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Tā-Vā (Time-Space) Theory of Reality

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TĀ-VĀ (TIME-SPACE) THEORY OF REALITY

Guest Editors
Tēvita O. Ka'ili
'Ōkusitino Māhina (Hūfanga)
Ping-Ann Addo

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INTRODUCTION: *TĀ-VĀ* (TIME-SPACE): THE BIRTH OF AN INDIGENOUS MOANA THEORY

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THE DISPUTE between ontology (ways of being) and epistemology (ways of knowing) is a dispute over reality as it is and reality as we know it. The issue is, therefore, not how you know what you know, nor when you know what you know, nor where you know what you know, nor why you know what you know, but rather what you really know.

In paradoxical ways, it is, in the Moana, symbolically thought that people walk forward into the past and, contemporaneously, walk backward into the future, both in the present, where the elusive, already-taken-place past and illusive, yet-to-take-place future are, and in the social process, constantly mediated in the ever-changing present.

In historical ways, however, it logically follows that the past, which has stood the test of time-space, is placed in the front of people in the present as guidance, and the unknown future is located in their back in the present, informed by past experiences, with the past and future permanently negotiated in the conflicting present.

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Tā-Vā (Time-Space) Theory of Reality

This collection of critical essays emerged from an Association of Social Anthropology in Oceania (ASAO) session that was first convened by Tēvita O. Ka'ili (Maui-Tāvā-He-Ako)[1] and 'Ōkusitino Māhina (Hūfanga)[2] in 2009 in Santa Cruz, where they held a Working Session entitled "*Tā-Vā* (Time-Space): The Birth of An Indigenous Moana Theory." The session was later joined by Ping-Ann Addo (Kula-He-Fonua)[3] at the ASAO meeting in Honolulu in 2011. At that time-space, a total of thirteen papers were presented, most of which are represented here, together with three additional papers presented on their behalf in absentia.

As the title of the session indicates, the formulation of the Tā-Vā (Time-Space) Theory of Reality marked the birth of an indigenous Moana theory, based on the Moana notions of "time" and "space," locally variously known across the Moana (Oceania/Pacific, including Tonga)[4] as *tā* and *vā* or *kā* and *wā*. As a groundbreaking Moana theory, its formulation around 2000 was originally developed, in close collaboration, by Tongan cultural anthropologist Tēvita O Ka'ili (Maui-Tāvā-He-Ako) and Tongan historical anthropologist 'Ōkusitino Māhina (Hūfanga). The Tā-Vā (Time-Space) Theory of Reality was first introduced to the academic world when a paper entitled "*Tā*, *Vā* and *Faiva*: Time, Space and Art"[5] was presented by Māhina at a Philosophy conference in Chico, CA, in 2001 (Ka'ili 2008). Apart from a range of extensive and diverse writings on Tāvāism as a Moana theory on a multiplicity of subject matters across disciplinary practices and forms of social activity, some twelve PhDs, Masters, and BA (Hons) tāvāist scholars have used the Tā-Vā (Time-Space) Theory of Reality, as well as an increasing number of current ones, in the production of their theses, mainly in the fields of anthropology, architecture, art, dance studies, education, health, and philosophy.

The chief rationale behind the session, as strictly suggested by its title, was to provide an academic environment for scholars generally and anthropologists specifically to actively and collectively engage in the ongoing critique of the newly born Tā-Vā (Time-Space) of Reality. That is, the rationale was that the *modus operandi* of the indigenous Tā-Vā (Time-Space) of Reality, based on the locally led concepts and practices of tā (time) and vā (space)—as opposed to the imposition of externally driven Western tempo-spatial concepts and practices on the Moana cultures (and languages)—be rigorously critiqued across disciplines in general and anthropology in particular. In addition to this ongoing collective but unified critique and peer-review of papers over a number of ASAO meetings, in view of both thematic theoretical and ethnographical, formal and

substantial (and functional) coherence and relevance, the participants in the session were urged to variously critically engage by responding to the Tā-Vā (Time-Space) of Reality generally and responding to their specific use of tā (time) and vā (space) in the investigation of their respective topics within and across disciplinary boundaries, including anthropology and forms of social activity.

As one of the tāvāist tenets states, that knowledge is knowledge of (skills in) tā (time) and vā (space), which are critically acquired through the intellectual process of education, that is, knowledge investigation, which is then used for practical purposes, that is, knowledge application. This is most evident in the classicist, realist, or tāvāist Tongan theory of *ako* (education), which is a tempo-spatial, substantial-formal (and functional) transformation of the human intellect, mind, or thinking from *vale* (ignorance) to *'ilo* (knowledge) to *poto* (skills), in that logical yet dialectical order (Māhina 2008). Such knowledge and skills are tempo-spatially composed or constituted in culture as a human spectacle and historically communicated or transmitted in language as a social vehicle in tā (time) and vā (space).

The philosophically driven, Moana-based Tā-Vā (Time-Space) of Reality is general in form, content (and function) that it enters all disciplinary practices and forms of social activity across the whole spectrum, as largely demonstrated by the diversity of subject matters of investigation in this collection of critical essays. The Tā-Vā (Time-Space) of Reality has a number of general and specific ontological and epistemological tenets, which include, *inter alia*, the following (Māhina 2010):

- that tā (time) and vā (space) as ontological entities are the common medium in which all things exist, in a single level of reality;
- that tā (time) and vā (space) as epistemological entities are socio-culturally organized in different ways across cultures;
- that tā (time) and vā (space) are the abstract dimensions of *fuo* (form) and *uho* (content), which are, in turn, the concrete dimensions of tā (time) and vā (space);
- that tā (time) and vā (space), like fuo (form) and uho (content), are inseparable in reality, as in nature, mind, and society;
- that the inseparability of tā (time) and vā (space), like fuo (form) and uho (content), renders reality or tā-vā (time-space) to be four-dimensional and not three-dimensional;
- that it is in the nature of mind to know or be aware or conscious of things out there in reality, including mind;
- that all forms of knowledge are knowledge of tā (time) and vā (space);
- that errors in thinking are a problem of mind but not of reality;

- that errors in thinking are caused by the separation of mind from reality and its failure to comprehend conflicts (that is, intersection or connection and separation) in the transcultural arrangement of tā (time) and vā (space);
- that all things in reality stand in eternal relations of exchange (that is, intersection or connection and separation), giving rise to order or conflict; and
- that order is when equal and opposite forces or energies intersect or connect and separate at a common point.

As inseparable ontological entities, tā (time) and vā (space) are the common medium in which all things are, in a single level of reality, as in nature, mind, and society. It justly points to reality or tā-vā (time-space) as having four dimensions and not three dimensions (Anderson 2007; Potauaine 2010). Quite simply, tā (time) is correspondent to fuo (form) and vā (space) to uho (content), which is composed of *lōloa* (length), *maokupu/fālahi* (width), and *loloto/ma'olunga* (depth/height), thereby making reality or tā-vā (time-space) four-dimensional rather than three-dimensional (Potauaine 2010; Potauaine and Māhina 2011). To regard reality or tā-vā (time-space) as three-dimensional (and not four-dimensional) is to privilege vā (space) over tā (time), on the abstract level and, by extension, to privilege uho (content) over fuo (form), on the concrete level, when they as abstract and concrete manifestations are indivisible (and of equal logical status) in reality, as in nature, mind, and society.

On the other hand, as indivisible epistemological entities, tā (time) and vā (space), like fuo (form) and uho (content), are culturally and historically organized in different ways across societies. Tā (time) and vā (space) are arranged in plural, cultural, collectivistic, holistic, intertwining, and circular ways in the Moana—as opposed to their arrangement in singular, techno-teleological, individualistic, atomistic, analytic, and linear modes in the West (Potauaine 2010; Potauaine and Māhina 2011; Māhina 2008). The Moana way of organization of tā (time) and vā (space) is witnessed in their treatment of the past, present, and future, where, in paradoxical yet circular modes, the past is put in front of people and the future is placed in the back of people, both in the present, where the past and future are constantly mediated in the process (Hau'ofa 2008; Māhina 2010). In historical but circular ways, the knowledge and skills from the past, which have stood the test of tā-vā (time-space), are situated as guidance in front of people in the present, and the future, which is yet to take place, is put in the back of people in the present, informed by the refined experiences of the past, with a sense of realism and aestheticism. This is in stark contrast to the predominant Western manner in which the past, present, and future are problematically arranged, with the

past in the back, present in the middle, and future in the front, dictated by a state of linearism, informed by a sense of both evolutionism and rationalism.

One of the tenets of Tāvāism states that tā (time) and vā (space), like fuo (form) and uho (content), are inseparable in reality, as in nature, mind, and society. By this, the tenet simply points to tā (time) as a temporal marker or definer of vā (space), and vā (space) a spatial composer of tā (time) (Anderson 2007; Potauaine 2010; Potauaine and Māhina 2011). From a Tongan perspective, tā (time) is verb-led, action-oriented in nature, and vā (space) is noun-based, object-driven in character (see Ka'ili in this volume), as in *tala matangi* and *tanu hala*, which mean "telling the conditions of winds" and "making roads," respectively, with the former as tempo-marking of winds as a specific space and the latter as tempo-marking of roads as a certain space.

In a temporal sense, tā signifies the marking of time, in terms of tempo, beat, pace, rhythm, and social act. For example, in Tongan, *tānafa* (rhythmic beating of drums), and *tāsīpinga*, setting (tempo-marking) examples, are both processes of marking time in space. Vā, on the other hand, signifies a relational space between time-markers (tā). It is a space that is fashioned through the relationship between time-markers such as beats, markings, objects, or people. Furthermore, vā signifies the nature or quality of the relationship. For example, in Tongan, *vāmama'o* indicates a distant physical space between things, and *vālelei* signifies a good (harmonious) social space (relations) between people.

The Tā-Vā Theory of Reality argues that tā (time) and vā (space) are inseparable in reality and both dimensions must be examined together, and in relation to one another, in order to gain a deeper understanding of natural, mental, and socio-cultural concepts and practices. As mentioned above, tā and vā are (epistemologically) arranged in various ways across cultures, and tā and vā are conflicting in nature. In Tonga, as well as most Moana cultures, artists mediate/reconcile conflicting times-spaces by symmetrically or rhythmically marking time (tā) in space (vā) to give rise to *mālie/faka'ofo'ofa* (beauty). This indigenous and artistic marking of tā (time) in vā (space) is visually displayed in the *kupesi*, intricate and elaborate geometrical designs, that adorn Moana tattoos, carvings, fine mats, decorated barkcloths, sennit lashings, jewelry, and garlands. Furthermore, it is acoustically expressed in the rhythmic patterns that are the defining signature of Moana drumbeats, music, dance movements, and poetic compositions (myths, legends, folktales, proverbs, poems). Last, tā-vā (time-space), configuration is manifested in social relations, especially within *tauhi vā*, the indigenous Tongan art of sustaining harmonious and beautiful sociospatial relations (Ka'ili 2005, 2008).

Major Themes in the Papers

The collection of papers critically examines a diversity of themes across disciplinary practices and forms of social activity at the common intersection or connection and separation of ethnography and the Tā-Vā Theory of Reality. Ka'ili identifies the intertwining nature of time and space in Moanan ontology and epistemology and its linguistic expression in the Tongan language. Herein, Māhina puts forward a new form of Moana anthropology, informed by time and space as both ontological and epistemological entities, in addition to his second paper, where he, in both theoretical and ethnographical ways, examines the Tongan concepts and practices tā-vā (time-space) and *takohi* (drawing). Likewise, Potauaine continues with the tempo-spatial concept and practice *tatau* (symmetry), the subject matter of investigation by Māhina-Tuai in her paper on the work of Potauaine. Refiti and van der Ryn examine architecture, technicity, and bodily ascriptions in space constructions in space. Va'a, Georgina, Ka'ili, and Refiti unpack power, chiefliness, and ritual interactions in Oceania. Addo reexamines exchanges and economics in contemporary Tonga. Kalavite, Williams, Rosi, and Addo critique art and education in the context of diaspora and identity. Williams and Kalavite delve into Pacific (Moana) education and Pasifika (Moana) ways of knowing. Finally, Addo, Rosi, and Māhina critically observe visual art, performing arts, and expressive culture, with Addo dealing with her case as a response to transnationalism and place-making or identity, that is, tempo-marking self's sociospatial relations.

Summary of the Papers

As one of the Tā-Vā theorists, Māhina's paper sets both the tone and the direction of this volume. Māhina explores tā, vā, culture, and anthropology (as both discipline and practice)[6] and challenges how we move conceptually from data to theory when the theorists are also the subjects of power-laden historical constructions of time, place, identity, and knowledge. He states: "Culture, like all historical occurrences within and across nature, mind and society, takes place in time and space, i.e., reality. By extension, culture is, in actuality, a spatio-temporal human entity. A subject of anthropological investigation, culture is a social process, underlined by both complexity and historicity." This essay investigates what is valued in Moanan culture and, drawing heavily on the Tongan tradition, the analysis presented is one that suggests that harmony, or balance of give and take, in social relations is valued above all else in Tongan society. Such harmony is termed *faka'ofo'ofa*—often translated as beautiful—and suggests the constantly changing form of relationships

that, ideally, return to a state of balance, only to be shifted from this with further social interaction. The history of Tongan people can be described as one of acting and reacting in order to return to (an often unpredictable place or form of) beauty. Other authors in the volume likewise examine their people's own day-to-day ontology and epistemology, using them to broaden Māhina's theory into one of Moana societies more generally.

Albert Refiti's (Leali'ifano)[7] paper is firmly grounded in the Western philosophical tradition, but it applies ethnographic lenses to the bodily hexis and social interactions that traditionally took place in Samoa and that still do pertain today. Refiti grapples with what he, borrowing from Leroi-Gourhan, refers to as the work of "technicity"—the creation of lines in space by our gestures and movements (Leroi-Gourhan 1993). Such lines serve to orient us and those we interact with to the relations that we coconstruct. Refiti considers the technicity of the *tufunga*—or artist—whose role it is in Moana cultures to produce things of value, thereby facilitating the production of relations and society. This paper is, therefore, very much drawing on a Weberian and constructivist notion of the world coming into being through the subjects. To illustrate, he presents a "spatial exposition" of Samoan architecture as the work of the *tufunga-fau-fale* in order to demonstrate such material movements, for they make manifest the Tā-Vā theory in action. He further employs the specific Samoan concepts of tā and vā, which are *teu* (to decorate) and vā (space), to explain "the affects and effects in the system of actions and intentions" that produce subjects/objects in space and, through particular rituals, produce (a local sense of) time as well.

Related directly to the exposition of architecture as physical manifestation of spatial relationships interacting with intentionality with the built environment is Micah van der Ryn's paper. In it, he examines the underlying cultural assumptions about the constitution and production of space and time in Samoan culture as they are embedded in language, architecture, and social practices. The paper addresses how these concepts and the physical constructions of homes and other buildings are integrally related to Samoan ways of dealing with conflict and developing and maintaining social order.

Sēmisi Fetokai Potauaine's paper deals with tatau, translated as symmetry, which also means mirror image, image, copy, likeness, same, and equal (Potauaine 2010, Potauaine and Māhina 2011). As an artistic device, tatau (symmetry) is used for the mediation of *kohi-vā* (line-space) intersection, defined as connection and separation—in the broader tāvāist context, where all things in reality or tā-vā (time-space) stand in eternal relations of exchange. This point of intersection of *kohi* (line) and vā (space) gives rise to the *mata* (eye) as a form of connection or, its mirror image, *ava* (hole) as a type of separation, for example, *mata'i fa'o* (eye of the nail) and *ava'i fa'o* (hole of the

nail). A point, that is, mata (eye) or ava (hole), is the common place or space of intersection of two or more kohi (lines), a kohi (line) a collection of mata (eyes) or ava (holes) and vā (space) a set of kohi (lines). In artistic ways, the symmetrical mediation of kohi (line) and vā (space) intersection, like all types of conflict on the natural, psychological, and social levels, is done through sustained harmony to create beauty.

Moving the volume toward a discussion of the spiritual relevance of examining tā and vā in culture, Felise Va'a (Unasa Leulu) presents a treatise on tā and vā as one unified concept in Samoan culture. Samoan ta-vā is a daily reality in his life. He argues that Samoans further integrate tā and vā in relationships with each other and the natural environment "to provide a harmonious balance in Samoan culture and society" as well as in the proper relationships between humans and supernatural spirits. His essays is also a linguistic exposition of how time-space categories for where subjects are situated in the course of the day—morning, afternoon, and evening, for example—shape their shifting sense of connection to place, people, and activities like subsistence in rhythmic, cyclical fashion. The import of this discussion is the reminder that all significant activity is ritualized in the mind and body and, in turn, produces time as subjects come to know it through their interactions in the space of society.

The final paper on Samoan ways of knowing and being through tā and vā is by Dianna Georgina. Georgina examines how vā constitutes both notions of (diffuse) boundaries and space between people. She considers *mana*—the potency and influence—that is both encountered and mediated by particular ritualized use of space as a marker for rank differences between subjects. In the ethnography of Samoan dance she provides an example of how personhood—the recognized state of being a respectable human being in a given society—emanates from interaction in time and in space. When a *taupou*—highest ranking woman in villages, traditionally the daughter of a chiefs—dances, she embodies what Georgina refers to as "controlled mana," whereas clowns who mimic respectable dance with deliberately inelegant movements embody "uncontrolled mana." The space between these two categories of persons becomes, in a sense, charged with the movements that each creates in concert with the other—a form of "technicity" to borrow from Refiti and Leroi-Gourhan. Thus, Georgina presents a microcosmic look at Samoan socio-spatial practices through the lens of rank, age, gender, power, and practice. The discussion is a useful counterexample to Refiti's analysis of chiefly and tufunga powers of creativity radiating outward from chiefs who organize labor in the production of Samoan society.

Pamela Rosi's paper, an analysis of the art practice of Shugeiyuki Kihara, is an interdisciplinary exploration of how vā—and its relationship to tā—has

existed in different contexts and times for Moanan cultures. A Samoan-Japanese *fa'afāfine*, Kihara challenges the notions that male and female—and past and present—cannot exist in a single subject or a single vā. Kihara's work, which is in the visual, performance, and installation veins, thereby challenges negative theorizing about Samoan Third Gender liminality as being either recently derivative or lacking indigenous cultural value for "vā" as the space in between.

Ping-Ann Addo's paper follows the discussion of Samoan diasporic visual art with one about Tongan diasporic visual art: barkcloth made by Tongan women in New Zealand (Addo 2009, 2013). The paper demonstrates how traditional temporal and spatial concepts are particularly applicable to analyzing material culture as the focal point of the (re)crystalization of contemporary diasporic identities. In her paper for this volume, Addo argues that women *nimamea'a koka'anga* (makers, artists) of this most sacred object (re)create Moanan sacred social space in assembling and exchanging barkcloth, fine mats, and other traditional valuables as gifts. They also fill space with evolving materiality of plaited fine mats, echoing Refiti's notion that the gift—both as object and as form and force of relationship—is vā, or a connection forged between people.

Māhina's second paper in the volume theoretically and ethnographically examines the Tongan concept and praxis takohi, translated as drawing. He argues that, since all social activity takes place in space and time, it follows that art can be generally defined as tā-vā transformation, a stance echoed by Refiti, Ka'ili, Māhina-Tuai, and Potauaine. Drawing ethnographically from the three divisions of Tongan art—material (or carving and sennit rope lashing) arts, performance, and fine (textile) arts—Māhina describes takohi as a "tool of line-space intersection." Māhina extends his approach in the first essay by arguing, in this paper, that various forms of conflict are mediated in the creative process. The notion of conflict applied here is an idea reminiscent of the Manchester School of Social Anthropology but also deeply reflects Moana philosophies of seeking the broader benefit over gain for oneself. Such conflicts are regular features of society and manifest in artistic subject matters, Māhina argues, whose symmetrical forms mediate conflict in the creative process itself.

Kolokesa Māhina-Tuai's paper presents a specific analysis in the vein of Māhina's paper on takohi. Māhina-Tuai discusses recent works of Sēmisi Fetokai Potauaine, a male contemporary visual artist practicing in diaspora—primarily in New Zealand, but also in his recent residency at the Cambridge Museum. The author uses these works to explore the role of symmetry, or tatau, an essential aspect of all Tongan traditional arts, be they visual or performing arts. As Addo discusses for barkcloth, art-making creates a

connection between past and present, and Māhina-Tuai argues for an analysis of the time-space movement created by Potauaine as he depicts his message using the intersecting lines and spaces, mediated through the concept of tatau (symmetry) to produce that supreme Tongan "value": harmony or beauty.

The papers then turn to the theme of education and Moana ways was of knowing. The next two papers grapple with the much remarked-on "low achievement" of students of Moana background in diaspora in majority white nations. Examining the competing expectations put on Tongan–New Zealander students by their families, churches, and schools, Telesia Kalavite suggests that it is not the educational system per se that students struggle with or in, but their very *kāinga* (families). She uses kāinga as an umbrella term for communities in which students are embedded with concomitant responsibilities toward the needs and directives of others: educational bureaucracy, their families, churches, and teachers. She sees each of these contexts as a set of time-space relationships that overlap and intertwine in students' lives, each context having its own sort of pull, challenge, and reward—in short, there are tensions within and between these different contexts, and students experience them all while trying to achieve academically. Kalavite also engages thoughtfully with diaspora as a space for identity construction.

Nuhisifa Seve Williams's paper provides data from ethnographic interviews with such students—Pasifika (Moana), or students of Pacific Islander heritage, in New Zealand. Williams thinks about space in the tā-vā construction literally as the locus within the university classroom, but her analysis necessarily engages with the fact that physical spaces manifest a sense of belonging or outsiderness, depending on how students inhabit them (Williams 2009). Thus, Pasifika (Moana) students who populate the back rows of lecture theatres are not necessarily disengaged in a university lecture hall but are often embodying respect for the lecturer and solidarity with one another. Some are quiet out of respect, and others are vocal in tutorials out of a sense of collective "face" for their Pasifika (Moana) brothers and sisters. Her discussion is rich with analysis of the displacement felt by Pasifika students whose families and teachers often expect and hope for different outcomes from the students' educational experiences. She highlights how homeland and hostland, family house and lecture theatre, self and group achievement all influence the choices a student makes in positioning herself—physically and socially—within a given educational context.

Tēvita O. Ka'ili, the author of the final paper in the volume, is perhaps the author who most directly uses the Tā-Vā Theory of Reality in his own. Ka'ili's paper returns our attention to the production of rank in Moana societies with

its focus on Tongan use of time and space in the *taumafa kava* (royal/chiefly *kava* ceremony) and the *lakalaka* (dance) performing art. More specifically, it contends with the *tāvani*, intertwinedness, of tā with vā in specific Tongan language terms and, thus, he argues, in Tongan consciousness. Like Refiti, Ka'ili shows how people's positioning and circumscription (spatiality) of their movements (temporality) in space during particular rituals is directly related to their rank: chiefs sit at the front (*mu'a*) of the kava circle or perform at the front-and-center position between the rows of dancers in the lakalaka. The terms used to describe these positions clearly indicate the tempo-spatiality of the experience of rank: people of high rank (chiefs, also known as mu'a) trump those on or from the outside (commoners, known as *tu'a*, "outside" and *muli*, "following or coming from outside"; a term that also means "foreigner").

Critiquing the Privileging of Space over Time

The Tā-Vā Theory of Reality takes a strong position that tā (time) and vā (space) are both ontologically and epistemologically inseparable in reality,[8] and both dimensions must be examined together, and in relation to one another, in order to gain a holistic understanding of our natural, mental, and socio-cultural world. Moreover, the Tā-Vā Theory maintains that tā-vā (time-space) simultaneously connects and separates or intersects. Although scholarly writings have contributed to our understanding and appreciation of Moana concepts and practices, they have failed to take into account both time and space. Most of the writings focus solely on spatiality with almost no critical attention to temporality; a form of privileging space over time. This is the case with the writings of Wendt (1999), Halapua (2000, 2003), Thaman (2004), Taufe'ulungaki (2004), and Hau'ofa (2008). Wendt, Halapua, and Thaman focus solely on the spatiality (vā) of social relations with no account of temporality (tā). The writings of Taufe'ulungaki concentrate on *fonua* as community and space, and Hau'ofa emphasizes oceania as a vast space. Both provide little analysis of the time dimension of fonua and oceania. In addition to the exclusive focus on space and the neglect of time, most of the scholars view space as connecting or relating, with no account of space as separating, when they are, in reality, two sides of space as intersecting. This is contrary to tāvāism, which argues that all things in reality or nature, mind, and society stand in relations of exchange, giving rise to order and/or conflict, that is, that all things intersect (*fakafelavai*) or connect (*fakahoko*) and separate (*fakamavahe*)—as in the case of mata (eye) and ava (hole), for example, mata'i fa'o (eye of the nail) and ava'i fa'o (hole of the nail) (see Māhina, Māhina-Tuai, and Potauaine this volume).

Like the privileging of space (vā) over time (tā), there is also the privileging of fakahoko (connection) over fakamavahe (separation), when both time and space, like both connection and separation, are inseparable in reality, as in nature, mind, and society. The treatment of the Moana as space (vā) that connects or relates (fakahoko) but not space (vā) that separates or divides (fakamavahe) attributes *fenāpasi* (order), a privileged position, over *fepaki* (conflict), informed by a sense of idealism of both the rationalist and functionalist sort (Hauʻofa 2008; Wendt 1999). As a fact of history (and of life), the Moana is a place of both *moʻui* (life) and *mate* (death), a place where people are connected or related through life (and of life sustenance) and, at the other times-spaces, a place where they are separated or divided through death (and of life crisis) (Māhina 2010). A classic case would be *folau* (voyaging), which can be either a *folau moʻui/folau hao/folau tonu* (safe voyage) or *folau mate/folau mole/folau hē* (lost voyage). This was most probably the case with the settlement of the huge Moana by our ancestors in the past, as is the seascape movement of our people in the present, where voyages were either saved or lost along the way, with some arriving and others not arriving at their points of destination after leaving their points of origin. The same applies to what can be called model infestation of Moana scholarship, specifically in the fields of art, education, health, and peace studies among others (see, for example, Thaman 1997; Halapua 2003), where *mōtolo* (models) are drawn from Moana cultures (and languages), taken as vehicles, paradigms, or frameworks for Moana education and research, including teaching and learning (Thaman 1997; Taufeʻulungaki 2004). The use of models assumes the exchange between two states of affairs, where one is deployed as a model for the other, when there is commonly a failure of establishing the actual temporal-spatial, formal-substantial, and functional connections or relations between them as separate or distinct entities. Like the privileging of space (vā) over time (tā) and of fakahoko (connection) over fakamavahe (separation) or, for that matter, fenāpasi (order) over fepaki (conflict), there is, in modeling, a privileged position attributed to separation over connection, in view of the fact that states of affairs are, by nature, separate or distinct in themselves, thereby leaving the task of making their time-space, form-content, and function connections or relations unresolved in the process, both theoretically and practically (Thaman 2004; Manuʻatu 2000; Vaioleti 2006).

The academic fixation with only space is still dominating in recent scholarly writings in Moana. The recent *Ethos* "Special Issue: Senses of Space: Multiple Models of Spatial Cognition in Oceania and Indonesia" (Mawyer and Feinberg 2014) is a case in point. The authors of this special issue, which also emerged from an ASAO conference session, engage primarily

with only the spatial dimension of cognition. They argue for the value of a "multiple-models" approach to "space-in-culture" and "culture-in-spatial cognition" (Mawyer and Feinberg 2014, 243). There are no explanations of "time-in-culture" or "culture-in-temporal cognition." Moreover, the authors provide spatial conceptualization of navigation, orientation, and experience with almost no examination of temporality. For example, Bennardo (2014) discusses mainly the spatial, linguistics, and localized knowledge of the way Tongans give directions. His account on the way Tongans give directions provides no investigation of the temporality of giving directions or on moving in a certain direction as a form of time. Mawyer (2014) examines Mangarevan orientation and the multiplicity of spatial models with minor attention to the time-space in Mangarevan grammar. Mawyer is the only author in the collection who provides a section on time and space, specifically the multiple models for the location of time and space. Feinberg (2014) explores the multiplicity of spatial models on Taumako, a Polynesian community in the Solomon Islands. He focuses on models based on a binary/linear conceptualization of space, a Taumako form of radiality. There is no examination of the relationship between temporality and radiality. Likewise, Genz (2014) examines Marshallese models of hydrodynamics in relation to spatial layout in the Marshall Islands and how navigators use those models to navigate landscapes and seascapes. Even though navigation involves both time and space, Genz only focuses on the spatial dimension of navigation. In a similar approach, Ammarell (2014) explores the conflicts between indigenous spatial models and the global capital spatial models in the Indonesian island of Balobaloang. He provides no analysis of indigenous temporal models or the global capital temporal models. Lastly, Shore (2014) summarizes the three main areas of spatiality: (1) the close relations between spatial cognition and social cognition, (2) the relevance of allocentric and egocentric perspectives for cultural models of space, and (3) the importance in cognitive anthropology of studying multiple models. Shore provides no consideration to temporal cognition, cultural models of time, or the studying of multiple models of time. All the authors primarily see only space. Time appears to be invisible and insignificant.

In contrast, our collection of critical essays bring visibility and significance to both time and space, tā and vā, as fundamental and inseparable dimensions of reality. The authors herein share—and prove—the theoretical assumption that time and space are ontologically equal and one should not be privileged over the other. The topics and approaches covered in these essays underscore the abiding importance of ancestral guidance across time, privileging indigenous people's own analysis of their current lived realities. Thus, even when nonindigenous individuals write about indigenous processes—among them Addo, Georgina,

Rosi, and van der Ryn—they foreground indigenous ontology and epistemology about indigenous things, like other indigenous analyses that have emerged from Moana relationships that recognize genealogies and harmoniously interweave talk. A prime example of this remains Tengan, Ka'ili, and Fonoti's (2010) edited collection, which also emerged from a series of ASAO sessions in the early 2000s. The editors seek to affect the anthropology done in and of Moana by suggesting that "articulating visions of anthropology's future . . . can be done only through genealogical work—the search for, production, and transformation of connections across time and space" (140). They clarify that "genealogies lead us to seek far into our past for answers to modern-day questions of who we are, where we belong, and where we are going" (141). These conversations and cosmological reconnections are basic, crucial, and reality-affirming for Moana peoples. It is no surprise that many of the authors in this Tā-Vā volume interwove their voices in that previous *Genealogies* volume: Addo, Ka'ili, Māhina, and Va'a. Thus, we invite you to join our "talanoa, talking-critically-yet-harmoniously" (Māhina 2008) of the indigenous Moana Tā-Vā Theory of Reality.

NOTES

1. Maui-Tāvā-He-Ako is a *matāpule* (master of ceremony) title. Bestowed by Hūfanga, a chief of Ma'ofanga, in recognition of Tēvita O. Ka'ili's work in formulating and advancing the Tā-Vā Theory of Reality in ako (academia). Ka'ili completed his PhD fieldwork among the Tongans in Maui, Hawai'i. He is a descendant of Maui, the famous Moana/Oceanian culture hero, liberator, freedom fighter, and trickster.

2. Hūfanga is a chiefly title. Bestowed by Fakafanua, the chief of Ma'ofanga, Tongatapu, in recognition of 'Okusitino Māhina and the ways in which his scholarly writings (e.g., Tā-Vā Theory of Reality) provide a *hūfanga* (refuge, sanctuary) for students from Moana/Oceania.

3. Kula-He-Fonua is a matāpule (master of ceremony) title. Bestowed by Hūfanga, a chief of Ma'ofanga, in recognition of Ping-Ann Addo's tireless work to promote the fonua (land and its people; nation) of Tonga, both in the Tonga and in the diaspora, in her academic writings (Addo 2013). Addo was adopted by a Ma'ofanga family during her fieldwork. Kula is a matāpule title from Ma'ofanga.

4. Moana is the Indigenous Polynesian name for Oceania/Pacific Ocean, the inhabitants of which are also called the Moana people.

5. As a result of ongoing research in the field, Tongan art is now established to have three main divisions, namely, *faiva* (performance), tufunga (material) and *nimamea'a* ([fine] arts). There is no Tongan word for art, which is translated as *'aati*.

6. Culture (fonua) and language (*tala/lea*), like time and space, are inseparable in reality, with culture as a receptacle for the dialectical composition or constitution of refined 'ilo

(knowledge) and poto (skills) and language as a vehicle for their historical transmission or communication (Māhina 2008).

7. Leali'ifano is Albert Refiti's Samoan title.

8. While that is the case, the epistemological questions are of secondary importance to the primary questions, given that reality as we know it is dependent on reality as it is, in that logical order of precedence.

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GEOGRAPHIES OF TEXTILE AUTHENTICITY: MARKING TONGAN TEMPORAL AND SOCIAL RELATIONSHIPS IN DIASPORIC CULTURAL PRODUCTION

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AMONG TONGAN WOMEN who live in the diaspora but who were born in Tonga, making *koloa* (traditional barkcloths and fine mats) is often a cherished memory of their younger days living in their ethnic homeland. In part, this is because—even though ceremonial exchange of *koloa* in the diaspora continues at increasing rates (Herda 1999)—most *koloa* exchanged there is transported from the homeland in completed form. One exception to this has been the work of elderly Tongan women in the diaspora who have been reviving the practice of making *koloa* in Auckland, New Zealand, in the past two decades. Of particular note to analysts like me is *ngatu pepa*, a textile employing synthetic fibers and dyes that was invented in diaspora by Tongan women who lived in the United States and that has been increasingly a source of the valuable and highly desired barkcloth-like textile (Addo 2007, 2013; see also Drake 2002). Tongans conceptualize their textiles as both (exchangeable) wealth and (visual) art, and each kind of *koloa*—barkcloth, fine mats, hand- and machine-made fabric cloths—occupy a place on a conceptual hierarchy. Likewise, Tongans themselves interrelate through a hierarchy of age, gender, and rank, and the degree of deference or familiarity and modes of speaking with which people interact is guided by the principle of the *vā*, or the spatiotemporal distance between individuals and kin groups (Ka'ili, forthcoming). Here, I present an ethnographic analysis of how Tongan women of different generations engage in seemingly hierarchal relations to

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produce symmetry, to borrow from Ka'ili (forthcoming; see also Ka'ili in this issue), and thus harmony in their social relations with Tongans globally and with their own ancestors. They hereby realize their cultural *fatongia* (duty) to produce beauty in the *vā*, social space between themselves (Ka'ili, forthcoming) in order to effect appropriate time-space transformations (Māhina 2004; see also Māhina in this volume), and they do so by authenticating textiles through production and exchange.

In this analysis, I consider two forms of barkcloth: *ngatu* (made from the beaten, felted and hand-decorated inner bark of the paper mulberry tree) and *ngatu pepa* (a textile with color, weight, and hand-applied decoration similar to *ngatu* but made from synthetic fabric sheets and, thus, devoid of any bark content). Women often characterize their choice of what kind of barkcloth to produce and to offer in ceremonial exchange based on *where* they are located: *ngatu ngatu* for Tonga versus *ngatu pepa* and other "hybrid" barkcloth for the diaspora (see Addo 2007). Moreover, when women who were raised in the diaspora experience *koloa*-making, they contribute to intergenerational knowledge and bridge their present and future with ancestral pasts. The effect can be a seen as a time-space transformation that is at once postmodern – specifically characterized as time-space compression (Harvey 1990) – and as ancient as ancestral belief itself. This essay explores how intergenerational relationships involved in diasporic textile making encompass the bridging or crossing of the *vā*, space, between women in different generations and different geographical locations. I analyze the way time and space transformations are effected by elderly urban-dwelling women migrants who define themselves in part through wealth production and, more important, through gift exchange. I argue that as they move to new places and continue to alter such feminized processes, they remake the scale of the territory over which they and their communities *live out a life being authentically Tongan*.

Tā and *Vā* in Material Culture Production

Scholars of Tongan culture emphasize that social relations are made harmonious—that is, symbolically and materially balanced—by the space between people being crossed by the presentation of gifts of *koloa*, feast foods, kava, and money (Ka'ili, forthcoming; Kaeppler 1998a; Young Leslie 2004; Evans 2001). Such objects have been said to constitute things of great material value, objects of aesthetic worth, and works of art (Kaeppler 1998b). Here, I am concerned with the artistic qualities of *koloa*: textiles made and deployed by Tongan women. However, I am not interested in confirming objects like barkcloths and fine mats as arts in a Western vein: providing intellectual, sensual, and (in the case of commodity art) economic experiences that may

be "effective" only or primarily on the individual level. I attribute the growing clarity of my own analysis as a cultural outsider to ʻOkusitino Māhina's *ta-va* theory of time-space reality and Tēvita Kaʻili's theory of *tauhi vā* as the creation of beauty through sociospatial relationships. It is not "beauty [as] in the eye of a holder" that I examine but rather the *fakaʻofoʻofa*, beauty, rendered by symmetry and balance in social relationships between people (Kaʻili 2005). Whatever the material accomplishments that accrue—for when someone offers a gift, they almost invariably receive some sort of material reciprocation—women undertake the production of *koloa* as a process of reorganization of their own and others' interactions in time and space with the express aim of creating beauty (Māhina 2004). These are, inherently and preferably, a set of social processes.

What elderly women do in time and space when consciously imparting the traditional skills of barkcloth making, even in the context of producing hybrid cloth, is particularly interesting in understanding the how and why of Tongan material culture. The object they create is more likely to be considered *fakaʻofoʻofa* (beautiful) if the process of creation enhances the gendered and intergenerational *vā* (or space) between the women themselves. Moreover, teaching younger women and girls to produce (giftable) objects constitutes a culturally efficacious way for women to employ their skills because it both fulfills women's *fatongia* (duty) of teaching youngers to be *poto* (skilled) in Tonganness (Young Leslie 2004) and effects *tauhi vā* between the women themselves. Thus, even if they do not make barkcloth themselves, *knowledge* of textile making is a prescribed *fatongia*, duty, of Tongan women.

Gift exchange also constitutes *tauhi vā*, and gifting *koloa* is particularly efficacious because recognizing people with textiles regenerates Tongans culturally (Kaeppler 1998b). Kaʻili (forthcoming) would say that the events at which gifts are presented and reciprocated constitute periods of time (*tā*) during which Tongan individuals create symmetry, or beauty, in the spaces between them. The Tongan women I met during fieldwork in New Zealand (2000–2002) believed in the efficacy of cloth production and exchange on their relationships with non-Tongans as well, such as the relations between Tongan communities and New Zealand political authorities (Addo 2013), thus their intentionality in pursuing cloth production *as tauhi vā* deserves some comment.

As noted above, the raw materials for making barkcloths and fine mats are not grown in New Zealand, so these diasporic women had to find and make use of resources available in their immediate surroundings to fulfill their *fatongia*. One such way involved depending on the relationship with—or crossing the *va* between—themselves and the New Zealand authorities. The women applied for and accepted government funding, using it to finance

local development schemes that require that cloth be produced primarily as a commodity. The women also fulfill a related *fatongia* to present textiles as gifts by resourcefully using the materials at hand. Rather than expressly selling the *koloa* they produce through these local government-sponsored development schemes, women prefer to deploy them as gifts (Horan 2002). Several groups of Tongan women in Auckland have been making textiles like barkcloths since the late 1990s. Below, I discuss their methods of making *ngatu pepa* as well as the more traditional method for making barkcloth from natural materials grown in the homeland.

Ngatu Pepa Production: Cloth Making as Knowledge Production

Tutu

There are three main stages to producing *ngatu*, barkcloth, from *hiapo*, the inner bark of the paper mulberry tree. Tongan women engage in *tutu*, or the beating of the bark with heavy wooden mallets whose parallel grooves help to break the tough fibers of the stiff, off-white inner bark. After twenty to thirty minutes of beating, the *hiapo* is sufficiently soft and has increased in width from a few inches to about a foot or a foot and a half. The strips are then dried and joined to form larger strips that are called *feta'aki*. These will be stored until it is time to assemble *ngatu*.

Ngatu pepa, the barkcloth-like textile made today without *hiapo*, circumvents the arduous beating that constitutes *tutu* and supplies diasporic women a material with which to produce *koloa*. The name *ngatu pepa* means *ngatu* made from "paper," which is what Tongan women dubbed "vylene" when they first incorporated it into their cloth production. Vylene has a similar weight and dye-holding quality to beaten *hiapo*, paper mulberry bark, and women's groups I met in Auckland during my fieldwork had to purchase many meters of it—with New Zealand government-sourced or some other funds—from local stores in town (Addo 2007). It is important to point out that *ngatu pepa* is only one material manifestation of a series of changes that have long been taking place in the production and aesthetics of Tongan barkcloth. Indeed, *ngatu pepa* is not the first "barkcloth" to be the subject of debate about the authenticity of continually emerging categories of Tongan cloth. Around the same time that *ngatu pepa* was first being produced in the Tongan diaspora, Cathy Small (1997) documented a variety of barkcloth that Tongan women in villages in Tonga made with a top layer of *feta'aki* and a lower layer of vylene. Vylene had a similar weight and held rubbed-in dye just as well as *feta'aki*, but the greatest advantage was that women could produce twice as much barkcloth in the same amount of time and were thus

able to begin meeting the demands of their own ritual needs at home as well as those of women in the diaspora.

Koka'anga

The second stage is the one during which the textile actually takes shape and its *kupesi*, patterns, are applied. Women work in groups called *toulanganga* for this stage, seated in facing pairs at the *papa*, a long, low worktable to which they have affixed relief pattern boards called *kupesi*. If in Tonga and if making *ngatu* from *hiapo*, women will place the *feta'aki* strips parallel to the *papa* (worktable) pasting the strips edge to edge with cooked flour-and-water paste. They will place the top layer of *feta'aki* in a direction perpendicular to the *papa*, rubbing dye over the surface of the textile such that the relief patterns on the *kupesi* below imprint clearly on the upper layer. They use a natural dye called *koka*.[1] Because of the traditional use of *koka* for decorating *ngatu*, this second major stage of *ngatu* production is called *koka'anga*, or "what one does with *koka*."

When women in Auckland make *ngatu pepa*, they sit at the *papa* and paste the pieces of vylene together in a similar way to women making *ngatu* in Tonga. Sometimes they will have stitched the pieces of vylene for the lower layer into one large piece whose dimensions will determine the size of the finished textile. Just as they do for *ngatu*, women in Auckland paste the strips for the upper layer at right angles to the seams of the lower layer, and they rub the upper surface with dyes so that the *kupesi* (patterns) show up on the *mata* (face) of the cloth. The dyes used by diasporic *toulanganga* (cloth-making groups) are typically synthetic. The women in the Auckland *toulanganga* groups are very resourceful. I know one group who had their husbands and sons bring home bags of discarded red brick powder from the construction sites on which the men worked. This powder was mixed with water to a consistency like that of *koka*.

It is more or less agreed on in the literature that because *koka'anga* is the stage at which *ngatu* and *ngatu* paper are given their *mata*, face, it is the most important phase of the making the textiles (Addo 2013; Teilhet Fisk 1991). There is other evidence for this claim. Often, when *koloa* is gifted, a man from the receiving side calls out "*mālō ē koka'anga*," praising women (in general) for assembling such a thing of appropriate beauty.[2] Moreover, in the diaspora, elderly women desire to be included in this stage of *ngatu-pepa* production. They sit behind yet symbolically above the younger women, providing instruction, which reifies notions of duty (*fatongia*) as ideally accomplished in the social space between members of different generations. The sense and performance of duty fills the space. Also crossing this space

physically are gifts, which transform the garage (traditionally male space), church hall, or family's back backyard where the women assemble for the cooperative textile work.

The younger women receive "gifts" of the older women's guidance and reciprocate with their obedience and with food that they have prepared ahead of time. The *koka'anga* thereby becomes a space of beauty and of beauty creation. In Auckland's *koka'anga* groups in the early 2000s, some of which still function today, younger women perform their *fatongia* both by continuing to make the textiles and by relying on the expertise of elderly women. This results in a creation of both relationships and objects that are *faka'ofo'ofa*, beautiful. By working together, Tongan women fulfill their *fatongia* (duty) to meet respectfully and productively in the space, the *vā*, between themselves.[3] *Koka'anga* does more than alter space, then: it also alters relationships.

Tohi

The final stage of decoration of *ngatu* and *ngatu pepa* is called *tohi*. During this stage, women sit together and retrace the rubbed-in *kupesi* (designs) on the *mata* (face) of the *ngatu* or *ngatu pepa* using a darker dye. Younger women perform *tohi ngatu* in their homes along with relatives or even in a group themselves. *Tohi* does not require all the women in the *toulanganga* to be working together simultaneously. Neither does *tohi* require the presence of skilled older women. Elderly women are indispensable at *koka'anga*, however, highlighting the importance of *koka'anga* over *tutu* and *tohi* as a key stage in barkcloth making, one that encodes a sense of realness or authenticity.

Shifting Forms of Authenticity: *Ngatu Pepa* as *Fakalakalaka* (Development) and as *Tauhi Vā*

One other type of event that elderly women volunteer to attend are *'a'āhi* (showing, viewing), or the formal displays of newly made *koloa* that a *toulanganga* will have made at the end of a several-month stretch of textile making. The elderly women are included in those thanked for their *ngaue lahi* (hard work) and *'ofa* (love, devotion) in lending their knowledge, if not their hands, to the production of these things of beauty (Addo 2007).

At *'a'āhi* in Auckland, Tongan women often present gifts to Auckland City Council or New Zealand government liaisons who attend these formal events in order to ascertain how the women have used the public funding they have received. Moreover, the women represent the role played by these objects in proper social relations—as gifts imbued with their spirits and as objects

indexing their ability to effect certain kinds of time-space transformations. In this case, women compress time, embodying the gifts of their women ancestors who beat the mana of Pulotu, the ancestral homeland, into them (Filihia 2001). Not only are time and space altered for these women, but they make central a different epistemology from the one in which their modern and diasporic lives are embedded. These women make efforts to live by important indigenous Tongan principles, even when interacting with dominant cultural outsiders (i.e., *pakeha*, or whites) among whom Tongans live in the diaspora. From a policy perspective, greater understanding of the centrality of Moana notions of agency of people sharing gendered and generational knowledge (*poto*) and responsibility (*fatongia*) at the intersections of time and space is highly advantageous. Recognizing that Tongan material priorities reflect crucial social priorities has the potential to empower New Zealand's various human services institutions in assisting these ethnic communities in more culturally appropriate ways. Furthermore, Tongan women are also empowered to help themselves and their communities on their own terms.

That the women I interviewed in the early 2000s perceive themselves as having a choice in how they contribute to their families' monetary and traditional wealth is key to their identities and their well-being (Addo 2013). In the competitive modern political economy of New Zealand, Tongan women are increasingly called on to perform as the main breadwinners in their families. In the gendered division of labor, they have the choice both to engage in textile production in order to bring earn money (the aim of the Auckland City Council) and to procure and gift textiles. Elderly women, especially, are indispensable in the relations of production of *koloa* in the diaspora. Thus, they must be recognized for their contributions to family productivity and must not be considered simply marginal in the political economy of the Tongan diaspora. Even though they are usually dependents, requiring care and assistance from younger people in their families, they themselves often care for children and have leadership roles in church congregations. They are indispensable to the production of material and symbolic wealth as well as to human capital, yet they are often—in state discourses of who constitutes a productive, laboring body—omitted from analyses of Pacific Islander production.

Producing or exchanging textiles on behalf of their kin groups affects how Tongans experience the temporal and spatial dimensions of their identities. Other scholars of Tonga, such as Meredith Filihia, have suggested that *tutu*, the act of beating out (*tā*) paper mulberry bark makes present in both time and space the mana of Pulotu – the ancestral homeland (Filihia 2001). Restraint from beating *tutu* (*tae tutu*, *tae tā*) is one indication that a funeral is being observed in a community or a village (Teilhet-Fisk 1991). So beating

mulberry bark is shown to be a significant activity such that its cessation marks a liminal time period. Yet how do we think of the time-beating activity of Tongan women who make barklike cloth from raw materials that require no beating? By producing appropriate social relations and highly desired and treasured objects—that is, by engaging in *koka'anga*, doing so collectively, with prayer and joy and commitment—women afford Tongans a way of bridging or creating symmetry in social relations. These are highly desired and constitute a form of resistance to the modern state's expectation that people labor autonomously and individually to provide their own sustenance and, thus, earn their personhood.

It is from such modern state discourses—a common accompaniment to aid money and international recognition of emerging states by the long-standing modern nations—that we derive the current meanings of the Tongan term *fakalakalaka* (to develop; development; improvement). In addition to mandating modern wealth as currency, states have tended to usher in a consciousness toward linear time-space conceptualization, and linear time is now a foundational experience of modernity the world over (Kofman 2005, 526). The modern state has also reproduced gendered constructions of space (where public/private map onto male/female), time (where linear time vs. cyclical time map onto male-vs.-feminized approaches), and bodies (where male bodies are empowered and female bodies seem to require control) (see McClintock among others). Yet today, the state has long been transcended by feminized processes, such as labor migration (Kofman 2005, 522; for Tongan women's role as early pioneers on transnational migration, cf. Gailey 1992). One way women have effected this is through their undeniable agency in the "behind the scenes" work of the informal economy, which is so closely linked with the economy of affect (see Addo and Besnier 2008). As Ka'ili states in his own promulgation of the *tā-vā* theory, shifting the emotional state between people effects a decoration of the (social) space between them (Ka'ili, forthcoming).

Networks developed and facilitated by migration intersect foundationally, crucially, sensually, and emotionally with the "informal economy" (Addo and Besnier 2008). For contemporary Tongans, the greatest currency remains social relations, and Tongan women's wealth is still "queen," even though money and commodities are absolute necessities for life today. It has been important here to try to think about how elderly urban-dwelling women migrants who define themselves in part through art making and, more important, through gift exchange continue to alter such feminized processes, thus remaking the scale over which they and their communities *live out a life being Tongan*. Whether producing or exchanging *koloa*, or ceasing cloth-production for a particular ritual period, women transform how their co-ethnics

experience their own ontological realities. In the *tā-vā* theoretical vein, I theorize that women decorate the space between them and even shift their experience of time and transform spaces they inhabit through barkcloth production and exchange, regardless of the textile's material makeup or final form. This is the reason I consider *ngatu pepa* an embodiment of key modern Tongan processes of identity production: by characterizing them as modern, I mean to suggest that these processes both transform and transcend time (then, now) and space (there, here).

Diasporic Authenticity: Crossing the *Vā* with a "Hybrid" Textile

Scholars have long been leery of the employment of "hybrid" as a catchall term for multicultural forms and mixed-ethnicity people (Coombes 2002; Kamehiro 2007; Kraidy 2002). Indeed, "hybrid" may be an inadequate term for describing the qualities and the appeal of *ngatu pepa*. Elsewhere, I have argued that *ngatu pepa* embodies authentic cultural processes and is thus authentic *koloa* (Addo 2007). Young Leslie and Addo (2007) have suggested the term "pragmatic creativity" as a more productive and accurate term for how Moanan people produce their cultural world from locally efficacious combinations of cultural forms. A pragmatically creative approach to the material aspects of life means that Moanans such as Tongans do not eschew materials like vylene and crushed red bricks in producing *koloa* or in otherwise performing their *fatongia*, cultural duty or obligations.

Indeed, Tongans have historically sought out foreign materials in producing things of value, thus also embracing thing with elements of *authenticated foreignness*. Implicating for the *vā* between people, Tongans' resourcefulness directly challenges the artificial, power-laden, market-driven barrier that constructs hierarchical dichotomies between Tongan and Western cultural forms. Rather than saying that new materials have been introduced into *ngatu* making by diasporic women, Tongan women I have interviewed have mostly said that vylene and synthetic dyes work just as well for or indeed constitute "Tongan things." Yet, in order for these meanings to be readable as Tongan—by Tongans and non-Tongans alike—an aesthetic based on that of *ngatu* is retained.[4]

One way this is achieved is through maintaining the centrality of the cultural aesthetic of *kupesi* (beautiful pattern), which is retained when Tongan women in the diaspora make *ngatu pepa*. The textile can serve as a gift and can thus index tradition in form and in deployment. In gifting a *ngatu pepa*, a giver elevates the relative status of the recipient and compels the recipient to reciprocate with a gift, thus reestablishing symmetry in

the *vā* between them. As the *koloa* gifts are placed before him, the person charged with receiving gifts for a family at a life ceremony such as a funeral announces "*Mālō ē koka'anga!*" Onlookers further affirm women with the verbal response: "*Iō*!" ("let it be so!"). Women are hereby lauded publicly for their work at turning strips of fiber and bottles of dye into textiles whose *mata* (faces) feature *kupesi* (beautiful patterns) and create beauty in social spaces. Thus, the term *poto he koka* (and not *poto he tutu*) is used to articulate appreciation for women who perform well and create beauty in relationships and on cloth from the process of *koka'anga*: imbuing the cloths with the *mana* of their foremothers. These women are also being praised for performing the desired *fatongia* toward their elders and chiefs and creating symmetry in their textiles and in their social and spiritual relationships.

