

vielfach konstatierte Zunahme des Hexereiwesens wird gerade als Folge dysfunktionaler traditioneller sozialer Regelungsmechanismen gewertet. Hexerei wird zunehmend zu einem komplizierten „Spiel“, bei dem weniger traditionelle Normen als moderne, gegenwärtige Motivationen eine entscheidende Rolle spielen. Landknappheit, sozio-ökonomische Disparitäten, ethnische Antagonismen und eine generelle Erosion sozialer Identität führen zu einer Art Überlebenskampf, in dem das Anheuern eines Hexers, die Diskreditierung eines Verdächtigen als Hexer oder die individuelle Aneignung von Hexereipraktiken Wege darstellen, sich vor Konkurrenz zu schützen oder sich dieser zu entledigen. Deutlich wird ebenfalls, daß die Zunahme der Hexerei mit der Unterentwicklung in ländlichen Regionen zu assoziieren ist. Unzureichende Bildungs-, Gesundheits- und Infrastruktureinrichtungen sowie fehlende wirtschaftliche Entwicklungsperspektiven führen zu einer Rückwendung hin zu alten Glaubensvorstellungen, die Wege aus Stagnation und Frustration weisen sollen. Resultat ist eine Atmosphäre der Angst und des gegenseitigen Mißtrauens, die die sozialen Beziehungen bis in den engsten Familienkreis durchdringt. Wer auf Eigeninitiative und Veränderung setzt, flieht in die Städte, was den Gemeinschaften das vorhandene innovative Potential entzieht – ein Teufelskreis ohne Perspektive.

Die Fallstudien sind als Grundlagenforschung zu werten. Sie bewegen sich zwischen der distanzierten Analyse der Europäer und der verständnisvolleren Annäherung eines Einheimischen (Longgar), der das von den Gebildeten des Landes vertretene Argument eines längst obsoleten vorwissenschaftlichen Denkens zu Gunsten einer holistischen Perspektive zu korrigieren sucht, die Hexerei als integralen Bestandteil der Melanesischen Realität begreift. Unbefriedigend bleibt der Aufsatz des Simbu-stämmigen Pastors Urame zur Morobe Province, der sich zu wenig von der vorhandenen Missionsliteratur löst. Auch ver-

mißt man hinsichtlich East New Britains eine Erklärung des Zusammenhangs von erfolgreicher Geschäftstätigkeit, sozialer Egalität und fortgesetztem Hexereiglauben. Zu fragen wäre, was die unterschiedliche Entwicklung im Vergleich zur Central Province begründet. Schließlich steht eine systematisierende Zusammenfassung der Fallstudien aus, die man sich am Ende des Sammelbandes gewünscht hätte. Das Thema des Buches wird in PNG weiterhin präsent bleiben, so wie auch eine Änderung der tief verwurzelten Glaubensvorstellungen trotz aller Sensibilisierungskampagnen von NGOs und Behörden ein Langzeitprojekt darstellt. Der Rezensent teilt mit dem Herausgeber die Hoffnung, daß kommende Generationen nicht mehr mit dieser „dead burden of such non-scientific and clearly dangerous beliefs“ (9) belastet sein mögen.

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Miki Makihara, and Bambi B. Schieffelin, (eds.): *Consequences of contact: language ideologies and sociocultural transformations in Pacific societies*. New York: Oxford University Press 2007. ix + 234 pp. 1 map

This volume is a collection of essays examining the interrelationships between language and culture change that have unfolded in a number of different Pacific locations over the last hundred years or so. One of the aims of the editors and contributors is to explain why the contemporary Pacific has been an area of enormous linguistic, cultural, political and social diversity. Much of this diversity can be explained by the different contact situations that different Pacific communities have expe-

rienced with both former and present-day colonial and postcolonial powers, governments and religious institutions, as well as by more recent influences such as globalisation, urbanisation, militarisation and environmental change.

