

formed from *wala* + *heg*, meaning "rock cliff" + "under." Nothing hints that the place so named is a historically significant cliff overhang in the Sulu *do:mo:*, just to the side of the place where Sulu *sa-wel*, the Sulu waterfall ledge, has its junction with the Sago river. But in fact many stories go with the name, at least for members of Bono: who know that the bones of some of their relatives are scattered under the cliff there. When I went to photograph the Sulu waterfall—one of the most spectacular on Bolekini's lands—Deina and Hasele took me up to Walaheg. There they told me of the times when bones of Bono: dead were deposited in rock cliffs like this one so that pigs and dogs could not get to them. And our co-presence at the site brought out other contextualizing stories, like ones about the time when Bono: lived at a longhouse site named Diwailo, and how between that time and the time they moved to Balasawel (recounted backward by longhouse names from the present ones), bones were deposited at Walaheg. This was Hasele's way of placing a space-time, explaining that we might be looking at the remains of his father's father, a man named Gulabia, as well as of Gulubia's peers, perhaps Tulunei, Hewabi, Sowiya, Kogowa:, Diba:, and Mayowa.

Some placenames have etymological structures hinting that a referential dimension or story of significance might be attached to them, but then further examination indicates that they are largely transparent. A creek called Haidokini could certainly refer to a place downstream (*-keini*) la significance to that. And Momayo turns out to be just a creek name, *ba mudale*, "for no reason," with no referential or associative linkage to a place where *mona* flowers are found. Stories or significances might have been associated with these names in the past but have now been lost. Similarly, names referentially formed as PN + *di ko:io:*, signifying PN + "made" + anaphora, can mean a "place of X's making" or a "place where X was made." But questioning the possibility for stories in three or four terms of this type evoked shrugged shoulders more often than not.

The obvious point here is that place significance neither starts nor ends with the linguistic referentiality of placenames. The experiential core of names and naming practices is irreducible to the linguistic structure of toponyms or to the range of modifiers or grammatical markers that can attach to them. While some terms might seem to mark publicly accessible meanings, even those meanings are in no way predictably fixed, not to mention evenly or broadly shared. Whether once held or long held, storied meanings can be equally packed into any name. That is, every place and placename, regardless of linguistic formation and markedness, can and does peg some sort of story for someone, and a broad spectrum of possibilities surrounds the extent to which those

stories are shared, significant, meaningful, or memorable through time for particular individuals or social groups. The meanings of these stories far overshadow whatever meanings may be directly linked to the lexical semantics of the "PN + ____" structure and its overt content. While it might be possible to suggest something of a hierarchy of placename types, say in terms of the amount of affect loading they could potentially carry—longhouse site names, garden and sago site names, main creeks crossed leading to and from these three kinds of sites, places marking important connections to relatives and friends—in fact there is considerable variation in how names hold and unleash significance. Ultimately, it is processes of experienced activity, including the activity of talk, rather than linguistic structure, physical type, or function, that invests places with memorable depths, laminating living to language.

The semantics of placenames and their attachable descriptive modifiers are thus much more referentially indeterminate than are other nominal lexical domains. Because they are fundamental to the description and expression of experiential realities, these names are deeply linked to the embodied sensation of places. Yet over and beyond reference, placenames and their modifiers are central to implementing sensation through the ways in which verbal invocation brings place into heightened conceptual presence, whether or not a place named is simultaneously experienced in physical proximity. Naming strengthens the naturalness of place, the tacitness of its sensately felt dimensions in thought and action. In the language of Heidegger: "The naming calls. Calling brings close what it calls. . . . Thus it brings the presence of what was previously uncalled into a nearness. . . . But even so the call does not wrest what it calls away from the remoteness, in which it is kept by the calling there. The calling calls into itself and therefore always here and there—here into presence, there into absence" (1971:198–99).

Kaluli naming and storying are highly salient and sociable everyday practices, forms of social participation thoroughly related to other everyday practices such as traveling, working, and visiting. Social identities, indeed, all imagination of relatedness, are enacted in Bosavi through the coordination of talk, work, stories, and other everyday activities, activities that give both sedimented and emergent structure and feeling to the sense of sharing and belonging. Experiential layerings from one's birth-place to other places lived and traveled actively map place into identity, conjoining temporal motion and spatial projection, reinscribing past in present, creating biography as itinerary.

SINGING PATHS OF FLOW: THE POETIC INTENSIFICATION OF PLACE MEMORIES

Writing about place-naming practices among the Foi, neighbors of the Kaluli along Lake Kutubu, forty-five kilometers northeast of Bosavi, James Weiner urges that “language and place are a unity. The manner in which human action and purposive appropriation inscribes itself upon the earth is an iconography of human intentions. Its mirror image is speech itself, which in the act of naming, memorializes these intentions, makes of them a history-in-dialogue” (1991:50). The thorough naturalness of those memorialized intentions likewise grounds a Kaluli poetics of place. This is essentially to argue that the experiential dimensions we call “mundane” and “aesthetic” are mutually interdependent, that they always involve reframings and emergent sensations. The poetic is an emergent figure that reframes an everyday ground, both strengthening that ground and contributing to its solidity and fluidity. Likewise, the everyday ground stands ready to be reframed, to take on new heights or depths, to evoke more than to signify, to move more forcefully into the realm of feeling and sensation. This figure-and-ground is the central motion of Kaluli song poetics, and the transformation from speaking names to singing them thoroughly heightens the sensuousness of their evocation.

The aesthetic power and pleasure of Kaluli songs emerges in good part through their textual poesis of placename paths. Composed and performed by guests in ritual contexts to evoke tears from their hosts over memories of persons and places left behind, these songs can also be sung during work, leisure, and everyday activities by women and men as they move through and pass time in forest locales. In both ritual and everyday contexts, the songs are always reflective and contemplative, qualities enhanced in each instance by construction of a poetic cartography whose paradigmatic parallelism of path making and naming reveals how places are laminated to memories, biographies, and feelings. To indicate some of the cartographies imagined and realized in Kaluli poetics and song performance practices, I provide a brief account of the three songs sung by Ulahi of Bolekini at the nearby Wo:lu creek that are recorded on the “Relaxing at the Creek” segment of *Voices of the Rainforest*, a compact disk and audiocassette soundscape recording of a day in the life of a Kaluli community (Feld 1991).

