International Convention for the Regulation of Whaling, but may also be violating the United Nations Charter of Human Rights. The case is supported by a review of the complex relations between the various multinational organizations that regulate whaling, and by particular case studies of the decision-making process at recent IWC conventions.

If one is to support the Inuit desire to revitalize the whaling component of their culture, then one must be prepared to argue that the Inuit are competent to manage this potentially scarce and endangered resource (although this book does present evidence that questions the extent to which whaling resources really are endangered). This is precisely what the fourth chapter of the book analyzes. Through an examination of each national area (Russia, United States, Canada and Denmark), the text describes the contemporary regimes that are already in place for managing the whaling stocks. The text demonstrates that the Inuit are well in control of the situation and environmentalists should have little to fear in Inuit plans to harvest whales.

Of course, whales are not restricted by national boundaries and international co-operation is required for effective and efficient stock management. The Inuit have already achieved this through the political activities of the Inuit Circumpolar Conference. While the strategy of both environmentalists and non-whaling nations has been to divide those with aboriginal interests in whaling, the Inuit have confronted this through their own political unification.

This text is strong because it presents the Inuit voice loud and clear through extensive direct quotations from Inuit about whaling. It is unfortunate that there is no indication of how, and in what context these quotations were collected. In a text of this sort there is no need for an extensive discussion of methodology, but it would be helpful to know where these quotes have come from. The speakers represent a wide proportion of the Inuit who are involved in whaling with the notable exception of North Baffin Island, especially Pond Inlet, which has had a long history of indigenous and commercial whaling. For non-specialists it would have been very helpful to have a map showing all of the communities cited in the text. While most of the communities were familiar to me, I did have to dig out my atlas to find the location of the Siberian communities.

As a text designed for a non-academic audience, one can see that the authors would want to minimize the complexities of referencing and bibliographies. Each chapter contains a list of suggested readings that, in fact, provide the references for the text. Nevertheless, I feel that the direct quotations within the text could at least be properly referenced for those who may wish to follow up on some of the material. I was also very surprised that the text omitted the now classical work on Inuit and whalers by Dorothy Eber (1989).

Inuit, Whaling, and Sustainability is an effective advocate for the Inuit right to continue their whaling practice. As such, it will be a useful case study for courses on ecology and natural resource management as well as for the interested public. If anyone thinks that sustainable resource management has more to do with scientific data than politics, this book will sorely disabuse them of such delusions.

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Reviewer: *Nicole Beaudry*
Université du Québec à Montréal.

As a reviewer, I can barely resist the urge to let the author's story-telling style influence my own task, perhaps because I feel this would adequately reflect how the author learns, throughout his extensive field research, about the value of story-telling in Dene Tha culture, how he draws us into his learning process and how he consequently chooses to relay ethnographic information to his readers. This review might then become the story of a story about stories. However, book reviews do not lend themselves so readily to this format. For instance, opening with the usual "once upon a time . . ." would not be relevant as this particular story is a contemporary one, that of the prolonged encounter of an ethnographer with a small Dene community of northern Alberta (Canada) even though the life of this community is firmly rooted in the past traditions of its people. Nor does this story focus exclusively on one people (the Dene Tha) in one community (Chateh). This story also meaningfully examines different past approaches to field research and more specifically tells about the author's own field-work procedure as it developed over the years. Thus, in this book, several threads are interwoven, sometimes parallel, sometimes criss-crossing, but all contributing to a rich and detailed fabric, the fabric of life in Chateh seen with the ethnographer's eyes.

In the introduction, the author traces his own development as a fieldworker whose first assignment among the Guajiro of Colombia had been to "describe and analyze the social organization and religion of the Wayu and to demonstrate how they had recourse to complex mechanisms of ritual exchange and social control to constitute relatively stable and enduring clusters of populations . . . (p. xiv). In this context he had learned the importance of personal implication within the kinship networks of the community in which he resided—although

his accounts relied on former styles of anthropological reporting, writings in which the ethnographer's interactions with his teachers was more or less absent. Since 1978, as researcher for the St. Paul's University Canadian Research Center for Anthropology, he began a lengthy inquiry during which periods of several months in the field alternated with professorial and other academic duties.

