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Place and Space in Walking Pilgrimage

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What kind of experience of territory is produced by walking pilgrimages? Do they generate experiences of place or space as with the definitions provided by Yi-Fu Tuan in *Space and Place: The Perspective of Experience*? This paper addresses these questions by considering Tuan's distinction between space and place and various attempts at deconstructing that binary opposition. It looks at three texts about walking that seem to turn space into place—Nan Shepherd's *The Living Mountain*, Thelma Poirier's *Rock Creek*, and Iain Sinclair's *London Orbital: A Walk Around the M25*—before considering the author's own failure to turn space into place during an improvised walking pilgrimage in southwestern Saskatchewan, Canada. Finally, the paper considers a more recent pilgrimage by the author on the Whithorn Way in Scotland. He concludes that walking pilgrimage actually generates a phenomenal experience of more abstract qualities, 'placeness' and 'spaceness,' which are interrelated and interpenetrated, folded together (in a Deleuzian sense), a conclusion that leaves the author ready to re-evaluate his improvised pilgrimage in Saskatchewan as well as the literary accounts he discusses.

Key Words: place, space, Yi-Fu Tuan, Michel de Certeau, Edward Soja, Doreen Massey, Gilles Deleuze, Thelma Poirier, *Rock Creek*, Nan Shepherd, *The Living Mountain*, Iain Sinclair, *London Orbital*, *Wood Mountain Walk*, Saskatchewan, walking pilgrimage, Camino de Santiago

Theories of Space and Place

Can walking pilgrimages produce an intimate knowledge of the territory through which pilgrims journey? Or are such pilgrimages simply movements through a barely grasped topography? That is, are walking pilgrimages experiences of place or of space? Given the importance of walking pilgrimages like the Camino de Santiago in the field of pilgrimage studies—pilgrimages in which the journey is arguably more important than the destination—these questions are important. What kind of experience of territory do walking pilgrimages create?

These questions draw on phenomenological geographer Yi-Fu Tuan's distinction between space and place. 'Space' is more abstract than 'place,' Tuan writes:

What begins as undifferentiated space becomes place as we get to know it better and endow it with value. ... The ideas 'space' and 'place' require each other for definition. From the security and stability of place we are aware of the openness, freedom, and threat of space, and vice versa. Furthermore, if we think of space as that which allows movement, then place is pause; each pause in movement makes it possible for location to be transformed into place (Tuan, 1977: 6).

Places, according to Tuan, are known and valued; they have meaning through experience. Spaces, in contrast, are unknown and abstract. Tuan writes:

An object of place achieves concrete reality when our experience of it is total, that is, through all the senses as well as with the active and reflective mind (Tuan, 1977: 18).

Take, for example, a neighbourhood: it only becomes a place as we become familiar with it; before we develop that familiarity, it is space. In addition, while it typically takes time to come to know a place, Tuan suggests that's not always how places work. We might spend many years in one place which leave few memories, but 'an intense experience of short duration, on the other hand, can alter our lives' (Tuan, 1977: 185).

Any binary opposition, like the division between place and space, begs to be deconstructed. Edward Soja, for example, argues that there are three different forms of space: 'Firstspace,' 'the directly experienced world of empirically measurable and mappable phenomena' (Soja, 1999: 265); 'Secondspace,' or represented space, 'more subjective and "imagined," more concerned with images and representations of spatiality' (Soja, 1999: 266); and, finally, 'Thirdspace,' 'the experiential complexity, fullness and perhaps

unknowable mystery of actually *lived space*' (Soja, 1999: 268), which, for Soja, embodies the possibility of a 'progressive cultural politics' (Soja, 1999: 276-77). Michel de Certeau, who, as Tim Cresswell points out, 'uses space and place in a way that stands the normal distinction on its head' (Cresswell, 2015: 70), argues that 'space' is to *parole* as 'place' is to *langue*, an instance or utterance of an overarching structure or grammar:

In short, space is a practiced place. Thus the street geometrically defined by urban planning is transformed into a space by walkers. In the same way, an act of reading is the space produced by the practice of a particular place: a written text, i.e., a place constituted by a system of signs (de Certeau, 1984: 117).

