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Ethnorêma, dal greco *ethnos* ‘popolo, etnia’ e *rhêma* ‘ciò che è detto, parola, espressione’, ma anche ‘cosa, oggetto, evento’. Nella linguistica pragmatica *rema* sta ad indicare la parte di una frase che aggiunge ulteriore informazione a quello che è stato già comunicato (il *tema*).

Ethnorêma, from the Greek words *ethnos* ‘people, ethnicity’ and *rhêma* ‘what is said, word, expression’, but also ‘thing, object, event’. In linguistics, *rheme* indicates the part of a sentence that adds further information about an entity or a situation that has already been mentioned (the *theme*).

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Deixis in Borneo: Kenyah and Punan¹

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SUMMARY

This paper presents a description of spatial and temporal deictics in three languages of North-Eastern Borneo: Lebu’ Kulit and Òma Lóngh Kenyah and Punan Tuvu². Comparison of the form and function of deictic markers in these languages reveals a complex pattern of similarities and divergences. The deictics in these languages are described in their use to localize the speech event and its participants in space and time. Then the relationship between demonstratives and other deictics is observed and so is the encoding of location in the context of the environment. In addition to describing the synchronic properties of deictic markers, the processes whereby deictic markers grammaticalized in these varieties are observed.

Keywords: *Austronesian languages, demonstratives, Kalimantan, location, environment, grammaticalization.*

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1. Introduction: Deixis in the Austronesian world

Before proceeding with a description of deixis in some of the languages of Borneo, I would like to provide a general overview of deixis in the Austronesian world. Although for a language family as vast as Austronesian, it would be difficult to give anything more than a sketchy overview of deixis, it will be useful to make some general observations about Austronesian to set the stage for a discussion of languages in Borneo. The problem of reference to space and location in the Austronesian world has become the object of study for scholars like Senft (1997), Bennardo (2002), and Ross and Osmond (2003). Moreover, the work of Himmelmann (1996, 2005) and Blust (2009) provide some of the broad, typological studies of deixis in Austronesian. Blust (2009: 305) in particular distinguishes between systems of micro-orientation, and macro-orientation. The first system includes the spatial and temporal location of referents in relation to the speaker, and the location of referents in relation to their surroundings (above, below, inside, outside, etc.). The macro-orientation system includes directional systems used to orient oneself within the wider physical environment.

Himmelmann (2005) and Blust (2009) report that Austronesian languages differ considerably in terms of the types of deictic systems they employ. The languages they

¹ This is a revised version of a paper presented at the International Workshop on Deixis and Spatial Expressions in Indonesian Languages held in July 2011 at the Research Institute for Languages and Cultures of Asia and Africa (see Jukes 2014). I acknowledge the valuable comments made by other colleagues attending the conference. I also acknowledge the help of Timothy McKinnon who made valuable comments on the paper.

² Punan Tuvu’ is the ethnonym speakers use to refer to themselves and to their language when they talk among themselves. Nevertheless in the literature these people are referred to with the exonym Punan Tubu (see for instance Césard 2009 and Sercombe and Sellato 2007, Soriente 2013), mostly used by other groups when they talk of the Tubu river and of the Punan Tuvu’ people. In this paper I prefer to use the endonym Tuvu’.

discuss show variation along several parameters. To give the reader a better sense of this variation, a few of the most salient characteristics of Austronesian deixis warrant mentioning. First, in many of these languages degrees of distance from the deictic reference point plays an important role in deixis. Attested systems include those, which distinguish two degrees (proximal and distal), three degrees (proximal, distal and medial)³. There are also more elaborate cases, where four or more degrees are distinguished (for example Malagasy, where seven degrees are distinguished). The visibility or non-visibility of the deictic referent often plays a role in such elaborate systems. Secondly, there are several salient characteristics with regard to pronominal deixis. Austronesian languages often distinguish inclusive vs. exclusive first person plural pronouns, and in some cases distinguish dual, trial, paucal and plural number. Politeness often affects the choice between pronoun and full NP for first and second person (relationship e.g. ‘father/mother’, expressing a name ‘Ali’, profession ‘doctor’, etc.); specifically, pronouns are avoided as a means of paying respect to the referent, a strategy that is common in Indonesian and Javanese (see Kaufman 2014). Pronominal paradigms rarely distinguish gender.⁴ Demonstratives are often adnominal but in a few cases, may be pronominal. Pronominal systems also often show full vs. clitic pronouns with distinct syntactic functions (e.g. related to whether they may function as possessives or appear in argument positions). Thirdly, in many Austronesian languages demonstratives are used as markers of tense, a characteristic that is considered to be related to the fact that TAM marking is typically not obligatory. Finally, the environment plays a key role in Austronesian deixis. Adelaar (1997: 53) and Blust (2009: 312) observe that most general principle of macro-orientation in Austronesian (AN) languages is the land-sea opposition e.g. in Proto-Austronesian (PAN) **daya* means ‘toward the interior’ and **lahud* ‘toward the sea’. This opposition with different degrees of semantic change like uphill/upstream downhill/downstream is attested in many languages across the Austronesian world. Paradoxically, in specific languages, the reflexes of these PAN terms have come to have diverse meanings (such as ‘north’, ‘south’ or ‘east’ ‘west’) depending of the deictic point of observation, therefore whether the group is away from the sea or on one side or another of an island.⁵

Weather patterns also play an important role in Austronesian deixis. In some languages, for example, as many as six terms have developed to refer to the movement of monsoons. As reported by Blust (2009: 312), cardinal direction terms (‘north’, ‘south’, ‘east’ and ‘west’) in AN language have developed from proto-lexemes with the meanings ‘up’, ‘down’, ‘north wind’, ‘south wind’, ‘upriver’, ‘downriver’ and from terms originally referring to the place of sunset or place of sunrise.

³ The reconstructed words indicating deixis in the Austronesian languages (Blust and Trussel 2010) are:

PAN **-ni* 1pl deixis and spatio-temporal reference: this; here; now –
 PAN **-Cu* 2pl deixis and spatio-temporal reference: that; there, then –
 PMP **-di* 3p deixis and spatial reference: that, there (distant) –
 PAN **si* ia demonstrative pronoun and adverb: this, here; that, there –
 PMP **ia* demonstrative pronoun and adverb: this, here; that, there
 PAN **-na* 3p distal spatio-temporal deixis: that, there; then
 PAN **i-ti* this, here
 PAN **i-ni* this, here.

⁴ Contrary to this statement is the brief note of Sellato (1981) who reports of a three gender pronominal system in some languages of Central Borneo mainly belonging to the Müller-Schwaner Punan.

⁵ For a detailed description of deictic terms in the Austronesian languages, see Blust 2009 (310-314) and Adelaar 1997.

After this overview of deictics in Austronesian languages, this paper describes and discusses the behavior of the deictics in three languages of Borneo providing examples and observing similarities and differences applying the distinction between micro-orientation and macro-orientation. After broadly describing the languages, their distribution and classification, the paper discusses demonstratives, location, spatial deixis ad the environment, time and manner deixis, participant deixis in Òma Lóngh, Lebu' Kulit and Punan Tuvu' respectively to conclude with a paragraph on grammaticalization of demonstratives. Summarizing, the similarities and the differences among the three languages are mainly based on degrees of distance from the deictic reference point in two, three or four distance system and the asymmetry between demonstratives and locations. The main similarities are in the employment of deictics tied to the geography and topography of the area with the opposition upstream-downstream and place of sunrise-sunset, and on the pronominal systems where dual and paucal are markedly expressed in the plural persons. A final section discusses examples of grammaticalization of demonstratives becoming grammatical items.

2. The languages of this study

The languages of this study belong to the North-Sarawak language family of the North Borneo phylum (Simons and Fennig 2017). Lebu' Kulit and Òma Lóngh are two Kenyah languages belonging to the Kayan-Kenyah subgroup of the western branch of Malayo-Polynesian and part of the North Sarawak branch, whereas Punan Tuvu' represents a branch of its own in the North Sarawak subgroup (see Figure 1). Kenyah languages are known to display a very high level of dialectal variation. Lebu' Kulit and Òma Lóngh in particular present divergent features that set them apart from the main Kenyah branch.

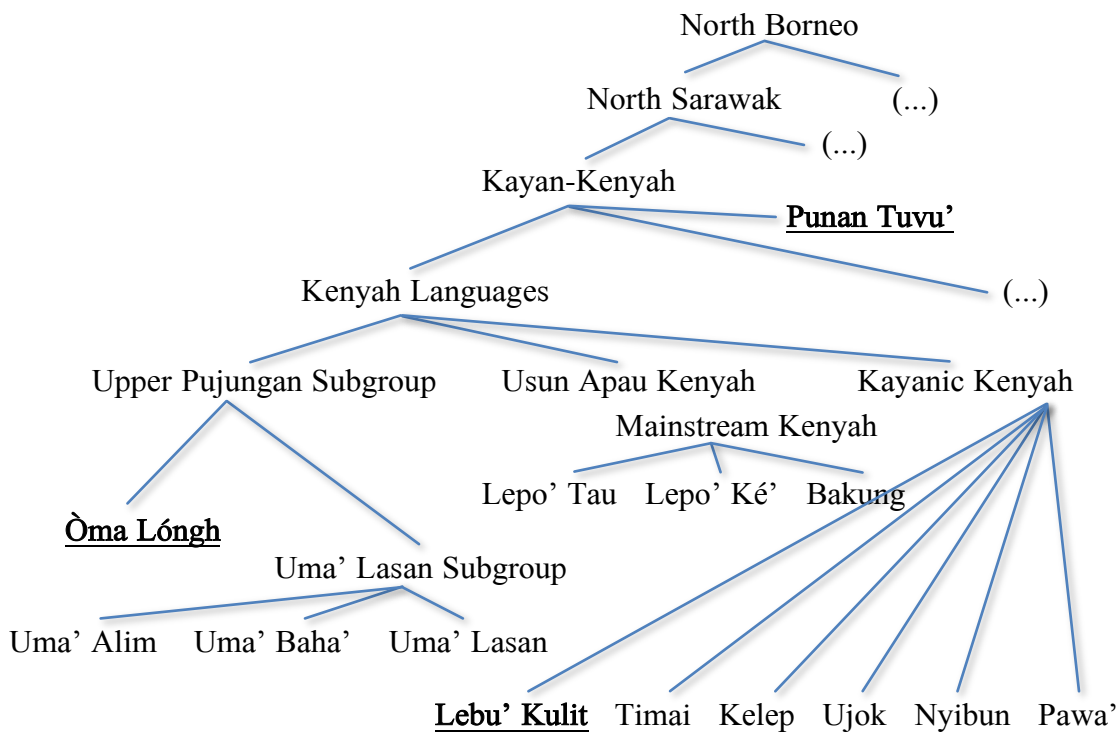


Figure 1. The position of Lebu' Kulit, Òma Lóngh and Punan Tuvu' within the Kayan-Kenyah group (Soriente 2004, 2008)

Lebu' Kulit belongs to the Kayanic branch of the Kayan-Kenyah subgroup (Soriente 2004 and 2008), also referred to as Kenyah Wahau⁶ in *Ethnologue* (Simons and Fennig 2017, *inter alia*). Other members of the Kayanic Kenyah branch include Uma' Timai, Uma' Ujok, Uma' Kelep, Nyibun nd Uma' Pawa' (an extinct variety). Soriente (2006) provides some documentation of Lebu' Kulit, and notes that this language has 8000 speakers and is spoken in 15 villages in East and North Kalimantan, as well as Sarawak. The Lebu' Kulit data which I present below were mainly collected in Long Tungu in the Bulungan district of East Kalimantan, Indonesia (Soriente 2006).

Òma Lóngh is spoken by about 3000 people in the Malinau and Bulungan regencies of East Kalimantan, mainly in the villages of Setulang (Malinau Regency) and Pimping (Bulungan Regency), as well as Batu Kajang and in the town of Malinau. It is perhaps the most divergent and least understood of the Kenyah languages due to its highly idiosyncratic phonological (see Soriente 2006; Blust 2007) and morphological properties (cf. Soriente 2014). Indeed, it constitutes a distinct branch of the Pujungan subgroup (the other branch consisting of Uma' Lasan, Uma' Baha, and Uma' Alim, which are spoken mainly spoken in Indonesia, with a few groups of speakers in Sarawak) one of the three subgroups of Kenyah languages (see Soriente 2004, 2008). Òma Lóngh are multilingual and are able to speak other Kenyah languages, like Lepo' Tau and Uma' Lasan. In contrast, speakers of other Kenyah languages have trouble speaking and understanding Òma Lóngh. Speakers also use Indonesian in school, since it is the official language of the Republic of Indonesia. The Òma Lóngh data presented in this paper were collected in the village of Setulang in the Malinau district of North Kalimantan (Soriente 2006).

The Punan Tuvu' are the largest community of former hunter-gatherers living the Malinau Regency in East and North Kalimantan (see Sercombe and Sellato 2007:64). Their language is a sub-branch of the North Sarawakan group consisting of mutually intelligible dialects. The Punan Tuvu' may number as many as 4000 and include the Punan Tuvu' (proper), Punan Malinau, Punan Mentarang and Punan Sekatak or Punan Berusu',⁷ Most speakers in this group live in in a resettlement camp (Respen Tubu), though there is also a large community spread across the upper part of the Tubu River and Malinau River in Malinau Regency, North Kalimantan. Data for this paper are taken from the Punan Tuvu' community in Respen Tubu, Malinau and from narratives collected in various villages (cf. Césard, Guerreiro and Soriente 2015). Morphologically this language shows the same basic characteristics as most of the other languages of the Kayan-Kenyah subgroup (e.g. the language exhibits a limited number of prefixes but no suffixes), and shares a number of lexical similarities with Kayan dialects. Like many other hunter gatherers in Borneo, the Punan Tuvu' are multilingual, speaking the language of the settlers they are in contact with, namely the Kayan and the Abai,⁸ with

⁶ This branch corresponds to Lowland Kenyah in the classification provided by Blust (2007, 2010).

⁷ These ethnolinguistic labels reveal the places where the Punan Tuvu'/Tubu live, like the Malinau, Mentarang and Sekatak rivers or with whom they interact such as the Punan Berusu'. Punan Berusu' is an exonym that identifies a group of Punan Tuvu' who live in close contact with the Berusu' in the Sekatak district of East Kalimantan. This group of people, also called Punan Dulau or Punan Sekatak should not be confused with the Berusu' people who speak a Murutic language. Berusu' itself has been mistakenly classified in *Ethnologue* (Simons and Fennig 2017) as a member of the Rejang-Sajau branch of North Borneo languages, it is indeed related to Tahol, Agabag, Abai belonging to the Murutic branch. No major differences have been recorded so far between these Punan Tuvu' dialects except for a few borrowed Berusu' lexemes appearing in Punan Berusu' due to the protracted contact between the two language communities.

⁸ The Abai language is also known as Agabag and is related to Tenggalan and Tagol. They are all members of the Murutic family.

which they have close historical relations. While they speak the language of the group with which they have settled, the members of these sedentary groups do not typically speak Punan Tuvu'. With the spread of Indonesian as a national language, Kenyah and Punan speakers also communicate with neighboring populations in Indonesian. In certain official contexts Indonesian is also used between Punan speakers. Punan Tuvu' is classified as a separate branch belonging to the North-Sarawak subgroup. Figure 2 shows the approximate location where the languages discussed in this paper are spoken.



Figure 2. Map of Borneo

3. Demonstratives

3.1 Òma Lóngh

In Òma Lóngh demonstratives exhibit a binary proximal/distal contrast with respect to the distance of the referent. Demonstratives exhibit distinct singular and plural forms.⁹ *Ji* indicates a singular entity proximal to the speaker, *di* refers to a plural or mass entity proximal to the speaker, *jé* indicates a singular entity, which is distal from the speaker, *dé* indicates a plural or mass entity, which is distal to the speaker. *Ji* and *jé* also change depending on the preceding words. *Ji/jé* follow any other consonant including glottal stop, *nyi/nyé* follow words ending with a nasal, and *zi/zé* follow words ending with vowels.

Although demonstratives only show a binary distinction between distal and proximal, as we shall see later, locational adverbs exhibit a much more elaborate system which distinguishes between six different degrees of distance.

⁹ One hesitates to use the terms 'singular' and 'plural' with regard to demonstratives in Òma Lóngh, given the fact that singular vs. plural is rarely distinguished in Austronesian demonstrative systems. Further work is needed to determine whether this is an accurate characterization of the observed contrast.

	Proximal	Distal
Singular	<i>ji</i>	<i>jé</i>
Plural/Mass	<i>di</i>	<i>dé</i>

As I discuss in section 4.1.1, these forms are actually bimorphemic, and consist of an initial demonstrative morpheme slot (occupied by *j-* ‘singular’ vs. *d-* ‘plural/mass’) and a second morpheme slot, occupied by the morphemes *-i* ‘proximal’ and *-é* ‘distal’.

These demonstratives may also be used gesturally (i.e. when the referent is visible) or symbolically (i.e. when the referent is not visible) (cf. Fillmore 1997). Follow some examples.

1. *zi laminy-ki*
this house-1SG
‘This is my house’ (pointing at the house). (Kasing)
2. *zi nyen ghi*
this close 2SG
‘This one near you’. (Kasing)
3. *jé ghé*
that there
‘That one over there’. (Kasing)
4. *a’eng kuva’an étó zé*
NEG like seen that
‘No! Not like that’. (Kasing)
5. *nya kuva’an étó zi*
yes like seen this
‘Yes indeed, it’s like this. (‘Thus it is’). (Kasing)

Demonstrative pronouns frequently occur with the relativizer *de’* as in the following example (6).

6. *de’ jé betaeng dé ji?*
REL that or REL this
‘That one or this one?’ (Kasing)

From a phonological standpoint, the demonstratives *ji* and *jé* behave as clitics when they occur as adnominals or as the pronominal object of the preceding word. This is evidenced by the fact that the sound /j/ undergoes assimilation to preceding word and occurring as /ny/ and /z/. For example, *nyi/nyé* follow words ending with a nasal (ex. 7-8), *ji/jé* follow any other consonant including glottal stop (ex. 9-10) and *zi/zé* follow words ending with vowels (ex. 11).

7. *kelónény-nyé* ‘that person’
8. *énem-nyé* ‘what’s that?’
9. *udek-ji* ‘this dog’

10. *ana'-jé* 'that child'
 11. *tasa-zé* 'that time'

Likewise, the plural forms *di* and *dé* display the variants *ri* and *ré*. These *r*-forms appear after a word ending in a vowel (ex. 12), in structures where the demonstrative occurs as an adnominal or as the pronominal object of that word. The plural deictic forms are a peculiarity of Kenyah Òma Lóng, as plural demonstratives are rarely found in other languages of Borneo. In Lebu' Kulit some plural deictic forms have been reported, but their use is limited.

12. *dae-ré* 'those sounds'

There are disyllabic 'independent' forms for each demonstrative. These forms are considered by speakers to be more formal. They tend to be used in pronominal positions, but they may also occur in adnominal position.

<i>izi</i>	proximal demonstrative singular- formal
<i>idi</i>	proximal demonstrative plural- formal
<i>ézé</i>	distal demonstrative singular- formal
<i>édé</i>	distal demonstrative plural- formal.

When demonstratives are coreferential with a noun or a noun phrase in the previous discourse, they are anaphoric. Demonstratives in Òma Lóng exhibit special 'echo' forms, which optionally appear in contexts where the demonstrative is used anaphorically, and the speaker chooses to emphasize the discourse salience of the demonstrative referent. Phonologically, the derivation of these optional forms involves the addition of a syllable to the right of the basic form. This syllable consists of a glottal stop followed by a copy of the vowel found in the basic form of the demonstrative, that is *ji'i* and its variants and *jé'é* and its variants and *di'i* and *dé'é*.

The form *ji'i*/*zi'i* seems to refer to something which the speaker wishes to bring to closer attention or to topicalize, *di'i* if it refers to some plural subject previously mentioned, *ri'i* is its phonological variant. They refer to referents that cannot be pointed at but are present in the mind of the speaker. The form *jé'é/zé'é* and its variants (singular and plural) indicate something which the speaker observes from a greater distance or probably belong to a farther point in the speech. The following examples 13-15 show the anaphoric use of the deictics.

13. *te zi'i tè nya ate' tepeng fu'eng éle*
 LOC this go FILL very ancestor old 1PL.INCL

de' Ncò-zé le
 REL Nco = that PRTCL

'This one was definitely our old ancestor, Ncau'.

(Kirit)

Here the anaphoric *zi'i* is referring to somebody mentioned in the previous discourse and of which the interlocutor has a clear knowledge of.

14. *mii étó bezu de' zé'é*
 like this seen big REL that
 'That thing it is obviously as big as this'. (Sima)

In (14) the deictic *zé'é* is definitely referring to an animal indicated in the previous discourse whereas in (15) below the plural deictic *di'i* is anaphoric because it recalls a plural object mentioned in the previous utterance.

15. *di'i-ku ngkiny*
 those = 2SG bring
 'You bring these ones'. (Kasing)

3.2 *Lebu' Kulit*

Lebu' Kulit exhibits demonstrative forms for proximate, medial and distal referents. The free forms for these demonstratives are *ini*, *inyé*, *iti*, respectively. These forms also exhibit bound monosyllabic variants: *ni*, *nyé*, and *ti*. The independent forms occur more often in pronominal positions. *Lebu' Kulit* also exhibits a fourth demonstrative, *irai*, which seems to occur only in anaphoric positions and which is much more restricted in its distribution. When asked about the difference between free and independent demonstrative forms, speakers say that the independent forms are more formal.

16. “*daau-lu kumé-a ini sé balei, balu!*”
 voice = 1PL.INCL say = 3SG this one ghost EXCLM
mengini daau tira'-tira' releu o
 this.way voice RED-talk 3PL PRCL
 'We said that this is a ghost, yes, this is what they said'. (Tulung)
17. *ini niya' tegen ileu kuva' irai*
 this this = REL feel 1PL.INCL IRR = want that
o ini tiya' tegen ileu kadep rai
 PRCL this that = REL feel 1PL.INCL intention that
 'This is apparently what we wanted, this is apparently what we really wanted' (Aran)

In the examples (16) and (17) above, *ini* is used as a deictic pronoun in a direct speech. In (17) the pronoun *irai* is anaphoric and refers to a series of things mentioned in the previous discourse.

18. *iti daleu-daleu belua' alemti*
 that RED-in the middle middle night = that
releu sekening daau tawéti di'
 3PL hear voice laugh = that PRCL
 'That's what they heard in the middle of the night, a laughter' (Tulung)

In example (18) above the distal deictic *iti* is in pronominal position whereas the demonstrative adjective *ti* is attached to the noun *alem* ‘night’ and *tawé* ‘laughter’. The same is displayed in the examples (19) through (21) where the medial deictic (*i*)*nyé* is employed. In (19) it functions as a pronoun in its full form, whereas in (20) is an adjective in adnominal position in its full form, and in (21) in its clitic form phonologically attached to the noun *isiu* ‘word’. It is interesting to notice that in (19) and (21) two different deictics (the distal *nyé* and the proximal *ni*) are employed in the same sentence. The difference can be explained with the fact that in (19) *inyé* refers to some customs possessed by the Lebu’ Kulit people in the past, whereas when the speaker talks of Lebu’ Kulit considers it a real and present reality. The same explanation can be used for example (21) where *isiu-nyé* refers to a story that goes back to a past that is not so far (medial distal deictic) whereas *Sega’ti* refers to the river Segah that is indeed far from the location of the speaker on the Kayan river.

19. *inyé sé dité adet adet Lebu’ Kulitni*
 that one seen RED-customary law village bark = this
 ‘Actually that is only one of (our) Lebu’ Kulit customary laws’. (Pifung)
20. *uripé’ daleu inyè sé pulu’ uman daleu*
 life = 1SG in the middle that one ten year in the middle
sepuk da ngetana’a aki’ da
 grandmother = 1SG PRCL AV-tell = 3SG 1SG PRCL
 ‘My age at that time was 10 years, when my grandma told me that’. (Pifung)
21. *uvan nai na isiunyé pavi’ ko’ Sega’ti no’o*
 RES come PRCL story = that arrive LOC Segah = that PFCT
 ‘That story has arrived until to Segah there’. (Tulung)

In Lebu’ Kulit the forms *bini*, *biti*, *binyé*, *birai* are reported and explained as referring to plural or mass names. Their occurrence is more limited though.

3.3 Punan Tuvu’

The demonstrative system in Punan Tuvu’ distinguishes four degrees of distance: proximate (close), medial (near), distal (far), distal-medial (further) and distal-distal (furthest). These are *inih*, *irih*, *iréh*, and *inah*, respectively. Much like Ôma Lóng and Lebu’ Kulit, these free forms exhibit bound or clitic variants: specifically, *nih*, *rih*, *réh*, and *nah*. These forms appear when the demonstrative occurs in adnominal or object positions, following a host (as in (22)). *Inih*, *iréh* and *inah* are also used anaphorically with *inah* more frequently used than the others:

22. *hén éngang kun unan bo’ nyan nih*
 3SG bring food with drink at this
 ‘He brought food and drinks here’. (Amat)

When the speaker refers to something that is felt very close in discourse and/or is visible, the demonstrative *inih* is used. If the referent is far, the speaker will use *iréh* or *inah*. While it is clear that *inah* refers to an entity which is further removed in space as compared to an entity referred to by *iréh*, when these terms are used to refer to entities

in the discourse, the two terms seem to be interchangeable and speakers have trouble expressing what the contrast between them is. The medial *irih* is rarely used to refer to discourse referents, whereas *inah* is frequently used. In some cases, entities referred to by *inah* are felt to be definite; whereas those referred to using *irih* and *iréh* are felt to be indefinite, vague or indeterminate.

These demonstratives are also frequently used to orient events in time. In example (24) below the adverbial *kenah* (which is derived from the preposition/particle *ke-* + distal demonstrative *nah*) refers to something in the past (also indicated by *uron* ‘in the past’) and therefore far away in comparison to something in the present referred to as *inih*. The final *nah* is referential, and refers to a child already previously mentioned in the discourse.

23. *ovi’ ne hok ngami kou kenah uron*
 NEG then 1SG AV-hope 2SG that.way before
ovi’ nih kén an nak hén nah
 NEG this say-3SG at child 3SG that
 ‘I can’t believe you were like that, not this, he said to the child’. (Baya’)

In example (24) the teller is repeating the words of an old lady he met in a dream who told him to perform a sacrifice. Since the referent appeared in a dream, the speaker feels it is appropriate to employ *inah* ‘that far’.

24. *kou ketop kenah jadi’ urah da’ hén inah*
 2SG cut that.way therefore splatter blood 3SG that
 ‘You cut her in such a way as to splatter her blood (everywhere)’. (Baya’)

In contrast, in example (25) *inih* is used because the sentence is pronounced while looking at the river and talking about the weather.

25. *inih ungéi nih réh melau’ tapi lou inih seniom*
 this water this that warm but day this cold
 ‘The water here is warm but the day is cold’. (Dollop)

The following examples illustrate the referential function of the distal demonstratives *inah* and *irih/iréh*, and the fact that the choice between these forms can be used to indicate definiteness. In example (26) *inah* is not demonstrative (because the fruit is not visible), but, rather, referential, and indicates that ‘the fruit’ has been mentioned in the discourse. In (27), in contrast, both the medial distal and distal-distal demonstrative (*rih* and *réh*, respectively) function referentially. These forms refer to a job that was done poorly. Here, ‘job’ is felt to be a vague or indefinite thing.

26. *hok déh la’ bua’ an kabun, bua’ inah mih*
 1SG go take fruit LOC garden fruit that sweet
 ‘I took a fruit in the garden; the fruit is sweet’. (Amat)

27. *ano' réh rih réh ti' jét-jét lekah*
 later that that that make RED-bad work
réh kenah kubat réh kenah noh
 that that.way light.work that that.way PRTCL
 'Then he did his job very bad, it was just a light job'. (Amat)

Inih, *inah* and *iréh* can also appear in forms containing the emphatic particle *ne* (which occurs elsewhere as a marker of emphasis), as in *ninih*, *ninah* and *niréh*. This is illustrated by example (28) below, where the form *ninih* is felt to be emphatic.

28. *inih réh njuk an rin ninih tat rin ngenong*
 this that AV-give at 3SG.POSS PRTCL-this from 3SG.POSS AV-genong
kou tat rin téi nyan kou kén an rin
 2SG from 3SG.POSS go towards 2SG say.3SG at 3SG.POSS
 'This one, give this thing to him if he sees you, if he approaches you'. (Baya')

4. Location

4.1.1 Òma Lóngh

The basic location adverbs are bimorphemic. The initial morpheme indicates whether, in general, whether the location is proximal (*gh-*), medial (*t-*) or distal (*k-*). The second morpheme adds additional specification, indicating whether, within the general category referred to by the first morpheme, the referent is proximal or distal. In other words, the proximal morpheme *gh-* appears in two forms, *ghi* and *ghé*, the former is used to refer to an entity which is very close (i.e. proximal-proximal), while the latter is used to refer to an entity which is not quite as close in comparison (i.e. proximal-distal). Notice that like the demonstratives, that exhibit special 'echo' forms, which appear in contexts where the demonstrative is used anaphorically, also for location adverbs are found forms that involve the addition of a syllable to the right of the basic form. This syllable consists of a glottal stop followed by a copy of the vowel found in the basic form of the demonstrative, that is *ti'i* 'nearby not as close' (medial-distal) and *té'é* 'nearby not as close' (medial-distal).

<i>ghi</i>	here, right here (proximate-proximate)
<i>ghé</i>	here, in the immediate vicinity (proximate- distal)
<i>ti</i>	nearby close (medial-proximal)
<i>té</i>	nearby not as close (medial-distal),
<i>ki'i</i>	over there, closer (distal-proximal)
<i>ké'é</i>	over there, distant (distal-distal).
<i>ti'i</i>	nearby close (medial-proximal)
<i>té'é</i>	nearby not as close (medial-distal).

These local deictics can be combined with the particles *ne* or *te* (e.g. the form *ghi* proximal-proximal can appear as *ghi-ne* 'here at this exact point' or *ghi-te* 'here at this (vague) point'). These particles (which combine with other morphemes in the language) can express a spatial contrast between proximal (*ne*) and distal (*te*). They can also function

as evidential markers, in which case *ne* expresses that the speaker has a greater degree of certainty regarding a referent, and *te* expresses a lesser degree of certainty. I suspect that these particles are historical remnants of a directional system, and are derived from the same etymological source as the verbs for ‘go’ *tè* and ‘come’ *nè*.

The nominal phrases (20-32) below show some of the possible combinations where a demonstrative and a location deictic are employed:

29. *kempèny-nyé ghé-ne* ‘that picture here’ (a bit distant but definitely visible)
30. *kempèny-nyi ghi-ne* ‘this picture here’ (it can be touched)
31. *facény-nyi ti* ‘this papaya there’ (it can be easily reached)
32. *ude’ jé té’é-te* ‘that dog over there’ (it can be seen but not touched)

As we have seen above, basic location deictics are composed of two morphemes. The morphemes which appear in these two slots are not restricted to location deictics alone. They also combine with other morphemes. The morphemes which occupy the initial slot i.e. the medial and distal morphemes *k-* and *t-*, for example, appear in the locative prepositions *ke* ‘in/at/to’ and *te* ‘at’. Moreover, the morphemes which appear in the second slot, the proximal and distal *-i* and *-é*, also occur with the demonstrative morphemes *j-* ‘singular’ and *d-* ‘plural/mass’ (see section 3.1). The same morphemes also occur with the locative preposition *cin* ‘from’ which indicates proximal and distal movement. The morpheme *n-* in this construction is probably a reduced form of the verb *nè* indicating movement towards the deictic reference point.

- cin-né* ‘from there’ towards the speaker
cin-ni ‘from here’ away from the speaker

It is interesting to note that the demonstratives *ji* and *jé* only distinguish two degrees of distance, whereas locational adverbs distinguish three degrees of distance, each of which has a proximal and distal form.

In example (33) the speaker is talking about the place where he lives and where the utterance was produced, that is the village of *Tolangh* (Setulang) that is referred to as ‘here’.

33. *bezu-le-te* *aneng-le* *tane’* *be-le* *ghèmet* *tene*
 big = 1PL.INCL = PRTCL have = 1PL.INCL land if = 1PL.INC think PFCT
disi-disi *re* *mudij* *ke* *Tòlangh* *ghi-ne*
 RED-way people INTR-life to Setulang here
 ‘The land we have, if we think about, is big, after people came to live here in Setulang’.
 (Kayang)

In contrast, in example (34), the spatial reference is *ki’i* (there) a place not too far from the *origo* of the action, whereas in (35), the place, Long Sa’an referred to as *Saèny ghéte* is considered as far away. It is indeed the original place from where the Òma Lóngh moved before settling in different villages downriver.

34. *ki’i* *tè-ki* *abi* *he-ve-sóngh* *sadiny* *aeng* *Jendam*
 there go = 1SG until IRR-RECP-meet younger.brother have Jendam
 ‘There I went until I met the younger brother of Jendam’.
 (Kirit)

35. *mée jétó-jétó fè-nòsa le mudij*
 that way RED-aspect CAUS-AV-difficult 1PL.INCL INTR-life
ke Sa'èny ghéte
 LOC Sa'èny there
 'Like those where the difficulties when we lived over there in Long Sa'an'.
 (Kayang)

4.2 Lebu' Kulit

In the case of Òma Lóngh, we observed that there is an asymmetry between the demonstrative and locational adverb systems: specifically, demonstratives only displayed binary distinction between proximal and distal, whereas locational adverbs distinguish three distinct distances (that associated with the particles *ne* and *te* become six). Lebu' Kulit does not exhibit such an asymmetry. Both the demonstrative and locational adverbs systems exhibit a tripartite distinction consisting of proximal, medial and distal. Recall that the three demonstratives in Lebu' Kulit are *ini*, *iti*, *inyé*. The locational adverb paradigm is constructed via the combination of these three forms with the locative preposition *ko'* 'in, at' (which is optionally reduced to *k-*). The full paradigm for the basic location adverbs is shown below.

<i>kini/ko' ini</i>	here close, in the immediate vicinity (lit. at this) (proximal)
<i>kinyé/ko' inyé</i>	there (but still in sight); (lit. at that) (medial)
<i>kiti/ko' iti</i>	over there (lit. at that) (distal).

Examples (36)-(39) illustrate the use of locative adverbs in naturalistic speech. Moreover, in examples (37) and (38), *kini* can be interpreted as both a locative and a temporal adverb (i.e. with the meaning 'now').

36. *nga ke-nai-ra po'o nai pit teleu kini o*
 only.then IRR-come=3PL also come add 1TRI here PFCT
 'Only then they came to increase our number here'. (Aran)
37. *ni ko' ini o kulu di' tai tisen upeng-lu*
 this LOC this PFCT EXCLM PRCL go know pest=PRCL
 'We know here (now) that this is rice pest'. (Pifung)
38. *bang aki' lu' ya' urip tama-k da ko' ini di'*
 only 1SG PRCL REL life father=1SG PRCL LOC this PRCL
 'I am the only one who is still alive from my father here (now)'. (Pebaun)
39. *nyé sé amen nuyau k-inyé tei apui néé*
 that one omen AV-voice LOC-there make fire this-1SG
aring ép kala' bavui téé'
 initial EXCLM IRR-take wildboar that=1SG
 'That was an omen telling me to make fire there first and I would get a wildboar'.
 (Pifung)

In addition to the locative adverbs derived from demonstratives, there are also two additional locative adverbs: *ka'a* 'there' and *nenga* 'there'. These forms are bimorphemic, and they are composed of a preposition followed by a 3rd singular clitic pronoun –a. *ka'a* is composed of *ko'* 'in' + 3SG, and *nenga* is composed of *neng* 'at' + 3SG. The use of the form *ka'a* is illustrated in example (40).

40. *nyé ta liang-a ko' Jelarai na ka'a*
 that TA graveyard=3SG LOC Jelarai NA there
 'That one is buried there in Jelarai'. (Pebaun)

Lebu' Kulit employs the particles *na* and *ta*, which, like the particles *ne* and *te* in Òma Lóngh, express a spatial contrast between proximal (*ne*) and distal (*te*). It is likely the case that these particles are from the same etymological source as the verbs for 'come' *nai* and 'go' *tai*. There are also metaphorical extensions to this contrast. For example, these particles can express the degree of a speaker's involvement or familiarity with a referent. In example (42) for example, *na* is used with the referent 'our village,' which is more familiar to the speaker, whereas *ta* appears with 'Lepo' Tau people' who the speaker considers to be less familiar.

41. *iré ya' aki' bara'ni daau un ta udo' bateu*
 3PL REL 1SG inform=this voice exist TA mask stone
ledo dué-nyé ko' alo Pejungan na
 woman 3DUAL=that LOC flow Pujungan NA
 'They whom I said are stones statues of the two women are on the Pujungan river'. (Pebaun)
42. *kancau na lebu' ileu-ni no'o ngiri ta Lebu' Tau*
 arrogant PRTCL village 1PL.INCL=this PFCT like.that PRTCL village Tau
 'Our village became arrogant and so did the Lepo' Tau people' (Pifung)

Moreover, *na* and *ta* appear to function as evidential markers, where *na* expresses that the speaker has a greater degree of certainty regarding a referent, and *ta* expresses a lesser degree of certainty. Examples (41) and (42), illustrate the use of *na* and *ta* as evidential markers in naturalistic speech. In (41) *ta* is used to refer to stones which people claim to be petrified women i.e. the speaker is expressing a lack of certainty regarding the nature of these stones. In contrast, in the same sentence, the Pujungan river, which is a real object about the existence of which the speaker has no doubts, is referred to using the particle *na*. In sentence (42) where the speaker, a Lebu' Kulit speaker, refers to his village as *na*, therefore an entity closer to him, but to another people, the Lepo' Tau as *ta* an entity necessarily considered far.

4.3 Punan Tuvu'

As discussed in section 3, demonstratives in Punan Tuvu' express four degrees of distance: proximal, medial, distal and far distal. Location adverbs are morphologically derived from these demonstratives, and therefore they express the same four degrees of distance. The forms are *tanih* 'here', *tanah* 'there (far away)', *tarih* 'there (medial)' and *tarèh* 'there (distal)'. Of these, the most frequently used is *tanah*.

The two examples below illustrate the use of the location adverbs: in (43) *tanah* indicates a location out of the view, as can be inferred by the fact that the event happened in the past. In (44), *tarih* refers to a place quite far but still visible.

43. *tanah iro péti' lou'ah ti' lou'ah*
 there 3DUA RECP-make day=that make day=that
 'There the two of them did that to each other, that day'. (Baya')

44. *levu' a' wo' vi' kun tarih néi ayo'*
 house person REL possess food over.there earlier big
 'The house of the person who has a food stall over there (visible) is big'. (Amat)

4.4 Spatial deixis and the environment

Spatial deixis terms are often closely related to the environment where a language is spoken. Therefore, understanding the topography of the place where a given language is spoken can be crucial to understanding that language's system for marking spatial deixis. On the island of Borneo, most populations in the interior live alongside rivers and use rivers for transportation and trade. Thus, it is not surprising that rivers act as an important reference point with regard to deictic systems in languages throughout the region and the most important orientation axis is the downriver-upriver opposition (see for example Inagaki 2014:72).

Traditionally, the Kenyah people resided in longhouses positioned along one bank of a river. Although the Punan, gathered in small bands, wandered the forest, rivers acted as an important referent, orienting these groups as they moved. In the languages of both of these groups as well as Punan Tuvu', cardinal directions are not used, rather the main directional deictic terms refer to the position of the speaker with the respect of the river. Despite many differences in the deictic systems of the three languages discussed in this paper, there are surprising similarities in the directional systems.

In the two Kenyah languages there are specific terms for going upriver and downriver. These terms are distinct from the directional terms meaning 'upriver' and 'downriver.' Two other important spatial terms include 'across the river from the village,' 'further inland/away from the river'. Òma Lóngh and Lebu' Kulit also has cognate terms for 'go upriver' and 'go downriver,' the basic directional terms 'upriver' and downriver, as well as the terms meaning 'across the river from the village' and further inland/away from the river.' Punan Tuvu' also has cognates for these same term, and additionally, has a specific terms for 'walk upriver' and 'walk downriver.'

Òma Lóngh

sa'o
meti'
kaba
ke razó
réfa/ke seha'-te
sadóvai
kusen

Lebu' Kulit

so'o go downriver
medik go upriver
ko' ava/kava downriver direction
ko' déé upriver direction
ke dipa across the river
saré bengaaí rivershore
kusun up, away from the rivershore,
 generally the hill
ko' daai inland

Punan Tuvu'

<i>ricu'</i>	go downriver
<i>murik</i>	go upriver
<i>decu'</i>	upriver
<i>deva', liva'</i>	downriver
<i>méno</i>	walk upriver
<i>macah</i>	walk downriver
<i>ripa</i>	across the river
<i>jujun</i>	rivershore
<i>ridai</i>	up away from the rivershore, generally the hill
<i>lau'</i>	inland

The deictic point of all these directional terms is the position where the speaker is located with respect to the river and its direction of flow. The directions left (*kabiengh*, *kaving*, *buléi*) and right (*ta'e*, *taau*, *ta'uh*) in Òma Lóngh, Lebu' Kulit and Punan Tuvu' respectively are frequently used together with terms referring to the direction or the river's flow i.e. whether he is going upriver or downriver. In other words, in Òma Lóngh *kabiengh kaba* means 'direction left side going downriver' and *ta'e kaba* 'right direction downriver'. Similarly in Lebu' Kulit the phrase is *kaving ava* 'left downriver' and *ta'au ava* 'right downriver'.

