THE POETICS OF SELF, BODY AND WORLD: A PHENOMENOLOGICAL REINTERPRETATION OF B.C. ETHNOGRAPHY OF ABORIGINAL PEOPLES

by

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Dissertation Submitted in Partial Fulfillment
of the Requirements for the Degree of
Doctor of Philosophy

in the Department
of
Sociology and Anthropology

SIMON FRASER UNIVERSITY

May, 2001

Your file Votre référence
ISBN: 0-612-81647-8
Our file Notre référence
ISBN: 0-612-81647-8

ABSTRACT

The dissertation is a "legitimation study" based in phenomenological sociology which applies aboriginal folkloric accounts of the environment to uncover phenomenological assumptions with respect to "self, body and world" as an interconnected process. By showing the applicability of these categories to the literature on aboriginal folklore and traditions within British Columbia, the phenomenological viewpoint is shown to have merit and applicability as a tool within the field of environmental sociology. The theoretical objective of the dissertation is to evaluate the efficacy of European phenomenology's arguments that the "activities of the lived human body" are the process through which the world comes into being, are the foundation of the experiential self, and thus underlie aboriginal folkloric interpretations of the environment as a parallel non-dualistic approach. Through the application of the categories "body, self and world" to the folkloric world view of aboriginal peoples, the dissertation claims to both emphasize and valorize the presence of an expressive "aboriginal world", rich in the presence of human doing and human possibility as the evidence of a body/world *poiesis*. In the words of Maurice Merleau-Ponty, "The body is never the world or just an object in the world but that very medium whereby our world comes into being". Hence, the task of the dissertation, theoretically, is to move beyond the Cartesian substruction of space and the dualities of mind and body, subject and object and bodily insidedness and outsidedness of entities towards a representation of "the world" and of the environment as a sensuous field of human activity and involvement as shall be looked for in the various aboriginal folkloric accounts. In the phenomenological interpretation of spatiality,

the experience of self is realized as that of a "being" transcended towards its world as one who is merged with one's environmental surroundings as a "ratio of the senses". Such an imbrication or merging suggests the absence of a separateness between people and their environmental surrounds and suggests the opportunity of gaining a deeper appreciation of how certain groups with ancestral claims to territory are imbricated in their environments. Thus, we shall seek to prove the argument that folkloric examples of the "aboriginal worlds" chosen for study offer clearer and more convincing examples of the integration of "being and doing" than those that could be shown in cultures founded to a greater degree upon the Cartesian ideal and the substruction of space.

Therefore, the study undertakes to examine various literatures and folkloric traditions to discover whether or not folkloric depictions of the land seem to reflect an experiential fusion of being and doing as a ratio of the senses, as is suggested in the scholarly discussions described in European phenomenology. A similarity between phenomenological theories of the world and the aboriginal folkloric depictions would offer an alternative to "positivist" explanations of spatiality and of nature as metrically quantifiable space from which we are devoid and forever separate. Such a critique can be extended to utilitarian viewpoints on the environment, which frequently inform traditional models of environmental management. The dissertation makes comprehensible and "legitimates" many aboriginal accounts in which self, body and environment tend to be inscribed within the surrounding folkloric world. The imbrication of self, body and world as a unified process offers an additional critique to frequently argued ecological explanations on culture and environment, which dualistically oppose

the categories of nature and culture and, by extension, body and world. Furthermore, tribal movements over land use patterns within a territory and human habitation in general, as depicted within the folkloric accounts, are surveyed throughout the manuscript to evaluate whether or not they show a strong correlation with the concept of *poiesis* as the outward manifestation of the world experience as a "ratio of the senses". The hypothesis to be investigated is that aboriginal views of the world (as depicted in native folklore) are substantively supportive of phenomenology's views in that they further a non-exploitative, non-dualistic and holistic approach to the environment. On the basis of aboriginal narratives, such an approach has been depicted throughout the dissertation and speaks to the presence of a rich totality of places and spaces "enfolding" both human and non-human possibility and meaning. The dissertation contributes to the theoretical discourse under consideration through the conceptualization of the three-fold structure of "enfoldment", "storyscape" and *poiesis*, which speaks to three levels of folkloric and symbolic analysis. The concept of "enfoldment" speaks to the conceptualization of an integrated "body and world" as it is depicted in folkloric interpretations of the environment as reflected within "storyscapes", which furthermore conceptualize poetically designated geographic regions of activity which are orally and narratively encoded. The concept of *poiesis* speaks to the third level of the body's environmental expression as it emerges aesthetically, iconically and symbolically within a regional context.

For British Columbia's native people, for the most part folkloric depictions of the landscape reveal a thorough articulation of use-sites, sacred areas, and territorial boundaries for any given tribe—as shown in the many creation stories, such as the

Transformer tales, and creation stories to be found around British Columbia. These many stories of origin are the timeless purveyors of cultural meaning and selfhood that serve to contextualize and traditionalize an entire people within the ancientness of their surroundings to which over centuries they have become profoundly self-identified. The dissertation furthermore broadens its basis for comparison by reviewing extant studies of aboriginal landscape and spatiality within the literature of phenomenological anthropology, which also demonstrate a merging of being and doing. The dissertation utilizes a phenomenological critique of the Cartesian dualisms that contributed to colonial disregard of native claims on their relation to the land. It investigates the possibility of a convergence between the phenomenological trends, in recent European thought, with accounts articulated in aboriginal stories in which the categories of self and body are inscribed in the world.

DEDICATION

I would like to dedicate this dissertation to the First Nations' people of British Columbia, many of whom I have had the opportunity to speak with and spend time with, and whose inspiration and 'heart' persuaded me to embark upon this work.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I would like to express my appreciation to my supervisor, Dr. Ian Angus, for his endless patience throughout the unfolding of this dissertation and for his many insightful and thoughtful comments along the way. I would also like to thank Dr. Marilyn Gates for her careful reading and attention to drafts in the writing process. Special appreciation must be given to my family, Pam and Jack Elsey (my mother and father), and Juliann and Emma (my daughters), for their patience, understanding and support throughout the many years spent working on this project.

I would also like to express a special appreciation to the many B.C. First Nations people for the rich body of folklore and stories that they have shared with anthropologists and, without which, this work would not have been possible.

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INTRODUCTION

> My mother's mother must have composed thirty songs—and I don't know a one! She used to sing them one after another, and I never learned.... Some people got songs by sitting by a brook (or) the ocean. Some, way in the mountains. The wind rustling in trees. From birds. They'd listen to a bird singing and claim that bird was telling them something. Even the little animals too. (Winifred David, Port Alberni, in Kirk, 1986:38)

The central purpose of the dissertation is to give aboriginal folkloric interpretations of the world a role in phenomenological discourse. The research focus, therefore, is to make a study of aboriginal folklore in order to uncover phenomenological assumptions with respect to the interrelated categories of self, body and world. By doing so, a scholarly "legitimation" of the various aboriginal folkloric viewpoints on self and territory as being both insightful and meaningful shall be accomplished. The theoretical purpose of the dissertation is to weigh the efficacy of European phenomenology's arguments in the works of Maurice Merleau-Ponty and Martin Heidegger (as developed in Heidegger's work, *Being and Time,* and Merleau-Ponty's major works, *"The Phenomenology of Perception"* and the *"Visible and the Invisible"*), which suggest that the "activities of humans and of the lived human body" are the very process through which the world is constituted. According to such phenomenology, it is the movements of the lived body in conjunction with the various senses, such as touching, seeing and hearing, that are the foundation of "self and world" (Merleau-Ponty, 1962:197). It will be shown that this process is eminently present in ethnographic renderings by aboriginal folklore and the folkloric depictions of the world of the

native peoples of British Columbia. The dissertation will demonstrate that the many expressions of the spatiality of the lived body are the expressions of an "extended bodily self". Thus, it is argued that the "self", in this "extended" sense, manifests as a *poiesis* of symbolic forms, which corresponds to a people's activities within a territory that is felt as an "enfoldment" of humans with non-human agents. The experience of the world as an enfoldment occurs within the various aboriginal perspectives as a primordial non-dualistic experience that contains an imbrication of body and world. The study thus explores the representations found within the aboriginal traditions on the basis of the self's *poiesis* and non-dualistic expressions or representations, through looking at regionally based narratives or "storyscapes" that have evolved for specific groups of aboriginal territorial "dwellers".

1.1. Overview of Theoretical Contributions

The dissertation will contribute in a number of ways to the discourses of phenomenology, environmental sociology and ethnography. Through the application of the concept of the "lived body" provided by Maurice Merleau-Ponty and the conceptualization of "being in the world" offered by Martin Heidegger, the dissertation presents a conceptualization of tribal territory, which transcends dualistic notions of the environment as separate, inanimate and external. Such dualistic formulations are uniformly present in the western rationalist models that are biased in favour of an inside/outside dichotomy in the Cartesian sense. An explanation of the environment rather as an "aroundness" and as an aspect of the "extended body" is grounded in a

critique of Cartesian rationalism's "substruction of space". The phenomenological problematic of self, body and world offered by the dissertation provides an alternative to dualistic notions of bodily insidedness and outsidedness, self versus other, culture versus nature, subject versus object and arrives at a notion of spatiality wherein the body has its world as the manifestation of all of its doings. Hence, the environment can be viewed as a sensuous field of human activity and involvement that will both explain and "legitimate" (provide scholarly credence for) the aboriginal folkloric views on native territory presented in the study. An important objective of the dissertation is to enrich contemporary environmental discourses with a rigorous philosophical discourse embedded in phenomenology, which serves to demonstrate the existence of an implicit environmental discourse within the aboriginal setting. We shall engage phenomenological concepts to provide a "legitimation" of the aboriginal folkloric perspective as having significant meaningful scholarly merit as a philosophical non-dualistic world view. The use of aboriginal folklore within Western, even phenomenological, concepts raises questions of "cultural appropriation" and "post coloniality" that will be explicated in section 1.2.

Through the application of the three literatures of phenomenology, environmental sociology and ethnography, the dissertation can establish the basis for a critique of dualistically based social scientific discourses on the environment that theoretically polarize nature and culture. Such a dualistic perspective can be found, for example, in utilitarian forms of environmental management as well as ecological anthropology. In order to theorize the relationship between environmental interests and the aboriginal's views of the world, the dissertation will offer the interrelated concepts of "enfoldment", *poiesis* and "storyscape" to advance phenomenology's conceptions of the spatiality of

the "extended self" and its manifestations as territorial expression. These three levels of analysis have been generated to establish the relationship between self, body and world applicable within the concrete aboriginal setting under study.

At the experiential level, non-dualistic experience of a "lived" reciprocity of human and non-human agents within a shared life world has been conceptualized as an "enfoldment", as presented within certain anthropological phenomenological writings. A second related level of analysis is found in the concept of "storyscape", which theorizes the "narrative" dimensions of the "extended self" that speak to non-dualistic narratively constructed human landscapes and summarize the ethos of "self, body and world" within a region or territorial "dwelling" felt by a given people to be home. This level speaks to the "ethos of world emergence" and as such brings with it a moral component. It is the manner in which the "world", as a meaningful place, becomes inscripted or encoded at the level of oral tradition. It is the process of narratively depicting the meanings and dimensions of the territorial "world" as non-dualistically inculcated at a bodily level through use patterns, human movement and spatial involvement within a "world" context. At the third level of concrete expression, the concept *poiesis* conceptualizes the multiple forms of the aboriginal self's non-dualistic expression as fostered within a group's territorial "dwelling", which takes the form of songs, dances, masks, crests, visual depictions, phonetic expression, landmarks, stories, regalia, etc. The multiple expressions of the "self's spatiality" are conceptualized as its *poiesis* as flowing from the interconnectivity of "body and world" that is captured in the two preceding levels. The concept of *poiesis* represents the expression of the "enfoldment" of body and world as it emerges within a narratively constructed regional landscape referred to as a "storyscape" within the territorial context. The domain of the self's expression within the

concrete setting and the topic of practical investigation for this study is thus the *poiesis* of "body" and "world" as the expression of the self's presencing within a regional landscape or territorial home. Since the term *poiesis* is unconventional in sociological analysis, even phenomenological sociology, the origin and concept of the term will be explicated in section 1.3 below.

1.2. Methodological and Theoretical Concerns

1. The dissertation has presented a number of theoretical concerns that require thorough clarification. It is important to emphasize that phenomenology, as a theoretical perspective, sees people both in terms of uncurtailed human diversity and cultural specificity in that it categorically emphasizes the infinite possibility for the world's various peoples to uniquely create and recreate themselves, according to their context, while emphasizing that this is done universally within a phenomenological ontological spatiality that constitutes the possibility of real personhood.

The dissertation also argues that the cultural expressions that arise could be either more or less truncated or idealized (as opposed to embodied), depending on the degree to which rationalist Cartesian assumptions are given cultural legitimacy and dominance. As elaborated in Chapters 1 and 2 on European phenomenology, the concept of being-in-the-world explains that the very possibility of personhood emerges as a state of being as in-the-worldness and an environmental aroundness, although in some cases this may occur in a circumstance of relative loss or forgetting.

By extension, all of the world's peoples must share the same original ontological foundation whether they valorize it or not—which is then concretized in a diversity of

cultural forms. The dissertation demonstrates that the aboriginal societies under study have indeed valorized such an environmental aroundness, whereas Western cultures often did not. The study, therefore, is concerned with a certain problematization of Western rationalist paradigms in that such paradigms have imposed a high degree of bodily disappearance, personal loss and forgetting that has been the legacy of much of Western scholarship, especially in its many empiricist guises. Such a forgetting has tended to occur in spite of the common ontological foundation of personhood of all people. Western reductionist and scientistic trends in scholarship that have resulted from the presence of Cartesian oppositions, such as mind/body, inside/outside, subject/object, etc., have meant that the experience of being-in-the-world has been largely covered up or, to a large part, forgotten. This necessitates an evaluation of dualism that can be achieved through looking outside towards cultures in which this legacy of rationalism has played a lesser role. The dissertation argues, moreover, that Phenomenology's sensitivity to the concrete context places all individuals in a sensuous encounter with a surrounding world that is quintessentially experiential, improvisational and thus unquestionably unique, in every case, whether this connectedness is generally recognized or not. The above characteristics of phenomenological thought have thus found a fitting complement in the post colonial reflexive approach of James Clifford as follows:

> Experience evokes a participatory presence, a sensitive contact with the world to be understood, a rapport with its people, a concreteness of perception. (Clifford, 1998:36)

Such a participatory presence captures beautifully the experiential significance of being-in-the-world and, in its description of experiential being, is as useful to phenomenology as it is to Clifford's interpretive anthropology. It also serves as an epistemological

foundation of difference and uniqueness. Quite obviously, phenomenology's claims to experience and uniqueness cannot be dealt with under a paradigmatic model. Thus the study looks at the presence of personhood within diversity and demonstrates being-in-the-world as a characteristic of all people without homogenizing. The intent of the study is thus to demonstrate through phenomenology that a certain environmental aroundness, which to a great extent has been lost in the West, can be observed and in some way learned from in many non-western societies where it has not been forgotten. Particularly cogent to the dissertation are the observations of certain aboriginal cultures where there appears to exist a very high level of unification between people and land.

Although the current study seeks to provide an examination of the many diverse aboriginal folkloric perspectives, it does not seek to homogenize or level the diverse emergent and unique voices or views among the native cultures and aboriginal peoples, in British Columbia or elsewhere. Rather, it recognizes that each culture is in possession of its' ownmost unique manner of articulating the universal structure of being-in-the-world. Neither does the dissertation wish to constitute an interpretation of aboriginality as separate or other (or as outsider) to a seemingly unified Western or European type; rather, it denies homogeneous categories or cultural ideal types altogether. In the words of James Clifford:

> Because discourse in global power systems is elaborated vis-à-vis, a sense of difference or distinctness can never be located solely in the continuity of a culture or tradition. Identity is conjunctural, not essential. (Clifford, 1988:11)

To avoid essentializing, it is important to continually look at the many diverse elements and representations of social existence present, at any given moment, without interpreting them in terms of any globalizing framework. Consequently, there has been

no attempt to either prove or to imply the existence of a pure or unified aboriginal world view or to implicity insinuate the presence of a world view that is homogeneously aboriginal rather than relational. "Such claims to purity are in any event always subverted by the need to stage authenticity in opposition to external, often dominating alternatives" and must studiously be avoided (ibid., 12). The phenomenological perspective of the dissertation, on the other hand, acknowledges the great diversity, emergence and uniqueness of identity among the world's many aboriginal peoples, and seeks to support both the notions of diversity and conjunctural emergence. It is furthermore consistent with the phenomenological perspective that to impose a homogeneous and universalized perception of aboriginality onto the world's diverse ethnographically and regionally unique peoples would be to usurp the polyphonic voices of the aboriginal peoples, themselves, in their ongoing nexus of expressing and defining their own culturally rich and unique identities. "The truth of objectivism—absolute, universal, and timeless—has lost its monopoly status. It now competes, on more nearly equal terms, with the truths of case studies that are embedded in local contexts, shaped by local interests, and colored by local perceptions" (Rosaldo, 1989:21).

Therefore, the experiential bias of a phenomenological perspective, as is offered throughout the dissertation, provides an argument that is highly compatible with a post colonial and anti-essentialist viewpoint as found, for instance, within reflexive anthropology. Any homogenizing of aboriginality would serve only to perpetuate a historical trend that is, at once, inauthentic, unphenomenological, and undesirable. "In Canada as elsewhere, such readings of the whitestream vs. 'Indian' relationship are dominant, hegemonic..." (Denis, 1997:19) and, thus, patently ethnocentric. Indeed, to infer essentialist or homogenizing traditions or approaches to aboriginal cultures would

be counter to the experiential meanings and uniqueness that provides the theoretical core of phenomenology (as reflected in the theoretical elements of this dissertation).

The dissertation also acknowledges the requirement for the voices of all diverse peoples to be heard rather than silenced. A dimension of the dissertation is that it implicitly offers a critique of such homogenizing in that, in each case, the objective is to show a collage of culturally unique and experientially driven examples that point to the diverse expressions of being-in-the-world as a spatial and activational possibility. Opposed to essentializing aboriginal cultures under some homogenized aboriginal world view, the manuscript endeavours to weigh phenomenology's concept of being-in-the-world as a philosophical abstraction to see if it has philosophical merit in discussing human spatiality in a concrete setting for its application and importance in the discourse of environmental sociology. The commonality of the various examples exists is in their applicability to the critique of rationalism and not between the examples themselves. This analytic task should not be misinterpreted as an attempt to capture the essence of any supposedly continuous aboriginality. Rather, the dissertation explores, contextually, the phenomenological approach within the aboriginal setting to discover whether or not features found in aboriginal folkloric accounts might serve the interests of a phenomenological environmental discourse. The objective is to note parallels, or strands of connection, between the many and diverse world views of the world's tribal and rural peoples under study and the environmental spatiality of European phenomenology.

Similarly, the dissertation does not homogenize all Western thought as either Cartesian or rational. Not everyone in the West lives in a state of perpetual forgetting. Significant historical tensions can be observed within Western intellectual culture in

reaction to "Enlightenment" thought which offer a critique of rationalism existing within intellectual and artistic circles, both in Europe and in America. Certain schools of thought have repeatedly emerged in the West, over the past one hundred and fifty years, it would seem, in direct reaction to the hegemonic rationalist scientistic view. The late eighteenth and early nineteenth century Romantics, such as Wordsworth, Blake, Keats, and Shelley, are cases in point; their works express a romantic return to nature through the poetic and idyllic valorization of the natural world. A similar sentiment can also be found in the paintings of the Pre-Raphaelite Brotherhood of the mid-eighteen hundreds, in the works of Dante Gabriel Rossetti, Sir Edward Burne-Jones, John Everett Millias, and others; including the well known literary critic John Ruskin, who achieved considerable acclaim in widespread intellectual circles in the mid-eighteen hundreds (Sullivan, 1996:12, 13, 14, 17, 61). A further development that seems to offer a critique of rationalism is the emergence of the Dada movement of the early twentieth century, founded by the Romanian poet, Tristan Tsara, in 1915. As a literary and artistic movement, Dada took root in New York and appears to speak to accumulating tensions toward the hegemonic conventions of mainstream rationalist and conventionalist viewpoints. Cogent and incisive in its critique, Dada gave rise to the well known iconoclastic art of Marcel Duchamp, and later to surrealism as a widespread artistic movement seen in the well known works of Salvador Dali.

2. Methodologically, the accounts provided in Chapter 5 of the study have been garnered exclusively from secondary sources rather than from personal interviews of the British Columbia First Nations' people, themselves. It was felt that, for the purposes of this dissertation, a wide range of examples from a regionally diverse setting would provide a more thorough overview of stories situated according to traditional territorial

regions. Therefore, the dissertation's focus is largely comparative in that the subject matter is highly diverse and focuses on a broad assortment of folkloric accounts from many of the British Columbia First Nations' tribal groups. Due to the diversity of accounts taken over an expansive regional and diverse linguistic area, it was possible for this study to investigate whether the phenomenological notion that stories, as a ratio of the senses, are the representations of people's embodiment, movement and activities as contextualized within a meaningful domestic surroundings.

The regional overview provided, would not have been possible through the application of primary research techniques required for ethnographic fieldwork. Ethnographic fieldwork requires a long period of residency within a regionally specific community group, which then can yield only specific community focused results at the expense of a multi-national focus. It is important to note, however, that the diversity of oral folkloric information necessary for this study was accessible through the existing ethnographic record which, it is felt, has provided a great richness and diversity of folkloric material. The secondary sources used have presented an overview of stories from a diversity of regional tribal territories and linguistic regions across British Columbia.

In spite of the absence of primary research, the many secondary accounts provided serve to reflect, more or less accurately, the actual folkloric traditions that represent each individual region. An accuracy in the accounts was achieved by the fact that the dissertation's research made a special effort to present stories in the actual voices of the locals themselves, as much as possible, through the use of direct quotations (and in some cases authorship and co-authorship) from the First Nations peoples in the various regions. Such first person accounts were found in the

ethnographic studies of Bierwert (1999); Bouchard and Kennedy (1971, 1977, 1979, 1985, 1998); Hanna and Henry (1996); Kirk (1986); Mohs (1987, 1990,1993); Wickwire (1979, 1986, 1988, 1989); and York, Daly, and Arnett (1993). The dissertation has made a special effort not to compromise or forfeit the integrity and clarity of the Native speakers themselves. It is the very nature of these text-focused accounts within British Columbia ethnography that has allowed this project to focus on the various expressions of the regional peoples as statements of their territorial context and environment as being-in-the-world. The text-focused stream of British Columbia ethnography, which has been employed by the dissertation, is particularly "emic" (actor oriented) in focus in that it largely presents the native perspectives provided through directly quoted interview material and native storytelling, with a special emphasis on oral accounts.

1.3. Theoretical Contributions

First Contribution

There are five contributions that the dissertation makes to contemporary sociology. The dissertation argues that aboriginal stories, as a world view and as the aboriginal self's expression, can be given theoretical contextualization within the discourse of phenomenology through an application of phenomenology's concept of the "extended body" and its view of "selfhood" as the integration of "self, body, and world". The possibility for "selfhood" in the phenomenological context inheres within one's many bodily experiences and in the openness of the body towards its world as one's own known bodily image. With each action the bodily "self" makes towards its world as it blends, interprets and recreates, the surrounding world is incorporated within it (Merleau-

Ponty, 1962). In phenomenological terms, the possibility even to become a self is first and foremost to be orientationally positioned within a meaningful locale including all our spatially situated meaningful goings on, in stark contrast to the notion of the individualized atomized self enveloped within a skin, to be discussed later in this chapter.

In the phenomenological view, and for the purposes of this dissertation, the self is the process of being meaningfully situated, to be able to organize oneself in the world. It is the ability to find your direction and make sense of it and, otherwise, to be gainfully anchored spatially and symbolically in terms of possibility, productivity and belonging within a world context. It is thus the behavioural setting under discussion that can be referred to as a dwelling, in the phenomenological sense, or an aboriginal territory, in the native sense. Spaces therefore result from areas that have been identified in terms of meaningful activity as meaningful locations and territorial sites of building, creativity and dwelling (Heidegger, 1971:154). What we perceive to be spaces, therefore, must always emerge in relationship with the stay of humans, while people's relationship to spatiality is none other than their dwelling. The "selfhood" that we speak of above, therefore, is the inevitable expressiveness that results in the relationship between the self and its spatialized context, which is continually being established, recognized and then re-established as recognizable thematic figures that stand out from a territorial background—it is life's abiding story or narrative as it is symbolically mapped out and "thematized" on the land. Therefore, the things of the world, in aboriginal terms, whether they are named places, landmarks, ancestral locations of well-known narratives etc., are in every case recognizable as "poles of action" and schemes of activity (Zaner, 1981:25)

engaged in bodily terms and then "thematized" as recognizable representations in the symbolic sense.

In this way named places, such as Keith Basso (1984) talks about for the Western *Apache* or as Bruce Chatwin (1987) recalls for the Australian Aborigine people, as they are remembered, repeated, sung out or even recited, become the resonance of the lived body as it incorporates another animate surface, the territory, in an unending and intertwining epidermal layer on the basis of what meaningfully has taken place there (Merleau-Ponty, 1968:133). Through the above experiential means of knowing the land thematically and narratively (as an active possibility), through stating the names and remembering its stories (in the case of the Western *Apache*), or through singing it up on "song lines" (in the case of the *Walbiri* or *Pintupi* Aborigine people), the self's presencing becomes an active and realizable possibility against a specific and recognizable territorial background. This process is self-identifying and resonates as home both physically and morally, as that which is bodily my own in the ancestral sense. Thus a human figure as activational centre is meaningfully situated within a ground or location, which itself is definable in terms of another identified "thematized" and recognizable figure, for example, named place or landmark—the moment of realization or active possibility for the original figure. Thus a "theme" must stand out from its background as the meaningful "thematization" of human possibility and within the ethos of dwelling within a particular territorial region and its ongoing ancestral continuity. In the case of the Western *Apache,* the land stalks people (Basso, 1984). The "thematized" spots on the land are vested with moral information of the nature of what happened there. The people thus find themselves as a people in terms of what is meaningfully recognized as "real dwelling" in the moral sense within their special places and sites. Thus the

dissertation argues that the landscape of aboriginal territories are embedded in a well known oft repeated narrative of place, and its "thematizations", that speak to the corresponding activities of the people who dwell there in the course of their meaningful territorial activities.

Second Contribution

A second contribution of the dissertation is to "legitimate and validate" the aboriginal point of view in western rationalism by demonstrating the existence of diverse, expressive, aboriginal world views rich in the presence of human doing and human possibility within their unique territorial surrounding. Phenomenology's notion of "self" as the immersed one of "self, body and world", is useful in valorizing and legitimating (that is, giving scholarly credence to) the diverse aboriginal perspectives on "self" as a "process", whereby the "self" is the product of an "enfoldment" of body and world as it is experienced in the imbrication of both human and non-human agents (Ingold, 1996:130). Such a valorization and legitimation of the various aboriginal perspectives will emphasize and point out the spirit of environmental awareness and respect that such aboriginal approaches often suggest. Thus, expressive forms (such as stories and localized aesthetic/artistic forms of all kinds, placenames, sonic expressions, landmarks, which can be associated with the "self's" expression) can be seen in terms of the "body and world" speaking out as an intimate self-identification. It is through these forms of expression that the people's connectedness to the surroundings and a respect for place is captured, and through which those territorial lands become identified with the life course of a given people. Maurice Merleau-Ponty's phenomenology, which suggests that the body itself is the "locality" as we move through any environing field, makes

sense of the respect and self-identification that human beings have shown towards their environmental surrounding as a result of their territorial inhering within them. In other words, the body has its world and therefore cannot be comfortably, or humanely, alienated from (Merleau-Ponty, 1962:142).

Thus phenomenology serves as a useful tool in the valorization and validation of the aboriginal folkloric world view through its capability to emphasize the non-dualist properties it presents, therefore giving it a place, theoretically, within a western rationalist non-Cartesian scholarly discourse.

Third Contribution

A third contribution to the dissertation is to provide a critique of one-sided rationalism, employing the anti-dualistic logic of phenomenology to move beyond the Cartesian substruction of space and the dualities of mind and body, subject and object, and bodily insidedness and outsidedness of entities. Under the Cartesian "substruction of space", western rationalist scholarship has substituted concepts of "knowing" for our experience. Through the application of a phenomenological approach, however, the main theoretical problem of the dissertation becomes how to reinstate experience in the problematic of knowing and find corresponding concepts adequate to this process.

Thus, the phenomenological viewpoint of self and the self's spatiality as an immersed viewpoint radically diverges from Cartesian notions of space, which view nature as an inanimate external factor to the individualized Cartesian notion of self as the insidedness of a body definably human and separate (Heidegger, 1962:134). Self is all of that which is felt and animatedly charged through the infinite "extended surfaces" of touching and moving toward (Merleau-Ponty, 1968:133). By virtue of a

phenomenological critique, we will arrive at a theoretical representation of the world and the environment as a sensuous field of human activity and involvement that resembles the perspective provided in aboriginal folklore. The critique of one-sided rationalism as presented within the dissertation serves to facilitate three additional and related objectives.

1. The non-dualistic focus of the dissertation raises the possibility of a new discussion within environmentalism, whereby an environmentalist discourse becomes situated within the aboriginal setting. In non-dualistic depictions of spatiality, such as are taken up by environmental phenomenology (Evernden, 1985) and are discoverable in aboriginal world views, the land and its inhabitants do not appear to be external and alien, or disassociated, from humans. Rather they are a part of the same life-unfolding process and thus are experientially related and valorized—the landscape thus is not distant, but rather is felt intimately as an aroundness or closeness (Heidegger, 1962:141; Ingold, 1996:129).

On the basis of this study, the hunter-gatherer experience of the "world" posits an aboriginal notion of self which flows from what can be described as a consciousness of complete persons, as opposed to that of disembodied minds, in that hunter-gatherers interact with one another and with the non-human beings of their surroundings in a profoundly interconnected sense (Ingold, 1996:121). In other words, to speak of the forest as a parent is to recognize the factor of environmental sharing implied in intimate relations between the non-human and human components of the life-process to an extent that is profound enough to make us all appear, in some vital sense, as one and the same. For example, among hunter-gathers such as the *Pintupi* and *Walbiri* Aborigines and the B.C. First Nations people under study, "personhood" is assigned not

only to humans but also to animals, spirits and also geographic agents (ibid.). In fact, we intend to show that the physical landscape itself, in hunter-gatherer terms, is generally viewed in expressive terms as another moment in the "unfolding of being" and also of personhood or society as has been keenly illustrated by various anthropological profiles of hunter-gatherer activities that have been drawn upon for this study. As a result, a sense of place and its physical characteristics are animated and vested with a selfhood which is formative to the people's identity and their ownmost self-identification within a territory that they relate to as home.

2. The theoretical perspective offered in the dissertation provides a critique of dualistic approaches to land that polarize nature and culture as two separate and distinct categories of consideration. It is to the detriment of the populations under study that studies in ecology ignore the way that people conceive, relate, construct and think about their environments (Basso, 1996:105). Ecological models in anthropology tend generally to analyze cultural evolution (people's beliefs and values) primarily as a by-product of environmental adaptation, thus, viewing the land predominantly and, most importantly, as a resource base for the people within a given niche (Moran 1982, 1990; Steward, 1955). The ecological models present in the field of anthropology are generally based on an "ecosystems" approach, wherein it must be noted that the word "system" does carry within it a precise scientific meaning and application. As a paradigmatic approach, an ecosystem "... consists of two or more components that interact and that are surrounded by an environment with which they may or may not interact" (Kormondy and Brown, 1998:30). From the vantage point of phenomenology, with its work on meaning and being as the means by which one is in the world, such a standpoint appears dangerously reductionistic. Cultural ecology, as an offshoot of ecology and ecosystems

approach, is the study of the interaction between populations and their environment and, as such, is anathema to phenomenology because of this dualistic focus. Underlying dualistic and scientistic views of culture and nature that infuse social science generally in the fields of sociology, anthropology, environmental studies, as mentioned above, is a viewpoint that opposes nature and culture to the extent that personhood as a way of being is closed, for instance, to all non-human agents and animal kinds. For such schools of thought, humans and animals belong to separate and opposing, mutually exclusive categories which serve to remove non-human agents in the environment outside of the realm of human care and self-identification.

3. The dissertation research has furthermore, re-evaluated the various "systems theories" of the environment for possible contributions to the dissertation. The theories looked at were: Cultural Ecology, Social Ecology, Deep Ecology, Bio-regionalism, Eco-feminism, and Human Ecology. In each six theoretical approaches, there exists the underlying assumption that human societies in some way represent the systemic working out of an ecologically based nexus of equilibrium, growth and change; a maintained functioning or balance between humans and nature, therefore, they can be referred to as systems theories. All the above approaches emphasize the means by which humans adapt and live within a natural or environmental setting and conclude that the trajectory of human society and culture can more or less be understood in terms of the relationships and symbols as generated within this nexus. In the cases mentioned within environmental sociology, the systems analysis of humans and the environment can be loosely described as following the Gaia concept as reflected in the ideas of Bookchin (1990), or the notion of ecosystem as given in Kormondy and Brown (1998:30) as "the whole system…including not only the organism-complex, but also the whole

complex of physical factors forming what we call the environment" (Tansley, 1935, in ibid.). In other words, an ecosystem is an organizational unit consisting of both living and nonliving things that occur in a particular place. For environmental approaches that employ this concept, humans are perceived to be part of the generalized "web of nature" or ecosystem and as such are explainable as a species along with all other species in nature.

> By the same token, we never cease to be mammals that still have primal natural urges, but we institutionalize these urges and their satisfaction in a wide variety of social forms. Hence, the social and the natural continually permeate each other in the most ordinary activities of daily life without losing their identity in a shared process of interaction, indeed, of interactivity. (Bookchin, 1990:422)

As just another member of such a "species system", humans in the case of for example Social Ecology, Deep Ecology and Bio-regionalism, are expected to afford the respect to all other species that a shared species system status would entail, that is the same respect afforded to other humans (Bari, 1997: 2; Bookchin, 1990: 423). Such an awareness, as an environmental approach, is thus expected to foster far reaching environmental sustainability as the result of humans' recognition of their inherent symbiotic nature and interdependent ecological destiny with all other species. In this approach, the relationship between humans and other species is that of a shared web of biological existence and, as such, the connection of humans to the species system (the Gaia web, or species web) represents only their unique location and species position as within a chain. Thus, as has been shown, the new environmental sociology as represented by these schools is committed to the concept of "nature" as being the presiding principle in their analyses, as seen through the Gaia principle. Although these schools argue in favour of a "non-dualistic" stance, their commitment to the concept of

nature implies an underlying dualism signalled by the concept of nature as one arm of an inside/outside dichotomy, wherein all dimensions of life, both human and non-human, are reducible to the existence of a natural empirical "out there". Such an ecological reductionism argues for the presence of an "empirical holism", which ignores the "experiential" dimension. In other words, the interior dimension of experience is ignored. Such theorists reduce the environment to an empirical map of the ecological system and thus are not anti-Cartesian. It remains at once dualistic in so far as Gaia represents a giant holistic web of interconnected species in which the different species, including human, become definable members by virtue of a systemic location. In contrast to the "lived" holism of phenomenology, where the experiential moving toward a given location serves to incorporate the entire world within the person as an experiential sensuous "enfoldment" of the entirety as world, the species system approach reduces the entire world to an exterior, empirical, or biological (material) dimension. Such a position collapses all experiential depth and scope of being as "in the worldness" to one empirical external biological moment.

Fourth Contribution

In providing a critique of "one-sided rationalism" and through advancing phenomenological discourse to encompass an environmental discourse located within the aboriginal setting, the dissertation provides a cogent critique to utilitarian resource management's approaches to the environment. In utilitarian models, economic value in the broad sense is seen as being of value to all—it is viewed as a universal measurement of true value (Evernden, 1985:9). The utilitarian environmental management perspective makes an inventory of terrestrial sites evaluated on the basis

of resource advantages and social benefits. The terrestrial land environment of aboriginal peoples, as characterized by groups in British Columbia, is evaluated on a different scale. The dissertation demonstrates that the aboriginal meaning of land, and the surrounding environment, is embedded in the aboriginal notion of "selfhood" as a dimension of their extended bodily presence within a territory being lived out on the land for untold generations. It is strongly borne out in the literature on Coastal and Interior narratives, rituals and traditions that the network of places that are originally linked together by the pathways of the ancestors' travels have become, at the same time, a network or pathway of personal relations within the territorial group. Such pathways of personal relations can be seen, for instance, in patterns of familial ownership and also in territorial behaviours such as familial land-based harvesting patterns or spiritual rights; for example, the right to use certain territorially based songs or dances that address the problem of respect and territorial "dwelling" within a region. These pathways given in folk narratives speak to the age-old process of territorial use patterns and sharing behaviours within a commonly held landscape or tribal territory, which particular well-known inter-generational familial ancestral groups call home. Thus, the terrestrial land and environment of aboriginal peoples in British Columbia are seen by them to be inalienable.

The dissertation will thus offer an environmental discourse, as arrived at through phenomenological concepts, that demonstrates that the unique regional landscapes of the many aboriginal nations of British Columbia are the environments of native people's ownmost self-identification and existence as skin. That is, the territory is the existence of: their hearing as their ears (as the known territorial sounds around them), the sensuous contours of the land and flora and fauna as their bodily feeling and touch (it is

their skin as associated with all they touch), their eyes as their seeing (the landscape of their accustomed view). To summarize the traditional territory's meaning in utilitarian terms is to overlook its "real" meaning to the aboriginal people. Such a reductionist view amputates the land from the people as though it were a limb of their body. Such an approach amounts to the same as taking away their skin, as I have often heard expressed within the many aboriginal communities of the region. Elder Annie York's Stein pictograph interpretation, drawn from the Stein Valley storyscape case study further down, is telling. The rock boulder and its painting represented an old lady, who had power, who said, "'My eyes will be far out to watch over you'; she was watching over her grandchildren. Her eyes (her vision) were embodied in the rock" (York, Daly, and Arnett, 1993:218).

Aboriginal being and place, as described above, are very different from utilitarian focused approaches, such as aboriginal land claims processes in British Columbia. Contemporary traditional use studies that inform the treaty process in British Columbia rely heavily on conventional utilitarian and ecological models with their itemization of use sites as mapable resources. Such a utilitarian approach is alive and well at all levels of native claims settlement whose processes tend to view aboriginal lands largely from the perspective of their monetary value, and therefore seek to settle territorial claims to a large extent through cash settlements (Duff, 1964:61).

An earlier, similar process was implemented in Quebec when the "James Bay Agreement" was made by the Federal Government to facilitate the Le Grand River Hydro Project, thereby giving Hydro Quebec over three hundred kilometres of ancestral *Cree* hunting territories in northern Quebec in exchange for two hundred and twenty five million dollars in 1975 (Feit, 1995: 209). The settlement had disastrous social and

cultural consequences for *Cree* peoples, who were relocated from their tribal settlements and faced the flooding of their ancestral territories.

In British Columbia, the history of land settlements is even more complex. At the time of Confederation when the other Canadian territories were making treaties with the aboriginal peoples, British Columbia abstained from the treaty process and worked instead on the basis of a tri-lateral Indian Reserve Commission. The reserve process deprived natives in British Columbia of their territories entirely, placing people on small settlement locations (*ultra vires*) of their Federally recognized aboriginal rights, against Federal council. The above history demonstrates that, since the beginning, the provincial agenda in British Columbia has been to alienate the tribal territories of Native peoples, through one means or another, with little consideration for the ancestral connections aboriginals have with their territories as sites of bodily investment and belonging as explained. As a majority of First Nations groups around British Columbia enter the Federal and Provincial Treaty Process in order to rectify the land issue, with a network of claimed territories that checkerboard the province, the spectre of monetary settlements through utilitarian instrumentalities looms large. Our hope is that the phenomenological perspective offered in the dissertation might offer the notion of aboriginal lands as an ancestral field of selfhood and belonging in counterpoint to utilitarian models.

Fifth Contribution

The dissertation has offered three interrelated concepts in order to situate the discourse of phenomenology and environmental sociology within the aboriginal setting. The concepts of: "enfoldment", "storyscape", and *poiesis* serve to analyse the spatiality

of the native self with regard to environmentalist concerns by regarding aboriginal "selfhood" on three levels, moving from the most concrete experiential level to the abstract symbolic level, that of the self's expression.

1. The concept of "Enfoldment" represents the imbrication of the "extended body" with human and non-human agents in a shared life process within an economy of reciprocity and sharing between, for example, humans and non-human animal kinds, as is argued within the discourses of environmental phenomenology and anthropological phenomenology. It conceptualizes the experience of human imbrication with the non-human world, at the phenomenological level of the extended body, that emerges at the level of aboriginal experience as an experience of "enfoldment" of humans with other non-human persons, and geophysical agents (Ingold, 1996). In many instances within the dissertation, the territorial surrounds of the aboriginal groups under discussion are ascribed with personhood and seemingly animated as demonstrated in chapters 4, 5 and 6, and thus are exemplary of the "concept of enfoldment" as we have articulated it. Such a personalization of non-human agents inhering within the aboriginal territorial landscape can be seen, for instance, in examples of geological landmarks such as unusually shaped stones or boulders, and also in the case of animals that are attributed human properties or ascribed personhood. For example, animals are seen by the *Cree* as all-knowing agents (Scott, 1989). Coastal and Interior *Salish* peoples of British Columbia perceive rocks to be transformed people and, thus, have given them names (Mohs, 1987; Teit, 1900). For both Coastal and Interior tribes of British Columbia and elsewhere, mountains are ascribed special animate properties and are addressed by name and talked to or prayed to as is the case for the *Sto:lo* people of Coastal British Columbia who identify their mountains with the quality of *Si:li,* meaning my grandparents

(Archibald, in Bierwert, 1999:64). These attributions of personhood to non-human agents are all representative of an experience of "enfoldment", or a sense of imbrication aboriginal people have with their territorial surrounds and its non-human agents. The feeling of inhering within a shared niche, the connectivity of touch and the imbrication of the body with its world as its sensuous surrounds collectively imparts the sentiment of sameness between humans and non-humans, which thus animates the environment and imputes to the landscape a generalized quality of personhood.

2. The concept of "Storyscape" addresses the issue of world emergence and speaks to the manner in which folkloric aboriginal worlds are established narratively at the level of the body, through oral representations of ancestral movements and corporeal occupations within a territorial dwelling or shared landscape. The concept of "storyscape" thus speaks to the manner in which aboriginal being or selfhood within a place as the imbrication of body and world gets narratively encoded, thereby offering a locally recognizable folkloric ordering of "the world" and thus the potential for the self's possibilizing. The concept is useful in light of the dissertation's subject matter, because it demonstrates how given territorial surrounds of a particular people become personalized in narrative terms that depict their collective life story in the ancient sense. As a concept, the "storyscape" serves to establish the regional context of a people's social and environmental interaction that will provide the foundation of their territorial self-identification at a folkloric level. Thus, the lives and occupations of any given group of aboriginal people are carried out in territorial and regional terms as understood and identified within "storyscapes" (Stoffle, Halmo, and Austin, 1995:6). The dissertation demonstrates that the diverse regional narrative traditions of aboriginals, worldwide (as seen in the cases of the Western *Apache*, the *Walbiri* and *Pintupi* Aborigines, the *Cree*,

and the Coastal and Interior peoples of British Columbia), identify a group of territorial dwellers with a specific territorial landscape—these are folklorically designated in terms of what can be referred to as a storyscape. In the case of the groups under study, the "storyscapes" which establish a people's self-identification within a territorial dwelling occur on the basis of human activity and movement on the territorial level. They speak to various spots on the land as special sites of territorial doings, which reference what was done there. On the basis of body/world imbrication as a meaningful site of doing, the nodal points of what has become a social and human world are encoded at the level of folkloric narrative depictions; they become embedded within a "storyscape" of the people's ownmost self-identification. Thus folkloric travels of pre-human ancestors and deities become formative in the folkloric depiction of the world. They furnish a meaningful map at the level of an epic narrative, which speaks to the "enfoldment" of body and world in the transcendent or non-dualistic sense. As a result, the land gets encoded into a system of human meaning on an epic or mythic scale. It gets encoded on the level of human activity or grand narrative as a meaningfulness that embraces both the humans and non-human agents of a shared environment, as sketched onto a continuum of past, present and future, as can only be encapsulated in myth.

3. The concept of *poiesis* speaks to the most abstract level, that of the self's symbolic expression. It speaks to the many "thematic" representations that express the "enfoldment" of body and world as they are encoded in the narratives or "storyscapes", and as they inform and perpetuate the "extended self". They are the many thematized representations that speak to the self's presencing within territorial surrounds. The concept of *poiesis* used in this dissertation will be justified in the context of the history of the term in the next section. The term *poiesis* designates the self's expression of place

in all of its multifarious and diverse forms. *Poiesis* is the expressive form that represents the synthesis of body and world. The dissertation argues that an acknowledgement of a "*poetics* of place" offers the capability of designating territories as meaningful terrains of "selfhood". Through a look at the many territorial thematizations as *poiesis,* the territories can be phenomenologically sketched out as true human dwellings in the non-dualistic sense as an unbroken "enfoldment" of the self as its surrounds.

The "poetics of place", a territory's *poiesis*, speaks ultimately to the life defining ancestral and human events that have occurred within and are defining of the territory, and which ramify within a people as being self-identifying and thus are constitutive of that which is environmentally speaking their own. The "poetics" of "dwelling", in the native sense, can also take the form of territorially specific stories, songs, dances based on territorial legends about the land. Speech forms, family crests, regalias, rituals, masks, sacred objects and sacred places that retain the meaning and significance of the self's presencing and its stay here as being-in-the-world or "dwelling" figure prominently. We shall demonstrate that aboriginal expressive forms, as in the self's *poiesis,* are the meaningful "speaking out" of the "extended body's" relationship to the world as in the environmental context of dwelling; they speak to the self's expansiveness and provide a vehicle for it to be communicated and borne forth. They create an aesthetic space for the self's realization in the extended sense in terms of the ethos of "real dwelling".

Another example to be given is the way in which the "body/word" nexus as a sonic articulatory phenomenon generates the *poiesis* of the *Kaluli, Foi* and *Umeda* people (Feld, 1996; Gell, 1975) of Papua New Guinea. The *Foi, Kaluli* and *Umeda* live in a dense forest setting where primarily alternating "thematized sounds" became self-defining in their "body/world contexture". Consequently, their corresponding "poetics"

emphasize sound gestures within articulatory space as a primary sensuous modality, together with the tactile sensuousness of the earth's slope also playing a role. For this reason, articulatory phonetics, such as onomatopoeia, becomes the "mimetic" symbols of body and world in sonic terms, phonetically. In this same sense, extended bodily surfaces as they are expressed poetically and narratively, for these groups, result in an oral description of the landscape as anatomical parts, such as the expression of a hillside as thighs. On this basis, the landscape becomes animated and personified as an environment which is neither external nor inert, but rather as that intimately, my own, animated bodily aroundness as sensuous "selfhood".

In the case of the First Nations hunter-gatherers of British Columbia, the "poetics" of tribal territory and dwelling as discussed above is evident throughout the region, manifesting in a wide variety of aesthetic, narrative, symbolic, and sonic articulatory forms as representations of true dwelling and of human and non-human enfoldment of familiarity and territorial belongingness. The notion of territorial belonging, which suggests a sensuous "body/world" imbrication and its resultant expressiveness, has been discussed above. In the case of British Columbia's aboriginal peoples (both Coastal and Interior), formative components of meaning and identity flow from special places on the land that speak of the meaningful ancestral and human events, which happened there and which bear certain identifying significance to the territorial dwellers; they are constitutive of their personhood. It is strongly borne out in the literature on Coastal and Interior narratives, rituals and traditions that the network of places that are originally linked together by the pathways of the ancestors travels have become at the same time a network or pathway of personal relations (of ownership, for example); territorial behaviours, such as harvesting patterns or spiritual rights, further address the

problem of territory dwelling within its regions. These pathways speak to the age-old process of territorial use patterns and sharing behaviours within a commonly held landscape or tribal territory in which particular well-known inter-generational familial ancestral groups call home.

For both Coastal and Interior peoples of British Columbia, the articulating and defining of landscape as the spiritual *poiesis* of their ownmost self-identification proves to be a primary feature within the oral traditions of the people as seen in the supernaturally ascribed voice of the oral narratives and other folkloric and traditional forms as garnered from the individual territorial groups. Characteristically, legends and ritual traditions are literally contextualized geographically in terms of important well-known oft-used geographically marked places within the tribal territory, which either mark a lineage's exact terrestrial origin as seen in Coastal tribes such as the *Gitksan* (Cove,1987), the *Kwageulth* or *Kwakwakawakw* (Goldman, 1975) and the *Sto:lo* (Mohs, 1987) or map out the territory on the basis of age-old ancestral territorial use patterns that are frequently seen in the in the case of Interior groups (Teit, 1900). From the feelings about these places and the activities that took place there flow the many songs, dances, crests, symbols, narratives, ancient landmarks, aesthetic forms (such as rock art) and placenames that can be called territorial "poetics". For the aboriginal peoples of British Columbia, the "territorial *poiesis*", which can be associated with a particular storyscape or regional landscape that can be called a tribal territory, is always based on what has happened there in a feelingful nostalgic moral and ancestral sense that has placed people situationally and "thematically" within a background they call home.

In this way, named places [such as Keith Basso (1984) talks about for the Western *Apache* or as Bruce Chatwin (1987) recalls for the Australian Aborigine people]

as they are remembered, repeated, sung out or even recited become the resonance of the lived body as it incorporates another animate surface (the territory) in an unending and intertwining epidermal layer on the basis of what meaningful takes place there (Merleau-Ponty, 1968:133). Through the above experiential means of knowing the land thematically and "poetically" (as an active possibility), through stating the names and remembering its stories (in the case of the Western *Apache*), or through singing it up on song lines (in the case of the *Walbiri* or *Pintupi* Aborigine people), the self's meaningful presencing becomes an active and realizable possibility. Thus, in the territorial sense implied in the phenomenon of aboriginality, "dwelling" is embedded in a well-known oft-repeated *poiesis* of place with its embedded moral character. As in the case of *Apache* wisdom, for example, such a *poiesis* is the foundation of aboriginal knowing *Apache* as seen in its self-reflexive system of "real knowing" grounded in the experiential domain of place (Basso, 1992:106).

Thus the recognition of aboriginal "storyscapes", their regional watershed landscapes with their unique compendium of ecoscapes as sites of bodily and narrative significance and their corresponding documentation become the most compelling tool available to achieve the double-edged purpose of territorial and aboriginal preservation. They are capable of designating meaningful territorial dimensions, mapping and depicting the land as an implicit and sacrosanct aboriginal resource beyond the mere utilitarian value of its material worth, but rather in terms of its sacred value, its true human value; its *poiesis*. The regional landscape as a "storyscape" and its corresponding *poiesis* of "body and world" provide more than just a topographical mapping with its itinerary of known places. It generates a web of human meaning; the self-identification, the cultural memory, and a the narrative moral universe of a people

and speaks to the most intimate self-defining moments within their homeland, suspended in an enfoldment of past, present and future and human and non-human activities.

In fact, all of the articulations of aboriginal possibilities stated throughout this text can be sketched onto an activational world-making continuum that depicts the life-defining moments and ownmost aspirations of the native people themselves, as they have been dreamt and felt from ancient times. The perspective of a phenomenological "*poiesis* as storyscape" provides the chance to look at the activities and meanings of the people as a unique and different way of life in the context of its own unique diachronical (progression and change) meanings of selfhood from the "immersed viewpoint"; from the viewpoint of the environment and territory through the perspective of self, body and world.

1.4. The Concept of *Poiesis*

Since the term *poiesis* is foreign to sociology, some background is needed to justify the correct use. To explain the term *poiesis* as used in the dissertation, it is important to look at the roots of poetry and to raise the general question of what is meant by the "poetic". The concept of *poiesis* used here has been synthesized from the term *poiesis* in Aristotle's concept of tragedy as a poetic process of "imitation" and "action", and as was re-thought by Heidegger in his phenomenological discussions of non-dualistic causality, which were discussed above. Sociological discourse, even when phenomenologically informed, does not use the concepts of *poiesis*, which refers primarily to artistic and aesthetic disciplines. Nonetheless, this inquiry requires such a

concept to illuminate the creative making of a world in traditional place-related expression. The term *poiesis* means poetry and, therefore, invariably represents a process that is aesthetic or artistic in nature; it speaks to the realm of artistic production and how it occurs. *Poiesis* conceptualizes the relationship between the land's emotional value, its spatial "thematizations", its oral gestures, traditional landmarks, and the worldly activities that give rise to, and sustain, such expressions. It emphasizes how the body has its world, and how this world is communicated and experienced through a continuum of traditional gestures, oral traditions, and spatial "thematizations". The term *poiesis* originated with Aristotle and is explained and discussed in his philosophical text *The Poetics*. Here the term *poiesis* is linked to "the central action" in Greek drama, especially in the case of tragedy that Aristotle believes to be the highest form of poetry. According to Fergusson:

> In *poiesis* the motive is "to make" something; it is the action of artists when they are focused upon the play, or the song or the poem, which they are trying to make. Our word "poetry" comes from this Greek word and the "poetics" itself is an analysis of the poet's action in making tragedy. In theoria the motive is "to grasp and understand" some truth. (Fergusson, 1961:10)

For instance, Aristotle finds a fitting example of *poiesis* in the Greek tragedy, Oedipus (by Sophocles), because fear and pity, which are produced by the central action of the play, have been aroused by both specific dramatic vehicles, and through the work's inner structure which was the most important of the two in Aristotle's view.

Aristotle tells us that poetry is produced largely because of the pleasure and satisfaction that it produces in the audience. The satisfaction derived from *poiesis* occurs because it provides a form of learning, or grasping, for the audience; and, in general, learning provides pleasure and satisfaction to all people. "The cause of this

again is that to learn gives the liveliest pleasure, not only to philosophers but to men in general; whose capacity, however, of learning is more limited" (Aristotle, 1961:55). In *poiesis* such learning and its resultant satisfaction derives from the pleasure of imitation that is rooted within our natures. In Aristotle's view, the foundation for poetry is always life and its expression through imitation. Poetry, thus, is always "a making" whose vehicle of expression is the art of imitation.