The work of Soja and de Certeau, Cresswell argues, suggests that place is both 'performed and practiced,' which 'can help us think of place in radically open and non-essentialised ways, where place is constantly struggled over and reimagined in practical ways' (Cresswell, 2015: 70-71). As an event, rather than a thing, place is 'marked by openness and change rather than boundedness and permanence' (Cresswell, 2015: 71). Like Soja and de Certeau, Doreen Massey also contends that places are events: 'If space is rather a simultaneity of stories-so-far, then places are collections of those stories, articulations within the wider power-geometries of space' (Massey, 2005: 130). What is special about place 'is not some romance of a pre-given collective identity or of the eternity of the hills,' Massey argues. Instead, it is 'precisely that throwtogetherness, the unavoidable challenge of negotiating a here-and-now (itself drawing on a history and a geography of thens and theres' (Massey, 2005: 140). This definition of place, she argues, does not deny any sense of wonder to places: 'what could be more stirring than walking the high fells in the knowledge of the history and the geography that has made them here today' (Massey, 2005: 140).

All of these conceptions of space and place are very different from Tuan's phenomenology. And yet, there are parallels between the notion of place as performed and practiced, as something thrown together and negotiated, and the notion of place as lived, experienced, and known. One might even argue that such deconstructions allow the essential distinction Tuan makes between place and space to re-enter through a side door. In any case, because I am interested in places as locations that are attended to, engaged with, known, and experienced by their

inhabitants—and, potentially, by those who walk through them—I will use Tuan's distinction, even if it means putting it under erasure for the moment.

There is another complication with my use of Tuan's definitions of space and place to think about walking: for Tuan, space is movement, and place is a pause in that movement, which 'makes it possible for a locality to become a center of felt value' (Tuan, 1977: 138). A walking pilgrimage, then, would consist of a series of places where the traveller paused, centres of 'felt value' within the space of the journey, like a series of beads on a string. One could argue that each step constitutes a kind of pause, and yet walking remains a form of movement and, for Tuan, related to space rather than place. To think of movement and place together is therefore to misread Tuan's argument. However, Tuan's example of movement is travelling in a sports car: 'machines at man's command' that open up 'a world of speed, air, and movement' (Tuan, 1977: 53). Walking, in comparison, is slow and physically laborious, and the experiences of pedestrians are different from the experiences of people inside vehicles. As Tim Ingold suggests, when we walk we experience 'the contours of the landscape' with our bodies, through the 'muscular entailments' that climbing and descending require, and as a result, kinaesthetically, walking is 'directly incorporated into our bodily experience' (Ingold, 1993: 166). Along with such kinaesthetic experience of territory, pedestrians are also open to the weather. Their experience of the land through which they walk is a sensory one: along with the heat of the sun or the chill of the rain or wind, they are more likely to hear birdsong or smell flowers or petrichor than are travellers sealed inside vehicles. This level of sensory engagement can be a characteristic of walking pilgrimages. As Nancy Louise Frey reports, one pilgrim she met who was walking to Santiago de Compostela found his sense of place changing as he walked:

he feels each step, is aware of himself in the new places and how he affects and is affected by those steps. The discovery of this sensation of place is in part based on how he moves, what he perceives, and what he touches. The roads are not just flat or bumpy, the hills green, or the birds singing. While walking it is possible to see individual blades of grass, feel every stone in the road (maybe painfully), and note how the senses are heightened (Frey, 1998: 75).

'The Camino, which begins as an abstract space, comes to be an accumulation of internalized places made up of stories, sensations, and changes in

perception,' Frey writes (Frey, 1998: 87). What had been undifferentiated space at the outset of a *peregrino's* journey becomes a series of places defined by the *peregrino's* experience. Place for Frey is linked to mobility in a way that works against Tuan's distinction between space/mobility and place/stasis. At the same time, however, some *peregrinos* value 'the novelty of the unknown spaces' they travel through and fear that a repeated Camino would become mere routine (Frey, 1998: 75). I remember well that sense of freedom and discovery from my own experience on the Camino Francés, and realize that not every walking pilgrim will be interested in the possibility of experiencing the spaces they traverse as places.

