ROBERT R. DESJARLAIS

POETIC TRANSFORMATIONS OF YOLMO 'SADNESS'

ABSTRACT. One way in which Yolmo Sherpa of Helambu, Nepal, come to terms with loss is to sing of it. The paper seeks to show how one Yolmo 'song of sadness' works to express, evoke and assuage sentiments of funerary grief. Yet to best explore the transformative poetics of the song, we must trace its semantic links to other songs and situations, and so develop a contextual understanding of the experiential contours of Yolmo 'sadness,' the local ethos of emotional avoidance and restraint, and the sociopolitical nature of emotional distress in the Helambu valley. The findings of this analysis lead the author to argue, in contrast with recent ethnographies which treat discourses on emotions as rhetorical strategies rather than as reflections of personal or communal experience, that we need an integrative approach which focuses on the relationship between language and experience, politics *and* felt emotion.

With head placed on a pillow,
puddles an ocean of tears
sorrow falls to the daughter,
whichever way she turns

Whichever way she turns,
sadness never separates from the body
Oh precious one have pity,
sadness never separates from the body

I

In recent years, a series of anthropological studies have turned to poetic and ritual discourses in cultural contexts to examine the social nature of emotional experience and expression.[1] Much of this research treats ritual laments and personal expressions of grief as rhetorical strategies tied to the politics of social life rather than as reflections of personal or communal experience.[2] The contributors to a recent symposium on "the politics of emotions," edited by Lutz and Abu-Lughod, make some of the strongest claims along these lines. They consider emotion as "discourse" rather than as felt experience to demonstrate how these discourses are used, socially and politically, within a society (Abu-Lughod 1990:28).

The theoretical stance of these scholars, influenced in part by post-structuralist theorists such as Foucault (1972) and Bourdieu (1977), holds that we must not mistake discourses on sentiment for emotional experience (Beeman 1985; Crapanzano 1989; Abu-Lughod 1990:28). Since the "sincerity" of

Culture, Medicine and Psychiatry **15:** 387–420, 1991.

emotional discourses is always in question (Irvine 1982:34), investigations into personal experiences of emotional distress are epistemologically unsound. In turn, a focus on emotion as discourse is necessary in order to pry emotion loose from psychobiology and "the false attribution of the project of psychologizing to others" (Abu-Lughod and Lutz 1990:12; Abu-Lughod 1990:41). As a concern for meaning is predominantly a Western one, the "more interesting" tack is to focus on "practice rather than meaning" – a shift from what is "said" in discourse (its "putative referents") to "what discourse is, what it does, and what forms it" (Abu-Lughod 1990:28).[3]

No doubt these analytic strategies offer an invaluable attempt to break through the "prison house of language" (Jameson 1972) created by structuralism and certain strands of semiotics ("where everything but the words themselves are excluded from the field of attention and analysis"; Mishler 1986:160). They also help us to better understand the social and political contexts in which all emotional experience and expression seems embedded. But it strikes me that the core problem with the above approaches is that they often discuss everything save what poetic discourses themselves seem to speak about: most commonly, profound experiences of grief, sadness and pain. Abu–Lughod (1990), for instance, argues that a love song recorded by a Bedouin youth –

> My warnings are to the old man
> who imprisons the freedom of youths
> who's forgotten a thing called love
> affection, desire, and burning flames...

– embodies a "discourse of defiance" by young men against the political authority and economic control of their fathers and uncles. What is lost in the analysis, however, is the sense of longing and despair also evident in the song.[4] As with other studies, many of the potential emotional resonances of the lyrics, for both poet and audience, are overlooked. Whether this general tendency to neglect the experiential force of plaintive poetry results from epistemological quandaries over the "sincerity" of emotional expressions (Irvine 1982:34), a sense of anxiety occasioned by the subject matter (Devereux 1967), or the professional interests which dominate current anthropological research (Kleinman and Kleinman 1991), I cannot say. But it seems to me that unless we develop a way of talking theoretically about the *relationship* between cultural forms and emotional distress we will continue to skirt what seems to lie at the heart of poetic expressions of grief, sadness and despair: namely, experiences of grief, sadness, pain.[5] In essence, there is a warning here to the anthropologist, a warning to reconsider the significance of funeral dirges and mournful laments, lest we forget the things called love, longing and despair.[6]

In this paper, I wish to examine the relationship between cultural discourses and emotional distress as evidenced in a corpus of poetry sung by Yolmo Sherpa. Yolmo are a Buddhist people who migrated from the Kyirong region of

Tibet to the forested foothills of the Helambu valley in northcentral Nepal in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries (Clarke 1980). Commerce, pastural grazing and the farming of maize, potatoes and other high-altitude crops provide the main sources of food and income, although recently tourism and "factory" employment in Kathmandu and India have offered additional material wealth. The national *panchayat* system of Nepal officially sets political agendas by regulating district elections, but village politics are often defined by the local power structures of caste, wealth and kinship (descent is patrilineal and residence, patrilocal). Devout practitioners of the Ningmapa sect of Mahayana Buddhism, Yolmo with whom I worked (of the western side of the valley) also retain a strong shamanic tradition which serves as one of the main vehicles for healing.

Yolmo sing a series of *tser-lu* couplets, or 'songs of sadness,' alone or in a small group – a boy herding cattle in the forest, a group of women travelling to a distant funeral.[7] During ceremonial occasions, such as funerals or *losar* (New Year), same-sex groups exchange verses, often in time to intricate dances. The songs comment on a form of distress known as *tsera*, an unwanted sentiment which 'falls' on the heart when a person separates, for a lasting period of time, from friends and family. This 'sadness of separation' typically occurs when a daughter leaves her parents' hearth in marriage, when a son ventures alone to India or Kathmandu for employment, or when children mourn the death of parents, and brings with it a litany of interrelated somatic, psychological and communal troubles.

Using one particular 'song of sadness' (printed in uppercase letters) as a backbone upon which to explore other songs (in lowercase), I seek to develop a contextual understanding of *tsera*, its semantic resonances, its possible resolution. Indeed, I will argue, by way of demonstration, that the import and efficacy of the song cannot be fully appreciated without comprehending the imaginative allusions and linguistic echoes which it weaves together. In so doing, I seek not to divorce "meaning" from "practice," but rather study the two in tandem, mapping out the nature of meaning in practice and the social practice of meaning. The emphasis here is on the broader psychocultural context in which Yolmo emotional experience is grounded, including "ethnopsychological" understandings of human action (Lutz 1985; White and Kirpatrick 1985), cultural notions of differing emotional dispositions, and the intersubjective nature of loss, grief and sorrow (Kleinman 1991). My guiding thesis is that villagers use the songs as we shall: to learn how, as a member of Yolmo society, one feels, how and when one experiences and expresses emotions, and the constraints on (and political force of) such expression. To grasp the cultural significance and experiential force of *tsera*, then, I examine how Yolmo talk of this sentiment, lend music and meaning to it, and attempt to separate it from their bodies.

One way in which Yolmo collectively come to terms with loss is to sing of it, and my analysis seeks to show how *tser-lu* work, as "structuring structures" (Bourdieu 1977:72), to express, shape, comment upon, and transform emotional distress. This is not to overlook the fact that discourses on emotions are distinct from emotional experience. Rather, it is to suggest that the *relationship* between language and experience must be a central focus of study if we are to better understand how cultural discourses on suffering relate to subjective experiences of distress. The songs, often conventional, seldom communicate personal experiences of pain in a direct, indexical fashion; they do seem to refer, however, to the felt immediacies common to local experiences of 'sorrow' and 'sadness.'[8] It is these communal experiences, the contexts from which they arise, and how they might be transformed that I am most concerned with here.

II

We begin with a discussion of Yolmo funerary rites, and the power of images to evoke and alleviate emotional distress. Upon the third and final evening of the *sbyang-par* funeral, held seven weeks after the corpse is cremated, a lamaic party, followed by a procession of mourners, slowly journeys from the lamaic 'temple' (*gompa*) to the deceased's home to receive an effigy (*sob*) representing the deceased. After accepting a ceremonial tea, the lamas carry the effigy back to the *gompa* to consummate the transmigration of the deceased's soul (*nam-she*). As the effigy, supported on mourners' shoulders, follows a long, white *lam-den* banner "showing the road" to heaven, a stream of mourners, musicians and family members accompanies it.

As the lamas walk to the house the mood, as with other moments of the funeral, is somber, expectant, reserved. Faces are tense, rigid, but open signs of sorrow are few. Once the procession begins to make its way back to the monastery, however, with its hallowed choreography of dirge and music, tears roll down the faces of the mourners in a restrained display of grief. As one boy foretold at the first funeral I attended: "Now they bring the dead man out and the people cry."

What is it in this climactic moment that produces a display of emotions otherwise unexpressed during the rest of the funeral ceremony? How does the ceremony at this point – effigy, trumpets and spiritual dirge – trigger openly expressed grief among mourners, signalling that now (and only now) is the time for tears? For villagers, the sight of the effigy being taken from the deceased's home affirms the final departure of his memory from the world of the living. As one woman explained, "As it is the last day of giving food, the last day of the gathering of relatives, and especially as it is the last departure of the dead person, people feel sad (*tsera*)... The memory of the person is leaving, and so

our hearts hurt (*semba sdugpu*)." Note here that the funeral participants do not mourn the deceased's departure so much as his tangible memory, as if an effigy and a long, white banner were the iconic keys to memory's existence – and memory, like the deceased himself, perished with the dissolution of these images.

Emotion, like memory, works through images. Just as the names of the dead induce their ghostly memory (and thus "should not be spoken"), so a stream of images – an effigy, funeral dirge, and the lamas' march – affect a world of *sdug* or 'sorrow.' What triggers the mourners' grief during the effigy's transport are certain cultural messages, symbolic cues bound within banners and music that speak of longing, separation, and thus 'sorrow.'

