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A Long Way toward Life in the Wilderness
In What Sense is Fieldwork an Immediate Experience?

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Based on research stretching across more than 30 years among the G|ui hunter-gatherers of southern Africa, in this paper I consider in what sense fieldwork is an immediate or direct experience. My point of departure is GOFFMAN’s notion of “immediate co-presence.” Insofar as they pose a unique temporality, the works in FAULKNER’s Yoknapatawpha Saga provide us with a clue for writing ethnographies utilizing past events. The strategy of ethnographic description that I pursue takes spoken language as a form of body gesture and seeks to clarify the bodily/emotional expression of narrative. From six conversational analysis case studies, I have abstracted the following seven points as narrative expressions: (1) There is a non-substitutable linguistic expression that is conspicuous when kinship terms are used as interjections; (2) A habitus and inter-corporeality unique to the G|ui permeates places of co-presence; (3) Body configurations that symbolize the essence of ritual are enacted through narrators' bodily gestures; (4) The multifaceted countenance of reality is revealed through the cross-referencing of multiple narratives; (5) Narrator and researcher mutually, or with their referents, together cast nets of co-membership which change according to context; (6) “Narrative style” is regulated not just by individual narrators’ rhetorical strategies but also by structures of interaction extending across multiple narrators. Based on this, the general attitudes of people coping bodily with existential problems are illuminated; (7) When exposing the fact that a narrator is forgetting some event, a mutual complementarity of memory and the links among facts arises around that absence.

Based on the above analysis, I argue that while ethnographies and novels share in depicting the forms of people’s lives, they differ greatly in their relationships with the (real) world. Ethnographic accounts are founded on their indexical adjacency with the narrators/speakers (the originators of utterances) of actual conversations. The connectedness that engenders such adjacency itself constitutes the immediate co-presence of the researcher and the local people. In other words, the fountainhead of the life of ethnographies is in the inexhaustible “affluence” contained in the actualities of people’s lives.

Key words: immediate co-presence, G|ui /G|jana, expressive gesture in narrative, body configuration, co-membership

I. Departure Point

The "life in the wilderness" of my paper's title is the title of an ethnography that I am someday hoping to write.1 Across some 31 years since 1982, I have conducted research among the G\u101i and G\u101ana, southern African hunter-gatherers who are members of the so-called "Bushmen."2 The group that I have lived with is composed primarily of G\u101i but I also have many G\u101ana acquaintances as well. When it is necessary to refer to both groups, I will use "G\u101i /G\u101ana" to indicate this.3 From 1994 to the present, I have recorded narratives related to life histories with the assistance primarily of elderly G\u101i group members. Thus far I have published pieces of these narratives in line with particular topics but feel that I have an obligation still to draw a complete picture of the life world that emerges from these narratives. In this paper, by previewing the fundamental motifs of this yet unfinished ethnography, I want to contemplate about in what senses anthropological fieldwork is composed of the direct or immediate experience of bodies.

First, let me return to the wellspring of my own fieldwork. This was the investigation of individual non-troop male Japanese monkeys that I conducted intermittently between 1974 and 1980 in Kojima, Miyazaki Prefecture, Japan (Sugawara 1980). The book that I read at night in my accommodations on the island was Erving Goffman's The Presentation of Self in Everyday Life, in which he writes:

Interaction (that is, face-to-face interaction) may be roughly defined as the reciprocal influence of individuals upon one another's actions when in one another's immediate physical presence (Goffman 1959: 26).

This actually commonsensical definition of interaction became deeply burnt into my mind. "[In] one another's immediate physical presence," that is "immediate co-presence," was my starting point in anthropology, and afterwards continued to be the coordinate axis of my research.

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1 I am planning to use "Spinning Bushman Contemporary History through Narrative" as subtitle.
2 Dutch colonists who entered southern Africa from the mid-seventeenth century called the indigenous hunter-gatherers "Bojesman" (people of the bush) or "Bossiesman" (chief, outlaw). One of these is the origin of the English term "Bushman." In the 1970s and 1980s, it became common among anthropologists to replace "Bushman" with "San," and Japanese scholars followed this trend. However, at the beginning of the 1990s, Robert Gordon, who had conducted historical anthropological research regarding the Bushmen of Namibia, criticized the substitution of "Bushman" with "San" as itself yielding to the pressures of colonialisart socialization. He argued that respect should be paid to the social unlawfulness of the people(s) labelled "Bushmen," who have the longest history of brave resistance among the peoples of southern Africa exposed to the violent attacks of the colonists. For this reason, Gordon declared his intention to use "Bushman" (1992:6-7). Gordon's argument has had widespread influence and has contributed to the rehabilitation of the "Bushman" label.
3 From 1998 to the present, whenever I have transcribed the Giui language in published books and articles, I have used the orthography proposed by Nakagawa Hiroshi, based on his early research (Nakagawa 1996: 121-122). However, Nakagawa (2004) later pointed out the need to revise this orthography for a number of phonological reasons and he has proposed a new notational system. I follow the latter in this paper.
But, to more clearly illuminate the theme of this paper, it is necessary to return even further into the past. Soon after I entered university, it was my classmate TERASHIMA Hideaki who taught me William FAULKNER’s brilliance. FAULKNER wrote a number of novels, together called the Yoknapatawpha Saga, set in the imaginary town of Jefferson in Yoknapatawpha County, Mississippi. The then youthful TERASHIMA and I did not yet have the education to call what grabbed our spirits “ethnography,” but I believe that we were almost magnetically drawn to discourses with a deep affinity to ethnography. In the following section of this paper I argue that in fact FAULKNER’s fictional world provides us with important hints for rethinking the writing of ethnographies.

II. The Fictive Ethnography of Yoknapatawpha County

I have selected two works from among FAULKNER’s Yoknapatawpha Saga, and after briefly summarizing each argue that the fictional world that FAULKNER has constructed also has meaning for ethnography. The two works are The Sound and the Fury, written using very avant-garde techniques (originally published in 1931), and Absalom, Absalom!, which is considered FAULKNER’s greatest masterpiece (originally published in 1936).

1. Three Family Groups

The main characters in these two novels belong to three family groups: the COMPSON family, the SUTPEN family and the COLDFIELD family. The head of the COMPSON family is Jason (III), and the head of the SUTPEN family, Thomas, was the only friend the former’s father let his guard down with. Through Thomas, the SUTPEN family and the COLDFIELD family were related by marriage.

The Sound and The Fury focuses on the COMPSON family (FAULKNER 1969). Jason’s children are, by birth order, Quentin (1891-1910), Jason (IV), Caddy (Candace), and Ben (jy; Benjamin): three boys and one girl. The story revolves around three days’ events between 6 and 8 April 1928, into which are interwoven Quentin’s thoughts and conversation with his dormitory roommate 18 years prior, when on 2 June 1910 Quentin committed suicide while a student at Harvard University. The book is composed of four chapters, each of which is narrated from different perspectives. Chapter 1, “April Seventh, 1928,” is told from (mentally handicapped) Ben’s perspective; Chapter 2, “June Second, 1910,” is narrated from Quentin’s perspective; Chapter 3, “April Sixth, 1928,” is told from Jason IV’s perspective; and Chapter 4, “April Eighth, 1928,” is told from an omniscience author’s perspective.

