

## TATAU: SYMMETRY AS CONFLICT MEDIATION OF LINE-SPACE INTERSECTION

Sēmisi F. Potatauine

*University of Auckland, Auckland University of Technology and  
Vavaʻu Academy for Critical Inquiry and Applied Research*

From a Tongan context, *tatau* (symmetry) also means mirror image, image, copy, likeness, same, and equal, among other things. My theoretical inquiry into *tatau* revolves around the *tā-vā* (time-space) theory of reality, which basically recognizes the philosophical fact that all things in reality stand in eternal relations of exchange, giving rise to order or conflict. By extension, the theory also takes into account the historical fact that because of these never-ending exchange connections, order and conflict are of the same logical order in that order is a form of conflict.

FOR THINGS TO EXIST, they must do so in time and space, and they are therefore spatiotemporal. These everlasting relations of exchange between all things across nature, mind, and society are expressed in terms of *tā* (time) and *vā* (space) as a common medium of existence on the abstract level and by way of their *fuo* (form) and *uho* (content) on the concrete level. Furthermore, such unending exchange relations between things, events, or states of affairs exist by means of intersection, where spatiotemporal, substantial-formal, and functional conflicts, on both the abstract and concrete levels, are symmetrically reconciled by means of *tatau*, thereby transforming them to order. This state of *noa* (zero point), i.e., order, is a counterbalance of equal and opposite forces.

The use of *tatau* as a means of mediation of conflicts at the crossing point of things applies as much to the colliding objects in nature as it does to the

opposing ideas in mind and competing demands in society. In abstract ways, these contradictory tendencies are expressed at the shifting interface of *kohi* (line) and *vā*, such as the mediation of *vaa 'i haka* (intersecting bodily movements in dance), *vaa 'itā* (interlacing tones in music), and *vaa 'i 'uhinga* (conflicting human meanings in poetry) on the concrete level. By dealing with the intersection of *kohi* and *vā*, where the mediation of contradictions are done by means of tatau, my paper will share a common focus with the paper of *Hūfanga* 'Okusitino Māhina on the traditional Tongan thinking and practice *takohi* (drawing).

Given the eternity of relations of exchange between all things within and across nature, mind, and society, it can be concluded that intersection is fundamental to all things in reality. By the same token, conflict and order are permanent dimensions of reality. Art as a form of social activity is no exception. This is evident in *tufunga* (material), *faiva* (performance), and *nimamea 'a* (fine arts), where conflicts are mediated by means of tatau to produce both *potupotutatau* (harmony) and *faka 'ofa 'ofa* (beauty). By way of demonstration, I will critically examine specific instances of tatau, such as tatau (wringing), *tautau* (hanging), *fakatatau* (role modeling), and tatau (saying goodbye), all of which are connected with the mediation of conflicting tendencies.

Tongan art is divided into *faiva* (performance), *tufunga* (material), and *nimamea 'a* (fine arts). Material arts have many examples, which include *tufunga langafale* (architecture or house building). Performance arts are *sino* (body centered), and material and fine arts are *tu 'asino-* (non–body centered) (Māhina, Ka'ili, and Ka'ili 2006). A further classification is made between body-centered performance arts and non–body-centered material and fine arts. There are also qualities internal or intrinsic and external or extrinsic to all three arts. The qualities internal to, or inside, all arts are called *tatau* (symmetry), *potupotutatau* (harmony), and *mālie* or *faka 'ofa 'ofa* (excitement) (Ka'ili 2007; Māhina 2008a; cf. Helu 1999; Kaeppler 1993; Moyle 1987, 1991). In addition, the qualities external to, and outside, all of them are called *māfana* (warmth), *vela* (burning), and *tauelangi* (excitement). In this essay, emphasis will be put on the internal qualities of arts, paying attention to architecture, known in Tonga as the material art of *tufunga langafale*, in the wider context of the *tā-vā* (time-space) theory of art (Harvey 1990; Māhina 2004a; Potauaine and Māhina 2011; cf. Ka'ili 2007; Williams 2009). Specifically, attention will be paid to the Tongan thinking and practice of tatau, considered an artistic device of conflict mediation created by *takohi* as line–space<sup>1</sup> intersection.<sup>2</sup> In this respect, this essay is linked in formal, substantial, and functional terms to the essay by *Hūfanga* 'Okusitino Māhina on *takohi* (drawing) in Tongan thinking and practice (this volume).

### Quality and Utility of Art

Like epistemological questions that have secondary importance to the ontological questions (Anderson 1962, 2007; Māhina 2004b, 2008a, 2008b), the external qualities of arts are considered secondary to the internal qualities (Anderson, Cullum, and Lycos 1982; Māhina 2004a). Even though the external qualities are taken to be secondary, they will be briefly discussed since they have certain bearings on this chapter (Potauaine and Māhina 2011). The internal qualities of arts are connected with their production as a process, and the external qualities are an outcome. Whereas the process of art is both investigative and transformative, the outcome of art is both communicative and transformative (Anderson 1962, 2007; Māhina 2005b). Therefore, transformation is common to both process and outcome of art. As an investigative process, subject matters of art are internally transformed through *tatau*, *potupotutatau*, and *mālie* or *faka'ofa'ofa* from conflict to order and as an outcome of some communicative means of parallel but external transformation through the emotional states *māfana*, *vela*, and *tauelangi* from conflict to order (Māhina 2008a, 2008b; Potauaine and Māhina 2011; also see Māhina 2004c; Manu'atu 2000). The communicative and transformative aspects make up the use or function of art.

An inquiry into Tongan arts found the word beauty to have two meanings, *mālie* and *faka'ofa'ofa*, which are both fused and confused in the existing literature on Tongan art (Helu 1999; Kaeppler 1993; Māhina 1992; Moyle 1987). The words *mālie* and *faka'ofa'ofa*<sup>3</sup> both mean beauty, with *mālie* for *faiva* and *faka'ofa'ofa* for *tufunga* and *nimamea'a*. The impact of *faiva* on both producer and consumer of performance arts is mainly emotional, such as the movement of the emotional states of warmth, burning, and excitement. Such emotional feelings are seen in *faiva hiva* (music) and *faiva haka* (dance) as performance arts. But the impact of *tufunga* and *nimamea'a* on producer and consumer of material and fine arts is largely physical, hence its material effect on human eyes as physically constituted entities.<sup>4</sup> The effect of material and fine arts, as in *tufunga tāvalivali* (painting) and *nimamea'a lālānga* (mat weaving), is confined strictly to *faka'ofa'ofa* in absence of the feelings of warmth, burning, and excitement that are normally connected with performance arts, such as music and dance (Fig. 1).

In both material and fine arts, the internal quality *faka'ofa'ofa* has the same effect of beauty on both producer and consumer, in contrast to the external feelings of *māfana*, *vela*, and *tauelangi* peculiarly connected with performance arts. So, the term *faka'ofa'ofa* is internally connected with material and fine arts, as well as externally linked to both producer and consumer of both arts, as in the case of *tufunga langafale* (Figs. 2, 3, 4, 5, and 6). In addition to the preceding distinctions, there are further distinctions of great importance.



FIGURE 1. *Kupesi Halafata‘ulitaha (Single Black Pallbearer Line Design)*, 2010. Artist and Photographer: Sēmisi F. Potauaine. Tufunga Tātatau.

