TIME, SPACE, AND CULTURE: A NEW *TĀ-VĀ* THEORY OF MOANA ANTHROPOLOGY

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This paper is primarily concerned with the formulation of a tā-vā theory of Moana anthropology. It does so by investigating the narrower conflicting formal and substantial relationships between Moana cultures as a form of social activity and Moana anthropology as a type of disciplinary practice in the broader complex interplay of temporality and spatiality. As a way forward, the paper calls into question the Moana phenomenon, exploring the formality, substantiality, and functionality of things within and across nature, mind and society, in the wider context of the tā-vā theory of reality. On this philosophical basis, the formulation of a tā-vā theory of Moana anthropology must be brought to bear on its formal and substantial affiliations with Moana cultures, whereby real intellectual and ethnographical unity is theoretically and practically established between them, thereby bringing the logicality of the mutually symbiotic coexistence of mind and reality into a common critical focus.

In remembrance of my good and true anthropologist, artist, and literary critic, friend, teacher, and colleague, the late Professor Epeli Hauʻofa, who has passed on from life to legend. May his soul, now in the past yet in front of us in the present, linger on, into the future behind us.

THERE SEEMS TO BE A COMMONLY HELD, ALBEIT MISTAKEN, BELIEF that things have intrinsic practical value, and there are no requirements for thinking to bring about their use for the satisfaction of human wants. There has

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been, then, a tendency in this view to be belligerent and indifferent to theory, the constant search for the independent operations of things in nature, including society and mind. This has led to the running together of the independent working of things and their application and of quality and utility. Ultimately, practice is made to precede theory, even to the point of it being dismissed as a form of unnecessary and unconnected abstraction.

Theory and Practice in Anthropology: Pacific Anthropology and Pacific Islanders

In the Moana generally, and Tonga specifically, it is thought that, contemporaneously, people walk forward into the past and walk backward into the future, where the seemingly fixed past and the elusively, yet-to-take-place future are constantly mediated in the conflicting, ever-changing present.

From Vale (Ignorance) to ʻIlo (Knowledge) to Poto (Skill), the Tongan Theory of Ako (Education): Theorizing Old Problems Anew

Introduction: Issues and Problems

This paper will examine the problematic formal and substantial relationships between time, space, and culture generally, and *tā*, *vā*, and Moana anthropology specifically. The chief aim of this exercise is to formulate an alternative tā-vā theory of Moana anthropology, informed by the newly developed tā-vā theory of reality. The primary focus of this examination will be the conflicting tendencies beneath the form and content of Moana cultures and Moana anthropology, in the context of the contradictory formal and substantial connections between time and space. Herein, the indigenous, localized name Moana is used in preference over the foreign, imposed labels Pacific and Oceania (Kaʻili 2005, 2007; Māhina 1999a, 2008b).[1] In the existing anthropological literature, much of Moana cultures are formally, substantially, and functionally subsumed in Western egocentric, evolutionistic, and rationalistic thinking and practice, undermining their intrinsic realism, historicism and aestheticism (Māhina 1999a; Māhina and Nabobo-Baba 2004).

This paper will for the same purpose, use the Moana words tā and vā in place of their English equivalents time and space (Harvey 1990, 2000a, 2000b; Kaʻili 2007; Māhina 2004c, 2008a, 2008b). Moana cultures will be explored as a social activity, on the one hand, and Moana anthropology as a disciplinary practice, on the other. Culture as a social activity is the subject matter of investigation of the discipline of anthropology. The same applies to the universal and particular social and disciplinary relationships between

Moana cultures and Moana anthropology. By extension, both culture and anthropology are spatiotemporal, historico-dialectical entities; they both take place in tā and vā. To view both culture and anthropology as historical processes beyond the single level of reality, spatiotemporality or four-sided dimensionality would be to subject them to a theological order of no causal relations (Anderson 2007; Māhina 1999a, 2004c; Helu 1999).

Time, Space and Dimensionality: Toward a General Tā-Vā Theory of Reality

By integrating Moana concepts and practices, the proposed alternative tā-vā theory of Moana anthropology is derived from our new general tā-vā theory of reality. Given both its formality and generality, it is applicable to all disciplinary practices, as it does to all forms of social activity. I have published extensively on this tā-vā theory of reality on a number of interdisciplinary topics (e.g., Māhina 1999b, 2002a, 2003b, 2004a, 2005b, 2007a, 2008b). Tēvita O. Kaʻili (2005, 2007; Māhina, Kaʻili, and Kaʻili, 2006) and Nuhisifa Seve-Williams (2009), two of the leading proponents of the theory, have been in the forefront further developing it. Kaʻili, formerly of the University of Washington, Seattle, and Seve-Williams, University of Auckland, successively applied the theory in their doctoral studies in anthropology and education. Sēmisi Fetokai Potauaine (2005), Auckland University's master's scholar in architecture, has also joined the ranks. Several other PhD scholars in Aotearoa, New Zealand; Australia; and The Netherlands have embraced the theory in their respective fields.

The newly emergent general tā-vā theory of reality has a number of tenets (e.g., Māhina 2008a, 2008b; Kaʻili 2007; also Potauaine 2005; Seve-Williams 2009), which include *inter alia*, the following: that tā and vā are ontologically the common medium of reality; that tā and vā are epistemologically arranged differently across cultures; that the relative coalition of tā and vā across cultures is conflicting; that the indivisibility of tā and vā renders reality as four dimensional; that tā and vā are the abstract dimensions of *fuo* and *uho*, form and content; that fuo and uho are the concrete dimensions of tā and vā; that tā and vā, like fuo and uho, are inseparable in mind as in reality; that fuo and uho of all things precede their social function;[2] that tā and vā, fuo and uho, of all things are the primary concerns of theory; that the four dimensions of tā and vā are indivisible in mind as in reality; that reality is divided into nature, mind, and society, with mind and society in nature; that all things stand in eternal relations of exchange, giving rise to order or conflict; that conflict and order are permanent features of reality; and that conflict and order are logically the same, with order itself a form of conflict.

