

BOOK REVIEWS

JEAN-CLAUDE GALEY (ed.), *Différences, valeurs, hiérarchie: Textes offerts à Louis Dumont*, Paris: Editions de l'Ecole des Hautes Etudes en Sciences Sociales 1984. xxxiii, 520pp., Figures, Tables. No price given.

This large book offers twenty studies by twenty-three authors; the last of the essays, a joint production, is long enough to stand by itself. The specifically Indian side of Dumont's contribution has been accommodated in the *Festschrift* edited by T.N. Madan: *Way of Life: King, Householder, Renouncer* (1982; reviewed in *JASO* Vol XIV, no. 2). Dumont's association with the Institute of Social Anthropology at Oxford (1951-55)—according to Dumont a formative period in his career—is acknowledged by anecdote and through David Pocock's contribution to that volume. The book under review is more broadly cast, doing justice to the range of Dumont's scholarly programme and of his professional influence, but Oxford *per se* drops from the picture. Only slightly over half of the papers are specifically anthropological. The others consider topics as diverse as a comparison of Western and Chinese thought in one instance and an examination of purity in Samuel Richardson's *Pamela* in another. Twelve of the essays are in French, the other eight all being in English.

The collection begins appropriately with a comparative study by François Delpech of the ceremonial complex in Spain and France involving the use of a dragon effigy at Pentecost to which Dumont devoted an early book: *La Tarasque: Essai de description d'un fait local d'un point de vue ethnographique* (1951). Although it has hardly had the same impact as his later publications, this work and Dumont's other writings on French folklore are linked to his Indian and other comparative enterprises. Jean-François Billeter contrasts the ocular metaphor which dominates the history of Western epistemology with the idea of action or activity central to ancient Chinese philosophy. Francis Zimmermann considers possible Greek Stoic influence on Sanskrit medical texts of the first centuries of the present era. Reinhart Koselleck argues that since the Enlightenment static political concepts, such as those of Aristotle, have become temporalized; instead of collecting and organizing past experiences, modern concepts are preconceptions, anticipating the future. Claude Lefort examines the nineteenth-century Italian political philosopher Joseph Ferrari and his consideration of contemporary revolutions in light of Machiavelli. François Furet discusses the relations between Edgar Quinet and Alexis de Tocqueville: 'For Quinet, democracy is an idea that dominates a history. For Tocqueville, it is an idea shaped by a history'. Jean-Claude Perrot explores

the place of individual interest and economic value in seventeenth and eighteenth-century social philosophy. Maurizio Catani employs biography to explore personal values and the history of social life in the context of a transition from tradition to modernity. Edmund Leites takes inspiration from Dumont's analysis of equality and hierarchy in the Western and Indian systems of value for his consideration of views of women and purity in eighteenth-century British society as exemplified in the novel *Pamela*. Wilfred Cantwell Smith argues that the Greek rationalist-idealist-humanist tradition in Western civilization should be understood within the context of the various religious traditions of man and that the world's religious systems have nothing in common which is of central significance to each.

As for the more directly anthropological essays, Lévi-Strauss attempts to find out why some quite diverse societies permit marriage between children of the same father but different mothers, while prohibiting the inverse case, even though descent is patrilineal. Some of the evidence he adduces, such as that from the Karo Batak, is not strictly relevant. More interesting is Stephen Tyler's study of patterns of structural change in Dravidian and Indo-Aryan terminologies under conditions of contact. He is able to propose a variety of intermediate arrangements which are exemplified in various parts of India. Dominique Casajus's rereading of Mauss's *The Gift* should be placed alongside the last essay, a joint undertaking by Cécile Barraud, Daniel de Coppet, André Iteanu and Raymond Jamous to compare exchange in four societies, one in Papua New Guinea, another in the Solomons, a third in eastern Indonesia, and the last in Morocco. Among their points is that a strict distinction between subject and object is a poor guide to understanding the exchange systems under consideration. Each of the authors has recently published in French impressive monographs on one or other of these societies. This joint paper deserves to be translated and published by itself as a book for use in teaching about exchange.

Ernest Gellner writes about the Asiatic Mode of Production and reactions to Wittfogel in Soviet Anthropology, while Jean-Claude Galey discusses the royal function in the Upper Ganges. Four consecutive essays deal directly with hierarchy. Terence Turner takes up dual opposition and hierarchy in Brazilian moiety structure, which he holds is characterized simultaneously by symmetric and asymmetric aspects. Terence Evens defends Evans-Pritchard and also the ambiguity of the distinction between territory and agnation in Even's own treatment of Nuer hierarchy. Michael Houseman interprets Dumont's recent discussions of hierarchy as implying two versions of the principle of hierarchy. In the 'restricted' version, one term of a pair is identical with the whole and encompasses its opposite. In the 'general' version the nature of the difference is not specified, but it is implied that most oppositions have a hierarchical aspect. Houseman later asks how many distinct types of hierarchy exist. In the new edition of *Homo hierarchicus*, Dumont reveals that he owes his

idea of encompassment to Raymond Apthorpe's Oxford D.Phil. thesis of 1956. Since access to this thesis is restricted, Apthorpe's excerpt from it, in which he presents his analysis of kinds of opposition, is necessarily important. The reader may now judge the nature of the inspiration, but he can also clearly discern significant differences between Apthorpe's and Dumont's interpretations.

A reader could acquire a liberal education from these essays and the leads they provide—an observation intended also to hint at the standard problems of any *Festschrift*.

R. H. BARNES

PETER RIVIÈRE, *Individual and Society in Guiana: A Comparative Study of Amerindian Social Organization*, Cambridge, etc.: Cambridge University Press 1984, vii, 114pp., Map, Table, Bibliography, Index. £5.95 (paper), £18.50 (hardback).

R. H. BARNES, *Two Crows Denies It: A History of Controversy in Omaha Sociology*, Lincoln and London: University of Nebraska Press 1984. xiii, 272pp., Plates, Figures, Tables, Bibliography, Indexes. £23.70 (hardback).