Absalom, Absalom! narrates the life of the mysterious Thomas SUTPEN (1807-1869) as recomposed from the perspectives of Quentin, his father Jason III and Shreve (FAULKNER 1968). It is a story in which a man of unknown origin burns with the ambition to establish his family, deceives the local Indians out of their land and moves to Jefferson with a large number of Black slaves, but in the end is ruined. Thomas takes advantage of Goodhue
COLDFIELD's weakness to strategically marry the latter's daughter Ellen (1817-1863), with whom he has two children, Henry (1839-1909) and Judith (1841-1884). When Henry goes to the city to study at university, he becomes friends with Charles BON, who unbeknown to Henry is Thomas' son by a previous marriage. Judith and Charles are introduced to each other by Henry and fall in love. However, when Thomas investigates Charles' background, he realizes that the young couple are in an incestuous relationship and causes them to separate. Thomas' past is wrapped in riddles, but it appears that he had a daughter with a black woman with whom he had a relationship while married to his first wife. In the end, he makes Milly, the grand-daughter of the black squatter Wash JONES, bear a child and showers her with abuse on her postpartum confinement bed. Hearing this, Wash kills Thomas and then Milly and her newborn child with a scythe.

2. The Special Characteristics of Practical Methods

The special characteristics of FAULKNER's unique methodology may be summarized in four points: 1) The marking of passages using italics: these are primarily used to mark flashbacks and soliloquies, but are often used otherwise as well and create a unique sense of rhythm; 2) Avant-garde stylistic experimentation: dropping punctuation and quotation marks and thus spinning out long, abstruse sentences that are difficult to understand. This experimental spirit is, for example, manifest in FAULKNER's use of the lower case "i" to mark the first person singular "I"; 3) Polyphony: past events are multi-variably elucidated from the perspectives of multiple narrators, amplifying the so-called "Rashōmon" effect; 4) The fictional world FAULKNER creates has an inexhaustible depth even for the author: this point is inseparable from 3) above. Upon finishing a particular work, FAULKNER no doubt realized that there were yet numerous riddles concealed behind that story. There, co-texts such as chronologies, genealogies and maps differing in form from the main work might be appended. For example, in the edition of The Sound and The Fury included ten years after its original publication in the 1946 Portable FAULKNER compendium, a large scale supplement was appended.

The world constructed by these methods thus engraves powerful impressions in the reader, including the mercilessness and indomitability of particular people in the Deep South, the depth of the unique emotional life, the deposition across long periods of time of the fundamental choices of existence, the overwhelmingly powerful presence of the "black" other, and so forth. However, more than anything else, what made FAULKNER such a prominent presence in twentieth century literature was his construction of an unparalleled temporality. Even among these, he pursued a particularly radical technique in The Sound and The Fury, especially the first chapter in which Ben minutely retraces a certain day's events. According to translator OGAMI Masaji, the flow of Ben's thought is cut into pieces by jumping across time some 127 times. It is possible to call this multilayered time, but in the sense that all moments from the past and present exist co-equaly if not
coevally, then it may be that the "a-temporal" has become manifest. I return to this issue at the end of this paper.

3. What Separates Ethnographies and Novels?

It is possible to read the Yoknapatawpha Saga as an ethnography-like work that describes the Deep South of the late nineteenth to the early twentieth centuries. If one doesn't mind the work of consulting the original text, it is possible to determine not just the genealogical relations tying the characters together but each character's years of birth and death. As "sole owner and proprietor" of Yoknapatawpha County, FAULKNER elaborately prepared the individual histories, personalities and social relations of each of the residents of that world. The question that arises here is rather simple. If I am to be able to write an extended ethnography entitled *Life in the Wilderness* set in the Kalahari desert, how would that differ from the Yoknapatawpha Saga? The naïve distinction between suggesting that I would write unvarnished facts while FAULKNER wrote pipe dreams as expressions of his imagination is dubious. Before discovering FAULKNER, I had been a devotee of ŌE Kensaburō, who writes:

Writers try to give expression to actual experiences in extant places in the midst of this real world. Through the production of the novel these are concretized, and in the sense of existence in this world, the author must not allow a view standing outside of that world....The writer is person like a strange cook who enters inside an egg and is trying to boil that egg...(ŌE 1974:19).

FAULKNER's fictional world as well most have been rooted in his own real world and have used as indispensable resources such things as his everyday interactions with his wife and children, his social contacts with neighboring farmers and friends from town, or his dealings with his black workers. As a problem deeply connected to ethnography, let us pay attention to how the author turned his gaze especially to black people as other. In the second half of the final chapter of *The Sound and The Fury*, there is a scene in which the black housemaid Dilsey takes Ben to church. The impassioned preaching of a dwarf evangelist invited from another town by the church's pastor has the congregation swaying. "In the midst of the voices and the hands Ben sat, rapt in his sweet blue gaze. Dilsey sat bolt upright beside, crying rigidly and quietly in the annealment and the blood of the remembered Lamb" (FAULKNER 1969:303/1965:263-264). Even reading just this description we can surmise that FAULKNER looked upon blacks with a gaze mixed with respect and empathy. In anthropology recently the conditions drawing the attention of not a few cultural anthropologists to episodes of possession occurring in Pentecostal churches are prefigured in the above sort of descriptions (CSORDAS 2002; NOZAWA 2010).

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4 As is written beneath FAULKNER's name at the bottom of the maps included in *Absalom, Absalom!*
Incidentally, the “Introduction to Characters” appended from the tenth year following publication of The Sound and The Fury ends “Dilsey: They endured.”

Of course, in general the events that a novel narrates are not “things that really occurred.” However, on reconsideration, what about ethnography? For non-literate societies such as the G|ui /G||ana, it is almost impossible to secure objective evidence that proves that a long-past event given representation in oral language “actually occurred.” The fundamental ground separating ethnographies from novels is that it is possible to provide as concrete material or data the fact that, at some particular point in the past, the anthropologist and the local people together were “in one another’s immediate physical presence.” Those are made public as case study accounts in scholarly reports. Or, as media such as voice recordings or recorded images, it is possible to toss such simulacra of immediate co-presence into open communication circuits. In other words, it is possible to specify the routes connecting “the local people” (the utterance origin) with narratives which fit the discursive space of ethnography (the utterance). However, even if this experiential evidence is secured, to the extent that narrative is considered to be the externalization of mental expressions, it is not possible to overcome the skepticism that it is not a faithful picture of past events. A clue to breaking through this barrier may be found in the thought of Maurice MERLEAU-PONTY. He writes:

The spoken word is a genuine gesture, and it contains its meaning in the same way as the gesture contains its. This is what makes communication possible. In order that I may understand the words of another person, it is clear that his vocabulary and syntax must be “already known” to me. But that does not mean that words do their work by arousing in more “representations” associated with them, and which in aggregate eventually reproduce in me the original “representation” of the speaker (MERLEAU-PONTY 1962:213, 1967:214).

Taking MERLEAU-PONTY’s insight condensed here as a leading thread, I started to grope for a path to comprehend narrative as “expression or gesture.” In the next section, I introduce a number of conversations from the G|ui /G||ana and attempt to concretely illuminate their narrative expressions.

