of engaging discourses of peace is a noble and welcome one, but it is this volume's contribution to studies of war where the real intervention lies.

Political Oratory and Cartooning: Ethnography of Democratic Processes in Madagascar. *Jennifer Jackson*. Malden, MA: Wiley-Blackwell, 2013. pp. viii + 257 pp.

AURORA DONZELLI
Sarah Lawrence College
adonzelli@slc.edu

In this innovative ethnography of the public sphere in contemporary urban Madagascar, Jennifer Jackson explores the forms of collective political subjectivity, or "publics," emerging from the interplay of two distinct and yet profoundly connected discursive genres: political oratory (*kabary politika*) and cartooning (*kisarisary politika*). While the former received considerable previous ethnographic consideration (for example, work by Maurice Bloch, Lee Haring, and Elinor Ochs), little research has so far been done on the latter. Thus, besides offering a valuable historical and ethnographic insight into Madagascar's overlooked tradition of political cartooning, this book has the great merit of exploring the complex intertextual and multimodal dynamics between oratory and cartooning. Drawing on fieldwork undertaken during the first decade of the new millennium, at a time of major political transformations in Madagascar, Jackson documents how these two genres intersect with transnational global discourses. The relation between oratory and cartooning unfolds in a play of mimetic allusions, parodic criticism, and hidden references generative of hermeneutic acts through which collective political subjects emerge and become aware of their existence in the public sphere.

Over eight chapters, the book reveals a rich fabric of ethnographic data. Following a captivating Introduction and an accurate historical (Chapter 2) and structural (Chapters 3 and 4) exploration of both genres, the ethnographic core of the book (Chapters 5, 6, and 7) illustrates how, far from being apriori structures, collectivities and publics emerge as dynamic products of interdiscursive relations. Chapter 7 explores local metapragmatic debates concerning competing notions of transparency, truth, and indirectness and suggests that in order to understand democratic processes it is essential to look into metalinguistic talk, that is talk about talk. Finally, Chapter 8 contains a retrospective discussion of the book's ethnographic project by means of an engagement with the theories of the public sphere elaborated by Jürgen Habermas and Benedict Anderson.

Throughout the chapters, Jackson offers an engaging description of the relation between oratory and cartooning. Associated to an ancestral past and indexical of the state, political oratory is constitutive of a "normative sociopolitical moral order" (93): It is solemn, highly formulaic, stylistically allusive, and grammatically marked by a prominence of passive constructions. A different spirit animates political cartooning, which should "sting" (108) and open possibilities for change. The centripetal drive represented by oratory is thus systematically subverted and questioned by the centrifugal forces of cartooning. Endowed with an organically subversive coefficient, *kisarisary politika* speaks from the margins and shapes the contours of a polyphonic counter-discourse "against the homogenizing social imaginary typically put forth in *kabary* oratory" (105). Marked by a sense of belonging to a Malagasy community and pervaded by a nostalgic discourse of lost unity, the collective identity evoked and presumed by oratory appears distinct from the more cosmopolitan values embraced by cartoonists who tend to use primarily (but not exclusively) French as a means to strengthen their connection to "a global network of mostly US, French, and African political cartoonists" (97). Rather than being in simple opposition, oratory and cartooning engage a form of progressive symbiotic differentiation that is reminiscent of Bateson's notion of schizmogenesis. It is in the interstices generated by the interplay between centripetal locality and centrifugal cosmopolitanism and in the tensions between conservative nostalgia for a mythical past and emancipatory longing for the "not yet" that we can grasp the emergence of the contemporary Malagasy publics.

As we learn through the detailed account of precolonial, colonial, and postcolonial Madagascar contained in Chapter 2, oratory and cartooning originate from far-reaching processes.

