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LEA TAFE/HEKE, TONGAN LANGUAGE DRIFT/SHIFT: A TĀVĀIST PHILOSOPHICAL CRITIQUE

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In this original essay, we tāvāistically critique Tongan language, generally, and Tongan lea tafe/heke language drift/shift, specifically. We examine our subject matter of exploration within and across Tāvāism as a general philosophy of reality, in "time" and "space," as both ontological and epistemological entities, identities, or tendencies. By actively, yet critically engaging in this exercise, we canvass some key aspects of the problem commonplace in both thinking and feeling. Specifically, this new undertaking will be informed by a key tāvāist tenet: all things in reality, as in nature, mind, and society, stand in fakafetongi taʻengata eternal relations of exchange, giving rise to fepaki/felekeu conflict and maau/fenāpasi order, on the one hand, and the tāvaist corollary, that everywhere in reality is fakafelavai intersection; there is nothing beyond fakahoko connection and fakamāvae separation, on the other. Therein, maau/fenāpasi

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order and felekeu/fepaki conflict are the same logical status, maau/fēnapasi order is itself a form of felekeu/fepaki conflict. Two or more tatau equal/similar and kehekehe opposite/dissimilar forces, energies, or tendencies meet at a common point of mata-ava eye-hole defined by a state of noa/0, i.e., zero point. This state of fakaʻofoʻofa/mālie beauty engages in the fakatatau mediation of fakafelavai intersection (i.e., fakahoko connection and fakamāvae separation) through sustained tatau symmetry and potupotutatau harmony: ethereal yet real fakaʻofoʻofa/mālie beauty (ʻaonga utility) is a necessary condition of tatau symmetry; potupotutatau harmonies are necessary conditions.

Talatukupā: Dedication

To our dear beloved friend and famous teacher the late Maʻu-i-Lalofonua, Fua Malungahu, a hereditary title of tufunga nimatapu dead handling, i.e., "material-artist-of-the-sacred-hands," who was also a great material and performance artist of tufunga lea language designing and faiva lea language performing and whose everlasting mind, heart, and soul are now in the deep past, yet in front, as guidance upon which the distant future is brought to bear, guiding us all in the ever-changing present in the labyrinth of time and space.

ʻOku kai pē lea, pea lea pē ngāue.
One "eats" the language, and only work "speaks."[6]

ʻOku ifo mo vovo ʻae lea, koe fuʻufuʻunga moʻui
Language is both delicious and nutritious, a greater life-force.

Koe lea Tonga heliaki[7]
Tongan proverbial sayings

ʻOku fakafuo ʻehe tā ʻae vā kae ʻfakafuo ʻehe vā ʻae tā, koe ongo hoa/soa taʻemavahevahe taʻengata (time defines space and vā space composes time both as inseparable eternal pair/binary).

—Tā-Vā: Time-Space Philosophy of Reality

Tā koe Fuiva Mapu[8]
Oh, the Sweet-Whistling Fuiva[9]

Fakafatu/fakafaʻuʻe he Punake taʾeʾiloa
Poetry composed by an anonymous poet

Fakaafo/fakafasi ʻe he Punake taʻeʻiloa
Music composed by an anonymous poet

Liliulea ʻIngilisi ʻe Mele Haʻamoa Māhina ʻAlatini &
Hūfanga-He-Ako-Moe-Lotu, ʻŌkusitino Māhina
English translation by Mele Haʻamoa Māhina ʻAlatini &
Hūfanga-He-Ako-Moe-Lotu, ʻŌkusitino Māhina

Tau/Kōlesi
Peʻi ke lea muʻa kau fanongo
Ke tatala ʻae matapā ongo
Lokaʻi ʻeha punake poto[10]
Fakaava pē mei he loto

Chorus
Doth speak forth, let me hear
That I unveil the door of feelings
Locked by a wise and skillful poet
To be opened only from the heart inside

Koe taʻanga hiva kakala[11]
A sung poetry of love

Talakamata: Introduction

This joint, original, yet critical, essay sets out to explore what linguists call "language drift" or, for that matter what we have called "language shift" (see Bloomfield 1927: 432–39; Burnett 1974a, 1974b; Chomsky 1963), which can be, respectively, called in Tongan, "lea tafe" or, by extension, "lea heke" (see Taliai 1989; Hartung 2011: 167–83; Taumoefolau 1998; 2012: 327–72; 2017a: 137–52), both as a specific "text" through reflective thinking and emotive feeling in the general "context"[12] of the Tongan (and Moanan Oceanian) Tā-Vā Time-Space Philosophy of Reality (see Kaʻili 2017a: 62-71; Kaʻili, Māhina, and Ado 2017: 1–17; also see Anderson 2007; Harvey 2000: 2–16). There are different ways of ʻilo knowing lea[13] language as ongo sound that is respectively both natural and social as ontological and epistemological entities given in nature and made in society.[14] The focus of this exercise is on Tongan views of Tongan language, i.e., Tongan ways of knowing Tongan language based in ongo sound, both as epistemological and ontological identities, respectively, involving "ways of knowing (the real)" and "ways of being (real)" (see Māhina 2009: 505–11; Māhina-Tuai,

Kaʻili, and Māhina, in prep). Apart from "lea tafe" for "language drift," the same is also found in Tonga as "lea heke," translated as "language shift," both as lea heliaki[15] proverbial sayings for the fluidity (or volatility) of language as a human creation, which is likened to both vaitafe waterflow and matangiheke[16] windflow as natural entities in constant tuʻa-ki-loto outside-in, loto-ki-tuʻa inside-out motion, transformation, or transition[17] (see Māhina 2004b; Māhina & Māhina-Tuai 2017; also see Taumoefolau 2011: 132–9).

Tā-Vā Time-Space: General Tāvāist Philosophy of Reality

As a narrower "text", lea tafe "language drift" or lea heke "language shift" is critiqued in the broader "context" of the Tā-Vā Time-Space Philosophy of Reality (see Kaʻili 2017b; Kaʻili, Māhina, and Addo 2017; Lear 2018; Lear et al. 2021; Māhina 2004a: 86–93, 2010: 186–202; 2017a: 105–32).[18] All things made by people, like all things given in reality, are tā-vā temporal-spatial, fuo-uho formal-substantial (and ʻaonga-ngāue practical-functional) entities, identities, or tendencies, both taking place in tā and vā time and space, on the abstract level, and fuo and uho form and content, on the concrete level. Both are applicable to ʻaonga-ngāue function-practice, in meeting the demands of people and needs of society. As a "text," lea tafe "language drift" or lea heke "language shift" can be made meaningfully understood and felt in this "context." Both the specific and general ontological and epistemological tenets (and corollaries) of Tāvaism as a philosophy of ʻiai reality[19] (i.e., faʻahifā/faʻakifā four-sided dimensionality) include, inter alia, the following:

- that as ontological entities tā and vā time and space are the common vaka vessels, vehicles, or mediums for the existence of all things in reality[20] or four-sided dimensionality; [21]
- that as epistemological identities tā and vā time and space are socially organized in different ways across cultures[22] (and languages);[23]
- that tā and vā time and space, like fuo and uho form and content, are socially arranged in plural, temporal-spatial/formal-substantial, collectivistic, holistic, and circular ways;[24]
- that tā and vā time and space are the abstract dimensions of fuo and uho form and content, which are, in turn, the concrete manifestations of tā and vā time and space;
- that tā and vā time and space, like fuo and uho form and content, are inseparable but indispensable as hoa/soa[25] pairs/dualities/binaries, namely, hoatatau/hoamālie equal/similar and hoakehekehe/hoatamaki unequal/dissimilar pairs/binaries;

- that tā and vā time and space, like fuo and uho form and content, are faʻahifā/faʻakifā four dimensional, rather than faʻahitolu/faʻakitolu three dimensional;[26]
- that tā time is a verb (or action led)[27]and fakafuo, definer/marker[28]of vā space which is, in turn, a noun (or object based)[29] and fakauho constitutor/composer[30] of tā time;
- that as a corollary fuo form is a verb (i.e., action led) and fakafuo definer/marker of uho content and, in turn, uho form is a noun (object based) and fakauho constitutor/composer of fuo form;
- that all things in reality or faʻahifā/faʻakifa four-sided dimensionality, as in nature, mind, and society, stand in eternal relations of exchange, giving rise to maau/fenāpasi order[31] or felekeu/fepaki conflict;[32]
- that as a corollary order and conflict are of the same logical status, in that order is itself a form of conflct, when equal and opposite forces, energies or tendencies, meet at a common point,[33]defined as noa/0 (zero point);
- that as a corollary everywhere in reality, temporality-spatiality/formality-substantiality, or four-sided dimensionality is fakafelavai intersection,[34] and there is nothing beyond fakahoko connection[35] and/or fakamāvae separation;[36]
- that as a corollary everywhere in ʻiai reality, temporality-spatiality/formality-substantiality, or four-sided dimensionality, is mata-ava eye-hole, and there is nothing above mata eye and/or ava hole;
- that everywhere in reality, temporality-spatiality/formality-substantiality, or four-sided dimensionality is inseparable yet indispensable hoa/soa pair/binary, and there is nothing over equal and/or opposite pairs/dualities/binaries.
- that mata eye and, its opposite, ava hole is the fakafelavai, intersection (or fakahoko connection and fakamāvae separation) of two or more kohi lines; a kohi line is a collection of mata eyes and its symmetry ava holes; and vā is a summation of kohi lines (see Māhina 2002, 2004a);
- that knowledge is knowledge of tā and vā, time and space, and of reality, temporality-spatiality/formality-substantiality, or four-sided dimensionality;
- that the knowledge gained in education is constituted/composed[37] in fonua/kalatua culture[38] and transmitted/communicated[39] in tala/lea, language, both merely as social vaka vessels, vehicles, or mediums[40] (see Māhina 2008);
- that as a corollary ako education involves a temporal-spatial,[41] formal-substantial,[42] and functional-practical[43] transformation of the human ʻatamai mind, and loto heart, from vale ignorance to ʻilo

knowledge to poto skills, in that logical order of precedence (see Lear et al. 2021); and

- that errors in both fakakaukau thinking and ongo feelings are a problem of both ʻatamai mind and loto heart, and not of reality, temporality-spatiality, or four-sided dimensionality;

Ako Education: From Vale Ignorance to ʻIlo Knowledge to Poto Skill

The ancient/old Tongan tāvāist philosophy of ako education is chiefly concerned with both the kumi-ʻilo "knowledge-finding" and kumi-ʻaonga "knowledge-using," i.e., both its beauty/quality and utility/functionality. The Tongan tāvāist philosophy of ako education as temporal-spatial, formal-substantial, and functional-practical is deeply entrenched and taking place in tā and vā time and space. Herein, ako education is defined as the dialectical tā-vā time-space, fuo-uho form-content, and ʻaonga-ngāue function-practice transformation of the human ʻatamai and loto mind and heart through fakakaukau thinking and ongo feelings from vale ignorance to ʻilo knowledge to poto skill, with the former preceding the latter, in that logical order of precedence (see Māhina 2008: 67–96). Both Tongan ako education and ʻaati arts were organized together, where the former was aligned to the latter by way of the three genres of arts, viz., faiva performance, tufunga material, and nimameaʻa fine arts[44] (see Māhina 2004a: 86–93; Māhina-Tuai, Kaʻili, and Māhina 2021).

As types of disciplinary practices and forms of social activity, both ako education and ʻaati arts were conducted along the haʻa professional classes, such as haʻa punake profesional class of poetry/poets; haʻa tufunga langafale professional class of house-building/house-builders; and haʻa nimameaʻa kokaʻanga professional class of tapa-making/tapa-makers. Both ako education and ʻaati arts respectively, are concerned with ʻilo knowledge and mālie/fakaʻofoʻofa beauty, with the quality preceding the utility. Besides ako education, art can be similarly defined as tā-vā temporal-spatial, fuo-uho formal-substantial (and ʻaonga-ngāue functional-practical) transformation of the subject matters under the creative process from a condition of felekeu/fepaki chaos to a state of maau/fenāpasi order through sustained tatau symmetry and potupotutatau harmony to produce mālie/fakaʻofoʻofa beauty (see Kaʻili 2017b; Lear 2018; Lear et al. 2021; Māhina, ʻA. N. M. 2004; Māhina 2005b: 168–83; also see Anderson, Cullum, and Lycos 1982).

ʻIlo/Poto, Fonua/Kalatua, and Tala/Lea: Knowledge/Skill, Culture, and Language

From a tāvāist philosophical view, ʻilo knowledge is taken as ʻilo knowledge (and beauty/utility) of tā and vā time and space and of reality, temporality-spatiality,

or four-sided dimensionality, socially organized in the educational process along the three divisions of arts, viz., faiva performance, tufunga material, and nimamea'a fine arts. The 'ilo knowledge acquired in ako education by way of 'aati arts is, in turn, dialectically fa'oaki constituted/composed in fonua/kalatua culture and historically talaki transmitted/communicated in tala/lea language, both merely as social vaka, vessels, vehicles, or mediums (see Māhina-Tuai, Ka'ili, and Māhina, in prep; Lear et al. 2021). Of all three, viz., 'ilo knowledge (and poto skills), fonua/kalatua culture and tala/lea language, 'ilo knowledge is by far the most significant constitutive component. The active preservation, conservation, and safeguarding[45] of both the fonua/kalatua culture and tala/lea language quite simply means the critical conservation and safekeeping[46] of 'ilo knowledge (and poto skills). That is, that the active preservation and safeguarding fonua/kalatua culture are strictly dependent on the reflective and emotive tauhi preservation, tokanga'i conservation, and malu'i safekeeping of 'ilo knowledge (and poto skills).

Kuohili/Kuongamu'a, Lotolotonga/Kuongaloto, and Kaha'u/Kuongamui: Past, Present, and Future[47]

The fakatatau mediation of the metaphorical and historical fakafelavai intersection or fakahoko connection and fakamāvae separation of the arragement of the past, present, and future provides a "context" for the fakatatau negotiation of 'ilo knowledge (and poto skills), fonua/kalatua culture, and tala lea language as a "text" (see Hau'ofa 2000: 134–40; Māhina 2020: 110–23). The past, present, and future are metaphorically called kuongamu'a "age-in-the-front," kuongaloto "age-in-the-middle/center," and kuongamui "age-in-the-back," and historically named kuohili "that-which-has-passed," lotolotonga "that-which-is-passing/now," and kaha'u "that-which-is-yet-to-come/pass," respectively. Metaphorically, yet historically, the fact that the past has happened and stood the test of time and space, it is thus placed in the mu'a front as guidance, and because the future is yet-to-come/pass, it is situated in the mui back, guided by refined past 'ilo knowledge (and poto skills) and taukei experiences, with both the illusive past and elusive future constantly fakatatau, arbitrated, in the ever-passing, changing, and conflicting present (see Ka'ili 2017b; Lear et al. 2021; Māhina 2008: 67–96, 2019: 110–23 among others).