Another way this is effected is through another fully Tongan practice: Christian prayer in groups. The making of *koloa*, a precontact tradition, was integrated into late nineteenth-and twentieth-century Tongan modernity as a fundamental part of the bodily discipline and industriousness espoused by Methodist ministries (Addo 2013). The enduring integration of religiosity and textile making is clearly indicated by the fact that Tongan women's group meetings for purposes of making cloth almost always begin and end with one women leading the others in a prayer. Such meetings also often feature a shared meal and rotating credit activity (Addo 2013; Small 1997) and other activities that can be accomplished only in a group context. As I have suggested elsewhere, women from many Pacific societies find it undesirable to produce and impossible to fathom textiles and other culturally valuable objects outside of a group context because their agency emerges from intersubjective relations, which includes communal communication with deities (Addo 2013; Jolly 2003, 136).

Conclusion: Living Out a Life Being Authentically Tongan

In other work, I argue that diasporic peoples effectively re-create their ethnic homelands through working on, with, and through particular gendered forms of cultural production (Addo 2013). Here, drawing on insights from feminist geography, I argue that such women *emplace* themselves in the minds and hearts of fellow Tongans—the social memory of their communities, if you will—by the very act of making and exchanging cloth (things of value) in physical space. They also sensually and emotionally shift how interlocutors experience space and time. Finally women are marked as the conduits of gendered and generational *mana* and themselves enjoy an altered experience of history, the present, community, and self. They engage in the

coproduction of emotion, experience, and context, and there is certainly authentic self-positioning in this.

NOTES

1. The tree that Tongans call *koka* has the scientific name: *Bishofia javanica*. Its bark, when scraped, "bleeds" a reddish-brown liquid that is mixed with water for dye making.

2. Note that I have never heard "*mālō ē tutu*" or "*mālō ē tohi*" uttered in recognition of barkcloth-making activity.

3. Among the indigenous women quilt workers and quilt makers of the Fort Berthold reservation (American Indians belonging to the Hidatsa, Mandan, and Arikra tribes), the art form "carries specific ritual obligation and compensation on the part of the learner to her teacher" (Berman 2003, 40). Similarly, Tongan women who produce *koloa* are beholden to honor and compensate older women who have trained or who continue to train and support them.

4. For example, the *lione kupesi* on *ngatu* is said to represent King Taufa'ahau Tupou I, George the First of Tonga, who dubbed himself the "lion of Tonga" (see Kaeppler 1998a) and used an eagle as an important symbol of his power and might. These symbols have resonance still today in Tonga's international diplomatic relationships, and the rugby team is called Ikale Tonga (Tongan Eagles). These designs remain central in one of the most admired and recognized *ngatu* designs, the *hala paini*, but they are not the British Lion and the American Eagle; they are the Tongan Lion and the Tongan Eagle. Local associations have been subsisted for any older (extra-Tongan) meanings they ever had. Similarly, the crown, three swords, and a cross have been "appropriated" to symbolize concepts of importance to monarchical Tonga: the Tongan monarchy, the three bloodlines in the current dynasty, and Christianity in all its Tongan variety (Kaeppler, 1998a). This imbuing of local meanings onto imported images and materials is a process of Tonganizing modernity and foreign things as well as one of authenticating what might otherwise be called hybrid cultural forms. To borrow from Ka'ili (forthcoming), it is, to Tongans, a way of creating balance between the power relations in which their communities are engaged with the rest of the world.

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CIRCLES OF SELF: *TĀ-VĀ* EXPRESSED IN TRADITIONAL SAMOAN DANCE, CULTURE AND SELF

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Circles of Self Expressed in the *Taualuga*: Introduction

SAMOAN DANCE is an ephemeral performance of rhythm, harmony, and beauty, occurring in time and space. In the symmetrical, concentric arrangement of dancers during the traditional Samoan *taualuga*, the *taupou* dance that culminates a performance, and the movement within this dance, are performative expressions of *tā-vā* as a symmetrical idealization of social life. Tā-vā, a Moana (Oceanic) concept of time-space, according to Mahina (2005), is ultimately invoked to create harmony and beauty:

> Both harmony and beauty are dependent on the degree of symmetry relating to the intensification of *ta* "time" and rearrangement of *va* "space", as is the distinction between good and bad works art or literature. By transforming chaos to order, poetry undergoes a symmetrical re-arrangement of the ordinary language, the outcome of which creates harmony and beauty (138).

A primary feature of human experience, the Moana concept of tā-vā (time-space), defined and described by indigenous Moana writers (see, for example Mahina, Potauaine, and Ka'ili, this volume), contrasts with Western views of time, space, and existence. The latter view historically has been

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imposed upon descriptions of Pacific cultures by Western anthropologists, sociologists, philosophers, and artists, likely because this concept has been so deeply examined for the West by its philosophers, it was believed to be understood similarly for all humanity. We are coming to appreciate now, by examining indigenous approaches, multiple loci of understanding, all equally valid.

I admit that I am not ethnically Moana (although my friends insist that I am a reincarnated Samoan); I have been enculturated for more than a half century as an American of Slavic background, and therefore must bring an outsider's perspective to tā-vā theory. Interestingly, prior to my formal introduction to this theory, my dissertation (Georgina 2007) had included these concepts without naming them tā-vā. Much of the discussion below echoes ideas presented in that dissertation.

My fieldwork experience, from which I draw my ethnographic examples, took place on Tutuila, American Samoa, from 2002 to 2004. The examples I use here may or may not apply to independent Samoa, which has led a separate life for the past 150 years or so. Here I refer to "Samoan" culture, but recognize the distinction.

As a psychological anthropologist interested in indigenous concepts of selfhood, I see self as the most basic human experience; all elements of culture must integrate harmoniously with that society's understanding of its fundamental subjectivity. The work of Swiss psychologist Carl Jung provides an explanatory platform that, in my opinion, translates cross-culturally. This perspective frames my interpretation of tā-vā theory.

Tā-vā theory has several tenets, the most important to this discussion (explained in detail by Mahina) are that "*tā* and *vā* (time and space), are the abstract dimensions of *fuo* (form) and *uho* (content) of reality" (this volume), which I understand to be roughly equivalent to the time-space matrix in which human activity takes place, encompassing all of nature and human experience, physically, psychologically, and historically. Next, according to Mahina, "the eternal relations of exchange [of all things in reality] are expressed by means of *mata* (eye) or *ava* (hole), defined as points of intersection of opposite tendencies"[1] (this volume), where ava is a copy of mata and vice versa; this intersection is where energy or force is most intense. Conflict occurs where mata and ava are in a state of crisis; order occurs where they are in a state of stasis. This state of stasis is beautiful, symmetrical, and harmonious, and, according to Mahina, "the symmetrical arrangement of tā-vā gives rise to *mālie* (beauty) while the asymmetrical configuration of tā-vā leads to *tāmaki* (disharmony)" (this volume). Beauty, symmetry, and harmony are themselves "a state of *noa* (zero-point, that is, '0'), which is, like order, a form of conflict" (this volume). In other words, as I interpret it, tā-vā describes a

cultural semiosphere (and natural, noncultural sphere) in which everything in time and space exists in relation to everything else, a system of pairs of opposites that stand either in stasis, which is considered beautiful and harmonious, or in "crisis," that is, chaos/movement, considered disharmonious. Balance ("symmetrical arrangement") is beautiful, while imbalance ("asymmetrical configuration") is disharmonious.

The cultural semiosphere, as defined by Yuri Lotman (1990), is a meaning-generating space-time that is bounded both geographically and psychologically, and, I would add, historically. I use this term similarly to Mahina's use of "matrix" (this volume) to mean the cultural space-time medium. This chapter takes a psychological and semiotic approach to tā-vā's explanatory power and its expression in the Samoan taupou dance, the taualuga, which is examined as a performance social product and embodiment of tā-vā literally, psychologically, and figuratively. I argue that the circular performance space matrix of the traditional Samoan taualuga, and the movement within this dance, are central manifestations of the Samoan tā-vā (time-space) semiosphere with echoes in geographic space, interpersonal relationships, performance, and the movement of power and energy within and outside of the village. I conclude that these interlinked concepts may have their origins in Samoan concepts of the self.

The Greater Samoan Cultural Semiosphere

Island life has either forced or encouraged the development of a tightly bounded semiosphere on American Samoa. The deep waters of the Pacific are a natural boundary between islands, within which culture cannot exist, at least not without life support. This forms a dichotomy between the space within which humans can live (that is, cultural space), and the space reserved primarily for nature (the fish, octopus, and so on)—a dangerous location (perhaps better described as a medium) into which humans can foray only briefly and for specific purposes, well-prepared.

Within the cultural semiosphere, tā-vā defines the spatio-temporal locus for human activity. Perhaps it is a morning's walk to the next village (with one's feet beating the tā measuring out the vā), space measured by time, time measured by the beating of the feet on the path, or perhaps the thump-thump of the flip-flops against the soles of the feet. The concept of space is measured out in time, in footsteps, in one's *tā tā le fatu* (heartbeat) as one walks the path.

In Samoan culture, an apparent center-periphery-center conversation exists in geographic, performative, and psychological domains; that is, temporally demarcated and spatially constituted in reality, across nature, mind,

and society. These can be understood as mata and ava—mata at the center of human life, and ava the center of nature, beyond the periphery of the space defined by mata and existing as its mirror reflection.

Center-Periphery/Mata-Ava

The Samoan center-periphery, described as a dichotomy (Lotman 1990; Feinberg 1980) or a point-field (Lehman and Herdrich 2002), may be both of these or none. A holistic model may be more descriptive, one in which there are multiple centers and multiple boundary spaces where their edges meet. Some centers are mata while other centers are ava; the space where they meet is in constant flux, frequently contested. To maintain the balance harmoniously is to *tausi vā* (Van Der Ryn, this volume).

The Moana model surpasses linearity: the time-space of tā-vā conjoins space and time in a manner not foreseen by Nietzsche (1966). Beauty is balance; balance is the give-and-take of human life, of the beat of slippers against the soles of the feet and the silence between the beats; yet, imbalance, asymmetry, is beauty's mirror image.

In this tā-vā model, the center is emphasized. There are two centers, the mata center and the ava center. The geographic, cultural, or psychological center—the mata—is the point of greatest human-controlled natural power, and, according to Lotman (1990), is also the site of greatest stasis:

> [I]n the centre of the cultural space, sections of the semiosphere aspiring to the level of self-description become rigidly organized and self-regulating. But at the same time, they lose dynamism and having once exhausted their reserve of indeterminacy they became inflexible and incapable of further development (134).

Self-description, here, indicates a condition in which the culture has achieved the integration of all elements (all of reality) by which it then defines itself.[2] In Samoan culture, the loss of dynamism at the center is apparent in a literal as well as figurative sense, particularly in the case of movement and performance (discussed in the upcoming text), and perhaps for reasons additional to Lotman's. In the center, in a figurative sense, old meanings, history, stands still.

The uncontrolled (by humans) center—the ava—is the point of greatest natural power. The ava lies at the center of the uninhabited areas of the islands and is not culturally defined: it lies in that place where cultural meanings do not exist. It is not a semiosphere because it does not engage in human semiotic (cultural) practices. It is not human; therefore

its beauty—which is disharmony to the human mind—is in asymmetry and chaos, nature growing in wild abandon. At the center, there is no stasis. Time moves differently, on a different scale: days, lunar months, seasons,[3] years, geologic ages.

The human and natural spheres do not exist in opposition to each other, rather they are each different conditions of life, time, and space moving at different speeds, different time scales. In the active transition zone between the edges of mata and ava power/influence, the periphery of the cultural semiosphere, the nonhuman (natural) brushes against and creeps up on culture; in Samoa, the periphery is the locus of greatest movement and disorder.

Boundaries: I Tai, I Uta

While no human may be an island, the island of Tutuila embodies a definition of humanness. Samoan culture clearly embraces the concept expressed in John Donne's Meditation XVII, from which the now famous quote originates; yet Samoans live on an island that, perhaps for others, might represent the isolation of individualism. On the contrary, it signifies the oneness of humanity, the concept of individuals understanding and defining themselves by their harmonious connections to others, belonging to family, church, village, as if part of a body—and the dangers of slipping beyond the boundaries of the group and into isolation, or worse.

Early Moana adventurers sailed the uncharted waters of the Pacific thousands of years ago without compasses; Western sailors and adventurers used the cardinal directions to discuss their trajectory and location. Early Proto-Oceanic speakers 4,200 years ago used two sets of directions on the horizontal axis, however; one land based and one sea based (Ross, Pawley, and Osmond 2007). The land-based directions were inland/seaward; the sea-based directions were northwest/southeast (the direction of the trade winds). Ethnographically, Samoan spatiotemporal orientation has been characterized as a dualism between seaward, or *tai* (toward the sea/tide; from the Proto-Oceanic (PO) word **tasik*, "sea, salt water") and inland, toward the bush, or *uta* (from **qutan*) (Shore 1982). "*I tai* suggests primarily the more populated and ordered areas of Samoan life" (49), the area of women's work, and with "the maintenance of decorous and controlled behavior under the gaze of a dense population and watchful chiefs" (49). Toward the bush, *i uta*, suggests areas populated by *aitu* (nature spirits, demons, or ghosts) rather than people. "To go i uta commonly suggests leaving a center of order and population, and thus leaving the area of the control of chiefs and village regulations" (49). It is the area of danger, chaos, and

lack of control. "To live in the bush is to live alone, out of reach and control of society" (49). It means leaving the cultural semiosphere and entering the realm of the wild and the natural.

If we consider the island itself as the greater encompassing semiosphere, with each village constituting smaller semiospheres within it, this apparent seaward-landward binarism may be alternatively interpreted as part of the mata-ava distinction. The word "Samoa" can be translated as "sacred center" (Mageo 1989); the shallow waters between the beach and the coral reef form a transition or boundary zone, with the reef forming the periphery, and the land as a complex center that includes multiple smaller centers. There is archaeological evidence associating the island's geographic center (which is now wild and overgrown; the majority of villages are situated along the coast) with chiefly power. Prehistorically, inland areas deep within the forest were associated with chiefs and ceremonial activities, including pigeon catching and sacred ceremonies (Wallin and Martinsson-Wallin 2007; Herdrich 1991), a pattern that apparently changed after Western contact.

Deep sea, unpredictable and inhabited by dangerous sea creatures, lies outside, beyond the island periphery; its terrestrial counterpart, the bush—wild, uncontrollable domain of aitu—constitutes the interstices between village semiospheres and the unpopulated (by humans) mountainous areas of the island interior.

The boundary zones of island and village are, temporo-spatially and geographically, areas of greatest movement and change within the human cultural semiosphere. The natural rhythm of tides, mediated by the coral ring, mark lunar time and change the shape of the sandy and rocky beaches over geological time; wave action is constant movement. These boundary areas can be treacherous: while within the semiosphere everything has its place, those things that exist outside are beyond human control. The sea can be dangerous and unpredictable; *galu afi* (tsunamis) can invade the orderly village and island semiospheres; the 2009 tsunami killed more than one hundred people: seventy-seven in Samoa, more than twenty-five in American Samoa, and at least six in Tonga.[4] Nature itself, powerful and dangerous, behaves unpredictably, existing outside of human laws and norms. The rainforest grows in chaotic wild abandon and, when viewed through culturally conditioned human eyes, apparent disorder; if the boundary between rainforest and village is not carefully maintained, the bush itself can also invade the village. The least controllable denizens of the wild, the spirits (aitu),[5] invade with the village with impunity; stories of aitu crossing the *malae* (village green) at night demonstrate the willfulness of aitu and their refusal to obey human attempts to assert order. Like a galu afi, according to Ortner (1974) "left to

FIGURE 1. **Yin-Yang Symbol.**

its own devices, pollution [for our purposes defined as the spread of unregulated natural energies into the cultural semiosphere] spreads and overpowers all that it comes in contact with" (72). Galu afi,[6] the Samoan term for a tsunami, also indicates waves of intense, fiery, masculine, power (O. Mahina, pers. comm.).

Like a yin-yang symbol (see Fig. 1), tā-vā acknowledges the beauty of the chaos in the order, and the order in the chaos. According to Mahina "The eternal relations of exchange are expressed by means of mata (eye) or ava (hole), defined as points of intersection of opposite tendencies, where ava is a copy of mata and vice versa" (this volume). The boundaries between village and bush, island and sea, are thus contested and, in the case of the former, must be maintained. One must carefully tend, tausi vā, the boundaries between natural and cultural space and time. Things beyond the boundary, in the bush or the deep sea, "do not exist" in the sense of being beyond the semiosphere and therefore have no cultural meanings; to venture beyond the borders of village or island is equivalent to a journey to the afterlife (Lotman 1990); to travel outside the semiosphere is to become temporarily dead (leave signifying existence). People who choose to live on the outskirts of the village, or outside the village, close to or in the bush, are considered "crazy," according to my informants.

The boundary, according to Lotman (1990), functions as a transformative device, as individuals and cultures individuate. It is

> [T]he place where what is "external" is transformed into what is "internal;" it is a filtering membrane which so transforms foreign texts that they become part of the semiosphere's internal semiotics while still retaining their own characteristics (136).

In the legend of the origin of Samoan tattooing, the protagonists are two sisters, Tilafaiga and Taema. In some versions they are human; in others, they are *atua*,[7] but that doesn't matter; both sisters and atua are sacred. The two sisters/atua venture outside of the semiosphere (in at least one version, the sisters originate outside of it) and bring back a gift from beyond the boundary. The sisters leave Manu'a to visit the king of Fiji and bring a tattooing instrument and knowledge of the practice. While swimming home they carefully hold onto their precious gift while singing a chant, "tattoo the women but not the men." Near the shore of Savai'i, they are distracted by a *pu* (trumpet shell) (in Wendt's [1999] telling, the women find a clam) at the bottom of the sea, which they dive for—entering the *loloto* (depths) of the sea. The Samoan word for sea is *vasa*: *sa* (sacred) *vā* (space) (Wendt 1999). In Jungian psychology, the sea is symbolic of the unconscious,[8] which holds much unexamined content (Jacobi 1959); we could say that this activity within the myth is related to the individuation process, where retrieval of the treasure—the pu—signifies integration of unconscious elements; it is a reduplication (used in Samoan language for emphasis) of the theme of the myth. This has a transformative effect on the "gift" they carry: when they surface, they have reversed the chant to "tattoo the men but not the women." Elements from outside are often changed in their integration into a culture; it is the men in Samoan culture who must experience this painful rite of passage into adulthood, not the women (although women do receive a *tatau* called a *malu* that is less extensive and more delicate). The gift the sisters bring back from the outside, tattooing, ultimately becomes an important signifying cultural practice in Samoa.[9] The pu, while used to call meetings and to announce the safe arrival of deep-sea fishermen, also represented the god Fa'amalu and was kept in the temple as a sacred object (Turner 1984 [1884]; Buck 1930). By passing through the deep sea, the tatau is transformed and sanctified; the pu is sanctified, made numinous, by its origins in the sea's depths. Both take on a numinous quality. They then become integrated into the culture, that is, made human, beautiful, and harmonious, yet retaining their numinosity.

Throughout many cultures, the most significant and dangerous boundaries form the intersection of culture and nature, with something sacred at their centers/depths. Nature can be significantly more powerful than humans and beyond human control. Cyclones and tsunamis are extreme

examples of nature crossing the boundary and entering the cultural semiosphere. Samoans on Tutuila were still talking about Cyclone Val years later; the approach of Cyclone Heta in January 2004 caused significant psychological trauma, even though the resulting damage was minimal when compared to the devastation and loss of life left by Val. The tsunami of 2009 caused considerable damage and was still affecting people's lives more than a year later; the subsequent increase in stress accompanied a significant spike in adolescent suicide ideation, bullying on high school campuses, and a general feeling of danger and despair expressed by adolescents in an unpublished survey my colleagues and I conducted in high schools on Tutuila two years later (early 2011).[10]

Arguably, "boundaries" in Samoa are not nouns but verbs. Here I have been using a slightly inadequate English word to indicate the dynamic process of integration or rejection, of chaos or order, that is enacted, according to Mahina, at "the point of intersection of opposite tendencies, where energy or force is most intense" (this volume). Most important in the nature/culture mythologies of a number of cultures within and outside of the Moana culture area, we see that this point of intersection is not a physical boundary between nature and culture but a process in which that which is natural (wild, uncontrolled, chaotic, dangerous) is transformed into cultural (tame, controlled, harmonious, beautiful) (for example, Levi-Strauss 1969); that is, the process of relations of exchange, giving rise to *fepaki* (conflict) or *fenāpasi* (order). Similarly, The Western psychiatrist Carl Jung stressed individuation: the process of incorporation of those things that are outside (unconscious) into conscious awareness, whereby individuals constantly reenact the journey of Tilafaiga and Taema. For Samoa, the nature/culture schema includes elements of the sacred: there is *mana* (great power) in nature (the sea, the jungle); its impenetrable depths and fecundity demonstrate its connection to the atua. The atua, as we shall see, dwells in the center of both the mata and the ava.

New ideas and objects from outside the semiosphere, passing through the boundary, just inside the border of the periphery, are the most powerful and dangerous, becoming decreasingly dangerous/powerful the nearer to the center, until the center—the area of maximum integration—is reached. At that point, the idea/object is fully integrated and no longer poses a threat.

There can be danger if the process is reversed; to eject or project psychological elements onto external objects is a sign of neurosis. And as stated above, someone who chooses to leave the village and live in the bush is considered a social deviant who is up to no good, according to my informants. Ejection from the village was considered a terrible punishment in Samoa (Shore 1982).

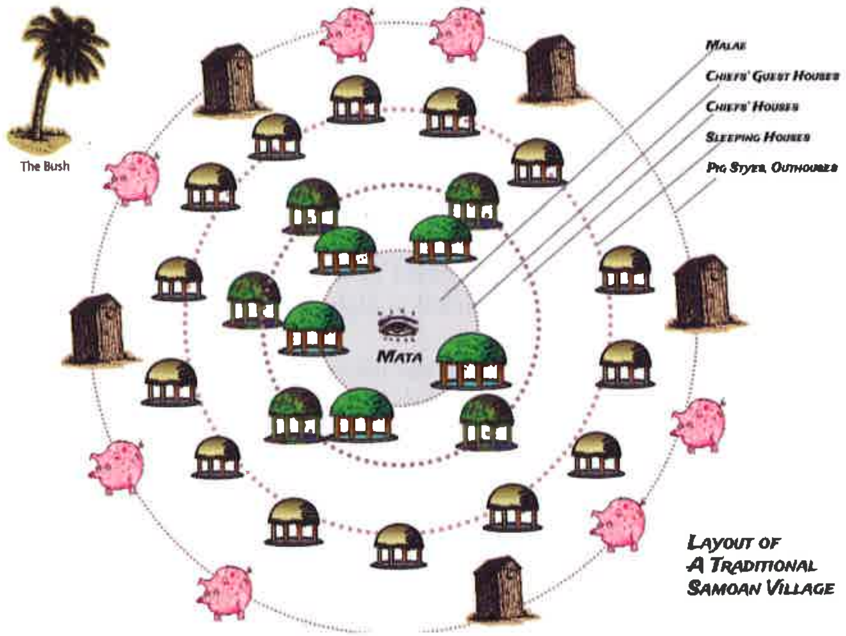

FIGURE 2. **Schematic of Traditional Village Layout. Artwork by the Author.**

Home Is Where the Mata Is

The center of human life in American Samoa is the village. An orderly, harmonious life is an essential goal of a village's residents. Villages traditionally were arranged in a pattern of concentric circles in which the central point is an open grassy area called the malae or village green (see Fig. 2). The center of the malae is called the mata, or eye (see Potauaine, this volume, for a discussion of mata as the line-space intersection). Nearest to the mata, around the malae, are the chiefs' guest houses. In the next ring are the chiefs' houses, then family sleeping houses, followed by the young men's sleeping houses, then the cook houses, and finally, at the farthest point from the center, are the *fale vao* (outhouses) and the pigsties (Shore 1982; Lehman and Herdrich 2002). The center of the village is the place of the most orderliness and cleanliness, and on the periphery are disorder and dirt.

Traditionally, all of the houses, including the chiefs' houses, faced the malae, as a mark of respect. At the very center of the malae lies the mata, an apparently symbolic point that is the most sacred space of the village. Why would

FIGURE 3. **Samoan Temple at the Center of the Malae (Stair 1897); image used with permission from the publisher, Lutterworth Publisher).**

an empty space be respected and treated as sacred? Perhaps it was not always empty. Stair (1897) reported that, in some villages, the *fale atua* (House of the Gods) was erected in the center of the malae; perhaps the mata at the center was the mata of the atua, thus locating in the center of natural power and deep-time connections to the ancestors (Fig. 3). Survivals of the belief that gods or powerful spirits dwelled in the center continued to exist after Christianization; the malae of some villages are said to have powerful aitu (perhaps a modern reference to pre-Christian atua) at their centers (Mageo 1989).

To continue our diagram of the village, then, we know that Stair locates the atua at the center of the village, with the chiefs nearest them in the human world. The mana (power) emanates from the gods and dissipates with

distance; the most powerful humans, those most able to withstand or tolerate it, live closest to its source; weaker humans must live farther away, a point we will return to later. The atua at the center of the village echo the atua in the center of the jungle and the sea; they stand in relationship to each other and to humans as mata and ava.

In the innermost ring of the village, meetings of village *matai* (chiefs) take place in the *fale fono* (meeting house). A circle or oval of house posts holds up a thatched roof, beneath which the high chiefs sit, each to his post (both literally and figuratively). The highest chief present sits at the most important post, at one end of the fale fono. He slowly and meticulously serves *kava* to each matai by name, and in order of importance, the kava bowl in the center. Lesser matai sit between the posts, while the young untitled men of the village skirt the periphery, busily serving food to or assisting the matai sitting inside the fale fono. Van Der Ryn, this volume, observes that each house post forms another mata: signifying the eyes and center of the extended family of each matai. Outside the fale fono, a disorderly crowd may gather to witness the proceedings.

The intermediate rings of the village are formed by family houses. Houses traditionally were circular and centered on a main set of posts upon which shelves were built to house family heirlooms. Houses had impermanent, movable walls in the form of shades that were rolled up during the day, forming a permeable (and movable) boundary between families. Heirlooms at the center connected the family temporally to the past and to family ancestors, who were associated with power; when families gathered under the roof (according to Refiti 2002, 10), they formed a circle facing the center, "the place of the divine," and a "space-towards-the-ancestors."

The shape of Samoan traditional dwellings is explained in a legend that describes a primordial chaos of house shapes, as each builder adopted his own unique, individual style. A high chief was consulted, who decided that construction would from then on be uniform and reflect the shape of the dome of the sky and the horizon. This legend semiotically depicts the Samoan de-emphasis of individuality in the service of harmony and uniformity (tā-vā) within the built environment.

Tā-Vā in the Psychological Semiosphere

The Self. The self can be thought of as an overall sense of being that has continuity over time; a sense of the person as a whole. Carl Jung's description of the self will be considered here; while his theories are somewhat controversial, they provide a meaningful framework within which to discuss the features of tā-vā. Jung's definition of the Self (Jung 1959) sounds very much like the mata:

> . . . the centre of personality, a kind of central point within the psyche, to which everything is related, by which everything is arranged, and which itself is a source of energy. [. . .] This centre is not felt or thought of as the ego but, if one may so express it, as the Self. Although the centre is represented by an innermost point, it is surrounded by a periphery containing everything that belongs to the Self—the paired opposites that make up the total personality (357).

Jung (1959) used the term "individuation" to mean "the process by which a person becomes a psychological 'in-dividual,' that is, a separate, indivisible unity or 'whole'" (275). During the individuation process, which is continual throughout a person's life, the Self[11] is expressed[12] collectively and individually in recurring motifs. One of the most prominent motifs is the mandala, variously elaborated as circular, spherical, or egg-shaped patterns, with the *Imago Dei*[13] at their center. Like all archetypes, the Self has a numinous (supernatural, sometimes uncanny) quality.

According to Jung, then, a person's Self is an organizing principle, a numinous point at the center of the psyche. Shore (1982) argues that while the Western self is an "integrated, coherent and 'rounded' personality suggesting the metaphor of a sphere . . . the contrasting Samoan metaphor . . . is a many-faceted gem" (141). Both Western and Samoan selves have centers, however; rather than presence or absence, it is more a matter of attribute or emphasis.

In Samoa, the center of the psyche is deemphasized. To be whole is to be part of something larger: family, church, village, culture. The goal of individuation, then, would be to become a harmonious part of the greater whole, to create beauty and order out of (psychological and interpersonal) chaos.

What is believed to occupy the center is a person's *loto* (depths), which, according to Mageo (1991), is the source of strong, repressed emotions, perceptions, and willfulness. It therefore is desirable that this center remain unexamined and unexpressed. One must not think, but do as one is told, without question.

Mageo (1991) connects the loto with aitu, which she describes as projections of subjective sentiments:

> Because the *loto* is repressed in Samoa, it is not well integrated into conscious personality and tends to take an autonomous and projected form as a spirit. Thus, the composure that *lototele* [courageous] people exercise before *aitu* is indicative of their control over personal thoughts and feelings (409).

The loto (from PO, **loto*, "inner self, feelings, mind") is not only the seat of willfulness, passion, and suppressed strong emotions (including love), but also it has meanings that connect it to the flipside of mata, that is, ava: a deep hole in the lagoon; the interior, as of a house; in the midst of; *lotoala*, the middle of the road; *lotofuatiaifo*, conscience; and *lotomaulalo*, which means both "deep holes within a lagoon" and "profound, thoughtful." Mageo (1995) correlates the depths of the loto with nature: "not in the sense of constitutive being, but in the Hobbesian sense of that which is intrinsically wild and incorrigible" (417). If the loto is connected to ava, what then is the corresponding mata equivalent for loto? It is not *fai'ai* (the head), which is also the word for coconut juice, but *tu i lou tulaga* (to stand at one's post, that is, to play one's proper role).

Within tā-vā, during the transformative process of individuation, we might expect to find an Imago Dei at the center: the atua, not the mischievous aitu, who belong on the outside (or are projected there).

The Samoan word aitu, according to Pratt, translates as "a spirit" or "a god." Older meanings connect it to ghosts: the Proto-Malayo-Polynesian word **qanitu* means ghost or ancestral spirit. Tracing its roots back to Proto-Austronesian, we get **qaNiCu*, meaning ghost, spirit of the dead, and owl. For Moana people, aitu seem to have always been earthbound things, willful, often dangerous, uncontrollable, and outside of the social hierarchy; they occupy and control the areas beyond the cultural periphery. Samoans do not wander into the woods alone for fear of being attacked or possessed by the aitu who live there. Stair (1897) mentions that aitu are thought to inhabit or frequent certain meadows, trees, bushes, or rock formations; he reports a series of unpleasant encounters that the locals attributed to mischievous spirits. An informant told me that, when he was a child, there was a specific area along the shortcut path he and his friends took to get home from school that was thought to be the special place for an aitu; they would run fast along this part of the path because every time they used it, the aitu would throw stones at them. My first night on Tutuila, in 2002, I stayed at the Rainmaker Hotel in Utulei, once a famous Polynesian architectural beauty, but by then falling into decay. The phone in my room rang several times over the course of the night, but there was never anyone on the other end, and no one knew I was staying there that night. The following day, I was told by a prominent Samoan that the hotel is haunted. "It was probably just the aitu saying hello," he said.

Why, then, is the human "center" associated with aitu? Why not atua? Atua are "gods" (Pratt 2005 [1862]) "not known to be of human origin" (Hocart 1915), and more powerful and numinous than aitu (the atua created the aitu). One might argue that perhaps atua once occupied the center but were demoted or left out of the conversation after the adoption of Christianity.

Christianity relegated the old Samoan gods to the world of ghosts and nature spirits (Mageo 1998; Holmes 1974). According to Hamilton (1998),

> The pre-Christian religion of Samoa was one of worship of and dealings with gods and spirits. There may have been a division between *atua*, the high gods, and *aitu*, the lesser—perhaps created or formerly human—spirits. *Atua* may have been somewhat remote from the general affairs of humans, but *aitu* were certainly greatly involved in them and needed to be invoked, placated or contacted frequently (164).

It is equally likely that the high gods, atua, were reserved for the chiefs, visible in the word *atualagi* (gods of the heavens—*lagi*), the chiefly word for gods. The lesser gods, aitu, were caught up in the lives of ordinary people. Pratt, writing his dictionary in 1893, has atua and aitu as synonyms.

Phenomenologically, the aitu might stand as objective in a relation of exchange with the inner depths, loto, as subjective (O. Mahina, pers. comm.). In other words, the loto, being subjective, involves the subjective imaginings of things as we would like them to be, rather than as they are. The loto is discredited as being, more often than not, in direct conflict with reality, which accounts at least in part for its vilification in Samoan culture. Both loto and aitu are associated with "wild nature," with ava and those things that stand in relationships of exchange with mata.

Self Boundaries. Boundaries of self, a phrase borrowed from family systems theory (Kramer 1985; Satir 1972), is the experience of a flexible perimeter marking the distinction between the individual's personality or sense of self and what exists outside that perimeter, within other people. It is the feeling of a psychological distinction between the individual and others. The self boundary is not necessarily a barrier, according to Polster (1983), but "a dialectical process of separation and inclusion that mediates a person's complex relationship with the world" (247).

The Western metaphor for healthy self boundaries is of an enclosed container. In contrast, the Samoan self has more flexible, permeable boundaries. Individuality is important to identity in Western culture; in Samoa, relationships and interdependence are more strongly emphasized. Mageo (1998) refers to this as corporate identity, "a tendency to experience oneself as a member of a corporate body, rather than as an individual rigidly bounded by one's own skin" (43). The Samoan self is concerned with maintenance of harmonious interfaces, which implies less the preservation of solid walls than the creation and re-creation of beautiful merged and interstitial spaces through harmonious interactions.

According to Albert Wendt (1999):

> *Va* is the space between, of betweenness, not empty space, not space that separates, but space that relates, that holds separate entities and things together in the Unity-that-is-All, the space that is context, giving meaning to things. The meanings change as the relationships and the contexts change. . . . A well-known Samoan expression is "Ia teu le va"—cherish, nurse, care for the *va*, the relationships. This is critical in communal cultures that value group unity more than individualism, that perceive the individual person, or creature, or thing in terms of group, in terms of *va*, relationships (402).

The space between people, then, is not an empty void but a tangible connective force. It is the thing that connects people, but also, in tā-vā, the thing that separates them. The connection and separation are both present in each other, and in a phenomenological sense, the space has a dividing power; regardless of a culture's ontological premises, people still experience themselves as individuals, separate from others. Yet, the maintenance of harmonious boundaries and interactions, beautifying the space between individuals and families, remains of primary significance to Samoans. This space between is constantly shifting and ephemeral, occasionally contested, and marks the intersection of fields of energy or power that emanate from the center, the ava, of the human being, of the Self, the Imago Dei.

Vavau and Mana

We can define two kinds of power in Western Polynesia: natural power and political power. Natural (or godlike) power, referred to in Samoan as mana, emanates from the atualagi, the creator god, usually Tagaloa (Fraser 1892).[14] According to tā-vā theory, mana should emanate from nature. Mana is held by the *ali'i* (high chiefs) and connects them to fruitfulness, fertility, and potency, a power tied to the powers of the atua. According to Firth (1940): "a . . . chief is . . . considered to be able through his relations with his ancestors and gods to control natural fertility, health, and economic conditions" (490); according to Shore (1989) "either directly or indirectly, mana is linked to generative potency, to the sources of organic creation" (138). These links are supported linguistically by the Proto-Oceanic word **mana*[15] (according to Blust 2007):

> Cognates meaning "thunder" and "wind" suggest that Proto-Oceanic **mana* did not refer to a detachable spiritual or supernatural power that could be possessed by humans, but rather to powerful forces of

> nature such as thunder and storm winds that were conceived as the expression of an unseen supernatural agency (404).

In time, Blust (2007) concludes, many Polynesian cultures began to think of mana as a kind of supernatural force, and it became associated with hereditary rank.

> Its most striking manifestation undoubtedly was the sacral aura conferred on hereditary chiefs, causing commoners to observe great caution in approaching them or coming into contact with anything they had touched (such as food scraps). It was widely believed that such contact would be dangerous or even fatal to anyone who himself lacked the *mana* to withstand the *mana* of the chief (409).

Secular power or authority is *pule*. The ali'i is the repository of pule, but the *tulafale* (orator) has the role of executing the commands of the ali'i (who must maintain his dignity by remaining still), that is, activating the pule (Shore 1982).[16] While the ali'i must remain immobile, the tulafale are active. The pule of the tulafale is connected by this activity to aitu, lower supernatural beings (nature spirits, by some descriptions), who are part of creation, originating on earth, *lalolagi* (literally, "beneath the sky" (Pratt)): and the ghosts of deceased humans and the offspring or creations of the atua.

The word atua is derived from the Proto-Malayo-Polynesian (PMP) **qatuan* (deity), connecting this concept with the deep past of human as well as mythological time.[17] Considered in this way, we can see the connection between atua and deep time, ancestors, and *fa'avavau* (eternity): "eternity, relationship with the distant past" (Milner), which connects back to the mata; in Samoa, tā-vā eternity looks backward into deep time rather than forward into the future. Atua time is the slow tā of eternal, deep time, time on a universal scale, lagi. Aitu time, on the other hand, is time on an earthly, human scale, lalolagi.

Dignity and chiefly power have a long association with the atua and stillness. Tagaloa himself, according to a Samoan creation story, did not begin to create the physical world until he became still (Fraser 1892):

> The god Tagaloa dwelt in the Expanse; he made all things; he alone was [there]; not any sky, not any country; he only went to and fro in the Expanse; there was also no sea, and no earth; but, *at the place where he stood there grew up a rock*. Tangaloa-fa'a-tutupu-nu'u was his name; all things were about to be made, by him, for all things were not yet made; the sky was not made nor anything else; but there grew up a rock on which he stood (emphasis added) (176).

Tagaloa creates the first rhythm of tā-vā as he travels to and fro in the expanse prior to creation.

The power of mana, coming as it does from the atua and eternity (deep time), can be dangerous to humans; powerful, dangerous things must be bound or contained (Georgina unpubl. data). Mana is linked with the concepts of *tapu* and noa, which Shore (1989) defines as "alternative conditions of mana" (148). According to Shore, tapu is associated with order, containment, and perfection of form; it is the binding of supernatural power. In tā-vā theory, tapu is a form of artificial equilibrium imposed upon mana from the outside. Tapu has a binding effect on mana. According to Shore (1989) "To be *tapu* was to be empowered, but it was also to be immobilized—literally and figuratively tied up" (154). All people have some mana, but the most sacred people, the chiefs, have the most mana; they also exhibit the most stasis, particularly high chiefs and taupou.

Milner's definition of noa includes the concept "to tie or bind," in contrast to Shore, but Pratt apparently agrees ("synonym of *fua*, without fastening"): According to Shore (1989) "[*Noa*] suggests action that is unguided, without purpose or destination" (150). Tā-vā theory defines noa as the "zero-point, that is, '0'," the balance point between order and conflict, a state of equilibrium that holds movement within it as a potential. Tapu is control, a stasis externally applied; noa is balance, a natural stasis.

Mana and pule were held primarily by ali'i and tulafale, but they were not alone. Brothers held political power (pule), while sisters held natural power (mana) (Mageo 1998, 137). Sisters were sacred (tapu), the exemplification of femaleness; a woman remained a sister until she married, at which time she lost her sacredness by becoming a source of fertility that needed to be externally controlled. A high-ranking sister, the village taupou being the most prominent, was to remain a virgin until her marriage, usually to an equally high or higher ranking chief or chief's son, her imposed virginity (tapu) a means of binding and controlling her mana. According to Shore (1989)

> The association of the honored status of woman-as-sister in western Polynesia with artificial restriction of reproduction . . . constitutes a social and cosmological redirection of her fertility and an implicit recognition of its power and potential danger (162).

The taupou, the most sacred sister, might be the "central house post" (Pratt: *pou*, "a post"; *taua*, "precious, valuable"; *poutu*, "central house post"); she is the future sacred ancestor of the family.

In the village center, the mata of the malae (where once the fale atua stood), tapu is strongest and mana is bound by it into the service of humans.

Far from the center, on the boundaries with the bush, tapu is weakest and noa (equilibrium) prevails. In the bush, mana originates from many points—wherever there are aitu or atua, and from nature itself—and is unbound, evidenced by the fertile lushness and wildness, and in human terms, the danger, lawlessness, and chaos, of the jungle.

The Tā-Vā of the Taualuga

The most important traditional Samoan dance, the taualuga, is an artistic expression of the tā-vā of time, society, and nature. The stasis in the center stands in relation to the chaotic activity of the periphery.

The village taupou, an adolescent or young adult and the most sacred sister (Mageo 1991), dances in place of the high chief during the taualuga; both taupou and chief hold mana (sacred power) and are bound by tapu, restricting their movement to near stasis.

All of the girls in high-status families are expected to be able to perform the taualuga, according to Georgina (2007).

> In my family, we were expected to be able to dance and to learn the moves at an early age. I started dancing when I was three. If you don't know how to dance, you're considered stupid by the family.

The taualuga connects with deep time, with eternity, and with the ancestors, through the taupou, and through its recreation of the social and cosmic order. Young dancers talked to me about the way that dancing connects them to their ancestors, especially if their mothers and grandmothers also danced, maintaining a chain of dancers back into time. The fact that a girl no longer has to be the daughter of a chief to be a taupou but can become one by embodying the principles of taupou-ness (having the characteristics essential to a taupou: humility, dignity, gracefulness, calm, poise) allows each girl to feel this connection, and to touch a bit of mana, of the sacred. Many of the girls I spoke with experienced a sacred connection in dance (Georgina 2007):

> [Samoan dance] is something, you can't take it for granted. It's something you have to be very careful with. I think it can be sacred at times, sacred.
>
> (D.G.) How is it sacred?
>
> The *taupou* dance? The *taualuga*? When the *taupou* is doing the *taualuga*, presenting her dance to those in the audience, for

> instance, her family, you can't just do it just to do it. You're like, each and every move you do, has special meaning to it (Leslie, age 16).

Each of the choreographers I talked with also agreed that Samoan dance, and especially the taualuga, maintains this connection to family, ancestors, and deep time. Taloga Tupai Drabble, choreographer at Sadie Thompson's Hotel, said she preferred her troupe to dance to old Samoan songs, rather than modern music; she said she took great pride in the old ways and old Samoan dance styles.

The dance space of the taualuga is a semiotic, temporal performance of the cosmos, village, and person/family. It is the most important of the graceful dances and certainly the most important surviving dance, not only due to its age (it is described by Stair in 1897) but because it is the only dance that features the most powerful or highest status person in the village—the chief, his daughter, or his son (Shore 1982). The taualuga is described by Moyle (1988) as "a standing dance focused on an individual of high rank, which typically ended an evening's performance" (209). Today, the girl or young woman dancing the taupou role is frequently chosen from among the troupe of dancers based on her family's status vis-à-vis the occasion for the dance performance. The taupou for dances held in honor of the StarKist cannery anniversary in 2004, for example, was chosen because her father was an important manager for the cannery.

The taupou dances at the center of the taualuga and the dance space (Fig. 4). As the chief's daughter, she is the most sacred person in the performance, her location echoing the mata at the center of the malae, and expressing her connection to deep time and the ancestors. The center is the locus of control, stasis, and order, and the taupou's movements are always slow, graceful, controlled, and orderly. She does not lift her feet, even when she moves horizontally across the dance plane; she shuffles across the floor. She will slowly stoop, or sit with legs outstretched, gesturing gracefully, wearing a regal smile. Music for the taualuga, whether performed live or recorded, is chosen for its slower tempo. The taupou moves slowly and gracefully even if the tempo is faster.

Behind her, usually in a semicircle, is her retinue of dancers, forming the inner ring of the dance space. They sit, in a posture of respect, sometimes singing, and sway, their hand gestures marking the flow of time and the beat of the music. Musicians, when present, stand behind or beside the seated dancers. Other persons of elevated status can dance in support of the taupou, as part of the circle around her, but she remains the sole occupant of the center.

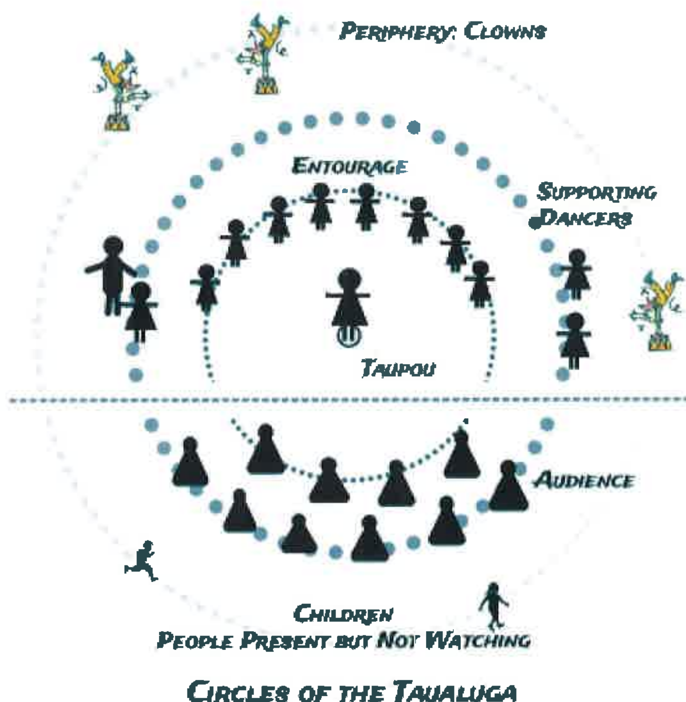

FIGURE 4. **Circles of the Taualuga. Artwork by the Author.**

On the very outskirts of the dance space, beyond the periphery formed by the seated dancers, clowns leap and squat, roll on the ground, slap or climb trees, and grunt.[18] The tulafale traditionally performs in the clown role, dancing wildly in counterpoint to the taupou's dignity and grace, his behavior representing disorder, chaos, lawlessness, and unseemliness. He does not keep time with the singers or musicians; on the periphery, far from the center, he moves at a different speed: the pace of lush, fertile nature, and of aitu. I suspect his behavior is also an analog for the loto, the center of the individual, whence comes willfulness and disobedience (and therefore disorder), which has its expression in the bush, where the "crazy" people live. During the taualuga, it is only the clown who energetically uses the vertical as well as the horizontal plane. He plays the role of an aitu to the taupou's controlled dignity and power. During this dance, the clown is always in his place, however, either on the periphery where the wild things are, or under the foot of the taupou. The clown only leaves the periphery and approaches the taupou in order to throw himself on the ground in front of her in an expression of

subservience and respect, for her to place her foot on his back, symbolic of the triumph of order over chaos, of culture over nature, and the integration of something "outside" into the cultural semiosphere. His performance echoes the after-dark movement of aitu across the borders of the village and onto the malae.

To complete the circle begun by the retinue, the audience sits, sometimes quietly watching the performance, sometimes singing along and clapping time. Beyond the audience, that is, beyond the periphery of the performance space, people who are not watching the performance move about randomly. Toddlers may also move about erratically; at a performance, I witnessed one toddler approaching and entering the dance space unimpeded, reminiscent of the tulafale. A slightly older child, possibly a sibling, rescued him only after his presence both interrupted the dance and put him in a position in which he might fall off the stage and get hurt.

Dance, an ephemeral art form, moves through time and space. During the taualuga, performers mark time more slowly at the center and more swiftly at the perimeter of the dance space; beyond the periphery, it is not the slow shuffle of eternity but the busy tatau of daily life. Dance also connects with the ancestors and the deep past as an ancient art form with its roots in history.

The Tā-Vā of Day and Night

Daytime is the time when humans move about, but at night, people retire to their homes and close the shades. While the bush is the place of aitu and disorder, night is the time.

In precontact Samoa, dances were performed when visitors arrived from another village, and after ceremonies such as the marriages of chiefs. They were divided into *ao siva* (day dances) and *poula* (night dances). Day dances, which typically followed the ceremonies of the day, were synchronized, graceful, and dignified. Turner (1884) compared the day dances to "dress-balls of other countries." Stair (1897) describes the ao siva as "much less objectionable than the *po-ula*. This dance was practiced exclusively by the higher ranks, and, unlike most of the other dances, consisted of a variety of graceful movements and gestures" (134).

While the night dances are now extinct, they demonstrate the tā-vā principle of everything in time and space existing in relation to everything else, a system of pairs of opposites that stand either in stasis or in crisis. Poula took place after dusk to provided entertainment for the untitled visitors from other villages. These dances, especially their finale, attracted negative attention from the missionaries, who found them too lascivious and fought to

eradicate them. Churchward (1887) wrote of the dancers during final dance of the poula, "they appear at last more like a lot of demons let loose from below" (230). Today, all that survives are the ao siva dances, and the mimetic theater form of the poula.

While ao siva reflected the grace and dignity of the day, that is, part of the cultural, human semiosphere and centered on atua, their counterpoint, the poula dances, grew wilder, the tempo faster, and the dancing more frenzied deeper into the night. The performance ended around midnight with the spirit frenzy, *'ale'aleaitu* (loosely translated as "the aitu are coming!") before which everyone but the young people departed. They would "tear the eye off the spirit," shedding their clothes. The 'ale'aleaitu provided an occasion for elopement, as couples ran off together into the night (Mageo 1998). The mata, the eye at the center of the malae, was the locus of control; tearing the eye off the aitu is perhaps a trope for the removal of control (tapu) on mana (expressed as fecundity) and allowing not only chaos and license but the release of generative power, as the couples slipped off into the bush together.

The sequence of these dances denoted a temporal movement from the dignity of the day into the chaos of the night. Stair (1897) describes a dance sequence in which, after completion of the singing portion of the performance, a children's dance commenced, to the amusement of the audience. Mead also describes children's dances as being more individualistic and chaotic than the dancing of the adults. In this way, the performance begins with chaos. I have witnessed a number of performances that commenced with either the *sasa* (slap dance) or *'ailao* (club or knife dance), both of which are also very fast paced and energetic. The sequential center of the dances—the noa fulcrum, like the eye of the hurricane—is the taualuga, at the culmination of the ao siva. The energetic movement of the periphery contrasts with the stasis at the center, which then moves again toward the uncontrolled dances at the temporal and social periphery, expressed in the culminating dance of the poula, the 'ale'aleaitu. Here again, the central dance connects to deep time, the ancestors, and the atua through the person of the taupou and its central location at the mata of the performance, while the peripheral dances connect to the present, children/fecundity,[19] and the aitu.

Most of the poula dances are now extinct; however, modern dances, such as the 'ailao (the knife or club dance) and *ma'ulu'ulu* (graceful dances), belong to ordinary people and reflect the pace of human life. Chiefs and taupou typically do not dance the 'ailao,[20] for example. These dances also all have in common a faster tempo generally than the taualuga and use of space that is based on parallel lines of dancers moving synchronously. There are no

circles and there is no center, a fact emphasized by all of the choreographers with whom I spoke. Only the taualuga has a center.

Tā-Vā of the Temporal Semiosphere

Even time was experienced as a tā-vā circle. We have seen that the most powerful beings, the atua, reside in the *loa* and are represented on earth by the chiefs of the family (Hocart 1915; Shore 1989; Firth 1940). Earthbound supernatural beings, the aitu, are associated with tulafale (orators), a connection we observe primarily during the taualuga. The atua are associated with the slow beat, tā, of deep time, with eternity, while the aitu are associated with the faster tā of the present, of daily life. The association between aitu, who are earthly but outside of the semiosphere, and the tā of the present, can also be observed in concepts of day and night.

Temporal boundaries characterize the semiosphere. It must be noted that concepts of time in Samoa have changed dramatically with the introduction of clocks. According to Ross, Pawley, and Osmond (2007), in most Proto-Oceanic languages, the times of the day were

1. Night (PO **boŋi* "night"; Samoan *pō*).
2. Daytime (PO **qaco* "sun, daytime"; Samoan *aso*, "day").
   (a) Early morning, from dawn to 9 or 10 a.m. (PO **boŋi-boŋi*; Samoan *poŋi-poŋi* "be dusky, twilight" (Pratt and Milner give *segisegi* for early morning and *pogi-pogi* for evening)).
   (b) Middle of the day, from 9 or 10 a.m. to about 3 p.m. (Proto-Malayo-Polynesian **qaho-atea*; Samoan *aoatea* "midday").
   (c) Late afternoon and evening, from 3 p.m. to sunset (PO **Rapi*, **Rapi-Rapi*; Samoan *afi-afi* "evening").

