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## REVIEWS

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Imada, Adria L.: *Aloha America: Hula Circuits through the U.S. Empire*. Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2012. xiv + 392 pp., bib., figs, glossary, index, glossary. US\$24.95 (paper).

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Adria L. Imada examines the United States' colonisation of Hawai'i through the control of *hula* from the late 1800s until the mid-20th century. The U.S. elite in Hawai'i used *hula*—through prominent positioning of largely mixed-race female dancers' bodies—to create an image of the U.S.-Hawai'i colonial relationship as intimate, pacified and mutually desired. The title, *Aloha America*, was the phrase that hung over the first Hawaiian exhibit at the World's Fair in 1876 during the Philadelphia Centennial Exposition. Imada positions this highly contextualised phrase, "*aloha*", which references diverse sentiments such as "love, sympathy, pity, joy, compassion, affection, veneration and mercy" (p. 8) as a metaphor for the ambivalent and imagined intimate relationship between Hawai'i and the United States.

In the introduction, Imada questions how dissent for the U.S. colonial project and the native Hawaiian practice of decolonisation has been, and continues to be, categorised as direct activities of resistance and rebellion. Such categorisation, she argues, dismisses practices and experiences that "produce counter-memories that contest sedimented histories or settler colonialism and sustain decolonizing processes (p. 15)." Imada seeks to reconceptualise *hula* performances, during American colonisation, as acts that countered colonialism through the Hawaiian dancers' and cultural brokers' bodily movements and life experiences on and off the national and international stage.

In five ethnographically-rich chapters, Imada accomplishes her twofold aim of reclaiming "low-ranking knowledge of (neo)colonial subjects" and finding the "hidden transcripts" that reveal *hula* performers' desires and lived-experience by conducting open-ended interviews with the performers and their families, and analysing personal collections of objects and photography, performance repertoires, and official and unofficial archives.

One of many strengths of Imada's work in Hawai'i is her focus on telling the complex history of *hula*—one of intrigue, disdain, limitation and opportunities—through the intimate lives of performers such as Kini Kapahukulaokamāmalu (Kini Kapahu). Kini Kapahu is first introduced in Chapter One while training and performing traditional forms of *hula* and western instruments for King Kalākaua and his eclectic guest list of commoners, elite, foreigners and natives in the 1880s. In Chapter Two, Imada challenges the over-determined conceptualisation of *hula* performers in the

tourist circuit, as puppets in the coloniser's stage. She successfully shows how they "used" the tourist performance circuit to achieve their own cosmopolitan desires while keeping "alive" Hawaiian culture, identity and practices even while transforming them. In these U.S. and international *hula* circuits, *hula* performers such as Kini Kapahu created lives and identities that countered the images "controlled" by American colonists and "protected" by nationalist Hawaiians. We learn the lesser-known story of Hawaiian native cultural brokers, such as Johnny Wilson, who managed and directed several *hula* performances in the U.S. and international locales in the early and mid-1900s, later marrying Kini Kapahu and becoming a popular political figure in Hawai'i. Thousands of miles away from the American territorial government, cultural brokers like Mr. Wilson presented competing representations of Hawaiians and displayed opposition to U.S. colonial practices through subversive dances and chants that entertained white audiences.

In Chapter Four, Imada shows how the popularity of "things" Hawaiian, including *hula*, grew exponentially in the 1930s, with Americans looking to escape the economic depression, and continued into subsequent decades, substantiating the creation of Hawai'i-specific spaces, such as the Hawaiian Room at the Lexington Room in NYC, which concretised the colonial fantasy year-round. In these entertainment clubs, the *hula* dancers reigned supreme as objectified sexual beings. These spaces created a demand for full-time *hula* dancers, which created high-level opportunities for them within careers unattainable to women in Hawai'i.

In Chapter Five, Imada elegantly shows how live-*hula* performances fell short of selling the fantasy of hospitality, mutual desire and tropical abundance *in situ*. Selling the Hawaiian fantasy of *aloha* and intimacy between the U.S. and Hawai'i to thousands of American troops in a militarised and poverty-stricken Hawai'i became the job of cameras. U.S. military-funded photography and films created a decontextualised image of imperial hospitality by strategically cutting out of the camera frame the realities of urban slums and disgruntled locals, and the significant presence of "questionable" ethnic communities such as the Japanese, African Americans and Puerto Ricans. Finally, the epilogue provides an update of *hula*'s respected and, increasingly lesser-known, politicised position within the contemporary Hawaiian sovereignty and self-determination movement.

