

**Wa and Tatala:
The Transformation of Indigenous Canoes
on Yap and Orchid Island**

Karen Kan-Lun Tu



Cover image. Indigenous sailing canoes re-enacting the traditional *sawei* voyage of incoming outer islanders on the second day of the 6th Annual Yap Canoe Festival in November 2014. © Karen Tu.

**Wa and Tatala:
The Transformation of Indigenous Canoes
on Yap and Orchid Island**

Karen Kan-Lun Tu

September 2017


A thesis submitted for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy of The Australian
National University.

© Copyright by Karen Kan-Lun Tu 2017

All Rights Reserved

Statement of Originality

I declare that this thesis is the sole work of the author, except where reference and quotations are made to other published and unpublished sources.



Karen Kan Lun Tu
September 2017

This thesis is dedicated to

Aming Tu who passed away on 27 November 2016

Blacky Tu who passed away on 28 January 2017

Annie Y. who was born on 5 March 2017

who taught me that the cycle of life is far deeper and greater than my studies. Without them this work would never have been completed.

Table of Contents

List of Illustrations	ix
Glossary	xiii
Acknowledgements	xv
Abstract	xvii
PROLOGUE	xix
INTRODUCTION. A Journey into the Sea of Knowledge	1
A Journey into the Sea of Knowledge: Taiwan's position in the Pacific	1
A Journey into the Sea of Knowledge: Micronesia's position in the Pacific	4
The politics of revitalising canoe culture across Oceania	11
Research questions, methodology and thesis outline	22
Chapter framing	27
CHAPTER ONE. The Indigenous Canoe on Orchid Island and Yap:	29
Oral Traditions and Canoe Types	
Oral histories and legends from Yap State and Orchid Island	29
Where did the canoe come from? Oral traditions of canoe origin	31
Canoe depictions in oral traditions	37
The introduction of canoe types across Yap State and Orchid Island	43
The canoes on Yap	44
Yap's neighbouring islands	51
The canoes on Orchid Island	57
CHAPTER TWO. Historical Background and Contemporary Transformations	65
Historical background of Yap State and Orchid Island	65
The contact history of Yap	65
The contact history of Orchid Island	75
Material, cultural and social transformations	81
From stone money to paper notes: The introduction of the cash economy	83
Indigenous polytheism vs. monotheism: Religious transformations	87
Diaspora: Emigration from Yap State and Orchid Island	91
Material transformations: Are the canoes different?	93
CHAPTER THREE. Indigenous Canoe Functions and the Historical	99
Transformation of Seafaring	
Indigenous function of <i>wa</i> in regular seafaring and moments of historical	100
transformation in the use of canoes: Yap	
Yap Main Islands—stone money acquisition	100

Yap Main Islands—the efflorescence and the end of stone money transportation	103
Yap outer islands— <i>sawei</i> tribute and exchange	107
Yap outer islands—the end of canoe use for <i>sawei</i> is not the end of <i>sawei</i> itself	116
Indigenous function of <i>cinedkelan</i> in regular seafaring and moments of historical transformation in the use of canoes: Orchid Island	125
Orchid Island—travelling to and from the Batanes Islands of the Philippines	125
Orchid Island—rivalry terminated the contact	128
CHAPTER FOUR. The Contemporary Status of <i>Wa</i> and <i>Tatala</i> in Projects and Art Forms	133
Retrieving our ancestors’ pride: Contemporary and ongoing navigation	134
Non-governmental organisations and canoe revitalisation	143
Carving the new era: TNS and <i>Waa’gey</i>	144
Sailing through the Caroline Islands and beyond	148
Rowing as a cultural revitalisation project	153
Individual and community canoe projects	158
Following the ancestors’ footsteps to the forest: Individual and community projects	159
Ritual, collection, tourism and other activities	164
Racing: Canoe competitions	170
<i>Wa</i> and <i>tatala</i> in the literary, visual and performing arts	173
Conclusion	186
CHAPTER FIVE. Gender Relations and the Division of Labour	189
Gender relations and the division of labour	189
Women’s division of labour in their everyday lives	192
Gender relations and work collaboration	201
Women’s positions and roles related to canoe culture	205
CHAPTER SIX. Indigenous Responses to the Changing Status of Canoes	215
Transformation and continuity in maritime practices	215
Pacific peoples’ reactions and critique: Continuity and sustainable canoe traditions	223
Sharing: A combination of indigenous and modern methods	226
Collaborations: Bringing school education, family education and community education together	233
EPILOGUE. The Sea of Knowledge Has No End	239
REFERENCES	245

List of Illustrations

Maps

1	State of Yap map of the Federated States of Micronesia, showing the islands and atolls	xxvi
2	This map indicates the islands and states relevant to this thesis	26
3	The Federated States of Micronesia map, for referring to the islands and atolls throughout Yap and Chuuk	108

Figures

1.	Imorod village elders working on the last piece of a canoe body using axes to shape the log for the stern	xxi
2.	The same piece of stern has completely been shaped before sundown on the same day	xxi
3.	It was a huge task to carry the log back to the village, and almost all the workers showed up and helped move it out of the forest	xxii
4.	An Iranmeylek Community <i>cinedkelan</i> nearly completed and stored in the shade in front of the community office	xxiii
5 & 6.	The Iranmeylek community canoe group cut down two tree logs for a total of four oars to be shaped that day	xxiv
7.	There was a more than 30-minute walk along a trail in the Iranmeylek village forest grounds in order to reach the log that was to be made into oars	xxv
8.	<i>Waa'gey</i> men's group inside the canoe house, where there were normally between five and 15 workers on weekdays	xxvii
9.	The breadfruit tree the canoe was made of was bearing too much fruit, and thus fell down after a period of heavy rain	xxviii
10.	The colourful leis (<i>mwar mwar</i>) and the colourful <i>lava-lava</i> were made by the <i>Waa'gey</i> ladies' group	xxix
11.	The canoe <i>Karen</i> being decorated and painted in navy blue, my favourite colour, for its launching ceremony	xxx
12.	Three Yapese style <i>popow</i> canoes preparing to sail from Map to Colonia for an upcoming canoe event	45
13.	A medium sized <i>popow</i> canoe on its way to Colonia for the opening of the canoe festival	46
14.	The only <i>chugpin</i> canoe built by Tharngan on one of its test rides	46

15.	A Lamotrek style <i>shoasemaliu</i> painted in its traditional colours	51
16.	A <i>wafatiul</i> of Lamotrek style stored in the canoe house in Colonia	52
17.	Three canoes coming in from Lamotrek to Guam for FestPac, from left to right: A <i>waterage</i> called <i>Lucky Star</i> , a <i>warwei</i> in honour of <i>Queen Veronica</i> and a <i>manibwel</i> named <i>Genesis</i>	53
18.	A nearly finished <i>likele</i> model made by Lamotrek Waa'gey participants at the canoe house in Colonia	54
19.	A nearly finished <i>galal</i> model made by Lamotrek FestPac participants in Guam	55
20.	These two Satawalese canoes came from Satawal to Saipan then to Guam to join the FestPac opening in May 2016	57
21.	A <i>tatala</i> , owned by Syapen Yongala, docked on Iratay shore, Orchid Island	59
22.	An unsculpted ten person <i>cinedkelan</i> (<i>alimavang</i>) owned by the Imorod community is stored inside the seawall of the Imorod tribe	61
23.	The sail displayed at the University of Guam's Leon Guerrero College of Business and Public Administration Building, June 2016	94
24.	During the FestPac opening when <i>Lucky Star</i> came into the channel using the traditional pandanus sail	94
25.	Male Syapen Kotan's canoe follows the traditional colours of black, red and white	95
26.	This canoe is now painted with new colours with water-proof paint	96
27.	The sail for the largest Yapese-style canoe, <i>Mathow Maram</i>	97
28.	A bamboo raft being displayed during the canoe festival at Colonia	101
29.	The parade of indigenous sailing canoes represents the traditional <i>sawei</i> voyage of incoming outer islanders	109
30.	A group of outer island men and boys stand in front of the Living History Museum waiting for the sailing canoes to sail in from the main channel	111
31.	<i>Simion Hokule'a</i> built by Mau Piaulug in the 1980s, damaged and in need of repairs sitting at Toruw Village	137
32.	<i>Mathow Maram</i> , the largest <i>popow</i> canoe of Yapese style on Yap Main Islands in the 2010s	138
33.	One of Ali Haleyalur's students Tony Pekalpyie concentrates while taking notes from Haleyalur	139
34.	Ali Haleyalur's navigation class taking shelter in one of the structures at the Living History Museum	140
35.	Ali Haleyalur and the students discussing navigation at the Living History Museum	140
36.	Yap Traditional Maritime Institute Mission Statement posted	144

	on the window of the TNS office	
37.	Yap Traditional Navigation Society has its introduction posted in their office	145
38.	Chief Bruno Tharngan and his newly completed, unnamed <i>chugpin</i> canoe in Map	146
39.	The <i>Waa'gey</i> men's group works at the Living History Museum canoe house from Monday to Saturday	147
40.	The navigational family tree here shows how these master navigators and apprentices were related	151
41.	<i>Si Mangavang</i> with seated elders before its test ride	156
42.	<i>Si Mangavang</i> piled with taros on its launching day	156
43.	Six unfinished oars collected from the Irenmeylek village forest	160
44.	The Iranmeylek <i>cinedkelan</i> is sitting behind the three shacks where some villagers are distributing pigs equally for all	163
45.	The Iranmeylek <i>cinedkelan</i> on its test ride	164
46.	Tourists and participants flooded in the peaceful village for the event	164
47.	<i>Waa'gey</i> sign advertising traditional canoe rides in front of the canoe houses in Colonia, Yap	166
48.	A sign advertising <i>tatala</i> voyages for tourists	168
49.	Two indigenous canoes getting ready for their sailing race at the 5th Yap Annual Canoe Festival	171
50.	Canoe images and symbols appeared on many different art designs	176
51.	Syaman Jypenhgaya's artworks in his personal studio	177
52.	A shoulder bag created by Syaman Jypenhgaya that includes <i>tatala</i> , wave, flying fish and indigenous Tao patterns	177
53.	Sinan Mangalaw and her art collections in her Iratay tribe stall	178
54.	Sinan Miblad wearing her accessories and traditional clothing	179
55.	Sinan Miblad's design with a human pattern adorning the indigenous costume on the top and a <i>tatala</i> image on the skirt	179
56.	Personal collection of Syaman Lamuran bought from sculptor © Mr. Yen c 2000, Iratay tribe	181
57.	A Yapese-style miniature sailing canoe model (personal collection) made by Tharngan with the mast and sail down	182
58.	A Lamotrek-style sailing canoe docked at the canoe house in Colonia with a miniature sailing canoe model on its outrigger	182
59.	Two canoe models of Lamotrek style for sale in front of canoe house	183
60.	Canoe altar in the church of Gargey with two paddles in the front	184
61. & 62.	Ocean-going canoe images were used for the school logo of Outer Islands High School in Ulithi	184
63.	Yap State flag	185

64.	A very well cultivated water taro field in Iratey village, Orchid Island	191
65.	The swamp taro field of an elderly Yapese woman named Rosa Laatam	193
66.	A taro patch in the middle of Fais Island	194
67.	Outer Island (Lamotrek) weaving style for female <i>lava-lava</i>	195
68.	Weaving style for Orchid Island indigenous male thong	195
69.	One of the taro plots inland of Falalop, Ulithi before typhoon Maysak	208
70.	A very colourful <i>lava-lava</i> waiting for weaving on the loom	219
71.	Coconut juice/sap/wine, <i>faluba (tuba)</i> in the bottle at the canoe house waiting for the men to finish work and indulge the day	230
72.	From left to right. Bruno Tharngan (Yap Main Island), Ali Haleyalur (Lamotrek, Yap Outer Island), Frank Cruz (Chamorro, Guam, TASI), Syaman Rapongan (Tao, Orchid Island, Taiwan)	242

Tables

1.	Some of the canoe clubs and organisations throughout the Pacific	21
2.	Comparison of some fundamental characteristics of Orchid Island and Yap State	23
3.	List of different types of canoes on Lamotrek, Satawal and Ifaluk	57
4.	Indigenous functions of <i>wa</i> and <i>cinedkelan</i> and its moments of historical transformation	99
5.	Comparison of some fundamental gender divisions of labour on Orchid Island and Yap State	212

Glossary

Orchid Island

Cinedkelan a collective term for large canoes in Tao language.

Mivanowa *vanowa* shore, and *mivanowa* means at the shore, which is also a Tao ritual that acts as the first ceremony of the flying fish season.

Panlagan a place where male members of the same large canoe crew and fishing union to gather.

Tao a Taiwan indigenous ethnic group, also known as *Yami*. The word *Tao* itself means human being. *Pongsu no Tao* means the island of humans, which is Orchid Island (Lanyu).

Tatala a collective term for canoes in Tao language, especially smaller canoes.

Yap

Chugpins a Yapese term of a type of single-hull outrigger canoe with long curved ends use on Yap. Can be sailed or paddled.

Hapilmohol the ocean area between Woleai and Fais. It is also the name of the current Yap State Ship.

Lava-lava a word imported from Polynesia. People in Yap state use it to refer to loom-woven clothes, especially loincloth or skirts. People in Yap and the neighbouring islands have their own term for *lava-lava*, such as *ho* in Ulithian.

Popow a Yapese term for a type of single-hull outrigger canoe use on Yap. Can be sailed or paddled.

Pwo a sacred ritual regarding to indigenous navigation particularly in Micronesia. This can be seen as equivalent to a doctorate degree in knowledge of indigenous navigation with additional aspects.

Rai a Yapese word which means stone money.

Sawei is the popular term for the formal bicultural exchange system that existed between Yap and its neighbouring atolls. The word *sawei* may refer to the traditional exchange voyage, the exchange itself and the exchange partner.

Tripang (bêche-de-mer) also known as *trepang*. Any of various large sea cucumbers use as an ingredient for food.

Tuba a word refers to coconut juice/sap/wine. People in neighbouring islands of Yap use the term *faluba*.

Wa ocean-going vessels particularly in Micronesia. Can be sailed or paddled.

Acknowledgements

I first met Katerina Teaiwa in 2011 during the ‘Mapping and Unmapping the Pacific Conference’ in Taiwan. She encouraged me to pursue my PhD studies at The Australian National University. With her help I was accepted by ANU and became a PhD candidate in the School of Culture, History and Language in 2012 with an Australian Postgraduate Award (APA) and an International Postgraduate Research Scholarship (IPRS). I am especially grateful for a World Austronesian Studies Fieldwork Grant (2013) and a World Austronesian Studies Research Grant (2014) that allowed me to have two very pleasant periods of fieldwork in Micronesia without any economic concerns.

I would especially like to thank my panel members at ANU: Dr Katerina Teaiwa (chair), Professor Margaret Jolly (supervisor), Dr Paul D’Arcy (advisor) and Dr Anna-Karina Hermkens (advisor). I have benefited so much from their encouragement, supervision and positive feedback. In addition, thanks to all the other mentors and colleagues that I met at ANU and who accompanied me through my PhD life in Canberra with great intellectual and emotional support. I apologise that I am not able to list every one of you here, but I truly cherish each and every encounter in my life. Thanks also to my teachers, classmates and colleagues in National Dong Hwa University where I developed my deepest interests in Indigenous and Pacific Studies between 2007 and 2010.

I would like to include a special note of thanks to all of my hosts, friends, interlocutors, organisations, librarians and archivists that assisted me in any way during my fieldwork. Again, I apologise that I am not being able to list each person individually. Nonetheless, your hospitality, acceptance and openness in sharing with

and teaching me about the actual construction of a canoe taught me to see that the shaping and building up of my thesis was like producing a canoe of my own. I owe my deepest gratitude to all those people whom I encountered and worked with in the field.

During the years of my PhD studies, I lost two family members. Aming Tu and Marang Saway provided the reason and motivation for why and how I determined to devote myself to higher education. Each of them made available their support in all possible ways. In addition, a thank you must go to Adrian Yarofalgil and his family in being very patient in accompanying me in revising my thesis without putting me under any pressure. I am also grateful to Shanti Chang who assisted me financially and accommodated me during the last few months before submission. Finally, I would like to thank Dr Carolyn Brewer for copy editing my thesis.

It is my pleasure to thank all those who made this thesis possible. The generosity of people in sharing their personal experiences, spiritual heritage and academic professions with me has made my thesis more meaningful and livelier than I ever could have attained on my own. Writing my acknowledgement is not like doing a roll call in life. Still, once again, I have to show my deepest gratitude to each and every person I have encountered in life who made me who I am today.

Thank you.

Karen Kan-Lun Tu

29 September 2017, Taipei

Abstract

This thesis focuses on the areas on Orchid Island in Taiwan and Yap State in the Federated States of Micronesia exploring the transformation of indigenous canoe usage. The canoe performs significant symbolic and practical functions for both of these areas, though they have also developed local-specific functions thanks to variations in their respective histories that involve a complex process of transformation and revitalisation in canoe culture and navigation. The main aims of the thesis are to analyse the different usages of indigenous canoes from the late nineteenth century to the present, to discuss how foreign and colonial powers influenced canoe usage, and how indigenous canoes have developed contemporary meanings over time. This comparative study is framed within a broad historical perspective of social and cultural change in the Pacific. I discuss the importance of cultural and historical factors that have influenced canoe functions and the central meaning of the canoe to Islanders today. I collect oral traditions, historical records and ethnographic research data to build a comparative study of indigenous and contemporary canoe designs, their evolving usages and sociological purposes, as well as local reactions and adaptations in canoe usage, as reflected in gender relations and the division of labour. Debates about appropriate canoe usage frequently emerge during contemporary cultural revivals and demonstrations, and this thesis focuses especially on how the Islanders appropriate the canoe as a symbol of cultural revitalisation and identity. This suggests further future possibilities of the canoe as a dynamic symbol of the Islanders' identities and a reflection of their oceanic indigeneity.

Prologue

The inspiration for my thesis research on the transformation of canoe practice on Orchid Island and in the Micronesian state of Yap came during the final phase of my Master's thesis fieldwork in Taiwan in 2010.¹ While waiting for an interview with a key character before I could submit the thesis, I spent time with some of the Tao women following them to their taro gardens and the stores where they worked, and we discussed various contemporary issues about the island.²

Si Manpang was my first Tao friend who invited me to Orchid Island for a visit in early 2003.³ While there we met some non-Tao Indigenous people on the island and gathered in the evening to eat and drink with them. I found it interesting that the Islanders kept addressing us as 'Taiwan Indigenous Peoples,' as if they saw themselves as separate from this group. Over the past years I have learnt that while the Taiwanese Government officially recognises the Tao community as one of the fourteen ethnic groups of Taiwan, Tao Islanders consider themselves differently.⁴ My initial surprise has now been replaced by an understanding that 'the Indigenous' is merely a collective noun, and that all ethnic groups in Taiwan are very different and see themselves so.

The Islanders have gradually become more accustomed to outsiders, who are mostly tourists who normally come for short stays. From 2009 to 2010, two of my interlocutors talked about how indigenous canoes were being used as tools for tourism. These two interlocutors were both female and at that time in their forties. One interlocutor (Si-M) reflected on the indigenous use of canoes or *tatala* noting that whether it was used to catch fish or attract tourists, the customary purpose of the *tatala*

¹ Orchid Island is the direct translation from the two Chinese characters that make up its name. The island is also known as Lanyu, as in the direct pronunciation of the Chinese name Lan-Yu (蘭嶼). The Islanders call the island *Pongsu no Tao*, which in the local Tao language means 'the island of humans.' Tao is the name of the ethnic group. Most Islanders identify themselves as Tao but are officially recognised by the Taiwanese government by the name of the Yami ethnic group.

² Syaman Rapongan, the main character and key informant for my masters' thesis, is a famous Orchid Island Tao ethnic writer, with eight publications. He was often too busy to interview and rarely talked to me for more than ten minutes. My masters' thesis was awarded the 2010 National Taiwan Library Prominent Thesis in December of that year.

³ All the Tao names used in this chapter will remain as the full name in order to respect their naming system. For example, a name starts with Si means the person (can be male or female) does not have any child yet. A name starts with Sinan means she is already a mother while a name starts with Syaman means he is already a father. Syapen (can be male or female) means the person is already a grandfather or grandmother. Other detailed description please refer to Chapter Five.

⁴ In 2003, only 11 ethnic groups were recognised officially by the Taiwanese government. Sixteen ethnic groups were recognised in 2015.

remained the same.⁵ If it is used to make a living, they argued, then the essential spirit of *tatala* has not changed at all:

There is no harm for canoes to be used as tourists' canoes, as the tourists feel excited about the boats. By rowing them around, we enable people from the outside to know more about the boats and the rest of Tao culture, which is also good for our people. Moreover, by rowing the boats, the older men who are the owners can make their living by boat rentals, and the younger ones can row the boats to carry tourists, which are both good ways to increase their incomes. We can still obey the flying fish season taboo and separate those fish-catching canoes and tourist-carrying canoes, so then there will be no conflict between these two (Sinan-J, Orchid Island, May 2013).

Canoes are very important to such Islanders, not only on Orchid Island but across Oceania; they are their primary vehicle of transportation and a tool for making a living. However, it is clear from the stories that Tao told me and from my own observations across the islands, that canoe culture has indeed changed in most islands throughout Oceania. But while some practical and material dimensions have changed, certain values and certain practices (both land and maritime) related to canoe construction and sailing have endured.

When I revisited Orchid Island in 2013, I had already heard about the 10-person rowing canoe, *cinedkelan*, that was part of a project run by the Imorod Community Association. This association took care of all village affairs in the Imorod tribe. The canoe was owned and run by the village, and was designed with the express purpose of serving the Islanders. In my second week on the island, I went to talk to Syaman Rapongan in Imorod village who sometimes participated in this canoe-building project. Syaman Rapongan was well-educated; he was in his mid-fifties and was a fellow PhD student. He was one of the very few Islanders who had was proficient in the Tao language and Mandarin Chinese. I talked to him about my research and cautiously asked if I could participate in the process of canoe building. According to indigenous tradition, as in most of the Pacific Islands, canoe building is usually men's work. Women were thus not allowed to touch a canoe while it was being built, nor were they allowed to follow men to the mountains for logs on Orchid Island. During that conversation, however, he promised that he would take me to the mountain where they were going to collect the last piece of the canoe body. He felt confident that he could make it happen because, before my arrival, there had already been two female reporters

⁵ *Tatala* means a small canoe in the local Tao language. The term will be further explained in a later chapter.

who participated in the Imorod canoe-building process, and who documented and took photos of it. Often there is an important distinction made between women of the place and women coming from outside. He told me to not worry about this matter, and that he would go and talk to the community association to sort things out.



Figure 1. Left. Imorod village elders working on the last piece of a canoe body using axes to shape the log for the stern

Figure 2. Right. The same piece of stern has completely been shaped before sundown on the same day

Source. Photographed by © Karen Tu, May 2013

Finally, the group set the date for their collection of the canoe body and Syaman Rapongan came and told me the time of departure. My host family helped me prepare to go into the forest with gumboots and a climbing stick. Around midnight it rained quite heavily and I was rather worried about the condition of the roads. Luckily, the carving station was not too far away from where we parked the motorcycles, and it was only about a 15- to 20-minute walk to where the men had cut down the trees. The workers had already started shaping the log the previous day, and the only work they had to do was to shape it further, so that it would be light enough for them to carry down from the forest to the main road and then ship it back to the village (see Figures 1 and 2).



Figure 3. It was a huge task to carry the log back to the village, and almost all the workers showed up and helped move it out of the forest

Source. Photographed by © Karen Tu, May 2013. Used with permission of the subjects

I knew it was a very sacred process to go into the forest for logs. Tao people believe there are spirits in the forest, and everyone has to be sincere and respectful of these spirits in order for the work to go smoothly. I positioned myself at a fair distance from their working station and tried to be quiet and to respectfully observe their work (see Figure 3). During the lunch break, the workers started to talk with me and very kindly allowed me to come closer and suggested good spots from which to take photos.



Figure 4. An Iranmeylek Community *cinedkelan* nearly completed and stored in the shade in front of the community office

Source. Photographed by © Karen Tu, May 2013

Around the same time that the Imorod tribe was building their canoe, the Iranmeylek tribe was also making their 10-person rowing canoe (see Figure 4). The only difference was that the body of the canoe being made by the Iranmeylek community association would be sculpted.⁶ I went over and talked to the Iranmeylek community association project manager about my hope of participating in the canoe-building process. The manager explained to me that since this was a community-based canoe, the taboo on women's participation was not as strict as it had been in earlier times. However, they still tried to adhere to the old regulations. Then the manager came up with a solution, suggesting that I could go along with the female community supervisor on her next trip to the forest with the male workers.

⁶ The constructors have to decide whether a canoe should be sculpted or not prior to building it. However, a sculpted canoe entails more ritual in the building and launching processes and also increased involvement for the women in the family, see Chapter Five. Further details will be discussed later.



Figures 5 and 6. The Iranmeylek community canoe group cut down two tree logs for a total of four oars to be shaped that day

Source. Photographed by © Karen Tu, May 2013. Used with permission of the subjects

In May, about a month after my arrival on Orchid Island, the community supervisor alerted me that the tree harvesting expedition would commence. On the day, I followed them along the path, but I was warned that the road would be very steep. It was a 10-minute walk along the riverbed and then another half an hour of difficult climbing with no road to follow (see Figure 7). Finally, we reached the destination where the workers intended to cut down trees for the oars. I followed the female community supervisor, listened to her asking the workers questions, and made notes. I found out that chainsaws were now commonly used and had even replaced the traditional axes in the process of cutting and shaping the log. This process was done with good humour, so that the whole cutting and carving process was very pleasant, with good cooperation between the six team members (see Figures 5 and 6).⁷

⁷ For a more detailed description of the projects please see Chapter Four, 'Following the Ancestors' Footsteps to the Forest: Individual and Community projects.'



Figure 7. There was a more than 30-minute walk along a trail in the Iranmeylek village forest grounds in order to reach the log that was to be made into oars

Source. Photographed by © Karen Tu, May 2013.

Throughout the whole period of my visit to Orchid Island in 2013, I stayed with the same host family. They are not just a family who provided me with a place to live, but we became close friends, and they treated me as if I was part of the family. Every time I had a new experience from my research or took part in an activity I would share what I had learnt with them while we ate together. More than once my female host told me that I had to cherish all these opportunities as well as write my experiences down and write it well, because the village women did not have the same chance to take part in these activities. I thus felt grateful for every opportunity the group allowed me to follow and observe their work.

After leaving Orchid Island, I returned to Taipei for library and archival research, while preparing my fieldtrip to Yap in 2013 (See Map 1). Later that year, when I arrived in Yap, and with the permission of Chief Bruno Tharngan on behalf of the Yap Traditional Navigation Society (TNS) office,⁸ I went on three longer distance voyages on the large sailing canoe *Mathow Maram*. The first voyage, in early November 2013, was from Map to Colonia, with a young outer-island crew.⁹ The second, in mid-November 2013, was aboard the *Moon Rize*. I travelled from Colonia to Map with a middle-aged Yapese crew from Map. The third longer distance voyage, that took place in November 2014, was from Map to Colonia with a medium-sized and as yet unnamed canoe.¹⁰



Map 1. State of Yap map of the Federated States of Micronesia, showing the islands and atolls

Source. Used with permission of © CartoGIS CAP 17-292c_KP, The Australian National University, 2017

The journey from Map to Colonia was quite smooth. We followed the tailwind with only one tack of the sail, and after 90 minutes we arrived at Colonia without a hitch, despite a short storm in the middle of the trip. The six crew members on the canoe that day were young, with an average age of 21, although some of them were still minors and the person in charge of the journey was only 26. However, they knew exactly what to do and two of them had even sailed from Yap to Guam and Palau. The way back from Colonia to Map was not as smooth as the journey south. The way north that day was against a headwind and we had to tack many times to reach our destination,

⁸ Chief Bruno Tharngan, who is the chief in Map and only Yapese canoe master carver, still practises canoe building. Tharngan himself is one of the founders of TNS.

⁹ Colonia is the capital of the State of Yap, whereas Map (also spelled Maap) is further north than Colonia.

¹⁰ The canoe is literally ‘no name,’ as it was completed without being given a name. However, the villagers sometimes randomly call it *Moon Set* or *Sun Rize* simply because its sister-sized canoe was named *Moon Rize* (spelled z instead of s).

as well as to paddle, pull or push the canoe to make it move faster. We sailed for five hours, again experiencing a storm in the middle of the journey, paddling, pulling and pushing, and at one point we were towed by a motorboat. That five-hour experience helped me to truly imagine how hard life would be on a long seafaring journey.¹¹



Figure 8. *Waa'gey* men's group inside the canoe house, where there were normally between five and 15 workers on week days

Source. Photographed by © Karen Tu, September 2013. Used with permission of *Waa'gey*

During this visit I was also working with a non-government organisation, *Waa'gey* (see Figure 8). Most Yapese, including those on the outer islands, see canoes as associated with men only, especially canoe building.¹² However, with the flourishing of the tourism industry, people are gradually becoming accustomed to having female visitors in the canoe house, and this aided my participation. Even so, I found the workers in *Waa'gey* were slightly reserved for the first few weeks when I started to work with them in the canoe house. They started out by sitting still, wearing their shirts and smiling at me most of the time. After a few weeks they were back to their ordinary rhythms, some shaved, some cut their finger nails, some lay down to have a rest, and they started to adopt me into their group in the usual working mode, instead of seeing me as a researcher observing while they were working. Some even asked me to hand them tools once I learned to distinguish the different instruments from one another, and some gave me lessons on canoe building, carving and culture. Eventually I learned how

¹¹ Please refer to Chapter Four, on the Yap traditional navigation society (TNS).

¹² Please refer to Chapter Four on *Waa'gey*; and Chapter Five on gender divisions of labour.

to measure out parts of the canoe during construction, and acquired some basic carving skills. To work within a group of men was challenging at the beginning for all of us but with mutual respect the experience was very fulfilling. I recognise that I was privileged to cross commonly gendered cultural lines and that this privilege was afforded me by my scholarly position.

In September 2013 two canoes were built out of a large breadfruit tree that fell after a period of heavy rain (see Figure 9). The master carver of the first canoe was H. Larry Raigetal, who is also the Project Coordinator of *Waa'gey*. When the main body of that canoe was nearly completed, the workers made a proposal and asked my permission to name the canoe with my English name, Karen. This was such an honour for me, and something I would never have imagined possible. Raigetal then explained that naming a canoe after a woman is not an uncommon practice, but usually canoes are named after something significant that is related to each vessel. In this instance, I had participated in the whole process of building the canoe from the day the tree that they used to make it had fallen. Moreover, he said that the *Waa'gey* canoe house group had built this canoe just for me. I was left speechless when I received that gift, which is no doubt one of the highest honours the community can give.



Figure 9. The breadfruit tree, the canoe was made of, was bearing too much fruit and thus fell down after a period of heavy rain

Source. Photographed by © Karen Tu, September 2013

On 17 November that year, there was a launching ceremony for *Karen* in the canoe house at Colonia on Yap. Both the US ambassador to the Federated States of Micronesia (FSM) and the FSM ambassador to the US attended the event. During the

ceremony, the men and other guests gathered in the centre of the canoe house, while women prepared the food for all the people and chanted for both the builders and the canoe. Six of the canoe house workers were crowned with *wubud* (*wubud* coconut leaf, woven into a headband) by a senior carver to recognise that they had become experienced canoe builders. I was also crowned with *wubud* by H. Larry Raigetel, the Project Coordinator of *Waa'gey*, to acknowledge me as a qualified worker on this project (see Figures 10 and 11).



Figure 10. The colourful leis (*mwar mwar*) and the colourful lava-lava were made by the *Waa'gey* ladies' group, and the young leaf (*wubud*) was given to me by the *Waa'gey* carving group on launching day

Source. Photographed by one of the children with author's camera. © Karen Tu, November 2013

Throughout the region, canoe culture is mostly regarded as the sphere of males based on a gendered division of labour. It is not that women are not involved with canoes, but their participation is certainly less common both in the past and the present,

especially in canoe construction. As an outsider and a female researcher working on the topic of canoes it was initially quite challenging for me to be accepted into canoe spaces on Orchid Island and across Yap state. However, as I continued my research, I was eventually able to participate in critical activities such as the selection of wood, log carving and transportation, and canoe launching ceremonies on Orchid Island and on Yap.

As a researcher who came into this group as an outsider, I truly appreciate all the opportunities and lessons given by the Islanders of Orchid Island, and the generous communities throughout FSM. Each one of the people that I encountered in my fieldwork became the inspiration for this thesis which I hope will play a meaningful role in the promotion and safeguarding of the important knowledge, values and ‘spirit’ of canoe culture.



Figure 11. The canoe *Karen* being decorated and painted in navy blue, my favourite colour, for its launching ceremony. She has now been repainted in the traditional colours of red, black and white.

Source. Photographed by © Karen Tu, November 2013

Introduction

A Journey into the Sea of Knowledge

I have laid the stick that connects people together. Now it is up to you, your generation and the generations to come, to build upon that stick a bridge that will ensure the free sharing of information and teaching between the two peoples until the day we become united again as a single people, as we were once before; before men separated us with their imaginary political boundaries of today's Polynesia and Micronesia (Mau Piailug).¹

A Journey into the Sea of Knowledge: Taiwan's position in the Pacific

While my thesis focuses mainly on canoe practices at a very local level in Orchid Island and Yap State, these activities resonate with oceanic values and revitalisation activities across Oceania. I set out to explore how foreign and colonial powers influenced canoe usage and how indigenous canoes have developed contemporary meanings over time. I discuss the importance of cultural and historical factors that have influenced canoe functions and the central meaning of the canoe to Islanders today. I focus especially on how the Islanders appropriate the canoe as a symbol of cultural revitalisation and identity in relation to their unique canoe cultures.

There are several reasons why I have chosen Orchid Island to compare with Yap, and why these two areas and cultures have become comparative field sites. While the Orchid Island Tao people belong to one of the indigenous ethnic groups of Taiwan, Tao cultural practices are more similar to the Ivatan Islands of the Philippines and some Micronesian islands than to Taiwan. The Tao are grouped, as are Micronesians, as members of the Austronesian linguistic family. This position of indigenous Taiwan in relation to the indigenous Pacific is one of the main reasons why I chose to include Orchid Island in my research.

There are many connections between the Pacific and Taiwan not fully explored in this thesis. These relations span thousands of years of connection from the pre-colonial migrations out of East Asia through the Austronesian diaspora and continuing through development and international relations between Taiwan and Pacific countries. Due to its geographical location as the key Northeast Island of the Austronesian region, Taiwan stands as a link between the Asian Mainland and the Pacific. The indigenous peoples of

¹ 'Piailug's greatest lesson is that we are a single people' (Baybayan 2010).

Taiwan are viewed by many scholars in relation to those of Oceania, yet there is a dearth of information available on this relationship in Taiwan outside of scholarly circles. The majority of materials available are tour guides or scenic photobooks that focus superficially on culture or exist merely as tourist imagery. It is essential then to engage with the voices of the indigenous peoples in Taiwan in order to expand the scholarship on this topic of how they connect to Pacific peoples in both the past and present.

The close connection between Taiwan and the Pacific is verified by several scholars through their workshop on the ancient Austronesian diaspora. Researchers have claimed that Taiwan is possibly the homeland of all Austronesian speakers spanning both the Indian and Pacific oceans (See Bellwood, Fox, Tryon, 1995; Bellwood and Dizon, 2005; 2008; Blust, 1999; Shutler and Marck, 1975; Tsang 2011). Both comparative linguists and archaeologists have researched the spread of Austronesian-speaking peoples through East and South East Asia into the Pacific finding Taiwan in a crucial originary position. Orchid Island, for example, is mentioned in Bellwood and Dizon (2005: 28-33) who suggest that Batanes in the Philippines was first settled by Neolithic populations moving out from Taiwan around 3000 years ago. The migration routes to Yap and other areas in Micronesia either directly or via the flow of people from South-East Asia through island Melanesia are complex. While there is no evidence of a straight connection between Taiwan and Yap, they are connected by this broader Austronesian diaspora (Carson, 2013)².

Genetic evidence, linguistics, archaeology and history all suggest that there is a strong link between Taiwanese Indigenous peoples and Islanders across the Pacific. As mentioned earlier, researchers claim that Taiwan is very likely the original homeland for the people of all the Austronesian areas – the “out of Taiwan” hypothesis. (Bellwood, Fox, Tryon, 1995; Blust, 1999; Diamond, 2000, Shutler and Marck, 1975; Spriggs, 2009). Due to its geographical location as the key Northeast Island of the Austronesian region, Taiwan stands as a link between the Asian Mainland and the Pacific regardless of the debates about origins.

It is clear that Taiwan’s position within the Pacific is unique and important, yet Pacific studies in Taiwan over the past 50 years, as Pei-Yi Guo (2005) has argued, remains small, marginal and fragmented. Mention the word ‘Pacific’ in Taiwan and

² “The third colonizing migration in Micronesia occurred approximately 2000 years ago or possibly earlier (Intoh and Leach 1985). An exact date is unclear, but the Yapese language derived from an Oceanic-speaking source in Melanesia (Ross 1996). Later contacts with other parts of Micronesia greatly influenced Yapese language and culture” (Carson, 2013: 36).

ideas about it point more towards Asia-Pacific than to the Pacific and Oceania. This tends to focus on the rim rather than the ocean. Tsung-Rong Edwin Yang (2000) comments on how Pacific studies in Taiwan can further develop in his article, 'Pacific Research in the scope of Area Studies: From Taiwan Perspective.' In a global survey of Pacific research institutions, Yang suggests that Taiwan is perfectly positioned to be a major player in Pacific research economically, politically and geographically. But Yang highlights the obstacles to achieving this, including a lack of a 'Pacific identity' in Taiwan and a refusal to take on a 'Pacific' point of view.

In the years since the publication of Yang's and Guos' articles, the situation for Pacific studies in Taiwan has changed slightly. There was once funding for students to study Austronesian culture, and there are increasing numbers of conferences held that relate to the Pacific and Austronesia. Yuan-Chao Tung (2009), has built up the scholarly work on this topic and in 2009, a book she edited was published in Taiwan. It included translated articles from Robert J. Foster and Epeli Hau'ofa. The book has been a turning point. A small band of Taiwanese scholars from the Academia Sinica and National Taiwan University, have marshalled support around the book and they have formed the Taiwan Society for Pacific Studies (TSPS) to raise awareness and publish issues about the Pacific. Other academic institutions, such as the Center for Asia-Pacific Area Studies (RCHSS) in Academia Sinica, the Taiwan Center for Pacific Studies at National Taiwan University and other intercultural projects and programs have actively supported dialogue and exchange between Taiwan and Pacific scholars, artists, curators, students and policy makers. Many of these small but important initiatives in Taiwan inspired my interest in bringing Orchid Island and Yap into the same frame of study through a focus on canoe cultures.

There have not been any direct comparisons between Orchid Island and Yap though Inez de Beauclair was one of the few scholars who showed her research interests on both Orchid Island and Yap in the publication 'Studies on Botel Tobago and Yap' (De Beauclair 1974). Even though her research topics were vast with multiple interests, yet the comparison between Orchid Island and Yap is still minimal among all her publications. Her research among these two field sites as a seminal grouping of the two areas. De Beauclair was a pioneer and inspired other researchers, such as myself, to carry her work further.

A Journey into the Sea of Knowledge: Micronesia's position in the Pacific

Turning to Yap, Mau Piailug, who trained as a skilled navigator as well as a master canoe builder, had great influence not just within Micronesia, but also in the wider Pacific. Piailug was born on 8 January 1932 and raised on Satawal. Today, Satawal is under the administrative division of Yap State (see Map 1). Both his father and grandfather were navigators. Piailug was defined not by an ocean that separated people, but rather an ocean that joined them around common traditions and a passion for the island way of life (Baybayan, 2010: 3–4). Piailug's vision resonated with renowned Pacific scholar Epeli Hau'ofa's (2008) view of the Pacific as a 'Sea of Islands.' Hau'ofa was inspired by navigational and voyaging practices in his transformational framing of Oceania. Continental perspectives privilege land while ocean-centred perspectives can bring a new understanding of those accustomed to living on and across seas and waterways. Hau'ofa sees the ocean, as much as the land, as a place of being and a place of agency:

There is a world of difference between viewing the Pacific as 'islands in a far sea' and 'a sea of islands.' The first emphasises dry surfaces in a vast ocean far from the centres of power. Focusing on this stresses the smallness and remoteness of the islands. The second is a more holistic perspective, in which things are seen in the totality of their relationships (Hau'ofa 2008: 31).

Oceanic peoples certainly have a different way of viewing the land and the sea from those living on a large land mass. For them, the islands dotted throughout the Pacific are not isolated. Instead they are part of a maritime 'highway' that connects them. The wholeness and connection of this ocean is far more important than what seems to be separating the islands. As Matthew Spriggs observed (2009), the islanders continued to travel between islands after they had first reached them. Interconnections across the vast ocean can be evidenced by archaeological artefacts with materials found on the islands; as well as in oral traditions.³ The separation of Micronesia, Melanesia and Polynesia in foreign framing, as well as the occupation of various colonisers,⁴ has meant that the ocean was not seen as a whole anymore. Instead, all the islands and atolls were divided by the artificial boundaries of nation states.

³ Micronesia, is not as culturally diverse as Melanesia and not as seemingly homogeneous as Polynesia. It was settled comparatively recently in relation to Polynesia and Melanesia, roughly between about 3500 and 2000 years ago, but not from one single place (Spriggs 2009: 20).

⁴ With the sole exception of Tonga.

This sense of division, associated as a result of the drawing of nation-state boundaries, occurred at both of my field sites. Taiwan, and in particular, Taipei has been the centre of political dominance to which the Tao people of Orchid Island are often subject today. However, Batanes Island (the main island in the Batanes Group of the northern Philippines) maintains strong kinship, historical and cultural connections with the Tao people. Similarly, people of the eastern outer islands of Yap State were actually closer in culture and language to those in the western outer islands of Chuuk State. It is the imposition of state boundaries that segregates these islands into different countries or states; the long historical separation of Guam from the Northern Mariana Islands, beginning with the American colonial acquisition of Guam. This similar situation also occurs in many other areas in the Pacific, for example, West Papua and Papua New Guinea, or Samoa and American Samoa, where nation-state boundaries separate peoples who otherwise share common histories, languages and cultures. This separation can be traced back to the colonisation of the Pacific, where borders were imposed upon islands and people, as outside forces divided and demarcated regions as they saw fit. People with the same or similar origins were divided under different political authorities, which caused the long-term separation of people and communities.

However, many communities, artists, activists and scholars such as Hau'ofa and Pailug believed Oceania should not be divided by colonisers or modern political boundaries. Moreover, archaeologist Spriggs reflecting on the mobility and migration history of the Pacific Islanders, argued that the 'early history of the Pacific that is being revealed by archaeologists shows that these divisions are colonial creations and have no clear basis in ancient history' (2009: 19). The existing imperial boundaries are thus invisible to many Islanders.

From the standpoint of Oceanic epistemologies, and the cartographies of the Islanders' practices of movement and mobility, no island was ever isolated to begin with. Vicente Diaz proposed that indigenous perspectives could 'help challenge prevailing assumptions that underwrite conventional views of land, indeed, of place and space, and political and cultural subjectivities conceptualized in relation to them' (2015: 90). Diaz highlighted the use of *etak* and *pookof* in navigation.⁵ In these systems of navigation the canoe is seen as still, while the islands are mobile, as they are constantly expanding and contracting. Coordinates in time and space are plotted via the farthest

⁵ Diaz learned navigation skills mainly from the late Polowat master navigator Sosthenis Emwalu. These skills were, and still are, used throughout the region, including in Chuuk's north-western islands and Yap's outer islands.

reaches of their indigenous creation. The resulting mobility is as if Piailug (a master navigator) had a clear image of the destination island in his head, with both land and sea being *felt* to be mobile. Islands are not ‘isolated, tiny, and remote, regardless of how they have been defined, and thus marginalized, in western historical and cultural and natural cartography’ (Diaz 2011: 28). Margaret Jolly (2007: 529) also noted that in the past foreign experts, especially economists from the World Bank and the Australian National University, promoted politics diagnosing what is lacking in the Pacific, instead of critically identifying or celebrating the connections and similarities among the island cultures. Jolly (2007: 530), like Hau‘ofa, highlights the mobility of Oceanic peoples, who have been travelling for thousands of years, with the ocean connecting them all. And Islanders are still travelling, whether for education, jobs, or visiting family; they have always been travelling. Oceanic peoples used to be the sea travellers, as Islanders were mobile, and still are.

David Hanlon (2009) also agreed that Hau‘ofa’s phrase ‘our sea of islands’ best articulates the kind of Pacific studies that is ‘inclusive of local or indigenous epistemologies, and active in the recognition and promotion of all the ways knowledge from the region can be expressed’ (2009: 92). However, among the many sub-subjects of the broad field of the Pacific (especially Pacific Studies), the Micronesian region has received the least scholarly attention compared to other areas. Piailug’s deed, in teaching Polynesians Carolinian navigation, had once brought Micronesia to people’s attention and hence it should be continued as the main focus of this thesis. While most Pacific knowledge is sacred and often kept secret within clans and families,⁶ for Mau Piailug, navigational knowledge’s true value lies not in what it can do for its possessor materially or practically, but in the sacred obligation or even sense of mission it endows the possessor.

Piailug never considered his command of this sacred knowledge as granting him superiority over the less learned, nor did he define people by the arbitrary identity boundaries demarcated by nation states. Mau Piailug’s efforts in bringing Micronesian navigation to Polynesia were an act of great generosity that benefited many Polynesian, and especially Hawaiian peoples.

In 1973, Piailug was brought to Hawai‘i on a fisheries project by Mike McCoy, who had married Piailug’s niece (Finney and Low 2006: 169–70). The Polynesian

⁶ See Chapter Five regarding the passing on of indigenous knowledge in Yap and Orchid Island.

Voyaging Society (PVS) was newly formed at the time,⁷ and there was a meeting to determine a navigator for a proposed trip to Tahiti in the traditional Polynesian voyaging canoe the *Hōkūle‘a* (Star of Joy), which was, at that time, not yet built. At first, they preferred Polynesian navigators; however, there was no one in Hawai‘i who was skilled and available.⁸ So after the meeting, Piailug was selected to work with PVS and to lead this voyage from Hawai‘i to Tahiti (Mau Piailug Society 2003: 17).

Piailug was not familiar with this part of the Pacific Ocean, but he had indigenous navigational knowledge passed down by his forefathers, without any compass, sextant or charts. A crew of 17 set off on 1 May 1976, from Hawai‘i, and they landed at Tahiti on 4 June the same year, having averaged 196 kilometres a day with the northeast trade winds.⁹ The single longest day’s run was 241 kilometres on 11–12 May (Finney 1977: 1282). Using only traditional methods, Mau Piailug’s estimates of their position never deviated more than 40 miles from their actual position according to modern equipment. On his thirtieth day at sea, he accurately predicted landfall within 24 hours (Low 1983). Piailug succeeded in guiding the voyage south, although this ‘instrument-free navigator’ chose not to lead the return voyage (FSM Information Office 1987).¹⁰ After Piailug’s voyage to Tahiti, he returned to Satawal. Moreover, people from PVS continued to plan more voyages to Tahiti based on their own navigational wisdom. After Piailug left, the PVS and *Hōkūle‘a* crew members had to learn on their own.

Two years after Mau Piailug’s voyage on the *Hōkūle‘a*, another trip to Tahiti was prepared. However, after leaving Honolulu, *Hōkūle‘a* capsized in the Moloka‘i Channel. The renowned surfer and Hawaiian celebrity Eddie Aikau swam on a surfboard to get

⁷ PVS was founded by Ben Finney, Herb Kawainui Kāne and Tommy Holmes in 1973. The *Hōkūle‘a* name and image trademark is held by the Polynesian Voyaging Society, and use of it is only allowed if licensed.

⁸ First Tevake from a small island—a Polynesian outlier in Melanesia—was invited to lead the trip, but he did not agree. Half a year later, a letter from Tevake’s daughter informed the PVS that one day he said goodbye to his whole family, got on his canoe, went to sea and never came back (Hawaiian Voyaging Traditions n.d.).

⁹ More about Mau Piailug’s personal story and navigation journey will be included in Chapter Four.

¹⁰ Mau Piailug did not sail back to Hawai‘i with *Hōkūle‘a* due to disagreements amongst the crew on the initial journey. Some of the crew did not have the discipline that Mau expected, and Mau quietly returned to his island, leaving a tape-recorded message behind for the crew which said, ‘Do not come look for me; you will not find me’ (Hawaiian Voyaging Traditions n.d.). According to Finney, this was actually because of a disagreement over whether non-Hawaiians should participate in the voyage. He wrote,

Halfway to Tahiti six crew members began protesting that they were being overworked and underfed, that the canoe was lost and that the leaders did not know what they were doing. After that they refused to stand watch, or do anything else they didn’t like. The rest of us went about the business of sailing to Tahiti, though within sight of the island the strikers staged a confrontation that left blood on the deck. Mau Piailug was so disgusted that upon reaching Tahiti he flew home to Micronesia (2006: 299–301).

help, but was never seen again. Aikau and Charles Nainoa Thompson both had the dream of navigating the way their ancestors did. After the death of Aikau, Thompson was intent on fulfilling the dream for both of them. Thompson decided they needed Mau Piailug to be their instructor, so Thompson flew over to Yap to meet him. Piailug was generous enough to help the PVS accomplish their first journey to Tahiti. However, due to disagreements amongst the crew on the initial journey, Piailug left feeling his position of being a master navigator was under appreciated. The disrespectful manners of the sailing crew not only offended him but also demeaned Micronesian's ancient seafaring knowledge. Although Piailug rejected the offer at first, very likely because of the bad experience he had had on the previous journey, later in 1979 he agreed to train Thompson to navigate to Tahiti because he heard that Aikau had been lost at sea and he wanted to prevent future deaths. Eventually, he agreed to provide the training out of a desire to help prevent more tragedies (see Hawaiian Voyaging Traditions n.d.; Low 2002).

One year after Piailug's training, Thompson became the first Hawaiian and first Polynesian to practice the art of navigation on a long-distance voyage in modern times. To date, there have been four other navigators with similar skills to Thompson working closely with PVS. They are Chad Kalepa Baybayan, Milton Shorty Bertelmann, Bruce Blankenfeld and Chadd Onohi Paishon.¹¹ In 1980 the *Hōkūle'a* made her second successful journey from Hawai'i to Tahiti and back. After his initial training with Piailug, Nainoa continued training more of his students. Nainoa has always respected his teacher, Piailug. As he said, 'Even though I'm now able to guide the canoe on my own, I'm still his student. He is the only master navigator' (Low 2002). Piailug believed that all navigators could find a way, and that he had planted a seed in Hawai'i where Nainoa and others could keep passing on this knowledge to their descendants across the Pacific. 'Mau does not separate navigation as cultural revival. It's about a way of life,' wrote Nainoa (Hawaiian Voyaging Traditions n.d.). Even now, Piailug is still respected and remembered by the Polynesians, especially the PVS who learned their navigational knowledge from him. In Sydney, on 19 May 2015, during the arrival ceremony for *Hōkūle'a's* journey, *Mālama Honua*, Captain/Navigator Bruce Blankenfeld (who had

¹¹ Five of them went through the *Pwo* ceremony given by Mau Piailug on March 18, 2007 during their *Ku Holo Mau* voyage on Satawal (see Hawaiian Voyaging Traditions n.d.).

received *pwo* from Mau Piailug in 2007 on Satawal)¹² acknowledged Piailug in his opening speech:

We were very fortunate to meet a gentleman from Satawal. His name was Mau Piailug. He was one of the last master navigators of his kind and he became our teacher since the first voyage of *Hōkūle‘a* in 1976. It was a project that was supposed to be a sail down to Tahiti and a sail back of 5,000 miles. That was the end of it. For all intents and purposes the canoe shouldn't have been here today because that was the end of the project. But *Hōkūle‘a* has become a living treasure, something to be nurtured and shared (Blankenfeld 2015).

In accordance with Piailug's beliefs, the ocean continues to connect people in the Pacific region. Piailug's generosity and determination to share his cultural knowledge with the PVS kept long-distance navigational practices alive, and made it possible for *Hōkūle‘a* to connect people throughout the Pacific. This knowledge will survive not just in Micronesia, but anywhere as long as people continue to learn skills that were passed down from Piailug, a gentleman from Satawal, of the Federated States of Micronesia.

However, in reality, even though Piailug devoted himself in teaching Polynesians his navigational skills, nowadays there is unfair treatment of Micronesians. Although Micronesians and Polynesians share Pacific heritage, their relations can, at times, be contentious. In what may be considered as yet another episode of infighting among postcolonial peoples, the Micronesian immigrants in Hawai‘i sometimes face what may best be described as a tragic clash of peoples. These people under the Compact of Free Association make it difficult to speak of Micronesia as 'a fixed and bounded place' (Hanlon 2009: 103). The natives and more recent newcomers' relations are impacted on by hierarchies in economic, social and cultural forms.¹³

¹² Metzgar defines the *pwo* ceremony as: 'The equivalent to a graduate doctorate degree in knowledge of traditional navigation and involves additional instruction in the more esoteric-related aspects of traditional navigation such as chants for calling upon patron spirits' (Metzgar 2006: 297). Details of *pwo* will be explained in later chapters.

¹³ As numerous Micronesian societies are 'associated states' of the United States and thereby experience fewer formal visa and other relocation barriers, many seek to migrate to the US in search of more employment and life opportunities outside of their homeland. As is common among new immigrants in developed economies, relatively lacking in economic capital, they often pursue labour-intensive job opportunities in their new societies. Additionally, they are often only able to afford to live in less desirable neighbourhoods, at least initially anyway. There are, as always, incentives to live closer to their peers in order to receive more communal support, which leads to the formation of ethnic enclaves characterised by a high percentage of recent Micronesian immigrants. In what may be termed a tragic clash of people, different daily practices or public etiquette that the new immigrants bring from their original environment may clash with what the locals are more habituated with. This leads to misunderstanding, stereotyping, as well as possible charges of some ethnic groups being somewhat less considerate or 'civilised' than others, at times. See more relevant details in Chapter Two.

While the Micronesian seafarist Mau Piailug's 'technology transfer' of the traditional Micronesian canoe and navigational skills to Hawai'i (which had lost some of this ancient wisdom) may be altruistic and well-meaning, it may have actually weakened the Micronesians in relation to *kanaka maoli*. In other words, Piailug's technology transfer equalises the hitherto unequal commands of these ancient skills between Micronesians and Polynesians. It deprives the Micronesians of a source of cultural superiority, which had been a useful psychological safety net for them, as they face unfavourable hierarchies in economic and social terms. It is in this sense that, what started off as a charitable and altruistic act may have had negative unintended consequences. For this reason, not every one of Piailug's Micronesian compatriots appreciated Piailug's actions and his attempt to expand the two Pacific communities' collective cultural capital. When the distribution of social and economic power is unequal between two well-meaning peoples, even such noble acts may tilt the delicate balance of power between the societies. However, let me return to Hanlon's (2009) emphasis. The very term *Micronesia* itself has to be considered critically. The label Micronesia, may mask and make the readers underappreciate the sheer diversity and difference of each of the island communities contained within. Thus, Hanlon notes the analytical utility of the 'destabilization or deconstruction of the term Micronesia in favour of more localized histories and ethnographies – a process that is consistent with Hau'ofa's vision of "our sea of islands"' (2009: 103). From this account I suggest that while the similarities and wholeness of Micronesian communities should be valued as a useful analytical shorthand nomenclature, a scholar also needs to always keep in mind the inherent differences and respect the individual indigeneity of each community.

On the whole, owing to the broader socioeconomic shifts and the rapid pace of demographic intermixing, even though some members of PVS still remain grateful for Piailug's generosity in sharing his knowledge, many elements within the PVS are not so friendly towards Micronesians (especially migrants). As inter-ethnic politics is not the core concern of this dissertation, it suffices to say that Piailug's sharing is valuable in so far as it promotes cross-cultural exchanges across different sub-regions of the Pacific Ocean basin. One hopes that this shared Oceanic connection will bring the Islanders greater opportunities for reaching empathy and mutual understanding, rather than letting the so-called 'narcissism of small differences' get in the way of good relations among close cultural cousins who share in that Oceanic heritage. In the next section, I will highlight the politics of canoe culture revitalisation (including navigation) associated

with my two field sites, as well as provide a general review of the revitalisation of canoe-related organisations across Oceania.

The politics of revitalising canoe culture across Oceania

In both of my field areas, NGOs, private or village communities, and individuals were all active in preserving, promoting and reviving their indigenous canoe cultures.¹⁴

Navigational knowledge is considered to be a source of immense pride for the Islanders, as is the ability make and mend canoes. In some areas, to this day, canoe construction for private individuals has remained a fundamental test or rite of passage of manhood.¹⁵

Yet at the societal level, the politics of canoe and navigation revival is tangled up with hierarchies of power, profit and prestige. However, it is important to note that Yap (especially the main islands) is fairly hierarchical and chieftainship is commonly practiced on Yap and the outer islands. The Tao ethnic group is different from other Taiwanese indigenous peoples and is more egalitarian. There is no chief or tribal leader throughout Orchid Island (Torii and Lin 2016: 101). Namely, canoe culture revitalisation, for the purpose of my field sites, concerns the following three factors: a source of pride and dignity, when one succeeds as a guardian and promoter of one's culture and identity; a form of resistance to modernity and colonialism and postcolonial relations; a tool for redistributing such postcolonial power relationships, in part by using it as a competitive practice showcasing a community's relatively superior command of indigenous skills and knowledge.

The first rationale relating to pride and dignity can be seen in both Taiwan and Micronesia where specific days of indigenous cultural significance or indigenous rituals are still in practice. Such rituals serve not only to express the pride and dignity that the Islanders derive from their own identity but also, more importantly, to provide a sociological bonding function, as they are occasions for family reunion, community or village collaboration, and so on. Resistance and redistribution can be bundled together as resulting from and reactions to colonialism, modernity and globalisation across the Pacific.¹⁶ The economic implications of safeguarding cultural elements, such as the reallocation of economic benefits like tourism and revitalisation projects can also be considered to be important reasons associated with the revitalisation of canoe culture

¹⁴ Please see Chapter Four for further details.

¹⁵ See Chapter Three related to historical use of indigenous canoes.

¹⁶ See Chapter Two on contact history.

across Oceania. Indigenous cultures are different and sometimes they stand in contrast with the foreign authority and the so-called *non-indigenous* later-comers or more recent migrants. It has also impeded Islanders' ability to make up for economic insecurity with cultural capital, when they face disadvantageous economic terrain on their island, and more especially when they have travelled to a foreign land. Hence cultural revitalisation, as discussed by James Fenelon and Thomas Hall (2008), can be seen simultaneously as somewhere between resistance and revitalisation throughout the world system.¹⁷

In the case of the Tao people on Orchid Island, the indigenous cultural revitalisation can be taken as a form of resistance to the Taiwanese government in controlling or manipulating indigenous groups. However, sometimes the Islanders still fall victim to national or local governmental projects, which then raise the broader issue of empowerment as I will elaborate in Chapter Four with some recent examples.¹⁸ Although, the revitalisation of canoe culture might have started with good intentions on the part of Mau Piailug, as it progresses it inevitably has become intermingled with broader economic, societal and cultural clashes that are perhaps inherent in any such cross-societal exchange. It has become a site of contestation as various parties contend for hierarchies in power, profit and prestige.

In Yap State, canoe revitalisation is also a form of resistance that is seen less as a national/governmental issue but more as a strategy against westernisation, modernisation and American hegemony. That is to say, for Yap State, the 'other' that they are resisting is not so much the central/national government, but the broader cultural or even civilisational 'other,' namely the West, and in particular, the United States of America. Ridgell, Ikea and Uruo (1994) describe a friendly rivalry that has existed since 1969 between outer islands in Chuuk and Yap States 'with the people of each keeping a wary eye on the other lest one island makes claims the other cannot equal' (1994: 200) in long-journey voyaging. Eric Metzgar (2006: 296–97) shared his experiences based on interviews with Rapwi, a master navigator originally from Satawal who later moved to Polowat for marriage. His reason for continuing long-distance sailing by indigenous methods is 'to show them.' By 'them' he meant his fellow navigators. Rapwi's second oldest brother Repunglug said the same thing; he

¹⁷ Which are: 1. global historical context; 2. cultural traditions stressing community and consensus-driven governance; 3. holistic, social, and spiritual values that embody generosity and reciprocity as opposed to competition and accumulation; 4. worldviews that interact positively with the earth's environment and land, rather than 'profiting' from natural resource exploitation (Fenelon and Hall 2008: 1868). However, in the article, Fenelon and Hall tried to go beyond comparing and contrasting areas, instead they sought to find a pattern of mutual similarities.

¹⁸ Actual examples are given throughout Chapter Four.

started sailing indigenous canoes from Satawal to Saipan in 1970.¹⁹ Metzgar received the same reply from Mau Piailug as well: 'To show them.' A similar situation also prevails on Orchid Island where chiefdoms did not exist in the past. Instead, people showed their power through their ability. The friendly (or intentional) rivalry that exists in both places is a crucial way of showing or proving one's ability. This could alternatively link back to the pride and dignity that lies with these master navigators who possess and practise their long-held navigational knowledge.

Yap's canoe revival around 2005 was greatly influenced by Mau Piailug's contribution to the PVS. When the Yap Traditional Navigation Society (TNS) was formed, Mau Piailug was invited to sit in as an honourable board member; later his son, Cesario Sewralur, also became a board member. In Hawai'i, where people were aware of the danger of losing their indigenous culture and language, cultural revitalisation started as a bigger and more conscious public project much earlier than in most of Micronesia. Here, I introduce some of the organisations and clubs involved in canoe revival throughout Oceania. The PVS was part of a broader revitalisation movement in the Pacific that was concerned with strengthening indigenous skills of navigation and canoe building. Thompson called this process a 'Voyage of Rediscovery' (Hawaiian Voyaging Traditions n.d.).²⁰ Throughout the Pacific many indigenous languages and skills were forgotten, weakened, or they faced endangerment; including navigation and canoe building. This was especially acute in settler colonies such as Hawai'i and Aotearoa New Zealand. From the 1950s there was a tidal wave of reviving indigenous cultural practices throughout the Pacific, in order to preserve and protect them. Here I give a chronological overview and then discuss the purpose of these societies, the politics within each group, and finally the current achievements of these communities in achieving this important cultural revival.²¹

In 1973, about the same time as the PVS was founded, canoe societies, clubs and organisations started to flourish. PVS was not the first to start the revival of navigation and canoe building, as many earlier groups had been established in Hawai'i.²² However,

¹⁹ See navigational family relationships and details of their journeys in Chapter Four.

²⁰ For more about the voyage of rediscovery, see Finney 1994.

²¹ This discussion will not cover all of the communities, clubs and organisations, but it provides a snapshot of the contemporary movement in the Pacific region.

²² Former voyages in Polynesia, such as *Fou Po I and II*, *Ka'imiloa* and *Ka'imiloa-Wā kea*, *Kon-Tiki*, *Tahiti Nui I, II, III and IV*, all happened a few decades before the sailing of *Hōkūle'a* (Finney 2006: 290–94). However, *Hōkūle'a* has continued sailing for the last 40 years. The *Mālama Honua* Worldwide Voyage was intended to finish in June 2017. However, an update to the *Mālama Honua* Worldwide Voyage Website states that the Voyage will now continue into 2018.

it was certainly one of the earliest groups that formed and is still actively sailing. Though the practices of each such society and club on Hawai‘i vary, they share the mutual aim of maintaining, revitalising and protecting the skills and traditions of Hawaiian culture, and have a common long-term educational purpose.

These clubs include the Outrigger Canoe Club, which was founded in 1908 on the beach at Waikiki, originally as a surfing club. Hui Nalu (Club of the Waves) Canoe Club was founded in 1908, primarily for swimming and then later for canoe paddling and surfing. Kai ‘Opua Canoe Club was formed in 1929 on the Kona Coast, while the Hawaiian Canoe Club built wooden canoes, then in 1967 purchased its first fibreglass vessel. The Kailua Canoe Club was established in 1971 and was dedicated to preserving the sport of Hawaiian outrigger canoe racing. The Kihei Canoe Club was established in 1973, and is one of the four oldest canoe clubs on Maui; while the Lōkahi Canoe Club was formed in 1980 as a non-profit competitive outrigger paddling club. These are just some examples of the clubs that formed as early as the beginning of the twentieth century, to maintain and revive canoe paddling and racing traditions in Hawai‘i.

The largest canoe revitalisation project is arguably the *Vaka Moana* (Boat of the Ocean), one of seven ocean-voyaging canoes which made up the group ‘Pacific Voyagers’ in 2010.²³ An outside organisation Okeanos encouraged and worked with these voyaging groups (which will be listed individually below) in building a fleet of seven traditionally designed *vaka* representing ten island nations (see Okeanos Foundation n.d.). The seven canoes sailed from Aotearoa to Hawai‘i (*Te Mana O Te Moana*, the Spirit of the Ocean), and then San Francisco, along the west coast of the United States, later reaching the Solomon Islands for the Festival of Pacific Arts in July 2012.²⁴ The intention of the *vaka* and the voyages was to visit islands where indigenous traditions had been lost or forgotten as a result of foreign influences. The voyage brought together people with a similar cultural heritage and showed what they were capable of achieving with indigenous methods. Prior to the construction and sailing of these seven canoes, the first *vaka*, *Moana Te Au O Tonga*, was built in 1994 in

²³ Pacific Voyagers serves as a ‘family brand’ for the local voyaging NGOs, and continues to advance the above-stated projects and helps gather and transfer knowledge and experience in the Pacific region in these areas (Pacific Voyagers n.d.). Some canoes which were built in 2009 embodied traditional knowledge and design along with modern materials, including solar panels and electric motors (Hawaiki Rising n.d.).

²⁴ The voyage was known as *Te Mana o Te Moana* (the Spirit of the Ocean), and was meant to reconnect people with their traditions, with other Pacific communities and with the ocean, as well as to spread the message of ocean protection. Aside from the listed areas, the canoes also visited San Diego, the Cocos Islands, Galapagos, Tahiti, Cook Islands, Samoa, Fiji and Vanuatu (Pacific Voyagers n.d.).

Rarotonga. The design of the canoe was based on James Cook's drawings made during his visit to Polynesia in the 1770s. The initiative of Sir Thomas Davis enabled the construction of *Te Au O Tonga*. Subsequently, the other canoes followed the same journey, based on the traditional double-hulled Polynesian sailing canoe design (Pacific Voyagers n.d.).

The seven canoes are *Hine Moana* (Pan-Pacific), now operated by Hawaiki Rising Voyaging Trust; *Haunui* (Pan-Pacific), currently owned by Te Toki Voyaging Trust; *Te Matau a Māui* (Aotearoa, New Zealand), owned by Te Matau A Māui Voyaging Trust; *Marumaru Atua* (Cook Islands), now owned and operated by the Cook Islands Voyaging Society; *Uto Ni Yalo* (Fiji), owned and operated by the Uto Ni Yalo Trust; *Faafaite* (Tahiti), owned and operated by the Association Faafaite I te Ao Maohi; and *Gaualofa* (Samoa), operated by Aiga Folau o Samoa or the Samoa Voyaging Society (SVS). These canoes were based on a broader vision of traditional double-hulled Polynesian sailing canoes. All of these designs follow the pan-Polynesian styles, but are slightly different according to the area from which they originated (Pacific Voyagers n.d.). Although the designs were indigenous, modern equipment was installed, such as solar power. It is said that the 'merging of past and the present ideas, serves as a useful metaphor for solutions to our planet's energy and climate change issues' ('Imiloa n.d.). The construction and the sailing of the seven *vaka* also encouraged the establishment of some of the Voyaging Trusts. These organisations and trusts have a common aim, to use the indigenous knowledge and wisdom of the ancestors, combined with modern science and technology, to realise a vision of a sustainable future and to revive the cultural traditions of voyaging.

In Polynesia there are also organisations such as the Cook Islands Voyaging Society, which takes care of the canoe *Marumaru Atua*. This Society was established in 1992 soon after the 6th Pacific Arts Festival held on Rarotonga. The *vaka*, *Marumaru Atua*, was built in 2011, and since then she has mainly been used on voyages with the Cook Islands Voyaging Society. The Society aims to

promote Cook Islands Voyaging culture and traditions, and to highlight environmental and marine issues in the Pacific, while also showcasing the *vaka* as being fossil fuel free, only using the wind and sun energy for propulsion, hence being environmentally friendly (Cook Islands Voyaging Society n.d.).

Moreover, the group trains the younger generation through educational programs, crew recruiting and outreach activities with schools and communities. By putting traditional and cultural knowledge into practice, CVS has enhanced the values, pride

and respect of the Cook Islands, and preserved and revived the traditional voyaging culture. The society plans to operate eco-tourism/environmental tours throughout the Cook Islands, as well as carrying out several long-distance voyages between 2014 and 2019.

In Fiji, the Fiji Islands Voyaging Society (also known as the Uto ni Yalo Trust, or Heart of Spirit) aims to revive and sustain traditional Fijian canoe building, sailing and navigation, to advocate for sustainable development and preservation of the Fiji and Rotuma marine and land environments, and to rediscover and preserve the traditional arts. This group works alongside government, public and private organisations, as well as providing public education programs, to rediscover and better preserve cultural arts, knowledge, skills and customs ('Sailing for sustainability' n.d.). The Society maintains the *drua Uto ni Yalo*, one of the seven canoes of the Pacific Voyagers which established links between Fiji and other areas in Polynesia. The Society also advocates for the national protection of the Intellectual Property Rights of Fiji canoe designs, and the associated sailing and navigational knowledge and skills.

The *Va'atele Gaulofa* is owned and operated by the Samoa Voyaging Society, also known as Aiga Folau O Samoa (SVS) that was founded in 2009. In June of 2012, *Gaulofa* was gifted to SVS and Samoa by Okeanos' founder, Dieter Paulmann, and his wife Hanna. SVS has created educational and training programs in traditional sailing and navigation to gain the interest of youth and school students. The mission of the SVS is to firmly re-establish traditional voyaging as part of Samoan cultural and national heritage. In order to promote positive Samoan cultural values (such as respect for the ocean and nature, individual and social responsibility, discipline and integrity), SVS has strong connections with youth development in sports and leadership, as well as providing tourism opportunities such as whale watching and adventure tours. *Gaulofa* was still sailing as recently as October 2014, when she joined the Cook Islands *Marumaru Atua* and the Fijian voyaging canoe *Uto ni Yalo* on the second leg of the *Mua* Voyage to Sydney to attend the International Union for Conservation of Nature (IUCN) 6th World Parks Congress. In May 2015, the *Gaulofa* was part of the *Te Manava* voyage, along with three other Pacific Voyagers' canoes, en route to the *Te Manava Vaka* Festival as part of the Cook Islands 50th Anniversary Celebrations. In the future, SVS plans to extend its contribution to sustainable development and the preservation of the Samoan marine and land environments.²⁵

²⁵ See Samoa Voyaging Society Aiga Folau o Samoa (2014); and Gaulofa website (n.d.).

‘Kalauni ‘O Tonga’, or the Tonga Voyaging Society, uses the *vaka Hine Moana* (Guardian Lady of the Sea), and offers one-day cruises as well as overnight cruises that provide experiences in Polynesian sailing methods and navigation techniques. In accordance with eco-friendly traditions, the group has combined modern technology (including state-of-the-art solar electric motors) with traditional canoe designs. Like SVS, the Tonga Voyaging Society also aims to raise awareness of islanders’ relationship with the sea through education and experience so as to encourage interest and reclaim their heritage as a voyaging nation. The Society is engaged in providing education and training to Tongan youth so they can participate in learning ancient sailing traditions, as well as be exposed to current environmental issues (see Tonga Voyaging Society n.d.).

In Tahiti there is the Tahiti Voyaging Society (TVS), which takes care of the *Faafaite* in Papeete. Matahi Tutavae, the former president of TVS, personally showed me *Faafaite* when I visited Tahiti in 2015. Even though he is no longer the president of TVS, he claims that *Faafaite* is still in good hands with regular maintenance by the Society. Tutavae himself had participated in a few legs of *Mālama Honua* on *Hōkūle‘a*. He was joyful at having been invited on board this journey, and stated that the crew-member selection was quite competitive, as all the best sailors and navigators were trying to participate in the event. He also participated in *Mālama Honua*, which highlighted the connections and interactions among the societies in Polynesia (Interviews with Tutavae, Sydney, May 2015; Papeete, July 2015). *Faafaite* later joined *Hōkūle‘a* led by Tutavae and Jean-Claude Terrierooteraï (the former and current president of TVS, and both navigators in training), which arrived at Hilo from Tahiti after 17 days, then later travelled to Honolulu, with many people coming out to celebrate and welcome the homecoming of *Hōkūle‘a*. This last leg of the voyage was led by Nainoa Thompson who received his *pwo* from Piailug (*West Hawai‘i Today* 2017).

