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VALEDICTORY LECTURE BY PROFESSOR HENRI J.M. CLAESSEN

Toon van Meijl

On Friday 30 September 1994, Prof. Dr Henri J.M. Claessen officially retired as professor of anthropology from the University of Leiden. He presented his valedictory lecture, entitled *Factoren gekoppeld: Over de evolutie van de sociaal-politieke organisatie* ('Factors Connected: On the Evolution of Socio-Political Organisation'). In this lecture Henri Claessen provided a clear and concise overview of the impressive results of his research into the origins and evolution of the Early State. Claessen published widely on the evolution and devolution of Early States, and (co-) edited a number of influential volumes which have been acclaimed throughout the world.

Henri Claessen began his career in anthropology relatively late. He enrolled at university after he had begun working as a teacher. Initially, he studied social geography, but he switched to anthropology as soon as he became acquainted with it. He completed his doctoral dissertation in 1970, in which he compared the socio-political organisation of five prehistoric principalities, namely Tahiti, Tonga, Dahomey, Buganda and the Inca empire, which had been selected because of their historic independence (Claessen 1970). In order to characterise the distinctive features of the socio-political formations of those five societies, he examined the respective relationships between royal households, nobility and common people. Although the theoretical assumptions of his doctoral research project were chiefly functionalist, the main concern of his research was with the comparative aspects of his inquiry. This has remained the most important topic in Claessen's work.

Professor Claessen's interest in the Pacific dates back to the time of his doctoral research: two of the five societies under scrutiny were located in Polynesia. Claessen kept a special, albeit not exclusive, interest in this region until the end of his career. In later years he shifted the focus of his concern to some extent, to Africa. One day of the two-day seminar organised on the occasion of his retirement was focussed around the theme 'Continuity and Change in African Political Systems'; the other day centered on 'Interdisciplinary Collaboration in the Study of Early States'. At the end of the seminar entitled 'Complex Interaction: Early States in Comparative Perspective', a *Festschrift* edited by three former students of professor Claessen, namely Martin van Bakel, Renée Hagesteijn and Pieter van de Velde, was presented to him. The volume in honour of Henri Claessen contains an interesting collection of essays on that aspect of Early States which for some reason had never been given the attention it deserves: the ethnic component of Early States. The collection reflects the interdisciplinary approach which Claessen has consistently advocated and includes contributions by anthropologists, archaeologists, historians, and political scientists. In addition, it contains a useful overview of the research programme on Early States initiated by Claessen at the University of Leiden, as well as a bibliography of his work.

In the meantime, Professor Claessen continues to dedicate himself to his greatest love: teaching. He will continue to teach voluntarily one course each semester over the next five years at the Centre for Pacific Studies on that topic which has intrigued him from the outset of his anthropological career: the study of the development and decline of socio-political organisation, particularly in Polynesia. Thus, he has committed himself to the further development of Pacific Studies in the Netherlands.

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WISHFUL THINKING IN ABORIGINAL STUDIES: A NOT-SO-NICE BUT VERY HISTORICAL PERSPECTIVE ON THE RELATIONS BETWEEN 'ARRERNTÉ LAW' AND 'CATHOLIC LAW'

by Jolien Harmsen

As a white, Dutch historian presently engaged in Caribbean studies. I am beginning to believe that to have an interest in the field of Aboriginal studies from a peripheral position such as mine carries considerable advantages. For one, I am less inclined than some to over-emphasize the Strong and Positive in contemporary Aboriginal culture, at the expense of a balanced historical awareness of 'what really happened' (admittedly a hazardous ambition in times of deconstructivism).

In *Oceania Newsletter 13* (1994: 7-8), I reported on the results of the research which I performed in late 1991 in the archives of the Order of the Sacred Heart in Sydney, and in Santa Teresa, a former Sacred Heart mission, 80 kms. southeast of Alice Springs. My aim was to reconstruct the mission's history (starting in Alice Springs in 1936), paying particular attention to how, and why, its Eastern-Arrernte residents did, or did not, become Catholics, and with what implications for their ancestral traditions of Arrernte Law.

In my MA-thesis, I explained as the most striking thing about this confrontation that, from the start, Arrernte people distinguished between Catholicism as 1) a body of valuable religious knowledge, and 2) 'the church': a finger on the hand of white colonialism. According to my story, Arrernte people considered the Catholic faith, like all things religious, valuable material, and actively adopted it to support and express the spirituality of Arrernte Law - the ceremonial vehicles of which (knowledge, rites, sacred sites) had been seriously decaying since the advent of white pastoralists to Central Australia in the late 19th century. As for the church as an institution with its priests, dormitories, and paternalism - this they took as they took the rest of colonialism: in changing combinations of hurt, anger, bitterness, and astuteness.

David Wilkins, in *Oceania Newsletter 14* (pp.7-9), a linguist with years of fieldwork experience among Alice Spring's Central Arrernte people, wondered in response to my article, *'Whether the relation between Arrernte traditions and Catholicism is one of syncretism, or whether Arrernte values have in fact completely absorbed and reinterpreted Catholicism in line with traditional views of kinship, country and totemism'*. Wilkins favours the latter view; I favour neither. Wilkins argues that *"the Church"* (which Church remains unclear, surely not the Catholic one) allowed the translation of 'God' as **Altyerre**, meaning 'Dreamtime' in Central and Eastern Arrernte. According to Wilkins, the use of this Arrernte word enabled the Arrernte to interpret Christian sermons in terms of Arrernte Law. Wilkins also demonstrates this process at work. Where I quoted three Eastern Arrernte women as saying *"God is the one who made everything"*, Wilkins explains that what they actually **meant** to say was something along the line of: *"Everything was created by the ancestral beings in the Dreamtime' (where 'God', in fact, equates to 'Altyerre')"* According to Wilkins, Arrernte Law *"is, and remains, a rich and complex set of religious views"* - capable now, as it was then, of providing Arrernte people with a sense of identity and with modes to express their religious views. Catholicism, if it did anything, at the most augmented this.

On the basis of my own research (far more limited in scope) and my non-existent linguistic skills, I cannot but disagree with Wilkins. My disagreement is mostly one of interpretation. It centers around three themes: 1. linguistics; 2. historical awareness; 3. the study of religions. With respect to the second and third themes, I will argue that wishful thinking is at play, of which Wilkins' article is a modest example. I will use his article to outline an argument which would be more fruitfully directed at the dozens of popular-scientific books recently published on Aboriginal 'art-history' and 'traditional' culture, many of which display an demonstrable lack of historical awareness. As Sackett (1991) has demonstrated, the 'icon of the Aborigine' threatens to extend beyond the coffee-table as well.

As for my first point, that of linguistics, contrary to Wilkins' statement, I have never heard Catholic Arrerntes use of the word **Altyerre** for "God". Instead, they invariably used the word **Ngkarte** (e.g. **Ngkarte Mikwekenhe** - the 'Mother-of-God Aboriginal Catholic parish' in Alice Springs). **Ngkarte** is translated in the 1991 Wordlist of Western-Arrernte as 'ceremonial leader, God'. This difference in data, nevertheless, quite possibly does nothing to change Wilkins' view that Arrernte people interpreted - nay, **absorbed** - the Christian God in terms of Arrernte Law, without need for a paradigm

shift or change in values. That aspect of his interpretation can only be countered by a real appreciation of the deep destruction which Arrernte Law has suffered over the past century. Here my second point, historical awareness, comes in.

If ever a book wants reprinting, it must be T.G.H. Strehlow's Songs of Central Australia (1971). On page xlvii, Strehlow quotes from his own diary, 'on the evening of 30th July, 1953, at the end of the last Southern Aranda festival ever to be staged at Táka, near Maryvale Station':

"It is a strange thought that all is finished here now. Whenever I look at the ceremonial site, I still expect to see some totemic ancestor coming forward. It is hard to realize that that whole world is finished, and will never come back. At the beginning of time, the day came when the totemic ancestors had to return to their resting places; and now the time has arrived when the last Southern Aranda, too, are due to pass away. There are only thirty Aranda and Andekerinja names in my list of men today; and of all the Southern Aranda men present only Allen has any children - and both of them are girls. The sun that set on Maryvale today saw the close of a native festival such as will never again be held in this area. Men die but once, and the dead do not return. (...). The silence that knows no end is about to close in upon this peaceful site. My heart tonight is sad - because there is no hope that this fate can be averted."

There is a view of (Central-Australian) Aboriginal history in many writings, implicit or explicit, which runs something like this:

- 1) pre - ca 1870: pre-colonial times('eternal'. 'traditional', etc.);
- 2) ca 1870 to ca 1940, almost complete destruction of Aboriginal life and culture;
- 3) ca 1940 - ca 1970, turning of the tide, growing public awareness of the continuing existence of Aboriginal people. arrest of cultural destruction;
- 4) ca 1970 - present: increasing appreciation of Aboriginal culture and revival of Aboriginal spirituality and culture.

There is not a recent study of Aboriginal culture which omits to mention the disastrous events of the first half of this century: the deaths, the sufferings, the indiscriminate shootings. But scarce are the studies which do more than pay lip-service to this period, in whatever evocative terms, to take seriously what has happened, and to delineate the effects it has on subsequent decades of Aboriginal culture. Too often, we are told how the 'discovery' of acrylic paints magically restored this 'oldest living people' with a dignity and spirituality which really had never died anyway. I caricaturize, but for the sake of clarity.

