

**LOFIA, KOE KUMI TU'I: THE SEARCH FOR A KING – A SUNG AND
DANCED POETRY OF TRAGEDY¹**

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We examine in this critical essay a sung and danced poetry of tragedy by Kaliopasi Fe'iloakitau Kaho about the people of Ha'apai leaving for Tongatapu in search for their king Tāufa'āhau. By making good use of the three types of heliaki, "metaphorically saying one thing but historically meaning another," he talks about the deep sadness of the people of Ha'apai, in thinking and feeling they have been deserted, promoting them to leave in search of their most beloved. Out of both frustration and desperation, they were determined and committed to embark on their mission, using whatever means and irrespective of conditions. By putting it in the context of the long history of both regional empires and local kingdoms, we argue that, while Tāufa'āhau remained King of Ha'apai, he was now also King of all Tonga, marking the rise of the fourth kingship, viz., Tu'i Tupou.

Talakamata Introduction

WE SET OUT IN THIS ESSAY to critically examine a ta'anga hiva haka lakalaka, sung and danced poetry lakalaka “Lofia, Koe Kumi Tu’i the Search for a King,” composed by punake kakato master poet Kaliopasi Fe’iloakitau Kaho² in 1943 for the village of Tongoleleka, the hereditary estate of noble Tuita (T.P. Kaho, unpublished data). The theme of the composition centers on the islands of Ha’apai, involving their search for Tāufa’āhau as Tu’i Ha’apai King of Ha’apai, who moved to permanently reside in Tongatapu following his victory as a hau victor and tu’i king over the whole of Tonga, as Tu’i ‘o Tonga King of Tonga. The lakalaka composition was revived in 1970, when it was put to music by pulotu hiva/fasi musician/composer Suli Kalekale and dance by pulotu haka/sino choreographers/dancers Suli Kalekale and Luseane Halaevalu Mata’aho Fotofili Tuita on the request of noble Ve’ehala (Leilua), who was also a master poet and orator for the katoanga celebrations of Tonga’s Tau’atāina as a British Protectorate. While most, if not all, of Moana Oceania was colonized, Tonga only went as far as a Protectorate of Britain. In this way, Tonga was not colonized technically; however, it was indirectly colonized in formal and substantial ways, as her all-embracing adoption of Western institutions and social, educational, political, economic, governmental, legal and constitutional, and religious systems (see ‘Ilaiū 2019; Lātūkefu 1974, 1975; Māhina 1986, 1992, 2010b). Suli choreographed the haka-‘a-tangata men’s dance, while Luseane was responsible for choreographing the haka-‘a-fafine women’s dance, referred to as haka-faka-tangata dance-in-the-style-of-men and haka-fakafafine dance-in-the-style-of-women, respectively (see Māhina 2011).³

The theme of the lakalaka composition as a “text,” viz., “koe kumi tu’i,” “the search for a king,” will be briefly reflected upon in the broader “context” of both the material–physical, psychological–emotional, and social–cultural evolution and revolution of mafai power on both the regional and national–local levels for a better understanding of the matter under exploration (see Māhina 1986, 1992). By this, reference is made to regional imperial activities involving the Tu’i Pulu, Tu’i Manu’a, and Tu’i Tonga (see Bellwood 1987; Kirch 1980, 1984; also see Moa 2011), and national–local political developments, notably, the Tu’i Tonga, Tu’i Ha’atakalaua, and Tu’i Kanokupolu (Māhina 1986, 1992; Māhina, Ka’ili, and Ka’ili 2006), which peaked in the formation of what is now regarded as Tu’i Tupou, the fourth kingly line. By way of both “process” and “outcome,” this lakalaka composition as a great work of art and literature in poetry is chiefly concerned with the production of tatau symmetry, potupotutatau harmony, and mālie/faka’ofo’ofa beauty/quality, which is, in turn, engaged in the exhibition of māfana warmth, vela fieriness, and tauēlangi climatic elation (see Bott 1972; Māhina and ‘Alatini 2009; Newell 1947: 364–474; also see Biersack 1991:

231–68; Feldman 1980: 101–3). Both beauty/quality and utility/functionality as respective internal or intrinsic and external or extrinsic qualities are combined as both “process” and “outcome” by means of production logically preceding exhibition (see Māhina 2011; Māhina-Tuai 2017; Potauaine 2010, 2017).

Tongan Arts and Tongan Tā-Vā Philosophy of Art

Generally, Tongan arts are divided into three main genres, viz., faiva performance, tufunga material, and nimamea'a fine arts (see Māhina 2011; Potauaine 2010). Poetry, like music and dance, belongs to faiva performance arts; where faiva ta'anga poetry, faiva hiva/fasi music, and faiva haka dance lie in closer proximity, when poetry is composed and put to both music and dance, in that logical order of precedence (see Helu 1979; also see Māhina 2004a; Moyle 1987; Van der Ryn 2012). All three, poetry, music, and dance, are basically concerned with the mediation of 'uhinga human meanings in lea language, hiva/fasi/nota music/tones/notes in ongo sound, and haka movements in sino body, where they are transformed through sustained symmetry, harmony, and beauty from the hectic to the static (see Lear 2018; also see Anderson, Cullum, and Lycos 1982; Helu 1999, 2005, 2012; Kaeppler 1993). As for poetry, it is taken as a special language within a language, involving their mediation and transformation from the metaphorical to the historical languages (see Māhina 2004a, 2008a; Māhina, Ka'ili, and Ka'ili 2006). In old Tonga, both ako education and 'aati art, where the former is considered faiva ako performance art of education, were aligned to each other, when the three arts were organized along education which, in turn, was conducted across them, both simultaneously (see Māhina 2008b: 67–96). By way of “process,” education and art are primarily concerned with 'ilo knowledge (and potō skill) and beauty/quality, with their utility/functionality secondary in terms of “outcome” (see Anderson 1962; Māhina 2008b). Like all disciplinary practices and forms of social activities, education and art are investigative, transformative, and communicative in modus operandi, thereby combining both beauty/quality and utility/functionality as both “process” and “outcome,” where the former precedes the latter, in that logical order (see Māhina 1999: 41–69, 2004b, 2008b: 67–96).

Indigenous Tongan Tā-Vā Time-Space Philosophy of Art (see Lear 2018; Anderson, Cullum, and Lycos 1982; Potauaine and Māhina 2011; Māhina 2004c; Māhina-Tuai 2017) is a derivative of Indigenous Tongan Tā-Vā Time-Space Philosophy of Reality (see Ka'ili, Māhina, and Addo 2017: 1–7; Māhina 2010c: 168–202, 2017b: 105–32; also see Anderson 2007)⁴ where tā and vā are translated into English as “time” and “space” (see Kalavite 2019: 173–83, see also Kalavite 2010; Māhina 2009: 505–11; Williams 2009). Most, if not all, of the tāvāist philosophical tenets have a bearing on arts generally, and Tongan

arts specifically. The fact that *tā* time and *vā* space as ontological entities are the common of all things in reality, which are epistemologically organized in different ways across cultures (and languages) means that all arts are temporal-spatial, which are variously conducted in the creative process, with a plurality of social uses (see Māhina 2008b: 67–96; see also Anderson, Callum, and Lycos 1982). By the same token, all arts are therefore four-dimensional rather than three-dimensional, where in the latter they are problematically treated as both *ta'etā* “timeless” and *ta'efuo* “formless” (see Potauaine 2010). This means that *tā* time and *vā* space, like *fuo* form and *uho* content, are inseparable yet indispensable *hoa/soa*, pairs of equal/same/similar and opposite/different/dissimilar binaries in reality, where *tā* time and *fuo* form are verbs (or action-led) and definers of *vā* space and *uho* content, which are, in turn, nouns (or object-based) and composers of *tā* time and *fuo* form (see Ka'ili 2008, 2017a, 2017b: 62–71; Māhina 2017a: 133–53; Potauaine 2010, 2017: 154–179). Given that everywhere in reality, as in nature, mind and society is *fakafelavai* intersection, and there is nothing above *fakahoko* connection and *fakamāve* separation as inseparable yet indispensable *hoa/soa* pairs/binaries of *hoatau/hoamālie* equal/same/similar and *hoakehekehe/hoatamaki* opposite/different/dissimilar entities/identities/tendencies, all arts are concerned with the mediation of conflicts in the subject matters under the productive process through sustained symmetry, harmony, and beauty, followed by their social uses. In doing so, they are transformed from a condition of *felekeu/fepaki* chaos to a situation of *maau/fenāpasi* order, when two or more equal and opposite energies, forces, or tendencies meet at a common point, defined by a state of *noa 0* or zero-point, i.e., connection–separation (or intersection) and *mata-ava* eye-hole.⁵ This state of affairs qualifies the fact that order and conflict are of the same logical status, where order is itself a form of conflict.

