

AESTHETICS AS ICONICITY OF STYLE,  
or 'LIFT-UP-OVER SOUNDING':  
GETTING INTO THE KALULI GROOVE

by Steven Feld

The present discussion [of sound patterns] is really a special illustration of the necessity of getting behind the sense data of any type of expression in order to grasp the intuitively felt and communicated forms which alone give significance to such expression.

—Edward Sapir

Insistence on the opposition between life and art is tied to the experience of an alienated world. And failure to recognize the universal scope and ontological dignity of play produces an abstraction that blinds us to the interdependence of both.

—Hans-Georg Gadamer

*Groove/Sound/Beat/Style*

In vernacular a “groove” refers to an intuitive sense of style as process, a perception of a cycle in motion, a form or organizing pattern being revealed, a recurrent clustering of elements through time. Such consistent, coherent formal features become one with their content, but, are uniquely recognizable by the way they shape content to articulate specifically in that form. Groove and style are distilled essences, crystallizations of collaborative expectancies in time.

Merging several distinguished traditions, a variety of abstract, formal definitions of style are currently in circulation. In a widely influential statement in the general aesthetics literature, Leonard Meyer writes, “Style is a replication of patterning, whether in human behavior or in the artifacts produced by human behavior, that results from a series of choices made within some set of constraints (1979:3).”<sup>1</sup> Or, from a semiotic discussion of speech styles, Greg Urban recently defined style tersely as “. . . a general form that is recognizable apart from specific instances in which it is used (1985:312).” Backing up to anthropological ancestors, Franz Boas (1955 [1927]:144-180) took style to be those unconsciously formal elements selected and arranged to be, like the sound elements of language, characteristic of an expressive system. Ruth Bunzel (1938:564) amplified that notion: “Style is more than the arrangement of patterning of this material; it involves the whole approach to and conception of the esthetic problem in the chosen medium (ibid.:569).”

Later embellishments include Meyer Schapiro (1953) who, again picking up the Boasian analogy with language, separated style into form elements, form relationships, and expressive qualities, and then put them back together as “. . . a qualitative whole which is capable of suggesting (. . .) diffuse connotations as well as intensifying (. . .) associated or intrinsic effects (1953:304); and A.L. Kroeber (1963) who restated the central

Boasian distinction of form/principles abstracted from content/substance in a broader historical perspective of symptomatic traits (see also Gerbrands 1968 for a restatement from a more material culture/museological viewpoint). Later, and in different contexts, Gregory Bateson (1972) and Roman Jakobson (1960) conceived style as a key element in communicative and metacommunicative framing, by differentially foregrounding code from message. Like music and art historians, anthropologists and linguists (somewhat in distinction to literary theorists) have defined style more in terms of shared conventions of form, rather than deviations from them (see Meyer 1979:15fn.).

Taking us specifically to the musical groove, Leonard Meyer puts it all together when he says: "Style constitutes the universe of discourse within which musical meanings arise (1967:7)." Each culturally constructed "groove" is such a universe, regardless of whether a society is characterized by tendencies toward more singular monolithic style formations or toward multiple ones; has style tendencies in conflict and contest or acceptance and reproduction; situates style more generally in other cultural patterns of fission, fusion, flux, acceptance and rejection.

Instantly perceived, and often attended by pleasurable sensations ranging from arousal to relaxation, "getting into the groove" describes how a socialized listener anticipates pattern in a style, momentarily able to track and appreciate subtleties vis-a-vis overt regularities. It also describes how a seasoned performer structures and maintains a perceptible coherence (Keil 1966a relates the groove to the subjective processes of swing, vital drive, and metronome sense in jazz). "Getting into the groove" also describes a feelingful participation, a positive physical and emotional attachment, a move from being "hip to it" to "getting down" and being "into it." A "groove" is a comfortable place to be.<sup>2</sup> When Aretha Franklin (1967) covered Sam Cooke's tune "Good Times" she changed the first line from "Come on baby and let the good times roll" to "Get in the groove and let the good times roll." And the way James Brown (1966) tells it:

when your baby and you are tight  
and everything you say or do is mellow  
she keeps everything alright  
and you know that you're the only fellow  
ain't that a groove!

Of course the musical "groove" here derives from a primary reference to the patterned indent spaces on a disc recording, observable lateral impressions in a record's surfact. The music is mysteriously "in" these physical recesses, pressed into the vinyl, and listeners may imagine journeying there to merge right "into the groove." Styles are engraved and ingrained in cultures the way grooves are engraved and ingrained in record discs.

Related, more general, dubs for styles and their attentive processes include the idea of the "sound" or "beat" (in Francophone Africa, "cadence"), for example: the Philly sound, the Nashville sound, the Motown sound, the Austin sound, the reggae beat, Afro-Beat. Names of places, of record companies and studios, eras, genres, and fusions abound

in this phrasing. From Jamaica, accompanied by pulsing bass and drum essence of reggae *riddim*, Rico (1982) sings:

what you talking 'bout  
 you say you don't like the reggae beat  
 you must be cra-a-a-a-zy!"

I use these sound/text examples to stimulate a sense of the intuitive realness of the ideas of groove/sound/beat as style statements, but they are obviously loaded examples, both because the texts include the very terms "groove" and "beat", and because as we listen we hear these very key words lean into and point to the specifically referenced "groove" (♩♩♩♩ ♩♩♩♩ shuffle funk) or (♩ ♩♩♩ ♩ reggae) "beat" in each case. While these examples are unusual, I would nevertheless contend that all "grooves" and "beats" have ways of drawing a listener's attention to them, no matter how subtle; moreover, one's intuitive feelingful sense of a "groove" or "beat" is a recognition of style in motion. As Leonard Meyer says, "A musical style is a finite array of interdependent melodic, rhythmic, harmonic, timbral, textural, and formal relationships and processes. When these are internalized as learned habits, listeners (including performers and composers) are able to perceive and understand a composition in the style as an intricate network of *implicative relationships*, or to experience the work as a complex of *felt probabilities* (1967:116, emphasis added)." For Meyer, out of these relationships arise the "... expectations—the tendencies—upon which musical meaning is built (ibid.:8; see also Meyer 1956:45-73)."

Linguistic shorthands like the terms "groove," "sound," or "beat" significantly code an unspecifiable but ordered sense of something (Meyer's "implicative relationships" and "felt probabilities") that is sustained in a distinctive, regular and attractive way, working to draw a listener in. Terms like these say that the perception of style is empirically real, but that it is also necessarily general, vague, and physical, feelingfully ingrained in affective time and space. As Kenneth Burke says; "once you grasp the trend of the form, it invites participation (1969:58, cited and discussed in Bauman 1977:16)." Leonard Meyer is in the same groove when he says "A style is *learned*, even by the composers who 'invent' it (1967:116; emphasis and quotes in original)." So is Clifford Geertz when he writes, "Art and the equipment to grasp it are made in the same shop (1983:118)."

*'Lift-up-over sounding': getting into the Kaluli groove*

This paper elaborates a specific case example, and through it three ethnographically and theoretically intertwined propositions:

(1) the Kaluli notion of *dulugu ganalan*, 'lift-up-over sounding', is a style statement, a local Papua New Guinea groove, sound, beat. The 'lift-up-over sounding' sound is the Kaluli sound, a local gloss for social identity articulated through human sonic essences.

(2) This sonic model, manifest most directly for Kaluli song form and process, also reverberates and echoes through other Kaluli expressive and interactional modes. The same trope that animates musical 'lift-up-over

sounding' is highly patterned in artistic verbal, visual, and choreographic expression, as well as in patterns of everyday conversation and social interaction. This patterning is also explicitly linked by Kaluli to the acoustic ecology of the rainforest environment indicating an aesthetic and ecological co-evolution.

(3) The process by which this Kaluli groove comes to be felt as totally groovy is an expressive intensification of style, where "the beautiful" and "the natural" become identical, intuitively inseparable in local imagination and practice. This is where aesthetics might best be understood as an iconicity of style, rather than a formal homology of sonic (musical/verbal/natural), visual, and choreographic structures.

The ethnographic materials here focus on the Kaluli people, who number about twelve hundred and live in the tropical rain forest of the Great Papuan Plateau in the Southern Highlands Province of Papua New Guinea (for basic ethnographic description see E.L. Schieffelin 1976). On several hundred square miles of rich land at an altitude of about two thousand feet they hunt, fish and tend land-intensive swidden gardens that yield sweet potatoes, taro, pandanus, pumpkin, bananas, and many other fruits and vegetables. Their staple food, sago, is processed from wild palms that grow in shallow swamps and creeks branching off of larger river arteries that flow downward from Mt. Bosavi, the collapsed cone of a volcano reaching eight thousand feet. Kaluli live in about twenty distinct longhouse communities; in each, most people still reside in a single communal house comprising fifteen families, or about sixty to eighty people. In recent years, under influence from Papuan evangelical pastors and government officers, there has been a trend toward smaller houses occupied by single families, or at most, two or three families.

This is a classless society that has only begun to feel the impact of occupational specialization, stratification, and socially rewarded differentiation since the intensification of outside contact in the last twenty-five years. Overtly, the tone of everyday Kaluli life is strongly egalitarian in social and political spheres. People hunt, gather, garden and work to produce what they need, taking care of themselves and their families and friends through extensive cooperation in food sharing and labor assistance, all organized informally through networks of obligation and reciprocity. While gender differences are quite overtly marked, there was traditionally little stratification produced by accumulation of goods, rewards or prestige. Traditionally, as E.L. Schieffelin writes, "Kaluli deference is based on such interactional things as intimidation or fear of shame, and is largely situational, and not structural in character (1988: personal communication)." Although that is changing rapidly, there is still, evidenced by our recent ethnographic experiences, a general lack of deference to persons, roles, categories, or groups based on power, position, or material ownership. Obvious recent exceptions include pastors, Aid Post Orderlies, government and mission workers; gender differentials are clearly becoming more pronounced as well.

My use of the term "egalitarian" is not meant to be static and reified. Existing and emerging differentiation, subtle or overt, is a significant

historical facet of Kaluli life, as is the emergent character of ranking as a "coordinating device, establishing reciprocal relations within the larger set (Adams 1975:170)." While a full discussion of this issue is not offered here I will attempt to identify ways that Kaluli expressive and interactional style still seem deeply bound up to a local notion of the self and social life that is expressly egalitarian (for some of the ethnographic complexities of Kaluli egalitarianism and individual autonomy, see B.B. Schieffelin i.p.; E.L. Schieffelin 1976:117-134; Feld 1984:397-403). The position I assume here on the interface of sound structure and social structure, musical meaning and social meaning, is one that has been stated succinctly by John Shepherd: "Music has meaning only insofar as the inner-outer, mental-physical dichotomy of verbally referential meaning is transcended by the immanence 'in' music of what we may conceive of as an *abstracted* social structure, and by the articulation of social meaning in individual pieces of music. In this respect music stands in the same relationship to society as does consciousness: society is creatively 'in' each piece of music and articulated by it (1977:60)."

*In a word*

The Kaluli term *dulugu ganalan* 'lift-up-over sounding' is a spatial-acoustic metaphor, a visual image set in sonic form and a sonic form set in visual imagery. The process and idea are familiar enough; for example, in English we speak of the harmonics of a fundamental tone as its "overtones." Similar examples could be cited from musical vocabularies in many languages, as visual-spatial imagery is a common polysemic or metaphoric source of musical terminology. Certainly the verbal figure 'lift-up-over sounding' alone provides much for the imagination. ". . . In the case of metaphor", Owen Barfield writes, "(. . .) it is the pure *content* of the image, not only the *reference*, which delights (1973:70; emphasis in original)." The essence of this "pure content" is good to think; an imaginative, delightful figure and ground perception. Aristotle said that the contemplation of metaphor implies an insight into likeness, an insight that Paul Ricoeur describes as a rapprochement of thinking, sensing, and feeling, ". . . a model for changing our way of looking at things, of perceiving the world (1978:150; see also Goodman 1976 for a congruent view specifically focused on art)."