The artist, as maker, assembles the artistic actions of the actor in order to inspire an understanding of the main action of the drama in the audience. "Hence the plot is an imitation of the action: for by plot I here mean the arrangement of incidences" (Aristotle, 1961:12). The central theme of the "poetics" is the activity of the poet in portraying the key action that is central to the artistic dramatization. Poetry always engages artistic means of deployment of the various dramatic elements such as characterization, song, rhythm, etc., through which the artist or poet, as 'maker', insures that the 'central action' of the play is successfully communicated to the audience.

> But most important of all is the structure of the incidents. For Tragedy is an imitation, not of men, but of an action and of life, and life consists in Action and its end is a mode of action. Now character determines men's qualities, but it is by their actions that they are happy or the reverse. (Aristotle, 1961:62)

Furthermore, *praxis* or action, an indispensable feature of poetry, is defined in the "poetics" not as mere physical activity or deeds, but rather as the motivation from which deeds spring, which therefore encompasses both feeling and passion. Aristotle explains that it is the purgation of the emotions through pity and fear present in the drama that makes the poetry captivating when accompanied by metrical arrangement and song. A good tragedy, therefore, should be arranged on a complex plan and should imitate actions that would serve to excite pity and fear in the audience. Also, it must

possess a single tragic quality that calls forth pity or fear as opposed to multiple qualities or plots. Indeed, according to Aristotle, the well-constructed plot must be single in issue or action (Aristotle, 1961:75-76). Action and emotion are thus mutually imbricated in Aristotle's depiction of tragic imitation.

> Tragedy, then, is an imitation of an action that is serious, complete, and of a certain magnitude; in language embellished with each kind of artistic ornament, the several kinds being found in separate parts of the play; in the form of action, not of narrative; through pity and fear effecting the proper purgation of these emotions. (Aristotle, 1961:61)

The various parts of Greek tragedy emerge from tradition and are thought to be derived from the old Greek religious rituals that are believed to have included initiation ceremonies for the purpose of purifying initiates (or purgation) through symbolic ordeals, sacrifices and symbolic imitations of death or rebirth (Fergusson, 1961:37). Aristotle claims that the origin of Greek poetry is to be found in the Dithyramb, which in its original form was mere improvisation. "...Tragedy—as also comedy—was at first mere improvisation. The one originated with the authors of the Dithyramb, the other with those of phallic songs, which are still of in use in many of our cities" (Aristotle, 1961:57). Murray summarizes these ritual origins in the following passage:

> It assumes that Tragedy is in origin a Ritual Dance.... Further, it assumes, in accord with the overwhelming weight of ancient tradition, that the dance in question is originally or centrally that of Dionysus; and it regards Dionysus, in this connection, as the spirit of the Dithyramb or Spring Dromenon...an "Eniautos-Daimaon" [Season–Spirit] who represents the cyclical death and rebirth of the world, including the rebirth of the tribe by the return of the heroes or dead ancestors. (Murray, in Fergusson, 1961:38)

As can be seen from this short summary, Aristotle's theory of *poiesis* focuses on mimesis (imitation), emotion and expression. Heidegger's critique and extension of

Aristotle's concept of *poiesis* brings it into connection with place in a manner lacking in Aristotle's account.

Like Aristotle, Heidegger presents a concept of *poiesis* that conceptualizes the origin and significance of artistic expression. For Heidegger, artistic expression is a process of presencing, whereby a work of art is released to the expression of its possibility. *Poiesis* is, therefore, a "bringing-forth" or bringing-into-appearance of a "thing", which is unifiedly governed (through a playing in unison of four causes). It brings that which was not yet present into its arrival to presence. Heidegger thus argues that *poiesis* is a "bringing forth" out of concealment and into non-concealment by an artwork. This analysis makes the mimesis discussed by Aristotle more creative and innovative with respect to the clarity of the "actions" of "life" that it expresses, because it does not only represent a prior action but itself brings an action into presence (Heidegger, 1977:317).

Although the work of art is occasioned by a 'four-fold' structure of causality, it is through the one pure intention of an artist or craftsman that a work can be set free or released to its own pure self-subsistence (Heidegger, 1977:165). It is through the pondering of the artist that the *poiesis* or occasioning of an artwork can occur and be induced to go forward to be freed to its possibility. To create a work the artist (the fourth cause) must gather together three other causal factors. It is with the three other factors that he or she shares co-responsibility for the presencing of the work (Heidegger, 1977:315). For example:

> The silversmith considers carefully and gathers together the three previously aforementioned ways of being responsible and indebted. (ibid., 315)

The artist gathers the other causal factors together but shares responsibility with the other factors in the occasioning of the work. All factors equally give rise to the presencing. For example, "the chalice is indebted to, i.e., owes thanks to, the silver for that of which it consists" (ibid., 315). Moreover, the chalice is indebted not only to the silver but also to the *eidos* (aspect) of chaliceness. Thirdly, the occasioning of the chalice is also indebted to a *telos*, that which gives bounds to its chaliceness; that which contains and completes it. "The telos is responsible for what matter and what as aspect are together co-responsible for the sacrificial vessel" (ibid., 315). The fourth participant, the silversmith, is responsible for the fact that the chalice lies finished before us and is ready for use.

Heidegger asserts that the essence of causation lies more correctly in that which unifies the four causes. In speaking of the chalice, Heidegger explains "Thus four ways of owing hold sway in the sacrificial vessel that lies ready before us" (ibid., 316). They belong together and are inseparable. Therefore, the silversmith does not bear sole responsibility as 'maker', as in Aristotle, but is only one feature in the four-fold path of occasioning. Consequently, the expressiveness of the work goes beyond that of the silversmith and belongs to and expresses a world beyond the actual artist. The difference between artistic production and the irrupting blossoms that occur in the natural world, according to Heidegger, is thus:

> In contrast what is brought forth by the artisan or artist, e.g., the silver chalice, has the irruption belonging to the bringing-forth, not in itself, but in another (en alloi), in the craftsman or artist. (ibid., 317)

The artist assists the release of the work to its own pure self-subsistence (ibid., 165). Thus, a work of art belongs and exists and is displayed within the realm that is opened up by itself" (ibid., 167). Heidegger gives *this idea of irruption forward* in the example of

a Greek temple, which, once completed as an artistic work, opens up a world as it stands there against the earth, which only now appears as ground. Moreover, Heidegger tells us that it is through the temple that surrounding things receive their look, and through which men receive an outlook on the world.

> Standing there, the building rests on the rocky ground. The resting of the work draws up out of the rock the obscurity of that rock's bulky yet spontaneous support. Standing there, the building holds its ground against the storm raging above it and so first makes the storm itself manifest in its violence. The luster and gleam of the stone, through itself apparently glowing only by the grace of the sun, first brings to radiance the light of the day, the breadth of the sky, the darkness of the night. The temple's firm towering makes visible the invisible space of air. The steadfastness of the work contrasts with the surge of the surf, and its own repose brings out the raging of the sea. Trees and grass, eagle and bull, snake and cricket first enter into their distinctive shapes and thus come to appear as what they are. (ibid., 167-168)

Unlike Aristotle, the artwork brings into presence or manifests the action of life itself and is not merely a "mimesis" of an already existent world. The artwork constitutes a world. Further, Heidegger elaborates that the positioning of an 'art work' sets out space in a sacrificial manner. It consecrates the space whether outdoors or within a museum. "Towering up within itself, the work opens up a world and keeps it abidingly in force" (ibid., 169). Thus, wherever an artwork sits, there is a world. By virtue of being a work, a work makes a space for spaciousness; it liberates the space of an open region and incorporates it into its structure. "To e-rect means: to open the right in the sense of a guiding measure, a form in which what is essential gives guidance" (ibid., 169). It is a 'bringing-forth' to presence, to the spatiality of a 'world', which is thus gathered up by virtue of its force, belonging and Being that is vested in Heidegger's concept of *poiesis*. It is such a *poiesis* that opens up all spaces and worlds and, consequently, clears the way for human possibility upon the earth. The artist, a feature of the four-fold, through a

process of artistic considering, sets it free to its being as an expression. By connecting *poiesis* to the constitution of a world, Heidegger analyses the artwork as a constitution of place. It is the artwork that brings forth the place.

The emphasis on place that emerges from Heidegger's revision of Aristotle's concept of *poiesis* is taken in the direction of the human body by Maurice Merleau-Ponty. For Merleau-Ponty the question of *poiesis* or artistic expression is explained in terms of the body's expressiveness, its capacity to have its world as a world of sensorial meaning and experience. Unlike Aristotle and Heidegger, for whom *poiesis* refers to the activity of a single maker, Merleau-Ponty expands the notion to refer to innovative expressions of the body—world syntheses of which all humans are capable. He shows that all artistic and poetic expression is similar to authentic speech; speech that is expressive of the actions of the lived body in relation to a phenomenal world in which there is a relation of "...the sense being held within the word, and the word being the external existence of the sense" (Merleau-Ponty, 1962:182). He argues that language and other forms of expression are actually a "revelation of intimate being" and the imbrication of body and world.

> As soon as man uses language to establish a living relation with himself or with his fellows, language is no longer an instrument; it is a manifestation, a revelation of intimate being and of the psychic link which unites us to the world and our fellow men. (ibid., 182)

Thus for Merleau-Ponty, *poiesis* attains a strong gestural sense and emotional content in words, vowels and phonemes, which provide a means of "singing the world" directly. Language, in this instance, becomes a form of expressing the emotional content of a world. In the case of poetry, the meaning "swallows up" the symbols or letters and words to invoke a world context. *Poiesis* becomes the expression of a

particular world as lived, which invokes a world with all its sensuous and emotional significance. *Poiesis* is the body's speaking out in its synergy with a surrounding world that it experiences sensuously and is able to express at the level of phonic gestures. Merleau-Ponty's conception focuses on:

> ...the emotional content of the word, which we have called above all its 'gestural' sense, which is all-important in poetry, for example. It would then be found that the words, vowels, and phonemes, are, so many ways of 'singing the world' and that their function is to represent things not, as naïve onomatopoetic theory had it, by reason of an objective resemblance, but because they extract, and literally express their emotional essence. (ibid., 187)

According to Merleau-Ponty, all language (and specifically poetry) expresses a position on the meaningful world as experienced through the senses. A phonetic gesture, therefore, occasions for both speaker and hearer a particular modulation of experience exactly as a body-world relationship would allow. It is through the same function that the body opens itself to a new pattern of behaviour that can make it understood to an external witness through a gesture. Such expressions occur and are intelligible according to the behavioural synthesis of body and world (ibid., 193).

> The word and speech must somehow cease to be a way of designating things and thoughts, and become the presence of that thought in the phenomenal world, and, moreover, not its clothing but its token or its body. (ibid., 182)

It is this power of human expression to invoke a sensory world that makes expression of any kind, artistic or otherwise, meaningful and communicative. For example, a spectator joins in on a theatrical performance with an acceptance that precedes the intellectual working out of its meaning. "I become involved with things with my body, they co-exist with me as an incarnate subject..." (ibid., 185). It is, moreover, enough that external space, a body and a field of action exist as a surrounding field for

the audience members to grasp, for instance, a story, a play or the lived texture of another's everyday life. Every word and its modulation occupy a certain place within one's embodied world such that communication is possible.

Thus, for Merleau-Ponty, the arts, such as music, speech, painting, and literature, etc., cannot be reduced to their elements, such as the mere notes or colours or words. Rather, these idioms gain their true significance as arts in reference to an organic expressive whole, which opens up and communicates a 'sensory world' to be experienced by an audience at the level of the body's meaning. They serve to express meaningfully and open up a world (ibid., 182).

> ...it brings it to life in an organism of words, establishing it in the writer or the reader as a new sense organ, opening a new field or a new dimension to our experience. This power of expression is well known in the arts, for example in music. The musical meaning of a sonata is inseparable from the sounds which are its vehicle: before we have heard it no analysis enables us to anticipate it; once the performance is over, we shall, in our intellectual analyses of music, be unable to do anything but carry ourselves back to the moment of experiencing it. (ibid., 182)

Expression and artistic gestures of all kinds embody an experiential 'world' or organic whole that opens up a corresponding world of experience in the perception of the spectator or listener. Just as the sense lives within the gesture, the gesture also lives within the sense—they are linked and inseparable. Therefore, human behavioural patterns and their related expression, the body's expressive function ("poetics"), open up a world. It is equally the case that, within a natural or geographic world, a human world and an emotional world are present through oral accounts, songs and gestures, which then allow the situational landscape in question to be noticed and experienced as a meaningful environing world. The various phonic and artistic gestures that result from behavioural patterns on the land contain the meaning and significance of the landscape.

They provide the context and open up and hold the emotive and human world. Consequently, songs, mythologized landmarks, stories, poems, dances and other aesthetic gestures can be seen as 'poetic' gestures or "ways of singing" the world" of human and non-human interaction. Such poetic gestures both set the space and 'open up a world' and provide a meaningful context for human life. Several different uses of the term *poiesis* within anthropological literature extend Merleau-Ponty's notion of a generically human capacity for *poiesis*. Oral tradition is a body-world synthesis in which *poiesis* becomes a collective creation.

Two current phenomenological writers, Steven Feld and Miriam Kahn, use concepts of expression, which supplement Merleau-Ponty's use. Both writers discuss the tribal people's approach to oral expressions that occur while living upon, identifying and speaking about the habitat as demonstrated by the *Kaluli* (in Feld's case) and *Wamiran* (in Kahn's case), both of Papua New Guinea.

Feld has employed the term *poesis* (different spelling) interchangeably with his central concept of "poetics of place". Here, *poesis* represents the world as given to the senses as it is expressed in various aesthetic iconic forms of expression which "unite experiential realities of place to its expressive evocation" (Feld, 1996:101). In Feld's interpretation, "poetics" or *poesis* are the means by which sensuous experiential moments are connected to place through evocative expressive acoustic gestures, such as songs, or phonetic gestures. For example, *Kaluli* communication and poetic expression are strongly auditory in nature, signifying and gesturing a sonic articulatory world as it emerges in the highly auditory environment of the densely forested region habitat of the *Kaluli* (see Chapter 4). The accoustemology of their forest habitat is gestured and expressed in the many syllabic and sonic expressions that typify the

people's regional communication and, indeed, Steven Feld summarizes his '"poetics of place" as the "the ways in which Kaluli people encounter, sense and name places in their world, and then to the ways this flow of world sensing turns into a sensual *poesis* of place" (ibid., 101).

Miriam Kahn (1996) argues for an emotional and expressive relationship between people's landscape and tribal traditions as found in the *Wamiran*. "In Papua New Guinea, history, in general, is described in terms of relationships between migrations, myths, names, and localities that are recalled in songs, stories, and ritual" (Kahn, 1996:193). Kahn explains how various landmarks and stories embody the emotional value of the landscape, which acquires its significance on the basis of what happened there, and "provides tangible forms for the mooring of memory" (ibid., 167).

> History, biography, memory, and emotion all merged with and settled in the landscape. The places would trigger strong emotions for Wamirans after I had left, because they would be all that Wamirans had as reminders of me. In discussing how places with strong emotional content often evoke loss, Steven Feld (this volume) says that "living far away one is deeply reminded of places as kin; path connections are like familiar places calling back to you." (ibid., 188)

This survey has demonstrated how elements of "mimesis", emotion and expression that were first delineated by Aristotle have been amplified by the focus on place (in Heidegger) and body (in Merleau-Ponty), and finally extended into the "collective body" of oral tradition by some contemporary anthropological writers. In both Aristotle and Heidegger, *poiesis* is an artistic process that emerges from and expresses an arena of human life. Heidegger's phenomenological discussions on the non-duality and spatiality of an 'art work' are extended by Maurice Merleau-Ponty on the ability of artistic and poetic expression to "open up a world" for human experience. Thus, the terms "poetics" and *poiesis* have been chosen here in order to emphasize this point.

Heidegger's conceptualization of an 'artwork' as "bringing-forth" a world through the spaciousness of its ownmost Being and spatiality, and its ownmost self-subsistence, provides a clue to the way Aboriginal folklore opens up a human world within a natural geographic one, thereby making human habitation possible and meaningful. Merleau-Ponty's conceptualization of poetry and art as having an emotive content linked to gestures gives further insight onto how poetic gestures of all kinds serve to open up a world in correspondence with our ownmost behavioural patterns and bodily experience. The employment of the term *poiesis*, therefore, has been useful in explaining the role of stories, songs, mythological landmarks and traditions practised on the land. *Poiesis* conceptualizes the relationship between the land's emotional value, its spatial "thematizations", its oral gestures, traditional landmarks and the worldly activities that give rise to and sustain such expressions. It provides emphasis on the manner in which the body has its world and how this world is communicated and experienced through a continuum of traditional gestures, oral traditions and spatial "thematizations".

For the purposes of the dissertation, the term *poiesis* will be employed to conceptualize the link between expression and everyday sensual experience (Feld, 1996:108). The term *poiesis*, in this case, represents the world as given as an emotive and sensual experience, and as it is expressed in various forms of expression that are tied to experiences of place. The term *poiesis* shall be employed, throughout the dissertation, to demonstrate how the aboriginal traditions of the various particular territorial groups relate to, express and open up the world, as Merleau-Ponty states it, of sensual experience and belonging, within a concrete phenomenal world, or territory. Poetic manifestations, such as oral expressions and poetic gestures, arise from sensual experiences such as food getting practices, migratory practices and travels from place to

place. In my usage, *poiesis* conceptualizes the relationship between the land's emotional value, its spatial "thematizations", its oral gestures, traditional landmarks, and the worldly activities that give rise to and sustain such expressions. It provides emphasis on the manner in which the body has its world and how this world is communicated and experienced through a continuum of traditional gestures, oral traditions and spatial "thematizations".

1.5. Thematic Orientation of the Dissertation

The chosen theoretical orientation of the dissertation is to elaborate the interrelated concepts of self, body and world as drawn from the work of European phenomenologists, such as Merleau-Ponty and Heidegger, as well as more modern writers, such as Richard Zaner and others. These are thinkers that collectively serve to theorize the sensuous activities of the "lived body" to play the central role in the emergence of the "world" as an unbroken sphere of human significance and meaning. The phenomenological perspective is that the spatiality of "lived bodily" movements at a diversity of well-recognized and meaningful sites brings forth the context and matrix of the world, and thus suggests a meaningful totality of activity as a sensuous field of geographically articulated locations or familiarized sites. Further, it is through our sensuous activity that one's sensitization and imbrication as an "extended self" to a given world reality is accomplished. In other words, the entire "world" emerges in a process of sensuous physical use or praxis that, through the concrete relations of the bodies' activities in space at recognized sites, allows a familiarized world of significance and involvement to emerge. The realization of the centrality of the "lived body", as in the

phenomenological problematic of spatiality, transcends the dualisms of inside/outside dichotomy of self versus other, to give way to an "aroundness of being" as "transcended towards its world", the tactile and interrelated world of our complex involvement and absorption as an "extended bodily" presence. In every sense, the "world" is a contexture in which elements have been "thematized" or given special significance against a "background", which thus orientates a human figure within a "world". By thus engaging in our world and its various activities and tasks, as human beings, we become at once sensuously enmeshed in a world contexture that is heavily sedimented in social relations, symbolic significance and worldly meaning.

The above theoretical elements serve to focus the dissertation's discussions of folkloric depictions of landscape, because they explain how sites of bodily movement and sensuous activity at, for example, fishing spots, hunting spots, gathering spots, power spots, resting spots, landmarks, natural beacons, lookouts etc., become an immediate extension of "self", therefore imputing to them a mythological or animate existence (they become cultural). Once mythologized, the land then becomes charged with a sacred and symbolic meaning; the landscape, alternatively, physically anchors the world's meaning within a given ancestral folkloric tradition. This view of landscape as a field of "self" bestows the land and surrounds with beingness or with a personality and a humanity.

It follows then, that the deconstruction of Cartesianism has been an important factor en route to the phenomenological explanation of nature that is being advocated by the dissertation. Cartesian paradigms of opposition of subject and object, self versus other, inside versus outside, lead to the estimation of life, in general, on the basis of measurable material bodies to be counted; what might be referred to as materialist

reductionism. The Cartesian alienation of body/mind does not suit the aims of the dissertation because it values reason and quantitative mathematical calculation above other forms of perception. The literature on embodiment mentioned above restores "knowing" to perception, to the world of lived embodied experience; we are all interconnected at each moment through a corporeally volatile world of sensorial movement and touch. The notion of being-in-the-world along the lines of "real sensuous praxis", moreover, does not trivialize the world in empirical terms of its measurable verifiable entities. Rather, it favours a non-scientistic approach to the world as a vast interconnectedness of "being-in-the-world" encompassing the familiarity of the environment, its people, and the ongoing hopefulness and working through of "ownmost" self-possibility at a given physical location. The world thus becomes one unending field of meaningfully charged and interconnected surfaces. The environment, in the pre-scientific sense, can now be re-experienced in its aroundness as the experiential environment or landscape of our immediate belonging; the intimate "field of self" of the "extended body".

1.6. Narrative Structure of the Dissertation

Chapter 2

Chapter Two looks at European phenomenology's concept of the spatiality of the "lived body", as given in the works of Maurice Merleau-Ponty and Martin Heidegger, as the means by which humans are meaningfully and gainfully situated within a "world" nexus of their ownmost self-identification, belonging, and familiarity. The objective of this chapter is to represent the notion of "being" as in-the-worldness in terms of the

moment of our experiential "being here" and the environmental aroundness that it implies; as the enterprise of our being locatatively positioned as that which is experientially my own. However, correspondingly, it is also the moment of being locationally placed within a "world" which speaks to the enterprise of human doing in the greater, and more extended, sense of all that which meaningfully surrounds me and speaks to me and informs me; of all that which my movements and senses can incorporate. This chapter, thus, in the course of delineating phenomenology's conceptualization of being as "in-the-worldness", provides a critique of one-sided Cartesian rationalism's scientistic notion of abstract space that conceptualizes space in terms of the notion of the "insidedness of bodies". Chapter Two's discussion looks at the phenomenon of the "lived body", not as an atomistic and separate body of the skin's envelope, but as a spatially "extended body" that expands to encompass the field of movement and sensory experience. This chapter primarily conceptualizes the link between "body and world", which is central to the analysis of the dissertation's focus.

Chapter 3

Chapter Three presents the notion of the "phenomenological self" as developed in the works of Hans Jonas (1966), Maurice Merleau-Ponty (1962), Erwin Strauss (1958), and Richard Zaner (1981), and also in the phenomenological environmental writings of David Abram (1996) and Neil Evernden (1985). This chapter will theorize the notion of the "environing self" in more detailed terms than the previous chapter, demonstrating the actual process of the self's meaningful locatative positioning, thereby posing the question of how, in actual terms, does the self become a realizable, environmental possibility? The discussion will thus relate the self's possibility to a

meaningful terrain of "thematized" recognition, activity and "territorial belonging" in order to demonstrate the cogency of the "environment" as an integral concept in the analysis of human "selfhood". Thus, this chapter serves to conceptualize the relevancy of a phenomenological environmental discourse present in the aboriginal perspective on native lands and environment. The chapter further serves to articulate the conceptual links between the categories of self, body and world primary to the dissertation's over-all formulation.

Chapter 4

Chapter Four makes the link between the phenomenological analysis of "self, body and world" already presented, and the emergent concepts of "enfoldment", *poiesis* and "storyscape" as the experiential and communicative dimensions of the self's presencing. The chapter draws on the literature of phenomenological ethnography, found in the writing of Keith Basso (1984, 1992, 1996), Steven Feld (1982, 1996a, 1996b), Tim Ingold (1996), Colin Scott (1989) and others, in order to demonstrate the compatibility between phenomenological concepts of "self, body and world" and an "aboriginal world view". The chapter garners aboriginal folkloric depictions of ancestral territories from various regions in the world focusing primarily on Western *Apache* of the south-western United States; the *Cree* of northern Quebec; the *Walbiri* and *Pintupi* Aborigines of Australia; the *Kaluli*, *Foi* and *Umeda* of New Guinea, and others. This chapter, furthermore, provides information that illustrates the presence of an environmental discourse within the aboriginal perspective.

Chapter 5

Chapter Five looks at the application of the phenomenological categories of body, self and world to the folkloric perspectives of both Coastal and Interior peoples of British Columbia. The objective of the chapter is to demonstrate a compatibility of the phenomenological analysis as developed in the previous chapters to the folkloric perspective found in an overview of aboriginal territories within the province of British Columbia. The chapter's intent is to apply the concepts of "enfoldment", "storyscape" and *poiesis* to demonstrate how aboriginal communicative and symbolic vehicles offer a holistic view of personhood that resembles phenomenology's concept of an "extended self". The chapter demonstrates how tribal territories in British Columbia offer stories and aesthetic iconography such as songs, dances, carved poles, masks, crests, landmarks, rock art, etc., as statements on the "aboriginal self" as being both imbricated and self-identified with a territorial surrounds or terrestrial dwelling. Such forms indicate the presence of a territorial *poiesis*, which is self-defining for the people of each region.

The Stein Valley Tribal Heritage Park was chosen to illustrate the compliment between an environmental discourse and the aboriginal perspective. The Stein Valley can serve as a regional depiction of a "storyscape" where the experience of an aboriginal environmental "enfoldment" is discoverable in a wide variety of expressive forms that speak to a *poiesis* of body and world. Thus, the many cultural depictions found within the Stein Valley serve to illustrate the epidermis between the people and the surrounding valley as skin. The research within this chapter demonstrates generally how "regional landscapes" are depicted within a *poiesis* of self and as such, how they

provide an analysis of "storyscapes" as environmentally inalienable aboriginal landscapes.

CHAPTER 2.

BODY/WORLD:

PHENOMENOLOGICAL INTERPRETATIONS OF SPATIALITY

Once the western rational (Cartesian) person had conceived itself as a self-enclosed entity, fully separate, distinct, individualized and complete, how was selfhood ever to again recognize itself as a sensuous connectivity to a world, a spatiality, or an environment beyond the envelope of its immediate skin? Even its ultimate dependence upon water, air, food and others could no longer be reasonably incorporated in its ownmost intimate self-definition. As a result, a self under this way of perceiving must now settle for an inherence within a space separate, and ontologically detached, from all that which it loves and craves. It must content itself with an identity of seclusion, which penetrates to the depths of its very soul and being, that permits its intellectual and explanatory operations to draw solely, at least in their ideal sense, upon the resources of a keenly circumscribed and disembodied mentality and separate individual thingness (concept of individual, mental identity). As such, a self is asked to draw on an unnatural self-enclosed intimacy that at its core is the denial of all the worldly dimensions of its fulfilment, caring and longing. It is a solipsistic intimacy born of loss that is the abnegation of any true intimacy of belonging to all that with which it might have felt tender or grateful. The rational post-enlightenment self is, therefore, the great uncoupling of selfhood and identity, from all that to which it would have felt dear, from all of its stays and points of connection within its abiding worldly habitus (the world it inhabits).

This chapter looks at the process of engaging the reader of "social theory" in a point of view that confronts conventional dualistic values of knowledge, thereby situating her or him within a discourse of critique when it both confronts and challenges the very principles upon which conventional views of spatiality and knowledge are founded. What fits as knowing in the phenomenological context rather is that which is spatially and experientially my own, that which is uniquely embedded through the connectivity of my own experiential action and interaction. In other words, something only has significance and meaning in non-dualistic terms, in the eyes of Maurice Merleau-Ponty for example, to the extent that it relates to one's own body and its genuine experiences. Post-enlightenment thinkers, however, usually are conditioned to accept and value disembodied and externalized Cartesian models of self and understanding—interpreted as "real knowing". However, according to phenomenology, a particular non-dualistic stream of social thought within rationalism, all of whom one is, is this gathering unto myself of all that I move through and touch—I am truly an experiential being as in the kinesis of my own extended bodily self. This phenomenological profile of being and knowing confronts conventional Cartesian formulations of self, other, knowledge and space as strictly intellectual enterprises whereby mind and body become separated in reflection. In the first non-dualistic profile, knowing is holistic, spatial and embodied. In the second, the Cartesian model, it merely follows the dualistic process entailed in quantifiable knowing (association with a separate mental knowing), which opposes subject and object, mind and body, inside and outside forever divorced from the realism of a "being there" which resonates so readily within the "personal ethos". This realism of action and touch as a revelatory tool cuts, magically, through all the dualities and their

stagnation to yield the resonance of genuine connection to an activational worldly gestalt.

The phenomenological concept of human existence as "being-in-the-world", one constitutive of its meaning and involvement (Heidegger, 1962: 132), as constitutive of its own spatiality and all that it touches and cares for, provides a radical departure from the conventional (post-enlightenment) rationalist dualistic conception of self. The Cartesian formulation of the insidedness of bodies and the resultant mathematical notion of abstract space, knowable in the insideness of measurable bodies and characterized by the realm of nature as an "out there", external to us and, merely, "present-at-hand", is derivative from a dualist notion of self as a thematized separateness. Such a formulation poses a depiction of the world as being externally knowable to us, intellectually, but otherwise not intrinsically connected to us—it is, strictly speaking, forever separate from our intimate living experiential appreciation of it (ibid., 132). Cartesian representations of nature and spatiality are that of a metrically quantifiable abstract conception of space as something that is alien and "out there"—invocative of the subject/object duality at the heart of rationalist knowing. All western dualistic models of the environment, such as are found in the ecological approach in anthropology with its nature/culture dichotomy, have inherited the Cartesian dualistic legacy in failing to grasp the notion of a self transcended towards its world (as an emergence of its own worldly involvements) as phenomenological conceptualizations of the self's spatiality would ultimately provide (Ingold, 1996). When theoretical notions such as phenomenology's spatiality of the extended self are raised, the dualities mind versus body, self versus other, inside versus outside dissolve—the accepted dualistic, post-enlightenment,

parameters of knowledge no longer apply and any further discussion along those lines tends to fall apart.

2.1. Heidegger's Critique of Descartes

In *Being and Time,* Martin Heidegger moves from a critique of Descartes' notion of the spatiality of the *res extensa* (the *substantio*) as the conceptualization of space as externalized matter, towards an explanation of spatiality which involves the transcendence of being towards its world through the experience of "worldhood". However, before we can approach a further exploration of the meaning and significance of "being" in relationship to spatiality and, thus, to its world and to its environment, we must first be concerned with the explanation and description of the "givenness" of things and, therefore, also with the nature and meaning of things in their "thinghood". In other words, we are concerned with the ontological problem of what is the nature and content of the world?

As Heidegger explains, Descartes never addresses the issue of what is the nature of being and simply passes over it in favour of the mathematical concept of quantifiable space. The Cartesian position that "Being itself does not affect us, and therefore, cannot be perceived" (Heidegger, 1962:127) leads only to the view that a definition of being is not important. "Thus the possibility of a pure problematic of 'being' gets renounced in principle, and a way is sought for arriving at those definite characteristics of substance...." instead (ibid., 127). The Cartesian approach of defining the world as substance, therefore, denies any clarification of its being, which as a

consequence still gets represented, indirectly, in terms of whatever physical property, or set of properties, is most immediately recognizable.

This Cartesian dilemma contents itself solely with an intellectual mathematical knowing of the abstract space of quantifiable material substances and still expects, nevertheless, to arrive eventually at yet a deeper definition and understanding of being (albeit through this same "*extensio*"). Such an exhaustive and profound penetration of all that is "present to hand" is anticipated through an analysis, not of things in their ownmost givenness as significance, but through whatever physical material properties they may be interpreted to possess. The only means of knowing, therefore, in this case, is intellectual "presence-at-hand" knowing or "*intellectio*", which opposes an external sensate subjectivity to a continuous, concrete and measurable object represented by that form of knowledge gained, for instance, in either mathematics or physics. Descartes' prejudice toward the *intellectio* denigrates fully the possibility of the senses as an appropriate access to entities within the world, and imposes on the world a widescale sensual or bodily disappearance at the level of knowing. In fact, the appropriate scientific access to entities as proximally given is a topic, Heidegger tells us, that Descartes feels to be categorically unnecessary to raise. Descartes rather contents himself that intellectio or knowing, in its most general sense, is superior to any other manners of perceiving such as that which occurs through the senses:

> The senses do not enable us to cognize any entity in its Being; they merely serve to announce the ways in which 'external' Things within-the-world are useful or harmful for human creatures encumbered with bodies. (ibid., 129)

Descartes assigns to the world and its entities an idea of being that is left unformulated, but which consequently becomes synonymous with constant presence-at-hand as quantifiable substance—as "res extensa":

> Mathematical knowledge is regarded by Descartes as the one manner of apprehending entities which can always give assurance of their Being has been securely grasped. If anything measures up in its own kind of being to the Being which is accessible in mathematical knowledge, then it is in the authentic sense. Such entities are always those which always are what they are. Accordingly, that which can be shown to have the character of something that constantly remains...makes up the real Being of those entities in the world which get experienced. That which remains really is. This is the sort of thing which mathematics knows. (ibid., 128)

Descartes' inability to deal with the question of being as within-the-worldness makes him unable to grasp the phenomenon of the world, the world itself, and the being of the entities within the world. Worse yet, once being is formulated as permanent presence-at-hand, he feels justified in identifying the world in general with the entities within-the-world, thus indicating the being of the world to be synonymous with mathematical substance. But when experience is interpreted in this way, "the kind of 'being' which belongs to lived experience grasped as sensory perception is obliterated" along with the chance that any entities encountered in this fashion will be apprehended in their true existential being (ibid., 130).

> The idea of Being as permanent presence-at-hand not only gives Descartes a motive for identifying entities within-the-world with the world in general, and for providing so extreme a definition of their Being; it also keeps him from bringing Dasein's ways of behaving into view in a manner which is ontologically appropriate. But thus the road is completely blocked to seeing the founded character of all sensory and intellective awareness, and to understanding these as possibilities of Being-in-the-world. (ibid., 130)

Thus, in the words of Heidegger, the proponent of Dasein or the formulation of being as in-the-worldness, "the being of things has to be rounded out" to include the

"founded character of sensory and intellective awareness which originates through personal involvement and lived experience etc....all it takes is to round out the Thing of Nature until it becomes a full-fledged thing of use, and this is easily done" (ibid., 132). However, any rigorous exploration of being on the basis of its ontical properties does not serve to take us any farther along our way to grasping the nature of being:

> The necessary ontological fleshing out of Nature, that Heidegger tells us, we require cannot, therefore, begin by way of a resultant identification and classification of material things and qualities, according to their use. The world and Dasein and entities within-the-world are the ontologically constitutive states which are closest to us; but we have no guarantee that we can achieve the basis for meeting up with these as phenomena by the seemingly obvious procedure of starting with the Things of the world, still less by taking our orientation from what is supposedly the most rigorous knowledge of entities. (Heidegger, 1962:134)

Descartes who, unlike Heidegger, is primarily motivated by thinghood and thus is unable to speak in terms of the founded character of sensory or intellective awareness, for example, in terms of worldly engagement, significance or belonging, is restricted to the use of non-quantifiable value predicates which attempt to identify the specific non-material qualities of a thing, such as "beautiful", "ugly", "useful", "useless". Thus, "these latter qualities must be taken as non-quantifiable, value-predicates by which what is in the first instance just a material thing, gets stamped as something good" (ibid., 132).

As for the function of discovering the environment, "this knowledge is used only in and for a concernful Being which does not measure stretches—a Being towards the world that 'matters' to one" (ibid., 141). Discovering the environment is a function of Dasein as being-in-the-world, because all estimates on the remoteness or nearness of what is de-severed (whose farness is vanquished) retains their proximal character and is specifically within-the-world on the basis of their usefulness for being-in-the-world in its

course of taking care of daily things. The objective distances of things merely present-at-hand do not have the function of discovering the environment:

> When one is oriented beforehand toward 'Nature' and 'Objectively' measured distances of Things, one is inclined to pass off such estimates and interpretations of de-severance as 'subjective'. Yet this 'subjectivity' perhaps uncovers the 'Reality' of the world at its most Real; it has nothing to do with 'subjective' arbitrariness or subjectivistic 'ways of taking' an entity which 'in itself' is otherwise.
>
> The circumspective de-severing of Dasein's everydayness reveals the Being-in-itself of the 'true world'—of that entity which Dasein, as something existing, is already alongside. (ibid., 141)

This primordial spatiality, Heidegger tells us, normally goes unrecognized or remains concealed as one is predominantly oriented towards the remoteness of measured distances. Closeness and remoteness, primordially, exist in one's ability to grasp at, to reach out to or to look at; in one's ability to perceive. Primordial or lived space, therefore is effectively hidden by a fascination with quantifiable measurable distance in that mathematical distantial closeness which is never reducible to primordial closeness.

It is significant, primordially, that "that which is presumably closest is by no means that which is at the smallest distance from us" (ibid., 141) due to the fact that our seeing and hearing, our distance senses, accordingly, are proximally beyond (extend out and beyond) that which is closest to us distantially. For example, in the case of the road:

> One feels the touch of it at every step as one walks; it is seemingly the closest and Realest of all that is ready-to-hand, and it slides itself, as it were, along certain portions of one's body—the soles of one's feet. And yet it is farther remote than the acquaintance whom one encounters 'on the street' at a 'remoteness' of twenty paces when one is taking such a walk. (ibid., 142)

Moreover, the picture that hangs across from us on the wall is environmentally less remote than the spectacles that sit upon our nose, outside our immediate visual

awareness, not unlike the street or any other equipment for walking, which supports our locomotion. What is proximally ready-to-hand through an environmental estimation of its closeness and farness is, therefore, always that which our circumspective concern decides in advance that it should be. Therefore, we understand our "here" in terms of that which is our environmental "yonder", not the where of the present-at-hand, but the whereat of the being-along-side of a de-severent (that which is made close) ready-to-hand region, which has been proximally decided in advance. We know nothing about our hereness except on the basis of what is there; that which our concernful circumspection meaningfully (purposively)[1] "dwells alongside beforehand is always that which is primordially closest" (ibid., 142). Therefore, it can be argued that the significance and recognition vested in our beforehanded awareness of that which is environmentally ready-to-hand, always provide the "givenness" of our immediate here. In other words, one perceives where one is in terms of prior experience, or a previously lived (previously travelled) meaningful terrain that governs the spatial significance of where we are now.

> Dasein, in accordance with its spatiality, is proximally never here but yonder; from this "yonder' it comes back to its 'here'; and it comes back to its here' only in the way in which it interprets its concernful Being-towards in terms of what is ready-to-hand yonder. (ibid., 142)

Moreover, simultaneously, due to one's concernful absorption in the ready-to-hand (the immediate thematizations) of one's immediate involvement as given in our above example of the road an inconspicuousness pervades the region of actual activity and, as we have explained, that which otherwise might appear as immediate to us will

[1] We have used the word *purposive* here to indicate the universal beforehandedness of significance of the ready-to-hand's spatiality. The ready-to-hand is always spatialized in terms of a particular for-the-sake-of, which that frees it to its totality of involvement.

necessarily drop from view. The primordial spatiality as proximally given, therefore, is consequently a dynamic process or shifting terrain of thematized nearnesses and farnesses or hithers and yonders as opposed to the homogeneous distantial space provided by the natural sciences.

> But neither the region previously discovered nor in general the current spatiality is explicitly in view. In itself it is present for circumspection in the inconspicuousness of those ready to hand things in which that circumspection is concernfully absorbed. (ibid., 146)

However, whatever is proximally discovered spatially through involvement in itself also can and does become a matter for thematization, for cognition. "On the basis of the spatiality thus discovered, space itself becomes accessible for cognition" (ibid., 146). Moreover the thematization of spatiality, also predominantly an act of circumspection, now allows space, in itself, to be seen in a peculiar way, as abstract space. For example, the pure possibilities of spatial relations become discoverable now that space has been thematized and intuited formally. Once space is problematized as such, the spatiality of the ready-to-hand loses its character of involvement, and the environment loses its aroundness. When this happens, Nature appears as something which is out there, alien and outside of us, and "the environment becomes the world of Nature" (ibid., 147). The rich totality of places freed by our worldly involvement now becomes reduced to a plethora of random things:

> The homogeneous space of Nature shows itself only when the entities we encounter are discovered in such a way that the worldly character of the ready-to-hand gets specifically deprived of its world hood. (ibid., 147)

A thematization of spatiality as present-to-hand is not applicable to our experience of being-in-the-world which grasps space in terms of its activational

significance, or in terms of a beforehanded givenness through which the thematization of immediate involvement could be readily understood.

2.2. Spatiality as Environment and Care

On the basis of that which has been argued above, phenomenology requires that we "take a positive look at the phenomenon whose totality such a reconstruction of primordiality is to restore" (ibid., 132); that is, the phenomenon of being-in-the world. Here there is to be found a stark contrast between phenomenological conceptualizations of a spatially extended self and the ontological notions of Descartes, who is primarily motivated by thinghood (as in the spirit of the res extensa) and, thus, is unable to speak, for example, in terms of worldly engagement, significance or belonging or familiarity. Consequently, on the basis of all we have said above, the Cartesian substruction of space and the corresponding ontological separation of knowing from sensual experience are tantamount to the separation of the experience of the "I" from its ownmost primordial involvement in the world (or in lived experience). It is formative of a conception of the environment that is based on the alienation of spatiality from selfhood, which instead leads to a conceptualization of nature and the environment strictly in terms of mathematically quantifiable space and, as such, is forever distinct and separate from the meaningful doings of humans.

Our knowledge of entities as present-at-hand, therefore, does not result in a knowledge of things as they exist in-the-world. The task of phenomenology is to demonstrate how specific entities as discovered in the environment spatially have, more significantly, a certain primordial nature which emerges as a result of the environment's

necessary "aroundness", and closeness, as founded upon worldhood rather than on the particular spatiality of the present-at-hand. "A three dimensional multiplicity of possible positions which gets filled up with "things present-at-hand" is never proximally given (ibid., 137). Regions are not identified on the basis of things that are present-at-hand with one another; this dimensionality of space, and the places themselves, are assigned in relation to what is at hand in the circumspection of the care taking of things. It is a spatiality reckoned from the outset, by an awareness of things already circumspectly having their place as actually presented in being-in-the-world, that serves to make up the environmental aroundness of space—the "round-about-us"...of those entities which we encounter as closest environmentally (ibid., 136). Such and such a place, or a number of such places, can never be randomly interpreted as the "where" of the being-present-at-handness of abstract space:

> The 'above' is what is 'on the ceiling'; the below is what is 'on the floor' the 'behind' is what is 'at the door'; all "whereats" are discovered and circumspectively interpreted as we go our ways in everyday dealings; they are not ascertained and catalogued by the observational measurement of space. (ibid., 136-137)

Thus Heidegger explains how the sun's journey is divided into the phases of its everyday use, such as morning, afternoon and sunset; that the house has both a sunny side and a shady side which dictates how it will be divided into rooms so as to be oriented toward these, as well as an interior arrangement on the basis of the "circumspection of taking care of things", of being-in-the-world. These determinate celestial regions provide the "whither", ahead of time, for all the various places which arise to occupy them. Church yards full of graves are designated in accordance with the rising and the setting sun which symbolize life's journey from life to death and which is determinative for a human being's "ownmost possibility" as in-the-world. In other words,

human beings have their own Being-in-the-world as an issue and, therefore, demarcate these relevant regions (where "some involvement is decisive") of concernfulness beforehand (ibid., 137). Thus spatiality becomes a question of the worldliness and concernfulness of being-in-the-world and, thus, human spatiality becomes an issue of all our involvement and "care".

> The 'environment' does not arrange itself in a space which has been given in advance; but its specific worldhood, in its significance, articulates the context of involvements which belongs to some current totality of circumspectively allotted places. The world at such a time always reveals the spatiality of the space which belongs to it. (ibid., 138)

Spatiality belongs to the world only by virtue of a propensity for purposively "being-in" it in the sense that our general interaction with other entities "within-the-world" is purposive (embodies a for-the-sake-of which), concernful and familiar. "To Dasein its potentiality-for-Being-in-the-world is an issue, and this includes concerning itself with entities within-the-world and uncovering them circumspectively"(ibid., 271). It is in this capacity for Being-in, and in the familiar concernfulness on our part for other entities within-the-world, that the primordiality of Being and its existential authenticity is most likely to be discovered. It is our familiarity and concern for the other entities in-the-world that fosters in us the spatiality of Being-in-ness or, in other words, orientates us to a general sense of the aroundness of that significant environment to which we have become a part. We know nothing about our hereness but on the basis of what is there. That which our concernful circumspection meaningfully (purposively) "dwells alongside beforehand is always that which is primordially closest" (ibid., 142).

Therefore, it is the significance and recognition vested in our beforehanded awareness of that with which we have been environmentally involved, which always provides the "givenness" of our immediate here. In other words, the given quality of

where we are now is given in terms of our prior experiences, or a previously lived (previously travelled) meaningful terrain that governs the spatial significance and possibility of where we are now:

> Dasein, in accordance with its spatiality, is proximally never here but yonder; from this "yonder' it comes back to its 'here'; and it comes back to its here' only in the way in which it interprets its concernful Being-towards in terms of what is ready-to-hand yonder. (ibid., 142)

In other words, where we are and where we decide to go, in every case, is thus given on the basis of (a world), a beforehandedness of past significance and experience. Our activities as being-in-the-world, therefore, are spatially embedded within the terrain of our meaningful prior experiences to which we are able to orientate the "being-toward" of our present in respect to our past. It is this concernfulness for being-in-the-world and its involvements within the matrix of past/present purposiveness and "caring" about things within a field of recognition and "ownmost" belonging and familiarity, which results in that special quality of aroundness that we experience as humans, as that most personal sensing of our environment.

As a result of this process, a plethora of equipmental signs or recognizable markers arise to serve as the reference points for the directionality of our particular "whithers" as a testimony to the spatiality of our immediate positioning. We necessarily require such reference points to orientate us within the locus of prior involvement of humans in a world based on worldly absorption and caring as being-in-the-world. This region of concern or interest given before-hand with its built in matrices of directionality provides the spatialization of one's own bodily nature as being-in-the-world, as the spatiality of the "lived body" made manifest in all its meaningful activities and travels. "If

Dasein is, it already has, as directing and de-severing, its own discovered region" (ibid., 143). Therefore, it must also hold that:

> As de-severent Being-in, Dasein has likewise the character of directionality. Every bringing-close has already taken in advance a direction toward a region out of which what is de-severed brings itself close, so that one can come across it with regard to its place. (ibid., 143)

Being-in-the-world, by definition, must already have its own specific locale of concern as an environmental given, must have recognizable reference points and signs which meaningfully locate it, and must thusly be designated in its being-hereness as a regional locus of concerned circumspective spatial activity. "Both directionality and de-severance (to vanish farness) as modes of Being-in-the-world, are guided beforehand by the circumspection of concern" (ibid., 143). It is impossible to orientate myself at all, except through my own being as it already exists, as something alongside a pre-existing and familiarized world.

> Suppose I step into a room which is familiar to me but dark, and which has been rearranged during my absence so that everything which used to be at my right is now at my left. If I am to orient myself the 'mere feeling of the difference' between my two sides will be of no help at all as long as I fail to apprehend some definite object 'whose position', as Kant remarks casually, 'I have in mind'. But what does this signify except that whenever this happens I necessarily orient myself both in and from my being already alongside a world which is 'familiar'? (ibid., 144)

Through familiarity, closeness, and significance of entities, therefore, the emergence in space always occurs within the pre-existing world of my circumspective concern, which vests my purposeful activity (or for-the-sake-of-which) in the matters I care about, with both an environmental and regional character. Spatiality and its aroundness is the inevitable result of the significant, purposeful and concernful involvement of humans as they move meaningfully within the worlds they create. Human involvement is freely expressed and lived within a pre-existing referential totality of beforehanded meaning

and significance. Thus, through the continuous spatialization of our concernful involvement in the interests of our world, we continually create and recreate the world by virtue of our being-in it. All aspects of our involvedness, and our ownmost familiarity and significance in primordial terms, emerge within a world sedimented with prior significance. In other words, primordially, human beings have their own on-going being-in-the-world (as "ownmost possibility") as an issue and, therefore, always demarcate the significant regions of their concernfulness and care (where some involvement is decisive) as their truly felt spatiality and worldhood—it is this process that gives the unique feeling of around aboutness in the lived experience of space.

2.3. The Expressive Body in Merleau-Ponty

Similarly to Heidegger, the phenomenological approach of Maurice Merleau-Ponty argues that meanings are produced on the basis of lived bodily experiences—persons incorporate with and transform their world on the basis of their purposive actions, and thereby project around themselves a cultural world, or a meaningful symbolic world. Consequently, the environmental surrounds (authentically speaking in phenomenological terms) are not merely an external "out there", such as would oppose the dualities nature and culture as in the Cartesian model; rather, they contribute to a familiarized field of human self-hood, activity and belongingness.

The phenomenological perspective of Merleau-Ponty argues that the spatiality of the "lived body" in movement at a diversity of oft-used and well-recognized locations and sites, brings forth the contexture and matrix of the "world" (the meaningful terrain of human self-actualization). Spatiality is that of our ownmost familiarity and belonging as

well as our most intimate "field of self". Merleau-Ponty's conceptualization of the "realization of self" spatiality is a further problematization of the Cartesian dualities of mind and body, subject and object, and bodily insidedness and outsidedness of entities, toward a demonstration of the world rather as the sensuous field of all our worldly activity and involvement. For this way of thinking, it is through sensuous activity or praxis in-the-world that one's sensitization and imbrication to a given spatial reality is accomplished; thus a figure must be thematically and meaningfully oriented and integrated within a background of its significance and selfhood.

Unlike the western dualistic models of culture, such as those of the ecological and cultural materialists (Julian Steward, 1955; and Marvin Harris, 1966), who argue that culture evolves in response to a society's need to adapt practically to an opposing "natural" environment through a portfolio of technologies or customs, Merleau-Ponty shows that cultural "signs" such as speech and gestures are the dynamic expression of an improvizational synergy between the human body and its environmental surrounds. "Now the body is essentially an expressive space" (Merleau-Ponty, 1962:145). As Merleau-Ponty explains it, we cannot speak of our bodies as merely an object existing in the world, but rather as that very medium through which the world comes into being:

> The space in which normal imitation operates is not, as opposed to concrete space with its absolute locations, an 'objective space' or a 'representative space' based on an act of thought. It is already built into my bodily structure, and is its inseparable correlative (Merleau-Ponty, 1962:142).

All meaning and signification, in this case, speaks to the nexus of our physical/ bodily (movement) experience within the surrounding space of our own habitational world. The body always grasps, interprets and transforms its world by combining with it in both a tactile and perceptual sense. The physical elements of our world actually get

incorporated into our bodily scheme and image through both our kinesthetic and tactile encounters during our various travels and activities; the body actually has its world and thus we are expressive of it.

> To get used to a hat, a car or a stick it has to be transplanted into them or conversely, to incorporate them into the bulk of our own body. (ibid., 142)

For example, we manage to type without thinking about the place of each letter on the keyboard. It is a knowledge in the fingers and hands that accomplishes this effort. The typewriter is actually incorporated into my bodily scheme as habit, thus, in the action of typing, I incorporate it and I become expressive of it. As I start to type the letter beside me, my fingers incorporate the typewriter and the words (at my side), my body thus expresses the synergy of all these elements. "When I sit at the typewriter, a motor space opens up beneath my hands, in which I am about to play what I read" (ibid., 143). What is of interest here is how our behaviours reside, neither in thought nor in the objective body, but rather in the body as the mediator of the world—it is its expressive zone. When an experienced organ player sits down to play an organ, she or he does not focus on the exact position of the keys and pedals. On a new instrument, she requires only an hour's practice to master a programme. Yet, she has not time to draw up a plan and does not learn objective spatial positions for each stop and pedal. Rather, the unfamiliar instrument is given to her as a score of musical and emotional values. She readily understands these, and so the organ's positions are merely the places through which these values appear into the world:

> Between the musical essence of the piece as it is shown in the score and the notes which actually sound round the organ, so direct a relation is established that the organist's body and his instrument are merely the medium of this relationship. (ibid., 143)

In every sense, the world is a contexture in which the things of the world are deeply sedimented with worldly meaning and content, to which we become integrated through our sensuous practice and activity. "Ready-to-hand objects" (such as an organ) thematized or valorized on the basis of their purposive value, become the auxiliary or the extensions of the bodily synthesis; they are the aspects, or vehicles, of the body's living relationship to its meaningful world:

> I am not in space and time, nor do I conceive space and time; I belong to them, my body combines with them and includes them....The synthesis of both time and space is a task that always has to be performed afresh. (ibid., 140)

Even the explanation of a tool is arrived at through such an exploration of its function as the physical extension of the abilities of the human arm as it is used to productive effect within a specific environmental and spatial problematic; the hammer becomes the arm while, simultaneously, the arm becomes the hammer; they are imbricated as one organ:

> Sometimes, finally, the meaning aimed at cannot be achieved by the body's natural means and it must then build itself an instrument and it projects thereby around itself a cultural world. (ibid., 146)

In this regard, the entire problematic of activity is, first and foremost, an expression of the spatiality of the lived body and its ability to improvise, incorporate and change shape, infinitely, in response to a surrounding world. This is a synergy of which the body is ultimately expressive.

The body is always orientated towards its world (a cultural world) that is always there—each movement is therefore heavily steeped with significance through its customary manners and ways. Meaning, therefore, is arrived at through the bodies' habitual movements within a world to which it is already and always synthetically and

symbolically connected. Signification in the human world, therefore, represents our lived bodily schemas or our lived journeys through physical/natural space that thusly become galvanized in primordial speech and, at the level of the symbolic world, by a multitude of expressive forms such as folklore, songs, poetry, haiku, etc. The environment, therefore, in all its diversity, richness and detail, speaks through the human bodily movements, gestures, symbols, and the power of speech.

> In multiple and diverse ways, taking (as we shall see) a unique form in each indigenous culture, spoken language seems to give voice to, and thus to enhance and accentuate, the sensorial affinity between humans and the environing earth. (Abram, 1996:71)

The body actually is the world incarnate, because it is the organ that opens us onto the world as it spreads itself through and incorporates itself with its activational surroundings. Co-incidentally, spatiality and the environment is the spatiality of our own lived experience sedimented with meaning and significance, over time; it is the complex of all our life-sustaining activities. The body spreads itself out in space through the corpus of its intentional movements and useful activities to actually incorporate the environing world into its ownmost structure of ultimate meaning. As a result, the body "superimposes" upon physical space a potential, or human space (Merleau-Ponty, 1962:111). It follows, therefore, that we must identify the basis of movement and vision, for example, not only as a collection of sensible qualities, but as a certain way of giving form and structure to our environment. What passes, then, as our environmental and physical surroundings, reflects the spatiality of the human body as we project around ourselves a human world on the basis of all our sensuous life-sustaining activity. Here we can see the inherent logic of the native environment as reflected, for example, in aboriginal, folkloric, and creation stories wherein the folkloric travels of legendary deities

travel the land in correlation with age-old ancestral resource use patterns, thus mapping the land orally for later users. Such oral mapping of the terrain, so to speak, tangibly marks out the dimensions of the aboriginal world as it is felt and lived in the course of day-to-day life in a given physical geographical surrounding. Here, as in Merleau-Ponty, the dualism between nature and culture disappears in the notion of a synergistic union of the body and the environment. The environment (as spatiality) is no longer an objective and externalized out there, rather, it is the landscape of our ownmost belongingness, manifestation and self-identification (ibid., 197).