Day, during the light, is the time for people to move about; night time, during the dark, people stay indoors. Nighttime lies outside the borders of the temporal semiosphere; it is the time of the aitu and of disorder, of dangerous encounters with spirits and of nefarious deeds (and lascivious dances) performed under cover of darkness. Noon is the mata of day; midnight is the ava of the night. Mortals who move about the village at night step across the boundary into dangerous space and risk getting "hit" by an aitu, causing illness or spirit possession. Afi-afi (twilight), the boundary, temporal space, between darkness and light, especially the period of the day as it merges with the night, is the moment of greatest ambiguity; it is sa, things rendered sacred, when human movement ceases (under pain of a beating) and prayers and religious songs emanate from homes within the village.

Conclusions

The tā-vā of Samoan cultural reality is expressed as intersecting semiospheres of person, village, and island and is performed in dance. At the center of these semiospheres is the Self, a numinous archetype representing the totality of the psyche, often represented as the Imago Dei. The Samoan psyche is decentralized; a person's center is vilified as the seat of willfulness and strong, uncontrollable emotion—disruptive factors in a collective society—and projected outward as aitu. The exception to this are the ali'i and other chiefly persons, whose centers are controlled by the tapu that controls the rest of their behavior. What is emphasized in all cases is the boundaries between individuals; observing the proper behaviors for one's station, an outward rather than inward focus, contributes to harmonious interactions. This creates not an individual but a "composite person" who is really the family or the village, with the ali'i at the center.

Tā-vā is also represented in village layout and the movement of power and energy within and outside of the village. Traditional Samoan villages were circular, with the malae at the center, and the mata, the greatest point of mana and tapu, at the center; power and control weakens with distance from the center.

The island is a similar semiosphere, where it is likely that in the distant past, the Imago Dei was the center of Samoan culture; here the chiefs conducted rituals including pigeon catching. This changed with contact, and the island itself lost its *Sa Moa* (sacred center). Forming the periphery are the beach and shallow waters within the reef; outside lies the dangerous and unpredictable deep sea.

Villages were arranged similarly, expressing this idea. The space between villages, like the space between individuals, is far from empty; the bush is a wild place occupied by aitu. On the boundary are things that people thrust away from themselves: disorder, dirt, outhouses, pigsties. The boundary zones between things and periods of time can be contested or dangerous. At its boundaries, the village's semiosphere interconnects with the semiospheres of adjacent villages or with the wild, natural regions claimed by aitu. The uncontrolled mana in the bush is dangerous to people; however, the jungle is a dangerous place to walk, especially alone, and people avoid the boundaries between village and bush. While villages can negotiate boundaries with each other, it is impossible to negotiate with aitu; such boundaries remain hazardous. The interplay of time and space in time-space, linking things in nature, mind, and society, is always conflicting and unpredictable, especially when the errors in thinking are a problem of mind but not of reality.

The heart of the village is the mata at the center of the malae, where once stood the fale atua: the literal Imago Dei at the center of the village. Christianity demoted this atua to mischievous aitu, but during Stair's visit in the nineteenth century, the atua still held their original place at the center.

Indeed, the atua Tagaloalogi stood at the center of eternity, according to legend, and came to rest before creating the universe. Tagaloalogi stands still at the origin point and center of eternity, like the hub of a wheel, and the universe rotates slowly around him. Similarly, the human world moves more quickly with distance from the center. Through the ancestors and through mana, spiritual power that emanates from the atua, ali'i are connected with the atua. Nonchiefly persons are not similarly connected; the ali'i function as the center of the corporate psyche. Sisters are sacred and have mana (brothers have pule, political power), and the most sacred sister, the taupou, usually the daughter of the ali'i, is the precious central pillar, connecting the family to the ancestors and deep time. She is the most fitting person to dance the central role in the taualuga, the ritual performance of this connection.

The pre-Christian performance sequence, with ao siva and poula, also expressed this tā-vā. The day dances were statelier, while the night dances were more uncontrolled and raucous. The beginning of the dance sequence, during the day, began with children's dances, which were individualistic and chaotic, culminating in the central dance, the stately taualuga. Afterward, the night dances became increasingly wild, culminating in the 'ale'aleaitu, the virtual opposite of the taualuga, late into the night, the time of the aitu. Like a gyroscope, at the center of the entire performance dances the taupou, the pivot point of the wheel of horizontal human time, who vertically connects the present with the ancestors and deep time.

The taualuga performance space reflects the ideal psychological and political semiosphere. The taupou, who holds natural power (mana), stands at the central point. Her movements are slow and graceful, controlled by tapu. Clowns, at the periphery, display intense horizontal and vertical movement, reflecting the uncontrolled mana of the aitu.

Time moves differently at the center than at the periphery; time at the center moves more slowly, as the stasis of tapu effectively controls mana. Dancers mark time by clapping and swaying while they sing or hum, and musicians mark time with drumbeats.

Time at the periphery moves at a different pace, with nothing to mark it or control it. Clowns behave chaotically, leaping into the air one minute and throwing themselves on the ground the next; slapping tree trunks or pounding the earth with their fists, in a performance that resides beyond the limits of the music's timing and beat.

In the Samoan universe, living people must exist and move in present time with its bustle of daily activity but can maintain a connection to deep time, the atua, and the ancestors not by behaving as willful and chaotic individuals, but by understanding their place as harmonious parts of a whole centered on eternity. It is the harmony and beauty of eternity that is recreated in tā-vā.

NOTES

1. According to Ross, Pawley, and Osmond (2007), "The original and basic meanings of *mata[-] and *nako[-] were 'eye' and 'face' respectively. Nonetheless, reflexes of these terms occur with great frequency in the meaning 'front'. Scattered reflexes below suggest that *i mata was a PO expression meaning 'in front', and other modern uses suggest that it has long been used for the front of an inanimate object" (259).

2. Because cultures are always in a state of change, they never reach the level of total stasis, much as Jung described for the individual; individuation is a process, but a person is never completely individuated. I suppose a point of total individuation would be a form of enlightenment; for a culture, it might mean death. Even Medieval Japanese culture, which strove to isolate itself from the outside world and remain unchanged, couldn't do so. The inevitable death of its citizens and birth of new generations themselves create culture change.

3. There are only two seasons on American Samoa: hurricane season and the rest of the year.

4. See http://www.nytimes.com/2009/09/30/world/asia/30tsunami.html?_r=0.

5. Probably from Proto-Oceanic **qanitu* "ghost, spirit of the dead" (Blust 2007). This origin would contradict Pratt's and Milner's assertions that aitu is a synonym of atua. I have heard the word aitu being used for human ghosts as well as nature spirits and those who were once local gods but were demoted into semidemonic figures by Christianity. Throughout this chapter I will use aitu to mean nature spirits and/or ghosts and atua for gods.

6. *Galu*, wave, breaker. *Afi*, PO **api*, fire.

7. Atua, from Proto-Malayo-Polynesian **qatuan*, deity.

8. Unconscious and conscious are not considered "places" in the mind but processes of the mind, just as fuo and uho (form and content) are processes of reality.

9. The tattooing (tatau) process is a perfect example of tā-vā; see Mahina, Ka'ili, and Van Der Ryn, this volume.

10. Samoan adolescents, who are powerless and are themselves living on the temporal and social boundary between childhood and adulthood, are barometers of the unexpressed emotions of their families (Kramer 1985).

11. Following Jungian tradition, words referring to archetypes are capitalized to distinguish them from ordinary usage.

12. Here we mean the psychological expression of the archetype, or collective representation, of the self as a unifying center of the psyche, rather than "self expression" as that term is popularly used.

13. The term Imago Dei refers to God's own self-actualization through humankind, the God within; this is part of what Jung meant when he used the term.

14. Pratt defines mana as "supernatural power," but given Firth's and Shore's descriptions of chiefly mana, "natural power" seems more fitting, particularly as the other side of pule, political power.

15. The asterisk indicates that this is a reconstructed word.

16. See Shore (1982) for an in-depth analysis of the relationship between orators and high chiefs.

17. PMP speakers lived approximately 4,200 years ago.

18. If this dance has its roots in antiquity, as Samoans assert, this behavior could be in imitation of southeast Asian monkeys.

19. This focus on fecundity may have originally connected this dance to the atua rather than aitu. Because none of the early descriptions of the ʻaleʻaleaitu mention atua or the presence of a taupou or aliʻi, I have been unable to find evidence to support that assertion other than the atua/aliʻi/fecundity connection discussed earlier.

20. A frequent criticism of one of the dance groups I worked with—"The taupou only dances the taualuga!"—was in response to one choreographer who created a knife dance called "Nafanua" after the war goddess; dancers were dressed in the headdress and skirts of a taupou.

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TĀVANI: INTERTWINING TĀ AND VĀ IN TONGAN REALITY AND PHILOLOGY

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Selected Tenets of the Tā-Vā Theory of Reality

The tā-vā theory of reality is philosophically all encompassing in addressing both the ontology and the epistemology of reality. The tā-vā theory maintains that, ontologically, *tā* (time) and *vā* (space) are the common medium of all things in reality and that, epistemologically, tā and vā are socioculturally arranged in different ways across various societies. In other words, all things in reality consist of time and space, and time and space are reshaped by people according to their various cultures. The tā-vā theory also proposes that tā and vā are the abstract dimensions of *fuo* (form) and *uho* (content) and that fuo and uho are the concrete dimensions of tā and vā (Māhina 2010, 169) (Fig. 1).

Furthermore, tā and vā, like fuo and uho, are inseparable in reality. Lastly, all things in nature, mind, and society stand in constant relation of exchange, giving rise to conflict or order (Fig. 2).

These selected tenets of the tā-vā theory of reality provide deep insights into the integral connection between Tongan reality and Tongan philology.

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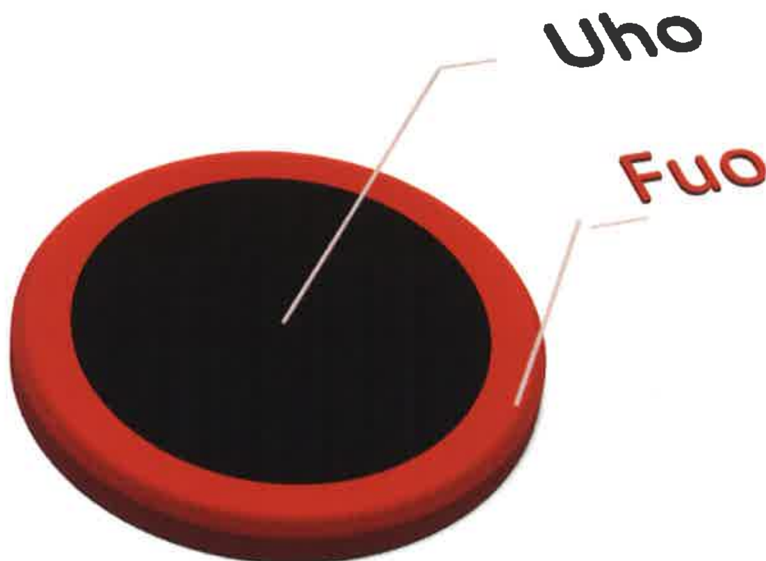

FIGURE 1. **Fuo or Tā and Uho or Vā.**

Kamata'anga: Tempo Marking the Beginning Space

During my initiation—conducting ethnographic fieldwork for my PhD dissertation—into cultural anthropology, I came to realize the way Tongan terms signify the intertwining nature of tā and vā in Tongan reality. In the Tongan language, *tāvani* is one of the words for intertwine. Tāvani is a compound word from the terms tā and vā.[1] During my doctoral fieldwork, I began an ambitious task of searching and documenting all Tongan terms, phrases, and proverbs with the root stem tā or vā (Ka'ili 2008: 237–47). I diligently kept a meticulous record of tā and vā words in a notebook. Every time, I heard, read, or recalled a Tongan term, phrase, or proverb with the root stem tā or vā, I wrote it down. After months of collecting and analyzing these terms, I noticed that other Tongan terms that had no apparent root stem of tā or vā also pointed to the intertwining of time and space—that is, the tāvani of time and space through the tā (tempo marking) of vā. For example, the Tongan word *nofo'anga* (seating place or space) signifies the tempo marking (through the act of *nofo,* "sitting") of a *'anga* (place or space), and the Tongan term *hūfanga* (place of sanctuary) points to the temporal marking (through the act of *hū,* "entering") of a *fanga* (place or space). The tā-vā linguistic structure of nofo'anga and hūfanga is quite common in the Tongan language. There are

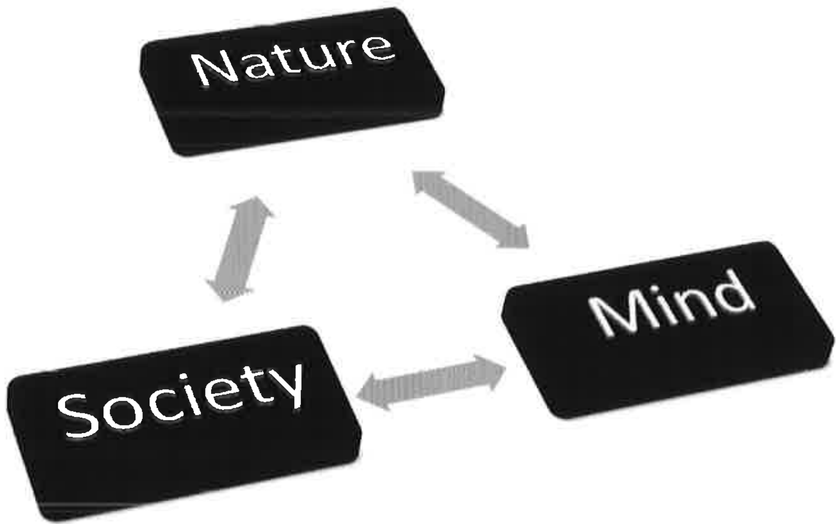

FIGURE 2. **Nature, Mind, and Society.**

thousands of words with this linguistic structure in the Tongan language, as well as other *Moana* (Polynesian) languages. The structure consists of a verb (tā) and a noun (vā), such as *-'anga, -nga, -langa,* and *-fanga* (Churchward 1953).[2] From a tā-vā theory perspective, the verb (action) is a reference to tā or fuo and the noun is a pointer to vā or uho (Figs. 3–5).

This tā-vā philological structure also underpins many of the words with the root stem tā. For instance, *tāpōpao* (carving a canoe) is literally the temporal demarcation (tā, carving) of wood (vā, space) through the *tufunga* (aesthetic process) of carving a canoe, and *tānafa* (beating a drum) is the rhythmic marking (tā, beating) of sound (vā, space) through the artistic process of producing beats. This structure points not only to tā and vā but also to the tāvani nature of time and space in Tonga, as well as in Moana or Oceania.

Tā Loto: Tempo Marking the Middle Space

Marking Time and Locating Space

The tāvani nature of spatiality and temporality is also evident in the temporal marking and spatial locating of past, present, and future in Moana cultures (Fig. 6).

Native Hawaiian historian Lilikalā Kame'eleihiwa explains that in the Hawaiian language, the past is *ka wā mamua* (the time in front or before)

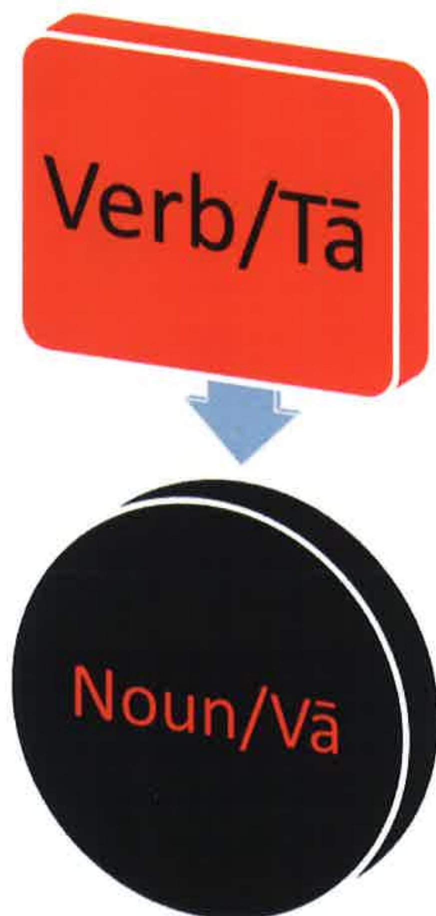

FIGURE 3. **Moana Linguistic Structure.**

and the future is *ka wā mahope* (the time that comes after or behind) (Kame'eleihiwa 1992, 22; Trask 2000, 260).[3] The tāvani nature of spatiotemporality is expressed in the way that time (before and after) is located or marked in space (front and behind). In other words, time and space are inseparable in Hawaiian reality. As mentioned earlier, the idea that tā and vā are inseparable is supported by tenets of the tā-vā theory of reality (Māhina 2010, 169). Kame'eleihiwa argues that Hawaiians spatially locate the past as the time in front and the future as the time that comes behind (1992: 22–23). She explains that "Hawaiian stands firmly in the present, with his back to the future, and his eyes fixed upon the past, seeking

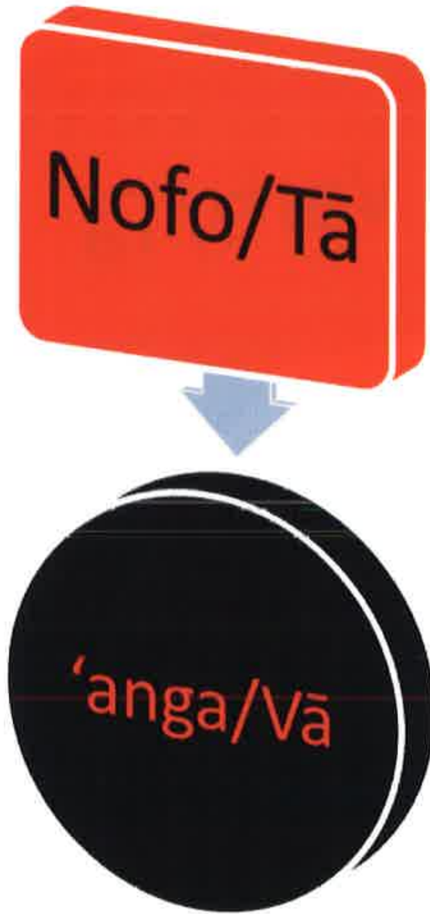

FIGURE 4. **Nofo'anga: A Tā-Vā Linguistic Structure.**

historical answers for present-day dilemmas" (Kame'eleihiwa 1992: 22–23). She maintains that "such an orientation is to the Hawaiian an eminently practical one, for the future is always unknown, whereas the past is rich in glory and knowledge. It also bestows upon us [Hawaiians] a natural propensity for the study of history" (Kame'eleihiwa 1992: 22–23). This tā-vā orientation is found in all Moana cultures. Moana people spatially locate or mark the past in front and ahead of them and the future behind, following after (Hau'ofa 2000). Renowned Oceanian anthropologist and writer Epeli Hau'ofa (2000) argues that this cultural arrangement of time-space helps Oceanians retain memories of the past and awareness of its presence.

FIGURE 5. **Nofo'anga: A Fuo-Uho Linguistic Structure.**

He points out that "in the Fijian and Tongan languages, the terms for past are *gauna i liu* and *kuonga mu'a,* respectively—*gauna* and *kuonga* meaning 'time' or 'age' or 'era,' and *liu* and *mu'a* meaning 'front' or 'ahead'" (Hau'ofa 2008, 66). It is interesting to note the tāvani nature of spatiality and temporality in combining temporal terms (gauna and kuonga) and spatial terms (liu and mu'a) in the indigenous words for past. Hau'ofa explains the cultural logic for this time-space orientation:

> That the past is ahead, in front of us, is a conception of time that helps us [Oceanians] retain our memories and be aware of its presence.

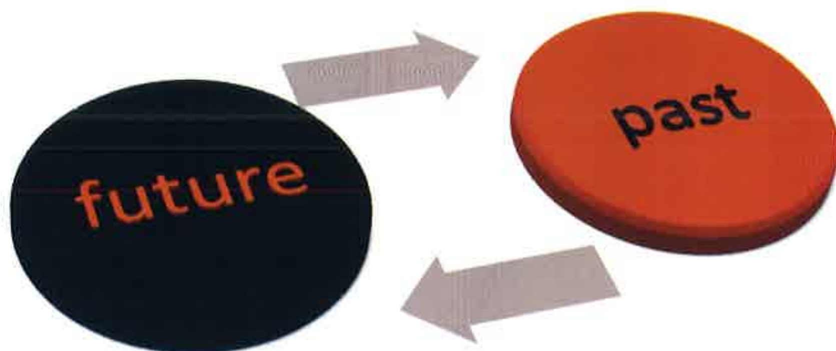

FIGURE 6. **Future or Behind and Past or Front.**

> What is behind us cannot be seen and is liable to be forgotten readily. What is ahead of us cannot be forgotten so readily or ignored, for it is in front of our minds' eyes, always reminding us of its presence. Since the past is alive in us, the dead are alive—we are our history (2008, 67).

Similar to Kame'eleihiwa and Hau'ofa, noted historian–anthropologist *Hūfanga* 'Okusitino Māhina,[4] explains that Moana or Oceanian "people are thought to walk forward into the past and walk backward into the future, both taking place in the present, where the past and future are constantly mediated in the ever-transforming present. The past has stood the test of time and space, and it must therefore be placed in front of people as a guidance in the present, and because the future has yet to happen, it must he placed to the back of or behind people in the present, where both past and future are symmetrically negotiated in the process" (2010, 170).

Again, the intertwining of time and space is clearly evident in the spatialization of time through the marking of past and future (time) in front and behind (space).

Mu 'a, Loto, and Mui: Former, Present, and Latter

In the Tongan language, past is kuonga mu'a (time in the front, time before, and former), present is *kuonga lolotonga* (time in the middle or center),[5] and future is *kuonga mui* (time in the back, time after, latter, and later). These terms signify time (before, now, and after), as well as space (front, center, and back). They are tempo–spatial terms. Mu'a points to both before (time) and front (space), *loto* is a reference to both now (time) and center (space), and, *mui* signifies both after (time) and back or behind (space). From a tā-vā theory perspective, the tā is temporally marked in the front, middle, and back vā (Fig. 7).

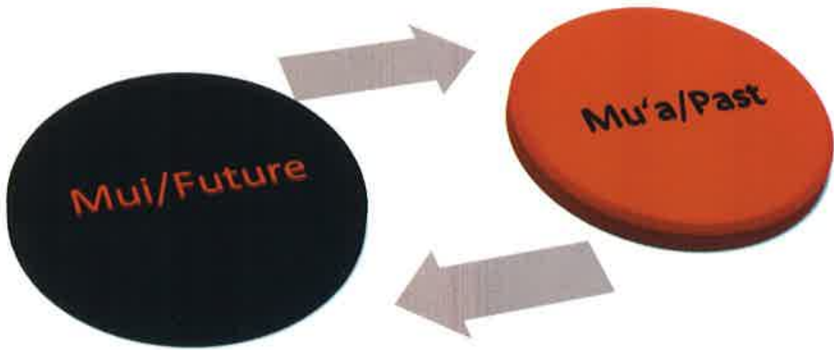

FIGURE 7. **Mui and Mu'a.**

Mu'a and mui, as spatiotemporal terms, also form names and words such as *vaimu'a* or *vaimui* (early rain or late rain), *lihamu'a* or *lihamui* (early nit or late nit),[6] *sina'e ki mu'a* or *sina'e ki mui* (sina'e before or sina'e after), and *tōmu'a* or *tōmui* (to arrive before or early and after or late). The prefix *tō-* in tōmu'a and tōmui appears to be a variant of tā (O. Māhina, pers. comm., September 10, 2003).[7] Again, these terms point to the tāvani of time-space. Mui also provides spatiotemporal references to terms such as mui (young; not ripe or mature) and *finemui* (young woman or maiden). In contrast, *motu'a* is a temporal reference to senior, elder, or older and a spatial reference to someone who is located in mu'a (Bennardo 1999; Fig. 8). In Tongan mythology, Maui Motu'a (Maui the Elder) is a title for the senior member of the Maui clan. He is also considered the *'ulumotu'a* (senior head and patriarch) of the Maui lineage.

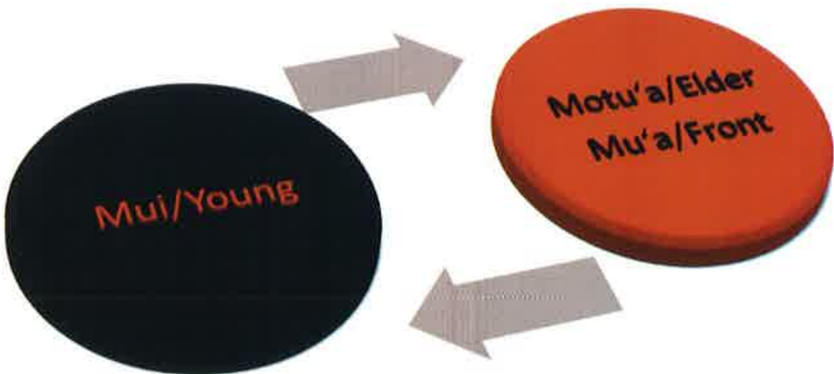

FIGURE 8. **Mui and Motu'a.**

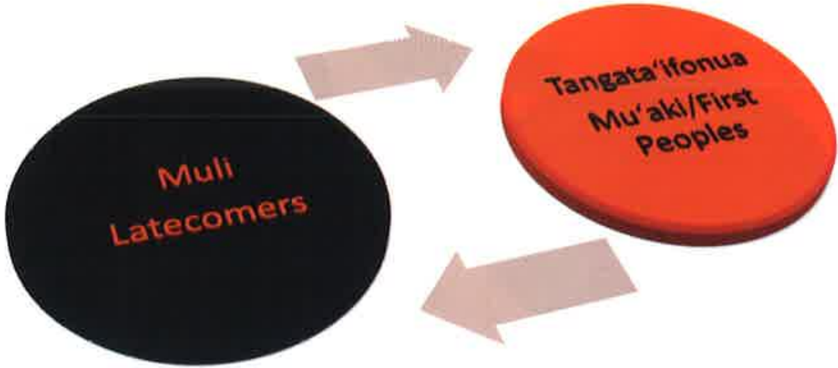

FIGURE 9. **Muli and Tangata'ifonua, Mu'aki.**

Muli,[8] a variant of mui, is a reference to the back or to a foreigner. Muli, from a time perspective, probably signifies people who are latecomers or recent arrivals. In contrast, *tangata 'ifonua,* indigenous people, is a temporal reference to first settlers, first peoples, and original inhabitants and a spatial reference to people who are located in front (Fig. 9). Tangata'ifonua or *fefine 'ifonua* (indigenous male or indigenous female) is also known as a *mu 'aki* (a first, to be the first, or to lead the way). Mu'aki is based on the Tongan root word mu'a (front, past, earlier, fore, or first). By examining tangata'ifonua and muli within the tā-vā theory, we gain deeper insights into their time-space dimensions. In addition, we can infer that *motu 'a-mui* and *tangata 'ifonua-muli* signify the tāvani of time and space in Tongan reality.

This spatiotemporal unity also appears in the term tu'a. In a spatial sense, tu'a means back, outside, external, exterior, etc. In a temporal sense, it signifies the time that comes behind (after or future). This temporal sense is evident in Tongan terms such as *tu 'anaki* (to anticipate the future with hope); *tu 'amelie* or *fakatu 'amelie* (to anticipate or hope for good things in the future); *tu 'atamaki* or *fakatu 'atamaki* (to think of the future with apprehension or to anticipate bad things); *fakatetu 'a, fakatu 'a*, or *fakatu 'otu 'a* (to look to the future with hope or apprehension); *Tu 'apulelulu* (Thursday, the day after *Pulelulu*, Wednesday); *uike ki tu 'a* (the following week); and *māhina ki tu 'a* (the following month). The term tu'a points to the tempo marking of tā in the back vā. Tu'a is also the term for commoners. In a spatial sense, it probably means an outsider—a person outside (space) the chiefly inner circle. In a temporal sense, it probably refers to a person who came after (latecomers or recent settlers) or a person who was born *'i he tu 'a* (after) the eldest sibling (one with the high status). This tā-vā analysis provides additional insights into the social

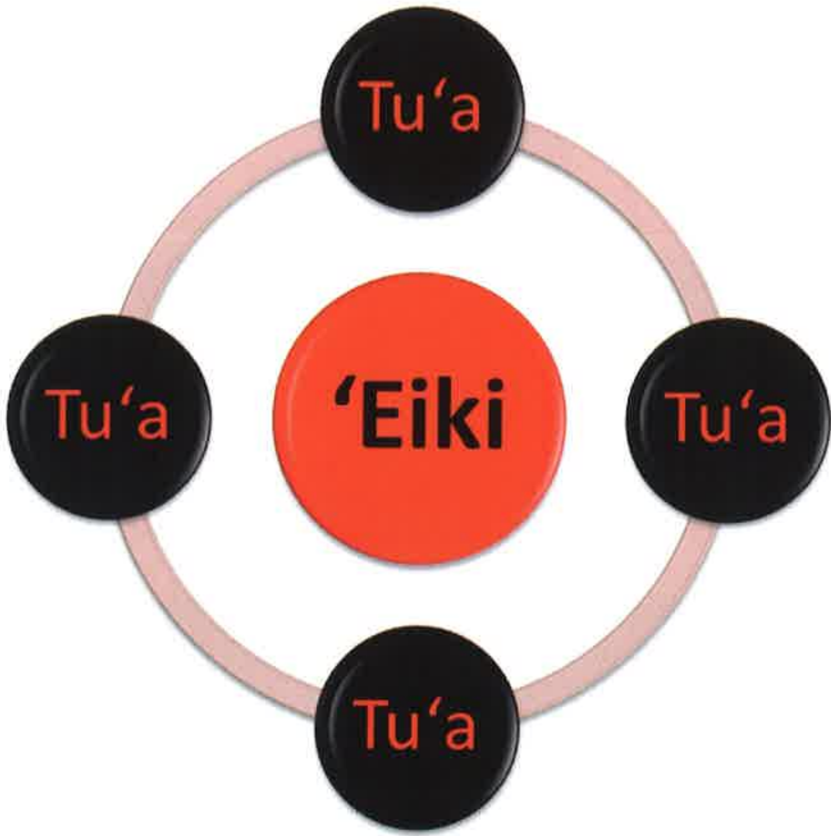

FIGURE 10. **'Eiki and Tu'a: Inner Space and Outer Space.**

categories of *'eiki* and tu'a (chief and commoners). If tu'a refers to a late-comer or younger sibling, then 'eiki must be a reference to the first settler or first born (senior). This meaning of 'eiki appears to be the case. Tongan linguist Melenaite Taumoefolau (1996) argues that 'eiki (*'ariki, ali'i,* and *ari'i*) originally meant first born, senior, and original ancestor. In Tongan mythology, Tangaloa 'Eiki is the first born of the Tangaloa clan. He is also considered the 'ulumotu'a of the Tangaloa lineage and the one with the most 'eiki status. In a spatial sense, the 'eiki are located in the inner circles of power and the tu'a are placed in the outside and on the margin of power (Fig. 10). In a spatial sense, it places 'eiki in front and the tu'a behind (Fig. 11). In Tongan, *tu'a tatau* is a reference to the space outside (tu'a) of the divider (tatau) that separates tu'a and 'eiki. *Loto tatau* is a reference to the

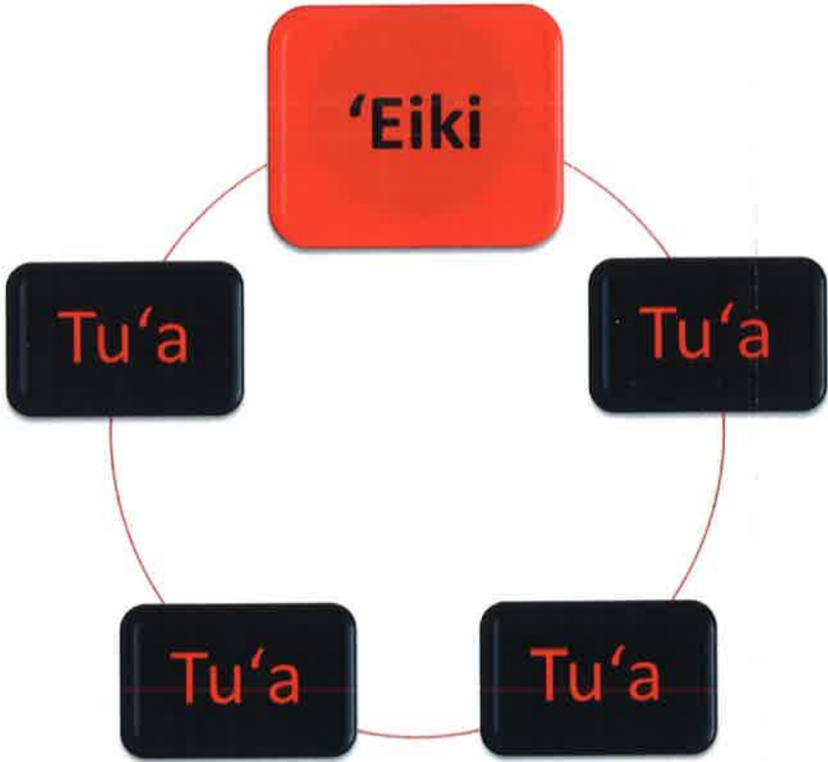

FIGURE 11. **'Eiki and Tu'a: Front Space and Back Space.**

space loto the divider that separates 'eiki from tu'a (commoners or outsiders), and tu'a tatau points to the space outside of the place of power. The English translation of 'eiki as chiefs and tu'a as commoners masks the true tā-vā dimension of 'eiki and tu'a.

This spatiotemporal reference is not unique to Tongans. We find similar references in the English prefixes fore-, ante-, or pre- (front or earlier time); mid- (middle time); and post- or hind- (behind, back, or time after). These linguistic references point to both time and space. Fore-, ante-, or pre- means both front (space) and earlier time; mid- signifies both middle (space) and a midpoint of time; and post- or hind- refers to behind (space) and time after. Hau'ofa points out that the English phrase "let us pay tribute to those who have gone before us" locates the past as ahead and the future as behind (2008, 67). Again, these linguistic references, both in Tongan and in English, point to the tāvani nature of time and space in reality.

FIGURE 12. **Vā: Interval of Space and Time.**

Other terms that point to the intertwine nature of tā-vā are *mata* (eye, face) and *iku* (end, tail). Even though mata (front space) and iku (end space) are points in space, they are also used to reference time in terms such as *kamata* or *kamata'anga* (start or begin) and iku or *iku'anga* (end). This is also the case with root words such as *'ulu* (head) and mui (back)—points in space—that appear in words like *'uluaki* (first) and *muimui* (last) to reference time. The highest ranking male in a Tonga kin is known as the *'ulumotu'a* (senior head). He is the eldest senior.

Vā: A Space Between and An Interval of Time

Vā refers to space and an interval of time (space of time). Most scholarly writings on vā focus exclusively on its spatial dimension without addressing the temporal dimension of vā. In a temporal sense, *vaha* (a space in time), *vahavaha* (space it out in time), and *vaha'a* (a space in time or an interval of time) all point to time (Fig. 12). Again, these words point to the tāvani of time and space in Tongan reality and philology.

Ranking Time and Space

In Tonga, the cultural rule for assigning rank applies to both space and time. In a spatial context, mu'a (front) is ranked higher than mui (back) and loto (center or middle) is ranked higher than mui and tu'a (outside). In terms of time, mu'a (past or time before) is ranked higher than mui and tu'a (future or time after). 'Eiki are also ranked higher than tu'a. Chiefs are referred to as mu'a or *mu'omu'a* (ahead)[9] (Gifford 1929: 109, 120). Elders or seniors (mu'a, *mātu'a,* motu'a, and 'ulumotu'a) are ranked higher than adults and mui (youths) (Fig. 13).

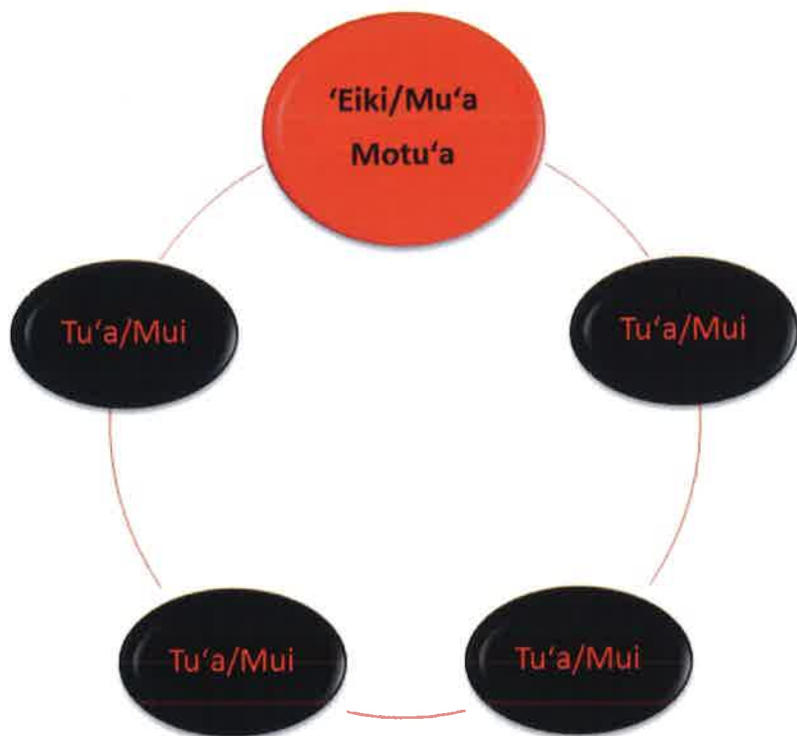

FIGURE 13. **Space: ‘Eiki, Mu‘a, or Motu‘a and Tu‘a or Mui.**

In temporal contexts, mu‘a (the past) is privileged over *lolotonga* (the present) and mui (the future), because mu‘a is the repository of valuable ancestral knowledge. This is the reason why mu‘a (elders, seniors, and chiefs) are ranked higher than mui and tu‘a (latecomers). Within the family, ‘ulumotu‘a (the eldest male sibling) and *fahu* (the eldest female sibling) are selected as the leaders of the *kāinga* (kin). Tongans deem the eldest male and female as the most fit to lead the kin because of their possession of ancestral knowledge. Likewise, mu‘a (indigenous peoples or original settlers) are treated with high regard in relations to muli (later settlers or newcomers) because of their profound ancestral knowledge.

In social spaces, front-and-center and front-and-corner positions are considered to be the highest and most prestigious spatial locations. This is exemplified in the *vāhenga* (front and center) position of a lakalaka performance. The vāhenga is considered by Tongans to be the highest and most prestigious position in a lakalaka performance, and it is often occupied by a member

FIGURE 14. **Princess Pilolevu Tuita, Vāhenga, at the Lakalaka Dance for the King Tupou IV's 70th Birthday. (Source:https://upload.wikimedia.org/wikipedia/commons/thumb/5/5c/Lakalaka.jpg/513px-Lakalaka.jpg).**

of the chiefly class (Kaeppler 1993: 35–38; Fig. 14). Other positions within the lakalaka dance, such as *taofi vāhenga* and *mālie taha*, are also front-and-center positions. Lastly, the position *fakapotu* in the lakalaka performance is a front-and-corner position. All of these positions within the lakalaka performance are deemed high-ranking places and are often occupied by chiefs or people of status.

This cultural rule also plays out in *taumafa kava* (royal kava ceremonies). In a kava ceremony, the *olovaha* (front-and-center position) is the space of honor and rank. The location of the olovaha is also called the *taumu'a* (front of the boat or prow), and the location of the *tou'a* (kava mixer) is referred to as the *taumuli* (rear or back of the boat or stern). The two sides of the kava ceremony are known as the *'alofi* (the rowers) (Fig. 15). Fundamentally, the spatiotemporal arrangement of the *kalia* (double-hulled canoe) is replicated in the kava ceremony ('Okusitino Māhina, pers. comm., 2008). In other words, the kava ceremony is a kalia on land.

Tā Tuku: Tempo Marking the End Space

This paper provides evidence to support the tāvani of tā-vā in reality and in Tongan philology. The intertwine of tā-vā is linguistically signified by the Tongan word tāvani—a word that is formed from the terms tā, vā, and *ni* (tā-vā-ni). The general tā-vā theory of reality argues that *tā* (time) and *vā*

FIGURE 15. **King George Tupou V Sitting in the Olovaha Position in the Coronation Kava Ceremony (July 30, 2008). (Source: http://www.daylife.com/photo/04aL6GseZocMK)**

(space) are inseparable in reality (Māhina 2010). This intertwining of tā-vā is reflected in several terms in the Tongan language. For example, words such as mu'a (front and past or before), loto (middle, center, or interior and present or now), mui (back or behind and latter, future, or afterward), and tu'a (outside and after or future) are references to time and to space. This linguistic reference is not unique to Tongans. We find similar references in the English prefixes fore-, ante-, or pre-; mid-; and post- or hind-. This paper argues that these linguistic terms all point to the tāvani of time and space in reality. In addition, these terms indicate that space is critical for making sense of time and time is vital for understanding space. The unity of tā-vā in Tongan reality and philology are also evident in the application of the same cultural rule to both time and space. For instance, the rule of status applies to both space and time. In Tongan, mu'a is given more status and respectability than mui, and loto holds more privileges and chiefliness over tu'a (outside and later or after). This finding provides deeper insights into why Tongans call commoners tu'a and chiefs mu'a and why front-and-center positions, such as

vāhenga and olovaha, are venerated over-and-above positions located in the *'otu mui* (back or rear).

NOTES

1. Tāvani is made up of three words: tā (time), vā (space), and ni (here). Tāvani literally means to beat (tempo mark) the space right here (O. Māhina, pers. comm., November 5, 2002).

2. Churchward (1953) refers to the noun as "noun-producing suffix," because the suffix (-'anga, -nga, -langa, or -fanga) transforms the word into a noun.

3. *Wā* is a Hawaiian reference to time, as well as to space (Pukui and Elbert 1986, 375).

4. Hūfanga (Refuge, Sanctuary) is a chiefly title from the village of Ma'ofanga in Tongatapu. It was bestowed upon Māhina by high chief Fakafanua in recognition of the way in which Māhina's scholarly works act as a refuge or a sanctuary for Tongans.

5. Lolotonga is a partial reduplication of loto, a spatial reference to center, middle, interior, or inside. Lolotonga is also based on *loloto.* This may be an indication that there are different levels of the present. One is loto (inner present), and another is loloto (inner-core present).

6. Vaimu'a or Vaimui and Lihamu'a or Lihamui are names of Tongan months in the ancient Tongan calendar that was based on *'ufi* (yam) cultivation. It was probably created by the Hawaiian-Tongan high chief Lo'au.

7. Similar variants appear in words such as *ta'u* (generation) and *to'u* and in *fanua* (land) and *fonua.*

8. Muli is a variant of mui (i.e., both taumuli and taumui refer to the stern of a boat).

9. Mu'omu'a is a reduplication of mu'a.

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TĀ-VĀ KĀINGA, TIME-SPACE RELATIONSHIPS THEORY OF REALITY AND TONGAN STUDENTS JOURNEY TO ACADEMIC ACHIEVEMENT IN NEW ZEALAND TERTIARY EDUCATION

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University of Southern Queensland

Tongan students' academic achievement results when the different contexts of *kāinga tā-vā,* time-space relationships intersect or interact disharmoniously or harmoniously within and between the Tongan and Western cultures, especially between the students and the bureaucracy *(pule'anga),* their families *(fāmili)*, church (*siasi*), and wider group (their *fonua/kāinga*). Furthermore, inflexibility or flexibility within the two cultural relationships in terms of *tā* (time) and *vā* (space) by all parties could release social tensions, which can, if left to their own devices, provide obstacles to critical learning, or by mediating them through sustained harmony, can consequently enhance academic achievement. Supporting a two-way process, which allows Tongan students to move freely yet carefully within the two cultures, especially if they understand how varying senses of tā and vā are manifested in tensional kāinga relationships and meanings within their learning environments, enhance educational achievement.

Introduction

HŪFANGA PROFESSOR MĀHINA (19 AUGUST 2005), A TONGAN ACADEMIC, introduced me to the "*Tā-Vā*, Time-Space Theory of Reality" when I explored the views of twenty-five Tongan-born participants on the sociocultural aspects that impact on their academic achievement in New Zealand

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tertiary education. My interest in the tā-vā, (time-space) theory of reality (see Ka'ili 2008; Māhina 2008) recommended to use it as one of the theoretical frameworks or lens to interpret the Tongan students' intercultural learning experiences at two levels of reality: the students' individual and social/global realities. The students' individual realities include their individual attitudes and choices based on their cultural worldviews that impact on their academic achievement. The students' social/global realities include the trends of postmodernism,[1] biculturalism,[2] multiculturalism,[3] modernization and globalization,[4] development and governance, and persistance and change that are beyond the students' control. The data interpretation was conducted through exploring the students' universal, group and personal cultures and the manifestation of tā-vā time-space within the relationships between the Tongan students and their supporters in the bureaucracy, their families, churches, and the wider group (*kāinga*). The significance of the extension of the tā-vā time-space theory of reality in this context is to endorse the addition of kāinga relationship to what I refer to as tā-vā kāinga time-space relationship theory of reality' that arises from my research. This is because a thorough understanding of the discourse of *kāinga* in its multifarious but conflicting meanings and relationships at various levels is seen to be very important for Tongan students' academic achievement.

The Tā-Vā Time-Space Theory of Reality

Māhina (2008) and leading proponents of the tā-vā, time-space, theory of reality (for example, see Ka'ili, 2008 among others) similar to other Tongan researchers, such as Thaman (1988, 1994, 1995a, 1995b, 2002), Taufe'ulungaki (2000, 2002, 2003), Mafile'o (2005), Manu'atu (2000a), Koloto (2003b), and Vaioleti (2001, 2003, 2006), believed that the recognition and use of a Tongan worldview in education enhance Tongan students' academic achievement. Most of the research in Tongan education deals with the "what is education", whereas the "what does of education" deals with utility (function) of education. Māhina (2008) and Thaman (1988) argue that the quality of education is more important than the utility of education. The push for the recognition and utilization of Tongan culture and language in the curriculum has been popularised by Thaman (1988, 1994, 1995a, 1995b, 2002), in the field of education. Finau and Finau (2006) in the field of health have a "cultural democracy" view stating the notion that Tongan education is predominantly Western in form, content, and function. Māhina explains that:

> In Tonga we emphasize the collective more than the individual while in the West generally speaking they emphasise the individual more than the collective and this impacts on education and how we make use of that reality, the reality of education. All of us, from different cultures are here to do education in just one country, New Zealand (one reality). We approach education from different cultures because we were brought up in different ways where we organise time and space differently ('O. Māhina, pers. comm., August 19, 2005).

This means that Tongans organize time and space differently from other cultures, which can affect their social relationships in all educational contexts. The tā-vā theory of reality advances a view that is based on the ontological (philosophy of existence) and epistemological (philosophy of mind) organization of time and space (Māhina, 2008; Māhina, Ka'ili, and Ka'ili 2008). Ontologically, Māhina (2008) suggests that tā and vā are the common medium of all things that exist, in a single level of reality, that is, nature, mind, and society. Epistemologically, he also believes that time and space are arranged differently within and across cultures (Ka'ili, 2008; Māhina, 2008). For example, New Zealand is one way of arranging tā and vā (epistemological), and Tonga is another way of arranging tā and vā (epistemolgical). Tongans living in New Zealand share New Zealand as one reality, and we create and recreate our lives in New Zealand in our own respective cultural ways (ontological dimension of time and space). This implies that Tongan students' social–cultural realities are based on how they culturally relate to tā and vā in contemporary New Zealand. Therefore, the problems for Tongan students in tertiary education stem from these cultural differences in tā-vā time-space relationships between the Tongan and New Zealand cultures. Hence, the Tā-Vā Time-Space Theory of Reality makes sense of why Tongan students from a culture that is predominantly plural, collectivistic, holistic, and circular in character struggled in a New Zealand Western education system, dictated by a dominant culture that is generally linear, individualistic, singular, technological, and analytical in nature (Mahina, 2008).

However, while using the tā-vā time-space theory of reality in the process of data analysis in my research, the concept of kāinga "meanings" and "relationships" emerged very strongly throughout. Therefore, I believe that an extension of the tā-vā time-space theory of reality to embrace kāinga deemed fitting on a number of distinct yet related levels in this educational context. First I will discuss the relevant concepts of tā, vā, and tā-vā kāinga relationships, then the methods used for data collection, and finally the findings of this research.

The Significance of the Extension of the Tā-Vā Theory of Reality into Tā-Vā Kāinga Theory of Reality

Tā (Time)

Callender and Edney (2001), believed that time is as much a mystery now as it was for St. Augustine in AD354–430 where science and philosophy have largely contributed to it, stating that time might be absolute, relational, conventional, tensed or tense less, or unreal. Einstein (1938 cited in Siegfried, 2008) believed that time is illusionary where the separation between past, present, and future is only an illusion. Anderson (2007) and Hawking (1988) believed that time (and space) is inseparable entities in that space is three dimensional (length—*lōlōa;* and width—*maokupu/fālahi;* height/depth—*mā'olunga/loloto*) and time is the fourth dimension. That is, typically three spatial dimensions (length, width, height) and one temporal dimension (time) are required. They argued that in space-time, a coordinate grid that spans the 3 + 1 dimensions locates events (rather than just points in space), that is, time is added as another dimension to the coordinate grid. This way the coordinates specify where and when events occur. They took the image of time (and space) to be the ontological reality. This is where time is one dimension and space is three dimensions (Māhina, 2008). Nevertheless, time is, in one instance, associated with social activities and is thought to be socially constructed (Birth 2004; Lippincott, Eco, and Gombrich 1999; Mackenzie, 1997). This is where, epistemologically, time (and space) are organized differently across cultures. Therefore, "not all cultures define or experience time in the same way, [because] nearly every major culture on Earth seems to have a unique understanding of what time is" (Lippincott, Eco and Gombrich 1999, 17). Jonsson (1999) states that people believe they are becoming less able to control their time-keeping because human creativity increasingly has to adjust to the demands of machinery and technology. Furthermore, he stated that Western capitalist democracy and scientific technological culture have been largely responsible for the shift in Western sense of time and space toward a singular, techno-teleological, individualistic, analytical, and linear mode of living. The Western relationship with time is the keystone in the structure of human lives. Jonsson (1999, 28) also suggests that:

> In the past, time was sovereign in nature. Its rule was a wonderful way of preventing disorderly events. Nowadays, it is as though the ordering function of time has been cancelled out by demands

> that almost everything should happen simultaneously. The invisible pressure, which used to sort the temporary from the lasting, has lost its effectiveness. . . . Our attempts to speculate about the distant future seem irrelevant now, because the distance in fact seems so short (28).

That is, the world is becoming very complex and busy, and Western concept of time (clock time) is becoming very important (Peace 2001). This Western concept of time (clock time) is problematic for the Tongan students in their struggled within the Western educational context that differs from their own Tongan physical, mental, social reality.

In the Tongan language, time according to Ka'ili (2008) tā means to beat, to mark, to form, or to perform as in the heart beat marks the time, rhythm, pace, and frequency of the pulse; *tā nafa* (beating drum), rhythmic beating of drums that is marking time through drum beats; and *tā sīpinga* (setting examples), marking time through social acts or behavior for others to follow. The indivisibility of tā and vā, where the former is the "definer" of the latter, such tā nafa (tā, time; *nafa*, space, that is, tā-vā, time-space), and tā sīpinga (tā, time; sīpinga, space, that is tā-vā, time-space), which is pointing to their existence, as well as to their being four-sided dimensionality (Māhina, 2008; Ka'ili, 2008). Tongans as Pacific people are renowned for doing things late or dragging and prolonging occasions according to clock/Western time. And the expression Pacific Time or Tongan Time *(taimi faka–Tonga)* is alluded to in any problem with time, especially when things are late according to Western time (Bain 1967, 1993; Māhina 2004a). Nevertheless, Tongan people have their own perception of time, where:

> [I]n a circular style, people walk forward into the past, and walk backward into the future, both in the present, where the seemingly fixed past and elusively, yet-to-take-place future are constantly mediated in the conflicting, ever-changing present. . . . It is paradoxically yet philosophically, like looking forward into the past, and looking backward into the future. . . . [T]his is reflected in Tongan thinking which allegorically characterises the past as *ono'aho* (age-of-light) and present as *onopō* (age-of-darkness), pointing to the respective actual, yet opposing, states of enlightenment and ignorance (Māhina 2008, 79).