Example (45) from Lebu' Kulit discusses the location of two people, one of whom has a rice field on the right side of a river from the perspective of someone going upstream and the other who has a rice field on the left side of the river seen from the perspective of someone going upstream. In example (46) the Lebu' Kulit speaker is talking about a man going upriver on the left side of the river. Similarly in the example (47) from Punan Tuvu' the location of a village is explained as being on the right side from the perspective of someone going upriver.

45. *sé basé ta'au medic sé base kaving medik*
 one side right go.upriver one side left go.upriver
 'One was on the right side going upriver and the other on the left side going upriver'. (Pebaun)
46. *kaving so'o neng tegu' lirung Kayan ti di'*
 left go.downriver at meet calm.river Kayan that PRTCL
 '(He) was going downriver on the left side of the river where it met with the Kayan river'. (Tulung)
47. *tat kou déh genong nuh tukung ayo' ba' ta'uh*
 IF 2SG go see 2SG village big side right

Murik rin ninah
 go.upriver 3SG.POSS PRTCL = that
 'If you go, have a look at the big village on the right side, going upriver, over there'. (Agat)

The Lebu' Kulit example in (48) below describes a place downriver where one can live under better conditions. The same downriver vs. upriver opposition is displayed in the Òma Lóngh examples (49) and (50). In (49) a Òma Lóngh elder is explaining that in the

past, people lived upstream, and had a better life than they do in the modern day village, which is located downstream. In example (50), the speaker is describing the route that villagers took when they decided to move away from the village.

48. *nenga mengiti dité ileu kesedep kumé di'*
 at-3SG way-that seen 1PL.INCL NMNLZ-will say PRTCL
sui tiga nilu tai murip kava ti
 more good this-1PL.INCL go INTR-life downriver that
 'At that point actually came our desire to make a better life downriver'. (Paran)

49. *tè ku ke razò lèngò re ke razo keci*
 go 2SG LOC upriver shadowed person LOC upriver say = 1SG
me zó kabate
 towards 3SG downriver = PRTCL
 'Go upriver, there it is not so hot (it is very shadowed), I told him
 when he came downriver in Malinau'. (Kirit)

50. *nè sa'ó bai nya Baò sa'ó Kazèny*
 come go.downriver riverbank yes Bahau go.down Kayan
ngkiny édé
 bring that
 'We came going downriver on the Bahau, going downriver on the
 Kayan they took us'. (Kirit)

The terms, which originally meant 'uphill from the river,' 'downhill toward the river' have taken on the more general meanings of 'up' and 'down.' This is illustrated by the Òma Lóngh example (51), where the term *kuseng* 'direction uphill' is used to mean 'up'.

51. *ta kuseng langij te óé je taghek te be*
 go up sky PRTCL EXCLM because fear PRTCL IF
bate zé ketè mòghèj cèny zé ngane
 stone that IRR-go go.up ladder that with = 3SG
 'He went up to the sky, yes, because he was scared, so he took the stone
 as a ladder to climb'. (Ipui)

As mentioned above, there are no dedicated native cardinal direction terms. This being said, the terms literally meaning 'place where sun rises' (*tè lebèj tò* in Òma Lóngh, *dau sek* in Lebu' Kulit, *lou muit* in Punan Tuvu') and 'place where sun sets' (*tè nyelèj tò* in Òma Lóngh, *dau maya* in Lebu' Kulit, and *lou memboh* in Punan Tuvu') may indicate cardinal directions, yet this use is very infrequent.

This means that Kenyah and Tuvu' languages do not have any absolute spatial reference terms. Their orientation is mostly egocentric (left or right) or makes reference to the position of the river and its direction of flow. Intrinsic spatial e.g. referring to houses are also attested, and include 'back side' (*lighek* in Òma Lóngh, *likut* in Lebu' Kulit, *urin* in Punan Tuvu') and 'front side' (*jumé* in Òma Lóngh, *jawéi* Lebu' Kulit, *juma'* in Punan Tuvu'). According to speakers, in a situation where Kenyah or Punan

people are lost and trying to orient themselves (e.g. while wandering in the jungle), one would try to locate the highest point nearby in order to spot a river. Having located a river, one would use the direction of flow and position of the sun to orient themselves.

5. Time and manner deixis

Time and manner deixis is expressed using the spatial deixis system. Cross-linguistically, there is a general tendency for languages to use the metaphor of space to refer to time. As Lakoff and Johnson (1980) have described in depth, the space-time metaphor is one in which a tangible expression for space is used to refer the more elusive experience of time. In this way, in the Bornean languages discussed here, as in many other languages of the world, time deixis is expressed by using the inventory of two or three deictic terms or by using phrases where the deictic terms are used in adnominal position (like the English ‘today’ = ‘this day’ or *dau ni* in Lebu’ Kulit and *lou’ih* in Punan Tuvu’). Time adjuncts are typically deictic in the sense that their meaning depends on the context and an understood reference point. As has been pointed out by Ross et al (2007:297), some lexical items used in time expressions refer to parts of cycles. In the case of the language discussed in this paper, these cycles include the day, the week, the season, the month and the year. The day is obviously a unit that depends on the time the sun rises. A day is generally divided into subparts, which include very early day, the time when the sun is near its highest point, late afternoon and night. Speakers also may make reference to the time of the day when particular insects make sounds e.g. in Punan Tuvu’ the term *tugi* ‘an insect that buzzes at 6 pm’ can be used to refer to ‘dusk’, and *nét-nét* ‘a bug which buzzes at dawn’ can refer to the time ‘dawn’. ‘Yesterday’ and ‘night’ are usually expressed using the same term or a morphologically related term (e.g. Oma Lógh *menalem* ‘yesterday’ and *alem* ‘night’; Punan Tuvu’ *maleh* ‘yesterday’ *malom* ‘night’). Other units depend on natural phenomena e.g. horticultural, floral/faunal, meteorological or lunar terms. Seasons are marked by natural events like the rainy or dry season, or the presence of a particular animal e.g. people commonly refer to the season when pigs swim along rivers, which generally also coinciding to the ripening of fruits and horticultural harvest season (although these seasons do not have well-defined boundaries). The days of the week are simply referred to with ordinal numbers from the ‘first’ to ‘seventh’ starting from what is Monday in the Gregorian calendar. The same is true for the months of the year i.e. months are referred to by ordinal numbers from ‘first’ to ‘twelfth’ where the cycle starts from January. In all these languages and in most Austronesian languages the same term is used for ‘moon’ and ‘month’. Terms for the phases of the moon represent a very traditional system of knowledge related to time. These phases are important for the agriculture cycle and for the collection of forest products. In many languages in Borneo phases of the moon are named, though these terms differ considerably from language to language. They may be named after an animal or fruit the shape of which resembles the moon at a given phase. Some examples include ‘hornbill’, ‘bear’, or ‘seed of a fruit’. The lunar cycle in some languages begins with the appearance of the crescent moon, in other languages it begins from the full moon. Therefore, the new moon can be referred to as ‘the very first quarter of the moon’ in some languages, whereas for other languages it is referred to as ‘the days of darkness’. Speakers are unable to provide precise durations for each phase. It is unclear whether this is due to a loss of local knowledge or

whether, these phase terms simply do not have precise boundaries, as Ross et al (2007: 315) notes is the case for English moon phases.

5.1 Òma Lónggh

Spatial deixis terms are morphologically related to temporal deixis and manner deixis terms. The ending *-i*, which we saw in the proximal deictic *ji*, is metaphorically extended in the temporal deictic *mi'i* 'now' (which refers to a temporally proximate event) and the manner deictic *mii* 'in this way' (which refers to a manner which is also in a sense proximal). Likewise, the distal ending *-é*, seen in the distal deictic *jé* 'that', is occurs in the distal temporal term *mé'ére* 'at that time' and the distal manner deictic *méeé* 'that way'. As we have seen, there is also a medial deictic, *ghi-ne*, in which *ghi-* indicates medial distance. Only a few instances of the medial temporal term *nighi* (< *ni* + *ghi*) 'in the past but not too long ago' were found in the text. To summarize, location in time with respect to the speech event is expressed in Òma Lónggh with the use of temporal location nouns and some aspect markers, as in the list below.

<i>mi'i-le</i>	now
<i>nighi</i>	in the past (but not too long ago)
<i>mé'é-re</i>	in the past (a particular moment in the past)
<i>beghoère</i>	very long time ago
<i>ubi</i>	then, later
<i>kena</i>	before
<i>pó</i>	until

In all the time adverbials mentioned above, with the exceptions of *ubi*, *kena* and *pó*, the morphological relationship with spatial deictics is clear. Some words incorporate temporal references that can only be interpreted by reference to extralinguistic features of the situation of an utterance (see Anderson and Keenan 1985: 300). In the following elements, except for the adverbial *tò-zi* 'today' that is expressed through the nominal phrase *tò zi* 'this day', which contains the proximal demonstrative 'this' *zi/ji* the reference is due to the properties of the lexical items. The adverbial 'yesterday', for example, is *benyèa*, which is not morphologically related to a demonstrative form. So is the case of other time adverbials. Conversely the names of the days of the week and the months of the year are deictic as they refer to the cycle of seven days of the week and of the twelve months of the year so are numbered based on these cycles.

<i>tòi/tò-zi</i>	today
<i>benyèa'</i>	yesterday
<i>menalem</i>	yesterday
<i>alem</i>	night
<i>benyèa' có-re</i>	the day before yesterday
<i>nempam</i>	tomorrow
<i>ó'ó nempam</i>	the day after tomorrow
<i>tò kecó</i>	Monday
<i>tò kedevó</i>	Tuesday
<i>bólèny có</i>	January
<i>bólèny devó</i>	February

The category of tense is not expressed grammatically but pragmatically or through the use of time adverbials like the ones just mentioned and the more vague *ó'ó* 'later' and *ó'óre* 'earlier'. The aspect of the action is often marked lexically by the following aspect markers:

<i>tene</i>	perfective
<i>lepó</i>	perfective
<i>òbèny</i>	resultative
<i>daò</i>	imperfective
<i>ke-</i>	inchoative

5.2 *Lebu' Kulit*

In *Lebu' Kulit*, I have shown that spatial deictics express three degrees of distance. These three dimensions are mirrored in the manner deictics, which are indeed derived from the demonstratives *ini* (this) *inyé* ('that/medial') and *iti* ('that/distal'). In addition, there is a manner deictic derived from the referential term *irai* 'the aforementioned'.

<i>mengini/mekini</i>	like this
<i>menginyé/mekinyé</i>	like that
<i>mengiti/mekiti</i>	like that
<i>mengirai</i>	like that

The temporal dimension does not reflect the tripartite distinction of the demonstratives, as can be seen in the temporal adverbs below, where only the term *nakini* is derived from a demonstrative:

<i>nakini</i>	now (< <i>na</i> + <i>kini</i>)
<i>mena'a da</i>	in the past (from <i>men</i> + <i>ka'a</i>)
<i>aring da</i>	at the beginning, long time ago
<i>bo'o</i>	in the future
<i>bo'o da</i>	just happened

Nevertheless in many cases the temporal dimension is expressed through spatial adverbs like in the following sentences. In examples (52) and (53) (which I have cited above as (37) and (38)) the adverbial *ko' ini* 'here' means 'now' in *Lebu' Kulit*. Similarly, in example (54), the adverbial *daleu iti* 'in the middle of that' actually means 'then' or 'at that time'.

52. *ni ko' ini o kulu di' tai tisen upeng-lu*
 this LOC this PFCT EXCLM PRCL go know pest = PRCL
 'We know here (now) that this is rice pest'. (Pifung)
53. *bang aki' lu' ya' urip tamak da ko' ini*
 Only 1SG PRCL REL life father = 1SG PRCL LOC this
 'I am the only one to continue my father's descendance now'. (Pebaun)

54. *naa mpei tiga dité alo Kayan-ni daleu*
 shallows = 3SG NEG good see flow Kayan-this in the middle
iti nu'un o
 that noy yet PRTCL
 'The shallows on the Kayan river was not good yet at that time'. (Tulung)

As already mentioned in 5.1, some words incorporate temporal references that can only be interpreted by reference to extralinguistic features of the situation in which a sentence is uttered (see Anderson and Keenan 1985:300). This is the case of words like 'yesterday' or 'tomorrow' whose reference only depends on the properties of such lexical items.

<i>menalem</i>	yesterday
<i>alem ini</i>	tonight
<i>dau ni</i>	today
<i>mesut</i>	tomorrow
<i>dau sé</i>	the day after tomorrow
<i>dau kesé</i>	Monday (the first day)

We can see that some temporal expressions contain a demonstrative form (e.g. *dau ni* 'today' ('this day') and *alem ini* 'tonight' (this night)), whereas other terms are morphologically or syntactically derived (e.g. 'yesterday' is the night in the past (*menalem* = *mena' alem* 'in the past + night')); *dau sé* 'day one = the first day after tomorrow'), or dedicated lexical items (e.g. tomorrow is *mesut*). Like English, the week consists of seven days. The names of these days contain ordinal numbers (e.g. *dau kesé* 'first day'), wherein the first day corresponds to Monday in the Gregorian calendar. The months of the year are also counted with numeral terms (e.g. *bulan sé* 'month one' i.e. 'January'; *bulan dué* 'month two' i.e. 'February'), and there are a total of 12 months.

Generally time adverbials are function to localize the speech event in time; however, other TAM markers also exhibit the same function, such as the following:

<i>o</i>	perfective
<i>lepek</i>	perfective
<i>uvan</i>	resultative
<i>daleu</i>	imperfective
<i>ke/ka</i>	inchoative

It is worth noting that two of these TAM markers also locative adverbials: *ke/ka* 'in' and *daleu* 'in the middle' (see Soriente 2013).

5.3 Punan Tuvu'

In Punan Tuvu' spatial deixis terms are also employed to a limited extent in the temporal and manner deixis systems: *-nih* is a proximal spatial deictic which occurs in the temporal deictics *bénih* 'now' and *unih* 'earlier', as well as the manner deictic *kenih/jainih* 'this way'; the distal spatial deictic *-nah* is employed to refer to temporal deixis in *unah* 'at that time' an archaic form that is now commonly replaced by the form *uron* 'in the past' and *lou'ah* 'that day, then' and *kenah/jainah* 'that way' (a term which is widely used also as a connector among sentences). Example (55) illustrates the use of

the proximal demonstrative *nih* as a temporal deictic whereas (56) that of the distal deictic *nah*, which appears in the truncated for *-ah* in *lou'ah* 'that day, then'.

55. *Pak Lih iné' téi nyan Tepian Buah nih?*
 father Lih cause go at Tepian Buah this
 'Mr Lie, what are you going to Tepian Buah for?' (Dollop)
56. *doh ke dorén doh inan iro mena' vi' jainah lou'ah*
 3PL IRR seen 3PL mother 3PL.DUA do many like.that that.day
 'They were seen by their mothers while they were doing that'. (Baya')

Location in time with respect to the speech event is expressed using temporal location nouns as well as aspect markers. The temporal location nouns seem to mirror the tripartite distinction in three location domains; however, there are additional terms, which are not derived from the deictics, and which express more specific temporal distinctions. In the list of temporal expressions below, forms derived from spatial deictics are easily recognizable.

<i>bénih</i>	now
<i>lou inih/lou'ih</i>	today
<i>uron</i>	in the past (a particular moment in the past)
<i>lou'ah</i>	that day/that time
<i>unéi</i>	earlier
<i>lulung</i>	very long time ago, before
<i>kinah</i>	then, later
<i>lemok</i>	until
<i>maléh</i>	yesterday
<i>tovun</i>	tomorrow
<i>lou mon</i>	the day before yesterday
<i>lou ji'</i>	the day after tomorrow
<i>loucai</i>	two days after tomorrow

5.4 Cyclic times

Cyclic events in nature can be used to create terms to demarcate periods of time. For many such terms, the time period, which they refer to, does not have definite boundaries. In particular in these Bornean languages, the day is divided into several parts based on the position of the sun. The same term is used for 'sun' and 'day': *tò* in Ôma Lóngh, *dau* in Lebu' Kulit and *lou* in Punan Tuvu'. Important parts of the year include the rainy season and the dry season, as well as the fruit season or the period when pigs swim. The following are some expressions marking cyclic time in Punan Tuvu'.

<i>lou</i>	day, midday, sun
<i>nyuap</i>	dawn of the day
<i>a'up</i>	early morning
<i>tekerong</i>	midday
<i>lebi</i>	afternoon, twilight
<i>canén</i>	rainy season
<i>malom</i>	night

<i>tengalan</i>	season
<i>taun</i>	dry season
<i>inou bavui nyatung</i>	swimming wild boars season
<i>lou keji'</i>	Monday
<i>bulan duoh</i>	February

5.4.1 Phases of the moon

The moon plays an important role in the system of traditional temporal terms in Bornean languages. Its position is a deictic temporal reference frame which is taken under consideration when planning agricultural activities. The elaborate terminology used to describe the phases of the moon in Kenyah and Punan speaks to how important the phases of the moon were to measure time and plan traditional activities. Nowadays this terminology is only familiar to a few elders, and the more common 7 day/12 month system is used as already mentioned in 5.1, 5.2 and 5.3.

The names of the phases of moon in Punan Tuvu' refer to the shapes the moon goes through its various phases using the names of animals, plants, etc. (e.g. *butit alap* 'the belly of a fish', *ku'ung pi'ang*, the shape of the pit of a special fruit, the Pangium, *tebengang*, the beak of a hornbill).¹⁰

1 <i>turong</i>	full moon
2 <i>butit alap icit</i>	waxing gibbous (the belly of a fish) small
<i>butit alap ayo'</i>	waxing gibbous (the belly of a fish) big
3 <i>ku'ung pi'ang icit</i>	waxing gibbous (the seed of a Pangium fruit) small
<i>ku'ung piang ayo'</i>	(the seed of a Pangium fruit) big
4 <i>tebengang icit</i>	first quarter (the shape of a hornbill beak) small
<i>tebengang ayo'</i>	(the shape of a hornbill beak) big
5 <i>belaung icit</i>	waning crescent (the shape of an elongated ear lobe) small
<i>belaung ayo'</i>	(the shape of an elongated ear lobe) small
6 <i>ndom</i>	new moon
7 <i>ndom otuh icit</i>	new moon (dark moon with a ghost) small
<i>ndom otuh ayo'</i>	(dark moon with a ghost) big
8 <i>lihiti icit</i>	crescent small
<i>lihiti ayo'</i>	big
9 <i>utok bowang icit</i>	third quarter (the head of a bear) small
<i>utok bowang ayo'</i>	(the head of a bear) big
10 <i>kibi'</i>	waning crescent

6. Participant deixis

Participant deixis is a general term, which refers to both personal and social deixis. Personal deixis has to do with the choice and use of personal pronouns, which typically takes into account the communicative relations between speech participants.

In the following section I provide a detailed description of the personal pronouns which all share a number of properties. Like most other Austronesian languages,

¹⁰ Names for the phases of the moon are widespread also in Kenyah and Kayan languages (Soriente, n.d.)

gender¹¹ is rarely marked, and only sporadically social rank and there are both inclusive and exclusive forms for the first person plural. There is also polymorphemic dual and trial pronouns for the plural persons. Dual generally refers to exactly two persons whereas the trial can be defined as a paucal referring to a group of three or few more people. In few cases were elicited pronouns that referred to four people.

6.1 Personal pronouns

Personal pronouns belong to two sets: independent and dependent forms. The dependent forms mark the possessive and the subject of verbs. Their host can belong to any word class.

Table 1. Pronouns in Òma Lónggh and Lebu' Kulit Kenyah

	Òma Lónggh Set I		Lebu' Kulit Set II	
1SG	aghi	-ki	aki'	-é'
2SG	ighu	-ku	iku'	-o'
3SG	jó/zó/nyó	-e	ié	-a
1PL.EXCL	ami	-mi	ami'	-mé'
1PL.EXCL.DUA	mévó	mévó	mé'é	-mé'é
1PL.EXCL.TRI	ami tele	-ami tele	mé'teleu	-mé'teleu
1PL.INCL	éle	-le	ileu	-lu
1PL.INCL.DUA	tò	-tò	tua	-tua
1PL.INCL.TR	éle tele	-le tele	teleu	teleu
2PL	égham	-kam	ikam	kam
2PL.DUA	kavó	kavó	kam ué	kam ué
2PL.TRI	égham tele	-kam tele	kam teleu	kam teleu
3PL	é'ó	é'ó/-dó	iré	-ra
3PL.DUA	évó	évó	dué	dué
3PL.TRI	é'ó tele	é'ó tele	rateleu	rateleu
Impersonal	de/re/ne 'person'		dulu 'person'	

¹¹ One of the very few exceptions is represented by a group of languages spoken in Kalimantan: Sellato (1981) reports a three gender pronoun system in the Müller- Schwaner Punan (Seputan, Kereho and Aoheng).

Table 2. Punan Tuvu' Pronouns

	Set I	Set II	Set III
1SG	hok	ku	-'
2SG	kou	nuh	-m
3SG	hén	rin	-n
1PL.EXCL	katou	katou	
1PL.EXCL.DUA	karo	karo	
1PL.INCL.TRI	tero	tero	
1PL.INCL.DUA	tou	tou	
2PL	ketou	ketou	
2PL.DUA	kevo	kevo	
3PL	detou	detou/doh	
3PL.DUA	iro	iro	

All the 1st person plural pronouns listed above distinguish between inclusive and exclusive, and have a form for dual and trial/paucal. The forms for dual, trial/paucal and in some isolate cases for quartal is represented in different degree in all the plural forms. This feature is widespread in most of the Kenyah variants and in other Borneo languages (see Soriente n.d. and Smith 2015). In Punan Tuvu' the pronouns can be preceded by particles *ne*, *pe* and *ke*. The difference in meaning in these pronouns can be explained pragmatically; therefore the particles *ne* and *pe* can have an emphatic function, whereas *ke*- can function also as an information structure device.

In Òma Lóngh, as already mentioned, plural forms often distinguish dual vs. trial as well as inclusive vs. exclusive. From the three tables above it is apparent that the dual and trial/paucal forms are derived from forms, which contain the numeral *devó* 'two' and *tele* 'three', which are consistently used to mark the case of two people in the plural.

In the examples that follow, the dual is obligatorily marked, i.e. for the third plural person *évó* (57), the second plural *kavó* (58), the first plural exclusive *mévó* (59) or first dual inclusive (60).

57. *tè Mencilèny tè ta'èny évó fadi ba'an ne te*
go Mencileny go see 3DUA sibling say people towards

laminy évó ta'èny
house 3DUA see

'Mencilèny went to see the two siblings at their home'.

(Iwan)

58. *có ènem kavó zi? kónyó ti'i zé me évó*
one what 2DUA this say=3SG there that towards 3DUA
'What's the matter with you? He said to them'.

59. *é rae mévó neghene'*
PRTCL voice 1PL.INCL.DUA AV-tell a story
'We were telling the story'.

60. *tè tó nótógh é Buzu kenae Mpé*
go 1PL.INCL.DUA AV-burn PRTCL Buzu say-3SG Mpé
'Let's go burn it, Buzu, said Mpe'.

(Sabo)

As far as the trial/paucal *tele* is concerned, it is mostly used to refer to groups of three or more but actually it often used to refer to a small group of people. In (61) the term refers to a group of Òma Lóng people. The speaker, the priest Loli Dongo, tells the story of a group of Òma Lóng who decided to move from their original village upriver to another village located downriver. Here the first inclusive pronoun *éle* is employed in the same sentence with the numeral *tele* ‘three’ and shows the exact same function.

61. *bezu sai tele òbèny ngkiny éle raam*
 big happy 1TRI RES take 1PL.INCL inside
fulu òmèny de’ tè felafó neghi re
 ten year REL go CAUS-pass PRTCL-this people
 ‘We feel very proud because we took ‘our people’ down here in ten years’.
 (Kayang)

The use of pronouns derived from numerals can also be seen in Lebu’ Kulit. We can see this in examples (62) and (63), where the numerals *dué* and *teleu* are identifiable in the third dual person to which it corresponds (see the example (62)) and in the first and second dual where the forms *me’é* and *kam ué* where the numeral *dué* is obviously recalled. The inclusive form *tua* is a fusion of the Austronesian first inclusive pronoun **kita* and the numeral **dua* (see Blust 2009:318). An example sentence of the first inclusive dual *tua* can be seen in (63).

62. *turo na tua ko’ umé ni ken dué*
 spend.night PRTCL 1PL.INCL.DUA LOC ricefield this say two
o di’ turo na dué o
 PFCT PRTCL spend.night PRTCL two PFCT
 ‘Let’s spend the night at the ricefield here, they said and so the two of them did spend the night there’.
 (Pebaun)
63. *un na ketai maya dau o di’ nteng na*
 exist PRTCL IRR-go slanted day PFCT PRTCL don’t PRTCL
tua sa’ tai uli’
 1PL.INCL.DUA forced go go.home
 ‘Since it is already afternoon (the sun has set), let’s avoid going home’.
 (Pebaun)

On the other hand the Lebu’ Kulit numeral *teleu* ‘three’ corresponds to the first trial inclusive and exclusive personal pronoun. In some cases it occurs as a replacement of the inclusive pronoun, as in the examples below, where *teleu* is used as a pronoun that identifies the group of Lebu’ Kulit, as opposed to the other people. It is indeed the most commonly used inclusive plural first person pronoun. It is the only pronoun found in recordings in situations where the Lebu’ Kulit people talk about themselves as opposed to others, as in examples (64) and (65) where *teleu*, the trial/paucal person indicates a plural and is actually referring to the Lebu’ Kulit people when they decided to start their moving from the original village. The fact that a paucal pronoun, corresponding to the numeral ‘three’, is used to become a default first person plural pronoun can be explained with the fact that it refers to a limited group of people. In this very specific case the

group of people in question was indeed small, a part of a community; in the past when people moved, it never happened altogether, but by small groups of people. In (64) *teleu* functions as a full pronoun, whereas in (65) it is preceded by the first plural exclusive pronoun.

64. *mbei teleu tu'é ketai kempei-kempei un*
 NEG 1TRI can IRR-go RED-LOC-mpei exist
 'We could not go anywhere'. (Paran)

65. *asat mé' teleu neng janan da da di' sé*
 path 1PL.EXCL 1TRI at road PRTCL PRTCL PRTCL one
bulan teneng-teneng lu' mé' teleu
 month RED-exact PRTCL 1PL.EXCL 1TRI
 'Our trip took us exactly one month on the road'. (Paran)

In Punan Tuvu' the dual and trial are forms probably derived from two fused morphemes; however, the numerals *duoh* and *toluh*, which they contain, are hardly identifiable as a result of phonological reduction. The form *tero* 'we three' indicating the first plural inclusive person refers to a group of three persons and often becomes the first plural inclusive per default when it refers to a limited group of people like in example (66). The dual forms *karo*, *tou* and *kevo* are employed in examples (67) through (69) and in none of them the numeral *duoh* 'two' is easily identifiable. The form *karo* has a very low occurrence and can indicate an exclusive first plural pronoun that has a paucal meaning referring to a group of two, three or few persons.

66. *tero inih rih tero morip jét*
 1PL.INCL.TRI this there 1PL.INCL.TRI INTR-life bad
iné' hén inih
 because 3SG this
 'We definitely... we had a difficult life because of that'. (Kasim)

67. *uvaq nén déh togon karo lemok*
 new 3SG go while 1PL.EXCL.DUA come
 'He just went and we two came back'. (Kasim)

68. *tou kah nyapai?*
 1PL.INCL.DUA go where
 'Where shall we two go?' (Amat)

69. *pékan kevo lulung kah*
 RECP-eat 2DUA first go
 'You two eat first and then you go'. (Amat)

The use of plural number is sometimes used to indicate social relationship. As a form of respect toward the interlocutor, the plural form can be used in place of the singular, as illustrated by the example (70) from Òma Lóngh. In this example, the speaker is

talking to an older man and he is addressing him with the plural form *kam* instead of the singular form *ku* or *cu*.

70. *nya ngèny mate amen kam re fetó' mée*
 hmmm with N-dead deceased father 2PL person RECP-link like.that
 'Hmmm, with your deceased father, like that'. (Iwan)

6.2 Social deixis

The kind of social deixis whereby plural forms of the pronouns are employed in place of the singular, is also sometimes used in Lebu' Kulit and Punan Tuvu'. Actually the real form of social deixis is the use of nominal expressions for an addressee (sometimes also an addressor) that is not referred to by a pronoun, but rather by a kinship term or a common name. This feature implies that the addressee is referred as a father, a mother, a younger brother, an uncle, depending on the relationship of the addressee and the addressor regardless they are relative or not. It is interesting to notice that the use of pronouns substitutes refers not only to the addressee but also to the addressor. This phenomenon widespread in Indonesian (Kaufman, 2014) and in many languages of South-East Asia as a feature of pronoun avoidance (see Helmbrecht, 2013, Collins, 2014) is explained by Blust (2009: 316) as 'de-individuate personal deixis and functions to create a system of what might be called 'insinuate reference' rather than one of determinative reference'. The nouns that replace personal pronouns change following events of life like the fact that a person has become a widow or an orphan or has become a granddad or the father of a son or a daughter. Kinship terms and a complex system of appellation involving teknonyms, necronyms, gerontonyms is widespread in many parts of Borneo where these names are used as forms of address and are extended in some cases to non relatives. It is therefore appropriate to address anybody of the age of parents as *Amaj*, *Amè* or *Mé* 'father', somebody older as *Pui*, *Pe* or *Adu* 'grandfather',¹² or a widow as *balu*, *bale*, *baluh* in Lebu' Kulit, Òma Lóngh and Punan Tuvu' respectively. In example (71) below from Lebu' Kulit, the interlocutor is simply addressed with the pronoun substitute indicating a grandfather instead of the second singular person as a form of respect being him a senior in comparison to the speaker.

71. *Pui, mpei mé' uva' un!*
 grandfather NEG 1PL.EXCL want exist
 'Thanks, sir we do not want it!' (Tulung)

In Punan Tuvu', a particle generally located at the end of an utterance that indicates the relationship between the interlocutors, is also extensively used. More specifically persons who are personally intimate end the utterance with *toi* if the two are males (ex. 72) and *boh* if the they are females or if they are husband and wife (ex. 73).¹³

72. *kou déh nyan umoh lou inih toi?*
 2SG go at ricefield day this PRTCL
 'Are you going to the ricefield today?' (Amat)

¹² A detailed description of the system of appellations among the Kenyah is in Whittier, P. (1981), and other ethnographic descriptions like Whittier, H.L. (1979), Rousseau (1990) and the Punan Tuvu'/Tubu in Césard (2009).

¹³ This feature was not recorded in Òma Lóngh and Lebu' Kulit but in other Kenyah languages like Uma' Lasan and Uma' Alim spoken in the Pujungan district in North Kalimantan (Soriente fieldnotes, n.d.).

73. *pén nuh ungéi yé' boh*
 take 2SG water for.me PRTCL
 'Take some water for me!' (Amat)

7. Comments on grammaticalization

It has been widely noted in the literature that demonstratives frequently undergo grammaticalization becoming grammatical markers. As Diessel (1999: 114) notes,

crosslinguistically demonstratives provide a common historical source for a wide variety of grammatical items such as definite articles, relative and third person pronouns, copulas, sentence connectives, complementizers, number markers and possessives.

The demonstrative systems discussed in this paper also show clear evidence of grammaticalization in the three languages studied here.

As discussed in section 3.1, the demonstrative forms *ji/jé* in Òma Lóngh are bimorphemic, and consist of an initial demonstrative morpheme slot (occupied by *j-* 'singular' vs. *d-* 'plural/mass') and a second morpheme slot, occupied by the morphemes *-i* 'proximal' and *-é* 'distal'. The demonstrative morpheme *j-* (and its variants *z-* and *ny-*) are also the base for the 3SG pronoun in its independent form *jó* (see Table 1 in section 6.1). The same happens for the plural demonstrative form *di/dé* that becomes the base for the impersonal form *de* and the relative pronoun *de'*. Anaphoric demonstratives derive historically from exophoric demonstratives: the anaphoric forms *ji'i* and *zi'i* are related to the exophoric demonstratives *ji* and *zi*. The same process explains most of the manner and time deictics where the binary spatial opposition seen in the demonstratives between *ji* and *jé* is extended to the temporal deictic *mii/méé* and the manner deictic *mi'i/mé'é*.

Grammaticalization process can explain the polyfunctional 3SG clitic pronoun *-e* that is often used as a determiner or associative marker beyond its use as a pronoun and a possessive marker. It is worth noting also that the demonstrative particles *ne* and *te* have developed an evidential function. Diachronically it is likely that these particles were directionals that marked the opposition "towards the speaker" and "away from the speaker", deriving from the deictic verbs for 'come' *nè* and 'go' *tè*.

In a parallel way we can see how Lebu' Kulit demonstratives are the source of other grammatical functions like pronouns, anaphora, relative pronouns, manner and time deictics. Lebu' Kulit also shows evidence of a morphological relationship between deictic and pronoun systems. The three independent deictics in Lebu' Kulit, which are *ini*, *inyé* and *iri*, appear to share the same stem, *i-*, with the 3SG' and 3PL independent pronouns *ié* and *iré*. Among the three demonstratives, the medial deictic *inyé* is the most closely related to 3SG pronoun *ié*. The demonstrative stem *i-* is also part of the anaphoric deictic *irai* that is combined with the adverbial *rai* 'earlier'. Although the opposition between singular and plural is not marked in the demonstrative pronouns, it is marked however in the relative pronouns *iya'* and *ira'* that contain the stem *i-* shared by the 3SG pronoun and the demonstratives. As seen in 4.2, demonstratives and location adverbs exhibit the tripartite distinction consisting of proximal, medial and distal. The same distinction is mirrored in the manner deictics, whereas only the proximal deictic *ini* is

the source of the time deictic *nakini* ‘now’. Exactly like in Òma Lóng, the polyfunctional 3SG clitic pronoun *-a* is used as a determiner or associative marker beyond its use as a pronoun and a possessive marker. The demonstrative particles *na* and *ta* have developed an evidential function based on the opposition “towards the speaker” and “away from the speaker”, deriving from the deictic verbs for ‘come’ *nai* and ‘go’ *tai*.

In Punan Tuvu’ a grammaticalization process can explain the similarity between the medial distal demonstrative *irih* and the 3SG pronoun *rin* that also functions as a possessive. The distal demonstrative *inah* is mostly used anaphorically and in its short form *nah* corresponds to the copula and existential verb *nah*. The proximal and distal demonstratives *inih* and *inah* occur in the temporal and manner deixis such as *lou’ah* ‘that day, then’ and *jainah* ‘that way’, as explained in 5.3.

8. Deictic expressions calqued in the contact language: *Bahasa Indonesia*

As it is well known, the national language *Bahasa Indonesia* is exerting considerable pressure on the local languages of Indonesia, replacing local languages in many domains of language usage. Needless to say, Indonesian has affected the way that local languages are spoken, and in many cases, local languages affect the way in which local colloquial Indonesian is spoken. I would like to point out that some important features the languages discussed in this paper have been transferred into the Indonesian spoken in Borneo. For example, the local colloquial Indonesian employs a dual pronoun, which most certainly is a calque from the local languages. Example (74) produced by a Punan Tuvu’ speaker shows how the first singular inclusive pronoun *kita* is followed by the cardinal numeral *dua*. This form functions as a dual pronoun (a form which is obligatorily used in Lebu’ Kulit). The Indonesian numeral *dua* is very often employed by Lebu’ Kulit and Òma Lóng speakers when speaking Indonesian. Punan Tuvu’ speakers use similar forms when employing plural personal pronouns that refer to two persons, animals or things.

74. *ayo kita dua makan!*

EXCLM 1PL.INCL two eat

‘Let’s eat!’ (the two of us)

(Amat)

Direction terms offer another example of interference from local languages on Indonesian. Speakers of local Indonesian use frequently use the terms ‘upriver’ and ‘downriver’ to express location in contexts where the use of these terms would be otherwise infelicitous in Indonesian. As we have seen, the upriver/downriver opposition plays an important role in languages like Òma Lóng, Lebu’ Kulit and Punan Tuvu’, since the speakers of these languages traditionally depended on rivers to survive.

In example (75), where a Lebu’ Kulit speaker who is referring to Jakarta (which is nowhere near downriver regions of the Kayan river) uses the expression *milir* ‘downriver’. Example (76) produced by a Òma Lóng illustrates how the village of Setulang, in a position upriver with respect to the sea, is considered the place where to go back to, ‘upriver’.

75. *kapan milir ke Jakarta?*
 when go downriver to Jakarta
 ‘When are you going (downriver) to Jakarta?’ (Tulung)

76. *kapan mudik ke Setulang?*
 when go upriver to Setulang
 ‘When are you coming back (upriver) to Setulang?’ (Kirit)

Similarly in example (77) below, a Lebu’ Kulit lady at a market asks whether the rice she intends to buy is local rice. Here, she uses the expression *dari hulu* ‘from upriver’ because generally this is the place where the rice fields are located, whereas she refers to imported rice using the term *hilir* ‘downriver’ (78).

77. *ini beras dari hulu?*
 this rice from upriver
 ‘Is this rice from upriver?’ (referring the village as asked in the big town). (Pebaun)

78. *beli di hilir?*
 buy LOC downriver
 ‘Did (you) buy (it) in town?’ (lit. downriver) (referring to Tarakan or also Jakarta, any big town at the estuary of the river). (Pebaun)

The opposition upriver-downriver *hulu-hilir* has taken on a broader metaphorical meaning. *Hulu* ‘upstream’ has come to refer to local/village life. In contrast *hilir* has come to refer to big towns, particularly those located at the river estuary (like Tarakan, a large island which is one center for commerce in the region, and which located at the mouth of the major rivers flowing through the region of the Kenyah and Punan people).

9. Conclusions

As I have demonstrated in this paper, the deictic systems in Kenyah Lebu’ Kulit and Òma Lóngh and Punan Tuvu’ exhibit core similarities, but also diverge from one another along various grammatical dimensions. Comparison of Òma Lóngh, Lebu’ Kulit and Punan Tuvu’ reveals that at the level of micro-orientation, Òma Lóngh demonstratives distinguish two degrees of distance, whereas Lebu’ Kulit and Punan Tuvu’ demonstratives exhibit three-way and four-way distinctions respectively. In Òma Lóngh there is an asymmetry between the demonstrative and the locational adverb systems, whereas the Lebu’ Kulit and Punan Tuvu’ systems are symmetric in the sense that for adverbial expressions they exhibit three-way and four-way distinctions respectively. The same three-way distinction seems to be a common feature in many languages of Borneo.¹⁴ The demonstratives in all of these languages are distance oriented and are employed in pronominal and adnominal positions.

If we look at the macro-orientation distinction, in all the languages the expression of spatial deixis is closely tied to the geography and topography of the area where the

¹⁴ Blust (2009: 306), for example, reports the same system for Uma Juman Kayan and Long Lamai Penan (Western Penan) and Mukah Melanau.

language is spoken i.e. since each of these languages are spoken in areas close to rivers, the opposition between upriver and downriver plays an important role in the expression of location. Indeed this distinction has also carried over into the regional version of Indonesian.

As far as person deixis is concerned, all these languages differentiate plural from dual and paucal number. Deictics moreover are used metaphorically to mark closeness or distance in time.

Finally demonstratives in the three Bornean languages studied here undergo grammaticalization becoming grammatical markers. The languages employ anaphoric demonstratives that are strictly dependent on the exophoric ones. In all three languages third person pronouns are derivationally related to demonstratives and so are the time and manner deictics. In Ôma Lóngh dependent demonstratives and independent 3SG pronoun share the same stem and the same opposition between singular and plural. In Punan Tuvu the copular verb *nah* ‘to be’ can be derived from the distal demonstrative *inah*.

Abbreviations

1 2 3 personal pronouns, AV actor voice, CAUS causative, DUA dual, EXCL exclusive, EXCLM exclamation, INCL inclusive, INTR intransitive verb, IRR irrealis mode, LOC locative, NEG negator, NMNLZ nominalizer, PFCT perfective, PL plural, POSS possessive, PRTCL particle, RECP reciprocal, RED reduplication, REL relativizer, RES resultative, SG singular, TRI trial.

