

derivatives is constantly at risk of collapsing if it cannot continually expand into new promises and agreements. This is “predatory dividualism,” which can be fought only through a radical rethinking of human agency, action, and social collectivity in order to harness the progressive potential of the dividual. Appadurai suggests that such a move is not only possible, but necessary in order to contest the growing economic inequalities that shape our everyday lives and futures around the world.

This book is not intended for a novice audience, and those without a thorough background in the texts and authors Appadurai discusses may find themselves wishing for some basic definitions of concepts, additional ethnographic elaboration, and more robust elaboration of contemporary debates. The value of this text, however, lies in its insights about the relationships of modern selves to the market, the rotten promise of derivatives and their corruption of contemporary markets, and new ways of understanding late capitalist forms of value. Appadurai’s elaboration of the ontological reversal represented by the dividual is of particular value, as it breaks new ground in theorizing the penetration of market logics into domains of selfhood. For linguistic anthropologists, the book may act as a challenge to bring our theoretical and methodological tools to bear on crucial contemporary issues such as global finance markets, the current conditions of severe socioeconomic inequality, and the potential for collective action.

Linguistic Rivalries: Tamil Migrants and Anglo-Franco Conflicts. *Sonia N. Das.*
New York: Oxford University Press, 2016. xvi + 269 pp.

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Captivating and epic in scope, Sonia N. Das’s *Linguistic Rivalries* explores the influence of Anglo-Franco conflicts from the mid-nineteenth century to the present on local language practices and migrant experiences in Sri Lankan and Indian Tamil diasporas in Montréal, Québec. A destination for immigrants from all over the world, Montréal is thought to have the most trilingual speakers in North America. The city’s Indian Tamil population is comprised of high-caste and educated professionals. By contrast, most of the Sri Lankan Tamils are refugees from the Sri Lankan civil war, which lasted from 1983 to 2009. Seamlessly integrating ethnographic and historical data, Das demonstrates how linguistic rivalries in South Asia and North America have inflected the politicization of ethnic, linguistic, and national identities among these migrant groups. She characterizes the well-to-do Indian migrants as mobile and Sri Lankans as relatively immobile because of travel restrictions due to their refugee status. This ethnography integrates a wide variety of ethnographic data, including interviews and recordings in Tamil heritage classrooms, Hindu temples, Catholic churches, community centers, and commercial streets. The theme of Anglo-Franco conflicts invites readers to form connections that span continents, but the strength of the book rests in its ability to capture the complex processes by which Tamil migrants define and imagine themselves in relation to multiple time scales and geographical reference points. A central argument of the book is that national and imperial rivalries must be understood in historical and comparative perspective.

Québec’s language politics in the twentieth century primarily categorized its residents according to their linguistic affiliations (other aspects of their identity were secondary). This has been problematic for Sri Lankan and Indian Tamils because it implies that these two groups, who see themselves as distinct, belong to the same ethnolinguistic community. (French Canadians refer to all speakers of Tamil as “tamouls.”) Both groups internally distinguish themselves by caste, class, region, religion, and political orientation. Das show us how Sri Lankan and Indian Tamils appropriate political discourses familiar in Canadian politics to construct a linguistic rivalry that attends to very detailed aspects of Tamil phonology and grammar. Sri Lankan refugees seek to preserve the literary varieties of the language, and by doing so, rebuild their communities and connect to the ancient past. Indian Tamils, in turn,

seek to modernize colloquial varieties of Tamil to promote their high social status and cosmopolitanism. This reformulation of identity in the Montréal diaspora was influenced by Anglo-Franco conflicts in South Asia as well as in North America (chapters 2–5). Das incorporates archival research on Tamil printing in French-controlled Pondicherry, India, in the mid-nineteenth century to show how rivalries between French and English colonizers resulted in the global dissemination of bilingual dictionaries and grammar books, which reinforced the diglossic ideology that literary and colloquial varieties constitute distinct registers (chapter 4).

This book considers the rival heritage language industries of the Sri Lankan and Indian Tamils. Das does not just look at how linguistic rivalries are substantiated in schools and pedagogies, but how they extend into the temples, churches, businesses, and other institutions that incorporate colloquial or literary Tamil. She discusses how Sri Lankan Tamils, because their own native places were engulfed by war, put more effort into recreating their homeland in Montréal than did Indian Tamils. She demonstrates how Sri Lankan Tamil businesses in “Little Jaffna” artfully make use of orthographies and scripts in a way that both conveys their political allegiance to the Canadian government and gives their neighborhood respectability and fame. The comparative aspect of the book would be stronger if Das had related the situation in Montréal to other rivalries in Tamil diasporas in North America, Europe, or Australia. It would also be helpful to look at how the linguistic stereotypes she discusses—such as the association of Indian Tamils with colloquial Tamil and Sri Lankan Tamils with literary Tamil—play out on the South Asian subcontinent.

Linguistic Rivalries is theoretically framed in relation to work on language ideologies and scale. A major contribution of the book is its demonstration of the deep historicity of language ideological processes. In configuring their linguistic rivalry, members of the Montréal Tamil diaspora reformulated language ideologies rooted in two purist movements, one in South Asia and one in Canada (chapter 2). Das shows readers that the way these groups use language and other semiotic systems to differentiate themselves from each other is not inevitable, but deeply historically contingent. She also demonstrates how similar language ideologies—pertaining to purity and authenticity—can have very different political and social consequences (p. 57). She points to how competing language ideological projects are scalar in that they employ different metrics in relation to place and time. Observing that work on scale has disproportionately emphasized elite experiences, she stresses the importance of focusing on elite and non-elite aspects of global modernity (pp. 17–22).