There is also a Tongan perception about *ako* (educating/schooling or formal education) and time whereby it is believed there is a time to study or attend formal schooling. That is, people can only go to school (formal

education) when they are still young and single. Once they get married, then they need to stay home and look after their families. The many responsibilities expected of an adult Tongan toward their kāinga mean that they would not have enough time to study successfully. This attitude about only going to school or formal education while one is still single has changed, and today married people are going back to formal education/schooling again to better themselves. However, some of these students can find it difficult to complete their courses because they have their family commitments on top of their study. For many Tongans, this justifies the belief that it is better to finish tertiary education before one gets married because Tongan students can achieve better when they do not have too many responsibilities and cultural obligations *(fatongia)*. This is a conflict between Western, linear and Tongan, cyclic ways of thinking, that was introduced by Western contact with islands of the Pacific (including Tonga).

Vā (Space)

Space is the boundless, three-dimensional extent in which objects and events occur and have relative position and direction (Richardson and Jensen 2003). Rightly three dimensional, in the case of Tonga: lōloa (length); mā'olunga/loloto (height/depth); and maokupu/fālahi (width), collectively referred to as *uho* (content). In spatial practice with reference to places there is a:

> relationship of local and global; the re-presentation of that relationship; actions and signs; the trivialised spaces of everyday life; and, in opposition to these last, spaces made special by symbolic means as desirable or undesirable, benevolent or malevolent, sanctioned or forbidden to particular groups (Lefebvre 1974 cited in Richardson and Jensen (2003, 10).

Isaac Newton (1953, 1968) viewed space as absolute. The philosopher, Gottfried Leibniz (1987) believed that space was a collection of relations between objects, given by their distance and direction from one another in the world. Similarly, Bourdieu (1991, 230) stated that agents or groups of agents in the social world are "defined by their *relative positions* in space [where] each of them is confined to a position or a precise class of neighbouring positions."Therefore, even in Western constructions, space is constructed in different ways by different people (Richardson and Jensen 2003).

However, vā space in the Tongan language means the "distance between [or] distance apart; [or] attitude, feeling [or] relationship, towards each other"

(Churchward, 1959, 528). This definition shows that space is related to people's physical and social place with respect to one another and is "not isolated and bounded entities, but material and symbolic constructions that work as meaningful and practical settings for social actions because of their relations to other spaces and places" (Richardson and Jensen 2003, 11). Therefore, the concept of space is connected to relationships. In terms of the social context, according to Ka'ili (2008: 16–17):

> *Vā* is a space that is formed through the mutual relations between persons or groups, and it is also an indicator of the quality of the relationships [where] *vālelei* refers to harmonious and beautiful social space between people, and *vātamaki* signifies a disharmonious social space between people [italics added].

The words *vālelei* and *vātamaki/vākovi* are indivisibly made up of vā (space) and tā (time); for example, vā (space) and *lelei* (good) and vā (space) and *tamaki/kovi* (bad) are temporally defining a certain vā (space), deemed as "good" and "bad", respectively. Vā, as in keeping good relationships among the Tongan people, is very important. It is important for Tongan students to understand how to keep their vā space with their *fāmili, siasi, pule'anga*, and *fonua* so that they vālelei (have good relationship) all the time which could enhance support for their education.

Kāinga (Relationship)

Relationship when translated into Tongan means kāinga;[5] *fetu'utaki;*[6] *fetu'utaki'anga;*[7] *kaunga;*[8] *kaungā;*[9] vā;[10] or *vaha'a;*[11] *fekau'aki;*[12] *felāve'i;*[13] *fekāinga'aki;*[14] or *toto*[15] as in relative (Churchward 1959, 753). Some additional words that carry relationship connotation are *fe'ofa'aki;*[16] *fekitengaki;*[17] *fevahevahe'aki;*[18] *fefua'aki;*[19] *fetoli'aki;*[20] *feveitokai'aki or fevatoka'iaki;*[21] *fefalala'aki;*[22] *fetokoni'aki;*[23] *fefaka'apa'apa'aki;*[24] *fengāue'aki;*[25] *fe'aveaki;*[26] *femelino'aki;*[27] *fe'alu'aki;*[28] and so on. Because I am Tongan and my research was on Tongan students, it is essential to theorize in Tongan cultural patterns of thinking so the word kāinga meaning relationship—and a common term for people to whom one is related is also kāinga—is fitting in this discussion. This is because the Tongan society and civilization is based on Tongan relationships within their kāinga (Bain 1967, 1993; Blamires 1939). Kāinga as a Tongan construct of relationship is based on a communal extended lifestyle and is uniquely different from the Western construct of relationship; therefore, it is fundamental to understanding Tongan students' academic achievement (Blamires 1939; Bott 1982; Campbell 1992; 2001; Crane 1978).

The importance and impact of relationships in this research on Tongan students' academic achievement in New Zealand tertiary education resonates with the literature on Pacific and Tongan students in New Zealand by researchers such as Anae et al. (2002), Bishop and Berryman (2006), Coxon et al. (2002), Fletcher and et al. (2009), Fusitu'a (1992), Fusitu'a and Coxon (1998), Kalavite and Hoogland (2005), and Manu'atu (2000b). This foregoing research strongly indicated that the normal life of the Tongans and Pacific Islanders, more widely, is their cultural reciprocal roles in keeping good relationships among themselves through fatongia (Farmer 1976; Gailey 1987; Gifford 1985).

Fatongia is "fulfilling cultural obligations" and is a significant part of students' relationships with the bureaucracy, their families, church, and the wider group. Ka'ili (2008), for example, critiques collective, circular values mentioned above through the exchange of fatongia (social obligations) by means of *tauhivā* (keeping sociospatial relations), where conflicts are mediated or the lack of it can amount to either vālelei (good sociospatial relations) or vātamaki/vākovi (bad sociospatial relations). This means that it is difficult for them to achieve educationally because there is a mismatch between the ways they keep Tongan kāinga relationships and how they are required to keep kāinga relationships in the Western education system. This research found that kaīnga, relationships at different levels, are very important for Tongan students' academic achievement because people's lives are interwoven within their spiritual, social, and physical environments. Relationship, kāinga, therefore, is the core of the Tongan culture that amalgamates all aspects of their human existence.

Tā-Vā Kāinga Time-Space Relationship Theory of Reality

Epistemologically, tā-vā (time-space) is a boundless, four-dimensional continuum where everyone moves serially and sequentially from one stage to the next over time and space, through building upon and absorbing each preceding stage, which is thereafter reproduced throughout the joint influence of heredity and socialization (Wilson 1999). Sociologically, Kant (1929) described space and time as elements of a systematic framework that humans use to structure their experience; and Einstein and Infeld (1938), in their theory of general relativity proposed that space and time should be combined into a single construct known as spacetime, pointing toward the inseparability of time and space. Siegfried (2008) stated that nobody has ever noticed a place except at a time, or a time except at a place. In that sense, time and space are joined not because that is the way the world is, but because that is the only way that humans can comprehend it, ontologically in a single level of

reality (that is, the one and only reality in which we all live). Furthermore, in this postmodern world (after the modern age), the information network and the social network overlap and intertwine with time-space (Gotved 2006). Spaces and places are not isolated entities because they are material and symbolic constructions that work as meaningful and practical settings for social action. This is because of their relations to other spaces and places through time (Richardson and Jensen 2003).

The eminence of extending the Tā-Vā Theory of Reality into Tā-Vā Kāinga Theory of Reality (for example, see Ka'ili 2008; Māhina 2008) in this research on Tongan students academic achievement stem from five significant reasons. First, kāinga, which is a plural, collective, and communal tā-vā arrangement in the Tongan society, is a very important concept in the Tongan culture. This is because the overarching core value in the lives of Tongans is *mo'ui fakatokolahi* (living together in a cooperative lifestyle) and *fetokoni'aki* (help each other) where they *tauhi vā* (keep good relationships) toward each other among their kāinga (family or social relationships), through the cultural reciprocal roles of faifatongia (cultural obligations). Thus, the Tongan students are nurtured through a close knit extended family kāinga where they are mould to tauhi vā (keep good relationships) within the practice of the Tongan core values of fetokoni'aki, *toka'i,* and feveitokai'aki (cooperation, consensus and maintenance of good relationships); *'ofa, fe'ofo'ofani* or fe'ofa'aki (mutual love, caring, and generosity); faka'apa'apa or *fefaka'apa'apa'aki* (mutual respect); *fatongia,* faifatongia, *fua fatongia,* or *fua kavenga* (responsibilities and commitments to fulfilment of mutual prescribed obligations); *mamahi'i me'a* and *talangofua* (loyalty, commitment, and obedience); and *Falatōkilalo* (humility and generosity). These core values are the breath of Tongan society, in the homes, the churches and the schools. They were expected to live these core values and believed that commitment to them would benefit their kāinga. Therefore, for us Tongans, the goal for our education is to be able to help our kāinga. Education then, is a journey that suggests tauhi vā (keeping good relationships) and fetokoni'aki (helping each other) or *ngāue fakataha* (working together) through fulfilling certain fatongia (obligations) toward academic achievement for the collective benefit of everyone in the kāinga (extended family) (Wood 1943; Wood and Ellem 1977). This is an expression of collective/communal tā-vā which according to Māhina (2008), the purpose of education is to gain knowledge ('ilo) and that the higher the quality of knowledge the better you are in helping your kāinga.

Second, research to date suggests that Tongan tertiary students are trying to be successful in their learning in New Zealand, which has a different tā-vā (time-space) configuration to them as Tongans in this contemporary age. This is where the Tongan students learn through the construction of knowledge

within their sociocultural contexts that is heavily based on their relationships within their kāinga. They are constructing and coconstructing knowledge within their sociocultural context or kāinga where they position themselves in multiple realities. This multiple positioning is where they operate in tertiary education and this has a profound impact on their achievement.

Third, some people understand that Tongan culture impacts on education, but fewer people understand that social relationships kāinga among the society are the focal point of Tongan culture that impact on students' academic achievement. None have stressed the importance of working within certain cultural limits of practicing cooperation to maximize academic success that my research on Tongan students has found. There is a certain tā-vā, time-space within the kāinga blood/kin relationships of which those involved need to be aware of. The important question that remained unanswered was, "What is the nature of the impact of kāinga relationships on academic achievement?"

Fourth, Tongan students' academic achievement in New Zealand tertiary education is vested in their capababilities to cope harmoniously within the interface of the Tongan and New Zealand cultures. The harmonious interface between the two cultures depends on Tongan students' judicious practice of keeping good relationships within their personal, group, and universal cultures, especially within their kāinga. When tā-vā kāinga, time-space relationships are in serenity with both cultures, they support Tongan students' academic achievement; but when they are not, they become constraints. This means that, although Tongans primarily engage in tauhi vā to create harmonious beauty, and experience feelings of warmth, joy, or honour as Ka'ili (2008) stated, if students and their supporters do not perform tauhi vā within the students' limits or boundaries with relationships to their studies, then it creates confusions and tensions that can jeopardize their education.

Finally, throughout my research on Tongan students, I have related Māhina's (2008) and Ka'ili's (2008) existing tā-vā time-space theory of reality to Tongan tertiary students' academic achievement in New Zealand, in a more practical way. This is by exploring the relationships kāinga between the Tongan students and their Tongan and non-Tongan supporters. My research has enriched this theory because it has attended to common and necessary relationships between Tongan students, their families, and non-Tongan professionals who create the context for their relationships (kāinga) in their New Zealand homeland.

These reasons are the rationale for the extension of the tā-vā time-space theory of reality to a new theory of tā-vā kāinga time-space relationship theory of reality unique to my study. This new theory gave meanings to the perceived social cultural aspects that impact on Tongan students' academic achievement in New Zealand tertiary education. These meanings are

discussed in the Research Results section, after the research methodology in the following section.

Research Methodology

Because culture counts in education, the theoretical framework, paradigm or "net that contains [my] epistemological, ontological, and methodological premises" (Denzin and Lincoln, 2003b, 33) are sociocultural with an orientation toward postmodernism within the Tongan framework of tā-vā (time-space) theory of reality.

The methodology used is described as Tongan, Pasifika, qualitative, phenomenological, ethnographic, and auto-ethnographic. It involves Tongans, as participants (phenomenological ethnography) and also includes the Tongan researcher's experiences as one of the participants (auto-ethnography). Therefore, although the research is driven by Tongan and Pasifika methodologies, it has also borrowed from Western methodologies of qualitative, phenomenological, and auto-ethnographical methodologies. Using both Tongan and Western methodologies was appropriate, as the Tongan participants are operating within a New Zealand context and this provided insights into the different cultures. The Tongan research methodologies are just emerging in academia and the significant works of Tongan researchers such as Thaman's (2002) model of *Kakala*';[29] Ka'ili's (2008) and Māhina's (2008), model of Tauhi Vā;[30] Manu'atu's (2000a), model of *Mālie–Māfana*;[31] Vaioleti's (2003, 2006) and Prescott's (2008) model of *Talanoa*,[32] were used and discussed in the research. In the same research on Tongan students, I also introduce a model of *Toungāue* (working together) as a contribution to Tongan research methodology (Kalavite 2010).

The research method for data generation in the research was basically talanoa, through semistructured and unstructured interviewing in a formal and informal situation. Formal talanoa is where a time and place is set for the particular talanoa to be conducted on a particular topic. Informal talanoa occurs when the topic under investigation has emerged from a talanoa, or the topic is initiated during a gathering that was not meant for the purpose of discussing the research topic. For example, a discussion at a birthday celebration or at a conference where the issues about the research topic emerged. The Tongan method of talanoa led the research but was anchored within the Western methods of semistructured and unstructured interviewing. In other words, talanoa worked alongside semi- and unstructured interviewing and was integral to the interviews (Kalavite, 2010). Talanoa is the preferred means of communication because it captures the traditions and protocols of Pacific islands including the Tongans (Prescott 2008). In Tonga, talanoa

literally means to talk or to tell stories or relate experiences (Churchward 1959). It is also "consistent with the conveyance of knowledge, stories, views and feelings both in the personal and formal sense" (Prescott 2008, 128). Using talanoa, which is a collective/communal expression of tā-vā as a Tongan research method, meant that the conversation with the participants was more meaningful. In particular when Tongan cultural protocol was followed as well as when Tongan language is being used for clarification of concepts and ideas. The experiences on the research topic were able to be comfortably shared without cultural impediments. During the talanoa, I tried to draw from participants' in-depth knowledge of factors about my research topic (Blaxter, Hughes, and Tight 2001; Cohen, Manion, and Morrison 2000; May 2001; Neuman 2000). However, the research methodology and methods of data generation informed my understanding on the extension of the tā-vā, time-space of reality into tā-vā kāinga, time-space relationship discussed in the following section of research results.

Research Results

My study found that, as Māhina (2008) argued, Tongan students' academic achievement is vested in their capabability to cope harmoniously at the interface of the Tongan and New Zealand cultures. What is unique to my study that adds to our knowledge is that, to cope harmoniously at the interface of these two cultures, relationships kāinga at different levels of the Tongan society are very important. The findings also give support to the position that a Tongan worldview, similar to other Pacific epistemologies, provides a relevant pathway for understanding Tongan students' academic achievement in New Zealand tertiary education (Mafile'o, 2005). Therefore, the key points of the findings are expressed in three Tongan relationship metaphors of *fakatoukatea, mo'ui fetokoni'aki*, and *mo'ui fakapotopoto* discussed in the following paragraphs.

Fakatoukatea in the context of this research refers to Tongan students who are skilful in both cultures; that is, the Tongan and the Western have become bicultural. Fakatoukatea also means "when two people or things are compatible in every way" (Māhina 2004b, 57). Mafile'o (2005) also referred to fakatoukatea as the diversity of skills and knowledge across the Tongan and the *Pālangi* contexts. Diversities stimulate, challenge, and increase the range of possibilities and responses to enhance the intellectual enterprises (Stiehm 1994). Alternatively, although previous research has strongly proposed that Tongan students need to retain their Tongan cultural knowledge (group) for academic success, what emerged strongly in the findings that is unique to my research is that there is a need for Tongan students to understand the New

Zealand academic culture and other cultures (universal) to become bicultural so as to enhance their learning. One of the comments made by one of the participants with a doctoral degree who is a successful Tongan in academia with a doctoral degree said:

> In terms of western culture I came to New Zealand seeking for western knowledge and basically I did that. Everything I did at the university, there was hardly anything Tongan about the institution. Therefore, I had to learn the ways of interacting with other students in my class as well as my lecturers. Socially, like going out for dinner and developing my social skills that I required to learn to deal with that situation. The other thing is like talking in class, like class discussions I had to participate, study skills such as time management, computer skills and so on. These were not Tongan, and I think I need to acquire the skills necessary to survive in a tertiary institution.

Therefore, those who are fakatoukatea are harmoniously positioned within the interface of the Tongan and New Zealand culture where they "*Tā ki liku tā ki fanga*"[33] as they move fluidly within the interface of the two cultures using the best of both worlds for academic achievement. The Tongan students who appeared to be able to move fluidly between the two cultures said they found it easier to commit to their studies and be successful. Hence, a proposed way forward is for the Tongan students to be versatile, flexible, and do things efficiently. For example, for Tongan students to pass their courses, they have to be adaptable and multipurpose in terms of their time so that they could efficiently commit to their cultural obligations as well as commitment to their study. This could be done by just showing up at cultural events such as funeral, weddings, and so on for a short period of time and then leave to attend to their assignments. One of the parent participants stated that:

> Keeping good relationship is good but students have to understand that they have study commitments and they need to make time for it. It was the students themselves to make the decision because from my own experiences families and communities do not put that much pressure on students if they front up and explain why they could not attend certain occasions. So I think it is down to the individual to make their own choices. But yes it could be culture thing as not letting families and friends down and to keep good relationships and feeling obligated to our *kāinga*.

This means that students allow space for both events to be accomplished for their own benefit. There are also evidences of a wide generation gap between the students and their parents (Morton 1996, Morton Lee 2003, 2007), which is another dimension of tā-vā kāinga, time-space relationship to be critically considered. In terms of child-rearing practices, they are different in New Zealand from Tonga. New Zealand laws give children rights to leave home at a certain age. This acted as a constraint on parents pushing their children too hard to be successful in their studies for fear that they would leave home as soon as the law allowed. One of the parent participants' comments illustrate this point by saying that:

> Our parents here are totally lost. They cannot discipline their children; sometimes because of language barriers and sometimes because of children's rights. They just do not know what to do anymore because they cannot do what they used to do in the islands in terms of discipline. They are helpless.

This stated that the way that Tongans live in New Zealand makes it difficult for some of the parents to discipline their children. Therefore, it is very important for Tongan parents to have a sense of balance and be sensitive on what to do to discipline their children so that they can commit to their studies.

Mo'ui Fetokoni'aki is supportive livelihood. It is through mo'ui fetokoni'aki that Tongan students are taking their kāinga (pule'anga, fāmili, siasi, and fonua) with them during their academic journey. Mo'ui fetokoni'aki is the strength and core of the Tongan culture; it should be the basic asset to enhance Tongan students' academic achievement. Fetokoni'aki among the students' fāmili can help them to achieve if the fāmili work as a team (toungāue), even to the extent of sharing students' academic work such as typing up assignments to allow them time to complete their work (Koloto 2003a). One twenty-eight-year-old male student participant commented on how he completed his degree with this type of support from his family. Here is his reflection on what happened:

> My final semester was very tough and I could not have made it without the help of my family. Something had gone very wrong during the semester and I realised that I had less than two months to complete eight assignments [45 days to be exact], for the four courses that I took. I told my family that I had a major problem so all of them decided to help. As soon as I had permission from my lecturers to hand in my assignments late, tasks were quickly allocated amongst

> all the members of my family: My brother who was also a university student helped looking for information both in the library and the internet: My dad did all the household chores while my mother helped in discussing my assignments, giving me ideas of what I should write about: My wife typed my assignments and she helped my mother in proofreading: What I did was reading, thinking, and putting my thinking down on paper. I realised that this part of my study was like a race against time. I knew what I should put down on paper but I did not have the time to do it so the help of my family got me to beat the time. Time was everything in this situation. I needed time to look for information, time to read and write my thoughts, time for personal tasks, time to rest when I was mentally tired, and all that. However, this team work not only saved a lot of time but enabled me to hand in all my assignments, passed my courses and graduated. I owe this to them and I cannot thank them enough for what they did. I will never forget this, ever!

The students' fetokoni'aki with their fāmili, siasi, pule'anga, and fonua, especially in tertiary education institutions, are essential in developing a more nurturing, reflective and people-oriented learning environment. This is where everyone understands the Tongan students' tasks in negotiating their relationships within the tertiary education culture and their Tongan culture. This is because, for the Tongan students, their achievement is something for their family, church, village, and the country as one of the participants said:

> I think that this is the kind of value (attributing success to families and others) that we should look at as foundations to support us in our education. . . . It is rightfully our responsibility to speak on behalf of our people and we should not look at our Tongan culture as an excuse for our shortcomings but as strengths to help us. We grew up in a place *'oku fe'amokaki mo faingata'a 'a e mo'ui* [where life is hard]. These should mould and encourage us to do even better for our families, church and the community.

It is recommended that the non-Tongan supporters such as lecturers in tertiary education institutions need to be versatile and flexible in the way that they connect with Tongan students. For example, lecturers should be more understanding about Tongan students' cultural obligations to their families, church, and communities; hence, lecturers should be flexible to grant extensions for assignments when asked for genuinely.

Mo'ui fakapotopto is sustainable livelihood:

> [It] is a life that is worthwhile and is able to use existing and limited resources wisely. [It] encompasses spiritual, emotional, physical and intellectual capabilities [where] people are multi-talented with a range of skills, wide understanding of their environment and strong belief in maintaining relationships and fulfilling cultural obligations (Johansson-Fua, Manu, and Tapakautolo 2007, 12).

Therefore, mo'ui fakapotopoto signalled that Tongan students and their supporters should have boundaries or tā-vā, time-space limits on the relationships within their physical and social environments. This enables the Tongan students to have better resources in terms of physical, social, spiritual, and mental skills such that they can be healthy in body *sino*, spirit *laumālie*, and mind *'atamai* to study effectively.

Mo'ui fakapotopoto is similar to the concept of "*topono*" which means to feel satisfied and contented with whatever one has and whatever one can give. The Tongan financial hardships impacted on Tongan students' education severely mainly because of *fua kavenga fakavalevale*, (unrealistic financial commitments). One of the parent participants said:

> Some Tongan families do not prioritise their financial spending carefully and sometimes they spent their money unrealistically. Some families sent money to families in Tonga, to church donations and other family obligations which deprive them from giving priority to their children's education. I also questioned how families in Tonga disposed of the money that was sent them. They should have seen how we struggled here making sacrifices to help them.

Therefore, it is recommended that Tongan students and their families need to feel at peace with what they can give in terms of money and other material wealth to their kāinga (pule'anga, fāmili, siasi, and fonua). They should neither be embarrassed with what they can give nor compete with each other because it can exhaust their resources and get them into financial trouble. It is also advisable for Tongan students and their supporters to recognize the trends of globalization and improved information communication technology such that they are able to decide the limits of their involvement with the wider *kavenga fakafāmili* (family obligations), *kavenga fakasiasi* (church obligations), and *kavenga fakafonua* (country obligations) to enable them to have time, space and resources for their education. There are big cultural differences for Tongan students living in New Zealand and often they find it difficult to adapt to the New Zealand lifestyle. Some of the students ran into trouble because they did not know the limit of their certain

worlds. As one of the academic educators, who was also a church minister stated:

> I believe that our children here in New Zealand cannot handle all their social, cultural, emotional and spiritual problems at once which impact on their studies. And I see it many times when kids are capable and they are on top of the world and then it changed entirely, and it was not good for them. I think they need to minimise the conflicts between these different worlds.

On a related note, if the students are to succeed, then education needs to be their top priority; other affairs such as their *fai fatongia* and fua kavenga have to take lower priority. It should also be made known that as education is top priority Tongan students should not feel guilty about not being able to fulfil their cultural obligations fatongia to their kāinga. This is not a matter of ignoring or avoiding fai fatongia or fua kavenga to focus on educational achievement but of managing them differently. Some parents in this study ensured that they gave their children time and they put considerable emphasis on time. One of them said: "Whenever my children said that they will not attend any church activity or Tongan cultural occasions because they have school work to do I let them stay home and do it." This means that Tongan students had to change the tā-vā, time-space aspects of their relationships with their kāinga to commit to their studies. They had to spend less time with their fatongia to pule'anga, fāmili, siasi, and fonua and to dedicate more to their study. Their families must understand the demands of *ako*, which requires a different/expanded constructions of tā and vā and kāinga relationships within a particular contexts that of school semesters, exam periods, and so on. To achieve academic success, Tongan students had to temporarily put more distance between themselves and their relationships with their family, church, and wider community. One of the parent participants who is also an academic stated that some students "were wasting their times doing other things like going to church, going to celebrations that they should not attend, watched TV, talked to their friends, went to parties and so on other than studying." This means that the Tongan students have to prioritize their studies at that point in time to be able to complete their study requirements. They have to know that they need to achieve in Western education as well as keeping their own Tongan identity. Tongan students have to be both theoretically (analysis) and practically (praxis) projected beyond the "imagined" and the "real" to achieve in Western education. This supports Manu'atu (2000a) and Manu'atu and Kepa (2001), who noted that the Tongan culture does not need to be a barrier to students' study and can be used to their own

advantage. The effective relationship between Tongan students' and both their Tongan and non-Tongan supporters', and their understanding and willingness to help, is a way forward for academic success. This means that it is imperative for Tongan tertiary students, as well as their supporters, to be fakatoukatea and *fetokoni'aki fakapotopoto* in their tā-vā kāinga time-space relationships among themselves for academic achievement in New Zealand tertiary education.

Conclusion

All of what has happened to the world through physical evolution and social interactions are related (kāinga), and their relationships are fundamental to the existence of the world today. In particular, for the Tongans, their existence as Tongans rests in their relationships within their kāinga, which are influenced by the changing New Zealand context. Therefore, a key conclusion of my research is that the problems of underachievement among Tongan tertiary students were perceived to be situated in their capabability, or incapability, to function within the interface (space) of the Tongan and the New Zealand culture in this contemporary age. This is an implication for a high level tā-vā, time-space to include kāinga relationships in its different discourses where fetokoni'aki, fakapotopoto and fakatoukatea in both Tongan and New Zealand cultures are vital for academic achievement. That is, when Tongan students and their supporters are at the same tā-vā kāinga, time-space relationships, then there is a mutual understanding among the group that could support students' education. Therefore, it is significant to extend this theory from the *Tā-Vā* Time-Space into what I have called *Tā-Vā Kāinga* Time-Space Relationship Theory of Reality as discussed in this article.

NOTES

1. Postmodernism is a broad term encompassing a number of theoretical positions and interrelated concepts that refer to a form of contemporary culture (Eagleton 1996). According to Mikula, (2008, 159) "postmodernism is characterised by its investment in culturally situated knowledge, libidinal economy, fragmentation, dispersion, co-presence and empty simulation." Everything is contested in the postmodern world, and there is uncertainty, fragmentation, diversity, and plurality that are characterized by an abundance of micro narratives (Lyotard, 1984, 7). There are many truths, and all generalizations, hierarchies, typologies, and binaries are contested, troubled, or challenged (Merriam 2002; Atkinson 2003). In a postmodern stance "there are no absolutes, no single theoretical framework for examining social and political issues" (Merriam 2002, 374). Postmodernists "celebrate diversity among people, ideas, and institutions, [and by] accepting the diversity and plurality of the world, no one element is privileged or more powerful than another" (Merriam 2002, 275). Postmodernism is a collection of loosely linked ideas that combine

and recombine in numerous ways and contexts (Atkinson 2003). It is a time of tremendous conflict and confusion because there is no absolute truth (Pivonka 2004). Lyotard (1984) posited that it is more helpful to think of postmodernism as an intellectual trend or condition during the postmodern era after the Second World War. This is "a period of multiple changes in society, involving information advances, consumerism, the omnipresence of simulations, and the rise of a postindustrial order . . . globalization, rapid scientific and technological change . . . and terrorism" (Bloland 2005, 123).

2. Relating to, consisting of, or participating in two cultures of two different countries or ethnic groups. Advocating or encouraging the integration of people of two different cultural groups into all areas of society.

3. Relating to, consisting of, or participating in more than two cultures of different countries or ethnic groups. Advocating or encouraging the integration of people of more than two different cultural groups into all areas of society.

4. Globalization is defined as the movement of values, ideologies, goods, services, and practices across national boundaries (Taufe'ulungaki 2003).

5. Tribe or village; large social unit based on kinship and headed by a chief, or relating to one another.

6. Contact, or contacting one another, or communicating.

7. Point of communicating, or connecting point.

8. Relationship, connection, connecting, or link.

9. Together, or to work together, fellow workmen or working relationship.

10. Attitude, feeling, relationship toward each other.

11. Intervening space or time; relationship, mutual feeling or attitude, especially of a bad kind.

12. To be connected or interrelated, interrelationship, connection with one another.

13. To be connected or related.

14. To be related to each other as in blood relation.

15. Blood relation.

16. To love or be kind to one another.

17. To appear to, or be in sight of, each other.

18. To divide out to other people.

19. To help carry each other's obligations.

20. To help each other.

21. To respect or honour one another.

22. To rely on each other.

23. To help each other.

24. To respect each other.

25. To work together.

26. To take or carry hither and thither or to trudge backward and forward, in or over between people or places.

27. To have peace between each other.

28. To visit one another.

29. Sweet-smelling flowers, or trees or plants bearing sweet-smelling flowers, of any kind (Churchward 1959); a garland of sweet-smelling flowers.

30. Keeping good relationships.

31 Aesthetically pleasing state and the emotional feeling of warmth.

32. To talk (in both formal and informal ways), to tell stories or relate experiences etc. (Churchward 1959)

33. A Tongan proverb: *'Oku 'uhinga ki ha taha 'oku 'ikai hama ha me'a,* meaning when someone is proficient in many ways.

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

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

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

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

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

Theory and Practice in Anthropology: Pacific Anthropology and Pacific Islanders

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

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

Introduction: Issues and Problems

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

What Is in a Name? A Tongan View of Moana

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

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

The Moana-led concept *vaha'a* is transposed onto the *fonua* (land and its people), seen in the temporal and spatial organization of people, such as *vaha'a kolo* (vā between villages), *vaha'a nofo* (vā between people); vaha'a fonua (vā between countries); *vaha'a 'api* (vā between homes); and *vaha'a tofi'a* (vā between noble estates). Similarly, vaha'a is, in terms of tā-vā, attributed with a sense of physicality as in *vaha'a mo'unga* (vā between mountains); *vaha'a luo* (vā between holes); *vaha'a va'e* (vā between legs); *vaha'a tu'ungaiku* (vā between buttocks); *vaha'a fa'ifine* (vā under armpits); *vaha'a uma* (vā between shoulders); *vaha'a mata* (vā between eyes); *vaha'a telinga* (vā between the ears); *vaha'a fale* (vā between houses); *vaha'a loki* (vā between rooms); and *vaha'a matapā* (vā-defining door frames).[12]

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

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

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

ukuloloto (art of deep-diving), *faiva siu* (art of fishing), *faiva hī'atu* (art of bonito-fishing), *faiva pakimangamanga* (art of bonito-related fishing), *faiva taumāta'u* (art of line-fishing), *faiva makafeke* (art of octopus-luring), *faiva taumatu* (art of matu line-fishing), and *faiva no'o'anga* (art of shark-noosing). In the case of tufunga, non–body-centred arts, there are tufunga fo'uvaka (art of boat-building), *tufunga langauafu* (art of wharf-building), and *tufunga lalava* (art of kafa-sinnet-lashing), which is appropriated in tufunga fo'uvaka and *tufunga langafale* (art of house-building) and other material arts (Māhina 2002a, 2003b, 2005a; also Helu 1999; Kaeppler 1993).

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Conclusion: Problems and Implications

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

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

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

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Mālō 'aupito.
Hufanga-Vaivaipetoa.

NOTES

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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GLOSSARY OF TONGAN AND OTHER TERMS

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

'aotealoa—long-white-clouds
'eiki—chief; chiefly; divine
fai—to do (something)
faifolau—voyaging
faiva—performance art; performance artist
faiva faifolau—voyaging, art of
faiva fakamamahi—tragedy, art of
faiva fakaoli—comedy, art of
faiva fānifo—surfing, art of
faiva hī'atu—bonito-fishing, art of
faiva kakau—swimming, art of
faiva kasivaki—rock rugby playing
faiva lova'a'alo—canoe-rowing, art of
faiva lovavaka—boat-racing, art of
faiva makafeke—octopus-luring, art of
faiva no'o'anga—shark-noosing, art of
faiva pakimangamanga—bonito-related fishing, art of
faiva siu—fishing, art of
faiva taumata'u—line-fishing, art of
faiva taumatu—matu-line-fishing, art of
faiva ukuloloto—deep-diving, art of
fakamā—shame
fakamea-'a—fine arts
faka'ofo'ofa—new word beauty
fakapo'uli—darkness; ignorance
fakatavave—hurry
fakatovave—hurry; corruption of fakatavave
fālahi—breadth
fatongia—social obligations
fefine—woman; female
fei—to do (something); corruption of fai
feitunu—cooking, act of
felekeu—conflict
fiefia—happiness
fonua—land and its people; placenta; burial place
fuo—form; symbolic of men
fuoloa—long past
fuo-uho—form-content; concrete forms of ta-va
Ha'apai—place name
hau—secular ruler
Havaiki—name of people and place; east "Polynesia"

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

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

vā—space; symbol for women
vaa'ihaka—vā between dance movements
vaa'itā—vā between musical notes
vaa'ivaka—vā between racing boats
va'e—foot
vaha—vā of sea
vaha'a—vā in-between
vaha'a 'api—vā between homes
vaha'a fa'ifine—vā under armpits
vaha'a fale—vā between houses
vaha'a fonua—vā countries
vaha'a kolo—vā between villages
vaha'a loki—vā between rooms
vaha'a luo—vā between holes
vaha'a mata—vā between eyes
vaha'a matapā—vā between doors
vaha'a motu—vā between islands
vaha'a mo'unga—vā between mountains
vaha'a nofo—vā between peoples
vaha'a tahi—vā between islands
vaha'a telinga—vā between the ears
vaha'a tofi'a—vā between noble estates
vaha'a tu'ungaiku—vā between buttocks
vaha'a uma—vā between shoulders
vaha'a va'e—vā between legs
vaha faingata'a—vā of hardship
vaha folau—vā of voyaging
vaha fononga—vā of journeying
vaha mama'o—vā of distance
vaha mohe—vā of sleeping
vaha noa—vā of melancholy
vaha peaua—vā of waves
vai—water
vaka—boat
vākovi—bad social vā
vale—ignorance
vālelei—good social vā
vātatau—equal status persons
vavale—vā-gone astray; incomprehensible vā
vavanga—critical thinking
whanau—Maori for children

Maori Proverb

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

Tongan Proverbs

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

Tongan Hymn Extracts

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

Tongan Poem Extracts

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

TAKOHI: DRAWING IN TONGAN THINKING AND PRACTICE

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This original essay critically examines takohi as drawing in Tongan thinking and practice, which is connected with the intersecting or connecting and separating kohi (lines) and va (spaces) across the three divisions of Tongan art, notably tufunga (material) and nimamea'a (fine) arts. The word kohi is the older form of tohi, both of which mean "line." Kohi, like tohi, is an expression of ta (time). By virtue of the indivisibility of ta (time) and va (space) in reality, as in nature, mind, and society, takohi (drawing) is equal to ta-va (time-space), with ta (time) spatially-composed and va (space) as temporally-marked. Like kohi, tohi also means "writing," that is, "drawing" expressed as intersecting or connecting and separating kohi (lines) and va (spaces).

In affectionate memory of my dear friend, teacher, and colleague, the late Dr. Max Rimoldi, who played a pivotal role in the original conception and ongoing development and refinement of the tā-vā (time-space) philosophy/theory of reality through reflective teaching of, and critical inquiry into, Moana political economy and Moana arts as common subject matters of close and intense scrutiny.

Introduction: Issues and Problems

THIS PAPER WILL theoretically and ethnographically examine the Tongan concept and praxis *takohi* (drawing). As a subject of investigation, the theory and ethnography of takohi will be critiqued in the broader context of the

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general *tā-vā* (time-space) theory of art, a derivative of the general tā-vā theory of reality (Māhina 2004b, 2008b; Ka'ili 2007; Potauaine 2010; Williams 2009). The term takohi (temporal lineal marking of space) is made up of two parts: *tā* (time) and *kohi* (line). The older word for *tohi* is kohi (line, sketching, and writing). The longer terms for tohi and kohi are *tohitohi* and *kohikohi*, both pointing to line producing, sketching, and writing as of social activity (Māhina 2002b). From a Tongan mathematical yet tempospatial and philosophical perspective, the terms point, line, and space are called *mata* (eye) or, its symmetry, *ava* (hole), kohi (line), and va (space), respectively. A mata (eye) or, for that matter, ava (hole), is the intersection (that is, connection and separation) of two or more kohi (lines), a kohi (line) as a summation of mata (eye) or, for that reason, ava (hole), and va (space), a collection of kohi (lines). All the mata (eye) or ava (hole), kohi (line), and va (space) as spatial identities are temporally-defined. In variance with takohi are *tāfakatātā* (picture drawing), *tākupesi* (design drawing), and *tātatau* (symmetry drawing),[1] both temporally and spatially differentiated as concrete manifestations of intersecting lines and spaces ('Alatini and Māhina 2009; Māhina and 'Alatini 2009a, 2009b; Māhina 2002b; Potauaine 2010).

In the following, art can be generally defined as tā-vā transformation, where formal, substantial, and functional conflicts in the subject matters under production are symmetrically mediated in the creative process. As a tool of line–space intersection, takohi will be theorized in terms of its varied abstract and concrete manifestations, with specific ethnographic examples drawn from across the three divisions of Tongan art, viz., material, performance, and fine arts (Māhina 2008b, 2010a, 2010b; Potauaine and Māhina 2011). For example, architecture as a material art deals with intersecting lines and spaces, and the performance and fine arts of poetry and mat weaving involve the mediation of formal, substantial, and functional interlacing human meanings and intersecting lining threads of leaves, respectively.

Takohi and Tatau: Creation and Mediation of Conflict

Aesthetically, this original essay and Sēmisi Fetokai Potauaine's original essay "Tatau: Symmetry as Conflict Mediation of Line–Space Intersection" (this volume) closely inform each other by way of form, content, and function (Potauaine 2005, 2010; Potauaine and Māhina 2011). While takohi formally, substantially, and functionally creates intersecting lines and spaces, *tatau* mediates formal, substantial, and functional conflicts at their interface. Both takohi and tatau are constitutive of time and space, demonstrating the philosophical fact that tā and vā are inseparable in mind as in reality. In both takohi and tatau, where one is a mirror of the other or both are two sides of

the same thing, time is expressed by the term tā, with the words kohi and *tau* as spatial expressions of vā (Māhina 2008b; Potauaine 2010).

In general, takohi is an artistic device for the tempo marking of space by means of lines, illustrating both time and space as mutually separate yet indivisible ontological and epistemological entities. Specifically, takohi involves the spatiotemporal production of *'ata* (images) at the line–space intersection by means of tatau. Like takohi, tatau is an artistic apparatus for the mediation of lineal–spatial conflicts. In short, takohi engages the creation of conflicts at the intersection of lines and spaces, and tatau involves their mediation.[2] In both cases, drawing and symmetry use mata (eye) as both creating and mediating artistic tools (Potauaine 2010; Potauaine and Māhina 2011), where time-space conflicts are created by means of takohi and mediated by way of tatau through transformation from *felekeu* (crisis) to *maau* (stasis).

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

The tā-vā theory of reality is inspired by the philosophical realism commonly known as Sydney realism, associated with Australia's most original and controversial thinker and atheist philosopher, Professor John Anderson. His treatment of space, time, and the categories is a case in point (Anderson 2007). Realism has, *inter alia,* the following general and specific tenets: all things exist independently of mind, all things exist in a single level of reality, there are no higher or lower levels of reality other than the one order of being, the issue is logical, the dispute is between ways of being and ways of knowing, and the epistemological questions are secondary to the ontological questions (Anderson 1962; also see Anderson, Cullum, and Lycos 1982; Baker 1979; Māhina 1992, 2008b).

Given that takohi, like tatau, is underpinned by both tā and vā, on the abstract level, and *fuo* (form) and *uho* (content), on the concrete level, both spatiotemporal entities are hereby critically examined in the broader context of the tā-vā theory of reality (Ka'ili 2005, 2007; Māhina 2004a, 2008b, 2010a, 2010b; Potauaine 2010; Williams 2009). The tā-vā theory is based on the Tongan philosophical sense of time and space. The time-space, form–content, and practical conflicts generated by drawing are mediated by means of symmetry. The mediation of these tensions involves a tā-vā, *fuo-uho,* and *'aonga* (functional) movement from a situation of chaos to a condition of order. Among many of both its general and specific tenets are the following:

- Tā and vā as ontological entities are the common medium in which all things are in a single level of reality.
- Tā and vā as epistemological entities are organized differently across cultures.

- Tā and vā are the abstract dimensions of fuo and uho, which are, in turn, the concrete dimensions of tā and vā.
- Tā and vā, like fuo and uho, are inseparable in mind as in reality.
- The inseparability of tā and vā, like fuo and uho, renders them four dimensional rather than three dimensional.
- Reality, spatiotemporality, or four-sided dimensionality is conveniently divided into nature, mind, and society, with mind and society in nature.
- All knowledge is knowledge of tā and vā.
- Errors in thinking are problems of mind but not of reality;
- Errors in thinking are caused by separation of mind from reality, as is the lack of understanding of conflicts across cultures.
- All things, in nature, mind, and society stand in eternal relations of exchange, giving rise to conflict or order.
- Conflict and order are of the same logical status, where order is a form of conflict.

Clearly, takohi, like tatau, is both ontologically and epistemologically informed by the tā-vā theory of reality. In general, takohi and tatau deal with both tā and vā as abstract expressions of form and content, and both are concerned specifically with fuo and uho of things as concrete manifestations of time and space (Māhina 2010a, 2010b). This is connected with the tā-vā theoretical assertion that all things, in reality, stand in exchange relations made manifest across nature, mind, and society in terms of intersecting lines and spaces or by way of intertwining human meanings. These line-marking and utilitarian spatial tendencies are transformed from felekeu (chaos) to maau (order) through tatau (Māhina 2003b, 2005a, 2005b).

Philosophically, classical Tongan thinking considers tā and vā to be formally, substantially, and functionally indivisible across nature, mind, and society. Evidently, this is seen in such instances as *vaa'i tā* (musical notes), *vaa'i 'uhinga* (human meanings), and *vā lelei* (good social relations), with tā, *'uhinga*, and *lelei* as formally time marking of space (Ka'ili 2005, 2007; see also Helu-Thaman 2004). Such a mode of thinking, as is the case with the tā-vā theory of nature, mind, and society, is largely incompatible with the theorizing of time and space. There are scholars who privilege time over and above space (Adam 1990, 1995) and others who emphasize space to the exclusion of time (Bernardo 1996; Helu-Thaman 2004; Lilomaiava-Doktor 2009; Poltorak 2007; Refiti 2005, 2008; Tuagalu 2008; Wendt 1996). But there are scholars who treat both time and space as coexisting, inseparable entities (Anderson 2007; Baker 1979; Giedion 1967; Harvey 1990, 2000a, 2000b; Ka'ili 2007; Māhina 2004a, 2008b; Mitchell 2004; Potauaine 2010; Williams 2009).

The separation of mind from reality, spatiotemporality, or four-sided dimensionality, as well as the failure of mind to comprehend formal, substantial, and functional conflicts in the transcultural arrangement of time and space, amount to dualism of the idealist, evolutionist, and relativist sort. Similarly, the same idealism, evolutionism, and relativism lie at the bottom of the singular, technoteleological, individualistic, analytical, and linear arrangement of time and space in the West, as opposed to the realism, classicism, and aestheticism beneath the plural, cultural, collective, holistic, and circular ways in which they are organized in the Moana Pacific (Māhina 2008a, 2010a, 2010b).

Tā and Vā: Toward a Time-Space Theory of Art

The tā-vā theory of art is a derivative of the tā-vā theory of reality. From a time-space theory, art can generally be defined as a sustained and intensified transformation of time-space, form–content, and functional conflicts in subject matters under production in the creative process from chaos to order by means of symmetry to create harmony and beauty (Māhina 2002b, 2004b; also see Anderson, Cullum, and Lycos 1982). This is most evident in the abstract time-space and concrete form–content that underpin material, performance, and fine arts. As abstract entities, time and space formally, substantially, and functionally exist within and across the physical, psychological, and social spheres, as in the case of intersecting lines in nature, opposing ideas in thinking, and competing demands in society (Potauaine 2010; Potauaine and Māhina 2011).

From a realist time-space theoretical angle, art is considered to have both internal and external qualities. Internal to art are qualities such as tatau, *potupotutatau* (harmony), and *mālie* (beauty),[3] while those that are external to it include *māfana* (warmth), *vela* (fieriness), and *tauelangi* (climaxed elation) (Māhina 2003b, 2005a, 2005b; also see Helu 1999; Kaeppler 1993; Māhina 2004c). Such a view coincides with the Tongan theory of art as both a disciplinary practice and a form of social activity, where both its quality and utility are considered coexistent. Given the coexistence of both quality and utility of art, the former is always made to precede the latter. Not only were arts made to be useful, but they were also produced to be beautiful (see, e.g., Hau'ofa 2005).

There is no Tongan word for art, merely translated as *'aati.* In general, Tongan art is divided into *tufunga* (material), *faiva* (performance), and *nimamea'a* (fine) arts. Whereas tufunga and nimamea'a are both non–body centered, faiva is body centered. While both tufunga and faiva literally mean "time marking of space," the word nimamea'a (fine hands) is suggestive of

a state of time-space refinement. Some examples include *tufunga lalava* (*kafa*-sennit lashing), *tufunga langafale* (house building), and *tufunga tātatau* (tattooing); *faiva ta'anga* (poetry), *faiva fakaoli* (comedy), and *faiva fānifo* (surfing); and *nimamea'a lālanga* (mat weaving), *nimamea'a koka'anga* (barkcloth making), and *nimamea'a tuikakala* (flower designing) (Potauaine 2010; Māhina 2003a, 2005a, 2005b).

Tufunga, Faiva, and Nimamea'a: Material, Performance, and Fine Arts

The use of takohi is more pronounced in both material and fine arts. In tufunga lalava, for example, the interlacing lines and spaces exist in the form of intersecting *kafa kula* (red kafa-sennit) and *kafa 'uli* (black kafa-sennit)[4] (Māhina 2002b; Māhina, Ka'ili, and Ka'ili 2006; Potauaine 2010; Potauaine and Māhina 2011; also see Berlin and Kay 1991; Campbell 2002). Herein, tufunga lalava can be defined as the Tongan material art of lineal–spatial intersection. Insofar as the centrality of line–space intersection, tufunga lalava is considered to be the master Tongan art, with material, performance, and fine arts seen as derivatives. The intertwining of red kafa-sennit and black kafa-sennit produces an infinite number of *kupesi* (geometric designs), where the abstract forms of concrete things are brought from the inside onto the outside, such as *manulua* (birds), *kauikalilo* (fish), and *fata-'o-Tu'i-Tonga* (tombs)[5] (Māhina 2002b; also see Potauaine 2010; Potauaine and Māhina 2011).

As a master art, tufunga lalava enters all arts, be they material, performance, or fine arts (Māhina 2002b). Herein, tufunga lalava is separate yet connected directly with the material arts of tufunga langafale and *tufunga fo'uvaka* (boat building). Tufunga lalava is neither a house art nor a boat art in the same way that neither tufunga tātatau nor *faiva haka*[6] is a body art. Like the respective material and performance arts of tufunga tātatau, tufunga lalava, tufunga fo'uvaka, and faiva haka, the material art of tufunga langafale is concerned primarily with interconnecting lines and spaces. As a material art, tufunga langafale formally uses line–space intersection as its content with wood, stones, steel, and glass as its common medium. In house building, takohi is performed by means of the sharp-pointed edge of the adze as a collection of mata (eyes), or its symmetry, ava (holes), known as *mata'i toki* (eye of the adze) as a line-marking device.

The creation of conflicts at the junction of intersecting lines and spaces in tattooing is, by means of form, content, and function, mediated in the form of intersecting *kili kula* (red skin) and *vaitohi 'uli* (black ink). The mediation of lines and spaces, on the abstract level, and red skin and black ink, on

the concrete level, is connected with the production of kupesi, such as the popular *tokelau-Feletoa* (fortresses), *amoamokofe* (healing tools), and *veimau* (ordered water flow) (see, e.g., Māhina 2006; ʻAlatini and Māhina 2009; Māhina and ʻAlatini 2009a, 2009b). The material art of tufunga tātatau uses the body merely as a medium, with its content formally defined by lineally produced, spatially constituted images that are produced spatiotemporally, substantially, and functionally by red skin and black ink. In tattooing, takohi is created by means of the sharp-pointed edge of the needle called *mataʻi hui* (eye of the needle).

Not only is takohi applied to tufunga and nimameaʻa, but it can also be extended to faiva, such as those involving conflicting linear-like, spatially constituted human meanings. In poetry, tensions in human meanings are created by the interplay of the symbolic and the actual, mediated by means of tatau. Herein, the mediation of conflicting takohi-led, vā-constituted human meanings is executed by an artistic device specific to *taʻanga* called *heliaki*[7] (intersecting, intertwining, or interfacing) two or more objects, ideas, or events. There are two types of heliaki: the qualitative (epiphoric) and the associative (metaphoric) (Māhina 2003b, 2004b, 2005a, 2005b, 2007, 2008b, 2010a, 2010b). The former involves the exchange of qualities of two related objects, as in *laʻā* (sun) for *tuʻi* (monarch), while the latter deals with the exchange of two associated things, such as *ʻOtu Motu Angaʻofa* (Friendly Islands) for Tonga.

Likewise, comedy[8] involves the creation of paradoxes in human thinking, defined at the conflicting formal, substantial, and functional relationships between *ngalivale* (absurdity) and *ngalipoto* (normality), the mediation of which is done through tatau (Māhina 2008a). The outcome of the interplay of absurdity and normality as mental states is *kata* (laughter). The mediation of spatiotemporal, substantial–formal, and functional conflicts at the intersection of ngalivale and ngalipoto involves a transformation from chaos to order, i.e., a transition from self-ignorance to self-knowledge. The knowledge acquired is itself a form of beauty. The laughter that is triggered is a celebration of the fact that oneself is aware of the commission of an error in one's thinking about reality.

As for the performance art of surfing,[9] lines and spaces are expressed in terms of spiral, vortex-like waves, mediated by way of tatau. The Tongan performance art of surfing is called *fānifo* (tooth-like way). It is quite possible that this is a reference to the pointed tooth-like, hydrodynamic characteristics of the *papa fānifo* (surfboard), suited for the mediation of temporal–lineal marking or equal- and opposite-moving waves by the surfer through tatau. Such spiral, vortex-like waves as a form of *mata kula* (red eye) or *ava kula* (red hole) are created at the interface of the *moana ʻuliʻuli* (black ocean)

and *peau fisihina* (white foamy waves). This is a movement from *'uli* (black) to *kula* (red), which variously manifests itself as *hina* and *tea*, both meaning "white"[10] (Māhina, Ka'ili, and Ka'ili 2006; Potauaine 2010; Potauaine and Māhina 2011).

Similarly, fine arts, like material arts, are strictly underpinned by intersecting lines and spaces. In nimamea'a lālanga, the production of intersecting lines and spaces by means of takohi is performed by way of interfacing reddish and blackish processed, dried pandanus leaves, which are mediated in the form of kupesi selected from tufunga lalava. The physical, intellectual, and social reasons for the use of red and black in fine art of mat weaving (and bark-cloth making) apply to their incorporation in material arts of tufunga lalava and tufunga tātatau. A sharp-pointed tin blade called *mata'i kapatohilālanga* (eye of the line-marking tin blade)[11] is used as an instrument for the creation of intersecting lining threads of dried pandanus leaves for mat weaving (Māhina 2002b; Potauaine 2010; Potauaine and Māhina 2011).

Likewise, the creation of intersecting lines and spaces in nimamea'a koka'anga is carried out by means of interlacing red *koka*-painted bark-cloth and line marking black *tongo*-treated ink. The respective *hu'a koka kula* (red koka paint) and *hu'a tongo 'uli* (black tongo ink) are made from the sap of the koka and tongo tree bark (Māhina, Ka'ili, and Ka'ili 2006). The production of a selection of kupesi from tufunga lalava is mediated through intertwining space-defining red koka paint and line-marking black tongo ink. A large unpainted, white bark-cloth piece is glued together; placed on the long, convex board[12]; and covered with kupesi stencils, where it is rubbed against with red koka paint. The resulting kupesi imprints, defined by intersecting lines and spaces, are then marked with black tongo ink using a brush-like, sharp-pointed pandanus fruit known as *mata'i fo'ifā* (eye of the pandanus fruit).