History and Poetry: Tu'i Tonga, Tu'i Ha'atala, and Tu'i Kanokupolu

There can be several senses of history, which include the logical and the disciplinary (see Māhina 1992). By logical, reference is made to all things taking place in reality, as in nature, mind, and society. In *tāvāist* philosophical terms, all things in reality stand in eternal relations of exchange (or intersection), giving rise to order (or connection) and conflict (separation).⁶ But, the disciplinary sense refers to history as a discipline, where its logical sense is critiqued as knowledge of the *modus operandi* of all things as they really are in reality or temporality–spatiality as opposed to their subjective imaginings in terms of human interests. Really, knowledge is knowledge of reality, i.e., time and space, composed in *fonua/kalatua* culture and communicated in *tala/lea* language, both merely as social *vaka/hala/tala* vessels/vehicles/mediums. Unlike history,

poetry can be considered a special language within a language, which is by way of translation concerned with mediation of the metaphorical and historical languages (see Māhina 2004a, 2008a: 31–54; also see Helu 1979; Piddington 1963). As an artform, poetry deals with reality by means of abstraction in terms of heliaki as a poetical device, which involves “metaphorically saying one thing but historically meaning another,” as in ‘Aho‘eitu for Tu‘i Tonga, Fonuamotu for Tu‘i Ha‘atakalaua, and Pangai for Tu‘i Kanokupolu (koho/laini lines 5, 6 and 8) (see Ferris-Leary 2014; Kaeppler 2007; Kaho 1988; Māhina 2010a; Bott and Tavi 1982; Velt 2000). All things in reality change, and they do so ceaselessly. The evolutionary and revolutionary changes involving the origin, growth and development of the three (now four) kingly lines as counterposing equal and opposite tendencies are examined at the intersection, or connection and separation, of history and poetry (see Māhina 2011; also see Pond 1995).

Takafalu:⁷ The Monarch's Back

Koe ta‘anga hiva haka lakalaka viki, Sung and danced poetry of praise
Maa‘imoa fakafatu/fakafa‘u ‘e Kuini Sālote, 1928, Poetry composed by
Queen Sālote, 1928
Fakahiva/fakafasi⁸ mo fakahaka/fakasino⁹ ‘e Vili Pusiaki, 1928, Music
and dance composed by Vili Pusiaki, 1928
Hiva mo haka ‘ehe Lomipeau, Sung and danced by Lomipeau Choral
Musical
Liliulea ‘Ingilisi ‘ehe kau tufungatohi, English translation by the authors

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| 1. Ke fakatulou moe takafalu | 1. My salutation to the monarch's back |
| Moe ‘otu laine ¹⁰ toputapu ¹¹ | And the most sacred of sacred lines |
| Ne fetaulaki ‘o tapa tolu | Which meet and form a triangle |
| 4. Holo pē nofo he lau ‘otu | 4. Remain calm as I count the rows |
| Ne kamata ‘ia ‘Aho‘eitu | Which all began with ‘Aho‘eitu |
| Afe he tuliki Fonuamotu ¹² | Turning at the corner of Fonuamotu |
| Tu‘u moe tapa ‘i ‘Āhau ¹³ | Then stood and flashed at ‘Āhau |
| 8. Piliote ¹⁴ ‘i Pangai ¹⁵ ē fa‘u | 8. Ending the creation at Pangai |

The above excerpt of a great work of art and literature in faiva hiva haka ta‘anga lakalaka viki sung and dance poetry of praise, titled “Takafalu,” “The Monarch's Back” (see Wood-Ellem 2004: 260–2) sets the scene for this short exercise, involving the exploration relating to the theme of another excellent sung and danced poetry titled “Lofia, Koe Kumi Tu‘i, the Search for a King” (T.P. Kaho, unpublished data)—specifically—and the rise of the fourth kingship Tu‘i Tupou—generally. This 58-kupu verse lakalaka composition

was composed by Queen Sālote in 1928 as a celebration of the leaving of her eldest son Crown Prince Tāufaāhau, with Tupou College Choir for Australia to raise funds for the college. Herein, Queen Sālote deals with history in poetry, where she mediates by means of translating the historical language to the poetical/metaphorical language through heliaki metaphors/symbols as a poetical device (see Helu 1999, 2005, 2012; Māhina 1992, 2009; Pond 1995; Wood-Ellem 1999, 2004). She begins with a salutation to the monarch (kohi/laini line 1), as well as the triangulation of the three kingly lines, the Tu'i Tonga, Tu'i Ha'atalalaua, and Tu'i Kanokupolu (kohi/laini lines 2 and 3). A Tu'i Kanokupolu herself, Queen Sālote is by descent related to all three lines by blood and marriage, all of which were now combined in the personhoods of her royal children. It all started with 'Aho'eitu as the first Tu'i Tonga, successively followed by the Tu'i Ha'atalalaua and later Tu'i Kanokupolu, symbolized by Fonuamotu and 'Āhau and Pangai, respectively (kohi/laini lines 4–7). She finally takes the Tu'i Kanokupolu as a clear marker of the end of the kingly history (kohi/laini line 8).

Koe Kumi Tu'i: The Search for a King

The punake Kaliopasi Fe'iloakitau Kaho continues to tussle with both poetry and history in “Lofia, Koe Kumi Tu'i The Search for a King” (T.P. Kaho, unpublished data) as a poetry of faiva fakamamahi tragedy, where he mediates the intersection, or connection and separation, of the metaphorical and historical languages involving their translation (see Kalavite 2019: 173–83, see also Kalavite 2010; Māhina 2009: 505–11). As a poetry of tragedy, it deals with the historical claims of Ha'apai over Tāufaāhau as a Tu'i Ha'apai, who they thought and felt had abandoned them for Tongatapu, where he now resided as a Tu'i Tupou, marking the beginning of a new and fourth kingship. All this came about as a result of the final victory of Tāufaāhau over Tu'i Tonga Laufilitonga and powerful Kanokupolu chiefs, which was hitherto begun by 'Ulukālala II (Fangupō/Feletoa), with a common reflection of one another and association with the Tau Tahi, Sea Warriors. Like 'Ulukālala II, who was first Tu'i Vava'u and later Tu'i Ha'apai, Tāufaāhau began as a Tu'i Ha'apai and then a Tu'i Vava'u (see Māhina 1992; also see 'Ilaiū 2019). The rise of the Tu'i Tupou, through 'Ulukālala II initially, and Tāufaāhau finally, led to the eventual fall of both the Tu'i Tonga and Tu'i Kanokupolu, which led alone to the demise of the already defunct Tu'i Ha'atalalaua. The search of Ha'apai for their tu'i king is a search for Tāufaāhau as a Tu'i Ha'apai, who was now the first Tu'i Tupou and new Tu'i 'o Tonga King of Tonga as Siaoisi (George) Tāufaāhau Tupou I. For Ha'apai, their search was out of desperation, frustration, and separation in seeking for benefaction, affection, and connection.

Lofia, Koe Kumi Tu'i Lofia: The Search for a King

Koe hiva moe haka ta'anga fakamamahi, A sung and danced poetry of tragedy

Fakafatu/fakafa'u 'e Kaliopasi Fe'iloakitau Kaho,¹⁶ 1943, Poetry composed by Kaliopasi Fe'iloakitau Kaho, 1943

Fakahiva/fakafasi¹⁷ 'e Suli Kalekale, 1970, Music composed by Suli Kalekale, 1970

Fakahaka/fakasino¹⁸ 'e Suli Kalekale mo Luseane Halaevalu Mata'aho Fotofili Tuita,¹⁹ 1970, Dance choreographed by Suli Kalekale and Luseane Halaevalu Mata'aho Fotofili Tuita, 1970

Liliulea 'Ingilisi 'ehe kau tufungatohi, English translation by the authors

1. 'E Lofia²⁰ ē ko 'eku tatau
'Otu Ha'apai²¹ nofo kau 'alu
'O kumia si'i Fo'ifātapu²³
Heka vaka pē teu kakau
5. Keu pāea ha muihakau

Fakatētēlousi pē keu a'u
Kehe keu tū'uta ki Tongatapu²⁴
'O 'ave 'ae pōpōaki pea tala moe fekau

Koe hanu ē 'ae Toakotu'uakitau²⁵
10. 'Oi fakapō 'isa na'a kuo ngalo au

Na'a kuo ke lata 'ihe Toakoma'afu?²⁶
Kuo ke li'aki ai au 'o lauita'u
Ko 'eku kole ē Fo'ikukuvalu²⁷
'Oua leva koā na'a ke li'aki au
15. Tatali koā ke 'aufua ē peau
Pea fasiloto moe 'Otu Lau²⁸

'Ilo 'ehe Ualulu moe Hikuvalu²⁹
Koe tālanga kuo 'osi fakapapau

Kuo 'osi matua 'i he 'Apikokau³⁰
20. Pea sila 'i 'i Mātuku'aetau³¹
'O veteki mei Velata³² kuo ma'u 'ae hau
He'ilo koe ho'o lata 'i Tongatapu?