How might apprehending Kaluli 'lift-up-over sounding' change our way of sensing sound? To start that thought-feeling process I'll playfully recycle the dimensionality of Kaluli 'lift-up-over sounding' through some personal images, mixing both Freudian cognitive "condensation" and Empsonian poetic "pregnancy" to evoke what cannot readily be adequately glossed or paraphrased. As Roy Wagner says: "A metaphor is at once proposition and resolution; it stands for itself (1986:11)." For me, intuitively, 'lift-up-over sounding' feels like:

- continuous layers, sequential but not linear;
- non-gapped multiple presences and densities;
- overlapping chunks without internal breaks;

—a spiralling, arching motion tumbling slightly forward thinning, and thickening back again

To appropriate a phrase coined by hip-hop rap and scratch DJ's to describe their own layered multitrack soundwork, by "lift-up-over sounding" Kaluli "fix it in the mix." Here the "mix" is the way one creates/perceives horizontal juxtapositions by refiguring vertical ground, and the "fix" is the way the listener manages resultant simultaneous perceptions of part-to-part *and* part-to-whole relationships. 'Lift-up-over sounding' is always interactive and relational. By calling attention to both the spatial ('lift-up-over') and temporal ('sounding') axes of experience, the term and process explicitly presuppose each sound to exist in fields of prior and contiguous sounds.

### *Idea to Action*

Now to set those images slightly more on the ground and in the ear, 'lift-up-over sounding' in fact is implicitly or explicitly discussed and realized by Kaluli in ways that implicate what an outsider can separate into four analytically separable dimensions of musical form and process:

- (a) relations within an instrumental sound among its own acoustical strata, and/or relations of this sound to other surrounding sounds intentionally or non-intentionally co-present;
- (b) relation of deliberately coordinated or simply co-present voice sounds, song, and talk;
- (c) relation of any vocalizing to accompanying rattle instruments or work tools, whether the same or different actors are involved in both activities;
- (d) relation of any of these to surrounding co-present environmental sounds (e.g., thunder, rain, birds, animals, insects, etc.)

The first twelve examples on the listening tape are representative of the genre range of Kaluli vocal and instrumental expression, in ritual and everyday contexts. They are presented on the tape (as are the following examples cited throughout the paper) in one minute excerpts. The very brief notes that follow give those indications provided by Kaluli commentators for how/where/why these twelve examples are 'lift-up-over sounding.' While it is a bit scandalous to present ethnomusicological data with such minimal contexting, it nevertheless helps to shape my argument about stylistic coherence if one listens to these very short extracts with little knowledge of their contexts and contents. If I am correct, listeners from any tradition or vantage point will be able, with these short examples and just the sketch notes offered, be able to impressionistically identify the exact sonic features of 'lift-up-over sounding' notable to Kaluli commentators and listeners. (Example descriptions are followed by citation of published versions with disc or tape side and band number; for contextual descriptions and musical details, see the liner notes that accompany the published disc or cassette versions. Kaluli terms in the descriptions below are genre or instrument names.)

{1} *ilib*, hand drums, with costume & *degado* rattles (Feld 1987b:B3)

Several 'lift-up-over sounding' layers are evident in this drumming sequence recorded at a ceremony: for each specific drum the separation of fundamental and overtones; as a group the staggered entrances and overlaps of the four drums; interlocking relationships of rattle and costume sounds with drum sounds, for each dancer and amongst the whole group. All of these relationships are enhanced and multiplied by the spatial configuration of the drummers, dancing up and down a longhouse corridor, sometimes as much as fifty feet apart, sometimes passing by each other in motion, sometimes dancing in place next to another drummer at one or another end of the house.

{2} *uluna*, bamboo jaws harp (solo) (Feld 1981: A3)

The constant interplay of the mouth resonated sounds with the physical pluck of the instrument, and the interplay of the fundamental tone and its overtones, constitute two interacting layers of 'lift-up-over sounding.'

{3} Ulahi sings cicada onomatopoeia *kɔluba* with cicadas (Feld 1985:B2)

The female voice and pulsing cicada background are 'lift-up-over sounding'; the verbal cicada onomatopoeia of the text, and the accompanying mimetic vocal textures multiply the relationship.

{4} Ulahi and Eyɔbo sing *heyalo* at waterfall (Feld 1981:A4)

Two female voices are 'lift-up-over sounding' with the background waterfall; the reverberation pattern that results from singing across into the waterfall gorge amplifies the texture; additional layers are provided by the occasional sounds of children's voices and machetes.

{5} Misɔme and Fɔfɔ sing *heyalo* with Deina scraping sago and whistling (Feld 1985:B1)

Two women's voices are 'lift-up-over sounding'; two additional layers are provided by the husband of one of the women who begins scraping sago in rhythmic counterpoint, then adds a whistled imitation of the bird whose name is cited in the song text.

{6} women *sa-yɛlab* ritual funerary wailing (Feld 1985:A3)

Two women wail; their staggered entrances and overlaps as well as their breathy, creaky-grained vocalizations 'lift-up-over' one another and the background din of children and adult voices, crying and speaking in the longhouse.

{7} women's ceremonial *kelekeliyoba* with *sologa* rattles (Feld 1981:B5)

The four staggered women's voices are 'lift-up-over sounding' with each other and cumulatively 'lift-up-over sounding' with the hand-shaken seed pod rattles.

{8} *sabio* quartet with *sologa* rattles (Feld 1985:B6)

The quartet of male voices is paired in twos; in each duo the two voices 'lift-up-over' one another; each duo additionally 'lifts-up-over' the other duo with the droned "o" phrase endings; voices and rattles are also 'lift-up-over sounding' to the voices in the overall, Kaluli also pointed out that the use of crescendo and decrescendo here enhances the temporal fullness of the 'lift-up-over sounding' sound.

{9} *heyalo* quartet with *sologa* rattles (Feld 1985:B4)

Four voices split; one sings in a leading pattern and three echo behind the same text and melody one octave lower; the octave split and the timbral contrast of falsetto-nasal/midrange-open amplify the 'lift-up-over sounding'. The singing is additionally layered spatially by the uniformly thick texture of the background rattles, whose simultaneous metric pattern and continuous non-gapped pulsation enhances the felt separation from the voices.

{10} men's ceremonial *iwo*; *degegado* and *sologa* rattles, & axe handles (Feld 1981:B1)

A first voice is echoed by a vocal chorus that also accompanies with rattles and axe handles, creating a multi-layered 'lift-up-over sounding' sound. Later another singer/dancer enters the house from a far entrance, shouting place names and pounding a club on the house floor, creating a variety of sounds and noises that further punctuate the primary ensemble.

{11} ceremonial *kɔluba* duo with *degegado* rattle in dance costume (Feld 1981:B9)

Two male voices, singing while dancing face to face create a three-way 'lift-up-over sounding' sound: vocally with echoed voices, instrumentally with the sounds of rattles in the dance costume, and physically, with sounds of the costume streamers and stamping feet.

{12} *gisalo* with medium, *sob* rattle, chorus, and weeping interplay (Feld 1985:A1)

A solo singer (here a spirit medium) accompanies his song with a mussel shell rattle; the interaction of the two is 'lift-up-over sounding', as is their totality with the voices of a surrounding chorus who, in usual Kaluli fashion, echo the same text and melody a split second later. Another 'lift-up-over' layer is added when the song moves a man to tears; he wails polyphonically along with the medium and chorus, simultaneously sounding a distinct, unique voice, yet one that is musically a part of staggering density of the ensemble.

Each of these twelve excerpts illustrates sonic forms near or intersecting patterns Western musicologists describe with terms like canon, hoquet, antiphony, heterophony. More neutral descriptive terms—overlap, alternation and interlock—have been suggested by Alan Lomax, to distinguish types of form *and* process dynamics for the "social organization of the vocal group" (1976:86,177-180; see also Feld 1984:391-392). Sometimes the term "echo-polyphony" seems most appropriate, given the overlapped repetition of identical or similar melodic and textual elements, just split seconds apart. For Kaluli, all of these things are *dulugu ganalan*, 'lift-up-over sounding.' At the same time, the term *dulugu ganalan* does not map perfectly to any one of these glosses, in part because multiple voices or instruments are not really presupposed in the Kaluli idea. In the cases of a solo voice {3} or a solo instrument {2}, there are multiple densities, presences, or sources creating a sense of strata, of a multi-layered sound group-shape-mass in time; these are as much *dulugu ganalan* as the examples with multiple voices or instruments.



*Participatory Discrepancies*

Approaching the problem from the opposite perspective, there is one kind of sound—unison—that is obviously not heard in any of the examples. Unison is the antithesis of ‘lift-up-over sounding.’ All ‘lift-up-over sounding’ sounds are dense, heavily blended, layered; even when voices or sound types momentarily coincide, the sense is that the unison is either accidental or fleeting, and indeed, it is entirely by chance. The essence of ‘lift-up-over sounding’ is part relations that are *simultaneously in-synchrony while out-of-phase*. By “in-synchrony” I mean that the overall feeling is of togetherness, of consistently cohesive part coordination in sonic motion and participatory experience. Yet the parts are also “out-of-phase”, that is, at distinctly different and shifting points of the same cycle or phase structure at any moment, with each of the parts continually changing in degree of displacement from a hypothetical unison.

Additionally, in ‘lift-up-over sounding’, timbre (the building blocks of sound quality) and texture (the composite, realized experiential feel of the sound mass in motion) dominate melodic-rhythmic syntax; performance and form merge to maximize interaction and the dialogic potentials of style. The multidimensionality of the sound examples is striking. Timbre and texture are not mere ornaments; a stylistic core of ‘lift-up-over sounding’ is found in nuances of *textural densification*—of attacks and final sounds; decays and fades; changes in intensity, depth and presence; voice coloration and grain; interaction of patterned and random sounds; playful accelerations, lengthenings, shortenings; and the fission and fusion of sound shapes and phrases into what electro-acoustic composer Edgar Varèse called the “shingling” of sound layers across pitch space. Of prime ‘lift-up-over sounding’ importance too is the quality acousticians call “rustle time”—the mean time interval between clicks, noises or non-pitched sounds, heard so prominently in the pulsating sound densities of Kaluli rattles, and surrounding environmental sounds (Schouten 1968; a musical review is Erickson 1975:6, 71-72).

Musicologists and ethnomusicologists familiar with both Western European and Pacific (particularly Polynesian) traditions have suggested to me that the term heterophony is generally adequate for these *dulugu ganalan* examples, indicating a multipart relationship resulting from simultaneous performance of slightly variant or elaborated versions of the same basic text/melody/rhythm. I have avoided using this term for three reasons: it cannot be applied to the solo examples; it misses the centrality of timbre and texture; and perhaps most significantly, it misses the crucial processual dynamic in many of the multipart (vocal or instrumental) examples, namely, that the “lead” part and “follow” part(s) are completely free to switch roles at any point, and to continually and playfully change order.

While descriptors like “in-synchrony while out-of-phase” and “textural densification” may pose some initial awkwardness for ethnomusicologists, there is no reason to assume that they are less generalizable than any of the other terms we have inherited or more recently invented. In an attempt to generally clarify this issue, Charles Keil (1987) offers the general term

“participatory discrepancies” to focus on these dimensions of musical experience that are particularly unrecoverable, unanalyzable, or unattended in Western European approaches to style analysis, approaches that are heavily weighted toward syntactic and hierarchic analysis of melody, harmony, and rhythm. In an earlier paper, Keil (1966a) took on the same problem, counterposing the notion of “engendered feeling” to Meyer’s (1956) “embodied meaning.” With that term Keil delineated some of the important formal and expressive properties of performative, processual, momentary, and improvised dynamics in the jazz idiom. These were contrasted to those implicative dimensions of architectonic drama, tension, and inflection which Meyer identified as bearing meaningful consequences in the listener’s experience of musical structure.