Ontologically, tā and vā are as old as the so-called Global Village, Spaceship, Earth, in which we live, let alone the Universe of which we are a part. Being inherently spatiotemporal, and strictly being in time and space, is itself a historical fact universally shared by all things, physical, intellectual, and social, in a single level of reality, spatiotemporality or four-sided dimensionality. The human comprehension of quality and utility, ontology and epistemology, or theory and practice of time and space is as primordial as the history of humanity. On the epistemological level, however, tā and vā are organized in the Moana in plural, cultural, collective, holistic, and circular ways, as opposed to their arrangement in singular, techno-teleological, individualistic, analytical, and linear modes in the West.[3]

The Moana, in a circular fashion, puts both the past in front, and the future in the back, of the present, where the set past and the indefinable future are constantly negotiated (Hauʻofa 2000; Māhina and Nabobo-Baba 2004), whereas, in the West, the future, present, and past are lineally aligned, placing the future in front, with the present in the middle, followed by the past, in an evolutionary mode (Māhina 2004c, 2008b).[4] The early Moana settlers, some 3,500–4,000 years ago (Kirch and Green 2001; Māhina 1992, 1999b; cf. Hauʻofa 1993), for example, had a clear conceptual and practical understanding of tā and vā in their dealings across nature, mind, and society evident in such human notions and actions as faiva (performing arts); vaaʻihaka (dance movements); vaaʻitā (musical notes); vaaʻivaka (racing boats); vātatau (equal-status persons); tāvao (bush-clearing); tāpopao (canoe-building); tāuho (umbilical-cord-cutting); and tāsīpinga (example-setting), spatiotemporally, substantially formally demarcating their shifting physical, intellectual, and social relationships with their environment (Kaʻili 2007; also, e.g., Māhina 1992, 1999b).

As obviously demonstrated, in view of the unity of tā and vā, fuo and uho of all things, in nature, mind, and society, these spatiotemporal, substantial-formal instances are time definers of space, such as the tempo-marking of body, sound, umbilical cords, bushes, and social behavior as space-constituted entities in terms of dance movements, musical notes, birth-giving, land clearance, and leadership successively (cf., Anderson 2007; Māhina 2008a). In the aforementioned linguistic and cultural instances, there is a historical confirmation that the form, content, and function of language are spatiotemporal in essence. The vehicle of culture is language, which is, by way of form and content, made up of commonly shared use rules and human meanings for purposes of communication.[5] However, the scientific study of time and space in the West, which conservatively began with the classical Greeks through the Enlightenment to our own times, is merely a fraction of the long history of human civilizations.

All knowledge is knowledge of time and space (see, e.g., Anderson 2007; Helu 1999; Māhina 2008a, 2008b). Knowledge comes from the empiricism of people of their environment across human cultures, experientially yet methodologically acquired through trial-and-error (i.e., observation, experimentation, and verification). This confirms the historicist view that flaws in thinking are failings of mind but not of reality.[6] The institutionalization or "laboratorization" of education, in the West, is acceptable only as being technological and instrumental in knowledge production, now thought to be done methodically in contracted time and space.

In the case of Tonga, for example, there exist different forms of social activity, linking nature, mind, and society, developed in the context of both their quality and utility, where generalized and specialized forms of knowledge and skills are produced intellectually and empirically over an extended time period for both their intrinsic value and practical use.[7] However, the educational distinction over the production of knowledge based on the scientific and formal and the nonscientific and nonformal, as is the difference flanked by indigenous and scientific knowledge in terms of the institutional and instrumental and the *intellectual and cultural* between the West and the Rest is strictly flawed (Māhina 1999a, 2004c).

Although the formal, scientific, and the nonscientific, nonformal, differentiation is asserted to be somewhat misleading, it is also argued that the production of knowledge in both the West and the Rest is more intellectual, empirical, and cultural than has traditionally been viewed to be institutional, technological, and instrumental. As a case in point, the Moana-led, philosophically based realist, plural and circular conceptualization of tā and vā, as opposed to their Western-driven, ideologically informed evolutionist, singular, and linear conception, reveals the faults deeply entrenched in these highly polemical distinctions. The serious defects in both views, therefore, warrant their immediate rejection (Māhina 2004c, 2008a, 2008b).

Ironically, these defective perspectives are filtered through in existing literature on tā and vā, not to mention their confused usage across the whole disciplinary spectrum. A number of scholars emphasize tā, in comparative isolation from vā (Adam 1990; also see Mitchell 2004), while others deal with vā to the relative exclusion of tā (Halapua 2000; Leslie 2002; Lilomaiava-Doktor 2004; Morton 1996; Poltorak 2007; Refiti 2008; Tuagalu 2008; Shore 1982; Wendt 1999). Many scholars propose that tā and vā are of the same order (i.e., tā is vā and vā is tā with both expressed as vā [Feinberg 2004]). This view, as it currently stands, is as good as the total removal of tā from the equation. As a synthesis of the inherited dualism, as well as the monism, engendered in the separation and fusion of tā and vā, several scholars, in strict philosophical ways, reaffirm the historicism at the bottom of the

mutually symbiotic coexistence of tā and vā, both of which are indivisible and at times invisible in mind as in reality (Ka`ili 2005, 2007; Māhina 1999a, 2002a, 2002b, 2004b, 2008b; Seve-Williams 2009; also Trask 2000; Hau`ofa 2000).

A leading proponent of the tā-vā theory of reality, and a principal supporter of Moana anthropology, Tēvita O. Ka'ili (2007), in his doctoral thesis, makes some critical observations of the problems in the dualist, relativist, and functionalist treatment of tā and vā in the existing theoretical and ethnographical literature on the subject. He points out the problems in the idealist separation of vā from tā, as well as with those relating to the undue overemphasis on their function rather than a primary preoccupation with their form and content, only to be followed by a consideration of their use secondarily. Ka'ili makes a unique contribution to the field by treating tā and vā in aesthetic ways, something that is relatively absent in the theory and ethnography of tā and vā.[8] More important though, Ka`ili continues to actively advance the tā-vā theory by freely critiquing it. In doing so, he has revealed other important dimensions of greater practical significance. These, inter alia, include other kinds of *mālie* (harmony) as opposed to other forms of *tāmaki* (disharmony), as well as the resultant, convergent feeling of *māfana* (warmth) as opposed to that of the tragically led emotion of *ngalivale* (absurdity), in the context of the eternally dynamic but infinitely complex interplay of *maau* (order) and *felekeu* (conflict), taken to be two permanent sides of one and the same thing.

Both the general ontological and epistemological tenets of the tā-vā theory of reality, followed by the more specific tenets, reveal a number of indisputable truths relating to tā and vā as the common medium of existence, in one level of reality, spatiotemporality or four-sided dimensionality, and all things across nature, mind, and society stand in eternal relations of exchange, giving rise to order or conflict. One of the tenets says that tā and vā, like fuo and uho, of all things across nature, mind, and society are inseparable in mind as in reality. Another tenet expresses that all things across nature, mind, and society stand in eternal relations of exchange, giving rise to order or conflict.

