



Lived beliefs

Persuasion and self in Rapa Nui poetry

Miki Makihara and Juan L. Rodríguez

The City University of New York

Rapa Nui (Easter Island, Chile) poetry allows us to understand how lived beliefs can be central to the realization of the individual self in community. In this paper, we focus on the poetry of Mata-U'iroa Atan, a Rapa Nui poet who characterizes his political project as walking to fly like a bird. His poem *Ki Te Reva* ('To the Flag') exemplifies a particular form of corporeal consciousness leading to a project of political persuasion. His poems are written in Rapa Nui, an indigenous Polynesian language and draw attention to sociolinguistic and historical "disjunctures" (Meek, 2010) in contemporary Rapa Nui community life. We argue that lived beliefs are produced by corporeal consciousness, and verbal art can be central to the mobilization of lived beliefs in the process of persuasion for emancipatory praxis. Poetry can give people an imagination, and this imagination is constitutive of a kind of truth underlying political projects.

Keywords: beliefs, poetry, emancipation, Indigenous language, corporeal consciousness, Rapa Nui

1. Introduction

Many projects of Indigenous decolonization, revitalization and emancipation target forms of cultural and linguistic heritage and subsistence practices as core and necessary for their success. They emphasize reclaiming Indigenous territories as the material and spiritual basis for these traditions and work toward restitution of livelihood, dignity, and sovereignty. These struggles are not only about land and other resources but also against imposed discursive regimes of truth. Often, creative expressions become powerful contributions to these projects of emancipation. Indigenous artists, intellectuals and activists are at the forefront of these political and aesthetic movements, creating new cultural forms and leading social and cultural change including language revitalization and reclamation. We build

on this observation and are inspired by the individual creative work of Mata-U'iroa Atan, a Rapa Nui poet whose work centers verbal art as a form of emancipatory praxis (Atan, 2020). This verbal art form, along with other genres of artistic expression and community building initiative, such as Mahani Teave's classical piano performance and music school (2021)¹ has created a new space for the articulation of Rapa Nui identity and artistic liberation.²

Mata-U'iroa Atan (Mata) has been an engaged cultural activist since very young. He has worked in the Easter Island Municipality since 1977, obtained a law degree from a Chilean university, and has actively participated in the local political Indigenous movement and community building. He recently published a collection of poems written over the last three decades entitled *Haere mo rere pehe manu* ('Walking to fly like a bird' or 'in freedom') (Atan, 2020). His poems are all in Rapa Nui language and many are rooted in his experience living in the interstices of cultural contact between continental Chile and Rapa Nui. They highlight facts of modern Rapa Nui life and the rapid changes he and his community have experienced. His poetry centers around his beliefs in a Rapa Nui collective self which he mobilizes for collective political projects.³ His work provides an exemplary model for Rapa Nui language use and cultural production in the context of language shift and loss for the next generation of Rapa Nui speakers and activists.

Emancipation can be thought of as a process of challenging systems of meaning and forms of normative being. This is achieved by transforming institutional structures, shifting resources, opportunities, and material conditions, and importantly by breaking out of the normative beliefs that sustain such structures and conditions. We can define emancipatory praxis as the questioning of the governing effects of normative beliefs which produce naturalized subjectivities and social relations. As we will illustrate in this paper, the emancipatory praxis of Mata's poetry depends on exemplary agency rooted in the lived experience and

1. Listen for example to her rendition of *I hē a Hotu Matu'a e hura nei*, a traditional song that is considered by many as an unofficial anthem of Rapa Nui: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=cUIPgcnqoY8>

2. Anthropological, ethnomusicological, and archaeological work on Easter Island has highlighted the Polynesian cultural survival, adaptation, and continuity in the island's colonial and post-colonial history (e.g. Bendrups, 2019; DiNapoli, *et al.* 2020; McCall, 1994). This body of scholarship stands against a more popularized perspective that represents the island as an example of ecological and cultural collapse, and decline (Diamond, 2005; Du Feu and Fischer, 1993; Métraux, 1940; Nettle and Romaine, 2000). Bendrups (2019) underscores the role that music and performance have played in the development of Rapa Nui cultural heritage and its renewal.

3. For discussions of the political and linguistic practices and ideologies on Rapa Nui see e.g., Makihara (2004, 2013).

beliefs of Rapa Nui people with their particular history and place.⁴ We conceive of lived beliefs as intimately grounded in corporeal consciousness that creates individual and collective selves with stances, affects, and commitments toward their communities. By corporeal consciousness, we mean sensorial/somatic, reflexive, and extended awareness of the interpreting self.⁵ It emerges from the interaction between bodies, and between the body and other social objects. We understand the self not only as having an interpreting mind but also as being a (self)interpreted object. The self is at the center of dialogic interactions with other selves and objects across temporal scales and is actively involved in the creation of its own future versions through praxis. Corporeal consciousness is fundamental to constituting one's ways of being in the world. Various kinds of beliefs guide its forms of perception and conceptualization, structure experiences, and dynamically interact with forms of behaviors and practices. Given its reflexive character, corporeal consciousness sustains beliefs and can produce a profound sense of ethical or aesthetic commitment to thoughtful and feelingful actions. At the same time, it also reflects political and social constraints and struggles. For example, many Rapa Nui community members are dominant speakers of Spanish, the national language of Chile, and their efforts to reclaim their ancestral language involves conscious self-training to expand Rapa Nui use. This requires not only knowledge of a code but a great deal of work in incorporating and embodying a different linguistic disposition and consciousness. Corporeal consciousness, beliefs, and practices are in a constant process of co-constitution of self, society, and community.

Lived beliefs are central to the individual and collective self and its historical continuity. They share features of other kinds of beliefs, such as modern-scientific and societal normative ones, but they are different in their ideological origin and functions. We highlight the potential of lived beliefs in political emancipatory projects. Lived beliefs depend on what Rosaldo (1989) called "emotional force" because they are experienced through intimate forms of sociality and embodied incorporation. They are intrinsic to the processes of socialization and of developing a sense of self in community with other particular subjectivities. They generate and fix certainties and convictions in social and political realities. Rather than

4. We are not claiming that Mata is creating a novel genre. What we highlight is that Mata has produced an important contribution to Rapa Nui cultural politics, expanding Rapa Nui language use to a non-traditional genre and providing unique examples that have a potentially wide resonance with his audiences.

