Religion and Language of Easter Island (Review)

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Of course, a major reason to brave a trip to Cambodia is the recently re-opened Archaeological Park at Angkor. Buckley describes the 200 square km complex of temples, tombs, and palaces in a ten-page segment and recommends tourists spend at least a week to explore it all. However, a week of fighting off the vividly-described one-legged beggars and homeless children, no matter how splendid the ruins, doesn't sound like much of a vacation.

Laos is summed up by Buckley in less than 100 pages. He leaves the reader with no illusions about the difficulty of traveling there unless as a member of a high-paying tour group. In a country of scarce cultural sites, Buckley suggests the traveler shift focus to concentrate on meeting the hill tribe people, visiting markets, and shopping in small villages. He candidly rates the fabled Plain of Jars as a "dud," although the flight there in a light Chinese aircraft "does wonders for your heart rate."

Throughout the book, Buckley presents touring Indochina as a grand adventure. The traveler who uses this useful guide and remains flexible may be rewarded with a serendipitous and raw adventure of the kind seldom encountered in the late 20th century. Even my husband admitted, after reading this detailed and witty guide, that there might be some good reasons to revisit Vietnam, but it's still not at the top of his list.

Marquesas Islands
by Hideaki Sato and Yoshihiko H. Sinoto
Published by Hiroshi Shimonaka, Heibonsha Limited, 1996. 5-16-19 Himonya, Meguro-ku, Tokyo 152, Japan
Text in Japanese and English.

Review by Emily Ross Mulloy
This is primarily a book of exquisite photographs made during a voyage which the author and artist made in 1995 to the Marquesas Islands, French Polynesia, on the cargo-passenger ship, Aranui. Dr. Sinoto, Senior Anthropologist of the Bishop Museum, led the tour, which was made up primarily of people from Hawai'i, including a group Pa Kua a Lua which has been working to revive ancient Hawaiian martial arts, and which demonstrated these for the Marquesans at many of their stops. Another participant was Sato, a well-known photographer from Japan who specializes in photographing people and nature in their interaction in remote regions of the world.

The six Marquesan islands and the villages on each provided a rich variety of subjects for Sato's camera, ranging from spectacular mountain scenery, seascapes, archaeological sites, villages, birds, animals, flowers, fruits and food, and, above all, people. Sinoto's text provides the historical background from the 'discovery' by Mendana in 1595 to visits by Cook, Melville, and Gauguen and, finally, to his own experience doing archaeological work since 1963, and pointing out changes in life style of the islanders over the past thirty years. He concludes with a discussion of his theories on East Polynesian settlement which involve dispersal from the Southern Marquesas to Hawai'i, Mangareva, and Rapa Nui; later, from the Northern group to Tahiti, the Australs, the Cooks, and eventually New Zealand. Unfortunately, no doubt to save as much room as possible for photos, the English text is printed in such small type that one needs a magnifying glass to read it.

This book is highly recommended. If you haven't been to the Marquesas, it will whet your appetite; if you have been there, it will simulate nostalgia. Having made the same trip in April 1997 (luckily with both Sato and Sinoto aboard again) I recognized many familiar faces and places. A few years ago the two visited Rapa Nui. Perhaps they will produce a similar book based on that visit!

Religion and Language of Easter Island.
An Ethnolinguistic Analysis of Religious Key Words of Rapa Nui in Their Austronesian Context
Annette Bierbach and Horst Cain, 1996

Reviewed by Steven Roger Fischer, Ph.D.
Published on behalf of the Museum of Ethnology, Berlin, and financially assisted by the Deutsche Forschungsgemeinschaft, this impressive scholarly tome—in large, double-columned, A-4 format—represents the finest monograph on Rapanui ethnolinguistics to grace the scholar's shelf. A cornucopia of ethnolinguistic data from throughout the Austronesian realm, Bierbach and Cain's profound study affords the first truly professional investigation into the historical roots of Easter Island's spiritual beliefs as revealed through the indigenous Polynesian language of Rapanui. Based solidly on the strict canons of modern European positivism, it nonetheless exploits these to also indict the hitherto "Eurocentric bias" of earlier scholars who, according to the authors, have ever failed to recognize the true essence of ancient Pacific religious concepts.

Annette Bierbach and Horst Cain are internationally recognized Polynesian ethnolinguists. They have authored, or collaborated on, several seminal studies that have principally dealt with the historical religious beliefs of various Polynesian communities, in particular those of Samoa (Cain 1979). Their Pacific field work in the 1970s and 1980s—in Western Samoa, the Society Islands, Mangareva, the Marquesas, the Tuamotus, Raratonga, Aotearoa, Fiji, and Tonga—eventually led the authors to Rapanui, whose unique position among Polynesian communities inspired Bierbach and Cain to elaborate a project at whose heart lay the investigation of "the spiritual background of Easter Island culture in its Polynesian context" (p. vii). In time, the wealth of information they gathered there compelled them to widen their scope to Austronesian dimension.

