

**LEA TAFE/HEKE, TONGAN LANGUAGE DRIFT/SHIFT:
A TĀVĀIST PHILOSOPHICAL CRITIQUE**

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In this original essay, we tāvāistically critique Tongan language, generally, and Tongan lea tafe/heke language drift/shift, specifically. We examine our subject matter of exploration within and across Tāvāism as a general philosophy of reality, in “time” and “space,” as both ontological and epistemological entities, identities, or tendencies. By actively, yet critically engaging in this exercise, we canvass some key aspects of the problem commonplace in both thinking and feeling. Specifically, this new undertaking will be informed by a key tāvāist tenet: all things in reality, as in nature, mind, and society, stand in fakafetongi ta'engata eternal relations of exchange, giving rise to fepaki/felekeu conflict and maau/fenāpasi order, on the one hand, and the tāvāist corollary, that everywhere in reality is fakafelavai intersection; there is nothing beyond fakahoko connection and fakamāvae separation, on the other. Therein, maau/fenāpasi

order and felekeu/feepaki conflict are the same logical status, maau/fēnapasi order is itself a form of felekeu/feepaki conflict. Two or more tatau equal/similar and kehekehe opposite/dissimilar forces, energies, or tendencies meet at a common point of mata-ava eye-hole defined by a state of noa/0, i.e., zero point. This state of faka'ofa'ofa/mālie beauty engages in the fakatatau mediation of fakafelavai intersection (i.e., fakahoko connection and fakamāvae separation) through sustained tatau symmetry and potupotutatau harmony: ethereal yet real faka'ofa'ofa/mālie beauty ('aonga utility) is a necessary condition of tatau symmetry; potupotutatau harmonies are necessary conditions.

Talatukupā: Dedication

To our dear beloved friend and famous teacher the late Ma'u-i-Lalofonua, Fua Malungahu, a hereditary title of tufunga nimatapu dead handling, i.e., “material-artist-of-the-sacred-hands,” who was also a great material and performance artist of tufunga lea language designing and faiva lea language performing and whose everlasting mind, heart, and soul are now in the deep past, yet in front, as guidance upon which the distant future is brought to bear, guiding us all in the ever-changing present in the labyrinth of time and space.

‘Oku kai pē lea, pea lea pē ngāue.
One “eats” the language, and only work “speaks.”⁶

‘Oku ifo mo vovo ‘ae lea, koe fu’ufu’unga mo’ui
Language is both delicious and nutritious, a greater life-force.

Koe lea Tonga heliaki⁷
Tongan proverbial sayings

‘Oku fakafuo ‘ehe tā ‘ae vā kae ‘fakafuo ‘ehe vā ‘ae tā, koe ongo hoa/soa
ta‘emavahevahe ta‘engata (time defines space and vā space composes
time both as inseparable eternal pair/binary).

—Tā-Vā: Time-Space Philosophy of Reality

Tā koe Fuiva Mapu⁸ Oh, the Sweet-Whistling Fuiva⁹

Fakafatu/fakafa‘u ‘e he Punake taè` iloa
Poetry composed by an anonymous poet

Fakaafo/fakafasi 'e he Punake ta'e`iloa
 Music composed by an anonymous poet

Liliulea 'Ingilisi 'e Mele Ha'amoā Māhina 'Alatini &
 Hūfanga-He-Ako-Moe-Lotu, 'Ōkusitino Māhina
 English translation by Mele Ha'amoā Māhina 'Alatini &
 Hūfanga-He-Ako-Moe-Lotu, 'Ōkusitino Māhina

Tau/Kōlesi

Pe'i ke lea mu'a kau fanongo
 Ke tatala 'ae matapā ongo
 Loka'i 'eha punake poto¹⁰
 Fakaava pē mei he loto

Chorus

Doth speak forth, let me hear
 That I unveil the door of feelings
 Locked by a wise and skillful poet
 To be opened only from the heart inside

Koe ta'anga hiva kakala¹¹
 A sung poetry of love

Talakamata: Introduction

This joint, original, yet critical, essay sets out to explore what linguists call “language drift” or, for that matter what we have called “language shift” (see Bloomfield 1927: 432–39; Burnett 1974a, 1974b; Chomsky 1963), which can be, respectively, called in Tongan, “lea tafe” or, by extension, “lea heke” (see Taliai 1989; Hartung 2011: 167–83; Taumoefolau 1998; 2012: 327–72; 2017a: 137–52), both as a specific “text” through reflective thinking and emotive feeling in the general “context”¹² of the Tongan (and Moanan Oceanian) Tā-Vā Time-Space Philosophy of Reality (see Ka'ili 2017a: 62–71; Ka'ili, Māhina, and Ado 2017: 1–17; also see Anderson 2007; Harvey 2000: 2–16). There are different ways of 'ilo knowing lea¹³ language as ongo sound that is respectively both natural and social as ontological and epistemological entities given in nature and made in society.¹⁴ The focus of this exercise is on Tongan views of Tongan language, i.e., Tongan ways of knowing Tongan language based in ongo sound, both as epistemological and ontological identities, respectively, involving “ways of knowing (the real)” and “ways of being (real)” (see Māhina 2009: 505–11; Māhina-Tuai,

Ka‘ili, and Māhina, in prep). Apart from “lea tafe” for “language drift,” the same is also found in Tonga as “lea heke,” translated as “language shift,” both as lea heliaki¹⁵ proverbial sayings for the fluidity (or volatility) of language as a human creation, which is likened to both vaitafe waterflow and matangiheke¹⁶ wind-flow as natural entities in constant tu‘a-ki-loto outside-in, loto-ki-tu‘a inside-out motion, transformation, or transition¹⁷ (see Māhina 2004b; Māhina & Māhina-Tuai 2017; also see Taumoeofolau 2011: 132–9).

Tā-Vā Time-Space: General Tāvāist Philosophy of Reality

As a narrower “text,” lea tafe “language drift” or lea heke “language shift” is critiqued in the broader “context” of the Tā-Vā Time-Space Philosophy of Reality (see Ka‘ili 2017b; Ka‘ili, Māhina, and Addo 2017; Lear 2018; Lear et al. 2021; Māhina 2004a: 86–93, 2010: 186–202; 2017a: 105–32).¹⁸ All things made by people, like all things given in reality, are tā-vā temporal-spatial, fuo-uho formal-substantial (and ‘aonga-ngāue practical-functional) entities, identities, or tendencies, both taking place in tā and vā time and space, on the abstract level, and fuo and uho form and content, on the concrete level. Both are applicable to ‘aonga-ngāue function-practice, in meeting the demands of people and needs of society. As a “text,” lea tafe “language drift” or lea heke “language shift” can be made meaningfully understood and felt in this “context.” Both the specific and general ontological and epistemological tenets (and corollaries) of Tāvāism as a philosophy of ‘iai reality¹⁹ (i.e., fa‘ahifā/fa‘akifā four-sided dimensionality) include, inter alia, the following:

- that as ontological entities tā and vā time and space are the common vaka vessels, vehicles, or mediums for the existence of all things in reality²⁰ or four-sided dimensionality;²¹
- that as epistemological identities tā and vā time and space are socially organized in different ways across cultures²² (and languages);²³
- that tā and vā time and space, like fuo and uho form and content, are socially arranged in plural, temporal-spatial/formal-substantial, collectivistic, holistic, and circular ways;²⁴
- that tā and vā time and space are the abstract dimensions of fuo and uho form and content, which are, in turn, the concrete manifestations of tā and vā time and space;
- that tā and vā time and space, like fuo and uho form and content, are inseparable but indispensable as hoa/soa²⁵ pairs/dualities/binaries, namely, hoatatau/hoamālie equal/similar and hoakeheke/hoatamaki unequal/dissimilar pairs/binaries;

- that *tā* and *vā* time and space, like *fuo* and *uho* form and content, are *fa'ahifā/fa'akifā* four dimensional, rather than *fa'ahitolu/fa'akitolu* three dimensional;²⁶
- that *tā* time is a verb (or action led)²⁷ and *fakafuo*, definer/marker²⁸ of *vā* space which is, in turn, a noun (or object based)²⁹ and *fakauho* constitutor/composer³⁰ of *tā* time;
- that as a corollary *fuo* form is a verb (i.e., action led) and *fakafuo* definer/marker of *uho* content and, in turn, *uho* form is a noun (object based) and *fakauho* constitutor/composer of *fuo* form;
- that all things in reality or *fa'ahifā/fa'akifa* four-sided dimensionality, as in nature, mind, and society, stand in eternal relations of exchange, giving rise to *maau/fenāpasi* order³¹ or *felekeu/fepaki* conflict;³²
- that as a corollary order and conflict are of the same logical status, in that order is itself a form of conflict, when equal and opposite forces, energies or tendencies, meet at a common point,³³ defined as *noa/0* (zero point);
- that as a corollary everywhere in reality, temporality-spatiality/formality-substantiality, or four-sided dimensionality is *fakafelavai* intersection,³⁴ and there is nothing beyond *fakahoko* connection³⁵ and/or *fakamāvae* separation;³⁶
- that as a corollary everywhere in 'iai reality, temporality-spatiality/formality-substantiality, or four-sided dimensionality, is *mata-ava* eye-hole, and there is nothing above *mata* eye and/or *ava* hole;
- that everywhere in reality, temporality-spatiality/formality-substantiality, or four-sided dimensionality is inseparable yet indispensable *hoa/soa* pair/binary, and there is nothing over equal and/or opposite pairs/dualities/binaries.
- that *mata* eye and, its opposite, *ava* hole is the *fakafelavai*, intersection (or *fakahoko* connection and *fakamāvae* separation) of two or more *kohi* lines; a *kohi* line is a collection of *mata* eyes and its symmetry *ava* holes; and *vā* is a summation of *kohi* lines (see *Māhina* 2002, 2004a);
- that knowledge is knowledge of *tā* and *vā*, time and space, and of reality, temporality-spatiality/formality-substantiality, or four-sided dimensionality;
- that the knowledge gained in education is constituted/composed³⁷ in *fonua/kalatua* culture³⁸ and transmitted/communicated³⁹ in *tala/lea*, language, both merely as social *vaka* vessels, vehicles, or mediums⁴⁰ (see *Māhina* 2008);
- that as a corollary *ako* education involves a temporal-spatial,⁴¹ formal-substantial,⁴² and functional-practical⁴³ transformation of the human 'atamai mind, and *loto* heart, from *vale* ignorance to 'ilo

knowledge to poto skills, in that logical order of precedence (see Lear et al. 2021); and

