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**Old Man Fog and the Last Aborigines of Barrow Point. (General). (**book review) *L.R. Hiatt.* 

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HAVILAND, JOHN B. & ROGER HART. Old Man Fog and the last Aborigines of Barrow Point. xviii, 226 pp.' map, plates, illus., bibliogr. London, Washington: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1998

Roger Hart was born c.1916 in an Australian Aboriginal community on the eastern coast of Cape York Peninsula. Many years later, after a mission education and a working life as a sailor, cane-cutter, and stockman, he asked linguist John Haviland to record his language, write down stories, and ultimately accompany him on a nostalgic journey to the now-abandoned country of his birth at Barrow Point. Their collaborative effort has resulted in a biography intertwined with indigenous folktales and set against a background of miscegenation and foreign domination. The book is illustrated with paintings by Hart's lifelong friend, Tub Gordon.

Dispossession and exploitation of indigenous people in north Queensland, as elsewhere in Australia, were facilitated by pre-existing tribal animosities as well as inequalities and gerontocratic controls in the traditional marriage systems. The colonial government apparently had little difficulty in persuading native troopers from settled areas to collaborate in the task of subduing their compatriots on the frontier. Mayhem, rape, and the abduction of females were rife; after 'pacification', young men and women became highly mobile seekers of employment and freedom among hard-bitten cattlemen and sex-hungry pearl-fishers. Within a few generations the old hunting-and-gathering way of life had been replaced not so much by civilization but, as one missionary put it, starvation, misery and syphilization'.

Roger Hart took his surname from his presumed genitor, a white cattle-rancher for whom his Aboriginal mother worked as a young woman. Until he was about 6, Roger lived with his mother and her Aboriginal husband Charlie, from whom he acquired his Barrow Point affiliations and identity. About this time his mother disappeared with another Aboriginal man, and Charlie handed him over to the Lutheran missionaries at Cape Bedford.

Some twenty years earlier WE. Roth, protector of Aborigines in north Queensland, had noted the widespread occurrence of halfcaste infanticide. Roger recalled that a native tracker had exhorted his mother to drown him: "It's a white man's child", he said. "Throw it into the creek." Roth recommended institutional care of light-skinned children in order to encourage mothers to resist such pressures, and police began taking them from their families and placing them in missions. Black children received less solicitude -- 'they would just shoot them outright with rifles'.

While Roger Hart's reduced pigmentation may have put him at risk at Barrow Point and made him eligible for a haven at Cape Bedford, when he looked back on his childhood with John Haviland, he associated the former place with meaning and the latter with misery. Although cut off from his homeland and to a large extent his kinfolk, the imprint of his earliest years persisted as a central core of identity. We are not told what impression, if any, the stories of the Old Testament and the teachings of Christ made on him. The legends and tales he tells in the book are those he heard as a boy at Barrow Point, and in fuller versions during adulthood. The stories about Fog form the main corpus

and give the book part of its title.

Old Man Fog, we are told, is a classic trickster hero. He is a thief, liar, and rapist. He is also white, and overcomes by stealth and deception. Haviland says he stands for certain precepts of Aboriginal life, sometimes by virtue of his contradictions. Hart regards him as a mentor. Tulo Gordon says the stories 'make you think'. No one suggests they have anything to do with the white invasion. They undeniably have traditional motifs and structures, and it may well be that their allegorical potential in the wake of European conquest is accidental. Nevertheless, given the recurrent themes of alienation and loss that accompany and justify their publication, it makes you wonder.

The two non-Fog stories in the selection also have an uncanny pertinence to the narrator's own life and times. One describes how back in the 1800s the earth simply opened up and swallowed the Barrow Point tribes, except one old woman who lived to tell the tale. The other is about a young woman who abandoned her child. The people tracked her down and speared her. She turned into a porcupine, and the spears became quills.

Old Man Fog is an important addition to a growing body of collaborative work in which anthropologists contextualize the formulations of their indigenous co-authors. It has the added lustre of a foreword by Aboriginal lawyer Noel Pearson, who has known the authors and illustrator since childhood.

Named Works: Old Man Fog and the Last Aborigines of Barrow Point (Book)





## Gossip, Reputation and Knowledge in Zinacantan

Review Author[s]: Paul Kay

American Anthropologist, New Series, Vol. 81, No. 2 (Jun., 1979), 402-404.