The above time-scale of Aboriginal history is incorrect. It is discontinuous, a-historical, and it confuses two things: 1. physical death and survival; and 2. cultural death and survival. From what my archival and oral history study of Santa Teresa has taught me, the Eastern-Arrerntes suffered worst physically between about 1870 and 1940/50. Since 1953, the population has been on the increase. From a cultural and spiritual point of view, however, there is much to be said for placing the worst period of this in the years after Arrernte people's physical decimation, between about 1940 and 1980 - possibly even a little more recent.

The killings, diseases, forced separations, and geographical alienation, taking place mostly between 1870 and 1940, were horrible experiences. However, as yet, they did not undermine the elementary structures through which Eastern-Arrernte Law was passed on between the generations - which is not to say that important knowledge was not lost during those years. But it was the **continuing** attrition of these transitional structures of the Law, and the increasing influence exerted by ever-expanding church and government services, now penetrating into **all** aspects of daily Arrernte life - residency, work,

marriage, housing, kitchen, school, dormitories, language, 'those pagan ways', recreation, hygiene - which put the axe to the root of Arrernte Law: its transfer between the generations. Alcoholism, following in the slipstream of erosion of the Law, racism, unemployment, and sudden high incomes, provided a (near) death-blow, to individuals as well as the remnants of Arrernte Law.

Viewed in this way, the destruction of Arrernte cultural identity is a recent or even contemporary process, not something of the past, regardless of how much we all - Wilkins as much as I - wish to believe the opposite. We would all dearly love to see a strong and viable Arrernte Law providing these people with a chance to show off their rich ceremonial knowledge, and with a sense of purpose in their personal lives. Right now, however, that is wishful thinking. Numbers of individual Arrernte people have found a place of their own amidst Arrernte Law and Catholic Law; amidst black and white society. But scores of others haven't. Sad and angry though their stories are, they exist. Just as the profound destruction of Arrernte Law exists, and up to this day leaves people with an urgent sense of loss, even sensing the loss of something they have never personally known. The absence of the Law is tangible as its presence. We must speak of this. As Deborah Rose writes: *"to go and live with a group of people, to learn about their social organisation, their ceremonial life, their metaphysics, and to remain silent about their distress is one of the cruelest denials of all."* (1986:28).

Bilingual education, art centres, self-government and landclaims are much-needed initiatives in the process of re-creating Arrernte identity. They are not proof of its enduring existence. Wilkins claims that: *"Arrernte people feel [no] need to re-create Arrernte identity, since that has never been lost."* That statement fits an a-historical, discontinuous perception of Arrernte history, in which cultural destruction is something of the past and really was not a very consequential event anyway. Either that, or Wilkins' perception of 'identity' is so superficial as to mean no more than 'considering oneself an Arrernte person', by which he would indeed sidestep the issue of historical developments in Arrernte identity. It must be said that Wilkins' a-historicism is consistent. In reinterpreting my findings at Santa Teresa, he argues that Arrernte Law remained strong enough to absorb Catholicism so thoroughly as to make it of limited importance in Arrernte religious experience. 'Eaten it' - is an apt description. The fact that Arrernte people in the 1990's continue to call themselves 'Catholics', and devout Catholics at that, must then be taken with a grain of salt, as Wilkins apparently does.

This touches upon my third theme: the study of religions. Like perceptions of Arrernte history, this is an ideologically charged subject. An important rule of thumb in religious studies is never to take seriously what the adherers to a religion say they believe in, and why they believe it. What they say is 'really' something else, and it is the historian's task to unravel what these 'real' motives are - usually material or political gain. In the case at hand, Wilkins draws up two possibilities: either Arrernte Law and Catholic Law have been syncretized, or Arrernte Law has absorbed Catholicism. Wilkins opts for the second view, I opt for neither. In my opinion the crux of Arrernte religious history is that almost right from the start of the mission, these people have maintained two laws: one greatly valued, Arrernte Law, and one considered valuable for its knowledge, though awkward as an institution: Catholicism. To search for the articulation between these two laws, as I started out to do in my own research, is a direct consequence of a dialectic western mode of logical thought: (a) and (non-a) can never be one and the same thing. However, to the Eastern-Arrernte of Santa Teresa, Arrernte Law and Catholic Law, though not the same thing, served the same purpose: both are vehicles for a desire which the Arrerntes, as *homines religiosi* ('people with a religious inclination') have: to express their awareness of spiritual things. Arrernte Law and Catholic Law have been neither melted together (syncretized), nor has been re-interpreted in terms of the other. They exist alongside each other, as discernible, analogous paths serving the same goal: to experience the non-tangible. It is only when researchers like myself, in quest of a logical articulation between the two laws, raise questions regarding things we perceive of as contradictions, that Arrernte people themselves may feel prompted to try and 'solve' these.

Saillant, the process is best compared to language-learning. An amorphous reservoir of thought can only take shape and be expressed through the use of language. A bilingual person can tap either of two

channels to express him or herself. Speaking the one language does not imply doing away within the other, or blending the two languages into a third, 'syncretized' language. However, in time, the two languages may converge towards each other. Also, the language we speak sets the boundaries to what we can think. Similarly, with Arrernte Law and Catholic Law, the vehicles of religious expression will in time influence the experience of the spiritual awareness they aim to touch upon. The development of Arrernte Law next to Catholicism and of Arrernte languages next to English, may prove to contain similarities on a level more profound than is explored in the wishful textual reading Wilkins offers.

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MORE THAN JUST WISHFUL THINKING: THE SURVIVAL OF ARRERNTE WORLDVIEW IS HISTORICAL FACT, NOT ROMANTIC FICTION

by David Wilkins

Jolien Harmsen kindly sent me a copy of her article which appears in this volume. Below is an edited version of a letter dated September 21, 1994, which I sent her in reply. I have also included several brief addenda to support my discussion.

Dear Jolien,

Your reply to my article [Oceania Newsletter 14, 1994:7-9] is very interesting, and does clarify some points to me. It's curious to find one's self portrayed as a romantic wishful-thinker when one thinks of one's self as a hard-nosed pragmatist. Certainly, I do not disagree with your historical account. Cultural contact has taken a heavy toll on the outward trappings of cultural tradition in Central Australia, and the communities there are still embattled and fighting for their lives, as well as their identities. The question, as you rightly point out, may hinge on a definition of cultural identity and whether cultural identity can persist beyond material culture, economic concerns, and ceremonial tradition, and, in fact, find a new voice in a quick-changing world.

As I see it, and as I've experienced it during fieldwork, the primary symbols, philosophies, and theories of nature and being which the Arrernte people that I've worked with bring to bear on everyday problems and issues, can be traced back all the way to the earliest ethnographic accounts. The values engendered in a worldview with primary concerns for kinship, country and ancestral totemism persist. While some ceremonies and practices may have been lost, and while Arrernte people might see their revival as important, these basic ideas and values have not been lost. The assessment and talk of what is right and what is wrong go back to principles with a long (historical) lineage [and which are easily found in the works of Carl Strehlow, Spencer and Gillen, and T.G.H. Strehlow].

Ted Strehlow is a strange expert witness for you to call on, since you would be well aware of the controversies in which he was (and posthumously, continues to be) embroiled. These controversies precisely hinge on the fact that inheritors of the traditions of the Arrernte people he worked with never ceased to refute his claims that the culture and traditions had died with the old men who taught him. His was a vision of a pure, unchanging tradition unable to adapt and which rested crucially on secret

knowledge and ceremonial continuity. But why is this the right view? In talking about the cultural identity of individuals, and the continuity of traditional laws, we are talking about open-access, every-day matters; the values and the theories acquired by individuals in growing up in a particular community in a particular place.

Now, as far as Catholicism is concerned, I think we'd both have to agree that we've presented idealised views. Contact has had an effect on the range and type of possible life choices and personal histories. In fact, individual responses are varied and perhaps syncretism, duality, absorption, nominalism, etc. are all correct characterisations of particular personal responses [see Addendum 1]. All the same, I find it difficult to accept that two laws have been maintained simultaneously. The fact is, they are not kept separate, nor compartmentalized, as one might expect in your view [see Addendum 2]. I presume there was at least one funeral when you were at Santa Teresa. What neat divisions could you discern between cutting of hair, sorry cuts, wailing in mourning, and the organization of the Catholic funeral service and how people behaved during that service?

As a non-Catholic, perhaps my understanding of Catholicism is different from yours. Catholicism for me rests on peculiarly Western traditions, values and history. To understand Catholicism (the way I do) would require being a member of a particular culture. Very few Arrernte people that I work with are fully bicultural, thus I cannot but believe that Catholicism is reinterpreted in some way in line with local context and historically continuous value systems.

It is surely true that when an Arrernte person calls him/herself a Catholic, it cannot be taken for granted *a priori* that we as outsiders will understand precisely what that means. We certainly shouldn't presume that Catholic law means the same thing for us as it does for any individual Arrernte person. Thus, it is our claim to understanding which should be taken with a grain of salt, not an Arrernte person's own personal beliefs concerning their Catholicism.