Given the realist ideas that contradictions in thinking are crises of mind but not of reality, many, if not all, of the polemics in the existing literature on tā and vā across the whole disciplinary gamut are directly connected with either the separation of mind from reality or the failure of mind to comprehend conflicts arising from the ongoing relations of exchange of all things in nature, mind, and society (Māhina 1999a, 2008b). These intellectual problems are fertile grounds for the cultivation of problematic structuralist, functionalist, structural-functionalist, feminist, postmodernist, and poststructuralist theories, informed by relativism, evolutionism, and rationalism.[9]

What Is in a Name? A Tongan View of Moana

The realistic, classical, and aesthetic characteristics connected with the Moana, used for naming the ocean and the people inhabiting it,[10] will be critically explored in this section (Kaʻili 2007; Māhina 2007, 2008b; Halapua 2008). In Tonga, the Moana is generally classified into Moana *vavale* (incomprehensible Moana); Moana loloto (deep Moana); Moana *ta`etakele* (bottomless Moana), and Moana *ʻuliʻuli* (black Moana). These tā-vā, time-space descriptions are, on the concrete level, associated with both the fuo (form) and uho (content) of the Moana, with its uho or content is connected with the fuo (form) and uho (content) of the Moana, where its uho or content is further expressed spatially in terms of loloto/*maʻolunga* (depth/height), *loloa* (height) and *maokupu*/fālahi (breadth). This is mirrored as the traditional Tongan words for blue color as lanu moana (moana color) and lanu langi (sky color), symbolically depicting a sense of both depth and height.[11] The word blue has been Tonganised as *pulū*, now commonly used in the everyday dealings of people, with the usage of lanu moana and lanu langi appropriated in more formal contexts, as seen in both poetry and oratory.

By way of two-way voyaging, the passage separating yet connecting islands in the vast expanse of Moana is called *vaha* (seascape). The notion of vaha, like the classification of Moana, is characterized as *vaha folau* (vā of voyaging); *vaha fonoga* (vā of journeying); *vaha mamaʻo* (vā of distance); *vaha peaua* (vā of waves); *vaha faingataʻa* (vā of hardship); *vaha mohe* (vā of sleeping); and *vaha noa* (vā of loneliness). In addition, there are related concepts, such as *vahaʻa motu* (vā between islands); *vahaʻa tahi* (vā between lands); and *vahaʻa fonua* (vā between countries). Moreover, moana is often described, in formal contexts such as public speaking and preaching, as *Moana koe potu ʻoe taʻeʻiloa* (Moana a place of unknown); *Moana koe potu ʻoe mate* (Moana a place of death); and *Moana koe potu ʻoe faingataʻa* (Moana a place of hardship).

The Moana-led concept *vahaʻa* is transposed onto the *fonua* (land and its people), seen in the temporal and spatial organization of people, such as *vahaʻa kolo* (vā between villages), *vahaʻa nofo* (vā between people); vahaʻa fonua (vā between countries); *vahaʻa ʻapi* (vā between homes); and *vahaʻa tofiʻa* (vā between noble estates). Similarly, vahaʻa is, in terms of tā-vā, attributed with a sense of physicality as in *vahaʻa moʻunga* (vā between mountains); *vahaʻa luo* (vā between holes); *vahaʻa vaʻe* (vā between legs); *vahaʻa tuʻungaiku* (vā between buttocks); *vahaʻa faʻifine* (vā under armpits); *vahaʻa uma* (vā between shoulders); *vahaʻa mata* (vā between eyes); *vahaʻa telinga* (vā between the ears); *vahaʻa fale* (vā between houses); *vahaʻa loki* (vā between rooms); and *vahaʻa matapā* (vā-defining door frames).[12]

Once again, there cannot be an escape of the philosophical fact connected with the sense of oneness of tā and vā, fuo and uho, of all things, on both the abstract and concrete levels, across the physical, intellectual, and social levels, as shown by these temporal-marking, spatially constituted one level of reality, spatiotemporality or four-sided dimensionality.[13] The root word of vaha and vahaʻa is vā (space), applied as much to both physicality and mentality as it is to sociality, as seen in the social, spatiotemporal concept *tauhi vā* (e.g., Kaʻili 2005, 2007; Māhina 2002a). In social, spatiotemporal ways, tauhi vā espouses the act of keeping or mediating irreconcilable relations of exchange between human groups through a two-way, reciprocal performance of their individual *fatongia* (social obligations). Depending on the axis of the mediation process, the exchange relations can be symmetrical or asymmetrical, giving rise to *vālelei* (good relations) or *vākovi* (bad relations).

The famous ancient *punake-toutai* (poet-navigator), Ula-mo-Leka, uses vā in efficient ways as a qualitative, epiphoric and associative, metaphoric literary device called *heliaki* (Māhina 2003b, 2004a, 2005a, 2005b; cf. Crittenden 2003; Helu 1999; Kaeppler 1993), in a well-known poem, "Folau ki Niua" ("Voyage to Niua"), as follows: *ʻIsa! Ko e vā ʻo ʻUta mo Lalo* (Alas! The space between ʻUta and Lalo), *Ka puna ha manu pea tō* (If a seabird flies it falls [short of reaching]), *Ka kuo na taha ʻi hoku sino* (Yet, they are united in my person) (Māhina 1992, 1999b). The terms ʻUta and Lalo, short forms for Kauhalaʻuta and Kauhalalalo, are symbols for the kingly *Tuʻi Tonga* and *Tuʻi Kanokupolu*, considered to be *ʻeiki* (divine) and *hau* (secular), respectively. Ula-mo-Leka, a *toutai* himself, was a notable descendant of Ula and Leka, well-known navigators of Tuʻi Kanokupolu and Tuʻi Tonga. Although the religious, sociospatial connections between the two ancient dynasties are said to be strictly incompatible, Ula-mo-Leka nevertheless defied the odds by combining them in his person through his common ancestral links to *Kauhalaʻuta* and *Kauhalalalo*, Tuʻi Tonga and Tuʻi Kanokupolu.

There are forms of social activity based on both their utility and quality, developed hand in hand with the Moana. Not only are these types of human activity made to be ʻaonga (useful), they are also produced to be mālie or fakaʻofo ʻofa (beautiful). The latter qualifies many of these concepts and practices as art forms, either faiva (performance arts) or tufunga (material arts). Art (and literature) can, then, be generally defined as a sustained tā-vā, *fuo-uho* transformation of subject matters through sustained symmetry and harmony from a condition of crisis to a state of stasis (Māhina 2002a, 2004b). This state of affairs is itself beauty. Included in faiva, body-centred arts,[14] are *faiva faifolau* (art of voyaging), *faiva fānifo* (art of surfing), *faiva lova-vaka* (art of boat-racing), *faiva lovaʻaʻalo* (art of canoe-rowing), *faiva kakau* (art of swimming), *faiva kasivaki* (art of rugby-like, rock-swimming), *faiva*

ukuloloto (art of deep-diving), *faiva siu* (art of fishing), *faiva hīʻatu* (art of bonito-fishing), *faiva pakimangamanga* (art of bonito-related fishing), *faiva taumātaʻu* (art of line-fishing), *faiva makafeke* (art of octopus-luring), *faiva taumatu* (art of matu line-fishing), and *faiva noʻoʻanga* (art of shark-noosing). In the case of tufunga, non–body-centred arts, there are tufunga foˋuvaka (art of boat-building), *tufunga langauafu* (art of wharf-building), and *tufunga lalava* (art of kafa-sinnet-lashing), which is appropriated in tufunga foʻuvaka and *tufunga langafale* (art of house-building) and other material arts (Māhina 2002a, 2003b, 2005a; also Helu 1999; Kaeppler 1993).

