SENTIMENT AND SOLIDARITIES: ROOTING ENEWETAK/UJELANG IDENTITIES IN SPACE AND PLACE

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Continuities with the Past: Feelings of Peacefulness/Suitedness

On the ocean side of Jeptan, a chiefly islet on the windward side of Enewetak Atoll, a hidden overhanging cavern in the reef shelf interweaves the lives of living humans and noncorporeal beings who first appeared in the ancient past.[1] Indeed, for elder Enewetak/Ujelang people in the 1970s and 1980s, this site, and numerous additional locales, were incredibly emotion laden, serving to remind people of the way their identities are unified with the landscape of their primordial homeland (*lāmoran* or *kapijukinen*). The cavern on Jeptan's ocean side provides a geographic icon that marks the location where the first living hominid beings emerged from the other world, tiny predecessor peoples known as *menanune*[2] or, for some, *noniep*. While some contend that menanune may still be seen near the cavern upon rare occasions, their most critical significance lies in the fact that they were the first diEnewetak, the first inhabitants of the land (literally: people of the place, Enewetak). Illusive and shy in their interactions with ordinary humans, these small beings remain highly protective of all of the physically larger Enewetak people who subsequently came to inhabit the atoll. The entire array of hominids on Enewetak, from the earliest residents now long deceased up through the youngest infant born on Enewetak soil, form a cohesive community linked through their ties to the atoll, that is, their interrelationships with Enewetak soil, the immediately surrounding seascape, and even

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the atmosphere of the place (*mejatoto*, "the air people breathe and the noncorporeal spirit essences that are suffused in that air"). The Enewetak diaspora that has occurred under colonial rule has complicated this formula in several ways. Those complications, and local people's attempts to work through the contradictions, form the core theme of this paper.

Not far north of the menanune's doorway at Jeptan, along the northeast rim of Enewetak Atoll, lies Runnit, renowned among Enewetak indigenous historians as the primordial capital of one of the three chieftainships that once existed on the atoll. The entirety of this district of the atoll was known as Wurrin, and an ancient clan of Ejoa members originated in this place. Local historians note that ancient Enewetak Ejoa clan members are not related to many current clan members who identify as Ejoa. The modern Ejoa clan was brought to Enewetak, at least in part, by Ratak and southern Rālik (Marshall Islands) women who married Enewetak men in the nineteenth century. Wurrin is filled with sacred and memorable sites, but one, the wide reef flat along the northern section of Runnit and extending northward to Bilai and Alembil and then on to Lojwa, Aoman, and Bijili, is a renowned location for rabbit fish. One fisherman, thinking back on fishing this reef flat, told me in 1977:

> Well, all the time we would go there and fish for *moli* "rabbit fish," for those fish are perhaps the most delicious of the fish that can be caught on the reef/reef flat. But, one thing was amazing about there on Runnit, toward the north, is that you could return day after day and fish it, fish it, fish it, but the rabbit fish would continue to come on board [load themselves onto the reef shelf], never could they be exhausted. The ancient ones say that this thing is true, from ancient times up until today—well, we do not know about today, but up until the days that we fished there when all of the Enewetak people were living on Aoman and Bijili after the battle. They say they [the fish] would just keep coming on board because the spirits of that place. You would fish and exhaust the supply and bring home maybe a thousand, but the spirits would actively keep filling up [this location, toward the speaker] with fish. Solely rabbit fish. That was really their place to be.

This fisherman remembers fishing there just after the Battle of Enewetak (February 1944), when people were placed on a "Native Island" reserve, allowing the US military to use the main islets of Enewetak during the final 1½ years of World War II. This arrangement continued during the early nuclear-testing era, following the war. But the same inexhaustible supplies of moli, this elder and others stated, had been present since ancient times.

Troubled Waters: The Historical Breach: Initial Feelings of Uncertainty

The fisherman told me this story in 1977, while the community was living on Ujelang and his hesitancy—"well, we do not know about today"—derives from the fact that those Enewetak people who had survived the war were hastily relocated to a section of Enewetak north of Runit known as Bōtoen. They resided there, on Bijili and Aoman, during the final months of World War II and afterward. By late 1947, however, the community was placed in exile on Ujelang Atoll, 130 miles to the southwest, to allow the United States to pursue nuclear testing on Enewetak. They were not repatriated until 1980, after a partial cleanup of radioactive soils and waste allowed them to inhabit 5 of the original 48 Enewetak islets. The fisherman's hesitancy about the reef flat north of Runnit, however, was particularly poignant since his words unknowingly pointed toward a transnational representational value of recent vintage. One of two bomb craters on the northernmost fringe of Runnit and the adjacent reef flat was selected by the United States to house the most radioactive materials that had been collected during the attempted 1977–1980 cleanup of the atoll. Enclosing the slurry of radioactive wastes was a dome of concrete at least eighteen inches thick, forming a vault around the collected refuse. That encasement, the now-famous Runnit dome, hardly solved the problem of decomposing radionuclides. Within a decade, the US Department of Energy found that the dome leaked residues into the environment. By agreement with the United States, Enewetak people were forced to give up any dreams they might have of returning to Runnit. Prior to their 1980 return to Enewetak, the islet was declared permanently off limits for human habitation, with only the briefest of visits allowed. Therefore, even today, nearly forty years after repatriation, Enewetak people still do not know the fate of the inexhaustible moli on the reef flat at the northern end of Runnit. Indeed, that disrupted reef flat now houses a huge radioactive swimming hole.[3] No longer suited to moli, some fishermen contend that the large family of rabbit fish have now "run to the north," but even those caught closer to Lojwa remain inextricably connected to the New (radioactive) Enewetak. Some people eat the moli while others refuse. Everyone agrees that today's Enewetak rabbit fish, particularly those taken from the reef north of Runnit, are *biñi*, lacking in greasiness and flavor, a marker that most residents attribute to the fish's radioactive diet.

In the minds of some, the inexhaustible supply of moli continues to remind them of a deep history of place attached to the reef flat at the northern end of Runnit, but for all Enewetak/Ujelang people, that deep history has been overlaid by another history of place, far less welcome or desirable. Runnit dome, filling Cactus Crater as well as nearby Lacrosse Crater (the swimming hole), now occupies that space, not only placing an interminable tabu on this part of the

Enewetak homeland but adding layers of ambivalence onto the deep history of inexhaustible moli that preceded it.

> Well, we [those in our household] eat moli from that place, the space between Bilai and Runnit, but perhaps they are poisonous [i.e., radioactive]. We [exclusive] do not know. Perhaps only the Americans know. Perhaps we will eat them and [hesitates, hand flopping backward] *jetoklok* ["permanently lie down backwards, i.e., die"]. We [exclusive] do not know, but each day we must eat.

These feelings of ambivalence are quite typical of life on the New Enewetak, disrupting the earlier feelings of serenity and "fittedness" that were typical of the atmosphere that surrounded Enewetak prior to the war (see Donaldson 2020, on ambivalent feelings in the Marquesas).

