

CHURCH AND CUSTOM ON MAEWO, VANUATU

LYNNE HUME

University of Calgary

Barr and Trompf (1983) have raised interesting points of discussion on independent churches and recent ecstatic phenomena in Melanesia which will undoubtedly send other anthropologists scurrying to their field notes as well as open up new areas of investigation into results of missionary activity, colonialism and independence in Melanesia. In this article, I shall discuss the relationship between church and *kastom* on the northern region of the island of Maewo, Vanuatu, in 1981.¹

I prefer not to designate any of the extant typologies such as independent church or protest, revivalist or nativistic movements to the situation on Maewo, as it does not fit comfortably into any of these. Although on the surface it would appear that Christianity has become the dominant belief of the people of north Maewo, replacing the old traditional beliefs of animism, this in fact is not entirely the case. Tonkinson (1981) discussed the interplay of traditional and Christian influences in south-east Ambrym and the struggle between church and *kastom*, saying that in recent years the relationship between church and *kastom* has moved from one of opposition to one of complementarity. Christianity on Maewo appears to exist alongside traditional beliefs of animism in a symbiotic relationship, one which has been most successful in adapting the villagers to gradual social change, without causing a breakdown in the old system of beliefs and social organization, nor the drastic changes and discontent which formed a basis for cargo cults in other parts of Melanesia.

The history of missionization on the island will first be discussed, and then the process of missionization, two factors which have contributed to the successful adaptation of the villagers to change, and to a life-style which incorporates both the traditional and the introduced religions, from which has emerged a 'Melanesian Christianity'

HISTORY OF MISSIONIZATION

In the very early days of Anglican missionary activity in Melanesia the number of islands to be missionized outnumbered the number of clergy available, and the climate in the islands was considered unfit for Europeans. For both these reasons, Bishop G.A. Selwyn, sent out from England in 1841 by the Melanesian Mission, decided that the natives themselves should become missionaries to their own people, with English clergy acting as 'white floats to sustain the black net' (Montgomery, 1904:3). To carry out this purpose, the islands were divided into districts, each headed by white clergymen or a member of the staff. From these districts boys were taken every year to Norfolk Island, where they were trained to be teachers and eventually placed at stations on their own home island, or on a neighbouring island. The first five of these Melanesian boys were taken to St John's College, Auckland, New Zealand, in 1849. In 1854, Rev. Patteson took charge of the Melanesian work and, finding the New Zealand winter too harsh for the Melanesians, bought land in Norfolk Island, where he set up

his new College of St Barnabas in 1867.

The discovery of a coastal waterfall at Lakarere, on the north end of Maewo made it a regular watering place for the mission ship the 'Southern Cross', Bishop Selwyn calling in to Maewo for a day as early as 1857. However, during the 1850s and 1860s there was little missionary activity on the island. The process of taking boys away from their home islands to be trained elsewhere became a regular practice of the Anglicans; the first two Maewo boys to be sent away came from Tanoriki (Tanrig) in 1870 and were educated on Norfolk Island. In 1871, Rev. Bice set up his mission station on Omba (Aoba), the island directly west of Maewo, where he spent most of the following seventeen years, first at Waluriki, and later at Tavolavola, on the north-east coast, making visits to Maewo from time to time.

When Bice and Selwyn visited Maewo in 1871 they wrote that the people there were 'the most simple and good-natured in the group' (Harrison, 1937:206) and found them receptive to mission contact. Bice performed the first baptisms on Maewo in 1873, incorporating the Melanesian notion of *'tambu'* into the Christian baptism rites. After baptising each person he made the sign of the cross on their foreheads, telling them that this *'tambu-ed* them from sin'. This same year (1873), George Sarawia, a native of Mota island to the north of Maewo, became the first Melanesian to be ordained. Teachers from Mota visited Maewo in 1874 and invited four Maewo men from Tanoriki and nearby villages to visit Mota to witness the Christian way of life. While there, Sarawia gave them Christian instruction. Robert Pantutun, a native deacon from Mota, moved to Maewo with his wife and family in 1875 where he stayed for two years in a house close to Tanoriki village. However, although they reported that they had been treated kindly and hospitably by the Maewo people, the family suffered from fever and ague which eventually forced them to leave the island.

In 1876, Rev. John R. Selwyn visited Maewo, first in April to anchor and water the ship and to drop off a Maewo boy who had been in Norfolk Island for instruction, and second in June, again to water the ship. Both visits were of one or two days' duration only. Island scholars from Merelava (Merlav) spent a few weeks on the northern end of Maewo at different times during 1873 to 1878 as itinerant teachers, and in 1878, Gogoragwia, a Norfolk Island trained convert from Mota, established a Mota-speaking school at Tanoriki.

During the next few years several short visits to Maewo were made by the missionaries Selwyn, Bice and Palmer and more Norfolk Island trained Maewo boys returned home. Bice, who was at that time encountering difficulties on Aoba and Pentecost, wrote enthusiastically of the contrastingly peaceful existence on northern Maewo; 'A more orderly or better conducted community it would be hard to find ... Frequent services and instructions produce no weariness and there is a ready acquiescence in the requirements of the law of Christ' (Hilliard, 1978:100). During 1880, Bice spent one month at Tanoriki and set up a pattern of church attendance which is still followed today. Bice conducted morning prayer early to accommodate the villagers' desire to go off to work in their gardens as soon as the dew was off the ground, and had daily evening prayers after people had returned from the day's gardening. Bice told them he did not object to their drinking kava, nor to their all-night dances, though he no doubt expressed his distaste of infanticide which was still being practised. During this sojourn Bice also visited Tasmauri, a cluster of villages on the windward side of the

island, close to the sea, where he also found the people friendly and hospitable. From 1881, several short visits were made periodically by Bice, Palmer and Brittain, but never for more than about five weeks at a time. In 1882, a labour vessel called in at northern Maewo, shooting one man from Tanrowo and taking twenty-nine others, but surprisingly this incident did not appear to have any outwardly damaging effects on the relationship between the missionaries and the island people.

By 1886 there were at least four trading stations on Aoba, but there was still much fighting and reports of cannibalism there. In contrast, the coastal villages of Maewo remained peaceful: several schools had been built, native Maewo teachers were preparing people for baptism and the number of converted was growing. However, there was hostility between the 'bush' people and the coastal people, the former sometimes attacking and murdering the Christians living on the coast.

