

field ... open venues for experimental interventions in ethnography" (1).

For example, as Isaac Marrero-Guillamón discusses his ethnographic project with activists and artists protesting against the 2012 Olympics in London, he describes how his vision of himself as a detached researcher quickly shifted as he participated in his object of study, the transformation of a performance into an installation (179–181). Marrero-Guillamón notes how this transition in role and purview offered unexpected opportunities to defer to the artists' mode of knowing, "I became another 'intern' or 'assistant.' This allowed me to get a first insight into the dynamics of the work and labour involved in the project" (181). As a result, the anthropologist gleaned how "textual objects became at once spaces of collaboration (but not of co-writing), instances of fieldwork (rather than its culmination) and public platforms (rather than conceptual endeavours)" (186). In turn, the artists with whom Marrero-Guillamón worked became full-fledged epistemic counterparts rather than mere informants in the coproduction of public platforms that were not dictated by the ethnographer's preordained research design or his predetermined fieldwork outputs (186f.).

Another chapter by Karen Waltorp begins with an anecdote about a Danish journalist contacting her for expertise concerning whether young second-generation immigrant women pursuing higher education were "still victims of social control" (114). Rather than replying outright, Waltorp critically interrogates the term "social control" and its use in conversation with her interlocutors – young Muslim women, mostly second-generation immigrants (114). These exchanges took place in a WhatsApp group, on Facebook, via email, and over cell and landline phones. As a result, Waltorp explored the notion of social control in social interactions through which "digital technologies and platforms contributed in various ways ... both to what was communicated and how," presenting opportunities for particular interfaces of reciprocity and mutuality in fieldwork (115). In her discussion, Waltorp uses "interface" in a relational sense, "[m]y interlocutors' smartphones shaped, registered and impacted on what they communicated, 'did', and made through them and with them" (116). In this way, ideas about "agency, the relationality between human and non-human actors, and between interior worlds and the environment," became a focus of inquiry (116). Furthermore, Waltorp's conception of interface "is not restricted to the well-known graphical user interface between humans and computers alone, but also indicates critical points of intersection between lifeworlds, social fields, and moral and value systems, made possible in a specific way through digital technology" (117). In effect, a journalistic question about social control opened up a zone of encounter. Mutually agentive human and non-human actors engaged in social innovations and critical interventions that troubled commonsensical notions of "social control" – how it happens; who, if anyone, is "victimized" – by demonstrating that "the so-

cial" is a dynamic field of encounter, not a static entity that does anything *to* anyone.

"Experimental Collaborations" demonstrates the potential for anthropologists to be open to and engage in experimental collaborations that (arguably) occur in fieldwork more often than they appear to, whether they are documented or not. As a pedagogical text, this volume will be useful to graduate students in anthropology, particularly for methods classes, and other disciplines that employ ethnography. On the whole, the collection insightfully and productively furthers the notion of what collaboration can be, and how it is practiced, in fieldwork. Each chapter upends the mythology of the detached ethnographer and their authorial ownership over research design, but the examples and case studies do not have a visceral pull. The projects of experimental collaboration represented in this volume do not translate onto the page as well as they might. The volume's theoretical and empirical material does not excite or evoke so much as map and explain. Functional lexicon and pragmatic description too often substitute for collaborators' voices and vivid stories, suggesting that only by participating in the projects themselves can one truly understand and experience their vitality, a procedural tone that mutes the risks, vulnerabilities, and pulse, of experimental collaborations.

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**Farriss, Nancy:** *Tongues of Fire. Language and Evangelization in Colonial Mexico.* Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2018. 409 pp. ISBN 978-0-19-088410-9. Price: £ 64.00

Nancy Farriss's "*Tongues of Fire. Language and Evangelization in Colonial Mexico*" is an excellent introduction to the complex issues involved in the adoption in indigenous languages, especially Zapotec and Mixtec, in the Christianization of indigenous Oaxaca in the 16th and 17th centuries. Addressing its cultural, social, and linguistic aspects, the book does a good job of presenting a coherent view of the misunderstandings between Spanish mendicant friars; the challenges faced by Christian translators; the discursive strategies used to make Catholic doctrine intelligible and persuasive, as well as the diachronic development of Christian discourse genres. The book is divided into four parts, a total of eleven well-written, and readable chapters. Part I (chs. 1–3) addresses issues of language contact and language policy. It examines the use of nonlinguistic signs, such as gestures and images, as evangelization aids; the role of translators in the conquest and Christianization of Mesoamerica, including a thoughtful discussion of the sacrament of confession and the dilemmas it created for friars whose lack of linguistic proficiency in indigenous languages did not allow them to comply with strict Church regulations to grant absolution. It ends with an outline of the inconsistent, largely unsuccessful language policies implemented by the Spanish Crown. The author stresses the enormous diversity in Oto-