It is not my intention to be a-historical nor a dreamy-eyed romantic. As a researcher concerned with signs, symbols and behaviours, particularly linguistic signs and behaviours, it is my task to uncover generalisations and to determine the meaning potential of signs and describe how they're deployed in everyday behaviour. It then can be said that my findings show that, even today, Arrernte concerns for kinship, country and totemic belief function to structure the language and govern language use, both Arrernte & Aboriginal English (see, for instance, Wilkins 1993) [see Addendum 3]. It is also a finding that many cultural principles discussed in the earliest ethnographies of Arandic groups have remained essentially intact (Wilkins 1989: Chapt.1). These groups are embattled and struggling and one should not remain silent about their distress. As you would know from the paper I sent you (Wilkins 1992), this is clearly what I believe. Above all, I believe that, for better or worse, one must allow individuals and individual groups to make their own decisions as to what to do under such conditions of contact-induced stress. However, I must also report my findings that when the Arrernte people I have worked with take such decisions there are consistent concerns, values and principles which surface, and if these happen to be traditional in nature, then I am not employing a "wishful interpretation", I am employing the only interpretation which the methods I am trained to use allows. It could have been otherwise, but the continuity of Arrernte worldview is historical fact. This does not mean it is not in peril, nor that it continues without some changes and adaptations.

Thanks for your engaging discussion.

Cheers,
David.

P.S. I'll explain later exactly how *Ngkarte* fits my argument [see Addendum 4].

Addendum 1: One can get a sense of the variety of views Arrernte people hold with respect to Catholicism from the following transcript of proceedings of a meeting of parents and community

members associated with the schools at Ltyentye Apurte (Santa Teresa) and the Ntyarlke Unit of the Catholic High School, Alice Springs, July 1993.

"Q7. What place do you see for the Catholic religion in your children's education in school?

Therese: Catholic religion should be put in front of everything.

F.Palmer: The Catholic religion should be there with the two-way education.

The Men: It should be third after Arrernte language and culture and English. The history of Little Flower Mission to be told and known. Kids should learn some prayers. Should learn what's similar between Aboriginal Dreamtime stories and the Jesus story."

Addendum 2: Harmsen (this volume) claims "Arrernte Law and Catholic Law have been neither melted together (syncretized), nor has one been re-interpreted in terms of the other", but "[p]redominantly they exist alongside each other, as discernable, analogous paths serving the same goal: to experience the non-tangible." This two-independent-tracks view, however, is simply untenable in the face of evidence. The Arrernte section of the Catholic High School was not named the *Ntyarlke Unit* by accident, but because *Ntyarlke* is the name of one of the three caterpillar ancestors that created the Alice Springs region during the Dreamtime. In a report by Mike Bowden (1993), coordinator of the Ntyarlke Unit we hear of an art project which created a mosaic that told the Dreamtime story of the Ntyarlke caterpillar using traditional symbols. The final place for permanent display of the mosaic is the Catholic School grounds, and Bowden (1993:10) writes of this activity that "[i]n this process we endeavoured to marry the aspirations of the parents of the Arrernte children -- for culturally appropriate education -- to the structures and strictures of a school program". In a similar document we hear about how the traditional "smoking ceremony" (a cleansing ceremony) is a way for Catholic Arrernte people to get back in touch with their spirit (Ntyarlke Unit 1993:27-29). On the cover of the *Land Right News* (November 1986) reporting on preparations for the Pope's visit we see a drawing of the Pope face-to-face with an Arrernte man and in large letters near the man are the Arrernte words *Anwernenhe awaye* which were not translated, but which mean Listen to us!, and in smaller letters under the man was the untranslated sentence *unte tyerrtye urrperlekenhe apmerere aneme* 'you're on Aboriginal land'. On the inside pages we find a letter in Arrernte, Polish and English asking the Pope to recognise Aboriginal traditions and landrights, and asking for an acknowledgement of the Catholic Church's part in Aboriginal dispossession and oppression, and we also find that the backdrop being prepared for the Pope's visit to Alice Springs was a traditional painting entitled *Yeperenye Knganentye* (Yeperenye Caterpillar Dreaming) which represents "the country around Alice Springs" and "also contains a warning to people about what will happen if they break Arrernte law". This list of such interactions and intermeshing of views could be continued almost without end. How such facts can be interpreted in terms of Harmsen's independent-but-analogous-paths model, I do not know.

Addendum 3: Use of English words does not entail embodiment of Anglo-worldview, as Harmsen seems to suggest. Based on the work with Aboriginal people in Alice Springs, Jean Harkins (1994:184) has shown that "[t]he distinctive features of Aboriginal English provide the means for expressing meanings that are important to Aboriginal speakers, and for expressing them in ways that are often similar to the ways they are expressed in Aboriginal languages", and so "[i]n effect, this makes it possible to speak English as an Aboriginal language."

Addendum 4: Harmsen (this volume) suggests that there may be significant difference in our data, because she has only heard *Ngkarte* used to translate 'God' as in *Ngkarte M-ikwe-kenhe* (priest/leader/Jesus/God mother-his-possessive) 'The Mother of God', the name of an Arrernte Catholic group in Alice Springs. This need not be the case. As Harmsen correctly points out, *Ngkarte* can mean 'ceremony leader' or 'priest' as well as 'God'. But note, in English one can say "God the Father, God the Son, and God the Holy Spirit". The Arrernte people I have worked with seem to maintain a similar distinction, with 'God the Son' (i.e., Jesus the leader and prophet) referred to as *Ngkarte* and 'God the Creator' referred to with *Altyerre* 'dream, Dreamtime, Dreaming'. Mary could be the mother of 'the leader' or 'the priest', but not of the whole creative force embodied in the Dreamtime, thus "The Mother of God" is "The Mother of God the Son" (literally, 'the leader [or the

priest] his mother'). In translations of a Bible reading prepared for the Catholic Church in Alice Springs we often find both *Ngkarte* and *Altyerre*, distinguished in the way I suggest. For instance, in Luke 9:28b-36, the line "Peter said to Jesus, 'Master, it is wonderful for us to be here'" is translated as *Peter Jesus-ke angkeke, "Ngkartaye, mwarre kngerre anthurre kwenhe anwerneke nhenhe anetyeke"* (Peter Jesus-to said, "Leader-emphatic god big very ASSERT us-for here-at be-in.order.to"), with *Ngkarte* used to translate 'master' in reference to Jesus. However, the phrase "This is the gospel of the Lord" which is used to close the reading, is translated as *Altyerre-kenhe angke-tye kwenhe nhenhe* (Dreamtime-possessive speak-normaliser ASSERT this), literally 'these are truly the Dreamtime's words'. Here, where we're talking about the source of the words, the creative force *Altyerre* is used to translate Lord. This is consistent with my original argument (in Wilkins 1994). I must admit, however, that given the various responses to Catholicism illustrated in Addendum 1 above, I would not be surprised if some speakers of Arrernte did indeed extend *Ngkarte* to refer to God in all his Catholic manifestations, including the creation source.

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REPORT OF WORKSHOP ON NEW GUINEA 'AS A FIELD OF ANTHROPOLOGICAL STUDY'

by Jan van Nieuwenhuijsen

Last year the Centre for Pacific Studies at the University of Nijmegen invited a number of Dutch anthropologists and linguists to discuss the possibility of applying the so-called FAS approach -- the

Leiden method of comparative research -- to New Guinea. So far Indonesia is the only area that has extensively been studied by the adherents of this approach. The seminar was held on August 29, 1994, in Nijmegen. Some fifteen scholars participated, most of whom also presented a summary discussion paper.¹ As not all the participants fully endorsed the FAS approach the discussions centred as much on the concept as such, as on its possible application to New Guinea. Hence first of all a brief note on the concept at issue.

FAS stands for Field of Anthropological Study. This concept was initiated under the name Field of Ethnological Study in the mid-1930's by J.P.B. de Josselin de Jong (called JPB for short), at the time professor of ethnology at the University of Leiden. He defined fields of ethnological study as 'certain areas of the earth's surface with a population whose culture appears to be sufficiently homogeneous and unique to form a separate object of ethnological study, and which at the same time apparently reveals sufficient local shades of differences to make internal comparative research worthwhile'(1977:167-8).

JPB concentrated his pioneering efforts on the Malay Archipelago and on the basis of the then available anthropological studies he came to the conclusion that the societies in that area had a structural core of four social phenomena or core elements, namely an asymmetric connubium, double descent, socio-cosmic dualism, and a remarkable resilience towards foreign cultural influences. In his seminar paper on the history of this concept, and analogous concepts, Jan Avé remarked that JPB's field of ethnological study was meant to be a working concept for future research, focused on a distinct territory with objective cultural elements that together constituted a common cultural background pattern. Within this territory we find a mosaic of cultures, each of which could most fruitfully be studied against the background of this common pattern.

Since its inception the concept of the field of ethnological study has undergone a number of changes, mainly as a result of a switch to structuralism. The concept was also renamed and the notions of 'structural core' and 'core elements' were dropped and replaced by 'basis of comparison' and 'basic elements'. The initiator of these changes was JPB's successor P.E. de Josselin de Jong. He developed the original notion into a strategic concept that enables us to study related cultures as structural variants linked by transformations.²

The presentations and discussions on the FAS concept 'as such' -- and that often meant 'as applied to Indonesia' -- centred around the following issues: the basic elements (their nature, status, number, relevance, interrelationship), the scale of comparison, the boundaries and intermediate zones, the relationship between language and culture, the difference between culture area and FAS. All these issues surfaced in the presentations and discussions dealing with New Guinea as an FAS.

In a keynote paper Lex van der Leeden stated as his opinion that New Guinea -- possibly as part of a larger Melanesia -- is positively to be regarded as an independent FAS. And when it comes to the point New Guinea is more closely allied to an Australian than to an Indonesian FAS. Van der Leeden put forward as a hypothesis that a New Guinea FAS can be characterised by the following set of basis elements, adding that the set is susceptible to extension and stressing that not so much the single elements are at stake as the set as a whole.