- that errors in both fakakaukau thinking and ongo feelings are a problem of both 'atamai mind and loto heart, and not of reality, temporality-spatiality, or four-sided dimensionality;

Ako Education: From Vale Ignorance to 'Ilo Knowledge to Poto Skill

The ancient/old Tongan tāvāist philosophy of ako education is chiefly concerned with both the kumi-'ilo "knowledge-finding" and kumi-'aonga "knowledge-using" i.e., both its beauty/quality and utility/functionality. The Tongan tāvāist philosophy of ako education as temporal-spatial, formal-substantial, and functional-practical is deeply entrenched and taking place in tā and vā time and space. Herein, ako education is defined as the dialectical tā-vā time-space, fuo-uho form-content, and 'aonga-ngāue function-practice transformation of the human 'atamai and loto mind and heart through fakakaukau thinking and ongo feelings from vale ignorance to 'ilo knowledge to poto skill, with the former preceding the latter, in that logical order of precedence (see Māhina 2008: 67–96). Both Tongan ako education and 'aati arts were organized together, where the former was aligned to the latter by way of the three genres of arts, viz., faiva performance, tufunga material, and nimamea'a fine arts⁴⁴ (see Māhina 2004a: 86–93; Māhina-Tuai, Ka'ili, and Māhina 2021).

As types of disciplinary practices and forms of social activity, both ako education and 'aati arts were conducted along the ha'a professional classes, such as ha'a punake professional class of poetry/poets; ha'a tufunga langafale professional class of house-building/house-builders; and ha'a nimamea'a koka'anga professional class of tapa-making/tapa-makers. Both ako education and 'aati arts respectively, are concerned with 'ilo knowledge and mālie/faka'ofa'ofa beauty, with the quality preceding the utility. Besides ako education, art can be similarly defined as tā-vā temporal-spatial, fuo-uho formal-substantial (and 'aonga-ngāue functional-practical) transformation of the subject matters under the creative process from a condition of felekeu/fepaki chaos to a state of maau/fenāpasi order through sustained tatau symmetry and potupotutatau harmony to produce mālie/faka'ofa'ofa beauty (see Ka'ili 2017b; Lear 2018; Lear et al. 2021; Māhina, A. N. M. 2004; Māhina 2005b: 168–83; also see Anderson, Cullum, and Lycos 1982).

'Ilo/Poto, Fonua/Kalatua, and Tala/Lea: Knowledge/Skill, Culture, and Language

From a tāvāist philosophical view, 'ilo knowledge is taken as 'ilo knowledge (and beauty/utility) of tā and vā time and space and of reality, temporality-spatiality,

or four-sided dimensionality, socially organized in the educational process along the three divisions of arts, viz., faiva performance, tufunga material, and nimamea'a fine arts. The 'ilo knowledge acquired in ako education by way of 'aati arts is, in turn, dialectically fa'oaki constituted/composed in fonua/kalatua culture and historically talaki transmitted/communicated in tala/lea language, both merely as social vaka, vessels, vehicles, or mediums (see Māhina-Tu'ai, Ka'ili, and Māhina, in prep; Lear et al. 2021). Of all three, viz., 'ilo knowledge (and poto skills), fonua/kalatua culture and tala/lea language, 'ilo knowledge is by far the most significant constitutive component. The active preservation, conservation, and safeguarding⁴⁵ of both the fonua/kalatua culture and tala/lea language quite simply means the critical conservation and safekeeping⁴⁶ of 'ilo knowledge (and poto skills). That is, that the active preservation and safeguarding fonua/kalatua culture are strictly dependent on the reflective and emotive tauhi preservation, tokanga'i conservation, and malu'i safekeeping of 'ilo knowledge (and poto skills).

**Kuohili/Kuongamu'a, Lotolotonga/Kuongaloto, and Kaha'u/Kuongamui:
Past, Present, and Future⁴⁷**

The fakatatau mediation of the metaphorical and historical fakafelavai intersection or fakahoko connection and fakamāvae separation of the arrangement of the past, present, and future provides a "context" for the fakatatau negotiation of 'ilo knowledge (and poto skills), fonua/kalatua culture, and tala lea language as a "text" (see Hau'ofa 2000: 134–40; Māhina 2020: 110–23). The past, present, and future are metaphorically called kuongamu'a "age-in-the-front," kuongaloto "age-in-the-middle/center," and kuongamui "age-in-the-back," and historically named kuohili "that-which-has-passed," lotolotonga "that-which-is-passing/now," and kaha'u "that-which-is-yet-to-come/pass," respectively. Metaphorically, yet historically, the fact that the past has happened and stood the test of time and space, it is thus placed in the mu'a front as guidance, and because the future is yet-to-come/pass, it is situated in the mui back, guided by refined past 'ilo knowledge (and poto skills) and taukei experiences, with both the illusive past and elusive future constantly fakatatau, arbitrated, in the ever-passing, changing, and conflicting present (see Ka'ili 2017b; Lear et al. 2021; Māhina 2008: 67–96, 2019: 110–23 among others).

**Liliu Meihe 'Ilo/Poto Kihe Fonua/Kalatua Kihe Tala/Lea: Translation from
Knowledge/Skill to Culture to Language**

The liliu translation of 'ilo/poto knowledge/skill as an ontological "process" through thinking and feeling, mind, and heart, focusing on fakatatau negotiating

of reality or four-sided dimensionality within across fonua/kalatua cultures and tala/lea⁴⁸ languages as epistemological vaka vessels, vehicles, or mediums is surely a tricky and slippery practice. As a human, vaka means of fetu'utaki/talaki transmission/communication of 'ilo/poto knowledge/skills gained in ako education, and tala/lea language, as a material art of tufunga lea language making is concerned with the fashioning, sculpting, or carving of ongo sound into a diversity but unity of kupesi patterns which are, in turn, given human 'uhinga meanings. By liliu translation, reference is made to the passing of 'ilo/poto knowledge/skills by way of the maintenance of fonua/kalatua culture and tala/lea language as mere vaka vessels, vehicles, or mediums (see Kalāvite 2019: 173–83; Māhina 2009: 505–11; Taumoefolau 2005). In doing so, both fonua/kalatua culture and tala/lea language are maintained through sustained tatau symmetry, potupotutatau harmony, and, more importantly, mālie/faka'ofō'ofa beauty, for the chief purposes of their capacities, capabilities, and abilities, i.e., fakahēhē/fakaakeake resilience⁴⁹ (see Bhagwan et al. 2020; Māhina 2020: 110–23; Mulgan et al. 2021) for their constitution/composition and transmission/communication (see Māhina 2008: 67–96, 2010: 168–202, 2017b: 105–32).

Lea Tafe/Heke: Some Language Drifts/Shifts in Wider Moana Oceania

The diversified, yet unified, movement and settlement of the early Moana Oceania people of the widely scattered islands was led by the fearless warriors and daring navigators in their long-distant ocean-worthy canoes. The early “colonizers” of the huge expanse of moana ocean also carried with them their relative albeit collective heterogenous but homogenous knowledge and skills, cultures, and languages (see Taumoefolau 2017b: 151–63). The tafe “drifts” or heke “shifts” in their tala/lea languages, including their fonua/kalatua cultures and, more importantly, the state of the 'ilo/poto knowledge/skills, constituted or composed and transmitted or communicated, are evidential, as in the following instances: the words honua, hanua, vanua, fonua, fanua, fenua, and whenua as inseparable though indispensable hoatatau/hoamālie equal/similar and opposite/dissimilar hoakehekehe/hoatamaki pairs/binaries of the valevale fetus/foetus and manava/fonua mother's womb/placenta, kakai people and their 'ataakai environment, and the mate dead and fa'itoka/mala'é burial place (see Māhina 1992, 2019: 110–23).

Besides fonua, there exist other instances, such as follows: 'eiki, 'eueiki, alif'i, 'aliki, and ariki (all meaning chiefliness/beauty, derived from tapu taboo beauty), with both deriving from 'otua, 'atua, or 'akua, associated with godliness/orderliness/beauty (see Ka'ili 2019: 23–29); levu, lahi, tele, and nui (all meaning great); and si'i/si'isi'i, iki/iiki/ikiiki, liki/likiliki, kihi/kihikihi, kisi/kisikisi, ti'i/ti'iti'i, and riki/rikiriki (all meaning “small”),⁵⁰ as in the name Maui Kisikisi/Maui Ti'iti'i, Maui “the Small” in physique but big in psyche, was best known for being both

a “thinker” and “doer,” with his heroic deeds and exploits, and being both a great comedian and tragedian, as well as a notable Mana‘ia Casanova. He authored innumerable tales as great works of art and literature in both the performance arts of faiva fakaoli comedy and faiva fakamamahi tragedy e.g., Maui, the Fire-bearer, Maui, the Sun-snarer; Maui, the Land-fisher, as well as the originator of many faiva performance and tufunga material arts (see Māhina 2005a, 31–54, 2011, 140–66). Maui Kisikisi belongs in the kau ‘otua Maui, gods/deities,⁵¹viz., Maui Motu‘a (Old Maui), father of Maui ‘Atalanga (Maui of ‘Atalanga), whose son was Maui Kisikisi (Small Maui), Maui Loa (Tall Maui), and Maui Puku (Short Maui; see Ka‘ili 2019; Māhina 1992; 2019: 43–5).

