

Part III

Authenticity and Place

12 Crossing Genders, Mixing Languages: The Linguistic Construction of Transgenderism in Tonga

NIKO BESNIER

1 Introduction

This chapter takes as point of departure three seemingly unrelated developments in social and cultural anthropology. The first concerns recent rethinking of anthropological approaches to gender as a social and cultural category. Heralded by feminist anthropologists in the last decades of the twentieth century, this shift is spurred on by the insistence that gender (and, by implication, all other social categories) is always embedded in a complex maze of other social divisions that criss-cross all social groups: social class, race and ethnicity, religious identity, age, sexuality, citizenship in its various manifestations, position in structures of production and consumption, and so on. On both large-scale dimensions and in microscopic fashion, all aspects of social identity and dimensions of social difference can potentially inform or even determine the meaning of gender, dislocating sameness where it is least expected, and potentially establishing connections between surprisingly distinct categories, persons, and entities. A corollary to the recognition of the inherently embedded nature of gender is the assertion that “all forms of patterned inequality merit analysis” (di Leonardo 1991: 31), and that such analysis is the *sine qua non* of an anthropological coming-to-terms with the meaning of gender.

The second development I am concerned with arose with the increasing malaise among anthropologists, also characteristic of the 1980s and 1990s, with the tacit equation of culture with place, and the continued assumption that social groups could simply be defined in terms of geographic co-presence. Appadurai (1996), among others, demonstrates that locality is a problematic category for an ever-increasing number of people, for various possible reasons: place (of origin, affective ties, residence, etc.) may not be a singular, well-defined entity, as is often the case of the migrant. Place of origin may be a site

of violence and horror, which is best erased from memories and daily lives, as in the case of refugees from civil wars and genocidal situations (e.g. Daniel 1996; Malkki 1995). Alternatively, place can have shifting, context-bound characteristics that vary with persons and contexts (Gupta and Ferguson 1997; Lovell 1998). Consequently, as Marcus (1995) argues, the age-old pattern of anthropological fieldwork that objectified “the Other” in distant lands is giving way to a more dynamic, “multi-sited” pattern of research, in which the ethnography “follows” persons, objects, or metaphors as they travel across geographies and histories.

The third anthropological preoccupation I invoke is the effort to come to grips with the various forms and meanings of modernity. Modernity, the condition of experience associated with capitalism, industrialism, consumption, and other characteristics of life in “the West,” has long occupied a privileged if backstaged place in anthropology and the social sciences. At its inception, anthropology was defined as the study of what modernity was not; even recently, much work in anthropology continued to tacitly assume an unproblematic contrast between modernity and traditionalism (Spencer 1996: 378–9). However, recent thinking has unsettled the facile dichotomy between tradition and modernity, demonstrating, for instance, that the two categories are mutually constitutive, and that forms of tradition and forms of modernity are commensurable in many contexts. Furthermore, neither tradition nor modernity is a unitary condition: there many forms of modernity (as illustrated by the “alternative modernity” of Japan, for example) and, as Comaroff and Comaroff point out, “[n]or should this surprise us. With hindsight, it is clear that the cultures of industrial capitalism have never existed in the singular, either in Europe or in the myriad transformations across the surface of the earth” (1993: xi).

In this chapter, I explore how these various strands of thinking can be tied together, and inform concerns of language and gender. I explore the role of language use in constructing gender in the context of an investigation of how other social and cultural categories define gender. For example, men and women in many societies have different interests (in the various senses of the term) in “tradition” and “modernity,” in the maintenance of the status quo or the emergence of new social arrangements, and language behavior and ideologies are often constitutive of these differing investments. In this project, I take gender not as a given, but as potentially emerging out of conflict and negotiation between members of a society, conflict and negotiation in which language plays an important role.

The empirical basis of my discussion is an ethnographic examination of the lives of transgendered males in Tongan society. Like all larger societies of the Polynesian region (Besnier 1994), Tongan society counts in its ranks a substantial number of men who “act like women,” a category that Tongans refer to variously as *fakaleitī*, *leitī*, or *fakafefine*. The first term is the most commonly heard at this moment in history; it is a lexical compound made up of the

ubiquitous polysemic prefix *faka-*, which in this context means “in the manner of”; *leitī* is borrowed from the English word “lady,” which is only used to refer to transgendered persons (i.e. never to female “ladies”). Transgendered Tongans prefer the unprefixated version of the term to refer to themselves, arguing somewhat tongue-in-cheek that they are not *like* ladies but they *are* ladies (I explore additional reasons for the preference of the shorter word in Besnier 1997: 19–20). The last term, *fakafefine*, literally “in the manner of a woman,” is slightly old-fashioned, but it is readily understood because its meaning is transparent from the sum of its parts.

In the discussion that follows, I first introduce Tongan society as a diaspora scattered widely in the Pacific Rim, whose center of gravity is an independent nation-state coterminous with a group of islands in the Southwestern Pacific, the Kingdom of Tonga. I briefly describe the sociocultural meaning of the two principal languages spoken by members of this diaspora, Tongan and English, a meaning which is undergoing rapid change as expatriate Tongans in New Zealand, Australia, and the United States increase in number and prominence. I then turn to the position of *fakaleitī* in Tongan society, which I show to be varied and full of inherent contradictions. I demonstrate that English has become a trademark of *fakaleitī* identity in the islands, as it encodes a cosmopolitanism and modernity which many *leitī* find useful to foreground in their daily lives. However, this trademark has a price, in that many *leitī* are not fluent in English and most do not have access to the material means of backing claims of cosmopolitanism with tangible tokens of it. In addition, mainstream society can utilize the claims associated with the use of English to dislocate *leitī* from the local context and further marginalize them.

2 Tongan Society as a Diaspora

The fieldwork on which this chapter is based was conducted principally in the capital of Tonga, Nuku’alofa. However, the Tongan diaspora figures prominently in all aspects of the economic, social, and cultural life of the island society, and its importance continues to increase, despite efforts from some quarters to contain and minimize it. As a nation-state and an island-based society, Tonga therefore cannot be considered independently of overseas Tongan communities. Altogether, about 150,000 persons claim Tongan descent, of whom about 97,500 reside in the archipelago, a loose clustering of 150 islands, 36 of which are permanently inhabited. Overseas Tongans live principally in Auckland, Sydney, the San Francisco Bay Area, urban Southern California, and Salt Lake City, but there are small groups of Tongans or single individuals just about everywhere in the world. The size, diversity, and importance of the diaspora is particularly striking in light of the fact that significant emigration only began in the 1970s.