1. Dear Lofia, here are my parting words
Remain as your Ha'apai,²² but let me go
To search for the beloved Fo'ifātapu
I shall ride a boat or simply swim
5. If stranded on a reef-edge, I will
persist

Even floating on my back, like a si leaf
By any means, my target is Tongatapu
To take the message and be the
messenger

Which is the petition of Toakotu'uakitau
10. Oh how woeful I am, if I've been
forgotten

By the way, have you liked Toakoma'afu?
That you have deserted me many a years
My only one plea, dear Fo'ikukuvalu
As of yet, please do not forsake me
15. Wait till the waves rise in formation
And the sea crests of Lau break in
succession

Only Ualulu and Hikuvalu know well
The dispute has been fixed once and for
all

It has been long settled at 'Apikokau
20. And sealed, it was at Mātuku'aetau
Disbanded at Velata, the victor has won
How have you liked to live in
Tongatapu?

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| <p>Tau'ākipulu³³ ē kei fakama'u Teu tuli ē hema 'ae la'³⁴ 25. Kuo ta'emanonga si'eku 'ofa Teu hake he Tu'alikutonga³⁵ Tuikako hono sialetafa Ha'aku teunga kihe Hoositea³⁶ Ngalu fānifo 'ae kakai siana 30. Papa he Alafolauheavula³⁷ Toka'one he Matekakuo'eva³⁸ Toe hā koā ha lau? Teu tāfea 'i Ha'atafu³⁹ Teuhie mo Kaloafu⁴⁰ 35. Namō'alie mo Pelukakau⁴¹</p> <p>Teu fehu'i kia Hina 'i Hakautapu⁴² Teu 'eke ki Kanokupolu mo 'Āhau⁴³ Faleha'akili⁴⁴ 'ena 'oku 'ifē 'ae hau? Koe fē 'a Ha'apai mo si'eku kakau 40. Nofō pē 'i Tongatapu kau lau pē ē au Koe kakala ni ia ko hoto fakatalutalu</p> <p>'Uli mai pea fakama'u Kau hao'uli pē koe hau Hangahango Pelehake koe kongakau</p> <p>45. Koe fuefue hota kiefau</p> <p>Ta'ovala kuo teu si'eta folau Leveleva ē 'eku malanga Kau foki au ki Tongoleleka⁴⁵ 'Oku kei tu'u pē 'ae 'Ōvava⁴⁶ 50. 'O mamata he maa'imoa Pungatea moe Pungakapa 'I Paluki moe Loupua⁴⁷ Moe Maka'umea 'o Tokemoana⁴⁸ 'O mamata 'i Fineumiuminoa⁴⁹ 55. Koe fai'anga 'oe tou'anga He fakatamaki 'oe fonua</p> | <p>There's Tau'ākipulu, the stronghold I shall hurry as the sun sets veering left 25. My poor love has been unsettling Let me ascend at Tu'alikutonga That I plait a garland of fine gardenias My fitting outfit for the Hoositea Of breaking waves for men surfers 30. A surf board at Alafolauheavula Landing I did at Matekakuo'eva What is more that's left to say? I shall drift along coastal Ha'atafu There stand both Teuhia and Kaloafu 35. There are too Namō'alie and Pelukakau</p> <p>Let me question Hina at Hakautapu I shall too ask Kanokupolu and 'Āhau Ye Faleha'akili, where's the king? A long way from Ha'apai, I've swum 40. Though stay in Tongatapu, yet I still say This fragrance is mine rightful inheritance</p> <p>Steer this way and keep to the mark Let me safely navigate for the king Standing guard are the shrubs at Pelehake</p> <p>45. Our outer covers made of hibiscus bark</p> <p>Put on as our waist-mats for voyaging That is the conclusion of my verse I shall now return to Tongoleleka There the 'Ōvava tree still stands 50. To witness a great feat in evidence As well as Pungatea and Pungakapa At both Paluki and Loupua And Maka'umea of Tokemoana To fully view Fineumiuminoa 55. The place of the huge sacrifice In strife of the land and people</p> |
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The master poet Kaliopasi Fe'iloakitau Kaho bids farewell to Lofia on behalf of the ancient chiefs Tāufatofua, Fanualofanga and Kavamo'unga'one and the

whole of Ha'apai, taking his leave in search of Tu'i Ha'apai, King of Ha'apai, Tāufa'āhau, symbolized by the Fo'ifātapu (kohi/laini lines 1–3). While the poet truly recognizes the difficulties that lie ahead, he vows to take whatever means at his disposal, whether they be riding a boat, swimming the ocean, or floating on one's back, the ultimatum is to reach Tongatapu,⁵⁰ now the royal abode (kohi/laini lines 4–7). The poet is destined to take the message as a messenger, which is to carry and present a petition of Tu'uakitau, a symbol for Ha'apai, when both thinking and feeling they have been forgotten, and asked if he liked Toakoma'afu⁵¹ better, causing my desertion now for many years (kohi/laini lines 8–12). His only single plea to the Fo'ikukuvalu, symbolic name for Tāufa'āhau, that he does not forsake him as yet, thus waiting with patience instead until the waves swell,⁵² let alone the crests breaking at the Lau Group (kohi/laini lines 13–16). This is a metaphorical reference from the faiva fānifo surfing to a possible return as a powerful contender of the son of the eighteenth Tu'i Kanokupolu, Aleamotu'a, chief-warrior Ma'afu, now both Tu'i Lau and Tu'i Nayau and possibly the whole of Fiji as Tu'i Fisi by virtue of the rate and intensity of both the consolidation and expansion of his political power and social influence before her swift cession by King Cakobau to Queen Victoria.⁵³ However, the two of the notable pōvai war clubs Ualulu and Hikuvalu of Tāufa'āhau as a warrior of excellence and elegance know too well how safe and secure his Ha'apai power base is as the Tu'i Ha'apai (kohi/liani line 17).

And now the dispute has been settled once and for all at 'Apikokau, signed and sealed at Mātuku'aetau, finalizing it at Velata, where the victor/king was begotten (kohi/laini lines 18–21). But, how have you got to like and live in Tongatapu, when Tau'akipulu still holds and beholds Ha'apai as his stronghold (kohi/laini lines 22–23)? While the poet is wearied from his search, symbolized by the left-veering sunset in the hihifo west (kohi/laini line 24), he enumerates the landscape connections of Tāufa'āhau to both the Tu'i Tonga and Tu'i Kanokupolu through 'Uiha and 'Utulau, especially the beautiful sweet-scented flowers and sea passages for surfing (kohi/laini lines 25–31). On the other hand, he turns to the stronghold of the Tu'i Kanokupolu, making queries to key places and people, notably, Kanokupolu and 'Āhau and Faleha'ākili for the whereabouts of the Ha'apai victor and king (kohi/laini lines 32–38). The poet makes it well known that he has swum the distance all the way from Ha'apai in search of their king, and while Tongatapu stays in contentment with Tupou I as the king of all Tonga, Ha'apai still counts him as Tāufa'āhau, their very own victor and king (kohi/laini lines 38–41). Having established their claim, the poet, now a navigator, makes due preparation for the voyage back to Ha'apai with Tāufa'āhau, with the attire fitting for and befitting a king (kohi/laini lines 41–46). Now he bids farewell to Tongatapu and heads back to Ha'apai, where

they are received in great jubilation and celebration of the immense sacrifice, which led to the unification of the whole of Tonga under the rule of Tu'i Tupou (kohi/laini lines 47–56).

Rise and Fall of Empires: Tu'i Pulotu, Tu'i Manu'a, and Tu'i Tonga

On the regional level, there existed three *pule'anga* hau empires, viz., Tu'i Pulotu, Tu'i Manu'a, forsaken Tu'i Tonga, respectively associated with Fiji, Sāmoa, and Tonga, whose respective symbolic names were Pulotu Ancestral Homeland and Afterworld, Langi Sky, and Maama Earth. From a Tongan perspective, the whole world was divided among the three main deities, with Pulotu Ancestral Homeland/Afterworld/Fiji, Langi/Sky/Sāmoa, and Maama/Earth/Tonga allocated as respective domains of goddess Hikule'o, gods Tangaloa, and gods Maui (see Māhina 1986, 1992, 2019; also see Ka'ili 2019, Māhina, Ka'ili, and Ka'ili 2006). In a way, the Tongan perspective points to both the movement and settlement of Fiji, Sāmoa, and Tonga through trade and exchange of human and material resources that were both regional and chronological/local, which were propelled by both local/internal pressures and foreign/external influences. Such historical movement and settlement of people and goods and services are reflected on the level of the mythological movement and settlement of Pulotu Ancestral Homeland/Afterworld/Fiji, Langi/Sky/Sāmoa, and Maama/Earth/Tonga by both divine beings and mortals. On the other hand, such movement and settlement of people and things are embedded in both the historical and metaphorical arrangements of the past, present, and future, respectively represented by Fiji/Pulotu, Tonga/Maama, and Langi/Sāmoa (see Māhina 1986, 1992; also see Bellwood 1987; Gerstle and Raitt 1974; Gifford 1929; Irwin 1989). In this metaphorical yet historical context, the already-taken-place past is placed in the front as guides upon which the yet-to-take-place future is brought to bear, guided by refined past experiences, with both the illusive past and elusive future constantly arbitrated in the ever-changing present (see Hau'ofa 2000).