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http://www.jstor.org/ Wed May 25 17:13:03 2005 toral thesis, supervised by Berlin. Nevertheless, it can also clearly stand on its own as a significant contribution to ethnology, with additional relevance to biosystematists, ecologists, linguists, and psychologists.

Hunn's "basic goal is to compile an encyclopedic dictionary of the zoological lexicon used by the Indians of Tenejapa" (p. xiii). The "dictionary" occupies nearly 60% of the text of the volume (Ch. 5, "The Fauna"), with detailed descriptions of each named Tzeltal animal taxon, useful illustrations (including informants' drawings), information on cultural significance, and a résumé of the data underlying each proposed category. Other aspects of Tzeltal "folk zoology," e.g., nomenclatural patterns and animal body-part terminology, are clearly presented in Chapter 4.

To the credit of both Hunn as student and Berlin as teacher, Hunn has not simply applied Berlin's analytical schema to a different Tzeltal cultural domain. In addition to a wealth of new data, Hunn contributes two methodological advances in the formal analysis of folk classification, one representing a major departure from Berlin's approach.

As part of his "Framework of Analysis" (Ch. 3), Hunn proposes an alternative system of taxonomic categories to that of "life form," "generic," etc., ranks long argued for by Berlin. Emphasizing "psychological" rather than structural or linguistic criteria, Hunn's new typology draws its principal distinction between "deductive" and "inductive" taxa, based on the cognitive processes by which conceptual groupings of animals (or anything else) are formed (pp. 44-55). His procedures for such inferences are complex, and, while they avoid some of the difficulties with Berlin's system, they raise serious measurement problems that apparently remain unresolved even for Hunn's own extraordinarily rich data (p. 55).

Hunn's second major innovation is his "Measure of the Degree of Correspondence of Folk to Scientific Biological Classification" (pp. 62-72). Although again complex, the procedure is well thought out and should be generally applicable, although it requires fairly complete biosystematics for a given region as well as a thorough understanding of the denotational meanings of animal or plant names. It is unlikely that many researchers will be able to meet both of those demands.

Finally, objections might be raised to Hunn's use of the "omniscient informant" idiom. Survey interviews with 64 individuals, only 3 of whom are females (pp. 29-35), and the intensive use of 8 or 9 "primary informants," all males 18-40 years old (pp. 30-32), may or may not produce a description "attributable to an idealized Tenejapaneco of indeterminate sex and age" (p. 35) and representative of a population of 10,000 (p. 11). In any case, it is perhaps misleading to include in the final corpus animal names that are known to very few informants or whose referents are known only at second hand, if at all.

Both ethnographically and theoretically, Hunn's monograph is a solid achievement. In combination with Berlin's volume on Tzeltal ethnobotany, it gives us "the closest approximation to a comprehensive description of a folk natural history in the anthropological literature" (p. xiii).

Gossip, Reputation and Knowledge in Zinacantan. John Beard Haviland. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1977. xiii + 260 pp. \$20.00 (cloth).

> Paul Kay University of California, Berkeley

In the opening chapter, entitled "A Plea for Gossip," Haviland sets for himself two goals: (1) through the study of Zinacanteco gossip to deepen our ethnographic understanding of the already heavily documented culture and society of the municipio of Zinacantan and (2) to demonstrate that the study of gossip in general can deepen our understanding of the notion of cultural competence by contributing a novel perspective to our ways of studying it. Different readers will, of course, disagree on the extent to which these goals are achieved; such judgments tend to be highly personal.

Chapter 2 straightforwardly sets "The Ethnographic Context" in highland Chiapas, Mexico, with references to the works of F. Cancian, G. Collier, J. Collier, R. Laughlin, E. Vogt, and other names familiar to workers on the ethnography of that interesting, polycultural area. This is the standard, ethnographic-setting chapter of the modern Ph.D. thesis.

Chapter 3, entitled "The Domain of Gossip," is the most satisfactory. Here, Haviland treats with subtlety the problem that there is no single Tzoltil word or phrase denoting *gossip*. The author presents data on the use in context of a variety of Tzotzil expressions, which successfully establish that Zincantecos engage in a complex activity for which English *gossip* is not at all a bad label.