2.4. The Reversibility of the Flesh

The body is able to move and to initiate and perform actions because the body schema is a field or an extended body matrix; as explained, it is an interior mapping of all that I move through and know. It is the corporealized schema of all my plans for action and all our maps of possible movement. In Merleau-Ponty's thought, the notion of the flesh does not replace action as a thematized factor of being-in-the-world, but is a more elementary or prior term. In *The Visible and the Invisible,* we are given the formulation of touching and being touched, which provides a commonness with the other whereby, through the intermingling of my vision and touch and the touch of another, a possible integration occurs. In the above instance both self and other become a thing folded back on itself—they form a "single" thing (Groz, 1994:95; Merleau-Ponty, 1968:133).

> Between the exploration and what it will teach me, between my movement and what I touch, there must exist some relationship by principle, some kinship, according to which they are not only, like the pseudopods of the amoebae, vague and ephemeral deformations of the

> corporeal space, but the initiation to and the opening upon a tactile world. This can happen only if my hand while it is felt from within, is also accessible from without, itself tangible, for my other hand, for example, if it takes its place among the things it touches, is in a sense one of them, opens finally upon a tangible being of which it interrogate, are recorded on the same map as it; the two systems are applied upon one another is also a part. Through this crisscrossing within it of the touching and the tangible, its own movements incorporate themselves into the universe they, as the two halves of an orange. (Merleau-Ponty, 1968:133)

Here, Merleau-Ponty show us how mutual touches are implicated in one another. We are also given an explanation of how the senses, the visible and the tangible are implicated in one another to form an unbroken and unified landscape. "Since the same body sees and touches visible and tangible belong to the same world" (ibid., 133). There is a double and crossed situation that implicates the visible in the tangible, and the tangible in the visible. The two maps are complete but not merged. The two aspects vision and touch, explains Merleau-Ponty, are the two mutually articulated systems that allow perception to move and act within one unified and unbroken world of all that it sees moves through and touches.

Touch along with vision are not superimposable, but they are promised to one another—they belong to the same world since it is the same body (along with its counterpart vision and as we shall see with regard to hearing as described in chapter 4, section 4.3). Therefore, touch is but another means by which the body has its world, and opens up onto its world. Therefore, it is not only through purposive action, as we have described in the first instance, but also through touching that the body traverses other animate bodies besides its own. It is through this intertwining of the flesh that it is possible for me to incorporate, to close over and integrate with an exterior landscape outside the perimeters of that flesh, which is individually my own (ibid., 140). In other words, there exists a continuum of entwining surfaces formed when the body comes into

sensual contact with its world. It has an intimate interaction and contact with the world of all its experiences. Thus, Merleau-Ponty does not perceive the body to end at the skin. The extended body becomes, in this case, the field of all our sensuous experience. Touch is an enfoldment where our experience of the other gets implicated and imbricated into our innermost corporeal scheme and world, and becomes the foundation of our ownmost intimate self-identification. Through touch and movement there emerges what can be described as an "unending surface" or experiential field of our sensual experience, which suggests that connectedness and intersubjectivity occurs as a tactile "enfoldment" or double sensation of all my environmental constituents that then provide me with the constituents of my own extended bodily self as being-in-the-world. For Merleau-Ponty, spatiality is the spatiality of the extended body comprised of all that I move through and touch, but also what I vision and hear which shall be dealt with in the next section.

2.5. The Senses

Merleau-Ponty argues that it is through the interaction of the senses, not only of touch as explained above, but also of the other senses (such as seeing and hearing) that a body is transcended towards its world and, as such, is able to experience its corporeal completion. Thus, he situates both experience and the subject's completion at a mid-point between the body and the mind. He demonstrates that experiences, by necessity, are embodied and constituted corporeally. Experience, he argues, can only be grasped across mind and body in the nexus of their "lived" conjunction. Merleau-Ponty, according to Groz, attempts a return to the "prediscursive experience before the

overlay of reflection..." (Groz, 1994:96). Merleau-Ponty thus attempts to locate sensibility within the preconditions that make the subject, through its corporeally opening towards, the nexus of its own completion. For example, he argues that the visible is definable as a "palpitation of being", as series of fluctuations completed and interpreted through the corporeal schema:

> ...a concretion of visibility, it is not an atom....in general a visible is not a chunk of absolutely hard, indivisible being, offering all naked to a vision that could only be total or null, but is rather a sort of straits between exterior horizons and interior horizons, ever gaping open, something that comes to touch lightly and makes diverse regions of the colored or visible world resound at the distances, a certain differentiation, an ephemeral modulation of this world—less a color or a thing, therefore, than a difference between things and colors, a momentary crystallization of colored being or of visibility. Between the alleged colors and visible, we would find anew the tissue that lines them, sustains them, nourishes them, and which for its part is not a thing, but a possibility, a latency, and a flesh of things. (Merleau-Ponty, 1968:132-33)

Merleau-Ponty (1968) explains vision in terms of a particular activity undertaken by a particular body in relation to an intentional "thematized" focus of awareness; for example, as in terms of a "thematized" here or a designated over there. Thus, vision, in this case, is always composed of a set of relations between "figure and ground", horizon and object. The phenomenon of vision thus is always a function of being positionally located within a visual field and involves the matter of finding an horizon and of taking up a perspective in respect to it.

> The horizon is what guarantees the identity of the object throughout the exploration; it is the correlative of the impending power which it already has over the fresh details which it is able to discover....The object-horizon structure, or the perspective, is not obstacle to me when I want to see the object; for...it is the means whereby they are disclosed. (ibid., 67-68)

Merleau-Ponty generally viewed vision as the most developed sense, and the unifying sense. However, he argued that it required all the other senses to support its

functioning and to complete it (Merleau-Ponty, in Groz, 1994:97). An image possesses three elements. It presents a manifold field of events; it is able to perceive from a distance as in an externalized view, and it does not require presumed causality as do the other senses such as touch and hearing. Vision is continuous and ongoing, while the other senses are momentary and event-based as; for instance, hearing a sound always adheres to a precipitating event or alternating events, whereas vision does not.

> Sight is par excellence the sense of the simultaneous or the coordinated, and thereby of the extensive. A view comprehends many things juxtaposed, as co-existent parts of one field of vision. It does so in an instant: as in a flash, one glance, an opening of the eyes, discloses a world of co-present qualities spread out in space, ranged in depth, continuing into indefinite distance, suggesting, if any direction on their static order, then by their perspective a direction away from the subject rather than toward it...(Jonas, in Groz, 1994:98)

As is shown, sight can generally be regarded as a spatial sense dominated by a field instead of being event oriented. Hearing, on the other hand, is generally described as a temporal sense, which is event based and in which duration is of great consequence. "There must be a cause, object, or event producing a sound, although sound in no way resembles it" (ibid., 98). The occasion of hearing is always dependent on being exposed to a noise producing event.

Touch is similar to hearing in terms of this succession of its impressions. Touch is, above all, typified by its complexity as it is composed of so many textures, pressures, frequencies, pain, and temperature, making it difficult to analyse. Like seeing and hearing, touch involves the transposition of its sensations into the other senses, thus, entailing the possibility of their realignment and retranscription into understandable terms. Touch provides a contiguous contact with the surface one is along side of. The surface of touched and toucher are reversible as explained in the above section. Like

vision, touch helps to produce the notion of shape or form, but it does so diachronically in successive or additive notions of shape. Vision, on the other hand, does this synchronically as a view.

Sight, sound, touch and smell function interdependently. The various senses, according to Merleau-Ponty, are transposable to one another because together they lay claim to a total "world". The senses communicate with one another in a continuous and alternating flow as the body's "intentional" and "directional" capacities provide meaningful perceptual priorities. The senses thus alternate in their prominence as a fluctuating and shifting sequence of "thematized figure and ground" relationships. Thus, perception is tied to a ratio of sensory activity that produces a field of positional awareness along with the other dimensions of consideration based on posture and movement (Merleau-Ponty, 1962, 1968). The body is thus completed through the ratio of the senses on the basis of its "intentional movements" and "postural orientations" as it not only combines with but also organizes and "thematizes" its world meaningfully. It is thus given to this ratio of the senses (as this sensory alignment can be referred to) to determine the particular form, texture, and visceral palpitation the world takes on. Spatiality, as we have developed it, is the spatiality of all that to which I am in some sense experientially integrated. It is, in fact, that means by which I am able to be in-the-world, which is not solely of my own belonging but also, to some degree, of my own making.

It is my own in as much as the body has its world, as a truly individual having. It is a world borne of a body's many actions and journeys and unique sensitivities to which one is self-identified and, thereby, ascribes a worldly significance. The phenomenological view of spatiality is, in Heidegger's terms, a dimension of "Dasein" or

my being-in-the-world, which emerges as intimately my own as I both travel along beside it and belong to it. It is the terrain of all my familiarity and belonging, and is the spatiality of my "ownmost possibility" and selfhood as I can become realized as a human within a world—it is the domain of all of my closeness and care; it is the dimension for my realization and possibility within the context of meaningfully "taking care of things" as being-in-the-world.

As in Heidegger, in the case of Merleau-Ponty, spatiality is a non-dualist notion in that it is all that with which I have become incorporated, as a corporeal selfhood, through my multifarious sensuous encounters in the course of my being human. It is through all of my journeys within a world truly realizable by me only as a significant activational one devised partly by my own making and also in co-creation with other meaningful humans—it is a holistic world of all my encounters and purposes. Spatiality, thus, is the vast tactile, interconnective and activational tissue of all my perception and primordial awareness that constitutes my experiential world—it is my very self-realization as in-the-world—the reflection of all that which I have encountered as an unending and unbroken surface or landscape.

As will be examined, the phenomenological view of spatiality as a dimension of being-in-the-world finds a parallel, non-dualistic, version of spatiality in many aboriginal, folkloric traditions, throughout the world, which show how the folkloric depictions of native territory relate specifically to age-old patterns of use and habitation as directly related to the matter of human possibility. In many cases that are under examination later in this study, territories have been conceived folklorically in the course of creation stories and, thus, have been coherently arranged as meaningful geographically articulated worlds. Oral traditions for these groups, therefore, serve to illustrate a

relationship between sensory involvement and the psychic identification of a group of people within a particular and meaningful locale, whereby their potential and "ownmost" belongingness and self-identification as humans is consolidated within an activational ancestral world or age-old territorial surrounding. Symbolic and iconic forms as found in aboriginal folkloric traditions, represent the exact way in which the body actually has its world in sensorial terms. For example, songs and phonic icons speak to the dimension of hearing as a resurrection of the audible in expressive form. Symbolic aesthetic dimensions as seen in all kinds of art forms speak to the textures of vision and touch as they serve to give voice to the experience of the environing world. The various oral accounts serve as an iconic mode and give rise to the many palpitations of the lived body, in expressive terms, as it combines with, moves through, visualizes, hears, smells and touches its world.

CHAPTER 3.

THE SELF AS A BODY AND WORLD SYNERGY

The main concern of this chapter is to operationalize the phenomenological philosophy of the previous chapter, thus transforming it into detailed categories for the analysis of body, self and world with respect to the self's spatiality and the articulated problems of self, native land, and environment. The chapter has adapted the concepts of figure/ground, thematization, poles of action, dwelling and contexture to demonstrate the manner in which a "self" is meaningfully imbricated within its background through the primordial relationship of body and world. The concepts employed in this chapter build on the philosophy explored above, and are additionally drawn from Richard Zaner's (1981) phenomenological exploration of self and Neil Evernden's (1985) phenomenological discussion of the environment.

Following Heidegger's critique of Descartes in the previous chapter, the discussion of "self" offered in this chapter continues from the notion that the dimensions of the 'self' are that of the phenomenological self or an 'environing self', and not an individual self-enclosed being defined by the envelope of its immediate skin. Rather, self exists as a "field of self", and thus the incorporation of all its worldly encounters—it is a self transcended towards its world. "There remains a sensation of a field of existence designated 'self', which is not necessarily concentric with the boundaries of the epidermis" (Evernden, 1985:42). The phenomenological self is not the atomized individual self but, rather, the field of all our embodied activities. Hence, it comprises the complex of all those things which become familiar through use. Following Merleau-

Ponty, this project's phenomenological perspective argues that the spatiality of the "lived body" in movement at a diversity of oft-used and well-recognized locations and sites (thematized as ready-to-hand), brings forth the contexture and matrix of the world. It is the movements and actions of the lived body within an activational or interactive context that are ultimately defining in the three-sided problematic of self, body and world. On this basis, it is arguable that a self always is extended towards the world of all of its ownmost familiarity and belonging, toward all that it cares about as "being-in-the-world" within the sensuous field of all its activity and involvement and concernful absorption. Thus, "selfhood" is the totality of all of our journeys through a world to which we respond as concernful beings, through a series of meaningful locations designated by recognizable poles of activity. In the phenomenological definition of self, a figure must be purposively, meaningfully and thematically imbricated within its background through the presence of the many meaningful items of use "thematized" in the mindful caring of things to which it is connected by all of its sensuous encounters and praxis. Through an awareness of what might be referred to as "real sensuous praxis" within a world, the problematic dualities of inside versus outside, self versus other, and nature versus culture give way to the primordial aroundness of space of a being transcended towards a world. The senses, as discussed in the previous chapter, thus provide the given unity of the environing world as it is experienced and known through their alternating transposition from one to another. The integrity of their unbroken communication as an experiential web of sensoral transposibility fosters, correspondingly, a continuous and unbroken world experience. On the basis of our ownmost intimate sensory involvement and absorption within a world, the accompanying completion of our extended bodily "self" within a world context becomes a realizable possibility. Thus we must be

meaningfully positioned, intentionally, through a moving towards, in postural terms, but also with respect to a "ratio of the senses" as they correspond to our imbrication and corporeal completion and identification within a world. It is in this way that a people can be present within a territory while, at the same time, a territory can be present within a people as their territorial "self".

3.1. A Self Transcended Towards its World

In every sense then, the world is a meaningful contexture for human action in which all use items are deeply sedimented with worldly meaning and content to which the self has become oriented and is corporeally integrated. By engaging in our world and its various activities and tasks, as human beings, we become at once sensuously enmeshed in a matrix (heavily sedimented with meaning) of world-defining and self-defining social relations, contexts and meanings. In primordial terms then, neither a Western nor an aboriginal view of the world includes a view of the environment as something outside and foreign, but as a rich totality of places and spaces which are invested with tribal significance and ownmost possibility as worldly activity and meaning.

> For our purposes it is the notion that the self is not necessarily defined by the body surface that is especially interesting. This means that there is some kind of involvement with the realm beyond the skin, and that the self is more a sense of self-potency throughout a region than a purely physical presence. 'My being is not something that takes place inside my skin...; my being, rather, is spread over a field or region which is the world of its care and concern.' Such expressions as this one by William Barrett are initially puzzling to most of us, for while the words are familiar, the sense seems illusive. (Evernden, 1985:43)

Moreover, all the symbolic forms that might be construed as "cultural" are at bottom, at least in their authentic forms, an expression of the explained synthesis of body and

world; they become the speaking out or pouring forth of the many sensuous encounters of the "lived body" and its ever-changing activity within its immediate surroundings.

In authentic terms, it is this factor of 'being there' at a specific and culturally meaningful place within a specific context, which imparts symbolic, meaningful and recognizable substance; the sacred or symbolic meaning, for example, as vested within an environmentally significant and specially symbolic place, like a particular mountain ridge or river gorge, now must be understood as a feature of expression and, therefore, must be experienced to be appreciated as its meaning and essence is in the moment of the corporeal being there. Primordially speaking, our speech, stories and dances, etc. as expressions of self are now explicable as kinesthetic representations of the primordial relationship between self and its environment as found in the incorporation of body and world. Indeed all of the 'expressive forms' of selfhood stand as testimony to the body's own environmental matrix, both natural and human. It is, after all, our body that cries; it is the body that laughs, that feels pain, that gathers food and that feeds itself, that climbs a mountain or fords a river, and is the sole foundation of awareness.

By heralding the body as the very subject of awareness, as in Merleau-Ponty, we preclude the possibility of a philosophy that would provide a dualistic view of reality, for such accounts require a mind and consciousness that stands outside the realm of lived experience in order to comprehend it which, of course, as phenomenology has shown can never truly be done. "Indeed, facial expressions, gestures, and spontaneous utterances and sighs and cries seem to immediately incarnate feelings, moods, and desires without my being able to say which came first—the corporeal gesture or its purportedly 'immaterial' counterpart" (Abram, 1996:46). As is obvious, the body has its own finite presence that enables one to engage, grasp and blend with the various things

around it—the sentient body is then a highly improvisational and form-shifting entity as in a body that has its world. In this scenario, all that which we attribute to human creativity, understanding, empathy, awareness, vision—attributes usually identified with the mental or intellectual faculties—become the complex corporeal manifestations of the "lived body's" expressiveness on some level; they ultimately originate in the flesh.

> For Merleau-Ponty, all the creativity and free-ranging mobility that we have come to associate with the human intellect is, in truth, an elaboration, or recapitulation, of a profound creativity already underway at the most immediate level of sensory perception. The sensing body is not a programmed machine but an active and open form, continually improvising its relation to things and to the world. The body's actions and engagements are never wholly determinate, since they must ceaselessly adjust themselves to a world and a terrain that is itself continually shifting. If the body were truly a set of closed predetermined mechanisms, it could never come into genuine contact with anything outside itself. (ibid., 49)

According to the above non-Cartesian explanation of self, body and world, the dualism between culture and nature disappears in the notion of synergistic union of the body and the environment. Nature is no longer an objective and externalized out there, rather, it is a landscape of our ownmost corporeal experience, immediate "selfhood", belonging, self-identification, concern and expression.

It is likely, therefore, that the phenomenological view of "self" as transcended towards its world provides a parallel with the varying non-western aboriginal concepts and practices, because it explains how sites of bodily use such as resting spots, fishing spots, sacred sites, landmarks, ancestral journeys, etc. become immediate extensions of the "experiencing self". Such sites are expressions of the synergy explained above and, therefore, take on a mythological or, in some cases even, a personified existence—they become representations of the spatiality of the "lived body". We are shown how such a revised view of self (as presented in the works of Merleau-Ponty) would resituate the

orientation of humans to the environment in terms of a belonging, while "selfhood" would reflect our environmentally situated field of activity associated also with "fields of care" or fields of experience—the actual territory of self.

> Schumacker's attempt at constructing new maps hinges on the inclusion of such features, and the introduction of the idea of a 'lived world' by writers such as Merleau-Ponty suggest a means by which the missing elements can be rediscovered. If we were to regard ourselves as 'fields of care' rather than as discrete objects in a neutral environment, our understanding of our relationship to the world might be fundamentally transformed. (Evernden, 1985: 47)

3.2. The Self as Locational Positioning

If our viewpoint of the world is genuinely an immersed viewpoint, then it follows that symbolic gestures such as folklore, gesture and speech must arise from the primordial interrelation between body and world and, as such, relate to our postural and sensoral positioning within a given world context, which at every moment is self-defining and self-completing. The body's postural positioning and its meaningful moving toward is thus formative in the phenomenological conception of "self". In other words, we as "selves" live within a dynamic improvizational synergy, between body and world, to the extent that humans always "take up a position" within a world that they are, then, on the basis of their gestures and behaviours given to express. In this case, speech (at least authentic speech) belongs to the rest of the animate landscape to the same degree that it belongs to ourselves.

> It is the body which points out, and which speaks....This disclosure (of the body's immanent expressiveness) ...extends, as we shall see, to the whole sensible world, and our gaze, prompted by the experience of our own body, will discover in all "objects" the miracle of expression. (Merleau-Ponty, 1962:197)

In this passage, Merleau-Ponty emphasizes the primacy of sensuous experience in the emergence of perception, behaviour and speech. It is as though a word was a kinesthetic extension of a specific lived moment, or was an expressive pouring forth of the dynamic and experiential fusion when a human bodily interaction is at once receptive to the sensuous contours of a specific spatial location—the reality of its own spatiality, its sensuousness and environmental "being here", its ownmost "field of self".

A similar profile exists for gestures. If one gestures to a friend, one does not first prepare the symbolic movements within the body, rather, the synergy and intent of the two presences across the world gets reflected in the formation and rhythm of the signals exchanged. The gestures ultimately emerge from the environing gestalt; they represent the overall synthesis of meaning, action and spatiality of all the actors involved.

> When I motion my friend to come nearer, my intention is not a thought prepared within me and I do not perceive the signal in my body. I beckon across the world, I beckon over there, where my friend is; the distance between us, his consent or refusal are immediately read in my gesture; there is not a perception followed by a movement, for both form a system which varies as a whole. (ibid., 111)

3.2.1. Body Expresses Environment

The environment, therefore, in all its details and richness speaks through our many movements, gestures and symbols and through our folklore, poetry, songs, gestures and speech. The body actually is the world incarnate and opens us out onto the world of its interaction:

> In multiple and diverse ways, taking (as we shall see) a unique form in each indigenous culture, spoken language seems to give voice to, and thus to enhance and accentuate, the sensorial affinity between humans and the environing earth. (Abram, 1996:71)

It is therefore, the movements of the "lived body" and the spatiality of its activities as they blend and incorporate with all its surrounds, both natural and human-made, that lead to symbolically meaningful actions, speech and meaning.

Movements that are made possible by meaning and significance, otherwise referred to by Merleau-Ponty as abstract movement, include all purposive movement and, therefore, gesture and symbolic movement are always movements toward a particular spatial something. These movements or actions invariably represent a certain "plunge into action" toward a certain symbolically meaningful something or a familiar place, which coincides with the incorporation of the body with its world that occurs meaningfully. In other words, we are incorporated with our world, significantly, through our actions at familiar sites. As we have explained, it is this potential of the body for "abstract movement", meaningful movement (intentional movement) and, thus, interaction (otherwise explainable as worldly enterprises) that makes "selfhood" as being-in-the-world realizable as an active possibility.

> The plunge into action is, from the subjects point of view, an original way of relating himself to the object and is on the same footing as perception....The abstract movement carves out within that plenum of the world in which concrete movement took place a zone of reflection and subjectivity: it superimposes upon physical space a potential, a human space. (Merleau-Ponty, 1962:111)

Being-in-the-world as a realizable possibility is always intentional; it always represents the movement of the body towards a designated something, and invariably implies the presence of orientational markers as perceptual representations of the body in space, which are built up through prior experiences—it is these many representations which are the foundation of "self-hood".

3.2.2. The Self and its Background

The "self" is, thus, not an atomized self, but rather an 'environing self'. It is a "self", eminently expressive of its background as the improvizational living statement of body and world in its synergistic sensoral completion and worldliness. When we talk about "abstract movement" (as formulated by Merleau-Ponty) or of the symbolizing potential of bodies, we bring into consideration the question of this human productive power mentioned above that emerges in the interrelation between body and world. As Merleau-Ponty tells us, beneath the flow of mere impressions exists a symbolic function or explanatory invariant, through which the bodies' intentional activities give form to the grist of raw experience. Thus humans have possibility, and the body (as in Merleau-Ponty's thinking) is infused with and informed through this pervasive "symbolic function" faculty, which is the instrumental moment in the formation of things, *qua* world.

> From these gains the acts of authentic expression—the writer's artists, or philosophers—are made possible. This ever-recreated opening in the plenitude of being is what conditions the child's first use of speech and the language of the writer, as it does the construction of the world and that of concepts.... It has always been observed that speech or gesture transfigure the body, but no more was said on the subject than that they develop or disclose another power, that of thought or soul. The fact was overlooked that, in order to express it, the body must in the last analysis become the thought or intention that it signifies for us. It is the body which points out, and which speaks; so much we have learnt in this chapter. (ibid., 197)

In a pre-Cartesian sense, for the reasons discussed above the nexus of "culture" as a synergistic union of body and world (as it can now be redefined in the discourse of sociology) is the vast compendium of gestures and all other symbolic 'representations' that speak to the spatiality and the sensuous worldly presence of a people, who work and live together and occupy a specific location or territory which might be referred to as their earthly dwelling. Words, speech, gestures, behaviours and symbols of all kinds are

expressions of a wider animate "life world", in addition to the human one. It is that constant improvisation of expressiveness and receptiveness (the ability both to grasp and to yield) of humans to an infinite array of worldly contexts, which gives rise to the many behaviours, improvisations, meanings and symbols; it is as if we must sing out our kinesthetic revelations, our fusion with our world:

> The task for us is to conceive, between the linguistic perceptual and motor contents and the form given to them or the symbolic function that breathes life into them, a relationship which shall be neither reduction of form to content, nor the subsuming of content under an autonomous form. (ibid., 126)

3.3. The Possibilizing Self

Being-in-the-world means to be contextually placed or to be corporeally integrated with a background. Primordially, it is the actuality of being present at a location that provides symbolic significance or meaningfulness.

> Hence being-in-a-situation is essentially being-contextually placed. Whatever I do, whatever occurs there, whatever is done to me directly or indirectly, all these are constituents of this contexture and have their own determinable significance and weight. (Zaner, 1981:171)

The possibility of "self" is invested in its bodily experiences in this openness of the body towards its world at a particular place or as it is locally positioned within a contexture. "Here the self is contextually bound up with bodily movements, postures, gestures, attitudes, actions and sensory fields whereby something is experienced" (Zaner, 1981:171). The surrounding world is literally incorporated with the bodily self with each meaningful action it makes towards the various poles of action within its world as it blends with them, interprets them and recreates itself through them. A phenomenological view of the world and of nature, in terms of being-in-ness, sees

exploitation (whether human exploitation or environmental abuse) and the degraded state of the world as the result of our failure to experience "the world" as this ultimate field and matrix of our own bodily presence, belongingness and self possibility within a region or contexture. The view of the landscape as an aspect of self bestows the land and familiar surrounds with a certain personality or beingness; a sense of humanity that defies heedless environmental degradation as will be shown for the aboriginal cases given in Chapter 5. The self, in phenomenological terms, is the field or complexure (complex context) of all our meaningful goings on as they relate to our world as the foundation of our life and all of that which we care about in contrast to the usual, but incorrect, notion of self as an atomized individual.

> Self can be explained fundamentally as contextually positioned reflexivity always with a given orientation towards its environing milieux. What is referred to as myself, therefore, is that bodily 'my own' which is specifically displayed and arranged with respect to its immediate orientational habitus. (ibid.)

Quintessentially, the possibility of becoming a self is to be significantly and orientationally positioned. It is the potential to be meaningfully here, to be able to situate oneself, to organize oneself, to find direction, to be made sense of, and to be gainfully anchored within a particular spatial and activational world context of our ownmost productivity and familiarity. In response to this process, a host of contextualizing signs necessarily come into view by virtue of the above-explained human productive capacity, which guides human action and which also serves to symbolically map the world as a living contexture. Therefore, on the basis of all we have said, what is referred to as myself is that bodily my own which is orientationally and spatially positioned within its immediate environing habitus (ibid., 172). The generalized field of self is always oriented within a thematic/experiential field wherein a particular figure or theme exists

within its centre as its centre of meaning. Therefore, thematized figures within a landscape exist in a figure/ground unity that orientates one in such a way as to organize the activational spatial gestalt. "The theme 'stands out from' a background to which it refers precisely as the ground for the figure" (ibid., 75). Selfhood rests ultimately in the ability to be contextually located in a meaningful way: "a relationship of relevancy must obtain between the context and the theme" (ibid., 76). In the passage below, the thinking of Merleau-Ponty seems to parallel Zaner in emphasis on:

> [the] ability to mark out boundaries and directions in the given world in accordance with the projects of the present moment, to establish lines of force to keep perspectives in view, in a word, to organize the given world in accordance with the projects of the present moment, to build into the geographical setting a behavioural one, a system of meanings outwardly expressive of the subjects inner activity. (Merleau-Ponty, 1962:112)

Merleau-Ponty argues that the possibility of consciousness rests on the presence of an intentional object that warrants the plunge into action that consciousness requires in order to be conscious. Thus consciousness is always a contextualized consciousness, thematically derived, whereby being-in-the-world is possibilized and realized.

> As soon as there is consciousness, and in order that there be consciousness, there must be something to be conscious of, an intentional object, and consciousness can move toward this object only to the extent that it 'derealized' itself' and throws itself into it, only if it is wholly in this reference to... something, only if it is a pure meaning giving act. (ibid., 121)

Spaces therefore are particular thematic contextures embodying a given orientational relationship between a figure and its background as spatially meaningful surroundings; for example, between humans and a landscape symbolically mapped out with recognizable resting points, way stations and landmarks. Furthermore, the things of the world are obviously identifiable as "'poles of action' appearing as what they are only in and through specifically organized schemes of activity," (Zaner, 1981:25) that, hence,

serve to organize and give meaning to us spatially and, simply put, are amulets or thematic anchors that retain meaning and significance. They make the self's orientational presencing (its stay here) as being-in-the-world possible.

> When I go about my house, I know without thinking about it that walking towards the bathroom means passing near the bedroom, that looking at the window means having the fireplace on my left, and in this small world each gesture, each perception is immediately located in relation to a great number of possible co-ordinates. (Merleau-Ponty, 1962:129)

3.4. The Self as an Activational Field

There is a close relationship between what Merleau-Ponty says in the above passages regarding poles of activity and Heidegger's definition of a "dwelling". In both cases the creation of a spatial location is tied to the establishment of a designated or thematized site or region that ultimately owes its existence value to a nexus of productive meaningful human activity. Key to Heidegger's definition of "dwelling" is that it is a place which is made room for, following the notion that "space is in essence that in which room is made...accordingly spaces receive their 'being' from locations (poles of building and activity) and not from space" (Heidegger, 1971:154). It seems, the above described behavioural setting that can be called a dwelling or territory is, in Heidegger's terms, a space which has been designated and made room for within a boundary (or horizon) at which something begins its presencing. It follows, then, that spaces only result where they have been designated and identified in terms of meaningful locations and sites of dwelling, building and activity. What we know to be spaces, then, always emerge in accordance with the stay of humans, while people's relation to space is, strictly thinking, none other than their "dwelling". Thus, dwelling focuses on the human

element vested in the experience of spatiality and connects the interaction between people in the course of their doings to the meaningful emergence of recognized and experienced spatiality. "In this way then, do genuine buildings give form to dwelling in its presencing and house this presence. Building thus characterized a distinctive letting-dwell" (ibid., 159). The generalized field of self then is always complexly oriented within a thematic/experiential field as the nexus of meaningful possibility and worldly significance; it orientates one in such a way as to make activity and the possibilizing of the self a contextual reality. Through this process of "dwelling" we become contextualized within the merged human and non-human setting in both a productive and meaningful way.

> The making of such things is building. Its nature consists in this, that it corresponds to the character of these things. They are locations that allow spaces. This is why building, by virtue of constructing locations, is a founding and joining of spaces. Because building produced locations, the joining of the spaces of these locations necessarily brings with it space, as spatium and as extensio, into the thingly structure of buildings....Nevertheless, because it produces things as locations, building is closer to the nature of "space" than any geometry and mathematic. (ibid., 158)

In the primordial sense, speech, gestures, symbolism, building and sites are all reflections of the intimate lived relationship between the body and its world; they speak to occurrences or bodily incorporation at locations and sites through productive and significant activity such as building. The ontology of "dwelling" is a more useful manner of explaining the nature of human existence than the Cartesian alternative that argues for a mind that is detached from the world which it has to, at once, reformulate before any attempts at engagement. Rather, in the case of "dwelling", the being-in-ness of being contextually and situationally placed is primary. Such a notion of spatiality poses

immediately the question of what it means to meaningfully dwell as an avenue of human possibility within a world, which is discussed in the next section.

3.5. The World As A Ratio of the Senses

Drawing on Merleau-Ponty, Neil Evernden (1985) argues that phenomenology is a return to 'original experience' or a return to the 'things themselves'. Such a philosophical shift can "help us to move beyond the experience closest to us, that of the body, and consider too the experience of world and earth, without defining those terms further at this point" (Evernden, 1985:57). In clarification of this thought, Evernden explains that phenomenology is perhaps a certain kind of conscious naiveté that allows us to re-enter a world which has been heavily sedimented with presuppositions. The crux of Evernden's argument here seems to be that, although we cannot avoid the social construction of categories that find their counterpart in the social construction of reality, we can at least attempt to keep the story as close to experience as possible and, when it becomes too far removed, have the insight to re-establish a connection to it.

> Phenomenology requires a return to the things themselves, to a world that precedes knowledge and yet is basic to it, as countryside is to geography and blossoms to botany. (ibid., 57)

In recapturing Martin Heidegger's notion of Dasein as the field of all my care and meaningful absorption (see Chapter 2), Evernden shows how the boundaries of self become identified with a world outside the envelope of the skin in such a way that a person would feel moved to "defend the useless, non-human world around them" (ibid., 64).

In this way, a person might hear, for example, his or her own name attached to the environmental surroundings of his ownmost care and involvement. Being, as such, a field therefore indicates more than being just a body, in that it implies being-in-the-world, and therefore further signifies a different orientation to the environment of all one's care:

> Each 'secretly hears his own name called whenever he hears any region of Being named with which he is vitally involved.' Whether it is the housewife who defies the chainsaws to rescue a tree that is beyond her property yet part of her abode, or the elderly couple who unreasonably resist expropriation of their home, or the young 'eco-freak' fighting to preserve some vibrant stinking bog, or even the naturalist who fears the extinction of a creature he has never seen, the phenomenon is similar; each has heard his own name called, and reacts to the spectre of impending non-being. (ibid., 64)

In the writings of Evernden, we are given a demonstration of the points of connection between the ideals inherent in the ecology movement and phenomenology, in its interest in the 'humanistic' elements vested within the presence of a valued environment or landscape. Joseph Grange, for example, is presented by Evernden as someone who has sought a formulation of ecology that provides the ground for our connection with nature and its corresponding reflection in the human psyche. Grange depicts something of a homecoming that encompasses an openness of being that dwells in an intimacy with all things close to it in the absence of an emphasis on manipulation and control (ibid., 68). It is such a homecoming, we shall argue, that re-asserts a connection to our field of care and concern, which can be talked about in the Heideggerian sense. As Evernden reminds us, such a homecoming is truly anathema to the exploitation, dominance, control and power over, that is implied by technology, for example—it is one that resonates with Heidegger's depiction of man as a "shepherd or custodian of being" (ibid., 69). Such a paradigmatic shift toward phenomenology and away from Cartesianism clears the way for the earth, nature and the environment as

elements of being to be appreciated in what both we and other "beings" are. In this connection, understanding ourselves is our first task in the formulation of that which might be called an existential standpoint of "concernedness".

Heidegger's analysis of the root word of ethics, "ethos" (Latin word meaning, the abode of man), accompanies the above sentiments nicely in its reflection on the primordial or original existence of humans that is reflected in the ultimate ethics as a meaningful letting dwell. Such an interpretive slant toward primordial ethics, which interested Heidegger, unarguably focuses our attention on the rightness of the meaningful "letting dwell" of humans as an untrammelled realization of ownmost possibility as being-in-the-world. Grange captures such a notion in light of ecological considerations:

> Can we summarize these intricate relations of earth-body-world within the meaning of foundational ecology? What is most concrete in all our investigations thus far is this: that in our human being we want nearness to that which distances itself from us. We seek to be the neighbor of that which withdraws from the light of openness. Yet that neighbor, the earth, and even our body, gives itself without cost and without price, freely of itself to us- if we but respect it and let it be what it is. Ecology is therefore learning anew to-be-at-home in the region of our concern. This means that human homecoming is a matter of learning how to dwell intimately with that which resists our attempts to control, shape, manipulate and exploit it. (Grange, in Evernden, 1985:69)

The idea of homecoming presented above and the possibility of this environmental comfort of being at home, not only has value for humans, but immeasurable value for life on earth, in general. After all, not to be placeless and dislocated beings with the resulting behaviour it engenders, is a matter of importance to all.

3.51. The Spatiality of the Aboriginal Self and Ancestral Territory

A discussion of the primordial notion of being in one's home within a territory or field of meaning, activity and selfhood suggests almost without saying that, in the matter of aboriginal ancestral territories, the land has acquired an age-old personal significance for the people who dwell there. The land in these cases has retained its environmental aroundness or concernedful significance as a field of care and as the extension of the human self. Where people have worked and lived together within a territory, with the essential experience wrought of a primordial closeness and intimacy with their surroundings that informs their ultimate life meaning and identity over a sustained period of time, the land takes on a special value which can only be understood as a human value—it is felt and seen as a part of one's intimate self. Aboriginal placenames, symbolically significant mountains or unusually shaped stones, for example, all serve as beacons to mark the way for the meaningful care and dwelling of humans within a region of activity known as home. Most geographical features on the land are identifying themes within a particular activational setting. They inevitably tell a narrative or story about a given locational context. A given physical journey that represents a human nexus of activity, for example, serves to anchor people within a world as an accumulation of interconnected orientational sites or places of activity wherein life goes on. Hunter-gatherers do not see their environment as externalized nature, nor themselves as "mindful subjects having to contend with an alien world of physical objects; indeed, the separation of mind and nature has no place in their thought and practice" (Ingold, 1996:120). As for hunter-gatherers grasping the world, it is a matter of

engagement not of construction, of dwelling not mere building, not of formulating a viewpoint on the world, but of taking up a view in it.

> What I wish to suggest is that we reverse this order of primacy and follow the lead of hunter-gatherers in taking the human condition to be that of a being immersed from the start, like other creatures, in an active, practical and perceptual engagement with the constituence of the dwelt-in world. (ibid., 121)

In the hunter-gatherer's experience of the world, it is as whole persons, as opposed to disembodied minds, that human beings interact with one another and with non-human beings as well. They find their experience of the environment as beings in the world, not as external minds finding themselves in the position of having to make sense of it. The unity and "transposibility" of the senses (touch, hearing and vision) complete the human body in such a way that to take up a position within a territory is virtually to incorporate bodily with that location. "To speak of the forest as a parent is not, then, to model object relations in terms of primary intersubjectivity, but to recognize that at root, the constitutive quality of intimate relations with non-human and human components of the environment is one and the same" (ibid., 129). In other words, it is the shared unbroken epidermal surface, so to speak, that encompasses the entire experiential world (see Chapter 2, section 2.4). The world is viewed as an integrated entity in that one gets to know the forest, the plants and the animals that dwell there in the very same way that one belongs and becomes familiar with other people. Such an intimacy is established by the spending time with, by being related to and by developing care, feeling and attention for the beings, both human and non-human, that exist around one. According to this notion, the aboriginal non-dualist experience of the "world" is grounded in mutually attentive and direct involvement of other and self in the shared context of experience; this leads to an intimacy with the entire animate world and the

surrounding environment and its invariable endowment with a sense of respect and personhood. The aboriginal territory, thus, conceptually corresponds with the phenomenological notion of "world". It is the activational field of "self" for the aboriginal dwellers, as circumscribed by their daily travels and activities and valorized by their ownmost self-identification as home. Thus, the phenomenological analysis of aboriginal/ traditional territories is able to unify three contiguous and related discourses. It connects the conventional phenomenological discourse on "world" with current discourses on the environment (and its preservation), and the aboriginal discourses on traditional ancestral land and the preservation of tribal territory. Through this means, the dissertation is able to demonstrate the presence of a phenomenological environmentalist discourse within the aboriginal world view.

CHAPTER 4.

THE ABORIGINAL WORLD

> By living this way, we cared for the Earth, for our brothers and sisters in the animal world and for each other. (Ovide Mercredi, in Denis, 1997:115)

The purpose of this chapter is to demonstrate the alignment between ethnographic analyses on the meaning of aboriginal land and territory, and the phenomenological analysis of the "extended self" given in the last chapter. The conceptualization of the material draws, in particular, on the three levels of conceptual analysis that connect the phenomenological notion of "body, self, and world" to the discussions of aboriginal territory and the native meaning of land. The concepts of "enfoldment", "storyscape", and *poiesis* have been applied to explain the synergy of "body and world" as it is has been discovered in the aboriginal folkloric world view throughout a variety of ethnographic accounts from different parts of the world. Firstly, the concept of "enfoldment" speaks to the experienced imbrication of "body and world" that is generated by the "unity" and "transposition" of the senses (vision, hearing and touch), as well as postural alignment and an intentional moving toward a "thematized" spatially specific site. The world as a "ratio of the senses" (see Chapter 2, section 2.5), ultimately gives rise to the "enfoldment" of aboriginal people and their territory and is, moreover, formative in the experience of "self", allowing it and fostering it as a locatative possibility. It is the world as a ratio of the senses and bodily incorporation through movement and activity that leads to the sense of experiential sharing and connection between humans and territory as an unbroken extended surface of all human and non-human territorial elements.

"Storyscape" is another level of analysis (employed in this chapter) to conceptualize the "self's" manifestation, in narrative form, on the basis of all of its regionally circumscribed travels and life sustaining activities as they are orally recorded and expressed among those people who collectively regard a region as their territorial "dwelling". As a concept, it speaks to the crystallization of the "extended self" as a biography or as the oral testimonial of its presencing and its activities, and thus its lessons (its moral information), its accomplishments, losses and trepidations. The "storyscape" speaks to the nexus of human experience as "dwelling" as it unfolds upon a regionally circumscribed ancestral territory. The concept of "storyscape" is the regional depiction, in oral terms, of "being-in-the-world" through an itinerary of interconnected terrestrial sites of meaning within a given territory. The activity sites that the "storyscape" serves to embrace are thus folklorically or narratively special or heavily charged in that they have supported human life in such a way that the local people's identities are inscribed in them and with what has gone on there. The folkloric sites are thus an oral map of aboriginal dwelling as it is lived and felt within the territory. Thus, the people's narrative regionally embeds them in the land on an intergenerational basis and their identity as a people being-in-the-world is graspable and accessible as a "storyscape". The concept of "storyscape", as it is being defined, finds its ethnographic counterpart in the following quotation by anthropologist Robin Ridington.

> Hunting and gathering people typically live in kin-based communities where most social relations take place between people who know one another well. Because people share knowledge of one another's lives, they code information about their world differently from those of us whose discourse is conditioned by written documents. They know their world as a totality. They know it through the authority of experience. They live within a community of shared knowledge about the resource potential of a shared environment. They communicate knowledge through oral tradition. They organize information through the metaphors of a mythic language.

> They reference experience to mutually understood information.
> (Ridington, 1988:191)

The above quotation demonstrates the manner in which oral traditions of native people serve as a form of narrative that connects them to their land and to what the generations that went before have gone through. The "storyscape" is the narrative unfolding of a cluster of regionally based stories of the people's collective "enfoldment" with the territory to which they have become self-identified.

The concept of *poiesis* encapsulates the former two levels of "enfoldment" and "storyscape". *Poiesis* represent all the expressive forms that speak to the "enfoldment" of human and non-human agents within a regional "storyscape". *Poiesis* is a key term in my analysis (see Chapter 1, section 1) that conceptualizes the relationship between the land's emotional value, its spatial "thematizations", its oral gestures, traditional landmarks, and the worldly activities that give rise and sustain such expressions. It provides emphasis on the manner in which the body has its world and how this world is communicated and experienced through a continuum of traditional gestures, oral traditions and spatial "thematizations".

The *poiesis* is the iconographic assemblage of narratives, sonic and syllabic forms of expression, phonetic iconography, songs, kinesthetic forms of expression like dances, visual icons like family crests or masks, or symbolic emblems, regalia, iconic landmarks, rock art, etc. that speak to the imbrication of body and world. It is the "enfoldment" of a people within a territorial world as a "ratio of the senses"; as it can be bound up regionally and conceptualized within the term "storyscape". The *poiesis* of "body and world" that is of concern throughout this chapter represents a third level of analysis that speaks to the experiential moment of the self's presencing as it gets

inscribed in the folkloric traditions. The *poiesis* of body and world as it is conceptualized speaks to all the aspects of the self's expression as manifested in poetic or narrative terms and, in fact, conceptualizes the many aboriginal iconic forms mentioned as the primary vehicles of the self's expression. Thus, it is the iconic *poiesis* embedded within a storyscape that survives to give testimony of the aboriginal self as an extended self, expressive of the non-dualistic "enfoldment" of "body and world".

A phenomenological analysis of aboriginal territory with the concepts of "enfoldment", *poiesis* and "storyscape" provides a conceptualization of the aboriginal experience of the land's aroundness that is not present in the one-sided ecological models of anthropology or utilitarian approaches to environmental management. Such dualistic models polarize the concepts of culture and nature, thus, eliminating the possibility of presenting a view of the land as vested with "personhood" (as discussed in Chapter 2) or presenting the aboriginal "self" as an "extended self" (as discussed in Chapter 3).

In grasping the matter of the land's meaning for aboriginals, we must begin to see into the reality that the land is more, other and greater than just a utilitarian value classified into various resources, such as its plant life, its animal life, its minerals and timber, etc. Aboriginal cultural groups living close to the land have socially constructed traditional territories, or regional dwellings and personalized landscapes, as reflections of themselves as the most intimate expression of their daily activities and lifeways and as the ultimate statement of the realization of their ownmost possibility within a location as a body/world relationship. In the process, the natural, sensuous, cultural and social environments become meshed and integrated into the traditional beliefs and origin stories of the territorial inhabitants. Thus that, which today we tend to classify as the

natural environment along with whatever changes take place within it, would take on different meanings depending on the social and cultural experiences and significances of the people connected with it. In this regard, people are integrally imbricated with their surrounding territories at a meaningful level or, in other worlds, at the level of their own self-identification (Greider and Garkovich, 1994:8, in Stoffle, et al., 1996:4).

In discussing the "meaning of land", we must take into consideration the adaptive nature of aboriginal people to flow with the nuances of the environment; the best example is found among hunter-gatherers. We must consider the closeness in which these groups live with the earth, a closeness that can be described as a contiguous living with the non-human world through adapting to it, conserving it and protecting it. The adaptive strategies of hunter-gatherers, for example, require a need to match a human lifestyle with animal migratory patterns and seasonal availability of plant life, which in many cases dictate human migratory patterns. Thus for these peoples, there largely exists a synchronicity between humans and other forms of life that requires a special closeness and understanding, an integration and a contiguousness or flowing together between humans and non-human agents on the land. It is in many cases this flow of human life with the rest of the non-human world that leads to the many sacred interpretations, folkloric interpretations and self-identifications between people and their territorial landscapes: they are expressive of it. There is a general feeling among hunter-gatherers and other aboriginal peoples of what might be called a shared economy between human and non-human life forms—a realization and respect that all life forms both share and cohabitate within the same world or habitat. People who live on the land in this way are not separated from the environment and its aliveness, power and closeness, but rather are imbricated with it and thus can sense it and intimately identify

with it such that they are simply part of a process of a "common enfoldment", which is integral to their sense of self.

> This explains why hunters and gatherers consider time devoted to forays in the forest to be well spent, even if it yields little or nothing by way of useful return: there is as Bird-David puts it, a concern with the activity itself'(1992a:30), since it allows people to 'keep in touch' with the non-human environment. and because of this, people know the environment intimately, in the way one "knows" close relatives with whom one shares intimate day-to-day life. (Ingold, 1996:129)

In this chapter, we will cover six sub-sections that analyse the phenomenological concept of an "extended self" in terms of a general literature review, drawing from various parts of the world on the aboriginal meaning of land.

Section 4.1. Storyscape as an Articulation of Self. This section firstly demonstrates how the "self", as a result of its sensual activities, is experienced as an "enfoldment" within a territory. In tandem with the illustration of "enfoldment", the section moves on to present the concept of "storyscape" as a tool in grasping the regional notion of "self" as a repertory of all its regionally based activities as narratively and "poetically" encoded.

Section 4.2. Positioning, A Sacred Landscape. This section takes a more detailed look at the relationship between "self" and territory. It speaks to the actual means through which a body is imbricated and located within a landscape as a locational positioning. The section shows how the "self's" positioning is dependent on the presence of a *poiesis* as provided within a regionally based "storyscape". It demonstrates that the *poiesis* of "body and world" serves as the foundational element in the *Apache* moral universe. It shows how a philosophy of *Apache* wisdom emerges through the process of a *poiesis* of real "dwelling" as a reflexive process of "real knowing", in so far as the poetics of "body and world" speak to the ancient lessons of

Western *Apache* "belonging"; the moral nexus of body/world imbrication within a territorial residence.

Section 4.3. The Poetics of Land as Phonic Representation demonstrates the way in which *Apache* placenames result in a meaningful *poiesis* of "body and world" as a ratio of the senses. This section demonstrates how phonic representations play a significant role in Western *Apache* "selfhood"—illustrations are given on the meaningfulness of the land's speaking-out, through the repetition of placenames.

Section 4.4. A Self Transcended Towards its World presents a discussion of Western *Apache* regional activity and positioning as a *poiesis* of place—as an interconnected network of narratively defined named places. The ethnographic material gives detailed illustration of how the "enfoldment" of people and land results in a *poiesis* of Western *Apache* activity and "selfhood" as contained in territorial "storyscape" sites. It demonstrates that the *poiesis* of "body and world" serves as the foundational element in the *Apache* moral universe. In this section, it is shown how a philosophy of *Apache* wisdom emerges through the process of a *poiesis* of real "dwelling" as a reflexive process of "real knowing" in so far as the poetics of "body and world" speak to the ancient lessons of Western *Apache* "belonging"; the moral nexus of body/world imbrication within a territorial residence.

Section 4.5. Sonic Articulatory Poetics deals with the phonic and kinesthetic iconography of the *Kaluli*, *Foi*, and *Umeda* tribes as a *poiesis* of body and world "enfoldment". This section gives illustration to the meaningfulness of the land's speaking-out as a territorial expression of the "world" as a ratio of the senses. The seven sub-sections of the chapter present a thematic development of the *poiesis* of

"body and world" as the meaningful poetics and expression of the "self's" presencing within a territory as an extended aboriginal self.

Section 4.6. Placeforms, Kinesthetic and Sonesthetic Icongraphy deals with the relationship of "body and world", whereby the world as a "ratio of the senses", the terrain of the "extended self", and finds representation in kinesthetic representation, through corporeal metaphor, while auditory metaphor emerges in sonesthetic iconography in verbal representations such as onomatopoeia and in phonic syllabic representations.

Section 4.7 The Desecrating of the Aboriginal Self. This section looks at the problems of the ecological approaches' dualistic perspective in evaluating the meaning of land in aboriginal societies. In this section, the dissertation demonstrates dualistic approaches that separate nature and culture to be reductionistic and incomplete, because they evaluate land largely in terms of its resource value, but not its human value.

4.1. Storyscape as an Articulation of "Self"

This section analyses non-dualistic conceptions of "selfhood" as an imbrication of body and world in such a way that both human and non-human agents occupy in shared personhood what has been conceptualized as a common "enfoldment". Underlying Western anthropological views that oppose nature and culture is the view that "personhood as a state of being is not open to non-human animal kinds" (Ingold, ibid., 130). Among hunter-gatherers, however, a certain personhood is often assigned to humans, animals, spirits and certain geographical agents. For the *Wemindji Cree* and

other northern hunters, however, personhood is open to both humans and non-humans alike and, consequently, no word for natural exists in their language (Scott, 1989:204).

> ...human persons are not set over and against a material context of inert nature, but rather are one species of person in a network of reciprocating persons. (Scott, 1989:195)

Personhood is rather the outcome of the relationship between body and world, the intimate and sensuous interaction between humans and their surrounds; it reflects their reciprocation and imbrication, and immersion or "enfoldment" with all other non-human factors within a landscape. Personhood is therefore seen by the *Cree* as that which is constitutive of that continuous sensuous unfolding; that process of being alive—it signifies participation within this sacred union. *Knowledge Construction Among the Cree Hunter: Metaphors and Literal Understanding,* by Colin Scott, characterizes a common process of unfolding shared between people and their habitat.

> In Cree, there is no word corresponding to our term 'nature'. The word for 'persons' *iiyiyuu,* can itself be glossed as 'he lives'. Humans, animals, spirits and some geophysical agents are perceived to have qualities of personhood. All persons act in a reciprocally communicative reality. Human persons are not set over and against a material context of inert nature, but rather are one species of person in a network of reciprocating persons. These reciprocative interactions constitute the events of experience. (ibid., 195)

The Canada geese, of the traditional James Bay and Hudson's Bay *Cree* (spring and fall) goose hunt are vested (in *Cree* terms) with human properties because they are perceived as part of the same world-unfolding process as humans—they co-habitate within the same web. Hunter-gatherers see themselves as largely inseparable from the other non-human parts of their world—the separation of mind and body, culture and nature has no part in it—thus the animals and geographic features are given personhood.

> It is the creative unfolding of a total field of relations within which beings emerge and take on the particular forms that they do—humans as humans, geese as geese, and so on-each in relation to the others. Life is not the revelation of pre-specified forms but the process wherein forms are constituted. And every being, as it is caught up in this process carried it forward, arises as an undivided centre of awareness and agency, and enfoldment, at some particular nexus within it, of the generative potential that is life itself. Thus personhood, far from being 'added on' to the living organism, is implicated in the very condition of being alive. (ibid., 195)

Related to the *Cree* way of being and the non-dualistic nature of the *Cree* perspective is that, in addition to not having a word for nature, the *Cree* also do not have a word for culture. This stems from their perception of the non-human environment as part of a common enfoldment with humans. However, they do a have word equivalent to sign. Signs (*achiskuhiichaawan* and *achiskuhiikan*) can be described as the vehicles of action, perception and experience. They are markers left in the bush to indicate to others where certain paths lead and how far, etc. They are the assortment of territorial markers of the *Cree* world, which give it richness, dimension and depth at a mythological level (similar to the landmarks of British Columbia's Coastal and Interior peoples, which is discussed further along in Chapter 5, sections 5.2 and 5.3). Dream images, animal behaviour and religious symbols all fall under these terms and relate to the *Cree* notion of a sign; it is believed that, not only human, but other non-human agents respond to and interpret these signs—these signs relate to, for example, birth and death, success and failure in hunting, and all other domains of human action and the general reciprocity between humans and the non-human world.