With these thoughts in mind, I wish to consider how Yolmo 'songs of sadness,' like grief's effigies, affect the emotional worlds of their listeners. The scene is the conclusion of the final funerary rites for the deceased, after the effigy has been transported to the temple. While the main *sbyang-par* ceremony takes place inside the lamaic *gompa* or temple (cf. Skorupski 1982), a second group of lamas and mourners congregate in an open clearing to participate in the final religious rite of *mani*. Here, lamas chant from Tibetan religious texts as a community of women chorus the Buddhist prayer *Om Mani Padme Hum*. After sunset, while the *sbyang-par* rites are concluding, the seated chanting turns into dance as the lamas, followed by the women, walk in a circle in time to the graceful lead of the cymbal-bearing senior lama. Soon a bonfire is built, and around this fire two groups of men and women dance, each group constituting a chain of interlinking arms which forms a complete, revolving circle. First the singers chant a formal series of religious *mani* hymns which aid the deceased's soul in its journey 'above,' and then, towards dawn, they sing of 'sadness.'

As the men and women sing group duets, they exchange *tser-lu* couplets: as the men complete the first line of one couplet (1A, as below), the women begin theirs (2A); then the men finish the second line (1B), and the women complete their couplet (2B) – only to be followed by a new couplet started by the men (3A), and so on in a gradually quickening tempo (4A, 3B, 4B, 5A...) – such that sets of couplets are interwoven like the fingers of two intertwining hands:

Men	*Women*
There is nothing but sadness, we are never happy	
	Amongst the pama balu, flies the kesan dolma bird
Father is nothing but remembered, he is never forgotten	
	Do not mind your sorrow, the balu flowers may bloom

We are not to feel sad,
sad songs we are not to sing

Do not mind your saddened heart,
do not mind your weary body

The year our father passed away,
we had to sing sad songs

Even if you feel sorrow now,
once you may be happy

As we feel thirsty,
we reach the side of a river

On one rhododendron,
flower buds are blooming

When remembering father,
we reach a forested summit

Like the blossoming flower,
may your hearts also bloom

I wish to delve into this late night song to suggest how Yolmo poetry may help in the passage from grief to comfort. For whereas the final journey of the effigy moves men and women to tears (cf. Schieffelin 1979; Feld 1982), the concluding songs transcend 'sadness' to invoke an atmosphere of community and celebration. Yet to grasp the transformative poetics of the song, we must develop an understanding of emotional experience and expression in Helambu, from the semantic complexities of 'sadness' and 'sorrow,' the interpersonal nature of emotional distress, and the local ethos of emotional restraint and avoidance. As I see it, these motifs form within the song an interwoven world of image, affect and experience; the "meaning" and "efficacy" of the song is tied to the set of contextual relations from which each couplet draws.[9] The song works by alluding to distant realms of meaning – other songs, ghostly memories, the pains and tensions of Yolmo life. "Words with a sideward's glance," as Bakhtin (1984:208) put it, gaze out at other words and other contexts.

III

Commencing the song with slow, shuffling dancesteps and a deep, deliberate harmony, the men begin:

THERE IS NOTHING BUT SADNESS,
WE ARE NEVER HAPPY
semba tsera mimba,
metser namyang mindu

Slow, sonorous, lugubrious, the opening march affirms a finality and pessimism to life – that there is nothing but *tsera*. 'What is *tsera*?' is thus the first question we must ask, as I did several villagers.

"It's so unpleasant," warned Norki, recently separated from her natal village in marriage. "When you have to go to a new place – that kind of feeling."

An elderly shaman, who lost two wives to early deaths, stared uncomfortably into the hearth's fire, "*Tsera*, my friend, means the heart is not well."

"With *tsera*, there is great pain in the heart," recalled one woman as she offered me a cup of tea.

"*Tsera*," an elderly man, marking the anniversary of his wife's death, simply affirmed, "is not good."

Tibetan-English dictionaries tell us that *tser-ka* means 'sorrow, grief, pain, affliction,' while *sems-tser* suggests 'fatigue, weariness, and disgust' in the 'heartmind.'[10] But those are just words, glosses which neither touch upon the richness of the sentiment nor address its specific Yolmo qualities.

Tsera is distinct from the 'sorrow' spawned directly by the death of others. That is *sdug*, villagers say, which dictionaries define as 'affliction, misery, distress, depression' (Jaschke 1949:294: Das 1987:716). Related to the Buddhist notion of *dukkha* or 'sorrow' (cf. Obeyesekere 1985:144), *sdug* smacks of a visceral "pain" that *tsera* does not. *Sdug*, in opposition to the corporeal 'warmth' or 'comfort' of *kipu*, cuts at the heart and wounds the body, and so includes domains of pain outside of mourning: a hard day's toil in the fields causes 'sorrow' as does the loss of one's father. "When one is sick," one man told me, "or has wounds on the foot, people will say, 'oh *semba sdugpu*' ('the heart hurts')." A body stricken with *sdug* is a weary, overburdened body; a *sem* filled with *sdug* is a 'heartmind' in pain.[11]

Nor is *tsera* simply 'worry' or 'anxiety.' That is *thunghal*. "When your mother and father die, and you don't know what to do," said one young man on his way to collect wood to burn at his mother's anniversary funeral (*nebar*), "that is *thunghal langsin*." Worry 'falls' or 'descends' on those without parents.

Nor is *tsera* fully the sadness which is found in the West. Whereas sadness among Americans connotes feelings of rejection, personal failure and a lack of control (Lutz 1988:148), *tsera* speaks more of isolation, a depressive melancholy, an unwelcome pensiveness, and an inability to communicate trials of the heart to others. And there is something finite with *tsera* that distinguishes it from the vaguer components of western sadness. Personal loss, failures and frustrations, grievances and disappointments – all this can be the stuff of America's "sadness" but not of *tsera*.

For *tsera* is the sadness of separation. It descends on the body when one parts from family and friends.[12] Such sadness, villagers say, compares to the Hindu *viraha*, the 'longing in separation' in the absence of the beloved.[13] *Tsera* blankets the heart when the body 'cuts' from the company of others – "when," a

young man told, "one is separated from one's father" – and one grieves the loss of intimacy affected by such partings. "If one day your friends all come to your room," the newlywed Pemba explained, "and the next day you're there alone, your heart feels sadness (*semba tsera*)." For Yolmo, the relation is simple: isolation equates with *tsera*, and *tsera* induces further emotional distress. As one couplet puts it,

> When the sun shone we were not sad,
> when the sun was lost *tsera* fell
> When friends gathered we were not sad,
> when we parted *tsera* arrived

Tsera's ironies mark the funeral song as well. The men's first line reads literally as '*Sem*-sadness-nothing but; unsad-never-not.' Accented by the use of three negatives, the somber declaration suggests an ethos of sadness to be reproved by the women, to which they respond:

> AMONGST THE PAMA BALU,
> FLIES THE KESAN DOLMA BIRD
> *pama balu nangla,*
> *chaji kesan dolma*

The *pama balu* tree is as colorful as the *kesan dolma* bird is beautiful. A symbol of self and spirit, birds represent motion, a freedom of spirit, an escape from the heaviness of the human body and the weariness of Himalayan travel. In Yolmo poetry, birds often reveal the stark ironies of human sadness; dwelling in the *pama balu* tree, the *kesan dolma* flutters in the shadow of another song:

> Above a dead tree,
> no birds circle
> around a daughter feeling sadness,
> neither friends nor family come

One senses here, and in the couplet above, that *tsera* is deeply tied to feelings of isolation and abandonment. Indeed, to villagers, *tsera* is a sentiment of and response to loss. But this distress is not simply a loss of friends and intimacy, but a loss of context, a loss of identity. When I asked the elderly Mingmar what happens when one's heart is filled with *tsera*, he responded with a wistful smile, "You ask yourself, 'who am I?'"

As the villagers' definitions of 'sadness' above suggest, *tsera* cannot be divorced from the social contexts in which it occurs. To understand the sentiment, then, we must consider how much of Yolmo identity relates to others. Yolmo society consists of corporate groups (household, family, village) which relate to one another through networks of kin, hierarchies of status, and reciprocal exchanges of hospitality and resources. This embedded communality fosters what may best be called a "relational self" – a sense of personhood, that is, conceived and experienced through social relations.[14] By definition, a person in Helambu is enmeshed in a social network made up of family members, relatives,

neighbors, 'insiders' and 'outsiders'; much of subjective experience draws upon this network. Happiness, for instance, is being with others, and Yolmo almost always strive for this togetherness, whether eating, working or travelling. Solitude does not comfort as it can in the West. Fear haunts the lonely: 'souls' are lost when their owners are in the forest, alone and jittery. And Yolmo fear death because it "cuts," with undue finality, the deceased from loved ones.

It is precisely because Yolmo experience is founded upon a rich network of social ties that ruptures in these relationships are emotionally distressing. Without the familiar social context of everyday life to guide them, Yolmo are at a loss to say who they are. To be without friends and family is to amputate much of a person's self-identity. 'Sadness' is an intersubjective force as much as it is a subjective one, for it is engaged, mediated and resolved through shifts in one's social context.

Separations from family, through death or travel, thus deprive Yolmo of the familiar context so important to them. Uprooted from parents and friends, daughters find themselves in an abyssal "nowhere":

> My father, my father,
> why has your life been shortened
> father when your life was shortened,
> your daughter found herself to be nowhere

while sons seek counsel from surrogate fathers:

> To me who has no father,
> head lama,
> please offer me guidance
> to me who has no father,
> wise official,
> please offer me counsel

For Yolmo, the loss of family and intimacy affects a profound disrupture of one's personal life. *Tsera* leads one to pine away and languish over the broken bonds of intimacy. The thoughts invoked by *tsera*'s descent upon the heart (recollections of home life, remembrances of lost lives) invite distraction and discontent. "With *tsera*," my field assistant Karma contrasted it with the more visceral pain of *sdug*, "you become more pensive, you start thinking about yourself: 'If I weren't here, what would I be doing.' You think what other members of your family may be doing."

The questions asked of others' lives soon reflect back on a person's own, for in *tsera* one begins to probe the components of personal identity. When separations disrupt the context supporting one's identity, they throw the identity itself into question. Similar to Mingmar's self-doubts ("Who am I?"), another man gravely conceded that with *tsera*, "You ask what lies within your heart." While introspection of this kind may be valued in the West, in Helambu it is unwelcome, even feared. Such brooding easily triggers further melancholy; an excessive amount may cause madness.