In "The Structure of Zinacanteco Gossip," Chapter 4, Haviland treats his recorded gossip texts as displaying a particular sort of discourse structure, essentially a narrative, but one in which the listener plays a particularly active role. An interesting example of the speakerhearer interaction in establishing a successful bit of gossip is their common problem in having the hearer correctly identify the people the speaker is talking about, especially the principal character. This is examined both from the discourse point of view (When and how does the teller check for feedback that the hearer has correctly identified the individual being talked about? How does the hearer give this feedback whether requested or not?) and from the ethnographic point of view (the most frequent types of identifying descriptions are personal names of well-known individuals, kin links to known individuals, civil offices, religious offices, special talents, places of residence, and, especially, designations such as "murderer" accrued on the basis of prior gossip).

Chapter 5, "The Content of Zinacanteco Gossip," presents a table listing the 20 most frequent themes of gossip stories, together with numerical information on the number of stories Haviland collected that he classifies according to each theme. The five most frequent themes are drunkenness, divorce, illicit sex, jail, and wealth (poverty). (No justification of the coding of stories by theme is offered.) Each theme is then discussed, with an anecdote or two illustrating gossip based on this theme. References to the ethnographic literature are presented, and some new ethnographic detail is offered. Although the gossip stories themselves are interesting, the treatment of their content is not systematic enough to give any strongly satisfying picture of Zinacanteco life.

In "Gossip and the Cargo System," Chapter 6, Haviland evaluates Frank Cancian's generalization, "The degree and manner of a man's participation in the (cargo) hierarchy is the major factor in determining his place in the community." Not surprisingly, Haviland finds that other factors are also important in establishing a Zinacanteco's reputation, but he does not conclude that any other single factor is more important than participation in cargos. Although the chapter contains some interesting discussion of the way the individual decisions to seek or avoid cargos are influenced by a myriad of factors – everyone does not simply take all the most expensive cargos he can afford in order to rise in the hierarchy as quickly as possible – at the end, Cancian's generalization seems to hold up as well as any structural-functionalist generalization is likely to when looked at in interactionist or decision-making perspective.

Chapter 7 ("Gossip Words") contains discussion of 126 Tzoltil expressions that occurred in recorded gossip texts. Haviland says:

From transcribed gossip conversations I selected what seemed interesting occurrences of words and phrases  $\ldots$  a) Words frequently used to mark approval, disapproval,  $\ldots$  and so forth  $\ldots$  b) Key words in the implied rules underlying questions of fact in gossip discussions  $\ldots$  c) Words about  $\ldots$  personal propensities  $\ldots$ , [and] d) Words which evoke hypothetical outcomes, alternative courses of action, or contrary to fact possibilities [p. 123ff].

The discussion of the forms is not, however, organized under these categories. Rather the major categories of discussion are adjectives (29 words), adverbials (12 words), nouns (35 words), and idioms containing body-part words (50 phrases). The discussions of the adjectives and adverbials are organized alphabetically. Body-part idioms are discussed in terms of the body-part involved. Nouns are broken down into those involved in disputes versus others. One or more exemplary sentences are offered with glosses for most forms, though not for all. An informant was asked to group the adjectives into disjoint sets whose members "go together well" (Lek xchi?in sbaik/Lek snup sbaik) and then asked to justify the groupings. Nine groupings were made. All but one of 29 adjectives occurring in the alphabetical list occur in one of the (mutually exclusive) groups, and four adjectives occur in a group but do not occur in the alphabetical list. The mismatches between different presentations of the same data are disquieting. A more serious problem with Haviland's display of the data, however, is that it is not informative: we learn from it little, beyond the information contained in the primary glosses, of the semantic structure (if any) in this set of words.

Chapter 8, "Rules in Gossip," consists principally of a discussion of what various philosophers have done in the way of distinguishing kinds of "rule." The discussion is illustrated with bits of Zinacanteco gossip, Haviland emphasizes the function of cultural rules as resources that people use to impose *post hoc* interpretations on behavior as against their directive function.