For most of the 1890s there was only one missionary for the three islands of Aoba, Maewo and Pentecost. On Aoba there was still fierce fighting and on Maewo the 'labour trade had made sad havoc' (Armstrong, 1900:290). Although by this time Bice reported that infanticide had virtually ceased, the people had settled in to a state of indifference, and much of the earlier zeal had died away. By 1895 the situation was 'peaceful' but there had been no increase in the number of schools on Maewo. By 1899 the Melanesian Mission reported 16 teachers, 8 schools, 301 baptized persons, 47 communicants, 26 catechumens and 50 hearers on Maewo (Awdry, 1902:150).

In the years after 1903 the Anglican monopoly on the northern islands was broken, first by Roman Catholics on Pentecost and Aoba and later by Australian missionaries of the Church of Christ. Today, most of north Maewo is still Anglican, with only a small pocket which is Church of Christ. Maewo has received many short-term visits from early contact to the present, from European missionaries and priests from other islands, but no European has ever been permanently stationed there.

THE ANGLICAN POLICY OF MISSIONIZATION

The Anglicans' policy of missionization has always been one of moderation. Bishop Selwyn stated, in 1847:

'...the aim of all missions should be to show that Christ's religion is adapted to the circumstances and customs of all nations and every clime, and no established habits should be interfered with, unless they are directly contrary to the declared will of God.' (Occ. Papers Mel. Miss., 1847:22).

Their objective was to 'conserve as much as possible of the traditional social and cultural order as the basis of a Melanesian Christian church' (Ibid.:194). The object of missions was 'not to make the native Christian something quite different in every respect to what he was as a heathen, but to help the convert to be a better person, not to become a half-baked European ...' (Hilliard, 1978:194).

The Anglicans believed in supplanting native beliefs gently and gradually. It was thought that trust would be obtained if traditional manners and customs were treated sympathetically, and once this trust was established the people would be persuaded to give up old customs and take on new Christian ideals (Montgomery, 1904:138).

Patteson had disapproved of aspects of the ceremonies he had

witnessed on Mota in the 1860s. However, he refused to legislate for his converts, in the expectation that when they had become 'enlightened' by an understanding of the Christian faith they would voluntarily discard any customs they recognized to be inconsistent with their new religion. Though sympathetic, the missionaries took an extremely paternalistic attitude, demonstrated by statements such as the following by Selwyn (Mel. Miss., 1878:21):

'My children are really beginning to sing one hymn very nicely, and to have a faint glimmering of what I am trying to teach them about the birth of Christ. But how strange it all is to them. They know nothing of a king like Herod, of cows, or shepherds and one has to make out the stable of Bethlehem as being very bad indeed, to be worse than their own houses.'

Some of the statements made by missionaries in their efforts to convert must have struck a responsive chord — one can imagine the phraseology of the missionaries being translated into the imagery of traditional beliefs in such statements as Selwyn's (Mel. Miss., 1883:55):

'I told them that as the several parts in the house took its share in the support of the whole building, so each living stone is the heavenly temple.'

As stones have particular significance in Vanuatu, and indeed many are believed to be imbued with *mana*, others to house spirits of dead men, one can imagine how literally they may have taken the missionary's words. Nevertheless such transliterations may have reinforced the bond between Christian and native beliefs, perhaps enabling the Melanesians to see similarities between the Christian teachings and their own traditional beliefs.

The missionaries themselves did not fail to see similarities in many of their own and 'pagan' beliefs. At the first World Missionary Conference at Edinburgh in 1910, a majority of its correspondents and delegates upheld the view that animistic religions contained a 'modicum of truth', which supplied 'points of contact' for Christianity (Hilliard, 1978:191). In Melanesia, some missionaries of the Church of England considered the possibility of a primitive revelation of divine truth and pondered on the similarities of indigenous religion, such as taboos, the outpouring of blood by the sacrifice of pigs and the acquisition of *mana* by set rituals and forms of words (ibid:191).

It is interesting to note the interaction between the Melanesians and their white missionaries, who each looked at the world from their own perspectives: the former related newly introduced concepts to their accustomed environment, the latter from the perspective of the world they had left behind. Bice had taken some pictures with him to use as teaching aids, and himself saw in those pictures the central figure of Christ as the focus point, while the Melanesians focused on those parts of the picture with which they were familiar. Bice wrote (Mel. Miss., 1878:33):

'Their indiscrimination is very curious, for there may be a group of fifty people of supreme interest, and the central figure of our Lord Himself, but if the graphic artist happens to have adorned his picture with a coconut tree or banana, their eyes and thoughts at once fly off to that, to the entire and absolute forgetfulness of everything and everybody else.'

Bice continued:

'It is very odd to hear the reasoning process which goes on in the old men's minds over a large portrait: "What is it?" "Oh, it is eh." "What is it?" "Oh, it is an animal, no, it is a man", and when this discovery has been made, then they pick to pieces the features and their delight and satisfaction are complete.'

The discussion of animal/human distinctions are not surprising. In their own system of beliefs certain birds, fishes and reptiles are closely connected with spirits and therefore regarded with respect. Sharks and snakes, owls, eagles, kingfishers, crabs and eels are looked upon as in some degree sacred and being frequently tenanted by ghosts or spirits (Coombe, 1911:28). Indeed, Coombe wrote that the wizards of Maewo were said to be able to convert themselves at will into eagles, owls, or sharks.

The missionaries were inclined to regard the practices of secret initiation and rank-taking involved in the *sungwe* and *tamate*¹ societies as essentially harmless equivalents of freemasonry. In fact, some of the mission staff who were freemasons were almost afraid to discourage the *sungwe*, feeling that it had so much in it that was akin to masonic rites (Wilson, 1932:76). The men's *sungwe* is a hierarchically graded system based on the acquisition of titles through the performance of rituals; the sacrifice and payment of pigs (and mats), feasting, different regalia for each successive grade, and the acquisition of more powerful *mana* as one reaches the higher grades. The church hierarchy, from lay priest to Archbishop resembles, in effect, the graded title system, with its different regalia for successive titles, the Eucharist, the performance of ritual to attain a higher position and the appropriate respect due to those who have become ostensibly closer to God by attainment of steps in the church hierarchy.

