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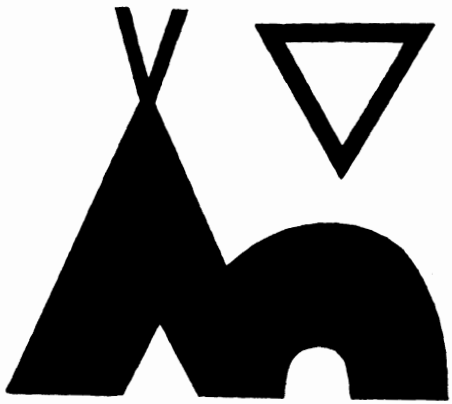

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# TOTAL CONSUMPTION: THE MEANING OF EXCHANGE IN THE TANIMBAR ARCHIPELAGO, EASTERN INDONESIA[1]

**David Howes**
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L'auteur décrit les formes et le sens de la "prestation totale" dans le contexte social de l'archipel Tanimbar. Pour ce qui est de la forme, il démontre que l'échange se réalise selon deux axes, l'un reposant sur l'alliance matrimoniale et, l'autre, sur des liens fraternels. Tandis que les relations entre les partenaires unis par l'alliance matrimoniale sont hiérarchisées et asymétriques, celles qui s'établissent entre partenaires unis par des liens fraternels sont égalitaires et symétriques. Quant au sens de l'échange, l'auteur explique que l'idiome rituel dans lequel il s'exprime est rempli de métaphores de prédation: le créancier se trouve face à son débiteur dans la position d'un prédateur face à sa proie. Cette logique de la "consommation totale" se retrouve dans toutes les dimensions de la vie de Tanimbar, même dans l'expérience de la mort, qui est perçue comme le moment où Dieu, le créancier suprême, consomme l'âme d'une personne qui s'acquitte ainsi de toutes ses dettes.

This article describes the forms and meaning of "total prestation" in the context of Tanimbarese society in Eastern Indonesia. With respect to form, it is shown that exchange takes place along two axes, one affinal, the other fraternal. Relations between affinal alliance partners are hierarchical and asymmetrical in character, while those between brotherhood alliance partners are egalitarian and symmetrical. With regard to meaning, it is demonstrated that the ritual idiom in which exchange is expressed is replete with metaphors of predation: a creditor stands to his debtor as a predator stands to his prey. This all-consuming logic can be shown to structure all aspects of Tanimbarese experience, including death, which is regarded as the moment at which God, the supreme creditor, "consumes" a person's soul in payment for all of his or her outstanding debts.

## INTRODUCTION

The purpose of this essay is to describe the forms and meaning of exchange in the Tanimbar archipelago in Eastern Indonesia. With respect to form, it will be shown that the

asymmetrical structure of affinal alliance is complemented by the symmetrical structure of what may be called "brotherhood alliance." The former is based on a principle of inequality, as between wife-givers and wife-takers, whereas the latter is based on a principle of equality. The opposition between these two principles is manifest in the flow of wealth which is both oriented in a particular direction (i.e., unilateral), and irreversible in the first case and bilateral in the second.

With regard to meaning, it will be demonstrated that "total prestation" in the context of Tanimbarese society takes the form of a gastronomy of people and valuables. The creditor-debtor relation which obtains between wife-givers and wife-takers is conceived of as a predatory relation: bridewealth articles and the children of a marriage between a mother's brother's daughter and a sister's son are represented as the wife-giver's "catch." Similarly, the living are regarded as the prey of the ancestors, and the terms used to designate the various levels of the social order (room, house, village quarter, etc.) all have among their connotations the image of a container, or an implement used to capture game. Thus, as Needham remarked in the context of his analysis of Purum society, "We see here, as elsewhere with prescriptive alliance, a mode of classification by which things, individuals, groups, qualities, values, spatial notions, and other ideas of the most disparate kinds are identically ordered within one system of relations" (1962:95; see also van Wouden 1968:2; and Barnes 1974:305-307). In the case of Tanimbar, it will be argued, that "system of relations" is given in the notion of "total consumption."

The Tanimbar archipelago, which consists of the islands of Yamdéna, Fordata, Larat, Molu, Sera, and Selaru, lies off the west coast of New Guinea (Irian Jaya). Tanimbar is counted as part of the Southeast Moluccas, one of three regions making up the Province of the Moluccas in Eastern Indonesia. Approximately 60,000 people inhabit the archipelago. These inhabitants are sedentary agriculturalists who cultivate maize, various kinds of yams, beans, and rice. They also tap palm trees to make palm wine, and process sago trees for flour. Their diet is supplemented by hunting and fishing, two highly valued activities. According to Chlenov, three distinct but related languages are spoken in the archipelago: (1) the language of Yamdéna; (2) the Kei-Kur language spoken on Fordata, Larat, Molu, Sera, and in the Kei archipelago to the north; and (3) the language of the Southwestern Islands, which is spoken on Selaru (1980:428).

As a result of the interest of Roman Catholic missionaries in the area (e.g., Drabbe 1940; Geurtjens 1941), Dutch colonial officials (Riedel 1886; van Wijk 1931), and naturalists (e.g., Forbes 1885), there exists a remarkably extensive body of ethnographic literature on the Tanimbar archipelago. Since Yamdéna and Fordata are the

best-documented, the focus of the present essay is on the social organization of the inhabitants of these islands. It should be noted that much of the following analysis is inspired by, and derives its structure from, Cécile Barraud's in-depth account of the society of Tanebar-Evav in the neighboring Kei archipelago (1979).

## CONSTITUTIVE UNITS

The constitutive units of Tanimbarese social order as expressed in the languages of the islands of Fordata and Yamdéna are given in Table 1. In order to arrive at a proper understanding of the nature of these units, it is necessary to explore the "resonances" (or alternative referents) of each of their respective names.

Each term normally has three alternative referents. The first is an anatomical resonance, for it is often the case in the Moluccas that the parts of the community are referred to on the analogy of the parts of the human body (Jansen 1977). The second resonance is the image of a container, or of an implement used to divide things. The third resonance is an attitudinal complex (cf. Barraud 1979:60-74). Although it is not always possible to discern all three resonances in a given term, this is more a function of our lack of information than any inconsistency in the logic of social classification (see Note 2).

The term which designates a village on the island of Fordata is *ahun*. The corresponding term on Yamdéna is *pnuan*. *Pnuan* also means "sheath of a sword." Since a sheath contains an implement used to divide things, the term *pnuan* is well-suited to expressing the notion of divisibility within an all-encompassing unity.

| Yamdéna | Fordata | Definition |
|---|---|---|
| **pnuan** | **ahun** | village |
| **suan** | **arun** | village quarter |
| **tnjame matan** | **rahan ralan** | division of a village quarter, (sometimes a) clan |
| **das dalam** | **rahan** | house |
| **tambil dalam** | **alamin étal** | division of a house, room |

Table 1: The Constitutive Units of the Tanimbarese Social Order.

On the island of Fordata, the "subdivisions" (or quarters) of a village are called *arun*. These "subdivisions" are never more than two to four in number. In addition to meaning "ear," a reference to human anatomy, the word *arun* signifies "a large basket woven from *lontar* leaves" which is used to carry fish. The *arun* could thus be viewed as containing its inhabitants like the basket contains fish. *Aru* also means adder, as in *ar'bajalat*,"a kind of snake which strikes with its tail," and in *ar'yaha* or "snake-dog," the word for scorpion. Drabbe records that if a snake is found in the village, its head is ground up and consumed in the form of a war draught in order to make the warriors fierce and courageous (1940:68). This suggests that the attitudinal complex which corresponds to, and is motivated by, the division of the village into *arun*, is "active, violent, directed from the interior toward the exterior" (Barraud 1979:65).

On the island of Yamdéna, the term which corresponds to the Fordata usage of *arun* is *suan*. Although *suan* is related to the Moluccan Malay word *soa* (Holleman 1923), Cooley's definition (n.d.) of the Ambonese *soa* as "a collection of clans comprising an administrative unit within the village" is both naïve and misleading. To begin with, *su-*, the root of *suan*, figures in the phrase *rasungap sir* which is used to refer to a row of houses "standing close by each other." *Su-* also appears in the verb *nsungap*, which means "to capture something, such as a chicken, under an inverted pot or basket." On putting the two senses together, a picture emerges of a row of houses which contain or "capture" their inhabitants.

The violence which the root *su-* connotes is directed both internally and externally. This violence is directed internally in the sense that the inhabitants of a *suan* are "captured" there by the ancestors (see Note 3). The fact that the term *suan* also signifies the treacherous spikes of bamboo which are planted in the walls and pathways leading up to the village in times of war implies that the violence is directed externally as well (see Forbes 1885:304).

In a sense, any division of a ground entails an element of violence since the division ruptures the continuum of nature. We are all familiar with the notion that danger is inherent in boundaries or divisions, and that societies will go to inordinate lengths to defend or enforce the boundaries which they draw around themselves (Douglas 1966). The boundary which usually receives the greatest emphasis is that between nature and culture; one of the further meanings of the term *suan*, that of "a stick for digging up tubers," reflects this idea. The stick does violence to the surface of the ground by rupturing the intactness of the earth, and the *natural object* which it liberates is thereby transformed into a *cultural product*.

The fact that pointed sticks denoted by the same term are used in gardening and for the defense of villages suggests that the Tanimbarese conceive of war and agriculture, and head-hunting and harvesting, in identical terms (a not uncommon association; see Needham 1976; and Downs 1977). Indeed, the community appears to have mobilized itself for battle on the basis of its organization into *suan*, and this same organization is one of the bases on which production groups are formed in those places where rice is grown (Drabbe 1940:77). Clearly, the *suan* is more than an "administrative unit"; it is in fact a *division*. Furthermore, it is a division which plays a role in ritual as well as in martial and agricultural activities. For example, when the community makes an offering to God, the sacrificer will "divide up" (*nsuk*) a "large cake of rice" (*sui*) and distribute portions among the *suan* of the community.

On the island of Fordata, the "subdivisions" or quarters of a village undergo further partition into what are called *rahan ralan*, a word meaning "insides of a house." The corresponding term on the island of Yamdéna is *tnjame matan*. In his attempt to delimit the boundaries of this group, Drabbe links the linguistic fact that *tnjame* means "foodstuff" to the social fact that members of a *tnjame matan* normally share the produce of their gardens with each other (1940:149). However, a very different sense may be read into this expression; namely, that the living are the "food" of the ancestors. The fact that *mata* also means "the cutting edge of a knife" (an implement used to divide things) is consonant with the idea of the ancestors dividing up the living as if the living were their prey.

Drabbe uses the term "clan" (Dutch: *stam*) when he refers to a *tnjame matan*: "by clan we understand a pure *tnjame matan*, i.e., a group of houses which have actually come forth out of the same clan house" (1940:188). The interjection of "purity" as a criterion implies that although some *tnjame matan* are less "pure" than others, they conform to the same model. The following two quotations confirm this point by revealing certain important respects in which the Tanimbarese system of social classification cannot be understood within a lineal framework. Although there may occasionally arise a resemblance between what we would recognize as a patrilineal clan and the composition of a *tnjame matan*, the patrilineal principle of group formation is constantly being modified by the structure of the house.

> Even if two members of a *tnjame matan* are entirely unrelated to each other, because one of them or perhaps both of them came from other *tnjame matan* to live in the same house, still they may not marry, since they come to be regarded as brother and sister. (Drabbe 1940:188)

> Sisters' children frequently turn up back in the house, viz. when they have been repudiated along with their mother. They become another full son or brother in the house too, and are no longer [regarded as] their mother's brothers' ward, because they become their brother or son. (Drabbe 1940:148)

The implication to be drawn from these quotations is that it is residence and not consanguinity, or locality, not patrilinearity, that determines group membership (cf. Turner 1978a; 1978b).

A group of brothers and the "house" they occupy (*rahan* on Fordata, *das dalam* on Yamdéna) are known by the same name or by no name at all. "It is said that the name of the house always comes from the guardian of that house" (Drabbe 1940:148). Drabbe uses the term "guardians" to refer to those persons who stand as wife-givers to the members of a particular group. By "wards," Drabbe means wife-takers. On Yamdéna, the wife-giver or "guardian" is called *nduan* ("lord"). The wife-taker or "ward" is called *uranak* ("sisters' children"). On Fordata, the corresponding terms are *dua* and *yan ur* (see Table 2).

| Yamdéna | Fordata | Definition |
|---|---|---|
| **nduan** | **dua** | wife-givers, "guardians" |
| **wain** | **iaan--iwarin** | ego's group |
| **uranak** | **yan ur** | wife-takers,"wards" |
| **ndur-lolat** | **lolat** | wife-giving/wife-taking series |

Table 2: The Constitutive Relationships of the Tanimbarese Social Order.

There are several houses without names in the village of Awéar on Fordata. Drabbe explains that these:

> . . . do not have a social function as separate houses. They appear to be later formations, which came to exist . . . as a result of dissension within the family. . . . The social function of which I speak is that every proper house is regarded as a link in a series of wards and guardians. Not only every person has his guardians and his wards, but every house as well. . . . On Fordata, the guardian of the house is called *dua dawan*, the great

> guardian, or preeminent guardian, while someone's personal guardian is called *tomata duan* or *tomata ténan duan*, i.e., the lord of the person or of the body of the person. They also speak of *dua alamin étal* or *dua kue*; the latter means little guardian, the former means guardian of the sleeping compartment as opposed to guardian of the house, which amounts to the same thing as nuclear family-guardian as opposed to extended family-guardian. (1940:154)

On Yamdéna, the word for the wife-giving/wife-taking sequences referred to above is *lolat* or "row." *Lolat-sivélek*, literally "exchange-row," is the name given to a closed cycle of matrimonial alliance which links thirteen of the principal houses of Tanimbarese society. Another name given to this series is *lolat dawan* ("the great row") to distinguish it from the *lolat kue* or "little rows" (Drabbe 1940:151-152). This distinction suggests that the thirteen houses do not derive their wives exclusively from their wife-givers in the "great row," but also have running through them one or more "little rows" linking them with houses outside the "great row." The reason why some houses have no name probably has to do with never having been incorporated as a recognized link into either of the above types of "rows."

Within the house, "authority over the female children and sisters, and over all the *ngrije* [affairs] of the family, e.g., contributions to a ward's or guardian's feasts and such like, [is vested in the] eldest in priority," the *kejain* (Drabbe 1940:203). The *kejain* or "elder brother" also exercises control over the movable and immovable treasures of the house. The latter are called *das ni mbarétar*, "the girders of the house." These pertain to a wife-giving/wife-taking sequence which has not been renewed in recent history, it being understood that the valuables which come into the possession of a house from one of its *nduan* can only be passed on to an *uranak* who belongs to the same "row." It is thought that alienating any part of the *das ni mbarétar* would incite the wrath of the ancestors concerned (Drabbe 1940:202).

The other class of treasures is called *lele-mase, mbije-ngoras*, "ivory and gold, arm-bands and necklaces." This expression covers both valuables which must be paid out to a wife-giver (*nduan*), and those which must be paid out to a wife-taker (*uranak*) in the on-going give and take of bridewealth payments and counter-payments. The *kejain* controls these valuables in the sense that his permission must be asked before the valuables can be reintroduced into circulation. However, the *kejain* is not at liberty to pass on such valuables to his own *nduan* or *uranak* without first consulting the other male members of the house (Drabbe 1940:202). On Yamdéna, the latter are called *famudi*, which means "later, in the rear." On

the island of Fordata, the eldest brother is called *iaan*, and his subordinates are all called *iwarin*.

The rules of exchange governing the disposition of these bridewealth articles do not apply to the same extent to the proceeds of a man's own labor. For example, a youth is not obliged to pass on the yield from selling a batch of coconuts to his wife-giver (*nduan*), although he often does so in order to secure the latter's favor. It is of further interest to note that: "A younger brother, who has earned something by working . . . may give his earnings to the guardians on his wife's side without first having to ask permission from his elder brother, but he will give notice to his brother just the same. And if the latter demands all of his earnings, he cannot refuse" (Drabbe 1940:203).

The considerations which impinge on the disposal of goods disclose the hierarchical cast given to social interaction by the superiority ascribed to seniority and to the givers of wives. Following Dumont (1970:141), we may regard these considerations as formative of a triadic subject, since "the normative subject as opposed to the empirical agent is constituted not by a single person, but by a constellation of persons making up a whole," as in Figure 1.

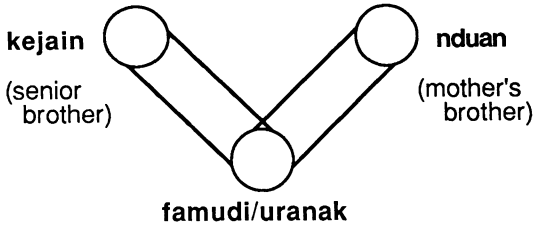


Figure 1: The Triadic Subject

The Tanimbarese divide the house into sides or "rooms," and it is these divisions which figure as units of exchange. The Fordata *alamin étal* finds its equivalent in the Yamdéna *tambil dalam*, "the contents (or occupants) of a room" (Drabbe 1940:148). Those men who come to inhabit the same house, regardless of the circumstances of their birth, are always regarded as brothers (Drabbe 1940:163). Thus, the model of a segmentary lineage system is quite foreign to the Tanimbarese mode of thought. It would be more in keeping with Tanimbarese ideology to regard the discrimination of "rooms" within a house as occurring in response to the "lateral" relations of exchange than the "vertical" or "branching" relations of descent from a common ancestor. In fact, the Tanimbarese traditionally lacked the linguistic means to express a segmentary lineage type relation:

> Family-names (a "van") are completely unknown on Tanimbar, and only in recent years have the few who can write tried to give themselves a "family-name" in imitation of Ambonese, Keiese, etc. They would choose their house-name for this (which name however extended further than an ordinary "family-name" and by no means always indicated consanguinity). (van der Kolk 1925:473)

The unitary regard in which the house is held underlines the indissociability of the group constituted by a *kejain* and the men who stand under him as younger brothers (*famudi*). This conflation has some substantial sociological implications:

> Here, no matter what the fluctuations in the number of brothers might be, the house is one and never knows more than two sides. It is thus an intangible form, which always imposes on the series of male collaterals the mould of the senior-junior pair . . . and unites in a single destiny the surplus cadets. The structure of the house therefore seems to be an obstacle to the development of an egalitarian patrilinearity as far as brothers are concerned. It poses hierarchy in duality. (Barraud 1979:94) (see Note 4)

In short, by virtue of its structure, the house consigns the category of younger brothers to anonymity. This is literally borne out by the fact that agnates who have split off and sought to establish themselves as autonomous entities are not always given a name. It is as if existence, in the sense of Drabbe's "social function," were only granted a new unit with reluctance. The "uncontained," for that is what the splinter groups must be, have no place within the dialectic between container and content that we have seen playing itself out across the different levels of Tanimbarese social structure.

## THE PRINCIPLES OF EXCHANGE

Drabbe, whom it will be recalled uses the term "guardian" to refer to wife-givers (*nduan*), and "ward" to refer to wife-takers (*uranak*), gives an excellent summary of the principles underlying the Tanimbarese system of exchange:

> The ward must bring to his guardian all that comes from the man or pertains to the man. The guardian must bring to his ward all that comes from the woman or belongs with the woman. And so must the guardian frequently supply a wife for his ward. (1940:187)

The most comprehensive framework within which this flow of goods and ritual services is symbolically conceptualized is provided by the edible and nonedible products of the labor of the sexes. In an important sense, the sphere of production as represented by daily life is structured by the same polarities as ceremonial engagements (the sphere of exchange). Men hunt, fish, and tap palm sap. Women tend the gardens and engage in weaving. The special language which the Tanimbarese use on ritual occasions reflects this division. A phrase such as: "Hunting grounds enough, but no pigs," means that a wife-giver has enough wife-takers, but that the wife-takers have no valuables to offer him for the time being (Drabbe 1940:286). Similarly, when a man goes to the father of a prospective son-in-law to discuss the bridewealth for one of his daughters, he will: "See to it that his stone weir makes a good catch on the reef" (Drabbe 1940:282). Those who are well-versed in the ceremonial language would know that "ivory and gold are called *in* (fish) because like fish, they come from one's wards" (Drabbe 1940:273). That is, ivory and gold can be caught by means of a weir, the weir being one's wife-takers. In both of the above phrases, what is in reality an act of exchange is represented as an act of production (hunting or fishing). Thus, the first law of Tanimbarese symbolism may be said to take the following form: when a valuable that serves as an item of exchange is translated into one of the products of human labor (e.g., ivory and gold=fish), there is a concomitant translation of the category of persons who provide that class of valuables into one's own means of production (wife-takers=hunting grounds).

All of the above prestations "come from the man." Palm wine is another of those gifts received from one's wife-takers. Drabbe notes that those wife-takers who live in one's immediate vicinity are called *lingat*, a type of building where palm wine is imbibed, "because the palmwine is received from the wards" (1940:271). We are also told that when someone has had a bad harvest and hungers, or has no seed to plant, he or she will turn just as naturally to a wife-giver (*nduan*) for leguminous foods or the seed, as to a wife-taker (*uranak*) for fish or meat, but never the reverse

(Drabbe 1940:187). It is consistent with the above set of associations that one refers to one's wife-givers and wife-takers as *bain* ("wooden eating dish") and *botil* ("flask"), respectively, "because one receives foodstuffs from the first, and palmwine . . . from the second" (Drabbe 1940:271). Thus, the second law of Tanimbarese symbolism may be stated as follows: an alliance relation is conceived in terms of its contents, and the parties to that alliance are represented as the containers of that content.

The underlying theme of Tanimbarese exchange relations is that of a gastronomy of valuables (as in the equation "ivory and gold=fish"). Fish and flesh "come from the man," whereas vegetable foods "come from the woman." In accordance with this distinction, a word meaning "provisions of a vegetable kind" is used to refer to the class of white shell arm-bands and women's earrings which, "like the provisions . . . come from the guardians" (Drabbe 1940:273). Thus, "what we call total prestation--prestation between clan and clan in which individuals and groups exchange everything between them. . . ." (Mauss 1966:68), has been realized by the Tanimbarese as a form of "total consumption," and the society proceeds on the assumption that the appetites of its constituent members are insatiable.

Drabbe characterizes the *nduan/uranak* relationship as one of "reciprocal aid between families" in all kinds of affairs (Drabbe 1940:186). However, the nature of the aid differs in accordance with the nature of the relationship: *uranak* must "tap palmwine" (*raflait*) for their *nduan*, and *nduan* must "supply loincloths and sarongs" (*ral umbin tais*) for their *uranak* (Drabbe 1940:187). Figure 2 lists the articles which figure in these transactions according to their provenance.

| Wife-takers **Uranak** | Wife-givers **Nduan** |
|---|---|
| meat, fish, palmwine | garden produce |
| gold breast ornaments | shell arm-bands (**mbije**) |
| gold earrings (**lelbutir**) | necklaces (**ngoras**) |
| elephant tusks (**lele**) | women's ornaments (**kwem**) |
| antique swords | loincloths and sarongs |
| **raflait** 'to tap palmwine' | **ral umbin tais** 'to supply loincloths and sarongs' |

Figure 2: The Flow of Wealth

## BROTHERHOOD ALLIANCE

The *awai*-bond or "brotherhood pact" figures prominently in the morphology of Tanimbarese society. It complements the affinal alliances discussed thus far in the sense that while it, too, allies villages, it is not based on the difference which enables two groups to intermarry, for it posits their identity instead.

The brotherhood pact precipitates "a relation which is equivalent to the relation in the private life of brother to brother, namely a certain community of goods, wherein nothing may be refused" (1940:220). What this quotation imports is that the Tanimbarese distinguish between domestic affairs and "public affairs" and that brotherhood relations are analogous to the former despite their public character. To clarify this point further, within the house (or, what could be called the private domain), the regime is one of a "community of goods." However, between houses (or, in the public domain), the regime is one of a "separation of goods," since the flow of wealth along wife-giving/wife-taking "rows" must observe the separations diagramed in Figure 2 in order to be meaningful.

As noted previously, the senior brother directs the actions of his juniors whenever these pertain to exchanges with other houses. In this sense, one does not find an "egalitarian patrilinearity" among the inhabitants of Tanimbar as is found, for example, among the Nuer of the African Sudan (cf. Barraud 1979:94). As a class, younger brothers are anonymous, or what amounts to the same thing, identical to each other, since they do not possess any identity in public as autonomous agents. Only houses, and the senior brothers who represent them, possess a *public* identity (cf. Drabbe's "social function"). This is because public identity is a function of difference, which is to say, hierarchy. In the public domain, no two houses which enter into exchange relations with each other can ever be on a par, since the *sine qua non* of their interaction is the wife-giving/wife-taking relationship with its hierarchized axis (the superior/ inferior valuation of the parties concerned). However, in the private domain, the hierarchical principle is supplanted by a principle of equivalence. As will be recalled, everyone who comes to live in the house is regarded as a "full brother or sister," regardless of their origins as affines. Significantly, a male ego even calls his sister-in-law *wain* ("brother") upon incorporation (Drabbe 1940:143-145), as if the encompassing framework of the house has also obliterated sexual differences.

Although it might seem that the position of authority which the senior brother enjoys within the household contradicts the principle of equivalence, it must be recalled that the senior brother's precedence is predicated on the fact that he mediates the

separation between public and private domains, just as his function is to preserve the "separation of goods." In other words, the senior brother's internal position is conditional on the maintenance of external relations of difference. Moreover, as will be seen, the internal relation of equivalence which underlies the "community of goods," and informs relations between *wain* generally, is reproduced externally in the public domain in the context of the *awai*-bond.