Updating that initial critique, Keil’s concept of “participatory discrepancies” concerns two specific levels of creative tension in music-making and listening: the processual and the textural. The former locates phenomena like beat, swing or groove; the latter locates phenomena like timbre and sound quality. For Keil it is the emergent “edge” created by varieties of out of time-ness (process) and out of tune-ness (texture) that generate music’s vital force, and invite and guarantee the active qualities of participation as well.<sup>3</sup> In the Kaluli instance, the framework for processual participatory discrepancies is the pattern I have called *in-synchrony while out-of-phase*, while the framework for textural participatory discrepancies is what I have called *textural densification*. These processes are the dominant interacting style constants of *dulugu ganalan*.

Two further linguistic details are relevant here to apprehending *dulugu ganalan* as a process of in-sync and out-of-phase textural densification in motion. First, the term *dulugu ganalan*: the imperative verb forms are *duluguma*, ‘lift-up-over’, as when one places something above, like on a smoking rack in the longhouse, and *ganalema*, ‘sound’, a generic, unmarked for agent or variety. The term *dulugu ganalan* always has the second verb inflected the the continual/processual aspect suffix /-an/; hence the ongoing sense of sounding emphasizes process, motion, temporality, continuity, extension. The term is never given in a nominalized form (*dulugu gɔnɔ*) even though it can be easily formed grammatically in that way. Second, one cannot substitute Kaluli terms for “lead” or “follow” (*tamina hanan*, ‘going first’; *fese hanan*, ‘going in back’) for any dimension of *dulugu ganalan*. My own use of these terms for synonym or paraphrase were always corrected, negated, or outright rejected by Kaluli, suggesting strongly that the issue of differentiated leader/follower roles is worked out and submerged in the participatory equality of making ‘lift-up-over sounding’ sounds.<sup>4</sup>

### *Talking/Working Social Relations*

Cooperative and collaborative autonomy: that is the Kaluli model of egalitarian interactional style. Imagine the notion of anarchistic synchrony as a non-oxymoron and you have an image of how Kaluli work. What I mean is that this particular interactional style simultaneously maximizes

social participation and maximizes autonomy of self. Speaking of the vigorous and exuberant ways Kaluli generally address themselves to situations E.L. Schieffelin writes: "Kaluli assertiveness is grounded in an implicit sense of personal autonomy, or independence (1976:121)" and "Kaluli commands initiate action because they are exciting, noisy, and dramatic (ibid.:129)." This anti-competition, or pro-mutualism, is displayed in a participatory equality that often has a quality of suddenness, bursting into what is simultaneously work, play, and performance. Kaluli energy projections, often appearing as flamboyance in men, insistence in women ". . . are characterized by a high level of exuberance, crowding, and noise (ibid.:154; see also E.L. Schieffelin 1985a for further characterization of Kaluli assertive ethos)." Charles Keil says that: "The presence of style indicates a strong community, an intense sociability that has been given shape through time, an assertion of control over collective feelings so powerful that any expressive innovator in the community will necessarily put his or her content into that shaping continuum and no other (1985:122)." The next examples, of collective work coordinated through sound, explicitly affirm that idea:

{13} men cutting trees (Feld 1987b:A1)

Whistles, yells, whoops and hollers accompany background forest insects and avifauna as men work with axes to fell large trees at a garden site.

{14} women at sago camp (Feld 1987b:A1)

Women and children interact verbally and vocally as they work scraping and pounding sago; insects and birds are heard in the forest background.

For Kaluli, sound, like work, is essentially leaderless. "Lift-up-over" is an image of non-hierarchical yet synchronous, layered, fluid group action. The play dimension captures the expressly pleasurable aspect of work as participation in cooperative dramatic display. Working together "works out" and "works through" sounding together. It also "works out" and "works through" the tension between egalitarianism ("let's do it") and individualism ("I'll do it"). Indeed, "lift-up-over" is an image rather like that of "stepping out of" or "rising above" the crowd, images that pinpoint that same equality/individualist dialectic. The echo-sounding of working together reproduces the quality of "joining-in" as a model of sociability, maximized participation, and personal distinction.

This is the case not only with musical and environmental sound, but as the previous examples indicate, with verbal sound as well. Kaluli conversational interactions 'put talk together', *to kudan*, extending here the use of the same verb employed to mark laying sticks across one another to build a fire. Like fire sticks laid in contact, voices interlock, alternate, overlap, densifying to fill all space-time gaps. The Western normative concepts of individual speaker turns, floor rights, and turn-taking etiquette, notions rationalized in both speech act philosophy and conversational analysis, are absent from, and analytically irrelevant to Kaluli conversation and narration. What might be heard as regular "interruption" is not that at all, but rather the collaborative and co-creative achievement of *dulugu salan*, 'lift-up-over speaking.' For a language with extensive coinage of

metalinguistic labels, and for a society where talk about talk is constant, neither Bambi B. Schieffelin (in Kaluli sociolinguistic work since 1975) nor I have ever heard terms for anything like “breaking in” or “interrupting,” nor terms to characterize speakers who aggressively verbally interact in that way, nor terms describing attempts to constrain such speaking.

Kaluli never admonish children for speaking at the same time; indeed, parents encourage and explicitly instruct children to collaborate by “putting talk together” with what other talk is at hand. This is another dimension of modelling participatory “joining-in” as normative, obligatory sociability. Quiet, sullenness, the demeanor of the withdrawn voice, is the mark of alienation, the posture of aloneness, remove. Layered sound is the mark of “being-there”, the social, the connected, the posture of the engaged actor. Developmentally, a socialization format for *dulugu ganalan* is manifest even in the interactions of children just learning language. Children develop patterned prelexical vocal contours that echo, interlock, or alternate with the talk around/to them. The use of such contours situates the child as an interactional partner and collaborator in the immediate social scene, whether a dimension of play or instruction is focused toward the child or not (B.B. Schieffelin 1983,i.p.).

Talk must always make contact, “. . . Kaluli enjoy interactions that have some creative tension in them, where the outcome is potentially unpredictable and dependent on the individual’s ability to be clever (B.B. Schieffelin 1986:180).” Words rub up against each other, voices link and cross; again a preference for densification, in-sync while out-of-phase as the stylistic norm of cooperative, socialized behavior. The following examples of verbal interactions further illustrate this patterning, in the more everyday contexts of family discussion and group argument, and more artistic performance of narrative storytelling and a spirit medium séance.

{15} family verbal interaction around food preparation, eating (unpublished field tapes, 1984)

{16} adult argument about gossip (unpublished field tapes, 1984)

In the first example simultaneous speech is constant, but nobody is fighting for “floor rights.” In the second a large group of adults have gathered to discuss a matter of gossip; multiple voices hold the floor simultaneously and parties address multiple others and agendas simultaneously, without any voice continually dominating or organizing the stream of discussion. Responding to an early draft, E.L. Schieffelin wrote: “Looking over some of your *dulugu salan* stuff I am increasingly convinced of its centrality in the negotiation of temporary advantage in everyday ‘egalitarian’ social and political activity. The *wabalun kalu* (‘one who is talked about’, or ‘one lauded for deeds’) attained his prominence not only through reputation for killing or generosity, but also through his ability to shout down his opponents in verbal intimidation, or outwit them or keep them verbally off balance in dispute . . . Sogobaye once compared the *wabalun* to those ridges and hills visible from Tabili which rose somewhat above the others, like bigger or lesser waves upon the sea. Perfect image of what Western

anthropology has called 'first among equals' (1987: personal communication)."

Examples seventeen and eighteen indicate the shape of more artistic verbal performance, where the expectation for *dulugu ganalan* is similar to its framing in musical arenas.

{17} Heina tells narrative (*malolo to*) to a small group of adults, children (unpublished field tapes, 1984)

{18} spirit medium séance at Sululeb (unpublished field tapes, 1976)

In {17} a narrator tells a story, and he is constantly echoed, questioned, overlapped such that there is virtually a continuous stream of talk, confirmation, challenge, collaboration. Important here is that narration/story-telling is often considered an example par excellence of monologic verbal performance; yet here the dialogic role of the audience is highly evident. Sociolinguists Alessandro Duranti and Donald Brenneis have recently addressed these issues. ". . . To give the audience co-authorship is more than an ideological stand. It represents the awareness of a partnership that is necessary for an interaction to be sustained, but it is often denied by analysts and participants alike (Duranti 1986:243)." Brenneis' general comment reads well as a specific description of Kaluli *dulugu salan*: ". . . while such occurrences might seem chaotic to outsiders, in practice speakers are usually attending carefully to each other and responding appropriately . . . speakers are, at the same time, subtle and attentive listeners . . . because of this, it is often analytically difficult to sort out who is voice and who is audience (1986:344)." In {18} an audience interacts with a spirit medium in traced séance to co-create and co-invent the presence of spirits of the dead, and of nearby lands. As E.L. Schieffelin writes, "The reality of the spirit world as it is embodied in the séance is not a result of the performance of the medium alone, but emerges in the *interaction* between all the people present and the spirits (1985b:717; emphasis in original)."

For talk then, *dulugu ganalan* is not an absolute norm but a tendency with greater or lesser actualization in different types of verbal interactions and settings. Artistic verbal performances carry higher expectations and actualizations of *dulugu ganalan*, and thereby place an important emphasis on audience participation, even where the situation is defined by a largely monologic form. In everyday verbal interactions, the more focused character of the topics and events (animated conversations, disputes, negotiations, new information) hosts a greater tendency for *dulugu ganalan* in interactions of assertion than of appeal, where the strategies of begging, enlisting, or making another feel sorrow on one's behalf do not involve as many participatory display dynamics.

### *Rainforest as Hi-Fi Soundscape*

One morning as Gigio walked alongside my house at dawn he noticed me sitting on the back porch tape recording out into the bush. Quickly he caught my eye, grinned, and called out:

dulugu ganalan ɛna dadalega, wai, ni Bosabi nemɔ hoidake!, ɛle  
asulumɛnɔ

'Hearing lift-up-over sounding out there, hey, my Bosavi is really calling out to me!, I'll be thinking like that.'

What we were both hearing then was:

{19} forest at dawn (Feld 1987b:A1)

From the village edge, sounds of mists, winds, waterways, insects, birds, people, pigs, dogs, all located in diffuse but auditorally co-present space. Gigio's comment could have been made at any point during the day; examples from other similar moments of the daily rainforest sound cycle attest to that:

{20} forest at dusk (Feld 1987b:A1)

{21} forest *nulu uša* (deep of night) (Feld 1987b:A1)

From the village edge, dusk brings sounds of birds, insects, people, animals, and drizzling drops after a typical late afternoon rain. In the early morning hours, sounds of crickets, owls, nightjars, mists, and frogs, as they sound from the veranda of a forest longhouse where people sleep.

What did Gigio mean? Most obviously, the rainforest is a tuning fork, providing well-known signals that index, mark and coordinate space, time, and seasons. "The perception of creatures by their voices and movements in the forest gives a peculiar sense of presence and dynamism to things that are unseen, to surrounding but invisible life . . . It is important to realize the remarkable impression of immediacy of sounds and creatures heard amid the pervading stillness and immobility of the forest (E.L. Schieffelin 1976:96)." One never knows how many sources are contributing to the passing dense in-sync but out-of-phase textures, but no matter how many there are the quality of forest sound is simultaneously thick and homogenous, multidimensional yet unified, always redundant in the overall but never precisely repetitive from moment to moment.

Canadian composer and soundscape researcher R. Murray Schafer calls soundscapes "hi-fi" when they contain favorable signal to noise ratios, that is, when the full dynamic range of present sounds can be heard clearly and distinctly without crowding, pollution, or masking by intrusive noise sources (1981:43). Schafer terms "keynote sounds" those continuous, basic, frequent, customary sounds that provide a sense of environmental center (ibid.:9,48). These notions apply well to the Bosavi rainforest soundscape where sounds provide ongoing indexical information about forest height, depth and distance. Kaluli interpret these everpresent sound patterns as clocks of quotidian reality, engaging the soundscape in a continual motion of tuning-in and tuning-out, changing perceptual focus, attending like an auditory zoom lens that scans from micro to wide angle to telephoto angles as forest sound textures shift in figure and ground and change throughout the daily and seasonal cycles.