Bishop Patteson, seeing the people practising *sungwe*, said that he did not understand it. He allowed it to continue on the understanding that if it were harmful the people would give it up of their own accord when they became true Christians. Patteson and Selwyn both tried to reform the rites, trying to persuade the men to have *sungwe* without sacrifice, and to do it in one day instead of 100 days. This, however, was not agreed upon by the old *iavus mele* (high status men) who objected to anything which would reduce their importance. The prestige of George Sarawia, the ordained priest of Mota island, who died in 1901, had rested not so much on his office as a Christian priest, as upon his high rank in the Mota *sungwe*. The *sungwe* was allowed to continue without active interference from the missionaries who failed to see that it was tied up to animism and belief in ghosts, which they were trying to displace. The small island of Mota had been nominally Christian for many years, yet Wilson wrote that each time he stayed on Mota he felt that the island was to all intents and purposes heathen, and the missions' work a 'ghastly failure' (Hilliard, 1978:201). Wilson was convinced that the *sungwe* could be neither Christianized nor regulated. The seclusion practised by *sungwe* candidates, and the general excitement of everyone in its preparation and performance made the sober church services and in the discipline of school 'almost distasteful' (ibid:201).

The dying testimony of Robert Pantutun, one of the Mota clergy, on the secret societies was:

'We black people saw all along that these things must make the

teachers worthless. Our white fathers made a mistake in allowing them to continue.' (Wilson, 1932:81).

Finally Patteson came to the conclusion that the *sungwe* was incompatible with Christianity and told the people that they must choose between *sungwe* and Christianity. However, although people were reported to have given up *sungwe*, it was still practised, especially in the months of the hurricane season, from December to April, when all white missionaries returned to Norfolk Island. Although the *sungwe* did not 'die' at that time it was said to have greatly weakened.

In the early 1900s Christianity was still largely an exotic and the notion that Christ was a white man 'perhaps even a sort of Englishman' was deeply rooted in Melanesian thinking (Hilliard, 1978:167). However, the Christian religion seemed to offer advantages to the pagan Melanesian and converts were made for various reasons: economic benefit, curiosity, protection, and prestige. Economic benefit was expected to flow from the Christian schools:

'...they look upon the white man's country as El Dorado, to which they would like to pay a visit themselves to see what they could get there, and since we decline to take the grown up people then the children are handed over to us, and their return with their treasure-trove is eagerly looked for ...' (Mel. Miss. 1879:23).

Some asked for a school out of curiosity — local leaders began to look upon schools in a new light, as a status symbol without which their village was not complete. New diseases, introduced by contact, which failed to be cured by traditional medicines and magic, forced some move to school villages in the hope that the foreigners' God would supply protection. One old man told Rev. Brittain that he had met with an accident and took this as a sign that he should embrace Christianity.

Although white missionaries did not actively interfere with most of the existing traditional beliefs, Christian worship at the turn of the century contained few adaptations to the needs of the Melanesian village congregations. Traditional music was ignored; hymns were translations of English verses sung to English tunes; daily church services were conducted according to the Book of Common Prayer. Some attempts were made to 'baptize' certain Melanesian religious ceremonies, with Christian prayers taking the place of traditional spells and rituals, nevertheless, Durrad wrote, in 1917: 'there is no doubt that social life as a whole is a more drab affair now than it used to be...' (quoted in Hilliard, 1978:198).

Today most people in the coastal villages attend church regularly, and time devoted to prayer meetings and services is still based on the old mission times: daily services in the morning before people go off to work in their gardens, evening services after supper, and a long Sunday morning service. Attending church is so much a part of the daily routine that it forms an important part of the village lifestyle.

Friday night prayer meetings draw a large audience as they usually include faith healing. The format is always the same: many songs are sung at the beginning of the meeting while the first to arrive wait for the latecomers, then the singing picks up and becomes louder and more animated. Two special songs set the mood and are the key to the start of the faith healing. Three or four women, sometimes also the priest, act as mediums for the healing and begin to become ecstatic. Any of the congregation who wishes to be healed walk up to the open

space in front of the altar where the healers are standing. The healers then join hands and begin to 'communicate' with Jesus, first calling on Him in low tones, then with increasingly louder voices, compelling Him to work through them. The lead female voice shouts out, commanding Jesus to show His healing powers through their hands. The other healers repeat phrases such as 'Sweet Jesus' or 'Hallelujah Jesus', laying their hands on the sick, who also go into a trance, sometimes falling to the ground. After several minutes of shouting, the voices subside and the sick are helped up and back to their seats. All the while the congregation sings in low tones. When all the sick have been treated in this manner, the healers join hands again and pray and then return to their seats.

Compare the above description of the modern faith healing services with what Rivers recorded about northern Vanuatu in 1914 (Rivers 1914:164):

'Certain forms of illness are due to possession by a *tamate* (ghost) or a *vui* (a spirit which has never been a human being). The effects of the two kinds of possession are quite different. Illness may also be due to capture by a *vui* of the *atai* (soul). If a person meets a hostile *tamate* it may enter into him and may become raving mad. He is caught with difficulty, mastered and held down by a number men. A leaf treatment is applied to the sick man's nose and applied again and again and the sick man calls out the names of the *tamate* within him, being violently convulsed as he utters them. At last he becomes calm and limp and after a time revives and becomes well'.

The form of other church services is that of the European service: songs, a reading from the Bible, prescribed readings from a prayer book, and a story with a moral message. But they have a peculiarly Melanesian touch. The emotional aspects of religion such as faith healing and attendant ecstasy, and singing, especially lively action songs, where the whole congregation is able to physically participate by jumping, running and clapping to the time of a song and its accompanying guitar music, are more in accord with *kastom* songs and dances and are incorporated into the content of all church services.

There is still no resident European missionary or priest but there are several ordained Melanesian priests living on the island and numerous visits are made by Christian Brothers from the Solomon Islands and by bishops and priests from other islands. Bishops are given a traditional welcome dance by high grade men dressed in their particular grade regalia — outward and visible signs of the existence of the grade system. The dance is then followed by a church service where the bishops, in turn, display their outward and visible signs of 'grade costume' in the church hierarchy. The graves of men contain elements of both *kastom* and church symbolism: a wooden cross on top of the burial mound while around it are planted the trees which provide the leaves used for the men's *kastom* dress. Tagaro, the legendary hero believed to have once lived on the northern end of Maewo until someone stole his tusked pig, and whose adventurous exploits are still recounted with glee, is thought of, and spoken about, as 'olsem Jisas' (Bislama: like Jesus).

Church attendance is normally high in the coastal villages. The coastal *nakamal* (Bislama: men's clubhouse) have now lost their former religious significance and are now empty of sacred objects — even women may enter the coastal *nakamal*, though not when men are

inside. This is not true of the *nakamal* in the bush villages which are strictly forbidden to women and which house paraphernalia and large wooden images believed to be imbued with a powerful spiritual quality of their own — the higher the grade associated with the image, the more powerful it is, so much so that any female who touches it will become sick and perhaps die. Visiting Christian Brothers who stayed overnight in one of these *nakamal* expressed shock at this belief.