Emotional discomfort of this kind can make the mind unsettled and restless, clouded and confused. Yolmo hold that the *sem* or 'heartmind', when thinking of a distant time or locale, leaves the body to travel to the scenario envisioned.[15] But with *tsera*, the heartmind cannot focus on a single subject and wanders through the landscape of one's thoughts. "When you go to a new place, you feel *tsera*, you don't know anyone, your heartmind keeps wandering, going hither and thither," a farmer characterized *tsera* with a sweep of his arm over the expanse of hills before us.

The distracted wanderings of the heart often induce a restlessness of the body, for an unsettled *sem* makes a person unwilling to stay put. "*Tsera*," one woman told me in the mist of the monsoon, "is when you don't feel like staying in your house any longer, and wish to wander about, such as in the forest." With *tsera*, a Yolmo becomes restless, jittery, anxious.

This restlessness makes work difficult. The most common definition of *tsera* offered by Yolmo was that it meant 'feeling lazy' in the sense of not wanting to work or move constructively about: the anxious pensiveness of *tsera* causes a depressive lethargy of body and spirit. "With *tsera*, you don't feel like working," one woman explained. "You sit down to work, but you find you're not up to it." When I asked Karma what the body felt like in sadness, he replied, "If you're not feeling well, you're feeling lousy, as with *tsera*, then you don't have any energy in your body."

With *tsera*, finally, a person sees life through melancholy eyes. "When you have *tsera*," one man explained, "and think about a topic, it makes you sad... It is like this: you might be thinking it's funny, but when you have *tsera*, you might be weeping."

Yolmo sentiments of 'sadness' reinforce, and are reinforced by, the Buddhist ideology of suffering which patterns many Himalayan cultures. Philosophically, Yolmo conceive of mortal existence as a "wandering" or "passing through" *(samsara)* of successive lives, an unending cycle of birth, misery and death as determined by the law of karma. Like the Sri Lankan Buddhist theology of "hopelessness, suffering and sorrow" that makes meaningful the affective states considered "depressive" in the West (Obeyesekere 1985), so personal experiences of *tsera* feed into and off of more refined notions of suffering. In turn, the Buddhist philosophy of "suffering" may be a direct response to sentiments of sorrow spawned by psychosocial structures common to South Asian cultures: social selves make incidents of loss and separation particularly disruptive, and so in need of a moral code.

As *tsera* is a product of the social embeddedness marking Yolmo personhood, this core emotion defines Yolmo culture much like a shadow delineates the object it silhouettes: through absence. With shadows, there is absence of light; with *tsera*, an absence of the quintessential components of Yolmo identity – companionship, intimacy, context and emotional stability. In parting from

"home," a Yolmo loses this identity. *Tsera*, in its ideal form, is the sentiment of loss tied to these partings: an emotional isolation, a loss of intimacy, context and identity – and a pining melancholy, tormented self-reflexivity, and anxious lethargy of body and spirit engaged by that loss. Yet the experiential contours of *tsera* are often less clearly defined when the sentiment crops up within the messiness of everyday life, especially when a villager dies. With bereavement comes a murky blend of 'sadness' and 'sorrow' in a diffuse medley of pain.

The funeral song intones this medley, evoking sentiments commonly evinced by loss. Following the women, the men conclude their first couplet:

> FATHER IS NOTHING BUT REMEMBERED,
> HE IS NEVER FORGOTTEN
> *yapchen temba mimba,*
> *metin namyang mindu*

"Father" here parallels the first line of the couplet, which reads literally as:

> heart/sadness/nothing but, unsad/never/not
> father/remembered/nothing but, forgotten/never/not

and suggests that sadness is to remembrance as happiness is to forgetting. The song thus involves a lament for one's father, a song of mourning in remembrance. And yet the lack of pronouns (no 'I', 'you' or 'we') signals that it is everyone's father. The lyrics evince a commonality of experience; grief is shared by all.

To understand the lyric's import, we must inquire into the nature of Yolmo memory, of the lingering ties to absent fathers and friends. As Yolmo do not find comfort in *tsera* or in the loneliness, pensiveness or melancholy associated with it, many have developed habitual methods to deal with the onset of these sentiments. In most situations, the antidote for *tsera* is company with friends and family. Villagers often expressed that *tsera* only comes for 'one moment only'; "then you're with friends and you're happy." The best way to escape from *tsera*, then, is to interact with others, to laugh and to sing. When I asked Pemba how to get rid of *tsera*, she responded, "Oh, just be with friends for a while in a pleasant (*mito*, 'sweet') atmosphere with pleasant talk, and it will go away in just one moment."

Tsera and friendship thus are polar forces. Indeed, we could define *tsera* as the lack of companionship and emotional intimacy: 'When friends gather we are not sad, when we part *tsera* arrives.' As the force of *tsera* inversely depends on the strength of social ties, friendships are highly valued on an *emotional* level in Yolmo society (beyond any socio-political considerations).

> The blossoming flowers of summer,
> if only they could last through winter
> we friends who have gathered together,[16]
> if only we could last through life

Why are friendships so valued? For the companionship they offer, a communality which drowns out the anxiety, loneliness and pensiveness which otherwise enshadows moments of solitude; for the role they play in *sustaining* personal identity, for Yolmo identity is, by definition, composed of social bonds; and for the intimacy they provide, for friends enable a person to slip past the harsh cultural limits to what he or she can know of another.

The last point relates to the ethos and epistemology prevalent in the Helambu valley. The limitations inherent in Yolmo epistemology begin with one's neighbors, for it is considered difficult to know what another person is thinking or feeling. Villagers compare the body to a house with a person's life-forces dwelling within. As the body hides its contents from the eyes of others, subjective realities are considered to be largely unknown to the outside world. "White cow of the East," three girls once sang to me,

> how is your milk,
> so-called friend,
> how is your *sem*?

Just as cow's milk cannot be tasted unless released from its udder, so an acquaintance's nature cannot be judged whilst hidden within the heart. Usually, the heartmind remains hidden, for Yolmo society, based on communal ties and social embeddedness, holds an ethos of emotional avoidance and restraint. Yolmo personhood is marked by an often tense interchange between values of independence and interdependence: While Yolmo experience personhood socially, they also encounter moments when the self is at odds with the demands of social life.[17] Interpersonal conflicts spark illness, antisocial behavior characterizes drunkenness, knowledge is divorced into private and social realms, and many life histories note tensions between personal desire and social propriety. In turn, as it is essential to control personal desires in deference to the social welfare, Yolmo stress the need for self-restraint. Yolmo often feel coerced into acting in a socially appropriate manner and must sacrifice personal desires falling against the grain of the social fabric.

Such sacrifices include the expression of sadness or anger, and Yolmo hesitate to let others know what they are feeling. There is also the fear that if others know too much, they may take advantage of this knowledge (through witchcraft, business affairs, etc.). Yolmo thus profess a culture of privacy, revealing little of their inner worlds to others. When I asked Karma how difficult it is to know of another's heartmind, he responded, "It is difficult to do that in our society. They hide things, they close things, they're not very open... They also feel it very hard to express things."

Since a Yolmo keeps private much of his feelings, it is understood that a person often just taps into surface knowledge concerning another. "If I were a god," one man proposed, "I could get inside your heartmind. But since I'm not, how can I know what lies within your *sem*." Karma once said something that

pertains to the Yolmo capacity for empathy. "It is just the apparent thing they're knowing," he explained, "not the real thing... We don't know the true intentions." Yolmo are therefore unwilling to infer another's state of mind or body. As I soon learned, questions pertaining to the motives of a third party are often met by the response "How can we know what is in another person's heartmind?" Yolmo friendships, like other forms of emotional attachments, balance precariously between intimacy and mistrust (cf. Levine 1981).

Since it is difficult to know what lies beneath a neighbor's facade, Yolmo value the ability to transcend such barriers. Friendships, while respecting the dignity of personal privacy, hint at such intimacy:

> For a rectangular house,
> windows are more beautiful than doors
> for a rectangular house,
> windows are more beautiful than doors
> for friends behind these windows,
> bones are finer than flesh

As transparent windows are more beautiful than impenetrable doors, "bones," because they constitute a friend's inner being, are valued more than exterior "flesh." In declaring the beauty of corporeal interiors, the song praises friends for revealing what lies beneath the social facade. The metaphor simultaneously reaffirms, however, that the facade exists: a house holds walls as well as windows, and it is best to respect the inner space than trespass through doorways.

With the onset of *tsera*, however, Yolmo struggle with recollections of absent friends and family – distanced either by space, time or death.

> Save for feeling *tsera*,
> there is no moment otherwise
> save for remembering friends and family,
> there is no moment otherwise

As *tsera* equals the remembrance of lost loves, Yolmo often sing of memory in songs of sadness. Memories, an essential component of *tsera*, haunt the Yolmo like ghosts, tormenting their owners with the images they bequeath.

> One mountain crossed, no weariness
> two mountains crossed, no weariness
> [but] when crossing the third mountain,
> I remembered father and mother clearly

The song recounts a journey away from one's homeland, as a bride undergoes in marriage. Only after crossing the third mountain does the poet recall her lost parents, an elusive vision which accompanies the corporeal 'weariness' of *tsera*. Similarly, when I asked one woman why 'sadness' fails to separate from the daughter's body in the song of grief opening this paper, she offered "It's because the girl cannot forget her father, she keeps remembering him."

There is the belief that if the heartmind, during its flights of fancy, lingers too long in the past or in a different land (such as when one languishes over the absence of loved ones), its owner may fall ill due to its prolonged absence from the body. This threat underscores Yolmo trepidations over wandering too far from home, and underscores the bride's 'weariness' in remembering her absent parents.

The trouble with memories is that they invoke desires which cannot be quenched –

> The water from a rocky hill,
> we cannot drink if thirsty
> father, our father,
> we cannot meet if remembered

and images that cannot be realized:

> When I slept at night,
> I saw my brother as if he were real
> when I woke in the morning,
> I realized it was a dream

sang a Yolmo girl in a tape-recorded "letter" to her brother in Kathmandu.

