ous one, beyond the control of the community (63). In fact, as Tannenbaum writes, the only way a person "infected" with witchhood can alleviate the problem is by becoming a Buddhist cleric and closely observing the precepts — in other words, by withdrawing from secular community life and engaging in activities that develop spirituality and self-control (68–69).

The remaining papers all deal with sorcery. Society's sorcerers are often members of groups marginal to the main community; even among peoples like the Javanese and Malays, where the sorcerer *can* belong to the community, he or she tends to remain marginal.

In nearly all of the societies discussed (urban Thai, Lisu, Nuaulu, Javanese, Malay, and Gayo), sorcery is linked in some way with interpersonal tensions and anxieties. Ellen (7) observes that sorcerers do not necessarily work with malign intent, and that sorcery is everywhere said (except among the Nuaulu) to be practiced in defense against perceived magical attacks. The Gayo, for example, "returned spirits to their senders [causing] the sender to fall ill" (183).

In every society, with one exception, sorcery is a learned, voluntary skill. The exception is Nuaulu society, where misfortune is generally attributed not to sorcery but to the activities of ancestral spirits; since sorcery is said to be inherited in the male line (61), it too is derived from the powers of the ancestors. All sorcerers were said to use spiritual forces, with only the urban Thais, the Malays, and the Javanese employing supplementary poisons, herbs, and other substances. Sadly, the authors generally do not further identify the spiritual powers involved (nature spirits and ancestral spirits, though often related, tend to be separate categories that occasionally blend).

Space does not permit me to say all I would like about this interesting book or the individual papers. I hope that these studies will stimulate similar investigations in the future, leading perhaps to a general Southeast Asian cosmology.

Robert WESSING
The Hague
The Netherlands

JAPAN

BACHNIK, JANE M. and CHARLES J. QUINN, Jr., editors. *Situated Meaning: Inside and Outside in Japanese Self, Society, and Language*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1994. xviii + 309 pages. Figures, tables, index. Paper US$16.95; ISBN 0–691–01538–4. Hardcover US$49.50; ISBN 0–691–06965–4.

Situated Meaning is one of the most significant and impressive collections on Japanese culture to appear recently outside of Japan. Central to this volume is the notion of *uchi* (inside) and *soto* (outside), a major theme in Japanese studies. The book's approach is eloquently summarized by Jane Bachnik in her introduction. Bachnik contends that *uchi* and *soto* are linked, respectively, with self and society, the mutual relation of which is basic to human ontology. Objecting to Cartesian dualism, she proposes *uchi-soto* as a "cline" (continuum) on which the two spheres are defined in relation to each other in constantly shifting social relations. This view is based on the observation that what is *uchi* in one context is *soto* in another, and vice versa. (Another way of regarding this fluidity would be to conceive of *uchi* and *soto* as forming concentric circles with shifting boundaries.)

To clarify this point, Bachnik follows Charles Pierce's notion of indexical (pragmatic) meaning as distinguished from referential (semiotic) meaning. Indexes are contextual; they depend on the context for generating meaning. Similarly, *uchi-soto* is not a fixed social framework but rather a scale or an axis along which relationships may be indexed by degrees

of insideness or outsideness. Bachnik argues that the shifting nature of *uchi-soto* is expressed in Peirce's concept of pragmatism as a movement between dualities. She also contends that *uchi-soto* as a system of indexical signs may be related to other such theories, including Bourdieu's "habitus" and "practice," Gidden's concept of agency and structure, and Merleau-Ponty and Heidegger's notion of social life as "lived."

The rest of the volume is divided into three parts: "Indexing Self and Social Context," "Failure to Index: Boundary Disintegration and Social Breakdown," and "Language as a Form of Life: Clines of Knowledge as Clines of Person." In terms of content and space, however, it consists of two major sections dealing with culture and language. The cultural section comprises papers by Nancy Rosenberger, Jane Bachnik, Dorinne Kondo, and Matthews Hamabata. The contributors to the linguistic section are Charles Quinn, Jr., Patricia Wetzel, Robert Suckle, and Michael Molasky.

Three major issues emerge in the cultural section. The first issue concerns *uchi* as a "collective deictic anchor point." This anchor point takes such forms as the dyadic relations between husband and wife (Rosenberger), the *ie* (Bachnik), a family-owned company (Kondo), and an international family enterprise (Hamabata). The focus on families or family-like organizations derives from the meaning of *uchi* as "family." The novelty lies in viewing Japanese groups, not as structural extensions of the family (as past studies have done), but as anchor points for defining self and other. By taking *uchi* as the basic frame of social relations, the authors challenge the prevailing Western assumption of the individual as the primary agent of social action.

The second issue involves the shifting boundary between *uchi* and *soto*. Rosenberger relates the distinction to that between *amaeru* (to depend on another) and *amayakasu* (to indulge another), showing that the domestic roles of husband as indulgee and of wife as indulger shift along the *uchi-soto* axis. Similarly, Bachnik observes that the husband's married sister is an outsider (*soto*) when she visits her natal house, but turns into an insider (*uchi*) when she welcomes the family of her nephew's fiancee. Kondo notes how the owner of the family business manipulates the boundary between *uchi* and *soto* as he includes or excludes his employees in the family circle to increase his own profit.