By implication, the fine art of nimamea'a tuikakala is produced by means of intersecting lines and spaces, which are mediated by way of flower rearrangements and pierced together in the form of kupesi, such as *alamea, nusi, tuitu'u, fakalala,* and *ve'eve'e* (Māhina 2002b, 2008b; also see Potauaine 2010). These *kakala* are made up of sweet-scented flowers, together with sweet-smelling leaves and fruits of trees, plants, and herbs, such as *fā, hea, heilala,* and *langakali.* Again, these kupesi are drawn from tufunga lalava. In symmetrical ways, the flowers are rearranged in such a manner that the red has a dominant presence, mediated by varying fine black line markings, with a total effect of great harmony and beauty. The flower lineal–spatial interconnecting formations are pierced together by an artistic device called *mata'i tu'aniu* (eye of the coconut stick), made up of a sharp-pointed coconut stick tied to a string.

Takohi, Tatau, Mata, and Ava: Drawing, Symmetry, Eye, and Hole

As artistic devices, takohi and tatau always exist side by side, with one as a mirror of the other, and vice versa. Where there is takohi, there is tatau.[13] The same applies to all arts, be they tufunga, faiva, or nimamea'a. In architecture, the *kahoki* (rafters) of a Tongan *fale* are made from coconut wood, which are done in both lineal and symmetrical of ways, in the same fashion that, in poetry, the intertwining line-marking, space-producing human meanings are mediated at the interface of the metaphorical and the historical. As for mat weaving, the mediation of interlacing lining threads of dried leaves is done symmetrically to produce harmony and beauty. In all cases, the respective artistic devices of mata'i toki, heliaki and mata'i kapatohilālanga are used as means of both intersection and mediation.[14]

In like manners, mata and *ava* (hole) always go together, where both are two sides of the same thing. Takohi and tatau, on the one hand, and mata and ava, on the other, are separate entities, yet they are all interconnected in formal, substantial, and functional ways. The mata or ava is defined as a point produced by the intersection of kohi or lines so that kohi are made up of a series of mata or ava, i.e., points. So, both mata and ava are defined by a point of intersection, such as mata'i hui or *ava'i hui* (hole of the needle) and *mata'i peni* (eye of the pen) or *ava'i peni* (hole of the pen) as artistic devices used in tattooing and sketching or series of points of intersection, as in the artistic tools of mata'i toki or *ava'i toki* (hole of the adze) and *mata'i kili* (eye of the saw) and *ava'i kili* (hole of the saw), used in house building and boat building (Potauaine 2010; Potauaine and Māhina 2011; also see Refiti 2005, 2008).

Of general interest are the following: *mata'i afi* (eye of the fire) or *ava'i afi* (hole of the fire), *mata'i la'ā* (eye of the sun) or *ava'i la'ā* (hole of the sun), and *mata'i matangi* (eye of the winds) or *ava'i matangi* (hole of the winds). Of relevance to art and architecture are the following examples: *mata'i tao* (eye of the spear) or *ava'i tao* (hole of the spear), *mata'i hāmala* (eye of the hammer) or *ava'i hāmala* (hole of the hammer), *mata'i tutu'u* (eye of the chisel) or *ava'i tutu'u* (hole of the chisel), and *mata'i fa'o* (eye of the nail) or *ava'i fa'o* (hole of the nail). Here are some social uses of mata and ava, e.g., used to symbolize pure states of ugliness, pig-like behavior, and unkindness[15]: *mata'i palakū* (eye of the ugly) or *ava'i palakū* (hole of the ugly), *mata'i puaka* (eye of the pig) or *ava'i puaka* (hole of the pig), and *mata'i ta'e'ofa* (eye of the unkind) or *ava'i ta'e'ofa* (hole of the unkind).

As far as mata or ava is concerned, there is a distinction between *māsila* and *peku* as opposed states of affairs, as in *mata māsila* (sharp eye) and *mata peku* (blunt eye). The act of sharpening of such tools as adzes, saws, and spears is called *fakamata* (making an eye). Really, the act of fakamata, or

for that matter, *fakaava,* is primarily concerned with the mediation of the intersecting spatiotemporal, substantial–formal, and functional relationships between māsila and peku. However, the act of opening a hole with the use of such tools as needles, chisels, and nails is called fakaava (making a hole). Indivisibly, mata is a mirror of ava, with both intersected by takohi and mediated by tatau. This confirms the philosophical fact that mata is a tatau of ava, just as takohi is a symmetry of tatau.

As far as Tongan thinking and practice go, mata and ava are classified into kula and ʻuli, i.e., mata kula (red eye) or ava kula (red hole) and *mata ʻuli* (black eye) or *ava ʻuli* (black hole) (Māhina, Kaʻili, and Kaʻili 2006; also see Potauaine 2010; Potauaine and Māhina 2011). By the same token, energy is divided into kula and ʻuli, both of which are equally powerfully transformative and disintegrative. However, the mediation of conflicts at the interface of red and black is dependent on the symmetry or asymmetry of their exchange relations. It can be said that energy is most intense at the point of intersection, defined by mata or ava. Belonged in mata kula or ava kula, with a movement from black to red, are tidal waves, surfing waves, anuses,[16] volcanic eruptions, burning fire, and atomic explosions, among others. The Tongan term for tidal, seismic sea waves and tsunami is *peau kula* (red wave). But, included in mata ʻuli or ava ʻuli, where there is a movement of red toward black, are human eyes,[17] eyes of the winds, twisters, black holes in outer space, and many others (Potauaine 2010; Potauaine and Māhina 2011; also see Berlin and Kay 1991; Campbell 2002).

Conclusion: Issues and Implications

The problems with respect to takohi, the Tongan thinking and practice of drawing, and the issues deriving from them are raised critically. By raising the problems, a number of significant issues began to surface, especially when examined in the broader context of the tā-vā theory of art, a derivative of the tā-vā theory of reality. In conclusion, implications are drawn from the ensuing critique, with emerging issues reflected upon. From a tā-vā theory, it is established that takohi, and its mirror image, tatau, are coexistent, with the former as an artistic device dealing with the intersection of lines and spaces and the latter as an artistic device concerning their mediation.

Like takohi and tatau, intersection is a mirror image of mediation, and vice versa, in the same way that, as prescribed by the tā-vā theory, conflict and order are of the same logical status in that order is a form of conflict. In general, the tā-vā theory argues that all things in reality, as in nature, mind, and society, stand in eternal relations of exchange (that is, intersection or connection and separation), both lineally/temporally and spatially. The same

is extended, in both formal and substantial terms, to the whole gamut of material, performance, and fine arts. As artistic techniques, takohi and tatau, on the one hand, and mata and ava, on the other, commonly deal with formal, substantial, and functional conflicts at the intersection of lines and their mediation in the creative process, both theoretically and practically.

In mathematics, both as a science and as an artform, a point is defined by the intersection of two lines, the numerical mediation of which symbolizes, in systemic and epistemic ways, the exchange relations of form, content, and function of things across nature, mind, and society. A collection of points constitutes a line, and a collection of lines makes up space. Likewise, in Tongan thinking and practice, mata and ava are a tatau of each other. A mata, like an ava, is produced by the intersection of two kohi (a collection of "eyes" or "holes" that, in their totality, forms vā). Therefore, both mathematical and Tongan thinking and practice point to the inseparable coexistence of tā and vā and of fuo and uho across nature, mind, and society. The spatiotemporal, formal–substantial, and functional conflicts at the intersection of mata and ava and their mediation are the chief concerns of takohi and tatau.

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NOTES

1. In addition, the term tātatau is used for the Tongan material art of tattooing. Literally, the word tātatau means tempo-marking symmetry, variously expressed as tatau (copy),

tatau (equal), tatau (image), tatau (mirror image), tatau (same), tatau (likeness), and tatau (shadow). Another word for tatau is ʻata, which applies to all preceding variations (see, e.g., Potauaine 2010; Potauaine and Māhina 2011).

2. See Potauaine (2010) for an extended and comprehensive discussion of tatau by means of both intersection and mediation. Also see, e.g., Potauaine and Māhina (2011).

3. Potauaine (2010) made an important distinction between two senses of beauty: mālie and *fakaʻofoʻofa*, with the former applied to faiva (performance art) and the latter applied to both tufunga (material) and nimameaʻa (fine) arts.

4. There is a predominance of both kula (red) and ʻuli (black) in Moana Pacific arts , such as tufunga lalava, tufunga tātatau, and *tufunga ngaohikulo* (pottery making) in material arts and nimameaʻa kokaʻanga and nimameaʻa lālanga in fine arts. Apart from the gender-related treatment of red and black, where kula is considered male and ʻuli female, there are in-depth philosophical reasons associated with them across the physical, emotional, and social spectrum.

5. This is a movement from representation to abstraction.

6. Dance, like tattooing, is concerned with the formal, substantial, and functional intertwining of lines and spaces by way of intersecting bodily movements.

7. Specific to music and dance are the artistic devices of *tuʻakautā* (beat outside but inside defined beats) and *hola* (escape), i.e., positioning a move between two defined moves. The term hola is often interchanged with the words *kaihaʻasi* (steal) and *haka-funga-haka* (one move above another). Like the heliaki device, the devices of tuʻakautā and hola involve the insertion of an extra beat within defined beats. The successful execution of such an action with a sense of both symmetry and harmony produces beauty.

8. Compare with *faiva fakamamahi* (tragedy), in which the mediation of lineally led, spatially driven conflicts in human thinking at the interface of *angaʻimanu* (animality) and *angaʻitangata* (sociality) is done in terms of tatau. The mediation of such conflicts results in *fakamā* (shame). This emotional state of affairs is a response to a movement from self-ignorance to self-knowledge, where self is conscious of the fact that an error of moral judgment in self's behavior has been committed.

9. By virtue of the great unpredictable *moana* (ocean), where waves, currents, and winds are always in a state of flux, the Tongan performance art of *faiva faifolau* (navigation) has a lot in common with the Tongan performance art of faiva fānifo. Moreover, both the surfboard and boat are spatiotemporally, substantially formally, and functionally related in hydrodynamic terms. Given the close affinity between boat and house in Tonga, they are connected in both hydrodynamic and aerodynamic ways.

10. In Tonga, tidal and seismic sea waves and tsunami are called peau kula (red waves), which are formed by multiple movements of energy or force from the core of Earth to the seafloor and from the seabed to the sea surface and symbolized by a transition from ʻuli to kula; hence, the name peau kula. So, a "red wave" is a *peau taʻane* or *peau tangata* (male wave, i.e., a male wave with both immense and intense force).

11. In the past, the line-marking blades were made from seashells; they have been replaced with tin blades.

12. The long, convex board is called *papa koka'anga* (board for bark-cloth making).

13. Potauaine (2010), in his Masters of Architecture thesis, reflected creatively on the Tongan concept and practice of tatau with depth and breath. By examining all instances of tatau, such as tatau (wringing), *tautau* (hanging), tatau (equating), tau (warring), tau (hitting), and tau (arriving), he unraveled its formal, substantial, and functional nature. Common to all these are both intersection and mediation, where things across nature, mind, and society move in opposite directions when they are mediated by means of symmetry to produce harmony and beauty (also see Potauaine and Māhina 2011).

14. Like takohi and tatau, on the one hand, and mata and ava, on the other, intersection and mediation, connection and separation, or conflict and order are two sides of the same coin. They are all instances of tatau, i.e., symmetry, copy, image, mirror image, equal, likeness, and shadow.

15. The symbolic use of mata or ava to denote such psychological, social, and moral conditions as ugliness, pig-related behavior, and unkindness of some highly intensified nature runs parallel to the assertion that energy or force is most intense at the point of intersection, i.e., mata or ava.

16. The Tongan term for anus is *mata 'usi*, "biting eye," or *ava 'usi*, "biting hole" (literally meaning the "eye that bites" or "hole that bites"). The word *'usi* (also for anus) is short for the term *'uusi* (to bite). The naming of the anus, either as mata 'usi or ava 'usi, is connected with its spiral, vortex-like shape, as both an "eye" and a "hole." As a matter of relevance, the alternative terms for mata 'usi or ava 'usi are *mata mui* (eye of the behind) or *ava mui* (hole of the behind), *mata siko* (shitting eye) or *ava siko* (shitting hole), and *mata'i tu'ungaiku* (eye of the tail end) or *ava'i tu'ungaiku* (hole of the tail end).

17. The pupil of the human eye is called *tama 'uli* or mata 'uli (black eye) or ava 'uli (black hole). In comparison, the Tongan word for asshole is *tafa kula* or mata kula (red eye) or ava kula (red hole). Both *tama* and *tafa* are corruptions of mata, a tatau of ava.

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GLOSSARY

ʻaati—art
alamea—name of kakala
amoamokofe—name of kupesi
angaʻimanu—animality
angaʻitangata—sociality
ʻaonga—use
ʻata—image, shadow, mirror image, likeness
ava—hole
ava kula—red hole
ava mui—asshole, anus
ava siko—asshole, anus
ava ʻuli—black hole
ava ʻusi—biting hole, asshole, anus
avaʻi afi—hole of the fire
avaʻi faʻo—hole of the nail
avaʻi hāmala—eye of the hammer
avaʻi hui—hole of the needle
avaʻi kili—hole of the saw
avaʻi laʻā—hole of the sun
avaʻi matangi—hole of the winds
avaʻi palakū—hole of the ugly

ava'i peni—hole of the pen
ava'i puaka—hole of the pig
ava'i ta'e'ofa—hole of the unkind
ava'i tao—hole of the spear
ava'i toki—hole of the adze
ava'i tutu'u—hole of the chisel
ava'i tu'ungaiku—hole of the behind, asshole, anus
fā—pandanus fruit
faifolau, faiva—voyaging, performance art of
faiva—performance art
faiva fakamamahi—tragedy, art of
faiva fakaoli—comedy, art of
faiva fānifo—surfing, art of
faiva haka—dance, art of
faiva ta'anga—poetry, art of
fakaava—make a hole; sharpen (e.g., adze)
fakalala—name of kakala
fakamā—shame
fakamata—make an eye; sharpen (e.g., adze)
faka'ofo'ofa—beauty
fale—house
fānifo, faiva—surfing, performance art of
fata-'o-Tu'i-Tonga—name of kupesi
felekeu—chaos
fuo—form
fuo-uho—form–content
haka-funga-haka—dance device
hea—name of sweet-scented fruit
heilala—name of sweet-scented flower
heliaki—poetic device
hina—white
hola—dance device
hu'a koka kula—red koka paint
hu'a tongo 'uli—black tongo ink
kafa—kafa-sennit
kafa kula—red kafa-sennit
kafa 'uli—black kafa-sennit
kahoki—house part
kakala—flower designs
kata—laughter
kauikalilo—name of kupesi

kaiha'asi—dance device
kili kula—red skin
kohi—line, write
kohikohi—multiple lines, writing
koka—name of tree
kula—red
kupesi—design
la'ā—sun
langakali—name of sweet-scented flower
lelei—good
maau—order, poem
māfana—warmth
mālie—beauty
manulua—name of kupesi
māsila—sharp
mata—eye
mata kula—red eye, asshole
mata māsila—sharp eye
mata mui—eye of the behind, asshole, anus
mata peku—blunt eye
mata siko—shitting eye, asshole, anus
mata 'uli—black eye, eye pupil
mata 'usi—biting eye, asshole, anus
mata'i afi—eye of the fire
mata'i fa'o—eye of the nail
mata'i fo'ifā—eye of the pandanus fruit
mata'i hāmala—eye of the hammer
mata'i hui—eye of the needle
mata'i kapatohilālanga—eye of the leaf-lining, mat-making metal tool
mata'i kili—eye of the saw
mata'i la'ā—eye of the sun
mata'i matangi—eye of the winds
mata'i palakū—eye of the ugliness (i.e., extremely ugly)
mata'i peni—eye of the pen
mata'i puaka—eye of the pig
mata'i ta'e'ofa—eye of the unkind
mata'i tao—eye of the spear
mata'i toki—eye of the adze
mata'i tu'aniu—eye of the coconut stick
mata'i tutu'u—eye of the chisel
mata'i tu'ungaiku—eye of the anus

moana—ocean
moana ʻuliʻuli—black ocean
ngalipoto—normality
ngalivale—absurdity
nimameaʻa—fine art
nimameaʻa kokaʻanga—mat weaving, art of
nimameaʻa lālanga—bark-cloth making, art of
nimameaʻa tuikakala—flower designing, art of
nusi—name of kakala
ʻOtu Motu Angaʻofa—Friendly Islands (i.e., Tonga)
papa fānifo—surfboard
papa kokaʻanga—bark-cloth making board
peau fisihina—white foamy waves
peau kula—red wave, tsunami
peau taʻane—male wave (see tidal wave or peau kula [red wave])
peau tangata—male wave (see peau taʻane or male wave)
peku—blunt
potupotutatau—harmony
tā—time
taʻanga, faiva—poetry, performance art of
tafa—cut open (see operation)
tāfakatātā—picture drawing
tafa kula—red eye, asshole
tama—child
tama ʻuli—black eye, eye pupil
tātatau, tufunga—tattooing, performance art of
tatau—symmetry, copy, mirror image, equal, same, likeness, wring, wringing, part, parting, conclude
tau—war, warring, arrive, arriving, hit, hitting
tauelangi—literally meaning "reaching-the-sky" (i.e., climaxed elation)
tautau—hang, hanging
tā-vā—time-space
takohi—drawing
tākupesi—design drawing
tāvalivali, tufunga—painting, performance art of
tea—white
tuʻakautā—music device
tufunga foʻuvaka—boat building, art of
tufunga ngaohikulo—pottery making, art of
tufunga tātatau—tattooing, art of
tuituʻu—name of kakala

tu'i—king
tokelau-Feletoa—name of kupesi
tohi—line, write
tohitohi—multiple lines, writing
tufunga—material art
tufunga lalava—tattooing, art of
tufunga langafale—house building, art of
tufunga tāvalivali—painting, art of
uho—content
'uhinga—meaning
'uli—black
'usi—asshole
'uusi—bite
vā—space
vā lelei—good sociospatial relations
vaa'i tā—space between two beats
vaa'i 'uhinga—space between two meanings
vaitohi 'uli—black ink
ve'eve'e—name of kakala
veimau—name of kupesi
vela—fieriness

TATAU: SYMMETRY AS CONFLICT MEDIATION OF LINE–SPACE INTERSECTION

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

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

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

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

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

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

Quality and Utility of Art

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Conflict and Order

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

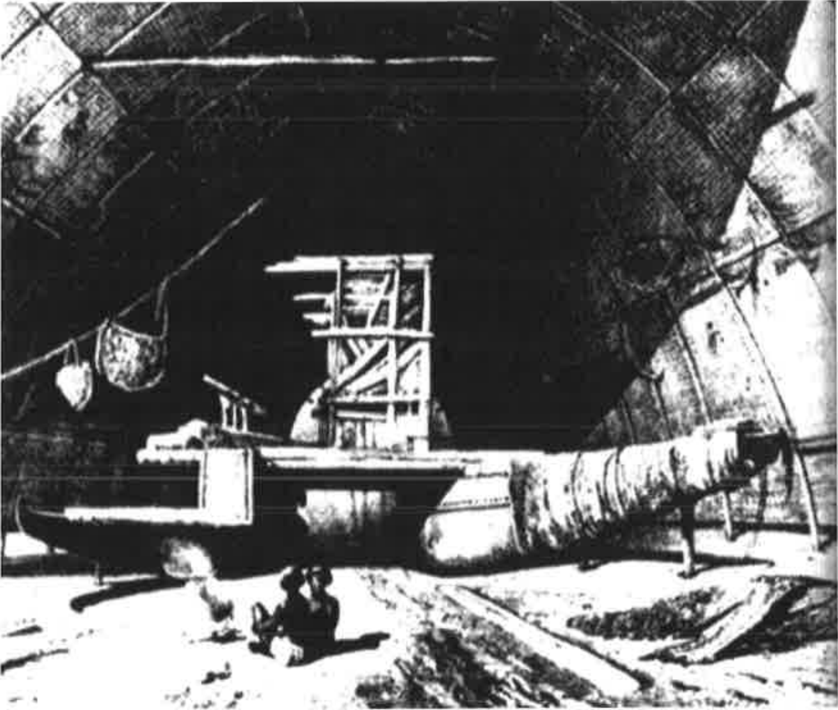

FIGURE 4. ***Fale Alafolau* Canoe Hanger, Vava'u, Tonga, 1840. Artist: Le Breton. Ref: PUBL-0028-078, Alexander Turnbull Library, Wellington, NZ.**

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

Mata (or Its Tatau Symmetry, Ava)

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

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

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

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

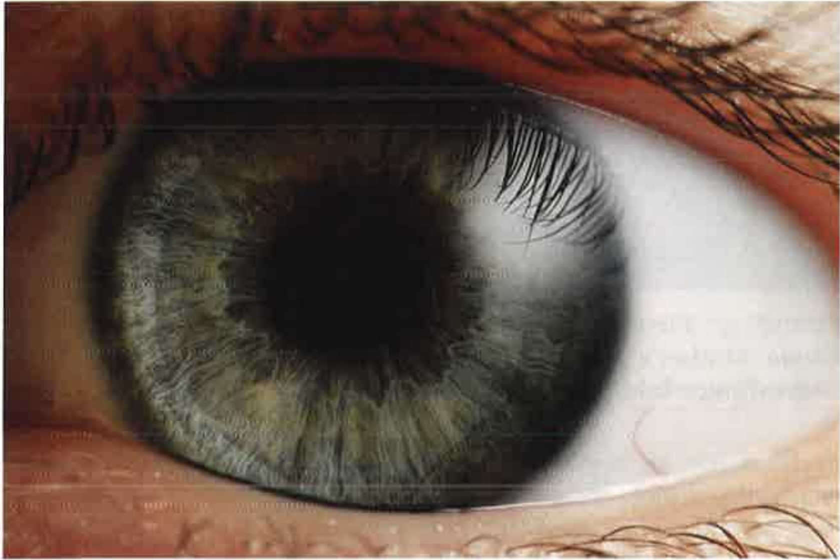

FIGURE 6. ***Mata 'Uli* Black Eye/*Ava 'Uli* Black Hole: *Mata* Eye. Source: http://www.google.com/imgres?imgurl=http://poundingheartbeat.com/.../2008/10/eye.jpg.**

Tatau: Symmetry

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

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

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

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

Instances of Tatau

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

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

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

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

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

Fale, Kava, and Vaka

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

Tatau: Heliaki as an Intersecting Poetical Device

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

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

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

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

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

Tatau: Hola as an Intersecting Dance Device

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

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

Tatau: Tu'akautā as an Intersecting Musical Device

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

Material, Performance, and Fine Arts

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

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

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

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

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

Conclusion

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

NOTES

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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GLOSSARY

'aho—day
'alofi—rowing
'amanaki—hope
'aonga—function, use
'ata—image; shadow; picture
'atamai—mind, intellect, intelligence, reason
ava—hole; see mata (eye)
fai lā—set sail
fa 'itoka—cemetery; grave; burial place
faiva faifolau—art of navigation or voyaging
faiva fakamamahi—art of tragedy
faiva fakaoli—art of comedy
faiva haka—art of dancing
faiva hiva—art of music making and singing
faiva mālie—good works of performance art
faiva palakū—bad works of performing art
faiva ta 'anga—art of word making, poetry
faiva tāfangufangu—art of nose-flute playing
faiva—performance arts
fakakaukau—thinking
faka 'ofo 'ofa—beauty
fakatahala—form of *fakatohala*
fakatahele—form of *fakatohala*
fakatatau—compare, equalize, realign, juxtapose, counterpoise
fakatautau—ship approaching port
fakatohala—beat within beats
fakatohele—form of *fakatohala*
fale—house, building
fatungaloa—storm clouds
fautaukava—wringer of *kava*
fautaukoka—wringer of *koka* tree bark
fefine—woman, female
felekeu—chaos
fio tovola—urge to ask (Fijian)
fohe 'uli—rudder, literally "black oar"

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

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

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

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

READING REALITIES THROUGH *TĀ-VĀ*

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This essay is taken from my PhD dissertation and discusses how I was able to make sense of the theory *tā-vā* theoretically and apply it as an analytical tool in "reading" the stories of the Pacific students in my study, in particular of two Pacific students in my study.

I HAD BECOME more interested in the theory of *tā-vā* during my PhD study as I sought to make sense of characteristics or dispositions that Pacific students tended to share. For example, my examination of the literature identified certain characteristics that have come to be associated with Pacific students—they are known to congregate in the back rows. Using the lecture hall as an analogy,[1] I wanted to understand the space that separated Pacific students at the back rows from non-Pacific students in the front rows and vice versa. Given that the back row is a space that is self-imposed, that is, Pacific students choose to sit there, I rationalized that understanding the nature of that space might help explain how Pacific students mediated their world and the non-Pacific world, represented in my study as the University of Auckland (UA), and the education system.

I felt that an exploration of the Pacific concepts and practices of *tā-vā* appeared to hold far greater explanatory potential. For this reason, I believed that such an understanding would provide a crucial analytical tool in "reading" the stories of the Pacific students in my study.

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Context

My study was developed within a qualitative framework and consisted of three research questions that drove the way the study was conducted. The decision to use the qualitative paradigm was based on my search for meaning, understood as socially constructed and derived from social interactions. In particular, I wanted to understand the meanings that the Pacific participants attached to the concept of equality of educational opportunity.

The first two research questions[2] are outside the scope of this essay; however, the final question, "How do Pacific students understand the notion of equality of educational opportunity as expressed through their experiences of intervention strategies in one particular institutional site?," focused on how these programs have been experienced and understood by Pacific students as one of the target groups. They were addressed by drawing on the indigenous Pacific-based new general *tā-vā* translated into English as time and space (Māhina 2004, 2007; see also Ka'ili 2005, 2008) theory of reality and were presented as an integrated holistic piece.

Methods

The stories of the participants' experiences in my study were gathered through unstructured interviews using a Pacific approach to dialogue called *talanoa*. *Talanoa* has been practiced in the Pacific prior to and since European contact. It has been and remains a crucial means of transmitting knowledge of histories, customs, and traditions. Moreover, *talanoa* has been used as a medium for Pacific peoples to tell and retell stories; to interpret their worlds and their understanding of the world they live in; to resolve conflicts and tensions; to advance understanding and knowledge about "social identities," values, and beliefs that strengthen kinship and familial ties; and to engage and relate with one another at a personal level (Halapua 2005).

At the commencement of my fieldwork, I had originally anticipated that the total number of participants would be 40. However, as the study developed, I decided that a smaller sample was needed, as I wanted to gain a deeper understanding of the experiences. Hence, I focused on six participants who had been involved in my *talanoa* group and one-to-one sessions and who had attended the UA from 1995 to 2008.

The Analytical Tool *Tā-Vā*

In 2001, 'Okusitino Māhina, a well-known Tongan/Pacific scholar, discussed *tā-vā* at a Tongan history conference held in the United States. As a student

who had been mentored by him, I had from time to time been privy to conversations where Māhina discussed *tā-vā*. At that time, I had not paid much attention to its possibilities as a theoretical framework, as I had found it difficult to understand. I knew the words *tā* and *vā* in Niuean as *tā*, "to beat," and *vā* or *vaha* (Niuean term), as "space," but beyond that, I was unable to make sense of the two terms as they have been brought together "in theory."

This was due largely to my Niuean understanding of both time and space as *vaha*. For example, *vaha loto* (literally, "inner space") means "relationship," and *vaha makalili* (literally, "cold space") means "winter" but also has the connotation of "the cold time." When Niueans refer to the past, they say *vaha kua mole*. For example, I have often heard my mother in discussion with her siblings say *kua vaha kua mole a ea* in reference to their bringing up past issues that are seen to be irrelevant to the discussion at hand.

This meant that the notion of *vā*, as space, was a simpler concept for me to grasp than the notion of *tā*, as time, and this complicated my being able to see them as a unified theoretical concept. In order to make sense of the theory, I found it useful to first establish a clear understanding of the concepts as independent terms.

Tā

According to Ka'ili (2008), *tā* in the temporal sense, to Tongans, is a marker of time and indicates time through beats, markings, or social acts. For example, *tā nafa* ("beat the drum") is a process of marking time through drumbeats. Similarly, Māhina (2004, 92) contends that *tā* acts as a form of time and signifies time through the beating of space. This reflects my understanding of *tā* in Niuean, "to beat" or "to hit." *Tā kofi*, meaning "to play the band" or "to play the music," literally means "beat the instrument."

Using art as a medium in which to illustrate *tā-vā*, Māhina (2005, 92) explains that art forms such as poetry, dance, and music can be "defined as the symmetrical beating of language, sound and body, all with a common purpose of producing harmony and beauty." A good song, for example, is basically produced through the symmetrical beating of body, language, and sound in space. In order for symmetry to occur, everyone involved in the production of the song—the musicians and the singers—have synchronized their beating of language and sound. Likewise, a bad song is produced when the beating of body, language, and sound is asymmetrical, brought about by either the singers or the musicians being off-key or out of beat when beating language and sound.

Māhina goes on to say that understanding time in Pacific cultures is really important because it clarifies the basis on which the world is understood and

future possibilities are defined. As he explains, Pacific peoples "locate the past as time in front, the present as time in the middle and the future as the time that comes after or behind" (Māhina, 2007, 226). Because the past is in front of them and the future behind them, Pacific peoples "walk forward into the past and backwards to the future." They see the past not in terms of events that have passed but rather in terms of events that have happened and are therefore "real" and in front of them. The future, however, being yet to happen, remains in the realms of the "unreal." The future lies "behind the past" (Māhina 2007, 226).

Vā

As explained by Wendt (1999), recognizing the relational aspect of the space means that "*va* is conceived of as the space between, not empty space that separates, but social space that relates." The concept of *vā* is a way of thinking about space specifically in terms of social space. *Vā* in Samoan epistemology "is a highly complex phenomenon influencing interactions in everyday life [that sanctions and guides] individuals and family behaviour." Lilomaiava-Doktor (2004) adds that the concept of *vā* is a way of thinking about space specifically in terms of social space. As she notes, *vā* in Samoan epistemology "is a highly complex phenomenon influencing interactions in everyday life [that sanctions and guides] individuals and family behaviour" (cited in Ka'ili 2008, 28).

The notion of *vā*, Ka'ili (2008, 16) points out, denotes "a relational space between two time-markers . . . beats, things or people." Further, *vā* relates to the nature of the space that is created through these relationships and relates also to the nature of those relationships. Accordingly, *vā* signifies

> the nature of the relationship that is vāmamao . . . a distant space between things and vāofi a close space between things. In social contexts then vā is a space that is formed through the mutual relations between persons or groups and it is also an indicator of the quality of the relationship . . . vālelei refers to harmonious and beautiful social space between people and vātamaki signifies a disharmonious social space between people. (Ka'ili 2008, 16)

Māhina (2007) also considers the impact of the mutual performance of certain actions to create beautiful social spaces, or, conversely, *vā* can also become unpleasant social spaces through the lack of mutual performances of actions. Ontologically, at one level, he explains, *tā* and *vā* are common mechanisms for understanding the way things are in reality. Epistemologically, *tā*

and *vā* are socially constructed and vary across cultures. Furthermore, the nature of relationships in all things is necessarily shaped by both conflict and/or order. Thus, he notes, the theory has a number of tenets:

> that ontologically tā and vā, time and space are the common medium in which all things are, in a single level of reality; that epistemologically tā and vā, time and space are social constructs, concerning their varying social arrangements across cultures is conflicting in nature; that all things, in nature, mind and society, stand in eternal relations of exchange to one another, giving rise to conflict or order; that conflict and order are permanent features of all things within and across nature, mind and society. (Māhina 2007, 225)

Niuean notions of *vā* similarly relate to social spaces and the quality of those spaces and is defined by the relationships. It is at this point that Māhina's linking of *tā-vā* holds some familiarity for me. *Vaha loto*, noted above as meaning "inner space," also has a positive connotation, a space where affection emanates. Conflict in relationships is referred to as *vaha loto keleia*, literally meaning "bad inner spaces." The Niuean saying *Leveki e vaha loto he tau magafaoa* ("look after the family relationships") shows the importance of the concept of *vaha loto* in terms of maintaining harmony in the family.

Tā-Vā in Education

In education, *tā-vā* can be understood as a process that requires the mediation of social and intellectual spaces in order to create harmony. Māhina (2007) argues that education is an intellectual process that first and foremost involves the development of critical thinking. Criticism is developed through knowledge acquisition, which in turn replaces ignorance. Citing Tongan education as an example, Māhina (2007, 229) claims that knowledge production through education reflects a spatiotemporal transformation in the human intellect, incorporating form and substance. This begins with *vale* (ignorance) and develops through *ilo* (knowledge) to *poto* (skill) and takes place in real time and space. The tangible aspects of education in its internal sense are the *fuo* (form) and *uho* (content) of things, which, Māhina (2007) explains, are the concrete dimensions of the abstract *tā-vā* across nature, mind, and society. Education as knowledge production is a *tā-vā*, time-space, *fuo-uho*, form-content movement—"a movement in human thinking about reality, a movement from subjectivity to objectivity" (Māhina 2007, 229). The

more one studies one's subject of choice, the more objective knowledge one has about it.

However, Māhina (2007) states that education also needs to be understood as a social organization and as such is connected with the provision of material and human resources—with utilizing or applying knowledge produced for its own sake in meeting the needs and aspirations of society and people. This is the external quality of education.

Also external to education are the social, economic, and political barriers to knowledge production and its application. Like the intellectual process of education, the social organization of education is also *tā-vā* in orientation and incorporates the application of the *fuo* (form) and *uho* (content) of things for human use. For example, in order for one to become a mathematics teacher or an engineer, one has to have certain knowledge about mathematics in order to use it professionally in one's chosen field of work.

In summary, Māhina (2008) suggests that, in ideal terms, in the intellectual process of education, a *tā-vā* transformation occurs, enabling a shift from *vale* to *ilo*. Within this process, symmetry, harmony, and beauty mediate points of conflict through critical thinking. Likewise, the social organization of education is subjected to a similar process of transformation through such things as policy development, whereby deficiencies are mediated through symmetry, harmony, and beauty to achieve sufficiency. As Māhina elucidates,

> The intellectual process of education is made to undergo a spatio-temporal, substantial-formal transformation from a state of chaos (ignorance) to a condition of order (knowledge), where conflicts in thinking are mediated by means of symmetry, harmony and, above all, beauty through the development of criticism and so on.[3] Similarly, the social organisation of education is made to undergo a spatio-temporal, substantial-formal and functional transformation from a condition of chaos (a form of deficiency, i.e., lack of social, economic and political resources) to a state of order (a form of sufficiency, i.e., provision of social, economic and political resources), where conflicts (i.e., between deficiency and sufficiency in resource provision) are negotiated by means of symmetry, harmony and beauty through effective policy implementation and so forth. (pers. comm., 2008)

That is, in formal, substantial, and functional terms, the intellectual process of education and its social organization are separate but continuous states of affairs. Although both types of problems are fundamental to education, the "real" concerns with the intellectual process will always precede those of its

social organization. While the intellectual process has to do with the internal qualities of education, connected with seeing things as they positively are in a single level of reality, those of its social organization are concerned with its external qualities, associated with their imagining as we wish them to be, in terms of their use[4] (Māhina 2007, 2008).

Knowledge Production through *Ta-Va*

As education is a spatiotemporal, formal-substantial transformation of the human intellect from *vale* through *ilo* to *poto*, this theory is well suited to an examination of student experiences of education both as an intellectual process and as a form of social organization. Furthermore, as this theoretical model rests on Pacific epistemological and ontological frameworks, it is well suited to an analytical reading of Pacific students' expressions of their understandings of the ideological foundations of equity programs[55] institutionalized to support their learning and of their experiences as participants in those programs.

Overall, the accounts of the participants in my study reflected two important and distinct yet related senses of education on which Māhina's theory is developed. The first relates to education as an intellectual process involving the development of criticism and the second to education as a form of social organization and its practical function in providing human and material resources.

If education is a social phenomenon, Māhina (2008) argues, it is important to recognize the social, political, and economic barriers that stand in its way or define its possibilities. Of particular significance, Māhina (2008) adds, is the way in which the students experience the economics and politics of education, especially issues relating to the control over its production, distribution, and consumption.

The Narratives

While time and space do not permit a full discussion of the narratives presented in my study, summarily the accounts of the six participants showed that primarily dissonance was dominant in their social *tā-vā* and that this impacted their intellectual *tā-vā*. Common to all were the familial tensions either prior to entry or during the course of their studies. How they mediated their familial *tā-vā* tensions impacted how they negotiated their intellectual tensions. Of the six participants, the most intense familial *tā-vā* tensions surfaced for two participants—Sina and Tangaroa—prior to entry. Excerpts of their experiences below will illustrate how I applied the theory of *tā-vā* in my data analysis.

Sina had not wanted to attend the university like her older siblings; rather, she wanted to go into the navy. However, her parents expected her to attend the university. As Sina states,

> To be perfectly honest, although I have always had a dream to become a teacher since I was little, however during my seventh form year I was really contemplating on joining the Navy. I think this came about from what I saw on TV, and just having information given to us at school through our careers class. However this obviously was not ideal for my parents, but being the person that I was, very determined I would have still gone for it. But knowing my older siblings had gone through to University, the pressure to follow was a lot tougher to resist, so it was just easier to give in.

In the end, Sina mediated her familial *tā-vā* tensions by conceding with her parents' wishes in the hope that if she followed their wishes and completed her degree, she would still have time later to go into the navy.

Conversely, Tangaroa always wanted to attend the university. She had begun to prepare for the university by giving up her sports aspirations. Like Sina, she was head girl at her school. Despite her efforts in her seventh year, Tangaroa did not receive the coveted government scholarship, but she did gain UE entrance. Bitterly disappointed, Tangaroa's parents urged her to repeat her seventh form in the hope that she would gain a scholarship:

> What had happened was at the end of seventh form year based on your marks students received scholarships from the government and I did not make the cut which meant that I did not qualify to receive a government scholarship. One of my parents insisted I repeat seventh form to improve my marks so that I can get a scholarship. I kind of understand what they were going through because one of my parents had lost their job due to the big political transition of thousands of government workers. My parents couldn't really afford to send me away.

As familial *tā-vā* tensions surfaced, Tangaroa refused to concede to her parents' wishes, as she knew that a stigma was attached to returning seventh formers. Moreover, there were no guarantees that she would get a scholarship. Although Tangaroa continued her plans to enroll online, she knew that she needed financial assistance for airfare to NZ. Thus, she began to mediate her familial *tā-vā* tensions with one parent. While that parent paid her airfare, Tangaroa left her island at a period that she recalls was very sad:

> To be honest I did not have full support when I decided to come to university. It was a tricky situation and a sad time for me. I felt unsupported in my decisions. . . . However, I managed to get one of my parents on side and they paid for my fare to NZ. . . . I left the [islands] with the issue unresolved . . . maybe it was a rebellious phase for me . . . anyway two months later the issue[not obeying her parents' wishes to return to 7 form in order to apply again for a scholarship] was kinda resolved . . . in an unspoken way.

Although Sina and Tangaroa entered the university at different periods—Sina in the late 1990s and Tangaroa in early 2000—both experienced their first year at the university differently.

Tangaroa's only expectation of the university was that it would be like the *Felicity* program she used to watch on TV. As she recalls,

> I knew nothing about the University of Auckland prior to coming. I did not know where the programme I enrolled in would take me, thinking that uni would direct me. . . . I also thought that the UA was like the movies I had seen about universities in the US . . . cheer leaders, football teams and friendly people. . . . I also read that the UA was multi ethnic, however what I read and envisaged was very different from the realities that I encountered. For example multi ethnic was in reality white and Asian students.

In spite of the familial tensions between Tangaroa and her parents prior to her leaving her home island, she misses her parents. However, despite her loneliness, Tangaroa also begins to feel a sense of freedom. Away from parental control, she begins to relish in her freedom and her choices:

> I really enjoyed my first year of uni. Freedom from rules, from judgment, commitment, [from] family obligations . . . being in control and having some control of my life . . . and although I had freedom, I remained focused on my study. I did not fail any papers as I felt that it was important that I didn't fail papers. I felt a sense of obligation to my parents not to fail.

Tangaroa also begins to search for the familiar at the university. She joins a club on campus where she meets others like her—others with the same cultural background and others with whom she can form familiar relationships. In her discipline, she notices that she is one of very few brown faces. In her tutorials, Tangaroa is not quiet; rather, she speaks and asks questions, as she

felt that she had to speak for all the quiet Pacific students in her tutorial even if she knew that her comments at times were "stretched."[6] She wanted to be visible, not invisible:

> I felt that I had to be vocal in the tuts because I felt that I had to represent the Pacific students in class that were not saying anything.

She recalls that after the tutorial, she would often reflect on her speaking and questioning powers during the tutorial and conclude that there were times her remarks were questionable:

> At times I would be so vocal and then feel after that I really didn't know what I was talking about . . . but that didn't stop me . . . I questioned not only to understand, but to be visible . . . I loved doing class presentations because I had some experience of public speaking in the islands and was comfortable with it.

Sina's first-year experiences, on the other hand, differed markedly. As she was passionate about a subject at which she had excelled in high school, she decided that she would major in the same subject at the university. However, she soon found that the subject differed from the same subject in high school. In high school, textbooks were the mainstay, whereas at the university, Sina did not know that she had readings to do for class and that essays consisted of reading a number of books. She struggled in class, disappointed, lonely, isolated, and lost. In her tutorials, she remained quiet, unsure of herself, scared to voice an opinion in case it was wrong, scared to ask questions:

> I did not like to miss tutorials so I guess I was proactive physically, but mentally I hated tutorials. I did not like the thought of students having to initiate discussion, even if I had done the reading and understood what the students were discussing I still felt embarrassed and shy to speak out. I would always get frustrated with myself if the tutor would ask a question and I would be thinking the answer but too "shame" to say out loud in case I gave the impression that I was stupid. So then another student answers exactly what I was thinking and so I got annoyed at my mentality. There are many times that I understood what is being discussed and would love to contribute, but I actually feel really frightened to do so as I felt like what I might say is not at the academic level. I guess this is because, when I sit and listen to some of the students, I too judge them accordingly. For example I would sit and think that these students are far

> too intelligent or man, that was a stupid question. So I judge them silently and therefore silently struggle.

While this was to be her experience for a number of years, she persists with her major. The turning point for Sina came when she enrolled in a Pacific Islands tutorial[7] that was offered in one of her other subjects. In that tutorial, she began to feel safe, as she was in familiar circumstances, with others like her. Sina felt safe to ask questions and did not feel that her questions would be seen as silly. Additionally, as her undergraduate years progressed, Sina joined various Pacific clubs and formed relationships with others like her. At the end of her undergraduate studies, a more confident Sina eventually emerged, and she was able to enroll in her master's degree and complete it.

Reading the Realities through *Tā-Vā*

Both Sina and Tangaroa excelled in high school, academically and socially. They had entered the university from high school—one from a high school in the islands and one from a high school in New Zealand. Both negotiate their familial *tā-vā* prior to entry—one mediates hers and concedes to her parents' wishes, and one does not concede to her parents' wishes but rather mediates her *tā-vā* with one in order to get to New Zealand. Both Sina and Tangaroa have minimal expectations of the university and different coping mechanisms. One mediates her social *tā-vā* tensions more quickly than the other and as such positively impacts her intellectual *tā-vā*. The other takes longer to mediate her social *tā-vā* and struggles intellectually for a number of years but eventually reconciles her social *tā-vā* tensions. The reconciliation of her social *tā-vā* positively impacts her intellectual *tā-vā*. The familial *tā-vā* for Sina and Tangaroa are essentially *tā-vā* conflicts within the social organization of education.

Although the levels of enthusiasm to attend the university differed between Sina and Tangaroa, common to them was their isolation brought about by the social and intellectual *tā-vā* of the university. Moreover, their knowledge and expectations of the university and university education prior to enrollment were minimal. Sina expected to find the subject she chose at the university similar to what she had experienced in high school. Tangaroa's romantic image of the university and university life had been shaped through Hollywood movies, TV programs, and what she had read in course books.

While their accounts indicate that their lack of knowledge of the university environment may have shaped their responses in the classroom, it also implies that they entered straight from high school and were intellectually and socially unprepared for the *tā-vā* of the university. This would suggest

that there is a social and intellectual *tā-vā* asymmetry between high school education and university education. Sina's experiences tell us that part of her intellectual *tā-vā* struggles were related to her lack of preparedness to do university readings. That is, in her high school *vā*, she had spent her *tā* reading textbooks and as such was unprepared for the *vā* of the university, where she was expected to spend her *tā* doing a certain amount of subject readings. Ironically, on the theoretical level, she should have had one of the smoothest *tā-vā* transitions from high school to the university. A model student for the majority of her time in high school, accepted as having something important to contribute, her intellectual and social *tā-vā* was symmetrical.

Despite this symmetry, Sina was unable to transfer her social and intellectual *tā-vā* from high school to the university. Why? Part of her struggles may stem from the fact that she did not want to attend the university and did so only to appease her parents. Once inside the institution, the subject she had chosen as her major differed from her expectations.

Her intellectual *tā-vā* asymmetry, coupled with her reluctance to attend UA, may have impacted her motivational *tā-vā*. While she was aware that she could contain some of her intellectual tensions by doing the readings, she chose not to, citing laziness on her part and allowing family obligations to take precedence. In order for Sina to negotiate her *tā-vā* conflicts to allow a transformation from a state of *vale* to *ilo* to *poto*, she would have to reconcile her social *tā-vā* to free up more time in her intellectual *tā-vā* in order to read more. This demonstrates some of the sources of conflict, many of them cultural, in the social and intellectual *tā-vā*.

Tangaroa, like Sina, was a model student in high school and became the head girl. Their responses to university study and therefore the way they experienced it were distinctly different. Eliminating potential conflicts in her educational career was less of a challenge for Tangaroa, who had always wanted to attend a university. Despite her *tā-vā* struggles in the social domain, she was, from the outset, able to arbitrate her social and intellectual *tā-vā* crossroads successfully, thereby minimizing her social *tā-vā* conflicts. Why was Tangaroa able to achieve this symmetrical beating more readily than Sina? The answer may lie in her motivation and desire for a university education.

Effectively, the two accounts reveal varied *tā-vā* experiences of Sina and Tangaroa socially and intellectually and show that when the social organization of education—which reflects the impact of cultural and political asymmetry in the form and content of the institution—and the intellectual organization of education intersect, *tā-vā* asymmetry occurs. Notably, finding the familiar and forming *vaha loto* (good relationships) with others within the *tā-vā* of the university were critical in helping them find *tā-vā* symmetry.

Concluding Comments

Drawing from Sina's and Tangaroa's experiences, the theory of *tā-vā* not only provides an understanding of the space that separates Pacific students at the back rows from non-Pacific students in the front rows but also helps us understand how Pacific students mediate their world and the non-Pacific world. Given that Pacific students choose to sit there, we can ascertain from Sina's and Tangaroa's experiences that the back row of a lecture hall is the familiar *tā-vā*. Many Pacific students sit there because that is the space in the lecture hall where they find other Pacific students in their class. Many may not know each other, but they sit there because the back row represents the familiar. It is where they feel the strongest bonds of commonality (harmony) with other, similar students.

The front row, on the other hand, where many non-Pacific students sit, represents the unfamiliar and disharmony. It is space where students who do not share commonality sit. What is important to remember from Sina's and Tangaroa's narratives is not the location of the space but rather where Pacific students congregate in that location. Their presence is what creates the familiarity that acts to help Pacific students mediate their social *tā-vā*, which in turn helps them mediate their intellectual *tā-vā*.

NOTES

1. As an analogy, the lecture hall space appeared to me to be a physical manifestation of the multifarious ideological spaces that shaped the students' worlds within the *Palangi* institution. Thus, if the space were indeed self-imposed in a physical sense, it appeared to me that the ideological underpinnings of that decision needed to be explored.

2. What are state and institutional understandings of the notion of equality of educational opportunity in New Zealand? How have these understandings informed the development and implementation of intervention strategies aimed at improving educational outcomes for Pacific students?

3. An example of beauty through the development of criticism is the movement from recognizing that there is flaw in an argument or design (*ilo*) to recognizing that there is flaw in an argument or design and articulating what the flaw is and how to resolve it (*poto*).

4. For example, the intellectual process is that students who want to be medical doctors pass exams a, b, c, and d, whereas the social organization of education is that doctors pass exams a, b, c, and d and, in the case of Tongans doctors, be able to speak Tongan in order to communicate with Tongans in their own language.

5. Ideological foundations of equity programs are based on the notion of equity- remedies or resources that seek to redress historic injustices.

6. Inflated

7. A Pacific Islands tutorial is a tutorial that is specific to Pacific students in classes where there are a large number of Pacific students.

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SAMOAN CULTURAL PERCEPTIONS OF *TĀ-VĀ*

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NOTIONS OF TIME AND SPACE, or *tā* and *vā* in traditional Samoan society, are clearly marked and understood and correspond very closely to similar ideas entertained in other Polynesian societies, such as among the Tongans, Maoris, and Hawaiians. This is not just a matter of coincidence, for it is also very much due to the common origins of all these societies in a proto-Polynesian empire that covered the so-called Polynesian Triangle of Fiji, Tonga, and Samoa.

Initially, it is hypothesized that the people we now call the Polynesians formed a subgroup of people who migrated from Melanesia into Fiji approximately 1250 BC according to reconstructions by archaeologists and linguists (Bellwood 1978; Jennings 1979; Green 1979; Kirch 1984; Irwin 1992). These people spoke a common language and shared a common material culture and plants (e.g., such as kava), food (e.g., taro, yams, and bananas), and animals (e.g., pigs and chickens). They brought with them an aristocratic form of society that was characterized by the rule of men (or women) with ability, such as those who proved their prowess in war or who were successful in obtaining mana (divine power) from their gods (spiritual ancestors).

While the form of this aristocratic society will take many forms in subsequent migrations to the East, the existence of chiefs (*ariki*, *ali'i*) and shamans (*taula aitu*) was already evident in this early empire, which, according to tradition, was controlled mainly from centers in Samoa and Tonga (cf. Pritchard 1866; Murray 1876; Turner 1884; Stair 1897; Brown 1910; Mailo 1972; Le Tagaloa 1991; Kramer 1994).

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The earliest of these leaders were Fitiaumua, preeminent chief of Manu'a, who is said to have conquered parts of both Tonga and Fiji, and Tui Tonga Ahoeaitu, reputed to be the first Tui Tonga. The latter is also said to have formed the first Tongan empire in Samoa.

Notions of time, or *tā*, and those of space, *vā*, are crucial to an understanding of major aspects of Samoan culture, and they are essential in the lives and worldview of commoner Samoans and those of aristocratic heritage alike. *Tā* enables a continuity of communication with the ancestors in terms of time, and *vā* enables the ordering of social space. That is, if *tā* enables contact with the ancestors in the spiritual world (*Pulotu*), that is, with the past, then *vā* determines social relations in terms of the present. This essay addresses the essential role of notions of *tā* and *vā* in Samoan epistemology and highlights the intertwined nature of traditional religion, material relations, the experience of the passing of time (a day, a month, a year), and the quality of relationships between chiefs and those who serve them.

Tā Defined

The word *tā* in Samoan means "to beat" or "to strike." Thus, it can mean to strike a gong for religious services in the evening or to ring a bell to summon worshippers to the cathedral, and it can also refer to beating rhythm on a mat, especially where songs and chants are involved. In one Samoan war dance, the performers tilt their spears while yelling out to strike one's opponent, to strike him dead. The two significant meanings of the word are therefore to strike out at something and to provide rhythm. Both are physical acts but different applications. In this essay, I am more concerned with *tā* as a rhythmic act.

The simplest example of *tā* relates to dance movements. For example, traditional Samoan chants and songs, especially those that deal with the achievements of the ancestors both past and present, are accompanied by rhythmic beats of a stick or a specially prepared piece of wood on a mat or hollow bamboo. Then, of course, Samoan dances are invariably accompanied by set rhythms, such as the *taualuga*, where the dancers also use their hands and more particularly the feet to maintain rhythm. Thus, in the *taualuga*, the main dancer, that is, the *taupou*, or ceremonial virgin, moves the lower feet back and forth to maintain a rhythmic pattern while the hands "tell the story," for Samoan dancing is preeminently a form of mimetic dancing, one that tells a story. Hence, Samoan dancing is both rhythm and meaning. But rhythm is also a complex phenomenon within a broader cultural context.

