Polonia

Estudios
Latinoamericanos

Sociedad Polaca de Estudios Latinoamericanos

ISSN 0137-3080

Original title / título original: *You Are What You Speak, or Are You? Identity, language, sociocultural change, and the Pa'ikwené (Palikur)*

Author(s)/ autor(es): *Alan Passes*

Published originally as/ Publicado originalmente en: *Estudios Latinoamericanos*, 23 (2003), pp. 91-108.

DOI: <https://doi.org/10.36447/Estudios2003.v23.art5>

Estudios Latinoamericanos is a journal published by the Polish Society for Latin American Studies (Polskie Towarzystwo Studiów Latynoamerykanistycznych).

The Polish Society for Latin American Studies is scholarly organization established to facilitate research on Latin America and to encourage and promote scientific and cultural cooperation between Poland and Latin America.

Estudios Latinoamericanos, revista publicada por la Sociedad Polaca de Estudios Latinoamericanos (Polskie Towarzystwo Studiów Latynoamerykanistycznych).

Sociedad Polaca de Estudios Latinoamericanos es una asociación científica fundada con el fin de desarrollar investigaciones científicas sobre América Latina y participar en la cooperación científica y cultural entre las sociedades de Polonia y América Latina.

You Are What You Speak, or Are You? Identity, language, sociocultural change, and the Pa'ikwené (Palikur)¹

**Alan Passes
University of St Andrews**

“If you have your own language, you are Indian. The Pa'ikwené do, but the Karipún don't. They speak Creole and Portuguese, so they're not real Indians. I speak Pa'ikwaki, and I am Indian!”

(A Pa'ikwené informant, my translation)

INTRODUCTION

I spent most of my fieldwork in the mid-1990s living in the Pa'ikwené, or Palikur, community of Deuxième Village Espérance, hereafter referred to as Espérance 2, near the Créole town of St Georges on the Oyapock river, the frontier between Guyane (French Guiana) and Brazil. One night as I was preparing for bed there was the sound of fighting. Going to investigate, I found the village male youths angrily trading punches with their

1 “Pa'ikwené” is the autonym, “Palikur” the ethnonym conferred by outsiders, though the Pa'ikwené will use it in given contexts. Belonging to the Arawakan language family, they inhabit Northern Brazil and French Guiana and presently have a combined population of about 1600 people.

counterparts from the neighbouring Pa'ikwené community, Premier Village Espérance, or Espérance 1. Next day one of the Espérance 2 participants, the 18-year old son of a friend, explained the fight was about language. He and his peers felt the Espérance 1 youths, and their community in general, were betraying and losing their Pa'ikwené-hood because they were replacing Pa'ikwaki, the vernacular language, with Créole, instead of using it, like the Espérance 2 youths did, as a supplementary code to Pa'ikwaki. In short, the Espérance 1 youths were effecting a language-shift. This shift caused several such confrontations during my stay, their motive, if not the actual fighting, being widely condoned by the adults.

This paper explores indigenous notions and practice of ethnic identity that are at play in the processes of language-shift and codeswitching in respect of these two adjacent villages and their dispute. The two share among other things clan ties and a historical and regional Native tendency toward multilingualism [Dreyfus 1983-84; Hill & Santos-Granero 2002; Passes 2002]; but they are split, as stated, on the issue of language use. In addressing this schism, attention will be paid to the indigenous perspective in the form of the Pa'ikwené's often seemingly contradictory ideas about language, language-use, and the connection with identity, as contextualized within a process of macrosocial and microsocial change.

A CONCEPTUAL AND PRACTICAL CONTEXT

Kulick's [1992] study of language-shift in a Papua New Guinea community argues that sociocultural change is not the mere mechanical effect of the macrosocial on the microsocial, but the outcome of the dialectical process between the two. This entails at the indigenous level an interpretation of the "new", a reappraisal of the "old", and the choices resulting from both. Thus, while the conditions under which people make choices are not necessarily (to paraphrase Marx) of their choosing, change is not to be seen as imposed or automatic. It should be understood instead as the autonomous, purposive choice of new behaviours that are often held to be consonant with pre-existing ideology and moral values. Among others, Heelas [1984], Hugh-Jones [1994] and Nash [1979] show this for new religious practices, Hugh-Jones [1992] and Overing [1992] for economic practices, and Gerd Baumann [1987] for national integration.

As Kulick [1992] points out, change at the macrosocial level can be the catalyst for change at the microsocial one. By engaging exegetically with macrosocial change, members of local communities can be led to look afresh at themselves and their perception of the world, and to make behavioural choices in the light of this appraisal. In this way, Native concepts of identity and ethnicity, and the language use embodying their values, can be reaffirmed and recreated, often in such manner as to remould and give meaning to the macrosocial context [Baumann 1987]. Or the old

notions may be discarded in favour of the new values of identity and the new language in which these values are seen to lodge [Freire 1977; Kulick 1992, 1998].

At first hearing, Pa'ikwené ideas on language in connection with identity seem unambiguous. They appear to agree with Herder 1986[1772] that language is interchangeable with culture and nation, and with de Saussure [1966: 20, 223-4] that language is "responsible" for ethnicity. Indeed, as my informant's statement quoted at the top of this article indicates, the Pa'ikwené explicitly name the vernacular, Pa'ikwaki, as a marker and even determiner of their identity both as generic Indians² and an exclusive people: the Pa'ikwené or Palikur.

According to among others Thomas [1982: 19], Jackson [1983], Santos-Granero [1991: 87-8], Campbell [1995: 50], Rosengren [2000], Capiberibe [2001:126] writing on the Pemon, Tukanoa, Amuesha, Wayapi and Matsigenka, the ascription of such a function to language and the distinguishing of other peoples on the basis of linguistic difference exist elsewhere in Native Amazonia. The Pa'ikwené also use the concept for non-indigenous peoples. They define the French (*Pa'asi*), the Créoles (*Atiwi*) and the Brazilians (*Parahna*) as French, Créole and Brazilian because they speak the French, Créole and Brazilian-Portuguese languages (*Parastúunka*, *Kigiyavagik*, *Parahntúunka* respectively). By the same token, (ex-British) West Indian immigrants in Guyane are English on the grounds that they speak English, and the Surinamese are designated Dutch. In addition, as my informant's quotation makes clear concerning the Karipúna, the Pa'ikwené's neighbours in Brazil, people that do not (or no longer) have "their own" language but someone else's, are seen not to possess their own identity as a distinct ethnic entity. Many Espérance 2 people apply this logic to those in Espérance 1 who shift to the Créole language as part of a change to a more overtly modernistic, Créole-like Guyanais lifestyle. What they condemn is not the speaking of another language as such, but the non-speaking of one's own. On the contrary, to speak other languages is held a positive thing as long as one also continues speaking one's own. Espérance 2 Pa'ikwené seem to rejoice in multilingualism; they do not just speak Pa'ikwaki but codeswitch between it and Créole, Brazilian-Portuguese and, increasingly, French, as a matter of everyday practice. By contrast, although many in Espérance 1 also codeswitch, a significant number of villagers do not speak Pa'ikwaki, either as their language of first choice or more fundamentally because they do not know it.