Liliu Meihe 'Ilo/Poto Kihe Fonua/Kalatua Kihe Tala/Lea: Translation from Knowledge/Skill to Culture to Language

The liliu translation of 'ilo/poto knowledge/skill as an ontological "process" through thinking and feeling, mind, and heart, focusing on fakatatau negotiating

of reality or four-sided dimensionality within across fonua/kalatua cultures and tala/lea[48] languages as epistemological vaka vessels, vehicles, or mediums is surely a tricky and slippery practice. As a human, vaka means of fetuʻutaki/talaki transmission/communication of ʻilo/poto knowledge/skills gained in ako education, and tala/lea laguage, as a material art of tufunga lea language making is concerned with the fashioning, sculpting, or carving of ongo sound into a diversity but unity of kupesi patterns which are, in turn, given human ʻuhinga meanings. By liliu translation, reference is made to the passing of ʻilo/poto knowledge/skills by way of the maintenace of fonua/kalatua culture and tala/lea language as mere vaka vessels, vehicles, or mediums (see Kalāvite 2019: 173–83; Māhina 2009: 505–11; Taumoefolau 2005). In doing so, both fonua/kalatua culture and tala/lea language are maintained through sustained tatau symmetry, potupotutatau harmony, and, more importantly, mālie/fakaʻofoʻofa beauty, for the chief purposes of their capacities, capabilities, and abilities, i.e., fakahēhē/fakaakeake resilience[49] (see Bhagwan et al. 2020; Māhina 2020: 110–23; Mulgan et al. 2021) for their constitution/composition and transmission/communication (see Māhina 2008: 67–96, 2010: 168–202, 2017b: 105–32).

Lea Tafe/Heke: Some Language Drifts/Shifts in Wider Moana Oceania

The diversified, yet unified, movement and settlement of the early Moana Oceania people of the widely scattered islands was led by the fearless warriors and daring navigators in their long-distant ocean-worthy canoes. The early "colonizers" of the huge expanse of moana ocean also carried with them their relative albeit collective heterogenous but homogenous knowledge and skills, cultures, and languages (see Taumoefolau 2017b: 151–63). The tafe "drifts" or heke "shifts" in their tala/lea languages, including their fonua/kalatua cultures and, more importantly, the state of the ʻilo/poto knowledge/skills, constituted or composed and transmitted or communicated, are evidential, as in the following instances: the words honua, hanua, vanua, fonua, fanua, fenua, and whenua as inseparable though indispensable hoatatau/hoamālie equal/similar and opposite/dissimilar hoakehekehe/hoatamaki pairs/binaries of the valevale fetus/foetus and manava/fonua motherʻs womb/placenta, kakai people and their ʻātakai environment, and the mate dead and faʻitoka/malaʻe burial place (see Māhina 1992, 2019: 110–23).

Besides fonua, there exist other instances, such as follows: ʻeiki, ʻeueiki, aliʻi, ʻaliki, and ariki (all meaning chiefliness/beauty, derived from tapu taboo beauty), with both deriving from ʻotua, ʻatua, or ʻakua, associated with godliness/orderliness/beauty (see Kaʻili 2019: 23–29); levu, lahi, tele, and nui (all meaning great); and siʻi/siʻisiʻi, iki/iiki/ikiiki, liki/likiliki, kihi/kihikihi, kisi/kisikisi, tiʻi/tiʻitiʻi, and riki/rikiriki (all meaning "small,"), [50] as in the name Maui Kisikisi/Maui Tiʻitiʻi, Maui "the Small" in physique but big in psyche, was best known for being both

a "thinker" and "doer," with his heroic deeds and exploits, and being both a great comedian and tragedian, as well as a notable Manaʻia Casanova. He authored innumerable tales as great works of art and literature in both the performance arts of faiva fakaoli comedy and faiva fakamamahi tragedy e.g., Maui, the Fire-bearer, Maui, the Sun-snarer; Maui, the Land-fisher, as well as the originator of many faiva performance and tufunga material arts (see Māhina 2005a, 31–54, 2011, 140–66). Maui Kisikisi belongs in the kau ʻotua Maui, gods/deities,[51] viz., Maui Motuʻa (Old Maui), father of Maui ʻAtalanga (Maui of ʻAtalanga), whose son was Maui Kisikisi (Small Maui), Maui Loa (Tall Maui), and Maui Puku (Short Maui; see Kaʻili 2019; Māhina 1992; 2019: 43–5).

These three types of fonua (known throughout the region as honua, hanua, vanua, fanua, fenua, and whenua) demarcate a plural, holistic, and circular movement of fakafelavai intersecting (or fakahoko connecting and fakamāvae separating) material-physical, psychological-emotional, and social-cultural tendencies from fāʾele birth to moʻui life to mate death (also see Lear et al. 2021; Māhina-Tuai, Kaʻili, and Māhina, in prep). As far as this diversifed but unified movement goes, the valevale fetus/foetus, kakai people, and the mate dead are fakafuo tempo-definers/markers, while the manava/taungafanau mother's womb/placenta, ʻātakai environment, and faʻitoka/malaʻe burial place, are fakauho spatioconstitutors/composers as indivisible but inevitable hoatatau/hoamālie equal/similar and hoakehekehe/hoatamaki unequal/dissimilar pairs/binaries. This well-rounded tempo-defined/marked and spatioconstituted/composed tāvāist philosophical base, by raising actual problems, stands to contribute real solutions to the current kakai-ʻātakai human-environment crisis, notably liliu matangi[52] climate change, where actual solutions to real problems can be found through reflective thinking and emotive feeling (see Lear et al. 2021; Bahgwan et al. 2020; Māhina 1992, 2020: 110–23).

As a philosophical concept and practice, not only is fonua informed in plural, temporal-spatial, collectivistic, holistic, and circular ways, it is also totality, both fakahoko connection and fakamāvae separation (or fakafelavai intersection), as indivisible but indispensable hoa/soa pair/duality/binary (see Bhagwan et al. 2019; Lear 2018; Māhina 2020: 110–23). By way of critique, it reveals the anthropocentrism underpinning the modern Western United Nation–led, World Bank–driven doctrine of fakalakalaka mapuleʻia sustainable development, which privileges people over the environment, dictated in singular, techno-teleological, individualistic, atomistic, and linear modes. Whereas the fonua philosophy is, by way of both conception and action, one of tāvāism/realism, hoaism/soaism (pairism/dualism/binarism; see tāvāist tenets/corollaries previously mentioned),[53] aestheticism/historicism, the doctrine of sustainable development is a case of idealism, rationalism, dualism, and evolutionism/progressivism (Māhina 2008: 67–96, 2019: 110–23; also see Anderson 2007).

Lea Tafe/Heke: Some Language Drifts/Shifts in Tonga

As an intensive development and refinement locally in Tonga, by means of lea tafe "language drift" and lea heke "language shift," the philosohical concept and practice of motu is a case in point. The word motu "break" has undergone a series of tafe "drifts" or heke "shifts," which are fakafuo temporally defined/marked and fakauho spatially constituted/composed in a variety of ways. The word motu means two distinct yet closely related things, occurrences, or states of affairs: first, break, separate, segregate, sever, exclude, or isolate; and second, isle, islet, or island (see Hauʻofa 2000; Māhina 2020). The two meanings of motu somehow function inseparably, indispensably as a hoatatau/hoamālie pair/binary, as are its variations viz., motu/motumotu, mutu/mutumutu, momo/momomomo, paki/pakipaki, puku/pukupuku, pupu/pupupupu, putu/putuputu, poko/pokopoko, popo/popopopo, potu/potupotu, tutu/tutututu, and tuʻu/tuʻutuʻu. These tafe/heke drifts/shifts all, generally, mean break, separate, segregate, sever, exclude, and isolate and isle, islet, or island.[54]

As an example, a well-used, worn-out huo hoe is called motuʻi huo, and now variously named as mutuʻi huo, momoʻi huo, pakiʻi huo, pukuʻi huo, pupuʻi huo, putuʻi huo, pukuʻi huo, putuʻi huo, pokoʻi huo, popoʻi huo, potuʻi huo, tutuʻi huo, and tuʻuʻi huo, all generally meaning an old, worn-out huo hoe. By definition, the motu islands are fonua lands fakahoko connected and fakamāvae separated by vai water, tahi sea, or moana ocean. As far as the moana as a vast expanse of ocean is concerned, it logically follows that the moana levu/lahi/tele/nui as a great ocean is a vā space, which both fakahoko connects and fakamāvae separates (i.e., fakafelavai, intersects). The motu isles, islets, or islands as disjointed or fragented lands in the moana levu/lahi/tele/nui, great ocean, are fakafelavai intersected or fakahoko connected and fakamāvae separated by the vai water, tahi sea, or moana ocean, as hotau tahi ʻotumotu "our sea of islands" (Hauʻofa 2000; Māhina 2010: 168–202; Māhina-Tuai, Kaʻili & Māhina, in prep). That is, that the moana levu/lahi/tele/nui as a great ocean is a vā place/space/surface of both moʻui life and mate death, a tahi levu/lahi/tele/nui great tahi/moana sea/ocean of both nonga tranquility/stability and hohaʻa intranquility/instability.

Some more examples include the following instances; the first is halafakavakavaka[55] tafe drifting or heke shifting to halafakakavakava,[56] now meaning bridge. The vaka boats were/are used as hala roadways, as means of transportation or communication between the motu islands, now replaced with bridges, where vaka boat is used as a heliaki metaphor for hala pathway; hence, halafakavakavaka literally meaning "road-in-the style-of-a-boat"; the word vilo[57] twist has tafe drifted or heke shifted to milo, as in the performance art of kava making now called milolua double twists and turns in the taumafakava (and taumafatō) royal kava (and sugarcane) ceremony (see Helu 1999a; Māhina 1992). As

a special technique, tactic, or style, milolua, i.e., vilolua/viloua, meaning "double twist and turn," which is most evident in the presentation and preparation of kava and tō sugarcane plants as a performance art of faiva haka dance, in which the key movements are doubled by way of vilo-mo-takai "twists and turns"; the word vilo "twist" and takai "turn" inseparably go together, as in the case of a saliote chariot, which is stuck in the pelepela mud, as "takamilo hono vaʻe"[58] "twisting and turning of the wheels." The word milo has now displaced the term vilo, assuming its original meaning as "twist," though severely altered in both the "process" and "outcome."

The same applies to a host of other Tongan words that have undergone tafe drifts or heke shifts (i.e., by vilo-takai "twisting and turning") in the Tongan language: the word ihupeʻe "mucus-filled nostrils/nose" to the terms hiupeʻe and huipeʻe, where the words hiu and hui are completely taʻeʻuhinga, meaningless and irrelevant, as in the words ihu and peʻe meaning nose and mucus, respectively; the term uʻakai unsatiable apetite to the word ʻuakai, with the word ʻua as having no real meaning; the word lotolotonga present as tafe drifting or heke shifting to lolotonga, which means "Tongan oil," when the term lotolotonga is derived from the word loto, meaning middle/midpoint/center, as in the placement of things in terms of position and direction in muʻa front, loto middle/midpoint/center, and mui "back"; the metaphorical but historical arrangement of the past, present, and future into the kuohili/kuongamuʻa "that-which-has-passed"/"age-in-the-front" past, lotolotonga/kuongaloto "that-which-is-passing"/"age-in-the-middle/center" present, and kahaʻu/kuongamui "that-which-is-yet-to-come/happen"/"age-in-the-back" future, point along this position and direction (see Hauʻofa 2000: 453–71; Kaʻili, Māhina, and Ado 2017: 2–17); Māhina 2020: 110–23).

There are cases in which the tafe/heke drift/shift in the Tongan language is strictly "contextual" rather than "textual." For example, the word fatongi/fatongia socioeconomic/sociomaterial obligations is a tafe/heke drift/shift from the word fetongi/fetongia meaning "exchanges" that are exacted, enacted, or transacted between parties. This is evident as a "text" in the "context" of Tongan political and economic mode of production and reproduction, viz., tauhivā keeping sociopolitical/sociospatial relations and faifatongia performing socioeconomic/sociomaterial obligations. The tatau symmetry and potupotutatau harmony, or taʻetatau asymmetry and potupotukehekehe disharmony, in keeping tauhivā are dependent on performing the respective faifatongia socioeconomic/sociomaterial obligations of people, giving rise to either vālelei good relations or vākovi bad relations (see Kaʻili 2017b). The word uloa for the performance art of faiva toutaiuloa shallow-sea communal fishing is a tafe/heke drift/shift from pūlou and, in turn, to pūloa, both meaning head-cover, as well as the U-loa long U-shaped fishnet-like plaited coconut leaves used for catching fish. The word

pūloa means pūlou covering of the whole head, inclusive of the face, nose, ears, and mouth, Tongan word for the "masks," as in their wearing during lockdowns for the global pandemic the coronavirus disease 2019 (COVID-19).[59] There is also the word fatuʻa,[60]originated and contextualized when the valevale fetus/foetus moves mata face up and tuʻa back down on, sliding along the wall of, and away from, the mother's uterus at birth. The words huʻu-ki-fatuʻa feet-to-head and huʻu-ki-ʻulu, feet-to-head are synonymous, both meaning in the direction of the ʻulu, i.e., head, followed by the vaʻe, i.e., feet, commonly used in funerals, where the deceased are carried with the head first and forward, followed by the feet backward and second.