There also exist other types of expertise directly linked to the moana phenomenon, such as those who possess expert and specialist knowledge and skills specifically known as toutaivaka (long-distanance voyagers) and *toutaiika* (deep-sea fisherman). The term toutai is an alteration of the word *tautahi*, literally meaning "warriors-of-the-sea", as in *tovave* as an adaptation of *tavave*,[15] both are variations of tā-vā, pointing to a faster yet shorter successive points in time (Kaʻili 2007). These knowledgeable and skilful specialists are collectively called *kaivai*, literally meaning "eaters-of-waters", a symbolic reference to their foremost expertise, which are *faifolau* (voyaging) and *siu* (fishing) (Māhina 1999b).

The indigenous word *kai* has two senses, the first means eat, and the second the profession a person is best at. This is evident in such popular sayings as *Fielau, he ko ʻene kai* (Not surprisingly, it's one's foremost skill), or poetic lines, for example, *Haʻapai, tuʻu hoʻo kaimuʻa* (Haʻapai people, stand on your prime line of work). In the second sense, then, the word *vai* (water), as in kaivai, stands for the *tahi* (sea), the space for voyagers and fishermen to temporally perform what they know and do best. The so-called Lapita social organization of production is said to have begun with *kaimoana* (marine-based economy), followed by *kaifonua* (land-based economy) (Māhina 1992, 1999b; cf. Helu 1999; Kirch and Green 2001). In the course of events, the social organization of production later became a dual kaimoana, kaifonua mode of economy. The terms kaimoana and kaifonua espouse both senses of kai.

The words *ʻuli* (black) and *vale* (ignorance) are shortened for vavale (vā-gone astray; incomprehensible space) and ʻuliʻuli (black), where ʻuli symbolizes mate (death) and vale a metaphor for *fakapoʻuli* (ignorance). In one sense, both ʻuli and vale are a form of incomprehensibility (Māhina 2008b). Also, the term fakapoˋuli means the physical state of darkness, as opposed to maama, the physical condition of light. The natural conditions fakapoʻuli (darkness) and *maama* (light) are used as symbols for the mental states of ignorance and enlightenment successively. In this same context, ʻuli and *mate* are used as metaphors for women, in contrast to symbols *kula* (red) and *moʻui* (life) for men (Māhina, Kaʻili, and Kaʻili 2006).[16]

Commonly, men fish in the sea or cultivate crops in the land during the day, where they are burned by the sun. When asked about what they did, the answer would often be, they were kula, sunburnt, in the sea or in the gardens. In fact, the words *tea* and *hina*, both contractions of *tētea* and *hine-hina*, meaning white, as in the case of *ʻaotealoa* (long-white-clouds) and *ʻuluhinā* (white-hair) are, like the term maama, variations of kula. The sense of enlightenment affiliated with Maori proverbial saying, *He kura te tangata, he kura te whanau* (An educated people, an educated generation) points in this direction. In fact, the Maori word for school is *kura*, the place where the human intellect is dialectically transformed from vale (ignorance) to ʻilo (knowledge) to *poto* (skill), defining both quality and utility of education both as an intellectual process and a form of social organization (Māhina 2008b; Māhina, Māhina, and Māhina 2007).

The richness inherent in the notions vavale, loloto, ta`etakele and `uli`uli is allegorized by both the breadth and depth associated with the Moana. This is mirrored in both formal and semiformal contexts. In a Tongan hymn, there exists a poetical allusion to the love of God equating it with the deep sea: *ʻEiki, koe ʻofa ʻaʻau koe moana loloto* (Lord, thine love is like a deep ocean), *Pea ngalo hifo kiai `eku ngaahi angahia*, (Therein, immersed all my wrongdoings). Given many of the mysteries in the bible, requiring robust decoding, it is commonly referred to as a Moana loloto (deep sea); thus, as the love of God considered to be *ʻofa tautakele* (bottomless love), which is thought to run parallel to the bottomless moana. Tongans often boast about telling esoteric stories, likened to both breadth and depth of the moana. In cases where people fail to comprehend these riddle-laden tales, they are said to be metaphorically drowned, as if actually going under the depth of the great moana.

Time, Space, and Culture: Toward a General Tā-Vā Theory of Moana Anthropology

By critically examining culture in terms of the interplay of temporality and spatiality, as well as Moana cultures at the interface of tā and vā, a philosophical basis is provided for the formulation of an optional tā-vā theory of Moana anthropology. Culture, like history, is a human phenomenon. Culture and history, like culture and language, as well as politics and economics, are inseparable spatiotemporal entities. As human phenomena, culture and history are formally and substantially differentiated by their varying rates of change.

Translating[17] one culture into another, like translating a language to the other, involves the mediation of spatiotemporal, substantial–formal conflicts between them but not in the imposition of one over the other. To freely mediate between two cultures and languages, is to simply see them on their own

terms by independently considering their complementary and opposed relations of exchange. To forcibly impose one culture and language over another is to merely see the imposed culture and language in terms of the imposing culture and language, where the former is displaced by the latter (Hau'ofa 1983, 1993; Manu'atu 2000; Helu-Thaman 2005). Consequently, we witness the emergence of highly problematic theories as postmodernism, poststructuralism, feminism, and structural–functionalism of the rationalistic, relativistic, and evolutionistic sorts, disfiguring rather than freely presenting the true nature of Moana cultures (Hau'ofa 1975, 2005; Māhina 1999a, 2008b).

As such, this new line of theorizing looks at the disciplinary practice of doing Moana anthropology vis-a-vis Moana cultures being drastically transformed from imposition to mediation, a radical theoretical and practical movement from a condition of domination to a state of liberation (Hau'ofa 1993; Māhina 2008b). In critically exploring Moana cultures from a tā-vā theory of reality, focusing on their shifting formal and substantial relationships, the reality, objectivity and beauty underlying them are theoretically and practically revealed. The use of the Moana as a tā-vā theory of Moana anthropology, in respect of the counterpoising social, cultural and theoretical, intellectual relationships between them, is based on the realism, objectivism, and aestheticism internally embedded in Moana cultures.