There also may be a synaesthetic factor here, interrelating, in a sensually involuntary and culturally conventional manner, features of sound, texture, space and motion. In the tropical rainforest height and depth of sound are easily confused. Lack of visual depth cues couple with the ambiguities of different vegetation densities and everpresent sounds (like water hiss) to make depth often sensed as height moving outward, dissipating as it moves. 'Lift-up-over sounding' seems to code that

ambiguous sensation of upward as outward. My own major adaptation to this environment was learning to feel and distinguish the height and depth of a sound in the absence of visual correlates. Even though I was aware of psychological evidence that humans are better at horizontal than vertical sound localization, and often subjectively sense high tones to be higher in space than they in fact are (Roffler and Butler 1968), I was acoustically disoriented in the forest for months. Kaluli laughed hysterically the first times they saw me *look up* to hear a sound that was deep, whether high or low to the ground. And they quickly learned to reach over and put a hand on mine to move the microphone when I mistakenly was pointing too far up to record a bird of the deep forest.

The forest is also a mystical home of *ane mama*, 'gone reflections', spirits of Kaluli dead. The presence of sounds thus implicates spirit presences with bird voices sonically 'showing through' to Kaluli. In this sense attending to the forest may engage strong feelings of nostalgia and longing, even though Kaluli attribute no specific mystical power or force to the forest *per se*. There is simultaneously a less cosmic and deeply pleasurable way the forest engages Kaluli as an image of place and of land as a mediator of identity (for a parallel case, see Basso 1984). For Kaluli the forest is both good to listen to and good to sing with; surround sounds provide enjoyment and inspiration. This notion is nicely attested by E.L. Schieffelin: "There is no mistaking the feeling of affection and warmth when two or three men burst into song on arriving back at their own territory after an absence of a few days at another longhouse. Singing is appropriate not only because it projects the feeling of the singer but also because it is something to be *heard*—of a piece with the sounds of the forest itself. Sound images are much more evocative than visual ones for the Kaluli (1976:149, emphasis in original)."

Becoming part of the forest by singing along with it ultimately intensifies Kaluli sentiments about the comforts of home. This was evident in the earlier examples of spontaneous musical and environmental interaction combining stimulation and appreciation. In example {3} a woman sang with cicadas; the text of the song consisted of extensive cicada texture onomatopoeia. In example {4} two women sang at a waterfall chosen as an accompaniment. The text of the song in example {5} was about a whistler bird, and the introduction of whistling to punctuate the accompanying beats of a stone sago scraper imitated the call of the particular bird. As Schafer says, "Man echoes the soundscape in speech and music (1981:40)."

#### *Acoustic Ecology:*

*'Insides'/'Underneath'/'Reflections'/'Flowing'/'Hardness'*

The visible and invisible inhabitants of the Bosavi rainforest are always "lift-up-over sounding," and the Kaluli are always tuning in, appreciating, and interpreting what they call the 'insides (*sa*),' 'underneath (*hegɔ*),' and 'reflections (*mama*)' of these everpresent pulsations. These terms extend the notion of 'lift-up-over sounding', "filling in" some of its process and activity implications in terms of engagement. If *dulugu ganalan* is the

overall Kaluli metaphor for natural sonic form, *halaidɔ domɛki*, 'making hard' and the resultant *halaidɔ*, 'hardness' evokes its competent formation, its achievement as emotional persuasion (like the use of the phrase "Come together" in the song of that title by the Beatles [1969]). 'Hardness' is force, the attainment of that evocative, charged, energized state (where, to extend the notion into English, one is "knocked out", "blown away", etc.) The continued holding power of that 'hardened' state is its *ebelan*, 'flowing'. 'Lift-up-over sounding' flows when it enters and stays with you, residing in memory and consciousness in ways it once did not. Engagement—"getting into the groove"—is the sensing of *hegɔ*, 'underneath' and *sa*, 'inside' of sound patterns that 'lift-up-over', and, interpreting their *mama*, 'reflection' or 'shadow' by feeling their associational force and possibilities (for elaboration, see Feld 1984, 1986, 1987). Notice here that 'reflection' is not a strictly or even primarily visual notion, like that of a "mirror image." Rather, the sense is more like a "reverberation", a projected image or shadowed essence that is sensately internalized as a vibration, an idea and a feeling.

Participation—again, "getting into the groove"—invokes a local Kaluli clustering of interpretive moves: hear the 'lift-up-over sounding', feel it 'harden', let it 'flow', 'turn it over' to find the 'reflected' 'insides' and 'underneath.' Here the metaphors not only have their own consistent linguistic playmates but those playmates help us understand the specific processual-participatory-experiential-feelingful-intellectual dimension evoked by the whole. While "lift-up-over" seems literally vertical, the Kaluli sense is one of a propelling, arching up and tumbling forward, a simultaneously vertical and horizontal groove in time. The totalized spatial-acoustic coherence of 'lift-up-over sounding' is scaffolded by its 'insides', 'underneaths', 'reflections', 'flow', and 'hardness.' The poetic of aesthetics becomes the aesthetic of poetics. That these metaphors take us back to the whole of relatedness and experience recalls dynamic sociological and musicological versions of getting into the groove provided by Alfred Shultz and Victor Zuckerkandl: ". . . sharing of the other's flux of experiences in inner time, thus living through a vivid present in common constitutes . . . the mutual tuning-in relationship, the experience of the 'we' (Shultz 1977:115; also see Fernandez 1986). Drawing similarly upon Bergson's *durée*, Zuckerkandl writes, ". . . the hearing of a musical tone is always likewise a direct perceiving of time. The moment the tone sounds, it draws us into time, opens time to us as perceiving beings (1956:253)."

### *Seeing/Hearing 'Lift-up-over Sounding' in Body Decoration and Body Motion*

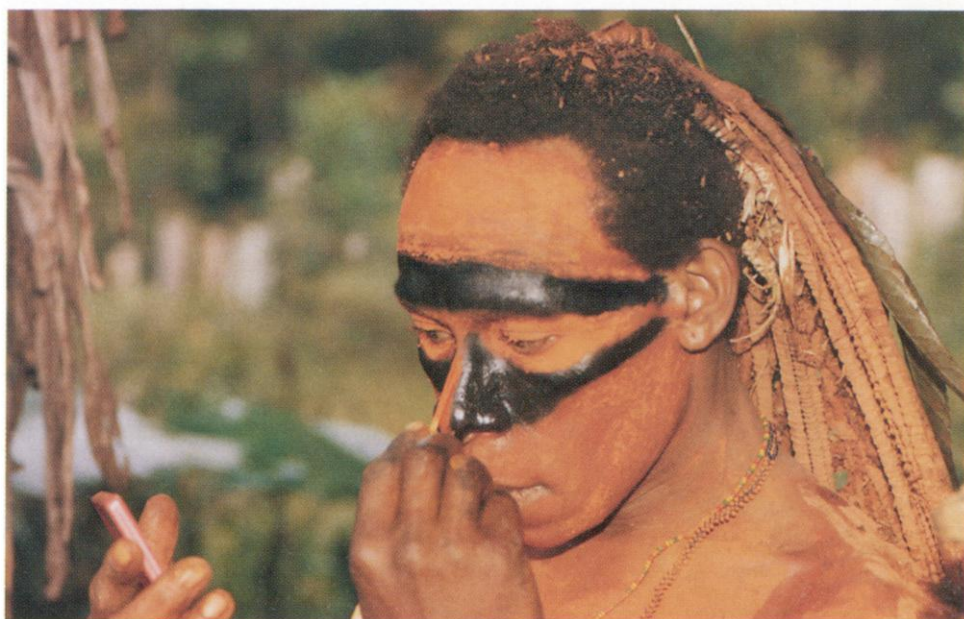
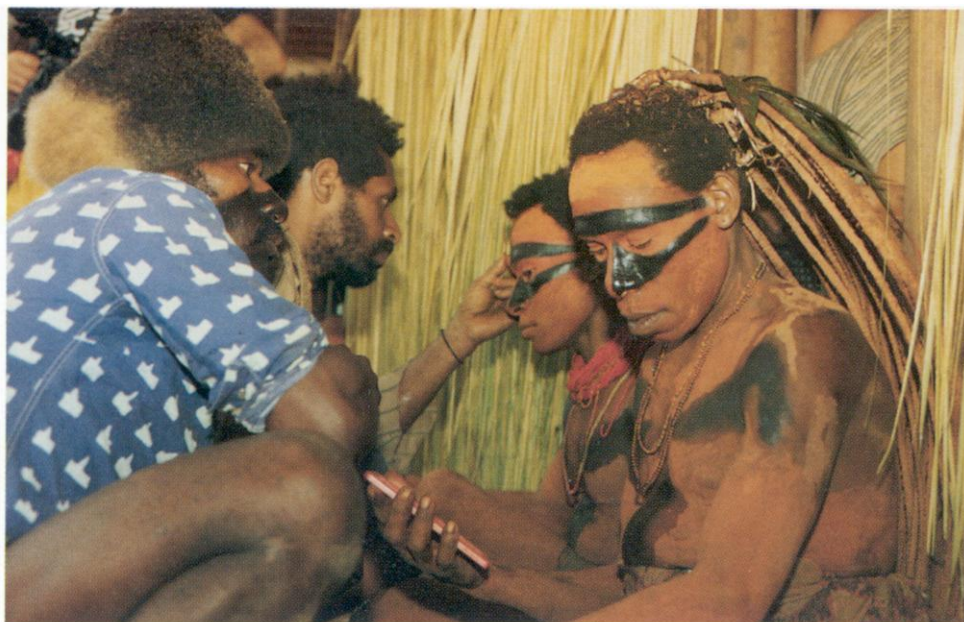
For Victor Zuckerkandl, ". . . the interpenetration of tones in auditory space corresponds to the juxtaposition of colors in visual space (1956:299)." If we substitute "media, textures, colors, gestures, and motions" where Zuckerkandl only indicates "colors", we have an accurate image of Kaluli transpositions. The following four color and four black and white images of Kaluli ceremonial costume and dance demonstrate textural densification in the visual and choreographic modes.



Face paint styles from two major Kaluli ceremonies, *gisalo*, and *ilib kuwɔ/kɔluba* (identical costume styles) indicate a singular principle. Deep earth red (*bin* from the pods of *Bixa orellana* or from ground clay) and shiny tree resin soot (*asɔn*) are painted on the dancer's face in a figure and ground, with white clay (*sowan*) outlining between them to create relief, yielding a juxtaposed sense of layers, density. As the paints dry the effect of the shininess of the black and dullness of the orange/red intensify; this is also enhanced by the quality of resin torch light, which picks up and reflects the highlights of the resinous black. Note the importance of the forehead and the nose area; hiding the eyes hides the singer/dancer's identity. The mask effect conceals and at the same time beams the gaze of the singer/dancer. This facial figure/ground is realized in both a shiny/dull texture contrast and black/red color contrast (the oppositional nature of black and red in Kaluli color symbolism is treated in Feld 1982:66-71). These contrasts visually mirror sonic 'lift-up-over' and the effect was identified as such by Kaluli commentators who viewed these pictures.