WATERFALLS OF SONG

Ulahi's three songs are all short versions of the most important Kaluli song genres, *gisalo*, *ko:luaba*, and *heyala*. These three genres are melodically,

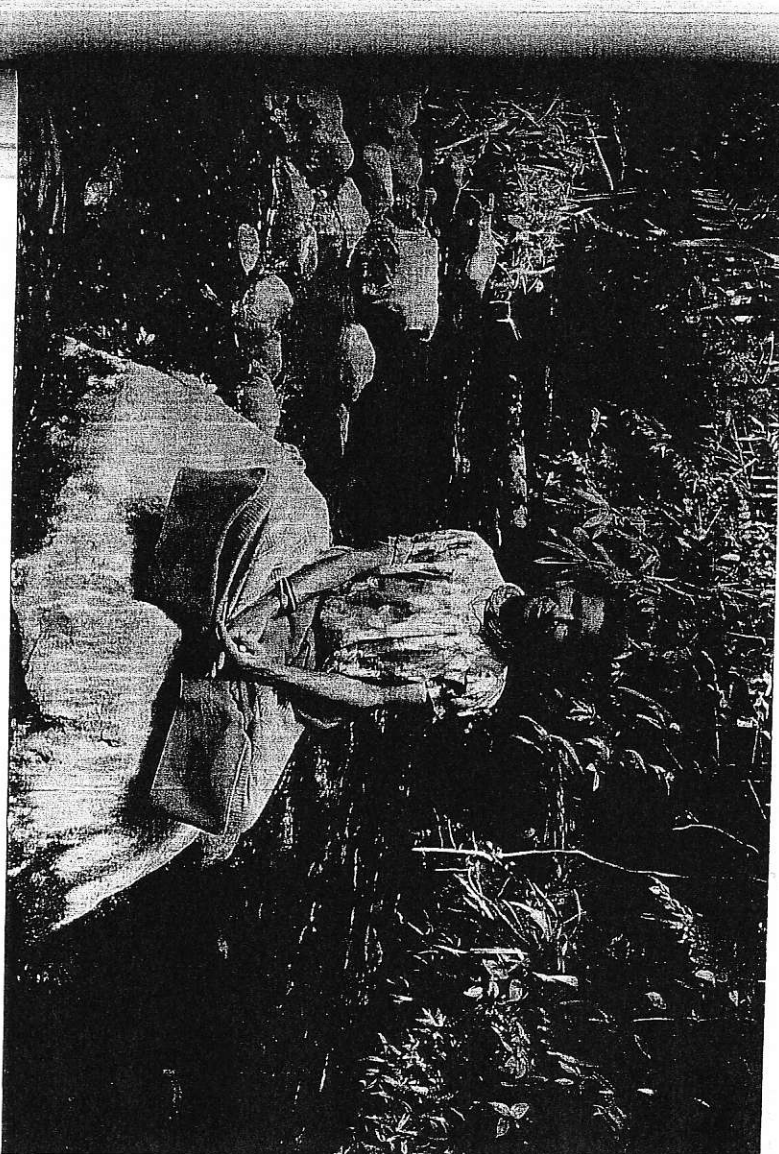


Figure 3.1. Ulahi sings at the Wo:lu creek. Photograph © Steven Feld.

structurally, and historically distinct, but their poetic strategies share the four Kaluli conventional textual and narrative practices called *sa-salan*, “inside speaking,” *bale to*, “turned-over words,” *go:mo to*, “sound words,” and *tok*, “paths.” *Sa-salan*, “inside speaking,” involves strategies for reframing ordinary discourse so that it can implicate only contexts and situations of sadness, loss, and abandonment. *Bale to*, “turned over words,” compliments *sa-salan* through techniques of metaphor, allegory, and obfuscatory veiling. *Go:mo to*, “sound words,” involves a broad range of phonesthemes, of sonic ideophones. And *tok*, “paths,” involves narrativizing the space-time of song as a journey through a progression of named lands and waters, linking quotative and affective imagery with a specific set of places (on Kaluli poetics, see Feld 1990:130–62; on Kaluli ceremonial and song performance genres, see E. L. Schieffelin 1976:225–29).

Ulahi's *gisalo* song follows the five-part structure typical of the genre. The song begins with a section called the *mo*-, or “trunk,” and *ralun*, or

C	0-0	(waterfalling, sounding outward from source)
e-	Kida:n-sagu "A.bo:lo:-"	(waterfalling, reverberating back to source)
	Kida:n-sagu "A.bo:lo:-"	Kida:n waterfall (calling out) "A.bo:lo:" [pig name]
D		Kida:n waterfall (calling out) "A.bo:lo:"
	ni ka: we:la:ligo:lo:	I keep calling out for my pig
	Kida:n-be:we:la:ligo:lo:	keep calling out where the Kida:n creek dips
E1	"Gayo" we:la:ligo:lo:-e	keep calling out "Gayo" [pig name]
	ne dogo misiyu: neta-ba:ba:no:-	I want to see the hilltop
	A:ba:lebo: neta-ba:ba:no:-	hilltop over the head of A:ba: creek
	A:ba:leba:ba:le kosa douabi(ke)	I came to see the lone black palm swaying above
e-	ba:ba:-miyo:wo	A:ba:leba
		(reverberant sound coming back)
D		
	ni ka: we:la:ligo:lo:-	I keep calling out for my pig
	Kida:n-be:we:la:ligo:lo:-	keep calling out where the Kida:n creek sinks
"Gayo"	we:la:ligo:lo:-e	keep calling out "Gayo"
E2		
	dogo misiyu: neta-ba:ba:no:-	I want to see the hilltop
	So:lo:-sana:lo:- neta-ba:ba:no:-	I want to see So:lo: waterfall ledge
	waya kosa douabi(ke) ba:ba:-	I came to see the lone swaying palm
miyo:wo		
D		
	ni ka: we:la:ligo:lo:-	I keep calling out for my pig
	Kida:n-be:we:la:ligo:lo:-	keep calling out where the Kida:n dips
"Gayo"	we:la:ligo:lo:-e	keep calling out "Gayo"
E3		
	ku:nno: neta-ba:ba:no:-	I want to see the creek valley
	Yagifo: neta-ba:ba:no:-	I want to see Yagif
	akol kosa douabi(ke) ba:ba:-	I came to see the lone <i>akol</i> spirit tree
miyo:wo		
F		
	gulu:n-lebe	(continuous waterfalling sounds) "gulu:n"
	So:lo:-sana:lebele	So:lo: waterfall ledge (surges, sounding) "fo-"
	gulu:n-lebe	(continuous waterfalling sounds) "gulu:n"
So:lo:	sana:lebele	So:lo: waterfall ledge (surges sounding) "fo-"
G		
	mo fuwa:n-ibo	water (continuous spray sounds) "fuwa:n"
	Kida:n-sana:lefuwa:n-ibe	sounding "fu:wa:n" off Kida:n waterfall ledge
	mo fuwa:n-ibo	water (continuous spray sounds) "fuwa:n"
	Kida:n-sana:lefuwa:n-ibe	sounding "fu:wa:n" spraying at Kida:n-sana:le
H		
		(sound of waterfall droning out and on)