Writing About Walking Through Space and Place

However, the question remains: does the space through which the pilgrim travels become place? Frey's comments suggest this transformation is possible. And yet, most of the explorations of place I have read suggest that for a location to be experienced as meaningful and valued, one must do more than simply walk through it: one must have repeated encounters with it. Despite Tuan's claim that a brief but intense experience may be sufficient (Tuan, 1977: 185), the evidence from the autoethnographic literature on place suggests that the transformation from space to place requires a sustained engagement beyond what walking can afford. Allow me to offer three examples: two that may be familiar, Nan Shepherd's *The Living Mountain* and Iain Sinclair's *London Orbital*; and one probably not so familiar, Saskatchewan writer Thelma Poirier's *Rock Creek*. None of these is an account of a pilgrimage, strictly speaking, but all represent the results of sustained engagements with very different territories through walking.

The Living Mountain is Nan Shepherd's account of decades spent rambling in the Cairngorms, a mountain range in northern Scotland. Shepherd lived in a village near the foothills of the Cairngorms, and those mountains, according to Robert Macfarlane, 'were her homeland' (Macfarlane, 2011: x). Shepherd primarily encountered the Cairngorms by walking and climbing, although she also notes, 'No one knows the mountain completely who has not slept on it' (Shepherd, 2011: 90). Shepherd's engagement with the Cairngorms, through sight, touch, sound, scent, and taste, is powerfully articulated in *The Living Mountain*, yet that sensory evocation is in the service of what, for Shepherd, is the mountain's truth:

I have written of inanimate things, rock and water, frost and sun; and it might seem as though this were not a living world. But I have wanted to come to the living things through the forces that create them, for the mountain is one and indivisible, and rock, soil, water and air are no more integral to it than what grow from the soil and breathes the air. All are aspects of one entity, the living mountain. The disintegrating rock, the nurturing rain, the quickening sun, the seed, the root, the bird—all are one (Shepherd, 2011: 48)

Not only is the mountain one living entity, but Shepherd becomes part of it by spending time with it: 'I am a manifestation of its total life, as is the starry saxifrage or the white-winged ptarmigan' (Shepherd, 2011: 106). This intimacy is only possible because of the many hours Shepherd has spent walking and observing and training herself to observe:

I have discovered my mountain—its weathers, its airs and lights, its singing burns, its haunted dells, its pinnacles and tarns, its birds and flowers, its snows, its long blue distances. Year by year, I have grown in familiarity with them all. But if the whole truth of them is to be told as I have found it, I too am involved. I have been the instrument of my own discovering; and to govern the stops of the instrument needs learning too. Thus the senses must be trained and disciplined, the eye to look, the ear to listen, the body must be trained to move with the right harmonies (Shepherd, 2011: 90)

Had Shepherd merely spent a day or even a week walking through the Cairngorms, she would not have achieved the degree of intimacy which enabled her to write *The Living Mountain*.

In *Rock Creek*, Saskatchewan writer Thelma Poirier recounts a walk along a creek in the southwest part of the province. That creek originates in the hills near Wood Mountain, Saskatchewan, and empties into the Milk River across the U.S. border in Montana. Not only does Poirier operate a ranch with her husband along that creek, but her father homesteaded there, and it's where she grew up. Nevertheless, Poirier senses she could know the creek better: 'It is as though I have been wearing blinders, only removing them at certain places, long enough for glimpses of the creek, the edges of the water' (Poirier, 1998: 5). Poirier has seen a great blue heron fishing in the creek; from the direction of its flight, she thinks it may roost at the creek's headwaters. 'If I follow the heron,' she writes, 'I too will experience every bend of the creek, every shift of the landscape. If I walk up Rock Creek, I will

see what the heron sees' (Poirier, 1998: 5-6). She decides to walk from the Canada/U.S. border to the creek's source, a four-day journey through territory she knows well. Poirier knows the land intimately, despite her fears that she does not. 'Where I walk today the landscape is the one that I know best,' she writes. 'Over the years I have come to know these hills, *the contours as well as my own body*' (Poirier, 1998: 107; emphasis Poirier's). Not long after, she experiences what can only be described as an ecstasy of belonging to the land through which she is walking:

