

Chinese, but there is a marked difference in the use of it by the two groups. Here is where the author sees the difference in aesthetic values between the two groups. He presents his argument in the concluding chapter 5. In a Baba poem "both lines of the first couplet must be meaningful and make sense as a pair of lines" (28). It is important that the connection of thoughts be clear and the story line harmonious. Then a drama and a debate unfolds which abounds with rich knowledge of Malay culture and nature (29). The singing develops into explosive bursts and phrasings of tone.

On the other hand, the Malay Pantun refrains from directly addressing a given point. Although it has a consistent theme, this is only suggested in the first poem and then hidden, and only at the end the initially concealed allusion is made explicit. Further, by "scintillating and artful variation in the metaphoric and modal levels" (24) the listener is purposely misled. The singing is smooth, and there is no burst of sound interrupting the flow of words. Neither voice nor movement are affected by the subject matter. Emphasis is specially given to the discontinuity between the poem's covert meaning and the singing's overt image. It is a disjointed performance of musicians, singers and dancers, and as a result a direct understanding of its theme becomes blurred. All this creates an image of disorder, but such disorder can only exist in an art form where an underlying order is strong, as the author emphasizes. He says that Malays have no tradition of discussing poetry, whereas Baba Chinese not only do discuss it, they also transfer an attitude towards literature which was formed from the old Chinese education system into the Malayan context. Their contests of wit and verse recall these former scholastic exchanges. Similar exchanges are also well known from the *shan-ke* 山歌 of southern China, but there is no conclusive evidence as to an influence of this tradition on the Baba Chinese's poems.

Since Baba Chinese are ordinarily regarded as not speaking Chinese, it is difficult to evaluate the influence of Chinese literature on them in terms of sense or aesthetic value. This problem cannot possibly be approached only through the study of literature. In fact, the author's arguments suggest further approaches to such a comparison of cultures. One of them could be a study of the social history of the cultural intercourse between Malays and Baba Chinese. For any of such attempts it is important to arrive at a definition of the term "Baba Chinese," something that proves to be difficult. Further examination of this concept is needed, but the author has taken an important step in the right direction.

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INDONESIA

FOX, JAMES J., Editor. *To Speak in Pairs. Essays on the Ritual Languages of Eastern Indonesia*. Cambridge Studies in Oral and Literate Culture, 15. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988. xi+338 pages. Photographs, figures, bibliography, index. Cloth £30.00; ISBN 0-521-34332-1.

Much work on eastern Indonesia over the past fifteen years or so has shifted from the formal study of models initiated by Van Wouden to "the linguistic study of metaphors for living" (Fox 1980, 330-331; 1981, 483). This research has established that a number of metaphors and social categories more or less decidedly compose "the common

civilization behind . . . the disparate eastern Indonesian communities" (Barnes 1985, 222). Among these are the employment of two communications systems, one visual, based on textiles and colourful food offerings, associated with women, the other, oral, based on verbal virtuosity, associated with men. Connected with this is the element that also appears common to societies in the region: social wisdom and significant knowledge of a ritual sort is expressed in a dyadic form. *To Speak in Pairs* considers this aspect of this "structural core . . . found throughout the region" (Fox 1981, 483).

This excellent collaborative volume comprises essays that were solicited, presumably by the editor whose publications since 1971 evince interest in the topic, from researchers who have done fieldwork in the area. The ten societies considered are, in west Sumba, the Kodi (Hoskins), Wanakuka (Mitchell), Wewewa (Renard-Clamagirand), and Weyéwa (Kuipers) (these names refer to the same domain); Rindi, east Sumba (Forth); Roti (Fox); east Flores: the Lio (Aoki) and the Ata Tana Ai (Lewis), and the Endenese [central Flores (Nakagawa)]; and the Sa'dan Toraja of the southwestern arm of Sulawesi (Zerner and Volkman). These essays, which are "primarily concerned to examine the specific characteristics of parallel poetry as a living tradition of oral composition in a particular cultural setting" (11), an aim they all achieve with admirable clarity, control, and precision, are introduced by an essay from the editor.

Fox's introduction is masterly. It sets this volume in a tradition concerned with parallelism as a linguistic phenomenon that dates from 1753 when Lowth, Professor of Hebrew Poetry at Oxford, lectured on the poetry of the Old Testament. From this lecture arose an entire scholarly tradition about the topic and related matters. These are most usefully and seemingly comprehensively surveyed and canonical parallelism is shown to be prominent in oral and literary traditions globally and to have been so for a very long time. As Roman Jakobson, to whose memory *To Speak in Pairs* is dedicated, remarked, canonical parallelism is a "'near universal'—a general phenomenon, Fox comments (11), "that is all the more interesting because . . . its variable occurrence also requires explanation." If this phenomenon is to be understood [its understanding is important because as a strict, consistent, and pervasive means of communication it is limited to specific societies and because its "theoretical significance . . . lies in the glimpses it provides of fundamental aspects of linguistic composition" (4)] the first steps must be "comparative investigations of regional traditions of the phenomenon" (11). *To speak in Pairs* is an excellent contribution to this task.

These essays are a first-rate contribution, also, to the study of the phenomenon in Austronesian languages—the overwhelming majority of the languages of the region, though highly divergent, are Austronesian—the evidence for which is now enormous. They show, among other matters, that although their cultural are highly diverse, the ritual languages of the area share common characteristics, all being "'formal, formulaic, and parallelistic . . .," widely conceived of as the "words of the ancestors," and employing the organising metaphor, common in the area of an elaborate sequence, of the "journey" (21–23). All the essays show, too, that like other rituals in the major performances described and their concomitants are intended to generate "heat" which is then cautiously dispelled by "cooling", and that this is concomitant with the similar patterns that the described orations follow (28–29).