This book was a joy to read, full of intimate narratives and visual images of women and men in the *hula* circuits whose day-to-day actions, like wearing fur coats instead of a cellophane skirts at professional photo shoots and befriending other "staged" natives during the world fairs, countered the colonial "Hawaiian" image that deprived colonised woman of humanity and personal desire. Imada's careful reconstruction of *hula*'s past reinserts into Hawaiian history not only colourful portraits of *hula* performers but also native Hawaiian women and men as cosmopolitan trailblazers and preservers and exhibitors of Hawaiian traditions. This book places as significant the experiences of women's travelling lives and politicises the everyday choices that these women made as significant to the political and spiritual process of decolonisation. This work could benefit however from a focused discussion on decolonisation and its relation to notions of self-determination both within current scholarship and among Native Hawaiians. Such a discussion would highlight the significance of

focusing in on the lives and desires of these *hula* performers. This quibble aside, *Aloha America*, with a brief but useful glossary of *Ōlelo Hawaiʻi* words and English equivalents, is ideal for undergraduate courses on gender, tourism, colonialism and ethnic relation, and histories of the U.S., Hawaii and the Pacific, or, because of its ample use of oral histories, ethnographic field notes and archival documents, graduate courses on ethnographic research methods. Overall, *Aloha America* is an excellent example of how scholars can use oral histories to examine the archival past and salvage stories, experiences and histories that are seemingly forgotten, silenced or otherwise marginalised.

Kirch, P.: *A Shark Going Inland is My Chief: The Island Civilization of Ancient Hawaiʻi*. Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 2012. xvii + 346 pp., appendices, bib, colour plates, figs, index, maps. USD\$ 45.00 (hardcover).

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As a result of numerous cultural resource management and academic projects, archaeologists have now developed a large dataset to interpret Hawaiian prehistory. A result of this proliferation of archaeology over the past four decades is the need for synthesis. This book continues Patrick Kirch's efforts to do just that. Of interest to Kirch in this synthesis is the development of the only "pristine state" encountered by Europeans during the historic period. He argues that Hawaiʻi represents a model system to evaluate endogamous political development, and to understand a political system that was unique in terms of structure and complexity in Polynesia. By tracing the development of Hawaiian society from its ancestral roots in Southeast Asia to encounters with James Cook at Kealahakua, Kirch identifies cultural patterns and presents theoretical ideas of culture change. He argues that the interaction of long- and short-term processes, termed ultimate and proximate causes, results in the society described at European contact. This society, according to Kirch, is best described as an archaic state, the development of which "was a remarkable replay of the histories of other societies in similarly favourable conditions throughout both the Old World and the New" (pp. 289).

Given Kirch's experience throughout the Pacific, he is uniquely able to create a cohesive story spanning over 3000 years and the entire Pacific Ocean. He begins the book in a prologue recounting the impetus for its writing, describing European accounts of Hawaiian society, and briefly equating the society to other comparable political systems across the globe. He then turns to a discussion of personal experience, a technique continually and effectively used throughout the book, to bring the reader into the mindset of the modern-day archaeologist musing about the past. Such returns to his experiences illustrate the process of archaeological enquiry to both an audience familiar with the practice and interested in this particular situation, and an audience relatively unfamiliar with the discipline.

Part One begins to detail the extraordinary colonisation process that commenced in Island Southeast Asia and ends with the settlement of East Polynesia and Hawai‘i. This discussion revolves initially around the Lapita Cultural Complex before turning to description of Ancestral Polynesian Society from which all East Polynesian cultures putatively developed. It is this culture that Kirch compares to Hawaiian culture as a way of identifying change. Part One ends with a fictitious, but engaging, narrative of voyaging between the Marquesas and Hawai‘i, followed by a useful synthesis of the history of archaeology in the Pacific, intertwined with personal field stories. Though no one knows exactly how colonisation events occurred, the fictitious narrative usefully illustrates the great lengths to which populations went in their regional explorations, and introduces a world view that is likely foreign to many readers. The general synthesis is valuable as it summarises a great deal of information in an accessible way, though it presents one of several alternative scenarios. (For some of these consult: Addison and Matisoo-Smith 2010, Rethinking Polynesian origins: A West-Polynesia Triple-I model, in *Archaeology in Oceania* 45: 1-12; Terrell 1989, Commentary: What Lapita is and what Lapita isn’t, in *Antiquity* 63: 623-26; and Terrell 2003, Archaeological inference and ethnographic analogies: Rethinking the “Lapita Cultural Complex”, in *Archaeological Papers of the American Anthropological Association* 13: 69-76.)