Mo: + TALUN

In each A segment of the *mo:* + *talun*, the first word, *seyago*, announces the presence of a *seyak* or *segeton* bird, the Hooded butcherbird, *Cracticus cassicus*. This is a highly social bird of village edges whose presence is constant in Bosavi and whose loud, melodious, multipart calls are heard throughout the early morning and late afternoon. Beginning by singing this bird's name invokes its presence; the song's words are thus understood as "bird sound words" or *o:ba: go:no: to*, framing what follows as voiced from a bird's point of view. While this reference is direct and obvious here, it later alternates between background and foreground, when the poetics switch from narratively positioning the song as a bird's voice to positioning it as a text about a bird, a story of a spirit presence.

The bird's initial place image is Wa:feyo:-*sana*. In Ulahi's home region in eastern Bosavi, *sana* is the Ologo dialect variant of the word *da:mo:*, so Wa:feyo: *sana* is a hillside above the Wa:feyo: waterpool on the Wo:lu creek. Lines about staying in a *seleg* tree, calling from a *kidaf* tree, and calling from a *we:b* tree embellish the depth of Wa:feyo: *sana*, creating a sense of space and movement there. These lines simultaneously mystify the listener and draw his or her attention and anticipation by using Ologo variants for trees more commonly known in the local Kaluli dialect as *sal*, *uf*, and *haido*. The cumulative images of two lone hardwood trees standing on a hill that has been cleared above Wo:lu creek and, across the way, one palm left to stand alone while a garden area is cut around it together triangulate ridge, hill, and garden around a creek's bends. The lines simultaneously give a sense of space, movement, area, volume, depth, and the connectedness of places, suggesting ways lives and stories might be written onto the lands there. Places a bird can go and places it calls from are all markers of human living, motion, centering, and leaving.

The B segments of the *mo:* + *talun* begin with the kin term "brother" + *ni:lo: siyo:makaka:mi*, which means "I didn't say anything back to provoke or anger you." This is a stock poetic phrase. It implies a self-righteous sense of innocence, as if to say, "I didn't start or fuel your anger." The sense is that it suits the other party to be unjustly angry and unwilling to bury that anger. Kaluli usually paraphrase this line as, "You said something to me but I didn't say anything back to you." Or, "I'm thinking that I didn't say anything to you but you're just cross (*ku:lu:geyb*) with me." The phrase is meant to intensify the feeling states central to song as evocation: states of loss, abandonment, or feeling sorrow, particularly that caused by unjust refusal, anger, or agitation. The use of the pure vocalic sound "o" for a whole poetic and melodic line following this initial phrase serves as a connective, an evocative sigh, a calling out. This both transforms the words to more purely vocal "bird sound words" and

also creates contemplative time and space for the listener, with the effect of underlining the words that were just said, making them reverberate in memory.

The following three lines link the Wa:feyo: hill to the same named waterpool, Wa:feyo: *mogan* (for the Kaluli term *mogan*, Ulahi uses the Ologo dialect variant *gola*, from the swirling sound ideophone *golo* or *gololo*). *Wo:fun* is a kind of weedy, scrubby tree growing to a height of just a few feet alongside the creek at its pool. *Wo:funa: dok* indicates the point just over the top of these dwarf creekside trees. The bird says that it is coming to stay at the waterpool below the hill, coming to stay in these short-tree leaves by the creekside. But this is not a place where a bird can really stay, and so this is instantly a pathetic image, that of a bird who can't find a home, a bird lost in the lower depths of a watercourse rather than homing in the treetops above. Following on the previous image, where a bird cannot stay with its angry brother, these lines make it clear that the bird has no home.

In the boldface alternations of the B verse phrases (B1, B2, and B3), there are three kinds of progressive changes. First, there is a change in the initial word of the phrase, the opening kin/relationship term, from *awo:*, "brother," to *ada:*, "older sister/younger brother," and then back to *awo:*. This progression marks a switch to, and then a return from, an intensified form. *Ada:*, a reciprocal relationship term for older sister and younger brother, invokes begging and appeal, carrying the sense that one is calling out sadly; the one called to should feel a deep sense of obligation to respond. Use of this term implies strategic provocation, expectation of action. The switch back to *awo:*, "brother," implies that this expectation has not been met, that calling for *ada:* didn't get any response, didn't bring the sister any closer to comfort or recognition (on *ada:*; see B. B. Schieffelin 1990:112–35; Feld 1990:24–27).

Second, there is a progression from Wa:feyo: *mogan* to two other waterpools farther down the Wo:lu creek, Diyo:so *gola* (= *mogan*) in B2, and Elade *gola* (= *mogan*) in B3. This progression takes the song along a watercourse that moves out of the living area of Bolekini village. There are a number of waterpools in the Wo:lu creek, but citing these three is particularly effective. Wa:feyo: *mogan* is right beneath the hill where the bird starts out. Diyo:so *mogan* is the last pool of the Wo:lu directly below houses where Bolekini people live. And Elade *mogan* is right above the place on the Wo:lu where it is crossed by the big government track, clearly signifying the crossroads to lands beyond.

