

local ways, expanding people's social references and unleashing a flood of new aspirations. The resulting crisis is as much moral and cultural as it is material and political. Those who insist on the primacy of productive infrastructures in studying processes of rural change lose sight of the power of both governments, especially as they influence education, and modern mass communications. As in so many other Asian countries, education and the mass media in the Javanese highlands have stimulated social aspirations far in advance of the economy's capacity to satisfy them through transformed systems of production. Those with preferential access to government largesse have been able to transform their private life-styles but in so doing they have set up a chain of expectations in the rest of the society which will become increasingly difficult to manage. At the birth of modern Indonesia, political parties played a key role in defining national and local aspirations, but since 1965 party activity has been frozen in rural areas and 'the range of allowable ideas' has also become far more limited. How present and future governments in Indonesia will cope with these problems remains to be seen.

ANNE BOOTH

NICOLE REVEL: *Fleurs de paroles: histoire naturelle palawan*. I: *Les dons de Nāgsalad*; II: *La maîtrise d'un savoir et l'art d'une relation*. (Ethnoscience, 5, 6. SELAF, no. 316, 317.) 374 pp., 16 plates; 322 pp., 32 plates. Paris: Editions Peeters, 1990. BFr. 1770.

The Palawan are a hill people of the island so named, which lies between the Sulu and South China Seas of the Philippine archipelago. In this essentially linguistic study, Revel aims for a semantics of the Palawan culture. The outcome is an encyclopedic lexicographical treatise on Palawan views of the natural world.

The principal chapters cover spatial categories, the general classification of food plants, faunal taxonomies, and the lexicalization of natural phenomena (vol. I); cosmology in relation to 'La chasse généralisée', the foods of man and of the unobservables, representations of work and of the stellar almanach (vol. II). Set apart in unnumbered chapters are reviews of the Palawan language, writing system and speech; the history and theory of 'ethnoscience'; epistemology; theories of meaning and translation.

Throughout runs the influence of Haudricourt, Benveniste, Barrau, and Lévi-Strauss, but also that of Humboldt, Boas, Sapir and Whorf. Languages filter the sense perceptions of experience, thus 'parler, c'est dire le monde' (I:41). On this explicitly relativist understanding, there can be no true translation; yet Revel aspires towards universals, whether semantic-cultural invariants or generalizations about cognitive processes. Her philosophical remarks (for instance, 'l'observé est-il réel?...l'observé n'est réel que parce qu'il est imaginé' (II:302)), do little to overcome this apparent paradox; for she nowhere considers how theories of intersubjectivity could be used to this effect. Perhaps she

thus illustrates how much she is a prisoner of structuralist semantics.

The Palawan classificatory system is presented to show several properties: it is non-hierarchical (so non-Aristotelian); governed by a principle of association by homology or difference; incorporates social models of relatedness (sisters-cousins-companions); exploits contrasts which are sometimes binary (hot/cold, male/female, dry/humid), but occasionally ternary, or more complex as with insects classified by the nature of their sounds (I:320-21). In the general context of a tropical ecology in which Palawan engage in hunting, gathering and swidden agriculture, the description of their 'schème opératoire dans l'idéologie collective' as a 'chasse généralisée' in which man is both predator and prey (II:21), and subject to an ethics of restraint, appears particularly fitting and will strike chords with many other researchers.

Familiar from other parts of South-East Asia is the relative value placed by the Palawan on hunting as against agriculture, and on rice as against other and historically prior cultigens (yam, taro, millet, sweet potato). Revel notes that lack of rice is felt to resemble famine, even when other foodstuffs are available (II:66); and she tends to a biological explanation in the nutritional superiority of rice which, however, has no support from quantitative studies *in situ*. Particularly interesting in a wider Asiatic context is the mythology of corporeal dismemberment common to myths of origin of rice and other food plants (I:160-72; II:133-5, 241-2), which Revel discusses briefly in relation to material from elsewhere in the archipelagic region. It is a shame that she deliberately avoids diachronical analysis in this case—perhaps in a future publication? Her historical references are in general limited to comparisons of Palawan cosmology and cosmogony with those of Jainist and Vedic tradition. Occasional etymologies are traced to Sanskrit terms; and there is an intriguing identification of the name of the star Asāḥ with that of the emperor Aśoka (272-232 B.C.) (II:251-2), supporting the view of Coedès of a further India where cultural influences have fused with an indigenous substrate with novel consequences.

The Palawan material itself is, however, extremely rich and of interest in its own right. Revel's explication of nosological terms and concepts is particularly valuable. She indicates how the idea termed *tulpuk* is analogous to that of allergic sensitivity (II:107-8); and the term *sakit siting* glossed 'maladies par analogie' or 'maladies à signatures' is shown to depend on the perceived properties of the conditions in question, occasionally entailing use of verbal formulae which exploit explicit homophony and polysemy in treatment (II:108-16). Classification of certain conditions using the terms of true and fictive kinship on the nuclear family model, and of loose companionship, is shown to apply to varieties of abscess, leprosy, and contagious skin disease (II:115-9) which have the property of being able to evolve from one into another form. Important is the finding that a given term can participate in distinct classificatory schemes, whether by 'social relationship', by aetiology and type of therapy, or by degree of severity, contagiousness or psychological

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