The next section explores the development of Hawaiian society using a mix of evidence from archaeology, ethnography and indigenous accounts. Kirch places emphasis on the role of people in the modification of their landscape. After colonisation, the landscape began to change as a consequence of cultural actions, agriculture most notably, as well as rapid breeding and expansion of the Pacific rat presumably brought from the Marquesas. Kirch reflects on how these changes were associated with Hawaiian political development, exploring the evolving economic system in particular. He ends the second section by detailing the altered land tenure system that made Hawai‘i unique in Polynesia and its impacts on the development of the political system. This changing system removed kinship connections between commoners and elites, grouping the commoner populations according to locality and low-level familial relations. This was a fundamental difference from all other Polynesian societies and its implications are described later in the book (pp. 221-24). It is this that makes Hawai‘i similar to archaic states throughout the world.

The final section and epilogue are where the reader will find novel academic arguments, along with a description of the final few hundred years before historic contact. Kirch returns to his ideas of ultimate and proximate causation in describing culture change that he first outlined in his 2010 book, *How Chiefs Became Kings*. Kirch argues for multi-causation and states that it is the interaction of human decision-making, population growth, environmental change and contingencies that results in change leading to unique historical trajectories. These causes are couched in terms of a proximate-ultimate dichotomy, in which ultimate causes are seen as long-term processes (evolutionary) while proximate causes are those closer to the point of change (functional) (p. 227). Many of the ultimate causes that Kirch outlines are natural processes like population growth and environmental change (p. 228). Proximate causes, on the other hand, consist of human actions such as status rivalry and ideology (pp. 229, 297).

I am not sure that the proximate-ultimate dichotomy is necessary to illustrate the narrative of culture change sketched by Kirch. Human decisions and innovations—agency—can accumulate, sometimes over centuries and millennia, to change culture. Such decisions can change selective pressures, constrain development and provide opportunities. The process of human agency is intertwined with other external and internal processes. Because of how intertwined these internal (i.e., agency) and external (i.e., population growth and environmental change) processes are, and because both human agency and what are called ultimate causes have long- and short-term effects, I am uncertain whether this dichotomy adds to our understanding of Hawaiian culture change. It may be more useful to examine the political system as one of several interacting complex cultural systems. In such a view factors described as both ultimate and proximate interact in positive feedback loops to constantly create change. In any case, Kirch captures the complexity and intricacies of culture change well in his narrative.

This book is one of the best on Pacific prehistory in recent years and has recently won the 2013 Society for American Archaeology “Popular Book Award”. The topic, which is interesting in its own right, is masterfully presented by Kirch and his analysis of the Hawaiian case is a significant work of scholarship. Though I would recommend the academic reader search for original published material on various topics in the book, referred to by Kirch and conveniently listed at the end of the book, the narrative is well worth the read and the arguments provided at the end are compelling. While Kirch has published prolifically over his long career, I am confident that this publication will endure as one of his best. The book should be a mainstay on the shelves of all students, Pacific anthropologists, and those interested in the development of socio-political systems in any area of the world.

Lansdown, R. (ed.): *Strangers in the South Seas. The Idea of the Pacific in Western Thought*. Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 2006. xiv-xvii + 429 pp., bib., illustrations, maps, photos. n.p. (paper).

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Lansdown has produced a book that provides the reader with European observations of the Pacific, including their disdains, appreciations and desires. This book is exactly what the title claims; it is about strangers in the South Seas and what their thoughts were of the Pacific. There is no pretence within this book of understanding the indigenous peoples of the Pacific, which is refreshing. The excerpts that Lansdown has selected allow the reader to experience the adventures of these strangers through their own words.

The introduction of this book gives an excellent broad overview of the Pacific. Lansdown has described the origins and settlement by the indigenous peoples and follows on with the European expansion and later colonisation. This is executed very

well and would provide any person who sought a broad overview of the history of how the Pacific was colonised with an excellent starting point. As with all the chapters in this book, Lansdown finishes the introduction with an extensive list of further sources should the reader desire to explore further.