Like all social institutions, the three empires went through successive periods of incline and rise succeeded by periods of decline and fall, as in the empires of the Tu'i Pulotu, Tu'i Manu'a, and Tu'i Tonga. Whereas the tu'i king is regional/imperial, the 'eiki⁵⁴ chief is local/political, with both largely political and material. Both the successive periods of incline and rise, on the one hand, and decline and fall, on the other, are a function of the mediation of the local/internal pressures and foreign/external influences engendered by multi-directional movement of people and objects through trade and exchange of goods and services. Depending on their symmetry and/or asymmetry, involving the mediation of the intersection, or connection and separation, of tauhi-vā keeping socio-spatial relations and fai-fatongia performing socio-economic

functions, quality and 'aonga/ngāue utility/functionality can be either vā-lelei good socio-spatial relations and/or vā-kovi bad socio-economic obligations. In this context, the tauhi-vā keeping socio-spatial relations as spatial entities are temporally marked by fai-fatongia performing socio-economic functions which are, in turn, spatially composed. Obviously, we witness the incline and rise, followed by the decline and fall, of successive empires, beginning with the Tu'i Pulotu empire in Pulotu/Fiji, through the Tu'i Manu'a empire in Langi/Sāmoa, to the Tu'i Tonga empire in Maama/Tonga (see Māhina 1986, 1992, 2019; also see Ka'ili 2019).

Rise and Fall of Tu'i Tonga Empire

Oral history tells us of both the rigidity and multiplexity informed by both extremism and conservatism surrounding the Tu'i Pulotu empire in Pulotu/Fiji, which largely led to the separation and formation of the Tu'i Manu'a in Langi/Sāmoa, marked by a sense of futurism and liberalism. While that was so, Maama/Tonga continued making closer contacts with Pulotu/Fiji by way of knowledge, skill, and technology transfer through trade and exchange, notably, performance, material, and fine arts such as house-building, surfing, kava drinking, and domestication of crops and animals. The same rate went for Langi/Sāmoa/Manu'a, where creativity and innovation across the fields were bargained for and gained through trade and exchange, such as tufunga fonua social architecture and engineering, and faiva faifolau voyaging, and faiva toutaiika fishing. The Maui gods were in the forefront on both fronts, Pulotu/Fiji and Langi/Sāmoa, leading in the front from behind, involving the acquisition of knowledge and skills and technology used locally in Maama/Tonga. The Maui gods agitated against the absolute power and tyrannical authority of both the priestly class and landed aristocracy for the freedom of the people, symbolized by their being sky-raisers, sun-snarers, and javelin-throwers (see Ka'ili 2019: 23–29; also see Māhina 1986, 1992, 2019: 43–45). This paved the way for the incline and rise of the Tu'i Tongan empire in correspondence to the decline and fall of the Tu'i Manu'a empire.

Oral history talks about the incline and rise of Tu'i Tonga at the intersection of Langi/Sky and Maama/Earth as the respective divine realms of gods Tangaloa and gods Maui, which were connected and separated by a toa casuarina tree,⁵⁵ a symbolic pointer to their closer aristocratic links. The story also says that god Tangaloa 'Eitumātipu'a frequently climbed down from the Langi/Sky above and up from the Maama/Earth. In one of his trips down, he found the most beautiful Maama/Earth maiden, 'Ilaheva, later known as Va'epopua, whom he courted, resulting in the birth of their son 'Aho'eitu, in addition to five children he already had to a Langi/Sky woman. By virtue of the Langi/Sky and Maama/

Earth as symbolic names of Sāmoa and Tonga, it can be asserted that the father of 'Aho'eitu was probably a son of Tu'i Manu'a and mother of a Tongan woman of noble birth. One day, requested by his mother who directed him, 'Aho'eitu climbed up the toa casuarina tree in search of his Langi/Sky father god Tangaloa 'Eitumātupu'a. And upon finding and meeting him, his father then sent him to join his older Langi/Sky brothers, who were busily competing in the performance art of sika'ulutoa javelin-throwing. On first sight, his five brothers were jealous of his aestheticism and, later when he was invited to take part, athleticism. 'Aho'eitu was exceedingly skillful, unrivalled, and unbeaten, so they killed and ate him, and threw his head to the shrubs, and at his father's direction he was then later revived and brought back to life (see Māhina 1986, 1992).

By way of resolution, their Langi/Sky father Tangaloa directed that 'Aho'eitu was to go back to Maama/Earth, accompanied by his Langi/Sky brothers. 'Aho'eitu was to be appointed the first Tu'i Tonga, who by virtue of his divine-secular origins held both the godly–earthly offices, and his divine brothers were to be made his earthly attendants. Again, these tragic events are a “pointer” to political resistance from Tonga in the direction of Sāmoa, leveled at the power of Tu'i Manu'a, which led to bloody wars, with Tonga emerging triumphantly. So, the incline and rise of Tu'i Tonga empire gave in to the decline and fall of Tu'i Manu'a.⁵⁶ Following the aftermath of the bloody wars between Tonga and Sāmoa, it took some ten Tu'i Tonga as a period of nation building and rebuilding, when the eleventh Tu'i Tonga Lafa (P. Pua, pers. comm. 2018), son of Momo, the tenth Tu'i Tonga, extended his empire to both Fiji and Sāmoa and beyond. The building and rebuilding of Tonga and Tu'i Tonga empire met both local and foreign resistance, which resulted in the assassination of several Tu'i Tonga, notably, the twenty-third Tu'i Tonga Takalaua. The peak of the Tu'i Tonga empire began to decline, after attempts to put in place social alliance formations of some political and economic significance, cementing the center-periphery relationships.

Rise and Fall of Kingdoms/Kingships: Tu'i Tonga, Tu'i Ha'atalaua, and Tu'i Kanokupolu

Despite these measures, the Tu'i Tonga empire continued to decline and fall, which locally confined it to Tonga, thus slowly but surely marking the relative ending of the Tu'i Tonga and the new beginning of the Tu'i Ha'atalaua and later the Tu'i Kanokupolu as kingly lines. The decline and fall of the Tu'i Tonga empire continued to slowly but surely orient inwardly, with the Tu'i Tonga locally confined to Tonga, thereby making way for the incline and rise of the Tu'i Ha'atalaua, later followed by the Tu'i Kanokupolu. As kingly lines, the assassination of the tyrant Takalaua, twenty-third Tu'i Tonga, led to the separation of

the godly–earthly powers, where the former remained the divine role of the Tu'i Tonga and the latter relegated to Mo'ungātonga, first Tu'i Ha'atakalaua, whose heavenly role was to oversee the secular affairs. However, both the internal pressures and external influences continued to mount locally, which, in turn, led to the appointment of Ngata, the son of Mo'ungātonga, sixth Tu'i Ha'atakalaua, as the first Tu'i Kanokupolu. His Samoan mother, Tohu'ia, also known as Limapō, was a daughter of the ali'ipa'ia high chief 'Ama, also known as Kama of Sāfata, 'Upolu, Sāmoa. The separation of the godly–earthly powers meant that, while the Tu'i Tonga retained politics based on religion by partially relieving economics, both secular politics and economics were held by the Tu'i Kanokupolu.

This is made manifest in the shift of the Tu'i Tonga ha'a King of Tonga line/class/titles, which was based in economics, i.e., functions, e.g., ha'a faiva toutai-vaka professional performance class of navigators and ha'a tufunga tāmaka professional material class of stone-cutters as economic functions to the Tu'i Kanokupolu ha'a King of Kanokupolu line/class/titles, grounded in politics, i.e., persons, e.g., Ha'a Ngata, with branches Ha'a Ngatamotu'a, Ha'a Ngatatupu, and Ha'a Havea with branches Ha'a Havealahi and Ha'a Haveasi'i as political titles. This was a shift from economics, with politics held by the Tu'i Tonga, to politics, which was retained together with economics, by the Tu'i Kanokupolu, who exerted both political and economic control over the whole of Tonga. There was, then, a relative transition from a high degree of “centralization” of power in the Tu'i Tonga regime to a high degree of “decentralization” of power in the Tu'i Kanokupolu system. The political axis was now open for contestation among the political titles, as in the case of the political assassination of the fourteenth Tu'i Kanokupolu Tuku'aho in AD 1799, led by Kanokupolu high chiefs 'Ulukālala II (Fangupō/'Ulukālala) and his half-brother Tupouniua, when it threw the whole of Tonga into a bloody Civil War for around fifty odd years. It can be said that the rise of the Tu'i Kanokupolu was the beginning of what can be called the process of fakatau'atāina⁵⁷ “democratization” of the whole of Tonga.