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SOMMARIO

Questo contributo presenta una descrizione dei deittici spaziali e temporali in tre lingue indonesiane del Borneo nord-orientale cioè nelle lingue Kenyah Lebu' Kulit, Kenyah Òma Lónggh e in Punan Tuvu' appartenenti alla famiglia linguistica austronesiana. Il confronto di forma e funzione delle marche della deissi nelle tre lingue rivela una serie di somiglianze e differenze. La descrizione dei deittici in queste lingue permette di localizzare gli eventi linguistici e i partecipanti in spazio e tempo oltre a mostrare il rapporto tra dimostrativi e deittici dal punto di vista spazio-temporale e la codificazione del luogo nel contesto dell'ambiente circostante che lo caratterizza. Alla descrizione delle proprietà sincroniche delle marche deittiche si aggiungono anche delle preliminari riflessioni sui processi che hanno determinato la grammaticalizzazione di alcuni di questi deittici nelle tre lingue oggetto di studio di questo contributo.

Taking the Street Out of Street Food: the Singapore Case¹

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SUMMARY

Street food is by definition found along the streets. In the particular case of the island-state of Singapore, the government goal towards modernization caused a radical change in the production, sale, purchase and consumption of street food products, with the creation of the open-air food markets called hawker centres, and the consequent elimination of any form of itinerant sale. Through the description of the historical changes, which led to the creation of this new type of covered-street food space, marked by a strong emphasis upon cleanliness and order by the ruling class, the main features of the hawker centres will be analysed to understand why they became a symbol of national identity. I will argue how changes in the urban landscape run in parallel with changes in people's habits, especially in a context so linked to the everyday life as the purchase and consumption of food. In the brief history of the city-State from its foundation in 1965, besides the rapid modernization affecting people's everyday patterns, another element that made difficult the consolidation of a Singaporean communal identity is the extraordinary social heterogeneity. Hawker food, once sold on the streets and nowadays found exclusively in the hawker centres, not only reflects the urban changes of the country, but it also holds elements of ethnic categorization, caused by the Singaporean tendency to think in 'multi-racial' terms. A multi-level approach has been implemented in the active observation of the hawker centres' daily life and cultural role. Through a first hand experience of the physical space, the sensorial landscape, the variety of foods, the technical gestures, and the relational dynamics within a selected neighbourhood market, I perceived a strong local pride in valuing these places as the last example of Singapore's past, as well as the concrete representation of a shared cultural identity, albeit in extreme social differences, of one of the most globalized and cosmopolitan countries in the world.

Keywords: *Singapore, space, food, senses, identity.*

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Introduction

This article explores deeper some of the themes emerged in a Master thesis research, carried out between 2015 and 2016 in the city-state of Singapore, which titled: *The Hawker Centres Challenge. Sensorial Landscapes and Identity Representations in the Food Markets of Singapore*. In this work my aim was to discover more about a type of food markets peculiar of the area called hawker centres. The hawker centres or cooked food centres are open-air structures housing many stalls that sell a variety of inexpensive food, usually found near public housing estates or transport hubs, set up between the 1960s-1970s as a more sanitary option to street-side outdoor hawker dining places, which used to be found everywhere in the island. The spread of this new food space concept completely eradicated street selling activities from the whole territory of

¹ Based on a Master's dissertation completed in 2017 at Ca' Foscari University of Venice.

Singapore, radically changing the urban space, the ways vendors prepare and sell their recipes, and the ways consumers purchase and eat daily food products. At the same time, an increased sense of forced displacement and nostalgia for the itinerant more vibrant way of hawking grew among the Singaporean population.

Why and how in only fifty years from its foundation Singapore experienced such dramatic urban and economic development, which from a fishermen village full of street micro-entrepreneurs led it to become the modern, efficient, safe and clean first world city which is considered today, are some of the issues I will explore in the following pages. The outputs come from a long-term fieldwork among the Singaporean heartlands and under the roof of the hawker centres, where my observation involved different analytical approaches. Food studies, sensory studies, theories on space and national identity represent the framework of this research.

In the first paragraph I delineate the historical process of extremely fast growth, and the related changes on street food production, sale and purchase, describing the consequences on the urban setting and people's everyday life. The emphasis on cleanliness, hygiene, order, and security, as the basis for the development of a forefront and economic competitive city, has been central in the politics of Singapore's farsighted leadership. Here comes the decision to shift from street food hawking to covered-dedicated food markets, which is discussed in the second paragraph. Changes in cityscapes run in parallel with changes in people's habits. This statement will be argued using empirical data. In the third paragraph I explain why Singaporean society is pointed and run as a 'multiracial' society. The concept of 'multiracialism'² will be discussed in terms of social policies as well as in the field of food, where cooked and un-cooked products are defined more or less authentic based on culturally shaped convictions of 'ethnic recipes'. The hawker centres play an important role in the creation of ethnic and racial categorizations, from the food to the people involved. In the fourth and last paragraph an insight into methodological features in the analysis of food markets - my main and beloved area of study - is presented. An 'ecologic approach' (James Gibson, 1979; Tim Ingold, 2001) has been used to understand the close relationships between individuals, their activities and the context in which they move every day. However, way before exploring the different approaches, which accompanied my study, the main unpredicted focus of the research has been my lived experience as an outsider. The physical, emotional and sensorial involvement, constantly occurring inside the hawker centres, naturally emerged as I took my first step into that world. Therefore, I started to reflect on the different kind of ethnographic methodologies we, as anthropologists, may create in different context. In my view, a subjective feature is impossible to avoid and rather well welcomed in anthropological works. Researching how we come to know what we (think to) know means to answer epistemological questions through the understanding of methodological ones, 'transform(ing) social theory 'from the bottom up' by intervening at the site of its production' (Elliott, Culhane, 2017: 7). A new tendency well described through the pages of *A Different Kind of Ethnography* (University of Toronto Press, 2017), which I personally put into practice. Thus, the sensorial landscape of the hawker centres became of special relevance for the ethnography itself, and consequently for the research outputs.

² Term used by Singaporeans both informally and formally in public speeches. In accordance with the definition of Geoffrey Benjamin: 'Multiracialism is the ideology that accords equal status to the cultures and identities of the various races' comprising a plural society' (1976: 67). See third paragraph of this article, *A «multi-racial» food in a «multi-racial» society* for further considerations.

Singapore: a cleaned city

In Singapore, two main phenomena influenced the creation of the hawker centres food markets: the rapid modernization, achieved in just fifty years from the founding of the State in 1965, and the population heterogeneity and cultural diversity. Such phenomena also played a key role in the search for a Singaporean identity, fundamental to build up the Nation, and locally considered to be found in the hawker centres features, nothing but reminiscences of the formerly street-hawking chaotic atmosphere. Leaving Singaporean ‘multiracialism’ for later considerations (see third paragraph), I briefly outline the historical steps towards nowadays situation.

On August 9th, 2015 Singapore celebrated the fiftieth anniversary of its independence from Malaysia. On the same day, back in 1965, the Prime Minister Lee Kuan Yew’s tears marked the moment of declaration of independence, since he was aware of the hard challenge that the country was going to face. Fifty years later, on his speech to the citizens of the young Republic of Singapore, the current Prime Minister Lee Hsien Loong, son of Lee Kuan Yew, emphasized in this way the risk that the country was facing:

No one knew if we could make it on our own. Our economy was not yet viable, much less vibrant. We had practically no resources, and no independent armed forces. Around noon on that first day, Mr. Lee Kuan Yew gave a press conference on TV. He broke down halfway, unable to contain his emotions. It was, he said, ‘a moment of anguish’.

(Lee Hsien Loong, 2015³)

Singapore, despite its poor conditions, its small geographical size and its lack of natural resources, is today a highly developed country, and one of the most important financial hubs in the world. Equipped with world-class services and infrastructures, advanced banking and credit systems, Singapore has become a nerve center for the entire Asian area, owning one of the busiest ports in the world, a junction for the Indian and the Pacific Oceans. The City of the Lion⁴ is officially a Republic, located at the southern tip of the Malay Peninsula, 150 km north from the Equator. Its essential position for the control of the naval passage of the straits of Malacca was the reason for its foundation and growth. The island, crossroads of traffic on the sea and commercial settlement inhabited since the fourteenth century, was subject to the Sumatra Empire, to that of Java, to the Sultanate of Malacca, to the Portuguese colonization, the Dutch and finally the British (Colless, 1969). In 1819 the decisive turning point for the city’s fate occurred. Thomas Stamford Raffles, a British governor, founded Singapore and began the influent British colonial era. From that moment on its port, with the customs exemptions, attracted many migrants from the Malay Peninsula, India and China. Singapore became then a thriving multi-ethnic colony and an important military naval base, bringing trade to the Far East and Australia, through the Strait of Malacca. In the 1950s the rise of nationalism favored claims of autonomy, which on August 1963 led to the declaration of Singapore’s independence from the British Empire, the quit from the British

³ Extract from *Prime Minister Lee Hsien Loong’s National Day Message in full*, published in the online national journal «Today» on August 8th, 2015.

⁴ The names of Singapore include the various historical appellations, as well as contemporary names and nicknames in different languages, used to describe the island, city or country of Singapore. In the fourteenth century the name was changed to Singapura, which is now rendered as Singapore in English. Singapura means Lion City in Sanskrit (Colless, 1969).

Commonwealth and the admission in the Federation of Malaysia (Turnbull, 1977). The structure did not last long and on August 9th, 1965 Singapore declared itself independent from Malaysia, beginning in difficult terrain the ascent that lasted unaltered until today. On August 9th, 1965 at 10:00 am, an announcer on Radio Singapore read the declaration of independence. Later that day, the Prime Minister Lee Kuan Yew talked about that moment of anguish he was feeling, with tears in his eyes. In his memoirs he will write that Singapore had been driven towards independence without: ‘no indication for our next destination’ (Lee, 2000: 19) and that the island without Malaysia was a ‘heart without a body’ (Lee, 2000: 23) that had a population of 1.9 million people to be trained, few internal resources and high unemployment rates. Yet, if without Malaysia Singapore lost its body, thanks to the visionary policy of Lee Kuan Yew, the nation developed a remarkable mind. The Prime Minister of the new city-State was aware that the island needed a strong economy to survive as an independent country. Therefore, he promoted a program to modernize the country and turn it into a major exporter of finished products, encouraged foreign investment and agreements between company management, ensuring the absence of discontent and raising the standard of living of workers, improved health and social care services, and required forms of ‘collaboration’ by the social media in order to promote a supportive country and an austere ruling class, which viewed discipline as the path to success. Therein lies the certainty that the spectacular prosperity and efficiency of Singapore had sometimes (and still have) the cost of an authoritarian style government⁵.

On August 9th, 1966, Singapore celebrated the first National Day of its history. Fifty years later, the exponential progress, which transformed the country into a world power, was proudly celebrated while keeping an eye into the future, already planning for the next fifty years⁶.

Today, Singapore presents itself to those who visit it for the first time as an ordinate, green, clean and efficient city. The parks are numerous, road traffic is controlled to keep the levels of air pollution, and separate waste collection is easy and efficient. In 1967, with the Garden City Vision promoted by Lee Kuan Yew, the country changed its face beginning the winning road to an eco-city. Unlike other Asian cities, which have experienced rapid progress (such as the neighbors Bangkok, Kuala Lumpur and Jakarta), Singapore’s metamorphosis has not been marked by the consequences of pollution and urban degradation, and in just five decades of economic progress, it has earned a worldwide reputation for a green and clean city. ‘We have built. We have progressed. But there is no hallmark of achieving our position as the cleanest and greenest city in South Asia’ (Lee, 1968: 3⁷). A welcoming and green environment was at the heart of the government project towards modernization. It was not only about obtaining competitive advantages at a global level; the leadership also believed that

⁵ For a deeper analysis of the policies of the People’s Action Party, Singapore’s ruling party since 1965, and of Lee Kuan Yew ruling features see: Bell Daniel A. (1997) *A Communitarian Critique of Authoritarianism: The Case of Singapore*, in Political Theory, Vol. 25, No. 1, p. 6-32, Sage Publications; Chua Beng Huat (1995) *Communitarian Ideology and Democracy in Singapore (Politics in Asia)*, Routledge; Plate Tom (2010) *Conversation with Lee Kuan Yew. Citizen Singapore: How to build a Nation (Giants of Asia)*, Marshall Cavendish Edition.

⁶ As part of the SG50 celebrations of the Nation Golden Jubilee, an exhibition called “The Future of Us” has been released to offer a glimpse of how Singaporeans can live, work, learn and care in the future, in a immersive and multi-sensory kind of experience. Through short films and interactive installations, it laid out possibilities and hopeful scenarios of how life in Singapore might be like in the year 2030.

⁷ Full speech to be founded in pdf version from The National Online Archives of Singapore (NAS) website, See URL in sitography.

controlled development represented a key prerequisite for the citizen's future well being. Thanks to many environmental reforms⁸, Prime Minister Lee Kuan Yew built the foundations to promote (and justify) progress and create a sustainable country. In 1968 the Keep Singapore Clean campaign was launched, with the concern for waste related with the growth of population: 'higher densities of population, more housing estates, greater consumption of preserved and packaged food were leaving more domestic waste, and more hawkers in public places' (Lee, 1968: 1). The hawkers, term which literally means street vendors and which, in agreement with the urban geographers Terence Gary McGee and Yue-Man Yeung, I define as 'those who offer goods for sale in public spaces, primarily streets and sidewalks' (1977: 25), began to represent a problem in the process of creating a clean and tidy city.

A subject taken into account in many works which discuss the theme of urban space in Southeast Asia (McGee and Yeung 1977, Duruz and Khoo 2015, Kong and Sinha 2016) the figure of the hawkers have also been studied as a feature of cities' cultural identity in this area of the world, whose removal from the streets in the case of Singapore changed not only the urban structure, but also the habits of people's daily life (Tarulevycz 2013, Leong 1976, Grice 1988, Kong 2007, Lai 2010, Chua in Kong and Sinha, 2016). The hawkers were a ubiquitous figure in the urban body, in which they were extensively present until the 1970s, announcing their goods loudly, settling in line at the sides of the streets, or bringing around their mobile furniture (Fig. 1, 2).



Figure 1. *Street hawkers at Trengganu street* (1971), Ph. Paul Piollet Collection, courtesy of National Archives of Singapore.

⁸ In those years the Anti-Pollution Unit (APU) was established as part of the Prime Minister's office to deal with the increase of air and water pollution caused by rapid industrialization. In 1971, the Water Planning Unit was established to improve the island's water resources, in order to make Singapore self-sufficient in the production of drinking water, and campaigns were made to avoid water waste (Turnbull, 2009). Also, the government took care of the Singapore River's cleaning, which until 1980 was famous for its rotten smell of decomposition of industrial and human waste (Josey, 1968).



Figure 2. *An itinerant hawker bringing wares to villagers of Jalan Jumat village* (1949), Ph. Ministry of Information and the Arts Collection, courtesy of National Archives of Singapore.

The sound of their voices and the smell of their dishes carried on the bamboo shelves anticipated their arrival, and the residents could buy breakfast, lunch or snacks just a few steps from their front door. The hawkers: '[...] add(ed) to the cities a texture and feel that has largely disappeared from the cities of the industrialized West' (McGee e Yeung, 1977: 20). Today, part of that 'industrialized West', in the form of policies of modernization by a ruling class influenced by western ideas of modernity, has changed Singapore's urban setting. These policies included hygiene and order as basis to 'modernize and civilize' (Lee, 1968). In 1950 the Singapore's Hawker Inquiry Commission emphasized the presence of disorderly masses of hawkers 'blocking up the streets with a jumble of goods in the defiance of all reason and order' (Tarulevicz, 2013: 54). The commission, and therefore the government, considered the hawkers as a problem that inhibited the efficient functioning of the city. They cluttered the streets for cars mobility, caused hygiene deficiency and health consequences, provoked road congestion and obstructed the free mobility of emergency vehicles throughout the urban area. Moreover, contaminated water and food waste attracted insects and mice, causing the spread of diseases such as cholera and typhus. The disorder and the threat to public health were real, and the danger was made worse by the tropical climate. Consequently, the important role of the hawkers in the daily life of Singaporeans, which were used to that disorder, and in the micro economy of the country, was minimized due to these problems of public order to be solved fast.

The causes of the everlasting removal of the iconic street hawkers, which were forced to adapt their work and daily lives in the newly built hawker centres, lie in the presented historical processes.

From hawkers to hawker centres

The hawking tradition in Singapore goes way back. Traveling hawkers, also known as itinerant hawkers, were quite a common sight during the 19th to mid-20th century. They used to move around selling everything from raw produce to cooked food, and they were frequently found along busy streets and intersections. Street hawking was a popular occupation for many new immigrants in Singapore as it gave the unemployed and the unskilled a way to make a living with little costs. In each *kampong*, Malay term still used to name a village or a neighborhood; in addition to the traveling hawkers there was one

or more *kopitiam*, which survived until present days, often in connection with the hawkers themselves for sourcing products or to welcome them in their shadow for a break. ‘The kopitiam was the exclusive center of sociality of the neighborhood/village’ (Chua in Kong, Sinha, 2016: 28). Today named coffeeshop, the *kopitiam* represents, along with the hawker centres, a place frequented by the residents on a daily basis, making them part of their everyday life, a space remained almost unchanged over time, where the feeling of a missed slower past is perceivable (Fig. 3, 4).



Figure 3. A *Kopitiam* (coffee shop) at Trengannu Street (1981), Ph. Ronni Pinsler, National Archives of Singapore.



Figure 4. *Tin Yeang* coffee shop in Joo Chiat Neighborhood (2016), Ph. Claudia Squarzon.

In this past, traveling hawkers and stable *kopitiam*, usually found at the corner of the streets, punctuated the daytime rhythm, offering people what was an everyday appointment kind of street food. ‘Street foods used to be available according to routinized schedules and routes of the itinerant hawkers; consequently, the rhythm of hawkers’ movements structured the routines and cycles of social life of the consumer’ (Chua in Kong, 2016: 23). Nowadays, the social life of consumers and hawkers is constantly influenced by policies of cleanliness and order towards a never-ending modernization, the same policies which led to the elimination of the road in the hawking

experience, as detailed in the biographical lines of the Singaporean sociologist Chua Beng Huat (Chua in Kong, Sinha, 2016). From 1960, the license to sell any product on the streets became mandatory, and the roads gradually emptied, since that of the hawker was a job that allowed only earning the day. The license became also the basis for the assignment of the kiosks in the new closed structures called hawker centres, whose construction project began in 1970. In parallel with the concrete construction of the new structures, the Hawkers Department Special Squad was formed as a control police security team, which used to make daily raids in search of abusive salesmen (Tarulevicz, 2013). The resentment between the hawkers and the police began then, when the sudden escapes of hawkers to the arrival of the police team occurred daily (Fig. 5).



Figure 5. *Here they come*, Koeh Sia Yong (1965), Singapore National Gallery.
National Heritage Board online Archives.

Hawker centres, established as a step towards the government's plan to modernization, are part of Singapore's long-standing legacy of putting things in order in an otherwise unwieldy world. They were created as spaces that had to be equipped with public safety supplies such as access to water, sewers, drainage channels, and electricity for evening lighting and superior coverage. The stalls were orderly placed in line in the structure's perimeter, and furniture was fixed and standardized. In the middle, common plastic tables and chairs were placed and thought to be shared by strangers in an informal atmosphere. Public toilets with cleaning rules on the walls were also provided. Most of them were placed in residential areas, easily reachable by patrons in every corner of the island at any time of the day. The businesses ran from early in the morning to late at night, with usually one day of rest per week by hawkers' choice (Fig. 6, 7).

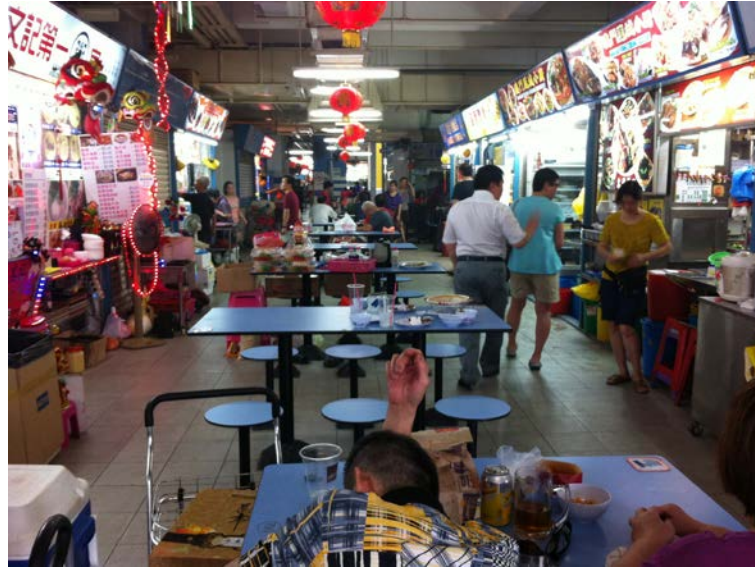


Figure 6. *Chinatown Complex hawker centre*, Chinatown, Singapore (2016), Ph. Claudia Squarzon.



Figure 7. *Friends' table at Chinatown Complex*, Chinatown, Singapore (2016), Ph. Claudia Squarzon.

In addition to the spatial organization, the hawkers' ways of food production has also undergone radical changes, representing the main reason for nostalgia. Whereas itinerant hawkers wholly produced the food, today many stalls are supplied by industrially manufactured products, in order to offer a faster service with fewer expenses. As a matter of fact, Singaporeans lately began to worry about the future of hawker food, already partly lost with the elimination of the traveling hawkers and their distinct 'traveling recipes'. Due to the particularity of transportable supplies and the standing consumption of the dishes, those recipes were created *ad hoc*, with simple raw materials such as coal, wood, and bamboo, processed by the hawkers and their families. However, the current situation of greater production and faster demands caused the loss of old methods of preparation, and the hawkers increasingly turned to companies that sell finished products. Moreover, the use of electricity expanded in place of charcoal, loved by the locals for the smoked flavor added to the dishes. The consequence of these

changes is a continuous search for the authentic, defined by the locals as the real flavor of the past, causing the birth of a form of 'self-tourism' (Chua in Kong, Sinha, 2016: 24), which pushes Singaporeans to short trips in the island with destination the kiosks of the preferred hawkers, turning over the model of meeting between the hawker and the consumer, once used to being served outside the door and forced now to mobilize.

The brief history of the causes that led to the construction of the hawker centres presented above aim to focus on the link between modernization policies and 'anti-hawkers' policies, in order to understand their related social consequences. The system of traveling hawkers, while popular with the residents, was unpopular for the government. They wanted a new Singapore, and they created it, on one hand educating public demand, with the schools teaching about hygiene and civics as a way of shaping new habits and needs. On the other hand, however, the problems were sometimes solved at the root, forcibly moving and re-settling the licensed hawkers in the covered markets. The consequences of rapid development processes as such of Singapore 'encompasses more than physical loss: displaced residents lose power and agency over their lives, risking the simultaneous loss of economic, social, and cultural resources (Oliver-Smith 2009). As an anthropologist interested in Singapore's path to development and concerned about small-scale entrepreneurs' rights, I focused part of my pre-fieldwork's readings on Development Studies, discovering how, according to Andreas Neef and Jane Singer, 'Asia is home to many of the most contentious displacement events and the world's largest displaced population, due to high population densities. China and India, the two most populous countries in Asia and globally, together account for a particularly large share of displaced people' (2015: 602). Singapore is evidently not far behind. Due to its fast growth, the majority of the street hawkers, which could not afford to pay the new required licence, have been forcibly re-settled or eliminated, leaving a totally different city-landscape, with cleaner streets and silent towns. Asian Studies expert Nicole Tarulevicz vividly describes the situation as such:

The hawkers and their trade were unseemly – dirty, visceral, a grotesquery of bodily functions. And so they were cleaned up, their hands washed, their cooking equipment inspected and standardized. The spaces in which they plied their trade were eradicated or repurposed, and hawker centres increasingly policed, cleaner, and more orderly at every turn, also emerged as more 'reasonable' and 'ordered' spaces.

(Tarulevicz, 2013: 57)

The phenomenon of forced displacement, which affected Singaporean hawkers, is just a simple example⁹ of much bigger and more problematic development-induced phenomena. Above all, the million of people who fled their homes either as refugees, internally displaced persons, or asylum seekers as a result of big development projects, conflict and persecution around the world¹⁰. In my personal view, forced displacement

⁹ Another example is the recent resettlement of the Tsukiji Fish Market in Tokyo, Japan, the world's largest fish market in operation for 83 year, which has been closed and moved to Toyosu Fish Market in mid October 2018, as part of the redevelopment for the 2020 Olympic games.

¹⁰ The UNHCR's (UN Refugee Agency) annual Global Trends report shows that an average of one person was displaced every two seconds in 2017, with developing countries most affected. The study found 68.5 million people had been driven from their homes across the world at the end of 2017, more people than the population of Thailand. Refugees who have fled their countries to escape conflict and persecution accounted for 25.4 million. This is 2.9

is not the only way to achieve development. Of course, it represents a fast and easy way for governments to reach their goals by exploiting their ruling power. But can the economic ambitions of the few cause the suffer of the many in 2018? Development-induced displacement is a social problem affecting multiple levels of human organization, from tribal and village communities to well-developed urban areas. It is widely viewed as an inevitable step towards modernization and economic growth in developing countries. However, for those who are displaced, the end result is most often loss of livelihood and impoverishment, as in the case of small-scale food entrepreneurs in Southeast Asia, who are continuously affected by unexpected changes. As the brilliant political scientist Irene Thinker, who studied the symbiotic relationship of urbanization and street food in developing countries, said: ‘the biggest hazard is the government, especially in capital cities, which tend to take the view that in order to look good and modernize, you have to get rid of street-food vendors’¹¹. Street food is the fast food of developing countries, it serves the same kind of need for inexpensive, available food. It also provides a service for people who cannot afford the time or money for a big sit-down meal. Nonetheless, cooked food hawkers are an interesting component for the tourism and hospitality of a country, representing a central cultural experience, especially in Southeast Asia (Henderson et al., 2012). The important economic and cultural role of street vendors is even recognize by the Food and Agriculture Organization (FAO) of the United Nations, which encourage its valorization:

By implementing policies, which help street food trade, low-income consumers are favoured. For example, more licenses might be allowed for vendors selling low-cost, nutritionally sound foods or for those with good records of hygiene. [...] Street foods deserve the attention of policy-makers and vendors should be given opportunities to improve their situation and develop their enterprises into city food establishments.

(F.G. Winarno and A. Allain, *Food, Nutrition and Agriculture*, No.1, 1991, published by the Food Policy and Nutrition Division of the FAO: Rome)

Auspiciously, Singapore’s leadership is nowadays acting in this way, with the announced nomination of hawker culture in the UNESCO Intangible Cultural Heritage list, as the arrays of cultural practices and intangible elements, which demonstrate the diversity of the country’s heritage. The admission into the list, announced by Prime Minister Lee Hsien Long during 2018 National Day celebrations, would underline the significance of hawkers and enhance their status, perhaps encouraging more to consider it as a career. Although the information about the compulsory relocation of the hawkers in the hawker centres between 1960s and 1970s are briefly narrated in Singaporean history books, which instead focus more on the economic benefits of modernization; in the last decades there has been a re-evaluation of the significance of those facts to the point that the hawker centres are experiencing an unexpected rediscovery as cultural symbols. Only a few years ago it would have seemed strange that a western woman was researching about these places. Yet, a huge increase in popular and academic interest encouraged public discourse in considering them as the symbol of the Nation’s path

million more than in 2016, also the biggest increase UNHCR has ever seen in a single year (Adrian Edwards, June 19th 2018, UNHCR.org).

¹¹ Extract from an interview to Irene Tinker by journalist Marisa Robertson-Textor, in the online journal «Gourmet», September, 22nd 2009.

towards modernization and an integral part of Singaporeans everyday life. Moreover, due to the growing debate on the future of the hawker centres, which are threatened by the retirement of the old generations of hawkers, and the absence of youngsters willing to work as hawkers, the interest in this subject has been accentuated. The envisioned threat to hawker centres is the fear of the loss of familiar elements. It is the fear of losing a routine that Singaporeans has always taken for granted, and not something that could be regulated with bureaucratic rules, due to its people-centric aspect. As a young nation, Singapore still struggle to answer to the question of what it means to be Singaporean. Unlike the periodic loss of particular sites through developmental pressures, the loss of what hawker centres stand for in terms of food heritage is one that could potentially prove to be the most traumatic. It is a threat to the small inherent emigrant differences that remain intimately entwined with the everyday lives, despite the homogenization that started in parallel with nationhood processes. Indeed, these differences are considered by the locals as essential, and celebrated in what constitutes the intangibles of Singapore's social life. The hawker centres have evolved in step with Singapore's evolution through the years. Accordingly, Singapore's hawker centres should be allowed to evolve gracefully and adapt to the times. The original hawkers may retire, their recipes may change over time and generations, yet the people who populate the hawker centres will remain as long as the patrons have the promise of affordable, hygienic food. The new hawker centres may look better designed, however, the people behind the woks will be there as long as the career of a hawker is valued. As well as Singapore changes so fast to keep up with the progressing aspirations, people's identity is never static, making the social institution of the hawker centre to be either a measure of social change, either a vehicle for community and nation building, through that sense of belonging and connectedness once felt in the *gotong royong* spirit¹², and now *emplaced*¹³ in these peculiar food markets. As Lily Kong, Professor at the Department of Geography at the National University of Singapore claims: 'hawker centres are not just eating-places. They are community places. [...] Hawker centres remain as much a central part of the everyday lives of Singaporeans today as their predecessors, the itinerant hawkers, were integral to life and landscape in days gone by' (Kong, 2017: 97).

Since 2002 the management of hawker centres is entrusted to the National Environmental Agency (NEA), which takes care of the administration of all 109-hawker centres of the island, with monthly inspections and temporary closures for deep cleaning of all the spaces. During my six months of fieldwork, I had the great opportunity to get

¹² Singapore of the sixties and seventies provided the ideal environment for the growth of the spirit of *gotong royong* (communal work). Fresh from independence, Singapore was struggling with its economy and national identity, and the racial tension was high. The rural areas, though, were relatively more peaceful and harmonious. Residents living in multi-racial villages continued to look out for each other in the turbulent years. The *kampong* (village) spirit was more than just little aspects of daily life, such as borrowing a few pinch of salt and a couple of eggs or sharing a dish. The neighbours were able to share and help out one another based on trust and friendship, forging bonds and strong ties within the community. *Gotong royong* was promoted through the voluntary works by the national servicemen, students and committee members, which included clearing paths, paving roads, filling up potholes and repairing houses that were damaged by thunderstorms or floods. The majority of the volunteers would be touched by the overwhelming appreciation and gratitude shown by the *kampong* residents (*Remember Singapore*, September 17th 2013, see URL in sitography).

¹³ The concept of *emplacement*, or the sensuous reaction of people to place, has received increased attention thanks to the pioneering work of Steven Feld (1996), among others. His contribution in considering the word 'sense' in the expression 'sense of place' by asking: 'How is place actually sensed?' and affirming that 'as place is sensed, senses are placed; as places make sense, senses make place' (1996: 91). Noting how the ecology of natural sounds was central to local musical ecology among the Kaluli people in Papua New Guinea, and how this musical ecology maps onto the rainforest environment (1994), he encouraged others to seek similar connections between the landscape and society, and to frame work on space, place and identity.

in contact with the hawker centre office of the National Environment Agency. With one of the officers, whose name is Huay Koon Tan, we discussed the worldwide uniqueness of the hawker centres, made clear from the name itself. In fact, the very definition of a hawker, as we have seen previously, is someone who travels around selling different items. A hawker centre, instead, shackles the vendor to a fixed spot. As a matter of fact, the expression ‘hawker centre’ is actually an oxymoron. The choice to juxtapose the term *hawker* (an itinerant seller) to the term *centre* (a fixed space) was made to encase the denomination with the historical path and the unique features of these new public spaces¹⁴. Not only made of hawker centres, the culinary scene of Singapore is presented today in different forms. In addition to modernization, the influence of the western world has further changed food habits. Fast food chains, restaurants offering all-round kitchens and luxury cocktail bars, as well as food courts (modern versions of the hawker centres found in shopping malls). Singapore is today globally known for the variety offered in terms of food and culinary experience. Indeed, Singapore is also recognized as a leader in culinary tourism. The city-State not only promotes food as a tourist attraction but also actively promotes itself as an exceptional culinary destination. The Singapore Tourism Board (STB) presents plenty of food images in its information brochures and in websites (Fig. 8), and there are campaigns full of information about it both abroad and within Singapore (Chua and Rajah, 2001). Special places in the experience of the varied Singaporean cuisine; the hawker centres have also become a tourist destination, even if limited to the most central and advertised ones. Yet, during my period of observation I questioned several times why if these places are defined on the paper as national symbols they are not treated as such. The name of the hawkers is valued, but much less their hard work and their salaries, which based on the sales are still low. Indeed, above it being efficient, rapid, and diversified, the service offered by the hawkers in the hawker centres must be cheap and affordable to everyone. The question is whether it has to be considered just cheap or rather undervalued. Singaporeans balk at the idea of paying more than \$10 for local food, and because they live in one of the most expensive places in the world they are proud to still be able to say ‘at least our food is cheap’. However, it is time to recognize how selfish can be to own a fat paycheck while demanding faster, better and cheaper local food from poorer yet longer-hours working artisans. Hawker centres are one of the country’s most-loved institutions, providing meals and local delights for few dollars seven days a week, in some cases 24 hours a day. Yet, to ensure their survival diners must accept that they might have to pay more for some dishes in the future. In fact, with the growing trend of serving food assembled from ready-made components that come out from large-scale kitchens, those who keep producing by hand and use age-old recipes and local ingredients should be able to charge more without diners’ complains. This is the vision of the Hawker Centre 3.0 Committee, tasked with breathing life into a sector suffering from an aging workforce and a shortage of new blood (See Tan Hsuen Yun, 2017, *Hawker Culture Must Evolve to Ensure Survival*, «The Strait Times», url in bibliography).

¹⁴ From my field notes, informal conversation with Huay Koon Tan, January 15, 2016.



Figure 8. 2010's Campaign image on the Visit Singapore website. See url in sitography.

The impact that modernization policies had on the formation of the current hawker centres has been and continues to be important. The emphasis on cleanliness and hygiene remained constant since the era of the battle against traveling hawkers and the government. Entering any hawker centre, one will immediately notice the abundance of prohibitions and warnings for water saving, hand washing, and general safety, a feature among other things, of the whole city. Singaporeans treasure the rich heritage of their hawker centres. However, to ensure its survival over the years, the hawker culture must evolve, going to be even more efficient and streamlined that it is presently. In March 2015, the Ministry of Environment and Water Resources, which oversees the National Environment Agency, planned the construction of twenty more hawker centres over the next 12 years, in a bid to moderate hawker rentals and keep food prices affordable¹⁵. At the same time, the aim is to offer an even faster service with cashless payment, better amenities, and other innovations. It will be interesting to follow the next steps.

In addition to the discussed anxiety of progress, hawker centres also witness the multiracial policies of the government, and its ambiguity between theories and practices. The CMIO (Chinese, Malay, Indian and Others) model is present in the food markets, where ethnic membership rules meant to harmonize but are instead causing differences and incoherence.

A 'multi-racial' food in a 'multi-racial' society

After landing in Singapore, on the subway ride between the airport and my new flat, I looked at the people in the MRT (Mass Rapid Transportation). A family I thought from India and other people with a physiognomy that in my mind figured as Chinese. In categorizing those faces I was making more than a mistake. In fact, everyone in that wagon was Singaporean. But what does it mean to be Singaporean? Talking about identity everyone would know how to define his or her own. I am Italian because I live in the Italian territory, I speak Italian, I share the history of my country with other Italians, and so on. But how can we talk of a Singaporean identity in a State which was founded after the migrations of people from many other, near and far, countries, whose

¹⁵See Audrey Tan, *First of 20 new hawker centres will open in Hougang in August 2015: NEA*, Published online on «The Strait Times», June 8th 2015. URL in sitography.

population belongs originally to different territories, each one with its own language and history? People heterogeneity in this part of the world is such that Singapore represents an exception compared to other colonized countries of the world. In its peculiar case, the ethnic variety was written in the Constitution in the very first moments of the foundation of the city-State. In the first session of the first Parliament of the country on December 22nd, 1965, the Minister for National Law and Development, Mr. Edmund William Barker, announced:

One of the cornerstones of the policy of the government is a *multi-racial* (Italics mine) Singapore. We are a nation comprising peoples of various races who constitute her citizens, and our citizens are equal regardless of differences of race, language, culture, and religion... To ensure this bias in favor of multi-racialism and the equality of our citizens, whether they belong to majority or minority groups, a Constitutional Commission is being appointed to help formulate these constitutional safeguards.

(Barker, 1966: 1)

Since then, the ‘multiracial’ ideology has been incorporated as a basic logic for many public policies, aimed at preserving the cultures of the various groups and maintaining cultural harmony. However, these same public policies are in part used, as I will argue, as a system of social control, with examples also in the apparently neutral space of the hawker centres. The population of Singapore consists of 76.2% Chinese, 15% Malaysians, 7.4% Indians and the rest, about 2%, of other nationalities, grouped under the definition of Others. Hence, the categorization in the CMIO system: Chinese, Malay, Indians and Others. Every citizen of the island is required to report the belonging ethnic group in the identification document, under the voice *Race*. In Southeast Asia, as emphasized by Geoffrey Benjamin in his essay on Singaporean multiracialism (1976), since social groups have historically mixed, individuals are not necessarily limited to one, unchanged, ethnic identity from birth. The reality shows that, especially in the case of Singapore, there is often the possibility of choice with respect to which ethnic group you decide to be part of¹⁶. Language represents a good example of this trend. In late 1960s Malay was often the lingua franca, not only amongst people of different races who did not speak English, but also amongst the Chinese themselves, particularly to bridge dialects divides. The Speak Mandarin campaign was initiated to change all that. When ‘bilingualism’ became equated with English plus ‘mother tongue’, the position of Mandarin as the ‘mother tongue’ of Chinese Singaporeans was reinforced. This was in line with the ‘one race, one language, one mother tongue’ approach to multiracialism

¹⁶ An example of this possibility is the ambiguous Bilingual Policy of the Singaporean educational system. As it may seem at first glance, this policy is not the answer to the need for inter-ethnic communication in a multilingual society, since it is not limited to the knowledge of English as first language for all. Instead, it emphasizes the need to culturally classify each Singaporean, with the mandatory study of the tongue of the original culture as a second language, be it Chinese, Tamil (the most widely spoken Indian dialect in Singapore) or Malay, although the language spoken at home may already be English. If this is the system in theory, in practice there are different behaviors. In fact, there are cases in which ‘The choice of language can be a serious source of parental disagreement and / or economically determined strategic decision’ (Chua, 2005: 61). In the case of the child of a couple formed by an Indian father and a Chinese mother, for instance, the rule says that the children are assigned the ‘race’ of the father, but may choose to study the mother’s tongue. Between the study of Tamil or Mandarin, however, the choice of Mandarin is much more probable, as Singapore is a predominantly Chinese country, and the knowledge of the language is seen as a boost in the working and economic future. The matter becomes even more complicated if the mother tongue is a dialect, such as the Chinese *hokkien*, *hakka* and *teochew* dialects. Here too the rule says to choose between Tamil or Mandarin, since the study of the minor dialects of the groups is not foreseen.

that had evolved in the 1970s and become entrenched in the 1980s. Malays had Malay, Indians had Tamil, and the Chinese had Mandarin. It was logical that the message to Chinese Singaporeans was ‘speak more Mandarin and less dialects’. From 1979 to 1991, this message was carried to targeted groups and places. Groups included Chinese parents, hawkers, taxi drivers, and white-collar workers. Places included markets, food stalls, hawker centres, shopping centres, bus exchanges, and, of course, schools. What I personally discovered in my Singaporean experience is that these policies, which tend to enhance the original cultures in order to create social harmony, have conversely brought great emphasis on differences, despite the desire to unite the citizens as all Singaporeans. In my daily life I had direct testimony of this while talking with people, who defined themselves as Chinese Singaporeans, Indian or Malay Singaporean, always adding their original nationality to their citizenship, which in some cases was perceived less important to mention.

In the field of food, intrinsically linked to the social sphere, the main feature of Singapore cuisine is variety, as a result of the history of transcultural encounters. As we have seen, the Singapore Tourist Promotion Board promotes the choice of different and delicious food as one of the main reasons for visiting the island. In this representation, food and consumption patterns are characterized by a great multitude of styles, reflecting the official CMIO categorization. Therefore, the Singaporean tendency to ‘ethnicize’ is also expressed in the dishes, making food a register of ethnicity:

The very public-ness and inscribed ‘ethnicity’ of a particular item of food is itself the result of a social process in which a style of cooking and its results come to be their own representation as an ‘ethnic’, cuisine. [...]. The first step towards the inscription and codification of ‘ethnic’ food is when it is (re)presented to a consuming public by vendors through a ‘menu’; the menu is part of the process of giving an identity, an ethnicity to an item of food.