These three types of fonua (known throughout the region as honua, hanua, vanua, fanua, fenua, and whenua) demarcate a plural, holistic, and circular movement of fakafelavai intersecting (or fakahoko connecting and fakamāvae separating) material-physical, psychological-emotional, and social-cultural tendencies from fāele birth to mo‘ui life to mate death (also see Lear et al. 2021; Māhina-Tuai, Ka‘ili, and Māhina, in prep). As far as this diversified but unified movement goes, the valevale fetus/foetus, kakai people, and the mate dead are fakafuo tempo-definers/markers, while the manava/taungafanau mother’s womb/placenta, ‘atakai environment, and fa‘itoka/mala‘e burial place, are fakauho spatioconstitutors/composers as indivisible but inevitable hoatautu/hoamālie equal/similar and hoakehekehe/hoatamaki unequal/dissimilar pairs/binaries. This well-rounded tempo-defined/marked and spatioconstituted/composed tāvāist philosophical base, by raising actual problems, stands to contribute real solutions to the current kakai-‘atakai human-environment crisis, notably liliu matangi⁵² climate change, where actual solutions to real problems can be found through reflective thinking and emotive feeling (see Lear et al. 2021; Bahgwan et al. 2020; Māhina 1992, 2020: 110–23).

As a philosophical concept and practice, not only is fonua informed in plural, temporal-spatial, collectivistic, holistic, and circular ways, it is also totality, both fakahoko connection and fakamāvae separation (or fakafelavai intersection), as indivisible but indispensable hoa/soa pair/duality/binary (see Bahgwan et al. 2019; Lear 2018; Māhina 2020: 110–23). By way of critique, it reveals the anthropocentrism underpinning the modern Western United Nation-led, World Bank-driven doctrine of fakalalakaka mapule‘ia sustainable development, which privileges people over the environment, dictated in singular, techno-teleological, individualistic, atomistic, and linear modes. Whereas the fonua philosophy is, by way of both conception and action, one of tāvāism/realism, hoatism/soatism (pairism/dualism/binarism; see tāvāist tenets/corollaries previously mentioned),⁵³ aestheticism/historicism, the doctrine of sustainable development is a case of idealism, rationalism, dualism, and evolutionism/progressivism (Māhina 2008: 67–96, 2019: 110–23; also see Anderson 2007).

Lea Tafe/Heke: Some Language Drifts/Shifts in Tonga

As an intensive development and refinement locally in Tonga, by means of lea tafe “language drift” and lea heke “language shift,” the philosophical concept and practice of motu is a case in point. The word motu “break” has undergone a series of tafe “drifts” or heke “shifts,” which are fakafuo temporally defined/ marked and fakauho spatially constituted/composed in a variety of ways. The word motu means two distinct yet closely related things, occurrences, or states of affairs: first, break, separate, segregate, sever, exclude, or isolate; and second, isle, islet, or island (see Hau’ofa 2000; Māhina 2020). The two meanings of motu somehow function inseparably, indispensably as a hoatauta/hoamālie pair/ binary, as are its variations viz., motu/motumotu, mutu/mutumutu, momo/momomomo, paki/pakipaki, puku/pukupuku, pupu/pupupupu, putu/putu-putu, poko/pokopoko, popo/popopopo, potu/potupotu, tutu/tutututu, and tu’u/ tu’utu’u. These tafe/heke drifts/shifts all, generally, mean break, separate, segregate, sever, exclude, and isolate and isle, islet, or island.⁵⁴

As an example, a well-used, worn-out huo hoe is called motu’i huo, and now variously named as mutu’i huo, momo’i huo, paki’i huo, puku’i huo, pupu’i huo, putu’i huo, puku’i huo, putu’i huo, poko’i huo, popo’i huo, potu’i huo, tutu’i huo, and tu’u’i huo, all generally meaning an old, worn-out huo hoe. By definition, the motu islands are fonua lands fakahoko connected and fakamāvae separated by vai water, tahi sea, or moana ocean. As far as the moana as a vast expanse of ocean is concerned, it logically follows that the moana levu/lahi/tele/nui as a great ocean is a vā space, which both fakahoko connects and fakamāvae separates (i.e., fakafelavai, intersects). The motu isles, islets, or islands as disjointed or fragmented lands in the moana levu/lahi/tele/nui, great ocean, are fakafelavai intersected or fakahoko connected and fakamāvae separated by the vai water, tahi sea, or moana ocean, as hotau tahi ‘otumotu “our sea of islands” (Hau’ofa 2000; Māhina 2010: 168–202; Māhina-Tuai, Ka’ili & Māhina, in prep). That is, that the moana levu/lahi/tele/nui as a great ocean is a vā place/space/surface of both mo’ui life and mate death, a tahi levu/lahi/tele/nui great tahi/moana sea/ocean of both nonga tranquility/stability and hoha’a intranquility/instability.

Some more examples include the following instances; the first is halafakavakavaka⁵⁵ tafe drifting or heke shifting to halafakakavakava,⁵⁶ now meaning bridge. The vaka boats were/are used as hala roadways, as means of transportation or communication between the motu islands, now replaced with bridges, where vaka boat is used as a heliaki metaphor for hala pathway; hence, halafakavakavaka literally meaning “road-in-the style-of-a-boat”; the word vilo⁵⁷ twist has tafe drifted or heke shifted to milo, as in the performance art of kava making now called milolua double twists and turns in the taumafakava (and taumafatō) royal kava (and sugarcane) ceremony (see Helu 1999a; Māhina 1992). As

a special technique, tactic, or style, *milolua*, i.e., *vilolua/viloua*, meaning “double twist and turn,” which is most evident in the presentation and preparation of kava and *tō* sugarcane plants as a performance art of *faiva haka* dance, in which the key movements are doubled by way of *vilo-mo-takai* “twists and turns”; the word *vilo* “twist” and *takai* “turn” inseparably go together, as in the case of a *saliote* chariot, which is stuck in the *pelepela* mud, as “*takamilo hono va’e*”⁵⁸ “twisting and turning of the wheels.” The word *milo* has now displaced the term *vilo*, assuming its original meaning as “twist,” though severely altered in both the “process” and “outcome.”

The same applies to a host of other Tongan words that have undergone *tafe drifts* or *heke shifts* (i.e., by *vilo-takai* “twisting and turning”) in the Tongan language: the word *ihupe’e* “mucus-filled nostrils/nose” to the terms *hiupe’e* and *huipe’e*, where the words *hiu* and *hui* are completely *ta’e’uhinga*, meaningless and irrelevant, as in the words *ihu* and *pe’e* meaning nose and mucus, respectively; the term *u’akai* unsatiable appetite to the word *uakai*, with the word *ua* as having no real meaning; the word *lotolotonga* present as *tafe drifting* or *heke shifting* to *lototonga*, which means “Tongan oil,” when the term *lotolotonga* is derived from the word *loto*, meaning middle/midpoint/center, as in the placement of things in terms of position and direction in *mu’a* front, *loto* middle/midpoint/center, and *mui* “back”; the metaphorical but historical arrangement of the past, present, and future into the *kuohili/kuongamu’a* “that-which-has-passed”/“age-in-the-front” past, *lotolotonga/kuongaloto* “that-which-is-passing”/“age-in-the-middle/center” present, and *kaha’u/kuongamui* “that-which-is-yet-to-come/happen”/“age-in-the-back” future, point along this position and direction (see Hau’ofa 2000: 453–71; Ka’ili, Māhina, and Ado 2017: 2–17); Māhina 2020: 110–23).

There are cases in which the *tafe/heke drift/shift* in the Tongan language is strictly “contextual” rather than “textual.” For example, the word *fatongi/fatongia* socioeconomic/sociomaterial obligations is a *tafe/heke drift/shift* from the word *fetongi/fetongia* meaning “exchanges” that are exacted, enacted, or transacted between parties. This is evident as a “text” in the “context” of Tongan political and economic mode of production and reproduction, viz., *tauhivā* keeping sociopolitical/sociospatial relations and *faifatongia* performing socioeconomic/sociomaterial obligations. The *tatau* symmetry and *potupotutatau* harmony, or *ta’etau* asymmetry and *potupotukehekehe* disharmony, in keeping *tauhivā* are dependent on performing the respective *faifatongia* socioeconomic/sociomaterial obligations of people, giving rise to either *vālelei* good relations or *vākovi* bad relations (see Ka’ili 2017b). The word *uloa* for the performance art of *faiva toutaiuloa* shallow-sea communal fishing is a *tafe/heke drift/shift* from *pūlou* and, in turn, to *pūloa*, both meaning head-cover, as well as the U-*loa* long U-shaped fishnet-like plaited coconut leaves used for catching fish. The word

pūloa means pūlou covering of the whole head, inclusive of the face, nose, ears, and mouth, Tongan word for the “masks,” as in their wearing during lockdowns for the global pandemic the coronavirus disease 2019 (COVID-19).⁵⁹ There is also the word fatu‘a,⁶⁰ originated and contextualized when the valevale fetus/foetus moves mata face up and tu‘a back down on, sliding along the wall of, and away from, the mother’s uterus at birth. The words hu‘u-ki-fatu‘a feet-to-head and hu‘u-ki-‘ulu, feet-to-head are synonymous, both meaning in the direction of the ‘ulu, i.e., head, followed by the va‘e, i.e., feet, commonly used in funerals, where the deceased are carried with the head first and forward, followed by the feet backward and second.