III. Narrative Expression among the G|ui and G||ana

1. Ethnographic Background and Basic Information

The G|ui /G||ana lived a nomadic lifestyle dependent on a nearly self-sufficient hunting-gathering economy in the Central Kalahari Game Reserve, which was established when Botswana was still an English Protectorate. The basis of their subsistence is primarily supported by the gathering activities of women (TANAKA 1971/1990, IMAMURA 2012). Using traditional bow and arrow hunting that utilizes poison tipped arrows, the most commonly
taken game were seven species of large- and medium-sized ungulates called “things to eat” (qχ’ό-χό: TANAKA 1996). After 1979 the G|ui /G|ana became settled as part of the Government’s Remote Area Development Program, and the Xade settlement of between 500 and 600 people was born at the western edge of the Reserve. They were forced to relocate when the government initiated its Relocation Program in 1997, and today over 1,000 people are living in the settlement of New Xade (TANAKA 1994; MARUYAMA 2010).

The language of the Bushmen are divided into two Khôe-speaking and non-Khôe-speaking lines. The G|ui and G|ana belong to the latter. A syntactical structure much like that in Japanese of subject-object-predicate is dominant, but wide variation in word order is permitted. G|ui and G|ana are very closely related dialect groups, and while there is a systematic difference in their phonemic structures, they are completely mutually comprehensible. In the G|ui dialect, a total of some 52 types of clicks may be produced through combinations of four types of clicks and thirteen click accompaniments (NAKAGAWA 1996). Grammatically, the precision of personal pronouns deserves special mention (NAKAGAWA 1993). In general, the meanings of personal pronouns are organized according to the three dimensions of speaker/listener, inclusion/exclusion, minimum/non-minimum membership. When the dimension of gender is added, and with member number further adding the three values of singular/dual/plural, a nearly complete paradigm is formed.5

2. Narrative Expression
First, let us consider narrative expression at the most basic, semantic level. The particle of speech typifying a language’s non-substitutable expressions are interjections. Let me explain the background to the case study taken up below. Until the beginning of the 1970s, the G|ui held a male initiation ritual called the thórō-xà. The meaning of “thórō-xà” is “to hold the crown plumage of the Kori Bustard [in G|ui, the giéü]). The giéü has a central place in G|ui food prohibitions and only men middle-aged or older are permitted to eat it. Meat that only elderly or infants are permitted to eat is called sümú. To my question as to why this ritual has a name that means “the crown plumage of the giéü,” my research assistant CHEREXO provided a very interesting interpretation (SUGAWARA 2004a:144-145):

[Case 1] Calling with a bullroarer (27 September 1994)
The most important apparatus for this ritual is a bullroarer (g|/áá-ii) which is spun to make a strange sound. A youth who has completed the ritual is instructed by an older man that “when you become one of the elders and you catch a giéü in a snare then you must sound the bullroarer and call us.” When finally the day comes that he decides to eat a giéü, then he will hide the giéü that he has roasted in the top of a tree near the

5 In cases where the substitutable values (classically, +/−) for all dimensions appear as actual inflections, this is called a complete paradigm. The Hanunóo language of the Philippines is often used as example (D’ANDRADE 1995:32-33). G|ui is much more complicated than Hanunóo, but since it does not distinguish gender for first person singular its completeness is spoiled.
camp, and secretly return there late at night and sound the bullroarer. The elderly who hear will cry out: “Ehee, pābā é (Granddad: and interjection)! You’re calling me! Hey, look at that! You’ve done just as I said to you long ago! ‘Don’t hide anything from me, call me and give me some.’ Saying this he was talking with me in that tree! Aoh, pābā é! Saying that! Calling me!” The elderly will run in the direction making the sound in the darkness and eat the ētē meat with relish.

What I wish to focus on in the case above is the interjection “pābā é.” To simplify, “pābā é” is a kinship term used by grandchildren or nieces/nephews when calling their grandfathers or uncles (ŌNO 1996:128), while “é” is a morpheme appearing at the end of an address (like “yo” in Japanese).6 In the above example, the elderly are thus calling the middle-aged man who caught the ētē and sounded the bullroarer “Granddad!” or “Uncle!” Similar to this, when one requests an older person to speak, one often hears phrases such as “Ehei, pābā ee, let me talk to you.” Instead of “pābā ee,” “māă é” or “māmā é,” meaning “Grandma” or “Auntie” are also often used. For a long time, I kept translating those interjections into Japanese using katakana [Japanese syllabary used primarily for loan words], but I never understood the reason kinship terms were used. Through a discussion regarding nicknames with my assistant CHEREXO, I finally came to understand. I summarize the record of this included in other of my writing:

CHEREXO is an amazing talker. At one point, TANAKA Jirō and I learned the adjective “pāpū,” meaning “braggart.” TANAKA came to call CHEREXO a pāpū. After TANAKA returned to Japan, I cautioned CHEREXO when I realized that he was referring to TANAKA as a pāpū. “TANAKA called you pāpū, so your (nick)name is pāpū.” CHEREXO answered, “TANAKA and I are gōwālō (cross-cousins), so we call each other the same name” (summarized from SUGAWARA 2004b:56-57).

In other words, address inversion is possible between people who are on friendly terms with each other.7 When I interview older people, to them I am a youngster like a grandchild or nephew (or at least this was the case in the past). Thus it is assumed that I will call them “Granddad/Uncle” or “Grandma/Auntie.” Since this is inverted, these elderly then in friendly fashion call me “Granddad” or “Grandma.” The same principle is at work when a mother calls her children “jiē é” or if plural “jiē-xā-c’iō é,” meaning “mom” or “mothers/you [plural].” Receiving this sort of feeling of acceptance itself can no doubt be

6 In ētē the kinship terminological system, among the siblings of ego’s father and mother, those who are of the opposite sex or who are older than ego’s parents are indicated using the word “ciā/i,” which means “elder parent!” same sex or those younger than ego’s parents are indicated using “jiā/iā,” which means “small parent.” Terms of address also change accordingly. And, the former can be applied to grandparents as well.
7 The term “address inversion” is from ŌNO Hitomi (personal communication).
said to be a G|ui linguistic expression of the sense that my body had slowly become familiarized.

3. Body Contact and Body Configuration
(1) Body Contact
In my first survey, I conducted a quantitative analysis of spatial proximity and bodily contact among the residents in the G|ui camp (SUGAWARA 1984). At that time, I got the strong impression that during the quotidian routines of everyday life there was a very strong tendency for mutual bodily contact among members of the same sex. The example below shows how I myself became wrapped up in this social tendency.

[Case 2] The bodily contact of narrator and researcher (26 August 1996)
(a). “Tell me Everything”
My research assistant CHEREXO and I visited some G|ui people living in a remote camp in the Xade settlement area. KK, the eldest male of this family, had taken |QAOGI as wife when they were young. Here is a segment of the interview at a point about ten minutes after starting:

SG: You, how did |Qaogi, wife...find, find, find wife, uh, how did you find her, uh, and take her as a wife? (KK: laughing) Tell everything to me.
KK: Ah! What’s that? Ah ha ha ha ha ((KK stretches both arms while laughing, with his right hand holds the upper left arm of Cherexo sitting to his right, and with his left hand holds my, sitting to his left, right shoulder)) E—i, I found her, and, I loved her, and, I asked her for food, and, I asked her for food, and, I asked her, and I told her, and, we talked, we talked.