This stems from the fact that the life of a Samoan is full of natural rhythms beginning at birth. If a Samoan child's mind were fully developed at birth, he or she would be wondering why there is so much hustle and bustle during

the first hours of life in his or her new family. Unknown to him or her, his or her birth is a significant event for that family, for it marks the arrival of a new heir, with all the rights and privileges attached thereto. The birth is not only the result of a biological act on the part of his mother but also preeminently a cause célèbre that involves the families and dynasties of both his mother and his father. In fact, the hustle and bustle are meant to make the postnatal transition comfortable for the mother and for the representatives of the two families to meet, comfort each other, and exchange the required traditional gifts. Socialization of the child will be shared by both families because he or she will be the flag carrier for the family in the future: he as a renowned warrior and she as a virgin bride who will be given away to a high chief, thereby securing her family's future material welfare and high status. That is why when cutting the umbilical cord of children, those of males are cut with a war club to make them brave, and those of females are cut with the instruments for making tapa to make them productive. Yes, even before their offspring are born, Samoan parents entertain ambitious dreams for them.

While gift exchanges involving children begin before birth, these continue between the families of the two parents after birth to celebrate the various phases in the child's development, such as when the child begins to crawl, to stand up, and to walk (Turner 1884). The families also combine to celebrate the other phases of the child's life, such as the rite of passage. If a boy, this means that the young man must undergo the *tatau* operation, which is a costly one, as it requires payment of food, fine mats, and cash to the *tufuga* (artist). If a girl, this means that she must make a substantial gift of the same to the *aualuma*, the village organization for unmarried women (Mailo 1972; Grattan 1985; Kramer 1994). Then one must also reckon major events, such as marriages (*faaipoipoga*) and title bestowals (*saofai*), which also require substantial financial expenditures, most of which are borne by family members (Sunia 1997). Finally, when one dies, the funerary rites (*falelauasiga*) are perhaps the most expensive of all. How, then, does rhythm apply to all this? (Sunia 1997, 118). It is precisely because here we are talking about the rhythms of life, the major landmarks that individuals cross when living their lives: these are predictable, they fall into a pattern, and they are rhythmic. In short, the life cycle constitutes a rhythm.

Rhythmic Cycle of Religion

Edward Tylor, the father of English anthropology, described Samoan religion as animistic, which translates into a belief in spirits (Tylor 1899). While that may be true in a general sense, it does not properly describe the emotional and spiritual attachments that Samoans gave to their gods. These gods were certainly spirits who inhabited material phenomena, such as stars, moon, sun, rocks,

animals, fishes, birds, and insects (Turner 1884; Stair 1897; Murray 1876). The inhabited phenomena were called *ata*, pictures or visible representations that the gods had elected to appear in, and while much respected, the real object of the Samoans' religious worship lay, resided, and centered in the spirit beings that occupied the *ata*. Their prayers were thus addressed to these spirits and not to the *ata* per se. The question, then, is, if there is a rhythm to this religious cycle, how does it occur compared to the life cycle just mentioned?

The rhythmic cycle of Samoan traditional religion begins at birth. The rituals of birth involve the husband or father of the mother reciting a litany of the family's gods during the birthing process. The name that he utters at the precise moment the newborn enters into the human world becomes the personal god of that child for life. Immediately, there is a connection established between the newborn baby and that god. Of course, since Samoans had gods galore, the child will also subsequently give his or her allegiance to other gods, such as the family god, the village god, the district war god, and national gods, such as Tagaloalagi. But this is assumed, of course. What is not assumed is the rhythm associated with the worship of these gods, for Samoans fervently believe that any success in their lives is due to the assistance of their gods. Thus, it was imperative to develop good relations with their gods. How to do this?

Worship of the gods consisted of personal and family prayers, usually in the evenings; group prayers at the village and district levels in preparing for war; offerings to the gods in the form of *matini* or to the shamans, the priests of the gods; and festivals of the gods, such as those to *Le Fe'e* (Octopus) or to *Tupua-le-Gase*, or Tupua, who never dies (Turner 1884; Stair 1897). The ancient prayers of the Samoans closely resemble today's family prayers with the exception that in the old prayers, it was permissible to curse one's enemies and to wish them harm. Today, of course, Samoans are taught by their Christian mentors to forgive and bless their enemies. In their religious worship, therefore, the beliefs and practices of pre-Christian Samoans resembled those of modern Christianity in terms of individual and communal prayers, offerings, and religious festivals.

But that is not all, for Samoans also believed in immortality. At the time of death, the spirits (*agaga*) of the chiefs went to *Pulotu*, the Moanan equivalent of the Christian Heaven. Those of the untitled people went to *Sa-le-Fe'e* (Place of Bondage), the equivalent of the Christian Hell. This appears to be a continuation of the hierarchical world of the living. In *Pulotu*, the chiefs serve as "posts," a metaphor for service, of the god of *Pulotu*, *Saveasi'uleo*. Presumably, they can have everything they want there, but they can also help their living relatives if summoned from *Pulotu*. Thus, a famous chief named Taii was distressed because his enemies forced him to climb a coconut tree

upside down. He called on help from *Pulotu*, and none other than *Saveasi'uleo* sent his daughter, *Nafanua*, to help *Taii*. The result was a war fought and won by *Nafanua*. That was about 800 years ago. When the London Missionary Society agents arrived in 1830 to bring Christianity to Samoa, *Nafanua* was the leading god of the country. Christians say she foretold her own demise as a goddess, but I doubt it. Her end came about largely because Samoans desired Western education, goods, and medicine, which they could possess only by converting to Christianity (*liu lotu*) (cf. Williams 1984).

Wherein, then, is the rhythm in traditional Samoan religion? I maintain that this rhythm lies primarily in the personal cycle of one's religious life. Samoans are born and raised in a religious environment, however different in terms of denomination. Today, this cycle means for Christians baptism, holy communion, formal membership in a congregation, regular attendance at religious services, and funerary services at time of death. In addition, one also has social and financial commitments to one's church. When all these are put together, one can identify a certain regularity in religious behavior. This regularity can also be referred to as religious rhythm. It is also a hallmark of Samoan cultural identity.

One can also discuss cycles of economic and political rhythms, but these are more complicated because of the wide disparities in income and political power. These disparities have led to class divisions, so any rhythmic cycles would be more appropriate for particular classes than for general ones. Therefore, I will not deal with these. But one can still talk about rhythms in the natural world.

Samoan Perceptions of Time: Day and Night

The introduction of telecommunications in the form of radio, television, telephones, watches, clocks, the Internet, and so on have drastically affected the way Samoans perceive time, but we can still feel (and observe to a certain degree) the effects of pre-Christian beliefs and practices. Most prominent among these is the measurement of time in which various natural phenomena are used. The hours of the day, for example, were counted according to the position of the sun in the sky, while the hours of the night were identified through the crowing of the cocks (L. F. Va'a, unpublished data). As for the lunar cycle, Samoans used the position of the moon in the sky to reckon its phases, such as waxing and waning moons, new and full moons, and so on (Penisimani 1860). As for the yearly cycle, there were also markers that identified particular months according to the special characteristics of certain types of winds, such as *vaito'elau*, the monsoon or hurricane season, and according to the appearance of certain kinds of sea foods, such as the

vaipalolo season, named after the *palolo*, a kind of edible worm spawned by the coral (Turner 1884). These markers were in turn supported by the evidence of other natural phenomena, such as the blooming of certain bush flowers, easily recognizable by their particular fragrances.

Samoan reckoning of the time during a twenty-four-hour period was based on the observation of the senses, that of sight during the day and of hearing during the night (Aiono 1996). During the day, time was measured in terms of the sun's position in the sky, and at night, it was measured according to the cock's crowing. Thus, time measurement was a practical affair and accessible to all, just as knowledge of the winds and currents was based on the collective wisdom of generations of observers. There was nothing mystical or magical about it, just a matter of a simple but practical science. Using European time as a model, the following is an example of the various phases of time over a twenty-four-hour period. I say "example" because Samoans may differ over some aspects of names of corresponding times, but the essential point is that there is substantial agreement (L. F. Va'a, unpublished data):

12 a.m.	Tulua o le po ma le ao.	Time when ghosts roam the land.
2 a.m.	Vivini muamua o moa.	First crowing of the cocks.
3 a.m.	Vivini faalua o moa.	Second crowing of cocks.
4 a.m.	Vivini faalausoso'o moa.	Repetitious crowing of cocks.
5 a.m.	Gasu o le taeao.	Early morning dew.
6 a.m.	Teaeo sesegi.	Dawn approaches.
7 a.m.	Oso le la.	Sun rises.
8 a.m.	Totogo le la.	Sun gets hotter.
9 a.m.	Fana'e lupe le la.	Time to feed the pigeons.
10 a.m.	Taupaletu le la.	Sun prominent in sky.
11 a.m.	Faaitula.	Time before noon.
12 p.m.	Soliata/Tutonu le la.	Standing on own shadow; noon.
1 p.m.	Faliu le la.	Sun moves to the side.
2 p.m.	Pale le la.	Sun is crowned.
3 p.m.	Malu afiafi.	Temperature cools, evening nears.
4 p.m.	Taulaumea.	Leaves fall.
5 p.m.	Pupula a la goto.	Sun prepares to set.
6 p.m.	Goto le la.	Sun sets.
7 p.m.	Tagi alisi.	Crickets chirp in the evening.
8 p.m.	Ula afi o faamalama.	Fires lighted for evening prayers.
9 p.m.	Fofola fala.	Mats laid out for sleeping.
10 p.m.	Tofa.	Sleep.
11 p.m.	Vivini faaoso malaga.	False alarm by cocks crowing.

(cf. Aiono 1996, 90; Simanu 2002, 598)

Since Samoans did not have watches or clocks as they do now, these were the expressions that they used to refer to periods of the day, not so much specifically to time but rather to time in a general sense. Thus, as a period of the day, *fana'e lupe le la*, or the time for feeding the pet pigeons, which most families had, could be either 8 or 9 a.m. And *ula afi o faamalama* may occur at 7 p.m. instead of 8 p.m. as in the above model. This method of labeling time was sufficient for Samoans' needs in the precontact period and for a long time even after contact with the West. But today, most Samoans use *palagi* time as measured in hours, minutes, and seconds. Some traditional expressions are still popular, however (L. F. Va'a, unpublished data). These include the following:

Oso le la	sunrise
Tutonu le la	midday
Goto le la	sunset
Tagi Alisi	chirping of crickets
Faiga lotu	evening prayers

Samoan Perceptions of Time: Lunar Months

As the London Missionary Society missionary George Turner explained, the moon was the timekeeper of the year (Turner 1884, 203), not merely in terms of weeks, as Samoans understood these, but also in terms of the year.

The Samoan lunar month consisted of thirty days, divided into two parts, the moon as it appears on the inland side (*uta*) and as it appears on the seaward side (*tai*). When it first appears on the inland side, it hovers over the horizon. When the seas are low, it can be seen clearly; when high, it is hard to see. That is why it is called *malupeaua* (Penisimani 1860) because the moon at that phase is, as it were, protected by the seas.

When it first appears as the new moon, Samoans started counting the days from one to ten. When that is achieved, only five days remain for the moon on the inland side, and those days were called *punifaga*, *tafaleu*, *fe'itetele*, *atoa*, and *le'ale'a*. That is one-half of the moon period.

The moon now moves over to the seaward side of the island, and again the days are counted from one to ten. When that is reached, only five days remain, and these are called *sauaeleata*, *lotoatai*, *alu ae ua tafatetele ata*, *petumai*, and *o ma le la poo le fanoloa*. Then the moon disappears for a time, until it rises again from the other side as the *maluopeaua*.

According to Rev. George Turner (1884, 203 ff.), the year was divided into twelve months, and each month was known by a name in common use all over the group. To this there were some local exceptions and a month named

after the god, who on that month was specially worshipped. Generally, these months were called as follows:

1. *Utu Va Mua* (January). So called because it represents the first digging of wild yams before the cultivated ones were ripe. It was also called Aitu Tele, "great god," from the principal worship of the month, or Tagaloa Tele, at another place for the same reason (Turner 1884, 204).
2. *Toe Utu Va* (February). Continuation of digging wild yams or Aitu Iti, small gods, from the worship of inferior household gods in that month (Turner 1884, 205).
3. *Fa'aafu* (March). Word meaning "withering of the yam vine," a sign the yams have matured and are ready to be consumed (Simanu 2002, 599). Other names for this month are *Ta'afanua*, a god noted for his wandering habits, and Aitu Iti, the small gods who were specially implored to bless the family for the year "with strength to overcome in quarrels and in battle" (Turner 1884, 205).
4. *Lo* (April). So called because the little fish *lo* (or *pinelo*) is particularly plentiful at this time of year. The month is also named after the Manu'an hero Le Fanoga.
5. *Aununu* (May). It means "crushed or pulverized state of the stem of the yam" at that time. Also named after a goddess, Sina. According to Turner (1884, 206), Samoans regarded this month as unstable with many vicious demons about and the fish particularly savage. It is the time of transition from the wet to the dry season, and hence crushing sickness and superstitious vagaries were prevalent.
6. *Oloamanu* (June). Sound made by a pigeon and other birds when they are happy because of a plentiful supply of their favorite buds and berries. This occurs about this time. Literally, "warbling (*olo*) of the birds (*manu*)."
7. *Palolo Mua* (July). This is the first month of the half year, called the Palolo season, in contrast to the other half, called the Tradewind season (Turner 1884, 206).
8. *Palolo Muli* (August). The *palolo* is an edible sea worm that is released from the coral twice a year, usually October and November. It is a delicacy with most Samoans. *Palolo Muli* perhaps suggests final preparations in anticipation of receiving the *palolo*. These include the making of special nets.
9. *Mulifa* (September). Means "end of the taro stem." This month is "unusually dry and parching, the scorching rays of the sun left little of the talo stem but a small piece at the end" (Turner 1884, 207). That is, the sun's rays have literally sucked the moisture from taro plants.

10. *Lotuaga* (October). According to Turner (1884, 207), this month is so called because Samoans often prayed for rain. A time of drought. In Aiono (1996), the word should be *Lotoaga*, but she does not explain its meaning.
11. *Taumafamua* (November). First of plenty because fish and other food were plentiful, followed by *palolo* and fly-hook feats (Turner 1884, 208).
12. *Toetaumafa* (December). End of the feasting, food being less plentiful because of gales and cyclones (Turner 1884, 208).

And then the annual cycle begins again.

Two things stand out in the Samoan system of naming their months. The first is that the names record the main activities of each month. For example, the first three months—January, February, and March—involve the search for wild yams and other foods from the forests because it is a time of heavy rains and hurricanes, which have the tendency to destroy traditional food crops, such as taro, bananas, and breadfruit. Hence, it is also coexistent with famines, especially if plantations have been wiped out by strong winds. April is the month for catching the fish *lo*; June is the month for catching birds, such as pigeons, because they are then at their fattest; July and August are the months to prepare for the *palolo* season; October is the drought period and a time for conserving the water supply and taking extra care for the prevention of bushfires; and November and December are times of plenty, when the growth of food crops are at their peak (L. F. Va'a, unpublished data).

The second factor that stands out is the close association that Samoans maintained between their earthly activities and their relationships with their gods, thus the naming of many months after their gods. In January, the *Aitu Tele* and *Tagaloa Tele* are honored; in February, the *Aitu Iti*; in March, *Ta'afanua*; in April *Le Fanoga*; in May, Sina the goddess; and so on. It shows quite clearly that the ancient Samoans held a high regard for their gods and that they relied on their gods to sustain them in the difficult periods of the year. Human efforts were not enough; the intervention of the gods in human affairs was also assiduously sought. There is thus this spiritual aspect of Samoans' perception of their environment, and this is continued today under the form of the new Christian religion in its ideology and idiom. For just as the pre-Christian Samoans prayed to their *aitu* (gods) for rain, so they do today to their new Christian god—and with the same results (L. F. Va'a, unpublished data).

In all these examples—the measurement of time according to the hours of the day and night, the lunar cycle, and the yearly cycle of twelve months—one sees the operation of this natural rhythm, the *tā*. The foundations of these cycles are scientific and hence reliable and can be counted on by humans to plan their activities. There is a rhythm in the manifestations of the day,

month, and year, perhaps not in a sense of that derived from a simple dancing mode but most certainly in the sense of an overriding cosmic beat, one that the pre-Christian Samoans took to heart and lived by. Today, of course, this rhythm has been partially lost through the influences generated by modern technology and its attendant problems generated by changes in lifestyles. And to that extent, the power, or mana, of the ancient rhythm has been weakened. But it continues to throb under the surface of social and cultural life, especially in the context of the rural areas where the *fa'a-Samoa* holds sway.

The *Vā* Defined

If *tā* is the defining beat of Samoan traditional society, then *vā* defines Samoan cultural knowledge, for it is *vā* that tells us how to live and relate to others according to the norms and values established by society (Mailo 1972; Sunia 1997, 2000; Simanu 2002). Orators have different expressions to refer to the same phenomenon, but basically it says that Samoa is a land that has been apportioned with regard to its rights and privileges (*o Samoa o le atunuu ua uma ona tofi*) and that none can be added or removed (*e le mafai ona toe faaooopo i ai pe toesea ona paia ma mamalu*). This is confirmation that rights and privileges within society are ascribed rather than prescribed or inherited rather than achieved. This is, of course, axiomatic in terms of such a conservative traditional society as Samoa, but it does not rule out exceptions, particularly in the case of war heroes and outstanding individuals. People however do not talk about these as a rule, but more on the doxa or set beliefs (Bourdieu 1977).

The *vā*, or human relationships, are symbolized by spatial relationships. Another way of expressing this is that physical space represents social space. A simple example is that of height: in Samoa, this symbolizes position in a power hierarchy—the higher the position occupied by a person or house, the higher the power of that particular person and those people who live in a particular house. That is why in Samoa, the highest chiefs, such as the Tui Manu'a (king of Manu'a), were manually carried on specially constructed carriages, higher than everybody else. And when such a carriage passed a group of people, they were required to kneel and bow their heads. They cannot walk again on the ground traversed by the carriage because such has been affected by the mana of the chief and therefore rendered *tapu*, or sacred. This means the *tapu* has to be removed, usually by the act of sprinkling coconut juice on the affected ground, before it can be used again. As to houses or *maota*, no villager can build a house higher than that of his or her chief, and normally this is the case in most villages in Samoa. Moreover, this is one of the chiefly rights that is still upheld by the Land and Titles Court.

Extensive social networks permeate Samoan society, each with its own rules and practices. These networks do not occur at random, for they are often predictable and have at their base kinship relations. These in turn are already determined, or given, according to cultural standards. Since the typical Samoan has many relations, not only with his or her own relatives but also with other people unrelated to him or her, such as other village or district chiefs, he or she is involved in a web of relationships, the conduct of which pertain to certain rules. The persona in Samoa then is often of the type described by Maurice Leenhardt (1979) as one who occupies the center of a series of social relationships but one moreover who is also experiencing the pangs of social change, as new lifestyles affect those relationships. The persona, therefore, is potentially in a state of flux. Still certain patterns of behavior are predictable, and I shall here provide only a few examples of the *va* involved in these networks, such as relations between siblings, between brother and sister, and between chiefs and their *tautua* (serving men or women).

The brother/sister relationship in Samoa, called *feagaiga*, is one of the most important relationships in Samoan culture (*fa'a-Samoa*) because it determines questions of rights and privileges pertaining to land, titles, and other treasured possessions (*mea sina*) of a family (Gilson 1970; Schoeffel 1979; Shore 1982). It is similar to the custom of *vasu* in Fiji and *fahu* in Tonga. The *vā* determines the kind of work brothers and sisters do: the brothers perform the difficult chores, and those considered "dirty" and far from home. The sisters do the easy ones, those regarded as "clean" and in or near the home. The brothers are supposed to support, in a material sense, and protect, in a physical sense, their sisters in return for their moral and spiritual support (cf. Va'a 2001). Within the family and indeed Samoan society, the sister enjoys a higher status than her brother (compare a similar custom in Tonga), and that is why she is often given the honor of serving the chief as *taupou* (ceremonial maiden). As such, she leads the family on ceremonial occasions, such as a *ta'alolo* (presentation of food to visiting dignitaries), where the *taupou* is dressed up in the traditional manner and dances using a *nifo oti* (ceremonial war club). She also plays important functions in *'ava* ceremonies and funerary rituals. As *ilamutu*, or eldest of the female children, she occupies a central role in the spiritual life of the family as chief adviser to her brother chief, oracle and priestess of the family gods. The position, therefore, is equated with supernatural powers. Thus, the family is characterized by a dual structure: one where the brothers are responsible for safeguarding the lands and titles of a family and one where the sisters safeguard the moral and spiritual side of a family. Both functions are regarded as complementary.

In Samoan custom, the brothers are obliged to respect the roles of their sisters and vice versa. Fortunate are the brothers who listen to the advice of their sisters, for this is based on the moral and spiritual values of society, and to go against such advice is regarded as dangerous. This is because in ancient times, sisters had the power to curse their wayward brothers, usually in the form that they would be childless. Brothers, on the other hand, can be vindictive against their sisters if they besmirched the family honor, such as getting involved in secret sexual encounters. This model, therefore, does not support the claim of sexual permissiveness among Samoan adolescent girls (cf. Mead 1961; Freeman 1983), but it has served as the foundation for other institutions in Samoan society, such as the relationship between a high chief and his orator and between a church pastor and his congregation, the orator and the pastor occupying the place of the sister and the high chief and congregation that of the brother. The high chief and congregation must show respect and provide material support for their *feagaiga*. These in turn must provide their moral and spiritual support for their counterparts (high chief and congregation), which is meant to spell success in their social endeavors.

Social relationships between siblings also follow certain well-defined pathways characterized by, besides the *feagaiga* system already referred to, other kinds of rights, such as those of the firstborn and seniority. The firstborn male in any Samoan family is given the prestigious title of *ali'i o 'āiga* (literally, "chief of the family"). This is because as *ali'i o 'āiga*, he has the right to succeed his father to the *matai* (chiefly) title of the family, and so, long before his father dies, he is groomed for this purpose. Other family members show him deference due to his position. The counterpart of the *ali'i o 'āiga* among the female children is the *ilamutu*. As the eldest daughter, she has first place to the family honors reserved for the female gender, but as *ilamutu*, she is often regarded with awe due to the supposedly spiritual powers she possesses, for she is healer (*taulasea*), oracle (*vavalo*), peacemaker (*pae ma le auli*), and miracle maker (*fai vavega*) among her many assigned functions. The prominent roles that these oldest siblings enjoyed through the accident of their birth order entitled them to the respect, obedience, and service of their younger siblings.

Seniority, based on age, is a hallmark not only of Samoan society but also of *Moana* society in general. Wherever Samoans are gathered, other things being equal, age alone determines who will be leader of a group. It applies also to siblings, both males and females. If the oldest male or female dies, then the next oldest takes over the role of *ali'i o 'āiga* or *ilamutu*. It is quite obvious that the principles of succession to leadership roles within a family group are already entrenched in the beliefs already mentioned. There is a predictability about the social order that bodes well for the establishment of a stable society.

According to Mailo (1972), the earliest form of Samoan society was based on a seniority system; that is, only the elderly were members of the Sa Tagaloa Ruling Council, today's equivalent of the Village Fono. There were no chiefs then, only the elderly Tagaloas, who differed from each only through the different suffixes to their names, hence Tagaloa-ui, Tagaloa-leniu, and Tagaloa-lefau. Seniors were similarly treated with reverence and respect.

Tautua as *Vā*

We come now to the concept of *tautua*, the principle affecting the relationships between a chief and his retainers. As other anthropologists have noted, Polynesian chiefdoms can be divided into the rigid hierarchies of Eastern Polynesia, represented by Hawai'i, and the more open societies of Western Polynesia, represented by Samoa (cf. Sahlins 1958). In Eastern Polynesia, blood is everything in determining rights to title and land; in Western Polynesia, even commoners and unrelated persons can succeed to a chiefly title provided that they gave service or excelled in some act of bravery in either war- or peacetime, which resulting in the saving of the life of a high chief. Thus, in Samoa, it is said, "*O le ala i le pule o le tautua*" ("The path to authority lies in service"). Having blood is not enough; providing service is. It is regarded as a sine qua non of being elected to a title (cf. Davidson 1967; Meleisea 1987).

Much has been written about the nature of *tautua* (cf. Simanu 2002; Sunia 1997, 2000; Mailo 1972). Briefly, these authors have identified two main kinds of rendering service to a chief. One may be considered as falling within the class of positive examples of *tautua*, the other within the class of negative types. Some examples of positive *tautua* include *tautua tuavae* and *tautua matavela*. For negative *tautua*, examples are *tautua pa'o* and *tautua fia matai*.

Tautua tuavae is where the *tautua* is known to use his or her feet and hands to do chores for the chief (from *tua*, meaning "behind," and *vae*, meaning "feet"). *Tautua tuavae* therefore are supposed to occupy a place behind their chiefs so that they can carry out instantly their wishes. *Matavela* means "burnt eyes," from *mata*, "eyes," and *vela*, "burnt" or "cooked." It refers to the *tautua* whose eyes are "burnt" by the heat given off by the hot stone oven that he uses daily to prepare the chief's food. Closely related to this form of *tautua* is *matapalapala*, from *mata*, "eyes," and *palapala*, "soaked with sweat" and therefore dirty. The sweat in turn is due to other hard work this person accomplishes for his *matai*.

Tautua pa'o means making a lot of noise while serving a chief because the *tautua* is angry with his chief for some reason or other. He then displays

his displeasure by causing unnecessary noise and doing unpleasant things that cause the chief discomfort. Closely related to this form of *tautua* is *tautua gutua*, one who constantly contradicts the orders of his chief, thereby committing the cardinal sin of chief/*tautua* relationships, one of disrespect toward the chief. Another instance of negative service is *tautua fia matai*. It refers to a person who performs services for his chief not out of love for his chief and family but out of a selfish desire to succeed to a *matai* title, hence, *tautua fia matai*, or serving with the desire to become a chief. Incidentally, becoming a chief is/was a legitimate ambition of every Samoan male. But other factors are also at play here; a *tautua* should also be qualified to hold the title due to his or her deep knowledge of Samoan custom and tradition, various genealogies, and village honorifics as well as the means to fulfill the social obligations required of the title. Pedigree, of course, is all important.

The *vā* in Samoa is not only physical space or social space alone but also the two combined. Hierarchy, for example, is symbolized by height, as mentioned earlier: equality by lateral distance and commonality (being of the lower classes) by lower distance. Thus, typically in Samoa, the chiefs live on the tops of the mountains; hence, the creator god's family, Sa Tagaloa, was said to live on the mountains, and the created beings, such as the family of Lu, lived at sea level. From the lower level, Lu's supporters attacked those of Sa Tagaloa on the upper levels and almost conquered them but for the intercession of the god himself (see Kramer 1994).

Having established the significance of physical and social space (i.e., they stand for each other), the question naturally arises, What is the function of space in human relationships? Space, as I see it, is a second-order language, a means of talking about the social order, the values, practices, and beliefs of a people (e.g., the Samoans about themselves and their own society). Like culture, it is a human-made creation and, therefore, like culture, is subject to contestation. Such difference is itself the product of new perspectives on life gained through education and through the spread of global culture. Any changes in the traditional perspectives of the *tā* and *vā*, however, will be gradual and take much longer to consolidate. They will not happen all at once. Therefore, the past will continue to linger in importance in our social and cultural configurations. The *tā* and *vā*, as Moana concepts relative to time and space, turns neutral concepts into cultural ones and transforms chaos to order (Māhina 2004, 2009).

Conclusion

In Samoan society, the notion of *tā* refers to time as understood not by Europeans but rather by Samoans in a historical context. This means that

the ancestors are not really dead, even though the traditional ceremonials mark the end of life of the ancestors. They have merely passed on to another level of existence, to the land of Pulotu, where the sun sets in the west, or to Heaven, which is above us, to use a Christian metaphor. The traditional idea of death, therefore, approximates that of transition because the dead live on in a spiritual sense, in a spiritual world, whence they emerge to assist the living in whatever enterprise they are engaged in. Therefore, the death of an ancestor signifying the past transposes into that of the living ancestor, signifying the present. This enables constant communication with the ancestors. Prayers, in the form of *tapuaiga*, and social rituals, such as *ava* rituals, were the usual means of relating to the ancestors and other nature spirits.

The notion of *vā* is more prominent because spatial patterns of behavior signify our current social positions in life. Hence, the spatial metaphors of *uta* (inland), *tai* (seaward), *luga* (above), *lalo* (below), *sisifo* (west), *sasae* (east), *tala ane* (besides), and so on are significant markers of Samoan social identity (*faasinomaga*). For example, higher positions symbolize power, and lower positions mean the reverse. In real life, Samoan social etiquette reflect these realities of geographical space.

Modern Samoan society still follows the customs that *tā* and *vā* have imposed on the society, especially in the villages. But the inroads of Western civilization introduced by the liberal ideas of equality for all, chiefs and non-chiefs, men and women, and third genders, have complicated the nature of social relationships. This is now characterized by the emergence of a class structure that has no respect for the niceties of traditional social etiquette. We are now possibly heading into an era where consensus is no longer the order of the day but one where contestation of ideas is. The full effect of these changes, however, remains a long time and distance away, and the past in the form of traditional knowledge and know-how will continue to affect us.

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SAMOAN *TĀ-VĀ* (TIME-SPACE) CONCEPTS AND PRACTICES IN LANGUAGE, SOCIETY, AND ARCHITECTURE

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This essay gives new insights into indigenous Samoan spatial, temporal, and social concepts as distinctive aspects of Samoan culture, expressed linguistically, socially, and architecturally in a changing contemporary Samoan context. Four Samoan concepts are examined: (1) *mata* (the eye and a point of convergence and emanation), (2) *tā* (strike and a point in time), (3) *vā* (the interval and relation between points in space or time and society), and (4) tuā'oi (neighbor and boundary). The general *tā-vā* theory of reality (Māhina 2008a, 2008b; Ka'ili 2008) informs the analysis augmented by the theory of point-field spatiality as discussed by Lehman and Herdrich (2002). The analysis develops an understanding of how Samoan language, architecture, and socio-spatial and temporal practices express a cultural system through which a sense of order (or harmony) and conflict are produced and addressed in Samoan society.

IN A WORLD undergoing rapid globalization, indigenous peoples everywhere, including those of Oceania or Moana (a Polynesian term for "ocean"), are finding ways to both decolonize and re-represent themselves on the global scene. Developing and asserting an identity free from Western cultural domination engages a difficult disentanglement. Part of the effort is being brought forth through indigenous scholars of the Moana. Anthropology has long been touted as the social science that offers an intellectual vehicle for

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crossing into other cultural realms of thought and lifeways. Yet underlying this scholarship, often embedded in the underpinning theoretical frameworks, lie Western-based precepts, ideas, concepts, and aims, predisposing a certain type of cultural analysis and ethnographic representation. Increasing the cultural diversity of concepts, precepts, and ideas by which social science theory is produced is yet another part of the important decolonizing, cultural-reclaiming process that is occurring—another necessary lifeline for cultural survival in today's world.

Like the other essays of this issue, this essay applies and builds on the general *tā-vā* theory of reality, an indigenous Moana theory initially pioneered and developed by Tongan scholar Hūfanga Dr. 'Okusitino Māhina (2008b). It also synthesizes and bridges this theory to the theory of point-field spatiality (Lehman and Herdrich 2002). Key concepts of Samoan culture such as *vā* (the space between), *tā* (temporal marks), *mata* (the eye and point of convergence or emanation), and *tuā'oi* (boundary and neighbor) are treated both as subjects and as tools of analysis. This essay describes indigenous Samoan spatial, temporal, and social concepts as distinctive aspects of Samoan culture, expressed linguistically, socially, and architecturally, in a changing contemporary Samoan context.

My underlying premise is that architecture and the built environment are integral to spatial/temporal concepts and practices, which are both culturally and linguistically conditioned and structured. As such, built forms and spaces are examined as constituting more than physical shelter and aesthetic form or as indicators of cultural traditions; they become a key framework or cultural modus operandi by which society addresses the need to produce and maintain social order and reduce conflict through spatial and temporal organization. Through this perspective, my analytical framework aims to connect architectural forms and spaces to the sociocultural life and practices that they encompass (see Stasch 2009).

The four Samoan terms—mata, tā, vā, and tuā'oi—are examined in their various linguistic contexts to illuminate distinctive Samoan cultural ways of experiencing spatial and temporal relationships. I research their expression through Samoan sociospatial practices and architectural forms and spaces as phenomenological modus operandi by which these concepts are experienced and given definition. In other words, I examine Samoan built spaces (both within and between structures) as an instrumental part (and reflection) of Samoan ways of cognitively (perceiving) and socially constructing time and space. In examining these terms and their meanings and manifestations in Samoan culture and the built environment, I also draw on the illuminating work of Lakoff and Johnson (2008) on how conceptual metaphors built into language work to influence worldviews (cognition and ways of thinking). They state,

> We have found . . . that metaphor is pervasive in everyday life, not just in language, but also in thought and action. Our ordinary conceptual system, in terms of which we both think and act, is fundamentally metaphorical in nature. (3)

I show how Samoan social and physical constructions are based on underlying linguistically expressed Samoan conceptual metaphors about the constitution and production of space and time. These concepts and meanings are embedded in language, in architecture, and in sociospatial and temporal practices. The essay also addresses how these concepts and cultural constructions (both physical and conceptual) are integrally related to cultural systems for dealing with conflict and developing and maintaining social order. The issue of conflict and the need to produce order in the society are seen to be central to understanding architecture, built forms, spaces, and sociospatial practices over time.

Background

The past six decades has brought about the development of a globalized Samoan community together with an increasing importance of a cash economy, out-migration, and dependence on remittances, and globalization (Anae 1998; Lilomaiva-Doktor 2009; Macherson 1992; Van der Ryn 1991, 2012b). Such trends have helped accelerate architectural and sociocultural change in Samoan villages. The change is not uniform but varies across villages, islands, and the political division of the Samoan archipelago. The traditional look of Samoan village architecture—the layout of villages and family compounds and individual structures—has been increasingly impacted to different degrees in different parts of the archipelago, politically divided since 1900 into the unincorporated U.S. territory of American Samoa and the independent nation of Samoa.

Across the diverse affects and varying levels of modernizing appearances, indigenous Samoan spatial and temporal concepts still resonate, though in modified form. This occurs because indigenous Samoan spatial and temporal concepts, which are clearly more embedded and articulated in more traditional Samoan architectural forms, have generative power. They translate into underlying principles that help guide processes of change and that then become reflected in new types of architectural forms and spaces. These unconscious generative dimensions of culture offer resilience and adaptability, evidenced through the interactive process of language, architectural forms, and sociospatial practices. The changes, nonetheless, may also result in tensions that have become an ongoing aspect of contemporary Samoan life and its negotiations.

The ethnographic and linguistic material presented in this essay draws from four years (2003–2007) of fieldwork research in villages of both the independent state of Samoa (otherwise known simply as Samoa) and the unincorporated U.S. territory of American Samoa. Despite the political and economic differences created through their colonial division in 1900, the islands continue to share a common language, set of cultural traditions, and history that form the basis for a common identity and heritage, though regional variations in custom and language do exist, and the infusion of the market economy and Western ideas is more prevalent in the American Samoan community.

Theoretical Perspectives: Tā-Vā Theory and Point-Field

This study employs and synthesizes two theoretical areas from the scholarship. The primary one is the general tā-vā theory of reality, the connecting theory for all the essays of this issue. The second and augmenting theory is the point-field (as opposed to container) theory of space.

I first learned about tā-vā theory directly through the intellectual mentorship of its pioneering architect, Hūfanga Dr. ʻOkusitino Māhina, while he was my principal supervisor for my PhD study at Auckland University. I was focused on the sociocultural dynamics and implications of change in Samoan society from changing village architecture over the last half century. Māahina, who was working on developing tā-vā theory at that time, encouraged me to examine the spatial and temporal dimensions of my topic. The spatial dimension, through the concept of vā, was more straightforward and obvious; after all, a moniker for architecture is "the art of spatial construction." Māhina, however, challenged me to dig deeper to discover the temporal dimensions of my topic, especially through the concept of tā.

This I was eventually able to do, investigating the temporal dimensions of the relationships involved in getting a building made, the temporal and social bracketing of a building's physical construction, and the temporal dimensions of a building's human uses in terms of activities performed in and around the structure over time. But it was not until I was in the write-up stage of the thesis in 2008, when published works articulating the theory and various applications began to emerge (e.g., Ka'ili 2008; Māhina 2008a, 2008b), that I began to get a deeper understanding of tā-vā theory and its applications to my ethnographic material.

The first two tenets of the general tā-vā theory of reality (Māhina 2008a, 2008b; Ka'ili 2008) are (1) that "ontologically tā and vā, time and space, are the common medium in which all things are in a single level of reality, spatiotemporality or four sided dimensionality," and (2) that "epistemologically tā

and vā, time and space, are social products, involving their varying social arrangements across cultures." The theory espouses that the conceptualization and organization of time/space dimensions, the common medium of all existence, is a cultural phenomenon. Furthermore, the study of these dimensions bears central importance on understanding issues of conflict, order, harmony, and beauty in various realms of sociocultural, artistic, and spiritual life, particularly within Polynesian societies. I frame the discussion of this essay in these aspects of the tā-vā theoretical formulation.

Augmenting my application of tā-vā theory are the perspectives of point-field spatiality, which my colleague, David Herdrich, first introduced to me in American Samoa in about 1998 while conducting research on the relevance of point-field theory in Samoa (Lehman and Herdrich 2002). Later, in doing my PhD research on Samoan architecture, I found useful application of point-field and a positive synthesis with the tā-vā theory.

Significant to point-field theory is the assertion that there are only two possible ways to cognitively perceive (and thereby cognitively construct) space; these are container and point-field. Both these modes are cognitively available and possible in any culture, but one will tend to dominate. Language may be examined as an indicator and facilitator of which way of thinking about space predominates. For example, in English, there are such common phrases heard in America as "Give me some space" or "He needs some space" (in reference to a person thought to need time alone).

The guiding conceptual metaphor in such expressions is that of a container. Space is viewed as containable, quantifiable, and something you can possess and own. This way of perceiving fits with a cultural worldview that emphasizes the singular identity of entities, including individual people, as autonomous beings whose identity remains independent of the sets of relationships to which the individual is also connected. The principle of container space models is that boundaries predetermine space. Boundaries are drawn, and space is what is on the inside of those boundaries. Western architectural concepts and practices are based on container models of space, as evidenced with cubic forms and formulas that described building areas (contained space) in terms of square feet or meters.

Point-field spatiality offers a strong contrast with that of the container model. Rather than beginning with a boundary to define a quantifiable space that it contains, point-field begins with points (they may be people of the social landscape or significant cultural points in the landscape). Each point generates its own field (space) that interacts with other fields. Those fields constitute space (physical, social, and spiritual) that necessarily interacts with the fields of other points. Boundaries emerge as negotiations of the relationship between adjacent fields. Thus, in contrast to container space, where boundaries axiomatically

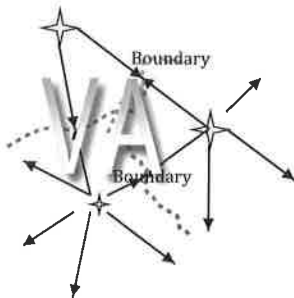
precede a notion of space, point-field space is diametrically the opposite—boundaries emerge only as an outcome of space (space that is immediately relational and not quantifiable). Lehman and Herdrich (2002) describe the two epistemologies of space in the following way:

> Point-field views space as the topological neighborhood of a given point, and boundaries are derived as the adjacency of the closures of pair-wise distinct point fields. [As such], boundaries, instead of being axiomatic, as in the container view of space, are derived theorems on the point-field view. (181)

I illustrate the conceptual difference between point-field spatiality and container-modeled spatiality in the schematic diagram of Figure 1.

Examining Samoan linguistic and ethnographic evidence, Lehman and Herdrich demonstrate the predominance of point-field spatiality in Samoan culture. In addition to mata and vā, the other Samoan terms and ideas that Lehman and Herdrich investigate include *moa* (center point), *maga* (the intersecting point) and *'ave* (ray, tentacle, arm). They have a section on boundaries but never include the Samoan term tuā'oi, which may be glossed in English as "boundary" or as "neighbor."

POINT-FIELD SPACE



CONTAINER SPACE

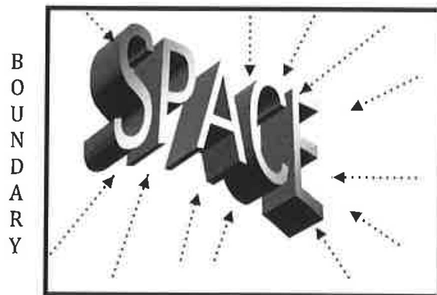


FIGURE 1. **Left: Schematic diagram of point-field model of space. Space (va) begins with points (represented by stars) that radiate fields (represented by vectors) outward. Boundaries (dotted lines) form between adjacent fields as derived theorems and become synonymous with the concept of a relation. In contrast, the container spatial model (right) begins axiomatically with established fixed boundaries (the rectangle). Space then is defined and measured as the area inside those boundaries (adapted from Lehman and Herdrich 2002, 82).**

Regarding boundaries, they state that "land boundaries in Samoa are frequently found to be overlapping and are almost constantly disputed. The boundaries derived from relationships that are agreed to are seen as temporary and likely to change relative to the changing relationship" (Lehman and Herdrich 2002, 187). The predominant lack of fences on land boundaries, particularly within the village, and an ethos against it are given as evidence of point-field spatiality.

My work here both confirms and extends their analysis of the relevance of point-field spatiality in Samoa. I also explore how point-field spatiality in Samoa extends to a point-field temporality, an effort that incorporates the Samoan term tā, and a synthesis with the tā-vā theory of reality. I also draw into the discussion more of the indigenous Samoan scholarship and my own fieldwork on Samoan concepts of vā and tuā'oi as well as associated concepts of *feagaiga* (covenant). In particular, I explore the application of my developing understanding of a tā-vā framework (together with that of point-field) to an explication of Samoan architecture and built space.

A third important contributor to my analysis derives from the writings of Samoa's head of state, His Highness Tui Atua Tupua Tamasese (2008a). I initially met Tui Atua in Auckland in 2004 and subsequently both heard him give talks and read some of his essays on Samoan cultural themes that he develops from a hermeneutic method of investigating the deeper meaning of Samoan words, proverbs, and customs in an effort to restore their significance and relevance to contemporary life, both in and out of Samoa.

This search is what is being referred to as the indigenous Samoan reference and involves a search that uncovers and reconnects Samoans to the rich meanings of the culture, which remain as relevant and important today as ever. Tui Atua (2008a) states,

> In the Samoan indigenous religion the unity and harmony between the temporal and the divine, between time and space and all living things is God. Man's purpose in life is to search for that unity and harmony, to search for God. (112)

This quote helpfully introduces a Samoan cultural reference for delving into understandings about the constitution of order and harmony in a Samoan cultural worldview. How order or harmony, which Tui Atua translates as *lagimalie* (agreeable or pleasant skies), is created and maintained and how conflict is addressed is both a theoretically and a socially salient topic to further explore ethnographically.

Through the analysis, new understandings emerge about how spatial and temporal organization articulates with sociocultural order and conflict and

how these perspectives are expressed and reciprocally reinforced in language, social customs, and architecture of the built environment.

Samoan Cultural Concepts of Vā, Tuā'oi, Mata, and Tā

Tā-vā theory initially suggests that the Polynesian term vā (*wā* in Maori and in Hawaiian) is the Moana term for space, while tā is the Moana equivalent to time (Māhina 2008b, 78); thus, vā = space; tā = time. Ka'ili (2008) slightly revised the concept, explaining tā as a term that signifies *points in time*, in which vā can be understood as the space between these points, that is, temporal space. Samoan words, such as *vaiaso* (week), demonstrates this use: vaiaso = *vā-i-aso* (an interval of days).

My integration of point-field analysis stimulated my development of revised equations for defining space and time concepts in Samoa and other parts of the Moana using these terms but incorporating the term mata. These equations are as follows:

Synchronic (geographical) space (i.e., spatiality)= vā + mata.

Diachronic (temporal/social) space (i.e., time) = vā + tā.

Through these equations, vā is defined as intervals (or relations) between points, which are mata (in synchronic space) and tā (in temporal space). This framework now more properly shows vā to be the common denominator for both space and time. In addition, when we recognize that vā denotes social, spiritual, and ideational space as well as geographical space, then the sociality and spirituality of spatiality becomes evident. The same may be said for temporality; that is, temporality is directly tied to sociality and spirituality. While these notions receive further explication as the article proceeds, my first step is to briefly examine each of these terms (vā, mata, tā, and tuā'oi) and how they may be generally understood to fit into a web of Samoan cultural meanings.

Vā: Intervals and Binding Relations Between Entities

Vā denotes "between-ness," or the interval between beings or entities that both binds and separates them together in various ways. Many writers, especially Samoan ones, have noted its cultural significance in Samoa (e.g., Le Tagaloa 2003; Lilomaiva-Doktor 2009; Refiti 2007; Tuagalu 2008; Wendt 1999). Albert Wendt (1999) states that important to the Samoan view of reality is the concept of vā:

> Vā is the space between, the between-ness, not empty space, not space that separates but space that relates, that holds separate entities and things together in the Unity-that-is-All, the space that is context, giving meaning to things.

Lealiifano Albert Refiti (2007) poetically elaborates vā as

> the radiating force that shifts and rolls like the surface of the sea . . . an opening, a space or in-between place that dislocates and disconnect people and things, not in a negative way but as a reality that provides a way to bond them "positively." (34)

Le Tagaloa (2003) had this to say about vā:

> Vā governs all things and holds all things together. . . . Vā is relationship, connection, affiliation, boundaries, difference, separation, space, distance, responsibility, obligation, state of being, position, standing, and so much more. (9)

One informant in my fieldwork described to me five types of vā: (1) the spatial vā, (2) the temporal vā, (3) the social vā (between people and other people), (4) the vā between people and their environment, and (5) the vā between people and the Creator. Those varied categories for understanding vā are found frequently expressed in everyday conversation and speech. Vā is an emphasized theme in Samoan everyday and ceremonial life.

All of these Samoan explanations help signify the salient Samoan emphasis on viewing the relations and context of things as opposed to focusing on objects, entities, or people in and of themselves (typically a more Western cultural pattern). Anthropologist Bradd Shore (1982) made similar observations in his earlier Samoan ethnography, stating,

> Lacking any epistemological bias that would lead them to focus on "things in themselves" or the essential qualities of experience, Samoans instead focus on things in their relationship, and the contextual grounding of experience. (136)

In the vā of people, things, and entities, harmony (and/or conflict) is created and managed. This helps explain the Samoan attention to spatiality and temporality of social practices, especially at formal ceremonial exchanges, such as at funerals, weddings, chieftain bestowals, church, and guesthouse dedications, when sociopolitical stakes and potential for conflict are high.

Such events serve as a framework for negotiating, building on, and reproducing historical and genealogically-derived vā between kin-based groups.

This point underscores the importance Samoans give to such Samoan social practices of *teu le vā* (adorn the relationship) and *tausi le vā* (tend to and care for the relationship over time) in Samoan life. It also underscores importance of other Samoan social practices, such as *tapua'i* (and *tapua'iga*), a Samoan practice and concept of worship and social support for others' endeavors, and feagaiga (covenant and agreement), a term that also refers to the binding nature of certain types of complementary relationships, such as between brother and sister, between *tulāfale* and *ali'i*, or between a minister and his congregation. Similarly, vā is also used to discuss spiritual relationships, such as the vā between God and people, always invoked in Samoan Christian prayers. In sum, the existence and identity of things becomes necessarily perceived through the context of relationships and interactions, or what I call "relationality."

Mata: "Emanating/Convergence Point" or "Eye"

Mata is the Samoan (and Polynesian) term for "eye," "face," "point," or "edge" (Milner 2003, 134). Mata, as eye(s), is the principal sensory organ for perceiving relational space, that is, vā (in the synchronic frame). Mata, as eyes, represent a point in which light rays converge and intersect to form images of the world in our mind from which the relational coexistence of objects, beings, and significant points in the physical and social landscape are cognitively discerned. Anything that can be construed as a focal point can be a mata, such as *o le mata o le afā* (the eye of the hurricane). Here, clearly English also takes on similar double uses of the word "eye" (e.g., the eye of the needle or the eye of the potato).

One finds mata as the prefix morpheme of a number of compound words. Some examples include *matāvai* (freshwater spring), *matātalo* (the crown of a taro), *matāuila* (an electric lightbulb; *uila* means "electricity" or "lightning"), and, as Lehman and Herdrich (2002, 184) point out, *matāgaluega* (government section or department).[1] Across these examples, mata stands out as a point source of intersection from which something (water, light, the growth of the taro, or work) emanates. Such a meaning seems less embodied in the English words. For example, as Lehman and Herdrich (2002, 184) point out, in English a government department is viewed as a bounded space in which certain work gets done, whereas a matāgaluega is a point from which work emanates.

Mata also encompasses the English concept of an edge; for example, the mata of a knife is its sharp edge, and a *matāfaga* (beach) literally means

"edge of bay." Here, I would propose that the same theme of intersection and source from which something emanates manifests in the meaning. The beach represents the intersection of the sea and the land, a point at which harvests from the sea came to land, but also visitors from other islands would land, opening up possibilities for new relationships and exchange.

Mata is also prefix in compound words to denote important societal positions. For example, *matāfale* refers to the holder and caretaker of a title as well as a roof gable. The term is used today in Samoan contexts mainly to refer to the social units, traditionally formed around a *matai* (a titled person, sometimes glossed in English as "chief") through which church contributions are made. *Matā'āiga* refers to the extended family household with a matai residing in it. The word matai itself consists mainly of mata. The matai position can be conceptualized as the eye, authority, and source of family solidarity. That mata also means "eye" or "face" only gives these associations more significance.

Mata offers a concept of point of intersection and source of power that makes mata (as person, landscape, or architectural feature) culturally significant, something for our mata (as eyes) to discern and measure in relation to other mata, including each owner of a pair of eyes in the vā of existence. In sum, mata may be a person (of position) in the social landscape or a culturally valued fixed point of the built environment. Vā (social and spatial relationships) are principally perceived (and thereby constructed) through the eye (mata) and viewed as the interval space or relation between points/edges in the inhabited conceptual, social, symbolic, and physical world.

Tā: "Strike," Material Intersections Marking "Points in Time"

It is of some interest that the Samoan word for "ear" is *taliga* (or *tāliga*, depending on which dictionary one is using). If space is perceived through the eyes (mata), the taliga (ears) are the primary sensory organ I suggest by which time it is sensed. Through the ears (and through the sense of touch), our bodies listen to the beats that make up time.

When one looks up the word tā in either a Tongan–English or a Samoan–English dictionary, the English gloss given (in both cases) is "to strike"; nothing about "time" is given as a gloss. If you look for the Samoan word for "time" in the English–Samoan section, the word given is *taimi*, a transliteration of the English word "time." Clearly, Europeans introduced the word taimi together with the clock and the use of quantification of time, which also refers to a Western container concept of time that I see as parallel with the container model of space.

Such English expressions often heard in American "culture" as "Do you have enough time to do this?" or "Thank you for giving me some of

your time" are rarely heard in Samoan cultural contexts, nor are they easily expressed in the language without use of the transliterated word taimi. Such phrases immediately signify specifically *papālagi* (foreign) ideologies and values embedded in the modern Western industrial concept of time as a quantifiable and containable commodity.

But certainly, Samoans had and have a sense of time rooted to their language and pre-European contact culture. The idea of past, present, and future is represented grammatically in Samoan language. Samoan also has a well-specified indigenous (pre–European contact) way of telling "times" of day using the word *itiulā* (literally, the side or position of the sun [in the sky]). Months and years were also all specified and had specific meanings (see also Unasa in this volume).

I propose that the sense of time conveyed in Samoan language is, like its spatial counterpart, modeled as point-field (not container). Māhina (2008a, 2008b) generally uses the word tā as a shorthand reference for a Moana sense and concept of time. Ka'ili (2008) describes how he first had trouble identifying tā in Tongan as "time" (given the dictionary definitions) until he realized how tā as "tempo, beat, pace, rhythm, and frequency" (15), was the core feature of a Tongan sense of time. It is from this perspective that I arrived at the equation time = tā + vā; that is, time is composed of beats that mark "time" plus the vā (or intervals between each beat), giving rise to a temporal sense, a rhythm. In this temporal framework, vā signifies the intervals between points (*tā*) in the temporal frame.

The temporality associated with the word tā that I worked on identifying in Samoan expressions and thought. Here, a few examples I found included *tā tā le fatu* (the continued beating of the heart), which is also a euphemistic way of referencing "I'm still alive, and time/life goes on. In the well-ordered Samoan village, there is the *sā* (the curfew time), which is marked at its beginning and end by the *tā le sā* (literally, striking of the curfew) involving the striking (tā) of a bell or wooden drum (*lali*). In such examples, time is being marked, a tempo is set, and the markers (tā) plus the intervals between (vā) constitute the complete point-field time equation. The connection between strike (tā) and time is not completely foreign to European language and thought. Just consider the phrase "The clock struck five o'clock." In Samoan, one does not ask, "*O le a le taime*?" ("What time is it?") but rather "*Ua tā se fia*?" (literally, "How much has been struck?").