The elements are:

- 1. receptivity to and ritual appropriation of foreign culture elements;
- 2. ceremonial exchange of valuables in abundant quantities;
- 3. socio-cosmic dualism;
- 4. a bilinear model of descent and marriage relations, and
- 5. a marriage system on the basis of elementary exchange processes.

Reflecting on the views of Van der Leeden on these five elements, as well as on the many and often detailed comments made by the discussants, would carry us too far. We confine ourselves to a few remarks on the second element 'ceremonial exchange of valuables in abundant quantities', as Van der Leeden considers this element as dominating the others. Apparently one element is more basic than the other. In his discussion paper Anton Ploeg expresses serious doubts about Van der Leeden's wording of this element as in New Guinea ceremonial exchange does not exclusively manifest itself as exchange of material things (pigs, shells, cloth) and certainly not always in abundant quantities. If basic elements are abstractions and do not necessarily manifest themselves in every society belonging to the FAS in question, why, then, not define this particular element as a tendency that will be realised under certain conditions?

According to Albert Trouwborst, this element is formulated in too general terms. Of vital importance is the specific elaboration of this element in this particular FAS-area. Ton Otto stressed the crucial importance of 'exchange' in defining groups and their relations to one another. Jelle Miedema focussed attention on the prestige value of certain goods and especially on the *Kain Timur* system in the Bird's Head area and its intertwining with bride price system and 'big man'-complex. He concludes that the criterion 'abundant quantities' does not sufficiently mark ceremonial exchange in New Guinea as a basic element. The whole matter boils down to the often posed but so far unanswered question of the degree of specificity necessary in defining basic elements. Participants agreed that further reflection on this problem is badly needed.

Which basic elements are missing in Van der Leeden's outline? Anton Ploeg would like to see the tribal character of the West Melanesian societies incorporated as a basic element of a New Guinea FAS. Also the preoccupation with fertility, especially human fertility, as elaborated in a great number of rituals. Ploeg also pointed out that none of the basic elements mentioned is associated either with economic life (e.g. the intensification of production) or with power and authority. He considers this a shortcoming. Ton Otto also paid attention to the political sphere when stating that at least one element must be connected with common political types (great man, big man, chief), in any case with the underlying principles (among others knowledge, entrepreneurship and heredity). In addition he considered it important that new, widely diffused cultural concepts and models be included in the framework of comparison. Ad Borsboom first presented an overview of the development of the concept of "field of ethnological study" and then focussed on systems of exchange in Aboriginal Australia as compared with exchange systems in Melanesia.

Referring to Van der Leeden's own understanding of the crucial importance of interpersonal relations in New Guinea, Jan Pouwer suggested adding this feature to the list of basic elements, provided that the concept 'individual' be X-rayed in an epistemological - ethnographic way. As themes for intercultural comparative analysis he also mentioned specific conflict relations (e.g. between siblings) and permutations of gender relations, of sexuality, and of life and death.

Finally, Jelle Miedema drew attention to three social phenomena closely bound up with different spheres of life and with other elements, namely systems of war and interpersonal struggles, migration and pacification (in the broadest sense of the word, including for example bonds of friendship between great/big men).

It was generally felt that in the FAS approach the historical as well as the political dimension are neglected. Especially Toon van Meijl, Albert Trouwborst and Ton Otto emphasized this point and they recommended when further developing the New Guinea FAS to take these dimensions fully into account.

The seminar has definitely not spoken the final word in regard to the matter of a NG FAS, but many building blocks have been provided by the participants, far more than this summarized report may lead the reader to believe.

Notes:

1) The participants in the seminar were: Jan Avé, Ad Borsboom, Frans Hüsken, Lex van der Leeden, Toon van Meijl, Jelle Miedema, Jan van Nieuwenhuijsen, Ton Otto, Jos Platenkamp (Germany), Anton Ploeg, Michael Prager (Germany), Reimar Schefold, Albert Trouwborst, Leontine Visser, and Bert Voorhoeve. Patrick de Josselin de Jong contributed a paper but was unable to attend.

2) For further information on the FAS concept and of PE's way of looking at it, as well for a critical comment by Jan Pouwer, the reader is referred to the titles mentioned at the end of this report.

Josselin de Jong, J.P.B. de, 1977, 'The Malay archipelago as a field of ethnological study'. In: P.E. de Josselin de Jong (ed.), *Structural Anthropology in the Netherlands. A Reader*, pp. 166-82. The Hague: Nijhoff. (KITLV, Translation Series 717; first published 1935).

Josselin de Jong, P.E. de, 1980, 'The concept of the field of ethnological study' in: James J. Fox (ed.), *The flow of life; Essays on eastern Indonesia*, pp. 317-26. Cambridge/London, Harvard University Press.

Josselin de Jong, P.E., 1984 (ed.) *Unity in Diversity; Indonesia as a field of anthropological study*. Dordrecht/Cinnaminson: Foris. (KITLV Verhandelingen 103).

Pouwer, J., 1992, Fizzy; Fuzzy; FAS?; A review of Leiden labour. In: *Canberra Anthropology* 15 (1), pp. 87-105.

THE ARCHIVAL HERITAGE OF DUTCH FRANCISCANS IN IRIAN JAYA

by Peter Jan Margry

At the request of the Dutch province of Franciscan mendicant friars I visited (as historian and archivist) the mission territory of the Franciscans in November-December 1992 in Irian Jaya, former Dutch New Guinea. Until 1986 this mission territory was directly governed by the Franciscans in the Netherlands, after which the mission in Irian Jaya became the responsibility of the Indonesian Franciscans. Because of this change, the Dutch Franciscans came up with the plan to mark this turning point by giving way for writing the histories of their presence and activities on their different mission territories all over the world. For some of these territories historians could easily begin with their work. But for New Guinea, it wasn't clear which written sources existed and could be used. So they asked me to make a survey report on the existence of archival material and other historically relevant sources. Secondly, they wanted consultancy on the way these sources should be treated in the future: i.e. conservation, restoration, inventarisation, the possibilities for safe storage and the accessibility of the material for researchers. This report¹ was handed over for execution to the 'definitorium' (direction) of the Franciscans in the Netherlands.

Protestant missions and Roman Catholic MSC, Augustinians and Crutched Friars were also active in Dutch New Guinea, but the Franciscans played the major role in terms of dimensions of territory and practical influence. They played an major role in the discovery and opening up of the 'terra incognita' which New Guinea was until the fifties. The presence in famous sites as Paniai (Wisselmeren), Nalum-territory and the Baliem valley etc. had great influence, not only because of their missionary practice, but also for their research in languages and customs of the different tribes, and their influence on education and daily life.

Because the diocese of New Guinea grew out of the Franciscan mission or 'Franciscan Custody' these archives form one archive from 1946 until approximately 1973. After that year two separate administrations emerge.

For the period before 1973, the archives are dominated by material concerning the discovery of the country, and the building up of knowledge of many tribes. Great efforts regarding religious mission and education directly followed. The politics of education was an important issue during the sixties, unlike for the government and other religious orders and churches.

The year 1973 is also an important turning point in linguistic way. After that year less and less letters and reports were written in Dutch, and Indonesian became more important. A major change in the work of the missionaries during these years meant an enormous increase in administration. During the seventies many social-economic projects were created. There was less occupation with mission activities or the exploration of the interior and more contacts with the Indonesian government and other institutions, resulting in big financial, committee and realisation/execution administrations.

The Franciscan Custody records after 1973 contain material mainly directly related to the presence of the order and its individual members in Irian Jaya.

Apart from the diocesan and custodian archives, archives of parishes and deanery's have also been examined. Specially the 'kevikepan' (underdiocese) archive of Paniai/Mimika was interesting for its early education dossiers², as well as for the anthropological fieldwork done by its missionaries and their reports on the revolts of the Ekari's in 1956 and 1969.³ Several accounts of exploration to unknown territories such as the Ungundini and Baliem were found in the records. The archive of the deanery Jayawijaya (Baliem/Wamena) was less complete, but was enriched with the early Baliemparish archive of Jiwika with its material on agricultural experiments. The Jayapura deanery archive on the contrary, documents Franciscan activities in a more socially mixed and urban part of the country.

The following archives have been surveyed at the end of 1992. They are described in the appendices of my report.

Archives in the Franciscan monastery at 'APO' Jayapura:

- - General Franciscan custody (1955-1989)
- - Church building archive (drawings) 1947-1980
- - Central Franciscan library, 19th century - present
- - Specialized documentation of anthropologist Father F. van Nunen, 19th century-present

Archives at the diocese of Jayapura, Dok II, Jayapura

- - Diocese, 1946-1980
- - Deanery Jayapura, 1966-1989
- - Cathedral St. Peter and Paul, 1963-1975
- - Parish St. Francis, 1970-1980
- - Parishes Arso and Waris, 1948-1987

Archives at Argapura (near Jayapura)

- - Education archives YPPK, 1949-1975

Archives at the subdiocese, Enarotali

- - 'Kevikepan' (subdiocese) Paniai/Mimika, 1948-1978
- - Parish Nidai, 1961-1977

Archives in the Franciscan monastery in Wamena

- - Deanery Jayawijaya, 1958-1986
- - Parish Jiwika, 1959-1978

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1) P.J. Margry, De archieven van de Franciscaanse Kustodie en het bisdom Jayapura e.a. in Irian Jaya, Indonesia. Rapport naar aanleiding van een onderzoek in November-December 1992 (Jayapura/'s-Hertogenbosch 1992). Copies of this cyclostyled report, with global inventories of the mentioned archives, can be examined at the office of the Franciscans in Jayapura and in the Netherlands in the libraries of the Koninklijk Instituut voor de Tropen (KIT) in Amsterdam, General State Archives in The Hague, and the KDC (Catholic Documentation Centre) in Nijmegen.