Memories, in short, fail to provide the soul with the sustenance that it requires (tangible companionship, intimacy, a sense of home), while reminding the emotionally impoverished that they lack these nutrients.

> In our true homeland,
> we find what we wish to eat
> but in remembering our family,
> we take no nourishment from this food

Thoughts of memory thus inform the verses of the funerary song. To sing that 'father is never forgotten,' as the men do, carries a note of anguish and ambivalence. We should and cannot forget the departed, the lyrics seem to suggest, but we all might be better off if we could.

To this quandary the women respond:

> DO NOT MIND YOUR SORROW...
> *semba sdugpu manje*

'Sorrow' here is the *sdug* of *sem*, the heartache of grief, the cutting pain of loss; it is the body's visceral counterpoint to the heartmind's 'sadness.' And so, literally, 'do not attend to,' 'pay no heed to,' or simply 'ignore' this sorrow. The mandate hints at a key tenet of the Yolmo ethos: just as it is dangerous to journey into the past, so it is best not to dwell upon present thoughts.

> Better not to think,
> if I think I feel sad
> to work with one's thoughts,
> it doesn't help anything

For when Yolmo do think, there is nothing but sadness:

> Observing the hues of the forest,
> the *fayu* flowers bloom
> observing the spectrum of my thoughts,
> tears fall to the eyes.

Yolmo generally try to avoid introspective moments, either by avoiding the circumstances which may lead to such situations, denying their relevance, or refusing to dwell upon them. Since 'sadness' seeps into the *sem* when the 'heartmind' is at rest, one struggles to keep body and mind occupied. And as introspection is known to foster melancholy, Yolmo tend to shun it. I once asked Karma how a person stops from feeling *tsera*. He replied, "Some people might not want to be disturbed, talk with others, they might want to go off alone. Others might try to do something else, other things, to try to forget whatever caused this *tsera*."

It is my impression that Yolmo often pursue the latter course of action – staying busy, chatting with companions, keeping the heartmind focused on the here and now – in the hopes of escaping from *tsera*'s grasp. Rather than confront the terms of sadness in everyday life, villagers tend to evade them in order to feel better.[18] In turn, as Yolmo strive to avoid distressful situations to keep the social peace, they usually refrain from expressing troubling thoughts and sentiments to others. Outside of maintaining a pleasant, jovial facade – the surface congeniality of everyday life – a Yolmo generally attempts to "hold" his heart, not letting on that he or she feels grief, sadness, anger. For the most part, society sanctions those who cannot "hide" their thoughts within the heartmind. Gossip, for example, hearkens to a somatic rift between private and social knowledge: women themselves admit that they "cannot keep secrets inside," explaining that they do not possess a *phodo* or Adam's apple to cork thoughts within the body.

I once asked Karma why several 'songs of sadness' (*tser-lu*) speak of the necessity of hiding one's sadness from others. "It's just a cultural thing, like feeling shy (*no*)," he replied. "Someone might feel that you're being fussy about stuff. So you hide it. You don't want to show others. If you're sad, you'll only confide in your very close relatives. If you're angry, you pretend that you're not angry." In fact, Yolmo consider the ability to "hold" one's emotions to be more refined among adults than children, and men than women, for the former are "stronger" than the latter.

Anger, in particular, is rarely expressed openly in Yolmo society, for it can greatly disrupt the smooth flow of social life. "We don't have that here," Karma said of the American penchant for expressing anger. "We don't show it. If you're very angry you might just break out and fight. So you won't show your anger – until suddenly it explodes."

As Karma's words hint, despite the need to hide one's emotions from others,

Yolmo strongly value the opportunity to express personal distress, such as anger, lest it "suddenly explode." One man once confided, "If you have all this anger or grief inside you, you tell these things to the very near, close friends. They say, 'If I'm angry with you, and I don't show it, I might show my anger at someone else. The next person that comes along, I might shout at, beat up.'"

The idea that unvented anger builds until it suddenly explodes suggests a "hydraulic" theory of emotional expression common to several western and non-western philosophies of the self.[19] Among Yolmo, the value of "cleaning" the heartmind of distressful emotions is culturally agreed upon. "Lice fill my hair," rues the singer of one *tser-lu*,

> but I've no mother to extract them
> thoughts fill my heart,
> but I've no mother to explain them to

Just as mothers are appreciatively known to pluck lice from a child's head, so their ability to listen to the heart's grievances is highly valued. As one man put it, "The song means, 'If there are no friends and family, then much remains within the *sem*. So when painful thoughts come, to whom can we speak?' Just as a man needs to clean his hair and clothes, so he needs to be able to clean the *sem*." Notice that the heart needs to be cleansed of such thoughts, as if they were dirty or harmful, just as ghosts (*shindi*) need to be 'thrown' and pollution (*thip*) 'cut' from the body. Otherwise, sentiments can tear at the heart or explode onto the social scene.

Yet despite the acknowledged need to express anger, grief and sadness to others, this does not come easy for Yolmo. A culturally constituted paradox defines Yolmo emotional experience: while a villager needs to 'cleanse' the heart free of troublesome emotions, it is often difficult to do so, even with one's intimates. Due to the cultural constraints on emotional communication, Yolmo often find it distressful to convey their distress to others, and so lament the limits of empathy:

> When a forest catches fire,
> everyone sees it
> [but] when one's heart catches fire,
> only one's own self knows

Several times I asked villagers if they thought it true that one cannot share sorrows with others in Helambu. They often responded, "Yes, it is like this," and looked sheepishly away. One man stated what for him was the obvious: when a person is worried inside, he cannot tell his thoughts to anyone. "Because it is in our *sem*, which no one can see, nobody will know of it." As Karma put it, "Its like there's no one to share your sorrow. Even if you're feeling very sad, but others won't be feeling sad for you. Even if they know it, they can't say it." With *tsera*, the difficulties in communicating one's distress to others are

twofold, for an essential component of 'sadness' is the inability to express one's plight to others – precisely because those intimates one is most able to share thoughts with are absent. A vicious circle is thus created, and the sufferer of *tsera* is left without an open vehicle to express distress.

> If I stay sadness falls to me,
> if I go my little feet may ache
> the sorrow of little feet hurting,
> to whom can I tell?

The funeral song seems to propose an answer to this lingering query: 'Do not mind your sorrow' it advises. Do the words speak to an ethos of emotional avoidance? Perhaps, but here I think the sentiment, while building upon a similar experiential form, implies the beginning of a cathartic transformation – by letting go of sorrow to ultimately 'cast out' one's grief.

But why should we try to forget our sorrow? For, the women suggest:

> ...THE BALU FLOWERS MAY BLOOM
> *balu mendu sherto*

tying the couplet's conclusion to its opening line via the *balu* image, and positing a further significance for this tree. In Nepal, flowers connote health, vitality, even life itself (Peters 1981:90). Here, flowers 'may bloom,' or *sherto*, which describes the opening of May flowers and the expansiveness of the rising sun, and so suggests an image of potential beauty, health and completeness, if not renewal proper.

To whom are the women speaking? The words imply a command, an imperative – and hence a 'you' – and I take this 'you' to be the men or, precisely, the role assumed by them in the song: that of those racked by grief. The song thus embodies a dialogue of the heart for both singers and audience, and the men's and women's couplets, engendering sexual reciprocity, alternately debate the dialectic of corporeal 'sorrow' and 'comfort.'

To understand the resonances of this dialogue, we must map out the cultural and gendered aspects of Yolmo expressions of pain. While the sorrow of little feet hurting often goes unannounced in everyday life, 'songs of sadness' seem to provide a poetic medium to express emotions which, otherwise, villagers cannot readily articulate.[20] In recounting sadness, the poems focus on an arena of Yolmo life that is rarely touched upon through other means: that of subjective experience. The cultural limits to empathy permit cigarettes, not weary hearts, to be shared among friends. But through song, Yolmo sing of the otherwise silent toils of little feet hurting. While Yolmo mores pose harsh limits to direct social communication, an indirect discourse exists through which empathy can be achieved.

Yet while the most disturbing and personal of experiences lie at the heart of songs, their lyrics enable singers to distance themselves from the frontlines of

pain. Like the Yolmo language in general, the songs lack pronouns and specific agents of action. 'We', 'I' or 'you' are implied but not stated. Likewise, as couplets are relatively standardized, the personal locus of any pain alluded to in the songs can be denied. "It's just a song," singers can say (as they have to me), "it means nothing." But the point is well taken; wounds are exposed and hearts are cleansed. Similar to the Delta Blues, pain is affirmed with anonymity, and the poet can still claim that she has "held" her heart.

Although the songs may be impersonal, this is where their greatest efficacy lies. While dirges do not identify particular individuals as their protagonists, they address themselves empathically to all who hear them. Without an explicit 'I,' the listener can assume a 'we.' The sentiments evoked in the songs convey a commonality of experience. Through shared discourse, support is fostered, bonds strengthened, affect made communal.

The potential of *tser-lu* to communicate personal distress, foster empathy, and create an emotional communitas is vividly seen in the songs sung by the "unfortunate daughters" who must leave their natal village in marriage. The social position of Yolmo women is defined by the requirements of patrilocal residence, requirements which occasion one of the key structural tensions of this society: women must inhabit an intermediate space between home and a "foreign land," neither 'going' nor 'staying' (cf. March 1983). An archetypal 'sadness' ensues from this tension. Brides must leave their families to live in a unfamiliar village where they are deprived of the intimacy they once shared. As Yolmo women tell it, moving to the groom's household is one of the most traumatic moments of their lives, a lasting moment often marred by sadness in separation. Indeed, many informants conceded that *tsera* falls to the daughter more than the son because she must undertake this journey.

> Between a rosary's beads and ornaments,
> sadness falls on the ornaments[21]
> between a son and daughter,
> sadness falls on the daughter

I asked one woman if she thought it true that daughters suffer more 'sadness' than their brothers. "Of course," she replied, "because she must leave her family and go to a new place when she gets married."[22] Betrothed against her will to a boy she perhaps has not seen before, a young woman is fated to become a *sodi meba pomo*, or "daughter without good fortune," landing on the doorsteps of unfamiliar others.

