

Deep Interior: Sensorial Encounters of Orang Suku Laut with the Sea

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Abstract

This paper explores the idea of a deep interior during an encounter between a sea tribe and the sea, as an intimate interaction between the body and nature that consists of liquid matter, the earth's surface, and the sea inhabitants. This paper introduces the idea of intimate engagement with such a liquid environment to reveal its interiorisation. It arguably positions ecological understanding through reading and responding to nature as the key to interiorisation. This study learns about the livelihood of a sea tribe, Orang Suku Laut (OSL), in the Riau Archipelago, Indonesia, mainly through food hunting and gathering activities. Through the trajectories produced during food-sourcing activities, it is revealed that reading and responding to nature depends on the multiple layers of nature's dynamic entities: physical features, climatic conditions and particular signs. The deep interior suggests a different spatial understanding and ways of inhabiting the world, constructing an intimate interiorisation with ecology.

Keywords: deep interior, sensory experience, reading and responding to nature, sea tribe

Introduction

This paper discusses the process of interiorisation experienced by a sea tribe in an oceanic setting, particularly during food sourcing. It explores the idea of interiorisation as bodily encounters with nature that occur both above and under sea. It speculates on the idea of the deep interior as an interiorisation process developed based on sensory experience with nature's dynamic entities. Thus far, the interiorisation that occurs in such settings is still limited. It arguably expands the discussion of the sensory-based interior (Garófalo-Khan, 2018) by signifying the process of reading and responding to nature as a key aspect in constructing a deep interior.

The discussion of interiority previously focused on the idea of the interior as inside-ness, a condition of being contained inside (Harani et al., 2021). It focuses on the enclosed space within bounded and fixed boundaries or located inside a building, separated from the wildness of nature. It is a conditioned setting mainly for seeking comfort, safety, or privacy (Pimlott, 2016). Such discussions delve more profoundly into modern and contemporary interior environments. They tend to be limited to the enclosed condition of the environment rather than the open space or natural environment.

However, a growing discourse acknowledges the interior as a process or mechanism (Harani et al., 2021). The idea moves beyond being contained and positions the importance of bodily interaction with the surroundings. The idea of interiority evolves beyond the enclosure of a building. It positions the importance of bodily interaction with space or surroundings by 'looking inward' and simultaneously considering external stimuli. It also opens up possibilities for further exploration of interiorisation, regardless of the condition of the boundaries and the space surrounding it. This idea encourages the exploration of how interiorisation occurs in a dynamic natural setting, such as an oceanic environment.

This paper explores an interiorisation mechanism, arguably an encounter between a sea tribe in the Riau Archipelago and the oceanic world, where they live and make a living. The sea tribe, called Orang Suku Laut (man of the sea tribe or OSL), hunts and gathers sea creatures for everyday consumption while maintaining their balance. The food sourcing practice reflects an intimate relationship between humans and nature, examining how the sea tribe interacts with the sea and the natural elements underneath the sea surface. They manoeuvre between the high and low tides, the 'good' and 'bad' water, as well as the lenient and harsh weather. The interactions

reflect the notion of ecology, an understanding of interactions and interdependencies between the living being, inanimate objects, and the surroundings (Tyszczyk & Walker, 2010).

This paper discusses the deep interior as a dynamic body–nature interaction in which nature with sensorial experience is the key. The discussion continues to further elaborate on the idea of the deep interior through reading and responding to the oceanic world that consists of liquid matter, the earth's surface, and the sea inhabitants. This is followed by scrutinising the sensorial encounters of the sea tribe and the oceanic world. Through this study, this paper arguably signifies the dynamic process of interiorisation that engages multiple layers of ecology within a dynamic nature, offering a different perspective on interiority.

The Deep Interior as a Human–Nature Encounter

As mentioned above, the idea of the interior is constructed based on the progression of the built environment. It reflects how humans developed an idealised and controlled condition on earth and nature to make it habitable (Leatherbarrow & Wesley, 2019). As an implication, such a view positions nature related to the interior as a picture, decorative element or architectural or interior device (Pimlott, 2016). This view seems to separate the interior from nature and from engagement with the larger ecology.