The overall *ilib kuwɔ* and *kɔluba* costume mixes many types of materials, layering possum fur, frame headpiece with white cockatoo feathers; painted body (face, arms, belly, legs) in red/black/white; shell necklace surrounded and centered by woven cross bands reaching under the arm; flapping features strung from bamboo in arm, belt and knee pieces; belly belt with attached *degegado* crayfish claw rattle in rear, emerging through *fasela* palm streamers densified with cordyline top pieces. Costumes project layered density. The sound involves shells and the streamers in motion as the dancer bobs up and down, lifted-up-over by the drum and rattle in *ilib kuwɔ* or voices and rattles in *kɔluba*. The bouncing sounds of stamping feet on the longhouse floor (about 130 beats per minute in an up and down motion) and the indexical swaying of the longhouse mix out-of-phase with the pulses of the shell rattles and the shimmer-flapping of costume streamers. The streamers and shells make high frequency sounds which evoke the presence of a forest waterfall. The voice and drums of the dancers are the voices of the birds (particularly *wɔkwele*, the Giant Cuckoodove, and other doves and pigeons, with high descending falsetto voices) lifting-up-over the waterfall sound (Feld 1982:81-2, 171-174, 180-181). There is thus a visual/bodily/sonic textural densification in costume, dance, and sound that merges with a visual/bodily/sonic in-synch and out-of-phase sensation.

The *gisalo* dancer's costume includes similar materials. The primacy of the streamers is matched by the use of the *sob*, the mussel shell rattle whose high frequency sounds pulse indexically to the dancer's up and down motion at about 120 beats per minute (Feld 1982:170-174). As in *kɔluba*, the voice of the dancer carries over the streamer/rattle high frequency waterfall sound as the bird dance movement arches up and down either in place or up and down the corridor. The cassowary head feathers, and the Raggiana bird of paradise arm band feathers (another black/red contrast) flap and flow with the dance motion up and down, densifying the sound and blur of flowing streamers in complementary colors, textures,



Body painting for *gisalo*



*gisalo* dancers performing



*koluta* dancers performing



*koluba/ilib kuwo* costume: rear detail



*ilib kuw* drummers performing

and body points to the black, red, and white paints, and woven string and shell ornaments. All materials are in layered multiply visual/sonic/motion figure and ground relationships.

These images indicate that while in-synchrony and out-of-phase relations and textural densification begin in sound, the principles apply as a Kaluli style trope to ceremonial visual/motion media and modes as well (for additional descriptions and photographs of Kaluli ceremonies, costumes, songs, and dance, see E.L. Schieffelin 1976; Feld 1982; 1986).

### *Aesthetics as Iconicity of Style*

Aesthetics involves a twist on the perception of style: when the groove is completely groovy, or, as Gregory Bateson (1972) would have it, when the levels of the parts and the levels of the whole merge to index, or draw attention to each other—what Bateson called “modulations” of levels of redundancy. Nelson Goodman (1976) has attempted to summarize this grooviness as the interplay of a fourfold symptomology: (a) semantic and syntactic density (subtleties of difference convey subtleties of distinction); (b) repleteness (multiplicity of significant relationships); (c) exemplification (symbols sample the properties they possess); (d) multiple and complex reference (symbols alone more important than their referents, close to Jakobson’s idea of poetic mode).

In a range of fine recent ethnographic studies, notions of style as cross-modal homology have been used to finesse aesthetics along these modulating, dense, replete, exemplified, auto-referential lines. Gary Witherspoon (1977) thus writes of a Navajo world where the “dynamic symmetry” of verbal, visual, and musical aesthetics and the “dynamic synthesis” of intellect are inseparably connected. Likewise, for Western popular culture, Dick Hebdige (1979) and Paul Willis (1978) describe the bricolage of symbolic linkages between counter-culture punk and bike-boy lifestyles and the clothing, decoration, and musical forms that serve to encode the same focal values. Adrienne Kaeppler, describing homology as “. . . consistency relationships between various cultural and social manifestations and the underlying structures that they express (1978:261),” shows that Tongan visual, verbal, choreographic, and musical forms pattern abstractly as a three-level interaction, of *fasi* (melody, lead part, essential features), *laulalo* (drone, space definers) and *teuteu* (decoration, elaboration of specifics). Similarly, Charles Keil’s analysis (1979:200-258) of “circles and angles” as Tiv material and aesthetic organizing tropes cuts across media and modes (roofs, compounds, lands, pots, calabash decorations, body scarification, dance gestures, sculpture, drumming, narrative, song). More pointedly cross-sensory, synaesthetic (as well as anti-genre specific) analyses have also been recently presented by Barbara Tedlock, who traces the Zuni opposition of *tso’ya* (multicolored, chromatic, clear, bright, sharp, dynamic, varied) and *attanni* (powerful, taboo, dark, muffled, shaggy, old, static, fearful) through color, decoration, song, ritual and cosmology (1984, 1986).

Twisting aesthetic levels as wholes, connectedness, and homology one more turn, Judith and Alton Becker’s analyses of coincidence and cyclicity

in Javanese calendars, shadow puppet theatre, and music (J. Becker 1979, A. Becker 1979, J. and A. Becker 1981) takes us closer to the potent, feelingful groove with the notion of iconicity: "We might call iconicity the nonarbitrariness of any metaphor. Metaphors gain power—and even cease being taken as metaphors—as they gain iconicity or 'naturalness' (1981:203)." Quite so: in this Kaluli case, the "natural" as the locus of nature and human nature becomes the "beautiful"—exactly and unquestionably as it should be. When what we call metaphors (like 'lift-up-over sounding') are felt to be naturally real, obvious, complete, and through, then they become iconic, that is, symbols that stand for themselves (Wagner 1986), images that are feelingfully synonymous from one domain or level of image and experience to another. In more sociological terms, from Howard Becker, ". . . people do not experience their aesthetic beliefs as merely arbitrary and conventional; they feel that they are natural, proper and moral (1974:773)." These kinds of ethnoaesthetic studies, of what Robert Plant Armstrong (1971) called "similetic equivalents," recall the late Nineteenth Century German psychophysics that influenced the emergence of Twentieth Century anthropology, linguistics, and ethnomusicology: "Since the sensuous is perceptible only when it has form, the unity of the senses is given from the very beginning. And together with this the unity of the arts (von Hornbostel 1927:89, cited in Merriam 1964:99)."

Pierce's semiotics of similarity talked of three kinds of icons—image, diagram, and metaphor (Pierce 1955). Using his dubs, Kaluli 'lift-up-over sounding' moves from metaphor of style (Pierce's similar form/meaning across signs) to an image of identity (Pierce's singular sign directly recalling its denotatum). More socially, 'lift-up-over sounding' moves from a metaphor of the Kaluli groove to an icon of what Meyer Schapiro called ". . . a manifestation of the culture as a whole, the visible sign of its unity" (that) ". . . reflects or projects the 'inner form' of collective thinking and feeling (1953:287)." Kaluli 'lift-up-over sounding' is an icon of what Sapir, Whorf and others spoke of as the *intuitive* nature of a felt worldview, what Paul Freidrich (1986) has described as the emotionally satisfying dimensions of poetic indeterminacy. This too is the level of icon Gregory Bateson invoked writing about psychic and social integration and approvingly citing Buffon's "Le style est l'homme même (1972:130)." But notice the extension by Voloshinov (?Bakhtin) in 1926: " 'Style is the man'; but we can say: style is, at least, two men, or more precisely, man and his social grouping, incarnated by its accredited representative, the listener, who participates actively in the internal and external speech of the first (translated from the Russian original and cited in Todorov 1984:62)."

Freud's quip to the effect that analogies don't explain anything but at least make you feel at home is also resonant here. Indeed, by becoming icons, metaphors help one feel very much at home, and the critical word is feel, since the link between play, pleasure, cognition, and emotion is where one validates the groove by not only "getting *into it*" but "getting *off on it*." "To *feel* in the emotional sense of the word," Ricoeur says, "is to make *ours* what has been put at a distance by thought in its objectifying phase (1978:154, emphasis in original)." That "making ours"



is the overwhelming and seemingly spontaneous (whether predictable or not) pleasure that comes from a felt "naturalness" of the whole, as one finds oneself in/through the music and the music in/through oneself. The more iconic the metaphor, the more unconscious its coherence, the more affective its resonance, the more intuitive its invocation, the more intense its radiance. "Art is the burning glass of the sun of meaning (Wagner 1986:27)."

### *Synthesis: Stereotype and Style*

A piece of each style jigsaw is the play of stereotypes. In *This Man and Music*, a semi-autobiography pondering music generally, and his own secondary career as a composer, the novelist Anthony Burgess writes: "Music is considered an international language, yet it tends to gross insularity. What makes English music English? An American conductor to whom I put the question said, cruelly, 'Too much organ voluntary in Lincoln Cathedral, too much coronation in Westminster Abbey, too much lark ascending, too much clodhopping on the fucking village green' (1982:23)." These stereotypes of English national style (here, perceived excesses of Holst, Elgar, Vaughn Williams as the obvious targets) remind me of a comment about what makes Kaluli music Kaluli, recorded in the course of a discussion in August 1982 with Keith Briggs, resident evangelical missionary at Bosavi since 1971:

KB: "Well, I'll tell you one thing we've noticed over the years; these people just cannot sing together. Even when we count before singing a hymn, they are all off in their own direction after just a few words.

SF: Is that because they don't know the hymns very well?

KB: Oh no; they love the hymns and sing them all the time around the station . . . they learn the words all right and the young ones are quick to harmonize . . . they just can't sing together, even brothers or sister can't . . . I reckon they'll keep the tune jolly well, . . . but never in the same place at the right time!"

Briggs' comments are neither as cruel nor as clever as those of the American conductor, but they illustrate a grasp of something essential about Kaluli style. The force of the stereotype here acts differently however as Briggs reads the strength and tenacity of local stylistic coherence as a sign of musical inability and inferiority. Notice Briggs' choice of phrases: (1) "cannot sing together," (2) "off in their own direction," (3) "never in the same place at the right time." Kaluli of course sing very much together and with a common goal; however unison is about as unnatural in their music as microtonal free improvisation would have been in Nineteenth Century Germany. Precisely what is *most* socially interactive about 'lift-up-over sounding' is read by Briggs as "off" on an individual uncooperative tangent. But the essence of *dulugu ganalan* is to be together by being in different places at the (same) right time so that each person's own direction feeds and builds a cooperative cumulative interaction.

Deep down, I suspect that what disturbs Briggs is that the Kaluli cannot be conducted, and that is ultimately a threat to his authority and control over local Christians. I'm reminded of Elias Canetti's words in *Crowds*

*and Power*: "There is no more obvious expression of power than the performance of a conductor (1963:394; Canetti's analysis of "The orchestral conductor" is quoted and discussed in detail in Keil 1979:183-186)." Missionaries are indeed much like orchestral conductors: small movements of their hands order some and captivate others; willingness to obey is the message, and self-assurance is central to the performance. It is, furthermore, essential that others believe that these people live for something higher than themselves. Like a God or God-surrogate, a conductor/missionary is omniscient, holding everyone's attention, knowing and hearing each singly.

As Kaluli face an increasingly confused and dominated future I have no doubt that their style—of singing, working, being—will come into increasing conflicts and tensions with intrusive social patterns, whether they are brought by outside Christians, the Papua New Guinea government, or Kaluli themselves who have experienced and assimilated patterns of interacting from the outside Papua New Guinea world. It is hard to estimate if *dulugu ganalan* will be a key resource (conscious or unconscious) for future Kaluli resistance to increased inequalities, social differentiation, heterogeneity. It is also hard to estimate if the overall sonic form of *dulugu ganalan* can stay relatively the same if/while its essential egalitarian social message disintegrates, leaving an expressive form whose sonic coherence is no longer iconic with its social formation. What is clear from Briggs remark however is that the rhetoric of contrast is already in motion. Two versions of "doing things together" are now set head to head, one favoring layered, egalitarian process, the other favoring linear, hierarchically differentiated process, each obstinately 'natural' ('normal' and 'right') to/for the specific parties concerned. The potential impact of the latter is undoubtedly far more destructive in every way.