Finally, corresponding to these changes in kin/relationship and watercourse terms, there is a progression from the image of the creekside leaves (*wo:fun*) at the waterpool to the image of a tiny scaly fish there

(*ka:la:n* is another Ologo dialect variant, for a fish similar to the kind Kaluli call *yan*), and then back to the image of the *wo:fun* creekside leaves. Understanding this final progression relates more to the imagery of the spirit world, where waterpools and fish signal the presence of *ane mama*, "gone reflections," spirits of the dead. The imagery makes the cumulative and interactive pattern of the three B segments quite explicit: the bird can stay only with fish in waterpools, can stop only by dwarf scrub at creekside; through abandonment, someone has been reduced to the state of a bird, in effect reduced to a "gone reflection," a living absence transformed into a spirit presence.

Taken together, the *mo:* + *talun* segments construct a narrative image of departure and rupture. In the morning, a bird is flying around in Bolekini lands, but someone is angry about the bird's being there. Like moving water, the bird is leaving the village, following Bolekini's main watercourse, with no place to stay on the way, finally arriving at the village edge. Land, water, tree, and place features are joined together with images of loss, indicated as family, bird spirits, places left, places to go toward. All of these are forcefully united through sound and the presence of a bird's voice calling in a progression of verbs linking reported to quoted speech.

5A-GULAB

The *sa-gulab* breaks this narrative and reframes it, first through the sensual pure musicality of its "waterfalling" sound, a drone tonal center incorporating the phonesthesia of outward reaching "o" and returning reverberant "e." This is followed by a major thematic development in the text, expressed by the repeated line *Kida:n sguu*, *A:bo:lo:-*. This line conjoins visual and sonic images juxtaposing a water name with a phonesthetic descriptive and then a calling voice. The first part of the line, the words *Kida:n sguu*, direct the hearer to imagine a place, a small waterfall of the Kida:n stream where the fall sounds *gu*. This is relatively far from the places just sung in the *mo:* + *talun*, but all Kaluli listeners would know that the "junction," or *so:le*, of the Kida:n is where its waterfall empties into the Wo:lu creek, considerably downstream from Elade *mogan*. So the song now takes a large step outward, creating the expectation that the narrative "branches" to follow will fill in the story of the places linking back to the "trunk."

The second part of the line is just "A:bo:lo:," a pig name. No linguistic marking indicates how to read the juxtaposition of the water name and the pig name; nothing pinpoints whether the pig is at that place, calling from that place, or staying at that place. Nor is there any linguistic marking to indicate that a voice is calling this name out by that place.

The options for interpreting the juxtaposition come not from linguistic semantics but from the poetic juxtaposition of the water placename and the pig name, particularly from interplay of their melodic and performative dimensions.

The melodic contour of the whole line is the key to this interpretation. The rhythmic and melodic structure here is syllabic, that is, one melody tone to one rhythmic pulse per syllable. The tones ascend for the two syllables of the word *Kida:n* (pitch *a*, *c*), then descend and hold for the next two syllables, the word *segu* (pitch *a*, *a*). The two words are thus conjoined melodically in an up-over-holding arch (pitch *a-c-a-a*) that sonically imitates the visual structure of the waterfall in the upper range of the song's melody. Then, after a rest pulse, the melody goes to its lowest tone and from it bounces up a minor third to hold at length on the tonal center for the last two syllables of the pig name *A:bo:lo:* (pitch *e-g-g-*). These low tones are a sonic icon of the lower-toned human voice; that it is a voice calling out to the pig is performatively keyed by the elongated last syllable. This textual and sonic juxtaposition of two kinds of continuous calling out, that of rushing waterfalls (higher pitches *a*, *c*) and that of a yearning voice (lower pitches *e*, *g*), is thus iconically marked in the internal ordering and combinatorial patterning of musical material. This relationship remains intact for the remainder of the song, until the calling of water and that of the yearning voice finally merge to become the same.

DUN + TALUN

The *dun + talun* includes three paired refrain (D) and verse (E1, E2, E3) sets. The refrain (an exact-repeating text and melody) is set in a plaintive first-person voice. The voice is calling to a pig, and the phrase is aspectually marked to give the sense of "I keep calling." Time and continuity are thus fused to the motion and space signaled by the directional connection of the placename *Kida:n* *bese* to the prior places named. Finally, the name of another pig being called is added in the last line. When women take to the trails late in the afternoon to call their piglets, they usually walk along watercourses. The twist here is that now the pigs are being called by a bird making its way along the *Wo:lu* and *Kida:n*. Combining this content with the previous switch from "brother" to *ada:* and back to "brother," it is now evident that the bird voice of the song is a female one.

The three verse alternations E1, E2, and E3 (same melody but changing text; paradigmatic variations indicated in boldface) name, in successive lines, a landform, a corresponding placename, and a tree found there. The first lines progress by naming a mountaintop (E1), another mountaintop (E2), and a valley (E3). The second lines fill in actual placenames

but not precisely the kinds of landforms noted in the first lines, thus supplying surprise and intensifying the poetic impact. *A:ba:leb* (*A:ba:* + *eleb*) is not a mountaintop but a creek head, *So:lo:-sawel* is not a mountaintop but a waterfall crest, and *Yagaf* is not exactly a valley but a steep downhill slope. Citing the place form before the specific place named creates the space-time of moving toward that place. In the first two instances this is done by evoking the flight path of a bird coming toward the actual places from higher ridges; in the last instance it involves the bird's descending through more of a valley to enter the *Yagaf* slope. The third lines all name trees located by the place indicated in the previous line: first, two different lone palms, *a:ba:* and *uqya*, then a huge, buttressed *akol* spirit tree.

The spatial and temporal coordination of the bird's flight progression moves along the path indicated by these three sets of parallel verse segments. This space-time immersion is further heightened by the verb constructions. The first two lines of each verse end with the first-person future verb form "I'll see," often paraphrased by *Kaluli* as "I want to see." The third line of each verse deepens the sense of temporal passage, ending with the conjoined full past form *ba:ba:miyo:wo:*, "came and saw." This is further complicated by the immediately preceding *kosa douabi/lei*, a processual aspect indicating that the tree is continuously blowing in the wind. So these verses temporally progress from "coming to see" to "came and saw" images of the bird visiting trees along its path.