These two important books are the work of teaching members of the Institute of Social Anthropology, Oxford University. Both merit extended reviews by experts in the fields which each book covers; the present review, by a Southeast Asianist, will concentrate upon more general matters.

Individual and Society in Guiana by Dr Peter Rivière, the current Chairman of the Management Committee of the Institute, consists of eight chapters, which progress from the minutely particular to generalization. Informative notes are placed after the text. The bibliography contains over 125 references to sources, quotations from which are used admirably appositely and exactly in the text and the notes. The book, which is priced most reasonably, has been produced very well.

Two Crows Denies It by Dr R. H. Barnes consists of eleven chapters which consider such matters as Chieftainship, The Tribal Circle, Descent Groups, Relationship Terminology, Marriage and Patterns of Marriage, Residence, Kinship, and 'Omaha Alliance' and Dispersed Alliance. Thirteen plates complement the text well, while the eighteen figures and twenty tables are clear, helpful, and (in contrast to many such supposed aids to scholarship which a reader is burdened with these days) genuinely cast light on the matters in question. The two books contain notes which illuminate the text pointedly, while the bibliography of

Two Crows, as this book is assuredly destined to be referred to colloquially, contains a large number of references to the work of writers ranging from Frege and Strawson to Buchler and Selby, from Peters (1848) to Gay (1981), from Dorsey to Onvlee, and from Da Matta to Godfrey Leinhardt.

Individual and Society in Guiana is a contribution to a timely stock-taking of the information available about lowland South America by considering what is known about a part of the area. The book has three aims: to be an introduction to the region; to identify the essential elements and relationships in Guiana social organization; and to make suggestions for the wider study of lowland South American society.

Apart from the intrinsic interest of the ethnographical and other data which Rivière addresses, and the substantive conclusions to which he comes, there are two matters which are of particular interest to this reviewer.

The first is that the people with whom Rivière is chiefly concerned - Amerindians who live mainly along the watershed that divides the rivers that flow into the Amazon from those that flow into the Orinoco or directly into the Atlantic—may be said to inhabit an area which (Rivière emphasises) has 'fuzzy' edges which are not watertight, and which change unevenly from one region to another. However, the idea that these societies constitute an integral area or region is most justified by the social organization of the societies considered. This organization provides 'a fine balance between the requirements of society and the autonomy of the individual' (p.4). Features of this organization common to the societies considered are: cognatic descent; a two-line prescriptive relationship terminology; preferred settlement endogamy and/or uxorilocal residence; an emphasis on co-residence in ordering relationships; and small and impermanent settlements.

This approach is characteristic, of course, of J. P. B. de Josselin de Jong's idea of the *ethnologisch studieveld*, the field of anthropological study, about which a collection of essays (*Unity in Diversity*, ed. P. E. de Josselin de Jong, Dordrecht etc. 1984) has recently appeared. This coincidence of approach in areas conventionally considered so different as lowland South America and eastern Indonesia and Oceania suggests again that much Dutch social anthropology, influenced more or less directly by the teaching of J. P. B. de Josselin de Jong and deriving essentially from *Primitive Classification*, provides an example which is put to use profitably in the analysis of social facts from areas far from Indonesia and Oceania.

The second matter which strikes this reviewer as especially interesting is Rivière's consideration of comparison in social anthropology. Rivière suggests, and one can only concur with his suggestion, that in the past comparison has very often been vitiated because the analysts' aims were too grandiose and because they did not make sure that they were comparing like with like. 'The remedy for these failings lies in restricting the comparison to a bounded territorial and cultural area, to peoples

who exhibit, at least in their gross features, some homogeneity', in order to obtain 'a better understanding of the localized societies under investigation' (p.6). Rivière's approach is through the consideration in turn of a number of themes or aspects of society, and via indigenous categories. The analysis of a number of related but different societies in this way allows a mosaic to be made in which, as it were, the complete picture emerges more and more clearly as each piece is positioned relative to the others.

However, this occurs only at what Rivière calls 'the social level': 'the distinctiveness of each piece, of each group, is expressed through cultural elements. It is through variation in language, body adornments, technical equipment, methods of processing food, funerary rites, and the consumption of hallucinogens...' (pp.7-8). Rivière alludes to Lévi-Strauss's view (expressed in *The Scope of Social Anthropology*, London: Cape 1967, p.19) that these matters can probably always be accommodated within the totality which any form of life constitutes, as has been demonstrated many times in Dutch anthropology and, latterly, in British anthropology as well. But Rivière suggests that there are formidable difficulties in the way of studying such matters, because it is not obvious that the ethnography upon which an analyst has to rely is 'good enough...since it is often the minutiae of cultural detail that are significant'. Once again, attention is drawn to the importance of ethnography, if not in determining, then in delimiting sharply the shape of analysis; there is here a significant lesson for ethnographers.

However, since these cultural traits vary widely in time and can also change drastically through time, it would appear that 'what is fundamental and invariant is the social structure' (p.8). This makes an interesting comparison with Balinese views about their own form of life which social anthropological analysis bears out: that it is the jural which is variable and transient. Clearly this matter will reward further investigation.

Two Crows Denies It, as the author remarks on pp.3-4, 'constitutes a criticism of sources insofar as the documents are pertinent to specific analytic questions.... The factual evidence...[is]...weighed and, to an extent, sifted. This process necessitates considering aspects of Omaha history as well as looking closely at the history of the ethnographies themselves, the ethnographers, and where possible their informants. This study is *not*, however, a history of the Omahas.... Looking again at how the story of the Omahas was put together permits us to reassess in certain regards the present state of anthropology. Of greater interest, it involves confrontation with the Omaha people' (original emphasis). *Two Crows*, however, keeps rather close to social organization and, like Rivière's book, does not attempt a comprehensive treatment of cultural matters; religion, myth, ritual, oral literature, and music are all left aside, since they demand competence in the Omaha language.