Moreover, the word māʻuhinga as tafe drifting or heke shifting to mahuʻinga, where the term "mahu" means two things, viz., plenty as in food and emptying one's bowl following defecation; the words "ma" and "ʻuhinga" mean, first, a suffix doubling the effects as an outcome, as in oneʻs knowing and feeling, and second, of "ʻuhinga" meaning of something, e.g., māʻuhinga hoʻo ʻofa one doubly values oneʻs love; the lea heliaki proverbial expression "moʻoni, moʻoni, monū, moʻoni, mo tonu," translated as "true, true, blessed, true, and right" as drifiting or shifting to "moni, moni, monū, moni, tonu," i.e., "moni-moni-monū-moni-tonu," with the latter severely altered to have no sense; and the lea heliaki, proverbial saying, "hū he ngalu moe peau," transliterated as "entering through the waves upon waves," as drifting or shifting to, "hū he ngalu o pea," commonly uttered as "hungaluopea," i.e., "entering-the-waves-of-pea," as being nonsensical; there is a village called Pea, which could possibly be mistaken for 'pea,' shortened for peau, i.e., wave.[61] There may be many reasons for the tafe drifts or heke shifts in the Tongan language, and they can be partly due to the close affinity of silapa syllables by way of both lea speaking and tohi writing, as in from motu to mutu, from vilo to milo, from ihupeʻe to huipeʻe and hiupeʻe; from uʻakai to ʻuakai, meaning food graving; from lotolotonga to lolotonga, i.e., present, from māʻuhinga to mahuʻinga, or importance, and from moʻoni to moni, meaning true[62] (see Feldman 1981: 143–50; Hartung 2011: 134–40; Taliai 1989; Taumoefolau 1998, 2012: 327–72).

Lea Tafe/Heke: Some Language Drifts/Shifts in Faiva Taʻanga Poetry[63] and Tufungalea/Faiva Lea[64] Oratory

We witness tafe drifts and heke shifts in the Tongan language in the case of both the performance and material arts of faiva taʻanga poetry and faiva lea/tufunga lea oratory (see Helu 1999a, 1999b: 56–60; Lear et al. 2021; Māhina-Tuai, Kaʻili, and Māhina, in prep; Wood-Ellem 2004). Such tafe drifts or heke shifts are, amid other things, primarily caused by the proximity of silapa syllables in terms of lea speaking/hiva singing (and tohi writing). The two sung

and danced poetry of hiva kakala (or hiva tango, hiva ʻeva, or hiva ʻofa) ʻofa love and fetau and sani-mo-viki rivalry and praise named Tokelau Tō ʻi Muifonua Northerlies Falling at the Landʻs End (see Appendix I) and ʻUtufōmesi Siliva Cliff's Silver Foamy Waves (see Appendix II) by the punake kakato master poets Queen Sālote Mafileʻo Pilolevu Tupou III (see Wood-Ellem 2004) and Laʻakulu Rev. Dr. Viliami Huluholo Moʻungaloa (see Lear et al. 2021) are among many others, a case in point. These two compositions are quite simply symptomatic of a larger proportion of Tongan songs, specifically, not to mention the whole of Tongan language, generally.

In the former, the words in kohi/laini lines, viz., "fakalata ʻae tau hono hua" "how beautiful their rapport" (kohi/laini line one) and "kiu langa he tuʻapō" "the plower rises at midnight" (kohi/laini line eleven) have tafe drifted or heke shifted to "fakalata ʻae Tau Hono Ua"[65] and "kiu langā he tuʻapō"[66] by way of lea speaking and hiva singing (see Wood-Ellem 2004: 159). As a matter of fact, Queen Sālote Mafileʻo Pilolevu Tupou III was, by means of heliaki metaphor, referring to the consumation of their physical-bodily, psychological-emotional, and social-cultural union by means of ʻofa love as ʻofaʻanga lovers the source of which was one of "divine" inspiration and aspiration. The "textual" tafe/heke drift/shift from "langa" to "langā" completely and unnecessarily changes the original and, by extension, the "context." As for the latter, there exists, amid others, tafe drifts or heke shifts, from "polotikaasi meihe minaleti koula" "broadcast from the gold minaret" (kupu/veesi verse one, kohi/laini line two), "tunameni he siavelini he oma" "a tournament in the swiftest javelin-throwing" (kupu/veesi verse one, kohi/laini line four), and "koe huli pē ʻoe vao tamanu"[67] "it's a shoot of the woods of tamanu" (tau/kōlesi chorus, kohi/laini line five) to "polotikasi meihe minoneti koula,"[68] "tunameni he sialelini he oma,"[69] and "koe huli pē ʻoe matamanu,"[70] all of which drasitically change both "text" and "context," rendering them nonsensical and meaningless (see Lear et al. 2021).

Lea Tafe/Heke: Language Drifts/Shifts as "Inter" and "Intra" Changes

Following the above discussions, it becomes clear that lea tafe/heke language drifts/shifts (or changes) take place on both the "intra" and "inter" (or "local" and "regional," "synchronic" and "diachronic") levels, i.e., within and between (cultures and) languages. Amongst many of the classic examples are such tafe/heke (drifts/shifts [or changes]) as the words motu, mutu, momo, paki, puku, putu, poko, popo, potu, tutu, and tu'u, on the "intra," local, or synchronic level. The same is equally evident on the "inter," regional, or diachronic level, as in the case of the terms hanua, honua, vanua, fonua, fanua, enua, fenua, and whenua. Both cases raise the basic question whether these drifts/shifts, i.e., changes, are either accidental or intentional or both. Are they both consciously

or unconsciously governed by certain rules or only a matter of observed "regularities" (and/or "irregularities") as inherent "common" (and/or "uncommon") qualities (and/or quantities)? Yet, there is one thing we know and feel that, in the case of Tonga, such lea tafe/heke language drifts/shifts (or changes) are largely caused by closer proximity in "syllables," both spoken and written. Tala/lea language, like faiva taʻanga poetry, and faiva/tufunga lea oratory, is man-made, all of which are considered forms of faiva performance (and tufunga material) arts. All three are based in ongo sound as both a natural (i.e., ontological) and social (i.e., epistemological) entity given in reality and socially made as a vaka vessel or vehicles of human communication. Central to this is the continuity of specific knowledge of an object, occurrence, or state of affairs in the single level of reality which is variously constituted or composed and transmitted or communicated within and across cultures and languages as mere vaka mediums.

Talangata: Conclusion

All things given in reality, as in nature, mind-heart, and society, like all disciplinary practices and human activities, as temporal-spatial, formal-substantial (and functional-practical) entities, identities, or tendencies change, and they do so ceaselessly in both tā time and vā space. From a tāvāist philosophical perspective, everywhere in reality or four-sided dimenionality, as in nature, mind-heart, and society, is fakafelavai intersection, and there is nothing above and beyond fakahoko connection and fakamāvae separation (see tāvāist tenets/corrollaries previously mentioned). This cuts right through the center of the material art of tufunga tala/lea language-making, as in the case of lea tafe language drift or lea heke language shift. From a tāvāist philosophical view, the knowledge[71] and skills acquired in education is constituted or composed in culture and transmitted or communicated in langauge simply as social vaka vessels, vehicles, or mediums. The inevitability of change is a philosophical and historical fact of reality, as in the tafe/heke drifts/shifts in Tongan and Moana Oceania languages, generally, and Tongan poetry and oratory, specifically. Their impact as a social vaka vessel, vehicle, or medium, by way of continuity, development, and growth on the state of knowledge (and skills) through intersectionality (or connectionality and separationality) is a function of both textuality and contextuality.

There arises a fundamental question, as to the real nature of knowledge (and skills) in the inevitability of (fonua/kalatua culture) tala/lea language change, when hala errors in both fakakaukau thinking and ongo feelings are a problem of ʻatamai mind and loto heart and not of ʻiai reality, temporality-spatiality/formality-substantiality, or four-sided dimensionality. The problems are definitely both intensive and extensive, and they are also in a state of strife, be they fonua/kalatua culture or tala/lea language in general, and both the performance and

material arts of faiva taʻanga poetry and faiva lea/tufunga lea oratory in particular, as demonstrated previously. This all-embracing state of affairs holds serious implications for ʻilo knowledge and poto skills faʻoaki constituted/composed in fonua/kalatua culture and fetuʻutaki/talaki transmitted/communicated in tala/lea language, merely as vaka vessels, vehicles, or mediums. Of all three, what matters most is ʻilo knowledge (and poto skills), with both fonua/kalatua culture and tala/lea language as mere vaka vessels, vehicles, or mediums. In short, it quite simply means the loss of ʻilo knowledge (and poto skills) and, by extension, the loss of both fonua/kalatua culture and tala/lea language. This state of the art is most evident in the examples previously mentioned as posing real intellectual/emotional and social-cultural challenges of some empirical/practical significance to the serious speakers and students of both culture and language alike. The plurality and complexity defining the dynamics of both these "intra" and "inter" changes that take place not only within and but also across culture and languages is dictated by both local/internal pressures and foreign/external influences. Knowledge as knowledge of time and space, i.e., a "text" is "stative," while both culture and language as mere vaka vessels, vehicles, or mediums, are as a "context," "transformative." The challenges put ahead of us are made more real by the manner in which knowledge is implicated, both positively and/or negatively, in the changing political and economic mode of social production and reproduction.

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our hearts, Mālō ʻaupito, to all your good selves, minds, and hearts! ʻOfa atu fau moe ʻānau maʻu!

Appendix I: Tokelau Tō ʻi Muifonua[72]—Northerlies Falling at the Land's End

Taʻanga hiva haka kakala/tango/ʻeva/ʻofa
Sung and danced poetry of "sweet-smelling-flower"/love

Fakafatu/fakafaʻu ʻe Kuini Sālote
Poetry composed by Queen Sālote

Fakaafo/fakafasi mo fakahaka/fakasino ʻe Vili Pusiaki
Music and dance composed by Vili Pusiaki

Liliulea ʻIngilisi ʻe Dr. Melenaite Taumoefolau
English translation by Dr. Melenaite Taumoefolau

1. Tokelau tō ʻi muifonua
Uesia hono fisiʻipeau
Pea angi ē fakaʻānaua
Kae teki siʻono louʻakau
5. Fakalata ʻa e tau hono hua
ʻO ʻeva he hifo ʻi Nukumaʻanu
Ke ʻilonga e kakala pea luva
Ke ʻala ʻi Feʻao-moe-ngalu[74]
Hopoʻanga siʻi fāʻonelua[75]
10. Mokulu ʻi Tangitang-ʻa-manu
Kiu langā he tuʻuapō
ʻOku ne fafangu siʻete mohe
Taʻahine, ʻoua te ke ofo
He ko e mātanga ia e tafe
15. ʼO ka longolongo tataki ʻaho
Pukupuku e kuo fele
Malinoa fai ʻene taʻalo
Siana folau, koe hala ē
19. Koe faiʻanga ʻo e salute

Tau/Kōlesi

1. Haʻu tau hifo ange
Tongiʻone he hangale
Ke tui papai siʻao kahoa

1. Northerlies falling at land's end
Stirring the foam of the waves
And the wind blowing as if lamenting
Causing the vegetation to savy
5. How beautiful their rapport[73]
Stroll down the slope of Nukumaʻanu
If there is a kakala, yield it
To perfume Feʻao-moe-ngalu
Where the dear fāʻonelua ripens
10. Scaterring at Tangitangi-ʻa-manu[76]
The plover rises at midnight
Awakens me from my slumber
Girl,[77] be not surprised
That's where the streams meet
15. In the quiet before dawn
When the periwinkle is abudant[78]
And Malinoa is waving
Navigator, there is the way
19. The place where respect is due

Chorus

1. Come, let us descend
Dress our hair at the hangale
And string for you a papai garland

He fā ko Pāʻanga-talanoa[79]	At the pandanus Pāʻanga-talanoa
5. Noʻo e fatai fihi matafale	5. Drape the fatai mingling nearby
Siʻi vai ko Tālanga-moe-vale[80]	Dear pond Tālanga-moe-vale
Fakapō ē koe lataʻanga	Oh, it is a wonderful place
ʻUtaʻanga ʻo fafine mo tangata	Favorite spot of women and men

Appendix II: ʻUtufōmesi Siliva[81]—Cliff of Silver Foamy Waves

Taʻanga hiva haka fetau moe sani-mo-viki
A sung and danced poetry of rivalry and praise

Fakafatu/fakafaʻu ʻe Laʻakulu Faifekau Dr. Viliami Huluholo Moʻungaloa
Poetry composed by Laʻakulu Reverend Dr. Viliami Huluholo Moʻungaloa

Fakaafo/fakafasi moe fakasino/fakahaka ʻe Nāsio Lātū
Music and dance composed by Nāsio Lātū

Hiva-tāmeʻalea ʻehe Fōfōʻanga[82]
Performed by Fōfōʻanga vocal-instrumental

Liliulea ʻIngilisi ʻe Mele Haʻamoa Māhina ʻAlatini and Hūfanga-He-Ako-Moe-Lotu, ʻŌkusitino Māhina
English translation by Mele Haʻamoa Māhina ʻAlatini and Hūfanga-He-Ako-Moe-Lotu, ʻŌkusitino Māhina

1. Ne mana fatulisi ʻa Tonga kotoa	1. Tonga was struck by lightning thunder[83]
Polotikaasi mei he minaleti koula	Broadcast from the gold minaret[84]
Koe ʻevolūsio ē ʻĀtomi Kuonga	The evolution of the Atomic Age[85]
Koe tunameni ē siavelini he oma	A tournament in the swiftest javelin[86]
2. Piutau ē ngaahi kakala ʻiloa	2. The known kakala are gathered
Holo moe ʻefinanga kie hingoa	Along also come the named fine kie
Kae falanaki ʻae Taungapeka	Noisily excited are the hanging bats
He vuna ē ʻutufōmesi siliva	Showered by the silver foamy waves
3. Neu televīsone he satelaite	3. On television via the satellite
Ki Fāʻonelua moe tongitupe	Seeing Fāʻonelua and a lafo game[87]
ʻA siʻo kofu kapikapi mataʻitofe	Your lovely costume made of pearls
Mo ho tekiteki sī laveʻitavake	And headband of tavake feathers
4. ʻIsa neu vīsone heʻeku mohe	4. Alas I had a vision in my sleep

Sio he ngoue fataki ki Papilone	And saw a flower garden carried to Babylon
Matalaʻiʻakau ʻoku taha pē	Therein, is the one-and-only flower
Ne pakiʻi ʻehe Falaosētane	Plucked by women of Mat-of-Satan[88]
Tau/Kōlesi	**Chorus**
Fungamahufā teu mate valelau	Fungamahufā I die hallucinating!
Hoʻo uini kae poini ʻa Pouvalu	Of your winning yet Pouvalu is scoring
ʻOku lekooti kihe pāʻangangalu	Though recorded 'til the end of timespace
Uisa kuo ake ʻeku manatu	And alas! My memory is truly jogged
Koe huli pē ʻoe vao tamanu	It's a shoot of the woods of tamanu[89]
Siʻo mau liku ko Valefanau	Abounding in our liku of Valefanau

NOTES

1. Scholar and multimedia artist and Tongan architect, Unitec Institute of Technology, Tāmaki Makaurau, Aotearoa New Zealand, and Vavaʻu Academy for Critical Inquiry and Applied Research, Vavaʻulahi, Kingdom of Tonga.