Evidently, the peoples of the Moana conveniently approached the Moana on a physical, intellectual and social level. Herein, the Moana was both conceptually and empirically conceptualized as a rich origin of life and an effective means of communication as it was a lively source of death and a definitive medium of miscommunication. Not only was the Moana a place of creation, it was also a space of destruction. As firmly established, the infinitely complex Moana phenomenon was one of incomprehensibility, immensity, and unpredictability, all of which constantly posed challenges to the Moana dwellers and travelers. In response, the Moana inhabitants, by being equal to the task, developed a modus operandi of living dangerously, perilously—a way of life marked by exceptional audacity, dexterity, and ingenuity (e.g., Hau'ofa 1993, 2000; Māhina 1992; Māhina et al. 2007).

The debates on Pacific (Moana) anthropology, inter alia, include the interplay of anthropology "in" and anthropology "of" the Pacific (Moana), in view of the conflicting formal–substantial, ontological–epistemological relationships between anthropologist, anthropology and culture. Local Tongan literary anthropologist Epeli Hau'ofa (1975) raises the problem of how Pacific (Moana) anthropologists distorted the realities of Pacific (Moana) cultures they studied, driven by subjectivist, evolutionist and idealist views. In response, foreign political anthropologist Ron Crocombe (1975) dismisses the unrealistic, problematic sense of absoluteness beneath the insider–outsider

distinction, arguing against its immutability and rigidity in favor of its volatility and fluidity. However, local Tongan historical and artistic anthropologist ʻOkusitino Māhina (1999) synthesizes the issue by arguing that, in respect of the existence of both universals and particulars in all cultures, the matter of the insider–outsider belongs in the realm of politics, much more so than in the domain of the intellect (Māhina 1992, 2004).

The late Epeli Hauʻofa, who was a gentleman-like man-of-the-people and true academic and artist continues the struggle with greater commitment, refinement, and enlightenment, which popularly peaked in the formation and perfection of his intellectually and politically stimulating and exciting Oceania Project. In his famous essay, "Our Sea of Islands" (1993), Hauʻofa, founding director of the Oceania Centre for Arts and Culture, University of the South Pacific, Fiji, argues a convincing case that, for the peoples of Moana to truly liberate themselves from the bondage of perpetual, eternal dependency on Western economic, educational and political thought and practice, they must radically transform their ways of thinking and doing things.

The proposed revolutionary ways in which the Moana people think and do things requires an assertion of the best and permanence that can be found in Moana cultures, beginning with a shift from thinking about Moana as "islands in the far seas" to viewing it as "our sea of islands" (i.e., from idealism to realism, from thinking small to thinking big and from domination to liberation). By extension, his two much-celebrated fictions, *Tales of the Tikongs* (Hauʻofa 1983) and *Kisses in the Nederends* (Hauʻofa 1995), provide an excellent and enlightened reflection on the egocentrism, evolutionism, and evolutionism underlying Western economic development, which is deeply entrenched in the already colonized but unexamined minds of the Moana peoples. The effective use of *faiva fakaoli* (satire, humor, comedy)[18] as a highly refined Tongan performance art in the working-out of his subject matters under literary scrutiny, by way of form, content and use, reveals the ngalivale (absurdity), as opposed to the *ngalipoto* (normality), at the bottom of Moana life.

Generally speaking, education of Moana peoples in the Moana and abroad is established to have consistently been lower than average by the world standard. One of the causes is connected with the fact that much of the Moana curricular are Western-constituted in form, content, and function (Māhina 2008b), and the medium of teaching and learning has been carried out in foreign languages, notably English (Manu`atu 2000; Prescott 2008). In response, Moana scholars have begun challenging the situation, proposing that Moana cultures and languages be "freely" integrated in Moana educational systems, as well as Moana academic thinking and practice. Among others, Konai Helu-Thaman (2005) and Sitaleki Finau (Finau and Finau 2006), by respectively promoting the idea in the fields of education and health,

call it cultural democracy.[19] As part of this liberating project, a handful of Moana scholars have begun the incorporation of the Moana phenomenon in the disciplines of anthropology (Māhina 1999b; Kaʻili 2005, 2007), education (Māhina 2007, 2008b, 2008c), and theology (Halapua 2008).

As a consequence of this Moana cultural and linguistic renaissance, mainly in the fields of anthropology, education, health, development studies, and theology, as well as revivalism of Moana cultures and languages in policy-making processes, developmental concepts and practices and peace negotiations, we have witnessed the increasing infestation of so-called Moana models (Māhina 2008b). Apart from the problems encountered by Moana revivalism, it is still a welcome idea. Model has been used loosely, interchangeably with methodology, epistemology, pedagogy, hypothesis, framework, and paradigm.

Besides the tā-vā theory of reality, there has been a greater influx of models such as *fonofale* and *fonua* in health, *kakala* and mālie-māfana in education, coconut and moana in theology, and talanoa in peace settlements (Helu-Thaman 2005; Manu`atu 2000). Soft sciences, unlike hard sciences, as in the case of mathematical, architectural, and engineering studies, are largely foreign to modeling. In fact, methodology, epistemology and pedagogy, like hypothesis, framework, and paradigm, are merely pointers to reality[20] (Anderson 1962; Helu 1999; Māhina 1999a). Therein, the formal–substantial, qualitative–quantitative and communicative connections of fonofale and fonua with health or kakala and mālie-māfana with education or coconut and moana with theology are spelled out articulately. Failing to do so, would be to problematically generate all types of dualisms in the process.

The trouble with much, if not all, of Moana modeling is that, they are largely confined to dealing with models, often in relative remoteness from the reality to which they point. That is, that modeling accounts for the pointers themselves on their own terms, leaving the pointed largely unaccounted for. There is, then, a dualistic disconnection of mind from reality. Although we may know more about the model, we remain ignorant of both modeling and the modeled on a bigger scale. Critically, the focus of modeling, like theorizing and hypothesizing, is to constantly wrestle with the conflicting spatiotemporal, substantial–formal connections between the model and the modeled. Neither does modeling, nor theorizing nor hypothesising, precede over and above reality, nor does it exist outside the confines of human experience. There is, in fact, nothing strange or awkward about modeling, theorizing or hypothesizing, the formal and substantial conflicts of which are none other than the uncertainties, fears, and doubts in human thinking about reality, now the focus of ongoing critical thinking (i.e., thinking in intensified rhythm [Māhina 1999a, 1999b, 2004b, 2008b]).