5. With the notion of corporeal consciousness and the self, we emphasize the importance of the body in the embodied self, and the dialogic temporal dimension of its future orientation. There is a long tradition of discussions on the self (e.g., Bakhtin, 1981; Boas, 1889; Kockelman, 2012; Mauss, [1938] 1985; Mead, [1934] 2015; Ochs and Capps, 1996; Sapir, [1933] 1958; Singer, 1980; Taylor, 1989).

being a determinative force these beliefs justify social action and enact political possibilities. Developing lived beliefs is crucial to a sense of authenticity, sincerity and responsibility as a speaker and social actor. Mata's poetry is the product of his complicated relationship with his normative beliefs in the Chilean state. On the one hand, he has been educated in state institutions and his livelihood depends on the state, and as such he can speak as a Chilean intellectual with a law degree and knowledge of canonical forms of literary art such as poetry. On the other hand, Chilean subjugation is expressed as very hurtful to his body producing profound rejection and refusal. The norms and language of the state are both challenged in his poetry. The beliefs that emerge from this put his normative self in contradiction with the Rapa Nui self that emerges from his verbal art practice. The contradiction makes him reflect about the beliefs that have become part of his corporeal consciousness. This corporeal consciousness has sensorial durability and malleability, and this is important for understanding the contradiction of Mata's multiple beliefs. It is also important in understanding how lived beliefs influence emancipatory praxis. Mata's linguistic and performative agency depends on exemplarity, not on imposition like normative beliefs do. It leads the interlocutor – Rapa Nui or not – to have a realization of their own and reach their own conclusions.

As the core of a political project, lived beliefs can articulate forms of emancipation, broadly conceived here as a future-oriented, incomplete movement away from the oppression and violence of normative and disciplinary forms of power (Rodríguez & Makihara, 2019). Emancipation is also a quest for a better state of social well-being, but it does not prescribe assent. The quest for emancipation runs against the restrictions of our ideological and material conditions. It can drive social change, but its goal is temporarily reached at best, and can produce new disciplinary forms of power. Emancipatory praxis creates self and community by building a sense of belief, belonging, and solidarity, opening fields of vision and action to outside of existing boundaries, to imagine and enact new states of affair. By being a space of verbal freedom, potential anti-structure, and a performative practice, poetry can take what is normative in language and social life and provide ways of transgressing and playing with those constraints (Bauman, 1977; Sherzer, 2002). The poet bends the rules of structures without creating a new normative imposition and, as Navajo poet Blackhorse Mitchell (see Webster, 2015) would put it, gives the audience an imagination. Poetry as verbal art takes advantage of the incompleteness of norms and structures creating a praxis that also opens and discloses the self to audiences inviting and persuading them with an exemplary force.

Language learning and practices are central to nation and state building as well as to decolonizing projects. In this article, we argue that many projects of

decolonization, revitalization and emancipation are about struggles over normative beliefs. One of the productive strategies in such struggles is the mobilization of lived belief in consolidating not only solidarity and resonance but also imagining future possibilities and committing efforts in practices and actions. In the next section, we offer a theoretical discussion on how two different kinds of beliefs – lived and normative beliefs – are formulated and function in communities and societies, and how they can inform social actors (selves and subjects) to different effects.

2. Normative and lived beliefs and their work of persuasion

Peirce (1955) characterizes truth as the product of thinking and irritation produced by doubt, or lack of knowledge. Truth fixes one's belief in a version of what a world is like. We highlight social actor's commitment to the existence of meaningful semiotic objects which produce beliefs. Selves encounter objects (including other selves) in the world and in the process of knowing, perceiving, interpreting, and interacting with them, make judgements about their value and relevance. When actors believe in their existence, these evaluated objects become facts, which can be selectively mobilized to persuade and authorize forms of perception, behaviors, and ways of being. By discussing beliefs rather than the related but narrower concept of ideologies, we wish to include and highlight on one hand the agency of social actors who can make meaning reflexively and dialogically, and on the other the socio-cognitive interpretive processes that are also important in the formation and realization of self more broadly. We agree with Gal and Irvine that ideologies are not "a miasma that hovers over a community, or like a rock that hits someone on the head" but it is rather "the active making of social life" (2019:14). There is, however, a wide range of interpretation, especially outside of linguistic anthropology, about how to characterize ideology. We wish to avoid the common associations with falseness or lack of consciousness as well as the emphasis on the rationalization of class interests that come with this concept. These associations are more common in sociological traditions associated with Marxism for which social class and power relations are sustained by ideology (see for example, Althusser [1970] 2001; Gramsci, 1971; K. Mannheim [1936] 1985; Marx and Engels, 1972; Thompson, 1990).

Beliefs are produced by and incorporated into social actors' corporeal consciousness through experience in interaction with other semiotic objects in the world, providing them a disposition and justification for everyday (less specific

and less individuated) embodied practice in conscious and unconscious ways.⁶ They are social, public, and intersubjective projects that emerge from social interaction, and potentially consolidate around shared, hierarchical judgements. Social actors can incorporate beliefs into their consciousness as felt convictions. The moral, ethical, and aesthetic evaluations of objects are not necessarily explicit, or universal in a community, but become powerful forces for consolidating beliefs. Brenneis (2005) uses a metaphor of lamination – how the layering of percussion instruments achieves complexity and durability of sound – in describing the process of the generation and maintenance of subjectivity. The durability of the corporeal consciousness is achieved through such process of lamination experienced by the individual selves in contact with each other producing a social resonance. The lamination and consolidation of beliefs can create communities with shared and preferred frameworks of interpretation and political outlook. They can lead to emancipatory practices of social change and justice, but also potentially create multiple publics in conflict with each other.

In the process of persuasion to beliefs, we can identify differing roles of social actors, their interpretive footings (Goffman, 1974) or frameworks (Taylor, 1989), and their semiotic acts and consequences. Here we find it useful to distinguish two common models of believing: normative and lived.⁷ They are analytically distinguishable by the frameworks, modalities, and sources of power they depend on. They are also distinguishable by the kinds of realities and facts they formulate (society/normative facts vs. community/experiential facts), and the types of semiotic framings we make with them (prescription/inscription vs. incorporation). These modes of believing are recruited to persuade social actors for a variety of goals such as nation building and emancipatory projects.

Normative beliefs sustain, through prescription and inscription, naturalized hierarchical arrangements of subjects and social relations.⁸ They can be enforced by coercion, but they are also more effectively regulated through forms of persuasion which produce a naturalized conviction to follow rules. Ideally, these mechanisms should be incorporated as behaviors, desires, and dispositions much like

6. Historically there has been in-depth and voluminous philosophical and religious discussions about the concept of belief. Similarly, there has been a lot of debates in philosophical and scientific fields about the concept of consciousness. Here we only refer to a selected number of philosophical and sociological traditions in the study of consciousness and self in society that are semiotically oriented and that can guide us to a discussion of freedom and emancipation.