On the other hand, the discussion of nature-related interiors mostly takes place in the terrestrial context with its fixed location and solid notion. Such discussion tends to focus on the flat or horizontal motion on the earth's surface. It limits the possibility of vertical movement through volumes that suggest depth (Steinberg & Peters, 2015). Having a liquid context, such as the ocean, shifts our understanding of nature. The immersive quality of the ocean implies different interior experiences (Treadwell, 2018). It situates the inhabitants of such an environment as part of a dynamic entity, suggesting a different way of interacting with nature.

In the interior, the deep can be understood as a condition composed of layered surfaces or boundaries at different levels, allowing motion to go through further inside (Garófalo-Khan, 2018). The deep becomes a condition. It implies porosity, permeability and a "sensual interior layer" (Garófalo-Khan, 2018, p. 286). It deals with the possibility of multiple layers, as the deep allows the sensory to experience the changing qualities produced by light, smell, sound, the density of air and other elements. From this point of view, a deep interior could be an interiorisation process that is developed based on sensorial

encounters with the natural environment by embracing the layered surfaces of the interior.

The sea arguably suggests different interior conditions at different levels of the earth's surface. Due to deep and vast interior conditions, the sea insinuates the need for immersive interiorisation with such dynamics of nature. The sea is dynamic due to its motion as a liquid body that projects non-flat dynamics horizontally and vertically (Steinberg & Peters, 2015). At the same time, the sea is also dynamic because it is an ecological web composed of animated entities and the lived bodies of creatures. This implies the potential to always have a dynamic interior condition. Thus, this paper proposes the deep interior as a framework to explore body–nature interactions that occur beyond terrestrial geographic boundaries, namely the sea.

The immersive interiorisation within the sea requires empathetic gestures that are usually acquired through traditions and practices (Garófalo-Khan, 2018). Compared to living on land that is mostly accustomed to fixed boundaries and stability, inhabiting the sea requires different spatial and temporal arrangements (Chou, 2010; Lenhart, 2008). Living with the sea means understanding the ever-changing conditions of water, weather and the motion of sea creatures, as well as negotiating with the natural pattern and structure above and down inside the sea. It manoeuvres between senses of familiarity and accuracy by engaging the sensory capacity fully and developing the know-how and required skills (Treadwell, 2018). This paper, therefore, argues for the importance of reading and responding to nature as key to such ecological interiorisation.

Reading and Responding to Nature as Part of a Deep Interior

This paper investigates the deep interior through an interiorisation mechanism during food sourcing; as such, a practice reflects the relationship between humans and nature. In particular, this paper discusses the sea tribe OSL as a group of hunter-gatherers who are always in mobility to follow food. The hunter-gatherers adjust the sourcing practices according to the availability of food in nature (Standage, 2009). They make journeys with their families and arrange their sampans as living and working arrangements, reflecting a dynamic inhabitation of ecology. Instead of being exploitative, their practices are conceivably explorative, demonstrating intimate and meaningful relationships between humans and nature.

Hunting and gathering practices involve a great understanding of nature, which is often discussed as local or traditional ecological knowledge (Berkes et al., 2000). It pays attention to how humans read

and respond to natural resources in their everyday lives through trial and error, combining knowledge and practice. Nevertheless, reading and responding to nature as basic human–nature interactions are often overlooked (Guibert, 2021; Ingraham, 2015; Suryantini et al., 2019). Therefore, investigating the acts of reading and responding to nature in hunting and gathering practised by OSL arguably expands the discussion of traditional ecological knowledge, particularly related to spatial understanding.

For hunter-gatherer communities, understanding and appropriately engaging with nature is essential (Ingold, 2002). Based on the literature, OSL are known not only for their sea mastery skills but also for connecting their domestic space and the sea realms. They move from one place to another using their sampans, following the movement of the sea creatures and adjusting to the weather and sea dynamics (Chou, 2010; Lenhart, 2008). They consider nature their provider, source of life, and home. They do not separate themselves as different entities in nature; instead, they maintain their relationship with other living beings and objects as with other humans (Bird David, 1999). Therefore, when OSL move and moor, hunt or gather natural resources from the sea, they adjust their practices to their environment befittingly and, at the same time, safeguard the existing nature well.