Various other matters that the essays demonstrate or suggest, some of which are referred to in the Introduction, could be mentioned as being important findings of *To Speak in Pairs*, but space precludes them and more general matters to do with the scope of the comparisons made being raised. But two matters do warrant mention. First, the centrality of ritual language that Fox mentions: it is one thing to suggest that this language is so central to all the societies considered that its understanding is fundamen-

tal to that of a particular society; it is another to see this language as logically (perhaps historically) prior to other social facts as "the question is how the unordered pairs in ritual language become ordered pairs in particular systems of dual classification" (27). This, of course, refers to eastern Indonesian societies long being noted for their dual classifications systems where the terms of a dyad are valued unequally: one term is assessed as superior in one respect or another to its opposite; while the pairs of terms in ritual language [a term may have one or more than one opposite, but not an infinite number of them (23-25)] are "unordered", which means that neither term of a pair is superior. Perhaps less tendentious questions would be: What is the relationship of these sets of ordered (asymmetrically related) dyads and unordered (symmetrically related) pairs one to another? Are they perhaps, formally, inversions of one another? Are these asymmetrical and symmetrical relations consonant with other ideas about the mundane and the spiritual respectively, and their relationship one to another? Then, Fox asserts (26) that "dual systems must consist of ordered pairs" and that the dyads must be ordered by "a consistent relationship," by which the reviewer understands a "constant" relationship. This view accords with traditional views, but recent work on analogical classification proposes that there are as many discernible modes of opposition as there are dyads in such a system (Needham 1980, 55); while more recent studies show that such a system may be composed of five sets of dyads among which five modes of symmetrical and asymmetrical relations obtain (Duff-Cooper 1985); and further more, that there may even be more modes evinced by or discernible in such a system than dyads in it (Needham 1987, 223). Here the dyads are not all ordered by a constant (consistent) relation, but still compose a dual system. (In such cases, "analogy" and "homology", which concatenate the dyads, can be expected to be as complex as the relations among the dyads, and in no sense simple.)

These questions are important for the analysis and comparison of social facts in general and seemingly also in the investigation of the relationship between the dyadic forms of ritual language and the dualism of the societies in the area where they are found. But these concerns are not prominent among the aims that the editor of this book and his collaborators set themselves and attain so competently. *To Speak in Pairs* is at once an important and stimulating contribution to the literatures about the linguistic phenomenon of canonical parallelism and about eastern Indonesia and maritime southeast Asia more widely and a most worthy addition to these distinguished traditions of research.

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INDIA

HEIFETZ, HANK and VELCHERU NARAYANA RAO, Transl. *For the Lord of the Animals—Poems from the Telugu. The Kālahastīśvara Śatakamu of Dhūrjaṭi*. With introduction and notes. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1987. xi+178 pages. Afterword by Velcheru Narayana Rao. Hardcover US \$25.00; ISBN 0-520-05669-8.

For those familiar with the poetry of bhakti, the strain within Hinduism that emphasizes an intimate personal relationship between devotee and deity, the tone and many of the sentiments expressed in the verses of Dhūrjaṭi's *Kālahastīśvara Śatakamu* will be familiar. As is frequently the case in bhakti poetry, the poet's voice is vividly present in these lyrics addressed to Kālahastīśvara, a local manifestation of Śiva whose temple is located in southern Andhra. But while this beautifully executed and handsomely produced translation of Dhūrjaṭi's poetic offering to Śiva may hold no startling surprise for those familiar with its genre, it is nonetheless an important addition to the growing corpus of bhakti poetry in translation, not least because it is the first English translation of bhakti poetry from Telugu which is likely to find an international audience. The translation represents a collaborative effort between Velcheru Narayana Rao, a versatile scholar who brings to this project an expert's knowledge of Telugu literature and its historical context, and Hank Heifetz, a South Asianist who is also a professional poet and translator.

The collaboration is a happy one. For the most part the translations successfully capture the conversational and often impassioned tone which is a hallmark of bhakti poetry. Rather than embarking upon a detailed textual analysis, the translators confine their introductory remarks to a relatively brief discussion of the text's author, subject, genre, and texture in the original. Otherwise, the poems are left to speak for themselves. Annotations are designed to facilitate readers' comprehension and appreciation of the poems by explaining mythological allusions and other cultural or literary conventions with which the poet's intended audience would have been familiar. The notes are kept brief and do not delve into issues of purely scholarly concern. Explanatory notes on Telugu meter and on the constitution of the text also help to bridge the gap for readers who are unfamiliar with the original.

It is well known that bhakti, far from being monolithic, appears in a number of variants. Thus it has been possible to describe bhakti both as a movement of integration and as a vehemently iconoclastic protest movement. The element of protest is plainly visible in Dhūrjaṭi's poems, but unlike the Kannada *vacanas* of the Viraśaivas which contain scathing condemnations of religious orthodoxy, protest in Dhūrjaṭi's lyrics is directed solely against the values of secular life—family loyalties, physical pleasure, wealth, fame, and political power. Dhūrjaṭi's anti-establishment stance may not be as extreme as that of the Viraśaivas, yet neither is he as open as are some of the Tamil bhakti poets to an appreciative enjoyment of God's presence in all aspects of the manifest world. There is no mistaking the author's disillusionment with the world and the kind of experience it offers. At the same time, other themes evinced in Dhūrjaṭi's text