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5. Vavaʻu Academy for Critical Inquiry and Applied Research is based on inquiry and research, as a publication-led environment, while Lagi-Maama Academy and Consultancy is driven by knowledge production and knowledge application.

6. Or action speaks louder than words.

7. See (Māhina 2004a; Māhina and Māhina-Tuai 2017; also see Taumoefolau 2011: 132–9).

8. The matters of both the ʻatamai mind and fakakaukau thinking in the ʻuto brain, and ongo feeling and loto desiring in the fatu/mafu heart, are highly developed and refined by way of "Indigenous" knowledge in the Tongan performance arts of faiva taʻanga poetry and faiva lea, i.e., speech giving (or material art of tufunga lea, i.e., speech designing) oratory in contrast to being relatively undeveloped/underdeveloped and unrefined as scientific knowledge in scholarship, and, by the same token, both haʻa professional classes can be taken as both Tongan psychologists and psychiatrists in their own rights (see Lear et al. 2021).

9. A species of Tongan "sweet-singing" native bird; by the way of mapumapu whistling repeatedly in continuously joyful ways, is considered in Tonga as a form of hiva music, usually of popular songs.

10. A punake ʻilo knowledgeable and poto skillful poet is known in Tonga as punake kakato full/master poet as opposed to punake kapo, who is considered as a partial, less knowledgeable, and skillful poet.

11. The term kakala refers to sweet-smelling flowers designed into kupesi geometric designs used as a heliaki metaphor for ʻofa love, a noble human sentiment between ʻofaʻanga lovers; it is also called hiva ʻofa song of love, hiva ʻeva song of courting, and its older form, hiva tango song of courting; they are concerned with the performance art of ʻeva and tango courting, especially of women by men.

12. From a tāvāist philosophical view, "context," like fonua/kalatua culture and tala/lea language, is made good only as a vaka vessel, vehicle, or medium for discussions of "text," on the one hand, as are Tāvāism as a philosophy of reality and lea tafe "language drift" or lea heke "language shift," as a "text," on the other.

13. Or sio seeing and fai doing as "ways of knowing (the real)," i.e., epistemology; also lea and tala both mean language (and tala means hala, with both meaning "way finder"/"pathfinder" by way of ʻilo knowledge and poto skills), i.e., where from both Tāvāism/Realism knowledge is knowledge of tā and vā time and space.

14. Compare with the deployment of ongo sound as a natural entity in the respective material and performance arts of tufunga lea speech making and faiva lea speech giving, i.e., oratory; performance arts of faiva taʻanga poetry; faiva fananga legend telling as a variations of faiva talatupuʻa myth telling/mythology; and faiva hiva music or singing, all of which make use of the human leʻo voice as a form of ongo sound, as is the performance art of faiva tāmeʻalea instrument playing, such as tāfangufangu/ififangufangu nose flute playing; tālali or tānafa drumming; ifikeleʻa conch shell playing; tukipitu stamp tube playing; tāʻukulele ʻukulele playing; tākitā guitar playing; and tāvālingi or helevālingi violin playing, all of which deploy the ongo sound of musical instruments. The term ifi means both blow and hele cut (and also means knife,) of ongo sound as vā space, are a form of tā time.

15. As an artistic and literary device, heliaki metaphor is concerned with "metaphorically saying one thing but historically meaning another," which is divided into three main types of heliaki, viz., heliaki fakafetongiaki qualitative epiphoric metaphor, heliaki fakafekauaki associative metaphoric metaphor, and heliaki fakafefonuaki constitutive metonymic/synecdochic metaphor (see Māhina 2011: 140–66 among many others).

16. Or its opposite inseparable hoa/soa pair/binary, avangiheke, which also means windflow, in the form of mata-ava eye-hole, i.e., as vilotakai "twists and turns," the very point of fakafelavai intersection (or fakahoko connection and fakamāvae separation), where ivi energy as meʻa matter is most dense and intense.

17. That is, a constant motion of ivi energy as meʻa matter, i.e., tā and vā time and space, through the water as a vaka vessel, vehicle, or medium in helix-type, vortex-type, and spiral-like, i.e., mata-ava eye-hole, formations.

18. Both Tongan (and Moanan Oceanian) Tāvāism and Sydney Realism (see Anderson 2007) lie in closer affinity, where the former is grounded in tā-vā temporality-spatiality, i.e.,

reality (see Kaʻili, Māhina, and Addo 2017: 1–17), and the latter is rooted in reality, i.e., tā-vā temporality-spatiality (also see Harvey 2000: 134–40).

19. As a brand of philosophy, Tongan (and Moanan Oceanian) Tāvāism is based in temporality-spatiality, i.e., reality, like Sydney Realism (and British Empiricism) as a branch of philosophy, which is grounded in reality, i.e., temporality-spatiality, in direct opposition to all mind-dependent brands of philosophy that include, amid many others, German Idealism and French Rationalism (including American Pragmatism; see Anderson 2007; also Anderson, Cullum, and Lycos 1982).

20. Or ʻiai, i.e., reality.

21. Or faʻahifā/faʻakifā, i.e., four-sided dimensionality.

22. Or fonua/kalatua, i.e., culture.

23. Or tala/lea, i.e., language.

24. As opposed to their social organization in singular, techno-teleological, individualistic, atomistic, and linear ways in the West.

25. Unlike tāvāist philosophical hoaism/soaism, which embraces both fakahoko connection and fakamāvae separation (i.e., fakafelavai intersection), philosophical dualism privileges fakamāvae separation above fakahoko connection, while anthropological binarism recognizes the metaphorical over the historical.

26. Or faʻahitolu/faʻakitolu, i.e., three-sided dimensionality; to treat vā space and uho content in isolation, from tā time and fuo form is to treat ʻiai reality, i.e., tā-vā time-space, as taʾetā "timeless" and taʻefuo "formless"; and the reverse holds true, i.e., the privileging of tā time and fuo form over vā space and uho content is to treat it as taʾevā "spaceless" and taʻeuho "formless."

27. Or action as a temporal entity.

28. Or fakatā/fakafuo, i.e., time-definer/marker.

29. Or object as a spatial entity.

30. Or fakavā/fakauho, i.e., space-constitutor/composer.

31. Or maau/fenāpasi, i.e., order.

32. Or felekeu/fepaki, i.e., conflict.

33. Or mata eye or, its mirror image, ava hole.

34. Or fakafelavai, i.e., intersection.

35. Or fakahoko, i.e., connection.

36. Or fakamāvae, i.e., separation.

37. Or faʻoaki, i.e., constituted/composed.

38. Or fonua/kalatua, i.e., culture.

39. Or talaki, i.e., transmitted/communicated.

40. Or tala or lea, i.e., language.

41. Or tā-vā, i.e., temporal-spatial.

42. Or fuo-uho, i.e., formal-substantial.

43. Or ʻaonga-ngāue, i.e., functional-practical.

44. Whereas faiva performance arts are tefito-he-loto-sino body-centered/body-centric, both tufunga material and nimameaʻa fine arts are tefito-he-tuʻa-sino nonbody-centered/no-body-centric and, by extension, both faiva performance and tufunga material arts are predominantly male led, while nimameaʻa fine arts are largely female based.

45. Or tauhi/tokangaʻi mo maluʻi, i.e., conservation/preservation and safeguarding.

46. Or fakatolonga, tauhi, mo maluʻi, i.e., preservation and safekeeping.

47. Or kuohoko "that-which-has-happened," hoko "that-which-is-happening," and kahoko "that which-is-yet-to-happen."

48. See local and regional variations of lea language, as in Tongan leʻo and Maori reo, both meaning voice and language, respectively; cf. also local and regional variations of tala language, e.g., tala, tara, hala, ala, ara, all meaning way finder as ʻilo/poto knowledge/skill led.

49. The Tongan sense of resilience are fakahēhē mahaki/fakaakeake puke. In note 49, please confirm "puke" as in the COVID-19 and fakaakeake faingataʻa as in the peau kula red waves, the Tongan equivalent of tsunami harbor and tidal seismic sea waves (see Mulgan et al., in prep; also see Potauaine and Māhina 2011: 194–216; Māhina 2020: 110–23).

50. This is intimately linked to the Tongan tāvāist philosophical aesthetic sense relating to art (literature) making by way of both "process" and "outcome," viz., auvalevale/auiiki/tuʻovalevale/fuovalevale smaller but finer texture over aulalahi/tuʻolalahi/fuolalahi bigger and coarser texture, where the former is considered good work of art (and literature) and the latter as bad work of art (and literature).

51. Their divine domain was Maama, symbolic name for Tonga, and the respective divine realms of goddess Hikuleʻo and kau ʻotua Tangaloa gods/deities were Pulotu and Langi symbolic names for Fiji and Sāmoa, and later with the goddess Hina and the Māhina Moon as her divine domain (see Kaʻili 2019; Māhina 1992, 2019: 43–45).

52. A looming-large kakai-ʻātakai human-environment crisis, climate change is translated into Tongan as liliu matangi wind change, involving a shift from matangi momoko cold wind to matangi māfana warm wind and matangi vaivai weak wind to matangi mālohi strong wind. This is directly opposed to its translation as liliu ʻea air change (Māhina 2020: 110–23).

53. Tāvāist philosophical hoaism/soaism, defined by the plurality and complexity surrounding the intersection or connection and separation of things, events, or states of affairs, is in stark contrast to the ahistoricism underlining philosophical dualism and anthropological binarism.

54. As in hotau tahi ʻotumotu "our sea of islands," convincingly yet powerfully originated and propagated by the late Professor Epeli Hauʻofa in his seminal essay as a brilliant critique of "colonized knowledge" versus "decolonized knowledge," respectively, by way of fakatatau mediation and fakatauʻatāina liberation versus fakaēhaua imposition and fakapōpula domination.

55. Where the Tongan term halafakavakavaka can be literally translated into English as "road/way-in-the-style-of-a-boat," where the vaka boat is used as a heliaki metaphor for hala/tala road (as a form of knowledge).

56.Where the Tongan word halafakakavakava can be literally translated into English as "road/way-in-the-style-of-a-rib-cage" or "road/way-in-the-style-of-a-kava-plant" or "road/way-in-the-style-of-a-beard"; by the way, the kava plant is said to have been named in the myth of its origin because of the close resemblance of the akaʻikava kava roots and kava beard.

57. The word havili/havilivili is derived from the term vilo (as opposed to milo), meaning "gentle-blowing winds," which are helix-type, vortexlike, and spiral-like, i.e., mata-ava eye-hole formations; the same holds true for vili drill, which is derived from vilo twist; and vili/vilivili/fakavili/fakavilivili, i.e., vilo/vilovilo/fakavilo/fakavilovilo used for one who repeatedly asks for favor, as in persistently asking for money; similarly the word vilitaki, i.e., vilotakai twist and turn, is applied to a person who indiscriminately pursues an interest in education and the like.

58. The English word wheel can be translated into Tongan as vaʻe/veʻe and vaʻeteka/veʻeteka, where the latter means, "rolling/rotating wheel," i.e., "twisting and turning wheel," in helix, vortex, kupesi geometric design, mata-ava eye-hole formations, which is by nature vilo/vilovilo/vili/vilivili "spiral" in modus operandi (see Māhina 2002: 5–9, 29–30 among others).

59. The global pandemic COVID-19 is a fertile ground for the growth and development of Tongan language, as in ʻaisoleti for isolate/isolation (or fakamavahevahe, the old Tongan word); kōviti/kōveti-19 for COVID-19; kualenitini for quarantine; lingikī for links; lokatauni/lokatāpuni for lockdown; masikī (or pūloa, the old Tongan word) for masks; niu nōmolo for new normal (or nōmolo motuʻa, a Tongan hybrid term); pāpolo for bubble (as in pula for balloon); penitēmiki for pandemic; pota for border (or kauʻāfonua, the old Tongan word); sepi for jab; sumu for Zoom; soti for shot; uepinā for Webinar; vailasi for virus; vekisini (or faitoʻo/huhu) for vaccines; vekisineisini (or huhu) for vaccination; vausia for vouchers; and many more (see Māhina 2020 110–23).

60. Like the material art of tufunga nimatapu (sacred hands; dead handling), the word fatuʻa has found its way to the performance arts of faiva taʻanga poetry and faiva lea (and material art of tufunga lea) oratory, as in the a few kohi lines form two sung and danced poetry of love, viz., "Ne fatuʻa ē matangi kihe Tuʻalikutapu" (The wind headed towards Tuʻalikutapu) by Queen Sālote (see Wood-Ellem 2004) and "He taumalesia, he tamaleula, ʻO fatuʻa he Funga

Fāua," (The winds blow along taumalesia and taumaleula, Headed towards Fāua Harbour) by Siale Lātū, Maeapalaivai.

61. There are cases in which the tafe/heke drift/shift in the Tongan language is strictly "contextual" rather than "textual." For example, the words fatongi/fatongia socioeconomic/sociomaterial obligations are a change from the words fetongi/fetongia exchange; this is evident in the context of Tongan mode of politics and economics, viz., tauhivā sociopolitical/sociospatial relations and faifatongia performing socioeconomic/sociomaterial obligations (see Kaʻili 2017b; Māhina 2020).

62. Of great interest is another example of language tafe/heke drift/shift, viz., the word faki/fakifaki, originally meaning "tearing off," as in the leaves of shrubs, which has variously shifted to fulehi/fulefulehi; fule/fulefule, fuleʻi/fulefuleʻi; fuke/fukefuke; fukeʻi/fukefukeʻi; fukehi/fukefukehi; paki/pakipaki; pakihi/pakipakihi; pakiʾi/pakipakiʾi; haki/hakihaki; and many more.