Active sorcery has ostensibly been eliminated on Maewo, though the belief in its efficacy is still strong and on walking past some graves I was told that the people buried there had been killed by sorcery some years ago. However, several people in the village know how to perform 'magic' and still do so upon request. At one such performance put on for entertainment in the dance area in front of the church, the village priest was in a quandary as to what position to take as far as magic and the church were concerned, and wondered aloud what the Bishop would say if he knew that they were performing magic. However, he explained it to his own satisfaction and that of his parishioners as being 'something blong God'.

Formal education on the island is at schools scattered widely apart, taught in English by ni-Vanuatu teachers, but only to an elementary level. The primary source of knowledge of the growing child is that which is imparted at the village level through songs and dances (performed at frequent inter- and intra-village festivities depicting myths and folklore), stories told by the old people, in informal gatherings and sometimes also at mid-week prayer meetings, and on the everyday walks through their natural environment, the latter having direct bearing on their epistemology. Growing up on Maewo, with the daily visits to scattered and distant gardens, a child learns the intricacies of plant life: plant names, plant properties, and specific plants to be used or avoided. On each day's walk to the gardens one passes plants, sticks and stones which have medicinal or spiritual properties, knowledge of which has been discussed and internalized: this red berry if swallowed will keep away the devil; those white sticks must not be touched by any body fluids or the person will fall ill; these leaves will cure a headache; that stone must not be stood upon or it will bring death; the rocks and stones to the right of a certain path hold the spirits of dead ancestors; the holes in that rock were formed by a woman a long time ago who was searching for her lost child; this tree is a woman's tree as it bleeds (the tree exudes a red liquid not unlike blood); etc. The entire environment has traditional meaning, beliefs about which are still passed on orally from one generation to the next. As Florence Coombe wrote, in 1911:

'When Maewo people become Christians the spirit world does not recede from them it comes nearer . . .'
(Coombe 1911:35). This still applies on Maewo today.

Summary

With the early missionaries making infrequent and brief visits to Maewo, the islanders' adjustment to Christianity built up slowly, over a long period of time, and did not eradicate customary expressions of belief. The Anglicans were most adamant in their view that the native customs should not be outlawed and that, unless customs were completely opposed to Christian beliefs (such as warfare and infanticide) the native people should, on the contrary, be allowed to retain all their customs and their traditional way of life. Strangely enough, this has not

been a universal Anglican policy. During early missionization in Australia, the Anglicans denounced all Aboriginal religious belief and ritual in Arnhem Land as being 'of the devil' (Cole 1977:198). Only in recent years have modern Christian theologians come to realize that traditional beliefs can be used to help Aborigines understand Christian ideas of creation, fertility, and land.

G. A. Selwyn's toleration of traditional beliefs in the 1840's and later slowed down the process of Christianization on Maewo in the early days, as was admitted by Robert Pantutun, but it also avoided direct conflict and the emergence of cults.

Narakobi (1977) and Gaqurae (1977) speak of a Melanesian Christianity which allows them to be Christians without giving up their own thought patterns and values for those of the Western world — a Christianity with which they can come to terms through the medium of Melanesian spirituality and ritual. Narakobi writes of 'striking a balance between the authentic Melanesian experience and the new Christian demands', and of differentiating between 'Christ's teaching pure and simple, and the customs of foreign missionaries . . .' (Ibid. 1977:11). Because of the history of contact (relatively free from many outside influences) and the way in which the early Anglican missionaries handled the traditional beliefs on Maewo and their insistence that indigenous customs should not be radically altered, the people on North Maewo at present live according to basic Christian ideals expressed in a Melanesian way. Autochthonous decision-making and liberal missionary attitudes have resulted in a successful emergence of a Melanesian Christianity, but one which allows the Maewo people to incorporate in their belief system the spirituality of their natural environment.

Their belief system lends itself to much flexibility, and the activities of 1981 are unlikely to remain unchanged or unchallenged. Should a charismatic spiritual leader enter the scene it could well swing into a 'Holy Spirit movement' with more emphasis on the ecstatic activities witnessed in the Friday evening faith healing services, at present the only evidence of a hint of such a possible movement. In 1982 Maewo's first airfield was opened, thus enabling easier access to the island whose previous approach was only by sea. It will be interesting to see how this will effect Maewo.

NOTE

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REVIEWS

Grammatical and Semantic Aspects of Fitzroy Valley Kriol. By Joyce Hudson. Darwin: Summer Institute of Linguistics, Australian Aborigines Branch (Series A, Volume 8), 1983. Pp. xiv + 191. Price \$4.75.

This volume is one of a number of similar publications produced by the Summer Institute of Linguistics, Australian Aborigines Branch, to make the results of research by its members more widely available. It is a slightly revised version of an MA thesis submitted to the Australian National University in 1981, by a fieldworker who has spent thirteen years in the Kimberley area of northwest Australia studying the Walmajarri language and, more recently, Kriol, the English-based creole of much of northern Australia.

As the title indicates, the volume is devoted to a description of grammatical and semantic aspects of the form of Kriol spoken in the Fitzroy Valley in the south-western corner of the Kimberley region. This form differs from other forms of Kriol in a number of minor, though as yet not completely studied, ways.

The study is divided into two parts corresponding to the areas of focus indicated in the title, with two additional introductory chapters giving background historical and linguistic information and notes on the orthography used, verb morphology, pronouns, topicalization and tagging. The grammatical aspects covered in Part I include prepositions (such as *blanga*, *langa*, *fo*, *from*, *garra*), verbless sentences and their transforms, which are required when tense and/or aspects are introduced (because these categories are only associated with verbs), and the morpheme *jelp*, which is used to indicate reciprocal, reflexive and restrictive relationships. The semantic aspects focussed on in Part II include lexical and grammatical items, which, although they can generally be traced to English or Aboriginal language sources, have acquired new meanings or uses in Kriol and are therefore the source of many misunderstandings between Kriol and non-Kriol speakers. Two appendices complete the volume. One of these contains five texts in Kriol spoken by speakers of different ages, and the other, texts in the PidginEnglish spoken by non-Kriol speaking adults in the same area.

The author takes the view that Fitzroy Valley Kriol (like other forms of Kriol) is an Aboriginal language (albeit a modern one) and not some form of English, despite its historical connection with English. This means that the language is described in its own terms and not in relation to English (as

is often done in pidgin/creole studies involving English as a source language) and its similarities with Aboriginal languages, especially Walmajarri, emphasized.