7. There exists a long tradition of philosophical discussion regarding the status of truth, belief, experience, social ontology, and facts and underlines the foundational debates in anthropology.

8. Foucault defines the normative truths as “a system of ordered procedures for the production, regulation, distribution and operation of statements” that is used to defend society itself (Foucault, 1980: 133; 2003).

how Bourdieu (1977) describes habitus. As external entities to the individual,⁹ these norms do not describe actual social practice but what it should be. The surveillance and control over this gap are a source of power. The persuaded individual who follows a normative belief can be aware of the arbitrariness of a rule, and feel this arbitrariness as a contradiction, but they don't necessarily seek to change this state of being. These norms are felt as too powerful to be changed by individuals given the current conditions.

Let us discuss how the concept of corporeal consciousness and lived beliefs relate to the other similar concepts of habitus, subjectivities, and ideologies, with a hope to clarify our perspective here. Bourdieu describes habitus as "systems of durable, transposable dispositions" (1977:72), "cognitive and motivating" (1977:76) "embodied social structures" (1984:468), that function as a "matrix of perceptions, appreciations, and actions" (1977:83). Habitus (perhaps more in some usage than others) emphasizes hegemonic ideologies, internalized as unconscious competence which serves as basis for normative co-ordination of externalized behaviors among subjects. Corporeal consciousness, as we see it, shares with habitus the cognitive base and generative characteristics, but we wish to temper emphasis or focus on unconscious competence and on social structures that come (or as interpreted so by others) with habitus. We see corporeal consciousness as where the conscious and the unconscious interact, and not only where normative social facts are inscribed but also where experiential/community facts are generated and incorporated by selves in communal interaction. While habitus "change constantly in response to new experiences," and is "subject to a kind of permanent revision", Bourdieu emphasizes the reproductive and non-radicalness of such revision (Bourdieu, 2000:161; cf. Bourdieu and Wacquant, 1992:133). Accordingly, habitus as a concept highlights reproduction of a common-sense world, consensus, regularity, unity, systematicity, and coordination. Corporeal consciousness does not require doxa but it can be the basis for social transformation and emancipation. Whereas habitus leads the body to a state of perceived social stasis, corporeal consciousness can make the individual uncomfortable and aware of painful social inequalities. Thus, corporeal consciousness can move between doxa and heterodoxa or between centripetal and centrifugal forces with some measure of awareness in the production of the individual self.

9. Durkheim refers to social facts as "ways of acting, thinking, and feeling that present the noteworthy property of existing outside the individual consciousness. These types of conduct or thought are not only external to the individual but are, moreover, endowed with coercive power, by virtue of which they impose themselves upon him, independent of his individual will" (Durkheim, [1938] 1966: 57).

With corporeal consciousness, we mean to include broader bases, processes, and functions than we can find in the concept of habitus and do so in the following four aspects. First, we see not only what Bakhtin calls centripetal but also centrifugal forces that can be included as part of what can be generated in terms of perceptions, thoughts, and actions by these cognitive based systems. Laclau and Mouffe describe these dynamic relationships that discourse has with “the flow of differences” in its attempts to arrest it ([1985] 2014: 98–99). The fixity of meaning depends on ideological work and this is what a habitus is good for. On the other hand, corporeal consciousness can struggle with finding and fixing meaning. At some moments more than others it can proceed as if meaning is fixed, such as when traditions seem like stable cultural resources. But in some other contexts a recognition of the inherent flow of difference is necessary and corporeal consciousness can cultivate it producing a transgressive force. Secondly, we highlight the reflexive and interpretive cognitive process involved in the generation and incorporation of beliefs. We highlight here how corporeal consciousness manifests individually by giving social actors their interpretive bases. Thirdly, we highlight the affective aspect of experience and qualia of semiotic objects-in-the-making. Corporeal consciousness opens selves to explore reflexively and affectively upon its existence and surroundings to imagine alternatives. Lastly, we highlight the possibilities of constitutive and dialogical change in social structures whereby they can be transformed by conscious active participation of social actors. We see the constitutive process as collective in the sense that social actors are engaged in polyphonic fixing or decentering of meaning, but corporeal consciousness arises in the individual and its power arises from this fact.

Lived beliefs emerge from individual corporeal consciousness in interaction with other selves and solidify in social praxis and intimate relationships in community. Such intersubjective interactions become objects of interpretation and elements of individual corporeal experience. For example, non-standard accents or dialects can work as, or help build, a lived belief because they help sustain connections with others in intimate relationships. Community practices of this kind can persist in the presence of more prestigious, normatively prescribed, linguistic varieties, even in the face of punishment and suppression. Such lived beliefs can form the basis for linguistic and cultural solidarity and resistance. They create, and are created by, semiotic entanglements and embodied resonance that produce meanings and examples given and taken in webs of social relations.

We propose to understand selves, subjects, communities, and societies as nested networks of interpretation through which commitments to beliefs of various kinds operate and are fixed. Truths do not emerge in isolation but because we recruit beliefs into hierarchical chains of interpretation. A belief not only motivates further interpretation but also justifies actions and modes of existence. This

continued process of interpretation makes beliefs always contingent. Their operation is intrinsic to power relations and political life. Claims to belonging, dignity and material resources are all constructed and negotiated through interactive acts of persuasion that compels social action. Chains of interpretation make it difficult to deconstruct a system by only focusing on isolated beliefs. Therefore, intersectionality and decolonization require systemic transformations of beliefs to be effective.

Different modes of believing can intersect and affect each other in complex contexts. For example, law and policy makers and state builders construct official narratives to maintain or revise existing normative beliefs using facts that are supposed to naturalize social types of subjects, events, or social relations. Sometimes they do so by presenting (newly created) normative beliefs as more accurately representing the experience of a community. For example, a truth commission legitimizes the lived experience of the victims of state violence by giving scientific accountings. This process, however, can also (re)produce the normative beliefs in the state as the arbiter of its own violence and source of its solution.