The final chapter is entitled "Cultural Competence: Gossip and a Theory of Ethnography." I found the author's intent in this chapter hard to grasp. My first conclusion was that Haviland was arguing here for a Geertzian, "hermeneutic" approach to ethnography as opposed to one attempting "scientific" generalization, and indeed the text contains an approving citation to Geertz's Interpretation of Culture. Correspondence with Haviland and several rereadings have convinced me, however, that Haviland does not advocate abandoning the scientific for the exegetical attitude, but, rather, is looking for an enlarged notion of cultural competence, free of the defects he finds in what he takes to be the received doctrine.

However, neither Haviland's characterization of current doctrine nor his proposed remedy for its defects emerges clearly. With regard to the former, his interpretation of the theoretical significance of some well-known empirical studies is dubious. For example, he supposes that ethnographic models of the kind proposed by Geoghegan and Goodenough (he cites Kay 1970) are mere statistical reductions of the data they claim to predict, and hence he infers that use of the term "prediction" for regeneration of the data that generated the model is fatuous. He fails to note that these models predict data of one sort (e.g., actual residence choices) from data of a *different* sort (e.g., people's statements about the criteria they use in making residence decisions). Hence, the allegation of fatuousness or circularity fails.

Regarding the latter, Haviland notes that, in gossiping, the native uses cultural rules not so much for the generation of appropriate behaviors as for the creation of locally rational accounts of behavior already given. The critique of "cultural competence" as a fixed cultural structure thus seems to proceed in a way analogous to the well-known ethnomethodological critique of traditional social structure. Haviland asserts that in such accounts-as in less exotic ones, such as those governing our own actual as against normative behavior at traffic intersections-the list of contingencies and criteria for judgment seems to stretch out indefinitely as we encounter new incidents of situated behavior. Given the key role of the gossip as cultural commentator, Haviland argues that the study of gossip should become a major tool of the ethnographer, although he is careful to avoid the tendentiousness that would be engendered by pressing the point too far. The theoretical discussion is intelligent and sometimes provocative, although distressingly inconclusive. I find it insufficiently meaty to support the rather thin ethnographic sauce, although other intellectual palates may differ.

Race and Class in Colonial Oaxaca. John K. Chance. Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1978. 250 pp. \$14.00 (cloth).

Erve Chambers University of South Florida

Anthropologists have consistently maintained that three centuries of Spanish colonialism have profoundly influenced the development of Mexico. That view, however, has just as consistently been distorted by our major concern with rural communities and our failure to account for the diversity of historical impacts as painstakingly as we have attempted to describe variability in contemporary settings. Fortunately, those biases have begun to fade in recent years. *Race and Class in Colonial Oaxaca* is a good example of a kind of scholarship that is beginning to modify our view of the colonial situation in Mexico.

Chance's book turns us from any temptation to view the colonial period in Mexico as a single historical tradition; rather, the author provides evidence for considerable regional variation both in the instruments of colonial domination and in the responses of indigenous peoples. In Oaxaca, the ability of Indian groups to retain control over much of their land and their readiness to defend their rights in Spanish courts provide us with a situation contrary to the one depicted so often: Mexican Indians almost totally without power or influence during colonial times.

Chance offers further evidence that the hacienda system, so much emphasized in our literature and in the popular imagery of colonial Mexico, had little impact on the development of Oaxaca and its environs. Throughout most of the colonial period, Spanish settlers of that region were dependent on the food production of independent Indian farmers. The growth of urban Oaxaca cannot be attributed to the presence of a large land-owning class, but, instead, seems linked to the development of commerce and the early gains of a capitalistically oriented merchant class.



# The Great Tzotzil Dictionary of Santo Domingo Zinacantan, with Grammatical Analysis and Historical Commentary

Review Author[s]: Judith L. Aissen

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The great Tzotzil dictionary of Santo Domingo Zinacantán, with grammatical analysis and historical commentary. Vol. I, Tzotzil-English; vol. II, English-Tzotzil; vol. III, Spanish-Tzotzil. By ROBERT M. LAUGHLIN with JOHN B. HAVILAND. Washington, DC: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1988. Pp. xiii, 356; vi, 357-654; vi, 655-1119.