I pause on the road and know that as surely as the earth draws me, as surely as I can feel the weight of my hands increasing as I walk, pulling me down, I can also feel the earth surging upward inside of me. I can taste the scent of leaf mold and sweetgrass and a multiple of water weeds (Poirier, 1998: 121-22).

The merging of senses here (smell and taste), an experience akin to synaesthesia, and the simultaneous feelings of being pulled down by the earth and the earth surging upward inside her, both suggest the power of this moment and the way that, like Shepherd, she feels herself becoming part of the land, and the land becoming part of her. This moment is the product of Poirier's intimate knowledge of the land she walks; knowledge that is the result of a lifetime spent living along that creek.

Repeated encounters with the land might enable such a transformation, as Shepherd's and Poirier's writings suggest, but Iain Sinclair's *London Orbital: A Walk around the M25* offers another example of turning a very different kind of space into place by walking. Sinclair's psychogeographical book tells the story of a walk around London—his fellow walker, Renchi Bicknell, repeatedly describes their walk as a pilgrimage—within earshot of the M25 motorway's speeding traffic, beginning and ending at Waltham Abbey in London's eastern suburbs. The walk was what Frey would describe as a 'weekend pilgrimage' (Frey, 1998: 20): Bicknell and Sinclair walked the 120 miles in 12 sections, one day each month, for a year. The territories through which Bicknell and Sinclair walk are what Marc Augé describes as 'non-places' (Augé 1995), and yet, I would argue that Sinclair turns them into place. He discloses his method midway through the text:

Memory is a lace doily, more hole than substance. The nature of any walk is perpetual revision, voice over voice. Get it done, certainly, then go home and read the published

authorities; come back later to find whatever has vanished, whatever is in remission, whatever has erupted (Sinclair, 2002: 272).

That process of research is the source of all of the esoteric historical, literary, biographical, and architectural information with which Sinclair layers his account of walking. Not everyone is convinced by Sinclair's method. Merlin Coverley complains:

Sinclair's peculiar form of historical and geographical research displays none of the rigour of psychogeographical theory and is overlaid by a mixture of autobiography and literary eclecticism (Coverley, 2010: 121).

Phil Smith argues that Sinclair's version of psychogeography is both too male-dominated and too literary (Smith, 2015: 17-21). Sinclair's eclecticism and commitment to exploring his walks by writing about them, however, are precisely the qualities that make his account worth reading, and that enable the unpromising spaces of suburban London to become something very close to places. It's no surprise that every section of the walk takes place at least a month after the previous journey: the pause allows not only blistered feet to heal, but it also provides an opportunity to uncover the significance of locations visited on the previous walk, to revisit them if necessary, and to begin writing together memory and fact. Through walking, researching, and writing, Sinclair turns space into place. But Sinclair isn't the only one of these walkers who uses writing to recall the transition of space into place, or indeed to use writing to make that transition happen; after all, we have no direct access to Shepherd's experience of the Cairngorms, or of Poirier's journey up Rock Creek, except through their writing. It is possible, then, that one crucial ingredient in the shift from space to place is writing—a process of recollection, distillation, and communication—which somehow, in retrospect, transforms space into place, or at least completes or solidifies that transformation. In other words, it may be the stories we create that enable the transformation of space into place, rather than simply our experience. As Doreen Massey suggests, places are collections of stories (2005: 130), and one way of telling those stories is by writing them down.