In the case of Chile, a truth commission was created in 2001 with the purpose of officially recognizing the historical wrongdoings against Indigenous peoples (La Comisión Verdad Histórica y Nuevo Trato con los Pueblos Indígenas, 2003). The resulting report featured numerous testimonies from named Indigenous persons who gave accounts of abuse, torture, and theft. Its aim was to create a “new social pact” between the government and Indigenous communities moving forward into the future. This gesture to construct the “new Chile” set normative beliefs and historical truth. The success of this process still depends on transforming these normative beliefs into lived experience. The state seeks to persuade Indigenous populations of its goodwill in reconstructing its relationship with its citizenry. Chile is now going through a phase of national reconstruction after the massive uprising of October 2019~March 2020. In 2021, Chilean citizens elected a constituent assembly that included 21 indigenous representatives and is presided by Elisa Loncón, a Mapuche woman and university professor. This development could bring a transformation of Chile into a plurinational, more inclusive, equal, and democratic society.

Chains of interpretation are inescapable. All forms of social interactions are anchored to perspectives within such chains. This point is as important for understanding policy debates and state building, the work of natural scientists, and ethnographers in the field, as it is for ordinary conversationalists. The ethnographers’ practice is based on a belief in the capacity of selves to understand interlocking chains. This motivates us to use the selves as much as possible in knowledge production and thick description, and to critically reflect on the political consequences of our practice. Institutions and collectives tend to establish a

position within certain chains of interpretation and hold those positions as ethical centers. The negotiation of common grounds with local communities is often premised on the recognition of the centrality of these positions. These chains of interpretation are sometimes rigid structures that can result in exclusion and communicative difficulties.

As García (2019) has shown, Ixil Mayan speakers and interpreters find their ways of narrating their experiences in court through highly poetic linguistic forms ignored. In this fashion the legal system's normativity disciplines Mayan subjects and denies the validity of their lived experiences and beliefs by dismissing their verbal and narrative forms. In this way Guatemalan courts demand a normative way of narrating that does not correspond to any real Mayan narrator present in the court. This process is a form of ideological naturalization of linguistic and social relations and behaviors. In fact, even if Mayan narrators conform to the court's standards this may not guarantee that the courts, as institutional listening subjects (Inoue, 2003), believe them take them as authentic Mayan speakers.

Nevertheless, as Sherzer (2002) illustrated through Kuna speech play, no languaging or semiotic behavior is ever completely bound by their rules to the extent of stifling creativity. As Friedrich (1986) would put it, the structure of language cannot predict the emotions, motives, and cognitive world of the linguistic individual. The individual's capacity for poetic beauty gives them relative agency in relation to the constraints of the linguistic structures they find. The individual imagination is a force that compels individuals to challenge and even change such structures. In this paper, we explore this individual capacity for imagination and its work of persuasion for projects of emancipation through the lens of Rapa Nui poetry.

3. “Walking to fly in freedom”: Emancipatory praxis and lived beliefs

Rapa Nui poet Mata-U'iroa Atan provides an example of emancipatory praxis based on a heightened linguistic and political consciousness, and of a mode of persuasion based on lived beliefs in Rapa Nui language and community. In a poem entitled *Ki Te Reva* (“To The Flag”) (see Table 1), we find explicit expressions of his political thinking and vision (Atan, 2020: 22–26). Through this poem, we illustrate how normative and lived beliefs interact with each other in the production of Mata's Rapa Nui self, its exemplary agency and emancipatory project.

Mata's poetry carves out a performative space of self-disclosure and self-creation. This space is part of the Rapa Nui material-moral-spiritual world where selves emerge, interact, and make history collectively. As a political activist, he promotes Rapa Nui sovereignty. In the poem, he makes himself an iconic

speaker¹⁰ whose corporeal consciousness is highlighted using poetic devices such as metonymy, anthropomorphization, personal pronouns, and body and emotion terms. Using pragmatically salient pronouns – *au* ('I', line 2) and *tō'oku* ('my', o-class, lines 3, 4, 6), he characterizes the inscription of the colonizer state onto himself as a situated token of socialized subjectivity and Rapa Nui self. The iconic speaker dialogues with *koe* (singular 'you', lines 3, 5, 7), which later in the middle of the poem is revealed to be the Chilean flag. His words underline the violent nature of the settler neo-colonial state – the flag is nourished by 'my wind' on 'my land', and 'nail(ing) my heart' as he sees it every day (lines 1–11). Rather than talking about Chilean abstract norms or laws, he focuses on the material manifestation of Chile on his corporeal experience. This illustrates the difference between awareness based on knowledge and consciousness based on experience and praxis that Marx and Engels (1972), Bakhtin (1981), as well as linguistic anthropologists such as Hymes (1981) and Hill (1985) discussed. This experiential fact of the Chilean state has been incorporated into his body through praxis and expressed in his poem. The first-person possessive pronoun (*tō'oku* 'my') indexes the individual I of Mata and indirectly his Rapa Nuiness. To clarify, the possessive force of this pronoun does not indicate ownership and control as it might in English. Mata's use of the relatively less marked o-class¹¹ (rather than the more marked a-class used for a higher level of active control and dominance) in relation to the notions of 'land,' 'wind,' 'body,' 'life,' and 'death' is in harmony with the Polynesian cultural understanding of the relationship between self and these objects. His words describe a profound constitutive relationality with these essential elements, which makes him a Rapa Nui speaker/self when incorporated.

The first few stanzas of the poem underline the violence and inescapability of the colonial conditions under the Chilean flag. It symbolizes all the normative beliefs, which provide the "choices" he has made in his successful life, but it also continues disciplining him as a particular kind of Indigenous Chilean. In Rapa Nui-Chilean history of contact, normative beliefs in the state's language and institutions were cultivated and developed through coercive measures at an earlier stage, and more recently through political persuasive reward systems and community participation in the praxis that support them. Such participation inscribes norms into the bodies of national subjects, who desire, appreciate, and speak good

10. There is a body of ethnographic work paying attention to individual speakers and verbal play and performance situating them in the cultural experience. See Abu-Lughod (1986), Caton (1990), Hill (1995), Mendoza-Denton (2008), Nuckolls (2010), Oakdale (2005), Sherzer (2002), and Webster (2015).

11. See Kieviet (2017: 290–311) for a detailed discussion of the o/a distinction for Rapa Nui and other Polynesian languages.