In Tongan aesthetic thinking and practice, there is an important distinction between good works of art and bad works of art (Anderson 1962, 2007; Anderson, Cullum, and Lycos 1982; Māhina 2004a). In performance arts, the distinction is between *faiva mālie* (good works of art) and *faiva palakū* (bad works of art), and in material and fine arts, the distinction is between tufunga and *nimamea ‘a faka ‘ofo ‘ofa* (good works of art) and tufunga and *nimamea ‘a palakū* (bad works of art)<sup>5</sup> (Māhina 2003, 2004a, 2005a, 2005b).

While performance arts, on the one hand, and material and fine arts, on the other, differ in terms of mālie and faka ‘ofo ‘ofa, both meaning beauty, and they commonly embrace the word *palakū* (bad works of art). The distinction between good works of art and bad works of art revolves around two opposed states of affairs relating to their production in the creative process. Good works of art collectively refer to artworks informed by states of tatau, potupotutatau, and mālie or faka ‘ofo ‘ofa, in opposition to bad works of art informing artworks commonly led by conditions of *tokehekehe* (asymmetrical),



FIGURE 2. *Falehau Meeting House, Tongatapu, 1784. Artist: John Webber, 1751–93, Plate 80. Ref: A-340-055, Alexander Turnbull Library, Wellington, NZ.*

*potupotukehekehe* (disharmonious), and *palakū* (ugly states of affairs) (Ka‘ili 2007; Māhina 2005b; Potauaine and Māhina 2011). The main concerns here are to deal with symmetry and its summation, which amounts to harmony, or defining beauty as a state of affairs in the creative process. As both specific and general entities, both symmetry and harmony are two sides of the same thing, given that symmetry is equal to harmony.

As an intrinsic quality, symmetry can be analyzed in terms of the *tā-vā* theory of art (Māhina 2004a), a derivative of the *tā-vā* theory of reality (Māhina 2008a, 2008b). Herein, art can be defined as a sustained *tā-vā* transformation and *fuo-uho* (form–content), on both abstract and concrete levels, from a condition of conflict to a state of order (Māhina 2004a). While the functional aspect is important, it is nevertheless considered to be of a secondary value. This is situated in the wider context of the time-space theory of reality, especially several of its general and specific tenets. In general, the theory states that all things in nature, mind, and society stand in eternal relations of exchange, giving rise to conflict or order. As a specific tenet, it states that conflict and order are logically of the same status in that conflict is a form of order (Ka‘ili 2007; Māhina 2008b; Williams 2009). So, chaos and order coexist temporally spatially, formally substantially, and functionally across the



FIGURE 3. *Faikava Kava Drinking*, ‘Eua, Tonga, 1974. Photograph: Christopher A. Gist. Source: *Tonga Pictorial* (Gestle 1974:48)

natural, psychological, and social domains. Therefore, symmetry is concerned with the interplay of chaos and order, variously expressed in terms of conflict and resolution, intersection and mediation, or connection and separation, as in architecture, music, and mat weaving (Māhina 2002b; Rees 2002).

### Conflict and Order

In the domain of art and literature, conflict and order are made manifest within and across performance, material, and fine arts. Like all types of spatiotemporal, substantial–formal, and functional transformation across nature, mind, and society, conflicts in subject matters under artistic and literary production are transformed by way of *tā-vā*, *fuo-uhō* across the physical, emotional, and human domains. For example, conflict and order are expressed by way of intersecting *‘uhinga* (human meanings), as in the case of *faiva ta‘anga* (poetry), *faiva fakaoli* (comedy), and *faiva fakamamahi* (tragedy), and intersecting *kohi* (lines) and *vā*, such as *tufunga langafale*, *tufunga tātatau* (tattooing), and *faiva haka* (Māhina 2008a, 2010). The sustained production of symmetry is executed by means of artistic and literary devices

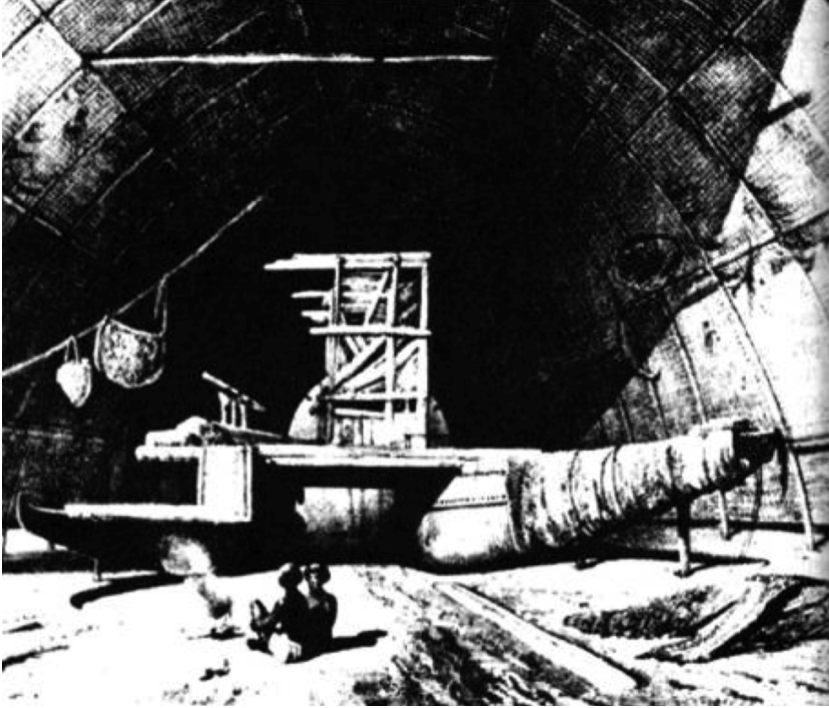


FIGURE 4. *Fale Alafolau* Canoe Hanger, Vava'u, Tonga, 1840. Artist: Le Breton. Ref: PUBL-0028-078, Alexander Turnbull Library, Wellington, NZ.

across performance, material, and fine arts, such as *heliaki* (i.e., symbolically saying one thing and meaning another), and *hola* (i.e., a subdivision of two bodily movements) separately in poetry and dance, *toki* (i.e., stone adze) in both architecture and sculpture, and *nge'esifingota* (i.e., sharp-bladed seashell) and *fo'ifā* (i.e., sharp-pointed, brush-like pandanus fruit) in mat weaving and bark-cloth making, respectively (Māhina 2002b; Rees 2002). In all cases, these artistic and literary devices are a form of intersection, i.e., both intellectual and physical means for the production symmetry.