By adjusting everyday practices according to nature's dynamics, the term living with rather than living over nature is more appropriate to describe their relationship with nature (Hagan, 2015). They understand that they need to operate within the framework of nature, adjusting to the dynamic course of nature. They recognise that such natural dynamics occur to achieve balance, particularly maintaining the cycle of energy and matter and maintaining the number of living beings and their food within the food chain (Goodbun & Jaschke, 2012; Scalbert & Walker, 2010; Tyszczyk & Walker, 2010). They do not aim to dominate or control nature but rather take a holistic approach and share the responsibility to maintain the balance of nature, the elements, the interactions, and interdependencies between them.

Hunter-gatherers spend time and pay attention to care, dedicating their everyday practice to nature (Ingold, 2002). They acquire ways to help them understand and engage according to the conditions of nature (Tuan, 1990). In this case, understanding nature implies the operation of reading the condition of nature, including perceiving, identifying, and evaluating mechanisms of the natural condition. Meanwhile, responding to nature means appropriating and utilising the result of reading nature through the production, consumption,

and reproduction of nature. Both acts signify perception and evaluation as the basis for understanding and appropriating nature. Therefore, hunter-gatherers always keep nature in close contact to know their environment well.

Reading and responding to nature can be identified in their everyday practices that occur spatially and temporally. De Certeau (1984) describes numerous practices as tactical, meaning that the actions derive from reading moments in nature that can be turned into opportunities and responded to. O'Donnell (2015) elaborates further through the term 'niche tactics,' an ecological point of view illustrating that most of the practices that occur in nature are based on understanding the so-called available opportunities available within nature, either through its physical setting or temporal cycle. These opportunities are gathered as contextual information, constituting a suitable niche for beings to live.

Reading nature is an important act that immediately bonds humans and nature, implying a transactional process that mediates bodily experience and the surrounding environment (Paramita, 2022a). Reading nature involves the practices of observation and mapping cognitively (O'Donnell, 2015). This act renders every aspect of the hunter-gatherers' livelihood, as they have to negotiate their everyday activities based on the availability of natural resources and the conditions of nature (Atmodiwirjo et al., 2018). Since there are also conditions when nature is harsh and ruthless, it is crucial for them to know how and when to hunt and gather safely. Being fully aware of how and when to act within nature's dynamics suggests a thoughtful act to appropriate and utilise nature at its best without endangering their lives and the condition of nature.

The reading of nature encompasses the presence of other living beings and objects, which entails the earth's surface, atmosphere, fluid water, energy, and animations. Nature is in motion and contains the natural rhythm of living and non-living elements, including regeneration or migration patterns. Natural motion and rhythm become crucial cues in food sourcing practice and are read as opportunities through bodily experience and sensorial engagement. The elements, their motion, and rhythm occur in various arrangements that become the focus of attention in food sourcing activities (de Certeau, 1984).

A thorough understanding of their environment is required, particularly their perceptual acuity towards micro signs within the various conditions of nature (Tuan, 1990). Some hunter-gatherers

depend more on visual perceptions of the landscape, for example, Bushmen in Africa, who source food in a vast landscape. On the other hand, other hunter-gatherers depend more on the acoustic, olfactory, or tactile features, such as the Eskimo in the Arctic. They read specific micro information from the variations and critically evaluate significant clues for identifying food that unskilled observers may overlook (Ingold, 2002). The more skilled they are, the more knowledgeable they become in identifying the abundance of opportunities.

This paper highlights reading and responding to nature as essential acts conducted by hunter-gatherers. It provides further insights into how human–nature relationships occur and interiorisation takes place. Therefore, it would be noteworthy to scrutinise how such interiorisation occurs in particular indigenous communities as part of their everyday lives.

Investigating the Deep Interior Through Reading and Responding to Nature

This paper utilises a case study approach (Crowe et al., 2011) to understand how the deep interior and the mechanism occur within the oceanic setting, along with its natural pattern and structure. OSL were chosen as a case study because their livelihood as hunter-gatherers demonstrates a tight relationship with nature (Chou, 2010; Lenhart, 2008). Even though some have settled in coastal areas on the small islands of Riau Archipelago, for almost a decade, they still maintain their sea journey to find food and their relationship with nature.