Theoretically, it is possible language does not equate with identity, let alone culture, nation, race [Brinton 1891], or ethnicity [cf. Santos-Granero 2002], and that such an assumption – absolutist, universalist, essentialist – is increasingly fallacious in today's world of ever more explicit cultural and ethnic mix and interconnection. Edouard Glissant

2 Word having a positive connotation for the Pa'ikwené (cf. Ramos 1988; Campbell 1995: 218-9).

puts it like this, "I do not believe the formula 'Tell me what language you speak and I will tell you who you are' to be valid any longer." [Glissant n. d.: 7, my translation]

I propose here that it is equally invalid to assume concomitantly that language loss necessarily entails identity loss [cf. Kulick 1992: 10].

In practice, notwithstanding my informant's exclusivist viewpoint cited earlier, identity through language is not a bounded phenomenon for the Pa'ikwené but open-ended and inclusive. We could say that in a sense, whether native-born or an incomer, whoever uses Pa'ikwaki as their tongue – and as part of a Pa'ikwené lifestyle – becomes Pa'ikwené. As for many other Amerindians, Pa'ikwené ethnicity is not an innate aspect of a person's identity. Rather, ontologically, it is something created, like personhood, in the everyday exercise of sociality through such acts generative of mutual care and conviviality [Overing & Passes 2000, 2000b] as, among other things, eating the same foods, possessing and practising the same knowledges, and speaking the same language [Passes 2000a; see also Lagrou 1998; Gow 2000; Rosengren 2000]. Indeed, historically, the Pa'ikwené or Palikur entity is the product of continuous ethnogenesis, both pre-Columbus and post. This has entailed a process of fusion with, and absorption and palikurization of, various outsider groups and subgroups by an original Pa'ikwené nucleus, a palikurization that is both linguistic and extra-linguistic [Passes 1998: 3-7, 2002, 2004; Grenand & Grenand 1987; see also Hill 1986].

The notion of inclusive identity is already present in the denomination "Palikur" which for Pa'ikwené is a generic term signifying all Amerindian peoples, including themselves. Inclusiveness is also explicit in the word *naoné*, meaning "my other" and also "nation". Pa'ikwené can choose to accord this term to a social field radiating from one's own immediate community and clan to other communities and clans, to the Pa'ikwené *naoné* as a collectivity of clans, and eventually to other non-Pa'ikwené Native Amazonian entities [Grenand & Grenand 1987: 16-17; Passes 2002, 2004]. An unbounded social universe, in which moreover subjects experience identity in terms of potentially infinite relations with others³ who are both distinct from self and seen to constitute "multiple other selves", to use Overing's [1996a] phrase, is not uncommon in Amazonia.⁴ According to Rosengren [2000], in this model, which he calls "rhizomic"⁵ after multi-rooted vegetation with unlimited, expansive, horizontal growth, shared identity is based not on ethnicity, which stresses distinctions in people's cultural origins, but on history, which stresses their similarities, links and complementary differences.

For Glissant [1990, 1996, 1997, n. d.], who uses the same term, the rhizomic identity is not determined by language but arises from and reflects a non-absolutist style of thinking

3 A category that from ego's perspective includes not only human but also natural and supernatural others (see Viveiros de Castro 1998).

4 See e.g. Gow 1991, 2000: 47ff; Belaunde 1992; Lagrou 2000; Rosengren 2000.

5 Rosengren borrows the term from Deleuze & Guattari (1972).

formed by movement – of people, relationships, languages, discourses, ideas, images – and sustained by an aesthetics of diversity.⁶ In Glissant's view, the "poetics of relation" thus created is "decontinentalized" and "archipelagic" and comprises the "creolization"⁷ that is active not just in his own Caribbean world but the wider one, thanks to a growing global pluralistic relatedness and despite surges in ex-Yugoslavia-type exclusivism. Glissant celebrates the identity-making capacity of globalism, or, as I call it, organic globalization, as opposed to directed, macro-economically driven Globalization with a capital G – the first involving plurality, fluidity, heterogeneity, the second homogenization, standardization and westernization: both these processes being ones in which local societies such as the Pa'ikwené's necessarily and increasingly participate.

Thus there is an apparent inconsistency in the Pa'ikwené position on language, language-use and identity. On the one hand: the essentialist line, commonly expressed in their discourse: language confers ethnic identity. On the other hand, as evidenced in their practice: neither language nor ethnicity is a natural given of identity. Rather, all three, language, ethnicity, identity, are products of intersubjective social life. As a means of comprehending this ambivalence and its relationship with the process of change, the concept of identification through relational inclusion and expansion is clearly more helpful than deterministic models like "cultural invasion" and vulgar "acculturation" that define cultural change in terms of the unidirectional and non-dialogical influence of a dominant culture over a dominated one [Freire 1977: 63, 96ff., 121ff; Campbell 1989: 51, 55, 58; Rapport & Overing 2000: 155-6, 265-8, 355-7, 370ff.; Kulick 1992, 1998; Glissant 1990, 1996, 1997, n. d.]. As others have shown [e.g. Grenand & Grenand 1987: 55-6; Hill & Santos-Granero 2002], "acculturation" thesis cannot adequately explain how Amerindians experience the process that entails both the impact of the external world and a dynamic of internal transformations and adjustments of various kinds (social, political, cultural, linguistic), *whilst* remaining to a greater or lesser degree plugged into autochthonous core values.