Two points, among a wealth of other historical and analytical description, impress this reviewer. First, Barnes remarks that

'Durkheim was right in underlining the revolutionary importance of ethnography to social anthropological understanding' (p.235), a point (of course) which Rivi re makes also, and which is incontrovertible. Barnes writes, in concluding his study, that 'the personalities of the ethnographers may act as a filter, but, especially where there are independent reporters, ethnographic facts impose themselves sufficiently to prove that the facts are not merely the imaginative creations of the anthropologist' (p.234). This view, one with which any ethnographer will surely concur, is a welcome corrective to the view which seems to be fairly widespread among social scientists, and especially among writers who concentrate on methodology, that the data collected by field researchers cannot be ascribed any objectivity whatsoever. This view is quite wrong, and it is pleasing that Barnes has said so, and so authoritatively.

Secondly, Barnes writes that 'complementary opposites of course are those where each side fills out or completes what the other side lacks.... It is doubtful that complementary opposites ever permit a perfect equality between the sides. A recurrent feature of studies of complementary governance is the superiority of one form of authority, usually the spiritual or mystical' (p.61). Many people would agree with these remarks, of course, but it seems to me that a number of comments can be made about this formulation of these ideas. Thus, although Barnes's formulation of what complementary opposites are might be said to apply to such dyads as male/female and north/south (and some might argue about accepting these dyads as complementary opposites, as opposed simply to complementaries or opposites), it is not clear how it might apply to sun/moon, for instance, or high/low. Does it make much sense to say that high, for instance, lacks low, or that low fills out high? Then, it is not clear what Barnes intends by 'perfect', by 'equality', and by 'superiority'; but these words are analytically crucial. Finally, empirical studies by writers such as Signe Howell (e.g., *Society and Cosmos*, Singapore: Oxford University Press 1984, reviewed in *JASO*, Vol. XV, no. 3) and by the present reviewer (e.g., 'Duality in Aspects of a Balinese Form of Life on Lombok', *Traditional Cosmology*, in press) suggest that dyads which are 'perfectly equal', in the sense that the relations which obtain between the two terms which constitute the dyads are for all intents and purposes symmetrical, are identifiable as social facts. But none of these remarks should be taken to deny in any way the importance and provocative interest of Dr Barnes's book.

Two Crows Denies It and *Individual and Society in Guiana* exemplify the Oxford tradition generally, and Oxford social anthropology as established by Evans-Pritchard particularly, at their best: a commitment to social facts and their analysis in depth; pellucid English; a strong sense of history; exact and imaginative scholarship; and argumentation which is rigorous, creative, and stimulating. Both books are examples also of a most compelling view of what scientific enquiry consists of: they answer particular questions, and in doing so raise other questions which need answering. Both books would be fine additions to any library.

PETER H. HARE, *A Woman's Quest for Science: Portrait of Anthropologist Elsie Clews Parsons*, Buffalo, New York: Prometheus Books 1985. 167pp., Photographs, References, Index. \$22.95.

Like Alice Fletcher thirty years earlier, Elsie Clews Parsons turned to professional anthropology in her forties. Today, anthropologists are likely to remember her for her extensive ethnographic publications on the Pueblo peoples and on Mexico. She also collected and published much folklore, especially that of American Negroes, the peoples of the West Indies and Cape Verdians of Nantucket. When she was younger she published several volumes of her personal sociology. She wrote extensively for popular journals on feminism, pacifism and other topics. Her English-born father made millions on Wall Street. She numbered among her numerous influential friends and acquaintances Presidents Theodore Roosevelt and William Howard Taft. Her wealth permitted her to give financial support to various scholarly journals and to many young anthropologists, especially those working on the Southwest. She served as President of the American Folklore Society and the American Ethnological Society, and she was the first woman elected President of the American Anthropological Association. She helped to found the New School for Social Research. Among her causes were trial marriage, contraception, nude bathing, open marriages, and sex education. She rejected all conventions which in her opinion constrained the freedom of personality. Hare describes her as a feminist who seldom enjoyed the companionship of women.

The scholar portrayed in this book is the author's paternal great-aunt. Hare was able to exploit and quote extensively from her personal papers. Through the opening chapters the book threatens to become little more than a narrative of salacious family gossip. To my taste the many excerpts from private letters detailing her extra-marital friendships and her jealousies were not really pleasant reading. Though, we are told, her husband tolerated her affairs, she was emotionally unable to accept it when he too took up another relationship in accordance with her expressed principles. Eventually the marriage failed. When the book turns to chapters on her feminism and pacifism, however, the early account of personal strains informs these aspects of her public career.

Hare does not go deeply into her anthropology, but he does offer useful chapters on her field trips and ethnographic publications. There is food for thought in how she imposed herself on various unwelcoming Pueblo communities and perhaps wry amusement in the incident when their Laguna hostess whitewashed Boas and Parsons out of her house. However, Parsons deserves a second book by another hand, examining more closely her scholarly and philanthropic contributions.

ALFRED DE GRAZIA, *Homo Schizo I: Human and Cultural Hologenesis*, Princeton: Metron Publications 1983. ix, 262pp., Notes, Index.

ALFRED DE GRAZIA, *Homo Schizo II: Human Nature and Behavior*, Princeton: Metron Publications 1983. x, 224pp., Notes, Index.

Man is human but he wishes that he could revert to being an animal again. This theme runs through both of these iconoclastic volumes on human nature. It is not so much a question of a 'will' to become instinctual and unselfconscious (again) which plagues you or me, rather it is a nagging urge which arises from time to time. After de Grazia's description of the problematic this ill-defined urge should be recast as a sort of conscious imperative.

According to de Grazia, the central event in the emergence of mankind as distinct from the apes was the instinct delay mechanism and the attendant rise of self-consciousness. Here, exactly at the point where human emerges from animal, his central character trait is defined. He is schizotypical. He is capable of splitting himself into two, three or even more personae. This has always been a source of anxiety for man because he could *question* and *doubt* the validity of his persona, and he began to wonder if he had any right to exist at all. In turn he built up around himself a whole panoply of rules and institutions which only served to reinforce his feelings of self-doubt and fear.