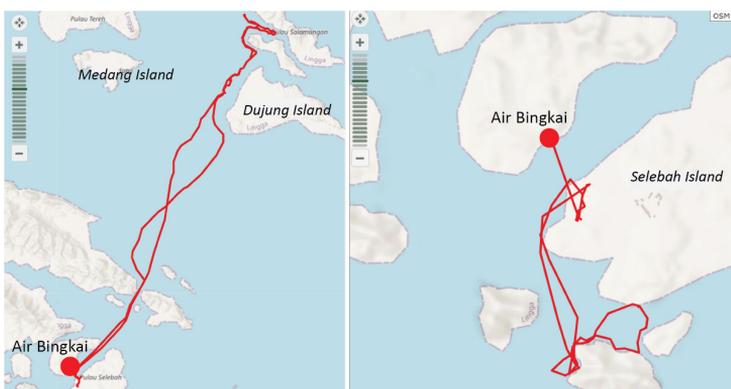


Figure 1
The trajectories during night spearfishing on night south wind season 2022 by OSL (Image by authors, based on documentation by Orang Suku Laut Excursion Team, Universitas Indonesia, 2019)

This paper is based on a qualitative study conducted in 2019 through field observation of a group of OSL that settled in Air Bingkai, Tajur Biru District in Riau Archipelago, Indonesia. The data are acquired by following the routes in their food sourcing practice using geographical tracker devices (Figure 1), collecting

visual documentation from photos, films and remote interviews, conducted periodically from 2020 to 2021. To avoid bias, this study also refers to literature from anthropological and ethnobiological studies about the livelihood of OSL in the Riau Archipelago (Bestari et al., 2020; Chou, 2010; Lenhart, 2008) and visual documentation of OSL livelihood available online.

The data collected are analysed to reveal the interiorisation constructed based on the act of reading and responding to natural arrangements during hunting and gathering practices. From the observations, all the actions conducted by the actors during food sourcing are supplemented by narration from the interviews and visual documentation to attain bodily and sensorial experiences. Furthermore, such experiences are analysed based on crucial natural elements. The findings demonstrate how OSL read and respond to nature through the presence of multiple layers.

Multiple Layers of the Deep Interior

This paper utilises a case study approach (Crowe et al., 2011) to the deep interior signifies the body–nature interaction that engages multiple layers containing ecological information regarding nature's deep and dynamic entity. The deep interior reflects the spatial understanding that is potentially constructed from the multiple layers and their interconnection (Yatmo, et al., 2019). Based on field observations and interviews, the exploration of food sourcing within nature demonstrates how OSL practice through continuous and reciprocal acts of reading and responding to the dynamics of nature.

The reading of nature's conditions determines their responses. In general, OSL hunt and gather food as part of their domestic practice, and they live mainly by hunting fish, cuttlefish, crab, octopus, turtle, and other sea creatures. However, when the weather and sea conditions become unfavourable, they shift their practice to strand gathering—collecting clams, scallops, mussels, crabs, barnacles, and sea cucumbers—which is safer for them.

As the deep interior is a construction based on reading and responding to nature, the abstractions of nature perceived by OSL insinuate particular arrangements of nature. Based on the analysis, there are three layers of nature that can be identified through food sourcing practice, namely: layer of the natural physical setting as the spatial setting for the habitat of the living beings, layer of the natural cycle as temporal arrangement, and layer of micro signs as sensorial cues generated by other living beings.

The layer of the natural physical setting

Based on the trajectories taken by OSL during night-time spearfishing, it can be seen that OSL understand that the availability of sea resources varies spatially and temporally across Riau Archipelago waters (Figure 2). They can tell areas with plenty of food, plants, or animals and their breeding grounds, including seasonal availability. They know where to get fresh water, plants, or wood to construct their portable roofs and houses. Nevertheless, they avoid areas that they perceive as taboo or dangerous, such as the open sea or deep water with strong sea currents and protruding rocks. Throughout their lives, they learn to identify the locations of a particular habitat of the sea creatures, dangerous areas, or favourable spots for mooring their sampans across the archipelago.