Table 1. *Ki Te Reva* ('To The Flag')

	[our translation]
1 <i>paurō te mahana</i>	Everyday
2 <i>he 'ara a au</i>	When I wake up
3 <i>ko koe tōoku 'aroha</i>	You give me grief
4 <i>hai tōoku tokerau</i>	With my wind
5 <i>koe e hanu-hanu ena</i>	You breathe
6 <i>'i ruŋa o tōoku henua</i>	On my land
7 <i>koe e rapu-rapu ena</i>	You flap
8 <i>paurō te mahana</i>	Everyday
9 <i>he noho a au</i>	When I sit down
10 <i>he tike'a mai koe</i>	I see you
11 <i>he 'ōka tōoku mahatu</i>	And you nail my heart
12 <i>he koa te kō'ura a Hotu</i>	Hotu's children are happy
13 <i>mo haere i Hanga Roa</i>	When walking in Hanga Roa
14 <i>'ina koe o ruŋa i te pou</i>	You are not on the mast
15 <i>e te kahu tama'i</i>	Listen war flag
16 <i>o te tupuna o te arohi tire</i>	Of Chilean ancestors
17 <i>ka rao te va'e</i>	Let me go/through
18 <i>ka haka rē i a au ki hanu-hanu</i>	Let me breathe
19 <i>mo ura-ura mai te reimi</i>	If/when I see the red color of the Reimi
20 <i>i ruŋa o te tapa kahu tea-tea</i>	On a piece of white cloth
21 <i>he kerī tōoku inana</i>	My heart gallops
22 <i>ki kuā tupuna</i>	For my ancestors
23 <i>e pu'a te avahata</i>	Cover my coffin
24 <i>hai reva reimi</i>	With the Reimi flag
25 <i>ana turu a au ki Tahai</i>	When I go down to Tahai (cemetery)
26 <i>kahu tea-tea</i>	White cloth
27 <i>reimi mea-mea</i>	Red Reimi
28 <i>i a koe tōoku hakari</i>	You have my body
29 <i>tōoku ora</i>	My life
30 <i>tōoku mate</i>	My death

Castellano (Spanish). Normative beliefs were incorporated through this inscription and enabled Rapa Nui to fit in Chilean society by making them part of their lived experience. At the same time, the Rapa Nui lost community control over their territory, customs, political and administrative institutions, and the autonomy of their linguistic practices. The realization of the colonial injustice by the few community members who were able to travel to Continental Chile led to the 1964 revolution, which brought the civil administration to the island making the islanders citizens in 1966. Since then, and in particular after the fall of the Pinochet dictatorship in 1990, the Rapa Nui community has been working hard to gain increased political decision-making power (El Consejo de Jefes de Rapanui and Hotus, 1988). Despite the significant political successes the Rapa Nui had toward decolonizing and preserving their identity, these gains are complicated by the need to fight the continuing colonial situation with the material and semiotic means still controlled by the state. Such structural control channels the political paths of Indigenous communities in Chile as in many other places.

Mata conceptualizes his project as *Haere mo rere pehe manu* ('Walking to fly like a bird'). This is a project that for the last three decades he has been leading, which involves numerous community efforts in political and cultural emancipation ranging from cultural festivals to political protests. Walking to fly like a bird is a process embedded in colonial logics. Freedom is symbolized in Rapa Nui sensibilities by birds.¹² Mata uses this metaphor and characterizes his political work as walking to fly like a bird, underlying the arduous and small steps that raise community consciousness towards emancipation. They are small and continuous steps against systemic conditions of subjugation that need to be converted into an instrument of Rapa Nui freedom. This necessarily involves establishing and transforming political consciousness at the community level based on individual selves, who can transform their corporeal consciousness and praxis. Mata argues that a political consciousness is not something to be taken for granted, or that develops all at once, but it is the product of work and praxis. A crucial part of this process starts with the development of an awareness of the arbitrariness and injustice that arises out of following prescribed normative rules and understanding what they do by design. A questioning of normative rules and beliefs emerges from focusing on certain corporeal experiences and the work we exert on our own selves and bodies in fulfilling them. The realization of how these practices recruit the body in service of normative beliefs, and how the body is in effect punished

12. Birds in Rapa Nui history symbolize not only freedom but also prosperity, supernatural powers and forms of assertive leadership. The use of this metaphor by Mata is therefore a complex trope in which he condenses an entire set of meanings associated with the kind of political future he envisions for the Island and its people.

for failing normative standards, which could lead to awareness and political consciousness. The fundamental contradiction here is that our beliefs in prescribed norms can never be completely fulfilled because norms are mostly unreachable, imagined goals and standards. These norms are usually not under the control of subordinated subjects but are tools of power and maintenance of inequality and hierarchy. Such realization, as was illustrated in the 1964 Rapa Nui revolution and the more recent Indigenous movement complicates the ways in which the Chilean state can persuade the Rapa Nui to embrace the kind of citizenship and subjectivity that it demands of them.

As mentioned earlier, Mata's path has juxtaposed continental Chile and the island of Rapa Nui in his personal, familial, and communal life allowing him to acquire a historical, sociological reflexive consciousness about the island's position vis-à-vis the Chilean state and beyond. Here, the wind, the land, the *Reimiro* (the Rapa Nui flag), *Hotu* (the first Rapa Nui king), *Hana Roa* (the village), and *Tahai* (the cemetery) are keywords that serve as material objects and experiential facts for the Rapa Nui self. The Chilean flag is a normative fact of life that encompasses the lived experience of the Rapa Nui folding it into the nation-state. These lived experiences and experiential facts have positioned Mata to recognize signs of power relations in semiotic processes in places where others may have not. He recognizes the signs of this oppression because he can see and feel the truth of the lived experience of the history of his people. It is his experience and sensibility as a poet and a Rapa Nui speaker that allow him to weave through and create social and aesthetic borders. The product of his aesthetic labor is attuned to the complicated history of colonial enchantment, imposition, and spoliation of the Rapa Nui.

In the second half of the poem (lines 19~), Mata transforms the performative space into a field of emancipatory praxis, exemplifying his political stance and inviting collaboration in imagining a new future. He shifts his attention away from the Chilean flag, as if to refuse its inscription on his body, and addresses the new vision with the Rapa Nui flag, which features at its center an image of a red *reimiro*, a canoe-shaped wooden gorget that was worn by Rapa Nui chiefs symbolizing their authority. The iconic speaker's body, which in the poem has been previously wounded by the Chilean flag, reacts to the new condition – the reddening of the *reimiro* and the memory of the ancestors – with the joyous excitement in the heart, producing expectations and hope for the future. This materializes the Rapa Nui people as a public who could resonate with Mata's vision of emancipation, the political alternative to the Chilean nation-state, and the experience of his wounded body. Mata embodies the two processes of subjectivation by the Chilean state, and of self-realization as a Rapa Nui emancipated sovereign.