Looking through a recent issue of *Psychology Abstracts*, de Grazia reports that he could find no single article on the topics of 'human nature' or 'instinct', but that there were hundreds of entries under 'schizophrenia'. Could it be that schizophrenia has become synonymous with human nature? As Pascal once said, ~~'There is no man who differs more from another than he does from himself at another time.'~~

Methodologically de Grazia aligns himself with the circle of catastrophists who worked with Immanuel Velikovsky at Princeton in the 'sixties and early 'seventies. He claims that major planetary and terrestrial catastrophes were influential in forcing mankind to emerge; that internal psychological shifts such as instinct delay or self-consciousness may be viewed as catastrophes; and that all subsequent catastrophes, both physical and physiological, only served to reinforce 'the catastrophic character of the human mind'.

Alfred de Grazia is a renegade, but a clever and well-read one. A graduate of the University of Chicago's highly interdisciplinary faculty of social sciences, he resigned his post as Professor of Political Science partly in order to write *Homo Schizo* and the eight or nine other volumes of his *Quantavolution Series* (all of which have been published by Metron in the last two years).

Some contentions of the book are certain to startle most readers, and not only those who are specialists in physical and

social anthropology, geology or palaeontology. De Grazia asserts, for example, that the defining steps in the evolution of mankind - the development of speech, consciousness etc. - could all have occurred within the span of a thousand years. He would not object to anyone wanting to call this 'creation' (nor would he, I think, particularly object to anyone calling it 'evolution').

These books are certain to make the reader reconsider his own positions as well as the status of received wisdom on matters of human evolution. After all, evolution is our own creation myth, and perhaps we should examine whether or not it has been bent or refashioned in the service of some dominant (perhaps schizotypal) ideology.

CHARLES STEWART

LOLA ROMANUCCI-ROSS, DANIEL E. MOERMAN and LAURENCE R. TANCREDI (eds.), *The Anthropology of Medicine: from Culture to Method*, South Hadley, Massachusetts: Bergin & Garvey 1983. xii, 400pp., References, Index. £16.10.

This book sets out to illustrate how differences in culture can structure and influence the experience of disease and affect the way in which both the doctor and the patient perceive and define illness. It is a collection of twenty fairly short papers divided into five major sections, each section starting with a short introduction written by the editors. The papers cover a wide range of topics, perhaps indicative of the varied interests of the individual authors, and are illustrated clearly by specific examples taken from a variety of cultural contexts. As with most compilation volumes the standard of the papers naturally varies, but on the whole they are clearly written and well presented, references being given at the end of each individual paper rather than at the back of the book.

The first major section of the volume deals with the interaction of different medical systems, highlighting ways in which conceptual positions can change (or not change) following culture contact. Four case studies are presented, representing different types of interaction: the imposition of a 'Western' medical system on the traditional folk medicine of Italy, the relationship between Aztec and Spanish medical thought which combined to produce Mexican folk medicine, the medical options open to the Ningerum of New Guinea, and the discrediting of the traditional Siberian Khanty medical practice by the Soviet authorities. The four examples show clearly that the ultimate outcome of the interaction of two differing medical systems can be both complex and unexpected.

The second part then explores certain conceptual aspects of non-Western medicine which are entirely absent from purely 'scientific' medical systems. This includes a detailed examination of relationships between the process and the consequences of healing. The five papers deal in turn with Mexican spiritualist healing, the shaman tradition of the Diegueno Indians, Tabwa medicine and witchcraft, the Iroquois use of medicinal plants, and the importance of the placebo effect in Western biomedicine. They provide an interesting, if at times slightly confusing demonstration of how the diagnosis and successful treatment of disease can be as dependent on external factors and concepts as it is on the physiological illness itself.

Part Three is perhaps the most directly medical section of the book. It demonstrates clearly, with many examples, that where botanical and other elements are used in the treatment of the sick the materials used are in no way the result of random selection; even in cases where plants are chosen for apparently traditional or ritual reasons, there is almost always a sound medical reason behind the selection, whether this is directly understood or not. This has been demonstrated in several papers over the past five years, but is stressed here by detailed discussion of the properties of plants used in teeth cleaning and consideration of native North American medicinal plants. The emphasis then shifts slightly to consider nutrition and diet in relation to both culture and health, and the avoidance of disease.

Section Four considers the place of mental disorders in various cultural systems. This is an area where traditional beliefs and acceptances can play an extremely important part in the definition and perception of normal behaviour and in the classification of mental illness. The extent to which culture can shape individual responses to psychological problems is shown in the first four papers; the fifth paper considers psychotherapy, and questions the aims of treatment and its effect on the patient.

The final section is the shortest, containing two papers dealing with modern (American) medicine as a part of culture, influenced by non-medical beliefs and events. The two papers seem somewhat out of place in this volume, but make fairly interesting reading.

Although it by no means covers the whole field of medical anthropology, this book should serve as a useful and informative introduction to the subject, and should be of equal use to students of anthropology and students of medicine, or related subjects.

BRIAN M. FAGAN, *Clash of Cultures*, New York: W.H. Freeman 1984. xii, 289pp., References, Index, Plates, Maps. £17.95.

In his latest contribution, *Clash of Cultures*, the prolific Brian Fagan professes to analyse the period of initial contact between Western and non-Western societies with regard both to the effects that this contact had on the societies involved, and to its implications for modern Western/non-Western relations. Unfortunately, the book discusses contact situations only superficially, and ignores the proposed lines of analysis.