After the table of contents, the list of contributors and a map of the Pacific Islands indicating the location of each chapter in the book, the editors present their introductory essay, "Cultural processes and linguistic mediations: Pacific explorations" (3–29). After a brief outline of the history of intercultural contact in the area (starting with first contacts between speakers of Papuan and Austronesian languages), the authors rightly point out that this contact history remains relevant today. One of the products of contact is the diversity of, and multilingualism in, local languages, lingua francas and colonial as well as national languages – a diversity that is very characteristic of Pacific societies. However, as the authors also point out, it was only at the end of the nineteenth century that systematic research on the indigenous languages spoken in the Pacific started.¹ By now anthropologists and other researchers within the social and cognitive sciences have realised that language and speech practices in Pacific societies play a central role in the construction of Self and of these communities' social and political realities.² Language diversity is understood as a marker of social identity; however, the fact that contact and trade languages or lingua francas (which have now become creoles) developed shows the need for shared translocal languages in the area as well. The consequences of contact history for the diversity of the languages spoken in the Pacific were fundamental; unfortunately, they were also quite often fatal. Indigenous languages spoken in the Pacific area have been dying ever since early contact with European languages. Missionaries and government officials introduced literacy and Western scripts with the first translations of (parts of) the Bible into a usually randomly selected variety of

one of the local languages. This resulted in the marginalisation, if not death, of other dialects not only of the chosen local language but more often than not also of its neighbouring languages and in the abandonment of the very few indigenous scripts, like the Rongorongo script of the Rapa Nui. Writing was suddenly taken as being more authoritative than speaking. These new notions about language, which accompanied missionary activity and colonial regimes, also introduced new language ideologies into the various speech communities which re-shaped indigenous ways of feeling, thinking and speaking about language. It is the explicit aim of the essays in this collection to explore the cultural processes which have transformed not only the languages spoken in the Pacific, but also the social and political realities that are encoded and constituted in these languages and enacted by their use. One of the main aims of the editors' introductory essay is to highlight this importance of language ideologies for and in understanding the strong interrelationship between linguistic and cultural processes in contact situations. The editors' essay ends with a brief summary of the following chapters and an attempt to reveal the connections that can be drawn between Pacific experiences on the basis of these essays.

In her excellent essay on "Linguistic paths to urban self in postcolonial Solomon Islands" (30–48) Christine Jourdan describes and analyses the urban modalities of language use by residents of Honiara, the capital city of the Solomon Islands, with the aim of showing how contact has affected urban definitions of Self and identity. In multilingual Honiara, cultural and linguistic contact, together with ideologies of change and progress, has created the need for a definition of urban identity which feeds on ideologies of tradition, custom, modernisation and social roles and options, and which is revealed through language choice and verbal practice. Language choice is not only an expression of the speaker's iden-

tity and agency. The attention speakers pay to language selection also reveals a great deal about their need constantly to redefine their sociality, as well as about the situatedness of the speakers' social selves in situations of culture contact. Jourdan first provides some background information on the effects of contact on the linguistic situation of the Solomon Islands prior to and during colonisation and on postcolonial Honiara. Multilingualism has always been a feature of Solomon Island societies, but in recent years its linguistic and social parameters have changed. The colonial sociolinguistic hierarchy, with English at the top and local vernaculars and Solomon Pijin at the bottom, has been reorganised. The author shows how Honiarans now use different language varieties to index their position in the urban world, to indicate ethnic identities and to illustrate their social sophistication. Thus, their language choice reveals the situated and contextual construction of their social selves. In present-day Honiara, languages not only mark ethnicity, but also social class, age group, gender and urban identity. Honiarans have construed a hierarchy of languages which is context-dependant: if they want to emphasise their ethnic selves, the vernaculars are placed at the top; if they want to index their gendered selves, *Pijin* and vernaculars come first; and if they want to index that they are young urban people they stress *Pijin* as the language for daily interaction and English as the language of social advancement. Thus, the language ideology that was dominant in pre-colonial times characterised by reciprocal multilingualism and the language ideology that was dominant in colonial times characterised by linguistic hegemony and hierarchy have both been replaced by multiple ideologies which compete with one another.

Chapter three presents Miki Makihara's essay on "Linguistic purism in Rapa Nui political discourse" (49–69), in which the author examines ideologies of code choice and language revitalisation embedded in forms

of political discourse among the bilingual, indigenous Polynesian community of Rapa Nui (or Easter Island). The Rapa Nui language has been marginalised and endangered by the spread of Spanish, the national language of Chile. However, Rapa Nui political leaders have challenged this situation first by expanding syncretic Rapa Nui-Spanish speech styles into the public and political domain. More recently, they have developed an ideology of linguistic purism and constructed purist Rapa Nui linguistic codes for political discourse in order to revalorise their Polynesian language and to voice their ethnic identity within the Chilean nation. After a brief summary of the historical, sociolinguistic and political contexts of these developments relating them to the island's particular history of contact, the author presents and analyses two excerpts taken from a forum to debate aspects of the Rapa Nui Indigenous Law and from a meeting with the continental government official. The first excerpt illustrates the use of syncretic Rapa Nui, the second the use of purist Rapa Nui. Syncretic Rapa Nui is the variety that still dominates in everyday life and real discussions of substance in political discourse; the purist registers developed by political activists for Rapa Nui are only used as means to unite the indigenous community of the Rapa Nui symbolically against outsiders and to voice their own ethnic identity.

