JOHANNES FABIAN, *Jamaa: a charismatic movement in Katanga*. Evanston: Northwestern University Press, 1971. Pp. xii + 284.

Language is crucial in this description and analysis of a priest-inspired, Catholic, and African religious movement. But its task is primarily ethnographic. The author, however, is neither an 'anthropological linguist' nor a 'linguistic anthropologist'. The study of language was forced on him, as it were, by the phenomenon he sought to understand. The lesson he learned was that if one wanted to study rapid social change, he must study it through the material in which it is manifested, namely, language (4). The argument is an epistemological one:

movement phenomena are not 'available' in the sense that the data of empirical science are 'available'. To perceive them at all, one must enter the total context to which they belong. This context cannot be constructed; it must be identified (or 'discovered'), and in this task one must cope with two major problems: (a) the problem of the boundaries that define a total context and (b) the problem of the medium that makes it possible to enter such a context (120-1).

It is language products – texts – that one investigates, because it is there, in the 'words', that the 'manifest ideology' is found. Ideas are what have an effect on social action: ideas are 'autonomous systems of symbols governed by rules' (131). These texts are comprised of all kinds of talk about the Jamaa sect, mostly in beliefs and behavior, within and without contexts that we would call 'religious'. (The movement identifies its own categories of speech events; the ethnographer used all that he could get.)

The identification of this ideology through an interpretation of discourse is achieved by a hermeneutic that Fabian calls a 'genetic-historical method' (122). Unfortunately, very little is said of it. There are even no specific references to antecedent works, especially those on the philosophy of language. I find interesting parallels, however, between Fabian's views and those expressed by Hugh D. Duncan in his *Communication and social order* (New York, 1962). If space permitted, we would indulge readers of this journal with more on this topic, but it is likely that Fabian will expound his understanding of language in other places.

Although the orientation of this book is not explicitly sociolinguistic, there is in it an abundance of information that is sociolinguistic by most definitions. We learn, for example, of four genres of discourse that have been institutionalized in the movement and of the participants and roles, the setting, and other situational factors that correlate with Jamaa speech events. We are told explicitly, moreover, that there are rules that govern speaking about Jamaa doctrines with respect to

book. There are some footnote references to the more recent papers by the generative semanticists (McCawley, Lakoff) which are not integrated into the arguments in the book.

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style, content, and level of instruction. There is also a detailed analysis of crucial doctrinal terminology and an appendix with several texts in the original Swahili and in translation.

As an ethnographic monograph, *Jamaa* is in my judgment one that is imaginative, well argued, and tightly written. I finished the book by feeling that I had really learned something about this fascinating movement, its articulate members, and its charismatic founder, Father Placide Tempels. I would also recommend it as a source text for studies in comparative religion, political science, African studies, and culture change.

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EDWIN ARDENER (ed.), *Social Anthropology and Language* (ASA Monographs, 10). London: Tavistock Publications, 1971. Pp. cii+318.

'The failure of the great middle generation of social anthropologists to respond to the challenge of language has long been one of the curiosities of the British school of the subject . . .' These are the opening remarks of the editor of the volume, Ardener, and they go a long way to explaining the content of the book. The Association of Social Anthropologists devote their Annual Conference to a single topic and the volume under review is the outcome of the 1969 Conference. Ardener was unfortunate that several members of the ASA who might have contributed to the Conference were away doing fieldwork. Nevertheless, the present lack of expertise or interest in language amongst social anthropologists in Britain can be seen from the fact that only three British anthropologists besides Ardener himself gave papers and all of them were, at the time, research students.

Ardener contributes an introduction which is half the length of the contributed articles put together. In both the introduction and his contributed paper, Ardener's interest lies in comparing the kinds of models with which anthropologists have been operating and their relationship to the kinds of models developed by linguists. He examines De Saussure's notion of semiology pointing out its crucial importance in the anthropological study of symbolic systems and then goes on to spell out very clearly the stages through which Levi-Strauss has moved from his early and unprofitable borrowing of the concept of the phoneme to his more recent work where he is proposing not an exact parallelism between linguistic and anthropological models but a return to De Saussure's semiology as the object of anthropological study. Ardener supports this general notion that the contribution that linguistics can most usefully make is not to provide a model which can be borrowed *in toto* but forcibly to remind anthropologists of the use and properties of formal models and their relationship to observable data. He