(b). “He was Right”
Below is a segment from about 30 minutes after the start of the interview:

SG: When I listened to CIEMA’s story, CIEMA told me that your son had died.
KK: Ee
SG: Your son he didn’t ((turning my upper body backwards)) walk like this.
KK: Him, him, mămă e ((interjection meaning auntie or grandma; see above)) it’s him. That is, the time CIEMA talked to you, he was right. ((KK makes movements so as to stretch out his right hand, and lightly taps my right knee with his palm)).

What we can understand from these two segments is that before the elder G|ui and I (verbally) communicate together a certain type of inter-corporeality has already been established. KK familiarly stretched out a hand and grabbed my shoulder when I tossed

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8 This stands for SUGAWARA, throughout.
improper questions at him. Or, while touching my knee, he talked about the tragic death of his eldest son that happened in the distant past. The root of the goodness of the comfort that springs forth from living together with the Gai lies in the *habitus* of sociality dyed into their bodies.

Regarding example (b), it is necessary to point out one more important background element. When the research that I had begun in 1994 collecting older persons' narratives was approaching an end, I was told a number of very interesting anecdotes by CIEMA, an elder Gai known for his excellent narrative craft (SUGAWARA 2006). Among these stories was that KK's eldest son had died as a victim of sorcery. The son's physical conditions were extremely peculiar. It was said that his entire body became stiff and he could not move his arms or legs. I warped back my body to perform this "stiffness illness." KK immediately understood and vouched that "it is as CIEMA said." At the beginning of 1996, CIEMA became sick and died suddenly. My interview with KK occurred about six months afterwards. When collecting narratives from multiple individuals in a community tied together by intimate relations, the researcher can cross-reference one narrative about some past event with another narrative by a different person related to that same event. At such a time, in depicting the multi-faceted figure of reality, s/he is by sheer coincidence practicing the method pursued by FAULKNER.

(2) Body Configuration

In 1999, five years after beginning to collect the narratives of the elders, I got the idea of "body configuration" when I encountered a narrative concerning a foolish man whose wife was killed by a lion that had broken into their hut. At the base of social events that humans experience are the participants' peculiar inter-corporeal configurations and the unique interactive patterns tied with these. Such body configurations "are not plainly made thematic by the subject when trying to recollect and re-narrate particular events, but as the most primary or primitive dimension of experience they motivate participants' thought and practice" (SUGAWARA 2002a:61). Furthermore, in ritual locations, body configurations rarely experienced in everyday life can be systematically imposed upon participants.

[Case 3] In this way you spread open your crotch (26 September 1994)

Let me first explain the background of how this interview was arranged. The elder NK is the father of my research assistant TABUUKA. Several days prior, I had visited NK's camp with TABUUKA and another assistant KAAKA. We recorded a long conversation with NK that began with a detailed account of how his father had been killed by a female lion. When at the end I tried to lead him to talk about the *hóró*-xà male initiation ritual, he refused, saying "I can't talk since my wife is here." The *hóró*-xà is a male-only secret, so by no means must women be allowed to hear about it. After I requested "Well then, please come to my camp some time and talk," I took my leave. Unfortunately, when NK
unexpectedly appeared a few days later my research assistants were not there, so I was left to keep clumsily asking questions. During NK's narrative, I frequently made back-channeling “fiun” and “hoo” sounds, but I omit those here.

((SG sits to NK’s left, with a directional microphone held in his right hand pointed toward NK))

SG: Before, CHEREXO told me. When curing an illness caused by giéu [see Case 1, above]...men use the gláé medicine ((gláé tsóó a medicine used to lift the súmú taboo)).

NK: It is as he said. So then, he talked to you. In the past he—KARINARE ((the name of the elder who presided over the hóró-xà ritual when NK participated as an initiate)) gave the gláé medicine to us....and, when you eat giéu, you sprinkle it into the giéu's meat, and, then you put it in your mouth, another man spits, saying “bubububu,” and you too say like that, “bubububu,” you say. And, he puts it in your mouth. Then he changes the direction he faces. He sprinkles “food medicine.” In his hand. And, he makes you eat. And, then you ((to this point, “you” and “he” respectively indexed the youth and the elder, but from this point an address inversion takes place so that “you” indexes the elder and “he” indexes the youth)) do like this ((NK was sitting cross-legged, but put his right hand on the ground and raised his right knee)). You do like this, and he leaves ((supporting weight with right hand, lifts hips)). He stands in this way ((places both hands on the ground, fully stands up)), takes this posture ((spreading both legs, bending the upper body, putting both arms on right and left legs)), in this way you spread open your crotch ((with the upper body bent, spreads the crotch, both hands placed near the knees)), in this way [he] leaves there ((sliding both hands in and out of crotch)). He'll probably leave then ((same action repeated)). And, then you will pass there and stand, come here and stand ((turning his body direction round, directly facing from SG’s front right diagonal, bending his upper body and standing with crotch wide)). He’ll probably leave from here again ((sliding both hands in and out of spread open crotch)). And, from there [he’ll] go standing ((raising his upper body raises right hand)). Then you will say to him “Well, let’s sit and eat” ((changes direction, bends body, stretches out left arm toward the ground)). Saying that, he will sit, and, eat ((with both hands rolls up knees of pants, sits obliquely on SG’s close right)).

Just as in the fact that NK approved my comments regarding CHEREXO’s narrative as indicated in Case 1, above, the possibility of referring to someone else’s narrative appears here vividly. More important than anything else, though, is the fact that, depending on the narrator’s performance, patterns of body configuration previously unknown to me suddenly appeared. In everyday living, one is certainly never able to see the interactive pattern in which a young man passes between the legs of an elder. It is just this kind of body configuration that, in the real meaning of the word, symbolizes the essence of the relationship between the youth and the elder. There is no concept that grasps what happened at the site of this conversation as accurately as that of “enact” proposed by VARELA, et al. (1991).\(^9\) Narrating past events is not a matter of automatically coding

\(^9\) For more on “enact” and its Japanese translation as 「現成」, see SUGAWARA (2013:10, 35).
memory stored in the mind as mental representation into a linguistic medium. In the midst of the exercise of re-illuminating the past through narrative action, performing particular body configurations enacts the very countenance of the [past] event in the “here and now.”

4. Expression of Anger and the Cast-net of Co-membership

To narrate, that itself is an expressive bodily gesture. The case presented below most clearly illustrates the central claims of this paper. Well before departing for fieldwork in August 1996, I received a request to write about welfare among the Bushmen for the handicapped from WAZAKI Haruka, who at the time was editing a large series on “World Social Welfare.” That year and the next, I thus consciously attempted to collect narratives concerning mental and physical disability (SUGAWARA 2000).

[Case 4] G||ámá tried to kill us (August 1997)

In May of 1997, the Botswana government began implementing the relocation program it had been slowly preparing for since the related 1986 Cabinet decision. The residents of Xade moved in waves to the resettlement village of New Xade. Thus, when I visited Xade, KK, introduced above, and his family were the only ones remaining. Narrator Xp is G||ana, and the paternal aunt of KK’s oldest son’s wife (who is G||ana also). Xp’s only son NA was about 35 years of age at the time of the interview. He is a mild-mannered, mentally disabled person, and is always sitting and smiling, but never says a single word. Xp is originally from Gyom, located some 120 kilometers east-northeast from Xade. When NA was about five or six years old, Xp experienced “having convulsions of madness” (dzìwàdzìrâ) for the first time. After a remission in conditions, she moved near Xade with her family, but soon experienced dzìwàdzìrâ once again (approximately 1974-75). Subsequently she has been living peacefully, but people around her say that when she drinks alcohol “she loses her mind” (SUGAWARA 1998a: 282-292).