63. See (Māhina 2005b: 168–83, 2011: 140–66).

64. Or the material art of tufunga lea speech designing or oratory, which is tefito-he-tuʻa-sino nonbody-centered/bodycentric, i.e., created by the sino body outside of the sino body (see Māhina 2005b: 168–83; Māhina and Māhina-Tuai 2007).

65. Translated as "pleasing is the World War II."

66. Translated as "kiu plover having labor pain at midnight."

67. Translated as "shoot of the tamanu tree forest."

68. There is a tafe drift or heke shift from the word minaleti to the term minoneti, having no bearing on the word used in the lyrics.

69. The tafe drift or heke shift is from the term "siavelini" to the word "sialelini," rendered as meaningless as far as both the "text" and "context" are concerned.

70. There exists a tafe drift or heke shift from tamanu to matamanu literally meaning the "eye-of-the-animal," used as a heliaki metaphor variety for its troubling behaviour as sharp-pointed shrubs or weeds.

71. It is tāvāistically argued that ʻilo knowledge is ʻilo knowledge Please confirm sentence "It is tāvāistically argued that ʻilo knowledge is ʻilo knowledge"(and poto skills), as well as beauty/quality and utility/functionality of tā-vā time-space and of ʻiai reality or faʻahifā tafaʻakifā, or tapaʻakifā four-sided dimensionality.

72. (See Wood-Ellem 2004: 159.)

73. Or, how pleasing their rapport.

74. Or Feʻaomoengalu.

75. Or Fāʻonelua, which is the name of a particular tongolei mangrove tree at Lapaha, Muʻa, last of the ancient seat of the Tuʻi Tonga.

76. Or Tangitangiʻamanu.

77. Or maiden.

78. Or bountiful.

79. Or Pāʻangatalanoa.

80. Or Tālangamoevale.

81. Transliterated as "cliff of silver foamy waves" or "cliff of silver foamy seas," where "siliva silver" is commonly used as a heliaki metaphor for "hina white," as in "peau siliva silver foamy waves" and "peau hina,white foamy waves" (see Lear et al. 2021).

82. A Kalapu Kava Tonga Tongan Kava Club, where music is featured prominently alongside kava drinking through caring for and sharing of resources and liberating of each other as a social collective.

83. A heliaki, metaphor (i.e., "metaphorically saying one thing but historically meaning another") for the mobilization of the whole of Tonga for the great occasion of a Fili Misi Talavou Miss Beauty Pageant, where beauty queens all over Tonga were vying for the top award. Two of the contestants were ladies of noble birth, who were closely related, when the one from Fungamahufā won the overall competition over the one from Pouvalu, as heliaki metaphors for the villages of Houma and Kolovai respectively, with the poet a close relative of both hailing from the latter (tau/kōlesi chorus, kohi/laini lines one and two). By the way, the poet used English borrowings in Tongan as heliaki metaphors throughout the piece in both creative and innovative, affective and effective ways in the creative process (see Helu 1999b: 56–60; Kaeppler 2007: 67–74; Māhina 2009: 505–11).

84. A heliaki metaphor for the then local radio A3Z.

85. A heliaki metaphor for technological development and advancement.

86. The local Tongan equivalent is the performance art of faiva sika (ʻulutoa) javelin throwing, often used as a heliaki metaphor for such competitions, deployed by the poet with a sense of both originality and creativity.

87. A highly developed and refined ancient/old performance art faiva lafo lafo-disc-throwing, which requires depth of ʻilo knowledge and poto skills of both great mastery and precision.

88. Translated as "Mat of Satan," a heliaki metaphor for the long stretch of beautiful sandy beaches along the leeward side of hihifo western side, also known as Hihifo of the main island of Tongaʻeiki/Tongatapu/Tongalahi (see Helu 1995b: 56–60; Kaeppler 2007: 67–74; Māhina 2009: 505–11).

89. A heliaki metaphor for the Pouvalu, i.e., Kolovai girl, who was not winning but surely scoring high points for both the thinking and feeling that she was, nevertheless, a descendant of people of great beauty.

90. The term kupe as in kupenga and kupesi means intersection or connection and separation as in Kupe, the famous original Maori toutaivaka/faifolau navigator/voyager and toʻa warrior, which means the intersector or connector and separator of kohi lines (or tā times) and vā space; the kupenga net (or grid), which is considered a gigantic kupesi geometric design in the sky above, involves the fakafelavai intersection (or fakahoko connection and fakamāvae separation) of kohi lines and vā spaces associated with Velenga as the ʻotua god of toutaivaka navigation (and faiva faifolau voyaging).

91. (See Māhina 2019: 43–45; also see Kaʻili 2019: 23–29.)

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KOLOSALIO LEA TONGA: GLOSSARY OF TONGAN WORDS

ʻAati	art
Ako	education
ʻAliʻi	chief; chiefliness; see ʻeiki
ʻAriki	chief; chiefliness; see ʻeiki
ʻAonga	utility; use
ʻAonga-ngāue	functional-practical

ʻĀtakai	environment
ʻAtamai	mind
ʻAkua	god; see ʻotua
ʻAtua	god; see ʻotua
Ava	hole; opening
Avangiheke	wind shift
ʻEiki	chief; chiefliness; see aliʻi and ariki
ʻEva	courting
Faʻahifā	four-sided/four-sided dimensionality
Fāʻele	birth
Faʻitoka/faitoka	burial place, cemetery/grave
Faiva	performance art
Faiva haka	performance art of dance
Faiva hiva	performance art of music
Faiva lea	performance art of speech giving; see ufunga lea
Faiva taʻanga	performance art of poetry
Fakaafo	music composing; see fakafasi
Fakaehaua	tyranny
Fakafasi	music composing; see fakaafo
Fakafatu	poetry composing; see fakafaʻu
Fakafaʻu	poetry composing; see fakafatu
Fakafelavai	intersect, intersection
Fakafuo	content-constitutor/composer
Fakahoko	connect, connection
Fakahaka	choreograph; dance composing; see fakasino
Fakakaukau	thinking
Fakalaumālie	climatic elation in the church; see tauēlangi
Fakamāvae	separate, separation
Fakaʻofoʻofa	beauty; see mālie beauty
Fakapōpula	oppression, domination
Fakatauʻatāina	liberation, autonomy, freedom, independence
Fakasino	choreograph; dancing composng; see fakahaka
Fakatatau	mediation; see fakafenāpasi mediation and/or "modeling"
Fatu	heart; see mafu heart
Fanua	people and environment; see fonua "person" and "place"
Felekeu	choas, conflict, crisis
Fenua	people and environment; see fonua
Fepaki	conflict, chaos, crisis

Fenāpasi	order, symmetry, harmony
Fonua	people and environment; see fonua
Fuo	form; see tā time
Fuo-uho	form-content, formal-substantial
Fuʻufuʻungamoʻui	full of life; life force
Fuiva	variety of sweet-singing bird
Hala	way, path, route, direction; way finder/path-finder; see tala "way finder"
Halafakakavakava	bridge, a langauge heke/tafe (drift/shift)
Halafakavakavaka	bridge, as vaka "boatlike" formation; original form
Hanua	people and environment; see fonua "person" and "place"
Havili	wind, a form of "vilo" twist
Havilivili	gentle blowing wind, see "havilivili" "windy," also "vili" "drill"
Heke	shift; move; slide
Hele	cut, slice; knife
Helevālingi	performance art of violin playing
Heliaki	poetry/oratory device
Heliaki fakafekauaki	qualitative epiphoric heliaki "metaphor"
Heliaki fakafetongiaki	associative metaphoric heliaki "metaphor"
Heliaki fakafefonuaki	constitutive metonymic/synecdochic heliaki "metaphor"
Hikuleʻo	goddess of Pulotu; see Goddess Hina
Huipeʻe	mucus, a language "drift" or "shift"
Hoa	pair, duality, binary; see soa (Samoan for Hoa)
Hoaism	pertaining to hoa (pair/duality/binary); see pairism, dualism, and binarism
Hoakehekehe	unequal/dissimilar pair/duality/binary; see hoatamaki "unequal," "dissimilar," and "pair/binary"
Hoamālie	equal/similar pair/duality/binary; see hoatatau "equal/similar" and "pair/duality/binary"
Hoatamaki	unequal/dissimilar, pair/duality/binary; see hoakehekehe "unnequal/dissimilar" and "pair/duality/binary"
Hoatatau	equal/similar pair/duality/binary; see hoamālie "equal," "similar," and "pair/duality/binary"
Hoko	connect, connection
Honua	people and environment; see fonua "person" and "place"

Hū	enter, entrance
Huipeʻe	mucus, a "language drift/shift"; see ihupeʻe "mucus" as original
ʻIai	reality
Ififangufangu	performance art of nose flute playing; see tāfangufangu "nose flute playing"
Ifikeleʻa	performance art of conch shell playing,
Ifo	delicious, nutritious, tasteful
Ihupeʻe	mucus-flowing nose
Iki/ikiiki/iiki	small; see siʻi/siʻisiʻi small
Kahaʻu	historical future "that-which-is-yet-to-come"; see kuongamui "age-in-the-front" as the metaphorical
Kahoko	historical future "that-which-is-yet-to-happen"; see kahaʻu "that-which-is-yet-to-come" as the historical
Kakai	people
Kakala	sweet-smelling flowers; designed sweet-smelling flowers/barks/leaves
Kalatua	culture; see fonua "culture" (and "history")
Kihi/kihikihi	small, dwarf; see siʻi/siʻisiʻi "small"
Kisi/kisikisi	small; see siʻi/siʻisiʻi "small"
Kōlesi	chorus; see tau chorus
Kuohili	historical past "that-which-has-passed"; see kuohoko
Kuohoko	historical past "that-which-has-happened"; see kuohili and kuohoko "that-which-has-passed"
Kuongaloto	heliaki metaphorical present "age-in-the-middle/midpoint/center"; see the "historical present" lotolotonga and hoko "that-which-is-happening/now"
Kuongamuʻa	heliaki metaphorical past "age-in-the-front"; see "historical past" kuohili and kuohoko "that-which-has-taken-place/happened"
Kuongamui	heliaki metaphorical future "age-in-the-back"; see kahaʻu and kahoko "that-which-is-yet-to-take-place/happen"
Kupenga	net; see kupesi "geometric design"
Kupesi	geometric design; see kupenga as a form of kupesi "geometric design"[90]
Liliu	translate, translation, change

Lea	language, word; also see tala "language"
Liliulea	language translation
Loloto	deep/depth
Lolotonga	historical present; see hoko and lotolotonga, a "langauge drift/shift"
Loto	center/middle, heart, inside, desire
Lotolotonga	historical present; see hoko
Maau	order; it also means poem
Māfana	warmth
Mafu	heart; see fatu
Māhuʻinga	important, a lea tafe/heke "drift/shift"
Mata	eye
Mama-ava	eye-hole
Malaʻe	burial place; cemetery/grave; also see faʻitoka burial place/cemetery/grave
Mālie	beauty, quality, and aesthetically pleasing
Manupuna	bird, literally meaning "flying animal"
Mapu	whistle; whistling, as in fuiva mapu "sweet-whistling fuiva bird"
Matangiheke	wind shift
Matapā	door; doorway
Milo	twist, a language "drift" or "shift"; see vilo "twist"
Milolua/Miloua	double twist and turn as a kava-making technique, a lea tafe/heke "langauge drift/shift"; also see vilolua/viloua "double twist and turn," the original
Motu	isle, islet, or island; break, separate, isolate,
Motu, motumotu	isle, islet, or island; break, separate, isolate
Motuʻihuo	well-used, worn-out hoe, i.e., "broken hoe"
Muʻa	front, forward
Mui	back, backward, behind
Mutu/Mutumutu	break, separate, isolate, a lea tafe/heke "language drift/shift"
Mutuʻi huo	well-used, worn-out hoe, i.e., "broken hoes," a lea heke/tafe "language drift/shift"
Moʻui	life
Moana	ocean; also see ʻōseni "ocean"
Ngalu	wave; see peau "wave"
Nimameaʻa	fine art
ʻOfa	love
ʻOfaʻanga	lover; loved one

Ongo	feel/feeling, hear/hearing, sound
ʻOtua	god; see ʻakua and ʻatua "god"
Pōpula	tyranny, oppression
Paki/Pakipaki	break, separate, isolate, i.e., "broken," a lea tafe/heke "language drift/shift"
Peau	wave; see ngalu "wave"
Peʻe	mucus; also see overipe peʻe as in "breadfruit"
Piko/Pikopiko	break, separate, isolate, i.e., "broken," "curved"
Pikoʻi huo	well-used, worn-out hoe, i.e., "broken hoe," a lea tafe/heke "language drift/shift"
Popo/Popopopo	break, separate, isolate, i.e., "rotten"
Popoʻi huo	well-used, worn-out hoe, i.e., "broken hoe," a lea tafe/heke "language drift/shift"
Poko/Pokopoko	break, separate, isolate, i.e., "broken"
Pokoʻi huo	well-used, worn-out hoe, i.e., "broken hoe"
Potupotutatau	harmony
Potu/Potupotu	break, separate, isolate, i.e., "broken"
Potuʻi huo	well-used, worn-out hoe, i.e., "broken hoe"
Pulotu	ancestral homeland and afterworld[91]
Punake kakato	full, knowledgeable, and skillful poet
Punake kapo	partial, less knowledgeable, and skillful poet
Putu/Putuputu	break, separate, isolate, i.e., "broken"
Putuʻi huo	well-used, worn-out hoe, i.e., "broken hoe"
Siʻi/Siʻisiʻi	small; see tiʻi/tiʻitiʻi and kihi/kihikihi "small"
Sino	body
Soa	pair, binary; see hoa "pair," "binary"
Soaism	pertaining; see hoaism
Tā	time, beat, hit, pace, rate
Tā-vā	time-space, temporal-formal
Taʻefuo	formless
Taʻetā	timeless
Taʻeuho	contentless
Taʻevā	spaceless
Tafaʻakifā	four-sided, four-sided dimensionality; see faʻahifā and tafaʻakifā "four-sided dimensionality"
Tāfangufangu	performanance of nose flute playing, see ififangufangu "nose flute playing"
Tahi	sea
Tākita	guitar playing

