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Defying Maliseet Language Death: Emergent Vitalities of Language, Culture, and Identity in Eastern Canada. By Bernard C. Perley.

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considerations about faith, culture, and politics with thoughtful descriptions of Aikau's role as a participant-observer inside and outside the Mormon community.

Indeed, one of the book's major appeals is Aikau's personal perspective as an insider-outsider to Hawaiian Mormonism. Another is that Aikau's extensive research brings to life multiple perspectives, which includes archival materials, an oral history project conducted among workers at the Polynesian Cultural Center, and personal interviews conducted with a range of contemporary Mormon community members, as well as more typical primary and secondary sources. An explicit part of Aikau's project is to shift the scholarly gaze away from religious, political, and economic systems as they are experienced and understood by outsiders and tourists and toward their experience and interpretation by indigenous insiders. In many ways, the book allows Hawaiian Latter-day Saints to speak for themselves, yet it does so without giving up an analytical framework and a probing, critical perspective.

Of particular interest is chapter 4, "In the Service of the Lord: Religion, Race, and the Polynesian Cultural Center." Aikau explores indigenous cultural tourism from the perspective of the cultural workers, those producing indigenous cultures for consumption, rather than from the perspective of the outside consumers, the tourists. Emphasizing how the Polynesian workers at the Cultural Center used their status as a "chosen people" to maneuver within the touristic economic structure of the PCC, especially during its early years, Aikau demonstrates the ways these workers were able to produce culture for themselves as well as for tourists, and thus how they were able to create an important educational setting, outside the confines of the Church College, that focused on the maintenance and intergenerational transmission of Oceanic knowledge and customs. Here and in the other chapters, Aikau's careful investigation reveals the surprisingly complex history of Hawaiian and other Polynesian Mormons on and off the islands of Hawai'i, from the early mission period to today, and their ongoing negotiations to find and maintain satisfying places for themselves within Hawaiian, broader Polynesian, and broader Mormon communities.

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Defying Maliseet Language Death: Emergent Vitalities of Language, Culture, and Identity in Eastern Canada. By Bernard C. Perley. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2011. 256 pages. \$60.00 cloth; \$30.00 paper.

Defying Maliseet Language Death is an ethnographic study by Bernard C. Perley of the Maliseet community at Tobique First Nation in New Brunswick,

Canada. A small community of approximately 1500 residents, Perley spent the majority of his field research time, from 1993 to 1996, interacting and observing at the Mah-Sos Elementary school, which at the time was the primary location for Maliseet language-immersion work on the reserve. Perley himself is Maliseet and a member of the Tobique community. Based on his work at the school as well as his interactions with a wide array of community members, he comes to implicate the Maliseet at Tobique with what he calls “language suicide” both because of their seeming indifference to language loss, and their reorientation away from a distinctively Maliseet identity and toward one based more on ideas of “aboriginality.”

For Perley, one of the defining moments in shaping this study came at a language-immersion meeting in 1993, when he became aware that the Maliseet language was on the verge of extinction. As a participant-observer doing what he calls “native anthropology,” Perley quickly found himself in the unique position of trying to be objective about Maliseet language loss while embodying that loss himself, and the notion of embodiment comes to shape the majority of the text. Moving the focus away from language as an independent entity itself, Perley instead seeks to focus on language speakers, and builds his study around several important questions: How do the Maliseet engage language? When is the language used, and who uses it? When/where isn’t the language being used where it could be? To answer these questions, he looks internally at the Maliseet themselves and the choices they are making to use the language or not.

Perley’s approach is multifaceted, starting at the level of broad theory concerning language loss and death, moving to the specific case of the Maliseet at Tobique, and concluding with what he hopes might be several ways of avoiding the imminent loss of the Maliseet language. In doing so, it is clear that he has a vested interest in the answers to the questions posited above. He provides a variety of theoretical bases for understanding what causes language loss in distinct communities like the Maliseet, and rather than settle on concepts like obsolescence (when a language gradually becomes obsolete), or shift (when one language is gradually displaced by another), he lands on the idea of “language death,” because of the direct connection he draws between Maliseet loss of language and their loss of cultural activities and skills. Providing significant historical and cultural context, he lays out the variety of ways in which the Maliseet have found fewer and fewer contexts in which language use is possible. Wide-ranging concepts such as loss of land, changes in place-names, urbanization and intermarriage, a lack of adequate literature, death of elder speakers, and changes in attitudes have all contributed to Maliseet language loss over time, and yet for Perley, this is not enough to explain the impending death of the language. Despite all of these upheavals,

the Maliseet still have a choice to save the language, and if they're not making that choice, he wants to know why.