The *awai*-bond is entered into by two or more villages following a communal friendship visit in order to wage war against a common foe, conclude a peace, or in recognition of a common ancestry. The extent of the liberty which may be taken with each other's property during subsequent communal friendship visits is specified at the outset. Although these visits are meant to reaffirm the *awai*-bond, in practice this is a pretext, and the real reason for undertaking such a trip is to extract valuables from one's host which are necessary to pay off a fine or other debt contracted by the village. Naturally, when the host's turn to go on a visit comes around, the roles of donor and recipient are reversed (Drabbe 1940:217-218).

The extent to which this kind of alliance is based on a principle of identity or equivalence may be gathered from the fact that a village will often transfer the "signs" (*faniak*), by means of which it identifies itself, to its brother village as a token of its sincerity. For example, the village of Lauran on the island of Yamdéna gave the people of Méjanu the right to bear the title of *kota* ("fortification") which had been Lauran's prerogative since the seventeenth century when the Dutch briefly established a lodge there (Drabbe 1940:221).

Most inter-village alliances are characterized by an indiscriminate (bilateral) transfer of articles, whereas in other cases, the exchange is oriented. For example, the village of Méjanu may only obtain "female ornaments" from the village of Sormudi (which is also on Yamdéna) and *vice versa* (Drabbe 1940:217). Thus, the relation between these two villages is identical to the relation between wife-givers and wife-takers. This implies that the original pact must have been affinal rather than fraternal in character.

In the Tanimbar archipelago, affinal relations are governed by a strict set of rules. For example, the uterine nephew must assume a posture expressive of "reverential fear" when visiting the house of his maternal uncle. This contrasts markedly with the ribaldry which characterizes the relation between "brothers" (*wain*), and the free use which the latter make of each other's less valuable property (Drabbe 1940:145-146).

"Brothers" are defined by the fact that they neither make purchases among themselves nor, obviously, exchange sisters as

wives. The same definition applies to the wife's sister's husband (WZH). It is of special importance to note that the wife's sister's husband is called *wain* ("brother") by a male ego, whereas he calls both his wife's brother (WB) and his sister's husband (ZH) *ifar*, a Malay term meaning "brother-in-law" (Drabbe 1940:144). The Tanimbarese relationship terminology differs in this regard from the classical terminologies of asymmetric prescriptive alliance as described by Needham (1962, 1980). That difference is due to the rule that generates the unique position of the wife's sister's husband, the rule that two brothers may not marry two sisters, which may be characterized as a kind of "proscriptive injunction" (Fox 1980:10). As Drabbe records,

> When someone's brother is already married to one of the mother's brother's children, he is no longer free to take one of the latter's children to wife. . . . It is not the guardians who would be disturbed by this, but his brother, who would regard this as [just] as serious an insult as if he had committed adultery with his wife. (1940:189)

The consequence of this rule is that the wife's sister's husband is neither in the position to "tap palm wine" nor to "supply loincloths and sarongs" for his symmetrical counterpart. Only ego's sister's husband may provide palm wine, and only ego's wife's brother is in a position to supply loincloths and sarongs.

The position of the wife's sister's husband (*wain*) in this local ensemble of relations prefigures the existence of a category of identicals on the inter-village scale of relations. And as noted above, there are, in fact, two diametrically opposed types of alliances into which whole villages may enter: the *awai*-bond or "brotherhood pact," and a kind of *nduan/uranak*-bond or "affinal pact." The former is marked by the exchange of *faniak* (symbols of identity) at its outset. It does not matter what kind of valuables are requested on a communal friendship visit, for a brother cannot be refused. Conversely, the parties to an affinal pact must observe the same rules of exchange with respect to who may proffer what as do houses that intermarry.

The elementary structure of exchange in the Tanimbar archipelago could, therefore, be said to generate a minimum of four distinct positions as can be seen in Figure 3.

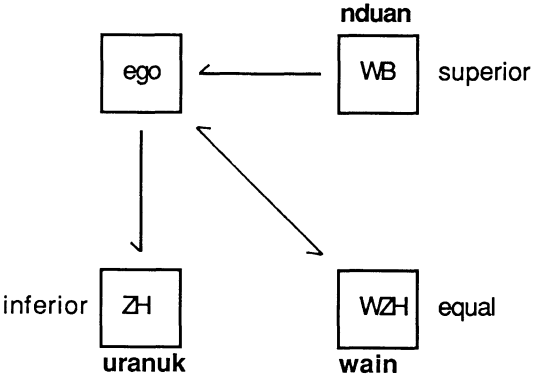


Figure 3: The Elementary Structure of Exchange

Within this ensemble, the wife's sister's husband is an alliance partner unlike any other. His position is unique because it is the fact that he is an affine without a difference that distinguishes him. In essence, his position in the social structure can only be defined negatively, that is, by reference to the rule that two brothers may not marry two sisters. As a result, he is neither inferior nor superior to ego. He is identical, an equal. Indeed, his position is motivated by what appears to be a striving for concordance and balance within the system of exchange as a whole. In order to have concordance between the inter-village and the domestic spheres of alliance, the discrimination of a fourth position at the domestic level, identical to ego's own, is a necessary concomitant. And in order for there to be balance, the hierarchical principle governing *nduan/uranak* relations must be complemented by its opposite: the egalitarian principle which governs relations between *wain*.

It is noteworthy that other examples of quaternal alliance structures may be found in the literature on Eastern Indonesian social formations. For example, among the Ema of Timor:

> The cycle ABCA should, by rights, be ABCDA [where capital letters stand for intermarrying "core houses"]. Shortening it seems to provoke an uneasiness, a feeling of confusion, especially for the woman born in B, over the status of giver and taker. One woman expressed her feelings in this way: "A gave birth to me; in turn, I gave birth. How can A come and take my daughter?" In other words, how can givers become takers? (Clamagirand 1980:142-143)

One wonders if the above expression of dissatisfaction with "three-partner cycles" may not also be motivated by a concern with the establishment of brotherhood alliances. However, like most writers on Eastern Indonesia, Clamagirand confines her discussion of alliance to the matrimonial variety. Silence with respect to forms of brotherhood alliance is one of the major weaknesses of alliance theory. This lacuna is partly attributable to the founder of that theory, Claude Lévi-Strauss.

In his classic *The Elementary Structures of Kinship*, Lévi-Strauss drew a distinction between brotherhood and intermarriage in terms of the different kinds of solidarity they promote. According to Lévi-Strauss, brotherhood expresses a mechanical bond, whereas intermarriage engenders organic solidarity:

> Brothers are closely related to one another, but they are so in terms of their similarity. . . . By contrast, brothers-in-law are solidary because they complement each other and have a functional efficacy for one another . . . each providing the other with what he does not have--a wife--through their simultaneous renunciation of what they both do have--a sister. The first form of solidarity adds nothing and unites nothing; it is based upon a cultural limit, satisfied by the reproduction of a type of connexion the model for which is provided by nature. The other brings about an integration of the group on a new plane. (1969:484)

The evidence from the Tanimbar archipelago appears to contradict these remarks. Brotherhood alliances *does* involve a "renunciation," the renunciation of identity which is powerfully expressed in the transfer of "signs" (*faniak*) from one village to another. Nor is the model for brotherhood alliance provided by nature, since there is nothing natural about the rule that two brothers may not marry two sisters. In short, brotherhood relations and affinal relations are dictated by the same logic, the logic of the *total system* of exchange.

## AFFINAL ALLIANCE

There are a variety of expressions in the ritual language which are indicative of the unilateral mode in which affinal alliances are contracted in the Tanimbar archipelago. "*Ndur-lolat* are all those whom someone can reckon directly or indirectly as sister's children, because they are the sister's children of his sister's children," or the sister's children of the latter, and so forth (Drabbe 1940:271). *Ndur-lolat wangim* denotes the wife-taking series which have existed "from of old." Another expression which refers to these ancient series is *snjarit*, which means "a path that runs from the East to the West over the island" (Drabbe 1940:272).

It is to these ancient pathways that the *das nduan*, "lord of the house," would belong. The *das nduan* is the person who bestowed the first wife and a name upon a house (Drabbe 1940:148). But every house has more than one wife-giver, given the rule that two brothers may not marry two sisters. Thus, a man's ancestral *nduan* (the *das nduan*), his father's *nduan*, his mother's *nduan* and his wife's *nduan* may all belong to the same house or to four different houses (Drabbe 1940:150). Each house thus constitutes a node or crossroads in a vast and intricate array of pathways, all of which run in different directions. However:

> . . . the bringing of valuables to wards or guardians does not take place arbitrarily. One always has guardians and wards in different series, and one must take care that one does not give valuables from father's wards to mother's guardians, or valuables deriving from extended family-guardians to wards from the nuclear family-series. (Drabbe 1940:188)

The two last mentioned types of guardians are opposed as the house (*das*) as a whole is opposed to the "rooms" (*tambil*) within it.

The Tanimbarese are as particular about the determination of rights in children as they are about determining the rightful recipients of bridewealth objects. Thus, in the event of marriage with a *bat waljete* ("foreign woman") as opposed to a *bat nduan* (the wife provided for a man by his *nduan*), "as far as the children of the young pair are concerned an agreement is concluded between the guardians of the young woman and those of the young man. They "halve the fish"; half of the children follow the guardians of the father, the other half those on the mother's side" (Drabbe 1940:198). This is concordant with the imagery of wife-takers providing their wife-givers with fish (as in Figure 2). The children are the wife-giver's "catch."

Given demographic fluctuations and/or the deterioration of existing alliance relations, the Tanimbarese are sometimes forced to allow certain valuables to cross over from one "path" to another. This is the underlying reason for the reference to bridewealth articles derived from the marriage of a sister to a foreigner as being "hot" in the following quotation:

> When some men are afraid of [bridewealth] objects which have been received as purchase money for a girl, because they are heirlooms which have long been lodged in a specific house [*das ni mbarétar*] the others say: these things are certainly hot, but the sarong of the woman has cooled them all off [meaning]: they are always paid for a wife. (Drabbe 1940:376)

The danger here lies in having offended the foreigner's ancestors who established the *ndur-lolat wangim* series in which the valuables ought to have remained in circulation forever. The fears of those who are uneasy are quieted, however, by turning their attention away from the fact that "paths" have been crossed to the more enduring truth that the articles were always meant to be exchanged. In a sense, the net transfer is portrayed as simply having confirmed the categorical order which may be expressed in the form of a proportional analogy where:

male:female::hot:cool::gold:sarong.

In addition to mediating relations in the world of men, female ornaments establish lines of communication between the world of substance and the immaterial forms of things. One of the most natural gifts or treasures for a mother's brother to give to his sister's son is the power to be a *mat'los* or "seer." This power is paid for with articles which are always given by a wife-taker to a wife-giver. In return, the uterine nephew receives female ornaments from his maternal uncle.

> The latter [articles] are called the ladder and the rope along which the dead descend. . . . Should someone wish to pass on his art to his wards, he calls up his dead and invites them to sit on a plate. They are then brought on the plate to the ward who will be entranced by them in the future. The dead take possession of him and "turn his eyes around," so that from then on they will no longer just see matter, but the souls and spirits as well. (Drabbe 1940:409)

The wife-giver is the source of many things. He is the source of extra-ordinary vision, the source of life as embodied in women, and sometimes, a source of men. With regard to the latter point, if a house is on the verge of extinction, the "lord of the house" (*das nduan*) comes to the fore as the person *obliged* to replenish it through adoption. For this purpose, he may choose either a stranger or a man belonging to one of his other series of wife-takers.

In the first case, a payment which on Fordata is called "paying water and milk" must be made to the house which provided the adoptee. This payment consists of two sarongs, a costly gold earring to "cool the man's head," and an elephant tusk "for the milk" (maternal care). On the contrary, "If a ward is taken, only an ear-ring is given for the cooling of his head, and for all that the ear-ring comes back again later on account of the relation of ward and guardian" (Drabbe 1940:147). This is the only known case of a

*reversal* in the flow of goods, for the only way the earring could return to its source would be if it were a man's earring (a male ornament) in the first place. The symbolic reason for having to "cool" the youth's head is that his passage between houses goes against the entire order of nature because it reverses the flow of life as embodied in woman from east to west along the "paths." In Tanimbarese ideology, emphasis is placed on women being married out. Accordingly, women are called *mangum* ("strangers"). By contrast, men are represented as stationary and are called *nuse nduan* ("countrymen" or "lords of the land") (Drabbe 1940:241). However, the Tanimbarese system of exchange with its unilateral marriage cycles can only remain viable by adopting men in. Thus, the system is not so much based on men exchanging women as on people exchanging people in order to preserve intact the *relations between houses* which were established by the ancestors (cf. Barraud 1979:198-99).

Another occasion where the *nduan* manifests his concern for his *uranak* and for its well-being is at the first hair-cutting ceremony for a child (Drabbe 1940:15). Before any hair is cut, the child's father flicks a few drops of palm wine towards God and the dead, and beseeches the latter to: "Take away the effluences of the East and West monsoons" (Drabbe 1940:23). If the child is a boy, the *nduan* will have brought a loincloth; if a girl, a shell arm-band. The *nduan* twirls this above the child's great fontanelle before proceeding to cut the hair. Afterwards, the child is given pork and rice to eat for the first time.

The reason the east-west axis is brought into relief in these circumstances (as in the father's imprecation to God and the dead) has to do with Tanimbarese conceptions of birth as being a descent, growth as being an ascent, and fatal sickness as being a departure along the east-west axis, which is horizontal.

Evidence for the notion that to be born is to descend can be gathered from the following array of beliefs and practices. "Once in a while a small worm descending on a thread is seen in a house. Such a creature is called *totolir*, something that is lowered down, and is a sign that God let down a child, hence that before long a child will be born in the house" (Drabbe 1940:383). Similarly, in preparation for the delivery of a child, a rope is tied above the platform on which the expectant mother kneels "so that she can pull herself up on it." During her final contractions, she is supported from behind by the "up-lifter" (*mangékit*), "who exerts downward pressure on the belly, so that the child will not return above." Meanwhile, the midwife who sits in front of the mother calls to the child: "Come down, come down" (Drabbe 1940:240).

The notion that to grow is to ascend is revealed in the words of the address uttered by a ritual instructress over the sacrificial

object which puts an end to a child's three-month period of seclusion following birth:

> Take all badness away from the child, make him peaceful so that he be neither sick nor lunatic, plant an *u'langaru* (long, thick kind of *rattan*) on his crown so that he reaches up to the firmament, and bury his roots eight levels deep in the ground, make him grow and multiply so that he, having become great, marries and increases himself with vigour in this clan. (Drabbe 1940:245)

The symbolic equation between person and plant which is posited in the above address has been elaborated upon in many different ways in Eastern Indonesia (see, for example Fox 1971; and Barnes 1974:74, 229-33). What is unique about the use the Tanimbarese make of this imagery is the manner in which the process of growth is represented as unfolding along a vertical axis, for this is the opposite of the horizontal axis, the axis of death. Death unfolds along a horizontal plane in the sense that a corpse is laid out on its back with the knees raised and bound together with a rope to form an inverted "V" (Drabbe 1940:252). This is the reverse of the vertical kneeling posture assumed by a woman in labor. The theme of death unfolding on a horizontal plane receives further expression in the practice of suspending the deceased's coffin between four stakes in such a way that his feet point westwards (Drabbe 1940:256). His "soul" (*mangmwate*) is thought to travel to Selu, an island off the west coast of Yamdéna (Drabbe 1940:405-6).

In view of all of the above, it is fitting that sickness--which is life-threatening--is associated with the effluences of the East and West monsoons (Riedel 1886:278). We conclude that the reason the (horizontal) east-west axis is brought into relief in the context of the first hair-cutting ceremony is that this is the first time the child's "life"--the verticality of his birth and growth--is tampered with.

## EXCHANGE IN THE FACE OF DEATH

Thus far, the discussion in this paper has focused on exchanges connected with the creation and maintenance of life. But there is also death, the phenomenon that illuminates the categories of Tanimbarese thought most sharply. Death is also an occasion for exchange to take place, and by exchanging, the Tanimbarese reaffirm the categorical order that governs life (cf. Forman 1980:163; Hicks 1976:107-25). Tanimbarese mortuary ritual therefore deserves in-depth scrutiny. The following description is derived from Drabbe's account (1940:251-57; cf. also Geurtjens 1941:115-21), and is offered by way of illustration of how the principles which

have been the focus of the present inquiry find expression in practice.

If a death occurs in the morning, the sons of the deceased invite the members of their *tnjame matan* to a meal of rice and pork that same evening. The date of the official funeral ceremony is fixed over the meal. The sons then depart to inform the deceased's wife-takers (*uranak*), and to ask his wife-givers (*nduan*) for arm-bands, necklaces, and sarongs. When the sons return home, they lay out the corpse on the floor in front of the *tabu*, a seat of honor at the foot of the household altar. A thin piece of bamboo is suspended parallel above the corpse, and a long piece of linen is draped over it. This is called "the sail of the dead." The next stage is called "the illumination of the eyes." Two of the arm-bands just received from the wife-givers are placed on the eyes of the corpse and another arm-band is laid on the mouth. It is said that "the arm-bands on the eyes are eyes so as to be able to see in the realm of the dead, that on the mouth a mouth to be able to speak with the dead."

The same evening, the wife of the deceased's eldest son "illuminates the eyes" for a second time, having already visited her *nduan* for the necessary valuables. The next evening, the wife of the second eldest son does the same, and so on, until each of the wives have taken their turn.

After the "illumination" on the first night, the eldest son invites the young people of the village into the house. Before the festivities begin, however, he makes an offering to the instruments:

> Ye drum and gong, chew this *siri*-quid, and call out to the East and West, so that the whole wards-row [*ndur-lolat*] hears, and come carrying goats and pigs, with which I shall mournfully feast my [father].

On the day of the official ceremony, the eldest daughter of the deceased must provide a pig (tended for many years in advance). "The pig is the central point of the day; it is the 'back' of the deceased, it 'resurrects' him as it were." The second eldest daughter must provide an antique sword symbolizing the knife with which the pig is to be butchered, and an ear-ring, "which represents the string on which the jawbone of the pig is hung." The wife-takers of the deceased bring pigs, pieces of foreign cotton (to swaddle the corpse), and gold ear-rings; his wife-givers bring more of the valuables already mentioned. The *totolir tabun*, "the lowest part hanging down," is the valuable which generates the most excitement. The *totolir tabun* is either a costly necklace (*ngoras*) or a pair of ear-rings of filigree gold (*kwém*) which, together with a string of shell arm-bands, are brought by the "lord of the house" (*das nduan*) and hung on the bamboo directly above the corpse's face.

After all of the valuables have been deposited, the corpse is picked up, swung back and forth nine times, and then lowered through the door into a coffin. Four men carry the coffin to the entrance to the village where the deceased is subjected to a kind of inquisition to determine what unpaid debt or unrequited sin caused his death. The porters jerk forward each time the deceased confesses. A bamboo stick is broken at each confession and the pieces are "nined away" (*nsiu i*) over the village wall. The deceased is then taken to his final resting place (a fifth man carrying the lid of the coffin). Upon the porters' return, all those valuables brought by the wife-givers which have not been destroyed are presented to the wife-takers, and *vice versa*. The wife-givers also receive the smoked skins of the pigs. The eldest daughter receives the *totolir tabun*, and the second eldest the string of armbands. The *das nduan* is presented with the sword and the skin of the back-pig. He must eat the latter to prove that he is the "real lord" of the deceased. If he is not, he will die. Afterwards, the jawbone of the back-pig is hung up in his house as an "everlasting sign of his mastership." When the children of the deceased visit him, he points to this, saying: "Never will you be able to deny that you are my people." The term used here is *tomwatte* ("people"), which is synonymous with *uranak*.

Some days afterwards, the widow and her eldest son go to the gardens where they extirpate nine potato plants which must "follow the deceased." Two coconut trees are also chopped down, and the widow remarks: "After the period of mourning we will give [the rest of this grove of] coconut trees to our wards." That evening, a seer (*mat'los*) cooes up the soul of the deceased and requests him to have all of the defunct members of the house gather at an appointed place. The *mat'los* asks the assembly of ghosts why they have all had to depart from life. This information is paid for with the neck skin of the back-pig. The *mat'los* later reveals the cause to the survivors who will attempt to redress this collective "fault" or "sin" (*salin*). Afterwards, a nobleman "nines away" the "fault," and smashes a plate "as a sign that the deceased may no longer return."

## SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

Three themes emerge from the foregoing account and attract further attention by way of summing up: the notion of "fault" (*salin*), the axis of exchange, and the connection between wife-giving and cognition.

For the Tanimbarese, it is impossible to die a natural death. There is always some "fault" at issue. Drabbe was told a dream

which is of interest in this regard (1940:423-24). His informant dreamed that he had been led by a spirit along the weathervanes and over the ridge of the roof of his house to a great house where, after passing through many rooms, he came before God.

> The supreme being stared straight at him, took him in from head to toe and made a gesture of dismissal with his hand in silence. And so they went back. The supreme being had not found any fault in him and for this reason not only was he successful the following day on the warpath but later on as well. (Drabbe 1940:424)

And what if God had found fault in him? "They say of God who lets a person die: *nain tomwatte*, he eats the person. This mostly occurs in maledictions, they say: 'God eat you,' or 'God take you.' Of the spirits they say the same" (Drabbe 1940:429). Death, then, is a kind of final gobbling up in this consumer-oriented society; the point at which life, one's most precious possession of all, is taken in payment for all one's outstanding debts. Consequently, it is not fortuitous that the "guardian" as an imparter of wives--hence, the mediator of life--to his "wards" also pays their debts (cf. Drabbe 1940:187, 193), as if to guard them against death. But there is an irony here, since the wife-taker's children become the wife-giver's "catch" in return.

There are many similarities between God as life-giver and the wife-giver. The wife-giver is called *nduan* ("lord"), and on the island of Fordata, God is called *Duadilaa*, "the Great Lord" (Drabbe 1940:427). Although the latter belongs to a higher order of being, the two nevertheless complement each other. *Totolir* is the name given to the worm dangling from a thread which is regarded as a sign that God has let a child down into the house. The *totolir tabun* provided by the wife-giver hangs at the other end of a person's life, his funeral, marking a departure as opposed to an entry. The direction of travel is once again down (for the corpse is lowered out a trap-door in the floor of the house), and the deceased then "sails off" to the island of Selu in the west. The symbolism of odd numbers, nine and five, emphasizes the irreversibility of the transition. By contrast, even numbers signify continuity and growth, as in the ritual instructress' address to put an end to a newborn child's period of seclusion, where even numbers figure most prominently.

This same notion of irreversibility underlies and pervades the flow of wealth, where "female ornaments" travel in one direction and "male ornaments" travel in the opposite direction (see Figure 2). The ritual address to drum and gong, and the importance attached to the *snjarit*-paths (along which matrimonial alliances are contracted), can now be seen to possess a "total significance": the east-west axis, which is the axis of death, is also the axis of

exchange, with life as embodied in woman flowing out of the east towards the west, as well as prestations of masculine goods travelling in the opposite direction, all on the same horizontal plane. This highly abstract schema is very concrete for the Tanimbarese, and can be grasped if one conceptualizes it in terms of how houses are arranged in the following sketch of the village of Aru'Bjab on the island of Yamdéna:

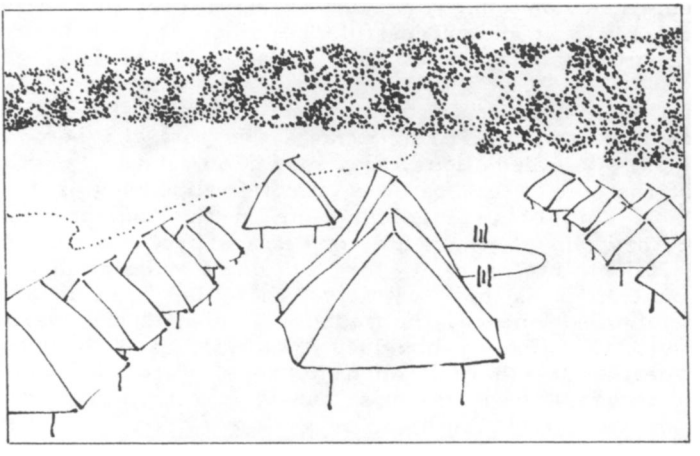

Figure 4: Village of Aru'Bjab, Yamdéna, showing three **suan** (after Drabbe 1940: photograph 67).

Given that the ridge-poles of buildings always run east-west (Drabbe 1940:34-36), the three rows of houses discernible in Figure 4 would appear to represent three *suan* (village quarters) which are at the same time *ndur-lolat*, "rows of wife-takers." This would account for how the grove of coconut trees also "follows the deceased" in being passed on to the wife-takers, since wife-takers are associated with the West and wife-givers with the East.

Finally, what is to be made of the connection between alliance and cognition? We have seen that the mother's brother is thought to possess the power to perceive spirit as well as substance when entranced, and that he may pass on his power to his uterine nephew. We have also seen that the wife-giver's gift of female ornaments at a funeral empowers the deceased to see and converse with the other souls of the dead. We know that death is associated with God calling in his debts, and that when someone dies, it is said that God has "eaten the person" (*nain tomwatte*). Although "eating" is an extremely concrete metaphor, its meaning is highly abstract. "When they speak of feeding God in sacrificing," and, presumably, of God feeding himself when he lets someone die, "they

say that God eats the things they sacrifice: *nain*. He eats however not the thing itself, but only the soul thereof: *smangat*, or likewise *valun*, the image thereof; meaning by both words a vague, they know themselves not what" (Drabbe 1940:429). While the Tanimbarese may not be explicit about these notions of "soul" and "image," they do state that all that remains of a sacrificial object or a person who has died is the *mbenbun kape*, "the empty husk" (Drabbe 1940:39, 422). Thus, the Tanimbarese distinguish between husk and kernel, body and soul, object and image, and, in the final analysis, between container and content.