Tongans are Polynesians, and their society has been one of the most stratified and politically centralized of the region since its early-nineteenth-century unification under the rule of a sacralized king. A British protectorate between 1900 and 1970, Tonga is today an independent state. State and society are both founded on a marriage between selected aspects of a purported tradition and selected aspects of a version of modernity (Philips 2000: 235–6). For example, the State is “the only remaining Polynesian kingdom” and an upholder of Christianity, features that Tongans consider to be illustrative of timeless tradition, while also emphasizing the fact that Tonga is an economically forward-looking entity, a symbol of modernity. However, different elements of society and the State may differ on key points as to which aspects of tradition and which aspects of modernity should be made relevant to Tonga: for example, parliamentary representation and the scope of the nobility’s political power are topics of acrid debate, particularly since the emergence of a Tongan Pro-Democracy Movement in the 1980s (Campbell 1992: 218–22). Those in power view dissenting voices as signs of an undesirable modernity, often associating them with the diaspora.

Despite rapid increases in the Tongan populations of cities such as Auckland, the most important urban centre for Tongan society continues to be Nuku’alofa, the capital of the nation-state, inhabited by about 25,000 people, many of whom have moved there from rural areas of the country in the last few decades. Nuku’alofa is the prime destination of overseas Tongans’ visits to the island kingdom, in part because its international airport is the most important point of entry into the country from Hawaii, New Zealand, Australia, and Fiji. It is the venue of most national celebrations, including ceremonies relating to kingship, government, and nationhood (e.g. coronations, important funerals, and yearly festivals of culture.) Nuku’alofa is the focal point of both the rest of the nation and the diasporic dispersion. It serves as the point of convergence for most of the intensive flows of goods, money, and people that keep the diaspora together.

In the context of the rapidly increasing transnationalism of their society, many Tongans see the maintenance of a quality of “Tonganness,” as well as the very definition of this quality, as areas of concern (Morton 1996; Small 1997). Tongans refer to this quality as *anga faka-Tonga*, “behavior in the fashion of Tonga,” or, when speaking English, “the Tongan way,” echoing comparable phrases used in neighboring societies. The quality is concretized most forcefully in high culture, including the performing arts, the manufacture and exchange of *koloa* “valuables” (tapa-cloth and mats), ceremonies affirming hierarchy and kinship, and of course language. However, Tongans often invoke *anga faka-Tonga* when referring to culture in the broader anthropological sense, particularly when the context calls for a contrast between locality and extra-locality. For example, overseas Tongans and locally based but cosmopolitan Tongans lay claims on “Tonganness” that other Tongans sometimes challenge (Morton 1998). “Tonganness” is deeply tied to place, but in potentially conflicting ways.

3 Tongan and English

The tensions associated with the definition and maintenance of local identity and related dynamics are perhaps most clearly enacted in the competition between the two principal languages utilized in Tongan society, Tongan and English. Just about everyone in Tonga knows at least rudiments of English, which is a prominent language in schooling and even, in the case of a few schools, the only language of instruction. However, Tongans vary widely in terms of their fluency in English and the degree to which they feel comfortable speaking and writing English. Both fluency and readiness to speak English (which are not necessarily coterminous, as I will illustrate presently) depend on an aggregate of factors closely linked to the structuring of social inequality in Tonga. First, English is a prestige language, as elsewhere in the Pacific where it is the main post-colonial cosmopolitan language: linked to a colonial past, it dominates contexts of employment, education, modernity, transnationalism, contacts with the external world, and new forms of socio-economic hegemony such as entrepreneurship. Elite Tongans of either rank or wealth are more likely than non-elite Tongans to have resided in English-speaking countries under favorable circumstances (pursuing their education or visiting, for example), and therefore generally have had more opportunities to become fluent speakers of English. They are also intimate with the privilege and cosmopolitanism that English indexes.

In contrast, most non-privileged Tongans are often reluctant to speak English, ostensibly, according to explanations offered, because they fear making linguistic errors. In practice, their reluctance is not so much a matter of defective grammatical competence, but of not having the social self-assurance to assert oneself credibly as a privileged, modern, and cosmopolitan person without fearing shame (*mā*) and exposing oneself to ridicule.¹ While many non-elite Tongans have resided overseas, they have invariably been employed in menial job contexts, in which communication with native speakers of English is confined to job-related topics (e.g. understanding directives). In Tongan communities in cities such as Auckland and the San Francisco Bay Area, the life of many less-than-privileged first-generation migrant Tongans continues to be predominantly Tongan-centered and Tongan-speaking. As is the case of many migrant communities, it is only the overseas-born generation that acquires fluency in the dominant language.

The association of English with privilege is not unmitigated, for at least two reasons. First, most Tongans exhibit a high degree of allegiance to their own language. It is not uncommon to hear Tongan being used as an everyday tool of resistance to the hegemony of English. For example, it is used widely in the workplace, however steeped this workplace may be in the English language and associated symbols. In Nuku'alofa streets, youngsters do not fail to crack loud jokes in Tongan at the expense of any foreigner (*Pālangi*) they pass, whom they assume not to understand the language. But the prestige of Tongan

is also asserted in contexts where English is not a competing code, as in oratory, ceremonialism, and song-and-dance concerts, and thus it is not solely associated with resistance.²

Second, there are contexts in which people use English widely without access to the material resources to “justify” their code choice, and without any obvious fear of shame either. One example is the very popular Nuku’alofa flea market, where English is a common medium among sellers and often also customers. What is interesting, though, is that the flea market is also one of the most visible local sites of modernity and transnationalism, for several reasons. Most simplistically, the goods sold (principally second-hand clothing) are from overseas, and thus the market is a place where people go to buy the product of transnational links. In addition, socially marginal groups and “local Others,” that is, persons who are already marginalized because of their non-mainstream religious affiliation or lifestyle (e.g. Mormons, Charismatic Christians, entrepreneurs), are over-represented among the sellers. Furthermore, the act of selling, particularly second-hand objects, flies in the face of the “traditional” order: in the “Tongan way,” selling used items makes others suspect that the sellers are so poor that they are forced to sell their possessions, a state of substantial *mā* ‘shame’. However, sellers whom I interviewed described with pride how they had overcome the strictures of traditionalism and become modern persons, a process that some attributed to their religious affiliations.³ The prominence of English and the modernity that suffuse the flea market are thus not coincidental, and they indicate that Tongan and English are embroiled in potentially complex structures of competing prestige, along with the categories with which each language is associated, a theme which will figure prominently in the analysis that follows.