2) For the history of education in Irian Jaya the records of the YPPK foundation are also very important. This foundation had the joint supervision of all school activities in the four dioceses.

3) Several Franciscan missionaries were also anthropologists, which resulted in important studies. For example: H.L. Peters, Enkele hoofdstukken uit het sociaal-religieuze leven van een Dani-groep (Venlo 1965) en S. Hylkema, Mannen in het draagnet. Mens- en wereldbeeld van de Nalum (Sterrengebergte) (Den Haag 1974). Hylkema works nowadays on a big corpus of detail studies on the Ekari's (Paniai).

PACIFIC MANUSCRIPTS BUREAU

by Adrian Cunningham

1994 was a period of transition for the Pacific Manuscripts Bureau. Following the resignation of the previous Executive Officer, Gillian Scott, in 1993, the PMB Management Committee decided that the Bureau's precarious financial situation needed to be addressed before a permanent replacement could be appointed. As an interim measure the National Library of Australia offered the services of Adrian Cunningham to the Bureau on a part time basis for 12 months. Adrian's instructions were to investigate and pursue the possibility of additional funding and to see through to completion filming commitments.

Throughout the year an extensive recruitment drive was mounted in an effort to increase the size of the Bureau's funding consortium. By the end of 1994 no new members had been recruited. There was, however, some optimism that certain libraries which had expressed interest in the proposal may formally agree to become PMB members in the early months of 1995. On this basis the existing member libraries committed themselves to continue funding the Bureau for a further 12 months while these and other funding avenues are fully pursued. In January Adrian Cunningham returned to work in the Manuscript Section of the National Library and the position of PMB Executive Officer was advertised in the press. Initially, the appointment of an E/O will be for 12 months. It is anticipated that if the funding issue is resolved favourably this appointment will be extended.

During 1994 some 90 reels of microfilm were released by the PMB. These include: 53 reels of film of the Archives of the Catholic Church Diocese of Rarotonga and Nuie, 1894-1992; 6 reels of manuscripts from the Cook Islands Library and Museum Society; 11 reels of the papers and Gilbertese

publications of London Missionary Society Missionary George Herbert Eastman of the Cook Islands and the Gilbert Islands, 1913-69; 3 reels of the papers of Fijian/Pacific leader Setareki Tuilovoni, 1946-87; 3 reels of the papers of German/Pacific linguist Otto Dempwolff, 1897-1938; 2 reels of the papers of Tongan writer and tradition expert Tupou Posesi Fanua, 1959-92; the diaries and other papers of the Witts Family, planters of the New Hebrides, 1899-1917; and a variety of single reels relating to wartime and post-war Papua New Guinea.

It is anticipated that in early 1995 some 58 reels of film of the Methodist Church Overseas Mission records, the originals of which are held by the Mitchell Library, will be released. These records will be chiefly minutes and associated correspondence, 1855-1939. At the same time some 20 reels of film of Bachelor of Divinity and Masters of Theology theses, 1968-1993, held in the Pacific Theological College Library, Suva, should be released. Two filming and surveying field trips are planned for 1995. The major field trip will be to French Polynesia where work will be done at the Catholic Church Archives in Papeete and at other repositories. Another field trip will be made to Fiji where the records of the Fiji Trades Union Congress will be filmed. Finally, it is hoped that during 1995 a variety of collections in private hands relating to the 1987 Fiji coup and to the Bougainville crisis will be filmed and released.

If the PMB continues beyond 1995, future filming projects should include field trips to Vanuatu and the Solomon Islands; filming of the archives of the Western Pacific High Commission and the New Hebrides British Service which are currently located in England; filming of the records of various Pacific trade unions; filming of the records of the Methodist Church in Fiji, most of which are held by the National Archives of Fiji; the filming of further papers of Otto Dempwolff which are located in Germany; filming of the papers of Rev. John Noble Mackenzie, missionary of the New Hebrides, 1895-1909; and the possibility of further filming at the Marist Archives in Rome.

The Pacific Manuscripts Bureau can be contacted at the Research School of Pacific and Asian Studies, Australian National University, Canberra, ACT 0200 Australia (Fax: 6/2490198; email: pambu@coombs.anu.edu.au)

EUROPEAN SOCIETY FOR OCEANISTS

by Jürg Wassmann

The "European Society for Oceanists" (ESO) is a new professional association which addresses itself to researchers with a regional interest in Oceania. "Oceania" is defined as comprising the classic geographic areas of Australia, Melanesia, Micronesia and Polynesia.

In the context of an increasingly integrated Europe (politically, economically and scientifically) the Society aims to enhance intellectual exchange and cooperation between individual researchers and between scholarly institutions, both within and outside Europe. This goal is to be achieved by maintaining an information network, by organizing conferences and by other appropriate means.

The society shall also endeavour to represent the interests of Pacific peoples to the general European public and institutions.

The ESO is an interdisciplinary organization; membership is open to anthropologists, linguists, historians, geographers, psychologists and other researchers.

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THE BASEL CONFERENCE OF THE EUROPEAN SOCIETY FOR OCEANISTS - A PERSONAL REPORT

Ton Otto

Centre for Pacific Studies, Nijmegen

Basel, Münsterplatz 19, Thursday 15 December. Around 8 a.m. a group of fourteen people meet in a seminar room of the historical building in which the Institute of Ethnology is housed. They are the board members of the European Society for Oceanists (ESO) who were appointed during the first European Colloquium on Pacific Studies in Nijmegen two years previously. Ample amounts of coffee are consumed to awaken sleepy minds. A formidable task is at hand: the constitution of the ESO has to be discussed and if possible accepted by the board, so that a proposal can be added to the materials which will be handed out to the conference participants, who will be arriving in great numbers later that day. Most board members have travelled long distances and everyone is happy to see the faces of old and new friends. After some time for socialising, the discussions are efficient and to the point with the result that by 11 a.m. a final version of the constitution is ready to be printed and copied. The constitution will give a formal basis for present and future activities of the ESO and provides for the election of a new board. It was to be submitted for approval to the general assembly of ESO members during the final meeting on Saturday afternoon.

Later on Thursday, conference participants begin to arrive. Most are obviously delighted by the scenic qualities of the environment in which the events of the coming days are going to happen. Registration occurs in the pretty Institute's building. Participants receive a folder with various materials concerning the conference and the city of Basel. The organisation appears to run smoothly. To support the chief organisers, Jürg Wassmann, Verena Keck and Ingrid Bell, a number of students and secretaries are involved in attending to the affairs of the conference. A well-prepared programme booklet reveals a full programme; in addition to several key-note addresses, 90 papers will be presented in 10 different working sessions. The organisers have worked very hard to get everything in place before the start of the conference and they deserve a great compliment for this feat. Everyone who has participated in organising a conference of this size will know how much work and cool-headedness are required for such an event to succeed.

The conference opens with a welcome drink in the Basel Museum of Ethnology with its world-famous collection of Melanesian artefacts. An Abelam ceremonial house forms a fitting background to this little initiation ceremony. After a while we are requested to move to another room for the formal part of the opening ceremony. The lecture hall in which we gather appears like a Western version of the Abelam spirit house: the portraits of many past scientists look down on the audience. In this awesome environment the conference really begins, after several words of welcome, with the keynote speech by Marilyn Strathern on the 'The new modernities'.

In the next two days three more keynote addresses follow in the same hall of fame. On Friday morning Robert Tonkinson engages the audience with a discussion of the effects of the Mabo court decision on Aboriginal nation-building and national identity and on Saturday morning Jonathan Friedman talks about 'Knowing Oceania or Oceanian knowing'. Friday evening a paper written by Sir Raymond Firth is presented by Michael O'Hanlon. All four keynote addresses are inspiring and serve their function well: to provide stimulus and direction to the discussions during the conference. After each speech a debate is initiated by (a) discussant(s) invited by the organisers to make some comments. Only the session on Friday night proved too late and too long. After a speech of an hour and comments by four discussants the audience was happy to call it a day.

While the keynotes give a conference a special flavour, its substance are the working sessions organised around central themes, in which the results of recent research are presented and discussed. Due to the large number of papers there were between five and eight parallel sessions at a time. This provides the conference participants with a wealth of choice but makes this choice sometimes very difficult. Whatever one chooses, one is likely to miss papers one would have liked to hear as well. The working sessions take place in several rooms in the museum and the institute and in other buildings nearby. The sessions run smoothly; in every room a student is present to assist with practical matters. Each chairperson also acts as a discussant to the papers. For some this seems like too much of an onus on one person and reactions are in many cases necessarily ad hoc since the majority of papers were not available beforehand. Nevertheless the discussions are generally lively, engaging and productive according to the chairpeople's reports during the closing session of the conference.