Everything in Tanimbarese culture may be expressed in terms of the relation between a container and its content. This proposition is as much true of the village (*pnuan* means both "village" and "sheath of a sword") as it is of the individual. For example, the seer who sits before the household altar to receive spirit is called "the boat of the ancestors" (Geurtjens 1941:12), and of a pregnant woman it is said:

> She binds so as to go on a distant journey, wherein "binding" means to make preparations since in journeying by proa [a type of sailing boat] one of the foremost preparations was to see to the binding of the proa. The connexion with pregnancy consists in [the notion] that after the journey the proa was full of imported objects; in ordinary speech it is also said that proa *nlend kabyanir*, contain things. (Drabbe 1940:270)

The sailing-boat is thus symbolically equivalent to the womb, and both of these images, or "concomitant forms," like the image of the house, may be regarded as expressions of *the* archetype of Tanimbarese culture: the image of a container, the contents of which are always precious (Howes n.d.). Indeed, so pervasive is this archetype that even alliance relations are conceived of in terms of their contents, and the parties to an alliance are represented as the containers of that content (the second law of Tanimbarese symbolism). However, it should not be inferred from this that the Tanimbarese tend to reify relationships, since for them "thinghood," like personhood, *is* a relationship (Howes 1980). Just as things are only cognizable to the extent that they contain or are contained within things other than themselves, persons are regarded as subjects only insofar as they participate in relationships.

## NOTES

1. The research on which this article is based was made possible by a Commonwealth Scholarship. I would like to thank Professor Rodney Needham of All Souls College, Oxford

University and Dr. David Turner of Trinity College, Toronto, for having introduced me to many of the interpretive constructs I have attempted to apply in this article.

2. All definitions of native terms in this section are derived from Drabbe's dictionaries of the languages spoken on Yamdéna (1932a) and Fordata (1932b).

3. This interpretation is consistent with Barraud's analysis of the word *haratut*, "the hundred catches," in the context of Keiese collective thought (1979:60-66). *Haratut*, a collective appellation, is a kind of conceit which the society of Tanebar-Evav has of itself whereby the living are represented as the quarry of the ancestors. This explains why so many terms denoting different levels of the social organization have the image of a container among their connotations. The containers are the means by which the ancestors "capture" the living--i.e., fix them within an immutable cadre. On Yamdéna, the term *inarut*, literally "the hundred fish," is used to designate "the main walk of the village" (Drabbe 1940:50), which suggests that the same conceit has a certain resonance in Tanimbarese thought.

4. On Tanebar-Evav, the senior brother occupies the right side of the house, and this association with the right is a sign of his superior status. In Barraud's terms, this status militates against the development of an "egalitarian patrilinearity." On Yamdéna, the sea-side of the house is superior to the land-side, and the rear of the house is superior to the front. However, Drabbe does not state where the senior brother's room is located. His silence with respect to status distinctions of this sort may be indicative of a more "egalitarian patrilinearity," insofar as the *internal order* (or domestic life) of the house is concerned.

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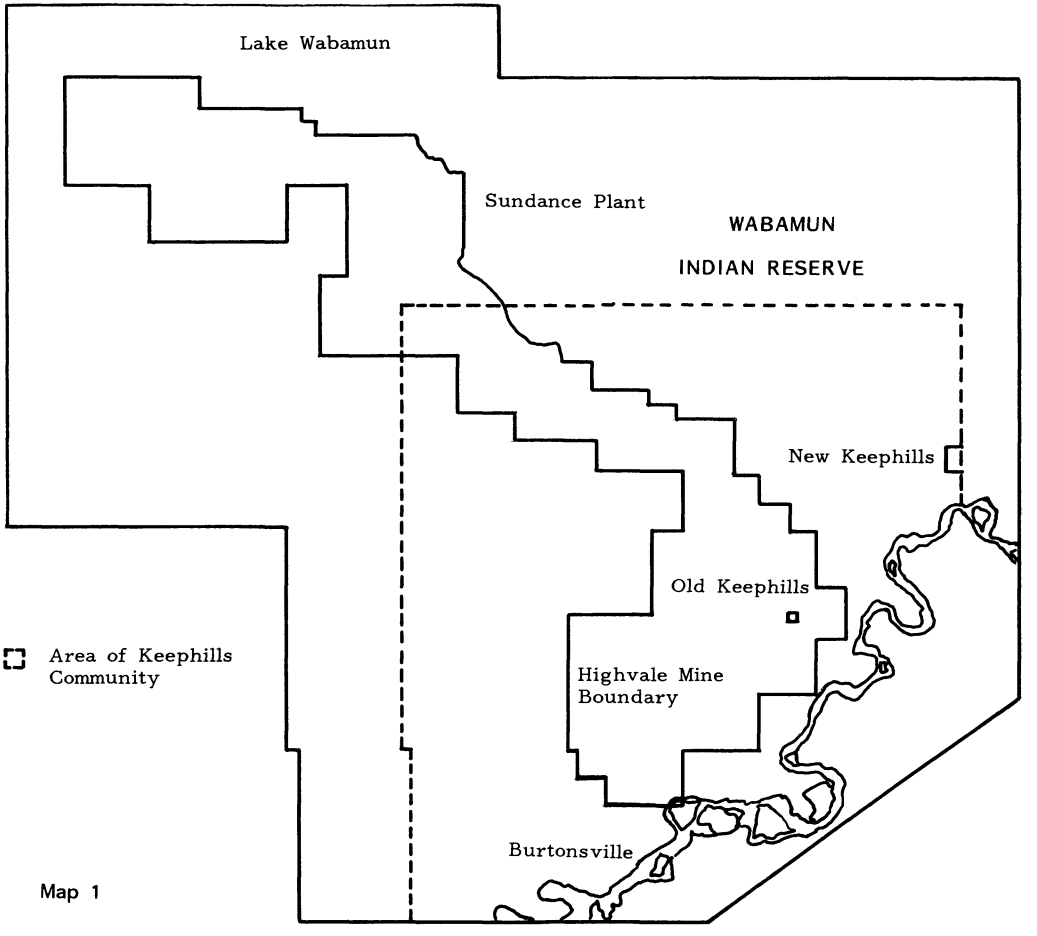
Lake Wabamun
Sundance Plant
WABAMUN
INDIAN RESERVE
New Keephills
Old Keephills
Area of Keephills Community
Highvale Mine Boundary
Burtonsville

Map 1

# PUBLIC PARTICIPATION IN PLANNING FOR COMMUNITY RELOCATION: A CASE STUDY OF KEEPHILLS, ALBERTA

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Le gouvernement provincial de l'Alberta (dans l'ouest du Canada) a décidé d'accorder à une compagnie l'autorisation de procéder au développement et au maintien d'une grande mine de charbon à ciel ouvert. Cette mesure a eu pour effet de perturber les conditions de vie d'une petite communauté rurale. En procédant à leur enquête sur l'ensemble de cette communauté tenant compte, de la réalité ethnique, les auteurs font l'analyse des rôles de la compagnie et de la communauté dans la mise en oeuvre du programe de participation, dont la compagnie avait pris l'initiative en 1976. Après une décade, ce programme est encore en marche.

Les résultats de cette enquête montrent que même si les objectifs de la communauté rurale et de la compagnie diffèrent considérablement, la participation du public au projet a éliminé les risques sérieux de conflit. En outre, la compagnie minière a réaménagé un petit village au sein de la communauté, construit une école nouvelle, un nouveau centre récréatif. Elle a aussi aménagé les infrastructures reliées au projet, et ce, sans frais pour la communauté.

When the Provincial Government of Alberta in Western Canada gave a utility company permission to develop and operate a large open pit coal mine, a small rural community in the area was disrupted. Using both survey and ethnographic collection procedures, the authors trace company and community involvement in a public participation program which was implemented by the utility company in 1976, and is still in place a decade later.

The results of this study show that while the community and utility company had very different goals, the public participation program implemented by the company averted major outbreaks of conflict. Furthermore, the utility company relocated a small village in the community, built a new school and recreational center, and rebuilt the associated infrastructures at no cost to the community.

## INTRODUCTION

The Keephills project in the province of Alberta, Canada involved the development of a large, open pit coal mine and a thermal generating plant. Since 1976, when this project began, it has established many precedents in community-developer-government relations in Alberta. For example, the Keephills project (hereafter often referred to as Keephills) represented the first time an established hamlet in Alberta was relocated in order to accommodate a coal mine and an associated plant for thermal power generation. The Keephills project was also the first major attempt in the province of Alberta to implement a consistent policy of public participation involving cooperative decision-making by both a community and a project proponent (in this case, a major utility company named TransAlta Utilities, hereafter often referred to as TransAlta). In addition, Keephills was the first energy project in Alberta to use sociological consultants to conduct a longitudinal social impact assessment and monitoring program from the inception of the program (see Note 1). There are a great many other "firsts" associated with Keephills, some of which were similar to other projects, and some of which were unique. While the particular subject of this paper--community relocation--is one in which an analysis of Keephills can be helpful for similar cases in the future, the details of the Keephills experience are unique. The process of public participation in the Keephills project demonstrates how this process might be used to deal with the concerns of local residents in similar development situations.

Much of the previous research on community relocation points to negative impacts (see Iverson and Matthews 1968; Matthiasson and Chow 1970; Bowles 1981; Colson 1971; Scudder 1982). The problems encountered by residents of these communities go far beyond the necessities of finding housing, jobs, or a new school for their children. The Keephills case of community relocation is different from most cases cited in the literature in that: (1) only part of the overall community was moved (e.g., the residents of a hamlet located in the greater community); (2) residents of the hamlet were relocated to a new locale which was adjacent to the previous hamlet (cf. Metzler 1963); and (3) an active public participation program was undertaken by the proponent, TransAlta Utilities. As a result, many negative impacts of relocation which have been identified by previous research failed to materialize at Keephills. While we do not have specific data to suggest that the public participation program was a key factor in the success of Keephills, previous research by Kupfer and Hobart (1978), and by Gibson (1976) suggest that "effective consultation" has a strong mediating effect on the potentially negative impacts of relocation for community residents.

## THE SETTING

The greater Keephills community is a collection of about 120 rural families who identify themselves as members of the community. These families are located south of Lake Wabamun, about seventy kilometers (forty-five miles) west of the provincial capital of Edmonton (see Map 1). Greater Keephills is an established community, with an eighty-year history of mixed farming and ranching. A few residents work in Edmonton, and some work full or part-time in the nearby Sundance power plant at Lake Wabamun (see Note 2).

Like most such communities, there are widespread kinship ties in the area, and geographical mobility is relatively low. According to our first survey in 1978, most of the residents were quite happy with their situations and well-satisfied with the quality of life afforded them in their locale.

At the hub of this larger rural community when the coal mine and thermal generating plant project began in 1976, lay the small hamlet of Keephills, with its elementary school and teacherage, a community hall built in 1938, a telephone exchange, and four private residences. In earlier years there had been a post office, two general stores, a gas station, and a dozen residences.

Although the Keephills hamlet has always been small, it is important to recognize that it is supported by a much wider geographic area. The busy community hall is still the focal point of regional social life, and is run by the Keephills Athletic Association, whose members are drawn from all 120 families in the surrounding area. Even if the hamlet was losing population and services in 1976, it served an important function as the social center and focal point for the larger rural community. One of the issues that emerged early in the Keephills project concerned the viability of the hamlet. There was considerable debate as to whether or not the hamlet was "dying out" prior to this project, or if it was merely "changing" as it had many times before in its long history. One of the most important contributions of the social consultants at that time was to point out to TransAlta Utilities that the hamlet performed critical services for the surrounding community, and that the larger community of Keephills was not identical with the hamlet alone. The hamlet was described as the social center of the surrounding community, and it was pointed out that although the hamlet had gradually lost some of its previous functions, it continued to perform essential functions within this context.

Almost immediately, the strip mine and associated power plant that comprised the Keephills development required some 5,280 acres of land for its plant, cooling pond, ash lagoons, and railway. The

proposed total mine permit boundary, not all of which will be mined, includes an additional 30,560 acres. When the Keephills Plant opened in 1982, it represented the largest operating coal mine in Canada.

## GOVERNMENT POLICY AND COMMUNITY RELOCATION

In the early 1970s, Alberta was in the midst of an economic boom due to its oil wealth. Provincial energy need projections were being amended upwards at regular intervals, and the three resident power companies in Alberta were scrambling to meet projected demands. In 1973, the provincial Land Surface Conservation and Reclamation Act was passed, giving the Alberta Minister of Environment discretionary power to require an environmental impact assessment wherever he thought this was appropriate. Until 1976, various resource and utility companies had been indifferent to social impact. These companies were secure in the belief that their role as developers and surveyors of power required engineering and technical expertise only, and that there was no significant public role to be played, nor any social impact to consider. In 1975, unexpected opposition to a major coal development project in the Camrose-Riley area of Alberta caught both the provincial government and the project proponent, TransAlta Utilities, quite unprepared. After the issue was fully politicized, the community of Camrose succeeded in having the provincial premier intercede and the project was indefinitely shelved. This provincial cabinet decision was the product of public politics, active community opposition, and inappropriate public relations by TransAlta Utilities (Goldenberg, et al. 1980).

By 1976, rhetoric concerning social impact and public participation was just beginning in Alberta, and the recently established Alberta Department of Environment was only beginning to make its presence felt. The Alberta Coal Policy was passed in 1976, and the Keephills application was the first project to be filed under this new legislation. The first provincial guidelines for the conduct of environmental impact assessment issued by the provincial Department of Environment also appeared in 1976. Prior to the Keephills project, there was no provincial environmental/ social impact assessment format and there were no precedents. Thus, whatever happened with Keephills was guaranteed to be ground-breaking. No doubt a certain "Hawthorne Effect," of which both the community and the utility company were well-aware, was relevant. The term "Hawthorne Effect" was originally given to the results of a series of experiments carried out by Roethlisberger and Dickson in 1939. The results of these experiments showed that paying attention to people affected their behavior independently of any other environmental change that may have occurred.

It was against this background that studies relating to an alternative development at Keephills were begun. Because TransAlta Utilities had been turned down at Camrose, the company made a major, wholly new commitment to the use of public participation at Keephills. It hired consultants to help both itself and the community learn to deal with one another, and to help both parties realize the implications of a new perception of a potential development as a joint problem which would require joint input to discuss and formulate policy.

Before any construction began, sociological consultants entered the Keephills community. They talked to residents about the public participation process and helped them set up an organizational structure to represent local interests in dialogue with both TransAlta Utilities and the government.

It soon became clear that leaders in the Keephills community were willing to take a cooperative "wait and see" position. This early cooperative inclination was shared by most residents, and was a key ingredient in the subsequent history of development in the area. If local residents and/or leaders had been antagonistic, resentful, and confrontational from the outset, the Keephills project would have developed differently. Thus, although analysis of community attitudes is not part of the present paper, it is an important factor (see Note 3).

## THE EMERGENCE OF THE HAMLET ISSUE

As soon as residents in the Keephills community learned that the potential mine area included the land on which the tiny hamlet of Keephills was located, they realized that both the survival of their community and the fabric of their lives were at stake. This was not merely a nearby or adjacent development, but a situation which promised to displace everyone over a period of perhaps fifty years of slow attrition, assuming the validity of various projections for long-term energy needs and developments in the province of Alberta. The potential threat to most landowners was quite clear, although distant and conditional since plans for the mine had not yet been approved. Aside from those whose land was needed immediately for the thermal generating plant and its associated facilities, there was no immediate threat of dislocation. Initial mining was scheduled to begin in the northern mine plan area.

Although representatives of TransAlta Utilities were willing to agree that there was a great deal of coal under the hamlet of Keephills (two million tons, or enough to run a thermal generating

unit for one and one-half years), they could not say when or if this coal would be mined. This decision was up to the Alberta Energy Resources Conservation Board and the various licensing agencies involved in approving mine plans. Although the site of the Keephills hamlet was included in the mine plan application which was submitted to the Energy Resources Conservation Board, this plan did not specify when or even if the hamlet would need to be destroyed.

This, then, was the first and key issue that emerged long before the public disclosure session officially required by the provincial government was held in the community. The provincial Department of Environment required this session as a component of public participation in the process of conducting an environmental impact assessment. Should the hamlet of Keephills be destroyed, protected, or relocated? Both the community and TransAlta Utilities had a real choice of options. Certainly, TransAlta could have postponed this issue as one which was unlikely to be relevant for fifteen years, and the company could have taken a "wait and see" position while fully expecting that in fifteen years, the hamlet would have disappeared through normal attrition, and with it, their problem. After all, as pointed out earlier, the hamlet had lost population and services in recent years and the few remaining residents were unlikely to survive for another fifteen years. The physical structures of the hamlet were old, and the county was talking about closing the school, which had continued to lose students. If the mine plan were to be accepted, there was little likelihood of any new population moving into a designated mine area, and every likelihood that the local population would drift away as some people were bought out, others retired, and still others found the social fabric of the community dissolving under various pressures and simply left. TransAlta Utilities was well aware of the likelihood of this scenario. As for the larger community, some local residents felt that too much was undecided to commit themselves to hamlet relocation. Some residents felt that they could successfully oppose the project, or have the hamlet left out of the approved mine area. Others felt that there were ways of protecting the existing hamlet from the impacts of mining by buffer strips or other means. Still others felt that perhaps local residents should be allowed to live out their lives in peace without the disruption of a relocation that was unlikely to be needed for fifteen or twenty years.

On the other hand, TransAlta Utilities was well aware of the two million tons of coal that lay under the hamlet. The company felt that relocation was feasible, and initial cost estimates of under one million dollars seemed to make relocation economically attractive. Furthermore, TransAlta Utilities was well aware of the precedent-setting nature of its activities in Keephills, and did not relish the prospect of what could happen to its reputation if it

became known as the creator of ghost towns. There was also the possibility that refusal to relocate the hamlet could create unified opposition capable of stalling the entire project before a sympathetic public and politically motivated government. Finally, the prospect of relocating the Keephills hamlet was exciting and challenging, and could contribute to positive public relations and a positive corporate reputation which would make it easier to deal with other communities in the future.

From the community perspective, residents knew that the survival of their social networks required a viable community center, and that a new hamlet could provide the opportunity to inject new life into their community at no financial cost to the residents. People came to feel that the trade-off of temporary social disruption for a new hamlet was a good one. After all, even if they won round one of the battle, the coal would make them vulnerable as long as it was there. The community was also aware that the county was seriously considering closing the existing school. Furthermore, relocation of the Keephills hamlet could only occur in the context of existing planning and subdivision requirements. Visions and talk about an expanded and more modern Keephills were common and were not seen as entirely fanciful in the context of the booming economy of the day. Since urban expansion west of the provincial capital of Edmonton was creating bedroom communities, the Keephills region was perceived of as a potentially attractive rural location in that context. This kind of speculation and awareness of migration patterns resulted in the belief that a relocated hamlet could secure the survival of the school. Finally, a decision to relocate the hamlet would eliminate the indecision and ambiguity, as well as the vulnerability and uncertainty that the residents of Camrose, Alberta were feeling as a result of their somewhat Pyrrhic victory.

## THE PUBLIC DISCLOSURE MEETING: A NEW STYLE FOR PUBLIC PARTICIPATION

In January 1977, an open house was held in the community of Keephills. At the public disclosure sessions required by the provincial government and at subsequent meetings, there was agreement in principle, although uneasy and without details, concerning what could have been one of the key conflicts in this development-land compensation. At the open house, which was attended by several TransAlta vice presidents, the future of the Keephills hamlet was discussed at length. TransAlta's senior vice president of planning suggested that the hamlet could be moved if necessary, and that the company would be prepared to pay for the relocation. He went on to say that "In the event that the Keephills coal is mined, you can be sure that there will be a replacement community established and functioning--before the site is disturbed."

In terms of conflict reduction, there are several points that can be mentioned here. To begin with, the initiative to form a local community organization to represent residents' views to the company came from TransAlta Utilities via the social consultants. These consultants were told to make themselves available to the community at company cost, and to aid and inform the community in any way. The consultants quickly established a high degree of rapport with community leaders, and were soon able to demonstrate that they could effectively help the community change corporate plans. They played a key role in having senior company executives come out to the community in person to hear and respond to community concerns. These concerns had already been discussed with the consultants, who had previously suggested to both TransAlta Utilities and Keephills residents the implications of various answers which they might give.

Unlike the public information program in Camrose, the information sessions in Keephills were informal and organized according to questions and answers from the community about their concerns. There were no lengthy slide shows, no models of mine and plant, and no long, formal speeches by public relations experts. Instead, there were genuine and respectful efforts to hear one another's views, and to try to respond to the concerns that were raised. Company spokespeople were not junior people in public affairs who "could not speak for the company," but major decision-makers who could alter corporate plans on the spot. All of these features of the information session were important. Some evolved by trial and error, while others emerged only after much discussion by both company and community spokespeople with the consultants. All of these features embodied the symbiotic stance that characterized the treatment of conflict throughout this project, and all exemplified the nature of public participation as it was developing in Keephills.

At this public information session, several other emerging issues related to hamlet relocation were broached. For once, the issue of "relocation or not" was resolved in favor of the former. The next logical questions were relocation when? By whom? In what form? Where? How? And with what consequences?

## THE PUBLIC HEARING IN THE SPRING OF 1977

After considerable discussion, the community decided, not unanimously, that it was probably in their best interests to press for relocation of the hamlet as early as possible, even if mining the existing hamlet's site could be indefinitely postponed. Our analysis showed no significant differences according to location,

work, ownership/tenant status, age, or gender with respect to whether or not residents were in favor of relocation. People felt that relocation would maximize the chances of survival of their social bonds, especially if the community could actively participate in the relocation and planning of the new hamlet, and if this were done early enough to allow a gradual transfer of allegiance from the old to the new hamlet by a population where the majority had not yet been directly impacted by the mining. This, then, was the community's position in the spring of 1977 at the public hearing on the mining application which was required by the provincial government. At public hearings held by the provincial Energy Resources Conservation Board of Alberta, technical application for the permits and licenses necessary to actually begin the project is made by the proponent. During this quasi-judicial hearing, the environmental impact assessment is but one, relatively small component of the proponent's submission, and the community has the status of "intervener." At the Keephhills hearing, TransAlta Utilities once again assured community residents and the provincial government that the hamlet would be relocated, if necessary, at company expense, and that details of the relocation would be worked out jointly by both community and utility company representatives.

## THE DECISION OF THE ALBERTA ENERGY RESOURCES CONSERVATION BOARD

Early in 1978, a formal decision of the Energy Resources Conservation Board of Alberta was made. The Board's decision is required before the proponent is able to approach specific provincial departments in order to obtain the necessary licenses and permits. This decision of the Board officially recognized the cooperation that had thus far characterized the Keephills project. The community's own organization, known as COKE (Committee on the Keephills Environment), had intervened, but had done so constructively rather than in blunt opposition. In its own testimony, TransAlta Utilities recognized that COKE had effectively raised many issues. Neither TransAlta Utilities nor the Keephills community treated the public hearing on the mining application in an adversarial manner. Indeed, the social consultants had been actively involved in the public participation program and had helped the Keephills community prepare its own intervention. As a result of this public participation program, each side knew the other's position before the hearing was held. There were disagreements, but public participation does not eliminate conflicts, and is at best a means of constructively dealing with conflict.

The 1978 decision of the Alberta Energy Resources Conservation Board regarding the application from TransAlta Utilities instructed the company to set up a Steering Committee

which would include community and government representatives and would consult with TransAlta in such matters as hamlet relocation and end land use. The Board did not direct TransAlta to move the hamlet as a condition of obtaining its licenses. In addition, the Board rejected the mine plan, stipulated a pattern of deeper mining, and changed the sequence of opening new mine pits.

The effect of the Alberta Energy Resources Conservation Board decision was that the mine process would not reach the hamlet site for a considerably longer time that was previously thought, and perhaps not at all. This decision gave both the Keephills community and TransAlta Utilities another opportunity to reconsider their positions. Nonetheless, both decided to work together on the premise that the hamlet was to be relocated as quickly as possible. Due to the absence of a legal requirement to move the hamlet, there were dissenting voices in both groups.

## DECISIONS REGARDING THE NEW HAMLET

Given a commitment to proceed with relocation as early as possible, there were subsequent issues which emerged almost simultaneously and occasionally got in the way of each other. Concern arose about who would develop the new hamlet (and would presumably reap enormous rewards by selling lots to urbanites with rural pretensions); about how the relevant consultants would be selected and who they would be; about who would live in the hamlet and where; and about the selection of a new site and how this decision could be made. In general terms, substantive questions or issues and procedural issues stemmed from public participation.

The identity of the developer was very important to members of the Keephills community who believed that the developer could make great profits from establishing the new hamlet. Those who shared this opinion thought that the new hamlet should be jointly developed, and that local residents should have an opportunity to share in some of the profits. Other people wanted nothing to do with the development process, and were simply interested in access to a new and equivalent community so that they could ideally, in their own words, "get up one morning in my present location, go to work as I always do, and then return to a new location at the end of the day."