Moreover, the word mā‘uhinga as tafe drifting or heke shifting to mahu‘inga, where the term “mahu” means two things, viz., plenty as in food and emptying one’s bowl following defecation; the words “ma” and “uhinga” mean, first, a suffix doubling the effects as an outcome, as in one’s knowing and feeling, and second, of “uhinga” meaning of something, e.g., mā‘uhinga ho‘o ‘ofa one doubly values one’s love; the lea heliaki proverbial expression “mo‘oni, mo‘oni, monū, mo‘oni, mo tonu,” translated as “true, true, blessed, true, and right” as drifting or shifting to “moni, moni, monū, moni, tonu,” i.e., “moni-moni-monū-moni-tonu,” with the latter severely altered to have no sense; and the lea heliaki, proverbial saying, “hū he ngalu moe peau,” transliterated as “entering through the waves upon waves,” as drifting or shifting to, “hū he ngalu o pea,” commonly uttered as “hungaluopea,” i.e., “entering-the-waves-of-pea,” as being nonsensical; there is a village called Pea, which could possibly be mistaken for ‘pea,’ shortened for peau, i.e., wave.⁶¹ There may be many reasons for the tafe drifts or heke shifts in the Tongan language, and they can be partly due to the close affinity of silapa syllables by way of both lea speaking and tohi writing, as in from motu to mutu, from vilo to milo, from ihupe‘e to huipe‘e and hiupe‘e; from u‘akai to ‘uakai, meaning food graving; from lotolotonga to lolotonga, i.e., present, from mā‘uhinga to mahu‘inga, or importance, and from mo‘oni to moni, meaning true⁶² (see Feldman 1981: 143–50; Hartung 2011: 134–40; Taliai 1989; Taumoefolau 1998, 2012: 327–72).

Lea Tafe/Heke: Some Language Drifts/Shifts in Faiva Ta‘anga Poetry⁶³ and Tufunga/Faiva Lea⁶⁴ Oratory

We witness tafe drifts and heke shifts in the Tongan language in the case of both the performance and material arts of faiva ta‘anga poetry and faiva lea/tufunga lea oratory (see Helu 1999a, 1999b: 56–60; Lear et al. 2021; Māhina-Tuai, Ka‘ili, and Māhina, in prep; Wood-Ellem 2004). Such tafe drifts or heke shifts are, amid other things, primarily caused by the proximity of silapa syllables in terms of lea speaking/hiva singing (and tohi writing). The two sung

and danced poetry of hiva kakala (or hiva tango, hiva 'eva, or hiva 'ofa) 'ofa love and fetau and sani-mo-viki rivalry and praise named Tokelau Tō 'i Muifonua Northerlies Falling at the Land's End (see Appendix I) and 'Utufōmesi Siliva Cliff's Silver Foamy Waves (see Appendix II) by the punake kakato master poets Queen Sālote Mafile'ō Pilolevu Tupou III (see Wood-Ellem 2004) and La'akulu Rev. Dr. Viliami Huluholo Mo'ungaloa (see Lear et al. 2021) are among many others, a case in point. These two compositions are quite simply symptomatic of a larger proportion of Tongan songs, specifically, not to mention the whole of Tongan language, generally.

In the former, the words in kohi/laini lines, viz., "fakalata 'ae tau hono hua" "how beautiful their rapport" (kohi/laini line one) and "kiu langa he tu'apō" "the plower rises at midnight" (kohi/laini line eleven) have tafe drifted or heke shifted to "fakalata 'ae Tau Hono Ua"⁶⁵ and "kiu langā he tu'apō"⁶⁶ by way of lea speaking and hiva singing (see Wood-Ellem 2004: 159). As a matter of fact, Queen Sālote Mafile'ō Pilolevu Tupou III was, by means of heliaki metaphor, referring to the consumation of their physical-bodily, psychological-emotional, and social-cultural union by means of 'ofa love as 'ofa'anga lovers the source of which was one of "divine" inspiration and aspiration. The "textual" tafe/heke drift/shift from "langa" to "langā" completely and unnecessarily changes the original and, by extension, the "context." As for the latter, there exists, amid others, tafe drifts or heke shifts, from "polotikaasi meihe minaleti koula" "broadcast from the gold minaret" (kupu/veesi verse one, kohi/laini line two), "tunameni he siavelini he oma" "a tournament in the swiftest javelin-throwing" (kupu/veesi verse one, kohi/laini line four), and "koe huli pē 'oe vao tamanu"⁶⁷ "it's a shoot of the woods of tamanu" (tau/kōlesi chorus, kohi/laini line five) to "polotikasi meihe minoneti koula,"⁶⁸ "tunameni he sialelini he oma,"⁶⁹ and "koe huli pē 'oe matamanu,"⁷⁰ all of which drastically change both "text" and "context," rendering them nonsensical and meaningless (see Lear et al. 2021).

Lea Tafe/Heke: Language Drifts/Shifts as "Inter" and "Intra" Changes

Following the above discussions, it becomes clear that lea tafe/heke language drifts/shifts (or changes) take place on both the "intra" and "inter" (or "local" and "regional," "synchronic" and "diachronic") levels, i.e., within and between (cultures and) languages. Amongst many of the classic examples are such tafe/heke (drifts/shifts [or changes]) as the words motu, mutu, momo, paki, puku, putu, poku, popo, potu, tutu, and tu'u, on the "intra," local, or synchronic level. The same is equally evident on the "inter," regional, or diachronic level, as in the case of the terms hanua, honua, vanua, fonua, fanua, enua, fenua, and whenua. Both cases raise the basic question whether these drifts/shifts, i.e., changes, are either accidental or intentional or both. Are they both consciously

or unconsciously governed by certain rules or only a matter of observed “regularities” (and/or “irregularities”) as inherent “common” (and/or “uncommon”) qualities (and/or quantities)? Yet, there is one thing we know and feel that, in the case of Tonga, such *lea tafe/heke* language drifts/shifts (or changes) are largely caused by closer proximity in “syllables,” both spoken and written. *Tala/lea* language, like *faiva ta’anga* poetry, and *faiva/tufunga lea* oratory, is man-made, all of which are considered forms of *faiva* performance (and *tufunga* material) arts. All three are based in *ongo* sound as both a natural (i.e., ontological) and social (i.e., epistemological) entity given in reality and socially made as a *vaka* vessel or vehicles of human communication. Central to this is the continuity of specific knowledge of an object, occurrence, or state of affairs in the single level of reality which is variously constituted or composed and transmitted or communicated within and across cultures and languages as mere *vaka* mediums.

Talangata: Conclusion

All things given in reality, as in nature, mind-heart, and society, like all disciplinary practices and human activities, as temporal-spatial, formal-substantial (and functional-practical) entities, identities, or tendencies change, and they do so ceaselessly in both *tā* time and *vā* space. From a *tāvāist* philosophical perspective, everywhere in reality or four-sided dimensionality, as in nature, mind-heart, and society, is *fakafelavai* intersection, and there is nothing above and beyond *fakahoko* connection and *fakamāvae* separation (see *tāvāist* tenets/corrollaries previously mentioned). This cuts right through the center of the material art of *tufunga tala/lea* language-making, as in the case of *lea tafe* language drift or *lea heke* language shift. From a *tāvāist* philosophical view, the knowledge⁷¹ and skills acquired in education is constituted or composed in culture and transmitted or communicated in language simply as social *vaka* vessels, vehicles, or mediums. The inevitability of change is a philosophical and historical fact of reality, as in the *tafe/heke* drifts/shifts in Tongan and Moana Oceania languages, generally, and Tongan poetry and oratory, specifically. Their impact as a social *vaka* vessel, vehicle, or medium, by way of continuity, development, and growth on the state of knowledge (and skills) through intersectionality (or connectionality and separationality) is a function of both textuality and contextuality.

There arises a fundamental question, as to the real nature of knowledge (and skills) in the inevitability of (*fonua/kalatua* culture) *tala/lea* language change, when *hala* errors in both *fakakaukau* thinking and *ongo* feelings are a problem of ‘*atamai* mind and *loto* heart and not of ‘*iai* reality, temporality-spatiality/formality-substantiality, or four-sided dimensionality. The problems are definitely both intensive and extensive, and they are also in a state of strife, be they *fonua/kalatua* culture or *tala/lea* language in general, and both the performance and

material arts of faiva ta'anga poetry and faiva lea/tufunga lea oratory in particular, as demonstrated previously. This all-embracing state of affairs holds serious implications for 'ilo knowledge and poto skills fa'oaki constituted/composed in fonua/kalatua culture and fetu'utaki/talaki transmitted/communicated in tala/lea language, merely as vaka vessels, vehicles, or mediums. Of all three, what matters most is 'ilo knowledge (and poto skills), with both fonua/kalatua culture and tala/lea language as mere vaka vessels, vehicles, or mediums. In short, it quite simply means the loss of 'ilo knowledge (and poto skills) and, by extension, the loss of both fonua/kalatua culture and tala/lea language. This state of the art is most evident in the examples previously mentioned as posing real intellectual/emotional and social-cultural challenges of some empirical/practical significance to the serious speakers and students of both culture and language alike. The plurality and complexity defining the dynamics of both these "intra" and "inter" changes that take place not only within and but also across culture and languages is dictated by both local/internal pressures and foreign/external influences. Knowledge as knowledge of time and space, i.e., a "text" is "stative," while both culture and language as mere vaka vessels, vehicles, or mediums, are as a "context," "transformative." The challenges put ahead of us are made more real by the manner in which knowledge is implicated, both positively and/or negatively, in the changing political and economic mode of social production and reproduction.

