

ly inhabit the spaces of ethics, morality, and other community-specific rationales for actions while resting on scientific methodology and institutions that prize objectivity and detachment from politics, religion, and culture" (2). The rest of the book centers on discovering how it is that sets of actors manage to accomplish this, so-called, promiscuity of logics, ethics, and meanings.

Chapter one focuses on the Inuit and the Inuit Circumpolar Council (ICC) as a center of climate change vernacular development and meaning-making. This chapter explores how climate change knowledge becomes tied to personal experience in the landscape as well as a subject of human and indigenous rights. What is striking about this chapter is the access; Callison has to interview both international leaders of the ICC and hunters in Alaska (and the links between these groups). Callison writes this chapter with a deft ethnographic hand, pointing to the diversity of experiences and knowledges within the Inuit community while simultaneously showcasing what is particular about the way Inuit peoples speak about climate change.

In chapter two (81–120) Callison investigates what she calls "near advocates," in this case, journalists who write about climate change research. Here Callison examines how journalists are called to be adjudicators of climate change research, a novel role for a journalist, and one which needs a high level of expertise and training. She points out that emerging modes of communication give rise to micro-tracking of "climate as a form of life" (118); and that in this emerging media-space journalists act as the trusted agents (sometimes successfully and sometimes not) for relaying degrees of risk and limits of knowledge to multiple publics.

Chapter three is about Evangelical participation in climate change meaning-making and Creation Care, and while I knew this chapter was going to peak my interest, I finally understood the extraordinary leap that Callison was making with her research when she asked, "What kind of issue is it [climate change] for those who are not drawn in by scientific evidence? What kind of language is left when science is not the primary tool for presenting the issue and its implications?" While this, essentially, is the question Callison poses to every social group in her book – here it has particularly poignancy. Somehow this chapter reveals both the fidelity to science that many of us engage in through our own social vernaculars; and also the wide, gaping hole left to be filled by other vernaculars that explain the physical world and humanity's role within it, while often mistrusting, and sometimes outright rejecting, scientific inquiry and findings.

Chapter four brings us delightfully abruptly back to climate scientists. We see here an investigation of the tension in the science community between advocacy and fidelity to objectivity as climate science becomes swept up in political debates and finger pointing. There is, for example, a wonderfully instructive exchange among a handful of scientists who identify Al Gore's "An Inconvenient Truth" and, subsequently, the Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change (IPCC) as "emotionalized" (177) – which not only reveals the tension between science, advo-

cacy, and policy – but also that which, within this particular vernacular, constitutes slander: emotionalized, indeed.

Chapter five is about CERES, self-identified as a "coalition of environmentalists and investors" (205). Again Callison refuses to shy away from the most challenging, broad-brush questions: "What's a business for? Can a corporation have a conscience?" (206); but by asking these questions within the ethnographic context of interested actors talking about climate change we get to see how the investors and environmentalists themselves formulate, resolve, and interact with these tensions.

Finally we arrive at the epilogue. Here Callison frames the work above as "speaking up for the facts" (244) a phrase derived from a 2013 speech of President Obama about a national climate change agenda. Callison reiterates that "speaking up for the facts" turns out to be a challenging lesson in epistemological differences.

This book is a marvel. It brings climate change research directly back into the folds of the anthropological tradition; and brings the anthropological tradition to the beating centers of climate change discourse. If you have never before had an interest in climate change, you will be spellbound by this ethnography. If you do have an interest in climate change, this book is essential.

Elizabeth Marino

**Casajus, Dominique:** *L'alphabet touareg. Histoire d'un vieil alphabet africain*. Paris: CNRS Éditions, 2015. 254 pp. ISBN 978-2-271-08339-5. Prix: € 25.00

In the central Sahara, supposedly illiterate Tuareg herders continue to write love letters and graffiti in an alphabet already used by Numidian kings two millennia ago – Tifinagh. To Berber activists thousands of kilometres away, in Paris or Algiers or Agadir, its geometric shapes symbolise an ancient heritage eclipsed by Arab and French conquests. In this engaging and surprisingly comprehensive book, Casajus examines the history of Tifinagh from its murky beginnings in the Classical Mediterranean to its unexpected rise to official status in Morocco, focussing especially on its daily usage among the only people to have maintained a continuous tradition of its usage, the Tuareg.

After a short introduction and a preamble outlining Europe's discovery of Tifinagh, the book opens with a discussion of the Libyco-Berber inscriptions of the pre-Islamic era. Their alphabet can largely be read phonetically, and the meanings of a certain number of common words are known, both thanks to a few bilingual inscriptions with Punic translations. The most important of these come from the Tunisian town of Dougga. Chapter 1 examines the Dougga bilinguals in detail and discusses some of the problems they raise; they are rather atypical not only in their bilingualism but in their length and their official character. The results confirm that their language was related to modern Berber, though not closely enough to help much with decipherment.