4 *Leitī* in Tongan Society

It is impossible to come up with a precise definition of who a *fakaleitī* is in Tongan society, for the same reasons that defining “man” or “woman” in any social context is neither feasible nor fruitful. As for all social categories, one cannot isolate a set of necessary and sufficient conditions to determine who is a *fakaleitī* and who is not. Nevertheless, stereotypes abound, as they do wherever a marginalized minority is concerned in all social groupings. One can therefore utilize these stereotypes to provide a working definition of the category, bearing in mind at all times that they are stereotypes, and hence that they are prone to distortions, underlain with covert moral judgments, and subject to socio-political manipulation.

Mainstream Tongans stereotypically associate a *fakaleitī*’s presentation of self with a “feminine” comportment (e.g. emotional way of talking, an animated face, “swishy” walk). In domestic or rural settings, *leitī* do “women’s” work (e.g. laundry washing, cooking, flower gardening, child-minding, caring

for elderly parents) and don't do or don't like to do physically demanding work associated with men (e.g. subsistence gardening, wood chopping, construction). In urban contexts, they hold occupations that have feminine associations (e.g. seamstress, hairdresser, cook, "house-girl"), because they either cater to women or are commonly performed by women. *Fakaleitī* are commonly characterized as wearing women's clothes and make-up, although in practice most *leitī* wear either men's or gender-neutral clothes. Their leisure and interests are concerned with beauty, creativity, and femininity (e.g. talking and doing fashion, hairstyles, and decor). They play netball and definitely not rugby (but many, like men and in contrast to women, do get drunk, and often). Finally, "because" they are like women, as the local logic goes, *fakaleitī* have sexual relations with "straight" men, that is, with men who are not identified as *fakaleitī*. Most "straight" men engage them in frequent banter over their "true" gender identity and the possibility of sexual relations, often portraying *fakaleitī* as the sexual aggressor, a strategy designed in part to emphasize the out-of-control nature of *fakaleitī*'s sexuality (a theme familiar to many sexually defined minorities around the world), and in part to invalidate their claim that they are "real women," since sexual aggression is a male trait.

What these stereotypes do not capture is that *leitī* identity is highly variable, considerably more complex, and criss-crossed by dynamics that reach far beyond the confines of narrow characterizations of gender and sexuality. An important theme that will not often arise under elicitation is the notable way in which *leitī* orient their lives toward aspects of modernity to an extent and in ways that other Tongans do not. While mainstream Tongans tacitly recognize, in their rapports with and attitudes toward *leitī*, that this orientation is part and parcel of who they are, they do not explicitly point to it as a characteristic marker of the identity. I will argue here that it is as central to understanding the meaning of the category as its gendering.

5 *Leitī* and English

It is here that language and language use begin to offer a particularly rich *entrée* into the intricacies of the problem. First of all, verbal behavior is one of the most consciously foregrounded features of *leitī* identity, yet also one of the vaguest. When asked, "How do you know when someone is a *fakaleitī*?" mainstream and *leitī* Tongans often reply, 'Oku te 'ilo'i 'i he le'o "You know by the voice," where *le'o* "voice" also means, more generally, "way of speaking, speech mannerism". When pressed further, informants typically suggest that *leitī* speak with a high-pitched voice and at a fast tempo, and engage in dramatic emotional displays. However, attempts to determine this distinctiveness more precisely run into the same conceptual and analytic difficulties as characterizations of the linguistic characteristics of gender or sexual minorities elsewhere in the

world (cf. Hall and O'Donovan 1996; Gaudio 1997; Ogawa and Smith 1997; and many others).

What is particularly striking but often left unmentioned by informants is the salience of English in *leitī*'s linguistic repertoire. The most immediate piece of evidence of this salience is the name of the category itself: a borrowing from English used exclusively to refer to transgendered males, the word "*fakaleitī*" in and of itself indexes the English language, its contexts of use, and its symbolic associations with modernity and cosmopolitanism, an indexicality that probably operates largely at a subconscious level.⁴ This indexicality may be further reinforced by two factors: the original meaning and connotation of the English word "lady" (evoking sophistication, class, good breeding); and *leitī*'s own preference for the unsuffixed version of the term, which "denativizes" the term even further by stripping it of the Polynesian morpheme *faka-*. (Going one step further, *leitī* sometimes pronounce the term as if it were an English word, voicing the dental stop, diphthongizing the vowel cluster, and shifting the stress from the word-final long vowel onto the diphthong.)

The orientation to English that is part and parcel of *leitī* identity goes further. No matter how fluent or elementary their English proficiency may be, *leitī* pepper their conversations with one another and others with English. *Leitī*'s code-switching can occur in any context, and can target a wide variety of linguistic units, from single words to large discourse chunks. The most frequent examples in my corpus, not surprisingly, are to be found in face-to-face interviews with me, since *leitī* see me primarily as a speaker of English, even though my Tongan is perfectly adequate, and perhaps more importantly as someone with whom they wish to establish a rapport for which the appropriate language is English. The following excerpt from a typical one-to-one interview illustrates the ubiquitous nature of borrowings and code-switched strings⁵ (I = interviewee, N = Niko [myself]):

- I: Ka koe'uhí, 'e ki'i- te nau *feel secure*.
 N: Hm.
 I: Pea mo e anga ko e fie nofo faka-Tongá, *you know, how our culture, 'oku- 'oku tight up pē 'a e respect*
 N: Hm.
 I: ki he mātu'a mo e *sisters* mo e *brothers* mo e me'a.
 N: Hm.
 I: Ka ko e taimi ko ē 'oku nau- nau māvahe ai ko ē 'o nofo faka'apitanga, *pehē*
 N: 'Io.
 I: 'a e *camp*.
 N: Hm.
 I: Ko e fo'i- fai tahataha pē 'oku tu'u 'i he 'ulu, *that's all*.
 N: Hm.
 I: *They don't really care*, pe ma'u ha me'akai pe 'ikai.
 N: Hm.

(Transcript 1993: 3, p. 6)

Translation

I: *And because, just- they will feel secure.*

N: *Hm.*

I: *And they have a desire to live in the Tongan way, you know, how our culture, the respect is quite tight up*

N: *Hm.*

I: *for the parents and the sisters and the brothers and so on.*

N: *Hm.*

I: *But when they move out and start living together as roommates in a house, it [becomes] like*

N: *Yes.*

I: *a camp [i.e. an encampment, where norms of respectability are ignored].*

N: *Hm.*

I: *Every- each does whatever goes through his head, that's all [i.e. and nothing more].*

N: *Hm.*

I: *They don't really care whether they even get food or not.*

N: *Hm.*

This excerpt, taken from an interview with a *leitī* who is relatively fluent in English, presents several interesting features. First, many words and phrases that the interviewee utters in English could equally have been uttered in Tongan, and in a couple of instances the Tongan equivalent may have been more felicitous. Second, some of the terms that my interviewee utters in English in fact refer to concepts that are highly specific to Tongan society and culture. Such is the case of “respect,” a word that in Tongan English has the locally specific meaning of “avoidance behavior between cross-sex siblings and some inter-generational relations,” which is much more succinctly denoted in Tongan by the widely used term *faka'apa'apa*. Such is also the case of the English kinship terms “brothers” and “sisters,” which do not do a good job of capturing the kinship categories relevant to “respect,” best understood in terms of cross-siblings (*tu'onga'ane* ‘[woman’s] brother’, *tu'ofefine* ‘[man’s] sister’).