Xp: Just as you said, glámá killed us.
SG: Oh??
Xp: In a place where people have gathered, where lots of people are living, even with this many people, even though no one has given birth to this sort of thing, we gave birth to this thing.
SG: Hmm…
Xp: That is, glámá killed us, glámá killed us, you know!
SG: Hmm…

It is immediately obvious if one watches the video of this, but what can be sensed from the way that XP talks is nothing other than anger. I am responsible for part of that. Because my eldest son (“Yukkun” in my prior writing; SUGAWARA 1999) suffers from autism, I felt a special closeness to Xp and NA. However, when I began collecting
“narratives of disability” the previous year, I heard shocking opinions from men who knew this mother and child well. A Gjîana man the same age as NA said: “When he [NA] was born he was beautiful. When he was small he talked a lot, played with me shooting small birds with toy bows and arrows, and so on. But, when he had become much bigger [approximately 12 or 13 years of age], because his mother had dzwâdzîra and did things like force him to drink her urine, he became foolish (piripirâ-hâ).” Further, a man in his prime who is Xp’s half-brother (by the same mother) also described similar things: “When he was born things were good, but after the mother’s mind became changed and she fed the son food, his mind too became changed.” I rather thoughtlessly tried confronting her with these “discriminatory” opinions (though, at least I didn’t mention about the urine). She indignantly emphasized that from infancy her son had absolutely not understood words. What is filling a decisive role here is the first person pronoun. Below, I provide relevant sentences with corresponding grammatical elements indicated. 

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>glâmâb’i</th>
<th>qz’ô</th>
<th>?ákêmò</th>
<th>’qz’iũũ</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Spirit-PNG</td>
<td>PAST</td>
<td>PRN</td>
<td>kill</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-(3/m/sg/nom)</td>
<td>(Distant Past)</td>
<td>(1/c/dl/acc/inc)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(God in the past, made me and you, a male and female two people, meet a terrible fate)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>?ákê b’i</th>
<th>khoâ</th>
<th>?ii-z’i</th>
<th>xó-z’i</th>
<th>?ábá</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>PRN</td>
<td>similar</td>
<td>-PGN</td>
<td>thing-PGN</td>
<td>birth</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(Me and you, a male and female two people, gave birth to things that can be seen like these)

Xp uses the inclusive pronoun ?ákêb’i, or the accusative case ?ákêmò, which indicate a male-female pair, in order to index her and I together. From the time I began my research, that my son Yukkun was a child with a disability became known among the Gjîui and Gjîana around me. Furthermore, since four years prior to this interview I had visited my field site with my family, Xp knew well about Yukkun’s condition. Especially because of this, she binds me and herself, as similarly suffering parents of disabled children, together with the inclusive form. My feelings at that moment were ambivalent. Even while I was moved at being treated by her as “co-member,” I was saddened at the cruelty of calling disabled people “things.”

Afterwards, I spent a long time attempting to clarify the continuity between monkeys/apes and humans as emotional beings embedded in structures of “act-space.” In
my *The Emotional Ape-Man* (SUGAWARA 2002b), I attempted to grasp constative speech acts as emotional acts. The analytical concept that I employed as axis at that time was that of “the cast-net of co-membership.” For example, assertive illocutionary acts such as “to describe” or “to assess” are always made within the trilateral relationships among speaker-listener-referent. Because the statements that connote evaluation change according to which object is being relatively strongly tied by co-membership among the speaker and the listener as speaker/listener, speaker/referent or listener/referent, utterances when the listener takes her/his turn are also dependent on changes of this evaluation (SUGAWARA 2002b:281-282).

If one uses the notion of “the cast-net of co-membership,” the following analysis of the above case is possible. To the extent that Xp’s son NA is the subject of conversation, it is plain that NA is the referent of the interaction between us. However, concealed here is Yukkun as unspecified referent. It is self-evident that both I as Japanese and Xp as G|ana consider parent-child relations as the most fundamental form of co-membership. But, by Xp binding herself and myself together with the inclusive Ệ̣k’ėb’i (or the accusative Ẹ̣k’ėmá), a strong cast-net of co-membership makes the Xp/SUGAWARA pair inseparable, and makes the referents NA and Yukkun together into mentally handicapped “things.” In response to the process in which researcher and narrator interact, we must pay attention to the fact that the “person-space”\(^\text{11}\) that both enact is complexly re-figured. This too is a primary factor that brings unique expressiveness to narrative.

5. “Narrative Style” as the Structure/ing of Interaction

In order to more fundamentally understand “narrative expression,” in this section I introduce the concept of “style” as “literary style [文体]” and “formal style [様式].” If we follow MERLEAU-PONTY’s succinct definition, style is a form of discourse that incarnates “some typical way in which [an artist or novelist] dwells in the world or copes with the world,” as well as “several lines of force that reveal his fundamental way of engagement with the world” (MERLEAU-PONTY 1979:86-87). I replaced “artist/novelist” with “narrator” and proposed the concept of “narrative style (話体).” Narrative style doesn’t end with the rhetorical schemes associated with the narrator, but is conversational expression that encompasses also the structural characteristics of interaction traversing the distinction between narrator and listener (SUGAWARA 2007:263).

[Case 5] I was crazy with jealousy (5 August 2005)

This case involves an interview conducted together with the middle aged couple SH (the eldest son of KK of Case 2, above) and Gk (who is G|ana). In the segment I provide below, I am having them tell me the whole story of a big fight they had in 1987 that I too had been witness to (SUGAWARA 1993:208-211). The cause of the fight was SH’s extramarital sexual affair (dżáá-kú). Gk develops the logic that it was humiliating for her that the

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\(^{11}\) “Person-space” is a term proposed by KIMURA Daiji (1991:181; see also SUGAWARA 1998b:59-62).
woman who was her husband's accomplice was also her affine. TB is my research assistant TABUUKA. Large parentheses indicate the overlap of utterances.

Gk: ....[She was] my male-affine's {wife. }  
SH: {wife, so} she said. Because of that, we quarreled.  
SG: What did Gk think at that time? In what way were you crazy with jealousy?  
Gk: I was crazy with jealousy, and I said to him: "If you're going to do that sort of thing, then let me have a kua [a general term for Bushmen] boyfriend. Because you've taken a kua girlfriend. Next time, even if I take a kua boyfriend, there'll be no pain in your heart, right? You refused to let me monopolize you, so, therefore, you can't monopolize me." And then a kua boyfriend, I {took.}  
SH: {took}, and, he {begot} that girl....  
Gk: {took} |OE  
TB: {took} |QX'AREG!AEN}  
Gk: Aeeee...  

What the wife (Gk) is narrating here is an anecdote about how she was angered that her husband (SH) had an extra-marital affair and how out of spite she had an affair with a G|ui youth who was her husband's affinal kin. When she used the youth's nickname, |OE, to refer to her former lover, my research assistant TABUUKA made the fellow's real name, |QX'AREG!AEN clear for me. This was someone I knew well. But, to my failure, for some eighteen years until I conducted the above interview, I had absolutely no idea that Gk and |QX'AREG!AEN had been in that sort of relationship. Most interesting of all is that the husband, narrator SH, and wife, narrator Gk, are collaborating here. From before the above segment, SH repeatedly took the last word of his wife Gk's utterances and repeated or added to it. Furthermore, SH added the important information that a girl child was born of the relation between Gk and the young man (SUGAWARA 2007:260-262).  