The overall format is the same across each chapter, beginning with an introduction providing an academic overview and explanation of the topic theme, followed by a selection of excerpts from various Western writers, including a brief introduction about the author. These writings are transposed verbatim; therefore, there are a number of areas that need clarification to be understood. Lansdown effectively does this through the use of very clear footnotes. Although Lansdown only includes a selection of excerpts he concludes each chapter with a comprehensive selection of further readings to explore, making this book a valuable resource for any researcher. The excerpts that Lansdown uses come from the journals and writings of well-known explorers, missionaries, scientists, historians, anthropologists and novelists, as well as some lesser known commentators, giving the reader a wide range of perceptions. Writings are not all non-fiction; he has incorporated excerpts from novels and poems about the Pacific that are based on the experiences of the European authors.

There are nine chapters in this book, each following a specific, yet common topic, which flow in chronological order. Each topic covers clichéd Western thoughts of the Pacific. Chapter One looks at early Western exploration beginning with the idea of the Pacific being a version of Eldorado which was ripe for the exploitation of natural resources. Lansdown explains how the need for exploration into the South Seas was to find and exploit natural resources. He provides excerpts describing the explorer's findings as well as their plans for extracting the resources. Lansdown then moves on to Chapter Two where he discusses how indigenous peoples of the Pacific have for a long time been placed in categories of "savage" or "noble savage". Here he explores where these terms came from and why indigenous peoples were perceived as either being "savage" or "noble savage", and his examples provide insight into the Western thoughts of these terms.

In Chapter Three Lansdown relies on the journals, letters and crew recollections from the voyage of the *Duff*. This was one of the most important London Missionary Society voyages which had significant influence on the expansion of Christianity in the Pacific. Chapter Four discusses voyages into the Pacific by botanists and scientists who were intrigued with the different, and similar, flora and fauna of the Pacific. Through his own introduction, he explains how botanists and scientists believed that the South Pacific would complete the gap in the evolution theory of that time through collecting, cataloguing and geographical description of the islands. The excerpts Lansdown has used include scientists and botanists, such as Joseph Banks and Charles Darwin, who recorded their thoughts on the process of evolution based on their findings from these islands. This leads to Chapter Five and an explanation of the way indigenous peoples were characterised according to the hierarchy of civilised peoples with Caucasians at the top. Within this chapter Lansdown explores the beginning of scientific sources of racial differences. The excerpts provided describe how early European scientists evaluated or categorised the other, in this instance, the Pacific other.

This book then shifts to the settlement and colonisation of the Pacific, predominantly by Britain, France or America. Europeans sought to find a place for new beginnings,

either by choice or as convicts or escapees, and colonies were soon established throughout the Pacific. Colonial rule would soon follow as the new settlers, and some indigenous people, requested annexation from the dominant settler group. It is within Chapter Six that Lansdown discusses and provides excerpts relating to the establishment of these new colonies. In Chapter Seven Lansdown discusses anthropology as a new ethnographic form of study. Within his introduction to this chapter, Lansdown describes the history of anthropology and the field of social anthropology within the Pacific. The excerpts included are from the observations of a selection of anthropologists, giving the reader a view of what they saw and how they interpreted their findings.

The final part of this book explores a more contemporary view of the Pacific. At the time of the Second World War the majority of the Pacific was under colonial rule by the English, the French and the Americans. Many of the islands within the Pacific were deeply involved in the war, as were the indigenous people who lived there. In Chapter Eight Lansdown discusses the role of the Pacific during the Second World War. The letters and excerpts he has selected for this chapter provide the reader with the thoughts of those Europeans who either took part in the war or were living in the Pacific at that time. Chapter Nine, the final chapter, begins in the late 1800s with a discussion about the influential legacy of Paul Gauguin who provided the world with perspectives of the Pacific, in particular Tahiti, through his paintings and his journal *Noa Noa*. It is this chapter that provides the contemporary view of the Pacific as utopia, a place of paradise. Lansdown discusses significant changes within Pacific societies such as the introduction of capitalism, decolonisation and tourism. He also provides discussion on how the West saw the Pacific as a vast, empty space ideal for weapons testing.

This book is an excellent resource for anyone who is interested in exploring the early Western perspectives of the Pacific. The introduction gives a very good overview of how the Pacific became colonised and the interactions which followed with European expansion and later colonisation. Each chapter is clear and excerpts are carefully selected with ambiguous text explained clearly and with careful detail. *Strangers in the South Seas* is an excellent academic text for first year University programmes exploring the Pacific such as History, Anthropology, Geography, Pacific Studies and Indigenous Studies.