(Chua, Rajah, 2001: 162)

The recipes that make up the very wide range of Singaporean dishes can be defined as ‘bearers of ethnicity’. Taking into consideration the three main cuisines: Chinese, Malay, and Indian, Singaporean cuisine may superficially be defined as an hybridization between the three. Generally speaking, food always constituted a field characterized by exchange, appropriation, fusion, diffusion, absorption, and invention transmitted by generation and constantly re-produced. To state that the result of all these elements is the hybridization between different cuisines is a simplification of reality. In other words the concept ‘hybrid’ presupposes that elements, which hybridize, are pure, and when in contact they give shape to a third form, no longer pure. This concept is as false as that of the existence of a single, fixed identity¹⁷. Questioning the term, Singaporean social scientists Chua Beng Huat and Ananda Rajah, in their essay *Hybridity, Ethnicity and*

¹⁷As Lévi-Strauss already observed about identity: ‘It is situated at the point of confluence not simply of two but of several paths together. Interest (ing) practically all the disciplines’ (1996: 11). In more recent times Italian anthropologist Francesco Remotti states: ‘Otherness is presented not only on the margins, beyond the borders, but in the very core of identity’, therefore, ‘identity [...] is also made of otherness’ (Remotti, 2007: 63, my translation). And yet, Remotti describes identity as a ‘mask’ and the process of identity construction as ‘a fact of decisions’ (2007: 5, my translation), which consists of a negotiation, a selection of elements and connections. According to Remotti, scholars’ objective is to go beyond the belief of a fixed identity, discovering how it is an element, proper to every community, as a reassuring decision in the constant flow of events and circumstances of the world, a decision that involves at the same time: ‘violence against web of connections, but it is also an attempt, at times heroic (and indispensable) of salvation with respect to the inexorability of flow and change’ (2007: 10, my translation).

Food in Singapore (2001), take into consideration the itself very variable Chinese cuisine and compare it with Singaporean recipes coming from Chinese tradition:

In referring to certain categories of food as hybrid we wish to draw attention to the fact that it is the social actors, the producers and consumers of food in Singapore, who assume the existence of 'pure' cuisines, but it is not an assumption we make in this essay. [...] It is important to recognize that among "Chinese", "Malay", "Indian" and "Others", despite the hybridization that has occurred in 'their' cuisines, they see the products of hybridization in terms of pure categories, i.e. "Chinese", "Malay", "Indian" or "Others" [...] In other words, even hybrid food may be seen mistakenly as pure cuisine.

(Chua, Rajah, 2001: 166-167)

The Singaporean trend to look at different social aspects in terms of race also takes place in the field of food. This attitude is the result of colonial history but has been amplified in post-colonial Singapore as a product of the rigorous imprinting that nationalist leaders made possible through the educational system. This classification system, as well as the 'ethnicization' of foods, has been central in making different recipes as representations of different ethnic groups. As well as in the identity document of Singaporeans the race of belonging has to be clear, so in the hawker centres the type of cuisine has to be indicated, being it Chinese, Malay, Indian, Western and so on, making the definition of a Singaporean cuisine difficult and ambiguous. However, Singaporeans consider the ethnicity expressed 'in the plate' as a feature that has always existed and it is considered a plus, as the concrete possibility to enjoy a myriad of delicacies with no chance to bore taste, their most important sense. Christopher Tan, a local writer of Singaporean recipes books, to the question 'what is Singapore food?' answers:

Singapore food, in the final analysis, is the product of many different lives lived and cultured side by side. And for so many generations, what other countries might call *audacious fusion*, we simply think of as normal. Chinese fried noodles with belacan-laced sambal¹⁸ on the side, Indian mee goreng¹⁹, Hainanese kaya²⁰ on English toast. We think nothing of having dosa²¹ for breakfast, char siew rice²² for lunch, Italian for dinner, and a nightcap at a whiskey bar. It is the natural outcome of a *densely packed* history and population. It is an openness to adaptation and combination.

(Tan, 2010: 15)

¹⁸ *Sambal Belacan* is a popular spicy Malaysian chili condiment consisting of chilies, *belacan* (shrimp paste), and lime juice.

¹⁹ *Mee Goreng* is a flavourful and often spicy fried noodle dish common in Indonesia, Malaysia, Brunei and Singapore. It is made with thin yellow noodles fried in cooking oil with garlic, onion or shallots, fried prawn, chicken, beef, or sliced meatballs, chili, Chinese cabbage, cabbages, tomatoes, egg, and other vegetables.

²⁰ *Hainanese Kaya* is a delicious and nutritious custard made with coconut milk, pandan green leaves, eggs and palm sugar, popular in Singapore and Malaysia. Like regular jam, and because of the British influence in the territory, it is most often used as a bread spread at breakfast or at afternoon tea. Because of its sweet taste it is also used as an ingredient in various local desserts throughout Southeast Asia, from Thailand to Indonesia. While in Singapore I enjoyed it every morning.

²¹ *Dosa* is a type of pancake from the Indian subcontinent, made from a fermented batter. It is similar to a French crepe in appearance, but it is usually eaten with curry sauces.

²² *Char siew rice* is a dish made with Cantonese roasted or barbecued meat over a bowl of rice.

This openness to adaptation and fusion was shared with me in a spontaneous, unrecorded conversation with Anthony, a Chinese Singaporean man in his fifties, who curiously talked to me one day in a café saying: ‘(Singapore food) it’s about different foods, we are open people. Open to different cultures, to try their food. We look through the color we do not look at the color. We get along well in the differences. We look at similarities, not at differences. [...] We (Singaporeans) are exposed to change, as we are exposed to differences, different cultures. Respect for the differences is something we achieve from education²³.

In this situation of constant explication and acceptance of differences, food assumes the role of an inclusive element, creating a space of personal and at the same time collective experience. Consuming food people also ‘consumes’ history: ‘Singaporeans reflect their multiracial character at table, making it a site that reveals the complicated history of the island state’ (Tarulevich, 2013: 24). Ethnic identity and its boundaries are continually associated with elements such as language, religion, customs, and food. This tendency to look at the concept transforming it into concrete social facts is not exclusively of anthropologists. Social actors themselves perform constantly what they consider to be their own identity. In the case of Singapore food, ethnic identity is incorporated and represented on a daily basis. As stated by Geoffrey Benjamin (1976), the logic of Singapore’s multiracialism has meant that the Singaporeans look at themselves in terms of race, and this is evident in the different aspects of social life. For example, more than 80 per cent of the populations live in public housing estates, all of which must keep a quota of each race according to the national average to prevent the formation of ghettos, another example of a ‘multiracial’ policy. The challenge to build a Singaporean national identity lies in this habit, encouraged by the system - and described above in different daily-life patterns - to think in terms of race rather than a whole. As Ajun Appadurai noted about Indian regional varieties, which create a ‘polyglot culture’ arising from many different ones (1998: 21), likewise - and paradoxically - what unify Singaporeans is the fact of being different. An emblematic representation of that, as well as an example of the use of food as a tool for national building, is the semiology behind a popular dish called *rojak*. *Rojak* is originally a Malaysian dish, also found in Indonesia and Singapore. There are several variations of the recipe, but the most common one is composed of fruit (pineapple) and vegetables (cucumber, celeriac, roots) thinly sliced and served with a spicy condiment made with palm sugar, salt, spices, ginger, lime, pepper, and toasted fragrant peanuts (Fig. 9). The taste is a triumph of opposite flavours and textures, such as savory, sweet and spicy, crunchy and soft, saucy and hard. In the Singaporean variations of the dish the Chinese influence is in the presence of fried tofu and sweet batter pancakes, whereas the Indian recipe use fritters served with a thick, spicy, sweet potato sauce. In addition to the reference to this recipe, the term *rojak* also means ‘mixture’ or ‘eclectic mix’ in colloquial Malay, and is often used as an example of Singaporean multiculturalism, as a mix of different elements that create a successful dish. Using it as a food metaphor, Singapore call itself a *rojak* nation, where the variety of flavours represent the race distinction and where the union in the differences create a powerful nation.

²³ From my field-notes, informal conversation with Anthony, February 18th 2016.



Figure 9. *Rojak*. Ph. Claudia Squarzon.

In my research, I have chosen to analyze the role of Singaporean food as a marker of identity, rather than as a result of hybridization between cultures. Discussing hybridization means to eliminate the belief that exist ethnically pure foods, and consequently ethnically pure groups. In defining the recipes as ethnically pure my interlocutors often used the term ‘authentic’, on one hand referring about those reproduced exactly like the original ones (Chinese, Indian or Malay), whose originality itself, as seen above, has not to be taken for granted. On the other hand when talking about dishes prepared as the itinerant hawkers used to do (for example using charcoal instead of electric ovens, grills instead of electric plates, broken noodles to be eaten with a spoon instead of using chopsticks, easy to be consumed standing on the street). *Authenticity*, as well as *hybridization*, is a word to carefully examine, since it assumes a precise idea about what a specific culture (and its food) represents, and in which ways it is considered genuine. It refers to the idea of something *traditional*, another word often used inappropriately. Among the meanings of the word ‘authentic’, there is a clear reference to something prototypical, true and reliable, the opposite of something imaginary, fake, reproduced and copied. In many respects, authenticity encodes the expectation of truthful representations, linked to the identity of people or groups, to the authorship of products and producers, to cultural practices. Contemporary anthropology has gone beyond the bounds of the essentialist conceptualizations of culture, given that there are no single cultures closed within their own boundaries, and in the same way there is no single, fixed definition of authenticity. Dissociating from the limitations of the vision of a single, original and authentic culture, I also have moved away from the idea of *tradition*, which although carefully used in the academic field, was used inappropriately in fieldwork’s everyday speech. This is why, I suggest, researchers need to be able to interpret local terms, after having considered them on the analytical level,

to understand the hidden meanings, without the presumption of not investigating because they are considered wrong regardless. Following this method and only thanks to a prolonged exposure to the field I could conclude that the elements, which make hawker food authentic and so symbolic of a Singaporean identity for Singaporeans, are the following:

1) The whole experience of eating in a hawker centre, which includes experiencing the true heat of the island, sweating and feeling relief from the air moved by the fans placed in every corner of the food markets. And so the sounds, the smells and the birds, which attracted by the food on the tables lurk on the roofs, the fast service of the efficient hawkers, who skillfully skip food in the wok or prepare fragrant soups, offering to the customers a huge selection of items at low prices, accessible to everyone.

2) The recipes that recall the flavors of childhood, which in the Singaporean case are those prepared as the traveling street hawkers used to do. It is interesting to note how hawkers have always been such important figures to be placed in people's memories, as usually are mothers or grandmothers and their missed dishes.

At the time of traveling hawkers the experience of creating the recipes *ad hoc* and of consuming them on the street was central. Today, with the construction of the hawker centres and the elimination of the street experience, the missed recipes have acquired more importance as markers of authenticity. However, nowadays the new kind of food markets represent themselves a peculiar experience, and they are valued as symbol of the Singaporean willingness to preserve old cooking methods in a still informal environment, with safer hygiene rules. Unique in their features, the hawker centres are more than just eating-places; they are part of Singapore's heritage. The mobility may be gone, but the dynamism of hawking is far from disappearing, despite the big changes. Indeed, it is right in their constant transformation that lays the pulse of the changing demographics and lifestyles of the island-nation.

Fieldwork methodologies: practicing theories

The first time I entered a hawker centre I felt overwhelmed. The number of people, colors, noises, voices, smells, seemed to me like a confused whole, difficult to become familiar with and carry out my research. On that occasion, I decided to just enjoy the moment as a customer, a visitor who was there to dine with a local friend, leaving the gaze of the ethnographer for the following days. I was wrong. If my mind decided it was too early to start my observation, my body already started to feel the new environment as soon as I got off the plane. The powerful air-conditioning in the indoor spaces, the sultry heat outdoor, the continuous temperature shift, the smell of the air, the unreal traffic order and the confusing atmosphere in the hawker centers. If I wanted to leave my researcher's gaze closed in the first day, my ears, my nose, my eyes and my entire body were naturally open and subject to constant stimulation. 'The senses are a way to 'make sense', against the inexhaustible background of a world that never ceases to flow; it is the senses that produce the concretions that make it intelligible' (Le Breton, 2006: XII, my translation). Spaces like the hawker centres represent an overwhelming and unpredictable experience. 'Many researches who have undertaken ethnographies that attend to the senses have done so without any special preparation: the multisensoriality of the research context is often something that emerges through one's encounter with both people and the physical environment one is participating in' (Pink: 2015: 51). In the peculiar context of food markets, of which the Singaporean hawker

centres represent a typology, one must take into account the multiple points of view possible to analyze it. Excluding the other disciplines, which could have scientific interest in the study of food markets, within anthropology itself the study can follow different paths, and if the researcher is not aware and open to the unexpected, there is the concrete risk of being run over by the amount of empirical data and theoretical implications.

As a regard to my own ethnography, I decided to consider in all its components one of the 109 Singapore hawker centres active on the island at the time of my fieldwork (2015-2016). Its name is Dunman Food Centre and it is situated in the neighbourhood of Joo Chiat, in the East part of Singapore. Starting from the physical space, the people, the relationships, and the activities carried out daily, as well as with paying attention at the history and the linguistic dynamics in that context, I gradually achieved familiarity with it. However, the process required time and patience, respect for the workers' daily commitments and adaptation to a vibrant atmosphere of fast moves and rhythms. I proceeded with delineating all the different aspects of the market's everyday. Firstly the whole space features (structure, timing and people), deepening the analysis to only one hawker (his stall, his family, his everyday at the market and his recipe). My inspiration was the ecological perspective inaugurated by psychologist James Gibson (1979) and reinterpreted by Tim Ingold, who states that 'in the individual there is the whole history of its environmental relationships' (2001: 92)²⁴. Through the analysis of the place they use to visit on a daily basis to feed themselves and their families, actively observing their practices and habits, while becoming myself more confident and familiar with the popular hawker centres, I felt more familiar with the Singaporean people, with which I shared a warm affection to the informal space of the hawker centres. At the same time, I understood in the very early stages the need to pay large attention to the empirical sphere of this research, together with my subjective feelings, which I did not (and could not) want to put aside. I contemplate the concept of *embodiment* in the field, and the need to understand how to manage and transmit sensory experience, along with the importance to consider the bodily experience as an epistemological tool. As anthropologist Rachel E. Black, on her Ph.D.'s fieldwork research of Porta Palazzo food market in Turin, Italy, says: 'Despite spending seven years frequenting and working at the Porta Palazzo market, I felt unable to capture every aspect of the place. It took me some time to find a narrative frame for discussing and analyzing this market - through its complexity, it evaded a straightforward ethnographic description' (Black, 2012: 8). With the expression 'straightforward ethnographic description' Black refers to conventional ethnography, where 'ethnographers privilege how people share knowledge through speaking and/or writing, and communicate their research in written texts published by academic houses and in lecture halls to academic audiences' (Elliott, Culhane, 2017: 46). With the Canadian curators of the book *A Different Kind of Ethnography, Imaginative Practices and Creative Methodologies*, Denielle Elliot and

²⁴ The ecological approach theorized in his environmental psychology by James J. Gibson (1979), represents a radical departure from the way perceiving, and knowing more generally, have been traditionally conceptualized in psychology and philosophy. At the heart of Gibson's ecological approach is an original analysis of the environment, which in turn leads to a new view of person-environment relations, with significant implications for psychology and epistemology. Anthropologist Tim Ingold, taking inspiration from this approach in *The Perception of the Environment. Essays on Livelihood, Dwelling and Skills* (2000), writes on the relationship between people and environment arguing that the environment (nature) is not a neutral background, nor separated from the individuals (culture). 'Because an environment can only be recognized in relation to an organism of which it is environment; since, in other words, it is the figure that creates the background, the process of formation of the organism is also the process of formation of its environment'. (Ingold, 2000: 91).

Dara Culhane, from the Centre for Imaginative Ethnography in Toronto (referred to in the above citation) I share the belief that: ‘to become critically aware of our sensory experiences, the meanings we make of these, and how we apply them is challenging and requires purposeful work’ (2017:49) that begins with cultivating what Sarah Pink called ‘sensory embodied reflexivity’: ‘a form of reflexivity through which the ethnographer engages with how his or her own sensory experiences are produced through research encounters and how these might assist her or him in understanding those of others’ (Pink, 2015: 58). This call for a new and stimulating ‘sensuous scholarship’ (Stoller, 1997) is strongly pointed by Michael Herzfeld as such:

It is a matter of political as well as epistemological urgency for the discipline to become much more sensitive to the messages couched in alternative sensory codes. [...] The older mode of sense-less description indeed now begins to smell rather fishy

(2008: 437, 441)

In keeping these lessons from the giants’ on my shoulders, bringing theory in the field, I was open to welcome any new lessons, which will have come from the practice. This is why a whole chapter of my Master thesis was dedicated to the lived experience and the sensorial implication within the context of the Singaporean food markets. Clearly, in a place where they prepare, sell and consume a vast amount of dishes, food is the central element. Therefore I also indicated some food-related theories to explore why and how hawker food is exploited as a vehicle to reinforce the need of national identity. Space, senses, food, and issues of identity have then been the macro-themes covered in my work, themes that lend themselves well as lens for the observation of the hawker centres context, but that only through the concrete everyday experience of them, become relevant.

*Space*²⁵

The study of space in anthropology focuses on *relationality*, as defined by Wendy Hollway as the intersubjective foundation of identity (2010), a founding argument in a discipline that deals with the discovery of ‘the other’. Starting from the body, through the study of human-relationships, unto the context in which these relationships take place: the space, the human-space link has been problematized in recent years, placing it within a multidisciplinary research perspective. In this regard, I considered as fundamental: ‘the analysis of the social organization of space through forms that reproduce certain social values, the role of history and social institutions in generating the built environment, the relationship between space and power and the way in which space and human actions are connected to mental processes and the perceptions of the self’ (Ligi, 2003: 244, my translation). The physical space is never neutral, independent, in fact human beings and their environments are produced in relation with one another. Italian anthropologist Ernesto de Martino in *La Fine del Mondo* (1977), describes the nature of human beings as ‘being there’ rather than ‘being’ in the world, always connected with specific space and time, *hic et nunc*, in which they act. This vision comes from philosopher Martin Heidegger’s concept of *dasein*, whose analytical discourse in the book *Being and Time* (1927) connotes it as ‘being here and now’, which involves a

²⁵ I divide this paragraph in the three sections: *Space*, *Food* and *Senses*, in order to better present the analytical concepts specific of the three fields, as well as the specific methodologies I used to dialogue with them in the field.

double constitution within specific forms of presence and world (individuality and society). The *dasein* is not something abstract, transcendental: individuals *are there* rather than *they are*. In this sense De Martino's *relationality* is recognized not as a metaphysical abstraction but as a concrete experience of the self (and its body). It is from *relationality* that the world arises and not vice versa. This localized nature of human beings and their social actions is object of many sociological studies (Bourdieu 1972, Giddens 1984, Lawrence, Low 1990, Ingold 2000, 2001). Therefore the understanding of emic meanings by ethnographers cannot happen in language nor in the mere observation anymore, but in the first hand practice: 'it is not enough to be there, we must act with' (Malighetti, Molinari, 2016: 195, my translation). Pierre Bourdieu's Theory of Practice, and Anthony Giddens's Theory of Structuration represent the fundamental interpretative model for an anthropology of the space. The two sociologists unite the human activities of being and acting in an uninterrupted process of autopoiesis. An autopoietic system continually redefines itself, through a network of processes, creations, transformations, and destructions that, interacting with each other, sustain and regenerate the same system continuously. The process is called *antropo-poiesis* in the case of human's systems²⁶, and refers to the ability, proper of all living beings, 'to organize themselves by exploiting the environment and referring it to themselves' (Ligi, 2003: 254, my translation). Therefore, the process of biological development and culture acquisition are operations of self-organization. According to the social anthropologist Tim Ingold, scholars must learn a know-how through practice and exercise, to acquire the skills specific of an interested field. In his ecological approach, the only way to represent and signify people's practices is to do it practically, implementing learning by doing as cultural learning. This is the way to become an active and competent member of a community, to build, at the same time, a sense of belonging, an identity. Cultural variability consists, in fact, in a difference of abilities. Therefore, the researcher will have to approach the study of these skills in an ecological way, practicing them in turn (Ingold, 2000, 2001). Through sensory, practical and social training, mediated by the interaction with the people in their everyday contexts, the anthropologist can access that horizon of tasks that Ingold calls *taskscape* (2000), the effective fusion of the concepts of landscape and practices, which once again emphasizes the relationship between space and people's practices.

Stated the existing link between individuals, their activities and the context in which they move, a kind of ethnography, which take in consideration the analysis of the physical components of the place, the relationships and the daily practices, with a look also at the linguistic and historical dimensions, has characterized the method of my research. The fieldwork was divided in two phases: observation and immersion. The first one included the detailed description of the physical structure and the daily activities. Yet, observation was never passive, rather used to interact with the people in informal conversations, and to plan the next steps based on daily discoveries. The second part included interviews and practice. Unfortunately I was not allowed to prepare food

²⁶ Francesco Remotti officially presented the concept of anthropopoiesis in 1996, in the introduction of *Le Fucine Rituali*, Turin, Segnalibro Publishing. The Italian anthropologist has devoted much of his research to the definition of the concept and processes of *anthropopoiesis* starting from the study of the rituals of circumcision among the Nande people of Zaire (Democratic Republic of the Congo). The word *Anthropopoiesis* is composed by the Greek *anthropos* (man) and *poiesis* (manufacture, from the verb *poiein*, to make, to model, to manufacture), and here is the meaning of the process of construction and definition of human identity. Through the modification of the body and the rituals (for example Nande's initiation ceremonies) the individual model him/herself as a human being and defines his/her own identity.

in the hawker centres, due to State policies. So I used to write down and video-record each step of preparation, and reproduce it once at home. Needless to say there was no comparison with the hawkers' final product, but trying to cook the dish myself I understood the effort, the usage of the ingredients and where to source them, I learnt to follow instructions as well as to be creative, because cooking is always an inventive performance. The ways hawkers described the preparation process were diverse. Someone detailed each single passage, starting from the origins of the dish, the ingredients and the cooking method, others only showed me the action without words and let me follow and film. Interesting to note is also that the ways they talked about their activities while doing them was much different from when we met outside the food centre for a planned interview, or when we randomly met on the neighborhood's streets. In the making, they were more detailed and they would let me smell or taste here and there. A sense of proudness to show me their work and their recipes emerged more inside the market, where they were more open to offer information, also due to the fact that the customers and the other stallholders were looking. I concluded that the food market space and the hawkers' stalls were absolutely not neutral, and rather they were considered a comfort zone a familiar ground, both for the workers and the customers, who would visit the food centre on a daily basis to feed their families.

Food

The relationship between food and culture is obvious and complex at the same time. It is trivially obvious because people have to eat in order to survive. It is complex because the choice of what and how to eat is dependent on a combination of different elements. Pierre Bourdieu, in *La Distinzione* (1979), focuses on the ways in which individual taste is strictly related to social stratification. David Sutton (2001, 2010) proposes to consider eating as an 'incarnate practice' and anthropology of food as 'Proustian anthropology', closely related to memories and reminiscence of affective pasts, as the Proustian narrative child memories derived from eating a madeleine (Proust, 1961: 47). Food is a 'total sensory object' (Le Breton 2006: 335), which brings together sensations and memories. The properties that distinguish it, such as smell, taste, consistency, and color, remain over the years and substantiate the stories of memory. Also, the cultural models conveyed in the process of eating make people express and affirm their sense of community belonging, their national identities. However, as David Bell and Gill Valentine point out in *Consuming Geographies: We Are Where We Eat* (1977), there is a fundamental contradiction in the equation between the field of food and the sense of national identity: 'the history of any nation's diet is the history of the nation itself, with food fashion, fads and fancies mapping episodes of colonialism and migration, trade and exploration, cultural exchange and boundary making' (1977: 186). The meeting between different cultures, trade models, and migrations has produced kitchens whose origins have nothing to do with a unique definable national feature. From an academic point of view it is then irrelevant to focus on the existence of national cuisines, but rather on why and how certain foods and styles of preparation continue to be identified with specific ethnic groups and nationalities. Not strictly revealing national identities, food is rather the mirror of the history of contacts between cultures, both in the ingredients and in the recipes. Food is like a language that 'articulates notions of inclusion and exclusion, national pride and xenophobia' (1977: 192) and the incorporation of these notions into the same foods and their uses make it an important actor in the process of creating boundaries between different groups. Ethnic identity and its boundaries are continually

associated with elements such as language, religion, customs. This tendency to look at the concept of identity by transforming it into realistic facts is proper to the social actors, who constantly (and often unconsciously) perform what they consider to be their own identity in everyday practices, also related to food. The work of Carole Counihan and Susanne Højlund *Making Taste Public* (2018) takes an ethnographic approach to show how social relations shape - and are shaped by - the taste of food. Recognizing that different cultures have different taste preferences and flavour principles embedded in cuisine, they ask how these differences are generated, showing evidence of how taste is made public through everyday practices in different ethnographic cases. With the aim to get an insight of Singaporean everyday practices related to food preparation and consumption, my ethnographic work focused on hawker food, inspired by models that proceed according to the concrete details of everyday life (Franceschi, Preveri, 2013) and giving large importance to the sensory experience in the process of 'rewriting taste through the taste of rewriting' (Franceschi, Preveri, 2013: 7, my translation). In Singaporean society, food and consumption patterns of the past occupy a prominent role in the common and public construction of nostalgia. Singaporeans express their shared nostalgia in terms of childhood plates prepared by the hawkers on the streets, and this reflected on the importance given to the places and events that preserve and enhance these memories. Places like the hawker centres and the *kopitiam*, as well as food festivals and heritage food tours are all about this, and through my search of cultural meanings in these contexts I defined Singaporean food as 'multi-racial', highlighting the Singaporeans' tendency to consider themselves in terms of race and group membership. Besides, Singapore's food is the intermediary to reproduce the social roots that anchor individual and collective belonging. In this way it is an instrument through which people reproduce continuously what they consider to be their identity, closely linked to their lived experience. Taste is the sense of the perception of flavours, which responds to a particular sensitivity marked by social and cultural belonging and by the way in which each individual adapts itself according to the specific events of its history' (Le Breton 2006: 351, my translation). People do not just eat the food products; people eat their own identity.

Focusing on the recipes and the food preparation, in the second part of my fieldwork I began by listing all the stalls and the respective dishes. Once I had the overall situation clear, I concentrated on four different stalls and their recipes, the ones more willing to collaborate. In these cases, the observation was more meticulous, and when possible, I came in close contact with the hawkers of reference, learning and following step-by-step, and day-by-day, the whole preparation process behind their recipes. The characteristics, the hawkers' response to my attempt to approach, as well as the recipes, the style of preparation and the service to customers was interestingly totally different. The peculiarities of every hawker were evident, due to character differences, personal history, age, gender, and depending on them working alone or in a family run business, on the success of their stall and the subsequent support of customers, which leads to a satisfactory salary or, on the contrary, on the fact of being hawker for just economic necessity and the lack of knowledge in other fields, seeing this profession as a simple way to earn enough to live. In the very last steps of the work, receiving a positive response from one of the four stallholders, whose name was Steven, I decided to consider his stall as the focal point to observe all the detailed techniques, the gestures and the practices involved on a daily basis, together with the privilege of a continuous exchange of views, thoughts, historical and cultural insights on Dunman Food Centre,

family's stories from the street to the food market relocation, and visions for the future of the hawking profession. Many spontaneous conversations, together with structured interviews, allowed the creation of mutual trust between us. Steven, and the detailed explanation of his work inside the stall to create his successful *wanton mee*²⁷, allowed me to make considerations on the issue of the transmission of practices and skills. Space, furniture, timing, movements and ingredients' knowledge were embodied and put into practice every day as expert practices, which defined the identity of Steven. The representation that he offered me of his daily-life inside Dunman Food Centre, once I asked him what the place represented for him, was clearly accounted, without any hesitation, in his quick and direct answer: "It's my life! It's my income, my family! Nine years old I was already here, it is my second home"²⁸.

Senses

In describing the features of the Dunman Food Centre in my field notes, a picture of the daily life of the market gradually formed. At the same time, the new sensorium I was experiencing, and how my perceptions of the place gradually changed over time, was taking shape. The reflection on my subjectivity and the personal journey made in familiarizing with the food market began with considering fieldwork as a strong individual experience, which modify usual habits and rhythms. The first time I visited Dunman Food Centre in Singapore as the hawker centre of my choice I felt nervous. I was an outsider in a fast moving and organized context. Its dynamics were confusing at first. I was not able to distinguish the noises, the voices, the movements of pots, knives on cutting boards, blenders, ladles in the woks, the rubbing of food poured into hot pots, the arrangement of trays and dishes in the cleaners' carts, the launch of the chopsticks in the buckets of soapy water in front of the kiosks, the paws and the birds singing and resting on the roofs, waiting for free tables to steal some surplus, the hawkers shouting announcing dishes ready and the bells used for the same purpose...An endless series of sensorial stimuli, all united to create that unavoidable synaesthesia defined by Maurice Merleau-Ponty as such:

Synesthetic perception is the rule [...] and if we do not notice it, it is because scientific knowledge removes the experience, because we have unlearned to see, hear and, in general, to feel, to deduce instead from our body organization and from world, which the physical conceives them, what we must see, hear and feel. [...] The senses communicate between them, opening themselves to the structure of the thing. [...] We are all unconsciously synaesthetes.

(Merleau-Ponty, 1945: 308)

A combination of elements belonging to different sensorial levels. Inside Dunman Food Centre I felt clumsy and observed. At the beginning, the physical element of the entrance's stairs represented for me the passage towards the immersion in its atmosphere. In those steps I used to mentally prepare myself to savor every aspect carefully. I was consciously insecure, but I tried not to show it, being convinced that over time my insecurity would have decreased. Once inside, it was hard to focus on

²⁷ *Wanton mee* or *wanton noodles*, is a Cantonese noodle dish very popular in Singapore as a breakfast staple. The dish is composed of noodles served in a hot broth, garnished with leafy vegetables, wonton dumplings and smoked pork slices.

²⁸ From my fieldwork notes, informal conversation with Steven, February 17th, 2016.

single elements, as the different sensory degrees came into play in unison. Canadian anthropologists David Howes and Constance Classen, in their avant-garde writings on the importance of the sensory world in anthropology, discuss on synesthesia as ‘the union of the senses’ (2013: 153). Listening to new noises, sniffing mysterious smells, and tasting unusual flavours, I was unable to understand where did they come from. Consequently, I realized that my mind was engaged to guess where they could come from and the tendency was to bring them closer to what I already knew, instead of falling into the uncertainty that created disorientation. As Sarah Pink describes, this kind of cultural ‘jolt may be gradual, enjoyable, perhaps disturbing if the disorientation experienced leaves the ethnographer grasping out for points of familiarity’ (2015: 52). Understanding that bodily aspects are linked to mental elements such as memory, related so to the cultural and social sphere, sensorial perceptions must be studied not only from a psychological and neurological point of view, but also in the social and anthropological field. According to Canadian anthropologist David Howes and historian Constance Classen:

We intend to show that synesthesia is too multifaceted and too culturally important to be left solely to neuroscientists to define. We also hope, on the one hand, to encourage neuroscientists interested in sensory integration to take more account of cultural factors, and, on the other, to stimulate historians, anthropologists and other scholars to look beyond, beside, and behind neurological models to explore the ways in which the senses- and the sensory models- are shaped by culture.

(Howes, Classen, 2013: 153)

Exploring the innovative field of Sensory Studies, the link between nature and culture is reaffirmed, with the conviction that what we physically perceive, in the continuous multitude of stimuli caused by living in a specific environment, is culturally constructed and linked to what we know, in a continuous operation of comparison.

The constitution of society is seen as shaping the constitution of mind and body, and hence, of synesthesia [...] There is no strict division between the biological and the cultural in experiences of this multifaceted phenomenon. Even the idiosyncratic synesthesia of the individual, as we shall see, can show the influence of the social and material environment in its formation.

(Howes, Classen, 2013: 156-157)

Initially, every element under the roof of the market attracted my attention and watching, feeling, smelling, tasting, touching were my daily actions. The light green color predominant throughout the market gave me peace of mind. The outer walls and the roof, the tables and chairs all were green, and recalled the green of the plants on the right side of the entrance. The circular-shaped lamps, hanging on the ceiling, created good lighting. The air of the fans, at each corner of the ceiling and in the columns that supported the entire structure, moved the air in the terrible heat, and offered momentary relief. The anti-bird system, with the classic pins on the roofs, was not very successful, and occasionally there was the song of birds perched in the corners. In the most crowded hours, especially at lunch and dinner time, the hawkers’ movements inside the kiosks and the customers between the tables a great confusion. And again the knives on the cutting boards slicing food, the air in the ventilation hoods above the stove, the ladles in the woks, the sizzling of food in the hot oil, the loud voices. Sitting at the tables many

hours a day, in the simple plastic round chairs fixed to the floor, I tired my legs and back and I do not remember a single day without feeling the sweat drops under the clothes, especially after eating the spicy foods. The smells of the food trays, which passed by, brought by the customers or by the hawkers themselves serving at the table were multiple and in the smoking area of the market the smell of cigarette mixed with the smell of food. After being exposed to all these elements daily for six months, in the last weeks of fieldwork they became familiar, and being able to describe them with words in a writing piece was proof of this. I felt part of the market, a sensation diametrically opposed to the initial one. The confusion had become the normal atmosphere in which every day I expected to immerse myself. The noises were recognizable and, as such, they got less my attention, as it happens with the noises of the houses in which we live, to which we no longer pay attention. Going on the spot had become a certainty, I knew (with exceptions) who I would find at certain times of the day and on different days of the week, which kiosks I would find open and which ones closed, which full of customers and those mostly empty, who would have greeted me and who I should have greeted first to get in touch, what dishes I wanted to eat and how to order them, and even who would have wear the flip-flops that I would continuously heard shuffling for the whole market!

Only thanks to my concrete fieldwork experience and to the great example of the studied and mentioned scholars, I am strongly convinced that the sensuous implications of the researcher in the field are a fundamental prerequisite for the construction of knowledge. Bodily experience is central in a methodological proposal that renews the concept of participation. This new vision of ethnographic method is enriched with sensoriality, as opposed to a vigilant rationality as the only source of knowledge. The recent anthropology of the senses has given a positive answer to the question whether the sensory world represents or not the real world and if it contributes, therefore, to knowledge. Michael Herzfeld responds in *Practice of Theory* (2006) highlighting the importance of a close conceptual convergence between theory and practice. According to the author, the observer is always placed in the observation, and he accuses anthropologists of presumption in wanting to understand the world despite ethnocentrism, their interpretative frame, inevitably present. The misunderstanding that exists in every ethnographic work is the constant evidence of this ethnocentrism. Given this, Herzfeld believes that anthropology deals with misunderstandings, since they are the result of different 'common senses' (2006: 94), which must be the real objects of study in anthropology. With 'common sense' Herzfeld refers to the daily understanding of how the world works, rooted both in sensory experiences (individual) and in political practices (society). Before anthropologists, two media scholars, Marshall McLuhan and his pupil Walter Jackson Ong, dealt with sensoriality. In particular, they encouraged the idea of a study of the senses in which 'given sufficient knowledge of the sensorium used in a culture one could probably define the culture virtually in the totality of all its aspects' (1967: 6). Among nowadays-major scholars on the senses, Canadian Constance Classen (1993, 2013) and David Howes (1991, 2013) from the Concordia University of Montréal, which exhort an increasing number of researches to pursue a sensory approach to culture, with an optimistic and enthusiastic perspective in this regard. I use the term optimistic because there is still a concrete difficulty in recording the data of the sensory world, one of the reasons why the development of studies in this direction has been inhibited in the past. Precisely for this reason further research by Concordia University and others will be essential. Thanks to the increasing study on the senses, a new

approach is moving to a vision in which anthropology is considered as a clear practice of difference, and not of identity, and for this reason we can and must allow a sort of right to opacity in the lenses with which we look at other cultures. Anthropologists should be interested in the sensory sphere, not only because it is the first to come into play once in the field but also because it is the parameter with which they measure the encounter with the other and with a different range of cultural elements, regardless of the research questions. Therefore, the proposal is to work for the establishment of an anthropology, which starts from the corporeal sphere. This transition from embodiment as an object of analysis to embodiment as a research method is hoped by Paul Stoller in his words:

It is really fundamental to incorporate the sensoriality of the body into ethnographic works - smells, tastes, appearance, sensations. This inclusion is of particular relevance in the ethnographic descriptions of society in which the Eurocentric notion of text - and textual interpretations - is not important. I have emphasized elsewhere why it is important, at a conceptual and analytical level, to consider how, in non-Western societies, perception unfolds not only from vision (and the related metaphors of reading and writing), but also from the sense of smell, from touch, taste and hearing. In many societies these minor senses, which as a whole cry out for a sensory description, are central to the metaphorical organization of experience.

(1997: XV-XVI)

In this last paragraph I intended to express the central importance that field experience has had in the outputs of my research. Despite the difficulty of writing an experience so intimate and new, I wanted to bring out the awareness gained on the importance and the inevitability of living a field experience by immersing completely, letting be touched, moved, changed, and with regard to the effort of transmitting, through words, these spontaneous methodological practices. In doing so, I strongly followed Paul Stoller's thesis on the need for more tasteful ethnographies: 'In tasteful fieldwork, anthropologists would not only investigate kinship, exchange, and symbolism, but also describe with literary vividness, the smells, tastes, and textures of the land, the people, and the food' (1989: 29). In the case of Singapore, whose daily essence is even more difficult to understand because of the aforementioned elements of multiculturalism and incessant modernity, it is important to dwell on the concrete elements, those that express the daily lives of local people, before venturing to make general considerations of a theoretical type, through a 'recording of the complexities of the individual's society experience. [...] In this way ethnographic research creates voice, authority, and an aura of authenticity' (Stoller, 1989: 29).

Conclusion

In this article I presented the historical, political and social context, which led to the construction of the hawker centres food markets in the island-State of Singapore. Through a long-time fieldwork experience, my aim was to knowledge the reasons why these places are pointed as the symbol of Singaporean identity, both in the State's discourse as well as by the people. Starting from historical sources and local literature on the general features characterizing the hawker centres, I then selected one of them, based on criteria of accessibility. In the ethnography of the Dunman Food Centre, as a singular case representing Singaporean hawker centres' features, I used three different

approaches, looking at the space, the food and the sensorial implications to arrive at the closest understanding of the existence of a Singaporean identity. While on the analytical level the field of space, food, and senses can be precisely distinguished, as I did in the previous pages, in the hawker centres' everyday life the perception of the place, the flavors of the foods and the sensory implications are all experienced at the same time. In a scheme that seeks to summarize this vision (Figure 1a), identity is placed at the center, in the intersection of the three elements in which the experience of the hawker centers revolves (space, food, senses).

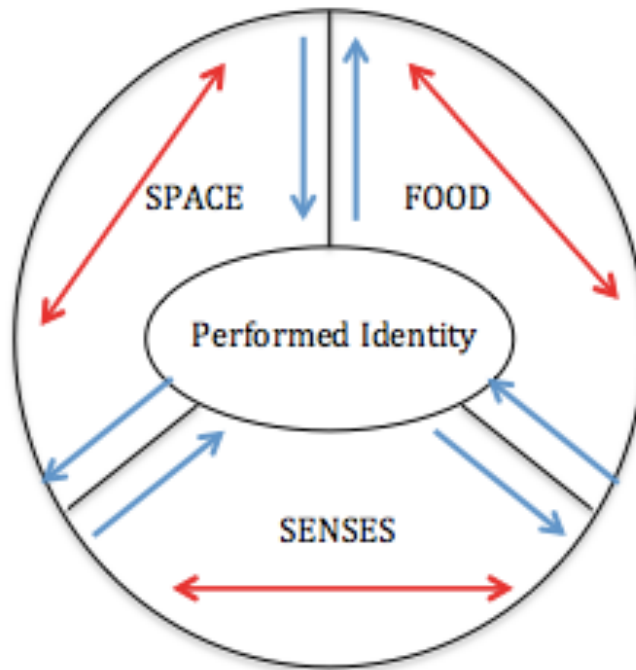


Figure 1a. Graph representing the three field of analysis included in the ethnography of a Singaporean hawker centre, also representing the three elements for the construction and constant re-definition of Singaporean national identity.

The blue arrows highlight the constant interaction with identity itself, which is constantly shaped and modified, never fixed but fluid, a consequence of the actions and for this reasons I name it *performed identity*. The red arrows mark the omnipresent relationships between the space, the food and the sensory perceptions in the overwhelming but thrilling experience of studying this type food markets. As a proposed ethnographic methodology (suitable for other food markets contexts), I dedicated a large part of the field and post-field reflections on the subjective experience of the researcher, and the sensorial and emotional implications of researching highly sensorial stimulating context as food markets.

Singaporean identity lies in the hawker centres, it springs from the relationship between the people and the physical place, full of unique culinary and sensory experiences which, thanks to this research, I have felt in first person. The future challenge will concern the changes that will involve these places. The new spatial form of the hawker centres, which today characterizes the entire territory of the country, has proved over time an effective solution for several reasons, not only to make safe and hygienic the sale of food cooked outdoors, but also, paradoxically, to keep alive some

recipes historically born on the street and kept in today's covered stalls preparations. Hawker food is a key element of Singapore's culture, a people daily necessity and a treasure to preserve in the new market structures, which themselves became the symbol of the Nation. Now, taking Singapore as an example, what will be the future solution of the chaotic street food in other Asian metropolises, like Bangkok and Hong Kong, which are also dealing with this kind of problems? Is Singapore only the first example of how modernity and the influence of the West will gradually change the appearance of Asian cities and their urban space? Will modernity goals in the governments decisions take away the vibrant confusion of colors, noises and smells offered by the myriad of stalls and itinerant vendors in the streets of other cities as it happened in the Lion City? These questions remain open for further researches.