Tala	laguage; way finder/pathfinder; see hala "way finder/pathfinder"
Tālali	performance art of drumming; see tānafa "drumming"
Tānafa	performance art of drumming; see tālali "drumming"
Tapaʻakifā	four-sided, four-sided dimensionality; see faʻahifā and tafaʻakifā "four-sided dimensionality"
Tauēlangi	climatic elation; see fakalaumālie "in the church"
Tauʻatāina	freedom, autonomy, independence
Tāʻukulele	performance art of ʻukulele playing
Taumafakava	royal kava ceremony; see taumafatō "sugarcane ceremony," i.e., taumafakava-taumafatō kava "sugarcane ceremony"
Taumafatō	royal sugarcane ceremony; see taumafakava kava "ceremony" or taumafakave-taumafatō kava "sugarcane ceremony"
Tā-vā	time-space
Tāvāism	brand of tā-vā "time-space philosophy"
Tāvāist	philosopher/upholder of tāvāism
Taʻanga hiva ʻeva	love song; see taʾanga hiva kakala, taʻanga hiva ʻofa, and taʻanga hiva "tango"
Taʻanga hiva kakala	song of sweet-scented-flowers, love song; see taʻanga hiva ʻeva, hiva ʻofa, and taʻanga hiva "tango"
Taʻanga hiva ʻofa	love song; see taʻanga hiva ʻeva, taʻanga hiva kakala,taʻanga hiva ʻofa, and taʻanga hiva "tango"
Taʻanga hiva tango	love song; see taʻanga hiva ʻeva, taʻanga hiva kakala, taʻanga hiva ʻofa, and taʻanga hiva "tango"
Takai	turn
Tatau	symmetry
Tatala	unveil, strip
Tau	chorus; see kōlesi "chorus"
Tefito-he-loto-sino	body centered
Tefito-he-tuʻa-sino	nonbody centered
Teke	drift; move; push
Tō	time; see tā and tū as lea tafe/heke "language drift/shift"
Tū	time; see tō and tū "time"

Tufunga lea	material art of speech designing
Tufunga tohi	author; material art of writing or book writing
Tukipitu	stamp tube playing
Uho	content; see vā "space"
ʻUto	brain or white inside fibrous of coconut seedling
Vā	space; also see uho "content"
Vaʻe	wheel, foot/feet
Vaka	boat
Veʻe	wheel, foot/feet; a lea tafe/heke "language drift/shift"
Vili	drill/driller, a lea tafe/heke "language drift/shift" from "vilo" twist
Vilo	twist, original word
Vilolua	double twists and turns; see milolua/miloua as a lea tafe/heke "language drift/shift" from vilolua/viloua "double twist and turn"
Viloua	double twist and turn
Vilotakai	twist and turn
Vovo	tasteful; delicious; mouthful
Whenua	people and environment; see fonua "person" and "place"

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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 Hawai'i (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 aelōñ eo. Jukjuk im bed ilo aelōñ eo ad, elap an emōn. Ejjab einwōt Enewetak. Moud eo ilo aelōñ 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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FISHING CAMPS AND TOPIARY TREES: PLACE, AFFECT, AND MORAL AGENCY IN A PAPUA NEW GUINEA MODERNITY

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Despite being regarded as a founding father in sociology and as no less canonical in anthropology (Merton 1934; Horowitz 1982), the overall theoretical framework of Durkheim's arguments with respect to place, affect, and agency in *The Division of Labor in Society* (1933) and *The Elementary Forms of Religious Life* (1995) are too often ignored or unwittingly reinvented (Stewart 2007; Berlant 2008). I therefore want to begin this essay with a brief outline of how I understand his main points in order to lay a theoretical groundwork for my analysis of the shifting relationship of place, affect, and agency among the Murik Lakes people who live on the political and economic margins of postcolonial modernity in Papua New Guinea.

Durkheim's View of Place, Affect, and Moral Agency

In Durkheim's view, place, affect, and agency are socially defined. Therefore, the key features he attributes to "the social" must be appreciated. They are as follows. First, embodied people are morally undisciplined and subject to individually based desires and feeling that make them disregard moral norms and obligations. Second, at the same time, people live in moral solidarities, which consist of orderly, interconnected units or associations of relationships. Third, representations (or signs) of the collective interests and sentiments of these solidarities are projected onto sacred symbols, such as objects, places, and ancestors, which are seen to have powerful affective significance and are sources of moral agency. Fourth, these representations are understood as objective—they

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appear as external and concrete "things" (Horowitz 1982, 60) that are sui generis rather than man-made—dimensions of life (Durkheim 1933, 106). In other words, the Durkheimian view of the relationship of moral order to place, affect, and agency is paradoxical. Good and bad are inextricably intertwined. Collective life is seen to give rise to the good, while individual embodiments that make up collective life inevitably undercut it.

Durkheim went on to draw an important analytical distinction. For him, there are two kinds of moral order and therefore two kinds of moral persons who possess contrary kinds of affect and agency and live in contrary kinds of places. In the one, which he called mechanical solidarity, moral interests, beliefs, and sentiments are uniformly held to such an extent that social resemblances or likenesses prevail according to which persons and things become "the object of common sentiments" (Durkheim 1933, 127). A central feature of persons who live in mechanical solidarity is that they are directly bound to society "without any intermediary" (Durkheim 1933, 129) because collective life "completely envelops . . . [their] whole conscience and coincides in all points with it. . . . [A]t that moment,...individuality is nil" (Durkheim 1933, 130). The group is therefore "the heart, the center of . . . [a] common" moral being (Durkheim 1933, 112). They thus "love their country. They will it as they will themselves, hold to it durably and for prosperity, because, without it, a great part of their psychic lives would function poorly" (Durkheim 1933, 105). The key concept of the relationship between self, society, and place is that it is unmediated by specialized, nonlocal institutions. The ancestors are part of the land, no less than their descendants. And their relationship does not need to be legitimized by the state.

By contrast, in organic solidarity, individuals do not resemble each other (Durkheim 1933, 131). On account of a more specialized economy, in which labor is more differentiated, individualism prevails in society and persons become indirectly linked or bound to one another in ways that require the certification by morally neutral third parties, such as obstetricians or coroners. Mechanical solidarity, he posited, gives way to organic solidarity (Durkheim 1933, 174), which is to say it gives way to modernity and its differentiated institutions, a stage of social life that Durkheim viewed not as progress but as little more than "moral mediocrity" (Durkheim 1995, 321).

Now, I want to revise and extend Durkheim's distinction a little. In contexts of mechanical solidarity, my view is that the moral self is part of rather than separate from the other (Meeker, Barlow, and Lipset 1986). People, animals, plants, manufactured objects, and places, the whole environment in short, may be understood as collective representations (or signs) of moral integration, which is to say they constitute practices and activities through which moral society is reproduced. Thus, contacts with people, objects, and places do not only signify the moral integration of self and other, they contribute to an "ethos" (Bateson

1956; Nuckolls 1995) that is suffused with a sense of well-being and satisfaction because social relationships have been cared for and will go on.

In a famous section of *The Elementary Forms of Religious Life*, Durkheim (1995) observed that the ritual calendar was divided in half in an Australian Aboriginal tribe. In the ceremonial part of the cycle, families stopped hunting and gathering and divided into moieties to celebrate a *corroboree* that honored their totemic ancestor Wollunqua, the Rainbow Serpent, and initiated male youth. On the fourth day, late at night, the two groups were "in a state of obvious excitement" (Durkheim 1995:219):

> With fires flickering on all sides, . . . the Uluuru [group] knelt in a single file beside [a] . . . mound . . . [of sand], then moved around it, rising in unison with both hands on their thighs, keeling again a little further along, and so on. At the same time, they moved their bodies left and then right, at each movement letting out an echoing scream . . . at the top of their voices, Yrrsh! Yrrsh! Yrrsh! Meanwhile, the Kingilli [group] . . . sounded their boomerangs. . . . When the procession of the Uluuru [group] had circled the mound twice, they rose from their kneeling position, seated themselves, and took to singing. . . . At the first sign of day, everyone jumped to their feet; the fires that had gone out were relit; urged on by the Kingilli [group], the Uluuru [group] furiously attacked the mound with boomerangs, lances and sticks, and in a few minutes it was in pieces. The fires died and there was profound silence.

Durkheim arrives at a theoretically staggering conclusion about affect from this scene: the power of collective sentiments experienced in these kinds of "effervescent social milieu" is cosmologically and morally generative. Indeed, it is from that "very effervescence that . . . the religious idea seems to have been born" (Durkheim 1995, 220). Emotions aroused in "such a state of exaltation" might make a man feel he has taken on a new identity, especially because everyone else seems similarly transformed at the moment. Singing, shouting, and carrying on, the celebrants may all have entered an extraordinary world inhabited by beings and powers that differed from persons in everyday life. In other words, Durkheim derived a concept of the supernatural from ecstatic ego-alien states of being in which the moral self, which was otherwise part of the other in mechanical solidarity, now became transformed into the other. To what end? Affective experience was the undisguised center of society. It infused people with agency and gave them to feel a "joyful confidence" (Durkheim 1995, 225). Here we arrive at the crux of Durkheim's view of place, affect, and moral agency: "the faithful are not mistaken when they believe in the existence of a moral power to which they are subject and from which they receive what is best in themselves. That power

exists, and it is society" (Durkheim 1995: 226–7). The significance of the site of the corroboree, which fades into the background of the scene, should not be overlooked, particularly for the purposes of this essay. Why do the Warramunga assemble? To celebrate their social origin, which goes back to their ancestor, the Rainbow Serpent. The significance of the location of their corroboree does not derive from its material features but from the two groups of men who decorate the participants, ready the instruments, and pile up a little mound of sand on which they paint a red image of Wollunqua. In other words, the place is nothing other than a site of moral agency through which society reproduces itself.

Place, Affect, and Agency in Melanesian Societies

In mechanical solidarities—in which identity is not merely assumed to resemble the other but in a stronger sense it is understood to be an unmediated part of the other—place is thus conceived as a spatial center for moral reproduction to which strong affective attachments are felt and from which agency accrues. If so, we should not be surprised to learn that in Melanesia, where societies were certainly made up of moral relationships of this very kind (and continue to be, in modified forms), place is indeed understood as a social and moral signifier. "Personhood . . . and . . . kinship is geography" in Melanesia to which people feel sentiments of "topographic belonging" (Telban 2019, 488) and derive power. I shall present a couple of brief examples.

Along the middle Sepik River, Iatmul men refer to specific features in a landscape that the totemic ancestors created by naming them or to paths along which they walked. Living men identify with these locales and movements, not only because they share their names but also because they understand themselves to be part of the same body of their ancestors and these places. "Thus a man's name might refer to a river . . . [and] the names of his siblings, parents, grandparents, and other relatives, including his children, have been drawn from features and events that occurred in the area of that river" (Silverman 1998, 428). In this part of the river, in other words, "names mediate . . . identity and the landscape" (Silverman 1998, 2001: 190–1; Harrison 1990:48, Wassmann 1991).[1]

In Durkheim's terms, the Iatmul case illustrates an unmediated relationship between self, environment, and place in a mechanical solidarity. Other accounts foreground links that tie affect to moral agency and place more explicitly. Take, for example, the Gisaro dance staged by the Kaluli people of the Papuan Plateau, which serves as the climax of Edward Schieffelin's (1976) ethnographic masterpiece, *The Sorrow of the Lonely and the Burning of the Dancers*. In a longhouse performance hosted by resident clansmen, a handful of resplendent young dancers are serenaded by a chorus of men singing songs referring initially to places in the countyside and then to more specific locations on their property. Aroused

by memories of deceased kin who lived and worked in these locales, a senior member of the host clan was overcome by grief, loneliness, and abandonment and "burst into loud wails of anguish . . . [and] grab[bed] . . . a torch . . . and jam[med] . . . the burning end forcefully into . . . [a] dancer's bare shoulder." Other youth yell and brandish axes, while the burned dancer moved slowly, as the senior man fled the scene "to wail on the veranda." Next morning, the dancers gave food to members of the audience, whom had been brought to tears, these gifts being construed as inadequate but which nevertheless renewed moral relations with the mourners. Their loneliness for the dead having been momentarily forestalled, they are left reinvigorated. "Since many people wept, the ceremony was felt to have been a good one" (Schieffelin 1976: 21–4). Features of the landscape along the Sepik River are named for the totemic ancestors whose living descendants receive their names from patrilineal kin, thus to reproduce place and society through moral agency. Although the Kaluli performance differs in the sense that it dwells upon death and feelings of loss, the relationship of moral agency to the reproduction of place and society could hardly be more pronounced.

A third example, this one from the north coast of Papua New Guinea (PNG), features affects aroused when Reite kin groups build *palem* platforms. The Reite see the platform as a "body,"[2] which also refers to a coresident kin group who build it with the help of their ancestor-spirits as well as to the Male Cult. The platform is named for the place on which it is built, and it is decorated with a pig, taro, and other foods. Amid many subsidiary exchanges that occur, an important one is given to an affine in return for the ritual work he has done or will do on behalf of a child. "The making of a palem . . . is the moment par excellence of the efforts Reite people make to show themselves and their places of origin as social entities" (Leach 2003,156fn9, 162). In other words, the palem platform expressed the collective identity of a kin group's moral agency in place. The hosts then beat "an enormous roll on their slit-gongs, by which the recipients are 'chased' out of the hamlet." They race away, "whooping and shouting as they carry the pig back" home (Leach 2003, 175). Host women will sometimes follow after the dancers, "falling in love with the smell, sight and most of all, the resonant voices . . . of the visiting hamlet singing together with their animating spirits . . . of the land from which the[y] . . . come" (Leach 2003, 182). No less than the totemic landscape along the Sepik River and the Kaluli mourners, the case of the Reite platforms shows us a concept of moral agency in which collective identity and place are reproduced amid expressions of affect (see also Meiser 1955; von Poser 2014).