In summary, Keephills residents were interested in minimizing any disruption they would suffer and wanted TransAlta Utilities to do everything possible to ensure painless relocation. TransAlta was caught in a bind. Although the company had repeatedly stated that it was not and did not want to be in the development business, it had agreed to play a major role in relocating the Keephills hamlet and could not simply subcontract out all matters related to hamlet

relocation. Since county development guidelines no longer tolerated former building standards, it would be impossible to recreate the old hamlet. At minimum, TransAlta would be required to function as co-developer of the new hamlet. When it became clear from extended discussions with the county, TransAlta, and private consultants that the Keephills development could quite possibly mean a financial loss to the developer, the Steering Committee which had been established by TransAlta Utilities at the request of the Alberta Energy Resources Conservation Board soon agreed that TransAlta Utilities would have to be the sole developer, and that the company would develop a hamlet which would be as small as possible, but would also have an infrastructure which could accommodate future growth. This was a compromise solution which was neither easily arrived at, nor enthusiastically endorsed by either party.

The next decision concerned the hiring of a community planner. To handle this, two of the social consultants formed a subcommittee with one representative from TransAlta Utilities and two from the Keephills community. This subcommittee invited proposals from a long list of consultant/planner/engineers, including all nominations from any interested parties. Evaluation of the proposals allowed the subcommittee to reduce the larger list of nominees to five or six groups to be interviewed. Interviews were then conducted, and the subcommittee arrived at a final selection by consensus. This was an exercise, like many in this project, in cooperative public participation. The exercise was time-consuming and ever-so-slow, but ultimately effective and fair.

## THE SITE OF THE NEW HAMLET

Simultaneously, steps were being taken to select a site for the new hamlet. Site selection did not proceed as smoothly as hiring a community planner, and in fact took about a year. At times, it looked like the process was breaking down and producing irreconcilable differences. By February 1979, TransAlta Utilities was seriously considering postponing the site selection indefinitely, and the community was preparing to take their case to the public and to the Alberta Minister of Environment. An abbreviated review of events leading to this state of affairs is as follows:

**June, 1978**--The community planner submitted the terms of reference regarding relocation, including site selection, to the proponent, TransAlta Utilities. These terms suggested that the community would produce a list of preferred sites, and that TransAlta would endeavor to acquire the preferred site through negotiation with the owner on a full quarter section basis. Meanwhile, the sociological consultants had completed a survey of the community, including a question where respondents were asked

to identify where they would like to see the hamlet relocated. The results showed that two different locations were equally acceptable to residents.

**July, 1978**--COKE (Committee on the Keephills Environment) sought clarification regarding the selection of one or more site(s). TransAlta Utilities also sought clarification, suggesting that community priorities could only apply to lands for which TransAlta had negotiated an option to buy.

**August, 1978**--The revised terms of reference now suggested that a priority list should be compiled by COKE, and TransAlta should attempt to acquire the top-ranking site, subject to county approvals. If purchase of the top priority site could not be arranged, then the next priority site would be approached.

**October, 1978**--A public vote was held regarding all sites which were considered eligible. During the first survey of Keephills residents in the summer of 1978, the social consultants had asked people to nominate sites for relocation. It was this survey data that had produced the list of potential sites from which one would be selected. During the public vote, more people turned out to vote than the community had ever seen at federal or provincial elections. The results were immediately made public, with seventy percent of the votes cast for a site which had been identified in the survey during the summer of 1978. The next most popular site received only twenty-five percent of the votes.

**November, 1978**--Having received permission from all levels of government to proceed, TransAlta Utilities sought to negotiate the purchase of the land from the owner, who was interested in selling, but only at a very high and firm price. The owner would not allow a land appraisal and would not negotiate. His perception was simply that he had the only property in which the community was interested. Since this gave him the position of monopolist, he wanted to force the company to pay his price (monopolists do not have to negotiate prices). By the end of November, TansAlta had resisted this situation, and had instructed its landmen to begin negotiations concerning the second and third sites on the priority list, as stipulated in the terms of reference for land acquisition.

**December, 1978**--COKE wrote to both TransAlta Utilities and the provincial government stating its feeling that it had " . . . done our part in selecting a site. Now it is up to the proponent to obtain the preferred site."

**January/February, 1979**--TransAlta Utilities claimed that it could not allow itself to be "blackmailed" into paying an excessive amount. The company claimed precedents could be set for land values in the area and elsewhere, and instructed its landmen to

"undertake to negotiate an option" for the second site. TransAlta also advised COKE that "when such an option is obtained, the first preferred site will no longer be considered."

By the middle of February 1979, site selection had become a major issue which had developed to the point that both the Keephills community and TransAlta Utilties had taken public stands which could not be reconciled. TransAlta was reviewing its commitment to relocate the hamlet at all, while the community was adamant that the relocation should be to the site they had selected. The fact that the problem was based largely in "procedure" was irrelevant. If TransAlta's procedure had been followed, options would have been obtained on a number of sites from which a preferred site would have been selected by the community, and the site would have been purchased. However, this procedure still would have alienated some members of the community for at least two reasons: (1) the community's choice would be restricted to those properties on which the company had been able to obtain options--an unacceptable limitation to some who felt that in this way, the company could virtually dictate the site through their own option negotiations; (2) any landowner who negotiated an option to sell as one of several possible sites for development, and was subsequently told that his site was the preferred site for the hamlet, might well feel cheated since the value of the preferred site for the hamlet would be far above the option value. Thus, the issue of site selection was one that TransAlta was bound to lose, no matter how it proceeded. If TransAlta paid the owner's price, it would feel exploited. If it stopped site selection efforts, the community would surely balk.

After considerable consultation and dialogue, TransAlta decided to meet the owner of the preferred site more than halfway by purchasing eighty acres at his price. In doing so, the company resolved a major issue by yielding on this point, even though it was not legally bound to do so and was incurring considerable cost. The continuation of the project required some resolution of this issue. In retrospect, it might have been wiser to have proceeded more slowly in completing the negotiation of an agreed-upon procedure to handle site selection problems. Certainly, the utility company lost this round. In the larger analysis, it is possible that the larger public served by TransAlta Utilities also lost, since development costs of the Keephills Plant will eventually be paid by increased energy rates for all customers. Significantly, the larger public is not well-represented by the process of public participation as this process is usually understood and practiced.

We have now dealt briefly with the selection of a developer, a planner, a site location, and a time frame. In all of these cases, issues were both defined and resolved through lengthy active public participation involving many, many hours and days of tedious

homework and negotiation by members of the Keephills community, the staff of TransAlta Uutilities, and a great many consultants. Although community representatives volunteered their time and received no compensation, all other participants were paid.

## THE SHAPE OF THE NEW HAMLET

Twelve submissions from the community planning consultant to the Steering Committee were required to resolve the issue of the shape or form of the new hamlet. At times, a great deal of frustration was evident on all sides and was compounded by a lack of information, conflicting time schedules, and the inevitable other minor and mundane details that affect all long-term interaction. Commitment to the process was often severely challenged by experts who thought they could do the job better if they were "unaided" in this way, and by those who wanted decisions made for them, but not by them. Yet *process* is the key to public participation, and the commitment has survived. A key point for discussion regarding the shape of the new hamlet was whether or not the residents wanted to try to recreate the ambience of a small and decidedly rural hamlet, or whether they wanted to take advantage of the opportunity to provide a more modern infrastructure with the potential for growth into a small town and even a bedroom suburb of Edmonton. In actual practice, this was the choice between paved and curbed roads with overhead lighting, or rougher roads with no lighting, and the choice between central waste treatment or household septic fields. This choice also involved choosing a circulation pattern for designing the streets, and decisions about the number and size of lots to be developed. In addition to deciding who should be eligible to live in the hamlet and whether preferences should somehow be allotted, the choice involved deciding whether to push for a modular school attached to a new community hall, or to seek a separate school facility. None of these decisions were easy, but they slowly emerged and the new hamlet was born.

The process of public participation discussed in this paper now has a ten year time depth and is still proceeding, if somewhat more routinely. Over the past ten years, community representatives to COKE have changed several times through elections, and utility company representatives have changed, as have government people. At times, personalities have made a difference as friendships and animosities were played out in this arena. As well, organizations like the Steering Committee and COKE have led a life of their own, and the normal organizational problems involving representativeness, goal definition and succession, organizational administration, finances, and so forth have all occasionally complicated matters. Since 1976, other developments have taken place in the province of Alberta as other energy projects have been

approved or come on stream and relevant legislation has been introduced. Other communities have applied some of the lessons learned at Keephills, and in some cases have made suggestions for improvements at Keephills.

## THE NEW HAMLET OF KEEPHILLS TODAY

The relocated hamlet of Keephills is situated close to the site of the old hamlet in a pine forest traversed by a creek. The new hamlet consists of thirty-one, one-acre residential lots, one commercial lot, an eight-acre school-community-hall site, and a twenty-eight-acre environmental reserve. Construction began in 1981, and the hamlet was officially opened in October 1982. Costs to TransAlta Utilities exceeded four million dollars, or about four times the original estimates. These higher costs were caused by many factors. For example, since the original estimate of one million dollars was made rather "freely," that figure was probably always an underestimate. At the time of the first estimates, no decisions about the size or shape of the new hamlet, nor about its facilities or amenities had been made. However, the cost of land alone turned out to be much higher than anticipated, and there were far more sessions with planners than anyone had anticipated.

In 1985, ten families resided in the new hamlet. By the fall of 1982, shortly after the new hamlet opened, school enrollment had increased to eighty-three students compared to thirty-seven students in the old school during its last term. Today, nearly 100 students are enrolled in the new school. The four residents of the old hamlet were given equivalent land holdings in the new hamlet, and were provided with new, full-service housing in exchange for their old properties. Residents from within the area whose land was already taken for the thermal generating plant and its facilities were given first option on the remaining lots in the new subdivision at the special cost of $12,500.00 per lot. Residents from elsewhere in the mine permit area had the next choice, and in May 1982, remaining lots became available to the general public at costs competitive with other nearby subdivisions. The new hamlet of Keephills has provisions for approximately triple the population of the original site.

In the summer of 1984, when the thermal generating plant and new hamlet were fairly well established and functioning, a third opinion survey was conducted by the social consultants. This survey found that nearly eighty percent of the residents said they were satisfied with the new hamlet. In an open-ended question, about seventy-five percent of the respondents suggested that some aspects of the new hamlet (e.g., the community hall or school) were now the focal center of the Keephills community. Seventy-two percent of the sample said they thought the new hamlet had been

worth the disruption. Most respondents also endorsed the kind of public participation that had characterized the Keephills project from its inception. Nearly seventy percent of the respondents rated public participation as very good or good, and only three percent rated it as poor. Seventy-two percent said that public participation allowed for participation in actual decision-making, and over ninety-two percent stated that the process of public participation had educated the community. Eighty percent suggested that the public participation program used in Keephills would be a good model for similar developments.

## CONCLUSION

On October 8, 1982, an open house and sod turning ceremony for the new hamlet of Keephills was attended by approximately 300 people, including county, provincial, and local politicians, the senior vice president of planning for TransAlta Utilities and other company representatives, representatives of various consulting and construction firms which had participated in the relocation, many reporters from all parts of Alberta, and many local people. This was an emotional and enthusiastic event marked by many congratulatory speeches, such as that by the former Minister of Environment for Alberta, who challenged other Alberta communities "to use Keephills not only as a first, but as a shining example of what can be done," and by the senior vice president of planning for TransAlta Utilities, who said that "Keephills will no doubt become a reference for future projects where there is potential for conflict, and yet a desire for cooperation." Community representatives were also congratulatory, saying "people are well satisfied with what's happened regarding the hamlet. The company was generous. . . . I think they have listened quite a lot." Even weeks after the event, TransAlta officials were enthusiastic about what had been achieved, and have since given their full endorsement to public participation as the appropriate mechanism for conflict resolution in future circumstances similar to Keephills. Community representatives also volunteered similar feelings.

As the social consultants who were involved in this project, we expected that our third survey of local opinions would document a far higher level of satisfaction with the relocated community and with the local quality of life than was suggested in our second survey in 1981. We suspected that when the relocated hamlet actually opened, the proposals were actually enacted, and the physical evidence was undeniable, local residents would become believers regardless of how skeptical they may have been earlier.

**TABLE 1:** Percentage Distribution of Residents' Ratings of the Keephills Community as a Place of Residence at Selected Times

1981 Survey

| Rating | 1975 | Present | Future |
|---|---|---|---|
| Excellent | 30.7% | 14.0% | 12.2% |
| Good | 47.7% | 33.3% | 26.7% |
| Average | 19.3% | 30.1% | 20.0% |
| Below Average | --- | 15.1% | 12.2% |
| Poor | 2.3% | 7.5% | 28.9% |
| | 100.0% | 100.0% | 100.0% |

1984 Survey

| Rating | 1975 | Present | Future |
|---|---|---|---|
| Excellent | 15.6% | 10.9% | 9.5% |
| Good | 38.1% | 42.2% | 36.5% |
| Average | 41.3% | 39.1% | 33.3% |
| Below Average | 5.3% | 6.3% | 17.5% |
| Poor | --- | 1.6% | 3.2% |
| | 100.3% | 100.1% | 100.0% |

An assessment of the data presented in Table 1 above confirms our expectations. In our pre-construction survey of 1981, residents of the Keephills communuity viewed the past (1975) as very favorable, with seventy-eight percent reporting that the old hamlet was an excellent or good place to live, and only two percent claiming that it was a poor place to live. At the same time, predictions of the quality of life for the future hamlet were not very favorable, with over forty percent of the respondents saying that they anticipated a below-average or poor quality of life in the new hamlet. As expected in the 1984 survey, views of the past (1975) were not as favorable, with only fifty-four percent of the respondents stating that life in the old hamlet was excellent or good, while views of the future were considerably improved, with only twenty-one percent of the respondents expecting the future environment to be below average or poor.

Relocation of the Keephills hamlet was not a total success in all respects. Not everyone was fully satisfied with the relocation, nor was relocation of the hamlet the only issue which concerned the greater community. But although other issues abounded, few showed as much sign of "successful resolution" as relocation of the hamlet.

As long as the Keephills project continues, both local residents of the area and TransAlta Utilities will be actively involved in monitoring impact, making decisions concerning the environment, and implementing these decisions. There will be conflict, but there will also be conflict resolution. In the meantime, in the concluding words of the hamlet's first and oldest resident, who was eighty-one years of age at that time and the patriarch of one of the oldest and largest families in the area, "With the new hamlet, you should see a revival. You'll see a store and so on. There's every reason to believe this could be a very prosperous place in a few years. You can't ask for anything better, as far as I can see."

## NOTES

1. The authors of this paper have been involved in the Keephills project from its inception. All data reported here are derived from consulting reports done either for the proponent or the community, from newspaper reports (for example, on the opening of the new hamlet), company documents (for example, concerning land acquisition policies), from official submissions to the Energy Resources Conservation Board of the province of Alberta, or from informal interviews with all parties who were active in the Keephills project over the past ten years.

2. Just North of Lake Wabamun lies a second, older open coal mine pit and plant. This mine has been in operation for some time, and is now in the process of reclaiming some of the land which was mined out. In addition, a fourth coal mine and plant is under construction southeast of the Keephills mine on the south side of the North Saskatchewan River.

3. There are several factors relevant to an explanation of this cooperative stance by the community. For one thing, members of the Keephills community were well aware of the postponement of the Camrose project, and realized that both TransAlta Utilities, and the provincial government would be under a great deal of pressure to get the next energy project quickly and successfully under way. Thus, the residents of Keephills may have felt that there was less chance of successful opposition under such circumstances. In addition, some of the residents of Keephills had already worked for or

were working for TransAlta Utilities, and were familiar with the nature of such projects. Thus, they may have felt more comfortable with this type of development--or they may have felt that future gains in employment opportunities would offset any losses that might have to be absorbed. Many residents told us that they simply agreed that the company had a right to the coal under their lands, and that they knew electrical energy had to come from somewhere. Although they' felt unlucky that the coal was located directly under them, they responded constructively to the opportunity to have a say in planning the Keephills project, and felt that this was the best they could realistically expect under the circumstances.

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This first book in a series titled "Culture and Performance" is a stimulating collection of essays presented under the intentionally ambiguous title: *The Celebration of Society*. The term "celebration" both expresses and reveals society. Although the book promises "perspectives" on contemporary cultural performance, perspective remains an implicit concept.

The introduction to this volume is excellent. Frank Manning provides a series of considerations to which each of the essays can be linked. The major questions posed by Manning are: What do celebrations mean? What do they do? How are they related to modernity? Manning finds the meaning of "celebration" in the ideas of Bateson and Geertz. Celebrations are texts that depict and interpret social contexts, and are ambiguous communications that embrace play and ritual, licence and order. Manning finds their functions in the ideas of Turner and Cohen. Celebrations provide "time-outs" from the round of daily life and articulate and modify power relations. Finally, Manning finds the relationship of celebrations to modernity in the ideas of Weber. Modernity is presented as synonymous with Weber's formal rationalization and Protestant Ethic type capitalism. However, Weber considered four types of rationality, and it is evident that he devoted more time than was previously thought to the operation of substantive rather than formal rationality (see Stock 1985, Roth and Schluchter 1979). Unfortunately, the subtleness of Weber's thought is missing in this analysis. Moreover, Manning argues that celebration itself, as the interplay of play and ritual, has undergone a self-evident "florescence" in contemporary societies (p. 4). But he also says that modernization has undermined the interplay of play and ritual. There is a lack of clarity here.

The contributions to this volume are collected under four headings: community festivals, sporting spectacles, masquerade shows, and power plays. Festivals, according to Farber and Lavenda, are communal ways of managing change, and they function to create and recreate identity. Sporting spectacles, according to Freedman, provide excitement and represent broader societal tensions. Wrestling is a cathartic event which enables members of the audience to identify their plight under liberal-capitalism and

project it onto the "good wrestler" who, like themselves in the system, usually loses. Stock market gambling in Bermuda, according to Manning, is not just a world of play and pretense, but is significantly related to the wider Bermudian politico-economic context and value complex. Masquerades, according to Turner, take on important roles in the face of rationalized industrialization in Brazil and West Africa. Carnival is the anti-structure of modernity. Paradoxically, while carnival is a requisite antidote to rationality, it has become serious and rationally organized. Masquerade in Sierra Leone, according to Cannizzo, explores boys' emerging intergenerational relationships as traditional roles change under the influence of urbanization and education. Finally, celebrations can be seen as conscious power plays. Cowboys, according to Konrad, play roles in the symbolism of power in two very different contexts in Copal, Mexico and the Calgary Stampede in Canada. And powows, according to Dyck, were used by a small group of urban Indians to reassert their "real" Indian identity; an identity this group then used to go on to obtain leadership roles at the level of provincial Indian associations.

In the coda for the volume, Turner asks why anthropologists have only recently begun to study these topics. He finds no single explanation, but suggests that an increasing awareness of human ambiguity has led to a greater awareness of cultural ambiguities, of which carnivals are a concrete instance. But have all anthropologists, in the past, viewed such spectacles as negatively as Turner says they have?

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*Transnationals and the Third World* focuses on the means by which people around the world are being transformed under the

impact of transnational corporations. Some of these transnationals operate as development corporations, while others are undisguisedly commercial. All act from interests and standards which underlie what Mattelart calls "the business culture." Together, the transnationals diffuse "the business culture" into even the most remote geographical regions. Because these corporations are too powerful to be controlled by local communities, they will set themselves in opposition to national governments which attempt to control either their activities or their access to target populations.

The impact of economic development on rural areas has been the subject of a great many anthropological studies. As development proceeds, subsistence crops give way to cash crops which are frequently aimed at export markets, and local diets are immediately affected. Meanwhile, as cash becomes the common nexus, reciprocal work relationships disintegrate and familial and kinship expectations respond to shifts in the balance of power between the sexes and between old and young. In addition, rural life is deconstructed as men and women leave the land for cities in an effort to find work and a way of life which reflects standards and fashions set in Europe and the United States. City and countryside become closely linked in a new synthesis while people who remain on the land adopt their urban kin as models and look to the cities as arbiters of fashion in food, dress, music, art, and sport.

Because the mass media originates largely in "the business culture" and advertises a way of life as well as multinational wares, people who are exposed to radio, television, magazines, or books feel the immediate impact of the western industrialized world. Some twenty years ago, I was roused from typing field notes on Gwembe Valley ritual to the recognition that the three-year old at my feet was humming a familiar coca cola jingle which was no doubt introduced by the school teacher's radio. That same year, when heavy rains cut us off from all shops at Christmas time, villagers mourned the absence of bread, candy, and soft drinks. Although it was lamented that we could not have a proper Christmas without these commodities, six years earlier we had happily celebrated Christmas with local produce. Over the next twenty years, the Gwembe region of Zambia was deeply penetrated by desires formulated in the industrial world. By 1982, Zambia's weakness in international trade was creating deep discontent among a population whose lifestyle and demands for consumer goods had been completely transformed.

Armand Mattelart writes less about grassroots responses to development than about the agents who are undercutting ways of life which can be locally sustained. He is concerned about the ways transnational corporations create new desires and priorities which

both sell their standardized wares and spread the organizational structures and values of "the business culture." "The business culture" is portrayed as regarding all relationships and human activity as potential commodities, and as having codes of social relationships which are geared to governing the production, circulation, and exchange of commodities. In this culture, efficacy and desirability are judged in terms of corporate profitability, and good and evil become identified with activities which either advance or combat corporate endeavor.

Mattelart has long been involved in research on transnational corporations, and has sometimes worked as a consultant for the United Nations. Although much of his work has been on Latin America, he has also served as a consultant in Africa and is able to draw on a wide knowledge of work done elsewhere. In recent years, he has been particularly concerned with the control of communications media. This current study originated as a United Nations commission for a volume focusing on the negative impacts of transnational activities. A second volume is scheduled to present positive impacts. Both reports are seen as providing a basis for the United Nations adoption of development policies within the framework of "self-reliance," whatever this may mean. Indeed, Mattelart points out that it is difficult to devise a good working definition of self-reliance.

Given Mattelart's mandate, it is not surprising that he is consistently critical of the system of international capitalism which is associated with transnational corporations, and of the values within which the trans-nationals operate. But he has not produced a diatribe, and he provides a good deal of documentation of instances of corporate disregard for local interests and local welfare. Some of these instances are well-known, and include such cases as the export of North American-banned pharmaceuticals and pesticides to Latin America, Asia, and Africa, and the Nestlé campaign to promote the sale of milk powder in Third World countries despite clear evidence that this was harmful. Transnational corporations also affect the quality of life in countries where factories are transferred to locations where labor is unprotected by either unions or government regulations. In countries such as Malaysia, where workers are being industrialized and subjected to ideas of factory discipline which originated elsewhere, workers are often exposed to considerable risks due to a lack of safety regulations. Finally, local attitudes are being molded through the teachings of the transnationals. Mattelart is particularly skilled at examining recent struggles between national governments and the transnationals over control of what shall be taught and how it will be taught as the cultural impact of the media becomes apparent. National governments, local authors, and artists all fear the increasing monopoly of the transnationals over channels of communication, whether these channels are news

releases, school books, novels, radio and television channels and programs, and most recently, communication satellites and the data banks associated with computer technology.

In this book, Mattelart has expanded his original mandate to examine the basic concept of development. He notes that concepts such as development, progress, modernity, and self-reliance are anything but neutral. In addition, he questions the validity of attempting to look only at the impact of the great commercial corporations, given their close alliance with development corporations of all kinds, with university research centers and the academic community in general, and with national governments.

Transnational corporations and their agents also enter into alliances with local elites who become enlisted in their campaign to homogenize the world. Where local elites resist incorporation, Mattelart finds little evidence that the transnationals and their allies gracefully accept defeat. Instead, they prefer to subvert and destroy local centers of power if these cannot be used as allies. Mattelart also suggests that current demands for decentralization reflect the rise in power of the transnationals, and are a response "to a deep need for dismantling all networks of solidarity and for laying the foundations of a new, atomized society where everyone will be exclusively responsible for themselves" (p. 15).

The final chapter of this book deals with prospects for the growth of "self-reliance" and democracy. Mattelart does not envisage self-reliance as necessarily involving a retreat into parochialism. Instead, he suggests that local potentialities can be developed and given widening horizons through a system of regional and world alliances based on an ethic of mutual respect. But this final chapter seems muted in comparison with the rest of the volume.

Although Mattelart argues that dependency must be transcended, his theoretical base is in Marxism and dependency theory. He questions the profitability of using such simple dichotomies as Center/Periphery, and points to the very differentiated nature of the Periphery where values, political order, and economic systems within the Periphery are highly differentiated. Despite this call for a theoretical advance, Mattelart's analysis falls into familiar formulae without manifesting any significantly new approach. Nevertheless, *Transnationals and the Third World* is an informative work which anthropologists should read. It is thoughtful, concerned, and responsible in its examination of events where transnational corporations with an ethic based on financial profit increasingly place themselves above governments and use their power and advantages to proselytize. For balance, the companion volume is needed. Will it speak as well to what we are observing?

An Ethnohistoric Study of Eastern James Bay Cree Social Organization, 1700-1850. *Toby Morantz*. Ottawa, Ontario: National Museum of Man Mercury Series, Canadian Ethnology Service Paper Number 88, 1983. x + 199 pp. gratis (paper).