Chapter 2 examines the rest of the ancient corpus. Dougga itself furnishes another dozen or so similar monolingual inscriptions, probably from the early 2nd centu-

ry b.c. A large majority of the roughly one thousand inscriptions known come from northeastern Algeria and northwestern Tunisia. Almost all, unfortunately, are short, highly formulaic gravestones, giving a patronymic name followed by some combination of a tribal name, a title, and what may be a religious formula. For the rest of Algeria and Morocco, as well as the Canary Islands, no more than a hundred or so ancient Libyco-Berber inscriptions are known, including those published after Chabot. These more westerly inscriptions pose difficulties; some include letters unattested in the east. Nonetheless, they seem to represent a regional variant of the same alphabet, which Casajus considers slightly more similar to the contemporary Tuareg one.

The next section goes further back in time to address this script's origin. Chapter 3 re-marshalls the convincing arguments for Phoenician origin, contra proposals of independent development. Four signs are identical in form and sound to their Phoenician counterparts, while another five or so resemble them. The time and place of this transfer is debated; Casajus argues against the latest and earliest dates proposed, based on formal comparison with different stages of Phoenician. This leaves open the origin of the forms of the rest of the letters. Chapter 4 suggests that some of these were systematically created in order to express sounds absent from Phoenician by doubling similar-sounding existing letters. The principal argument against Phoenician origin is the "well before the 6th-century" date proposed by Gabriel Camps for an inscription in central Morocco; chap. 5 demolishes the arguments proposed for this dating.

Having examined the script of the Classical era, Casajus moves on to the writing system of today's Tuaregs. Variation in Tifinagh is rather extensive. Some is regional: in chap. 6, he cites five different local versions of the alphabet. Some is more personal: a writer is free to write in any direction, to separate or join words, to invent new ligatures, etc. Tifinagh texts (purely consonantal) turn out to be read in a rather unusual manner, which the author speculates might parallel ancient Near Eastern practice. First the letters are read one by one out loud, each followed by a placeholder vowel *ā*; only then does the reader deduce the intended word(s).

To understand how readers resolve the ambiguities of this script, it is necessary to examine its usage. Chapter 7 examines the most important use: letter-writing. In letters, the reader is aided by knowledge of the fixed formulae to expect. Less formulaic content may follow, but the recipient is normally familiar with the situation discussed. A stranger attempting to read a letter with no knowledge of this context finds it much harder to decipher – potentially a desirable feature. This makes it much harder to decipher the main other set of Tifinagh writings: graffiti, discussed in chap. 8. Fortunately, these too usually use formulae rather similar to those of letters, often followed by declarations of love. Where this template is abandoned, readers often come up with mutually incompatible readings. These inscriptions can rarely be dated; the few referring to known historical figures are from the 19th and 20th centuries.

Some Saharan graffiti, however – discussed in chap. 9 – include letters obsolete in modern Tifinagh, suggesting a greater age, yet distinct from Numidian. Among these, the modern opening formula "It is I" (WNK) is nowhere to be seen; rather, we find four common opening formulae, apparently all 1st person verbs. These too are difficult to date. On a priori grounds, Casajus suggests that the transformation from ancient Libyco-Berber to medieval Tifinagh probably happened when Islam reached North Africa, but this is only an informed guess. The chapter closes by recounting Tuaregs' own oral traditions about these early inscriptions' origin.

Chapter 10, finally, examines the unexpected rise of Neo-Tifinagh and the various efforts to reform Tuareg Tifinagh. The putative revival of Tifinagh in North Africa is largely due to the efforts of the Paris-based Kabyle "Académie Berbère" during the 1960s. Its alphabet drew on Tifinagh for many signs, but departed drastically from older traditions, calquing Latin transcription and inventing many new signs. Despite specialists' disdain, this alphabet enjoyed sufficient popularity for one version to become official in Morocco in 2002. Meanwhile, Tuareg intellectuals increasingly sought to add new foreign-inspired features to Tifinagh; Casajus discusses several attempts, one of which even created signs for the non-Tuareg French phonemes *p* and *v*! For the moment, these reformed Tifinagh remain little-known among ordinary Tuareg. However, in the "Epilogue," Casajus reminds us that, inauthentic as such attempts may seem, their eclectic character is very much in keeping with the manner in which Tifinagh and most other alphabets came into being in the first place.

I found this book an informative, entertaining, and well-referenced guide to Tifinagh and what is known about it. On the Numidian era, the book does a great job of summarising what can be known and of clearing away implausible claims that have found their way into scholarly discourse (although some implausible etymologies were unfortunately still reproduced). The discussion of modern Tuareg Tifinagh was vivid, making it clearer what reading and writing it actually entails and how this practice fits into a nomadic lifestyle. It would have been interesting, however, to have more detail on how it gets transmitted without any formal school system to rely on, and some important recent literature was not covered. Pre-modern Saharan Tifinagh inscriptions were also covered well, although the problem of language change received unduly short shrift. The coverage of Neo-Tifinagh was quite limited, but could hardly have been otherwise given the book's focus. This book is a worthy and readable addition to the none too extensive literature on Tifinagh.

Lameen Souag

**Desclaux, Alice, et Marc Egrot (dir.)** : Anthropologie du médicament au Sud. La pharmaceuticalisation à ses marges. Paris : L'Harmattan, 2015. 273 pp. ISBN 978-2-343-05253-3. Prix : € 29.00

La question du médicament dans les pays à ressources limitées a toujours été présentée comme un révélateur de la qualité de l'offre de soins du système de santé (B. Hours,