The pathos of this imagery is heightened by the fact that the trees in the first two verses (E1, E2) are tall, lone palms, not trees that can be home. Only the *akol* named in the last line of E3—which is also the last line of the whole *dun + talun*—is a spirit tree home, a tree with fruit that is food for a spirit bird. In this section the poesis relies on the sense of listening to the bird's quoted speech. This speech is, of course, metaphorical *bale to*, "turned over words," because trees are the bird's brother. The "want/will see" and "came and saw" indicate that, parallel to the song's trunk, its branches continue the story of loss, of the brother's scorn and the singer's sadness. This is heightened by the final place image, that of the descent down to *Yagaf* and the presence of a lone and very rare *akol* spirit tree there.

SA-SUNDAB + SA-GULU

The imagery of the *sa-sundab* dramatically reframes these branches (as the earlier waterfalls did for the song's trunk) by switching completely to non-narrative poetic resources. The *sa-sundab* evokes three kinds of water sounding: the *gulu* falling and droning sounds of the huge falls of the *So:lo:* and *Kida:n*; the *fo* sounds of their waters pulsing and flowing outward and hard over rocks; and the *juwa:n* sounds of waters spraying



Figure 3.2. *Gulu creek; water flows through land as voice flows through the body.* Photograph © Steven Feld.

and anchoring in place. These ideophones fuse the sensation of water falling from above to below, pulsing outward from the pool at the bottom, flowing off and away, and spraying off both rocks and the water's own surfaces. Directly creating the spatial feel of waterfall presence, this phonesthesia of flow equally evokes time, through the sensation of water connection and movement. In addition to fusing this sensate space-time, the *sa-sundab* section draws the song to a close with a placed parallelism, linking together the two main creeks, the So:lo: and the Kida:n, which run parallel, *ida:ni gidi:li*, to join the Wo:lu, substantially defining important connections for Bono: people living at Bolekini. The song then ends with a single droning of the *sa-gulu*, the flowing open "o" that carries the song off with the water as Ulahi's voice fades.

POETICS OF PLACE

Ulahi's song coordinates named places with trees, with light and wind qualities, with sounds, and with affecting acts and quotes. She builds images of a bird following a watercourse, images of departure, of familial rupture. The song's *tok*, its place path, evidences an interpenetration of land and water names, all connected to the poetic resources of "inner speaking," "turned over words," and "sound words." Yet compared with most *gisalo* songs, particularly ones performed during a *gisalo* ceremony, Ulahi's song does not name many places. Its evocative power depends not on the quantity or detail of places named but on their connectedness, on the extent to which they map a place narrative that emotionally resonates with personal, biographical, and historical self-consciousness for Bolekini listeners. Through song, a Kaluli listener is suspended into places, passes along and through them, makes an interiorized macro-tour in the internalized micro-space-time of listening. Path naming creates a context for imaging prior, contiguous, and continuous, though not necessarily linear, sets of placed connections. Ulahi's song, emerging in the making, might end up with almost twice the places and details. But the narrative strategy leads Kaluli listeners to imagine a path of significant connections, creating a rich and coherent *tok*, a path evoking the interplay of presence and absence at Bolekini.

These poetic practices articulate strongly with Keiuh Basso's general proposal that

placenames are arguably among the most highly charged and richly evocative of all linguistic symbols. Because of their inseparable connection to specific localities, placenames may be used to summon forth an enormous range of mental and emotional associations—associations of time and space, of history and events, of persons and social activities, of oneself and stages in one's life. . . . Poets and songwriters have long understood that economy of expression may enhance the quality and force of aesthetic discourse, and that placenames stand ready to be exploited for this purpose. (Basso 1988:103)

ULAH

Understanding the personal and social evocation of Ulahi's song requires some greater sense of her life at Bolekini and of how her biography colors what typical listeners might feel when they hear her sing. The most salient feature of Ulahi's social position at Bolekini is that she is an outsider who comes from a distant area where people speak the eastern, or Ologo, dialect of the Bosavi language. Married into the central Kaluli dialect area as the second wife of a clan Bono: man named Tulune:ni, her linguistic outsiderhood is overtly marked by the fact that she pronounces his name Sulune:ni.

Ulahi's married life has been dominated by her husband's boisterousness, his favoritism toward his first wife, Eyo'bo, and his long history of arguments with his clansmen (on Ulahi and her family history, see B. B. Schieffelin 1990:43–50). Tulunei and Ulahi are in many ways a study in temperamental contrasts. The everyday gentleness of Ulahi's unassuming public demeanor is matched by the emotional depth of her contemplative songs and expressive voice. Tulunei, on the other hand, is a loud and overtly dramatic man whose temper is legend in Bolekini, as is his quick and unreflective tendency toward explosive displays of complaint, demands for attention, and anger, occasionally manifested in hitting his wives, especially Ulahi. That Ulahi has cultivated close and distinct relationships with Bambi B. Schieffelin and me, working as one of our regular transcription and translation assistants since the mid-1970s, has been a pretext for occasional displays of Tulunei's jealousy. His attempts to appropriate trade goods or money Ulahi has earned fall into a larger recurring pattern of agitation and of feeling owed that is a familiar staple of his discourse with the Bono: clan people who have lived at Sulu'eb (a former longhouse site) and who currently live at Bolekini. In the heat of fallings-out with his clansmen, Tulunei tends to insist dramatically and disruptively on packing his family off to another community. But sooner or later he always becomes embroiled in some altercation in the new place and brings the family back to Bono: within a few years.

When Ulahi's song was recorded in August 1990, the Tulunei family had recently moved back to Bono's new place at Bolekini. The family was in the process of building a separate house above Wa:feyo: hill, across the Wo:lu creek from the village longhouse. So Ulahi's song emerged in a time of awkwardness, a time of coming back to a place where relations had a history of tension. Additionally, every leave-taking from and each return to Tulunei's place has resonated with a more personal sense of loss and displacement for Ulahi, for it has always been she who has left to settle the anger of marital squabbles. Ulahi's song reflects these experiences and memories of place awkwardness by poetically evoking a map of marginality, a song path about the familiarity of a place that is doubly not home—not the place she comes from, not the place she has settled into without going away, coming back, going away, and coming back again.