Following the closing of the conference a separate plenary meeting is held to deal with matters pertaining to ESO. One of the main issues is the formal adoption of the constitution, which is approved without much discussion. Then the voting system for the new board is explained. A motion to reappoint the sitting board by acclamation is rejected by the board members themselves. Their argument is that the ESO members who are not able to attend the meeting must also have a chance to suggest candidates and to vote. The following discussion about possible themes for the next meeting, the desirability of membership fees and other issues became somewhat chaotic. The meeting could have been better prepared by the board, but in the end no-one is really bothered: a motion to end the gathering is accepted with enthusiasm and in good humour.

The conference ends with a dinner in the stately Münstersaal. Food and wine are most enjoyable and some classical music is performed. It is time to reconfirm old contacts and to explore new ones. The atmosphere is good although some people give voice to their desire to have an opportunity to dance. Not long after midnight the meeting draws to a close but at least some conference participants continue their exploration of Basel cultural life well into the small hours of the night.

With some minor modifications the whole set-up of the Basel conference followed what has normally been discussed within the ESO board as the 'Nijmegen model'. This continuity with the first European Colloquium on Pacific Studies certainly has to be valued positively because it contributes to the development of a distinct ESO identity. On the other hand a discussion of this 'model' seems timely as the growth of the ESO appears to strain such a conference structure. The centrality of the chief organisers in almost all aspects of the conference certainly facilitates a smooth organisation but it also puts a great responsibility on these people. To give some of this responsibility to session leaders may be an alternative which could also enhance the chance of putting together session papers into a good number of coherent volumes for publication. It seems also useful to think about ways to either limit the number of papers or to extend the conference time.

These considerations should not be taken as criticism of the Basel conference. The organisers can look back on an extremely well-organised and very successful event. They have also made a great contribution to the further development of the ESO by compiling the first directory of the members of this organisation and by organising the first official elections. Personally I am very pleased to see that the little seed we planted in Nijmegen has grown out to become a professional organisation of this size and I hope that the ESO will continue to grow and to flourish.

BASEL CONFERENCE OF THE EUROPEAN SOCIETY FOR OCEANISTS

by Jürg Wassmann

From December 15 to 17 1994, the Basel conference of the European Society for Oceanists (ESO) was held at the Institute of Ethnology of the University of Basel, Switzerland.

The general theme of the conference was "Knowing Oceania: Constituting Knowledge and Identities". The topic was discussed in 10 working sessions under the following titles:

- Local and imported knowledges (1), chair: Maurice Godelier
- Common worlds and single lives (2), chairs: Andrew Strathern and Christina Toren
- Cultural practices of identity construction and nation building (3), chairs: Barbara Glowczewski-Barker and Toon van Meijl
- Genealogies, land and titles (4), chair: Ton Otto
- Competing and converging systems of exchange (5), chair Allen Abramson
- Ecological pluralism? (6), chair: Ulla Hasager
- Scrutinizing regional systems and modelling Oceania (7/8), chair: André Iteanu
- Identity of objects - objects of identity (9), chairs: Michael O'Hanlon and Mark Busse
- Ethics and politics of field work (10), chair: Gunter Senft
- Informal audiovisual working session (11), chair: Rolf Husmann.

Around 200 participants from European and overseas countries came together. A total of 90 papers were presented by researchers from different disciplines with an interest in Oceania.

Marilyn Strathern, Robert Tonkinson and Jonathan Friedman were invited to give the keynote speeches elaborating the main theme from the viewpoints of Melanesia, Australia and Polynesia. It was a special honour to have a contribution by Sir Raymond Firth presented by Michael O'Hanlon. The discussants were Maurice Godelier, John Morton, Serge Tcherkézoff, Christine Jourdan, Ton Otto, Meinhard Schuster and Andrew Strathern.

The next conference will be held in 1996.

Jürg Wassmann (Chair)

Verena Keck (deputy)

COMMUNICATIONS

INMA Foundation

The INMA Foundation, established in 1994, aims to educate people in The Netherlands on contemporary Australian Aboriginal Art and culture. In September and October last, the foundation organised an exhibition of artworks from central Australia in the Westergasfabriek in Amsterdam. For more information please contact Lies Wayer, Stichting INMA, Biesboschstraat 38hs, 1078 MV Amsterdam, The Netherlands. Tel./Fax: 2-676-5063.

Antwerp host to Aboriginal art display

Some 70 paintings by Aboriginal artists from central Australia are on show at an exhibition which opened in Antwerp on Friday evening, 3 February.

The exhibition, 'Woestijnsporen - Desert Tracks: Aboriginal Kunst uit Centraal Australië', was officially opened by Antwerp City Council's Alderman for Culture, Mr Eric Antonis.

The works on display have been drawn from the collection of Stichting INMA, Amsterdam, and include traditional paintings as well as pieces which, while based on traditional patterns, are more contemporary in treatment and approach.

Many women artists figure in the exhibition, which includes paintings by Bessie Liddle, Kitty Miller, Maxie Tjampitjinpa and Colin Dixon Tjapananga.

'Desert Tracks' will be on show at the Cultureel Centrum Berchem, Drie Koningenstraat 126, Berchem, until 2 April. The exhibition is open daily, except Monday, from 10am until 5pm.

PUBICATIONS RECEIVED

From the Centre for Aboriginal Economic Policy Research (CAEPR):

Discussion Papers no's:

75/1994 *'Working for CDEP': a case study of the Community Development Employment Projects scheme in Port Lincoln, South Australia*, D.E. Smith.

76/1994 *Socioeconomic status at ATSI regional level, 1986 and 1991: data for regional planning*, J.C. Altman and Liu Jin.

77/1994 *The relative status of indigenous Australians: setting the research agenda*, J. Taylor and M. Bell.

78/1994 *The mobility status of indigenous Australians*, J. Taylor and M. Bell.

Research Monograph 8:

Jones, Roger (1994) *The housing need of indigenous Australians, 1991*.

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For information on earlier CAEPR Discussion Papers contact Nicky Lumb, Centre for Aboriginal Economic Policy Research, Faculty of Arts, Australian National University, Canberra ACT 0200. Ph (06) 249 0587 Fax (06) 249 2789.

From Dr. Erhard Schlesier:

Schlesier, Erhard (1994) *Arbeits- und Tagebücher aus Me'udana 1962/62 und 1974/1975*. Göttingen: E. Schlesier. 304 pp. 3 maps. 33 photographs.

From Drs. Dirk Smidt:

Smidt, Dirk A.M., Pieter ter Keurs and Albert Trouwborst, editors (1995) *Pacific material culture. Essays in honour of Dr. Simon Kooijman on the occasion of his 80th birthday*. Mededelingen van het Rijksmuseum voor Volkenkunde, Leiden No.28. Leiden: Rijksmuseum voor Volkenkunde.

The first copy of this book was presented to Dr. Simon Kooijman, accompanied by his wife Mrs To Kooijman-van der Craats, by Dr. S.B. Engelsman, Director of the Rijksmuseum voor Volkenkunde, Leiden, on 17 February 1995, the day before Dr. Kooijman's 80th birthday.

Dr. Simon Kooijman is former Curator of the South Seas and Australia Department of the Rijksmuseum voor Volkenkunde, Leiden, former Secretary of the Dutch Society for Oceanic Studies, and author of *The Art of Lake Sentani* (New York, 1959) and *Tapa in Polynesia* (Honolulu, 1972).

From Prof. Dr. Andreas Lommel:

Two published articles:

Lommel, Andreas (1993) La peinture aborigène moderne en Australie et ses liens avec la tradition ancienne. *Journal de la Société des Océanistes* 96/97(2): 171-181.

Lommel, Andreas, and David Mowaljarlai (1994) Shamanism in Northwest Australia. *Oceania* 64(4): 277-287.

NEW BOOKS

Austin, Tony: *I Can Picture the Old Home So Clearly: The Commonwealth and 'Half-caste' Youth in the Northern Territory 1911-1939.*

1993. Canberra: Aboriginal Studies Press. ISBN 0 85575 239 4 (pb).

"Austin provides us with a history of child welfare in the Northern Territory as it affected Aboriginal children between 1911 and 1939. He provides a detailed analysis of government policy, including the forcible removal of 'half-caste' children from their homes in an attempt to achieve assimilation."

Day, Bill: *Bunji: A Story of the Gwalwa Daraniki Movement.*

1994. Canberra: Aboriginal Studies Press. ISBN 0 85575 240 8 (pb).

"A story of the land rights battle of the Larrakia people for Kulaluk, near Darwin, in the 1970s, as seen through the eyes of Bill Day, founder and editor of *Bunji*, a local black rights newsletter of the time. Day draws on articles and cartoons from *Bunji* to illustrate his story and to help him bring to vivid life the characters involved. The book makes plain the kinds of grievances and losses suffered by the Larrakia people, but also has a message of recovery and healing."

Durie, Mason: *Whaiora: Maori Health Development.*

1994. Melbourne: Oxford University Press. ISBN 0 19 558316 7 (paperback).

"*Whaiora: Maori Health Development* documents progress in Maori health since 1840, but pays particular attention to the past decade. Changes in health are linked to social and economic changes and also to Maori political power. Health is portrayed as an integral part of Maori development and as related to wider community planning general. The impact of the health reforms are given particular emphasis. Treaty issues and biculturalism, as they have an impact on Maori health, are two parameters against which changes in Maori participation in health are measured. A conclusion is that Maori health advances cannot be readily separated from the situation of Maori in New Zealand society. This important book is the only critique to gather this information together to serve as a historical analysis and policy-making tool."