According to Japanese common sense, it would be very rare to talk frankly to others about serious troubles between husband and wife that had occurred in the past related to extra-marital sexual relations. However, this is not especially unusual in everyday conversations among the G|ui (SUGAWARA 1998a). Attributing the particular style that rises from a conversation to the narrator's unique character is off the mark. It is necessary to understand cases like that above as a single thread of a general attitude which passes through the ways in which G|ui deal appropriately with sex and love.  

6. Forgetfulness: Outline of "The Hole of Absence"  
Continuing to do research in the same field site over many years produces unimagined by-products that transcend the individual research themes of each field trip that one should ostensibly be elucidating. This causes the local people and the researcher to share memories concerning a variety of events. From this are accumulated mental resources
that motivate collaborative recollection. The case below comes from a “field experiment” that I attempted in 2004 and 2005. Among the everyday conversations I analyzed in 1989 there were several scenes in which the women in the camp in which I lived talked together to recreate past events. After fifteen to sixteen years, I conducted interviews with the same narrators and provided hints to have them retell those same past events.

[Case 6] I’ve forgotten about those things (23 August 2005)

Sixteen years prior, in a chat between Nb, at the time the mother of four children, and her elderly mother, they were lamenting the fact that two of their young female relatives had given birth to children whose fathers were unclear. One of the young women was Nb’s classificatory sister G||OE. After her pregnancy was discovered, G||OE stubbornly refused to tell any of her nearby relatives who the father of the child was. My research assistant TABUUKA was suspected, but he defended himself, saying “You all, would you send me to prison for something that I haven’t done?” From this, it was on everyone’s lips that a candidate for the infant’s name should be the Kalahari language (Setswana dialect) verb “pakiriiza,” which means “to falsely accuse.” When G||OE was asked the newborn’s name by the nurse at the clinic, G||OE in turn asked Nb and others who had accompanied G||OE, “Now, what was the name that you all were saying?” Nb was flabbergasted and said, “Why should we know the name of your child?!” (SUGAWARA 1998b:163). In the interview sixteen years later, I tried to have Nb recreate this anecdote. In the scene below, in addition to TABUUKA (TB), one more research assistant, KAAKA (KA), is present.

SG: But, don’t you remember the name PAKIRIIZA? TABUUKA’s....

Nb: PAKIRIIZA, eh? I remember that. I often...I often called her that way.

TB: How was it that you (two women) called her that? Tell us that story.

Nb: Ee,12 ee, certainly...she...although she delivered well [had a safe birth], then, then a new man came along. And then, because of that we [women] thought of that. Well, he was falsely accused. The fact that he was doing like that. Like this, we all thus thought that. And, we used that name.

SG: When you went to the clinic, didn’t the nurse ask about a boy’s...a boy’s...or a girl’s [KA: a girl’s] name?

KA: And, went to the hospital, and going there, weren’t you asked that girl’s name?

Nb: We [women]...we, in the past we, went, and were asked her name. And, we said this way. When you go to the hospital people’s [women’s] place, they asked us. We said, “They...there’s not even an uncle” we said. “Because it’s like that, how can you [women] call then?”

TB: Àé, you’re talking like the tail of an infant child’s story ((laughing)).

Nb: Aii, aii.

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12 Ee and Aii are affirmative interjections. Eheei is a stronger affirmative, while Àé in an interjection expressing light surprise or suspicion.
KA: And, just called.
Nb: [The father] since there was no one, we called, you know. Aé, aé.
SG: Eheei. Aé, the older women are forgetful.
TB: They are forgetting those sorts of things.
Nb: We are forgetting those sorts of things. But, this is the way it was. How I'm talking.

It is unclear who is being pointed to in Nb's utterances referring to “he” or “they.” From the rather complicated negotiation carried out among the narrator, the researcher and the research assistants, a very jerky narrative expression emerges. She has clearly forgotten past events such as TABUUKA's self-defense or what happened at the clinic. In whatever research that attempts to recompose events from an analysis of narrative, “forgetfulness” becomes an extremely critical problem. This is because it invites the most fundamental question of where the past “exists.” If we consider events of the past as even now existing as the memories of event participants, then forgetfulness is equivalent to non-existence or nothingness. However, this conclusion contradicts the very structure of the location in which we were “in one another's immediate physical presence” that is so strongly present in Case 6, above. In that site [of immediate co-presence], the fact that TABUUKA as a directly concerned party was there was more important than anything or any other participant, including myself, in discovering that “she [Nb] is forgetting.” Events exist not only as memories preserved among/within participants themselves, but in all conversations which continue to repeat the source of the relevant utterance and which intend to re(·)present that memory. Paul RICOEUR notes the following about “history”:

The credo of objectivity is nothing else but this double confidence both in that the facts related by various histories can be connected with one another, and in that the results of these histories can mutually complement each other (RICOEUR 1987:307).

The book Life in the Wilderness that I must write will not aim to positivistically recompose the “history” of a non-literate society. For that reason, I cannot align myself with a conviction such as that which RICOEUR calls “the credo of objectivity.” But, since particularly in conversations facts are inter-connected, and especially due to the fact that the memories divided among several individuals can mutually complement or supplement each other, an ethnography aiming at the past can gain a foothold distant from the Yoknapatawpha Saga.

It is the choppy expressions coloring the above conversation that instantiate the inter-connections or complementarity of facts or conversely the inconsistencies and contradictions that may appear from these. Further, in the background to the scene above lies concealed the obvious existence of the girl child who grew up but at one point was about to be called PAKIRIIZA. In 1994, five years after the affair at the clinic, a tomboyish young girl visited the camp where I was staying. When I said to TABUUKA that “why, she
looks just like you, doesn't she?" he readily admitted "ah, that's my child." This kind of fact too connects together with the narrator's awkward expression and causes the outline of the "hole of absence" (TAKAGI 2006:55) to rise to the surface.

IV. What is the Past? What is Time? A Discussion

Finally, based on the analyses of the cases above, let me look at some theoretical issues. The moment that we raise as our goal the writing of ethnographies that illuminate past events, we directly face aporia most difficult for "anthropology as field philosophy" (SUGAWARA 2002b:20-23). These are the problems not only of "what is the past" but of "what is time"? It is impossible to answer these without rather thorough preparations, but let me roughly sketch out my views.

1. Is it Possible to Break with the Metaphors of Flowing/Sinking?

When I think about this topic, I always remember a scene from a novel that haunts me like an obsession. The aged CHANCELADE speaks to a young twenty-two year-old female student at a bus stop, saying:

....Yesterday I was twenty-two. I sat here on this seat waiting for the bus. To go to the cinema or go and buy some writing-paper in a department store. And I didn't think it would be like that, so quick. They call it—They call that a life. A life! It didn't even last an hour! Just the time between two buses...It's really...(LE CLÉZIO 1969a:255).13

If there was anything in my youth that could be called unhappiness, it reverberates with this passage and is that I was absolutely convinced that this was the truth of human life. And now, I am about the same age as CHANCELADE here. And thus I ask, is his insight correct? Clarifying that may be the most fundamental motivation for this essay.