In Tonga, there exists a modeling-type notion popularly known as *heliaki*,[21] an artistic and literary device concerning the exchange of related qualitative

and quantitative links between objects, events, or states of affairs in poetry (Māhina 2003b, 2004a; cf. Crittenden 2003; Helu 1999; Kaeppler 1993). For example, laʻā (sun) for tuʻi (monarch) and City of Sails for Auckland, where the heat of the sun, for example, is seen to run parallel to a monarch's power, and Auckland, by association, symbolized as the City of Sails. In short, heliaki involves symbolically saying one thing but really meaning another, as in uttering City of Sails yet pointing to Auckland (Māhina 1999a, 2005a, 2005b; also Helu 1999). On this philosophical basis, the tā-vā theory of Moana anthropology, a derivative of the tā-vā theory of reality, is developed. The characteristics of the Moana as unintelligible, mammoth, and multifarious, posing both destructive and creative tendencies are equally matched with daring, vigilant, and resourceful human qualities. Likewise, the tā-vā theory of anthropology is formulated in respect of reality as infinitely complex, where the Moana anthropologist is thought to live freely, fearlessly at the conflicting interface, across nature, mind, and society, in which true knowledge is, with innocence of mind, produced with a sense of originality, creativity, and beauty (Hauʻofa 2005; Māhina 1999a).

The brand of Pacific (Moana) anthropology has been in existence for many decades, either as anthropology in or anthropology of the Pacific (Moana). Although Moana cultures were largely originated in the Moana, their diverse and constant movement across boundaries, localities, and identities before, during, and after its initial peopling warrants the disciplinary practice of doing Moana anthropology to be done both inside and outside of the Moana, conducted by either foreign or local anthropologists (Crocombe 1975; Hauʻofa 1975; Māhina 1999a).

As far as the production of knowledge goes, in the context of changing formal and substantial relations of exchange between the knower, knowledge, and the known generally or Moana anthropologist, Moana anthropology and Moana cultures specifically, the epistemological questions are considered secondary to the ontological questions (Anderson 2007; Māhina 1999a, 2004c). Given the realist assertion that errors in thinking are problems of mind but not of reality, as is the flexibility and mutability across all human cultures, the shortcomings reconciled in the thinking of the foreign anthropologist about culture under study are made possible, in the same way that the local anthropologist is able to mediate one's own failings by way of knowing one's own culture.

Conclusion: Problems and Implications

The chief concerns of this paper are the raising of problems rather than the presentation of solutions. It is through the raising of actual problems that

real solutions are to be found. This paper, then, sets out to investigate the conflicting formal and substantial relationships between time, space, and culture, on the general level, and those between tā, vā ,and Moana cultures, on the specific level. A further reflection on the spatiotemporal basis for the formulation of an alternative tā-vā theory of Moana anthropology, deriving from the newly developed tā-vā theory of reality, in both general and specific contexts, is made.

As such, the paper examines the tensional disciplinary and social connections between Moana anthropology and its subject matter of investigation, Moana cultures. Accordingly, the formulation of a novel tā-vā theory of Moana anthropology seeks to explore the form and content of Moana cultures, examining them on their own terms rather than in terms of their projection beyond themselves to some outside purpose. By dealing with Moana cultures, Moana anthropology will be in constant check with tā and vā, thereby avoiding idealist separation between them and its failure to grasp the actual formal and substantial conflicts in their affiliations.

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Mālō 'aupito.
Hufanga-Vaivaipetoa.

NOTES

1. The name Moana is associated with both *loloto* (depth) and *fālahi* (breadth), mirrored on all levels of changing physical, intellectual, and social relationships between people and their environment, as opposed to the imposing yet misleading labels Pacific and Oceania. The word Pacifican, for lack of a better word, is now used to mean a Pacific person.

2. There are times and spaces when the form, content, and function of things are considered together and other times and spaces their function only is dealt with, thereby fusing and confusing the role of science in the process, which primarily focuses on form and content, only to be followed by a separate consideration of function.

3. The evolutionary-driven techno-teleological Western treatment of time and space is highly suspect, as in the Stone Age, Bronze Age, and the Age of IT, in that it systematically excludes the other equally important variables such as the intellectual, cultural, and social variables from the equation. By using technology alone, the Rest are placed behind the West in their evolutionary scale. However, by adopting a realistic approach, based on the totality of human culture, rather than a partiality of it, tells us that all human cultures are, on their own terms, simply different and not in terms of treating some cultures as higher or lower than others (e.g., Huntington 2004).

4. With sensibility and cleverness, the plural, cultural, collective, holistic, and circular manner in which the Moana arranges the past, present, and future confirms the classicist view that, because the past has stood the test of time and space, it must be used as a guidance for people in the present; and given that the future is yet-to-happen, it must always be brought to bear on the refined past experience of people. Thus, the past and the future are always mediated in the conflicting, ever-changing present. By extension, the ancestral soul is very much alive, in front of people in the present.

5. The medium of language, like poetry and music, is sound and its content is human meanings. Poetry can be defined as a special language within a language, spoken and understood by a select few, orators, poets, traditionalists and critics. Music, unlike language and poetry, is devoid of human meanings.

6. As far as epistemology and ontology go, neither are we concerned with how we see what we see, nor with why we see what we see, nor with when we see what we see, nor with where we see what we see; rather the real issue is with what we really see. In that respect, the epistemological questions are secondary to the ontological questions, with knowledge application succeeding knowledge production.

7. Therefore, the basic difference between indigenous and scientific knowledge is both their respective rates of tā, time, and lengths of vā, space, taken for the production of knowledge, where science is contracted tā-vā, time-space and indigenous knowledge extended tā-vā, time-space. The production of knowledge is done by people in an intellectual context in relation to nature, as both a social activity and a disciplinary practice. The institutionalization of knowledge production or, for that matter, "laboratorization" of it, is merely a device for the contraction of tā and vā, time and space.

8. As indicated by the title, as well as the form and content, of his doctoral thesis (2007), Kaʻili articulates the historical fact of combining of both the utility and quality of things in all the Moana ways of thinking and doing things. Accordingly, not only things are made to be *ʻaonga* (useful), but they are also produced to be beautiful (*fakaʻofoʻofa*). In Tonga, leadership is considered to be an art, *tufunga fonua*, the material art of social engineering. *Loʻau* is Tonga's first and foremost tufunga fonua.

9. As far as these problematic theories are concerned, either the concept is separated from reality or things are relegated to a higher or lower order of being beyond the single level of reality or the function of things is elevated over and above their form and content. These are all instances of privileging the epistemological over the ontological, giving way to all sorts of subjectivist, relativist, and rationalist thoughts and practices.