Other islands outside of Polynesia have joined the trend of revitalising canoe building and navigation. In Papua New Guinea, the Annual *Kenu* and *Kundu* Festival has been held since 2003 in Alotau, Milne Bay Province, normally in early November. *Kenu* means canoe and *Kundu* is a kind of drum, exclusive to the area of Milne Bay. This festival is the major event of the southern region, and not only showcases war canoes but also drum performances, dance performances, art and craft making, as well as other cultural events. There is also the Gogodala Canoe Festival, which has been held annually in either early March or late April since 2003. Alison Dundon (2013) wrote a

critical analysis of this canoe festival. Also, in Madang Province, a village on the Ramu River called Bosmun revived their canoe ceremony, which was documented by the Sacred Land Film Project: *Guardians of the River*. In the world's third largest intact rainforest, people have long relied on canoes to cross the sacred Ramu River, and thus they have retained their traditional canoe carving and associated rituals and warrior traditions.

In the Solomon Islands, the Vaka Taumako Project (VTP) is the most famous canoe revival. In Taumako, Temotu Province, traditional navigation has been revitalised and canoe building has started to attract the younger generation's interest. At the beginning, in 1996, VTP was officially created under the Pacific Traditions Society, with its office located in Hawai'i. It is now looking to relocate to Temotu. The aim of the project is to build and sail voyaging canoes with ancient methods, materials and tools. Cultural and educational collaborations to raise international awareness of ancient arts are also crucial to the project. Taumako (Duff Islands) and Vaeakau (Outer Reef) were well known for their *vaka*, which use indigenous materials. However, the last voyaging canoe broke up in the early 1960s, and soon fibreglass canoes with outboard motors replaced them as the main mode of transportation. Kruso Kaveia, Paramount Chief of Taumako Island and a master navigator, was asked to build a new *vaka* for Taumako in 1993 which VTP officially launched in 1996. The sailing canoe *Te Puke* and the smaller canoe *Te Alo Lili* were built after VTP was formed, and the ultimate goal was to build a larger *Te Puke* and sail to Vanuatu to reunite with their long-separated families who had migrated over 70 years before (See Vaka Taumako Project website n.d.).

In Micronesia, people in Guam have been devoted to the revitalisation of their canoe culture and navigational knowledge since Chamorro canoe building and navigation in the Marianas ended in the late 1700s. The Spanish settlement of Guam in 1668, and the subsequent decline of the indigenous population as a result of warfare and disease, took a heavy toll on Chamorro culture (Metzgar 2006: 303). Groups concerned with indigenous navigation include the Traditions about Seafaring Islands (TASI) and Traditions Affirming our Seafaring Ancestry (TASA). TASI is a non-profit organisation that promotes indigenous seafaring through carving and navigation. It has strong connections with the island of Polowat. TASI, which also means 'ocean,' plays a role in the public education and revitalisation of traditional seafaring for the Chamorro community. It also encourages educational awareness in indigenous seafaring with classes at high schools and seminars at the University of Guam. Working with master

navigators from Micronesia and participating in the seafaring community of the larger Pacific, the organisation works to help rediscover lost traditions. TASA aims at celebrating and strengthening Chamorro identity through reviving and practising Chamorro seafaring traditions.

The abbreviation of TASA is also the synonym of capstone (cup) for the *latte* stone, which symbolises the cup of knowledge in the Chamorro tradition. In preparation for the 2016 Festival of Pacific Arts (FestPac) in Guam, TASI chose Taiwan as the first location of the event as it represented the origins of the Austronesian family. Ignacio R. Camacho, the Chamorro navigator (of TASI) left Kaohsiung, Taiwan, on 13 March with his first stop at Orchid Island. He co-sailed with Syaman Rapongan. After a short stop and interactions with the Tao people and an indigenous Tao 10-person canoe (*cinedkelan*), Ignacio Camacho piloted *Ana Varu* towards Guam on 19 March as a leading vessel for the 2016 FestPac.

The Polowatese voyaging canoe *Lien Polowat* was the last canoe built by the late master navigator Manny Sikau, who died in 2013. Sikau cofounded the Traditional Seafaring Society (TSS) at the University of Guam in 1999. The Traditional Seafaring Society (TSS) was formerly known as the Micronesian Seafaring Society (MSS), which was founded by the University of Guam in 1994 as a student organisation. Several navigators from Polowat have participated in the TSS in the past. The journey of *Lien Polowat* from Polowat to Guam was guided by master navigator Chief Theo. This event helped keep Polowat indigenous seafaring alive, and also helped promote and revive the seafaring tradition in Guam (Pacific Voyagers n.d.). This event was hosted by TASI in Guam in 2013.

The scholar and film director Vicente M. Diaz worked with the MSS and the late navigator Sosthenis Emwalu, and later with Sikau, the grandson of Polowat grand navigator Ikuliman Sikau. He has incorporated some of Emwalu's teachings, words and knowledge into his work, such as 'Voyaging for anti-colonial recovery: Austronesian seafaring, archipelagic rethinking, and the re-mapping of indigeneity' (2011), 'No island is an island' (2015), and his film *Sacred Vessels* (1997). He makes a distinction between the superficial and deeper meanings of chants, which are closely related to navigational knowledge. The deeper meanings are normally metaphorical and are linked to history and indigenous identity in the colonial and postcolonial context.

The Republic of the Marshall Islands also values indigenous navigation highly. For example, the Waan Aelōñ in Majel Program (known as WAM, which translates as Canoes of the Marshall Islands) is committed to empowering young Marshallese men

and women through navigation and canoe building. WAM also provides daily canoe trips Monday through Friday. Rachel Miller (2010) wrote about the canoe revival and usage in the Marshall Islands in her thesis '*Wa Kuk Wa Jimor: Outrigger canoes, social change, and modern life in the Marshall Islands.*' WAM works with students and youth to teach them traditional skills, but also works to give young people sustainable skills that can be used in the employment market to fit in with contemporary needs. Traditional Marshallese skills, including outrigger canoe building, maintenance, sailing and navigation, will ensure that this unique aspect of Marshallese culture will be kept alive (Canoes of the Marshall Islands: Waan Aelōñ in Majel n.d.).

In Palau, the Canoe Association of Palau (CAP) was established in 1998 as a non-profit organisation. This organisation is preparing for canoe races not only in Palau, but around the Pacific, such as the Belau Games, the Micronesian Games, the South Pacific Games, the Micronesian Cup, the Hawai'i Races and Season Regattas in Palau. There are also various clubs in Palau, such as the Obubuu Club, Mokedau Club, Koror State Canoe Club, and the Ngardmau Canoe Club (see Canoe Association of Palau: Celebrating 10 Years of Olympism n.d.). However, indigenous canoe building and navigation is not as well developed as in other countries. In anticipation of the 2016 FestPac, navigator Sesario Sewralur (who now resides in Palau, but who was originally from Satawal and who is the son of Mau Piaulug) led the canoe *Alingano Maisu* on 15 March 2016 towards the outer islands of Yap, where it was joined by two other canoes in Satawal; they then sailed towards Saipan and then travelled to Guam to join the 2016 Festival of the Pacific Arts.

The Polynesian Voyaging Society kept plotting the journeys of *Hōkūle'a* since its first long-distance journey in 1976, and continued this work with *Hikianalia*, which was launched in 2012. One of the PVS founders, Ben Finney, had hoped in the 1970s that *Hōkūle'a* would sail to and from Tahiti, and after the voyage would be used as a 'floating classroom' to teach Hawai'i's youth about their maritime heritage. Finney's hopes were realised, and *Hōkūle'a* remains a floating classroom not only around Hawai'i but throughout the Pacific and elsewhere, as shown by its recent *Mālama Honua* journey (Finney 2006: 298). *Mālama Honua* crew member, Kaleomanuiwa Wong, who joined PVS in 1999, had already sailed from Hawai'i to Tahiti, Samoa to Tonga, Aotearoa to Coffs Harbour, and Sydney to Brisbane on the vessel. He said that on the *Mālama Honua* trip their mission was not as simple as encouraging better waste management for beaches. Presenting activities such as the hula dance was also a part of the goal, to

continue on your language and your culture, in the way you take care of yourself and your people. You take care of the land and the ocean and everything. It is hard to have a culture without having a land-base. The resources of the culture, continuing to have our language and culture, are also the life of the land (Interview with Wong, Sydney, May 2015).

Wong stressed the similarities between the indigenous communities losing their land. However, he considered that a love of the land, ocean, people and culture is strong everywhere in the Pacific. This ‘floating classroom,’ *Mālama Honua*, serves not only to teach people about Hawaiian culture, but for the crew members it is a great experience of sharing and learning from others. The mobile classroom is a place for people to exchange their cultures, experiences and shared environmental concerns. On June, 17 2017, *Mālama Honua* reached her homeport after completing an epic circumnavigation of the globe. The *Mālama Honua* Worldwide Voyage Website, updated after this journey, states that new voyages will continue into 2018.

Just as Piaailug shared his knowledge beyond Satawal to Hawai‘i and Polynesia, so too are navigational skills and knowledge shared across islands and national boundaries on a Pan-Pacific level. The Okeanos foundation and the ‘350 Pacific Climate Warriors’ group are examples of such Pan-Pacific organisations. In the name, ‘350 Pacific Climate Warriors,’ the number 350 refers to climate safety. ‘[W]e must reduce the amount of CO₂ in the atmosphere from its current level of 400 parts per million to below 350 ppm,’ states their webpage (350 Pacific Organization n.d.). The Pacific Climate Warriors chose a canoe-building and sailing project because it considered the canoe to be a significant symbol of the Pacific, and thus respond to the decline in canoe building throughout the region.

Polynesia	
Hawai‘i	PVS, Outrigger Canoe Club, Hui Nalu Canoe Club, Kai ‘Opua Canoe Club, The Hawaiian canoe club, Kailua Canoe Club, Kihei Canoe Club, Lōkahi Canoe Club, and more.
Cook Islands	Cook Islands Voyaging Society and the canoe <i>Marumaru Atua</i> .
Fiji	Fiji Islands Voyaging Society (also known as the ‘Uto ni Yalo Trust’, or ‘Heart of Spirit’) and the canoe <i>Uto ni Yalo</i> .
Samoa	Samoa Voyaging Society, also known as ‘Aiga Folau O Samoa’ (SVS) and the canoe <i>Gaualofa</i> .
Tonga	The Tonga Voyaging Society (‘Kalauni ‘O Tonga’) and the canoe <i>Hine Moana</i> .
Tahiti	The Tahiti Voyaging Society and the canoe <i>Faafaite</i> .

Melanesia	
Papua New Guinea	Annual Kenu and Kundu Festival, and Gogodala Canoe Festival.
Solomon Islands	Vaka Taumako Project; Pacific Traditions Society (in co-operation with Hawai'i).
Micronesia	
Guam	Traditions Affirming our Seafaring Ancestry (TASA) and the Traditions About Seafaring Islands (TASI) and the Traditional Seafaring Society (TSS at the University of Guam formerly known as the Micronesian Seafaring Society, MSS).
Marshall Islands	Waan Aelōñ in Majel Program (known as WAM).
Palau	The Canoe Association of Palau (CAP), Obubuu Club, Mokedau Club, Koror State Canoe Club and Ngardmau Canoe Club, and more.

Table 1. Some of the canoe clubs and organisations throughout the Pacific

Source. Constructed by © Karen Tu

The 350 Pacific Climate Warriors project attempts to regain the ancient knowledge and art of canoe building and indigenous sailing to encourage young Pacific Islanders to build traditional-styled canoes that will be used as vessels to deliver messages on climate change to Australia (350 Pacific Organization n.d.). The areas and countries involved include American Samoa, the Cook Islands, the Federated States of Micronesia, Fiji, Kiribati, the Marshall Islands, Nauru, Niue, Palau, Samoa, the Solomon Islands, Tokelau, Tonga, Tuvalu and Vanuatu. Even though the primary goal of the organisation is to raise awareness about climate change, its efforts to generate canoe construction among Pacific Islanders also contributes to a cultural revival of voyaging. Such voyaging eschews the consumption of fossil fuels and underscores the goals of the 350 movement.

The table I have constructed of some of the canoe clubs and organisations throughout the Pacific does not attempt to be completely comprehensive. Instead it offers a snapshot of the current canoe movements and activities in the Pacific region (see Table 1).

Research questions, methodology and thesis outline

So far in this chapter I have indicated the importance and significance of indigenous canoe culture as well as navigational skills throughout Oceania. They provide the background to and also the catalyst for my thesis. From the review of canoe revitalisation within the Pacific, I focus on the North-Western Pacific on Orchid Island in Taiwan, and Yap State in the Federated States of Micronesia (FSM) (see Map 2). On

Orchid Island (and throughout most of the areas in the Pacific) canoes were traditionally used for fishing, voyaging, trade and war. Today, some Islanders still use canoes for fishing, but warfare and long-distance trading have disappeared. However, I have identified at least four new uses for canoes at the local, pragmatic level: tourism; museum exhibitions; cultural revitalisation projects; and sports. My research records these transformations and discusses the changes in meanings and values associated with such changes attributed to canoes on Orchid Island in Taiwan, and Yap State in the FSM in particular. Starting from the perspectives I gained from Orchid Island, when I was working on my Masters' thesis, I enlarged my scope to the broader Pacific region.

In this research, I am combining historical approaches with anthropological and ethnographic perspectives. Three different qualitative research methods are used: documentary analysis; in-depth interviews with data analysis; and participant observation. Table 2 shows some of the similarities between Orchid Island and Yap—the very similarities that constitute part of the rationale for why I chose these two areas as my research fields (in addition to their seafaring traditions).

While I strive to explore the different dimensions of indigenous canoe culture on Orchid Island and Yap, I also examine the following more specific research questions:

1. How and why has indigenous canoe culture changed in these two areas? What are the historical factors that have contributed to these transformations?
2. How are indigenous canoes perceived and valued in the oral histories and stories from these two islands?
3. How are contemporary canoes being made and used in these islands today?

To answer these questions, I focus on cultural revitalisation and identity to find the central meanings of canoes for the Islanders. Through extended interviews and participant observation, I draw conclusions about how people perceive the transformations in canoe culture and explore the meanings and values of canoes in their lives today.

Item	Orchid Island	Yap
Nation	Taiwan	Federated States of Micronesia
Political demarcation	Lanyu township	Yap State
Size	48.3 km ²	102 km ²
Ethnicity	Tao (Yami)	Yapese, neighbouring islanders (Refaliuyash, Remathau)

Language group	1 (Tao)	4 (Yapese, Ulithian, Woleaian and Satawalese)
Population	4,300	11,200
Religion	Indigenous religion, Christianity	Indigenous religion, Christianity
Beginning of colonisation	1877 by the Qing Dynasty	1885 by the Spanish
Colonial history	Qing Dynasty (Chinese / Manchurian), Japanese, Chinese / Taiwanese	Spanish, German, Japanese, American
Indigenous economic activities	Fishing, taro and yam plantation	Fishing, taro, yam and Tahitian chestnut plantation

Table 2. Comparison of some fundamental characteristics of Orchid Island and Yap State

Source. Constructed by © Karen Tu.

While scholars in Taiwan have discovered that the canoe culture on Orchid Island has been changing gradually (see Cheng 2004; Damalasan 2007; Hsu 2007; Tsai 2009), research on this topic is still not comprehensive. This will be discussed in detail in later chapters. The transformation of indigenous canoe usage on Yap has also not yet been examined by academics; though there are a few works that discuss broader cultural and social changes (see Alkire 1977; Egan 1998; Hezel 2001; Lingenfelter 1975a; Price 1975).

Given that socio-cultural change occurs continuously, it can naturally be assumed that canoe culture has also changed as part of these processes. Both Orchid Island and Yap were colonised in the late-nineteenth century; Orchid Island in 1877 and Yap in 1885. Researchers claim that socio-cultural change was dramatic in both places, especially in the official ‘occupied’ eras. My research attempts to encapsulate almost 150 years of changing canoe culture, from the 1870s to the present day.

The methods used in this thesis include documentary analysis, which has formed the baseline of my research. I reviewed related research through a literature collection, classification, collation and close reading of relevant documents, in addition to analysing and reviewing the collected material.

The in-depth interviews used are specifically semi-structured (also known as semi-standardised or guided interviews), with the responses differing due to each interviewee’s perceptions, feelings and particular life experiences. An interview guide, including the main questions, was given to interlocutors in order to set a certain theme, to give them a direction for responses and to start the conversation. However, due to the flexible nature of semi-structured interviews, I adjusted the interviews according to the

person, topic and information on the spot so more of their personal stories and experiences would be told and recorded in the thesis with their agreement.

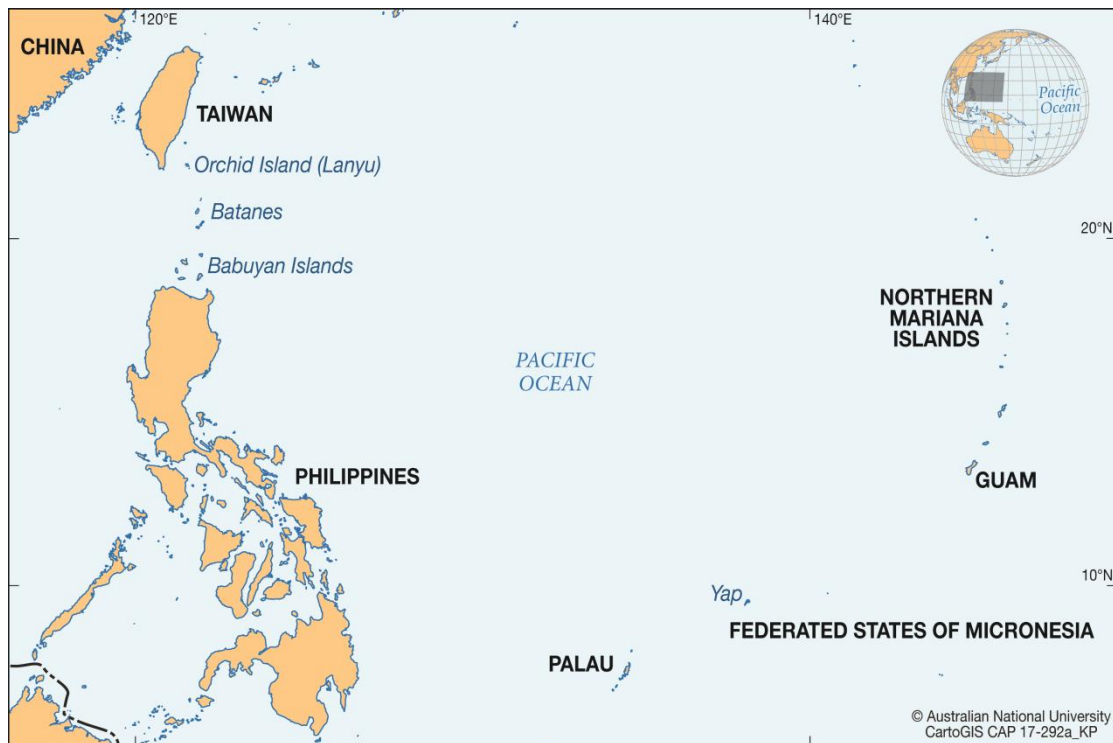
The benefit of semi-structured interviews is that they can easily lead the interview into the researcher's key questions, but there is still a relatively open attitude to data collection. Without restricting or guiding the interlocutors, it is more likely they will think of their own experiences and view their responses in the manner of personal sharing, instead of a fixed or typical oral answer. In my case, this often led to unexpected sharing. Furthermore, an in-depth interview allows the interviewer to probe more deeply into the respondent's views.

The interview data collected in the field is used in my thesis analysis. The interviews were transcribed from verbatim recordings in order to make the content as close to the interlocutors' original meaning as possible. Notes taken during interviews were also crucial, including details of time and date, locale, and the context of interviews. However, these notes were used with care and caution, because as time passes the interviewer's memory of events could change, or the notes could be exaggerated, embellished, or otherwise differ from the actual recording of the interview. Hence, a verbatim copy of the interview is a more thorough and reliable method for data analysis. The interview data was also a crucial support to my thesis in combining scholarly writing with more personal storytelling.

Participant observation was used in this research, but to a lesser degree than documentary analysis and in-depth interviews. Russell Bernard (1994) describes participant observation, or ethnographic fieldwork, as the foundation of cultural anthropology. It involves getting close to people and making them feel comfortable enough with your presence so that you can observe and record information about their lives. In my own experience, many of the people I observed became friends and hosts guarding me during my stay. Also, even if they did not officially become interlocutors cited in my thesis, they still taught me a lot through daily life practices and so on.²⁶ Participant observation involves establishing a rapport with a new community; learning

²⁶ I always remember what my Tao friend Si Manpang kept telling me since I was working in the field during my Master's thesis. She spoke with me about the many difficulties and dilemmas of doing research on Orchid Island. Some of her words were very helpful to me, as they gave me the opportunity to understand the lifestyle on Orchid Island and also contemplate my own life philosophy. She said, 'It is easier to treat people sincerely, and in my society, the tradition is to share. Do not just think of taking but also think of giving' (Orchid Island, 2013). From her own experience, and that of some of the island elders, there were many scholars who selfishly desired to take indigenous knowledge for their own personal benefit. These scholars were perceived to get what they wanted without giving anything back to the community; some never returned to the island once they completed their research. I continually remind myself not to be this kind of scholar.

to act so that people go about their business as usual when you show up; but removing yourself every day from cultural immersion so you can abstract what you have learnt, put it into perspective, and write about it convincingly. According to Bernard (1994: 136–64), all participant observation is fieldwork, but not all fieldwork is participant observation.



Map 2. This map indicates the islands and states relevant to this thesis

Source. Used with the permission of © CartoGIS CAP 17-292a_KP, The Australian National University, 2017

Therefore, aside from the results of the semi-structured interviews, I was actually present to observe how the Islanders built or used their boats in daily life (and to see if canoes were being used at all). Participant observation was thus used in this research in order for the researcher to verify whether the data collected from the interviews was reliable or not.

J.P. Spradley (1980) categorised the degrees of involvement for the researcher undertaking participant observation. Following Spradley, the degree of involvement in this research would be close to moderate participation or active participation.²⁷ The reason is that canoes are still taboo for women in some contexts on Orchid Island, while

²⁷ Moderate participation occurs when the ethnographer seeks to maintain a balance between being an insider and an outsider, between participation and observation. Active participants seek to do what other people are doing, not merely to gain acceptance, but to more fully learn the cultural rules for behaviour. Active participation begins with observations, but as knowledge of what others do grows, the ethnographer tries to learn the same behaviour (Spradley 1980: 60).

throughout Yap there are still clear gendered divisions related to canoe culture. As a researcher, it is important not to break the taboos or to disturb custom in order to gain trust in the field. With the permission of the Islanders and the opportunities they have given, as I have shown in the first section about my embodied experiences, I believe the Islanders accepted and shared their culture and knowledge with me with pride.

Chapter framing

The canoe, as the central object and motif throughout the entire thesis, binds each chapter with a tight lashing. Each chapter is linked to the others, roughly following a chronological order. Chapter One charts two main themes; first I begin with the oral histories and legends from Yap State and Orchid Islands that describe the origin of canoes. Second, I introduce the different canoe types throughout Yap State and Orchid Island, dividing them by category, shape and function.

In Chapter Two, I focus on two central themes. I start with the historical background of Yap State and Orchid Island, and especially the history of foreign contact and colonisation. This period of history is crucial for its effect on canoes, including contemporary material transformations and changes in canoe usage. In my overview of the historical background of these islands, I highlight particular evidence that points to the origins of major transformations in canoe culture which will be elaborated upon in later chapters. Second, I explore the contemporary materials used for canoe building and the recent cultural transformations in canoe use, focusing on the cash economy, religion and emigration as major factors which have affected canoe usage throughout recent decades. The analysis presented in this chapter is framed within a broad historical perspective of social and cultural change on these islands. From this broader perspective, I then closely examine the transformation of contemporary canoes at a local level in the two areas.

Chapter Three focuses on the canoe's indigenous function in regular seafaring in the past by looking at Yap State, the outer islands of Yap and Orchid Island separately. I look closely into how the people in these areas traditionally used large ocean-going canoes, both regularly and for special expeditions. I consider moments of historical transformation in the use of canoes to answer my research question—what factors or events transformed indigenous canoe usage in these areas?

In Chapter Four, I shift from past practices to more contemporary ones. I classify the contemporary canoe culture according to the experiences I have obtained working with organisations, individuals and communities where members of a particular group

started to innovate for revitalisation of canoes. These groups included communities, NGOs, governments and transnational associations that are all among the many agents involved in this revitalisation. Understanding these different working groups and their relations offers further insights into contemporary canoe culture in Yap State and Orchid Island, and the current progress of revitalisation efforts. Finally, I explore these canoes in a contemporary context, focusing on how canoes play a symbolic role in the literary, visual and performing arts, and how Islanders use indigenous canoes as symbols of their cultural values.

Chapter Five discusses two themes: gender relations and the gendered division of labour. In my discussion of the gendered division of labour, I compare and contrast the similarities and differences about gender between the two island regions where canoe construction has been dominated by men while women have also played a role in some parts of canoe culture. I stress certain long-neglected aspects about the gendered division of labour in this context.

In Chapter Six, I highlight the significance of canoes for Yap and Orchid Island today, and Islanders' reactions to, and critiques of, canoe use. I explore Islanders' points of view to determine the significance of canoes for contemporary Yap and Orchid Islanders, drawing on my interviews and personal reflections. In the final section on Islanders' reactions and critiques, I explore the ways in which the transference of indigenous knowledge has changed. In this regard, I analyse the perspectives of both younger and older people, and offer suggestions as to the future possibilities of canoe use to illustrate Islanders' identification with related dimensions of Oceanic indigeneity.

Chapter One

The Indigenous Canoe on Orchid Island and Yap: Oral Traditions and Canoe Types

There are two main themes in the first chapter. I begin by discussing oral histories and legends from Yap State and Orchid Island that describe the origin of canoes. These important histories have been passed down orally for centuries but some have been recorded later and transcribed as written documents. Second, I introduce the different canoe types throughout Yap State and Orchid Island, and classify them by category, shape and function.

Oral histories and legends in these areas are crucial to understanding the importance of the canoe to indigenous cultures. Neither Yap State nor Orchid Island had writing to document their past; therefore, oral tradition was the main method they used to pass down their memories over time. Colonial authorities may have encouraged literacy in these islands, but knowledge about indigenous matters, including canoes, continues to be passed down through oral culture. For this reason, I focus initially on oral histories and legends about canoes before discussing historical contact with foreigners in subsequent chapters.

The term ‘canoe’ can be vague and imprecise because there are several different types of canoe and many of them are culturally specific. It is crucial to categorise and understand the variations between canoes on both Orchid Island and Yap. In the main, I will use the specific names of canoes rather than the collective term ‘canoe.’ If a particular type of canoe is mentioned in the following chapters, an indigenous name will be used to specify the exact type of the canoe. Although some former studies of canoes have listed different designs in the two areas, detailed information about them is still fragmented and incomplete. Hence, in this chapter I will classify the various types of canoe, and identify their uses and their cultural significance historically and in contemporary society. The classifications and descriptions in this chapter combine previous studies with interviews I conducted during fieldwork.

Oral histories and legends from Yap State and Orchid Island

I start by discussing the oral histories and legends from Yap State and Orchid Island that specifically relate to canoes or navigation. The majority of the oral histories and legends explored in this chapter have been passed down from generation to generation over

many centuries. Most of these have already been recorded or published, but include some supplementary material collected during my fieldwork.

Oral traditions are, ‘no longer contemporary. They have passed from mouth to mouth, for a period beyond the lifetime of the informants’ (Vansina 2014: 13). According to Patricia Mercer, ‘Oral tradition is verbally transmitted testimony concerning the past, with or without a conscious intent to record history’ (1979: 130). Oral traditions are very crucial to those areas where written material is limited, such as Yap and its outer islands, and Orchid Island. On knowledge relating to oral cultures, Lyndsay Farrall observed that:

Literate people tend to be sceptical about the reliability of the oral mode as a means of preserving knowledge. Many of us are familiar with the experiment in which someone tells a story to one person in a group and that person passes it on to the next person and so on. All the people in the group then write down what they were told and it turns out that the story has changed significantly as it passed from person to person. We can also recall experiences where our memories failed us and we have had to rely on written material to refresh our memories. Such experiences taken together with the recent domination of oral cultures by literate ones make most literate people quite unaware of the power of oral cultures to develop and preserve knowledge (1978: 14).

Roger Mitchell suggested that ‘the broad treatment of the Micronesian folktale was the product of German scholars and grew out of Germany’s expansion in the South Seas following Spain’s defeat’ (1972: 33). The outcome was 16 thick volumes of folktales and songs, 11 of them dealing with Micronesia (Palau, Pohnpei, Yap and so on). As Wilhelm Müeller noted, ‘[F]or example, a discussion of canoe building may well include the legendary origin of the first canoe, or the presentation of a native polity may be prefaced with the mythical beginnings of the aboriginal nobility’ (Müeller 1918, cited in Mitchell 1972: 33–34). Around the same time as German colonisation, Japanese researchers started to collect stories from Orchid Island, notably Taihoku Teikoku Daigaky, Ogawa Naoyoshi and Asai Erin (Daigaky, Naoyoshi and Erin 1935).¹ It is important to note that a central theme in the oral history of Yap and its outer islands as well as Orchid Island was that these islands were cosmologically situated.² The idea of

¹ Published in Japanese. The stories collected did not just focus on the Tao ethnic group but also other ethnic groups that had spread out from the main island of Taiwan.

² Since the introduction of Christianity, indigenous spiritual beliefs have eroded differently from place to place. Not only have beliefs in spirits been weakened, but it was also said that the spirits themselves left the islands after mass conversion. Richard Marksbury refers to informants who said ‘the spirits were sad because many Yapese had become Catholics and decided that they should leave the island’ (1979: 85).

being surrounded, guarded or even threatened by the spirits is a key element in most of these oral histories.

Where did the canoe come from? Oral traditions of canoe origin

Oral traditions are still quite strong on Orchid Island and Japanese and Han-Chinese schools have begun teaching them. The elders continue to tell the younger generations their oral traditions, however, the content might differ from one village to another.

When talking about the traditional stories of where and how canoes originated, most people believe the canoe came from from ‘underground.’ Here I combine three different versions of the same origin tale that have already been published, as well as incorporating the stories I collected during my fieldwork.³

Long ago, there was a couple and they had only two daughters. The couple loved their younger daughter dearly but were very mean to the older daughter. It was said that this was because the older daughter had been abandoned and adopted by the couple. However, the two sisters liked each other very much. One day the two sisters were on the mountain picking edible herbs when the older sister accidentally discovered a place underground where all the people lived happily together with men fishing and women weaving.⁴ The life underground looked so peaceful and attractive to the older sister. Even though the older sister loved her younger sister very much, nevertheless, thinking of how badly the parents treated her, she decided to jump into the ground. The older sister found herself a husband underground and then had two sons and daughters with him.⁵ Later on, the older sister visited her parents and brought her family to the underground and her father learned a lot of skills including canoe building from the people underground.⁶ A few months later, he returned to the

³ The three versions were from: Chung (1986: 17–22); Tzeng (2001: 108–10); Dong (2014: 81–84).

⁴ One elder refers to *Tao do deyrahem* which directly translates as ‘underground’. The other elder refers to the world below and states that the skill is from ‘mouse-man’ (Interviews with Syapen Kotan, Orchid Island, May and June 2013).

⁵ The version from Chung (1986) did not include the part about canoe building; however, the previous part was exactly the same as the version from Dong (2014).

⁶ Tzeng (2001: 109) argues that the underground world was a fantasy of the Tao people and hence it was described as being more superior than the human world, with finer skills such as in canoe building.

village to maintain these skills, and that was when the other villagers came to learn from the father of Iratay village.⁷

According to a version recorded by C. Tzeng (2000: 108–10), the underground world was ruled by the God from the sky, while some informants said it was ruled by a mouse. The version that I was told by my informants of a ‘mouse-man’ corroborates Tzeng’s tale. It was believed that because mice lived underground, they were a suitable connection between the human and underground worlds.

Another unrelated tale also describes the origins of canoes but in a totally different context. The story is about a bamboo descendant with the head of goat and a stone descendant with the head of the fish.

The bamboo descendant with a goat-head and the stone descendant with a fish-head get married and then give birth to human beings. After giving life to the human, the goat-head and fish-head run away from the island.

The central meaning of the story is about the hero, human Pulu, who wants to acquire fire because there is no sun and everyone feels very cold. Pulu starts out on his journey and then finds the goat-head man from whom he learns the skill of canoe building but he also steals fire from the goat-head man.⁸

Similar versions of this story were given by many Tao informants whom I interviewed. A similar version of Pulu finding fire is recorded in Syaman Rapongan’s book (2011: 86–91).⁹ The story begins with two brothers instead of the sole protagonist, Pulu. These two brothers travel to find fire from the ‘ghost/devil’ (unidentified spirit). Finally, the two brothers received fire from the ghost. Tzeng (2000: 61) suggests that since the ghost is the one thing that Tao people most fear, it is logical to emphasise the difficulty of getting fire from the ghost. Although these versions of the story of Pulu differ, it is significant that they both represent the non-human world as more advanced

⁷ The tale from Dong (2014) specified that the family is from Iratay village, but it is important to note that Dong himself is also an Iratay villager. Syapen Jipengaya (2004: 134) from Imorod village, states in his book that the first village for canoe building is Imorod because it was the first village to eat marine fish. Each author or narrator thus probably adapts the story to the interests of his or her own village.

⁸ This story connects with another story about how Tao people learned taboos regarding eating and catching fish from the fish-head man (Liu & Xu 1989).

⁹ He recalls this story as told by his father, and also the allusion of how the Mipazos day (indigenous Tao ritual in worshipping all the spirits at the shore) comes to show peace to the ghost/devil.

and developed than that of the Tao—symbolised by their possession of fire and/or canoe building and weaving skills.

Unlike Orchid Island oral history which has now been written down and published in recent years, the oral history of Yap and its outer islands has very few recorded texts. Hence, my main source of information on canoes was Chief Bruno Tharngan, who is the chief in Map and the only Yapese master carver who still practices canoe building. Tharngan himself is one of the founders of Yap Traditional Navigation Society (TNS). He remains a board member of the organisation and, as a master carver, he is eager to share his knowledge with the younger generation. Furthermore, he built the first large voyaging canoe and the only *chugpin* canoe that had been built in decades. I arranged a meeting with Tharngan through his younger brother, Al, who runs a village resort. I asked him to set up a meeting after Tharngan returned from Lamotrek where he had been invited to attend a large canoe-launching ceremony. This is how I met Tharngan for the first time.

It was a sunny morning when a friend drove me from the capital Colonia up to Map which is around 20 kilometres away. But the journey to Wacholab village took us about 50 minutes due to the road conditions. I looked around and could not see Al anywhere on the road or at the beach. Instead I discovered a man sitting under a thatch house quietly polishing his tools. I walked over to ask where to find Al and the man responded directly, ‘That guy is not here. Maybe he is still home. But can I help you with anything?’ I mentioned my meeting with Al and Tharngan here at his resort, and the intention of my coming to the village. After my explanation the man said, ‘Hi, nice to meet you, I am the person you are looking for.’ Then he put away his tools and started to talk with me. In accordance with the tradition of not coming empty handed, I prepared some betel nuts and drinks for Al and Tharngan and placed it on the bench next to where Tharngan was sitting. Through the conversations with him I learned about traditional canoe knowledge, information that was generally not remembered by the other villagers. He was exceptionally friendly and was willing to share his knowledge of canoes with whoever wanted to learn the skill.

I went around the villagers asking the Yapese people for stories, myths or any form of oral tradition about the origin of canoes and none of them was able to recall a story. When I asked Tharngan, he stated that Yapese canoes were from heaven.¹⁰

¹⁰ The oral history regarding canoes on the outer island was recorded from Satawal. This story described how and where the knowledge of fortune telling originated. Part of the tale mentions a canoe falling from the sky and landing on Kosrae; from there people paddled it to Pohnpei, Chuuk and to the outer islands of

Thowaab was the first type of canoe that came to Yap, then popow, gawel, chugpin and finally bangrow.¹¹ A man from heaven lowered down the canoe from the sky to the present-day intersection of the roads to Tamil, Gagil and Map. There were a lot of things loaded on the canoe. Hence it came down to earth very slowly. Some Yapese were too eager to see the canoe and went over with bamboo sticks or something long to pull the canoe down and the canoe capsized. After the Yapese saw the shape of the canoe, they started to imitate and build the canoe, which was the thowaab type, the earliest type of canoe that existed on Yap.

After the Yapese had used thowaab for a while, a man named Baluwlab became a navigator. He had many children, and the youngest was called Nunway. Baluwlab wanted to wait for the last child to be delivered so he could tell them all how to navigate. But Nunway stayed in his mother's belly for a long time, and he didn't want to come out, therefore, Baluwlab started to teach all his other children navigation. Baluwlab wanted Nunway to listen to him so he invited his wife to sit with him in order to teach Nunway. A long time afterwards Nunway finally left his mother's body and since he had learned much in his mother's belly, once he came out he ran away and went on a voyage. Baluwlab tried to do something for Nunway to encourage him to come back so he built a lot of canoes. He built popow first to attract Nunway back. He built the canoe and put it in the water to wait for Nunway, but Nunway didn't like it and ran away again. Soon he built another gawel type of canoe, but Nunway was still not satisfied. Finally Baluwlab built a chugpin for Nunway and when Nunway returned he saw the chugpin and liked it. Then Baluwlab and Nunway went sailing together on the chugpin (Interview with Bruno Tharngan, Yap, October 2013).¹²

Yap (Yap State Historic Preservation Office 2005a: 52). This correlates with Tharngan's statement that canoes originated from heaven rather than underground.

¹¹ These are the names of different types of canoes in Yap, which will be elaborated upon in more depth in this chapter.

¹² A shorter version of the same story was written in Krause (2014: 300–301). However, the order of the canoes that came to Yap was slightly different from the version I collected from Tharngan. According to Krause's order it should be *thow'ab*, *chugpin*, *gawel* and then *popow*. However, in Adams's (1997: 99–100) northern Yapese version the order is *gawel* (*gawel*), *tsukupin* (*chugpin*) and finally *popo* (*popow*). According to the 'southern version' (Müller 1918: 756–70; cited in Adams 1997: 102). Nunvei (Nunway) selects a *gawel* (*gawel*) canoe and rejects the *popo* (*popow*) and the *tukupin* (*chugpin*) that his father built for him. The final decision about the *chugpin* canoe is the same in the southern version and Tharngan's version.

William Lessa has published three collections of myths (1961, 1962 and 1980). In his 1962 collection, especially about Ulithi (See Map 1), he states that ‘on Ulithi, a Micronesian atoll in the Carolinian archipelago, mythology has always exercised an obvious part in maintaining rituals and supporting traditional values’ (153). In one of his volumes, there was a story about Palulop and his family which relates to the art of canoe building and navigation. Palulop is later suggested to be a great canoe captain or great navigator.

Palulop lived in Lang with his wife Lisabwokhlel and they had seven sons. Five of them are named Furabwai, Solang, Rongochikh, Rongolap and Thibwoch. Thibwoch went down to the earth and lived on an island called Umal,¹³ where he pretended to use the name of his father Palulop. He settled on the island and had six sons, Furabwai, Thibwoch, Solang, Rongachikh, Rongolap, Ialulwe, and a daughter called Ligafas. Both Ialulwe and Ligafas had no counterpart in Lang. Palulop (junior) taught Solang to be a canoe builder and Furabwai and Thibwoch (junior) were canoe captains. It was said when Palulop (junior) taught his sons these skills, canoe carving and navigation were introduced to earth. Ialulwe, the youngest son, learned to be a canoe captain while he was in his mother’s womb when Palulop (junior) was teaching his other sons.

When Ialulwe was a young boy he ran into the woods. Palulop asked Solang to build a canoe of the chukhpel type. After the canoe was finished, Ialulwe emerged from the woods, got onto the canoe but he felt it did not suit him so he returned to the woods. Palulop then told Solang to build a hawel type. Ialulwe came again, tested the canoe but did not like it either. Palulop watched and told Solang to build a third one as a popow type. Ialulwe came and sat on it and he liked it so he asked his father to put two small huts on the canoe, one on the weather side platform and one on the leeward platform. Ialulwe enjoyed this canoe and then he scooped some sand onto the canoe and sailed away from Umal. He took the sand and

¹³ Lessa (1961: 32) wrote that Umal is also known as Mall and is situated just off the island of Ponape (Pohnpei). Adams (1997: 98) also refers to Umal as Mal. However, none of the people I spoke to have a sense of where Umal was. One person assumed it was Ulul, which is now in Chuuk state close to Pollap, but this island is nowhere near Pohnpei. Another person looked at a map and guessed it might be Oroluk in Pohnpei State, but Oroluk has no other name such as Mall. Hence, there is still no confirmation of where the Umal island might be nowadays.

threw it into the ocean, creating an island entirely made of sand and with no trees. This distant land was called the 'sand of Ialulwe'. He took the hut from the weather side platform of the canoe and set it on the island. He lived in it, discarding the canoe for good and letting it drift away.¹⁴

According to Lessa (1961), throughout the Caroline Islands certain gods are regarded as the patrons of certain spheres in human affairs. Palulop is the master of navigation in the Ulithian story while on the island of Fais, Palulop is connected with navigation magic but he is considered to be the son of Ialulwe instead of the father. Lessa also wrote that the god of navigation on Yap is Lugeilang (Lukeling, Lugeling) instead of Palulop, while the god of canoe building and carpentry is Dotra (1961: 31–32). From the version given by Tharngan in the 2010s and the oral tradition collected by Lessa in the 1960s from narrator Melchethal, who learned the story from elders on Mogmog and Sorlen, it is clear that the oral traditions of Yap and Ulithi were intertwined. For example, Palulop was spelt as Baluwlal and Ialulwe was spelt as Nunway in Tharngan's tale, while the *chugpin* (*chukhpel*), *gawel* (*hawel*) and *popow* (*popo*) types of canoe were mentioned in both stories. Nunway/Ialulwe learned his navigation skills in his mother's belly and was born with the navigational knowledge.¹⁵

There are two issues to be discussed here. First of all, the names of those masters/creators/gods, such as Palulop, Ialulwe and Solang,¹⁶ are still firmly remembered and used throughout the outer islands as names which symbolise the origin

¹⁴ The story is rewritten and shortened here. It was originally from 'Tales of Terrestrial Spirits' (Lessa 1961: 27–34). The second part of the story about Ialulwe was not verified by Chief Tharngan.

¹⁵ William Adams (1997: 99) also found similarities between the Yapese myth and the Ulithian version. The Ulithian name, Lisabwokhlal, is called Limarguts in the Yap version, and their children are different except for Forovai (Furabwai) and Thivots (Thibwoch). Nunvei (as Nunway in Tharngan's spelling) (Ialulwe) is born to them, rather than to Palulop and his wife, who live on earth. In the Ulithian myth the names of the children born on earth are not the same as those born in the sky. There are also many other differences in names while I only clarify the one mentioned above. The previous part of the story goes as follows:

Peloolop lived in the sky world. His mother was Lamalul, and she gave birth also to Yelafath and some other gods. Peloolop married Limarguts and she bore the following children: Forovai, Giligi, Yonim, Suguru u lan, Ganniau, Nagafas (female), and Thivots. Later, she again became pregnant and bore Nunvei. Immediately after his birth Nunvei ran away and lived in the tabooed place called Merelan (Adam 1997: 99).

¹⁶ Lessa argues that

the people of Fais say that Solang first showed the inhabitants of Ngulu and Modj (Satawan) how houses, canoes, and bowls with lids are made. The natives of Ngulu passed the knowledge on to Yap, which passed it on to Ulithi, which passed it on to Fais, which instructed the people of Woleai. The people of Modj taught the people of Puluwat, Pulap, and so on (1961: 32).

of canoe building and navigation.¹⁷ These names were likely to have originated from the outer islands, and then were passed to Yap itself. However, as a result of my interviews in the outer islands, it appears that only one canoe similar in size and appearance to the *popow* was found in the outer islands. The canoe types in the outer islands were not as numerous as those on Yap.¹⁸ This poses the question, why did the different canoe names in the stories come from the outer islands while the canoe types came from Yap? One hypothesis may be that the oral tradition in Yap was lost and then relearned from the outer islands. However, this does not explain why many types of canoes were also listed in Lessa's work. Lessa explained that *popo* (*popow*) became the only type of outrigger sailing canoe in use in Ulithi because it was approved by Ialulwe and reflects the high esteem in which it is held (1961: 33). To conclude, the most plausible explanation is that Ulithi and Yap shared myths and traditions over time (including canoe designs and names) because of their geographical closeness and their historical *sawei* relationship.¹⁹

Canoe depictions in oral traditions

Since canoes have been crucial elements in islanders' lives in the past, and continue to be central objects in their daily lives, it is not surprising to find several oral traditions that discuss the canoe's relevance in Yap State and Orchid Island. For example, the myth named 'Pirow and the Galuf' on Yap (also called 'The Story of Four Islands: How The Yap Islands Became Separated'), described the geographical formation of Yap. According to this story:

Centuries ago the municipalities of Rumung and Map in the Yap Islands were joined together, along with Gagil and Tamil. Galuf, the giant sea

¹⁷ Their other two brothers, Rongochikh and Rongolap also appeared in a legendary myth from the outer island. The legend stresses the importance of respecting the father and the elders. In the myth, Rongchig was reciprocated for his loyal treatment of their father while the older Ronglap endured hardship in life as a result of his lack of respect and loyalty toward their father (Yap State Historic Preservation Office 2005a: 50). An earlier version collected on Lamotrek by Krämer (1937: 285–91, cited in Adams 1997: 103) tells that the setting is on the island of Polop. Palulop has two sons Rongedjik (as Rongochikh above) and Rongelap (or as Rongolap) that means 'little Rong' and 'big Rong' while Rong in the language means knowledge.

¹⁸ Nonetheless, Lessa (1961: 32) claims that *chukpel* (*chugpin*) and *hawel* (*gawel*) both existed in Ulithi. There is no further evidence to confirm Lessa's assertion. It might be a mistake, or it might be that the canoes came from Yap proper, or as Lessa claims, that *chugpin* and *gawel* were once built in Ulithi owing to the influence from Yap.

¹⁹ The explanation of *sawei* and its historical function will be discussed in detail in Chapter Three. In brief, *sawei* is the popular term for the formal bicultural exchange system that existed between the resource-rich high island of Yap and its neighbouring low coral islands. For further details please see Christophe Descantes (2005). Also, according to the outer island interlocutors I have asked, the word '*sawei*' refers to the traditional exchange voyage, the exchange itself and the partner.

lizard, lived in a harbour and swam so fast that he could eat whoever sailed across the harbour in the canoe. Pirow, who was a canoe builder from Atiliw village, heard about the lizard. He wanted to build a canoe and on the first day he saw an iron tree and decided to use the tree for his canoe. Pirow worked every day on his canoe until he completed everything, including the paddles and the sail. He went on this canoe and caught a kind of greenish fish. He gave the fish to his wife and asked her to cook it on the fire. Meanwhile, he went on to test his newly completed canoe. After he finished and returned home, he found the fish was overcooked, and he knew his canoe would not be fast enough.

Days passed and Pirow completed another six canoes, however none of them was fast enough. Finally, he chose a breadfruit tree; one which was tall and straight. He finished the seventh canoe, caught another greenish fish and gave it to his wife to cook for him. While his wife was dealing with the fish, Pirow sailed the canoe around Yap. When he returned to the house he saw his wife sitting in front of the fire smoking the fish and Pirow was really happy because he knew this canoe would be fast enough.

The next day, Pirow securely tied a giant clam on to the outrigger of this canoe and then he sailed for Nimple (Mil) where the giant lizard was. Pirow sailed fast with the sail up and his canoe flashed through the water like a flying fish. Galuf saw Pirow and thought he would easily destroy this canoe like the previous ones, so he climbed into the canoe from the outrigger in order to destroy the outrigger and capsize the canoe. However, the giant clam Pirow had tied on the outrigger opened and shut again so the head of Galuf was trapped inside. Galuf struggled so hard to free himself that his lizard tail first hit the northern part of Yap and then broke Rumung away from the rest of Yap Island. The second time his tail thrashed, it cut Map away from the rest of Yap. The third time he thrashed his tail, Gagil and Tamil were parted but with this last struggle, Galuf dropped dead.

After Galuf was gone, the people on Yap were happy to sail back and forth across the channel.²⁰ Pirow the canoe builder destroyed the annoying

²⁰ Another similar story was told on Fais, describing a giant fish that would attack any sailing canoes that crossed to Palau. Yool, the canoe builder, had ten sons and they tested the speed of the canoe by cooking a fish on the open fire then sailing to Sorol and back. Finally the giant fish was defeated and all the canoes and people were freed from the fish's stomach. After this the people could sail freely between Fais, Ulithi, Woleai and the other islands (Yap State Historic Preservation Office 2005a: 19–20).

giant lizard Galuf and his story was passed down to explain how Yap was separated into four regions geographically.²¹

Another oral tradition relating to canoes was told in the outer islands and the story explains the origin of the canoe sail. According to Karakita (1993: 7), in the islands east of Woleai two categories of oral traditions are reported: *fiyóng* and *wu'uwu*. Komatsu (1987) explained the difference between *fiyóng* and *wu'uwu* when he reviewed the oral literature of Pulap (Pollap). He wrote that

Fiyóng are tales which have a recognizable narrative style, which start with a formulaic 'once upon a time, in a certain place (on a [an] island) ...' and conclude with, '... the end'. These stories are about supernatural events about deities, ancestral spirits and monsters, or episodes in which humans, animals, fish and clans play a major role. They are often humorous.

In contrast, *wu'uwu* are concerned with actual events that are believed to have taken place. The topics which these legends mostly deal with are wars, chiefs, clan, navigation, place names and tools (Komatsu 1987: 47).

There was a man called M'odigdig on Ngulu Island²² who married a woman called Yilereg and they had three sons.²³ The third son was given his father's name—henceforth referred to as M'odigdig Junior. M'odigdig Junior was curious and followed his mother to find out where she got all the beautiful vegetables and fruits from a secret garden. However, Yilereg became very sick and passed away shortly after M'odigdig died. Before dying, Yilereg taught M'odigdig Junior many skills, including how to sew canoe sails and how to use them when sailing canoes. At that time, no one knew of sails and canoes were either poled or paddled.

²¹ This story was rewritten, combined and shortened here and was originally from *Seven Legends of Yap* (Yap Education Department 1996: 1–6) and *Never and Always: Micronesia Legends, Fables and Folklore* (Students of the Community College of Micronesia 1983: 4–8). The two stories were nearly the same except that the one in *Seven Legends* stated that Pirow built seven canoes in total while the one in *Never and Always* stated six.

²² There is a similar story with the protagonist named Motigtig, the youngest son of three sons, and the story was set on Losiap of Ulithi. However, the story was very short and the only similarities are the protagonist's name and how the mother received food from underwater (Yap State Historic Preservation Office 2005a: 16–17).

²³ The first two sons' names are not consistent throughout the story (Mathow and Falyow are mentioned in the beginning and Yifal and Riyuw in the middle). Only the third son's name remains the same throughout.

The two elder brothers of M'odigdig didn't want to bury their mother, and only M'odigdig Junior followed his mother's will and buried her at the secret garden. To get there he had to pass underwater until he reached the tree of Yilereg's choice. M'odigdig Junior didn't get along with his two elder brothers so he turned to a friendly boy on Ngulu who had a canoe to ask if he could go on the canoe to fish with him. M'odigdig Junior asked the canoe owner to agree to let him modify his canoe in order to test if he could make it go faster. So M'odigdig Junior sewed the sail and attached it to the bamboo sticks then made the mast and connected the ropes. After everything was done, they started to use the sail for the canoe. The canoe with the sail became the fastest of all the canoes on the island. The two elder brothers saw the sail and came to M'odigdig Junior to request a sail on their canoes. M'odigdig Junior decided to include his friend and his brothers to work together as a team and went fishing in a group.

One day they went really far away from Ngulu for deep water fishing with lines and hooks. The brothers caught some big fish on the hooks and the line of M'odigdig Junior started to bring up many varieties of fruits. The last time he pulled the line up an island appeared above the water. This is the island we know as Fais today. The canoe was soon in the centre of the island of Fais. M'odigdig Junior pointed out the banyan tree where their mother was buried. All the brothers wanted the central part of the land so they asked their mother by hitting the grave with a stick. Finally, Yilereg granted the land to M'odigdig Junior, the only son who buried her.²⁴

This oral tradition explains the origin of canoe sails and the skill of sail making and continues to be told today.

Oral traditions on Orchid Island are very important to the islanders. Syaman Rapongan recalled his youngest uncle's words, saying, 'We sat close to the ocean and listened to the tribal elders telling stories, year after year and that was the way we grew up ... when you learn to listen to the story from the others, the diligent wisdom is actually in their words' (Syaman Rapongan 2007: 43). Learning the oral traditions from the elders is also considered a way of gaining life experience. 'The Myth of Flying Fish'

²⁴ The story rewritten, combined and shortened here was originally from the 'Ethnographic Collection and Documentation of Oral History' (Yap State Historic Preservation Office 2009: 10–17).

is the oral tradition that explains the flying fish regulations that Tao people have relied on for centuries. This includes the rituals that must be performed before the season begins. Most people today still try to memorise their ancestor's words to remember the numerous regulations and taboos and avoid any cultural violations. According to one oral tradition:

Long ago the god from heaven placed a stone and bamboo on Orchid Island. Later the rock cracked and a boy was born. The bamboo also cracked and there was a girl inside.²⁵ These two were said to be the ancestors of the Tao ethnic group. The two beings were really close and they gave birth to a boy and a girl from each of their knees respectively. The boy and the girl from the rock-person's knees gave birth to their own children, and so too did the two children from the bamboo-person's knees. However, these children were all born with flaws, until one day they swapped partners and then started to have healthy children like human beings nowadays.²⁶ Five generations after these ancestors, there were many Tao people on the island. One day they caught a fish with a pair of wings and this was the first time they discovered this type of fish. They found it unique and bought it back to cook with their other clams, crabs and regular seafood. A few days after they consumed the fish with wings, all the people in the village began to suffer from different kinds of dermatoses (skin diseases). At the same time, the descendants of rock and bamboo started to learn how to construct canoes. Finally, they found that they could tuck the kopok flower in between the planks to prevent the canoe from leaking.

Whilst the people in the village suffered from illness, the flying fish in the ocean were also infected by a plague. The head of all the flying fish—the Black Wings—figured out the cause of the plague was the humans cooking the flying fish with other types of seafood. Hence the Black Wings flying fish

²⁵ In an earlier document 原語による台灣高砂族傳說集 (Daigaky, Naoyoshi and Erin 1935), in Japanese, cited in C. Tzeng (2001: 37–38), the same story was told; however, it was said that both children born from the rock and the bamboo were male. The rest of the story is very similar. In Sinan-Banadayan and Winkler (2003), one of the very few bilingual Orchid Island oral tradition publications, both people from bamboo and stone were described as 'man' in English. Moreover, the author specified that the stone man was born to Iratay village; and the bamboo one was born to Imorod village.

²⁶ In Sinan-Banadayan and Winkler 2003, the first part of the story was written as 'The Bamboo Man and the Stone Man: The Creation Story of the Tao' (15–36) while next part of the story was written in 'The Flying Fish Spirit' (37–50) as two separate oral traditions.

taught the village elder to cook all flying fish separately from any other type of seafood to show respect to the flying fish. Not only were they to be cooked in a separate pot, but they were also to be served on a separate plate. People were also prohibited from cooking flying fish on the open fire or barbeque otherwise they would suffer skin diseases again.

Then the Black Wing flying fish taught the elder about the difference between the four kinds of flying fish, the way to catch them and when to catch them. The first ceremony of flying fish can be held only by the families who own a large canoe, and then those with the smaller canoes can follow. During the ceremony, it is a violation to walk into other families' gatherings. A safer way is to use bamboo as a fence in order to warn other people from crossing this sacred area. If any wife of a crew member is pregnant, she is also forbidden to come close to the ceremony or the gathering. Before the flying fish season, the women must go to the mountains to dig up the yams and taro, and the men must chop wood and prepare racks for flying fish. Men and women have separate tasks to complete.²⁷ Also, before the flying fish season, all crew members who are going out fishing that year have to sleep together and are not able to go home and sleep with their family for their own safety. Flying fish can only be caught until early June in the traditional calendar so that the fish can breed for the following year. Before the full moon of October, all the flying fish caught during the year have to be finished. Between June and October, people can still eat the flying fish stored and caught before June; however, after the full moon of October, if the flying fish cannot be finished, then they have to be thrown away. There are also many traditions and preparations that are applicable during November, December, January and February. This includes preparations for the canoe and also the repairing of the canoe which has to be done by February to get ready for the next flying fish year.

The village elder learned all these process and then taught everyone in the village, and the story of Black Wings flying fish and its words were passed down from generation to generation until today. Many stories of canoe building and canoe

²⁷ For the gendered division of labour regulations see Sinan-Banadayan and Winkler 2003: 42–43.

regulations have also been passed down since then to show respect and love for nature and awe of the creator.²⁸

In summary, we can see that the oral traditions regarding canoe origins in these two areas are different—on Orchid Island the canoe originated from ‘underground’ whereas on Yap and its outer islands it came from ‘heaven’. All the canoe skills were taught or given by ‘spirits.’ The other oral traditions relevant to the canoe such as ‘Pirow and the Galuf’ on Yap are related to the geographical formation of Yap Islands today, while ‘Lay’ implies how Fais Island was formed. Moreover, animal creatures often appeared in both oral traditions such as the giant sea lizard Galuf on Yap, as well as the underground mouse-man who appeared on Orchid Island, the goat-head and fish-head in the tale of Pulu, and the personification of flying fish in the story of ‘The Myth of Flying Fish’ both also from Orchid Island.

Aside from the oral traditions themselves, there is a crucial variation between Yap State and Orchid Island over time. Even though oral histories and legends were passed down by mouth over centuries, by the end of twentieth century up to the beginning of the twenty-first century, many Orchid Island myths, legends, folktales and songs were recorded and published in Chinese and Romanised spelling whereas this reproduction of the myths and legends was very limited on Yap and its outer islands. There are many reasons for this, but, in brief, the publication industries in Taiwan are far more popular than in the FSM. I do not intend to elaborate on the reasons for this difference. What is certain is that once oral histories were transformed into written documents, the vitality of orality is lessened to some extent. And yet ‘oral’ traditions can live on and pass down through ‘written’ forms. But in Yap State written records still remain limited and oral traditions are not being successfully transmitted.²⁹ They might therefore be endangered and so efforts might need to be made to record what remains.

The introduction of canoe types across Yap State and Orchid Island

As mentioned previously, ‘canoe’ is a vague collective term which fails to capture the diverse specific kind of vessels in Yap State and Orchid Island, my two field sites. Thus, it is crucial to identify, in this first chapter, the various kinds of canoes that I will be discussing throughout this thesis. The specific names of canoes in the two areas might

²⁸ The story rewritten, shortened and translated here was originally from Syaman Rapongan (2011: 128–46).

²⁹ This is especially on Yap Main Island, where I found difficulties in responses to my requests for the oral traditions about canoe origins.

vary according to size, shape or function. Some of the specific types of canoes on Yap were already mentioned in the oral tradition given by Chief Bruno Tharngan about canoe origin. Nevertheless, I separate the canoes in Yap State and on Orchid Island. But, due to the notable differences between Yap Main Island and Yap outer islands, I also subdivide the categories to include these divergences.

The canoes on Yap

The canoes on the main island of Yap are different from those in the neighbouring islands. The *popow* canoe on Yap's main island is very similar to the ones in the neighbouring islands, but there were more models of canoes on Yap than on the outer islands. Below, the traditional shape and usages of canoes on the main island of Yap will be discussed, as well as those from two of the outer islands, Lamotrek and Satawal.

Yap Main Island

Canoes on Yap and throughout Yap State were 'the lifeline of Micronesia, a working rather than a ceremonial craft' (Robinson 1970: 2). The number of canoe types used in Yap in the past differs according to indigenous tradition and other historical records. There were five different types of canoe in Yap according to my interlocutors. According to Andrew Cheyne, during his voyage in 1843, there were 'at least' five different forms of canoes in use (cited in Shineberg 1971: 253). Four types were recorded in the 1930s (Motoda 1938: 11–23) and three main types (with two other types also briefly mentioned) were recorded in the 1956 Ninth Grade Intermediate School publication (24–25). Four types were mentioned in the 1970s (Robinson 1970: 3). According to the brochure of the First Annual Yap Canoe Festival (2009: 10) there were six types, however, none of my interlocutors was familiar with the sixth model and they assumed it might have been a mistake. The five types of canoes they recognised are: *popow*, *chugpin*, *thowaab*, *gawel* and *bulel*, which is also known as *bangrow* and *minyungchig*. Of these canoes that were all used in the past, only one type, the *popow*, continues to be commonly used in the twenty-first century (while another type the *chugpin* was revitalised recently in mid-2013).

Popow

The *popow* is the most common canoe that still exists on Yap in the twenty-first century (see Figure 12), although it is not as popular as it was in the nineteenth century when it was used for stone money quarrying. I estimated that there were no more than 20 *popow* throughout Yap during my visit in 2013. In 2008, a delegation from Yap presented a

popow at the Annual International Festival of Canoes held in Lahaina, Hawai‘i. There, the three participants from Yap won the contest with their canoe. The *popow* has been canoe racing during the Annual Yap Canoe Festival since 2009 (see Figure 13).

According to the Yap canoe festival booklet, ‘The *Popow* canoes were usually used during battles, and are still used today for fishing and voyaging. They can be sailed or paddled, and were the canoe of choice for racing and recreational activities’ (First Annual Yap Canoe Festival 2009: 10). According to a 1950s publication by the Ninth Grade Intermediate School, *Yap Our Island*, *popow* canoes were used by the people for fishing in the lagoon and for travelling between islands in Yap. Sometimes some people made them big enough to use for fishing outside the lagoon, but this was not common (1956: 26). *Popow* were more prevalent than the other types of canoe in Yap in the 1950s and consequently it is mainly *popow* which have survived. However, in the 1950s, it was not common to see a large *popow* and certainly none as large as those that sailed to Palau for stone money at the end of the nineteenth century.



Figure 12. Three Yapese style *popow* canoes preparing to sail from Map to Colonia for an upcoming canoe event

Source. Photographed by © Karen Tu, November 2013

Bruno Tharngan was born in 1950 and recalled that there were plenty of *popow* when he was a child. He remembered that on United Nations Day, people in the village went to Colonia and there were more canoes than motorboats. When Tharngan was roughly 20 years old, there were very few *popow* left because they had been discarded in favour of the motorboat (Interview with Bruno Tharngan, Yap, October 2013).

The *popow* is traditionally painted black, red and white. As Alfred Haddon and James Hornell explain:

The bottom and the lower part of the sides are typically black, with black and white bands along the upper part of the sides and a large triangular panel of red on each bow; the gunwale is black. The bifid heads may be either entirely black or black with white extremities (1997: 379).



Figure 13. A medium sized *popow* canoe on its way to Colonia for the opening of the canoe festival

Source. Photographed by © Karen Tu, November 2014

The colouring nowadays follows the traditional palette. In the past, the paint was made from natural sources such as red dirt, black charcoal and lime, while nowadays water-proof paint has replaced these materials. *Popow* have two wooden parts at each end that are shaped like a Y. The Yapese believe it is important to take care of the two Y's so they don't break off.

Chugpin



Figure 14. The only *chugpin* canoe built by Tharngan on one of its test rides with two boys, outside Chamorro Bay in Colonia

Source. Photographed by © Karen Tu, November 2013

Currently, there is only one small *chugpin* canoe that is big enough to carry two adults on Yap (see Figure 14). The *chugpin* was revived by Chief Bruno Tharngan in mid-2013 and this was the first *chugpin* built by Tharngan. A previous *chugpin* that was awaiting repair was destroyed by typhoon Sudal in April 2004. That *chugpin* was built in the 1970s and, according to the villagers, was believed to be the last remaining *chugpin* canoe. A 1970 report on canoes in Micronesia states that the *chugpin* was no longer in existence (Robinson 1970: 3). The newly built *chugpin* was used for competition at the 5th Annual Yap Canoe Festival held in November 2013. Some boys who were testing the canoe capsized it due to the wind.

Chugpins have been described as ‘the kind of canoes that have long curved necks. At each end of the curved long necks, there is a shell that is tied to a string and fastened to the end of the *Cugpin*’s [*Chugpin*’s] neck. When *Cugpins* [*Chugpins*] go out in the sea the shells swing in all directions and make the canoe seem happy’ (Ninth Grade Intermediate School 1956: 24). *Chugpin* canoes were used for battles, voyaging and fishing, and could be sailed or paddled. Haddon and Hornell described *tsukupin* (*chugpin*) as being associated with the flying-fish harvests, as an important ‘sacred canoe’ for specific cultural purposes, and for the use of the chiefly class (1997: 383).³⁰ However, none of my interlocutors could provide information about this. In the 1930s, it was said that both the *chugpin* and *popow* were used for carrying enormous stones and that extremely large *chugpin* were designed with a cabin (Motoda 1938: 11).

For *chugpin*, travelling and fishing outside the lagoon was common because they sailed faster outside the lagoon than within. A shell, suspended from the end of the swan-like neck of the prow, was used for navigation by ocean waves and currents (Ninth Grade Intermediate School 1956: 24; First Annual Yap Canoe Festival 2009: 10). By the 1950s, there were only a few *chugpin* because ‘when Yapese need to travel long distance, they travel on the ships or in the airplanes, which are safer ways. It is safer and faster to travel on the ships and airplanes than in canoes’ (Ninth Grade Intermediate School 1956: 24).

Bruno Tharngan shared his first experience of building the *chugpin*. He had seen his master build one but he never had the chance to build one on his own. ‘There are big and small *chugpin*,’ he said. ‘[T]his one I built is a very small one, only the big ones can

³⁰ Müller (1917, vol. 1, 181–82) remarked that there was nothing like the *tsukupin* (*chugpin*) in any other part of Micronesia. He noted that it was used only during certain months. At the end of the fishing season the vessel was dismantled by the removal of the outrigger to enable it to be carried through the door into the clubhouse, where, after being loosely reassembled, it was kept until the fishing season began again (cited in Haddon and Hornell, 1997: 384).

go out for travelling.’ Tharngan thought that a *chugpin* requires brave men to sail it, because this kind of canoe behaves like a horse in rough seas and bounces very high. I sensed that Tharngan was emotional when he spoke about *chugpin*, especially when he told me that there was no one left to guide him during its construction. He admitted that even if his canoe looked like a *chugpin*, his method of building it would probably be different from how his ancestors had originally built it (Interview with Tharngan, Yap, October 2013).

Thowaab

No *thowaab* exist on Yap today. However, some of my interlocutors still remember seeing a *thowaab* when they were young. According to the description of this canoe in *Yap Our Island*:

Zowaab [Thowaab] are the kind of canoes that people use for carrying loads. Many centuries ago when Yapese people fought each other, this kind of canoe was used to carry weapons, warriors, and other properties when they went out to battle ... Zowaab are rather long and have wide platforms at the middle of them. The platforms are made of bamboo. There are two other small platforms at the end of the canoe. These small platforms are made of a piece of square board (Ninth Grade Intermediate School 1956: 25).

The *thowaab* was designed as a war canoe and for carrying heavy cargo in its flat shallow hull. One of the interlocutors, Edmund Pasam, said that *thowaab* was more like a boat because all other canoes have a steep bottom but the *thowaab* was different with its flat bottom, allowing it to hold more weight. While the *popow* and *chugpin* could be sailed from either end, allowing them to tack according to the wind direction, the *thowaab* could only be steered from one side and was restricted to carrying loads in a single direction (Interview with Pasam, Yap, November 2013). The text of the *First Annual Yap Canoe Festival* (2009: 10) describes *thowaab* as generally slower and sturdier than the *popow* and *chugpin*. Except for carrying loads, the canoe could also be used in fishing, especially net fishing. The prow was squared off and the canoe was designed for both sailing and paddling. However, Shigeru Motoda (1938: 12) declared that the sail was not used for this type of activity but was commonly used for transportation within the lagoon area.

It was said that until the 1970s the *thowaab* type was rarely seen (Robinson 1970: 3), and by the twenty-first century they no longer existed. My interlocutor Theo assumed that because *thowaab* were made for carrying heavy loads, they were superseded by more efficient motorboats (Interview with Theo, Yap, October 2013).

Transporting goods inside the reef has, little by little, been replaced by land transportation and gradually people stopped using *thowaab* altogether.

Gawel

None of my informants had seen a *gawel* canoe before, but they all recognised that this type of canoe existed in the past on Yap. *Gawel* were used for travelling and also for fishing, depending on the canoe's size. According to master carver Tharngan in 2013, a *gawel* canoe was too hard for him to build. He had once seen a *gawel* a long time ago but he had no idea who the original builder was. When he was an apprentice, he tried to ask the old master carver about it but nobody could tell him how to make this kind of canoe (Interview with Tharngan, Yap, October 2013).

Edmund Pasam described the *gawel* as the type of canoe used only by a high chief and high-ranking villagers.³¹ This type of canoe was decorated with paint and was supposed to be very colourful. The *gawel* could have been used for multiple purposes but if it was going fishing or moving between islands, there was a requirement that there was a chief (and sometimes only a chief) on board (Interview with Pasam, Yap, November 2013). According to Theo's description, the prow of a *gawel* was divided into three, like a fork, a crown, or a spear (Interview with Theo, Yap, October 2013). While it has been said that the *gawel* had two-pronged prows (Ninth Grade Intermediate School 1956: 30), this is different from the description given by my interlocutor. The canoe model in the Cologne Museum's collection shows a *gawal* with trifold figureheads. It is called a *manugutsig*. This does not correspond with any other type of canoe in Yap and according to the photo this canoe had ten pairs of oars and one rudder (Haddon and Hornell 1997: 386). Theo also estimated that *gawel* disappeared before the Japanese or Germans came. Both Bruno Tharngan and Edmund Pasam talked about why the *gawel* fell out of use. From a carver's perspective, Tharngan thought that people did not use *gawel* possibly because it was harder to build compared to *popow* and *chugpin*. Both Tharngan and Pasam also talked about the influence of the motorboat as a contributing factor. Tharngan thought people preferred engine-driven boats once they came to Yap, and gradually there was no need for woodcarving or even man-powered paddling and

³¹ Briefly, in Yap Main Island specifically, villages were ranked into hierarchical levels, mainly subdivided into chiefs, nobles, commoners and serfs. In most cases, each village fits into one of these classes regarding rank. The ranking was more fluid in the past, varying with victory or loss in war, however, since the influence of German authority the ranking has remained constant with almost no variation these days (Intoh and Leach 1985: 8).

sailing for a boat. Pasam agreed, arguing that people favoured the convenience of a motorboat, particularly if they had the money to purchase such a boat and its fuel.

Bulel (Bangrow)

The *bulel* (also called *bangrow*) has not existed on Yap for a long time. It allegedly had three-pronged prows on each end (Ninth Grade Intermediate School 1956: 30). This is closer to the description of *gawel* instead of a *bulel* according to my interlocutors. Two of my interlocutors mentioned that the *bulel* could be used for fishing and there were no raised prows on its sides. It was normally used as the tail boat of a troop of canoes. Motoda (1938: 23) described the *bulel* as a kind of canoe that was flat on the bottom and the whole structure was extremely unrefined.

The *bulel* was designed to be very simple, and even without the prow could be used for transportation. Tharngan, now aged in his mid-60s, remembered seeing one when he was young, however, it was not recorded in *Yap Our Island* (Ninth Grade Intermediate School 1956). Tharngan remembered that when he was really young, his father used to own a *popow* canoe, but later on when the prow of the *popow* was broken, they used a *bulel* instead (Interview with Tharngan, Yap, October 2013). Pasam also recalled that in the old days when people had no ability (including the lack of skill, material or money) to fully complete a canoe like a *popow* or *chugpin*, they chose to build a *bulel*. Pasam remembered there were a lot of *bulel* in the past (Interview with Pasam, Yap, November 2013). This canoe was commonly used and owned by individual families instead of the whole village. When the tools for making canoes improved, everybody had the ability to complete the prows and there was no longer any need for this type of canoe to exist.