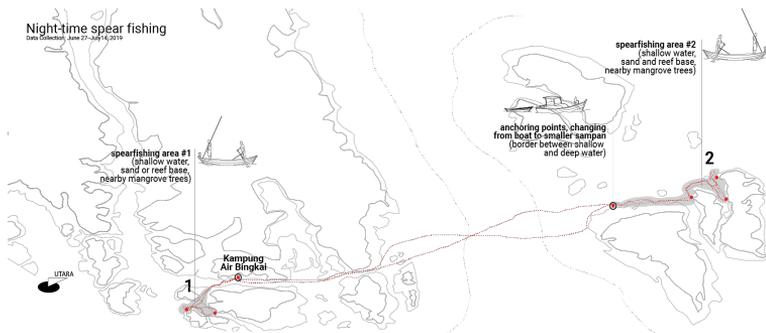


Figure 2
Following the coastal and near-coastal arrangement for night-time spearfishing activities (Image by authors)

Four areas are read as necessary by OSL, namely (a) the coastal area covered with sand, coral, reefs, small rocks, or pebbles; (b) the vast sandy coast that becomes a mud land after the tides; (c) mangrove edge; and (d) the seagrass bed. Such physical settings are responded to differently. The coastal and near coastal areas, particularly with corals, reefs, small rocks, seagrass, or mangroves, are identified as various sea creatures' habitats. Additionally, some coastal areas at the edge of the island with sandy beaches and calm water, fleet, gulf, or narrow waters are perceived as safe and protective for them (e.g., before the storm, therefore appropriate for mooring). By understanding such physical variations, they recognise the range of potential food available around Air Bingkai.

A certain depth allows the liquid body to provide information about the earth's surface variations beneath the water and sea creatures. Based on their reading of nature, OSL move between shallow waters, crossing the deep sea and then returning. They always orient and manoeuvre their sampans to shallow water with such underwater earth surfaces. They look for edible sea creatures and, at the same time, follow the earth's surface under the water, moving slowly

between reefs and different sea depths (Figure 3). They spend time on the mud land after the tides for strand-gathering activities. The mud land becomes their secondary resource, as they understand that the coastal and near-coastal zone is a vital earth surface for their livelihood. For them, shallow water offers them better visibility and, thus, different kinds of information to understand what is happening beneath the water.

Identified layer of physical setting during night spearfishing

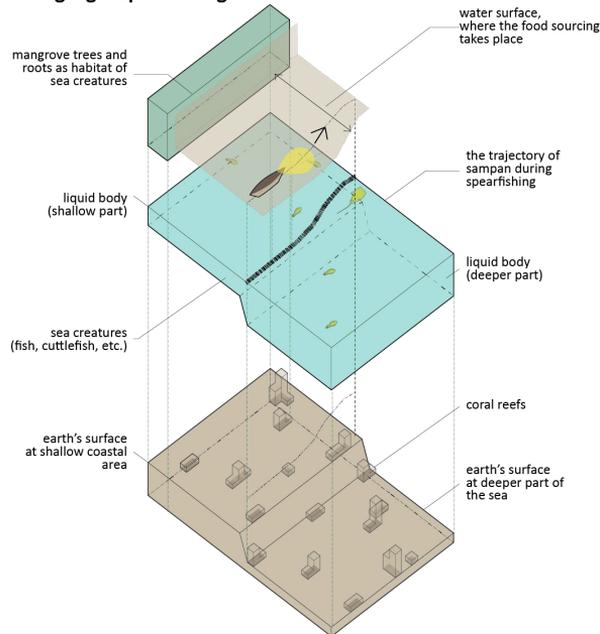


Figure 3
Illustrations
of physical
arrangements of
nature in the deep
that are read and
responded to by OSL
during night-time
spearfishing (Image
by authors)

They read those four physical arrangements of nature as the habitat of sea creatures and thus utilise these areas for hunting and gathering food. These arrangements in the deep become one of the bases for the interactions OSL have with nature: spearfishing or strand gathering, manoeuvring with a sampan or walking on the strand. The trajectories generated by food sourcing show that the interior condition of the sea is experienced through motion and movement.

Layer of the natural cycle

The second aspect that is important for the deep interior is the natural cycle. This layer of nature informs OSL about the right time to hunt, gather, or neither. As niche tactics (O'Donnell, 2015), OSL look for opportunities available in the natural cycle—diurnal, lunar and seasonal cycles—and come up with a temporal arrangement to collect natural resources in their best conditions—size and quantity.