The author claims that Fitzroy Valley Kriol was introduced into the area by 'a truckload of Aborigines' from near Hall's Creek in 1955. It is clear from other evidence contained in this volume (e.g., the prior existence of an Adult Pidgin in the valley (Appendix 2); the absence of certain Hall's Creek vocabulary items in Fitzroy Valley (p. 8)) that this cannot be the full story and that there is need for much further investigation in this area.

The volume is very good value at \$4.75.

T.E. DUTTON
Australian National University

Pacific between indigenous culture and exogenous worship. By W.A. Poort. (Translated from the Dutch by W.L. van Os-Thompson) Hilvarenbeek, the Netherlands (2nd edition) 1983. Pp. 68.

During a period working with the Protestant Church in French Polynesia, the author distributed questionnaires to 'dozens of churches' in Oceanic Polynesia, the Solomons, New Caledonia, the New Hebrides and Papua New Guinea. He did not include New Zealand nor most of New Guinea within his direct enquiries, so important minority religious groups like the Mormons, or Ringatu or 'Marching Rule' on Malaita were excluded from his direct purview.

The object of these enquiries was to find out to what extent a former 'indigenous culture' was embedded in contemporary Christian worship. Unfortunately the enquiries were neither detailed enough, specialized enough nor sufficiently representative to give a wide enough picture for guidance towards bringing Christian ritual in Oceania closer to the assumed traditional needs of the very variable local communities. Actual participation in worship is necessary to make an attempt like this worthwhile.

WILLIAM H. NEWELL
University of Sydney

Extracts from Journals relating to the visit to New Zealand of the French Ship St Jean Baptiste in December 1769 under the command of J.F.M. de Surville. By Isabel Olliver and Cheryl Hingley (transcriber and translator). Wellington: Alexander Turnbull Library Endowment Trust in association with the National Library of New Zealand, 1982.

De Surville visited New Zealand in 1769 remaining at Doubtless Bay fourteen days before setting out for Peru, a third of his

crew dead, the remainder sick, his ship damaged. He reached his goal, becoming the first European to cross the Pacific west to east via the southern hemisphere. This volume includes all the known Journals of the New Zealand part of this expedition. Included are de Surville's record and log, those of his second in command Guillaume Labé, of second lieutenant Pottier de l'Horme, and two versions of a summary account written by Pierre Monneron, *écrivain*. Reproductions of the illustrative plates and charts are also included. The translator provides a parallel English text following the French line by line, and annotated where obscurities occur. Bibliographical reference is full, though not easy to follow because of the absence of an index. Introductions are provided by Anne Salmund and by the translators. More extensive historical annotation of the texts would have been an advantage.

Dr. Salmund sets out the reasons for publishing these journals. Sub-titled *Early Eyewitness Accounts of New Zealand, No. 1*, it is the first of a series of original documents which, Dr Salmund believes, will correct the view, created by Firth and Buck, that a uniform and stable Maori society existed in pre-European times. It is in no sense a denigration of the importance of this project to say that such a view has not been taken seriously by scholars for a long time, if indeed, it ever was. On the other hand the 'lay public' has for long been exposed to notions of Maori culture which have little to do with history and anthropology, and everything to do with the creation of a national myth for a people insecure in its identity. Perhaps it is to do this that Dr Salmund alludes.

In the event, the accounts given by officers of the *St Jean Baptiste*, accord very closely with those which appear for the region north of the Bay of Islands in Journals and accounts written fifty or more years later. What is most interesting, however, are the details given by the visitors and their relationship to the area and the people who lived in it. De Surville's expedition 'kidnapped' a Maori chief, called in the accounts as 'Naguinou' (de l'Horme) who has on the basis of both documentary research and ethnography been identified by R. R. D. Milligan as Ranginui. Milligan's meticulous work fixes many other names and details that can only be guessed at from a study of the originals.

Milligan's (1958) results appear to have escaped the attention of those who have written the introductions. Milligan notes 'In 1953, in order to bridge various gaps in the records and at the author's request, the Alexander Turnbull Library procured a number of supplementary documents [i.e., supplementary to the Spanish version of Monneron's account, a photocopy of which

is held by the library but not included in this volume]. These consist mainly of photostat copies of the original journals of Surville, Labé, l'Horme, and Monneron. Copies of an incomplete set of illustrations accompanying the journals were also obtained . . .', (Milligan 1958:184).

In other words the Turnbull possessed the de Surville materials because Milligan requested them. This ought to have been mentioned in the introduction: credit where it is due. Milligan raises two intriguing questions. First, why, when Ranginui was aboard the ship (evidently happy enough, until he fell ill and died off Juan Fernandez on 25 March 1770), is there no word of Maori in these Journals? This, he thinks, points to the existence of a linguistic document not, so far, found. Perhaps there is one trace. A bay appears on the Dalrymple version of the chart (p. 219) as Mongalua Harbour, which de Surville liked the look of but could not visit. Milligan (p. 199) thinks that this is what is now known as Mangonui, but *Mongalua*, transliterates as Manga-rua, which fits well enough. What is the source of the name? Anyone who knows the Ngati Kahu, knows that this is where *r* becomes *l*. The chances are that the name was gained from Ranginui, perhaps from some note added by de Surville or Craik.

Milligan's second question concerns the whereabouts of the artefacts, including a 30 foot canoe, which de Surville collected. He notes that he attempted to move the New Zealand government to search, via its Paris embassy, for the artefacts, but without result. Besides making somewhat recondite historical materials accessible, publication of these journals will perhaps bring this matter to government attention. A further outcome will be the reinstatement of de Surville's reputation. His expedition carried out careful work under adverse circumstances and his actions, both by Maori codes and those of the 18th century navigators, were humane — at least as humane and possibly more so, than Cook's.

This volume, and the series, is welcome as an addition to the resources available to Pacific scholars. It is to be hoped that more extensive annotation, linking the Journals to modern scholarly work, will be included in later editions.

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 MILLIGAN, R. R. D. 1958. 'Ranginui, Captive Chief of Doubtless Bay, 1769.' *Journal of the Polynesian Society*, 67:3, 181-203.
 ROGER OPPENHEIM
University of Auckland

Decentralization and Political Change in Melanesia: Papua New Guinea, The Solomon Islands and Vanuatu. By Ralph R. Premdas and Jeff S. Steeves. University of the South Pacific (South Pacific Forum Working Paper No. 3) 1984. Pp. iv + 200.