Place, Affect, and Moral Agency in the Murik Lakes

I introduced a Durkheimian view of place, moral agency, and affect in contexts of mechanical solidarity. I then applied his framework to three ethnographic

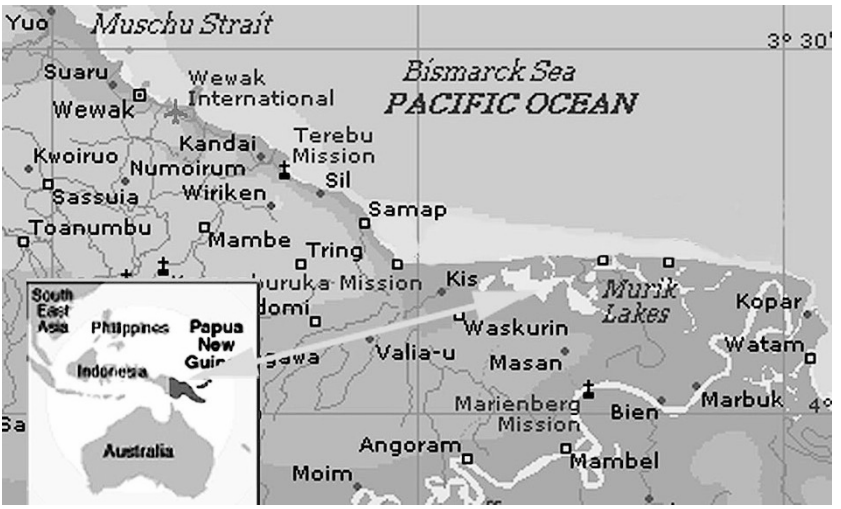

FIGURE 1. **The Murik Lakes, North Coast of Papua New Guinea.**

examples drawn from PNG societies. Now I turn to the relationship of place to moral agency and affect among the Murik Lakes people, with whom I have done longitudinal research (1981–2014, Fig. 1). These data shed light on how PNG modernity has begun to impact this relationship.

The Murik Lakes are a system of inshore brackish lagoons (about 160 square miles in size). They are separated from the Bismarck Sea by narrow barrier islands and intertidal mangrove forests that stretch along the coast for about 40 miles west of the mouth of the Sepik River. From 2010 to 2014, I conducted a Global Positioning System (GPS)–based survey of the social geography of this vulnerable intertidal environment. One goal was to elicit normative dimensions of what "place" meant and how those meanings might or might not be shifting in the time of sea-level rise during the early Anthropocene (Lipset 2011, 2013, 2014). As it was based in a participatory model of GPS-related research practices (Rambaldi et al. 2006, 2), I recruited small groups of men to travel around the Murik Lakes with me and map such dimensions of the lakescape as mangrove tenure and topographic features, discuss mangrove ethnobotany, and recite ethnohistorical narratives. Inevitably, I collected accounts of and observed labor associated with the mangroves in the contemporary moment. What was unexpected, however, were the signifiers of place, affect, and moral agency that I encountered in the lakescape. This article shall discuss two of these, fishing camps and a topiary figure that appears above the mangrove canopy, in order to argue that place-based affect not only expresses agency but also expresses the relationship between mechanical

FIGURE 2. **An Islet Fishing Camp (2014, Photo by Author).**

and organic solidarity or, to put it in a more contemporary phrasing, the balance between Murik identity and the modern individual in the historical moment.

There are five village sites (*nemot*) located on the barrier islands, either on the beaches or along the lakeshore.[3] The villages are divided up into little named hamlets that consist of related households built by adult siblings and their children. These tiny bits of property are part of the estates of named lineages. Each household in a village has its own private docking space on the lakeshore (*mogev*) for their dugout canoes, and each village has its own private channel through which its citizens may paddle into the lakes to go fishing or to harvest shellfish from their hand-cut "meat channels" (*garap yangan*) that are lineage constructed and lineage owned.

Fishing Camps

Alternatively, extended families with several adults, young children, and the occasional dog go to stay and work in their fishing camps (*bar iran*) located in lineage-owned mangroves at great distances from the coastal villages. Many are built on tiny islets of reclaimed ground made up of little more than flattened mounds of lake sand, shell middens, old coconut husks, and wood shavings. Some camps are surrounded by the lake, but their owners have left a few trees standing for shade, while others abut the mangroves. One could generalize that these camps epitomize the tenuous grip of Murik society on their intertidal environment. Held

FIGURE 3. **Domestic Groups Live and Work in Fishing Camps Located on Lineage Property (2014, Photo by Author).**

in place by a series of vertical sticks, their edges, along which dugout canoes are moored, are shielded from lake tides by narrow barriers, the widths of which are little more than a log or two or perhaps the sideboard of an old canoe (Fig. 2).

Remote as they are from village society, not to mention their isolation from PNG modernity, the fishing camps present an abiding image of mechanical solidarity. There are no intermediaries here, just the domestic group (Fig. 3). Their social identities thus derive from the senior family member who instigated their construction or on whose property they sit, such as Joseph Koki'na bar iran or Wapo'na bar iran. But like the domestic group itself, these camps have an incompleted look. They both appear to be in process places, but yet if weathered bush material is any indication, they also appear to have a kind of longevity. They are made up of several small pile buildings: a sleeping house for each family living there, a kitchen house, whose bark floor is covered with pots and plastic water containers, workstations, and low-standing roofed platforms to sit down on for a meal. As often as not, the buildings are unfinished and lack walls or even roofs and may be covered by large blue tarpaulins that have been thrown over them like a blanket on an unmade bed. The fishing camps contrast with the village

FIGURE 4. **Two Boys Near Their Family's Fishing Camp (2014, Photo by Author).**

houses. Unlike the latter, which are built with the help of a larger labor pool, the rumpled quality of the former reflects the smaller size of the labor that built and use them as well as their narrower purpose.

Located near lineage-owned meat channels from which sandcrabs and clams are harvested, extended families subsist on the traditional Murik diet, fish and sago, at their fishing camps. School-age children are left behind. So, for the most part, the kin groups who take up residence at the fishing camps consist of an adult couple, perhaps a grandparent or two and young preschool children. What do they do there? They work or learn to work. Little boys can be seen standing in juvenile-size canoes with spears at the ready should a fish become visible at the surface of the water, and girls go with their mothers to gather shellfish (Fig. 4). The shellfish and smoked fish that adults harvest are taken either to biweekly cash/barter markets with their sago suppliers and horticultural neighbors or to meetings with hereditary trading partners for exchange days (*parub*). With increasingly less frequency, they might also pay the freight fee to send sacks of smoked clams to urban kin to sell at the cash-only market in Wewak Town, the provincial capital, which can be reached only by motorboat. Signs of labor, wooden paddles of both adult and child sizes stand propped up against the frameworks of the houses, new canoes are being carved, old canoes ready to be pushed down into the water lay grounded, and balled up nylon drift nets, are thus visible everywhere (Fig. 5). In other words, the agency enabled and exerted in fishing camps has to do with domestic relations of production, subsistence fishing, barter, and market exchange. The fishing camp is a site of the moral reproduction of the domestic group: it is a site of unalienated labor that remains in control of the means of production.

What affect, or ethos (Bateson 1936), characterizes these little places? Many Murik people extol the quality of fishing camp life. It is "quiet" (*siisi*), a sentiment

FIGURE 5. **Fishing Camps are Sites of Unalienated Labor (2014, Photo by Author).**

that does not distinguish it as a site of moral superiority or a natural utopia, à la Walden Pond to which Thoreau (1854) repaired to find an inner reality by rejecting modernity via self-reliance and simplicity. Rather than referring to a general nonspecific sort of peacefulness, going to the family fishing camp is often an assertion of self-help; it was part of what Sally Falk Moore (1973) once called a "semi-autonomous social field" (see also Goodale 2017) wherein customary forms of dispute resolution operate more or less independently of state law. Again, the fishing camp is understood as a site of mechanical solidarity. Some, although not all, families take off for their fishing camps to avoid local-level conflict in which one of their members has become entangled. If not about self-fashioning, the fishing camps express several important dimensions of the Murik relationship to modernity: they foreground the unmediated reproduction of the kin group through unalienated labor by means of their artisanal fishery based in property they own, and it may involve conflict avoidance, which is part of the normative and customary process of Murik social control (Lipset 1997). Let me offer a few ethnographic examples of these points.

In 2014, Joshua Sivik and Lilly Mojanga were living in a fishing camp located in a section of the lakes associated with hereditary landowners that immigrant Murik ancestors encountered upon first arriving on the Murik coast from the

FIGURE 6. **"This is My Land," Said Lilly Mojanga, "My Water!" (2014, Photo by Author).**

middle Sepik River, which is where they say they came from at some point in the not too distant past. Husband Joshua was a member of the research team. We came and picked him up on an August morning in 2014 to continue mapping mangrove property claims. As we left, the outboard motor of our little fiberglass boat instantly died, and we drifted just offshore. Lilly stood in the shallows in front of her fishing camp, along with several grandkids. With a broad smile, she waved goodbye to us, and called out, "This is my land, my water!" (Fig. 6).

Lilly did not derive her property claim from postcolonial law.[4] It received no legitimacy from registration with the Lands Department of PNG. The Murik Lakes are not registered to constituent hereditary ownership groups. Legal representatives of PNG make rare appearances here. Rather, Lilly's claim was based in prestate ethnohistory and the cognatic lineage to which she belonged. That morning, we went on to map about 35 GPS waypoints of meat channels that named nineteenth century ancestors who had cut them for their daughters and wives and whose rights had then been passed down to contemporary descendants. We also came upon the site of another fishing camp, whose owners had made gardens nearby during a time before the tides inundated the land there and the mangrove forests expanded. But the main feature of the area,

FIGURE 7. **Wapo's Fishing Camp (2014, Photo by Author).**

Murik informants said, was not its environmental history but rather that it was a "Yowaton lagoon," the Yowaton having lived in and around the lower Sepik village (called Mabuk today) when the Murik ancestors initially reached the lakes region. The lakes, or rather a section of the lakes, belonged to them, and they accessed the area in canoes via a long, narrow channel that they had hand cut from their village. The Yowaton fished and gathered shellfish from little meat channels they also cut into the mangroves. But warfare broke out, and the magical powers of the Murik Male Cult killed many Yowaton men. In compensation for not beheading their victims and honoring burial rights of kin, the Yowaton transferred this part of the mangroves to individual Murik families. Lilly not only descended from them, but she also claimed kinship ties to Yowaton people, via subsequent marriages that had taken place. In addition to her ethnohistoric and genealogical bona fides, it is also notable how the Murik understand that the relationship of their society to the mangroves and the lakes differs from the view held by middle Sepik River peoples regarding their land. The Murik construct the environment in terms of ethnohistory and cosmologically enabled but nevertheless human agency. They do not reach back to a totemic view of land and society. In other words, the Murik embed place and society in a shallower past than do their upriver neighbors, and it is a past that does not feature the interventions of one colonial regime after another or the postcolonial state.

Another fishing camp, which belonged to Wapo, a senior man, consisted of five bush material houses, none of which had walls (Fig. 7). There was nothing particularly exceptional about the camp, except that it was not built on reclaimed land but rather on dry land at the end of a broad channel. Two canoes were moored, paddles stood propped up against a tree, old overturned canoes served as benches, and a fishing net lay in a pile on a tarpaulin. A freshwater spring bubbled up here, and we took a moment to refresh ourselves and fill up plastic containers to take back to the village. During a meal of sago pudding and smoked fish that Wapo and his wife served us, he introduced me to his "sister" from nearby Mabuk, the village inhabited by descendants of the aforementioned Yowaton people. She was staying with him while he and his family harvested and smoked fish for her to take home. Grinning broadly, he praised his fishing camp. "I am well off here. I have water. Life is good." The affect with which Wapo endorsed the quality of life at his fishing camp expressed his approval of the little place, to be sure. It was not just the freshwater spring that Wapo was admiring, however, it was also the abundance of resources there. Fish were plentiful, the sago suppliers were close at hand, and his families could thrive and be "big," which is to say they could offer generous amounts of fish and other goods to intertribal trading partners and village kin. It enabled him to possess moral agency, in other words, moral agency with which to reproduce society. Wapo's positive assessment of his fishing camp also revealed a relationship to broader sociopolitical circumstances. Not only did his smile convey a moral relationship to village and regional values, his fishing camp, remote and isolated as it was, also conveyed two things: (1) the extent of his relationship to capitalism and the state in PNG or, in Durkheim's terms, to organic solidarity and (2) his feeling and attitude about that relationship.

People do not just leave the village and take up residence at their fishing camps because life is good there, which is to say because of the positive affect they feel about how it facilitates subsistence production by and the moral reproduction of the domestic group. As I say, these camps are also understood as a site of another kind of affect, namely as islets of refuge and conflict management. Several families basically fled village society for their fishing camps under the shadow of sorcery allegations or in the aftermath of an unexpected death, long-term illnesses, or other disputes. They left in disgrace but also as an avoidance tactic. Avoidance, as I argued in an earlier monograph (Lipset 1997), is a stage in Murik processes of conflict resolution that may and should be concluded by reciprocal exchange of betel nuts and a meal and an open discussion of grievances by the parties by way of owning up to and forgiving them. Pipirana Wambu, for example, had gone to stay at the family's fishing camp. He had had an argument, according to what his younger brother

FIGURE 8. **An *Asimen* Tree (2010, Photo by Author).**

explained, with another brother over the magical treatment of a paralyzed leg of one of their sons and had fled in shame. "If a man was strong, he would know what to do and bring my brother home," Frankie added by way of implying that his brother should stage a reconciliation rite and bring the matter to a close. I mentioned earlier that fishing camps appear to have a work-in-progress rather than a completed look. For people like Pipirana Wambu, they are also unresolved and inconclusive sites in need of assertions of moral agency.

Topiary Trees

In addition to being a resource for the Murik fishery, the mangrove lagoons are also associated, especially among the youth, with the expression of private types of affect that do not result in the reproduction of moral order (Lipset 2014). Perhaps *asimen* trees, which are tall topiary figures that tower over the canopy of the mangrove forests, are the quintessential expression of this not-so-moral side of the mangrove affect and agency. The lower and middle branches of an asimen tree are sheared off (*o'sai asimen*) to expose the thin narrow trunk of the tree. Stick-like, it rises up to a rounded tuft of leafy branches that are left

FIGURE 9. **Twin *Asimen* Trees That Were Cut in Honor of Two Sisters, Clara and Lydia (2011, Photo by Author).**

uncut (Fig. 8). I recorded the GPS waypoints marking the spatial coordinates of asimen trees all over the mangroves.