Regina Flannery Herzfeld
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Morantz has used a strictly historiographic method to reconstruct the past social organization of the Eastern James Bay Cree, a Northern Algonquian people. She has examined the Hudson's Bay Company archives in minute detail, covering ten posts over a period of 150 years. Rather then relying on the observations of Hudson's Bay Company traders and others, she has extracted and meticulously indexed all information that might bear on ecological conditions and on the three major themes of her study: social organization, territorial organization, and concepts of leadership.

An important part of Morantz's procedure was to compile individual profiles, or life histories, of several hundred hunters by recording every reference to each named individual. Analysis of these profiles produced detailed information on aspects of social structure from the nuclear family to the macro-group, and on the variability of the size and composition of trading parties. Morantz acknowledges lacunae in the record, but refrains from filling these in by referring to data from the ethnological present. She also makes no assumptions as to what conditions might have been like prior to the fur trade era.

Morantz's findings call into question many current assumptions and generalizations regarding changes wrought by the fur trade on the social organization of the Northern Algonquians. A basic, often overlooked historical fact underlying the social organization of the Eastern Cree is that they were primarily subsistence *hunters*, and that trapping furs for exchange remained of secondary importance throughout the fur trade period. This was the case for both coasters (coastal people) and inlanders.

Analysis of the individual profiles of coasters, inlanders, and those of mixed Indian and European ancestry presents a picture which is somewhat at variance with the neighboring Montagnais and Ojibwa. For the Eastern Cree, the coresidential winter hunting group was the basic unit of economic cooperation. This group was composed of an average of two commensual units (slightly extended nuclear families), and was much smaller than the winter hunting groups described for contiguous areas. The local group for spring and fall fishing was formed from several coresidential groups and

averaged about thirty people, including five hunters. Both kinds of groups were highly flexible in size and composition from year to year. An amorphous macro-group may have convened not for economic, but for religious and/or social purposes. Morantz cautions that the nature of these groups precludes use of the term "band" in describing them.

In this monograph, Morantz gives an excellent critique of theories regarding the origin of individual hunting territories and demonstrates that not only was the system fully developed in the 1820s (far earlier than recent studies maintain), but that the elements of the system became more developed as the fur trade increased. However, Morantz sees no reason to believe that the social organization of the Eastern Cree changed in accommodation to the fur trade.

New light on concepts of leadership has emerged from Morantz's analysis of the phenomenon of the James Bay area trading captain. These captains were leaders of "gangs" of Indians who came each year to trade furs at the Eastmain post, and they were recognized by both the postmaster and the Cree as men who exerted influence beyond their own local groups. Many kept their titles and continued to receive gifts of clothing, brandy, and tobacco for years after they ceased to visit the trading posts. Rather than being manipulated by a monolithic trading company, these captains took advantage of competition with the Northwest Company and used this competition to extract a high price for their loyalty.

This brief review provides only a glimpse of the wealth of material which Morantz has presented. If there were studies of adjacent regions using the same rigorous methodology employed in this fine model of ethnohistorical research, we would have a reliable history of the effects of the fur trade on Northern Algonquian social organization.

The Performer-Audience Connection: Emotion to Metaphor in Dance and Society. *Judith Lynne Hanna*. Austin, Texas: University of Texas Press, 1983. x + 273 pp. $19.95 (cloth).

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This is Hanna's second book that explores the difficult problem of dance and communication. Her first book, *To Dance is Human: A Theory of Nonverbal Communication* (Austin, Texas: University of Texas Press, 1979) was not critically acclaimed by other dance researchers, partly because of its inability to come to

grips with any focused empirical data or to use these data successfully in her theoretical constructs. This may account for Hanna's special pleading that her second book is an "empirically informed essay." Indeed, there is a great deal of data in this book which is derived from 598 responses by self-selected members of the audience who filled out questionnaires distributed to them by Hanna before eight dance performances at the Smithsonian Institution in 1980-1981. These performances included four in the Western tradition (three of which were modern dance, and one of which was tap dancing), and four in non-Western traditions (two from India, one from Japan, and one from the Philippine Islands).

There is a chapter devoted to each of these eight concerts, and Hanna begins by attempting to give background information "on the dance form and dancer . . . because it mediates the relationship between the performance and reaction to it" (p. 15). However, it is never quite clear at whom this information is aimed. Since the traditions that are presented are not those on which Hanna has done original research, there is nothing new for the reader of dance literature. Furthermore, since this background information was not given to the audience (except as summary program notes), it did not "mediate" between the performer and members of the audience who answered the questionnaire. Before each concert, Hanna interviewed one or more of the performers in an attempt to find out what they hoped to convey to the audience. Although the focus of these interviews was on feelings and emotions, the answers varied from "credibility" (p. 58), to a wish to convey deep feelings and passions (p. 71); and from "I have no idea about the audience" (p. 99), to happiness and joy (p. 150).

The next section of each chapter deals with audience response as distilled by Hanna from answers and comments on the questionnaires. The questionnaire is published in the appendix, and each chapter has a table that summarizes "how [the] audience perceived [the] emotions" as well as summary statistics about the backgrounds of the respondents. The respondents were primarily middle-class white females with higher education and high incomes. They represented only one-third to one-half of the audiences; people under fifteen years of age and professional dance critics were excluded. Their answers were quite varied. Some recognized no emotion, while others identified specific emotions with specific parts of the body and specific gestures. Unfortunately, Hanna did not have the performers fill out the questionnaire, nor did she question them in a way that she could fill it out for them so we would be able to check if these responses "connected."

Thus, although there are many interesting comments and other information by both performers and self-selected audience members, the interpretation of these data cannot really help clarify what Hanna set out to do, that is, to offer insights on "how emotion is

communicated" (p. 26). Although anthropologically naïve, Hanna's "hypothesis, that people who differ by age, gender, ethnicity, education, income, occupation, and knowledge about dance will differ in perception" (p. 20), is relatively harmless. It is a pity that she did not really confront the thorny problem of cross-cultural perception of dance communication or use her data to suggest in any meaningful way that dance is not a universal language. This is because dance, like spoken language, cannot be understood cross-culturally unless one understands the structure and semantics of the motifs and how they are put together. Instead, Hanna seems happy that her findings "clearly disprove Sachs's and others' notion that all dance is and gives ecstasy" (p. 187). Didn't we know that before?

Vie et mort des langues. Présentation, *Louis-Jacques Dorais*. Anthropologie et Sociétés, Volume 7(3). Québec, Québec: Presses de l'Université Laval, 1983. 191 pp. $9.00 (livre broché).

Yves Larochelle
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Trop préoccupés par l'aspect formel du langage, les linguistes n'abordent que très rarement, et souvent de façon très partielle, la description des facteurs sociaux qui sont à la source du changement linguistique. Aussi est-ce fort à propos qu'une revue d'anthropologie québécoise sérieuse consacre tout un numéro à l'évolution, au rayonnement et à la disparition des langues en général.

Ce numéro comprend sept articles placés sous le thème de: *Vie et mort des langues*. Les auteurs (W. F. Mackey, A. Monod Becquelin, G. Augustins, J.L. Arellano, L.J. Dorais, C. Jourdan, N. Khellil et P. Corbel) tentent, à partir de cadres théoriques différents mais complémentaires empruntés à Hymes, Fishman ou Ferguson, de faire un peu de lumière sur les processus de survie, de transformation et de disparition des langues. Deux articles d'intérêt général (une critique du document québécois: "Le virage technologique," par A. Turmel, et le texte de la conférence inaugurale du XIe Congrès International des Sciences Anthropologiques et Ethnologiques, prononcée par G. Condominas) et un guide bibliographique portant sur l'aliénation linguistique, la diglossie et les contacts de langues, complètent le numéro.

Dans l'article de tête: "La mortalité des langues et le bilinguisme des peuples," où la précision de l'analyse le dispute à l'érudition de la recherche, W. F. Mackey s'interroge d'abord sur les causes de disparition ou d'extinction des langues. Un bref inventaire des langues mortes ou moribondes lui permet de dégager quelques facteurs qui ont contribué et contribuent encore à la mort

des langues: génocide, colonisation, analphabétisme, fragmentation des langues, interdiction et surtout dépendance linguistique et politique. Il étudie ensuite le long processus de leur transformation et de leur déclin. Le contact des langues produit d'abord un bilinguisme naissant dans la langue d'adoption, qui évolue progressivement dans le temps, pour finir en bilinguisme régressif et résiduel dans la langue ethnique. Le bilinguisme accélère le processus d'assimilation, la diglossie le stabilise. L'auteur distingue enfin quatre types de dominance qui provoquent la mort des langues: "dominance aculturée," "dominance aculturante," "dominance imposée" et "dominance remplaçante." L'auteur conclut fort justement en affirmant que la vie et la mort des langues dépendent non pas d'une cause unique mais d'un "agencement de circonstances" qui font qu'un peuple trouve plus d'avantages et d'intérêt à pratiquer une langue plutôt qu'une autre.

Dans la même foulée, A. Monod Becquelin et G. Augustins dans "Pronostic réservé" montrent que les pronostics concernant la mort d'une langue sont à peu près impossibles à établir de façon précise. Les auteurs évoquent trois cas qui dépeignent des situations linguistiques inattendues. Le premier cas expose le résultat contrasté de la politique linguistique uniforme en France, au début du XXe siècle, en Bretagne et dans les Pyrénées. Le bigourdan se maintient dans les Baronnies, grâce au soutien de toute une culture, tandis que le breton, surtout dans le Morbihan central, se perd faute d'appui et de convictions linguistiques de la part des parents. Le second montre, à travers le processus de résistance du trumoi, langue isolée du Brésil et central parlée par quelques dizaines d'Indiens, l'importance du statut de la parole au sein d'une communauté pour la sauvegarde ou la disparition de la langue. Le troisième nous fait prendre conscience que le français, aussi bien établi qu'il soit dans ses frontières, peut être sérieusement menacé en tant que langue scientifique et culturelle. L'examen des facteurs extralinguistiques et internes concernant la survie d'une langue, selon les auteurs, rend sans doute compte d'une partie des faits mais ne peut les expliquer complètement.

De son côté, Jose Lopez Arellano, dans "Diglossie et société au Mexique," s'attache, dans un premier temps, à décrire les rapports linguistiques et sociaux au Mexique depuis la conquête espagnole. Ces rapports ont toujours été marqués par l'exploitation ethnocidaire des populations indiennes autochtones. Exploitation favorisée en grande partie par une situation diglossique qui en est le produit et qui contribue à donner du pays une fausse image de société pluriethnique et plurilingue. Dans un second temps, l'auteur met en évidence les mécanismes institutionnels (école, programmes bilingues, moyens de communication) qui ont assuré et assurent encore le contrôle social et idéologique des Indiens. La thèse de l'auteur, fortement documentée, est convaincante et il faut en outre

lui savoir gré d'avoir apporté certaines précisions conceptuelles qui nous permettent de mieux suivre la démarche de sa pensée.

Louis Jacques Dorais dans "Langue et identité à Hawaï" reprend à peu près la même problématique. L'auteur constate que la langue hawaïenne, presque totalement disparue de l'île, (moins de 10,000 locuteurs en 1978) n'en continue pas moins de jouer un rôle symbolique important pour les autochtones et les autres insulaires. Comment expliquer ce phénomène étrange de survivance d'une langue après une mort dûment constatée? Un bref survol de l'histoire linguistique et de la situation sociolinguistique contemporaines d'Hawaï permet à l'auteur de constater que la langue hawaïenne, éliminée au profit d'une diglossie créole/ anglais standard, reste encore très vivante au plan symbolique, dans l'imaginaire collectif des Hawaïens de souche: elle représente leur culture et évoque leur histoire. Pour les résidents d'origine non autochtone, la langue et la culture hawaïennes constituent les seuls éléments susceptibles de leur fournir une identité commune. L'exemple hawaïen nous démontre à l'envie qu'une langue éliminée de la vie quotidienne peut être récupérée (comme les langues indiennes au Mexique) par une certaine idéologie nationaliste et régionaliste.

L'article de Christine Jourdan: "Mort du "Kanaka Pidgin English" à Mackay (Australie)" nous présente les premiers résultats d'une enquête faite dans la communauté mélanésienne de la ville de Mackay, dans l'Etat du Queensland en Australie sur la disparition du "Kanata Pidgin English". Ce pidgin, né en Australie au début des années 1800, est maintenant presque disparu. Seuls, quelques locuteurs âgés le parlent encore; quand ils mourront, la langue risque de mourir avec eux. Il s'agissait pour l'auteur d'étudier, à la lumière des paradigmes ou modèles de Fishman et de Haugen, les mécanismes impliqués dans cette disparition ainsi que le contexte social enveloppant les différentes étapes du phénomène, afin d'en évaluer la signification pour la communauté mélanésienne qui l'a vécu. L'enquête n'étant pas terminée, l'auteur se garde bien de tirer des conclusions définitives. Mais à ce stade, l'enquête semble bien confirmer la justesse du paradigme de l'immigrant décrit par Fishman.

L'article de Mohand Khellil, "Le trilinguisme des Kabyles: une richesse et une menace" et celui de Pierre Corbeil, "Le réveil des bâtards de l'intérieur," montrent que les revendications linguistiques servent souvent de prétextes à des revendications politiques. Avant la colonisation française, la langue kabyle n'avait jamais été directement menacée. C'est à partir de la création d'écoles franco-arabes puis, après l'indépendance, d'écoles et d'institutions totalement arabes que le kabyle s'est vu relégué au rang de langue dominée. A travers leurs revendications linguistiques, les Kabyles réclament le droit à une pensée, à une culture, à une philosophie et

à une manière d'être propres. La revendication gallise procéderait des mêmes causes, si l'on en croit Pierre Corbel, et s'inscrirait même dans ce grand courant de revendications identitaires émises au nom de différences ethniques (revendication d'indépendance, nationalitaires, etc.). L'auteur affirme que la crise d'identité que traverse la société française est si grave que les timides prises de position régionalistes des derniers gouvernements ne sauraient la satisfaire.

En somme, sept articles de belle venue, variés, riches et denses qui nous prouvent hors de tout doute que la destinée des langues, comme la destinée humaine, reste soumise aux lois du hasard et de la nécessité.

Towards an Anthropology of Law in Complex Society: An Analysis of Critical Concepts. *Rene R. Gadacz*. Calgary, Alberta: Western Publishers, 1982. iv + 110 pp. $5.95 (paper).

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Rene Gadacz's *Towards an Anthropology of Law in Complex Society: An Analysis of Critical Concepts* addresses a problem which concerns anthropologists, sociologists, and lawyers: the problem of the incompatibility of legal systems in a pluralistic society.

Legal pluralism has been a focus of studies in the anthropology of law for many years. Gadacz's approach differs from most other studies of legal pluralism in that he views the situation of legal pluralism as one of competing legal ideologies generated by a fundamental incompatibility of the two systems (p. 42). Gadacz is concerned with the ideology of "modern law," including the notion that law, in the sense of rules, must be universally applied to what is assumed to be a homogenous population where most relations are between strangers. His thesis is that the ideology of "modern law" makes most "modern" legal systems incompatible with customary legal systems.

Drawing on literature from the dispute resolution tradition, Gadacz suggests that customary law is embedded in networks of social relations and relies less on precise rules than does "modern law." He tells us, ". . . a society's or group's legal system or law, or perhaps more appropriately, its normative base, is an inextricable part of its total adaptation to its physical social environment" (p. 6). This assumption forms the basis for his critique of the universalism of "modern law," and for his suggestions that universalism may only increase inequality.

*Towards an Anthropology of Law in Complex Society* is not based on fieldwork, but attempts to use the literature from legal anthropology together with studies of "modern legal systems" to shed new light on the problem of legal pluralism. Unfortunately, in his review of the literature, Gadacz has missed some important ethnographic studies which suggest an inherent weakness in his approach. This weakness is reflected in his assumption that legal systems are "adaptive" to particular cultural and sociophysical environments. The model which Gadacz develops is too static to explain the dynamics of legal pluralism which these ethnographic studies reveal. In fact, ethnographic data indicates that the same disputants will sometimes use both "customary" and "modern" legal systems for the same purposes, and at other times for different purposes. During my own research in Mexico, I observed that poor campesinos found the universality of "modern law" amenable to their goal of delegitimizing the Mexican State. Competition between legal systems frequently results from these patterns of strategic use.

Although there is little new information in Gadacz's book, by bringing together critical studies of "modern law" and anthropological studies of "customary law," the book raises some interesting theoretical questions about law. Its major contribution will be the way Gadacz uses the situation of legal pluralism to reveal weaknesses in "modern law."

Na Styke Chukotki i Aljaski (At the Junction of Chukotka and Alaska). *P. Alekseev*, ed. Selected for Publication by the Institute of Ethnography of the U.S.S.R. Academy of Sciences. Moscow: Nauka Publishing House, 1983. 231 pp. 2 rubles, 80 kopecks. ISBN 25150.

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The publication of a collection of articles about the native peoples of Northeast Asia is always a welcome event for scholars in the adjoining fields of ethnography, linguistics, and anthropology (see Note 1), as well as for researchers in many other fields. Thus, we are privileged to have a new book edited by Professor P. Alekseev with seven articles about the findings of the 1970-1976 expeditions of the Institute of Ethnography of the U.S.S.R. Academy of Sciences, the Institute of Anthropology of Moscow University, and the Museum of Ethnography in Leningrad. Material in this book focuses on the physical characteristics of the native peoples of Northeast Asia, including, among others, the Inuit, Korjaks, and Chukchees. Some ethnographic traditions are also analyzed.

The first article in this volume is titled "Some Results of the Historical-Ethnological and Anthropological Investigations of the Population of the Chukotka Peninsula." Co-authored by T. I. Alekseeva, V. P. Alekseev, S. A. Arutjunov, and D. A. Sergeev, the article analyzes Chukchee and Inuit culture history, social organization, and physical measurements. The strength of the article lies in its comparison of anthropological, archeological, and ethnographical data regarding Northeast Asian peoples in the U.S.S.R. with data regarding the Arctic peoples of North America. Because the indigenous peoples of North America originally migrated to North America from northeastern Asia, further investigations will no doubt reveal many parallels which have not yet been discovered. To be truly effective, research in this field will require the joint efforts of North American and Soviet scholars.

The second article in this volume was written by I. I. Krupnik and is titled "Ancient and Traditional Settlements of Eskimos in the Southeast of the Chukotka Peninsula." Krupnik provides information on old Inuit settlements which are still in existence, as well as on settlements which were left or abandoned by their founders. Data on Inuit migrations are also provided.

The third article is by I. S. Burzick and is titled "The Problems of Ethnic Development (Ethnogenesis) of the Deer Groups of Chukchee and Korjaks in the Light of Ethnographic Data." Burzick extends the long-standing interest of such scholars as L. Ja. Shrenk, V. G. Bogoras, V. I. Johelson, S. P. Krasheninnikov, A. N. Zhukova, M. G. Levin, I. S. Vdovin, and G. F. Debetz, on the origin of northeastern Paleo-Asiatic peoples by presenting the views of I. S. Gurvich on the origin of the Deer Chukchee and Deer Korjaks. The most significant feature of the article is probably Gurvich's use of linguistic data to trace relationships between the Chukchees and Korjaks, and in particular, to clarify differences between Deer Chukchee and Deer Korjaks. Although Korjaks, Aljutors, and Kereks share many common linguistic features, it is significant that dialectical differences between Chukchees and Korjaks are not greater than dialectical differences among different groups of Korjaks. Gurvich also compares cultural relationships between Deer Korjaks and Deer Chukchee with those of Sea Korjaks (Shore Korjaks) and Sea Chukchee (Shore Chukchee). He concludes that common features of language, and of material and non-material culture indicate that Deer Chukchee and Deer Korjaks are subgroups of the same ancient people.

N. I. Klevtsova contributed the fourth article in this volume titled "Some Peculiarities of Body Structure of the Native Population of the Chukotka Peninsula." The article focuses on physical anthropology and discusses a large amount of data on the body structure of the Chukchee and Inuit. Morphological differences between the Chukchee and Inuit are compared with those of other

Siberian peoples such as the Burjat, Nenetz, Etelmen, Even, Tuvinetz, Yakut, and Nivh, as well as with the morphology of European, African, Indian, Pacific Ocean, and Australian populations. As a result of this analysis of a large amount of data, specific physical features of the Chukchee and Korjaks are now more clearly understood. Important physical differences include the fact that the Inuit have broader shoulders, flatter chests, and more developed muscles than the Chukchee, while Chukchee women are taller, have larger torsos, and exhibit less fat than Inuit women. In general, these various groups, especially the Sea Chukchee (Shore Chukchee) and Asian Inuit, share a greater number of common physical features than differences.

"Physiological Peculiarities of the Native Population of Chukotka," co-authored by T. I. Alekseeva, V. P. Volker-Dubrovin, L. K. Gudkova, and O. M. Pavlovskij, is the fifth article in this volume. The authors report the results of their survey of the intensity of the blood oxidation of Chukchee and Inuit populations, as well as their comparison of these data to similar data on North American Indians, Saams, Nenetz, Turkmen, Russians, and others. Blood physiology, the dynamics of morphological features of osteo-skeleton processes, and specific physiological features of the native Arctic population of Chukotka are discussed and analyzed. It was found that the Chukotka Inuit are apt to have many physical features in common with other Arctic populations, including more intensive ventilation, lower blood pressure, and lower levels of cholesterin than non-Arctic populations. By contrast, the Chukotka Chukchee tend to exhibit fewer Arctic features than the Chukotka Inuit. Arctic women (both Chukchee and Inuit) show greater mineralization of their skeletons than women of milder climatic zones (e.g., than either Russian or Burjat women).

The sixth article, "Odontological Characteristics of the Population of Northeast Asia," is by N. A. Dubova and L. I. Tegako and investigates the dentition of the Chukchees, Inuit, Itelmens (Kamchadal), Korjaks, Evens, and Aleuts. Through careful analysis of dental characteristics, it is possible to define a specific Chukchee-Korjak grouping and to distinguish the Itelmens (Kamchadals) as a genetically separate population. As a result of this analysis, the Evens are found to be genetically closer to modern northeast Asian Inuit, while Aleuts are genetically closer to ancient Inuit and Chukchee populations in general. At the same time, it was found that the odontological characteristics of the southern Chukchees closely resemble those of the Baikal Burjats.

The seventh article, co-authored by S. A. Arutjunov and D. A. Sergeev, is titled "Scientific Results of Works at the Eleven Ancient Eskimo Sepulchers (1970-1974)." This article analyzes specific Inuit burials and uses these data to discuss Inuit migration.

In summary, this new publication on the native peoples of Northeast Asia is an authoritative milestone in the field of Arctic ethnography and anthropology. Its extensive material on anthropology, ethnography, linguistics, and archeology makes it a useful reference for specialists in many fields, and a good source of data for linguists who are interested in linguistic reconstruction and the migration histories of Northeast Asian peoples. These areas of study are all too often neglected. The overall picture of ethnic processes presented here will greatly aid the analysis of ethnographic and linguistic classifications of the Chukotka and Kamchatka Peninsulas. This book is a unique and valuable contribution to the ethnogenesis of Northeast Asian peoples.

Note 1. In order to show the contemporary organization of anthropology in the Soviet Union, the wording of the above review has been left intact. Thus, the term "anthropology" refers to what North Americans would usually regard as physical anthropology.

La ronde des échanges: de la circulation aux valeurs chez les Orokaiva. *André Iteanu*. Paris: Editions de la Maison des Sciences de l'homme, 1983. xii + 335 pp. $49.50 (livre cartonné).

François Trudel
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La société orokaiva occupe la partie septentrionale de la Papouasie-Nouvelle-Guinée et a déjà fait l'objet de quelques recherches et publications anthropologiques. Pour y préparer un séjour sur le terrain, Iteanu a lu et analysé toute la littérature relative à cette société et il a comparé à fond les principales monographies, soient celles de F. E. Williams (Orokaiva Magic 1928; Orokaiva Society 1930) et celle, plus récente, de E. Schwimmer (Exchange in the Social Structure of the Orokaiva 1973). Ce qu'il nous livre ici est le fruit de cette études de textes, partiellement contrôlée et, semble-t-il, confirmée, par un séjour récent de 18 mois effectué dans la même société.

L'ouvrage s'ouvre sur une identification des problèmes qui ont retenu l'attention des anthropologues en Papouasie-Nouvelle-Guinée (forme d'organisation de chaque société, nature du pouvoir et relations des sociétés entre elles) et sur la façon théorique d'envisager les nombreuses sociétés qu'on y retrouve, y compris les Orokaiva (analyse transactionnaliste ou globaliste). Iteanu opte carrément pour l'approche globaliste, qui cherche à replacer les échanges (ou d'autres phénomènes) dans le système global qui les transcende. L'étude subséquente du rituel des âges de la vie (naissance, initiation, funérailles) et de l'organisation sociale et du mariage s'effectuera selon cette orientation et débouchera sur un effort de dégagement de la hiérarchie des échanges et de l'ordre des valeur orokaiva. Fondamentalement, la société étudiée dans sa globalité apparaît dominée par les esprits (ou les morts, ou les

ancêtres) qui imposent un idéal plus ou moins bien "réalisé" aux divers niveaux de la société: la prestation *mine* ou la prestation de retour parfaitement égale à la première.