From the beginning, the author's investigation among the Dene Tha had the overarching objective to "comprehend the words, concerns, and behaviors of people . . ." (p. xiv) focussing more specifically on the "interaction between others" and Euro-Canadians who attempt to use their institutions and values to shape the lives of those they seek to colonize and/or assimilate" (p. xvi). The author gradually understood that Dene response to such enforced interaction was one of incorporation and reinterpretation rather than of passive submission but also one of increased competence in a system other than the indigenous one. For the Dene Tha, this led to a form of bi-culturalism from which now emerges a type of discourse geared towards satisfying the expectations of non-Natives. Many episodes (which crop up throughout the book) convinced the author this was the case and it became apparent to him that mastery of the language was essential if he wished to go beyond this official and reductive discourse. Moreover, the accumulated linguistic and cultural skills allowed him to interpret utterances in Dene Dhah, applying ethnomethodologically-inspired ideas and techniques first conceptually examined in the Introduction but exemplified further on.

One might add that in addition to a brief description—historical, geographical as well as disciplinary—of the research context, it is in this first chapter that he affirms his position in favour of narrative ethnography, according to which "the experiential knowledge gained in the course of engaging in the daily lives and ritual activities of the Dene Tha is . . . integrated into the ethnographic description" (p. xliv).

Nine chapters listed in the Table of Contents as discrete units address different aspects of Dene Tha culture, and a last chapter constitutes the sum of the author's thoughts about the challenges of field work. This book represents a coming together of what the author carried into the field from the "academic way," and what he has learned over the years as a fieldworker/ethnographer. Although numerous publications by Jean-Guy Goulet have, from the early 1980s, dealt with one or the other of the issues raised in this volume, none achieves quite as comprehensive a sense of the intimate connections between his (as ethnographer) and Dene Tha's quest for knowledge and understanding.

As suggested earlier, several pervasive ideas reappear constantly, leitmotiv-like. For example, a first leitmotiv concerns the attention paid to two conflicting directions in Dene Tha life, namely their participation in the Euro-Canadian lifestyle concurrently with their enduring attachment to traditional modes of subsistence and patterns of thought. While this state of affairs applies to many of the world's indigenous populations, the author shows how this affects the interaction between himself and the people of the community and consequently how the accumulation of ethnographic knowledge is constructed as his cultural and linguistic skills grow. This point is particularly well-illustrated in the first chapter.

A second leitmotiv addresses the matter of acquiring skills in the local language as essential to successful ethnographic enquiry. Although this has been a long-standing requirement of ethnographic field work methodology, the author feels the need to expound on the many reasons why developing skills in Dene Dhah has proved fundamental to his understanding of Dene culture. For example, how is one to learn the "Dene way" if verbal interactions take place in English, a second language for the Dene Tha, in which they adopt a discourse modelled on the system and institutions the anthropologist comes from? And if the ethnographer does manage to go beyond the discourse usually offered to the non-Native, how is he to grasp the fine points of Dene Tha explanations if he believes that sharing a common vocabulary ensures proper communication? Time and again, the author tested his suspicion that answers (in English) to his queries sometimes hid more than they revealed. On the one hand, for example, discussions on matters of education or religion would produce opinions which more or less reproduced what the author himself carried from his own cultural background. On the other hand, his recourse to what he calls "dual translation" amply demonstrates how a statement, first given in English, repeated in Dene Tha and re-translated into English reveals the discrepancies in the meanings ascribed to the same words by Dene Tha or by Anglophones. For instance, when translating "superstition" to Dene Dhah, Dene Tha speakers always give the phrase *dene wonlin edadihi*, "a person who knows an animal," ignoring the severe judgemental nature of Webster's definition of the term as "a belief or practice resulting from ignorance, fear of the unknown, trust in magic or chance or a false concept of causation." In this case, as in many others, the simple process of translation back to Dene Dhah uncovered the Dene meanings attached to English vocabulary (pp. 65-66).