The majority of the text is spent looking specifically at the Mah-Sos Elementary language immersion program and documenting their curriculum and practices, as well as government and academic programs undertaken in the area. The community, the government, and academia are all shown to have developed programs that include curriculum projects and language materials, but Perley contends that none of their efforts has been successful because each entity has its own ideology about language preservation that these separate groups have not been able to correlate. These entities are equally hampered by the fact that the Maliseet language has not been standardized or codified and that the Maliseet themselves can't seem to agree on how the language should be spoken or written. Despite all of these obstacles, Perley's argument about why the language is dying is focused on self-critique and ultimately implicates the Maliseet themselves as the main actors in its demise.

Perley's argument that the Maliseet language is suffering "death by suicide" is based on his focus on the speakers, and not on the language itself. Despite all of the outside pressures and past failures, he believes that the language could survive if speakers wanted it to, and suggests instead that the Maliseet are practicing "linguistic self-determination" in choosing not to speak or teach the language in important contexts, and/or choosing not to learn it. As such, his argument implicates both speakers and non-speakers as playing an intentional role in the death of the language. The question remains as to why they would make this choice, and Perley concludes, rather dishearteningly, that at Tobique there seems to be simply a collective will to let the language go for now because other priorities are deemed to be more important. The language is not valued enough by the people themselves, as evidenced by the failure of so many attempts to revive it and the discontinued usage by those who actually know it, and so he concludes that at this point it might be too little, too late.

Most ethnographies would likely end at this point, but because Perley has such a vested interest in Maliseet language survival, he tries to offset the impending doom with hopeful alternatives at the end of the book. He argues that loss of speakers doesn't necessarily signal the loss of a language, and hopes that the production of language materials, such as texts and recordings, might offer an opportunity for the reanimation of the language at some future point, when priorities change. He concludes by arguing that ideologies about the relationship between Maliseet language and Maliseet identity have shifted, and that this may signal a way of maintaining a distinct social and cultural identity even devoid of Maliseet language. He traces this shift in identity politics generationally through interviews with various Maliseet at Tobique. For elders, identity is tied to language use; for adults, identity is more strongly connected

to notions of blood; and for the Maliseet youth, identity has more to do with community recognition and participation in cultural activities, many of which are now pan-Indian in nature and not distinctly Maliseet. Perley suggests that this shift symbolizes a mechanism for dealing with language loss in the Maliseet community at Tobique, and that the movement away from a distinctive Maliseet identity that included language use toward a more “aboriginal” identity might allow an opportunity for Maliseet cultural survival, thus leaving the opportunity open for future language revitalization.

Defying Maliseet Language Death is ultimately an attempt to deal with a dying language in a seemingly indifferent community, and to offer hope for the future by documenting a variety of language revitalization efforts, especially at the elementary school level, as well as by connecting language to distinct notions of culture and identity and highlighting the relevance of one to the other. Perley uses a combination of anthropological theory about language and language death and his own years of fieldwork in the Tobique community to document the complexity of language loss, as well as the wide array of historical and cultural contexts necessary to understand how language is lost, and how it might be regained. While painting a somewhat grim and somber picture of the process, this text also highlights the agency communities have in the process, and leaves the door open to hope for alternative realities that might one day lead to language revitalization.

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An Empire of Small Places: Mapping the Southeastern Anglo-Indian Trade, 1732–1795. By Robert Paulett. Athens: University of Georgia Press, 2012. 264 pages. \$69.95 cloth; \$24.95 paper.

In *An Empire of Small Places: Mapping the Southeastern Anglo-Indian Trade, 1732–1795* Robert Paulett reorients our understanding of the deerskin trade in the colonial South. Since Richard White’s 1988 dependency-theory take on the trade in *Roots of Dependency*, a few scholars have studied the subject, including Kathryn Holland Braund, Stephen Oatis, and Joseph M. Hall, Jr. Since White’s book, a novel interpretation of the deerskin trade as a whole has been missing, a study that can reframe our understanding of that trade and the consequences that trailed after the packhorse men who infiltrated the towns and hamlets of the Native South. For his part, Paulett interprets the deerskin trade not in reference to the expansion of world capitalism, but rather