#### **Mata (or Its Tatau Symmetry, Ava)**

All physical sharp-pointed, cutting-edged devices, such as adzes, seashells, and brushes, are expressed as a series of intersections or intersection and



FIGURE 5. **First *Fonua*, First *Fa‘ē* Mother, First *Fale* House: *Fonua* Mother’s Placenta (Birth).** Source: <http://www.google.com/imgres?imgurl=http://www.coltsneckobgyn.com/images/>.

mediation, i.e., an ongoing process of exchange and cycle. These line–space intersecting devices are described in terms of *mata* (eyes), such as *mata ‘i toki* (eye of the adze), *mata ‘i nge ‘esifingota* (eye of the seashell), and *mata ‘i fā* (eye of the pandanus fruit) (Potauaine and Māhina 2011). In ancient Tonga, however, *tufunga langafale* made use specifically of *mata ‘i toki* for the construction of houses, combining both thinking and practice relating to line–space intersection. In close connection with the material art *tufunga langafale* is *tufunga lalava* (material art of line–space intersection). Besides, *tufunga lalava*, which was used for holding together house parts, where *kafa kula-kafa ‘uli* (red *kafa*-sennit–black *kafa*-sennit), *kohi-vā* (line–space intersection) is referred to as *mata ‘i kupesi* (eye of the design) (Māhina 2002b; Potauaine and Māhina 2011; Rees 2002) (Fig. 6).

Architecture, or house building for that matter, is a material art that basically involves a mediation of conflicts at the intersection of *tā* and *vā*, *fuo* and *uho*, of things through *tatau*, *potupotutatau*, and *faka‘ofa‘ofa* from a condition of chaos to a state of order (Māhina 2002b, 2004a; Potauaine and Māhina 2011). Basically, both *fuo* and *uho* of architecture or house building are made up of *tā* and *vā* on the abstract level and *kohi* and *vā* on the concrete level, with wood, stones, steel, and glass as their range of possible *vaka* (media). In contemporary architecture, *mata ‘i peni* (eye of the pen) is used principally as an artistic device of line–space intersection on the abstract level and such lineal–spatial tools as *mata ‘i kili* (eye of the saw), *mata ‘i hāmala* (eye of the hammer), *mata ‘i fa ‘o* (eye of the nail), and *mata ‘i lula* (eye of the ruler) for its building on the concrete level. Such architectural devices function as time-marking tools of spaces, characterized by means of such media as wood, stones, steel, and glass (Māhina and Potauaine 2011). The use of *fale* for human purposes defines its *‘aonga* (function).





FIGURE 6. *Mata ‘Uli Black Eye/Ava ‘Uli Black Hole: Mata Eye*. Source: <http://www.google.com/imgres?imgurl=http://poundingheartbeat.com/.../2008/10/eye.jpg>.

### Tatau: Symmetry

In subsequent discussions, I will examine instances of tatau in spatiotemporal, substantial–formal, and functional terms and link them to the natural, psychological, and social realms, with a particular focus on performance, material, and fine arts (see Helu 1999; Kaeppler 1993; Māhina 2005b). The word tatau refers to a diversity of things, which range spatiotemporally, substantially formally, and practically in physical, emotional, and human terms from harmony, copying, equality, and opposition; through fission, fusion, mirror image, and wringing; to warring, juxtaposing, aligning, and comparing. By implication, tatau can be defined as a process of mediation of conflicts at the crossing point of things in nature, mind, and society applying to the colliding and splitting objects, opposing ideas, and competing demands, respectively. In both theoretical and practical ways, tatau can be seen in nature, for example, the cycle of *tahi mamaha* (low tide) and *tahi hu ‘a* (high tide) or the circular movement of *‘aho* (day) and *pō ‘uli* (night), with both succumbing to the behavior of nature in symmetry and harmony. In reality, such cyclical, rhythmic processes are points of conflict, where the entities intersection and mediation are regulated in

nature both symmetrically and harmoniously (Māhina, Ka‘ili, and Ka‘ili 2006; Potauaine and Māhina 2011).

As an intrinsic quality of art, potupotutatau can be said to be a summation, totality, or collection of symmetries. Aesthetically, harmony is the sustained intensification time and space, and form and content, of things through the continual succession of symmetries, which begins with tatau through a summation of symmetries, i.e., potupotutatau to mālie or faka‘ofa‘ofa. For example, in faiva haka, each set of symmetry of bodily movements is combined by means of a continuity to collectively form a whole dance, defined as harmony. This state of harmony is what beauty as a state of affairs is all about (Māhina 2008a, 2008b). Symmetry and harmony, i.e., a series of symmetries and a summation of them, both of which are the same, is a state of order, balance, or equilibrium. Such states are made up of equal and opposite tendencies, defined as noa (paradoxically meaning “nothing”). This state of noa also means the zero point, as in opposing negatively and positively intersecting axes in mathematics, meeting points of equal and opposite forces in physics, or two intersecting states of affairs such as *talanoa* (talking critically yet harmoniously) in knowledge production and communication. In all instances, conflicts are transformed by way of both intersection and mediation (Māhina 2008a, 2008b; Potauaine and Māhina 2011).

Opposing the states of tatau and potupotutatau are the conditions of tokehekehe and potupotukehekehe, with examples seen in the former as dormant volcanoes, good works of art, and social stability and in the latter as volcanic eruptions, bad works of art, and wars (Potauaine and Māhina 2011). In dealing with conflicts at the interface of intersection and mediation, the former are a success and the latter are a failure. Other meanings of tatau in various forms include such things as *tau* (hang), e.g., *tau fō* (hanging of washing) and tautau (hanging as a form of capital punishment); tau (war), e.g., *tau fakafonua* (civil war) and *tau lau* (war of words); and tau (contact), e.g., one thing in contact with another, such as a car hitting a tree. All these examples, either as elongations or as abbreviations of tatau, point to a multiple, dialectical movement of conflicting tendencies, where intersection and mediation are involved in a process resulting in either conditions of tatau and potupotutatau or states of tokehekehe and potupotukehekehe (Māhina 2005b, 2008a, 2008b).

### Instances of Tatau

The wringing of bounded *kava* (roots) is called tatau or *tau kava*, and the wringing of grated coconut flesh and scraped *koka* (tree bark) is referred to as tatau or *tau niu* and tatau or *tau koka*, respectively (Māhina 2002b; Rees

2002). Tau kava, tau niu, and tau koka use the wringing tools *fautaukava*, *pulutauniu*, and *fautaukoka*, made from fibers of hibiscus plants and husks of fruits of coconut trees, for the separation of sap from bounded kava, grated *niu* (flesh), and scraped koka. As a process, the wringing of kava, niu, and koka fluids is unified with the respective wringers of *fautaukava*, *pulutauniu*, and *fautaukoka* and the extraction through separation from roots, flesh, and bark, respectively. Both the symmetry and the harmony the wringing, as well as the asymmetry and the disharmony of it, are dependent on equal or unequal movement of mutually spiral yet opposite tendencies of the act of wringing. So, the more equal the wringing is, the better it is as a form of extraction of liquids at the interface of intersection and mediation. This common state of affair is called *maha lelei* (goodly empty), meaning the bounded kava, grated coconut flesh, and scraped koka are fully dried or devoid of fluid.

Similarly, in performance art, *faiva faifolau* (navigation and voyaging), when a vaka (boat) is moving close to a *taulanga* (port), it is called *fakatautau*. By the rhythmic act of *fakatautau*, reference is made to tempo marking of spaces between and including wharf and boat by means of intersection and mediation. In addition, the word tau, amid others, refers to when a boat arrives at a port. The term *taulanga* is an elongation of *taula'anga* (literally “place of anchor”), which normally refers to a port of call. The word for anchor is *taula* (arriving sail), where the term *lā* stands for sail. The terms *tukufolau* and *taufolau* refer to a *folau* (voyage) *tuku* (leaving a port) and tau (arriving at another), a movement from a point of origin to a point of destination, i.e., from separation to connection. Once a boat arrives, or a voyage reaches its point of destination, then the situation is referred to as *taufonua* (literally “reaching the land”) or *taufolau* (voyage arriving). Therefore, the spaces between departure and arrival are temporally marked through symmetry and harmony at the interface of conflict and resolution or intersection and mediation (Hau‘ofa 1993; Helu 1999).