ONE PEOPLE INCREASINGLY SEPARATED BY LANGUAGE

To turn to the two Pa'ikwené communities in question. The villages of Espérance 1 and Espérance 2 are divided by a narrow stream and, as we have seen, the much wider gulf of contrasting patterns of linguistic practice – patterns radically affected by religious affiliation and having important cultural and political implications. In Espérance 1, the older and demographically bigger community,⁸ which is preponderantly Seventh-Day Adventist, there has been a shift from the vernacular Pa'ikwaki to Créole among a large

6 See also Rapport & Overing 2000: 265-8, 355-7, 370-4.

7 See also Hannerz 1987.

8 At the time of my fieldwork (1993-95) Espérance 2 had some 160 inhabitants to Espérance 1's 200 (approx).

section of the community, in particular the younger generation (male and female) who are drawn to a modern “Guyanais” lifestyle. Créole is the language of the local Guyanese population, and the one in which Adventism is practised. I would also characterize Créole as the *de facto* national language⁹ in opposition to French, the language of the state: of school, officialdom, and also television, whose linguistic and wider cultural influence on younger “Guyanese” Pa’ikwené is profound. I will return below to the question of nation and state.

Espérance 2 is a more recent settlement, founded by Pa’ikwené from Brazil belonging to the Brazilian branch of the Evangelical-Pentecostalist Assembly of God movement. In their services, which are run by non-Pa’ikwené Brazilian church officials resident in the village, the use of Portuguese predominates. Espérance 2 Pa’ikwené are by and large as adept as those of Espérance 1 at speaking Créole, which is the regional *lingua franca*, and they use it as one of their multiple codes. They are drawn also to aspects of the Créole lifestyle (e.g. foods). Yet Espérance 2 people determinedly and self-consciously continue to use Pa’ikwaki as their main language. It remains the language of preference, or so-called “solidarity code” [Hill & Hill 1986], for everyday relations, intracommunity political activity, and ritual activity outside the formal church context.

Sectarian differences, then, play a major role in the “language war” between the Espérances. To this religious dimension we must add the issues of nationhood and statehood. The Pa’ikwené consider themselves a nation, being a body of different Pa’ikwaki-speaking clans on the aforementioned *naoné* principle.¹⁰ The Brazilians they consider a nation and, in respect of its infrastructure and institutions, a state. They similarly categorize the French as a nation and a state, as owners and agents of macro political and economic power in Guyane. Conflating the two entities, Pa’ikwené people often refer to Guyane itself as “France” [Butt Colson 1985: 111]. And in effect, through a legal fiction, it is an integral part of France, being a *Département d’Outre-Mer* (DOM). DOM means an overseas political region which is technically and constitutionally an intrinsic unit of the French state with all this implies in terms of infrastructure, institutions and metropolitan politics. As for the Créoles, the majority population in Guyane, the Pa’ikwené hold them a distinct nation: the cultural and linguistic entity that is composed by its Créole, and Créole-speaking, members.

In Espérance 2 eyes, Espérance 1, and chiefly the younger population regardless of gender, is not merely identifying with the Créole nation through the appropriation

9 Lack of space prevents mention of the many other languages of Guyane, including those of the so-called Black Tribes (Saramaca, Boni, etc.) and SE Asian communities (Chinese, Vietnamese, Hmong), as well as other Amerindian groups such as the Wayapi, Wayana, Galibi, Aruak, etc.

10 For a good recent discussion on Amerindian nationhood and ethnicity, see Bartolomé 2001 (esp. pp. 13-19).

of its cultural traits (e.g. music, dress style, diet), some of which are also adopted by Espérance 2 people. Rather, it is as if Espérance 1 were seeking through language-shift to join with Créoledom in an initiative of voluntary national integration. Basically, a sector of the Pa'ikwené world which has long interrelated with the most contiguous and influential constituent of the non-Pa'ikwené world, i.e., the Créole "nation", was seen to be undertaking to become part of that nation. The Espérance 1 youths' creolization was, it seemed, more than just about the assimilation and manipulation of foreign influences. It involved a movement toward absorption in the Créole universe.¹¹

Whether the Espérance 1 youths' stance spells the gradual abandonment by Espérance 1 of all Pa'ikwené traits, or the retention and renewal of some of them in the new context, is debatable. What is certain is that the process is viewed with dismay and anger by Espérance 2 people and certain "traditionalist" residents of Espérance 1, who regard it as a grave threat to Pa'ikwené identity and integrity.

To explain these matters, and what lies behind Espérance 2's reaction to perceived Espérance 1 attitudes about Pa'ikwené language and identity, we need to unfold the differences in the two communities' historical relations with Guyane and the Créole world. The Pa'ikwené are primarily considered a Brazilian group and indeed have long had a homeland, called Aúkwa, in northern Amapá state, south of the Oyapock, but they have had a presence north of that river, i.e., in what is now French territory, from before the Conquest. In the colonial period, the Pa'ikwené were as now based mainly in Aúkwa and were allies of the French in their long conflict with Portugal for possession of the region. The dispute ended officially in 1900 when international mediation recognized the territory as Brazil's; whereupon the bulk of the "Brazilian" Pa'ikwené moved to the French side of the Oyapock. Epidemics decimated the group in the 1910s-20s and most of the survivors returned to Brazil, leaving a small number behind, clustered for the most part along the lower Oyapock. In the 1960s, following a shamanic war, there was a sizeable migration from Aúkwa to Guyane. At the same time, some Pa'ikwené who faced hostility from fellow-villagers for converting to Adventism also left the homeland. Joining up with "Guyanais" Pa'ikwené Adventists, many of whom were the highly creolized descendants of the 1900 migrants, they founded the settlement of La Savane, now more commonly known as Espérance 1, just outside St Georges. Espérance 2 was created some twenty years later by a handful of "Brazilian" Pa'ikwené Evangelical-Pentecostals [Passes 2002, 2004; see also Nimuendajú 1971: 1-15; Dreyfus 1981; Amaud 1984; Grenand & Grenand 1987; Capiberibe 2001].

Thus Espérance 1 has had geographically and (arguably) socially closer links, including intermarriage, with the Créole world for longer than Espérance 2. One can

11 Cf. Gow (2001) on the so-called ex-Cocama, who reject Cocama identity to define themselves as non-indigenous, Spanish-speaking Peruvians.

speculate that this has involved a more social use of the Créole language. Whereas during the same period Créole was for the 'Brazilian' Pa'ikwené primarily a trading language, a utility code. This isn't to say it was not also a social-relational one, but that the social relations with the Créoles are more likely to have been mainly commercial ones.