Minyungchig

This type of canoe was listed in the brochure of the *First Annual Yap Canoe Festival*: ‘The Gawel, the Minyungchig, and the Bulel are three other styles of canoes found in Yap. These styles now exist solely in the histories and memories of the people’ (2009: 10). However, after enquiring amongst the workers in the Yap Traditional Navigation Society office and talking with the master carver, none of them knew what this type of canoe was. Still, since this type of canoe was listed in this brochure, I have included it as a type that had been found on Yap.

Yap's neighbouring islands

Unlike the different canoes recognised on the main island of Yap, the canoes on neighbouring islands had only one basic shape but varied in size. The canoes on the main island of Yap had different shapes and diverse functions. The canoes on the outer islands were nearly identical to the Yapese style *popow*. However, there were some differences between the outer islands and Yap: the forked prow of the outer island canoe was shorter and more upright; the outrigger arms were thicker; and the top of the mast was angled rather than straight. The neighbouring island styles also had a similar design to one another, but the names that local people gave them were different (see *First Annual Yap Canoe Festival* 2009: 11).

There are nearly ten outer islands in Yap that still practise making and/or using traditional canoes, however, rather than comparing each individual island, I will focus on Lamotrek and Satawal due to their contemporary reliance on traditional canoes. The data collected below is based mainly on research interviews and insights from my interlocutors.

In Lamotrek, there were five types of canoes. These include *shoasemaliu*, *wafatiul*, *manibwel*, *waterage* and *warwei*.³²

Shoasemaliu



Figure 15. A Lamotrek style *shoasemaliu* painted in its traditional colours and paddled by a boy outside Chamorro Bay in Colonia

Source. Photographed by © Karen Tu, August 2013

³² The data were collected from Peter Pakamai (passed away in January 2017), Joseph Sagileitig and Mark Pekaichie (passed away in February 2015) who are from Lamotrek, and Celestin Rauweilug who is originally from Satawal but who later moved to Lamotrek because of a marital relationship. The spelling of the local words was provided by these interlocutors, and later proofread by Adrian Yarofalgil.

This type of canoe was made for one person to use, which is why it was named *shoasemaliu*. *Semaliu* means ‘one’ or ‘single.’ *Shoasemaliu* is mainly for one person but it can accommodate two if they are light enough. This type of canoe does not go far, maybe only around the atoll, and can be used for near shore fishing (see Figure 15). *Shoasemaliu* is popular among women for transportation across short distances due to the lightness of the canoe. This small canoe is for paddling only and has no sail.

Wafatiul

Wa is a general term to describe a vessel that can go in the ocean. Here, the word can be seen into two parts, *wa* means canoe while *fatiul* means paddle. Thus, this canoe was built for paddling. The size of the *wafatiul* was larger than the *shoasemaliu*, and the *wafatiul* could have a sail. The *wafatiul* was commonly used for fishing inside the lagoon and was not designed to go long distances (see Figure 16).



Figure 16. A *wafatiul* of Lamotrek style stored in the canoe house in Colonia. *Waa'gey* is the owner of this canoe and the members of *Waa'gey* fixed a sail for it

Source. Photographed by © Karen Tu, August 2013 and used with the permission of *Waa'gey*

Manibwel

The *manibwel* is larger than a *wafatiul* and is a sailing canoe. Traditionally people used this canoe for trolling and fishing around the island. Some islanders used this canoe to go to nearby small atolls or reefs for turtle hunting or even transporting goods between close by islands. For example one may travel by *manibwel* from Lamotrek to Elato in

the west under good winds. A *Manibwel* can take between five and twelve passengers at one time depending on its size (see Figure 17).³³

Waterage

The *waterage* was made for travelling for longer distances. *Wa* here suggests seafaring transportation and *terage* means moving (of transportation including vehicle and vessel) or sailing. In combination, the words mean sailing canoe. This canoe can fit 10 or 20 people or more and can also carry many taro. This type of canoe is used to travel from Lamotrek to Satawal, Ifaluk and most of the outer islands (see Figure 17).



Figure 17. Three canoes coming in from Lamotrek to Guam for Festpac, from left to right: A *waterage* called *Lucky Star*, a *warwei* in honour of *Queen Veronica* and a *manibwel* named *Genesis*

Source. Photographed by © Karen Tu, May 2016

Warwei

This is the largest among all the canoes. This was also a sailing canoe that travelled long distances. *Wa* means vessel while *wei* means travel and it is literally a travelling canoe. It was said that people used to travel to Saipan, Yap, Guam or Palau on a *warwei*. It is generally believed that a *warwei* was used for voyages to *sawei*. Under good weather and wind conditions, it took about three to four days to travel from Lamotrek to Yap. This canoe could fit 40 people or more. Most of my interlocutors who introduced me to *warwei* regarded *waterage* and *warwei* to be almost the same—the only difference

³³ Even though more challenging than the other bigger canoes, people in Lamotrek proved during the 2016 Festpac that a *manibwel* (named *Genesis*) could travel back and forth between Lamotrek and Guam which was roughly a roundtrip of 900 miles (1450 kilometres).

being that the *warwei* was very large. A recent large canoe launched on Lamotrek in 2013 was called a *warwei* (see Figure 17).³⁴

Other Types



Figure 18. A nearly finished *likele* model made by Lamotrek *Waa'gey* participants at the canoe house in Colonia

Source. Photographed by © Karen Tu, October 2013

An elder, Peter Pakamai from Lamotrek, mentioned that there used to be a type of canoe on Lamotrek called a *walpeor*. This type looked almost the same as the *wafatiul* and was about the same size. It was usually used to go fishing for flying fish—normally with a torch at night. A net and scoop were used for this type of fishing. Pakamai had seen *walpeor* before, and estimated that people stopped using this type of vessel around the 1960s or 1970s. He assumed that it was because people no longer went fishing for flying fish (Interview with Pakamai, Yap, November 2013).

Joseph Sagileitig, Mark Pekaichie and Celestin Rauweilug mentioned a type of canoe called a *likele*, which is not a proper canoe but a smaller model, sold as a handicraft. Some kids play with *likele* when they are infants, and it is used to teach boys the shape and function of the canoe from a young age (see Figure 18) (Interviews with

³⁴ This *warwei* canoe launched in Lamotrek October, 2013 was named *Queen Veronica* in honour of the (previous) paramount chief Veronica Lafaiyob. She also oversaw Elato and Satawal Islands. Four months after the launching, chief Veronica passed away in February 2014. There is still a vacancy for this paramount chief's position since she was the last heir in the family and particular sub-clan of the high ranking Mongoilfach. The others who were adopted into her family are not entitled to this position (Personal communication with Esther Letalimepiy Siugwemal, Yap, 22 April 2015; Yap State Historic Preservation Office 2005a: 55).

Sagileitig, Pekaichie and Rauweilug, Yap, October–November 2013). Sagileitig also mentioned another type of smaller canoe called a *galal* (see Figure 19). People only place the sail when there is wind. It is very small, normally less than 50 centimetres in length. A *galal* is easy to make and it can easily be carved within an hour or two. It is not as hollow as the larger canoes and people use hibiscus wood to make it. It is more often used for amusement or for kids to play around with, and some use it to troll with lures from one end of the island to the other for small fish like mackerel, skipjack or something similar. People also compete to see whose *galal* could go faster.



Figure 19. A nearly finished *galal* model made by Lamotrek Festpac participants in Guam, a sail will be attached to the stick where the finger is pointing

Source. Photographed by © Karen Tu, June 2016

In Satawal, there were four types of canoes;³⁵ they were *rhoael*, *wafatiul*, *manibwel* and *waserek*.³⁶

Rhoael

Rhoael is also called *rhasemel*, which was exactly the same as the *shoasemaliu* in Lamotrek but with a different name. This was a paddling canoe for one person that had no sail.

Wafatiul

This is a paddling canoe and only very few people used a sail with this type. A *wafatiul* can carry three to five passengers. This canoe is for fishing but was not meant to go very far from the island.

Manibwel

This is a sailing canoe. The *manibwel* could be used for travelling a distance of about 50 miles or so. From Satawal, people could use a *manibwel* to go to Lamotrek or Elato. This type of canoe is used for fishing and could carry five to ten passengers.

Waserek

This is a larger sailing canoe designed as a long-distance sailing canoe. It could take at least 20 passengers. A *waserek* could travel easily from Satawal to Yap, Guam and Saipan (see Figure 20). In 1975, there was a group of Satawalese led by the master navigator Repanglug who used the traditional *waserek* to travel from Satawal to Fukuoka and Okinawa in Japan and back as part of a voyage arranged by the Japanese. Leo Racheilug and Ignathio Emaipiy's uncles and cousins were on board that canoe as well. According to Celestin Rauweilug, who has lived on both Satawal and Lamotrek throughout his life, *waserek* on Satawal includes both *warwei* and *waterek* in Lamotrek. Emaipiy agreed with this explanation that *warwei* and *waterek* are exactly the same, with only a difference in size (Interviews with Racheilug, Emaipiy, Rauweilug and Gelawmai, Yap, October–November 2013).

³⁵ On Ifaluk, there are four types of canoes as well, *shoasemal*, *wafetiu*, *waterage* and *walwaii* (which is called *warmar* in Ulithi). The canoes on Ifaluk are very similar to those on Lamotrek except that *manibwel* was not mentioned. This information was provided by Steven Tiliwemal who is now a high school culture teacher on Ulithi.

³⁶ This information was collected from Leo Racheilug (Rafan) and Ignathio Emaipiy (Fity) who are originally from Satawal, and Celestin Rauwilug and Paulino Gelawmai who are originally from Satawal but later moved to Lamotrek for marriage. The spellings of the words were provided by these interlocutors.



Figure 20. These two Satawalese canoes came from Satawal to Saipan then to Guam to join the Festpac opening in May 2016

Source. Photographed by © Karen Tu, May 2016

The dialect used on Lamotrek and Satawal is categorised under different dialect chains—Lamotrek is Woleaian while Satawal is Satawalese. Nonetheless, due to the geographical closeness and the historical and marital tightness, these two islands do have very similar words used for their canoes. I will catalogue the main types in the table below adding on Ifaluk types for a brief comparison and summing up of this section (see Table 3).

Place	Type				
Lamotrek	<i>Shoasemaliu</i>	<i>Wafatiul</i>	<i>Manibwel</i>	<i>Waterage</i>	<i>Warwei</i>
Satawal	<i>Rhoael</i> (<i>Rhasemel</i>)	<i>Wafatiu</i>	<i>Manibwel</i>	<i>Waserek</i>	
Ifaluk	<i>Shoasemal</i>	<i>Wafetiu</i>	<i>Waterage</i>	<i>Walwaii</i> (<i>Warmar in Ulithian</i>)	

Table 3. List of different types of canoes on Lamotrek, Satawal and Ifaluk

Source. Constructed by © Karen Tu from research data

The canoes on Orchid Island

The canoes on Orchid Island can be categorised into two traditional types: a large canoe called *cinedkelan* and a small canoe named *tatala*. Both canoes have rudders, and the distinction between these two canoes is not based on size, but on the number of people

they can carry. These canoes came in different geometric sizes and shapes depending on the canoe builders' technique and the preferences of individual villages.³⁷

The canoes on Orchid Island can be further subdivided into two types: those with ornamental sculptures and those without. The type sculpted on the body is called *nivatekan*; while the canoes without sculpting are called *nipirwa* (Jeng 1984:96). Canoes with ornamental sculptures are subject to a series of rituals, ceremonies and taboos. The canoes with ornamental sculptures, especially the *cinedkelan*, are owned by fishermen or the community and are related to ceremonial use. Those without sculptural patterns do not require such rituals during launching. According to Orchid Island traditions, every adult man should own a canoe. Those who possess less ability (in skill, wealth or natural material) often choose to build a plain one without decoration, that requires less time and work.

There are some commonalities between the large and small canoes. Unlike most canoes from the Pacific that were hollowed out from a big log, all traditional canoes on Orchid Island, regardless of their size, were made from pieces of wood joined together. In the past, no spike would be used to join the wood. However, with Tao peoples' traditional knowledge and wisdom, they created something very similar. They used mulberry wood as a spike, and a 10-passenger canoe could contain up to 3,000 small wooden pieces to join its parts. The kopok flower was used as a plug between the joints so that once the canoe reached the sea, the flower would expand as it became wet creating a seal between the joints. The kopok flower itself was highly absorbent, which prevented water from entering the canoe. The canoes of Orchid Island all had oars and oarlocks and were rowed. Hence the traditional Orchid Island canoes, even if they had a sail, relied more on physical strength than the sea current and wind to navigate longer distances (Jeng 1984:101; Kano and Segawa 1956: 357; Tian 2002: 234; 143).

The largest traditional *cinedkelan* in the twentieth and twenty-first centuries could hold 10 people. Long ago there was a canoe large enough to hold 50 people that went seafaring to and from the Philippines, but in the past there were also canoes for 20 people (Nobuto 1992). It is believed that these larger canoes were called *aban* (Yin 1994: 356); however, there is little evidence today of these canoes. Both Edmund Leach (1937) and Tadao Kano and Kōkichi Segawa (1956), in their documentation of the canoes of Orchid Island, say the largest canoes held a maximum of 10 people. If ever

³⁷ Please refer to Jeng (1984: 97-109) regarding the detail sizes, name of canoe parts and the concept of construction

there were canoes larger than this, they had certainly disappeared before researchers could record them.³⁸ Only *cinedkelan* and *tatala* survived into the twenty-first century.

Tatala

In general, all canoes on Orchid Island, regardless of their size, could be called *tatala*, which is a collective term for canoes. Specifically, however, *tatala* refers only to the small canoes that carry a few people (see Figure 21). Every canoe on Orchid Island with a different capacity has a different name. The collective term of *tatala* includes *pikatanyan* for a one-person canoe, *pikavangan* for a two-person canoe, and *pinoneonogan*, which is a canoe for three people.



Figure 21. A *tatala* owned by Syapen Yongala docked on Iratay shore on Orchid Island. The owner uses it to catch flying fish during the flying fish season and also takes tourists out when the season is over

Source. Photographed by © Karen Tu, June 2013

Pikatanyan

Pikatanyan is the smallest among all the canoes on Orchid Island. This is a one-person canoe with two oars and it is owned by an individual. The share of its catch is only for the family group of its owner (Hsu 1982: 10). According to Kano and Segawa's research in the 1940s, the sail of the boat was made from abaca and 'hoisted on the prow of a boat, either large or small' (1956: 292–95). This was a common feature in that period and in their book a photo of people using a *pikatanyan* with a sail is shown.

³⁸ Orchid Islanders have also tried to build two canoes that were larger than the ability to carry 10 persons. This will be further detailed in Chapter Four.

Based on my interviews, the last appearance of a canoe sail was in the 1980s. Some people that I spoke to, who are now in their 60s, did not even realise that there were once sails on this type of canoe. The Imorod and Iratai peoples continued to use sails for longer than other villages. *Pikatanyan* can be used for day and night-time angling of migratory fish (Hsu 1982: 7).

Pikavangan

Built for two people, this canoe has two oars on each side and was made for rowing. *Pika* means ‘together’ and *avang* means to ‘embark’ or ‘carry’. The two people using a *pikavangan* were likely brothers, a father and son, or close family members or relatives. This type of canoe was owned by a single family in most cases, however, it could also be a communally owned canoe operated by a small fishing association formed by separate households or friends with regular and standby crew members (Hsu 1982: 10–11). *Pikavangan* can be used for daytime angling for migratory fish and similarly at night (ibid.: 7).

Pinoneonogan

A *pinoneonogan* is a three-person canoe with six oars. Its users were most likely to be brothers, a father and sons, or close family members or relatives, and the canoe was owned by a single family. Also, *pinoneonogan* could be owned communally by three or more people in a small fishing association, that could be formed in separate households or amongst friends with regular and standby crew members (Hsu 1982: 10–11). While *pikatanyan* and *pikavangan* can be used for night-time fishing of migratory fish, the *pinoneonogan* is used exclusively for night-time fishing (ibid.: 7). Some types of canoes have different usages for fishing non-migratory species.

The fishing associations operating large or small boats also use their boats for other types of fishing at other times of year—for example for great-line fishing *maneireng* or for drag-net fishing *mitawar*. The catch from these other types of communal fishing is distributed between the members of each fishing association in the same way as the catch of migratory fish (Hsu 1982: 11). The *pinoneonogan* is less common than the *pikatanyan* and *pikavangan* today.

Cinedkelan

As *tatala* was a term used for smaller canoes, *cinedkelan* is a collective term used for all larger canoes which have a rudder at the stern. *Cinedkelan* includes *adloavang*, *apadavang* and *alimavang*. As can be seen in the above section, all *tatala* were made for

fishing of different kinds, while the *cinedkelan* were made for fishing and for ceremonial use. According to Ying-chou Hsu (1982: 15), as large canoes, *cinedkelan* were not used for inter-island transport, since there has been no modern tradition of trade and transportation with other islands or with the Taiwanese mainland. We can conclude that, in the past, all *cinedkelan* on Orchid Island were designed for fishing and were for both rowing and sailing (see Figure 22). As mentioned previously in Kano and Segawa's research from the 1940s, the sail is 'hoisted on the prow of a boat either large or small' (1956: 294). This was a common feature used in canoes from that period. By the end of the twentieth century, the canoes on Orchid Island, regardless of their size, were only rowed.



Figure 22. An unsculpted ten person *cinedkelan* (*alimavang*) owned by the Imorod community is stored inside the seawall of the Imorod tribe.

Source. Photographed by © Karen Tu, July 2013

All *cinedkelan* belonged to a fishing unit or group. Supposedly, in the past, all adult males were expected to be a part of at least one fishing group and normally young family members would join the group to which their father belonged. When a male became an adult, he joined the fishing unit as a preparatory crew member (apprentice). When he reached middle age then he became an alternate crew member waiting for a vacancy to appear. All seats in *adloavang*, *apadavang* and *alimavang* were fixed until a crew member passed away or retired from the group. Only then would there be the chance to have another crew member from the alternate crew to participate (Wei and Liu 1962: 118–120).

Adloavang

This was a six-person canoe with six oars and one rudder. *Adlo* means ‘six’ and *avang* means ‘embark’ or ‘carry’. The most experienced or skilful person would be the one who was in charge of the rudder and acted as the leader or captain of that canoe, standing at the tail of the canoe close to the stern. The strongest or second-most skilful crew member would hold the position of *manumoron* at the prow opposite the captain. The *manumoron* was in charge of two oars and the rest of the crew would each hold on to one oar at the side. Compared to the *apadavang* and *alimavang*, the *adloavang* is much less common in the twenty-first century throughout the island.

Apadavang

This was an eight-person canoe with eight oars and one rudder. *Apad* means ‘eight.’ Like the *adloavang*, the person who was in charge of the rudder served as the captain of *apadavang* and the person who sat closest to the prow handled two oars at one time. All the seats on *adloavang*, *apadavang* or *alimavang* were fixed unless the crew member passed away or retired, at which time they could be replaced. Due to the breakdown of the traditional fishing unit, *cinedkelan* are built less frequently than in the past. However, building *apadavang* is rare since most of the revitalisation projects focused on the largest canoe used for ritual ceremonies, the *alimavang*.

Alimavang

This was a ten-person canoe with ten oars and one rudder, *lima* meaning ‘ten’. The interlocutors said that this was the most typical *cinedkelan*. When a person refers to a *cinedkelan*, in most cases they mean the ten-person canoe. For the past century this was the largest canoe on Orchid Island. In the past, the *alimavang* belonged to a fishing union that was normally grouped according to family, relative or affinities. Large canoes are not built alone but with the cooperation of the association members.

Other canoes

There was once a large canoe called an *aban*, which had a large carrying capacity.³⁹ According to the historical records, the ancestors of Tao used to travel with this type of canoe between Orchid Island and the Batanes. The *aban* was hard to control and

³⁹ Presumably, it was a misspelling of ‘*avang*’. Inez de Beauclair (1959: 123) said ‘The boats, *avang*, of which the Yami today still speak with pride, were large, and held tens of people’. If so, *avang* means ‘embark’ or ‘carry’, such as *adloavang*, *apadavang* and *alimavang*. If this is the case, then *aban* might not be the word for a particular large canoe but a collective term to describe larger canoes.

required great strength to be pushed on shore (Yin 1994: 356). The shape and pattern of the *aban* was not described and the resources were very limited and unidentifiable.⁴⁰ The disappearance of *aban* canoes was likely due to the cessation of seafaring journeys to the Batanes. Without *aban*, the Tao stopped undertaking long distance voyages. It was said to be the fault of women who caused jealousy among the men from both areas that led to the end of this oceanic relationship and the disappearance of the *aban* (Peng 2004: 63). The canoe could hold 20 people (Hu 1999; Nobuto 1992). Both of my interlocutors (in their 70s and 80s) said there was no such canoe, and when I mentioned the *aban* type of canoe, they did not recall ever seeing or hearing of one when they were young. However, there have been two exceptions in the twenty-first century. Through revitalisation projects, two large canoes with a capacity of greater than 10 people have been built. This will be discussed in further detail in the following chapter.

To sum up this chapter, in the first section I traced the oral histories and legends of canoe origins and explained how canoes were depicted in indigenous oral traditions. The oral traditions of the origin of the canoe were very diverse in the two areas of my research—the Yapese version attributed canoes to the sky, while Orchid Islanders believed canoes came from underground. However, both stories suggested life became more abundant after the first canoe had appeared on the islands. Moreover, the canoe features regularly in the oral traditions of both cultures, which suggests the continuing importance of canoes in peoples' daily lives on the islands and atolls and their continued importance to ethnic identity. In all the legends discussed above, canoes are still highly valued as transportation vessels throughout Yap State and Orchid Island.

In the second section of this chapter, I explored the canoe types across Yap and Orchid Island. Among all the canoe types listed on Yap Main Island, more than half did not survive into this century due to two practical functions: carving become obsolete and knowledge in carving was lost. In comparison, nearly all the canoe styles listed on Orchid Island, and the outer islands Lamotrek and Satawal have survived until today and the carving skills are being preserved. However, the actual existing numbers of these canoes are decreasing. Yet, except for the Yapese main island style of canoes which are endangered, the other islands continue to carve and use their canoes on a regular basis, albeit less commonly than they did decades ago. The broader view of the

⁴⁰ However, in Torii and Lin (2016: 68), the translated version from Torii Ryūzō's 1902 publication stated that *aban* should be the name how Tao people refer to Chinese sailboat, sailboat and steamship. Such as steamship is also called *aban-no-Manila*.

historical background of Yap State and Orchid Island as well as contemporary transformations will be discussed and further compared in the following chapter.

Chapter Two

Historical Background and Contemporary Transformations

In this chapter, I will focus on two central themes. First, I will start with historical background on Yap State and Orchid Island, especially the history of foreign contact and colonisation. This historical period is crucial to the understanding of material transformations and changes in canoe usage that have been embraced in both areas. I will highlight evidence that points to the origins of major transformations in canoe use which will be elaborated in later chapters. Second, I will explore the contemporary materials used for canoe building and recent cultural transformations in canoe use, focusing on the cash economy, religion and emigration as major factors which have effected transformations in canoe usage throughout recent decades. The analysis presented in this chapter is framed within a broader historical perspective on social and cultural change in these islands. From this broader perspective, I then closely examine the transformation of contemporary canoes at a local level in Yap State and Orchid Island.

Historical background of Yap State and Orchid Island

The focal period of my study begins in the late-nineteenth century; that is, from when foreign colonial powers entered these regions and Yap State and Orchid Island entailed similar impacts on the transformation of indigenous customs and cultures. The first documented colonisation of Orchid Island was in 1877 by the Chinese Qing Dynasty; Yap was colonised only eight years later in 1885 by the Spanish. Both areas were also occupied by Japan until the end of the World War II. I will start with the historical background on Yap and then move to discuss Orchid Island.

The contact history of Yap

Before Yap was colonised by external powers, there were several precolonial contacts with other peoples that have been detailed in written records. Furthermore, even though Europeans and Japanese established colonies on Yap itself in order to secure political rule, their influence and authority were weaker in the neighbouring islands of Yap. In this section, I divide the contact history of Yap into five sections: precolonial contact; Spanish sovereignty; German sovereignty; Japanese authorisation; and American administration.

Precolonial contact

Compared to records of contact in the Eastern Caroline Islands, Yap had fewer encounters with whalers and trading ships before the colonial period. The earliest record of western contact describes an encounter in 1525 when Yap (most likely Ulithi) was ‘discovered’ by a Portuguese captain Diego Da Rocha. Three years later, around January or February in 1528, Álvaro de Saavedra Cerón visited Yap and the neighbouring islands, possibly Ulithi or Fais (Adams 1997: 11; Gilliland 1975: 2; Hengstler 1983: 17; Hezel 1979; Kuwahara 2003: 2).¹ These early contacts were short in duration and had very little impact on the indigenous culture. In 1543 Ruy Lopez de Villalobos journeyed to both Yap and Palau, while in 1579, Sir Francis Drake sighted the Ngulu atolls (South-West of Yap), and also captured a great number of canoes that were bringing coconuts and fruits (Haddon and Hornell 1997: 376). There was no other record of any European visit for another century until 1686 when Lazeano arrived and called the island Carolina. Later, in 1712 Yap was visited by De Eguiy Zabalaga and then again in 1791 by Captain John Hunter. These European voyages to Yap before the nineteenth century were not frequent but steady (Adams 1997: 11; Hezel 1979: 15; Lingenfelter 1975a: 183; Marksbury 1979: 30). Thus, it is likely that up until the middle of the nineteenth century, islanders may have known more about Europeans than Europeans knew about them (Morgan 1996: 27–28).

Not only did Europeans visit Yap, but people from the nearby islands of the Philippines had interactions with Yap as well. These encounters were sometimes violent, and one incident in 1836 discouraged Philippine’s trade with Yap for a while. During this encounter, two ships from Manila, one armed brig and one schooner, came to Yap for trade in *tripang* (*bêche-de-mer*). The schooner continued on to Ulithi where both ships were attacked and the crews massacred (Marksbury 1979: 30–31).

In the nineteenth century, especially the last half of the century, European contact with Yap became more frequent, resulting in both positive and negative consequences for the Yapese. The English trading captain Andrew Cheyne visited the Tomil district for two months where he attempted to establish a *tripang* operation in 1843. The trade

¹ There was uncertainty among earlier researchers in terms of the dates and locations of these encounters. According to the historical records, there was a place named Islas de Sequeira (see Document 1525E in Lévesque 1992, I: 409, cited in Descantes 2005: 30) that was most likely Ulithi. There was no further indication of whether Sequeira might be Ulithi or Yap. Also, Hezel (1979) and Heinz Hengstler (1983) suggested the first contact was made in 1525 while Richard Marksbury (1979) and The Office of the District Administrator publications in 1966 and 1974 suggested the year was 1526. However, the original document was dated 1525, and hence I determined the date was likely to have been 1525. Both captains were unsure whether they had arrived Yap or Ulithi. Moreover, the second visit could have also been to Fais. In his research on Ulithi, Sueo Kuwahara (2003) claims the 1525 visit was to Ulithi.

for *tripang*, which the Chinese considered a delicacy, was lucrative at this time. (Hengstler 1983: 18; Hezel 1983: 182, cited in Descantes 2005: 34; Hunter-Anderson 1983: 7). Cheyne permitted one of his sick sailors to go ashore, and as a result, started an influenza epidemic which killed 50 Tomil District inhabitants in three days (Cheyne's travel diary cited in Shineberg (ed.) 1971: 271). This is the earliest recorded European encounter which directly caused population loss in the Western Carolines. This sudden depopulation had a devastating impact on the Yapese social system (Descantes 2005: 35).

The first official commercial business that opened in Yap was in 1869, when J.C. Godeffroy and Son Trading Company established Yap's first 'permanent' German trading station. Before the business was set up, the company's first agent made a number of visits to Yap and Ulithi between 1865 and 1868. The German trading post had little commercial success, although it did have some impact on Yapese livelihood (Descantes 2005: 35; Lingenfelter 1975a: 183; Marksbury 1979: 31). After that, there were a few businesses running on Yap. The most notable was that of an American of Irish decent, David O'Keefe, who came because of a shipwreck in 1871. O'Keefe started to trade with the Yapese before any colonial authority had claimed Yap, since he noticed people travelled far distances to Guam and Palau by canoe to acquire huge stone discs. He thus arranged for ships to transport the big stones for the islanders and lent his modern tools for cutting and shaping the stones. In return he asked for coconuts, copra and *tripang*. O'Keefe's business operations led to some changes in Yapese culture, particularly the formalisation of the local economy and an increase in the size of the stone money. O'Keefe remained on Yap until 1901 when he was lost at sea during a typhoon (Descantes 2005: 35; Gilliland 1975: 11; Hezel 1983: 266; Intoh and Leach 1985: 6; Lessa 1962: 333; Lingenfelter 1975a: 184; Marksbury 1979: 31–32). The influence of O'Keefe in Yap will be discussed in more detail in Chapter Three.

Spanish sovereignty

Between 1885 and 1899, the Yap islands were under Spanish sovereign rule, during which time Spanish missionaries also came to the islands, although they did not reach many of the neighbouring islands east of Yap until the early or mid-twentieth century. The Spanish colonial agenda on both Yap and Ulithi was relatively passive (Descantes 2005: 36).

The most important event to occur during the Spanish administration that would have a lasting effect on Yapese culture and society was the establishment of a Capuchin

mission in 1886. The Superior of the West Carolines, Father Daniel de Arbacequi, arrived in Yap with two priests and three lay brothers on 29 June 1886 (Lopinot 1964: 11, cited in Marksbury 1979: 32).

Even if the regime was under Spanish rule during this period, trade was actually dominated by the Germans and Japanese, with only insignificant economic benefits left for Spain (Intoh and Leach 1985: 7). In the 1870s, both Spain and Germany had some interest in Yap, and in 1874 Spain proclaimed sovereignty over Yap but failed to establish any permanent settlement there. Germany sent a warship to the island in 1876, but there were no open hostilities between them and the Spanish, and eventually an agreement was reached and the Germans conceded to Spanish rule (Lingenfelter 1975a: 184; Marksbury 1979: 32). The relationship between Germany and Spain during this time has been described as follows:

Finally, in August of 1885, a Spanish settlement with a presiding governor was established in the vicinity of the modern day port town of Colonia, the name given the town by the Spanish. Four days later, a conflict came about. A German naval vessel entered the main channel, from which a landing party descended and claimed the island in the name of Germany. This conflict was ultimately resolved in October 1886 [December 1885?] by Pope Leo XIII who granted the Caroline Islands (including Yap) to Spain, but added that Germany could continue its trading interests with equal rights in shipping, commerce and also establish a coaling station (Marksbury 1979: 32).

Hence Spanish claims to Yap were acknowledged on the condition that the Germans were allowed to trade freely and establish commercial enterprises such as fishing, plantations and coaling stations (Lingenfelter 1975a: 184). Except for missionary activities on Yap's main islands, the influence of Spanish culture on Yap was not as notable as that of later colonial rulers. Eventually, German commercial success in Yap, and Spain's defeat in the Spanish–American War contributed to the end of Spanish rule in Yap, with Spain selling the land to Germany: 'In 1899, Spain officially relinquished her claim to Yap. Spain sold the Caroline and Mariana Islands (excluding Guam) for four and one-half million dollars to Germany' (Marksbury 1979: 32).

With few political or commercial goals, the Spanish had little impact on the development of Yap, beyond the introduction of Catholicism (Christmann, Hempenstall, and Ballendorf 1991: 175, cited in Descantes 2005: 36).

German sovereignty

After Germany's purchase of the Caroline and Mariana Islands (excluding Guam) in 1899, Yap was placed under German sovereignty. The influence of Germany's official presence in Yap was greater than that of the Spanish, and also greater than any other islands purchased by Germany in the North Pacific. The most significant impact of German rule was the building of the Tagireeng Canal between Yap and the Gagil-Tomil islands which was completed two years after the German takeover in 1901 (Intoh and Leach 1985: 7; Marksbury 1979: 33). The Germans were zealous in their constructions on Yap. In 1903 the entire German colony totalled only eight people: a doctor, the governor, postmaster, the manager of a trading company and four copra traders. Despite this minute numerical presence, that year the first formal hospital for the Yapese was built using Yapese labour. And, in most instances, it was the Germans who profited from their investments in Yap, not the Yapese (Descantes 2005: 36; Furness 1910: 18, cited in Marksbury 1979: 35–37; Lingenfelter 1975a: 184–85).

Traditional Yapese political units were dissolved during the German administration period, and villages were combined into districts (Intoh and Leach 1985: 7–8; Lingenfelter 1975a: 77). The largest impact of German political reform on the Yapese culture was the freeze on the caste and ranking system which had been fluid until then. It used to be that entire villages were promoted or demoted depending on their participation in major conflicts. However the ranking ceased after German governmental and local authorities interfered with the caste system. The German administration also stopped the import of stone money from Palau (Descantes 2005: 36; Lingenfelter 1975a: 185).² Yapese women were forbidden from going to the 'menstrual house,' and some of the menstrual houses were destroyed (Marksbury 1979: 33). The Yapese did not accept these changes passively; they sensed the rapid changes in their culture and responded accordingly.

It was recorded in Marksbury (1979:35) that in 1910, the highest ranking chiefs, priests and magicians met in Keng village, Weloy. Keng is located on the fringe of Colonia. The purpose of this meeting was to discuss what could be done to stop or slow the changes that were transforming Yap culture. There was expressed concern over the fading of the magic, medicine, warfare, family structures and other salient features of Yap society that were undergoing rapid change. The men who attended this meeting put

² To be brief, Germany banned war between villages and hence the caste and ranking system remained static. Also, Germany banned the long-distance seafaring which will be further discussed in the following chapter.

most of the blame for these changes on the German and Spanish administrations. There is a song about this historic meeting which a few men still recall. One of Marksbury's informants who attended this meeting (as a small boy who just listened) believes that the traditional leaders' concern might have been sparked by the various German ethnographers who were collecting data in Yap around that time. He believes that when these ethnographers asked questions about Yapese culture, the informants realised that their traditional knowledge had been lost and they became concerned (Marksbury 1979: 35).

Moreover, during this period of German rule, the road system was expanded, a tax system was established (with punishments given to Yapese who failed to pay), and a cable station with telegraph lines was constructed that linked Yap with Shanghai, Celebes and Guam. According to Richard Marksbury, 'The continued use of this cable system was an important issue in the League of Nations debates by President Woodrow Wilson when Yap was included in the mandate granted the Japanese government' (1979: 33).

Japanese authority in mandated territory

In 1914, while World War I was underway, Yap became a Japanese mandated territory. Later at the Peace Conference in Paris in 1919, Japan was officially awarded the islands. The Japanese government was granted authority to rule over the formerly German colonies under a 'class C mandate' determined by the League of Nations. A number of Japanese emigrated to Yap in order to run businesses based on copra production, mining and fishing. However, the number of Japanese on Yap was still lower than that on the other Micronesian high islands. The goal of the Japanese was to shift Yap from a subsistence society to a cash economy (Intoh and Leach 1985: 7; Marksbury 1979: 36). Gradually, the Japanese government began to limit access to these islands by foreigners. When the Japanese withdrew from the League of Nations in 1935, access was practically impossible. In the late 1930s, Japan began to fortify Yap. Quite often, Yapese people were pressed into labour gangs to work on the fortification and the construction of airfields. The stones from the carefully made indigenous paths were taken for building many of these projects. However, some old stone paths remained in some villages until the twenty-first century. No land or sea battles took place in Yap during the World War II. However, allied forces did bomb the Japanese airfields in Tomil and Rull municipalities as well as the administrative centre in Colonia (Marksbury 1979: 36).

During the 1970s while Marksbury (1979) was researching in Yap, there was still a nominal understanding of the Japanese language, evident when Yapese conversed with Japanese tourists in Japanese. During my 2013 visit, those older villagers who were in their 70s or 80s no longer spoke Japanese as they were too young to attend Japanese school in the 1930s. But some of them said their parents or uncles had had experience in attending elementary school and learning Japanese. There were several schools established in Yap and generally the Yapese attended them for a few years. The Japanese brought many changes to Yap during this period and also during their colonisation of Taiwan and Orchid Island. Japanese rule in Yap and Orchid Island share many similarities—one important similarity was the importation of toads:

The toads were imported to Yap as a means for controlling the insects that were causing major damages to the Japanese farm crops. The Japanese had established several large and extensive farms in Yap, many in the upland grass and pandanus lands which today are void of such extensive use. In many instances, Yapese labor was used on these farms (Marksbury 1979: 37).

The introduced toads remain on Yap and Orchid Island today, and successfully eradicated the insects. Another significant impact of Japanese rule was the prohibition of tattooing. In subsequent years of their administration they also forbade large ceremonial gatherings of all types. They destroyed the large men's houses, and restricted some indigenous ceremonies. They also destroyed the meeting sites of the traditional councils. It is assumed that due to the prohibition of indigenous religious rites and the foreign ridicule which Yapese people were subjected to when enacting indigenous customs, the Yapese people turned to Catholicism instead (Lingenfelter 1975a: 186).

In 2013, one of my interlocutors recalled a story told by his oldest uncle. According to this story, 'A long time ago, all the Yapese men had long hair and it was all tied back with a comb that went into it. When the Japanese came, all the men's hair had to be cut short. The men lined up in front of the Japanese barber, but they were crying – for long hair is a symbol of pride for being a warrior. The Japanese intended to break their pride so the Yapese would not rebel against the Japanese. If they refused to follow the order to line up at the Japanese barber, they were shot.' The interlocutor claimed that this was the time that indigenous traditions started to fall apart (Interview with Theo, Yap, October 2013).

Lingenfelter offers a succinct summary of the impact of previous colonial administrations on Yap: 'The Spanish influence had been largely religious with

Catholicism replacing the indigenous Yapese religion. The German influence had been largely in the areas of economic development and trade. The Japanese emphasized colonial expansion and military bases' (1975a: 85). The final foreign coloniser to appear in Yap was the United States of America, whose impact on Yap continues today. From 1945, the American presence in Yap dramatically transformed the island.

American administration

In 1944, the Americans bombed Yap and the Japanese surrendered to the Allied Forces in 1945. At the end of World War II, Yap came under the administration of the US Navy, and was designated a US Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands from 1945 to 1951. In 1947, the United States was designated the trustee for strategic military purposes of the Caroline, Marshall and Mariana Islands (Guam excluded). The Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands was different from the other ten trust territories granted under United Nations' authority following World War II. These islands in Micronesia were unique in that they were categorised as a 'strategic trust' under the authority of the Security Council and not the General Assembly within the United Nations (Descantes 2005: 38; Marksbury 1979: 38).

Reflecting on the general viewpoint of American ideology after the post-war period, David Hanlon states that most white Americans believed in the superiority of their way of life and in its essential appeal to others. As he said, '[A]ssumptions about its inherent worth, goodness, and desirability all worked to justify America's position of global primacy and to obscure the disruptive, even destructive consequences of that exercise of power on others' (1998: 4–5). By extension, economic prosperity and political democracy were the two key points to peace and stability under American ideology; and poverty would thus lead to disturbance. However, race, class and gender relations in Micronesia would often be disdained, in contrast to the American way. It is generally acknowledged that the impact of foreign administration on the neighbouring islands (except Ulithi, Fais and Woleai) was minimal until the US Trust Territory replaced Japanese rule. The region of the current Yap State was created under the Trust Territory government and it stretched from Ngulu (the closest island to Ulithi) to Satawal (the farthest) (Marksbury 1979: 39).³ During the time of the Compact Agreement of Free Association (COFA treaty agreement between FSM and the US), the Micronesian islands formed four independent groups (the Northern Marianas

³ Please note, geographically Pikelot is the farthest island to the East in Yap State, however Satawal is the farthest inhabited one.

Commonwealth, Republic of Palau, Federated States of Micronesia and Republic of the Marshall Islands). Yap decided to join the Federated States of Micronesia with Chuuk, Pohnpei and Kosrae (Intoh and Leach 1985: 7). The FSM signed a Compact of Free Association with the US in 1986 (later renewed in 2004), to move from trusteeship to independence.

During the period of American administration, the development of education continued, as did health and general living standards, social, economic and political development. Yapese labour was still requested for road building and repairing, but on a voluntary basis rather than under the conditions of forced labour imposed by the Japanese authorities. The general policy of both the military and the civilian governments from 1946 to 1956 was to leave the Yapese alone (Lingenfelter 1975a: 187). However, during the first 20 years of US trusteeship, according to a report sent to the UN, the economy remained relatively dormant and social development was slow. Most people were illiterate and inadequately prepared to participate in political, commercial and other new forms of activities (Marksbury 1979: 41, 230). In 1964 the Yap High School was established. The mid-sixties can be viewed as the beginning of a new era in the administration of the Trust Territory and Yap. It was not until late in 1962 that US citizens were allowed to enter the Trust Territory without first securing permission from the Navy (Lingenfelter 1975a: 188; Marksbury 1979: 211).

According to a 1977 guide to foreign investment in Micronesia (cited in Marksbury 1979: 233), 'Yap's development has several handicaps, most of which seem related to their culture.' Marksbury argued that the guide implied that the Yapese were against development—an idea that he contested. I suggest that development had little place in change at first. Samuel Price argued that 'Yap was not forced through coercion to change; change has been brought about by the massive input of cash from the US' (1975: 6–7). Price noted that the Yapese 'actively participated through choice in the development of a cash economy for their island, and change has been very rapid' (*ibid.*). He also observed the Yapese were very conscious of the changes that were going on around them.

In terms of the Yapese culture, most of the customs, especially indigenous rituals and ceremonies, were forbidden or destroyed during the periods of Japanese or German rule. Once the US took over, the Yapese began to reintroduce their 'traditional' lifestyles and they started rebuilding their villages according to indigenous patterns. During the US administration, they appointed chiefs in the villages and anyone over 18 years of age was qualified to vote. Owing to this new electoral system, higher-ranking

chiefs returned to their traditional districts. These newly elected chiefs helped to establish the court system, in which each chief was appointed as a judge in their own district (Lingenfelter 1975a: 189; Price 1975: 5).

Another example of the revival of indigenous activities during US administration is the reappearance of large ‘*mitmit* exchanges.’⁴ In 1952 these ceremonies were held in Dugor and Adbuwe villages. The exchange held in the latter village was important because it celebrated the completion of a large men’s house, which took at least two years to plan and build. As soon as the Yapese discovered the American administration were reluctant to intervene in traditional cultural matters, they resumed certain activities in the political and public spheres (Lingenfelter 1975a: 190).

The first scholar of Micronesian anthropology is generally believed to be Johann Stanislaus Kubary, a Polish naturalist who recorded detailed ethnographic observations in Micronesia around the late-nineteenth century (Descantes 2005: 36). Later during the German administration, the first broad survey of Micronesian folktales was collected by German scholars.⁵ During the US period, anthropological interest in Micronesia increased. From September 1945 to July 1947, the navy closed the area to all private enterprise—to protect the islands and their resources against the rapaciousness of opportunists (Hanlon 1998: 35–36).

Meanwhile, district anthropologists were employed throughout the Trust Territory in 1946 by the U.S. Commercial Company and they were an integral part of the government administration, often acting as mediators and liaisons between the people and various government officials (Marksbury 1979: 2; Mason 1969: 85). There were also relatively more publications about Yap between the 1960s and 1980s. Leonard Mason (1969: 88–89) views 1960 as a marker separating the ‘old-timers’ from the ‘new-comers’ of the generation of anthropologists.

It was not until the Americans gained official control of Micronesia by a United Nations Trusteeship that indigenous Yapese cultures began to be dominated by western influences, mainly caused by the cash economy.⁶ David Labby (1972, 1976) illustrated well the contrast between the old and new lifestyles of Yapese culture. Nowadays on

⁴ *Mitmit* is an extensive system of ceremonial exchanges in Yapese society (Alkire 1977: 43).

⁵ In total there were 16 large volumes (some ran over a thousand pages), 11 of which were related to Micronesia. Each volume contained a section of folktale texts, and some, such as those on Palau, Pohnpei and Yap, devoted an entire volume to the presentation of folktales and songs (Mitchell 1972: 33).

⁶ I use a particular metaphor to describe the encounter between foreign colonisers and local Yapese culture—it was as if Spain purchased a bomb and Germany placed the bomb on Yap. Then Japan lit the fuse, and during the American era, the bomb exploded and caused the collapse of Yapese tradition. This explains how change came from a gradual process, instead of a single movement.

Yap, the people keep trying to find a way to incorporate both their indigenous and modern practices. Although this balancing act may not always be even, the hybridity which results may foster new traditions for future Yapese people. More contemporary cultural and material transformations will be discussed later in the chapter.

The contact history of Orchid Island

Before Orchid Island was colonised by the ‘outside’ world, they used to be a self-sustained and self-governing ethnic group. There were several precolonial contacts with other peoples according to the written record, which were soon included into the territory of China during the Qing dynasty. In this section, I will discuss the contact history of Orchid Island in three periods: The Qing Dynasty Empire; Japanese authority; and Chinese/Taiwanese governance.

The Qing Dynasty Empire

The historical records that have been found about Orchid Island include a map produced by the Japanese in 1607–1608 called ‘Tabako.’ In 1618, during the rule of the Ming Dynasty (one dynasty prior to the Qing), the first Chinese record of Orchid Island appeared in official documentation.⁷ But it was not until two and a half centuries later that Orchid Island was marked out in Chinese territory. Orchid Island was called ‘Red Bean Island’ or ‘Red Head Island’ according to a direct Chinese translation. Later, during the period when the Netherlands occupied Taiwan between 1624 and 1662, Orchid Island was named ‘Botel’ by the Dutch. A Dutch missionary, Francois Valenlyn, named Orchid Island as t’Eyl Groot Tabaco, and little Orchid Island as t’Eyl Klyn Tabaco. Subsequently, in Europe, ‘Botel-Tabago’ was broadly used to refer to Orchid Island. A book about the Qing Empire during the seventeenth century describes Orchid Island as ‘Tabaco Xima’ (Hsu 1999; Lin 1958).

Orchid Island first became officially recorded as part of the Qing Empire territory in 1877 and was placed under the governance of Heng-chun County. However neither governors nor army were sent to the island. This county only lasted from 1875 to 1895 when the Japanese took over Taiwan. The Qing Empire had started to take an interest in the nearby islands of Taiwan because of military concerns. The Qing Empire had emphasised the interests of the indigenous peoples in Taiwan since 1874 (according to Lian Heng’s *General History of Taiwan*, 1918). Even though Green Island (an island close to Orchid Island), and Orchid Island were both southeast of Taiwan, the Qing

⁷ Here, I focus on Orchid Island only. Taiwan, the main island, is excluded here.

Empire was afraid that the islands might be occupied by the nearby enemy, and thus they thought it was necessary to be on guard against outside intrusions.

In the early document records that were presented by visiting officials to the Qing Dynasty, there was a brief description of the people of Orchid Island. In it, the people were described as wearing cloth to cover only the lower part of their bodies. Their language was not identifiable, but they were hospitable to the new visitors and were in good shape to do labour. When the visitors left the island, the Tao people gave lambs and coconuts as presents. But the islanders were still regarded as barbarians, and the visitors requested a generous person go to the island and teach them good manners (cited in Lin 1958: 13). According to another document (presented two months later to the Qing Empire), it was said that the people on Orchid Island were ‘tame and gentle,’ and that whenever there was a ship wrecked nearby Orchid Island, the people would go out and rescue them with no ‘sinister intentions’ (cited in Lin 1958: 17). Later, according to an atlas map depicting Taiwanese territory in 1879,⁸ there was a description of Orchid Island as a barren island inhabited by barbarians that lived underground and wore no clothes. The people looked like the indigenous inhabitants of Taiwan while the language was similar to that of Oceania, although the writer could not tell the reason why this was so. In 1894, in the Heng-chun County Annals, it was also recorded that the language used on Orchid Island was different from the rest of Taiwan’s indigenous peoples. Some trading boats passed by for exchange (but it did not state from where they had come) and it was said that there were no ships on the island, but only wooden boats in use. The indigenous coloured canoe was recorded in this document. From oral records in Heng-chun County Annals, it was said that some Tao people drifted to Heng-chun before 1875 and were killed by rebels. The survivors stole a raft and disappeared into the ocean (cited in Lin 1958: 3–4).

Japanese authority

The year 1895 was a crucial time in foreshadowing the separation of Taiwan from China. The Treaty of Shimonoseki was signed in Japan between the Empire of Japan and the Qing Empire marking the end of the First Sino–Japanese War. Under Clause 2.2 of the treaty, the authority over Taiwan and its affiliated islands was transferred to Japan. Since Orchid Island was officially claimed in 1877 as Qing Empire territory, it was ceded to Japan as well. In the same way that Yap was sold by the Spanish to the

⁸ Taiwan territory atlas map (台灣輿圖、恆春縣輿圖), from the later reprinted version Qingqi Huang (2010).

Germans, Taiwan (including Orchid Island) was transferred between colonial powers as the result of a treaty. The islanders' inclination in this transference was not sought and, presumably, they had no power to oppose the decision. According to the treaty, Taiwan was to become Japanese territory for eternal use and Japan exploited Taiwan extensively.

Orchid Island caught the attention of Japanese anthropologists, as did other areas in Taiwan that were inhabited by indigenous peoples. There were many anthropologists sent to Taiwan to record and investigate the unique culture of the indigenous peoples there. The attitude of Japan towards Orchid Island, at first, was to secure it as an anthropological 'human zoo' for Japanese research just as other Taiwan indigenous groups.⁹ The Japanese decided the policy was

not to impose on the Yami a foreign ready-made culture but rather to provide him [*sic*] with improved apparatus both material and intellectual, and then, by means of gently applied economic stimulus, induce him of his own free will to extend and modify his traditional culture in the manner best suited to the changing conditions (Leach 1937: 434).

Unlike what happened on the main island, Taiwan, the Japanese stopped all missionaries and traders from reaching Orchid Island—and this prohibition included the introduction tobacco and liquor. Hence, daily life and culture on Orchid Island remained virtually undisturbed during the Japanese period (Yu 1991: 3).

In 1896, one year after the Japanese arrived, there was a regulation applied to visitors to Orchid Island. All vessels visiting Orchid Island had to seek the permission of the Taitō Prefecture; otherwise they would be punished (cited in Lin 1958: 33). From as early as 1896, Torii Ryūzō, the famous Japanese anthropologist gained permission and went to Taiwan many times during Japanese rule to investigate the indigenous peoples. His research included the Tao on Orchid Island. He is thought to be the first person to take cameras to the island and he captured the first photographic images of Orchid Island. Several of his published writings were regarded as crucial sources for the first official recorded history of Orchid Island. He stayed two months on the island and named the ethnic group there 'Yami,' and this ethnic name remains today (see Li, Dong and Ma 2002: 9–13). In 1897, Kanori Ino went to Orchid Island and published some documents about the island as well. A few decades after these anthropologists, towards

⁹ Anthropological 'human zoo' was a phrase first mentioned in 1910's when Paiwan ethnic group attended The Japan-British Exhibition in 1910. The photographs taken at that time was given the title of 'human zoo' later showed in the special broadcast on NHK. The concept of a human zoo or so-called ethnological expositions allude to how the Japanese prevented "contamination" from the mainstream society in order to document the 'authenticity' of indigenous groups during that time.

the end of Japanese rule, Tadao Kano and Kokichi Segawa's did research on the island and this material is an important historical source, as well as their book published in English in 1956.¹⁰

The Japanese set up a police station in 1901 and sent three police officers to Orchid Island—later the presence was increased to four. By that time passenger ships visited Orchid Island once or twice per month (after a one-night stopover at Green Island). The ship normally could not dock at the port on Orchid Island because of the reefs or bad weather. Large 10-person paddling *alimavang* canoes (described by Xiongxiang Lin as the 'canoe from a dream land') were used to shuttle passengers from the ship to the island (cited in Lin 1958: 38). In 1923, the Japanese set up an elementary school called the 'indigenous children's education centre' for Tao students to attend. The Japanese also set up a weather station on top of the mountain in 1940, and built some roads. The locals were used as free labour in all these construction projects.

Two of my interlocutors (one male and one female, both born before 1930) could still recall Japanese rule in the 1930s. My oldest male interlocutor, Syapen Kotan,¹¹ remembered attending Japanese school at around 13 years of age for a few years and learning some Japanese. The Japanese set up school classes not based on age, but on height. Till today he can do maths quite well because of this education he received during the Japanese period. Now a great-grandfather, Syapen Kotan still remembers the bullets 'coming down like rain' during World War II, and having to hide in the trenches. Once a random flight that passed by Orchid Island dropped bombs on the shore. He was in the ocean searching for food and one stray bullet exploded close to him and he fainted. Overall, Syapen Kotan enjoyed the Japanese more than the Chinese officials who replaced them, because he felt that the Chinese controlled their lives too much. During the Japanese period it was better for him because he could still go fishing and farm freely (Interviews with Syapen Kotan, Orchid Island, May–June 2013).

However, my oldest female interlocutor, also called Syapen Kotan, had a different opinion about Japanese and Chinese dominance. She felt the Japanese beat the villagers very often and took all their food. When the passenger ship did not come on time, the islanders would have nothing to eat because the Japanese took whatever food they

¹⁰ The book was completed in the late 1920s or early 1930s. However, due to World War II, the first edition of this book was completely destroyed. The reprint was completed sometime after the war with the precise year unknown.

¹¹ In fact, due to the naming system, both female and male great-grandparents are called Syapen Kotan. Therefore, there might be hundreds of elders named Syapen Kotan throughout the island, especially after the increase in life expectancy. These two interlocutors both named Syapen Kotan (and both bereft of their spouses) are not a couple, they are from different villages.

saw—especially fish. This situation was reversed under Chinese rule because the Chinese brought a lot of food and clothes to the island. She also remembered that in the last years of Japanese colonisation, she was pregnant with her first child; nevertheless, the Japanese took her husband away for military training to Taiwan for approximately one year. She remembered that when her husband returned, their first child could walk. The Japanese also removed women from the island for training but she did not go because she was pregnant. It was very tough for an expectant mother to go farming or to collect crabs, and sometimes she did not have anything to eat. I asked my translator to confirm why each person had such different experiences, and then my oldest female interlocutor explained, ‘Because we lived in a different tribe, the Japanese treated our tribe very badly and they even requested that we go and work for another tribe’ (Interview with Syapen Kotan, Orchid Island, June 2013).¹²

Japan lost the second Sino–Japanese War and surrendered to China in 1945. In the Treaty of Peace with Japan (also known as the Treaty of San Francisco) signed in 1951, the legal status of Taiwan was discussed and the US argued for the independence of Taiwan. In any case, Japan officially withdrew their authority in Taiwan after this treaty. Neither the People’s Republic of China nor the Republic of China (Taiwan) was invited to this event due to a disagreement between the US and the UK. When the Japanese ceded Taiwan, their control over Orchid Island also came to an end.

Taiwanese/Chinese governance

In fact, Japan did not specifically cede Taiwan to any other authority but just renounced its sovereignty over Taiwan. After the Sino–Japanese War, the government of the Republic of China proclaimed Taiwan Retrocession Day on 25 October 1945. By the end of 1949, the government of the Republic of China moved from China to Taiwan due to their weakened power vis-à-vis the Communists at that time. After that, people in Taiwan generally regarded it as the beginning of a new era. I call this era the Kuo Min Tang (the Chinese Nationalist Party/KMT) government period.

In January 1946, three months after the Japanese ceded Taiwan, Orchid Island was renamed the ‘Red Head Island County’ (according to direct translation). Later, the name was changed to ‘Lanyu County’ (directly translated as ‘Orchid Island County’).

¹² She meant ‘village’ but the local term is ‘tribe,’ however, it does not mean ethnic group.

This was because, a long time ago, the island used to have some rare orchids that no longer exist.¹³

Building on research in Japan, an Orchid Island scholarly investigation team was formed which recruited scholars from Academia Sinica, the National Taiwan University and various museums. The book by H. Wei and B. Liu (1962) from Academia Sinica was one of the earliest and most thorough pieces of research about Tao culture written in Chinese. During the mid-1940s, Christianity came to the island and had a great impact on the islanders. The Christian religion became a crucial part of the islanders' lives. In the beginning, the churches gave out free food and clothes to attract the islanders, and gradually the people turned from their indigenous beliefs to Christianity. This process will be discussed in more detail in a later section.

During Chinese colonial rule, Chinese officials imitated the Japanese by setting up police stations and schools. The development of the island continued during the 1950s, and a large area of land on Orchid Island was used to establish cattle ranches for settling demobilised Chinese soldiers. These ranches caused countless problems for the villagers with the cattle uprooting their crops (Yu 1991: 3). In 1958, the Chinese KMT government set up the first off-shore prison on Orchid Island. The concrete road built around the island was dug by the prisoners at that time. However, there were some incidents in which soldiers, inmates on furlough for good behaviour, or runaway prisoners, stole the locals' property and raped women (ibid.). One of my female interlocutors was raped by a Taiwanese soldier when she was young and became pregnant with her first child as a result. But she talked very little about this sad story. In the 1970s and 1980s, the first batch of islanders who had graduated from the universities in Taiwan gradually returned and this educated generation was strongly opposed to having a prison on the island. As a result, in 1987 the government decided to move the soldiers and inmates from Orchid Island to the prison on Green Island. The ruins of the abandoned prison remain on the island as a grim reminder.

From 1966 to 1980, the Chinese government forced the islanders to tear down their indigenous houses and to move to 'modern housing' based on governmental policy. Now, there are only two tribes with only very few people still use indigenous housing. In 1967, Orchid Island was officially opened to the public with some tourists coming

¹³ In the 1940s, the orchid species on Orchid Island won first prize in an international florist competition. Thus, it was given the name Orchid Island (Yu and Dong 1998: 14). Sadly, the competition success made the flower on Orchid Island too famous internationally, and many people came to harvest and sell the plant. The orchids were wiped out and, just a few years after the award, Orchid Island became an island without orchids.

from mainland Taiwan. It had a great impact on the Islanders. The Islanders used to be very hospitable to outsiders. The host lady with whom I was staying in the Iratay tribe remembered that when she was little, many tourists (mainly from mainland Taiwan) just walked into their house without asking and even put their fingers into the soup they were eating. The respect that tourists gave the locals diminished even further over subsequent years, and the Islanders formed very bad impressions of the tourists.

In 1968, a concrete seaport was built and, in 1969, the first and only junior high school was established. In 1970 the first tourist hotel opened on the island. Since 1972, there have been regular ships and flights from Taiwan to and from Orchid Island. In 1982 the first barrels of nuclear waste reached Orchid Island. The islanders were fooled into thinking that a canning factory was being set up, until they realised that the ‘can’ was not like one they could get from the store—but over-sized barrels carrying toxic waste. By that time the site was nearly completed. From April 1996 the national government has stopped any more barrels from entering Orchid Island, but the earlier barrels remain on the island, with no specific time agreed regarding when they will be removed completely.

Material, cultural and social transformations

After discussing the historical background of the two island groups, I will now focus on the material, cultural and social transformations that have occurred on the islands and, especially, their effects on canoe use. The transformation of indigenous canoe usage as well as the massive social changes on both Orchid Island and the islands throughout Yap State can be attributed to colonisation. Hence my previous review of colonisation history was crucial. Marksby indicated that, ‘needless to say, culture and society are constantly changing. However, when unique forces are at work in determining such changes, they must be accounted for’ (1979: 195). The domination by a foreign colonial power, bringing with it political and religious change, has resulted in a combination of old and new cultures and practices which continue to have ramifications on the islands’ inhabitants today. Culture is always changing, but the forceful impact of foreign administrators has accelerated that cultural and social change.

Lawrence Millman and Art Brewer (1999: 89) found that despite their informants (and their ancestors) having used German currency, Japanese yen and then American dollars, throughout the entire period, *rai* (stone money) has remained, and still remains, valuable. When a store was established, stone money (though being the best currency for indigenous peoples) could no longer be used for payment to purchase anything from

the store. Yap (colonised by the Spanish in 1885) and Orchid Island (colonised by the Qing Empire in 1877) faced common issues in this regard. William Alkire (1977: 90) refers to the cultural changes in Micronesia precipitated by contact with metropolitan powers as having varied from island to island. He argues that commercial enterprises led to increasingly frequent contact with Micronesians that inevitably brought about many social and cultural changes.

Tradition and modernity are two terms in relation to social and cultural change but they do not constitute a dichotomy. It is hard to separate the traditional from the modern. Rather, the culture that now exists on these islands is a hybrid of traditional and modern beliefs and practices.¹⁴ Here I intend to use the terms (traditional and modern) to classify the difference between past and present as well as indigenous and introduced.¹⁵ Scholars have examined this hybridity, such as Sherwood Lingenfelter's statement about Yap:

Yapese mix and match traditional and new alternatives to plan the most promising strategies for political success and to find the most satisfying solutions to their contemporary problems. The ideal solutions combine the best of both worlds, but reality finds the new alternatives gradually, but certainly, eroding the foundations of tradition (1975a: 193).

The fluid nature of cultural change means that the culture we see today is the outcome of countless changes in the past. In this section, I differentiate between modern and traditional/indigenous practices when referring to the usage of canoes.

Many scholars have previously examined cultural and social change on Yap.¹⁶ A broader understanding of the historical background of both Yap and Orchid Island is important to situate the research within the social and cultural contexts of these islands, combining specific elements with the broader conditions in mutual interactions.

In the following section, I discuss three major factors that have been influenced by colonisation which affected both islands socially and culturally, and which transformed

¹⁴ The hybrid idea I use here is specifically a 'cultural hybrid,' following the idea that Brian Stross identifies in his article 'The Hybrid Metaphor: From Biology to Culture.' He defines the cultural hybrid as

a metaphorical broadening of this biological definition. It can be a person who represents the blending of traits from diverse cultures or traditions, or even more broadly it can be a culture, or element of culture, derived from unlike sources; that is, something heterogeneous in origin or composition (1999: 2).

¹⁵ As a matter of fact, these terms are not commonly used. Instead 'new' and 'old' are the most general description used by Islanders in Yap. A similar situation happens on Orchid Island where 'local' is used to replace 'indigenous'.

¹⁶ See Price's PhD dissertation (1975) and Lingenfelter's book (1975a). Marksby's dissertation on the transformation on Yap is useful but it mainly focuses on the land and *tabinaw* system (1979). Alkire's (1977) and Hezel's (2001) works describe broader transformations in Micronesia.

indigenous canoe usage as a result. These are the cash economy, religion and emigration. Moreover, I explore the cultural hybridity resulting from these factors in Yap State and Orchid Island.

From stone money to paper notes: The introduction of the cash economy

The reliance upon a cash economy in both places was first established by the colonial power of Japan. Both Yap and Orchid Island had been under Japanese rule before World War II (Orchid Island for about 50 years; Yap for around 40 years), during which time a cash economy was introduced to the islands. Yet this new economic structure did not have a distinct impact until after World War II, and especially during the second half of the twentieth century. Francis Hezel suggests that wage employment sharply rose in the 1970s (2001: 145; Rubinstein 1991: 1–2; Rubinstein and Levin 1992: 351). Price's 1975 study identifies the effects of wage labour upon Yapese society and culture as well as the significant changes that have occurred in a society that was once based upon subsistence horticulture and fishing. He argues that Yap, 'was not forced through coercion to change; change has been brought about by the massive input of cash from the US' (6). It was not until the mid-1950s that both areas started to confront radical changes. On Yap in 1956, an island-wide referendum approved the importation of beer and food, as well as the creation of a number of jobs and educational opportunities. This had unintended consequences such as introducing problems like drunkenness, delinquency and crime (Lingenfelter 1975a: 188; Price 1975: 4–5). Also, with the imposition of a foreign economic and socio-political organisation, Yapese workers had to reside temporarily in town or commute to their village each night or on weekends 'using the new road system and public and private automobiles or outboard motor boats' (Hunter-Anderson 1983: 24). This suggests that new forms of transportation reduced the need for indigenous canoes.

Both Yap (including the Yap outer islands) and Orchid Island were once self-sustaining societies, with men fishing and women managing agriculture—a lifestyle which had ensured their survival for centuries. Every household in these areas had direct access to the basic resources for sustaining life whether on the land or in the sea. However, with the coming of imported commodities and new lifestyles, people in both areas started to rely on the cash economy. Lingenfelter states that younger families, particularly those who had commitments to paid work and were a part of the new cash economy, found traditional restrictions 'cumbersome and quietly disregarded them' (1975a: 24). It seems that paid work and customary obligations could often contradict

each other. Once Islanders decided to work for a monetary wage, they no longer had enough time or motivation to engage in traditional labour such as fishing or plantation work (Price 1975: 37). For example, Lingenfelter (n.d.: 2) described how people who were unable to find work through traditional means, worked instead in town and bought fish for the family. Thus, working for money and buying food emerged as a new way of life.¹⁷

Even though some people started to move from traditional to paid work, shifting from stone money to coins and paper notes was not that easy in the beginning, especially on Yap. Bizarre contradictions often happened. David Hanlon (1998: 60) gave an example of how two Yapese school teachers from Gagil who were compensated for their work with stone money and later went to the ITC store to trade goods were unable to transact the purchase since the old currency was not recognised in the store. The same issue also appeared on Orchid Island, when modern stores started to operate in the villages. Store owners demanded cash instead of agate, seafood and other local products. However, I did hear of special cases whereby some stores run by locals would still accept the indigenous barter method of exchange.¹⁸

In terms of regarding canoes as commodities, it is true that Yapese canoe building skills faded faster than on the outer islands. The book *Yap Our Island* (Ninth Grade Intermediate School 1956: 29, 154) makes it clear that in the 1950s not all Yapese knew how to build canoes, and canoes had already become a commodity which people were able buy with stone money, shell money or dollars. By the 1950s, only a certain group of people knew how to build a canoe and even in the ancient past, the canoe building skills on Yap were restricted to some selected and skilled people.¹⁹ Today, only one Yapese master carver still practices canoe building. This is very different from most of the outer islands, such as Lamotrek and Satawal—the two most distant inhabited outer islands of Yap. Until the beginning of the twenty-first century, almost all the adult men

¹⁷ In the 1970s, former governor John Mangefel and one senator from Yap proposed a reduction in working hours to help reduce absenteeism; it would give workers more time to spend with the family and to pursue individual fishing and gardening in order to help ‘to promote a more self-sufficient, locally appropriate form of development’ (see Hanlon 1998: 147).

¹⁸ I personally experienced this once around a decade ago. Two Tao sisters opened a food store and would occasionally accept bartered local goods for food in their store. They would especially consider those who had no family members working to earn cash and therefore granted them an exchange. However, in practice, they could not maintain a balance between the greater amount needed for store rent and their income and thus after six years of business they were forced to close down.

¹⁹ Yap is a different case among all my fieldwork locations. In Orchid Island and outer islands of Yap, all men more or less would have some skills in canoe building in the past whether they were a master carver or not. However, on Yap only a master carver and his entitled apprentices possessed canoe carving skills. More detailed explanation will be given in Chapter Six.

knew how to build a canoe, even if they were not regarded as master carvers or had not completed a canoe on their own. This was because they spent most of their time in the canoe house/men's house and the process of building a canoe was a communal activity where everyone in the village participated (Interview with *Waa'gey* canoe builders, Yap, October 2013). The Yapese tradition of passing down professional skills to certain privileged people has exacerbated the loss of canoe carving skills. For example, navigation and canoe carving was a source of prestige and political power in Yap, and the skill was kept within the family. The only exception was when this knowledge was obtained through payment for the training (Hunter-Anderson and Zan 1996: 14). However, for the Outer Islanders in general, canoe carving was, and still is, expected to be communal work. This will be discussed in more detail later.

Paul D'Arcy explains the similarity in Ulithi:

The use of motorized vessels threatened to make many seafaring skills redundant. Ships' engines operated independently of wind and current, while the compass provided another means of determining direction. Traditional canoes and skills continued to be used as reliable backups when modern technology failed or was unavailable. Some communities that abandoned traditional seafaring for modern shipping and air services found themselves more isolated than before when these services fell victim to commercial realities (2008: 166).

Ulithi is an exception to the other outer islands, being the only outer island in Yap State that has regular flights from Yap once or twice every week,²⁰ and the motor and fibreglass boat numbers are higher than in any of the other outer islands. People tend to use modern boats for transport to Falalop, where the high school and airport are located, and to other atolls. Since the 1970s, the demand for boats has increased and canoes have become less preferred, as my interlocutor from Ulithi recalled. That is also the time when traditional canoe building started to fade (Interview with Helen Salap, Ulithi, October 2013).

On Yap's main islands, people used to trade local commodities for canoes or use traditional currency such as stone or shell money. This can be seen as a kind of purchase of the canoe as a commodity or a purchase of the labourer/experts' work. Yap's main islands have a slightly different tradition in canoe building than the outer islands and Orchid Island. Both the Yap outer islands and Orchid Island treat canoe building as more of a community job instead of a family tradition, since most adult men understand

²⁰ Fais has an airport runway as well; however, there are only irregular flights for special occasions.

how to build a canoe regardless of whether they are a master carver or not. Even though showing respects or paying tributes to whom one learned from is still inevitable. However, on Yap's main islands, the canoe carving skill was kept within specific families so only a small number of people have preserved the skill of canoe building. This means that other Yapese who required a canoe had to go to those master carvers for help. This required a payment for the master's labour and thus the canoe itself became a valuable commodity.

According to a 1950s publication (Ninth Grade Intermediate School 1956: 28–29, 154), sailing skills can be bought in the same way that canoe carving skills are a commodity. The payment would traditionally be some large shell money and one piece of small stone money. Even back in the 1950s, canoes had a high price—a canoe could cost US\$150 and a superior finished one could be about US\$200–US\$250. D'Arcy (2008: 148) also mentions that the Yapese would not only purchase the canoes from their own people, but they also purchased canoes from Woleai, the outer island to the east of Yap. However, nowadays, people tend to find work with a regular wage and purchase a car and fuel rather than relying on a canoe. Cars are much preferred to canoes, as are other products such as imported foods, clothing and electrical appliances which are now considered necessary items (Price 1975: 35).

Canoe sales have continued to occur in some of the outer islands in the last two or three decades. This practice was not common in the past since almost every man was expected to have some canoe-carving skills. Yet for some islands, such as Ulithi, where canoe traditions is very limited nowadays, the people tend to purchase or exchange small canoes from other eastern outer islands. A few of my interlocutors had sold their own canoes or heard of somebody purchasing a canoe from Woleai, Lamotrek or Satawal.

Selling canoes on Orchid Island was not common until the twenty-first century. While canoes are bought and sold in Yap mainly for local fishing, on Orchid Island the canoe is more often sold to a private collector or for an exhibition. Almost none of the canoe sales between Orchid Islanders are conducted for fishing or ceremonial use. Rather, the trade for canoes is mainly between Orchid Islanders and foreigners.

Moreover, since the second half of the twentieth century, collectively both Yap and Orchid Island have shifted to a wage labour mode of living. A large number of local people have started to rely on salaried jobs in order to support their family and to buy imported commodities. Office or wage-earner work has caused people to neglect plantation work, fishing and carving; therefore, these skills have gradually decreased.

Indigenous polytheism vs. monotheism: Religious transformations

Canoes in both Orchid Island and Yap have had strong practical usages, yet Orchid Island canoes have more ceremonial significance than canoes on Yap and its outer islands. With the introduction of western religion, the indigenous ceremonies and beliefs of islanders have been replaced by Christian ideals. Emergent divergences between indigenous polytheism and Christianity have resulted in religious hybridity in some cases and, in other cases, coexisting parallel practices that show several combinations of 'tradition.' One such hybrid practice is the combination of Christ's cross and indigenous spiritual human patterns coexisting on an Orchid Island canoe. Shifts, such as the one explained, have also brought a new ritual significance to the canoe.

Christianity (in general) reached Yap (and the outer islands) before Orchid Island. The first missionary arrived in Ulithi in 1730 but was soon murdered. This understandably made the missionaries cease their activities in this area for over a century. Until June 1886, the Catholic Church located the seat of authority for the Western Carolines in Yap where a Spanish priest of the Capuchin Order had established the first mission. In 1906, the last Spanish missionary left Yap, leaving the German Capuchins in control. However, the early mission venture was not successful. By the early twentieth century there were very few converts (Hengstler 1983: 38–44; Marksby 1979: 206). The rest of the outer islands, especially those in the east, encountered Catholicism half a century after Yap's main islands. In the early 1950s the rate of conversion to Christianity began to increase in these islands (Metzgar 2006: 297). Roman Catholic missionaries visited the outer islands regularly during the Japanese colonial period until US Navy pastors began preaching in the outer islands, and a Jesuit mission station was established on Ulithi. In around 1937, a Spanish Jesuit missionary order began to make the first sizable conversions to Catholicism among the Ulithians (Kuwahara 2003: 5). In 1953, the converted Ulithian chiefs sent two Ulithian deacons to preach to the rest of the outer islands all the way towards Satawal (Ishimori 1987: 275). Despite the relatively recent spread of Christianity in Yap, Catholicism is now deeply embedded within the islands.