10. The preference of Moana over Pacific and Oceania raises similar questions relating to the problematized, foreign-imposed divisions of Moana into Melanesia, Polynesia, and Micronesia. The enforced naming of the ancestors of Polynesians as *Lapita* by Pacific archaeologists and linguists with a sense of arrogance and insensitivity and no respect to established Moana oral history falls under the same enigmatic category. In fact, in the existing oral historical traditions, the Moana ("Polynesian") people in the west were called *Pulotu*, and those in the east *Havaiki*. Thus, both Pulotu and Havaiki are names for peoples and places.

11. I suspect that the choice of the blue color for Tupou and Queen Sālote Colleges by Tupou I and Dr. Egan Moulton was thought out along the same characteristic lines, suggesting both depth and height in the pursuit of excellence in the educational endeavors of their students.

12. For example, see Kaʻili (2007) for a comprehensive and detailed list with root words tā and vā. This list demonstrates the historical fact of the indivisibility of tā and vā, fuo and uho, of all things across nature, mind, and society, in the Tongan way of thinking and doing.

13. It must be pointed out that, given the philosophical notion that mind and society both belong in nature, tā and vā, time and space, are, therefore, ontologically constituted in nature, as in the form and content of things, whereas they are epistemologically applied in their use in both the mental and social realms, for example, *vavanga* as a form of thinking and tāsīpinga as a type of human action.

14. In Tonga, art, as revealed in our common inquiries into tā and vā, time and space theory of reality, can be generally divided into faiva, tufunga, and *fakameaʻa*, performance, material, and fine arts, where faiva is found to be *tefito-he-sino* (body-centred), and tufunga as *tefito-he-tuʻasino* (non–body centred)) (e.g., Māhina 2005a, 2005b, 2007a; Māhina and Māhina-Tuai 2007; Māhina, Kaʻili, and Kaʻili 2006). In the context of the tā-vā theory of reality, a tā-vā theory of art and literature can be developed (see, e.g., Māhina 2002a, 2004b).

15. Like *tō* as a variation of tā, as in *fakatovave* as an alteration of *fakatavave*, meaning doing things in a hurry, fuo is also used as a concrete variation of tā, the abstract form of uho, as in *fuoloa*, long-past. The same applies to words *fai* and *fei*, as in *faitunu*, the act of cooking, now changed to *feitunu*.

16. In our joint inquiries into tā-vā, taken as energy-like, matter-constituted categories, we are able to establish that, among others, tā is variously manifest as fuo (form), kula (red), moʻui (life), *ʻaho* (day), *laʻā* (sun), and *tangata* (male), and, amid others, vā is differently expressed as uho (content), ʻuli (black), mate (death), *poʻuli* (night), *māhina* (moon) and fefine (female) (see, e.g., Māhina, Kaʻili, and Kaʻili 2006). As ontological entities, tā and vā are, in epistemological terms, reflected in all forms of human activity, linking nature, mind and society, as in the use of kula and ʻuli colors symbolizing male and female in Moana material arts. A leading proponent of our tā and vā theory of reality, Sēmisi F. Potauaine (2005), in his master's architecture thesis, is pushing the boundaries of kula and ʻuli, in relation to the disciplines of physics and aesthetics. Therein, Potauaine, with the support of our internationally renowned artist friend, Filipe Tohi, investigates the so-called black-hole phenomenon, in the context of the interplay of kula and ʻuli.

17. Like the tā and vā theory of art, a tā-vā theory of translation is under development, both of which are derived from the general tā-vā theory of reality. Epistemologically speaking, all languages, like all cultures, are spatiotemporally, substantially formally and functionally different. By translating one language to another, like translating one culture to the other, is primarily concerned with the mediation rather than imposition of irreconcilable spatiotemporal, formal–substantial and functional relationships between languages and cultures. The lesser the conflicts, the better it is as a translation. Conversely, the more the conflicts, the worst off it is as a translation. There is no perfect translation, only approximate translation.

18. As a performance art, faiva fakaoli deals with spatiotemporal, substantial–formal, and functional conflicts in human thinking at the interface of ngalivale (absurdity) and ngalipoto (normality), with *kata* (laughter) as its outcome. Likewise, the performance art *faiva fakamamahi* handles contradictions in time-space, form–content, and function within and across human meanings at the intersection of *angaʻimanu* (animality) and *angaʻitangata* (sociality), resulting in *fakamā* (shame) (see, e.g., Māhina 2008b; cf. Piddington 1963).

19. As obviously shown time and again, the conception of such practices as kaivai, toutai, faiva, tufunga, *kakala*, mālie, māfana, fonua, and *talanoa* across the whole human spectrum, like the conceptualization of *ako* (education), is informed by a strict sense of realism, classicism, and aestheticism. This is much more so than when they are, from time to time, presented in scholarship, often driven ideologically by a sense of idealism, evolutionism, and rationalism. In realist, classical and aesthetic ways, ako is theorized as a dialectically circular transformation of the human intellect from vale (ignorance) to ʻilo (knowledge), and poto (skill). Herein, knowledge production and knowledge application are combined, with the former taking the lead over the latter.

20. Methodology, epistemology, and pedagogy, like hypothesis, framework, and paradigm, share a lot in common with mythology, poetry, and oratory (see, e.g., Māhina 1993, 1999c, 2003a, 2004a; Māhina and ʻAlatini 2007). Classified under formal language, mythology, poetry, and oratory are metaphorical representations of reality, be they objects, events, or states of affairs, across nature, mind, and society. Symbols, in the context of *heliaki*, are simply pointers to actual things in reality, such as *matangi* (winds) for *pōpula* (oppression) in mythology, *kakala* (sweet-scent flowers) for *ʻofaʻanga* (lover) in poetry and *langimaʻa* (clear sky) for *fiefia* (happiness) in oratory.

21. By means of the tā and vā theory of reality, new grounds have been broken into with respect to heliaki, which can now be classified into two types. The first is called the quali-

tative, epiphoric heliaki, involving the exchange of qualities of two closely related objects, events or states of affairs and the second the associative, metaphoric heliaki, concerning the exchange of historically and culturally connected things.

