they are especially well theorized in the work of Raymond Bryant, Nancy Peluso and others, in the field of what is usually referred to as 'political ecology'. Wadley touches on these matters in his preliminary discussion of the concepts of environmental history and historical ecology (pp. 3-4), but the specifically political dimensions of environmental transformations seem to be rather muted in these concepts. Wadley returns to some of these issues in his discussion of boundary-making with reference to James Scott's work on state-society relations, and indeed to Bryant's work on 'resource politics' in colonial Southeast Asia. These excur-

sions, and those of Doolittle and Appell on state action and local responses and the categorization and marginalization of subject populations, suggest that political ecology approaches might have some utility here. Other concepts which surface in the volume ('cultural ecosystem', 'symbolic economy') might also have warranted an editorial commentary.

The issue of 'resource politics' surfaces very forcefully in Bending's analysis of contradictory narratives and conflicting representations of Penan interaction with the logging industry and their 'traditional' environment. He points to a fundamental difference between the narratives of modernization and government patronage offered by Malaysian political leaders and their supporters, and those of environmentalists, both foreign and local, who argue for preservation and conservation. The Malaysian elite presents the Penan as agents of foreign environmentalists, and believes that it is in the Penan's own best interests to acknowledge their dependence on government and to accept that government-sponsored development, including the transformation of rainforest habitats, is to their benefit. For the environmentalists on the other hand, the Penan are carriers of vital knowledge, following a pristine, uncorrupted way of life, which shows us an alternative, environmentally sustainable future; in this narrative the Penan, in protesting against government policies and logging companies, are presented as independent, authentic and authoritative actors, defending a way of life which has an intrinsic value in global environmental terms. In other words, the question posed, with reference to Wadley's concept of 'environmental history' and in relation to Bending's discourse analysis of Penan representations, is: are indigenous people victims of more powerful others who can radically change their environmental circumstances, or are they authoritative actors who are also responsible, to a greater or lesser extent, for making their own history?

Bending's conclusions are that it is not a simple matter of active resistance against or passive acceptance of the actions of the state, nor is it a straightforward matter of the more general distinction between active agent and passive victim. But rather his analysis, in contextualizing these issues and exploring in detail Penan personal narratives, reveals the complexity and fluidity of the situation in which competing representations interpenetrate, and different actors influence each other, and respond and react at different times in different circumstances, constructing and re-constructing their narratives. Bending says that 'different Penan individuals say different things, and the same individuals say different things in different contexts' (p. 40); this is especially relevant in trying to understand and reconcile on the one hand the Penan blockades on logging roads in the 1980s, their public anti-logging stance and espousal of 'traditional' Penan values, and on the other hand the fact that Penan men, both before and after the blockades, worked in the logging industry themselves, contributing to the destruction of their own environment.

Another rather simple dichotomy or division in studies of rainforest communities has been that of indigenous people as either 'guardians' of the environment in harmonious balance with it, or, as in the quite general colonial view of the habits of swidden cultivators like the Iban, as profligate 'destroyers' of their environment. In this connection a particularly useful contribution, in Wadley's volume, is Sellato's examination of the 'contrasted behaviours' and 'related management practices' of interior populations in relation to the exploitation of natural resources. Sellato argues that sound and sustainable modes of environmental use are adopted when resources for subsistence are the focus, whilst commodities extracted for an external market and subject to fluctuations in demand, value and fashion, may undergo 'extreme forms of extractivism, brought about by downright economic opportunistic behaviours' (p. 61). This in turn helps us to appreciate the need to contextualize environmental behaviour, to understand that it is mediated by a range of different factors, combining in different ways at different times in different places. Eghenter's chapter also examines the overly simplistic distinction between conservationist and exploitative behaviour. But perhaps even Sellato's subtle analysis does not allow sufficiently for different kinds of behaviour both within the category of resources for use, and within that of resources for exchange – although he does discuss this briefly (pp. 63-4), as does Eghenter (pp. 88-9, 96-8).

The emphasis on deconstructing generalized categories and eschewing assumptions of homogeneous behaviour across a particular community is also found in Puri's study of Penan hunting knowledge. His focus is on 'thinking individuals, intentions, and actions', which for him implies 'a focus on knowledge, its transmission, and its application' (p. 8). Puri examines variations and persistence in human behaviour through a focus on the individual and in relation to a dimension of 'traditional' Penan life which still has resonance in the Lurah Valley; Bending too studies personal histories as a way of understanding variability and change in human behaviour in relation to the intrusion of commercial logging and the undermining of 'traditional' livelihoods. A major reason for the viability of hunting in East Kalimantan, despite the increasing incorporation of the Western Penan there into wider socio-economic and political networks (and in contrast to the Sarawak situation), is that most of their lands fall within the Kayan Mentarang National Park, so that they are protected from 'more destructive developments' (p. 296).

These three books add immeasurably to our current store of knowledge on Borneo ecologies, but what of future research? Wadley, in his introduction, provides a brief summary of the work that needs to be done. The list is formidable, including topics on the environmental histories of river basins and networks, and areas within or between the major river basins (particularly those nearer the coasts inhabited by Malay-speaking peoples); detailed histories of particular ethnic groups, and of urban areas; studies of mining

(coal, diamonds, gold, antimony), of different crops such as sago, millet, taro, maize and cassava, including cash crops and non-timber forest products; studies of diseases and natural disasters; work on national census and mapping projects; selected biographies of colonial officials; examinations of state-environment relations; and finally, histories which embrace but go beyond Borneo's boundaries, as well as those which cross the island's internal, colonially created borders. It is unlikely that even a fraction of what Wadley calls for will be done; the agenda is an enormous one. But I think his call for more island-wide, cross-border and regional research should be heeded. For too long most Borneo specialists have tended to concentrate on limited areas and populations contained within a particular politico-administrative unit, eschewing a more boldly comparative perspective.

Wadley specifically draws attention, within his own volume, to the marked tendency to rely on 'colonial borders to define the targets of research' (p. 14) – though he does note, as exceptions, Tagliacozzo's chapter on the trans-border interests and operations of Chinese traders (a chapter which could have benefited, however, from the deployment of more comparative material on upstream-downstream relations in island Southeast Asia), Potter's island-wide comparison of resources exploited for commercial purposes during the colonial period; and, finally, Dove's and Carpenter's regional perspective on changing perceptions of the poison tree in the Indo-Malay world.

All three books reviewed here commend themselves in different ways. Wadley's volume, which demonstrates a pleasing degree of coherence and focus, is likely to attract most interest because of its multidisciplinary and island-wide coverage and the range of issues addressed. Those by Bending and Puri will probably have a more limited, specialist market – though having said this, Bending's work has something to say to the more general environmentalist and NGO world, and to those interested in various forms of local-level indigenous protest and the ways in which resistance is generated and explained. It has a nice investigative edge to it as the author pieces together the socially constructed statements of his informants. Puri's study, given that it is according to him 'the first detailed analysis of hunting knowledge and practices for any small-scale society in the tropics' (p. 39), will be of considerable interest to those concerned with the cross-cultural, cross-regional comparative study of hunter-gatherers. Although it has a rather heavy, doctoral thesis feel about it, it will certainly be a major reference work for those interested in nomadic or semi-nomadic lifestyles. On a final warm note, it is also good to see that through the judicious offices of the KITLV Press, a sustained and lively interest in 'things Bornean' is being maintained – even if, as I suggest (as does Wadley), we need to devote much more energy to 'locating' and contextualizing Borneo, and not just in environmental and ecological terms.