This monograph is essentially six separate chapters on political aspects of decentralization written at different times in the past five years. About half the monograph concerns PNG, where the experience of decentralization is longer, more complex and more interesting. Much of the rest relates parallel experiences in the Solomon Islands; the final chapter, a quarter of the book, co-authored with Peter Larmour, on the Western breakaway movement in the Solomon Islands, has also been published in the journal *Pacific Studies* (a situation referred to neither there nor here). Ironically the short chapter on Vanuatu is the most recent, but so is the very limited experience of decentralization. Hence much of the monograph explains the evolution and not the experience of decentralization.

The underlying theme of the monograph is that political problems were greater than administrative problems in achieving successful decentralization: national governments, despite the rhetoric of plans and speeches, were content to maintain the centralization of power through 'neo-colonial' control of provincial governments. Whilst there is much evidence to support this theme, more extensive evidence from PNG especially demonstrates that there were also critical administrative problems and both political and administrative mismanagement; nowhere is this better spelled out than in Bill Standish's monograph *Provincial Government in Papua New Guinea: Early Lessons from Chimbu* (IASER, Port Moresby, 1978), a source apparently not consulted by Premdas and Steeves (whose account of change in PNG essentially stops around 1980, at much the same time as Premdas' precipitate departure). Indeed, surprisingly little in the monograph suggests familiarity with the local problems of decentralization and secession; much is derived from analysis of bureaucratic proposals and constitutions. Those familiar with the secession movement in Bougainville would scarcely dismiss it as mere (and undefined) 'ethnonationalism' as if ethnicity was the sole factor in secession. Even these historically brief accounts overwhelmingly demonstrate both the strength of regionalism in Melanesia and, perhaps paradoxically, the widespread failure of decentralization. Yet, as the authors wisely note, the global history of decentralization is replete with failures and breakdowns, and not only in countries, such as those of Melanesia, where cultural and linguistic variation is enormous and accentuated by a

landscape of islands. Decentralization has certainly not led to decolonization.

The monograph is modestly entitled a 'working paper' and the School of Social and Economic Development at USP is to be commended for establishing the series. The modesty however is not here unwarranted; the account of the historical evolution of decentralization is scarcely novel, the experience is largely missing and the attempts at comparisons are inadequate. But then this and the numerous misprints and missed references are the essence of a working paper; it provides for those interested in these important themes a basis to work on and some valuable and not easily obtainable information on the administrative structures of decentralization and some response to those structures.

JOHN CONNELL
University of Sydney

Religion in Aboriginal Australia: an Anthology. Edited by Max Charlesworth, Howard Morphy, Diane Bell and Kenneth Maddock. St. Lucia: Queensland University Press, 1984. Pp. xii + 458. Price: \$35.00 hard cover.

This book is an anthology of scholarly descriptions and analyses of aspects of Australian Aboriginal religious thought and practice, intended for the general reader, although no doubt it will be valued as a textbook in tertiary institutions. The collection has a considerable time depth, including contributions ranging from the work of Howitt (1830-1908) to young scholars such as Bell and Morphy. The book does some justice, I think, to the richness and variety of Aboriginal religious practice and belief, and represents a fair spectrum of the variety of analytical approaches to the subject, but with some notable omissions.

The book is divided into four sections. The section entitled "The Foundations of Aboriginal Religious Life" begins with papers on ancestral beings, including Hiatt's and Munn's now classic papers on swallowing and regurgitation in Aboriginal myth and rite, and on transformations. Maddock's general survey of concepts of world-creative powers should have preceded the other two. Contributions by Tonkinson and Warner represent opposing views in the debate on Aboriginal spirit conception beliefs and the alleged ignorance of the physiological basis of paternity. Then Stanner's article on religion, totemism and symbolism is followed by Berndt's paper on religion and the moral law. These two contributions succeed in conveying to the reader a sketch of some of the fundamental properties of some Aboriginal religious systems.

The title of the second section, "Forms of Religious Experience", perhaps expresses

the hopes of the senior editor for a phenomenology of Aboriginal religion rather than the actual content, which, with the exception of Elkin's contribution, is a collection of functionalist and pre-functionalist descriptions of rituals and their associated beliefs — by Howitt, Spencer and Gillen, and Meggitt. In his introduction to this section Morphy emphasizes that it is hard to separate religious experience from the experience of everyday life, because every action has a referent in the ancestral past, and because the cosmic order is projected into the everyday world in other ways (p.215).

Section Three is on women and Aboriginal religion, introduced by Bell, who repeats her argument that the power of Aboriginal women in the past was underestimated by male and male-biased female anthropologists, and has diminished in the present because the structure of colonial frontier society fosters male power; a view which comes, I suspect, into the Popperian category of unfalsifiable theories. This section is particularly well structured, juxtaposing as it does Roheim's psychoanalytic version of the men/sacred-women/profane model with contributions from Kaberry and Berndt which seek to correct it, and contrasting Bell's stress on a separate women's sphere, with Goodale's piece on the similarity of Tiwi men's and women's religious experience.

In the section "Change in Aboriginal religion" contributions by Kolig, Gray and Morphy document examples of religious change, in support of Charlesworth's introductory argument against the view that Aboriginal religion and culture is ahistorical and timeless. He might have added that many Aboriginal cultures contain a strong ideology of changelessness, even if in fact people are innovative.

The obvious omissions from this book are representatives of the sociological tradition that began with Durkheim and continued in the work of Radcliffe-Brown and Lévi-Strauss, as well as their neo-Marxist heirs such as Hamilton and Bern. This gap is explained in the (useful) introduction by Max Charlesworth in which he accuses Durkheim and his followers of reducing religion to a secondary and derivative position in relation to social organization. Not surprising then that he champions Stanner, who sought to present Aboriginal religion as religion, and not as a reflection of society. In Stanner's analyses, he segregated religious thought and practice, from totemism and from the organization of social life. However, in my view an adequate sociological anthropology of religion, incorporating a sophisticated political framework, is necessary for progress in understanding issues such as, say, the place of religion in gender relations.

Despite my reservations, this volume brings together in a well produced format (although the print is rather small) an interesting collection of papers and extracts of high quality. Curiously, there is as yet no paperback version, making it an expensive buy for the student and non-academic buyer.

IAN KEEN

University of Queensland

La Langue de Tuoho (Phonologie et Grammaire du Cemuhi [Nouvelle-Calédonie]) By Jean Claude Rivière. Paris: SELAF, 1980. Pp. 363.

In recent years, French linguists from the Centre Nationale de la Recherche Scientifique have produced a number of descriptions of languages from New Caledonia and the Loyalty Islands, namely Iaaï, Drehu, and Houailou, together with comparative phonological studies of the dialects in the far south of the territory and comparative lexical materials from languages around Hienghene. This latest description concerns the language of Tuoho, with about 2,000 speakers, on the east coast of New Caledonia.