By the same token, the *lā* and the *taula* are mediated on the *fungavaka* (deck) of the vaka. Like a synchronized dance, upon arrival, both the sail and anchor are dropped, respective processes known as *tuku lā* (drop sail) and *lī taula* or *tuku taula* (drop anchor). However, upon departure, the hoisting of the sail is variously called *fusi taula* (pull anchor), *fusi lā* (pull sail), or *fai lā* (set sail). Therefore, the sail mediates propulsion and anchor negotiates position, both in symmetrically spatiotemporal and substantial–formal ways. In both instances, there is a mediation of conflicts between sail and hull, on the one hand, and anchor and hull, on the other, amounting to an overall negotiation of sail, hull, and anchor. There is a form of both asymmetry and disharmony associated with sailing, expressed by the terms *taumu 'avalea*, a reference to a boat losing its bearing with respect to a point of destination,

and *taumulivalea*, referring to a boat losing bearing in relation to a point of separation (Fig. 4).

### Fale, Kava, and Vaka

The compass of a boat is called *olovaha*,<sup>6</sup> symbolic of men, situated midway<sup>7</sup> in *mu'a* (front of the vessel). At the *mui* (rear or stern), opposite the *mu'a* (front or prow), is the *fohe 'uli* rudder, symbolizing women. Physically, the word *toka*<sup>8</sup> applies to a boat running aground; culturally, it is an honorific term for sleeping and death, as in the *fa'itoka* (resting place) of the dead. This is evident in the formal Tongan kava ceremony, in which a formal tatau (mirror image) of a vaka is conducted inside the fale (Figs. 2 and 3). In Tongan thinking and practice, both vaka and fale are symbolically and historically referred to as *fefine* (woman, female) in the same way that *fefine* is linked to vaka and fale in figurative and actual ways (Figs. 2, 3, and 5). There are, then, spatiotemporal, substantial–formal, and functional relationships among kava, vaka, and fale, where formal roles of both men and women are revised and standardized from time to time. In most cases, men are associated with *mu'a* of the kava (circle), where *olovaha* is positioned midway at the top end, seated by a ruling aristocrat or reigning monarch and flanked by his two *matāpule* (talking chiefs) (Fig. 3). The chiefs and their respective *matāpule* are seated along two sides of the kava, called the *'alofi* (rowers) of boats. At the *mui* (bottom) end of the circle is positioned the *tou'a*, kava mixers, and kava makers, made up of both men and women of close chiefly affiliations (Fig. 3).

### Tatau: Heliaki as an Intersecting Poetical Device

In Tongan *faiva ta'anga* performance art poetry, *heliaki*<sup>9</sup> (symbolically saying one thing and meaning another) (Kaepler 1993; Moyle 1987; Wood-Ellem 2004) is used as an artistic and literary tool for mediating human meanings. By reconciling conflicting human meanings, the poet engages in producing tatau, potupotutatau, and *mālie* through epiphoric, qualitative, and metaphoric associative exchange between closely connected qualities or attributes of things in the creative process (Māhina 2005b, 2008a, 2008b). As a form of mediation, the poet negotiates time-space, form-content, and functional conflicts at the intersection of two *vaa'i 'uhinga* (human meanings). At this point, my discussion reflects on a beautiful *hiva kakala* love song<sup>10</sup> titled *Fio Tovola* (“Urge to Ask”), composed by a famous Tongan contemporary poet Siosaia Mataele in 1930 (Velt 2000, 45). An approximate translation of this love song into English was recently made

by Māhina (2009). Of great relevance is the poet's effective production of tatau and potupotutatau, where individual symmetries within and across the verses and chorus are unified, rhythmically defining the total harmony of the poem. By extension, Mataele is able to mediate a multiplicity of tensions at the interfaces of sky and earth, land and sea, and nature and nurture, which are further negotiated at the intersection of sail, hull, and anchor.

<b>Fio Tovola</b>	<b>Urge to Ask</b>
1. <i>Fio tovola pē 'e tolona nai 'afē?</i>	1. Urge to ask, will it ever come to pass?
<i>Uisa he naua e moana vavalé</i>	Crashing waves of the bottomless ocean
<i>Lōmekina kita 'e he 'ofa mamaé<sup>11</sup></i>	Drowned am I by unselfish love
<i>Ko si 'ete taufonua nai 'afē?</i>	When will I ever reach the land?
2. <i>Lose si 'i ngoue takafia 'e he laioné</i>	2. A rose in the garden roamed by lions
<i>Manule 'o pulusila 'o e ngaahi hōsitē</i>	Guarding-animals as weapons of hosts
<i>'E toki ngofua toli 'e he ma 'u paasi pē</i>	Allowed for plucking only by pass holders
<i>Tuli ki he fā<sup>12</sup> te u 'uli tapu tafoé</i>	Keep to the mark, never to retreat
3. <i>To 'e loto<sup>13</sup> hikilā si 'ete fiehuá</i>	3. Heart-stricken, my sails are set to sail
<i>Siu e manusiu fanga 'ena he houfonuá</i>	Sea-birds hovering over land-caused swells
<i>Hoholo e lā fietuku si 'oto taulá</i>	Sails are put down, ready to anchor
<i>Ka e tala 'e hai 'e ngofua ha tu 'u ki 'utá</i>	Yet, there's no permit to set foot on land
<i>Tau<sup>14</sup>:</i>	Chorus:
<i>'Amanaki tala 'e he fua mailé</i>	Hope measured in nautical miles
<i>Sio fatungaloa 'ene lauiafé</i>	Seeing storm-clouds by the thousands
<i>Folaua tonu 'e he fua ki he losé</i>	Sailing head-on towards the rose
<i>Ko si 'ete taufonua nai 'afē?</i>	When will I ever reach the land?

As a great work of art and literature, Mataele effectively deals with the subject matter of his creation, i.e., ‘*ofa mamae* (unselfish love), on two levels. On the general level, he wrestles with conflicts underlying his topic as events or occurrences that are freely presented in nature with a high degree of uncertainty beyond human control. On the specific level, he handles his topic of poetic creation with inevitable obstacles in the way. In response, Mataele mediates these two sets of distinct but related conflicts through effective *heliaki*, rhythmically transforming them from *felekeu* (chaos) to *maau* (order), defined by *tatau* and *potupotutatau*. For example, he presents his enormous state of uncertainty by setting it in opposition to the immensity of the *moana vavale* (bottomless ocean). This is made to equal the depth of his unfathomable ‘*ofa mamae*, in which he is symbolically yet emotionally *lōmekina* (drowned). He is not sure he will ever *taufonua* (set foot) on land, i.e., succeed in seeing his lover. All *kupu* (verses) and *tau* (chorus) of the poem are made up of a circular, sustained series of conflict and resolution, separation and connection, or intersection and mediation reconciled through *tatau* and *potupotutatau*.

