

STORED IN THE BONES: SAFEGUARDING INDIGENOUS LIVING HERITAGES. By AGNIESZKA PAWLOWSKA-MAINVILLE. Winnipeg: University of Manitoba Press, 2023. ISBN 9781772840452. 320 p., maps, b&w and colour illus., bib., index, notes. Softbound. Also available as a pdf and ebook. Cdn\$27.95.

In *Stored in the Bones; Safeguarding Indigenous Living Heritages*, Pawloska-Mainville thoroughly describes the process a community has to go through to have pieces of their intangible cultural heritage (ICH), (defined on the back cover as “community-based practices, traditions, and customs that are inherited and passed down through generations”), documented and nominated for safeguarding with the United Nations Education, Scientific, and Cultural Organization (UNESCO). Pawloska-Mainville’s objective in writing this book, which she achieves, is “to raise awareness about ICH and provide a conceptual tool for communities and policymakers to use when advocating for cultural and linguistic revitalization and transmission” (p. 230). She includes a sample inventory card in the appendix, which she encourages communities to print, fill out, and use when documenting their ICH (p. 241–43). Pawloska-Mainville clearly explains the advantages, potential problems, and solutions a community could encounter when petitioning the United Nations for ICH recognition.

Pawloska-Mainville admits that neither Canada nor the United States has signed the UNESCO Convention for Safeguarding Intangible Cultural Heritage, and that neither government has legislation in place at the federal level that would protect ICH (p. 92). Despite this lack of recognition, Pawloska-Mainville makes a detailed, well-supported argument for ICH being one layer of protection against future cultural loss and even land loss.

Read chapter 4 to decide whether this book is worth your time. In it, Pawloska-Mainville discusses legal battles over expanding hydroelectric projects on Indigenous-held lands. She argues that current requirements of impact reports fail to protect Indigenous livelihoods, lands, and the animals to whom we all are connected. Pawloska-Mainville argues: “ICH inventories need to be a mandatory component of impact assessments ... Whereas traditional knowledge and land use studies ground specific activities of knowledge holders in the landscape through maps, ICH inventories strengthen these documentations to show processes of transmission and social interactions between and across generations. In resource development contexts, inventories show the link between humans and the land as well as demonstrate how that land constructs specialized cultural manifestations” (p. 186).

My criticisms of this book are of the author’s portrayal and use of Ojibwe language and culture. This is something to be aware of when going through the ICH petitioning process, because if a petitioner incorrectly uses an Indigenous language or incorrectly portrays an Indigenous

culture, the entire petition could become suspect and ultimately discarded. I take no issue with the translation of Ojibwe words in the glossary (pp. xiii–xvii). I am, however, very disappointed in both the author and the publisher for including fake Ojibwe language passages throughout the text and even in the notes and acknowledgements. Many of these Ojibwe language passages do not make sense. I worry that people will think these are accurate examples of Ojibwe speech coming from first-language Ojibwe speakers and then will use them to learn the language, form sentences, create lesson plans, and so forth. This is a real issue today, as we continue to lose our first-language speakers. Our Indigenous languages should be afforded the same respect that we afford English and French publications in Canada: they should be accurately presented. Manitoba, where this book was published, has Ojibwe speakers who could have been hired to check these passages. These passages need to be edited, or entirely removed, from future editions of this book. In all other areas of editing and printing, the publisher has done a great job.

I am particularly concerned that Pawloska-Mainville tries to coin Ojibwe phrases that could be adopted by other writers, including writers of ICH petitions. Some of these phrases do not mean what the author claims they mean. For example, she uses the phrase *Anishinaabewi aki miijim* (p. 21). The words can individually be translated as follows: *Anishinaabewi* means s/he is Anishinaabe or s/he is an Indigenous person, *aki* means Earth, land, or place, and *miijim* means food. But put together as a phrase, the words make no sense, translating roughly as, “S/he is an Anishinaabe person, Earth, food.” (I ran this by a first-language Ojibwe speaker to check my translation).

As with much of the Ojibwe in this book, the author does not explain where she got this wording, simply writing: “*Aki[wi] miijim* was understood to be food from the land ...” (p. 261). She does not say whether she made up the term *aki[wi] miijim*, and Ojibwe speakers said they understood her or whether someone told it to her. The “*wi*” added in the note brings more confusion: *Akiwi* means s/he is land. So *Akiwi miijim* is another nonsensical phrase: “S/he is land, food.”