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our hearts, Mälō ‘aupito, to all your good selves, minds, and hearts! ‘Ofa atu fau moe ‘ānau ma’u!

Appendix I: Tokelau Tō ‘i Muifonua⁷²—Northerlies Falling at the Land’s End

Ta’anga hiva haka kakala/tango/‘eva/‘ofa
Sung and danced poetry of “sweet-smelling-flower”/love

Fakafatu/fakafa’u ‘e Kuini Sālote
Poetry composed by Queen Sālote

Fakaafo/fakafasi mo fakahaka/fakasino ‘e Vili Pusiaki
Music and dance composed by Vili Pusiaki

Liliulea ‘Ingilisi ‘e Dr. Melenaita Taumoefolau
English translation by Dr. Melenaita Taumoefolau

- | | |
|--|--|
| 1. Tokelau tō ‘i muifonua | 1. Northerlies falling at land’s end |
| Uesia hono fisi’ipeau | Stirring the foam of the waves |
| Pea angi ē faka’ānaua | And the wind blowing as if lamenting |
| Kae teki si’ono lou’akau | Causing the vegetation to savy |
| 5. Fakalata ‘a e tau hono hua | 5. How beautiful their rapport ⁷³ |
| ‘O ‘eva he hifo ‘i Nukuma’anu | Stroll down the slope of Nukuma’anu |
| Ke ‘ilonga e kakala pea luva | If there is a kakala, yield it |
| Ke ‘ala ‘i Fe’ao-moe-ngalu ⁷⁴ | To perfume Fe’ao-moe-ngalu |
| Hopo’anga si’i fā’onelua ⁷⁵ | Where the dear fā’onelua ripens |
| 10. Mokulu ‘i Tangitang-‘a-manu | 10. Scattering at Tangitangi-‘a-manu ⁷⁶ |
| Kiu langā he tu’uapō | The plover rises at midnight |
| ‘Oku ne fafangu si’ete mohe | Awakens me from my slumber |
| Ta’ahine, ‘oua te ke ofo | Girl, ⁷⁷ be not surprised |
| He ko e mātanga ia e tafe | That’s where the streams meet |
| 15. ‘O ka longolongo tataki ‘aho | 15. In the quiet before dawn |
| Pukupuku e kuo fele | When the periwinkle is abundant ⁷⁸ |
| Malinoa fai ‘ene ta’alo | And Malinoa is waving |
| Siana folau, koe hala ē | Navigator, there is the way |
| 19. Koe fai’anga ‘o e salute | 19. The place where respect is due |
| Tau/Kōlesi | Chorus |
| 1. Ha’u tau hifo ange | 1. Come, let us descend |
| Tongi’one he hangale | Dress our hair at the hangale |
| Ke tui papai si’ao kahoa | And string for you a papai garland |

He fā ko Pā'anga-talanoa ⁷⁹	At the pandanus Pā'anga-talanoa
5. No'ō e fatai fihī matafale	5. Drape the fatai mingling nearby
Sī'i vai ko Tālanga-moe-vale ⁸⁰	Dear pond Tālanga-moe-vale
Fakapō ē koe lata'anga	Oh, it is a wonderful place
'Uta'anga 'ō fafine mo tangata	Favorite spot of women and men

Appendix II: 'Utufōmesi Siliva⁸¹—Cliff of Silver Foamy Waves

Ta'anga hiva haka fetau moe sani-mo-viki
A sung and danced poetry of rivalry and praise

Fakafatu/fakafa'u 'e La'akulu Faifekau Dr. Viliami Huluholo
Mo'ungalao
Poetry composed by La'akulu Reverend Dr. Viliami Huluholo
Mo'ungalao

Fakaafo/fakafasi moe fakasino/fakahaka 'e Nāsio Lātū
Music and dance composed by Nāsio Lātū

Hiva-tāme'alea 'ehe Fōfō'anga⁸²
Performed by Fōfō'anga vocal-instrumental

Liliulea 'Ingilisi 'e Mele Ha'amoā Māhina 'Alatini and
Hūfanga-He-Ako-Moe-Lotu, 'Ōkusitino Māhina
English translation by Mele Ha'amoā Māhina 'Alatini and
Hūfanga-He-Ako-Moe-Lotu, 'Ōkusitino Māhina

1. Ne mana fatulisi 'a Tonga kotoa	1. Tonga was struck by lightning thunder ⁸³
Polotikaasi mei he minaleti koula	Broadcast from the gold minaret ⁸⁴
Koe 'evolūsio ē 'Ātomi Kuonga	The evolution of the Atomic Age ⁸⁵
Koe tunameni ē siavelini he oma	A tournament in the swiftest javelin ⁸⁶
2. Piutau ē ngaahi kakala 'iloa	2. The known kakala are gathered
Holo moe 'efinanga kie hingoa	Along also come the named fine kie
Kae falanaki 'ae Taungapeka	Noisily excited are the hanging bats
He vuna ē 'utufōmesi siliva	Showered by the silver foamy waves
3. Neu televīsone he satelaite	3. On television via the satellite
Ki Fā'onelua moe tongitupe	Seeing Fā'onelua and a lafo game ⁸⁷
'A sī'ō kofu kapikapi mata'itofe	Your lovely costume made of pearls
Mo ho tekiteki sī lave'itavake	And headband of tavake feathers
4. 'Isa neu vīsone he'eku mohe	4. Alas I had a vision in my sleep

Sio he ngoue fataki ki Papolone	And saw a flower garden carried to Babylon
Matala'ī'akau 'oku taha pē	Therein, is the one-and-only flower
Ne paki'i 'ehe Falaosētane	Plucked by women of Mat-of-Satan ⁸⁸
Tau/Kōlesi	Chorus
Fungamahufā teu mate valelau	Fungamahufā I die hallucinating!
Ho'ó uini kae poini 'a Pouvalu	Of your winning yet Pouvalu is scoring
'Oku lekooti kihe pā'angangalu	Though recorded 'til the end of timespace
Uisa kuo ake 'eku manatu	And alas! My memory is truly jogged
Koe huli pē 'oe vao tamanu	It's a shoot of the woods of tamanu ⁸⁹
Sī'o mau liku ko Valefanau	Abounding in our liku of Valefanau

NOTES

1. Scholar and multimedia artist and Tongan architect, Unitec Institute of Technology, Tāmaki Makaurau, Aotearoa New Zealand, and Vava'u Academy for Critical Inquiry and Applied Research, Vava'ulahi, Kingdom of Tonga.

2. PhD scholar in Creative Arts–Music, University of Wollongong.

3. Chief Orator and Inquiry and Applied Research Fellow, Vava'u Academy for Critical Inquiry and Applied Research, Vava'ulahi, Kingdom of Tonga.

4. Professor of Tongan Philosophy, Historical Anthropology, and Aesthetics, Vava'u Academy for Critical Inquiry and Applied Research, Vava'ulahi, Kingdom of Tonga.

5. Vava'u Academy for Critical Inquiry and Applied Research is based on inquiry and research, as a publication-led environment, while Lagi-Maama Academy and Consultancy is driven by knowledge production and knowledge application.

6. Or action speaks louder than words.

7. See (Māhina 2004a; Māhina and Māhina-Tuai 2017; also see Taumoeolau 2011: 132–9).

8. The matters of both the 'atamai mind and fakakaukau thinking in the 'uto brain, and ongo feeling and loto desiring in the fatu/mafu heart, are highly developed and refined by way of “Indigenous” knowledge in the Tongan performance arts of faiva ta'anga poetry and faiva lea, i.e., speech giving (or material art of tufunga lea, i.e., speech designing) oratory in contrast to being relatively undeveloped/underdeveloped and unrefined as scientific knowledge in scholarship, and, by the same token, both ha'a professional classes can be taken as both Tongan psychologists and psychiatrists in their own rights (see Lear et al. 2021).

9. A species of Tongan “sweet-singing” native bird; by the way of mapumapu whistling repeatedly in continuously joyful ways, is considered in Tonga as a form of hiva music, usually of popular songs.

10. A punake 'ilo knowledgeable and poto skillful poet is known in Tonga as punake kakato full/master poet as opposed to punake kapo, who is considered as a partial, less knowledgeable, and skillful poet.

11. The term kakala refers to sweet-smelling flowers designed into kupesi geometric designs used as a heliaki metaphor for 'ofa love, a noble human sentiment between 'ofa'anga lovers; it is also called hiva 'ofa song of love, hiva 'eva song of courting, and its older form, hiva tango song of courting; they are concerned with the performance art of 'eva and tango courting, especially of women by men.

12. From a Tāvāist philosophical view, "context," like fonua/kalatua culture and tala/lea language, is made good only as a vaka vessel, vehicle, or medium for discussions of "text," on the one hand, as are Tāvāism as a philosophy of reality and lea tafe "language drift" or lea heke "language shift," as a "text," on the other.

13. Or sio seeing and fai doing as "ways of knowing (the real)," i.e., epistemology; also lea and tala both mean language (and tala means hala, with both meaning "way finder"/"pathfinder" by way of 'ilo knowledge and poto skills), i.e., where from both Tāvāism/Realism knowledge is knowledge of tā and vā time and space.