Economics, as transmitted through the French rather than the Créoles, features in another way too. With increasing Pa'ikwené participation in the market economy the French Franc and latterly the Euro have figured more and more significantly in their lives. This currency is the medium of income and bills, savings accounts, hire purchase and taxes; and of the state benefits and handouts which are part of the unequal if paternalistic relations between the Pa'ikwené and the French state. A better economic existence (in the Western sense) is one of the reasons, along with health care and education, that Espérance 2 people usually give the anthropologist for migrating from Brazil.

Differences between the villages also exist at the macropolitical level, with Espérance 1 taking a more proactive political role in relation to the state than Espérance 2. For example, some of its members have stood in local and even national elections. In one famous case an Espérance 1 leader was the candidate of the racist Front National party, thereby causing a temporary breakdown of good relations with the Créole community. Exo-politically, Espérance 2 is in comparison still very much Brazil-oriented and, in the mid-1990s at least, enjoyed less established relations with the French state (most of its adult population, as Brazilian nationals, were ineligible to vote).

The role of non-Pa'ikwené languages in the extra-community, macro-political process is critical. The chief of the "Brazilian" Pa'ikwené speaks fluent Portuguese as an occupational prerequisite; and that Espérance 1 headmen speak markedly better French than most of their fellow adult Pa'ikwené in the St Georges area is a key factor in their getting elected to the post.

Knowledge of Créole, long used by the Pa'ikwené as a trading language, has a value in local Pa'ikwené-Créole political relations. But as later arrivals in Guyane having weaker ties than Espérance 1 with the local Créole political establishment, Espérance 2 people are at a disadvantage. To circumvent it, they place strategic emphasis on learning French in order to communicate and negotiate with the state directly.

French is a more recent acquisition than Créole and Portuguese, and is being learned by the younger generation of both villages attending French state schools and who, being born in Guyane, hold French citizenship. My personal feeling is that Espérance 2 youths value French more than Espérance 1 ones, who, as mentioned, are considerably more Créole-focused. From the Espérance 2 perspective, France possesses more "power" than Brazil, which is seen to possess more than the Créole "nation". The French language is classed hierarchically higher than the Brazilian language, which in turn is set above the Créole language. France and French are not, however, judged to have superior

power to, nor are they ranked higher than, the Pa'ikwené nation and Pa'ikwaki, except however in this one specific context of the macropolitical.

This helps us to understand the stress Espérance 2 adults lay on their children learning French. They argue that it is only by mastering the language that the community, both as indigenous people and French citizens, can best defend its interests and obtain its rights in the state courts. Knowledge of French and successful recourse to the legal system will enable them to counter local Créole hegemony and to engage in the wider political process of the country. Thus French is regarded as vital to the village's struggle to rectify its present asymmetric relations with the non-indigenous world, be it the state or local Créole political "bosses". In this sense the French language is for Espérance 2 Pa'ikwené both a very effective power tool and a "power code" [Hill & Hill 1986].

As Bauman [1983], Kulick [1992] and others argue, understanding how language is thought about and used, and how speaking operates as a cultural system, within a given community, enables us to understand the interrelation between language, culture and social life, and the behavioral choices made by groups and individuals concerning these. As I have discussed elsewhere [Passes 1998: 85-6; in press], the Pa'ikwené, like many other peoples in Native Amazonia if not worldwide, consider supernatural potency and causality reside in the vocal expression of spirit beings. This power is deemed accessible to and transmissible through humans, incarnated in their speaking (as well as other oral actions like spitting or blowing). In Pa'ikwené thinking, such power not only inheres in the speech acts of "powerful" individuals such as chiefs and shamans, but is actually or potentially present in the everyday words of 'ordinary' speakers, through their efficacy in generating and embodying the community in terms of a sociable sociality. Hence, for Pa'ikwené people, language's moral, aesthetic and emotional value [Passes 2000a, in press; Overing & Passes 2000: 15-17; Rosengren 2000].

What we are dealing with here is linguistic representation, i.e., the Pa'ikwené's verbally expressed images of the verbally created world – or worlds inasmuch as it is not just a matter of the Pa'ikwené world alone, or the Pa'ikwené language or code alone.

As indicated, although Espérance 2 people, unlike many in Espérance 1, have not opted for a language-shift, they codeswitch extensively, both intra- and extra-socially, between Pa'ikwaki, Créole, Brazilian-Portuguese and French. Even a simple request to know the time tends nowadays to be made bilingually, with "*Paiva* (Pa'ikwaki) *ler* (Créole)?" – "What is the hour?" – replacing the traditional Pa'ikwené formula, "*Kinei kamú?*" – "Where is the sun?".

Villagers codeswitch for a variety of context-sensitive motivations and reasons: economic, political, personal, and sometimes just for pleasure. I have often witnessed Espérance 2 speakers using with relish all four codes at their disposal in a single utterance [Passes 2001, cf. Werbner 1989]. The following, for example, is a person's description of the current state of his supplies:

"Bofwé, kadahan kainsima kwak, akiú dois quilos sucre hawata à la maison, hénémé yúma arroz, nah mwaka comprar pun aussi".

Bofwé is Créole for "brother-in-law", a term of address used by Pa'ikwené men to Créole acquaintances and sometimes among Pa'ikwené male friends. *Kwak* is also Créole, though possibly of Amerindian origin, and means "manioc flour". *Kadahan, Kainsima, Akiú, Hawata, Hénémé, Yúma, Nah, Mwaka* and *Pun* are Pa'ikwaki words and mean respectively, "there is", "a lot", "still"/"yet", "as well", "but", "none", "I", "want"/"need", and "salt". *Sucre, À la maison, Aussi*, are French for "sugar", "in the house"/"at home", "also". *Dois quilos, Arroz* and *Comprar* are Brazilian-Portuguese and mean "two kilos", "rice", and "to buy". Thus the speaker combined nine Pa'ikwaki words, five French ones, four Brazilian-Portuguese ones and two Créole ones, in order to say:

"Pal, I've got plenty of manioc flour, and there's still two kilos of sugar at home as well, but I'm all out of rice and also need to buy some salt."

Integral to this kind of behaviour, though not necessarily in this specific case, is the process whereby, as Kulick [1992: 11, 17, 78, 112-3; 1998] and others show, codeswitchers can conceive that each code in their repertoire possesses a different positive or negative value or set of values, e.g. knowledge, authority, solidarity, individualism. When switching to a code one plugs into the value or values it incorporates.