As the inhabitants of Yap's outer islands began to convert to Christianity, in May 1951 Presbyterians entered Orchid Island, building a temporary church in Iraraley village. The next day Yayo village built a temporary church as well, and by the end of 1951, all six villages had constructed their own temporary churches. Three years later, in August 1954, Catholic missionaries of the *Societas Missionaria de Bethlehem* (SMB)

arrived on Orchid Island, with goods and materials donated by the church. This was a successful strategy to attract people to attend church in order to get some rice, cloth, or other imported commodities. Initially there was competition between the Presbyterian and Catholic churches in relation to the commodities that were given away, but soon they started to cooperate with each other. Presbyterians and the Catholic SMB became the two largest new religious groups on Orchid Island until 1996 when the True Jesus Church reached Orchid Island (Sinan-Jyavizong 2009: 155–80).

Orchid Islanders began to use a decorative pattern of the cross on their canoes as a symbol of their belief in Christianity. This has resulted in a material hybridity between Christianity and the ancestral spirits, with both patterns coexisting on the canoes. In 2010, when I was on Orchid Island participating in their *Mivanowa* (at the shore) ceremony,²¹ I encountered a ‘disagreement’ between indigenous canoe rituals and Christian rites. This happened in the two villages that were situated on opposite sides of the current airport location. One of the villages had less than 30 participants present that morning, and when I enquired why, I was told that one of the churches in this village discouraged its believers from participating in *Mivanowa* because there is only one God and the believers should not pray to other ancestral or spiritual deities. Meanwhile, the other village had decided to advance the date of their *Mivanowa* because, according to their indigenous calendar, this day fell on a Sunday, which was not considered appropriate because it was when most of the people would attend church services. Therefore, to avoid the clash with Christian ceremonies, the people in the village decided to advance their *Mivanowa* ceremony one day to a Saturday in order to avoid the Sabbath. These are examples of friction between church and indigenous rituals. However, some responded by elevating the church’s rituals and beliefs above the ancestral indigenous customs, while others found a balance between them.

Evidence of Christian rituals replacing indigenous ones was visible in the Iranmeylek community, which completed the building of a large canoe in July 2013. Funded and owned by a community association, there was no single canoe owner, and hence while praying for the canoe, there was no one to lead the group in the traditional prayer. Finally, the association had a meeting to suggest using a general Christian prayer appropriate to any church. However, some tribal elders contested this idea

²¹ This traditional ritual is the first ceremony of the flying fish season. Most men who own or belong to a canoe group will go to the shore and participate. Those not participating, such as females or small children, can still watch from the shore. This ceremony is very important because it represents a good start to the season and brings good luck for fishing throughout the whole year. After this ceremony, any able-bodied man can begin to catch flying fish.

because it contravened the traditions of canoe building. The younger generation argued with the older generation over a long period about this issue, until the elders conceded and agreed to have a Christian ritual since it was a community association project, rather than a family-owned canoe (Interview with Si Jyaninik, Orchid Island, July 2013).

In Yap (and its outer islands), canoe design has not changed due to the influence of Christianity, but hybridity is visible when Christian prayers take place at the indigenous rituals and ceremonies associated with canoes. Early Catholic preachers attempted to modify Yapese beliefs in regard to magic, spirits and ghosts, as did the early Capuchins and the Jesuits. This led to the discouragement of Yapese from participating in rituals and ceremonies involving spirit propitiation which acknowledged spirits and ancestral ghosts (Marksbury 1979: 208). With the growth of Christian baptism, indigenous beliefs in spirit propitiation have declined severely.

During my stay on Yap in 2013 and 2014, I participated in daily canoe building with the non-profit *Waa'gey* group who are originally from the outer islands of Yap, especially Lamotrek and Satawal. Before and after work, the men's group generally says prayers; however, today the indigenous prayers have been totally replaced by Catholic ones. Paulino Gelawmai (who was originally from Satawal and later married into Lamotrek) remarked that nowadays older taboo prohibitions have been eliminated, so he always prays in the Christian way before and after his work. He did not learn the traditional way of praying and neither did most other people of his generation. Moreover, most people on the outer islands have converted to Catholicism, and hence praying in the Catholic way is considered equal to traditional methods of asking for harmony and smooth work throughout the day (Interview with Paulino Gelawmai, Yap, October 2013).

The effect of the new Christian religion on indigenous ancestral rituals can also be seen in the film *The Navigators: Pathfinders of the Pacific*, which documents Mau Pailug and his island of Satawal. Even the honoured navigator Pailug used Christian prayers before, during, and after his voyages, visiting the small chapel of West Fayu with the film crew. According to the film, it could have been as early as the 1970s, or even earlier, that indigenous rituals which drew on indigenous spirit propitiation for navigation were replaced by Christian practices. It was clearly different for Hijikata Hisakatsu in the 1930s, who wrote a travel diary about his time on Satawal and a canoe voyage to West Fayu. According to his account, at that time western religion had not penetrated the outer islands and hence the local prayers and rituals of canoe builders and navigators were untainted by Christianity (Hijikata 1997: 151). But Shuzo Ishimori,

when doing his research on *Roong* (secret knowledge), stated that since mass conversion to Christianity on Satawal in 1983, the traditional knowledge was ‘no longer socially utilized and the taboo on instruction has been lifted’ (1997: 267). He also indicated that traditional religion had been abandoned since the mass conversion to Christianity because ‘Catholic priests prohibit the performance of rituals. The chanting of magical formulae is strictly banned’ (Ishimori 1987: 275).

In the film *Spirits of The Voyage* about *Pwo* ritual revival in Lamotrek, it was mentioned that in the early 1950s the Lamotrek community had converted to Christianity. However, the director stressed that the belief in island ghosts and spirits still survived in various degrees and forms as ‘superstitions.’ Traditionally, the spiritual world played an active part in all aspects of the lives of islanders. In discussing the persistence of Central Carolinian navigation, especially on Satawal and Polowat, writers also claim that ‘po [*pwo*] and many other aspects of navigation involving belief in and reverence for traditional spirits were discontinued when Christianity became established in the region in the 1940s and 1950s’ (Gladwin 1970; Ridgell, Ikea and Uruo 1994: 183).

On Polowat, there was once an incident which caused the indigenous taboos and rituals, as well as other former spiritual beliefs, to be abandoned by the people. Thomas Gladwin (1970: 19) noted that the truly great navigator Winin of Polowat was converted to Catholicism, and decided to test indigenous spiritual beliefs and western beliefs to find out which conviction was more powerful and should be followed. His experiment was to disregard taboos and prohibitions about sexual activity, food and other former rituals and precautions. Winin eventually set out with a small crew for a distant voyage, he returned safely with his crew to report no bad effects from his journey. Winin’s experimental seafaring therefore convinced many other people to drop their indigenous beliefs and regulations at that time.

Even though indigenous beliefs became of lesser importance to the islanders, there was an embedding ritual between indigenous traditions and Christianity, where the *pwo* ceremony was used as a metaphor at a priest’s ordination. In June 2002 a ‘*pwo*-ordination’ was performed on Satawal by Mau Piailug for Kenneth Urumolug who was ordained as a Roman Catholic priest. His ordination was performed in the Catholic Church on Satawal followed by an abbreviated *pwo* ceremony to suggest that Urumolug also became an initiated ‘spiritual navigator’ (Metzgar 2006: 300).²²

²² However Piailug was critical of the performance of a *pwo* ceremony in this circumstance. He felt it was an inappropriate use of the *pwo* ritual. However, he confessed that he had no choice about performing the

Although both Orchid Island and Yap State have had high rates of conversion to Christianity, there is criticism from some locals about how Christianity has contributed to the loss or abandonment of indigenous practices and customs. Tao writer Syaman Rapongan was often critical in his own work, arguing that Han–Chinese education as well as western Christianity were not the only sources of truth for all ethnicities. As he explained:

Religious groups have bureaucratic functions, and accordingly [introduced religions] defeated those traditional beliefs especially in the areas with no writing systems, [and our traditional belief system was] stigmatized into ‘superstition’ (I suggest it should be renamed as ‘ethnical science’) (2014: 16).

According to H.Y. Huang, ‘Both Syaman Rapongan and Epeli Hau’ofa challenge the adequacy of a nation-based paradigm, using Oceanic vocabulary and insular metaphors’ (2010: 17). Hau’ofa surely emphasises that the ocean is not insular and isolating. This sentiment was expressed by Mau Piailug, according to his nephew: ‘Like many island elders, he [Piailug] believed Western religious practices and schools contributed to the rapid erosion of cultural arts and sciences that have kept the Pacific Island cultures alive for generations’ (see Jaynes and Raffiپی 2010).

Diaspora: Emigration from Yap State and Orchid Island

The populations on the smallest islands in the Pacific tend to be very fluid due to their mobility, which has been part of their rapid adaptation to the modern world. The ‘floating’ population includes those who are mobile and tend to seek educational opportunities, jobs and medical services abroad. This kind of mobility started to increase from a short term stay to a longer or permanent emigration after the mid-twentieth century. Moreover, the regular routes of large-capacity aircraft to the islands made migration much easier than before. The airplane routes created more linkage between certain islands while cutting off other linkages.²³ Leaving the island also catalyses an alienation from tradition to some extent, and certainly has resulted in the loss of canoe carving, canoe use and navigation.

The case of Yap is unique since the national government of the FSM signed a Compact of Free Association with the United States in 1986. This agreement grants

pwo ceremony because it was the wish of the chief of Satawal, the island community and the Catholic church (Metzgar 2006: 300).

²³ This includes choosing to go elsewhere on a plane from Yap. The traveller has to either fly through Guam or Palau. Even if flying from Yap State to Chuuk, Pohnpei or Kosrae State, transit through Guam is a necessity.

Micronesians entry to the United States to reside and work, and has contributed to a large Micronesian emigration (Hezel 2001: 145). People from the outer islands of Yap tend to move around when they reach high school age since there are only two high schools on Woleai and Ulithi among all the outer islands. They may even come to Yap's main islands or go to other states for schooling. Many outer Islanders have to come to Yap's main islands for medical services, as medical facilities are limited in the outer atolls. However, according to Hezel,

[O]uter island Yapese, who had limited opportunities in Yap or on their own highly traditional islands, were the only ethnic group other than Palauans to reside in the United States in any significant numbers during the early 1980s (Hezel 2001: 144).

Those on Yap's main islands and some outer islands have moved to other states in FSM, other places in Micronesia, such as Palau, Guam, Saipan and beyond to Hawai'i and the US (see Price 1975: 35–36), seeking a higher level of education or job opportunities.

This trend also occurs on Orchid Island as islanders, eager for a better standard of high school education, tend to attend school mostly in Taitung County or other places in Taiwan. For students who wish to attend college or university, there is no such service on Orchid Island. The same predicament applies for those seeking better job opportunities. This results in a high degree of mobility within the islands. People often start to migrate from a smaller island to a larger island, and then to an even larger island or to the mainland. This phenomenon is seen throughout all the smaller islands where people seek a different and modern lifestyle. Hence, the migration of peoples diminishes canoe usage as well. Fewer men remain on the island which means a reduced production of canoes which directly limits the usage of canoes for fishing or voyaging. The number of canoes and the frequency of canoe voyages are thus declining in Yap's islands and Orchid Island.

For people in Yap and Yap's outer islands, the reasons for emigration are very similar to those in Orchid Island—namely to find better jobs, or to seek higher education or better health services elsewhere. This trend of emigration is closely tied to Islanders' growing reliance on the cash economy. Nowadays, with the convenience of modern transportation returning home is easier, with people often travelling home for special occasions. As Hezel suggests:

The exchange of goods and money and the flow of persons back and forth across the 'high way' stretching from the home islands to faraway destinations in the United States, sometimes resulting in the return of longtime migrants, are clear indications that migrants do not make a decisive break with their homeland when they move overseas. They still

belong to their home islands ... They are the international wing of a people distributed from one end of the Pacific to the other (Hezel 2001: 154).

The trend of emigration coming from Yap and the outer islands, and also Orchid Island, increased in the twenty-first century. There is no sign of the emigration rate going down and only a few decades from now, it is highly possible the home islands where the islanders originated will have even smaller populations. Canoe building, sailing and paddling might or might not continue in the new places where the Islanders settle. Some ongoing projects or organisations started to notice this looming problem and carried out works relevant to canoe preservation. In Chapter Four I will pursue a further examination and discussion of the contemporary status of canoes based on my field research.

Material transformations: Are the canoes different?

The transformation of canoes is not only visible in their usage but also in canoe building itself. Current canoe design in both my research areas has seen the material transformation on the canoe itself, in canoe sails, canoe colouring and the tools used for construction. There are common design elements for canoe design in the Pacific Islands generally, as well as other maritime societies. William Alkire has noted that these obvious similarities, ‘especially in material items (tools, utensils, canoe types, design motifs, etc.), undoubtedly spread through diffusion’ (1977: 86) due to the close relation of the Caroline and Marshall Islands.

First, sails are evident in many (but not all) of the canoes in Yap and Orchid Islands. On Orchid Island, according to Kano and Segawa’s research in the 1940s, the sails of the canoes were commonly made from abaca and ‘hoisted on the prow of a boat, either large or small’ (1956: 294). Yet during my ten years of observation on Orchid Island, I have never seen a canoe with a sail except for the recent revitalisation canoe project *Si Mangavang*. This canoe was designed with a sail constructed from the fibre crop *ramie* using indigenous weaving methods, then patterned with dye from plants native to Orchid Island. It is also important to note that as early as Torii’s 1902 publication (Torii and Lin 2016: 68), he already stated that during his 70 days stay on Orchid Island, he has never seen anyone using a sail. Hence we could assume that sails were already not in regular use in the very beginning of the 20th century. The host family I stayed with in Iraley village showed me a sail that had been collected from their neighbours around 20 years previously. That sail had been used and was possibly 30 years old. The textile was similar to nylon, like the material used for rice bags, without

any pattern on it. The sail was not coloured, was roughly 100 by 150 centimetres in size, and was thus thought to be used for a smaller canoe. According to my interlocutors, some tribes stopped using sails in canoes more than half a century ago while two of the villages on the west side of the island abandoned canoe sails only 30 to 40 years ago. Nearly all my discussants mentioned that the vanishing of canoe sails was because there was no longer any need to go long distances by canoe and, hence, sails were no longer necessary.



Figure 23. Left. The sail displayed at the University of Guam's Leon Guerrero College of Business and Public Administration Building

Figure 24. Right. During the Festpac opening when *Lucky Star* came into the channel using the traditional pandanus sail.

Source. Photographed by © Karen Tu, May and June 2016

Orchid Islanders regarded canoe sails as a part of the canoe and hence it was men's work to do the weaving or cutting the sail. On Yap and its outer islands, canoe sails are still in use. Traditionally pandanus leaves were used for the sail with coconut rope for the thread to tie it. In Yap and the outer islands it is considered to be weaving work and therefore women are in charge of it. Before foreigners arrived in Yap, only pandanus or other kinds of fibre were used for the sails. But in the 1950s some pandanus-leaf sails were beginning to be replaced with canvas which could easily be bought (Ninth Grade Intermediate School 1956: 27–28). According to Gladwin's (1970: 124) research on Puluwat (Polowat), the replacement of woven pandanus sails with cloth was an innovation after World War II because modern textiles were more efficient and durable as well as being lighter and more manageable, especially when wet. Nowadays, of all the sailing canoes that exist on Yap Island, no matter what style, there are no pandanus sails in use. However, some outer islands in Yap still pass on the pandanus sail weaving skill, such as the recent sailing of the *waterage* canoe *Lucky Star*

which used a traditional pandanus sail to journey to Guam for the opening of Festpac 2016 (see Figures 23 and 24).²⁴

Second, the traditional colours of canoes in both Yap and Orchid Islands were the same—red, black and white. These colours were from the local resources that people could access daily on their islands. Red is from red dirt (lateritic soil), black from soot scraped from boiling pots, coal and ashes, and white is from lime and shell (Kano and Segawa 1956: 286). On Orchid Island, red is used for keels, white for the concave carved parts of the canoe, and black for the convex carved parts, although there is some variety according to the painters' whim (Tian 2002: 235). These natural colours would easily fade once exposed to the water and since, in the past, canoes were frequently used, the owner of the canoe had to repaint the canoe regularly to keep its colour. With the arrival of imported paint and waterproof chemical dyes, the traditional natural colouring was generally abandoned because of its inconvenience.



Figure 25. Male Syapen Kotan's canoe follows the traditional colours of black, red and white. However, he deliberately chose to paint his *tatala* blue inside because it was more colourful and prettier in his view

Source. Photographed by © Karen Tu, May 2013

²⁴ There is a sad but poignant story behind this sail. The master weaver Maria Labushmai was said to be around 90 and on her deathbed when she passed down her traditional pandanus sail weaving skill to the younger women in Lamotrek. Around 15 younger women came to learn and they joined the sail weaving class (it was not really a class activity, but it was a village activity). Two weeks later Labush passed away taking this traditional skill with her—but it lives on in those who learned from her. This particular sail was on display at the University of Guam after Festpac so the crew on *Lucky Star* used a canvas sail to sail back to Lamotrek (Personal communication with Esther Letalimepiy Siugwemal, Guam, May 2016; Baza 2016).

One of my interlocutors, the male Syapen Kotan on Orchid Island, who is in his mid-80s, said he never uses the traditional colouring on his own canoes but had seen his elders using it when he was little. Although there is some variety in the choice of paint colours nowadays, people in both of my research locations still predominantly keep to the traditional three colours (see Figure 25). Interestingly, there was a recorded incident of why people from Satawal started to use new colours on their canoes. During his stay, Stephen Thomas (2009: 143) recorded that there was once a cargo ship stuck on the reef close to Satawal, and there were gallons of yellow and black paint on it. The Satawalese sailed over and made good use of the paints, thus the canoes on Satawal changed their colour from the traditional red and black to yellow and black (see Figure 26).



Figure 26. This Ulithian canoe is now painted with new colours with water-proof paint. This canoe is painted with the same colours as the Satawalese canoe—yellow and black described above

Source. Photographed by © Karen Tu, Mogmog Ulithi, October 2013

Third, due to the convenience of construction materials, modern tools have replaced many of the traditional implements for canoe building. For example chainsaws have replaced the iron adze/axes, which were not really ‘traditional’ since they replaced tools made of shell or stone.²⁵ New materials have often replaced old ones and this is an example of how notions of ‘traditional’ and ‘modern’ can be fluid and hybrid. Nowadays, chainsaws, adzes and axes are seen to be used collectively. Furthermore, the glue of the canoe that is mainly used for joining different planks or parts of the canoe

²⁵ It is reported in Wilhelm Müller’s early fieldwork (1908–1910) that iron had already largely replaced shell as the principal component of axes, adzes and knives on Yap (cited in Hunter-Anderson 1983: 9).

has changed. It was originally collected from breadfruit sap or any other kind of sticky tree sap or gum in both my research areas, but this is now no longer in use. However, on Orchid Island, the kopok flower is used to plug joins in the wood so that once the canoe reaches the sea, the kopok will expand and create a seal, since the kopok flower is bibulous, and will prevent water from entering the canoe (Jeng, 1984: 101; Kano and Segawa 1956: 357; Tian 2002: 234). Modern chemical glues provide a more durable, sticky and waterproof effect and hence this type of glue has nearly replaced all older methods on Orchid Island and Yap State. Finally, the rope that ties the planks together for outriggers (in Yapese canoes) and oarlocks (in Orchid Island canoes) has changed as well. Coconut twine was largely relied upon in Yap, whether in house building, canoe building or other handicraft carving. Recently, nylon and plastic ropes are more generally seen in canoe building in Yap, while coconut twines are only seen on rare occasions (see Figure 27). Orchid Islanders tend to prefer to use cotton rope to tie their oarlocks since all canoes on Orchid Island are equipped with oars, and the larger ones have a steering oar.



Figure 27. The sail for the largest Yapese-style canoe *Mathow Maram*. The sail is made of canvas and all the ropes use modern materials instead of coconut twines

Source. Photographed by © Karen Tu, November 2013

Finally, one crucial factor contributing to the decrease in canoe use is the influence and increasing use of modern motor boats that have largely replaced the indigenous canoe. With the convenience and efficiency of these new vessels, modern fishing boats and passenger ships have started to replace indigenous canoes. This phenomenon has occurred in many islands of the Pacific. Still D'Arcy (2008: 166) states that traditional canoes and skills continue to be used as reliable backups when modern technology fails or is unavailable. Also, as Robert Trumbull (1959: 88) stated more than half a century ago, even though outboard motors rapidly replaced sails and paddles as the power for outrigger canoes, the locals became disillusioned with outboards once they discovered the high cost of gasoline. So the canoe continues as a substitute when the fuel becomes too expensive or is unavailable.

There are certainly other factors in material, cultural and social transformations in these islands, but I have chosen to focus on the cash economy, religion and emigration since these are the three most dominant. These factors influence transformations on canoes in both my research areas. In the first part of this chapter, pre-contact history and colonial history were compared and contrasted between Yap State and Orchid island, while in the second part of the chapter, material, cultural and social transformations were discussed, both during the colonial era and ongoing to today. Both in terms of the history of colonisation and contemporary material, cultural and social transformations, Yap State and Orchid Island are very similar.

To conclude, there is no doubt that canoe traditions were transformed throughout the colonial period. The later influences of the cash economy, religion and emigration, have caused new cultural hybrids to reshape the form of 'tradition' in relation to the modern, thus engaging both change and continuity. In the next chapter, I will emphasise the indigenous canoe functions and the historical transformation of seafaring voyages using actual historical incidents to highlight indigenous canoe functions and the events that caused canoes to transform in my two areas of research.

Chapter Three

Indigenous Canoe Functions and the Historical Transformation of Seafaring

In this chapter, I will focus initially on the canoe's indigenous function for regular seafaring historically by looking at Yap State, the outer islands of Yap and Orchid Island separately. This will involve a close examination into how the people in these areas used the ocean-going canoes in the past both for everyday and for special expeditions. Then I will focus on particular moments of historical transformation in the use of canoes to answer two research questions: What factors or which historical events transformed indigenous canoe usage in these areas? What knowledge and traditions have been passed down and what have not?

Place \ Item	Indigenous Canoe Functions	Major Seafaring Areas	Historical Transformation and Reason of Termination
Yap Main Islands	Acquisition of stone money	Palau (major), Guam and other islands nearby	O'Keefe's transportation on ship; German banned seafaring
Yap Outer Islands	<i>Sawei</i> tribute and exchange, distant fishing and travelling	Chuuk Northwestern Islands all the way to Yap Main Islands (with a few earlier resettlements to Palau (Sonsorol) and Saipan)	Japanese prohibitions on voyaging; <i>sawei</i> is still practising on a lesser degree and a different form
Orchid Island	Inter-marriage and trade between Orchid Island and Batanes Islands	Philippines (mainly Batanes Islands)	Rivalry and killing incident accompanied with jealousy, unsuitable trade and environmental restrictions

Table 4. Indigenous functions of *wa* and *cinedkelan* and its moments of historical transformation

Source. Constructed by © Karen Tu

There were many reasons for the changes that occurred in canoe usage. The historical experiences discussed in this section mark particular shifts in canoe usage during the middle to late nineteenth century—the focus of this thesis. There might have been changes prior to the influences that I discuss here, but specifically I will discuss the transformations that occurred around or during the time when foreign powers entered Yap State and Orchid Island. Both Yap Main Islands and the Yap neighbouring islands had unique ways of using canoes indigenously, especially in long-distance voyages: Yap main Islanders undertook long-distance voyages to quarry stone money and the neighbouring Islanders completed *sawei* voyages. Here, in particular, I will

discuss the historical shifts in these events, focusing on how and why stone money acquisition came to an end. In Chapter One, the types of canoes have been categorised and discussed. Hence, in this chapter, if a specific type of canoe is mentioned, I will choose to use its indigenous name instead of ‘canoe’ as a collective and general term. Table 4 highlights the functions and historical transformations.

Indigenous function of *wa* in regular seafaring and moments of historical transformation in the use of canoes: Yap

In discussing indigenous canoe functions in long-distance travelling on Yap before the twentieth century, I divide Yap State into two categories. Due to the diverse types of canoes on Yap and the neighbouring islands, the cultural differences between Yapese and the outer islands, and their different seafaring expeditions, I will discuss Yap and the outer islands separately. After discussing these two areas, I will then turn to indigenous canoe seafaring on Orchid Island and its contact with the northern islands of the Philippines.

Yap Main Islands—stone money acquisition

First, I will introduce the indigenous use of canoes for regular long-distance travelling from the main islands of Yap. Several scholars indicate that the Yapese were not only skilful navigators, seafarers and shipbuilders, but they had skills in sorcery and supernatural powers as well (Morgan 1996: 30; Office of the District Administrator 1974: 1). As a result of this, in the past, the neighbouring islands have regarded Yap with awe. Even amongst the Chuukese, it was said that the Yapese were notable for their powerful black magic, which was manifested regularly (Mitchell 1972: 31). Moreover, because they lived on a high island, the people on Yap were allegedly more resource-rich than the neighbouring low islands (atolls). Historically, Yap received more voyagers than it sent travelling. Most high islands of this region, such as Palau, Yap, Chuuk, Pohnpei and Kosrae depended on the atoll dwellers for trade and travel (Goodenough and Thomas 1987: 4). One other reason that Yap received many voyagers is that, traditionally, the Yapese looked down on the outer Islanders, a sentiment which continues today. People on Yap called the outer Islanders ‘the people of the sea’ and considered them to be of a low social position (Ushijima 1987: 63; Descantes 2005: 4). The Yapese had the knowledge to build light canoes capable of long voyages and, according to Karen Nero, their canoes sailed as far as Japan in the north, New Guinea and Northern Australia in the south (1990: 6). This indicates that the Yapese went on

long voyages on their firm, swift and stable canoes in the past and, as shown in Chapter One, they had more canoe types than all the outer islands in Yap State.

The indigenous usage of Yapese canoes was closely allied to the Yapese culture of stone money. Centuries ago, the acquiring of stone money relied totally on canoes. When the Yapese wanted to develop new exchange currencies a few hundred years ago, they sent out canoes to search for new valuables and brought back aragonite disks and pearl shells from overseas. They obtained the aragonite stone money from Palau, Guam and even Formosa (Taiwan) (Office of the District Administrator 1974: 16; Nero 1990: 6). Subsequently, the Yapese collected stone money mainly from Palau. A story given in Robert Trumbull's 1959 text indicated that the Yapese intended to design the stone money in the shape of a fish; however, this proved too difficult for transportation. The traditional round shape of the money was made by imitating the moon. Two holes were drilled in each round piece of stone, which allowed it to be carried on poles, but this choked the porters who were carrying the money, so a single opening through the centre of the stone was adopted (197).



Figure 28. A bamboo raft being displayed during the canoe festival at Colonia. The traditional rafts used for stone money transportation could be a few times larger than this one

Source. Photographed by © Karen Tu, November 2014

Different stones were given different names and values according to their age and the difficulty of obtaining them (because there were lives lost during the quarrying process). Alternatively, the stone money could also be given the names of the canoes that shipped them (de Beauclair 1964: 12; Nero 1990: 7; Trumbull 1959: 197–98). The

older stone money that was transferred in indigenous canoes or rafts was generally no larger than eight spans which equals around 183 centimetres in diameter (de Beauclair 1964: 12; Müller 1917: 129, cited in Alkire 1980: 234).¹ After the stone was set at a certain place or village, the ownership might change later due to purchase, exchange, gifting, marriage, compensation and other sorts of payment. Due to the large and heavy size of the stones, most of the time the stones were not moved away but instead the story of the stone's ownership would be passed down by both the receiver and the person who had given the stone away (Tetens 1958: 63).

In the past, the Yapese used a large *popow* for sailing to search for stone money. As described earlier, the *popow* was for fishing and long-distance travel. This type of canoe remains the most common in Yap today. However, it is said that both *chugpin* and *popow* were used for shipping stone money by placing several smaller stones inside the canoe (de Beauclair 1964: 13). The crew members travelled in the canoe, while a wooden or bamboo raft was towed behind the canoe in order to facilitate the placement and carrying of the larger stone discs (see Figure 28). It is almost 900 kilometres to and from Yap to Palau, and with unfavourable winds, the journey could take more than five days, or even weeks. Many canoes disappeared and crew members died during the journey. Although the relationship between Yap and the outer islands was close, there is no evidence that the outer Islanders were involved in the acquisition of stone money. It is presumed that outer Islanders may have been involved in the journey, as the Yapese may have recruited them to work as labourers, navigators or sailors, but there is no evidence to prove this.

It is no longer possible to trace precisely the beginning of the period when stone money was acquired, but according to Yapese narratives told by a Yapese chief, the first voyage to obtain stone money from Palau was a competition between Fatha'an of Rull and Angumang of Tomil. The story not only mentions their sailing skills, but also their navigation to and from Yap and how their use of sorcery caused typhoons (Nero 1990: 7–9).² There were reportedly fights between the Yapese and Palauans, who considered

¹ The size of the discs was measured in spans (one span equals 22.86 centimetres), from the tip of the thumb to the tip of the index finger.

² According to the story, both Fatha'an and Angumang had the ability to create a typhoon. The two sailors used magic and caused typhoons against each other and finally Angumang returned to Yap earlier than Fatha'an by a few months. However, Fatha'an brought back more stone money than Angumang, including those that Angumang had lost in the ocean (Nero 1990: 7–9). According to oral tradition, it was believed that 150 discs in total were brought back by Fatha'an and these were specifically named Ngochol. They were rough in shape since the tools were not as good at this early stage. The Ngochol are said to be the most valuable pieces that exist in Yap today (see Students of the Community College of Micronesia 1983: 45–46).

the Yapese to be intruders, during the first Yapese quarrying expedition. British captain Andrew Cheyne describes the time when he visited Yap in the mid-nineteenth century, and the Palauans and Yapese appeared to still be enemies (cited in Descantes 2005: 34). To heal the rift, the chief of Rull gave a large money bead to Ibedual and the chief of Gatchepar (Gachpar) presented another money bead to Reklai of Melekeok in order to purchase the quarrying rights at Airai (Nero 1990: 6–7; Shineberg 1971: 248).³ An early German source has indicated that ‘permission to quarry (was) obtained in return for certain contributions and services’ (Salesius 1906: 96, cited in Alkire 1980: 234). The indicated date of this event was about 200 to 300 years ago and therefore it is assumed that the origin of stone money might have begun as early as the late-seventeenth century or early eighteenth century. After that, the Yapese often travelled to Palau for stone money.

The appearance of Yapese on Palau was not received positively since these new strangers put pressure on Palauan food supplies and other resources. Therefore, those people who provided labour for the stone money quarrying were normally asked to perform other services such as gathering firewood, carrying water and doing construction for the people of Palau. For example, the paved street on the island of Koror was said to have been built by the Yapese as payment for permission to quarry in order to manufacture money (Senfft 1903: 57, cited in Alkire 1980: 234). In the late-nineteenth century, according to Kubary, the Yapese on Palau were still treated as inferiors (Alkire 1980: 234; Kubary and Schmeltz 1889).

When J.S. Kubary visited Palau in 1882, he travelled with 62 Yapese bound for the quarries, and when he arrived he found 400 Yapese labourers already extracting the aragonite (Alkire 1980: 234; Kubary and Schmeltz 1889: 5). This description from Kubary shows that until the end of the nineteenth century, stone money quarrying was still in practice. Hence, even if the date cannot be traced precisely, what is certain is that until this time, stone money quarrying and transportation were still active. And at this time, the larger sailing *popow* canoe was still in frequent use for this purpose.

Yap Main Islands—the efflorescence and the end of stone money transportation

The Yapese sought out stone money mainly in Palau and in Guam. This type of seafaring activity persisted until the end of the nineteenth century. From the mid-nineteenth century, companies and investors gradually came to Yap, the earliest being

³ Spelled as Abba Thulle in Shineberg (1971).

J.C. Godeffroy and Sons from Germany (Descantes 2005: 35; Lingenfelter 1975a: 183; Marksbury 1979: 31). Several foreign companies were active on the island, with the most dominant one established by David O’Keefe, an American of Irish descent who arrived on Yap in 1871. During his time on Yap, O’Keefe had little success at first until he captured a market based on people’s needs and set up a business to trade with the Yapese. As Amanda Morgan explains:

Yapese canoes, while as seaworthy as any of the great Micronesian ocean-going vessels, were lightweight enough to make transport of the heavy stone disks hazardous. Islanders often lost their lives in the enterprise, and it is not surprising that they took advantage of the offer of safe and comfortable passage between the islands. One trader dominated this traffic: David Dean O’Keefe, a castaway who arrived in Yap around 1870 and soon built up the island’s most thriving business, to the envy of his fellow traders (1996: 35).

O’Keefe figured that many Yapese risked going very far in their sailing canoes to Guam or Palau to obtain the heavy stones. Therefore, O’Keefe manipulated this demand and arranged for a ship to transport the labourers to their quarries and arranged their return with the heavy stones. However, O’Keefe was not the first person who used a ship to bring stone money back for the Yapese. The first transport of stone money by ship was in 1843 when Captain Andrew Cheyne used the money ‘as a token of friendship’ when he was introduced by the Palauans to Tamil in Yap. Stone money was carried by Cheyne’s ship as a gift in order to exchange for the rights to *bêche de mer* trading in Yap. With that stone money, on 23 July 1843 the chief of Tamil agreed to let Cheyne and his crew collect a cargo of *bêche de mer* (Shineberg 1971: 247–49).⁴

O’Keefe had a significant influence on the Yapese economy after 1872 (Hezel 1983: 263–71, 281–89). He made it easier for Yapese people to travel to the Palau islands to procure their valuable stone discs. The size of stone discs increased dramatically as a result. Some of the disks were also brought from Guam by O’Keefe (Gilliland 1975: 11; Lessa 1962: 333), but not on a regular basis (Hezel, personal communication with Intoh, cited in Intoh and Leach 1985: 6). O’Keefe lent out ‘modern tools and equipment’ to the Yapese with which to polish and shape the stones. In return, he asked the Yapese for coconut, copra, *tripang* and other valuables to export to East

⁴ Andrew Cheyne’s ship not only brought the first stone money on a modern ship, it also brought a profound sickness to the island, which, during their stay on Yap, initially caused 24 Yapese deaths due to influenza—a number that later increased to nearly 50. One of the crew members of Cheyne, John Gill, was permitted on shore despite his fever and ague. This is reported on 7 October 1843; the locals believed it was the sorcery of Cheyne not infection (Descantes 2005: 35; Shineberg 1971: 271–72). The influence of this sickness will be discussed towards the end of this section.

Asia (Marksbury 1979: 31–32). O’Keefe was the most successful person in this type of business and he built an interdependent relationship with the Yapese based on his service and their commodities—a relationship which changed the indigenous culture of Yap. Until the Spanish reign (1885–1899), O’Keefe was still shipping the stones back to Yap for the Yapese.

As a result of using modern shipping, larger stone discs could be brought back in greater volume than by using canoes. The larger stone money was the main reason that the Yapese were willing to trade with O’Keefe. Nevertheless, the large stone money soon lost its value; the earlier stones shipped by the traditional canoe with human labour were more highly prized because of the risks associated with transporting them (Lingenfelter 1975a: 184; Nero 1990: 10). According to Inez de Beauclair,

Among the discs that have been conveyed by canoe, those bearing individual names rank highest. They are spoken of as *rai e gitsch* stones. The *yugurai*, or *rai no barco* were brought over on foreign ships (1964: 12).

Those stones brought back earlier by indigenous canoes and rafts were, until now, generally valued more highly than the later ones conveyed by modern transportation. During the Japanese colonial period, when the Japanese tried to convert stone money to Japanese *yen*, John Useem, in relation to this, noted that in the attempted conversion stone money was differently valued according to the mode of transportation (1946: 27).⁵

There are many records of O’Keefe appearing in Yap and of his trading with the people (Descantes 2005: 35; Gilliland 1975: 11; Hezel 1983: 266; Intoh and Leach 1985: 6; Klingman and Green 1950; Lessa 1962: 333; Lingenfelter 1975a: 184; Marksbury 1979: 31–32; Trumbull 1959: 195–98). However, none of these writers has explored in any depth the influence of O’Keefe in causing a sudden drop in Yapese *popow* and *chugpin* canoe usage for long distance voyages. The ‘help’ of modern shipping to carry the stone money and the ‘help’ of modern tools to shape them both led to a decrease in the undertaking of long-distance voyages by the Yapese, and also resulted in the reduction of navigational and large canoe-building skills.

Even if O’Keefe’s business actions caused the Yapese to rely on indigenous canoe seafaring less, during O’Keefe’s period there were still some navigators and sailors who

⁵ It is said that the stones that were brought back by ship were ten yen per thumb to forefinger while those brought by canoe were worth ten times more regardless of size. In 1946, John Useem wrote on this topic, but this material may not be reproduced or quoted without the permission of the author. Due to his death it is not possible to cite his material directly in this thesis.

used the indigenous canoes to bring back stone discs.⁶ Further disruption to indigenous canoe use and the shipping of stone money between Palau and Yap undoubtedly occurred in 1899 when Germany purchased Yap (and other places) from Spain. During this time the shipping of stone money from Palau was strictly forbidden due to the danger of the long journey (Descantes 2005: 36; Lingenfelter 1975a: 185; Nero 1990: 10; Trumbull 1959: 198).⁷ Some claimed that the quarrying of stones on a large scale came to an end with the outbreak of World War I (de Beauclair 1964: 13; Descantes 2005: 36) and pieces of the unfinished stones remain in Palau. However, due to the German policy, the gradual decline of stone money quarrying would probably have occurred before World War I. In the Belau National Museum, there are two photos of the stone money quarry in Tuhur, Palau dated 1917 which was a year before the end of World War I (Belau National Museum Collection). Even though canoe voyaging decreased from the end of the nineteenth century, it was still ongoing. A 1910 document states that some canoes were sent to the Philippines from the Carolines and returned. There were old people who had ‘been five times to the Philippines and made their own way back home, against the prevailing east wind, despite strict German regulations to the contrary’ (Riesenberg 1965: 164, cited in Lewis 1972: 286). There was a Yapese song recorded by Nakano (1983: 3) from the German period that goes:

We are poor because our canoe
 Our canoe is broken,
 Ambition has overturned our canoe
 We are finished,
 We have suffered the end.
 We strive in vain
 For our rights here.
 But it is impossible for us.
 We are impoverished!

Even so, due to the German regulation, until the beginning of the twentieth century, the use of *popow* canoes to obtain stone money reduced greatly. Before World

⁶ O’Keefe remained on Yap until 1901, when he was lost at sea during a typhoon (Marksbury 1979: 31–32).

⁷ However, one oral tradition states that during the German period (a specific year was not mentioned), people in Yap still travelled by canoe to Palau. The title of the narrative is ‘Last Yapese War’ (Yap State Historic Preservation Office 2009: 80–84). The last war was between the villages of Maa’ (Tamil) and Lebinaw (Gagil). This was said to have occurred during the German period when shotguns were available; the people of Maa’ went on two canoes to Palau for stone money. This might have occurred in the early German period or, perhaps, this war was the cause of the prohibition of stone money quarrying.

War II most families had canoes, and afterwards very few families possessed canoes. This indicated the sudden drop of canoe numbers from the early twentieth century. Until the mid-twentieth century, the people on Yap Main Islands still used medium or smaller size *popow* canoe for fishing, yet the large *popow* canoes decreased remarkably from the beginning of the twentieth century. After the Japanese authorities arrived, many indigenous canoes were destroyed by them due to the war. As Sherwood Lingenfelter explained: ‘One chief requested lumber for building boats, as the Japanese had destroyed all canoes, boats, and timber’ (Lingenfelter 1975a: 187).

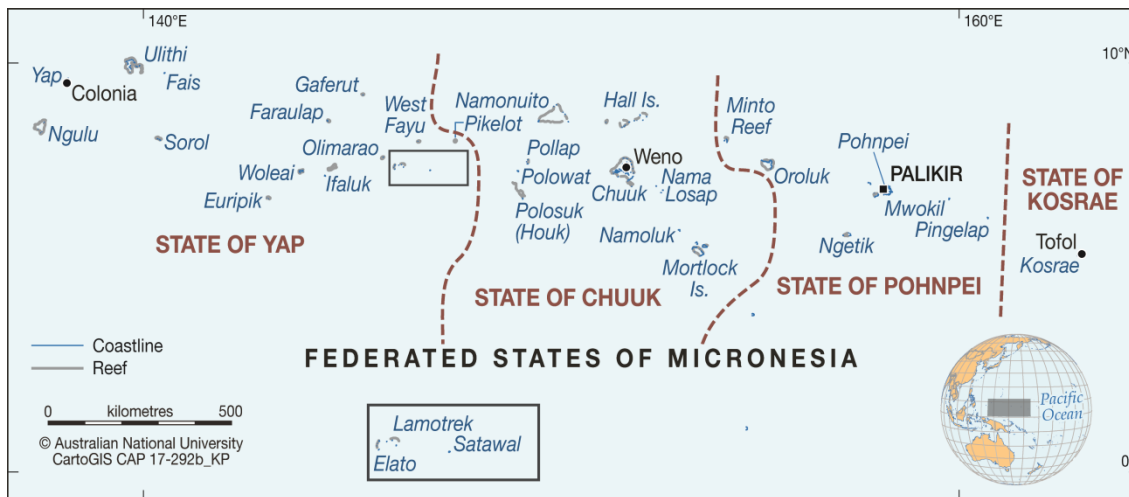
As mentioned earlier captain Andrew Cheyne came to trade for *tripang* in 1843. This trade brought the first stone money on foreign ships and also brought an influenza epidemic to Yap because Cheyne allowed one of his ill sailors to come on shore. It was said that the sickness killed nearly 50 inhabitants in total (Descantes 2005: 35; Shineberg 1971: 271–72). It was the first recorded drop in the Yapese population on such as scale. Amanda Morgan (1966), David Schneider (1970) and Christophe Descantes (2005) argue that the introduction of European diseases played a very large role in the decline of Yapese social relations and the loss of indigenous knowledge. However, this influence did not cause the decline in canoe building and voyaging—at least not before O’Keefe’s period—and it is recorded that 400 Yapese quarried aragonite to shape into stone money near Koror in 1882 (Berg 1992: 150, cited in Descantes 2005: 36). The large number of Yapese on Palau quarrying for stone money suggests that O’Keefe’s practice of using a large ship for transportation of the labourers and the stone money was influential. A Japanese survey from 1929 indicated there were in total 13,281 large and small pieces of stone money on Yap (Gorongfel 1979: 27; Defngin 1961: 18). This is the only survey that quantifies the total amount (pieces) of stone money.

Yap outer islands—*sawei* tribute and exchange

It is commonly believed that the best navigators in Yap used to come from the smallest islands; therefore, many scholars claim that the outer Islanders possess more skills in navigation than the Yapese on the main islands (Goodenough and Thomas 1987: 3; Ridgell, Ikea and Uruo 1994: 197). In the past, the outer Islanders who lived on the atolls were allegedly not as resourceful as those on the high islands due to the land size and type. They lacked fine and long timber plantations that were abundant on the main islands of Yap. Aside from this, as noted earlier, several sources indicate that the

Yapese on the main islands were alleged to have skills of sorcery and divine powers (Morgan 1996: 30; Office of the District Administrator 1974: 1).

Typhoons, droughts, injuries, or sickness were once believed to be caused by sorcery, and the outer Islanders thus feared and resented the magical powers of the Yapese main Islanders. Hence they were careful to submit their tributes in exchange for emergency relief during post-typhoon shortages (Alkire 1981: 18; 1989: 83).



Map 3. The Federated States of Micronesia map, for referring to the islands and atolls throughout Yap and Chuuk

Source. Used with permission from © CartoGIS CAP 17-292b_KP, The Australian National University, 2017

Back in the 1980s, people over 60 in the north-western outer islands of Chuuk still believed that the god of Yap Island had great divine powers, and that when this god was angry the sea would get rough, big waves would overrun the islands and serious damage was brought upon lives and crops. Also, Yap's eastern Islanders speak of Yap main islanders as using destructive magic to create storms to attack their islands. Indeed, both good and bad magic were practiced; magic with good intentions brought an abundance of food and fish, fertility and prevented disasters, while negative magic could cause typhoons, epidemics and the proliferation of termites (Ushijima 1987: 55, 68). Although most islanders tend to think according to a more scientific logic today,⁸ some of my interlocutors still firmly believed in magic and supernatural powers. Therefore,

⁸ Alkire (1981: 18) states that in the past, Outer Islanders when visiting Yap could be beaten or otherwise abused by Yapese if they failed to observe proper rules of behaviour. The events of the colonial period began to undermine these beliefs and the power of the Yapese to enforce them. During World War II, for example, the Japanese utilised Outer Islanders as labourers on Yap and in the course of their work they were taken to sacred areas of the island that formerly had been forbidden to them. The Outer Islanders were impressed by the fact that sickness, death and storms did not descend upon their persons or islands as a consequence of violating these Yapese taboos.

hundreds of years ago, Outer Islanders gave tribute to the Yapese in exchange for good fortune, and regular long-distance seafaring among all the neighbouring islands to Yap was closely related to *sawei*,⁹—the exchange between Yap and the neighbouring islands.

The *sawei* is remembered in festivals held in Yap today. On the second day of the 6th Annual Yap Canoe Festival in 2014, TNS invited some outer island crew members to take out the canoes and sail back for the opening (see Figure 29). In Figure 30 a group of outer island men and boys stand in front of the Living History Museum waiting for the sailing canoes to sail in from the main channel. One of the men is doing the chant of Yaliman, about a young boy Yaliman who did the repairs on a damaged canoe and saved the voyage from being lost at sea.



Figure 29. The parade of indigenous sailing canoes represents the remembering of the traditional *sawei* voyage of incoming outer Islanders, although, in this case, from the main channel instead of from Gagil as in the past

Source. Photographed by © Karen Tu, on the second day of the 6th Annual Yap Canoe Festival in November 2014.

Sawei normally occurred once a year between February and March when the wind was coming from the east,¹⁰ and ended when the winds changed in June and July, allowing people to sail back to the eastern islands (Ushijima 1987: 77). The journey

⁹ In brief, *sawei* is the popular term for the formal bicultural exchange system that existed between the resource-rich high island of Yap and its neighbouring low coral atolls (Descantes 2005: 1). According to the outer island interviewees, the word *sawei* may refer to the traditional exchange voyage, the exchange itself and the exchange partner.

¹⁰ Most references, such as Ushijima (1987: 77) and Kuwahara (2001: 17), refer to *sawai* (*sawei*) occurring annually while another scholar argues it was approximately once every three years (Hunter-Anderson and Zan 1996: 2).

began with neighbouring islanders who were situated further in the east and then progressed to the closest island, Ulithi. On the journey in convoy to Gagil in Yap, the Outer Islanders prepared three kinds of tributes/gifts. The first was for the chiefs of Gagil, the second was for the district's religious leaders, and the third was for individual estate partners of Gagil. Tribute items included woven loincloths, *lava-lava* and pandanus mats, coconut twine and rope, coconut candy, coconut oil, tobacco grown on Fais, shell belts and various types of sea shells (see Alkire 1989: 83; Descantes 2005: 1–3; Ushijima 1987: 77–78). Aside from the gifts presented to the Yapese, the Outer Islanders also presented gifts to chiefs in the west. William Alkire explains:

The emissaries from each of the islands carried three categories of gifts which were, respectively, Religious Tribute, Canoe Tribute, and Tribute of the Land. The first two were always in the keeping of the leader of the expedition. Consequently, these kinds of tribute were transferred to different canoes at Lamotrek, Woleai, and Ulithi. When the expedition reached Fais the chief from Olimara, Woleai (who was leader at this point) presented part of the Canoe Tribute to the chief of Fais. In addition, the representatives of Ifaluk, Falalus Islands, Woleai and Pigul district of Wottagai, Woleai, all of whom had important *sawei* ties to Fais, presented the chief of this latter island with a share of their Religious Tribute (1978: 122–23, cited in Intoh 1993: 74).

Sawei is sometimes claimed to be a tribute. Descantes (2005: 1) defines *sawei* as an exchange rather than trade or a tribute, since the Yapese did give things in return to the Outer Islanders. This suggests that the term tribute is not accurate in this case. When the Outer Islanders stayed with their *sawei* counterparts, their needs were looked after and they were given both food and protection. Items such as taro, yam, sweet potato, turmeric, bamboo, lateritic-earth pigment, flint-stones, cooking pots and pans were given to the Outer Islanders to take back to their islands at the end of their *sawei* voyage. In addition they were offered magical and spiritual protection.



Figure 30. A group of outer island men and boys stand in front of the Living History Museum waiting for the canoes to sail in from the main channel.

Source. Photographed by © Karen Tu, November 2014

Rosalind Hunter-Anderson and Yigal Zan (1996: 4) state that William Lessa, William Alkire and Sherwood Lingenfelter all agree that, in terms of value or the quantity of things exchanged, the Outer Islanders received far more from the Yapese than they gave. This leads Iwao Ushijima (1987: 78) to claim that the exchange of gifts was more economically profitable for the Outer Islanders. Yet Hunter-Anderson and Zan also note that one important expense for the outer Islanders was the cost of transportation for their voyage. This ambiguous *sawei* relationship—both reciprocal but also hierarchical between the Gagil Yapese and the Outer Islanders—has been classified by Alkire as a parent/child-like relationship where the Yapese *sawei* parent acts as a protector and provider (Alkire 1981: 16; 1993: 36).

Each *sawei* voyage began in the places that are most distant from Yap's main islands (generally one canoe per island), many of which are today part of Chuuk State, like Namonuito, Pollap, Houk (Polosuk) and Polowat (see Map 3).¹¹ These islands are more than 1300 kilometres from Colonia, and customarily these furthest islanders depended on the weather or wind direction to return to their place after reaching Woleai. Hence they rarely visited Mogmog (Baker 1976: 15–16; Hunter-Anderson and Zan

¹¹ In the middle of the nineteenth century Polowat stopped participating directly in the *sawei* system and began to send tributes through Satawal navigators rather than through their own representatives (Lessa 1950: 42, cited in Metzgar 2006: 295).

1996: 2; Ushijima 1982: 71; 1987: 62, 73, 77; Wenkam and Baker 1971: 16).¹² Even if these islanders travelled only to Woleai, the roundtrip distance was more than 1000 kilometres. However, the participation of those distant islanders now a part of Chuuk State did stop at some period and hence, until the present day, the *sawei* has been conducted on a smaller scale from Ulithi to Satawal (Alkire 1965, cited in Alkire 1981: 15; Lessa 1950). Polowat was a gathering point where the representatives of all these four groups (Namonuito, Pollap, Houk (Polosuk) and Polowat) joined and then moved on to pass Satawal and meet at Lamotrek, which are the furthest islands from the main islands of Yap. Those who travelled to Lamotrek (including those on Elato) would meet there before continuing to Ifaluk where the Faraulap group would be waiting. Later on, Euripik and Woleai, assembled at Wottagai Island (Olimara) of Woleai. After stopping, they continued to Fais to present their gifts and one of the canoes would pick up the chief of Fais for the later journey to Mogmog in Ulithi. The people of Fais (and Sorol) did not possess their own sailing canoes; hence the chief of Fais would usually board a canoe from Woleai (Alkire 1978: 122–23 cited in Intoh 1993: 74; Neich 2006: 227–28; Ushijima 1982: 71–72; 1987: 77). Woleai and Ulithi contributed several canoes to the fleet (representing the individual islets of these atolls), and each of them could send up to eight canoes. Upon departure from Ulithi bound for Yap the convoy would consist of 22 canoes, all loaded with goods and people (Hunter-Anderson and Zan 1996: 6; Neich 2006: 227–28). Lamotrek and Woleai were important staging points and replenishment stops on this voyage and, as such, these two islands were ranked higher than their neighbours (Alkire 1981: 16; 1993: 53).

The chiefs of Gagil, especially in Wonyan and Gachpar, are the *sawei* partners of the Outer Islanders. The second to highest ranked island was Fais and the highest-ranking estate in the *sawei* relationship maintains a specific relationship with the paramount chief of Ulithi. Ulithi (more accurately Mogmog) maintains the position of intermediary between the outer islands that used to extend all the way to Chuuk and Gagil.¹³ According to Ushijima:

Ulithians see the ‘Yap Empire’ as three separate blocks – the Gagil District of Yap, Ulithi, and ‘Woleai’. The word ‘Woleai’ refers to all islands to the east of Ulithi. The paramount

¹² Even so, the chief of Fais would present gifts to the paramount chief of Fashilith and offerings to the god Yagalav from the eastern islands (including Namonuito, Pulap, Pulusuk, Puluwat all the way to Woleai and Fais) when the fleet reached Mogmog. The chief also reported about the situation on each one of the islands (Ushijima 1987: 77).

¹³ However, the relationship between Ulithi and Gagil is not a unidirectional relationship but a multilateral one. For further details please refer to Ushijima’s (1987: 65) description on *sawai*. Note the spelling. *Sawei* is spelled *sawai* in Ushijima’s article.

chief of Ulithi, who resides in Mogmog Island, occupies a position between the 'Woleai' islanders and the chiefs of Gachapar Village in Gagil, Yap Island and performs the function of a middleman. The paramount chief is occupied by the Fashilith. According to Ulithi people, the rulers of the major blocks of the eastern islands are but overseeing the islanders under them in lieu of the head of the Fashilith. They are called 'Fashilith's eyeballs'. Furthermore, the head of the Fashilith himself is called *ungucha* ('ung = the apex of the roof; cha' = blood). That is, he is the man 'above all people' (1987: 62).

There is no doubt that Ulithi/Mogmog's position is the most significant one amongst all the outer islands that have relations with Yap's main islands. Alkire wrote about this relationship and the ranking system among the outer islands (1981: 16).¹⁴ As mentioned, Lamotrek and Woleai were more important because they were replenishing stops while the longest open ocean voyage between these islands would be the one from Woleai to Fais where this sea-lane is called *Hapilmohol*.¹⁵ Hence, these Yapese *sawei* counterparts have the obligation to provide leadership, supplies, and protection from evil spirits for the outer Islanders (Ushijima 1987: 62; Wenkam and Baker 1971: 16). There is no historical record or evidence of when the *sawei* began. Roger Neich (2006: 227) argued that the 'Yap Empire' was known to be active as early as 1731, and it was possible that *sawei* was also active around the area at this time. Even though the starting period of *sawei* is uncertain, there is an oral tradition which explains how and why the *sawei* started. A legendary figure called Yagalav is credited with the origin of *sawei*. Yagalav is still worshipped in the sacred area of Numurui in Gachapar.¹⁶ According to the oral tradition, there was one couple who survived a great flood; the wife was from heaven and the husband was a chief. They had seven children, and Yagalav was their youngest son. He was sent to Gagil and settled in Numurui of Gachapar Village. Yagalav had five sons and a daughter and, when these children grew up, Yagalav

¹⁴ According to Alkire:

Fais was given higher rank than Lamotrek or Woleai and its chief received special presentations of gifts from those representatives who were linked to Wanyan village on Yap through Fais. The highest ranking of the outer islands was Mogmog, Ulithi, as this was the final stop of the tribute-bearing voyagers before sailing on to Yap. The Ulithi chief received personal presentations from those estates that were linked to Gachapar through his island. When the fleet reached Yap, tribute was passed to the Gagil chiefs by the Ulithian leader and then each individual outer island representative made his special presentation to the representative of the specific Yapese estate that claimed suzerainty over the island or district from which the representative came (1981: 16).

¹⁵ The current Yap State Ship *Hapilmohol* is named after this ocean region.

¹⁶ The worshipping of Yagalav (as the image of God) occurred in other outer islands such as: the Ronutsg men's house on Satawal; the Ulelep men's house on Polowat; the Manithak men's house on Lamotrek; the Gothai men's house on Ifalik; the Gumal men's house in Orimari on Wottagai, Woleai; the Rolong atoll-wide council house on Mogmog, Ulithi (Ushijima 1987: 68).

divided his land among them.¹⁷ The only daughter, Riomal (also known as Riomaral), married Chigchig. At this time it was customary that when a turtle was slaughtered, the meat was divided among all the children. However, Atig, the brother of Riomal, took his share and only left the flippers. Riomal was furious and decided to move to Mogmog in Ulithi with her husband (Riomal was known as Felity in Ulithi). Riomal visited Yap yearly and the eastern islanders brought offerings and gifts to Yap or took them to Riomal instead. This was the beginning of *sawei*.¹⁸ After Riomal had been on Mogmog for several years, the eastern islanders visited Yap to maintain the *sawei* relationship with tributes and offerings to their partners on Yap and for prayers to Yagalav.

The earliest written reference to an activity that is likely to be the *sawei* is by a missionary.¹⁹

The first mention of a possible *sawei*-type voyage is made when Fr. Cantova (Carrasco 1881: 265–66) tells the story of a Carolinian fleet of 35 canoes travelling from Ulithi and Woleai led by Digal. The fleet was struck by a storm in 1725 while attempting to return from Yap to Ulithi. The large fleet of Carolinian canoes sailing between Yap and Ulithi make this voyage resemble a *sawei*-type voyage (Descantes 2005: 33).

This interaction between Yap and Ulithi with such a large fleet of canoes could possibly have been an early *sawei* voyage.

Furthermore, two more events in the seventeenth century involving missionaries also point to the existence of *sawei*. These two records do not describe the *sawei* but are evidence of the interactions and exchange activities that occurred simultaneously while the *sawei* was practised. The earliest European record of Carolinian sailing between islands was by a Spanish Jesuit missionary stationed in island Southeast Asia:

In 1669, Fr. Francisco Miedes serving on Siao, a small island off the northern end of Sulawesi (Celebes), met four Carolinians from Ifalik atoll. Five years earlier, these four

¹⁷ The oral literature detailed how and where they separated the land among Yagalav's children. The full version of the oral tradition can be read in Ushijima (1987: 68).

¹⁸ The condensed version of the story was originally from Ushijima (1987: 68–69).

¹⁹ However, a much earlier archaeological discovery of both Palauan and Yapese pottery on Lamotrek in the central Carolines dated to C.E. 1200–1400 indicated that trading relationships might have already occurred at that time. There was no proof of whether the pottery came on a random voyage or through *sawei*. Archaeological findings indicate that the stone money era began *after* the *sawei* system had been in place for a substantial length of time. The early existence of the *sawei* is inferable from the few sherds of Yapese pottery that were found in midden deposits in Lamotrek, dated to the period C.E. 1200–1500 (Fujimura and Alkire 1984: 112, cited in Nero 1990: 6). Intoh found Yapese laminated pottery in Fais, dated to C.E. 1300 and later. A later appearance of the stone money era is inferable from the fact that the earliest European accounts of Yap do not mention overseas stone quarrying nor do they report the display of the stone disks at public meeting places on Yap, although European visitors were taken to public ceremonies at these places (Gilliland 1975: 4; see also Intoh and Leach 1985).

had drifted to the Moluccas while attempting to sail to Tol or Tolo (Chuuk), 700 km away, in a fleet of 30 canoes to attend a wedding (Descantes, 2005: 30).

Then, at the end of the seventeenth century, another Spanish Jesuit reported on the navigational feat of Carolinians. Father Paul Klein/Clain (Klein 1707, cited in Descantes 2005: 30) reported the drift voyage of 30 Carolinians from Fais. These Carolinians landed on Samar in the Philippines after attempting to return home after a visit to Lamotrek in 1696. It is true that other exchange systems in present day Yap State co-existed with the *sawei* exchange system. Moreover, the close relationship between the outer islands and the north-western outer islands of present-day Chuuk state which included exchange, visiting, adoption and intermarriage are to be understood as a kind of mutual aid in times of need. Social interactions and kinship are still strong among the people of the eastern Yap outer islands and north-western Chuuk outer islands, regardless of the modern FSM administrative structure which separates them (Alkire 1993: 37; Hunter-Anderson and Zan 1996: 4).

According to Ushijima (1987: 55), there were once three types of exchange systems in the Carolines. The first was the intra-atoll exchange system, the second was the inter-island exchange system, and the third was the *sawei* exchange system with the volcanic island of Yap as its apex. Aside from what Ushijima has described as the intra-atoll or inter-island voyage, long-distance travelling facilitated immigration during the nineteenth century or even earlier. It was recorded that around 1815, some people from Satawal, which is now the eastern inhabited outer islands of Yap State, travelled all the way to Saipan in a fleet and decided to stay and settle in Saipan. A film titled *Lieweila: A Micronesian Story* (1998) described this history. Migrants from atolls to the east and west of Satawal including the Mortlocks, Namunuito, Houk (Polosuk), Pollap, Lamotrek, Elato, Woleai, Merir and Sonsoral arrived in several waves after the 1815 Satawalese migration (Fritz 1911: 7, cited in Quackenbush 1968: 8; see also Ellis 2012: vi). James Ellis (2012: 3) explained that these waves of migration from the Carolinians to Saipan in the nineteenth century were the result of devastating typhoons that had constantly struck the western and central Carolines. Although 200 years have passed, some people on Satawal still remember this history of their ancestors' resettlement on Saipan and they claim those who settled in Saipan from Satawal as their relatives. Before this voyage to Saipan, there were also multiple migrations to Sonsoral (Sonsoral State in Palau), possibly from Ulithi or Woleai or a mixture of different outer islands of Yap. These migrations show the frequent travelling and mobilisation between the Yap outer islands to its neighbouring areas for long-term settlement.

Possibly the last written record of a *sawei* voyage is from the 1860s when the German company J.C. Godeffroy and Sons set up their company on Yap. The first agent of the company, Alfred Tetens, made visits to both Yap and Ulithi. He witnessed a *sawei* voyage and wrote the following Eurocentric account:

They were on their way to pay the tribute they owed to the Yap king. The savages had not the remotest idea where they were, did not even know in what direction Yap lay. For five days, hungry and thirsty, they had been buffeted by the sea. My offer that the Vesta take the canoe in tow was refused, so I could only point out to them where Yap lay. I hardly think that they reached their objective, but rather that they fell victims either to hunger or to the waves (Tetens 1958: 72).

It was a surprise that in Tetens's description of 'the encounter with a canoe' that only one canoe was in that voyage instead of many. He also mentioned that the sailors did not know in which direction Yap lay. Tetens did not clarify which island or atoll this canoe was from but such uncertainty in sailing direction suggests it was not a canoe from Ulithi. If it was one of the canoes of a *sawei* trip, then it was very likely one from the far eastern island and that the canoe either got lost from the master navigator's canoe fleet or parted somewhere between its home islands and the next assembly point. Alternatively it could have strayed from the route of the rest of the fleet. However, Tetens did not at all narrate an account of Outer Islanders' indigenous navigation and sailing but instead he stressed the superiority of the Europeans in leading the way for the islanders.

Yap outer islands—the end of canoe use for *sawei* is not the end of *sawei* itself

Because of the voyages throughout the outer islands of Yap, as a result of the long distance *sawei* voyage, both as tribute to, and trade with, other islanders, the neighbouring islands to Yap were able to maintain canoe carving skills and navigational expertise for longer than Yap Main Islands. At present, some of the neighbouring islands continue to maintain these skills; although, in Ulithi, the tradition of navigation and canoe building is now very weak.

The *sawei* voyages between Yap and the outer islands had all but ended before anthropologists began collecting reports about them. It was not certain whether the *sawei* voyages stopped because of a particular incident or because they were forbidden by the foreign colonial powers in Yap. If it is the latter, it is very likely that the *sawei* ended during the beginning of the twentieth century. Under German rule, the colonisers forbade the transportation and quarrying of stone money from Palau, as well as

prohibiting the ocean voyage from Mogmog to Yap and other island voyages due to the loss of canoes at sea and the rapid decrease in the male population (Damm 1938: 324–25, cited in Descantes, 2005:38). The outer-island long-distance voyages were banned during the Japanese occupation.

Alkire (1981) argues that *sawei* declined due to two main reasons. Effective colonial administration in the central Carolines began to be felt among the islands of the *sawei* about 1900, during the period of German colonial control (1899–1914). Tribute-bearing voyages decreased in frequency during these years and ceased altogether in the later Japanese period of administration (1915–1945). Two reasons stand out regarding this decline. First, during the second decade of Japanese administration, ostensibly for reasons of safety, officials discouraged and attempted to prohibit inter-island canoe voyaging (Lessa 1950: 18). Second, and perhaps more importantly, during both the German and Japanese periods of administration, colonial authorities began to assume the responsibility of providing emergency aid to the Outer Islanders in times of shortage following severe storms. After a typhoon in 1907, for example, the Germans dispatched a ship from their headquarters on Saipan to take food to Woleai, and they transferred some residents of that atoll to Elato, where these individuals took refuge for several years while the vegetation on their own atoll recovered from the storm damage (Alkire 1981: 17).

The cessation of *sawei* voyages did not totally destroy indigenous usage of canoes in the outer islands; however, long-distance seafaring was dramatically affected. In particular, the ban on voyages between Ulithi and Yap had a very strong influence on Ulithi, which has a very distinctive position among all the outer islands in Yap.²⁰

According to Ushijima:

The center of Ulithi is Mogmog, where the paramount chief of the Fashilith lives and where the Rolong meeting place, which functions as the assembly place for all of the Ulithi Atoll, is located. Politically, the island is divided into the eastern side with the Fashilith, the Ramathak and the Ligafaly as members and the western side with the Numuruy, the Falmay and the Hadiyal as members. The Ramathak and the Numuruy are the central figures of the two sides, respectively, and they serve as aides to the chief of Fashilith (1987: 61).

²⁰ Here I will discuss Ulithi. In the twenty-first century, Fais Island does not have any long-distance voyaging canoes. However, according to Ushijima (1982: 71–72; 1987: 77), Fais never possessed their own sailing canoes; which is a big difference compared to most other Caroline Islanders. If Ushijima's description is accurate, then the absence of long-distance voyaging canoes in Fais has nothing to do with the *sawei* transformation. This is why Fais is not included in my discussion here.

The highest paramount chief was situated on Mogmog Atoll and he controlled not only Ulithi but also Woleai, as well as other outer islands (Ushijima 1982: 37). Ushijima continued:

The paramount chief of Ulithi and the *hailing* [clan] also performs the function of intermediary between Yap Island and the outlying eastern islands. Furthermore, the Ulithi Atoll is considered to be under the jurisdiction of Gagil District of Yap Island. Although Yap Island does not usually interfere in the affairs of the atolls, the selection and accession of the paramount chief and *rat'* [high areas] in Ulithi must have the consent of Gachapar Village. Moreover, when the head of a *hailang* passes away and a new head is selected, this must be reported to each estate in Gachapar or Wonyan Village which has *sawai* [*sawei*, spelled as *sawai* in Ushijima's article] relation with the *hailang* (Ushijima 1987: 61).

This tradition was passed down over time and continues today. There are two facts to discuss here. First, the position of the chief of Mogmog exists in a small scale community. When the outer island residential area was first built on Yap in Madrich, the chief of Madrich was also a Ulithian chief who had maintained nearly continuous residence at Madrich since 1967 (Alkire 1993: 53). Second, the Council of Tamol (COT) was formed in the 1960s and was established on Yap Main Islands.²¹ The COT is in charge of all indigenous authority and affairs of the neighbouring islands. The position of chairman of the council is held by the paramount chief of Mogmog. Hence the paramount chief of Mogmog continues to be a significant community leader in both the traditional and modern sense. There are 21 representatives in COT. Of the 21, 20 represent the individual atolls of the outer islands in Yap State, with one council member for each atoll. The twenty-first council member is the paramount chief from Mogmog, who, following tradition, is also the chairman of COT. The current high chief, Leo Racheilug of Satawal, describes the formation of COT as a combination of traditional and modern society where the 20 seats are designed to be equal, yet the special position of the paramount chief co-exists, exemplifying the traditional way (Interview with Racheilug, Yap, November 2014).

²¹ The Council of Tamol (COT) is made up of chiefs from each of the Outer Islands of Yap State. Together with the Council of Pilung (COP) for Yap Proper, the COT holds a very important place in the organisational design of cultural and historic affairs in Yap State. The COT members are recognised as being responsible for identifying what needs to be preserved and how, as well as controlling cultural change on the islands of Yap State. They have a strong voice in the decision-making processes concerning political, socio-cultural, or economic questions, and often act as advisors to the Governor and the Legislature since they are the voice of the elders, of wisdom and tradition (Bodone and Mityay 1996: 19).

The 20 seats of the outer island representatives are now comparatively important. In the past, the *sawei* came from the east to the west until they reached Ulithi. A master navigator who was from Falalop worked with the chief from Mogmog to coordinate the last voyage from Ulithi to Yap. Alkire describes the relationship between the chief and the navigator (*pelu*) as complementary (1989: 82–83). The chief exercised a land-based authority, but navigators wielded authority and power at sea. It would be an exceptional journey for the high chief of Mogmog to collaborate simultaneously with the master navigator from Falalop in the practice of *sawei* voyages.²² Nevertheless, with the diminishing of *sawei* voyages, the traditional voyages between Ulithi and Yap have come to an end.

While the *sawei* voyage was still occurring, the islanders from Ulithi requested logs from Yap in order to build large canoes. According to Ushijima:

Incidentally, the canoes, indispensable for fishing, are the communal property of each heilang which depends on the sawai-related people of Gachapar and Wonyan villages in the Gagil district of Yap for large local mahoganies lacking on the atoll to build them. Before canoes are built, people from Ulithi go to Yap to produce the necessary building materials (togarolyilwa; togarol= receive, yil=wood, wa=canoe), and when the canoes are completed they present woven cloth called ho (lavalava), coconut oil and candy, coconut rope, pandanas mat and pandanas sail to Yap in return (1982: 63).

In the past it is said to be the Yapese *sawei*'s obligation to supply lumber for Ulithians to build canoes. The Yapese would not demand anything in return while giving the log to Ulithians due to their duty of care for the Outer Islanders. Only certain estates were permitted to supply timber for building canoes for the *sawei* (Ushijima 1987: 70).²³ The stopping of the *sawei* voyage, and the ban of the voyage between

²² Alkire explains that

Chiefs approach navigators for help on land when the power navigators mediate [it] potentially can save an island from ocean storms, high waves, or water spouts. Male authority, then, is divided between chiefs and navigators ... The navigator is most important in his role as leader of overseas voyages. Traditionally, these low islanders participated in one or more interisland exchange systems. Voyages played a major role in redistributing goods and personnel on the low islands. The most extensive of these systems was *sawei*, which at its height tied all of the coral islands from Ulithi to Namonuito to the high island of Yap (1989: 82–83).

²³ Ushijima (1987: 72–73) also indicates that there was one canoe built around the 1960s that used timber from Wonyan Village in Yap. The lumber was cut roughly and transported to Mogmog where the canoe was built. A person of Wonyan Village came to work as a canoe carpenter. While the canoe was being built, the carpenter was presented with five pieces of woven cloth as a payment for work. When the canoe was completed and sailed to Yap, the goods taken in the canoe (*yethaor wä*) included: *ho* (woven fibre cloth) 50 or 60 pieces, *tal* (big coconut rope) 2 coils (100 fathoms each), *horohoro* (coconut rope) 4 coils (1000 fathoms each), *jeleleth* (coconut candy) 6 packs, Fais tobacco 20 bottles, *chop* (pandanus mats) 20 pieces, *yui* (woven cloth for sailcloth) 2 pieces. On the way back, the following gifts were received

Ulithi and Yap, was detrimental to both Ulithi and Yap. The Ulithians ceased the building of large voyaging canoes. Residents of Ulithi nowadays use motorboats and fibreglass boats, and the traditional wooden canoe has been nearly replaced altogether. This has resulted in the loss of traditional navigation skills in Ulithi. However, Alkire argues that owing to its proximity to Yap, Ulithi ‘had been more cautious in its relations with the Yapese and had maintained contact (via canoe voyages) even during those years when their island had been part of the Palau District’ (1981: 19).

If Alkire’s statement is accurate, then in the 1950s and 1960s the islanders on Ulithi were still using their traditional voyaging canoes and navigation skills; thus the rapid loss of Ulithi’s canoe building and navigation would have occurred after the 1970s. Within a span of 30 years, the people of Ulithi lost their navigational techniques and also witnessed a decline in large voyaging canoe building. It is extremely hard to believe that once, at its height of prosperity, Ulithi sent out a fleet of 20 canoes to Yap, comprised of eight canoes from Falalop, three from Losiap, two each from Mogmog, Assor and Seolong, and one each from the other islands (Ushijima 1987: 71).