What is particularly interesting is that even *leitī* who do not have grammatical fluency in standard English nevertheless engage in code-switching with a frequency and poise that would rarely be witnessed among mainstream Tongans of comparable linguistic abilities. The following is an excerpt from an interview with a *leitī* who is much less fluent in English than the interviewee in the prior excerpt, despite years spent working in Australia. Nevertheless, English words and sentences abound in the interview:

I: *Ne- 'Aositelelia, sai 'aupito 'a 'Aositelelia ia ki ke kau leitī. He ko e- mostly ko e sio ki he- ki he-, have you heard about the Mardi Gras,*

N: *'Io, 'io.*

I: *'Oku topu 'a 'Aositelelia hē,*

N: *Hm.*

I: *() he nofo pehē.*

N: *Hm.*

I: *Ē? Lesbian.*

N: Hm.

I: *And also the- ladies and the gay.*

N: Hm.

I: () *understand?*

N: *Na'á ke fa'a kau ki ai?*

I: *I only joins but I- na'e kai- na'e 'ikai ke u 'alu au ki he ngaahi fale pehē.*

N: 'Io.

I: *I just went inside and watch them,*

N: Hm, hm.

I: *Ē? But I never do this one.*

(Transcript 2000: 2, p. 6)

Translation

I: *It was- Australia, Australia is very good to its transgendered people. Because it's- mostly if you look at the- at the- have you heard about the Mardi Gras,*

N: *Yes, yes.*

I: *Australia is top [topu, a recent borrowing from English] on that front,*

N: *Hm.*

I: () *living like that.*

N: *Hm.*

I: *Right? Lesbian.*

N: *Hm.*

I: *And also the- ladies and the gay.*

N: *Hm.*

I: () *understand?*

N: *Did you often partake in it?*

I: *I only joins but I- I didn't- I didn't go to that kind of houses [presumably, gay bars].*

N: *Yes.*

I: *I just went inside and watch them,*

N: *Hm, hm.*

I: *Hm? But I never do this one.*

In short, grammatical competence, concerns for efficiency of expression or the untranslatability of certain terms, and the fear of shaming are of little relevance to my interviewees' code choices. Rather, what is foregrounded in their code choices in interviews with me, as well as in face-to-face interaction with everyone else, is the indexical meaning of English and possibly the indexical meaning of the very act of code-switching (cf. Stroud 1992).

6 The Public Construction of *Leiti* Identity

With Kulick (1999: 615), I consider an analysis based on talk produced in the context of ethnographic interviews both limited and limiting (although not completely devoid of value, as long as the ethnographer places his or her own position under ethnographic scrutiny). What is of interest in the Tongan material is that the patterns of code choice I elicited during ethnographic interviews

with my informants echo strikingly patterns of language use in other contexts, and thus are representative of patterns of wide social scope.⁶

Take, for example, public talk in the context of the annual beauty pageants that *leitī* have staged, with increasing aplomb since the early 1990s, in some of the most prominent venues in the country. These events are particularly interesting because, for many Tongans, they represent a context in which *fakaleitī* identity is most clearly elaborated. *Leitī* themselves and their non-*leitī* champions (principally members of a cadre of influential professional women *d'un certain âge*) see the pageant as a prime opportunity to present themselves in the best light and to seek control of their public image, and thus as a subtle but efficacious context for political affirmation. The Miss Galaxy beauty pageant is the most salient of these events, although it is only one of several comparable events held throughout the year. Like other important events in Tonga, the pageant has a high-ranking or otherwise prominent patron, who in recent years has been recruited from within the ranks of the royal family. Half of the jury of six or seven is composed of non-transgendered Tongan dignitaries (e.g. high-ranking army officers, intellectuals, and the winner of the mainstream Miss Heilala pageant for “real” women, which precedes the transgendered pageant), while the other half are “distinguished” Expatriates (i.e. temporary foreign residents of Tonga, such as businessmen, spouses of diplomats, and the occasional visiting anthropologist).

Sponsored by various businesses and organizations (e.g. hotels, hairdressing salons, rugby teams), contestants appear on stage in various costumes, ranging a gamut familiar from South Pacific pageants in general, which includes evening dress, *pule taha* ‘island wear’ (ankle-length skirt and matching short-sleeved top, worn with a tasseled fiber belt), and “their own creations” (see Photograph 1). Each appearance is ostensibly designed to allow contestants to present themselves as attractive and feminine persons, following familiar patterns of beauty pageants around the world. The core of the pageant consists of several judged events, including an individual talent display, a brief interview (of the what-would-you-do-to-save-the-world? type), and catwalk parades. Interspersed are entertainment routines, which may include a hula performance by the emcee, a rock-and-roll standard sung by a local talent, a dance routine performed by all contestants to a popular Tahitian or disco tune, and a short classical and torch-song concert by non-transgendered performers.

What I designate “extra-locality” pervades the entire atmosphere of the Miss Galaxy pageant. It is a feature of the pageant that organizers and contestants take great pains to elaborate, and that the audience expects of the show, although these expectations are always mitigated by the view that this extra-locality is fraudulent.

The most immediate and spectacular manifestation of extra-locality is the very name of the event. Both funny and poignant, “Miss Galaxy” lays a claim on as ambitiously cosmopolitan an image as can be imagined, and plays on hyperbole in the same fashion as some of the camp aspects of the pageant (e.g. the more extravagant costumes and performances), creating humor while attempting to



Photograph 1 The contestants at the end of the pageant posing around the newly elected Miss Galaxy 1997, the incumbent, and the emcee.

retain control of this humor. But extra-locality also saturates other aspects of the pageant. For example, one of the events requires contestants to appear in “national” costume as representative of foreign “countries” (e.g. Miss Rarotonga, Miss Switzerland, Miss South America). Similarly, at the organizing stage, candidates provide their age, vital statistics, occupation, and personal aspirations, which one of the organizers enters on bio-data sheets.⁷ Clearly, what participants in the pageant aim for in this emulation of international pageant practices is the appearance of a glamor whose reference reaches beyond the confines of the local context. The extent to which participants are aware of the inspiration for these practices depends on their relative worldliness. While some *leitī* involved in the programming of the show have had the opportunity to watch televised international pageants, others must rely on second-hand reports of such events, what they can infer about them from watching the mainstream Miss Heilala pageant, and their imagination.