Wood Mountain Walk and Turning Space into Place

These examples suggest that repeated encounters with a space over a period of time are necessary to transform it into place. Is it possible, then, for a walking pilgrimage to produce a similar experience? I

tried to answer this question through a walking experiment: at the end of July and the beginning of August, 2018, I made a nine-day, 250-kilometre solo walking pilgrimage from Regina, Saskatchewan, to the village of Wood Mountain, the birthplace of poet Andrew Suknaski, whose book, *Wood Mountain Poems*, represents one of the few poetic engagements with the province's arid southwest. I considered that walk to be both a performance and a pilgrimage, or a performance using pilgrimage as a structuring principle, and I called it *Wood Mountain Walk*. Because *Wood Mountain Walk* was both idiosyncratic and solo, because it was neither sanctioned by a wider cultural or religious narrative nor an occasion for experiences of *communitas*, some might argue it was not a pilgrimage at all. For me, though, it was a pilgrimage—an improvised one, perhaps, paraphrasing Robert Macfarlane (2012: 235)—not because there is a shrine to Suknaski in Wood Mountain (indeed, the village seems to have forgotten him entirely), but because the walk was, in part, an attempt to apprehend the sacredness of the land.

In *The Road is How*, writer and naturalist Trevor Herriot recalls a panel discussion about the spiritual importance of the Qu'Appelle Valley in Saskatchewan, the subject of Herriot's first book. The late Métis artist Bob Boyer was on the panel; he didn't understand why Herriot felt that the valley was so uniquely important. 'It's no holier than any other place,' Boyer stated. 'It's all sacred ground. All of it' (Herriot, 2014: 16). I believe in the truth of Boyer's words, and when I walk on a remnant of the grassland that once covered the southern third of the province—less than 14 per cent of that grassland still exists in Saskatchewan (Sawatsky, 2018)—I think I apprehend its sacredness. But when I walk for miles past wheat and canola fields—the industrial agriculture that has replaced that grassland ecosystem since settlers began arriving in Saskatchewan in the 1880s, after the Cree and Saukteaux and Nakoda peoples were confined to reserves established by one-sided treaties (on that dismal history of colonization, see Krasowski, 2019 and Daschuk, 2013)—I find it much more difficult. Those vast industrial farms, the foundation of the province's economy, are, as Dana L. Jackson suggests, ecological sacrifice zones, places 'where we mine the rich soil and create toxic wastes to extract basic raw materials' (Jackson, 2002: 14). It is one thing to sense the sacredness of a grassland ecosystem; it is quite another to seek the holy in an industrial site. Nevertheless, the attempt to apprehend the sacredness of cultivated land is one reason I call the walk to Wood Mountain a pilgrimage.

But what about my other ambition, to come to understand the territory through which I walked as place? As I trudged along gravel grid roads and picked my way along the broken pavement on the shoulder of busy Highway 2—there is no tradition of walking paths on private land in Canada, and so in the countryside, unless they have permission from landowners or are walking in a national or provincial park, pedestrians are confined to roads and highways (Anderson, 2018)—was I able to experience the land as place, in the way Tuan describes? I have to admit that I found it very hard. The heat, the traffic, my anxieties about finding potable water in a sparsely populated region, and the sheer distances I was walking every day made experiencing the land as place a challenge. So too did my tendency when walking to drift into interior meditations, to stop attending to my surroundings. I did learn more about the territory I walked through than if I had driven to Wood Mountain, a journey that would have taken three hours rather than nine days, but I'm not convinced that my walk turned those roads and fields from space into place. That doesn't mean it was without value, or that it failed as a pilgrimage. Walking is a start, a way to begin to understand the land, certainly a more intimate way of travelling than motorized options, but in the case of *Wood Mountain Walk*, walking on its own was not enough to transform space into place.