During an interview, one interlocutor mentioned a project in 2009 when some people tried to rebuild sailing canoes in Ulithi and attempted to revive the last part of the *sawei* journey from Ulithi to Yap. The project was trying to contribute towards cultural revival as a ‘voyaging renaissance’. Paul D’Arcy describes this as a process that ‘relearned the lost art, reconstructed voyaging canoes based on early European accounts, and sailed along old sea lanes to ancestral homes’ (2008: 166). First, the islanders shipped a sufficiently large log from Yap to Ulithi in order to build the canoe. However, for many personal reasons including those of the master and participants, the log sat untouched. The log was then shipped back to Yap and the Ulithians invited a chief from Satawal to carve the canoe for them. Once completed the canoe was shipped back to Ulithi. Since 2013, the canoe lies in Mogmog Island right next to all the motorboats on the shore.

The original idea of this project is significant in retracing the indigenous position and sea route of Ulithi. The final sea route of the *sawei* journey in the past to and from Ulithi and Yap consisted of a navigator from Falalop leading with a high chief from Mogmog, and the rest of the other outer island crews coming all the way from the eastern islands to reach Ulithi to follow their lead. None of the inhabitants in either

(*yethol wā*) in return for the gifts taken to Yap: taro 20 baskets, yam 20 baskets, sweet potato 20 baskets, *boy* (Tahitian cashew nut) 20 baskets, *rang* (turmeric) 4 big, 10 small, matches 4 cases, cloth 2 pieces.

Mogmog or Falalop acquired this navigational ability and hence the final route of the *sawei* voyage is really difficult to revive (Interview with Paul Anthony Lane, Yap, November 2013).

The end of *sawei* voyages did not limit the other two types of voyaging activities throughout the Yap State outer islands. Intra-atoll voyages still occur within the outer islands, including Ulithi; however motorboats are preferred to canoes due to their availability and convenience. Inter-island voyages are also still occurring. The recently completed large *warwei* canoe in Lamotrek in 2013, for example, travelled east to Satawal and west to Woleai with a few stops in between. Voyages on indigenous canoes between the outer islands of Yap are still practised. Originally, the indigenous purpose of these inter-island voyages was to maintain an exchange system between the islands. Both Alkire (1981: 15–16) and Ushijima (1987: 56–57) have mentioned and described the exchange system between Lamotrek, Satawal and Elato as the ‘fishing hook’; that is, the relationship between these three islands is one of mutual assistance, providing a network of interdependence in times of food shortage, and where Lamotrek is the arbitrator with ultimate jurisdiction. The current high chief of Satawal, Leo Racheilug, described the relationship between these three islands as ‘*geo*’ (pronounced similar to *heule* which means hook) when they sent in food to Lamotrek. This was a significant term used before American colonisation had categorised the region into sections. The relationship between these three islands has also been likened to a canoe, where Lamotrek is the body, Satawal is the outrigger and Elato is the platform; these islands are linked together as a canoe. Chiefs from both Satawal and Elato pay respect to the chief of Lamotrek and they have to travel by canoe to bring their first harvest of breadfruit to Lamotrek every year.²⁴ This has been practised for a long time, and although it stopped a few years ago, my interlocutors were eager to reintroduce the practice because they wanted to teach the younger generation about it.²⁵ Chief Racheilug, who is now in his mid-60s, had been on this inter-island voyage when he

²⁴ According to Alkire (1981: 15), the tribute to Lamotrek was as follows:

Once every six months the people of Elato sent three green sea turtles to Lamotrek, while the residents of Satawal alternated their payments by sending five canoes of preserved breadfruit in the summer season and five canoes of ripe coconuts in the winter season.

Alkire (1981: 16) also claims that the ‘fishhook’ was active into the 1960s when chief Racheilug was in his teenage years. However, according to Racheilug, this practice continued until a few years ago.

²⁵ The oral history collected from Elato has the same content as Racheilug’s account. This exchange system between the three islands had been in practice for a long time until a couple of decades ago. Elato and Satawal brought food as tribute to the chief of Lamotrek and normally Elato brought turtles and fish while Satawal brought breadfruit or taro. The record from Elato also states that the practice occurred annually (Yap State Historic Preservation Office 2005a: 53).

was younger. Racheilug firmly believes that the relationship between these islands is still very close, and the metaphor of the canoe highlights the importance of the interdependent relationship. As he explained, ‘They are one canoe with each island having a specific part, and without each part, the canoe would sink’ (Interview with Racheilug, Yap, November 2014).

Even though *sawei* voyages have ended, the practice of tributing and exchanging has not disappeared completely. Rather, this practice continues to exist in a new form of *sawei* that does not involve traditional canoe voyaging.²⁶ Although, there was once a great decline of *sawei* in the 1940s and 1950s there are still elements of the *sawei* tradition that are practised. The United States took control of Yap after World War II and started to provide relief supplies in times of need. Alkire noted that,

[M]ore importantly for *sawei*, in 1948 the Americans shifted direct administrative control of the outer islands from Yap for nearly three years so that the trading/administration ship that serviced the outer islands was based at Koror, Palau. The effect of this policy was nearly to eliminate all face-to-face contact between Yapese and Outer Islanders during that period, since travel to Yap from the outer islands became difficult, expensive, and time-consuming. The Yapese protested this shift and in 1951 the outer islands were administratively returned to what was now the Yap District of the Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands (1981: 18).

Hence, the exchange and trade of the Outer Islanders did not rely on the Yap Main Islands anymore and the younger generation of Outer Islanders grew accustomed to direct interaction with American administrators. Therefore, the drastic reduction of seafaring voyages was effected by both Japanese prohibitions on long-distance voyaging between the islands after World War I, and the introduction of foreign shipping services under Japanese and American administrations (Metzgar 2006: 295; Neich 2006: 227). With the importation of commodities that could satisfy the needs of the Outer Islanders, the next generation no longer recognised the necessity of maintaining *sawei* with Gagil. Later on, the Outer Islanders, usually seniors and especially those from Ulithi, continued to maintain their relationship with their former *sawei* partners. Various Gagil Yapese also attempted to revitalise relations or maintain contact with other Outer Islanders by periodically sending or bringing baskets of food to them at Madrich (Alkire 1981: 19).

²⁶ Alkire (1981) has a section on ‘Revitalization of Yap-Outer Islands Relations’ that describes the later *sawei* political transformation after World War II, and the new relationship between the outer islands, Gagil and other municipalities in Yap.

Madrich is where the Jesuit missionary Father Walter developed a 2,774 square metre church property at a former Spanish trading station. A government-financed community development grant supplemented church funds for the construction of the church in the 1960s.²⁷ The land and building offers a place to stay for Outer Islanders who come to Yap. The number of Outer Islanders living at Madrich has steadily increased since its construction.²⁸ A decade after Madrich was constructed, in a survey dated June 1976, there were 177 individuals sleeping at Madrich, only five of whom were not Outer Islanders (or spouses of Outer Islanders). The number shows the surprising increase of Outer Islanders on Yap (Alkire 1993: 39–42).

Alkire's (1993: 58) investigation into the residential area in Madrich in 1976 showed that 51.1 per cent of residents had exchanged something with their *sawei* counterparts; a figure which rose to 74.4 per cent in 1980, then dropped to 50 per cent in 1992. Almost a decade later, Tajima (2001: 5) conducted similar research that showed around two-thirds (roughly 66 per cent) of his interviewees maintained a traditional trade with their *sawei* partners. This number indicates the continuance of the *sawei* practice. According to Alkire, both Outer Islanders and Yapese main islanders need commodity exchange, especially for the Outer Islanders who require some goods and foods in times of emergency (1981: 17). Moreover, in order to maintain Gagil, political manoeuvrings vis-à-vis Tamil and Rull—as their under-the-table village politic—the Gagil Yapese continue to gain access and power through exchange with the Outer Islanders, thus showing their superiority to other municipalities (Alkire 1980, 1981; Hunter-Anderson and Zan 1996; Lingenfelter 1975a).²⁹

I now look at two of my interlocutors' viewpoints to analyse the existence and transformation of the *sawei* relationship. John Haglelgam, who now teaches at the College of Micronesia, National Campus, and who was originally from Euripik, stressed that *sawei* never ends (Interview with Haglelgam, Pohnpei, September 2014). When either John, or his brother, Manuel Bulgar travel from Euripik to Yap to visit their

²⁷ Madrich was first seen as a place for 'outer-island transients'. In the middle of the 1970s, it was clear that some of the residents were staying for the long term. This means that the character of Madrich had changed from a place for temporary sojourn to one for permanent residents (Tajima 2001: 26).

²⁸ In addition to Madrich, there are also Dabach (bought by the state government in the mid-1990s from the Yapese owner and offered to the Outer Islanders) and Gargey (bought by the traditional chiefs' corporation in 1999) for the Outer Islanders. These two areas helped resolve Madrich's overcrowding issue (Tajima 2001: 26–28).

²⁹ The superiority Gagil gained from *sawei* over the other two municipalities was also told in oral traditions (Yap State Historic Preservation Office 2009: 69–75). Rull and Tamil decided to open up and allow the foreigners to come for trade and investments, and once the rest of the islands came then it would be much bigger than the *sawei* in Gagil.

Gachpar or Wanyan *sawei* partner, they bring indigenous weaving products such as *lava-lava*. Haglelgam also indicated that, according to his Euripik elders, traditional *sawei* practices had been changed by colonial rule. However, he was not able to say exactly which colonial power, either Germany or Japan, had brought on this event. Haglelgam's family has a long history of *sawei* practice. He told me that his mother's grandfather had been on the *sawei* voyage almost every year for a long time. Furthermore, according to their oral history, either at the end of seventeenth century or the beginning of the eighteenth century, Euripik changed its *sawei* partner. This statement suggests that the beginning of *sawei* was likely to be earlier than the seventeenth century. According to Haglelgam, a long time ago a Euripik islander killed another person from Woleai, and the Yapese from Wanyan were very angry and used black magic to call a fierce typhoon to strike Euripik. Owing to this typhoon, and the failure to protect Euripik from the Wanyan people, the Euripik people changed *sawei* from Wanyan to Gachpar. This new *sawei*, also recorded in Ushijima (1987: 305, cited in Kuwahara 2001: 17), continues to be honoured today by Outer Islanders who visit people in Gagil.

The current high chief of Satawal, Leo Racheilug, who is also the Satawal representative in the Council of Tomil, mentioned that he heard from his uncles and grandfathers that the *sawei* voyage was forbidden during the Japanese occupation because of World War II (interview with Racheilug, Yap November 2014). Racheilug's statement matches Alkire's (1981: 17) and Lessa's (1950: 49) analysis of this event. Racheilug, who is now in his mid-sixties, can still remember his grandparents' generation who often completed the *sawei* voyage and it was from this generation that he learnt his *sawei* knowledge. In a similar way to that of Haglelgam, Racheilug also claims that *sawei* has not yet come to an end and is still in practice. He could still name the four *sawei* partners of Satawal Island in Gachpar. However, the practice today is very different from past practices when outer Islanders did not generally seek long-term residence on Yap, since their behaviour was severely restricted by considerations of rank, which also precluded access to land. Today, more and more Outer Islanders have moved to, and settled on, Yap for the longer term due to the construction of Madrich. This growing outer islander population can still go and request resources from their *sawei* if they need to.

However, the island of Satawal and its *sawei* relationship was not always as harmonious as Racheilug portrayed it to be. According to Alkire (1993: 37), in the 1930s an inter-island, cross-ranking marriage between a Satawal man and a Yapese

woman caused Satawal's Yapese *sawei* to be refused and the Yapese did not contribute any food to Satawal for many years. Racheilug remembered that when he first moved to Yap, if he asked his *sawei* partner for something, the *sawei* would offer whatever they had at hand. Recently, due to the impact of imported goods, sometimes their *sawei* partner would ask for beer or alcohol in return. Ushijima (1987: 305, cited in Kuwahara, 2001: 17) mentions that nowadays tobacco and *lava-lavas* are preferred by the Yapese as exchange goods from the outer Islanders and in return taro, banana or imported foodstuff such as rice, instant noodles and canned foods, would be given to the Outer Islanders. Hence, according to the descriptions from Ushijima and my informant Racheilug, the *sawei* relationship has shifted to a more modern form which involves imported products.

Moreover, the position of Ulithi has diminished over time. The past role of Ulithi as a middleman, messenger and envoy between the outer islands and Yap has now finished. Ushijima refers to the paramount chief of Ulithi as

a representative of all eastern islands and holds a special position of responsibility ...

Politically speaking, the paramount chief of Ulithi is the chief of all eastern islands and oversees all the subordinate outer islands in lieu of the chiefs of Yap (1987: 73).

Even though the paramount chief and the COT are still respected by the Outer Islanders in daily life, nowadays when the Outer Islanders try to go to their Yapese *sawei* partner, they are allowed to go directly without the paramount chief. In sum, *sawei* tradition is ongoing despite the termination of canoe seafaring in *sawei* affairs.

Indigenous function of cinedkelan in regular seafaring and moments of historical transformation in the use of canoes: Orchid Island

Orchid Island—travelling to and from the Batanes Islands of the Philippines

Regarding canoe traditions on Orchid Island, there are no historical records of Tao people undertaking long-distance travelling further than 200 kilometres during a single voyage. All the canoes on Orchid Island are now used for fishing while it was said that in past the larger canoes *cinedkelan* were also used for travelling and trade. The people on Orchid Island stopped seafaring a long time ago and the navigational skills have been lost. However, it should be noted that unlike the canoes throughout Micronesia that are working rather than ceremonial craft (Robinson 1970: 2), the canoes on Orchid Island are *both* working and ceremonial—especially the larger *cinedkelan*. In fact,

canoe ceremonies are crucial to Tao culture. This section will focus on examples of Tao people who have undertaken long distance voyages.

There has been substantial linguistic, genetic and archaeological evidence about the relationship between Orchid Island and the Batanes Islands of Philippines (Yang 2011). The relationship between Orchid Island and the Batanes Islands was very close in the past. Inter-marriage between these two places was common among the people. But the main reason for the Tao to travel to the Batanes was mainly for trading, especially for jewellery (gold, silver, glass and ceramic beads) and to seek materials for clothing. Also, there were special products from the Batanes, such as ox and buffalo skin, that the Tao sought. The older products traded to the island were dated from at least 300 years ago (Benedek 1987, cited in Yu and Dong 1998: 91; de Beauclair 1959, 1974; Yu 1991: 43).

There has also been evidence of an interrelationship between the two places recorded decades after they ceased their communication. Father Thomas Sanchez, a missionary on Batanes Island between 1796 and 1803 was told by the locals that the Yami (Tao) had good relations with the Batanes before, and the people shared the same customs and language as the Batanes (cited in Hsu 1982: 15–16). Later, an early twentieth-century record indicated that the journeys between Orchid Island and the Batanes were said to have been of fairly frequent occurrence within comparatively recent times (Leach 1937: 187).

During the period of this seafaring relationship, there was no historical record which offers specific details. However, the oral history shared through the memories of the older generations proves that there was communication between Orchid Island and Batanes Islands. One example is a story of a man who married a widow and travelled to and from the Batanes and Orchid Island. The story is as follows:

There were four men and two women who came from Ivatan of the Batanes Islands to Orchid Island for Shimina-boan's (also spelt as SiminaVoang) marriage with Shina-no-manoyu (also spelt as Sinan Manoyo or Sinan Manoju). Shina-no-manoyu was a widow with two sons who lived in the Jimasik tribe (a tribe close to the location of Imorod tribe which no longer exists). After the marriage, Shimina-boan and his newly-wed wife went back to Ivatan without Shina-no-manoyu's two sons. After some years they had two more sons and the four members of the family voyaged back to Imorod village and lived to the north of the old Ivalino village, which was said to be

the original site of the Ivalino village (Story rephrased from de Beauclair 1959: 124–27; Yang 2011: 88–89; Yin 1994: 344–45; Yu and Dong 1998: 39–47).

Another oral history is of a man named Si-Mangangavang. The father and son cooperated in building a sixteen-person canoe to sail to the Batanes Islands for trade. With this canoe, the two places established a long-term business relationship and good friendship. During the trade, the Tao people used its abundant flying fish and dolphin fish resources to exchange for gold (Yu and Dong 1998: 91). According to the oral stories narrated by the Tao, the voyage between Orchid Island and the Batanes Islands was a regular pathway for people to commute for inter-island marriage and also for trade. As well as the stories being told by the elders, the relationship between these two places was also passed down through ancient chants. The chants describe that the Tao and the Batanes people shared the same fishing ground—possibly in the middle of the two places—and they also describe how the Tao exchanged fish for gold, silver and jewellery.

There were two chants named ‘Parting’ from the Imorod tribe that describe the sharing of the fishing ground between the two places. The chants also describe how they parted without greeting in order to be humble because it was not common to meet each other frequently in earlier times. Another chant called ‘Drifting to another place far from home’ from the Iratay tribe describes the sharing of an experience that they had been drifting in the ocean to a small island where they sought to exchange jewellery with the fish. The jewellery attracts the fish and makes the flying fish follow them to come back to the island. This chant has been so renowned that it has been passed down through the generations around the island. Finally, there is a chant named ‘Step on to a place other than home.’ The original composer of the chant is Siminavowang (also spelt as Shimina-boan, the male person in the previous oral story who came from Ivatan). According to the lyrics of the chant, it was assumed that this chant described the time when Shimina-boan was going to take Shina-no-manoyu back to Ivatan, and Shina-no-manoyu left her two sons on Orchid Island. Hence, Shimina-boan sings,

Just go, don’t look around [do not keep looking back at your sons]. Look, the island in the front. There is where we are going to land. People there are singing like the birds [which means the island is crowded and full of people] (chants translated from Syapen Jipengaya 1996: 242–43).

Even if voyages between the Tao and the Batanes are not documented in writing, the stories and chants passed on orally testify to this relationship. The stories have survived until now in the Tao peoples' oral history and collective memories.

Orchid Island—rivalry terminated the contact

There are many factors that caused canoe usage to change in Orchid Island. There are no historical records concerning the end of the relationship between Orchid Island and the Batanes Islands. However, the break between these two places indicated the end of long-distance voyaging for the Orchid Islanders. Orchid Islanders stopped seafaring for very different reasons than the people on Yap. The commute between Orchid Island and the Batanes Islands ceased decades before foreign colonial regimes entered the region. In this section I will focus on how and why communication and engagement between these places ended.

During Japanese colonisation, Utsurikawa Nenozo came to Orchid Island for research in 1931. Nenozo's hypothesis was that the Ivalino village was likely to be the last of all the villages to cut off communications with the Batanes due to the genealogy of the villagers who came from the Batanes that he had traced back to 14 previous generations (around 250–280 years). If this field research collected by Nenozo was correct, then the last migration from the Batanes to Orchid Island was around the mid- or late-seventeenth century (Nenozo 1931: 17, in Yang 2005: 10–31). The ancestors that the Ivalino documented could be part of the story of Shimina-boan (originally from Ivatan) which referred to the descendents of the Ivalino tribe.

There are two different descriptions of the alleged Orchid Island–Batanes relationship: one written by Father Thomas Sanchez in 1801 (Hsu 1982: 15–16),³⁰ and the other by Father Francisco de Paula on 1 May 1802 (de Beauclair 1959). Here, I follow de Beauclair's version since she was on Batanes in 1958 at the church of Mahatao—according to the copy of the letter. From this letter dated from the early

³⁰ Hsu's (1982) edition is as follows:

Towards the north-east is the island called Diami (i.e. Lanyu/Botel Tobago), which may also be seen in very clear weather. It is inhabited, and the people have the same customs and language as the Batanes. Formerly they all had good relations. This ceased because some (of the Yami) who came in a TATA-YA were killed at Basay (i.e. Basco), and only one was able to escape in (the boat). I reached Itbayat on the currents, and from there he was able to cross to his own island. Since this ... 90 years have passed, in which there has been no further communication (Unpublished typescript, edited by Fr. Julian Malumbres, O.P., Vol. III, 193, cited in Hsu 1982: 15–16).

nineteenth century, it was said that the communication between Orchid Island and Batanes Islands had ceased 90 years previously, during the early eighteenth century:

To the northeast of Itbayat is the island of Diami which can be seen during very clear weather from Itbayat. It is inhabited, and the people have the customs and language of those of the Batanes. A long time ago, the people from Diami and those from Batan had communications, but these were suspended when a *tataya* (boat) came from Diami, and those from Vasay (Batan) killed all its passengers except one, who could leave with the *tataya*, and reached Itbayat, from where he was able to return to the island of Diami. Since this event all communications were suspended. [Notwithstanding] the long time that this incident happened, it seems that the people of Diami have not forgotten it, for ten years have not yet passed, when some people from Batan, who reached Diami, were robbed of all their belongings and one of them killed by the people of Diami. It is said that the island is very populated (de Beauclair 1959: 123–24).

In the letter, it was mentioned that one Tao survivor reached Itbayat and escaped to make his way back to Orchid Island. If this was the last communication between the two islands, then it means the exchange between these places was terminated 300 years ago.

This incident was recorded in many studies of Tao oral stories, which are similar to the missionary's record. These records include Kano (1946: 42–52); de Beauclair (1959: 116–21); Guanghong Yu and S. Dong (1998: 94–96); and C. Tzeng (2001: 72–74). Here I will compare two versions. First, Yu and Dong (1998) recorded the incident according to an oral story of the Iratay tribe. Siapen Miturid from Iratay, who was good friends with Si Vakag, had previously visited Orchid Island from the Batanes. Siapen Miturid was invited to the Batanes with 80 other Tao people. The Batanes women hosted these men from Orchid Island. During a few trips to and from the Batanes, the Tao men won many competitions in hunting, fishing and wrestling and impressed the Batanes women. Presumably, these acts humiliated the Batanes men and so they decided to cease contact with Orchid Island. After a negotiation was carried out, both islands came to a mutual understanding, and the two groups ceased their voyages between each other.

Some years later, when Siapen Miturid found that his youngest child Si Ripo had no cowskin armour, he decided to travel back to the Batanes and trade for the skin. The Batanes were still angered by the previous humiliation they had suffered and smashed all the canoes of the Tao that were berthed at their shores. Siapen Miturid killed Si Vakang and was stabbed by a young Orchid islander and died in a cave. Roughly 40

Tao people were killed in the battle. Finally, only Si Ripo from the Iratay tribe and Si Nipog from the Iraralay tribe succeeded in stealing a canoe to return to Orchid Island (translated and rewritten from Yu and Dong 1998: 94–96). The date of this incident is not mentioned in the story, but if this is the same event that Sanchez or de Paula recorded, then it was likely to have occurred around 1710.

De Beauclair (1959: 116–21) also recorded a story similar to that of Yu and Dong but with more detail. It was shown in de Beauclair's version of the story that the son of Shiapun Miturid (note the slightly different spelling from the previous version),³¹ Shiripo,³² was born from his second wife, and that he had two other children with his first wife. The reason why Shiapun Miturid was invited by the Batanes was because the women were curious and asked their men to invite the Tao men. A clapping gathering (*mikariak*) organised for the completion of the workhouse was mentioned as a catalyst to break off exchange between the two groups. The Ivatan women gathered to clap and sing for the 80 Tao male sailors who had travelled to the island. The people gathered for *mikariak*, the singing of men and women, accompanied by the clapping of hands. Then, to test their strength, the men of both islands held competitions. The superiority of the Tao aroused the anger of the Ivatan men; they had suffered a defeat and the two men were shown to be more attractive to the Ivatan women. The anger and the humiliation of the Ivatan men led to the end of communication between the two places.

According to de Beauclair, Shiapun Miturid and his company visited five times until the Ivatans forbade them to come again. The Tao people agreed and in return they did not wish to receive visitors from Ivatan either. Later, when Shiapun Miturid was going back to find a suitable skin for Shiripo's armour, he recruited a crew of eight men for the journey. On their way south, Shiapun Miturid first passed Itbayat where they were warned not to go to Ivatan. Upon arriving in Ivatan, the old friend Shibakag asked them to come ashore but he was thrown by the Tao to the sea. Hence, when Shibakag came back on the shore,³³ he asked the Ivatan women to remove their clothes to allure the Tao men. When the Tao finally came on shore, the Ivatan people smashed their boats into pieces.

This version of the story also refers to 40 Tao being slain in the battle. The survivors escaped to the mountains and received help from an Ivatan woman. Finally,

³¹ Spelt as Siapen Miturid in Yu and Dong's (1998) story.

³² Shiripo is spelt as Si-Ripo in Yu and Dong's (1998) version.

³³ The spelling is Si-Vasa in Yu and Dong's (1998) version.

two survivors Shiripo and Shinipog³⁴ from Iraralay reached the shores of Orchid Island. Shiripo moved from Iratay to Jimasik from where his mother came. Later, Shiripo's son, Shimina Paralinan, became the ancestor of Imorod village lying between the two other villages. Shiapun Miturid's son with his first wife, Shimaori, remained in Iratay as a member of his father's family.

In the genealogy that de Beauclair collected in 1957 and Kano collected in 1937, de Beauclair assumed that there were 25 years for one generation and thus Shiapun Miturid must have lived around the middle of the seventeenth century. De Beauclair (1959: 122) calculated that the communications between the two places ceased about the middle or end of the seventeenth century, instead of the early eighteenth century as mentioned in the missionary's record.

The main difference between these versions is that there is only one survivor in the missionary's document, while there are two in Yu and Dong's and de Beauclair's oral collections. We can say that these are the two sides of the story from different angles. It is possible that the Batanese either did not know there were two survivors that escaped from the island or alternatively that they changed the number of escapees in order to emphasise their own valour. Siapen Miturid travelled to and from Ivatan five times but did not make the return a sixth time. On the basis of this story, we can speculate that the seafaring routes between the Batanes and Orchid Island once carried up to 80 people at a time and, as shown by the escape of the pair of survivors, islanders' sailing and rowing skills were outstanding at the time. C. Yang (2011: 42–47) argues that the break in the relationship between Orchid Island and the Batanes Islands was not simple but complex, with many intertwined reasons including disputes as a result of jealousy between the men of the two places, unsuitable trade, and environmental restrictions. Eventually, the relationship between the two places ended before colonisers had come to either area—a stark contrast to the reasons why the people in Yap stopped seafaring.

After colonisation, both Orchid Island and the Batanes—two places which had once connected regularly—were separated into two different nations. S. Chen (2003) describes the current relationship between Orchid Island and the Batanes Islands as twins being adopted by two different foster families as a metaphor for colonialism. The Batanes were claimed by the Spanish in 1782 and Orchid Island by the Qing Empire almost one hundred years later in 1877; however, the Batanes were not included as a

³⁴ Shinipog is known as Si Nipog in Yu and Dong's (1998) story.

province in the Republic of the Philippines until 1960. At the end of the twentieth century, the interaction between the Batanes Islands and Orchid Island has regained its strength. They share many cultural exchange programs and supporting activities which trace historical roots and religious interchanges.

To conclude this chapter, I have discussed how canoes were used before the period of colonisation in both my research areas, especially for long-distance seafaring. Yap main islanders used to go stone-money quarrying mostly in Palau, while Yap Outer Islanders used to travel between the islands and to Yap Main Islands for the *sawei* tribute and exchange. In order to identify what factors transformed indigenous canoe usage in these areas, I explored the historical events that weakened or terminated long-distance seafaring. Voyages from Yap Main Islands did not end due to one single event but occurred gradually as a result of a sequence of events precipitated by O'Keefe's business with the Yapese, and ocean-going voyage restrictions put in place by the German administration. When Japanese authorities arrived, canoes were destroyed, contributing to the demise of Yapese-style canoes. In the outer islands of Yap, *sawei* voyages ended during German/Japanese rule, likely as a result of colonial regulations. Nevertheless, the end of the *sawei* canoe voyages did not mean the end of *sawei* relationships between Yapese. Outer islanders started to travel to their *sawei* on modern ships or those who were long-term residents on Yap Main Islands visited their *sawei* partners occasionally. The end of traditional *sawei* canoe voyages has given rise to a new form of *sawei* relationships in a contemporary context.

The case of Orchid Island, however, was very different to Yap State. Orchid Island's long distance voyages to the Philippines had ceased before colonial administrators interfered. The rivalry between Orchid Island and the Batanes Islands led to disagreement and conflict between these two places which eventually ended the partnership. Then, a hundred years later, these two areas became part of two separate national administrations. In light of these historical facts, the next chapter will look at and compare more contemporary events of canoe revitalisation in these two areas.

Chapter Four

The Contemporary Status of *Wa* and *Tatala* in Projects and Art Forms

Following the exploration of canoes in the past, the historical transformations of seafaring and daily use, I now move to a more contemporary timeframe and focus mainly in the twenty-first century. The focus will be on the contemporary status of canoes in both Orchid Island and Yap State. In this chapter I will discuss canoe revitalisation in Orchid Island and Yap state and argue the significance of pride in indigenous canoe culture and island identity in the cultural revitalisation process. Finally, I will examine the use of canoes in literary, visual and performing arts in a contemporary context. This includes examining how canoes are depicted in modern literature written by local authors, how islander artists embed canoe elements into their works, and how the canoe features in performances at an ethnic and national level.

My analysis of the revitalisation of the current situation of canoe culture described and documented in this chapter is largely based on the 15 months of fieldwork I undertook between April 2013 and July 2016. In terms of cultural revitalisation, we could go back to as early as Anthony Wallace's (1956) definition and concept of 'revitalisation'. As defined by Wallace,

A revitalization movement is defined as a deliberate, organized, conscious effort by members of a society to construct a more satisfying culture. Revitalization is thus, from a cultural standpoint, a special kind of culture change phenomenon: the persons involved in the process of revitalization must perceive their culture, or some major areas of it, as a system (whether accurately or not); they must feel that this cultural system is unsatisfactory; and they must innovate not merely discrete items, but a new cultural system specifying new relationships as well as, in some cases, new traits (1956: 265).

Wallace used revitalisation to describe political or religious movements where plans are put into effect within a few years through the participants involved in such movements whereas revitalisation can be a less planned and a more gradual process.

To view the progress, development, similarities and differences in canoe culture revitalisation in both Orchid Island and Yap State, a description of revitalisation movements focusing on islanders' involvement is necessary. This chapter will focus on movements with involvement from individuals, groups and organisations. I have already highlighted contemporary canoe revival including sailing, paddling, navigation and carving throughout the Pacific. This chapter will bring the broader picture of revival

across Oceania into connection with more indigenous details from Orchid Island and Yap State.

This chapter follows my experiences working with individuals, organisations, and communities where people initiated revitalisation and innovation. I trace the on-going work of contemporary non-governmental organisations' canoe revitalisation projects, individual and community canoe projects. Through a close relationship with these different working groups, I have come to better understand the contemporary canoe culture in Yap State and Orchid Island.

Retrieving our ancestors' pride: Contemporary and ongoing navigation

As mentioned in the previous chapter, Orchid Islanders lost their long-distance navigational skills when they terminated their connection with the Batanes Islands in the Philippines. Yapese also lost long-distance navigational skills decades ago, due to the cessation of stone-money trade and the long-distance voyage ban. Nevertheless, navigational knowledge continues to be passed down to the Yapese from Outer Islanders. To become a master navigator across Micronesia, one has to undergo the *pwo* ceremony. As Eric Metzgar explains, '*Pwo* is the equivalent to a graduate doctorate degree in knowledge of traditional navigation and involves additional instruction in the more esoteric-related aspects of traditional navigation such as chants for calling upon patron spirits' (2006: 297). Early navigators, from Satawal in particular, had completed their *pwo* ceremony prior to the introduction of Christianity to their islands. There were a few decades when no *pwo* was performed; and the last *pwo* ritual before the 1980s was said to have been performed for Mau Piailug.

Mau Piailug, who was introduced in the Introduction, was trained as a skilled navigator as well as a master canoe builder. He has had great influence not just within Micronesia but also with Polynesians in Hawai'i and elsewhere, where he taught his skills. Here I will briefly highlight Piailug's contribution to long-distance sailing in the Pacific. The successful voyages of *Hōkūle'a* in realistic ocean conditions—which were briefly mentioned in the Introduction—were chiefly due to Piailug's leadership and skill in navigating long distances. According to Ben Finney,

[T]he design of *Hōkūle'a* which was built between 1974 and 1975, was more difficult because it was meant to reproduce a voyaging canoe of the type that would have been in use some 600 to 1000 years ago during the voyaging era. There are no rock engravings or other depictions of ancient canoes to follow, and we could not copy designs of canoes from Hawaii or any other islands, as these would incorporate features suitable for local

conditions or features recently introduced. Instead, we followed the strategy used by Haddon and Hornell ... in their analysis of Pacific island canoes and selected design features general to Polynesian voyaging canoes, avoiding local adaptations and recent introductions (1977: 1278; see also Haddon and Hornell 1997).

Also, in following the windward performance of such canoes, a Polynesian sprit triangular sail was used as well as the semi-v-shaped hull that was characteristic of traditional Polynesian voyaging canoes. However, owing to the lack of traditional materials and construction skills, *Hōkūleʻa* was largely built out of modern materials.

As a relatively unknown navigator from Satawal, Mau Piailug was invited to lead this voyage from Hawaiʻi to Tahiti. Piailug succeeded in guiding the voyage south to Tahiti. However, this master navigator has refused to use traditional methods to lead the return voyage. The reason why Piailug did not sail back to Hawaiʻi with *Hōkūleʻa* was due to disagreement amongst the crew on the initial journey. Some of the crew did not have the discipline that Piailug expected, and he quietly returned to his island, leaving a tape-recorded message behind for the crew which said, ‘Do not come look for me; you will not find me’ (Hawaiian Voyaging Traditions n.d.). After the trip from Hawaiʻi to Tahiti, Mau Piailug became legendary and was considered living evidence of ongoing Micronesian seafaring skills. He thus accomplished a world record in twentieth-century navigation.

When he was only five years old, in the mid-1930s, Piailug began studying navigation with his grandfather Raangipi. After Raangipi died, Piailug at 12 started learning from Orranipui, his father. However, Orranipui died just two years after Raangipi, Piailug was then adopted by an aunt and uncle and was sent to Polowat as an apprentice navigator with Angora (Finney and Low 2006: 170). He was featured in the video documentary, *The Navigators, Pathfinders of the South Pacific*, produced in 1982 by Dr. Sanford Low and KHET, Hawaiʻi Public Television, with funding from the Hawaiʻi Committee for the Humanities; Pacific Resources, Inc., and the Arthur Vining Davis Foundations. The *Hōkūleʻa* Project was part of the Hawaiʻi Rediscovery Program sponsored by the Polynesian Voyaging Society (FSM Information Office 1987). In the film, Piailug explains the difference between traditional and modern navigation:

Our navigation is different from yours ... By observing the ocean and the sky, and I remember the words from my teachers. There are two kinds of navigators, the man who only knows how to sail is called ‘Palug’ but the man who knows both sailing and magic, is called ‘Po’ [Pwo]. To become Po, you have to be initiated in the special ceremony (Low 1983: 5’19”–5’30”).

When Piailug talked about his Tahiti voyage in the film, he was confident and assured of his role as a navigator, remarking that according to ‘the words from my ancestors, I am a navigator. I learned these words as a young boy in my father’s canoe house’ (ibid.).

The generosity of Mau Piailug was recognised by two voyages from Hawai‘i to Micronesia to honour him: in 1999 with *Makali‘i*; and in 2007 with *Ku Holo Mau*. The navigator Shorty Bertelmann was one of the first Hawaiians to study under Piailug in the 1970s. The *Ku Holo Mau* voyage was seen as a journey to bring their master Mau Piailug home. The voyage went from Hawai‘i to Majuro, Kosrae, Pohnpei, Kapingamarangi, Chuuk State, Satawal, Guam and Saipan, and then the canoe was shipped back to Hawai‘i on a larger vessel (Johnson 1999: 50–51). Later, in 2007, a canoe, *Alinganu Maisu*, was built for Mau Piailug. The Polynesian Voyaging Society, the Friends of *Hōkūle‘a* and Hawai‘i Loa, Na Kalai Wa‘a and other voyaging groups all came together to support this project. *Alinganu Maisu* and *Hōkūle‘a* sailed together from Hawai‘i to the Marshall Islands, then to Pohnpei in FSM, then to Weno in Chuuk, and finally to Satawal, Piailug’s home islands. Then they proceeded to Woleai, Ulithi and to Yap. *Hōkūle‘a* herself went to Palau, back to Yap and then to Japan (Costa 2007: 62). Although Mau Piailug had never enrolled in an official schooling system, his knowledge was equivalent to a professorship in navigation, and he received an honorary doctorate degree from the University of Hawai‘i in recognition of his generosity in preserving and importing indigenous navigational knowledge. He was also honoured by the Smithsonian Institution as ‘one of the most important influences in the resurgence of cultural pride in the Pacific’ (Legdesog 2011). Moreover, a Mau Piailug Society was founded to perpetuate the cultural legacy and the methods of navigation, seafaring, wayfinding and marine resource management of Mau Piailug. Following Piailug’s example, the purpose of this society was to create a free exchange of ideas and knowledge to be distributed for educational purposes throughout the Pacific region.

The *pwo* ceremony which was held for Mau Piailug was said to be the last *pwo* in the region. However, in May 1990, Jesus Urupiy (of Satawal and Polowat ancestry, who later married to a Lamotrek woman) decided to restart this long-lost ritual on Lamotrek. Urupiy is believed to have undergone his *pwo* ceremony on 3 June 1932 on Satawal, conducted by Suuta of Polowat (Hijikata 1997: 138–39). Five navigators were initiated in this *pwo* ceremony as well: Ali Haleyalur, Carlos Yarofaireg, Xavier Yarofalyang, Robert Erailug and Ambrose Yangarelmal (Metzgar 1996; 2006: 298). The revival of the *pwo* ceremony soon aroused the interest of nearby islands. Later, in 1997, Hipour was invited to Polowat by chief Maniapiy to perform a *pwo* ritual for four initiates

including Manny Sikau.¹ Then, in 1997, another ritual was performed on Pollap by Ignathio Epeimai (from Satawal), with two initiates from Satawal and three from Pollap. In July 2000, Lambert Lokopwe (who was initiated on Pollap in 1997) performed his own *pwo* ceremony for six initiates, with the assistance of Mau Pailug (Metzgar 2006: 297–99).²



Figure 31. *Simion Hokule'a* built by Mau Pailug in the 1980s, damaged and in need of repairs sitting at Toruw Village.

Source. Photographed by © Karen Tu, November 2013

Even though Yap's main islands had navigational knowledge, the establishment of the Yap Traditional Navigation Society (TNS) as well as the Yap Traditional Maritime Institute founded by TNS started to revive navigational skills by adopting practices from the Yap Outer Islanders. Ali Haleyalur (Lamotrek, Satawal and Polowat ancestry), who is originally from Lamotrek but has resided on Yap's main islands for a few decades, is one of the sons of Jesus Urupiy. He worked in the police department for 22 years. He was given the *pwo* ceremony by his father in May 1990. He participated in,

¹ In Metzgar's footnote, he remarks that Manny changed his last name from Ikea to Sikau in honour of his grandfather, Ikuliman Sikau after the *pwo* navigator initiation ceremony on Polowat in 1997 (Metzgar 2006: 303). Both Hipour and Ikuliman were acknowledged in Thomas Gladwin's (1970) book as master navigators and master canoe builders. Gladwin worked with Hipour as his instructor during the stay on Polowat, and consulted often with the more senior Ikuliman, even though Hipour and Ikuliman learned their skills from two different navigation schools.

² During the interview, Ali Haleyalur spoke of his concerns about the later *pwo* ceremonies. He felt sorry for those *pwo*, because they were not given in a traditional way. Those who graduated from the *pwo* ceremonies in the other areas had all passed away. Ali Haleyalur emphasises that *pwo* is not like a modern education, and one doesn't pursue one degree after another. *Pwo* only happens once in a person's lifetime, and once you've completed it, you will have to move on by yourself. Also, if a navigator's master is still alive, it is also very disrespectful to conduct your own *pwo* ceremony (Interview with Haleyalur, Yap November 2014).

and cooperated with, the 2009 TNS trip from Yap to Palau using *Simion Hokule'a* (see Figure 31), and the 2010 trip from Lamotrek to Gaum and then Guam to Yap using *Simion Hokule'a* again, and also on a small filming voyage to Ngulu. All these trips were navigated mainly by Ali Haleyalur. Meanwhile Bruno Tharngan from Yap, who led the *Mathow Maram* (see Figure 32), has been learning navigational skills from Haleyalur.



Figure 32. *Mathow Maram*, the largest *popow* canoe of Yapese style on Yap Main Islands in the 2010s

Source. Photographed by © Karen Tu, October 2013

After Ali Haleyalur's resigned from work, he started to participate in the TNS events. In 2013 he returned to his home island, Lamotrek, to help build the large voyaging canoe. He also started a navigational class with some people in Lamotrek (see Figures 33 to 35). In early 2014 when he came back from Lamotrek to stay with his family in Yap, he planned to teach some students navigational skills there. Haleyalur took nine students who attended class regularly while others would sometimes come and listen or stay with them for a while in one of the traditional houses at the Living History Museum in Colonia from Monday to Friday morning. Of the nine regular students, one is from Palau, one from Fachaelop (Faraulap) while the rest come from Lamotrek. The course started in October 2014 and concluded in April 2015. Some students were more advanced and they brought previous sailing experience with them from Haleyalur, while a few college students in their twenties also occasionally came and learned a little from him. Just as David Robinson (1970: 16) described in the 1970s, when he observed navigation training in Ulithi, Ali's students used notebooks to take

down what they learned in class. It seems the indigenous methods of oral storytelling and memorisation is not enough in the contemporary classroom (see Figure 33).



Figure 33. One of Ali Haleyalur's students, Tony Pekalpyie, concentrates while taking notes from Haleyalur—in a modern form using pen and notebook

Source. Photographed by © Karen Tu, October 2013. Used with permission

Ali Haleyalur is happy to share his navigational knowledge with whoever is willing to learn—one foreign student who is teaching at the high school in Yap also comes to him for private lessons. Haleyalur is trying his best to pass down this knowledge and also to make some plans for the future, possibly to sail to the east all the way to Pohnpei or some islands a few hundred miles away to the east of Lamotrek (Interview with Haleyalur, Yap, November 2014). Thanks to the devotion of Haleyalur in teaching navigation on Yap, the knowledge will be given to many students. He

expressed a wish during our interview in 2014 that there will soon be a *pwo* ceremony in which he will initiate his students once he feels that they are ready.



Figure 34. Ali Haleyalur's navigation class taking shelter in one of the structures at the Living History Museum.

Source. Photographed by © Karen Tu, November 2014



Figure 35. Ali Haleyalur and the students discussing navigation at the Living History Museum

Source. Photographed by © Karen Tu, November 2014

Six months after I left Yap, after my second period of fieldwork, the *pwo* ceremony was indeed held by Haleyalur. This recent *pwo* navigator initiation ceremony was held from 23–26 May 2015 in Toruw village, Map, Yap (the actual *pwo* fell on 24

May). The Pasifika Renaissance Executive Director Takuya Nagaoka filmed parts of the ceremony. Ali Haleyalur was assisted primarily by Carlos Yarofaireg and had minor assistance from Robert Erailug on the day of the actual *pwo*.³ Eight students were initiated, including Chief Bruno Tharngan, Alfred Amthun (both from Yap), Nelson Chipelmal, Jasmine Togowemal, Lorenzo Sarmaliyang (from Lamotrek), Winno Ratiul (from Faraulap), Alexander Lupo (from New Jersey, USA) and Metzgar (from California, USA).⁴ Tharngan, Sarmaliyang, Amthun and Metzgar went on the 2010 voyage from Lamotrek to Guam mentioned previously, and the other initiands were participants in Haleyalur's indigenous navigation course in collaboration with TNS.

What is significant is that although people on the main islands of Yap have lost their navigational skills they are trying to revive these by learning from the neighbouring island masters. For example, Tharngan and Amthuns were initiated by Haleyalur, an outer island master navigator, in the 2015 ceremony. This revitalisation combines 'traditional' and modern elements.⁵ Both Sherwood Lingenfelter (1975a) and William Alkire (1980, 1981) indicated that the control over traditional navigational skills benefited the *sawei* relationship assisting the Yapese in their quest for stone money quarries.⁶ Rosalind Hunter-Anderson and Yigal Zang (1996) made a holistic review of the navigational debate. Yapese navigational knowledge and several successful Yapese navigators went to and from Palau.⁷ But what was the relationship between Yap and the outer island navigational skills? Alkire cited the following linguistic evidence:

³ These three navigators were all initiated in the same *pwo* from Urupiy in 1990.

⁴ Participant information and other details given by Eric Metzgar (personal communication, August 2015).

⁵ This is also a question that remains about the *sawei* relationship—if the Yapese *sawei* provided more for the Outer Islanders, then what exactly did the Yapese get from this *sawei* exchange? If the Outer Islanders came on the *sawei* voyages in the past just to access a larger number of goods from the Yapese, the Yapese might have refused their continued visits. Was it true that the Yapese benefited from the Outer Islanders' navigational skills? These researchers all agreed that the benefit of *sawei* to Gagil was superiority over its traditional rivals, Rull and Tamil. Except for this superiority, what else did the Yapese gain from this relationship? Whether they gained navigational skills was a key question in this scholarly debate.

⁶ Alkire suggest that

[t]he outer islanders possessed navigational lore and techniques that permitted them to undertake extensive voyages, and they revealed portions of this to their *sawei* partners. The Gagil Yapese used this knowledge to further improve their position in intra-Yapese politics, primarily through control of voyages to Palau to obtain the famed aragonite stone valuables (1981: 17).

He goes on to say that '[t]he corpus of navigational knowledge which the Gagil Yapese gained access to, by means of the *sawei*, was used to further solidify their power vis-à-vis the rest of Yap' (1980: 235).

⁷ John Tamagyoron, the former chief of Bechiel Village in Map Island, Yap, told Hunter-Anderson and Zang (1996) that the Yapese did not have to use Carolinian navigators in voyages to Palau. However, if a Yapese wanted to, he could ask a Carolinian navigator to come along.

John T. Jensen ... in his work for a Yapese dictionary in 1977 ... found that nearly all words in Yapese which relate to navigation and related domains seem to have derived either from the Ulithian or Woleaian languages (1980: 235).

This evidence suggests that navigational skills on Yap were adopted from the outer islands. But there is local contest about this.

John Haglelgam from Euripik, Ali Haleyalur from Lamotrek, and Leo Racheilug from Satawal, have all heard of their ancestors, generations ago, transferring navigational skills to the Yapese. However, Bruno Tharngan of Yap insisted that they possessed Yapese navigational skills long ago, but unfortunately lost them. Also oral tradition about Fatha'an of Rull and Angumang of Tomil's stone-money quarrying suggests the possibility of Yapese possessing their own navigational knowledge at one time.⁸ Due to the strict hierarchical system between Yap proper and its outer islands, it is uncertain that Yapese and Outer Islanders travelled on the same canoes together, yet there is no evidence showing if this occurred in the past or not.⁹ Perhaps the Outer Islanders gave their navigational skills to the Yapese long ago in order to facilitate the transfer of stone money. Clearly the outer islands are now transferring navigational knowledge to Yap proper. In this case, the recent revival in Yapese navigation as taught by the Outer Islanders is not a new form of learning, but a traditional and historical practice.

⁸ According to the late Andrew Kugfas, who was the Yap State Historic Preservation Officer, traditional navigation was taught in Yap in a place called Fanpuluw (literally 'knowledge of navigation') in Keng Village. Kugfas related to Hunter-Anderson and Zan a traditional story describing how outer islander navigational knowledge became a possession not only of the Yapese in general but of Yapese from the Rull paramountcy in particular. This following is the story of how Fatha'an received his navigational skills, originally from an unnamed female outer islander.

A Yapese from Keng Village gave help to an Outer Islander navigator who was staying on Yap. Having nothing (physical) to give in return, the Outer Islander set out to teach the Yapese the art of navigation. He found that the Yapese were too old and slow to learn, but he had a young daughter who learned fast (the way children learn to speak) and she grew up knowing navigation. When she was old enough she married a man from Mulroo, a low-caste village that had tribute obligations to the high-caste village of Ngolog in Rull. As an implication of this tribute relationship, the woman passed the knowledge of navigation to Fatha'an [Fatha'an], the chief of Ngolog in Rull (cited in Hunter-Anderson and Zan 1996: 12–13).

⁹ The only evidence is in Müller's record. Alkire also acknowledged that Yapese navigators existed and guided canoe voyages to Palau:

[A]ll the chants recorded by Müller ... that were used by *Yapese* navigators were in what he called the 'Mogmog' (Ulithian) language. He also noted that voyages to Palau for stone money were often made with nonlocal captains.

Müller's use of the term *often* indicates that voyages to Palau were not guided exclusively by outer island navigators and that, possibly just as often, Yapese navigators guided these voyages (Müller 1917; Alkire 1980: 25, cited in Hunter-Anderson and Zan 1996: 12).

According to the song for navigators as show in *The Navigators: Pathfinders of the Pacific*:

He's sailing away...
Far away from the island
He examines the sky...
For traces of wind
He asks the spirits...
To foretell his fate
He's sailing away (Low 1983).

Both Pailug's youngest son, Cesario Sewralur, and one of his sons-in-law, Ignathio Emaipiy, are actively keeping the tradition of navigating alive. So too are Ali Haleyalur and Xavier Yarofalyang (who became the master carver of the large canoe *Queen Veronica* that was completed on Lamotrek at the end of 2013). There are many others who were part of the same *pwo* ceremony and are still carving, sailing and navigating. With their indigenous wisdom and desire to teach, navigation lives on.

Non-governmental organisations and canoe revitalisation

Canoe revitalisation, in many forms, has already occurred in Yap (including in the neighbouring islands) and Orchid Island, especially during the last half century, but this revitalisation process has been especially active for the past two decades. In this section, I will focus on the revitalisation that has occurred with the support of non-governmental organisation groups, such as the Yap Traditional Navigation Society (TNS) and *Waa'gey* on Yap. Then, I will discuss sailing activities in the Caroline Islands and beyond, including individual sailing and activities relevant to TNS. Finally, I will discuss the use of rowing projects as cultural revitalisation in the context of Orchid Island. As mentioned in the earlier chapters, Yap Main Islands canoe carving is highly endangered with only one Yapese master carver still practising. The record of the 1999 Yap Day Celebration, reported that only one canoe took part in the sailing session.

[P]articularly in Yap Proper, skilled navigators and canoe builders have become aged and their knowledge has not been transferred well to the younger generation. In the Micronesia-wide movement for reviving traditions, Yapese long-distance canoe sailing is widely publicised. But this is mostly undertaken by Outer Islanders (Aoyama 2001: 6).

The revitalisation projects on the Yap Main Islands are therefore rather more complicated and need more comparative analysis than the outer islands.

Carving the new era: TNS and *Waa'gey*

Generally speaking, canoe carving skills are still practised throughout almost all the outer islands of Yap with Ulithi being the sole exception. There are two groups that are still promoting and preserving canoe-building skills on Yap. The first is The Yap Traditional Navigation Society (TNS) that brings both Yapese and Outer Islander techniques together, although in canoe carving they tend to use and preserve the Yapese style canoe. The second one is *Waa'gey*, founded by the Outer Islanders trying to promote and maintain their traditions on Yap's main islands.

The Yap traditional navigation society (TNS)

Before I first arrived in Yap in August 2013, I was able to gather some information about the Yap TNS and its associated building activities, training in sailing skills, and education programs. I expected canoe-building practices to be well maintained on Yap's main islands. In reality, there is only one Yapese master canoe carver left who continues to put canoe building into practice. Although the broader Yapese community acknowledges the importance of canoe building and navigation skills, shown by the founding of the TNS and the Yap Traditional Maritime Institute, the work they have done so far has been meaningful, but limited. In 2013, due to the lack of financial support, the organisation ceased to operate for almost half the year until two months before the Annual Canoe Festival.

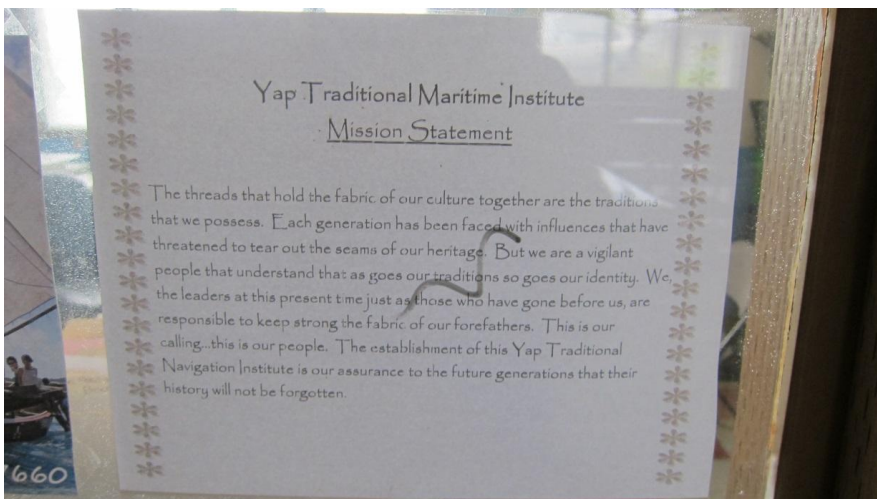


Figure 36. Yap Traditional Maritime Institute Mission Statement posted on the window of the TNS office

Source. Photographed by © Karen Tu, October 2013

The TNS is a non-profit organisation that was incorporated in the middle of 2005 (see Figure 37). The primary goal of this group is to ensure that the indigenous

navigation and canoe-building practices which are essential parts of the Yapese culture are promoted and preserved. The Yap Traditional Maritime Institute is a school founded by the TNS in 2006 (see Figure 36). The school has three main purposes: to revitalise and maintain the traditional Yapese canoe building, sailing and navigating practices; to encourage economic development through the use of these traditional practices; and, most importantly, to re-instil cultural pride in the youth and broader communities of Yap. The institute also offers guests and visitors indigenous canoe tours to demonstrate the art of carving, sailing and navigating. Despite the lack of employees in 2013, compared to the past few years, TNS has completed several meaningful events. TNS has either hosted or has been highly involved in all of the six previous Annual Canoe Festivals that are an important part of the Yapese annual cycle of community celebrations, as well as some sailing projects (Yap Traditional Navigation Society n.d.; Yap Visitor Bureau Website 2015).

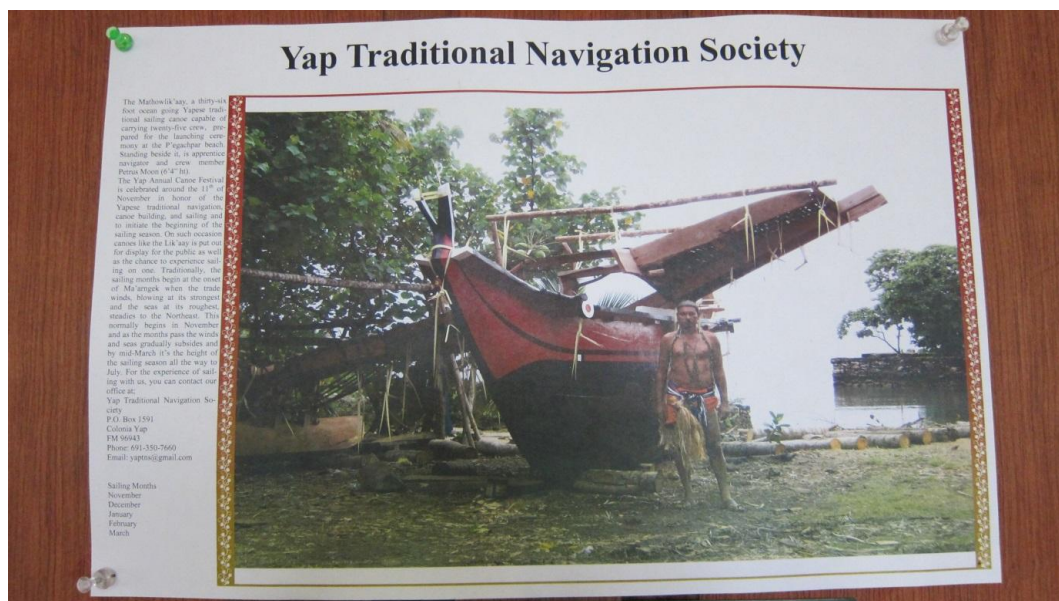


Figure 37. Yap Traditional Navigation Society has its introduction posted in their office, currently in the Council of Pilung's offices

Source. Photographed by © Karen Tu, October 2013

Bruno Tharngan, is the chief in Map and the only Yapese canoe master carver who still practises canoe building (see Figure 38). Tharngan himself is one of the founders of TNS. He is also still a board member of the organisation and, as a master carver, he is eager to share his knowledge with the younger generations. Furthermore, he built the first large voyaging *popow* canoe and the only *chugpin* canoe—an accomplishment that had not occurred for decades. With the permission of Chief Bruno

Tharngan, between 2013 and 2014, I had three precious voyages on sailing canoes of the Yap carving style—as described in the Prologue.



Figure 38. Chief Bruno Tharngan and his newly completed, unnamed *chugpin* canoe in Map

Source. Photographed by © Karen Tu, October 2013. Used with Tharngan's permission

Waa'gey

Now turning to the second NGO. *Waa'gey* is another organisation that I contacted before arriving in Yap. This is also the organisation with which I spent most of my time. The CEO of *Waa'gey* Regina R. Raigetel and Project Coordinator H. Larry Raigetel are from Fais and Lamotrek respectively. *Waa'gey* in Lamotrek means 'future', but in Yapese this means 'chaos' (an intentional play on words by the founders). The mission of *Waa'gey* is to preserve on Yap the outer island lifestyle—with their sustainable culture and traditional practices—allowing them to live together with nature and natural resources.

Waa'gey organises the efforts of volunteers to pass specialised indigenous knowledge from community elders to young people. Today with the introduction of the cash economy and a surge in emigration to the urban centres on high islands, the

continuation of such traditions must be deliberate. Ongoing *Waa'gey* projects include dugout canoe building, handicraft carving and specialised skirt weaving, as well as extracurricular work with school students. *Waa'gey* workers are from the outer islands of Yap, mainly Lamotrek and Satawal. An increasing number of the Outer Islanders of Yap State have relocated to the main islands of Yap. These islanders migrated to Yap for better medical services, education and to participate in the cash economy as described in an earlier chapter. A very direct result for Outer Islanders who move to the main islands of Yap is that there is the added risk that their particular traditions of the past will be lost.



Figure 39. The *Waa'gey* men's group works from Monday to Saturday at the Living History Museum canoe house

Source. Photographed by © Karen Tu, September 2013

Waa'gey delegates men for wood carving and canoe building and women for weaving. The men's group works in the canoe house opposite the Living History Museum in Colonia (see Figure 39). It meets from Monday to Saturday from 8 or 9 o'clock in the morning to 5 or 6 o'clock in the afternoon. Five of the workers received a small stipend from *Waa'gey* in 2013, but there are normally six to 13 workers at the canoe house on an ordinary working day and all of them are either from Lamotrek or Satawal. The women's group is located in a household in Gargey (outer island base area in Tomil) where they work only twice a week, normally on Tuesdays and Thursdays because the women need the rest of the time to do housework and to work in the gardens. CEO Regina R. Raigetal works with the Fais ladies' group on a more flexible timetable. There is a total of a six female workers from Gargey in the weaving group;

all of them are from Lamotrek. During my stay in 2013 with *Waa'gey*, the men's group worked on two *shoasemal* (single person outrigger paddling) canoes, but one has not been finished due to the sickness of the master carver's wife. The *shoasemal* that was completed was named *Karen* as mentioned in the prologue. Moreover, during these three months, the workers completed more than 15 wooden craft items and countless strands of coconut twine. *Waa'gey* has also cooperated with the schools in Yap to provide canoes to students for the teaching of paddling and sailing techniques in order to prepare for the canoe race at the Annual Canoe Festivals in both 2013 and 2014. There were two middle-sized sailing canoes and two single-person paddling canoes in good condition and one single-person paddling canoe waiting for repair and two single-person paddling canoes being carved during September 2013. The women's group wove three modern *lava-lava* (using modern threads) and one indigenous *lava-lava* (using banana fibre) for me. Both groups demonstrated the indigenous cultural items at the fifth and sixth Annual Canoe Festivals as they were assigned to do by the board.

The cultural awareness of *Waa'gey* has withstood many changes over time. But the pace and scope of outside influence is growing at an unprecedented pace. In building and manipulating indigenous canoes, Outer Islanders have stronger skills than Yapese in general. Canoes are still a part of people's daily life in most of the outer islands in Yap State. During my revisit in 2014, I learned from *Waa'gey* that they have been working with students at Yap Catholic High School to learn and build a canoe as an extra-curricular activity. This opportunity is open to both Yapese and outer island students, to sustain this indigenous skill not only in the canoe house but also through learning at school.

We can compare the above two NGOs on Yap. Working with the Yap Traditional Navigation Society (TNS) had always been a priority for my research. However, due to the lack of full-time employees and also the organisation's email server being hacked, I was not able to reach TNS until the second month after I had arrived in Yap. With the delayed connection to TNS, I participated with *Waa'gey* more than with TNS. Furthermore, in reality Yap's main islands have fewer people maintaining canoe building, rowing and sailing which made my research more difficult. However, I feel truly thankful that both organisations assisted me in the best ways that they could.

Sailing through the Caroline Islands and beyond

The late Pius Mau Piailug is popularly regarded as one of the most famous master navigators who devoted himself to navigation revival in the greater Pacific. There is no

denial of Pailug's contribution to navigational revival in Micronesia and Polynesia, yet Pailug's influence and profile beyond his home region has obscured the fact that he was part of a wider tradition that, by necessity, required significant numbers of trained navigators among the population to keep the knowledge alive in case of disasters at sea (D'Arcy 2008: 65–69, 86–97, 164–67). For example, this navigational knowledge persisted in the Yap State eastern islands such as Satawal and Lamotrek, and the north-western islands in Chuuk state such as Pollap,¹⁰ Polowat, Houk (Polosuk). These islands were, and still are, noted for their navigators. People tend to forget that there are still many other excellent master carvers and master navigators who have been and still are doing similar work.

For the Outer Islanders (including the Yapese eastern outer islands and Chuukese north-western outer islands), there has been a trend of reviving canoe carving and also ongoing frequent long-distance seafaring since 1969.¹¹ It could be called the beginning of the 'renaissance' of navigation and voyaging which came to a peak in the 1970s (Metzgar 2006: 295). These voyages not only proved the abilities of the master navigators, but provided good opportunities for Pan-Micronesia cultural diplomacy with other Pacific locations, such as Saipan, Okinawa, Palau, Guam and Tahiti. Such voyages were conducted by Hipour (from Polowat) in 1969 on the ketch *Isbjorn*, and Repunglap and Repunglug (from Satawal) in 1970 to Saipan.¹² Rapunglug later sailed again in 1973 to Saipan and later from Satawal to Saipan then to Okinawa, Japan, in 1975. Ikuliman (from Polowat) sailed to Guam in 1972, and Mau Pailug (from Satawal) sailed in 1973 and 1974, 1989, 1991 to and from Saipan. In 1976 Mau Pailug sailed with the famous *Hōkūle'a* canoe from Hawai'i to Tahiti¹³ and in 1994 he travelled from Yap to Palau using *Mathawmwal*, an indigenous Yapese canoe. Rapwi completed a

¹⁰ Pollap was a key place for navigation, often cited as the island where Carolinian navigation originated (see Lessa 1961; Metzgar 2006; Mitchell 1972; Thomas 2009).

¹¹ In Metzgar's footnote he indicates that the Carolinian–Marianas voyaging renaissance is often cited as beginning with Hipour's 'demonstration' voyage in David Lewis' ketch, *Isbjorn*, which sailed from Polowat to Saipan and back to Polowat in 1969 using only traditional methods. Subsequent voyages by Repunglap and Repunglug in 1970 and Ikuliman in 1972 were accomplished using traditionally-made sailing canoes (Metzgar 2006: 302 n3).

¹² Repunglug or Rapanglug are alternative spellings in different references. This trip was believed to have started in the late 1960s when the Chief of Satawal went on a ship to Saipan then returned to Satawal. He claimed that the leaders of the Carolinian people in Saipan wanted to know if a Satawal navigator could still sail the route to Saipan as their ancestors had sailed (Poblete and Caldwell n.d.: 7).

¹³ The official purpose of the voyage was to show that a two-way (purposeful) voyage celebrating Hawaiian oral tradition could be done in a replica of an ancient voyaging canoe navigated without modern instruments. The *Hokule'a* left Maui, Hawai'i on 1 May 1976 and completed the 2,500 miles (4,023 kilometres) to Tahiti over open ocean to an accurate land fall in 33 days (Poblete and Caldwell n.d.: 7).

return trip from Polowat to Guam in 1986. In 1991, Ikefai completed a one-way journey from Polowat to take a canoe to Guam.¹⁴

According to Metzgar, these voyages were regarded as products of a rivalry between Satawal and Polowat, and indeed these two islands were the most active in the region in long-distance seafaring during that period (Metzgar 2006: 295). Reilly Ridgell, Manny Ikea and Isaoch Uruo (1994: 200) mentioned these voyages as friendly rivalry and that the navigators kept a wary eye on each other. Yet, finally, in April 2000, these rivals cooperated and sailed together with both Satawal and Polowat participants. It was called the 'Millennium 2000' voyage with three canoes contributed by each island. All six canoes arrived at Tanapag Harbor in Saipan together. In 2001, two canoes went from Polowat to Guam led by Sikau and the same year in April, Rapwi Aluwairh left Polowat for Pohnpei, which was a different direction to all the previous voyages listed above. Then in April 2003, Mau Piailug sailed the canoe *Simion Hokule'a* to and from Yap. The canoe is now sitting abandoned and rotting on the shore of Toruw Village in Map.¹⁵ Although he was unsuccessful that year, in the previous year, the voyage was successfully led by Sesario Seweralur and Anthony Urumeng (Mau Piailug's sons) in time for the ninth Festival of Pacific Arts held in Koror, Palau.

These great navigators were all from the same family lines of Polowat on the father's side and Satawal on the mother's side. Rapwi, Repunglap, Repunglug are brothers and so is Urupiy, the oldest brother and a grand master navigator (see Figure 40). Urupiy married Maria Legasugrig from Lamotrek and resided there to raise their family.¹⁶ He was also father of one of my interlocutors, Ali Haleyalur. Sailing experience and skill can be traced back through their family genealogy; their grandfather Sawfa sailed to Satawan in the 1920s and is said to have sailed on trading voyages in the late 1800s to Saipan, Kapingamarangi and Pohnpei in addition to engaging in the regular *sawei* tribute that atoll and low-island dwellers from this region made to Yap (Metzgar 2006: 297).

¹⁴ These journeys were listed mainly from Ridgell, Ikea and Uruo (1994) and Eric Metzgar (2006).

¹⁵ Mau Piailug sailed the *Simion Hokule'a* with a thirteen-man crew from Yap to Palau in preparation for the 9th Festival of Pacific Arts to be held in Koror, Palau the following year. On the return voyage in May the canoe was missing for two weeks before a United States Coast Guard plane found it drifting 30 miles west of Yap. There was talk amongst the Outer Island community in Yap that perhaps Piailug's son, Sesario Seweralur, who was making a trial run as captain on the return leg of the voyage, had made a navigational error. Rather than take over command, it was believed that Piailug was letting his son make his own mistakes (Metzgar 2006: 300).

¹⁶ Urupiy's *pwo* initiation was witnessed and recorded in Hijikata (1997) and said to be held in 1932.

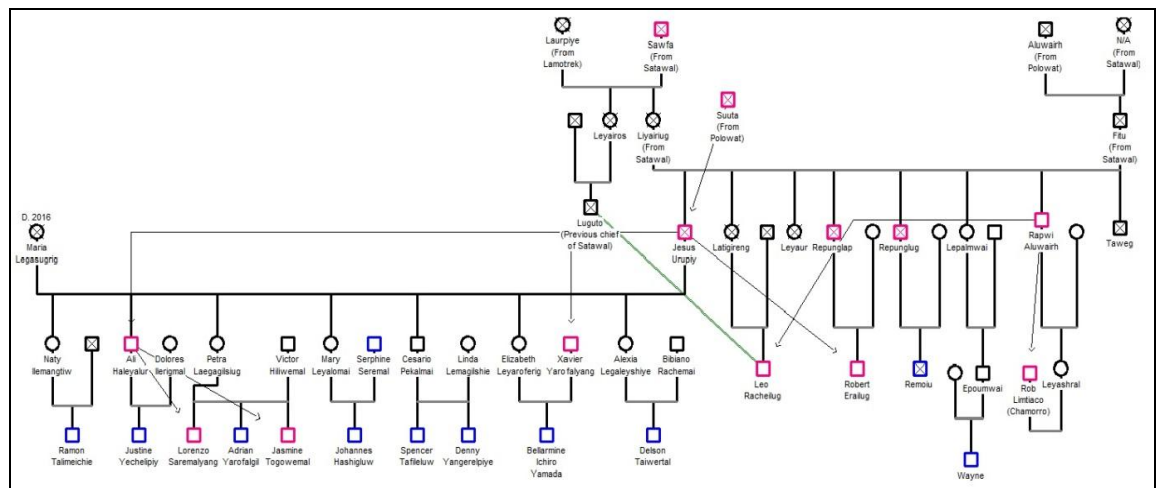


Figure 40. The navigational family tree here shows how these master navigators and apprentices were related. Where red indicates those who had been through their *pwo* ritual, whereas blue indicates those whom had been on longer journeys further than 200 miles, and thin solid lines with arrow indicates the *pwo* ritual conductor.¹⁷

Source. Constructed by © Karen Tu from interview data

These voyages show the frequency of travel and communication between Yap Outer Islanders (including the Chuukese North-Western outer islands), their remarkable abilities in seafaring, and the international relationship between Yap, Japan, Guam, Saipan and Palau through long distance canoe voyages. Despite more than half a century of periodic lulls in canoe voyaging in Yap, sufficient interest and knowledge was maintained to foster a recent revival project hosted by the Yap Traditional Navigation Society (TNS), which began a few years ago.

The revival of sailing on Yap has been on the increase since the middle of 2005. For example, the canoe-building project has produced one middle-sized *popow* sailing canoe annually from 2006 to 2011. Aside from canoe building, TNS was also an important participant in the voyages from Lamotrek to Guam, Palau and back to Yap in 2010. At first, TNS tried to get Yapese to work with Yap State Outer Islanders with necessary maritime skills which proved difficult because of hierarchical issues. TNS embraced both the carving skills from Yap and outer island styles, but relied heavily on the navigational skills of the further eastern outer islands since the memory of former navigational knowledge on Yap has been lost. On 26 January 2009, TNS arranged for two canoes to sail from Yap to Palau to re-enact the stone-money expeditions and also to act as a training exercise for the TNS voyage program. The two canoes were *Mathow*

¹⁷ Due to the size and branches of the tree, not all of the family members could be included here. Thus I have had to choose those mentioned and related in my thesis. In reality, Urupiy and Legasugrig have twelve children in total (in discussion with genealogy providers, Petra Laegagilsug and Adrian Yarofalgil, Guam, May 2017).

Maram with eight crew members and *Simion Hokule'a* with a crew of nine,¹⁸ guided by Bruno Tharngan (from Map, Yap) and Ali Haleyalur (from Lamotrek) respectively. Ali Haleyalur accepted the blessing from another navigator, Carlos Yarofaireg (also from Lamotrek), both of whom had been through the same *pwo* ceremony. In the same year, the first Yap Canoe Festival was held. This has since become an annual event as testimony to the vital importance of canoes and inter-island contact to the Yapese.

In April 2010, the TNS arranged for the same two canoes to travel from Lamotrek to Guam, and then from Guam to Yap's main islands. They first shipped the canoes and crews to Lamotrek, and voyage preparations were conducted there. This was incorporated into the TNS's end of the school voyage after their two-year training program. The composition of the sailing crews was similar to that of the previous trip to Palau with Ali Haleyalur on *Simion Hokule'a*. There were 11 crew members in total, including an American ethnographer (and long-time Micronesian resident) Eric Metzgar who went on board mainly to photograph and document events. Bruno Tharngan led *Mathow Maram* with a total of ten crew members. Both trips relied on indigenous navigation skills.

As late as the mid-1900s, people in the outer islands still often sailed to visit each other. However, due to unexpected weather and other natural hazards, records were kept which tracked sailing incidents. For example, in 1961 12 men with two canoes from Ulul drifted for two months and then found refuge in Gaferut which belongs to Faraulap, while a third canoe with four on board found their way back to Ulul safely. Finally, the *MV Kaselehli* took aboard the two canoes and the twelve from Ulul and returned them to their home island more than three months after their departure. That same year in June, a party of Ulul men (including some of the original group of four on the third canoe that reached home), were reported to have travelled by outrigger canoe to purchase cigarettes at the Truk [Chuuk] District Centre 100 miles (161 kilometres) away ('Rescued at Gaferut' 1961: 19–21). Also in 1963, Pedro Yamalmay and the group from Ulithi were blown off course in strong winds from Mogmog to Fais and arrived in the Philippines.¹⁹ The canoe they used was originally bought for US\$60 by Pedro Yamalmay's father (before Pedro was born) and left behind on the shore of San Julian (Poblete and Cladwell n.d.: 20–21). In 1979, a party of 50 people from Polosuk

¹⁸ *Mathow Maram* was built by Bruno Tharngan and his apprentices, and was newly completed at that time, while *Simion Hokule'a* was built by Mau Piaulug and his brother on Satawal, and was already around 30 years old by then.