With this parting from home come feelings of despair, neglect and anger – sentiments which a Yolmo woman finds difficult to express to intimates, let alone strangers (cf. Warren and Bourque 1985). I would suggest that "songs of sadness" construct a bond of empathy and communality among Yolmo women. They also provide a medium to express these feelings, a moral testimony embodying a strategy of "social reciprocity" (Schieffelin 1985) wherein

declarations of *tsera* are "not simply a sign of despair and defeat but an active form of appeal, implicitly or explicitly expressed, for payment of an incurred loss" (Tousignant and Maldonado 1989:900). 'Songs of sadness' enable Yolmo women to bear witness to their pain and indirectly reproach those who inflict it.

For instance, daughters sing of the apprehension they feel in moving to a foreign land – a fear of strangers and treacherous journeys.

> If we walk in the fields of summer,
> we fear that we may slip
> when a daughter parts for a foreignland,
> she fears that gossip may fall upon her

And they speak of the isolation that comes with moving to a husband's village, the solitude one suffers when divorced from family.

> A *kalde*-dwelling *jyolmo*,[23]
> arrives in the valley below
> when the valley becomes too hot,
> no one calls it to return above

The aura of abandonment, separation and neglect embedded in these lines – a direct result of core tensions marking Yolmo society – borders on anger. Indeed, in expressing the hardships of marriage, women hint at the resentment and sense of betrayal which they suffer.

> For a flask full of wine,
> don't give your daughters to others
> But if you must give us away,
> don't send us beyond the mountain
>
> Our mother and father had told us:
> 'do not enter the foreign lands'
> but due to the fate of their daughter,
> she arrived at the door of others

Notice here that the daughter does not reside securely within the groom's household, but stands upon his doorstep, as if she were more unfamiliar guest than intimate family. Indeed, she is not with family but with *mi*, literally "people" but with the connotation of 'others' (as with *miyhul*, 'foreign lands,' and *mikha*, the harmful gossip of 'people's talk').

And, at times, women express the anger they feel in being forced to leave their natal home while deprived of family wealth –

> Of her father's inheritance,
> a daughter receives nothing
> a necklace of turquoise and coral,
> even to have a small one

– and the security that her natal home could offer her but instead denies:

> The foundation beneath the house,
> we daughters build ourselves
> But beneath the roof we build,
> we have no chance to live

A symbol of integrity and identity, a house denotes communitas and domestic security. Ironically, though daughters "build" such structures through the work of their early years, they end up on foreign doorsteps. The second line *pomo ngarung hingse* reads literally as, "daughter(s)/ourselves/build" – and so stresses a communal 'we' and an acknowledgement of shared sorrow.

In all, separated from family, a daughter-in-law can rarely speak of the sadness that fills her heart, let alone vent the anger she may feel towards those she considers responsible for her estrangement. But through verse, she can do so. Testimonies of despair, *tser-lu* also embody pleas for compassion.

> Father when your life was shortened,
> tears fell upon my eyes
> Oh friends have pity,
> tears have fallen upon my eyes

Yet while *tser-lu* poignantly convey (and, at times, overcome) difficulties in communicating personal distress, they also help to create these empathic limits. When a Yolmo woman laments the anonymity of little feet hurting, she seems to confirm the problem as much as she decries it. Though music reveals the fires of our hearts, the songs say, our sadness will continue to remain hidden, save in times of poetry.

Hence both the possibilities and limits of emotional communication are culturally constituted. While social norms permit Yolmo to articulate private distress through (and often only through) poetry, the culture requires that limits to knowledge and empathy be in effect elsewhere – primarily because the fragile social interdependence defining Yolmo social life encourages an ethos of emotional restraint. In validating cultural limits to emotional knowledge, yet also providing loopholes to these empathic constraints, language becomes both prisonhouse and emancipator.

The songs, then, are an emotional tutelage, informing both singer and audience about the nature of Yolmo affect – how to feel, how to express feelings, and the limits to such expression.[24] "The songs about sadness in our hearts are the first we learn," one woman told me. How true, for Yolmo often learn of sadness through songs long before they confront it in life. Young boys bewail the death of parents in song before they suffer such losses; young girls lament a daughter's misery in marriage before they themselves marry. Through song, Yolmo children learn of *tsera*, the constraints it will place on their lives, and how to bear it properly. The songs also give name and semantic shape to an imminent, ill-formed malaise. Indeed, oral poetry is one of the main idioms through which Yolmo articulate emotional experience: Yolmo culture presents a "black box" approach to subjective interiors, with emotions seldom discussed in everyday life; "songs of sadness," to adopt Geertz's (1973:123) terms, are as much a model for, as a model of, emotional experience.

An ideology of affect thus courses through Yolmo culture, local ideas of personhood, and the lyrics of sad songs. Often, this ideology relates to gender, for Yolmo culture inculcates a sexual division of feeling. The emotional dispositions of women and men stems from the social status of the two sexes, with the former subservient to the latter. While "strong-hearted" men are considered unaffected by emotional distress, women, children and the elderly possess "weak" hearts which make them vulnerable. The lack of an Adam's apple disables women from keeping secrets within. Devoid of restraint, women find it difficult to "hold" their hearts; lacking a "strong heart," emotions often conquer their bodies. Women are devalued – in everyday discourse, for their emotional frailty, and in song, for their opaque mysteriousness. "The sons are diamond and pearl," a *tser-lu* teases,

> they are crystal clear
> the daughters are coral and turquoise,
> what is within?

Just as domestic practices map sexual hierarchies within the body (Bourdieu 1977; Comaroff 1985), so poetry reaffirms local notions of gender. Of the many models of Yolmo affect versed by the songs, one outlines the differing emotional dispositions of men and women.

It is within this context of differing emotional dispositions that men and women exchange images of sadness and sorrow, memories and flowers. The funeral song gives voice to emotional experience, but, in so doing, it also shapes the nature and gendered quality of expression and experience. As the women dance in the aftermath of their own lyrics ('Do not mind your sorrow...'), the men begin another couplet with an ever quickening tempo:

> WE ARE NOT TO FEEL SAD,
> SAD SONGS WE ARE NOT TO SING
> *Semba tserni mayong,*
> *tserlu lenni mayong*

Mayong literally means 'it does not come,' but here reads as 'it does not befit us to,' and thus: 'we are *not* to.' The men, following the women's lead, voice a resolution, neither to sing of *tsera* nor permit its presence to fill their hearts (note how the experience of 'sadness' immediately seems to beget the singing of it, as if one implied the other). Thus we move from the opening's fatalism ("there is always sadness") to a will to escape *tsera*. But here, in contrast to daily life, one escapes 'sadness' by confronting it; the men acknowledge their grief to alleviate it.

The women buttress this idea with the start of a new couplet:

> DO NOT MIND YOUR SADDENED HEART,
> DO NOT MIND YOUR WEARY BODY
> *Semba tser-tser manje,*
> *libu sdug-sdug manje*

The *manje* structure links the women's third couplet to their second, as the second was tied to the first through the arboreal image. The 'sorrow' of the preceding couplet presently divides into two idioms of pain: the 'sorrow' of the body (*libu sdug*) fleshes out the 'sadness' of the heart (*semba tsera*). *Libu sdug*, specifically, is an 'overburdened' or 'tormented' body (such as the physical discomfort felt at the end of a long day's toil), a burden which reveals how emotions can be experienced on a physical plane among Yolmo. The somatic, equated with pain, suggests how sadness can weaken health when it fails to separate from the body.

The dialogue between the body's sorrow and the heartmind's sadness relates to a specific tension inherent in Yolmo experience. To wit, a strong mind-body duality permeates Yolmo culture, a duality founded upon the Buddhist distinction between the "residence and its residents" (Beyer 1973:77) – the corporeal abode (*li*) and its 'heartmind' (*sem*) and reincarnating 'soul' (*nam-she*).[25]

> My body grows older and older,
> [but] my *sem* feels younger and younger
> one only gets older,
> growing younger cannot be

When asked if these lyrics meant that body and *sem* don't get along, Latu, a village lama, responded "Yes, it's just like a house with people living inside. The house may get old, so the people wish to move to a new one." Yolmo often see the body as being distinct from, and occasionally at odds with, its spiritual holdings.[26] This mind-body duality broaches, among others, the realm of feeling. A primary tension exists between the longings of the heart and the limits of the body – between that which the *sem* desires and that which its abode can allow. In the couplet above (as with other *tser-lu*), an implicit "but" linking the first line of the second marks a specific irony of human experience. Here, the body can never "grow" younger, though the heart moves into a second childhood as the years unfold. Though a person inevitably wishes to "move" into a new home when the old one decays, only through death can the soul end its lease on the body.

The homesickness found with *tsera* amplifies the tendency of body and heartmind not to "get along," for the *sem*'s fleet-footed desires to return home are blunted by the body's inability to transcend the limits of space and matter. In the Helambu valley, body is of "flesh and bone" while soul is like "air"–

> This body of flesh and bone,
> I'll stick in the cremation grounds
> this soul like air,
> I'll leave in the land of *bardo*[27]

and the airy freedom of spirit is weighed down by the heaviness of the body.

> My body rests in a foreign land,
> yet my thoughts dwell in my own
> as my thoughts wander,
> if only my body could roam

Without a body to anchor them, Yolmo souls are destined to wander about "like a feather tossed about by the wind" (Evans-Wentz 1960:161). With a body, they are doomed to a life of unreachable desires – the "if only's" of pure incorporeality.

> Like the clouds above, moving, moving,
> if only I could go
> the land of birth and family,
> if I go now I can reach

As above, "if only" suggests that home will not be reached; the heart will dwell in 'sadness' as long it is burdened with a body.

Just as the body delimits desire, so life's burdens temper individual passions.

> When the fire is aflame,
> the sparks fly
> when one's head sticks out,
> the golden yoke is afixed

"When one's head sticks out" conveys the moment of personal maturity: as a Yolmo's head emerges from the womb at birth, so he or she achieves individuality in adolescence. Yet while sparks range freely, the "yoke" of family responsibility and social commitment soon restrains youthful passion.

