chista y futurista) de la existencia de un bloque homogéneo de "mundos relacionales y no dualistas" ("*relational and nondualist worlds*" – p. 69)? Es probable que la respuesta a estas cuestiones sólo pueda ser construida por medio de una etnografía que promueva, por lo menos, lo que Escobar llama "interepistemic conversation" (166). La más reciente etnografía amerindia sudamericana, por ejemplo, muestra escenarios que, más que resistencia u otras narrativas del tipo "David y Goliat", bien podrían describirse en términos de acomodo o abdicación interesados, como en el caso de los Cofán descritos por Michael Cepek o los Totobiegosode descritos por Lucas Bessire. En lo que respecta a las "lógicas comunales" mencionadas por Escobar, por ejemplo, su libro nos recuerda cuán útil sería acudir a la etnografía de, por ejemplo, las llamadas "comunidades campesinas" en los Andes para estudiar en detalle su concretización en el campo.

Tal no es, sin embargo, el objetivo explícito de este libro consagrado a un intento de "redefinir el diseño" (*redefinition of design*) desde una "atalaya ontológica" ("ontological vantage point" – p. 2) situada en Latinoamérica. El mismo Escobar se muestra por momentos escéptico de la relevancia o utilidad de este proyecto. No sólo reconoce la asociación del diseño con el consumismo y el extractivismo (62) y el predominio de blancos en su práctica (47); sino también su carácter intrínsecamente moderno: "Design … is about (preferred) futures. But it is not the notion of future, and even futures and the futural, inevitably modern?" (218). "[W]hy use the word *design* at all, especially for nonmodern contexts?" (213). Algo similar sucede cuando contrastamos el concepto de "diseño" con otros propuestos más o menos recientemente desde la antropología (como el de "composición" de Philippe Descola, el de "constitución mutua" tal como es usado por Tim Ingold). En efecto, ¿puede hablarse de "diseño" – sea de herramientas, interacciones, contextos o lenguajes (15) – sin postular una agencia (anterior) que, por la voluntad o intencionalidad que ésta implica, terminaría por sabotear la descripción detallada (y, por tanto, la crítica) de las estructuras de poder (y no sólo de los agentes externos) que enfrentan los pueblos amerindios hoy?

En tanto manifiesto – aunque sin el componente de "reconexión con el flujo de la vida" ("reconnect – with each other, with our bodies … the stream of life" – p. 100) –, este libro constituye un estado de la cuestión similar al también reciente "The Ontological Turn. An Anthropological Exposition" de Martin Holbraad y Morten Axel Pedersen (2017). Finalmente, a diferencia de éste y otros intentos, aquí Escobar intenta sopesar la posible contribución latinoamericana a estos debates contemporáneos – aunque sin cuestionar realmente la excepcionalidad implícita en el concepto de "humano": "us – humans" (26) –, haciendo, al mismo tiempo, un saludable hincapié en el paso a la acción: "we need to put one foot in a relational world … to practice what we preach" (103).

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Estalella, Adolfo, and **Tomás Sánchez Criado** (eds.): Experimental Collaborations. Ethnography through Fieldwork Devices. New York: Berghahn Books, 2018. 217 pp. ISBN 978-1-78533-853-3. (EASA Series, 34) Price: $ 110.00

This collection reflexively considers the practice of ethnographic fieldwork as it describes and theorizes a variety of ways through which to engage in experimental collaborations. In his foreword to the volume, George Marcus notes that, "collaboration is a 'grassroots' imaginary … the … value placed on collaboration almost everywhere has the potential of altering older habits and practices of achieving considerable mutual surprise and learning" (xi). Each chapter of "Experimental Collaborations" illustrates how material and social interventions coproduced with people typically labeled "informants" or "subjects" in anthropological parlance, lead to moments and spaces of epistemic innovation.

The editors Adolfo Estalella and Tomás Sánchez Criado query the inherent value of participant observation as a methodology that signals the paradoxical adoption of immediacy and distance in ethnographic fieldwork. This collection shows how experimental collaborations are situated and social processes of becoming. The chapters that comprise this volume serve as pedagogical tools for enacting fieldwork as emergent intervention. In this way, the collection resists privileging hierarchical detachment on the part of the ethnographer-observer or projects of public anthropology explicitly defined by the political aims of their subjects. Rather than motives or outcomes, this volume is concerned with detailing unplanned encounters and creative endeavors born out of human and nonhuman relationships constituted as and through mutual practice. Estalella and Sánchez Criado challenge contributors and readers to reflect on how ethnography inspires, integrates, and produces performances, interventions, and innovations that move beyond, even as they may include, textual analyses and outputs.

"Experimental Collaborations" is comprised of collaborative experiments between anthropologists and activists, artists, designers, public servants, and scientists, through which fieldwork itself becomes a "device" (15) of intervention with specific material and social forms – "a form of field intervention materializing and/or spatializing the ethnographic method" (17). In using the language of "device," the editors emphasize "the precarious, processual and creative nature of methods, its situated condition … and its performative character" (17). In each chapter, the anthropologists reflect on how they came to organize events, introduce interfaces, utilize friction, and manage rhythms (17). Thus, these accounts "present a vocabulary to illuminate the presence of fieldwork interventions that 'device' ethnographic venues for epistemic collaboration" (17). In their narratives, the ethnographers describe their projects in concrete, practical terms while theorizing how "interventions devised as forms of epistemic collaboration in the

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 social" 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 books 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-