¹⁹ In one account it is said the canoe visited Fais on page 7, while on page 20 it is said to be Pagsarai (Fatharai) (Poblete and Caldwell n.d.: 20–21).

ran into a storm and had to repair their canoes on Pikelot Island, close to Lamotrek. Some children and ill people were taken home by an inter-island freighter while the rest set sail again returning home in their canoe after being resupplied by the freighter (Williams 1979: 31). Thus, the revival of intentional long-distance sailing by canoe has been taking place for some time. What is crucial here is that sailing between the outer islands (regardless of whether in Yap's outer islands or Chuuk's outer islands) was still happening throughout the north Pacific till the end of the twentieth century.

The seafaring activities noted above contributed to an interest in cultural revival in Yap proper and the neighbouring islands. This revival of sailing can be seen as a way of preserving the indigenous canoe construction and navigational skills of the islanders. Moreover, through these successful long distance voyages, the possibility of using canoes for promoting and preserving indigenous canoe culture and navigational skills, for both younger generations of the islanders is raised. The events attracted national and international awareness. This renaissance in traditional navigation seafaring leads us to a different vision for the future.

Rowing as a cultural revitalisation project

Unlike the paddling and sailing canoes used throughout Yap and the neighbouring islands, Orchid Island canoes all feature oars for rowing. These larger canoes are known as *cinedkelan*.²⁰ So far there have been two major cultural revitalisation projects associated with large *cinedkelan* on Orchid Island—from construction to rowing. The two projects sought to generate the interest of mainstream Taiwanese society in the Tao culture of Orchid Island, and especially its canoe projects. One project was run by a private organisation which collaborated with the villagers, while the other was hosted by the township government. The rowing project here, unlike projects in Yap, remains at a national level instead of a Pan-Pacific international level that the voyage of the *Hōkūle'a* inspired.

Two *cinedkelan* visited Taiwan from Orchid Island separately in 2007 and 2011, crossing the Kuroshio Current.²¹ They did so as part of a cultural revitalisation project that aimed to improve canoe-building techniques, and to raise awareness of the importance of protecting Tao culture (and the cultures of other ethnic groups in Taiwan).

²⁰ As described in Chapter One, a canoe with a rudder was called *cinedkelan*, or alternatively *tatala*.

²¹ I personally participated in the second event at its launching ceremony. Also, when *Si Mangavang* was rowed to Taipei, I participated in a short voyage riding along the river bank to Taipei city, and then welcomed some of my friends who had rowed the canoe.

The first, in 2007, was a *cinedkelan* named *Ipangana* rowed by 14 men, which travelled along the east coast of Taiwan to Taipei, crossing around 373 miles (600 kilometres). In 2011, the second *cinedkelan*, called *Si Mangavang*, came along the west coast of Taiwan but also finished its journey in Taipei.

There is no previously recorded information about *tatala* or *cinedkelan* having been rowed to Taiwan in any written document, and since this route is not recorded in any Tao elder's memory, it is uncertain if it is dangerous (or not) for the sailors. Consequently, for the purposes of voyage safety and cultural revival, the use of indigenous knowledge of navigation, such as knowledge of the moon and the currents, were important in this journey. Taking such voyages into the unknown relies on the traditions of Tao elders who have passed down the navigational methods that have been used for centuries by Tao sailors.

The 'Keep Rowing' project began in 2006. It was established by Taiwanese documentary film director Jian-Xiang Lin, who had worked with the Tao people for nearly two decades, and had discussed the project with some younger people in Iraraley village. There were two aims behind this project. The first was to cross ethnic boundaries. The second aim was to bring about cultural revitalisation. The project leaders wanted to revitalise the use of indigenous canoes and share this culture with more groups in Taiwan. Lin proposed the idea of *Ipangana* but later the project was led by a middle-aged Iraraley villager, Syaman Fongayen. Although, this project first originated in Iraraley village, sailors came from four villages, and six tribes in total. Each tribe has their own practices and traditions around sailing and boats, and thus the use of a single vessel which merged tribal boundaries and traditions caused problems for some of the sailors.

Although the crossing of *cinedkelan* from Orchid Island to Taiwan has not been recorded in any written document prior to this event, Tao oral tradition recounts how it was common to row to the Philippines and to Batanes and Ivatan islands in particular. Recent archaeological and anthropological evidence suggests that there has been regular contact between Taiwan and the Batanes over thousands of years. In his thesis, Chien-Chih Chiu (2010) focuses on the canoe faring between Taiwan and the Batanes Islands until around 300 years ago. The Kuroshio is the sea link between these two island groups, and contact made by these journeys is likely to be the reason why these two areas have such strong cultural and linguistic similarities.

In May 2007, the *Taipei Times* published Noah Buchan's (2007) English-language article about the voyage of the *Ipangana*. The article stated that this adventure

aimed to revive indigenous traditions and to raise awareness of Tao culture and the environment. Yet the newspaper article included only one Tao point of view, that of Si Maraos, a Tao man who was the previous manager of Taiwan Indigenous Television (TITV) and the current executive director of Lan En Cultural and Education Foundation. This singular viewpoint is quite narrow. The article could have been more representative if it had included the views of *Ipangana*'s builders or sailors. Nevertheless, it is rare to see Tao-related news appear in foreign language media, as it rarely appears on Mandarin Chinese media. This makes the article rather precious, despite its flaws.

In his Master's thesis titled 'Crossing, Transformation and Continuities,' Qalup Damalasan (2007) documented the construction of the *Ipangana* and its journey to Taipei. His work includes interviews with the boat builders, detailing how they felt about the project. The author found that most of the builders were proud of being part of the project since this was the largest boat ever to be made on the island in their generation. Qalup Damalasan regarded the project as one of revitalisation—the transformation of old with new values—and in doing so, the preservation of culture. Although the new building pattern is vague now, the canoe can be seen as a commodity as well as a cultural representation. Most importantly, it is a symbol that Tao canoe building techniques continue to survive.

The largest ever *cinedkelan* noted in written records before 2010 was just over 10 metres long and 2.7 metres high. It was built and constructed from over sixty different types of timber. Up to 14 people could fit into it at one time. But this record was broken by the *Si Mangavang* in 2011, the year of the centenary of the Republic of China (ROC, Taiwan). To celebrate, the Orchid Island township office hosted over 40 different organisations sponsoring the *Si Mangavang*'s construction and voyage across the Kuroshio Strait. This project consisted of five elements: boat construction, boat completion, a launching ceremony, the creation and broadcast of a documentary film called *Sailing to a Good Future*, and media marketing.

The *Si Mangavang* and *Ipangana* have many differences. *Si Mangavang* is larger than *Ipangana*; *Si Mangavang* was mainly built by the Iranmeylek villagers while *Ipangana* was mainly built by the Iraraley villagers. But both *cinedkelan* sailed to Taiwan, although *Si Mangavang* navigated the west coast and *Ipangana* sailed along the east coast. The *Si Mangavang* was a government project, while the *Ipangana* was initiated by a documentary film director and some middle-aged Iraraley villagers.



Figure 41. Left. *Si Mangavang* with seated elders before its test ride

Figure 42. Right *Si Mangavang* piled with taros on its launching day. Men are chanting and waiting for guests to arrive. The Taiwanese flag is on site by coincidence, but it does symbolise that this activity was hosted by the government instead of self-motivated villagers

Source. Photographed by © Karen Tu, June 2011

Si Mangavang is the largest ever *cinedkelan* that has been documented. It was designed for 18 sailors to row. An Iranmeylek male villager in his mid-80s marvelled at such a big boat. He had never seen or heard of any boat as large as this. But gossip and complaints spread over the island. Some islanders wondered what the celebration of the centenary of the ROC had to do with Tao *cinedkelan*. There were a lot of different opinions including disagreement over who owned the boat, because the representative of the canoe owner was not Tao. The completion of the *cinedkelan* and launching ceremony became an occasion for Tao elders to voice their opposition at having the boat owned by an outsider, while it was the Tao villagers who carried out the hard work—cutting, carving, decorating and painting the boat. They perceived that the non-Tao boat owner was sitting back and enjoying the fruits of Tao labour. Moreover, at the canoe-tossing event before the launch ceremony, the host encouraged people from all ethnicities to join in.²² He called for cultural integration and noted this was a cross-cultural experience. This was felt by Tao to be very much against traditional norms. Even more interestingly, the taro and pigs used during the completion ceremony were ‘made in Taiwan’ instead of being obtained from Tao sources.

I was present in 2010 for the launching ceremony of *Si Mangavang*. It was ironic that at the launching site of the canoe, a Taiwan flag was hung right above the canoe (even if it was a coincidence since it was flying from the police station that was situated directly behind the launching ceremony site) (see Figures 41 and 42). Based on the

²² The higher the villagers toss the canoe at canoe-tossing represents the safety and more abundant subsequent journeys of this *cinedkelan*.

arguments described above, most villagers were quite unhappy with the purpose of building the canoe.

Syaman Mibangbang recalled that it was the first time he had actually rowed a *cinedkelan* for such a long distance (it was an 18-day journey in total, however this included 5 days of rest). Most of the carvers also participated in the voyage. During that time, Syaman Mibangbang was nearly 30 years old and he was the second youngest participant. He felt that on the journey he learned much from the elders. After 18 days, his backside was really sore and his palms were callused and blistered. He felt he was more skilled and confident after this rowing journey but still had doubts about its purpose. Syaman Mibangbang said,

I don't feel this event to be very meaningful, the canoe owner isn't even someone from our island, and he was the leader only because he was holding the secretary work in our county government. I only participated because I took it as a paid job; moreover, I have a chance to row long distance and to learn from our elders. I really don't enjoy the design of this event, the only apposite thing is that most people from the majority of Taiwanese can have a chance to meet us and see our culture (Interview with Syaman Mibangbang, Orchid Island, May–June 2013).

Si Manawei, who also participated in the voyage, used to row *tatala*. This required both hands to row two oars at one time, however, rowing a *cinedkelan* uses one oar only, and that was a significant difference for him. The rowing participants took shifts every one hour or so, similar to Syaman Mibangbang's experience. Si Manawei similarly complained about his sore backside and the calluses on his palms. The wooden sitting plank was hard and most of the rowers wanted a cushion to put on the plank. The journey was actually quite safe as there were two motor boats that accompanied the crew at all times, one for shifting rowers and the other for supplies. There was an elder who was nearly 80 years old at that time; he also participated in rowing throughout the entire trip. Si Manawei was glad that he participated in the event since he learned much from the elders. He noticed that in the beginning he and his friends of a similar age were very tired and anxious, unlike the elders who were calm and relaxed. The canoe was built very well because it cut through the waves smoothly and the group arrived a few hours earlier than their predicted schedule. The only part of the voyage Si Manawei did not appreciate was that he felt the event was an act of promotion and was too commercialised instead of focusing on its cultural significance. He stressed that if there was another event in the future, it should be led by the villagers not the government, so

that the program would be more meaningful instead of simply gathering a lot of people for a display (Interviews with Si Manawei, Orchid Island, May–June 2013).

Since many organisations sponsored the construction of the *Si Mangavang*, most islanders who participated in the boat's construction and boat rowing received payment. Therefore, some observant villagers regarded it as 'theft in action'—outsiders were stealing boat-building techniques from the Tao ancestors. The Tao labourers were blamed for selling their time-honoured culture for individual profit. Although the argument of cultural theft may have been over exaggerated, there is a certain amount of truth in it. The project was indeed an exchange of cash for culture with the government-run project paying the Tao people for their indigenous canoe knowledge and techniques. The villagers became 'foreign labour' as the government worked towards the centenary celebrations.

The motivation for indigenous canoe building as a cultural project to revitalise the Tao community was positive, but in the case of the second *cinedkelan*, the *Si Mangavang*, a few villagers claimed it was 'cultural theft.' The truth is, when these projects involve too many external forces or are motivated by financial profit, some community members become upset. Cultural revitalisation is a sensitive issue. Certainly, revitalisation projects need money to sustain their development, but they also need to advocate the idea of community empowerment. The revitalisation projects are a good opportunity to listen to the islander population and understand their needs.

Using indigenous canoe building and rowing as a cultural project to revitalise the Tao community has been successful despite perceived external influences and ownership of the process. However, the importance of letting the indigenous peoples take the lead in such cultural activities is crucial. Moreover, it is important to bring this culture to the attention of more people at both the national and international levels.

Individual and community canoe projects

Revitalisation in many forms has already occurred in Orchid Island, particularly in the last half century. The carving situation on Orchid Island is more like that of Yap's outer islands, where it is an ongoing activity. However, Orchid Island has lost its long-distance navigational skills since they terminated the connection with the Batanes Islands in the Philippines long ago. In this section, I will first discuss the individual and community projects and then divide these revitalisations on Orchid Island into categories in their own way: carving, ritual, collection, tourism and others, while canoe

racing occurs both on Orchid Island and Yap and outer island with their indigenous canoes.

Following the ancestors' footsteps to the forest: Individual and community projects

In general, canoe carving in Orchid Island is ongoing, even if it is not as popular as it once was. Unlike places where there is only one master carver left on the island, Orchid Island carving is not yet close to endangered. Traditionally carvers draw on the same concepts as those of Yap's outer islands, where every man is expected to possess some skills in canoe carving or at least have participated in canoe building, even if they do not have the ability to build a canoe of their own. Canoe building, especially for larger canoes, is a communal collaborative task.

During my stay on Orchid Island in 2013, I encountered three individuals who were carving smaller canoes with several others expressing plans for carving their own canoes in the later stages of the year or the coming year. Only one of these builders clearly stated that his canoe was for tourist use while the rest needed canoes for fishing or simply to replace their old one. Meanwhile, two larger community canoe-building projects were happening at the same time. In this section, I focus on the two community associations that instigated their canoe building projects: the Imorod and Iranmeylek community associations. Each village on Orchid Island has its own community association, and due to the integrated community development project, each village was given 30 million NT dollars²³ to rebuild or develop their village according to the project proposed by each community association. In 2013, these two villages both came up with the large canoe *cinedkelan* building project. I was permitted to participate in the canoe-building process of the Imorod and Iranmeylek tribes.

²³ Roughly 1 million USD according to the conversion rate in 2015.



Figure 43. Six unfinished oars collected from the Irenmeylek village forest

Source. Photographed by © Karen Tu, May 2015

I followed the carving of oars with the Iranmeylek tribe (see Figure 43). I found that one of the logs that had been cut in the mountains was from the 1970s forest reforestation project, during which time an uncle recalled the salary was only \$45 a day.²⁴ But the oar carver workers were generally grateful for the tree that had been planted 40 years ago. During the oar-shaping process, some master carvers kept joking and mocking the apprentices, ‘I can tell that you are carving wrong, oh ... what if I couldn’t carve at all what could you do!’ The whole cutting and carving process was very pleasant with good cooperation among the six team members.

Collecting and partly carving the oars was a long day for all of us. The workers started to gather around the community pavilion around 6 or 7 A.M., and then when all

²⁴ Roughly 1.5 USD according to the conversion rate in 2015.

the workers showed up, they prepared the equipment and went into the forest. By the time we came out of the forest, it was already close to 4 P.M. Two of the workers (one of whom was also a friend of mine) went out to catch flying fish shortly after their shower and dinner break. This was from 9 P.M. until 1 A.M. next day. Once they had caught their fish, they divided it amongst themselves, and removed the fish scales on the shore. After they had finished doing this, they reached home at around 3 A.M. My friend told me this was their daily routine during the flying fish season. Very often they could sleep for no longer than four hours at night and then take a nap during the daytime when they had a free moment.

After I had participated in both community canoe-building projects, the crucial difference I observed between these two canoes was that the Imorod canoe was unpatterned, without carvings, while the one in Iranmeylek was carved with ornamental sculptures on the canoe body. It is common for canoes to be subdivided into those with ornamental sculpturing and those without. Hence the one with carvings requires particular rituals and ceremonies during its launch ceremony, while the plain one has a relatively simple launch.

According to project executive officer Syaman Madobos, from 2012–2013 the Imorod community divided the money for the integrated community development projects into three different projects including taro patch revitalisation, forest path construction and indigenous *cinedkelan* building. The money allocated to the *cinedkelan* building was the smallest amount of the three projects, and it went mainly towards material and tool purchases and labour costs. A total of 24 people signed up to participate in the building project; however, normally there were no more than ten people who showed up on site. In general, the builders worked from Monday to Saturday. The salary for each worker was 1000 NT per day.²⁵ The age group of the all-male participants ranged from 20–70. However, the elders or skilled members would normally be assigned less laborious work and take turns instructing. Syaman Madobos had previous experience in *cinedkelan* building—this was the third large canoe he had built—so on most of the working days he would follow the workers to the job and supervise construction. He also indicated that the wood materials for this canoe were all from tribal elders' personal forests. He felt thankful for the elders who had been diligent in planting the trees otherwise the village might have run out of timber. A small amount of project funds was used in purchasing the lumber from the elders. Imorod village now

²⁵ Roughly 33 USD according to the conversion rate in 2015.

possesses two *cinedkelan* including the one completed in 2013. The previous one was built in 2004 and this new canoe would in general replace the old one as a community canoe (Interview with Syaman Madobos, Orchid Island, June 2013).

The project executive officer in Iranmeylek village is a woman called Si Jyaninik. Unlike Syaman Madobos from Imorod village, Si Jyaninik was unable to participate in canoe construction work because of her gender, and so she was mainly in charge of the office work for the project. Around 20 people signed up to participate in the building project, while generally around ten or fewer workers would show up each day. Their age ranged from the mid-thirties to the seventies. Regardless of age, the workers tended to be divided into masters and apprentices, with the apprentices paid around 1000–1100 NT per working day and the masters awarded up to 1500 NT per day.²⁶ Judging from the daily signup sheet, Si Jyaninik felt that the elders were more diligent than the younger people. Sometimes when she passed the work site during non-paid weekends, she would find the elders working on the canoe regardless of whether they were being paid. Although Si Jyaninik did not participate in the building process, she remarked that the working atmosphere was generally very peaceful with good collaborative work. Even if some of the apprentices had no experience in canoe building at all, the masters would patiently teach them. As in Imorod village, the project in Iranmeylek village also purchased the timber from individuals. Regardless of the species, whether mahogany or other wood, a set price of 15,000 NT per log was paid for the lumber.²⁷ The project working period was from March to July 2013 (Interviews with Si Jyaninik, Orchid Island, May and July 2013).

²⁶ Roughly USD 33–36 for an apprentice and USD 50 for masters according to the conversion rate in 2015.

²⁷ 15,000 NT is roughly USD 500 according to the conversion rate in 2015.



Figure 44. The Iranmeylek *cinedkelan* is sitting behind the three shacks where some villagers are distributing pigs equally for all

Source. Photographed by © Karen Tu, July 2013

I left Orchid Island at the end of June and then returned again in July for the launching ceremony of the canoe built by the Iranmeylek community. As an ornamental sculptured canoe, the Iranmeylek *cinedkelan* had to go through a more thorough ritual process during its launching ceremony. As a community-built and owned canoe, there was no individual canoe owner in this case. Before dawn on the morning of 27 July 2013 the whole Iranmeylek village started to gather around the newly completed *cinedkelan*. Traditionally, the launching of canoe begins the previous night and would last all night long. The main difference between a community-owned canoe and a family-owned canoe is that there is no canoe owner and hence there is no guest hosting and no chanting in reply. Indigenous chanting was performed the previous night only until the early morning of 27 July. Before dawn, men started to kill pigs as animal sacrifices to divide equally amongst the visitors from other villages and the villagers themselves (see Figure 44). The *cinedkelan* was already piled up with large taros that filled the canoe and also hung on the edge, symbolising a good harvest. However, the taros that were to fill the canoe were all too large, so the community association decided to purchase imported taro and pigs from Taiwan.²⁸

²⁸ Nineteen pigs were purchased as well as bags of taro. The total cost of the pigs and taro were 400,000 NT, equal to roughly USD 13,333.



Figure 45. Left. The Iranmylek *cinedkelan* on its test ride

Figure 46. Right. Tourists and participants flooded into the peaceful village for the event

Photographed by © Karen Tu, July 2013

The launching ceremony went well including elders' and visitors' blessings, canoe tossing and so on. After the tossing event, the members of the project assembled the oarlocks back onto the canoe and then brought the canoe down to the village shore for a test run (see Figure 45). The canoe went out three times in total. The first time they recruited mainly the tribal elders and skilled builders. The second time they recruited middle-aged canoe builders and villagers. The last run was open to all male villagers regardless of age or experience, especially to tribal youngsters. While watching the canoe from the sea bank, I could discern a clear difference between the last run and the previous two. The youngest crew were not as skilled as the elders and did not cooperate—some clashed oars, or rowed in opposite directions. However, from Si Jyaninik's point of view, despite this result, it was a good opportunity for the younger generation to participate and learn about rowing and pig killing since it is an uncommon practice in contemporary times. Moreover, in the past, the test run was always reserved for elder members. The three runs took around nearly an hour and later on the canoe was placed back on the shore (see Figure 46). After the ceremony, I talked with some of the builders and generally they were very satisfied with their work. The canoe was strong and fast, and there was no need to change or adjust any part of it. The canoe has now become the Iranmylek community-owned canoe that can serve at future ritual functions during the annual flying fish season.

Ritual, collection, tourism and other activities

Canoes in Orchid Island continue to have strong practical and ritual functions. The first ritual function for a canoe, especially if it is sculptured, is when it undergoes the launching ceremony. Moreover, the annual *mivanowa* ceremony was especially important for the *cinedkelan*. As global warming and climate change issues occur

throughout most of the Pacific islands, the associated effects threaten islands and islanders living close to the ocean. Orchid Island has been affected and the Tao people on Orchid Island have been gradually facing the challenges of climate change, in terms of shifting or uncertain seasons.

Orchid Islander Tao have their own calendar; the first ceremony of the flying fish season is called *mivanowa* (at the shore). This ceremony is very important because it represents a good start and good luck for fishing throughout the whole year. After this ceremony, an able-bodied man can begin to hunt for flying fish. Flying fish come to Orchid Island from the Philippines along the Kuroshio Ocean current. The speed of the current runs so fast that it is almost a 'conveyor belt' for fish on their migration. The flying fish attract other larger-sized fishes, for which they are prey. Theoretically, these flying fish arrive in Orchid Island around February or March each year.

However, due to the effects of climate change and global warming, flying fish now come to Taiwan irregularly. Usually, the indigenous Tao calendar recorded *mivanowa* in February or March when the flying fish migrated to the waters around Orchid Island. Now, this is not always the case. The Tao people have to wait until *mivanowa* to catch flying fish, for this is the tradition they follow. They are unwilling to break the tradition, even though other Taiwanese catch flying fish as soon as the fish appear in the seas around Taiwan. Tao people use their indigenous canoes to catch flying fish. Due to their *mivanowa* tradition and their *tatala* or *cinedkelan* size, Tao people catch fewer fish than their Taiwanese counterparts. Tradition has become an economic disincentive, leaving them with fewer fish to trade. One solution has been for Tao fishermen to continue to follow *mivanowa* but substitute their canoes with motor boats. In addition, the Tao people have demanded that the government stipulate that external fishing boats (boats not belonging to the citizens of Orchid Island) remain at least three nautical miles from the island. Earning a living and maintaining the ecological balance is growing more difficult for the Tao people.

The annual *mivanowa* ceremony, with only a few exceptions would be led by Imorod village and then other villages would have their ceremony later on.²⁹ All the families that own either a *tatala* or *cinedkelan* would bring their canoe down to the shore and stay with their canoe in the early morning of *mivanowa*.³⁰ After the ceremony

²⁹ In the traditional story and belief, when flying fish came from the south, they passed Imorod village first; hence most likely Imorod village will be the first to have *mivanowa*.

³⁰ The rituals include a traditional prayer, animal sacrifice (generally one rooster) and animal blood dotting. Then the largest or most representative family's *cinedkelan* would immediately go out for a test row representing all the canoes hoping for a good harvest in the flying fish season. That is the ritual role

is finished at the shore, the male participants take three small bamboo tubes, sprinkled with animal blood, to their house and hang them in front of the yard. These bamboo tubes bring wishes that the household will be as pure as the cleanest water from the mountain, and the family will have a healthy and long life for the future. By the time the male members return to their family, the female members are all dressed in indigenous customary clothes and local food is prepared for family members to dine together in gender-separated eating areas.

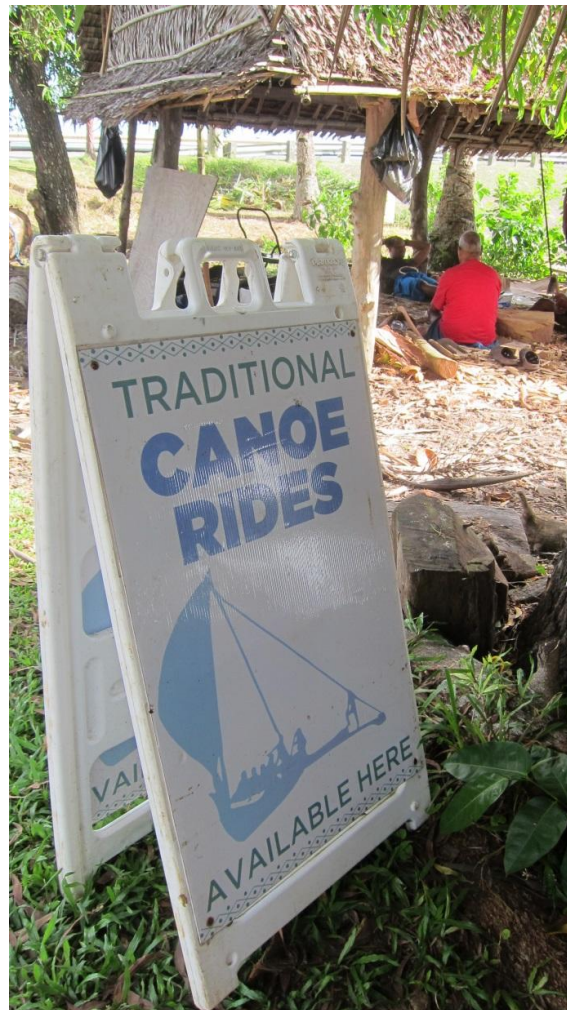


Figure 47. *Waa'gey* sign of traditional canoe rides in front of the canoe houses in Colonia, Yap

Source. Photographed by © Karen Tu, November 2014

of the *cinedkelan* during the *mivanowa* ceremony. These procedures only involve men; women are either not allowed to participate or have to be watching from a fair distance. Hence, as a female participant, I had to stay above the sea bank in order to show respect.

In Yap State, on Yap Main Islands, both *Waa'gey* and TNS are using their canoes to take tourists on short trips for a fee (see Figure 47).³¹ The main reason for doing so is to keep the canoes in regular use, and also to have some income for the team members who give assistance. For a paddling canoe trip with *Waa'gey*, one of the members would simply instruct the tourist how to paddle inside the lagoon. When sailing, two or three members would accompany the tourist on the indigenous middle-sized canoe to sail a bit further outside the lagoon depending on the wind for around half an hour to an hour. TNS canoes are now held in Wachelob village, Map due to repair and storage issues. Usually three members would accompany the tourist on an indigenous middle-sized canoe to sail within the reef for half an hour, depending on the wind. Orchid Island canoes have been used for tourism for quite some time (see Figure 48). Many Tao elders have been critical of this for many reasons. First, canoes have traditionally been used only for fishing. Moreover, there are certain taboos that should be followed which have been ignored since the arrival of tourists—for example, the taboo that during the flying fish season, a woman cannot touch or be aboard an indigenous canoe. It is said there must be a reason why the ancestors made this regulation. Traditionally it is men that dominate the ocean while women dominate the land. Since females have no skill in rowing or swimming, there is no point in taking any females fishing.³² Outsiders may perceive the taboo as sexist yet to the Tao community this taboo protects females from being hurt at sea.

Before serving as the Iranmeylek community association supervisor, Sinan Jipehngaya had been working as the community association secretary for many years. She emphasised that the ideal community-developed blueprint should have a good balance between keeping indigenous culture whilst welcoming tourists and the economic benefits they bring. The village members who row canoes for tourists do not only provide labour but they also act as tour guides by sharing some of their cultural knowledge. A tourist may read a lot from the internet or a book, but a villager can share his/her own life experience, personal stories and his/her own practices. This personal contact may encourage the younger generation to take pride in their culture, and regard it as unique, precious and worth cherishing. As a previous community association

³¹ Prices ranged from USD 10–30 per person in 2014 depending on whether it was a paddling or a sailing canoe that was hired.

³² The description that says that females have no skill in rowing or swimming might be quite extreme. Maybe, in the past, due to the gendered division of labour, women had few skills in rowing or fishing as those were not activities in the women's domain. However, it would be incorrect to say that women had absolutely no fishing, rowing or swimming skills.

secretary, Sinan Jipehngaya, mentioned, there were a lot of ‘ideal’ projects assigned from the government to preserve and promote Tao culture that came with good intentions and sometimes large amounts of money. Yet she believed this method is not what is needed. In order to maintain their culture, she believes projects need to blend traditional knowledge and customs with foreign ideas and cultures (Interview with Sinan Jipehngaya, Orchid Island, May 2013).



Figure 48. A sign of *tatala* voyages for tourists, personal advertisement in front of Syapen Yongala's residence close to the shore of Iratey village

Source. Photographed by © Karen Tu, June 2013

I have spoken to three islanders from two different villages that work (or used to work) as rowers on the *tatala* for tourists. Syaman Mibangbang worked as a *tatala* rowing guide from 2009 to 2012. He used the canoe of his grandfather from his mother's side to take the tourists. He was a new hand at first and now he knows how to row speedily. He started this job when he first returned to the island after a long absence and had no job opportunities until he heard from his uncle that he could work as a tourist rower. He remarked sometimes that the other villagers might be critical, but he added that maybe they were just jealous because he was making money. But Syaman Mibangbang always said that he followed all of his grandfather's rules. If he wanted to do or try something new, he would ask the permission of his grandfather. He enjoyed earning money and promoting culture by rowing because there is much to explain to the tourists. Sometimes he would share his income with his grandfather because he is using his canoe. However, grandparents spoil grandsons, especially Syaman Mibangbang's first son who was born at that time. Thus, the grandfathers normally won't take any

money or just take a little. Syaman Mibangbang also said, 'I have three other brothers but none of us really inherited the carving skill yet, we are all still learning the processes of culture' (Interview with Syaman Mibangbang, Orchid Island, June 2013).

Si Manawei is still working as a rowing guide. He started in 2007 when he returned home after a car accident in Taiwan. He uses the canoe belonging to his grandfather on his father's side because that canoe had lain idle for more than three years and nobody was actually using it. At first the price he charged tourists was 300 NT per head but now it has increased the price to 400 NT. Si Manawei is happy to generate some income by taking tourists out in the canoe. Moreover, he feels he is making good use of his grandfather's canoe. It is better to use it instead of letting it sit rotting because his grandfather is already in his eighties and has no strength to row anymore. He really admires the skill of his grandfather in canoe building because the canoe is really light and still functions well after more than ten years. He insists on following the tradition of waiting until the flying fish which have been caught have their wing-like pectoral fins cut. This ceremony is a symbolic end to the flying fish season, but people can still keep on catching if they want. Sometimes the rowing guides stop taking tourists out if there is a deceased person in the village. Generally they will take a break of three days to respect the family of the deceased. At first, when tourists asked Si Manawei many different kinds of questions, he wondered how to answer and had to confirm details with the elders. But after a year he felt confident about giving accurate answers about his community's traditions, especially the knowledge of canoes.

In 2009 I personally took Si Manawei's guided tour from the shore of his village to a close-by fishing ground on a far reef. It was the first time he had rowed the canoe for such a long distance. The night before we set off, Si Manawei invited me to talk to his grandfather and ask about the current, route and the points to note along the way. Altogether it was a four-hour roundtrip including a quick rest. He said to me that he was probably the first of his generation who had rowed a *tatala* over to that reef on his own. Si Manawei thinks it is a good thing to use part of their culture to attract tourists. However, he believes that there should be a mutually beneficial way to let tourism and culture co-exist. He is also concerned about the over-development that has occurred in other islands that have lost their culture due to massive tourism transformation. He wants to keep the traditional culture alive, and he is also glad that his culture and the environment he and his people are living with can be an attraction for foreign visitors (Interview with Si Manawei, Orchid Island, May 2013).

Syaman Mibangbang and Si Manawei are representative of the younger or middle generation. Syapen Yongala, in his mid-sixties, still practises canoe building and uses his *tatala* for both catching flying fish and carrying tourists. There is a traditional Tao saying about marriage called *domanbit* that refers to marriage as someone getting on a canoe.³³ In 2012, Syapen Yongala once rowed me. He works as a tour guide offering *tatala* rowing, fieldtrip touring and night fishing. Syapen Yongala still uses his canoe for catching flying fish and after the fishing season he uses the same canoe to carry tourists. However, the canoe he is using is already six years old (in 2013) and he plans to build a new one maybe within a year or two to replace it. When complete it will be the sixth *tatala* he has built himself.

To conclude, the use of indigenous *cinedkelan* for fishing on Orchid Island is no longer common. However, some elders still insist on rowing their *tatala* to catch flying and dolphin fish (*Coryphaena hippurus*), and to maintain their traditions, while at other times they use them when they have no money to afford motor boats and fuel. However, the union of rowing and fishing in indigenous vessels is now dying out and motor boats are used instead. In Iranmeylek village for example, the family who owns a motor boat maintains their fishing union membership or family participation in fishing. When there was occasional community fishing, there would be a broadcast from the village office giving details. Those who provided a motor boat would wait and pick up other male participants to go fishing together. The cost of the fuel used for the trip would be shared by all the participants as well as the fish caught. The boat owner might get twice as many fish because he provided the boat. If there was a good catch then they would also provide some elders or women who live alone with fish, even if they did not participate in the catch at all. Thus, communal sharing in Orchid Island culture continues even though the equipment and the vessel are changing.

Racing: Canoe competitions

From 2009, the same year that TNS arranged their trip from Yap to Palau, TNS as well as other organisations started the first Annual Yap Canoe Festival (see Figure 49). Up to the end of 2014, there have been six canoe festivals. They usually consist of canoe paddling events (using modern canoe materials), traditional sailing races, bamboo raft races, traditional paddling races and swimming. There are also indigenous dance performances with participants from different villages as well as indigenous cultural

³³ Phrase translation elaborated by Sinan Jipehngaya.

demonstrations from both Yap and the outer islands. I observed the fifth canoe festival in 2013, and participated in the traditional sailing race in the sixth canoe festival in 2014.



Figure 49. Two indigenous canoes getting ready for their sailing race on the second day of the 5th Yap Annual Canoe Festival. A motorboat on the very far end is there to accompany them in case of any violation and security problems

Source. Photographed by © Karen Tu, November 2013

The canoe festival was originally intended to attract tourists to Yap. However, due to the international flights coming from Guam only twice a week, and once a week from Palau (connecting with the same flight from Guam), tourist numbers are limited. Even so, the international flights from Guam and Palau still bring in steady numbers of tourists and the islanders have started to respond by offering canoes for use by tourists. Canoe sailing and demonstrations also take place on Yap Day, which is celebrated on 1 March every year. For example, at the Yap Day celebration in 1999,³⁴ which was the first time the celebration had become a three-day event, there were six elements—‘opening ceremony, award presentation, children’s cultural games, indigenous dances, canoe sailing and booth-based activities. All except for canoe sailing at the Colonia Harbor took place in Abay’ (Aoyama 2001: 4).

³⁴ According to Toru Aoyama

Outer Islanders have been excluded from the celebration for years. However, if Yap Day ever should play a central role of cultural tourism in Yap State, the celebration need[s] to be the true representation of the cultures of the peoples of Yap State in the eyes of others from outside and the anomaly of the exclusion of Outer Islanders needs to be redressed. Outer Islanders’ participation in dancing and canoeing, in which they excel, would be a welcome change in the program of the Yap Day celebration[s], even though there still remains a logistic problem of bringing teams of Outer Islanders to Yap Proper and accommodate them (2001: 11).

Similar to Yap State's Annual Canoe Festival, Orchid Islanders have their annual canoe festival periodically. The fifth Taitung Lanyu County Oceanic *Tatala* Rowing Race³⁵ was held in 2015. It is a township-wide festival to encourage all the villagers to compete with each other based on either an individual or inter-tribal basis. The intentions of this race are to encourage emigrated tribal villagers to return home and participate in rowing indigenous canoes and, most importantly, to acquire long-lasting and abundant Oceanic knowledge from the elders. The competition includes the single person *tatala* race, tribal ten people's *cinedkelan* race as well as indigenous dancing competitions. Occasionally on Father's Day or some other commemoration day some of the tribes host their own rowing races within their own tribe. Since canoes are generally used by some of the elders for fishing, rowing is not difficult or unfamiliar to most of the male villagers. During flying fish season, while I was staying in Iratey village in 2013, some neighbours went out fishing using their *tatala* almost every night if the weather permitted. However, canoe racing is not an indigenous event for Tao people and it only started recently. In the past, there was no actual race, but privately skilful rowers and fishermen would compete with each other according to their speed and the amount they caught.

Iranmeylek community association supervisor Sinan Jipehngaya shared with me her experience of participating in dragon boat racing during the Chinese Dragon Boat Festival. She recalled it was sometime around 1995, when some Orchid Islanders had either temporarily or permanently migrated to Taipei from Orchid Island. Hence some villagers came up with the idea of competing in the dragon boat festival race and when they did not have enough team members, some villagers flew over to participate in the race as well. From then on a flying fish dragon boat team has been competing. Ever since their first race, they have performed well. So much so, villagers from Iranmeylek fundraised to purchase a dragon boat from Taiwan to practise paddling. The redecorated dragon boat is still in use in the village—especially before the dragon boat festival race.

Si Manawei who is in his mid-thirties shared with me his experience in participating in the flying fish dragon boat team for perhaps six or seven years. At first he worked in Taipei as a labourer and so it was easy for him to participate. Then a few years ago he moved back to stay on Orchid Island with his grandfather. In this case, if there was enough funding, he would fly out and join the race. He described it as a good opportunity to gather together some of the Orchid Islanders who are dispersed in

³⁵ The original Chinese name for this event is 台東縣蘭嶼鄉海洋盃拼版舟競賽; however, unfortunately, the scheduled rowing race was postponed to 13 August 2015 due to the influence of a typhoon.

Taiwan. The event allows them to get together to catch up with family and friends (Interview with Si Manawei, Orchid Island, May 2013).

Sinan Jipehngaya noted that in 2004, there was a challenge put to *Cinedkelan* to compete with dragon boats, and she said with pride that, ‘of course our canoe won!’ But she added that the race was more of a cultural experience to promote Tao canoes rather than a real race or game. Si Manawei also recalled the dragon boat competing against an indigenous canoe in a race—it was organised by the Taitung County Government at a lake in Taitung. The indigenous canoe was shipped to Taitung and some of the middle-aged crew flew out from Orchid Island to help organise the race and demonstration. Si Manawei did not participate because the younger generations were already working at that time, and he heard from some of his uncles that the race would be quite different because it was held in a lake and hence there would be no waves. Also the buoyancy was very different from rowing in the salt water ocean. In his opinion, their indigenous canoe was designed for use in the ocean only (Interview with Sinan Jipehngaya, Orchid Island, May 2013).

Sinan Jipehngaya recalled the Father’s Day canoe race on Orchid Island which began in 2005 and was organised by the community association.³⁶ I participated once in 2009 in such an event. The race was originally set for the previous weekend. However, due to the influence of Typhoon Morakot, the race was postponed. I remember talking to some participants at that time; they were complaining in a light-hearted way that Father’s Day should be a day for fathers to rest, rather than expending their energy rowing. Nevertheless, the winners were all happy with their prizes and presents, while the others were also happy to make fun of the rowing performance of some participants.

***Wa* and *tatala* in the literary, visual and performing arts**

Canoe revitalisation also raises another issue. Some of the canoes were built solely for exhibitions, museum collections and display. According to an Orchid Island Tao elder Syapan Bamunan, ‘The canoe has finished, but why not row (use) it?’ (Ding 2010: 49). This question has prompted canoe builders and project members to consider whether a canoe built in the indigenous method for demonstration or exhibition loses its essence of being a ‘traditional canoe.’ Can a canoe be ‘authentic’ if its function is not fishing, ritual enactment or voyaging? (Ding 2010: 49). However, it is crucial to note that a canoe may have a lot of additional functions rather than just rowing and sailing. Hence in this

³⁶ Father’s Day in Taiwan is on 8 August every year. Therefore, the event will be held on the previous or the subsequent weekend.

section, I explore how the canoe is represented in contemporary literature and the visual and performing arts. I emphasise that canoes were not only crucial to the islanders in the past but continue to have a significant position in society today. Canoes not only appear as physical objects or examples of carving, but often the image or the symbolic meaning of the canoe is considered as important as the actual canoe itself. Here, I would like to explore two specific genres for the contemporary canoe in daily lives: in literature, and in visual and art forms.

First, I will discuss contemporary literature, especially the image of *tatala* in Orchid Island. Due to the influence of the Han Chinese compulsory education system that was introduced to Orchid Island, most islanders born after the 1950s started to attend Chinese school and to learn Chinese from the first grade of elementary school. Alternatively they speak fluent Chinese themselves in response to current needs within mainstream society.

The case on Orchid Island is actually quite different from that of Yap State. As mentioned above, much Orchid Island oral history has been written down or published, which is not the case throughout Yap or the FSM. Below, I am going to focus specifically on the Tao ethnic writing of Syaman Rapongan. As of 2015 he has had eight books published which describe his lived experience on Orchid Island as well as stories heard and retold from his family. His work has won several writing prizes and some of his selected works have been translated into several other languages including English, Japanese and Korean. His influence in bringing Tao culture and writing to mainstream Taiwanese society is significant—two versions of high school Chinese text books include one of his pieces.³⁷

I will give some examples of how Syaman Rapongan depicted the image of canoes. In his writing, canoes are textual figures directed towards readers from mainstream Taiwanese society as well as readers from other countries. Syaman Rapongan left Orchid Island to attend high school in Taiwan. After high school he was refused a recommendation to attend university, so he worked as a labourer, taxi driver and had many other kinds of jobs. Finally, four years later, he took the entrance exam for university, choosing not to accept any indigenous privilege points.³⁸ After his son was born, Syaman Rapongan decided to move back to Orchid Island and stay with his parents. As one of the very few university graduates of his time, he was unfamiliar with

³⁷ Textbook number 4 in Zhengzong version and textbook number 4 in Datung version.

³⁸ Some universities in Taiwan provide guaranteed numbers of indigenous seats, while extra points of between 25 per cent and 35 per cent of the total grade will be awarded to benefit ethnic minority students.

traditional affairs and his clumsiness in fish catching when he first returned home was a source of shame for his mother and wife (Tu 2010).

Syaman Rapongan's father built him a canoe in order to welcome him home, and hoped his son would be able to become a 'versatile' Tao man who could row his canoe and go fishing by himself. In (祖先原初的禮物 (The original gift from ancestors)), he mentioned that seven years after he settled back on Orchid Island, he built his first ornamented canoe on his own in gratitude for his father's gift. He felt that his once-deprived body whilst he lived in the city was transformed into a healthy and strong physique as a labourer in Orchid Island. Syaman Rapongan spent more than a month in the mountains to cut down the more than 20 trees he needed for his canoe planks following the pattern his father had marked on the tree trunks previously.³⁹ He wrote, 'Canoe building passes down the original labouring belief of our people' and 'Canoe building is for the ocean, and also for the soul of flying fish' (Syaman Rapongan 2007: 36). Syaman Rapongan spent years listening to the words and stories from his father and uncles, all of them skilled story tellers.⁴⁰ He inherited this skill and incorporated these beautiful oral traditions and stories into his own writing. In (黃金的靈魂縈接回航的男人 (Golden souls welcome men returned from the sea)), Syaman Rapongan wrote the story of how his youngest uncle took him to the mountain and told him the story of each tree and the different classifications of tree type and quality. The ecological system Tao people built up centuries ago is wisdom from the ancestors and the long-term life philosophy of the island. How people categorised the fish in the ocean and how people categorised the trees in the forest was continually built into the life philosophy and Oceanic philosophy of Tao culture (ibid: 38–43).

Many stories in Syaman Rapongan's work are based on real stories told by the villagers, and reflect the dilemma between following tradition and adapting to contemporary society. He often regretted that the villagers did not write their stories down as he believed that they could compose fascinating stories from their life experiences. The canoe features in his writing as a deeper cultural metaphor. Canoe

³⁹ Every family has a unique pattern; some can be as simple as a cross or two slashes. But all men in the village follow the regulation that once a tree trunk is marked (usually carved with the axe), it means the tree has an owner. These trees are viewed as gifts from the ancestors to their descendants (mostly father to son). As time passes the mark might fade or begin to be unclear on some trees, hence, men have to do 'mountain cruising' in order to make sure all the trees that belong to the family are still clearly marked and are growing well. Syaman Rapongan's youngest uncle named these trees as 'ancestors' diligent wisdom' (Syaman Rapongan 2007: 39).

⁴⁰ As one of the very few university graduates, Syaman Rapongan is perhaps the only person of his age who can utilise both traditional Tao language and Han Chinese language at an equivalent level of proficiency.

building, just like other indigenous practice, reflects the beauty passed down from his ancestors and also the philosophy of Tao for Syaman Rapongan. His literature symbolises the aesthetic beauty of life anchored in an oceanic Tao ethnic group and their relationship with the ocean. Long-term observations compose this sense of oceanic humanity and literature. To conclude with the words of Syaman Rapongan's father, '*Tatala* is the gift from the ocean,' and so are the elements of Syaman Rapongan's writings (Syaman Rapongan 2012: 186, 189).

I will now discuss the visual imagery and art which depict canoes in contemporary forms. Orchid Island has become a tourist site for Taiwanese people due to its cultural differences and its geographical location. The unique culture and the special construction of *tatala* are different from that of Taiwanese mainstream society and hence the image of the canoe is often featured on handicrafts, art pieces or even clothes (see Figure 50). During my stay on Orchid Island, I interviewed three 'artists': a handicraft worker and souvenir store owner, a street souvenir maker and vendor, and a tailor. They showed me how they embedded the image of the canoe into their art work for commercial applications. The uniqueness of Orchid Island *tatala* means that it has become a symbol of Orchid Island and Tao culture. The three artists I interviewed used *tatala* in their designs, such as carving model canoes and depicting canoes on a necklace, bracelet, keychain, or hanging ornament, and on a printed t-shirt, skirt, hat or handbag.

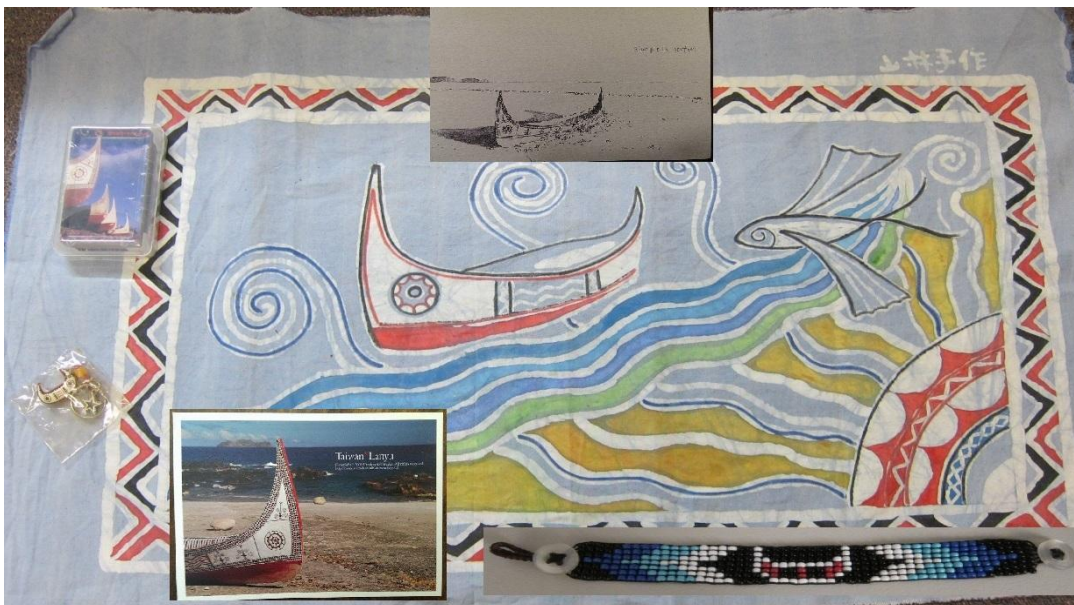


Figure 50. Canoe images and symbols appeared on many different art designs, such as playing cards on the top left, key rings on the middle left, table cloths in the centre, post cards on top centre and bottom left, and beaded bracelets on the bottom right. These are part of the author's personal collection

Source. Arranged and photographed by © Karen Tu, January 2013

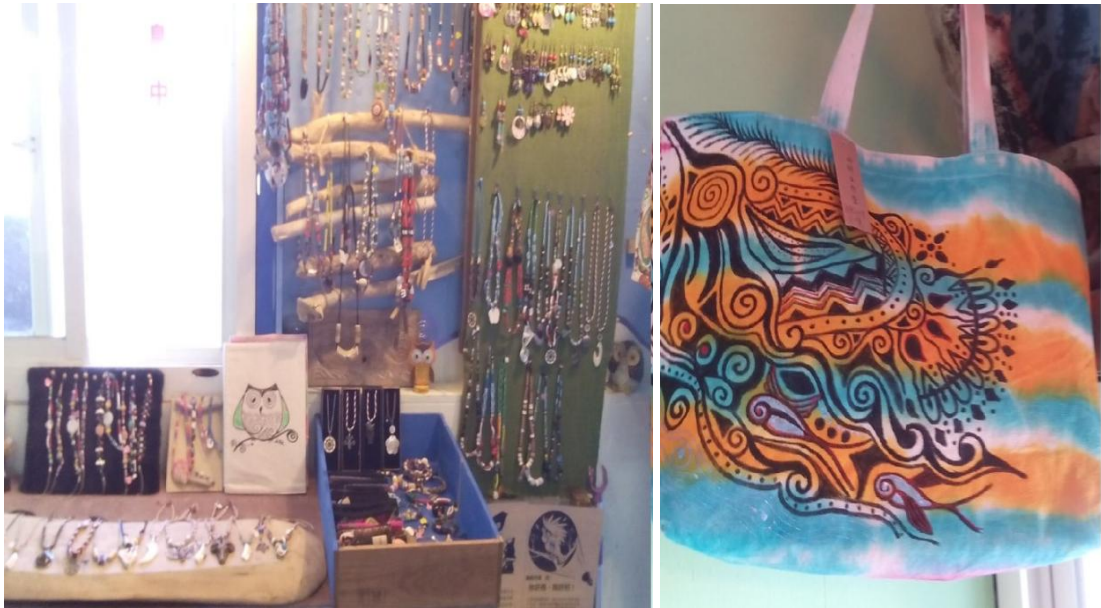


Figure 51. Left: Syaman Jypenhgaya's artworks in his personal studio

Figure 52. Right. A shoulder bag created by Syaman Jypenhgaya that includes *tatala*, wave, flying fish and indigenous Tao patterns

Source. Photographer © Syaman Jypenhgaya, May 2013. Used with permission

Syaman Jypenhgaya, a handicraft worker and a successful souvenir store owner has been in this market for over 20 years. He started by painting indigenous elements, such as *tatala*, on stones to sell to tourists. However, painting on stone is slow, even though the cost of gathering stones is cheap. After a few years, Syaman Jypenhgaya started to combine modern and indigenous elements in his artwork by developing a mass production method (see Figures 51 and 52). In his opinion, cloth, bracelets, and bags with indigenous elements are some of the top sellers in his store. These are the practical ways of utilising indigenous symbols in daily life. Syaman Jypenhgaya's goal is to incorporate culture into everyday lifestyles in order to demonstrate the beauty of Orchid Island, instead of just making an art piece that would be placed somewhere on display and not be used. The aesthetic feeling or perception of beauty, for example using *tatala* or other cultural images in the products of Syaman Jypenhgaya, inspires his artistic creations (Interview with Syaman Jypenhgaya, Orchid Island, May 2013).

Sinan Mangarlaw, a souvenir maker and street vendor, started working to subsidise the financial needs of her household. She uses beads with model *tatala* to make necklaces and bracelets (see Figure 53). She enjoys selling souvenirs to tourists because sometimes when they ask a cultural question that she cannot answer, she asks her elders. She feels like she is learning her own culture this way. Many tourists asked

questions about the eye of the canoe, as they often do not understand the significance of putting an eye on the front and back of the canoe on both sides. Sinan Mangarlaw said, if the tourists were particularly interested, she would even share with them some stories from the oral traditions she learned from her village elders. Selling souvenirs is not just a business to Sinan Mangarlaw. She emphasised that one has to feel or understand the culture behind the artwork before taking the souvenir back home. Otherwise, it is as if a tourist is not actually taking something with them. Artworks with model canoes on them are the top selling among all tourist souvenirs, and most likely this is because most tourists see the actual canoe lying on the shore or maybe they have had the experience of rowing in one. Sinan Mangarlaw was humble, saying that she still has a lot to learn from the elders, even to improve her Tao language skills in communicating with the elders. However, working as a street vendor selling souvenirs is actually a way of helping her to learn about her own culture (Interview with Sinan Mangarlaw, Orchid Island, May 2013).



Figure 53. Sinan Mangarlaw and her art collections in her Iratay tribe stall

Source. Photographed by © Karen Tu, June 2013. Used with permission of the subject

During special events and cultural ceremonies, Tao people still wear their authentic indigenous costumes to attend these occasions.⁴¹ However, indigenous weaving is time-consuming and expensive. Moreover, only a few women maintain the

⁴¹ These words authenticity and tradition were used by most of the interlocutors in Mandarin Chinese. Most generally traditional clothes/garments are referred to, but some people will also emphasise the ‘improved’ clothes made from machine-made fabric to distinguish them from those made from indigenous fibre.

indigenous weaving skills and hence the authentic indigenous texture not only is expensive but also in demand. Therefore, the indigenous costumes have become very valuable for the islanders. Nevertheless, on some of the less formal occasions when dressing in indigenous costume is still required, people tend to wear a kind of modified version of an indigenous outfit—very similar to the indigenous one except it is made of modern cloth with similar symbols on it. Sinan Miblad was trained as a tailor and has been working for 20 years. Initially she started to work on reforming the indigenous outfit for people in her villages, and her reputation spread by word of mouth. Soon after her business went all around the island, even attracting customers from Taiwan. The elementary schools on Orchid Island even ordered the clothes from her for school performances or events. She said it was not originally her idea to put *tatala* on her outfits but the orders from her customers suggested sewing *tatala* patterns onto the skirts. Once she had done that pattern, many customers liked it. Also, the human figure that often appears on the *tatala* was also sewn onto her skirts, and unlike those patterns that depict humans standing still on the canoe, her human figures are more cheerful and vivid on the clothes (see Figures 54 and 55) (Interview with Sinan Miblad, Orchid Island, May 2013).



Figure 54. Left. Sinan Miblad wearing her own design accessories and traditional clothing

Figure 55. Right. Sinan Miblad's design with a human pattern adorning the indigenous costume on the top and a *tatala* image on the skirt

Source. Photographs contributed by © Sinan Miblad. Used with permission of Sinan Miblad

When some Orchid Island interlocutors shared their thoughts of using traditional canoe symbols in art creation, most of them noted a positive attitude from the community as long as the creator is from the Tao ethnic group and uses an indigenous image that does not misrepresent the image of Tao culture. Si Manpang suggested that:

When our canoes become part of collections, it is a good thing. I wish someday when people from all around the world see this canoe they can clearly say, 'This canoe is from Tao!' I think it's a way of making us visible internationally and also to make Orchid Island a place not to be forgotten by the world ... In collections, the old [canoe] that was deeply attached to the ocean holds a different value, is more valuable to collect. Though that canoe might be broken or damaged, still the story and value of a used canoe is really different ... You can see the twenty-one or twenty-seven planks [that] built up the canoe, or the oars and oar locks; any part can be so beautiful viewing it separately after being torn apart for an art work. When this canoe is out of service, it can easily turn into a table, a bed, or anything creative (Interview with Si Manpang, Hualien, April 2013).

Though Si Manpang's perspective is in favour of taking canoe images and canoe parts for art creation, she also mentioned that many people might not agree with her, since they may believe a canoe should only have one form instead of being 'broken'. Syaman Lamuran also heard that the collection of Tao canoes can be traced back as early as the Japanese period. He also agreed to using the indigenous canoe image and symbols in art works (see Figure 56). However, he thought selling the real canoe was a different case:

No matter whether it's a personal or public collection, I think the county government should have a regulation on taking the antique canoes out of our island ... I think the government should be more strict on the rules or laws, otherwise we will soon lose all our cultural or historical relics but, unfortunately the government hasn't reached that level (Interview with Syaman Lamuran, Orchid Island, June 2013).



Figure 56. Personal collection of Syaman Lamuran bought from sculptor © Mr. Yen c 2000, Iratay tribe

Source. Photographed by © Karen Tu, June 2013

The three artists on Orchid Island I spoke to exemplify how Orchid Islanders apply their creativity in combining indigenous cultural elements, like the canoe, in their creative art works. *Tatala* therefore, are given new meaning in visual and art forms for different types of products. Orchid Island canoes have even become symbolic of the entire Tao culture. What is even more surprising is that of the total population of all indigenous peoples in Taiwan, the Tao ethnic group is less than 0.019 per cent of the population of Taiwan.⁴² Orchid Island canoes not only represent the entire Tao culture but also often appear in the tourist brochures designed for foreign visitors by the Tourism Bureau in Taiwan. Indigenous elements represent an exotic and interesting attraction for international tourists. These examples once again demonstrate that canoes are no longer merely a vessel or a piece of material, but in the contemporary context they possess a cultural significance that is representative of Orchid Island, the Tao people and Taiwan in general.

Unlike Orchid Island, the canoe image has not featured as strongly in contemporary visual and art forms in Yap. Both Yapese and the neighbouring islanders sell hand-made model canoes (see Figures 57 and 58), but they are not as popular as those on Orchid Island. This may be due to the fact that most Orchid Island tourists are

⁴² The total population in Taiwan is 23,449,287 while only 4,441 people make up the Tao ethnic group population. Statistics provided by the Directorate-General of Budget, Accounting and Statistics, Executive Yuan (March 2015).

from Taiwan and Orchid Island is considered a domestic destination, while Yap tourists are mainly international and hence customs or baggage restrictions may be restrictive.



Figure 57. Left. A Yapedse-style miniature sailing canoe model (author's personal collection) made by Tharngan with the mast and sail down

Figure 58. Right. A Lamotrek-style sailing canoe docked at the canoe house in Colonia with a miniature sailing canoe model on its outrigger without mast and sail assembly

Source. Photographed by © Karen Tu, October and November 2013

However, creating an image of Yapedse canoe is slightly more complicated than that of the one on Orchid Island. As noted previously, the Yapedse canoe of the *popow* type looks from afar identical in shape to Yap's outer island canoes and Chuuk's north-western outer islands canoes even though they stress the differences. Unlike Orchid Island, which is a singular inhabited island in Lanyu County, the canoe image in Yap draws on a broader and more diverse region, resulting in numerous Yapedse and outer island styles and designs (see Figure 59).



Figure 59. Two canoe models of Lamotrek style placed in front of canoe house for sale

Source. Photographed by © Karen Tu, October 2013

On Yap, model canoes are still made by both Yapese (in limited numbers) and Outer Islanders. In Gargey, an outer island residential area on Yap Main Islands, there is a Catholic church which hosts regular services for Outer Islanders. Inside the church, a model canoe is used as the altar, placed inside at the very front of the building (see Figure 60). Some people around the church that I asked said that this canoe had been built by a Lamotrek carver. Moreover, some chapels in the outer islands also use a canoe altar for their service.⁴³ The canoe altar was finely crafted, with two paddles that had a sculpted cross on one and a sculpted bible on the other. The Outer Islanders also use canoe images for logos, such as the logo of the Outer Islands High School in Ulithi as a symbol of navigation in education for youth (see Figures 61 and 62). The Outer Islanders still use canoes in their daily lives on a greater scale than the Yapese, and therefore canoe images and symbols are highly visible throughout their daily lives.

⁴³ However, the discussants did not specify which outer islands.



Figure 60. Canoe altar in the church of Gargey with two paddles in the front

Source. Photographed by © Karen Tu, November 2014



Figures 61 and 62. Ocean-going canoe images were used for the school logo of Outer Islands High School in Ulithi

Source. Photographed by © Karen Tu, November 2014

Nonetheless, putting aside those categorised in Chuuk’s north-western outer islands at this stage, the image of canoe that represents Yap and its neighbouring islands has actually been elevated to the national level, as clearly shown on the state flag of Yap (see Figure 63). John Gilinug, the artist who designed the Yap State flag, had his design selected by Yapese citizens in 1980. The images that are combined in the flag are the stone money, voyaging canoe and the star. According to the artist, ‘the stone money symbolises “tradition and custom”. The canoe represents “the means and ways of

accomplishment” (the way forward to achieve success), and the star is symbolic of a guidance toward the “state’s determinations and goals” (Krause 2014: 294). The colours chosen for the flag are blue which stands for the ocean surrounding the state, and white which represents ‘peace and brotherhood.’



Figure 63. Yap State flag

Source. Image obtained from: Vexilla Mundi n.d.

One of my informants from the outer island Satawal has a different interpretation of the national flag. He admires the design very much and wears a hat with the pattern of the national flag on it. He explained to me, the round shape not only symbolises the stone money of the Yapese, but also the people on Yap proper. In the past, they took care of the outer islands so they are the big circle that surrounds everything. The canoe and the sail inside the circle, floating and moving in the ocean, represent the outer islands. Outer island people sailed between many islands and also came to Yap. Finally the star in the middle, it is also very important in navigation and stands for something that keeps leading the Yapese people in the right direction. This shows that the same canoe image can be interpreted differently, and for an outer islander from the most eastern island in Yap State, the flag symbolises the relationship between Yap Proper and the neighbouring islands (Personal Communication with Magnus Resmanglug, November 2013).

There is no right or wrong interpretation. Of course there is no doubt that the people in Yap and the outer islands chose the canoe to be one of the symbols for their state. This state flag is commonly seen in Yap governmental buildings and also at the

national level such as in the capital Palikir, Pohnpei. Voyaging canoes (especially those with sails) are now rarely seen and used by the Yapese; however, they are still used on most of the neighbouring islands (especially those in the far east) of Yap. Through the design of the national flag, the symbolic meaning of the canoe will be passed down to future generations.

Conclusion

From the revitalisation of canoe cultures in both Yap State and Orchid Island, we have understood that there are similarities between the islanders in how they promote their indigenous canoe as an important symbol of both their indigeneity and ethnic values. Maria Lepowsky claims that ‘All revitalisation movements are oppositional, arising among cultural minorities, catalysed by the moral and political crises of colonial and post-colonial hegemony’ (2004: 48). In the case of Orchid Island, it is clear that there are ongoing political crises between the Tao ethnic minority and the government even within projects. In Yap State navigation is still being practised on the outer islands, if to a lesser degree than in the past. Canoe revivals are continuing with NGOs on Yap, embracing both Yapese and Outer Islanders. Both navigation and canoe revival have been included in canoe revitalisation projects but with slightly diverse strategies. However, the goal of this revitalisation remains the same—that is to maintain indigenous canoe cultures.

Apart from revitalisation movements, at a more local level, individuals, community and organisations work together. It is important to note that canoe revival has already been brought into the academy and is the topic of frequent discussions amongst scholars. For example, in March 1994, the Micronesian Canoe Symposium was held in Guam. Canoe revival has been the focus of those symposia since last century. At the 1994 symposium, there was one Yapese canoe builder and two from Chuuk’s north-western island, Polowat. At the symposium canoes were not only discussed by a group within the canoe house or at village gatherings, but there were also academic discussions and scholarly debates. The three main purposes of the symposium were: first, sharing of information; second, planning future projects; and third, exploring funding strategies.

Among the many issues that were discussed, was the topic of the influence of western education and salaried jobs and their effect on young men’s participation in canoe building and navigation (Micronesian Canoe Symposium 1994: 3–12). Celestine (Tino) Emwalu from Polowat, stated that for him and his people, canoe building is not a

project but a way of life. He argued that the canoe is a vessel for the people's culture and the builder carries the people's culture, history and future. Emwalu was an Assistant Coordinator for the College of Micronesia in Chuuk at that time, and was interested in coordinating canoe and navigation projects and for them to be included in the school curriculum. Emwalu's brother, Sosthenis, an apprentice navigator and a canoe builder, decided to return to school in order to acquire an educational degree that would allow him to teach these traditions in schools. Even though the two brothers are regarded as experts by the community, they still require formal teaching qualifications to teach at College or University level. Emwalu also remarked that at the College of Micronesia a navigational course had been cancelled because the master builder could not provide satisfactory evidence relating to his academic qualifications. As a result, these cultural experts spent all their lives learning their indigenous culture and history, but sadly, without a formal degree, these 'Professors of Traditions' are not able to teach at formal institutions.

Another issue that came to the fore during the symposium was the issue of funding, which may prevent students from being able to learn canoe-building skills. This issue was brought to the public's attention by John Tamagyaroon (then aged 67), the master canoe builder of Yap. He had worked for eight months with five apprentices to complete an ocean-going canoe. Tamagyaroon found that the number of apprentices who had come to study canoe building have significantly reduced because money is a key issue. The project he worked on, for example, was not supported by the local government, but was funded privately by the Albatross club of Kobe, Japan. This club consists of Japanese businessmen, journalists, artists, anthropologists, and so on, who were interested in cultural aspects of Oceania. The club's aim was to build a canoe, and subsequently to re-enact a traditional voyage to obtain stone money from Palau. This journey was based on the previously mentioned traditional story of Fatha'an of Rull and Angumang of Tomil who completed the first stone money quarry journey (Perry 1994: 1–7). The journey was re-enacted in 1994 using *Mathawmwal*, an indigenous Yapese canoe. The journey was guided and completed by Mau Piaulug with Yapese crewmen. The journey was recorded on-board by a Japanese documentary crew. Unfortunately, projects such as these, which offer great learning experiences for young students, are costly and depend to a large extent on local governments and non-governmental bodies for funding.

In conclusion, from the process of canoe revitalisation in Yap State and Orchid Island, it is clear that both places are eagerly and actively reviving their indigenous

culture. They have worked towards maintaining their canoe culture as a key aspect of this. However, they both feel the decline and loss of canoe traditions. Although Yap State and Orchid Island have different reasons for seeking the revival of their ‘traditional cultures,’ they have both shown understanding and awareness of its importance. In some ways, the revitalisations are similar in that they include canoe-building projects, canoe activities (including festivals and races), and using canoes as part of their tourism programmes. In Yap State, this revitalisation often includes the cooperation of non-governmental organisations, while on Orchid Island this tends to be supported by community associations and occasionally the government. Both Yap State and Orchid Island also require cooperation with outsiders, as TNS brings in Yapese to work with Outer Islanders and with Micronesians and Polynesians. The Orchid Island Rowing project involves collaboration between Orchid Islanders, mainstream Taiwanese and the government. Overall, irrespective of whether the assistance came from non-governmental organisations or community organisations, are all exploring different possibilities for maintaining and sustaining ‘tradition.’ As a result of these initiatives, ‘canoe culture’ is not likely to face any crisis in the short term. As fathers passed on their knowledge to sons in the past, diverse organisations and associations are providing opportunities for individuals to join and relearn indigenous culture and ways of life. As a result, canoe culture will be kept alive in today’s modern world.

Finally, in the last part of this chapter, I demonstrated how *wa* and *tatala* now appear in contemporary literature, visual and performing arts. Orchid Island Tao writers are more active in creative writing literature which has been published in newspaper columns, magazines and books; there is no Yap authoring publications-relevant to canoes, yet there are some films and documentary made by outsiders. Orchid Island artists have included canoe images in their art creations including jewellery, accessories and clothing. In all places, Yap, Yap outer islands and Orchid Island, there are model canoes for sale. While the canoe image symbolises an ethnic group at an indigenous level in Orchid Island, in Yap (and the outer islands) it appears at a national level, representative of the state and the people’s daily lives. In any case, canoes not only endure as material objects but as images and symbols, hence there is no doubt that the symbolic meaning of the canoe will serve future generations in both areas.

Chapter Five

Gender Relations and the Division of Labour

In this chapter, one main theme will be discussed: gender relations and the gendered division of labour in daily life with a special focus on canoe culture. First, I will explore women's division of labour in their everyday lives. Second, I consider how, even though gendered labour division is crucial, both men and women sometimes cross over into each other's domains and eventually collaborate in finalising a task. Finally, I will highlight women's positions and roles regarding canoe culture. In my discussion of gender relations and the gendered division of labour, I will compare and contrast the similarities and differences between Yap and Orchid Island. In both places canoe construction has been seen as work dominated by men and, therefore, women are sometimes regarded as irrelevant to canoe culture. This is absolutely inaccurate. There are areas where women dominate which are equally as important as the areas dominated men. Hence in this chapter I will stress some long-neglected aspects of the gendered division of labour.

Gender relations and the division of labour

Communities on Orchid Island and throughout Yap state are permeated by a gendered division of labour. The two regions are very similar, with most men generally working in the ocean while women cultivate the land. However, this is not an absolute binary division. Rather, the division of labour is much more nuanced and subtle, and occasionally collaboration is crucial to get the work done. In this section, I will explore the division of labour based on gender in these two regions, and also examine the stereotypical association of canoe use with men's work. A story told by one of my interlocutors is a useful starting point to consider the gendered division of labour in general.

Sinan Qua is a mother of three kids who lives in one of the villages on Orchid Island with her husband and children.¹ One day, her husband Syaman Qua came home and told his wife, 'I plan to build a new sculpted tatala with ornament.' Sinan Qua knows what this means. Not only will the husband be busy working on the canoe, but she will also have to work really hard in her taro plantations in order to meet the demands of the canoe building and launching ceremony. The next day Sinan Qua sends

¹ All the Tao names used in this chapter will remain as the full name in order to respect their naming system as mentioned in previous chapters.

her kids to school and she walks up to her plots to weed and check if she has enough taro and sweet potatoes for the canoe construction period and most importantly, for the launching ceremony.

Sinan Qua remembers the time when they had their first child. It was the time when she returned from urban life in Taiwan after finishing her vocational training and resuming indigenous Tao affairs. She learned from her mother-in-law where the husband's family gardens were and some had already been wasted after years of lying fallow. When first cultivating wasteland, the most crucial thing is to find the water head. This was Syaman Qua's duty, so he went with his uncle to draw the water into the channel and to connect the water to their gardens. Breaking the ground is also a laborious task; so Syaman Qua mostly worked on it with Sinan Qua doing minor work for their newly completed gardens. After the reclamation of the land and the piling of stones to secure sufficient water for the garden, Syaman Qua's mother told him, 'From tomorrow onwards, you should stop going to our garden and begin your own work.' By this time, they had been settled there for ten years and the experience of working in the field with her mother-in-law had helped Sinan Qua. She had learned that not all the weeds need to be removed and that some weeds actually help the taro to grow better.

Water taro is the type that needs the longest time to grow among all the other taros grown on Orchid Island, taking between two to three years. A month after Syaman Qua told Sinan Qua about the canoe building, she started to plant her water taro in several different plots. Meanwhile, Syaman Qua was busy walking into the forest looking at the family's tree property and choosing the ideal wood for his canoe. About one year after Sinan Qua planted the water taro, Syaman Qua started to cut the logs and bring them back to the forecourt where he set up a small tent in which to build his tatala. Syaman Qua worked every day except for Sunday and during bad weather. During the construction period, his brothers, uncles, cousins and relatives from both sides come to work with him. Sinan Qua was busy taking care of her three kids and tending her taro and sweet potato gardens. Meanwhile she has to cook, serve and provide food and

drinks to the relatives who visit as a way of paying for their contribution to her husband's canoe.