With this maturity comes experience, and thus despair:

> Long ago in the womb of mother,
> better if I had not been born
> even if one's head sticks out,
> despair has already come

As Latu interpreted this couplet, a child possesses neither knowledge nor experience while in its mother's womb; there is pure innocence. But with birth and later development, life, with all its concerns, doubts and tainted wisdom, brings 'despair' or *tsenghal*. When I asked my companion to explain this term, he groped for words. "It's, you know, like night cold thoughts" – the winter worries that beset sleepless nights.

The elderly, above all, are known to think such thoughts, for though their hearts grow younger through time, they mourn the loss of physical strength and agility. For Karma, one becomes more "perceptive" or sensitive in old age "Because the elderly have the feeling that maybe, 'We're becoming older, we can't do anything' ...it's a feeling of desperation" – the despair, no less, of mortal body over mind. As Mingmar explained away a bout of 'soul loss': "I'm just an old man, growing older, and afraid of dying."

Songs of sadness thus pattern a basic dialectic between desire and corporeality, comfort and actuality. But whereas Westerners locate desire within the body, Yolmo situate it within the heartmind. In Helambu, the body is an obstacle and affront to personal desire; the "reality principle" emanates not from the mind, but from the body. As the body denies the *sem*'s fancies, something

always seems amiss for Yolmo poets – some wish unfulfilled, some pain unsoothed – and the heart seems perpetually to long for another place.

> In tea, tealeaves are discarded,
> in *chhyang* beer, sediment remains
> within our own land,
> my heart still lingers

While the body, stuck in a foreignland, remains detached from home, the heart, wishing to be home, lingers in the place from whence it came. As with unquenchable memories and intangible dreams (fathers remembered but dead, brothers imagined but absent), desire latches onto the body like a leech, draining it of any settled peace of *sem*.

> At times I wish to go,
> at others I wish to stay
> the desire to go sticks to the body,
> when I stay I feel restless

The couplet illuminates a culturally defined tension between rest and travel; "Going nor staying, neither can be," another version concludes. As with many *tser-lu*, the tension comments upon specific burdens of Yolmo life. Elsewhere, the implicit 'buts' linking couplets together mark specific ironies ("one only gets older, growing younger cannot be"), dilemmas ("thoughts fill my heart, but I've no mother to explain them to"), and schisms (body and mind at odds, self and family apart). Art has been said to serve a "corrective" function, bringing into awareness alternative ways of being and seeing (cf. Bateson 1972; Iser 1978). But the ironies, double-binds and paradoxes teased out by Yolmo *tser-lu* appear to involve less "the imaginary correction of deficient realities," as Iser (1978:85) identifies one of literature's functions, than a cultural critique. The faultlines of everyday experience, the limits to human empathy, and the quandaries of desire reverberate through various songs, touching the sore spots of Yolmo experience, their linkage to emotional distress, and the causal roots of 'sadness' and 'sorrow.'

The songs, in sum, comment upon, attend to, and lend moral meaning to the sentiments revealed. It remains to be seen, however, whether Yolmo articulate their wounds to soothe them, to bemoan them, or to transcend them. If the latter, how might a funeral dirge take steps towards such transcendence?

Songs of sadness, the men recalled, we are not to sing. And yet:

> THE YEAR OUR FATHER PASSED AWAY,
> WE HAD TO SING SAD SONGS
> *Aba shorkin lola,*
> *tserlu lengin jyungsong*

'We had' here means 'we had occasion to' or 'we were forced to.' And so the line can be read as: 'the death of our father caused us to feel *tsera*, and thus the need to sing of it.' While it does not benefit us to feel *tsera*, the losses we suffer in life make such sadness inevitable.

On what occasion are these words voiced? A funeral, of course, marking sentiments of loss in the wake of a death. But the song also recalls other deaths (as suggested by the recurrent 'we' of both past and present) and the 'sadness' spawned by these memories. The space marked out by the singers is a sacred space, a moment betwixt and between ordinary experience. Within this liminal moment, the singers achieve a heightened awareness of what threatens (and silences) them in their everyday lives (sadness, mortality, isolation). The epiphany in poetry scrambles to parry the threat. While death is the most impenetrable of realms, denying the presence of language, it invites, precisely because of its opacity, the most poetic of words. The lyrics above, as a form of art, form a moment of grief.

But they also strive to transform that grief. 'We had to sing sad songs' implies both the ritual duty and the psychological need to voice one's distress in the wake of death. Yolmo maintain that funerals are needed to prevent the deceased from becoming ghosts, condemned to wander the earth and haunt the living. In at least one sense, they are right, for funerals help the bereaved to engage in the "work of mourning" necessary, as Freud (1917) averred, to transcend feelings of grief subsequent to a loss. Indeed, it is likely that if the bereaved did not participate in the lengthy series of funerary rites performed by Yolmo (each of the first seven weeks after a death, and one year later), sentiments of grief would fail to fully separate from their bodies. Although villagers often experience profound distress at the loss of a kinsman or neighbor, they usually evince a reluctance to grieve due to the cultural constraints on emotional distress: wishing to keep their hearts free of pain, Yolmo attempt to avoid thinking of, or expressing, sentiments of loss. Funerals, forcing the issue, prompt the bereaved to submit to the mourning process: while the ceremonies (including the singing of *tser-lu*) promise intense emotionality and so discomfort, there exist strong social pressures to participate in them. The fulfillment of social obligations thus often compels one to confront grief.

What can happen when a Yolmo does not attend the funerals is exemplified by a spell of 'soul loss' suffered by Nyima, a middle-aged Yolmo woman, subsequent to the death of two close "uncles." While other villagers attended the funerary rites on behalf of these two men, Nyima avoided them. "I don't like going to funerals, they make me feel sad," she confided on the eve of one rite. "I don't like all the crying, the time when people cry... The songs we sing make our hearts hurt." Yet, perhaps because of this evasion, Nyima suffered the assault of a "forest ghost" and lost her *bla* or 'spirit' a fortnight after the second

uncle's death, losing her volition to eat, work, sleep or talk with others. Unable to confront her grief, she was unable to engage herself in the work of mourning. Soul loss, a pathology of grief, ensued.[28]

One of the tasks of the present song, then, is to prevent a similar spiritlessness from engulfing those who dance its emotional cadences. Grief, to be transcended, first needs to be evoked, and the song gives voice to sentiments which might not otherwise be expressed in teashops or backrooms. The logic of efficacy here speaks to the local link between language and experience. In Helambu, words often possess the power to evoke experiences. A shaman's mantras create a magical reality by mimetically portraying it, the names of the dead should not be spoken lest they invoke their presence, and the singing of 'sadness' seems to be deeply caught up with one's experience of it. Hence sad songs need to be sung in order to evoke, then assuage, one's grief. Yet if images of sadness conjure up sentiments of sadness, where do images of balance and comfort lead us?

Do not mind your saddened heart, do not mind your weary body, the women have sung, as if in response to Nyima's dilemma. For:

> EVEN IF YOU FEEL SORROW NOW,
> ONCE YOU MAY BE HAPPY
> *Tanda sdugpu nungna,*
> *lenchi kipu nungdo*

The women's optimism balances the men's sorrow. Paradoxically, the emotionally "weak" teach the men how to buck up, perhaps because women are more familiar with personal loss. 'Happy' here is *kipu*: comfort, warmth, pleasure, in direct contrast to the pained discomfort of *sdug*. The couplet thus adds to the litany of balanced tensions culled by the song: body and heartmind, 'sadness' and 'sorrow,' absence and presence, men and women, pain and comfort. The balance and potential reconcilement of these "discordant qualities," to use Coleridge's words, fulfills central Yolmo aesthetic sensibilities (harmony, balance, completion) and thus contributes to the aesthetic experience engendered by the poetry.[29] Each duality is suspended in a state of dynamic equilibrium in which the discord between body and soul, life and death, are, if not resolved, then of a whole. The circle danced by the singers admits the need for balance.

Another contribution to the aesthetic experience is the narrative kinetics engaged by the song. *Lenchi* above means 'one time': 'once again' or 'at some later time.' *Once* you may be happy. Not will be, but *may* be, as the balu flowers may bloom. And so we witness a progression from the past ('the year our father passed away') to the present ('now') and onto the future – moving from despair onto comfort.

And quickly on to:

AS WE FEEL THIRSTY,
WE REACH THE SIDE OF THE RIVER
khaji kombe gangla,
changbu bola lepsong

The line conjures the ghost of another song, a hallowed reminder of the anguish of memory:

The water from a rocky hill,
we cannot drink if thirsty
father, our father,
we cannot meet if remembered

As water from a rocky hill cannot be tasted if inaccessible, father, though remembered, cannot be "met" if no longer of this world.

But here we find a different denouement: the thirst is quenched, the water can be drunk. 'The moment thirst fills our mouth, we have already arrived (*lepsong*) at a river.' But can such magic work for the presence of fathers?

Before this is answered, the women begin their final couplet:

ON ONE RHODODENDRON,
FLOWER BUDS ARE BLOOMING
Tangu tungbu chila,
mendo bumbo shersong

The 'one' here, in its singularity, stands out in a language that has little appetite for modifiers, and thus accents the way in which this couplet links up with its predecessor ('*one* time you may be happy'). From the *pama balu* to the rhododendron, the women carry the flower motif. But here we glimpse winter's unfolding into spring, the first budding of trees and the flowering of May. In Helambu the brilliant colors of the rhododendron flowers, red or white, receive praise for their striking beauty. But what does this have to do with those in grief, for those pained by the thirst of memory?

WHEN REMEMBERING FATHER...
Yapchen tembe gangla...

the men sing. Will this follow the same fate as the song above, 'we cannot meet if remembered'? No, not here:

...WE REACH A FORESTED SUMMIT
...riyhul chela lepsong

The second line of the couplet adopts the structure of the first: 'at the time of remembering father,' literally, 'we have already arrived at the top of a forestland.' And so to outwit the ironic impossibility affirmed by another song ('...we cannot *meet* if remembered'), we can satiate memory's cravings as much as we can quench our thirst. But note that the thirst is not quenched on a physical plane (fathers do not return save as shades of memory). It is fulfilled spiritually: when remembering father, long since dead, we ascend to spiritual

heights matched only by the purity and divine grace of mountain summits. Through poetry, the irony is transcended, the tension effaced. Like the germination of flowers, songs of sadness, though painful, can transform.