The connection between the physical act of strike (tā) and time is also reflected in the *Solo o le Vā* creation myth, a significant Samoan creation myth that early missionaries recorded in both narrative and chanted forms in the Manu'a Islands (Fraser 1897). The narrative describes the creation of the earth, its oceans and islands, and the heavens through the progenerative

and creative powers of Tagaloalagi, who near the beginning roams hither and thither in the *vānimonimo* (the illimitable void) until coming to the primordial rock named Tagaloa-Fa'atutupunu'u (Tagaloa, to cause places). Tagaloalagi strikes (tā) the rock, dividing it into two halves. The result created by this first tā is the first measurable and limitable vā, the space now existing between the two halves of the rock that used to be one.

That moment of the first great mythological tā is thus really the beginning of both space and time creation in Samoa cosmology. The rest of the narrative continues along the same themes to describe the full construction of space and time in Samoan indigenous mythological thought. This vā signifies separation but also connection (through time and space). Vā denotes the necessity of relationship through separation and connection as part of constituting harmony and unity. Tā is continually found as the marker of time and thereby space and relationships and vice versa. (For additional analysis of the *Solo o le Vā* myth for understanding Samoan architecture and spatiality, see Allen 1993; Van der Ryn 2012a)

Further investigating the concept of tā in relationship to time or a sense of time reveals a number of words or phrases that incorporate tā and that do not always denote physical striking of an object but rather more abstractly the denotation or marking of points in time. These are the following:

(1) *Taeao*: morning, tomorrow, historical era.
(2) *Tapena*: to tidy up, in preparation for a new activity, event, etc.
(3) *Ta'ape*: to disperse in different directions, such as after a social event is finished.
(4) *Tā le gafa*: literally, to strike the genealogy; refers to the conjugal relationship resulting in children. The phrase can be applied whether or not the conjugal relationship lasts.

The connecting idea in all these applications is that of a temporal intersection and a temporal bracketing of events; for example, taeao (*tā-e-ao*), literally, the striking of daytime, means both "tomorrow" and "morning." Taeao, as morning, represents the point of intersection between night (darkness) and day (light) and a way of bracketing the start of each new day. Taeao is also used metaphorically in Samoan to refer to a "new era" or "new beginning." The establishment of Christianity in Samoa involved a new intersection in history officially referred to as a taeao. The day of a bestowal of chiefly title may be referred to as *taeao fou* (new day).[2]

The nuanced meanings reflected by the word tā as not only "strike" but also a momentary intersection of materials marking points in time are reflected in tapena (to tidy up, get a physical space ready for a new social

event) and ta'ape (to disperse in different directions, i.e., after a social event is finished). The two activities suggest external activities engaged to bracket important socially significant events where social vā will be worked on or constructed. Tā le gafa (literally, striking of genealogies) is a phrase used to refer to a conjugal pairing resulting in offspring. The tā in this case is the point of intersection of two different genealogies (*gafa*) that occurs through male–female coupling. That tā le gafa indicates a "mark in time" within the genealogical sequences of two different descent groups. Similarly, *talepe* (to break or smash) and *tāma'i* (a war or calamity, to be destroyed) also resonate with those same nuances of meaning. Pratt's *Grammar and Dictionary of the Samoan Language* (Pratt 1977, 39) describes the use of tā as a prefix added to some Samoan nouns and verbs. He describes how as a prefix added to nouns, for example, *ili* (fan) and *fale* (house), the noun is turned into an active verb with repeated action. Thus, *tāili* denotes the repeated action of fanning, and *tāfale* means going to house to house. Adding tā to verbs denotes a further extent and multiplicity of an action. Thus, *fana* (to shoot) becomes *tāfana* (to shoot a lot), and *motu* (to be broken off) becomes *tāmotuina* ([used in the passive] to cut off limb by limb).

Tuā'oi: Boundaries/Neighbor

A crucial dimension of the definition of any vā is that the boundary emerges as part of that vā (the between). In terms of social vā, there exists a particular vā between husbands and wives, between a matai and those that serve him or her, between ali'i and tulāfale (the two complementary classes of matai), between ministers and their congregations, and so on. Each of these vā relationships has its own set of mutual responsibilities, obligations, and boundaries that are conceived as an essential part of that relationship. As point-field theory predicts, the boundaries emerge as theorems from that relationship, a point independently confirmed by Tui Atua Tupua Tamasese (2008a):

> In the harmony between fellow men Sāmoans find that there exist special relationships between people . . . called feagaiga [a particular type of vā involving complementary opposites). As a result of these *tapu* and/or feagaiga, boundaries or tuā'oi emerge. (108)

This view matches perfectly with the understanding that point-field spatiality begins with the perception of mata, then the vā between them. Space relationships thereby precede the construction of boundaries; boundaries are the outcomes of the relationships, not the other way around. Once those relationships are understood, the mutual boundary in that relationship emerges

from it. This cognitive process resulting from a specific sociocultural dynamic contrasts with the container way of perceiving and creating space, in which space and relationships therein become understandable only through the existence of boundaries in advance. That the tuāʻoi emerges as a result of the relationship is equivalent to it being a "derived theorem." Further evidence of the point-field model is found in the fact that the Sāmoan word for "neighbor" is also tuāʻoi. After all, a boundary is made in the vā between neighbors in the landscape; point-field spatiality makes the concept of vā almost synonymous with tuāʻoi. They imply each other.

Temporal space (whether container or point field) is often metaphorically structured through the more tangible concrete experience of space (Borodotsky 2000; Casasanto and Bordotsky 2008). A good example is a common Samoan way an orator may begin a speech with the Samoan proverb *seʻi tō le niu i le tuāʻoi* (plant the coconut tree on the boundary). The use of the proverb politely acknowledges the previous speaker (if the latter is a high chief or an orator of rank) (Schultz 1980, 31). Such polite statements help facilitate harmony in these social situations by showing clear order and respect for boundaries as they emerge in relationships.

In addition to demonstrating the metaphoric structuring of a temporal boundary through the metaphor of a spatial boundary, the example reinforces the view of space and time as part of a common medium of existence represented in the term vā. The relationship to a neighbor is defined through the dynamics of the boundary, a point that clearly highlights the strong relational dimension of a point-field/mata-vā time-space culture in Samoa.

Lagimalie and *Vevesi*: Harmony and Conflict in Samoan Thought and Practice

The discussion so far has been illustrating the tā-vā theory tenet that "space and time are ontologically the common medium of existence, though epistemologically they are social constructs" (Māhina 2008b, 78). My discussion progresses now to illuminate how "conflict and order [constituted through the arrangement of space and time] are of the same logical status, in that, order is itself an expression of conflict; and the symmetrical arrangement of tā-vā gives rise to *malie* (beauty) while the asymmetrical configuration of tā-vā leads to *tāmaki* (disharmony)" (Māhina 2008b, 78). In reference to Samoan terms as the cultural realm in which I am working, I choose Tui Atua's term for harmony, lagimalie (literally, agreeable heavens), not the more common Samoan term for "peace" (*filēmū*). The former denotes an active balancing of elements, while the latter, a more passive absence of problems or disharmonies. Here I draw on my Samoan fieldwork to build on the ethnographic

examples of Lehman and Herdrich (2002) and the cultural insights of Tui Atua (2008a) to illuminate underlying cultural issues and themes of harmony and conflict in Samoa.

In full alignment with the tā-vā theory, Samoa's head of state, Tui Atua (2008a), states that "conflicts arise when the tuā'oi or boundaries within are transgressed or misunderstood. Conflicts are products and reflections of disharmony" (109). Lehman and Herdrich (2002) and Shore (1982) relate considerable ethnographic evidence to show the salient Samoan cultural theme by which boundaries (particularly land boundaries) are often hotly contested in Samoa in part because they are deliberately often not well marked. They argue that they are not well marked because it is implicitly understood that the boundary may change and be adjusted as a response to the changing nature of the relationship. Samoans thus like to have flexibility in the determination of the boundary.

This interpretation may sometimes be given as the direct explanation, but the more frequent response Samoans gave me is that a fence or wall signifies distrust and lack of mutual understanding. Harmony is understood as the result of the mutual understanding and respect about the boundary. This point, however, only reinforces Tui Atua's point that conflict erupts when boundaries are transgressed, which the political dynamic of point-field might and would eventually predict. This very point illustrates how and why conflict and order are of the same logical status. It is only by the constant balancing of relationships that an equilibrium that can be understood as harmony is developed while the boundary continues to get tested, shifted, or reaffirmed.

Harmony is not simply the absence of conflict but rather is actively constructed to counter the potentials for conflict. This basic understanding is integral to Samoan social ethos and the social activities. Four basic common social practices can be mentioned here to illuminate. They are *teu le vā, tausi vā, tautua, tausiga*. The concepts in all these terms address ways of fostering relationships in a Samoan social order that will ideally foster positive social outcomes. Teu le vā (usually glossed as "adorn or tend to the relationship") has been highlighted the most in the literature. The phrase refers to actions or relationships that will harmonize them (especially if there was some disharmony that had occurred), restoring warm and beautiful feelings about the relationship. Certain distributions of wealth also are referred to using the word *teu* (adorn or fix), such as teu le *'āiga* (family), which is when reciprocity is given to supporters of an event (such as title investiture, a funeral, a wedding, or a building dedication) after the completion of the event. The redistribution of wealth given away to those participating contributors is referenced as *teu*, in contrast to other types of distributions during the event, which may be referenced as *fa'aaloalo* (respect).

Tausi le vā is similar to teu le vā. The difference is that teu le vā refers to individual acts, but tausi le vā refers to the longer-term repeated actions that support the relationship over time. The Tongan cognate of tausi le vā is *tauhi vā*, which Ka'ili (2008) explains as the "Tongan art of creating and maintaining beautiful socio-spatial relations through the mutual performance of duties" (3). He demonstrates tauhi vā in Tonga as the art of producing social space through symmetrical socioeconomic reciprocity. Ka'ili shows how tauhi vā functions to produce symmetry as a necessary attribute of creating harmonious and beautiful relationships. Note that the English gloss for mālie in Tongan is "beauty," but in Samoan, malie means "agreeable" or "pleasant." Clearly, across these glosses, we can see a definition of beauty as holding qualities of order and harmony. While Tongan and Samoan cultural and social orders and customs have distinctive differences, *tausi* vā in Samoa has similar qualities to tauhi vā in Tonga. The back-and-forth giving of food and engaging in friendly conversation on a regular basis between neighbors exemplifies *tausi* vā in Samoa.

While teu and tausi vā signify the tending of relationships between more or less equal ranks, tautua (service) and tausiga (care and protection) signify the social tending of unequal relationships across Samoan hierarchy. In the case of Samoa, untitled people perform *tautua* to their matai (titled family head) who stand in a higher position within the social hierarchy. In return, the matai provide *tausiga* to those providing *tautua* (i.e., the matai are responsible for their welfare). If a chief performs poorly in his *tausiga* and does not uphold his side of the relationship, people performing *tautua* reserve the option of moving residence and performing *tautua* elsewhere to someone else, typically another to whom they hold genealogical or marriage ties.[3] Thus, there exist numerous checks and balances in the system that help ensure mutuality, which can be considered to hold symmetry.[4]

There is also a strong traditional belief that one receives *manuia* (blessings) from serving chiefs as well as elders. Through exchange of *tautua* and *tausiga*, symmetry is managed within an unequally graded social hierarchy.[5] Also, the performance of *tautua* is one of the most important criteria considered when the descent group meets together to choose the next successor to a matai title, hence, the common Samoan expression "*O le ala o le pule o le tautua*" ("The way to authority is through service").

Tā-vā theory suggests that potential conflict (realized or not) underlies social actions whose prescribed aim and ethos are to produce and maintain beauty and harmony in society. Harmony directly reflects the ordering of spatial and temporal arrangements in particular ways that will reduce the possibilities of conflict. It is thus not surprising that moments of disorder and conflict arise within these social situations whose express aim

is to produce harmony in the vā. This insight corresponds with the tā-vā theoretical tenet "that all things, in nature, mind and society, stand in eternal process of relations of cycle and exchange to one another, giving rise to conflict or order."

The *Tā-Vā* Applications to Samoan Architecture and Built Environments

Tā-vā theory has also been applied to the cultural arena of art. Examining Samoan oratory, music, dance, building traditions, tattooing, and other material arts, one finds that these activities, like other areas of social life, are governed by the same principles for creating harmony and beauty. As Māhina (2009) states, this aspect of culture affects a space/time transformation "where conflicts in the form *(fuo)* and content *(uho)* of things are symmetrically arbitrated in the creative process" (1).

Conventionally, social behavior is usually judged in terms of ethics (e.g. this behavior was good or bad, harmonious or divisive, etc.). Art is more often evaluated in terms of "aesthetics" (e.g. this painting, object, or music is beautiful). Tā-vā theory illuminates how both ethics and aesthetics are two sides of the same coin. Both are associated with ideas and feelings of harmony and beauty. Because art expresses the transformation and arrangement of space and time in various ways, the tā-vā analysis of art necessarily analyzes the localized concepts of vā, mata, tā, and tuā'oi as applied principles.

I apply tā-vā theory to the rich ground of Samoan architecture and built environments. It is rich ground because architecture is the three-dimensional art form that physically structures the spaces of human lives and social interactions over time in ways that reflect and reinforce cultural values and ideas.

In Samoan tradition, architecture or, more precisely, house building, exists as one of three main *tufuga* (master material artist) trades—*tufuga tāva'a* (boatbuilders), *tufuga faufale* (master architect/carpenters), and *tufaga tātatau* (master tattoo artists)—that historically had formed prestigious guilds of specialists who plied their trade throughout the islands.

Before moving to an explication of vā, tā, and mata concepts within the architecture of Samoan built environments, it is helpful to first make an application of these concepts to a different simpler art form: tatau (tattooing). I say "simpler" because whereas architecture involves space-time transformations in four dimensions (three dimensions of space plus time), tatau art involves only the two-dimensional surface of a person's skin (plus time).

The tufuga intently uses his mata (eyes) to discern and measure the space of the skin he will be covering in his designs. He uses no stencil (and to do so would be forbidden by the tradition) but rather projects the design through

his mind's eye onto the skin. He begins the tatau by making several small marks (mata) on the central back as a starting point from which the tattooing of the design proceeds. He then dips the points (mata) of the tattooing comb (*au*) in black ink and places those points slightly above the skin. He begins to rapidly tap (tā, tā, tā) the mallet against handle of the *au*.

In concert with the tapping rhythm, the tufuga moves the au along over the surface of the skin, using his discerning mata (eye) to measure the vā between marks in space (on the skin) in coordination with the vā (temporal space) between the tā, tā (rhythmic striking) of the au with the mallet. Time-space transformation occurs in the coordination between time, in the *tātā* (tapping, a temporal vā), mata (the eyes) focused on the mata (points) where the au enters the skin, and the vā (spatial intervals) on the skin between design markings, created as the tattoo master moves the instrument leaving gaps between marks. Suffice to say that while this work of beauty on the person's skin represents a time-space transformation, it also represents a transformation of the person from one status to another—for the Samoan man gains the important social status of a *soga'imiti* (a traditionally tattooed male) once the entire painful tatau process is complete.

Tā, Mata, and Vā in the Building Process

Traditional Samoan house building follows similar principles to that of traditional Samoan tattooing. For example, to predraw (e.g., blueprints) or to produce a model of the envisioned building in advance lies outside Samoan tradition and in fact goes against it (see Refiti 2009). The entire design in all its intricate, interconnected parts is stored as knowledge in the master builder's mind. Traditional builders explained to me, and I observed, that traditional Samoan structures were not only built without predrawn plans, but also without levels, tape measures, or squares. Such tools were deemed useless; the discerning and measuring master's eye was the essential tool.

For the building of a traditional *faletele* (or meetinghouse), the tufuga starts by placing the central point of the *fale* (house) where the central post(s) will be planted and raised. Those central one, two, or three posts will hold up the entire dome-shaped roof. The tufuga faufale has already asked the commissioning chief how many *so'a* (crossbeams) the house should have (Buck 1930). The answer tells him not only how many crossbeams to expect to build but also how high the central posts will be and, by proportion, what the diameter of the structure will be, determining then the number of outer posts that will be needed.

The planting in the earth of the central posts marks the first temporal point in the construction process (this is not counting the contractual events

between tufuga faufale and the commissioning chief to form the relationship to make the building). The tufuga faufale uses *'afa* (coconut husk twine) to draw a radius outward from the central posts to form the perimeter where the outer posts of the round ends of the structure will be placed at six-foot intervals. Note how this building process perfectly illustrates the point-field spatial model at work. The central point is marked first, then a radius is drawn outward to define the outer limits of the house. Contrast this with the Western building process, whereby the perimeter of a building's space where exterior walls will be built is measured and staked out on the ground first, a perfect reflection of the container model.

The next step is to construct the *itū* (or middle straight section supported by the central posts), which arches from the structure's front to back sides. Once the middle section is built, each of the two round ends (*tala*) is built, attached to each side of the itū. While the central posts and the itū are the main supports of the structure, the outer perimeter of posts, which will be the sitting posts, add important stability. Once they are added, the rock foundation is built up to the level that has already been determined to a height that is eyed to be appropriate to the village ranking of the structure's associated chief. For example, it should not be higher than any higher-ranking chief or lower than any lower-ranking chief in the village.

Physical Structure Symbolizing Social Structure

Looking up into the roof structure of the "round" faletele, one finds a masterfully crafted reflection of the culture that created it (Fig. 2). Notably, the structure has a twofold symmetry (Refiti 2007, 33); front and back are symmetrical, as are the two round tala. The structure of the roof (and the floor space under it) thereby has a tripartite structure, consisting of the straight middle itū, the front side of which faces to the *malae* (open central ceremonial village green) and the two semicircular tala attached to each of its sides.

The outstanding feature of the rounded tala are the *vaega fau* (arching purlins), which are fashioned from joined pieces of carved breadfruit and are highly bound with 'afa lashing. Each end of the lower half of the arching vaega fau descend to the *fau lalo*, which performs the role of an eave plate. The ends of the each of *fau* of the upper half of vaega fau ends at the itū. The visual and structural results beautifully reflect the Samoan duality between the sacred and instrumental powers associated respectively with the two types of matai: ali'i and tulāfale. The sacred ali'i, whose authority is associated with the *lagi* (heavens), sit in the sacred space of the structure's round tala. The tulāfale (sometimes referred to as administrative chiefs) who speak on behalf of the ali'i and mediate the

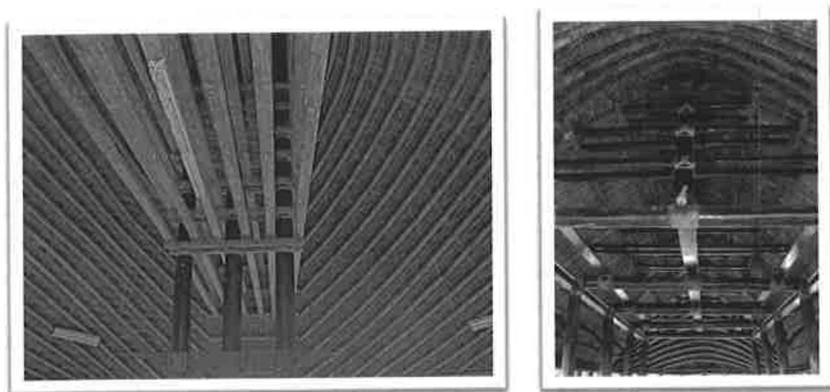


FIGURE 2. **Left: Interior roof of a round faletele, showing how the arching purlins of the vaega fau from each round tala converge toward the middle itu section. Right: Samoan *faleafolau*—the arching purlins of the vaega fau are visible at both the top and the bottom. The itū of the faleāfolau is greatly lengthened, while the itu of the faletele is made very short, thereby accentuating the round tala.**

ceremonially constructed vā of the event, sit at the front posts of the itū, the back side of which sit the preparers of the *'ava* (ceremonial drink). The itū is the instrumental and mediating part of the structure; it sits between and supports the two large rounded tala, just as tulāfale act as the agents of instrumental (or administrative, not sacred) power in the structure of the culture.

Tā-vā theory would predict that the architectonics of the traditional Samoan house's form—its two fold symmetry, rounded ends, gently convex sloping roof, arching purlins, and so on—produces a harmonious aesthetic effect that helps manifests a cultural vision of order and unity within and between groups. My fieldwork findings support the validity of this claim. As such, the idea of "order" (as function) and "harmony or beauty" (as aesthetic) unite and become synonymous. As Māhina (pers. comm. 2008) suggests, a focus on "the function of things necessarily follows after a reflection on both their form and content have been established in the first place, where the former is based on the use of art, and the latter, on art, in itself."

Building form and spatial dimensions, as well as the social and technical process of construction, contribute towards that significance. Traditional Samoan architecture has no facades or ceilings to hide the structural elements that hold the building together. The clear view of the structural form is

central to its aesthetics, so function and aesthetics are one and the same, and the various building parts take on symbolic importance in how Samoans use their language to describe social parts and dynamics in their society (Van der Ryn 2012a: 107–108; Schultz 1980: 32–33; Tui Atua 2008b, 95). Examples are also found in Samoan terms. Tulāfale (short for tulāgafale), which literally means "the place the house stands," signifies one of the two main types of chiefs or matai. Tulāfale are the orator chiefs (also glossed in English as "talking chief" or simply "orator"). Tauluga (the top peak of the house) also refers to the climactic dance performed by the taupou (the titled daughter of the high chief) that concludes a dance entertainment. These examples highlight how the Samoan house serves as a meaningful, tangible metaphor, and mnemonic tool – a kind of model for society and the system of relations and principles that form its structure. This point brings the aesthetic dimensions of architecture into alignment with the intricacies of Samoan social organization and its constituent values (Van der Ryn 2012).

Sociospatial Practices in the House

> It [vā] means space and it means we are always negotiating the truth at that moment. Nothing is absolute. A Samoan house is a good example of this concept. It's open, there's no privacy; you have to negotiate how you exist in that. A Western house has closed doors, so it's easy. (Lemi Ponifasio in M. Amery, "A Dancer Alone," *Sunday Star Times*, July 16, 2000)

Samoan choreographer Lemi Ponifasio's comment on the connection between the Samoan concept of vā and the open Samoan *fale* opens my discussion of Samoan sociospatial practices. His comment immediately highlights the *fale*'s openness, which requires people to negotiate and manage their identity. The traditional Samoan *fale* provides clues within its design for the culturally in-tune person of how to negotiate that space and their identity. In turn, one's identity in this openness is defined through one's negotiation, which always has cultural prescriptions.

The sides of the structure consists of posts rather than walls, each post conceived and perceived as a point that will signify specific ranks and relationships in the society when a person sits at that post in a formal meeting. The open space (vā) between each pair of posts is called *faitoto'a* (door or doorway). Technically, anyone could enter the house through any of the many faitoto'a, but where and how one enters is defined largely by one's social status, position, and role within the specifics of the event. Generally, lower-ranking people of a group enter and exit only from the back as well as

FIGURE 3. **A village meeting in session in the village meetinghouse. The open walls provide the ability for additional, lower-ranked people to observe and listen to the meeting from the lower-ranking exterior space.**

sit on the back, and also, generally, one also enters from the side where one plans to sit so as not to have to stand and walk in front of people already sitting, an action that is considered rude.

Thus, from which side one enters the structure, how one moves within the structure, and where one sits are all telling indicators to others of that person's sense of their own position and relationships in relation to others in the surrounding environ. This process involves being constantly conscious of one's vā (social and spatial) with others and behaving with respect to that vā. How people negotiate space shapes others' responses and interactions. This point is certainly true in all cultures, but in open space without the physical channels of doors, chairs, and sofas, I propose that a different and heightened sense is produced of "being in the world," creating or maintaining relations with others.

The wall-less feature accentuates the use of posts to support the large domelike roof. The visibility of the posts from both the structure's interior and its exterior makes them stand out as mata (points) defining interior space without confining and enclosing it with walls. The vā between interior and exterior is thereby facilitated and mediated by the posts, a vā that walls would serve to block. Those mata (points) of the posts become even more accentuated as points in the social landscape when people gather in the structure for

a formal meeting. Each matai sits at his or her appropriate socially ranked post in the structure (Fig. 3).

In formal meeting of the matai, the tulāfale sit and orate from the *itūluma* (front side) posts of the meetinghouse's straight middle section. The central post of this row of posts is reserved for the highest-ranking tulāfale. The ali'i sit at the posts of the curving tala (which may also now sometimes be straight). The *matuātala* (the central post at the apex of the curve) in the tala is the highest-ranking post of the tala, reserved for the highest-ranking ali'i (or sometimes the church minister). Lower-ranking matai without posts are called just that: *matai vā i pou* ("between the posts chiefs"). If the meeting is of the association of *tausi* (wives of tulāfale) and *faletua* (wives of ali'i), a similar arrangement is followed whereby the wives take the same spatial positions that would be occupied by their husbands. The same parallels occur for meetings of the *aumaga* (association of untitled men) or *aualuma* (unmarried natal women of the village).

The absence of walls removes a hindrance to more than just the cooling trade winds needed in the warm tropical climate. Importantly, observers on the outside of the structure may easily know who is sitting where. They may also sit on the house platform outside the perimeter of sitting posts to listen and observe the meeting. This situation promotes sociopolitical transparency as well as education of the culture in general and the particulars of that specific village, a dynamic that is hindered if the house has walls.

The open Samoan house (as well as the absence of fences) also facilitates Samoan practices, such as the sharing of food between neighbors, calling to passersby to come and eat (Fig. 4), and ritualized exchanges of fine mats, food, and money between and across exterior and interior house spaces—all activities engaging the productive development of vā. Openness also serves the purpose of giving household heads and elders the ability to direct and supervise household activities. Matai or elders sitting inside a *fale*, perhaps weaving the mats or braiding the 'afa for the building of the next structure, have a clear view of the other activities occurring in both the interior and the exterior spaces of the family compound and may signal or call people more easily as needed.

The open sides also help conceptualize the difference between dividing a single house up into different rooms to create different interior spaces and the traditional Samoan way of building multiple open houses for the lodging of various parts of an extended family household. In the first instance, walls are used to create and separate the different spaces (rooms) of a single structure. In the second instance, it is vā between each structure that both connects and separates those different structures and their individual spaces. Thus, the individual structures and their spaces are more clearly understood

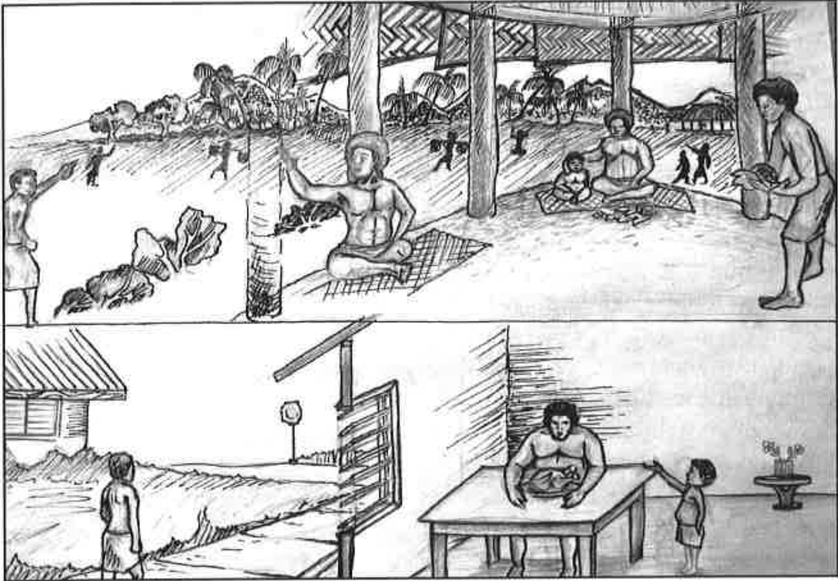


FIGURE 4. **Illustration of a "difference walls make." Top: Open *fale*—a meal is being served, and a passerby is called to come and eat. Bottom: Man having a meal at a table in enclosed house. The walls cut him off from the passerby outside, and no interaction occurs.**

as part of a larger interconnected space. When houses are open, people stay much more aware not only of what is going on outside the structure they are in but also of other structures, who is in them, what people are doing in them, and what their own relationship is to them and the activities occurring in them. The spatial and social vā becomes highly accentuated through this open architecture in a way that walls most definitely impede (for more detailed account of all aspects that open house architecture facilitates, see Van der Ryn 2012a: 172–76).

Sociospatial Practices in the Broader Spatiality of Samoan Villages

I now examine how open Samoan architecture fits into the broader general landscape forms and practices of Samoan villages and how point-field spatiality/temporality is also reflected in these practices. Examining Samoan village layouts one can see that traditional Samoan villages originally developed, centered on a village malae (the sacred central village ceremonial green used

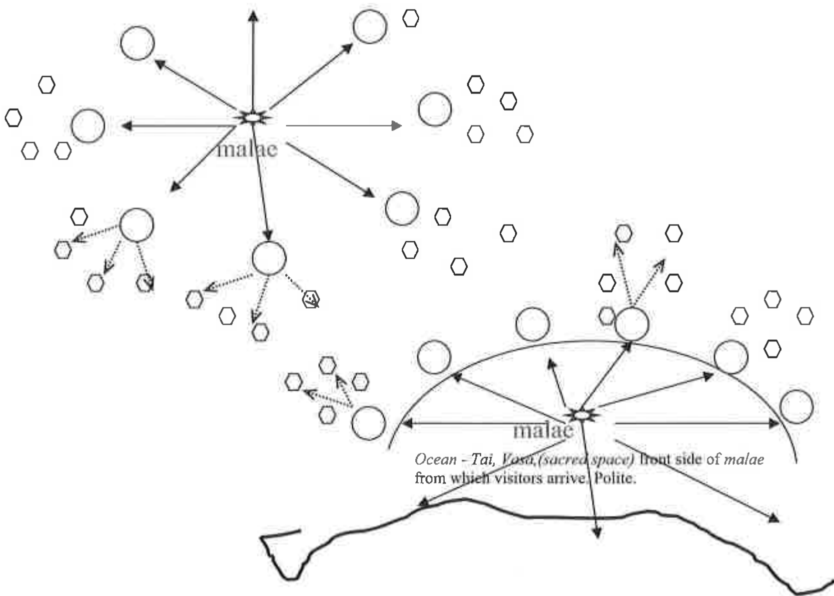


FIGURE 5. **Schematic diagrams of Samoan village layouts. The radial or point-field spatiality of the village layout is visible by which the malae forms the central point from which space radiates outward. In the top layout, the village is farther from the sea, so the structures make a complete circle. In the lower half, the sea offers an extension of the malae space, so the village does not make a full circle of structures around its malae. The road is not included in the diagram but typically is made to run through some part of the malae.**

for village ceremonies and sporting events). The malae gave and still gives a spatial orientation of front and center for the rest of the settlement, which is now complicated by newer orientations to modern roadways (Van der Ryn 2008, 2012, 2016; Neich 1985) (Fig. 5).

Each malae is conceived to have a center eye (mata) (Lehman and Herdrich 2002, 184). As such, the mata of the malae corresponds with a starting temporal point (tā) in the founding events of the village as a Samoan polity in the larger Samoan sociopolitical structure. Each malae has a name, which often gives clues to specific events of the past that signify the foundation of the village within larger sociopolitical and historical processes. It is custom for tulāfale to honor the malae in name at the beginning of their speeches (American Samoa Community College 1999).

The high spatial ranking of front and center in Samoan space usually aligns to the malae, the initial basis for village identity and prestige. The prestigious guesthouses associated with the titles of founding village chiefs and the most prominent village churches form the malae's perimeter. Modern roads have been accommodated into this spatiality with only varying degrees of success in not creating disharmony in this spatiality.

Until recently, Samoan villages were characterized by a lack of fences or walls within or between households. This feature, plus the open wall-less houses, was considered to be integral to "a well ordered village" where "life is *maopoopo* (well-ordered), and the lives of its residents are *puipui* (protected or literally 'walled in') by customary institutions" (Shore 1982, 118). As I investigated the Samoan ethos against construction of fences and walls at land boundaries, I got interesting responses relating to the need to respect and trust others. Informants explained that constructing strong boundary markers signifies a lack of mutual understanding and trust in relationships. Unmarked boundaries suggest a good relationship with common understanding about where the boundaries lie and must be respected.

Lehman and Herdrich also point out that this system allows for flexibility in the boundary; it is easier for it to be shifted to reflect any possible changes in the relationship from which that boundary emerges. As Lehman and Herdrich (2002, 187) point out, "Relationships between people (conceived as points) are, if not well tended, subject to potential change. Hence, boundaries in Samoa have a built-in and recognized potential to shift relatively frequently." One also finds, especially now, that land boundaries in Samoa are often overlapping and in dispute. The Lands and Title Court of Independent Samoa and the High Court of American Samoa see a continuous stream of cases disputing communal family land boundaries. Other land boundary issues are worked out outside the courts. Trees planted as boundary markers by one neighbor are sometimes cut down by the adjacent neighbor. A neighbor may plant crops across the "boundary line," even though they have enough spare land on their side.

Disharmonious relationships thus get expressed through land boundary conflicts, signaling the need to restore the harmony in those relationships with a possible reconfirmation of where the "boundary" actually lies. The traditional cultural ethos could be stated as "one does or should not need to have strong physical boundary markers in order to have respected boundaries because boundaries are based on the harmony produced in the vā between neighbors." I found this type of explanation more prevalent among informants than explanations about a need for flexible land boundaries. One could argue that such disputes present an opportunity for proper relational perspectives to be enacted, taught, and remembered.

An important and highly significant "commonsense" daily landscape practice in Samoan villages is to physically teu le vā, that is, tend the spaces of the grounds between house structures and households. Every morning, a common household chore, often given to children, is to collect all the leaves that have fallen on the family compound during the night. Later, often in the late afternoon, other family members (usually older women) spend hours meticulously weeding patches of ground, particularly areas of the compound that are meant to be plant free, for example, covered in a layer of smooth river pebbles or lava rock. Often, neighbors might come to weed on their side of the invisible boundary while they engage in sociable conversation, thereby sharing the work/duty of physically engaging in teu le vā (adorn or tend to the vā). As evidence of the social meaning of this practice, consider the Samoan proverb "*O le fili vā i fale*" ("the enemy between the houses"). The proverb is used to signify petty quarrels between families that do not threaten the peace of the community but nonetheless make lives less harmonious (Schultz 1980, 31).

The social significance of this landscape practice has been illuminated in various ways. For example, an American friend living with her Samoan husband and family in American Samoa one time commented to me how when the household members spend Saturday doing household chores and clean up, they focus mostly on the outside grounds, wherein community vā with others is constructed and experienced. Hardly anyone other than herself, she said, focuses much on the house interior, in particular the bathroom. In another example, I remember arriving together with a Samoan family in a village of Savai'i. One of the family members immediately commented on the continuous, seamless, well-kept weedless grounds between households. This feature, he stated, signified that this was a harmonious, unified village.

Conclusion

I have analyzed Samoan built spaces (both within and between) as an instrumental part (and reflection of) Samoan ways of cognitively perceiving and socially constructing time and space. This instrumental part has been viewed as a dynamic dimension of cultural experience with both ontological and epistemological bases. This essay has also addressed how these concepts and cultural constructions (both physical and conceptual) are integrally related to cultural systems for addressing conflict and developing and maintaining social order, a point that further supports the second two tenets of tā-vā theory: (1) that all things, in nature, mind, and society, stand in an eternal process of relations of cycle and exchange to one another, giving rise to conflict or order, and (2) that the symmetrical arrangement of tā-vā gives rise to mālie

(beauty), while the asymmetrical configuration of tā-vā leads to *tamakitāmaki* (disharmony).

Clearly, architecture and the built environment in general can be examined as integral to spatial and temporal practices. Buildings serve aims far beyond the simple necessity of offering shelter from the physical elements. The arrangement of space and time through built forms and spatiotemporal practices in architectural spaces also addresses issues of potential conflicts and the need to produce order in society. This essay, like the others in this volume, has begun to conceptualize this integration.

An important thrust of the essay has been to demonstrate how tā-vā theory helps extend point-field modeling of space to the fourth dimension of time. Simultaneously, the theory of the point-field versus container model of space has given further insight into the strong relational dynamic of Moana space-time. Further, Tui Atua and other Samoan authors' discussion of boundaries, conflict, harmony, and vā illuminate two things: a coalescence between point-field model of space and tā-vā theory, and the contrasts between Samoan and Western cultural epistemologies of space/time and boundaries construction.

The cultural aspect of the temporal and spatial dimensions of constructing order and harmony in Samoan family and community life has been described in terms of both indigenous language terms and indigenous Samoan built forms and spatial arrangements. Samoan spatial and temporal concepts and practices, as expressed in terms of mata, tā, and vā, are embedded in the principles of traditional Samoan architectural designs and building processes as well as in human uses of the final structures and their spaces.

The essay has examined architecture and built space as being more than an artistic form of shelter, a marker of territory in the landscape, and a signifier of social advancements. It has been examined also as a cultural instrument of "order" or "harmony" in the society. The house remains a cultural tool for harmonizing social relationships through various forms of social interaction involving teu le vā, *tausi* vā, *tautua*, and *tausiga*. The harmonizing beauty, functional attributes, and symbolism of traditional Samoan architecture persists as an icon of culture in the minds of Samoans, as something valuable worth retaining, even as these traditional forms and their associated ideas continue to fade from the actual Samoan village landscapes.

Today, in both American Samoa and Independent Samoa, many other types of architectural forms and spatial practices have become part of the built environment, reflecting the influence of foreign, mostly Western, spatial, temporal, and social concepts into the culture. Much of that influence comes through Samoan experiences overseas, though interaction with foreign governments (which may be providing financial assistance) or companies, as

well as non-Samoan visitors to the islands. Samoan returnees tend to prefer to have houses with walls as well as to have well-defined land boundaries so as to avoid as much of the constant sense of having to negotiate their vā with others with whom they now may feel greater difference and separation. Thus, the walls and fences go up.

Regardless of changes in culture and built environment, the underlying Samoan framework for the cultural construction of space and time that I have described persists, though in continually adjusting form. The underlying structure of the culture epistemologies is discernable, expressed, and reproduced through the use of indigenous language. This latent cultural dynamic supports the necessary flexibility and spontaneity by which Samoans adapt and adjust their practices to accommodate change without loss of cultural identity.

NOTES

1. The macron over the "a" in these examples represents an elision, substituting for an extra "a"—for example, matāgaluega = *mata-a-galuega*, literally, point of work.

2. Pratt (1960) always uses a macron, which calls for emphasis in the pronunciation, over the "a" in the morpheme "tā" in all these examples (e.g., *tāeao*). Milner uses the macron only when, without the macron, the word would not be pronounced correctly. So without the macron, the sound is the same, and the morpheme in all these words is *tā*.

3. Suaali'i-Sauni (2007, 54) also refers to the traditional Samoan belief that a descent group can put a curse (*mala'āiga*) when the *tausiga* of the chiefs is "not truly just."

4. Shore (1982) goes into ethnographic depth on symmetrical versus complementary social relationships in Samoan social structure (e.g., two high chiefs hold symmetrical relationships, while a high chief and his talking chief hold complementary relationships). Shore argues that symmetrical relationships are inherently competitive and less stable than complementary ones. Discussion of these finer points are outside the scope of this essay but suggest more work that may be done in tā-vā theory to discuss the differences of these types.

5. The idea of reciprocity between *tautua* and *tausiga* was gleaned from Tamasa'ilau Suaali'i-Sauni (2007, 54) discussing information provided her by His Highness Tui Atua Tupua Tamasese.

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TATAU: SYMMETRY, HARMONY, AND BEAUTY IN THE ART OF SĒMISI FETOKAI POTAUAINE

Kolokesa Uafā Māhina-Tuai
Vava'u Academy for Critical Inquiry and Applied Research and Tāmaki Paenga Hira Auckland War Memorial Museum

Tatau: Symmetry, Harmony, and Beauty in the Art of Sēmisi Fetokai Potauaine is generally informed by the *tā-vā* (time-space) theory of art and Tongan ethnography. This paper will look specifically at the body of works created by Potauaine for his exhibition *Tatau: Fenāpasi 'oe Fepaki / Tatau: Symmetry, Harmony, and Beauty* held at the Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology, University of Cambridge, Cambridge, UK, from July to October 2010. This exhibition and its associated catalog of which I was cocurator and coeditor, respectively, included ten multimedia works ranging from *tufunga tākupesi* (graphic designing), *tufunga tātongitongi* (sculpture), and *tufunga tākohikupesi* (sculptural drawings). Potauaine's creative process involves the mediation of *kohi–vā* (line–space) intersections. This process is a result of using the concept and practice of *tatau* (symmetry) as an artistic device-creating works of art that possesses *potupotutatau* (harmony) and *faka'ofo'ofa* (beauty).

Introduction

TATAU: SYMMETRY, HARMONY, AND BEAUTY IN THE ART OF SĒMISI FETOKAI POTAUAINE (see Fig. 1) is informed by the *tā-vā* (time-space) theory of art and Tongan ethnography. Potauaine is a Tongan born Aotearoa New Zealand–based multimedia artist with a background and training in architecture. In 2009, Potauaine was awarded the coveted Commonwealth Connections International Residency. He carried out his residency for three months, from the end of April to the end of July 2010, at the Museum

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FIGURE 1. **Sēmisi Fetokai Potauaine.**

of Archaeology and Anthropology (MAA), University of Cambridge in Cambridge UK. The residency provided Potauaine with an opportunity to engage with the MAA and its collections and to develop and produce a new body of work, which culminated in an exhibition of these works titled *Tatau: Fenāpasi 'oe Fepaki / Tatau: Symmetry, Harmony, and Beauty*. Potauaine's creative process in the production of works for this exhibition is a result of using the concept and practice of *tatau* (symmetry) as an artistic device,

producing works of art which possesses *potupotutatau* (harmony), and *faka'ofo'ofa* (beauty). This paper will focus on the *Tatau: Fenāpasi 'oe Fepaki / Tatau: Symmetry, Harmony and Beauty* exhibition and the significance of Potauaine's artistic practice being informed by his knowledge and practice of classical elements of Tongan philosophy and art. This, in turn, has provided Potauaine with the ability to produce innovative and unique works that are very much rooted in the tā-vā theory of art and Tongan ethnography.

My involvement with Potauaine formally started in November 2003 when he was one of ten artists of Tongan heritage included in an exhibition of emerging Tongan artists that I cocurated titled *Niumui*[1] translated as the "precociousness of a young coconut" (Brown-Moa and Māhina 2003). Potauaine and I worked together with a team that coedited the book titled *Veimau: Maau mo Potutatau Kae Fepakitu'u mo Fihitu'u / Order and Harmony Yet Conflicting and Complex* (Māhina et al. 2007). This book was published for the opening in 2007 of the Tūtoatasi Studyhall and Vava'u Academy for Critical Inquiry and Applied Research (VACIAR) in Vava'u, Tonga. Potauaine designed the front and back covers and also donated three paintings to VACIAR. In 2008, Potauaine and I were brought together as the two illustrators for a team working on a new Moana book series on children's stories. This led to the establishment of the team as Kula-'Uli Publishing (NZ) just prior to the launch of our first three books in August 2009 where Potauaine was the lead illustrator and artist for the three book covers (see Fig. 2a–c; 'Alatini and Māhina 2009; Māhina and 'Alatini 2009a, 2009b). In 2009, I was involved in Potauaine's *Tatau: Fenāpasi 'oe Fepaki / Tatau: Symmetry, Harmony and Beauty* exhibition and its associated catalog (see Fig. 2d) of which I was cocurator and coeditor, respectively. The exhibition included ten multimedia works ranging from *tufunga tākupesi* (graphic designing), *tufunga tātongitongi* (sculpture), and *tufunga tākohikupesi* (sculptural drawings) (Māhina, Dudding, and Māhina-Tuai 2010). In 2011, I was involved as the project manager and one of the artists in the Auckland-based Tonga women's arts collective, Kulupu Falehanga 'i Teleiloa, that collaborated with Potauaine on an art commission of a *ngatu tā'uli* (black-marked barkcloth) by Queensland Art Gallery (QAG) / Gallery of Modern Art (GOMA)[2] (see Māhina-Tuai and Māhina 2011a, 2012), Potauaine provided the designs and their layout on the surface of the ngatu tā'uli (see Fig. 3). In 2012, I was involved in two projects with Potauine. One of them was the exhibition *Home AKL: Artists of Pacific Heritage in Auckland* held at Auckland Art Gallery Toi o Tāmaki where I was involved as an associate curator (Māhina-Tuai 2012a,b). Potauaine again collaborated with two women, Kolokesa Kulīkefu and Hūlita Tupou, from Kulupu Falehanga 'i Teleiloa by providing a design for an embroidery work (see Figs. 4a, b, 5). The second project involved a

FIGURE 2. **(a) Fonu ʻiloa ko Sangoné / Sangone the Legendary Turtle. (b) Kalia Lahi Fakatoukatea ko e Lomipeaú / Lomipeau the Giant Double-Hulled Canoe. (c) Ko e Tupuʻanga ʻo e ʻAkau ko e Kava mo e Tó / The Origin of the Kava and Sugarcane Plants. (d) Tatau: Fenāpasi ʻoe Fepaki / Tatau: Symmetry, Harmony and Beauty.**

FIGURE 3. **Kulupu Falehanga ʻi Teleiloa collective in front of the ngatu tāʻuli featuring the design layout by Sēmisi Fetokai Potauaine that was commissioned by the Queensland Art Gallery / Gallery of Modern Art in 2011. Back row from left: Talafungani Finau, Hikuleʻo Māhina, Manuēsina Māhina, Lusi Tupou, Hūlita Tupou, ʻAna Tupou, Laukau Tupou. Front row from left: Kolokesa U. Māhina-Tuai, Leilani Vunga, Tuʻutanga Māhina, Melaia Tupou, Sepi Lokotui, Manuēsina Tōnata, Monika Tupou, Kolokesa Kulīkefu.**

book of which I was involved as a coeditor and contributor, about a commission of two public sculptures (see Fig. 6a, b) by Potauaine in Tonga as part of the National Public Art Programme to promote Tonga as a unique tourism attraction (Māhina and Māhina-Tuai 2012).

Tā-vā Theory of Art

Sēmisi Fetokai Potauaine's art practice is informed by the tā-vā theory of art, which derives from the tā-vā theory of reality. The tā-vā theory of reality was developed in the late 1990s by Hūfanga Professor ʻOkusitino Māhina,

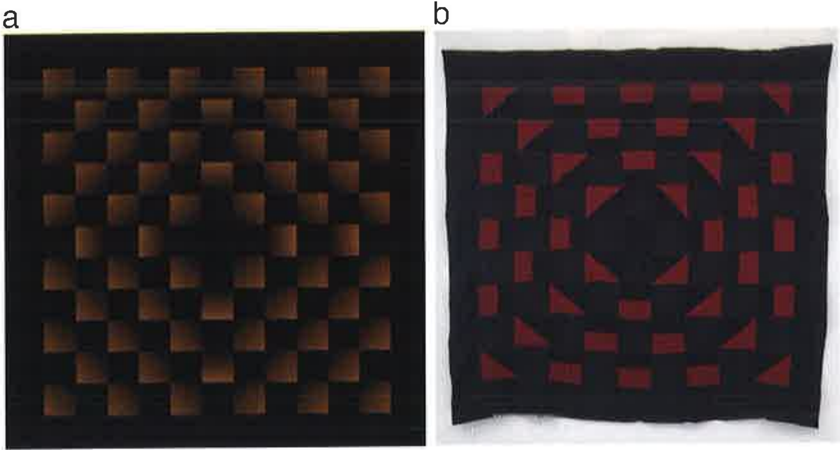

FIGURE 4. **(a) Sēmisi's design for Veimaau Matala (Blooming Checker). (b) Veimaau Matala (Blooming Checker), 2012. An embroidery work using red and black wool on a black cotton background.**

FIGURE 5. **Left to right Tongan fine artists Hūlita Tupou and Kolokesa Kulīkefu who carried out nimamea'a tuikulasi or the art of wool embroidery in this work.**

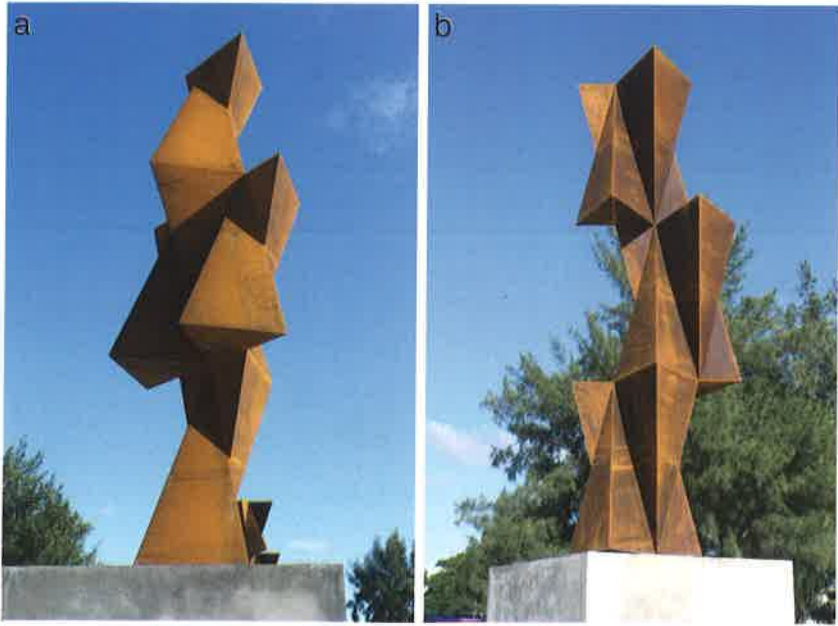

FIGURE 6. **(a) Hinavakamea (Hina-the-iron-boat) made from corten steel, Vuna Wharf, Nuku'alofa, Tongatapu, Tonga 2012. (b) Tunavakamea (Tuna-the-iron-boat) made from corten steel, Vuna Wharf, Nuku'alofa, Tongatapu, Tonga 2012.**

with Maui-Tāvā-He-Ako Dr Tēvita 'Ō. Ka'ili as the leading proponent, and is based on the Tongan concepts and practices of time and space (See Ka'ili 2008). This general theory of reality is applicable to all disciplines, and it is currently used as a school of thought by academics in the fields of history, anthropology, education, architecture, and art. Some of the tenets of this tā-vā theory of reality are listed in other essays in this volume. From the tā-vā theory of reality derives Māhina's tā-vā theory of art, which includes the ideas that:

- all arts be they tufunga (material) faiva (performance) and nimamea'a (fine) arts are based on tā (time) vā (space), fuo (form) and uho (content) of all things in nature, mind and society;
- art is socially organised formally, substantially and functionally in different ways across cultures;

- all arts are based on the mediation of conflicts in tā (time) vā (space) fuo (form) and uho (content) of all things across nature, mind and society;
- all arts are concerned with the mediation of conflicts in tā (time) and vā (space) and fuo (form) and uho (content) at the interface of intersecting kohi (lines) and vā (spaces) across material, performance and fine arts;
- all arts are concerned with the transformation of the spatial–temporal, substantial–formal and functional conflicts from a condition of chaos to a state of order through sustained symmetry, harmony and beauty.[3] (Māhina 2007: 16–17; see also Māhina 2004a).

By having the tā-vā theory of art as the foundation of his art practice, Potauaine's investigation and creativity reaches a depth that is both philosophical and culturally specific to Tonga yet offering an appeal and uniqueness to the rest of the world. The tā-vā theory of reality and, in turn, the tā-vā theory of art provides Potauaine with the theoretical and practical tools to creatively and critically explore, develop, and produce his works of art. The theoretical tools in terms of the knowledge source that Potauaine draws from provide the foundation and depth that is evident in his art practice. A key element of the general tā-vā theory of art is the philosophical notion that at the heart of all arts is points of intersection or conflict (Māhina 2008: 32–33). The conflict that takes place at these points of intersection is what produces tatau or symmetry, harmony, and beauty in the art works. It is at these points of intersection or conflict that the work is at its pinnacle or most refined state.

Tongan Arts

Potauaine's art practice and art forms belong in the Tonga art genre of *tufunga*. Tongan arts is generally classified into three genres—tufunga (material), *faiva* (performance), and nimamea'a (fine) arts (Māhina 2008, 2008a, 2010, 2010a; Māhina and Potauaine 2010; Māhina, Dudding, and Māhina-Tuai 2010, Potauaine and Māhina 2011). Tufunga includes *tufunga tāvalivali* (painting), *tufunga lalava* (kafa-sennit-lashing), *tufunga langafale* (house-building), and *tufunga tātatau* (tattooing). Faiva includes *faiva ta'anga* (poetry), *faiva hiva* (music), and *faiva haka* (dance) (see Māhina 2004b, 2005, 2007, 2009, 2011b; Māhina and Māhina-Tuai 2007). Nimamea'a includes *nimamea'a lālanga* (mat weaving), *nimamea'a koka'anga* (barkcloth making), and *nimamea'a tuikakala* (flower designing) (see Māhina-Tuai and Māhina 2011a,b,c; Māhina-Tuai 2012a,b,; 2013, 2015).