> Myth, ritual, dreams and hunting scenarios all express respectful solicitude as the preferred relation among "persons" in the hunter's world. The mental and physical activity of the hunter is directed in maintaining standing in this network, by being generous and respectful to humans and non-humans, and by ensuring that what is received is in correct proportion. Where moral standards of positive reciprocity are deviated

> from, its negative corollary ensues: in all contexts, generosity dwindles in response to respect and greed. (ibid., 196)

However, scholars have seldom looked at how mythico-ritual categories impregnate the hunters' modelling of their social-environmental strategies, such as setting up the hunting ground for the goose hunt or the strategic attitudinal-mythico discourse which flows contiguously to material activity, which would speak to the non-dualistic nature of *Cree*-being. For an animal to be available for human consumption, it is seen as a function of both respect and love between the hunter and the animal, a belief which is firmly held and which has achieved enduring and mythological proportion within *Cree* society. Nevertheless, this fragile positioning of humans and animals as similar and reciprocating, but distinct within *Cree* mythology, has given much cause for metaphoric buffoonery that links the pursuit of game to the pursuit of sexual partners. Such buffoonery shows the boundaries of their separateness to be tentatively drawn. The confounding point emphasized in the folklore is that humans must eat animals, but not one another; alternatively, they may copulate with one another, but not with animals. Here the boundaries must be firmly established. Therefore according to Scott, both sexuality and hunting share a common vocabulary to humourize and mediate this incongruity: *mitwaaschaau* can mean either he shoots or he ejaculates, *paaschikan* can mean either shotgun or penis, *pukw* can mean either gunpowder or sperm and *spichinaakin* can mean either gun sheath or condom.

An *atuush* or cannibal mythology, explains Scott, subverts the usual roles of human and animal persons as seen below.

> In one bawdy myth, a cannibal copulates with a woman hunted by his son, before roasting and eating her reproductive organs. In consequence, he consumes his own sperm. He and his son, greatly

> weakened, are nearly overcome by the spiritual power of true human beings. (ibid., 197)

While this story explores the boundaries that dictate the relationships between human and non-human persons, another myth demonstrates the necessity for killing animals, while it establishes certain parameters that must be respected in doing so.

> It concerns a supernatural character, *Chischihp*, who never ate. *Chischihp* thinks of the food animals whom he loves as his 'pets', or 'dogs'. In this he is opposed to Cree hunters. Hunters also refer affectionately to certain species as their 'pets', but normally it would be the species that an individual hunter is privileged to kill with unusual success. *Chischihp* would never have begun killing his 'pets' had he not met two human sisters on a river journey, and desired them for wives. They accept his proposal, but insist that he kill beaver and moose for them, and when he objects, they threaten to abandon him. He relents, kills the animals, and eventually begins to eat some of the meat himself. However, he goes from excessive abstinence to excessive indulgence, both in respect of the animals and of the women, following his conversion to human status. When he returns to his village, he selfishly hides his wives, preventing their attendance at a public dance. At the dance, he himself dons the fatty internal organs and membranes of the moose as clothing and personal adornment. These parts are esteemed food delicacies, and their ostentatious display is grossly disrespectful of the animal. His wives respond with infidelity. He discovers them sleeping with a close agnate, whom he promptly murders in vengeance. He is now classified as a pwaat, a sub-human person who lurks at the margins of true human community and who shares some attributes of cannibals. Through treachery, he escapes the wrath of his village, drowns his wives, and is himself transformed into a species of edible waterfowl, the form is which he is known to Cree hunters today. (ibid., 197-198)

The message here is clear: that it is vitally important to human survival that humans eat animals just as it is positively forbidden for humans to eat each other. However, respectful parameters for interspecies consumption as well as interspecies sexuality must be strictly applied to insure the specific form of reciprocity and generalized personhood remains upheld.

Therefore, story telling and myth making are all part of the communicative nexus of dwelling (within a shared environment) and reflect the processes of being-in-the-world

as a shared bodily presence in poetic (or analogical) terms. For tribal people, myth making or story telling can be seen as the poetic and expressive vehicle of primordiality and an absorbed involvement with the non-human world that at once bypasses and repudiates a dualistic separation of resources into a classificatory system of exploitation and use. Stories and accompanying rituals serve to project the intentions of performers into an intense poetic relationship with the non-human aspects of their ancestral territory and "dwelling". Thus, story telling is descriptive of a "body shared" with the "world", of all our concernful involvement and survival. As skins and bodies entwine with other skins and bodies that surround the other animate and inanimate presences in our experiential world (see Chapter 2, section 2.4), the land speaks-out in a *poiesis* of the aboriginal self. The *poiesis* of "body and world" found in stories demonstrates the presence of the world as a "ratio of the senses". In this instance, the surrounding landscape becomes the extended surface through human touching and movement, and the other senses such as hearing and vision become orientational to the "self" as thematized possibility.

Given what has been said above, it is unethical for outsiders to this process to approach sacred aboriginal land and resources solely in utilitarian terms (for their resource value) as often occurs in environmental management's methodologies. "And since economics in this broad sense is believed to be fundamental to everyone's well-being, what was formerly a minority concern becomes a cause for all" (Evernden, 1985:9). In such utilitarian environmental models, through focusing on numbers and excising emotions, an environmentalist can demonstrate even to the most environmentally disinterested that it is economically more judicious to preserve or otherwise manage, intelligently, a particular mountain in its current state. However such a mountain might actually be a sacred mountain (ibid., 9), and herein lies the danger.

Such a problem, therefore, raises the necessity of broadening constraining (i.e., dualist) concepts such as those given across the human sciences in geography, environmental studies, anthropology and even in the culturally focused domain of history, so that data derived from what might be referred to as folkloric history, oral history, or traditional history can be used towards the preservation of aboriginal peoples and their ancestral territories. In certain current anthropological studies of aboriginal territories, for example, often the place itself is seen as the cultural resource due to the integration of people and land and the activities that went on there (Parker and King, 1990, in Stoffle et al., 1996:4). Native Americans together with scholars of Native culture have proposed a number of terms to discuss coherent cultural geographic units of study and preservation which might summarize such an integration as follows: sacred geography, spiritual geography, sacred landscape, symbolic landscape, or cultural landscape. Each one of these terms helps to express integration of humans and land (the non-human territorial features), as described above, and what aboriginal people mean when they talk about their traditional idea of the land, in a holistic sense; of the enfoldment perceived between human and non-human presences.

According to Stoffle et al., there exist three types of Native cultural landscapes: 1. holy landscape (created by a supernatural being who establishes a birthright relationship between a people and that portion of the earth; 2. regional landscape (a geographic setting like a river gorge or dessert that provides the territorial boundary of a people); and 3. landmarks (specific sites of cultural focus that tend to orientate people within a territory). The term spiritual, sacred, or holy has value when discussing cultural or symbolic landscapes, because it reflects the intensity of attachment Native people have

for their landscape.[2] As is furthermore argued by Stoffle, Halmo and Austin, symbolic regional landscapes would in turn be made up of a number of what might be termed smaller ecoscapes or important territorial settings wherein the aboriginal people who reside there have made their living using adaptive strategies, which are specifically expressive of the unique ecological fluctuations of a specific ecological location (ibid., 6). These could be interpreted as hunting territories or fishing regions, for example, as will be dealt with in the following chapter. It is within ecoscapes that native people are sensorially imbricated with their ecological surrounds on the basis of their life sustaining activities. A regional landscape is also represented by Stoffle et al., as a storyscape, a level of analysis which encompasses the preceding two levels. This "mythic" relationship of people and a region implied in a storyscape indicates the special rights of a certain group of people to use that portion of the earth, but also bequeaths them certain obligations to protect the corresponding environment. For example, the *Navajo* Nation applies the term *Navajo*land to an area bounded by four sacred mountains (Stoffle et al., 1995:6). The term storyscape then reflects the intense poetic involvement that aboriginal people have for their ancestral territory to which they are profoundly self-identified as depicted above:

> A great variety of storyscapes crisscross the landscape of American Indian holy lands. Many of these involve a time before humans existed. What some would call a mythic time...The storyscape is held together neither by common topography nor common plant and animal ecology. Quite the contrary, the story or song proceeds from place to place based on the activity it is conveying. Often the story is about spiritual beings that can move without reference to topography, that is can fly, swim along underground rivers, pass through mountains, or even move telekenetically. (ibid., 8)

[2] The term "holy land", according to Stoffle et al., never exactly fits North American Native view of ethnic origin lands, but many native people have accepted this as a gloss for their perception of creation lands and have agreed to assign a term to it.

The "storyscape" of aboriginal peoples within an ancestral region serves to poetically express how a given people have a direct and personal relationship with the environment which they feel a part of. Such a relationship is demonstrated in the connection felt by the Southern *Paiute* people to the Grand Canyon. The central focus of the *Paiute* regional landscape is *Piapaxa 'uipi* (literally "Big River Canyon" or Grand Canyon). In this place exist high quality salt quarries and quarries of red pigment demonstrating the context as an activational surround. This same area is also a place for farming, hunting, curing, and conducting ceremonies, and also exchanging manufactured goods with other native groups, such as the *Hopi*, the *Walapai,* the *Havasuapi.* A San Juan Southern *Paiute* elder describes this ecosystem in terms of water.

> The river there is like our veins. Some are like the small streams and tributaries that run into the river there, so the same things; it's like blood—it's the veins of the world...This story has been handed down from generation to generation. It's been given to them by the old people...It would be given to the new generation too. (ibid., 11)

Another example of a storied landscape is that of Kanab Creek, called *Kanav'uip* (willow canyon). This is a unique cultural ecoscape within the Grand Canyon regional landscape, which is the home to a very important heritage trail. It is defined by steep canyons and creeks, and also by its substantial contribution to the ecological adaptation of the Southern *Paiute* people. Animals of all varieties lived here and were hunted in this topographically unique location. Kanab Creek ecoscape provided one of the main north-south access paths from the southern Utah mountains to the water boundary defined by the Colorado River. The trail provided a two-way flow of trade materials, drawn from neighbouring native tribes to the south, as well as the seasonal movement of plants and animals. It has been claimed as an important heritage site by the Southern *Paiute*

(similar to the *N'lakapamux* Stein heritage trail featured in Chapter 6, section 6.1) in terms of the special aboriginal properties it provided, and also for its symbolic significance as the passage below demonstrates (ibid., 12):

> Often trails were traveled at night. In order to remember the trail routes, the runners would know a song that told the way. The trail songs described the path to be followed as well as encouraged the runner by recounting stories of mythic beings who traveled or established the same trail. The trail songs were so critical that ownership was limited to specific individuals and families, who maintained the songs and passed them on from generation to generation as heritage. (Laird, in Stoffle et al., 1996:13)

Thus, the experiential embodiment of the trail is galvanized in the poetic emergence of the song in that instance that our body extends into the world and occupies a limitless space beyond the confines of our own skin (as discussed in Chapter 3, section 3.2). Once sung, the song perpetuates this poetic fusion between the people and their environment and continues on an age-old physical exchange with the non-human surrounds, which at once becomes incorporated in one's most intimate sense of self-knowing as what can be termed a storyscape.

In like fashion to the Southern *Paiute* discussed above, songlines, "storyscapes" and poetic depiction of the landscape become the expressions of the "enfoldment" of people and territory. As another moment in the unfolding of being and personhood, the physical landscape is highlighted by various scholarly studies on Aborigines, which profile hunter-gatherer's activities on the land as the deciding factor in the land's meaning as a sensuous "enfoldment" or imbrication between human and non-human elements in an unbroken flow. In various studies provided by Chatwin (1987) and Ingold (1996), the named places on the land (along with their specific physical characteristics) have a specific meaning and identity; they are ascribed personhood. For example, an

Australian Aborigine individual whose ancestral activity was responsible for making a certain place, is invariably seen by her own people as the incarnation of that very ancestor who originally dwelt there. As a result, the place and its physical characteristics are formative in their own selfhood and identity as self-identification with the territory—they have merged personally with the territory. The placenames also become the speech symbol of the ancestors' original journey and actions within a territory and it is, therefore, constitutive of the original Aborigine world.

As explained above for the Southern *Paiute*, the Aborigines have song lines or ancestral myth lines that progress through the calling out or recitation of landmarks that map out certain significant contours of the territory as a context of ancestral tribal activity. This notion of immersed identity can be observed in specific cases of the *Pintupi* and the *Walbiri* people of Aboriginal Australia, where one's movements on the land are self-identifying. "The life of a person is spoken about in terms of the sum of his tracks, the total inscription of his movements, something that can be traced out along the ground" (Wagner, in Ingold, 1996:137). Identity is a history of significant events and activities carried out on the land. Therefore, formative components of identity and meaning accrue from certain places on the land that speak of important ancestral and human events, which bear certain identifying significance to me; they are constitutive of my selfhood. "It follows that the network of places, linked by paths of ancestral travel, is at the same time a network of relations between persons" (Ingold, 1986:138) and information that is passed on down through the ages. Thus the landscape with its fixed reference points, or physically marked locations and sites, is not a continuous surface as imagined with the notion of inert nature, but a topographical mapping out of physically marked locations and sites where activities happen and dwelling occurs—they reflect the

movement patterns of the people on the land that guide the thematic presencing and possibilizing of the figures within a background.

> In short, the landscape is not an external background or platform for life, either as lived by the ancestors in the Dreaming or as relived by their ordinary human incarnations in the temporal domain. It is rather life's enduring monument. (Ingold, 1996:139)

According to Chatwin (1987), Kane (1994), and Strehlow (1965), Australian myth and song recall the occurrences of the first day of the world's creation, when the ancestors (the world's first people), who were actually supernatural beings in either human or animal guises, molded the landscape. They are said to have left a trail of narrative, a song, wherever they traveled. Each traditional Aborigine is bequeathed a territorial portion of this mythic adventure to keep (or look after) in memory and to sing. By singing the song and reciting the myth, the tribesperson is re-enacting the walkabout that was originally made by the supernatural, following the track he took and singing the poetry that he sang. The ritual of song lines seems to tie into the general Aborigine's earthbound belief that:

> The earth gave life to a man; gave him his food, language and intelligence; and the earth took him back when he died. A man's own country, even an empty stretch of spinifex, was itself a sacred icon that must remain unscarred. (Chatwin, 1987:11)

The general message is given here that the territory should be left untouched and unwounded, as though to wound the earth would be to wound both one's own body and the body of the people. It is as if the song maps that the ancestors had sung envelope the Aborigine people within the womb of their original territory as their own extended body and field of care as a poetic statement. As if in the spirit of bodily sharing, as a sacrifice to the earth the Aborigines would cut a vein in their arms and let their blood

splatter onto the earth. "To wound the earth", Chatwin is told by his Aborigine guide "is to wound yourself, and if others wound the earth, they are wounding you" (ibid., 11).

Song lines appear to be the poetic expression of an irreversible integration felt and experienced between a people and their territory. The ancestors "wrapped the whole earth" (in the course of their travels) "in a web of song, and at last when the earth was sung they felt tired" (ibid., 73). Barely a rock or creek across the country had not been sung. Theoretically, Australia in its entirety can be read as one giant musical score. In Chatwin's mind, the poet Rilke portrays similar sentiments when he claims that song equals existence.

> "Sometimes" said Arkady, "I'll be driving my 'old men' through the desert, and we'll come to a ridge of sandhills, and suddenly they'll start singing. "What are you mob singing?" I'll ask, and they'll say, "Singing up the country, boss makes the country come up quicker." (ibid., 14)

So tightly woven was the connection between movement, experience and song that the Aborigines could not believe that the land existed until they could see it and were able to sing it. This feeling parallels the dreamtime, when the land didn't exist until the ancestors could sing it. The poetic presencing of the land in song is the ultimate moment of its existence, of its possibilizing—this, of course, represents a singular possiblization of both land and selfhood made realizable through a specific song site that gives birth to a given location (see Chapter 3, section 3.2). "By singing the world into existence, he said, the Ancestors had been poets in the original sense of *poiesis*, meaning 'creation'" (ibid., 14). On the basis of the above paragraph a wider question is raised; it is that of the importance for Aborigines of being meaningfully and ancestrally situated within one's territory as a primary factor in their existence value as humans. To be lost is to be no one, in a very real sense. To be outside one's territory is to be on

inhospitable ground and, furthermore, to be in danger in a very real sense, and to be a relative non-person. Thus to be on your own songline guarantees one's personhood.

As the musical trails show, the song is embedded as an essential element in the Aborigine's meaning of self and responsibility, while the primordial act of naming the landscape (mapping) was felt, from ancestral times, to be the sacred and important aspect of an ancestor's song:

> The mud fell from their thighs, like placenta from a baby. Then, like the baby's first cry, each Ancestor opened his mouth and called out , "I AM!' 'I am Snake...Cockatoo... Honey-ant...Honeysuckle...And this first I am!'....
>
> Each of the ancients (now basking in the sunlight) put his left foot forward and called out a second name. He put his right foot forward and called out a third name. He named the water hole, the reedbeds, the gum trees—calling to right and left, calling all things into being and weaving their names into verses. The Ancients sang their way all over the world. They sang the rivers and ranges, salt-pans and sand dunes. They hunted, ate made love, danced, killed; wherever their tracks led they left a trail of music. (ibid., 73)

In this manner, the musical trails serve as maps for the territory that keep Aborigines rightfully oriented within their own traditional lands through a *poiesis* of people and land. A figure must be meaningfully, and contextually anchored within a purposive matrix or recognizable background. Chatwin goes on to explain how the totemic ancestors throughout their travels were said to have sprinkled a trail of musical notes and words in the paths of their footprints. Dreaming tracks laying across the land further served as a communication system for far flung tribes as territorial markers. "A song," he said, "is both a map and a direction finder" (ibid., 13). For example, if a man went off the songline he might get murdered, but as long as he stuck to his trail he could always find the people who shared his dreaming, his people and, who were in fact, his brothers—they would give him hospitality. "Your song, therefore, was your meal ticket

and passport from place to place" (ibid., 13). The songline was generally a manner of gluing territorial and tribal, familial, social relationships under the musical association of a shared Dreaming.

Songlines could be read as a "spaghetti" of odysseys and Iliads, wending this way and that, in which each episode is translatable in terms of recognizable geology. In the course of his discussion with his Aborigine companion, Chatwin clarifies that what is meant by episode is "sacred site", where a specific supernatural episode (i.e., an act of creation) took place on the land. Therefore, the surveying of land for development (such as a railway) proves incredibly invasive to the Aborigine people, in light of the meaning the songlines have in their lives and activities.

> "The kind of site you're surveying for the railway?" "Put it this way," he said. "Anywhere in the bush you can point to some feature of the landscape and ask the Aboriginal with you, 'What's the story there?' or 'Who's that?' The chances are he'll answer 'Kangaroo' or 'Budgerigar' or 'Jew Lizard', depending on which Ancestor walked that way." And the distance between two such sites can be measured as a stretch of song?" (ibid., 13)

4.2. Positioning: A Sacred Landscape

Ethnographic accounts of the Western *Apache* of Central Arizona provide illustration of a *poiesis* of place and the "enfoldment" of "body and world" as it is lived and spoken within a "storyscape", which expresses the Western *Apache* tribal territory or regional landscape. This sub-section shows how land and the places talked about by the Western *Apache*, takes on a specific perceptual dimension that fuses the experiential moment into a *poiesis* of expression, where detailed and exact visual descriptions of places, stories about the land and human actions, events, and meanings

become fused in the ultimate perception and understanding of place. In the case of the Western *Apache*, the land's stories in the form of named places and narratives are the direct expression of what happened at a meaningful site of human activity.

> What we call the landscape is generally considered to be something "out there." But, while some aspects of the landscape are clearly external to both our bodies and our minds, what each of us actually experiences is selected, shaped and colored by what we know. (Greenbie, in Basso, 1992:220)

As anthropologist Keith Basso shows us, the placenames so important to Western *Apache* meaning are the representations or expressions that emerge out of the "body/world" nexus as a result of a set of uniquely framed geographically specific human activities as they have evolved within a given location, as a "body shared" between the human and non-human dimensions that reside there. Thus the named places or *poiesis* of place that is present throughout the Western *Apache* "world" speaks to the "worldly" events of a people that interact with and share a territory and a series of linked territorial locations that have meaning in the moral sense; they speak to human "dwelling". Keith Basso's studies of the *Cibecue* or Western *Apache*'s sense of place show how people are imbricated with a territory and, following Heidegger, how primordial spatiality is the meaningful spatiality of humans focused on a trajectory of realizing possibility as they are engaged in doing:

> As formulated by Martin Heidegger (1977), whose general lead I propose to follow here, the concept of dwelling assigns importance to the forms of consciousness with which individuals perceive and apprehend geographical space. More precisely, dwelling is said to consist in the multiple "lived relationships" that people maintain with places, for it is solely by virtue of these relationships that space acquires meaning.
>
> (Thus Heidegger) (1977:332) himself puts it, "spaces receive their essential being from particular localities and not from 'space' itself."). (ibid., 106)

The study on *Apache* placenames by phenomenological anthropologist, Keith Basso, who does fieldwork among a Western *Apache* community at *Cibecue* (a dispersed settlement of 1100 people in East Central Arizona), gives further explanation on how the land speaks. The term "storyscape" is useful in this context in that it expresses the land in terms of the meaningful human events acted out there. Almost every section of ground in the Western *Apache* reserve at *Cibecue* has a name for reasons significant to the people themselves. Since the restoration project, now more than 600 sites on the reservation have *Apache* names. The further effort to restore the age-old names near the reservation by putting them on maps is seen as a matter for survival for the Western *Apache* people whose personhood and identity is rooted in the land. Initial fieldwork for linguistic remapping in this community began in 1977 and, at that time, Basso "began to see how superimposing an Anglo language on an *Apache* landscape was a subtle form of oppression and domination"; recalling the words of an elderly *Apache* tribe member, "the white men needed maps on paper, while the *Apache* names gave Indians maps in their minds" (Rasky, The New York Times (National), Thursday, August 4, 1988). In the process of gathering and mapping the placenames, Basso, with the help of certain members of the Western *Apache*, such as Ronnie Lupe, have collected a great deal of oral history and tribal legends that contextualize the placenames.

Through the work of Basso, we are given a study of the social and moral significance of *Apache* landscape as it is recorded in oral history and tradition through the presence of symbolic physical landmarks, placenames and stories. In all cases the "place name" representing a site within the landscape demonstrates the imbrication of "body and world" or the incorporation of the people with the land on the basis of what

happened there. The site thus simultaneously becomes a symbolic location of (sedimented) traditional meaning and oral teaching; the land, in other words, tells a story of both cultural and moral significance. "It arises from the obvious circumstances that all views articulated from *Apache* people are informed by their experience in a culturally constituted world of objects and events of which most of us are unfamiliar" (Basso, 1985:21). In the words of the western *Apache*, "the land stalks people"; it carries sedimented meaning and teaching; it follows you symbolically and morally—the land speaks:

> What do people make of places? The question is as old as people themselves, as old as human attachments to portion of the earth. As old, perhaps, as the idea of home, of "our territory" as opposed to "their territory," of entire regions and local landscapes where groups of men and women have invested themselves (their thoughts, their values, their collective sensibilities) and to which they feel they belong. The question is as old as a strong sense of place—and the answer, if there is one, is every bit as complex. (Basso, 1996:xiii)

The meaning of landmarks and acts of speech come to be seen as personal and shared community viewpoints made manifest and accessible at the level of local landscape, "...—bits and pieces of what Erving Goffman (1974) has called a "primary framework" for social activity..." (Basso, 1984:22). As a result of the deeply sedimented meanings of local landscapes, ethnographers eventually come to see the land's meanings, its stories, its values, as explained by aboriginal people, to be just as compelling as listening to conversations or weighing the utterances acquired in daily discourse in the field. The land as the "dwelling", after years of human habitation is steeped in human meaning; it is, after all, the site of all the dramas, the geographic anchor or marker of all human activities and, in geological terms, the enduring architectural surround of all our hopes and desires as humans. It is in no uncertain

terms the enduring monument of a people; it is the meaningful surround of all their projects and "positioning" as being-in-the-world. As Basso puts it: "With words, a massive physical presence is fashioned into a meaningful human universe" (Basso, 1984:22). Thus the Western *Apache* meaning and identity, in fact, their possibility as *Apache*, as a unique tribal body, is grounded in a *poiesis* of place and embedded in the narrative or "storyscape", which has evolved over years of occupation and involvement within a specific articulated and familiarized geographical region that the *Cibecue* call home.

Thus, we can see the imbrication of a people within their landscape, whereby, on the one hand, the landmarks and stories (much the same as songs in the Aborigine case) contextualize, geographically, the traveller in western *Apache* country within the territory in such a way that provides group association, personhood and territorial orientation (as seen above for Australian Aborigines such as the *Pintupi* and *Walbiri*). The placenames for the *Cibecue Apache,* as Keith Basso has explained them, take on a distinctly moral or human value that situates the dweller both morally and geographically within the *Cibecue* world, thereby orienting the Western *Apache* within the territorial community.

Thus, throughout Basso's work we are shown how placenames are not only important mnemonic anchors as ways of remembering the land, but also a means of instilling important moral lessons through the manipulations of two symbolic tools, language and land. Through story telling, the land (via landmarks and placenames) takes on a moral value that becomes the immortalized testimony of how the Western *Apache* people look upon themselves, not only as geographically situated, but at the same time as socially situated beings. At this point, geographical positioning and social

positioning collide in a *poiesis* of place that is fundamental to what it means to be Western *Apache*. The stories that follow exemplify poignantly the realization that meaning, for these people, is not a portable and baseless phenomenon, but rather is integrally locatative in the geographical sense. Through the placenames, parts of a world view are constructed, made obvious, and permanently encoded through oral memory (the recording of events through oral tradition) since they are embedded in the various landmarks and sites that hold their meaning; "—and a Western *Apache* version of the landscape is deepened, amplified, and tacitly affirmed" (ibid., 22).

For example, *Apache* place name "Big Cottonwood Trees Stand Here and There" is associated with a battle between the *Pima* and the *Apache* and teaches about the harmful consequences that may come to persons who overstep traditional role boundaries. It tells the story of an *Apache* mother-in-law, who overstepped a well-known taboo by nagging her son-in-law and was extinguished by the awaiting *Pima* who had, unbeknownst to her, just massacred her kin in battle. It happened "just there at that place" (a reflexive legitimating statement that the place serves as proof) where "Big Cotton Trees Stand Here and There". Narrated by Annie Peaches, this tale looks at the negative consequences that can arise if one acts improperly (Basso, 1996).

During the first year of marriage, it is traditionally correct for young *Apache* couples to live in the camp of the bride's parents. During this period, the Bride's mother can make requests of her son-in-law, and may also criticize him and instruct him. After the year is up, however, the couple leaves to make their own residence and the mother-in-law is expected to stay out of their affairs, unless otherwise instructed to do so by her daughter. Peaches explains that a mother-in-law that refuses to follow the conventional norms of staying out of her son-in-law's affairs causes great embarrassment and shame

to the son-in-law and to the couple, implying that they are either incompetent or immature. According to the norms of the *Cibecue Apache*, the meddling of mothers-in-law in the affairs of sons-in-law must be studiously avoided. As with most stories associated with placenames, the story is told each time the site is passed. The land always remembers; the land carries meaning; the land teaches people. Locations on the land are always narratively constructed in relation to the people themselves, in light of their beliefs and of what happened there—for the *Cibecue Apache*, the land stalks people—it goes to work on their minds. The woman described above failed to follow traditional norms, and thus was killed (ibid., 37). Now each time someone from *Cibecue* drives by this place, she or he thinks about that unfortunate women and where she went wrong. The Western *Apache* land or territory is an interconnection of such named places or sites within and, simultaneously, a moral and geographic landscape; it is the embodiment of the activational matrix of *Apache* survival meaning; it is the lived map of the territory and the foundation of the moral and traditional world. The Western *Apache* viewpoint on the matter is evidenced in the following statement Basso obtained from Nick Thompson, a Western *Apache*, on how storied places provide moral guidance for his people and what happens when someone aims a story directly at you.

> That is what we know about our stories. They go to work on your mind and make you think about your life. Maybe you've not been acting right. Maybe you've been stingy. Maybe you'd been chasing after women. Maybe you'd been trying to act like a Whiteman. People don't like it! So someone goes hunting for you—maybe your grandmother, your father, your uncle. It doesn't matter. Anyone can do it. So someone stalks you and tells a story about what happened long ago. It doesn't matter if other people are around—you're going to know he's aiming that story at you. All of a sudden it hits you! It's like an arrow, they say. Sometimes it just bounces off—it's too soft and you don't think about anything. But when it's strong it goes deep and starts working on your mind right away....So you have to think about your life. (Basso, 1985:40)

Let us now look at another situation in *Cibecue* that led to the telling of an historical tale. The example demonstrates the function of placenames as moral anchors and is based on the tale of a seventeen-year-old *Apache* girl, who returned to *Cibecue* from boarding school in order to attend her puberty ceremony. The fact that the girl attended the ceremony with her hair done up in plastic rollers was an issue of controversy, as all girls going through the puberty rite must wear their hair loose as a sign of respect. In Utah, we are told, where she attended school, this form of attire was considered fashionable by her peers. Nevertheless, the presence on a girl of free-flowing hair is considered important in the western *Apache* puberty ceremony as it is said to contribute to its ritual efficacy. *Apache*s further hold that the ceremony intended to inculcate adult forms of maturity and the qualities necessary for life as an adult cannot be fulfilled unless the standard forms of respect are met. On this occasion, the young girl in question was the only one to breech protocol. She soon became the object of obvious but silent disapproval on account of her hair.

Two weeks later at another celebration, this same girl brought a stack of tortillas to the camp of her maternal grandmother, who was celebrating the birthday of her eldest grandson. Eighteen people were there and the girl who had worn the curlers seated herself on the ground next to her sister. At that moment, her grandmother began to re-count the tale about "the forgetful *Apache* policeman who had behaved too much like a white man". As soon as the story was told, the girl in question got up, left the group and headed home. During the telling of the story that day, a strong emphasis was placed on the fact that the events took place at the site called "men stand above here and there". The story is as follows:

> Long ago, a man killed a cow off the reservation. The cow belonged to a whiteman. The man was arrested by a policeman living at *Cibecue* at "Men Stand Above Here And There." The policeman was an *Apache*. The policeman took the man to the head Army officer at Fort *Apache*. There, at Fort *Apache*, the head Army officer questioned him. "What do you want?" he said. The policeman said, "I need cartridges and food." The policeman said nothing about the man who had killed the whiteman's cow. That night some people spoke to the policeman. "It is best to report on him," they said to him. The next day the policeman returned to the head Army officer. "Now what do you what?" he said. The policeman said, "Yesterday I was going to say HELLO and GOOD-BYE but I forgot to do it." Again he said nothing about the man he arrested. Someone was working with words on his mind. The policeman returned with the man to *Cibecue*. He released him at Men Stand Above Here And There. It happened at "Men Stand Above Here And There". (ibid., 38)

Narrated by Nick Thompson, the above story is about something that happens to someone who behaves too much like a whiteman, something considered by the Western *Apache* not to be good. Although the *Apache* find parts of this story quite amusing, the main point of the story is connected to the fact that cattle theft among the *Apache*, during the period when they were confined to reservations by U.S. military forces, was considered an acceptable practice. The *Apache* policeman who arrested the rustler was seen as one who joined outsiders against his own community; since then the story has been used to correct the behaviour of those who seem to flaunt their lack of allegiance to their own people, or who shamelessly display attitudes and mannerisms of white people (ibid., 39). So much as to mention the placename of "men stand above here and there" is adequate enough to evoke this issue; the familial norms described are similarly evoked in the utterance of the name, " Big cottonwood trees stand here and there".

> Whenever *Apache*s describe the land—or, as it happens more frequently, whenever they tell stories about incidents that have occurred at specific points upon it—they take steps to constitute it in relation to themselves. Which is simply to observe that in acts of speech, mundane and otherwise, *Apache*s fashion images and understanding of the land that are accepted as credible accounts of what actually is, why it is significant, and how it impinges on the daily lives of men and women. (ibid.)

4.3. The Poetics of Land as Phonic Representation

The work of Keith Basso focuses on a set of spoken depictions in which the *Cibecue Apache* express their claims about themselves as a people within a territory through a poetic and sensuous identification with the phonic representations embedded in the oral narratives that pervade the region. The *Cibecue* placenames present a vividly painted poetic of "body and world" whereby actual words and syllables carry geographic descriptions, which often speak to the sensual encounters of humans and land that speak to the presence of the "world" as a "ratio of the senses". "Placenames are used in all forms of *Apache* storytelling as situating devices, as conventionalized instruments for locating narrated events in the physical settings where the events have occurred" (ibid., 32). The words, as shall be shown, are often sensual depictions according to how the site would be viscerally, auditorally or visually experienced.

Basso points out that when he traveled *Cibecue* territory with the help of others, he mapped nearly 104 square kilometres in and around the community and has discovered and been able to map out the Western *Apache* names of 296 named locations. By 1988, 600 locations had been mapped. Thus it would be accurate to claim that it is a region heavily packed with placenames. "But large numbers alone do not account for the high frequency with which place-names typically appear in Western *Apache* discourse" (ibid., 26). It appears obvious that placenames are frequently used, because people continually swap stories and explain the details of their travels, tirelessly, and because the Western *Apache* just enjoy reciting and using placenames. They seem to be the linguistic connective tissue welding together the people, the territory and their tribal heritage giving the Western *Apache* a clear sense of purposive

meaning and identity, not only as a people in the collective sense, but also as individual persons. Upon listening to the explanations of the *Cibecue Apache*, however, we believe that they frequently utter placenames largely because they enjoy them—it seems to have something to do with the underlying way they feel about things, about the pleasantness of their language, about being *Apache*, about their land—and all this seems wrapped up in a general satisfaction of understanding, experienced through the utterance of placenames; "...historical tales are distinguished from all other forms of *Apache* narrative, by an opening and closing line that identifies with a place-name where the events in the narrative occurred. These lines frame the narrative, mark it unmistakably as belonging to the *'agodzaahl* genre, and evoke a particular physical setting in which listeners can imaginatively situate everything that happened" (Basso, 1985:35). Somehow, the visceral quality inhering in the lived experience of place, with all its ramifications, hereby gets summoned up and is made accessible in the recitation of the placenames—they seem to draw up a depth complexity where the life meaning of the Western *Apache* is concerned.

> For example, several years ago, when I was stringing a barbed-wire fence with two *Apache* cowboys from *Cibecue*, I noticed that one of them was talking quietly to himself. When I listened carefully, I discovered that he was reciting a list of place-names—a long list, punctuated only by spurts of tobacco juice, that went on for nearly ten minutes. Later, when I ventured to ask him about it, he said he "talked names" all the time. Why? "I like to," he said. " I ride that way in my mind." And in dozens of other occasions when I have been working or traveling with *Apache*s, they have taken satisfaction in pointing out particular locations and pronouncing their names—once, twice, three times or more. Why? "Because we like to," or because those names are good to say." (ibid., 27)

The role of placenames is inseparable, in fact, from Western *Apache* thinking and discourse. For as the Western *Apache* conceive it, thinking consists of picturing privately to oneself an action that can only take place in a geographically anchored

setting. Speaking, alternatively, is the act of offering one's pictures for other people's appreciation. "Discourse (or "conversation" *ilch' i' yadaach'ilti'*) consists in a running exchange of depicted pictures and pictured depictions, a reciprocal representation and visualization of the ongoing thoughts of participants (Basso, 1992:230). According to the Western *Apache*, the best placenames are the ones that depict the location in visual terms most accurately and vividly. It is the highly accurate placenames, such as the examples shown below, that please them the most and which are the most useful for the reasons given above. Notice how vividly descriptive these placenames are and how keenly they depict the physical details they pick out.

> (A) *tseka'tu* yahiljj': ("rock"; "stone") +-ka' ("on top of it" (a flat object)) + tu ("water")+ ya- ("down"; "downward") +-hi- ("in successive movements"; "in regularly repeated movements") + ljj'(it flows").
>
> Gloss: " water flows downward on top of a series of flat rocks".
>
> (B) t'iis bitl'ah tu oljj'; t'iis ("cottonwood"; "cottonwood tree" + bitl'ah ("below it"; "underneath it") + tu ("water") + 'o- ("in"; "inward") + -ljj' ("it flows").
>
> Gloss: "water flows inward underneath a cottonwood tree". (Basso, 1985:27)

Vividly depicted placenames such as these greatly assist in the telling of stories. Nothing is considered more indispensable to telling a story or narrative than the careful identification of geographical locations that enable the mind of the listener to travel to the exact place to visualize, fully, the events being told as if to reincorporate bodily with the site. "We gave her clear pictures with placenames. So her mind went to those places, standing in front of them as our ancestors did long ago. That way she could see what happened there long ago. She could hear stories in her mind, perhaps hear our ancestors speaking" (ibid., 231). The previous quotation speaks to the locatative

possibility of "self" as it is tied to activities at a given site as *poiesis*. The "*poiesis* of body and world", as it has been conceptualized above and illustrated here, provides the environmental matrix of both activity and thought as is required for the self to be realized as being-in-the-world; in other words, to manifest as a coherent spatially located possibility: "The location of an event is an integral aspect of the event itself, and therefore identifying the event's location is essential to properly depicting—and effectively picturing—the event's occurrence (ibid., 231). The *Apache* feel that if you can't travel to that place with your mind and really see it, events will be difficult to grasp and understand. Ronnie Lupe, a Western *Apache* leader, gives more examples of how placenames clearly depicted can vividly focus the mind's eye on the land. He explains that the vast majority of the names describe features on the land, and many are even fully compressed sentences. Such a description offers a useful example of the *poiesis* of "body and world" as it has been framed in phenomenological terms, which as can be identified as the land's speaking. For example, a rock formation not on the state map is known by the White Mountain *Apache*s as *" Ligai Dah Sidil",* which translates as "a compact cluster of white rocks rests above eye level on the incline". Another example is the *Apache* place name "*Nada Nohii datsilgai*", "a flat open place beneath bitter mescal". A low cone shaped rise on the horizon is known by the *Apache* as "*Nadah Nch Ii*", which translates as "butterflies flutter on top". "Crouching at the mouth of a small mountain spring that the *Apache* believe has curative powers, Mr. Lupe pointed to the broken beer bottles and graffiti-covered rocks that were testimony to visits by tourists" [Rasky, New York Times (National), Thursday, August 4, 1988]. Such clearly described placenames show the Western *Apache*'s visual approach to thinking and story telling to be activities, not distinct from actual human doings at a location—it is very concrete.

> Every occasion of "speaking" (yalti') provides tangible evidence of "thinking" (natsikees), and thinking, which *Apache*s describe as an intermittent and variably intense activity, occurs in the form of "pictures" (be' elzaahi) that persons "see"(yo'ii) in their "minds" (biini'). Prompted by a desire to "display thinking" (nil;iinatsikees), speaking involves the use of language to "depict" ('e' ele') and "carry" (yo; aat) these mental images to the members of an audience, such that they, on "hearing" (yidits' ag) and "holding" (yota') speaker's words, can "view" (yinel; ii') facsimilies of the images in their own minds. (ibid., 1992:231-232)

The very act of thinking, in the *Apache* case, is something spatially located as opposed to separate from the daily actions of humans within a place—the *Apache* visualize it in order to think it—therefore, to travel to a place, either mentally or physically, is at the foundation of the thinkable as far as Western *Apache* are concerned. It is foundational to the possibility of "selfhood", as argued above. In this sense everything one does, and by association says, has its root in the physical reality of being there, and thus at some level represents the three analytic levels of "enfoldment", "storyscape" and *poiesis* to the extent that all *Apache* narrative is generally a spin off to the original site-anchored narrative that forms the Western *Apache* world. The placenames as a "*poiesis* of body and world" are at the heart of this process of establishing the boundaries of the thinkable, and thus formative in the experience of "selfhood". To be a part of the discourse then is to be anchored on the land with its many side trips, journeys and visitations to the named locations. The placenames are truly the tissue of the life world in the phenomenological sense; they are the integrating *poiesis* that formulates the unbroken whole, which is the Western *Apache* "world", as discussed in earlier chapters. They are, as Basso puts it:

> ...points in the geography of a community where time and space intersect and fuse. Time takes on flesh and becomes visible for human contemplation; likewise, space becomes charged and responsive to the movements of time and history and enduring character of a people.... Chronotopes thus stand as monuments to the community itself, as

> symbols of it, as forces operating to shape its members' images of themselves. (Basso, 1985:45)

The Native point of view with regard to the physical world is a matter of reciprocal appropriation. It is an appropriation wherein men and women invest themselves of the landscape, thereby incorporating it into their ownmost formative experience. This is done primarily through imagination, of a certain moral variety, in as much as we all imagine ourselves to be. The Native person, however, imagines himself or herself in a particular way as related to the physical world and, in a moral sense, with others. It is in this act of moral imagination that the physical world is constituted (ibid., 47).

> At Lola Machuse's somnolent camp, where the work of discourse went off without a hitch, coherence was never in question. Neither was the smooth implementation of a Western *Apache* technique for appropriating the natural landscape, a distinctive cultural framework for interpreting the landscape and turning it by means of speech to specific social ends. Never in question, that is, to anyone but myself—a superfluous, slightly stupefied, and keenly perplexed outsider. What the devil did Lola Machuse and those other *Apache*s imagine themselves to be up to as they sat around swapping placenames? What manner of thinking informed their utterances and the actions their utterances performed? What in short, was the culture of their discourse? (ibid., 1992:228)

4.4. A Self Transcended Towards its World

As we have explained above, the storied landmarks are important poetic anchors for territorial orientation; they define the thinkable and are the markers of Western *Apache* "selfhood" and they hold and communicate the moral universe to the Western *Apache* people. In a unification of these three attributes, Basso and his Western *Apache* guides lead us to understand how the study of landmarks over time are the purveyors of an even more revered and time honoured property; that of wisdom as it is associated with the reflexivity of a "self transcended towards its world". This section demonstrates

how the "*poiesis* of body and world" serves to inculcate the moral sensibility of "real dwelling" that is lost in the presence of the dualistic paradigm that stresses bodily insidedness. The matter of Western *Apache* wisdom serves to demonstrate how the cumulative awareness of the "extended self" is vested in such a "*poiesis* of place". Sensing place, in an emotionally quickened and mentally focused manner through identifications with well known places and morally charged stories, cause the Western *Apache* to dwell on the moral aspects of "dwelling" as a human capacity. By concentrating on the named places and their narrative contents, the *poiesis* of body and world, the Western *Apache* consciousness is directed to the topic of true "dwelling". "Dwelling" is chosen in this context to draw attention to what it means to live within a series of interconnected spaces of activity that resonate with the experience of "being-in-the-world" in a mutual connectedness with other beings, who are mutually implicated one with another. In Heidegger's terms, it speaks directly to our stay upon the earth with fellow human, wherein both human and non-human elements are left unspoiled and free to their natures or, in other words, to their "ownmost possibility" free from impediment. The capacity to "dwell" meaningfully thus becomes sharply emphasized through the rich and complex Western *Apache* *poiesis* of place, through the presence of ancestral geographic anchors that link them to physical space and social meaning—special places are thus emotionally charged. The process of "wisdom" for the Western *Apache*, therefore, is quintessentially a reflexive process on the issue of "dwelling" through a focused examination of the poetics of place. For according to the Western *Apache*, it is on these occasions of quickened emotion and focused thought that places are experienced most poignantly. In other words, it is through a reflexivity upon the "enfoldment" of all agents mutually implicated in one another that true "wisdom"

emerges, and thus the Western *Apache* poiesis of place makes this process possible. In a phenomenological interpretation on the process of *Apache* wisdom, as described by Keith Basso and his *Apache* guide Dudley Patterson, it is through a pilgrimage to the named places and through a continual reflection upon them that you go back to the source (one's roots), again and again. You re-embody the place and its meaning, physically, by re-incorporating yourself with it, and thus real "dwelling" is inculcated—wisdom is instilled in *Apache* terms—it marks a "homecoming" such as Neil Evernden alludes to when he invokes the call for "a return to the things themselves" (Evernden, 1985:57).

Thus we can see the imbrication of a people within their landscape, whereby on the one hand the landmarks and stories (much the same as songs in the Aborigine case) geographically contextualize the traveller in western *Apache* country within the territory in such a way that provides, group association, personhood and territorial orientation (as seen above for Australian Aborigines, such as the *Pintupi* and *Walbiri*). The placenames for the *Cibecue Apache* as Basso has explained them, take on a distinctly moral or human value that situates the dweller morally within the *Cibecue* value system, thereby orienting them within the moral fabric of the community.

Wisdom (*'goy'a'i* among the Western *Apache*) is something that few people ever reach; it is part of a painstaking practice of working with placenames and landmarks over a lifetime. We are told that very few *Apache* people actually achieve wisdom; many set out on the road, but most people fall off it before much is realized. Only a few very dedicated devotees actually get there through a tireless concentration on the placenames, on the landscapes and on the related stories that convey and contribute to this wisdom. As Basso explains, the concept of wisdom for the *Apache* is based on very

different principles from those foundational to knowing or knowledge in western European societies. It is based rather on a heightened capacity of mind that nobody inherits through birth, but that must be cultivated through a kind of meditative self-reflexive practice known by the *Apache* as *bini naayik' e' iziig* (working on one's mind) on important places on the land and their meanings. It is supposedly a drawn-out affair, but the wisdom-producing benefits it brings become more and more accessible and habitual as time goes on. By virtue of a smooth mind, in the end wisdom is achieved and is seen as the ability to anticipate danger before it happens and, thus, to intercept it and, consequently, to live a long, peaceful and happy life, the advantages of which are both noticed and enjoyed by others. "Unencumbered by obstacles to insightful thinking, smooth minds 'see danger before it happens' and 'trouble before it comes.' Thus wisdom flourishes" (Basso, 1996:131). *Apache* people are exhorted to genuinely aspire to wisdom. However, it is the responsibility of each individual to critically reflect on their own mind and discern what they need to learn and where they need to travel. Young people are encouraged to learn under an adult teacher or elder who has already attained this quality of mind. They are regularly invited to travel with individuals who have an in-depth knowledge of the places and can listen to the wisdom they speak, and can then pass it on to the youth. It is through the excursions to these special places on the land, through the bodily incorporation and experiencing of the aspirant with the meaningful place that the wisdom must first be made known (ibid., 134). Later, a reflexive incorporation can occur—travelling to the place in one's mind. Thus through the Western *Apache* *poiesis* of place, an integrated moral and physical universe can contribute to the attainment of wisdom. Such a *poiesis* incorporates the experiences and, thus, the lessons of "body/and world" as they inhere within the awareness of the

"extended self". Thus such non-dualistic approaches to "being" provide advantages to people (such as the Western *Apache*) whose methods are overlooked in Western dualistic paradigms that profile the insidedness and outsidedness of bodies.

Persons aspiring to cultivate wisdom need to address themselves to two or three fundamental qualities of mind all of which are achievable through a study of named places. The three qualities recommended speak to elements required to master an awareness of "real dwelling" as an insightful unhampered relationship to the "world" as argued above. According to Basso, the contributory qualities of mind to be cultivated for wisdom are namely three:

(1) smoothness of mind, *bini' godilkooh,* the primary mental capacity required for wisdom (*dilkooh* serves to describe the surface of smooth glass, the surface of varnished wood, a still pond, etc.).

(2) steadiness of mind, *bini gonldzil,* removes the causes of internal distraction that would inhibit smoothness of mind. In *Apache* terms, the post's steadiness is found in the hole in which it is lodged. This is gained by relinquishing all feeling of superiority and aggressive feelings that would disturb personal relationships.

(3) resilience of mind, *bini gont'iz*, takes on the meaning of a hard surface that resists damage like a tightly woven basket that is yielding yet strong or an inflatable vinyl ball that withstands the weight of a person.

The combination of these three qualities, gained through concentration on placenames and stories, results in wisdom (ibid., 130-133).[3] The manner in which the above

[3] The three phonic combinations, *bini godhilkooh, bini gonldzil, and bini gont'iz* illustrate the presence of an 'articulatory *poiesis*', wherein gestures as phonic signs serve to delineate worldly significances, thereby mapping them out within an articulatory and emotional space of embodied meaning—a matter which is to be dealt with later in this chapter.

capacities of mind are gained has to do with an intense focus on the named places and their stories to the extent that a large number of them are committed to memory, frequently recited, and tirelessly reflected on in such a way that the consciousness of the student is increasingly integrated with them for longer and longer periods of time—students actually incorporate themselves with the spots on the land and are encompassed by them; she or he is worked upon by them. We are told that the *Apache* feel that, especially in the initial stages of this course, it is actually necessary for the aspirant to go to the places on the land frequently, and to "gulp them in" on a regular basis. The Western *Apache* argue that the places on the land are like water, that you need to drink of them to be truly well and that, without them, you will certainly not flourish; your life will actually be placed in danger:

> But there is more to the adage than truth and logical consistency. The verb sikaa (it sits) incorporates a classificatory stem (-kaa) that applies exclusively to rigid containers and their contents. The prototype of this category is a watertight vessel, and thus the adage creates an image of places as durable receptacles and the knowledge required for wisdom as a lasting supply of water resting securely within them. This same image supports the assertions that preparing one's mind for wisdom is akin to a form of drinking and that wisdom, like water, is basic to survival. As Dudley Peterson remarked during one of our conversations, "You can't live long without water and you can't live a long time without wisdom. You need to drink both." (ibid., 134)

The knowledge that facilitates wisdom comes from having a comprehensive knowledge of placenames to rely on for every situation where wisdom is required. It is an excersize that requires one to be well versed enough to find just the right fit between the story and the circumstance every time and then to be able to identify with the wisest person in the tail to avail oneself of her wisdom—to be able to gain the insight that character offers, and thus to solve the problem at hand. "And always these people are thinking of place-centered narratives, thinking of the ancestors who first gave them

voice, and thinking of how to apply them to circumstances in their own lives" (ibid., 140). To be able to travel to this place, to see it, to incorporate with the *poiesis* in situ helps facilitate this process. It is to embrace a territorial poetics of body and world as a key to real dwelling, as a dimension of care and belonging, as a process of becoming a fully realized person.

Below is an example of the "*poiesis* of body and world" attributable to Western *Apache* wisdom. The story delves into a serious problem that stems from a deficit of mental resilience. At first fear and confusion abound, until later, when mental smoothness and wisdom return with a solution to the problem.

> Long ago, some people went to gather acorns, They camped at *Tsee Nazt'i'e Line of Rocks Circles Around*). They gathered lots of acorns near *Tsee Ditl'ige Naaditine* Trail Extends Across Scorched Rocks). They almost had enough but they went on anyway. They were going to *K'ai Cho'O'aha* (Big Willow Stands Alone). They stopped on their way where the trail crossed a shallow stream. They had been walking fast and were very thirsty. They wanted to drink. It was hot. Then their leader said to them, "Don't drink until I tell you to. I want to look around here first." He went off. Their leader was wise. He saw danger in his mind.
>
> Then, as soon as he was gone, a young woman said, "My children are very thirsty. They need to drink. This water looks safe to me. I'm going to drink it." the others agreed with her. "Yes, they said, "we must drink. This water looks good."
>
> So they started drinking.
>
> Then, pretty soon, they began to get sick. They got dizzy and began to vomit violently. All of them got sick, including the children. They got sicker. They vomited and vomited. They were scared that they were dying. They were crying out in pain, crying out in fear.
>
> Their leader was the only one who didn't drink. He walked upstream and looked on the ground. There were fresh tracks by the stream and he saw where Coyote had pissed on a flat rock that slanted into the water. Drops of Coyote's piss were still running off the rock into the water.
>
> Then he went back to the people. "Stop!" he told them.

> "Don't drink that water! It's no good! Coyote has pissed in it!
>
> That's why all of you are sick."
>
> Then one of those people said, "We didn't know. We were thirsty. The water looked safe. We were in a hurry and it didn't look dangerous." Those people trusted their eyes. They should have waited until their leader had finished looking around. One of those children nearly died.
>
> That's how that crossing got its name. After that, they called it *Ma' Tehilizhe* (Coyote Pisses In the Water). (ibid., 135-136)

Such geographical landmarks as *Ma'Tehilizhe*, shown above, have served the *Apache* for countless generations as indispensable mnemonic pegs on which the moral teachings of their history hang and in which wisdom lies (Basso, 1985:44). Ronnie Lupe, told Basso that children who do not go to the places and learn the names that go along with them, linking them to the historical tales, cannot appreciate the necessity of these narratives as guidelines in responsible and amicable dealings with others; they don't learn how to dwell according to circumspective concern. As he puts it, "They don't know the stories of what happened at these places. That's why some of them get into trouble" (ibid.). The belief among the Western *Apache* is that individuals who don't learn the names are most likely to behave in a manner that runs counter to *Apache* norms and values—"a sure sign that they are losing the land" (ibid., 44). Thus, losing their land is something the Western *Apache* cannot afford to do.

Unless we are willing to allow the residents to "speak" as Basso has done, Native constructions of the environment and the intimacy of belonging and "care" they carry with them will inevitably remain inaccessible, and both the *Apache* way of life and their land will be placed in jeopardy. However to a great extent, missing from conventional scholarly studies of Native people is the investigation of the many expressive vehicles such as beliefs, stories, ideas, and songs, (which could be summed up as a poetics) with

which aboriginal peoples display a coherent grasp of their community's ways and the significance of the physical environment (Basso, 1996:105). The Western *Apache*'s conception of the land (as it has been conceptualized as a "storyscape") impacts them in such a manner that it influences their very patterns of social interaction and being and, therefore, is in a very real sense who they actually are as a peoples. To rule out the possibility of the native folkloric perspective as encompassing the "real meaning" of the people themselves, as "dwellers" within an ancestral territory (as many ecologists would be inclined to do) would be to remove the *Apache* as a society from the land, itself—to amputate it from them in existential terms. "Societies must survive but social life is more than just surviving" (ibid., 49). Basso adds on to cultural ecology in the broadest, most flexible and fullest sense.