Affect and Emotion

Marshall Islanders incorporate few if any of the European and American distinctions between nature and culture or biology versus environmental influence that underpin Western philosophical and psychological understandings of the ways humans come to understand the world. Indeed, the distinction between thinking and feeling so apparent to Americans and Europeans is, for Marshall Islanders, similarly amorphous as local people presume these states of being are necessarily interwoven.[4] Similar cosmologies are not uncommon in Pacific cultures. Lutz (1988, chap. IV) explores somewhat analogous thinking/feeling sentiments on Ifaluk (Yap State, Federated States of Micronesia), and Wikan (1991) analyzes states of thinking/feeling in Bali. By contrast, contemporary European/American psychologists remain fixated on discovering natural drives or affective states oozing through the underbelly of culture practices and emotions. The separation of affect from emotion represents a recent permutation of the natural underpinnings of cultural sensibilities in psychological imaginings about feeling states. Such underpinnings feel natural, of course, in the layered cultural sensibilities of many social analysts trained in the Western tradition. Not surprisingly, for Enewetak/Ujelang people, residents of the most geographically isolated atolls in the Marshall Islands, emotion-laden thinking/feeling practices embedded in people's attachments to place represent a locally contoured variant of Western Pacific sensibilities.

Indeed, throughout the Marshall Islands, anchoring the core of a person's sense of identity in one's atoll of birth or of long-term residence is the taken-for-granted standard. The specific land parcel where one was born, one's lāmoran, situates personal identity at more narrowly focused levels. These concepts are

explored in greater depth below. In both cases, however, people's attachments to place are not meaningfully differentiable into any affective dimension separate from a designated emotional state.[5] With such tightly interwoven senses of person and place, rifts in person/place alignments provide a context where emotional disruptions are frequently on display. *Būromōj*, "deeply seated sorrow," always carries a high valence of affect, and sorrows about loss of land or separation from one's homeland are highly salient, if more subtle and subdued, than the emotive states evoked in face-to-face confrontations. Such human/land connections are certainly no less deeply felt. Indeed, the lexical attachment of būromōj to the emotional seat of Marshallese feeling, *būro-*, "throat," makes this apparent. And the inability to access parts of the Enewetak land, sea, and skyscape that were once taken for granted constantly evokes and is greeted with proclamations of būromōj, a deeply felt sense of attachment and longing for that which is no longer a manifest part of Enewetak/Ujelang people's world experience. Nonetheless, attachments to Ujelang lands also have a high affective valence, if for slightly different reasons.

Even though separate domains of biology versus culturally elaborated emotion are not used by Marshall Islanders to lend meaning to everyday experiences, perhaps a glimmer of the European or American distinction can be found in the use of *ilibuk,* "startled/surprised," as a story-telling strategy. In telling ilibuk stories, a storyteller frequently says . . . *inem ilok* (sharp inhaled breath) *ilibuk*, literally "and then, things went on [sharp breath], startle/surprise [overcame me/us]," before proceeding with the subsequent occurrences. While these stories, like many Marshallese tales, purposefully attempt to invoke intrigue and surprise, the sharp inhaled breath, the tiny space between things proceeding as expected and the expression of surprise—an as-yet-to-be-cognized feeling of "something, but not yet clear exactly what"—may indicate that Marshall Islander's share with Americans and Europeans some appreciation for an affective state that precedes cultural consciousness—a form of expression that points to an otherwise unelaborated domain in Marshallese categorizations of the world. Affect theorists, by contrast, have a fully developed language and concomitant theory to help demonstrate the existence and importance of such a domain in their respective culturally situated domains.

Emerging Ujelang Sensibilities: New Histories and Identities Woven into the Land: Neo-Temporal Feelings of Groundedness

From a synchronic perspective, the interwoven character of persons and places in the Marshall Islands appear to be taken for granted and in natural alignment. A historical view, however, reveals the need for a more complex analysis, one that accounts for the way in which cultural potentialities are developed and

deployed to deal with the altered circumstances introduced by colonialism and perpetuated in new forms in a postcolonial, globalized world.

On Obet's land parcel in Jitōken, the eastern half of Ujelang's main island, are a group of breadfruit trees that mark the site of an ancient battle between two Ujelang chiefly factions. Known as Bōkaen, but often referred to in the 1970s as "that location, the possession-class place of Obet," or "of Obet and Ruth [his wife]," or perhaps "there [in that location] with Obet and spouse," the site was remembered by 1970s elders in ways that, most frequently, highlighted both Obet and Ruth as well as the ancient battle. The land had been allocated to Tebij, Obet's father, in 1949 or 1950, not long after Enewetak people were moved to Ujelang. Tebij had watched over the land for more than a decade, but when he died during a famine in the 1960s, Obet and Ruth became the respected elders (*alab*) who held responsibility for this land parcel. Narratives of the famous battle that took place here were largely shared among elders in the 1970s since all had heard the stories from Ernej and Jonnie in the years after the Enewetak community was placed in exile on Ujelang in 1947. These two were "authentic Ujelang people," born on Ujelang, who had married into the Enewetak community in the German colonial era prior to World War I. It was during German times (1885–1915) that the small group of Ujelang residents who had survived a massive typhoon in the 1860s fled their homeland to seek a more just way of life elsewhere. Abandoning their true homeland (lāmoran) was no easy decision, as all Marshall Islanders hold extraordinarily close ties to the lands on which they are born, ties that are strengthened by actively clearing and working those lands during their lives, eating foods that contain the substance of the same lands, and enhancing the livable character of those lands for the coming generations of corporeal humans who will follow them (Carucci 2003). Equally, being "planted" or buried on a particular land parcel not only helps to cement the links between person and place, it is that place where one's metapersonal self (Graeber and Sahlins 2017) is headquartered (Carucci 2016). A person's noncorporeal self is most frequently encountered near their grave, even though those spirits wander or fly about with relative freedom.

The alienation of nineteenth century Ujelang people from their land occurred in the aftermath of the typhoon. However, while only a handful of Ujelang residents survived the typhoon, they did not leave their homeland as a result of physical destruction. Rather, late in the nineteenth century, German entrepreneurs laid claim to Ujelang lands. They professed to have "purchased" the atoll from the chief in exchange for some trinkets and alcohol (see Tobin 2002, 336 for one version of this story). While this claim was meaningless to local people, inasmuch as the chief did not, in any sense, own or control those lands, once the atoll was transformed into a coconut plantation and local people (along with conscript laborers from Enewetak) were forced to work the land

for the benefit of the copra plantation overseers, local people lost any hope that they would ever again be able to control their own lands and their own manner of life upon the atoll. With this sense of hopelessness, Ujelang people departed their atoll, some moving to Pingelap islet on Jaluij, a space provided for them by Jaluij high chiefs, while others moved to Pohnpei and even on to Fiji, and a final group migrated to Enewetak, marrying into the community with whom they had worked Ujelang lands for the benefit of the German-run Jaluit Gesellschaft Corporation.