In addition to bearing the names of the countries they represent, Miss Galaxy contestants go by female-sounding stage names of their own choosing, and which they often use in everyday contexts. These stage names are often coinages that bear linguistic similarity to the person’s original Tongan name (e.g. “Suzie” from Sosefo), and are either English names (e.g. Priscilla Pressland) or exotic-sounding names with no connotation other than their generic foreignness (e.g. Aisa De Lorenzo, Aodushi Kiroshoto), but never Tongan

names. The extra-local flavor also pervades the stage decorations (in 1997, flower arrangements and rather unfortunate bouquets of phallic-shaped multi-colored balloons), the background music (for the opening, a medley of triumphalist classical themes such as the William Tell Overture), and the singing and dancing. When events are explicitly designed to add local color (e.g. a *tau'olunga* performance, a popular Tongan tune sung by one of the organizers), they are bracketed entertainment routines designed to fill the time while contestants are getting changed back-stage, and often look like strained token gestures. When a contestant does decide to perform a Tongan dance for a judged event, it is generally a spoof.

Perhaps the most powerful index of extra-locality is language use. Throughout the pageant, the dominant language is English. When contestants first present themselves, for instance, they do so in English:⁸

Aisa: ((walks up to the mike)) Good evening ladies and gentlemen. My name is Aisa De Lorenzo, I'm eighteen years of age, and I represent, ((pauses, raises arms triumphantly)) BLUE PACIFIC TAXIS! ((walks down catwalk))
(1997: Sony: 2 1:07:36–1:08:20)

Each contestant will have memorized and rehearsed her lines prior to the pageant, and will take utmost care to pronounce them correctly and loudly. This does not prevent occasional slip-ups, which the audience will immediately ridicule boisterously. The important point is that, for most contestants, speaking English before a large and distinguished audience of elite Tongans (many of whom are bilingual) and foreigners represents a serious challenge: many *leitī*, particularly pageant contestants, speak minimal English, as poverty and marginality have barred them from opportunities to learn the language. A significant number have not traveled overseas, and those who have resided in industrial countries have not done so under privileged conditions.

By centralizing the English language and its associations, *leitī* position themselves on the side of prestige and worldliness, and in opposition to the use of Tongan and its localized connotations. But their sociolinguistic behavior, both in and out of the pageant, adds further complexity. Indeed, despite the obvious difficulties that *leitī* experience in speaking English during the pageant, many Tongans expect them to speak English more readily on a day-to-day basis than non-transgendered Tongan men, for a number of reasons. First, Tongans generally see *fakaleitī* as self-assured and brash creatures that know no shame (*ta'emā*).⁹ While in actuality a significant percentage of *leitī* are self-effacing, the demeanor of other *leitī* underscores this stereotype. One illustration of this shamelessness is their very participation in a pageant that constitutes the prime locus of the formation and reinforcement of popular stereotypes of *fakaleitī*: contestants' behavior in the pageant can be moderately outrageous and is certainly viewed as exhibitionistic.

Second, stereotypes of *leitī* view them as oriented toward modernity, the West, transnationalism, and social change. Once again, the extent to which this

stereotype reflects reality varies across individuals, but here as well it is certainly founded on undeniable (if partial) evidence. The uncompromisingly extra-local design of the pageant falls right in line with this expectation, both establishing and confirming the stereotypes held by audience members. Viewed in this light, the prominence of English in both public and private contexts is hardly surprising, since English is the language of extra-locality.

Finally, Tongans tend to view the use of English as having feminine undertones: as in many other societies in which a language of modernity competes with a code of traditionalism (e.g. Gal 1979), the former is associated with women's aspirations for upward mobility and emancipation from the strictures of traditionalism (compare Meyerhoff, this volume). When questioned on the matter, most Tongan men and women will state that women speak better English overall than men, and that this is due to the fact that girls study harder in school and that women are talkative "by nature." These familiar-sounding assertions bear witness to the fact that the gendering of language use is tacit and embodied in practice, rather than explicit and grounded in overt consciousness.

As a result of this gendering, men who speak "too much" English do so at the risk of compromising their masculinity in the eyes of society at large. This concerns *fakaleiti*, who willingly go to great lengths to dislocate themselves from their masculine attributes. Interestingly, it also concerns overseas-born Tongans: their awkwardness in performing Tongan maleness, including speaking Tongan as a preferred language, frequently brands them as *fakaleiti*-like, regardless of whether they present any identifiable sign of effeminacy in their comportment. The use of English thus has many associations in addition to extra-locality: it potentially indexes deficient Tonganness, deficient masculinity, femininity, and transgendered identity, traits which may or may not overlap but which are all readily equated to one another. Thus failure to perform Tonganness can easily become a sign of imperfect masculinity and vice versa, unless it is mollified by convincing mitigating factors, such as elite status or wealth.¹⁰

Patterns of language use in the Miss Galaxy pageant, as well as the overall non-local ambience to which they contribute, are not without irony. As discussed earlier, most contestants live in relative poverty. In tune with their under-privileged status, many *leitī* speak English poorly. Sustaining the level of extra-locality expected of them is therefore difficult for many contestants, who switch to Tongan once they have delivered simple memorized lines. But English still remains dominant in the pageant: it is the language that the emcee uses to address the audience and, when he addresses the contestants, he does so first in English and then provides a Tongan translation, usually *sotto voce*. These communicative practices maintain English in the foreground, at the expense of Tongan.¹¹

The difficulty contestants have in maintaining English as their working language during the pageant places them in an awkward position. For example, in the interview event, contestants are given the choice of answering in English

or Tongan, and most choose the latter. In 1997, one contestant chose English, and the audience initially reacted with a loud murmur of temporary admiration for her courage. However, it took little time for her to stumble, as she searched for an English word while waving her hand campily, while the audience, satisfied with the expected proof of the fraudulence of her claim to cosmopolitanism, began hooting and ridiculing, forcing her to abort her brave attempt:

Emcee: What would you say about being a hairstylist, or- being- a working- what- what does it mean, like, to be working at Joy's Hair Styles? (*sotto voce, summarizes the question in Tongan*) *Ko e hā e me'a 'oku ke fai 'i he hair salon?*

Masha: (*takes cordless mike*) Well thank you very much. (*audience laughs, then shouts with admiration and encouragement*) If you want your hair to be curled, (*beckons with her hand*) come over. (*audience explodes in laughter and whooping, Masha laughs and then becomes serious and requests silence with the hand*) Uh, I like it very much, and uh- I enjoy working there, with uhmm- (*pauses, word-searches, waves her hand, audience explodes in laughter, drowning the remainder of the answer*) blowers, (*unable to finish, mouths*) (thank you). (*hands mike back and returns to her position*)

(1997: Sony: 4 0:02:45–0:03:55)



Photograph 2 Masha Entura searches for the English word she needs to answer her interview question.