Mataele begins by displaying his emotional state of longing, i.e., unselfish love, which urged him to ask a question about his sense of uncertainty (verse 1, line 1). Given the inevitability of the situation, Mataele recognizes the enormity of the obstacles he faces (verse 1, lines 2 and 3), resolving to the uncertainty thus presented (verse 1, line 4). As a typical tectonic, metaphoric, or figurative technique, he again takes into account the immensity of the situation, likening it to *laione* (lions) closely guarding the target of his unconditional love, symbolized by the *lose* (rose) (verse 2, lines 1 and 2). In the face of adversity, the poet is determined to relentlessly strive for the rose, even without the necessary qualifications (verse 2, lines 3 and 4). With basically the same thought, in stanza three, he is more than firm to set sail, knowing he is up against the unpredictable *houfonua* (winds and currents) (verse 3, lines 1 and 2) and, worst still, without a *ngofua ke tu ‘u ki ‘uta* (permit to land) (verse 3, lines 3 and 4). In the chorus, the poet rhythmically continues with the same thinking, accepting his ‘*amanaki* (hope) positioned in direct opposition to the mind-boggling, impending, and powerful *fatungaloa* (storm clouds) (chorus, lines 1 and 2) and deciding instead to conquer all barriers, including death, so that he meets his beloved rose (chorus, lines 3 and 4).

### **Tatau: Hola as an Intersecting Dance Device**

Besides the artistic and literary devices *hola*, *kaiha ‘asi*, or *haka-funga-haka*, conducted by way of the insertion of an additional bodily movement between two specified *vaa ‘i haka*, there are variations such as *helepasi*, the insertion

of an extra *pasi* (hand clap) between two designated *vaa 'i pasi* (hand claps). The word *hele* (knife) points to *pasi* as a dance device for the mediation of intersecting hand claps through conflict and resolution, separation and connection, or intersection and mediation. The word *hele 'i* stands for splitting something by cutting it into halves. When the act of *hele* is repeated, then we have what is called *fakatahele* or *fakatohele*, which also varies as *fakatahala* or *fakatohala*, engaging further repetition of drumbeats between existing defined drumbeats. Although the aesthetically organized *haka* are already at a state of *tatau*, it is intensified by the insertion of an extra *haka*, thereby maintaining a state of *potupotutatau* as a progeny of *mālie*. As a form of *heliaki*, the two *pasi* as time markers, including the space between them, are further demarcated at the interface of symmetry, resulting in the reconstitution of both time and space as a form of harmony.

### **Tatau: Tu'akautā as an Intersecting Musical Device**

Like *heliaki* and *hola*, *kaiha'asi*, or *haka-funga-haka*, as both poetic and dance devices in *faiva ta'anga* and *faiva haka*, respectively, the musical device *tu'akautā* is used in *faiva hiva* as a means of mediating an extra musical note between two designated notes, such as the insertion of half a musical tone above and below, following the rules of octaves, minors, and majors.<sup>15</sup> The terms *heliaki*, *hola*, *kaiha'asi* or *haka-funga-haka*, and *tu'akautā* are associated with poetry, music, and dance and seem to be paradoxical in outlook, yet their functions as devices are strictly defined. For instance, the word *heliaki* functions at the point of intersection of two objects, and the terms *hola*, *kaiha'asi*, or *haka-funga-haka* undertake the location of an extra dance movement away from designated bodily moments. Likewise, the word *tu'akautā* suggests positioning of an additional musical beat outside yet inside (between) two specified musical notes. These poetic, musical, and dance devices are appropriated as means for the production of internally led aesthetic qualities *tatau*, *potupotutatau*, and *mālie* or *faka'ofo'ofa*, which commonly affect both producers and viewers in terms of the externally driven emotional qualities *māfana*, *vela*,<sup>16</sup> and *tauelangi*<sup>17</sup> (Māhina 2003, 2004c, 2005b; Manu'atu 2000; Potauaine and Māhina 2011).

### **Material, Performance, and Fine Arts**

All art forms are spatiotemporally, substantially formally, and functionally related across nature, mind, and society, be they performance, material, and fine arts. The same logic applies to both *tufunga lalava* of *kohi* and *vā* intersection and *tufunga tātatau*. Both art forms are connected by means

of time-space, form–content, and function, linking the physical, psychological, and social realms. Both of them use *kula* (red) and *‘uli* (black) as tempo makers of space, with *tufunga lalava* using *kafa kula* and *kafa ‘uli* and *tufunga tātatau* using *kili kula* (red skin) and *vaitohi ‘uli* (black ink). The production of *‘ata* (images) by means of intersecting *kili kula* and *vaitohi ‘uli* is derived from *kupesi* (designs) produced by *tufunga lalava*, considered the master art (Māhina 2008a, 2009; Potauaine and Māhina 2011). By far, the only art form that uses the word *tatau* is *tufunga tātatau* (literally “material art of symmetry-producing,” i.e., tattooing) (Fig. 1). Most art forms use both *tā* and *vā*, variously expressed as *faiva tāfangufangu* (nose-flute playing), *tufunga tātongitongi* (sculpture), and *nimamea‘a lālanga*.

Like *faiva haka*, *tufunga tātatau* uses the body as a *vaka*, with intersecting lines and spaces in the form of red skin and black ink as its content (Fig. 4). To *tā* (beat) is to *kohi*, and to *tatau* is to wring the flesh by means *mata ‘ihui tātatau* as a time-marking device, allowing the body to bleed, i.e., a form of conflict. As spelled out earlier, the word *tatau* refers to many things, which include copy, mirror image, and equal. There are two types of exchange taking place in tattooing: one in which red skin and black ink are intersected, and one that involves the intersection of red blood and black ink. The insertion of the black ink into the red skin is compensated by red blood through bleeding. A process of equal and opposite movement of things by way of connection and separation, where the insertion black ink into, or connection with, red skin allows for bleeding or separating of the blood from the body. This complex process is conducted by way of *tatau*. The sequences in this complex process allow the oscillation between the inner and the outer spaces of the body. The body acts merely as a medium for the activities connected with the production of *kupesi*<sup>18</sup> and its complex, elaborate, and beautiful geometric designs, defined as a form of abstraction by way of arrangement and formation. From a classical angle, the inner space points to the ancestral origin of a person in physical terms and the outer space points to the future, with both past and future mediated in the present (Refiti 2008, 104). Such a movement takes place on the skin, i.e., surface, in time and space as in *tatau* as a copy of the origin, now transferred from father to son, i.e., from body to body and from one generation to the next (Refiti 2008: 99–102; Wendt 1996) (Fig. 1).

The various applications of symmetry—such as bilateral, rotation and reflection, cylindrical, chiral, similarity, spiral or helical, and transitional<sup>19</sup>—are only applied to the exteriority and materiality of fale architecture. For instance, bilateral symmetry in a Tongan tattoo is comparable to that used on the columns of the Parthenon, where the left-hand side merely functions as the mirror image of the right-hand side (Fig. 1). As evident from



the preceding discussions, the intrinsic qualities of the Tongan concept and practice of tatau are constituted as a series of symmetries that are multidirectional and multidimensional in nature, as are those relating to the movement of intersecting tendencies between inside and outside surfaces such as the interchange between black ink and red skin, black ink and red blood, and black ink and black blood. These forms of intersection or types of interchanges are mediated by such simple devices as toki and *hui* (needles), where their points of intersection are referred to as mata‘i toki and *mata ‘i hui* (eye of the needle), respectively (Fig. 6).

