

Living). The latter chapter, also informative from the point of view of subclan organization and sexual division of labour, includes a section covering the trades of surplus goods with the interior of the islands as well as with neighbouring islands involving an organized overseas expedition. The political aspect of the native life is described in the next two chapters called "Conflict" and "The Headman", in which kinds of disputes, means of dissolving them at various levels of social units, and the nature and attainment of power are described. The author's clear and vivid prose helps a great deal in the description of this dynamic process.

An attempt is made to place this society in the broader background of Melanesian societies, with frequent comparative reference to the natives of Basuma, Manus, Malaita, New Guinea, Trobriand, etc. In addition, two sections are devoted to the comparison of social structure and religion, respectively, with the hill people of Guadalcanal. The space allowed is naturally too limited for any convincing portrayal of the hill people, and one may wonder if the same space could not have been profitably utilized for a fuller exposition of the Kaoka speakers themselves.

While most of the information is based on the material obtained from the field work of 1933, the recent changes are covered in the final chapter drawn from the author's observation in 1945. It appears that there has been some change in social organization, while material aspect of life remained virtually the same. The author seems to feel that this "state of stagnation" with "the incompatibility of wants and the means of achieving them" led to the form of nativistic movement called Masinga Rule, in which the desired goal is the goods of Western manufacture delivered by the American wartime transports, to be attained by faith and ritual mainly of Puritanical inspiration. Since we are told that his material aspect came in at the later stage of the movement, which in the beginning had political objectives, the reviewer feels that the gap between the needs and their fulfilment should probably be interpreted in a much broader sense than just the material needs. The account of the movement, which is still in progress and involves the organization of people in a hitherto unprecedented scale, is nevertheless very illuminating.

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Marriage in Tribal Societies. Cambridge Papers in Social Anthropology No. 3. Meyer Fortes (ed). Cambridge University Press, 1962. 157 pp. n.p.

This is the third in a useful series of occasional papers being published by Cambridge University. Each of these has been concerned with a unified topic so that the collection itself could achieve a maximum thrust. The presentation brings out new material and interpretation on marriage from four societies, three of these in Africa, and one from the Pacific. On the other hand, each group is treated from a slightly different focus, stemming out of the nature of

each society, and this has made a detailed comparison in terms of any set of pre-defined variables quite difficult, if not impossible. Thus Goody emphasizes separation and divorce in her treatment of the Gonja, Harris focuses on Taita affinal relations, La Fontaine on mate-selection, and Robinson on Trobriand complementary filiation.

All of these authors do their jobs well within the confines of the subject and the limitations of their approaches. This is good standard structural-functional analysis in the traditional mode of British social anthropology. Goody analyses and describes the effect of "frequent" divorce and most especially terminal separation which creates a class of unmarried old women who must have a place to go in the society. Harris shows how a number of social forces tend to create a norm of local endogamy even though such a rule does not exist. The result of this is that "affinal ties are magnified and become complementary to those of agnation..." (p. 85). This same point is made again concerning the limitation in choice of spouse among the Gisu (p. 114), although the main point here is that mate-selection is a result of two conflicting forces, "the breakdown of the lineage principle as the only means of identifying individuals and a contradictory trend, affecting the average villager, towards a greater emphasis on agnatic ties and lineage organization" (p. 119). Finally Robinson in re-assessing the Trobriand data finds that the father has important and in some respects, decisive jural, economic, and ritual roles, rights, and responsibilities. In this respect, the Trobrianders are seen to be more like other matrilineal societies than they were previously regarded. In his introduction to the papers Fortes emphasizes the point that anthropologists have seen aspects of marriage "apt to be ignored by other social scientists" (p. 6), especially the "structural consequences of the fact that principals in marriage are normally not isolated individuals but status-endowed persons whose unions commit them and those with whom they have pre-marital ties to new social relationships" (p. 6). He cites as evidence facts that indicate how such relations facilitate marriage by maintaining continuity and consistency among the network of relationships in which parents and children are placed both before and after marriage.

To take this last point first, it is odd that Fortes, using other words, but saying the same thing, has stated what the sociologists refer to as the homogeneity of antecedent and consequent factors that create stable or unstable unions. It seems the better part of valor to suggest that no single group of social scientists has any monopoly on a set of facts or methods, or ultimate truths. Most of us are groping with the same reality, and coming up with a number of ideas, many of them, although shrouded in different terminology, all break down to the same small set of generalizations.

As far as the papers themselves are concerned, it is fair to say that as new material they are somewhat disappointing. Old methods and old generalizations are used to explain new data, or else are re-discovered in the new data. Where some quantification has been introduced it is flimsy in the extreme, except for unsampled head-counts used for descriptive purposes.

Goody sets up some statistical data, then makes a number of her basic generalizations on the basis of her tables. She claims that the Gonja have a high divorce rate, then gives us a total divorce rate of 19/55 or 345 per thousand (my calculation) for women — which is not much higher than that in the U.S.A. with its 225 per thousand. She also claims, and this is surprising, that women over forty divorce more than women under thirty. Generally speaking, divorce declines with age. However the Goody upset is based on *four cases* for those over forty, and ten out of twenty-three for those under thirty! She admits that her statistical data are inadequate but then uses them to bolster her argument. This attempt by Goody to quantify is not followed up by her fellow authors all of whom, however, rest large portions of their arguments on words like "frequent", "common", "often", or "rare", and so on. Work on marriage and divorce theory simply cannot go forward with such studies. This is because as I have recently shown (*A Pilot Study of Divorce Theory: Paper presented at the American Anthropological Meetings, November 1964*), many of the theories concerned fall by the wayside, turn into platitudes, or account for only a very small portion of the variance when subjected to proper quantitative tests. We need now to turn our attention not to discovering old theories anew through inductive generalizations based on description, but to developing means of rigorously testing what hypotheses such approaches have created — and going on to create new ones that will account for what is left unexplained.

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Ngaju religion. The Conception of God among a South Borneo people. SCHÄRER, (Dr. Hans). Translated by Rodney Needham, with a preface by P.F. de Josselin de Jong. 1963. The Hague, Martinus Nijhoff. 229 p., 26 pl. h-t., 13 fig. carte dépl., relié, 16,5x 24 cm. (Die gottesidee der Ngaju Dajak in Sud-Borneo, Leiden, 1946) Translation series of the "Koninklyk Instituut voor Toal, Land en Volkenkunde", vol. 6)

De l'Insulinde, de Bornéo en particulier, on ne connaissait les Dayak qu'à cause de leur réputation de coupeurs de têtes. Leurs façons de tuer leurs voisins ou leurs ennemis, en comparaison des méthodes de la civilisation occidentale, restaient presque individuelles, archaïques, artisanales et elles ont quasi-disparu. Mais leur métaphysique, leur cosmogonie, leur religion étaient largement comparables aux formes élaborées par les peuples "civilisés" et méritent une étude attentive.

C'est à un missionnaire qui a passé de longues années dans les vallées de Bornéo, feu le Dr. Hans Schärer, que l'on doit une description minutieuse, détaillée de la religion de la tribu Ngaju. S'appuyant sur des enquêtes orales, sur l'observation de faits tangibles, sur des documents fournis par des lettrés indigènes, l'auteur expose magistralement les croyances fondamentales de ce groupe forestier.