Incline and Rise of Tu'i Tupou

The so-called process of fakatau'atāina democratization climaxed in the campaign of Tāufa'āhau for political supremacy over the whole of Tonga. He was known merely as Tāufa'āhau, who happened to be both firstly Tu'i Ha'apai and later Tu'i Vava'u. In fact, it was 'Ulukālala II, who, in the initial stages, was instrumental in laying down the foundation upon which Tāufa'āhau continued his political campaign. Had it not been for 'Ulukālala II, there'd have been no Tāufa'āhau; and had it not been for both, there'd have been no Tu'i Tupou nor a New Tonga; and had it not been for their being both Tu'i Vava'u–Tu'i Ha'apai and leading warriors of Tau Tahi Sea Warriors, there'd have been no commonly

shared legacy of lasting value. So, behind the greatness of Tāufa'āhau was the greatness of 'Ulukālala II (let alone the greatness of Shirley Baker) and vice versa as inseparable yet indispensable *hoa/soa*, pairs of equal/same/similar and opposite/different/dissimilar binaries (see essay 2 this volume). A Kanokupolu high chief and fearless warrior, 'Ulukālala II was also a close relative and confidant of Tāufa'āhau. 'Ulukālala II, like Tāufa'āhau, was firstly Tu'i Vava'u and later Tu'i Ha'apai. Like 'Ulukālala II, Tāufa'āhau was firstly Tu'i Ha'apai and later Tu'i Vava'u; both hand-picked their core groups of daring Ha'apai and Vava'u (and 'Eua) warriors, most of whom were not blood-related, and collectively named the Tau Tahi Sea Warriors (see 'Ilaiū 2019; Māhina 1986, 1992).

Both 'Ulukālala II, initially, followed by Tāufa'āhau, later, waged their respective wars against the powerful chiefs of Kanokupolu mostly in Tongatapu and, in the case of Tāufa'āhau, when he fought and won the final Battle of Velata⁵⁸ against the last and thirty-ninth Tu'i Tonga Laufilitonga, who died in AD 1865. Following his conversion to Christianity in AD 1834 and the defeat of Laufilitonga, Tāufa'āhau, now transformed from a fairly unknown, pre-Velata status to a well-known, post-Velata standing, set out in a campaign to convert the whole of Tonga to Christianity. Upon the death of the eighteenth Tu'i Kanokupolu Aleamotu'a (see Appendix C), Tāufa'āhau became Tu'i Kanokupolu in AD 1845. However, in 1839, he introduced the Vava'u Code, followed by the Parliament and Code of 1862, known as the Emancipation Edict, thereby freeing the people from bondage and the oppression of the chiefly classes, especially the powerful Kanokupolu chiefs and the 'eiki/tapu divine Tu'i Tonga and the ratification of the Constitution of 1875 (see Lātūkefu 1974, 1975; see also 'Ilaiū 2019; Māhina 1986, 1992).

The introduction of Codes of Law and the Constitution, where the foreign ideas of individual human rights and democratic principles can be said to be the zenith of the so-called process of fakatau'atāina democratization, now strictly replaced with and driven by Western ideologies, as opposed to the Tongan (Moanan) collective human rights and democratic ideals. Evidently, the Codes of Law and the Constitution are strictly Western and Christian in form, content, and function, having very little or no bearing on Tongan knowledge and culture (and language). From a tāvāist realist view, the opposition between these two dichotomies is reflected in the epistemological arrangements of tā time and vā space, where they are organized in singular, techno-teleological, individual, atomistic, and linear ways in the West, in stark contrast to their ordering in plural, cultural, collective, holistic, and circular ways in Tonga (and Moana Oceania). By defeating all his enemies, notably both the powerful chiefs of Kanokupolu and the Tu'i Tonga, the last and thirty-ninth Tu'i Tonga Laufilitonga, Tāufa'āhau, under the 1875 Constitution, became George (Siaosi) Tāufa'āhau Tupou I, the first new constitutional monarch, now unifying the whole of Tonga under his political rule. In addition to the three kingly lines,

namely, the Tu'i Tonga, Tu'i Ha'atakalaua, and Tu'i Kanokupolu (Appendices A, B, and C), a fourth kingly line named Tu'i Tupou has emerged (see Appendix D), having formidable socio-cultural and politico-historical associations with Tu'i Vava'u-Tu'i Ha'apai and Tau Tahi Sea Warriors, made up of fearless Vava'u, Ha'apai (and 'Eua) warriors.

The Tu'i Tupou can also be called Tu'i Vava'u-Tu'i Ha'apai or Tu'i Tau Tahi/Tu'i Tautahi under the personhood and political clout of Tāufa'āhau. The new regime is marked by the so-called "modern" trappings, viz., Codes of Law and the Constitution, Western education and technology, capitalist democracy (i.e., economics and politics), government, parliament (Westminster system), and religion. The same applies to the crown and seal, as well as the national flag, emblem, and anthem, which peaked in the cession of Tonga at Pouono, Neiafu, Vava'u, to the Christian God⁵⁹ for his "divine protection and guidance." This included its logo as the cross⁶⁰ and motto as Koe 'Otua mo Tonga Ko Hoku Tofi'a, God and Tonga are my inheritance. Even the two oldest Tongan secondary schools, Tupou College and Tonga College, were respectively named after Tupou and Tonga, that is the Tu'i Tupou now Tonga's kingly line, for the chief purposes of teaching and training people for both the church and state, respectively. The two colleges belonged to Tonga, now under the rulership of the Tu'i Tupou, and neither the church nor the state have ownership. This is reflected in their respective logos, mottos, and colors, viz., the 'unga mud-crab, Tonga mo'unga kihe loto Tonga's mountain in the heart, and lanumoana/lanulangi blue for Tupou College and the 'akau-fakalava/kolosi cross, mate ma'a Tonga die for Tonga, and kulokula/kula red for Tonga College. While the former are secular/earthly attributes, the latter are sacred/godly characters.

Also, there was the creation of the new village of the Tau Tahi Sea Warriors named Kolofo'ou New-village, which led to the newly named Kolomotu'a Old-village as the old village of the last and eighteenth Tu'i Kanokupolu Aleamotu'a. Formerly, both villages, Kolofo'ou and Kolomotu'a, were collectively known as Nuku'alofa,⁶¹ differentiated by the Hala Vaha'akolo, i.e., Road Between-villages. The Royal Palace is fixed at the shoreline corners of the Hala Vaha'akolo Road Between-villages, which divided Kolomotu'a and Kolofo'ou, marking the end of the Tu'i Kanokupolu rule and the start of the Tu'i Tupou regime. In addition, there are the four palaces of the Tu'i Tupou, viz., Fangatongo in Neiafu, Vava'u; Tau'akipulu in Pangai, Ha'apai; 'Ohonua in 'Ohonua, 'Eua; and Kolofo'ou in Nuku'alofa, Tonga'eiki, Tongatapu, or Tongalahi. These are, in both their individuality and totality, the many attributes of the present and fourth kingship, Tu'i Tupou, of the Tau Tahi Sea Warriors made up of the daring warriors of Vava'u, Ha'apai, and 'Eua, newly renumbered Tupou I, Tupou II, Tupou III, Tupou IV, Tupou V, and now Tupou VI.

While the four kingly lines, Tu'i Tonga, Tu'i Ha'atalaaua, Tu'i Kanokupolu, and Tu'i Tupou, are socially connected by toto bloodlines, they are politically separated by ha'a⁶² titles. The situation of the punake-toutai, poet-navigator, Ula-mo-Leka, who was a direct descendant of the respective toutai navigators of the Tu'i Kanokupolu and Tu'i Tonga, Ula mo Leka, is a case in point. He deals with the intersection or connection and separation of social bloodlines and political relations in his maau poem "Folau ki Niua" "Voyage to Niua," as in the following excerpt: 'Isa 'ae vā 'o 'Uta mo Lalo, Alas the space between 'Uta and Lalo, Ka puna ha manu pea tō, If a seabird flies the distance, it falls, Ka kuo na taha 'i hoku sino, Yet, they've been one in my person. He made reference to the social principles of the 'eiki/tapu, chiefly/sacred and tu'a/ngofua, commoner/secular, respectively separating the ha'a tu'i kingly titles Kauhala'uta as a symbol for the Tu'i Tonga and Kauhala'alo as an allegory for the Tu'i Kanokupolu, who are related through toto bloodlines. Despite the political separation of the Tu'i Tonga and Tu'i Kanokupolu by way of ha'a titles, Ula-mo-Leka nevertheless recognizes their social connection by means of 'eiki/tapu chiefly/sacred and tu'a/ngofua commoner/secular. This course of history for Ula-mo-Leka is a cause for celebration in poetry, as were both the Takafalu, The King's Back and Lofia, Koe Kumi Tu'i, The Search For A King by Queen Sālote and Kaliopasi Fe'iloakitau Kaho, respectively.