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GLOSSARY OF TONGAN AND OTHER TERMS

'aho—day
ako—education
anga'imanu—animality
anga'itangata—sociality
'aonga—use; function

ʻaotealoa—long-white-clouds
ʻeiki—chief; chiefly; divine
fai—to do (something)
faifolau—voyaging
faiva—performance art; performance artist
faiva faifolau—voyaging, art of
faiva fakamamahi—tragedy, art of
faiva fakaoli—comedy, art of
faiva fānifo—surfing, art of
faiva hīʻatu—bonito-fishing, art of
faiva kakau—swimming, art of
faiva kasivaki—rock rugby playing
faiva lovaʻaʻalo—canoe-rowing, art of
faiva lovavaka—boat-racing, art of
faiva makafeke—octopus-luring, art of
faiva noʻoʻanga—shark-noosing, art of
faiva pakimangamanga—bonito-related fishing, art of
faiva siu—fishing, art of
faiva taumataʻu—line-fishing, art of
faiva taumatu—matu-line-fishing, art of
faiva ukuloloto—deep-diving, art of
fakamā—shame
fakamea-ʻa—fine arts
fakaʻofoʻofa—new word beauty
fakapoʻuli—darkness; ignorance
fakatavave—hurry
fakatovave—hurry; corruption of fakatavave
fālahi—breadth
fatongia—social obligations
fefine—woman; female
fei—to do (something); corruption of fai
feitunu—cooking, act of
felekeu—conflict
fiefia—happiness
fonua—land and its people; placenta; burial place
fuo—form; symbolic of men
fuoloa—long past
fuo-uho—form-content; concrete forms of ta-va
Haʻapai—place name
hau—secular ruler
Havaiki—name of people and place; east "Polynesia"

hina—white; variation of red
hinehina—white
ʻilo—knowledge
kai—eat; one's foremost expertise
kaifonua—land-based economy
kaimoana—marine-based economy
kaivai—long-distance navigator; deep-sea fisherman
kakala—sweet-scent flowers
kata—laughter
Kauhalalalo—symbolic name for Tuʻi Kanokupolu; Lalo for short
Kauhalaʻuta—symbolic name for Tuʻi Tonga; ʻUta for short
kovi—bad
kula—red; sun-burnt; symbol for men
kura—Maori for red; sun-burnt
laʻā—sun
langimaʻa—clear-sky
lanu moana—Moana color
loloa—height
loloto—deep Moana
maama—light; variation of red
maau—order
māfana—warmth
māhina—moon
mālie—old word for beauty; synchrony
maokupu—breadth
maʻolunge—depth/height
mātangi—wind
mate—die
melie—sweet; variation of mālie
Moana—place name; name of people
Moana loloto—deep Moana
Moana taʻetakele—bottomless Moana
Moana ʻuliʻuli—black Moana
Moana vavale—incomprehensible Moana
moʻui—life
ngalipoto—normality
ngalivale—absurdity
ʻofa—love
ʻofaʻanga—lover
ʻofa tautakele—bottomless love
popula—oppression

poto—skill
poʻuli—night
Pulotu—name of people and place; west "Polynesia"
punake-toutai—poet-navigator
siu—fishing
tā—time; beat; rhythm; pace; rate; symbolic of men
taʻetakele—without-a-bottom; bottomless
tahi—sea
tālanga—debate
talanoa—critical-yet-harmonious talking; story; tale
tāmaki—disharmony
tangata—man; male; human
tāpopao—canoe-building
tāsīpinga—example-setting
tauhi vā—space keeping
tāuho—umbilical-cord-cutting
tautai—old word for navigator or fisherman
tautakele—bottomless
tauthi—warriors-of-the-sea
tā-vā—time-space; abstract form of fuo-uho
tāvao—bush-clearing
tea—white; variation of red
tefito-he-sino—body-centered
tefito-he-tu-asino—non–body centered
tētea—white
tō—time; corruption of tā
toutai—same for tautai
toutaiika—deep-sea fisherman
toutaivaka—long-distant navigator
tufunga—material art; material artist
tufunga foʻuvaka—boat-building, art of
tufunga langafale—house-building, art of
tufunga langauafu—wharf-building, art of
tufunga lava—kafa-sinnet-lashing, art of
tuʻi—king; monarch
Tuʻi Kanokupolu—name of kingly line
Tuʻi Tonga—name of most ancient kingly line
uho—content; symbolic of women
ʻuli—black; symbolic of women
ʻuliʻuli—variation of ʻuli
ʻuluhinā—white-hair

vā—space; symbol for women
vaaʻihaka—vā between dance movements
vaaʻitā—vā between musical notes
vaaʻivaka—vā between racing boats
vaʻe—foot
vaha—vā of sea
vahaʻa—vā in-between
vahaʻa ʻapi—vā between homes
vahaʻa faʻifine—vā under armpits
vahaʻa fale—vā between houses
vahaʻa fonua—vā countries
vahaʻa kolo—vā between villages
vahaʻa loki—vā between rooms
vahaʻa luo—vā between holes
vahaʻa mata—vā between eyes
vahaʻa matapā—vā between doors
vahaʻa motu—vā between islands
vahaʻa moʻunga—vā between mountains
vahaʻa nofo—vā between peoples
vahaʻa tahi—vā between islands
vahaʻa telinga—vā between the ears
vahaʻa tofiʻa—vā between noble estates
vahaʻa tuʻungaiku—vā between buttocks
vahaʻa uma—vā between shoulders
vahaʻa vaʻe—vā between legs
vaha faingataʻa—vā of hardship
vaha folau—vā of voyaging
vaha fononga—vā of journeying
vaha mamaʻo—vā of distance
vaha mohe—vā of sleeping
vaha noa—vā of melancholy
vaha peaua—vā of waves
vai—water
vaka—boat
vākovi—bad social vā
vale—ignorance
vālelei—good social vā
vātatau—equal status persons
vavale—vā-gone astray; incomprehensible vā
vavanga—critical thinking
whanau—Maori for children

Maori Proverb

1. He kura te tangata, he kura te whanau
   [Kula ʻa tangata, kula ʻa fānau][Tongan translation]
   [An educated people, an educated generation]

Tongan Proverbs

1. Moana koe potu ʻoe taʻeʻiloa
   [Moana a place of unknown]
2. Moana koe potu ʻoe mate
   [Moana a place of death]
3. Moana koe potu ʻoe faingataʻa
   [Moana a place of hardship]
4. Fielau, he ko ʻene kai
   [Not surprisingly, it's one's foremost skill]
5. Haʻapai, tuʻu hoʻo kai muʻa
   [Haʻapai people, stand on your prime line of work]

Tongan Hymn Extracts

1. 1. ʻEiki, koe ʻofa ʻa ʻau koe moana loloto
   [Lord, thine love is like a deep ocean]
2. Pea ngalo hifo kiai ʻeku ngaahi angahia[Therein, immersed my wrongdoings]

Tongan Poem Extracts

"Folau ki Niua" ["Voyage to Niua"]
Fatu ʻe Ula-mo-Leka, Punake-Toutai
[Composed by Ula-mo-Leka, Poet-Navigator]
1. ʻIsa! Koe vā ʻo ʻUta mo Lalo
   [Alas! The sea space between ʻUta and Lalo]
2. Ka puna ha manu pea tō
   [If a seabird flies it falls (short of reaching)]
3. Ka, kuo na taha `i hoku sino
   [Yet, they're united in my person]