Chapter four examines forms of code-switching on the Marquesan Islands. Most adults use both Marquesan and a local variety of French, switching between them sometimes even within a sentence in a number of contexts. The adults' use of this code-switching variety, which is called 'charabia' (a French term meaning 'confused, unintelligible, and incorrect speech'), is increasingly affecting the language socialisation of their children. Young people are being accused of no longer learning standard French, the so-called 'pure' *'Enana*, but of acquiring instead the so-called *charabia* code-switching variety. In her paper

“To tangle or not to tangle: shifting language ideologies and the socialization of *charabia* in the Marquesas, French Polynesia” (70–95), Kathleen C. Riley uses data on language socialisation collected in 1993 and 2003 ‘to examine the ways in which ‘Enana are rejecting in practice the diglossic separation of their two codes, producing and reproducing instead the officially lamented but covertly prestigious *charabia* to index their identities as both French and Polynesian’ (72).³

In his essay “Demon language: the otherness of Indonesian in a Papuan community” (96–124) Rupert Stasch explores Korowai speakers’ sensibilities about linguistic difference. Stasch investigates how the members of this Papuan community, who live in the southern lowlands of Papua (Indonesia), have categorised and evaluated the Indonesian language during their first 25 years of direct involvement with it. Being confronted with Indonesian, the Korowai have developed an ideology of linguistic otherness by emphasising the strangeness of this foreign language. They refer to Indonesian as the ‘demon language’, contrasting ‘demon’ with ‘human’, though in using this label they acknowledge that this other language is not only strange but also similar to their own language. The author examines speech practices and evaluations of Indonesian as a different perspective on the world. This perspective is strange and alien with respect to the Korowai’s geographic and cultural position, but it is taken as a kind of displaced and somewhat deformed counterpart to their own position. Stasch points out that Papuans do not associate the use of Indonesian with political integration in Indonesia. Papuans living in coastal and riverine locations spoke dialects of Malay long before the Indonesian invasion in 1963, using these dialects as a lingua franca. Parents these days who do not identify nationally with Indonesia are aware of the fact that their children’s prospects of social advancement depend on their fluency in Indonesian (which they learn

at school). Thus, in 2002 Stasch could observe that about 5 per cent of the Korowai spoke Indonesian well enough to use it as a lingua franca in interactions with people who do not speak Korowai. The author also observed the co-existence of estrangement and attraction in Korowai speakers’ relationship with Indonesian. Bilingual Korowai use more and more Indonesian in conversation with other Korowai ‘because of the artful potential Indonesian offers them for signifying strangeness and parallelism at the same time’ (18). Stasch clearly shows that the Korowai ‘evaluate Indonesian quite contradictorily: it is both good and bad, attractive and repulsive, usefully one’s own and irreducibly strange’ (115).

In Chapter six, “You can’t talk behind the Holy Spirit’s back: Christianity and changing language ideologies in a Papua New Guinea society” (125–139), Joel Robbins points out that in Melanesia language ideologies are intricately intertwined with ideologies of material exchange. Among the Urapmin of Papua New Guinea (PNG), the relationship between these two kinds of changing ideologies and ideologies that have developed during the Urapmin’s conversion to Christianity becomes apparent in local debates about the status and function of spirit women who claim that they can become possessed by the Holy Spirit. Traditionally the Urapmin were convinced that it is impossible to determine a person’s intentions, thoughts and feelings by listening to what they say. Instead of relying on speech to establish social truths, they relied on the exchange of material goods. Giving reveals that people are thinking of each other; thus gifts express what words cannot, because words and speech lack the social history which is a crucial feature of gifts and exchange goods. However, the spirit women are in the process of changing these traditional ideologies because they claim that people should take their speech as true on the basis of its origin: their speech is given to them by the Holy Spirit. Thus, they promote speech over material exchange.