These two processes of subjectivation are anchored in a shift from *mahatu* to *inaŋa*. These are two words for heart (lines 11 and 21), which poetically parallel the distinction between the Chilean flag ('the war flag') and Rapa Nui flag (the *reimiro*) (lines 15 and 19). This poetic parallelism is Mata's invitation to feel ancestral and sovereign symbols as closer to a new Rapa Nui subjectivity. The two words for heart have different etymological and social histories that matter for the shift in political imagination and subjectivity that is Mata's final goal. *Mahatu* is a lexical borrowing from Tahitian. *Inaŋa*, on the other hand, is an old Rapa Nui word that is no longer of widespread use in the island. Mata's alternation between these two choices is not an accident. He has made these two words at least partially motivated by the history of the island and chose to place them at the center of a political project that depends on the revitalization of Rapa Nui language. In the first part of the poem, he uses *mahatu* which could give the Rapa Nui listener a sense of connection with the contemporary Rapa Nui community. In the second half of the poem, his use of *inaŋa* signals a move to a more remote past connected to *Hotu Matu'a* and the world of ancestors. This more remote past, which brings the world of the *tupuna* (ancestors), is also linked to the *reimiro* and therefore to a stronger sense of Rapa Nui identity. These lexical alternations are a poetic play in the sense Jakobson (1960) gives the term, i.e., a projection of the axis of selection onto the syntagmatic axis of combination. This projection directs the heightened attention of the audience to the historical continuity made in the poem. With this parallax play, Mata gives the audience an imagination. Finally, it is important to note how these two terms invoke two different natures for the heart. These are two different qualias, or perceived semiotic qualities. Younger readers and listeners to the poem will have an aesthetic introduction to Rapa Nui history in which they not only would know the facts of history but also how historical changes feel in the body. This poem can be interpreted as offering a possible exemplary experience of what Meek (2010:X) has called sociolinguistic disjunctures, or "the everyday points of discontinuity and contradiction... that interrupt the flow of action, communication, or thought."

These semiotic processes articulate the experiential facts of lived beliefs in modern Rapa Nui self. Mata calls on the Rapa Nui public while creating a contrast with Chilean society. Here we see a conscious Indigenous self not unlike the Kayabi of the Amazonian Xingu (Oakdale, 2005) rather than a hyper-real Indian image like those circulating in Brazilian media that Ramos (1994) describes. Having established the land, and wind of the island as forming part of his own corporeal consciousness, Mata's next semiotic step is to incorporate the *Reimiro* flag as an additional experiential fact different from what the settler-colonial Chilean flag and institutions make him feel (stabbed in his heart, needing to breathe). All these experiential facts are important for Mata as the building blocks of his lived

beliefs and emancipatory project. His body, life, and even death is dedicated to Reimiro, and to the projected imagined future that is being consolidated.

Mata plays with scales of interaction. He situates his poem in a particular location and perspective sitting down looking up directly at a Chilean flag every day. In this scale, he metonymically situates the flag within a larger structural force, coming from some 3700 km away. Mata also encompasses over a century and a half of colonial history of this small Polynesian island that started with slave raids in the 1860s that led to a tuberculosis epidemic that diminished the community to only 110 people. Chile annexed the island shortly after in 1888, and since then until the mid-1960s, it confined the Rapa Nui to a small portion of the island. Chile had rented the island to the Scottish-Chilean “Easter Island Exploitation Company” until the mid-1950s. This company and later the Chilean Navy ran a sheep ranch and controlled Rapa Nui livelihood on the island until the mid-1960s. Mata counters that colonial history with a much longer Rapa Nui genealogy by mentioning Hotu Matu’a, the first Rapa Nui king, whose children walk happily in the absence of the Chilean flag (lines 12~14). He brings this history into the localized corporeal experience of his own body, and builds truth through his poetry, activism, and his sense of self.

Mata’s poetic scaling allows emancipatory praxis to transgress the normatively imposed typification of Rapa Nui subjectivity. Normative beliefs discipline tokens of Rapa Nui selfhood into social normative types of citizens – indigenous, racialized, and marginalized. It also extends exemplary tokens of mode of being from the individual to the collective. These processes transgress¹³ normative linguistic and performative boundaries and their governing effect. Mata’s words invite the Rapa Nui to join the political project of emancipation, and to participate, as Rapa Nui, in envisioning and working towards realizing that goal. At the same time, it can be interpreted as an interpellation of colonizer agents, their collaborators, and beneficiaries. His praxis is that of an iconic speaker articulating the lived beliefs of Rapa Nui selfhood and political activism, extending from Rapa Nui language revitalization to political sovereignty. Furthermore, he has had his friends translate many of his poems into English, French, Japanese, in addition to Spanish and with this he foregrounds his participation in the Indigenous movements around the world, broadening the space of performance to the global stage. His translated poems are not just for outsiders but also for the Rapa Nui community which includes many Spanish dominant speakers and who are mostly literate in Spanish. We should clarify that Mata does not want all of his poems to be translated. Some of them are intended only for a Rapa Nui-speaking public that he wishes to grow.

13. Rodríguez & Makihara (2019) define the political as transgressive praxis that works across boundaries and scales of interaction.

Through writing, publishing, and performing his poems locally as well as increasingly outside, Mata is contributing to diversifying cultural production in the global stage. However, Mata is not only producing a collective Rapa Nui identity and putting that on the world map but creating art as an individual poet. His verbal art resists the stereotypes of Indigenous authenticity imposed from outside, although many of his poems feature experiential facts of modern Rapa Nui life during the second half of the 20th century. For example, *Hami Pūtē Haraoa* (‘Flour Sack Underwear’) comically portrays a pursuit of a flour sack underwear in vain after hearing a ship horn (Atan, 2020: 40–42). When the island was mainly serviced by boats, until the 1970s, their arrivals were times of spectacle, encounter, and *haʻapeu* (“vanity”). Such poetry not only points to and contributes to extending a historical consciousness of shared unique experience, but it is also enjoyable, comical, and pleasurable. In other words, the poem’s aesthetic form is a tool of persuasion to capture part of a Rapa Nui public’s attention and to produce enjoyment and shared community feelings. In this way, his artistic activity not only embodies emancipation of the Rapa Nui people from the colonial state, and contributes to the revitalization of Rapa Nui language, but also of himself as an individual artist resisting typification into Indigenous voice.