One sees here the workings of power inequalities whose subtle dynamics, particularly those of false consensus formation, have been analyzed for class domination under the rubric of hegemony. While this term does not apply here in the classic Gramscian or Marxist sense (Williams 1977:108-114), it is worth reviewing the emerging ideological tone of the confrontation. The mission promulgation of the naturalness of linear, discrete, sequential, one-at-a-time-, unison or single leader/group follower roles and social interaction is an intrusive style ideology that proclaims itself normal, superior and authoritative. By so doing it attempts to legitimize and naturalize a view of Kaluli as noisy, unruly, disorganized, "off in their own direction", stubborn, and unable to "do things properly."

Kaluli modes of expression are thus relegated to "custom", a term found both in Australian colonial usage (with the same condescending, romantic overtones as certain usages of "folklore") and in the Papua New Guinea lingua franca, Tok Pisin as *kastom*. "Custom" is what Kaluli are requested, "allowed" (and, occasionally paid) to perform, for instance, a half hour of ceremonial drumming at the mission station airstrip on Papua New Guinea Independence Day. By the request for and tacit approval of this sanctioned version of expression, the mission people signal to visiting dignitaries (other mission officials, government agents, anthropologists)

that the Kaluli (still) "have culture." But more subtly, they communicate that *kastom* can be commodified, bracketed, controlled, turned on and off, and exhibited on their command. This is the process of hegemonic folkloricization: dominating outside parties legitimate condensed, simplified, or commodified displays; invoke, promote and cherish them as official and authentic custom, while at the same time misunderstanding, ignoring, or suppressing the real creative forces and expressive meanings that animate them in the community.

Kaluli have not explicitly challenged this imposition by either increasing the everyday markedness of their own way of "doing things properly", or, by increasing the specific markedness of these command performances or other interactions with the mission. Nevertheless, their expressive style is clearly no longer the only natural model, and that means increased varieties of confusion, struggle, alienation, and resistance may be around the corner, particularly as mission and government sources begin to give money prizes for performances, and insist that Kaluli activities fit into other organizational frameworks in order to be valid.

*Futures: Stability as Vitality, "Progress" as Entropy*

One thing that might bear significantly on the possible future of such a Bosavi style struggle is the great affinity of *dulugu ganalan* to the developing musical forms of pan-Papua New Guinea popular music, whether sung in Tok Pisin, Hiri Motu, or local languages. Blended voices in interlocked and overlapped polyphonies, in-sync and out-of-phase with strongly metric guitar or ukelele strums, is a pattern that characterizes much of the contemporary urban string band music of Papua New Guinea and the Pacific area in general. This music has made its way out to Bosavi increasingly over the last ten years, either through radio (transmission from Radio Southern Highlands, the provincial branch of the Papua New Guinea National Broadcasting Company) or from cassettes brought home by Kaluli who have worked or gone to school outside Bosavi. Popular Papua New Guinea groups like the Paramana Strangers or New Krymus Band are now known to most young Kaluli men, who are attracted to the sound and texture of the voices and instruments they hear; comprehension of lyrics (most in other local languages and not in Tok Pisin) is entirely secondary and often not a consideration at all.

Along with cassette-radio players (whose numbers in the Bosavi area have increased from three in 1976 to twenty-three in 1984—one quarter of the owners are non-Kaluli school, health, and mission people—) there are in recent years always five or six ukeleles in Bosavi, and Kaluli play them as percussive instruments, precisely as they play their hand drums and bamboo jaw harps. While the player moves the fingers of the left hand as if to fret chords, in fact sound clusters (consonant or dissonant, intentional or unintentional) are sounded rather than conventional chords. Players know the motion of changing finger positions; they do not know any fingerings for actual chords, nor do they know to tune the instrument's four strings. The right hand strum is a loud and isometric stroke, without much variation in volume or dynamics. Kaluli use the instrument like the

seed-pod rattle as a textural and metric device, and not as an accompanying chordal vehicle to the song melody. The effect strived for is continuity of dense unbroken sound without gaps, pauses, openings. Voices, which 'lift-up-over' one another, also cumulatively 'lift-up-over' this ukelele sound, which itself involves a 'lift-up-over' of the decay of each strum overlapping the attack of the next strum. The sum is multiple vocal/instrumental textural densification, exactly as in all other examples of *dulugu ganalan*.

The following examples, in Tok Pisin and Kaluli, indicate how the 'lift-up-over sounding' sound is easily realized by Kaluli in contemporary song, and has obvious sonic parallels in examples from popular string band music:

{22} Wanpela Meri, with ukelele and *sologa* rattle, (unpublished field tapes, 1977)

{23} Ga imilise, Kaluli text version of Wanpela Meri (unpublished field tapes, 1977)

Both of these examples were sung by the same group, moments apart. In both the Tok Pisin and Kaluli version, the vocal and instrumental stylistic elements are identical, with overlapped voices, group echoed text and melody from a lead voice, and densified isometric accompaniment. Rudimentary vocal harmony is mission inspired, as is the realization of a vocal blending closer to unison.

Compare these now with the original, recorded in Port Moresby by a popular string band, Krymus, in 1975.

{24} Wanpela Meri; Krymus Band, (vocal trio with guitars)<sup>5</sup>

Notice here too that there is less temporal differentiation among the voices; the layered feeling deriving more from the vocal/instrumental interplay.

Kaluli place no fetish premium on musical "innovation", "progress", "development" and make no assumption that change is synonymous with vitality, or that stasis denotes degeneration, some of the notions that James Ackerman (1962) and Leonard Meyer (1967) have carefully explicated and disputed as components of the teleological ideology of "style change" in Western arts. Merging *dulugu ganalan* and contemporary Papua New Guinea popular string band style to feel them as one makes a strong statement about how Kaluli recognize stability as vitality. The fulfillment of novelty in Kaluli-ized pan-Pacific popular music in fact involves simplifications (at the least, non-elaborations) of the timbral, textural, and interpretative-performative subtleties basic to 'lift-up-over sounding' patterning as heard in the original Kaluli genres. But the basic stylistic resource is there for new nuances to develop as Kaluli become more experienced and involved in using, listening to, and sharing Papua New Guinea popular forms. This is precisely as Meyer observed in general terms: "Because intra-stylistic change does not involve a modification of the premises of a style, but rather a realization of the possibilities inherent in such premises, intra-stylistic changes are not necessarily linear and cumulative. Consequently, some works coming late in the chronology of

a style may be actually less complex (more redundant) than those which preceded them (1967:120)."

*'Voice Bosavi'*

A final story speaks clearly to how well the *dulugu ganalan* sound works into popular Papua New Guinea expression at a more affective level as well. In 1976 Hōnowɔ was learning carpentry at the Mendi Boys Vocational Training School, where he had been placed by Keith Briggs (the Bosavi missionary) in recognition of his linguistic and technical aptitudes. When Hōnowɔ returned to Bosavi for Christmas school recess (which is when I met him for the first time) he brought work boots, sun glasses, and a ukelele with him, signs of his integration into the modern "town" world of Papua New Guinea. One night Hōnowɔ came to my house to sing Kaluli and Tok Pisin songs with Gigio, Seyaka, and some other young men. They accompanied themselves on the ukelele (which they all took turns at playing, each producing an identical sound, as described above) and a contemporary version of a Kaluli *sologa* rattle, made not from a gourd pod and seeds but from pebbles in an empty tin fish can.

When they sang there was a clear Kaluli 'lift-up-over sounding' sound, with in-sync and out of phase voices (overlapped, with alternating shifts to octave and falsetto parts), and with the densified isometric pulsing of the rattle and ukelele never leaving a crack of unfilled rustle time in sonic space. At the end of one song, Hōnowɔ spontaneously switched into a radio announcer voice register and role, as if the group had been performing live on Radio Southern Highlands. In Tok Pisin he identified the previous selection, and as the others giggled, he introduced each singer by longhouse community and name, prefaced by *Mista* ('Mister'). He concluded his announcement with a nostalgic sigh and, switching to English, "ah yes, voice Bosavi."

Hōnowɔ's choice of the English word "voice" follows the use of the term by announcers on Papua New Guinea's provincial radio programs, as an identifier of local styles (Tok Pisin *bilong ples*, 'of that place', i.e., locality, region, area; as in *tok ples*, 'native language', local or village level language; Mihalic 1971:157-8, 191). In this context the word "voice" carries the very same idea captured by the terms "groove," "sound", and "beat." "Voice Bosavi" would indeed be a contemporary Papua New Guinea way to gloss the "Kaluli sound," the *dulugu ganalan* groove. "Voice Bosavi" is the distinct local flavor of Kaluli expression finding its *ples*, 'place', its local identity in the larger worlds of the Southern Highlands Province and Papua New Guinea.

*Style Lessons in Listening-Up-Over*

Turning from the transformations of Kaluli music-making and identity-marking to ways my own identity and practices are situated, a further extension of *dulugu ganalan* that requires explication concerns how Kaluli listened to me listen, and how they listened with me to music from my own orbit. A few anecdotes about casual interactions are in fact further

sources of insight about the tacit Kaluli naturalness of *dulugu ganalan* style, as well as about overt Kaluli invocations of style as a bridge between aesthetic worlds.

I arrived each visit in Bosavi with a cassette arsenal of “my music” (i.e., whatever I happened to like listening to at that particular time), imagining that these tapes would be a good antidote to Kaluli information overload, burnout, culture shock, and those moments when I might be overcome with a desire to “hook up” to something familiar. This “hook up” of course was both figurative—to “my” urban North American world of musical idioms—and literal—to headphones. What more perfect way to remove my ears (hence mind and body *ensemble*) from the incredible density of Kaluli sound, interaction, and obligation! Headphones were my best “being there” way not to be there. Kaluli friends were willing to give me some space when it came to a need to hear my own tunes; they surely had no trouble recognizing that I would be nostalgic for my music, and were at ease when I reminded them about that need. Besides, when Kaluli worked with me or the Schieffelins, we sat around a table wearing headphones, absorbed in the quiet of transcription and review, tuning-out others and visibly signalling our need for separation and concentration. Headphones were thus generally understood by Kaluli as an unaggressive, typified, obvious signal of the desire to seal oneself off from most outside interruptions and interactions with others.

So when I wanted to listen to my music, I listened alone, with headphones, and in doing so was able to pretty much withdraw from surrounding scenes. This, of course, was as thoroughly un-Kaluli behavior as might be imagined. Had I been operating their way, I would probably have brought a large boom box, and kept it on, at medium-low volume, all the time (even if only to produce static) simply densifying the overall sonic listening environment with ‘lift-up-over sounding’ sounds to be differentially attended, foregrounded, or backgrounded according to whatever was going on or desired at any moment. Virtually all Kaluli listening is public, and most all listening sources are public, however specialized or privatized the immediate focus of what one or more listeners tune-into. The social and sonic seal of headphones, and lengthy hours in sitting or lying positions wired to them, was a clear part of the reportably *mada kole*, ‘very different’ world of us *dogɔf wanalɔ*, ‘yellow skins.’

Kaluli want to be listening with others and they want to be talking and multiply-focused while they are listening. This follows from the assumption of ‘lift-up-over sounding’ sound as a multiple density constant—environmentally, verbally, musically. While Kaluli were certainly able to recognize that I might want to be alone with my music, they could not really imagine why I couldn’t do that in my own head, without headphone prostheses. For Kaluli, the personalized experiences of listening, and the ability to intensely focus when listening, do not principally involve shutting one thing out in order to hear another. People must be available to one another while listening separately and together. For example, I found out the hard way that Kaluli transcription assistants worked less well and were less focused with greater sensory decontextualization. Thick cupped

earphones that shut out all other sounds were useless. Kaluli were far more productive, relaxed, and stimulated wearing loose, light headphones slightly off center of the ear, and listening at lower volumes. It was sound-for-focus juxtaposed with adjacent sounds from sources outside of headphones that helped Kaluli listen most attentively. An edge or tension was present when they had to work to listen, engage to tune-in. Additionally, with these headphones Kaluli could talk and listen at the same time, which was far more natural.

