Taken all together, Keesing makes a strong case for Oceanic substrate influence.

At the proofreading level, this book is very well copyedited. There are occasional slips; for example, a couple of Pohnpeian examples are cited without acknowledging the obvious source, Rehg 1981; Simons 1986 is cited as Simons 1985; Kwaio foubolo is repeated where the English gloss, "black," should be. With minimal effort, lapses like these are easily overcome.

More serious are chatty asides that are an embarrassment. I cite here a few examples: On page 131, one scholar is chided "Perhaps significantly, this passage is missing in the version . . . published two years later. . . . The comments of his colleague . . . might have intervened here, although this is pure speculation on my part." The earlier version was labeled a working paper. To me working paper means that just such changes can be made without prejudice. On page 104, another scholar is chided "he might be surprised at the complexity of sentences given by Pionnier." As a clue to the inappropriateness of the comment, the author attaches a footnote, "He assures me (personal communication, July 1986) that he is not." How did both author and editor miss the chance to prune all of that? In two places, page 177 and page 212, Keesing comments on the policies of Solomon Islands toward research visas. One emotional reaction to the situation should suffice.

One finds the same data with similar comments in more than one place, indicating that the overall organization of the material could be improved. But as it stands, the book succeeds as a provocative challenge and as a showcase for important data to please substratophiles everywhere.

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For Feil, the Papua New Guinea Highlands stretch roughly from Kainantu to Wabag and include about fifty ethnolinguistic groups, which he sorts into five distinct "configurations." The geographically eastern and western ends are said also to represent contrasting poles on a continuum of social complexity, such that with regard to political leadership (91), but also more generally, in the eastern highlands "the 'developed' flourishing western highlands configuration can be seen only in embryonic form." The continuum is also "evolutionary" in the sense that these precolonial "configurations" are interpreted as endpoints of "divergent agricultural and subsistence histories" (90), triggered by differential adoption and intensification of agriculture, said to be thousands of years old in the west but only hundreds in the east. For Feil, the Highlands as portrayed by anthropologists become an ethnographic Grand Canyon, but one in which the "oldest layers" are the most "evolved."

Feil is certainly correct in stressing the diversity of precolonial societies in
the Highlands, and the range of cases included in his review is representative, though not exhaustive. Among those who will benefit from this demonstration are Highlands ethnographers, who have long tended to grind their theoretical axes on particular cases, contrasting them with "the Highlands" in general. Feil does us all a service by showing that neither Enga, Hageners, Chimbu, Gahuks, nor Tairora epitomize this diverse region.

Persuading us of his general argument, however, is another matter. The "configurations" he describes—Anga, Kainantu groups, Asaro groups, Central Wahgi, and Western Highlands—are, as in most typologies, derived impressionistically by focusing arbitrarily on a number of social forms that are themselves conceived and typologized using particular definitions and pseudoquantification.

In chapter 3, groups are characterized as having "high" or "low production" with little documentation other than some (questionable) figures on pig and human populations. "Unrestricted warfare" in the east is contrasted with "restricted warfare" in the west (chapter 4), but supporting data are few and Feil himself admits that "there is no very good correlation or causality between population density, scarcity of land, intensity and scale of conflict, casualties or the dispersal of groups and usurpation of land" (66). Feil's three "configurations" of political leadership (chapter 5) appropriately and usefully challenge simple notions of big-men, but demonstrating that they are "transformations of each other . . . [and] linked to key economic processes and political consequences of the past" (100) depends on evidence and a theoretical schema not supplied elsewhere.

In his discussion of social structure (chapter 6), we see how a commitment to typology can lead to highly selective interpretations. Eastern Highlanders' reputed "ethos of extreme masculinity" and "preoccupation" with warfare (both of which are intuited, not measured) are portrayed as the keys to understanding why they are "more boundary-conscious, group-oriented, united and corporate" than Western Highlanders (134), and "nearly obsessed with presenting a front which is strictly defined by male relatedness" (139). Such a picture can only emerge when one, like Feil, takes patrilineal ideology at face value (in the east, but not in the west) and totally ignores the extensive precolonial trade networks that linked numerous communities, especially among the Anga who, for Feil, seem to represent the social nadir of the whole region.

Male-female relations (chapter 7) again tempt Feil into contrasting eastern (male) ideology with western daily life, yielding a picture of "strident misogyny, of pathological proportions" in the east (203), whereas in the west—most especially among his, but not Meggitt's, Enga—one finds "a transformed social and sexual climate" (220). As in other chapters, these contrasts rest on particular variables, none of which (even women's contribution to economic production) is measured or systematically compared.

As would be expected from Feil's previous work and its location, ceremonial exchange (chapter 8) is presented as if it were the ultimate indicat-
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The chronology of agriculture in the region, but drainage ditches, farming tools, and pollen do not constitute direct evidence for warfare practices, political leadership patterns, social structure, or male-female relations. We simply do not know what any of these aspects of social life were like in the distant past, at Kuk or elsewhere.

Without such evidence, and without an explicit guiding interpretive framework, Feil's speculations regarding the evolution of Highlands societies amount to little more than standard structure-functional claims of interrelations extrapolated into the past. However plausible some of his proposals may seem, without systematic comparison and a clearly articulated theory of social change, he has only invited potshots from particularistic ethnographers, who are provided here with a whole flock of sitting ducks.

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