Manguean, the language family predominant in Oaxaca, and the difficulty the Spanish had in mastering these languages due to the large structural differences between them and the Indo-European and Semitic languages that Europeans were familiar with. Part II (chs. 4–5) discusses the strategies friars used to learn indigenous languages, including the role of Nahuatl as transitional language for new arrivals. It examines the use of writing, in particular the use of adaptations of the Latin alphabet to Zapotec and Mixtec. Following a description of the transition from native Mesoamerican writing systems based on logo-syllabic principles to the adoption of the Latin alphabet, Farriss considers the development of *artes* “pedagogical grammars” and dictionaries; the lexicographic models used by the friars; and outlines the content and organization of the most influential linguistic works on Zapotec and Mixtec. The pastoral literary traditions in both languages are described in accessible and nontechnical prose, stressing the challenges faced by the authors and the inherent ambiguities of these works. Farriss tackles the gap between norms and actual practice in indigenous language proficiency requirements, and Friars’ actual abilities to preach and confess in Zapotec and Mixtec. Part III (chs. 6–7) introduces the reader to indigenous catechists, their initial recruitment among native elites, and the role they played in the Christianization of indigenous Oaxaca. Also, it elucidates in some detail the problematic nature of authorship in colonial Christian texts in indigenous languages. Farriss describes the content of doctrines, the pedagogy of catechization, and the role that literacy played in it. She considers the cosmologies of Mesoamericans and Europeans, the prejudices of the latter and the confusion and violence that misunderstandings provoked. This section does an excellent job of comparing the content of doctrinal texts, from the more “optimistic” to the more Manichean in approach, contrasting discourse, lexical choices, and their sociopolitical implications. It ends with an interesting analysis of the Devil in Christian apologetics and in Spanish representations of indigenous deities. Part IV (chs. 8–10) addresses the conundrums of meaning and translation from Spanish/Latin into Zapotec/Mixtec, as well as the development of a Christian rhetoric in indigenous languages. Farriss starts with some general background on the role of translation in Christianity, followed by a discussion of Christian translation in Oaxaca as an unequal but collaborative project between Dominicans and indigenous converts. Although primary sources say very little about the actual implementation of this collaboration, Farriss does a good job outlining the issues. She elucidates the strategies of Christian translators to develop Zapotec/Mixtec words to refer to Catholic theological and ritual categories. The problem of equivalence between Spanish/Latin and Oto-Manguean languages is addressed through relevant texts implementing particular solutions, despite a fundamental incongruence and “lexical gaps” that were never satisfactorily resolved. Chapter 9 includes an excellent discussion of

Zapotec terms and idiomatic expressions referring to key theological categories, including “heaven,” “hell,” and “the Devil.” Farriss considers the chasm between desired meanings and the actual denotations and connotations of words and expressions. Friars were, of course, aware of the gap but, other than introduce occasional Spanish loanwords, they could not develop a satisfactory strategy to constrain and regiment meaning and connotation. Farriss’s discussion of the Trinity nicely brings these points home. Chapter 10 focuses on rhetoric and poetics, the appropriation of native poetics to create a persuasive Christian discourse. The book ends bringing the issues from colonial times into the present (ch. 11), and briefly addresses the influence of Christian discourse in contemporary ritual in indigenous languages.

“Tongues of Fire” is largely successful in what it sets out to accomplish, although I would have liked to see an explicit, precise theoretical articulation of text and culture to enable a terser analysis of the articulation of written texts, and their use in oral catechetical discourse. Farriss sometimes seems at a loss as to the actual role of textual artifacts in the reconfiguration of indigenous communicative practices. A discussion of the interrelationship between Christian language, non-Christian colonial ritual texts, and nonreligious discourse in general would have been helpful as well. Scholars of Christian language have recently stressed the need to understand the latter’s role in non-Christian discourse to do justice to the impact of Christianization on the languages and cultures of Mesoamerica (see W. Hanks, *Converting Words. Maya in the Age of the Cross*. Berkeley 2010). Finally, although Farriss cites numerous relevant secondary sources, a text-oriented discussion of the European antecedents of Christian discourse in the vast catechetical and apologetic literature available in 16th century Spain would have been useful to gain a terser understanding of the theological and ideological baggage that Dominicans and Franciscans took to Oaxaca, and its impact on the content, form, and use of catechetical texts (see J. C. Estenssoro Fuchs, *Del paganismo a la santidad. La incorporación de los indios del Perú al catolicismo, 1532–1750*. Lima 2003). But aside from these minor observations, “Tongues of Fire” will be an enduring contribution to the history of indigenous Christianity and indigenous languages.

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**Fleischer, Friederike:** *Soup, Love, and a Helping Hand. Social Relations and Support in Guangzhou, China*. New York: Berghahn Books, 2018. 178 pp. ISBN 978-1-78533-655-3. (*Asian Anthropology*, 8) Price: \$ 110.00

Friederike Fleischer provides a close ethnographic exploration of emerging forms of social support as evidenced in the vital Chinese metropolis of Guangzhou in 2006–7 and in 2010. The immediate and most apparent topic of the study is that of three domains through which her local interlocutors fashioned ties of current