Even though ties to land were shattered when Ujelang people left their atoll behind, the sense of shared community that was developed through commonly working land and sharing the products of that land, the sense of *jukjuk im bed*, "pursuing a way of life and persisting (remaining in a place)," could be re-established in other locales in a way that had been severed while working for German copra barons on Ujelang. A similar sense of loss and despair was felt by Enewetak people when they were forced to move to Ujelang in 1947. In that case, however, American military officials had promised a speedy return to Enewetak. This did not occur. Rather, as the years living in exile on Ujelang passed, similar feelings of nostalgia and hopelessness arose, particularly after the 1952 Mike Test when people presumed that their atoll had been vaporized (Carucci 2000). While people were initially fearful of the spirit beings that lived on Ujelang following their arrival in 1947, as they continued to live and work on Ujelang they learned that the noncorporeal spirit beings that had long lived on the atoll welcomed them. Through their longstanding labor and residence, the atoll became home. Soon people began to refer to themselves as the people of Ujelang (*diUjelang*). Not only was this true for the large group who shared ties of substance to Ujelang ancestors but also for all of those who worked the land, ate the foods of the atoll, were buried in Ujelang soils, and thereby legitimately fashioned themselves into Ujelang people.[6] The transformation of identity did not eradicate the sense of yearning to return to Enewetak, particularly for elders who had grown up on Enewetak and, in so doing, contoured their inner beings, both substantially and conceptually, into Enewetak people. Nevertheless, through similar acts of working and sharing everyday activities on Ujelang, the sense of Ujelang identity was appropriately embedded in each Ujelang resident's sentimental sensibilities. Now, many decades later, those Enewetak/Ujelang people born and raised on Ujelang between 1947 and 1980 think of the atoll as their true home, a place where they lived their lives entirely in the Marshallese style without many of the compromises that are encountered today when Marshall Islanders in all their residence locales are much more dependent on global markets.

Shared histories, however, are differentially constituted through time. Although all Ujelang seniors in the 1970s held similar understandings of the

ancient Bōkaen battles, their offspring, in spite of being raised on Ujelang, do not fully share those stories. In part, this is because the histories that people had heard from Ernej, Jonni, and other Ujelang elders in the years after the community had been moved to Ujelang were not transmitted equally to all the young. Taking the US military at their word, the exiles thought they would be on Ujelang for only a short time. Ultimately, of course, they would remain on the atoll for over thirty years during which time two generations of Ujelang children would be birthed. But none of this knowledge was evident in advance. In the interim, an ambivalence of identity left people not knowing exactly who they were. Under such conditions, transmitting the history of Ujelang to youth was not considered essential since the presupposition was that people would soon return to Enewetak. Little could people foresee in 1950 that they would live on Ujelang for generations. During those generations, they became diUjelang. On Enewetak, the locations where people lived and worked land commonly was specified by a person's ability to recite stories about various ties to particular segments of land through their mothers or fathers.[7] In contrast, on Ujelang, the land was divided equally, but arbitrarily, among all living residents in 1949–50. Therefore, where one lived and worked was not interdependent on relationships with ancient Ujelang residents whose noncorporeal beings still inhabited Ujelang. These relationships only developed as people lived on and worked the land for years, embedding their labor in the soil of Ujelang, suffusing their breath in the atmosphere. These relationships emerged as the people ingested Ujelang foods and as their physical remains were planted in the ground. Certainly, the same activities had been used on Enewetak. But knowledge of the multiple layers of stories that accompanied specific locations on Enewetak certified a group's claim to certain lands. Not surprisingly, Paul, one of Obet's and Ruth's offspring, said of the battle location on Ujelang in 1977:

> P: Well, the old ones say that this place right here where we are standing, this locale is where the battle took place between the two chiefs of Ujelang in the days long ago. That one chief sailed toward the windward from Enelap and those locales and landed there to the windward [of us] where it is sandy [pointing] and easy to beach canoes, and they came ashore and came toward the land in a downwind direction; and they precisely encountered the soldiers from the other group right over there, under the breadfruit trees. And they battled and battled until their abilities were exhausted. Well, that was in ancient times.
>
> LM: And, is that why Ruth [an Ujelang descendant] and your family stay on this land today?

> P: No. It has no significance [in terms of this place being Ruth's family's land]. When they divided the land after the time people washed ashore from Enewetak [i.e., when they were first relocated on Ujelang], in the times of bomb testing, the people of Jitaken divided the land, and these lines [of coconuts] were given to Tebij and Eliji. Well, Ruth and Obet were staying with them when Roej [Paul's oldest sister] was born, and so that is why all of us [exclusive] have our lines [of coconuts] here. We grew up here. We [excl.] cleared this land of all the brush and burned all of the rocks.[8] And then we [excl.] planted these trees, coconuts, and pandanus, and other things and lived off of those things from those days until today. Because of these things, this place, here by us [incl.], belongs to us [excl.].

Although the stories of the ancient chiefly battle on Ujelang were largely shared by members of Ruth's and Obet's generation and were derived from the versions told by Ernej, Jonnie, and a limited few others, such is not true of Paul's generation. Rather, even fundamental contours of the Ujelang stories among the Enewetak/Ujelang youth who were born on Ujelang are contested. This is evident in the accounts of two cross-cousins who spent their entire youth on Ujelang. Both were born to parents with ties of substance that reinforce the practical activities linking them with lands on Ujelang. I have written about the variable features in these narratives previously (Carucci 2006). The basic outlines of Ernej's and Janni's version of the story was recorded by Jack Tobin in 1955, and an adumbrated version is published in *Stories from the Marshall Islands* (Tobin 2002: 336–7). Tobin's inscribed story combines the battle story with another story detailing how nineteenth century Ujelang residents ruled by Marko, Bua's son (see below), lost their atoll to German entrepreneurs. Only the first portion of Tobin's story, attributed to Ernej, Livai, and Jojeb, follows (Tobin 2002: 336):

> Long ago, there were two groups on Wūjlañ, each of which was headed by a chief: Jobabu, who ruled the western part of the atoll [Rālik], and Raan, who ruled the eastern part [Rear].
>
> The two groups fought for supremacy and Raan won, but died in battle. Jobabu and his group, angered because of their defeat, defiled the piece of ground on the main island of Wūjlañ, wherein dwelt the powerful spirit [*ekjab*] Maloen, by digging into it.
>
> Maloen, angered by this desecration, caused a great typhoon to come up immediately. This destroyed almost all of the inhabitants, and

> brought up rocks and pieces of coral that cover most of the main islet today. There had been none of these on the surface of the island previously.
>
> A huge wave, higher than a tall coconut tree, covered all of the islands in the atoll and carried away a great deal of land. Out of the large population, only those few people who had climbed to the tops of the trees were saved. None of Chief Raan's people were spared.
>
> This typhoon occurred before the foreigners appeared on Wūjlañ.
>
> Chief Jobabu reigned over the few survivors of the typhoon and was succeeded by his son Bua. Bua was the chief of Wūjlañ when the Germans first appeared, and died shortly thereafter.

I heard variants of this story, though more elaborated, from Jojeb and other Ujelang elders in 1976–78. Not surprisingly, the stories showed little evidence of internal variation inasmuch as the population of the atoll was relatively small, varying from two hundred to three hundred people. The number of mature elders was far smaller.