La méthodologie employée est nettement comparative. Comme le dit Iteanu, il existe plus de sept cents sociétés et langues différentes en Papouasie-Nouvelle-Guinée et, pour développer des modèles explicatifs de ces sociétés, il est essentiel de les comparer entre elles. Pareille comparaison doit s'effectuer d'abord et avant tout sur une base régionale et oblige l'anthropologue à s'intéresser activement aux travaux de ses collègues, en lisant et jaugeant ces travaux selon les principes de l'analyse moderne (première étape) et en contrôlant les résultats de son analyse avec les données d'observation directe recueillies lors d'un plus ou moins long séjour sur le terrain (deuxième étape). "La ronde des échanges" correspond bien à la première étape de cette démarche d'anthropologie comparative et on doit voir plus à fond ce qu'entend au juste l'auteur lorsqu'il parle d'utiliser "les principes de l'analyse moderne"?

A ce niveau, Iteanu nous fournit les renseignements suivants, dans son avant-propos: ". . . On a essayé . . . de tirer un maximum de sens du matériel ethnographique disponible, de tenter le plus grand nombre de rapprochements, de poser le plus possible d'hypothèses." Plus précisément, cette analyse a impliqué l'exploration, détail après détail, des principaux aspects de la société orokaiva, par confrontation, questionnement et dialogue avec les sources, et même la multiplication des hypothèses, avec la conviction qu'elles ont un sens. Iteanu a même été jusqu'à questionner tous les concepts et toutes les formes d'exposition employés par les principaux auteurs (p. 6).

Un exemple, au sujet du rituel de l'initiation, pourra peut-être donner une idée plus précise de cette méthode (pp. 48 et suivantes): description du rituel orokaiva selon Chinnery et Beaver (1915); mise en doute par Iteanu de leur interprétation selon laquelle l'initiation est un acte pédagogique ou un rite de passage pour les adolescents; affirmation du fait qu'elle est plutôt une fête qui implique la société entière; poursuite de la description du rituel, mais cette fois-ci selon Williams, avec recours fréquents à l'ethnographie de Chinnery et Beaver, puis de Schwimmer, le tout ponctué de nombreux commentaires et interprétations d'Iteanu; recours à un mythe orokaiva; brève conclusion sur le sens profond de la première partie du rituel décrit. Une procédure analogue est employée pour l'étude des deuxième et troisième parties du même rituel et ainsi de suite pour les autres phénomènes abordés dans l'ouvrage.

Pareille méthode d'analyse est, avouons-le, passablement ambitieuse, téméraire même, surtout si l'on prend en considération le fait que "La ronde des échanges" est un ouvrage écrit avant même que l'auteur n'ait séjourné parmi les Orokaiva. Iteanu peut bien nous dire que tout ce qu'il a écrit dans ce livre est confirmé par un terrain ultérieur effectué dans cette société, le lecteur le

moindrement critique aura toujours, en lisant ce livre, une question tiraillante à l'esprit: est-ce que le "sens profond" tiré des sources publiées correspond bien à la réalité ethnographique des Orokaiva ou du moins à ce que la confrontation de ce sens profond avec l'observation directe aurait permis de dégager? On ne peut évidemment fournir de réponse catégorique à cette question et il faut se fier aux assertions de l'auteur, selon qui, oui, tout correspond bien, et on n'a qu'à attendre, pour s'en convaincre, un prochaine publication, qui fournira tous les éléments de vérification et de contrôle nécessaires. On pourrait espérer aussi que les réactions ou les critiques d'anthropologues comme Erik Schwimmer se fassent entendre le plus rapidement possible, pour confirmer ou infirmer, en tout ou en partie, le sens donné par l'auteur aux faits ethnographiques. Rappelons ici que Schwimmer connaît bien les Orokaiva pour y avoir séjouné pendant une longue période de temps et qu'il connaît aussi Iteanu, parce que ce dernier lui a rendu visite pendant quelques mois pour discuter du contenu de son livre. Autre remarque: puisqu'Iteanu désire proposer une voie nouvelle pour la compréhension des sociétés de Papouasie-Nouvelle-Guinée et virtuellement des sociétés de Mélanésie en général, il faudrait souhaiter aussi que les anthropologues oeuvrant dans cette région du monde ajoutent leur voix au chapitre, ce qui pourrait permettre une meilleure appréciation de la méthode utilisée et du résultat de l'analyse.

Passons maintenant à l'approche théorique. Tout le livre est un vibrant plaidoyer pour une approche globalisante de la société orokaiva, avec, comme arrière-plan, un bien bref et bien faible survol du transactionnalisme (2 pages) et un recours très direct au plus classique des ethnologues globalistes, Marcel Mauss, dont Iteanu n'hésite pas à utiliser plusieurs phrases-clés pour camper son propre propos. Citons, pour bien illustrer ce recours, les passages suivants de l'introduction: ". . . La "dynamique" à l'intérieur de la totalité semble être pour Mauss le moyen de description des parties de cette totalité. Nous tenterons de rester fidèle, autant que possible, à la position de Mauss . . . (notre soulignement) (p. 14)"; ou encore (p. 17): "Cette interprétation nous semble être fidèle à Mauss lorsqu'il dit: "C'est en considérant le tout ensemble que nous avons pu percevoir l'essentiel, le mouvement du tout, l'aspect vivant, l'instant fugitif". . . ." En fonction de cette approche, Iteanu s'efforce donc de révéler la *cohérence* et la *dynamique* de la totalité sociale orokaiva, en donnant son sens à chaque phénomène étudié et à tout groupe de phénomènes. La conclusion, quant à elle, cherche même à aller plus loin, en rapportant la totalité sociale orokaiva à une logique universelle.

Enumérons, à ce niveau, les principales remarques suivantes:

(1) la critique du transactionnalisme est insuffisamment développée par Iteanu, qui néglige de mentionner toute

une variété de conceptions possibles de cette approche et de moyens de les opérationnaliser dans une situation de terrain. Il nous semble ici qu'il aurait fallu s'intéresser de plus près à une sous-discipline de l'anthropologie, qui est l'anthropologie économique, et aux différents débats qui y ont cours entre formalisme, substantivisme et marxisme.

(2) à lire et à relire l'approche théorique de l'auteur, on a l'impression qu'entre Mauss et Durkheim d'une part, et lui-même, d'autre part, il n'y a eu que très peu de développements à l'intérieur de la discipline anthropologique. En prolongement de la remarque précédente, je reproche donc à l'auteur de n'avoir pas suffisamment situé son propos à l'intérieur des grands courants théoriques de l'anthropologie et, entre autres, à l'intérieur du débat entre structuralisme et marxisme. Les quelques citations de Louis Dumont (pp. 14-15) ne comblent en rien cette absence de lien direct avec les développements récents de la théorie anthropologique.

(3) la réflexion personnelle de l'auteur me paraît en général très fertile, mais il y a tout de même certaines inégalités entre les diverses parties du livre. Les deux premières parties, celles qui sont une relecture attentive des principales sources ethnographiques, m'ont semblé les plus solides et les plus crédibles. On y découvre toute l'utilité d'un effort d'approfondissement des sources et de réinterprétation des faits ethnographiques, à la lumière d'un ancien cadre de référence servi à la moderne. La troisième partie, qui est un effort d'interprétation du système global, est nettement plus problématique. Ses objectifs sont tellement vastes ["combiner les niveaux holiste et universaliste," "ordonner hiérarchiquement les mouvements," "rapporter les types d'échanges à ce que nous savons de la logique universelle de l'opposition hiérarchique" (cf. pp. 21-22)] que le lecteur risque d'être pris d'un vertige global, que pourront difficilement corriger des formulations pareilles à celle-ci: ". . . Ce que nous avons l'habitude d'appeler croyances et ce que nous nommons institutions forment un tout que nous ouvons maintenant appeler *idéologie*, mais dont on voit qu'elle n'est pas ici limitée aux idées au sens traditionnel du terme." En fait, avouons que la description de l'imbrication, que dire de l'enchevêtrement, des faits sociaux, n'est jamais un exercice simple à exécuter et qu'on doit faire flèche de tout bois. Mais manier aussi allègrement des concepts comme idées, idéologie, institutions, sans les avoir préalablement définis et discutés rigoureusement, comporte certains risques qui

deviendront vite évidents à tout lecteur de "La ronde des échanges."

(4) Cette même dernière partie de l'ouvrage aboutit à une interprétation qui comporte des éléments structuralistes implicites (opposition forêt-village, hommes-esprit, etc.). Pourquoi Iteanu n'a-t-il pas mentionné plus explicitement cet aspect de son approche théorique?

Malgré ces remarques, le livre (qui est, je crois, la thèse de doctorat remaniée de l'auteur) n'en conserve pas moins beaucoup d'intérêt pour tous ceux qui s'intéressent à la région de la Papouasie-Nouvelle-Guinée, à la méthode comparative ou à l'approche globaliste. Iteanu écrit bien, fait preuve de grandes capacités analytiques et il pourrait facilement parfaire ses perspectives théoriques. C'est un anthropologue qui promet beaucoup et on doit attendre avec impatience ses prochaines publications, qui réserveront une place plus grande à son expérience et à ses données de terrain.

Dangerous Wives and Sacred Sisters: Social and Symbolic Roles of High-Caste Women in Nepal. *Lynn Bennett*. New York: Columbia University Press, 1983. vii + 353 pp. $27.50 (cloth).

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From the perspective of the hamlet of Narikot in Nepal, Bennett explores various aspects of the Hindu perception of women. The basic theme is that Hindu or perhaps Narikot society (it is not always clear which) is characterized by an "ambivalent view of women" which is "reinforced by and reflected in . . . the conceptual and symbolic structures of Hinduism" (p. 214). This ambivalence is summed up in terms of an opposition between patrifocal and filiafocal structures and practices: a woman begins her life as a sacred sister or daughter within her father's patrilineage, but is eventually transmuted into a dangerous wife. In the end, resolving the conflict between sacred sister and dangerous wife, she becomes a mother.

Considering the hazards of modern life, any ethnography which gets published must be regarded as excellent, and any author who publishes an ethnography must be considered heroic. In this case, the intense pleasure of encountering fresh information is mitigated by the feeling that the author was less than enthusiastic about the task of revising her doctoral dissertation. Although the introduction describes a lengthy period of fieldwork in the community of Narikot, it also informs us that this is not a

community study. In the end, it is never clear where the author's information came from or who was studied. Most of the results seem to come from co-residence with a large upper caste family and more or less daily conversations with a learned Brahman. Appropriately, materials concerning family life and upper caste ritual seem to be fairly well localized in Narikot. Such materials take up the early chapters of the book, and they are followed by an extensive analysis of text materials which is designed to relate "Hinduism" to the more specific details concerning Narikot. At this point, it becomes difficult to determine whether the analysis is primarily concerned with Narikot, or with South Asia in general. In either case, there should have been greater attention to the problem of explaining the choice of the particular scriptures which were analyzed.

With regard to the central point of the book, ambivalent feelings toward wives and mothers are so widespread throughout the world that few could doubt that they also exist in South Asia. My own experience leads me to support Bennett's belief that men have particularly warm feelings toward their sisters. On the other hand, I wonder if that special feeling isn't largely the result of a general lack of contact between sisters and brothers. The various Hindu scriptures and sacred tales seem to pay little heed to sisters or daughters, and instead concentrate their full attention on wives and mothers. My own ethnographic intuition suggests that, in fact, it is wives and mothers who are sacred and dangerous. For that matter, the wives of deities--Parvati, Saraswati, Lakshmi, Sita, Draupadi, Radha--seem remarkably benign. If Parvati has a dangerous side, it is when she appears as a chastening mother in the form of Kali or one of the disease goddesses. In these forms, she is often presented as representing her husband, who may be considered safe only when his third eye is firmly closed rather than half open as seems to be the case at present.

In *The Sword and the Flute* (Berkeley and Los Angeles, California: University of California Press, 1975), David R. Kinsley finds a high degree of similarity between Krishna and Kali. Thus, the implied proposition that men are safe and women are dangerous, or even that men are different from women seems to require some examination. Certainly, any discussion of this topic needs to consider the ambiguous sexuality of gods and the dangers associated with sacredness. Oddly, this discussion is not an attempt to refute Bennett's thesis, but an attempt to point out that the waters she stirs are already rather thick and muddy. However well the methods of Ruth Benedict and Morris Opler might work with the Japanese or the Apache, there seem to be real problems in applying these same methods to a civilization whose learned priests and Brahmans have made a practice of contradicting each other over centuries of text compilation and revision.

The idea that patrifocality generates an exceptionally strong feeling of ambivalence toward women, perhaps grading into open hostility, is attractive. It would appear that people in many places in the world have feelings similar to those described by Bennett. Without pushing the matter too much further, it would be interesting to know how Bennett would deal with the Eskimo deity Sedna or the Pueblo Indian Spider Woman. Certainly, the credibility of Bennett's hypothesis would be enhanced by references to sacred sisters and dangerous wives in other societies.

In another vein, discussions of the origins of ambivalent feelings ought to consider the fierce economic interdependence of husbands and wives in most societies. Economic considerations also enter into questions concerning the status of high caste and/or rich women, especially where these women lack practical value beyond procreation. At least in South India, the husky, no-nonsense working wives of field laborers are a potent contrast to the bored and anemic wives of the wealthier Brahmans. This alone might account for the contrast between docile and aggressive women seen in the scriptures.

All in all, this book should provide a powerful stimulus for further investigation of the issues raised. In fine detail, Bennett does not succeed in supporting or even clearly stating the main arguments that she makes. There needs to be more thought concerning methodology and the kinds of data that might be relevant to the argument. There is also a need to place the work solidly in the context of previous research. Obviously, a less ambitious work would not have drawn these criticisms. I commend Bennett's ambition, and I commend the present work as an excellent beginning. Certainly, we can agree that women are dangerous and sacred. However, the bottom line, taken from the Code of Manu, is that "Women must be honored by their fathers, brothers, husbands, and brothers-in-law."

Navajo Infancy: An Ethological Study of Child Development. *James S. Chisholm*. New York: Aldine, 1983. xii + 267 pp. $29.95 (cloth).

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The growing field of comparative child development tends to be theoretically and methodologically oriented. Most of these studies are confined to the use of standard assessments without consideration of cultural contexts. As a result, these studies lack sound theoretical formulations. However, Chisholm's work is different and represents a step in the right direction.

Although titled *Navajo Infancy: An Ethological Study of Child Development*, this book discusses a variety of topics and theoretical issues that go far beyond its empirical findings. In the first chapter, Chisholm integrates evolutionary theory and developmental psychology, and argues that the process of development can be viewed as a special case of the process of adaptation. From this viewpoint, increased behavioral plasticity and adaptability is predicated for humans, especially in the areas of social and cultural behaviors during infancy and childhood. As a methodological strategy, the identification of an environmental perturbation is proposed to study the joint process of adaptation and development in infants. The Navajo people of Arizona are chosen because the use of the cradleboard is seen as a possible environmental perturbation which might disrupt mother-infant interaction and the process of attachment.

There is a serious gap between these theoretical formulations and Chisholm's specific prediction of the effects of the Navajo cradleboard on development. Chisholm's formulation that the use of cradleboard "might *disrupt* mother-infant interaction, and thereby the process of attachment as well," is an hypothesis that is derived from classical attachment theory. A very different prediction could be made from evolutionary theory. If Chisholm's initial formulations are used, we would instead predict that the use of a cradleboard might have immediate consequences, but no long term effects. The process of adaptation and canalization would insure the development of a synchronous mother infant interaction and attachment would proceed in face of an environmental perturbation. Chisholm's findings confirm this prediction: mother-infant interaction was not related to cradleboard use, except around the transition to or from the cradleboard.

Although Chisholm did not measure the quality of attachment except indirectly through fear of strangers, we might postulate that cradleboard use might have very little long-term effects on this process as well. Again, using the principle of canalization, alternative pathways might be used to reach the same developmental goal. Only for western culture might the use of cradleboards be a perturbation. In that case, lowered arousal through the use of cradleboards might provide a very appropriate stage for the establishment of communication between mother and child.

The major strength of Chisholm's work is his theoretical and methodological integration of various disciplines. However, his data suffer from flaws which might be expected from trying to cover so much ground. The possibility of observer bias, the lack of controlled observations, and a small sample size makes it difficult to interpret both the large number of dependent variables and Chisholm's numerous statistical analyses, some of which might be

inappropriate. Nevertheless, when placed in its appropriate historical context, this book represents a contribution to an area of much needed theoretical work.

David Boyle: From Artisan to Archaeologist. *Gerald Killan*. Toronto, Ontario: University of Toronto Press in association with the Ontario Heritage Foundation, 1983. 276 pp. $14.95 (paper).

Tony Hall
University of Sudbury

Gerald Killan's biography of David Boyle soundly demonstrates that nineteenth century Darwinian biology and geology were closely related to the emerging discipline of North American archaeology. And as archaeology was then understood, its blending with anthropology revealed no clear lines of demarcation. These are only two examples of the abundant store of historical insights outlined by Killan in his meticulously documented portrayal of Boyle's many-faceted life. Killan's book will prove especially useful to students of the history of North American archaeology and anthropology, and it illuminates a broad range of other scholarly fields as well. For example, those who are interested in the social, educational, and intellectual history of Ontario will be amply rewarded by Killan's skillful discussion of Boyle's quest for acceptance as a man of letters in a society which had only recently moved beyond the rawer stage of frontier development. Similarly, those seeking a greater understanding of the background of Canadian museology and the movement for the preservation of historic and prehistoric sites will find Killan's work invaluable.

In 1856, young David Boyle emigrated with his parents from Scotland to Canada West. Like his father before him, he learned the trade of blacksmithing. Eventually, his love of study led him to abandon the more lucrative path of artisanship for a teaching post in a one-room country school. As an educator who was strongly influenced by the Swiss theorist Johann Pestalozzi, Boyle stressed the importance of learning by experiment and personal involvement rather than learning by rote memory. When he became principal of the public school in Elora, Ontario in 1871, he carried this approach with him. He maintained that students absorbed more if they could see and touch the objects of the natural world, and that without this experience, the object of their lessons would seem dry and lifeless. Accordingly, Boyle set out to assemble what became the best museum of natural history in the province of Ontario.

Although Boyle's search for specimens in the Elora area led to his first exposure to archaeological artifacts, he did not systematically pursue the study of these artifacts until he moved to Toronto. There, he scouted the possibility of work as curator of

the Canadian Institute's nascent museum of Indian archaeology. After landing the job, he turned his talents to securing more funding for his activities from the Ontario Ministry of Education.

Boyle's earlier reading in natural history established his approach to the interpretation of archaeology. At that time, natural history was like most other branches of science in that it was dominated by Darwinian evolutionary theory. Along with the vegetable and animal kingdoms, the material record of humankind was thought to show a record of adaptation from lower to higher forms. Thus, Boyle went to work setting the material remnants of Indian culture in Ontario near the lower end of a three part scale characterizing "savagery, barbarism, and civilization." In this exercise, Boyle drew heavily upon the work of Lewis Henry Morgan, E. B. Tylor, and John W. Powell, to mention a few. All were leading anthropological theorists of the day.

As curator of the Canadian Institute Museum and later the Ontario Provincial Museum (the forerunner of the Royal Ontario Museum), Boyle stimulated considerable interest in the archaeology of the Southern Ontario area. He engaged the help of many devoted amateurs who sent him artifacts and documented reports of their findings. Often, he excavated sites himself with a precision of scientific method which set the standard of professionalism for some time to come. The fruits of these labors were published in the *Annual Archaeological Reports*, which Boyle largely wrote and fully edited between 1887 and 1908. These excellent reports were regularly cited and reviewed in the most prestigious archaeological and anthropological literature of the day, and established Boyle's international reputation as a scholar.

Like many other archaeologists around the turn of the century, Boyle included "comparative ethnology" in his work. Since he felt that working with artifacts limited him primarily to the study of technological evolution, he explored the life of the Six Nations Indians near Brantford, Ontario in order to examine "social, mental, and moral evolution" as well (p. 181). The results of this fieldwork appeared as the *Annual Archaeological Reports* of 1898, which Killan describes as a "reliable piece of research" (p. 183). However, Boyle's work concluded with a call for the integration of Indians into Euro-Canadian society, and he noted that "It is time to save them from themselves" (p. 185).

Honors were heaped upon Boyle in his final years. In 1902, he was invited to become a founding member of the American Anthropological Association. The following year, he joined Franz Boas and Alfred L. Kroeber on the editorial board of the *American Anthropologist*. In a lively fashion, Killan describes a host of other accomplishments in Boyle's remarkable career: founding secretary of the Ontario Historical Society, author of children's books and a

*History of Scarboro* (1896), a regular contributor to a humor column in the *Scottish American Journal*, and Ontario's principal mining promoter at a number of international exhibitions.

If Killan's work has any significant flaw, it is his tendency to be overawed by the accomplishments of his subject. Perhaps this is a problem which was established by the circumstances of the book's production, since Killan conducted his research as the first recipient of the David Boyle Scholarship for Archaeology, which was established by the Ontario Heritage Foundation in 1975. Thus, as William Nobel makes fairly clear in his forward to this book, it is meant to be something of a hagiography, and Ontario Heritage was to be given a founding champion. On occassion, what is essentially a very scholarly work digresses to the level of boosterism.

A more balanced assessment of the influence of Boyle's work would have more fully considered the damage inflicted on native peoples by the notion that their cultures, even when contemporary, represented earlier and lower stages of human development. Similarly, Boyle's remarks about assimilating the Six Nations people implicate him as belonging to a rather sinister side of the developing field of anthropology. As most practitioners of the discipline will freely acknowledge, the insights gained of indigenous peoples have sometimes been put to the service of colonizing powers. But the point is not to condemn Boyle for absorbing and reflecting the major intellectual currents of his own time and place. Rather, the point is to take full advantage of hindsight in placing his work in its appropriate historical context. By and large, Killan does this with considerable learning and judgement.

Now You are a Woman/Ahora Eres Una Mujer. *Maria-Barbara Watson-Franke*. Traduccion del inglés por Angelina de Reguerio y Silvia Manjarrez Andión. Biblioteca Interamericana Bilingüe 6. México, D.F.: Ediciones Euroamericanas, 1983. 127 pp. n.p. (paper).

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Les Guajiros constituent un groupe autochtone dont on retrouve aujourd'hui des individus au Vénézuela et en Colombie. Les conditions climatiques extrêmes de la zone dans laquelle ils vivent, de même que les pressions du capitalisme les transforment progressivement de pasteurs à travailleurs migrants. Les institutions coutumières résistent tant bien que mal à l'impact des appareils idéologiques d'Etat. Ainsi, la société guajira est matrilinéaire et

même si les femmes n'en occupent pas pour autant une position dominante par rapport aux hommes, une importance particulière est accordée à l'éduction des filles. La pratique de la réclusion des filles au début de la puberté se situe justement dans cette perspective d'éducation. Le livre de M. B. Watson-Franke est centré sur cette institution bien représentative des Guajiros.

Basé sur un travail de terrain au Vénézuela de 1967 à 1975, l'ouvrage nous fait pénétrer dans l'intimité quotidienne de femmes d'une communauté guajira. L'approche consiste en un récit basé sur des témoignages recueillis auprès des femmes aujourd'hui adultes et vivant tant dans la communauté d'appartenance que dans les *barrios* de Maracaibo. C'est à partir de leurs souvenirs concernant la période de réclusion que l'auteur a forgé ce récit dans lequel le personnage central, Zoila, constitue la synthèse de toutes ces femmes et de leurs témoignages. Entre le début et la fin du récit, Zoila passera de l'enfance à la vie adulte. La période de réclusion constituera pour elle un temps d'arrêt, loin des problèmes de tous les jours. Un temps pendant lequel elle sera néanmoins soumise à un entraînement sévère destiné à développer non seulement sa dextérité dans le domaine du tissage mais aussi sa patience, son renoncement et son sens des responsabilités, toutes qualités appréciées et valorisées chez les femmes guajiras. Ce n'est qu'après trois longues années de réclusion que l'on pourra dire à Zoila "Maintenant, tu es une femme."

De lecture facile et agréable, ce récit nous transmet véritablement le sens de ce que devenir une femme signifie chez les Guajiros. Non seulement l'auteure réalise-t-elle ce but explicite de façon efficace mais elle nous offre également une vision des transformations profondes qu'est en train de subir cette société qui s'attache de façon très ambivalente à ses coutumes. Ainsi un des motifs de déchirement de Zoila à l'occasion de sa réclusion sera d'être séparée de ses camarades d'école. Deux systèmes d'éducation s'affrontent et la tentation de réclusion prive la maisonnée de la contribution des filles dans les travaux domestiques. La durée de cette période tend ainsi à diminuer en raison de contraintes économiques. Tous les personnages qui entourent la fillette, de sa grand-mère à son institutrice en passant par la *piache* (guérisseuse) évoquent en quelque sorte la fin d'une époque et le début d'une autre où les femmes s'inscriront dans des rôles tout à fait différents et beaucoup moins valorisés.

Cet ouvrage, illustré de photos ravissantes, se lit comme un roman: il est malheureusement un peu trop court pour que l'on s'attache profondément aux personnages. Les féministes qui ont récemment redécouvert la signification de l'histoire de vie apprécieront ici le recours à cette technique et son utilisation exemplaire du point de vue de l'anthropologie dans la reconstitution d'événements entourant un rite de passage. Parce qu'il ne se

confine pas seulement au rite lui-même, le livre présente aussi un intérêt pour quiconque s'intéresse à la société guajira en général.

Die Munda und Oraon in Chota Nagpur: Geschichte, Wirtschaft und Gesellschaft. *Lydia Icke-Schwalbe*. Berlin: Akademie-Verlag, 1983. x + 200 pp. (includes a nine page summary in English). n.p. (cloth).