To look at Pa'ikwaki first, this code has immense moral and affective value for its speech community in *Espérance 2*, who declare it to be constitutive and expressive of their identity and ethos. Language acts to create public space, as the philosopher Charles Taylor [1985: 215-92] says. But it also creates the public imaginary: the ideas and interpretations of speakers concerning public space and public identity, in the sense of people's social or collective being. Language to be understood here, I propose, not as some putatively pure, immutable and somehow "national" object, but as a conversation constantly in the making through the fusion of lexical items both old and new, coined and imported, together with the ongoing construction and transformation of meanings and, in the process, of public space and social life. Thus certain old terms and concepts, rethought in the light of changing circumstances, will be integrated into new social and cultural contexts [Baumann 1987: 185; Williams 1976: 22]. For example, the word *ihamwi*, "healer"/"shaman", is used by Pa'ikwené converts in connection with Jesus, whom they sometimes refer to as "the greatest *ihamwi*". It is not only humans that codeswitch: Pa'ikwené Evangelical-Pentecostals believe too that both Jesus and *Ohokri*, God, can speak Pa'ikwaki, since they know "all the languages of the world", as does *Masitwak*, the pre-Christian master of the forest.

Conversely, some Créole and Brazilian words in the *Espérance 2* lexicon have been assimilated and (often morphologically) pa'ikwené-ized to the extent that they are defined

as intrinsically Pa'ikwené and their foreign provenance ignored. For example, the Créole term *katush*, meaning “cartridges”, or the aforesaid *kwak*, “manioc flour”, and the Brazilian words for mum and dad, *mamai* and *papai* have, along with certain endemically Pa'ikwené words, become what Raymond Williams [1976: 22] calls “keywords”. These are words that express and have a cohesive role in regard to the shared standards, practices and ethics of community life, and the individual's experience of these. This pertains to the name of the vernacular itself. For Espérance 2 villagers the very term “Pa'ikwaki” represents being Pa'ikwené, living like or as a Pa'ikwené person. By extension, Pa'ikwaki, as both speech practice and term, infers a series of correlated positive values and states: solidarity, sociability, sociality, morality, beauty, tradition, community integrity and continuity through time. Pa'ikwaki is also, as mentioned earlier, associated with religion outside the formal Brazilian-Portuguese-speaking church context. In heaven, though, neither Pa'ikwaki nor Brazilian-Portuguese, nor yet Créole or French will be used, as the Evangelical-Pentecostalist elect will be speaking “the language of the angels” [Passes 1998: 225].

In contrast, for many Espérance 1 people, and especially youths, Pa'ikwaki (both the act of speaking it and the designation) now betokens negative values such as “backwardness”, “tradition”, the state of being “uncool” and of being “uncivilized”, and wrong religion or no religion.

Certain individuals in both communities, knowing Pa'ikwaki to be imperiled, strive to safeguard it for the next generation, be it through a determination to regenerate it through daily speech, putting it into written form with the help of the Summer Institute of Linguistics – or engaging in physical combat on its behalf, as we have seen. That the latter tactic might perhaps be doomed to failure was acknowledged by one of its exponents, my friend's son that I mentioned earlier. According to him, even the Espérance 2 youths who like himself have made it a point of ethnic integrity and honour to retain Pa'ikwaki, cannot speak it properly. Describing the present language as “New Pa'ikwaki”, i.e., Pa'ikwaki with a heavy foreign admixture, he told me, “We don't speak real Pa'ikwaki anymore.” This assumption, widespread among his generation, seems to pose their language as a succession of progressively deteriorating stages, each becoming less pure than its predecessor as it travels further and further from some ideal matrix of correctness and authenticity. From this perspective, “New Pa'ikwaki”, the present and (it is feared) final avatar, is grammatically and morally degenerate, thus having serious implications for contemporary Pa'ikwené identity. Put this together with the commonly expressed sentiment that, in continuing to speak Pa'ikwaki one continues to be Pa'ikwené, and it is not difficult to imagine the emotional effect on Espérance 2 people, young as well as old.

I now move on to French: the power of the French state not only underlies the asymmetric relations Espérance 2 people have with it, but is understood by them to be

embodied in the French language [Passes 2001¹²]. In interactions with fellow villagers, a context where by contrast power relations tend customarily to be symmetrical, individual codeswitchers often resort to French words and expressions in order temporarily to appropriate the power and authority that code is assumed to contain. In short, French is judged to have a certain political value that is not to be found in Pa'ikwaki and that Brazilian-Portuguese and Créole are unable to match. For Espérance 2 other values inhering in French, linked with or ensuing from that of top political power, are, "civilization", education, money, and the Law.

Most Espérance 2 people, as first or second generation migrants from the Pa'ikwené homeland in Northern Brazil, can speak Brazilian-Portuguese. Being the language of public worship, the prime values it is held to embody are religion and the Christian God's earthly authority. Outside of that its values are mostly deemed negative, reflecting as they do a Brazilian world the Pa'ikwené have in the main historically experienced as oppressive [Passes 2002].

As for Créole, Espérance 2 people perceive this language somewhat ambivalently: in the negative terms of wrong religion and danger, i.e., with the power to harm Pa'ikwené integrity; and in the positive terms of pragmatic utility and of friendship with Créole people (and others who similarly use it as a *lingua franca*). For most Espérance 1 people on the other hand, Créole possesses in addition to the last two stated attributes, the further positive values of modernity, "coolness", "Guyane-ness", local political power, and right religion.

YOUTH AND AGENCY

As the reader will have realized, alongside these historical, religious, political, economic and conceptual elements, a central aspect of the St Georges Pa'ikwené's language-shift is the youth factor. While Pa'ikwené young people of both communities identify Pa'ikwaki with the way of life of *Les Vieux*, "The Old Ones", i.e., the ancestors and also their parents' generation, the link is positive for Espérance 2 youths, but negative for Espérance 1 ones who espouse "modernity" against "tradition".

Apart from *kiaptúnka*, the "speech of respect", the virtually extinct ceremonial language used by chiefs, the Pa'ikwené do not classify any code in terms of intra-social status. Nor is speaking any of them, be it Pa'ikwaki, French, Créole or Brazilian-Portuguese, prescriptively limited to or associated with a particular class, which accords with the marked egalitarianism of Pa'ikwené life in respect of age and gender, including in the realm of public speaking [Passes 1998: 9, 77-8, 91-2, 95ff., 124ff.; in press].¹³ The situation is quite unlike, for example, the Papua New Guinea case reported by Kulick

12 See also Scotton 1982; Hill & Hill 1986; McCallum 1990; Kulick 1992, 1998.

13 Cf. Overing & Passes 2000: 5; Hill & Santos-Granero 2002.

[1992, 1993, 1998], where the vernacular language has become associated, at least from the male perspective, with women, young children and negative values; and the national language with men and positive values.