The constitution of power and authority within *uchi* is the third major issue addressed in the cultural section. The hierarchy involved in the gender relationship of giving and receiving indulgence should be understood, Rosenberger argues, not as a rigid structure based on male dominance but as a process that enables movement and change in social life. This process is governed by spiritual energy (*tama* in Shinto belief) that creates differentiation or harmony. Kondo and Hamabata show that pseudo-family organizations often disintegrate when power and authority are misappropriated. Particularly revealing is Hamabata's account of a business corporation that, despite its prestige and long history, collapsed because the president and his wife allowed the personal and emotional aspect of *uchi* to dictate the social aspect of *soto*.

A major problem that escapes attention in the above discussion of *uchi* is the identity of the self that transcends its membership in *uchi*. Bachnik writes that her emphasis on *uchi* does not eliminate the individual, but the question of how the individual maintains his or her identity over time and beyond the group context receives little attention because he or she is seen as embedded in the collectivity of *uchi*.

In the linguistic section, Quinn's lexical study shows that the vocabulary of *uchi*, and to a lesser extent that of *soto*, is pervasive in Japanese. *Uchi* implies enclosed, nearby, accessible, familiar, and controlled in an informal setting, whereas *soto* has the opposite implications. Quinn further argues that *uchi-soto* is a "metapattern" — a pattern that connects other patterns in Japan.

Wetzel analyzes Japanese verbs of giving and receiving in terms of the speaker's perception of *uchi*. These words indicate the flow of action from *soto* to *uchi* or from *uchi* to *soto*. For example, *kureru* and *ageru*, and their polite forms *kudasaru* and *sashiageru*, may be understood as meaning "*soto* gives to *uchi*" and "*uchi* gives to *soto*," respectively. Since the

boundary between *uchi* and *soto* shifts from situation to situation, the same action may be described with either word, depending on the speaker's perspective. In Japanese, says Wetzel, the deictic center is not the ego but "a situationally dependent *uchi* with fluid boundaries."

Suckle examines "directive speech acts" (e.g., requesting, commanding, hinting) in Japanese from a similar standpoint. Using quantitative data about the use of *kudasai* (please give me) and *chōdai* (give me) in several different settings, he shows how these words index the social distance between the speaker and others along the *uchi-soto* axis.

Molasky interprets Shiga Naoya's novel *The Razor* in terms of the failure to index *uchi* and *soto*. The protagonist, an ailing barber, makes a series of boundary transgressions with regard to *uchi-soto* and *omote* (front)-*ura* (back) that ultimately lead to the elimination of the boundary separating life and death. The man murders an obnoxious customer by cutting the customer's throat with his razor.

Using the concepts of *uchi* and *soto*, this excellent volume challenges the way society and the individual have been conceptualized in the West. The irony is that this challenge is issued not by the Japanese concept per se, but by the contributors' indexical or pragmatic approach to it. Since pragmatism is derived from the Western tradition, we might ask if it would be possible to do the same task without invoking Japanese *uchi-soto*. In fact, in both the cultural and linguistic sections, we find surprisingly little data for how the words *uchi* and *soto* are used in the actual speech of the Japanese. Instead, we find profuse interpretations of things Japanese in terms of the paired words as a system of indexical signs. This curious contrast suggests that *uchi-soto* as understood by the contributors is not an *uchi* (emic) concept of Japan, but a *soto* (etic) one that facilitates the understanding of Japanese behavior from the outside.

KUWAYAMA Takami
Sōka University
Tokyo

CLARK, TIMOTHY. *Ukiyo-e Paintings in the British Museum*. Washington, D.C.: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1992. 256 pages. 223 color plates, 224 b/w illustrations, appendix, bibliography, index. Paper n.p.; ISBN 1–56098–243–8.

Timothy Clark's book will prove extremely useful to students and collectors of Edo-period painting, since few resources exist in English on the Japanese art form known as ukiyo-e (pictures of the floating world). *Ukiyo-e Paintings* includes two excellent essays on this significant genre, color illustrations of two hundred paintings in the British Museum, an appendix dealing with fakes and forgeries, an extensive annotated bibliography, a list of alternative names of artists, and a comprehensive index.

Ukiyo-e is internationally recognized as a sophisticated, visually stunning art form, but it is not the paintings that have attracted the most attention but the relatively inexpensive and easily procured wood-block prints. It is Clark's stated intention to address this oversight by handling painting as one of the main media in which the ukiyo-e artists worked, along with prints and illustrated books. Clark shows that painting was particularly important in the early development of ukiyo-e, during the period from the early seventeenth to the early eighteenth centuries. He also reveals the interrelation between painting and prints, which he describes as "a healthy reciprocal influence and even rivalry between the sister media" (11). It is important to note that most accomplished print designers were also painters; in fact, a classical career pattern for an ukiyo-e artist was to work as a print designer early in life and then retire to painting in later years.