14. Compare with the deployment of ongo sound as a natural entity in the respective material and performance arts of tufunga lea speech making and faiva lea speech giving, i.e., oratory; performance arts of faiva tā'anga poetry; faiva fananga legend telling as a variations of faiva talatupu'a myth telling/mythology; and faiva hiva music or singing, all of which make use of the human le'o voice as a form of ongo sound, as is the performance art of faiva tāme'alea instrument playing, such as tāfangufangu/ififangufangu nose flute playing; tālali or tānafa drumming; ifikele'a conch shell playing; tukipitu stamp tube playing; tā'ukulele 'ukulele playing; tākitā guitar playing; and tāvālingi or helevālingi violin playing, all of which deploy the ongo sound of musical instruments. The term ifi means both blow and hele cut (and also means knife,) of ongo sound as vā space, are a form of tā time.

15. As an artistic and literary device, heliaki metaphor is concerned with "metaphorically saying one thing but historically meaning another," which is divided into three main types of heliaki, viz., heliaki fakafetongiaki qualitative epiphoric metaphor, heliaki fakafekauaki associative metaphoric metaphor, and heliaki fakafefonuaki constitutive metonymic/synecdochic metaphor (see Māhina 2011: 140–66 among many others).

16. Or its opposite inseparable hoa/soa pair/binary, avangiheke, which also means windflow, in the form of mata-ava eye-hole, i.e., as vilotakai "twists and turns," the very point of fakafelavai intersection (or fakahoko connection and fakamāvae separation), where ivi energy as me'a matter is most dense and intense.

17. That is, a constant motion of ivi energy as me'a matter, i.e., tā and vā time and space, through the water as a vaka vessel, vehicle, or medium in helix-type, vortex-type, and spiral-like, i.e., mata-ava eye-hole, formations.

18. Both Tongan (and Moanan Oceanian) Tāvāism and Sydney Realism (see Anderson 2007) lie in closer affinity, where the former is grounded in tā-vā temporality-spatiality, i.e.,

reality (see Ka'ili, Māhina, and Addo 2017: 1–17), and the latter is rooted in reality, i.e., tā-vā temporality-spatiality (also see Harvey 2000: 134–40).

19. As a brand of philosophy, Tongan (and Moanan Oceanian) Tāvāism is based in temporality-spatiality, i.e., reality, like Sydney Realism (and British Empiricism) as a branch of philosophy, which is grounded in reality, i.e., temporality-spatiality, in direct opposition to all mind-dependent brands of philosophy that include, amid many others, German Idealism and French Rationalism (including American Pragmatism; see Anderson 2007; also Anderson, Cullum, and Lycos 1982).

20. Or 'iai, i.e., reality.

21. Or fa'āhifā/fa'akifā, i.e., four-sided dimensionality.

22. Or fonua/kalatua, i.e., culture.

23. Or tala/lea, i.e., language.

24. As opposed to their social organization in singular, techno-teleological, individualistic, atomistic, and linear ways in the West.

25. Unlike tāvāist philosophical hoaism/soaism, which embraces both fakahoko connection and fakamāvae separation (i.e., fakafelavai intersection), philosophical dualism privileges fakamāvae separation above fakahoko connection, while anthropological binarism recognizes the metaphorical over the historical.

26. Or fa'āhitolu/fa'akitolu, i.e., three-sided dimensionality; to treat vā space and uho content in isolation, from tā time and fuo form is to treat 'iai reality, i.e., tā-vā time-space, as tāētā “timeless” and ta'efuo “formless”; and the reverse holds true, i.e., the privileging of tā time and fuo form over vā space and uho content is to treat it as tāēvā “spaceless” and ta'ēhuo “formless.”

27. Or action as a temporal entity.

28. Or fakatā/fakafuo, i.e., time-definer/marker.

29. Or object as a spatial entity.

30. Or fakavā/fakauho, i.e., space-constitutor/composer.

31. Or maaui/fenāpasi, i.e., order.

32. Or felekeu/fepaki, i.e., conflict.

33. Or mata eye or, its mirror image, ava hole.

34. Or fakafelavai, i.e., intersection.

35. Or fakahoko, i.e., connection.

36. Or fakamāvae, i.e., separation.

37. Or fa'oaiki, i.e., constituted/composed.
38. Or fonua/kalatua, i.e., culture.
39. Or talaki, i.e., transmitted/communicated.
40. Or tala or lea, i.e., language.
41. Or tā-vā, i.e., temporal-spatial.
42. Or fuo-uho, i.e., formal-substantial.
43. Or 'aonga-ngāue, i.e., functional-practical.
44. Whereas faiva performance arts are tefito-he-loto-sino body-centered/body-centric, both tufunga material and nimamea'a fine arts are tefito-he-tu'a-sino nonbody-centered/no-body-centric and, by extension, both faiva performance and tufunga material arts are predominantly male led, while nimamea'a fine arts are largely female based.
45. Or tauhi/tokanga'i mo malu'i, i.e., conservation/preservation and safeguarding.
46. Or fakatolonga, tauhi, mo malu'i, i.e., preservation and safekeeping.
47. Or kuohoko "that-which-has-happened," hoko "that-which-is-happening," and kahoko "that which-is-yet-to-happen."
48. See local and regional variations of lea language, as in Tongan le'ō and Maori reo, both meaning voice and language, respectively; cf. also local and regional variations of tala language, e.g., tala, tara, hala, ala, ara, all meaning way finder as 'ilo/poto knowledge/skill led.
49. The Tongan sense of resilience are fakahēhē mahaki/fakaakeake puke. In note 49, please confirm "puke" as in the COVID-19 and fakaakeake faingata'a as in the peau kula red waves, the Tongan equivalent of tsunami harbor and tidal seismic sea waves (see Mulgan et al., in prep; also see Potauaine and Māhina 2011: 194–216; Māhina 2020: 110–23).
50. This is intimately linked to the Tongan tāvāist philosophical aesthetic sense relating to art (literature) making by way of both "process" and "outcome," viz., auvaveale/auiki/tu'ovaveale/fuovaveale smaller but finer texture over aulalahi/tu'olalahi/fuolalahi bigger and coarser texture, where the former is considered good work of art (and literature) and the latter as bad work of art (and literature).
51. Their divine domain was Maama, symbolic name for Tonga, and the respective divine realms of goddess Hikule'ō and kau 'otua Tangaloa gods/deities were Pulotu and Langi symbolic names for Fiji and Sāmoa, and later with the goddess Hina and the Māhina Moon as her divine domain (see Ka'ili 2019; Māhina 1992, 2019: 43–45).
52. A looming-large kakai-ātakai human-environment crisis, climate change is translated into Tongan as liliu matangi wind change, involving a shift from matangi momoko cold wind to matangi māfana warm wind and matangi vaivai weak wind to matangi mālohi strong wind. This is directly opposed to its translation as liliu 'ea air change (Māhina 2020: 110–23).

53. Tāvāist philosophical hoaism/soaism, defined by the plurality and complexity surrounding the intersection or connection and separation of things, events, or states of affairs, is in stark contrast to the ahistoricism underlining philosophical dualism and anthropological binarism.

54. As in hotau tahi 'otumotu “our sea of islands,” convincingly yet powerfully originated and propagated by the late Professor Epeli Hau'ofa in his seminal essay as a brilliant critique of “colonized knowledge” versus “decolonized knowledge,” respectively, by way of fakatata mediation and fakatau'atāina liberation versus fakaēhaua imposition and fakapōpula domination.

55. Where the Tongan term halafakavakavaka can be literally translated into English as “road/way-in-the-style-of-a-boat,” where the vaka boat is used as a heliaki metaphor for hala/tala road (as a form of knowledge).

56. Where the Tongan word halafakavakavaka can be literally translated into English as “road/way-in-the-style-of-a-rib-cage” or “road/way-in-the-style-of-a-kava-plant” or “road/way-in-the-style-of-a-beard”; by the way, the kava plant is said to have been named in the myth of its origin because of the close resemblance of the aka'ikava kava roots and kava beard.

57. The word havili/havilivili is derived from the term vilo (as opposed to milo), meaning “gentle-blowing winds,” which are helix-type, vortexlike, and spiral-like, i.e., mata-ava eye-hole formations; the same holds true for vili drill, which is derived from vilo twist; and vili/vilivili/fakavili/fakavilivili, i.e., vilo/vilovilo/fakavilo/fakavilovilo used for one who repeatedly asks for favor, as in persistently asking for money; similarly the word vilitaki, i.e., vilotakai twist and turn, is applied to a person who indiscriminately pursues an interest in education and the like.

58. The English word wheel can be translated into Tongan as va'e/ve'e and va'eteka/ve'eteka, where the latter means, “rolling/rotating wheel,” i.e., “twisting and turning wheel,” in helix, vortex, kupesi geometric design, mata-ava eye-hole formations, which is by nature vilo/vilovilo/vili/vilivili “spiral” in modus operandi (see Māhina 2002: 5–9, 29–30 among others).

59. The global pandemic COVID-19 is a fertile ground for the growth and development of Tongan language, as in 'aisoleti for isolate/isolation (or fakamavahevahe, the old Tongan word); kōviti/kōveti-19 for COVID-19; kualenitini for quarantine; lingiki for links; lokatauni/lokatāpuni for lockdown; masiki (or pūloa, the old Tongan word) for masks; niu nōmolo for new normal (or nōmolo motu'a, a Tongan hybrid term); pāpolo for bubble (as in pula for balloon); penitēmiki for pandemic; pota for border (or kau'āfonua, the old Tongan word); sepi for jab; sumu for Zoom; soti for shot; uepinā for Webinar; vailasi for virus; vekisini (or faito'o/huhu) for vaccines; vekisineisini (or huhu) for vaccination; vausia for vouchers; and many more (see Māhina 2020 110–23).