Sinan Qua hears from her fellow villagers that many families now earn double salaries so they don't have time to cultivate their land and hence, they simply buy taro from Taiwan. However, Sinan Qua knows she has no money to buy taro from elsewhere because they have three children to support and more importantly, she wants to hang the best swamp taro that she planted herself on the newly completed tatala during the launching ceremony. This is why she worked so hard on her taro. Finally, three days before the launch, Sinan Qua and her female cousins put on their indigenous costumes and go to her water taro garden for a brief ceremony, and then they take off the costumes to dig up the taro to look for the best ones. Syaman Qua also comes to help the digging and carrying of the taro. On the launching day their relatives provide pigs and chicken for them for the ceremony. Syaman Qua is busy greeting all the guests with indiginous chants, and she has to cook for all the guests, dividing the taro amongst them.²



Figure 64. A very well cultivated water taro field in Iratey village, Orchid Island

Source. Photographed by © Karen Tu, June 2013

² The story is combined and rewritten by me from interviews with Syapen Manidong, Sinan Mavivo and Sinan Mangibat.

This story from Orchid Island clearly shows the gendered division of labour before and during canoe construction. There are at least three aspects of this. First, it reveals how the labour was divided based on gender on Orchid Island. Second, it shows the collaboration of both women and men in completing the work together. Third, it highlights that canoe construction and launching is not simply men's work but women's increased labour is also important (though their efforts may not be as visible as those of the men).

Women's division of labour in their everyday lives

Generally speaking, it is true that women predominantly farm the land especially in Orchid Island and Yap State. Taro culture is very strong in both areas. As in any island society, the ocean may be very visible, but this does not mean that land and its cultivation are not as important (see Figure 64). In 'The Flying Fish Spirit' myth mentioned in the first chapter, the nature of gender division in Orchid Island is clearly depicted:

Every year when the flying fish are about to arrive ... The women shall go to the mountains to dig up the mountain yams and taro, and the men shall chop wood and prepare racks for the flying fish. On the day that the season of the flying fish begins, the men and women shall divide their duties (Sinan-Banadayan and Winkler 2003: 43).

These gender roles have been crucial to Tao society and have been passed down orally over generations to inform the future generations of the importance the different responsibilities of each gender.

The situation is very similar in Yap State. According to Richard Marksbury, 'Yap's subsistence economy was divided strictly along a male-female division of labour. Women worked the land and men worked the sea' (Marksbury 1979: 89). William Alkire expands,

Women horticulturists are responsible for daily food preparation, and land and the domestic setting is conceptualised as female. Men are fishermen, and the sea and distant areas reached via the sea are thought of as male (1989: 80).

'The man's side provides fish while the woman's side provides produce of the land' in Yap (Falanruw 1994a: 49).

Historically, communities on Orchid Island and Yap have based their livelihood on agriculture and fishing, but, like most Pacific Islanders, they also have other techniques which ensure they are self-sufficient. According to Alkire:

The Yapese subsistence economy is based on fishing and cultivation of taro (primarily *Cyrtosperma*), yams (*Dioscorea*), sweet potatoes, and the so-called Tahitian chestnut (*Inocarpus edulis*) ... Women tend the garden crops and do most of the cooking while men are responsible for fishing and gathering coconuts and the stimulant Areca nuts (1977: 34).



Figure 65. The swamp taro field of an elderly Yapese woman named Rosa Laatam

Source. Photographed by © Karen Tu, October 2013

This account is similar to the gendered division of labour found on Orchid Island, and even the north-western islands of Chuuk share similarities as well. In her book, *Mary, the Devil, and Taro*, Juliana Flinn (2010) writes about women's work on Pollap, the importance of the taro plantation to the women and the symbolic importance taro has as offerings (see Figures 65 and 66). Flinn asserts from her research that women actually gain their self-identity from work in the taro gardens.



Figure 66. A taro patch in the middle of Fais Island

Source. Photographed by © Karen Tu, October 2014

One detail to be noted from the story given earlier in this chapter makes the case that Orchid Island is different from the outer islands of Yap. Most of these outer islands of Yap are both matrilineal and matrilocal,³ and hence the land and gardens throughout these islands are the property of the female's family or clan, that is, the wife's side instead of the husband's.⁴ Moreover, there is a very complex division of men's and women's work on Orchid Island. Men's work includes hook fishing, net fishing, canoe building, lumbering, opening water channels, basket weaving, canoe rowing, pottery making, carving, burial, hunting, fighting and so on. Women's work includes weaving, thread and sewing, pig feeding, collecting wild herbs, cooking, taro cake making, cropland weeding, taro plantation, shellfish collecting etc. (Wei and Liu 1962: 113–14). The Tao people also divide work by age but this is not as significant as the division by gender.

Aside from providing food, another major task that women do on Orchid Island and Yap is weaving. These two places have very similar loom weaving techniques. They traditionally used banana and hibiscus fibres in Yap, and Ramie (*Boehmeria nivea*) on Orchid Island, but nowadays cotton threads are commonly in use in both areas. The preparation and collection of the indigenous fibres are more complicated and time consuming than using cotton thread—taking approximately several months of preparation before starting to work on the loom. Thus most people choose to weave

³ With the exception of Ulithi and Fais in some cases.

⁴ Sometimes newly weds will receive patches from the male side as the gift given from the husband's family. However, upon receiving them, the new owner will then be the wife instead of the husband.

with cotton thread instead. Throughout the outer islands of Yap, weaving is still common because of the women's daily *lava-lava* custom of weaving their own outfit or gifts on some occasions and most adult females have retained the skill of weaving. Orchid Island weaving is becoming endangered as not all the women know how to weave. Only some of them inherited the technique, and they are mostly elderly women. The same process is occurring on Yap proper where indigenous weaving skills are disappearing (see Figures 67 and 68).



Figure 67. Left. Outer Island (Lamotrek) weaving style for female *lava-lava*.

Figure 68. Right. Orchid Island weaving style for male indigenous thong.

Source. Photographed by © Karen Tu, 2013. Used with permission of the subjects

Particular areas and buildings on the islands are also divided between genders. Take Yap, especially the outer islands, for example. Just as the canoe house is symbolic of male society in Yap, the menstrual house is symbolic of female society. Women approach the canoe house with caution (Alkire 1989: 80), and if they need to talk to the men there they usually ask someone nearby to call the person rather than approaching directly. Historically, the canoe house (or traditionally the men's house) was strictly out of bounds for women and children.⁵ Today women are permitted to enter the canoe house, and even to attend meetings, at the invitation of the Chief. With the exception of the Chieftess (female chief instead of chief's wife), who is entitled to sit with the men,

⁵ It is crucial to note that most of the outer islands have combined the men's house and the canoe house in the same location, and it functions as a place where males 'gathered to talk, to drink, to relax and snooze, or to make decisions about work programs and the business and government affairs of the island' (Kelly and Oberman 1981: 24). During Kelly and Oberman's travels to the outer islands in the 1980s, they saw an old building near a hut that had formerly been a men's house, probably used a century ago, before an ancient typhoon had changed the shape of the island. In the old days men's houses were used as meeting places and canoe houses were where the boats were stored to protect them from the elements. When the practice of building men's houses faded in the outer islands of Micronesia, it became customary for the men to gather in the canoe house, which then served a dual function. So in time the two terms have become synonymous. Even if no boats were stored in the building, it was still referred to, as often as not, as the canoe house (ibid.: 26).

the women are relegated to the back of the room like second-class citizens, and must shout out their comments from the rear (Kelly and Oberman 1981: 24–25).

John Kelly and Lola Oberman's observations during their stay on Falalis in Woleai was that when a baby was born in the menstrual house, men would hold a meeting at the canoe house to decide who would fish and take the catch to the menstrual house for the mother. This gift was to rebuild the mother's strength after her ordeal and to show appreciation for the new life she had brought to the island. The beginning of womanhood also takes place in the menstrual house, and this is a sad occasion where people grieve for the end of a girl's childhood. From her first period she has to stay in the menstrual house for five months and during this time she is supposed to learn all the responsibilities and skills of adult women. Afterwards, during every menstruation, she visits the menstrual house to relax or weave *lava-lava* (Kelly and Oberman 1980: 24–29). On Orchid Island there is no communal menstrual house similar to Yap in which women can rest. Rather, they gather on the shore or at someone's house (historically at the place of the fishing group). Separation of the sexes was the norm in this society. Brothers and sisters were kept apart to a certain degree on Yap and its outer islands from an early age. This separation became greater as they grew older (Kelly and Oberman 1980: 24–29).

Traditionally, both Orchid Island and Yap State have separated males from females before heading out for (and occasionally after) fishing or long distance travelling. Like Orchid Island, in the first month of catching flying fish, the male fishing group members would all sleep in a 'community house' which would normally be the leader's place. All the male members were required to sleep in the same place without any intimate interactions with females, including their wives and daughters. Syapen Kotan, who is now in his mid-eighties, remembered that he had experienced the separation of genders before the flying fish season.⁶ He remembered it lasted approximately ten days, but when the fishing group started to decline, this tradition also began to fade. He said that nowadays there are not enough old men to form fishing groups and the younger ones don't even know of this tradition (Interviews with Syapen Kotan, Orchid Island, May–June 2013). Syaman Rapongan explains that there is a place called *panlagan*; it is a place where members of the same large canoe crew and for the fishing union to gather. It is also a perfect place for indigenous education where kids could learn knowledge about the ocean. This learning activity normally happened at the

⁶ In fact, due to the naming system, both female and male great-grand parents are called Syapen Kotan. Therefore, in the same village there might be dozens of elders named Syapen Kotan.

canoe owner's place or at the house of an elder from the fishing group before the flying fish season. All the men in the same group stayed together. School children normally attended just to listen to the storytelling. As far as Syaman Rapongan recalls, this tradition existed until perhaps the late 1980s or early 1990s in his village. Syapen Vaknang, who is in his early sixties, mentioned that he had never experienced this tradition, and that all he learned from the elders was the *Paneb* month tradition. He noted that many other traditions had changed. For example, in the past people always used flame torches to attract flying fish but nowadays they have been replaced by flashlights (Interview with Syapen Vaknang, Orchid Island, June 2013).

A similar tradition of gender separation also happened on Yap Main Islands. Edmund Pasam from Map in Yap said that during a specific time men must stay away from the women, especially their wives. Staying in the same house is permitted but men cannot sleep with their wives. Yapese also used torches in a similar way as Orchid Islanders to attract flying fish but communal torch fishing was surrounded by restrictions:

The men who were about to go torch fishing had to remain in seclusion in their villages or village section men's house (*faeluw*). During this time period, usually seven days, they were forbidden sexual or social intercourse with women. This time spent in the men's house was for ritual 'purification' or 'cleansing' which was necessary before they entered the domain of the sea ... Sea and land do not mix, so the men could not enter the domain of the sea by coming directly from the land (Marksbury 1979: 90).⁷

After returning from long overseas voyages in Yap, or after returning from a fishing expedition,

The men are confined to the beach and forbidden to have contact with the 'inland' that is with women. This is related to the rigid separation between things of the sea and things of the land; the spirit of the sea is female and the spirit of the land is male (Price 1975: 31; Shineberg 1971: 245).

It is said that the ocean is classified as a 'female (spirit)' in both Yap State and Orchid Island. It is believed that if a man runs to a woman on the land, the ocean will be jealous so this is a bad omen for the people. Yet Marksbury suggests that in Yapese belief the ocean contains both female and male spirits, since female spirits watch over the men when they are fishing or voyaging in the ocean, and male spirits of the sea enter the land to watch over the spouses of the men on the expedition (1979: 90–91).

⁷ The function of the men's house in this instance can be compared to the place where menstruating women must go after they leave the menstrual house. Again, note that most of the outer islands have combined the men's house and the canoe house.

Chief Leo Racheilug from Satawal stated that separation from women is also important during canoe construction. Men have to stay away from women and cannot sleep with their wives or any women. Even if sleeping in the same house, men must sleep apart from the women. It is generally believed that when someone builds a canoe and people see it leaking or cracking they know a taboo has been broken. Also, when a man is building a canoe, he never cuts his hair or shaves. Racheilug said he asked the elders about this prohibition and they explained that it is because if a girl or a woman likes your appearance then you cannot concentrate on building the canoe, so you must wait until the canoe is totally finished before you can be clean again. Racheilug said he had personally asked about these regulations, and had it confirmed, that they were the same in Ifaluk, Satawal, Lamotrek, Elato and Euripik (Interviews with Racheilug, Yap, October 2013, November 2014). The late Peter Pakamai, an elder from Lamotrek, also confirmed that during the canoe carving period, the men who work on the canoe normally stay in the canoe house and nobody else comes except for the builders with the tools or equipment for carving the canoe, including the coconut twine. They must store the tools securely and must ensure that nobody else touches them (Interview with Pakamai, Yap, November 2013). Steven Tiliwemal, who is originally from Ifaluk and later served as a teacher of indigenous culture in the high school in Ulithi, emphasised that during canoe carving, the men have to move directly to and from the canoe house to their house, and cannot go elsewhere, especially at night time. This used to be very strict and he remembered that he could not even meet his friends until everything was finished with the canoe (Interview with Tiliwemal, Ulithi, October 2013).

Ali Haleyalur, the master navigator from Lamotrek, mentioned that before sailing the navigator had to purify and cleanse himself, including not sleeping with women before and after the trip. There were also certain types of fish that a navigator could not eat, and they were restricted from eating with other people.⁸ This is confirmed by Alkire's (1968) and Marksburys (1979) research where they mentioned that navigators eat different food from ordinary men and it is cooked separately. As Marksbury explained about the prescriptions and prohibitions that were practised,

They could not approach menstrual or birth houses or participate in sexual activity for long periods when undergoing training and for specified periods before or after voyages. In the central Carolines many restrictions tended to separate the activities of the sexes in everyday public life (1979: 231).

⁸ As Stephen Thomas (2009: 74) makes examples the navigator was proscribed from eating food prepared by menstruating women, from having sexual relations, and even from meeting with women and children for specific intervals before, during, and after a sailing or fishing trip.

Edmund Pasam offered an insight into the point of view of people on the main islands of Yap when he said that for sailing and building the canoe,

The main group who build or sail or fish are forbidden from eating the food from the other day. They have to eat warm food all the time. There is a belief in Yap that the food from overnight has very poor quality. That also affects the mood of the sailors or the fishermen. All the time, except when you are travelling, there is no choice (Interview with Pasam, Yap, November 2013).

These rules do not apply solely to the navigator but also to the whole group. In fact the rules are even stricter for other crew members. Haleyalur mentioned that long ago there were small cabins on the canoes for sheltering the women and the children, but nowadays people seldom travel long distance by canoe and thus the cabin is rarely seen. During his seven years' experience on Satawal in the 1930s, Hijikata also noticed that

[d]uring *waay* (an ocean voyage), whistling is not allowed, the *panu* (captain) cannot share a cigarette with a woman riding on the same canoe, and those of *ppwo* (navigator [*pwo*]) status cannot eat food cooked at the same fire as those not of *ppwo* status (Hijikata 1997: 144).

It is clear that the regulations were adopted to restrict cigarettes from being shared by the captain and the women on board. Interestingly, the late master navigator Repanglug stated that one of the reasons men wanted to become navigators is because they wanted 'to be able to satisfy a woman's request for tobacco or other exotic items, which required sailing to another island' (Hunter-Anderson and Zan 1996: 42). Those imported commodities might have been a motivating factor for men to learn navigation.

Thus, women are mostly segregated from all canoe construction in Yap and Orchid Island. Only in certain special circumstances are women allowed to approach canoes. For example on Orchid Island, the day when the flying fish's pectoral fins are cut (which symbolises the end of the period for catching flying fish), female members are allowed to be on board the canoe. As for voyaging and travelling on Yap and the outer islands, female members are normally included with the exception of pregnant women. In both Orchid Island and Yap, females are not allowed on canoes for any kind of fishing. In the past, it was said to be a kind of restriction. Some people also viewed it as a form of protection for females. It is accurate to say that in both regions women are usually seen as passengers in canoes. However, on Yap, occasionally young girls will help take a paddling or a small sailing canoe out to the larger ship (Robinson 1970: 15).

Moreover, as part of the recent cultural revitalisation, school girls now learn how to paddle the canoe and to attend races during the Canoe Festival.

My interlocutor, Sinan Jipengaya agreed that in the past the restrictions during flying fish seasons were sustained by men as prescribed in the oral tradition of the flying fish's prophecy by the tribal elder. She understood the restriction and strongly recommended that all people should strictly adhere to it, no matter whether they are insiders or outsiders. Sinan Jipengaya explained that in Tao tradition, there is no rule that says that females cannot be on board the canoe, it is only during the flying fish season. Other than that there's no restriction. She explains,

During flying fish season the canoes are used for fish catching, so why should the female be on board? Traditionally the female learned nothing of flying fish catching; hence they are no use in helping to catch the fish. If a woman went on board then the other men would have to spare their strength to take care of the woman, and this is very distracting in catching fish. That is why our gender division is so clear and strict, because females can't help anyone when going on the canoe to the deep sea (Interview with Sinan Jipengaya Orchid Island, May 2013).

Sinan Jipengaya also gives an example of the restriction on Little Orchid Island (also known as Jiteiwan or Jimagawod in the local language). During the flying fish season, this area is strongly restricted to stop women from entering. If the weather in the area has been bad during the season, people would not normally be close by unless they were fishing for flying fish. In the past, females were not as skilful swimmers as males because men had trained in deep-sea diving and swimming during their fishing expeditions. She was not able to give me a logical explanation, but she said that there were many examples of females going to Jiteiwan who did not make the trip back. If the long-lasting restriction against women going to Jiteiwan might save your life, why not believe it? She saw it as a protection for women. She explained that one should believe the enduring restriction and respect culture. So for Sinan Jipengaya, the prohibition is not so much a restrictive taboo but a cultural norm which protects females.

In terms of the rules for collecting food, on Yap they were even stricter than they were on Orchid Island. Marksbury explains that

[a]s a result of the restrictions surrounding the collection, cooking, and eating of food for men participating in the 'eating classes' that were considered 'sacred' (*tabugul*), only older women could participate in such activities. Young women in a *tabinaew* could only attend those taro pits and other lands associated with their rank and status. Thus, a daughter could never collect or cook her father's food. In addition, she could not set foot on the lands that produced her father's food (Marksbury 1979: 89).

On Orchid Island, daughters also helped to work in the taro gardens and on other crops. Sinan Jiadugud (originally from Iratay village and later married into Imorod village) remembered that when she was a teenager she used to work with her mother in the taro gardens but was treated more like an apprentice or assistant. When she was married and in charge of her own taro plots, then she started to do all of the labour. However, the younger girls on Orchid Island still helped with the collection of food and cooked for the whole family even though they were not responsible for it (Interview with Sinan Jiadugud, Orchid Island, June 2013). Throughout the outer islands of Yap, there is also a similar apprenticeship role in plantations. Gina Ilemangit from Lamotrek remembered that when she was a teenager she followed her mother whenever she went to the garden, and she helped with carrying the taro, as well as planting and cleaning sometimes (Interview with Gina Ilemangit, Yap, October 2013).

In the past, people in Yap, especially on Yap's main islands, ate different food according to their social status. According to a Yapese myth, the Yapese were tricked into believing that men and women should not eat together. Furthermore, this same restriction applied to men of different status and rank for the same reason. 'Younger and lower ranking men and women were *taqay* "contaminated" and a person of higher rank (*tabugul*) should not eat the same food' (Marksbury 1979: 98). For Tao people, there is more equality since there is no formal chieftainship but people show their abilities to lead by action. Thus they do not divide the food by rank but rather have some restrictions regarding what fish they can eat. They divide the day's catch into the fish for men, the fish for women and children and the fish for elders. In this case, they put different types of fish in different pots to cook and also put the cooked fish on separate wooden plates to eat from. As on Yap, 'The food thus harvested must then be prepared in separate pots over separate fires appropriate to the age and sex grades of the members of the residential unit' (Alkire 1977: 35). People in both Orchid Island and Yap divide the food between men and women, while on Yap there is a further sub-division according to one's rank. Amongst the Tao people, food is only separated according to gender and age.

Gender relations and work collaboration

The second theme I will discuss here is that though people observe in general that men look after the ocean while women take care of the land, they still cross over into each other's domains. Men have to be involved in some specific stages to share the workload on land, and women share some of the work related to the ocean. Work collaboration

between both genders, symbolically connects the land and the ocean. For example, shellfish collecting near the shore and land crab catching and collecting in tidal flats and coastal areas are mostly women's work but can be done by both genders. In Yap, generally women did not do labour related to the ocean and in the past they did not go fishing. The exception to this general pattern was that women did contribute by gathering shellfish at low tide from the shallow mud flats along the shoreline (Price 1975: 31). Yet today women fish around near-shore reefs, which are extensions of the island, with nets and traps. They also help men pull large fishing nets to the shore. According to Marksbury, '[in] the digging of a new taro pit, men contributed the heavy labor. Even though women never fished, they were allowed to collect shellfish from along the shoreline' (Marksbury 1979: 89). However women are still not allowed to board fishing canoes which has to be an all-male expedition, and they do not participate in the distribution of fish taken in communal enterprises (Alkire 1989: 93; Hunter-Anderson and Zan 1996: 42).

Taro planting as well as other forms of farming can sometimes be practised by both genders. Even if farming the taro gardens was mainly women's work, men have often helped at the beginning of the season and the end of farming when the work requires more physical strength. As in the story above, men participated in planting, farming and digging and were mostly involved when hard labour was required. In Flinn's research on Pollap women's work is 'essential to the work of men and to the economy of the community' (2010: 65). Women's work on land is essential for keeping the island running and women's work is not only as important as that of men, but could be said to surpass the male's work in importance. There is no doubt that the performance of women's work is crucial to the entire community and can be seen as an example of the cooperation between genders.

The strict gender division on Orchid Island which forbids females from certain activities with canoes also applies to men and restricts them from working in taro plantations. On Orchid Island, there are only a few exceptions where men can work in the fields, such as when a man has no mother, wife or sister to provide him with taro and sweet potato, or when the female member in the family is incapable of any labour. If any man breaks the taboo to work in the taro garden, it is considered a great disrespect to the female members in his family, and is interpreted as meaning that the man looks down on the female members or is trying to curse them (Interview with Sinan Miblad, Orchid Island, May 2013). This is the same on Yap. On some occasions, such as the digging of a new taro plot, men contribute the heavy labour. There are some

other exceptions for men working on the taro garden. First, an old man without a wife or a close female relative might collect his own taro from his own taro plot (Marksbury 1979: 89). Second, in Tomil municipality and to a certain extent in Gagil, women were forbidden from entering certain plots. As a result of this stronger taboo, in these two municipalities men participated in more activities in taro culture than elsewhere on the island of Yap (Kim and Defngin 1960: 61). Thus, men could become involved when strength and heavy labour is required. Moreover, even though working the land is predominantly done by women, taking care of the forest is considered men's work and includes finding and planting new saplings, marking the family property, and cutting logs for any kind of construction.

During Alkire's research on Lamotrek in 1962 he observed a celebratory ritual when a canoe builder completes a sailing craft. One of the final acts of construction 'involves binding a frond of swamp fern to the outrigger brace of the craft, symbolically linking sea and land' (1989: 89). This shares similarities with the launching ceremony of sculpted canoes, regardless of size, on Orchid Island; the canoe would be covered up by many of the best taro so that the newly completed canoe could hardly be seen (see Figure 42 in Chapter 4). This is symbolic of the union of men's labour in carving and women's labour in planting. These acts not only imply the importance of gendered labour collaboration but also demonstrate the importance of connecting the ocean with the land.

The use of natural resources also requires a combination and collaboration of gender roles, as Steve Thomas (2009) observed during his participation in learning navigational skills on Satawal. He noted that

breadfruit trees yield food and lumber; breadfruit sap makes canoes watertight. Coconuts provide food and drink, copra brings in cash, and dried husks fuel and cooking fires, while woven coconut fronds become baskets and various mats for shielding canoes from the sun, roofing sheathing, and carpeting dwelling houses, and dozens of other uses (Thomas 2009: 57).

Breadfruit trees are harvested by the women for food for the family; yet the sap from the breadfruit tree is used by men to glue canoe parts. Similarly with coconut and copra, these resources serve multiple functions for both genders. So rather than simply viewing garden plantations as a domain for women to source only food, they can also be used in different ways and shared between the genders.

Even if the gendered divisions and collaborations are similar between Orchid Island and Yap, there are still some differences, particularly in basket and sail weaving,

and pottery making. On Orchid Island, these tasks are entirely men's work while in Yap these are women's tasks. On Yap Main Islands, pottery making was carried out only by females in the low-ranking villages. The custom of separated eating (that is, food for elder men, men, females and young females had to be cooked in separate pots) resulted in pottery being in high demand (Intoh and Leach 1985: 8–9). Marksbury also observed a clear division of gendered labour in making artefacts:

All forms of weaving and pottery making were considered women's work, while *saalup* 'craftsman' in the arts of canoe building, house building and so on were always men. Specialists such as 'magicians', 'curers' and 'diviners' could be either men or women. However, it was more common to find men in these positions, since they were actually preferred (Marksbury 1979: 91).

On Orchid Island, all types of weaving were done by women with only two exceptions: the weaving of canoe sails and the weaving of vine baskets. During an interview in 2013, the elders on Orchid Island said that the canoe sail was seen as a part of the canoe; hence the weaving or cutting of the sail falls under men's duties. However, this skill is no longer practised on the island. Weaving canoe sails in Lamotrek is also endangered and very few people know about the skill. Patricia Laetalral is in her sixties and said her mother probably knows the skill because she remembered seeing her grandmother weaving the sail, but she was not trained. Agnes Ilerigyal (who is also from Lamotrek and is now in her late fifties) said neither she nor her mother learned the skill from the elders. Only certain elders have inherited the sail-weaving technique throughout the outer islands. But luckily, as previously mentioned in a footnote in Chapter Two, the late master weaver Maria Labushmai from Lamotrek passed down this pandanus sail-weaving skill on her deathbed, and around 15 younger women on the island came to learn and join the sail weaving. Two weeks later Labush passed away, aged over 90 years, but she had passed on the skill of pandanus sail weaving.

Regarding basket weaving, on Yap almost everyone carries a basket. In the past, the basket was normally made by a female, but nowadays people tend to purchase baskets from a store or a skilful weaver no matter the gender. During a conversation in 2013 with my elder Yap host who is in her seventies, she made fun of those men who had ugly or outmoded baskets and said they must have a wife with clumsy weaving skills!

Women's positions and roles related to canoe culture

The third issue that is significant for gender relations is the woman's role before, during and after canoe construction. Occasionally in navigation, this role is as important as a man's duty and arguably even more important because it is central to the cooperative work. Although it is claimed that canoes are the domain of men, this is an ideological statement that has arisen due to the fact that canoe construction in Orchid Island and Yap used to be (and mostly still is) a male-dominated activity. However, in this section I argue that the completion of a canoe could not be done without female involvement, even though the women do not directly participate in the carving process.

Referring back to the story told on Orchid Island, when a man decides to build a canoe, especially a sculpted one, he has to discuss it with the female members of the family first since it takes more time for water taro to grow than to carve the canoe. Syapen Mangibat told me that normally in the past, when the women could see most of the water taro sprouting leaves, then it was time to inform the men to take the keel plank from the forest for the construction of a new canoe. Syapen Kotan also explained that when you pass the taro patch and see that the taro has started to grow tubers, then it is time to help your wife dig for sweet potato first, and only then can the men go and take the logs from the forest. Both men and women have particular ways of estimating the time needed to collaborate in order to ensure a successful canoe launch. This was the case traditionally, but people nowadays can purchase taro either from the elders who are still gardening or from a store in Taiwan instead of growing all of the taro themselves. Also in Yap State, as previously mentioned, women feed all the family members and even some other members in the village if necessary, upon request. Sending food to the canoe house or any other job site is part of the woman's work. Men's demands for food for canoe house meetings can be refused by the women—they have the power of veto, although they do not refuse unless a good reason can be given (Kelly and Oberman 1981: 31).

Julie Ilemaisou from Lamotrek said she remembered that the last time her father built a canoe in 1989, she helped to prepare the food for the workers almost every day. Younger girls joined sometimes, if they had passed menarche or if they knew how to weave *lava-lava*. Taro and sweet potato were prepared. Patricia Laetalral, the mother of Julie Ilemaisou, also confirmed that when her husband was building a canoe, she cooked the food and prepared it for her husband to go to work. Agnes Ilerigyal further explained, 'We prepare and cook everyday for men. Preparing food is our job' (Interview with Agnes Ilerigyal, Yap, October 2013). This preparation of food ends

only when men stop building the canoe, not only for the husband but for the village as a whole, including all the men who helped. The builders' wives, mothers or sisters will usually ask the other women in the village what they will prepare. For example, if they ask Agnes and she replies 'taro', then they will tell the other women that Agnes will provide taro and the other households will prepare different foods. Also, if one woman needs help, she can always call upon other women to come and help with cooking or bringing food from the garden. All of the women are close and work together with the food while men build the canoe (Interview with Agnes Ilerigyal, Yap, October 2013). In conclusion, whether engaged in canoe building or the daily supply of food, men and women must plan and coordinate their tasks with one another before putting anything into practice in order to ensure a successful canoe launch. The preparation of food is no less important than building the canoe, and hence men are unlikely to proceed with canoe building without the consent of the female members of their households.

One other example relating to women's duties is the launching ceremony briefly mentioned in the Sinan Qua story above. On Orchid Island, usually the female would be busy preparing food for the guests. She does not generally become involved with the launching ceremony unless she is needed to greet the guests (and even then she would not be required to stay for long). This is similar throughout Yap. For example, on Lamotrek,

[t]he canoe was moved to an area in front of its canoe house, and all of the men who had worked on the craft seated themselves inside the canoe house to celebrate with coconut palm wine. The women of the canoe-owning lineage arrived bringing pots of cooked taro for the men (Alkire 1989: 89).

The launching ceremonies in these two regions include specific chants. Whereas the women on Orchid Island are generally excluded from this chanting, the women on Lamotrek, as described by Alkire, seated themselves around the canoe in front of the canoe house (an area they usually avoided) and participated in the chanting to greet the canoe and praise the hard work of the master carver and all the other workers. Patricia Laetalral remembered that she used to join the women to chant and sing for the canoe but now she is too old to go. There is no difference between the women who join. One thing she pointed out was that if her husband served as the master carver, then during the launching ceremony only the master carver would receive special food but the wife would not. Agnes Ilerigyal also remembered that she joined in the chanting a few times. She recalled that when the canoe was completed, the women went and sang songs for the master carver (she uses the word 'teacher' to describe him) and also to praise the

canoe. The food that the women prepared was placed on the body of the canoe and the food was offered to the master carver first. Many songs were sung by the women, normally four or more, and there some songs specifically addressed to the master carver and also the other workers (Interview with Patricia Laetalral and Agnes Ilerigyal, Yap, October 2013).

Another example from Polowat (which is similar to most of the outer islands in Yap State) demonstrates how parts of the canoe and navigation can assume metaphorical gendered meanings alongside the gendered division of labour:

Like the engendered meanings behind the seafaring evocation of women weaving leis, the design and function of key parts of the canoe – the sail’s rigging, for example – also represents male and female division of labor, whose successful interaction, as previously mentioned, is also said to represent an ideal society. When carved correctly, lashed properly, and finally, when worked competently, the conjoining of the *rhurhu mwaan* (male) spar and the *rhurhu rwaput* (female) boom maximizes the capture of the right amount of wind to propel the canoe most efficiently (Formulation explained by Sosthenis Emwalu, cited in Diaz 2015: 9–10).

Alkire once wrote that

[l]and is a female domain, not only because it is of the lineage, which itself is female based, but because the epitome of land is the *bwol* ‘taro swamp’ located at the heart of the interior of an islet and worked by women (1989: 80).

However, the plantation fields are facing some serious difficulties in the outer islands of Yap State. My host on Falalop in Ulithi brought me to her taro gardens and became emotional. She said that she was lucky to have some plots slightly inland because her neighbours’ plots were close to the ocean and had been inundated by seawater and no more taro could survive due to the encroaching sea levels.

Traditional food is under threat on Ulithi nowadays, especially those gardens ‘contaminated’ by saltwater. It is a direct result of the rising sea level. This difficult problem is not only happening in Ulithi but other outer islands that have gardens close to the shore. Even worse, after typhoon Maysak hit Ulithi on 31 March 2015, the inland gardens were all washed away by the severe storm (see Figure 69). After the typhoon, the people in Ulithi were totally reliant on imported goods and products from Yap or elsewhere, including local food such as taro, yam, banana and coconuts for a long time after typhoon (Personal communication with Helen Salap, May 2015).



Figure 69. One of the taro plots inland of Falalop, Ulithi before typhoon Maysak

Source. Photographed by © Karen Tu, November 2014

In relation to navigation, women tend to involve themselves in learning navigation skills and knowledge, even though they do not physically participate in long-distance navigation and seafaring. There is no doubt that navigational skills as well as canoe carving skills have, in most cases, been passed down orally from grandfather, father or uncle to son in the past (Alkire 1980: 231; Farrall 1978: 13–14; Gladwin 1970: 126–30; Krause 2014: 298; Lingenfelter 1975a: 83; Robinson 1970: 15). Yet there are some nuances too. As mentioned in the section on stone-money acquisition in Chapter Three, the first voyage to obtain stone money from Palau was a competition between Fatha'an of Rull and Angumang of Tomil. What occurred before this voyage was that there was a place called Fanpuluw (literally meaning the 'knowledge of navigation') in Keng village. The origin of the name and how Fatha'an received his navigational skill from a woman were explained as follows:

A Yapese from Keng Village gave help to an Outer Islander navigator who was staying on Yap. Having nothing (physical) to give in return, the Outer Islander set out to teach the Yapese the art of navigation. He found that the Yapese was too old and slow to learn, but he had a young daughter who learned fast (the way children learn to speak) and she grew up knowing navigation. When she was old enough she married a man from Mulroo, a low-caste village that had tribute obligations to the high-caste village of Ngolog in Rull. As an implication of this tribute relationship, the woman

passed the knowledge of navigation to Fatha'an [Fatha'an], the chief of Ngolog in Rull. This is the story of how Fatha'an [Fatha'an] received his navigation skill, originally from the outer islander (cited in Hunter-Anderson and Zan 1996: 12–13).

Although the evidence here is originally to prove that the navigational skill of Fatha'an came from an outer islander, I argue it contains another important clue: that the knowledge obtained from the outer islander was at first kept by the daughter in the family. Due to marriage and tributes, the navigational knowledge was finally passed on to Fatha'an in Rull and that made it possible for him to travel to Palau and then come back with all the stone discs. This example is not the only case of navigational skills being held by the female members of a household, often a navigator's wife, daughter or sister. Again, in Chapter One, the oral tradition told by Tharngan of Nunway revealed that Nunway learned navigation from his father when he was still in his mother's womb. The mother was invited to sit and learn the skills because the father was so eager to teach their youngest son by what is currently termed 'antenatal training.' Meanwhile, Nunway's mother learned the skills as well, whilst Nunway's father gave the lessons. The origin of navigational knowledge of the Fanur and Wareyang schools throughout the outer islands where islanders still learn was also told to me. The story was about a spirit called Anumwerici who had eaten all the inhabitants of Chuuk and then intended to eat the people of Polap too. Sagur was a spirit and chief who lived on Polap with his daughter Inosagur. Sagur asked Inosagur to feed taro and coconut to Anumwerici. In return, Anumwerici taught Inosagur navigation. Inosagur was the mother of Fanur and Wareyang, and this is the origin of these two navigational schools (Thomas 2009: 85). Eric Metzgar (2006: 297) claimed that navigation was learned by the daughter of a chief on Polap from a bird-spirit named Kulung, whereas Thomas (2009: 85) also noted there was another version of the story which mentioned a kuling bird instead of Anumwerici. But, as all versions of the story described, the daughter Inosagur learned the skills of navigation instead of the chief Sagur, and it suggests that Outer Islanders have traditionally taught navigation to the young daughter instead of the older male in Keng village.

Master Navigator Ali Haleyalur from Lamotrek confirmed that indigenous navigational knowledge was also kept by women. In his family's case, the sister of his father possesses the same navigational knowledge as her brothers. Since she belonged to a family of navigators, she also learned from her father. Haleyalur's description

corroborates Gladwin's example cited above. He said that when the women are passengers on the canoe, they do not guide the canoe but, if the captain makes a mistake, a woman who has the navigational knowledge can make a correction. Although they have the knowledge, women cannot really be recognised as navigators because they mostly do not attend canoe house meetings and cannot be recognised during the *pwo* ceremony. Chief Leo Racheilug from Satawal also mentioned that the navigation skills he learned came not only from his uncles but also from his mother, who had learned from his grandfather. He said the women also keep the knowledge so that if the brother forgets the knowledge they can always come back to the sister. The sister can also pass down her knowledge to her husband or sons in the future, just as his mother did to him.

It is clear that navigational knowledge can be kept by women in the household, yet there is only one example I could find of canoe carving skills being kept by a woman. John Haglelgam, who comes from Eurapik and is the teacher at the College of Micronesia National Campus, stated that his grandfather actually learned how to build a canoe from his mother. Moreover, Thomas Gladwin observed on Polowat that every woman knew about all the canoes on the island and all their voyages:

They have strong opinions about the relative ability of each navigator, and even about the seaworthiness of the different canoes. Concerned with the well-being of their men, women's judgments are most likely to rest exclusively upon such practical considerations as safety and reliability, whereas men think also of the seniority of navigators and their grasp of the esoteric knowledge which is still a part of the art even after the disappearance of magic (Gladwin 1970: 36).

Navigational skills may have been kept by female members of the family because in the past men on fishing or sailing voyages had a high chance of not returning safely. Hence the knowledge was passed to the female along hereditary lines by the navigator to his wife, daughter or sister in order to protect the knowledge within the household in case the navigator died suddenly or did not return from a voyage. Chief Racheilug talked about another important issue, mostly in the Yap outer islands which are matrilocal and matrilineal. When men got married to another family; they usually lived with the wife's household.⁹ If the marriage was with another clan, or with a family on another island, the men had to move far away. If all the brothers were married somewhere else and the people still wanted the clan to preserve navigational knowledge, then it was likely that the women in the family had to learn the skills so they could pass

⁹ With the exception of Ulithi and Fais in some cases in the past. Nowadays, most newlywed couples still follow the tradition while not as strictly as in the past.

it to their husband or sons. However, this was a long time ago before modern communication and transportation technology and Racheilug said it is no longer happening now (Interview with Racheilug, Yap, October 2013, November 2014).

To conclude this chapter, in comparing and contrasting gender relations between Orchid Island and Yap State, my research has shown that they are very similar in the broader dimension of a gendered division of labour with very few countable differences. Women gather land crops while men are dominant in collecting the harvest of the sea. This is similar in the two areas where taro culture and fish harvesting are equally important to the islands. To detail the similarities between these two areas, first, both on Orchid Island and in Yap State, women prepare food for the household. Second, females weave clothes on the loom using similar techniques. Third, the tradition of gender separation between male and female before fishing or long distance travelling was practised in both areas. For Yap and its outer islands, canoe construction is signified by gender separation while in Orchid Island women are forbidden to come close or even touch the canoe, especially during pregnancy. Fourth, in Yap State women are generally allowed to voyage on the canoe except for pregnant women going long distances; while on Orchid Island there is a certain period that women could not board the canoe. Yet, women are eliminated from fishing expeditions in both areas by protective taboos. Fifth, both areas have food divisions based on gender, whereas Yap also divides the distribution and eating of food according to rank, while on Orchid Island the separation is according to age (see Table 5).

Through the detailed ethnography I have conducted into my second theme about gender relations and work collaboration, we know that even though there is some strict division of labour, men have to be involved in specific stages of taro production to share the workload on land, and women share some of the work related to the ocean. Work collaboration is needed to get the tasks completed. Though women dominate the land, however, men are still involved when strength and heavy labour is needed, and that is the time when women and men collaborate. Upon canoe completion when men show their carving, local plantation produce is presented in or on the canoe as a symbol of the combination and collaboration between land and sea / female and male. Moreover, plantations are not only seen as source of food but can be used and shared between genders. A few gendered divisions are different between Orchid Island and Yap, the most significant ones are sail and basket weaving and pottery making: In Orchid Island this is men's work and in Yap State it is women's work.

Item \ Place	Yap Islands	Orchid Island
Major Plantation	Female	Female
Plantation using physical strength	Collaboration / both with mens' help on harvesting higher and heavier plantations	Collaboration/ both with mens' help in digging and some labor tasks
Ocean fishing	Male	Male
Nearshore fishing and catching (including land crab catching)	Collaboration / both	Collaboration / both
Weaving (in general)	Female	Female
Sail weaving	Female	Male
Basket weaving	Female	Male (vine basket)
Food consumption division	Divided by gender and rank	Divided by gender and age
Cooking	Female (men can prepare their own food in the canoe house or eat the food women prepare)	Female
Pottery making	Female (usually lower rank)	Male
Gender separation before long-distance fishing and travelling	Practised. Some occasionally after fishing and travelling expeditions too	Practised. Starts before flying fish season for a certain period
Canoe construction	Male. Gender separation until the canoe is launched	Male. Women were not allowed to get close or touch a canoe under construction
Canoe launching	Collaboration / both. Men gathered with women chanting and preparing food (with symbolic rituals)	Collaboration / both. Men chanting and tossing the canoe with women preparing food (with symbolic rituals)
Navigation	Kept mainly by male but also female	N/A (due to loss of indigenous navigation)

Table 5. Comparison of some fundamental gender divisions of labour on Orchid Island and in Yap State

Source. Constructed by © Karen Tu

Finally, as seen in the last section about women's positions and roles related to canoe culture, during construction and the completion of a canoe, women have to continually provide food to the construction site for the male workers. This is seen as support for the workers to complete their job with energy and without distraction. Even though throughout the whole chapter, I have been stressing the importance of men being dominant in the sea as well as canoe construction, through the interview and secondary references it emerges that women normally have navigational as well as canoe carving knowledge. Although not found on Orchid Island, there are examples of women possessing knowledge of canoe carving and navigation on Yap Main Islands and the

outer islands. Once again, this proves that gender collaboration is important in areas where a strict gendered division of labour is still in practise.

Chapter Six

Indigenous Responses to the Changing Status of Canoes

In this chapter, two main themes will be discussed: first, the significance of canoes for Yap and Orchid Island today, and second, islanders' reactions to, and critiques of, canoe use. In the first section on transformation and continuity in maritime practices, I will focus on islanders' points of view to determine the significance of canoes for contemporary Yap and Orchid Islanders, drawing on my interviews and personal reflections. In the last section on islanders' reactions and critiques, I will explore the ways in which the transference of indigenous knowledge has changed, looking at the perspectives of both younger and older people, and offering suggestions as to the future possibilities of canoe culture to manifest islanders' identity through canoes and their own indigeneity. The content and discussion in this chapter will be largely based on my fieldwork data and voiced by my interlocutors.

Transformation and continuity in maritime practices

It did not matter whether people had built their own canoe or purchased one; all my interlocutors had used a canoe either for paddling, travelling or fishing. All of them consider the canoe crucial to their daily lives. Most interlocutors said that the transformation of canoe usage nowadays has been quite dramatic compared to the past—not only changes in use but also in the canoe design in both regions. First I will explore why, and how, people feel the canoe is used less nowadays and also explain the alteration in the appearance of canoes and in the new ways that they are being used. Then I will explore how people value their canoes. According to Magnus Resemanglug, who was raised on the outer island of Yap and later completed his college education in Guam before living on Yap Main Islands for some years:

Being in American life is also good; being in traditional life is also good. It is contradicted sometimes but there is a balance. In order to survive, you have to fish. The big canoe that is *waterak* for us maybe six or eight we can go [fishing]. Normally we go out at daytime and return at night time when there is good wind. But if there is no wind we don't go out or we just ride the boat. We have one boat in every village (Interview with Magnus Resemanglug, Yap, November 2013).

From Resemanglug's words we see how people perceive a choice between a western lifestyle or a more traditional lifestyle; this is similar to the choice of fishing

transportation between a canoe and a motor-powered boat. Many people consider this an issue that contributes to the declining use of indigenous canoes.

Amongst the outer islands of Yap, the decline in long-distance canoe travelling and transportation has brought about the largest change for the islanders. Andy Tafileichig is from Lamotrek and is currently representing his uncle on the Council of Tamol. He felt that the gradual increase of small boats or fibreglass boats has discouraged the building and use of indigenous canoes: 'People tend to use canoes often for many types of reasons: fishing, even travelling, transport for long distance in the past' (Interview with Andy Tafileichig, Yap, October 2013). Tafileichig's father, Steven Malumai, was from a higher clan of Elato and used to be recognised as a famous master carver before he passed away. Tafileichig's mother was from the chief clan of Lamotrek. When Tafileichig grew up, he spent some time in both places. He pointed out that the replacing of canoes with boats was because students from Elato had to attend elementary school in Lamotrek because there were not enough students to warrant a school on Elato. At first, commuting between the two islands was done solely by canoe. However, since the early 1990s when motor-powered boats entered the island and became common, the canoe has become less preferred since the boat is more convenient and faster.

The same pattern occurred on Orchid Island. Si Manpang felt that the Motor boat actually accelerated the speed of decline for the traditional canoe; moreover, the young men would not learn how to row, would not know how to distinguish the tree materials for building canoes ... The value of the motor boat and canoe is really different. In the past you don't have to show your fishing ability by mouth. People just walk by your front yard and they know how many fish you catch. But nowadays with the number of catches by motor boat and canoe, there is a big gap. Although motor boats can carry a lot but I feel the central value is very different (Interview with Si Manpang, Hualien, April 2013).

Syaman Rapongan emphasised that:

The number of fish caught with motor boats is meaningless, that's what we call 'easy take; easy lost'; moreover, the sensitivities of weather and how it affects a motor boat would be very different, you don't have to make subtle observations like you do when rowing a canoe (Interview with Syaman Rapongan, Orchid Island, May 2013)

Sinan Jipehngaya refers to the advantages and disadvantages of motor boats:

With the boat, the catch will not be spoiled so easily, because you have more space to put something like a cooler or icebox on the boat, plus the motor boat travels a lot faster. Imagine you row the canoe out for eight hours or half a day, then those fish will be really

rotten when you row all the way back (Interview with Sinan Jipehngaya, Orchid Island, May 2013).

Even though my interlocutors agreed that the motor boat itself was not a tradition of Tao culture, and it actually accelerated the loss of *tatala* usage, some acknowledged that canoe rituals have been adapted to the motor boat. Sinan Mangibat said,

[T]he motor boat is a late comer, it is not a part of our culture... But during *mivanowa* (at the shore) ceremony, the ritual we used to prepare and pray for the canoe is now also applied to the motor boat, men also bring the bamboo with animal blood to say some good words to their motor boat. It is also a symbol of blessing, for wishing us good luck, a good catch and being safe (Interview with Sinan Mangibat, Orchid Island, May 2013).

Syaman Mangibat emphasised that

[t]he ritual is actually very similar between canoe and motor boat now. All the blessing words we say to the canoe we can also say to the boat, it is an attachment to the spirit as well. But a very important thing is that we have to wait for the traditional *mivanowa* (at the shore) ceremony to finish first then we can go to our boat. It is important to respect the tradition; also our motor boats are in the port not at the shore (Interview with Syaman Mangibat, Orchid Island, May 2013).

Even though some of the indigenous rituals of the canoe have been adopted for the motor boats, the practice contravenes many traditional regulations. Syaman Lamuran noted,

In the past, the canoe does not go to the sea area of another village, it is an extreme taboo to go to other villages' fishing grounds. But with a motor boat, when you set off, people just go wherever there is flying fish. Even the villages from the other side of the island can come with motor boats to our fishing ground easily these recent years (Interview with Syaman Lamuran, Orchid Island, May 2013).

Syaman Mangibat later laments that

we use the motor boat for fishing because we have no other alternative options. I know we waste the trees our old ancestors left us but it is something realistic, we have too many things and too much work to do to support the family (Interview with Syaman Mangibat, Orchid Island, May 2013).

Many people reacted against the replacing of the canoe with the motor boat, which brought up another argument that favoured the canoe because it was eco-friendly and saved money. Joseph Sagileitig from Lamotrek said that

[n]owadays the fuel is very expensive, and we need to learn the traditional skills. In the future we can still use it. We have probably ten or more motor boats in Lamotrek now, but the problem is when the ship is stuck here in Yap, we run out of fuel in the outer

islands. At that time we have to use the canoe (Interview with Joseph Sagileitig, Yap, October 2013).

Richard Sagubeireg, the younger brother of Sagileitig, added that maybe there could be up to 20 motor boats on Lamotrek now, but it really depends on the gasoline. If there is no gas, then people will revert to the canoes: 'Motor boats are also used for fishing now, and travelling between nearby islands. We can also go to Satawal but if there is no more gas then we cannot go' (Interview with Richard Sagubeireg, Yap, October 2013). Andy Tafileichig felt the same, noting that

[t]he motor boats came to Lamotrek too but the thing is the fuel cost keeps going up. In the islands we have motor boats, the fiberglass one. We started to realise nowadays that we can hardly afford the gas. People started to abandon the motor boats and went back to the old style by using canoes to consume less gas ... You know sometimes when the ship has no service, we will have no fuel for months, and we have to depend on the canoe to commute or to go out fishing (Interview with Tafileichig, Yap, October 2013).

Aside from the downsides of expensive fuel and limited supply, Mathew Chomed also mentioned the noisiness of motor boat engines:

The easy way [using the motor boat] is more comfortable but I don't want to lose our customs, our tradition. I hope it can be half tradition and half modern, if it can but I don't think it is possible. One reason I like to fish on the canoe is that it doesn't have sounds like the motor sound. You will not scare the fish away. If it is trolling, you cannot turn off the engine so it is very hard to keep quiet on a motor boat (Interview with Mathew Chomed, Yap, November 2013).

Syaman Lamuran referred to the choice between indigenous canoe building and motor boats on Orchid Island:

You can see middle-aged people have a stable economic income and so tend to prefer the motor boat; however, canoe construction is possible when you get a sponsorship from an organisation or the government fund, then you can start to build a canoe, the *cinedkeran*, that's when you probably can see people from the younger generations ... However, you could hardly see any villager below 40 building *tatala*, it is really different from the past ... In my personal opinion, I think the motor boat is more troublesome because of the fuel. One has to earn enough to get the fuel and equipment for motor boat. With this consideration I feel *tatala* should be more preferred (Interview with Syaman Lamuran, Orchid Island, May 2013).

Regardless of whether islanders choose motor boats or canoes, the appearance of canoes and the tools for carving them have also changed. Julie Ilemaisou from Lamotrek offered a woman's point of view. She did not know how to carve or build a

canoe, and she pointed out the most significant change in the canoe's appearance for her was the colour, since people now use waterproof paint most of the time. She said, 'It is the same as *lava-lava*. We did not have that many colours to choose [from] traditionally. Both canoe and *lava-lava*, we could only use traditional colours from the past' (Interview with Julie Ilemaisou, Yap, October 2013). The colours of the canoe and *lava-lava* were restricted due to the natural resources at the time. However, with the improvement of modern technology, waterproof paint offers a wide variety of colours and so does the dyestuff for indigenous *lava-lava* and the cotton thread (see Figure 70). Yet most of the time in Orchid Island and Yap, people tend to follow the three basic colours they used in the past when painting a canoe: red, black and white.

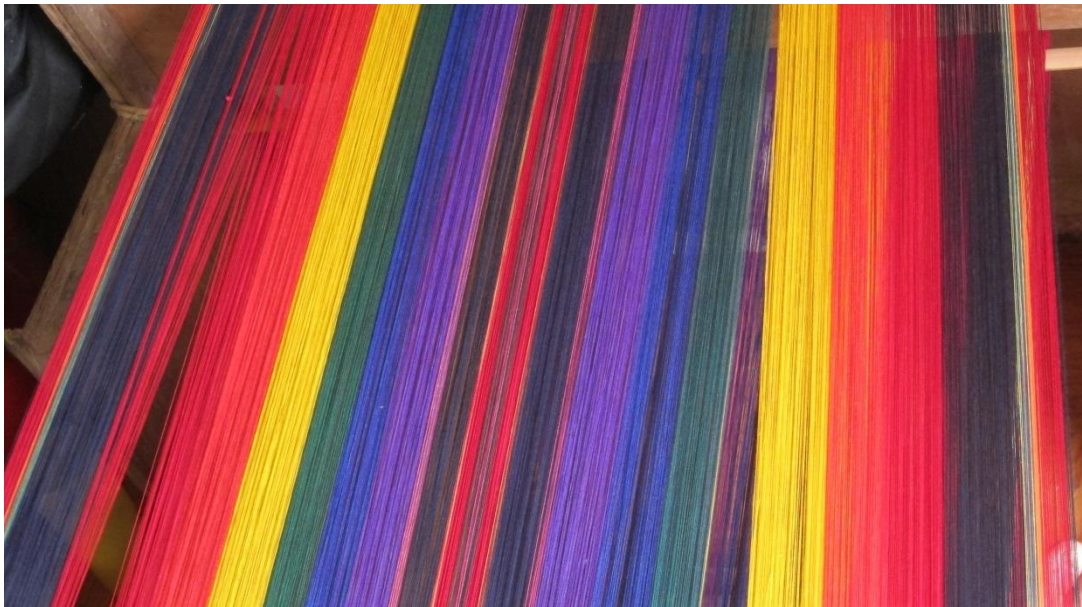


Figure 70. A very colourful *lava-lava* waiting to be woven on the loom. The colours can be very diverse nowadays. This piece was made particularly for me (also see Figure 10 in the Prologue)

Source. Photographed by © Karen Tu, Gargey, Yap, October 2013

Paulino Gelawmai, who was originally from Satawal, noted that the appearance of canoes was also changing. For example, in his ancestor's time, the leaves from a plant were used for measurement while nowadays most people use a ruler and he noted this has resulted in small changes to the measurements of the canoe. The carvers are also gaining experience in measurement by building more canoes, and becoming more accurate. Soon there will be no problems for the workers in measuring correctly.

Both Julie Ilemaisou and Leo Racheilug mentioned the convenience of improved tools. Julie Ilemaisou said that the canoe is now very smooth because tools like chainsaws and sand paper help shape the canoe better than using only an adze. Syaman Rapongan from Orchid Island also mentioned an old Tao saying, 'Men can rest; but

axes cannot rest' (Interview with Syaman Rapongan, Orchid Island, May 2013). It was once a reminder to be diligent, but now one often sees the men resting; only the chainsaw is busy. Leo Racheilug remarked that the chainsaw and other metal equipment were really new and useful:

When you see a chainsaw you think it is more convenient and faster than the adze, but you know a long time ago adze and axes were made of shells not metal, so even during the Japanese time, the adze was already faster than long time ago (Interview with Leo Racheilug, Yap, October 2013).

The transformation of tools is a continuous process. Just as the chainsaw is considered a modern improvement today, so too was the metal adze once considered an improvement on the shell adze.

Syaman Rapongan mentioned that, in the past, the canoe sail in Orchid Island also had an alternative function which it now no longer serves. When people used torches (fires) to attract flying fish, the sail could slightly cover the fire to prevent it from going out too quickly. Syapen Vaknang also commented,

During *Paneb* month, torch fishing for flying fish was the case in the past but nowadays we use headlights. It is safer plus it can last the whole night. If you use the torch, when you leave it there it eventually goes out and you cannot catch flying fish anymore (Syapen Vaknang, Orchid Island, June 2013).

Flash lights, headlights or any other kind of water-proof lighting are commonly used today. There is no necessity to go long-distance travelling by canoe, canoe sails are no longer preferred, and since the torch had been totally replaced by electric lights, since the 1980s, the sail has become unnecessary.

The appearance of canoes is also changing on Orchid Island, not only because the tools make the shape smoother but also because the choice of material is different. On the shore throughout the villages, generally all the *tatala* or *cinedkelan* are still built with wooden planks; however, one canoe on the shore of Iranmeylek village is a fibreglass canoe. According to Sinan Jipehngaya:

Nowadays people use fibreglass boats. It's fibreglass, the shape looks identical to a canoe, we have one here in Iranmeylek. If you see really close then you would be able to tell, otherwise if you see afar from the shore, there is no difference. But when you want to repaint, a fibreglass canoe cannot be carved, it has to be wiped off and you must repaint everything, but for a traditional canoe, you just follow the pattern and repaint (Sinan Jipehngaya, Orchid Island, May 2013).

Joseph Sagileitig remarked that nowadays even during inter-island voyages, ‘Sometimes people put the motor on the canoe, some use GPS, some use compasses ... For the traditional navigator they only use currents, waves, wind or clouds to guide them’ (Interview with Sagileitig, Yap, October 2013). Ignathio Emaipiy, who is currently the executive chief of Satawal, referred not only to changes in the canoe itself, but also to the regulations that are related to the canoe, particularly regarding unfaithfulness in marriage. Long ago, if you were already married and tried to marry another girl, then the family of your original wife could take whatever was in your canoe house. They could take everything if they wanted to. This practice also appeared in Hijikata’s experience on Satawal in the 1930s. If the relationship becomes polygamous or adultery is committed and compensation for ‘divorce’ (more accurately, leaving the partner) is not paid, then the man or woman who has been abandoned has the right to demand and take all of the tools and canoes and any other possessions from the offending family. The one who abandoned their original spouse and his/her family does not have the right to refuse. Thus, as Hisakatsu Hijikata described, ‘Therefore, for a young person to neglect even a trivial stipulation could result in a considerable impact on all of the members of the clan’ (1997: 202). Today this tradition has changed, as Emaipiy noted: ‘But these days this is no more. They just say, oh Fity (Emaipiy’s nickname) is having another girlfriend and there is no more punishment from your canoe house or property’ (Interview with Ignathio Emaipiy, Yap, October 2013).¹

New reasons for canoe building have also appeared recently, such as tourism, and the purchasing and collections of canoes. Edmund Pasam indicated that the canoe is changing because where he lives in Map, ironically, is where canoes are most frequently used for tourism. Tourists come for sailing experiences and money is charged and given

¹ Canoes are less common than before, and most Outer Islanders residing elsewhere do not possess any canoes. However I personally heard of a case that happened in 2015. A couple split up due to the affair of the husband, and the wife’s family went over to the husband’s family and took two of their cars with some other electronic items. The interlocutor refused to have his name and island revealed. Yet, it can be seen that cars have replaced the symbolic meaning of canoes under this circumstance of compensation. The punishment for unfaithful behaviour changed but also the choice in marriage has become different. Emaipiy gave an example from his own experience. His marriage was arranged by his parents because the two people who are marrying have to be from equal clans. His wife also comes from a higher clan in Satawal (one of the daughters of Mau Pailug), and she was chosen by the parents of Emaipiy because she made good *lava-lavas* and also knew how to cultivate taro at a young age. In recognition of the traditional skills, Emaipiy’s parents thought that this girl would be a good wife. Emaipiy remarked to me,

People nowadays, they don’t really care, they can marry whoever. But only a few people from Satawal really turned down their parents. Now people come to Yap and marry Yapese, they make trouble but in the past this was not allowed, it is very different (Interview with Ignathio Emaipiy, Yap, October 2013).

Due to the class system in Yap Proper, Yapese in the past rarely married Outer Islanders (with only a few exceptions, such as in Ulithi in particular).

to the villagers. Canoes are now being used to make money but no longer to go out fishing. Most of the canoes in Map belong to TNS, and by using the TNS-owned canoes then a percentage goes to TNS and a percentage to the crew. But if sailing the village canoe, then all the money goes to the crew (unless the chief asks for money to repair or repaint the canoe). Matthew Chomed, also from Map, agreed that these days the people in his village do not use canoes for fishing anymore: 'If you go and invite somebody to jump on the canoe and go fishing, you might expect the answer to be no. They prefer the motor boat' (Interview with Chomed, Yap, October 2013).

The late Peter Pakamai, an elder from Lamotrek, explained:

Generally all canoes are made for fishing, for inter-island voyaging, for transporting cargos, and also for turtle hunting. The same purposes still exist today but now there are times when canoes are built especially for sale (Interview with Peter Pakamai, Yap, October 2013).

He then indicated another usage that is very different from the past:

Usually the buyer would come from another island, but they also purchase for the same purpose in the past. For example there was a lady from the museum in Europe who wanted a canoe to display. Now people buy it just to display or decorate (*ibid.*).

Chief Tharngan noted that the first canoe he built on his own in 1994 is now in the Linden Museum in Stuttgart, Germany. A woman came to collect canoes in Micronesia for the museum, and the canoe carved by Tharngan was purchased and he flew to Germany after the canoe arrived in order to put it together, repaint it, and assemble the sail for demonstration in the museum.²

Si Manpang had a broader vision of using canoes for tourism:

The utilisation of the canoe can become multi-dimensional. You can tell many young men don't know about fishing nowadays, but the canoe is not merely for fishing. If say, for example, tourist experiences on canoes can bring money, that becomes the same as fishing – to be fed, only it's from cash nowadays. This tourism might encourage many young men to build canoes. This is not our loss but a different way to inherit, and thus I think it's something that should be encouraged. Even sometimes you see our canoes that become decorations or installation art, and if you see the broader way of utilising it, there is nothing wrong. It's a way of not keeping it from failing to pass down to future generations (Interview with Si Manpang, Hualien, April 2013).

² 'The museum purchased the canoe as part of an exhibition to mark the 100th anniversary of the legendary South Seas Expedition by the Hamburg Museum in 1909–10' (see Yap Traditional Navigation Society: Financial Statements and Independent Auditor's Reports 2009).

However, Si Manpang also remarked that nowadays many canoes that were built only for tourism did not go through the indigenous rituals, and she felt it was a kind of loss:

Ritual is also a part of our cultural inheritance, there is a mission in the canoe, and an attachment to the spirit. If there is no ritual, then it is just a shape, the canoe is not a life being, it is not as close to our culture. A canoe without ritual is merely an equipment, an instrument (ibid.).

Sinan Jipehngaya noted,

We need to find a balance between earning money and maintaining our culture. For example, a Tao tour guide shouldn't just read the books and memorise it then rephrase it to the tourists. When you row the canoe, you have to introduce the culture from your actual living experience and practice, that's the spirit and emotion which has the most value (Interview with Sinan Jipehngaya, Orchid Island, May 2013).

To conclude, the changing significance of indigenous canoes is inevitable, especially after the effect of colonisation and modernity. I use Syaman Rapongan's words here to conclude this section:

Modernity started to reduce the frequency of people's reaction to nature. Our lives in the past were dependable; all of us followed the rhythm of traditional lives. Islands like us here all have some cultural alienation, but like some of us who insisted on the traditional life pattern you can still see the formality of our broader culture framework (Interview with Syaman Rapongan, Orchid Island, May 2013).

Pacific peoples' reactions and critique: Continuity and sustainable canoe traditions

Nearly 90 per cent of my interlocutors in both Yap State and Orchid Island felt that canoe usage has been changing quite a lot, and the reasons have been demonstrated and discussed above. In this section, I will draw from the interviews with my interlocutors and focus on islanders' reactions and critiques regarding canoes in the past, present and future.

Some of the interlocutors pointed out that the decline in canoe carving and using canoes was due to the youth losing interest in learning indigenous knowledge. The breakdown of passing on the knowledge might be one of the largest worries for some of the islanders who are trying hard to preserve and protect their indigenous knowledge. These concerns are most often from people who are middle-aged or from the elders. Ali Haleyalur was teaching a navigation class during my stay in 2014. He has some younger students who are around 20 years old. Haleyalur commented:

They are good but young kids they are very lazy. I don't want to sit and then wait and wait. They come whatever time they want to come. These students I don't depend on them because I know they are still students and they have to take their classes [formal school education] (Interview with Ali Haleyalur, Yap, October 2013).

Tobias Uurupa mentioned this situation in Satawal as early as the 1980s and 1990s. When sitting in the canoe house, the elders wanted to discuss navigation but the young men only wanted to sing and laugh and get drunk. After this situation happened a few times, the elders never brought it up again (Thomas 2009: 91–92). The loss of interest of the young men made it difficult for the older ones to pass the navigational skills down in the same way as it had been done in the past. Andy Tafileichig also felt that:

Kids nowadays they don't care about the traditional knowledge ... These kids, even my kids they were brought up in Yap, they don't know how to paddle, and they probably don't know how to swim. They live a modern lifestyle. Otherwise kids are more fascinated by going out on a motor boat. It is a lot faster and easier (Interview with Tafileichig, Yap, October 2013).

Cultural teacher Steven Tiliwemal teaches high school students in Ulithi, and he felt that most of his students try to imitate American culture and learn less of the indigenous culture. Tiliwemal can even identify students from different atolls who might be more interested:

Maybe people in Mogmog or Fatherai know more but they always come to ask me questions. Like the students, they will ask a question but the guys from here [Falalop, where the school is located], they don't. Yes, I can tell the students in Falalop they are not really interested in canoes but students in Mogmog or Fatherai they still have paddling canoes, so then they ask me questions (Interview with Steve Tiliwemal, Ulithi, October 2013).³

Aside from the lack of interest of the youth, economic pressures and burdens are also significant. Sometimes people are still interested in learning about indigenous affairs, but in order to sustain their life with income, they need to find a paid job. A struggle emerges between working on cultural revitalisation as a non-paid job and a well-paid job to support their lives. Even if they are trying to do cultural work, a certain amount of money is still needed in order to get supplies for daily necessities. A balance

³ There are only male students in Tiliwemal's culture class, and for the female students there is another cultural teacher who teaches female affairs, following the gendered division mentioned in a previous chapter. Falalop, Mogmog and Fatherai are all islands in Ulithi atoll. However, according to Tiliwemal, Falalop (the island with the airport runway and post office) has lost most of its canoe tradition and the attitude toward canoes among students is different to that of other islands.

has to be made between working on cultural revitalisation and getting income from doing so. Money has become crucial today and it is not because of greed but, rather, it is a practical issue of survival. There are some revitalisation organisations and projects that are giving pay cheques to the workers and some of these are running well, such as the organisations mentioned in Chapter Four (TNS and *Waa'gey* in Yap, and the community associations in Orchid Island such as Imorod and Iranmeylek community projects). It would be a large benefit for those who concentrate on doing cultural work to receive regular payments so they are not distracted by worries about income. However, another issue arises from being paid to work on cultural revitalisation projects: should people be devoted to their culture for its own sake, or should there be financial incentives?

Iranmeylek village project executive officer Si Jyaninik also commented that she can actually tell the difference between some workers who showed up for the money rather than for the joy of canoe building:

I feel [that it is] a pity that the younger ones participate much less than the elders. This is really depending on their will. But you find elder people are more diligent than the young men. Sometimes I saw them coming on Saturday or Sunday which was not counted as working days (Interview with Si Jyaninik, Orchid Island, May 2013).

Getting paid is an important issue for young people. When the younger generations find a better paid job, the incentive to do short-term cultural work is limited.

Take TNS for example. Many years of training have been offered by TNS, yet Chief Tharngan acknowledged that there is still no one who would be able to build a canoe. Paul Anthony Lane, who used to work for TNS pointed out that he has the feeling from those training, that the apprentices came more for the attraction of being paid rather than the strong will to learn. Although it is not the same for all students, some still want to learn the knowledge for its own sake as opposed to those who only come for the money. This is evident in their attitude at work. Lane thinks it is better to follow the traditional way when you want to learn; that is, you have to please the master and pay him to teach you. As he explained: 'It is like you want to go to college because you want to learn and you pay them to do it. But what we were doing was switching it up and we were paying these guys' (Interview with Paul Anthony Lane, Yap, November 2013).

Sadly, it would be a poor attendance if there was no stipend to keep these students coming. Many of the younger generations have lost interest in learning indigenous knowledge. Salaries need to be offered to attract them to come. Few would want to

spare the time working for free when they can spend the same time in the job market earning money. Sometimes people have become upset because the money paid for revitalisation projects is not enough and they have lost much of their indigenous culture. Lane recalls his experience of working with the villages. With the support of the chief, Tomil villagers worked well on their two community-based canoes (both of them are rotten now) but none of the other communities wanted to do the same. Another grant was given to build a small canoe in Gagil, called the *Lekay*, but only one person showed up for the construction. After *Lekay* was completed, the Gagil people said they could not take care of it and asked TNS to keep it, and that is why *Lekay* is now sitting in Map awaiting Tharngan's repairs.

A similar dilemma between earning money and preserving culture also came up with the *Waa'gey* group. Larry Raigetal had a clear vision:

I make sure in the beginning when these guys come, they don't come because of the money. Of course people have to be fed, and they have to pay for their expenses but that is not our main interest. For us, it is about passing the skills, learning it, and transferring it. That is more valuable than the money about it (Interview with Larry Raigetal, Yap, October 2013).

Raigetal makes it clear to his students once they come to work, that it is the joy of building and the revitalisation of culture that matters, rather than the money. *Waa'gey* also provides a platform for the outer island workers to come and sell their products that is generating revenue. The intention of paying people to work on tradition is ideal, yet the debate continues to divide islanders over the comparative value of culture and money.

Sharing: A combination of indigenous and modern methods

We realised nowadays that even if you are somebody knowledgeable, not only in crafting but also navigation or medicine, if you only hold onto your knowledge not passing it down to anybody then lots of our old folks have passed away with their knowledge and nobody knows what they really had. That's what's changing, very sad but that's also the circumstance (Interview with Tafiichig, Yap, October 2013).

In order to solve the problem of the loss of interest among the younger generations, most of the islanders raise the issue of 'sharing' which is a long-existing tradition and virtue throughout both areas. However, when it comes to professional knowledge, it was a different story in the past. As Rosalind Hunter-Anderson and Yigal Zan note,

In the Outer Islands men were customarily allowed to take navigational training and that in Yap navigational knowledge or training could be purchased—then, at least within the Outer Island-Yap cultural milieu, navigational knowledge was not stringently protected (1996: 15).

As the former chief of Satawal (the same island that Piailug is from) said to Steve Thomas,

We didn't have notebooks and pens and writing like the Americans and the Japanese. Some navigators were stingy with their knowledge. Others died before they could pass everything to their sons, and their knowledge was lost (Thomas 2009: 60).

Tobias Uurupa, Piailug's younger brother, confirmed that 'some navigators hoarded their knowledge and didn't teach it before they died. Now we only know part of what they once knew' (Thomas 2009: 60).

The current Chief Leo Racheilug also described the situation in Satawal:

I asked the older canoe builders how you learned this building, they said if not from their father then from their uncle. For us Satawalese people, you have to learn to build a canoe, a canoe house, your house for the family and you must learn. That is the work for man. You know how to build canoes, you also know how to navigate, you know how to build canoe houses, you know how to build houses for people, and you know all the techniques (Interview with Racheilug, Yap, October 2013).

For the outer islands, the elder family members are normally your master and teacher in indigenous skills. Let us refer back to Mau Piailug—his generosity in giving his navigational knowledge to Polynesia is a noble deed and it succeeded in keeping that knowledge circulating in Polynesia. Yet, Piailug's decision to share this knowledge in terms of cultural transmissions was somewhat opposed to the traditions of his culture. Just as Piailug did, many of my interlocutors would be willing to contravene indigenous cultural rules in order to keep the knowledge alive for future generations regardless of family, age, clan, class, or even nationality.⁴

The late elder Peter Pakamai also referred to the tradition when special skills were kept within a certain lineage or family. But the things they are doing in the canoe house with *Waa'gey* is to preserve the culture, such as teaching the younger children:

⁴ During my observations in both areas, gender issues were not as strictly enforced as in the past, though I have not yet seen a female carver or a female navigator who went voyaging. For educational purposes, most of the people did not mind sharing navigational and carving knowledge with me. They even invited me on a near-shore trap fishing journey, which was a kind of fishing from which women were prohibited in the past. There are school girls who are also under training for canoe paddling and sailing in preparation for the Canoe Festival.

Whoever wants to learn can come, no matter where you are from. But this is not very popular, it's against culture. It is still hard for everyone to accept because it is different from the pattern in the past. But we hope it is getting there (Interview with Pakamai, Yap, October 2013).

Ali Haleyalur said,

The masters before were really bad and greedy. Because they kept [knowledge], if there's only a few things you give [to the master] they just limit his knowledge [to the student]. Because they believe this is in your family, and your kids, we don't give it away. If I give away [knowledge] the members of my family like my sisters or nephews, they will really get mad. But now I think about it, if I have a chance to give the knowledge away, I will feel fruitful myself (Interview with Haleyalur, Yap, October 2013).

Paul Anthony Lane recalls when he worked with TNS that the original goal of TNS was to bring the main islands of Yap and the outer islands to work together for one goal. This was the first time for such a collaboration in the history of Yap. Main islands canoe building and outer island navigation were brought together for the first time in 2006 with a class of twelve students including people from Gagil, Tomil, two from the southern part of Yap and some from the outer islands. The largest existing Yapese style canoe *Mathaw Maram*, is named to symbolise this combination of Yapese and outer island cultures. At the beginning of the class Chief Tharngan was the carving instructor and Cesario Sewralur (from the outer island) was the navigation instructor. Nicholas Ka from Tomil and Anthorn from Nimgil in the south were the two best students from the first class. As a chief, Bruno Tharngan had the traditional right to ask someone from a lower class to work for him, but he did not exercise this right.⁵ As Lane recollected, Ka came to talk to Tharngan saying that he would have paid to learn, since Ka is a person from the lower class. In the past a chief would never have agreed to teach a lower class person, but Tharngan agreed to teach Ka to build a canoe. Lane remembered seeing the chief crying because he was so emotional about it:

Imagine you are the last person here with that knowledge; none of your people come. He [Tharngan] wanted to pass it on but nobody, none of his sons, none in the family showed interest in wanting to learn that. But you cannot blame them for it because there is a new world out there; people want to have modern ways (Interview with Lane, Yap, November 2013).

