

ideological work done by missionaries among the Haida will find evidence of it interspersed in the pages of Tomalin's book. Scholars looking for analysis of missionary linguistic ideologies will not. Nevertheless, Tomalin's contributions to scholarly understandings of missionary and concomitant anthropological analyses of Pacific Northwest indigenous languages during the formative years of the discipline are many.

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Embodied Interaction: Language and Body in the Material World. Jürgen Streeck, Charles Goodwin, and Curtis D. LeBaron (eds.). New York: Cambridge University Press, 2011. xiii, 308 pp.

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If you still haven't appreciated that interaction draws on "diverse linguistic, material, and embodied resources" (p. 12), and that such "multimodal" entanglements give the lie, yet again, to the view of language as a self-contained system for expressing meaning, then here are 21 more reasons for you. A sprawling collection of studies, many fascinating, *Embodied Interaction* features research on events as diverse as auctions, flight deck interactions, string quartet rehearsals, and routines by which parents get their kids to brush their teeth.

The coeditors start with a scene that is, literally, instructive. A senior archaeologist Ann crouches over to help a student Sue "see" an archaeological feature that is barely visible to the untrained eye. Their verbal exchanges sound halting and dysfluent, and by themselves would be judged denotationally deficient, even ungrammatical. But if you set their speech within the dense mesh of signs in which it naturally occurs, if you consider, for example, Ann's pointed finger and the reciprocal tracing movement that Sue makes in the dirt with her trowel, then there is no deficiency. To explain the fluent manner in which the scene unfolds, we must appreciate how "multiple participants build action together in the midst of situated interaction, typically by using different kinds of semiotic resources that mutually elaborate each other" (p. 3).

A spate of "multimodal" studies of late has offered similar lessons. After all, coeditor Charles Goodwin has been arguing this for years, and *Embodied Interaction* echoes sentiments expressed some sixty years ago at the "Paralinguistics and Kinesics" conference held at Indiana University in Bloomington. The book's aims may not be new, but the slow pace with which students of language have appreciated multimodality and embodiment make the volume's message fresh, and vital.

What strikes you first about *Embodied Interaction* is that its intellectual heft is matched by its brute physicality. Available only in hardback, it measures around 8.5×11 " and weighs over 2 lbs. A material pun on the book's "matter"? Or was it just that the oversized format was a cost-effective way to accommodate 21 chapters while making the volume look lean? One benefit is that contributors enjoy a canvas big enough to fit transcripts and illustrations without having them look cramped. Some exploit the generous page size, but most don't. Cambridge University Press probably should have opted for a normal-sized text and then added web-based audiovisual material or a companion DVD. A consequence of the book's heft is that it looks and feels like a "textbook" or perhaps a "handbook." It is neither of these, of course, but without the scaffolding of a textbook or handbook, and faced with so many contributions, it is hard for the work to achieve cross-chapter integration. Patches of cohesion do exist, but, as a whole, the work frays into its individual contributions and reads more like a conference proceedings. The volume is, in a word, exploratory.

The 21 chapters fall into three major sections: "Founding Capacities," "Transformational Ecologies," and "Professional Communities." "Founding Capacities" marvels at the very fact of multimodality, demonstrating "how phenomena participants construct within interaction . . . are built through the use of diverse linguistic, material, and embodied resources" (p. 12). The section includes several stimulating chapters. "Choreographies of attention" (Tulbert and Goodwin), for example, examines how parents in Los Angeles use resources such as directives and bodily alignment to get their kids to brush their teeth. Aoki scrutinizes the pragmatics

of speaker head-nods (i.e., nodding by speakers during utterance production) in Japanese conversation. Streeck offers a fascinating chapter on a business negotiation between two German entrepreneurs, who incorporate and invest with meaning “found things”—such as an aluminum bag from a competitor’s cookie box, which they both handle and manipulate as they talk.

“Transformational Ecologies” explores adaptive multimodal responses to the communicative difficulties caused by impairments and disorders. How do struggling adult L2 speakers use gestures to aid speech production, for example (Gullberg)? How are “graphic resources” such as inscription with a pen or finger exploited by those with communicative disorders (Wilkinson et al.)? How is it possible that blind interactants achieve movement synchrony in focused conversations—adjusting their bodies so that each does what the other just did—without the aid of visual cues (Avital and Streeck)? How does a person with aphasia possessed of only a three-word vocabulary insinuate himself into a multiparty conversation (C. Goodwin)?

“Professional Communities” draws us into institutional sites of multimodal practice—hospitals, clinics, auction houses, photography studios. Mondada’s chapter, for instance, details how different streams of action in a busy operating room run parallel and converge during a surgical procedure. Murphy analyzes multimodal narratives told by professional architects. These are unrealistic stories that project how future users would experience a building or architectural feature, and are used to argue for or against designs. Haviland closes out the section, and book, with a deft comparison of three sites of joint musical action: two university-based “master classes”—one a string quartet rehearsal, the other a jazz combo—and, drawing on a context he knows well, ritual music in a Mayan Indian community in Mexico. In each we appreciate how an astonishingly diverse array of semiotic resources are drawn together and coordinated, thus ending the book, fittingly, on a virtuosic multimodal note.

Embodied Interaction is best mined for its chapters and not read, or taught, as a whole. Readers should not expect dialogues or syntheses across the chapters. Consider the problematic of “cross-modal integration.” Hutchins and Nomura, for instance, rightly ask what it means to say that distinct semiotic resources “mutually elaborate each other” (p. 3) and distinguish two primary types of integration, “semantic” and “temporal.” In his conceptually sharp and sweeping chapter, Enfield argues that we shift our attention from the seemingly integrated quality of multimodal signs to the interpretive labor that hearers do to *make* these signs cohere (see Enfield’s *The Anatomy of Meaning: Speech, Gesture, and Composite Utterances*, Cambridge University Press, 2009; for reflections on crossmodal integration, see my review article, “Where the Action Isn’t,” *Language in Society*, 2012, 41[2]:259–266.) Viewpoints such as these are aired in separate chapters but not compared or debated. Again, the volume is content to give authors room to run, even if they sometimes steer us in different directions.