Jean-Claude Rivière has worked on New Caledonian languages since 1965, specialising in the tone languages of the area. His description of Cemuhi (Tuoho) is based on extensive fieldwork during the period 1971-75.

La Langue de Tuoho is written for the general reader as well as the specialist. As such, it succeeds admirably, providing perhaps the most comprehensive and lucid grammatical account of any New Caledonian language published to date.

The phonology of Cemuhi is complex, and of great comparative historical interest, the laryngeal /h/ representing an earlier post-nasalised consonant cluster, itself of great significance in unravelling the phonological development of the New Caledonian languages. Cemuhi, apart from having six points of articulation for consonants, including a retroflex series, has seven vowels (both long and short) and a set of non-phonemic nasal vowels. Like a number of other New Caledonian languages, Cemuhi is tonal, having three phonemic register tones. Rivière's exposition of the tonemics of the language is clear and concise. In spite of the fact that in 90 per cent of cases the tone of the initial syllable of a word dictates the same tone for the remaining syllables, the complexity of the tonemics is daunting.

The morphology and syntax is given very detailed treatment, proceeding from smaller to larger units. Cemuhi, like Aneityumese in the extreme south of Vanuatu, and Fijian to the east, and indeed most of the New Caledonian lan-

guages, may be described as a VOS language in that noun subjects follow the verb and any noun, object. Like Aneityumese and Fijian, however, the syntactic ordering would be better described as:

S_(pronoun) V_(verb) O_(object) S_(noun)

In sentences containing a verb, the verb phrase begins with a pronoun, whether there be a noun subject or not, any noun subject (occurring after the verb) serving to specify or identify the pronoun subject.

In general, the noun morphology is relatively simple, although there are six noun classes for possession, only one of which (the kin class) follows the expected Melanesian pattern. Even there, the existence of a dual set of inalienable possessive Suffixes, *-o* or *-ng* for the first person singular for example, is highly unusual. Their provenance is not far to seek, however, the first deriving from an object and the second from an expected possessive form. Of more than casual interest, too, are the unconditioned alternations which occur with nouns ending in *-t* or *-p*.

mēt ~ mēlē . . . 'death' [POC *mate]
mūlīp ~ mūlīē . . . 'life' [POC *maqudip]

These examples bring us to the one drawback with the book, namely the use of diacritics to represent /ɛ/ and /ɔ/, and the messy but necessary tone markings. Tone indication is a real problem in terms of devising workable practical orthographies. It is regrettable that a neater solution cannot be devised for the New Caledonian tone languages, especially in an age of increasing use of the local vernaculars in the schools.

Rivière's account of the language of Tuho represents a substantial contribution to Oceanic linguistics, a fine product which has benefited from an unhurried and careful approach.

D.T. TRYON
Australian National University

Textes Nemi (Nouvelle-Calédonie). By Françoise Ozanne-Rivière in collaboration with Poindi Tein, Paris: SELAF. 1979. 2 Vols. Pp. 316. and 365.

Nemi is an Austronesian language spoken in and around the Hienghene area on the east coast of New Caledonia, and is one of the Northern subgroup of the New Caledonian languages.

Françoise Rivière made two field-trips to the area, in 1973 and 1976, and during the course of learning the language she amassed a vast corpus of texts, a number of which are produced in two volumes, in *Textes Nemi*. Rivière's principal collaborator was Poindi Tein, who teamed with Rivière to produce and annotate the

collection.

Textes Nemi consists of two volumes. The first contains texts collected at Kavatch and Tendo, preceded by a phonological statement and grammar sketch of Nemi. The second contains texts collected at Bas-Coulna and Haut-Coulna. This is followed by a Nemi-French lexicon of some one hundred pages (unfortunately not paginated).

The texts are of basically two types, *hingo* and *jama*. *Hingo* are short of fables and moral stories, often told with a droll sense of humour. They may involve animals and supernatural beings, and deal with chieftainships and alliances, indeed the whole gamut of social life and organization. A number involve chieftains' daughters who seek to forge new alliances and challenge and alter existing ones. As such they typify the dynamic nature of New Caledonian society in its traditional setting. The *jama* are mythical accounts explaining the origin of things and of social organization within the Nemi-speaking area. They discuss the origin of the different clans, of cultivated plants and techniques associated with activities required for everyday living. The *jama* could be considered a mixture of myth and history. They are complemented by one *hwadu*, an anecdotal piece.

The forty-two texts are provided with both an interlinear and a free translation, and such footnoting as is required to ensure their comprehensibility.

The collection of Nemi texts is valuable from both an anthropological and linguistic point of view. The texts provide a rich insight into the social and material life of the Nemi, and as such will be of considerable interest to ethnographers in Oceania. Linguistically they are excellent, for the phonological statement, grammar outline and detailed lexicon allow one to follow the texts closely, thus providing a large body of materials in an area which until now has been very much a linguistic unknown to Austronesianists. The whole has been put together with sensitivity and care and provides an anthology which would well serve as a model to future fieldworkers as they work through the text materials they have so painstakingly collected, yet which often fail to see the light of day.

D.T. TRYON
Australian National University

South Simbu: Studies in Demography, Nutrition, and Subsistence. Research Report of the Simbu Land Use Project, Volume VI. Edited by R.L. Hide. Boroko, Papua New Guinea: Institute of Applied Social and Economic Research. 1984. Pp. xxiv + 508. Price: K5.00.

Simbu Province is located within the central highlands of Papua New Guinea. The northern half of the Province is at altitudes

above 1400 metres and includes 95 percent of the people. Through the 1970s there were signs of agronomic stress in the north; high and increasing population densities aggravated the concern. The Simbu Land Use Project (SLUP) was commenced in 1979 with the 'major aim of providing a primary data base leading to the formulation of practical recommendations for maintaining and improving subsistence agriculture and nutrition within Simbu' (p. 1). R.L. Hide joined the project in October 1980. His brief was to initiate and coordinate research in the southern half of the Province where environmental, demographic and social conditions were vastly different from those in the north. A training role for Papua New Guinean nationals was built into this South Simbu Section of SLUP. Finally, the work had an added cutting-edge: there was an ongoing debate about the potential for resettling Northerners within South Simbu and there was the fact and impact of unauthorized migration into the south.