Pawley, Andrew and Ralph Bulmer, with the assistance of John Kias, Simon Peter Gi and Ian Saem Majnep: *A Dictionary of Kalam with Ethnographic Notes*. Pacific Linguistics 630. Canberra: Pacific Linguistics, School of Culture, History and Language, College of Asia and the Pacific, The Australian National University, 2011. xiv + 810 pp. n.p. hardcover.

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This monumental dictionary is a fitting tribute to those who first began work on it during the 1960s but never had the chance to see the final printed product. The latter include three of those named on the cover—Bulmer, Gi, and Majnep—along with



Pawley's mentor in descriptive linguistics, Bruce Biggs. The bulk of the hefty tome is a Kalam–English dictionary (pp. 93–655) with roughly 6000 primary headwords and 14,000 lexical units, defined as “conventional form meaning pairing” (p. 20), plus a concise English–Kalam finderlist (pp. 662–810) that includes many Latin binomials for plants and animals. The earlier chapters include a guide to the dictionary (pp. 1–10), and notes about the Kalam people and their languages (pp. 11–24), the sound system and spelling practices (pp. 25–33), grammar and semantics (pp. 34–73), and the making of the dictionary (pp. 74–84), plus a list of bibliographic references (pp. 85–89) that refers readers to further work in the 1991 festschrift for Ralph Bulmer, edited by Pawley and titled *Man and a Half* (Auckland: The Polynesian Society).

The volume is aimed at multiple audiences, but perhaps especially educated readers of English who are tolerably familiar with terminology used in linguistics and, to a lesser extent, anthropology and biology. Parts of this review will also be aimed primarily at linguists.

The dictionary employs a spare phonemic orthography, which avoids writing the many predictable vowels that are automatically inserted to keep consonants apart, and also writes each consonant phoneme with the same symbol even when it sounds different in initial, medial or final position within words. Many words have no phonemic vowels at all, as in the sentence, **Ctk bsg ngknq, nbk ñbspm** ‘While we are sitting watching, you (plural) are eating’ (p. 28). The prenasalised obstruents, written **b, d, j, g**, are devoiced in final position (sounding more like English *mp, nt, nch, nk*, respectively) and often lose their initial nasalisation if they follow a word ending in an oral (i.e., nonnasal) consonant. The oral obstruents (those without nasal onsets) vary even more. Bilabial **p** is a stop only in final position (where it resembles English *p*), but is a voiced fricative [β] (like English *v*, but without teeth touching the lips) in initial position, and a voiceless [Φ] (like English *f*, but without teeth touching the lips) in medial position. Alveolar **t** is a tap (like the *t* in *later* or *butter* in many dialects of English) not just medially but also at the ends of words. Velar **k** is a voiceless stop (like English *k*) in initial or final position, but voiced fricative [ɣ] in medial position. Positional variants of the other phonemes are not as significant: the palatal affricate **c** (like English *ch*), the sibilant **s**, the resonants **m, n, ñ, ŋ, l, w, y**, and the vowels **a, e, i, o, u**.

Despite its structural economy and even elegance, when judged on language-internal grounds, the dictionary orthography is often a poor match with spelling practices in Tok Pisin, the language of primary literacy for most Kalam speakers. For instance, the personal names spelled Jobtud and Wpc in the dictionary orthography are spelled Nyombirunt and Uvich in Tok Pisin contexts, and the place names spelled Kaytog and Kab-dagleb in the dictionary orthography are spelled Kaironk and Kamp-dangilemp in Tok Pisin. Some of these incongruities are discussed in the notes on spelling practices, where the compilers acknowledge that in the first draft of the dictionary they wrote **y** and **w** for both the syllabic, stressed vowels [i] and [u] as well as for the nonsyllabic, unstressed semivowels [y] and [w] (the two being in complementary distribution), but later yielded to wider Kalam preference by writing the vowels as **i, u**, and semivowels as **y, w**.