First, the "inverted cone" model proposed by Henri BERGSON provides us with an important clue (BERGSON 2007:218, 232). A preeminent point of this model is that the tip of the cone is continuously piercing the plane of the present and is where are condensed all of the abilities and faculties that the subject has thus far cultivated. In this instance, it may be thought that the commonalities of action among humans and animals in detecting the affordances of the environment are realized. One more point is that the "pure memory" which constitutes the base of the inverted cone is a plane where "all the details of the scenes of our past life which our spirit preserves are stored" (BERGSON 2007:344). Of course, this is a theoretical construction and it cannot be thought that somewhere in the mind or body "pure memory" as such exists. I wish to grasp what BERGSON called "pure memory" as the "totality of direct experience." In the "present time" when I am recording

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G|ui narratives in the field, the narrator and I directly co-exist in a place of interaction. Furthermore, if this co-existence is repeated, the “base” of our direct experience expands to greater or lesser degree in response.

The greatest reason that I have been strongly drawn by BERGSON’s inverse cone model is that it is an anti-flow model. That the “flow of time” is some “thing” that exists is an illusion. It is a metaphorical product invented by a culture that does not question the direct experience of rivers flowing (LAKOFF and JOHNSON 1999:158-159). Being alive, perceiving the world, and consciousness—these are all unceasingly continuous change. Because we can never perceive nor recognize [temporal] change itself that, as the basic condition of present existence, Martin HEIDEGGER called “temporality,” we have no choice but to rely on metaphors (HEIDEGGER 1994).

There is one more thing to which we must pay attention. There is no word in the G|ui language to express the abstract concept of “time.” The word “naako” to express hourly time is sometimes used, but this is borrowed from the Tswana language. If we were to be faithful to the G|ui life world, we would have to dare the feat of thinking about time without ever using the concepts of “time” or of “past-present-future.”

Here, I would like to design an anti-flow model based on the Kalahari wilderness, in which “rivers” do not exist. What follows is an attempt to grasp “time” using a metaphor of “walking,” rooted in that activity which for all animals is most fundamental. The premises for this are the tenses of the G|ui language as clarified by NAKAGAWA Hiroshi (1993). Tense markers, usually, are placed directly after subject and aspect markers, for example: before one day past: q\x12\x00\x02 (distant past); yesterday: c\x12\x00\x07 (recent past); from last night until sunrise: y\x10\x02 (very recent past; also used to mean “just now”); the past from this morning up to now: k\x10\x02 (a short time ago); today’s future: h\x10\x00\x00 (a bit ahead); next day future: h\x10\x00\x02 (near future); after day after tomorrow: q\x12\x00\x02\x13 (distant future).

As is clear from the above, G|ui tenses strictly follow the movement of the sun and are unrelated to a metaphor of “flow.” If the sun’s movement is juxtaposed with “walking,” one acquires a prototypical model of action in which one “walks” when the sun is in the sky and one “sits” or “lies” when the sun has set. If we settle on this repetition, how then is time to be grasped?

Using Japanese\textsuperscript{14} as an example and fixing time as related to “walking,” then it feels natural to think that “the future in which I arrive at the mountain lodge is before me” or that “the past in which I drank water from the mountain stream is behind me.” However, the temporal fore-aft relationship of Japanese is expressed with the adverbial phrases “before” and “after” which invert the bodily sense that “the future is fore and the past is aft.” Thus, for example, one may say: “Before I reached the mountain lodge, I drank water,” or “After it grows dark I’ll meet her.” Or, imagine that a young boy, Ken-kun, goes to

\textsuperscript{14} Translator’s note: obviously, this works for English as well.
another boy’s house to invite the latter out to play: “Kazu-kun, let’s play!” “Afterwards!”15 The future in which Kazu-kun and Ken-kun will probably play together should be before Kazu-kun. Why then can’t Kazu-kun say “before!”? This is an extremely profound contradiction, but I will leave its solution for later.

Then, what about Gjui? In the Gjui language, “the past” is called $q\dot{x}^\prime\text{'ai-kûrî}. Kûrî stands for “year.” $Q_{\dot{x}^\prime\text{'ai}-\text{'h}o$ means “face,” and obviously expresses the bodily front. By the way, “$\text{'o}$” is a noun-derivative meaning “inside.” And, the temporals “before” and “after” in Gjui are $q\dot{x}^\prime\text{'ai-}\text{'ã}$ and “$k\dot{\text{'a}^\text{o}}-\text{kã}$,”16 and like the Japanese correspond to the bodily front and back. According to NAKAGAWA (personal communication), the central meaning of $q\dot{x}^\prime\text{'ai}$ is “distant.” “Distant year(s)” therefore “the past.” But, if so, then it is difficult to explain why “face” is “mid the distant.” While perhaps an over-interpretation, it may have been that, in the Kalahari wilderness where there were no mirrors, one’s own face was the “center of distance” one could never see.

Whatever the case may be, in the Gjui language the “past” is “distant,” and moreover is “in front” (of the body). Let us attempt to put this together with the prototypical action model of “walking.” The walking “I” thinks about a woman I met in the camp I stayed in last night. “Thinking about the past” is no doubt similar to the bodily act of stopping one’s walking and turning to look back into the distance to the place now hidden beyond the horizon where one was yesterday. It goes without saying that this interpretation matches our metaphor of “looking back at the past.”

At first, I thought about making “The counterattack of salvage anthropology” the subtitle of my award lecture. However, the word “salvage” is based on a no less prevailing metaphor than “flow” that limits our thought, that of “subsidence.” This of course is the core of the famous model of time proposed by Edmund HUSSERL. Living through continuous change is imagined as rightward horizontal movement. As the subject’s consciousness shifts ever “right,” each moment of the past that is to the “left” sinks ever more deeply downward (HUSSERL 1967:38-40).

Here, I want to reconsider the insight of the aged CHANCELADE. His life as it passed “didn’t even last an hour!” That is, it became equivalent to “nothing” when it passed. But, CHANCELADE would no doubt permit that he too is one member of the human race. Isn’t it probable that even while as one constituent his life amounts to “nothing,” the “species” of human beings will continue forever? Even if, for example, one preserves a naturalistic attitude that doesn’t doubt that evolution is a “fact,” answering this query affirmatively may be intuitively felt not to be rational. More than anything, this is because we cannot think about eternity on the basis of immediate experience. If so, then the proposition that “the future in which the human species has disappeared will with certainty someday arrive” may with high probability be formulated. When humans become extinct, all the

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15 Translator’s note: the original Japanese here is “あ～とで” (a-to de), which in more natural English would be “later,” but to preserve the spatio-temporal orientation of the author’s argument, “afterwards” is used here.

16 “$K\dot{\text{'a}^\text{o}}$” means “(meat of the) thigh back-side” or “rear half.”
various networks of relationships in which we immerse ourselves will disappear. Were we to look back from that “viewpoint from the end,” all of human history would be “nothing” and without meaning.