The narratives related to me by two Ujelang/Enewetak cross-cousins, grandsons of Ernej and Jonni, nearly thirty years later are, by contrast, highly contested in their contours. These accounts were recorded on the Big Island in 2003, though both men reiterated core components of their stories in 2006 when, once again, I met with each of them in Hawai'i. In their accounts, the chief who won the battle, Raan, was not mentioned, with one of the two claiming that Jobabu had won (perhaps because he ended up as the reigning chief). The connection with the 1860s typhoon, retribution for having defiled the land, was also far less clear in the accounts of Ernej's grandsons, and the defilement, resulting from driving a spear/digging stick into the soil,[9] was no longer highlighted in either account. Instead, the focus was on the war itself and its outcomes for future generations of Ujelang descendants. Like Paul, both cross-cousins agreed on the place where the decisive battle took place, Bōkaen, but beyond that, the details of the account were not only adumbrated but highly inventive. Certainly, the younger men's stories, fashioned nearly three generations after Tobin first inscribed the account quoted above, continue to be informed by culturally and historically viable ways of sense-making, but the shift in historical context substantially reframed the core informative content of their accounts (see Carucci 2006b, for further details of these contested accounts).[10]

So, what is to account for these emergent muddles? Certainly, both of these young men, who were raised on Ujelang, feel deep sentimental attachments to

the atoll of their birth. Consistently, these two, like most Ujelang/Enewetak people who lived for any significant part of their lives on Ujelang, say similar things about everyday life on the atoll. In the words of one of them, "So there, sir, [great is our] love/caring [for] the way of life on Ujelang. The life that we [inclusive] had on the atoll was extraordinarily good. Perpetually [making a] living in the way that we did on that atoll of ours was outstanding. It is not like [post–nuclear testing] Enewetak. The way of life on the atoll [Ujelang], it was really living in the Marshallese manner."[11] Other deeply sentimental accounts are equally shared in minute detail:

> Remember, sir, the men's picnic there on Ujelang, toward the leeward end, there among the *kañal* [an important bush tree]? Oh, wasn't it wonderful to sit under those trees, continuously cooled slightly by the breeze, and eat fish and large birds and the lobster from Bokenenelapemen [a small leeward bird and fishing islet]. So delicious were those things. Very greasy were those fish on Ujelang, and the drinking coconuts that we drank from Niete [the short coconuts]. There you go, sir, they were so very sweet. And the breadfruit [laughs]; we stole those breadfruit, the sweetest and most delicious, from that breadfruit belonging to Luta. Well, sir, all of us [inclusive] men just sat and told stories for a while [*kamao bajjik*] and ate and made one another happy.

All of these sentiment-saturated stories serve as grounded reminiscences of a former way of life now recalled with gilded edges, a golden-age past situated in specific locales on Ujelang. Those locales lend special significance and a situated character to the stories for those who shared in the "atmosphere of that particular place" (Carucci, under review), evoking smells, the feel of the moist salt-saturated breeze, and the taste of foods from specific trees or special fishing locales. In this respect, these stories are no different from those told by elders born on Enewetak, who while living on Ujelang or following their long-awaited return to the "New Enewetak" after nuclear testing, recall events from earlier times in their lives in nostalgic, highly sentimental terms.

Potentialities of Sentiment and Rootedness

Looking much more closely however, slight but significant differences are apparent. For the most knowledgeable local Enewetak historians, those born and raised for some time on Enewetak prior to the war, occasional references weave the occurrences of their own past with ancient events and locales with established significance. Welli and Aluwo, Ioanej and Luta, Metalina, Tamar and

Bila, for example, would slip small references into their stories of Enewetak that grounded the stories in specific locales of significance in the ancient past. As Basso notes of the Western Apache (1996, chap. 3), references of this sort evoke among the members of a tightly knit community historical accounts and shared stories of place. For example, in speaking of arrowroot on Meden, Aluwo noted:

> . . . and this low-lying area of the islet, there from the middle of the land that once belonged to Lekkeya, to the lands downwind belonging to Alimera, that was all arrowroot. Now, almost all of us [inclusive] would be eating arrowroot, everyone born to [descended from] Lekkeya, and nearly everyone born to Lekwomea [would also eat]; but now, sadness. [All is] gone. On account of the bomb, none of us have that particular edible [arrowroot] [available] as a food. This thing that has happened brings true sadness.

These extra layers of markedness, the added ways of demonstrating connections with the distant or ancient history of place, were not part of stories on Ujelang, even the stories of someone like Jojeb, with direct ties of substance to Ujelang lands. This, of course, was because a new history of occupancy and belonging had been constructed on Ujelang, a history of place that incorporated a breach between the past and the current day. The old history ended when local people escaped from indenture on their atoll. The newly constructed history, quite logically, began when Enewetak and Ujelang people were placed in exile on the atoll in 1947. They divided Ujelang lands in two egalitarian, if different, ways among the two chiefly Enewetak groups (diEnjebi and diEnewetak) to perpetuate an idealistic fantasy: that both groups were politically equal and that each member should have equal shares of Ujelang land. A long history of emergent inequalities had obliterated this ideal on pre–World War II Enewetak.

The logic of that division, focused on equality, instantiated a new primordial creational moment, one in which the solidarity of the community would allow people to deal communally with the substantial struggles for existence they would face on Ujelang in the 1950s. Even though the initial equality in land distribution soon became muted as the population expanded at different rates during the generations on Ujelang (Goodenough 1955), the egalitarian intent remained evident in the late 1970s and served as a force that continued to bind the community together. The more primordially-seated links to lands on Enewetak operated quite differently. With long-standing histories behind the inheritance of rights to work certain lands, the evocative potential of land-related discussions might take on either positive or negative valences. These differences in historical options available to Enewetak residents were only exacerbated by the introduction of capitalist components into the equation by the United States.

Those new capitalist valuations resulted from two distinct situations. First, the United States, in large part, attempted to compensate the community for damages to Enewetak lands with US dollars.[12] Ultimately, as on Ujelang, a decision was made within the Enewetak/Ujelang community to divide compensation monies on an "egalitarian" head-by-head basis. Nevertheless, the fact that such monies were intended to compensate for damage to lands, with people having distinct and varied access to different lands, created a source of internal discord within the community, one that has repeatedly surfaced in public discussions in the recent past. Second, buildings and other valuable materials left after the cleanup of five southern islets on Enewetak were differentially distributed on the landscape. These valuables presented another source of discord within the community.

As I have noted elsewhere (2016), after the major islets on Enewetak were massively reshaped by Americans during the war and throughout the nuclear testing era that followed, it proved quite impossible to locate land-parcel boundaries when elders traveled to the atoll to "divide the land" in 1978, prior to repatriation in 1980. Recontouring lands on Enewetak islet to accommodate a military-length runway required the Americans to mine the reef and dredge the lagoon to find ample material to level the land. By 1978, many geophysical landmarks that might have helped identify land parcels were no longer in existence, leaving community elders largely at a loss to precisely define the proper location of land parcels. Once land parcels were platted, homes built, and coconut saplings planted, people were repatriated onto this New Enewetak in 1980. Nevertheless, some aging elders, including Luta, refused to reside on their "own" land as they neared death since they knew that the land parcel boundaries, as well as the homes, were misplaced. And given that the land parcels were not properly located, the connection of living people with the storied past was equally problematic. To maintain proper relationship with noncorporeal ancestors, one had to be planted (buried) in the locale where, since time immemorial, one's ancestors had worked the land, the same spots where the spirit-essence of those ancestors continued to reside. Many of the anxieties and animosities that arose in the community after their 1980 repatriation resulted from the fact that such suitable and proper alignments no longer existed. Such suitedness, if present, would lead to a mental/emotional sense of interrelational peacefulness. Therefore, even though attachments to land on the New Enewetak are certainly saturated with affect, as has long been true, New Enewetak relationships frequently result in discord and overt disagreement within the community rather than serving as sources of alignment and "suitedness" (*jetjet*) or peacefulness (*ainemon*) (for similar sensibilities elsewhere in the Pacific, see Halvaksz 2008; Hermann, Kempf, and van Meijl 2014; Teaiwa 2015).