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Lydia Icke-Schwalbe is an East German anthropologist who studied two tribal peoples living in the hills of Bihar. According to the 1971 Census of India, there were 1,163,338 Munda and 1,702,662 Oraon living in Bihar, Madhya Pradesh, Orissa, Tripura, and West Bengal. Icke-Schwalbe studied only the Munda and Oraon living in Bihar. These tribes were chosen perhaps out of a fondness for the area, but also to find evidence for Marx and Engels' theories of human evolution from prehistory to history. Icke-Schwalbe reasoned that if there are universal laws of historical evolution, then peoples who have only recently begun to move out of the Iron Age could provide living proof of the type of economy and society which Marx and Engels believed prevailed during that stage of human history.

The Munda speak an Austro-Asiatic language. They appear to have lived in the hills of Bihar since the second millennium B.C., when they were driven there by advancing Aryans. The Oraons are a Dravidian people who fled to the Chota Nagpur hills in the first half of the first millennium B.C. According to Icke-Schwalbe, neither of these tribes has a written language (p. 160). Until recently, both groups depended primarily on agriculture supplemented by gathering, fishing, and hunting. They have now begun to sell some of their products in the markets of adjoining towns, and increasingly, especially in the case of the Oraon, by working in the region's coal and mica mines (p. 94).

Icke-Schwalbe's work is largely based on secondary sources, many of which were published before 1939. She spent only one month in Chota Nagpur, far too short a period of time for a study of this magnitude. It appears that she spent most of her time with the Munda; the section of her book on the Oraon is almost entirely based on secondary sources.

In the English summary of her study, Icke-Schwalbe states that her objective was "to establish by means of ethnographic research methods the development level of the economy and society as well as to identify and to reveal their significance in both the historical and contemporary context of the multiethnic Indian state"

(p. 160) (see Note 1). In her German language introduction, she says that she intends to use "Marx's dialectic method of economic analysis" (p. 7) as her tool of analysis. Although she certainly attempts to apply Marxist methodology and to locate the Munda and Oraon on Marx's scale of historical evolution, there is no mention of the modern Indian state.

Does Icke-Schwalbe succeed in her stated purpose of applying the Marxist dialectic to Munda and Oraon society? In one sense, she succeeds because she applies her method consistently, and to all parts of her study. In another sense, however, the dialectic fails because it simply does not fit some of the facts. In trying to make it do so, Icke-Schwalbe does violence to her own findings. The Munda, she tells us, have straightforward rules of inheritance. Land can only be inherited by sons or other male relatives; even adopted sons cannot inherit land unless they come from the same clan as their adoptive fathers (although they can inherit personal property such as agricultural implements). Artisans and women cannot own land (pp. 115-116). Marx said that primitive peoples lived under an economic system of primitive communism. Thus, Icke-Schwalbe duly finds some element of primitive communism: "Traditional Munda society knows no functionally specific shares in the land. Every male clan member had the same relationship and the same right to the principal means of production, that is land" (p. 117). But if land was not divided into individual shares, what is the need for detailed rules of inheritance which apply specifically to land?

Munda rules of inheritance give clear precedence to inheritance through the male line. Sons, fathers, brothers, brothers' sons and brothers' grandsons, in that order, inherit land before it is passed on to other male relatives (pp. 115-116). However, Engels postulated that matrilineal and matriarchical societies preceded patriarchal ones, and Icke-Schwalbe finds some evidence of a possible earlier matriarchal society. During Munda marriage ceremonies, the bride sits on the bridegroom's mother's brother's knees while she is receiving her wedding gifts, and the converse is also true: e.g., the groom sits on the bride's mother's brother's knees (p. 100). Also, the term for maternal uncle is the same respectful term as that used for the father's father (p. 101). From such slim reeds, Icke-Schwalbe deduces that there may have been an earlier period of matriarchy among the Munda (p. 105).

With respect to the position of the Munda and Oraon on Marx's scale of historical stages, Icke-Schwalbe finds that the Munda are at "the later period of primitive society," while the Oraon are at an "early phase of primitive society's period of decline" (p. 167 of the English summary). This presumably places the Oraon one step ahead of the Munda.

As a political scientist, this reviewer was often disappointed with the type of data presented in Icke-Schwalbe's study. She tells

us the size of the average landholding among the Munda and Oraon (p. 70), and that they must now usually produce cash crops in order to survive. But how poor are these people? The extensive appendix of photographs suggests that they are very poor indeed. What are their life expectancy and infant mortality statistics? Icke-Schwalbe draws detailed diagrams of a typical village layout, but does not describe Munda and Oraon houses or their typical furnishings. There are pages of elaborate tables which detail which kinds of cross cousins are allowed to marry, but little about the rights of Oraon and Munda women. Icke-Schwalbe points out that boys and girls used to live in separate adolescent dormitories, but gives no indication of the proportion of children who attend school, or indeed whether or not the Indian government provides schools in this remote area. There are a few appropriate noises about the encroachments of capitalism, but no description of changes in traditional village life which have been wrought by the opening of mines, the building of towns, and the influx of the mainstream Indian population. In short, although this book cries out for social relevance, Icke-Schwalbe does not always achieve that goal.

Note 1. Unless otherwise specified, all translations from the German are by the reviewer.

An Ojibwa Lexicon. *G. L. Piggott* and *A. Grafstein*, eds. Ottawa, Ontario: National Museum of Man Mercury Series, Canadian Ethnology Service Paper Number 90, 1983. ix + 377 pp. gratis (paper).

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Piggott and Grafstein have made another important contribution to the development of a comprehensive dictionary for the Ojibwa language. This work shows a number of major advances over earlier versions (see the Odawa Language Project First and Second Reports 1971, 1973), but a number of further improvements will be necessary before the work is as useful as it might be.

By using a computer, Piggott and Grafstein were able to build directly upon the foundation laid by their earlier work in the geographic areas of Manitoulin Island and Kenora, Ontario. They also added many new entries drawn from work carried out over four years in at least seven northwestern Québec communities which were not previously represented. While Piggott and Grafstein express the hope that dialect identification within the Ojibwa language complex may be facilitated by these additions, it might have been of greater value to the reader to include an English-Ojibwa version in which a single English gloss could be associated with any number of Ojibwa variants. In order to do this,

some adjustment would be necessary in the computer programming, and some extra editing would likewise be needed; surely in the ten years since the *Odawa Language Project Second Report* (1973), the technology has become available to go this one step further.

The appearance of lowercase characters in the new lexicon adds greatly to its presentation and overall legibility. But while scholars can manage equally well with any consistently defined orthography, Ojibwa speakers and beginning students who should also benefit from the use of this valuable resource may find themselves somewhat discouraged by such notations as the use of "$" for the more common "s-hachek" or "sh." Such concessions to programming convenience hardly seem defensible in the 1980s.

The scholarly user will find great benefit in the consistent representation of abstract noun finals: the addition of a final *w* or *y* to the noun stem specifically indicates the way plurals are formed. Abstract finals also permit the use of the computer to produce the reverse lexicon, grouping together words with identical finals and providing the linguist with another welcome resource. But for Ojibwa speakers, problems arise from the fact that the entries created in this way are not real words. For example, the word for "beaver" is not *amikkw*, but *amikk*; and "stone" is *assin*, not *assiny*. The fact that these forms have no existence outside the lexicon could cause real confusion for many users, especially in the absence of trailing hyphens. Although it might mean technical difficulties, as for example in the production of the reverse sort, it would be more useful for the average reader to have the full plural form cited, from which it is easier to derive the singular than vice versa. In fact, although a variety of rules exist among the several dialects represented, this lexicon gives no rules for forming the plural of these *w*-final nouns.

A parallel problem exists for some Ojibwa verbs where, once again, the editors have chosen an abstract stem for the citation form. One example is *mi:n* "give something to someone," a transitive animate verb. In the short word form most closely related to this abstract stem, *n* is palatalized to become *s*-hachek. A contrasting transitive animate entry, *ota:ppin* "take someone" is not palatalized, yet the lexicon gives no indication that these endings are governed by different rules. Thus, it is impossible for the reader to reconstruct these forms. These are some of the philosophical and editorial problems which face any lexicographer who is trying to deal with an Algonquian language, and none are easily solved.

Although such basic issues as a standard orthography for the Ojibwa language are still under debate, this work reminds us that the real task of creating resources for study must go on. The progress made by this lexicon must not be eclipsed by thoughts of what it might have been. Perhaps the next challenge for Piggott

and Grafstein should be to make the work more easily accessible to those outside of academic circles.

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Ball Courts and Ceremonial Plazas in the West Indies. *Ricardo E. Alegria*. Yale University Publications in Anthropology Number 79. New Haven, Connecticut: Yale University Department of Anthropology, 1983. ix + 185 pp. $12.50 (paper).

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The native American rubber ball game played on a clay or masonry court was a well-defined institution in Middle America. Kirchoff's 1943 listing of traits defining Mesoamerica makes clear reference to this game. As much as any other prehispanic architectural or artifactual accomplishment, the form and function of the ball court allows comparison of past societies through one comparable analytical unit. With Ricardo Alegria's book, a major piece of what can be considered Greater Mesoamerica has now been set in place.

Alegria's monograph carefully describes the location, architecture, and artifactual association for over a hundred *bateys* or ball game plazas in the Greater Antilles and Virgin Islands. Two introductory chapters review the wealth of ethnohistoric material indicating that the game was played by the Taino Indians on large courts of packed earth, with 20-30 players on a team. The solid rubber ball was acquired locally and volleyed without the use of hands. Chroniclers suggest that spirited wagering and the sacrifice of a human captive sometimes accompanied this event.

Following the introduction, the next five chapters constitute the core of the book and reflect Alegria's collection and reexamination of ball court data since 1949. These chapters are a compendium of archeological site data organized by island group. Cuba, Hispaniola, and Puerto Rico provide the vast majority of information, and Puerto Rico alone is responsible for 79

accounts. Quadrangular and elliptical courts have been identified, while oval courts were perhaps less suited for the game and better adapted to ceremonial activities such as in *areytos* or dances. Quadrangular courts are the most numerous, and are sometimes enormous. The largest quadrangular court at Pueblo Viejo, Cuba measures 250 meters by 135 meters, and is reported to have an earthen side wall three meters in height. Courts in Puerto Rico are generally smaller than on the other two islands, but their parallel embankments are usually faced by stone slabs. At the important site of Caguana in Puerto Rico, where ten courts have been identified, elongated upright stones rise 2.7 meters above the ground. Many of these sites are associated with sidewalks or pavements which sometimes link a court with a stream in immediate proximity.

Ball courts are associated with petroglyphs, and some of the best anthropomorphs in the Antilles are depicted at Plaza A at Caguana. Dateable ceramics from the few well-excavated courts are sparse. Alegria suggests that the earliest courts date to the seventh century, with the game enjoying increased popularity until the conquest.

The final chapters of this book examine the ball game in a broad regional context and review the literature from South America, Mesoamerica, and the American Southwest. Little that is new is found in this synthesis, and the chapter on the American Southwest is less thorough than the others. After Stern (1948), a South American origin for the game is presented.

Alegria takes a conservative stand in the manipulation of collected data. Although an attempt is made to compare court size with geographic area in Puerto Rico, no clear interpretation of these data follows. We might ask: How do sites without ball courts differ from those with ball courts? What is the relationship between mountain sites and coastal communities? We are told that sugar cane activities have destroyed coastal sites in Puerto Rico, but many coastal sites in Cuba are reported. Political organization is seldom alluded to, and the anthropomorphic petroglyphs might provide a key. By Late Formative times at Monte Alban, Oaxaca, Mexico, petroglyphs suggest a confederation of local chiefdoms and the glorification of human sacrifice. Clearly there are differences between sites, but a site as complex as Caguana in Puerto Rico warrants greater interpretive insight.

Alegria has provided a well-written and thorough compilation of the ball game in the Antilles. Although this study lacks broad interpretive statements about the effect of the ball game on political and economic life, Alegria's work is careful and will be a major reference for both the Antilles and any examination of the native American ball game.

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A new collection of A.I. Popov's toponymic investigations and ideas has emerged in the form of a book published some eight years after his death in 1973. The book is devoted to the history of the geographical names of the Lake Region of the northwestern part of the U.S.S.R. (i.e., the combined regions of Leningrad, Novgorod, and Pskov). Popov was widely respected for his advanced training, research, and teaching in history, philosophy, mathematics, and Finno-Ugric studies. Much of his prodigious energy was devoted to the study of geographical names and their origins, a specialty which employed his vast knowledge of Russian dialects, Finno-Ugric, and other languages. His book is a pleasure to read, with a splendid literary style which allows its seven chapters (206 pages) to be read in one sitting. There is a foreword by the editor, Professor F. P. Filin, an outstanding specialist in Russian language and history who finds the only drawback in the book to be Popov's discussion of the name "Pskov." Popov has written a second foreword, wherein he gives a short outline of the book and explains his methodology for describing and analyzing such vague geographical names as "Pskov" (pp. 8-14).

Popov's introduction to the book (pp. 15-27) describes and analyzes main features of the history of the Lake Region of the U.S.S.R. and the reflections of this history in geographical names. In the eighth and ninth centuries, the Lake Region was inhabited by old Estonian or "Chudj" tribes who spoke old Est (old Estonian), by Vodj tribes whose language was close to old Est, by Izhora tribes whose language was close to Karelian, and by Vesj people (old Veps). There were also Slavonic-speaking Krivich tribes, one branch of whom were Slovens. In the ninth century, a tribal union occurred between Slavonic and Balto-Finnic tribes in this territory. Later, this union became the Novgorod Republic which lasted for

about 150 years. Fortunately, the Lake Region escaped bloody fights between Slavonic and Balto-Finnic tribes. Since the Slovens and old Estonians or "Chudj" (including the Vodj, Izhora, and Veps) were usually allied and lived peacefully together, their peacefulness facilitated the survival of old geographic names. It has long been established that geographical names disappear only when native people in a territory are ousted or killed.

The first chapter of the book deals with the names of major geographic features of the Leningrad, Novgorod, and Pskov regions (pp. 28-68). The etymologies of rivers such as the West Dvina, the Velikaja, Shelonj, Lovatj, Msta, Neva, Volhov, Svirj, Ojatj, Pasha, and Sjasj, and of lakes such as Chudskoje, Pskovskoje, Il'menj, Seliger, Beloozero, and Ladozhskoje are discussed. Popov also relates his analysis of the name for the Valdaj Mountains (p. 63), and this analysis will be cited as a brief example of his methodology for tracing the meaning of geographical names.

An inscription on an old map from the nineteenth century reads: "Gorovaldaj Lake, the settlements of Gory Valdaj and Varo-Valdaj." Today, these sites are called "Valdaj Lake" and "the city of Valdaj." Old Finnish and Swedish books referred to these geographic sites as "Karjavaldaj" and "HariawaldaBy" (where "By" means "village"). Old Russian state books from the fifteenth-century referred to "Varjevalda on the Lake of Varjevalda." The population of this settlement was of Vodj origin, and had the following names: "Lembuev," "Tenguev," "Igalov," "Viljak," "Miltjuj," "Iljmenebuev," "Vastuj," and "Novzej." It is clear that in the Russian word "Varjevalda" and in the Swedish word "Hariawalda," "valda" means "volostj, region, part of the territory as owned by someone." The word "valda" is of Chudj (Baltic-Finnic or old Estonian) origin, and is preserved in Estonian as "vald" (volostj, domain, estate) and "valdama" (to own). In Livian, the word "valda" is preserved as "vald" or "valda" (region, domain), and in Finnish as "volta" (power, etc.). Let us now consider variations on the first two syllables of the names "Varjevalda" and "Hariawalda," or "Varje-," "Varo-," and "Harja-". The Russian equivalent of "Varovaldaj" is "Gory Valdaj" (i.e., the mountains of Valdaj). It seems that "Varje-" or "Varo-" means "mountain" or "hill," and that this is also reflected in the Finnish word "Vaara" (mountain). The nineteenth-century name "Varovaldaj" must have meant "a mountain-like or hilly land, region, or domain." In analyzing the meaning of the Swedish word "Hariawalda" as an alternate form of "Varjevalda," we must consider the word "Haria." In Estonian, "hari" means "brush, comb, or the highest beam of the roof." In Finnish, this same word means "bristle, brush, comb, or crest." In Vodj, the meaning of the word "arja" is the same. In all cases, these words denote "a peak or top of the mountain." Thus, "Harjawalda" has the same meaning as "Varovaldaj," and both words mean "mountain region, the territory covered with mountains, hills,

or crests." Analogous geographical names existed in seventeenth-century Estonia as "Arewald" or "Harewald." However, only in comparison to the vast, surrounding lowland can these small hills be called mountains.

The second chapter of Popov's book (pp. 69-91) is devoted to the names of towns in the Lake Region of the U.S.S.R. Here, Popov analyzes the names Pskov, Borovichi, Opochka, Ostrov, Velikie Luki, Toropets, Krestsy, Porhov, Novgorod, Petrokrepost', Kingisepp (Jamburg), Pushkin (Tsarskoje Selo), Bologoje, Priozersk (Korela Keksgol'm), Luga, Novorzhev, and Ladoga (Staraja Ladoga). Since the name "Pskov" has aroused controversy, it is interesting to see how Popov analyzes its origin and how criticism by F. P. Filin plays a supporting role in Popov's analysis. First, "Pskov" is said to be connected to the names "Pjskov," "Pljskov," "Pyskov," "Psjkov," and "Pleskov." The most ancient of these names is "Pjskov." Filin is skeptical that "Pskov" is a Slavonic geographical name, and writes that the transformation of "Pjskov" into "Pljskov" may have occurred only in old Slavonic times (which seems impossible since Slovens settled in the area after this transformation). Concurrently, Popov writes that "Pskov appeared as a settlement before the Slavs came, and thus, must have a non-Slavonic name" (p. 70). Popov also thinks that an explanation can be sought in Livonian, Estonian, and Finnish data. In Finnish (Suomi), "Pskov" sounds like "Pihkava" (pihka, tar, pitch), while in Estonian it sounds like "Pihkva" (pihk-guy, something tarred, resinous). In Livonian, these words correspond to "piisk" (tar, pitch). Thus, the name "Pskov" may be reconstructed in its Finno-Ugric form as "*Piisk--va" with the stress on the first syllable. This analysis is unconvincing in light of recent data in experimental phonetics which demonstrates that Russian speakers perceive long vowels as stressed. In Russian, the word "Pskov" should have been "*Piskov," with the stress on the first syllable. If a sound is stressed, it is never reduced; hence, "Pskov" would never have lost the stressed vowel "i" unless the stress on "i" switched to the second syllable. If this were the case, it is quite possible that the "i" was reduced, leaving the "p" palatalized and transformed into "pj." Evidence from modern experimental phonetics shows that if an experimental phonetician makes an "i" in Russian shorter and shorter in the unstressed position, the "i" disappears and leaves the previous consonant sounding palatalized. Furthermore, it is necessary to explain why, in this case, the stress on the "i" might have been transferred to the second syllable. In summary, it is not sufficient to explain the origin of "Pskov" as one of many geographical names.

Chapter Three may be more interesting to students of areal linguistics, linguistic anthropology, and ethnography because it deals with the toponymy of ethnic (tribal) names (pp. 92-110). Although Vodj tribal names contributed many toponyms to the Lake region of the U.S.S.R., these people have now lost their language (pp. 93-94).

The Karelians (pp. 105-108), Saams/Lopj (pp. 108-109), and Lithuanians (p. 110) also contributed a number of geographic names to the region. Ancient Russians called the Estonians "Chudj"; the name "Chudj" was also used as a general term for any Finno-Ugric people (pp. 94-99). In old Estonian, geographic names with the root "Chudj" included "Chudinovo," "Chudskoje Ozero," "Chudskaja Gora," "Chudskaja Rudnitsa," etc. The old Estonian tribe, "Jervia" lived in the territory of the Novgorod Republic and contributed names for a number of geographical features in that area, while the Izhora tribe (pp. 101-103) contributed names for rivers and settlements. Tribes in the area which were once called "Vesj" now have the modern name "Veps." Geographical features with the name "Vesj" can be confusing since there is a Russian name which is pronounced "Vjesj" (meaning a village or settlement), but written the same way as the Finno-Ugric tribal name, "Vesj." In reality, it is almost impossible to distinguish between Russian and Finnic names. Occasionally, it is clear that "Vesj" means "a village or settlement," while "Novaja Vesj" means "new village." In Finnish, the name for "new village" is "Uusi Kylä." Furthermore, the word "Vesj" was usually regarded as the ethnomic name, "Vesj." For this reason, some linguistic, historical, and ethnographic maps have artificially expanded the territory which was actually inhabited by the old Veps. This is especially the case where an author confuses Russian and Veps names. To avoid such errors, toponymic scholars must know several languages.

Chapter Four (pp. 111-121) describes the names of Lake Region settlements in the U.S.S.R. which are derived from Russian personal names. Perhaps the most interesting of these names are those with origins in old Slavonic personal names such as Rostislav, Tvorimir, Zhitoneg, Budigostj, Dorogobud, Domozhir, Lubozhad, Ratibor, etc. The names of settlements derived from old Slavonic personal names took on altered linguistic forms: Slavonezhitsy from Slavoneg, Ljubobuzh from Ljubobud, Ljubochazha from Ljubochad, and so on. Names of owners were transferred to the lands, forests, and settlements which they owned. Since the twelfth century, Christian names have been transformed in the old Russian style: Alexander is the equivalent of Sahno; Jurij is the equivalent of Juhno; Jakov is the equivalent of Jahno; Mikhail is the equivalent of Mihno; Matvej is the equivalent of Mahno; and so forth.

Chapter Five is devoted to the toponymy of the Leningrad region. In contrast to the geographical names of Pskov region, which are primarily Russian or old Slavonic, the names of the Leningrad region are of Chudj (old Estonian), Vodj, Izhora, Vesj (Veps), Finnish (Suomi), and Swedish origin. In this chapter, an analysis of the origin of the name for a settlement called "Pella" demonstrates that toponymic scholars may make errors unless they know the history of a site. For example, at first glance "Pella"

seems to be a Finnish name, but its history is not Finnish, even though Finnish villages in the vicinity had names ending in "-la" (e.g., Mikola, Parkola, Vojbokala, etc.). Although the phonetic form of "Pella" may lead us to believe that this word is related to the Finnish-Karelian word "pelolo" (field), which becomes "pellon" in the generative case, historical facts clearly state that the Russian settlement of "Pella" was named after the capital of Macedonia where Alexander the Great was born. In reality, the name of the Russian settlement "Pella" symbolized the greatness of another Alexander, the grandson of the second Catherine the Great. Thus, phonetic forms of words should never be accepted without an analysis of historic documents.

Chapter Six (pp. 150-169) discusses methods of collecting toponymic data and the use of these data in historical investigations. Popov also warns against such common mistakes in Russian historiography as incorrect locations for Tjavzino, Ignach Krest, Kareva, Zhizhits, and so on.

In the last chapter (Chapter Seven, pp. 170-184), Popov analyzes toponymic literature ranging from books by N. P. Barsov titled *Oc̆erki russkoj istoricheskoj geografi* (1873) and *Geografija nachal'noj letopisi* (1885) up until the 1970s. In the Appendix (pp. 185-196), advice is given on how to collect and process toponymic data. At the end of the book, there is a list of works by the author. Overall, this comprehensive work by Popov adds a great deal to our knowledge of Finno-Ugric peoples and their migrations.

Changing Economic Roles for Micmac Men and Women: An Ethnohistorical Analysis. *Ellice B. Gonzalez*. Ottawa, Ontario: National Museum of Man Mercury Series, Canadian Ethnology Service Paper Number 72, 1981. x + 157 pp. gratis (paper).

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In both this book and at least one related journal article (1982), Gonzalez gives a straightforward account of the changing economic roles of Micmac Indian men and women from aboriginal days to the modern era. Focusing on Nova Scotia Micmacs, she traces differential role development over time. She begins with a description of egalitarian, generalized reciprocity with regard to the gender division of labor for men and women before European contact, and shows how there has been a trend toward greater specialization, with women being placed at more of a disadvantage than men. This condition was due to the sexual stereotypes of the dominant Euro-Canadian society. Micmac women have only recently

begun to emerge or reemerge on a par with men, "sharing with Micmac men" certain local economic opportunities (pp. 104-105).

One must agree with Hoffman (1955:7), whom Gonzalez quotes on page one in a slightly different version (Hoffman 1956:190), when Hoffman says that the Micmacs "have the dubious distinction of being among the first North American Indians to have been contacted by Europeans--with the discovery of Cape Breton [Nova Scotia] by the French Bretons in 1504." At times, this situation meant enormous change and suffering (Bock 1982; Miller 1982). The Micmacs of what are now Québec, New Brunswick, Prince Edward Island, and Nova Scotia are to be given credit for standing fast and adapting to the invaders, so to speak, while preserving some of their ancient values of sharing and cooperation by means of a group ethic. Gonzalez writes poignantly about the economic hardships for nineteenth century Micmacs in Nova Scotia when they were forbidden to continue porpoise hunting because of alleged interference with the non-Indian herring fishery (pp. 55-59, 63).

According to Gonzalez, "porpoise fishing was one of the few economic activities indigenously inspired and economically successful" (p. 63). This nineteenth-century situation was different from twentieth century efforts with respect to oyster farming, motel keeping, greeting card and stationery production, and the operation of a sawmill (pp. 102-103). These businesses have not prospered, and Gonzalez asserts in their regard that "group efforts appear to fare less well than individual enterprises" (p. 102). In recent times, Barkow (1981) and I (1983) have independently experienced the group ethic that the Micmac use to solve problems. The key to the difference between successful and unsuccessful commercial efforts may well be found in the phrase cited above: "indigenously inspired." By and large, Micmac operations in the twentieth century have been government sponsored. Gonzalez might want to undertake further investigations about why modern group business efforts have failed among the Micmacs she observed in Nova Scotia.