The major part of the book consists of eight case studies of Western contact with non-Western societies: the Khoikhoi (Hottentot), Aztecs, Tahitians, Van Diemeners (Tazmanians), Hurons, Northwest Coast Indians, Fuegians, and Maori. These case studies supposedly recount how non-Western societies adapted to the advent of Western civilization, and they form the core of Fagan's analysis. However, a close look reveals them to be little more than adventure stories held together by threads of prevaricating eloquence which have little to do with anthropology or anthropological theory. The only apparent criterion for choosing these studies seems to be the chronological one, viz. the cases of cultures that came into contact with Europeans at different phases of Western philosophical thinking: from the early 15th-century searches for 'paradisical' kingdoms, through the 18th-century ideal of the Noble Savage, and finally into the evangelical zeal and Social Darwinism of the 19th century (where apparently the story ends). The studies are set out completely from a European perspective, the traditional societies providing merely an exotic backdrop against which the story unfolds - an odd slant for a book based on the assumption that world history is one of 'thousands of diverse societies interacting with one another', rather than the story of Western expansion.

Despite the fact that the supposed aim of the book is to examine the background to modern underdevelopment, it is curious to note that four of the societies that are examined no longer exist, and that the other four are economically and politically insignificant in the modern world. One might ask why Fagan did not make a better choice of examples for this purpose, or at least make better use of the examples he selected. For example, why did he not discuss the *conquistadores*' impressment of the vast economic networks of the Maya empire instead of the annihilation of the warlike Aztecs? Alternatively, why not at least discuss the role of the *encomienda* system in the turbulent development of modern Latin America? Could the answer simply be that Fagan has already written a book on the Aztecs, and was not really interested in how contact influenced modern societies? In fact, it is not until the conclusion that the idea of colonists being interested in controlling natural resource production for the world market is mentioned at all.

Economic factors are considered in the case studies only when they are a necessary part of the background to the themes

the book does contain: conflict and religion. For example, the fur trade along the St Lawrence is seen as being the means by which the Jesuits gained influence over the Huron Indians, which eventually led to the tribe's destruction. Little or no time is spent discussing such issues as how the relationships between the Huron and other Indian groups were altered by the fur trades; the formation of the Wyandot; how the Huron became increasingly dependent on the French; the role of British colonists in this situation; how the Huron adapted to destruction as a tribe and physical displacement from their homeland; how they developed into a totally different group by the 19th century; or even their place in modern Canada. In fact, to read the book is to get the impression that culture contact is all about fights, God and venereal disease, all of which are exciting and dramatic topics, but scarcely the ones necessarily of most relevance to anthropologists.

The Christian religion is seen throughout the book as a major dynamic factor in the breakdown of traditional societies. Fagan seems fascinated by the idea that Western contact irretrievably undermined non-Western societies by introducing them to Christianity and the doctrine that all individuals are equal with respect to law and opportunity. He claims that traditional societies were inherently unequal, with a socially stratified system of a few chiefs ruling by divine right and most of the population being labourers. Therefore, introducing the concept of the importance of the individual to such societies caused them to collapse. Although the thesis runs throughout the book, certain points are never developed. For example, how this theory applied to hunter-gatherer societies; how this message managed to be carried by Christians of all forms and disciplines; or how this perfidious doctrine affected the European nations themselves - in short, a thesis, like the rest of the book, ill thought out and poorly documented.

I cannot recommend the book even as an introductory guide to the specialist literature on culture contact, the societies discussed, or even European exploration. Much could have been forgiven had the book been able to do any of these things. However, all the 'References' and 'Guide to Sources' do is reveal how little work actually went into the writing of the book, and that will already be apparent to the attentive reader. The subject-matter of *Clash of Cultures* is fascinating and timely, but deserving of better treatment than is given in this book - as are the students of anthropology for whom it was supposedly designed.

ALISON ROBERTS

PATRICK VINTON KIRCH and D.E. YEN, *Tikopia: The Prehistory and Ecology of a Polynesian Outlier* (Bishop Museum Bulletin, 238), Honolulu: Bishop Museum Press 1982. xviii, 396pp., Illustrations, Maps, Tables, Bibliography. \$28.00 (paper).

It is hardly necessary to remind readers of *JASO* of the special interest of this publication. Tikopia, having provided the richest of Polynesian ethnographies, now emerges as an island of considerable significance in the prehistory of this part of the South Pacific. Kirch and Yen, two of the most experienced scholars now working in Oceanic prehistory, have produced a fine report which one hopes has given Sir Raymond Firth much pleasure. It is a long, detailed and thoroughly professional account of archaeological and ethno-botanical research undertaken in 1977 and 1978, which offers a first-ever interpretation of local prehistory, set in the context of the prehistory of the region and, in its later phases, correlated with Firth's interpretation of the island's traditional history. The report is written in clear, jargon-free prose and is a pleasure to read.

The authors based their excavation procedure on the solid foundation of understanding the local geomorphology, and their interpretation of the occupation sequence is derived from excavations systematically related to their appreciation of the effects of environment, specifically ecology, on the history of human settlement. But this is no deterministic study. Settlement patterns, artefacts, and faunal remains are analysed in a most sophisticated fashion to provide, in the final analysis, a synthesis of the evolution of Tikopia culture, firmly based on dated occupation phases, and seen as a process of changing forms of human adaptation to, and modification of, the local environment.

Apart from the possibility of some earlier, transient settlement, Tikopia was first occupied, on present evidence, about 900 BC by settlers who were part of the Lapita cultural complex, their pottery representing a late phase in the Lapitoid series. The definition of the Lapita culture, representing, apparently, the initial settlement of Austronesian speakers in the south-west Pacific during the second millennium BC, has been one of the great achievements of Oceanic archaeologists in the last twenty years. It is not surprising that Tikopia was late in the spread of settlement, but it is gratifying that the nature and sequence of occupation can be dovetailed neatly into that of Anuta and other neighbouring islands. The presence on Tikopia during this Lapitoid phase of such exotic materials as meta-volcanic adzes, obsidian, and fine-grained chert, demonstrates that Tikopia was, from the first, part of a network of communities engaged in long-distance exchange. A marked change in material culture about 100 BC (defined by a matrix analysis of the sequence) is indicated by the presence of Mangaasi-style pottery, derived from Melanesian islands to the south, and first recognised by Garanger on Efate, in central Vanuatu. This adds body to the

evidence from myths and material traits in the ethnography collected by Firth of long-standing connections with Melanesia, which is not at variance with the fact that Tikopia language and culture, from the viewpoints of both history and ethnography, are Polynesian. Kirch and Yen date this further change from AD 1200, when 'there appear in the Tikopia sequence several new and distinctly Polynesian-appearing elements: the *pa atu* type of pearl-shell trolling-lure point, exotic adzes of oceanic basalt in West Polynesian types, and the use of cut-and-dressed slab masonry' (p.341). They relate this change to the evidence of oral traditions collected by Firth, identifying 'Uvea, Samoa and Tonga as homelands of certain Tikopia lineages, and they argue that, from the evidence of archaeology and oral traditions, Polynesian culture has been dominant in Tikopia for 'no more than about seven or eight centuries' (p.342).