While *kabary* is centered on the oral dimension of verbal performance and gestures toward traditional forms of *communitas*, political cartoons circulate through printed media. Political oratory dates back to the 18th century and was consolidated by the Merina kings who gradually managed to expand their authority from the central highlands to larger parts of Madagascar. The London Missionary Society (LMS), arrived on the island in 1818, and the reign of King Radama I (1819–1828) played a key role in forging a standard variety of Malagasy (*Malagasy ofisialy*). Through a process of enregisterment, this official language variety and *kabary politika*, which represents its most emblematic form, came "to embody the voice of the State" (84). Although more recent, the history of political cartooning is also intertwined with the processes of missionarization, language standardization, and state-formation: Contrary to the oral dimension of oratory, political cartoons in Malagasy and French emerged at the beginning of the last century and circulated through the diffusion of newspapers. Drawing on her experience as an apprentice, while enrolled in a *kabary* course in the capital city of Antananarivo and on her sustained acquaintance with a number of cartoonists, Jackson offers a thorough description of the main features of oratory and cartooning. In Chapter 3, *kabary* five constitutive parts (i.e., opening, apology, greetings, body of the message, and closing) are presented in a clear and exhaustive manner, while Chapter 4 charts out the most salient phases of cartooning's hundred-year practice, offering insights into the historical formation of its contemporary satirical stance. As we learn in this Chapter, though cartooning dates back to the pre-colonial newspaper sponsored by the LMS (*Teny Soa*), the political criticism underlying contemporary cartooning emerged later and originated from the anticolonial milieu of the 1960s and early 1970s. While not fully explored in the book, this historical shift and the alternative process of enregisterment through which earlier forms of missionary cartooning were reconfigured and associated to the critical voice of contemporary Malagasy politics could be a fascinating topic for further investigation.

Jackson's description of the formal properties of *kabary politika* develops into a reflection on the epistemological and aesthetic differences underlying North American and Malagasy views of political speechmaking. *Kabary* distinctively indirect style is aimed at sharing the speaker's line of reasoning, prompting the audience to think and reflect without imposing "one's own ideas of truth" (78). This local metapragmatic understanding of persuasion (*hanentana* or *handersy lahatra*) presupposes and constitutes a distinctive relation between verbal efficacy and what could be perhaps defined charisma (*hasina*), that is, the "capacity to affect the world through imperceptible means" (86). Contrary to classical Greco-Roman psychagogic and performative models, according to which the orator should win the audience's soul and bend the listeners' individual consciences to embrace a specific idea or perform a specific action, Malagasy notions of persuasion stem from the idea that the orator's "authority and the efficacy of his speech are thought to presuppose his *hasina*" (86). Though Jackson does not connect these findings with philosophies of language and the theories of power previously documented within the Austronesian ethnographic literature, her observations on Malagasy theories of charisma and persuasion resonate with the tendencies to bracketing individual will and intentions emerging from earlier ethnographic descriptions of Southeast Asian and Austronesian notions of power and speechmaking (for example, the work by Benedict Anderson, Alessandro Duranti, Shelly Errington, Clifford Geertz, Michelle Rosaldo, and Stanley Tambiah).

The beginning of the new millennium marked a phase of political turmoil for Madagascar. After over 25 years of President Didier Ratsiraka's rule, the 2001 national election saw the victory of Marc Ravalomanana, a self-made dairy tycoon with strong ties to the local protestant church and the North American political establishment and the owner of a newspaper and a national television channel. Far from being smooth, this political transition entailed a postelectoral crisis and a series of tensions culminated with Ravalomanana's dismissal through a military-backed coup in 2009. Chapters 5, 6, and 7 ethnographically engage these transformations by offering a compelling analysis of how the interdiscursive relation between oratory and cartooning entail stylistic, prosodic, grammatical, lexical, semantic, and metapragmatic aspects. Take the example of proverbs discussed in Chapter 5: While the deployment of proverbs in political speeches conveys an appeal to the ancestors' authority and constitutes a community-binding device through the conflation of past and present, the centrifugal faculty of cartooning challenges the authority and the temporal fixity of the proverbs, by decontextualizing their meaning. In a similar fashion, Ravalomanana's borrowing from the prosody of Christian sermonic tradition and his ample deployment of scriptural quotes to signal his Christian identity are beautifully contrasted with a cartoon parodying Ravalomanana's overuse of scriptural invocations. Such parodic commentaries reveal cartoonists' heightened metapragmatic awareness and their ability of exposing the speaker's rhetorical

moves. In this fashion, cartoons represent a sort of "metapragmatic litmus paper," capable of disclosing rhetorical tricks and tacit aspects of the local modes of existence.