⁵ This did cause a little problem when bringing people from different classes to work together. In 2008 at the Annual International Festival of Canoe held in Lahaina, Hawai'i, three participants from Yap won the contest. They were Beninu from Gagil (a high class) and Ka (a low class) and Chief Tharngan. Lane remembered Beninu was upset about eating the same food with Ka because of the class differences.

Andy Tafleichig described the situation with his father Steven Malumai, the late master carver who taught students about carving skills. Tafleichig was grateful that, before he passed away, his father was happy to pass his knowledge to him, because even though the indigenous knowledge was generally passed from father to son in the outer islands, it is not an obligation. If the son never raises a question, shows that he cares about the knowledge, or even is disrespectful to the elders, the father can choose not to teach the son everything. The father makes the decision whether or not to pass his knowledge to the son, but if the father chooses not to, then it is regarded as a curse on the son. In this case, if there is an apprentice who is studious and filial to the master, then the teacher could alternatively choose to pass the skills to the apprentice instead of his own son.

Richard Sagubeireg also noted that the master could choose not to pass the skills onto the son:

For example, if the father does not want you to learn or he wants to teach somebody, he can hide his skills. Before, the men's house belonged to the clan. Before, when I was probably in the elementary school, people did not enter other people's men's houses. Back then it was a serious problem if you entered other men's houses but now it is ok (Interview with Sagubeireg, Yap, October 2013).

It appears the same can also occur on the main islands of Yap. Chief Tharngan remarked that

[b]efore we just talk but when you try to learn, you have to pay. We pay in traditional money like shell money or stone money even the son and the father. If the son didn't take good care of the father, if the father knows a lot of things, he can give [that knowledge] to somebody else but not give it to the son (Interview with Bruno Tharngan, Yap, October 2013).



Figure 71. Coconut juice/sap/wine, *faluba* (tuba) in the bottle at the canoe house waiting for the men to finish work and indulge the day

Source. Photographed by © Karen Tu, November 2013. Used with permission of the subjects

Malumai's students used to pay him a tribute to learn the skills from him, for example, cutting *faluba* (tuba) and serving it to him every evening. That was how the tradition was passed down to younger generations.⁶ The students have to show respect to the master because they are asking something from the master. Learning in the canoe house and during an evening visit to the master's house are both appropriate places to offer a bottle of tuba or some food to serve the master, and in return, ask him questions (see Figure 71). This is a long-term process which shows the student's respect for the

⁶ Tobias Uurupa, Piailug's younger brother also shares,

It used to be that when we cut our tuba we would make just two bottles. We would take the first to the canoe house to share. We would drink a little, talk about navigation, and tell stories. When the first bottle was gone we would take the second to our master—we call him our raap; it means the 'trunk,' or 'base,' of a tree. We would ask and ask and ask about navigation. This is how we came to know (Thomas 2009: 91).

master, ensuring the student treats him sincerely and is genuinely interested in learning. Ali Haleyalur noted,

Traditionally, we start by giving tuba, and if I cut my tuba I make sure to leave a bottle for the teacher, or if I go fishing I'll choose a big one and give it to him. During the *pwo* ceremony, the family who comes to learn from the master navigator has to give *lava-lavas* to cover the bowl (Interview with Haleyalur, Yap, October 2013).

A contribution or payment has to be made to the master at particular different stages; however, it is crucial to continue serving the person from whom one is asking the knowledge.

Ignathio Emaipiy confirmed that it is very important to be active and ask for the skills, because if one does not ask, one will not be able to learn. But if one keeps on asking then there will be an answer or a solution, and that's when the student really learns. The way of learning indigenous skills is very different from taking a class in the modern education system. There is no teacher coming into the classroom and asking the student to sit still and listen or asking the students to read textbook. Most of the time learning is achieved by working in the canoe house, where the students first observe and then get into the work by themselves after a reasonable period of observation. It is more important to be practical than theoretical. The teacher demonstrates something and the students have to raise questions by asking to be able to learn. *Faluba (tuba)* is compared to modern ways, like the tuition fee one pays to the master. Whereas in the main islands of Yap, real payments can be made, as Chief Tharngan explained from his experience in learning carving: 'I spent a lot of shell money and then I learned' (Interview with Tharngan, Yap, October 2013). Andy Tafileichig agreed that if a person knows all the knowledge about canoes and the procedures for carving canoe, he is not recognised as a carver because:

You will show to people that you already reached your manhood. You show your ability. Yes, and you become recognised by people. You are a master carver or you are someone that is able to carve a canoe. You are entitled to several things (Interview with Tafileichig, Yap, October 2013).

Chief Tharngan remarked,

Learning to build a canoe isn't taking really long but you cannot teach them just by mouth. You have to carve and practice ... from the bottom of the canoe all the way to the top ... My teacher told me a lot of things and I built a lot of canoes to practice what my teacher told me. I build one and make a little difference to the other one to see how my teacher told me (Interview with Tharngan, Yap, October 2013).

It is not until one proves his ability that he will be recognised as qualified. Hence, merely learning is not enough, and it is more important to put your knowledge into practice.

Respecting your elders is always considered important, whether they are your master or not. It is true that elders are normally more experienced, however, according to indigenous ethics, even if a young man is recognised as a skilful master carver, whenever there is an elder present, he has to consult the elder. Particularly important elders include the master, father and uncles.⁷ Lane remembered the time when Chief Tharngan worked with TNS in 2006 to build the canoe in Rull. Tharngan was humble and would not consider himself as a master builder because his master was still alive at that time, though he was old, nearly blind and unable to carve anymore. Despite the old master struggling to see, he still rode with Tharngan to make critiques and ensure Tharngan was doing everything correctly at that time. Ali Haleyalur learned navigation from his father, but he is unable to host his own *pwo* ceremony if his master is still alive as it is against cultural convention. Haleyalur firmly believed that if he attempted to conduct a *pwo* ceremony and did something wrong or forgot about a chant, then something bad could happen to him. He further explained,

Once you go to a *pwo* ceremony, once that's it and you're done. You cannot go through one more. It's not like you go to school and then you receive one degree after another. You're done and then you rely on yourself (Interview with Haleyalur, Yap, October 2013).

Therefore, no matter whether engaged in carving or navigation, or even just in daily life, showing respect to the elders is as important today as it was in the past.

Sharing indigenous knowledge with others might be more permissible on Orchid Island and the outer islands of Yap than on the main islands of Yap because the method of passing down special knowledge differs between islands. However, it is a common belief today that almost everyone recognises that the sharing and passing down of indigenous knowledge is important. Joseph Sagileitig noted that 'I think both carving and navigating have the same importance. I think we need to share our knowledge to everybody' (Interview with Sagileitig, Yap, October 2013). Paulino Gelawmai, who was originally from Satawal, later married into Lamotrek and now resides in Yap, said,

⁷ Andy Tafileichig further confided that even 'uncles' are treated differently between the mother's side and the father's side: 'Your uncle from the mother's side is the man of your family. But the uncle from the father's side, you can just treat him as your father. Even if all of them are called 'uncle', you still show different respect.'

I like to promote the traditions too. I want to teach the young kids to learn how to paddle, and also teach them how to build the house, to make rope. When I was at home I also taught my sons how to carve and how to sail. I have two sons in Lamotrek and I want them to pass on the skill too (Interview with Paulino Gelawmai, Yap, October 2013).

Matthew Chomed noted,

I want to tell the new generation to join in. The only thing I can think of is to tell them and explain that our tradition is dying and the canoe is a good thing to do. I think we have to invite the old people because they know more and they can tell the younger generation, they have more power. Now everybody prefers the easy thing, modern things (Interview with Chomed, Yap, November 2013).

Ali Haleyalur has been teaching his own students and also collaborates with TNS. He commented,

I am really focusing on teaching people, teaching the young specifically. I don't want this to disappear ... No matter who is interested to learn I can try to teach them ... if I have a chance to give the knowledge away, I will feel fruitful myself (Interview with Haleyalur, Yap, October 2013).

Collaborations: Bringing school education, family education and community education together

A combination of indigenous knowledge and modern education is also a way of ensuring that traditions are passed down, and it happens in cultural classes in both regions. Andy Tafileichig noted,

Now there is more interference from the school system. They have a culture curriculum and culture classes at school to teach students. The skilful person is hired, they get paid by the school but they still pass on the knowledge to the students.⁸ ... It is better now in the school, they started to recapture the school curriculum by enhancing the kids' indigenous canoe building knowledge (Interview with Tafileichig, Yap, October 2013).

Steven Tiliwemal's work at Outer Island High School (OIHS) in Ulithi as a cultural teacher has been ongoing since 2007. Since there is no suitable candidate capable of teaching carving and navigation in Ulithi, Tiliwemal was brought from Ifaluk. However, there are only two high schools throughout the outer islands of Yap, OIHS and NIHS (Neighbouring Island High School in Woleai). These two schools bring students from the islands between Ulithi and Satawal, which means that the students are

⁸ The word 'interference' is used here because the payment method is different. Tafileichig was emphasising that in the past *tuba* was commonly used whereas now the cultural teachers are paid a salary.

a mixture from the outer islands. The same situation occurs in Orchid Island, where cultural classes and language classes are part of a formal school education. Moreover, with the support of schools, combining school education and indigenous knowledge can be successful, as Sinan Miblad observed,

Iranmeylek elementary school did a good job, I remember it should be 2012, they used a *tatala* and the graduates rowed it to represent their graduation. But the weather that day wasn't too good hence the kids didn't go far out. I think it is also a good way of deep-rooting our future generation (Interview with Sinan Miblad, Orchid Island, May 2013).

Syapen Vaknang also said that his grandson is now attending Iraraley elementary school, and

I feel thankful that his [Si Vaknang, the grandson] school respects our Tao culture and gives the elementary school students the opportunity to participate in the *mivanowa* (at the shore) ceremony during school time. The school teachers also respect our culture although they are not people to this place, you can tell the principal and the director; they encourage our children to participate (Interview with Syapen Vaknang, Orchid Island, June 2013).

Bringing cultural classes into the regular education system is one thing, but combining what students learn from school with indigenous knowledge is another more complex task according to Ali Haleyalur.

Many people now attend school, they learn so many things at school. When they finish and return they should see how to fit in to help our tradition of what we know and what they know. But I don't want them to come back and then let go of our traditions. I know we can never build an airplane, a car or a ship in our island. Building the canoe that is the only thing that can carry us between places (Interview with Haleyalur, Yap, October 2013).

However, when school education 'interferes' with indigenous knowledge, there is a dilemma in how to teach school students, and Edmund Pasam had a strong feeling about that.

The main problem is there is a conflict of schedule. We can only teach the young people in the weekend because they go to school. In the weekends they also have family matters which means there are very few weekends to do that. But we are trying our very best to get the young people to appreciate and have interests in, and the patience and the love for the ocean and the canoe. But it is still a failure for us (Interview with Edmund Pasam, November, 2013).

Sinan Jipehngaya also agreed that in Orchid Island many high school and college students leave the island to attend school in Taiwan. Thus a good period for the school

kids is to learn indigenous culture is during the two months' summer vacation when they return home:

Iranmeylek Community used to host some programs for school children such as learning to build the canoe planks, knowing tree material and finally rowing the canoe. We taught the students a lot during summer, about topics such as gender division, culture rituals, and taboos and many more, not only learning the canoe (Interview with Sinan Jipehngaya, Orchid Island, May 2013).

The late Mark Pekaichie, who used to work with *Waa'gey* in Yap, said that one of the main goals for *Waa'gey* was to bring in school students:

It is something that I am proud of to see how he [Larry Raigetel] keeps our traditional skills to make canoes alive. I like the old days when the canoe was carved, that was when you learn this and learn that. Now something done here is reviving the canoe carving.

What he is doing with school is to merge with the schools. Also to work with the students and to let them ask questions. It is a good way that I know how to promote our culture. It is to revive our skills (Interview with Mark Pekaichie, Yap, October, 2013).

Pekaichie thought that making *Waa'gey* a place open to school students to join, come for practice or even to ask questions was also a way of attracting the interest of students. However, it takes time to attract students to come; this cannot be done suddenly. It has to occur on a gradual basis—day after day.

Edmund Pasam's interpretation offers another point of view:

I think our kids now spend more time at school so [cultural knowledge] ... should be in the program of the cultural class. The school provides cultural classes and it should be encouraged at home and the school has to put up very effective cultural classes for the students. This would make a very big impact on people's attitude and motivation toward traditional canoe houses. There is also a pride in owning a good house, a good boat or a car. It depends on the environment we raise our kids in. If they get to appreciate our local way of living they would live in a local house like I do, and own a canoe. This can also be in health classes because we teach them about diseases and injuries like that. It is very nice. But you know living locally is healthy (Interview with Pasam, November, 2013).

Syaman Jipehngaya also mentioned,

Now the school teaches culture so as to preserve our culture, how to carve or how to make pottery. School is an important place, but we can also teach from home, the parents can teach the students about culture and meaning. Home education is actually rare and commendable. Children nowadays focus too much on television and computers, especially when there is internet. They really pay very little attention to culture (Interview with Sinan Jipehngaya, Orchid Island, May 2013).

Sinan Mangibat also commented on the challenge of family education:

Look at us in our middle age. There are many things we don't know and we have to go back and ask the elders. As a mother I already know a lot less than my parents, what I can teach my next generation is even less, my family education is limited. It is true that to preserve and pass down the traditional knowledge is really hard, especially in this new era where people care more about money than any other thing (Interview with Sinan Mangibat, Orchid Island, May 2013).

The husband of Sinana Mangibat, Syaman Mangibat, recalled that when he was in junior high school, his late father brought him to a place to learn how to row on a canoe for catching flying fish. He felt excited but his father was really exhausted because he needed to take care of Syaman Mangibat. He told me in 2013, that that was the first time Syaman Mangibat's father had passed down fish catching skills to him. He had brought his own elementary school son to catch flying fish for the first time. Even though Syaman Mangibat uses a motor boat now, he still feels that it is important to teach his son the culture of the flying fish season and wants him to experience fish catching as his father did a long time ago. Pasam kept saying:

That is still a very big challenge for us to maintain the traditional values, including what they eat. If you like to eat rice and buy canned meat from the store, then it is very hard to own a canoe because you have to go to work and make money. Can you imagine sailing a canoe from here to Colonia at 6 A.M. everyday to go to school or go to work? If I do that they will hire me in the morning and fire me the same morning. It has to do with how we eat and how we live (Interview with Pasam, November 2013).

Most of the interlocutors emphasised the importance of sharing and passing down the knowledge. Even if it violates or challenges indigenous rules or taboos, it is now considered crucial to ensure that the youth inherit the culture; otherwise the knowledge and skills will be lost forever. The generosity of the elders willing to give out their knowledge to people like me is really open ended. As Ignathio Emaipiy said, 'I think in this age today, we are trying our best to go back to see the old people and seek to ask' (Interview with Emaipiy, October 2013). Acting voluntarily to ask questions with respect is also crucial for the younger generation instead of sitting and doing nothing and waiting for the elders to share. Just like the morning of the day I was leaving Yap in 2013, I went back to the village to say goodbye to Chief Bruno Tharngan. I saw him carving a new canoe with two other villagers. I know he really enjoys working on the canoe, and I firmly believe that he will pass down his skill to somebody before he gets too old to carve anymore. He said to me 'I don't want to die with the skill. I want

somebody to really learn it, to make our culture alive' (Interview with Thrangan, November 2013).

Epilogue

The Sea of Knowledge Has No End

On one of those summery hot weather days in the canoe house of Colonia, Yap, I was lucky enough to talk to Peter Pakamai with the help of Larry Raigetel's translation.¹ 'No matter what, we build the canoe following the traditional way' (October 2013). Pakamai said this when he was some 70 years old and sitting in the canoe house while watching his sons' and grandsons' generations building two *shoasemaliu*. He has the belief that if people are building canoes and if people follow how *Waa'gey* share and preserve this culture for the next generation, then this is an ideal way to benefit both young and old. However, this is still hard for everyone to accept, because it is different from the patterns in the past. But Pakamai hopes things will change soon. The embedding of indigenous/traditional forms of knowledge into modernity with new technologies and ideas were something Pakamai would want to see before he passed away.

It is clear that an idealised cooperation is actually hard in practise. The cash economy spread fast throughout Oceania after World War II, and this is true on Orchid Island, Yap and its outer islands. Without additional finances, there are few who can simply rely on working with canoe culture, and there is no income to sustain the dream of cultural revitalisation. However, as described in my thesis, there are still many individuals and organisations trying to preserve and pass down indigenous knowledge as faithfully as possible.

Reflecting on the film, *The Navigators: Pathfinders of the Pacific*, directed by Low in 1983, and produced more than two decades before Mau Piailug died, Piailug mentioned his concern during the filming that the interest of younger generations in learning navigation was declining. As Piailug said, the ancestors once valued navigation as a source of pride. But he said the children of today are afraid to learn navigation, or they prefer to remain work-shy and not do anything. In the film, Piailug talked about his son-in-law, who left Satawal to attend school, wondering if he would return home after finishing his studies or take his daughter away. One of Piailug's sons-in-law, who is now the executive chief of Satawal, Ignathio Emaipiy (Fity), assumed the responsibility

¹ I last saw Pakamai in June on Guam during FestPac, he had come from Yap as the cultural representative. Sadly, half a year later, I heard the news of his passing in January 2017 on Yap. He was buried with his youngest son Mark Pekaichie, who too was my interlocutor, and who passed away in February 2015.

from his older brother in order to take care of the island.² Meanwhile, Cesario Sewralur, Pailug's youngest son, participated in the founding of the Yap Traditional Navigation Society (TNS), and later moved to Palau to teach navigation and take care of *Alingano Maisu* in accordance with the will of his father. Xavier Yarofalyang, the current principal of Lamotrek Elementary School, underwent the same *pwo* ceremony as Ali Haleyalur. He was master builder of the largest *warwei* on Lamotrek, *Queen Veronica*. This canoe was launched at the end of 2013, and it has travelled to and from Satawal to the East, Woleai to the West, and Guam for the FestPac in 2016. These people are actively keeping the tradition of navigation alive. Many others who were part of the organisation, whether on Orchid Island or Yap, are still carving, rowing, sailing and navigating their way. Their indigenous wisdom and desire to teach navigation lives on.

For Mau Pailug, navigational knowledge had no value unless it was passed down: [N]avigation/wayfinding gained its value not simply from one's abilities as a master seafarer, but in the ability of the practitioner to transfer that skill into becoming a leader and steward within his or her community (Baybayan 2010: 6).

Like Ali Haleyalur, Bruno Tharngan and many others, these men tried to break the restrictions of the past with regard to keeping canoe knowledge within a specific family or community. Because, for all of them, if such indigenous knowledge ceased being passed down then it would have no value at all. Furthermore, the ocean connects all people in this area, and canoe revitalisation is not seen as a single or 'on-island' issue, but rather as a cross-national and cross-boundary concern. Canoes are not seen only as vessels to help with transport, but the vast canoe culture and navigational knowledge related to these boats are a platform from which Oceanic peoples can communicate.

Towards the end of this study, I was fortunate to meet with the interlocutors from both field sites at the largest festival of arts and culture held in the Pacific, the Festival of Pacific Arts or FestPac which began in 1972. The gathering occurs every four years in a new host country circulating between Melanesia, Micronesia and Polynesia. Taiwan was not able to participate until FestPac was held in Palau in 2004 after a new policy was introduced enabling the host country to invite non-Council member countries that

² Leo Rachaeilug is the actual chief of Satawal; however, he spends most of the time in Yap with his family representing Satawal at the Council of Tamol (COT). Ignathio Emaipiy and his younger brother took the chief's position from their older brother Rachaeilug to be the acting chiefs on Satawal. Originally the responsibility was that of Rachaeilug, while their second oldest brother was adopted to another island. Hence Emaipiy and his younger brother are the two caretakers. When I first interviewed Ignathio Emaipiy, I asked him whether he had a job in Satawal. First he said, 'No, I don't have a job.' Then after a few seconds, he smiled and then responded, 'I work as the chief!'

met with the definition outlined by the Council for Pacific Arts supported by the Secretariat of the Pacific Community (Stevenson and Teaiwa 2017; Stevenson 2012).

By 2008, Taiwan's indigenous delegations became a regular presence in FestPac. Through this participation Taiwan had clear cultural diplomacy and political aims seeking to project an image that its indigenous people are part of the broader Austronesian family to which all Pacific countries belong. Taiwan's late entry to this festival indicates that they had to fight for inclusion but eventually gained the opportunity to show the similarities and connections to their Pacific and Austronesian relatives through diverse forms of art.

Long distance voyaging to attend FestPac has long been an important feature of the gathering. As described in 'The politics of revitalising canoe culture across Oceania' in the introduction, at the 12th FestPac in Guam, 2016, TASI chose Taiwan as the starting location of the FestPac event as Taiwan represented an important origin of the Austronesian diaspora. Ignacio R. Camacho, the Chamorro navigator (of TASI) left Kaohsiung, Taiwan, on 13 March with his first stop at Orchid Island. He co-sailed with Syaman Rapongan. After a short stop and interactions with the Tao people welcomed by an indigenous Tao 10-person canoe (*cinedkelan*), Ignacio Camacho then piloted the *Ana Varu* towards Guam on 19 March as a leading vessel for the 2016 FestPac.

The selection of Taiwan as a starting location of FestPac represents a meaningful collaboration between Taiwan and the Pacific, especially Micronesia in this case. The fact that sailing and navigation were the modes chosen for connecting indigenous Taiwan (Tao ethnic group) with Guam (Chamorro) underscores the aims in my study of building and exploring the similarities in canoe cultures and histories between Orchid Island and Yap.

Ali Haleyalur, Cesario Sewralur, TNS and *Waa'gey* representatives, Syaman Rapongan and his team, all participated in the 2016 FestPac in Guam³. The opportunity of holding this FestPac in Micronesia helped bring people together from Orchid Island, the islands in Micronesia and elsewhere throughout Pacific, to share and exchange their knowledge on this stage. It was a profound moment to see these passionate people from my field areas get together to discuss something they shared in common. I felt really thrilled to have had the opportunity to finally sit down with both communities and

³ Ali Haleyalur navigated *Queen Veronica* from Lamotrek to Guam; Cesario Sewralur navigated *Alingano Maisu* towards the outer islands of Yap, Saipan then to Guam. Syaman Rapongan sailed with Ignacio R. Camacho, a Chamorro navigator of TASI from Kaohsiung to Orchid Island then he flew to Guam specifically for FestPac. Other TNS and *Waa'gey* representatives came on the flight to Guam all to join the 2016 FestPac.

discuss canoe building, sailing and navigation. Even though they had only known each other for a few days, their conversations, especially the way how they discussed their canoe interests and values for indigenous knowledge, indicated these diverse cultures were still connected in spite of the distance in time and space from the original Austronesian diaspora.



Figure 72. From left to right, Bruno Tharngan (Yap Main Island), Ali Haleyalur (Lamotrek, Yap Outer Island), Frank Cruz (Chamorro, Guam, TASI), Syaman Rapongan (Tao, Orchid Island, Taiwan). With my help through some simple translation, Syaman Rapongan had a wonderful conversation with them, and they spent most of the time together during FestPac discussing indigenous knowledge

Source. Photographed by © Karen Tu, Paseo, May 2016

Although I focused on canoe cultures in my thesis, it is clear that other cultures or languages are also facing endangerment throughout Oceania and other parts of the globe. There are many individuals and groups trying to safeguard indigenous oral histories, chants, music, weaving, pottery making, carving, tattooing, spiritual rituals and many other practices. I chose canoe culture as my topic because it is one aspect of culture that needs more research on Orchid Island, and there were similarly very few resources on contemporary canoe culture on Yap. My aim of increasing the attention paid to canoe culture and navigation is merely the tip of the culture and heritage iceberg, and there are many other ongoing aspects relevant to cultural preservation that would be worthy of further research. My thesis aims to raise awareness of endangered indigenous canoe knowledge and I hope it will help expand the work and support for communities on Yap and Orchid Island.

My personal experiences and journey in the field are shared in this thesis, and I believe there will be more experiences and stories to be told in the future. My first interlocutor from Orchid Island, Si Manpang, expressed her thoughts to me as follows: ‘Cultural revitalisation is hard, really painstaking and suffering, we all have participated and experienced that, but there has to be someone to keep working on it.’ She then noted the beauty of a canoe and its wholeness, noting that it is the priceless treasure of their culture. Maybe one can pay to buy a canoe or name a price to own beautiful, indigenous woven clothes, but, for Si Manpang, she firmly and proudly said, ‘The value of our culture, it’s priceless!’ (Interview with Si Manpang, Hualien, April 2013).

I wish to conclude my thesis by acknowledging all the people who helped and hosted me on Orchid Island, Yap and elsewhere,, and all those who were kind enough to grant me interviews. Their hospitality, acceptance, and openness towards sharing and teaching about canoe construction taught me how to see that the shaping and building up of my thesis was like producing a metaphorical canoe of my own. Their generosity in sharing their personal experiences and spiritual heritage with me has made what could have been a dull academic thesis more meaningful and livelier than I ever could have imagined on my own. As Teresia Teaiwa (2005) wrote in her important piece ‘The Classroom as Metaphorical Canoe,’ the Pacific Studies classroom... ‘can begin to take each of its “passengers” on a journey of cooperative learning towards alternative spaces where indigenous knowledges can be more fully reclaimed, affirmed, and revitalized’ (Teaiwa 2005: 16). With the ongoing practices of those individuals, groups and organisations I have shared here, I firmly believe there will be more and more canoe stories to be passed down. There is no end to the ocean, just as there is no end to the sea of the knowledge. I have long been, and still will be, focusing on this topic in the years to come.

References

- 350 Pacific Organization. n.d. '350.org.' Retrieved from <http://350pacific.org/> (accessed August 20, 2015).
- Adams, William H. 1997. *Yap Archaeology: Archaeological Survey of Gachlaw Village, Gilman Municipality, Yap, Federated States of Micronesia*. Micronesian Endowment for Historic Preservation, FSM U.S. National Park Service.
- Alkire, William H. 1965. *Lamotrek Atoll and Inter-Island Socioeconomic Ties*. Illinois Studies in Anthropology: 5. London: University of Illinois Press.
- _____. 1977. *An Introduction to the Peoples and Cultures of Micronesia*. California: Cummings Publishing Company.
- _____. 1980. 'Technical knowledge and the evolution of political systems in the central and western Caroline islands of Micronesia.' *Canadian Journal of Anthropology* 1(2): 229–37.
- _____. 1981. 'Traditional exchange systems and modern political developments in the Yap district of Micronesia.' In *Persistence and Exchange*, edited by Roland W. Force and Brenda Bishop, 15–23. Honolulu, Hawaii: Pacific Science Association.
- _____. 1989. 'Land, sea, gender, and ghosts on Woleai-Lamotrek.' *American Anthropological Association* 25: 79–94.
- _____. 1993. 'Madrich: Outer islanders on Yap.' *Pacific Studies*, 16(2): 31–66.
- Aoyagi, Machiko (ed). 1982. *Islanders and their Outside World: A Report of the Cultural Anthropological Research in the Caroline Islands of Micronesia in 1980–1981*. Kyoto: St. Paul's (Rikkyo) University.
- Aoyama, Toru. 2001. 'Yap day: Cultural politics in the state of Yap.' *The Progress Report of the 1999 Survey of the Research Project 'Social Homeostasis of Small Islands in an Island-Zone'*. Kagoshima University Research Center for the Pacific Islands, Occasional Papers 34, 1–13, Part 1, Section 1, Report 1.
- Baybayan, Chad Kalepa. 2010. 'Pailug's greatest lesson is that we are a single people.' *Island Voices Honolulu Star-Advertiser*, 29 July. Retrieved from <http://www.webcitation.org/5rbdnuc48> (accessed 17 September 2017).
- Baza, Isa. 2016. 'Yapese navigation is equal parts tradition and art.' *Kuam News*, 1 June. Retrieved from <http://www.kuam.com/story/32058134/2016/05/Wednesday/yapese-navigation-is-equal-parts-tradition-and-art> (accessed 10 January 2017).
- Bellwood, Peter, James Fox and Darrell Tryon (eds.). 1995. *The Austronesians: Historical and Comparative Perspectives*. Canberra: ANU Press. Retrieved from <http://press.anu.edu.au/publications/series/comparative-austronesian-series/austronesians> (accessed 16 September 2017).
- Bellwood, Peter and Eusebio Dizon. 2008. 'Out of Taiwan, via the Batanes Islands, and onwards to Western Polynesia.' In *Past Human Migrations in East Asia: Matching archaeology, linguistics and genetics*, Sanchez-Mazas, 23–39. London: Routledge.
- Benedek Dezső. 1987. 'A comparative study of the Bashiic cultures of Irala, Ivatan, and Itbayat.' PhD thesis, Pennsylvania State University.
- Berg, M.L. 1992. 'Yapese politics, Yapese money and the Sawei tribute network before World War I.' *The Journal of Pacific History* 27(2): 150–64.
- Bernard, Russell H. 1994. *Research Methods in Anthropology: Qualitative and Quantitative Approaches*, second edition. London: Sage Publications.
- Blankenfeld, Bruce. 2015. Speech at Darling Harbour, Sydney, 19 May. Recorded and transcribed by author.
- Blust, Robert. 1999. 'Subgrouping, circularity and extinction: Some issues in Austronesian comparative linguistics.' In *Selected Papers from the Eighth International Conference on Austronesian Linguistics*, edited by Elizabeth Zeitzoun and Paul Jen-kuei Li, 31–94. Taipei: Academic Sinica.

- Bodone, Françoise and Bernadette Mityay. 1996. *Yap State Historical Preservation Office Post-Phase II Projects and Resource Bibliography*. Eugene, OR: University of Oregon, Micronesia and South Pacific Program.
- Buchan, Noah. 2007. 'Austronesian adventure revives Aboriginal traditions.' *Taipei Times*, 27 May, 17.
- Canoe Association of Palau: Celebrating 10 Years of Olympism. n.d. 'Canoe association of Palau: About us.' Retrieved from http://websites.sportstg.com/assoc_page.cgi?c=1-1336-0-0-0&sID=14203 (accessed 20 August 2015).
- Canoes of the Marshall Islands: Waan Aelōñ in Majel. n.d. 'Mission Statement.' Retrieved from <http://www.canoesmarshallislands.com/mission-statement/> (accessed 25 June 2017).
- Carson, Mike T. 2013. 'Austronesian Migrations and Developments in *Micronesia*.' *Journal of Austronesian Studies* 4 (1): 25-52.
- Chen, Shih-Hui (陳世慧). 2003. 蘭嶼與巴丹島的故事—天涯若比鄰. *Rhythms Monthly* 63: 112-21.
- Chiu, Chien-Chih (邱建志). 2010. 'Upon how the Tao Aborigines rowed from Lanyu far to Batan three hundred years ago.' MA thesis in Mandarin. Keelung, TW: National Taiwan Ocean University.
- Cheng, Han-Wen (鄭漢文). 2004. 'The convoluted change on Orchid Island of Yami boat culture an inquiry into social phenomenon of big-boat culture.' MA thesis in Mandarin. Hualien: National Dong Hwa University.
- Christmann, Helmut, Peter J. Hempenstall and Dirk Anthony Ballendorf. 1991. *Die Karolinen-Inseln in deutscher Zeit: eine kolonialgeschichtliche Fallstudie*. Münster: Lit.
- Chung, Fung-Ti (鍾鳳娣). 1986. 雅美文化故事: 蘭嶼雅美族的傳說 *Ya mei wen hua gu shi: Lan yu ya mei zu de chuan shuo*. Lan yu: Guo min zhong xue she hui jiao yu gong zuo zhan.
- Cook Islands Voyaging Society. n.d. 'Cook Islands Voyaging Society.' Retrieved from <http://www.civoyaging.org> (accessed 20 August 2015).
- Costa, Monte (photographs). 2007. 'Ku Holo Mau: Sail on, sail always, sail forever epic Micronesian pilgrimage for Hawaiian canoes.' *Pacific Magazine* (August): 61-76.
- D'Arcy, Paul. 2008. *The People of the Sea: Environment, Identity, and History in Oceania*. Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press.
- Damalasan, Qalup. 2007. 'Crossing, transformation and continuities: The new context of canoe in Langtau tribe in the Betel Island.' MA thesis in Mandarin. Taitung, TW: National Taitung University.
- Damm, H. 1938. 'Zentralkarolinen: Ifaluk-Aurepik-Faraulip-Sorol-Mogemog.' Halbband II. In 'Ergebnisse der Südsee Expedition 1908-1910,' edited by Georg Thilenius, Friederichsen, De Gruyter, & Co., Hamburg. Human Relations Area Files unedited translated manuscript.
- de Beauclair, Inez. 1959. 'Three genealogical stories from Botel Tobago: A contribution to the folklore of the Yami.' *Bulletin of the Institute of Ethnology* 7: 105-40. TW: Academia Sinica.
- _____. 1964. 'The stone money of Yap.' *Micronesian Reporter* 7(6): 10-15.
- _____. 1974. 'Studies on Botel Tobago and Yap (蘭嶼雅浦土著研究),' *Asian Folklore and Social Life Monograph* 19. Taipei: Orient Cultural Service.
- DeLisle, Christine Taitano, Vicente Miguel Diaz and George Burdeau. 1997. *Sacred Vessels: Navigating Tradition and Identity in Micronesia*. Parts 1 and 2. Online: www.youtube.com/watch?v=I7nXev2Jt7g (accessed 28 October 2017).
- Defngin, Francis. 1961. 'The Rai of Yap.' *Micronesian Reporter* 9(2): 16-18.
- Descantes, Christophe. 2005. *Integrating Archaeology and Ethnohistory: The Development of Exchange Between Yap and Ulithi, Western Caroline Islands*. Oxford: British Archaeological Reports.
- DeYoung, John E. (ed). 1960. *Taro Cultivation Practices and Beliefs*. Guam, M.I.: The Office.
- Diamond, Jared M. 2000. 'Taiwan's gift to the world.' *Nature* 403 (February): 709-10, doi.org/10.1038/35001685
- Diaz, Vicente M. 2011. 'Voyaging for anti-colonial recovery: Austronesian seafaring, archipelagic rethinking, and the re-mapping of indigeneity.' *Pacific Asia Inquiry* 2(1): 21-32.

References

- _____. 2015. 'No island is an island.' In *Native Studies Keywords*, edited by Stephanie Nohelani Teves, Andrea Smith and Michelle Raheja, 90–108. Tucson: University of Arizona Press.
- Diaz, Vicente M. and Kehaulani J. Kauanui. 2001. 'Native Pacific cultural studies on the edge.' *The Contemporary Pacific* 13(2): 315–42, doi.org/10.1353/cp.2001.0049
- Ding zi ku wen shi gong zuo shi (丁字褲文史工作室). 2010. 上山. 下海: 蘭嶼朗島部落'造舟'與'划船'的故事: 2009 順益台灣原住民博物館與部落結合特展 = *Shungye Museum of Formosan Aborigines 2009 Tribe-collaborated Special Exhibition Series*. Taipei: Shun yi tai wan yuan zhu min bo wu guan.
- Directorate-General of Budget, Accounting and Statistics, Executive Yuan Website. n.d. Retrieved from <http://eng.dgbas.gov.tw/mp.asp?mp=2> (accessed 24 September 2017).
- Dong, Sen-Yung (董森永 Syapen Lamuran). 2014. 董牧師說故事: 部落傳說與記實敘事 *Dong mu shi shuo gu shi: Bu luo chuan shuo yu ji shi xu shi*. Shinchu: Guo li jiao tong da xue chu ban she.
- Dundon, Alison. 2013. 'Gogodala canoe festivals, customary ways and cultural tourism in Papua New Guinea'. *Oceania* 83(2): 88–101, doi.org/10.1002/ocae.5011
- Egan, James Arthur. 1998. 'Taro, fish, and funerals: transformations in the Yapese cultural topography of wealth.' PhD thesis. University of California, Irvine.
- Ellis, James S. 2012. 'Saipan Carolinian, one Chuukic language blended from many.' PhD in Linguistics. University of Hawai'i at Mānoa. Retrieved from <http://www.ling.hawaii.edu/graduate/Dissertations/JimEllisFinal.pdf> (accessed 25 June 2017).
- Falanruw, Margie V. Cushing. 1994a. 'Traditional fishing on Yap.' In *Science of Pacific Island Peoples: Ocean and Coastal Studies*, vol. 1, edited by John Morrison, Paul Geraghty and Linda Crowl, 41–57. Suva, Fiji: University of the South Pacific.
- _____. 1994b. 'Food production and ecosystem management on Yap.' *ISLA: Journal of Micronesian Studies* 2(1): 5–22.
- Farrall, Lyndsay A. 1978. *Unwritten Knowledge: Case Study of the Navigators of Micronesia*. Victoria: Deakin University, School of Humanities.
- Fenelon, James V. and Thomas D. Hall. 2008. 'Revitalization and indigenous resistance to globalization and neoliberalism.' *American Behavioral Scientist* 51(12): 1867–901, doi.org/10.1177/0002764208318938
- Finney, Ben. 1977. 'Voyaging canoes and the settlement of Polynesia.' *Science* 196(4296): 1277–285, doi.org/10.1126/science.196.4296.1277
- _____. 1994. *Voyage of Rediscovery: A Cultural Odyssey through Polynesia*. Berkeley: University of California Press.
- _____. 2003. *Sailing in the Wake of the Ancestors: Reviving Polynesian Voyaging*. Honolulu: Bishop Museum Press.
- _____. 2006. 'Renaissance.' In *Vaka Moana: Voyages of the Ancestors; the Discovery and Settlement of the Pacific*, edited by K.R. Howe, 290–333. Auckland: David Bateman.
- Finney, Ben and Sam Low. 2006. 'Navigation.' In *Vaka Moana: Voyages of the Ancestors; the Discovery and Settlement of the Pacific*, edited by K.R. Howe, 156–97. Auckland: David Bateman.
- Flinn, Juliana. 2010. *Mary, the Devil, and Taro: Catholicism and Women's work in a Micronesian Society*. Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, doi.org/10.21313/hawaii/9780824833749.001.0001.
- Force, Roland W. and Brenda Bishop (eds). 1981. *Persistence and Exchange*. Honolulu, Hawaii: Pacific Science Association.
- Fritz, Georg. 1911. *Die zentralkarolinische Sprache Grammatik, Übungen u. Wörterbuch der Mundart der westlich von Truk liegenden Atolle, insbesondere der Saipan-Karoliner*. Berlin: De Gruyter.
- FSM Information Office. 1987. 'Mau teaching navigator skills.' *The National Union* (Pohnpei), 30 May, 9.
- Fujimura, Keiko and William H. Alkire. 1984. 'Archaeological test excavations on Faraulep, Woleai, and Lamotrek in the Caroline Islands of Micronesia.' In *Caroline Islands Archaeology*:

- Investigations on Fefan, Faraulep, Woleai, and Lamotrek*, edited by Yosihiko H. Sinoto. Pacific Anthropological Records No. 5, 66–129. Honolulu: Bernice P. Bishop Museum.
- Furness, William Henry. 1910. *The Island of Stone Money, Uap of the Carolines*. Philadelphia: J.B. Lippincott Co.
- Gardner, Robert W. (ed.) 1992. *The Future of Migration in the Pacific and Asia*. Quezon City, Philippines: Scalabrini Migration Center.
- Gualofa.com. n.d. 'Samoa Voyaging Society, Gualofa.' Retrieved from <http://gualofa.com/about.html> (accessed 20 August 2015).
- Gilliland, Cora Lee C. 1975. *The Stone Money of Yap: A Numismatic Survey*. Washington: Smithsonian Institution Press.
- Gladwin, Thomas, 1970. *East is a Big Bird: Navigation and Logic on Puluwat Atoll*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.
- Goetzfridt, Nicholas J. 1992. *Indigenous Navigation and Voyaging in the Pacific: A Reference Guide*. London: Greenwood Press.
- Goodenough, Ward H. and Stephen D. Thomas. 1987. 'Traditional navigation in the western Pacific: A search for pattern.' *Expedition, the Magazine of the University of Pennsylvania* 29(3): 3–14.
- Gorongfel, Wilfredo M. 1979. 'Wheels of fortune.' *The New Pacific Magazine* 4(4): 26–27.
- Guo, Pei-Yi (郭佩宜). 2005. 'Overview of Pacific Islands Studies in Taiwan.' *Asia Pacific Forum* 30: 3–28.
- Haddon, Alfred Cort and James Hornell. 1997. *Canoes of Oceania*. Honolulu, HI: Bishop Museum Press.
- Hanlon, David. 1998. *Remaking Micronesia: Discourses over Development in a Pacific Territory, 1944–1982*. Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press.
- _____. 2009. 'The "sea of little lands": Examining Micronesia's place in our sea of islands.' *Contemporary Pacific* 21(1): 91–110, doi.org/10.1353/cp.0.0042
- Harkin, Michael E. (ed). 2004. *Reassessing Revitalization Movements: Perspectives from North America and the Pacific Islands*. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press.
- Hau'ofa, Epeli. 2008. *We are the Ocean: Selected Works*. Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press.
- Hawaiian Voyaging Traditions. n.d. 'Nainoa Thompson.' Retrieved from http://archive.hokulea.com/index/founder_and_teachers/nainoa_thompson.html (accessed 20 August 2015).
- Hawaiki Rising. n.d. 'Waka voyage experiences.' Retrieved from <http://www.hawaikirising.com> (accessed 20 August 2015).
- Hengstler, Heinz Otto. 1983. 'Introduction of Christianity to the island people of Yap with special emphasis on the work of the Liebenzell Mission. MA thesis. Columbia, SC: Columbia Graduate School of Bible and Missions.
- Hezel, Francis X. 1979. *Foreign Ships in Micronesia: A Compendium of Ship Contacts with the Caroline and Marshall Islands, 1521–1885*. Saipan, Mariana Is: Published in cooperation with the Trust Territory Historic Preservation Office and the U.S. Heritage Conservation and Recreation Service.
- _____. 1983. *The First Taint of Civilization: A History of the Caroline and Marshall Islands in Pre-Colonial Days, 1521–1885*. Honolulu: Pacific Islands Studies Program, Center for Pacific and Asian Studies, University of Hawaii.
- _____. 1991. *The Catholic Church in Micronesia: Historical Essays on the Catholic Church in the Caroline-Marshall Islands*. Chicago: Micronesian Seminar.
- _____. 2001 *The New Shape of Old Island Cultures*. Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press.
- Hijikata, Hisakatsu edited by Ken'ichi Sudo. 1997. *Driftwood: The Life in Satawal Island, Micronesia*. Tokyo: Sasakawa Peace Foundation.
- Howe, K.R. (ed). 2006. *Vaka Moana: Voyages of the Ancestors; the Discovery and Settlement of the Pacific*. Auckland: David Bateman.

References

- Hsu, Kuan-Jung (許寬容). 2007. *Tourism and Place Construction of Lanyu*. MA thesis in Mandarin. Taipei, TW: National Taiwan Normal University.
- Hsu, Ying-Chou (徐瀛洲). 1982. *Yami Fishing Practices: Migratory Fish*. Taipei: Southern Materials Center.
- _____. 1999. *蘭嶼之美 Lanyu zhi mei*. Taipei: Xing zheng yuan wen hua jian she wei yuan hui.
- Huang, Hsin-Ya (黃心雅). 2010. 'Representing Indigenous bodies in Epeli Hau'ofa and Syaman Rapongan'. *Tamkang Review* 40(2): 3–20.
- Huang, Qing-Qi (黃清琦). 2010. *臺灣輿圖暨解說圖研究 Tai wan yu tu ji jie shuo tu yan jiu*. Tainan: Tai wan shi bo guan.
- Hunter-Anderson, Rosalind L. 1983. *Yapese Settlement Patterns: An Ethnoarchaeological Approach*. Agana, Guam: Pacific Studies Institute.
- _____. 1991. 'A review of traditional Micronesian high island horticulture in Belau, Yap, Chuuk, Pohnpei, and Kosrae.' *Micronesica* 24(1): 1–56.
- _____. 2006. 'Integrating archaeology and ethnohistory: The development of exchange between Yap and Ulithi, western Caroline Islands (review).' *Asian Perspectives* 45(2): 295–99, doi.org/10.1353/asi.2006.0017
- Hunter-Anderson, Rosalind L. and Yigal Zan (Go'opsan). 1996. 'Demystifying the Sawei, a traditional interisland exchange system.' *ISLA: A Journal of Micronesian Studies* 4(1): 1–45.
- 'Imiloa. n.d. 'Uto ni Yalo Fiji Islands voyaging society canoe.' Retrieved from <http://blog.imiloaHawai'i.org/general-information/uto-ni-yalo-fiji-islands-voyaging-society-canoe/> (accessed 20 August 2015).
- International Information and Networking Centre for Intangible Cultural Heritage in the Asia-Pacific Region (ed). 2014. *Traditional Knowledge and Wisdom: Themes from the Pacific Islands*. Korea: ICHCAP.
- Intoh, Michiko. 1993. 'Archaeological research on Fais Island – preliminary report.' In *Cultural Anthropological Research on Historic Media in the Caroline Islands*, edited by Kazuhiko Komatsu, 69–111. Osaka: Osaka University.
- Intoh, Michiko and Foss Leach. 1985. *Archaeological Investigations in the Yap Islands, Micronesia*. Oxford: British Archaeological Reports.
- Ishikawa, Eikichi (ed). 1987. *Cultural Adaptation to Atolls in Micronesia and West Polynesia: A Report of the Cultural Anthropological Research in Caroline, Marshall and Ellice Islands*. Tokyo: Committee for Micronesian Research, Tokyo Metropolitan University.
- Ishimori, Shuzo. 1987. 'Secret knowledge on Satawal Island, Central Carolines.' *Man and Culture in Oceania* 3(special issue): 267–78.
- Jaynes, Bill and Tom Raffi. 2010. 'Legendary master navigator Pius "Mau" Pailug sails on.' *Kaselehlie Press*, 26 July.
- Jeng, Huey-Ing (鄭惠英). 1984. 'The Yami Boat Culture' *Bulletin of the Institute of Ethnology* 57: 95–155. TW: Academia Sinica.
- Johnson, Giff. 1999. 'Mau's keen eye keeps Hawaiian canoe on track.' *Pacific Islands Monthly*, April: 50–51.
- Jolly, Margaret. 2007. 'Imagining Oceania: Indigenous and foreign representations of a sea of islands.' *The Contemporary Pacific* 19(2): 508–45, doi.org/10.1353/cp.2007.0054
- Kano, Tadao. 1946. *東南亜細亜民族学先史学研究 第1巻 = Tōnan ajia minzokugaku senshigaku kenkyū*. 1. 1. Tōkyō: Yajima Shobō.
- Kano, Tadao and Kōkichi Segawa. 1956. *An Illustrated Ethnography of Formosan Aborigines*. Tokyo: Maruzen Co.
- Karakita, Yasuyuki. 1993. 'Three tales on migration from Falalap, Woleai Atoll.' In *Cultural Anthropological Research on Historic Media in the Caroline Islands*, edited by Kazuhiko Komatsu, 1–38. Osaka: Osaka University.

- Kelly, Jr. John D. and Lola Oberman. 1980. 'A woman's place.' *Glimpses of Micronesia and the Western Pacific* 20(3): 24–30.
- _____. 1981. 'The canoe house.' *Glimpses of Micronesia and the Western Pacific* 21(1): 24–32.
- Kim, Dai You. n.d. *Taro Culture as Practiced by the Yapese* (pamphlet). District Agriculturist Yap District. Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands.
- Kim, Dai You and Francis Defngin. 1960. 'Taro cultivation in Yap.' In *Taro Cultivation Practices and Beliefs*, edited John E. DeYoung, 48–68. Guam, M.I.: The Office.
- Klingman, Lawrence and Gerald Green. 1950. *His Majesty O'Keefe*. New York: Scribner.
- Komatsu, Kazuhiko. 1987. 'The changing of the chiefly clan in Pulap.' In *Cultural Adaptation to Atolls in Micronesia & West Polynesia: A Report of the Cultural Anthropological Research Committee in Caroline, Marshall and Elice islands*, edited by Eikichi Isikawa, 43–53. Tokyo: Committee for Micronesian Research, Tokyo Metropolitan University.
- Komatsu, Kazuhiko (ed). 1993. *Cultural Anthropological Research on Historic Media in the Caroline Islands*. Osaka: Osaka University.
- Krämer, Augustin. 1937. *Zentralkarolinen Halbbd. 1. Halbbd. 1*. Hamburg: Friederichsen, de Gruyter & Co.
- Krause, Stefam M. 2014. 'Preserving the enduring knowledge of traditional navigation and canoe building in Yap, FSM.' In *Traditional Knowledge and Wisdom: Themes from the Pacific Islands*, edited by International Information and Networking Centre for Intangible Cultural Heritage in the Asia-Pacific Region, 292–305. Korea: ICHCAP.
- Kubary, J.S. and J.D.E. Schmeltz. 1889. *Ethnographische beiträge zur kenntnis des Karolinen archipels*. Leiden: Verlag von P.W.M.
- Kuwahara, Sueo. 2001. 'Tourism, traditional culture and autonomy in a small island: Yap faces a new millennium.' The Progress Report of the 1999 Survey of the Research Project 'Social Homeostasis of Small Islands in an Island-zone.' Kagoshima University Research Center for the Pacific Islands, Occasional Papers 34, 15–24, Part 1, Section 1, Report 2.
- _____. 2003. 'Traditional culture, tourism, and social change in Mogmog island, Ulithi atoll.' *Kagoshima University Research Center for the Pacific Islands Occasional Papers* 39: 1–9.
- Labby, David. 1972. 'The anthropology of others : An analysis of the traditional ideology of Yap, Western Caroline Islands.' PhD thesis. Chicago: University of Chicago.
- _____. 1976. *The Demystification of Yap: Dialectics of Culture on a Micronesian Island*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Leach, Edmund, R. 1937. 'Boat construction in Botel Tobago.' *Man* 37: 185–87, doi.org/10.2307/2790297
- Legdesog, Melanie. 2011. 'The special case for COFA migrants.' *Honolulu Civil Beat*, 27 June. Retrieved from <http://www.civilbeat.org/2011/06/11889-the-special-case-for-cofa-migrants/> (accessed 2 May 2016)
- Lepowsky, Maria. 2004. 'Indian revolts and cargo cults: Ritual violence and revitalization in California and New Guinea.' In *Reassessing Revitalization Movements: Perspectives from North America and the Pacific Islands*, edited by Michael E. Harkin, 1–61. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press.
- Lessa, William Armand. 1950. 'The place of Ulithi in the Yap empire.' *Human Organization* 9(1): 16–18, doi.org/10.17730/humo.9.1.y271x91u0850g612
- _____. 1961. *Tales from Ulithi Atoll: A Comparative Study in Oceanic Folklore*. Oakland, CA: University of California Press.
- _____. 1962. 'The decreasing power of myth on Ulithi.' *The Journal of American Folklore* 75(296): 153–59, doi.org/10.2307/538176
- _____. 1980. *More tales from Ulithi Atoll: A Content Analysis*. Berkeley: University of California Press
- Lévesque, Rodrigue. 1992. *History of Micronesia: A Collection of Source Documents*. Gatineau, Quebec: Levesque Publications.

References

- Lewis, David. 1972. *We, the Navigators*. Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press.
- Li, Zi-Ning, Sen-yung Dong and Teng-Yue Ma (李子寧, 董森永 Syapen Lamuran, 馬騰嶽). 2002. 鏡頭下的達悟族：蘭嶼、達悟族、影像特刊 *Jing tou xia de da wu zu: Lan yu.da wu zu.ying xiang te kan*. Taipei: Shun yi tai wan yuan zhu min bo wu guan.
- Lin, Xiong-Xiang (林熊祥). 1958. 蘭嶼入我版圖之沿革 *Lan Yu ru wo ban tu zhi yan ge: Fu Lü Dao*. Taipei: Taiwan Sheng wen xian wei yuan hui.
- Lingenfelter, Sherwood Galen. 1975a. *Yap: Political Leadership and Culture Change in an Island Society*. Honolulu: University Press of Hawaii.
- _____. 1975b. *Lingenfelter on Yap* (a collection of papers by the staff anthropologist). Micronesian Area Research Center.
- _____. n.d. 'Culture change on Yap: A brief summary,' unpublished paper, Micronesian Seminar Collection, 1–4.
- Liu, Si-Yuan. and Xiao-Yun Xu (劉思源, 徐曉雲). 1989. 火種：雅美族的故事 *Huo zhong: Ya mei zu de gu shi*. Taipei: Yuan liu chu ban shi ye gong si.
- Lopinot, Callistus. 1964. *The Caroline Mission of the Spanish and German Capuchins: 1886–1919*. Rome.
- Low, Sam. 1983. *The Navigators: Pathfinders of the Pacific*. Watertown: Documentary Educational Resources.
- _____. 2002. 'Voyages of awakening, 25 years of Hōkūlea,' *Sam Low.com*. Retrieved from <http://www.samlow.com/sail-nav/awakening.html> (accessed 20 August 2015).
- Mālama Honua Worldwide Voyage Website. Retrieved from <http://www.hokulea.com/worldwide-voyage/> (accessed 2 May 2016).
- Malumbres, Fr. Julian, O.P. (ed.) 'Dominican mission in Batanes from 1783,' unpublished typescript, vol III, University of Santo Tomas, Manila collection.
- Marksbury, Richard Allen. 1979. 'Land tenure and modernization in the Yap islands.' PhD thesis, Department of Anthropology. Ann Arbor, MI: Tulane University.
- Mason, Leonard. 1969. 'Anthropological research in Micronesia.' *Canadian Anthropology Society* 11(1): 52–115, doi.org/10.2307/25604795
- Mau Pailug Society. 2003. 'Grand master navigator Dr. Pius Mau Pailug.' *Voyaging Canoe Project*. Mau Pailug Society.
- Mercer, Patricia M. 1979. 'Oral tradition in the Pacific: Problems of interpretation.' *The Journal of Pacific History* 14(3): 130–53, doi.org/10.1080/00223347908572371
- Metzgar, Eric H. 1991. 'Traditional education in Micronesia: A case study of Lamotrek Atoll with comparative analysis of the literature on the Trukic continuum.' PhD dissertation, Department of Anthropology. University of California, Los Angeles. DOI: 10.13140/RG.2.2.14576.15368
- _____. 1996. *Spirits of the Voyage*. Triton Films.
- _____. 2006. 'Carolinian voyaging in the new millennium.' *Micronesian Journal of the Humanities and Social Sciences* 5(1/2): 293–305.
- Micronesian Canoe Symposium. 1994. 'Guam Council on the Arts and Humanities Agency and the Guam Humanities Council,' 15 March.
- Miller, Rachel. 2010. 'Wa Kuk Wa Jimor: Outrigger canoes, social change, and modern life in the Marshall Islands.' MA thesis in Pacific Islands studies. University of Hawai'i at Mānoa.
- Millman, Lawrence and Art Brewer. 1999. 'Yap magic.' *Islands* 19(3): 82–97.
- Mitchell, Roger. 1972. 'Micronesian folklore and culture change.' *Indiana University Press* 19(1): 28–44, doi.org/10.2307/3814020
- Morgan, Amanda. 1996. 'Mystery in the eye of the beholder: Cross-cultural encounters on 19th-century Yap.' *The Journal of Pacific History* 31(1): 27–41, doi.org/10.1080/00223349608572804
- Morrison, John, Paul Geraghty and Linda Crawl (eds). 1994. *Science of Pacific Island Peoples: Ocean and Coastal Studies, vol. 1*. Suva, Fiji: University of the South Pacific.

- Motoda, Shigeru. 1938. 'Canoes in Micronesia.' *Minzokugaku Kenkyu* 4(2): 1–12.
- Müller, Wilhelm. 1917. *Yap*: 1 1. 1 1. Hamburg: Friederichsen.
- _____. 1918. *Yap*: 2 2. Hamburg: Friederichsen.
- Munsterhjelm, Mark. 2010. *Living Dead in the Pacific: Racism Sovereignty and Biopolitics in Genetics Research Involving Taiwan Aborigines and Māori*. Windsor, CA: University of Windsor.
- Nakano, Ann. 1983. *Broken Canoe: Conversations and Observations in Micronesia*. St. Lucia: University of Queensland Press.
- Neich, Roger. 2006. 'Voyaging after the exploration period.' In *Vaka Moana: Voyages of the Ancestors, the Discovery and Settlement of the Pacific*, edited by K.R. Howe, 200–45. Auckland: David Bateman.
- Nenozo. 1931. 紅頭嶼やミ族と南方に列なる比律賓バタンの島輒。口碑傳承と事實(紅頭嶼與南方巴丹群島: 口碑傳承與事實). In N. Yang (trans). 2005. *台灣百年曙光: 學術開創時代調查實錄* *Tai wan bai nian shu guang: Xue shu kai chuang shi dai diao cha shi lu*. Taipei: Nantian, 10–31.
- Nero, Karen L. 1990. 'Linkage between Yap and Palau: Towards regional histories.' Manuscript, Micronesian Seminar, Chuuk, FSM.
- Ninth grade intermediate school. 1956. *Yap our Island*. Saipan, Mariana Islands: Yap District Department of Education.
- Nobuto, Miyamoto and G. Wei (trans.). 1992. *台灣的原住民族* *Tai wan de yuan zhu min zu*. Taichung: Chen xing.
- Okeanos Foundation. n.d. Retrieved from <http://okeanos-foundation.org/> (new page) (accessed 28 July 2017).
- Office of the District Administrator. 1974. *Welcome to Yap District: Island of Stone Money and Lava-lavas*. Yap: Good News Press.
- Pacific Voyagers. n.d. Retrieved from <http://www.pacificvoyagers.org/> (old page) redirected to Okeanos Foundation, <http://okeanos-foundation.org/> (new page) (accessed 28 July 2017).
- Peng Meiyun. 2004. 'The study of oral legendary in Lan-yu island.' MA thesis in Mandarin. Taitung: National Taitung University.
- Perry, John W. 1994. 'A trip on a sailing ship: A misplaced disk is the driving force behind a Yap-Palau voyage.' *Continental Micronesia Pacifica* 3(1): 7.
- Perry, John W. and Ben Simmons. 1996. 'My canoe has no news: Outer-Island life on Ulithi atoll.' *Continental Micronesia Pacifica* 5(2): 18–23.
- Poblete, Dennis M. and Michael F. Caldwell. n.d. 'Caroline sailing canoe voyages to the Philippines.' Colonia, FM: Academy for Culture and Education of Yap and the Yap Historic Preservation Office.
- Price, Samuel Thomas. 1975. 'The transformation of Yap: Causes and consequences of socio-economic change in Micronesia.' PhD dissertation, Department of Anthropology. Pullman: Washington State University.
- Quackenbush, Edward Miller. 1968. 'From Sonsorol to Truk: A dialect chain.' PhD thesis. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan. Retrieved from <http://www.friendsoftobi.org/misc/documentarchive/quackenbush1968.pdf> (accessed 20 August 2015).
- 'Rescued at Gaferut.' 1961. *Micronesian Reporter* 4(4): 19–21.
- Ridgell, Reilly, Manny Ikea and Isaoch Uruo. 1994. 'The persistence of central Carolinian navigation.' *ISLA: A Journal of Micronesian Studies* 2(2): 181–206.
- Riesenberg, S. H. 1965. 'Table of voyages affecting Micronesian islands.' *Oceania* 36(2): 155–70.
- Robinson, David. 1970. 'Canoes in Micronesia.' *Micronesian Working Papers* 2: 1–16.
- Rubinstein, Donald H. 1991. 'The future of Micronesian migration to Guam'. Paper prepared for the XVII Pacific Science Congress 27 May–2 June 1991. Session on The Future of Migration in the Pacific and Asia. Honolulu, Hawaii.

References

- Rubinstein, Donald H. and Michael J. Levin. 1992. 'Micronesian migration to Guam: Social and economic characteristics.' In *The Future of Migration in the Pacific and Asia*, edited by Robert W. Gardner, 350–85. Quezon City, Philippines: Scalabrini Migration Center.
- Sacred Land Film Project. 2010. *Guardians of the River: Bosmun, Ramu River, Papua New Guinea*. Sacred Land Film Project.
- Sailing for sustainability. n.d. 'Fiji island voyaging society.' Retrieved from <http://sailingforsustainability.org/content/fiji-island-voyaging-society> (accessed 20 August 2015).
- Salesius. 1906. *Die Karolinen-Insel Jap ein Beitrag zur Kenntnis von Land und Leuten in unseren deutschen Südsee-Kolonien*. Berlin: Süsserott.
- Samoa Voyaging Society Aiga Folau o Samoa. 2014. 'Samoa's Vaatele Gaualofa back to sea,' 3 October. Retrieved from <http://samoavoyagingsociety.blogspot.tw/> (accessed 20 August 2015).
- Schneider, David M. 1970. 'Social and political structure and property in Yap.' Saipan: typescript.
- Senfft, Arno. 1903. *Die Marshall-Insulaner*. Berlin: J. Springer.
- Shineberg, Dorothy (ed.). 1971. *The Trading Voyages of Andrew Cheyne 1841–1844* (Vol. 3). Canberra: Australian National University Press.
- Shutler, Richard and Jeffrey C. Marck. 1975. 'On the dispersal of the Austronesian horticulturalists.' *Archaeology and Physical Anthropology in Oceania* 10: 81–113.
- Sinan-Banadayan and R.J. Winkler. 2003. 達悟族：飛魚之神 *Dawu zu: Fei yu zhi shen = The flying fish spirit and other stories from the Tao tribe of Orchid Island*. Taipei: Xin zi ran zhu yi gu fen you xian gong si.
- Sinan-Jyavizong. 2009. 達悟族宗教變遷與民族發展 *Dawu zu zong jiao bian qian yu min zu fa zhan*. Taipei: Nan tian shu ju you xian gong si.
- Sinoto, Yosihiko. 1984. *Caroline Islands Archaeology: Investigations on Fefan, Faraulep, Woleai, and Lamotrek*. Honolulu: Bernice P. Bishop Museum.
- Spradley, J.P. 1980. *Participant Observation*. Fort Worth: Harcourt Brace Jovanaovich.
- Spriggs, Matthew. 2009. 'Oceanic connections in deep time.' *Pacific Currents* 1(1): 7–27.
- Stevenson, Karen. 2012. *The Festival of Pacific arts celebrating 40 years*. Suva: Secretariat of the Pacific community (SPC).
- Stevenson, Karen and Katerina Teaiwa (eds.). 2017. *The Festival of Pacific Arts: Celebrating Over 40 Years of Cultural Heritage*. Suva: USP Press.
- Strong, Beret E., Cinta Matagolai Kaipat and Landlocked Films. 1998. *Lieweila: A Micronesian Story*. Boulder, CO: Landlocked Films LLC.
- Stross, Brian. 1999. 'The hybrid metaphor: From biology to culture.' *The Journal of American Folklore* 112(445): 254–67, doi.org/10.2307/541361
- Students of the Community College of Micronesia, comp. and ed. Gene Ashby, ill. Thomas Joel. 1983. *Never and Always: Micronesian Legends, Fables and Folklore*. Pohnpei: Rainy Day Press.
- Syaman Rapongan. 2007. 航海家的臉 *Hang hai jia de lian*. Taipei: INK.
- _____. 2011. 八代灣的神話 *Ba dai wan de shen hua*. Taipei: Lian jing.
- _____. 2012. 天空的眼睛 *Tian kong de yan jing*. Taipei: Lian jing.
- _____. 2014. 大海浮夢 *Da hai fu meng*. Taipei: Lian jing.
- Syapen Jipengaya. 1996. 雅美族的古謠與文化 *Ya mei zu de gu yao yu wen hua*. Taipei: Chang min wen hua chu ban.
- _____. 2004. 蘭嶼素人書 *Lanyu su ren shu*. Taipei: Yuan liu chu ban shi ye gu fen you xian gong si.
- Taihoku Teikoku Daigaky, Ogawa Naoyoshi and Asai Erin. 1935. 原語による台灣高砂族傳說集 (*The myth and traditions of the Formosan native tribes (texts and notes)*). Tōkyō: Tōkō Shōin.
- Tajima, Yasuhiro. 2001. 'Outers moving in: The residence of outer islanders in Yap proper.' *The Progress Report of the 1999 Survey of the Research Project 'Social Homeostasis of Small*

Islands in an Island-Zone. Kagoshima University Research Center for the Pacific Islands, Occasional Papers 34, 25–32, Part 1, Section 1, Report 3.

- Tajima, Yasuhiro and Sesariyo F. Harong. 2003. 'Migration of Mogmog islanders in Ulithi atoll, Yap State, FSM.' *Kagoshima University Research Center for the Pacific Islands Occasional Papers* 39: 17–23.
- Teaiwa, Teresia K. 2005. 'The Classroom as a Metaphorical Canoe: Co-operative learning in Pacific Studies.' *World Indigenous Nations Higher Education Consortium Journal* 1: 38–48.
- Tetens, Alfred. 1958. *Among the Savages of the South Seas: Memoirs of Micronesia, 1862–1868*. Stanford: CA: Stanford University Press.
- Teves, Stephanie N., Andrea Smith and Michelle Raheja (eds). 2015. *Native Studies Keywords*. Tucson: University of Arizona Press, doi.org/10.2307/j.ctt183gxzb
- Thomas, Stephen D. 2009. *The Last Navigator: A Young Man, an Ancient Mariner, the Secrets of the Sea*. Charleston, CA: BookSurge.
- Tian, Ze-Yi (田哲益). 2002. *臺灣的原住民：達悟族 Tai wan de yuan zhu min: Da wu zu*. Taipei: Tai yuan chu ban.
- Tonga Voyaging Society. n.d. Retrieved from <http://tongavoyagingsociety.com/index.html> (accessed 20 August 2015).
- Torii, Ryūzō and Lin, Q. (trans.). 2016. *紅頭嶼土俗調查報告 Hongtou Yu tu su diao cha bao gao*. Taipei: Tonsan.
- Trumbull, Robert. 1959. *Paradise in Trust: A Report on Americans in Micronesia, 1946–1958*. New York: W. Sloane Associates.
- Tsai, Wei-Hsuan (蔡維軒). 2009. 'The phenomena of tourism and changing of the traditional canoe in Lanyu.' MA thesis in Mandarin. Hualien: National Dong Hwa University.
- Tsang, Cheng-Hwa (臧振華). 2011. 'Is Taiwan the homeland of the Austronesia-speaking people?' Paper presented at the Mapping and Unmapping the Pacific Conference, Taipei: Taiwan Society for Pacific Studies, 16 February.
- Tu, Kan-Lun (杜侃倫). 2010. *夏曼·藍波安的社會實踐*. MA dissertation in Department of Ethno Studies. Hualien: National Dong Hwa University.
- Tung, Yuan-Chao (童元昭). (ed.). 2009. *群島之洋：人類學的大洋洲研究 Qun dao zhi yang: ren lei xue de da yang zhou yan jiu*. Taipei City: Taiwan Shang Wu.
- Tzeng, Ciung-Yi (曾瓊儀). 2001. *蘭嶼雅美族民間故事研究*. MA dissertation in Mandarin. Taipei: Chinese Cultural University.
- Useem, John. 1946. 'Notes on Yap (and Ulithi).' Unpublished.
- Ushijima, Iwao. 1982. 'The control of reefs and lagoons; some aspects of the political structure of Ulithi Atoll.' In *Islanders and their Outside World: A Report of the Cultural Anthropological Research in the Caroline Islands of Micronesia in 1980–1981*, edited by Machiko Aoyagi, 35–75. Kyoto: St. Paul's (Rikkyo) University.
- . 1987. 'A reinterpretation of the Sawai overseas exchange system of the Caroline islands.' In *Cultural Adaptation to Atolls in Micronesia and West Polynesia: A Report of the Cultural Anthropological Research in Caroline, Marshall and Ellice Islands*, edited by Eikichi Ishikawa, 55–79. Tokyo: Committee for Micronesian Research, Tokyo Metropolitan University.
- Vaka Taumako Project. n.d. 'About us.' Retrieved from <http://vaka.org/about/> (accessed 20 August 2015).
- Vexilla Mundi. n.d. 'Micronesia.' Retrieved from http://www.vexilla-mundi.com/micronesia_divisions.html (accessed 25 September 2017).
- Vansina, Jan. 2014. *Oral Tradition as History*. Madison: University of Wisconsin Press.
- Waka Experience: Ahuriri/Napier/Aotearoa. n.d. Retrieved from www.wakaexperience.co.nz (accessed 20 August 2015).
- Wallace, Anthony F.C. 1956. 'Revitalization movements: Some theoretical considerations for their comparative study.' *American Anthropologist* 58(2): 264–81, [doi/10.1525/aa.1956.58.2.02a00040/pdf](https://doi.org/10.1525/aa.1956.58.2.02a00040/pdf)

References

- Wei, Hwei-Lin. and Pin-Hsiung. Liu (衛惠林, 劉斌雄). 1962. 蘭嶼雅美族的社會組織 *Lanyu Yamei zu de she hui zu zhi*. Taipei: Zhong yang yan jiu yuan min zu xue yan jiu suo.
- Wenkam, Robert with text by Byron Baker. 1971. *Micronesia: The Breadfruit Revolution*. Honolulu: HI: East-West Center Press.
- West Hawai'i Today*. 2017. 'Voyaging canoe from Tahiti arrives in Hilo.' 8 June. Retrieved from <http://westhawaii.com/news/local-news/voyaging-canoe-tahiti-arrives-hilo> (accessed 25 June 2017).
- Williams, Dick. 1979. 'August outrigger navigators return home.' *The New Pacific Magazine* 4(4): 31.
- Yang, Cheng-Hsien (楊政賢). 2011. "'Ethnic Group" existed betwixt and between islands and states – on contemporary imaginations of historical relationships among the Tao from Orchid Island, Taiwan and the Ivatan from Batanes islands, the Philippines.' PhD dissertation in Mandarin, Department of Anthropology. Taipei: National Taiwan University.
- Yang, Tsung-Rong Edwin (楊聰榮). 2000. 'Pacific research in the scope of Area Studies: From Taiwan Perspective (太平洋研究作為地域研究的範圍：從臺灣的視角談起).' *Academic Sinica, Program for Southeast Asian Area Studies Newsletter* (東南亞區域研究通訊) 10: 44–60.
- Yap Education Department. 1996. *Seven Legends of Yap*. Yap: Yap Education Department.
- Yap State Historic Preservation Office. 2005a. 'Outer island oral history section: End of year report.' Yap: Yap State Historic Preservation Office.
- _____. 2005b. 'Yap main island oral history section: End of year report.' Yap: Yap State Historic Preservation Office.
- _____. 2009 *Ethnographic Collection and Documentation of Oral History*. Yap: Yap State Historic Preservation Office.
- Yap State Visitors Bureau. 2009. *The First Annual Yap Canoe Festival* (pamphlet). Yap: Yap State Visitors Bureau.
- Yap Traditional Navigation Society. n.d. Retrieved from http://www.visit Yap.com/oldsite/todo_tns0.html (accessed 20 August 2015).
- _____. 2009. 'Financial statements and independent auditor's reports (2009).' Retrieved from <http://www.audit Yap.org/pdf/opa-reports/YTNS%202009.pdf> (accessed 20 August 2015).
- Yap Visitor Bureau Website. 2015. Retrieved from http://www.visit Yap.com/oldsite/todo_tns0.html (accessed 20 August 2015).
- Yu, Guang-Hong (余光弘). 1991. 'Ritual, society, and culture among the Yami.' PhD thesis. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan.
- Yu, Guang-Hong and Sen-Yung Dong (余光弘, 董森永 Syapen Lamuran). 1998. 臺灣原住民史。雅美族史篇 *Tai wan yuan zhu min shi*. Nantou: Tai wan sheng wen xian hui.
- Yin Jian-Zhong (尹建中) (ed.). 1994. 臺灣山胞各族傳統神話故事與傳說文獻編纂研究 *Taiwan shan bao ge zu chuan tong shen hua gu shi yu chuan shuo wen xian bian zuan yan jiu*. Taipei: Guo li Taiwan da xue wen xue yuan ren lei xue xi.
- Zeitoun, Elizabeth and Paul Jen-kuei Li (eds). 1999. *Selected Papers from the Eighth International Conference on Austronesian Linguistics*. Taipei: Academic Sinica.