At the same time, Kirch and Yen demonstrate that over time, occupation showed increasing sophistication and autonomy, with a shift in emphasis towards agriculture and domestic resources at the expense of the exploitation of marine and wild species. They do not claim, however, any simple correlation between this process and population growth or change, stressing instead the need to recognise the effect of such factors as a forty per cent increase in land area (a striking fact), continued biotic introductions, new agronomic techniques, and, in the long run, new concepts of land use and production. Prehistoric Tikopia is thus seen as no mere 'outlier' but as a developing economic and social system intimately linked with its neighbours over a long period of time. Indeed, with regard to its Polynesian phase, the authors say that its 'indigenous political history...is remarkable for its resonance in the archaeological record' (p.367). It is not really surprising that they see archaeology as providing a 'real historical basis' (p.362) for oral traditions, in contradistinction to the views of Leach and Hooper that Tikopia perceptions of the past are undifferentiated (pp.362-4).

The report is very well produced. Fittingly, it is dedicated to the memory of Genevieve Highland, much-loved editor of the Bishop Museum Press between 1962 and 1981, the year of her death. A most welcome feature is the inclusion of a comprehensive index.

PETER GATHERCOLE

CHRISTINA LARNER, *Witchcraft and Religion: The Politics of Popular Belief*, Oxford: Basil Blackwell 1984. xi, 165pp., Index, £15.00.

This book was planned before but published after its author's death. It consists of a group of essays on (mainly) Scottish witchcraft and the set of five Clifford Lectures on Natural Theology delivered at Glasgow in 1982. Three further essays were intended for inclusion but had to be omitted as they were left in note form. The collection is edited by Alan Macfarlane, who has added a helpful Foreword. He has avoided altering or restructuring the essays, even though they overlap with parts of Lerner's monograph *Enemies of God*. They overlap, too, with each other and inevitably read like separate essays rather than as the chapters of a book. In Part II, the Gifford Lectures offer a very different style of argument, having been little altered after their oral presentation. The five essays and the five lectures belong together in that there is a unity of subject-matter, but the reader must work to twist together the various threads of argument. Lerner's critical stance and explorative approach make the book important and stimulating reading for anybody interested in the arguments about witchcraft in Europe.

It has been usual in the discussion of European witchcraft to distinguish *maleficium* - the use of sorcery to harm one's neighbours - and the more theoretical notion of the demonic pact which gained ground in the sixteenth century. Lerner accepts the view that, by and large, *maleficium* was of the people and theoretical demonology of the elite, though she mentions exceptions (where peasants seared for the 'Devil's mark', or where aristocrats used accusations of witchcraft in the working out of political enmities). For witch-hunts to occur on any scale, it was necessary that there should be a level of demonological belief among the populace. The interaction of educated and uneducated sectors of the population, given this basic level of belief, was such that the peasants had a 'production line' which provided the 'human fodder' for the trials of those who consorted with evil powers. For their part, the elite 'in a conspicuous and unequivocal way controlled and manipulated the demand for and supply of witchcraft suspects'.

Lerner gives primacy to the attitudes of the educated elite. A whole chapter is dedicated to the intellectual career of James VI/I. There are, Lerner reminds us, three corners to every witch-trial - the accuser, the accused and the judge; the latter always belongs to the elite. Explanations of witchcraft as the product of social tensions omit this element, Lerner states. Towards the end of the sixteenth century there was a trend towards abstraction and rationalisation in the legal reaction to witchcraft, so that eventually it became a crime against the state. It was the combination of this trend towards rationality with a basic level of witchcraft belief which created the conditions for witch-hunts.

Why witch-hunts occurred when they did is the main question implicit in the essays. The most intense waves occurred at times of clamping down on other forms of moral degeneracy. Is witchcraft to be treated by historians and sociologists as a crime among other crimes? Larner sees advantages in such an approach but stresses the necessity for the appropriate cosmological background. In witchcraft cases, what was at issue was not what the accused had done, but what she or he *was*, and as a crime witchcraft could be made to represent everything perverted. At certain periods the state became involved in a process of ideological reaffirmation, purging all elements identified as negating accepted values. If they are seen in this light, pre-industrial witch-hunts had a similar dynamic to the metaphorical 'witch-hunts' of Macarthy and Khomeini. But as Larner argues in the fifth essay, modern European or American 'witch-hunting' has to be conducted in other terms without the framework of Christian belief. Witchcraft cannot occur in a social vacuum, and the witch-cults in modern European societies, lacking a basis in popular belief, have to hark back to the traditions of previous centuries, usually through a quasi-scholarship. ('The standard witchcraft magazines all look as though a copy of *Penthouse* has been crossed with a PhD thesis'.)

In making the point that the existence of a developed theory of witchcraft and demonology was not in itself enough to give rise to witch-hunts, Larner is driven to question how belief and behaviour are related and to what extent ideas are autonomous. Ideas may not be the sole originators of activities such as witch-hunts but on the other hand ideas are not simply the products of social forces, since ideas dysfunctional to the society may be held and rulers may have to make efforts to convince populations of the correctness of certain beliefs. These issues are raised with a certain naiveté as 'awkward questions' which can be dealt with only in a limited way.