What do asimen trees mean? They demark or commemorate the location of meaningful spatiotemporal events that are said to have taken place in the mangroves. Perhaps even more than the Murik fishing camps, these figures stand for unmediated expressions of affect that are independent of modernity. On the one hand, asimen trees explicitly and conventionally celebrate the id. Often, but not always, they are cut to commemorate a tryst, which is to say an affect-laden moment of intimacy during which a young man and woman met and made love. On the other hand, they are identity markers as well as place markers. That is to say, they are known to society both by the name of the young man who cut them as well as for whom they are named after. Although a few women are known to have cut an asimen tree, most of them were cut by specific named young men in honor of their lovers, after whom they name the asimen tree. For example, a pair of asimen trees were named for two girls, Clara and Lydia, who were actually on hand when their lover, Robert Paiter Jong, cut the two of them (see Fig. 9). Asimen trees

FIGURE 10. **A Senior Woman Harvesting Clams (2014, Photo by Author).**

may also be seen as an exchange object. One may indiscriminately shear the branches of any mangrove tree, either near the coast or deep in the lakes, it is said regardless of lineage property. "If you meet and have intercourse with one of your girlfriends," I was told, "you can/might cut an asimen [tree] and a meat channel for her. If a child is born, you can give the channel to him or her." In the latter instance, however, the channel should be cut into a mangrove where the man does claim lineage property. In other words, it seems that cutting an asimen tree is also understood as a reciprocal gesture to the lover. In return for her sexual services, the asimen tree becomes an object of value, a resource like a meat channel from which shellfish can be harvested. The lover, in this sense, is fulfilling the normative role of a husband or a father to a wife or a daughter.

A brief aside about courtship, sexuality, and marriage in precolonial Murik society is in order. Marriage and individual desire were locked in ongoing tension. Sexuality was front and center in the Male and Female Cult initiation rites. Both prepared youths to marry and become sexually active via magical agency. There were several marriage rules, sister-exchange, and matrimoiety exchange between the Male and Female Cults (Barlow 1995) but also, not least, simple

optation (Lipset 2004, 2008). In addition, members of both cults participated in what was also viewed as an occult form of marriage—highly secret extramarital wife exchange (*dago'mariin*). In compensation for several critical ritual services, such as installation rites for new outrigger canoes, authority in the Male Cult, and in return for a great many small privileges, women offered sexual access to themselves as ritual "wives" of their husbands' Male Cult partners (Lipset 1997). This practice, needless to say, was condemned as "fornication" by the Catholics, who missionized the Murik coast in the twentieth century, and the Male Cult as well as the meaning of sexuality had more or less became disenchanted by the 1970s. Although its meaning was reduced to personal initiative (Weber 1958), as a practice of course sexual intimacy certainly did not flag. Feelings of desire for girls, whom boys took to the mangroves and for whom they cut asimen trees, went on, however disconnected its meaning had become from cultic exchange.[5]

At one point during my 2014 field season, I took a boatload of agreeable Murik kinswomen out into the lakes to demonstrate shellfish harvesting and had an unexpected, rather intriguing encounter with a new asimen tree. We made our made into a small lagoon. Fully dressed, the women gingerly lowered themselves from the little boat and eased into the warm lake water. They proceeded to walk backwards. Feeling the sandy lake bottom with their feet as they did, the clams they found were quickly passed from toes to hands and deposited in shoulder bags (Fig. 10). The backward gait, which they likened to a dance step, was an essential part of the work, although I never understood quite why. The degree to which harvesting clams was plainly enjoyable surprised me. They smiled, laughed, and talked avidly as they moved about neck deep in the water.

In the moment of expansion, as it were, a young man who was watching the women work suddenly grabbed his machete and began to prune branches off an overhanging mangrove tree that was offering us a little shade from the equatorial sun. Until then, I exclusively associated asimen trees with the male commemoration of love and eros. Now, I understood them a little differently. Might they also commemorate moments and places in lacustrine time and space associated with positive affect more generally between men and women? In this instance, the women were harvesting shellfish from the floor of a lagoon while men were watching them work. This was of course no private moment of intimacy and as such; the asimen the young man was provoked to cut did not mimic or commemorate an erect phallus towering over the mangroves but just extended horizontally a little way from its lower branches. The asimen branch he trimmed nevertheless designated a place in the mangroves where a broadly favorable event between men and women had taken place (Fig. 11). Perhaps he was also lampooning the conventional meaning of asimen trees a bit. But unaltered was that his asimen remained an unalloyed expression of Murik affect.

FIGURE 11. **A Young Man Shears Off the Branches As He Cuts an *Asimen* (2014, Photo by Author).**

Fishing and Modernity

One more brief instance of mangrove-based affect that I repeatedly encountered during the Murik social geography project involved daily forays into the lakes. As often as not, one of the younger members of our group dropped a line as we crossed the lagoons to resume the cadastral survey of the lakes where we left off the day before (Fig. 12). When fish hit the bait, which they did one after another, the driver instantly cut the motor and swerved to a sudden stop. Amid excited woops, words of encouragement and guidance instantly cascaded over the man as he pulled the fish on board. Big trevally, mangrove snapper, and bonefish among others piled up beneath the floorboards of the boat. As I said, the Murik Lakes remain a site of relatively unalienated labor. Of course, the thrill and joy aroused by pulling in a fish may be interpreted in many ways, as the release of endorphins into the bloodstream, as an unmediated experience in a moment, as a contest, and as a mystery.

But I want to delve into the extent to which this affect may be viewed as another expression of the enduring detachment of the moral reproduction of

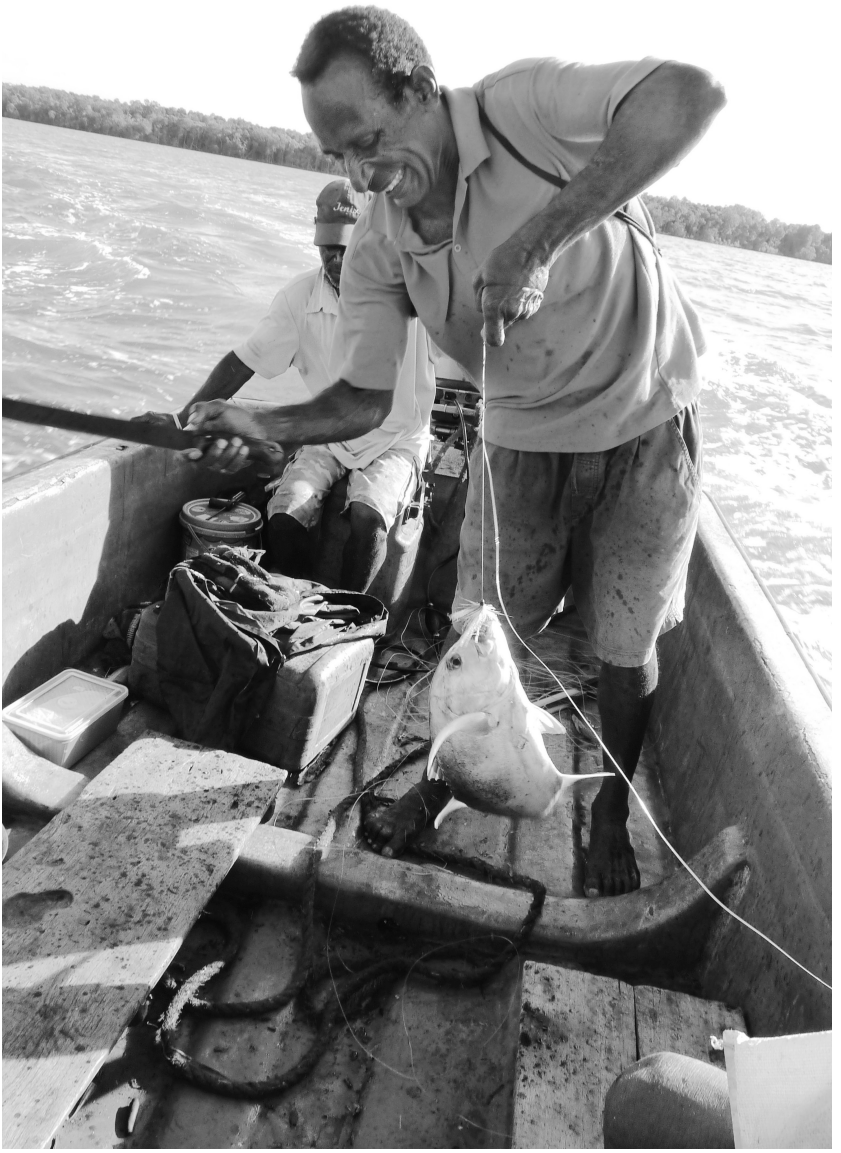

FIGURE 12. **Trolling for Fish in the Murik Lakes (2014, Photo by Author).**

Murik society from this larger political-legal and economic context. Perhaps the delight felt when catching a fish is also the glee of freedom, freedom from modernity. Or is it? The fiberglass boats from China, the Japanese outboard motors running on gasoline from who knows where, store-bought hooks and nylon drift nets, not to mention the problematic relationship of the Murik fishery to the town market, do index a degree of integration of the local economy into global capitalism. These commodities do not tip the scale, however. They have not transformed the relationship of Murik society to modernity or its moral reproduction as large-scale extractive industry has done elsewhere in PNG, where rivers have been transformed into sewers and communities have sold land and in some instances have been required to relocate (Jacka 2015).[6]

This is not to say that the construction of the Murik Lakes has been wholly sequestered from modernity. Under missionary pressure, the enchanted cosmological ground within which asimen trees used to be cut has shifted over the course of the twentieth century. No longer are sexual relations valued in the way they used to be when they were legitimized and predicated by the Male and Female Cult initiation, which bequeathed love magic and rights to marry to the initiates. In other words, while the fishing camps continue to privilege the reproduction of the domestic group, and asimen trees have come to denote individual love and individual identity, the pleasure of pulling in a fish from the Murik Lakes remains a relatively undiluted experience of autonomous being in the shifting, culturally plural world in which it takes place in the historical moment.

Conclusion: Place, Affect, and the Reproduction of Moral Society in the Historical Moment

This essay began with a return to Durkheim. I invoked the master's concept of society in which the worst excesses to which embodied individuals are prone are constrained by moral institutions, together with his distinction between relations between the person and society in mechanical and organic solidarity. I then related this framework to his sociocentric view of the relationship of cosmological places to affect and moral agency. In contexts of mechanical solidarity, where this relationship is unmediated and the self is assumed to be part of the other, place is a site of moral identity, expressions of affective attachment, and practices that reproduce society. Several Melanesian examples, of Iatmul place names, the Kaluli burning dancers, and the Reite palem platforms, were cited before my more detailed discussion of place, affect, and moral agency in fishing camps, asimen trees, and fishing among the Murik.

In the fishing camps, the legitimacy of the labor of domestic groups derives from bases on hereditary water rights that are not traced back to precultural

cosmological times but rather to ethnohistorical events among human ancestors. Fishing camp is a site at which ethnohistory, lineage identity, domestic productivity, and independence coincide with avoidance of conflict, tumult, and demands of village life, and the ethos of life in the camp is generally positive, if not plainly content. At the same time, fishing camp affect does not constitute or cause much at all. Because camps are sites of both abundance and poverty, I think the regard in which they are held results from a conjunction of cultural values and the peripheral relationship of the Murik economy and society with modernity.

Asimen trees, which stand over the canopy of the verdant mangroves that surround and divide the Murik Lakes, commemorate place and affect in them. But unlike the fishing camps, they are not sites of moral agency. The private sort of intimacy for which asimen trees stand does not reproduce moral society.[7] Moreover, as the institutional relationship between sexual intercourse and the Male Cult had largely broken down by the last third of the twentieth century, mangrove-love had become a matter of individual passion, and the asimen trees that commemorate it had become, as Weber (1946) would have said, disenchanted.

From the point of view of meanings, the relationship between place, affect, and moral agency in the Murik Lakes during the early twenty-first century differs from what the collective effervescence and confidence that the Warramunga people were said to feel as a result of participating during a corroboree. Instead, the lakes are where both collective and individualized affect are expressed and agency is asserted that is both aimed and is not aimed at the reproduction of society as a whole. In other words, they are in a state of becoming. As such, the relationship between place, affect, and moral agency must be seen as one of historical contradictions rather than sociopolitical autonomy (see Bauman and Briggs 2003; McElhinny 2010).

NOTES

1. Silverman (2001, 192) offers a case study that goes on to document the relationship of place to agency in contemporary terms. In 1988, a group of senior men in the village where he was working agreed with an Australian entrepreneur to the build of a tourist guest house across the river. A junior man contested the contract, and a totemic debate ensued during which he asserted that his totemic ancestors had created the site of the guest house and had given it a name that differed from the one it was known by according to the senior men who had signed the contract. The junior man effectively sought to "erase . . . the totemic identity" of his rivals by "denying . . . [its] topographic personification."

2. The platforms have tall "coconut masts" (Leach 2003: 156n9, 160, 174; see also Meiser 1955; von Poser 2014).

3. There is also an increasingly large Murik diaspora who live in Wewak Town or elsewhere in the country.

4. For indigenous views of property rights in Papua New Guinea, see Kalinoe 2004; Stella 2007; Moutu 2013; Rooney 2021.

5. In a relatively open context of optative relationships, marriage came to be defined as involving nothing more than having breakfast together in the company of one's parents after having spent the night in the same mosquito net or, in earlier days, the same tubular sleeping basket (*erub*).

6. Moreover, I imagine that this affect has also been influenced by the looming but resisted prospect of resettlement due to sea-level rise that has been going on intermittently since 2007 (Lipset 2013) as well as by the ban on the harvesting of beche-de-mer that the National Fisheries Authority installed in 2010 in order to protect the species from overharvesting.

7. Should a child be born from a tryst in the mangroves, then a man might cut a new meat channel on lineage property for his lover's child.

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BOOKS NOTED

RECENT PACIFIC ISLANDS PUBLICATIONS: SELECTED ACQUISITIONS

THIS LIST of significant publications relating to the Pacific Islands was selected from new acquisitions lists recovered from Brigham Young University–Hawaii, University of Hawai'i at Mānoa, University of Auckland, Macmillan Brown Library at University of Canterbury. Other libraries are invited to send contributions to the Books Noted editor for future issues. Listings reflect the extent of information provided by each institution.

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