According to my friend's son, most of his Espérance 1 counterparts know just as much Pa'ikwaki as him, but pointedly choose to speak in Créole instead with Espérance 2 youths. The latter however refuse to respond in Créole and deliberately do so in Pa'ikwaki. This has implications for marriage and future intercommunity relations since, despite knowing Créole, an Espérance 2 *tchinó humano*, "young female adult", will tend to insist on the use of Pa'ikwaki when courted by an Espérance 1 *awaig takwié*, "young male adult". Similarly, successful relationships between young Espérance 1 female language-shifters and Espérance 2 young men rely on (among other things) the willingness and ability of the former to switch to the vernacular.

The older generation, including many in Espérance 1 who are just as worried about the survival of Pa'ikwaki, believe the greatest danger lies in the Espérance 1 youths' "disdain" and "wilfulness" towards it: "*Igkis ka mwaka auna Pa'ikwaki*", the older people say, "They don't want to speak Pa'ikwaki". However, I suggest that such behaviour is consistent with Pa'ikwené norms of personal freedom rather than an expression of contempt or adolescent wilfulness [Kulick 1992: 13-14]. The individual's right to speak or not – and, it would seem, to use one language rather than another – is typical of the Pa'ikwené and probably Native Amazonians generally, when deciding whether to engage in social relations with others. According to Kulick [1992], children are key players in the process of shift through ceasing to learn the vernacular and learning and transmitting its replacement, each of these acts being a function of the young person's agency. The latter is influenced by such things as peer pressure, the role of older siblings in language choice and, as Schieffelin [1990] shows, in language acquisition, and the socializing effect of adult evaluations, positive and negative, of vernacular and national languages. In Espérance 1 this agency has led to a generation-wide abandonment of the vernacular one and the adoption of the national one.¹⁴ The agency of Espérance 2 youths manifested itself instead in a repudiation of such action, and the proactive defence of the vernacular.

The language-shift of Espérance 1 Pa'ikwené youngsters and its rejection by other Pa'ikwené appears to reconfirm that the autonomy and agency of a so-called traditional society's members are instrumental in the interaction between them and the non-indigenous modern world. This is not to deny the strength of macrosocial pressures involved in the process of sociocultural change, but to stress the real way in which, at the microsocial level, people engage creatively and as subjects with external cultural,

14 A similar youth-led movement toward a language-shift has occurred at Macouria, some 25k outside Cayenne, where there are another two Pa'ikwené communities.

linguistic, socioeconomic and political influences, rather than as the powerless, passive objects portrayed in “dominant culture” theories. This said, the process can be a disturbing, painful experience. Such is plainly the case for those Pa’ikwené who choose¹⁵ not to “shift” but are pessimistic about the long-term survival of customary ways under the pressure of modern, foreign ones. To paraphrase Jean Narcissio, a Pa’ikwené indigenous rights activist, speaking for many other Pa’ikwené: Without their defining cultural features, and notably Pa’ikwaki, the Pa’ikwené will dissolve into nothingness, absorbed by the other nations around them. Etymologically, arising from the fact that their heartland in Brazil is situated on a river between two other rivers, Pa’ikwené means “the people of the middle”; and Jean wryly depicted the situation to me as one where the Pa’ikwené are also “people of the middle” because they are caught between “*le monde civilisé*” (“the civilized world”) and the ancestors.

Language, and its use, is of course implicated in the process of contact if for no other reason that the ‘expansionist’ codes of the state and, beyond that, Globalization impact hugely on local codes that do not embody their economic, political, technological and ideological values [Hagège 1991: 56-7]. For Espérance 2 people, foreign codes are principally attractive pragmatic tools, imbued with certain values extrinsic to Pa’ikwaki. Like, say, the proverbial Coca-Cola, which most Pa’ikwené I know enjoy enormously, these codes are in appropriate contexts good for acting with. Coca-Cola is famously promoted as a signifier of globalized identity, uniting people worldwide in fictitious syrupy brother-and-sisterhood; but this marketing ploy cannot hide, and in fact underlines, that Coca-Cola is above all a commodity. In contrast, in the Espérance 2 worldview language, and in particular Pa’ikwaki, is not commoditized, but remains a social and relational act.

Therein lies its identity factor. Whereas for Glissant identity is, as noted, not language but relationships, the Pa’ikwené view appears to be: language is identity is relationships – that is, not so much relationships *per se* as friendly ones. When a Pa’ikwené claims “you are what you speak”, s/he is, it seems to me, implicitly saying that ethnic identity resides in the language one speaks with all the Pa’ikwené other selves with whom relations are not merely social but *sociable*. However, since most contemporary Pa’ikwené do not just speak Pa’ikwaki but the three other languages as well, it is arguable that, in respect of those with whom they enjoy sociable dialogic relations, they have a more inclusive notion of communality than is presupposed by their stated equation: Pa’ikwaki equals or is Pa’ikwené.¹⁶

15 On the key factor of the individual switcher’s choice, intentionality and strategical considerations, see among others Hymes 1979; Gumperz 1982; Kulick 1992; Passes 2001.

16 One is also of course Pa’ikwené vis-à-vis non-Pa’ikwené others with whom one has social, but not sociable speaking relations in languages other than the vernacular.

CONCLUSION

For Espérance 2 people the use of multiple foreign codes is an extension of horizontal relationships through a transformation or indigenization of extrinsic values. But to embrace the single foreign-code option, and thus its values, to the exclusion of one's Native code and values, as Espérance 2 believes most of Espérance 1 is doing, is clearly seen as verticalist. It is interpreted as the abandonment of one's Pa'ikwené identity and the cancellation of sociable social relations with other Pa'ikwené. But is this actually the case with Espérance 1 shifters? Might they not be changing to Créole and the values inhering in it as a means of integrating with the Créole nation, but without for all that totally rejecting Pa'ikwené identity and ways of relating? As I have argued, language loss is not necessarily identity loss; and notional ethnicity and "typical" ethnic behaviours can persist through time despite language loss (*viz.* the Jews) and, in cases of extreme cultural alienation, through such things as memory, myth, or food [Asturias 1949]. Moreover, for all their concern about the damage to Pa'ikwené-ness from alien influences, Espérance 2 people do not similarly regard themselves as traitors to their ethnic identity because they now follow Evangelical-Pentecostalism or sometimes switch to foreign codes and values.