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SOMMARIO

Il cibo di strada si sviluppa per definizione lungo le vie di una città, all'aperto, nelle piazze. Nel particolare caso dell'isola-stato di Singapore, la corsa verso una modernità di stampo occidentale ha causato un radicale cambiamento nelle abitudini di vendita, acquisto e consumo dei prodotti cosiddetti di strada, con la creazione dei mercati coperti *hawker centres* e la conseguente eliminazione di qualunque forma di vendita itinerante. Attraverso il percorso storico che ha portato alla creazione di questa nuova tipologia di mercati alimentari, caratterizzato da una forte enfaticizzazione da parte della classe dirigente di elementi quali la pulizia e l'ordine, saranno esposte le caratteristiche principali di questi luoghi, definiti oggi il simbolo dell'identità singaporiana. Parallelamente ai cambiamenti del paesaggio urbano, le abitudini delle persone si sono dovute modificare a loro volta, specialmente in un ambito così legato alla quotidianità quale l'acquisto e il consumo di cibo. Oltre alla rapida modernizzazione, tra i fattori principali che nella breve storia del paese hanno fortemente interagito e reso arduo il consolidamento di una sua identità vi è la straordinaria eterogeneità sociale, conseguenza delle numerose migrazioni. Il cibo *hawker*, quello venduto nelle strade in passato e negli *hawker centres* oggi, non solo è testimone delle trasformazioni volte a modernizzare il paese, ma racchiude anche elementi di categorizzazione etnica, causati dalla tendenza singaporiana a ragionare in termini "multi-razziali".

Un metodo di analisi su più livelli è stato attuato nel comprendere la quotidianità degli *hawker centres* e il loro ruolo culturale. Attraverso l'esperienza in prima persona dello spazio fisico, del paesaggio sensoriale, della varietà dei cibi, dei gesti tecnici e delle dinamiche relazionali all'interno di un mercato di quartiere, ho percepito un forte orgoglio locale nel voler valorizzare questi luoghi, quali ultimo esempio del percorso storico del paese e di un'identità culturale condivisa, pur nell'estrema diversità sociale, di uno dei paesi più globalizzati e cosmopoliti del pianeta.

Ein Afroamerikaner im Kampf gegen die Kolonialmacht Der Sklaven-Nachkomme und dänische Untertan Reed im Aufstand gegen Dänemark 1848-51

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ABSTRACT

Dies ist der erste Versuch, das Leben des aus der Karibik stammenden Offiziers William Nicolas Reed zu rekonstruieren, der 1848 der einzige schwarze Offizier einer deutschen Armee war. Reed war eine historisch bemerkenswerte Persönlichkeit, die zwischen Identitäten und Staaten wechselte, dabei in den großen revolutionären Fragen jener Zeit eine interessante Rolle spielte und dennoch fast völlig von der Geschichtsschreibung übersehen wurde. Dies ist auch ein Artikel über das Erstaunen und damit über die Kontraste zwischen Erwartung und Tatsächlichem: Ein Afroamerikaner in einer deutschen Armee im 19. Jahrhundert? Und dann auch noch ein Offizier? Ein Afrodeutscher in den Revolutionsumtrieben von 1848? Warum wussten wir davon bisher nichts? Besonders aussagekräftig ist ein im Detail dokumentierter Konflikt mit zahlreichen Originalzitaten – hier ist beispielsweise bemerkenswert, dass seine afrikanische Herkunft zu keinem Moment Gegenstand herabsetzender Bemerkungen ist. Es gelingt ihm, im Streit die Achtung der gesamten Gruppe zu gewinnen, wobei seine Vergangenheit als Student entscheidend ist. Sein Leben bietet Anlass zu weiterem Erstaunen, die uns die historischen Widersprüche der Zeit besonders deutlich machen: Er kämpft gegen die dänische Kolonialmacht, Seite an Seite ausgerechnet jener, deren Vorväter eben dieselbe Kolonialmacht mitsamt ihrer Sklaverei groß gemacht hatten – ein Nachkomme afrikanischer Pflanzersklaven unangefochten in den höheren Rängen der Gesellschaft! Sein Lebenslauf zeigt: Er war sich seiner Identität höchst bewusst und wusste seine Chancen maximal zu nutzen. Seine frühe deutsche Karriere als junger Offizier ermöglichte es ihm später, in den USA in höhere Offiziersränge aufzusteigen und frühere afrikanische Sklaven in den Krieg gegen die Sklavenhalter zu führen. Damit steht Reed, auch ohne dass wir Schriften von ihm kennen, für bedeutende Entwicklungen der Moderne: Er entwickelte sich konsistent vom Rebellen gegen eine europäische Kolonialmacht zum amerikanischen Anführer freigelassener Sklaven und Kämpfer gegen die Sklavenhalter.

Keywords: 1848 German revolution, Afroamerican officer in the US Civil War, Afro-German biography, Afro-German officer (19th cent.), Black Caribbean diaspora, Black military officers / military leaders, Black university students (19th cent.), Freed slaves in the US Civil War, Danish colonialism, Slavery in the Caribbean, Slave-owning families in Denmark, US black immigration.

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Dänemark spielte, das ist heute nur noch wenig bekannt, im 18. Jahrhundert für kurze Zeit eine bedeutende Rolle im transatlantischen Sklavenhandel. Insbesondere während England 1776-83 durch den amerikanischen Unabhängigkeitskrieg beschäftigt war,

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nutzte der Kaufmann, Reeder und dänische Münzmeister und Gesandte Heinrich Carl Schimmelmänn (1724-1782)² die entstehenden Lücken auf dem Markt, um an der afrikanischen Westküste³ Sklaven in großem Stil zu erwerben und in die „West-Indies“ auf die dänischen Pflanzers-Inseln St. Croix (damals auch St. Crux genannt), St. Thomas und St. Jan, die heutigen US-Virgin Islands⁴, in der Karibik zu verschleppen. Dort wurden sie auf den dänischen Plantagen eingesetzt und in die benachbarten englischen und französischen Kolonialgebiete verkauft⁵.

Dieser Aufsatz behandelt einen bisher in der Geschichtsschreibung praktisch nicht erwähnten⁶ Sklaven-Nachkömmling aus dem dänischen St. Croix rund zwei Generationen später, William Nicholas Reed, der durch historischen Zufall Mitglied einer gegen Dänemark kämpfenden Rebellenarmee wurde und in dieser schnell zum Offizier aufstieg. Später, im US-amerikanischen Bürgerkrieg, war er einer der ganz wenigen Afroamerikaner, die eigene Armee-Einheiten gegen die Südstaatler führten. In diesem Text soll der historische Moment im Mittelpunkt stehen, in dem der junge Reed sich an der im März 1848 ausgebrochenen schleswig-holsteinischen Revolution beteiligt, sich den Kämpfen gegen Dänemark anschließt (die sogenannte „Erhebung“) und eine führende Position in der Insurrektionsarmee erlangt, bis zu seiner Landesverweisung nach Scheitern der Erhebung 1851⁷.

² Er war seit 1763 Eigentümer von vier großen Baumwoll- und Zuckerrohrplantagen in Dänisch-Westindien mit mehreren hundert Sklaven und damit einer der größten Grundeigentümer dort; gleichzeitig hatte er den größten Einfluss auf die Staatsfinanzen Dänemarks als Berater des Königs. Als Reeder besaß er die für die damalige Zeit große Zahl von 14 Schiffen (vgl. Stefan WINKLE (2003) „Firma Schimmelmänn und Sohn. Der dänische Sklavenhandel“, *Hamburger Ärzteblatt* 12/2003, S. 530–537, hier S. 534); wie andere bedeutende Reeder- und Fabrikantenfamilien der Region, wie die Familie de Bruyn von den einflussreichen Otte'schen Reeder- und Manufaktur-Unternehmungen, propagierte er den Bau des Eiderkanals und wurde 1774 Vorsitzender der Kanalkommission. 1762 wurde er erhoben in den dänischen Freiherrenstand, 1779 in den Grafenstand als „Graf von Schimmelmänn, Graf zu Lindenborg, Herr auf Ahrensborg und Wandsbek“, Inhaber des Großkreuzes des Dannebrog-Ordens. Sein Neffe Henrik Ludvig Ernst von Schimmelmänn wurde in der Zeit (1773) General-Gouverneur von Dänisch-Westindien (also der Inseln um St. Croix, den heutigen US-amerikanischen Virgin Islands). Schimmelmänn war der Vater des späteren dänischen Finanz- und Außenministers Ernst Heinrich Graf von Schimmelmänn, der später beteiligt war an der Abschaffung des Sklavenhandels. – Christian DEGN (1974) *Die Schimmelmänn im atlantischen Dreieckshandel. Gewinn und Gewissen*. Neumünster.

³ Genannt die „Goldküste“ oder Guinea; die Dänen hatten hier seit dem 17. Jahrhundert Forts v.a. an der Küste des Königreiches Accra gegründet. Die Carlsborg war Mitte des 17. Jahrhunderts nur kurz in dänischem Besitz; seit 1659–85 war die Frederiksborg im Besitz der Glückstädter Afrikanischen Kompanie; in den 1660er Jahren erbauten die Dänen das Fort Christiansborg im Accrakönigreich, östlich von Accra, des britischen Forts St. James und dem holländischen Crevecoeur; 1736 wurde weiter östlich Fort Fredensborg erbaut, 1783–87 folgten noch die Forts Augustaborg, Kongensteen an der Volta-Mündung und Prindsenstein. Träger des dänischen Afrikahandels (der sich schnell zum Sklavenhandel entwickelte) war zunächst die von holländischen Kaufleuten dominierte Glückstädter Afrikanische Kompanie, seit 1672 die Dänisch Westindisch-Guineische Kompanie in Kopenhagen; 1754 übernahm der dänische König den gesamten Besitz der Handelsgesellschaften an der Guineaküste und in Westindien. Doch bereits ein Jahrzehnt später ging die Unternehmung, nun genannt „Die Königliche Oktroyierte Dänisch-Guineische Kompanie“, wieder in privaten Besitz über. In der gleichen Zeit erwarb Schimmelmänn die königlichen Plantagen auf den westindischen Inseln.

⁴ Die USA hatte sie im I. Weltkrieg unmittelbar vor Kriegseintritt von Dänemark erworben.

⁵ Mehrere Kolonialmächte hatten die karibischen Inseln unter sich aufgeteilt; St. Eustatius war z.B. holländisch; St. Domingue, Guadeloupe und Martinique waren französisch.

⁶ Eine Ausnahme ist die Erinnerungs-Literatur von Schleswig-Holsteinern, die ihn persönlich gekannt hatten, s. Zeise 1888, S. 123.

⁷ Diese biographische Arbeit geht – sicher etwas ungewöhnlich für einen wissenschaftlichen Artikel – auf eine Familienfeier im Jahre 1985 im Rendsburger Garten des Hauses meiner Großeltern zurück und beruht in Teilen auf Familienüberlieferungen aus den Revolutionsjahren um 1848, die die Familie noch in meiner Jugend häufig und lebhaft besprach. Es war der 75. Geburtstag meiner Großmutter Ruth Smidt geb. Kühl, auf dem mir der ehemalige Marineoffizier Hartmut Läßle von seinen Forschungen zu schleswig-holsteinischen Offizieren erzählte, u.a. aus der Familie meiner Großmutter. Deren Großvater und zahlreiche Groß- und Urgroßonkel waren am schleswig-holsteinischen Aufstand von 1848 gegen Dänemark beteiligt gewesen – und dieser Artikel führt mitten in diese Ereignisse und diese Familienkreise. Diese waren zum Teil demokratische Reformer (wie ihr Großvater Claus Kühl, der eine progressive Zeitung gründete), zum Teil Mitglieder der alten konservativen militäradligen Eliten (wie die Brüder, Onkel und Schwäger ihrer Großmutter Fritze Lange). Die Ereignisse von 1848 hatten die gesamte Familiengeschichte geprägt. Hartmut Läßle zeigte mir deren

Die Herkunft des William Nicholas Reed aus dem kolonialen St. Croix

Zunächst soll uns seine Herkunft interessieren. Schon das wenige Gesagte zeigt ein dramatisches „Shiften“ zwischen Identitäten: Erst dänisches Kolonialsubjekt in der Karibik, dann Mitglied einer „nationalistischen“ deutschen Armee, die aus der 1848er-Revolution hervorgegangen war, und schließlich afroamerikanischer Nordstaaten-Offizier. Sein Leben, das noch weitere überraschende Facetten enthält, ist durch eine Reihe von Archivdokumenten in vielen Details nachvollziehbar, während aber zu seiner Herkunft bisher einige Fragen offenbleiben müssen. In der am 16. Februar 1851 von ihm als Premierlieutenant und Adjutant in Glückstadt unterschriebenen „Nationale“ schreibt er selbst: „Vater todt, war englischer Pflanze auf St. Croix. Keine Verwandten in der Armee.“ Er ist am 30. Mai 1824 auf St. Croix, in dieser Zeit dänische Kolonie, geboren⁸. Sein Vater gehörte also wie Schimmelmänn zu den Plantagenbesitzern auf St. Croix, wenn auch offenbar in deutlich kleinerem Umfang. Das biographische Nachschlagewerk über schleswig-holsteinische Offiziere, Möller 1885, bezeichnet Reed als „Mulatten“⁹.

Sein Vater muss ihn vor seinem 16. Lebensjahr zur Ausbildung in den dänischen Mutterstaat gesandt haben. Reed kam zunächst nach Flensburg, das im mehrheitlich deutschsprachigen Herzogtum Schleswig lag, das in Personalunion von der dänischen Krone verwaltet wurde. Das Konfirmationsregister von St. Marien in Flensburg verzeichnet ihn im April 1840. Als gut 15jähriger wurde er dort am „Stillfreitag“, den 17. April, von Diakonus Peters konfirmiert. Diesem kirchlichen Verzeichnis verdanken wir auch die einzigen genaueren Angaben, die wir über seine Eltern besitzen: Sein Vater wird als Kaufmann John N.¹⁰ Reed auf St. Croix¹¹ angegeben, und seine Mutter als Susanna Cooper¹². Der Eintrag enthält auch einen Hinweis auf sein Taufdatum: Es war der 12. Mai 1825. Er wurde also erst etwa ein Jahr nach seiner Geburt getauft, was mit seiner gemischten Herkunft zusammenhängen könnte. Eine solch späte Taufe war in der Zeit ungewöhnlich. Hatte der Vater ihn vielleicht zunächst nicht anerkannt und hatte das die Taufe verzögert? Er wurde jedenfalls getauft „v[on] W[illia]m England, Clerk“. Über seine Mutter ist weiter nichts herauszufinden gewesen, doch da ihr Sohn „Mulatte“ genannt wurde und der Vater freier Plantagenbesitzer war, dürfte sie afrikanischer bzw.

Militärunterlagen der Jahre 1848 bis 1851, darunter auch die Unterlagen einiger ihrer Kameraden, wie des „halb afrikanischen“ William Nicholas Reed, ein Kamerad meiner Ururgroßonkel Carl Lange und Carl v. Zeska. Diese Begegnung löste eine längere Zusammenarbeit aus, in der ich, oft unterstützt von Hartmut Lämpke, zahlreiche historisch-biographische Details zu Reed und anderen progressiven Mitgliedern der „Erhebung“ sammelte. Ich möchte daher, posthum, meiner Großmutter Ruth Smidt für ihre Erzählungen danken, ebenso wie meinem Großvater Admiral Karl Smidt, der die ersten Sammlungen zu Reed und anderen zusammenstellte, und ganz besonders Oberstleutnant Hartmut Lämpke, Rendsburg. Ich danke außerdem Renate Paczkowski von der Landesgeschichtlichen Sammlung der Landesbibliothek in Kiel für ihre Auskünfte aus den dort erhaltenen Porträtbögen der schleswig-holsteinischen Offiziere, um die sie sich trotz ihrer Erkrankung bemühte.

⁸ So seine Militärunterlagen, Landesarchiv Schleswig-Holstein, Sign. 22.

⁹ Friedrich MÖLLER (1885) *Biographische Notizen über die Offiziere, Militär-Aerzte und Beamten der ehemaligen schleswig-holsteinischen Armee und Marine*, Kiel.

¹⁰ Es ist wahrscheinlich, dass dieser Mittelname „Nicholas“ lautete, da auch der Sohn diesen Mittelnamen trug.

¹¹ St. Croix war die größte der drei dänisch-westindischen Inseln. Nach dem Verkauf des bisher französischen St. Croix an die Westindisch-Guineischen Kompanie 1733 war die Situation die folgende: Die zwei größten Plantagen waren im Besitz der Westindisch-Guineischen Kompanie; 1742 waren von den 300 vorgesehenen Plantagen bereits 264 verkauft, und zwar insbesondere an Engländer (wie der Vater Reed), Schotten, Iren, Holländer, Franzosen und Deutsche, aber auch Dänen. Zunächst dominierte Baumwolle, doch bald der Zuckerrohranbau, weshalb die Kleinen Antillen auch als „Zuckerinseln“ bekannt sind. So wurde Rohzucker zum bedeutendsten Exportartikel Kopenhagens (Degn 1974, S. 41).

¹² Der genaue Eintrag lautete: „William Nicholas Reed, Kfm. John N. R. auf St. Croix u. Susanna Cooper S[ohn], getauft 12t Mai 25 v. Wm. England, Clerk, Christianstadt 26t März 32. vacc[iniert] 1st Jul. 24 v. Landphysikus Wm. S. Jacobs St. Croix 10t Jul. 29.“

gemischter Herkunft (z.B. als Tochter eines weißen Kaufmanns mit einer afrikanischen Sklavin?) gewesen sein. Es gab im 17. bis frühen 19. Jahrhundert zahlreiche solche Beziehungen, die gelegentlich auch durch Heirat offiziell gemacht wurden, wenn die Frau frei und getauft war¹³. Oder hatte der Vater Reed den Sohn nur anerkannt und die Mutter nicht geheiratet? Darauf deutet ein Detail im Eintrag¹⁴. In Kopenhagen erhaltene Archivalien zeigen, dass der Vater offenbar 1840 in St. Croix gestorben war¹⁵.

Die ersten Jahre als Schüler in Flensburg

Aus unbekannten Gründen wurde Nicholas Reed in Flensburg nur mit einem weiteren Konfirmanden zusammen konfirmiert¹⁶, während einen Monat zuvor, am 18. März, praktisch die gesamte Konfirmandengruppe der Stadt (89 Konfirmanden) bereits konfirmiert worden war. Allerdings gibt es eine interessante Verbindung zum Mitkonfirmanden Elingius, die eine Teilerklärung liefern könnte. Beide waren mit Westindien verbunden, und so kann es wohl sein, dass der junge Reed bei der Familie Elingius in Flensburg lebte. Der gleichnamige Vater, der Schiffer Hans Nicolai Elingius, war nämlich Westindienfahrer und somit wahrscheinlich auch ein Geschäftspartner des Vaters Reed (Elingius führte zwei Schiffe¹⁷, die Dreimast-Fregatte [später Bark, dann Schoner] „Variable“, die 1814-28 nur auf Westindien fuhr, und die Dreimast-Bark [später Fregatte, dann Brigg] „Nord Riesum“, die 1827 bis zu ihrem Verlust 1837 ausschließlich nach Westindien fuhr). Beide Jungen waren praktisch auf den Tag genau gleichaltrig, Reed war am 30. Mai geboren, Elingius am 29. Mai¹⁸. Die Konstellation mag darauf hindeuten, dass der Vater Elingius sich bereit erklärt hatte, Reed bei sich als „Kostgänger“ aufzunehmen. Die Aufnahme von Kindern anderer Leute gegen Bezahlung, z.B. während der Zeit ihrer ersten Ausbildung, war damals bei bürgerlichen Familien sehr häufig.

¹³ Es gibt zwar kaum Hinweise auf die Mutter, aber eine Reihe Hinweise auf den Vater. „John N. Reed“ wird in einem Vermerk von Plantagenbesitzern auf St. Croix genannt, s. P. B. HATCHETT (1859) *STATISTICS regarding landed properties in the Island of St. Croix from 1816 to 1857*, St. Croix (heute in der Königlichen Bibliothek Kopenhagen, Sign. 113908038632, alte Sign. 39,223. – 8°). Reed kaufte am 1. Mai 1838 das Grundstück „Mount Welcome“ mit mehreren Sklaven, das er am 12. Juni 1840 weiterverkaufte (op. cit., S. 44). – Der amerikanische Miniaturmaler John Henry Brown hat nach einer Werkliste auch ein Porträt von John N. Reed angefertigt; s. Theodore BOLTON (1921) *Early American portrait painters in miniature*. Washington.

¹⁴ Konfirmandenregister St. Marien, Flensburg, 17. April 1840, Eintrag Reed (Wortlaut s. obige Fußnote). Im Gegensatz zum vorangehenden Eintrag des einzigen Mitkonfirmanden Hans Nicolai Elingius steht hier nicht „ehel[icher] S[ohn]“, sondern nur „S.“. Dies deutet möglicherweise auf eine nichteheliche Geburt hin, oder zumindest Zweifel daran. Auch bei den anderen Konfirmanden ist fast immer „ehel.“ vermerkt.

¹⁵ Im Reichsarchiv Kopenhagen (Rigsarkivet) gibt es einen umfangreichen Aktenband „Købmand [Kaufmann] John N. Reed“ (Sign. 684 Christiansted byfoget) mit einer Regelung des Nachlasses von Reed vom März 1840. Die Testamentsvollzieher sind Henry Mathias Ketch, der Kaufmann James Finlay und der Pflanzer William H. Woods in St. Croix. – Dies ist kein Widerspruch zum in der obigen Fußnote genannten Verkauf des Grundstückes durch Reed im Juni 1840; dieser erfolgte offenbar durch dessen Testamentsvollstrecker. Vgl. Gary T. HORLACHERs Text (ohne Datum) „Danish West Indies, Chancery Records and Index to Wills 1671-1848“, www.horlacher.org/usviris/wichancery.htm.

¹⁶ Vielleicht weil Nicholas Reed erst kurz zuvor aus St. Croix angekommen war, wo sein Vater verstorben war?

¹⁷ Segelschiff-Kartei, Stadtarchiv Flensburg. Der Schiffer Elingius war außerdem 1819-30 Kapitän auf der „Variable“ und anschließend auf der „Nord Riesum“ von 1830-32. – Das gemeinsame Erscheinen von Elingius und Reed im Konfirmationsregister führte den Flensburger Heimathistoriker Heinz Kellermann zur Vermutung, dass Reed auf einem Schiff des Schiffers Elingius nach Flensburg gekommen war (vgl. dessen Brief im Nachlass Hartmut Läßle, „Bestand C“, Archiv der Schleswig-Holsteinischen Familienforschung e.V. in Kiel, 12.2.1989). Dies könnte bereits 1832 gewesen sein, da Elingius bis zu diesem Jahr als Kapitän ausschließlich Westindien befuhr, danach aber nicht mehr Kapitän war, sondern nur noch Schiffseigner. Wahrscheinlich ist wohl, dass Reed vor 1837 kam, wenn es mit einem Schiff von Elingius war, denn in dem Jahr ging dessen Schiff verloren. – Der Schiffer Elingius lebte bis zu seinem Tod 1855 in Flensburg, Neustadt 224.

¹⁸ Elingius' Geburtsdatum geht aus seiner Konfirmationseintragung unmittelbar vor Reeds Eintragung hervor.

Wann aber war Reed nach Flensburg gekommen? Der Eintrag bietet dabei nur den Anhalt, dass dies nach 1829, und wohl eher nach 1832, gewesen sein muss, denn am 10. Juli 1829 erhielt er seine zweite Impfung in St. Croix; es gibt außerdem ein weiteres Datum aus dem Jahr 1832 aus Cristianstad in St. Croix, wo die Familie offenbar lebte¹⁹. Er dürfte einige Jahre im Hause seines Vaters verbracht haben, denn als junger Mann gibt er an, neben Deutsch, Französisch und Dänisch auch Englisch zu sprechen. Er wird also seine Eltern nicht bereits als Kleinkind verlassen haben, sondern hatte zuhause Englisch gelernt. Deutsch, das er perfekt sprach und schrieb²⁰, sowie Dänisch muss er in mehreren Jahren während seiner Zeit in Flensburg gelernt haben. Allerdings ist er in Melderegistern nicht verzeichnet²¹.



*Fig. 1: William Reed als schleswig-holsteinischer Offizier, um 1849
(Landesgeschichtliche Sammlung der Landesbibliothek, Kiel)*

¹⁹ Die Datums-Eintragung vom 10. Juli 1829 bezieht zwar nicht explizit auf die Impfung, jedoch zeigt ein Vergleich mit den benachbarten Eintragungen im selben Register, dass nach „vacc.“ (= ‚geimpft‘) meist zwei Daten, und zwar immer in der selben Manier, stehen, also offenbar das der ersten und das der zweiten Impfung. – Ohne Parallele in den anderen Eintragungen bleibt aber die Passage „Christianstadt 26t März 32.“ in diesem Eintrag. In allen anderen Einträgen folgt direkt nach der Geburtsangabe (oder wie hier: Taufangabe) gleich die Angabe „vacc.“, hier aber sind dieser Ortsname und das zweite Datum von 1832 vorher eingeschoben. Da diese nur mit einem Komma von dem clerk William England getrennt sind, wird der unbestimmten Eindruck erweckt, als hinge das Datum 1832 mit dem Taufdatum irgendwie zusammen. Dies könnte m.E. in diesem Zusammenhang zum Beispiel dann einen Sinn ergeben, wenn Reed (mit England) an dem Tag im dänischen Christianstadt registriert worden wäre. Die Jahreszahl 1832 passt dann auf die Überlegung in der vorangegangenen Fußnote. – Eine andere Erklärung für den Einschub „Christianstadt...“ unmittelbar nach der Taufangabe wäre, dass die Taufe in St. Croix dort erst unter diesem Datum bestätigt worden ist, also das *Taufdokument* dieses Datum trug. Bedeutet das vielleicht, dass der Vater in dem Jahr seine Vaterschaft anerkannte? Nicholas Reed war damals fast acht Jahre alt.

²⁰ Wie die von ihm geschriebenen Dokumente (s. Anhang) zeigen.

²¹ Freundliche Auskunft des Stadtarchivs Flensburg.

Studium an der Universität Kiel und revolutionäre Unruhen

1844 nahm Reed als 20jähriger das Studium der Medizin und der Naturwissenschaften an der Universität Kiel auf²². Nach zwei Jahren wechselte er die Fakultät und begann, Jura zu studieren. Wir haben lebhaft Schilderungen aus dieser Zeit von Heinrich Zeise, der später als Poet bekannt wurde²³. Wie es für Studenten der Zeit üblich war, wurde er Mitglied der schlagenden Verbindung Corps Saxonia²⁴.

Nach Aussagen seines späteren militärischen Vorgesetzten²⁵ war er bereits dabei, sich „mit Erfolg“ auf das juristische Examen vorzubereiten, als im März 1848 die schleswig-holsteinische Revolution ausbrach. Fast gleichzeitig fanden auch in anderen Staaten in Europa, von Frankreich bis Preußen, Revolten und Revolutionen statt – eine neue, progressiv und nationalistisch gesinnte Bürgerschaft verlangte einen radikalen Umbau der von Monarchen und autokratischen Strukturen dominierten Staatswesen. Die Herzogtümer Schleswig und Holstein, eigentlich unabhängig, waren dabei eine Besonderheit: Seit Jahrhunderten wurden sie in Personalunion vom dänischen König (der oftmals selbst Deutscher war) verwaltet. Allerdings gab es in Dänemark immer mehr Rufe danach, das dänische Königreich ganz zu vereinigen. Das Herzogtum Schleswig insbesondere, in dem sowohl Dänen als auch Deutsche lebten, sollte ganz dänisch werden. Im Zuge der revolutionären Ereignisse in Dänemark im März 1848 entwickelten sich die Dinge sehr schnell: Entgegen der jahrzehntealten Zusicherungen, die getrennte Verwaltung der beiden Herzogtümer zu schützen, war nun die dänische Regierung bereit, den Forderungen der dänischen Nationalisten nachzugeben. Schleswig sollte nun ganz dänisch werden! In wenigen Tagen formierte sich der Widerstand in den Herzogtümern, in denen gleichzeitig immer mehr Forderungen nach demokratischen Reformen ertönten. Die Revolution von 1848 war immer auch verbunden mit einem Erstarken nationaler Diskurse: Die Völker wollten sich selbst bestimmen, gegen die autokratischen Ansprüche der Monarchien und Adelseliten. Den dänischen nationalen Diskursen standen nun diametral die neuen deutschen nationalen Diskurse entgegen – beide entstanden aus der selben revolutionären Bewegung, führten aber zu völlig verschiedenen Vorstellungen.

²² So seine eigene Angabe in der „Nationale“ vom 16. Februar 1851. – Vgl. auch Thomas Otto ACHELIS (1966-67). *Matrikel der schleswigschen Studenten 1517-1864*, Bde. I-III. Kopenhagen: G. E. C. Gads Verlag, hier Bd. 2 (1741-1864).

²³ Heinrich ZEISE (1888) *Aus dem Leben und Erinnerungen eines norddeutschen Poeten*. Altona.

²⁴ Karl RÜGENER (1910) *Kösener Korps-Listen von 1798 bis 1910*. Starnberg b. München: Verlag der akademischen Monatshefte. S. 135, 48.

²⁵ Otto Graf v. Baudissin (siehe dessen Zeugnis im Anhang).



Fig. 2: Rendsburg im Moment der Proklamation der Erhebung gegen Dänemark im März 1848, mit der Flagge der demokratischen deutschen Bewegung, getragen vom Lehrer und Redakteur Claus Kühn (dänische Bildunterschrift: „Rendsborg lige efter proklamationen om hertugdømmernes løsrivelse fra Danmark“, 'Rendsburg nach der Proklamation der Loslösung der Herzogtümer von Dänemark'). Foto: Dansk Centralbibliotek, Kopenhagen

Schleswig-Holsteinische Bürger und hohe Adlige, darunter die nächsten Verwandten des dänischen Königs, erklärten, aufgrund der revolutionären Ereignisse in Kopenhagen sei der König nicht mehr frei, und sie müssten im Namen ihres Landesherrn (des dänischen Königs also, der gleichzeitig Herzog der Herzogtümer Schleswig und Holstein war) die Rechte der Herzogtümer verteidigen! Eine Provisorische Regierung formierte sich in Kiel und wählte Rendsburg im Herzogtum Schleswig als ihre Hauptstadt. Innerhalb weniger Tage standen dänische Armee-Einheiten aus Schleswig und Holstein, die in der Mehrheit deutschsprachig waren und meist sehr konservativ, auf Seite der „Erhebung“, wie die Schleswig-Holsteiner dies nannten (im Gegensatz zu den Dänen, in deren Geschichtsbüchern diese Ereignisse „Oprør“ genannt werden, ‚Aufruhr‘ also). Bald standen dänische Truppen aus dem Kerngebiet Dänemarks und die neuformierten schleswig-holsteinische Truppen (rapide aus den süddänischen Truppenteilen und Freiwilligen-Corps zusammengestellt) gegeneinander. Und absurderweise kämpften beide im Namen des selben Königs gegeneinander – die Dänen im Dienst eines geeinten Dänemark, die Schleswig-Holsteiner im Dienst eines erstarkten deutschen Nationalbewusstseins, aber in Berufung auf die jahrhundertealten Separatrechte der Herzogtümer. Zugespißt formuliert: Die Armee des Herzogs stand gegen die Armee des Königs – wobei Herzog und König die selbe Person waren! Im dänischen Verständnis ging es bei diesem Aufstand um eine widerrechtliche Loslösung von Dänemark – was offiziell gerade nicht das Ziel der Erhebung war. De facto führten die Ereignisse allerdings zu einer Eigenverwaltung von Schleswig-Holstein unter einer eigenen Regierung mit einer eigenen Armee, begleitet von zahlreichen rechtlichen Reformen, zu der auch die Pressefreiheit gehörte. Das erklärte Ziel der nationalen deutschen Verteidigung der alten Autonomierechte war geeignet, revolutionäre Demokraten mit konservativen Adligen zusammenzuführen unter einer Fahne und mit einem gemeinsamen Ziel. Darum haben wir hier den historisch ungewöhnlichen Vorgang, dass in Schleswig-Holstein der höchste Adel, konservative Bürger gemeinsam mit revolutionären Demokraten auf einer Seite standen – und unter den revolutionären Demokraten auch einer wie Reed.

Reed nimmt am Aufstand teil – erste Schlacht, Gefangenschaft und Offizierskarriere

Reeds Engagement in Schleswig-Holstein zeigt einige historische Elemente auf, die typisch für diese inneren Widersprüche sind. Als Student gehörte er zu den eher national-revolutionären und demokratischen Kräften – die Idee einer ethnisch geeinten Nation, vereint gegen feudale und autokratische Eliten, war in jener Zeit eine progressive Idee, besonders getragen von den Studenten. Und gleichzeitig war die revoltierende Armee eng mit eben jenen alten Eliten verbunden, die noch zwei Generationen zuvor für den karibischen Sklavenhandel verantwortlich waren!²⁶ Die Frage stellt sich: Wie konnte ausgerechnet Reed Teil einer national-deutschen Bewegung werden, als Sohn eines Engländer und Nachfahre von durch die Dänen verschleppten Afrikanern? Die Antwort liegt nahe. Erstens war Reed bereits seit Jahren ansässig in Schleswig-Holstein und war mit eben jenen aufgewachsen, die sich jetzt der Revolte anschlossen. Die Kieler Jura-Studenten waren dabei besonders aktiv, zu denen auch Reed gehörte²⁷. Zweitens zeigte gerade das aktuelle dänische Vorgehen, das abhängige Gebiete in den Gesamtstaat eingliedern wollte ohne Berücksichtigung lokaler Rechte, einen Geist, der strukturell nicht ganz anders war als das Betragen der Kolonialmacht in Übersee: Dänemark hatte ihren Kolonialsubjekten in Dänisch-Westindien nur eingeschränkte Rechte gewährt und war vor historisch kurzer Zeit noch Großprofiteur des Sklavenhandels. Wenn Reed sich also der nationalen deutschen Bewegung der Schleswig-Holsteiner anschloss, bedeutete dies, dass er für deren progressiven Ideen einstand, im Kampf gegen die Kolonialmacht, die für die Versklavung seiner (mütterlichen) Familie verantwortlich war.

Noch während der revolutionären Ereignisse im März formierte sich ein Studenten-Corps. Viele von ihnen stiegen aufgrund ihrer höheren Ausbildung schnell in die unteren Offiziers-Ränge auf und standen schon bei den ersten militärischen Begegnungen mit den Dänen an vorderster Front. So war es auch mit Reed: Er trat bereits am 25. März in das bisher dänische „5te Jäger-Corps als Officier-Aspirant“ ein²⁸. In der durch den dramatischen „Untergang der Kieler Studenten“ berühmt gewordenen Schlacht bei Bau (nahe Flensburg) kurz nach Ausbruch der Erhebung im April 1848 wurde Reed mit vielen der anderen schnell zu Soldaten umfunktionierten Studenten gefangen genommen. Einige der militärisch völlig unerfahrenen Studenten hatten die Schlacht nicht überlebt. Die Gefangenen wurden auf ein abgetakeltes Schiff im Kopenhagener Hafen gebracht, der „Dronning Marie“ (= „Königin Marie“), wo sie monatelang im Schiffsbauch gefangen blieben²⁹; Reed kommt dabei als offenbar begabter und aktiver Sänger in Aufzeichnungen von Mitgefangenen vor³⁰. Einer beschreibt die folgende

²⁶ Dazu gehörte sein eigener Oberkommandierender Otto v. Baudissin, der ihm beim Ausscheiden aus der Armee ein hervorragendes Abschlusszeugnis schrieb; dessen Onkel war ein Schwiegersohn des in der Karibik reich gewordenen Sklavenhändlers Schimmelmänn (zu diesem Baudissin s. Fußnote weiter unten).

²⁷ Zur Gruppe der Jura-Studenten um Reed gehörte auch mein Ururgroßonkel Carl Lange (der spätere Carlos Lange, später Parlamentarier des Staates Santa Catarina in Brasilien) aus der dänischen Militäradelsfamilie von Lange, der über seine Mutter genau denjenigen konservativen Familiennetzwerken entstammte, zu denen die de Bruyn und von Ahlefeld gehörten, ebenso wie die oben genannten Familien von Schimmelmänn und von Baudissin – die sich alle nun, zusammen mit Reed und anderen Demokraten, gemeinsam auf Seiten des schleswig-holsteinischen Aufstandes wiederfanden (selbst wenn diese, wie die in diesem Artikel vorkommenden von Zeskas, verwandtschaftlich sehr eng mit Dänemark verbunden waren, aber landschaftlich zu den Herzogtümern Schleswig und Holstein gehörten).

²⁸ Nationale von William Nicholas Reed, Glückstadt, 16. Februar 1851. – Vgl. auch Hartmut Lapple: Ordner „Alphabetische Aufstellung aller Offiziere der s-h-Armee 1848-51“, dort aufgeführt Abteilung A „Schleswig-Holstein-Lauenburg“ als „Reed, W. N. / WestInd / Fb / PrLt. / 3. JC. / USA“, was bedeutet, dass er aus „West-Indien“ stammte, als Premier-Lieutenant dem 3. Jäger-Corps angehörte und später in die USA auswanderte.

²⁹ Vgl. [Carl WITT] (1878) *Erinnerungen eines 48ers (Neue Folge II.)*. Kiel: A. B. Sönksen (darin: Liste der Gefangenen).

³⁰ Im Juli 2017 ist es mir gelungen, das handschriftliche Gefangenschafts-Tagebuch von Carl Lange wiederzufinden, der mit Reed auf der „Dronning Marie“ gefangen war, und in dem er seine täglichen Erfahrungen festhielt. Das Manuskript

Episode: Am 23. April, einem Ostersonntag, waren Nachrichten eingetroffen, dass Preußen massiv in das Kriegsgeschehen eingegriffen hatte und das dänische Hauptquartier von Schleswig nach Flensburg verlagert worden sei. Offenbar liefen Verhandlungen... Der Eintrag unter dem 24. April 1848 lautet (Keck 1873. S. 17):

„Die Stimmung ist hier eine recht freudige und zuversichtliche.
Hoch Preußen, der Stern und Kern Deutschlands!
Auch unsere äußere Lage ist wieder bedeutend verbessert. Seit vorgestern ist das Singen erlaubt, und da hören wir denn täglich recht hübsch ausgeführte Quartette und Solovorträge, letztere namentlich vom Mulatten Reed; eine Gitarre, die heute morgen angekommen ist, macht die Sache ziemlich vollständig, zumal da es an Noten nicht fehlt.“

Die erhaltenen Archivsammlungen von Zeichnungen der Studenten im Schiffsbauch geben einen Eindruck von der Gefangenschaft unter oft schweren Bedingungen. Auch Reed dürfte auf einigen dieser Zeichnungen erscheinen, konnte aber bisher nicht identifiziert werden. Reed war vom 9. April bis zu seiner Freilassung fünfeinhalb Monate später, am 2. September 1848, in Gefangenschaft. Er trat kurz darauf wieder in die schleswig-holsteinische Armee ein (nun als „Portepée Fähnrich im 3t JägerCorps“³¹). Reed machte daraufhin eine schnelle Offizierskarriere durch. Das ist auch deswegen bemerkenswert, da Reed (bisher von der Geschichtsschreibung übersehen) damit einer der frühen europäischen Offiziere afrikanischer Herkunft³² war – und vermutlich der erste Offizier afrikanischer Herkunft in deutschen Gebieten³³. Reed fasste selbst in einem Militärdokument, der sogenannten „Nationale“, verfasst in Glückstadt am 16. Februar 1851, am Ende der schleswig-holsteinischen Erhebung, seine Laufbahn zusammen. Es folgen die Informationen aus dem Formblatt (mit Originalzitaten in Anführungszeichen):

ist jetzt aufbewahrt im Stadtarchiv von Joinville, Santa Catarina, Brasilien im Konvolut „Lange“. Dieses Tagebuch war der Familienüberlieferung bekannt (meine Großmutter berichtete davon aus Erzählungen ihres Vaters Carl-Johann Kühn in Rendsburg, des Neffen von Carlos Lange in Joinville), war aber lange verschollen; vor Jahrzehnten hatte es ein brasilianisches Familienmitglied dem Stadtarchiv Joinville gestiftet, wo es seither unbeachtet lag. Eine Bearbeitung dieses wichtigen historischen Dokuments ist geplant. – Vgl. auch: [Karl Heinrich Christian KECK (anonym hrsg.)] (1873) *Tagebuch eines Kriegsgefangenen auf "Dronning Marie" April bis September 1848, Herausgegeben zur Erinnerung an den 24. März 1848.* Garding: Lühr & Dircks (Permalink: www.mdz-nbn-resolving.de/urn/resolver.pl?urn=urn:nbn:de:bvb:12-bsb11157716-1).