This temporal aspect implies the weather and water condition, which then influence the moment of interiorisation and the required body–nature interactions.

For example, they recognise the west wind season as the most favourable time for hunting, as the water is clear, the wind is calm, and the tide is peaceful. The body–nature interaction during spearfishing can occur with less interruption, as the situation inside the water can be clearly visible. On the other hand, the north wind season becomes the least favourable time for hunting, as the water is muddy, the wind is stiff, and the tide is ruthless. Such sea and weather conditions are perceived as unsafe; therefore, OSL shift from hunting to gathering. Compared to hunting, they have more opportunities to gather strand in a year, as they only have to pay attention to the low tide as the water recedes and leaves the coast as mud land. They do not depend on the condition of water and wind when strand gathering as much as they do when hunting.

As Tuan (1990) mentioned, humans read nature in varied ways, depending not only on bodily and sensorial engagement but also on their traditions or culture. In this case, the arrangements of nature are learned through a long time series of information from multiple trials and errors from the generations before and through their everyday experiences as a community. OSL read every natural variation, learning that the movement of food in nature is projected to the geography and landscape and complies with natural changes related to the notion of time (Ingold, 2002), such as wind seasons, tides that happen twice a day, phases of the moon, and growth rate of plants and animals in the sea.

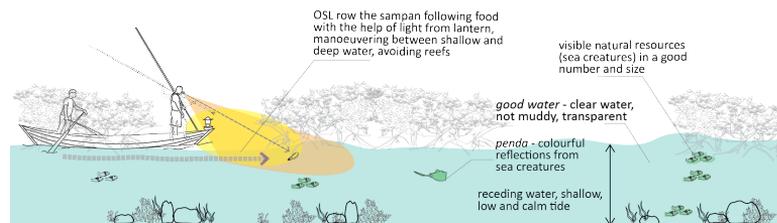
Based on their food sourcing practices, particularly hunting and gathering, they carry out their activities without a definite or regular schedule and continue to open up the possibility of adjustments. Remarks such as “if the weather permits,” “if the water recedes,” “if there are fish,” and so on become their expressions after reading the conditions of nature, indicating the temporal arrangement for their practices. They read the receding water or low tide as possibilities for food-finding, either daily or periodically waiting for the sea creatures to reach their proper age, size or number. This also shows the types of opportunities they expect and determines when the practices should be conducted. They read and respond holistically to the natural arrangement, rendering their food-sourcing practices with ecological understanding. This finding also suggests that the intensity of the interiorisation of OSL with the sea changes dynamically, depending on the frequency of food-sourcing practices.

Layer of micro signs

There are also crucial layers that can be considered micro signs in the deep interior. The micro signs of nature are generated from animals to help OSL adjust and manoeuvre during their domestic practices. They depend on their sharp perceptual acuity, such as seeing, hearing, and smelling, as well as know-how, learned from the elderly. They are alert to every cue indicating the presence of food while in movement (Ingold, 2002).

Such micro signs are learned, and particular body movements become their response to such signs. To read the micro signs, particularly from the deep, OSL attempt to acquire better perceptual acuity from a young age. OSL are known for their standing position as they row the sampan (Figure 4). The standing posture positions their eyes at a higher level, providing opportunities to acquire better visual fields to identify food and natural landscapes underwater. This suggests a dynamic reading of nature as they move along the path of observation. As they have to row their sampan against the strong current or between corals and reefs, the standing posture also gives them more strength in rowing and ease in directing the sampan than rowing by sitting.

Figure 4
Illustration of reading and responding to penda and the surrounding environment during night-time spearfishing as the water recedes (Image by authors)



Different ways of responding to natural elements are required for hunting or gathering, depending on the cues to be attended. In hunting, producing no sounds that can distract the activity is crucial. The communication between the spearman at the stern and the oar man at the sampan bow occurs quietly using hand or other body gestures. They move the sampan slowly to produce fewer waves and ripples. They learn that any sound can disturb fish or other animals because they are sensitive to any sound. Thus, they develop different kinds of oars and techniques of rowing to produce fewer rippling sounds and waves to prevent their food from escaping. The interior conditions are then constructed by visual and auditory cues, as well as the motion of the liquid body and the movement generated by the sampan. The interiorisation expands through the deep reading and responding to the sensorial cues but then can also constrict when nature does not allow it.