"You are what you speak" is either, for people such as Herder and de Saussure, a truth or, for others like Glissant, a fallacy. As for the Pa'ikwené, I have tried to show their approach is less oppositional and more flexible, since while they seem to consider "You are what you speak" to be true, they do so from an inclusivist, relativist perspective, which embraces but does not essentialize notions of ethnicity while stressing even more strongly notions of a certain kind of shared sociality.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

- ARNAUD Expedito, 1984, Os Índios Palikur do Rio Urucaúá, tradição tribal e protestantismo, in: *Publicações Avuls: Museu Emlílio Goeldi* 39, pp. 23-47.
- ASTURIAS Miguel Angel, 1949, *Hombres de Matz*, Editorial Losada, Buenos Aires.
- BARTOLOMÉ Miguel Alberto, 2001, Etnias y naciones, la construcción civilizatoria en América Latina, in: *Estudios Latinoamericanos* 21, pp. 5-21.
- BAUMAN Richard, 1983, *Let Your Words Be Few: symbolism of speaking and silence among seventeenth-century Quakers*, Cambridge University Press.
- BAUMANN Gerd, 1987, *National Integration and Local Integrity, the Miri of the Nuba Mountains of the Sudan*, Clarendon, Oxford.
- BELAUNDE OLSCHESKI Luisa Elvira, 1992, *Gender, Commensality and Community among the Airo-Pai of Western Amazonia*, Ph.D. Dissertation, University of London.
- BRINTON Daniel, 1891, *The American Race: a linguistic classification and ethnographic description of the native tribes of North and South America*, N.D.C. Hodges, New York.
- BUTT COLSON Audrey, 1985, Routes of Knowledge: an aspect of regional integration in the circum-Roraima area of the Guiana Highlands, in: *Antropológica* 63-64, pp. 103-149.

- CAMPBELL Alan T., 1989, *To Square with Genesis: causal statements and shamanic ideas in Wayapi*, Edinburgh University Press.
- CAMPBELL Alan T., 1995, *Getting to Know Wai-Wai*, Routledge, London.
- CAPIBERIBE Artionka, 2001, *Os Palikur e o Cristianismo*, Masters Dissertation, Universidade Estadual de Campinas.
- DELEUZE Gilles and GUATTARI Félix, 1972, *L'Anti-Oedipe: capitalismo et schizophrénie*, Editions de Minuit, Paris.
- DREYFUS Simone, 1981, Le Peuple de la rivière du milieu, esquisse pour l'étude de l'espace social palikur, in: *Orients pour Georges Condominas*, Sudestasia Privat, Paris.
- DREYFUS Simone, 1983-84, Historical and Political Anthropological Interconnections: the multilingual indigenous polity of the 'Carib' Islands and mainland coast from the 16th to the 18th century, in: *Antropológica* 59-62, pp. 39-55.
- FREIRE Paulo 1977[1972], *Pedagogy of the Oppressed*, trans. M. Bergman Ramos, Penguin, Harmondsworth.
- GLISSANT Edouard, 1990, *Poétique de la relation (Poétique III)*, Gallimard, Paris.
- GLISSANT Edouard, 1996, *Introduction à une poétique du divers*, Gallimard, Paris.
- GLISSANT Edouard, 1997, *Traité du tout-monde (Poétique IV)*, Gallimard, Paris.
- GLISSANT Edouard, No Date, *De la poétique de la relation au tout-monde*. Internet interview with Edouard Glissant by Avner Perez, <http://le-village.iframe.com/ALALAIA/glissant.htm>
- GOW Peter, 1991, *Of Mixed Blood*, Clarendon Press, Oxford.
- GOW Peter, 2000, Helpless: the affective preconditions of Piro social life, in: *The Anthropology of Love and Anger: the aesthetics of conviviality in Native Amazonia*, eds. J. Overing, A. Passes, Routledge, London and New York.
- GOW Peter, 2001, *Ex-Cocama: transforming identities in Peruvian Amazonia*. Paper presented at department of social anthropology, 29 June, London School of Economics.
- GRENAND Françoise and GRENAND, Pierre, 1987, La Côte d'Amapa, de la bouche de l'Amazone à la baie d'Oyapock à travers la tradition orale palikur, in: *Boletim do Museu Paraense Emílio Goeldi (Série Antropologia)* 3(1), pp. 1-77.
- GUMPERZ John, 1982, *Discourse Strategies*, Cambridge University Press, New York.
- HAGÈGE Claude, 1991, *L'Homme de paroles*, Folio Fayard, Paris.
- HANNERZ Ulf, 1987, The World in Creolization, in: *Africa* 57(4), pp. 546-59.
- HEELAS Paul, 1984, *Explaining Ritual: the forces of emotion or the demands of reason*, unpublished ms, department of religious studies, University of Lancaster.
- HERDER Johann Gottfried, 1986[1772], *On the Origin of Language*, eds. J. Moran, A. Gode, University of Chicago Press.
- HILL Jane H. and HILL, Keith C., 1986, *Speaking Mexicano: the dynamics of syncretic language in Central Mexico*, University of Arizona Press, Tucson.
- HILL Jonathan D., 1996, ed. *History, Power, and Identity: ethnogenesis in the Americas, 1492-1992*, University of Iowa Press, Iowa City.
- HILL Jonathan D. and SANTOS-GRANERO, Fernando, 2002, Introduction, in: *Comparative Arawakan Histories: rethinking language family and culture area in Amazonia*, eds. J.D. Hill, F. Santos-Granero, University of Illinois Press, Urbana.
- HUGH-JONES Stephen, 1992, Yesterday's Luxuries, Tomorrow's Necessities: business and barter in Northwest Amazonia, in: *Barter, Exchange and Value: an anthropological approach*, eds. C. Humphrey, S. Hugh-Jones, Cambridge University Press.
- HUGH-JONES Stephen, 1994, Shamans, Prophets, Priests and Pastors, in: *Shamanism*,