An important part of Jackson's analysis deals with Ravalomanana's engagement with the growing popularity of an Americanized oratorical style, which is characterized by specific lexical choices (i.e., "challenge," "good governance," "vision," "clear road map"), instances of code-switching to English, and by the prominence of parataxis and agent-centered constructions. Chapter 6 shows how the influence of U.S. rhetorical style stretches far beyond the lexical level to encompass a morpho-syntactic shift from the prominence of passive constructions associated with the unmarked V-O-S word order to the more agentive style associated with marked S-V-O syntax. As Jackson carefully shows, the opposition between these two syntactic patterns does not only reflect the contrast between local and unmarked ways of speaking versus foreign, English-modeled, and self-centered oratorical styles, but is overlaid with additional meanings that crisscross local notions of class, race, and rank, all of which refer to the hierarchical structure of Malagasy society. Indeed, higher-ranking individuals have been stereotypically associated with passive voice constructions and V-O-S word order, while lower class individuals have been associated to S-V-O syntax and agent-centered constructions. Jackson's analysis is very thorough and has the merit of highlighting the important (at times overlooked) role that morpho-syntactic aspects play in enregistering semiotic connections between "ways of speaking" and "ways of being" (146).

Reverberating the semiotic turn that characterizes a large part of contemporary linguistic anthropological scholarship, Jackson's main analytical object moves away from individuals' moral experience and life-world to engage the complex semiotic landscape made by multiple modalities, registers, and codes that constitute political oratory and cartooning. Her book offers an important contribution for enhancing the understanding of the complex relation existing between orality and literacy, verbal performance and the printed page.

Communicating beyond Language: Everyday Encounters with Diversity. *Betsy Rymes*. New York: Routledge, 2014. ix + 130 pp.

ERIKA HOFFMANN-DILLOWAY
Oberlin College
erhoffma@oberlin.edu

Many of us who teach courses introducing undergraduates to linguistic anthropology enjoy the process of helping students question beliefs about language they may have previously taken for granted. One such assumption commonly critiqued in our classrooms is what Betsy Rymes, in the volume under review, terms "the linguistic monolith" framework: the notion that languages are discrete, internally homogenous, and map on to likewise discrete and homogeneous communities of speakers (17). However, while disrupting this framework is central to much work in linguistic anthropology, my students and I have noticed that in class discussions we often slip into referring to "the language" (or, for example, "Nepali") in ways that undermine the more complex understanding of linguistic practices we are working toward. They have also noticed that the books and articles we read likewise frequently use terms to describe linguistic processes that suggest static objects, even when this implication is clearly contrary to the author's explicit arguments. In class discussions we have increasingly challenged one another to avoid this type of shorthand in our discussions, though the tortured language we've occasionally produced in so doing has been a source of both humor and frustration. Consequently, after I received this book, which is primarily concerned with promoting a linguistic repertoire concept as an alternative to a linguistic monolith framework, I contacted my most recent batches of students from introductory classes and asked if they would like to look at a few chapters and weigh in for the review. Their responses echoed my assessment that this book articulates its arguments in terms consistent with its guiding theories, while remaining an accessible read that will engage students in introductory courses.

As Rymes notes, the concept of "linguistic repertoires" is not new (e.g., "Language," John Gumperz, *Biennial Review of Anthropology*, 1965:84-120) but has been receiving renewed attention in recent scholarship (e.g., "Language, Asylum, and the National Order," Jan Blommaert, *Working Papers in Urban Languages and Literacies*, 2008:50). While many introductory texts to