This realisation really shouldn't be that surprising; after all, by writing and researching London's suburbs, and through writing about their repeated encounters with the Cairngorms and Rock Creek, Sinclair, Shepherd, and Poirier are all paying attention to particular territories, and it is through the act of attention over time that they transform space into place. I've written about my pilgrimage to Wood Mountain as well (Wilson, 2019), but perhaps I should have followed Sinclair's example and researched the histories of the villages and towns and rural municipalities through which I walked; uncovering those stories might have made the space through which I walked become something more like place. It may be that, for some walking pilgrimages, the shift from space to place sometimes happens only after the walking is complete, through a process of research and writing. That seems to be the case in Sinclair's practice. What is clear, however, is that attending to space may be able to turn it into place, and to the degree that sustained attention to territory is a characteristic of walking pilgrimages, they may, indeed, be able to produce such a transformation.

Spaceness and Placeness on the Whithorn Way

But are the categories of place and space as clearly defined as Tuan's work suggests? Almost a year after *Wood Mountain Walk*, and a week after I gave the conference paper that is the basis of this essay, I found myself asking that question during another walking pilgrimage. This time, I was walking on the Whithorn Way, through Ayrshire and Dumfries and Galloway in Scotland, in July, 2019. Pilgrimages to Whithorn, a town near the Irish Sea in Dumfries and Galloway, and other nearby sites associated with St. Ninian, Julia Muir Watt tells us, date back at least 1,200 years (Watt, n.d.: 6). St. Ninian, Watt continues, 'is one of a small group of Scottish saints whose cults grew in the later Middle Ages to the point where they achieved national and—in Whithorn's case—international status' (Watt, n.d.: 11). The current route, which runs from Glasgow Cathedral to the ruins of St. Ninian's Priory in Whithorn, is both old and new; while some medieval pilgrims would have walked to Whithorn (and the nearby Isle of Whithorn, the site of a chapel and a nearby cave St. Ninian used as a hermitage), the current route is a reconstruction, developed since 2014 and following, in part, the Ayrshire Coastal Path, as well as farm roads, secondary highways, and tracks. My friends and I began our walk in the coastal town of Ayr, and we walked for five days until we reached Whithorn, staying in pubs and B&Bs. On the last day of our pilgrimage, we walked from St. Ninian's Cave to Isle of Whithorn, along high cliffs above the Irish Sea. This was no 'improvised pilgrimage' (Macfarlane, 2012: 235); it was an actual pilgrimage, following a route with a long history, and we were, at least symbolically, following in the footsteps of many pilgrims before us.

We walked along shingle beaches from Ayr to the coastal village of Girvan, where we turned inland, walking along paved farm tracks and on abandoned gravel roads across moors. As we trudged along, Tuan's definitions of space and place were on my mind. I wondered whether we were experiencing space or place—and whether the sharp distinction Tuan draws between those two kinds of territory holds up to scrutiny. I found myself recalling the *peregrinos* interviewed by Nancy Louise Frey, who expressed interest in the intimacy of the connection to place afforded by walking, and in the excitement of novelty, of seeing new places, which is more aligned with the way Tuan describes place (Frey, 1998: 75). I found myself experiencing both intimacy and novelty; rather than two concrete nouns, place and space, I found

myself wondering whether walking pilgrimage actually generates a phenomenal experience of more abstract qualities, which I found myself calling 'placeness' and 'spaceness.' In other words, the stark binary between place and space that Tuan outlines became something more like interrelated and interpenetrated experiences of knowledge and novelty, of placeness and spaceness. As we walked along, I slowly came to my own deconstruction of Tuan's binaries.

'Placeness,' in this formulation, represents the sense of coming to know the land through which one is walking in a deeper way. I have driven through Ayrshire twice—once by car, in the spring of 2012, and once only days before the walk on the Whithorn Way, on a bus travelling from the ferry terminal in Cairnryan to Glasgow—and there is no question that walking is a more intimate experience of place than is looking out of the window of a vehicle. I experienced the hills kinaesthetically, as Tim Ingold suggests (Ingold, 1993: 166), and discovered how much my fitness had declined over the long winter whenever I stopped to catch my breath. When it rained—and it rains a lot in southwestern Scotland—we got wet: I remember how wet and chilled I was as we walked into Girvan, and how a brief stop at a pub did nothing to warm me up; my teeth were chattering as we trudged through the dark towards our B&B. When the sun shone, though, we felt its warmth. I listened to the birds, marvelled at the unfamiliar roadside flowers, smelled the salt air and the faint scent of the moors in the rain. I may not have developed the kind of deep connection to place that Shepherd or Poirier or even Sinclair experienced, but walking through Ayrshire and Dumfries and Galloway did generate a kind of intimacy with the land we travelled through.