Majuro Machinations: Situating Sentimentality in the Capitalist Mode

By 1953, a mere five years after the time Enewetak people were placed on Ujelang, local Ujelang residents became unsettled on their new home. Initially, they had been told that their move was temporary, and it would be only a short time before they could return to Enewetak. As noted, however, temporary soon moved toward permanence. The community gradually altered their communal sensibilities and accepted their fate, actively transforming themselves into diUjelang (the people of [the place] Ujelang). Yet, by 1949 or 1950, the community was already beginning to experience periods of famine due to the much smaller size of Ujelang Atoll and the inferior soil quality following the 1865 typhoon. Blocks of coral, some two or three feet in diameter, covered the main islet of Ujelang as well as other windward islets on the atoll. During this same period, a few families moved to Majuro, the government center of the Marshall Islands.

One high chief provided the Ujelang community with a small parcel of land on a small Majuro islet between Delap and Uliga, and it was in that location, less than half a hectare, that Ujelang Town was constructed, a place that still exists. At its maximum capacity, during the 1990s and early years of the new century, five large dwellings and a couple of smaller sleeping huts had been built on this small acreage. Much earlier, however, in the 1960s, Ujelang Town became an urban village of refuge for Ujelang people traveling to the government center for supplies and to experience the other attractions of urban life. This, however, was a life rather radically transformed. It was the community's first real encounter with capitalist existence in the urban mode.[13] Ujelang Town as a whole lacked the resources of a typical residential land parcel that stretched from lagoon to ocean. The Ujelang families who were full-time residents of Majuro in the 1950s and 1960s had no agricultural lands and had to ask permission to fish in any locales not directly on the lagoon side of Ujelang Town. While Ujelang town provided a residential site on the lagoon side of the main road, most of the land parcel—the oceanside section that typically contains subsistence trees, support buildings, and an outhouse—belonged to other landowners. To compensate for the lack of resources, each Ujelang Town family head was employed during that era, all of them in government-related occupations.

What about sentimental interrelationships in relation to this small parcel of gift land? Ujelang Town itself certainly became a location deeply saturated with sentimental attachments. This was true for the full-time residents who cleared the land, planted a few food trees, covered the ground in *lā*, "white coral pebbles," built residences, and continually worked to clean and work the land. These activities directly interwove people's identities with the land. However, beyond the bounds of Ujelang Town proper, people had no additional access to land. They had to ask local Majuro people for permission to gather coconuts,

pandanus, or breadfruit.[14] Much as the "putting out" system in England was replaced with concentrated manufacturing and urban relocation, Ujelang people living in Majuro became largely dependent on market forces: labor for hire, dependence on imported commodities, rents paid for a place to live, and a loss of access to subsistence lands. Nevertheless, not only did Ujelang people living on Majuro develop sentimental attachments to Ujelang Town, their relatives visiting from Ujelang (some of them for extended periods of time) began to see Ujelang Town as their point of access to all of the attractions of urban life on Majuro.[15]

Even though linkages to the landscape for Ujelang/Enewetak residents of Majuro are highly adumbrated, such ties do exist. Certainly, people's ties to land were much more diverse on Ujelang or Enewetak. Nevertheless, for Ujelang men and women who spent their childhood years on Majuro, the small beach area on the lagoon side of Yojitaro's and Nebtali's houses was their everyday playground. Yet, change has been the norm, even for such fondly recalled locales. For example, Ati, who was raised in Ujelang Town as a boy, spoke of the beach as we sat in Nebtali's cookhouse in 2009:

> Well, that place [there by you] is where we played when we were children, but, as you may recall, then it was low. There was sand that came up all the way to about here [now the landside wall of the cookhouse]. We would make canoes, little canoes, and sail them, race them, and we would fish for small grouper, use a line and cast it out like this [swinging the would-be line around his head and tossing toward the lagoon], *eobellok*, and sometimes we caught fish and brought them to the cookhouse and cooked them and ate them. Or we would just swim around for a while along the lagoon shore from up there toward the north, near that tree that has fallen into the lagoon, to the south, down toward the small wharf. But now, of course, it is different. The lagoon is very dirty because people dispose of garbage and diapers and other sorts of things in the lagoon, and this thing appears because they are lazy and do not want to take them to the dump. But also, this wall [has been built on the lagoon, about 6 feet high]. The cookhouse would never be here if it were not for the wall—because of the high tide. The thing they call global warming. At first, they built the wall, Yojitaro and Ioanej [Nebtali's father], about this high [the length of Ati's arm], but then, after a while, the high tides increased so they made it higher, those offspring of Yojitaro and Nebtali's children, so it was about so high [indicates shoulder height on his body]. But now, it is another [indicates an elbow's length] higher, because the high tides were greater, and they kept marching forward and were inundating the cookhouse.

> Well, the children still play in the lagoon just over there, but it is not the small children because the water is too deep. If they were to bathe at the lagoon shore, they would drown. But the older children, those about this size [points to a 3- or 4-year-old boy], they still bathe in the lagoon in that spot, and those who are older still fish, eobellok, but it is rare when they [bring home] a catch.

Other than small locales within the boundaries of Ujelang Town such as this, few markers in the landscape exist, sites that might share the deeply sentiment-saturated sensibilities of locales on Ujelang or Enewetak. Nevertheless, *muen* Momotaro, an established mom-and-pop convenience store across the street from Ujelang Town, or muen Mahteen, next to Ujelang Town (though now under new ownership), evoke emotion-laden reminiscences (many fond, but some not so cherished) among those who were raised in Ujelang Town and others who have lived there for a substantial length of time. These recollections are part of the storied history of this place, perhaps particularly appropriate in their representation not only of fond recollections but of the way in which those recollections are woven into a neocapitalist landscape with its own unique contours.

Situating Big Island Feelings of Sentimentality in a Community-Scape of Commodified Land

As I have discussed in detail elsewhere, feelings of disaffection on the New Enewetak led three young Enewetak/Ujelang families to seek their fortunes on the Big Island of Hawaiʻi (Carucci 2012). Since that time (January 1991), the Big Island Enewetak/Ujelang community has grown to become the largest of the three major communities of Enewetak/Ujelang people with more than 800 "true Enewetak/Ujelang people" (not including spouses) residing in that locale and, as of 2015, about 675 residents in each of the Enewetak/Ujelang communities on Enewetak and on Majuro. The attractions of the Big Island are similar to those of Majuro: better schooling, better health care, and access to far more jobs and the goods that can be purchased with those earnings. In the case of the Big Island, however, the availability of each is far superior, in the eyes of Big Island Marshallese, to what is available on Majuro.

The first three families to move to the Big Island began their sojourn in Kona, working at restaurants or at the airport. Soon, they supplemented their incomes with work on coffee and macadamia nut farms. Within three years, however, those early residents learned that they could actually own their own land if they moved from Kona, with its tourist market–inflated economy, to Ocean View, near South Point, on the recently cooled fields of lava from

Mauna Loa. There they could purchase a one-acre plot of land for $5,000–$6,000. Even today, Ocean View parcels are available for under $20,000. Of course, the soil was not prime, but this was seen by Enewetak/Ujelang people simply as a continuation of the challenges faced on Ujelang where they had "burned rocks" to reduce the coral rubble to smaller sized rocks. The primary thing was, this was "really your own [possession-class] land." Well, at least, sort of yours.