Throughout changing circumstances, the Micmacs have preserved their egalitarian values (pp. 14-15) in the face of the rather more stereotypic and hierarchical values of the larger society. Gonzalez does an excellent job of describing changing economic conditions among these people, and she would be well advised to undertake more detailed research on the role of surviving egalitarianism during the reemergence of sex roles, which are like the aboriginal division of labor in that they approach relatively equal status for women.

The differential bilingual use of Micmac and English that I observed among Micmac men and women in New Brunswick supports Gonzalez's findings about the dominant society fostering fewer job

opportunities for Micmac women. Micmac men use the English language more and more English words and phrases in the Micmac language than do Micmac women (Van Horn 1977:79-83).

In summary, Gonzalez has produced a well-documented study of Indian/Euro-Canadian economic relations in Nova Scotia from the aboriginal period to the present. She has thoroughly researched the changing economic roles of Micmac men and women over time, and has provided a solid base for related questions about Micmac culture and its adaptations.

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Handbook of North American Indians. Volume 5: Arctic. *David Damas*, ed. Washington, D.C.: Smithsonian Institution, 1984. xvi + 829 pp. $29.00 (cloth).

Charles Arnold
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For those who are not familiar with the *Handbook of North American Indians* which is still in preparation, it is a planned, twenty volume set which intends to "give an encyclopedic summary of what is known about the prehistory, history and culture of the aboriginal peoples of North America" (p. xiii). The Arctic volume is the sixth in this series to be published, and is one of eleven volumes which will deal with the major North American culture areas. Other volumes will be devoted to topics which are better dealt with on a continent-wide basis.

Culture areas are defined by virtue of having been occupied in pre-Columbian times by people with broadly similar cultures. The Arctic is unique among North American culture areas in that the two resident groups, Aleuts and Inuit, appear to be members of a single racial, linguistic, and cultural type. Unfortunately, cultural homogeneity within the Arctic has often been overstated, leaving many people with stereotyped concepts of the Inuit. These concepts are as erroneous as another common notion that the austere Arctic environment leads to cultural impoverishment. The forty-three contributors to this volume set the record straight by portraying the richness and diversity of Arctic cultures.

There are five parts to the book. First, the introductory chapters provide an overview of the history of anthropological research in the Arctic, and the environment, languages, and prehistory of the Arctic. These introductory chapters are followed by sections on the people of the Western Arctic (here, the editors wisely chose to include the Asiatic and Siberian Inuit), the Canadian Arctic, and Greenland. In each of these latter sections, prehistory and history are treated on a regional basis and the ethnography of the resident tribes is discussed. The final section of the volume deals with the period from 1950 to 1980 when native peoples of the Arctic were affected by dramatic changes. The net result is an integrated series of clearly and concisely written articles which attain the stated goals of the *Handbook* series.

Work on this volume began in 1971, and contributions were received over the following twelve years. Since this time span provided sufficient room for new data bases to accumulate and for major changes in interpretation, authors were given an opportunity to update their submissions prior to publication. This avoided the problem of the volume becoming outdated before publication. I

could find no serious omissions in the bibliography, and the few errors which I noted in the text were relatively minor.

This book is handsomely produced. Since the Arctic was one of the last regions in North America to be strongly influenced by European society, there is an extensive photographic record of its traditional life. In choosing illustrations to accompany articles in the volume, the Smithsonian Institution has taken full advantage of this rich photographic legacy. As a result, the illustrations could stand by themselves as an essay on the Arctic culture area.

This fine book will be of great interest to anthropologists and students of the Arctic, and it will also serve as a useful reference for a much broader audience.

Research Practices in the Study of Kinship. *Alan Barnard* and *Anthony Good*. New York: Academic Press, 1984. xiv + 226 pp. $45.00 (cloth).

David Damas
McMaster University

The appearance of this volume will gladden the hearts of those who, like the reviewer, deplore the current lack of interest in kinship studies in the fad-ridden anthropology of these times. The reader of this thought-provoking and well presented book will be reassured that kinship continues to be as basic and crucial to social anthropology as lithics is to archaeology.

In their introduction, the authors state that "we have no axe to grind . . . except that of good fieldwork, and full, clear comprehensible ethnography" (p. 14). Two chapters are devoted to the methodology of studying kinship in the field, and a number of other suggestions along that line are "scattered throughout the rest of the book,..." (ibid.). The remainder of the book is devoted to a discussion of major debates on kinship. One might object to the balance of these two emphases as inappropriate for the series of which this book is a part (Research Methods in Social Anthropology), but the authors do highlight the futility of separating theory from ethnography in the study of kinship. Typical of their operational emphasis is pragmatic handling of such basic, but contentious concepts as marriage and the nature of kinship itself.

The background and biases of this reviewer lead to criticisms of the book which relate mainly to the superficial treatment of both bilaterality and kinship in band level societies. These shortcomings are particularly surprising in view of the fact that

one of the authors carried out his principal field work among the Bushmen. Failure to distinguish between societies with cognatic or ambilineal descent on the one hand, and truly bilateral societies where the concept of descent is absent is a fault common to both general anthropological texts and works on kinship. However, this is an inexcusable fault in view of the ample literature on both cognatic and bilateral societies.

Barnard and Good treat problems of band organization in a cursory fashion (pp. 158-159), in that by rejecting isomorphic models of patrilineal and patrilocal bands, they slip into a sloppy characterization of band flexibility. They would have benefitted from June Helm's "A Method of Statistical Analysis of Primary Relative Bonds in Community Composition" (*In* Band Societies, David Damas, ed. pp. 212-239. Ottawa, Ontario: National Museum of Canada Bulletin Number 228, 1969). When Helm's methodology is applied to the Birhor of India, an approach which is very close to Service's patrilocal band can be seen (Williams says patrilineal as well; see "The Birhor of India and Some Comments on Band Organization" by B.J. Williams *In* Man the Hunter, R.B. Lee and I. DeVore, eds. pp. 126-131. New York: Aldine, 1968). When Helm's methodology is applied to the Bushman bands studied by L. Marshall, a slant toward matrilocally-organized bands is revealed (Helm ibid.:30).

While Barnard and Good renounce any claim to having written a textbook on kinship (p. 14), they have gone a long way in this direction. Indeed, given its stimulating treatment of the classic debates on kinship and its many helpful suggestions for exploring these debates in the context of field situations, *Research Practices in the Study of Kinship* may well serve as a core volume for seminars on kinship.

Although this book has a handsome format, my copy was poorly bound and pages began to fall out during my first reading. Considering the physical thinness of the volume, the price is very dear. Of course, this is not the fault of the authors, but is instead a sign of the times and the high cost of producing even compact books such as this one.

The Tsimshian: Images of the Past, Views for the Present. *Margaret Seguin*, ed. Vancouver, British Columbia: University of British Columbia Press, 1984. xx + 343 pp. $37.95 (cloth).

Nick Flanders
University of Alaska

The articles in this book provide intensive discussions of a wide range of topics, including moieties and clans, potlatching,

names, world view, shamanism, basketry, and masks. The volume *is* notable, as the editor tells us, for the way in which many of the papers build upon one another. There is even a distinctive feature analysis of the authors' arguments which appears in the afterword (p. 320). The unity that binds these articles together is their common interest in the symbolism underlying Tsimshian culture. Three historical analyses form a separate, but no less interesting side theme of the collection.

Of the articles focusing on symbolism, Dunn's and Seguin's are the most significant. Dunn shows that the relationship between the Tsimshian and their Northwest Coast neighbors, the Haida and Tlingit, included the sharing of kin terms. Furthermore, the Tsimshian described their symbolic relationship with these other groups by using the same asymmetrical generational tilting that is characteristic of the Crow kinship terminologies found in all three groups. This finding adds a new dimension to our understanding of the interconnectedness of the three groups. At one point, Dunn obscures his argument by saying that based on his study of myths (p. 102), the Tsimshian saw the Haida as patrilineal. This statement appears to be an unexplained contradiction, since the Haida, like the Tsimshian and Tlingit, are matrilineal. Dunn seems to clarify the problem by saying in the same paragraph that the Haida are considered "father of the clan" to the Tsimshians; that is, patrilateral rather than patrilineal.

Seguin's article is the most engaging of the book in that it provides an analysis of how the potlatch symbolically connected the natural and supernatural worlds to ensure the continuing supply of food. This article draws upon several of the other essays in the volume and uses them to present the conclusion that Tsimshian feasting made "it possible for the lineage members to be reincarnated" (p. 123).

Finally, James McDonald's historical article makes a significant contribution to Northwest Coast studies by showing that the Tsimshian were heavily engaged in the commercial development of the Northwest Coast at a time when they were being described by Boas as maintaining much of their traditional way of life. McDonald's work points out the need to integrate historical material into interpretations of many of the classic ethnographies of the Northwest Coast and other areas of North America.

One major problem faces this volume as a whole. Its papers were based on a conference held in a Tsimshian village called Hartley Bay in British Columbia, and many of the papers attempt to depict Tsimshian ideology and world view. As Farber says in her Afterword, "The most important influence on the coherence of the volume is, of course, the subject(s) themselves and discursive activities" (p. 316). Yet for all the opportunity to have them, no

direct Tsimshian voices are present. No author reports saying to a Tsimshian, "Here is what I think you think," and being told, at the very least, "I have never heard it put that way, but, yes, that is what I think."

Thesis and Dissertation Titles and Abstracts on the Anthropology of Canadian Indians, Inuit and Metis from Canadian Universities. Report 1, 1970-1982. *Rene R. Gadacz* and *Michael I. Asch*. Ottawa, Ontario: National Museum of Man Mercury Series, Canadian Ethnology Service Paper Number 95, 1984. x + 128 pp. gratis (paper).

John A. Price
York University

Because there is a need to promote greater use of the large number of theses which are now being produced in native studies, this bibliography is a welcome addition to the existing catalogs of theses. The bibliography has 394 titles, many of which are annotated. However, some of the items contain errors, including one by G. Knight on Salish trade that never got beyond the research stage.

Unfortunately, the presentation of theses in this bibliography is confusing. There are too many categories (sixty-nine), an initial division by province or region or Indian group, and a secondary division by tribe or discipline or topic. The result is a disorganized format. Since theses emphasize innovation within a field of theory, I urge the authors to organize their next volume by topic alone, and to use an index at the end for provincial or tribal categories.

In addition, the Canadian Ethnology Service needs a more efficient organization for the general format for this series. As one example, although double spacing is ordinarily used in prepublication drafts to allow room for corrections, it makes no sense whatsoever to waste scarce funds by publishing these volumes in double space. Although we need, use, and very much respect the series, it needs editorial improvements.

As a point of information, the National Library of Canada sends academic libraries an annual list titled *Canadian Theses*. Theses listed in this publication and dated before 1978 can be ordered from the National Library on microfiche. However, in 1978, the National Library stopped subsidizing the production of master's theses on microfiche, and unless a university or an author paid the microfiche cost, one must write directly to the library of the university where a thesis was produced in order to obtain copies of Master's theses which appeared after 1977. Major universities also

publish catalogs of their own theses. For a list of 7,446 theses in native studies produced prior to 1973, see Dockstader and Dockstader (1973). Along with the annually produced *Dissertation Abstracts*, University Microfilms (1977) has a specialized catalog of native studies theses which they sell. See also Price (1984) for an analysis of theses in native studies.

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Victims and Neighbors: A Small Town in Nazi Germany Remembered. *Frances Henry*. South Hadley, Massachusetts: Bergin and Garvey, 1984. viii + 201 pp. $27.95 (cloth), $12.95 (paper).

George and Louise Spindler
Stanford University

As we write this review of *Victims and Neighbors*, we are living in a small town in southern Germany that in size, general regional culture, history, and every other characteristic, is much like Sonderburg, the Rhine Valley town to which Frances Henry returned to explore relations between Jews and Gentiles during the Nazi persecution and Final Solution. Dr. Henry's analysis is based on interviews with thirty-nine elderly Sonderburgers upon her return to the town in 1980, and on interviews with nineteen survivors who emigrated to the United States. Her analysis seems to fit the towns and people we know in the Rems Valley. She tells the story in intimate and moving detail--a reconstructive ethnography by a native who has returned to her home community.

The Jews of Sonderburg were not very different from other Sonderburgers, and there was much friendly interaction, not only commercially, but socially. True, there was some social exclusion at the highest prestige level, and intermarriage was infrequent, but by

and large, Sonderburg Jews and Gentiles were friends and neighbors with little to distinguish them from each other.

However, the Third Reich needed an internal enemy, and the Jews were just different enough from other people to become the enemy. Although the sources of Jewish persecution and its functions are beyond the scope of Dr. Henry's book, it is clear that Hitler was a pathological hater, and that he surrounded himself with others who were also haters. On his last day in the underground bunker that would become his funeral pyre, Hitler dictated a last will and testament which blamed international Jewry for the war and the fate of Third Reich. Persecution of Jewish people also served political purposes, at least in urban centers. It distracted from other worrisome problems and created unity through fear, both on the part of the general populace, and through commitment on the part of hardcore Nazis.

In Sonderburg, the beginnings of open persecution after the Enabling Acts of 1933 were met with dismay and questioning on the part of both Jews and Gentiles. Following Kristallnacht, on November 7, 1938, there was incredulity and shock. In her book, Dr. Henry traces the course of events and accompanying reactions. She shows that as conditions worsened and Jews were denied a livelihood, and as they finally disappeared through deportation or emigration, there were scores of friends and neighbors who helped with food, shelter, encouragement, and arrangements. There was little or no public support for the persecution and Final Solution. Thus, Dr. Henry rejects the accusation of "total complicity."

Frances Henry's research shows that in Sonderburg, there were about 100 virulent persecutors who were mostly dedicated members of the SA (Brown Shirts) or the more elite SS; that there were several hundred sympathizers, among whom at least a hundred were sufficiently active in their support of Jewish friends and neighbors to endanger their own security; and that a majority of the people were as neutral as they could manage. People who were neutral feared for their own livelihood, property, and lives, and neither supported the persecution nor actively supported Jewish friends and neighbors in their hours of need.

This is the way it was in the other communities described in comparable studies which are cited by Frances Henry, and the way it appears to us to have been in the small communities we know in the Rems Valley.

Edward Sapir's Correspondence: An Alphabetical and Chronological Inventory, 1910-1925. *Louise Dallaire*, ed. Ottawa, Ontario: National Museum of Man Mercury Series, Canadian Ethnology Service Paper Number 97, 1984. xxi + 278 pp. gratis (paper).

William Cowan
Carleton University

From 1910 to 1925, Edward Sapir was director of the Anthropology Section of the Geological Survey of Canada (later the Museum of Man in Ottawa). In this capacity, he not only directed the work of the museum as administrator and animator, but also engaged in his own far-reaching and original research into the theory and methodology of anthropology and linguistics. His research placed him at the forefront of the development of these two fields, not only in Canada and the United States, but also throughout the world. In 1925, he resigned this directorship and took a position at the University of Chicago as professor of anthropology.

During Sapir's fifteen years as director of the Anthropology Section of the Geological Survey of Canada, his scholarly output was prodigious. Article after article, monograph after monograph, and review after review poured forth from his pen, each more theoretically advanced than the preceding piece of work, and each breaking new ground and laying down new precepts for the development of the two sciences in which he had chosen to work. During this time, he also wrote and published his only scholarly book, *Language* (Sapir 1921), a work so well-written that even today it has the fresh insights of new discovery on practically every page. Sapir also wrote an equally prodigious amount of poetry during the period from 1917 to 1924, including his only other book, *Dreams and Gibes* (Sapir 1917), a short collection of wry, subtle poems which deals with things as diverse as monks in Ottawa and the music of Debussy. Much of Sapir's poetry was published in the myriad "little magazines" that grew out of the Edwardian era of sensibility and delicate feelings, with outward icons like princesses held captive in towers symbolizing the inward turmoil of free spirits confronting the gritty reality of existence. More of Sapir's verse remains unpublished, making up about two-thirds of his more than 400 existing poems.

During his directorship of the Anthropology Section of the Geological Survey of Canada, Sapir's official correspondence was equally as prodigious. This correspondence is still on file at the National Museum of Man in Ottawa, and was recently put on microfiche. The work under review is an inventory of this correspondence, including letters to and from Sapir. Every letter in the file is catalogued under the name of the correspondent, with an indication of author of the letter (either Sapir or the correspondent, with the occasional inclusion of letters from third

parties), the date of the letter, and the number of pages. Correspondents are listed alphabetically throughout the work, with indications of their addresses and professional connections, if known, the years covered by the correspondence, and the total number of pages in the correspondence. In effect, this listing gives a fairly complete picture of the people who were writing to Sapir and to whom Sapir was writing during the period from 1910 to 1925, at least in any kind of official capacity. Although there are some personal comments in the letters in the files, Sapir's private correspondence is not to be found; those letters were written at home, as were the vast majority of his poems (see Note 1). For example, the current inventory has no letters either to or from Sapir's most famous correspondent, Ruth Benedict.

As the title of the volume indicates, this is only an inventory; a listing of the letters in the file. Since there are no summaries of the contents of the letters, one can only guess what they were about. In the introduction, the editor of the inventory, Louise Dallaire, remarks that to have included summaries would have made the work so bulky that publication would have been impossible. However, since all of the letters are now on microfiche, any interested researcher can have access to the original letters after locating them in the file. Researchers should also have their eyes checked before doing this, especially if they are interested in Sapir's correspondence with Franz Boas. Boas surely had the worst handwriting of any twentieth century anthropologist, and perhaps any nineteenth century one as well. Trying to get through his letters is a challenge that will daunt even the most scholarly of scholars. This is complicated by the fact that Boas, as any German of that period, seemed to be writing in that particular nineteenth century German handwriting know as "Faktur," even when writing English.

Although one cannot learn the contents of Sapir's letters from this work, one can see the diversity and extent of his correspondence with various figures of his world and time. For example, the aforementioned correspondence with Boas extends for the whole period from 1910 to 1925, and includes 609 pages. Sapir's correspondence with Kroeber is dated from 1911 to 1924, and includes 478 pages. Other long-term correspondence reads like a list of the leading anthropologists and linguists in North America, including such diverse figures as Marius Barbeau with 520 pages (this, presumably, while Barbeau was on his numerous field trips), Robert Lowie with 401 pages, William Mechling with 503 pages, Paul Radin with 632 pages (probably chiding Radin for being tardy with reports), Frank Speck with 508 pages, and James Teit with 592 pages.

Other figures with whom Sapir corresponded to a greater or lesser degree constitute a veritable who's who of some of the most illustrious linguists of the day, including Leonard Bloomfield, Otto

Jespersen, Antoine Meillet, J. Vendrys, and C.C. Uhlenbeck. Anthropologists on this list include A.A. Goldenweiser, Melville Herskovits, and Clark Wissler. In addition to professional linguists and anthropologists, Sapir wrote to some well-known figures in arts and literature, including Stephen Leacock, Clarence Day, C.K. Ogden, and Duncan Scott. There is even an interchange with Gilbert Murray, the great scholar of Greek at Oxford, and with W. Radloff of the Museum of Peter the Great in St. Petersburg. The oft-repeated comment that Sapir was isolated from men of science during his years in Ottawa (Mandelbaum 1949:viii) is belied by the extent of this correspondence. Sapir seems to have received and written letters to literally every important figure in his field at the time.

As a last observation, there is a file of some twenty pages of correspondence from 1921 to 1925 with the *Double Dealer*, a little magazine located in New Orleans. What, one wonders, could this have all been about? I believe the answer must be that Sapir was trying to get a second volume of poems published during this period. Correspondence with Madge Macbeth, an Ottawa writer (Sapir 1922), indicates that Sapir was also in touch with B.K. Sandwell, who later became the editor of *Saturday Night*, about the possible publication of a volume of poetry. Nevertheless, Sapir failed on two counts: he never published a second volume of poetry, and shortly after his move to Chicago, he ceased writing poetry altogether.

In sum, this is an extremely useful work for those who are interested in Edward Sapir as a scholar, linguist, anthropologist, and poet. It is meticulously edited and well-printed. The editor is to be commended for a job well done.

Note 1. Sapir's secretary was Eileen Bleakney, who later married Diamond Jenness, Sapir's successor as director of the Anthropology Section of the Geological Survey of Canada. Bleakney still lives in Ottawa, and I have been told by her son, Stuart Jenness, that she remembers typing an occasional poem for Sapir.

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1921 Language. New York: Harcourt, Brace.
1922 Letter to Madge Macbeth, January 20, 1922. Ottawa, Ontario: Archives of the City of Ottawa.

# VOLUMES REÇUS/NEW PUBLICATIONS RECEIVED

La liste de publications qui suit, sur l'anthropologie culturelle et sociale, ou sur des sujets connexes, nous est parvenue depuis que nous avons complété la dernière liste. La liste présente est donc un accusé de réception des items reçus. Ce qui n'est pas une promesse qu'ils feront ou non l'objet de recensions. Nous ne faisons pas de changement et ne retournons pas les publications.

The following publications on cultural and social anthropology and closely related subjects have been received since the previous list was closed. This list serves to acknowledge receipt of such items, but neither promises nor precludes subsequent publication of reviews. No exchanges are conducted, nor can any item be returned.

Akazawa, Takeru, and G. Melvin Aikens, eds. *Prehistoric Hunter-Gatherers In Japan*. Tokyo, Japan: University of Tokyo Press, 1986. xiii + 221 pp. $62.50 (cloth).

Alland, Alexander, Jr. *Human Nature: Darwin's View*. New York: Columbia University Press, 1985. x + 242 pp. $25.00 (cloth).

Bailey, Garrick, and Roberta Glenn. *A History of the Navajos: The Reservation Years*. Seattle, Washington: University of Washington Press, 1986. xx + 378 pp. $30.00 (cloth).

Barclay, Harold B. *Culture: The Human Way*. Calgary, Alberta: Western Publishers, 1986. 130 pp. $6.95 (paper).

Biardeau, Madeleine, introduction et commentaires par. *Le Mahabharata, livres I à V*. Traduit par Jean-Michel Peterfalvi. Paris: Flammarion, 1985. 383 pp. s.p. (livre broché).

Blair, Katherine D. *Four Villages: Architecture in Nepal*. Chicago, Illinois: University of Chicago Press (co-published with the Craft and Folk Art Museum, Los Angeles), 1985. 71 pp. $10.00 (paper).

Bloch, Maurice, ed. *Marxist Analyses and Social Anthropology*. London and New York: Tavistock Publications in association with Methuen, Incorporated, 1984. xv + 240 pp. $15.50 Canadian Funds

(paper). First published in cloth by Malaby Press in London, England, 1975.

Bockstoce, John R. *Whales, Ice, and Men: The History of Whaling in the Western Arctic*. Seattle, Washington: University of Washington Press in association with the New Bedford Whaling Museum, New Bedford, Massachusetts, 1986. 400 pp. $29.95 (cloth).

Boyd, Robert, and Peter J. Richerson. *Culture and the Evolutionary Process*. Chicago, Illinois: University of Chicago Press, 1985. viii + 331 pp. $29.95 (cloth).

Brandes, Stanley. *Forty: The Age and the Symbol*. Knoxville, Tennessee: University of Tennessee Press, 1985. x + 153 pp. $12.95 (cloth).

Byrne, Pamela R., executive ed. *America: History and Life. Volume 22, Part D: Annual Review*. Santa Barbara, California, and Oxford, England: ABC-CLIO, 1985. iii + 557 pp. n.p.

Cattle, Dorothy J., and Karl H. Schwerin, eds. *Food Energy in Tropical Ecosystems*. Food and Nutrition in History and Anthropology, Volume Four. New York: Gordon and Breach Science Publishers, 1985. xxiv + 290 pp. $55.00 (cloth).

Chan, Anita. *Children of Mao: Personality Development and Political Activism in the Red Guard Generation*. Seattle, Washington: University of Washington Press, 1985. viii + 254 pp. $19.95 (cloth).

Cohen, Fay G., with contributions by Joan La France and Vivian L. Bowden. *Treaties on Trial: The Continuing Controversy Over Northwest Indian Fishing Rights*. Introduction by Andy Fernando. Seattle, Washington: University of Washington Press, 1986. xxvi + 229 pp. $20.00 (cloth), $9.95 (paper).

Comaroff, Jean. *Body of Power, Spirit of Resistance: The Culture and History of a South African People*. Chicago, Illinois: University of Chicago Press, 1985. 296 pp. $32.00 (cloth), $19.95 (paper).

Dallaire, Louise, ed. *Edward Sapir's Correspondence: An Alphabetical and Chronological Inventory, 1910-1925*. Canadian Ethnology Service Paper Number 97. Ottawa, Ontario: National Museum of Man Mercury Series, 1984. xii + 278 pp. gratis (paper).

Day, Michael H. *Guide to Fossil Man*. Fourth Edition. Chicago, Illinois: University of Chicago Press, 1986. xv + 432 pp. $37.50 (cloth).

D'Azevedo, Warren L. *Handbook of North American Indians. Volume Eleven: Great Basin.* Washington, D.C.: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1986. xvi + 852 pp. $27.00 (cloth).

Derbyshire, Desmond C., and Geoffrey K. Pullum, eds. *Handbook of Amazonian Languages: Volume One.* Amsterdam: Mouton de Gruyter. xiii + 642 pp. DM 198 (cloth).

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