The monograph is quite breathtaking for the volume of its ethnolinguistic documentation. Essentially, modern Polynesian ethnolinguistics was pioneered only one generation ago: it was the eminent Finnish linguist Aarne Koskinen (1960, 1963, 1967, 1968, 1969, and 1977) who was the first professional scholar to apply the post-war methodology of the new discipline of ethnolinguistics—the science which treats the distinctive characteristics of races and peoples through language—to commonly shared concepts in the approxi-
mately forty distinct tongues of Polynesia. Here Koskinen addressed Rapanui only peripherally. Using Koskinen's methodology, however, Thomas S. Barthel (1960, 1961, 1964, 1974, and 1982) of Tübingen, Germany, essayed, also in the 1960s and 1970s, the first tentative forays into exclusively Rapanui ethnolinguistics. With Bierbach and Cain's epochal new study, the ethnolinguistic investigation of ancient Rapanui culture has, at last, "come of age," at least in what pertains to the intersection of the island's religion and language.

Their English-language monograph is beautifully written and admirably edited (no mean task for two native German speakers), richly documented, and eloquently structured in such a way as to demonstrate to all, expert and layperson alike, "that a survey and thorough analysis of the magico-religious terminology [of Rapanui] are essential for an adequate understanding of Polynesian thinking, beliefs and attitudes towards reality" (p. vii). In this, Bierbach and Cain address the "language-bound ideology" of the Pacific area, which they believe most cultural anthropologists, for not being linguists, fail to understand. Their arguments in this vein make compelling reading, especially as they furnish page after page of exhaustive evidence—"We decided to err on the side of pedantry"—in order to validate their investigation of "the ideological aspect [of Polynesian/Pacific culture] primordially articulated through language" (p. viii).

Varying in length from five to forty pages, each chapter of the monograph, enriched with copious footnotes, reads like a prescription for Polynesian magico-religious revelation: "Akauku or Ghost", "Varua or Ghost", "Treatment of Corpses", "Koro'orumatu-Kaumatu, Old Person or Ghost", "Tupapaku, Corpse and Ghost", "Kuhane, Soul or Ghost", "'Atua, Elder, Ancestor and Ghost", "Ma'o Ma'ea - Aringa Ora ... Stone Statues [etc.]", and "Magical and Religions Functionaries". Concluding these exceptionally well documented chapters is a four-page summary—"The linguistic analysis of the Rapa Nui terms for numinous beings ... revealed these phenomena to be the so-called spirits of the dead" (p. 151)—followed by an excellent fifteen-page bibliography and a detailed and helpful "Index of Austronesian Words and Names" (pp. 171-81).

In regard to the scholarly substance of Bierbach and Cain's presentation, I am almost embarrassed to admit that I can find nothing of primary concern to fault (which is, after all, the duty of the review critic). Minor objections to speculated etymologies that defy known diachronic processes, such as positing Rapanui mo'ai 'statue, statuette' as the reflex of Marquesan mokai (the expected Rapanui reflex should be *mokai or *mongai, not mo'ai), lie beyond the scope of this brief review. Indeed, the sheer volume of their presentation of evidence—from throughout the Austronesian world—is simply overwhelming (such as their linguistic documentation of the words 'atua and matu'a on pages 69-88). That the authors use this evidence in conjunction with a properly implemented, and "religiously" observed, scientific method leads them, in most instances, to mature and rational conclusions, whose finer points of interpretation will doubtless engage many generations of scholars to come. Throughout their work, Bierbach and Cain maintain a commendably rational, critical, and mature posture toward their complicated and, at times, even convoluted subject matter. Perhaps only their expressed intolerance of linguistically disabled colleagues, and of cultural anthropologists in general, might better have been couched in kinder language.

The format of the book, in double columns, is attractive and facilitates reading. Its editing has been superb. However, there are the odd barbs here and there. On page 151, for example, one reads the nonsensical phrase "of which they and obviously made use" and one also finds "categorically" for "categorically". And in the "Table of Contents" (p. vi) the "Summary" is listed as being on page "152" instead of the correct "151"; "Literature Cited" as "156" instead of "155"; and "Index" as "172" instead of "171". These are evidently post-page proof changes beyond the authors' own control. Otherwise, the monograph is refreshingly accurate and impeccably presentable.

Religion and Language of Easter Island is, it must be owned, a milestone—both in Rapanui ethnolinguistics and in our understanding of ancient Polynesian religious terms and concepts. For this reason I wholeheartedly recommend it to anyone concerned not only with ancient Rapanui society but also with premissionary Polynesian culture in general. The gifted scholar can, should the "numinous beings" be favorable, expect to attain to perhaps one magnum opus in his or her lifetime. This splendid tome is Annette Bierbach’s and Horst Cain’s.

References