4.5. Sonic Articulatory Poetics

A sense of place, as can be meaningfully expressed for aboriginal peoples whose "lived-body experience" is one of "enfoldment" or sensual engagement with their bodily surrounds, is at once inseparable from the moment of corporeal being-there within a territory. The "poetics of place", therefore, becomes a direct expression of the bodily scheme as it is sensed and felt and as it is recognized and lived within a territory of belonging and familiarity. The body literally has its world, a world which is explainable in terms of a ratio of the senses: touch, hearing, smell, vision, etc., in context with movement and postural alignment. Just as activity, visual perception, social memory, and place are wrapped together in the place-related iconography of the Western *Apache*, similar phenomenon are found in other cultures which prioritize other sensuous

modes apart from vision, such as sound and smell, that then become fused in an iconography of primordial poetics. The sound/meaning relationships is defined by Alfred Gell (1975), in his work on the *Umeda,* as a phonological-iconic mode, and serves as a useful representation of Merleau-Ponty's notion that the body plays a crucial role in perception and that there is actually a composite created between the body and its environing gestalt, which becomes poetically expressed in various forms of expression and articulation. In grasping the notion of such phonological poetics as can be found, for example, in the *Kaluli*, the *Foi,* the *Umeda* and the writings of Feld (1996) and Gell (1975), we must think of the body in terms of a locality or an opening outwards, rather than a self-enclosed individual body in the Cartesian sense. "If anything, the body is that and language is one function of the body" (Gell, 1975:252). It is therefore argued by Feld and Gell that, in phonological poetics, as the idiom of the above mentioned groups, sounds or syllables become absorbed into speech, they are actually the direct expression of their counterparts in the natural worlds, and thus represent both the territory and meaning. They are the living testimony and shared experience of the body's spatiality and its imbrication with its environment—they are the tonality of the body/world synthesis. "If in perceiving, our whole body vibrates in unison with the stimulus...(then) hearing is, like all sense perception, a way of seizing reality with all our body, including our bones and viscera" (in Gonzalez-Crussi, 1989:45; compare Idhe, 1976:81, and Ackerman 1990, 1986:90, on the ways sound penetrates the body; Feld, 1996a:96). Along similar lines, Carpenter's (1973) studies on acoustical space relate acoustic space to visual/auditory interplays, which is similar (at least in experiential dimension) to the *Inuit* expressions of a spherical dynamic space in Arctic landscapes as observed in the local artistic imaginative process of visual puns and illustrations of depth

motion and noncontainment. In Gell's depiction of a landscape opposite to the Arctic, for the *Umeda* of the dense unbroken jungles of New Guinea "there are a large class of vocal sound-effects which are used in narratives to punctuate and illustrate action" (Gell, 1975:240) and elements of landscape. Because of the *Umeda's* dense jungle habitat, the possibility of a detached external viewpoint or vista is relatively impossible. Consequently, Gell tells us that the landscape is captured, perceptually, in terms of a soundscape that resonates and penetrates within rather than a visual landscape, which is 'out there' as most outsiders (usually Westerners) are used to. In other words, the *Umeda* define (objective) existence on the basis of a resonant inner space of audibility, which then gets thematized in articulatory space as a dominant mode of expression.

> Hearing is relatively (intimate), concrete, and tactile, whereas vision promotes abstraction; iconic language is, likewise, 'concrete' sense of Goldstein and Scheerer 1971; cf. Merleau-Ponty 1962) whereas arbitrary language, in which sign and meaning belong to entirely separate codes is abstract. (ibid., 235)

Their dominant mode of perception rests on the presence of a soundscape, or an aroundness of sound as, in this case, would reflect body/world blending. Gell emphasizes a parallel between his observations of soundscapes depicted in *Umeda* poetics, and Feld's insights on soundscape poetics among *Kaluli* below.

> Birdsong is not the only kind of sound which is thematic in Kaluli culture. The other very important source of coding of the environment is voice produced by water-courses and particularly waterfalls. The descending movement of Kaluli song is the sung equivalent of a waterfall, and particular streams and falls are perpetually evoked in the texts of Kaluli songs, which are typically 'journeys' through the remembered forest, in search of lost companions (ibid.107ff.). Place, sound, and social memory are fused together in Kaluli poetics. It would certainly be correct to suppose that the acoustic landscape of Kaluli constitutes their 'world' in the fullest sense; and that their rituals, in which visual display, though present, is subordinated to a cataract of sheer sound, evoke a heard rather than a visible transcendence. (Gell, 1995:249)

Interestingly, Gell tells us that in his fieldwork among the *Umeda* he was amazed at how the *Umeda* operated with such different perceptual frameworks than were found in Western norms, in that they were always much more aware of the olfactory and acoustical surroundings than he was. As evidenced in the folktales and rituals for the auditory-based cultures (the *Foi*, the *Umeda* and the *Kaluli*—all of New Guinea), the thematization of forest or jungle sounds seemed to be the key factor in the distinguishment of figure/background relationships—of one's orientational relationship to the world (see Chapter 3, section 3.3). In the jungle, the sonic scape is ever changing and shifting. The thematization of alternating sounds, such as birdcalls, waterfalls, dripping water, and falling leaves, etc., is set out against a sonic background of general forest noise (Gell, Feld, Zaner, and Leder et al.). "Two ethnographies have now been published which specifically seek to reveal the auditory domain, including natural sounds, language, and song, as cultural systems in their own right, and not just as adjuncts to culture at large but as foundations, thematic at every level of cultural experience" (Feld, in Gell, 1975:233). Thus grasped through the thematization of key and alternating sounds, the perception of the landscape as a soundscape forms the foundation of the language for the *Umeda*, the *Foi* and the *Kaluli* as their songs, their costumes, their syllables emerge from the specific body/world relationship, through the awareness of an auditory soundscape while journeying through the jungle or forest. According to Gell in his ethnography of the *Umeda*, the dominance of sound as the leading modality of perception leads to the emergence of an iconic articulatory mode of expression or an articulatory space.[4] In such a case, experiences become voiced

[4] According to Feld (1996; following Ong, 1982; Howes, 1991; and Idhe, 1976), a reevaluation of sensory modalities would be useful in explaining how a tendency toward sensory dominance constantly changes

sonically or kinesthetically (as will be described later) in the sonic depiction of a mountain, which has been counterposed to a silent mountain. In other words, meanings are given a recognizable concrete sound identity relating them to the actual physical and emotional qualities they are seen to represent in-the-world.

Therefore, meanings at the level of language manifest predominantly on the basis of a phonological iconism that phonetically identifies things concretely with related factors found within the surrounding world. Following Merleau-Ponty, whose theories identify the spoken word as a gesture whose meaning designates a world, one could grasp *Umeda* landscape as a series of articulatory gestures and mappings of the terrain through a vocabulary of syllabic shapes as mediated through the body's imbrication with other natural forms in the encompassing physical ambience—characterizing the relationship of body and world.

> The ethnographic material I shall explore in this paper is the articulatory symbolism of Umeda 'landscape' concepts (such as Mountain) in the context of Umeda culture, which is key to sound-symbolism at a very basic level, as I have attempted to show more than once already (1975; 1979). But I also have in mind to do rather more than describe an interesting (questionable) linguistic phenomenon; my primary objective is to explain just why it is that it is the Umeda (and other people who live in an Umeda-like landscape) who resort to expression in the phonological-iconic mode, and why other people, who inhabit different landscapes, do not do so. (Gell, 1975:233)

An entity that couples centrality, masculinity and disgustingness, for example, must feature a metaphoric speech element which, in this case, is found in a species of blind worm (actually a legless lizard) whose habitat is inside a hollowed-out old palm tree, surviving on the ants that are easily found there. This creature, *eliehe,* that the *Umeda* fear greatly, is a long pinkish "self-propelled phallus" which sometimes comes

contextually during the course of bodily placement (Feld, 1996a:96).

out when the palm trees are chopped down. "*Eliehe* is more than a neutral phonic sign, it is a 'gesture' delineating its object in articulatory space which is similarly mapped out in emotional space" (ibid., 241) and as embodied meaning, which is observed in the following depiction of a mountain made audible.

> I said, at the outset, that there was no culturally obvious way in which 'mountain' in English could be phonologically motivated. English mountains are silent and immobile, and it is hard to imagine that there could be any one vocal 'gesture' which would communicate the essence of mountainhood better than any other. In Umeda, things are otherwise, though it requires a cultural interpretation to bring this out. The Umeda word for mountain is *sis*. Umeda mountains are really ridges, with sharp tops, and they define boundaries of territories, particularly to the north and west, where the major enemies of Umeda. The sibilants 's' is uniformly associated with (a) male power and (b) with sharp, narrow things like pointed sticks(*sah*). Male power comes from the coconut sa, and the ancestors *sa-tod* (village/male/central). Sharp things like bamboo knives are *sai*, *sa* plus the constricted 'narrow' vowel 'i'. 'Sis' a symmetrical arrangements of sibilants and the a narrow ridge, associated with masculine pursuits, danger, etc. (ibid., 242)

The *Umeda* language is also extremely rich in onomatopoeic words, which seems in keeping with its auditory bias, and also syllables that sound, look or gesture in some way exactly like that which they are expressing. For example, *huf,* the name of wooden trumpets in *Umeda*, is tied directly to the sound they make. There is an even larger group of vocal sound effects used in the telling of narratives that relate directly to and illustrate the action they represent. For example, in one such myth, the hero has been forsaken and left at the top of a very tall unclimbable tree. Gell tells us (ibid., 240) that, at this point, the story lapses into pure sound effects, which represent the sound of the protagonist's weeping: *w-w-w-ba...* It is meant to be the sound of the hero's tears dripping softly down from the treetop, and has the striking similarity of the leaves as they fall from the tree—but one has really to live there to recognize it. However, the basic matrix of *Umeda* phonological symbolism can be understood rather as "phonic signs or

gestures demarcating the expression of the object in articulatory space—things are frequently given on the basis of how they would or could sound—they sound like what they are.

According to Gell, the landscape for the *Umeda* is formed out of articulations and transient sounds and movements, and therefore must be understood as a dynamic space, not a fixed one, reinforcing the notion above that human spatiality is founded on the alternating thematization of changing sounds in the forest (see Chapter 3, section 3.3 on thematization). In other words, in understanding landscape for the *Umeda*, we have to grasp it as movement rather than form. Examine, for example, a characteristic pool in *Umeda* territory known as *pwiob,* which emerges where a spring gushes out from a rock. A *pwiob* consists of a narrow passage of upward rushing water, and a surrounding and swelling pool. As an articulatory gesture, a *pwiob* has two parts, *pwi* and *ob*. *Pwi* is a member of a class of words which imply an upward growth: *wi* = cucurbit (symbol of growth, taboo to children therefore); *wis* = moon (growth); *pwi* + a growth shoot, pitpit (tall spiky edible cane); *pwie* = tall, corresponding to a 'forced upward growth' of water gushing from a rock; and *ob*, is a member of a class of articulatory gestures meaning 'swelling', usually with '*a'* or *'e'*, thus: *ab* = ripe (also *abwi*); *kabwi* = big, fat; *ebe* = fat; *pab* =penile erection; *popab* =highwater, flood. All of these gestures feature a vowel and a 'b' that involves an articulatory 'swelling' in that to utter them one must extend the cheeks while saying the bilabial. The rounded 'o' seems to mimic the round shapes of the pools in these cases. "Thus taken as a whole, the word *pwiob* provides a dynamic moving image of a spring-fed pool as a process rather than a thing; an articulated demonstration of the water spurting up through the rock, and the swelling

rounded pool forming around it" (ibid., 243). The formation of the sounds extends even to the moulding of the body in such a way as to emulate the experiencing of it.

According to Feld (1996a), a similar phenomenon exists among the *Kaluli* mentioned above. He argues that the multisensory nature of *Basavi* acoustemology results due to the complexities of *Kaluli* everyday practices, which serve to link the *Kaluli's* enfoldment within the rain forest to their many artistic processes in the visual, verbal, musical and choreographic modalities: "One knows the time of day, season of year, and placement of physical space through the sensual wraparound of sound in the forest" (Feld, 1996a:100). The phenomenon of hearing, therefore, is internalized as body knowledge, that is, it is part of the daily body "hexis" (Bourdieu, 1977:87, in Feld, 1996a:100). *Kaluli* discourse, verbal and artistic, thus mimics the texture of these everyday encounters of sensuous acoustical figure/grounds in their vocal and instrumental expressions; for example, the use of tones, rattles, drums and face paint demonstrate the body/world relationship as an environmental territorial expression. To express oneself as a *Kaluli,* therefore, is an invocation of the land and habitat.

For the *Kaluli,* their sensuous practices are thus encompassed in symbolic communication and understandable in terms of "two synthetic *Kaluli* metaphors: *dulgu ganalan,* "lift-up-over sounding", and *a:ba:lan,* "flow" (ibid., 100). "Flow" represents the sensuousness of water flowing around and through or connecting various land forms, but also the voice flowing through and being connected with a thinking, moving or sentient body. It also describes the lingering hold of sounds, or a poetic song, for instance. The resonance of an obvious voice within silent memory also fits this description. All these notions of "flow" merge during *Kaluli* performance of the poetic song texts and in the delineation of the path maps that are their central feature. Thus for

Kaluli, a:ba:lan is a central aesthetic consideration. In understanding *Kaluli* expression, it must be understood that within the *Kaluli* habitat everything blends into an interconnected soundscape as has been explained above. *Dulgu ganalan* (lift-up-over sounds) on the other hand refers to the manner in which all sounds necessarily coexist within fields of either prior or contiguous sounds. This aesthetic classification highlights the fact that certain single discrete sounds, in and of themselves, are never heard: "Forest sounds constantly shift figure and ground to create staggered alternations and overlaps, a sense of sound that is completely interlocked and seamless" (ibid., 100), punctuated by alternating lift-up-over-sounds. Moreover, the notion of "flow" represents the movement factor that pervades, and unites together, diverse experiential realities. Thus *dulgu ganalan* and *a:ba:lan* become the foundation of *Kaluli* music, dance and face paint as would characterize a sensual acoustical iconic mode, such as is referred to by Gell above. In other words, *Kaluli's* environment, their senses and their art forms as primordial expression, mimetically united in music, body painting, costume and choreography are the expression of *Kaluli* imbrication with their land and territory to which they are profoundly self-identified.

> In concert with these dimensions of musical creativity, face painting styles visually mirror sonic "lift-up-over sounding" metaphorically through a parallel figure and ground principle in the texture contrast between shiny and dull and the color contrast between black and red. Ceremonial costumes further exploit textural densification by mixing many types of materials, blending and layering fur, bird feathers, red, black, and white paints, shells, woven bands, bamboo, rattles, palm streamers, and colorful leaves. As the ceremonial dancer bobs up and down in this paraphernalia, layers of "in synchrony and out of phase" sound emanate from his shells and streamers in motion, "lifted-up-over" by his drum, rattle or voice. (ibid., 101)

4.6. Placeforms, Kinesthetic and Sonesthetic Iconography

Feld's' work on *Kaluli* poetics brings forth an importance on placename recitation similar to the Western *Apache*, although it primarily centered on the texts of songs and laments which serve to reconstruct improvised geographical maps, events and social relations. *Ulahi*'s song, for example, coordinates placenames with light, textures, wind factors, trees, tones, affective acts and with other songs (*tok*). It is a "poetics" of birds as they follow a watercourse, of images of human departure and of familial rapture. Its place path is a concatenation or, better still, an interpenetration of water names, land names and pathways all connected with a unique form of *Kaluli* poetic resources, such as "sound words" and "turned over words" (ibid., 125), which speaks to an unending enfoldment of humans and their environment similar to that which Ingold describes (as outlined in the first section of this chapter). "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" (ibid., 125). At even the most basic semantic level, however, these activities speak to a perceptual acuity for demarcating an exceptionally diverse and complex topography, the engagement with which could only occur through the experiencing of its sensual qualities and characteristics, and discontinuities within the surrounding rain forest setting.

> Whether a descriptive recounting of a prescriptive instruction, whether talk of home, of the world within reach, of a journey, or of travel, every naming practice involves path making through a co-referencing of specific placenames with a generic terminology of placeforms. (ibid., 101)

Feld's work focuses on the "poetics of place" and identifies a sense of place with the sensuality of the embodied experience of land, and shows how this embodiment gets cast in a kind of "poetic iconography" that identifies land forms with placenames. "This

sensuality of locating and placing, along with its kinesthetic-sonesthetic bodily basis of knowing, is critical to a *Kaluli* accoustemology, a sonic epistemology of emplacement" (ibid., 105). The *Kaluli* apprehend the heights, depths, densities and felt indicators of their environment as much through foot-felt and ear-felt awareness as through their visual faculty. The environment is distinguished and experienced in a multisensual way, through the coordination of walking, seeing, touching and hearing, moving, and sensing, and through the complete matrix of an experiencing body, thus yielding a kinesthesia and sonesthesia of place shapes that have been apprehended and learned through the modalities of a moving and sensing body. The felt presence of place forms as a kinesthetic coupling of self, body and world is never so keenly exampled as in the examination of *Kaluli* phonetics of land, which find their embodiment in the felt vectors of the human body as a metaphoric poetics of terrestrial sensuality.

The most significant kind of land forms, for example, are *do:m* and *fele. Fele* comes from the word *fe* or "thigh" and speaks to a relatively flat and wide expanse of land that rolls offward and downward at either side. A *fele* can also refer to a reasonably level area along the top of a ridge, which is reached by an ascent and has a descent at either end. The conjoining segments of descent, ascent and roll-off from this land form are its "sides" or *do:m. Do:m* segments imply, always, the presence of *fele* up above or below and/or to the side. "*Do:m* has the same phonological shape as the word for 'body' in *Kaluli*, and although this might be accidental, other lexical-semantic and discourse-in-context evidence leads me to believe that the image of the body as 'hills' or 'sides' connected by 'thighs' is quite a primal one for the *Kaluli* speaker" (ibid., 104). However, *fele* and *do:m* are hardly ever experienced on their own and are almost always experienced as interconnected land forms amidst an equally apparent, but far more

sensuous, presence; that of water as in territorial water ways. *Eleb* refers to the point of land in a rising or arching elevation where river water stops. The *Kaluli* explain this as the water's "head" and say that the water "sleeps going down from its head, as if water could recline, as if it "moves along a body lying down, typically flowing downstream from its slightly elevated "head" (ibid.). Feld tells us that *Kaluli* guides are likely to point out that the *eleb* is not on the *fele*; rather, it is in the *do:m*. This is simply another manner of saying that the body resembles the curves of the land, which water flows around, between, and over. It could also be said that the land forms resemble the thighs of a body, and that the flow of water moves through them like the motion of a voice.

Here connections are made to Merleau-Ponty's notion of the reversible flesh as an infinite unbroken surface of touch as manifested in a <u>*poiesis*</u> of body imagery. The phenomenological concept of the reversible flesh speaks to the realization of the world as a "ratio of the senses", where the senses (such as touch, hearing, vision and smell) in their unbroken transposibility, one to another, present an opening of the body towards its sensuous surrounds and, on this basis, a unity of perception. By this means, as Merleau-Ponty explains, the body has its world and thus can be seen as an opening towards, as opposed to being self-enclosed, in the dualistic model. As a result, the many conjoining surfaces moving along side the body, such as the earthly surfaces that the body touches, represent the unbroken web of "body and world". In other words, the conjoining surfaces appear to be sensuously reversible in that it is hard to say who touches whom; is it the earth which touches me, or I who touch the earth? Thus, all surfaces appear to be of one body (a human one) in that they are all mutually implicated one into another.

> Voice flows by resounding through the human body, feelingfully connecting its spatially contiguous physical segments, resonating so as to sensually link and stress the whole. Likewise, when water flows through land, it is always multiply connected, always multiply present across and along a variety of relatively distinct contiguous landforms, linking them and revealing their wholeness. (ibid., 104-105)

However, the sensuousness of water arises in *Kaluli* naming practices in another way, also, that is in the onomatopoeic ideophones for water, sound and motion. In other cases, placenames and land forms are co-ordinated through an association of ideophones and regular verbal morphology in talk. In some cases placenames actually embody sonic ideophones. *Bulusami,* the site where the *Bulu* River (an ideophonic name) joins the *Gamo* River below a large waterfall that flows into a waterpool, is formed through *Bulu* = *sa-mi*, *Bulu* creek + "waterfall-drop edge"; literally, "sound of loud downward rolling water sound" + "drop place". "In these examples the evocative powers of ideophonic expression emplace the direct relationship of sound to sense in the voice, forcefully linking everyday sensual experience to the aesthetic depths of *poiesis*" (ibid., 108). The thorough-going naturalness of these memorialized actions or experiences of the land and as duly rendered in song *tok*, profoundly anchors the *Kaluli* within an abiding sense of place that gets steadily strengthened, enlivened and underscored through the iconical *poiesis*, which is shown by Feld in his studies on the *Kaluli* aesthetics of place.

What the foregoing discussion of kinesthetic and sonic *poiesis* has served to demonstrate is that, now, by engaging in the world and its various activities in the primordial setting, humans are at once immersed in a bodily contexture, as Zaner (1981) explains it, through which they become orientationally positioned as selves through a relationship between "figure and ground". The dimensions of a self as experiential,

feelingful and expressive thus becomes galvanized, meaningful and understood as an activational positioning towards, but also as an incorporation with, an environmental surrounds, whereby surrounding figures acquire thematic definition and articulation against an alternating recognizable background. Feld's analysis of *Kaluli poesis (poiesis)* shows us how such a processual experience of self as generated, for example, through a sonically generated world of alternating sounds, gets rendered in songs, verbal descriptions, music, costume, placenames, etc. In other words, speech, songs, gestures, stories, dances, etc. become kinesthetic expressions of the primordial incorporation of "body and world", experienced as an "enfoldment" between human and non-human agents within the territory.

4.7. Desecrating the Aboriginal Self

The purpose of this section is to draw attention to the pitfalls of the ecological model, as an empiricist dualistic model that starts by opposing nature and culture in the analysis of human societies towards the reductionism of human behaviour, "selfhood" and terrestrial meaning to a moment of ecological adaptation and efficiency. Conventional ecological and materialist writings [as found, for example, in anthropology as in the work of Marvin Harris (1966), Emelio Moran (1982, 1990), Robert Netting (1977), Julian Steward (1955) and others] dualistically and reductionistically turn on the belief that how people conceive, think about and construct their environments (as demonstrated above) is to a great extent irrelevant toward understanding person-land relationships—ecological perspectives are still locked into seeing the land primarily and uniformly as a resource base.

The danger is clear in such perspectives where people's ideas, perceptions, opinions and resulting behaviours are viewed as daily trivia, in and of themselves, but cumulatively of import in so far as they direct the course of adaptation in the ecological sense. In such a scenario, decisions, adaptation and cultural evolution go hand in hand (Bates and Fratkin, 1999:106, Kormondy and Brown, 1998:30) in a way that trivializes the importance of being and meaning.

If such a perspective fails to meet with critique, the cultural meanings and layers of significance in which natives wrap both themselves and their environments (as demonstrated above) will frequently go ignored, misunderstood and fail to receive scholarly importance as a factor in how these groups live their lives—a position that the dissertation demonstrates to be patently incorrect. Points of view that ignore this vital imbrication of humans and land on a being level—at the level of meaning and grass roots oral representation (such as Basso has shown in the case of the Western *Apache*)—run the risk of silencing and submerging a people's very sense of place; their self-identification and "self-hood". Indeed, in the case of aboriginal groups, such as the *Pintupi* and *Walbiri* Aborigines, the *Foi*, *Umeda* and *Kaluli* and the Western *Apache*, their identification with the land at the level of selfhood is their most profound moral integument and intimate foundation of meaning.

Within the ecological approach, Robert Netting (1977) and others present systems models of societies based on, for example, the efficiency of their adaptation to the ecological surrounds within a given niche. In such models, the efficiency with which a given group utilizes a territorial tract of land is evaluated in terms of quantitative features such as adaptive strategies, labour expenditure, population dynamics and harvest. Generally, such measures are evaluated on the basis of an efficiency model

that provides the paradigm through which the entire society, as an adaptive system, is understood (Netting, 1977: 83-92). Thus the society is viewed as an adaptive system in relationship to pressing ecological imperatives within the niche. The thrust of ecological studies in anthropology has largely been to study societies, over time, in terms of their ecological relations viz. a viz. their patterns of growth and change of resource use.

> In the real world we can judge whether postulated relationships between disease and settlement pattern or between land availability and agricultural intensity exist as something more than imaginary constructs. ...agricultural innovations we recommend can be measured objectively in terms of the physical and economic well-being of those people affected (Netting, 1977: 88).

Thus, the land's value for the people under anthropological investigation is seen, first and foremost, as a physical resource base, and well-being is singularly evaluated on the basis of analytic categories of, for instance, resource productivity, energy efficiency, nutritional values, etc. Inventories of resource activity and utilitarian evaluations of the resource base are the obvious result. Thus the land's value as a *poiesis* of "body and world" goes sadly overlooked. Projections for modernization, growth and change within a region, therefore, would likely focus on the economic reality at the expense of human meaning as it has been sketched within a landscape as the "extended field of self". Such a dismissal of the *poiesis* of human life is exemplified in the following quotation that profiles the objectives of the ecological approach, which recommends a systems approach to industrial impacts.

> Ecologically-oriented research has the potential of speaking directly to contemporary concerns with environmental degradation, energy supplies, pollution and social disorganization. Proposed changes must be examined before they are implemented, and means such as environmental and cultural impact statements have been developed to do this. Anthropologists need not confine themselves to pessimistic though instructive accounts of how modernization goes awry (Spicer, 1952) or why grandiose governmental schemes flounder (Reining, 1966). Their

> familiarity with social systems and value patterns, united with data on production, population, energy transfers, and information flows, can contribute to the modeling of whole systems and predictions of the causes and characteristics of change. (ibid.)

Such an approach inevitably results in a utilitarian categorization of resources, both cultural and physical, as an inventory of benefits and costs that are aptly positioned for translation in economic terms. In other words, the ecological approach presents the real danger of a wide-scale commodification at the root of true aboriginality, and the real displacement and disorganization such a spectre suggests. Such an approach is devastating to the holistic nature of a people whose ultimate meaning and selfhood are vested within an experiential "enfoldment" of environmental factors as an unbroken web of being. Thus to argue for the presence of a *poiesis* at the heart of aboriginal societies does a lot to off-set this ill. The concepts of "enfoldment", "storyscape", and *poiesis* serve to advance a non-dualistic phenomenological view of the land which captures the wholeness factor vested within the aboriginal world view, and generate an understanding of how the lived experience of aboriginal people is encoded poetically and spiritually throughout their territorial regions.

The purpose of this chapter has been to demonstrate how the three-fold conceptual framework of "enfoldment", "storyscape" and *poiesis* serves as a means of phenomenologically demonstrating the imbrication between aboriginal people and their surrounding territory as found in the self's expression. We have explored "body/world" imbrication for various aboriginal groups such as the *Cree,* the *Pintupi* and *Walbiri Aborigines*, the *Navajo*, the Western *Apache*, the *Kaluli,* the *Foi* and the *Umeda.* In each case, the meanings vested in territorial occupation (or "dwelling") have resulted in narrative depictions along with a territorial iconic mode of expression that has been

termed *poiesis*, that speak to the land's "selfhood" as an outcome of the non-dualistic experiences of what is referred to in phenomenology as the "extended body's spatiality". The chapter thus has focused on the depictions of "body/world" expressiveness as *poiesis* in the case of all these groups, and in so doing has been able to demonstrate the ethos of "real dwelling" or interconnectedness which it depicts. The extant *poiesis* speaks invariably to the ethics of living within a territory as an "enfoldment" or interconnectedness between the human and non-human agents who share the region. As a result, the presiding *poiesis* embodies the element of respect one would unarguably expect to find present in relationships of true sharing, imbrication and togetherness. Thus, the *poiesis* represents such a recognition or reflexivity of what it means to "dwell meaningfully". Alternately, the loss of such a *poiesis* as the land's expression (when land is desecrated or removed, as shown by Basso) would be the loss of that most vital moral integument of "selfhood" (and connectedness), which is essential for "real dwelling" to be sustained. Indeed it would represent the devastation of aboriginal "selfhood" altogether. Thus for all the groups under discussion, the relationship with the territory as a *poiesis* provides the foundation of a reflexivity, knowingness or wisdom on the meaningfulness of being holistically connected. This chapter adds substance to the sentiment that to remove aboriginal land, or to desecrate it, serves only to issue a cycle of deep human alienation and social dislocation.

Thus the phenomenological question of human "possibility" takes on a moral tone. In phenomenological terms, the possibility of even being a "self" rests on the chance of being meaningfully positioned within a world. When such a positioning results narratively as the expression of a non-dualistic aboriginal "enfoldment", then the resulting *poiesis* provides a three-fold, spatial, moral and ideological world

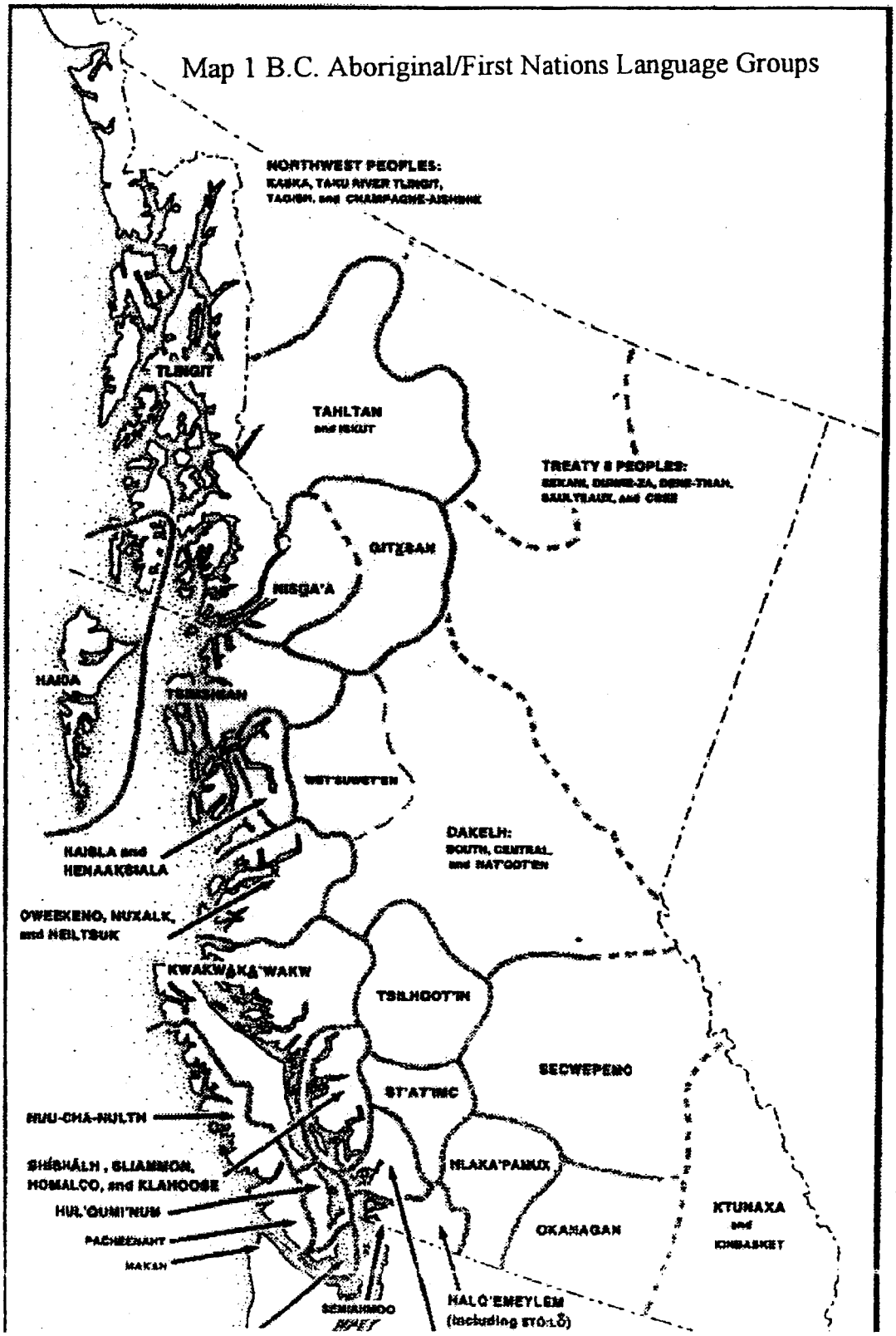
contextualization for the "self's possibilizing". Thus, to truly be possibilized as a self, in phenomenological terms, rests on the presence of some meaningful contexture of "body and world", which is to be found in the spatialized setting as *poiesis*—as the meaningful anchors of "selfhood and world". Therefore in analysing the aboriginal experience phenomenologically, for a self to be meaningfully located is to be spatially located, meaningfully, in *poiesis*. In the aboriginal context, the "possibilizing self" is realized in a poetic contexture reminiscent of "real dwelling" as speaks to the non-dualistic "*poiesis* of body and world". To remove or ignore that, in a cavalier application of the dualistic paradigm either through ecological models or utilitarian management studies, is to remove the land from the people and, thus, to deprive them of their most vital moral integument as "selfhood".

CHAPTER 5.

THE ABORIGINAL PEOPLES OF BRITISH COLUMBIA: THE POETICS OF LAND—EXPRESSIONS OF BODY AND WORLD

> You usually have to speak to these places to let them know that you're not a stranger. Otherwise, the power in the place may make strange upon you... These places are special. (*Sto:lo* elder EP, in Mohs, 1987:87)

The purpose of this chapter is to apply the phenomenological theory of "self, body and world", as it has been developed in Chapter 1, to the analysis of the ethnography of British Columbia's aboriginal people. In this chapter, the phenomenological theory is employed to validate and conceptualize the various aboriginal folkloric perspective within a well-known rationalist discourse. The phenomenological concepts of "body and world", "selfhood", "the world as a ratio of the senses", "dwelling" and the "self's possibilizing" and "thematization" is demonstrated to be of merit in grasping the various aboriginal folkloric examples. The objective of this chapter is to apply the phenomenological theory of "self, body and world" (as it has been developed in Chapter 1,2 and 3) to the analysis of the ethnography of selected groups of aboriginal people in British Columbia. The phenomenological theory is employed to validate the non-rationalist characteristics of aboriginal folklore, in British Columbia, as having meaningful ecological and environmental merit for outside non-Native constituents, both throughout British Columbia and elsewhere. For example, the environmental spatiality offered in the well-known non-Cartesian rationalist discourse of


Map 1 B.C. Aboriginal/First Nations Language Groups
NORTHWEST PEOPLES:
TLINGIT
TAHLTAN
TREATY 8 PEOPLES:
GITXSAN
NISGA'A
HAIDA
HAISLA and
HENAAKSIALA
OWEEKENO, HUXALK,
and HEILTSUK
KWAKWAKA'WAKW
DAKELH:
TSILHQOT'IN
SECWEPEMC
ST'AT'IMC
NLAKA'PAMUX
OKANAGAN
KTUNAXA
and
KINBASKET
HAL'Q'EMEYLEM
(including STÓ:LŌ)
HUL'QUMI'NUM
MAKAH

phenomenology serves as an access point, for scholars, toward understanding the environmental significance and wholism present within the aboriginal folklore.

However, the research is not meant to supplement or enhance, in any way, the existing aboriginal folkoric accounts themselves, or to supplement any of the views given by the aboriginal people. Rather the objective of the analysis, in this chapter, is to provide a viewpoint on the world to outsiders, which offers an eminently connected perspective of caring and concern for the environment that is often lacking in utilitarian based approaches to environmental management (as discussed in Chapter 1).

In reading ethnographic accounts of the individual British Columbia Native groups, it becomes obvious that a certain holistic perspective on the territory is present within this literature, which is relatively absent in Western environmental discourses on the environment. Furthermore, it is shown in the ethnographic accounts that special places on the land provide a kind of topographical history or story that expresses the local people's backgrounds as their "lived experiences". Thus, throughout the process of the research it was seen that the land contextualizes people, both geographically and morally (as shown in the previous chapter), and provides us with a non-dual perception of the environment as a connected, aware, human spatiality and aroundness. Within the many Native stories presented on the territory, the dualities between insidedness and outsidedness of bodies, or subject and object, are not present. Folkloric perspectives seem to present a view of life that is lived as an enfoldment within an environmental surrounding in which everyone and everything is a part. Thus, the "lived body's" expression is still alive in the native folklore presented, as reflected in the presence of storied landscapes that provide the moral foundation and contextualization for the people in the territory—it showed the presence of a meaning that was grounded in

poiesis. The environment in the many and diverse cases shown is not discovered as an inert "out-there", but rather as a very intimate "in-here"; as a part of the people themselves. The travels of the lived body, its corporeal realizations, thus became encoded at the level of stories and poetic expressions that have a timeless role in the meaning of the British Columbia native people. The body has its world.

It is through the utensils of phenomenology (as provided in Chapters 2 and 3) that the dissertation has been able to offer Western scholarship an appreciation of the non-dualistic environmental meanings of British Columbia First Nations' ethnographic accounts. With this objective in mind, the dissertation reconceptualizes the native self, as found in the accounts, in terms of the phenomenological self and the concept of extended body, and thus presents an environmental viewpoint outside of the realm of Cartesian oppositions. Through creating such a portrait, it is hoped that a recollection of being-in-the-world, as an environmental spatiality, will be invoked in the perception of the reader towards a more caring and more intimately connected appreciation of the worldly environment as home. Thus, the aim of the chapter is not to add or take anything away from the many accounts of the native people's traditions under study. Rather, it is felt their content and sanctity must at all times be carefully preserved. As previously explained in depth (see Chapter 1, Section 1.3), the dissertation does not impose a Western philosophical perspective that speaks on behalf of the diverse and rich folkloric accounts of First Nations in British Columbia. Rather, a phenomenological appreciation of diverse folkloric accounts, acquired from secondary sources, provide environmental scholars with a reference point for the conceptual orientation given in Chapters 1 and 2, towards deepening and improving current environmental discussions, and add the dimension of non-duality to such discussions.

The ethnographic accounts offered throughout this chapter have been exclusively garnered from secondary source materials and not from personal interviews of members of the diverse aboriginal communities and tribes that exist within British Columbia. The dissertation's ethnographic focus is largely comparative in that the subject matter is highly diverse and focuses on a rich assortment of First Nations groups' stories within the British Columbia region. For the purposes of this dissertation, it is felt that a wide range of examples from a regionally diverse setting would provide a more thorough overview of the presence of stories as situated according to traditional territorial watersheds wherein the tribal people throughout British Columbia make their living. Thus, due to the diversity of accounts taken over an expansive multi-national regional area, it has been possible for the study to explore the phenomenological notion that stories, as a ratio of the senses, are the representations of people's embodiment, movement and activities within a meaningful domestic surrounding.

Such a regional overview of accounts would not have been possible through primary research techniques attainable through ethnographic fieldwork. Ethnographic fieldwork requires a long-standing research relationship with a regionally specific community group, which then serves only to provide specific kinds of regionally unique information, spelling the absence of a broad multi-national focus. However, the scale and diversity of oral folkloric information that was useful for this study was available through the existing ethnographic record, which has provided a great richness and diversity of folkloric accounts drawn from many different regional territories across B.C. These accounts show both, considerably, specific diversity and a commonality at the level of the environmental embeddedness of the self.

The secondary sources garnered from the ethnographic record still accurately portray to a very high degree the local meanings of the people, themselves, through the presence of their oral and written accounts, and has therefore proven to be a satisfactory substitute for primary research techniques. An effort has been made to present stories within the native voice, while direct quotations from the locals, themselves, as found within the existing ethnographies are given in their oral form—many of which are chronologically current. Thus the dissertation has avoided the use of ethnographic renderings and analysis that might forfeit the integrity and clarity of the Native speakers themselves—much of the ethnographic record covering the region gives verbatim textual materials from the native peoples themselves. It is the very nature of the text-focused ethnographic accounts that allowed for the explorations within this project to be accomplished. The presence of this particular stream of British Columbia ethnography is eminently "emic" (actor oriented) in focus, in that it largely presents the native perspectives through the presentation of native stories and interview materials with a special emphasis on oral accounts.

The dissertation has offered an analysis of the various native folkloric accounts of territorial meaning and habitiation as a viable parallel to the phenomenological notion of "real dwelling" seen as the ethics of interconnectedness and "care", implicit in the spatiality of human activity. The non-dualistic notion of "real dwelling" implies the presence of a 'world consciousness' of respect, or of a "meaningful letting dwell", that our caring and concernedful activities have given rise to within a familiarized site or series of interconnected spaces with which one is "self-identified"—therefore, they are looked upon as home. The ethical re-association with such values can thus be generally

looked upon as a 'homecoming', while the disassociation can be seen as a loss as is evidenced by Neil Evernden (in Chapter 3).

The purpose of this chapter is to demonstrate how an aboriginal territory as sites of meaningful activity, as viewed by various British Columbia aboriginal folkloric accounts, can be compared to phenomenology's concept of "dwelling" in its elaborated sense in the works of Maurice Merleau-Ponty. The phenomenological conceptualization of "body and world" has also been employed to articulate how the meaningful activities of the "lived body", within a site, bring forth the transcendence of the body towards its world, and ultimately brings forth the inter-connectivity of humans with their surroundings. Thus it is this inter-connectivity that ultimately brings about the self-identification of humans with their environments that can be referred to as "real dwelling". In discussions of "body and world", the self's definition takes on a spatial element wherein the self becomes a field of all its activities and belonging—the aboriginal territory in this way of thinking becomes identifiable as a "field of self". To be a self, in phenomenological terms, means to "meaningfully dwell" as transcended towards the world in a manner that might be referred to as the "extended self". The strategy of this chapter is thus to weigh the various expressions of the self's presencing within the territory to establish whether or not the various aboriginal perspectives actually parallel phenomenology's conceptualization of the "extended self" and the ethos of "real dwelling".

"The world as a ratio of the senses" facilitates this cause in that it conceptualizes the actual means of "body/world" imbrication that takes place in the emergence of "self as transcended towards its world". The "transposibility of the senses" (vision, hearing, touch, smell), one into another, along with 'postural alignment' and movement serve as

the foundation of "world" emergence and, as such, are the means by which the "extended self" becomes a realizable possibility. The conceptualization of the "extended self" at the level of "body and world", as a "ratio of the senses", serves to shed light on the many poetic aboriginal metaphors found whereby sensual terrestrial surfaces are depicted as corporeal, thus generating evidence of the presence of an "extended self" within the aboriginal world view.

The chapter furthermore employs the phenomenological concept of "thematization" to advance this investigation by demonstrating how the aboriginal mythologized spatial anchors (such as terrestrial landmarks) of the "self's" presencing serve as "orientational themes" or signs in the relationship between "body and world". Such "themes", according to phenomenology, are the "equipmental signs" that serve to establish the dimensions of territorial dwelling as a meaningful "being-in" or activational field for an "extended bodily self"—they become the historically sedimented markers of "real dwelling" as it has taken place in perpetuity within a region.

In phenomenological terms then, it is being argued that the "self's possibilizing" is intimately associated with "thematic positioning" or the reality of being meaningfully situated spatially within a territory of belonging and "worldly self-recognition" that could be established by the presence of specifically designated or mythologically identified markers. In other words the possibility of being a self, then, is to be meaningfully and spatially positioned at a "thematized" and recognizable anchor point of worldly significance. Such anchor points would have meaningful or worldly significance in as much as they would possess narrative value. They serve to mark out and narratively establish an activational world context.

Throughout the ethnographic depictions of this chapter, the many special places on the land, named places, mythological landmarks, and storied landscapes would seem to serve as examples of the phenomenological theoretical principles discussed in Chapters 1, 2, and 3. The same explanation also seems viable for place-related symbolism, such as territorial crests, songs, or poles. The chapter's evidence, on the basis of the above logic, will serve to demonstrate the philosophical fit between phenomenology and the aboriginal folklore under study, in that many mythological indicators of a non-dualistic imbrication of "body and world" exist that would likely characterize an ethos of something that parallels "real dwelling" present in aboriginal contexts. Thus, the chapter will argue that the presence of the connectivity factor found within the various folkloric depictions (present in the sense making function inhering in phenomenological notions of "thematization") provides a moral platform of respectfulness and a "meaningful dwelling with"—it is perpetuated and reinforced at the level of movement and activity as "transcendence toward a world", as discussed in Chapter 3. The evidenced symbolic and mythological (philosophical) component of aboriginal folklore demonstrates an inherent focus on reflexivity, in phenomenological terms, and on the process of "real dwelling, "i.e., on the process of "aboriginal wisdom", as Basso (1985, 1996) has described it.

The three-fold structure of "enfoldment", "storyscape" and "*poiesis* of body and world", furthermore, serves as the analytical focus for this chapter. The three-fold structure will analyse the ethnographic information at three distinct levels, the experiential, the narrative and the expressive, as delineated in the phenomenological theory above. The concept of "enfoldment" articulates and illuminates the aboriginal experience as one that is non-dualistically imbricated with the human and non-human

elements of the territorial surroundings—it speaks to what can be referred to as the wholeness or connectivity factor implicit in the aboriginal perspective. In general, the ethnographic depictions of the aboriginal world show a self-identification of people and land that transcends the separateness usually implied in non-dualist Cartesian conceptualization of self-enclosed individual bodies. Therefore, the term "enfoldment" is employed to provide a bridge between the phenomenological theory and the aboriginal perspective to identify, at an experiential level, the synthesis between "body and world".

The second level of analysis to be employed, in this chapter, is the concept of "storyscape". The term is used to analyse, phenomenologically, the narrative foundation of the aboriginal territory as a "world". The notion of "storyscape" addresses the narrative features of the territory that speak to the "enfoldment" of human and non-human elements occurring in the synthesis of "body and world" explained above. The narrative factor speaks to the many travels of the "lived body", ancestrally, throughout a territorial dwelling. In phenomenological terms, it can be argued that the "narrative" or "storyscape" is necessary in the process of meaningful "world emergence" and, therefore, in the ascription of the meaningful "thematizations" required for the "self's possibilizing". The "narrative" level is the unifying factor of the diverse and itinerant moments of the self's expression as *poiesis*.

In the third level of analysis, *poiesis* is the chapter's most widely employed device in the investigation of the presence of a non-dualistic "body/world" synthesis in the aboriginal perspective. The *poiesis* of body and world" as a conceptual tool is applied to the many aspects of the self's expression that speak to the encounters of the "extended body" as self. Of special importance is the exploration of the concept of *poiesis* as a variety of "thematized" environmental sites that represent the self's spatiality as a

realizable possibility. The *poiesis* as it has been identified, in fact, is thus the entire "world" of the self's expression as "being-in-the-world" as it is positionally manifested. Throughout the many explorations of this chapter, it is the crests, totem poles, landmarks, spiritual sites, named places, regalia, folkloric representations, dances, sonic expressions, phonic representations, and aesthetic expressions of all kinds (such as rock art, and carvings, etc.) that speak to the "enfoldment" of "self, body and world". It is through *poiesis* that what phenomenology refers to as "real dwelling", as being a social consciousness of respect, is articulated and inculcated in mythological and symbolic terms. The *poiesis* is not just an individual speaking but, rather, the entire "world" speaking out as a "ratio of the senses". The concept of *poiesis* is thus a tool for the investigation of "real dwelling" as an actual "thematized" presence within the aboriginal world, as it is uniquely framed within the chosen geographic area of interest for the dissertation (the Coastal and Interior tribes of British Columbia). This chapter follows out in specific analyses of Aboriginal folklore the conceptual approach to *poiesis* (developed in section 1 of Chapter 1) and, also, the argument of section 4.5, which shows its applicability to phenomenological anthropology. With the objective of demonstrating the fit between phenomenological theory and the aboriginal perspective, the chapter will focus on four separate regions within British Columbia to demonstrate the applicability of the concepts of "enfoldment", "storyscape" and "body/world *poiesis*". The Coastal and Interior culture areas offer nuanced but compatible traditions within British Columbia, providing a rich and contrasting array of mythic and ecological features and ethnographic comparisons through which it has been possible to illustrate the dissertation's general themes. The *Lillooet* River region and Stein Valley region are chosen for their usefulness as case studies in their representations of geographically

based storyscapes. The chosen regions of study are drawn from the Coastal culture area and the Interior Plateau culture area of British Columbia. All the regions represented offer rich examples, within the aboriginal setting that support the 'three-fold structure' of "enfoldment", "storyscape" and *poiesis*, toward demonstrating a non-dualistic perspective in the native context that parallels the phenomenological theory of self, body and world. The Coastal culture area provides examples of *poiesis* from the following peoples: the *Nisga'a* of the Nass River region, the *Gitksan* of the Skeena River region, the *Kwakwakawakw* from the regions around the northern tip of Vancouver Island, the *Nuu-chah-nulth* on the west coast of Vancouver Island, the *Taku Tlingit* of the *Taku* River region in northern British Columbia and the Coast *Salish Sto:lo* of the Fraser River region in southern British Columbia. The Interior plateau culture area provides examples of *poiesis* from the following peoples: the *Stlatliumx* of the Lower *Lillooet* River region, the Upper *Stlatliumx* people near the town of *Lillooet*, the *N'lakapamux* near the town of Lytton and the people of the *N'lakapamux* Stein region.

The chapter is divided into five primary sections. Each section's examples are important, as each one demonstrates a different aspect of the three-fold structure, "enfoldment" "storyscape", *poiesis* and speaks to the underlying phenomenological premise of the spatiality of the lived body and the resultant imbrication of self, body and world.

Section 5.1. Coastal Traditions and the Poiesis of Dwelling Within a Territory provides a phenomenological analysis of *Gitksan*, *Nisga'a, Kwakwakawakw,* and *Nuu-chah-nulth* traditions and the system of land tenure and social organization in terms of *poiesis* and the "enfoldment" of self, body, and world.

Sub-Section 5.1.1. House Symbols and the Poetics of Enfoldment looks at the *poiesis* of body and world in the context of the land's "enfoldment" for the *Gitksan* people in the context of their ancestral tribal territory.

Sub-Section 5.1.2. Depictions of Territories as Iconic Poiesis provides an additional example of *poiesis* of body and world" for the *Kwakwakawakw*, whose *poiesis* demonstrates a ritual "enfoldment" of "body and world" and, thus, of people with their territory as representative in the presence of potlatch regalia, the circulation of gifts and social organization. This section also demonstrates examples of *Nuu-chah-nulth* aesthetic iconography and values as a "*poiesis* of body and world" an expression of "enfoldment", thus offering an analysis of the decoration on the traditional *Nuu-chah-nulth* whaling canoe as a clue.

Sub-Section 5.1.3. Coastal Poiesis as Landscape provides a phenomenological example of Coastal mythological landmarks as a "*poiesis* of body and world" for the *Taku River Tlingit* people and the Coast *Salish Sto:lo* people of Coastal British Columbia. The section demonstrates how the land acquires "personhood" by virtue of what has been termed an "enfoldment" of humans and territory, and demonstrates the association between this factor and a *poiesis* of "real dwelling" as an embedded feature in *Sto:lo* and *Taku* meaning. In this section, we have furthermore demonstrated how the land is viewed as a "storyscape".

Sub-Section 5.2. The Poiesis of Land in Interior Storyscapes provides a phenomenological analysis of the "storyscapes" present in the Interior of British Columbia within what is referred to as the plateau culture area. The section looks at Transformer stories from both *Stlatliumx* and *N'lakapamux* people, investigates the presence of mythological landmarks as *poiesis* and situates the stories and landmarks

within regional territorial watershed landscapes as regions of age-old aboriginal traditional activity.

Sub-Section 5.2.1. The Lillooet River "Storyscape" investigates a specific 'territorial watershed' or "regional landscape" from the perspective of a "storyscape". This section looks at the regional creation stories of the Lower *Stlatliumx* and identifies the travels of Transformer deities and related mythological landmarks with age-old *Stlatliumx* territorial pathways and patterns of territorial use. The content of this section demonstrates the bodily "enfoldment" of people and land, and "world emergence" as the product of movement and touch; as a "ratio of the senses", as poetically expressed within a watershed or "storyscape".

Sub-Section 5.2.2. The Upper Stlatliumx *"Storyscape"* investigates the upper *Stlatliumx* creation stories in terms of a *poiesis* of people and land. This section phenomenologically analyses the *Stlatliumx* meaning of land on the basis of existing mythological landmarks and their association with ancient tribal territorial patterns of use. Thus, it illustrates how terrestrial experience and meaning for the *Stlatliumx* people is expressed in terms of a human/land *poiesis* on the basis of an "enfoldment" of "body and world" as it relates the "self's possibility" within a territory.

Sub-Section 5.2.3. N'lakapamux *"Storyscape.* This sub-section demonstrates how the mythological landmarks connected to the *N'lakapamux* creation myths and journeys of the Transformer deities map the land through the process of *poiesis*. The 'narrative' that encompasses the territory presents a "storyscape" of special sites on the land, which anchors the *N'lakapamux* world in such a way that the *N'lakapamux* world view is affirmed and the land is readable and articulate within that world view. It provides definition and positioning for the journeying "self" within the landscape as each

landmark is accompanied with a "reflexive legitimating statement" proving its authenticity within the *N'lakapamux* poiesis.

Section 5.3. Stein Valley Poiesis provides a specific and detailed example of the phenomenological analysis of "self, body and world" as represented in a regional landscape and activational "world", in that the ethnography of the region provides many examples that demonstrate the applicability of the 'three fold structure' of "enfoldment", "storyscape" and poiesis. Here, the three elements interact to show the value of the *Stein* as a watershed landscape and, as such, a preserve of both environmental and cultural treasures that represent the *N'lakapamux* world as a "ratio of the senses".

Sub-Section 5.3.1. A Poiesis *of Enfoldment Written on Rock* demonstrates the presence of Stein Valley rock art as the "poiesis of body and world" as aesthetic representation.

Sub-Section 5.3.2. Stein Placenames in the Poiesis *of Body and World* demonstrates the importance of named places on the land as phonic and sonic poiesis. It illustrates the relationship between "enfoldment and poiesis" in as much as the placenames represent the land's speaking out.

Section 5.4. Landscape as Personality provides evidence of the parallel between the phenomenological perspective and the aboriginal perspective through an itinerant account of many places within the *Stlatliumx* and *N'lakapamux* tribal territories, where the land has been animated and, thus, possesses "personhood". In these examples, the storied terrestrial sites animate the landscape in a manner that illustrates the three-fold structure of "enfoldment, storyscape and poiesis". This section offers information that convincingly depicts the presence of an imbrication of "self, body and world" in the poiesis of land. The land has actually received personhood as a factor of human

"dwelling" and as such, in phenomenological terms, can provide evidence as to the presence of a non-dualistic extended self within the aboriginal perspective.