60. Like the material art of tufunga nimatapu (sacred hands; dead handling), the word fatu'a has found its way to the performance arts of faiva ta'anga poetry and faiva lea (and material art of tufunga lea) oratory, as in the a few kōhi lines form two sung and danced poetry of love, viz., “Ne fatu'a ē matangi kihe Tu'alikutapu” (The wind headed towards Tu'alikutapu) by Queen Sālote (see Wood-Ellem 2004) and “He taumalesia, he tamaleula, 'O fatu'a he Funga

Fāua,” (The winds blow along taumalesia and taumaleula, Headed towards Fāua Harbour) by Siale Lātū, Maeapalaivai.

61. There are cases in which the tafe/heke drift/shift in the Tongan language is strictly “contextual” rather than “textual.” For example, the words fatongi/fatongia socioeconomic/sociomaterial obligations are a change from the words fetongi/fetongia exchange; this is evident in the context of Tongan mode of politics and economics, viz., tauhivā sociopolitical/sociospatial relations and faifatongia performing socioeconomic/sociomaterial obligations (see Ka’ili 2017b; Māhina 2020).

62. Of great interest is another example of language tafe/heke drift/shift, viz., the word faki/fakifaki, originally meaning “tearing off,” as in the leaves of shrubs, which has variously shifted to fulehi/fulefulehi; fule/fulefule, fule’i/fulefule’i; fuke/fukefuke; fuke’i/fukefuke’i; fukehi/fukefukehi; paki/pakipaki; pakihi/pakipakihi; paki’i/pakipaki’i; haki/hakihaki; and many more.

63. See (Māhina 2005b: 168–83, 2011: 140–66).

64. Or the material art of tufunga lea speech designing or oratory, which is tefito-he-tu’a-sino nonbody-centered/bodycentric, i.e., created by the sino body outside of the sino body (see Māhina 2005b: 168–83; Māhina and Māhina-Tuai 2007).

65. Translated as “pleasing is the World War II.”

66. Translated as “kiu plover having labor pain at midnight.”

67. Translated as “shoot of the tamanu tree forest.”

68. There is a tafe drift or heke shift from the word minaleti to the term minoneti, having no bearing on the word used in the lyrics.

69. The tafe drift or heke shift is from the term “siavelini” to the word “sialelini,” rendered as meaningless as far as both the “text” and “context” are concerned.

70. There exists a tafe drift or heke shift from tamanu to matamanu literally meaning the “eye-of-the-animal,” used as a heliaki metaphor variety for its troubling behaviour as sharp-pointed shrubs or weeds.

71. It is tāvāistically argued that ‘ilo knowledge is ‘ilo knowledge Please confirm sentence “It is tāvāistically argued that ‘ilo knowledge is ‘ilo knowledge” (and potō skills), as well as beauty/quality and utility/functionality of tā-vā time-space and of ‘iai reality or fa’ahifā tafa’akifā, or tapa’akifā four-sided dimensionality.

72. (See Wood-Ellem 2004: 159.)

73. Or, how pleasing their rapport.

74. Or Fe’aomoengalu.

75. Or Fāʻonēlua, which is the name of a particular tongolei mangrove tree at Lapaha, Muʻa, last of the ancient seat of the Tuʻi Tonga.

76. Or Tangitangiʻamanu.

77. Or maiden.

78. Or bountiful.

79. Or Pāʻangatalanoa.

80. Or Tālangamoevale.

81. Transliterated as “cliff of silver foamy waves” or “cliff of silver foamy seas,” where “siliva silver” is commonly used as a heliaki metaphor for “hina white,” as in “peau siliva silver foamy waves” and “peau hina, white foamy waves” (see Lear et al. 2021).

82. A Kalapu Kava Tonga Tongan Kava Club, where music is featured prominently alongside kava drinking through caring for and sharing of resources and liberating of each other as a social collective.

83. A heliaki, metaphor (i.e., “metaphorically saying one thing but historically meaning another”) for the mobilization of the whole of Tonga for the great occasion of a Fili Misi Talavou Miss Beauty Pageant, where beauty queens all over Tonga were vying for the top award. Two of the contestants were ladies of noble birth, who were closely related, when the one from Fungamahufā won the overall competition over the one from Pouvalu, as heliaki metaphors for the villages of Houma and Kolovai respectively, with the poet a close relative of both hailing from the latter (tau/kōlesi chorus, kōhi/laini lines one and two). By the way, the poet used English borrowings in Tongan as heliaki metaphors throughout the piece in both creative and innovative, affective and effective ways in the creative process (see Helu 1999b: 56–60; Kaeppler 2007: 67–74; Māhina 2009: 505–11).

84. A heliaki metaphor for the then local radio A3Z.

85. A heliaki metaphor for technological development and advancement.

86. The local Tongan equivalent is the performance art of faiva sika (ʻulutoa) javelin throwing, often used as a heliaki metaphor for such competitions, deployed by the poet with a sense of both originality and creativity.

87. A highly developed and refined ancient/old performance art faiva lafo lafo-disc-throwing, which requires depth of ʻilo knowledge and poto skills of both great mastery and precision.

88. Translated as “Mat of Satan,” a heliaki metaphor for the long stretch of beautiful sandy beaches along the leeward side of hihifo western side, also known as Hihifo of the main island of Tongaʻeiki/Tongatapu/Tongalahi (see Helu 1995b: 56–60; Kaeppler 2007: 67–74; Māhina 2009: 505–11).

89. A heliaki metaphor for the Pouvalu, i.e., Kolovai girl, who was not winning but surely scoring high points for both the thinking and feeling that she was, nevertheless, a descendant of people of great beauty.

90. The term kupe as in kupenga and kupesi means intersection or connection and separation as in Kupe, the famous original Maori toutaivaka/faifolau navigator/voyager and to'a warrior, which means the intersector or connector and separator of koho lines (or tā times) and vā space; the kupenga net (or grid), which is considered a gigantic kupesi geometric design in the sky above, involves the fakafelavai intersection (or fakahoko connection and fakamāvae separation) of koho lines and vā spaces associated with Velenga as the 'otua god of toutaivaka navigation (and faiva faifolau voyaging).

91. (See Māhina 2019: 43–45; also see Ka'ili 2019: 23–29.)

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KOLOSALIO LEA TONGA: GLOSSARY OF TONGAN WORDS

'Aati	art
Ako	education
'Ali'i	chief; chiefliness; see 'eiki
'Ariki	chief; chiefliness; see 'eiki
'Aonga	utility; use
'Aonga-ngāue	functional-practical

‘Ātakai	environment
‘Atamai	mind
‘Akua	god; see ‘otua
‘Atua	god; see ‘otua
Ava	hole; opening
Avangiheke	wind shift
‘Eiki	chief; chieflyness; see ali‘i and ariki
‘Eva	courting
Fa‘ahifā	four-sided/four-sided dimensionality
Fā‘ele	birth
Fa‘itoka/faitoka	burial place, cemetery/grave
Faiva	performance art
Faiva haka	performance art of dance
Faiva hiva	performance art of music
Faiva lea	performance art of speech giving; see ufunga lea
Faiva ta‘anga	performance art of poetry
Fakaafo	music composing; see fakafasi
Fakaehaua	tyranny
Fakafasi	music composing; see fakaafo
Fakafatu	poetry composing; see fakafa‘u
Fakafa‘u	poetry composing; see fakafatu
Fakafelavai	intersect, intersection
Fakafuo	content-constitutor/composer
Fakahoko	connect, connection
Fakahaka	choreograph; dance composing; see fakasino
Fakakaukau	thinking
Fakalaumālie	climatic elation in the church; see tauēlangi
Fakamāvae	separate, separation
Faka‘ofo‘ofa	beauty; see mālie beauty
Fakapōpula	oppression, domination
Fakatau‘atāina	liberation, autonomy, freedom, independence
Fakasino	choreograph; dancing composing; see fakahaka
Fakatatau	mediation; see fakafenāpasi mediation and/or “modeling”
Fatu	heart; see mafu heart
Fanua	people and environment; see fonua “person” and “place”
Felekeu	chaos, conflict, crisis
Fenua	people and environment; see fonua
Fepaki	conflict, chaos, crisis

Fenāpasi	order, symmetry, harmony
Fonua	people and environment; see fonua
Fuo	form; see tā time
Fuo-uho	form-content, formal-substantial
Fu‘ufu‘ungamo‘ui	full of life; life force
Fuiva	variety of sweet-singing bird
Hala	way, path, route, direction; way finder/path-finder; see tala “way finder”
Halafakakavakava	bridge, a langauge heke/tafe (drift/shift)
Halafakavakavaka	bridge, as vaka “boatlike” formation; original form
Hanua	people and environment; see fonua “person” and “place”
Havili	wind, a form of “vilo” twist
Havilivili	gentle blowing wind, see “havilivili” “windy,” also “vili” “drill”
Heke	shift; move; slide
Hele	cut, slice; knife
Helevālingi	performance art of violin playing
Heliaki	poetry/oratory device
Heliaki fakafekauaki	qualitative epiphoric heliaki “metaphor”
Heliaki fakafetongiaki	associative metaphoric heliaki “metaphor”
Heliaki fakafefonuaki	constitutive metonymic/synecdochic heliaki “metaphor”
Hikule‘o	goddess of Pulotu; see Goddess Hina
Huipe‘e	mucus, a language “drift” or “shift”
Hoā	pair, duality, binary; see soa (Samoan for Hoā)
Hoāism	pertaining to hoā (pair/duality/binary); see pairism, dualism, and binarism
Hoakehekehe	unequal/dissimilar pair/duality/binary; see hoatamaki “unequal,” “dissimilar,” and “pair/binary”
Hoamālie	equal/similar pair/duality/binary; see hoatatau “equal/similar” and “pair/duality/binary”
Hoatamaki	unequal/dissimilar, pair/duality/binary; see hoakehekehe “unequal/dissimilar” and “pair/duality/binary”
Hoatatau	equal/similar pair/duality/binary; see hoamālie “equal,” “similar,” and “pair/duality/binary”
Hoko	connect, connection
Honua	people and environment; see fonua “person” and “place”