This of course is Nihilism. There is no a priori reason to reject nihilism but, at least regarding practical ethics, a serious contradiction easily arises between being a true nihilist and being committed to anthropology. I would like to propose a simple alternative: it is alright to dismiss theories of time in which everything is lost and vanishes. The latter is an extremely familiar grasp of time, of which CHANCELADE is prototypical, and is the product of the culturally relativistic metaphors of “flow” and “subsidence.” The past has neither “gone by” nor “sunk,” but even now exists at one point in the wilderness, and if we perceive that it is a place from which we have walked, then we will be able to escape from these latter powerful metaphors. Of course, this idea is directly opposite to BERGSON’s (2001) tenacious critique of grasping time with spatial analogy. Perhaps this may be somewhat analogous to Friedrich NIETZSCHE’s (1993) concept of eternal recurrence, but I leave this as another subject for later inquiry. But, what can be said is that the writing of ethnographies that attempt to illuminate past events must be based on an attitude which rejects narrating the past as loss. As long as the expressions of narrative embody a general attitude that runs through G|ui people’s way of life that is alive in the “here and now,” then “looking back” directly through this at the whole of the immediate experience lived by the G|ui will never be impossible.

2. Ethnographies and Novels, Once More

I would like to sum things up by way of responding to the question posed in the subtitle to this paper: “In What Sense is Fieldwork an Immediate Experience?” From the point of view of a general reader who is not involved as a specialist in cultural anthropological research, it would not be odd if the COMPSO family of FAULKNER’s Yoknapatawpha Saga possessed a much more vital presence than do the SANCHEZ family described by Oscar LEWIS (1969). Both authors very vividly depict the lives of people that the reader will certainly never actually encounter. As this kind of literature, there is essentially no disparity between excellent novels and high quality ethnographies. If we put aside the institutional distinction between the “literary arts” and the “sciences,” they both are forms of communication of similar design. But, there is a decisive distance between them as far as their relationships with the worlds that they depict are concerned. There is an intimately indexical link between an ethnography and the reality of the local people recorded therein. What at all times supports this link is the fieldworker’s body. From the fact that his/her body is encompassed within places of immediate co-presence with local people are born variously positioned “narrative expressions”: (a) In many instances, because the language that the anthropologist uses to write an ethnography differs from the native language of the local people, s/he struggles to convey the meanings of non-substitutable linguistic expressions; (b) a habitus and inter-corporeality unique to local
society permeates places of co-presence; (c) through narrators' bodily gestures, unexpected body configurations are enacted; (d) the multifaceted countenance of reality is revealed through the cross-referencing of multiple narratives; (e) in their mutual relationship, narrator, researcher and research assistant, or in relation with their utterance referents, together cast nets of co-membership which change according to each context; (f) based on structures of interaction extending across narrators, the general attitudes of people coping bodily with existential problems are illuminated; and (g) when the fact that a narrator is forgetting some past event is exposed, conversely, a mutual complementarity of the memory and the links among facts arises around that absence.

These special characteristics were not systematically deduced from particular theoretical assumptions, but were experientially drawn out through methods that I just happened to use. For that reason, if one used different methods, then many other things could no doubt be added to this list. Of course, it is also possible to approximate many of the above characteristics for novels as well by exercising one's ingenuity in style or structure. But, while novels conceal these devices as the "secrets of creation," in ethnographies it is possible to exemplify all these characteristics by raising pieces of evidence one-by-one, back to "utterance origins." In Section I, above, I took up the example of the Yoknapatawpha Saga and, claiming that there is no essential difference between "fiction" and "fact," left it at that. But, after all there is a factuality to the genetrix of the above seven characteristics. Immediate co-presence with people in places pregnant with facticity is itself the basis of the peculiar characteristics of ethnography. If I were to use a value word, the inexhaustible "affluence" of reality and perception is the soil giving birth to these special characteristics.

However, the above argument is absolutely not intended to claim the superiority of ethnographies over novels. Ethnographies are by no means able to depict the flow of consciousness of the "idiot" Ben in the Yoknapatawpha Saga. Only FAUKNER'S creative powers made that possible. It is this sort of adventure of the mind that doesn't involve any "empirical validation" that can liberate us from the spell of the metaphor of time as "flow" and allow us to face a shocking temporality in which all moments exist co-equally. Confirming this, I lastly want to point out the non-substitutability of experiencing reality.

3. The "Affluence" of the Actual World

At the end of The Sound and The Fury, the horse-cart carrying Ben approaches the town square. The coachman Luster absentmindedly turns the carriage to the left instead of to the right. Ben panics and screams.\(^1\) The current manuscript is based on a draft originally prepared for a graduate seminar at my home university. For that, I re-read The Sound and The Fury for the first time in years and was hit with the revelation that Ben has autism

\(^1\) This scene corresponds with one scene in William SHAKESPEARE'S Macbeth, in which Macbeth says: "it is a tale/told by an idiot, full of sound and fury/signifying nothing." The title The Sound and the Fury is taken from this scene.
and panics whenever the ritualistic identity that he clings to is put into confusion. Thinking thusly, an understanding of his unique way of being, in which "all moments exist coequally," falls into place. One of the characteristic mental abilities associated with autism that has received much attention is that of an unmatched accuracy of calendrical memory. Psychiatric essayist Oliver Sacks conjectures that the mechanism of (autistic) calendrical memory is like "seeing" one day at a time being woven into a huge cloth (Sacks 1992:339). Ben's 127 "time jumps" may also have just been a matter of changing his "seeing" gaze.

The fact that my eldest son was born with autism was an accidentally occurring actuality. The foundation of the "affluence" of reality is that "if you don't experience it you can't understand it." It was certainly because of this experience that I was able to have Xp, whose only son was also mentally handicapped, include me as co-member when I was in the field. And, it was the experience of having an autistic son through which I could imagine with inexpressible indignation the tragedy of the life of an autistic boy, born in the Deep South of the nineteenth century, who was cruelly emasculated in his puberty. As a youth with yet little "experience of reality," I could not earlier have imagined thusly. When I think of this, I am struck with renewed respect for Faulkner. When he wrote The Sound and the Fury in the 1920s, not even the medical name "autism" existed. Cognitive scientific research about autism rapidly developed only some half-century later. Despite this, Faulkner held an extraordinary concern for the behavior of an "idiot" living in the same town and was able to perceive the peculiar characteristics of that disability. Continuing to be fascinated with and to "directly observe" the inexhaustible depth of "reality" and of "the other," this is a precious resource both for novelists and for anthropologists.

Lastly, as a sign of gratitude for receiving this award, let me make public something that I have kept hidden. As I have already made clear in this essay, I continue to think that novels are the linguistic form that most vividly illuminates the mysteries of life. Already three years "before," but as an anonymous writer, I published the science fiction mystery Toba 2010. That I feel abashed at receiving the current award is because of a sense of guilt about spending so much time on what Michel de Certeau calls "hidden work." But, I think that as an anthropologist it was certainly not meaningless to have an opportunity to fundamentally question anew the riddles of sexuality and evolution in a format other than ethnography. If I have enough time, in future I also hope to complete a work that answers the riddles of time and history.

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18 This is the best thing yet written about autism. The author Charles Hart was troubled by an autistic older brother while young and his first son was also autistic. Not only did Hart give everything to his son's rehabilitation, but he saved his middle-aged older brother from ruin. Neuroscientists Gardner, in the foreword to Hart's book writes: "...he [Hart] makes us remember the moving words of William Faulkner when he received the Nobel Prize: 'I believe that man will not merely endure; he will prevail'" (Hart 1992:15). In the context of this paper, this surprising coincidence is more than mere accident.
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