The two major regional dialects of Kalam are called **Etp mnm** and **Ti mnm**, both of which translate literally as ‘*what* language’. In other words, speakers of the former say **etp** for ‘what’, while speakers of the latter say **ti**. They differ in morphology perhaps as much as Spanish and Portuguese (pp. 2, 18). Although **Ti mnm** is phonologically more conservative (p. 32), neither one is regarded as Standard Kalam. Instead, both are considered Ordinary Language (OL) relative to the third major variety represented in the dictionary, **Algaw mnm** ‘Pandanus language’ (PL), ritually spoken during expeditions to the high mountain forest to collect and eat mountain pandanus. PL is marked by a set of lexical substitutes, often with wider semantic ranges than their OL translation equivalents. PL grammar is otherwise identical to that of OL.

Kalam syntax is in many ways typical of Papuan languages with what linguists refer to as switch-reference clause-chaining systems, whose main features are summarised very succinctly in the introductory notes (p. 39; original emphasis): “Independent verbs carry suffixes marking **absolute tense, aspect or mood**, and suffixes marking **Subject person-and-number** independently of any other verb. Dependent verbs carry suffixes marking **relative tense** (prior, simultaneous with or subsequent to) and **relative Subject reference** (same or different), the comparison being with the next following verb in the construction.”

The most striking feature of Kalam morphosyntax is its verbal lexicon, which consists of a closed class of about 130 verb roots that combine with other elements to convey a wide range of meanings. Ninety percent of the instances of verbs in Kalam text consist of just 15 of the most generic roots combined in a wide variety of verb adjunct or serial verb constructions (p. 38). These roots include **ag-** ‘make a sound, emit, utter, say’, **d-** ‘hold, touch, have, get, control, stop, finish’, and **ng-** ‘be conscious, perceive, know, see, hear, smell, feel’. Tok Pisin (TP) and English terms for actions and states are borrowed into Kalam as adjuncts of the all-purpose light verb **g-** ‘do, make’ (also glossed ‘happen, occur, act, function, work, build, create’), as in **wasim g-** ‘wash’ (TP *wasim*) and **btuk g-** ‘be broken’ (TP *bruk*) (48). Common activities in traditional Kalam culture are often described in constructions consisting of several bare verb roots in a row, with only the last one inflected, as in **Am kmn pk d ap ad ñb-ig-pay** (‘go game.mammal kill get come cook eat-PAST.HAB-3PL’) ‘They used to go and kill game mammals and bring them back and cook and eat them’ (p. 51). The Kalam language is a fascinating study in compositional semantics.

This book might seem a throwback to the era when anthropology and linguistics worked together to describe new cultures and languages. During the half-century of its gestation period both disciplines have drifted apart, pursuing autonomous interests often irrelevant to each other, as well as to those whose cultures and languages they describe. Over the same period, however, biological, cultural and linguistic diversity in many parts of the world has been threatened as never before, and goals of preserving that diversity have become more imperative. At the 2013 International Conference on Language Documentation and Conservation (in Honolulu), whose theme was “Sharing Worlds of Knowledge,” the long-term Kalam project was praised as an exemplary model of close collaboration among academic linguists, anthropologists and biologists, on the one hand, and indigenous experts on their own language, culture and ecology, on the other.

To preserve cultural as well as linguistic diversity, the dictionary frequently offers encyclopaedic information in the definitions of especially significant phenomena in Kalam culture. Consider, for example, the definition of **kobti** cassowary, *Casuarius* spp., which includes the following cultural notes before a series of subentries.

**KOBTI** ... Not classified as a bird (**yakt**). The local species, to which the term used by the Upper Kaironk and Simbai people normally applies, is probably the small Mountain Cassowary, *Casuarius bennetti*. Hunted. Cassowaries must be killed in ritually appropriate manner with blunt instrument and the flesh must be cooked on raised ovens with appropriate rituals. A man who has killed a cassowary remains ritually contaminated for several weeks. Tall men are often nicknamed **kobti**.

This multifaceted comprehensiveness will make the Kalam dictionary an invaluable resource for many more specialised projects aimed at various audiences, whether readers of Kalam or of English. Before their deaths, Majnep and Bulmer produced such works of cultural documentation as *Birds of my Kalam Country* (1977) and a multivolume series titled *Kalam Hunting Traditions* (1990–1991). Other such manuscripts are in the works (p. 86).

The dictionary and a 2007 book by Majnep and Bulmer, *Animals the Ancestors Hunted*, were launched in a colourful ceremony in November 2012 at the Divine Word University in Madang attended by about 200 people, including Madang Province Governor Jim Kas (a Kalam), representatives of the families of each of the Kalam contributors and other Kalam people living nearby. It was a long-awaited moment well worth celebrating.