Reviewed by JUDITH L. AISSEN, University of California, Santa Cruz

As its title makes clear, this *Great dictionary* finds its model in the compendious, encyclopaedic dictionaries of the 18th century, and not the concise dictionaries more familiar in Amerindian linguistics. The term 'dictionary' gives little sense of the ground covered in Laughlin's wide-ranging three-volume set. L's starting point is a dictionary of colonial Tzotzil, a Mayan language spoken then, as now, principally in the Mexican highlands of Chiapas. L argues from internal evidence that the dictionary, 'compiled' by an unidentified Dominican friar sometime between 1550 and 1625, describes the dialect of Zinacantán, a prosperous Indian community in colonial times. He cites the abundance of words relating to salt (e.g. words for salt merchants, salt makers, salt cake wrappers), for the Chiapas salt trade was dominated by Zinacantecos. And he finds evidence for Zinacantán as deictic center of the dictionary in examples LANGUAGE, VOLUME 68, NUMBER 2 (1992)

like 'How far is it from Sacatlan to Sinacantlan, how far from Mexico City to Sinacantlan?' (examples for Spanish *desde*), and in remarks like 'But the common way to say "Where do you live?'' is "Where is your house in Zinacantán?'''. Zinacantec Tzotzil is precisely the dialect described in L's earlier magnum opus, *The great Tzotzil dictionary of San Lorenzo Zinacantán* (1977a), a dictionary of the modern language (referred to below as the 'modern *GTD*').

A facsimile of the original dictionary (a copy, actually) and a transcription with modernized spelling make up Vol. III (Spanish-Tzotzil) of this set. Modelled on other bilingual dictionaries of the time, this one provides Tzotzil translations to an alphabetized Spanish word list. In addition to the translations, there are phrasal and full-sentence examples in Tzotzil and notes by the compiler on good usage. The original dictionary contains 8077 entries.

What, then, of Vols. I and II? These present the original material transformed in ways that bring English prominently into the picture, and make the material more accessible and usable for (English-based) scholars. The possibility of studying the relation between the colonial language and the modern language is immeasurably enhanced by L's decision to transform the friar's Spanish-Tzotzil dictionary into a Tzotzil-English dictionary with the format essentially that of L's modern GTD. The organization, a linguist's delight, is by root, with all words built on a given root listed in that entry. Because Mayan root structure is simple (most roots have the form CVC) and derivational morphology is rich, organization by root gives an immediate sense of the language's morphology and some of its syntax. The production of the Tzotzil-English dictionary involved major data processing (as well as translation), since a single root pulls together words scattered throughout the original dictionary. All definitions are keyed to the original (Spanish) by entry, so the reader can examine all sources for a given word. Because both dictionaries are organized by root, it is easy to compare them; indeed, it is all too easy to lose oneself browsing in the two, noting semantic change and apparent word loss (speculation is possible here because the modern GTD is so comprehensive), and admiring the precision of both L's and the friar's definitions. Vol. II (English-Tzotzil) contains two sections. First, an English-Tzotzil 'dictionary' was apparently produced mechanically from the Tzotzil-English; this dictionary was then itself used to generate a thesaurus, which constitutes the second section. The thesaurus is based on Campbell's 1979 adaptation for Nahuatl of Voegelin & Voegelin's semantic domains for Hopi (1957), reorganized to make it culturally more appropriate for Tzotzil. This section was included 'on the presumption that the cultural context of this dictionary is more readily available to anthropologists, historians, and linguists if presented in a thesaurus' (II:vi). Categories like Spanish loanwords, kin terms, noun classifiers, varieties of speech, metaphoric speech, religion, and many others organize the material in ways that cry out for analysis.

The great dictionary contains yet more. The friar's example phrases and sentences of course contain well-formed, inflected words, but when L cites these words abstracted out of their original context, i.e. in the sections headed by English or Tzotzil, he does so in a base form, one requiring inflection (and

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often additional syntactic context) to be well-formed. A schema showing how to restore the inflection and syntax was devised by John Haviland, and accompanies each entry. Explication of this system (truly) requires a sketch of the language, which Haviland provides in a substantial section of Vol. I entitled 'It's my own invention: A comparative grammatical sketch of colonial Tzotzil'. The sketch is more a condensed description of the modern language, which then serves as a starting point for understanding the colonial examples. It is skillfully done in the discursive style that Haviland prefers (cf. Haviland's 1981 grammar of modern Zinacantec Tzotzil). One especially welcome feature is Haviland's clarification of the incomprehensible system used in the modern *GTD* to mark noun classes. The colonial material suggests no major syntactic changes in the intervening 300 years. Haviland does note the complete absence of any Spanish conjunctions in the colonial examples, words which play a major role in connecting clauses in the modern language.