Fischer, Hans: *Geister und Menschen. Mythen, Märchen und neue Geschichten.*

1994. Berlin: Dietrich Reimer Verlag. Materialien zur Kultur der Wampar, Papua New Guinea N.2. ISBN 3 496 02546 8.

"Dieser Band der Materialien zur Kultur der Wampar enthält tradierte und neue Erzählungen der Wampar, aufgenommen in vielen Versionen etwa zwischen 1910 und 1993. Die Mythen, Geistergeschichten und "neuen Geschichten" werden kommentiert und erläutert, mit Informationen zu den Erzählern und den Umständen der Aufnahme, sowie Hinweisen auf anderen Versionen versehen und in jeweils einer Fassung vorgelegt. Die Originaltexte erscheinen in Anhang."

Fletcher, Christine (ed.): *Aboriginal Self-determination in Australia.*

1994. Canberra: Aboriginal Studies Press. ISBN 0 85575 252 1 (pb). ISSN 1030 6544.

"This volume represents the proceedings of a conference celebrating the International Year for World's Indigenous Peoples, held in Townsville, Queensland, in 1993. Coinciding with the height of the native title debates, many speakers discussed and analysed the possible effects of, and opportunities arising from, the High Court's decision. Speakers included Marcia Langton, Lois O'Donohue, Noel Pearson, Charles Perkins, Darryl Pearce and Michael Mansell."

Hamel, P.: *A Grammar and Lexicon of Loniu, Papua New Guinea.*

1994. Canberra: Dept of Linguistics, RSPacS, ANU. Pacific Linguistics Series C, No.128. ISBN 0 85883 410 3.

"This is a grammar and short dictionary of the small Austronesian language spoken by 450-500 inhabitants of two villages on the southern coast of Manus Island, Papua New Guinea. The book also contains an English-Loniu index and two illustrative texts."

Harrison, Simon: *The Mask of War: Violence, Ritual and the Self in Melanesia.*

1993. Manchester University Press. ISBN 0 7190 3911 8.

"Current western explanations of warfare derive largely from Hobbes' view that relations between political groups are always problematic and fragile. This book challenges these explanations by examining warfare among Melanesian peoples whose assumptions about violence, the self and society are radically different from our own. To Hobbes, society comes into existence when its members transcend the primordial state of conflict existing between them. Simon Harrison shows how the reverse is true in Melanesian society: it is not groups that make war, but war that forms groups. In Melanesian society, he argues, inherently sociable individuals are refashioned through ritual into beings capable of violence. His conclusions have profound implications for how we view the origins of political violence."

Hasager, U.; Friedman, J. (Eds): *Hawai'i: Return to Nationhood.*

1994. International Work Group for Indigenous Affairs (IWGIA), Fiolstraede 10, DK-1171, Copenhagen K, Denmark.

"It is an anthology of various articles on the sovereignty movement, loosely defined. The sections are: Hawaiians Define the Situation; Historical, Cultural and Legal Background; Dependent Hawai'i - Tourism and the Military; Hawaiian Land - Malama'aina vs Development; Looking Abroad - Hawai'i in the Larger World."

Heermann, Ingrid; Menter, Ulrich: *Gemaltes Land. Kunst der Aborigines aus Arnhemland.*

1994. Berlin: Dietrich Reimer Verlag. ISBN 3 496 01118 1 (hardcover).

"Das Buch führt ein in die Kunst der Arnhemland-Aborigines, ihre sozialen und kulturellen Bezugspunkte, die Kunststile, ihre Beziehung zur Felsmalerei und Erdsulptur und die Bedeutung der Kunst im Ritual. Linien und Schraffur verschmelzen zu oft irisierenden Bildern oder geben den Hintergrund für eher erzählende Darstellungen ab."

Hercus, L.: *A Grammar of the Arabana-Wangkangurru Language, Lake Eyre Basin, South Australia.*

1994. Canberra: Dept of Linguistics, RSPacS, ANU. Pacific Linguistics Series C, No.128. ISBN 085883 425 1.

"In this volume Luise Hercus records the grammar of a language that was once spoken to the north and west of Lake Eyre, South Australia, and is now all but extinct. Arabana and Wangkangurru are closely related dialects of one language although the speakers regard them as separate languages. Besides the grammar this book contains a number of texts and photographs of some of the principal informants used in the study."

Hereniko, Vilsoni: *Woven Gods. Female Clowns and Power in Rotuma.*

1995. Honolulu: University Press of Hawai'i. Pacific Islands Monograph Series No.12. ISBN 0 8248 1655 2 (cloth).

"In this unconventional ethnography, artist/scholar Vilsoni Hereniko celebrates indigenous and Western ways of knowing, fusing them together in a manner that reflects his multicultural experience. A Western-educated native of Rotuma, a small island north of Fiji, Hereniko uses early scattered reports on Roruman society and culture and his own knowledge of female ritual clowns to unravel the sacred origins of the Rotuman *hän mane'äk su* ("women who play the wedding") and her role in women's production of fine mats and in the celebration of marriage. *Woven Gods* combines ethnographic accounts of clowning's context in Rotuma with fictional narratives that capture the feel of a live performance - thereby uncovering emotional truths about clowning that cannot be conveyed by an objective account. Hereniko even creates his own myth of the origins of the *hän mane'äk su*, which provides inspiration for the study. Clowning in Rotuma, he concludes, is linked with the world of the dead, and the highly prized mats are woven gods, imbued with mana.

In addition to providing understanding of a much neglected topic, Hereniko offers a masterly review of the literature on clowning and satire in Polynesia, which he succeeds in relating to important aspects of culture such as religion, social hierarchy, gender relations, and conflict management."

Hezel, Francis X.: *Strangers in their Own Land. A Century of Colonial Rule in the Caroline and Marshall Islands.*

1995. Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press. Pacific Islands Monograph Series No.13. ISBN 0 8248 1642 0.

"*Strangers in their Own Land* continues the tale of cultural upheaval begun in Francis X. Hezel's earlier work *The First Taint of Civilization: A History of the Caroline and Marshall Islands in Pre-colonial Days, 1521-1885*. Seized by the Spanish in 1885, the islands served under four flags during the century of foreign rule that followed. Although Micronesian islanders often found themselves shackled by the programs and policies of their colonizers - ranging from agricultural development and roadbuilding projects to the near dismantling of local chieftainships and the forced relocation of entire populations - they had their own strategies for survival. As Hezel's research shows, resistance to colonial intrusion, though usually well masked, was often very effective. The conventional view that islanders were outgunned and overawed by superior might, simply bowed to their conquerors is far from accurate. This well-written and much-needed social history attempts to capture the response of Micronesian islanders, subtle and always varied, to the initiatives of their Spanish, German, Japanese, and American overlords."

Horton, David (ed.): *The Encyclopaedia of Aboriginal Australia: Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander History, Society and Culture. 2 volumes.*

1994. Canberra: Aboriginal Studies Press. ISBN 0 85575 234 3.

"This long-awaited publication is the only single comprehensive and authoritative reference work which covers all the disciplines that comprise 'Aboriginal studies'. With around 2000 entries and 1000 photographs, illustrations and maps, the *Encyclopaedia* covers eighteen major subject areas, is extensively cross-referenced and indexed, and 1800 bibliographic references. The *Encyclopaedia* is also available on CD-ROM. Designed for student users, the CD-ROM will be available initially for Macintosh computers only."

Keck, Verena: *Historical Atlas of Ethnic and Linguistic Groups in Papua New Guinea. Volume 1 (containing "Part 3: Madang")*.

1995. Basel: Verlag Wepf & Co. (distribution). ISBN 3 85977 192 2.

"The project was started twenty years ago and encompasses data material from approximately one century of scientific research (starting 1873). The atlas aims to document the increase of published knowledge about ethnic groups and languages. For this, the area was first divided into eleven regions. Regarding time, the data was divided in five periods (1873-1907, 1908-1921, 1922-1946, 1947-1959, 1960-1975), whereby for each period a map of ethnic groups and languages was drawn up. Each region therefore comprises ten maps. A detailed legend for each region and time period quotes the references processed. Two volumes are now published, a third one is forthcoming."

Krämer, Augustin: *The Samoa Islands. An Outline of a Monograph with Particular Consideration of German Samoa.*

Volume I: Constitution, Pedigrees, and Traditions.

1994. Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press. Translated by Theodore Verhaaren. ISBN 0 8248 1633 1. (Not for sale in Australia, New Zealand and Papua New Guinea.)

"Almost a century later, volume one of this classic work remains an important ethnological record."

Volume II: Material Culture.

1995. Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press. Translated by Theodore Verhaaren. ISBN 0 8248 1634 X (cloth). (Not for sale in Australia, New Zealand and Papua New Guinea.)

"Dr Augustin Krämer's *Die Samoa Inseln*, published in 1902 and 1903, is the most authoritative record of Samoa history and culture ever published. This second and final volume covers the ethnography of Samoa. For Krämer, ethnography is "concerned with the manifestations and external aspects such as anthropology, sociology, and industry based on geography and the natural sciences." Accordingly this work includes extensive chapters on many aspects of Samoan material culture: medicine, plants and cookery, fishery, men's and women's work, recreation and war, flora, and fauna."