The argument of the lectures differs somewhat in emphasis. As scientific rationality gained authority, the scope of 'faith' (defined as optional belief involving commitment) was reduced and the Church was divested of some authority. Christianity was until the sixteenth century a functioning 'political ideology' - the world's first, Larner suggests. She is using the political scientists' terminology so that the phrase means 'a total worldview which serves to mobilize political action or to legitimize governments'. A new personalized form of Christianity was imposed on an unready populace, and the interaction resulted in witch-hunting. The account is framed in a discussion of relativism, and the authority of twentieth-century science when confronted with the beliefs of other times is questioned. Larner, as a declared 'methodological atheist', keeps her distance in this book from beliefs of all kinds, and what is frustrating is that there is little or no analysis of the 'popular belief' of the sub-title. Illustrative material is not used, and there is no indication that the author considers it worth looking at the words (or other forms of expression), where available, of those

not of the educated elite. We may agree that peasant religion is primarily performative, with little spontaneous articulation of beliefs. But other recent historical and anthropological work in Europe has shown that where statements are elicited - in Inquisition trials, for example - the results, although sometimes fragmentary and contradictory, illuminate the processes of belief among ordinary people.

Such examples are part of the interface between educated elite and uneducated populace, across which, as Lerner says, elements are flowing in both directions. Because of her relatively distant focus, she says less than she could have done about the very issue towards which her arguments direct us - that is, the way ideas and actions are related.

LUCY RUSHTON

A. E. MOURANT, *Blood Relations: Blood Groups and Anthropology*, Oxford: Oxford University Press 1983. vi, 130pp., Bibliography, Maps, Index. £15.00.

JOHN R. LUKACS (ed.), *The People of South Asia: The Biological Anthropology of India, Pakistan, and Nepal*, New York and London: Plenum Press 1984. xxiv, 458pp., Index, Plates, Maps, Diagrams, Tables. \$55.00.

In the first book Dr Mourant does what biological anthropologists have always hoped he would do. He brings together salient features, carefully chosen from the enormous bulk of our knowledge of human blood groups, and carefully ties these together to present an integrated picture of the genetic variation of the various peoples of the world. He does not allow a great many pre-conceived notions of population movements or developments of civilizations to guide him, and the book is thus somewhat austere. In its 130 pages of text, we are presented with no easy guide to human genetical variation. But a careful reading reveals a remarkable insight into the genetic process - the world's major clines and gradients, the extreme gene frequencies found in isolates such as the Basques or the Lapps, the genetic reflection of migration patterns in Oceania, the effects of endogamy among Jews and Gypsies. Above all, it is the constant possibility, occasionally amounting to certainty, that the gene frequencies we see are due not to chance but to the action of natural selection that gives the book its deeper significance. From the direct genetic evidence, we can best understand man as a species evolving through time - subject, like all other species, to the elimination of some genes and the emergence and spread of others. We owe Dr Mourant a considerable debt for

distilling his lifelong commitment to this difficult subject into the confines of one slim, succinct work.

The second book will be a source book for many years to come on various facets of the human biology of South Asia. Subject areas covered in Part I are the palaeontology of the Siwaliks, the Mesolithic South Asians, the Bronze Age Harappans, the Indo-Aryan invasions, early Indian demography, dental variation, and prehistoric burial practices. In Part II we return to the living, with studies of epidemiology, dermatoglyphic variation, inbreeding, taxonomic distance and genetic relationships, population structure in relation to caste, demography, ageing, biocultural adaptations, ecology in relation to human physiology, and pastoral subsistence strategies.

V. REYNOLDS

OTHER NOTES AND NOTICES

J. VAN BAAL, K.W. GALIS and R.M. KOENTJARANINGRAT, *West Irian: A Bibliography* [Koninklijk Instituut voor Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde, Bibliographical Series 15], Dordrecht, Holland/Cinnaminson, U.S.A.: Foris Publications 1984. xiv, 300pp., Indexes. No price given.

The best previous bibliography of Irian Jaya, Irian Barat, West Irian or West New Guinea was compiled by the second of the present three authors. Remarkably, the first author was the last Governor of Netherlands New Guinea, while the third, who is Professor of Anthropology at the University of Indonesia, has long had an instrumental role in implementing Indonesia's research policies. Both men, of course, are also distinguished anthropologists. That they could appear as joint authors of a work devoted to West Irian is an indication of how attitudes have changed since 1962 when the Netherlands finally relinquished its last Southeast Asian colony to Indonesia. This change is the result of deliberate diplomacy, and this bibliography is its symbol. In December 1981, the Dutch and Indonesian Steering Committees for implementing the Programme of Indonesian Studies, the framework for Dutch-Indonesian cooperation in the social sciences and humanities, commissioned Koentjaraningrat and Van Baal to prepare the Bibliography. They in turn enlisted Galis.

This work does not attempt to be complete, and it embodies arbitrary decisions about the relative value of excluded items. However, it gives by far the best coverage of its subject yet available. Its value for anthropologists is greatly enhanced by their decision to include sections on other subjects. The principal divisions are (1) general works, (2) climate, geology and soils, (3) zoology and botany, (4) physical anthropology and demography, (5) linguistics, (6) history, (7) cultural anthropology, (8) regional ethnography, and (9) economic and social development after 1950. The book also reproduces in Dutch P. Nienhuis's 1968 inventory of the official archives of Dutch New Guinea which were repatriated during the transfer of sovereignty in 1962. This work will remain an essential aid for scholars working on Irian Jaya for a very long time. We must hope that the Indonesian government will now begin to encourage the ethnographic research which is so desperately needed there.

R.H.B.

JUDITH NAGATA, *The Reflowering of Malaysian Islam: Modern Religious Radicals and Their Roots*, Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press 1984. xxv, 258pp., Glossary, Bibliography, Appendixes, Index. £22.45.