As every ethnographer knows, learning the language also allows one to participate more fully in the local lifestyle. In this case, as the author's linguistic competence strengthened, his relationships with many unilingual Elders and Prophets intensified as well as relationships with others. His gradual integration into the social setting allowed him to interact with the Dene Tha on their own terms, learning as they do through experience, observation and stories.

There follows a third leitmotiv which serves as a constant reminder of the book's main objectives: to understand Dene Tha *kinhin*, the Dene way, in other words to uncover the very roots of Dene Tha knowledge and its consequent applications in the social and spiritual lives of the people of Chateh; many stories illustrate the learning process that was taking place, a learning process based on Dene Tha ways of acquiring and using knowledge. In fact, learning about learn-

ing urged the author to explore in depth the epistemological basis of Dene Tha knowledge and understanding, an issue that remains central throughout his study.

Thus, a fourth leitmotiv, a theme more thoroughly explored in Chapter 2, concerns the value for the Dene Tha of personal experience as the true source of knowledge, experience gained either by their own accomplishments, by witnessing events or by hearing "directly from the horse's mouth" as one might say. This is true for learning how to hunt, to sew or to speak as well as it is true for learning about the surrounding visible world and about the other world, animated by powerful beings, spirits of animals and of other beings or souls of deceased relatives or friends. And since experiential knowledge carries the authority of truth, information conveyed in stories told by those who have first-hand experience of an event is reckoned credible and reliable. It follows that story-telling, in the sense of witnessing, is the most important method for the transmission of information. Conversely, the further removed a story-teller is from the original source of an information, the less "truth" value is granted to his recounting. This explains why Dene Tha storytellers most often begin stories by statements establishing their relationship to the event recalled or to the former teller(s), thereby acknowledging how truthful a story might or might not be.

The notion of learning raises an important corollary issue—a fifth leitmotiv—concerning the Dene Tha belief in each individual's capacity to enter the learning process. For instance, a listener must be able to decipher the meaning of the account of an experience and learn from it. Thus, each learning individual—and this includes the visiting anthropologist—bears the responsibity for his own education. He must be able to observe, that is, to watch and to hear, to learn from these observations and subsequently to behave appropriately. The capacity to learn from one's experiences is, for the Dene Tha, a fundamental prerequisite to survival, a guarantee that one is a socially acceptable and autonomous person, able to meet the challenges presented by the sometimes difficult odds of life in general. Trusting in a person's capacity to learn, rather than having recourse to explicit instruction such as non-Natives have learned to expect, is an implicit mark of respect. Needless to say, the ethnographer must accept this challenge as the best avenue towards learning.

A sixth leitmotiv concerns the inherent bond between knowledge—open to a wide range of interpretations—and the personal power derived from it. Chapter 3 brings to light the special associations that develop between human beings and powerful other-than-human beings (most often animal spirits), first during a dream or a vision, and later as a special resource that a person uses to ensure good fortune or ward off misfortune. These beings—who become a person's helper in life—constitute a personal power, conceived of as a gift. Particularly meaningful is the fact that this association and the subsequent enjoyment of power(s) is glossed as "to know" something. Thus knowledge is power, all the more essential an ingredient for survival both in this world and vis-à-vis the other world. This crucial feature of Northern Athapaskan cultures was convincingly asserted by several contemporaneous specialists but especially by Robin Ridington more than a decade ago. Perhaps more than a passing reference to the latter's numerous publications on the subject should have been made here.