This is evident in their collateral segmentation in both vertical and horizontal ways, as in the case of the appointment of Mo'ungāmotu'a, son of Takalaua the twenty-third Tu'i Tonga, as the first Tu'i Ha'atalaaua, and the installation of Ngata, son of the sixth Tu'i Ha'atalaaua, Mo'ungātonga, as the first Tu'i Kanokupolu. The same can be said about the case of Tāufa'āhau, son of Tupouto'a the seventeenth Tu'i Kanokupolu, who instituted and constituted the Tu'i Tupou as a fourth kingship under the new name and title George (Siaosi) Tāufa'āhau Tupou I or Tu'i Tupou I, followed by Tu'i Tupou II, Tu'i Tupou III, Tu'i Tupou IV, Tu'i Tupou V, and the present incumbent, Tu'i Tupou VI. We can see similarities on the regional imperial level, especially the decline and fall of the Tu'i Manu'a empire and the incline and rise of the Tu'i Tonga empire. Given that 'Aho'eitu was the son of a Tu'i Manu'a, his entitlement as the first Tu'i Tonga led to their separation as both empires and kingships, though their common connection remained through their bloodlines. This runs parallel to the necessarily indivisible but unavoidable role played by the Samoan mother of the first Tu'i Kanokupolu in separating it from the Tu'i Ha'atalaaua, like the role of the Tongan mother of 'Aho'eitu, first Tu'i Tonga, which involved the formation and ultimate collateral segmentation of the Tu'i Tonga empire from the Tu'i Manu'a empire.

Talangata Conclusion

The search by Ha'apai of the Tu'i Ha'apai, where history is retold in poetry, i.e., "Lofia, Koe Kumi Tu'i The Search for a King" by Kaliopasi Fe'iloakitau Kaho, involving the mediation of the historical and metaphorical languages by way of translation, is made meaningful in the broader context of both the evolution and revolution of power on both the regional imperial and local political levels. This is made manifest in the respective tripartite relationships between the Tu'i Puluotu, Tu'i Manu'a, and Tu'i Tonga empires, on the one hand, and the Tu'i Tonga, Tu'i Ha'atalaua, and Tu'i Kanokupolu kingdoms, on the other. One can say that, as far as the evolution and revolution of power in Tonga on both the regional imperial and local political levels were concerned, a movement began from the local to the regional, when the axis was slowly but surely changed to a movement from the regional to the local. This became the focus of the search, on the place of Tāufa'āhau, firstly, a Tu'i Ha'apai-Tu'i Vava'u and, secondly, a Tu'i Tupou, in the scheme of things, notably, the growth and development through collateral segmentation of the three kingly lines, viz., the Tu'i Tonga, Tu'i Ha'atalaua, and especially Tu'i Kanokupolu. This was the segment of history retold by Queen Sālote in poetry, titled "Takafalu, The Monarch's Back," where she thought and felt that the Tu'i Kanokupolu was the end of the kingship history. Yet, contrarily, history repeated itself, not wholly but rather partially, as in the ending of both the Tu'i Ha'apai-Tu'i Vava'u and Tu'i Kanokupolu and the beginning of the new and fourth kingly lines Tu'i Tupou in the personhood of George (Siaosi) Tāufa'āhau Tupou I, succeeded by George (Siaosi) Tāufa'āhau Tupou II, Charlotte (Sālote) Mafile'ō Pilolevu Tupou III, Tāufa'āhau Tupou IV, George (Siaosi) Tupou V, and now Tupou VI.

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NOTES

¹A shorter version of this essay was presented at the Empire and Religion: A Non-Western Legal History Conference, November 16–17, 2006, as part of the Intellectual History of International Law: Empire and Religion Project, Erik Castren Institute of International Law and Human Rights, University of Helsinki, Finland.

²He served as the Fakamaau Government Magistrate of Ha‘apai.

³The masculinity associated with haka fakatangata dance-in-the-style-of-men is sharper, more abrupt, and angular 45/45 degrees in arrangement, while the femininity linked to haka fakafefine dance-in-the-style-of-women is much more rounded, soft, and curvature 30/60 degrees in organization.

⁴Sydney Realism (or Temporalism–Spatialism), like Tongan Tāvāism, is a brand of philosophy, where the former is based in reality, i.e., time and space, and the latter is grounded in tā and vā time and space, i.e., reality. Sydney Realism and Tongan Tāvāism, like British Empiricism, are reality-reliant as opposed to German Idealism, French Rationalism, and American Pragmatism as brands of philosophy, which are mind-dependent.

⁵Or connection and separation as a form of intersection.

⁶That is, a corollary everywhere in reality, as in nature, mind, and society, is intersection, and there is nothing above connection and separation.

⁷A honorific term for the monarch’s back.

⁸The arrangement of the fasi melody is subject to various changes that are symmetrically mediated in terms of fepaki tension and fenāpasi release through sustained potupotutatau harmony in the production of mālie/faka‘ofo‘ofa beauty/quality. By way of “process,” the main melodic kupesi motif evolves across the four main movements, which, together with a steady sense of increasing tempo, achieves a feeling of consistently moving toward climax. By way of “outcome,” the “process” gives rise to māfana warmth, vela fieriness, and tauēlangi climatic elation, as ‘aonga/ngāue utilitarian/functional qualities of some therapeutic, hypnotic, or psychoanalytic importance (see Lear 2018; also see Māhina-Tuai 2017; Potauaine 2017). A tāvāist musical analysis of “Takafalu” can be found in Lear (2018).

⁹Both the poetry and general musical setting are fixed, but the dance is largely open to the creativity and innovation of subsequent pulotu haka composers of dance.

¹⁰Or laini, line.

¹¹Doubly taboo.

¹²Also known as Fonuatanu “land-filled island,” hence Fonuamotu “land connected and separated, i.e., intersected by sea, ocean or water, i.e., island,” which is the royal residence of Tu‘i Ha‘atakalua, also named Kauhalalalo “Lower-road-side” as opposed to Olotele as the royal residence of Tu‘i Tonga, which is symbolized as Kauhala‘uta ‘Upper-road-side. Both are situ-

ated on both the lower and upper sides of the road to Heketā, the former royal residence of Tu'i Tonga, in the hahake east.

¹³Āhau was named after Āsau in Sāmoa, where many of the tufunga material artists of different professions were recruited for the upkeep of affairs of Tu'i Kanokupolu as king of Sāmoa.

¹⁴Tonganized of the English word period, i.e., end or full-stop.

¹⁵A heliaki metaphor for Kanokupolu, royal residence of Tu'i Kanokupolu, with the word “kanokupolu” meaning umbilical cord of 'Upolu, in view of Limapō (also known as Tohu'ia), mother of Ngata, first Tu'i Kanokupolu, who was a daughter of ali'ipa'ia high chief Ama or Kama of Sāfata, 'Upolu, in Sāmoa. Originally, this new line of kings was called Tu'i Ha'amo'unga after Mo'ungāmotu'a, sixth Tu'i Ha'atakaluā, father of the first Tu'i Kanokupolu Ngata but was later changed to Tu'i Kanokupolu probably because of the powerful Samoans accompanying Limapō or Tohu'ia.

¹⁶The poet Kaliopasi Fe'iloakitau Kaho was a direct descendant who also belonged to the ha'a toutaivaka and ha'a toutaiika professional classes of long-distance voyaging and deep-sea fishing, collectively known as Fokololoehau, together with Leka, Ula, and 'Akau'ola, who is the head of the kau Moala, made up of Moala Lahi, Moala Leameivaka, Moala Ngalongalo, Moala Toutai, and Moala Folau (S. Faletau, pers. comm., 2020). Also see Velt (1990) on aspects of Tonga astronomy.

¹⁷Like in “Takafalu,” “The Monarch's Back,” kohi/laini lines 1–7, 8–20 (plus 21–24), 25–42 and 43–56 are connected and separated, that is intersected, by the hoa/soa, pairing/binary of repetition and key musical changes; which, in their ongoing production of potupotutatau harmony by way of fepaki conflict and fenāpasi resolution—as internal or intrinsic aesthetic qualities relating to beauty/quality—consistently raise the physical, psychological, and emotional effects and affects as outcomes, from māfana inner warmth to vela fire, to tauēlangi climatic elation—that is, the external or extrinsic aesthetic qualities relating to utility/function.

¹⁸Unlike the poetry and composed musical setting, the dance choreography is fixed only to a certain extent, where some of the old movements may be mixed with the new ones, informed by the creativity and innovation of the pulotu haka composer of dance.

¹⁹She was at the time-space married to noble Tuita (Toluafe, 'Isileli Tupou), whose children were Laufilitonga, Siaosi Makahokovalu, and Solomone Tu'iniua. Noble Tuita (Toluafe, 'Isileli Tupou) was followed by his son noble Tuita (Laufilitonga), who was, in turn, succeeded by his son noble Tuita (Ma'ulupekotofa), the present holder of the noble title. Apart from being a noble, the hereditary title Tuita belongs in the ha'a toutaivaka professional class of long-distance navigators and ha'a toutaika professional class of deep-sea fishermen, including the kau Moala led by 'Akau'ola, as well as Leka and Ula, which are collectively called Fokololoehau (L. Tuita-Lafitani, pers. comm., 2020).

²⁰Lofia is the name of the ngoto'umu crater of the mo'ungaafi volcano on the high island of Tofua adjacent to the high volcanic island of Kao. Both Tofua and Kao, including Lofia, are used as heliaki metaphors/symbols for Ha'apai Islands.