This book is highly suitable for use in undergraduate teaching. I assigned chapter 1 to my anthropological theory class at Western Illinois University and one student commented that it is particularly valuable for the way it demonstrates how urban identities are shaped by migration and globalization. Moving past any simple contrasting of local and global, this work illustrates how Indian and Sri Lankan Tamil youth and adults use nationalist and transnational politics to situate themselves in relation to one another and the wider Montréal urban milieu. Das articulates how Sri Lankan and Indian Tamils create different routes to global modernity in their linguistic and social practices. Although distinct, these routes also complement each other because they put together a diasporic future that preserves the past (p. 99). Together, these groups create a modernity that is both putatively primordial and cosmopolitan (p. 175).

Another strength of the book that makes it compelling for undergraduates is Das’s integration of her own story into the subject material. A child of a French Canadian mother and a Bengali father, Das was born in Montréal, but moved to the United States after the 1980 Québec referendum (pp. 8–12). The ethnographic vignettes woven throughout the book do more than simply position the author with respect to her research subjects; they also enrich her portrayal of ethnolinguistic identity and global belonging. Das discusses how racist stereotypes about “Tamouls” as LTTE sympathizers, gangsters, and illegal immigrants have targeted both Sri Lankan and Indian Tamil groups. Such stereotypes, in turn, “irrevocably drive the ethnolinguistic and ethnonational differentiation of this diaspora” (p. 94). In a poignant part of the conclusion, Das details how her own experience of being mixed-race—she was referred to as the “Filipina woman” by Sri Lankan Tamils at a Catholic church in Ontario—enabled her to grasp the “discomfort of being included or Othered by other people’s narratives” (p. 207). This experience, she argues, is a crucial one for the ethnographer.

Linguistic Rivalries is an important addition to the literature on language ideologies and social differentiation in the context of migration and transnationalism. This book integrates the

scalar dimensions of language ideological processes with a focus on the relevance of historical nationalist projects to local linguistic practices and immigrant trajectories. It will be of particular interest to cultural and linguistic anthropologists and sociolinguists interested in language ideologies, education, diaspora, and immigration, as well as South Asian studies.

Ojibwe Discourse Markers. *Brendan Fairbanks.* Lincoln: University of Nebraska, 2016. xi + 206 pp.

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Brendan Fairbanks's *Ojibwe Discourse* is a multifunctional text that offers a significant contribution to existing academic literature and language learning resources on Anishinaabemowin. Fairbanks's text is useful for two audiences: academics and community language learners. Members of these groups certainly overlap, but language materials are often tailored to one group or the other. This text is well-written and organized to be accessible for both communities. This is no small feat to accomplish.

Drawing upon fieldwork with members of the Mille Lacs Band of Ojibwe, published materials written in Ojibwemowin, and an examination of cross-linguistic data, Fairbanks accomplishes two important tasks in his work. First, he successfully broadens the conceptualization and characterization of discourse markers to reflect findings from cross-linguistic data. Second, he identifies and characterizes several commonly used discourse markers of Ojibwemowin at the lexical and grammatical levels along with demonstrating how the conjunct order of inflection can function as a discourse marking device when elevated for significant work at the discourse level. There has been scarce discussion of Ojibwe discourse markers in the existing literature for language learners and scholars until this work; this text contributes to the literature with a greatly needed examination of Ojibwe that provides speakers and learners with a more nuanced understanding of Ojibwe discourse practices (pp. 173–174).

This book is divided into five parts beginning with an introduction to Ojibwemowin. The introduction is approachable, clear, and detailed for the linguistically minded and language learner alike. Fairbanks situates the need for Ojibwemowin research within the needs of the Mille Lacs and Ojibwe communities in Minnesota as they work to revitalize their endangered language. Fairbanks draws upon five years of fieldwork conducted with community members from the Mille Lacs community. Because of the small number of fluent speakers remaining in Minnesota, he also analyzes Ojibwemowin texts such as issues of the *Oshkaabewis Native Journal*.

Early in the text, Fairbanks does an excellent job of outlining and clearly articulating the complexities of how the language has been named by different communities and scholars across geography and time. The volume of different names and dialects often causes complications for learners when seeking out linguistic-oriented language materials. For language learners, issues of orthography and power dynamics between languages, dialects, and community differences can be especially challenging and even prevent interested individuals from accessing what linguistic information is available. Fairbanks does an excellent job of explaining the double vowel orthography in an accessible manner and provides a succinct explanation of the writing system employed in the text.

The second chapter engages the theoretical underpinnings of what Fairbanks terms “discourse markers,” the conceptualization of which varies considerably in the literature. The study of discourse markers emerged in the 1980s and is an area of focus that needs additional attention. Fairbanks expands the commonly employed characterization of discourse markers established by Deborah Schiffrin's study of English in her text *Discourse Markers* (Cambridge University Press, 1987). By analyzing the more recent discourse marker research from a cross-linguistic perspective, Fairbanks makes a compelling case to expand Schiffrin's definition and understanding. He successfully argues for the inclusion of morphological forms as discourse markers and the acknowledgment that entire inflectional systems may be used in discourse work. His expanded