With experience, Marshall Islanders living in Ocean View have come to feel great ambivalence toward the land that they own. Inasmuch as Marshall Islanders live and work legally in the United States under the I-95 program negotiated under the Compact of Free Association, they should feel a sense of comfort and suitedness in their small Marshallese community. They are not at all certain, however, of their position, particularly in a legal sense, and they worry that they could be kicked off of their land without cause. Having come from a place where land is held in common with a large group of predecessors, most of them noncorporeal beings, the idea of land as an alienable product does not entirely make sense to Big Island Marshallese landowners. How could land simply be a commodity to be bought and sold at the whim of a currently living resident. What about all of the activities that interweave a person with a place by clearing a land parcel, establishing a pebbled home site, working the land, and ingesting products of that land? How did any of this align with the purchase and ownership of land? Paying to use land makes some sense to Marshall Islanders, but the land could never be separated from the clan or bilateral extended family that had worked the land through centuries to bring it into being. Under the (misguided) nineteenth-century German interpretation of chiefly rights in the Marshall Islands (Carucci 1997), many Marshallese came to feel that high chiefs in places like Majuro might kick someone off of their land on a whim since the chiefs were thought to be the true owners of the land. Ujelang/Enewetak people have never shared this idea of chiefly ownership and power. Nonetheless, some Big Island Ujelang/Enewetak residents surmised that the United States might be like high chiefs in the Marshall Islands. Perhaps the United States government really owned the land since, most likely, they had brought it into being. Like high chiefs in the Marshall Islands, the United States might be able to kick them off of "their" land on the Big Island on a whim.

After buying land on the Big Island, people learned that they had to pay a yearly tax on the land they purchased. This only confirmed for Enewetak/Ujelang people that it was the government that really owned the land. If not, why would they have to pay an ongoing fee for land that they cleared and planted? Bilimon, who co-owns two Ocean View land parcels with his sister and her husband, is one of many who are perplexed by land taxes. In 2005, he said:

> B: Is it true that the government could take our land if we do not pay the taxes?
>
> LM: Yes, it is possible. If you did not pay for a number of years, they might make you sell and take the taxes from the money [you were paid] from the land.
>
> B: But, why is it they cannot see that we made this place? We cleared and cleaned the land, and broke up the lava and made paving pebbles, and built the house. And then we planted those trees that are starting to produce fruit. And don't you see that the girls are picking grass from the land? So, I do not understand. Why is it the government has the ability/power to take this land belonging to the two of us? Maybe it is really theirs, and we are just [paying] rent. Why do they have a share when they have done nothing to make the land?

Clearly, these feelings of ambivalence, the idea that people might be only leasing government-owned land, combined with stories people have heard about folks being evicted from their homes increases people's fear that they may be forced from their homes and sent back to the Marshall Islands.

Adding to people's fear is the fact that major alterations of the landscape, especially building structures on Big Island lands, require permitting. By contrast, all such improvement activities on Enewetak and Ujelang are part of what it means to bring a true living space (lāmoran)[16] into being. With a single exception, all Marshall Islanders' dwellings in Ocean View are structures that lack proper permitting. Marshallese have had numerous encounters with inspectors and county government authorities who repeatedly inform them that their dwellings are not up to code. Many such impromptu inspections have been requested by *haole*, "white, American/European, foreign," neighbors who moved to Ocean View to build their tropical dream homes. While these inspections add to the fear that "they [the Americans] may take this land and throw us off of the island," in fact, evictions for building code violations have not yet occurred. In part, the lack of enforcement results from the fact that neither all indigenous Hawaiian homes in Ocean View nor many homes of "hippy haole(s)" are built to code. The entire Big Island home inspection system is caught between a mainland American system of rigorous home inspection and a contravening American primitivist image of "little grass shack(s) in Kealakekua, Hawai'i." While Ocean View Marshall Islanders' homes, a few short miles from Kealakekua, are neither of grass nor pandanus fiber, the tin and plywood single-wall-construction homes are, in the eyes of haole neighbors, closer to grass shacks than to fully approved and inspected Big Island houses. The comments

of others about Marshallese houses only add to the feelings of ambivalence people hold toward the land they own in Hawai'i.[17]

Setting aside their feelings of ambivalence, however, Ocean View Marshallese residents develop important ties to land through intentional interactions on that land, much as is the case in the Marshall Islands. The family of Joniten and Tarike were one of the first three families to come to the Big Island and the first to move to Ocean View. They have welcomed local Marshallese members of the *Protijen* denomination (Protestant; the first church brought to the Marshall Islands by missionaries from Hawai'i associated with the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions [ABCFM]),[18] and their former cookhouse has expanded into the main church. For most services, the entire congregation comes to the home of Joniten and Tarike as the communal gathering spot. As the most sentimentally saturated locale on account of the shared communal experiences that have been woven into that land parcel, this home holds special significance (see Carucci 2020).

In the ideal, a separate church, one constructed on communally shared ground, would fulfill this need. However, the emergent history of the Marshallese Protestant Church on the Big Island has led in different directions. Some years ago, the Enewetak/Ujelang protestants met at the original ABCFM church in downtown Kona, the Mokuaikaua Church built in 1837. In many ways, the alignment was a perfect reiteration of the relationship between the Hawaiian ABCFM Congregational Church and the Marshallese people who were first missionized by them. However, some members of the Kona Hawaiian congregation did not appreciate the demeanor of the Marshall Islands congregants. These Hawaiian residents viewed Marshall Islanders as dirty and uncivilized, much as early Hawaiian missionaries had viewed their first Marshallese congregants in the latter half of the 1850s and not unlike the perspective the original ABCFM missionaries held of the Mokuaikaua congregation's Hawaiian forebears. The current Kona congregation complained that the Marshallese congregants might scratch the old furniture or otherwise desecrate the hallowed historical church. Ultimately, the minister of the Mokuaikaua Church asked the Marshall Islands Protestants not to return. Perhaps driven by his own sense of guilt over their dismissal, however, the minister gave the Marshall Islands Congregationalists a parcel of land on the ocean side of the Mamalahoa Highway, in the subdivision directly below Ocean View. Here, the Marshall Islander s' Protestant Church was to be built.

Joniten and other church members began building this church in 2006, continuing through 2008. Unfortunately, Joniten's cross-cousin, the minister of the congregation, did not approve of the donated church site, and the community has never occupied the location. While it might well serve as a community center for all Marshall Islanders on the Big Island, it remains vacant to this day.[19] In

its place, the Protijen group rents meeting space for special occasions at the Old Airport, at the Imim Center in Holualoa, or more recently at the Hale Halawai Pavilion in Kona. At all other times, however, they meet at Joniten's and Tarike's cookhouse. In 2015–17, they expanded that cookhouse, using newly purchased lumber, into a more substantial structure. That building, resting on the "kindness and goodwill" (*kajeremmon*) of Joniten and Tarike, has taken on the central feature component represented by the churches on Enewetak and on Ujelang (Carucci 2004). This same structural arrangement, placing the sacred, hallowed church in the community's center, can be readily viewed by Majuro visitors to the Uliga Protestant Church. That church is situated adjacent to the library and courthouse and just across the street from the former Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands District Administrator Headquarters, truly the center of Majuro in the years following World War II.