### Conclusion

Demonstrated are some fundamentals of tatau in the mediation of the spatiotemporal, substantial–formal, and functional conflicts at the interface of things, events, or states of affairs across the natural, psychological, and social spectra. This philosophical fact is confirmed by the new general tā-vā theory of reality, which advances a view that all things in nature, mind, and society stand in everlasting relations of exchange, amounting to conflict or order, and that conflict and order are of the same logical makeup in that order is a form of conflict. As a derivative of the time-space theory, the tā-vā theory of art involves the transformation of spatiotemporal, substantial–temporal, and functional conflicts through symmetry, harmony, and beauty from a condition of chaos to a state of order.

### NOTES

1. Kohi-vā intersection parallels time-space intersection, where koho is a form of tā as advanced by the tā-vā theory of reality, with tā and vā as the common medium in which all things exist in reality, as in nature, mind, and society.

2. A brief version of this essay was presented at the 13th Tongan Research Association Conference “Siu‘alaimoana: Voyaging through the Oceans of Tongan Theories and Practices,” University of California, Berkeley, December 3–6, 2009.

3. The root word for faka‘ofa‘ofa (literally “in the way of love”) is ‘ofa (love). The word ‘ofa has several meanings, such as *ongo* (emotional feelings) of attachment between a person and his or her sweetheart, a person and his or her god, or a mother and her child. All these instances of ‘ofa express a process of two-way exchange relations, defined by a state of harmony, balance, or equilibrium that generates feelings of excitement, awe, or amazement. In this way, faka‘ofa‘ofa is spatiotemporally, substantially formally, and functionally equal to mālie.

4. The emotional and the physical are, respectively, emotive and instinctive, associated with *ongo* and *ongo ‘anga* (physical senses). The physical senses are considered *ongo ‘anga*

(doorways) through which knowledge is channeled to *'atamai* (mind), *fakakaukau*, and *ongo* (feelings) (see, e.g., Helu 1999; Māhina 2002a).

5. The term *palakū* can be literally translated as *pala* (rotten) and *kū* (unpleasant odor). It means unpleasant or intolerable, defined as the lack of symmetry, harmony, and beauty.

6. A classical seafaring term, it refers to *olovaha*, where the term *olo* means to cajole or to rub and *vaha* means the space between lands or actual sea passage (Adam 1990).

7. In classical Tonga, both the *taumu 'a* (prow) and the *taumui* (stern) ends of canoes or boats, e.g., *popao*, *tongiaki*, *tafa'anga*, and *kalia*, were used to mean either end. Another variation of *taumui* is *taumuli*. The front end of the vessel upon arrival can be used as the rear end upon departure. In comparison to modern design, the vessels have a fixed front and a fixed rear, aided with port designs and technological, mechanical means (Fig. 4).

8. The name given to the beams of the *fale* (Fig. 2).

9. For definitions of *heliaki*, see, e.g., Helu 1999; Kaeppler 1993; Moyle 1987. Of all the definitions, the one offered by Māhina (see, e.g., 2004b, 2008b, 2009) gives a fuller picture of the complex behavior of *heliaki*.

10. The term *hiva kakala* (song of sweet scent flowers) symbolizes love as a noble human feeling.

11. *'Ofa mamaé* (unselfish love) is a Tongan poetic phrase used commonly by poets. Although no Tongan dictionary contains the phrase, it also means unconditional love.

12. In Tonga, many flowers have been classified into *kakala 'eiki* (chiefly flowers) and *kakala vale* (commoner flowers), with sweet-scented *fā* pandanus fruits considered chiefly (Helu-Thaman 2005).

13. The phrase *to 'e loto* refers to internally caused anguish from a love-stricken heart.

14. The Tongan word for chorus is *tau*, which designates its role as a verse in taking the emotional feeling of *tauelangi* (literally “reaching the sky”) to *tau* (reach) its climax, acquired through the production of *tatau* and *potupotutatau* (Māhina 2003, 2004c, 2005b; Manu'atu 2000).

15. Tongan harmony fairly simple and monotonous yet compounded by a number of fundamental changes, such as *liliu fasi* (melody), *liliu le'olahi* (volume), *liliu tā* (tempo), and *liliu tō* (key change). These make Tongan music a beautiful work of art.

16. Led by *tatau*, the states of *māfana* (warmth) and *momoko* (cold) as equal and opposite tendencies are reconciled through a movement of shifting energy-like, fiery-led human emotions toward a condition of *noa* that is neutralized by opposing warm and cold states.

17. The term *tauelangi* is closely linked to the *tau*, performed as a means of lifting up the emotional states, viz., warmth, fieriness, and excitement. Both *tauelangi* and *tau* are directly connected with *tatau* and *potupotutatau*, where time-space, form–content, and functional conflicts at the interface of separation and connection are reconciled in the

creative process. In addition, the term *langi* is deified as the sky, pyramid, face, and terraced tombs of ancient Tu'i Tonga dynasty.

18. Kupesi is also used in the Tonga context as an expression relating two people as sibling, offspring, or just relatives in both nuclear and extended family contexts as a means to “make connection.”

## REFERENCES

- Adam, Barbara  
 1990 *Time and social theory*. Cambridge: Polity Press.
- Anderson, Janet, Graham Cullum, and Kimmon Lycos  
 1982 *Art and reality: John Anderson on literature and aesthetics*. Sydney: Hale & Iremonger.
- Anderson, John  
 1962 *Studies in empirical philosophy*. Sydney: Angus and Robertson.  
 2007 *Space, time and the categories: Lectures on metaphysics 1949–50*. Sydney: Univ. of Sydney.
- Gerstle, D., and H. Raitt  
 1974 *Kupesi 'o Tonga: Ko e makatu'unga 'o e laukau/Tonga pictorial: A tapestry of pride* (S. Mangisi, trans.). San Diego: Tofua Press.
- Harvey, David  
 1990 Between space and time: Reflections on geographical imagination. *Annals of the Association of American Geographers*, 80: 418–34.
- Hau'ofa, Epeli  
 1993 Our sea of islands. In *A new Oceania: Rediscovering our sea of islands*, ed. E. Waddell, V. Naidu, and E. Hau'ofa. Suva: School of Social and Economic Development, Univ. of the South Pacific in association with Beake House.
- Helu, 'I. Futa  
 1999 *Critical essays: Cultural perspectives from the South Seas*. Canberra: Journal of Pacific History.
- Helu-Thaman, Konai H.  
 2005 In the footsteps of a male mother. In *Polynesian paradox: Essays in honour of Futa Helu*, ed. I. Campbell and E. Coxon, 27–36). Suva: Inst. of Pacific Studies, Univ. of the South Pacific.
- Kaeppler, Adrienne L.  
 1993 *Poetry in motion: Study of Tongan dance*. Nuku'alofa: Vava'u Press.

Ka‘ili, Tevita O.

- 2007 Tauhi vā: Creating beauty through the art of sociospatial relations. Unpublished PhD thesis, Univ. of Washington, Seattle.