4. Conclusion: Lived beliefs, disjunctures, and emancipatory praxis

As our discussion of Rapa Nui poetry suggests, lived beliefs emerge from individuals incorporating experiences, utterances, and perspectives when making sense of, and transforming reality. Mata’s poetry has a performative force that can be articulated in political emancipatory praxis. It also endows him, and by extension the audience, with forms of collective and historical consciousness. This poetry is part of a personal, yet collective, history of practice in a particular environment, political economy, and sociocultural context. This poetic praxis explicitly illustrates how lived beliefs accumulate and can change throughout the life of individuals. However, such lived beliefs are not held individually by Mata, nor are they universally shared with the entire Rapa Nui community. Individuals and groups build them over time in social interactions across different scales. Such lived beliefs provide an ethical and aesthetic frame with which they build a sense of self.

Corporeal consciousness and shared experience are central to developing lived beliefs. As Mata’s poem shows, this consciousness is incorporated into the body from the interaction with other living bodies and objects. This constructed imagery and perspective is full of emotional embodied semiotic objects that he infuses with vivid qualities. This way, our affects and habits of perception

and behaviors are incorporated into the body as material infrastructure through chains of interpretation making lived beliefs durable. Lived beliefs are more than just (individually and culturally) relative, they are vital for the individual and the community. Corporeal consciousness is the source of lived beliefs and is also how a normative belief can be transformed.

Here we have argued that lived beliefs and corporeal consciousness can be a powerful basis for emancipatory practices. We have defined emancipation in two ways: (1) As a future-oriented project that moves away from subjugation; (2) As a semiotic political process that challenges the prescribed, naturalized types of subjectivities. Another way to characterize emancipation here is as the never-ending move towards resolutions of historical, sociolinguistic and other forms of disjunctures. We understand Mata's poetry to be a project of emancipation, that brings about an emergent, affective stance in a moral political performative space. Mata's image of walking towards freedom is his aesthetic and political choice to exemplify how an oppressed self learns how to navigate the nuances of everyday life to create a possible future. This future is only possible if the Rapa Nui can see the sociolinguistic and historical disjunctures that pervade their interactions with others. Poetry then articulates Mata's views of the disjunctures as an individual at the same time that it articulates Rapa Nui historical disjunctures. In other words, corporal consciousness is where sociolinguistic disjunctures are felt and need to be overcome. Mata's poetry invites a Rapa Nui self to take small steps in unison with others with an eye on the big picture of being free. His poetic practices construct lived beliefs in political consciousness and the future of Rapa Nui language and community. One that is not based on imposed norms from outside but on the corporeal consciousness of being part of Rapa Nui community and being Mata. His poetry breaks the naturalized normative subjectivity by making himself an iconic speaker, as an example of Rapa Nui and of an individual self.

Acknowledgements

We would like to thank Mata-U'iroa Atan for graciously allowing us to use his poetry for this article, the anonymous reviewers and Patricia Baquedano-Lopez for their suggestions. We also would like to acknowledge the input from our friends and colleagues in the City University of New York and other universities.

Cited References

Abu-Lughod, L. (1986). *Veiled Sentiments: Honor and Poetry in a Bedouin Society*. Berkeley: University of California Press.

- Althusser, L. ([1970] 2001). Ideology and Ideological State Apparatuses: (Notes towards an Investigation). In *Lenin and Philosophy and Other Essays*, trans. B. Brewster (pp. 85–126). NYU Press.
- Atan, M.-U'. (2020). *Haere Mo Rere Pehe Manu: Caminando Para Volar En Libertad*. Santiago, Chile: Editorial De La Gorra.
- Bakhtin, M. M. (1981). *The Dialogic Imagination: Four Essays*. Austin: University of Texas Press.
- Bauman, R. (1977). *Verbal Arts as Performance*. Long Grove, IL: Waveland.
- Bendrup, D. (2019). *Singing and Survival: The Music of Easter Island*. New York: Oxford University Press. <https://doi.org/10.1093/oso/9780190297039.001.0001>
- Boas, F. (1889). On Alternating Sounds. *American Anthropologist*, 2(1), 47–54. <https://doi.org/10.1525/aa.1889.2.1.02a00040>
- Bourdieu, P. (1977). *Outline of a Theory of Practice*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. <https://doi.org/10.1017/CBO9780511812507>
- Bourdieu, P. (1984). *Distinction: A Social Critique of the Judgement of Taste*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.
- Bourdieu, P. (2000). *Pascalian Mediations*. Stanford: Stanford University Press.
- Bourdieu, P. & Wacquant, L. (1992). *An Invitation to Reflexive Sociology*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Brenneis, D. (2005). Afterword: Sense, Sentiment, and Sociality. *Ethnofoor*, 18(1), 142–149.
- Caton, S. C. (1990). “*Peaks of Yemen I Summon*”: Poetry as Cultural Practice in a North Yemeni Tribe. Berkeley: University of California Press.
- Comisión Verdad Histórica y Nuevo Trato con los Pueblos Indígenas. (2003). *Informe de la Comisión Verdad Histórica y Nuevo Trato con los Pueblos Indígenas*. Santiago de Chile: Gobierno de Chile.
- Consejo de Jefes de Rapanui, and Hotus, A. (1988). *Te mau hatu 'O Rapa Nui: Los soberanos de Rapa Nui; Pasado, presente y futuro*. Santiago, Chile: Editorial Emisión; Centro de Estudios Políticos Latinoamericanos Simón Bolívar.
- Diamond, J. (2005). *Collapse: How Societies Choose to Fail or Succeed*. New York: Viking Press.
- DiNapoli, R., Rieth, T. M., Lipo, C. P., and Hunt, T. L. (2020). A model-based approach to the tempo of ‘collapse’: The case of Rapa Nui (Easter Island). *Journal of Archaeological Science*, 116, 105094. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.jas.2020.105094>
- Du Feu, V., and Fischer, S. R. (1993). The Rapanui Language. In S. R. Fischer (ed.), *Easter Island Studies* (pp.165–168). Oxford: Oxbow Books.
- Durkheim, É. ([1938] 1966). *The Rules of Sociological Method* (3rd ed.). New York: Free Press.
- Friedrich, P. (1986). *The Language Parallax: Linguistic Relativism and Poetic Indeterminacy*. Austin: University of Texas Press. <https://doi.org/10.7560/746503>
- Foucault, M. (1980). *Power/Knowledge: Selected Interviews and Other Writings, 1972–1977*. Ed. C. Gordon. Trans. C. Gordon, L. Marshall, J. Mepham, and K. Soper. New York: Pantheon Books.
- Foucault, M. (2003). “*Society Must Be Defended*”: *Lectures at the Collège de France, 1975–76*. New York: Picador.
- Gal, S. & Irvine, J. (2019). *Signs of Difference: Language and Ideology in Social Life*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. <https://doi.org/10.1017/9781108649209>
- García, M. L. (2019). Language, Culture, and Justice: Ixil Mayan Verbal Art in the 2013 Genocide Trial of José Efraín Ríos Montt in Guatemala. *Journal of Linguistic Anthropology*, 29(2), 239–248. <https://doi.org/10.1111/jola.12245>