The work under review is the report of the South Simbu Section of SLUP. Although it is numbered as the sixth SLUP report it is, in fact, the second to appear. It is an exhaustive but not polished presentation of results. Hide as editor is also sole author of two chapters, co-author of six others and, presumably, responsible for the unattributed 'Conclusions and Recommendations'. Key chapters deal with: (1) environment, society and history, (2) population, (3) health services, (4) nutritional status of children, (5) agriculture, (6) exploitation of wild animals and (7) informal settlement. The chapter on wild animals is the only one to explore the South Simbu data in a comparative frame. The abundant data are displayed in 110 tables, 40 figures and eight appendices. There are data on infant mortality rates, new acceptors of contraception, incidence of polygynous marriages, inpatient and outpatient admissions to Health Centres, variation in nutritional status between lithological categories, sweet potato yields, results from potassium application trials, distribution of shot guns, capture of wild mammals and more. It is sometimes exhausting; less empirically minded anthropologists may find little to interest them and wonder what it is all about. The data, necessarily, are of varied quality but the result is without equal as a data base for anyone planning ecological or contemporarily-focussed research in South Simbu. While most of the data refer to the two years of the survey there is sufficient historical perspective for a theme of past change, current change and an uncertain future to emerge clearly from the study. That theme returns us to the purpose of the study.

For reasons of environment, cultural tradition and history, the South Simbu are distinct from the North Simbu. Low but increasing population density, a diversified subsistence base and on-going difficulties of access to modern institutions (e.g. cash cropping, medical) mean that South Simbu populations are vulnerable to impacts from outside. Should they, or can they, be left alone? Hide provides an excellent summary of findings and, where the issue is delicate, a cautious set of recommendations. He notes 'an increasing demand for southern land by persons from elsewhere' and that 'land alienation is a politically contentious issue within the South Simbu population' (p. 422). He recommends 'establishment of the appropriate forum or committee for extended deliberation . . .' (p. 423). The message is clear. The South Simbu will change. This study may help soften the blows — it was initiated at an early phase — but it cannot redirect them.

PETER D. DWYER
University of Queensland

Mythes et Contes de la Grande-Terre et des Iles Loyauté. By Jean-Claude Rivière, Françoise Ozanne-Rivière and Claire Moysse-Faurie. Paris: SELAF, 1980. (LACITO—documents: Asie-Austronésie 3). Pp. 226, including 1 map (of the languages of the region).

This is a collection of fifteen texts in six mainland and two Loyalties languages. J-C Rivière is responsible for 3 stories and one song in the Cémuhi language (p. 43-95), one story and one myth in Paici (p. 98-125), and one story from the Isle of Pines (p. 167-175); for two myths in Pije (p. 11-25), one story in Fwái (p. 27-41), and for versions of two Iaii texts originally recorded by Jean Guiart (p. 177-201); Moysse-Faurie for a two-part myth in Xârâguré (p. 127-165) and a text in Drehu (p. 203-223).

The purpose of the collection, published after the appearance of a guide to the phonetic description, orthography, and classification of New Caledonian and Loyalties languages (Haudricourt et al. 1979), was to illustrate the alphabets proposed and exemplify the cultural traditions available for record and publication.

Each text is displayed in a series of spreads of two facing pages, the right-hand page carrying the original text with inter-linear word-for-word translation, and the left-hand page a running French translation. For each text the informant's name and date of recording are noted, together with the names of those who may have assisted in the word-for-word translation. Except for the texts edited by Moysse-Faurie, there are no introductory notes, but footnotes give any local information required by the reader (the note for p. 134.21 has been

lost).

The collection is generally marked by an economy of presentation and learned apparatus, which makes it particularly useful for its stated purpose. There are inconsistencies of presentation which limit this effectiveness in minor ways: only the Cèmuhi and Paici texts have a list of the abbreviations used in their word-for-word translations, yet other sections would have benefited by the use of them (e.g. *assertif*) or by a reference to them (e.g. *p.s.* is used p. 13.1, 29.7; one has to find it explained as *particule sujet* p. 97); and there are a few slips: p. 188.67, for *fougèrent* read *fougères*; p. 216.56, there is one more Drehu word than there is French; and p. 180.6, it is not clear why *watoo* is claimed to be Polynesian. Essentially, then, an excellent publication.

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K.J. HOLLYMAN
University of Auckland

Hula Ki'i Hawaiian Puppetry. By Katharine Luomala. Honolulu: The Institute for Polynesian Studies. 1984. Pp. xi + 185. Price: \$A29.95 (hardback).

Katharine Luomala's work is well known and her writing on Pacific folklore qualifies her well for the task she has undertaken in this book.

In three separate sections we are introduced consecutively to a description of museum puppet figures and heads: functions and kinds of *hula ki'i*; and narratives about magical and legendary images imitating people in the Hawaiian islands. The book includes 59 illustrations, including the portraits of Kamehameha the Great and those who reigned after him until 1893, *hula* and *hula ki'i* performers and performances, and the museum items studied.

The book traces the history of Hawaiian puppetry, particularly of a small number of puppet figures and heads found in European and United States museum collections. The author provides the reader with detailed descriptions (including photographs) of the various items: 'The assembled figure, approximately 52.07 cm. high, has four separate parts . . . (p. 17). She also presents and discusses the various conjectures of earlier scholars as to the origin, significance, and constructional techniques utilised in making each item. For those whose primary interest is in this form of investigation, this is a painstaking study of Hawaiian puppet figures and

heads held in museums around the world.

The book presents a great deal more to the reader than a discussion of museum items. In the course of discussing the functions and kinds of *hula ki'i* Luomala gives us many insights about the people for whom these puppets provided either private or public entertainment. She has painstakingly gleaned both contemporary and later comment by observers and researchers, on the importance of puppet displays and the social attitudes and cultural assumptions of participants.

Finally, we are introduced to the heroes and heroines of Hawaiian narrative who were portrayed as images, and to the incidents in which they are involved.

In all, this is a closely researched book which provides both detailed technical information on museum items and insights into Hawaiian social forms and attitudes during the nineteenth (and on into the twentieth) century.

W.H. GEDDES
Deakin University

In the Field. By R.G. Burgess. Sydney: George Allen and Unwin. 1984. Pp. xiv + 254. Price: \$14.95 paper back, \$34.95 hard back.

Sociologists who have grown dissatisfied with survey methods are showing an increasing interest in micro-studies, using what they regard as the field methods of social anthropologists. This book is a competent introduction to such methods. The student is guided through the problems of picking a fieldsite and gaining access to it. The three main methods of field research — participant observation, interviews (both structured and conversational) and the use of personal documents — are detailed. The book concludes with a discussion of ethical problems and some rather mechanical comments on evaluating field studies. The illustrative materials are drawn from accounts of western industrialized societies written by natives. It is a long way from social anthropology.

PAUL ALEXANDER
University of Sydney