GENDERING SONG SPACE AND TIME

Ulahi's song is not just about the awkwardness of being in and out of place. Her reflections are gendered, and this is a unique and innovative dimension to her poetics. She accomplishes this gendering first in the use of *ada*: *Gisalo* songs typically have the younger brother invoking *ada*: to beg to an older sister or to complain about the lack of responsiveness

from an older sister. The “trunk” of Ulahi's song inverts the appeal to *ada*: so that it is the sister calling to the brother. Once this female voice becomes clear, she strengthens it in the “waterfalling” and “branches” sections by introducing the theme of following and calling for little pigs, a markedly everyday women's activity.

Understanding Ulahi's *gisalo* also requires examining its gendered presence in a space of absence. Men have not staged a *gisalo* ceremony in Bosavi since 1984, and few Kaluli men are composing *gisalo* songs. This is very significant, for *gisalo* is locally invoked as the most Kaluli of all Kaluli expressive forms. *Gisalo* generically means both “song” and “ceremony” as well as the one specific song and ceremony type (of five) that Kaluli consider the most complex and moving. It is also the only one Kaluli claim to have originated. *Gisalo* once shone the brightest cultural spotlight on Bosavi men and their interests in provocation and control. It privileged all realms of male action, with men mobilizing others, singing them into reaction, cultivating spheres of influence, getting brides, and impressing others through dramaturgical provocation and poetic persuasion. *Gisalo* was once the undeniable height of aesthetic and rhetorical action in Bosavi, and as Edward L. Schieffelin's ethnography (1976) shows, it was a quintessentially male show.

These days, however, most young Kaluli men are more active in other ways: mobilizing money, establishing trade stores, developing their rhetorical skills in evangelical Bible classes, and getting labor contracts to work on outside oil and timber development projects. For some men involved in these spheres, or for others more content to watch from the sidelines, the allure of ceremonialism disappeared with their conversion to Christianity, a result of evangelical missionary presence since the early 1970s. Other pressures surrounding the establishment of a more cash-based economy and the escalating financial demands of a bridewealth system present young Kaluli men with new contexts and outlets for evocation, control, and energetic display. No longer is ceremonial participation significant for cultivation of the rhetorical and dramaturgical skills that were once so essential to male presentational style. Composing and singing *gisalo* songs is now an activity most Kaluli men associate with the contribution non-Christian males can make to local ceremonies for Papua New Guinea Independence Day. Thus the significance of ceremonialism to the trajectory of men's lives, with *gisalo* once its pinnacle, has thoroughly waned since the early 1980s.

Meanwhile, Bosavi women traditionally limited their composing and singing almost entirely to the imported and relatively minor *heyalo* genre, although some, particularly women from eastern Bosavi, also sang in the *ko:luha* style. Following this pattern, Ulahi has composed and sung many

heyalo and *ko:ihba* songs; only recently has she felt an interest in composing *gisalo*. This interest is clearly unusual, indeed, extraordinary, and the moment Ulahi began her song at the Wo:lu creek my jaw dropped. My response was hardly unique. The most astonished "ah!" reactions Kaluhi men and women made and still make when listening to *Voices of the Rainforest* universally come just as they hear Ulahi sing the first few phrases of this *gisalo* song.

Typically and predictably, women at Bolekini were very positive about the song, usually responding to first hearings with a highly enthusiastic "*mada ko:le sele*" ("really very different!"). But men at Bolekini were suspicious of the song and were made somewhat anxious by it. They all reminded me that *gisalo* are sung by men, and some asked me, either privately or publicly why I included a woman singing *gisalo* on the tape. I replied that no men were composing *gisalo*. They shrugged and said things like "*he:de ko:sega . . .*" ("true, but . . ."), trailing off into silence. Hasale conceded that the *bale to*, the "turned over words" of Ulahi's *gisalo*, were *hala:da*, "hard," in other words, forcefully evocative. But since the song was not sung by a man for a ceremony with the aim of provoking another to tears, or by a spirit medium for a seance where it would announce a specific spirit presence, he concluded that this was *deje sa:lan*, roughly, "illustrative talk," implying that it was just an example, something to indicate the nature of *gisalo* without being a real one. Essentially this is to recognize that Ulahi's song was a new and different kind of *gisalo*, one of self-expression rather than for social provocation. The story Hasale constructed for himself and other men was that this song was composed to explain to Americans what a *gisalo* was. Some found this a perfectly suitable explanation and adopted it as their own.

Whether or not Ulahi is explicitly talking back oppositionally to her problems of living with Tulunei and finding a place to live, her song is a powerful female intrusion into momentarily unoccupied male expressive space. Yet even though Ulahi is composing and singing in a markedly male genre, the song and its poetic materials are quite continuous with her *heyalo* and *ko:ihba* compositional practices of the preceding twenty years. When I asked her about the song, Ulahi herself returned often to a familiar phrase. She said it was a *gisalo ba madale*, a *gisalo* "for no reason" or "to no purpose." This is a complicated phrase to understand, but one that I have heard Ulahi and other singers use before when referring to reflective compositions. While *ba madale* can mean "with no basis" and be a negative characterization, particularly when it modifies a verb of speaking, it also can mean "just by itself" or "just for itself." And this is what Ulahi emphasized to me—that her *gisalo* was just for herself. "*minali asula:sa:ga: ka sa-molan*," "Having thought about it alone, I could compose it." A *ba*

madale gisalo means the song didn't spring from an agenda to provoke a specific person to tears, as a ceremonial song might. Instead of having a specific evocative purpose directed outward toward another, Ulahi's song was composed in reflection, for herself only. Rather than being a means of persuasion, her song emerged as something to sing alone, to explore her feelings about coming back to Bono: lands after a considerable time away.

WHAT ARE YOUR NAMES?