At the same time, however, I felt the excitement of constantly seeing new vistas and different places, an experience I began to think of as 'spaceness.' It wasn't quite the same as Tuan's notion of space as separate from place. Instead, my developing knowledge of the land—an experience of placeness—was combining with the novelty of new sights—an experience of spaceness—in surprising and unpredictable ways. The farther we walked, the more I came to know—in a general way, perhaps—the hills, pastures, forests and moors of that part of Scotland, and every new sight brought both the pleasure of novelty as well as an increasingly more detailed knowledge of that territory. We were experiencing something broader than Tuan's definition of place: rather than being what one can see from one spot, as Tuan suggests, the place we were experiencing was something closer to the totality of

what we saw, heard, smelled, and felt as we walked. Moreover, those sights, sounds, smells, and feelings, as they became memories, began to construct a multisensory archive of our apprehensions of place. Each new space we encountered and experienced, however briefly, added to that apprehension and to that metaphorical archive. Tuan acknowledges this possibility in his example of a neighbourhood (1977, 18). One only gradually comes to know a new neighbourhood, which thereby becomes place rather than space, but that process of transformation depends on repeated encounters with a specific, bounded territory. What I was experiencing on the Whithorn Way was different; it was not dependent on repetition, as with Tuan's example of a neighbourhood. Instead, it was bringing together abstract qualities of place and space—of placeness and spaceness—that Tuan's binaries keep separate. It's possible to see the relationship between space and place, then, as an example of a Deleuzian fold. For Deleuze, folds are curved, fluid, elastic; they divide endlessly, forming

little vortices in a maelstrom, and in these are found even more vortices, even smaller, and even more are spinning in the concave intervals of the whirls that touch one another. ... The folds are thus 'caverns endlessly contained in other caverns,' and 'each body contains a world pierced with irregular passages' (Deleuze, 1993: 5).

All of these folds can be understood as 'a continuous labyrinth' or 'a sheet of paper divided into infinite folds or separated into bending movements' (1993: 6). The relationship between placeness and spaceness, then, could be infinitely complex, far beyond the binary opposition Tuan constructs.

If the phenomenal experience of place and space is more complicated than Tuan's binaries allow, if the qualities of placeness and spaceness are interrelated, then my account of *Wood Mountain Walk* needs to be re-evaluated. If the phenomenal experience of walking may lead to experiences of space and place that are different than the binaries Tuan proposes, then perhaps in fact I was coming to an understanding of the wheat and canola fields of southern Saskatchewan as I walked towards Wood Mountain. Perhaps, if walking alone cannot lead to the intimacy of place which Shepherd, Poirier, and Sinclair describe, it can create a different form of intimacy, one that combines the qualities of placeness and spaceness.

At this point, this conclusion is merely a hypothesis, one that deserves further investigation and research. It's also a hypothesis that will require more walking pilgrimages, during which I will need to pay attention to the more general and abstract qualities of placeness and spaceness, and the connections, overlaps, and enfoldings between those terms, rather than to Tuan's binaries of place and space. The theoretical frame one brings to a walking pilgrimage can shift one's understanding, and indeed one's experience, in profound and surprising ways. By expecting *Wood Mountain Walk* to create a sense of place, I may have been missing the interpenetrations and foldings between space and place, or spaceness and placeness, that might have characterised that walk had I not been interpreting it through Tuan's binaries. It's a lesson about the power of interpretive frameworks to shape experience, but also about the power of experience to change those same interpretive frameworks, as well as the limitations of binary oppositions as guides.

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