Kunitz, Stephen J.: *Disease and Social Diversity. The European Impact on the Health of Non-Europeans.*

1994. Melbourne: Oxford University Press. ISBN 0 19 508530 2 (hardback).

"This book discusses the various social, political, and cultural forces that shape the distribution of diseases in populations. It is based on a series of comparative studies of the historical and contemporary disease patterns of indigenous peoples of America north of Mexico, Australia and Polynesia. The purpose of the comparisons is to control in a quasi-experimental way certain crucial

variables in order to examine the impact on health of other variables. The comparisons are made at increasingly more refined levels of analysis. Thus, once disease ecology has been held roughly constant, one can see more clearly the ways in which colonial policy and political institutions have shaped the affairs of indigenous peoples. And once policy has been held constant, one can see more clearly how culture can make a difference. And once culture has been held constant, one can see how gender and status make a difference.

Kunitz argues that very few broad generalizations adequately explain the distribution of diseases in populations and that to truly comprehend such patterns one must understand the local social context as well as the biological characteristics of diseases."

Meijl, Toon van; Grijp, Paul van der (eds): *European Imagery and Colonial History in the Pacific*.

1994. Saarbrücken: Verlag für Entwicklungspolitik Breitenbach GmbH. Nijmegen Studies in Development and Cultural Change, Volume 19. NICCOS. ISSN 0935 7173. ISBN 3 88156 630 9.

"Over the past decade anthropologists and historians studying the Pacific have been concerned with the politization of tradition and history in contemporary Pacific societies. The renewed importance of the past in this region may be distinguished from contested representations of history elsewhere to the extent that its reconstruction often draws on historical accounts written by European discoverers, explorers, missionaries, colonial settlers, and also by anthropologists *avant la lettre*. This volume examines European imagery of the Pacific within the context of colonial history, and the implications for local identities.

Contributors to this book share a concern with development and the mutual articulation of European and Pacific images and identities in colonial and post-colonial history, addressing different issues ranging from the ambiguity of colonial discourses and the various implications of the European bias of primary sources, to local appropriations of global influences and the impact of visual representations of the Pacific on documentary practices in Europe."

Osumi, Midori: *Tinrin Grammar*.

1994. Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press. Oceanic Linguistics Special Publications No.25. ISBN 0 8248 1629 3 (pb).

"New Caledonian languages are quite different from other Pacific languages and have been considered very important in Oceanic comparative linguistics. However, the information on these languages has been relatively scarce, especially in English. Languages in the southern part of New Caledonia have been considered particularly difficult to study. This book presents an analysis of the phonology, morphology, and syntax of Tinrin, a previously undescribed Melanesian language of southern New Caledonia."

Rogers, Robert F.: *Destiny's Landfall. A History of Guam*.

1995 (April). Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press. ISBN 0 8248 1616 1 (cloth); 0 8248 1678 1 (paper).

"More than three thousand years ago small groups of seafarers sailed their canoes from Southeast Asia into the vast reaches of the uninhabited Pacific. The descendants of these courageous mariners created distinctive cultures on clusters of islands north of the Equator in an area now called Micronesia. When in 1521 Ferdinand Magellan stepped ashore on the largest of these islands - Guam - it became the first inhabited Pacific island known to Europeans. His fateful landfall not only ushered in the age of European exploration in the Pacific, but led inexorably to foreign domination of every traditional

island society throughout Oceania. In the centuries after Magellan, Guam became a small green oasis for alien priests, soldiers, traders, pirates, and other expatriates. *Destiny's Landfall* tells the story of this colorful cavalcade of outsiders and of the indigenous Chamorro people who, in a remarkable feat of resiliency, maintained their language and their identity despite three centuries of colonial domination by three of history's most powerful nation-states: Spain, Japan, and the United States.

This abundantly illustrated and richly documented volume provides a comprehensive look at one of the world's last colonies. Robert F. Rogers evokes the dramatic but little-known saga of Guam's people from the precontact era to Spanish domination, from colonial rule under a U.S. naval government to the massive military invasions of World War II, and on through the booms and busts, the scandals and victories experienced by Guamanians in their still-unfulfilled quest to regain control of their future."

Schütz, Albert J.: *The Voice of Eden. A History of Hawaiian Language Studies.*

1994. Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press. ISBN 0 8248 1637 4 (paper).

"How did outsiders first become aware of the Hawaiian language? How were they and Hawaiians able to understand each other? How was Hawaiian recorded and analyzed in the early decades after European contact? In *The Voices of Eden*, Albert J. Schütz provides answers to these and other questions about Hawai'i's post-contact linguistic past. The result is an amazing account of Hawaiian history from a language-centered point of view. Beginning with the observations of Captain Cook, and his crew, continuing through the missionaries' profound effect on the language and its speakers, and ending with current issues of language policy, Schütz gives readers not only a historical overview of Hawaiian but also an analysis and critique of nearly every work ever written about the language.

Early chapters examine the attitudes expressed by European and American visitors about Hawaiian - in particular, the influence of the Noble Savage concept. Throughout the study there is an attempt to trace the development and spread of knowledge about Hawaiians in terms of the social and scientific climate of the times. Linking these themes is an account of how the language was analyzed, including a discussion of the standardization of the writing system in 1826. Schütz then looks at the growth of literacy in Hawaiian and the complex and emotional contest between Hawaiian and English, suggesting reasons for the language's near-demise and describing recent efforts to repair the damage of decades of linguistic dormancy."

Schütz, Albert J.: *All about Hawaiian.*

1995 (May). Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press. ISBN 0 8248 1686 2.

"Whether you're a visitor or a resident, you'll find this quick and lively tour of the Hawaiian language not only useful, but enjoyable as well. This brief sketch of Hawaiian begins by uncovering the fascinating and often controversial history of the language, from its place among the other languages of Polynesia to the usual problems faced by missionaries in devising an alphabet.

With the help of a clear and concise guide to pronunciation, learn the importance of the 'okina (') and the kahako (˘) (the last o of kahako should have one), and how these marks affect the meaning as well as the pronunciation of words. Helpful vocabulary lists introduce words heard and seen most often on street signs, in restaurants, and in Hawaiian songs - including those commonly mispronounced even by lifelong Hawai'i residents. Lastly, the author discusses current efforts to preserve Hawaiian as a living language through teaching programs."

Spickard, Paul (ed.): *Pacific Island Peoples in Hawaii.*

1994. Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press. Special issue (Vol.36) of *Social Process in Hawaii*. ISSN 0737 6871.

"Pacific Islanders make up one of the largest portions of Hawai'i's peoples. With the exception of Hawaiians, Pacific Islanders in Hawai'i are little studied and less understood. This special issue of *Social Process in Hawaii* begins to redress that lack by examining several issues important to Pacific Island peoples in Hawai'i."

Stephenson, Nigel: *Historical Atlas of Ethnic and Linguistic Groups in Papua New Guinea. Volume 2 (containing "Part 1: North-West Coast" and "Part 2: Sepik Highlands")*.

(Forthcoming). Basel: Verlag Wepf & Co. (distribution).

See listing for: Keck, Verena.

Stevens, Christine: *White Man's Dreaming. Killalpaninna Mission 1866-1915*.

1994. Melbourne: Oxford University Press. ISBN 0 19 553574 X (hardback).

"This history of Killalpaninna Mission in the far north of South Australia tells how a group of Lutheran missionaries, intent on spreading their religious faith to the 'underprivileged heathen' of the New World, made their way to the desert-dwelling Diyari Aborigines and established the Killalpaninna Mission.

A microcosm of the metamorphosis of Aboriginal culture since European colonialism, *White Man's Dreaming* is underpinned by the prolific correspondence between the Lutherans and their superiors in Adelaide and Germany. It uses interviews with the families of missionaries and Aborigines who survived the mission, while the many photographs also constitute a graphic record of European appropriation."

Thieberger, N.: *Handbook of Western Australian Aboriginal Languages South of the Kimberley Region*.

1993. Canberra: Dept of Linguistics, RSPacS, ANU. Pacific Linguistics Series C, No.124. ISBN 0 85883 418 9.

"This handbook lists material available in and about the Aboriginal languages spoken south of Kimberley region, Western Australia. Sixty-nine languages are discussed including two post-contact languages, Western Australian Aboriginal English and Kriol. Each section contains maps showing the approximate traditional locations of the languages concerned."

Verhaar, John W.M.: *Toward a Reference Grammar of Tok Pisin. An Experiment in Corpus Linguistics*.

1995 (April). Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press. Oceanic Linguistics Special Publications No.26. ISBN 0 8248 1672 2 (pb).

"Tok Pisin, an English-based *lingua franca* of Papua New Guinea, originated more than a century ago and is now spoken by the majority of the country's three million inhabitants. This valuable work contains the most comprehensive corpus of Tok Pisin grammatical structures ever assembled - an unprecedented million and a half words culled from published texts, including a translation of the Bible. The study will enable linguists to test the grammaticality of virtually any construction and to develop for the first time a grammar that does justice to the intricacies of the language.

Linguistic concepts are explained first, based on what anglophone readers may already know about English grammar. This constructive approach serves two purposes: while clearly showing the

continuing influence of English on the language, it shields anglophone learners from misinterpreting Tok Pisin texts - a common occurrence because of the language's apparent similarity to English. This detailed grammar will be welcomed by not only linguists but public servants, church leaders, educators, editors, and others interested in learning more about the language."

Wassmann, Jürg: *Historical Atlas of Ethnic and Linguistic Groups in Papua New Guinea. Volume 3 (containing "Part 4: New Britain", "Part 5: New Ireland" and "Part 6: Bougainville")*.

1995. Basel: Verlag Wepf & Co. (distribution). ISBN 3 85977 193 0.

See listing for: Keck, Verena.

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