Hū	enter, entrance
Huipe'e	mucus, a "language drift/shift"; see ihupe'e "mucus" as original
'Iai	reality
Ifiangufangu	performance art of nose flute playing; see tāfangufangu "nose flute playing"
Ifikele'a	performance art of conch shell playing,
Ifo	delicious, nutritious, tasteful
Ihupe'e	mucus-flowing nose
Iki/ikiiki/iiki	small; see si'i/si'isi'i small
Kaha'u	historical future "that-which-is-yet-to-come"; see kuongamui "age-in-the-front" as the metaphorical
Kahoko	historical future "that-which-is-yet-to-happen"; see kaha'u "that-which-is-yet-to-come" as the historical
Kakai	people
Kakala	sweet-smelling flowers; designed sweet-smelling flowers/barks/leaves
Kalatua	culture; see fonua "culture" (and "history")
Kihi/kihikihi	small, dwarf; see si'i/si'isi'i "small"
Kisi/kisikisi	small; see si'i/si'isi'i "small"
Kōlesi	chorus; see tau chorus
Kuohili	historical past "that-which-has-passed"; see kuohoko
Kuohoko	historical past "that-which-has-happened"; see kuohili and kuohoko "that-which-has-passed"
Kuongaloto	heliaki metaphorical present "age-in-the-middle/midpoint/center"; see the "historical present" lotolotonga and hoko "that-which-is-happening/now"
Kuongamu'a	heliaki metaphorical past "age-in-the-front"; see "historical past" kuohili and kuohoko "that-which-has-taken-place/happened"
Kuongamui	heliaki metaphorical future "age-in-the-back"; see kaha'u and kahoko "that-which-is-yet-to-take-place/happen"
Kupenga	net; see kupesi "geometric design"
Kupesi	geometric design; see kupenga as a form of kupesi "geometric design" ⁹⁰
Liliu	translate, translation, change

Lea	language, word; also see tala “language”
Liliulea	language translation
Loloto	deep/depth
Lolotonga	historical present; see hoko and lotolotonga, a “language drift/shift”
Loto	center/middle, heart, inside, desire
Lotolotonga	historical present; see hoko
Maau	order; it also means poem
Māfana	warmth
Mafu	heart; see fatu
Māhu‘inga	important, a lea tafe/heke “drift/shift”
Mata	eye
Mama-ava	eye-hole
Mala‘e	burial place; cemetery/grave; also see fa‘itoka burial place/cemetery/grave
Mālie	beauty, quality, and aesthetically pleasing
Manupuna	bird, literally meaning “flying animal”
Mapu	whistle; whistling, as in fuiva mapu “sweet-whistling fuiva bird”
Matangiheke	wind shift
Matapā	door; doorway
Milo	twist, a language “drift” or “shift”; see vilo “twist”
Milolua/Miloua	double twist and turn as a kava-making technique, a lea tafe/heke “language drift/shift”; also see vilolua/viloua “double twist and turn,” the original
Motu	isle, islet, or island; break, separate, isolate,
Motu, motumotu	isle, islet, or island; break, separate, isolate
Motu‘ihuo	well-used, worn-out hoe, i.e., “broken hoe”
Mu‘a	front, forward
Mui	back, backward, behind
Mutu/Mutumutu	break, separate, isolate, a lea tafe/heke “language drift/shift”
Mutu‘i huo	well-used, worn-out hoe, i.e., “broken hoes,” a lea heke/tafe “language drift/shift”
Mo‘ui	life
Moana	ocean; also see ‘ōseni “ocean”
Ngalu	wave; see peau “wave”
Nimamea‘a	fine art
‘Ofa	love
‘Ofa‘anga	lover; loved one

Ongo	feel/feeling, hear/hearing, sound
‘Otua	god; see ‘akua and ‘atua “god”
Pōpula	tyranny, oppression
Paki/Pakipaki	break, separate, isolate, i.e., “broken,” a lea tafe/ heke “language drift/shift”
Peau	wave; see ngalu “wave”
Pe‘e	mucus; also see overripe pe‘e as in “breadfruit”
Piko/Pikopiko	break, separate, isolate, i.e., “broken,” “curved”
Piko‘i huo	well-used, worn-out hoe, i.e., “broken hoe,” a lea tafe/heke “language drift/shift”
Popo/Popopopo	break, separate, isolate, i.e., “rotten”
Popo‘i huo	well-used, worn-out hoe, i.e., “broken hoe,” a lea tafe/heke “language drift/shift”
Poko/Pokopoko	break, separate, isolate, i.e., “broken”
Poko‘i huo	well-used, worn-out hoe, i.e., “broken hoe”
Potupotutatau	harmony
Potu/Potupotu	break, separate, isolate, i.e., “broken”
Potu‘i huo	well-used, worn-out hoe, i.e., “broken hoe”
Pulotu	ancestral homeland and afterworld ⁹¹
Punake kakato	full, knowledgeable, and skillful poet
Punake kapo	partial, less knowledgeable, and skillful poet
Putu/Putuputu	break, separate, isolate, i.e., “broken”
Putu‘i huo	well-used, worn-out hoe, i.e., “broken hoe”
Sī‘i/Sī‘isī‘i	small; see ti‘i/ti‘iti‘i and kihi/kihikihi “small”
Sino	body
Soa	pair, binary; see hoa “pair,” “binary”
Soaism	pertaining; see hoaism
Tā	time, beat, hit, pace, rate
Tā-vā	time-space, temporal-formal
Tā‘efuo	formless
Tā‘etā	timeless
Tā‘euho	contentless
Tā‘evā	spaceless
Tafa‘akifā	four-sided, four-sided dimensional- ity; see fa‘ahifā and tafa‘akifā “four-sided dimensionality”
Tāfangufangu	performance of nose flute playing, see ififan- gufangu “nose flute playing”
Tahi	sea
Tākita	guitar playing

Tala	language; way finder/pathfinder; see hala “way finder/pathfinder”
Tālali	performance art of drumming; see tānafa “drumming”
Tānafa	performance art of drumming; see tālali “drumming”
Tapa‘akifā	four-sided, four-sided dimensionality; see fa‘ahifā and tafa‘akifā “four-sided dimensionality”
Tauēlangi	climatic elation; see fakalaumālie “in the church”
Tau‘atāina	freedom, autonomy, independence
Tā‘ukulele	performance art of ‘ukulele playing
Taumafakava	royal kava ceremony; see taumafatō “sugarcane ceremony,” i.e., taumafakava-taumafatō kava “sugarcane ceremony”
Taumafatō	royal sugarcane ceremony; see taumafakava kava “ceremony” or taumafakave-taumafatō kava “sugarcane ceremony”
Tā-vā	time-space
Tāvāism	brand of tā-vā “time-space philosophy”
Tāvāist	philosopher/upholder of tāvāism
Ta‘anga hiva ‘eva	love song; see ta‘anga hiva kakala, ta‘anga hiva ‘ofa, and ta‘anga hiva “tango”
Ta‘anga hiva kakala	song of sweet-scented-flowers, love song; see ta‘anga hiva ‘eva, hiva ‘ofa, and ta‘anga hiva “tango”
Ta‘anga hiva ‘ofa	love song; see ta‘anga hiva ‘eva, ta‘anga hiva kakala, ta‘anga hiva ‘ofa, and ta‘anga hiva “tango”
Ta‘anga hiva tango	love song; see ta‘anga hiva ‘eva, ta‘anga hiva kakala, ta‘anga hiva ‘ofa, and ta‘anga hiva “tango”
Takai	turn
Tatau	symmetry
Tatala	unveil, strip
Tau	chorus; see kōlesi “chorus”
Tefito-he-loto-sino	body centered
Tefito-he-tu‘a-sino	nonbody centered
Teke	drift; move; push
Tō	time; see tā and tū as lea tafe/heke “language drift/shift”
Tū	time; see tō and tū “time”

Tufunga lea	material art of speech designing
Tufunga tohi	author; material art of writing or book writing
Tukipitu	stamp tube playing
Uho	content; see vā “space”
‘Uto	brain or white inside fibrous of coconut seedling
Vā	space; also see uho “content”
Va’e	wheel, foot/feet
Vaka	boat
Ve’e	wheel, foot/feet; a lea tafe/heke “language drift/shift”
Vili	drill/driller, a lea tafe/heke “language drift/shift” from “vilo” twist
Vilo	twist, original word
Vilolua	double twists and turns; see milolua/miloua as a lea tafe/heke “language drift/shift” from vilolua/viloua “double twist and turn”
Viloua	double twist and turn
Vilotakai	twist and turn
Vovo	tasteful; delicious; mouthful
Whenua	people and environment; see fonua “person” and “place”

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