- Goffman, E. (1974). *Frame Analysis: An Essay on the Organization of Experience*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.
- Gramsci, A. (1971). *Selections From The Prison Notebooks Of Antonio Gramsci*. New York: International Publishers.
- Hill, J.H. (1985). The Grammar of Consciousness, and the Consciousness of Grammar. *American Ethnologist*, 12(4), 725–737. <https://doi.org/10.1525/ae.1985.12.4.02a00080>
- Hill, J.H. (1995). The Voices of Don Gabriel: Responsibility and Self in a Modern Mexicano Narrative. In D. Tedlock and B. Mannheim (Eds.), *The Dialogic Emergence of Culture* (pp. 97–147). Urbana: University of Illinois Press.
- Hymes, D. ([1981] 2016). “*In Vain I Tried to Tell You*”: *Essays in Native American Ethnopoetics*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press. <https://doi.org/10.9783/9781512802917>
- Inoue, M. (2003). The Listening Subject of Japanese Modernity and His Auditory Double: Citing, Sighting, and Siting the Modern Japanese Woman. *Cultural Anthropologist*, 18(2), 156–193. <https://doi.org/10.1525/can.2003.18.2.156>
- Jakobson, R. (1960). Closing Statement: Linguistics and Poetics. In T. Sebeok (Ed.), *Style in Language* (pp.350–377). Cambridge, MA; MIT Press.
- Kieviet, P. (2017). *A Grammar of Rapa Nui*. Berlin: Language Science Press.
- Kockelman, P. (2012). *Agent, Person, Subject, Self: A Theory of Ontology, Interaction, and Infrastructure*. New York: Oxford University Press. <https://doi.org/10.1093/acprof:oso/9780199926985.001.0001>
- Laclau, E. & Mouffe, C. ([1985] 2014). *Hegemony and Socialist Strategy Towards a Radical Democratic Politics* (2nd ed.). London: Verso.
- Makihara, M. (2004). Linguistic Syncretism and Language Ideologies: Transforming Sociolinguistic Hierarchy on Rapa Nui (Easter Island). *American Anthropologist*, 106(3), 529–540. <https://doi.org/10.1525/aa.2004.106.3.529>
- Makihara, M. (2013). Language, Competence, Use, Ideology, and Community on Rapa Nui. *Language & Communication*, 33, 439–449. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.langcom.2013.03.005>
- Mannheim, K. ([1936] 1985). *Ideology and Utopia*. New York: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich.
- Marx, K., and Engels, F. (1972). *The German Ideology*. Edited by C. J. Arthur. New York: International Publishers.
- Mauss, M. ([1938] 1985). *A Category of the Human Mind*. In M. Carrithers, S. Collins, & S. Lukes (Eds.), *The Category of the Person: Anthropology, Philosophy, History* (pp. 1–25). Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- McCall, G. (1994). *Rapanui: Tradition and Survival on Easter Island*. University of Hawai'i Press.
- Mead, G.H. ([1934] 2015). *Mind, Self, and Society: The Definitive Edition*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Meek, B. (2010). *We Are Our Language: An Ethnography of Language Revitalization in a Northern Athabaskan Community*. Tucson, AZ: University of Arizona Press.
- Mendoza-Denton, N. (2008). *Homegirls: Language and Cultural Practice among Latina Youth Gangs*. Malden, MA: Blackwell Pub. <https://doi.org/10.1002/9780470693728>
- Métraux, A. (1940). *Ethnology of Easter Island*. Bernice P. Bishop Museum Bulletin, Volume 160. Honolulu: Bernice P. Bishop Museum.
- Nettle, D., and Romaine, S. (2000). *Vanishing Voices: The Extinction of the World's Languages*. New York: Oxford University Press.
- Nuckolls, J.B. (2010). *Lessons from a Quechua Strongwoman: Ideophony, Dialogue, and Perspective*. University of Arizona Press.

- Oakdale, S. (2005). *"I Foresee My Life": The Ritual Performance of Autobiography in an Amazonian Community*. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press.
- Ochs, E., and Capps, L. (1996). Narrating the Self. *Annual Review of Anthropology*, 25, 19–43. <https://doi.org/10.1146/annurev.anthro.25.1.19>
- Peirce, C. S. (1955). *Philosophical Writings of Peirce*. New York: Dover Publications.
- Ramos, A. R. (1994). The Hyperreal Indian. *Critique of Anthropology*, 14(2), 153–171. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0308275X9401400203>
- Rodríguez, J. L. and Makihara, M. (2019). Postura, poder y política. *Anuario de Glotopolítica* 3. <https://glotopolitica.com/indiceaglo3/postura-poder-y-politica/>
- Rosaldo, R. (1989). *Culture & Truth: The Remaking of Social Analysis*. Boston: Beacon Press.
- Sapir, E. ([1933] 1958). The Psychological Reality of Phonemes. In E. Sapir, *Selected Writings of Edward Sapir* (pp. 46–60). Berkeley: University of California Press.
- Sherzer, J. (2002). *Speech Play and Verbal Art*. Austin: University of Texas Press. <https://doi.org/10.7560/777682>
- Singer, M. (1980). Signs of the Self: An Exploration in Semiotic Anthropology. *American Anthropologist*, 82(3), 485–507. <https://doi.org/10.1525/aa.1980.82.3.02a00010>
- Taylor, C. (1989). *Sources of the Self: The Making of the Modern Identity*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.
- Thompson, J. B. (1990). *Ideology and Modern Culture*. Stanford: Stanford University Press.
- Teave, M. (2021). I He a Hotu Matu'a. In *Rapa Nui Odyssey*. Rubicon Classics. Compact disc.
- Webster, A. K. (2015). *Intimate Grammars: An Ethnography of Navajo Poetry*. Tucson: The University of Arizona Press.

Address for correspondence

Miki Makihara
 Anthropology Department, Queens College
 Ph.D. Programs in Anthropology, Linguistics, and Latin American, Iberian, and Latino Cultures, Graduate Center, The City University of New York
 USA
miki.makihara@qc.cuny.edu

Publication history

Date received: 27 July 2021
 Date accepted: 10 March 2022
 Published online: 11 April 2022