Contestants thus are caught between a rock and a hard place: if they answer in English and make mistakes, they will be laughed at, and if they answer in Tongan, this very fact will be ridiculed as evidence that they are unable to carry through the artifice of extra-locality to its logical end. The ridicule that greets the choice of Tongan is congruent with many other aspects of mainstream Tongans' attitudes toward *fakaleitī*, both at the pageant and in day-to-day interactions. Mainstream Tongans indeed consider *fakaleitī* identity as essentially bogus: here are these men pretending to be women, and not just any women but cosmopolitan sophisticates, and yet they cannot even maintain their end of a simple conversation in English. At the pageant, it is not uncommon for drunken men or women to try to rip contestants' outfits and expose them as what they "really" are, namely persons with male physiologies. Nothing generates greater hilarity than contestants losing their bra in the middle of a performance. In day-to-day interactions between *fakaleitī* and mainstream Tongans, the latter often express mock annoyance at the "fraudulence" of *leitī* self-presentation and identity, while *leitī* argue back with "proofs" that they are "real women."

However, like all ideological linkages that disadvantage some and benefit others, the linkages I have described are not immune to contestation on the part of those whom they marginalize. This was powerfully illustrated by a minor humorous incident in the 1997 pageant, when one of the contestants, the quick-witted 'Āmini or Lady Amyland, sponsored by Joey's Unisex Hair Salon, turned the tables on the audience during the interview event (and, perhaps, on society at large, even if only for a fleeting moment). Before she has a chance to answer the emcee's question, Lady Amyland is heckled by a drunken *leitī* in the audience, who urges her to answer her interview question in English (*faka-Pālangi*). The heckling draws some laughter, since everyone knows that Lady Amyland's English is poor and that she would make a fool of herself if she tried. But 'Āmini's repartee wins the prize:

- Emcee: Miss Joey's Unisex Hair Salon! What do you have to say to promote Joey's Unisex Hair Salon? (*lowers voice, translating into Tongan*) *Ko e hā e me'a 'oku ke fai ke promote ai 'a e-* (*rolls eyes, searches for Tongan word*) *fakalalakala ai 'a Joey's Unisex Hair Salon.*
- 'Ahi: (*heckling from audience*) *Faka-Pālangi, 'Āmini!*
- Audience: (*laughter*)
- 'Āmini: Sorry excuse me, I'm a Tongan ()
 (*rest of answer drowned by deafening laughter, vigorous applause, cat-calls*)
 (1997: Sony: 4 0:05:42–0:06:26, see Photograph 3)

'Āmini answers the heckler by reaffirming her Tongan identity and therefore her duty and privilege to answer the question in Tongan, an unexpected move which the audience (and any Tongan viewer of the video recording) found extremely humorous, because the claim is embedded in a context in which



Photograph 3 Lady Amyland savors the effect of her quick-minded repartee to a heckler.

everything is done to foreground non-locality.¹² What Lady Amyland is doing here is part of a wider tacit project on the part of at least some contestants to take greater charge of the pageant and its effect on the audience. This project consists in stripping the audience (and society at large) of its privilege to ridicule contestants, and to take control of the boundary between humor and seriousness.

But the project goes further, and its meaning becomes clear when viewed in light of the previous analysis. Note that Lady Amyland asserts her claim to Tongan identity not in Tongan, but in English; the covert message is that one can assert one's Tonganness while controlling the tools with which one does so, and while using tools that are not part of the sanctioned repertoire. In addition, the preface of her repartee ("Sorry excuse me") is an inside joke which non-*leitī* audience members are unlikely to make sense of, a reference to another *leitī*'s awkward attempt, a few years earlier, to speak English to a prospective *Pālangi* date. The overall effect of Lady Amyland's repartee contests the power of dominant forces to dictate what counts as markers of locality and what does not; asserts that the claim to be part of the "galaxy" does not necessarily deny one's local identity; and proclaims that being a *leitī* does mean giving up one's place in Tongan society.¹³

7 Conclusion: The Linguistic Constructions of Tongan Transgenderism

This chapter has investigated the linguistic behavior and ideologies of *fakaleitī* and mainstream Tongans, and the relationship of these various behaviors and ideologies in the constructions of identities, stereotypes, and life trajectories. I argued that, in a society that remains essentially monolingual, the presence of English is strongly felt, being associated with contexts where cosmopolitanism, modernity, and capitalism are foregrounded, elements of increasing importance to the very nature of Tongan society. Among the subgroups of Tongan society who are enthusiastic users of English, *fakaleitī* figure prominently, even though most do not have access to the kind of resources which might justify, in the eyes of greater Tongan society, the implicit claim to prestige status that the choice of English entails: wealth, status in the traditional hierarchy, cosmopolitanism, and grammatical fluency in English.

Fakaleitī code-switch for complex and diverse reasons, and in this respect they do not differ from code-switchers in all other societies of the world. However, one of the most salient, although largely unarticulated, motivations for code-switching that this chapter has explored is the fact that the use of English represents for many *fakaleitī* a symbolic escape hatch out of social marginality (compare Meyerhoff, this volume, on women on Malo, Vanuatu). The claims embedded in their use of English and their code-switching serve as an idiom of resistance against the symbolic and material oppression that they experience as both transgendered persons and poor Tongans. However, this strategy is not without risk. Like all resistant action, these claims can be turned around and used against them to further marginalize them. *Leitī*'s language choices place them at risk of being perceived by non-transgendered Tongans as alienating themselves from a local context that offers both unpleasant but also potentially rewarding symbols and resources for everyone. Being generally poor, *leitī* are not in a good position to define for the rest of society what counts as "local," and the perception that they are alienating themselves from a pre-defined localness over which they have little control is potentially disadvantageous.

This chapter has attempted to explore the intersection of gender, modernity, and locality by focusing on the differences and conflicts in the subjectivities of members of one society. Reading dominant characterizations of modernity from sociology and cultural studies (e.g. Featherstone, Lash, and Robertson 1995; Jameson and Miyoshi 1998), we are led to expect that Tongans would experience tokens of modernity and globalization, for example, in a kind of Durkheimian (solidarity-enhancing) unison. What I have shown here is that they not only differ from one another in the way they experience these tokens and in what they do with them, but they also actively challenge each other's experiences of these tokens. Furthermore, they enlist these experiences to argue over the

meaning of seemingly highly localized categories and dynamics, including gender.