It is to her credit that Pawloska-Mainville acknowledges that only male knowledge keepers were the sources of the information in this text, and that the voices of women knowledge keepers, who are just as important, are missing from her research and this text (p. 22). I noticed that the voices of Two-Spirit Elders are also missing. The old men who shared their stories and teachings with Pawloska-Mainville clearly wanted her to pass these teachings on to others—and she does, to an extent. It appears that they told her many stories. Someday those whole stories, where appropriate, should be published, rather than the brief summaries and references in this text. One Elder specifically tells Pawloska-Mainville to share his stories: “For some stories, Walter waved his hand and asked me to turn off the recorder, and I did; for other stories, he wanted me to ‘put them in [my] book or

somewhere' so everyone could learn from them as well" (p. 70). Pawlowska-Mainville uses this statement as an example of building trust, rather than honouring the Elder's request to publish his stories. Still, the information that is preserved here could be valuable, especially to descendants of the men interviewed.

Pawlowska-Mainville shares important teachings with her readers but, without acknowledging it, she genderizes these teachings, and those telling them, through her labels. This stands out to me because Ojibwe is a gender-neutral language; we don't have an equivalent of he or she, we use a genderless pronoun—*wiin*—that specifies a living being. Pawlowska-Mainville translates *akiwenzidiziwin* as "the old way of life" (p. 28). I understand the term, although neither I, nor the first-language Elder I consulted, had ever heard it. But *Akiwenzidiziwin* translates more literally as "old-man life," a very gendered term (the Ojibwe language does not apply gender to life). She describes storytellers as [*da*]*dibaajimowiniwag*, those "who tell narratives of their lived experience in the bush or on the waters," and *aadizookewiniwag* as "the storytellers of sacred stories, myths and legends, and teachings" (p. 67). She fails to acknowledge that she refers here to male storytellers (*iniwag*), not all storytellers, as her English translations suggest. It concerns me that other researchers may unknowingly replicate such mistakes by using her terms.

Despite these criticisms, I do recommend this book to anyone looking for tangible ways to make a difference for Indigenous communities and for life on our planet. Indigenous communities who are working to save their lands, resources, forests, animal, and all other relations from further development and death need the information in this book. Tribal councils or tribal ethics committees who are approached by academics wanting to do projects in their communities could suggest that the academics read this book and then come and do this work with them—because it is going to take a lot of people a very long time to carry out this amount of documentation. Legislators, activists, and citizens who are looking for ways to advocate for Indigenous Nations having control of their lands need this book because it can help them begin that work.

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TAUTUKKONIK | LOOKING BACK: PIUSIGI-LAUTTAVUT LABRADORIUP TAGGÂNI, 1969–1986 | A PORTRAIT OF INUIT LIFE IN NORTHERN LABRADOR, 1969–1986. By CANDACE COCHRANE, ANDREA PROCTER, and Nunatsiavut Creative Group (PEGGY ANDERSEN; JULIUS DICKER; RUTIE DICKER; MINNIE GEAR; JADE HOLWELL; BEVERLY HUNTER; MARIA MERKURATSUK; LEVI NOAH NOCHASAK; SUE WEBB; FRAN WILLIAMS; KATIE WINTERS). St. John's: Memorial University Press, 2022. ISBN: 978-199044-500-2. 318 p., b&w illus., index, glossary. Softbound. \$49.95.

TautukKonik presents black and white photographs of northern Labrador life that have been chosen by Inuit. "We're telling our own stories," explains Nain's AngajukKâk Julius Dicker. "This book doesn't focus on the colonialism that was brought to Inuit ... It's not telling the world about 'those poor people of northern Labrador.' ... The people in northern Labrador are telling the stories" (p. xi).

Superb photographs are printed on high-grade, glossy white paper and the volume's overall quality and layout create a high aesthetic. Most photos are 24 × 15 cm in size, clearly printed, and the text is formatted in parallel columns of Labrador Inuktitut and English. The photos have an evenness that suggests skilled digitizing of decades-old negatives, and are grouped in thematic sets based on life on the land, the seasons, and social and technological changes. Alongside each is descriptive information such as location, date, subject name, and often a longer text contributed by a community member.

Author Candace Cochrane took these photos as part of two different initiatives to photograph daily life in northern Labrador—the first in 1969, and the second in 1985 and 1986. The earlier project produced photos for the International Grenfell Association. Her field trips in the 1980s were for a new Labrador-focussed school curriculum and were taken in the company of photographer Levi Noah Nochasak of Hebron and Nain. In her essay, Cochrane recalls their different approaches to photographing the same settings—she would be intent on capturing an entire cabin room while Nochasak, already familiar with peoples' homes, would be photographing minute details of a skin-boot maker's stitches. Easily the most unfortunate note in this volume is to learn that most of Nochasak's pictures and negatives were lost years ago in a house flood; however, in this volume we have his comments and evocative memories alongside many of the photos.

Essays by co-author Andrea Procter introduce and conclude the volume. Conscientiously described are the project's Inuit-driven beginnings and its extraordinary level of engagement. Work on the volume began in 2016, requiring many trips along the coast and tremendous community involvement over several years. Hundreds of participants viewed the images; chose the ones that would be published; and, with the help of the Nunatsiavut Creative