Section 5.5. Landmark Poiesis as Geographic Centres of Force. This section demonstrates how the *poiesis* of land as found in mythological landmarks serves to anchor the landscape or map the land, in human terms, on the basis of tribal territorial use. In phenomenological analysis, such sites on the land become the nodal points of human meaning within the holistic "enfoldment" of all human and non-human agents within the territory. These sites anchor the "world" and become "ritually charged" as nodal points within the "storyscape". As a result of their importance in "worldhood" as a double-edged moral and spatial issue, special places on the land become highly charged. It is the *poiesis* of body and world as expressed on the land, as landmarks, that provide the foundation of the reflexive awareness of "real dwelling". Thus, the ritual sites that anchor the narrative or "storyscape" provide a platform for the reflexive process as aboriginal wisdom (see Chapter 4).

5.1. Coastal Traditions and the *Poiesis* of Dwelling Within a Territory

For the aboriginal tribes in British Columbia, the interpreting and articulating of landscape is a primary concern within the oral tradition of the people. Characteristically, legends as well as "symbolic wealth", a family's stock of crests, dances, songs and masks, for example, are contextualized geographically with respect to a tribal territory's corresponding mythological locations. These locations serve to demonstrate the age-old self-identification of a given tribal people with their respective land. It is the stock of

symbolic wealth that tends to contextualize the tribal people's belonging as being-in-the-world (as discussed in chapters 2 and 3). In his work on the *Gitksan*, according to John Cove (1982) a household or territorial group was characteristically given traditional (usufructory) rights over a territory, because it had merged its personality with the land—it had therefore acquired spiritual rights. The aboriginal meaning of land, therefore, is vested in the presence of traditional territories or land holdings, symbolically galvanized and occupied over generations by a tribe or group of people closely related; thus, it is reasonable to also refer to traditional territories as 'tribal territories'. For the many diverse groups throughout British Columbia, generally speaking, territories are the fishing grounds and hunting grounds of a number of families or villages of people closely related as is symbolically demonstrable on the basis of folkloric and symbolic traditions; due to their familial closeness they form either a band or a tribe depending on the particular region (Cove, 1982:4-6; Duff, 1959:35-36).

According to Cove (1982), Duff (1959), Goldman (1975) and others, territories are sacred to the families who own them. The territories are vested with a unique collection of tribal folklore and symbolism that explain their background and genealogical temperament. They are speckled with ancient mythic/historical landmarks and vision sites that speak to important and formative events that occurred there upon. According to Hudson, a system of ritual or traditional names "remain identified with tracts of land and resource areas, they provide a framework for enduring social relations and the *Nisga'a* land tenure system" for the *Nisga'a* of the Nass Valley (Hudson, 1987:10). The basis of all *Tsimshian* systems of land tenure (Cove, 1982, Duff, 1959), as seen for the *Gitksan*, the *Nisga'a* and the *Tsimshian,* is a system of titles and Houses. For example, there are approximately sixty-five Houses or *wilps* (a *Tsimshian* term) among the four

major *Nisga'a* villages. Each of these Houses have their territories in the vicinity of their respective villages, and belong to one of four major clans or *pdeek,* namely, *Laxsgiik* (Eagle), *Laxgibuu* (Wolf), *Gisk'ahaast,* or *Gispuwudwada* (Killer Whale, Grizzly Bear), and *Ganada* (Frog-Raven) (Hudson, 1987:4). Houses are consolidated as territorial units through the notion of common ancestry and shared traditions and symbols, songs, crests and dances. Moreover, in the case of the *Tlingit,* on the northern coast of British Columbia, Thornton (1997) and de Laguna (1972) demonstrate a similar profile as to how territory, geographical features and ritual personality are linked on the basis of house groups.

> Clans or their localized segments, known as house groups, owned and maintained use rights to physical property (including salmon streams, halibut banks, hunting grounds, sealing rocks, berrying grounds, shellfish beds, canoe-landing beaches, and other landmarks) as well as symbolic property (such as names, stories, songs, regalia, crests, and other cultural icons, including clan ancestors and representations of geographic features). These possessions (*at. oow)* were integral components of Tlingit identity, and each clan was conceived of as having not only its exclusive property, but also its own unique "personality" and ways of being (de Laguna, 1972:451, in Thornton, 1997)

Consequently the argument can be made that on the basis of a hereditary land tenure system there exists, in perpetuity, a folkloric territorial union or <u>*poiesis*</u> (an iconography) of people and landscape that is seminal to the ritual and belief structure (selfhood) of the societies on the basis of kinship and descent as conveyed through totemic symbolism—therefore, as was demonstrated for the groups in the last chapter, the selfhood of the people is merged with the land. It is the purpose of this chapter, therefore, to explore the manner in which both non-human agents and humans co-exist together (as Ingold explains it, see Chapter 4) within a common 'enfoldment of being' upon the land, as depicted within a regional <u>*poiesis*</u> or folkloric personality as

discoverable in the various aboriginal group's folkloric depictions in both Coastal and Interior regions. I will explore how, by engaging with the world and its activities, the aboriginal people of the Coast and Interior (within a continuous living present) have become immersed within their environmental surrounds and, consequently, their selfhood has acquired thematic definition and a terrestrial articulation in response to a recognizable territorial background—the body and world relationship has been the foundation of this nexus, as explained in the preceding chapters.

A phenomenological approach argues that meanings are produced on the basis of "lived bodily experiences" (as discussed in Chapter 1, section 1.3). Persons incorporate with and transform their world on the basis of their patterns of doings, and thereby project around themselves a cultural world, or a meaningful symbolic world. Consequently, the environmental surrounds (authentically speaking) in terms of what are perceived as traditional territories are not merely an external "out there", such as would oppose the dualities nature and culture as a Cartesian model would suggest, rather, it is a familiarized field of human self-hood, activity and belongingness (as discussed in Chapter 2, section 3.5). A phenomenological analysis of Coastal and Interior aboriginal people's relationship to the land looks primarily at the land's specific "meanings" as a statement about aboriginal self-identification (in terms of their experiential being-here) within a territory—it is expressive of them. Creation stories, aboriginal placenames, important mythological landmarks and sites and the study of other poetic, symbolic and aesthetic "representations" (such as songs, dances and crests) all serve as an entry point to the land's meaningfulness as "human possibility", as dwelling and as co-habitation—people always understand the land in relationship to themselves and what they did there.

Story telling and its accompanying rituals are, after all, the communicative nexus of dwelling as "being-in-the-worldness" (as discussed in Chapter 3); it reflects the nexus of body and world as it is lived and felt. It is the poetic and expressive vehicle of absorbed involvement with the world, both human and non-human, and reflects the intense 'poetic' relationship of performers with their ancestral lands and territories as a home.

The territory can be seen in terms of a topographical map or "storyscape" (see Chapter 4, section 4.1) comprised of activity sites, whereby placenames and important mythological markers (such as landmarks and story sites, for example) serve as age-old territorial markers or poles of action, or themes that represent various particular places of traditional land tenure (for example, within certain families) and of ancestral territorial use and meaning.

To understand the framing of the Coastal aboriginal personality as "dwelling", as merged within a house group and territorial surrounding, one has to contextualize the role of the person, first within a wider belongingness to a house, and then, alternatively, the imbrication of the house within a tribal territory. On this basis, the personality or selfhood of the individual is merged in a type of "enfoldment" (as discussed in Chapter 4), with the territory by virtue of a 'self-identification' and belonging to the 'house group' and its symbolic *poiesis* (its stock of hereditary privileges, such as names and crests), which inform the identity and personhood of individuals living within the house. The household [according to Cove (1982) for the *Gitksan*; Duff (1959) for the *Tsimshian* and *Nuu-chah-nulth;* and Goldman (1975) for the *Kwageulth* or *Kwakwakawakw;* profiles that reflect generally most Coastal groups] is believed to embody (or enfold) an incredible source of physical and spiritual power or presence, to be expressive of and, otherwise,

imbued with the power of the non-human agents that populate and represent the traditional territory of its ancestral belonging.

Tribal territorial practices, symbolism and stories (the symbolic *poiesis*) are contextualized within traditional territories, the terrestrial location for the complex nexus of human doings and possibility. As can be seen in the fact that the territories correspond to the watershed of a given salmon river or stream (including the entire drainage off the side of a mountain), plus the surrounding hunting land and remaining land that served as the root digging spots, foraging valleys, berry picking sites, sacred sites, etc. We are told by Cove (1982) and Kirk (1986) that the determinant of tribal territories as hereditary units for Coastal groups, for example, the *Gitksan* or *Tsimshian*, is found in the ecological reality of salmon availability and its accompanying value. Salmon's high density, importance in trade, seasonal predictability all determined that the salmon streams and inlets shall dictate the location of territories (Cove, 1982:4). According to a number of sources (Barbeau and Beynon 1915-1956, in Cove 1987a; Cove 1982; Halpin 1973), the average tribal territory (for example, as seen in the case of the *Gitksan*) equals approximately two hundred square miles, to which they have proprietary rights ("the right to use or enjoy, the right to exclude others, and the right to alienate"; Cove, 1982:5).

In the case of the coastal tribes such as the *Gitksan*, it is on the basis of what has been said above that the meaningful activities and movements of a closely related and relatively exclusive group on land determines what constitutes the House; or *wilp*, to use the *Gitksan* word. A *wilp* is, in other words, a group of people living and working together on a selection of surrounding territory, which is their most fundamental determinant of meaning and belonging; it thus represents their "dwelling" as discussed in

Chapter 3, section 3.4. The *wilp*'s primary function was, above all, to confer title over a territory to a corporate group on the basis of matrilineal descent, and to connote the method of "traditional dwelling" which identified, for example, how house members dwelt along side non-House members. This was accomplished by the house through the enactment of a symbolic *poiesis* at a traditional feast, where a stock of ritual songs, dances, names and crests, expressive of the territory, were displayed to establish house members' title and territorial rights through a matrilineal system of genealogy (Cove, 1982:6).

In sum, the aesthetic forms mentioned above are a direct statement of the territory and the enfoldment of the *Gitksan* people within it. The *Gitksan* people then, in aboriginal terms, have carried out their lives within *wilps* (which included fixed technologies such as permanent fishing traps and weirs and permanent fishing sites) and had predictable and established settlement patterns within what could be referred to as a regional landscape or storyscape (as defined in the Chapter4). The territorial rights of the *wilps* as existing within a region are thus established on the basis of a corresponding symbolic iconic *poiesis* which is embedded in names, crests, regalia, folklore, and dances. This territorial nexus as it has been incorporated into articulatory space and its mode of expression communicates the activational matrix of body and world. In Chapter 1, it was argued that a mythology not only presents a world, but also interprets being in it. If we concentrate on the interpretive aspect, "Tsimshian texts can be seen as guides who take us were we wish to go in that world and teach us to understand what we discover there" (Cove, 1987a:49). The corresponding link between stories and world is seen in the following paraphrase of Adams by Cove.

> Adams (1973: 21-37) provides the most comprehensive presentation of those units in his reconstruction of a typical pre-contact Gitksan village. He describes it as consisting of two major resident groups, called Sides, each made up of members from one of the four totemic divisions or clans, (*pdek*) - Wolf, Eagle, Frog, and Fireweed. These are broken down into local sub-clans (*wilnad'ahl*) which share common myths about place of origin. They, in turn, are made up of corporate units known as houses (*wilp*). The ethnographic record tends to support that Houses were the principal territorial units. (ibid., 6)

5.1.1. House Symbols as the Poiesis of Enfoldment

In the case of the *Gitksan,* a matrilineal group occupying territories in the upper Skeena Valley, the house group or *wilp* (as it is called in this case and is typical for a number of the Coastal nations) have spiritual rights to their territory—they are self-identified with it. As Cove describes, the ancestors of the house were merged with the being of the territory in such a way that the identity of the house members actually became inseparable from the spirits of animals and their power, in perpetuity—they cohabitated within a common enfoldment and storyscape, as discussed in Chapter 1. The animals, who came to represent the powers of the house and who are folklorically interpreted as supernaturals, were said to have been sighted by the ancestors on the territory during miraculous supernatural encounters, whereby the human became vested with the unique power of that specific animal being, thereby becoming a real person. "The recipient of powers was thought to be transformed by them, becoming a real person (*semooget*)" (Cove, 1982:7). In other words, the human ancestor and the animal became one and, from hence forward, they shared a common spiritual essence or enfoldment of human and non-human identity as extended towards the world. It was the animals who were sighted out on the territory that shared their being-power with the ancestor, thereby igniting them spiritually. The power now resurfaces in the crests and

songs and dances that can be referred to as the symbolic iconic *poiesis* or symbolic stock of the house—the house's story (Cove, ibid., 7-8). The ancestors of the *wilp's* (house) acquisition of the *naxnox* (the animal spirits of the location or territory) contribute to the power of the house through the enhancement of its stock of ritual symbolism. To be a real person through a *naxnox* meant, in the eyes of the *Gitksan,* that one had transcended the ordinary human condition to the extent that one was now existing in a cosmic sense (Cove, 1987a:147). One is now cohering within one's surroundings with a greater than individual sense of being-in-ness. At this point, one is symbolically seen as cohabitating with the supernaturals—as though selfhood was now expanded as one transcended towards its world. The foregoing sentiments on "real persons" are delineated in the passage below.

> Real here implies that the person has transcended the ordinary human condition and existed in a cosmic sense, those powers did not belong to the recipient; rather that an individual embodied them, providing an alternate form of physical existence in the world.
>
> In becoming more than human, one was not divorced from human origins and involvements. One's house was seen as a major source of physical and spiritual being, as were one's father's people (*wilksiwtxw*). (ibid., 7)

The acquisition of the *naxnox* occurred through a visit to a *spanaxnox* (designated as a highly symbolic place) that provided the moment of thematization in the figure/ground relationship, which allowed for the event of human possibilizing at the iconic level of symbolic *poiesis*. The acquisition of the *naxnox* at the *spanaxnox* now provided an entry point for the person into the cultural narrative. "In essence, acquiring a *naxnox* insures the successor's worthiness.... There is also the possibility that the acquisition implies that the House's decision has been validated supernaturally" (ibid., 147). To acquire a *naxnox* meant that a heightened relationship with the territory had

been established, a communing in some way with the supernatural powers of the territory represented by the power of place or *spanaxnox*. To acquire a *naxnox* an aspirant is expected to:

> ...[go] away to some *spanaxnox* (place of supernatural beings) and there he would fast and be alone for a long time, and he would also make for himself or acquire a naxnox (supernatural) to exhibit to his people at his next feast or potlatch. And he would also have to have new songs to sing at this feast when the nephew would throw away all signs of mourning for the uncle and will assume his uncle's position. (Beynon 1916, in Cove, 1987a:147)

The house then is seen as an incredible repository of ritual power or presence as it is imbued with the powers of the land—it gathers them unto itself as ultimate significance.

The relationship to the *naxnox*, then, actually galvanizes the relationship of the *Gitksan* people to the tribal territory. The powers of the house as embodied in the notion of the *naxnox* and the corresponding iconography are reincarnated over the generations through matrilineal inheritance, and thereby confers upon the individual, his or her soul. In *Gitksan* terms, spiritual endowment flows from the maternal grandparent of your own house and territory, which thus possesses and passes on the spirit power of the house. Due to a generational skip of reincarnation, however, it is believed that one stayed in the spirit world for a generation, while a designated house member is appointed to hold those powers and give them existence during the deceased's period of absence. The powers that once belonged to the animal supernaturals have now become permanently incorporated with the house and are given continuing life by it.

The *Gitksan* believed in reincarnation. It was thought that a person took on the soul of a matrilineal grandparent (Adams, 1973:30) and, hence, that one's continued existence was insured by the House (Cove, 1982:7). In sum, the spirit powers came from the place, they are given to the ancestors of the house and are then reincarnated

every second generation to new house members perceived to be reincarnated *naxnox* holders. Hereby, the *wilp's* personality is merged with its locale, its traditional territory. Consequently, the resources in the *wilp's* traditional territory were seen as the sacred legacy of the house's sacred place that were shared with the non-human persons (with a shared spirit being) with which the house held a relationship. Relationships to non-human persons on the territory were not seen as being either exploitative or unilateral, but rather as moral and reciprocal. In order to illustrate this relation, we shall take salmon as a case in point.

> They too belong to specific Houses which recognized human ones. Salmon Houses sent their members to their human counterpart's territories, and thereby provide them with food. In return salmon received new bodies from human House territories, which would then be taken on by the souls of other salmon for a generation. If one party violated the relationship, the other could withdraw from it. Salmon could decide to go to another human House territory, or use their powers against a House that had acted inappropriately. (Cove, 1982:8)

The *wilp's* stock of crests, songs and dances embody the powers of the house as acquired from the *naxnox* and constitute the symbolic iconic *poiesis* of the house. The iconic "representations" themselves are perceived to carry with them and embody the actual power and being of the territorial "representation" as welded within the familial structure—they are the iconography of selfhood and, as such, are terrifically charged. For example, the actual crests stitched on the dancing blankets displayed the House's stock of ritual powers and, as such, demonstrated the relationship between those powers and the immediate wearers—thereby iconically articulating the relationship of body, self and world as a poetical reality (ibid., 9). Names, like crests, conferred upon the wearers a particular territorial iconic identity. *Naxnox* names, like crests, are acquired with an encounter at the site of a *spanaxnox*. However, real names were of

another order that was associated with inheritance within the chiefly lineages and connote the power and status of the ancestor, who received the name and crest originally. Totem poles functioned as another related iconical form in serving as the visual deed to the territory, displaying the hierarchy of supernatural beings that have been the conduits of supernatural power to the human realm since the beginning and, thus, demonstrating a reciprocal being between the territory and its inhabitants.

> The series of feasts surrounding the death of a real-person involved more than a transfer of names. One requirement was the raising of a totem pole, which was not only a memorial to the deceased, but stated in another way a House's powers and territory. In addition, the continuity of rights to that territory by outsiders was either terminated or extended. This applied particularly to the spouse and offspring of the deceased. (ibid., 13)

Through this analysis of the *Gitksan*, we show how the being of territory infuses or flows throughout the house. The experiential dimension of body and world as found in the landscape-related activities flow throughout the house as the extended bodily nexus of all those who live there, and is expressed in ritual terms as a unique tribal iconic *poiesis*. This *poiesis* is reminiscent of an aboriginal self as transcended towards its world of active and meaningful possibility. The dimensions of individuals as in crests, the community as in *wilp* and environment as in territory share a phenomenological selfhood in the triad of self, body and world.

5.1.2. Depictions of Territories as Iconic Poiesis

As can be observed in the works of Wilson Duff (1965) and Irving Goldman (1975), other Coastal tribes (such as the *Nuu-chah-nulth* of the west coast of Vancouver Island and the *Kwakwakawakw* of the region around Alert Bay on the northern coast of British Columbia) have a symbolic iconography similar to the *Gitksan* in that it reflects

the integration of hereditary groups with their surrounding territories. For the *Kwakwala* speakers [described by Boas (1966) and Goldman (1975) as the *Kwakiutl,* now referred to as the *Kwakwakawakw*, who are located on the northern tip of Vancouver Island and on the adjacent mainland coast], the presence of the mask in ritual was representative of the essential form of a spirit being depicted or incarnate in the wearer, who was seen to possess both human and animal spirit potentials, similar to the case described in the last section; "The animal form of the ancestor was recreated as a mask—the ancestral crest" (Goldman, 1975:25). The crest for the *Kwakwakawakw* was the interior form of the ancestor, who possessed dual qualities (human and non-human) either as animal properties or as some other non-human form. Crests move according to precise patterns of either patrilineal or matrilineal kinship, and provide a poetic iconography of enfoldment between humans and the non-human world (as explained above for the *Gitksan*). Moreover, in an individual life cycle, nodal points in concert with the cycle of the seasons triggers the primary circulation of emblematic properties (such as masks, names and songs), as if in a meshing of the gears between human cycles and natural cycles. Such a cyclical movement of property seems to occur in response to the felt intimacy of involvement of aboriginal selves as transcended towards their world; a world of all that is moved through and touched. Thus, we see the *Kwakwakawakw* emblematic properties as an expression of the vital forces, both natural and cosmological, that move in harmony with crests, powers and names, which represent still another set of vital forces, that of status, rank and identity at the level of the social.

> We may start with the nature of emblems and their complements. The emblems represent an order of ancestral and mythological beings who achieve and incarnation within contemporary person. Through human beings, these beings are themselves transformed, as they in turn

> transform their hosts. The complements represent still other orders of life. (Goldman, 1975:126)

According to Goldman, an animal skin is also a form of apparel that serves to transform human inner properties into animal properties. "In myth, animals easily slip in and out of their skins to become momentarily non-animal" (Boas, 1935b:133, in Goldman,1975:125). Thus, we see the poetics of being-in-the-world as a shared process or enfoldment of being or as an economy of reciprocity and sharing in a mutual spirit of honouring through which the surrounding non-human persons receive valorization as supernaturals, as possessing personhood. In mythological terms, the animal skin is seen as the outer garment of the animal by which the animal spirit (its power) can become separated from its body. Thus, animal skins are similar in nature to masks; they embody, convey and impart the actual animal properties to the wearer through a ritual transmission. Within the context of *Kwakwakawakw* belief, animal skins are analogous to the animal spirits as they are valorized in myths and, as such, form the material expressions of a folkloric *poiesis* of involvement between humans and non-humans. Animal skins, unlike crests, circulate or are redistributed at a feast in response to the transmission of emblematic property, such as names and crests, which are conferred upon high ranking individuals at each stage of the life cycle in concert with changes of the seasonal cycle. They are reminiscent and expressive of the felt integration that pervades the drama of humans and non-humans within the nexus of a shared world—and the extended epidermal integument of the body/world synthesis. The animal skins become the extended or interchangeable skin of the human world as felt. They are the skins of the extended body as experienced as an enfoldment with the territory (as explained in Chapter 2, section 2.4).

> In one myth, the hunter who has obtained the white mountain goat skin has the power to catch other mountain goats. Thus the animal skin, naenxwa, which Hunt translates as "animal skin covering", and Boas renders more blandly as "blanket" is like a mask. (ibid., 25)

The symbolic/iconic expression of land and the integration of the human and the non-human world in ritual forms (as shown in the case of the *Gitksan* and the *Kwakwakawakw*) is similarly found in Wilson Duff's (1965) treatment of a *Nuu-chah-nulth* whaling canoe. The *Nuu-chah-nulth* are the group, formerly referred to as the *Nootka*, living along the west coast of Vancouver Island in the regions surrounding *Ucluelet* and Tofino. In Duff's treatment of the iconography and symbolism present in the construction of the whaling canoe, we are shown how the territorial iconography of the "chief's family" (such as that of the head chief of *Ahousat,* for example) is carried over into the designs, pigments and charms used on the whaling boat. "They concern magical beliefs and practices which were normally retained as well-guarded family secrets" (Paul Sam, speaker for the Ahousat Chief, in Duff, 1965:29).

The iconography of the whaling canoe demonstrates the interpenetration of being between the human and non-human worlds as activated through the movements and realizations of the lived body in the context of a territorial world, and thus alludes to the presence of an iconic *poiesis*, which imbricates the visual imagery, the social memory and the identification with place, all wrapped together, in the designs and symbols of the *Nuu-chah-nulth* canoe. The family houses always get their stock of ceremonial and ritual objects from the hereditary tribal territory and its fishing region. For example, "The mixtures painted on the lines down the throat of the bow were made from secret formulas owned by families and chiefs and they varied with different tribes and different types of canoes" (ibid., 29). Much of the ritual formula was apparently focused on the

"scratch marks" down the sides of the boat. Those down the throat of the bow were said to be from a special mixture to quiet the whale, the ones painted down the stern were believed to quiet the sea. Others were to identify the ownership of the chief and to prevent the boat from cracking. The ritual protection came from natural substances collected on the territory (such as fine clay or a red powdery fungus that grows on the bark of the ceremonial cedar tree gathered in swampy places as well as sap squeezed from the bark of particular cedars). The sap is said to be the trees' monthly flow, thus designating the tree as a feminine person and demonstrating the same potency also ascribed to the human female menstrual cycle among Coastal tribes. The ingredients were gathered only from places on the family's territory; these were perceived to be of special significance in that they are exposed to the sun's first light (ibid., 29). The emphasis on the territory as reflected in a symbolic *poiesis* speaks to the experiential presence of people within a territory. The natural substances from the territory are the ritual expression of the timeless (immortal) union of land and people—it thus serves as a ritual protection at sea.

5.1.3. Coastal Poiesis as Landscape

For the Coastal people of British Columbia (as is the same for non-Coastal groups), the defining and articulating of landscape and special places is a primary feature of "self-identification", both as seen within the oral tradition and as reflected in the hereditary rights of families within regional storyscapes. Characteristically, names, crests and legends and, also, territorial rights are contextualized geographically with respect to important marked places within the territory. For example, descriptions in the folklore of the Coast *Salish* refer to many large stone beacons that have become

mythological sites of self-identification, plus territorial markers for the people of a specific hereditary territory (Mohs, 1987). In the case of the *Taku* (a specific group of *Tlingit*), the hereditary names of the houses are said to come from the *Taku* River, itself, as a way of keeping the association between *yanyedi* people (owners of the river) and land, visible through a system of matrilineal kinship by which stories are handed down (Nyman and Leer, 1993:17-18). According to Thornton in his explorations of the *Tlingit*:

> An important but often overlooked aspect of Tlingit clans is their geographical basis. Two aspects of clan geography are particularly significant: origin and distribution. Origin refers to the location where the clan was founded as a distinct social group and is typically from where it derives its name. The majority of Tlingit clans adopted their names from specific places where they were formed. What is more, the linguistic construction of such clan names evokes a sense of belonging or being possessed by the names place (Thornton, 1997:296)

In Atlin, the *Taku Tlingit* Wolf clan is called *yanyedi*, and its territory is seen to be the *Taku* River. According to *Taku Tlingit* elder, Mrs. Nyman (in her discussions on *Taku Tlingit* origins; Nyman and Leer, 1993), territorial associations between people and land are embedded in stories about the river and the watershed where their fishing and hunting occur. In the stories of Old *Yanyedi,* a mountain in the *Taku* River is seen as a heart by an accompanying story about a heart ripped out of a body and thrown on the land. In the *Taku* narrative about the formation of the landscape of the lower *Taku* River, two giants fought and in the ensuing struggle; one giant, which is now a mountain on one side of the river, ripped out the wind pipe of the other giant and threw it onto the land. This place is marked by a landmark rock formation where the wind howls past and, therefore, is believed folklorically to be the dead giant's windpipe. The giant lives on, however, in dismembered form as parts of the river and river valley—his parts are bestrewn throughout the territory. The heart of the giant was ripped out also and thrown

into the *Taku* River and its location is now marked by a heart-shaped island. Other specific body parts were also ripped out and thrown around the landscape (Nyman and Leer, 1993:17-18).

The *Yanyedi* people relate their name and origin to a location near where this titanic struggle took place, and thus the land gains personhood as the extended bodily surface of *Yanyedi.* Each site of mythological significance represents the bodily incorporation and self-identification of the *Yanyedi* people with that site, through age-old schemes of bodily action and established patterns of territorial use of the river. The river's thematization presents a figure/ground contexture in the possibilizing of the *Yanyedi* (see Chapter 3, section 3.1, on the possibilizing self), with its owners manifested in a "folkloric *poiesis*" or storyscape incorporating the articulation of landscape, social memory and the self-identification of the people within a place, as one unbroken extended bodily surface (see the discussion on Merleau-Ponty in Chapter 2, section 2.4, on the "reversibility of the flesh").

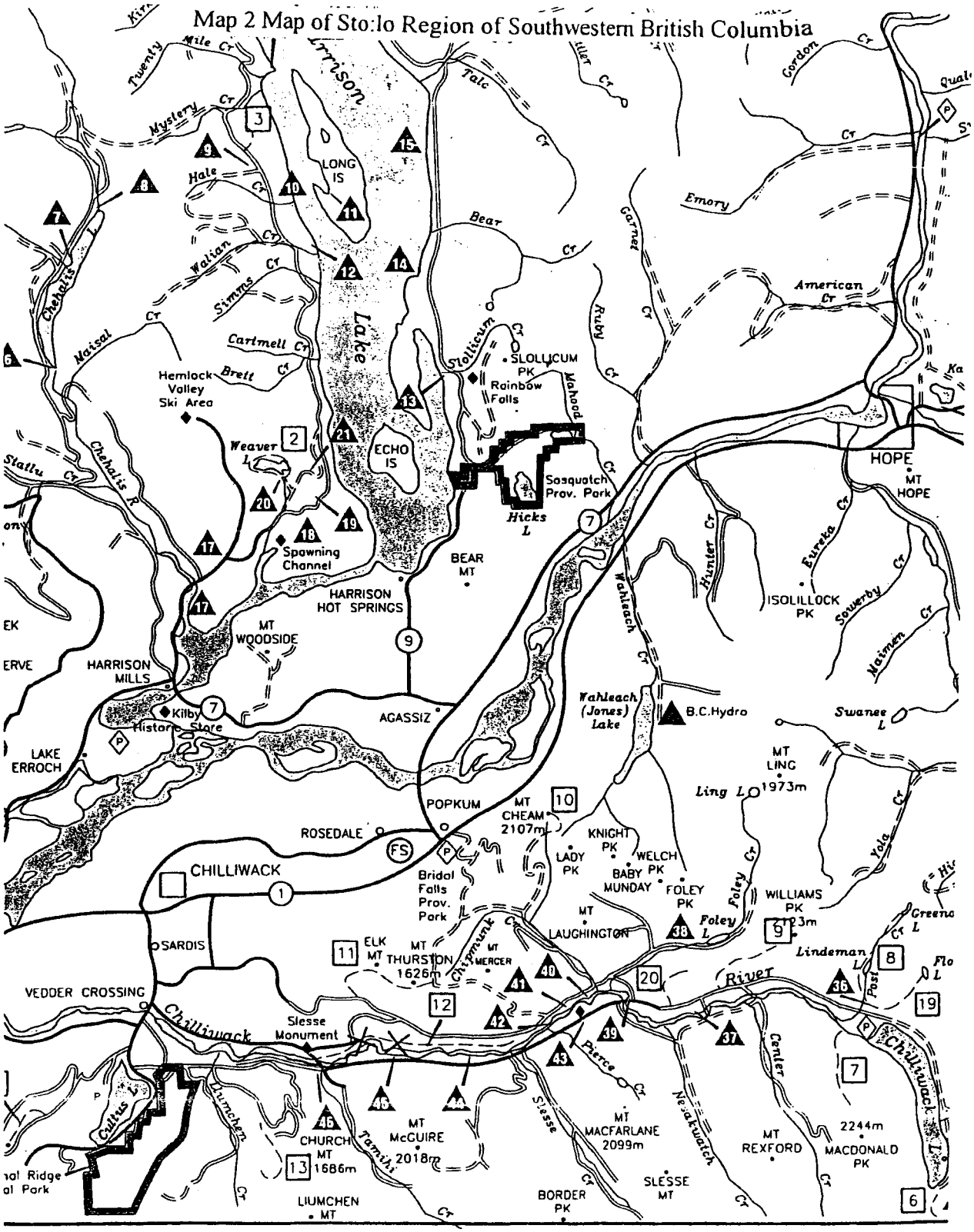
The *Halkomelem* speaking Coast *Salish* people of the Fraser River region (the *Sto:lo* people or "River People") possess a mythic tradition that is founded the tradition of supernatural Transformers, and is also characteristic to *Salish* speakers elsewhere in the province. For the Coastal *Halkomelem* speakers, the creation of mythological landmarks deemed to be sacred places is largely attributed to the Transformer *Xa:ls,* who put the physical world in order and rid the land of dangerous beings, and whose "place in *Sto:lo* cosmology and...*Sto:lo* culture history can not be overstated" (Mohs, 1987:88). It is suggested by Bierwert (1999:55) that the genre of *Halkomelem* Transformer stories suggests the possibility of reading the landscape from the ground outward by telling of a present, where the former beings are still with us, embedded in

the activational nexus of particular special places and, thus, physically incorporated there within a landmark. "Lady Franklin Rock" in the Fraser River (the *Halkomelem* name being *Xeyxelemos*) situated near *Xelhalh* (an old village site across the river just above Yale beside Sweetie Malloway's fishing camp; cf. Galloway, 1993:654,658 in Bierwert, 1999:56) provides such an example. Sweetie's camp is across the river from the Trans Canada Highway, but only accessible by boat. She and Felix reside there throughout the summer, sleeping in a one-room cabin with a cook stove out on the porch. *Sto:lo* fishing locations are held within families, family groups go back to these fishing sites over and over again, year in and year out (ibid., 48). The camps are often set up on or near a rivulet or stream, while the cabins are set back on the canyon walls.

> Sto:lo fish camps are alive with memories, both personal ones and the narratives of others, and even intense remembrances are vastly different. Some are celebratory and oft repeated, like the success of a set net sit at a certain river level, finding a reliable way to get a boat across treacherous currents, or catching sight of an eagle diving. Some are rarer, like the exuberance of running a new motor or introducing the body of someone who has been lost, or finding a drowning victim. The river reminds us that occupation is fleeting and must have precedent, that there is no cultural tabula rasa, and that there is no culture in isolation from the land. (ibid., 48-49)

A fishing site (such as Sweetie Malloway) is indeed a container for such dynamic meaning and change. "The container image places the unseen, rocky river bed at the base, and the rest of the dynamics as occupants" (ibid., 44). At each fishing site, the canyon yields a vortex of fishly performance whirling through it, into which corresponding human performers extend their technologies while their mythic, social and "poetic" worlds spiral out.

Map 2 Map of Sto:lo Region of Southwestern British Columbia



The place is the repository of memories, of dangers, of loss of lives within the river canyon. It is a primary stage for the drama of human activity and survival, which is central to lives of the Coastal people. It combines both human and natural energies in such a way that it serves as a primary form of sustenance for an entire people and provides an ethos of identity and self that is shown in the determination to carry on in the face of obstacles, which can seldom be matched in tenacity by any group. According to Bierwert, Sweetie's stories include many memories and dramas, although she tells us that the simple good feeling for the place is her primary reason for being there. "Some years there have been conflicts, once about another family's claim to a fishing site, and often the implicit conflict of interest with saltwater commercial fishermen whenever the salmon runs do not make it back into the rivers in large numbers" (ibid., 49).

Fraser River salmon-work with its wind-drying, fish camps, fish drying racks, cabins, and fish shelters make visible the social fabric of *Sto:lo* family relations and their co-operative practices. A family of a single mother with sons, for example, worked a fishing site on the river until they were grown men. Her sons grew up hauling fish for their family. It is obvious that, on the river, people recreate and re-establish their working ties over and over again (ibid., 48-50). Life at the mythic place *Xeyxelemos* (near Sweetie's camp) shows the features of life and work as described in this section, which continually add depth and significance to historic dimension and the meaning of place.

> A dry rack has a permanent frame and roof, but no sides, with poles to hang filleted fish under shelter in the event of rain. The fish dries coppery and luminous in about ten days, stiff with a concentrated flavor, not smoked, but pure salmon, like nothing else in the world. The cabins have bunks for people to sleep on, boxes for cupboards for storage, and a cooking area for daily meal preparation and sometimes for canning fish during a regular opening. Some camps have cleared areas for little

> children to play in. Fish-dry camps are a haven for the people where ancient technologies of wind-drying salmon coexist with the best outboard motors people can afford and with techniques of gill-netting that are fixed by government regulations first established in 1907. (ibid., 48)

Each moment on the river and each fishing set are carefully watchful as, at all times, the river's bounty is framed with dangers. Men lose their lives, practically every year, if they happen to read the river's signs badly. Especially around Sweetie's camp, the waters are particularly turbulent. All of this is presided over by "Lady Franklin's Rock" (*Xeyxelemos*), whose story seems to stand testimony to the meaningful absorption within a place. Such absorption is obvious in the swirl of activity at Sweetie's camp, while the landmark provides the poetic embodiment of the immanent force and danger there and how they are experienced.

> As we sit at her fishing place in 1992, Sweetie tells me, "there used to be an old Indian doctor there, gesturing at the rock. He was killing people with his power. So they put him there; he's in the rock. You can still see him, his eye." She projects effectively when she tells of this particular presence, and I feel both awed and discomfited by it, a bit taken aback because I have marveled at the rock before, even imagined the adventure of trying to cross over to it and walk around among the cedars on tip of it." (ibid., 54-55)

Sweetie's story implies an assumed knowledge, on our part, about the *Salish* mythic tradition of the Transformer *Xa:ls* mentioned above. *Xa:ls* is the one who put the evil Indian doctor in the rock; and the story harkens back to a mythic period in ancestral time when a Transformer or Transformers made these kind of changes in the world, geographical changes that are perceivable by the people, even today. "Transformer figure stories comprise part of a dispersed and episodic Coast *Salish* mythic tradition, distinguishable from other stories because of what Transformers do: change a person into an animal or a feature of the landscape" (ibid., 55). Ethnographic accounts (Boas 1894, Hill-Tout, 1904) indicate that *Xa:ls* first manifested at Harrison Lake and traveled

the *Salish*an territories in the disguise of a Young Bear and his brothers (also Dawson, 1891, in Mohs, 1987; and Teit, 1898, 1900, 1909, 1912, 1917). It wasn't until *Xa:ls* returned from Vancouver Island that he assumed a human form and, then, traveled up the Fraser River from Point Roberts, transforming and defining the landscape in the above defined manner.

Mrs. Jim and Mr. George speak in *Halkomelem*; in their words, translated by Brent Galloway:

Mrs. Jim:	I wonder if it's Xelhalh she is talking about (when she refers to a place "above Yale")
Willie George:	Yes.
Mrs. Jim:	Xeyxelemos was a taboo (sacred) person; there's nothing....
George:	Just that you are on the other side, talking....
Mrs. Jim:	You don't know anything. You are a fresh child, beside me. I know much. It's that I've forgotten it. They got there. The changing people got there. They were called Transformers. That person (Xeyxelemos)—like a supernatural creature was winning. His eye is fixed. One of his eyes is over his neck. So the people (The Transformers) started to look. They went inside the house and then started to become laid out (stiffen, lose consciousness). You just don't look in the inside of his house.
George:	Is that Xeyxelemos?
Mrs. Jim:	Yes. I got to the third time he was approached and now he was beaten and so became a rock.
Wells:	What does she say?
Mrs. Cooper:	What does she mean Xeyxelemos?

George:	Oh, this guy from....
Mrs. Jim:	The name of the one from Xelhalh, who was changed; then he became a rock.
Mrs. Cooper:	Where's Xelhalh?
George:	The other side of Yale, on this end of the tunnel. Yeah, there's a man there owned the place, and nobody go in there.
Mrs. Jim:	There's nobody that ordered him around when only he lived there. (Wells 1987 in Bierwert, 1999:57)

All accounts of *Xeyxelemos* relate to the power of the place. In fact, *Xeyxelemos* is so powerful that he had to be approached three times before he was vanquished. Both accounts, Sweetie's and Mrs. Jim's—one authoritative and historical, one remembered from immediate experience—draw attention to the danger of the rock and the dauntingness of the place's power, as well as a deference to the "being" of this power, once-animated and now, to mark the site, fixed in stone (ibid., 58) as though reminiscent of the vortex of age-old human activity and its accompanying dangers as they are enfolded within that niche.

The discussions above are significant for our purposes in that such landmarks and known places have an animate nature and reflect the score of "what is done there". The rock represents the body/world synthesis of the events that unfolded at that place.

A member of the *Sto:lo* first nation, Joanne Archibald (founder of the Curriculum Development Project and, currently, the director of the University of British Columbia First Nations' House of Learning), gives deeper cogency to the idea that non-human agents can be animated in terms of human doings, or in other words, have personhood. She tells about a recollection she had of an elder speaking about some parts of nature as being her *Si:li.* "The mountains are your *Si:le*'. That's our word for grandparents,

Si:le. You have to respect them. You have to respect your grandparents." Another women contributes, "All living things, they are all si:li. And the rocks too, even the little rocks. Everything there is si:li, to be respected" (ibid., 64). Following that disclosure, several other women described to Bierwert that this is the general sentiment in stories that exhort a prayerful respect and acknowledgement when, for example, travelling, or harvesting a mountain, or seeking comfort or receiving purification from a river or from cedar trees. Such an account seems to demonstrate how the mountain as *si:li* expresses the extended self as a field of human doing in the extended sense described in Chapter 3.

Another *Sto:lo* story adds clarification to this point. The daunting presence of Mount *Cheam* and the nearby peaks of *Cheam* Ridge signify a region of great activity for the people, and are folklorically embedded in *Sto:lo* oral tradition. It is at this place that *Xa:ls* (the great Transformer mentioned above) transformed *Lhilheqey* and the sisters *Ol o:xwelwet, Ts'simtelo:t* and *Xomo:th' iya* into mountains, before the time of the great flood that rose up to swallow the low lying ground. One legend has it that *Xomo;th'iya,* the youngest sister, argued with her older sisters as to who would be in the front position. However, when she witnessed the *Sto:lo* people drowning she began to weep—since that time she has always stood in front, and her tears coming down are said to be Bridal Falls. Her mother and sisters are still seen behind her (Bob Joe and Fred Ewan, in Mohs, 1987:95). There are numerous stories connected to Mt. *Cheam* and the surrounding area, which is considered to be special in the heritage of the *Sto:lo* people. Mt. *Cheam* was correspondingly a site of great economic and activational importance for the *Sto:lo* especially for the members of the *Pilalt* and *Chilliwack* tribes.

Wilson Duff (1952) notes the importance of Mt. *Cheam* as a bear, deer, and mountain goat hunting ground. It is also known that *Sto:lo* women made trips once a year to Mt. *Cheam* in order to collect numerous types of wild berries, as well as molten mountain goat wool used in weaving (interview material, in Mohs, 1987:96). At one time Mt. *Cheam* was a site for the acquisition of salt (Mohs, 1987:96). In addition, flint was quarried from a stream that flows down the south side of the mountain (William Sepass, in Jenness, 1934/35, in Mohs, 1987:96). Several families claim a special relationship to Mt. *Cheam* "as a mountain goat hunting site" (as noted by Boas, 1894; Jenness 1934/35 and recently in a *Coqualeetza* publication, *The Mountain Goat People of Cheam).* These sources claim that Mt. *Cheam* is the original home of the Mt. *Cheam* Goat People. As Boas writes:

> The Pa'pk'um (popkum). Their ancestor was called Aiuwa'luQ, When Quals met him, he transformed him into a mountain goat. This is why there are so many mountain goats on tle'tlEk.e mountain to the southwest of Pa'pk'um (1895:40 in Mohs, 1987:97)

Many years later, it is believed that *Aiuwalux's* descendants departed from their mountain home and, taking on human form, they intermarried with the *Cheam* people, who now profess their ancestral relationship to them. Furthermore, conservation and health of the goat population on Mt. *Cheam* continues to be the concern of these legendary families, along with the other *Sto:lo* people, further illustrating the notion of *Si:li:*

> Long ago a multitude of mountain goats came down from Cheam Mt. and changed to people. They are the ancestors of the Sepass family. Hence now the Sepass family have the right to paint a goat on their coffin. (Jenness, 1934/35, in Mohs, 1987:97)

The *Cheam* highlands represent one of the few sacred mountainous sites in the *Sto:lo* territory. Another and different tale tells us that, the front-most peak of Mount

Cheam is a mother, who along with her daughters and her dog, was changed into a mountain. This transformation occurred after she left her husband *Kwxa:lxw* who is known as Mount Baker, in Washington State. Mohs tells us that the varying stories can be understood on the basis of geographical proximity, demonstrating the relationship between poetic representations of landscape in relationship to the "thematization" of alternating figures within a background as they relate to body and world, as previously discussed in Chapter 3 and 4. The sisters on *Cheam* Ridge, for example, dominate the skyline when looking at Mount *Cheam* from *Katzie* in the east. However, the Mother and her daughters are an outstanding site when seen from Seabird Island in the north. Moreover, *Lhilheqey* and her dog prevail when viewed from the west near *Chilliwack* and Mission (ibid., 95-96). The poetics of each view, as in the phenomenological concept of world as a "ratio of the senses", responds to the given "body/world" matrix within a particular vantage point and represent a given combination of activity and perception as it is lived and felt in the lives of the local people. The *poiesis* of a particular activational moving toward, and its human involvement, is captured in the following quotation on the Mountain's meaning as a grounded reality.

> You could learn more of Sto:lo spirituality by spending a few nights down here by the river or up Mount Cheam. That will teach you more than we could ever tell you. (S.S.F., August 1986, ibid.)

It is the age-old connection and absorption of *Sto:lo* people with their territory at certain significant sites that emerges in the manifestation of an iconic *poiesis* of humans and land as can be seen in the depictions of Mount *Cheam.* It is this honouring of and absorption with the non-human world of the territorial surrounds that are embedded in *Sto:lo* legends, and are the foundation of their self-identification (as a people as depicted in the goat story above) and how the landscape is *si:li.* The Native names given to the

various peaks and other geographical features stress the importance of the *Cheam* region. "The mountain lakes, two caves, and the creeks emanating from here all have Indian names. Some of these names are carried by living members of the *Sto:lo* Indian community" (Wells, 1965, in Mohs, 1987:98) and are passed on from generation to generation, further stressing the self-identification of the people with the territory in the intimate field of the extended self as home (Chapter 3, section 3.3).

5.2. The *Poiesis* of Land in Interior Storyscapes

The Interior peoples of British Columbia share a similar folkloric Transformer tradition to the Coastal *Sto:lo.* The interior habitat of the south western plateau region that is the homeland to the *Salish*an speaking tribes of the *N'lakapamux, Stlatliumx* and *Secwepemc* is not a coastal climate as it is extremely hot in summer, arid and rugged. It is rocky in the extreme; it is jewelled with many salmon filled lakes and rivers; it is mountainous, peopled with dramatic rock mortars thrusting out of the landscape, and is frequently rent apart by deep precipitous mountain gorges. It is in this formidable habitat that the people of the south western plateau have made their living for generations within watersheds, harvesting mushrooms, digging roots, foraging for wild berries and other medicinal plants in the mountain valleys and hunting mountain goat and alpine sheep and deer (Hill-Tout, 1978; Teit, 1900; Turner et al., 1990). They made their livelihood as if meshed with the land in a continuous and unbroken web of human and non-human phenomenon. The people of this region live contiguous to the land, making their living in the watersheds of the Fraser, Thompson, Nicola and other surrounding rivers, which demarcate their tribal territories. For the *N'lakapamux, Stlatliumx* and *Secwepemc*

people (as with the other tribal groups discussed), the "meaning of the land" is passed on from generation to generation through the tribal oral traditions carried by the tribal elders, spiritual leaders and story tellers.[5] It is by way of these folktales, legends and myths that the "meaning" and dimensions of a territory is mapped out, described and understood—hereby the land is given historic content, significance and cultural dimension as the particularized designated world of a specific people. In all cases, the mythology as given in the ethnographic record, and currently in oral tradition, ascribes a meaning to land that is both personal and sacred, and moreover, is a reflection of the age-old physical life activities of the people within particular families and communities in a geographic region. Each site of mythological significance represents the bodily incorporation and self-identification of the *Stlatliumx, N'lakapamux* and *Secwepemc*, three tribes that share a common body of what can be seen as similar and related folklore, and the age-old (praxis) schemes of bodily action and the established patterns of territorial use they represent, as was seen in the discussions of *Sto:lo* sites *Xeyxelemos* and *Cheam* Mountain.

Each unusual rock or prominent mountain tells a story and serves to orientate the people, "thematically", in relationship to the territory. They serve to map the land, topographically, on the basis of significant use sites, such as resting spots, territorial markers, fishing spots held by certain families, hunting areas, sites of worship, berry picking spots, etc. Thus, these prominent iconically defined mountains or unusually shaped landmarks serve to anchor meaning on the land. They anchor the folklore and

[5] Although the interior peoples of British Columbia are unlike the Coastal groups in that they lack a unilineal system of descent, such as matrilineal or patrilineal, as seen for example in the *Nisga'a* and the *Gitksan*, they do demonstrate an inheritance structure pertaining to rights and territory based on the bilateral/kindred family system, in that both sides of the family figured significantly.

act as amulets of significance that map the interconnected spaces of Interior *Salish* dwelling—they present an "iconic *poiesis*" of connectedness between a people and their territory. Such sites are reminiscent of being-in-the-world (as discussed in Chapters 1, 2 and 3). The sites and corresponding folklore recollect the age-old encounters of body and world at a particular place—they are geological statements of the extended body. "Most of the rocks and boulders of remarkable shape are considered as transformed men or animals of the mythological period" (Teit, 1909:596). Each folktale underscores the permanence of this reality with a statement, such as, "these may still be seen there standing", which offers the opportunity of finding them at any time fulfilling their role as "thematic" landmarks or figures for the aboriginal people within their background. To this extent, they secure the plateau world and the self-identification of the people as an active possibility. In many cases, the mythological landmarks are animate or have "personhood" in that they are perceived to be transformed pre-human ancestors of the people living within the region. The folkloric belief throughout plateau tribes claims that, in many cases, their ancestors or forebearers survive to the present in rock form for all to see. A similar custom was also observed in the examples from the Coast *Salish Sto:lo* in the last section. Through this means, the land has been folklorically incorporated into the plateau aboriginal field of self; it is a case of the land speaking out that can be described as an "iconic *poiesis*" on the imbrication of the people and land; a process that occurs through their life-sustaining actions at particular sites within the territory.

Interior *Salish* storyscapes and landmarks have common thematic links with the Coast *Salish* study above. Geographic landmarks are obvious throughout the plateau region (if you know where to look), are viewed as sacred sites, have been passed down to the present through the folklore of the people and owe their existence to occurrences

in mythological time when the earth was being formed, and before today's humans existed (as was seen above for the *Sto:lo*). The *Stlatliumx, N'lakapamux* and *Secwepemc* (as well as other Interior tribes such as the *Okanagan* and the *Similkameen*) believe that this mythological era was populated with important supernatural entities, especially the "Transformers", who were able to change themselves and other beings into all manner of things (animate and inanimate) and who are seen as creatively responsible for the world's features as they exist today (e.g., the introduction of fish and animal life to an area and the creation of certain geographic landmarks and mystical locations). The stories of these supernaturals are epic in character; the Transformers, themselves, seen as powerful supernatural beings always embarking upon a mythological journey, travelling across the land, defining the surroundings, changing people into stone or heavenly bodies and, generally, bestowing life and meaning throughout the region and its landscape. These epic journeys as depicted in the mythology, therefore, serve as the *poiesis* by which this particular region's peoples experience the world. It is the means by which the *N'lakapamux* people become geographically situated within their territory, in accordance with well recognized and oft-experienced patterns of use that underlie a *N'lakapamux* field of self (in the manner that the concept is explained in Chapter 3).

These epic journeys serve as a *poiesis* or storyscape, as discussed above, whereby the world of these particular peoples acquires definition as a recognizable field of belonging and, following this, the means by which a figure, a thematically recognizable landmark of some kind, may become thematically situated within a background of site specific activities that make a location meaningful.

The journeys of the many Transformers over the plateau region, however, not only mapped the land but, as was seen for the Western *Apache* landmarks in the previous chapter, also rendered the moral teachings of the people on the rock faces or unusually shaped stones of this area by creating a storied landmark. Lessons such as what happens to bad people are told in association with the transformed ancestors turned into stone. Many lessons of this moral variety are evident, such as, what misfortune occurs if you don't avoid a woman engaged in her puberty rites (as demonstrated as in the *Secwepemc Thlee-sa* fable told below) or what can happen to men if they allow themselves to be lured away by a woman's beauty (as shown in the *N'lakapamux* Nicola Lake *nxa7xa7'atksw* tale to be recounted in the last section on sacred sites). This tale, then, instructs people on the ills that will befall murderers, such as the brother and his beautiful sister in this story. Thus, the moral teachings connected with many of the landmarks anchor the moral universe onto the physical universe and, as such; provide an opportunity to invoke the instructions each time the site is passed; and conform to a *poiesis* of reflexivity on the issue of "real dwelling" (discussed above), and suggest a system of "aboriginal wisdom" (as discussed in the preceding chapter). Thus, the rock mortars throughout the plateau region are the containers of worldly activity and moral wisdom as it has emerged, ancestrally, through the people's heritage and dwelling within the territory. These sites then become the earthly messengers of how to dwell (as discussed for the Western *Apache*).

The travels of the Transformer deities (such as *Coyote*, the *Qwa'qt qwal* Brothers and the *Old Man* or Great Chief) lead to cunning transformations of many significant and evil pre-human people and monsters (known throughout the plateau as *speck'tl*) into stone as the mythological proof of a supernatural's arrival at a particular (and usually

well-recognized oft-used) geographic location. The various mythic routes of the Transformers, for example, are literally peopled with (transformed) sacred rock landmarks that enliven and animate the surroundings with a definite personality and give concrete expression of the supernatural's presencings. The area becomes, thus, charged with possibility and meaning with a mythic and ancestral presence and its ownmost recognized significance. The Transformer rocks and sacred places become the themes for whatever else can take place there; they are the markers of possibility that contextualize self, body and world. Throughout the various supernatural and mythic performances of Transformers whereby various humans get enshrined in stone through a transformation, an ancient and inseparable identification or belongingness is expressed between the appropriate people and their surroundings within a given physically charted regional landscape (as was shown for the *Yanyedi* people of the *Taku* River in the previous section). These important humanlike landmarks that function as the sacred locations of the interior *Salish*an speakers are the subject of frequent discussion, are the sites of visits and pilgrimages (as in the case of the Western *Apache* named places) and are seen as an ageless testimony on the heritage of the people in their land. Each folktale underscores the permanence of this reality with a reflexive legitimating statement (as was discussed in the section on the Western *Apache* in Chapter 4), such as: *"These may still be seen there standing,"* which opens the possibility of their existence as historic markers and of Transformer journeys being legitimated or proven.

It is important to note, therefore, that the mythic achievements of the Transformers are directly related to the matter of human possibility and the nexus of human activity within a landscape (as in the case of Sweetie's camp in *Sto:lo* territory).

The Transformer stones, therefore, become living expressions of the territory as it has been made manifest through an internally coherent experientially arranged geographical process of articulation that has gained poetic and supernatural merit through the folklore. The rocks provide the definite anchors of location as figures that must be located within a back ground, which then provides the poles of action (for orientational moving towardness) in the activational orientation of the human figure in its relationship between body and world. The many supernatural "performances" at specific locations, therefore, underscore the sensuous involvement and psychic identification of the interior *Salish* people within a particular and meaningful region, whereby their potential and "ownmost" belongingness is consolidated within an age-old territorial surrounding as a regional landscape or storyscape (see Chapter 4, section 4.1).