Dakwah or *da'awat* in Arabic represents a call to join the faith. Little used in Malaysia before the 1960s, it was adopted to name a largely urban movement of religious revival in the 1970s and 1980s. This development is the Malay form of the contemporary drive for religious revitalization throughout the Islamic world; yet it lacks a comprehensive ideology or organization. Dakwah therefore applies loosely to a variety of attitudes and activities thought to promote Islam. Persons regarded as adhering to these trends are apt to belong to non-establishment groupings and are vulnerable to usually indirect measures by the government to represent them as not partaking in legitimate practices. A central theme of this study is the uncomfortable contrast between Islamic universalism and various manifestations of Malay Muslim particularism. Nagata explores the place of religious allegiance in Malaysian communal politics, its connection with Malay racism, the social and political strains Dakwah reveals or exacerbates within the Malay community, the opposition or alternatives fostered by Malays to Dakwah, and its relations to the colonial experience and the present international politics of Malaysia. The book represents a rich body of information of immediate interest. Those who heard the Malaysian Prime Minister's address recently in the University of Oxford will find it suitable background reading. Inevitably, it is an outsider's account, but useful at least for those who are not Malaysians.

R.H.B.

BERARD HAILE, *Navajo Coyote Tales: The Curly Tó Aheedliinii Version* [American Tribal Religions, Vol. 8; edited, with an Introduction, by Karl W. Luckert], Lincoln and London: University of Nebraska Press 1984. vi, 146pp. £8.50.

EKKEHART MALOTLI and MICHAEL LOMATUWAY'MA, *Hopi Coyote Tales: Istutuwutsi* [American Tribal Religions, Vol. 9], Lincoln and London: University of Nebraska Press 1984. viii, 343pp. £12.30.

These two books are specifically intended as companion volumes, enabling comparisons to be made between groups of tales linked by a common theme and taken from two separate but neighbouring tribes of the southwestern United States. The first follows on from the two previous volumes in the series (reviewed in *JASO* Vol. XV, no.1, p. 72) in having been collected by Father Berard Haile earlier this century. The second is a modern collaborative effort between

Malotki and an educated Hopi informant. Both books have indigenous texts with translations, Volume 9 in parallel text form; and this volume also has a parallel text glossary. Neither set of texts has any real commentary (save that provided by the footnotes in the Navajo volume), though a shortish introduction by Luckert in Volume 8 is explicitly designed to do duty for both volumes (this discusses the popularity of the image of the coyote to these tribes in particular, and the difficulty of defining its exact place in their collective consciousness). As with Volumes 6 and 7, then, appreciation of these tales will be greatly enhanced by a prior acquaintance with the wider ethnography.

R.J.P.

THE GENERAL THEORY OF NOT-GARDENING :

A Major Contribution to Social Anthropology, Ontology, Moral Philosophy, Psychology, Sociology, Political Theory and Many Other Fields of Scientific Investigation

Those who hate gardening need a theory. Not to garden without a theory is a shallow, unworthy way of life.

A theory must be convincing and scientific. Yet to various people various theories are convincing and scientific. Therefore we need a number of theories.

The alternative to not-gardening without a theory is to garden. However, it is much easier to have a theory than actually to garden.

Marxist Theory

Capitalists try to corrupt the minds of the toiling masses and to poison them with their reactionary 'values'. They want to 'convince' workers that gardening is a great 'pleasure' and thereby to keep them busy in their leisure time and to prevent them from making the proletarian revolution. Besides, they want to make them believe that with their miserable plot of land they are really 'owners' and not wage-earners, and so to win them over to the side of the owners in the class struggle. To garden is therefore to participate in the great plot aiming at the ideological deception of the masses. Do not garden! Q.E.D.

Psychoanalytical Theory

Fondness for gardening is a typically English quality. It is easy to see why this is so. England was the first country of industrial revolution. The industrial revolution killed the natural environment. Nature is the symbol of Mother. By killing Nature, English people committed matricide. They are subconsciously haunted by the feeling of guilt and they try to expiate their crime by cultivating and worshipping their small pseudo-natural garden. To garden is to take

part in this gigantic self-deception which perpetuates the childish myth. You must not garden. Q.E.D.

Existentialist Theory

People garden in order to make nature human, to 'civilise' it. This, however, is a desperate and futile attempt to transform being-in-itself into being-for-itself. This is not only ontologically impossible. It is a deceptive, morally inadmissible escape from reality, as the distinction between being-in-itself and being-for-itself cannot be abolished. To garden, or to imagine that one can 'humanise' Nature, is to try to efface this distinction and hopelessly to deny one's own irreducibly human ontological status. To garden is to live in bad faith. Gardening is wrong. Q.E.D.

Structuralist Theory

In primitive societies life was divided into the pair of opposites work/leisure, which corresponded to the distinction field/house. People worked in the field and rested at home. In modern societies the axis of opposition has been reversed: people work in houses (factories, offices) and rest in the open (gardens, parks, forests, rivers etc.). This distinction is crucial in maintaining the conceptual framework whereby people structure their lives. To garden is to confuse the distinction between house and field, between leisure and work; it is to blur, indeed to destroy, the opposition structure which is the condition of thinking. Gardening is a blunder. Q.E.D.

Analytical Philosophy

In spite of many attempts, no satisfactory definition of garden and of gardening has been found; all existing definitions leave a large area of uncertainty about what belongs where. We simply do not know what exactly the garden and gardening are. To use these concepts is therefore intellectually irresponsible, and actually to garden would be even more so. Thou shalt not garden. Q.E.D.

LESZEK KOLAKOWSKI

13TH EUROPEAN CONGRESS FOR RURAL SOCIOLOGY

The XIIIth Congress of the European Society for Rural Sociology will be held at Braga (Portugal) between 1-4 April, 1986. The theme of the Congress will be *Survival Strategies in Rural Society: Continuity and Change*. Local arrangements for the organisation of the Congress are in the hands of the Portuguese Host Committee, under the Chairmanship of Manuel V. Cabral. Michael Redclift, Chairman of the Scientific Committee of the Society, is in charge of the academic arrangements; his address is Wye College, near Ashford, Kent TN25 5AH, England.

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