Moments after finishing her *gisalo*, Ulahi continued with a second song, a short tag, in the *ko:ihba* genre:

<i>wo: wo:</i>	(calling out)
<i>ni America kalu-o-e</i>	my American men
<i>gi wi o:ba-e</i>	what are your names?
<i>ni Australia gayo-o-e</i>	my Australian women
<i>gi wi o:ba-e</i>	what are your names?
<i>ni America kalu-o-e</i>	my American men
<i>wo: wo:</i>	(calling out)
<i>ni America kalu-o- wo: wo:</i>	my American men (calling out)
<i>gi wi o:ba-e</i>	what are your names?
<i>ni Australia gayo-o-e</i>	my Australian women
<i>gi wi o:ba-e</i>	what are your names?
<i>ni America kalu-o-wo:</i>	my American men
<i>o wo: — wo: wo:</i>	(calling out)
<i>gi wi o:ba-e</i>	what are your names?
<i>ni Australia gayo-o-e</i>	my Australian women
<i>ni America kalu-o-e</i>	my American men
<i>a:-ye- wo: wo:</i>	(calling out)

As my tape recorder kept running, Ulahi paused, then continued in a singing-quoting voice: "My American men . . . *wo: wo:*." And then she switched to full speaking voice, continuing (rather literally translated):

Well, myself, thinking about it, speaking sadly, I won't see your place but you see mine, I don't know your names, who you are? I'm wondering, I'm thinking like that, you people living in faraway lands, listening to me, I haven't heard your land names, so who are you? That's what I'm saying, Steve, you, having come before, you can say, "My name is Steve, American man," but all the others, what are your names? "Many people will hear your Bosavi songs," you said like that to me before, but thinking about it, singing by myself I'm thinking, what are your names? That's what I was thinking, I don't really know the land names, just America, Australia, so I'm sadly singing like that so that they can hear it.

The background and context for these remarks was a conversation Ulahi and I had had as we walked together from Bolekini to the spot on Wo:lu creek where she sang her songs that day. Ulahi asked why I wanted to record her songs again. I replied that this time many new people would

hear the recordings. I couldn't really explain in a Kaluli framework how *Voices of the Rainforest* was to be a serious departure from the limited academic LP releases I had published before (Feld 1981, 1985). It would mean nothing to tell Ulahi that the recording would be published by Ryko-disc, a major independent company, or that Mickey Hart, percussionist of Grateful Dead fame, was its producer, or that it would have worldwide publicity, distribution, and sales. And there was no way I could explain how this was going to be the first compact disk, an object no Kaluli had even seen, entirely devoted to music from Papua New Guinea, or that it would be sold at hundreds of stores and played over hundreds of radio networks. These topics, people, companies, and issues, as significant as they might be to academics or general consumers, are entirely alien to the Kaluli everyday experiential world. So I just kept telling Ulahi that many, many people in America and Australia, the two large places that Kaluli have heard about through contact with outsiders, would hear her voice and be very happy about it (on the aesthetics of the recording, as well as the ethical issues about its royalty and ownership politics, see Feld 1992).

Obviously, the sense of both wonder and strangeness promoted by this conversation lingered with Ulahi as she sang her *gisalo*. Her way of continuing the dialogue emerged in her short, improvised *ko:luha* song. Singing in a low, fluid, quizzical, semispeaked register, Ulahi contrasted the explicitness of placenames with the mystery of personal names as an essential identity juncture. But her voice, calling out from the side of Wo:lu creek to American men and Australian women, might resound elsewhere as an overwhelming example of the ethnocapes of "schizoid phonia" (Schafer 1977), a local noise from the global boombox of "banished difference" (Atrali 1985). However the song satisfies a postmodern narcissism that can see only a world of fragmentary reflections off mirrors of its own shattering, there is something exquisitely local and deeply rooted here. Outsider placenames stress what Kaluli poetics always stress, that song paths connect lives and memories near and far, that they acknowledge the simultaneous sense of closeness and rupture that is central to emotionally confronting human loss.

Use of outside placenames is not an oppositional practice here, not a move to subvert or to gain power over others who now dominate. Rather, like all Kaluli songs, this one animates a dialectic of emplacement and displacement and resolves it in a poetics of replacement. Kaluli practitioners of this song path aesthetic, singers whose best songs make their listeners weep, are matter-of-fact about drawing on distant placenames to enhance their own powers of evocation. For at the heart of all Kaluli song is the creation of a dialogic space-time where imagining others by singing their lands takes in their humanity and presence as well as their otherness and absence. This is why Ulahi's song and her

spontaneous commentary so poignantly articulate that wondering, that questioning whether, when we hear her voice, we can possibly feel both her sense of recognition and her sense of loss.

PLACES ARE LIKE FAMILY CALLING OUT

The third of Ulahi's Wo:lu creekside songs is in the *heyalo* genre, a form structured as alternating *mo:*, "trunk," or refrain, and *dun*, "branches," or verses.

<i>mo:</i>	1			
<i>nimo sa:iyalena: imolobo:</i>	2	3	4	
<i>Wafulo: sa:iyalena: imolobo:</i>		<i>Weane</i>	<i>Ho:iyo:</i>	<i>Wafulo:</i>
<i>nimo sa:iyalena: imolobo:</i>				
<i>dun</i>	1	2	3	4
<i>kuguno: ge aouo: a:la:luhyo:</i>				
<i>Ho:iyo:mo: ge aouo: a:la:luhyo:</i>		<i>Ho:bi</i>	<i>Imano:</i>	<i>Ho:bi</i>
<i>bolo: ge aouo: a:la:luhyo:</i>		<i>a:ba:lo:</i>	<i>bolo:</i>	<i>bolo:</i>
"trunk" 1	1	2	3	4
my water cicada is hungry				
at <i>Wafulo:</i> ridge cicada is alone		<i>Weane</i>	<i>Ho:iyo:</i>	<i>Wafulo:</i>
my water cicada is abandoned				
"branches" 1	2	3	4	
the valley is like your brother calling				
at <i>Ho:iyo:</i> your brother calling you		<i>Ho:bi</i>	<i>Imano:</i>	<i>Ho:bi</i>
at the <i>bol</i> tree there, your brother calling		<i>a:ba:lo:</i>	<i>bolo:</i>	<i>bolo:</i>

The song alternates four paired sets of "trunks" and "branches." Each repeat of the "trunk" changes the placename of a ridge, repeating the initial image the final time. Each alternating repeat of the "branches" changes the placename of a mountain and a tree there, using the same placename the second and fourth times through and the same tree name the third and fourth times through. Notice the lack of regularity in the repeating names of places and trees, such that the repetition is not too predictable.