In this chapter, in line with a substantial body of recent research, I have explored the potentially heterogeneous nature of gender as a social category, and have sought to unravel this heterogeneity in terms of the varied positions that members of the “same” gender can take *vis-à-vis* modernity and localness. I have also sought to distinguish between different meanings of modernity, from material to ideational manifestations of it. Finally, I have investigated the complex interplay of modernity with locality. The chapter has explored the role of language in creating and indexing these social and cultural dynamics. The discourse- and ethnography-based analysis I have developed here illustrates the complex role that categories other than gender play in defining gender. It also shows that the meaning and valuation of such categories as gender, modernity, and localness are objects of conflict and contradiction, both across subgroups of society and across contexts and interests.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

I conducted fieldwork in 1994, 1995, 1997, and 1999–2000, grounding myself on a general understanding of Tongan society acquired during residence in a Tongan village in 1978–80. I thank many Tongan informants and friends for their help and devotion, and Janet Holmes and Miriam Meyerhoff for useful comments on an earlier version of this chapter. Financial support for fieldwork from the following sources is gratefully acknowledged: Marsden Fund of the Royal Society of New Zealand, Wenner Gren Foundation for Anthropological Research, Yale University Social Science Faculty Research Fund, and Victoria University of Wellington Faculty of Humanities and Social Sciences Research Fund. Portions of this chapter are reprinted from Besnier (2002) by permission of the American Anthropological Association, which is gratefully acknowledged.

NOTES

- 1 The fact that, in Tonga as in many other parts of the Pacific, English is the language of choice when one is drunk lends further support to this analysis (compare Harvey 1991 on the role of Spanish in Quechua drunken conversation).
- 2 Tongan has a notable system of honorifics (“speech levels”), centered principally on the lexicon: certain words are used solely when addressing or speaking of members of the nobility or the royal family other than the sovereign, and others when addressing or speaking of the sovereign or God. These register variations are the subject of ideological elaboration, but in practice they concern a very restricted range of linguistic structures and their use is very flexible (Philips 1991). They are of no significant relevance to the materials presented here.

- 3 One interviewee, who belongs to a small Charismatic Christian sect, explicitly linked her “liberated” stance to the fact that she had accepted Jesus into her heart, which enables her to ignore tradition-based gossip and shaming. Because they reject the (often oppressive) structuring of mainstream Christian denominations, Charismatic Christians place themselves on the margin of a society where church-mediated and church-directed exchange is so determinative of social life. This is also true, to a lesser extent, of Mormons (Gordon 1990) and other people who have somehow extricated themselves from the duties of reciprocity and exchange, often at a cost to their social standing.
- 4 There is a substantial and ever-growing corpus of borrowings from English in the contemporary Tongan lexicon, many of which have been phonologically nativized (Schütz 1970). Some words were borrowed early in the history of contact (e.g. *taimi* ‘time’, *siasi* ‘church’), and have lost all connotations of foreignness. More recent borrowings, while highly integrated in everyday linguistic usage, continue to subtly index the connotations of English as a medium of communication, as evidenced, for example, by cases where both a borrowing and a word of Polynesian origin have roughly the same meaning (e.g. *kiti* and *leka* ‘kid’). The borrowing of “*leitī*” probably dates back to the early decades of the twentieth century (Futa Helu, personal communication).
- 5 In the orthography in general use for Tongan, an apostrophe represents a glottal stop, a macron superscripted to a vowel represents gemination, and an acute accent above a word-final vowel indicates that stress shifts from the penultimate to the accented vowel to denote the definiteness and specificity of the noun phrase ending with the word thus marked.
- 6 Don Kulick extends his criticism to analyses that focus primarily on talk produced in other “on-stage” circumstances, for example, for media dissemination, or during performances of various kinds. The point is well taken, and falls in line with a long tradition in linguistic anthropology of emphasizing the importance of seeking an understanding of social dynamics by focusing on day-to-day interaction. However, one should also not forget that “public” discourse may also act as an important medium through which identities are created and negotiated, representations constructed and challenged.
- 7 Some of the information provided is fake or unrealistic, while other details are designed to be humorous. For example, contestants regularly claim “high-status” feminine occupations such as “nurse” and “public relations” (*sic*) to add glamor to their profile, as well as “future plans” to be “computer operator,” “flying attendant” (*sic*), and “to be a good wife.” The same practice of emulating international beauty contests is found in the pageants that transgendered persons stage in Jolo, Southern Philippines (Johnson 1997) and in urban South Africa (Reid 1999), both of which exhibit fascinating similarities to the Tongan material.
- 8 In the following discussion, I have not attempted to hide the identity of those concerned since my analysis is based on a public event. Extracts are

- identified by year of recording and video reference number.
- 9 A Tongan businessman told me that he had employed a *fakaleitī* to sell his products door-to-door precisely because *fakaleitī* worry little about shame, in addition to being gregarious and talkative. These traits are thus not necessarily seen as negative assets.
- 10 Many of the symbolic associations I describe here of course echo patterns found in many other societies. One is reminded of Willis's (1977) celebrated analysis of working-class masculinity among adolescents in English schools, Bourdieu's (1985) analysis of social class and "refinement" in France, particularly as it relates to gender, and Ortner's (1991) study of social class and gender in New Jersey, among many other relevant examples.
- 11 English, as with other tokens of modernity and cosmopolitanism, also occupies a prominent role in many other public events in Tonga, including the Miss Heilala beauty pageant for "real" women.
- However, in other events, these tokens are commonly on a par with Tongan and tokens of "Tonganness." In the Miss Heilala pageant, for example, the contestants' ability to perform tokens of Tonganness, including their linguistic skills, are scrutinized very closely. This scrutiny frequently places overseas-born contestants at a disadvantage, as discussed in Teilhet-Fisk (1996) and Besnier (2002).
- 12 The humor already began with the heckle itself, which is uttered in Tongan, despite the fact it urges the contestant to speak English, and which refers to the contestant by his everyday name, rather than her transgendered name.
- 13 I do not wish to imply that Lady Amyland's act of resistance was the result of a carefully engineered strategy on her part. For one thing, she was probably drunk, as many contestants are. However, we know from Scott (1985, 1990) that everyday acts of resistance need not be the outcome of calculated designs.