Māhina, ‘Aisea Nau Matthew

- 2004c The transcendence of the finite in tragedy and lakalaka: Explorations of ecstasy and the sublime through metaphysical comfort and tau e langi. Unpublished MA diss., Univ. of Auckland.

Māhina, ‘Okusitino

- 1992 The Tongan traditional history tala-ē-fonua: A vernacular ecology-centred, historico-cultural concept. Unpublished PhD thesis, Australian National Univ., Canberra.
- 2002a ‘Atamai, fakakaukau and vale: “Mind,” “thinking” and “mental illness” in Tonga. *Pacific Health Dialog: Journal of Community Health and Clinical Medicine for the Pacific*, 9: 303–308.
- 2002b Tufunga lalava: The Tongan art of lineal and spatial intersection. In *Filipe tohi: Genealogy of lines: Hohoko e tohitohi*, ed. S. Rees, 5–9, 29–30. New Plymouth, NZ: Covett-Brewster Art Gallery.
- 2003 Psychoanalysis and Tongan poetry: Reflection on the song of flowers. *Literature and Aesthetics: Journal of the Sydney Society of Literature and Aesthetics*, 13: 97–106.
- 2004a Art as tā-vā, “time-space” transformation. In *Researching the Pacific and indigenous peoples: Issues and perspectives*, ed. Tupeni Baba, ‘Okusitino Māhina, Nuhisifa Williams, Unaisi Nabobo-Baba, 86–93. Auckland: Centre for Pacific Studies, Univ. of Auckland.
- 2004b *Reed book of Tongan proverbs: Ko e tohi ‘a e Reed ki he lea Tonga heliaki*. Auckland: Reed Publishing.
- 2005a The poetics of exile: Love and death in Tongan poetry. In *Before Pangaea: New essays in transcultural aesthetics presented in honour of Professor Grazia Marchiano*, ed. E. Benitez, special issue, *Journal of the Sydney Society of Literature and Aesthetics*, 15 (1): 136–47.
- 2005b *Tatau, potupotutatau and mālie*: A realist reflection on the symmetry, harmony and beauty of Queen Sālote’s poetry. In *Polynesian paradox: Essays in honour of Futa Helu*, ed. I. Campbell and E. Coxon, 168–83. Suva: Inst. of Pacific Studies, Univ. of the South Pacific.
- 2008a *Faiva fakaoli*: The Tongan art of humour. *Pacific Studies*, 31 (1): 31–54.
- 2008b From vale ignorance to ‘ilo knowledge to poto skill, the Tongan theory of ako education: Theorising old problems anew. *ALTER-NATIVE: An International Journal of Indigenous Scholarship*, special edition/special issue, 67–96.
- 2009 Elizabeth Wood-Ellem, Songs and poems of Queen Sālote. *Pacific Studies* (32) 4: 505–11.
- 2011 Comedy and tragedy in myths, poems and proverbs: A tā-vā time-space critique. In *Tonga: Land, sea, and people*, ed. T. Steen and N. Drescher, 194–216. Tonga: Tonga Research Association.

Māhina, 'O., T. O. Ka'ili, and 'A. Ka'ili

- 2006 *Ko e ngaahi 'ata mei he hisitōlia mo e kalatua 'o Tonga: Ke tufunga'i ha lea Tonga fakaako*. Auckland: Centre for Pacific Studies, Univ. of Auckland.

Manu'atu, Linitā

- 2000 *Ke tuli hono ngaahi mālie: Pedagogical possibilities for Tongan students in New Zealand secondary schooling*. Unpublished D.Ed. thesis, Univ. of Auckland.

Moyle, Richard M.

- 1987 *Tongan music*. Auckland: Auckland Univ. Press.  
1991 *Polynesian music and dance*. Auckland: Centre for Pacific Studies, Univ. of Auckland.

Potauaine, Sēmisi F., and Māhina, 'Okusitino

- 2010 *Kula mo e 'uli: Red and black in Tongan thinking and practice*. In *Tonga: Its land, sea and people*, ed. T. Steen and N. Drescher, 194–216. Tonga: Tonga Research Association.

Rees, Simon, ed.

- 2002 *Filipe tohi: Genealogy of lines: Hohoko e tohitohi*. New Plymouth, NZ: Govett-Brewster Art Gallery.

Refiti, Albert

- 2008 *The forked centre: Duality & privacy in Polynesian spaces & architecture*. *ALTER-NATIVE: An International Journal of Indigenous Scholarship*, special edition/special issue, 97–126.

Velt, Kik

- 2000 *Langi tau 'olunga and hiva kakala: Tau 'olunga dance and love songs*. Trans. T. 'O. Helu. Nuku'alofa: Tau'olunga Komipiuta.

Wendt, Albert

- 1996 *Afterword: Tatauing the post-colonial body*. In *Inside out: Literature, cultural politics and identity in the new Pacific*, ed. V. Hereniko and R. Wilson, 15–29). Lanham, MD: Rowman and Littlefield.

Williams, Kim

- 1998 *Symmetry in architecture*, accessed June 14, 2009, <http://www.mi.sanu.ac.rs/vismath/kim/index.html>.

Williams, Nuhisifa

- 2009 *A view from the back, times between spaces: Equality of opportunity and Pacific students at the University of Auckland*. Unpublished PhD thesis, Univ. of Auckland.

Wood-Ellem, Elizabeth, ed.

2004 *Songs and poems of Queen Sālote*, Trans. Melenaite Taumoeofolau. Tonga: Vava‘u Press.

## GLOSSARY

*‘aho*—day

*‘alofi*—rowing

*‘amanaki*—hope

*‘aonga*—function, use

*‘ata*—image; shadow; picture

*‘atamai*—mind, intellect, intelligence, reason

*ava*—hole; see *mata* (eye)

*fai lā*—set sail

*fa ‘itoka*—cemetery; grave; burial place

*faiva faifolau*—art of navigation or voyaging

*faiva fakamamahi*—art of tragedy

*faiva fakaoli*—art of comedy

*faiva haka*—art of dancing

*faiva hiva*—art of music making and singing

*faiva mālie*—good works of performance art

*faiva palakū*—bad works of performing art

*faiva ta ‘anga*—art of word making, poetry

*faiva tāfangufangu*—art of nose-flute playing

*faiva*—performance arts

*fakakaukau*—thinking

*faka ‘ofo ‘ofa*—beauty

*fakatahala*—form of *fakatohala*

*fakatahele*—form of *fakatohala*

*fakataatau*—compare, equalize, realign, juxtapose, counterpoise

*fakatautau*—ship approaching port

*fakatohala*—beat within beats

*fakatohele*—form of *fakatohala*

*fale*—house, building

*fatungaloa*—storm clouds

*fautaukava*—wringer of *kava*

*fautaukoka*—wringer of *koka* tree bark

*fefine*—woman, female

*felekeu*—chaos

*fio tovola*—urge to ask (Fijian)

*fohe ‘uli*—rudder, literally “black oar”