And then, finally, the women celebrate:

> LIKE THE BLOSSOMING FLOWER,
> MAY YOUR HEARTS ALSO BLOOM
> *Mendo sherke lemu,*
> *pujong semba sherto*

The song ends with an open simile: the human heart is likened to a blossoming flower, telling us something of poetry's capacity to transcend – to mold the pain of grief into beauty. The blossom anticipates a harvest to come. 'May' suggests a hope, if not an affirmation for change, but also a plea, for it is inconclusive and ephemeral. Spring, evolved to summer, will chill to winter once again. "The blossoming flowers of summer, if only they could last through winter."

IV

The song holds six couplets, thirty-six words, seventy-two syllables – a poetic economy comparable to the haiku of Japan. Within this binary body of word and image, a chain of signifiers moves the listener from the slow, dolorous despair of the opening statement to the vivid hope and beauty of the closing theme. The transformative power of the poetry can only be suggested; overtly, "it's just a song." But in this dialectical movement from sadness to comfort, and thus a resolution of sadness, we stumble upon the path of healing. The work of mourning has been engaged.

It is true that we shall find no direct evidence that the song alleviates grief (though Yolmo funerals as a whole clearly do so). Yet its poetic form offers an aesthetic model which outlines how such a transformation might occur. The evocation of pain to transcend it, the narrative progression from sadness to beauty, the figuring then reconcilement of tensions, the steps towards a quicker, lighter tempo, and the fulfillment of Yolmo aesthetic sensibilities (balance, harmony, completion) contribute to the transformative poetics of the song. The emotional force of the song derives from its direct treatment of pervading (yet unresolved) sentiments of loss, longing and despair. Through the magic of words, the lament evokes, transforms, assuages those sentiments. The singers move themselves and their audience through the successive stages of a grief that they usually do not wish to confront in their everyday lives. Towards this end, what is hidden within the recesses and echoes of the poem are as significant as its surface imagery or discursive strategies. Indeed, much of the portent, efficacy and beauty of the song is tied to its artful choreography of sideward

glances and putative referents. This suggests one reason why we must concern ourselves with the realms of meaning constituting discourses of emotion, and the dynamic relation between language and experience.

In listening to this and other 'songs of sadness,' one comes away with the sense that Yolmo emotional experience is deeply locked into the larger social context influencing such experience. Sentiments of 'sadness,' spawned by losses, separations, and constraints on emotional expression, suggest an interwoven web of somatic, social and political fields and forces. *Tsera* inhabits a communal space marking the vicissitudes of Yolmo experience. But to reduce the songs to rhetorical strategies only, to a politics detached from the heart, would do justice neither to those who sing them nor the burdens which they bear. We need an analytic strategy which unites social practices and subjective meanings, politics and felt emotion, an anthropology of body *and* soul. Only through such an integrative approach can we grasp how cultural discourses on suffering relate to personal experiences of distress, and so begin to attend to the often mute sorrows of little feet hurting.

Department of Social Medicine
Harvard Medical School
25 Shattuck Street
Boston, MA 02115, U.S.A.

NOTES

[1] This paper is based on 15 months of field research conducted among Yolmo Sherpa in a village to the southwest of the Helambu valley in northcentral Nepal, 1988–1989. Research was funded by the Wenner–Gren Foundation for Anthropological Research; the Program for Psychocultural studies and Medical Anthropology at the University of California, Los Angeles; the Department of Anthropology, UCLA; and a National Institute of Mental Health post-doctoral fellowship in the Department of Social Medicine, Harvard Medical School. The paper has benefited from comments by John G. Kennedy, Arthur Kleinman, Byron Good, Mary–Jo Good, Kenneth Lincoln, Jane Wellenkamp, Nancy Levine, Carole Browner, Tracy McGarry, Terry O'Nell, Nancy Warwick, and two anonymous reviewers. Special thanks to the residents of Helambu, particularly Karma Gyelsten Lama, who helped to translate many 'songs of sadness.'

[2] Holding the Durkheimian (1912) view that expressions of grief should be treated as "social facts," Kligman looks at Romanian funeral laments as "expressions of cosmology and social relations" (1988:152) and Urban (1988) argues that "ritual wailing" in Amerindian central Brazil communicates a "desire for sociability." Schieffelin (1979) and Feld (1982) explain how the metaphoric and aesthetic dimensions of Kaluli funerary songs "move men to tears," Trawick (1986) explores notions of "iconicity" in Paraiyar "crying songs," and Abu–Lughod (1986) demonstrates how folk poetry among the Egyptian Bedouin serves as an alternative discourse to the dominant ideology of honor and autonomy.

[3] This last point apparently follows Foucault's precept that discourse should be seen as consisting "not of signs (signifying elements referring to contents or representations) but as practices that systematically form the objects of which they speak" (1972:49).

[4] The analysis also seems to suggest that there is a "putative referent" at work here – that of "defiance."

[5] For recent attempts to formulate an anthropology of "experience," see Turner and Bruner (1986), Jackson (1989), and Kleinman and Kleinman (1991).

[6] I am reminded here of the Ethiopian woman Emawayish's response to the suggestion by Michel Leiris (1934) that she record some love songs for him: "Does love exist in France?" she asked Leiris. Renato Rosaldo (1984) takes a position similar to my own in discussing the tendency to "eliminate the emotions" in anthropological studies of death and mourning.

[7] The structure of *tser-lu* is based on a series of rhyming couplets. Each line of a couplet divides into two halves with each half possessing three words of two syllables each. When sung, the phrase "*ui canchhi*" ('is it not, child?') follows the first three words of each line, while "*le ro se ro*" ('friends one and all') completes the second three words. This poetic form is identical to other song genres, such as "drinking" and "flirting" songs, with differences in tone, tempo and context distinguishing the genres. In eliciting *tser-lu* from villagers, I seldom found significant variance in the wording of couplets, and often listeners could readily recite the second line upon hearing the first. But while individual couplets are more or less standardized, each song is improved out of a series of couplets and is thus a unique creative achievement. I first encountered many of the songs cited in the paper, including the funeral song, in an unauthored pamphlet printed in Kathmandu in Nepali script.

[8] Or, as Susanne Langer puts it, "What art expresses is *not* actual feeling, but ideas of feeling; as language does not express actual things and events but ideas of them" (1953:59). Yet it is also important to acknowledge that art can *evoke* feelings (cf. Dufrenne 1973).

[9] See Becker (1979) for a discussion of the contextual relations involved in Javanese Shadow Theatre, and Fox (1974) for an analysis of the semantic links between dyadic sets of words in Rotinese ritual language.

[10] Jaschke (1949:451,577); Das (1987:1031,1276). The Yolmo *sem* or 'heartmind,' centered in the chest, is the locus of personal knowledge, emotion and desire.

[11] For want of a better word, I translate the heartache of *sdug* as 'sorrow' to distinguish it from the 'sadness' of *tsera*.

[12] *Tsera* thus compares to the Polish *tesknota*, which Wierzbicka (1986) glosses as "the pain of distance" and "sadness caused by separation."

[13] See O'Flaherty (1980:122–124) on Hindu *viraha*.

[14] For an extensive discussion of this "relational self," and the tensions which arise when desires for autonomy clash with needs for interdependence, see Desjarlais (1990).

[15] The heartmind's flight of fancy occasionally appears as a metaphorical journey (as with an American's "my heart is with you"), but it also exists for villagers as an ontic reality, with the *sem* moving to the space-time imagined.

[16] 'Friends' here is *nyenjen*, denoting both kin relations, such as father, aunt or cousin, and non-kin associates, such as one's neighbors.

[17] The tension is not unique to Yolmo society: variations on the theme have been identified among the Gurung (McHugh 1989), Limbu (Hardman 1981), and Solu–Khumbu Sherpa (Ortner 1978; March 1979), suggesting that it derives from sociocultural dynamics common to the Himalayan region. For an extensive discussion of the issues discussed in this paragraph, see Desjarlais (1990).

[18] Studies suggest that the tendency to avoid emotional distress pervades many Western and non-Western societies (Levy 1973; Wikan 1989).

[19] See Lutz 1985; D'Andrade 1987:143, Lakoff and Kovecses 1987; Wellankamp 1988.

[20] Abu–Lughod (1986) develops a similar argument for the Egyptian Bedouin, for whom folk poetry serves as an alternative discourse of emotionality and intimacy to the dominant ideology of honor and emotional restraint.

[21] A *mala* or 'rosary' is composed of a series of beads with silver ornaments intermittently interposed.

[22] As O'Flaherty (1980:122) comments on the *viraha* (longing in separation) of Hindu culture: "The woman's greater suffering in separation may be a reflection of human social conditions in India, where the woman marries out of the family and is penned up at

home, while the man has outside diversions; female *viraha* is thus a hierarchical and agnatic fact as well as a psychological reality."

[23] *Kalde*, an alpine tree, is the habitat of the *jyolmo*, a high-altitude bird that migrates to the valleys in winter.

[24] Here I think that Abu–Lughod (1986) and others (Lutz and White 1986:421) have underemphasized how poetic discourses serve not only to reflect upon personal distress, but structure it as well.

[25] Paul (1970:98) and Ortner (1970:163) find the same duality present among Solu Khumba Sherpa.

[26] As one Buddhist sage instructs, "The *sems* must not grow fond of the body, the body must not grow fond of the *sems*. Guard the liberty of body and *sems*, so that each can rest in itself" (Tucci 1980:260).

[27] *Bardo* is the intermediate state of existence between reincarnations, usually lasting forty-nine days (cf. Evans–Wentz 1960).

[28] For further discussion of Nyima's situation, see Desjarlais 1990.

[29] The term comes from Coleridge's definition of poetry in his *Biographia Literaria*: "the synthetic and magical power" of imagination "reveals itself in the balance or reconcilement of discordant qualities... a more than usual state of emotion with more than usual order." Coleridge's formula for beauty, in turn, is "multeity in unity... or that in which the many, still seen as many, becomes one." See Desjarlais (n.d.) for a phenomenology of Yolmo aesthetics of personhood.