²¹There are two meanings of 'Otu Ha'apai, one is for the Ha'apai Islands, and the other is for the three original high chiefs named Taufatofua, Fanualofanga, and Kavamo'unga'one sent out by the Tu'i Tonga to the outer islands, including Ha'apai, as governors. The fourth title Tuiā, now defunct, was stationed at the island of Felemea and 'Uiha (Taufatofua [Tēvita Finau], pers. comm., 2020).

²²Or Taufatofua, Fanualofanga, and Kavamo'unga'one, the so-called 'Otu Ha'apai as the ancient high chiefs of Ha'apai Islands.

²³Symbol for Tāufa'āhau as first and foremost Tu'i Ha'apai and later Tu'i Ha'apai, usually shortened as 'Uluakifā; see Fo'ikukuvalu.

²⁴Or Tonga'eiki or Tongalahi, i.e., Tonga abundant in chiefness and taboo, both as godly attributes, originated in the godly–earthly origins of the first Tu'i Tonga, whose Langi Sky/Samoan father was god Tangaloa 'Eitumātupu'a and Maama Earth/Tongan mother was 'Ilaheva (also known as Va'epopua) a woman of noble birth.

²⁵A toa casuarina/ironwood tree named Tu'uakitau as a symbol for Ha'apai, which was associated with the war waged by Tāufa'āhau against the last and thirty-ninth Tu'i Tonga Laufiletonga.

²⁶A symbolic name for the notable chief and warrior Ma'afu, son of the eighteenth Tu'i Kanokupolu Aleamotu'a (Faletuipapai), meaning To'a ko Ma'afu Warrior called Ma'afu, who was eligible as Tāufa'āhau, son of Tupouto'a, seventeenth Tu'i Kanokupolu, for the Tu'i Kanokupolu.

²⁷A symbolic name for Tāufa'āhau, with both Fo'ifātapu and Fo'ikukuvalu as sweet-scented fruits and flowers of fā and kukuvalu as species of pandanus plants.

²⁸The 'Otu Lau Islands are in Fiji, where the Tongan daring warrior-chief Ma'afu (also known as Ma'afu Fisi Ma'afu of Fiji) was Tu'i Lau and was close to being Tu'i Fisi had it not been for the cession of Fiji to Queen Victoria.

²⁹Both Ualulu and Hikuvalu were the famous war clubs of Tāufa'āhau, with the latter Hikuvalu Eight-tailed club named after the sika javelin of his father Tupouto'a, seventeenth Tu'i Kanokupolu, named Sikahikuvalu eight-tailed javelin (S. L. 'Ilaiū, pers. comm., 2020). Cf. Mokohikuvalu eight-tailed lizard associated with Ha'a Fakafanua in Ma'ofanga and Nga'akau short for Fufulu'anga'akau'amakau adjacent to Tefisi, Vava'u.

³⁰A place name related to the famous battle at Velata.

³¹A place name, see endnote 27.

³²Name of the Tu'i Tonga fortress.

³³A place name, see endnotes 27 and 28.

³⁴The hihifo west where the sun sets is associated with the hema left, both as symbols for refine women and, on the ontological level, vā space and uho content.

³⁵A symbolic name for Fua'amotu, i.e., Tu'alikutonga the cliffed southern windward side, best known for its sweet-smelling sialetafa gardenias; see Hoositea.

³⁶A symbolic name for Fua'amotu, referring to the white waves of the cliffed windward side, breaking like white horses.

³⁷A symbolic name for the village of 'Utulau next to the village of Houma, whose liku cliffed windward side is named Tu'alikuhouma'utulau adjacent to the Tu'alikutonga, also known as Tu'alikutapu. Cf. Tu'alikuohihifo, where 'Āhau, Kanokupolu, and Ha'atafu are situated in Vahe Hihifo Western District.

³⁸A place name.

³⁹Name of the village at the western tip of Tonga'eiki, Tongatapu, or Tongalahi next to the village of Kanokupolu.

⁴⁰As maka punga coral at the reefs in Ha'atafu named after Teuhie and Kaloafu.

⁴¹Name of fanga beaches at Ha'atafu and Kanokupolu villages.

⁴²Name of a reef at Kanokupolu village, considered chiefly for its kingly association.

⁴³Name of village adjacent to the village of Kanokupolu closely linked to the Tu'i Kanokupolu, where such material artists as tufunga langafale house-builders and tufunga fo'uvaka boat-builders from the Āsau in Savai'i, Sāmoa, for the Tu'i Kanokupolu.

⁴⁴Faleha'akili "House-of-Kili" as a ha'a title originated in Kili, one of the chiefly relatives of Limapō/Tohu'ia, who were responsible for the installation of Tu'i Kanokupolu.

⁴⁵Name of village in Hihifo, Pangai, Ha'apai, the hereditary estate of Noble Tuita.

⁴⁶An 'Ovava tree associated with the battle at Velata as a symbol for the victory of Tāufa'āhau over Tu'i Tonga Laufilitonga at his fortress Velata.

⁴⁷Names of the maka rocks/stones linked to the kasivaki performance art of undersea rugby, which involved the performance art of kakau swimming, associated with Tāufa'āhau; also a symbol for his war efforts.

⁴⁸The Maka'umea was a rock at Tongoleleka, where 'umea red clay was prepared as a hair-wash of the chief Tokemoana, a title appointed by the Tu'i Tonga. The last Tokemoana was killed in the war between Tāufa'āhau and Laufilitonga at Velata; also a symbol for Tongaoeleka.

⁴⁹A place name and a symbol for the war efforts at Velata.

⁵⁰Also known as Tonga'eiki and Tongalahi.

⁵¹Toakoma'afu is thought and felt to be a reference to the to'a ko Ma'afu chief-warrior Ma'afu, son of the eighteenth Tu'i Kanokupolu Aleamotu'a, a possible contender of Tāufa'āhau, now Tu'i Tupou I, son of Tupouto'a, seventeenth Tu'i Kanokupolu (Havelulahi [Ma'asi Taukei'aho], pers. comm., 2020).

⁵²Both the words aufua and akefua mean swelling waves used in faiva fānifo, the performance art of surfing.

⁵³In fact, he was already widely popularly known as Ma'afu Fisi Ma'afu of Fiji.

⁵⁴See such variations as ali'i, aliki, ari'i, ariki, and 'eueiki.

⁵⁵Or ironwood toa tree, a metaphor for both royalty and aristocracy.

⁵⁶Or, like before, the incline and rise of the Tu'i Manu'a empire, causing the decline and fall of the Tu'i Pulotu empire.

⁵⁷The Tongan political and economic systems are named tauhivā keeping socio-spatial relations and fai-fatongia performing socio-economic functions, where the former as spatial entities are temporally marked the latter as temporal identities are spatially constituted in both the productive and reproductive spheres. Depending on the symmetry or asymmetry of their mediation, it can either be vā-lelei good socio-spatial relation or vā-kovi bad socio-spatial relations, respectively resulting in either melino stability, tu'umalie prosperity, and tau'atāina autonomy or moveuveu instability, tu'utāmaki poverty, and pōpula tyranny. The Tongan word for democracy, defined as the government of the people by the people for the people, is tau'atāina, which literally means "struggle for a bigger space," as opposed to pōpula, literally

meaning “caught in a smaller space.” Whereas democracy is self-centric, tau’atāina is non-self-centric. Cf. Samoan parallel, viz., teulevā decorating socio-spatial relations and tautua enacting socio-economic services (see Hau’ofa 2005; Ka’ili 2008, 2017a, 2017b).

⁵⁸Velata was the fortress of Tu’i Tonga Laufilitonga at Lifuka in Ha’apai.

⁵⁹That is, Tuku-Fonua-ki-Langi Cession-of-People-and-Land-to-the-Sky, i.e., God, or Tuku-Fonua-’i-Pouono Cession-of-Land-and-People-at-Pouono, which was followed by the planting of the toa and ‘ovava trees, named Toa-ko-Tuku-ki-Langi Casuarina-Tree-of-Cession-to-the-Sky and ‘Ovava-ko-Tauhi-Kiai ‘Ovava-Tree-of-Keeping-Cession-to-the-Sky.

⁶⁰That is, Kolosi ‘oe ‘Akaufakalava, the Cross of Christ.

⁶¹As in the name Kolotau Nuku’alofa Fortress of Nuku’alofa, which was situated on the sia mound Sia-’o-Veiongo (i.e., Sia-’o-Vaiongo) on the opposite side of Hala Vaha’akolo that is now Kolomotu’a, following the naming of the new village of Tau Tahī Sea Warriors as Kolofo’ou.

⁶²The word ha’a is used here in the Samoan, Muifonua, Tu’i Kanokupolu political sense, which is associated with titles, i.e., persons, e.g., Ha’a Tu’i Tonga, Ha’a Tu’i Kanokupolu, and Ha’a Tu’i Tupou—as opposed to its use in the Tongan, Kauhala’uta, Tu’i Tonga economic sense, related to functions, i.e., fatongia, e.g., ha’a faiva punake professional class of performance poets, ha’a faiva faifolau professional class of performance voyagers, ha’a tufunga nimatapu professional class of material undertakers, and ha’a nimamea’a lālanga professional class of mat-weavers.