- fo 'ifā*—pandanus fruit  
*folau*—voyage, journey  
*funga*—surface  
*fungavaka*—canoe deck  
*fuo*—form  
*fuo-uho*—form–content  
*fusi lā*—put up sail  
*fusi taula*—pull anchor  
*haka*—dance as bodily movements  
*haka*—dance; bodily movement  
*haka-funga-haka*—intersecting dance device, literally “a move upon another,”  
 see *hola* and *kaiha 'asi*  
*hele 'i*—cut by a knife  
*hele*—knife  
*helepasi*—form of *haka-funga-haka*, *hola* or *kaiha 'asi*  
*heliaki*—intersecting poetry device  
*hiva kakala*—love song  
*hola*—see *haka-funga-haka* and *kaiha 'asi*  
*houfonua*—type of rough waves  
*hui*—needle, bone  
*kafa kula-kafa 'uli*—red *kafa*-sennit–black *kafa*-sennit  
*kafa kula*—red *kafa*-sennit  
*kafa 'uli*—black *kafa*-sennit  
*kafa*—*kafa*-sennit  
*kaiha 'asi*—see *haka-funga-haka* and *hola*  
*kakala 'eiki*—chiefly flowers.  
*kakala vale*—common flowers  
*kalia*—double-hulled canoe  
*kava*—kava plant (*Piper methysticum*), also means beard  
*kili kula*—red skin, male skin  
*kohikohi*—drawing; scribing; cf. *tohitohi* (new form of *kohikohi*)  
*kohi*—line, abbreviation for *kohikohi*  
*kohi-vā*—line–space  
*koka*—plant (*Bishovia javanica*)  
*kula*—red  
*kula- 'uli*—red–black  
*kupesi*—intersecting device for images, design  
*kupu*—verse  
*laione*—lion  
*langi*—sky, honorific for face of the king, royal tombs of ancient Tu'i Tonga  
 dynasty

- lā*—sail  
*lī taula*—drop anchor; see *tuku taula*  
*liliu fasi*—melody change  
*liliu le ‘olahi*—volume change  
*liliu tā*—tempo change  
*liliu tō*—key change  
*lōmekina*—a form of drowning  
*lose*—rose  
*maau*—order; another term for poem  
*māfana*—warm, warmth  
*maha lelei*—absolute empty  
*mālie*—beauty; see *faka ‘ofa ‘ofa*  
*mata*—eye or face, i.e., eye-lining device; see *ava*  
*mata ‘i fā*—literally “eye of the pandanus fruit,” i.e., eye-lining *fā* fruit  
*mata ‘i fa ‘o*—literally “eye of the nail”  
*mata ‘i hāmala*—literally “eye of the hammer”  
*mata ‘i hui*—literally “eye of the needle”  
*mata ‘i kili*—literally “eye of the saw”  
*mata ‘i kupesi*—literally “eye of the design”  
*mata ‘i lula*—literally “eye of the ruler”  
*mata ‘i nge ‘esifingota*—literally “eye of the seashell”  
*mata ‘i peni*—literally “eye of the pen”  
*mata ‘i toki*—literally “eye of the axe or adze”  
*mata ‘ihui tātatau*—literally “eye of the tattooing needle”  
*matāpule*—talking chief  
*moana vavale*—unfathomable ocean  
*momoko*—cold  
*mu ‘a*—front side, prow  
*mui*—back side, stern  
*nge ‘esifingota*—sharp-bladed, line-making seashell  
*ngofua ke tu ‘u ki ‘uta*—permit to land  
*ninamea ‘a faka ‘ofa ‘ofa*—good works of fine art  
*ninamea ‘a lālanga*—art of mat weaving  
*ninamea ‘a palakū*—bad works of fine art  
*ninamea ‘a*—fine art  
*nīu*—coconut  
*noa*—zero point, state of symmetry, harmony, balance, or proportion  
*‘ofa mamae*—unselfish love, shared love  
*‘ofa*—love  
*olo*—cajole or rub  
*olovaha*—form of compass for navigation and voyaging



- ongo* ‘*anga*—doorway, physical senses, literally “place of feeling”  
*ongo*—sound, emotion or feeling  
*palakū*—bad, ugly, lack of beauty  
*palakū*—ugly; opposite of beauty  
*pasi*—clapping, basic form of dance movement  
*popao*—outrigger canoe  
*potupotukehekehe*—disharmony  
*pō ‘uli*—night (literally “black night”)  
*pulutauniu*—coconut flesh wringer  
*sino*—body  
*tafa ‘anga*—type of double-hulled canoe  
*tahi hu ‘a*—high tide  
*tahi mamaha*—low tide  
*takohi*—drawing  
*talanoa*—story, storytelling, talking critically yet harmoniously  
*tatau*—symmetry, copy, mirror image, likeness, sameness, equal  
*tā*—time  
*tau fakafonua*—civil war  
*tau fō*—hanging of washing  
*tau kava*—wringing of pounded *kava*  
*tau koka*—wringing of scraped *koka* tree bark  
*tau lau*—war of words  
*tau niu*—wringing of grated coconut flesh  
*tau*—arrive, chorus, contact, hang, hit, war  
*tauelangi*—excitement, climaxed elation  
*taufolau*—arrival of a voyage; see *taufonua*  
*taufonua*—arrival of a voyage, literally “reaching the land,” see *taufolau*  
*taula*—anchor, literally “arriving sail”  
*taula ‘anga*—literally “place of anchor,” port of call; see *taulanga*  
*taulanga*—port, harbor, anchorage; see *taula ‘anga*  
*taumu ‘a*—prow  
*taumu ‘avalea*—off course in relation to destination  
*taumui*—stern; see *taumuli*  
*taumuli*—stern; see *taumui*  
*taumulivalea*—off course in relation to point of origin  
*tautau*—hang, hanging, elongation of *tau*  
*tā-vā*—time-space  
*to ‘e loto*—aching desire; internal pain  
*toka*—*fale* cross beams, boat running aground, honorific term for sleeping and death  
*tokehekehe*—asymmetry

*toki*—axe or adze  
*tongiaki*—type of canoe  
*tou ‘a*—*kava* mixers and *kava* makers  
*tu ‘akautā*—form of time marker, i.e., outside yet inside of defined beats  
*tu ‘asino*—nonbodied; outside of the body  
*tufunga lalava*—art of *kafa*-sennit lashing, i.e., art of line–space intersection  
*tufunga langafale*—art of house building, i.e., architecture  
*tufunga tātatau*—art of tattooing, literally “art of symmetry making”  
*tufunga tātongitongi*—art of image making, i.e., sculpture  
*tufunga tāvalivali*—art of painting  
*tufunga*—material art, material artist  
*tuku lā*—drop sail  
*tuku taula*—drop anchor  
*tukufolau*—voyage leaving  
*tuku*—leaving  
*‘uhinga*—meaning  
*uho*—content, flesh, umbilical cord  
*‘uli*—dirt, black, black colors  
*vaa ‘i haka*—two spatiotemporally defined bodily movements  
*vaa ‘i pasi*—two spatiotemporally defined hand claps  
*vaa ‘i ‘uhinga*—two spatiotemporally defined human meanings  
*vaa ‘itā*—two spatiotemporally defined tones  
*vaa ‘i ‘uhinga*—intersecting or connecting and separating; meaning  
 in-between  
*vaha*—ocean space  
*vaitohi ‘uli*—black ink  
*vaka*—boat, vessel, medium  
*vā*—space  
*vela*—burning, fieriness