No 'mere' lexicographer, L gives the first 70 pages of Vol. I over to the historical context generated by the original manuscript: its provenance, possible authorship, probable sources, the relation of the Dominican friars to the Indians, and biographical sketches of the men whose interventions are responsible, ultimately, for the preservation of the colonial dictionary and its trip from the highlands of Chiapas to the Princeton University Library, where a copy eventually ended up in L's hands. The historical material makes good reading, and there are wonderful photographs. Although L has always distanced himself from both modern linguistics and modern anthropology, preferring a polymathic, neo-antiquarian stance to that of the narrowly focussed disciplinarian, his body of work constitutes an enormous contribution to current linguistic and anthropological work in the Tzotzil (and Mayan) area. His modern dictionary (1977a), several collections of texts (1977b, 1980), and now the colonial dictionary provide superb materials and set a daunting standard for the rest of us. Wit, intelligence, and incredible thoroughness characterize all the work. Laughlin has done for a third-world language with no written tradition what is rarely done (despite the linguist's credo that all languages are created equal): he has given it the full descriptive and historical treatment usually reserved for 'great languages'. For the record, the work as a whole is also editorially impeccable-hundreds of pages with scarcely a typo. It deserves far better binding than that provided by the Smithsonian Institution Press for this set.

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The Arabic linguistic tradition. By GEORGES BOHAS, JEAN-PATRICK GUILLAUME, and DJAMAL EDDINE KOULOUGHLI. (Arabic Thought and Culture.) London & New York: Routledge, 1990. Pp. x, 163. Cloth \$55.00.

### Reviewed by KARIN C. RYDING, Georgetown University

With this book Routledge launches a new series 'designed to provide straightforward introductions for the western reader to some of the major figures and movements of Arabic thought' (verso of title page). This slim but comprehensive volume is a valuable contribution to the resources available to western scholars interested in the history of language science. With this most recent addition to previous studies by Michael Carter (1981), Jonathan Owens (1988, 1990), and Kees Versteegh (1977, 1983), a firm core of English-language sources on the history of Arabic grammatical theory has now been constituted.

In 1984 Bohas & Guillaume published an extensive work in French on medieval Arabic morphology and morphophonemics. Now, with their colleague Kouloughli, they offer here a much broader approach to the presentation of Arabic linguistic theory, drawing on their extensive familiarity with medieval Arabic grammatical texts.

It is not easy to create a readable history of Arabic grammatical theory in English, because the contents of the theories are often so Arabic-dependent that it is difficult to find non-Arabic resources to describe and illustrate the issues adequately. Moreover, the theoretical writings extend diachronically over some 750 years of Arabic linguistic analysis (roughly 750 A.D. to 1500 A.D.), forming a corpus of wide-ranging, heterogeneous, and elaborate theory.

BG&K succeed in condensing and describing general issues in the history of Arabic linguistics. It is an ambitious goal, but the authors approach it with a clear idea of what is essential to get across to western readers, and with a sense of discipline that prevents digressions into the sometimes fathomless and bewildering issues of medieval Arabic language science. In addition to chapters on syntax, morphology, and phonetics, BG&K deal with other language-based disciplines, including literary criticism, rhetoric, semantics, and metrics. This makes the book a practical resource for those interested in Arabic literature and philosophy as well as linguistics.

The approach is text-based, focusing on the writings of the major grammarians Sibawayhi (d. 793 A.D.), Mubarrad (d. 898 A.D.), Zajjāji (d. 949 A.D.), Ibn Jinnī (d. 1002 A.D.), Ibn Ya'īsh (d. 1245 A.D.), and Al-Astarābādhī (d. 1289 A.D.). BG&K thus tackle what Kuhn refers to as 'the technical core' (1977:135) of this medieval discipline, situating their analysis thoroughly within the indigenous framework. BG&K assert that a 'definitive canonical model'

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