The places in this song are situated by the Dibano river, far southeast of the area Kaluli people inhabit. *Wafulo:*, *Weane*, *Ho:iyo:*, and *Imane* are all *hen dagon*, "mountain ridges" over the Dibano river, on lands of Wo:sso: people. *Ho:bi* is a mountain toward the village of *Walagu* in Onabasulu country, farther north. The trees mentioned are *bol*, a tall fruiting hardwood, and *a:ba:l*, a thin palm; both always stand alone. Against these places the song juxtaposes visual and sonic images of aloneness, hunger, emptiness, and familial connection. Ulahi says that the "turned over words" or metaphoric potency here is that hunger, emptiness, is like a voice calling out to you, or like a noisy cicada by the

stream. Like the high hiss of water or the churning of an empty stomach, it is a constant, grinding, chilling sound that won't go away. Staying in the valleys beneath these mountain ridges is like your brother calling to you. This is because *kugun*, "uncut forest valley," is like a brother to *dagon*, "mountain." Closely linked places are like family to each other, so landforms that tower over others call out to one another, yearning to be connected, like brothers.

"LIKE A WATERFALL IN YOUR HEAD"

Taken as a group, Ulahi's three songs in the "Relaxing at the Creek" segment illustrate contrastive ways in which paths of placenames hold and express biography, memory, and feeling. Her *gisalo* song ranges over relatively nearby local places that define part of how a specific person's life connects to an awkward sense of community and its margins. Like the *gisalo* song, Ulahi's *ko:luha* illustrates the centrality of placenames to the poesis of evocation and loss. But it goes farther, linking the power of placenames to the power of personal names to create a sense of identity, near or far, familiar or other. And her *heyalo* song sings a fragment of long-ago and faraway images, evoking the memory of a time and an event, thoughts of others who were moved by it, and thoughts of how living far away, one is deeply reminded of places as kin; path connections are like familiar places calling back to you.

Something important has so far been left out in this account of the evocative powers of place naming and of path memory circulation, namely, Ulahi's performance itself. As she sang, Ulahi sat on the bank of *Wo:lu du*, a rocky segment of land in the middle of the creek, with her son Wano, one of her pigs, and me. But she was not singing just to and for us. She was singing with the *Wo:lu*, singing with water, singing like water, singing about water. This was not a gimmick for the recording. Kaluli men and women often compose songs by creeks and waterfalls; women often sing songs at sago-place creeks or other waterways.

Singing like water is an idea that reverberates throughout Bosavi language and expressive practices. For example, the verb for "composing" in Kaluli, *sa-molab*, concerns hearing and singing inside, "like a waterfall in your head" as Jubi once put it. In this and other cases, the metaphoric potency of water is indicated by the polysemy of all water terminology to the semantic field of song. Composing a song is said to be like the way a waterfall flows into a waterpool. When the words come to your mind and fit the melody, it is like the way a waterfall flows into a pool, holding, bonding, then flowing away. Recall also that the central portion of the *gisalo* song, where its tonal center is established, is called the "waterfalling." This is where it echoes to establish an "o" calling out and



Figure 3.3. The singing too — of *So:lo*: waterfall that climaxes Ulahi's *gisalo* song. Photograph © Steven Feld.

"e" reverberating back rhyme, and when it pauses before reaching out to its "branches." Likewise, the final one or two lines of *gisalo* are the "waterfalling droning," where the song is carried off by droning "o" and "e," again on the tonal center. And in addition to these ways in which melodies flow like water, the timing and rhythmicity of singing are also forms of flow; the terminology of musical rhythm and meter are polysemic to the pulsing, splashing, and motional qualities of water.

Water flowing through land, experientially embodied as the pulsating flow of the voice through the resonating body, animates the imagination and practice of song, from its melodic and rhythmic structure to its timbral and textural qualities and its evocative power to remain in mind. This is how the performative flow of singing with water and the musicality of singing like water connect deeply with the emplacing textuality of singing about water, following creek paths, evoking their

sonic presence through phonesthetic ideophones. Ulahi once told me that every one of her songs was like a *migan* on a creek. I take her to mean that every song is a pool, a swirl, something that centers and circles in place for some moments, then turns and flows downstream to mingle and merge in other pools. In this sense, Ulahi's songs, like the Wo:lu creek where she sang them, meander and flow through Bosavi communities, reverberating through Kaluli lives and our own by linking places together and suggesting that these paths always connect stories about people's memories and feelings.

PLACE, EXPERIENCE, EXPRESSION

"While perception measures the reflecting power of the body, affection measures its power to absorb" (Bergson 1988 [1908]:56). Places may come into presence through the experience of bodily sensation, but it is through expression that they reach heightened emotional and aesthetic dimensions of sensual inspiration. Kaluli emplacement involves sensory naturalization of ways water courses flow by moving in and through land, ways land is always in and around water. This emplacement is implemented by bodily analog: voice moves in and *through* the body, but the physical and emotional presence of the entire body is always *in* the voice. Linking what Bergson calls the "reflecting" and "absorbing" powers of the body, Kaluli sing about waterways, sing with water, imagine song as water flowing like an embodied voice. Here the poetics of place merge with the sensuousness of place as soundscape and with the sensuality of the singing voice.

But there is more: flow, water's perpetual record of resounding images, carries and lingers in embodied memory beyond the perceptual immediacy of an actual voicing in performance. So, when standing by a forest waterway and then walking on in the forest, one hears how the water carries on and thus knows that it can flow back into perceptual immediacy as easily as it flowed out of it. This concretely reprises one of Edward Casey's themes in his essay for this volume: "Perceiving bodies are knowing bodies, and inseparable from what they know is culture as it imbues and shapes particular places. It is by bodies that places become cultural entities" (Casey, this volume; see also Casey 1987:146–80, 1993:43–105). Which is to say, places make sense in good part because of how they are made sensual and how they are sensually voiced. Poetic and performative practices centralize the place of sense in making a local sense of place. This is how a poetics flows from everyday experience, and how Kaluli imagination and practice make water an acoustemology of embodied place resounding.

NOTES

Kaluli words are spelled according to the orthography in Feld (1990:17–19). For simplicity in reading here, *o*: signifies phonetic open *o*, pronounced like the vowel in *bought*, and *a*: signifies phonetic epsilon, pronounced like the vowel in *bat*. Other vowels are spelled to approximate close phonetic English equivalents: *i* as in *bet*, *u* as in *boot*, *e* as in *bat*, *o* as in *boat*, *a* as in *bat*. Consonants likewise are spelled to approximate close phonetic English equivalents.

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