REFERENCES

- Appadurai, Arjun 1996: *Modernity at Large: Cultural Dimensions of Globalization*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press.
- Besnier, Niko 1994: Polynesian gender liminality through time and space. In Gilbert Herdt (ed.) *Third Sex, Third Gender: Beyond Sexual Dimorphism in Culture and History*. New York: Zone, pp. 285–328, 554–66.
- Besnier, Niko 1997: Sluts and superwomen: The politics of gender liminality in urban Tonga. *Ethnos* 62: 5–31.
- Besnier, Niko 2002: Transgenderism, locality, and the Miss Galaxy beauty pageant in Tonga. *American Ethnologist* 29: 534–67.
- Bourdieu, Pierre 1985: *Distinction: A Social Critique of the Judgement of Taste*. Translated by Richard Nice. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.
- Campbell, I. C. 1992: *Island Kingdom: Tonga Ancient and Modern*.

- Christchurch: Canterbury University Press.
- Comaroff, Jean and Comaroff, John 1993: Introduction. In Jean Comaroff and John Comaroff (eds) *Modernity and its Malcontents: Ritual and Power in Postcolonial Africa*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, pp. xi–xxxvii.
- Daniel, E. Valentine 1996: *Charred Lullabies: Chapters in an Ethnography of Violence*. Princeton Studies in Culture/Power/History. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.
- di Leonardo, Micaela 1991: Introduction: Gender, culture, and political economy: Feminist anthropology in historical perspective. In Micaela di Leonardo (ed.) *Gender at the Crossroads of Knowledge: Feminist Anthropology in the Postmodern Era*. Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, pp. 1–48.
- Featherstone, Mike, Lash, Scott, and Robertson, Roland (eds) 1995: *Global Modernities*. London: Sage.
- Gal, Susan 1979: *Language Shift: Social Determinants of Linguistic Change in Bilingual Austria*. New York: Academic Press.
- Gaudio, Rudolph P. 1997: Not talking straight in Hausa. In Anna Livia and Kira Hall (eds) *Queerly Phrased: Language, Gender, and Sexuality*. New York: Oxford University Press, pp. 416–29.
- Gordon, Tamar 1990: Inventing the Mormon Tongan family. In John Barker (ed.) *Christianity in Oceania: Ethnographic Perspectives*. Association for Social Anthropology in Oceania Monographs, 12. Lanham, MD: University Press of America, pp. 197–219.
- Gupta, Akhil and Ferguson, James (eds) 1997: *Anthropological Locations: Boundaries and Grounds of a Field Science*. Berkeley, CA: University of California Press.
- Hall, Kira and O'Donovan, Veronica 1996: Shifting gender positions among Hindi-speaking Hijras. In Victoria Bergvall, Janet M. Bing, and Alice F. Freed (eds) *Rethinking Language and Gender Research: Theory and Practice*. New York: Longman, pp. 228–66.
- Harvey, Penelope 1991: Drunken speech and the construction of meaning: Bilingual competence in the Southern Peruvian Andes. *Language in Society* 20: 1–36.
- Jameson, Fredric and Miyoshi, Masao (eds) 1998: *The Culture of Globalization*. Durham, NC: Duke University Press.
- Johnson, Mark 1997: *Beauty and Power: Transgendering and Cultural Transformation in the Southern Philippines*. Oxford: Berg.
- Kulick, Don 1999: Transgender and language: A review of the literature and suggestions for the future. *GLQ* 5: 605–22.
- Lovell, Nadia (ed.) 1998: *Locality and Belonging*. European Association of Social Anthropologists Series. London: Routledge.
- Malkki, Liisa 1995: *Purity and Exile: Violence, Memory, and National Cosmology among Hutu Refugees in Tanzania*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Marcus, George E. 1995: Ethnography in/of the world system: The emergence of multi-sited ethnography. *Annual Review of Anthropology* 24: 95–117.
- Morton, Helen 1996: *Becoming Tongan: An Ethnography of Childhood*. Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press.
- Morton, Helen 1998: Creating their own culture: Diasporic Tongans. *The Contemporary Pacific* 10: 1–30.
- Ogawa, Naoko and Shibamoto Smith, Janet 1997: The gendering of the gay male sex class in Japan: A case

- study based on *Rasen No Sobyô*. In Anna Livia and Kira Hall (eds) *Queerly Phrased: Language, Gender, and Sexuality*. New York: Oxford University Press, pp. 402–15.
- Ortner, Sherry B. 1991: Reading America: Preliminary notes on class and culture. In Richard G. Fox (ed.) *Recapturing Anthropology: Writing in the Present*. Santa Fe, NM: School of American Research Press, pp. 163–89.
- Philips, Susan U. 1991: Tongan speech levels: Practice and talk about practice in the cultural construction of social hierarchy. In Robert Blust (ed.) *Currents in Pacific Linguistics: Papers on Austronesian Languages in Honour of George Grace*. Canberra: Pacific Linguistics C-117, pp. 369–82.
- Philips, Susan U. 2000: Constructing a Tongan nation-state through language ideology in the courtroom. In Paul V. Kroskrity (ed.) *Regimes of Language: Ideologies, Politics, and Identities*. School of American Research advanced seminar series. Santa Fe, NM: School of American Research Press, pp. 229–57.
- Reid, Graeme 1999: Above the Skyline: Integrating African, Christian and Gay or Lesbian Identities in a South African Church Community. MA thesis, Department of Anthropology, University of the Witwatersrand.
- Schütz, Albert J. 1970: Phonological patterning of English loan words in Tongan. In S. A. Wurm and D. C. Laycock (eds) *Pacific Linguistic Studies in Honour of Arthur Capell*. Canberra: Pacific Linguistics C-13, pp. 409–28.
- Scott, James C. 1985: *Weapons of the Weak: Everyday Forms of Peasant Resistance*. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press.
- Scott, James C. 1990: *Domination and the Art of Resistance: Hidden Transcripts*. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press.
- Small, Cathy A. 1997: *Voyages: From Tongan Village to American Suburbs*. Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press.
- Spencer, Jonathan 1996: Modernism, modernity and modernization. In Alan Barnard and Jonathan Spencer (eds) *Encyclopedia of Social and Cultural Anthropology*. London: Routledge, pp. 376–9.
- Stroud, Christopher 1992: The problem of intention and meaning in code-switching. *Text* 12: 127–55.
- Teilhet-Fisk, Jehanne 1996: The Miss Heilala beauty pageant: Where beauty is more than skin deep. In Colleen B. Cohen, Richard Wilk, and Beverly Stoeltje (eds) *Beauty Queens on the Global Stage: Gender, Contests, and Power*. London: Routledge, pp. 185–202.
- Willis, Paul 1977: *Learning to Labour: How Working Class Kids Get Working Class Jobs*. Westmead, England: Saxon House.