The recurrent motifs considered until now and clarified in the first three chapters intersect with the topics of the remaining chapters. In chapters 4 and 5, many Dene Tha stories illustrate how knowledge as power is used efficiently in contexts of healing and how it proves to be instrumental or helpful on occasions of real or presumed aggression. The author then examines the correlation of mind and soul. For the Dene Tha, the mind is "the seat of one's will, intellect, and memory" (p. 142), the ultimate tool for knowledge. It is an entity that resides transiently (in the body) and permanently (in the spirit or soul) (p. 142). One is never quite sure whether the author believes the concepts and terms *mind* and *soul* to be interchangeable, but we are shown how a soul can journey to the other world (Chapter 6), either in dreams, sickness or death. Dene Tha interpretations of these journeys' events during which they encounter souls of recently or long ago deceased relatives and friends are abundantly illustrated.

One of the consequences of a soul's journey after death has to do with its desire to return to earth in someone else's body and a whole section (chapter 7) is devoted to a detailed examination of the Dene Tha conception of reincarnation. In addition to explaining how a person draws conclusions from his own experience of encounters with returned souls, several stories reveal how one identifies a soul returned in oneself or in someone else.

There follows a more historically descriptive chapter (8) about the meeting of traditional and Christian beliefs since the 19th century with the coming of missionaries of diverse denominations. In contrast with the rest of the book, the author is curiously "absent" from this chapter. The information here is not experiential knowledge but general and literate, with many comparisons with other northern areas. Most important here, is the author's theoretical shift from an earlier assessment of this situation: he no longer sees the use of a dual system of belief as a case of "dualism" but rather as an example of a "single aboriginal worldview, albeit modified" by a reinterpretation of "Christian symbols according to their own distinctive view of the world" (p. 221). This is a demonstration of how Dene traditional beliefs endure in spite of the impact of missions and residential schooling.

A particularly meaningful example of merging ideologies according to a specifically Dene Tha worldview is the Prophet Dance, the subject of Chapter 9. At first descriptive of its constituent parts, of its symbolism and of the manner it unfolds (or in some cases, how it does finally not happen), the author moves into an account of one of the crucial experiences of the ethnographer: his active participation in a ritual event as someone who meets the requirements that adequately shape

one's personality beforehand. Not only does the ethnographer experience visions proving he is capable of learning through the medium of images (rather than only through the medium of words) and that he "pays attention to what [he] knows with [his] mind" (p. 245), but he also shares a dream world with others who anticipated his involvement with the Prophet Dance.

The tone of the book shifts in Chapter 10, from accounts and reports of learning experiences to a concluding essay on the intrinsic value of an experiential approach to knowledge. As was so carefully demonstrated throughout the book, Dene Tha who were intent on allowing him to learn the Dene way expected him to participate fully in the construction of his ethnographic knowledge, not by being instructed but by experiencing directly. In addition, the learning process was clearly and in large part conditioned by his interactions with Dene Tha, in turn constructed from the self-images each chose over time to present to the other. But the author is also concerned about situating his belief in this approach to knowledge, anxious to claim his place within the more recent trends in anthropology and ethnography and among the proponents of the "radical participation" dear to "experience-near" anthropology. All the chapters, but especially this last one, offer to readers a precious overview of other anthropologists who have adopted a similar attitude.

But no matter how learning is achieved, experiential ethnographers have in common a desire to bring alive to various readers and listeners both the knowledge acquired and the conditions under which access to this information was made possible. I feel the author successfully rose to the challenge of presenting his own personally acquired knowledge much as the Dene Tha would. Thus, from a literary point of view, this book represents more than a collection of stories because, as his Dene teachers would tell him, it is essential to offer "stories that are good to think with." For the ethnographer-writer, this meant stories which would "induce the listener or reader to grasp important dimensions of the Dene way of knowing and living" (p. xxxvii). In brief, while this book is informative about Dene Tha thought processes and values and filled with many details arising from daily life in Chateh, this book also makes a significant contribution to ethnographic method and epistemology.