If the church on Joniten's and Tarike's parcel evokes the sentiments of shared communal identity for Marshall Islanders on the Big Island, it is because that sense of identity is in many other ways fragmented in a capitalist landscape where residence, per se, no longer aligns with the boundaries of the community. As Gershon notes (2012; also see Carucci 2004), the church often becomes a solidifying center for diasporic Pacific Islander settlements disheveled by a residentially dispersed capitalist landscape. But, somewhat ironically, some very differently contoured sites, emotionally saturated, emerge from the everyday historical encounters of the community. For example, just a few blocks inland from the Big Island Protijen church site and (again, ironically) on the opposite corner from the former minister's residence is a land parcel belonging to Bruji. Through time, this site has become the locale where the young men congregate to drink or, more recently, to share drugs (Carucci 2019). It is also the locale associated with suicide simply because this is where most suicides, in the local imagination, have taken place.

In point of fact, the realities are a bit more complex. Indeed, Jantiako's suicide actually took place on Benjon's land parcel, just adjacent to the minister's land but across from Bruji's place. And following two suicides in 2016, one on Bruji's land and a second on the empty lot next to Joniten's and Tarike's, a group suicide plan was foiled when the elders heard rumors of the scheme. This event was to take place on the empty lot next to Joniten's and Tarike's land, a more public setting than Bruji's land on account of its proximity to the church (Carucci 2019). The young men believed that this location was ideal since suicides are framed as moral critiques of community neglect. What better location for a mass suicide than adjacent to the church? In spite of the varied locales associated with suicide, Bruji's house and land parcel have taken on the symbolic weight of being the suicide locale. In that guise, it is a location filled with layers of ambivalence. Certainly, for Bruji and his family, it is their home site, filled with all of the

senses of welcome and "caring for" that go along with such locales. At the same time, even Bruji and his closest relatives see the youth suicides as representing some of the misfortunes that have, in their own view, followed their family. For other community members, the suicides bring an entire set of ambivalences that accompany the unstable interrelationships that unify and separate the living and the noncorporeal spirit beings who hover around cemeteries and immediate sites where living people have died (Carucci 2016, 2019). In this sense, Bruji's place, like other sites of a similar sort, are seen as haunted and will remain so until the memories of those who have died in this place have, likewise, passed from the fringes of collective memory. Until that point, spirit-saturated sites remain highly charged in the consciousness of members of the community.

Conclusion

The 1939 classic film "The Wizard of Oz" ends as Glinda, the Good Witch, instructs Dorothy to return in her memory to her Kansas home by repeatedly incanting the mesmerizing words: "There's no place like home; there's no place like home." Perhaps, in terms of maximal saturation of symbolic domains, this sense of a perduring "true" home (lāmoran), a locale that felt sacred and sentimentally saturated with natural "soothing" features, held true for Enewetak/Ujelang people even during the German and early Japanese colonial eras. Certainly, prior to the time that Japan began to fortify the atoll in preparation for World War II, Enewetak people readily assured themselves that as they lived their lives on the atoll, they were living in their primordial homeland, as diEnewetak, "the people of the place Enewetak." In their cosmology, they had been in that place forever. In that symbolic universe, as much as it may have contradicted anthropological theorizing about the settlement of the Pacific Islands some 2,000 years earlier, the rootedness and sense of alignment between local constructs of identity and being situated in a specific place, "our primordial homeland," were absolute. Local Enewetak history was only inscribed as a series of threatened disruptions of that continuity, presenting local people with a sense of the proper and suited alignment of identity and place that was, in theory at least, perpetual and historically correct.

But if ancient attempts to disrupt this balance by warriors' invasions from both the Rālik and Ratak sectors of the Marshall Islands failed to conquer the atoll, colonial encounters have been more successful in rending asunder these suited alignments. As a result, other symbolic alignments have been constructed by Enewetak/Ujelang people, ones that while equally pastoral in some respects perhaps better align with the Gene Autry 1950s sensibilities of the imagined cowboy's home, an ever-mobile "home, home on the range." Not unlike their ancient mariner predecessors, Ujelang/Enewetak people have developed mobile

sensibilities that rely on thoroughly Marshallese strategies to root people's identities in both new and radically transformed landscapes. This interrelationship of identities and land-/seascapes remains critical even as members of the community lack the full range of representational possibilities, the fully saturated senses of person and place, that may have been present in the precolonial era. As has been demonstrated in the course of this discussion, these emergent strategies allow migratory, transnational Enewetak/Ujelang people to actively create imagined landscapes to physically feel that their lives are suited and proper in locales that are, in comparison to the past, far more changeable and distinctly contoured. In a post-nuclear-testing world, in a locale where the visceral effects of radiation, diabetes, and climate change can be felt every day, such sentimental strategies of cultural construction are absolutely imperative.

NOTES

1. Throughout this work, I use the term "noncorporeal beings" to identify entities that anthropologists, folklorists, and other earlier researchers often termed "spirits." While such beings are of many types in the Marshall Islands, Abo et al. (1976: 101, 464), authors of the *Marshallese-English Dictionary*, gloss the most generic of these terms, *jetōb*, as "spirit." My reasons for complicating this translation are explored in depth elsewhere (Carucci 2019). Most importantly, noncorporeal beings are active participants in people's everyday lives in the Marshall Islands, not inhabitants of a separate realm that living people only occasionally encounter. Graeber and Sahlins (2017) use the term "meta-humans" to describe similar continuities between noncorporeal and corporeal humans in their work. From a Marshall Islands' perspective, however, "meta-humans" still suggests humans are the primary ordinal group and noncorporeal beings occupy an ontological status premised on living humans. For Marshall Islanders, noncorporeal beings are the suprahuman actors, and humans occupy an infrahuman but lower order human place, limited by the constraints of their corporeality (Carucci 2019).

2. Note the cognate relationship with Hawaiian *menahune*.

3. In the latest part of this saga, the United States has recently disclaimed any responsibility for the leaking radioactivity and disintegration of the Runit dome. The US government claims that the Republic of the Marshall Islands now bears all responsibility for nuclear-related issues. In one important Marshall Islander's response (Rust 2019), Hilda Heine replied, " 'I'm like, how can it [the dome] be ours?' . . . the president of the Republic of the Marshall Islands, said in an interview in her presidential office in September. 'We don't want it. We didn't build it. The garbage inside is not ours. It's theirs.'" The "unforeseen circumstances" clause of Section 177 of the Compact of Free Association with the United States strongly supports Heine's perspective: the radioactive waste is the United States' responsibility.

4. In this article, I shift between a discussion of members of the Enewetak/Ujelang community and Marshall Islanders more generally. While most of my research endeavors have been among Enewetak/Ujelang people, I have spent several years working with others in both the Rālik and Ratak Chains of the Marshall Islands. Even though Enewetak/Ujelang people are certainly distinct from other Marshall Islanders, at certain levels they share a number of cul-

tural frameworks and practices with others in the Marshall Islands. When ideas and practices extend well beyond the boundaries of the Enewetak/Ujelang community to those living in the Rālik or Ratak Chains of the Republic of the Marshall Islands, I speak of Marshall Islanders' beliefs/practices. In cases where the Marshall Islands' distribution of a set of beliefs or actions is not known, I reference the context of use where the utterance or action was encountered, be it at the personal, interpersonal, or community level.