⁶³He was nicknamed Tu’itātui “King-hit-knees” for his tyrannical rule by putting his subjects on their knees. His royal tombs were Langi Mo’ungalafa and Langi Heketā, respectively named after him and his royal residence. The name Heketā “Crawl-and-hit” is linked to the name Tu’itātui “King-hit-knees,” both as nicknames for his tyranny.

⁶⁴Oral history says that it was a piece of wood from a tou tree made by a great make-believe king (see Māhina 1986, 1992).

⁶⁵The word Fekai “Wild and Ferocious” is a nickname for the brutality and viciousness of Kau’ulufonua in his pursuit of the assassins of his father Takalaua, twenty-third Tu’i Tonga.

⁶⁶Who also met Cook AD 1777.

⁶⁷Who also met Captain Cook AD 1777.

⁶⁸Who was killed at the Battle of Te’ēkiu.

⁶⁹The name George is often used and referred to in Tongan as Siaoisi, following the name George as a British royal name.

⁷⁰The royal Tongan name Tupou is derived from the aristocratic Fijian name Tubou.

⁷¹The name Sālote is Tongan for the name Charlotte, a royal British name.

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KOLOSALIO GLOSSARY

| | |
|-------------------|---|
| Afo | harmony, simultaneous pitch |
| 'Afua | wave swell; see akefua wave swell |
| 'Akaufakalava | cross; see kolosi cross |
| Akefua | wave swell; see 'afua wave swell |
| Ako | education; see school; learning |
| 'Ali'i | chiefly; see 'eiki |
| Ali'ipa'ia | Samoan for high chief |
| 'Alik | chiefly; see 'eiki |
| 'Aonga | utility/functionality; see ngāue utility/functionality |
| Ari'i | chiefly; see 'eiki |
| Ariki | chiefly; see 'eiki |
| 'Atamai | mind |
| Ava | hole |
| 'Eiki | chief, chiefly; see kingly, godly; tapu/taboo |
| Faiva | performance art |
| Faiva faifolau | performance art of voyaging |
| Faiva fakamamahi | performance art of tragedy |
| Faiva fānifo | performance art of surfing |
| Faiva sika'ulutoa | performance art of javelin-throwing |
| Faiva ta'anga | performance art of poetry |
| Faiva tauhifonua | performance art of keeping people and land, i.e., human-environment |

| | |
|-----------------------|--|
| Faiva toutaiika | performance art of fishing |
| Faiva toutaivaka | performance art of voyaging |
| Fakafelavai | intersection |
| Fakahoko | connection |
| Fakakaukau | thinking |
| Fakamāvae | separation |
| Faka'ofa'ofa | beauty/quality; see mālie beauty/quality |
| Fanua | see fenua, fonua, hanua, honua, vanua, whenua |
| Fasi | tone, tune, air, melody, sequential pitch, leading voice |
| Fatongia | socio-economic obligations |
| Fefine | woman |
| Felekeu | chaos; see fepaki chaos |
| Fenāpasi | order; see maau order |
| Fenua | see fanua, fonua, hanua, honua, vanua, whenua |
| Fepaki | chaos |
| Fonua | see fanua, fenua, hanua, honua, vanua, whenua, people and land; see also fetus and mother's placenta; dead and burial places |
| Fuo | form |
| Fuo-uho | form-content |
| Ha'a | professional economic class or economic functions, e.g., ha'a tufunga langafale house-building; professional political class or political titles/persons, e.g., ha'a Ngata |
| Ha'a faiva toutaivaka | professional class of performance art of voyaging |
| Ha'a tufunga | professional class of material artists |
| Haka-'a-fafine | women's dance |
| Haka-'a-tangata | men's dance |
| Haka-fakafafine | style of women's haka bodily movements |
| Haka-fakatangata | style of men's haka bodily movements |
| Hala | medium/vessel/vehicle; see vaka/tala medium/vessel/vehicle |
| Hau | victor, king |
| Hawaiki | symbolic name for Cook Islands; ancestral homeland and afterworld of eastern Moana people |
| Hema | left; see hihifo west, with both as symbols for tragedy |
| Hoa | see Samoan soa; inseparable pair/binary; pairs/binaries |

| | |
|---------------------|--|
| Hoakehekehe | pairs/binaries of opposite/different/dissimilar identities/identities/tendencies |
| Hoamalie | pairs/binaries of equal/same/similar identities/identities/tendencies |
| Hoatamaki | pairs/binaries of opposite/different/dissimilar identities/identities/tendencies |
| Hoatau | pairs/binaries of equal/same/similar identities/identities/tendencies |
| ʻIlo | knowledge (find; finding) |
| ʻInasi | tributary practice of presentation of the best yields of the land (and people) to Tu'i Tonga; see polo-polo as its smaller version |
| Kā | time; see tā/tarag time; Hawaiian cognate for tā |
| Kalia | double-hulled canoe |
| Kā-wā | time-space; see tā-vā time-space |
| Kohi | line; see tohi line/writing; see laini line |
| Kolosi | cross; see 'akaufakalava cross |
| Kumi | search |
| Lahi | great; greatness |
| Lakalaka | type of poetry, music, and dance |
| Langi | sky; symbolic name for Sāmoa; royal tombs of Tu'i Tonga |
| Lanulangi | blue (i.e., blue ocean); see lanulangi blue (i.e., blue sky) |
| Loto | inside/desire/heart |
| Maa'imoa | honorific word for work |
| Maama | earth; symbolic name for Tonga |
| Maau | order; see fenāpasi order |
| Mafai | constitutive power; cf. potential energy |
| Māfana | warmth |
| Mālie | beauty/quality; see faka'ofa'ofa beauty/quality |
| Mana | agency for active power; also see pule authority/kinetic energy |
| Mata | eye |
| Mata-ava | eye-hole |
| Melino | stability |
| Moana | Ocean; name of people of the Moana/Oceania |
| Nimamea'a | fine art |
| Nimamea'a koka'anga | fine art of bark-cloth-making |
| Ngāue | utility/functionality; see 'aonga utility/functionality |
| Ongo | sound/feeling/hearing |

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| Ouau | protocol, ritual |
| ‘Ovava | name of tree |
| Pōpula | tyranny/oppression/domination |
| Poto | skill; skillful; clever |
| Pule | rule; ruler; active power (see mana); cf. kinetic energy; mafai for power and pule for authority |
| Pulotu | symbolic name for Fiji; ancestral homeland and afterworld of western Moana people; see Hawaiki for eastern Moana |
| Pulotu fasi/hiva | composer of music |
| Pulotu fatu/fa’u | composer of poetry |
| Pulotu haka/sino | composer of dance |
| Punake kakato | master, knowledgeable, and skillful poet |
| Punake kapo | amateur, less knowledgeable, skillful, poet |
| Tā | time; also see rhythm; beat; pace; rate; strike; hit |
| Ta’efuo | formless; see ta’etā timeless |
| Ta’etā | timeless; see ta’efuo formless |
| Tala | medium/vessel/vehicle; see hala/vaka medium/vessel/vehicle; to tell; story |
| Tapu | taboo; see kingly, godly, state of harmony and beauty; also see ‘eiki |
| Tau’atāina | autonomy/freedom/independence |
| Tauēlangi | climatic elation; divine feeling |
| Tauhivā | keeping socio-spatial relations; performance art of keeping socio-spatial relations; see Samoan teulevā decorating socio-spatial relations |
| Tautahi | Sea warriors |
| Tā-vā | time-space |
| Tāvāism | brand of philosophy; tā-vā philosophy of reality |
| Tāvāist | upholder of tāvāism |
| Toa | name of tree; ironwood or casuarina tree |
| To’ā | warrior; courage |
| Tu’ā | commoner; see ngofua free of tapu/taboo |
| Tufunga | material art |
| Tufunga fonua | material art of social architecture/engineering |
| Tufunga fō’uvaka | material art of boat-building |
| Tufunga langafale | material art of house-building |
| Tufunga tāmaka | material art of stone-cutting |
| Tufunga tātatau | material art of tattooing |
| Tu’i | king; lord and emperor |
| Tu’umālie | wealthy/plenty |

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| Tu'utāmaki | poverty |
| Uho | content; see vā space |
| 'Umea | red clay |
| Vā | space; see uho content |
| Vahe | division, divide |
| Vaka | vessel/medium/vehicle; see hala/tala medium/ vessel/vehicle |
| Vākovi | bad socio-spatial relations |
| Vālelei | good socio-spatial relations |
| Vanua | see fanua, fenua, hanua, honua, whenua |
| Vela | fieriness (emotion) |
| Wā | space; see vā/wan space |
| Wan | space; see vā/wā space |
| Whenua | see fanua, fenua, fonua, hanua, honua, vanua, whenua |