Meanwhile, in strand gathering, the act of reading and mainly responding is related to visual cues. As they walk across the mud land, they move along their observation path at a slower pace. Such movements as digging mud, turning and scraping rocks, cutting tree roots, and grabbing plants are required to identify sea creatures dwelling inside the mud, behind the rocks or trapped between tree roots (Figure 5). They should be ready for any situations and changes; therefore, they always keep their sampan within their reach and limit their load in the sampan so that the sampan can be easily navigated. They only go to shallow water that allows them to keep their head above water to maintain the result of food sourcing, the sampan nearby and weather conditions. Even though the body permeates the water and accesses the visible information from the deep, the interior reflects a particular stance with water to ensure its safety during the practice.

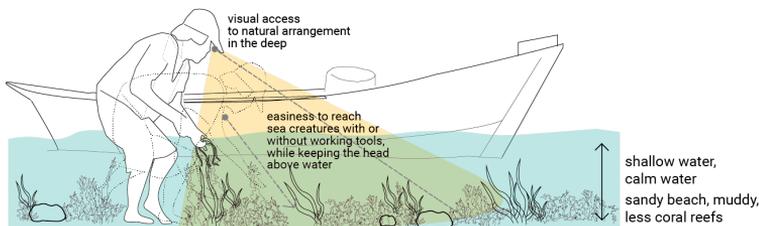


Figure 5
Illustration of reading and responding to particular shallow water and the availability of sea creatures during the day (Image by authors)

Reading and responding to nature become strategies that engage multiple sensory experiences, as mentioned by Garófalo-Khan (2018). Aside from depending on visual cues, such as dark clouds, or on olfactory cues, such as burnt smell, to forecast the weather, OSL also read other pet signs that they carry inside their sampans, such as dogs or parrots. As they hunt fish at night, it is sometimes helpful to read the *penda* or signs reflected by sea creatures to identify areas where fish are located (Figure 3). For example, bluish or greenish reflection underwater is produced by fish or cuttlefish, as worms generate a reddish reflection; the more significant the *penda*, the larger the number or size of the sea creatures. Afterwards, with the help of lanterns, they throw a spear at the fish accurately and selectively by using particular spears in enough numbers for their daily needs, thus maintaining availability for hunting and gathering creatures in the future.

Deep Interior as OSL Exploration of Nature's Multiple Layers

The idea of a deep interior suggests an interiorisation process built on ecological understanding, particularly related to the natural aspects of the sea. The deep interior signifies the importance of reading and responding to nature as a key. OSL's bodily interaction with

nature always involves reading and responding to multiple layers of information, consisting of natural conditions—geographically and temporally—and the availability of sea creatures, perceived as cues by OSL. OSL explore the multiple layers of natural elements above and below the water surface, generating the deep interior as a mechanism. The three identified layers above constitute the deep interior as spatial and temporal arrangements intertwined as a combination and not as a stand-alone layer of information.

Since the sea is their home and source of life, OSL pay attention to the multiple layers of information that occur in the sea realms and respond to them. However, the reading process cannot stand alone separately from the act of responding. Both operations always occur reciprocally. Moreover, nature cannot be read and responded to separately; both operations are always intertwined and constitute the natural arrangement perceived as opportunities by OSL. It becomes an immersive experience for the body. Such mechanisms suggest that reading and responding to nature become the basis for constructing a deep interior.

OSL know that there are certain times to hunt sea resources at their best conditions without endangering the resources. From an ecological perspective, they provide some time and space for sea creatures to regenerate. Therefore, the moving practice of following sea creatures and the use of particular tools suggest the form of responding to nature spatially and temporally, as suggested by de Certeau (1984) and O'Donnell (2015). If they cannot gather sea creatures after a while, they leave the hunting area and visit other areas the following night. Such shifting from one area to another in a particular temporal arrangement also demonstrates that a deep interior occurs through motion and movement.