5. David Lipset (see Lipset's article in this issue of *Pacific Studies*) similarly argues that European and American distinctions between prelinguistic affect and culturally contoured feelings and emotions do not apply to the ways in which many Pacific people experience and understand their lives. Relying on Durkheim, Lipset sees Murik people moving from a mechanically solidary social-historical moment to one tinged with "individualized affect and moral agency." Nevertheless, as is equally true of Enewetak/Ujelang folks, Murik see relationships between persons and places as central sites where "the moral reproduction of moral society remains in the foreground." Given such dynamic socially-saturated sensibilities, the idea of prelinguistic affect governing how people make sense of their affectively charged relationships to sites of central significance in the landscape simply does not fit the social/ historical conditions reflected in the lived conditions of Murik or Enewetak/Ujelang people.

6. The identity shift from Enewetak to Ujelang people reflects the important Marshallese principle that, ultimately, lived everyday practice always trumps "genealogically claimed" connections to identity or to land/sea. The same principle is stressed by Valeri (1985: 114) when noting that while "both genealogy and sacrifice make it possible to create human replicas of the divine . . . [but] the superiority of sacrificial links over genealogical ones is the superiority of action over passivity, of direct relations over indirect ones, and, ultimately, of political relations over kinship." Such inevitabilities represent the limited power of living humans in relation to the lack of such limitations among noncorporeal beings. Equally, however, it represents interpersonal hierarchization of power when Marshallese, like many Europeans and Americans, say "action speaks louder than words" or for Marshallese "those are only words" *kōnaan wōt*, "that person [makes] a lot of noise, but when it comes to action, [there is] nothing." *Elap an ekeroro, ak ilok emōkit, ejjelok* (or in Ujelang speech *bōlallal*).

7. Inheritance of land is bilateral on Enewetak and Ujelang, unlike more matrilineal-tending land claims/transmission practices in the Ratak and Ralik Chains of the Marshall Islands.

8. Following the 1865 typhoon, most of Ujelang islet (located on the windward end of Ujelang Atoll) was covered with large blocks of coral. To make the land habitable following the community's exile on Ujelang in 1947, the residents used coconut fronds and other refuse to "burn rocks" on the atoll, helping reduce the coral rubble to smaller sized stones. While the thoroughness of the rock burning varied among residents, the coral rubble on Larej is relatively small, pointing to the manner in which the members of Ruth's and Obet's family have diligently worked to weave their identities into the land.

9. Compare this account with Sahlins'(1985: 60–71) analysis of Hono Heke and the British flagpole in Fiji. A similar symbolic message is represented by driving a spear or digging stick into Ujelang lands.

10. If the newer stories of the battle between Raan and Jobabu sound hollow in relation to Tobin's inscribed version, largely it is because the outcomes of that battle have negligible value

in situating the feelings these younger men experience when looking back on the ways they wove their identities into the Ujelang landscape, seascape, or the entire atmosphere (*mejatoto*) of which they were a part as diUjelang. Reflexively discussing life on Ujelang ex post facto while residing on the Big Island and living as diUjelang are extraordinarily different contextual frames.

11. *Iio le, iokwe moud eo ilo Ujelang. Jonin an emōn moud eo aduij ilo aelōn̄ eo. Jukjuk im bed ilo aelōn̄ eo ad, elap an emōn. Ejjab einwōt Enewetak. Moud eo ilo aelōn̄ eo (Ujelang), lukuun moud in Majel.*

12. At best, these monetary compensations were partial since the ecocide that destroyed Enewetak Atoll during the nuclear testing era was only slightly ameliorated, and trust funds to deal with remaining radiological complications could not possibly pay for full remediation of those damages.

13. The earliest of such encounters, or at least protocapitalist ones, were in the nineteenth century, when exchanges with explorers and whalers were replaced with the introduction of copra. Most atolls experienced copra production as a type of "putting out" enterprise, where copra was raised and harvested on local atolls, then gathered for processing by field trip ships that collected local copra often in exchange for market foods and commodities. On Ujelang, however, German entrepreneurs created a dedicated copra plantation, as mentioned, alienating local people from their land and importing other laborers from neighboring atolls, particularly Enewetak, Mokil, and Pingelap, to work directly on the plantation. Nevertheless, these transitional projects were far different from the situation encountered by Ujelang people in Majuro, beginning in the 1950s.

14. This, too, has changed, as the Ujelang Town pattern has become more common. Majuro and Kwajalein, the second urban center in the Marshall Islands, have rapidly increased in population and have become target destinations for outer islanders in search of education, jobs, and health care. Nowadays, more than 80 percent of Marshall Islanders (not including those living in other nations) reside on these two atolls.

15. While Ujelang and Enewetak were governed from Pohnpei during Japanese times (between the two World Wars), the pattern of having settled "towns" (urban ghetto outposts) for outer islanders had been established prior to World War II on Jaluij, the former governmental center of the Marshall Islands when Japan governed the Marshall Islands as part of the Nanyo Cho. The towns belonging to Ebon, Kwajalein, and Namu people on Jaluij were hit directly and many people died or were injured in a 1942 bombing raid on Jaluij by Allied Forces. The overall contours of this bombing raid are noted by Poyer, Falgout, and Carucci (2001: 50–2) and Falgout, Poyer, and Carucci (2008: 60–2).

16. The *lā-* portion of *lāmoran* refers to the white paving pebbles on which dwellings are built in the Marshall Islands (Schneider 1984, 21; et seq. for similarities with Yap), pointing to the active human component of creating the dwelling space for an extended family or clan. And in the tropics, if such humanized lands are not actively maintained through clearing (*rare*), sweeping (*puroom*), and perpetual refurbishing with paving pebbles (*kalālā*), they will soon revert to bush lands, inhabited only by noncorporeal spirit beings.

17. The American distinction between house and home is useful here in that it separates the formal architectural characteristics of a dwelling, and particularly the simplest of dwellings, from the feelings of welcome, inclusion, and what Marshallese feel is "suitedness" that are an integral part of an Enewetak/Ujelang home. Indeed, to see only the house is to fail to separate conditions of physical poverty from the rich sense of belonging that so many anthropologists experience when they are welcomed into Pacific households. The haole neighbor critiques of Marshall Islanders' dwellings in Hawai'i see only the externalities of a house, strictly avoiding any knowledge of the home. Such an external view allows even the most empowered of Americans to use superficial images of houses and human habitations to see only by extension "shithole countries," be they in Africa or in the Pacific. Equally, it allows close neighbors in Ocean View to distance themselves from nearby others, confusing the stored useful treasures in an adjacent trashy yard, which for them provide the "evidence" of an unworthy household, with the love and cohesion manifest in interactions among the home's residents. In point of fact, the feelings of caring that suffuse that home space next door, feelings that might fulfill the most nostalgic yearnings of the judgmental neighbor, are eradicated in the superficial conflation of house and home. While the house/home distinction is subtle in Marshallese, it exists between *juon iim*, "a house" (of unknown content), and *iimen Janni*, "that house [home], the beloved possession-class object of Janni" (or some other owner/inhabitant of a dwelling with a social relationship with the speaker).

18. The Congregational Church that the ABCFM brought to the Marshall Islands has, in recent years, come to be known as UCC, the United Church of Christ.

19. The Ujelang/Enewetak minister mentioned in this account died in 2017. While the congregation was still meeting at the church on Joniten's and Tarike's land in February 2020, discussions had begun about resuscitating the church building project on the land given to the community by the Mokuaikaua minister.

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