³¹ Nationale von William Nicholas Reed, Glückstadt, 16. Februar 1851, Schleswig-Holsteinisches Landesarchiv, Schleswig (Sign. 22). – Vgl. auch Theodor H. LÜDERS (1851) *Generallieutenant von Willisen und seine Zeit. acht Kriegsmomente in Schleswig-Holstein.* Stuttgart: Metzler. S. 230: Dort wird „Pr.-Lieut William Reed“ als einer der Offiziere des 3. Jägercorps genannt und als „Adjutant der I. Brigade“.

³² Berühmte Beispiele sind der afrikanische hochrangige Offizier des russischen Zarenreiches Abraham Petrowitsch Hannibal, ein Patenkind Peters des Großen, im 18. Jahrhundert (Urgroßvaters des Dichters Puschkin) und Thomas Alexandre Davy de la Pailleterie, dit Dumas, von der Plantage „La Guinaudée“ in Saint-Domingue (heute Haiti), französischer Revolutions-General des späten 18. Jahrhunderts und über seine Mutter afrikanischer Herkunft (Vater des Schriftstellers Alexandre Dumas). Es gibt inzwischen zahlreiche Literatur zu diesen. Siehe zu Details vor allem: Hans Werner DEBRUNNER (1979) *Presence and Prestige: Africans in Europe. A History of Africans in Europe before 1918*, Basel: Basler Afrika Bibliographien. (Mitteilungen der Basler Afrika Bibliographien; 22); er hat sich allerdings nicht mit Reed beschäftigt.

³³ Wobei es bemerkenswert früh afrikanische Soldaten in deutschen Armeen gab: Schon im amerikanischen Unabhängigkeitskrieg hatten Afrikaner in einer deutschen Armee gekämpft: Aus der Sklaverei entflohenen Afrikaner wurden im Lauf der Kämpfe in die hessischen Truppen eingegliedert, die seit 1776 auf Seite der Engländer gegen die Amerikaner kämpften; deren Motivation war der Kampf gegen die Sklavenhalter, wobei sie aber aufgrund dieser historischen Konstellation auf Seiten der britischen Kolonialmacht standen. Nach Niederlage der Engländer und Festigung der USA gingen viele dieser Afrikaner mit den hessischen Hilfstruppen nach Deutschland und wurden in Hessen angesiedelt.

William Nicholas Reed, 26 Jahre, Dienstzeit 2 Jahre, 11 Monate, lutherisch, Vaterland: „St. Croix in West-Indien, Nirgends militairpflichtig“, Patent vom 25. Oct. 1850, unverheiratet.

Ausbildung: „Von Ostern 1844 – 1846 Medizin und Naturwissenschaft studirt, von 1846 bis März 1848 Jurisprudenz an der Universität zu Kiel“. „Am 25ten März 48 in das ehemalige dänische 5te Jäger-Corps als Officier-Aspirant eingetreten. Am 18ten October 48 zum Portepée Fähnrich im 3ten JägerCorps kommand. Am 29. Jan 49 zum SecLtnt im 3ten JägerCorps ernannt. Am 14 Juni 49 als Adjutant zur 1st Brigade kommandirt [Anm.: innerhalb des 3. Jägercorps]. Am 29sten October 1850 außer der Tour zum PrLtnt avancirt [nun einer der höchstrangigsten Offiziere des Corps, als Adjutant erster der Premier-Lieutenants³⁴].“

Feldzüge, Gefechte und Schlachten: 1848 6 April Gefecht bei Rinkenise, 9t April Gefecht bei Bau in Flensburg, 1849 9 April Gefecht bei Atzbüll, 23 April Schlacht bei Kolding, Belagerung, und am 6t Juli Schlacht bei Friedericia. 1850: 24 Juli Gefecht bei Sollerrau (?), 25 Juli Schlacht bei Idstedt, 12 Septbr Gefecht bei Missunde, 29 Septbr – 4t Octobr Bereumung und Sturm auf Friedrichstadt.“

Auszeichnung: „Laut Armeebefehl vom 25t Octobr wegen Auszeichnung und an den Tag gelegter Bravour in dem Kampfe vor Friedrichstadt außer der Tour zum PrLtnt avancirt.“

Verwundet: Schlacht von Kolding³⁵.

Gefangen: Gefecht bei Bau und Flensburg, 5 1/2 Monate.

Sprachen: „Außer der gewöhnlichen Kenntnisse der alten Sprachen: Englisch, Französisch, Dänisch.“

Vater und Verwandte: „Vater todt, war englischer Pflanzer auf St. Croix. Keine Verwandten in der Armee.“

Zu einigen der in diesem trocken zusammenfassenden Dokument genannten Ereignisse liegen weitere unabhängige Zeugnisse vor³⁶. In dem Werk „*Vollständige und ausführliche Geschichte der schleswig-holsteinischen Erhebung*“ ist eine ausführliche Schilderung der Schlacht bei Kolding unter dem Oberbefehl von General v. Moltke enthalten, mit einer Liste der dabei verwundeten schleswig-holsteinischen Offiziere: Neben Generalmajor O. v. Baudissin wird darin auch Lieutenant William Reed, III. Jägercorps, aufgelistet³⁷.

Ein tiefer Einsicht in innere Konflikte: Ein Protokoll gescheiterter Duellforderungen

Ein anderes Dokument vom 9. Dezember 1848 bietet einen besonderen Einblick in die Debatten und Konflikte innerhalb der schleswig-holsteinischen Offiziere und Reeds

³⁴ Vgl. Lüders 1851: 230.

³⁵ Diese Verwundung wird auch berichtet vom seinerzeit bekannten Schriftsteller v. Liliencron, der ein Werk zur Erhebung geschrieben hat: Detlev v. LILIENCRON (1898) *Up ewig ungedeckt, Die Erhebung Schleswig-Holsteins im J. 1848*. Hamburg: Verlagsanst. S. 314, wo 13 Offiziere als „Verluste“ aufgelistet werden (Anmerkung: Sowohl Tote als auch Verwundete zählten als Verluste im militärischen Jargon).

³⁶ Vgl. ANONYM. (1858) *Das Offizier-Corps der Schleswig-Holsteinischen Armee und Marine in den Jahren 1848 und 1849, Nebst den Anciennetäts-Listen der Generale, Stabs- und Subaltern-Offiziere*. I. Buch. Lübeck. S. 159: Sec.-Lieut. Reed im „3 Jäg.-Corps b. d. I. Inf.-Brig.“; S. 224: 29. Januar [1849] (in der Rubrik Anstellungen und Beförderungen): Reed ist Portepée-Fähnrich „vom 3. Jäger-Corps“; S. 254: Reed wird am 12. Juni „zur Dienstleistung als Adjutant zur I. Infanterie-Brigade commandirt“. – ID. (1865) *Das Offizier-Corps der Herzoglich Schleswig-Holsteinischen Armee und Marine in den Jahren 1850 und 1851 sowie des Herzoglich Holsteinischen Bundes-Contingents im Jahre 1851, Nebst den Anciennetäts-Listen der Generale, Stabs- und Subaltern-Offiziere*. II. Buch. Lübeck.

³⁷ [G. M. HEILBUTT] (1855) *Vollständige und ausführliche Geschichte der Schleswig-holsteinischen Erhebung und des deutsch-dänischen Krieges*. 2. Band: *Von der Installirung der gemeinsamen Regierung im Oktober 1848 bis zum zweiten Waffenstillstand im Juli 1849*. Altona. S. 287.

Stellung unter ihnen³⁸. Es handelt sich um einen Untersuchungsbericht aufgrund eines heftigen Streites unter Offizieren während eines alkoholisierten Abends wenige Tage zuvor, am 4. Dezember. Reed verwickelte sich dabei in hitzige Wortgefechte mit der Folge einer Duellforderung an ihn. Eines sei gleich vorweg gesagt: Es ist auffällig und wichtig zum Verständnis des Kontextes, dass trotz zahlreicher Beleidigungen nicht ein einziger ihn als „Mulatten“ oder „nicht zu uns gehörend“ oder sonst mit Hinweisen auf seine Herkunft beleidigte oder herabsetzte. Gerade im Moment des Konflikts sollte zu Tage kommen, was die Kameraden an ihm stört (oder eben nicht stört). Seine Herkunft aber spielt bei den Beleidigungen keinerlei Rolle, sondern vielmehr Reeds provozierendes Selbstbewusstsein, das im Kontrast mit seiner Jugend stand, und seine persönliche Feindschaft gegen die Dänen: Er äußerte sich abfällig über die Dänen als Ganzes und erntete damit heftigen Widerspruch.

Gerade der letzte Punkt scheint überraschend, da es sich hier ja doch um eine gegen die Dänen kämpfende Armee handelte. Warum sollte man da nicht die Dänen beschimpfen können? Jedoch standen – daran sei erinnert – trotz der deutsch-nationalen Aspekte des Konfliktes politische Grundfragen ganz offenbar deutlich mehr im Vordergrund als eine anti-dänische Haltung. Es ist nicht zu vergessen, dass eine Reihe Offiziere selbst aus dänischen Adelsfamilien stammte, die zur Verteidigung der Autonomierechte der Herzogtümer angetreten waren und gerade nicht als „National-Deutsche“³⁹. Der Konflikt gingen mitten durch dänische Familien. Eine ethnische Feindschaft war diesen vollkommen fremd, da sie selbst gemischt dänisch-schleswig-holsteinischer Herkunft waren und gerade nicht aus rein nationalen Motiven kämpften. Es ist jedenfalls auffällig, dass die in unserem Dokument im Detail dokumentierten Beschimpfungen neben Missfallensbekundungen über persönliches Fehlverhalten der verschiedenen Akteure dieses abendlichen Konflikts, wie ungehöriges Betragen (und zwar des Auslösers des Ganzen, des Offiziers v. Häseler), Feigheit (so wird es dem Offizier v. Zeska vorgeworfen) oder „das große Wort führen“ (so wird es über Reed gesagt), ansonsten rein politische Fragen betreffen.

Der Streit des Abends beginnt mit der provozierenden Beleidigung eines anwesenden „Republikaners“ und kulminiert später in Fragen militärischer Ehre und Kodexe. Damit ist das Dokument ein gutes Zeugnis für die inneren Spannungen, denen diese Offiziere ausgesetzt waren, die irgendwo zwischen nationaler Auflehnung gegen die Dänen, Ideen von Reform und Demokratisierung und konservativer Verteidigung alter Landesrechte eine gemeinsame Linie finden mussten. Sie fanden diese gemeinsame Linie letztlich nicht – wofür auch dieses Dokument ein sprechendes Beispiel ist. Die Details dieses spannungsreich verlaufenen Abends müssen hier nicht vollständig erzählt werden. Der

³⁸ Ich danke Hartmut Läßle, der mir das Dokument 1985 in Kopie zur Verfügung stellte. – Schleswig-Holst. Landesarchiv Schleswig, Buch über die "Auditorialfälle" (Kriegsgerichtsverfahren) in der schleswig-holsteinischen Armee, Registriernummer 686.

³⁹ Hartmut Läßle hat sämtliche Nationalen der schleswig-holsteinischen Offiziere durchgearbeitet und hat eine Statistik zur Herkunft der 72 ehemaligen aktiven dänischen Offiziere aufgestellt. Diese beantworteten die Frage nach ihrem „Vaterland“ durchaus gemischt, darunter 48,6 % Holstein (35 Personen), 36,1 % Schleswig (NB: zahlreiche Schleswiger Familien waren dänisch bzw. mit dänischen Familien verwandt, 26 Personen), 5,6 % Schleswig-Holstein (überraschend, da dies ein ganz neues Konzept war, 4 Personen) und immerhin 2,75% Dänemark (2 Personen), aber sogar 1,4% Jütland und 1,4% Norwegen (jeweils 1 Person)! – Quelle: Nachlass Hartmut Läßle, Konvolut Vortrag „Das Gefecht in und bei Ober-Stolk als ein Teil der Schlacht von Idstedt am 25. Juli 1850“. Dazu kamen eine ganze Reihe ausländischer Freiwilliger, darunter besonders zahlreich die preußischen Offiziere.

Bericht ist an anderer Stelle bereits dokumentiert⁴⁰. Allerdings sind einige Zitate interessant.

In „geselliger Unterhaltung“ befanden sich mehrere Offiziere in einem Gastlokal in Segeberg, darunter Fähnrich Reed, der Premieur-Lieutenant v. Zeska⁴¹ und der Seconde-Lieutenant v. Häsel (der Auslöser der ganzen Affäre). „Letztgenannter Offizier [v. Häsel] hatte Anfangs Groc und zuletzt Rothwein mit Zucker genossen und war davon stark animiert.“ Als der Segeberger Advokat Hedde hereintrat, sagte v. Häsel deutlich vernehmbar zu v. Zeska: „Da kömmt der Republikaner, der eklige Kerl!“ Daraufhin begann v. Zeska Scherze mit Hedde (seines Jugendfreundes), nannte sich selbst lachend einen „Communisten“ und nimmt sich dessen Hut, sozusagen als Gemeineigentum. Bald darauf beginnt der offenbar angeheiterte v. Häsel, Hedde zur Provokation mit Zucker und einem Löffel zu bewerfen. Schließlich, nachdem sich Hedde endlich wehrte, wirft er sogar sein Glas nach ihm. Zeska behauptete in der späteren Vernehmung, er habe sich an der Neckerei gar nicht beteiligt, während aber nach dem Protokoll Reed und andere gesehen hatten, wie sich v. Zeska sehr wohl beteiligt hatte. Die Situation eskaliert – und zwar ausgerechnet durch den Versuch von Reed, die Albernheiten zu stoppen: Reed wendet sich gegen den aggressiv-albernen v. Häsel mit den Worten: „Das ist ein unpassendes Betragen, ich bin immer gewohnt, in einer anständigen Gesellschaft zu sein!“

Das ist allerdings eine Beleidigung, wenn man es spitzfindig betrachtet: Sie sind also alle nicht anständig? Zeska steht nun auf und wendet sich gegen ihn. Offenbar denkt er: Was will dieser junge Kerl sich hier aufspielen? Was hat der uns denn zu sagen? Es ist ein versteckter Kampf um Autorität und Hierarchie, mitten in der trunkenen Albernheit. Zeska fährt Reed heftig an (so nach einem Zeugen und v. Zeska selbst): „Sie haben immer das große Wort ... Sie haben gar nicht das Recht hier aufzutreten!“ (Auch Reed berichtet davon, in einem abweichenden Wortlaut, aber sinngleich⁴²). Nun wehrt sich Reed! Er muss seine höhere Stellung herauskehren – und verweist auf seine vielen Jahre an der Universität. „Er möge nicht glauben, daß er einen beliebigen jungen Burschen vor sich habe, er möge bedenken, daß er 5 Jahr auf der Universität gewesen wäre und deshalb nicht nöthig habe, sich von ihm sagen zu lassen, wie er sich betragen solle ...“. Zeska kontert wieder mit den gleichen Anwürfen wie zuvor. Die Situation ist nicht mehr zu stoppen. Zeska ist aus der Sicht von v. Häsel beleidigt worden – v. Häsel fordert v. Zeska auf, er müsse nun Reed zum Duell fordern!

⁴⁰ Wolbert G. C. SMIDT (2005) *Familie von Lange, Von Krieg und Revolution zum Turmzimmer des Philosophen, Lebensschicksale als Spiegel der Geschichte*, Hamburg: Familiendruck (zum 95. Geburtstag von Ruth Smidt geb. Kühl, Überarbeitung und Erweiterung der Fassung Heidelberg/Berlin 1990).

⁴¹ Dies war Frederik (Friedrich) v. Zeska, Bruder meines Ururgroßonkels Carl v. Zeska – beide Brüder hatten sich sofort in den ersten Tagen der Erhebung angeschlossen; diese Familie war mit dem dänischen Königshof so eng verbunden, dass Carl v. Zeska sein Leben lang unter der Trennung Schleswigs von Dänemark und damit der Zertrennung seiner eigenen Familie litt. Dies spielt eine entscheidende Rolle im hier geschilderten Konflikt mit Reed. – Vgl. Herbert v. ZESKA (2004) „Chronik der Familie von Zeska, Flensburg 1917, bearbeitet von Herbert v. Zeska“. *Familienkundliches Jahrbuch Schleswig Holstein*, Jg. 43: 86-134 (Friedrich v. Zeska soll nach der Familienchronik den Beitritt zur schles.-holst. Armee bereut haben und nahm bald den Abschied, wahrscheinlich in Folge des verunglückten Abends mit v. Häsel und Reed, und erhielt 1858 – im Gegensatz zu seinem Bruder Carl v. Zeska – die Erlaubnis, nach Dänemark zurückzukehren; er wanderte allerdings später nach Wien aus, wo sein Sohn Carl v. Zeska bekannter Wiener Burgtheater-Schauspieler wurde).

⁴² Nur ergänzt Reed hier einen kleinen Aspekt, den er glaubte gehört zu haben (den andere Zeugen aber nicht nennen): „ein solches Auftreten passe sich nicht für mich, dazu wäre ich noch viel zu jung!“ Reed hört also mit, was offenkundig gemeint war, auch wenn es vielleicht nicht ausdrücklich gesagt worden war – er war erst ein junger Fähnrich und war den anderen altersmäßig und hierarchisch unterlegen. Das ist signifikant: Denn auch Reed selbst hört nichts, keine Anspielung, in Bezug auf seine ausländische Herkunft. Das Problem ist nur seine Jugend. Das zeigt auch, dass es offenbar nicht einmal Anspielungen in diese Richtung gab.

Hierbei ist zu beachten, dass bis weit ins 20. Jahrhundert hinein gerade Offizierskreise von einer großen Empfindlichkeit geprägt waren, wo jede Situation nach möglichen Unterminierungen der Ehre (und damit des guten Namens und letztlich der Kampfkraft) untersucht wurde – und nur durch ein sofortiges Reagieren, ein sofortiges sich der Gefahr stellen, konnte man eine Kompromittierung abwenden. Das beste Mittel war das Duell. Zeska aber winkt ab! Er soll sinngemäß gesagt haben: „Mit dem schon lange nicht, der ist mir noch lange nicht gewachsen!“ (Und ähnlich berichtet von anderen Zeugen). Reed wird nun also sogar die Duellfähigkeit abgesprochen – er ist, Zeskas Einschätzung nach, offenbar nichts als ein Grünschnabel. Allerdings sagen „die Meisten der Anwesenden“, Reed habe durchaus das Recht gehabt, sich die „unanständigen Späße“ zu verbitten. Die Gesellschaft ergreift also Partei für Reed. Eigentlich könnte an dieser Stelle der banale Zwischenfall enden.

Die militärischen Empfindlichkeiten der Zeit: Die nächste Eskalationsstufe der Wortduelle

Doch nun greift v. Häseler ein: Dieser Ehrverlust ist nicht hinzunehmen! Er beauftragt sofort einen Kameraden, wie es die Tradition vorsieht, Reed für nächsten Montag „wegen seines Benehmens“ zum Duell zu fordern (und zwar erst Montag, da er, v. Häseler, vorher noch eine Reise nach Lübeck vorhatte). Dabei hatte sich doch bisher eigentlich nur v. Häseler schlecht benommen! Es gibt weitere Missverständnisse: Zeska beteuert in seiner späteren Vernehmung, er habe daraufhin versucht, Häseler zu beruhigen; Häseler meinte aber, wie das Protokoll zeigt, er habe ihn vielmehr weiter angestachelt, indem er schlecht über Reed sprach (man sieht: Die kochenden Emotionen und der Alkohol spielten eine Rolle). Reed, nun in einem Nebenraum, wurde informiert und nahm die Duell-Forderung sofort an. Die Gesellschaft sitzt allerdings weiter zusammen, man beruhigt sich offenbar. Zeska geht bald zu Reed, offenbar will er nun Frieden stiften (was konsistent ist mit seiner Aussage, er habe zuvor v. Häseler beruhigen wollen, und was auch dazu passt, dass er auf die Duell-Idee eben nicht eingegangen war).

Er sagt Reed nun zur Erklärung seines Verhaltens gegen ihn, dass er (so bezeugt es Reed) „wegen meines gestrigen Raisonniens gegen die Dänen“ einen Groll gegen ihn gehabt habe, denn er, v. Zeska, habe „Verwandte, und soviel alte Freude und gute Bekannte unter den Dänen“⁴³. Reeds nationalistisches Schimpfen auf das Volk des Feindes – ganz modern – war also der eigentliche Auslöser der harten Worte zwischen den beiden. Zeska hatte sich wegen seines eigenen dänischen Hintergrundes verletzt gefühlt. Reed entschuldigt sich nun praktisch und versichert ihm, dass er „gewiß nicht so craß aufgetreten wäre“, wenn er das gewusst hätte. Er wollte ihn mit seinem „Raisonniere“ (also offenbar ein alle Dänen herabsetzendes Gerede) „keinesfalls“ beleidigen. Zeska antwortet, er sei „ein famoser Kerl“ und entschuldigt sich nun auch in ganz ähnlicher Weise – er habe gar nicht daran gedacht, dass er, Reed, fünf Jahre auf

⁴³ Dazu zählten auch wichtige Angehörige des Hofes, sein eigener Schwager war Kammerjunker am dänischen Königshof und der dänische König war sein Taufpate; sein Bruder Carl war in engster Freundschaft zusammen mit Herzog Carl von Glücksburg (ein Neffe des dänischen Königs) auf Schloss Glücksburg aufgewachsen, und lebte später als königlicher Page mit dessen jüngerem Bruder Christian von Glücksburg am dänischen Hof in Kopenhagen; dieser enge Freund Carl v. Zeskas wurde später selbst als „Christian IX.“ dänischer König, und v. Zeska erzählte später sein Leben lang von den ihn quälenden Gefühlen, dass er aufgrund des Abfalls der Herzogtümer Schleswig und Holstein diesen Freund nie wieder sehen konnte (dazu im Detail dessen Biographie in Smidt 2005).

der Universität gewesen war, und er habe gegenüber v. Häseler „ganz recht“ gehandelt. Die Versöhnung wird mit gegenseitigem Anstoßen besiegelt.

Aber der trouble-maker des Abends v. Häseler findet all das inakzeptabel und führt die Sache auf die nächste Eskalationsstufe. Er stellt v. Zeska zur Rede, das sei doch merkwürdig, dass er jetzt mit Reed anstoße – aber v. Zeska weist ihn einfach zurück: Er mag nichts mehr damit „zu thun haben“, mich geht „die Sache gar nichts mehr an!“ Daraufhin beauftragt v. Häseler seinen Assistenten, v. Zeska zum Duell zu fordern, und zwar schon für den nächsten Tag, Sonntag. Der nimmt zwar an, lachend, lehnt aber Pistolen ab und sagt, er solle sich mit dem Säbel schlagen (Zeska ist ein hervorragender Säbel-Schläger, vermerkt das Protokoll⁴⁴). In weiteren Aussprachen beteuert v. Zeska, er habe sich ja nur „im ersten Augenblick“ über Reed geärgert, da der einen Offizier zurechtgestutzt (in der Sprache des Protokolls „zu recht gesetzt“) hatte. Er sagte, er habe die spätere Duellforderung v. Häselers dann nur angenommen, um zu zeigen, dass er nicht feig sei, aber v. Häseler habe all das „in der Besoffenheit gethan“. Zeska versicherte der Kommission: „Ich nahm die ganze Sache überhaupt bei v. Haeseler nicht so Ernst, weil ich seine Art, gleich zu fordern, kannte...“

Allerdings war die Stimmung der meisten Offiziere inzwischen klar gegen v. Zeska. Der Grund dafür war, so berichtet es v. Zeska selbst, dass er Reed zu Unrecht die Duellfähigkeit abgesprochen hatte (die Gruppe fand das also sehr ungehörig, denn Reed war auch Offizier!) und gleichzeitig v. Häseler in seinem Groll unterstützte – und dann plötzlich in „Cordialität“ mit Reed zusammen trank. Das war doch „unredlich“! Zeska zeigte nach der (wohl immer noch von Trunkenheit geprägten) allgemeinen Meinung der Abendgruppe einen schwankenden, unzuverlässigen Charakter.

Nun versöhnte sich v. Häseler seinerseits mit Reed. Der bisher nur alles eskalierende v. Häseler sagte, er sehe sein schlechtes Betragen ein. Die allgemeine Feindschaft ging jetzt gegen v. Zeska, der, so meinten nun manche, v. Häseler erst angestiftet habe. Es folgten heftige Wortwechsel, v. Häseler sagt, v. Zeska habe „zuerst mit dem Löffel geworfen!“ und damit alles erst ausgelöst – was v. Zeska bestreitet und sagt, er solle sich erst ausschlafen, danach könne man sich duellieren. Doch v. Häseler beschimpft ihn, v. Zeska sei „ein feiger Mensch“, da er sich um das Duell drücke. Zwar wollte sich dann v. Zeska gleich duellieren – doch ein anderer Offizier verhinderte dies. Reed selbst wendet sich nun seinerseits gegen v. Zeska und sagt schließlich, er sei heute Abend „ein Minus“. An der Stelle bricht alles ab, einer nach dem anderen geht ins Bett.

Zeska schildert die Situation so: „Ich war in dem Augenblick bestürzt und wußte im ersten Moment nicht, sollte ich ihn niederhauen oder dieses Benehmen am anderen Tage auf andere Art abmachen. Ich wollte Ruhe und nahm meine ganze Fassung zusammen, um nicht einen Scandal herbeizuführen; ärgerte mich aber so, daß ich nicht anders konnte, als das Local zu verlassen.“ Er habe aber am nächsten Tag beschlossen, die Sache auf sich beruhen zu lassen, berichtet v. Zeska, da v. Häseler offenbar unzurechnungsfähig war und er Reed nicht unglücklich machen wollte, weshalb er die ganze Sache auch nicht angezeigt hatte. Zur Verteidigung seiner Ehre sagte er, dass v. Häseler ihn in diesem Zustand gar nicht beleidigen konnte, „darum verwies ich ihn auf den anderen Morgen, bis er ausgeschlafen habe“. Und er habe sich „mit einigen Cameraden“ deswegen beraten und sei mit diesen zum Schluss gekommen, er solle in

⁴⁴ Diese Angabe geht auf Kameraden zurück, die damit, ohne es ausdrücklich erklären zu müssen, einen problematischen Aspekt der ganzen Affäre deutlich machen: Wenn v. Zeska besonders gut mit dem Säbel ist, so würde dies doch bedeuten, dass er sich mit seiner Forderung nach ausgerechnet dieser Waffe einen ungehörigen Vorteil verschaffen wolle – also ein Hinweis auf Feigheit!

Rücksicht auf v. Häseler und Reed keine Anzeige vom Vorfall erstatten – was auch zeige, dass er eben gerade nicht aus Feigheit gehandelt habe.

Die Kommission scheint sich diese Sicht der Dinge zu eigen gemacht zu haben. Es war auch das Weiseste: Es gab kein Duell. Es war ein alberner Abend, in dem sich strikte Ehr-Regeln des Militärs vermischten mit politischen Beleidigungen, in denen sich die inneren Widersprüche des Krieges offenbarten – weshalb dieser Abend so schnell eskalierte. Darum erlaubt uns diese Geschichte auch einen recht hilfreichen Einblick in die Gemengelage der Zeit, in die der anti-dänische Reed geraten war, im Gerangel mit pro-dänischen Kameraden, die im Namen des dänischen Königs gegen Dänemark kämpften – unterstützt vom Demokraten und Republikanern, die sie doch gleichzeitig verachteten.

Etwa aus dieser Zeit datiert auch ein Porträt von William Nicolas Reed (Fig. 1): Die jungen Offiziere ließen sich bereits während des Krieges meist porträtieren. Nach Kriegsende wurden diese Porträts aufwändig in losen Sammel-Porträtbögen gedruckt, als Erinnerungsstücke der nun in alle Länder verstreuten Offiziere, zum Teil mit dem Aufdruck „Erinnerung“; in Familienbesitz der Familie Kühl hatte sich ein vollständiges Konvolut der Porträtbögen erhalten, mit dem Porträt Reeds (Fig. 3)⁴⁵. Ein weiteres Porträt, dessen Existenz in der Überlieferung berichtet wird und im Landesarchiv vorhanden sein soll, das Reed im Profil (Seitenansicht) zeigt, konnte bisher nicht aufgefunden werden.

Der Ende der Militärkarriere in Schleswig-Holstein und Auswanderung in die USA

Der „Aufstand“ der Schleswig-Holsteiner, zunächst massiv unterstützt aus Preußen, blieb erfolglos. Trotz einiger gewonnener Schlachten konnte sich die schleswig-holsteinische Armee militärisch nicht durchsetzen, und auch politisch schwand der internationale Rückhalt. 1851 wurden die Herzogtümer wieder in den dänischen Staat eingegliedert und vor allem im Herzogtum Schleswig eine verstärkte Danisierungspolitik betrieben (bis 1864 Preußen eine neue politische Lage ausnutzte und sich sukzessive die Herzogtümer einverleibte, aber ohne die Autonomie der Herzogtümer zu achten, mit der das ganze Problem begonnen hatte). Alle Offiziere der schleswig-holsteinischen Armee, die bis 1848 dänische Soldaten waren, waren nun als Meuterer von Todesstrafe bedroht; andere Mitglieder der Armee wurden kollektiv ausgewiesen. Es begann damit eine massive Auswanderung⁴⁶.

⁴⁵ Dieses Konvolut aus dem Familienarchiv Kühl – Lange war zuletzt (ca. 1982) im Besitz von Konteradmiral Karl Smidt, der es in der Zeit leihweise zur Auswertung in ein Archiv gab. Da er im Januar 1984 starb, bevor die Bögen zurückgegeben worden waren, konnte nicht rekonstruiert werden, wohin die Porträtbögen gegangen waren; die bisher angefragten Archive verneinten den Besitz, ebenso wie die angefragten Lokalhistoriker, die sich für die Bögen interessierten (der Schleswig-Holstein-Historiker Gerd Stolz in Kiel teilte mir am 16.1.2004 freundlicherweise mit, er habe diese Bögen leider nie erhalten; das Landesarchiv, das sich 1982 für die Bögen interessiert hatte, teilte mit, sie haben diese ebenfalls nicht). Hartmut Läßle hatte jedoch um 1978 Fotos einiger dieser Bögen fertigen können, wovon hier der Bogen mit dem Porträt von Reed abgedruckt wird (Fig. 3).

⁴⁶ Die Schleswig-Holstein-Literatur ist voller Hinweise auf diese früheren schleswig-holsteinischen Offiziere im Exil und deren Familien; siehe z.B. La Vern J. RIPPLEY und Joachim REPPMANN (Hrsg.) (1994) *„Freiheit, Bildung und Wohlstand für Alle!“ Schleswig-Holsteinische „Achtundvierziger“ in den USA 1847-1860*. Wyk auf Föhr (mit einer Liste der in die USA ausgewanderten schl.-holst. Offiziere) und Hans-Georg BALDER und Rüdiger B. RICHTER (2007) *Korporierte im amerikanischen Bürgerkrieg*. Hilden: WJK-Verlag. S. 101-03 (zu Reed). – Vgl. auch die Erzählungen des Kriegsschriftstellers Rodowicz, vgl. Wolbert G.C. SMIDT und Hartmut LÄPPEL (2003) „Schleswig-Holstein und das Osmanische Reich: Ein vergessenes Memoiren-Werk von Theodor Rodowicz von Oświęcimski erhellt Schicksale schleswig-holsteinischer Offiziere nach 1848“, *Familienkundliches Jahrbuch Schleswig Holstein*, Jg. 42: 66-97.



Fig. 3: Porträtbogen mit den Porträts aller Offiziere des "3ten Schlesw.-Holst. Jäger-Corps", gedruckt als Erinnerungsblatt viele Jahre nach dem Krieg, darunter Nr. 21: "Reed (Lieut., Student)"⁴⁷, aus der Sammlung von Konteradmiral Karl Smidt (Reproduktion von Hartmut Läßle, ca. 1978, Original seit Januar 1984 verschollen)

⁴⁷ Nr. 14: „C. Lange (Lieut., Stud.)“ (mein Ururgroßonkel, hatte gemeinsam mit Reed studiert).

Reed war unter denjenigen, die 1851 ins Exil gehen mussten. Nach seiner Ausweisung besuchte Reed zunächst seine Heimat in den „West-Indies“ (so Möller 1885). Aus anderen Akten ist außerdem seine Auswanderung nach Brasilien überliefert⁴⁸. Der damalige Kaiser Brasiliens, Dom Pedro II., stockte seine Armee mithilfe seiner vor allem in Hamburg aktiven Werber mit zahlreichen landesverwiesenen Schleswig-Holsteinern (in Brasilien die „Brümmer“ genannt) auf, da er wegen seiner Kriegspläne dringend eine kriegserfahrene Armeeführung benötigte. Er überfiel mithilfe der neueingetretenen schleswig-holsteinischen Offiziere, unter denen auch Reed war, das südliche Nachbarland Uruguay, um den Diktator Rosas abzusetzen: Die Intervention begann im Mai 1851 und endete im Februar 1852 mit dem Rücktritt von Rosas. Nach erfolgreichem Kriegszug wurden die meisten dieser Offiziere mit einer Zahlung für die Rückfahrt oder eine Existenzgründung in den neuen Siedlungsgebieten Südbrasilien wieder entlassen. Reed aber emigrierte weiter. Als Sohn eines Engländers lagen ihm die USA nahe. Er heiratete bereits am 15.2.1852 als „Freier“ in New York⁴⁹.

Wir sind über seine Tätigkeiten in den USA bisher nicht im Detail informiert – man kann nur die Hoffnung aussprechen, dass biographischen Forschungen eine weiterhin wachsende Bedeutung zugemessen wird. Es gibt nur kürzere Darstellungen zu Reed, die fehlerhaft sind (zum Beispiel wird behauptet, er sei in der Kieler Militärakademie gewesen, in gänzlicher Unkenntnis seiner Studentenzeit und der revolutionären Ereignisse von 1848, die erst dazu führten, dass er Offizier wurde). Führt er den Kaufmannsberuf des Vaters fort? Beendete er seine juristische Ausbildung, wie er es 1851 angekündigt hatte (wie in dem Zeugnis Baudissins erwähnt)? Zu Beginn des amerikanischen Bürgerkrieges trat er jedenfalls der Armee der Nordstaaten bei⁵⁰. Er wurde gleich zu Beginn einer der ranghöheren Offiziere, und zwar Lieutenant-Colonel (Oberstleutnant) – während zu dieser Zeit alle anderen Offiziere von Kampfseinheiten Weiße waren. Er wurde zeitweise sogar der Befehlshaber des, so heißt es in einer Quelle, „1st South Carolina Negro Regiment“ (so Möller 1885), dessen Offiziere ebenfalls ansonsten alle Weiße waren. Dieses Regiment wurde offenbar fälschlich so bezeichnet, da die Soldaten meist aus South Carolina geflohene ehemalige Sklaven waren – die richtige Bezeichnung scheint, wenn man nach der aktuellen amerikanischen Literatur

⁴⁸ Angabe nach Forschungen von Hartmut Läßle, nach dessen Angaben Reed 1853 in die USA weiter emigrierte (vgl. Smidt 2005). Aber da er bereits im Februar 1852 in New York heiratete, verließ er Brasilien wohl sehr bald. Die Suche nach direkten Belegen für diese Angabe ist noch nicht abgeschlossen; die meisten Schleswig-Holstein-Immigranten gingen nach der Colonia Dona Francisca (später Joinville), dort ist aber sein Name in den Listen der Einwanderer nicht vermerkt (vgl. <https://www.joinville.sc.gov.br/wp-content/uploads/2016/06/Listas-de-imigrantes-de-Joinville-de-1851-a-1891-e-de-1897-a-1902.pdf>). Wäre es möglich, dass eine Verwechslung vorliegt? Dort ist Wilhelm Redd als Einwanderer in den 1870er Jahren verzeichnet, der aber schon chronologisch nicht identisch sein kann mit William Reed.

⁴⁹ Jesse J. JOHNSON (ed.) (1971) *Black Armed Forces Officers, 1736-1971 (A Documented Pictorial History)*. Hampton, VA. Hampton Institute. – Er muss Brasilien also bereits vor Ende des Feldzugs verlassen haben.

⁵⁰ Eine Musterrollen-Abschrift hat sich erhalten, die allerdings nicht zeitgenössisch ist: Die Aufschrift lautet „35th United States Colored Troops“, was der Name seiner Truppeneinheit unmittelbar nach der Schlacht von Olustee war, in der er bereits gefallen war; der Text bezieht sich auf eine ältere Musterrolle von 1863. Er trat nach diesem Dokument am 11. Juli 1863 in North Carolina diesem Regiment bei, ernannt zum Lieutenant Colonel durch Brigadier General Edward A. Wild (Muster-in Roll „R“, 35 U.S.C.T.; vgl. http://battleofolustee.org/pics/william_n_reed_35th_usct.htm). – Vgl. auch die „Casualty Sheet“ in der National Archives and Record Administration (NARA) M1992. Compiled military service records of volunteer Union soldiers belonging to the 31st through 35th infantry units, organized for service with the United States Colored Troops (USCT) / Carded Records Showing Military Service of Soldiers Who Fought in Volunteer Organizations During the American Civil War, compiled 1890 – 1912, documenting the period 1861 - 1866. – Archivalien zu North Carolina Regiments sind zu erwarten in folgenden Sammlungen: Navy and Old Military Records Division, National Archives, Washington, CD 20408; North Carolina Archives, Archives and Record Section, Division of Archives and History, 109 East Jones Street, Raleigh, North Carolina 27611.

geht, „1st North Carolina Colored Regiment“ (auch „Infantry“, und weitere Varianten) zu sein⁵¹.

Reed wird höchstrangiger afroamerikanischer Offizier im US-Bürgerkrieg

In einem Werk zur Geschichte schwarzer Soldaten heißt es zur Übernahme des Kommandos durch Reed (meine Übersetzung)⁵²: „Das ‚1st North Carolina‘ wurde in New Bern, North Carolina, und in Portsmouth, Virginia, formiert und trat am 30. Juni 1863 in den Dienst. Fast alle der Männer des Regiments waren frühere Sklaven. Auch wenn sie an der Küste von South Carolina eingesetzt waren, hatten sie zuvor vor allem als Arbeiter und in den Garnisonen gedient und hatten nur minderwertige Waffen erhalten. Der Colonel des Regiments, James C. Beecher, war beurlaubt, und daher befahl Lieutenant Colonel William N. Reed die Einheit während der Kampagne [von Februar 1864]. Zu der Zeit waren ungefähr 600 Mann beteiligt. Unmittelbar vor der Operation war das Regiment umbenannt worden in ‚35th United States Colored Troops‘, aber trug den bisherigen Namen bis nach der Schlacht [von Olustee].“

Dieses Regiment war in der Geschichte des Krieges bedeutend, da es sich trotz zum Teil negativer Meinungen über das Potential solcher Truppen afrikanischer Herkunft in den Augen der Armeeführung überragend bewährte: Die Hervorhebung der Tapferkeit und die Disziplin der Truppen ist im Licht der damaligen Vorurteile zu sehen, die im Zuge der Ereignisse dieses Krieges, und das macht diese Truppe und einige andere ähnliche Truppen so wichtig, ad absurdum geführt wurden. Der Bürgerkrieg führte zu einem bedeutenden Fortschritt in der Stellung der (ehemaligen) Sklaven: Zuvor kam es sogar vor, dass auch in den Norden geflohene Sklaven ihren Eigentümern im Süden zurückgegeben wurden – nun aber wurden sie sogar in die Armee integriert und wurden, trotz niedrigerer Bezahlung, als freie Soldaten in den Staat integriert. Reed war nun, in den USA, endgültig zum Afroamerikaner geworden, ein Label, das, wie unsere Dokumente zeigen, in seiner Zeit als schleswig-holsteinischer Offizier kaum eine Rolle gespielt hatte.

⁵¹ Gewöhnlich ist es jedenfalls „North Carolina“; doch da die Soldaten wie erwähnt im wesentlichen aus South Carolina stammten, kommt verwirrenderweise in den Quellen auch „South Carolina“ für dieses Regiment vor. Der Staat South Carolina war einer der Gründungsstaaten der Confederates, hatte eine besonders große Population versklavter Afrikaner (über 50%), und war eine wichtige Quelle für Soldaten im Bürgerkrieg, auf der Seite der Südstaaten. Insofern ist es historisch nicht unwichtig, dass South Carolina auch eine wichtige Herkunftsregion für schwarze Soldaten der Nordstaaten war. – Die inkorrekte Benennung als „1st South Carolina Negro Regiment“, wobei South Carolina bekanntermaßen zu den Südstaaten zählte, scheint auch der Grund gewesen zu sein für den Fehler in einem Aufsatz der *Zeitschrift für Heereskunde* von 1995 (Bd. 59, 95170), in dem zu Reed irrtümlich steht: „... daß er, der mulattischer Abstammung war, ausgerechnet in die Dienste der Südstaaten trat, mag verwundern.“ Es sollte einen nicht verwundern, da es eben nicht wahr ist! Allerdings bleibt es auch für die Nordstaaten eine absolute Ausnahme – man sollte die Liberalität des Nordens in diesen Fragen nicht überschätzen. (Der Aufsatz behandelt ehemalige schleswig-holsteinische Offiziere und deren Emigration, u.a. in die USA.)