A deep interior suggests complex and multi-layered situations (Paramita, 2022b). This study demonstrates the deep interior as a mechanism that allows the expansion or constriction of space based on body–nature interactions. Such natural arrangements generate an interior that is different from the one produced by fixed and static arrangements. The motion and the movement allow the interior condition to be generated horizontally and vertically, as Steinberg and Peters (2015) explained.

Shallow water, the visible surface underneath and the 'good water' become cues for such a mechanism, which is clearly shown by the trajectories during food sourcing. The physical arrangement in the water determines the kind of body–nature interaction, as indicated

by the exploration of shallow water for food sourcing. In this case, the past experience and know-how handed down for generations are particularly beneficial for the interiorisation to manoeuvre better in such dynamic arrangements.

The liquid body of the sea allows interiorisation to permeate, going through inside, experiencing the changing of spatial qualities. The interiorisation connects the condition above the water and inside the deep as a continuum that is mediated by the permeable characteristic of the sea. However, there could be a limit regarding verticality in the deep. There are also times when some stance between the body and the deep sea is maintained. In this case, bodily experience, such as visual and kinaesthetic experiences, becomes the key to determining how intense the interiorisation can proceed. Only some parts of the body can experience certain layers of nature at the same time, limiting the evaluation of nature's condition, just to ensure the body's safety as part of the empathetic gestures, as mentioned by Garófalo-Khan (2018).

The multiple layers of nature construct a deep interior, and ecological understanding becomes the basis for it. The different layers and their dynamic arrangements influence the process of the deep interior. Sometimes, when water does not permit, the perceived visual cues from the sea or weather can become unclear. Such conditions lead to further engagement and interpretation of the perceived sensory experience, as Pimlott (2016) suggested. The water and weather conditions that change seasonally, monthly, or diurnally affect the process of reading and responding to nature's existing physical arrangement and micro signs. As Treadwell (2018) also stated, having a liquid body and living entity as the context of the interior shifts our understanding of nature. The deep interior demonstrates a dynamic mechanism within nature, which expands the understanding of such animated phenomena (Brighenti & Kärrholm, 2020).

Deep Interior as Intimate Interior with Ecology

The findings of this study clearly demonstrate that the deep interior is a process of making interior conditions concerning the multiple layers of nature that convey information or stimuli for reading and responding to nature. The deep interior is explored to conceptually explain the intimate bodily engagement with the sea, emphasising the body to experience the spatial and temporal arrangement provided by the combination of the layers. In this study, the oceanic setting becomes a deep interior through the body–nature interaction, as demonstrated by OSL during food sourcing. Through the enquiry into food sourcing practices, it can be identified that reading and

responding to the natural arrangements become the bases of an interiorisation that occurs through the multiple layers of nature, above and in the water.

The food sourcing practice of OSL is rendered with two interrelated acts—reading and responding to nature—which reflect ecological understanding. As reciprocal acts, reading and responding to nature lead to appropriating the crucial elements and the opportunities provided by nature. The sea, as a liquid entity, contains a variety of information about natural elements as cues that mediate the conditions above and below the surface. Reading and responding to nature become a basis for the deep interior. It demonstrates an intimate interaction between OSL and its surrounding nature: the physical setting, natural cycle, particular signs from other living beings and their intertwining.

The exploration of deep interiors expands the current understanding of animated interiority, a dynamic process of interiorisation, by exploring the engagement of natural elements. The deep interior signifies the idea of motion and movement in interiorisation by engaging different layers of surfaces at different levels in nature. Such motion and movement imply the possibility of expanding and constricting interior conditions. It shows a different perspective of interiority in which the interior condition is very dependent on the sensorial encounters that are built upon the idea of ecology. Ecology becomes the basis for such intimate body–nature interactions.

The findings of this study also suggest important knowledge that would expand our perspective on how a liquid body can become a medium and, at the same time, a surface for interiorisation to happen. The discussion of interiority in such a context shifts the flatness of the earth's surface into a more varied interior condition that the body can experience. Moreover, such body–nature interactions are being challenged by changing natural conditions, calling for further discussion on possible reading and responding to nature. This study raises further questions on other ecological-based interior practices of indigenous communities, such as pastoral hunter-gatherers, proto farmers or traditional agriculture, which have a tight relationship with nature and different ways of inhabiting the world.

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