REFERENCES

Abu–Lughod, Lila
1986 Veiled Sentiments: Honor and Poetry in a Bedouin Society. Berkeley: University of California Press.
1990 Shifting Politics in Bedouin Love Poetry. *In* Language and the Politics of Emotion. C. Lutz and L. Abu–Lughod, eds. pp. 24–45. New York: Cambridge University Press.

Abu–Lughod, L., and Catherine A. Lutz
1990 Introduction: Emotion, Discourse, and the Politics of Everyday Life. *In* Language and the Politics of Emotion. C. Lutz and L. Abu–Lughod, eds. pp. 1–24. New York: Cambridge University Press.

Bakhtin, Mikhail
1984 Problems of Dostoevsky's Poetics. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press.

Bateson, Gregory
1972 Steps to an Ecology of the Mind. New York: Ballantine.

Becker, A. L.
1979 Text-Building, Epistemology, and Aesthetics in Javanese Shadow Theatre. *In* The Imagination of Reality. A. L. Becker and A. A. Yengoyan, eds. pp. 211–243. Norword, New Jersey: ABLEX.

Beeman, William O.
1985 Dimensions of Dysphoria: The View from Linguistic Anthropology. *In* Culture and Depression. A. Kleinman and B. Good, eds. pp. 216–243. Berkeley: University of California Press.

Beyer, Stephan
1973 The Cult of Tara. Berkeley: University of California Press.

Bourdieu, Pierre
1977 Outline of a Theory of Practice. Cambridge Studies in Social Anthropology. Vol. 16. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Clarke Graham
1980 A Helambu History. Journal of the Nepal Research Centre 4:1–38.

Comaroff, Jean
1985 Body of Power, Spirit of Resistance: The Culture and History of a South African People. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
Crapanzano, Vincent
1989 Preliminary Notes on the Glossing of Emotions. Kroeber Anthropological Society: 69–70.
D'Andrade, R.
1987 A Folk Model of the Mind. Cultural Models in Language and Thought. D. Holland and N. Quinn, eds. pp. 112–150. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
Das, Chandra
1987 [1902] A Tibetan-English Dictionary. Kathmandu, Nepal: Ratna Pustak Bhandar.
Desjarlais, Robert
1990 Samsara's Sadness: Sherpa Shamanism and the Calling of Lost Souls. Ph.D. dissertation in Anthropology, University of California, Los Angeles.
n.d. The Aesthetics of Body and Soul Through Illness and Healing. Unpublished Manuscript.
Devereux, George
1967 From Anxiety to Method in the Behavioral Sciences. The Hague: Mouton.
Dufrenne, Mikel
1973 The Phenomenology of Aesthetic Experience. Evanston, II: Northwestern University Press.
Durkheim, Emile
1965 [1912] The Elementary Forms of the Religious Life. New York: Free Press.
Evans–Wentz, W.Y.
1960 The Tibetan Book of the Dead. London: Oxford University Press.
Feld, Steven
1982 Sound and Sentiment. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press.
Foucault, Michel
1972 The Archaeology of Knowledge. New York: Harper Colophon.
Fox, James J.
1974 'Our Ancestors Speak in Pairs': Rotinese Views of Language, Dialect and Code. *In* Explorations in the Ethnography of Speaking. R. Bauman and J. Sherzer, eds. pp. 65–88. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
Freud, Sigmund
1917 [1956] Mourning and Melancholia. *In* Collected Papers, Vol. IV. J. Strachey, ed. pp. 152–170. London: Hogarth Press.
Geertz, Clifford
1973 The Interpretation of Cultures. New York: Basic Books.
Hardman, Charlotte
1981 The Psychology of Conformity and Self-Expression Among the Lohorung Rai of East Nepal. *In* Indigenous Psychologies: The Anthropology of the Self. P. Heelas and A. Lock, eds. pp. 161–179. London: Academic.
Irvine, Judith
1982 Language and Affect: Some Cross-Cultural Issues. *In* Contemporary Perceptions of Language: Interdisciplinary Dimensions. Heidi Byrnes, ed. pp. 31–47. Washington, D.C.: Georgetown University Press.
Iser, Wolfgang
1978 The Act of Reading: A Theory of Aesthetic Response. Baltimore, Johns Hopkins University Press.
Jackson, Michael
1989 Paths Towards a Clearing. Bloomington: University of Indiana Press.
Jameson, Frederic
1972 The Prison-House of Language. Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press.

Jaschke, H. A.
1949 A. Tibetan-English Dictionary. London: Routledge and Kegan Paul Ltd.
Kleinman, Arthur
1991 Pain and Resistance: The Delegitimation and Relegitimation of Local Worlds. *In* Chronic Pain. M. Good, P. Brodwin, A. Kleinman, and B. Good, eds. pp. 169–197. Berkeley: University of California Press.
Kleinman, A., and J. Kleinman
1991 Suffering and Its Professional Transformation: Toward an Ethnography of Experience. Culture, Medicine and Psychiatry 15:275–301.
Kligman, Gail
1988 The Wedding of the Dead: Ritual, Poetics, and Popular Culture in Transylvania. Berkeley: University of California Press.
Lakoff, G., and Z. Kovecses
1987 The Cognitive Model of Anger Inherent in American English. *In* Cultural Models in Language and Thought. Dorothy Holland and Naomi Quinn, eds. pp. 195–221. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
Langer, Susanne
1953 Feeling and Form. New York: Scribner.
Leiris, Michel
1934 L'Afrique fantome. Paris: Gallimard.
Levine, Nancy
1981 Perspectives on Love: Morality and Affect in Nyinba Interpersonal Relationships. *In* Culture and Morality. A.C. Mayer, ed. pp. 106–125. Delhi: Oxford University Press.
Levy, Robert
1973 Tahitians: Mind and Experience in the Society Islands. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
Lutz, Catherine
1985 Ethnopsychology Compared to What? Explaining Behavior and Consciousness Among the Ifaluk. *In* Person, Self, and Experience: Exploring Pacific Ethnopsychologies. G. M. White and J. Kirpatrick, eds. pp. 35–79. California: University of California Press.
1988 Unnatural Emotions. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
Lutz, C., and L. Abu–Lughod
1990 Language and the Politics of Emotion. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
Lutz, C., and G. White
1986 The Anthropology of Emotions. Annual Review of Anthropology 15:405–436.
March, Kathryn S.
1979 The Intermediacy of Women. Ph.D. Dissertation. Department of Anthropology, Cornell University.
1983 Weaving, Writing, and Gender. Man 18(4):729–744.
McHugh, Ernestine
1989 Conceptions of the Person Among the Gurungs of Nepal. American Ethnologist 16(1):75–86.
Mishler, E. G.
1986 Research Interviewing: Context and Narrative. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.
Obeyesekere, Gananath
1985 Depression, Buddhism, and the Work of Culture in Sri Lanka. *In* Culture and Depression. A. Kleinman and B. Good, eds. pp. 134–152. Berkeley: University of California Press.
O'Flaherty, Wendy
1980 Women, Androgynes and Other Mythical Beasts. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Ortner, Sherry
1970 Food for Thought: A Key Symbol in Sherpa Culture. Ph.D. Dissertation. University of Chicago.
1978 Sherpas Through Their Rituals. New York: Cambridge University Press.
Paul, Robert
1970 Sherpas and their Religion. Unpublished Ph.D. Dissertation. University of Chicago.
Peters, Larry
1981 Ecstasy and Healing in Nepal: An Ethno-Psychiatric Study of Tamang Shamanism. Malibu, CA: Undena Publications.
Rosaldo, R.
1984 Grief and a Headhunter's Rage: On the Cultural Force of Emotions. *In* Text, Play, and Story, 1983 Proceedings of the American Ethnological Society. E. Bruner, ed. pp. 178–195. Washington: D.C.
Schieffelin, E. L.
1979 Mediators as Metaphors: Moving a Man to Tears in Papua, New Guinea. *In* The Imagination of Reality: Essays in Southeast Asian Coherence Systems. A. L. Becker and Aram A. Yengoyan, eds. pp. 127–144. Norwood, New Jersey: Ablex Publishing Corporation.
1985 The Cultural Analysis of Depressive Affect: An Example from New Guinea. *In* Culture and Depression. A. M. Kleinman and B. J. Good, eds. pp. 101–133. Berkeley: University of California Press.
Skorupski, John
1982 The Cremation Ceremony According to the Byang-Gtar Tradition. Kailash 9(4):361–376.
Tousignant, M., and M. Maldonado
1989 Sadness, Depression and Social Reciprocity in Highland Ecuador. Social Science and Medicine 28(9):899–904.
Trawick, Margaret
1986 Iconicity in Paraiyar Crying Songs. *In* Another Harmony: New Essays on the Folklore of India. A. K. Ramanujan and S. Blackburn, eds. pp. 294–344. Berkeley: University of California Press.
1988 Spirits and Voices in Tamil Songs. American Ethnologist 15(2):193–215.
Tucci, Giuseppe
1980 The Religions of Tibet. Geoffrey Samuel, trans. University of California Press.
Turner, V. and E. Bruner, eds.
1986 The Anthropology of Experience. Urbano: University of Illinois Press.
Urban, Greg
1988 Ritual Wailing in Amerindian Brazil. American Anthropologist 90:385–400.
Warren, K., and S. Bourque
1985 Gender, Power and Communication. *In* Women Living Change. S. C. Bourque and D. R. Divine, eds. pp. 255–286. Philadelphia: Temple University Press.
Wellenkamp, Jane
1988 Notions of Grief and Catharsis Among the Toraja. American Ethnologist 15:486–500.
White, G. M. and J. Kirpatrick, eds.
1985 Person, Self, and Experience. Berkeley: University of California Press.
Wierzbicka, Anna
1986 Human Emotions, Universal or Culture-Specific? American Anthropologist 88(3):584–594.
Wikan, Unni
1989 Managing the Heart to Brighten Face and Soul: Emotions in Balinese Morality and Health Care. American Ethnologist 16(2):294–312.