Dominique Casajus, *Gens de parole. Langage, poésie et politique en pays touareg,* Paris: Éditions La Découverte, 2000, 192 p. (Coll. «Textes à l'appui. Série anthropologie»), 120 FF.

Reviewer: *Jean-Claude Muller*
Université de Montréal

Voici un vrai livre d'ethnolinguistique dans le sens le plus plein et le plus complet du terme. Il est vrai que le peuple concerné, les Touaregs, y a mis du sien, et même beaucoup, puisqu'il se définit, dans sa plus grande extension, par la langue qu'il parle. Plus encore, il n'y aurait, selon la plupart d'entre eux, de véritable parole que la leur, mais exprimée – ou tue – selon tout un code dont ils discutent passionnément. Cet ouvrage est donc le résultat de la rencontre entre un ethnologue qui a compris les enjeux de la langue tels qu'exposés par ses interlocuteurs et les discours subtils qu'ils tiennent sur leur parler. Dès le début de ses enquêtes, qui se sont échelonnées sur une quinzaine d'années, l'auteur s'est appliqué à bien parler la langue, très conscient du caractère primordial de marqueur ethnique d'une population turbulente et guerrière qui, malgré ses guerres et querelles intestines, se conçoit néanmoins comme un tout par rapport aux voisins à cause de son parler.

Ouvrage relativement court mais dense, il consiste en plusieurs chapitres qui sont, pour la quasi-totalité, des textes publiés auparavant sur le sujet mais remaniés et fondus dans un tout qui en fait une synthèse longuement mûrie. Après une présentation des Touaregs et de leurs opinions sur l'autodéfinition qu'ils se donnent par leur langue, deux chapitres sont consacrés à des anecdotes de terrain extrêmement révélatrices sur ce qui est approprié de dire, de taire ou d'évoquer directement ou indirectement dans ce que l'auteur appelle la «parole pénombreuse». Il y a toute une philosophie du bien-dire – et de son inverse, le mal-dire – que l'auteur extrait de ces anecdotes qui peuvent nous sembler triviales mais elles ne le sont en rien pour ceux qui en sont les protagonistes. Ceci pour le langage courant, ordinaire, dont le rendu les préoccupe grandement.

Mais les Touaregs sont surtout connus depuis longtemps pour leur art poétique et on a abondamment glosé sur cette production, surtout celle des «cours d'amour» où l'on chantait – et chante toujours – l'être aimé. Casajus y consacre quelques chapitres et montre aussi que la poésie était utilisée politiquement et qu'il y a un continuum entre poésie galante et poésie guerrière. Les chefs de guerre se dédiaient nommément des poèmes, ce qui les mettait tous dans la même famille, au contraire des poèmes traîtant des guerres avec les étrangers dont les chefs de guerre ne sont jamais adressés personnellement. Un chapitre nous indique comment les différents groupes touaregs voient, vivent et parlent de la stratification sociale et politique qui a cours dans leur société. Ce sont des points de vue opposés mais chacun recèle une part de vérité, comme d'ailleurs varie le rôle des chefs politiques locaux, les *amenokal*, et le sultan d'Agadez, dont les attributions respectives en sont venues au cours du temps à s'opposer de façon presque symétrique et inverse.

Les Touaregs sont musulmans et leur religion a été transcrite et propagée dans une langue différente de la leur. Eux qui se définissent comme les possesseurs du seul vrai langage sont directement en conflit avec celui du Coran. Dilemme, précise Casajus, qui effleure seulement quelques lettrés. C'est ici l'occasion d'examiner les statuts de l'écrit dans cette société car les Touaregs possèdent aussi une écriture, le *tifinagh*. Contrairement à la parole, cette écriture est considérée quelquefois comme une manifestation du diable et en tous les cas comme une forme bien inférieure aux graphies en caractères