- History and the State*, eds. N. Thomas, C. Humphrey, University of Michigan Press, Ann Arbor.
- HYMES Dell, 1979, Sapir, Competence, Voices, in: *Individual Differences in Language Ability and Language Behavior*, eds. C. Fillmore et al., Academic Press, New York.
- JACKSON Jean, 1983, *The Fish People: linguistic exogamy and Tukanoan identity in Northwestern Amazonia*, Cambridge University Press.
- KULICK Don, 1992, *Language Shift and Cultural Reproduction: socialization, self and syncretism in a Papua New Guinea village*, Cambridge University Press.
- KULICK Don, 1993, Speaking as a Woman: structure and gender in domestic arguments in a New Guinean village, in: *Cultural Anthropology* 8(4), pp. 510-41.
- KULICK Don, 1998, Anger, Gender, Language Shift and the Politics of Revelation in a Papua New Guinea Village, in: *Language Ideologies: practice and theory*, eds. B. Schieffelin et al., Oxford University Press.
- LAGROU Elsie Maria, 1998, *Cashinahua Cosmivision: a perspectival approach to identity and alterity*, Ph.D. Dissertation, University of St Andrews.
- McCALLUM Cecilia, 1990, Language, Kinship and Politics in Amazonia, in: *Man* 25(3), pp. 412-33.
- NASH June, 1979, *We Eat the Mines and the Mines Eat Us: dependency and exploitation in Bolivian tin mines*, University of Columbia Press, New York.
- NIMUENDAJÚ Curt, 1971[1926], *Die Palikur Indianer und ihre Nachbarn*, unpublished French translation by C. Jousse, (Original: Göteborgs Kungl. Vet. Vitt. Handligar 31-2).
- OVERING Joanna, 1992, Wandering in the Market and the Forest: an Amazonian theory of production and exchange, in: *Contesting Markets: analyses of ideology, discourse and practice*, ed. R. Dilley, Edinburgh University Press.
- OVERING Joanna, 1996a, *Under the Sky of the Domesticated: in praise of the everyday*. Inaugural lecture for the professorship and chair of social anthropology, 4 December, University of St Andrews.
- OVERING Joanna, 1996b, Who Is the Mightiest of Them All? Jaguar and conquistador in Piaroa images of alterity and identity, in: *Monsters, Tricksters and Sacred Cows*, ed. J. Arnold, University Press of Virginia, Charlottesville.
- OVERING Joanna and PASSES Alan, 2000a, Introduction, in: *The Anthropology of Love and Anger: the aesthetics of conviviality in Native Amazonia*, eds. J. Overing, A. Passes, Routledge, London and New York.
- OVERING Joanna and PASSES Alan, 2000b, eds. *The Anthropology of Love and Anger: the aesthetics of conviviality in Native Amazonia*, Routledge, London and New York.
- PASSES Alan, 1998, *The Hearer, the Hunter, and the Agouti Head: aspects of intercommunication and conviviality among the Pa'ikwené (Palikur) of French Guiana*, Ph.D. Dissertation, University of St Andrews.
- PASSES Alan, 2000, The Value of Working and Speaking Together: a facet of Pa'ikwené (Palikur) conviviality, in: *The Anthropology of Love and Anger: the aesthetics of conviviality in Native Amazonia*, eds. J. Overing, A. Passes, Routledge, London and New York.
- PASSES Alan, in press, *The Place of Politics: powerful speech and women speakers in everyday Pa'ikwené (Palikur) life*, in: *Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute* 10(1).
- PASSES Alan, 2001, 'Arrête! Laisse! Donne!' ('Stop it! Leave it! Give it!'), or, equality, power, and the comical imperative in indigenous French Guyana. Paper presented

- at workshop, *The Ethnography of Laughter, Joy, Humour and Play*, CIASE, 18 June, University of St Andrews.
- PASSES Alan, 2002, Both Omphalos and Margin: on how the Pa'ikwené (Palikur) see themselves to be at the center and on the edge at one and the same time, in: *Comparative Arawakan Histories: rethinking language family and culture area in Amazonia*, eds. J.D. Hill, F. Santos-Granero, University of Illinois Press, Urbana.
- PASSES Alan, 2004, The Gathering of the Clans: the making of the Palikur *naoné*, in: *Ethnohistory* 51(2).
- RAMOS Alcida, 1988, Indian Voices: contact experienced and expressed, in: *Rethinking History and Myth: South American perspectives of the past*, ed. J.D. Hill, University of Illinois Press, Urbana.
- RAPPORT Nigel and OVERING, Joanna, 2000, *Social and Cultural Anthropology: the key concepts*. Routledge, London and New York.
- ROSENGREN Dan, 2000, *Matsigenka Notions of Self and Other: consequences for interethnic relations*. Paper presented at conference *Comparative Arawakan Histories: rethinking language family and culture area in Amazonia*, Smithsonian Tropical Research Institute, 24-26 May, Panama City.
- SANTOS-GRANERO Fernando, 1991, *The Power of Love: the moral use of knowledge amongst the Amuesha of Central Peru*, Athlone, London.
- SANTOS-GRANERO Fernando, 2002, The Arawakan Matrix: Ethos, Language, and History in Native South America, in: *Comparative Arawakan Histories: rethinking language family and culture area in Amazonia*, eds. J.D. Hill, F. Santos-Granero, University of Illinois Press, Urbana.
- SAUSSURE Ferdinand de, 1966[1915], *Course in General Linguistics*, trans. W. Baskin, McGraw-Hill, New York.
- SCHIEFFELIN Bambi, 1990, *The Give and Take of Everyday Life: language socialization of Kaluli children*, Cambridge University Press.
- SCOTTON C.M., 1982, The Possibility of Codeswitching: motivation for maintaining multilingualism, in: *Anthropological Linguistics* 24(4), pp. 432-45.
- TAYLOR Charles, 1985, *Human Agency and Language, philosophical papers 1*, Cambridge University Press.
- THOMAS David, 1982, *Order Without Government: the society of the Pemon Indians of Venezuela*, University of Illinois Press, Urbana.
- VIVEIROS DE CASTRO Eduardo, 1998, Cosmological Deixis and Amerindian Perspectivism, in: *Journal of the Royal Anthropological Society* 4(3), pp. 469-88.
- WERBNER Richard, 1989, *Ritual Passage, Sacred Journey: the process, form and organization of religious movement*, Manchester University Press.
- WILLIAMS Raymond, 1976, *Keywords: a vocabulary of culture and society*, Fontana, London.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENT

The article is based on a paper presented at CIASE, department of social anthropology, University of St. Andrews, Scotland, 17 April, 2003.