In any case, while private listening remained an occasional activity of mine, my stock of non-Kaluli music tapes did not remain private very long. Kaluli curiosity to listen along (or more appropriately perhaps, listen-up-over) led me to disconnect headphones and let tapes play in the background while I was casually interacting with friends. Yet I dismissed many of my first experiences listening with Kaluli to other Papua New Guinea musics, and Western musics. I think I found these moments superficial and somewhat obviously transparent. In retrospect I should have tape recorded and closely studied those interactional scenes and the spontaneous Kaluli remarks that were offered. They probably contained superb indications of what I later began to closely monitor and attend to, namely how Kaluli commentary on non-Kaluli music indicated the centrality of *dulugu ganalan* as something to listen for and remark upon, in both descriptive and evaluative discourse.

The single most forceful experience I had in this regard came about one day as I casually played a tape of selections by the Miles Davis Quintet of the late 1960's. In addition to Davis on trumpet, this band included Wayne Shorter on tenor saxophone, Herbie Hancock on piano, Ron Carter on bass, and Tony Williams on drums. Many of the compositions the band recorded were by Shorter, including one titled Nefertiti, from an album of the same name. This recording stopped Kaluli ears in their tracks. This song is a sixteen bar melody with a strong feeling of subdivision on the first eight bars from the second eight bars. On the recording these sixteen bars are played sequentially thirteen times by the ensemble. The form is thus unusual for small group jazz improvisation in that the players do not explicitly play a melody (usually called the "head") and then play improvised solo choruses on the chord structure to the accompaniment of the rhythm section (usually called "blowing" or "playing changes") before all returning to close the performance with an ensemble reprise of the "head."

The Nefertiti recording consists instead of the "head" played over and over by the ensemble. Yet it involves tremendous subtleties and differences in each one of those thirteen choruses, and in the contrast of the first and last eight bars of each chorus, often exploiting a tension-relaxation principle. Many of the subtleties involve textural differences in the relationship of the horns (trumpet and tenor saxophone); many others involve continual changes in the densification of rhythm section (piano-bass-drums) parts; "comping" (accentual patterns of piano chords), "walking" (bass runs contrasting melody and time keeping functions with soloistic material), and "fills" (drum accents and embellishments off the

basic 4/4 cymbal “tap” and time groove). Throughout the piece changes in volume and balance between the horns, between the horns and rhythm section, and within the rhythm section add to the sense of nuanced repetition with development.

The first chorus is played just by the tenor sax and rhythm section. They continue into the second chorus, but the trumpet joins the sax in unison for the last eight bars. The next three choruses, (3, 4, and 5) develop a swinging 4/4 groove, with the horns in unison, and the rhythm section alternating light and dense sections of accompaniment. The rhythm section additionally gets louder throughout, and adds more fills, accenting its role in every chorus during the last two bars of the sixteen bar phrase, where there are no horn melody notes. The sixth chorus finds the volume way down, and the piano virtually mute during the first eight bars, then back in for the second eight. The seventh chorus is louder and the rhythm section is more active, leading to a strong focus on the drums in the last eight bars. The eighth chorus starts louder, then becomes softer to focus on the bass in the last eight bars. The ninth chorus feels like the apex of rhythm section solos within the cycle, accented first by rolling piano block chords in six against four and three against two patterns with the bass and drums, then in the last eight bars by strong drum soloing playing off of similar cross-rhythmic motifs. In the tenth chorus the horns play the melody in staggered overlapping echo at the beginning, more closely coming back toward a unison statement at the end, and varying the echo technique and more typical unison statement throughout the eleventh chorus. The twelfth chorus is played just by the rhythm section; rich block chords from the piano, walking bass lines, and highly polyrhythmic drum fills overlaying the basic groove. The thirteenth chorus finds the horns back in unison, with some slight echo effects. The recording ends with a rhythm section fade.

Kaluli listeners attended to a number of dimensions of this performance of Nefertiti and applied the notions of ‘lift-up-over sounding’ and ‘hardening’ to comment on their sense of the form and performance dynamics. *Dulugu ganalan* was employed to comment on: (1) the relationship of the melody as stated by the horns to the simultaneous accompaniment by the rhythm section; (2) the figure/ground contrasts and tensions between more ensemble-like and more soloistic moments, especially the shifts in the piano and drum playing; (3) the motion from unison melody statement to staggered echo statement by the horns; (4) the continual changeability of the sound, and emphasis on overall and section-internal volume contrasts. Additionally, the notion of ‘hardening’ was applied to the overall structure, the climax being in the transition from the loud, agitated rhythm section work at the end of the ninth chorus and into the overlapped echo horn statement in the first eight bars of the tenth chorus.

Undoubtedly, the thinning and thickening of textures, and subtleties of the group being simultaneously together yet with each player partially off in solo space is central to an appreciation of the band’s performance here. From the vantage point of the experienced jazz listener the aesthetics

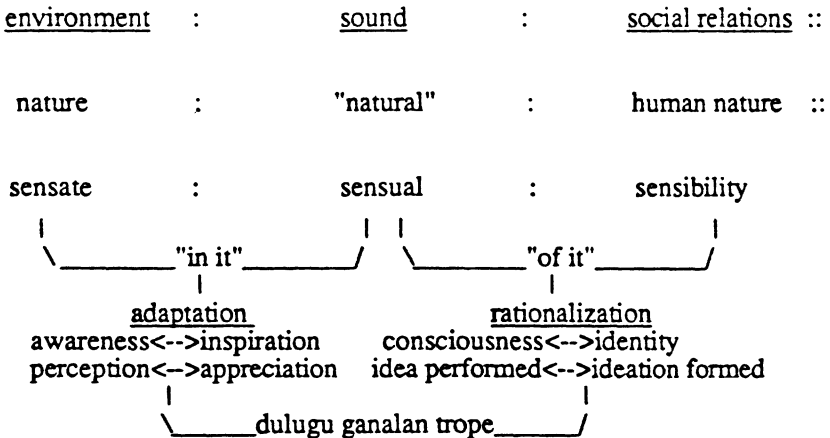


of the piece rest on a playful subversion of the classical jazz distinction between ensemble and solo artistry. In an overt sense Nefertiti has no solos—certainly none of the classic improvised jazz type—but there are solos throughout, and the players move in and out of solos together. In effect, the role of the sixteen bar melody progresses, as does the “head” in a typical jazz piece/performance, from contextual to textual to subtextual to pretextual to textual functions.

I doubt this is what Kaluli heard, and I would not suggest that they experienced Nefertiti at all the way sophisticated or novice Western jazz listeners might. But they also did not just hear it as something from afar. While the melodic, harmonic and rhythmic idioms of the piece and the genre are entirely alien to them, the elements that they heard and labelled as ‘lift-up-over sounding’ are specifically relational, process elements replete with textural densification, and in-synchrony while out-of-phase patterning. In effect, Nefertiti made sense to Kaluli because it *sounds* like their kind of groove.

*Summarizing Kaluli Groove-ogenesis*

The formation of the Kaluli ‘lift-up-over sounding’ sound proceeds from a dual dialectic, sound/environment on the one hand, sound/social relations on the other. The first side involves a process of adaptation. The fluidity of environmental awareness as musical inspiration, environmental perception as musical appreciation is the motion between nature and “naturalness”, the sensate and the sensual. The music of nature becomes the nature of music. The inverse side involves a process of rationalization. The fluidity of musical consciousness as social identity, idea performed to ideation formed is the motion between the “natural” and human nature, the sensual and the sensible. Now the nature of music is “doing what comes naturally.” The simultaneous feeling of being “in it” and “of it” is the emergence of ‘lift-up-over sounding’ as synonym-image for Kaluli cooperative work, soundmaking, and soundscape, each echoing the same pattern, turning the same groove, and echoing outward, toward interaction and talk in *dulugu salan*, ‘lift-up-over speaking’ as well as toward textural densification and in-sync, out-of-phase costume-dance-sound relationships.



### *Emotional Aesthetics*

In an extraordinary trilogy on anthropological aesthetics, Robert Plant Armstrong (1971, 1975, 1981) laid some formations for a humanistic anthropology that might put aside "art" and "the beautiful" and look at culture "as a pattern-in-experience (1975:18)" and at works of "affecting presence" as "a direct presentation of the feelingful dimension of experience (1975:19)." Armstrong's quest is to understand affecting qualities and works in terms of presentation (not representation), immediation (not mediation), and metaphor (not symbol).

Armstrong treats metaphor as ". . . the being of the work of art; through metaphor it exists . . . (as) . . . the actual, incarnated being of . . . non-verbal affective life . . . (1971:xxi)." He argues that affecting presences, as works or events witnessed, are "constituted, in a primordial and intransigent fashion, of basic cultural psychic conditions—not symbols of those conditions but specific enactments—presentations—of those very conditions—the affecting presence is not a 'semblance' but an actuality . . . in cultural terms it presents rather than represents (1975:24)." The media of such affecting presences are the minima of this presentationality, and metaphor is the mode of affecting existence, ". . . a process by which the artist creates in various spatial and temporal media states of affective being . . . (1975:62)."

Packed into Armstrong's concern with revealing the conditions of a work's powers of invocation is a strong critique of approaches which transparently equate art and beauty with excellence of execution, and aesthetics with the conditions of virtuosity (1981). He sees such an approach to aesthetics, like ones that principally interpret works as signs of their times, as exteriorizing and ethnocentric. In place of such formulations he wishes to examine works of affecting presence as direct forces and sensibilities, through which one might grasp ". . . the very consciousness of a people, the particular conditions under which their human existence is possible (1975:82)." This is why he is so concerned with affect as a kind of knowing, linked to power, or the efficacy of such conditions of feeling. For Armstrong "the affective realm is the universe of man's interiority, and its mode of address is direct (1971:43)." Hence works of affecting presence are for Armstrong not only presentational and physically identical to what they immediately present, but additionally are, by metaphor, also identical to the emotions transferred through their witnessing.

Armstrong's phenomenology is dense and elegant, and often makes us feel far from real worlds of people, physical works, cognized affect, and enacted metaphor. But at the same time he has done more theoretically than anyone else to centrally situate metaphor and emotion in ethnoaesthetics and to elaborate a critique of anthropological crypto-aesthetics. He does this in part through reinvigorating the notion of tropes, and by showing how tropes transmute core cultural patterns through formal metaphoric properties, modalities, and media as a "projection of consciousness *in* consciousness (1975:45)." "Style may . . . be seen to be a composite of media and their structures, *in terms of the discipline* to

which those media and structures are characteristically subjected in enactment (1971:51, emphasis in original).” Through similetic equivalences in different media and modes, the sensate and feelingful dimensions of affecting presences gain iconic force. “Style is affecting when it can be asserted that it is integral to the presentational being of the work (1971:51).”

Here too is where Armstrong seems to be one of the few anthropological aestheticians to transcend a false dichotomization of cognition and emotion (a.k.a. knowing and feeling). For him, it is never that the viewer’s affect is caused by the artist’s sensibilities packed into work; it is that the viewer’s feelings are drenched in comprehension of enacted sensibilities that live in the work. Armstrong thus joins philosophers and aestheticians (e.g., Solomon 1983:192-193; Bouwsma 1970; Goodman 1976:245-252) who challenge “expression” theories of art and concomitant hydraulic theories of the emotions, “. . . in aesthetic experience the *emotions function cognitively* (emphasis in original). The work of art is apprehended through the feelings as well as through the senses . . . Cognitive use involves discriminating and relating them in order to gauge and grasp the work and integrate it with the rest of our experience of the world (Goodman 1976:248).” While critics have found work like Armstrong’s or Goodman’s outside of the tradition of ethnographic and political grounding, it is worth noting how this focused placement of emotion in fact forges a common thread with the neo-Marxist “structures of feeling” notion of style and aesthetics found in the work of Raymond Williams (1977: 128-135): “We are talking about characteristic elements of impulse, restraint, and tone; specifically effective elements of consciousness and relationships; not feeling against thought, but thought as felt and feeling as thought: practical consciousness of a present kind, in a living and interrelating community (1977:132).”