In the series of creation myths of the region, the Transformers are depicted as journeying over the land, defining it, creating landmarks and, otherwise, integrating and incorporating the landscape (physically) within the world. Present in the mythology is the Old Coyote, who according to mythological record was sent by the "Old Man" (akin to the creator) to put the world to rights (Teit, 1898:4). There were also three brothers named *Qoa'ql qal* (*Qwa' qt Qwal*), who traveled all around the country transforming things and working miracles, and another Transformer, who did similarly, by the name of *Kokwe'la*. All the above Transformers, as well as the Old Man or Great Chief, traveled over the country transforming beings known as *speck'tl,* who inhabited the mythological age, into stone.

Further articulations of landscape occurred when "The Old Man" (also known as Old One) was said to have created much of the surroundings in the plateau region, and to have "led the different tribes into the countries which they now inhabit, and gave them

the languages they were to speak" (Teit, 1909:596); this speaks to the assignment of a specific supernatural ordained geographically articulated landscape. Of the utmost significance is that "Mountains and valleys were given their present form by a number of Transformers who traveled through the world" (Teit, 1898:19), generally, changing the lay of the land and poetically re-making the world's geo/physical features. These supernatural presencings in particular locations or places are said to have refigured the geographic features into what they are today; thereby re-organizing them as aspects of the world for a geographically select and aboriginally specific group within a storyscape.

In all cases, the landmarks that we are told of in the folktales *"can still be seen today"* show the exact movement of the people's journeys over the land as the process through which the world becomes solidified within the oral tradition of the people, in terms of their most intimate and fundamental sensibility of place as self-recognition within a storyscape. "Most of the rocks and boulders of remarkable shape are considered as transformed men or animals of the mythological period" (ibid.). The *Stlatliumx* and *Secwepemc* (*Shuswap*) beliefs are similar to the *N'lakapamux* (Thompson) and *Okanagan*, according to Teit, in that they believe there were a number of Transformers "who traveled about and gave the world and its inhabitants their present shape" (Teit, 1898:274).

Throughout the literature and folklore of the three traditions, the mythological interest in "travelling" is unequivocally stressed. Folklore from all societal groups throughout the plateau emphasize that Coyote was on the earth a long time and traveled all over it in order to pursue his work. The Old Man (who, as already noted, is sometimes called Old One or "Great Chief") was said by the *Stlatliumx* to have traveled over all the *Lillooet* country, but few traditions exist to illustrate his doings. According to

Teit's ethnographic work on the *Stlatliumx,* the sun and the moon were also men who made alternate travels over the land, perhaps carrying light across the world as they went. The *Stlatliumx* believe there were several great Transformers, the greatest of which perhaps was Coyote.

> ...[who] was sent to the world by the "Chief", or the "Old Man", to travel over it and put it to rights He had four helpers,—Sun, Moon, Mu'ipem, and Skwia'xenamux ("arrow-arm person"). In the myths he makes all the transformations himself, his helpers assisting him very little. Other great transformers were the Atse' mal, who were four brothers, their sister, and the mink. They always travelled together, and entered the Lillooet country from Harrison Lake, after having travelled along the coast. They never penetrated the land of the Upper Lillooet, where the Coyote had been travelling about. Other transformers who travelled through the upper Lillooet country were Tsu'ntia, the offspring of the root of Peucedanum macrocarpum Nutt.; and Qwoqtqwetl, four brothers who travelled through the country of the Fraser River band. (Teit, 1898:274)

In the *Secwepemc* (*Shuswap*) tradition, the "Old-one" was said to have traveled rapidly over the country performing much more than either Coyote or the others, who preceded him a short time before. The "Old-one" was said to be the chief of the ancient world, who came to earth to finish the work of his protégé Coyote and the other Transformers. He was the Transformer responsible for the earth, as it is today, and is said to have traveled, unrecognized, sometimes in the form of an old man, but also he changed his appearance. The "Old-one" changed the land significantly as he traveled, raising it in some places and flattening it in others. "Where it was too dry, he made lakes; and where there was too much water, he made it dry" (Teit, 1909:596). No one knows what became of him, as is the case with Coyote, who may now accompany him. Once his travels were done, he disappeared to the east. Although the Old Man and Coyote are the primary Transformers in *Secwepemc* territory, others that travelled were also significant (*Ca'wa or Sa' memp*, who taught the world various arts; *Kokwe'lahait* and

Lee'sa, who rid the world of the many evil beings that were said to prey on people) and said to have traveled the earth making changes (ibid., 596). Throughout all of the creation stories, we see how activities are represented both geologically and folklorically demonstrating how the land speaks out as a testimony to the lived body and to human spatiality, as an extended field of self.

5.2.1. The Lillooet River Storyscape

There is significant evidence that the journeying of the supernatural Transformers serves to designate important landmarks within a regional landscape, to indicate important areas of use and, generally, to cement the recognized areas of the interconnected tribal territories (where dwelling traditionally has taken place) within an oral tradition or "iconical *poiesis*". Like most North American tribes, the settlements of the British Columbia *plateau* are clustered on the borders of the lakes and rivers of their habitats, designating these as important sites in establishing territorial boundaries and areas of use. As we shall now show, the rivers and lakes (features of a given watershed as well as primary fishing, hunting, and foraging territories) figure significantly as the fabled locations of the transformed landmarks under study consistent with analyses given above on coastal landscape poetics.

In the folklore of the *Lillooet* tribes (*Stlatliumx*), for example, the borders of the lakes and rivers of their habitat and intensive areas of tribal use are peopled with numerous transformed rock beacons, made by supernatural beings that cohere with a north-south clustering of *Stlatliumx* villages. Figuring prominently in the mythology are Harrison Lake, the banks of *Lillooet* River (in the Lower *Lillooet* tribal region), and also *Lillooet*, Anderson and Seaton Lakes. Mythological sites for the Upper *Lillooet* tribal

region extend up the Fraser River. This continuum of lakes and rivers, being more than two hundred miles long and flanked by rugged mountains to the east, is the exact territorial region articulated in the *Lillooet* Transformation Stories.

> The villages...are more less bunched into two groups, one on the upper waters which flow northeast and one on the lower which flow south. This break in the settlements corresponds to a natural topographical one. It is here that the watershed or divide is found, which causes the rivers and lakes to run in opposite directions. (Hill-Tout, 1978:101)

An interesting illustration of the poetics of landscape as bodily activity is given in the depiction of the Harrison Lake and *Lillooet* River area, the territory of the Lower *Lillooet* people, a dispersed group of *Stlatliumx* speakers. The Lower *Lillooet* tale of the "Transformer" features the journeys of the Transformers (*Atse' mal*) as central in establishing geographical features, locations, landmarks and tribal boundaries within the territorial region of the Lower *Lillooet*. The folktale is a classic Transformer story that profiles the exploits of the Transformers in their travels over the land, creating various landmarks and defining territory to signify their presencing within a place—to prove their "being there" and, thus, defining the landscape and mapping it out for human habitation for a territorial specific group of people. The ancient deities and the *Speck'tl* and ancestors through the folkloric journeys and transformations become merged with the land at certain important sites. They become personally integrated with the territory and the various native placenames. The landmarks and placenames become the "iconic *poiesis*", the poetic symbols of the ancestors original journey and actions within the territory and, thus, become constitutive of the *Stlatliumx* world. The legend tells us that "The transformers came through Harrison Lake into the country of the Upper *Lillooet* people" (Elder, Charlie Mack, in Bouchard and Kennedy, 1971:#2).

Throughout the tale, the mentioning of the various physical bodies (such as lakes, rivers, mountains, etc.), as we have argued above, is the very means by which the land and territory is defined. It also serves to situate the important landmarks (Transformer sites) within their physical surroundings, to record the Transformer's routes, and generally to mark out the regional areas of significance and involvement for the Lower *Lillooet* peoples. In this manner, the epic folkloric journeys of the Transformers serve to situate the *Lillooet* people within their territory and to facilitate their meaningful orientation, geographically, on the basis of figure and ground relations with respect to territorial recognition—a figure must stand out from its background (see Chapter 3, section 3.1, also Chapter 4.1).

As the Transformers (the *Atse'mal*: three brothers, a sister and a mink) were travelling in a canoe (their transformed sister) and heading along the *Lillooet* River (a primary settlement area for Lower *Stlatliumx*) towards a place called *"Lemp"* (a habitation site). Shortly after beginning their journey, they met up with the Mink, whom they disliked, and conspired to turn into a rock. However, Mink was as powerful as they were, and they were unable to transform him. So instead, he was invited to accompany the Transformers on their travels, for a time. Mink, who knew that they were using their transformed sister as the canoe, decided to sit in the end of the canoe and steer; he then, intentionally, caused the canoe to run aground near Lemp, where it smashed into a rock and left an imprint. The location is now marked for all to identify. *"The imprint of that rock is still there today"* (ibid., #2).

In the next sequence of the same tale, once again, we find depictions of the surrounding world that integrate a landmark with a territorial place. Further on, after subsequent exploits "Mink and the transformers continue traveling up the lake until they

reached the mouth of the *Lillooet* River. Carrying on up the river, they came to a place that is called *Shi-La-Posh,* a very important fishing spot, where the shore is very rocky" (ibid.). Here, one of the Transformers addresses Mink saying, "Mink, I think that we should leave part of your body here, because you are weighing down the canoe too much" (ibid.). They then remove part of Mink's body, and toss it on to the shore where they transform it into a rock. *"This rock can still be seen Today"* (ibid.). This is a well-known fishing spot for the Douglas people.

After having done this, the Transformers traveled up the *Lillooet* River, and on into *Lillooet* Lake, where it is said that a great earthquake, at one time, altered the rivers and lakes. Stopping at a traditional habitation site, called *Thla-lakwa*[6] (near Mount Currie), they examined the marks that were left on the mountain's face from the receding waters of the great flood. The Transformers then made each striped mark a different color, and now this mountain is referred to as *Shmi-mich,* which means "marked mountain" (ibid.).

The oral tradition of the Lower *Lillooet* people (as related in Charlie Mack's narrative of "The Transformer") records hunting grounds, fishing grounds and viable passages through to the coast as well as important territorial boundaries with the *Squamish* people through a system of carefully articulated beacons or natural landmarks. Such geographic beacons serve as mnemonic anchors that contextualize the people within a storyscape and speaks to their being-in-the-world as an environmental reality within a particular site. Such contextualization can be observed throughout the Lower *Lillooet*'s folkloric accounts. For example, upon pushing through

the Lower *Lillooet* territory further, the Transformers arrived at *Zee-Hal-Im*, where they are said to have discovered two men half way up the mountain, called *Ti-Zeel* (a traditional hunting ground). Feeling it was wrong to transform the innocent men into stone, it was thought better of since they were only hunters. However, "The transformer wanted very much to transform them, *so he changed them into the rocks which can still be seen today"* (ibid.).

The narrative instructs us that the Transformers passed next through *Yi-Whi-La*, a traditional Lower *Lillooet* fishing ground up the Birkenhead River, where they created a kingfisher haven. Near Birkenhead, at the summit they took a rest and decided to leave proof of their presencing at that place. "'*We should leave a sign that we have been here'*, said one of the transformers"(ibid.). They tried and tried to make a creek down the mountain, but they failed to succeed. They then asked their sister to have a try and, promptly, a white creek flowed down the mountain where it can still be found.

After many exploits, and after going almost as far as the lower end of Seaton Lake towards the modern town of *Lillooet*, they returned through the Lower *Lillooet* country, heading back toward the coast by a different route. On their journey, they stopped at a place called *Stsats-kwim,* near six mile creek where the *Squamish* people were camping, and made some territorial landmarks to demonstrate the precincts of the *Lillooet* tribe as depicted the outer reaches of their dwelling.

> You are living very close to the Pemberton people, yet you speak a different Language. That is not right! The transformers told the Squamish people. "We are going to transform you into rock so that the coming people will know that we passed through this way." A large pile of rocks can be seen where the Squamish people were camped. (ibid., #2)

[6] *Thla-lakwa* shows a phonetic resemblance to *Zazi'lkwa*, meaning "eddying water", recorded by Charles Hill-Tout in his account of the *Stlatlumh* (*Stlatliumx*; see Local Contributions of Charles Hill-Tout, p.103; and Hill-Tout, in Jesup Expedition, Vol. 2, pt. 5., p. 293).

The tale details the route of the Transformers on to the coast. They came to a place called *Skeech-ik-thl-tin*, near Alta Lake, and went along the *Cheakamus* River to a place called *Skwee-Cho,* where they transformed a chief who was living there into a rock. "This place is near the Cheakamus Power Station, and is in the territory of the Squamish people. I saw this rock, which is in the shape of a man, when I worked at the lumber camp. From there, the Transformers went through the Squamish territory towards the coast" (ibid., #2).

The Harrison Lake and *Lillooet* River region has traditionally been populated with habitation and village sites for the Lower *Lillooet Stlatliumx* speakers as shown in the archeological record as far back as 1200 years before present (Stryd and Rousseau, 1996, in Hudson and DePaoli, 1999: 22). The areas around each village were used for resource harvesting. Teit gives some information of resources and areas ownership (Teit, 1906:225-256). He says that fishing places in the area were owned by families, especially for fishing weirs. The tribe also owned in common other resource areas such as hunting grounds, root-digging grounds and trails. Teit also says that berry-gathering areas near the villages were also family managed. Most of the resource use sites were concentrated on the *Lillooet* River (cited in the Transformer stories above) and can be viewed as containers of meaning where social memory, human activity and folkloric depictions merge in what we have described as a storyscape.

Small specialized task groups or family groups went on frequent journeys around the territory from the village sites to the hunting or gathering areas, either for day trips or for extended harvesting journeys. Women went to gather berries and roots, while men went to hunt deer, mountain goats and elk. "Most of the resource use activities were and are focused on the *Lillooet* River Valley and a few key tributaries" (Hudson and

DePaoli, 1999:10). Extensive use patterns of hunting and gathering occurred in the highland areas within the *Lillooet* River drainage system (ibid., 14). The coincidental nature of fishing sites and Transformer sites is well known. These were obviously places where the oral traditions and the meaningfulness of the landscape were coincidentally shaped. It is not surprising that the place where the *A'tsemal* lightened the canoe by tossing part of Mink's body out has been a celebrated fishing spot on the *Lillooet* River for many generations. Like *Xeyxelemos* in the former section, we see the animate nature of meaningful rock as a permanent and abiding marker or container for human dramas, serving much the same function as the placenames discussed with the Western *Apache* (in the last chapter). The same profile can be seen throughout the Lower *Lillooet* territory.

In a version of *Lillooet* Stories (edited by Bouchard and Kennedy, 1977), there are several stories related to fisheries. A Mount Currie story refers to a chief called *'In-CHEE-nim-kan'* (a name held by Baptiste Ritchie in the 1970s) who was said to control the salmon run "because he made the fish weir" (Bouchard and Kennedy, 1977:10). This story offers a lively depiction of the vortex of human movement and non-human involvement yielding incidental waves of folkloric poetic activity. The same body of information also contains a story relating to a large flood (mentioned above) that was said to swallow all the low-lying ground in the province. To feed themselves during the flood, the people claim to have collected salmon roe. In one version of the flood-related Transformer story (Bouchard and Kennedy 1977:13-17), a salmon fishing place on Harrison Lake (*STA-thli-lick*) received a visit from the Transformers that offer geological representation of its importance in depicting ancient human territorial involvement. Such

stories anchor the *Stlatliumx* people, historically, as being-in-the-world, in the timeless sense.

Another Transformer site at Gates Lake where, by the Lower *Lillooet* people, a small cleft in the rock is said to be a footprint that serves to record the boundary between the Upper and Lower *Lillooet* territory (Kennedy and Bouchard, 1992:3). This marker lies at the top of the land amid two watersheds or drainage systems; westerly, lie the territory of the Mount Currie people. To the east is the territory of the *N'Quat'qua*. The mark was described by A.C. Anderson (a Hudson's Bay Company member), in his journal entry for May 21, 1846.

> May 21. Fine. Set out at 4:30 am. At 6 reached a height of land where there is a large isolated block of granite bearing an impression closely resembles that of a human foot. The Indians call it Footstone and have of course a marvelous tradition connected to it. (Anderson, May 21, 1846, quoted in Hudson, 1998:18)

The location was also described later, by Elliot, who wrote:

> The Transformer, *whalaymath* came from Lillooet toward Pemberton (some say from Pemberton toward Lillooet). There were four of them and their sister was with them. They came to Tsekalnal (Birken Lake) and they saw that the waters of it emptied toward the east into Anderson Lake and the Fraser. One of them mounted on a big rock that was there and he urinated down the mountain side over the cliffs into the valley near Tsekalnal, and he said, 'This stream shall always flow between Pemberton, i.e. the west. 'It will mark the boundary between the Lillooet and the Setl people, ' This is Squahilt (Foot, so called because the transformers left footprints there) (Poole Creek)." (Elliot, 1931:168, quoted in Hudson, 1998:18)

5.2.2. The Upper Stlatliumx *Storyscape*

The same pattern of identifying the landscape to contextualize people's activities within a storyscape pertains to the Upper *Stlatliumx* as well. Similarly, an Upper *Lillooet* Transformer story entitled, "*The Animals and Birds Got Their Names*" (partially a Coyote

story), demonstrates the central importance of mythological journeys in establishing a relationship between certain transformed geographic landmarks and places of activational importance for the people. A Chief's daughter was uninterested in the local men and, due to Coyote's trickery, was seduced instead by the Chief's dog, who turned into a man at night. In only a short while, the girl gave birth to four puppies that grew into dog-children with the capacity to turn into human children at night; in other words, they had magical powers that would indicate an enfoldment of the human and non-human world as an interconnected process (as discussed in Chapter 4). The woman, who did not want the children to turn back into dogs, ran out with boughs and beat their dog skins where they had left them behind at night. However (to make a long story short) only the three brothers kept the human form, while the little girl remained a dog, for she had not removed her skin (Elder, Francis Edward, in Bouchard and Kennedy, 1971:#4). The three then became Transformers, and traveled over the land attempting to rid the world of all people killing monsters and, in so doing, established many important landmarks in the landscape.

After the mother had said good-bye to her sons she remembered that she hadn't told them where all the monsters were. She, therefore, ran until she saw someone walking under the cliff at Hat Creek Junction (a place on the way to Cache Creek close to the border of *Secwepemc* country), where she kicked some boulders over the edge of a ravine that rolled down towards the people. The boys answered her with the words, "Hey, it's us!" They yelled; "We are your sons!" The woman spoke with her sons and then they carried on towards Cache Creek, which was as far as they wanted to go" [ibid.; likely emphasized because Cache Creek is in Bonaparte (*Shuswap*) near the boundary

of *Stlatliumx* and *Secwepemc* territory and, so, out of bounds].[7] The itinerant path of the three sons' adventure began north of Pavilion (in Upper *Lillooet*), where the Chief's daughter originated and raised her children, toured the *Stlatliumx* territory travelling to Cache Creek and, then seemingly, went back through the Upper *Lillooet* to the Fraser River to a location known as "3 mile", a well known stopping point along the river trail. Here, the boys noticed a great rock that had a smooth face, and so left their bodily imprints in it for all to see, thus defining the landscape.

> "Lets see how far we can stick our head into this rock," one of the boys suggested. The youngest boy tried to push his head into the rock, but he only made a small dent. Then the second boy tried. He stood back and then ran towards the rock, butting his head against it. He sunk in as far as his ears. When the eldest boy butted his head into the rock, he sunk in as far as his shoulders. *This rock can still be seen today.*" (ibid., 1971:#4)

Once the three brothers had been successful on several occasions in ridding the world of dangerous beings, they went on to pass judgement on a succession of female *speckt'l,* changing them to stone and, thus, marking their passage through the landscape at important sites. They traveled to 19 mile, another important known stopping point on the Fraser River, where they discovered an evil women sitting beside a river. She had her legs stretched across the water, which necessitated that people must walk on them. The woman tried to kill *Thlee-sa,* the youngest brother, but couldn't do so. "'Never again will you kill anyone!' said *Thlee-sa.* He commanded the woman to walk away at which point he transformed her into a rock. *This rock, which has a hole in it, can still be seen today"* (ibid., 1971:#4). *Thlee-sa* and his brothers, on heading toward *Moran*, a habitation site, came to a place where a young girl was pressing her body into a rock in

[7] It is claimed, however, that there are very strong ties between upper *Lillooet* living at Pavilion, where this story originates, and the Shuswap (*Secwepemc*) with whom they inter-married.

order to hide from them. "When the young men passed by, the girl came out of the rock, leaving an imprint of her body in the rock" (ibid., 1971:#4). When they got to Big Bar, another location on the border with *Secwepemc*, the three brothers noticed a woman across the river, dancing and singing. As they watched her, the young men started changing into stone but, even as they were transforming, they noticed that she also was changing into stone. *Thlee-sa* had passed judgement on the women, as she did on him. *"Today, you can still see Thlee-sa and his two brothers on one side of the river and the dancing women on the other side*" (ibid.,1971:#4). Such transformations in the *N'lakapamux* lore represent important historical sites in a similar manner to the *Statliumx* cases above—they serve to map out the territory, to provide markers for human activities, and are anchors of the *N'lakapamux* extended self.

5.2.3. The N'lakapamux *Storyscape*

In the *N'lakapamux* version of the tale, three *Qoq'ql qual* brothers came up from the *S'a'tcinko* country, at the Fraser River's mouth, and traveled through *Lillooet* country continuously identifying the landscape as they went. After entering *N'lakapamux* territory from below, they followed up the Thompson River and went on through the Bonaparte, *Similkameen,* and Nicola valleys; then, upon returning, went up the Bonaparte River and Hat Creek, planning to arrive back at the Fraser. "They did many wonderful things along the Fraser River changing people into fishes and also into stones. They also left their footprints and other signs in many places where they traveled, and it is said created all the water springs over the country" (Teit, 1898:42). After encountering the great Transformer, *Kokwe'la,* and also the Coyote people, they met a great man-eating magician, named *Tcu'isqa'lemux.* He was spearing salmon on a bank at a fishing place,

named *Zixazix,* which means slides or mud-slide. It is on the south side of the Thompson River, in *N'lakapamux* country, four miles below Spences Bridge. The youngest and most powerful brother turned himself into a salmon in order to carry away the man's spearhead. Once the spearhead was safely stolen, the magician went home much disturbed for having lost it. That evening, the *Qua'qlqal* brothers ate dinner with the man-eater at his home, however, they soon became angry with *Tcui'sqa'lemux,* who was greedy over the food. Later on, when they again saw him fishing at the bank (indicating a fishing spot), they kicked the mountain down upon him, four times in a row, that caused the mud-slide or "slipping mountain", which is there today. However, when the dust cleared away, he was still standing there. "Then they took revenge by turning into stone his house and basket, *which are to be seen there at the present day"* (ibid., 1898:43).

After they had traveled considerably farther, and after many more exploits and competitions over power, they came across Coyote who was sweat-bathing. "They turned his sweat-house into stone...They turned into stone the basket, and the stones used for heating the water, and also tried to metamorphose the Coyote and his wife, but were not able to do so, owning to the too powerful magic of these people" (ibid., 1898:44). Although the brothers were compelled to take flight, they were able to transform body parts from both Coyote and Coyote's wife, "*which may be seen at the present day, with the basket at a little distance*" (ibid.). They avenged themselves against Coyote for making them flee, by breaking up his fishing weir that stretches across the Thompson River at the well known fishing spot known as *Tsale'qamux.* "*The remains of the weir is what forms the bar across the river and the rapid at that place at the present day"* (ibid.).

Further on, close to the mouth of Hat Creek, the three brothers had a competition over physical strength. A very large rock barred their progress and they decided to lift it on their heads and put it off to the side a fair distance away. Although the two elder brothers failed, the youngest one lifted it for a time. However, in so doing, the stone slipped over the upper part of his head. Upon putting the stone in the appropriate place, he withdrew, but a large impression of his head and nose near the bridge "*may be seen at the present day*" (ibid., 1898:45). As they continued their journey towards the Fraser River and crossed over the mountain above a village site, called *Q'qwa'ilox,* just before they crossed the open prairie they observed a young girl whom, while breaking from her puberty training, approached them dancing and singing (as in the *Lillooet* folktale described above). Upon stopping to watch her, the magic influence of the girl transformed them all into stone, where they "*may be seen standing there at the present day*" (ibid., 1898:45) as a marker to the ancientness of the *N'lakapamux* self and as a representation of the people in the land and the land in the people.

The territory is thus defined and given definition by the presence of mythological landmarks at necessary places. It is no coincidence that "Lytton is the center of the *N'lakapamux* map of the world", in Thompson mythology, "because here Coyote's son when returning from the sky, reached the earth" (ibid., 4) marking this spot as mythologically prominent, although no rock is now apparent. An interestingly and central depiction in the plateau storyscape that relates directly to the poetics of land and to the articulation of landscape as human contextualization (as described in Chapters 1, 2 and 3) is the "Earth Stone" site, near Lytton, claimed by the locals to be the *N'lakapamux* "centre of the world". In the legends, this one site has profile amongst the others as the "Centre of the Earth Stone" or "Coyote's Landing Stone". This is the site where Coyote's

son (Coyote is a key mythological figure in plateau folklore, as well as a Transformer) is said to drop from the sky country and make a landing on earth. This site has been cited by Boas (1885), Dawson (1891), Jenness (1934/35), Hill-Tout (1899), Mohs (1987), and Teit (1900). Teit writes:

> Lytton is the centre of the world, because here Coyote's son, when returning from the sky, reached the earth. (Teit, 1900:337)
>
> NLi'ksentem Young Coyote found himself on top of a large flat stone near what is now the town of Lytton...some of the Nkamtci'nemux say that the space on which he rolled himself was turned into this stone to mark the spot, for the Spider said that the place where NLi 'ksentem should first touch the ground would be the centre of the earth or of the Indian's country. (Teit, 1898:25,104)

N-kik-sam-tam reached the earth at *Tl-kam-cheen* (Lytton) and the stone upon which he descended can still be seen" (Dawson, 1891:30, in Mohs, 1987:106). Thus the *N'lakapamux* hold this stone to be sacred while, at the present day, they keep it covered with earth in order that the whites may not see it (Teit, 1898:30). A *Sto:lo* person of mixed *N'lakapamux* and *Sto:lo* ancestry writes:

> Where Coyote came down, there was a stone. I never personally saw this stone but I was told about it by my mom. She told me that no one would ever find it. It was buried really well so whites wouldn't see it. There was a fear among Indians in Lytton that whites would order that the rock be destroyed or taken away if they knew it was so important. So the Indians buried it. Beliefs in such things was considered wrong by the priests. Coyote's Footprints were on the rock because he ran around it many times. I was told it was a large rock and very smooth and you could see his footprints on it. But even though they tried to protect it, it was uncovered and destroyed. I don't know how. I never knew exactly where it was (EP in Spiritual Sites File, in Mohs, 1987: 106-107)

In 1898 and at the request of James Teit, an elder *N'lakapamux* man, called "*Inaukawilich",* created a drawing of the earth as it was represented in the traditional *N'lakapamux* world view. The world as he drew it was nearly circular in shape, bisected by rivers, level in the centre where the people were living in lodges at the confluences of

the rivers, and very mountainous and precipitous near the outer edge. Beyond these mountains, the land was encircled with lakes that were thought of as the "water mysteries" and were covered with mists and clouds most of the year. Lytton (or "*Kumsheen*") is seen as being the centre of the earth, according to this map, as in the Coyote mythology cited above (Teit, 1898:30).

The folklore and legends of the *N'lakapamux* serve to inextricably situate the *N'lakapamux* people within their surroundings as a unique and culturally defined region and territory, and demonstrate a history consistent with their perception of life as an endless web of ecological and ritual practices. The corpus of legends under study are, thus, understandable in terms of a *poiesis*, storyscape and enfoldment of self, body and world (as conceptualized in Chapter 1). The process of defining the landscape as areas of use is further demonstrated in the following segment of a *N'lakapamux* Transformer story, called "The Transformer". As the Transformer neared *Uta'mqt* (or *Lillooet*) country, he saw people catching salmon with their hands, at the *Tsaxali's* canyon on the opposite bank. With their hands, they suspended boys from high rocks so they could scoop up fish. The Transformer, feeling sorry for these people, starts scratching the rock in front of him with his fingernails and with each scratch a helpful idea enters the people's heads. On the first scratch they decided to make twine, on the second to make nets, and so on, until they had acquired the full knowledge of catching fish. Once the people learned how to fish in the proper manner, the Transformer showed them the best fishing places, "and the Indians have always used these fishing-places or stations since that time" (Teit, 1912:227). Each scratch is a representation of a nexus of territorial activity, and thus is a good example of a body/world *poiesis*. Furthermore, "...the

scratches in the rock which the Transformer made when teaching the people how to fish, *may be seen at the present day"* (ibid., 1912:228).

5.3. The *Poiesis* of Enfoldment Within the Stein Valley Storyscape

Paralleling the illustrations of the previous section, much of the surrounding landscape in the *Stein* Valley, a valley sacred to both the *N'lakapamux* but also to some extent to the *Stlatliumx* people, has poetic, mythic and ritual significance and, also, a "narrative meaning" within the legends and tails of the *N'lakapamux* and *Stlatliumx* people. The *Stein* Valley has recently been declared the *N'lakapamux Stein* Tribal Heritage Park, under the B.C. Ministry of Parks and Recreation and co-managed with the *N'lakapamux* First Nation. The sacred value of the *Stein* has been established as a result of the many age-old *N'lakapamux* stories and traditions that have evolved there and the corresponding symbolic sites, such as landmarks and rock paintings and placenames. A key heritage feature of the Stein River area is vested in the trail, moving along the side of the Stein River, which for generations has been the access path from the mouth of the Stein Creek, through the middle Stein and up to the higher altitudes. According to McGonigle and Wickwire when writing of the Stein, there is "a rich complexity of life woven into a dynamic wholeness that pulsates with vitality, yet is quiet to behold. In the flow and dance of a running stream is the movement of life itself" (McGonigle and Wickwire, 1988:19), as is understandable in respect to the dissertations theory of self, body and world. The trail beside the Stein River, with its many stories, becomes the poetic container for all that happened there within that centuries old vortex

Map 3

N'lakapamux Map of the World
(Source: Teit, 1900: 343)

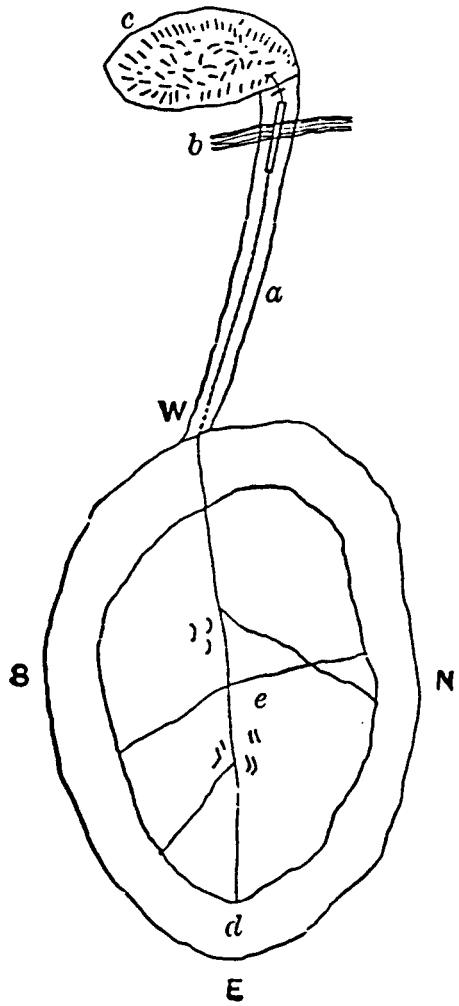
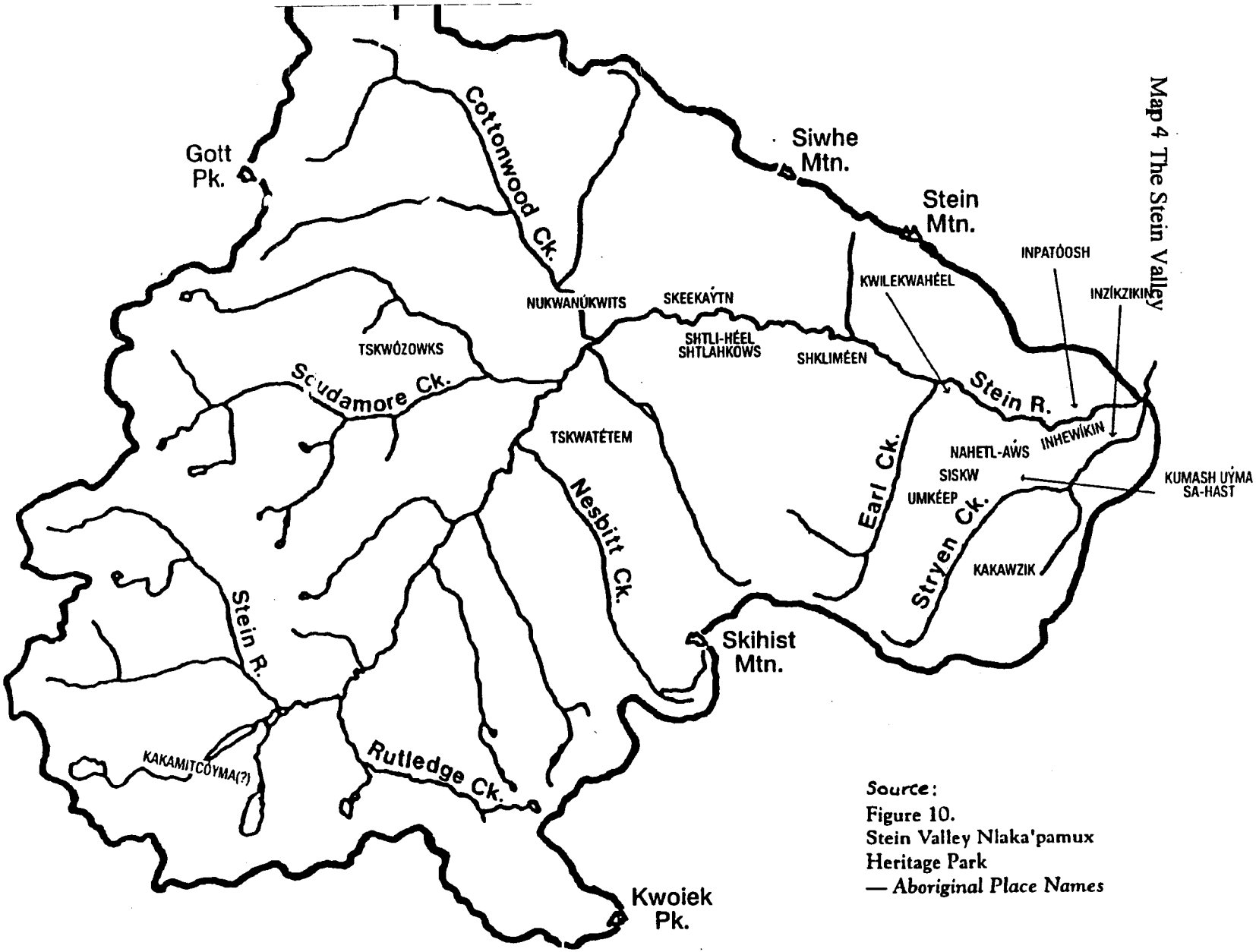


Fig. 290. Sketch of World. *a*, Trail leading from the earth to the iand of the ghosts, with tracks of the souls; *b*, River and log on which the souls cross; *c*, Land of the ghosts, and dancing souls; *d*, Lake surrounding the earth; *e*, Earth, with rivers and villages; N, S, E, W, Points of the compass.

of human and non-human activity. Worn with the weight of generations of foot traffic, this access trail has been the pathway, for example, of aspirants on spiritual quests, of women going into the middle Stein to pick oyster mushrooms (*kumash-ekwa*; *at Shklimeen or "wade across place"*) and to harvest cedar roots for baskets (at *kiskw* or *kemkamatshoots*), and of families migrating to a place near "canoe landing" or *shtli-heel shtlahkows* (ibid., 1988:20-39) to engage in night fishing, which is done with a pitch lamp shone into the dark waters to see the fish.

One late *N'lakapamux* elder describes travelling ten miles up into the Stein Valley, in wintertime, when the snow was too deep to use the trail. In those conditions, *N'lakapamux* men used to travel on the frozen surface of the river to get into the valley. It was possible to look through the ice and see the fish below (Interview, R. Dunstan, WWC Video Documentary, 1988), showing the cyclical, seasonal web of human and environmental activity. Special rituals are also associated with the Stein Valley. It is a rich combination of human practices, both economic and spiritual, in the precise way that typifies what Halmo, Stoffle and Austin mean by a regional landscape (discussed in Chapter 4, section 4.1). The landscape of the Stein region presents, thus, a corresponding storyscape that maps the land, in terms of human possibility, at various sites within this vast and complex organism of human and non-human activity, which is the valley. The *Stein* Valley is full of ancient stories and mythological landmarks, still alive in the oral traditions of the *N'lakapamux* people and, thus, forming a regional *poiesis* of the Valley's activities as will be shown below. "The Stein cannot be appreciated fully except in this total way—as a wild river, complete watershed, place of spiritual power and root of native culture" (Wickwire, 1988:20).



Map 4 The Stein Valley

Source:
Figure 10.
Stein Valley Nlaka'pamux Heritage Park
— *Aboriginal Place Names*

The Stein, as a *N'lakapamux* storyscape and regional landscape, dovetails with the wider *N'lakapamux* folkloric depictions of Transformers cited in the preceding chapter. The *Sesuli'an* and *Seku'lia* were part of the group of Transformers known as the *"Shkwitkwatl"* that came from *Secwepemc* country and reached *Styne* Creek (the Stein River). Teit's recollections follow.

> Two Transformers, Sesulia'n and Seku'lia, came down the Fraser River from the Shuswap country. They were good men, and taught the people many arts. They transformed those who were proud, while they helped those who were grateful for advice and instruction. They reached Styne Creek at dusk. A number of people were living in an underground lodge just north of the creek, and their dogs began to howl when the Transformers approached. A man went out to see who was coming. When he saw the transformers, he made fun of them. Therefore they transformed him, the house, and the people into stone. When leaving this place, Sesulia'n left the mark of his right foot on a stone, and a little farther down the river Sekul'ia left the mark of his left foot. Both these impressions of human feet may still be seen in the woods near Styne. (Teit, 1917:13-14)

Furthermore, the Stein Valley's mythology has documented the encounters with the "animal people", who reside in the valley's many recesses where both spiritual empowerment and renewal are said to be gained. Coast *Salish* people claim that the spirit animals in the coastal region were vacating the woods, around and about, due to the growing prevalence of humans (Amoss, 1978). However, the Stein Wilderness still holds an intact spirituality in the eyes of the local elders. The body of folklore present indicates the non-dualistic kind of enfoldment of human and non-human agents discussed in the beginning of Chapter 4. For example Native people, such as the *N'lakapamux* of the British Columbia plateau region, embark on vision quests during both puberty rituals and shamanic training in search of a guardian spirit animal. The guardian spirit animals, called "*Sne7m"* in the *N'lakapamux* language, and attained at the time of the vision quest are reputed to be found in the most remote reaches of the

forest. This spirit acquisition is deemed possible because of the fact that nature is perceived to be imbued with "spiritual power" (Teit, 1900:354) similar to the kind documented for the *Gitksan* earlier in Chapter 5. Continuing with this notion, the spirit power was said to be given to a young person by some non-human agent or animal, like the wind or water, bear or wildflower, and, hence forth, to become integral to their personal sense of self, signifying an imbrication or enfoldment within the non-human surroundings in a state of extended embodily incorporation (as discussed in Chapter 2, section 2.3). This manifestation, or *Sne7m*, would become the person's "guardian spirit" and source of "personal power" (ibid.).

As Louis Philips, a *N'lakapamux* elder, puts it, "Indians those days, there wasn't one Indian that hasn't got a certain amount of power. Soon as you big enough, go in the bush there and stay out there...That's why they go up the Stein, maybe thirty miles" (ibid.). He also explains, "that nature, when you get enough power, give you a song that you gotta sing for different things you gotta do" (ibid.). It is believed that the individual's spirit animal, during puberty rituals, provides the vision-questing youth with a song that stays with him or her throughout their lifetimes. This song serves as the vehicle that rouses the *Sne7m,* or spirit power, for the individual's personal use. Such a sonic/iconic form of *poiesis* expressing the experiential fusion of human and non-humans (as seen in the cited works of Feld and Gell in Chapter 4) finds a complementary form of expression in the Stein through other iconic/aesthetic visual art forms, which were employed to speak to this experiential fusion of human and non-humans as seen in the many rock paintings. The rock pictures occurred to record the spot where a vision occurred, usually in geographically dramatic or awe inspiring places of wondrous sound or view, where the natural agents seemed most powerful. Such an imbrication of body and world gives rise

to the many historic representations that serve as an environing *poiesis* of self, body and world (as explained in Chapter 1). Teit (1900), reports:

> Lads painted records which were pictures representing their ceremonies and their dreams, on boulders, or oftener on cliffs, especially in wild spots, like canyons, near waterfalls, etc.. These were generally pictures of animals, birds, fishes, arrows, fir-branches, lakes, sun, thunder, etc., figures of some symbolized their future wives. It was believed the making of rock paintings insured long life. (Teit, 1900:321)

The untouched wildness of the Stein is said to be necessary for the survival of this spiritual heritage that is the native birth right and aboriginal tradition of both the *Stlatliumx* and *N'lakapamux* people, who both use the Stein. Many of the landmarks given below are at the mouth of the Stein, a habitation site for the *N'lakapamux* and a place of intensive human activity and involvement. Other areas further into the valley are also age-old harvesting sites (for mushroom, cedar root, fish, etc.) and have vivid and literal depictions in sonic space through a large number of aboriginal placenames that tell exactly what goes on there. The oral traditions that contextualize the Stein landmarks and designated sites give ageless testimony of an ancient heritage, while the self-identification of the *N'lakapamux* and *Stlatliumx* people in this regional landscape provides a meaningful *poiesis* of dwelling within a territory of age-old tribal belonging.

Alongside the trail leading from the church to the main graveyard, and to family fishing stations on the Fraser River, two child-size footprints can be found. The local people explained these as belonging to the *Speck'tl,* the first ancestors, known to be half-human half-animal, who occupied the world when it was new and who are said to be the predecessors of humans. These two footprint marked rocks (similar to what was seen in the Lower *Lillooet* story, in Chapter 5) are familiar to all, who spent time at Stein Village up until the 1960s and seem to resonate the human activity taking place there.

> "You walked by them", as Louis Phillips explained, "at every funeral" (the one near the church is to the right of the foot-trail just behind the church, and the other is on the left hand side of the trail just north of the main graveyard.)" (Phillips in Wickwire, 1988:20)

Another well-known landmark of cultural significance is a spring from which water was obtained by the people of the Stein, during winter-time. This spring (with the Native name of *skwel´altkwo*, which means "hole in the ground") was located a short distance north-west of the church (Wickwire, 1988:21). The spring area was modified to create a small pool for bathing after a sweat bath.

According to Ina Dick (of Stein Village) and also Louis Phillips, there is a large bedrock near the well-used trail a short distance south and west of Stein village on the way to *npat´us,* the first small mountain ridge on the north bank of the Stein. On this rock, it is claimed that you can find the imprints of what looks like both a deer and a bear. Louis however, reports that the footprints are that of a bear and a goat, and were left there after the World Flood that was mentioned above in a Lower *Lillooet* story (Ina Dick and Louis Phillips, in Wickwire, 1988:21) and, thus, are an integral part of the place and have mythological significance. It seems they encapsulate an ethos of human activity dating back to a flood in ancient times and, thus, are an important marker of belonging between those people and that land in the ancient sense.

According to Louis Phillips, as you look across to the Stein from the east bank just above the group homes (just north of St. George's farm), you are able to spot the outline of a women lying in a prone position on the peak of *mkíp*. She is referred to as "sleeping beauty" by the locals living at the mouth of the Stein, and is seen as an important landmark and sacred site. Referring to the same mountain, "The mountain Kazik, near Lytton was...believed to possess supernatural power" (Teit, 1900:345). Both

q'i´q'azik and *Mkip* was known to be particularly powerful (ibid., 345). Close to the mouth of Last Chance Creek is a large panel of pictographs. It sits high on a rock face and, underneath it, there is a ledge that is big enough to stand or sleep on. This place is clearly associated with spiritual power. An archaeologist by the name of Harlan Smith tell us that, in 1897, a local Native by the name of "Jimmie" claimed this to be the place "where boys and girls came to wash with fir boughs" (Wickwire, 1988:26) and associated a great deal of importance with this place. The pictographs are representations of the synthesis of body and world (see Chapters 2 and 3) and of all that has gone on in this place.

Charles Hill-Tout, when commenting on pictographs, states that:

> Certain spots and localities are pointed out by the older Indians as the places where certain celebrated shamans underwent their fasts and training to gain their powers. There were several such spots on the banks of Stein Creek....Worn and hollowed places are pointed out here and there, and these are said to have been made by the feet of the aspirants after shamanistic powers in the performance of their exercises. We find several groups of rock paintings along this creek which are believed by the present Indians to have been made in the past by noted shamans. (Hill-Tout, 1899:48)

Closer to Teaspoon Creek (a small creek in the lower Stein, which Andrew Johnny calls *sìsq^{w}*), there are three pictograph sites seen to be landmarks. The first one is a cave-like structure, where one has to lie down to view the paintings and which has special significance for the people. Also at Teaspoon Creek, a grove of culturally modified trees is found as well, demonstrating this region as a well-traveled part of the Stein. Culturally modified trees are cedar trees, formerly used for the aboriginal practice of harvesting bark for clothing, and are seen these days as a meaningful cultural resource and landmark (Wickwire, 1988:27).

Located on the cliffs over the north bank of the river near "crossing place" is a deep cave that is painted with pictographs from top to bottom. The oral tradition maintains that some Native people were ice fishing, west of Lytton on a lake, when they followed a goat up the cliffs to this cave and found it to be totally painted (Wickwire and McGonigle, 1988:49; Wickwire, 1988:31). The lake in question is likely the area above the cable crossing, described as "the place of still waters", because here the river is wide and the water is very calm. Thus the placename speaks poetically of the river's state and characterizes body/world *poiesis* (as explained in Chapters 1 and 4). The name of the place reflects the sensual impressions of the river as perceived by the lived body. It looks like a lake and, in the winter, it freezes over and is seen as a special place.

Underneath a boulder along the Stein River, there is a special place signalled by a cave-like opening under which the locals say *N'lakapamux* women used to give birth. After the baby was born, it was brought down to the river and bathed in two circular pools eroded in the rock. Recently, fires were built in the pools, which purportedly have destroyed this sacred spot, and it is rumoured that the spirits have vacated it. However, it is still perceived to be deeply meaningful as a traditional spot of sacred geography, amplified by what was done there.

Again, the same analysis applies inside the biggest painted hollow of pictograph panel EbRj5, a narrow ledge where two smooth elongated stone hollows large enough for people to lie on uncomfortably while gazing at the pictographs. Elders, such as Willy Dick, recall a time when these natural stone beds were lined with spruce boughs, which are associated with puberty rites and are also known as birthing stones, where *N'lakapamux* women went to give birth. Later the baby would be baptized in the waters of the Stein (Willy Dick, in Lepofsky, 1988:41).

5.3.1. A Poiesis of Enfoldment Written on Rock

Pictographs (literally picture writing) is the term archaeologists use to describe paintings on rock surfaces with red paint derived from iron oxides and, in many cases, serve to record and honour the relationship between an aspirant and his or her *Sn7m* or power (as discussed above). The numeric code names for the pictographs below is an archaeological site designation assigned by the Archaeology Branch of the Province of British Columbia to the pictograph sites in the Stein Valley. According to Teit, who garnered information from late 19th century informants, rock paintings often marked special places on the land where powerful forces of nature were believed to be particularly potent and mysterious. Up until the present, native peoples have traveled to these places and held vigils, fasted, and prayed or performed exercises to acquire supernatural power. Other pictographs depicted battles, but the majority of paintings were done in the process of spiritual training exercises. The paintings are said to be so powerful that no native person would choose to camp near them. There are large numbers of these pictograph panels along the trail that follows Stein Creek. Each pictograph tells a story about the experience that unfolded there at a particular sacred place. They attest to a period of months spent in isolation in the forest in search for a guardian spirit in the form of a non-human being and, therefore, the rock pictures are the outward expression of a felt intimacy and enfoldment between the individual body and the surrounding non-human forces. They speak to this dissertation's central focus of body/world imbrication and its aboriginal expression and, thus, frequently depict animal people, human-like animals and animal-like humans or anthropomorphic heavenly bodies, such as the sun man. In every case they speak to the occurrence of a given

bodily activity within a place and, as such, give lasting meaning and significance to that place through the process of body/ world poetics (as discussed in Chapter 4).

EbRj 62

This is considered a Stein rock site even though it is not found along the Stein River or on the reserve land. It is an interesting site. The pictographs are found on a 17m high face overlooking a traditional fishing station on the Fraser River about two miles south of the confluence between the Fraser and the Stein being a site of ancient human activity. Geometric figures and human animals are symbolized representing the vortex of human and non-human engagement, thus characterizing the dissertation's interest in an enfoldment or synthesis of body and world. The painting depicts two grizzly bear tracks and an image of a thunderbird, both representing the guardian spirit of shamans and warriors (Teit, 1900:354). A Christian cross may also be indicated, a symbol found at several sites up the Stein. Chinese writing is also found on certain panels, the work of Chinese miners, who lived in the area from 1860 to the 1930s. We see the Chinese inscription for "clear or clean water" (Lepofsky, 1988:39).

EbRj 5

This is perhaps the best-known pictograph site in the Stein. It is locally known as "the asking rock". It is located not far from the head of the Stein River Heritage Trail, just past the confluence of *Stryen* Creek (Last Chance Creek) and Stein River. The paintings here are located inside two water worn niches in a large granite outcrop. A traditional prayer, offering respect and asking for protection, is made at this site before entering the Stein—thus it is called "asking rock." If you stand on a low outcrop below the painting, there are distinctive echoes coming from the hollow, indicating the

presence of a sound/meaning relationship (as discussed in Chapter 4, section 4.3). In this case, auditory factors contribute to the symbolic meaning and provide an example of *poiesis* of place as a ratio of the senses (discussed in Chapter 2, section 2.5). Charles Hill-Tout, as well as more recent native narrators, tells us that certain hollowed places were made there by seekers of shamanic powers, during their exercises all down through the ages. Inside the largest painted hollow are two natural stone beds, which youths during puberty rituals used to lie upon. The place was also used by women, while giving birth (Willy Dick, in Lepofsky, 1988:41).

Teit includes discussion with his *N'lakapamux* informants on the paintings at this site. He was told that the large bulbous figure with antlers or flowing hairs, represents a vision, and the wavy pair of horizontal lines in the background were trails. The two circles connected by a single line are said to represent lakes connected by a river. This panel also depicts an entire enfoldment of human and non-human agents. There is an owl with outstretched wings, sheltering a snake; and an animal, human figures, lightening, a mountain goat, the sun and a crescent moon. The painting also includes a boat-like structure and a Christian cross, plus a mountain goat beneath a painting of three lakes with creeks running out of them.

Prominent horizontal and vertical lines inside a hollow at EbRj5 could represent actual trails in the Stein, but they could also represent dream trails of hunters or shamans. Shamans could travel the trails to the land of the shades (or the dead) and, using a short cut, intercept a lost soul owned by a living person (Teit, 1900:342).

Other less obvious paintings are also featured at this site (see York, Daly and Arnett, 1993). This EbRj5 panel is the most accessible rock painting in the Stein Valley and now, unfortunately, shows signs of vandalism.

EbRk1, EbRka, and EbRk2

These are a complex set of rock paintings, starting four kilometres or so up the Stein River Heritage Trail, in the place known as Devil's Staircase, for it resembles a staircase. The *N'lakapamux* name for this site is *"Ts'ets'ek^{w}*, meaning markings. This place features the greatest concentration of pictographs in the Stein Valley. High above the two main pictograph sites is the waterfall of Christina Creek that can be seen falling over a rock face, which is above a deep overhang. According to Teit's early report, waterfalls were the haunts of "mysteries" (Teit, 1900). This site also may signify a sonic acoustical *poiesis* as it incorporates the cascading waterfall into the poetic effect, also achieved through the viewing of the site. Such a sonic/iconic and visual *poiesis* speaks to the dissertation's interest in the experience of the world as a ratio of the senses (explained in Chapter 2, section 2.5).

EbRk1

The paintings at this site are found in six groups. They are painted beneath overhangs with ledges, and continue 85 metres upstream along the face of tall cliffs. They are the furthest downstream set of rock writings at *Ts'ets'ék^{w}*, "separated from the roaring rapids by a stretch of boulders, pools and twisted piles of driftwood" (York, Daly and Arnett, 1993:94). It is thought that one of the paintings represents a number of things; a woman, four grizzly bear tracks arranged around a mountain goat, and a zigzag design identified as mountains and glaciers in valleys. Two of the paintings appear to refer to the nearby waterfall of Christina Creek that falls down high above this site, depicting the "poetics of place" as aesthetically recognized. A strange figure created by two circles attached by a thick bar represented "lakes connected by a river" according to

Teit. There is also a representation of a fish. "Single human figures, grizzly bear tracks, mountains and glaciers in valleys, mountain goats, cascades, lakes connected by rivers, and visions, are the subject matter identified at this site by native informants over the last century" (Arnett, in Lepofsky, 1988:48).

EbRk a

This site is a small grouping of pictographs, located above the old aboriginal trail between sites EbRl 1 and EbRl2, was found in July of 1988 by the archaeologist Chris Arnett. Just before EbRk2, there is a small moss-covered granite overhang several meters above the old trail near to the river. Small cedar trees populate the area. On a smooth face underneath the overhang are tiny pictographs, "painted with very thin lines suggestive of tiny fingers on a brush" (York, Daly and Arnett, 1993:110) and featuring bird-like figures and mountain goats. Mountain goats were a frequent guardian spirit of women. Arnett speculates that this is likely a women's spot, due to the subject matter and the fine lines that characterize the paintings. More inquiry may or may not serve to indicate a positive relationship between female paintings and delicate rendering, thus designating the site as female and a female power site as a result of former events there.

