

(XXXI–XXXVII), an introduction (1–17); the main body of dictionary entries (19–390); an appendix with administrative, demographic and economic data (391–394), and a comprehensive bibliography (395–425). The impressive bibliographic list is divided into subthemes, but we might have expected to find a section for geography here. In particular, the addition of references for exploring Togo’s urban geography would be welcome (Gervais-Lambony, Nyassogbo, Aholou, etc.).

With all of the changes in Togo since the last edition of this volume in 1996, this major work of reference and scholarship was much needed. The high number and broad range of entries in the book highlights Togo’s complexity and the value of examining the country’s history in the long term, reaching back well before independence. The book also incorporates detailed attention to current political and social dynamics. Despite the country’s tranquil appearance (the same Eyadema family holding power since 1967, small territory, weak economy characterised by chronic ‘crisis’), Togolese society is the product of an evolutionary combination and conflicts between diverse colonial legacies, military and civilian government, democracy and dictatorship. The retention of the Eyadema family in power in 2005 was accompanied by violence and dissent that continues to mark the current political landscape, with recurrent mobilisations to implement the national constitution and limit the number of terms the president can serve. The recent municipal elections of 2019 (the first such local election since 1987) signal a possible inflexion point for a shift to greater sharing of power, while an authoritarian mode of government endures at the head of the state under the rule of Faure Eyadema and the UNIR, *Union pour la République* (previously RPT, *Rassemblement du Peuple Togolais*).

The authors have provided a great deal of material to guide readers in search of information on specific topics connected to the history of Togo. The cross-referencing system from one entry to another is very effective. The dictionary unravels every historical episode necessary to understand current events and will be helpful for those seeking information on both Togo’s past and its present. New entries such as ‘coronavirus’ or ‘novissi’ (which means ‘solidarity’ in Ewe and designates a state sector programme launched in 2020) indicate the authors’ attention to dealing with contemporary political issues in a society where people strive for a better space for expression and more shared power.

The dictionary gives a condensed and accessible format for a general approach to Togo’s most significant developments in social, political, cultural and economic history.

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Divided by the Word: colonial encounters and the remaking of Zulu and Xhosa identities by JOCHEN S. ARNDT

Charlottesville: University of Virginia Press, 2022. Pp. 346. \$45 (hbk).

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This fascinating book challenges the too often accepted binary vision inherited from colonial and apartheid eras of the ethnographic representations of African peoples.

The author posits that language and identity have not been scrutinised enough by scholars who want to understand the relations between two seemingly close ethnic groups: the amaZulu and the amaXhosa. J.S. Arndt convincingly shows that language is not a stable entity that remains unchanged but, on the contrary, evolves and mutates according to the locutors' environment and, what is more it can be modulated by external influences such as the missionaries' simplistic view of the people they endeavoured to evangelise. He points out that some people have been acculturated by one of these languages for political reasons, and do not even know their original mother tongue such as the Hlubi who are part of the legacy of what the author calls the Xhosa–Zulu divide.

Leaning on various archival sources the author shows that language, being at the root of many identities can be manipulated to the extent that people may lose sight of their origin and base their (violent) actions on twisted identities. The book delineates a theoretical background to language/identity battlegrounds which may be useful to analyse any multilinguistic country that exposes the tensions between its citizens on a linguistic basis. It also sheds light on the problem of historical oversimplification which tends to portray an 'ethnic' group as homogeneous while members of the same group may have difficulties communicating amongst themselves although they have the same 'Nguni' heritage.

From a historical perspective the author has gone into such micro historical details that no attentive reader can close the book and still think that one people/one language is the norm. We learn that there are various types of 'isiZulu' (or isiXhosa) which thus defy a unique definition of Zuluness (or Xhosaness) and that reviving and promoting Hlubi language has become a cornerstone for the establishment of a Hlubi identity. Another interesting point made by the author is the fact that black interpreters did not point at major differences in languages as they came from ethnic groups (the Gonaqua, the Gqunukhwebe and Ntinde) for whom language was not a marker of identity and thus was not a political tool to differentiate one from the 'Other'; this attitude differed from that of the missionaries who, while searching for accurate data for the translation of the Bible, developed the Zulu–Xhosa divide. Readers interested in history, social interactions and violence and linguistics will undoubtedly appreciate the author's explanation of the 1990s riots in South Africa through the linguistic lens as well as his very thorough scrutiny of modern associations, which, through social media and language teaching, try to go beyond the hegemony of Zuluness and Xhosaness.

The Zulu–Xhosa divide is, as convincingly demonstrated by the author in his conclusion, a fundamental element for the understanding of the 'new South Africa' (213) and should be more seriously considered by anyone who wishes to analyse the evolution of South African society since the end of apartheid and its endeavours to come to terms with colonialism and apartheid. This book is a major contribution to the understanding of the links between language and identity and their impact on the social development of a society which acknowledges eleven official languages and is still struggling to find a consensual way to define itself.

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