#### *Coda: Style and Groove Re-fused? Re: Fused? Refused?*

How do the implications of aesthetics as iconicity of style bear on why getting into the groove feels so good? That question ended the original formulation of this paper. When I tried to answer it at Rice University, drawing on Armstrong as above, Michael Fischer pointed out the implicit connection to another question: what does *dulugu ganalan* do to help us put aesthetic theory in critical relief? As I continued to meditate on that, Charles Keil sent one answer to both questions, ‘lifting-up-over’ earlier drafts: “Getting into the groove feels so good because it frees us of alot of abstractions, logics, ‘culture’, ‘knowledge’, aesthetics, iconicities, etc. and all the forces that both separate and fix music from dance, myth from ritual, recipe from food, etc., etc., etc. Guess I’m suggesting that you push it further downtown and toward applied sociomusicology in conclusion rather than saying that we need to think through the fixed concepts in order to grasp the groove. It’s the reverse; we need to groove more in order to break open some concepts, drop others, keep all mere ideas at a safe distance (1986: personal communication).”

I accept Keil’s version of arch and tumble but also think that as a natural downhome Kaluli stylistic sensibility the *dulugu ganalan* groove feels so

right because it accomplishes the social ideal or goal of maximized participation. Each voice in a stream of collaboration is at once a self-referenced 'hardness', an attested skill, competence; a presence that is rewarding and revealing. Simultaneously, each voice is socially ratified as cooperative agent, linked and immersed in a myriad of human relations that continually activate the pleasures of identity. What feels good is the familiarity of local ethos—a Kaluli emotional tone that supports as it challenges, agitates as it invites, stimulates as it soothes. *Dulugu ganalan* is about play, about control and letting go, about being loose and being organized, about being poly- and -phonic, together but always open to reconstituting the relationships employed, about being synchronously in and out of time together. Simply: it feels good to know how to feel good.

Getting back to aesthetic theory and Michael Fischer's question, *dulugu ganalan* is, at the least, a forest of trees falling, crashing down and shaking the grounds of any general aesthetics that privileges vision, visual objects, and visualism, privileges product over process, melody and rhythm over timbre and texture, syntax over semantics, structure over emotion, form over participation, linearity over simultaneity, force over flow, transcendental over temporal, top-heavy over egalitarian, vertical harmony over the moving groove. Keil (1987) and Gadamer (1986) have concisely provided the gist of an extended answer: *dulugu ganalan* takes us in numerous non-alienating play, performance, process and participation directions, exploring forms and expressions while creating them, intensifying Schutz's "tuning-in", Armstrong's "projection of consciousness in consciousness", Ricoeur's ". . . projection of new possibilities of redescribing the world (1978:152)."

When I closed on that note at Columbia, Dieter Christensen suggested another use for *dulugu ganalan* that takes the critique back to "music", that consummate invention that possesses all our "musicologies." To his ears, the *dulugu ganalan* groove again challenges assumptions of or tendencies for reified usages of "style" in Western music history. Style here is a concept often taken as an unproblematic notion implying specialness, continuity, persistence, established boundaries, mild dynamism, self-generated reproduction. Along such traditional musicological lines, style is, in crudest classificatory usage, whatever is unique and individuated about a piece, or, what any set of "pieces" are situated "in", or what they flow "out of" or "into." Style is the clustering of traits which make each work a token ("piece") of/in a type ("opus"). In this sense, style may denote those sound patterns of a period, epoch, location, or composer that are most redundant, recurrent, transparent, formally consistent; a core reflection of the place or time that evolves, is mastered, discarded or superseded. Style too can be the mark of what makes one piece greatly creative, another minimally so. Additionally, style in this view, may be viewed as analytically transparent, something to be deduced purely and uniquely from "the notes", a transcription or a score. Some examples: on score -centrism; claiming in its first sentence to "old and derivative" and thereby standard and consensual in approach to style, LaRue's *Guidelines for style analysis* ". . . presents a framework for understanding music based directly on the

notes themselves . . . (1970: vii).” On the creative individuated identity, several definitions are like Dickenson’s opening lines in *A handbook of style in music*: “Style is the reflection of the individual essence of a work of art which gives it its *identity*. This identity is the result of a distinctive *conjunction* of components, coupled with distinctive *emphasis* among the components. Style is thus the crystallization of the traits of a work, characteristically adjusted in one comprehensive individuality—the creative personality of the work (1965:3, emphasis in original).”

While some musicologists and theorists have critiqued such typological or trait cluster score-centric approaches to style, (e.g., Hatten 1982, who in an argument drawing on Chomsky and Culler, urges musicologists to approach style as competence, and stresses how stylistic competence is not transparently reflected in a score), it is clearly Leonard Meyer’s work on style and style change (1979, 1967:104-133) that constitutes the most broad and rigorous reassessment of assumptions about musical style, specifically the confusion of stylistic classification with stylistic analysis. Meyer (1979:11) argues that “. . . knowledge of style is usually tacit: it is a matter of habits properly acquired (internalized) and appropriately brought into play”, and, that “It is the goal of music theorists and style analysts to explain what the composer, performer, and listener know in this tacit way.” Moreover, “What the theorist and analyst want to know about, then, are the constraints of the style in terms of which the replicated patternings observed can be related to one another and to the experience of works of art (ibid.:13).”

Ultimately, and unfortunately, Meyer lets this position devolve into an overly internal and physicalist notion of behavior and rules, leading to the notion that one can only study the nature of choices and constraints from the behavior of players as manifest in “the invariable laws of human cognition (ibid.:14).” In doing so, he subjugates the inevitable social complexity of style, and misses the unique and fundamental role of cultural analysis to interpret the richness and thoroughness of style as collective representation, as human resource, as evolutionary adaptation. More obviously, he misses the *stylistic centrality* of extra-musical and socio-musical markings for an explication of what is specifically articulated in the sonic-musical. The problem, of course, is that a thorough analysis of style precisely pinpoints the artificiality of a triangulation that distances the sonic-musical, extra-musical, and socio-musical, finally liberating the subject back into its fundamental unity. Some fifty years ago, M.M. Bakhtin precisely located the parallel problematic of stylistic analysis for literature:

“The separation of style and language from the question of genre has been largely responsible for a situation in which only individual and period-bound overtones of a style are the privileged subjects of study, while its basic social tone is ignored. The great historical destinies of genres are overshadowed by the petty vicissitudes of stylistic modifications, which in their turn are linked with individual artists and artistic movements. For this reason, stylistics has been deprived of an authentic philosophical and sociological approach to its

problems; it has become bogged down in stylistic trivia; it is not able to sense behind the individual and period-bound shifts the great and anonymous destinies of artistic discourse itself. More often than not, stylistics defines itself as a stylistics of 'private craftsmanship' and ignores the social life of discourse outside the artists' study, discourse in the open spaces of public square, streets, cities and villages, of social groups, generations and epochs. Stylistics is concerned not with living discourse but with a histological specimen made from it, with abstract linguistic discourse in the service of an artist's individual creative powers. But these individual and tendentious overtones of style, cut off from the fundamentally social modes in which discourse lives, inevitably come across as flat and abstract in such a formulation and cannot therefore be studied in organic unity with a work's semantic components (1981:259)."

Transposed to the musical, Bakhtin's admonition most forcefully situates an appreciation of *dulugu ganalan* as a complementary ethnomusicological critique that more specifically implicates musico-cultural analysis to locate the power of style in the social imagination, as "... a concrete embodiment or projection of emotional dispositions and habits of thought common to the whole culture (Schapiro 1953:305)." Phrasing this from the Kaluli perspective, style (as *dulugu ganalan*) is more than the statistical core reflection of the place or time, or patterned choices made within constraints. It is the very human resources that are enacted to constitute the reality of social life in sound. Style is itself the accomplishment, the crystallization of personal and social participation; it is the way performance and engagement endows humanly meaningful shape upon sonic form. Style is an emergence, the means by which newly creative knowledge is developed from playful, rote, or ordinary participatory experience. Style is the way an internalization and naturalization of felt thoughts and thought feelings guides experience; more than just maintaining the *dulugu ganalan* musical order, it creatively produces and sustains it by allowing Kaluli the pleasures of feeling actualized potential, resources, skill, desires, through careful listening no less than actual performance.

With *dulugu ganalan*, the emergent Kaluli camaraderie, sound, and sensation are cognitively and emotionally integrated in the deepest sense, not just as metaphoric equivalents, but as a felt iconic wholeness. In that sense, style is a gloss for the essence of identity; which is why Kaluli *dulugu ganalan* mediates individual creativity and collective experience, and why grooves/styles are universes of discourse (Meyer), pervasive, rigorous unities (Schapiro), assertions of control (Keil), and algorithms of the heart (Bateson) essential to affecting presences (Armstrong).

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## NOTES

1. Meyer stresses the importance of choice to dispute the notion that style is dependent on synonymy, or reducible to variations in manner of representation. In this his argument recalls Nelson Goodman's concern (1975) with pointing to the necessary integration of form and content in an overall theory of style.
2. John Miller Chernoff, ethnomusicologist and percussionist, provides some additional details here on the groove: ". . . to me, its reference is mainly to rhythm, i.e., that the bass and drum 'lay down a groove.' It also suggests coolness and calm, something effortless and smooth, as in 'groovin.'" In its physical aspect, it keeps you with it, 'in the groove.' In West Africa, incidentally, many people refer to reefer as 'groove' and smoking it as 'grooving' (1987: personal communication)."
3. Keil's remark calls to mind the composer and folk music collector Percy Grainger's fascination with "kaleidoscopic density", "everchanging euphoniously discordant polyphonic harmony", and "inexact unision (1915:425, 429)" as mirrors of naturalness in unwritten music; ". . . modern geniuses and primitive music unite in teaching us the charm of 'wrong notes that sound right' (ibid.:431)." In the same article Grainger describes an experiment, a "Random Round" he wrote based on early recordings of South Pacific polyphony. Rehearsing the piece ". . . several of those taking part quickly developed the power of merging themselves into the artistic whole . . ." (ibid.:432)." Keil similarly discusses (as does Owen Barfield, upon whom he draws) feelings of "urge to merge" in the language of participation. Barfield's use of discrepancy, at least in his earlier writings, seems more sweeping: ". . . poetic experience depends on a 'difference of potentials', a kind of *discrepancy* between two moods or modes of consciousness (1973:54; emphasis in original)."
4. In *Sound and Sentiment* (1982:177) I somewhat inaccurately glossed *dulugu molab* as "singing lead" and *dulugu salab* as "speak first", "hold the floor", "lead discussion." My confusion stemmed from inaccurate contexting. My understanding at that time (based

on fieldwork 1976-77) was that 'lift-up-over' could be glossed as a "part that stands out." After fieldwork in 1982 which was largely oriented toward environmental sounds rather than human ceremonial ones, I went back and reviewed my earlier materials, only to realize that in every instance Kaluli used the *dulugu* notion more relationally and interactionally. I took it, at that early stage, that 'lift-up-over' indicated some notion of "lead" because every time a prominent voice would emerge my assistants would instruct: "it is lifting-up-over *there*." Later publications (1984, 1986, 1987) correct this contexting and amplify the interactional qualities of *dulugu ganalan* and *dulugu molan* in Kaluli human and natural sounds.

5. The 1975 Krymus Band trio version was released as an EMI 45 rpm disc. The song is credited to Sharon Ahuta, listed on the liner notes as the group "leader." The later version, more widely known today, was released in 1978 on the NBC cassette *Krymus Rua*. By this time the band had expanded to ten members, and was known as New Krymus. The cassette credits the song to Viora Atabe, listed on the 1975 disc notes as Krymus' "chief vocalist and composer." In 1976-77 I knew of no Kaluli who owned cassette copies of Wanpela Meri. Young men in Bosavi learned the song from others who had picked it up from radio broadcasts while they were out on labor contracts.

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