Embodied Interaction is most cohesive when we consider the approach of its contributors. The introduction is expansive, in the sense that it fans out and pays deference to everyone from Mead, Vygotsky, Bakhtin, and Bateson to the later Wittgenstein, Heidegger and Bourdieu, but most of the chapters end up drawing heavily on Conversation Analysis (CA). CA has been among the more industrious in terms of research on crossmodal interaction, but this orientation limits the book’s utility for anthropology.

CA delimits the scale and scope of “interaction” in ways that obscure its sociocultural entanglements. This becomes particularly evident in the “professional communities” section. In their chapter on “gesture and institutional interaction” in the auction house, Heath and Luff seem to treat this setting as if it were neatly circumscribed and internally cohesive—a specialized workplace “culture,” as it were. How do auctioneers do their job of inviting bids and escalating prices before a throng of hungry bidders? What peculiarities of cospeech gesture occur in this environment? In addressing these questions, the authors do not venture beyond the official normativities of the workplace, normativities they reconstruct, we presume, with the aid of metadiscursive data (such as reportable oughts and oughtn’ts culled from interviews; comments about auctioneering made on the fly by participants; prescriptive “rules” disseminated in printed materials, etc.). The chapter reads like a “how-to” guide to interaction that may be necessary but is not sufficient to understand the reach of institutional discourse. Institutional sites are typically more like crossroads or nexuses in which different and often competing institutional normativities converge; interaction in such “settings,” bounded though they may seem, cannot be fully understood without teasing apart these entanglements. Consider, by contrast, Carr’s *Scripting Addiction: The Politics of Therapeutic Talk and American Sobriety* (Princeton University Press, 2011), which demonstrates that we cannot understand therapeutic talk solely by creating an inventory of all that distinguishes it from “ordinary” discursive interac-

tion. The practice that clients call “flipping the script” (“formally replicating prescribed ways of speaking about themselves and their problems without investing in the *content* of those scripts” [Carr 2011:3]) would remain mysterious, were it not for the fact that access to material resources depends on a client’s ability and willingness to adopt the therapeutic register. This practice reveals that this isn’t a unitary setting—nor is the auction house, hospital, or clinic—but a site of institutional conjuncture. Which is only to say, in closing, that we should read *Embodied Interaction*, not because it shows us what anthropological approaches to multimodality will become, but because it offers serious, and often successful, forays into a terrain that is still, sadly, a frontier for our field.

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Discipline and Debate: The Language of Violence in a Tibetan Buddhist Monastery. *Michael Lempert*. Berkeley, Los Angeles, London: University of California Press. 2012. xxii + 216 pp.

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Monographs focused on Tibet and Tibetan Buddhism usually veer to one of two extremes. They are either heavily textual and philological studies, or eschew texts almost completely to focus on the oral, be it in Himalayan villages or in exile Tibetan settlements. Studies that successfully navigate the mean are scarce and anthropological works amongst them scarcer still. Lempert’s study of monastic debate and discipline in exile navigates this mean exquisitely.

The book is about the delicate crafting of certain aspects of interactional texts into interdiscursivities—in particular, a set of similarities between aspects of interactional texts read off certain exile Tibetan discursive interactions on the one hand, and particular fractions of the modern liberal subject on the other. Fragile, fleeting and contestable, these interdiscursivities are not—not yet, perhaps—fully fledged, socially extant intertextualities. His focus is especially on monastic interactions of debate and public reprimand, together with interactions involving corporal punishment. The common thread is the manifestation of certain idioms of violence, especially a type of anger that he glosses as “dissimulated, histrionic anger—a virtuous anger, anger motivated by compassion” (p. 5). The book looks at how such “idioms of violence inscribed in the design of these rites of socialization help produce educated, moral persons but in ways that trouble Tibetans who aspire to modernity” (p. 5). For while these interactions are face-to-face amongst exile Tibetan monks, there is forever an imagination of their being caught up in much more far-flung conversations. Key to these imaginings of wider context of exilic face-to-face interactions is what Lempert terms the super-addressee of the “West,” an imagined addressee whose support is desired by exile Tibetans, given their dependence on foreign financial and political support. How may one garner the support of an addressee? One strategy is to garner the latter’s sympathy, a term that Lempert uses with a focus on its “old mimetic, instrumental meaning” (p. 15): Evincing a similarity with one’s addressee may elicit the latter’s sympathy. This, however, involves the prior semi-otic problem of how to persuasively communicate one’s similarity. And this is where the interdiscursivities across exilic subjectivities materialized in monastic interactions, and the modern liberal subject or fractions thereof, come into play. If monastic interactions can be seen as materializing subjects bearing similarities to the modern liberal subject associated with Western Enlightenment, then the “West” just might support the cause of exile Tibetans. Such interdiscursivities are, of course, constructed beyond the perimeter of these discursive interactions themselves, and it is these constructions and connections that Lempert delineates, focusing on the speeches of the Dalai Lama over the decades since 1959 when he and many Tibetans first came into exile, on exile political discourse, and on debates over monasticism and education in exile. He thus discusses interaction and the scales on and via which it comes to be meaningful.

The book is based on fieldwork conducted at Sera Mey monastery in an exile Tibetan settlement in southern India. He counterposes his study there with data on comparable interactions from the more “self-consciously modernized Institute of Buddhist Dialectics,” in north-