⁵² Arthur W. BERGERON, Jr. (2002) „The Battle of Olustee“. In John David SMITH (ed.): *Black Soldiers in Blue: African American Troops in the Civil War Era*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press. S. 136-149, hier S. 138. – Vgl. auch Noah Andre TRUDEAU (1998) *Like Men of war: Black Troops in the Civil War, 1861-1865*. New York: Little, Brown (mit Karte der Schlachtanordnung mit Reeds Regiment). – Dudley Taylor CORNISH (1966) *The Sable Arm: Negro Troops in the Union Army, 1861-1865*. New York: Norton. S. 70ff. (zu Reeds Regiment). – Joseph T. WILSON (1888) *The Black Phalanx: A History of the Negro Soldiers of the United States in the Wars of 1775-1812, 1861-65*. Hartford: American Publishing Comp.

Reeds spezielle Beziehung zur Kategorie „Blackness“ – indirekte Quellen und Hinweise

In den amerikanischen Offizierslisten wird Reed gemeinsam mit einem anderen, nämlich Sergeant Major Stephan Swails⁵³ (der erst 1865 zum Second Lieutenant ernannt wurde, was bis dahin wegen seiner afrikanischen Abstammung verhindert worden war), als „coloured“ geführt; neuere Literatur listet ihn als „black armed forces officer“⁵⁴. Auch wenn es vielleicht überflüssig ist, darauf extra hinzuweisen: Die Labels „coloured“, „black“ etc. veränderten sich mit der Zeit – in neuerer Zeit dominiert der Begriff „black“.

Die „rassische“ (und ich meine, man sollte es direkt so nennen: rassistische) Terminologie, die aus einer lediglich beschreibenden Farbkategorie wie „black“ (angewandt für Menschen ganz verschiedener Hautfarben und sehr verschiedener Herkünfte) ein sozio-politisches Konstrukt macht, fasst große Gruppen von verschiedenen Menschen in eine wertende Gesamtkategorie. Dies ist natürlich eine Folge und teilweise Fortsetzung der rassistischen Segregationspolitik der USA vom 19. bis 20. Jahrhundert, die eine Art Apartheid-System etablierte, auch wenn dies keiner so nennt. Wer „coloured“ oder „black“ war, war *anders*, wurde geringfügiger bezahlt, hatte nur bedingte Zugangsrechte zum Staat und zur Gesellschaft. Daraus ist im Gegenzug eine schwarze Bewegung entstanden, die allerdings die grundsätzlich rassistisch konstruierten Abstammungskategorien übernommen hat. Mit „black“ ist nun weitgehend die Narrative der kollektiven Oppression und Herabsetzung verbunden, zusammen mit einer kulturalisierten Zelebration der „Blackness“, die vielfältigen kulturellen Ausdruck gefunden hat, von Musik bis zu Literatur und modernen akademischen Bewegungen. Dies sei an dieser Stelle in aller Allgemeinheit nur angemerkt. Dieser Artikel ist insofern ein Beitrag zu diesen Debatten, als er sich auf die konkret fassbaren biographischen Details einer Persönlichkeit stützt, deren Leben zwischen verschiedenen Kategorien wechselte – vom deutschen Offizier und „Mulatten“ zum US-amerikanischen Befehlshaber einer Truppe schwarzer Soldaten und ehemaliger Sklaven, und zuletzt vom „colored“ zum „black officer“ in der US-amerikanischen Literatur. Seine Herkunft aus den karibischen Inseln und sein Leben in den USA machen ihn zum „Afroamerikaner“ im modernen Sinne. Aber ob er sich selbst so sah? Es ist nicht Ziel dieses Artikel, den Sinn und Unsinn der entsprechenden modernen Kategorien abschließend zu bewerten. Es ist auch nicht Ziel, die Geschichte des Rassismus bzw. der Beziehungen zwischen weißen Mehrheitsgesellschaften und Sklavenabkömmlingen an dieser Stelle zu erläutern⁵⁵. Dazu ist diese zu komplex und ist befriedigend im Rahmen einer solchen konkreten biographischen Analyse nicht zu schaffen.

⁵³ vom 54th Massachusetts. – Vgl. die Liste schwarzer Offiziere (darunter Polizisten, Feldprediger und Arzt-Offiziere): *U.S.C.T. And Commissioned Officers of African-American Descent*, by Missouri Commandery – Military Order of the Loyal Legion of the US (MOLLUS), 1997 (<http://home.usmo.com/~momollus/USCT.HTM>, August 2018).

⁵⁴ Siehe zu ihm als „black“ u.a.: Jesse J. JOHNSON (ed.) (1971) *Black Armed Forces Officers, 1736-1971 (A Documented Pictorial History)*. Hampton, VA. Hampton Institute. S. 31: hierin steht zu Reed vermerkt „was educated in Germany“; S. 36. – Bereits in früher Literatur zum Bürgerkrieg wird er als schwarzer Offizier geführt („negro“): George Washington WILLIAMS (1888) *A History of Negro Troops in the War of Rebellion*. New York. S. 141, S. 207–208 (hier zu Reed). – Vgl. auch: Gerald ASYOT (1998) *The Right to Fight, The History of African Americans in the Military*. Novato, California: Presidio Press; Gary DONALDSON (1991) *The History of African-Americans in the Military*. Malabar, FL: Krieger Publishing; T. G. STEWARD (1904) *The Colored Regulars in the United States Army, Revolutionary War to 1899*. Philadelphia.

⁵⁵ Diese habe ich im Bezug zur Entstehung moderner rassistischer Theorien im 18. Jahrhundert an anderer Stelle ausführlich getan: Wolbert SMIDT (2000) *Afrika im Schatten der Aufklärung, Das Afrikabild bei Immanuel Kant und Johann Gottfried Herder*. Bonn: Holos-Verlag, ISBN 3-86097-345-2 (dort auch Verweise zur wichtigen Literatur zur

Aber das Leben Reeds ist im Zusammenhang dieser modernen Debatten keinesfalls unwichtig: Es ist eben gerade keine Geschichte einer Unterdrückung, sondern eines internationalen Lebens, geprägt von einer eindrucksvollen Karriere, die ein Bewusstsein seiner politisch-historischen Rolle verrät. Die Annahme einer militärischen Führungsrolle in den USA, unter freien und freigelassenen schwarzen Soldaten, darunter viele frühere Sklaven, sicherlich ein Ausdruck der Annahme seiner neuen Rolle als „black officer“. So trug er zum Wandel der Gesellschaft zunächst in den Nordstaaten (der „Union“) bei.

Die besondere Rolle Reeds im Kampf um schwarze Emanzipation und sein Kriegstod

Hierzu noch einige weitere Anmerkungen: Unsere Nachforschungen zu Reed in den USA haben erste interessante Ergebnisse gebracht, die unterstreichen, dass er sich offenbar entschlossen hatte, eine aktive Rolle bei der Emanzipation der Schwarzen zu spielen. In einer historischen Master-Arbeit an der Graduate Faculty of North Carolina State University wird gesagt, es habe das „Gerücht“ gegeben, Reed sei ein „mulatto“. Ein Zitat (in der selben Arbeit) zeigt aber, dass dies durchaus bekannt war – und sogar einer Beschwerde Anlass gab, da nämlich Reed einen schwarzen Assistenz-Arzt der Armee aktiv förderte, und zwar im Gegensatz zum eigentlich höherrangigen weißen Arzt, der sich missachtet fühlte.

Der Medical Director H. M. Mintz formulierte durchaus rassistisch-tendenziös in seiner Beschwerde vom 17. November 1863, dass die Zusammenarbeit zwischen einem weißen und schwarzen Arzt jedenfalls zu Schwierigkeiten führen müsse, die nun durch den Mulatten Reed verschärft wurden. Der Beschwerdeführer setzt als völlig selbstverständlich voraus, dass es undenkbar bleiben müsse, dass ein schwarzer Arzt einem weißen vorgezogen werden könne, wie das folgende Zitat zeigt (zitiert nach Hutchins 1999, chapter two⁵⁶):

„It appears that the 1st Regiment N.C.C. Vols. has two medical officers assistant surgeon D. Mann (a white man) and assistant surgeon DeGrasse (a Negro). As might be expected from this unfortunate combination difficulties have arisen of a much serious nature that it becomes my duty to represent

komplexen Entstehung rassistischer Theorien im Rahmen der modernen westlichen Geistesgeschichte). Siehe auch Arno SONDEREGGER (2002) *Jenseits der rassistischen Grenze. Die Wahrnehmung Afrikas bei Johann Gottfried Herder im Spiegel seiner Philosophie der Geschichte (und der Geschichten anderer Philosophen)*, Frankfurt am Main: Lang; und kontrastierend, zur gegenläufigen Rolle Herders, der ganz andere Bilder anderer Bevölkerungsgruppen und auch der Sklaverei zeichnet, Werner USTORF (2004) "'My brother Fetu'. The untimely anthropology of Johann Gottfried Herder (1744-1803)", in: Frieder Ludwig - Afe Adogame (eds.): *European Traditions for the Study of Religion in Africa*, Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz Verlag, 144-56. Besonders wichtig zum Verständnis der Entstehung des modernen Rassismus ist Monika FIRLA (1994), "Philosophie und Ethnographie. Kants Verhältnis zu Kultur und Geschichte Afrikas", in: Cornelia Wunsch (Hrsg.): *XXV. Orientalistentag vom 8. bis 13.4.1991 in München. Vorträge*. Stuttgart (Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft, Supplement X), 432-442; Monika FIRLA (1997) "Kants Thesen vom 'Nationalcharakter' der Afrikaner, seine Quellen und der nicht vorhandene 'Zeitgeist'", in: *Mitteilungen des Instituts für Wissenschaft und Kunst* 52, 3, 1997, 7-17. Zu recht widerspricht sie der verbreiteten Idee, dass Kants abfällige Bemerkungen zu Afrikanern eher zufälliger Natur seien und eben dem Zeitgeist zuzuschreiben seien; im Gegenteil unterstreicht sie den direkten Zusammenhang mit seiner Philosophie, deren Ansatz nicht zu unterschätzen ist in ihrer Wirkung auf das folgende 19. Jahrhundert. Aber es ist eben auch gerade ihre Beobachtung einer viel differenzierteren Haltung zahlreicher Zeitgenossen, die auch zu unseren Beobachtungen zum ein halbes Jahrhundert nach Kant aktiven Reed passt: Reed passt in keines der etablierten rassistischen Muster und zeigt damit, wie differenziert wir Geschichte sehen und schreiben müssen.

⁵⁶ Shana Renee HUTCHINS (1999) *Just Learning To Be Men: A History Of The 35th United States Colored Troops, 1863-1866*. A thesis submitted to the Graduate Faculty of North Carolina State University in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the Degree of Master of Arts in History Raleigh (www.ncgenweb.us/ncusct/shana.htm, August 2018).

the case - It also appears that the Lt. Colonel of the Regt. [Reed] (which is commanded by Colonel Beecher) is a mulatto and while he has been temporarily in command of the Regt. he has used every endeavor in his power to elevate the Negro Doctor over the white one ...“⁵⁷

Noch etwas später gab es eine weitere kurze Kontroverse – während der Reed (wie im Militär bei dem Verdacht von Vergehen üblich) kurzzeitig unter Arrest gestellt wurde, da er gegen einen (weißen) Soldaten vorgegangen war. Reed aber konnte sich rechtfertigen: Dieser Soldat hatte einen schwarzen Soldaten ungerechtfertigt misshandelt, wogegen Reed als militärischer Vorgesetzter vorgehen musste⁵⁸.

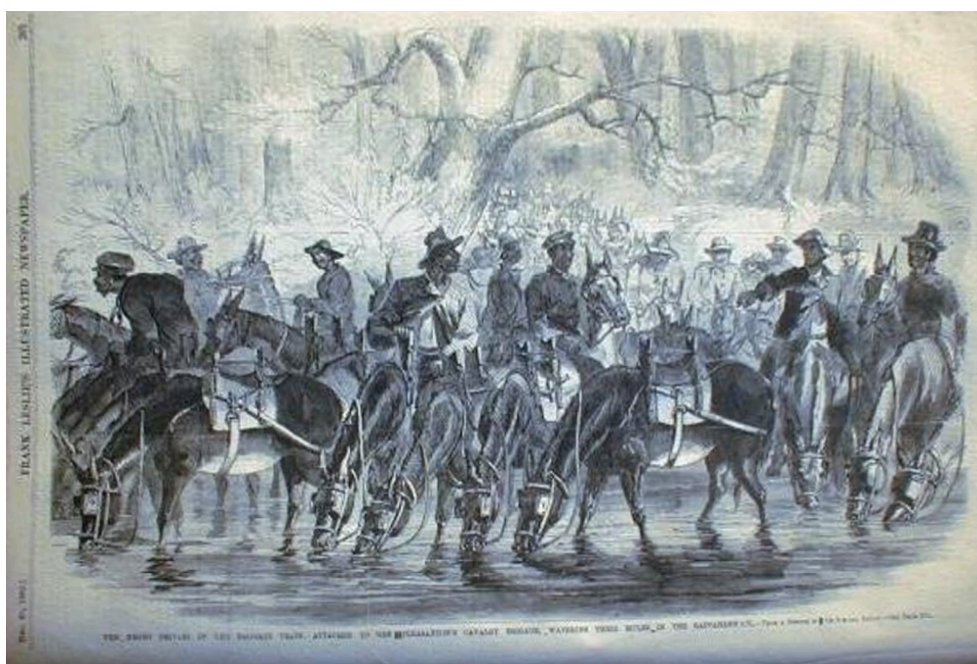


Fig. 4: Darstellung des 1st South Carolina Volunteer Regiment, Frank Leslie's Illustrated Newspaper, New York, vom 20. Dezember 1862

⁵⁷ Quelle: H. M. Mintz to Major General Quincy Gilmore, November 17, 1863, Descriptive Books, 35th Regiment USCT, RG 94. – Hutchins (1999) merkt hierzu an: „Mintz accused Reed of favoring Doctor John V. DeGrasse, the black assistant surgeon, over Doctor Daniel Mann. The Medical Director believed that Reed gave DeGrasse special treatment because of Reed's race. The Descriptive Books of the 35th fail to indicate Reed's racial classification. But throughout his career Reed openly championed the rights of blacks. Reed's strong beliefs in the rights of blacks could have caused others to question his racial background, a usual tactic of those hostile to black advancement.“

⁵⁸ Dies wird in Hutchins 1999 (chapter two) beschrieben: „He seemed to invite controversy. On October 29, 1863, Beecher ordered Reed arrested for recalling a private from the quartermaster's department without going through the proper channels. Two days later, Beecher released Reed from arrest after he learned the lieutenant colonel's rationale for recalling the soldier. While working for the quartermaster's department, Private Lafayette Spencer faced mistreatment at the hands of white soldiers who forced Spencer to labor for them. Reed, angry at the maltreatment of Private Spencer, simply recalled the soldier from duty rather than allowing the abuse to continue. Upon learning the facts of the case, Beecher agreed with Reed's reason, but not his method. Reed and Beecher shared an intense belief in abolition and the rights of blacks, and both officers fought to prevent their men from mistreatment by other white soldiers.“ (Quelle nach Hutchins 1999: William N. Reed, Compiled Military Service Record, Records of the Adjutant General's Office, RG 94, National Archives, Washington, D.C.; vgl. dazu auch Cornish op. cit., S. 112; Benjamin QUARLES (1953) *The Negro in the Civil War*. Boston: Little, Brown. S. 195).

Reed fiel während des amerikanischen Bürgerkrieges bei der Schlacht bei Olustee in Florida am 20. Februar 1864⁵⁹; er starb wenige Tage später an seinen tödlichen Wunden in Beaufort, North Carolina⁶⁰. Im oben zitierten Werk (Bergeron 2002: 142) wird dies so geschildert (meine Übersetzung): „Der General berichtete, dass Lieutenant Colonel Reed seine Männer ‚in überaus brillanter Weise‘ in eine Linie brachte. Ein Reporter der *Philadelphia Press*⁶¹ berichtete, dass die Männer ‚mit einem Schrei in null Komma nichts hochkamen‘. Dieser Männer sahen um sich her die Toten und Sterbenden, aber sie formierten sich und erwiderten das Feuer der Konföderierten. Sehr bald wurde Reed tödlich verwundet, und Major Archibald Bogle erhielt schwere Verwundungen.“ Die Schlacht verlief fatal für die Union, und die verschiedenen Regimenter zogen sich zurück. 1861 Männer waren getötet worden, verwundet oder vermisst, darunter 22 Tote, 131 Verwundete und 77 Vermisste des „1st North Carolina Colored“. Diese Schlacht war die drittblutigste des gesamten Bürgerkrieges (Bergeron 2002: 149). Reed war der höchstrangige afroamerikanische Offizier des Bürgerkrieges⁶².

Er hinterließ eine Witwe, Johanna Reed, und fünf Kinder, zwei Söhne Henry und William und drei Töchter Susan, Hannah und Frederica; sie beantragte am 6. Juni 1868 eine Pension, in der sie die Namen ihrer Kinder nannte⁶³. Reed erlebte also nicht mehr den Sieg der Nordstaaten und damit die endgültige Abschaffung der Sklaverei. Die Emanzipation der Afroamerikaner, für die Reed ein bemerkenswertes frühes Beispiel ist, hatte allerdings gerade erst begonnen und war – bzw. ist – bis weit in die Gegenwart nicht abgeschlossen. Auch in den USA ist trotz Reeds evidenter Bedeutung als einer der frühesten afroamerikanischen Offiziere keine Erinnerungskultur um ihn herum entstanden. Er sollte aber wiederentdeckt werden: Als Afroamerikaner, der sich in den Revolutionsbewegungen von 1848 engagiert hatte, in einer europäischen Armee zum Offizier aufstieg und später auf der Seite der Nordstaaten stand – in zwei Kriegen von hoher symbolischer Bedeutung: Zuerst gegen „seine“ Kolonialmacht, dann gegen nordamerikanische Sklavenhalter-Staaten.

Ausblick: Die inneren Widersprüche der Zeit und Reeds unerwartete Stellung in diesen

Abschließend soll nur auf einige wenige Aspekte hingewiesen werden: Dieser Artikel ist einerseits ein erster Versuch einer detaillierten historischen Rekonstruktion biographischer Elemente einer historisch interessanten Persönlichkeit, die zwischen Identitäten und Staaten wechselte und dabei in den großen Konflikten und revolutionären Fragen jener Zeit eine interessante Rolle spielte. Andererseits ist es ein Artikel über das Erstaunen und damit über die Kontraste zwischen Erwartung und Tatsächlichem: Ein Afroamerikaner in einer deutschen Armee im 19. Jahrhundert? Und dann auch noch ein Offizier? Ein Afrodeutscher in den Revolutionsumtrieben von 1848? Warum wussten wir davon bisher nichts? Und wo Konflikte dokumentiert sind: Keine

⁵⁹ Official records of the War of the Rebellion, South Carolina Department of Archives and History.

⁶⁰ Sein Grab ist heute noch vorhanden im Beaufort National Cemetery (Plot 173), North Carolina; dort ist auch sein Sterbedatum „23. Februar“ verzeichnet.

⁶¹ *Philadelphia Press* vom March 16, 1864.

⁶² Vgl. Johnson 1971: „35th USCT (formerly the First North Carolina Colored Infantry) - Reed, Lieutenant Colonel William N. - Lieutenant Colonel William N. Reed was the highest ranking african american line officer in the U.S Army during the civil war. He was commissioned from civilian life on June 1, 1863, commanded the First North Carolina Colored Infantry Regiment, which became the 35th USCT, and died on February 26, 1864 from gunshot wounds received on February 20, 1864 in the Battle of Olustie, Florida.“

⁶³ Jesse J. JOHNSON (ed.) (1971) *Black Armed Forces Officers, 1736-1971 (A Documented Pictorial History)*. Hampton, VA. Hampton Institute. S. 31.

Konflikte wegen seiner Herkunft? Keinerlei herabsetzende Anspielungen? Nur ein Konflikt zwischen ihm, dem Dänen-Kriker, und pro-dänischen Kameraden? Und wie ist es möglich: pro-dänische Offiziere kämpfen gegen Dänemark?

Und dann auch noch die unerwartete Lösung seines Konflikts, der beinahe zum Duell geführt hatte: Er wird wegen seiner Studentenjahre vom älteren, nicht-studierten Offizier geachtet, der ihn vorher wegen seiner Jugend herabgesetzt hatte! Und die Mehrheit der Offiziere stellt sich im Lauf des Disputs auf seine Seite, da er sich zu Recht gegen seine albernern älteren Offiziers-Kameraden gewandt hatte ... Und das weitere Erstaunen über die Gesamtsituation: Er kämpft gegen die dänische Kolonialmacht, Seite an Seite ausgerechnet jener, deren Vorväter eben diese Kolonialmacht mitsamt ihrer Sklaverei groß gemacht hatten! Er findet sich wieder in einer von Demokraten unterstützten Rebellionsarmee, Seite an Seite mit monarchistischen Adligen – die an ganz anderen Ideale hingen – was für Widersprüche um Reed herum! Und als er US-Amerikaner wurde: Zuerst wie (oder „als“) ein weißer Offizier rekrutiert, stand er bald erkennbar zu seiner Rolle eines Afroamerikaners.

Die historischen Fragmente, die wir besitzen, zeigen Reed als einen selbstbewussten Mann, der sich aus eigener Sicht – wie er es in seinen Personaldokumenten von 1851 auch recht klar ausdrückt – an der richtigen Stelle befand und an dieser Stelle erfolgreich war, trotz des augenscheinlichen Widerspruchs: Der Sohn eines englischen Pflanzers aus der Karibik als deutscher Rebellen-Offizier, der die Autonomie der Schleswig-Holsteiner verteidigt! Der Nachkomme afrikanischer Pflanzers-Sklaven unangefochten in den höheren Rängen der Gesellschaft! Solange wir kaum eigene Schriften von ihm selbst kennen, spricht allerdings sein Lebenslauf für ihn und sein Denken: Natürlich war er sich seiner Identität höchst bewusst und wusste seine Chancen gerade in dem gegebenen Rahmen maximal zu nutzen. Gerade seine frühe deutsche Karriere als junger Offizier ermöglichte es ihm, später in den USA als Afroamerikaner in höhere Offiziersränge aufzusteigen und frühere afrikanische Sklaven in den Krieg gegen die Sklavenhalter zu führen. Damit steht Reed, auch ohne dass wir Schriften von ihm kennen, für bedeutende Entwicklungen in der Moderne: Er entwickelte sich ganz konsistent vom Rebellen gegen die europäische Kolonialmacht zum amerikanischen Anführer freigelassener Sklaven und Kämpfer gegen die Sklavenhalter.

Anhang:

LAS Sign, 22 - Reed: Anlage 3: Deckblatt mit Verzeichnis von fünf Schriftstücken:

1. *Erklärung*
 2. *Abschrift des Corpsbefehls vom 2t Februar 1849*
 3. *Ernennungspatent zum Premierlieutenant*
 4. *Nationale*
 5. *Zeugniss des Generalmajor Graf Baudissin*
-
1. „Glückstadt d 15 Febr 1851 ... Erklärung, dass er im Dienste zu bleiben wünscht, im Fall seiner Entlassung die ihm gesetzlich zustehende Entschädigung beansprucht. ... daß ich unter der gegenwärtigen provisorischen Regierung im Dienste zu verbleiben wünsche ... [Unterschrift:] WReed PrLtnt im 3t Jäg-Corps Adjut: der 1 Inf. Brig.“

2. „Corps-Befehl Schleswig am 2ten Februar 1849 1. Die hohe gemeinsame Regierung hat auf den Antrag des General Kommandos unterm 29t v. M. zu Secondelieutenants ernannt den Portepée-Fähnrich Reed im 3ten Jägercorps zum Secondelieutenant im 3t. Jägercorps gez. von Bonin für die Richtigkeit v. Grotthuss Oberstlieutenant u.p.t. Kommandeur der 1. Brigade“
3. „Die Statthalterschaft der Herzogthümer Schleswig-Holstein beurkundet hiedurch die Ernennung des Seconde-Lieutenants der Infanterie William Nicholas Reed zum Premier-Lieutenant. Rendsburg am 25ten October 1850. Die Statthalterschaft der Herzogthümer Schleswig-Holstein Reventlou Beseler / der Chef des Departements des Krieges Krohn. / Seweloh Für die Richtigkeit v. Grotthuss Oberstlieutenant und p.t. Kommandeur der 1. Brigade. (L.S.) Patent für den Premier-Lieutenant der Infanterie William Nicolas Reed.“
5. „Auf Verlangen bescheinige ich hiermit daß der Premier-Lieutenant Reed seit 14t. Juni 1849 Adjutant der 1ten Infanterie-Brigade schon als junger Officier sich durch Entschlossenheit, Charakterfestigkeit und Muth ausgezeichnet hat. – Als Brigade-Adjutant hat Lieutenant Reed im Jahre 1850 sowohl bei Istedt als auch vor Friedrichstadt sich durch ein scharfes militairisches Auge, durch unermüdliche Thätigkeit ausgezeichnet und den verschiedenlichsten Arbeiten auf dem Bureau der Brigade mit Sach- und Dienstkenntniß so wie mit Ordnung und Pünctlichkeit vorgestanden.
Premier-Lieutenant Reed hatte sich in Kiel mit Erfolg zum juristischen Examen vorbereitet als der Krieg 1848 ihn und sämmtliche jungen Leute zu den Waffen rief, denen er auch fernerhin sich zu widmen entschlossen ist.

O. Baudissin⁶⁴.

General-Major und Brigadier.

Altona am 30. Januar 1851.

Für die Richtigkeit

v. Grotthuss

Oberstlieutenant und p.t. Kommandeur der 1. Brigade.“

⁶⁴ Dies war Otto Friedrich Magnus von Baudissin, dessen Familie wie die vieler anderer recht dänisch geprägt war; sein Vater Carl Ludwig rigsgreve (Reichsgraf) von Baudissin war der dänische Generalleutnant und Gouverneur von Kopenhagen, und sein Onkel war der dänische General Heinrich Friedrich von Baudissin, Ehemann der Caroline von Schimmelmann. Seine Familie ist also, wie oben mehrfach angesprochen, mit dem ersten großen Sklavenhändler Dänemarks Schimmelmann, der für die Verschleppung der afrikanischen Vorfahren Reeds in die Sklaverei wohl direkt verantwortlich gewesen sein dürfte, verwandtschaftlich eng verbunden. – Als historisches Hintergrunddetail ist hier noch zu ergänzen: Die oben genannte Gräfin Baudissin Caroline war Tochter des Heinrich Carl v. Schimmelmann (1724-1782) – in ihrem Herrenhaus von Knoop bei Kiel diente viele Jahre lang der „Kammermohr“ Christoph mit dem sprechenden Namen Tafeldecker, der ein Geschenk ihres Vaters war; wie die anderen „Kammermohren“ der Familie war er wahrscheinlich aus Westindien herbeigeschafft worden; vgl. Otto MEINARDUS (1989) „Über Mohren und Mohrentaufen im norddeutschen Raum“, *Familienkundliches Jahrbuch Schleswig-Holstein* Jg. 28: 29-44; S. 34 zeigt ein Gemälde des Sohnes Joseph Graf v. Baudissin mit Tafeldecker (vgl. auch Christian Degn op. cit., S. 116f.).

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William N. Reed, Compiled Military Service Record, Records of the Adjutant General's Office, RG 94, National Archives, Washington, D.C.
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SUMMARY

This is a first attempt to reconstruct the life of the officer William Nicolas Reed from the Caribbean, who in 1848 was the only black officer in a German army. Reed was a historically remarkable personality, who switched between identities and states and played an interesting role in the big revolutionary questions of his time. Still he is almost totally overlooked by historiography. This is also an article on the surprise about such a life – and thus discusses the contrast between what we expect and what we find when studying history: An Afroamerican in a German army of the 19th century? Even an officer? An Afro-German in the revolutionary events of 1848? And why we had never heard about this before? An especially helpful insight is offered by a detailed documentation of a conflict, which contains numerous original quotations – remarkably, his African origin does not play any role in negative remarks about him during the entire quarrel. He manages to finally acquire the esteem of the entire group, for which his past as a university student was quite decisive. His biography contains a number of surprising details, which illustrate the historical contradictions of his time: He fights against the Danish colonial power, side by side with those whose forefathers had made precisely this colonial power great! A descendant of African plantation slaves an uncontested member of the higher ranks of society! His biography shows that he was highly conscious about his identity and used his chances to a maximum. His early German career as a young officer made it possible later to get into the higher ranks of the US army and then, during the civil war, to lead former African slaves in the war against the slave owners. Reed therefore stands for important developments of modern times, even if we do not know any writings left by him: Consistently, he developed from a rebel against a European state of colonizers to a US-American leader of freed slaves in a war against slavers.

MONDOFOTO

The *Mäsqäl* feast among the Irob of Ethiopia

Photos and notes by Moreno Vergari – Ethnorêma

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Photo 1 – The *dāmāra*-bonfire during the Orthodox celebration of the *Mäsqäl* (Dawhan)

These pictures show the celebration of the feast of the *Mäsqäl* in the villages of Alitena (photos 4-26, 33), Dawhan (photos 1-3) and Kalla‘asa¹ (photos 27-32), among the Saho-speaking community of the Irob, living in the Irob *wäräda* of the Təgray region of Ethiopia. The *Mäsqäl* (lit. ‘Cross’), the “Feast of the Finding of the True Cross”, is one of the most commonly observed religious feasts in Ethiopia, both by the Orthodox and the Catholic communities. It is celebrated on the 17th of *Mäskäräm* of the Ethiopic calendar, corresponding to the 27th of September in the Gregorian one.

The tradition of the *Mäsqäl* is connected with the discovery of the True Cross by Queen Helena, the mother of the Roman Emperor Constantine the Great (274-337). According to the legend, Helena discovered the Cross thanks to a miracle, when she traveled to Palestine (see the works quoted in the References for more details).

The first official record of the celebration of this feast in Ethiopia comes from a document of the 13th century, where the feast of the ‘Illuminating Cross’ is listed together with others, such as the feasts of the Nativity, Baptism, and Resurrection. But the feast

“gained unprecedented importance in late fourteenth- or early fifteenth-century Ethiopia. It went from being a minor festival in the wider ‘catholic’ church, to a national feast of the Ethiopian Christian monarchy. According to several sources, the Emperor Dawit II (1382-1412) received a fragment of the True Cross from the Coptic Patriarch as a reward for securing his freedom when he was arrested by the ‘King of Egypt’. Dawit marched his troops down the Nile until the terrified Muslim surrendered. The grateful Patriarch offered him a reward of 120,000 dinars, but Dawit rejected the Gold saying ‘God did not save us with gold and silver, but through the blood of the Cross’. The Patriarch then gave him a fragment of the True Cross.” (Kaplan: 449-450).

However, looking at the current celebration of the feast among the Irob, both at the community level and at the most intimate, familial one, there seems to be very little awareness about the religious significance related to the origin of this feast.

Speaking with some elders, it turns out that for them the feast had previously had a less religious connotations, and for this reason was also shared by the Muslims. For them this celebration, which coincides with the end of the rainy season, was the ላ~ቲ ባዓል [laati ba‘al], the ‘feast of the cattle’².

New elements, characteristic of the Christian feast, such as the *dämära* and the cross, would therefore have overlapped with ancient rites connected with the harvest and fertility. The pictures show some of the main elements of this celebration.

¹ In the Irob-Saho modified Ethiopian official orthography ላላሊቲና [‘alliteena], ዳወን [dawhan], and ካላላሳ [kalla‘asa], respectively.

² From the Saho word ላ~ [laa] ‘cattle’ + ቲ [ti] ‘of’, and the Tigrinya word ባዓል [ba‘al] ‘feast, holiday’.



Photo 2 – The lighting of the *dāmāra* during the Orthodox celebration of the *Mäsqäl* (Dawhan)



Photo 3 – Singing and playing the ካቦ [kabaro]



Photo 4 – The public celebration of the *Mäsqäl* in Alitena



Photo 5 – The skinning after the slaughtering of goats



Photo 6 – The meat being divided into twelve parts



Photo 7 – The preparation of the different kinds of **ገጽጽ** [gi'dim], sausages formed in a casing made from the intestine, layers of pieces of stomach or other parts.



Photos 8 and 9 – Other phases of the preparation of the *gi'dim*.





Photos 10 and 11 – The preparation of the ሶላ [sola], the campfire for roasting meat.
The *sola* is prepared by putting flat stones on a pyre of pieces of wood.





Photo 12 - When only embers remain, the meat is put on the hot stones to be roasted.



Photo 13 – Distribution of the መ~ሰ [mees], the traditional hydromel, made of water, honey, and the root of ገ~ሰ [geeso] (*Rhamnus prinoides*) fermented together several days



Photos 14 and 15 – The ሶላት አዶ [solat hado], the ‘meat of the *sola*’, is ready





Photo 16 – Women preparing a milk container, purifying it with smoke



Photo 17 – Women adorn their elaborated hair with flowers



Photo 18 - Women preparing the **ዳጎሐ** [dagħa], traditional Saho and Irob porridge



Photos 19 and 20 - The *dagha* is ready





Photo 21 - Elders waiting on the summit of a mountain for the ritual anointing of the cattle



Photo 22 – The horns of the cattle are anointed with butter, asking for blessing on them



Photo 23 – After the cattle comes the time for people to be anointed with butter



Photo 24 – Men playing the *kabaro*



Photo 25 – Women singing, clapping their hands



Photo 26 – Playing and dancing



Photo 27 – Praying before killing the sheep and goats at Tesfay Mizginna’s house (Kalla’asa)



Photo 28 – Women in the ሂደም [hidmo] ready to eat the newly prepared *dagha*



Photo 29 – Elders attending the feast



Photo 30 – The slaughtering of goats and sheep



Photo 31 – Marking the liver of a goat with a cross



Photo 32 – Cooking the meat on the *sola*



Photo 33 – Celebrating the *Mäsqäl* with a different look

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DOCUMENTI

Petizione: “Per Riace contro il Decreto sicurezza: la posizione pubblica degli antropologi applicati”

Quella di Riace è senza dubbio un’esperienza significativa e il trattamento istituzionale di cui è stata oggetto in queste ultime settimane – insieme agli argomenti stessi che sono stati sollevati dalle diverse parti in causa – dovrebbero indurre a una riflessione più generale sul contesto sociale e politico attuale e sulle mistificazioni, confusioni, distorsioni che si addensano minacciose su tutti e distruttive per coloro che rappresentano le frange più deboli della popolazione.

Se è vero che i principi fondamentali della democrazia, in Italia come altrove, sono soggetti a continua erosione, allora la questione da affrontare seriamente è se misure come quelle adottate per lo Sprar di Riace siano legittime, e in quale senso, in uno stato di diritto. Anche comparandole con quanto ordinato in altri casi riferiti a strutture di accoglienza – dove non sono state previste chiusure immediate o trasferimenti pur in presenza di reati contestati più gravi rispetto alle palesi “irregolarità” che si sarebbero rilevate a Riace (ad esempio: frode in pubbliche forniture) – ci chiediamo se quel “chi sbaglia, paga” nelle dichiarazioni del Ministro non abbia un’applicazione ad alta discrezionalità da parte degli organi dello Stato.

Riace, con la sua strutturata e non ordinaria esperienza, ha proposto e realizzato nel tempo una *possibilità*, certo non senza difficoltà e contraddizioni, ma saldamente ancorata a una modalità di affrontare le migrazioni oltre i sistemi di accoglienza retti da una logica separatista, invalidante, rieducativa, di contenimento e controllo. Ci sembra che l’idea centrale sia stata la necessità di frenare il processo di decrescita e spopolamento per creare nuove opportunità: nei confronti di un territorio quasi abbandonato e dei suoi pochi abitanti, e verso persone dalle biografie drammatiche ma con energie giovani e retroterra culturali che potevano rappresentare un’occasione di rinnovamento per il contesto territoriale. Un tentativo quindi per far accordare i bisogni del tessuto locale con le risorse dei nuovi abitanti e viceversa.

Non è nostra intenzione addentrarci nei particolari del processo ispettivo, ma riteniamo urgente chiedersi pubblicamente se la destituzione di Mimmo Lucano dalla sua carica di sindaco, l’esilio forzato dalla sua città, la chiusura dello Sprar e l’ordine di trasferimento in soli due mesi di tutti i migranti nel programma non siano sproporzionati rispetto alle irregolarità rilevate, la cui natura *formale e procedurale* riguarda questioni di carattere amministrativo.

Si rende necessario, allora, richiamare la distinzione tra una concezione *sottile* (procedurale appunto, letterale) dello stato di diritto e una concezione *spessa* della giustizia (che guarda alla sostanza, ai risultati, più che alla lettera della norma). È chiaro che la Costituzione – a cui Mimmo Lucano ha fatto riferimento citandone in primo luogo l’art. 10 – si ispira alla seconda definizione e, come legge fondamentale dello Stato, dovrebbe guidare la riflessione pubblica sulla questione. In questo senso, l’importanza di rispettare lo spirito della Costituzione diventa prioritario rispetto all’agenda (per sua natura transitoria) di un governo politico, come il sindaco di Riace afferma attraverso i suoi atti e le sue parole. Al contrario, ci sembra che proprio sul filo di una materia per “soli addetti” – che interessa una concezione *sottile* di stato di diritto – si siano ricamate trame strumentali per coprire intenzioni ideologiche e politiche.

Su un piano etico, legato meno alla norma giuridica e più alla regola sociale, si avverte un profondo senso di *ingiustizia* nell’assistere alla demolizione di uno dei casi più preziosi di convivenza costruttiva, creativa, produttiva e duratura tra residenti di lungo periodo e nuovi abitanti (in questo caso richiedenti asilo e rifugiati). Grazie a questa, inedita per molti aspetti, configurazione sociale il territorio di Riace ha vissuto una rinascita, ha contrastato gli insediamenti mafiosi, ha creato nuove collettività sociali e realtà produttive.

Esprimiamo, dunque, la nostra solidarietà al sindaco di Riace e a tutti i suoi cittadini, vecchi e nuovi, considerando il loro un caso di spaccatura del legame sociale da parte degli stessi organi

politici che dovrebbero garantirne la tenuta. Proprio per questo ne cogliamo il valore rappresentativo rispetto al contesto più generale, in cui l'attacco ai migranti e alle pratiche dell'accoglienza si rivela un dispositivo di attacco agli stessi fondamenti dello stato di diritto. Su questo sentiamo la necessità di richiamare l'attenzione, in particolare ora che è stato approvato al Senato il Decreto Sicurezza: se si rileva una incrinatura nella parte *sostanziale* dello stato di diritto e una spaccatura dei nuovi legami sociali costruiti, localmente consolidati e produttivi, proprio ad opera del governo centrale, allora la società civile - e gli intellettuali che di essa fanno parte - è tenuta ad interrogarsi criticamente sui processi che la stanno attraversando e a prendere una posizione pubblica.

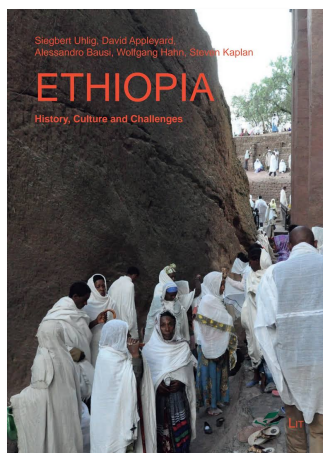
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RECENSIONI



S. UHLIG – D. APPLEYARD – A. BAUSI – W. HAHN – S. KAPLAN, *Ethiopia. History, Culture and Challenges*, LIT Michigan State University Press, East Lansing 2017, ISBN 978-1-61186-275-1 (MSUP)/978-3-643-90892-6 (LIT), glossario, indice tematico, pp. 369.

Ethiopia. History, Culture and Challenges si offre a tutti gli interessati all'Etiopia come un *reader* di lettura accessibile e insieme di grande attendibilità scientifica. Non a caso i suoi curatori sono studiosi di valore internazionale e soprattutto nei campi della storia e filologia storica, che hanno sempre rappresentato un terreno specialistico di eccellenza e di più lunga durata nella etiopistica.

Certamente per ogni approfondimento rimane insostituibile la consultazione dei 5 volumi della *Encyclopaedia Aethiopica*, pubblicata a cura del Centro Hiob Ludolf della Università di Hamburg, cui hanno contribuito circa 600 specialisti (e i due editor sono tra i curatori di questo volume). Anche se ad essa bisognerà sempre riferirsi per le singole voci, il reader sarà prezioso per una prima essenziale informazione sui vari settori della società etiopica nel passato e nel presente e per le problematiche storiografiche che vengono puntualmente esposte. La diversità delle culture, delle lingue e delle etnie del paese è trattata con rispetto, anche se la cosiddetta *Great Tradition* del cuore d'altopiano conserva una posizione centrale.