In her paper “Found in translating: reflexive language across time and texts in Bosavi” (140–165), Bambi B. Schieffelin analyses language use in reading and translation practices that developed during Christian missionisation and the introduction of literacy in Bosavi, the language of the Bosavi people who live in the Southern Highlands of PNG. She focuses on reflexive speech, especially on reported speech and thought, as well as on blasphemy, describing and illustrating ‘what happens when language ideologies and languages associated with fundamentalist missionaries, biblical scripture and Bosavi pastors come into contact over a twenty-year period (1975–1995)’ (18).⁴ She especially emphasises the problems pastors have in using and sometimes mixing various versions of translations of the Bible into Tok Pisin (i.e., Melanesian Pidgin) and in rendering these Bible verses into Bosavi. She shows that these problems are indicative of widespread pragmatic issues in PNG, ‘where knowing others’ thoughts is treated in culturally and linguistically specific ways that vary from Western and Judeo-Christian ideas encoded in scripture’ (154).

In Chapter eight, “Speaking to the soul: on native language and authenticity in Papua New Guinea Bible translation” (166–188), Courtney Handman critically ‘examines the role of linguistic versus cultural knowledge as it is theorised for Bible translation at the Summer Institute of Linguistics’ (18) in PNG. The SIL has been revising its training procedures in recent years and has shifted increasingly from using SIL expatriate (mostly American) translators to using Papua New Guineans who are members of the Bible Translation Association and native speakers of the languages into which they want to translate the Bible. The author points out that their training systems are not based on native culture, but on a linguistically oriented notion of group identity. This notion, or rather ideology, establishes the SIL concept of ‘heart language’ – that is, native language or mother tongue – as central to

both authenticity and Christian commitment.

Susan U. Philips reports on the change in language ideology surrounding Tongan lexical honorifics – i.e., verbal expressions that convey respect (addressing social superiors) – over the last two hundred years in her paper, “Changing scholarly representations of the Tongan honorific lexicon” (189–215). She argues that Christian missionaries and members of the Tongan chiefly class were the agents of this change, collaborating with the common intention to highlight their concept of the political shift from a traditional Tongan hierarchy to a secular, modern, nation-state hierarchy. Analysing scholarly representations of the Tongan honorifics system in descriptions of the Tongan language from 1817 till now, she finds considerable stability in the number of levels of honorification that are distinguished. This stability holds even for some of the lexical items that are associated with each level. However, the author also shows that the conceptualisation of the targets of the honorifics has changed significantly.

In his “Postscript: making contact between consequences” (216–226), Joseph Errington provides a personal commentary on the contributions to this collection. An interesting side effect of this chapter is that it illustrates a specific language ideology that seems to prevail in the work of some present-day American anthropologists. I am still trying to understand what Errington means with a sentence like the following (which I chose at random – there are many more such examples):

Bypassing anonymized, detemporalized framings allows features of language structure to be recognized as resources in ongoing, collective responses to shared senses of disequilibrium, and parts of efforts to devise new horizons of relevance for speech and social life (220).

It may well be that I am too much of a linguist to be able to parse and understand sentences like this one.

The book ends with an author index (227–230) and a subject index (231–234).

With the exception of the postscript, the essays in this collection are excellent contributions to research on contact-induced language and culture change and to the increasing field of the study of language ideologies.

¹ Makihara and Schieffelin speak of 'Pacific languages' which I take as shorthand for 'languages spoken in the Pacific'. Linguistically, these languages are differentiated into Papuan (i.e. Non-Austronesian) languages and Oceanic languages which constitute the Oceanic subgroup of the Austronesian language family. See John Lynch, Malcolm Ross, and Terry Crowley: *The Oceanic languages*. Richmond: Curzon Press 2002.

² In a (not untypical) US-America-centric way, the authors claim that this is due mainly to 'the intense attention that anthropologists (mostly American) have paid to language' (8; see also fn. 9 which lists – with a few exceptions – only US-American scholars). The references only include scholars who have published in English or whose publications are available in English translation(s). Thus, it is no wonder that German pioneers in linguistic and anthropological linguistic research into Oceanic languages like Franz Bopp, Otto Dempwolff, Georg von der Gabelentz, Wilhelm Milke, Friedrich Müller, Erhard Schlesier, Otto Schellong and Hugo Zöllner are not mentioned (I assume that the editors do not even know of their work). For references, see Gunter Senft: *Kilivila: the language of the Trobriand Islanders*. Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter 1986, pp. 158–173.

³ Riley points out that there is 'an indigenous phrase of critique for the conversational form of mixing: *kobi'i te 'eo* "tangling the languages"' (74), hence the title of her paper.

⁴ Unfortunately, the author does not provide proper morpheme-interlinear transcriptions of the Bosavi texts.