EbRk 2

One of the largest painting sites in Canada, it is located 200 metres upstream from EbRk1 on the same side of the river. It runs for a distance of 120 metres at the base of a towering cliff. Over 160 individual pictographs are painted there. The rock paintings appear on fallen slabs, under overhangs, on boulders and faces of vertical rock. The *N'lakapamux* name for this place is *"ts'ets'ek^{w}"*, and it is a location familiar to

many of the people. The positioning of the cliff in relation to the rushing river causes a pleasant acoustic effect common to other Stein pictograph sites—namely, " a continuous wash of white noise" (Arnett, in Lepofsky, 1988:51). This acoustical dimension likely speaks to another site of sound/meaning relationships as mentioned above. Shirley James, a *N'lakapamux* person from Lytton, was told by her grandmother that the site was used by Indian doctors, and therefore has special significance because of the activities that went on here. Several rock-lined fireplaces are evident in the sandy cedar grove strewn with boulders between the river and the cliff site, indicating human activity. The painting includes 40 mountain goats, 12 two-headed snakes, 11 deer, 6 horned lizards, 5 owls, 5 grizzly bear tracks as well as skeletons, grave poles, male and female humans, suns, crescent moons, rib-cages, trails, and rivers with trees along them, generally depicting a swirl of nature and a vision site. One of the paintings at EbRk 2 might stand for a "battle pictograph", representing a battle between the *Lil'wat* of Mount Currie and the *N'lakapamux*. Two nail-headed warriors carrying bows and shields are depicted next to a painting of a river lined with trees. Also depicted is a human male figure that appears to be firing a short-barrelled gun from the hip (Arnett, in Lepofsky, 1988:57). At least one battle was said to have taken place in the Stein at Scudmore Creek.

EbRkb

Of a single weather-worn figure, this site consists of one pictograph on the side of a large three metre high granite boulder, close to the trail near the river. Much of the painting has been worn away. The site resembles a large painting of a figure with spread wings on the side of a giant boulder; it is 6 kilometres from the head of the Stein

Heritage Trail. The painting, less than 2 metres from the trail, is highly visible to all who pass by. It was identified, in July 1988, by Brian Molyneaux and Chris Arnett. According to *N'lakapamux* elder, Annie York, the painting represents the double-headed snake, signifying death; it is the hunter's power figure, with a headdress, bowl and cup (York, Daly and Arnett, 1993:3).

EbRk 7

A little more than 100 metres beyond EbRk 2, at least 20 paintings can be seen on a boulder, 4 metres wide by 2 metres high, on the river side of the trail. The paintings depict several long diagonal lines and two male figures with "nail shaped" heads and bows—who seem to be hunting young deer or goats. Also depicted are other "nail-headed" humans, a small animal with a spear through its body, a thunderbird, and a grizzly bear track (York, Daly and Arnett, 1993:167). These are associated with puberty rites (as discussed earlier in this chapter) and have special significance for the locals because of the practices they represent. They are iconical representations on the spiritual or religious events that took place here (as explained above in the passages on puberty ceremonies).

EbRk 10

Approximately 200 metres upstream from EbRkb is a large boulder with an interesting womb-like shelter hollowed into it by the unique and inspiring action of the water and rock. Inside this shelter along the east wall are bright red paintings. There are men with game animals, horizontal lines, large fish, a torso with arms, and a rib cage. Also a thunderbird and a human figure in a conical hat are to be found at the entrance. Above the entrance way is a potbellied thunderbird figure with an upside

down human underneath its beak. The paintings suggest this to be a vision cave used by shamans. The body/word poetics, present in this site, encompass the unique womb-like formation, the curious movement of the water, the bright paintings and their positioning, and the abiding statement of what is done there.

EbRk8

At least 25 pictographs appear on rock faces, for a distance of 75 metres above the rushing river, where the Stein Heritage Trail dips close to the river's edge, approximately 11 kilometres from the trail head. The panel represents a maritime motif that obviously indicates familiarity with the coast. Corner speculates the paintings might be a two-masted schooner complete with figurehead, furled sails and crows nest. It has also been interpreted as two men in a large *Haida* or *Nootka* dugout canoe (Corner, 1968:16). On further speculation, the painting would likely depict a canoe with two paddlers and a carved animal bow figure. This could also be representative of a *Salish* canoe. The site also includes two representations of what are possibly graves with Christian crosses; a series of dots that represent stars; a frontal figure with outstretched arms, a pot-belly and feathered headdress; a human figure; and a lynx that communicates. The lynx explains the personhood of animals and the enfoldment of humans into the non-human world. The pictograph also depicts what is likely a "dream trail" or an actual trail. Above these is an alcove overlooking the Stein, featuring a row of four deer, one mountain goat, three types of rib cages, groups of game animal along diagonal lines and an abstract cross.

EbRk3

Faint, linear lines of paint appear on the side of an angular low boulder close to the trail, 12 kilometres from the Head of the Stein River Heritage Trail on the north side of the river, approximately 300 metres from the cable crossing. Lichen has obscured most of this panel (Arnett, in Lepofsky, 1988:64). The remains of a cabin are also visible across the river from this site. Ethnographically, this rock marks the start of a region well-known as a gathering site for cedar root (for basket making), indicating that human activity has occurred there. According to elder, Annie York, it's likely a woman's site. "These are women's things here. That's a digging stick on the left. That Sun Man told them that a woman's instrument is not going to be the bow and arrow. It's just a stick like a hoe. That was his design but it wasn't comfortable to dig with" (York, Daly and Arnett, 1993:194). The depictions indicate this is likely a site of women's puberty ceremonies, when women received digging sticks. This site speaks to the imbrication of human and non-human activity characterized in female harvesting.

EbR1 4

At the base of a talus slope 5 kilometres upstream from the cable crossing, there are two sets of rock paintings associated with a possible "vision cave shelter". The large protected shelter created by large boulders features a painting of two faces, each with connected eyebrows and nose, large eyes and open mouths, who gesture with single arms and have mask-like faces. On the ceiling in the center is a large natural stain of iron oxide. A game-like animal with prominent genitals leaps to one side; two diagonal lines represent its rib cage. On the east face of the large boulder are eight human-like figures in two groups. Some of the figures have large stomachs and heads or cone

shaped heads. The cone-shaped headdresses may represent the regalia used by shamans to travel to the land of the dead and, thus, indicate a shaman site.

EbR1

In this site, five orange paintings appear at the base of a boulder. This large boulder is the furthest upriver site of the Stein Valley. It is approximately 20 kilometres west of the confluence of the Stein and Fraser Rivers, on the north side of the river, close to the trail. There are conflicting interpretations of these paintings. Rousseau and Howe identified the painting as a horse and rider, in 1979, but on further investigation, Arnett and Molyneaux attempt to clarify that it is not a horse and rider, but rather a solitary rayed arc, which could represent unfinished basketry, a motif adopted by young women during their puberty training (Arnett in Lepofsky, 1988:67) and this, therefore, is likely a women's puberty spot. According to elder, Annie York, the pictograph shows the sun Man; the sun with a dot in the middle. "This means an eclipse is coming" (York, Daly and Arnett, 1993:214). She further tells that the rayed triangle over the boy's head is the one he must wear to talk to the sun, and that the rayed arc over the man is a bridge the boy must build—it is rayed because everything the boy builds must resemble the sun's head. According to the early ethnographers, the sun was a common guardian spirit for those wishing to be shamans or warriors. The relationship the boy has with the sun as his extended bodily self seems poetically expressive from the perspective of body/world representations.

EbR1 6

Situated over 900 metres above the Stein River Heritage Trail on the south side of the valley, 4 kilometres above the cable crossing, is the most spectacular and

inaccessible rock painting site in the Stein Valley. It is a painted cave located, in 1986, by Wickwire, Lay, and *N'lakapamux* elder, Willie Justice. The pictographs occur on a south-facing rock face west of the entrance, directly over the entrance and on its walls and ceilings. It also has a well-worn natural stone seat inside the entrance, which provides exquisite views of the valley, suggesting that it has been a viewpoint. Eleven depictions of mountain goats decorate the walls, while mountain goat dung covers the floor. The outside paintings depict thunderbird, connected by a line to an animal with a spear shot through its back. Another animal is depicted above it, amid six large paint smears. Paintings over the entrance include a sunburst, a naked man and another animal with a spear in its back. Isolated geometric figures appear around the entrance, inside on the walls and on the ceiling. Figures of men, mountain goats, geometric figures and lines flow, from walls to ceiling inside the cave, seeming to depict the flowing together of human and non-human elements.

EbRj 130

This is the only known rock art site on the north side of the river, below the cable crossing. Located across the river, directly north of "the asking rock" on an outcrop in an alcove right above the river, there is a game animal, likely a deer, represented together with two smears of red paint (Arnett, in Lepofsky, 1988:70). The rock itself here embodies the purpose of asking; it is the *poiesis* of the "asking itself", as if the personhood of the valley can listen and respond for the safe keeping of the traveller inside the valley.

EbR1 11

This site represents a unique charcoal pictograph drawn upon the scar of a culturally modified cedar tree. According to I.R. Wilson, its official recorder, it is the only site of its kind in British Columbia. These paintings on trees are well documented in the ethnographic literature. This tree is situated on the north side of Stein River, 125 metres to the west of "cable crossing", below the trail close to the river's edge. Two scars made by native people are visible on the tree. The scar on the east side has a unidentified design made of small shallow marks created by a small knife. Charcoal drawings occur on the west side of the tree. The drawings are a two-headed creature with deer antlers, a male human figure with large ears and horns and a large drawing of a single human form as if interacting. Examination of the tree-ring data indicates that the bare scar, on which the paintings are placed, was caused by bark stripping done after 1875 and before 1907 (Parker, in McGonigle and Wickwire, 1988:9).

EbRj4

The only known petroglyph or rock carving in the Stein watershed, this site is on a carved boulder, a metre high by a metre in diameter, located 200 metres south of the Stein and Fraser confluence on *Stryen* Reserve No. 9. It was identified by David Sanger, in September of 1961, with information provided by Andrew Johnny Jr. of Stein. The boulder's west-face portrays three human female figures. The left one has a prominent rib cage. Bird-like figures and the sun are also figured. The south face of the boulder depicts other abstract figures and a series of arches. Around the top of the rock are simple pecked holes, 4 centimetres in diameter and 2 centimetres deep (Bouchard and Kennedy, in Wilson, 1988a:116). According to elder, Annie York, the site depicts

beetles and birds, but represents one story. The story is about a boy's grandmother who said, "'My eyes will be far out to watch over you.' She was blind, that old lady. She had power and when you have it you can see things other people can't" (York, Daly and Arnett, 1993:218).

5.3.2. Stein Placenames in the Poiesis of Body and World

The study of placenames in the Stein Valley speaks with particular poignancy to the poetics of self, body and world in a way similar to the rock art. It raises the question of what is embodied in a placename. To harken back to Chapter 4 section 4.3 on "Sound/Meaning Relationships", we can re-ask at this juncture the question of how does the land speak? The answer in phenomenological terms looks first to the human perception of places on the land, and how this can be depicted and then inscribed within a living vocabulary that gives oral reference to significant places as they are passed down from generation to generation—thus the land speaks! However, the land's speaking out has as much to do with human doings, as it does with the non-human setting. The placenames in the Stein, therefore, similar to the Western *Apache* placenames, are testimony to human activity and goings on at a particular place (see Chapter 4, section 4. 2, "Considering Placenames"). They connect the particular sites of dwelling within a regional landscape, providing an overall oral map of the relationship between people and land. Placenames, therefore, are better when they are precise in terms of the site they represent, for that way they present the clearest reference for territorial activities and territorial histories as it is given in oral memory. The placenames thus are an expression of, not only how the land looks, smells, feels and sounds, but also of what happens there (e.g., mushrooms are harvested, a fish weir site exists, cedar

root gathering site, etc.). These represent the vortex of human and non-human activity that is evident at that place, as Bierwert explains with respect to Sweetie's camp in Chapter 5, section 5.2. Thus named places become a poetics of the body/world nexus and flow, similar to landmarks and painting sites and as thematized topographical anchors for human activity belonging within a place. Human existence is given definition through such thematized well-known places on the land and, thus, dwelling can occur on an intergenerational basis on a foundation of prior experience—on this basis ancestral self-identification to place becomes a lived reality.

The Stein Valley placenames are a good example of how aboriginal placenames provide a linguistic map of the territory and give a description of the land at a certain place, after the manner of the land's speaking as explained above. For example, *Kemkamatshootsi Uyma* means "small area where yellow avalanche lilies were found (Chris Arnett and Angus Weller, 1991; in B.C. Parks, 1999). This place, which is vividly depicted in terms of topographical description but also in terms of what happens there, is also claimed by a *N'lakapamux* elder to be a spot where the *N'lakapamux* people dug cedar roots for basket production. We are told, furthermore, that *Kemkamatshootsi Umya* likely also refers to a large grove of culturally modified trees, trees harvested aboriginally for their cedar bark, a mile north of *Tsikwoxowks,* a Creek on the north bank of the Stein River across from *Tsiwetetem. Tsikwoxowks* is the name of a mountain in the area, is the *N'lakapamux* word for a red headed woodpecker, according to *N'lakapamux* elder, Willie Justice, and is applied to the creek that flows down it also. This same creek is also known as Battle Creek, recalling an ancient skirmish between the *Stlatliumx* and *N'lakapamux. Tsikwatete* is the *N'lakapamux* word that means "red inside", and is given to this area because of the unique red colour of the rock face on the

south side of the river (ibid., 30). This site is traditionally known by the *N'lakapamux* people as a gathering place to collect sacks full of *Katsha* or Labrador Tea. A mineral spring is also said to be situated nearby, where the animals go and drink (ibid., 30). Thus, upon analysing the three related named places above (*Kemkamatshootsi Umya, Tsikwozowks* and *Tsikwatetem*), we see an imbrication between humans and geography where the land speaks providing vivid oral articulations to sonic space of what can be seen there or felt there and, also, on the nexus of human doings at that site as if an interconnected flowing and moving together of people and land vividly marks out the dimensions of the territory and is thus welded into oral memory through the ancestral repetition of the placenames—the land speaks!

Nukwanukwits, the *N'lakapamux* word meaning cottonwood creek, is actually called Cottonwood Creek in English. The oral tradition has it that an Indian doctor built a sweathouse close to the mouth and beside a waterfall. These memories are now incorporated in the depiction of the placename. According to the *N'lakapamux,* the "waterfall" there is associated with the "water mysteries" attributable to a creation story covered in the section on *N'lakapamux* folklore above. The "cottonwood drainage" is a traditional hunting ground, used in ancient times up until the present. The *N'lakapamux* elders claim that the "old Indians" hunted for mule deer and mountain goat in ancient times, "way up at cottonwood". These animals are still to be found there in wintertime (ibid., 30).

Another good example of the extended embodied flowing together of people and land as it is contained within a named place is found in the word *Skeetaytn.* The exact location of *Skeetaytn* is uncertain, although it is claimed generally to be between the cable car crossing (*shklimeen*) and *Nukwanukwits*. The name *Skeetaytn* means (in

N'lakapamux) to "get up on top". It is believed that this name refers to a segment of the trail that climbs up and over a rock outcropping, in order to avoid a marshy area (ibid., 30). This nicely depicts the poetics of body and world and the manner in which a body can be thought of as a locality or as a bodily opening outwards onto the world, in a way that recalls the *"get-up-over sounds"* of the *Kaluli* (depicted in Chapter 4, section 4.3). A similar example of body/world poetics is found in the placename *may-humtm*. It refers to a place in the Stein where the aboriginal people harvested cedar roots for baskets and, literally, means "infested with bugs", thus speaking to the nexus of human and non-human activity as it is voiced as a living reality of what is there.

Nukwqanukwits utsiyem, literally meaning "small area where cottonwood is found", is an exact description of the place in human terms. It is a traditional place used by the *N'lakapamux t*o dig cedar roots for basketry (ibid., 30). Another example of body/world *poiesis* as it is articulated in placenames is *Shklimeen,* which means "wade-across place", and recalls a bodily locale, the place where the Stein trail crosses over the river from the south to the north side over a shallow gravel bar. The named place as it is talked about, which is indicated by a large painted boulder, is a container for numerous traditional activities that provide it with its lived significance. *N'lakapamux* women made camp at this place in order to dig cedar roots and harvest *Kumash-ekwa*, the wood of oyster mushroom. Another example is found in *Kwilekwaheel,* a name that refers to Fred Earl, who once built a trapper's cabin south from the mouth of Earl Creek. In fact, it is believed that *Kwilekwaheel* is probably the *N'lakapamux* name for that person, Freddie Earl (ibid., 31), who spent time there. The general region here is a favourite place for getting *Kumash*, or pine mushroom, in late spring and early fall, and is remembered by the man who lived at the place.

Tsatzook, in *N'lakapamux*, literally means "red writings or markings" and refers to the many rock paintings to be found there. Here almost two hundred rock paintings are seen on an overhang above the river. This site is said to have been a site used by past Indian doctors, and the paintings are said to be shaman paintings. The place is believed to have power; the significance of this place is borne in the word *Tsatzook,* which represents in oral memory the sum of what has gone on there (ibid., 31). *Kakawzik,* the mountain called Mount Roach by non-natives, is described by elders as an Indian college where the young people trained for their supernatural power. According to the elders of the area, the name is derived from the *N'lakapamux* word meaning "leap" or "jump" and speaks of an event in mythological time when a giant jumped from a nearby mountain and landed on top of *Kakawzik* (ibid., 32). It is a named place that excellently exemplifies the *poiesis* of body, self and world as defined throughout this dissertation. The jumping in this passage is defined in terms of "a jumping off" and can be seen as "activational" in phenomenology's extended bodily terms. This action refers to the scale and precipitousness of the landscape as it is fashioned and depicted in the local creation stories. It also speaks to the scale of the mythological ancestors seen to be immortalized here. The area is an important ritual spot for the *N'lakapamux* people, the reality of which has been captured in the name *Kakawsik* as a sacred place, a sacred mountain of personal wisdom and of ownmost possibility in *N'lakapamux* terms.

Again we see an example of the co-incidence of body and world, flowing together in placenames, in the named place *inzikikin,* which means to "fall a log across", and also serves for the name of *Stryen* Creek (Last Chance Creek) "that flows down the flanks of *Kakawzik*" (ibid., 33). *The N'lakapamux* name refers to the log bridge used to cross over this creek where it meets the Stein. Nearby this site is the rock painting known locally as

the "asking rock" (discussed above), the special place where *N'lakapamux* stopped to pray, to ask permission before carrying on into the Stein Valley—it is here they asked for safety. The rock represents the threshold to the valley; all that represented and the possibilities to be attained there. *Inzikikin* is a good example of how the body can be a location, a flowing river and a threshold between two areas; it is the infinite extended surfaces of body and world that is provisioned within named places and in the land's speaking out to poetically fill the silence that is, now, sonic articulatory space.

5.4. Plateau Storyscape as Personality

We observe, then, how the journeying of supernatural beings changes and recreates the landscape, leaves landmarks as beacons at specific important places and, generally, confers a sense of meaning and identity to the landscape. The landmarks are animated in that they have become the containers of human activity, meaning, drama and sensibility at a certain site where the people's "dwelling" takes place and, thus, have absorbed personality. The geophysical landscape has been animated with a bodily human presence in that, following Merleau-Ponty, the human skin has entwined with other sensuous surfaces as an unbroken epidermal layer of sensibility and presence. The phenomenological conceptualization of the world as a "ratio of the senses" provides an explanation for the personalization of the land as seen here. The dissertation's conceptualization of the "enfoldment" of human and non-human forces sums up this process. As a result of such imbrication, or what we have termed "enfoldment", the land acquires personhood. All of a sudden, rocks, mountains and rivers are enlivened with a definite personal identity or personhood. Expanding on this point, it is documented that

the people addressed each mountain peak by name, or made offerings to them (ibid., 1906:279). "Many rocks throughout the country are looked upon as metamorphosed animals or people, or parts of people" (Teit, 1906:274). The surroundings become charged with a sense of who went before, with the bodies of the early people of the region (the *Speckt'l*) cast in stone, as the anchoring of the epic achievements of the supernaturals in the geological bedrock. A connection exists, hereby, between the physiognomy of the land and the characteristics of its human people. For example, near a location by the name of *SLaha'l* or *SLaka'l,* one can observe a man, a man's face with a twisted mouth and also a women's privates (ibid., 1906:274). According to the *N'lkamapumx* or Thompson mythology, upon introducing salmon to the *Okanagan* country, Coyote asked Wolverine for his daughter's hand in marriage. Once this request was granted and once she brought forth a child, he threw her into the Upper Columbia River, where she lay down on her back and was changed into stone. "This rock forms part of the Falls of the Columbia, and the salmon ascend the river on either side of it" (ibid., 1906:206). The folklore of the plateau region is literally peopled with such bodies.

Another good example of such personhood is found in the *Lillooet's* "The Transformers" (which was dealt with under the former heading in a previous section). As the story continues, the Transformers asked *Tsoop* (a fisherman) what he intended to do next, and he replied that he was making snowshoes in order to race the Transformers, who were coming to his land. Upon discovering this, the Transformer raced *Tsoop* down to his house. Tsoop made giant steps because he was in snowshoes, and so the Transformer was dragging behind. Finally, the Transformer reached *Tsoop's* house and turned him into a rock. "But his eyes continued to blink", and "....Taking some paint, the Transformer's sister, painted in the eyes, ...which stopped him from blinking. This rock

with the red paint on it, can still be seen today" (Elder, Charlie Mack, in Bouchard and Kennedy, 1971:#2). This demonstrates the integral relationship between humanness and land as a personalised field. In effect, eyes would seem to suggest the property of awareness, conferred for all time upon the aroundness of the landscape.

The indication of bodily impressions left in the stone by mythic characters is compelling evidence in demonstrating the interpenetration of the consciousness of the people with their surrounding landscape. Among the traditions of the Thompson River, for example, there was a Transformer by the name of *Kokwela*, who originated from the root *kokwela,* and who traveled around the country changing bad people and those, who offended him, into stone. When he met up with the *Qoa qlqal* brothers, who were on their way up the Thompson River, he vied with them for magical dominance and vanquished them easily. Afterwards, however, they all camped together and, now, that spot can be readily identified by the bodily imprints left at their sleeping places. In the *Lillooet* Transformer tale of *Thlee-sa,* a girl who was encountered near Moran in *Stlatliumx* territory leaves an impression of her body, while emerging from a rock hiding spot when the Transformers were passing by (ibid., #4). Imprinting such as this is also seen in the *N'lakapamux* Transformer tale, when the Transformer arrives near a location a few miles above Yale, known as *E'am,* where he meets a man of great size whose feet sink down into the rock as he walked. "He changed him into a stone, which may be seen a little east of that place. This man's footprints,...may be seen at the present" (Teit, 1912:228), bestowing personhood on the landscape with a visual tactile sign of the people in the land and the land in the people.

Recall at 3 mile on the Fraser River that the oldest *Qoa qlqal* (in the Thompson tale discussed above) sank his head and his shoulders into a smooth rock surface, and

that the impressions can still be seen today. In a parallel *Shuswap* tale, *Tlee'sa* and his brothers, who are engaged in their heroic journey to rid the world of man-eating monsters, decided to amuse themselves at a place near the mouth of Hat Creek, called Little-Coming-out-Place (*Puptpu'tlemten*), where they saw a smooth rock.

> *Tlee'sa* said lets amuse ourselves by seeing who can stick his head farthest into the rock. The three brothers, one after another, pressed their heads against the rock, but made only slight impressions. Then *Tlee'sa* pressed his head against the rock, and it went in to the ears and bridge of the nose. When he pulled his head out again, a red mark was left in the cavity. (Teit, 1909:649)

It is almost as though he had been merged in union with the land for a time, where a symbolic real blood exchange had taken place in symbolic terms.

In the Thompson River version detailed above, the *Qoa'ql qal* brothers finish their journey that was headed towards the Fraser River. When they cross over *Mount S'qwa'ilox* at Pavilion Creek (the location of the *Shuswap* village of *S'qwa'ilox;* the mountain, according to Teit, is very flat near the top, and therefore is called *Spa'lEm* by the regional people), they saw a young girl, who approached them dancing and singing and who turned them into stone as they stopped to watch her. *"They may be seen standing there at the present day"* (Teit, 1898:45). In the similar *Shuswap* version, "*Kwelaa'llst,* has been sent out in haste to overtake the brothers and tell them of the mysterious power of Pubescent-Girl, and how to overcome her" (Teit, 1909:646). The brothers refuse to listen, and attempt to kill him by covering him with a slide of boulders, but he remained unharmed. Later in this tale, when the brothers encountered the Chipmunk, near Hat Creek, who was also a pubescent girl, "She was dancing and they stopped to look at her. The brothers tried to transform her, but could not manage it properly" (ibid., 1909:650). At this point, the girl transformed them where they stood.

"The Chipmunk girl became changed into stone of a red color, for she was painted red at the time; and the stripes, like those on a chipmunk, may still be seen on her back" (ibid., 1909:651).

The two references to red rock markings, in this tale, are interesting because it hints at the presence of painted human flesh and blood imbedded in the rocks—that the flesh and blood of the people is hereby commingled, permanently, with the ancientness of that land. In the Lee'sa tale of the North Thompson people, a similar *Tlee'sa* incident is garnered, in which the breath of the supernatural and human realm commingles and the pigment of their red painted bodies become imprinted in the stones, showing the basic imbrication of mythic, human and natural worlds as geographic personality.

> The brothers came to a place on the North Thompson above the Red Trees Reserve, where, on looking over a cliff, they saw two Goat girls bathing in the river below. They had their bodies painted red. Lee'sa drew away their breaths by drawing in his own, and they became transformed into two red stones, which may be seen there at the present day. There is a cliff at this place near the river with a rock-slide at the bottom. (ibid., 651)

The folk tales abound with many more examples of transformed people in rock mortars throughout the land. In the Thompson tradition at a location called *Huxtsi'xama,* the Transformer arrived at a place where a woman was in the process of birthing a child. The supernatural turned toward her and transformed her into stone. The Transformer then went to *Zolpi'px* ("little *leha'l'*"), where he changed all the gamblers into stone. "One man, who had gambled away his dog, was in the act of holding his gambling-bone behind his back, and had his face turned towards his two wives, who were sitting near by, when the Transformer turned them all into stone" (Teit, 1912:228). A little *Secwepemc* story, called "*The War of the Four Tribes or of the Four Quarters*" depicts, yet again, how landmarks were created from people. At a point in ancient times, the

Cree to the east, the *N'lakapamux* to the south and the *Lillooet* (*Stlatliumx*) to the west decided to attack the *Shuswap* (*Secwepemc*), who resided in the North. They all joined forces on the east bank of the Fraser River. Numbering several hundred, they advanced up river to attack the *Shuswap* but, when almost opposite the mouth of Lone Cabin Creek (still far from Canoe Creek), they met up with Coyote (or perhaps some other Transformer), who transformed them into pillars of clay, and rendered these contiguous tribes into stone. These markers reference the actual tribal geographic regions that the respective tribes inhabit, and demonstrates the presence of the people in the land and the land in the people.. "They may be seen standing there now—the tall Crees on the right, the Thompson of medium height in the centre, and the short *Lillooet* on the left" (Teit, 1909:642).

5.5. Landmark *Poiesis* as Geographic Centres of Force

The various landmarks, once created by the "heroic" supernaturals, who traveled the world, possess a definite ritual significance. They are charged with special meaning or exist as nodal points or power spots within the ethos of human and non-human existence. These are the points upon which the world is anchored in phenomenological terms and, thus, are extremely important in the double-edged drama of human and non-human existence. Consequently, as a result of their role and consequence in the disposition of humans and human dwelling, they often have human names or resemble humans in some way and, therefore, are culturally and ritually empowered, while characterizing a living regional personality. The mythic landmarks told about in the Transformer tales, further serve to anchor and focus the oral explanations about the

supernaturals and the deities within a geographically articulated region and, therefore, situate and illustrate a regional iconic *poiesis* of people and land, and thus are very compelling in mythological and ritualistic terms. In other words, they become the geographic centres of force or centres of gravity that Merleau-Ponty talks about in the *Phenomenology of Perception* (1962). These are the nodal points that ground the world in terms of the "realizable possibility" of humans. These points on the land are the points of "thematization" that must be addressed in the nexus of "being-in-the-world" for a self to find its positioning. These are the dramatic and universally recognized nodal points in the "*poiesis* of body and world". As such, they become the anchors for the moral universe, as named places did for the Western *Apache*. However, the moral significance is not meaningful in the abstract, but in terms of what actually happens there. The sites are the containers of human activity with its full spectrum of tones and meanings and, as such, represent the tone and character of the terrestrial/bodily "enfoldment" within that place. Thus, the power spots embody a reflexive poetics of what it means to be there and to do there—they are instructional on "real dwelling" and, as such, are the seats of "aboriginal wisdom".

The Great Chief, or Old Man or Great Man (all the same person) and the other Transformer deities, traveled over the country transforming bad people to stone, raising and flattening the land, making lakes and mountains and, otherwise, creating areas of use, hunting grounds, fishing grounds and significant landmarks as *sacred locations*. Consequently, certain mysterious powers preside in the topographical contours of the land they resonate the imbrication of humans and landscape in ritual or folkloric terms. They become animate—a quality that is reflected directly in the folklore, in what appears as supernatural qualities. Mountain peaks are seen as possessing land mysteries, and

certain lakes are seen as possessing water mysteries. Other parts of high mountains, hills and other well known landmarks can also be evoked through prayer or human invocation. For example, when trodden on by humans, given locations cause rain or snow. Other places would only cause it to rain or snow when a stranger stepped on them for the first time (Teit, 1900 :344).

> The land mysteries live chiefly in mountain-peaks and caves; and the water mysteries, in certain lakes, especially those having no outlets, and in waterfalls, bogs, and springs in the forest, particularly those surrounded by moss and reeds. (Teit, 1909:598).

Many of the mountains in the plateau region are said to have such sacred power. Water mysteries, known as Transformer locations in the form of men, women, grisly bears, fish and so on, are said to emerge from the water, the site of which is fatal to any on-looking man, woman or child. The lakes and mountains in the Cascades have water mysteries and the high mountains to the west and south of Lytton have land mysteries. These important areas in the landscape have a unique supernatural personality; they represent a certain mysterious power. There is a lake between the three mountains, near Foster's Bar, in which strange mysteries may be seen (Teit, 1900:338).

> One place of this kind is on the west side of Fraser River, opposite Fosters Bar, in the country of the Upper Fraser band. There are three high mountains here—the highest one in the middle, called A'motEn, which is believed to be a man; and his wives on each side, called Ntekelxtin and Se'ijuk. If an Indian at any time takes a stick, and threatens to strike, or makes the motion of striking, A'moten with it, it will at once rain. The Mountain Kazik, near Lytton, was also believed to possess supernatural power. When a person who had a strong guardian spirit pointed at it, it would rain. Still another mountain of this kind is the peak Skoia'iks, north of Spences Bridge. (ibid., 345)

Mountains in *N'lakapamux* territory were seen to possess a particular and very potent ritual power, integrally connected both to the human and animal world, but also to the cosmic world (ibid., 345). It was the contours of the earth that manifested and

appeared, folklorically, through supernatural miracles as explained above. When a *N'lakapamux* mother went root digging at the site of a sacred mountain with her baby, for the first time, she would paint her entire face red, and sometimes the top of her head. Afterwards, she would dance before her infant, perhaps for the whole night, praying constantly to the spirits of the place or to the mountains themselves "asking that her child might never be sick, and that, if it were ever bewitched, and no shaman were near to help, nevertheless it might not die, or that she herself might have power to defeat the evil" (ibid., 1900:309). Kneeling down, spitting into her hands and rubbing the body upward, over the face and over and down the back of the head, she prayed that she might be delivered from all disease or trouble, that she would never be bewitched or hurt and that, if ill, she would recover soon. At *Po'pEsamen,* which means "Little Heart" and is located on Upper Bridge River in *Stlatliumx* territory, the people, who went to hunt and camp in the area, visited a "certain place" at the top of the peak. Once there, they addressed the mountain saying "O Chief! don't rain or fog. Give us easy root-digging and successful hunting. Take all smell from us, so that the game may not scent us!" (ibid.). These sacred locations and landmarks emerge as particular charged sites within a mythologically defined geographically articulated world, where human and non-human agents share a common enfoldment (refer to Chapter 4 section 4.1).

The women, when picking berries or digging for roots on certain mountains that were defined as sacred, would always paint their faces red. They also do this before coming upon certain sacred lakes, in order to be favoured with good hunting and good fishing. When they approach a sacred location (such as a mountain peak or a sacred lake), they offer up a blessing or a gesture of good will to the spirit of the place, to bring good weather and good hunting (Teit, 1900:344). "These offerings generally consisted

of a lock of hair, a rag from the clothing, a little powder, a few shot, a piece of tobacco, a stone, and so on" (ibid.). Paint also was seen as an offering.

Another sacred location recorded in *N'lakapamux* lore is Nicola Lake. Evidently, in early times, a man named *Stemalst* lived there with his sister, a mountain goat, who is a beautiful female. As the story has it, whenever anyone travels along, especially men, this beautiful woman lures them into the house, now called *nxa7xa7'atkwa* the sacred waters of Nicola Lake. "She would invite them in for something to eat and her brother would kill them and eat them. The whole outside was a pile of bones" (Hanna and Henry, 1995:79). When the Transformers came up from the coast, they concerned themselves with these goings on. The youngest of the four brothers, wishing to test his powers before returning home, went on ahead of the others to be grabbed by *Stemalst* and, consequently, was invited by *Stemalst's* sister to partake in a meal. Afterwards, *Stemalst* killed and ate the young Transformer, and threw out the bones. In revenge, one of his older brothers transformed Stemalst and his sister into two stone mountains, "....the sister being on the south side and the brother being on the north side" (ibid.,1995:79). We are told, also, that the lake was built between them, because *Stemalst* had been having intercourse with his sister. The lake, furthermore, is said to be the transformed dogs of *Stemalst* and his sister. Thus, the waters of Nicola Lake have always been sacred to the people of the area. If people desire strong powers of medicine, they go to the lake, slowly, while praying to the mountains. It is inappropriate to bathe around these waters, and there still exists considerable fear of this place. *"Xa7xa7* is kind of a spooky, scary, unpredictable thing" (ibid., 1995:79). The people would also sleep on these mountains for power (Teit, 1909:596).

Another supernaturally created landmark documented as a sacred location is At *Xa'lil,* near Fort Yale in Thompson country. Here, the people had several (four or more) large seats or blocks, shaped like trunks, on which they would sit. The Old Man turned these plus a man of very large proportions into stone, and "he may be seen at the present day lying on his back" (Teit, 1912:228). This transformation site marks a mystical site for the *N'lakapamux,* as the people go to these stones whenever the weather is hot and rub on them, which is said to make the skies turn immediately cloudy. If it is rainy, they do the same thing and the sun comes out (ibid., 228). This is a marked portrait in the *poiesis* on human and non-human enfoldment.

In the Upper and Lower Thompson myth of *Qwa'qtqwetl* and *Kokwe'la,* a similar legendary phenomena can be found. In this story, the *Qwa'qtqwetl* brothers and *Kokwe'la* traveled together, for a time, combining their powers. As they proceeded up the Thompson River, they met a young woman, some say an adolescent girl, who was a snake woman who ensnared men. She "called on all male passers-by and made love to them. When they succumbed to her enticement, her vagina closed, and severed or crushed their genital organs, and thus killed them" (Boas, 1917:16). The brothers discovered the woman prone at the side of the trail with her legs spread open, which was her way. The youngest and most powerful of them decided to overcome her and separated her labia with his arrow flaker, which prevented her parts from closing on him. "'Henceforth no privates of women shall have the power to destroy men.' This rock is there yet" (ibid., 17). The transformed rock has a crack in it that resembles female genitalia and is a good example of how a transformed human-like landmark could function as a sacred location and how the power ascribed to a particular mythological place likely stands testimony to the power and danger inhering in female puberty rites.

The rock is viewed as mystical or powerful for the regional native people, who go to the rock and pray for the healing of their swollen limbs. "They strike the rock and the affected parts of the body with fir-branches, asking the mystery of the place to cure them" (ibid., 17).[8]

Another transformation of mystical significance occurred in this tale at a place now called "Gaping" or "Open Mouth", near Drynoch. The story tells how a giant horse living at this place caught people in its mouth. "People simply walked into its open mouth when it placed it on the trail. *Qwa' qtqwetl,* the Transformer, placed his arrow flaker between the animals jaws so they could not be closed, thus killing its power, and turned it into a stone which can be seen today, and the place is now recognized for its sacredness and mystery" (ibid., 17). The further consecration of the landscape arrives through the fact that the deified Transformers such as Coyote, a recognized regional deity, are bodily enshrined within the landscape at various places, representing a sacred meaning and special power to a specific location. This is often seen in the transformation of significant body parts, indicative of the extended bodily surfaces of body and world referred to in Chapter 2. Frequently, sexual anatomical parts impart an extra sense of power onto the landscape, "There they also changed Coyote's penis into stone. It may be seen sticking out on the south edge of the mountain as an isolated peak" (ibid.).[9] Such an iconic representation speaks to the acknowledged gravity,

[8] According to Boas, this rock has a fissure similar to the rock called "Coyote's Wife", near Spences Bridge (Boas, 1917:17).

[9] The Native people of the Plateau region further claim that certain rock paintings found in their country are the result of supernatural agency during the mythological period and, thus, are sacred locations or power spots within the landscape—especially true in the case of rocks or overhangs, which face towards the water (Teit, 1900:339). It is believed that ancient rock-paintings of this kind have magical powers and, in some cases, can hide and show themselves at will; they are in a sense spiritualized, yet another form of mythological landmark or sacred location within the articulated landscape as a personalized field of activity.

inhering in the relationship between people and land. In various cases where the most visible landmarks are seen as a supernatural's private parts as occurs quite frequently in the plateau region, a poetics of force speaks in iconic terms about the people in the land and the land in the people, in a relationship of indelible and titanic meaning.

CHAPTER 6.

CONCLUSION

The dissertation has analysed the ethnographic folklore, creation stories and traditions of the British Columbia aboriginal context in terms of the phenomenological notion of "dwelling", and has stretched this concept to encompass a variety of geographically situated meaningful goings on within what has been described as a tribal territory. It has been demonstrated, through a review of the ethnographic folkloric accounts in British Columbia, that spaces inevitably result from areas of meaningful activity, or as places of dwelling, building and human creativity (Heidegger, 1971:154), as is seen for the *Yanyedi* people on the *Taku* or in the case of Mount *Cheam* for the *Sto:lo* people. The *poiesis* uncovered throughout the ethnographic literature results from the expressiveness inhering in the activational relationship between "body and world" as a behavioural setting. It is an expressiveness, or speaking out, that is improvised and, therefore, continually adjusted anew in the dynamic and ongoing relationship between a people and their background. The *poiesis* then, the body's expressiveness as has been shown throughout the analysis of the ethnography of the regions of British Columbia, is the many symbols and representations of life's abiding story or narrative. It is a story that has been mapped onto a territorial background on the basis of human doing and, therefore, is indicative of human possibility and productivity—as indicative of being-in-the-world.

The dissertation has therefore shown, on the basis of the ethnographic research, that the aboriginal placenames, landmarks, ancestral locations, narratives, vision sites,

power spots, etc., are "themes" for bodily activity and meaning, and constitute a "storyscape" that encapsulate territorial activity. Meaningful places on the land, as narratively encoded, are the recognizable "poles of action" as was seen in the Transformer rock *Xeyxelemos* at Sweetie's camp on the Fraser River in *Sto:lo* territory. The poetics of dwelling, seen in the landmarks and their stories as researched in the dissertation, were also found in many diverse aesthetic forms of territorial representation and expression (such as crests and songs, dances, etc.,) that express special or sacred territorial sites or are the places of origin for a given people. The dissertation has presented ethnographic examples from five different aboriginal settings to demonstrate how a formulation of "body and world *poiesis* is conceptually useful in analysing aboriginal representations and narrative forms towards an understanding of aboriginal, territorial "dwelling". The five examples looked at were: 1. the Coastal culture area, 2. the Lower *Stlatliumx* territory (the *Lillooet* River), 3. the Upper *Stlatliumx* territory, 4. the *N'lakapamux* tribal territory, and 5. the Stein Valley *N'lakapamux* Tribal Heritage Park. All the areas researched have provided examples of the *poiesis* of body and world", serve as storyscapes and present representations of aboriginal "real dwelling" as embedded in *poiesis*. The ethnographic examples of the Lower *Stlatliumx* (*Lillooet* River), the Upper *Stlatliumx*, the *N'lakapamux* and the *N'lakapamux* Stein provide a wide range of examples of "body/word *poiesis*" in the form of mythological landmarks, which speak to human presencing as an "extended self". The territorial stories, songs, and dances based on the many territorial traditions (such as the songs, family crests and regalia discovered in the cases of the *Gitksan*, the *Kwageulth* and the *Nuu-chah-nulth* Coastal tribes) have served to illustrate the notion of the "extended body" as poetic and aesthetic expression. The dissertation has clarified the relationship between the folklore

and the phenomenological theory of "body and world", by drawing attention to the connection between the aesthetic representations (landmarks, rocks art, crests, stories, etc.) and the territorial meanings and activities that give rise to them. Many such aesthetic representations of "dwelling" were found, for example, in the *Stein Valley* where rock art sites, landmarks and named places served to illustrate the activational relationship between people and place (land), which has been symbolically represented through a narrative or symbolic means.

The dissertation clearly demonstrates, in its reflections on the ethnographic accounts of Coast *Salish* and Interior narratives, traditions, rituals, landmarks, etc., that the network of meaningful places that constitute a territorial "dwelling" have an ancestral foundation in that they were established by the travel patterns of the early ancestors, and thus represent the oral maps of the former ancestral territorial practices. In other words, the dissertation has shown that the early tribal networks between people, such as family-owned harvesting sites, fishing spots, and territorial borders, etc., have been inscribed in the folklore and, co-incidentally thereby, on the land. In the case of both Coastal and Interior peoples' folklore and traditions, the folkloric defining of landscape as the poetics of their activity and self-identification was a leading feature in the oral traditions. Therefore, for these region's legendary traditions under study (*Kwageulth*, *Gitksan*, *Tsimshian*, *Tlingit, Nuu-chah-nulth, Sto:lo*, *N'lakapamux*, *Statliumx*, *Secwepemc*, and *Lower Lillooet*) the narratives are shown to be contextualized geographically on the basis of well-known use sites within the territory that are well established and marked out, physically, on the basis of the oral traditions. The oral traditions, the narratives, thus, thematize the territory in such a way that allows for the "self's possibility" as meaningfully anchored as "being-in-the-world" at important places

on the land. The poetic and symbolic gestures given in the narratives, such as placenames, landmarks and rock paintings, etc., as noted, are what might be described as the containers of human activity, as it has unfolded and as it "enfolds" the land in the age-old sense—thus, they can be seen as the indicators of aboriginal "dwelling".

Throughout the dissertation's analysis of the ethnographic accounts, we constantly find self-identifying elements such as songs, narratives and other aesthetic traditions that originate from certain places on the land, which seem to speak out on life and define ancestral occurrences and which are constitutive of what is considered one's own. Thus, it has been illustrated that territorial spatiality and the sensuous worldly presence of humans, as is formative of selfhood in phenomenological terms, emerges within the aboriginal cultures of British Columbia as a compendium of aesthetic representations and communicative forms. Expressive of the territory, these poetic representational forms emerge from the human habitat within a specific territorial geographical location, or what might be called a human "contexture" or background. As such, they speak to the issues of meaningful "dwelling" or the territorial ethos of living and working together within a territorial home.

The dissertation has, moreover, made a literature review of folkloric interpretations of territory within world ethnography. It has drawn from ethnographic accounts of the *Winjimi Cree* of Canada, the *Navajo* of south-western United States, the *Walbiri* and *Pintupi Aborigines* of Australia, the Western *Apache* of Arizona and the *Umeda, Foi* and *Kaluli* of New Guinea. On the basis of this research, it has been shown that (in the wider ethnographic context) the respect and self-identification that aboriginals demonstrate with their land can be summed up as an undying attachment to it; and, as an abiding wish and heart-felt concern not to be alienated from it, as it is their own

embodiment. Furthermore, throughout the exploration of the world ethnographic accounts, the dissertation's research has uncovered an expressed folkloric presence of the imbrication of humans and territories that speaks to an "enfoldment" of all human and non-human elements on the land, as an unbroken web of being. As has been shown in the discussion of world ethnographic examples (Chapter 4), the integration of all human and non-human elements in a shared life process has led to a generally ascribed "personhood" that is narratively depicted on the landscape. Similar poetic representations often take the form of geological formations and prominent mountains, as seen for the Aborigines and others, and of animal beings in the case of the *Cree*. Such poetic renderings were demonstrated for all non-human agents (as found in the writings of Colin Scott and others), who generally are seen to share a place within the same habitat and ethos of survival and communicative "world" as humans (Scott, 1989:130).

Throughout the renderings of the many diverse ethnographic accounts, the dissertation has demonstrated the presence of a non-dualistic aboriginal perspective to land, and has delineated the self-identification of aboriginal people with their territories as their ownmost "field of self". The aboriginal "poetical" "thematizations" of land have consistently been shown to be both spatially and orientationally indispensable for aboriginals, who are both anchored and "locationally positioned" meaningfully as "selves" through the territory's narrative means. These are indispensable in the maintenance and continuation of an aboriginal moral "world" and "selfhood". The poetic representations exampled in the section on world ethnography speak to the dissertation's premise of the unbroken relationship between body and world as uncovered, for instance, in the phonic, syllabic and aesthetic representations of *Umeda,*

Foi and *Kaluli* "selfhood". The body/world relationship was also found in the named places and self-defining narratives of the Western *Apache*, whose stories and placenames are the key to Western *Apache* wisdom, and a grounded moral universe based on the reflections and realizations of "real dwelling". Further examples of the self's presencing, in poetic terms, are found in the case of the *Walbiri* and *Pintupi* Aborigines whose *poiesis* of land" is passed on intergenerationally within families. The creation stories and the associated song lines, in this case, serve to define a given group's or individual's specific territorial and land use rights as inscribed ancestrally. Song lines thus serve to "position meaningfully" the person on the land, in inter-generational and poetic terms. They are the vehicles in the double-edged purpose of enabling the self's presencing and, also, in anchoring what could be looked upon as the moral or human "world". Song lines thus become the poetic anchors of "dwelling" and, as such, instructional on how to be on the earth.

The dissertation, through the review of the various ethnographic accounts as listed above, has demonstrated the aboriginal hunter-gatherer folkloric and poetic depictions of "the world" to be representational of a complete or non-dualistic "world", as opposed to one that is disembodied or dismembered. The latter description is representational of dualistic "world" norms typical for western rationalist (Cartesian-based) societies that tend to oppose self and world, nature and culture, human and non-human, and self and other as their dominant ontological foundation. The study has served rather to uncover the aboriginal perspective of self, as one flowing together with the non-human world, in that hunter-gatherers interact with the non-human beings and processes of their environment in an intimately connected and non-dualistic sense. Phenomenology's discourse, as it can now be argued, is a viable one to be employed in

the discussions on the aboriginal perspective. The complementary between the aboriginal perspective and the phenomenological perspective is found in the related categories of "body, self and world", which is fundamentally in counterpoint to the mainstream socially scientific discussions within the fields of anthropology, sociology, environmental studies, political economy and aboriginal studies. Such dualistic scientistic approaches embrace viewpoints that oppose the categories of nature and culture and "body and world", thus debarring the domain of personhood from all non-human agents and animal kinds, and therefore violating aboriginality as a perspective wherever they are applied to the topic of native rights, culture or aboriginal land and territories.

The analysis of the aboriginal aesthetic and symbolic illustrations drawn upon by the dissertation has served to discredit the traditional scientistic dichotomies of nature and culture as it has demonstrated that it is the body's sensuous interactions and incorporation with a non-human world, per se, in the aboriginal context, that leads to the emergence of a meaningful and narratively articulated world (Zaner, 1981:171). It is rather the human figure's capability and necessity to be meaningfully situated or gainfully anchored bodily and spatially in its purposes and movements "in-the-world", which sustains and gives rise to the many symbolic or narrative forms attributable to that which traditionally has been known as culture. Aboriginal folkloric representations relate eminently to the ability to address the world in an organized and meaningful way, as in the ability to be locatatively situated in terms of productivity, possibility, activity and belonging within a world context; to know where you are going and to have your bearings is required, to function meaningfully, and to operate in an organized way within a meaningfully appointed behavioural setting. Thus the many representations that flow

from life's journey speak to the self's capability to do just that, and to the multifaceted enterprise of "being-in-the-word" as an environmentally placed human possibility. The dissertation has provided many examples of ethnographic accounts that compliment such phenomenological notions of the "self" as a "locational positioning" with the discussion of Aborigine songlines (Chatwin, 1987; as shown for instance in Chapter 4) and (in Chapter 5) with Interior *Salish* Transformer narratives (Teit, 1900).

The aboriginal perspective under study, as found in the examples of the ethnographic accounts of aboriginal folklore and symbolism of British Columbia, shows the self to be the product of an "enfoldment of body and world", as well as the accompanying imbrication of both human and non-human agents as its own experiential unfolding (Evernden, 1985; Ingold, 1996; Merleau-Ponty, 1968). The immersed viewpoint of phenomenology and the notion of the "extended body" as "self" have been useful in locating the aboriginal folklore, under study, within a well-known scholarly discourse of non-dualism. The dissertation's emphasis on the interconnected categories body, self and world, which tend to legitimate and valorize (to give scholarly credence to) the aboriginal perspective academically, for both its inherent philosophical, environmental, aesthetic, and humanistic value has served to move aboriginal people's perspective of self and land solidly into the arena of scholarly discussion.

The dissertation has demonstrated how the phenomenological assumptions of "body, self and world" as an interconnected process have been useful in illuminating the non-dualistic approach present in the aboriginal view of the world as represented in aboriginal oral traditions symbolism and folklore. Through an application of European phenomenology, as given in the works of Maurice Merleau-Ponty, Martin Heidegger, Richard Zaner and others and along with Neil Evernden and other environmental

phenomenologists, the aboriginal folkloric viewpoint of the Native people of British Columbia has been given a scholarly referent within a well respected Western rationalist, although non-dualist, tradition. The dissertation has further shown the efficacy of European phenomenology's arguments that the "activities of the lived human body" is the foundation of the experiential self and the process through which the "world" comes into being has found merit in the many illustrations drawn from British Columbia ethnography, with its emphasis on the personhood of the non-human environment.

A further accomplishment of this study has been to valorize, legitimate and emphasize the environmental awareness and respect the aboriginal traditional approach fosters by showing how aboriginal territorial affiliations have manifested in a system of authentic dwelling and environmental care of both human and non-human components inhering within the general aroundness. The respectfulness for place and for the terrestrial lands that can be associated with ownmost possibility of a given people are, thus, galvanized and observable in the aboriginal folklore, in British Columbia, and in the many aesthetic forms, such as stories, sonic articulatory forms, local landmarks, symbolism (masks and crests) and rituals such as dances and songs has been demonstrated.

When Maurice Merleau-Ponty argues that the body has its world, then the non-human world actually becomes formulated as our ownmost embodiment—that is, the world is the ratio of the senses. Through the course of the analysis of the many folkloric ethnographic accounts the aboriginal folkloric world view has been demonstrated to correspond to sensual experience (as in a "ratio of the senses") and, moreover, to be integrally connected to territorial movement and activities—thus, a complementarity has been argued between phenomenology and the aboriginal world view. To this end, in

order to further the phenomenological discourse on "self, body, and world", the dissertation has conceptualized a "three-fold structure" of analysis for grasping, in phenomenological terms, the symbolic and folkloric representations of aboriginal peoples. The "three-fold structure" of "enfoldment", "storyscape" and *poiesis* has been developed, within the dissertation, to show the relationship between the non-dualistic imbrication of aboriginal peoples and their territory at the experiential level and the resonance of such an imbrication at the level of folkloric representation as depictions of the non-dualistic aboriginal self. Through this means it has been possible to demonstrate how representations and expressions, as found within the aboriginal world view, are the manifestations of the "extended self" and, thus, on an iconic level, speak to the issue of human "dwelling"; they speak to the ethos of what happens in the territory. The "three-fold structure" of "enfoldment", "storyscape" and *poiesis*, thus, present a three-fold analysis of the "extended self" in the aboriginal context. All three levels are inter-related and transposable, at certain times, one into the other. The conceptual level of "enfoldment" speaks to "body/word" imbrication as an experience of the territory. The conceptual level of "storyscape" speaks to the territorial experiences and activities of the "lived body" as manifested in narrative terms, as "world" emergence or "worldhood" and as the narrative "positioning" and territorial embodiment of the "extended self" on a moral level. The conceptual level of *poiesis* captures the relationship between "body and world" as they manifest at the level of expression in representations of all kinds and refer directly to experience and the framing of those experiences within a narrative context that gives them meaning. *Poiesis* is the world as a "ratio of the senses" as they emerge in poetic form and are narratively framed; they are communicable as aesthetic and poetic expressions. *Poiesis* is the iconic reflexivity of the "extended self" within the

"world context". It is at the level of *poiesis* that the lessons of "real dwelling" are lived and communicated, through the poetic representations of "body and world", as have received narrative significance and moral gravity within a specific territorial "dwelling". The dissertation has thus operationalized the "three-fold structure" in order to evaluate a complementarity between the folkloric aboriginal world view and phenomenology, through finding like themes between the two traditions on the relationship of "body and world", and its association to the ethos of human "dwelling". The "three-fold structure" has provided a way of discussing and classifying the aboriginal material in terms useful to the discourse of phenomenology.

In conclusion, the illustration of the many aboriginal storyscapes as presented within this text offer a meaningful point of access for grasping and valorizing the aboriginal perspective on the "world", as lived and as manifested within a territorial surrounding. The recognition of storyscapes relating to regional landscapes as poetic/aesthetic representations with a corresponding matrix of ecoscapes and use-sites, special and charged places, etc., provides a meaningful tool in the joint project of both aboriginal and territorial preservation as a humanitarian priority. The regional storyscape, as we have depicted it, represents nothing less than an environing *poiesis* of body and world. As such, the poetic and symbolic forms looked at have provided the opportunity to uncover a meaningful approach to life for a people, whose connection to the land is self-defining in the primordial sense and whose honouring and respect for the land represents a world view that is not cut off from the non-human processes that sustain them to the extent that, at some level, the human and the non-human worlds are eminently relatable as being one, and the same web.

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