I vari temi sono ordinatamente rubricati e distribuiti in 10 capitoli che, tra antropologia, linguistica, economia, politica, religione e in senso lato storia culturale, ci conducono fino alle sfide contemporanee. Nell'ultima parte hanno rilevanza i nuovi settori economici e culturali come il turismo, l'ecologia e i problemi e programmi ambientali, l'arte e la musica moderne che tengono conto anche della produzione creativa della diaspora. Le illustrazioni, pur contenute, sono un corredo essenziale che evoca ogni tematica affrontata.

La trattazione di una storia dell'Etiopia, come interna per un lunghissimo periodo a un grande Oriente cristiano, non esclude il ruolo importantissimo assunto dall'Islam fin dai primi tempi e che la storiografia recente tende a evidenziare o rivalutare anche con studi monografici importanti. Coesistenze e conflitti, accomodamenti e crisi del passato e del presente tra Cristianesimo ortodosso e Islam trovano così sintetico spazio in più capitoli.

Le traiettorie contemporanee e le prospettive esplicitano le forme nuove in cui si definisce, in un contesto storico globalizzato, la posizione di questo grande paese dell'Africa sub-sahariana che oggi raggiunge i 100 milioni di abitanti e che gioca la sua economia e la sua politica sia verso il retroterra africano (si pensi alla difficile gestione delle acque del Nilo azzurro con il Sudan e l'Egitto) sia verso il Mar Rosso e l'Oceano Indiano (si pensi alla posizione strategica, al complesso rapporto con la Somalia e con la penisola arabica, la presenza economica della Cina). Il suo dinamismo in Africa sub-sahariana, sottolineato da performance economiche, forse inferiori a quelle dichiarate ma comunque di rilievo, attira oggi l'attenzione degli

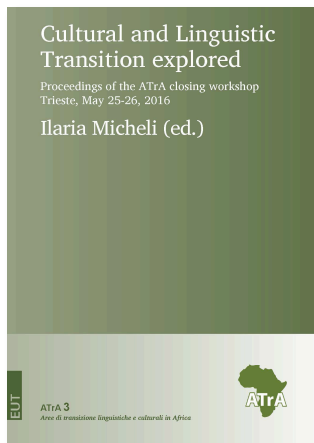
analisti economici internazionali e studiosi di geopolitica, i quali saranno in particolare interessati all’VIII capitolo *Society and Politics* e al IX *Recent Developments*.

La molteplicità linguistica ed etnica è esposta con efficacia e chiarezza, e sottolinea la difficoltà teorica (e le implicazioni politiche) del tracciare confini tra una etnia e un’altra, tra lingue e varianti regionali, tra un gruppo linguistico e l’altro. A seconda delle elaborazioni e dei soggetti che le propongono circa 86 lingue oggi comporrebbero il panorama linguistico e culturale dell’Etiopia. Nel capitolo III *Peoples* vengono accennate le politiche linguistiche ufficiali che nel tempo si sono succedute e il mutevole status dell’amarico fino ai problemi e alle non facili soluzioni proposte oggi nell’Etiopia democratica federata.

Il capitolo VI *Intellectual culture* sintetizza la grande tradizione scritta delle lingue semitiche dell’altopiano, dalle iscrizioni alla tradizione dei manoscritti, alla letteratura in lingua Ge’ez, ma anche la letteratura moderna in amarico e oromo, e esamina la ricca letteratura orale con i suoi caratteri formali, *performance* e *performers* specie in ambito Oromo, gli specifici contesti culturali e storici. Vi compaiono i calendari, generi di prestigio come gli Evangelieri, le Vite dei santi, le Cronache reali, la musica, gli stili, tecniche e materialità religiose, i soggetti della pittura tradizionale fino alla musica e all’arte contemporanea, di cui si testimonia anche il contemporaneo fermento creativo soprattutto a Addis Abeba e la capacità di aprirsi al mondo a partire dalla propria storia sia sfruttando i network virtuali sia attraverso gli scambi, i *tour* temporanei o i dislocamenti migratori.

Il capitolo VII *Religions* esamina in particolare le grandi esperienze religiose, la cristiano ortodossa etiopica con l’importante agiografia e il monachesimo e quella islamica, con la crescita esponenziale delle moschee o ristrutturazione di tombe di *wali*, meta di pelleginaggi, ma anche le presenze missionarie cattoliche e protestanti negli ultimi due secoli, gli sviluppi contemporanei delle chiese pentacostali, e l’esperienza del “rastafarianesimo”. Per ritrovare altri pensieri religiosi, istituzioni e pratiche, in genere classificati sotto il *blanket term* animismo, bisogna invece riferirsi alle note essenziali contenute nel capitolo III *Peoples*. Infine, come accennavamo all’inizio, l’ultimo capitolo *Travelling and sightseeing* tratta opportunamente del turismo, delle sue rappresentazioni, dell’immaginazione dell’Etiopia e delle influenze contraddittorie sulla vita economica delle diverse aree e sui modi di vivere a partire dai principali tour oggi proposti dalle agenzie turistiche, sia della “Etiopia storica” sia delle “Genti della Valle dell’Omo”.

Gianni Dore (Università di Venezia “Ca’ Foscari”)



ILARIA MICHELI (ed.), *Cultural and Linguistic Transition explored*. Proceedings of the ATrA closing workshop Trieste, May 25-26, 2016, EUT, Trieste 2017, ISBN 978-88-8303-821-1(print) / 822-1 (on line), pp. 319.

Il volume rende conto, insieme ad altre pubblicazioni precedenti e ad altre in cantiere, dei risultati di un programma di ricerca interdisciplinare, coordinato dalla curatrice del volume, Ilaria Micheli, come responsabile scientifico di un FIRB ministeriale, presso l'Università di Trieste, che è stato denominato *Aree di Transizione linguistiche e culturali* (ATrA). Il programma ha visto coinvolte per un triennio, con attività di ricerca sul campo o di sistemazione di precedenti inchieste, le Università di Trieste, Napoli L'Orientale, Ca' Foscari e l'associazione Ethnorêma, Torino. Linguisti e filologi, archeologi e antropologi hanno lavorato e interagito e qui, nei 21 contributi proposti, si muovono su una profonda scala temporale, selezionando aree che sono interpretabili come spazi di transizione linguistica e culturale, dall'Egitto antico alla Nubia al Corno d'Africa e Mar Rosso-Oceano indiano, Kenia, Costa d'Avorio. Per contribuire al volume sono stati chiamati anche altri specialisti di vari paesi che sono intervenuti nel workshop, pur non facendo parte dello specifico progetto di ricerca.

Il volume è diviso in tre parti: Parte I *Anthropology and cultural studies*, Parte II *Archeology*, Parte III *Linguistics*.

Impossibile elencare o render conto di tutti i saggi, segnalo pertanto solo alcuni contributi: I. Micheli, *Womens lives: childhood, adolescence, marriage and motherhood among the Ogiek of Mariashoni (Kenia) and the Kulange of Nassian (Ivory Coast)*; Shereen El Kabbani & Essam Elsaed; *The documentation of the Pilgrimage arts in Upper Egypt. A comparative study between Ancient and Islamic Egypt*; Paul J. Lane, *Peoples, pots, words and the multiple sources and reconstructions of the transition to food production in eastern Africa*; C. Zazzaro, *Maritime cultural traditions and transitions in the Red Sea*; Maartens Mous, *Language and identity among marginal people in East-Africa*; G. Lusini, *The costs of the linguistic transitions: traces of disappeared languages in Ethiopia*.

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F. DIMPFLMEIER – S. PUCCINI, *Nelle mille patrie insulari. Etnografia di Lamberto Loria nella Nuova Guinea britannica*, CISU, Roma 2017, ISBN 978-88-7975-619-8, pp. 383.

Si tratta della conclusione di un lungo e tenace impegno di Sandra Puccini, specialista di storia delle discipline antropologiche in Italia soprattutto, che per anni ha pazientemente effettuato le ricognizioni d'archivio e messo in relazione le varie istituzioni implicate a partire dal Museo nazionale etnografico Luigi Pigorini di Roma. Questo volume, composto di 6 capitoli e Conclusioni, di sette Appendici documentarie, compresa una elaborazione

cartografica, ci restituisce un materiale prezioso e inedito che documenta i viaggi dell'etnologo Lamberto Loria in Nuova Guinea nell'ultimo decennio del 1800 (una sezione on line comprende le sue note di campo). L'analitico e meticoloso lavoro di ricostruzione ed esame contrastivo dei taccuini di campo e del corpus fotografico ci restituisce un passaggio importante di una pur frammentaria storia disciplinare italiana. La figura di Lamberto Loria e la sua particolare posizione nelle discipline demo-etno-antropologiche nel periodo fondativo sono già state delineate dalla Puccini nel volume *L'Italia gente dalle molte vite* (2005), in cui si metteva a fuoco soprattutto il ruolo di collezionista di cultura materiale dell'etnologo e la sua azione organizzativa nella ideazione e promozione della Mostra di Etnografia italiana del 1911.

La ricercatrice e co-autrice Fabiana Dimpflmeier ha dato una spinta decisiva, come ricorda nella sua introduzione la Puccini, per la organizzazione della complessa mole di documenti e per la loro analisi. Una attenta comparazione tra i materiali del primo soggiorno e quelli del secondo ha permesso di dimostrare sia il complicarsi dello sguardo osservante sia le metodologie di indagine e anche di registrare i ripensamenti e le contrastanti emozioni sul campo che spesso ricordano le annotazioni diaristiche malinowskiane. Come si avverte nell'introduzione, il III capitolo (*Lamberto Loria. Vita opere e viaggi*) e il IV (*Tracce di umanità: sui diari*) devono attribuirsi alla Puccini e gli altri quattro alla Dimpflmeier (*La Nuova Guinea prima di Loria; Lo sguardo sull'uomo e sugli uomini nella seconda metà dell'Ottocento; La Nuova Guinea di Lamberto Loria; Verso nuovi metodi di ricerca e nuovi sguardi sui nativi*).

La precocità della esperienza di campo e la sua distensione nel tempo, che non sarebbero state inusuali per un missionario cristiano o per un funzionario coloniale - ma lo erano certamente per un etnografo - ne fa effettivamente un unicum nella storia degli studi non solo italiani. La intenzionale disposizione a superare nel secondo soggiorno il carattere di *survey*, tipico dell'epoca, la prolungata e rinnovata permanenza dal 1891, l'assumere come guida dell'inchiesta e registrazione dei dati - ma sapendone osservare i limiti - le linee guida del Questionario anglosassone *Notes and Queries on Anthropology*, l'intensa attività fotografica, intesa come medium di ricerca, sembrano autorizzare le due autrici a fare di Lamberto Loria l'antenato della etnologia italiana dell'esotico, una figura più consapevole e più complessa sul piano della etnografia esotica rispetto ai viaggiatori italiani ottocenteschi che la Puccini aveva studiato (si veda, ad esempio, *Andare lontano. Viaggi ed etnografia nel secondo Ottocento italiano*, 1999).

Di certo si può consentire che l'inserimento di questa eccezionale esperienza richieda una ri-sistemazione delle genealogie che sembravano consolidate. Bisogna al tempo stesso sottolineare che questa documentazione non fu organizzata dal Loria, rientrato in patria, in modo rigoroso e con procedure comparative sia pure secondo i canoni dell'epoca; non fu dunque resa pubblica, se non in alcuni brevi reportage e lettere. Gli echi suscitati da questi più contenuti generi testuali nelle riviste d'epoca e nelle sessioni geografiche e nei resoconti di viaggi, se contribuirono alla fama di esploratore del Loria, non sembrano perciò aver avuto influenza diretta sugli studi coevi e immediatamente successivi. L'esperienza in Nuova Guinea, che ebbe risonanza negli ambienti geografici e etnologici, gli diede certo spazio intellettuale e autorevolezza per avanzare altre proposte di iniziative in Italia, e si potrebbe certo sostenere che essa si sia riversata nella sua successiva attività organizzativa culminata nella Mostra di Etnografia italiana del 1911. Ma se si vuole farne l'antenato della etnologia esotica italiana, l'antenato che mancava, la sistemazione storiografica richiede molte precisazioni. Loria peraltro fu sempre sostanzialmente un pratico, un viaggiatore intraprendente, i cui meriti, oltre l'introduzione della fotografia in modo sistematico nella ricerca, furono di tipo collezionistico e museografico, come risulta dal lavoro precedente della Puccini sulla sua figura. E questo già non è poco. Solo con uno sguardo retrospettivo si può rivendicarne l'antiorità rispetto alla ricerca sul campo di Malinowski nelle Trobriand così celebrata e divenuta canone e legittimata sul piano accademico. Se alla fine dei soggiorni Loria avesse organizzato con sistematicità i suoi materiali e avesse dato loro forma organizzata e pubblica, come aveva scritto nei suoi propositi ad esempio ipotizzando uno studio sistematico della parentela dei Papuani o meglio delle diverse frazioni come meritoriamente osservava, sarebbe stato diversamente influente; certo se non lui l'etnologia italiana avrebbe potuto rivendicare un titolo di merito scientifico.

Alla fine del Convegno coloniale del 1906 ad Asmara Loria prese parte alla missione nell'Eritrea orientale tra i Saho, allora per sineddoche coloniale intesi come Assaorta (Casawurta), facendo coppia con il più giovane Aldobrandino Mochi, proveniente dalla etnologia fiorentina, mentre la coppia dei geografi, anch'essi sfasati sul piano dell'età, Marinelli e il quasi esordiente Dainelli, assolveva a contigui compiti scientifici. Questa esperienza è significativa per il discorso affrontato prima. Il *Diario* del Mochi fu reso pubblico solo nel 2002 dalle ricercatrici del Museo di Antropologia di Firenze ed è certamente utile come ulteriore tassello per delineare entrambe le figure. Un'altra occasione mancata per suggerire strade diverse alla etnologia italiana. Nel *Diario* la applicazione etnologica di Loria è talvolta messa in dubbio da alcune annotazioni dal più giovane Mochi, che nel corso dell'itinerario non si sottrae alla competizione e compiaciuto lancia qualche frecciatina sulla resistenza fisica del "grande viaggiatore". Il ruolo del Loria sembra essere stato quello della compera e acquisizione di oggetti per la collezione e della puntuale documentazione fotografica. Ma la documentazione e riflessione anche storica del Mochi sui modelli dell'abitare e sulle tipologie delle abitazioni, sulle genealogie saho e sui relativi racconti di origine e sui processi di fissione o ricomposizione nel contesto coloniale sembra prevalente e originale. Anche qui ciò che diventò influente sugli studi non solo geografici, ma anche demologici, fu il lavoro di Dainelli e Marinelli sulle abitazioni, tanto da poterlo considerare - se lo si ricongiunge a quello del Mochi - come il vero atto di fondazione, pur dislocato, della ricerca sulle dimore rurali in Italia. L'unico prodotto di Loria appare postumo e sono le note sui matrimoni assaortini. Insomma anche qui il Loria si confermava scrittore

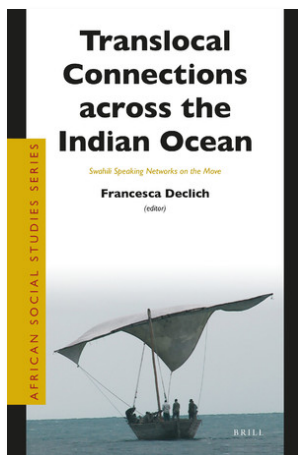
riluttante. Probabilmente la strada è quella di una ricostruzione di discipline dell'esotico in senso largo, considerandole produzione anche etnologica e inserendovi li risultati scientifici e i modi di stare sul campo sia dei geografi sia dei filologi storici come gli etiopisti come Conti Rossini, Cerulli, Moreno.

Loria non fu indipendente dagli schemi evoluzionisti (le note documentano la lettura di parte almeno di *Primitive culture* di E. B. Tylor), fu attento a dedicare spazio all'analisi antropometrica, alle collezioni naturalistiche e di oggetti etnografici e in questo è pienamente nel suo tempo. Contemporaneamente, come notano le autrici, l'esperienza e conoscenza man mano maturata, un contatto ravvicinato con i missionari soprattutto nel secondo soggiorno, gli permisero in parte di andare oltre, almeno per quanto riguarda la situazione italiana, e di affacciarsi con le notazioni sul terreno nello spazio dedicato allo studio dei sistemi di parentela senza cadere in congetture aprioristiche.

Appare notevole anche il contributo indiretto che i resoconti offrono alla sociologia delle missioni protestanti nell'area, anche se, come notano le autrici/curatrici, le dinamiche del contatto e del ruolo trasformativo dei missionari e dei mercanti non vennero assunti come oggetto di ricerca, ma bisogna anche storicizzare e tener conto delle possibilità del tempo. Lo sguardo è verso gli "usi e costumi" del passato e Loria si deve misurare con la mediazione linguistica, con la scelta di interpreti, maschili e femminili. Nel volume la comparazione con l'antropologia anglosassone è sistematica, specie con il survey di Haddon e con la successiva ricerca di Malinowski. Lo stesso titolo del volume, tratto di una espressione di Lamberto Loria, *Le mille patrie insulari*, è stato scelto per sottolineare una acquisizione maturata sul campo e cioè che non si potesse e dovesse parlare dei costumi dei Papuani in generale presi come un tutto omogeneo, ma piuttosto prestare attenzione alle differenze, alle variazioni che davano una individualità storica e etnografica a ognuno dei gruppi e in primo luogo stabilivano una distanza tra i gruppi della costa e quelli interni.

In definitiva, ci viene consegnato dalle autrici un lavoro che arricchisce la nostra conoscenza del periodo fondativo degli studi etnologici italiani. Esplorandone lati non conosciuti o anche insospettati e possibilità virtuali non attuate o non completamente dispiagate, ci induce a riflettere sulle sue genealogie con maggior consapevolezza storica.

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DECLICH FRANCESCA (ed.), *Translocal Connections across the Indian Ocean. Swahili Speaking Networks on the Move*, African Social studies series vol. 37, Brill, Leiden-Boston, 2018, pp. 321, ISBN 978-90-04-35407-4/ ISBN 978-90-04-35598-8 (e-book)

Il volume, curato da Francesca Declich, antropologa studiosa della Somalia e delle società costiere dell’Africa Orientale, origina da un seminario sulle società Swahili organizzato ormai diverso tempo fa, nel 2007.

Dal 2000 la produzione scientifica sul Mar Rosso e l’Oceano indiano occidentale è cresciuta molto; viene praticata come uno dei campi di ricerca macro-areali più affascinanti in africanistica e con risultati stimolanti. Gli approcci sono spesso multidisciplinari e su una scala temporale che coinvolge anche l’archeologia e la storia antica. Questo volume collettaneo si compone di quattro parti: *Translocality in the past*, *Vectors (carriers) of translocality*, *Reflections (representations) of translocal connections*, *Experiencing translocality: Translocality on the bottom, translocality in daily experience*.

Protagonisti nei contributi sono gruppi e individui parlanti swahili. Certo, come avverte la Declich, categorizzare dei gruppi come “swahili” è stato e continua ad essere un processo altamente politicizzato. Nei diversi saggi, infatti, vi è l’impegno ricorrente alla riflessione storica e sociologica su che cosa significhi identificarsi come swahili, che è da intendersi come categoria sociale, politica, alternativa o complementare, situazionale, in ogni caso altamente dinamica.

La categoria centrale praticata è *Translocalità* che viene discussa nelle sue implicazioni e possibilità euristiche, in relazione e talvolta in sostituzione rispetto a *cosmopolitismo*, *network macro-regionali*.... Nella sua introduzione, ripercorrendo criticamente la letteratura e gli stessi contributi, la curatrice analizza utilità e problematicità di categorie storiche come *creolizzazione* e *cosmopolitismo*. Ne fissa i limiti e vede le criticità soprattutto della prima. Cosmopolitismo è da una ventina di anni di largo uso nel progredire degli studi dell’Africa Orientale anche più a nord all’interno del Mar Rosso; lo storico Jonathan Miran, in particolare, aveva richiamato il concetto nel suo lavoro storico *Citizens of the Red sea. A Cosmopolitan society* sul porto di Massawa e sui network macro-regionali che ne facevano un relais tra l’hinterland africano e il Mar Rosso e oltre verso l’Oceano indiano.

La bibliografia, ricca, utilissima, che correda i contributi di questo volume collettaneo, spesso indica saggi o monografie che contengono già nel titolo o *translocalism* o *cosmopolitism*. Presthold nel suo contributo sui modelli di consumo e le idee di modernità sottolinea che “Cosmopolitanism represented one way of incorporating the symbols of myriad places without importing the values of those places”. Viene così evidenziata la capacità di “addomesticare” e far propri beni di prestigio provenienti dall’esterno, il che vale anche nei rapporti tra la costa swahili e le genti dell’hinterland, per le quali il processo non è di pura subordinazione rispetto alla costa e si possono accettare oggetti pur senza aderire ai valori sottostanti.

Il cosmopolitismo, comunque, non riguarda solo le élite – avverte la Declich – ma anche gli strati sociali più deboli, fino a categorie desocializzate come gli schiavi, in realtà spesso protagonisti nelle società costiere e negli scambi. Gli schiavi, maschi e

femmine, hanno carriere biografiche dislocate e circolano su terre lontane, tra padroni diversi, sperimentano nuove esperienze e incorporano saperi, costruendo nuova socializzazione. Schiavi o liberati diventano procuratori degli affari dei loro padroni anche su lunga distanza e sono in grado di costituirsi delle risorse in proprio, come mostra lo stesso saggio della Declich. Diversi soggetti in questa macro-area sono, dunque, da una parte dislocati, ma anche capaci di agire dall'altra con modalità diverse, come i *banjani*, in un andirivieni effettivo o solo virtuale, elementi mercantili attivi anche nel porto di Massawa, sui quali cominciano a pubblicarsi nuovi studi.

A fianco di cosmopolitismo, altre categorie produttive sul piano storico e antropologico sembrano potersi incrociare come *mobility*, *boundary crossing*, ma soprattutto *Translocality* che, infatti, viene privilegiata nei titoli delle quattro sezioni.

Alessandra Vianello interviene su Berawe/Brava sulla costa somala, di cui ha già pubblicato e analizzato gli archivi cittadini, proprio sulle donne schiave e mostra come nella cittadina si attivi una cultura giuridica, condivisa capace di sostenere e regolare i traffici.

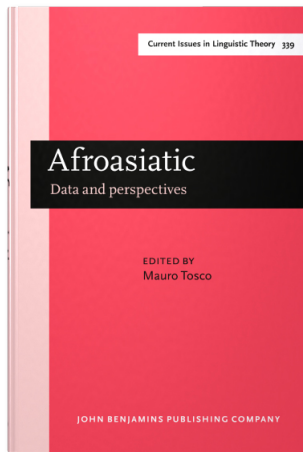
Kresse sottolinea che non bisogna dare per scontato che translocalità implichi omogeneità: il caso di Mombasa dimostra che bisogna trattare insieme sia gli elementi di unità che di diversità.

Linda Giles propone l'analisi della *Spirit possession* come un buon caso di translocalità e di interconnessioni nelle società costiere. Si tratta di riflessioni frutto di una lunga ricerca che dura fin dal 1982; protagonisti sono migranti che importano spiriti o ci sono curatori che vanno fuori e a loro volta rientrano con nuovi spiriti o pratiche. In tal modo si mettono in connessione, in un riconoscibile e condivisibile *spirit idiom* innovato, Pemba, Mombasa, Madagascar, Comore; analizzando parole che migrano e canzoni, si trova, ad esempio, che i rituali kipemba più o meno elaborati sono operanti sia a Mombasa che in Pemba, con accettazioni che incorporano e traducono. Gerard van de Bruinhorst si occupa a sua volta delle trasformazioni rituali nei sacrifici islamici in Tanzania.

Nella quarta sezione i saggi si confrontano con la contemporaneità Swahili e con i fenomeni di diaspora, altra categoria diffusa e insieme messa in discussione. Qui le attrici sociali privilegiate sono donne parlanti swahili, e si descrive la mobilità reale o anche solo virtuale nella Zanzibar contemporanea, dove si sono sperimentate forme differenti nelle diverse fasi storiche. Qui si procede attraverso due casi di donne che utilizzano gli uomini per innescare una mobilità, l'una con un progetto matrimoniale realizzato, l'altra con uno virtuale: in entrambi le storie di vita appaiono connessioni trans-locali e trans-nazionali, e ci si deve confrontare con leggi che riducono la mobilità spaziale e influiscono su quella sociale. Kjersti Larsen evidenzia bene come dinanzi alle aspirazioni al migrare, che pure è elemento costitutivo dell'*essere di Zanzibar*, ci siano limitazioni per molti zanzibarini rispetto alle élite multilocali; Rebecca Geahart Mafazy descrive in modo vivo e coordinato i mutamenti delle relazioni di genere nella gioventù swahili sia in patria che all'estero, l'importanza crescente dell'ecomunicazioni elettroniche. L'agency di tre donne swahili di Zanzibar in Inghilterra, diverse per classe e etnicità, viene analizzata da Ida Hadjivayannis tramite il metodo delle storie di vita, che fa un utile excursus di riflessioni sulle identità swahili; sembra puntare sull'idea di una "place identity" e individua il riconoscersi di queste donne nella condivisione di tratti forti come il linguaggio *Kiswahili*, cultura *uswahili* e nell'Islam. Nel saggio che chiude questo volume stimolante e capace di tenere insieme in una durata lunga società differenti ma interconnesse, Mohamed Ahmed Saleh

riflette sulle élite swahili contemporanee, maneggiando le categorie di *long distance-nationalism* e di diaspora, e pone l'accento sulla possibilità di un ruolo positivo di migranti swahili nella risoluzione di conflitti riversandovi la loro nuova esperienza culturale e strumenti concettuali e comportamentali come la tolleranza.

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MAURO TOSCO (ed.), *Afroasiatic – Data and perspectives*, Current Issues in Linguistic Theory 339, John Benjamins Publishing Company, Amsterdam & Philadelphia 2018, ISBN 978-90-272-0012-9 (hard cover) / 978-9-272-6457-2 (e-book), Index/indice tematico, pp. vi + 228.

The papers published in this important book are a selection from those discussed during the 14th Italian Meeting of Afroasiatic Linguistics (IMAL), held in Turin on June 15-18, 2011. After the editor's, i.e., Mauro Tosco's introduction, eight papers cover different Semitic topics, three papers Berber ones, one paper a Chadic one, and one a comparative Proto-Afroasiatic one. A similar sort of

imbalance already stood out during the original meeting, where papers on Semitic languages greatly outnumbered those on other language groups of this phylum, even though there also were several papers on Cushitic, and a few on Ancient Egyptian. Unfortunately, Omotic linguistics was little visible, and indeed there are quite few people around the world who study this particular group of languages. Obviously, this is not a criticism of the organizers of the 14th IMAL, or of the book's editor, who cannot force other people to study a particular set of topics, or to write a certain paper. Rather, it is a remark about a generally unsatisfactory scenery in Afroasiatic linguistics, where too many languages, language groups, and historical and comparative topics are still insufficiently studied.

The first contribution is by Helmut Satzinger, an Egyptologist, who addresses the complex issue of reconstructing the case system and alignment typology of the hypothetical common proto-language from which the different historically attested Afroasiatic languages evolved. He already discussed this issue in several papers that were published in the past decades, also taking in consideration the features of ergativity that some authors have glimpsed in this phylum. In this paper, he strongly considers reconstructing a marked nominative system, and concludes that "the nominative-absolutive alignment of Afroasiatic may be as old as Proto-Afroasiatic, or it may have evolved from an ergative-absolutive alignment ... Semitic nominative-accusative alignment has obviously developed from the Afroasiatic nominative-absolutive alignment, as it contains conspicuous remnants of it" (p. 21).

Petr Zemanek addresses instead the issue of subclassifying the Semitic group, and of the higher *vs.* lower degree of relatedness of individual languages or subgroups to each other. It is an issue that has attracted even an excessive attention by some Semitic linguists in the past, e.g., Hetzron (1972, 1977), trying to establish the exact position of individual dialects on family trees. In some other traditions of historical linguistics, e.g., Romance or Germanic studies, an attempt to establish the exact position of the

dialect of Pozzuoli (near Naples) or of Hamburg in the genetic trees of the Romance and, respectively, the Germanic languages would be rightly regarded as a highly arbitrary and fictitious endeavour. Petr Zemánek's attempt is interesting because he takes into account different sets of grammatical features rather than lexical ones, since they are known to be less open to borrowing and thus better cues of genetic relatedness than lexical items are. He concludes that "it seems that the construction of a phylogenetic tree is not very suitable for the Semitic languages" (p. 37). Instead, he uses the NeighborNet method, clearly identifying three major clusters: (i.) Syro-Palestinian languages including Arabic, (ii.) old Mesopotamian languages, and (iii.) Ethiosemitic languages. Sayhadic, i.e., ancient South Arabian languages and Modern South Arabian (MSA) ones do not form a separate cluster, but also do not seem to go with any of the other three clusters.

In his paper, Grover Hudson uses the "250-word comparative wordlist of Ethiopian-Eritrean Semitic (ES) languages" he published in Hudson (2013). The 250 meanings are listed on p. 42 f., but not all the full comparison sets, which also include Proto-Semitic, Proto-Agaw and Proto-East Cushitic forms when they are available. Cognation percentages are carefully evaluated, and confirm a broad subdivision of ES into five subgroups: (a.) a northern one, (b.) Gafat, (c.) Gurage without Silt'e and Zay, (d.) Amharic and Argobba, and (e.) Harari together with the above-mentioned Silt'e and Zay. Interestingly, the highest number of Agaw loanwords occur in Ge'ez (45/250) and Tigrinya (41/250), while Amharic, Tigre and Argobba are lower: 36/250, 35/250 and 32/250 respectively. East Cushitic loanwords are markedly more present in all subgroups; the highest ones are Silt'e (68/250), Harari (64/250), Zay (62/250) and Tigrinya (60/250), while the lowest one is Tigre (49/250).

The functional oppositions in the Classical Arabic verbal system are studied in Michael Marmorstein's contribution, showing that it cannot be seen as just a temporal or aspectual opposition between the so-called perfect (*fāʿala*) and the so-called imperfect (*yafʿalu*). Based on a rich textual corpus he maintains that different syntactic environments and text levels show that there is "a division between *fāʿala* on the one hand and *yafʿalu*, *qad fāʿala* and the participle on the other" (p. 81). Furthermore, clause types and co-occurrence restrictions with modifying particles and auxiliaries display a much more complex system, where the so-called perfect and imperfect cannot be reduced to invariant temporal or aspectual meanings.

Mena Lafkioui also studies the verbal system in her contribution, but her focus is Berber. Indeed, "the current Berber verbal system is based on a fundamental morphological opposition of perfective versus imperfective for the positive aspects, and perfective versus negative perfective for the negative aspects... Tuareg ... and Tarifit ... differ considerably from this basic system in that they have developed a series of secondary morphological verbal opposition which mark distinctive semantic values" (p. 86). After excluding contacts between Tuareg and Tarifit because of their geographical distance, as well as contacts with other non-related languages of the area as causes for the development of these new forms, the author argues that they "have for the most part been functionally determined" (p. 101).

The second paper on Berber also has a comparative approach, and analyses the different particles used in the so-called *if*-clause or protasis of conditional constructions. Cetherine Taine-Cheikh exploits her rich knowledge of the family of Berber showing that one can identify five regions, each of which prefers one variant or group of variants:

- *ad* in Mauritania,
- *is* in southern Morocco,
- *ma*, *(a)k/ka* and *maka* in the north of Morocco and Algeria,
- *kan* in the eastern dialects, and
- *kud* in the southern ones.

The etymology of these particles shows that they have developed through different grammaticalization paths, e.g., out of yes-no question markers and of temporal clause markers.

Amina Mettouchi is the author of the third contribution on Berber, focused on the interaction of the marking of grammatical relations and information structure in Kabyle or Kabylia Berber (KB). It is based on a corpus of field recordings that were transcribed and annotated with Praat and Elan-CorpA: sequences containing a verb were systematically retrieved, “looking for the presence of a noun (and its inflection) within the prosodic group of the utterance, or outside, as well as studying the linear order involved” (p. 262). She shows how KB “nominal subjects and objects can only be unambiguously computed within the prosodic group of the verb” (p. 282). In that context:

- a.) a noun is the nominal subject (a.i.) if it precedes the verb, is in the absolute state (*aka* case) and the verb only has the subject affix, or (a.ii.) if it follows the verb and is in the so-called annexed state;
- b.) a noun is the nominal object if it follows the verb and is in the so-called absolute state.

Quite interestingly, these three different constructions are shown (p. 273 f.) to correlate with different basic information structure (IS) patterns and discourse contexts:

- (a.i.) is a topic-comment pattern, where the comment “goes against a presupposition about the topic that was built in the preceding context” (p. 274);
- (a.ii.) is used “to present situations or events as a whole as new, regardless of the activation status of the referents themselves”, i.e., it is a sort ofthetic sentence. (p. 274); while
- (b.) “marks (sub-)topic continuation ... realized as sequences of verbs with their obligatory person affixes, possibly complemented by nominal direct objects” (p. 273).

Five further papers discuss different issues of Semitic grammar. In particular, Stefano Manfredi deals with the semantics of modal items in Kordofanian Baggara Arabic (KBA), a Sub-Saharan variety of Arabic he brought to the attention of interested scholars with his 2010 PhD thesis. It should be noticed that, even though the history of KBA is complex and still poorly understood, it is not a pidgin or creole like Juba Arabic or kiNubi, but a Bedouin Arabic dialect spoken by semi-nomadic cattle herders scattered from Lake Chad to the White Nile. Modal functions are expressed by the *b(i)*-less imperfective or other finite verbal forms, in association with:

- fully inflected lexical verbs,
- pseudo-verbs like *dāyir* ‘want, need’,
- particles like *ille* ‘except’,
- adverbs like *lāzim* ‘it is necessary’, or
- complex adverbial constructions like *min la buddi* ‘it is likely’.

This syntactic classification may need some revising. For instance, it is not wholly clear to the present reviewer why should *lāzim* be considered as an adverb and not just

as an invariable pseudo-verb. After a detailed examination of how nine modal items of the above five types behave, the author takes into consideration their grammaticalization paths through different types of possibility and of necessity, and the impact of dialect levelling towards Sudanese Arabic.

A typologically interesting feature shared by Modern South Arabian and Ethiosemitic (ES) is discussed by Olga Kapeliuk: insubordination, i.e., the independent use of constructions exhibiting characteristics of subordinate clauses, or main clause verbal forms originating from subordinate forms. In her short paper, she develops an idea already suggested by the late Fabrizio Pennacchietti, Aaron Rubin and others, that the use of MSA relative verbs with the relative particle *ḏ-* as main clause verbal forms implies the presence of a zero copula. Such constructions have not been found in Ancient South Arabian up to now, but instances of relative verbal forms followed by an explicit copula are well known for modern ES languages, with the exclusion of Ge'ez. The author points out that some, but not all, of these constructions are close to cleft sentences, and that this kind of insubordination also has parallels in Agaw, even though their parallels in other subgroups of Cushitic still have to be identified clearly.

Dahālik (DK), is studied by its major expert, Marie-Claude Simeone Senelle. (One should remember that the status of D, like that of many spoken varieties, is controversial in so far as some scholars regard it as a dialect of Tigre rather than as a separate language.) In this contribution, she describes its two major types of possessive and genitive constructions, i.e., the less used synthetic one or construct state, and the more frequent analytic one with the determiner noun or pronoun preceded by *na-*. The two constructions have different functions: “The synthetic construction marks a definite and specific relationship of possession, the determiner referring to something or someone considered as belonging to the personal sphere of the determined noun. The analytic construction, on the other hand, marks an alienable relationship” (p. 182). The paper also offers several comparative examples, showing how DK is closely related to northern Ethiosemitic on the morphological level (the linker *na-*), but with the Modern South Arabian group on the syntactic level (the order head noun – determiner *aka* genitive noun). Surprisingly, even though Yemeni Arabic dialects behave like most of Modern South Arabian in this sub-area of syntactic typology, the author doesn't take them into account in her comparisons, even though it is safe to assume that there have been frequent contacts between the DK-speaking community and speakers of Yemeni Arabic.

Eran Cohen provides a cogent synchronic description of a paratactic conditional construction with the *if*-clause or protasis marked by the connective particle *-ma* in Old Babylonian, the classical phase of Akkadian. This construction seems to be a peculiar stylistic pattern, characterized by the following features:

- 1.) a directive with the same semantics as the protasis but having the opposite polarity often precedes the construction;
- 2.) negative polarity, e.g., specific verbal expressions, occurs only in the protasis;
- 3.) the connective particle *-ma* occurs in the protasis, but may additionally occur in the directive that precedes the construction;
- 4.) the negative preterite *UL IPRUS* has the functional value of a future perfect;
- 5.) combinations of tenses and moods that conflict with the so-called strict modal congruence allow for special combinations;
- 6.) specific sets of forms make up the protasis;
- 7.) the preterite *IPRUS* never features in the apodosis (p. 200 f.).

This type of conditional construction is contrasted with syntactic patterns that involve the so-called interconnected circumstantial clause. In these, e.g., the preterite *IPRUS* often features in the main clause.

In a challenging paper on unipartite clauses, Shlomo Izre'el shows how holophrastic utterances are very much alive and frequent also in adult speech, and not only in the early stages of language development in human infants. Indeed, drawing his examples from the spontaneous speech recordings of the Corpus of Spoken Israeli Hebrew (CoSIH), he points out that a high number of utterances formed by “syntactic units consisting of only a predicate domain, i.e., a nuclear or an extended predicate” can be identified in adult spontaneous speech through their prosody, information structure and syntax (p. 255). Such predicates carry “the information load of the clause, the ‘new’ element in the discourse and the focused component of the clause” (p. 256). Similar structures have also been identified in Akkadian, written Israeli Hebrew and other languages. Dickins (2010) called them ‘monopartite’ clauses in Sudanese Arabic. Izre'el also provides a broad and preliminary classification of unipartite clauses in Hebrew based on “whether or not the predicate can be seen as anchored in referential expressions beyond the clause domain, and where it does – where that anchor will be located in the discourse structure” (p. 245). Unipartite clauses are thus a full-fledged and autonomous clause class, rather than elliptical or reduced forms of the better known bipartite clauses.

Finally, the only contribution on Chadic in this volume is by Zygmunt Frajzngier, and develops a complex theory on locative predications, arguing that it is a phenomenon that has been inherited in the three sub-branches of Chadic directly from the Proto-Chadic stage. He defines locative predications as predications that have “a general locative meaning that may subsume much narrower characteristics such as presence at a place, movement toward a place, or movement from a place” (p. 204). His analysis aims at explaining in a unified way why, e.g., “some locative expressions have prepositions and others do not, ... some languages have only one locative preposition, ... some languages have serial verb constructions coding locative relations, and others do not, ... some languages have verbal extensions coding locative relations and others do not” (p. 204). Indeed, his detailed discussion of the facts that can be observed in nine languages from all the sub-branches of Chadic appears to account satisfactorily for the different types of locative expressions they have, and provides plausible hypotheses on how they have evolved through time.

To wrap up, this well edited volume provides important insights both on particular sets of phenomena that occur in single Afroasiatic languages or in some of its subgroups, and on wider issues of comparative reconstruction and of general features of human language. The sound methodology of most of its contributions is an interesting read also for specialists of other languages families.

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SEGNALAZIONI

Mostra: Asmara. *La segreta città modernista in Africa*



Organizzatore: Facoltà di Design e Arti della Libera Università di Bolzano - Piattaforma Patrimonio Culturale e Produzione culturale.

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DESCRIZIONE

Asmara si trasformò, a partire dal 1889 con la colonizzazione italiana dell'Eritrea, da piccolo insediamento in capitale e tra il 1922 e 1941 in una metropoli africana, costruita e orientata con i criteri della moderna urbanistica europea. Durante il regime mussoliniano la potenza colonizzatrice realizzò la propria visione per una nuova città con edifici pubblici, strade, piazze, impianti per il tempo libero, edilizia residenziale e ville per l'élite sociale italiana e quartieri d'abitazione per la popolazione locale secondo criteri estetici e funzionali.

Anche a Bolzano, capitale del territorio di frontiera dell'Alto Adige, nasceva, durante la dittatura fascista degli anni '20 e '30 del XX secolo, a ovest del centro storico una nuova città. Il linguaggio architettonico dell'insieme urbano quasi interamente conservato di Asmara e di Bolzano si riferisce all'eclettismo italiano, al monumentalismo, al futurismo e al razionalismo internazionale. Nonché testimonianza del colonialismo e di una dittatura, Asmara storica diventò parte dell'identità eritrea, un punto di riferimento dell'indipendenza ed è dal 2017 patrimonio culturale mondiale UNESCO. A Bolzano la discussione attorno all'eredità architettonica e artistica del ventennio fascista è tutt'ora permeato da controversie di natura ideologica, politica ed etnica.

Fonte: <https://www.unibz.it/it/events/130268-asmara>

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