The three divisions of art are further connected to the "gender" divisions of functions between men and women in Tonga where tufunga and faiva are predominantly male dominated and nimamea'a is predominantly the domain of women. There is a Tongan proverb that makes reference to the Tongan gender division of functions that goes, "*'Oku tōkanga 'a tangata pea 'oku manga ka e falehanga 'a fafine pea 'oku hanga*," which translates into English as "Men possess the garden measured by the feet and women possess the house measured by the hands." This proverb is closely tied to the division of arts such as the genre of nimamea'a where Tongan women measure their work with their hands. For example, in measuring *ngatu* or bark cloth, women use two full stretches of one palm with thumb and middle finger outward, which is referred to as one *hanga*. And one hanga can also be referred to as one *toka* or one *langanga*.[4] So when you see *ngatu tāhina* (white-marked barkcloth) with lines and usually numbered along the borders, they each represent one hanga, langanga, or toka, which is usually the equivalent of one foot (Māhina-Tuai and Māhina 2011c). The gender divisions are also reflected in the two key colors of Tongan arts red and black, which represent men and women, respectively (see Potauaine and Māhina 2011). For example, the proverbs "Kula 'i Moana" (red in the ocean) and "Kula 'i tōkanga" (red in the gardens) are in reference to being "red" or burnt by the sun while deep-sea fishing or crop cultivation, respectively. For women, the term *'uli* (black) features predominantly in social activities that are specific to women such *mā'uli* (midwife) and *moa'uli* (matchmaker), a term for matchmaking of a Tongan woman to a male. However, there are examples where these gender divisions can overlap such as women artists involved in faiva, as well as being involved in nimamea'a.

The three genres of Tongan arts are also classified in relation to the body (see Māhina, Ka'ili, and Ka'ili. 2006; Māhina 2007; Potauaine 2010: 16–17). Tufunga and nimamea'a are *tefito-he-tu'a-sino* or non–body-centered meaning that the production of arts are situated outside of body, where the body is simply used as an instrument. Faiva on the other hand are *tefito-he-sino* or body-centered meaning that the production of art are made by the body and centered on the body, where the body is the medium with the mind critically engaged in the process of production. The refined knowledge and skills associated with these three art genres were hereditary professions and practiced as specialized forms of social activity.

All three genres vary in terms of their fuo, uho, and *vaka* or *hala*[4] (medium) and have multiple functions (Māhina 2008, 37). In classical Tongan arts, the quality and utility of art were combined to produce both beautiful and useful works, and quality is always given priority over utility (Māhina 2008a,b). Quality is comprised of what is internal or intrinsic to art and is connected

to the process of producing of art, such as tatau, potupotutatau, and *mālie* (beauty) or faka'ofo'ofa. Utility, on the other hand, is comprised of what is external or extrinsic to all arts and is connected to the outcome and, in turn, the use or function of art.

A Tongan Worldview

The Tongan classification of art is highly sophisticated in terms of its circular and inclusive nature. Hence, over time and space, the three genres remain the same despite the use of new materials and advances in technology. That is because the particular knowledge and skills pertinent to each of the three genres remain the same; yet the ways in which they are applied, by whom, where, and in what on-the-ground contexts they are applied changes as people acquire new skills and new materials, collaborate with new partners, and migrate to new places (see Māhina-Tuai and Māhina 2011). Using terms such as "traditional," "heritage," "contemporary," and "modern" to classify Tongan art today (and art of the Moana Pacific for that matter) is highly problematic (Māhina-Tuai, K. 2012a, 2012b, 2013, 2014). For example, Potauaine draws on ideas from the past such as the Tongan master art of tufunga lalava[5] while constructing and creating with new material (and forms) from the present such as vinyl and aluminium (see Māhina 2000). From a Western arts perspective his works would be regarded as contemporary or modern and would be distinguished from tufunga lalava, which would be regarded as traditional or heritage. From a Tongan worldview, Potauaine's creations go into the same pool of works by master artists who have gone before him, all under the genre of tufunga. Imposing a foreign and Western concept to define Tongan arts results in the compartmentalizing of art forms, which often leads to ignorance, misunderstanding, and misinterpretation. This is attributable to the severance of the natural cyclical flow of the Tongan worldview of art, which is aligned with the circular and holistic arrangement of tā and vā in Tonga and inclusive in approach as a opposed to a more individualistic and exclusive Western worldview of art.

Working within the genre of tufunga, Potauaine's art practice uses the concept and practice of tatau as an artistic device (see Māhina-Tuai 2010). Tatau is comprised of intrinsic qualities of art that produce potupotutatau and, in turn, faka'ofo'ofa in works of art. On the other hand, potupotutatau is made up of a collection of individual tatau, all of which can be taken as definers of faka'ofo'ofa. The production of tatau is made by means of the device of *mata* (eye) and *ava* (hole). The concept of mata, meaning eye, face, or point, and ava is a device commonly used in tufunga (see Potauaine and Māhina 2010; Potauaine 2010). In Tongan thinking, mata and ava are two sides of

the same coin where the former is a tatau or mirror image of the latter and vice versa. For example, if you hammer a nail through a piece of timber and pull it out, you will have created a hole that is a tatau or mirror image of the (cross-section of the) nail itself. The mata and ava can be blunt or sharp, but the sharper the mata the more fine and intense the outcome. Hence, the sharper the point of the nail the more fine and precise the hole or the eye will be. Both mata and ava are a form of intersection. The point of intersection is a mata that, in turn, creates the ava, its mirror image. Physical instruments used by tufunga are: *mata'i polosi* (eye of the brush) with tufunga tāvalivali (painting), *mata'i peni* (eye of the pen), *mata'i kili* (eye-of-the-saw), *mata'i fa'o* (eye of the nail), and *mata'i hāmala* (eye of the hammer) used in tufunga langafale and tufunga tātongitongi.

Tufunga: Tongan Material Arts

The *Tatau: Fenāpasi 'oe Fepaki / Tatau: Symmetry, Harmony, and Beauty* exhibition featured ten multimedia works by Potauaine, which included tufunga tākupesi, tufunga tātongitongi, and tufunga tākohikupesi. All of these works specifically investigate the notions of tatau, mata, ava, *kula* (red), and 'uli as opposite tendencies of artistic importance. As already discussed, mata is the mirror image of ava, and the terms are, in turn, opposites. Kula and 'uli are also opposite tendencies in that, apart from being the two key colors of Tongan arts, in Tongan epistemology, the former is representative of male and the latter of female.

Semisi's tufunga tākupesi include two works featured in the exhibition catalog and a trio of vinyl round works. The two works in the exhibition catalog are *Konokula* (Redawake) (see cover of Fig. 2d) featured on the front cover and *Kono'uli* (Blackawake) (see Fig. 7) included inside on page 20 (Māhina, Dudding, and Māhina-Tuai 2010). These two works were inspired by one of the *pōvai* (clubs) in the Tongan Collection at the MAA. The *kupesi* (geometric designs) engraved and decorating the club includes fauna and flora as well as people. This shows the inextricable link and conflicting relationship between people and the environment as expressed in the classical Tongan concept and practice of *fonua* defined by the cycle of birth, life, and death. The names *Konokula* and *Kono'uli* were taken from the famous pōvai named *Mohekonokono* (Sleep-yet-Awake) of the great warrior-chief Vaha'i of Fo'ui, Hihifo, Tongatapu. The use of opposite tendencies is evident in the name Mohekonokono and also in Potauaine's title for both works where *Konokula* is a tatau or mirror of *Kono'uli* and vice versa. Both these works illustrate the intersection of line and space together with the interplay of kula and 'uli creating depth and projection of the *kupesi* (geometric designs).

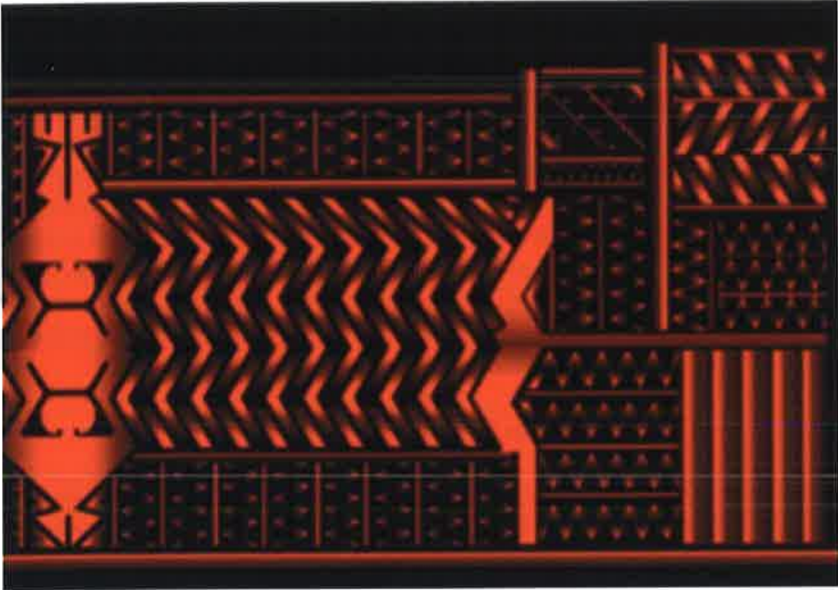

FIGURE 7. **Kono'uli (Black Awake), Tufunga tākupesi (Graphic design) 2010.**

The three tufunga tākupesi vinyl works are titled *Avakula* (Redhole), *Ava'uli* (Blackhole) and *Avanoa* (Zerohole) (see Figs. 8a–c, 9). These works are an artistic investigation of tā time and vā space, which is manifested by means of line and spaces in the forms of colors. This is similar to the scientific investigation that is made in terms of *ava kula* (red hole) and *ava 'uli* (black hole) (see Potauaine and Māhina 2011: 206–09). *Avakula* depicts an unequal movement from 'uli to kula involving the multidirectional movement of matter by means of energy. Some examples of ava kula or mata kula include *peau kula* (red wave, i.e., tidal waves), *maama* (enlightenment), and *ako* (education). *Ava'uli* is the exact opposite where it illustrates an unequal movement from kula to 'uli. Some examples of ava 'uli or *mata'uli* include *matangi* (winds), *fakapo'uli* (ignorance) and *moa'uli* (matchmaker). *Avanoa* portrays the mata or point of intersection of *Avakula* and *Ava'uli* where the opposition between them are at a state of *noa* or zero point or a state of equilibrium, balance, or harmony. Some examples of *ava noa* (zero hole) or *mata noa* (zero eye) include *vahanoa* (peaceful ocean), *matanoa* (peaceful countenance), and *talanoa* (peaceful talk), all demonstrating a state of equilibrium or balance. As a matter of mathematical and aesthetic interest, mata is produced by the

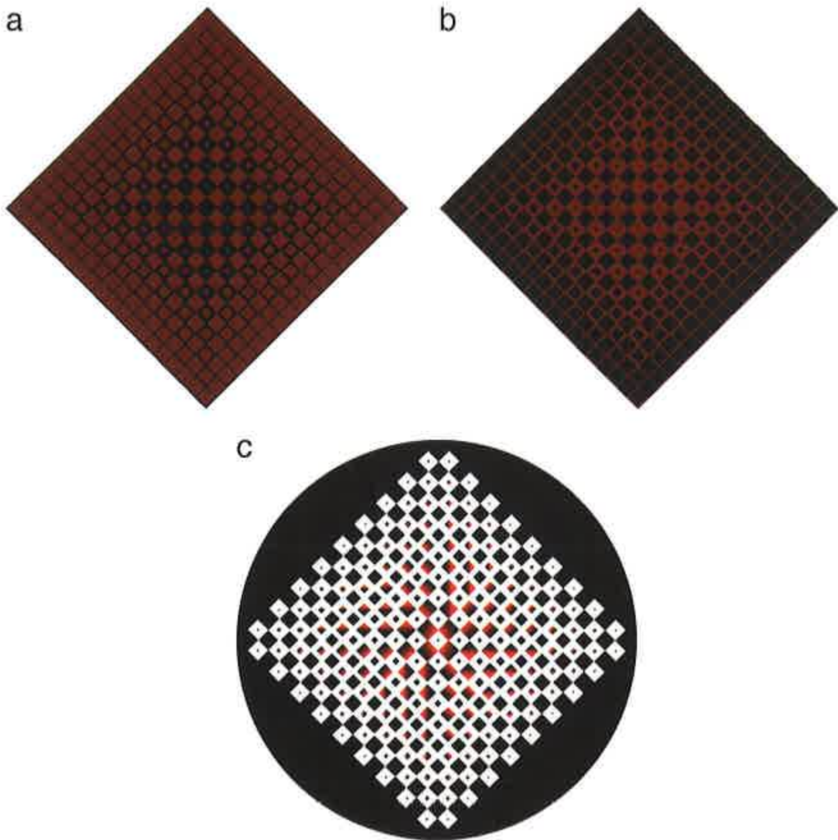

FIGURE 8. **(a) Avakula (Redhole) 2010. (b) Ava'uli (Blackhole) 2010. (c) Avanoa (Zerohole) 2010.**

point of intersection of two lines; kohi is a collection of mata; and vā comprises a summation of kohi, all marked temporally in various formal and substantial ways (see Māhina and Potauaine 2010; Potauaine 2010a,b).

The sculpture *Lei'ataua* (Bitwinshadows) is made of wood and painted red and black. The name means twin images. However, there are also added meanings when the name is broken down into parts; *lei* can mean two, as in *mahangalei* (twins of opposite sex or pairs of opposite sex) and whale teeth, as in *tufunga fonolei* (jewelry making); *'ata* means shadow; and *ua* is two. The multiple meanings of the title are a reflection of the reading of the work. *Lei'ataua* deals with variations of symmetries, multidimensional forms, the

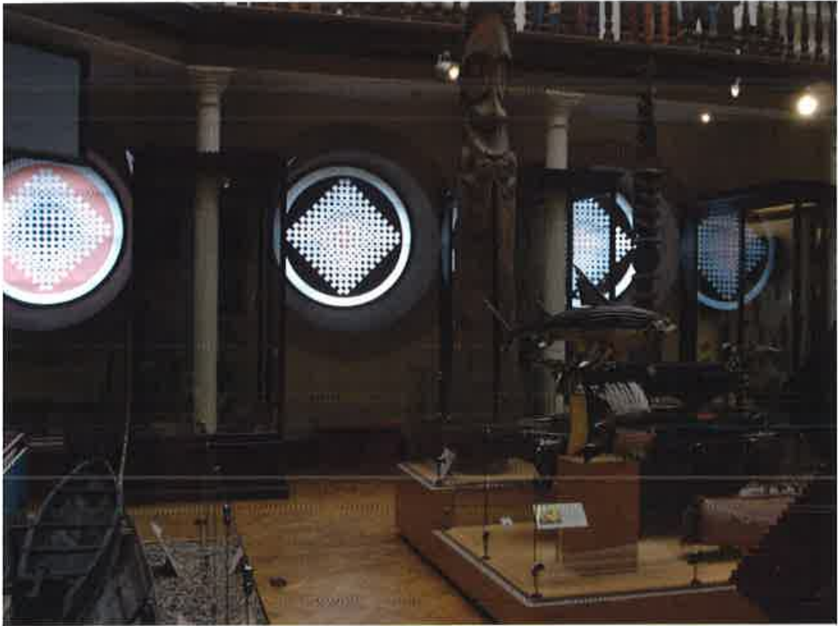

FIGURE 9. **Image inside the Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology gallery that Sēmisi's tufunga tākupesi vinyl works were displayed as window treatments during his *Tatau: Fenāpasi 'oe Fepaki / Tatau: Symmetry, Harmony and Beauty* exhibition in July 2010 and are still currently on display in 2016.**

interplay of kula and 'uli, and the center of gravity of which is all underpinned by means of intersecting lines and spaces mediated through tatau to produce potupotutatau and faka'ofo'ofa

The tufunga tākohikupesi works are produced using *'alaminiume* (aluminium metal).The works are *Fataniume* (Alumdeathomenbird) *Pekepekaniume* (Alumswallowbird), *Pekapekeniume* (Alumswallowbird), and *Mataniume* (Alumeye). The word *niume* in the title of the four works is short for 'alaminiume and is translated to alum, which is Latin for aluminium.

The word *fata* in *Fataniume* is the name of a bird of omen for death, which usually flies and sings at night. Fata also refers to the pallbearers and, hence ,the name of the kupesi fata-'o-Tu'i-Tonga, which is an abstraction of the *'otu langi* (royal tombs) of the Tu'i Tonga. The 'otu langi are like the Egyptian pyramids both the burial places of kings/pharaohs. The word fata also resembles the word *fatafata* meaning chest.

The word *pekepeka* is a small swallow-like bird. Both *Pekepekaniume* and *Pekapekeniume* like *Fataniume* and *Mataniume* are tatau of each other where one is the opposite of the other. The four artworks are multidimensional and multidirectional, showing the interplay of shadows and light, or black and red, and the time-space movement from representation to abstraction. All of this is informed by the intersecting lines and spaces, mediated through tatau or symmetry to produce harmony and beauty.

Conclusion

The collection of works by Potauaine featured in *Tatau: Fenāpasi ʻoe Fepaki / Tatau: Symmetry, Harmony, and Beauty* exhibition is indicative of the depth and breadth of his art practice and art forms. This is a tribute to the pursuit of excellence in his art practice and his knowledge and practice of the tā-vā theory of art and Tongan ethnography. These works have been true to the definition of art as "a tā-vā (time-space) transformation of fuo–uho (form–content) conflicts in the subject matters under the productive process from a condition of *felekeu* (chaos) to a state of *maau* (order) through sustained tatau and potupotutatau to create fakaʻofoʻofa." (Māhina and Potauaine 2010, 16)

Potauaine has developed artistically and intellectually since our first formal encounter in 2003 with the *Niumui* exhibition. And *Niumui* was the first exhibition in New Zealand of artists of Tongan heritage and of the ten artists featured Potauaine is one of only a handful of artists that are still actively practicing today. A key factor for this, I believe, is through grounding himself in the knowledge and practice of the tā-vā theory of art and Tongan ethnography. Receiving the prestigious Commonwealth Connections International Residency in 2009 is a testament to his passion and drive and also his continual pursuit of knowledge and excellence of his artistic practice. It is also a testament that there are forward-thinking Western organizations, such as the Commonwealth Connections Foundation. In selecting Potauaine, they have not based it on the fact that he is an unknown and emerging artist (in both Tonga and Aotearoa New Zealand) but rather on his knowledge and practice as an artist and the quality and uniqueness of his art works. As a Tongan citizen, Potauaine was the second Tongan to have received the award. As an Aotearoa New Zealand resident, he is only the second artist from Aotearo New Zealand although the first artist of Pacific heritage to receive the award. The key to Potauaine's achievements to date is through the foundation that he is building by embracing and informing his art practice with the knowledge and practice of the tā-vā theory of art and Tongan ethnography. This, I believe, will continue to provide Potauaine with an edge and an ability to

always stay innovative and unique in his art practice, which was evident in the most recent projects I was involved in with Potauaine in 2011 and 2012.

The Tongan classification of art acknowledges the circular tendency of nature, mind, and society where we adapt, change, and evolve while at the same time hold on to the essence of what makes our works of art unique. Potauaine's art practice and, in turn his art works, capture the best of both worlds by combining what he draws from the past with the present to produce works of great refinement and sophistication. This coincides with the plural, circular, holistic, and inclusive nature of Tongan thinking and practice, in which people are thought to walk forward into the past and walk backward into the future, where the past and the future are permanently mediated in the changing present.

NOTES

1. The title "Niumui" comes from the Tongan proverb Potopoto *'a niu mui*, which literally means "the precociousness of a young coconut" and alludes to the younger generation striving for the best in what they do. Sometimes such attempts might fall short of the expectations of elders and the proverb justifies the actions of the younger generation by the simple reasoning that they are still growing, maturing, and finding their way in life.

2. Women from the village of Tatakamotonga in Tonga provided the natural red koka plant pigment and wide strips of plain barkcloth, and Kulupu Falehanga 'i Teleiloa produced the 22 × 4 m ngatu tā'uli in Auckland, New Zealand.

3. This was written in the Tongan language and the translation was provided by the author Hūfanga 'Okusitino Māhina for the purpose of this paper.

4. Hala is another Tongan word for medium as in "Tēvolo hala he sikotā" (the devil appears in the medium of a sikotā bird) ('Ō. T. Ka'ili, pers. comm., January 13, 2011.)

5. As the Tongan Master Art, tufunga lalava contains infinite designs and is the source of all abstract motifs featured in the various artforms under tufunga and nimamea'a such as tufunga tātatau (tatooing) and nimamea'a koka'anga (bark-cloth making).

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GLOSSARY

ako—education
'alaminiume—aluminium
'ata —shadow
ava—hole
ava kula—red hole
ava noa—zero hole
ava 'uli—black hole

faiva—performance arts
faka'ofo'ofa—beauty
fakapo'uli—ignorance
fata —pall-bearer
fatafata—chest
Fataniume —Alumdeathomenbird
fata-'o-Tu'i-Tonga—pallbearer of the Tu'i Tonga
felekeu—chaos
fenāpasi—mediate
fepaki—intersect
fonolei, tufunga—jewelry making, art of
fihitu'u—complex
fuo—form
haka, faiva—dance, art of
hala—medium
hanga—a measurement unit where women use two full stretches of one palm with thumb and middle finger outward which is referred to as one hanga.
hiva, faiva—music, art of
kae—yet
kakala—designed flowers
kohi—lines
kohi–vā—line space
koka'anga, nimamea'a—barkcloth making, art of
Konokula —Redawake
Kono'uli —Blackawake
kula—red
kupesi—geometric design
lālanga, nimamea'a—mat-weaving, art of
lalava, tufunga—kafa-sennit lashing, art of
langafale, tufunga—house-building, art of
langanga—measuring units which can also be based on half the width of a paka koka'anga or rubbing table
langi, otu—royal tombs
lei —two or necklace
Lei'ataua —Bitwinshadows
maama—enlightenment
maau—order
mahangalei —twins of opposite sex or pairs of opposite sex
mālie—beauty
mata—eye
mata'i fa'o—eye of the nail

mata'i hāmala—eye of the hammer
mata'i hui—eye of the needle
mata'i kili—eye of the saw
mata'i peni—eye of the pen
mata'i polosi—eye of the brush
mata kula—red eye
mata matangi—wind, eye of the wind
mataniume —alumeye
mata noa —zero eye
matanoa —peaceful countenance
mata'uli—black eye
mā'uli—midwife
mo—and
moa'uli—matchmaker
Mohekonokono —Sleep-yet-Awake
ngatu—barkcloth
ngatu tāhina—white-marked barkcloth
ngatu tā'uli—black-marked barkcloth
nimamea'a—fine arts
niumui—young coconut, the cleverness of a young coconut
peau kula—red wave, tidal wave
Pekapekeniume —Alumswallowbird
Pekepekaniume —Alumswallowbird
peku—blunt
potopoto'aniumui—Tongan proverb that literally means 'the cleverness of a young coconut'.
potupotukehekehe—disharmony
potupotutatau—harmony
po'uli—night
pōvai —club/s
tā—time
ta'anga, faiva—poetry, art of
ta'etatau—asymmetry
tākohikupesi, tufunga—sculptural drawing, art of
tākupesi, tufunga—graphic designing, art of
talanoa—peaceful talk
tātātau, tufunga—tattooing, art of
tatau—symmetry
tātongitongi, tufunga—sculpture, art of
tā-vā—time-space
tāvalivali, tufunga —painting, art of

tefito-he-sino —body-centered
tefito-he-tu'a-sino —non–body-centered
toka—measuring units which can also be based on half the width of a paka koka'anga or rubbing table
tufunga—material arts
tuikakala, nimamea'a—flower-designing, art of
ua—two
uho—content
'uli—black
vaka—medium; boat; canoe
vahanoa —peaceful ocean
vela—fieriness

HOW THE *TĀ-VĀ* THEORY OF REALITY CONSTRUCTS A SPATIAL EXPOSITION OF SAMOAN ARCHITECTURE

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This essay deals with a spatial exposition of Hufanga 'Okusitino Māhina theory of *tā-vā* in which I argue that traditional Pacific concepts are recharged and extended by Māhina to create a new branch in Pacific Thought. I show that there is a consistency in the tā-vā theory of reality if one were to diagram its main tenets and, by doing so, enables the exposition of parts that sketch-out an overall form of theory. I also argue that doing theory is important to Pacific Thought because it allows for traditions and customs to be coiled-up into concepts allowing them to be carried in a "tool box" as theory, then unpack, operate, and perform with them when required. In this way, Pacific concepts and ideas are important as tools to be used in new places and situations allowing our lived traditions to produce new ideas and concepts.

THIS PAPER SETS OUT to provide a number of things: first is a summary of the main tenets of the *tā-vā* theory of reality that deals with the creative arts (*faiva*) to show that certain notions of technicity'[1] are at work in Hūfanga 'Okusitino Māhina's concept of the *tufunga*; second, to isolate elements of the tā-vā theory of reality that connect with Samoan thought linking tā-vā with Samoan concepts of vā and *teu* as exposition of affects and effects in the system of actions and behaviors that produces subjects and objects in a Samoan social-cultural schema; third, a spatial exposition of Samoan architecture that shows the material manifestation of the tā-vā theory in action, with the work of the *tufuga faufale* and Samoan architecture.

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The approach taken here is a *bricolage*[2] of borrowed concepts and ideas from diverse disciplines and philosophical traditions to highlight the productive and synthetic nature of the tā-vā theory of reality. Although barely ten years old, the tā-vā theory of reality has been vital to the work of producing concepts in Pacific Thought. Therefore rather than honing down the theory to a doctrine, this paper aims to broaden and highlight the manifold nature of the theory.

The final aim of the paper is to come to terms with Pacific concepts in their spatial topological structuring by returning to Claude Lévi-Strauss formalism in an attempt to construct a machinery to understand how Samoan social-cultural concepts can revolve again as exchange of flows of power and value through the lens of the tā-vā theory of reality. Somewhere in here is buried the *tufuga* who like Lévi-Strauss's *bricoleur* is trying to operate a machinery with "elements collected and retained on the principle that 'they may always come in handy'" (Lévi-Strauss 1966, 18).

Tā -Vā: Becoming One

What is *that which always* is and has no becoming, and what is *that which becomes* but never is?

Plato Timaeus

Hūfanga 'Okusitino Māhina proposes that the tā-vā theory of reality is a productive concept unifying three things: nature, mind, and reality, a process of becoming in which "all things . . . stand in a process of eternal exchange relations and cycle" (Māhina 2010).[3] Central to this process of eternal exchange is the role time and space plays in the mutual attraction and repulsion in enabling a continual dance of change where "all things, in nature, mind and society, stand in an eternal process of relations of cycle and exchange, giving rise to conflict or order (Māhina, 2010)." Māhina's work on the tā-vā theory of reality has given us perhaps the first real attempt at creating a new and comprehensive branch of Pacific Thought derived from Tongan and Polynesian concepts. Pacific Thought has become a loose umbrella to categorize the thinking and writings of Tui Atua, Aiono Fanaafi, and Albert Wendt in Samoa; Futa Helu, Epeli Hau'ofa, Konai Thaman-Helu, and Māhina in Tonga; Mason Durie, Witi Ihimaea, Ngahuia Te Awakotuku, and Charles Royal in Aotearoa New Zealand; John Pule in Niue; and Vilisoni Hereniko in Rotuma (Refiti 2010, 371).[4] Māhina more than most has instigated and advanced a more coherent theory that aspires to become a school of philosophy with the tā-vā theory of reality, which has been in circulation since the late 1990s, and has been refined and added to by others in the last ten years.[5]

Māhina arrived at the main tenets of the theory to explain Tongan arts as *faiva* (performance art or "doing-time-in-space"), *tufunga* (material arts or "beating-the-surface"), and *nimamea'a* (fine arts or "fine hands"). He advances the idea that the active characteristics of the arts, especially performance art, produces tā-vā—transformative action created by "beating" (tā) or predetermined gestures plus the "silence" or absence of actions and gestures in their intervals (vā). Tā and vā are the active and inactive forces combined, which equals "volcanic power" coiled up within objects. A tufunga via the skill of performance becomes the agent of transformation by releasing volcanic power in things by effecting tā-vā:

> [The] beating of *vā*, defining art as a form of social activity, in itself a kind of transformation. . . . a *tā-vā* conversion from a situation of chaos to a state of order. As a unified state of being, order is closely associated here with beauty. . . . In this aesthetic context, art can be generally defined as the rhythmic intensification of *tā* that is, in strict terms, connected with the symmetrical configuration of *vā,* thereby transforming *tā-vā* from a *state* of flux to a *situation* (emphasis added) of harmony and beauty (Māhina 2004: 88–89).

The crux of the theory suggests that the material world is perpetually under transformation by tā (time and action) and vā (space and content), like diametric structures (Lévi-Strauss 1963) that strives for stability and order, which when achieved, becomes transformed again toward chaos and disorder and vice versa—an eternal exchange of forces. The key for tā-vā, though, is the transformation "from a state of flux to a situation of harmony and beauty" (Māhina 2010).

There is more than a hint of a Heraclitian view of the world in the theory.[6] For Heraclitus, being is continuous change, in a state of perpetual flux where "One cannot step in the same river twice nor can one grasp any mortal substance in a stable condition, but it scatters and again gathers; it forms and dissolves, and approaches and departs" (Kavanaugh 2007, 71). Flux and chaos when aligned come together to form wholes and then return to chaos: "Couples are things whole and things not whole, what is drawn together and what is drawn asunder, the harmonious and the discordant. The one is made up of things, and all things issue from the one" (Kavanaugh 2007, 71). Plato later installed a divine artisan craftsman, the Demiurge at the center of this transformative world of change. Thus, the Demiurge's role mirrors that of the tufunga as transformer and creator of the visible world from the chaotic "disorderly motions" prior to the artisan's intervention.[7] Māhina imagines the same forces being transformed and molded by the artisan–actor who inputs

skill and timing to ground the primordial forces in a material, cultural, and technological context. The tufunga in this sense is a mediator at the interface between thought and action.

The theory presupposes that the tufunga as agent must "will and pull together" an orderly crafting of parts to form and shape cohesive wholes in the fabric of the world.8 Like Plato's Demiurge, the tufunga is of primordial origin. Māhina, for instance, places Tangaloa Tufunga in the Tongan cosmogony as the grandchild of the Tongan progenitors Vahanoa and Pulotu (Māhina 1992, fig 2.1). Similarly for Samoa, the tufuga[9] were kin of the progenitor Tagaloa-a-lagi who gave them the divine tool bag the tufugaga (Krämer 1994: 543–44).

Māhina lays out the theory of tā-vā with all its constituent parts—*fuo/uho* (form/content), order/chaos, *kula/'uli* (red/black), male/female, intrinsic/extrinsic—as *kohi* or points and lines. They are pre-given coordinates that stand in "eternal opposition" to one another (Māhina 2004, 2010). The structure of the primordial world (vā) is, therefore, made up of kohi lines that are continually in tension within a structure allows them to swirl and coil up to produce forces that are ready to explode from generation to generation. Vā is the potentiality of space–content coiled up within the chaotic swirls of these primordial forces.

The tufunga puts into motion all the constituents parts by tā—the beating/manipulating and folding/unfolding of vā and kohi lines. A *tufunga lalava*, for instance, activates and puts the parts into motion by performing *faiva* (literally "to make va") where the parts are apprehended in the forms of kohi, lines or traces (predicates), which the tufunga puts into play by unfolding complex sets of *kupesi* in the patterned motion in dance or repetition in design and sculpture. *Kupesi* is the underlying structure of a complex process of affects and effects and orderliness that is expressed or impressed into the material of the world. The tufunga does this by skillfully guiding, repeating, and manipulating forces in time and space, or the outlay of patterns stemming from a dance, or the traces on a pattern board of a *tapa* cloth (Māhina and Potauaine, 2010, 6). The end product produces a type of equilibrium that is felt by the viewer as *mālie* (beauty), *māfana* (pleasure), *tatau* (symmetry), or *faka'ofo'ofa* (beautiful). In discussing the performing of *heliaki* poetry, Māhina suggested that the "transformative effects the state of *mālie* has equally on performers and audience alike, are ones of *māfana,* warmth, *vela,* burning and *tauelangi,* reaching the sky . . . an orgasmic effect. While *mālie* is internal to good works of art, *māfana, vela,* and *tauelagi* are extrinsic to them" (Māhina, 2005, 172).

In summary, the tā-vā theory of reality requires an eternal exchange of relations between tā and vā, which is molded by a tufunga to produce mālie or the internal desired effect of equilibrium felt by the receiver. One way to

reformulate this is that tā-vā operates on a virtual plane producing affects toward a condition of *mālie*.

Figure 1 is a diagram of forces and actions in the tā-vā theory of reality, in which I have adopted Henri Bergson's (1991, 152) diagrammatic analysis of the work of memory and matter to describe Māhina's concept. In Bergson's schema, the cone represents the realm of predicates in which virtual thought and memory move up and down the cone to be eventually funneled to a point K where it meets the plane of the actual and materiality N. In this adaptation, the virtual realm in the form of an inverted cone contains

(1) kohi lines and traces (k1, k2, k3) of coiled up primordial energy,
(2) vā or planes of potentiality (V1, V2, V3) that continually fold and unfold kohi lines and traces
(3) tā the downward spiral movement forcing kohi and vā toward actualization (K)

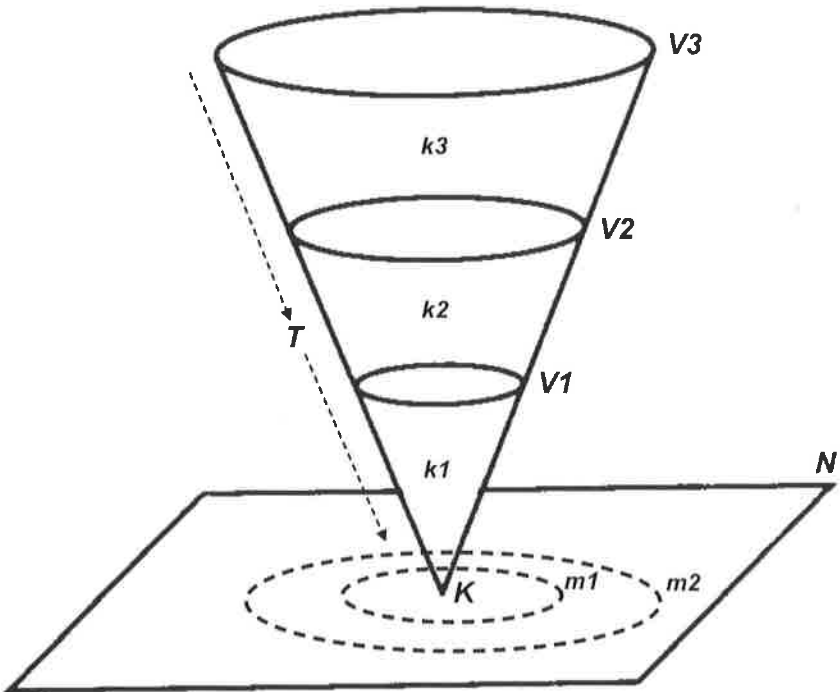

FIGURE 1. **Diagram of the relations of forces operating in the tā-vā theory of reality.**

The diagram provides a picture of the machinery of thought–action (virtual) and matter–order (actual), the motto being causality works laterally or horizontally (m1, m2), from object to object, whereas the virtual works vertically (V1, V2, V3, k1, k2, k3) from folding (interior) to unfolding (exterior).[10] For the tā-vā theory of reality, tā (T) is always spiraling down forcing vā (V1, V2, V3 on separate planes), to exit as *kupesi* (point K). Tā (T) and vā (V) are forced to produce mālie and māfana effects (m1, m2) that radiate outward to *noa* (free-moving) world at large (N). Predestined lines and geometry of energy or kohi (k1, k2, k3), exist between the vā planes.

The diagram is a thought machinery that describes how tā forces vā and kohi to be folded together into substances, which are then forced through the kupesi scribing point (K), which the *tufunga* possesses in the form of *ata* (repetitions or doublings) that capture and picture the world of shadow and light in the prose-work that is impressed onto the world. The kupesi is a result of an orderly process where errant forces are moulded to produce a thing of beauty or mālie resulting in māfana or comfort to be consumed or make noa—freed up. In philosophy, Māhina's tā-vā theory of reality is an ontological monism that proposes there is a single unified substance called tā-vā that is broken down into discrete entities via the process of actualization. The attractive aspect of the theory that makes it appealing to Pacific art is that it requires a mediator in the form of the tufunga to make this happen.

Tā-Vā in Samoan Thought

Samoan Thought and Tongan Thought are two spheres that orbit each other around a monadic home Pulotu ruled by Saveasi'uleo (Samoa) or Havea Hikule'o (Tonga),[11] revolving dyads of unruly bodies of thought of actual/virtual, solid/liquid, man/woman, stasis/motion (like Saveasi'uleo himself who is thought to be half man and half eel). Like Tongan Thought, Samoan Thought insists on a moment of equilibrium as the aim of all relations as vā, what Māhina calls mālie. For Samoa, it is teu, the refining and ordering of all relations and the ethical commitment between a community and its members, that must be upheld at all times. Teu is the refinement and orderliness at the heart of Samoan space where a "rift" violently inhabits the center.[12]

Vā is not harmony, or mālie, or" 'negotiated space" that recent scholarship has suggested (Anae 2010; Wendt 1996; Ka'ili 2005, 2008). Vā is an equation of things bifurcating, forces moving and pulling apart toward asymmetrical transformations, chaotic opposing forces within tā-vā (Māhina 2010). It "dwells" outside the desires of the community but, at the same time, is located at the center of attention. This is the paradox regarding vā relations in Samoan Thought—the undesirable and "what threatens to pull relations

apart" are kept at the central focal point of the community, where *mata* or the communal gaze fixes it "in-place," stabilizing it with *tapu* (sacred and immovable). *Ia teu le vā* means to order, stabilize, ogle and cajole the vā, which is how Samoans behave toward a sacred and bifurcating vital force.[13] The Samoan world is oriented toward it. For the politics of living, *vā* is an encounter, a space-event enacted in the circle of *fa'amatai*—the gathering of family chiefs in the circle of the fono council.[14] The ring around the circle is *alofi sā*, "sacred ring" or *sanctum*. Inside is the dangerous play of forces in which the *pa'ia* or divine power consecrated by the *ali'i* paramount chief, and the *mamalu* or will and influence prescribed to the *tulafale* who become the instrument of power of this divine gathering—the fono of *matai*. Within the sanctum is the ancestral power and prestige (*mana*) molded by demiurges (matai) via oratory (craft) and made productive by laws and rules (*pule*). Emanating from within this circle and radiating outward to the periphery of the village are the rules, protocols, and code of ideal behavior to which every family member, every sector of the community, must conform—a "panoptic habitus" no less (Refiti 2009b, 10).

The proper description of the vā is "co-openness," rather than what Albert Wendt portrayed as "betweeness."[15] The reason being that when Samoan chiefs encounter each other in the fono council they don't think strategically about their vā as a something "in-between." When you are "in" the circle of fa'amatai, there is no in-between, your knees touch your neighbors to form an unbroken ring; all participants are seized and immersed in something more than simple relations between things. In the ring, you are opened toward something beyond the momentary concerns of everyday life; therefore, a being-Samoan is already opened to it. There is no gap. Those who take a place in the circle become something more than a single person can hold. This "something" is the ancestor via the name, like the infamous names that have stood for generations over Samoa as "Name-of-the-Father"[16] Tui Atua, Tui A'ana, Malietoa, etc. They take up residence within Samoan identity like an overbearing swell in what the psychoanalytic philosopher Jacques Lacan described as the objects of affection and "symptom" of things that are "in you more than you" (Lacan 1981, 263). This is what is meant by co-openness.[17] When you take a place in the ring that forms the circle of fa'amatai, you are opened up to encompass the time and space of the ancestors; you belong to the time of others. The time of the world ceases to be in the ring. This conforms to the Polynesia concept of time, which suggests that we move toward a future by orienting our being to a collective opening that continues with us. Some call it the past, but I suggest that for Polynesians the past is not static or remote location of something that was but is an ever-moving duration, always already woven within us, and it endures in our becoming. This constellation

is commonly explained by the metaphor of walking with our backs to the future as we face the past (Whiteford and Barns 2002, 214; Salmond 1978, 10; Metge 1976, 70).

This conception of time places time in the service of ancestral-becoming. We mark (kohi), fold (vā) and make (tā) time, causing life to revolve as duration. Duration opens and contracts relative to our engagement with the ancestors via law and order of vā relations. This is shown by the relations described in Figure 2 with the relationship between the cone of duration (tā/vā/kohi) and plane of the present moment (N). Duration can be described by the workings of the Polynesian notion of time—tau, the contraction of events within duration drawing together tā, kohi, and vā to produce moments—*tatau*—in the cycle of life and becoming. Outside the cone (or ring), time becomes tā as action and mechanical movements made by the body and tools; inside the cone is anchored moment—tau.

There is a reason why the Polynesian word for settlement is signaled by the image of an anchor or *taula* because of the necessity for an open and

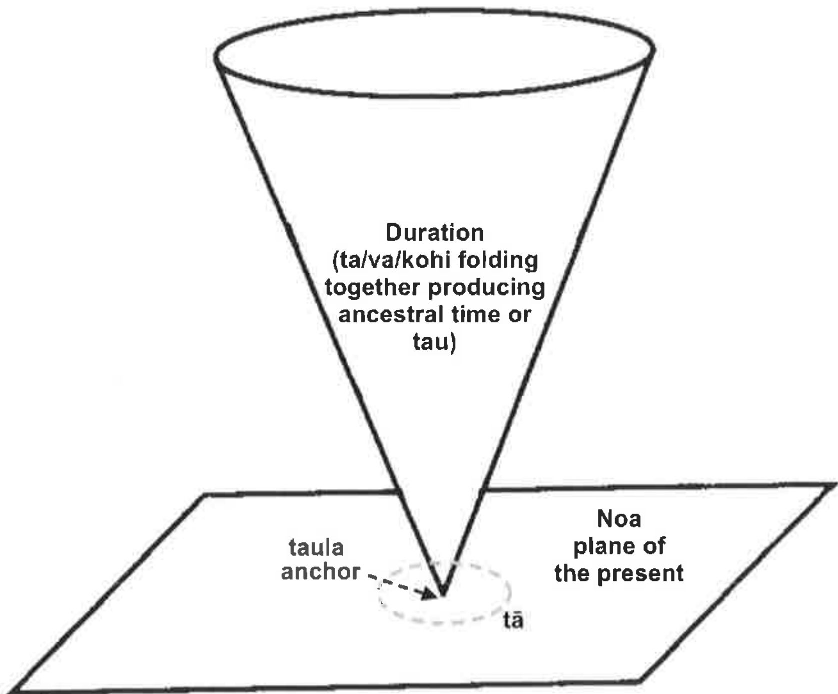

FIGURE 2. **Duration and time schema.**

cleared space that is anchored to a point connected to the founding ancestor, and extending to encompass a ring of co-belonging and co-openness as taulaga. Therefore, in every village or *nu 'u* is a circle of ancestral-becoming, every circle is a ring of co-belonging. Every community is made up of landowners, strangers, and kin alike, gathered in a shared space establishing a neighborhood of ancestral-becoming within greeting distance of each other. Together they make a duration by weaving time together in a co-openness—this is the meaning of tau, to be together in "being-there" and counting the moments as time revolves (presencing). This is the customary character of a Samoan order of the world (Māhina would say *mālie*) in an ideal schema, which obliterates the notion of an individual and promotes co-openness to each other. Every gathering, every sociality in Samoa is structured to reflect this configuration. Every village has its own circle of co-openness; each district in Samoa has conformed to the same arrangement for the last 500 or more years (Meleisea 1987: 28–32).[18]

Bradd Shore showed that a Samoan cultural-topographic space operates in a concentric dualism that gradually intensifies in power and mana as you move from the bush or sea at the periphery of toward the *malae* at the center of the village. The malae, Shore suggested, contains "a radiant source of dignity and power" (1996, 270), which can transform people and objects into a veritable "museum exhibit" (168). The surrounding area is drawn into a vortex of increasing formality inhabiting the center. An attempt will be made here to create a spatial exposition by expanding Shore's schema to incorporate a more complex set of forces and values that are in play to form a cultural-topographic space that includes architecture and prestige objects .

The diagram in Figure 3 is an attempt to present the vā ideal schema by utilizing two overlapping systems in operation spatially in the Samoan. First, I have adopted Claude Lévi-Strauss's concentric dualism structure[19] to denote the move from a center to a periphery, from the zone of elites to those of the workers, and retaining Lévi-Strauss's dualism in the system regarding the unequal distribution of power at work at every level (Lévi-Strauss 1963, 152). The second is a stepping conical clan structure borrowed from Friedman (Freidman 1998, 131) to describe the upward-stepping character of prestige, the higher the individual or goods go up the ladder the more saturated and embodied they are with a becoming-ancestor or mana where they are less able to move about. The inner ring is occupied by the ali'i elites with their "circle of fa'amatai," a sacred "prayer circle" (*vā tapua'i*) that issue commands, but they remained immobile signaling their sacred stature—more mana equals less mobility. When goods and material productions reach completion, they are brought into the circle to be displayed and begin their function as adorned or teu objects, which

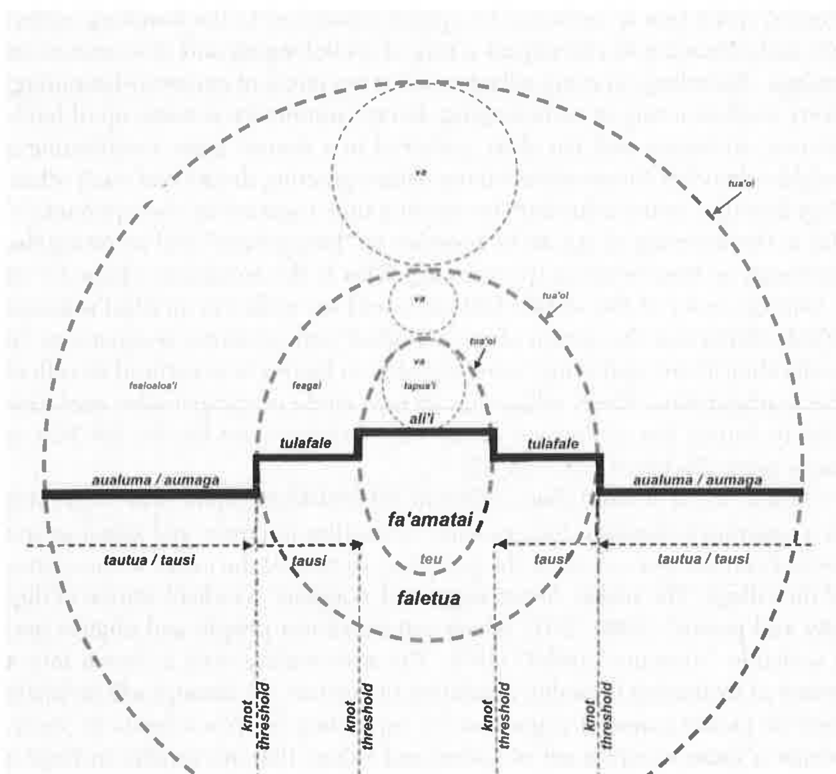

FIGURE 3. **Schema showing spatial diagram of *vā* neighborhood and configuration of Samoan world.**

are made sacred by the praises and songs of the chiefs and community who witness their transformation from mere objects to become prestige goods and gifts to be exchanged and redistributed in an endless circulation of prestige.

A secondary ring envelops the first and occupied by the *tulafale* the orator, the instructor who orders, delegates, and makes possible the commands issued in the elite circle. The tulafale practices a vā feagai ethic that allows them to be *feagai* (facing together) or companions of the chiefs; their function is to assist and serve (*tausi*) the elites of the first circle. They are invested with a villagewide policing function (a state arm) allowing them to issue law and punishment and also with the task to reallocate wealth. The ring around them delimits a zone where prestige goods can also be captured and

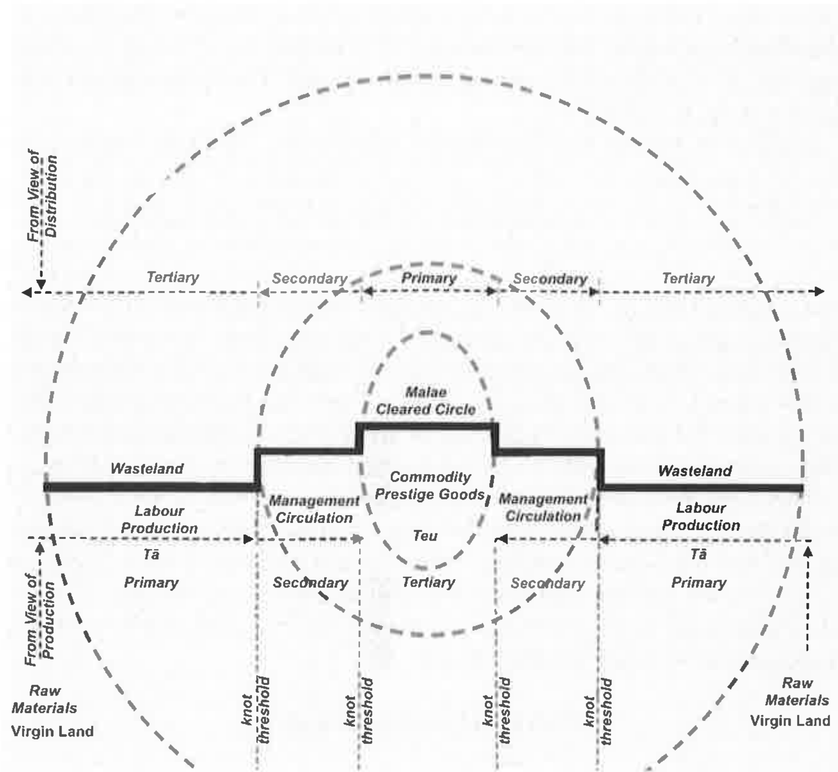

FIGURE 4. **Schema describing Samoan zones of production and distribution.**

rediverted giving the tulafale a privilege and powerful position in the Samoan political system.

The third and final ring encloses the other two and contains the *aumaga/ aualuma* young able-bodied population who provide the labor force, and where the raw materials are prepared, cooked, reworked, and refined. The occupants of this zone are the most mobile, the young men go deep into the forest to plant, gather, and farm, whereas young women clean, cook, and transform domestic goods into fineries. This zone is the engine room that serve (*tautua*) every settlement. They operate from the edge (tua) in a "wasteland" (Lévi-Strauss 1963, 152) as opposed to the cleared center of the first circle because it is the location where raw materials are transformed or, as I propose, tā. This is a production zone where tools operate, the axe, adze,

and machete rule here, and body gestures become more active and physical. This third ring carries out the function of tā in Samoan thinking, in which materials are transformed by action—motive power. The reciprocal action to the motive power of tā is teu.

Production and circulation of goods requires the movement from tā to teu, from periphery to center. In summary, the Samoan schema illustrate that "things" (goods, wives, husbands, strangers, building a house)[20] are produced within the wasteland where the brutal machinery of physical action is in operation. Once transformed, things are presented before the cleared circle, where they are aired or teu, opened out and paraded in front of the elites to acquire their value as prestige. Things, therefore, move from a production zone where tā operates to teu, from periphery to center where value is determined. Once its value as prestige goods has been established, the thing passes back in a return flow to the periphery as possible goods in kinship exchanges (*fa'alavelave*) or goods carried in *malaga* trading missions.

The separation between each ringed zone is marked "knot threshold" to denote the points where debts are accumulated when goods and service passes from one zone to another. Debts are accumulated at these points as *tausi* or service rendered, and over time they become a considerable amount, which allows one to scale up to the next level until finally one is able to sit and participate in the central ring of power.

Tā-Vā and Technical Life

A spatial exposition of Samoan technical life in light of the production and distribution schema above will show how tā and vā is integral to the study of cultural technology. Technologies are the material expression of cultural activity (Lemonnier 1992, 2) and can be observed in the techniques that the body and tools uses to transform the material world. It echoes Māhina's notion of *faiva*, the gestural operation carried out by a tufunga specialist that fuses his body to the practice at hand in transforming the world. The tufunga does this by imparting kupesi or bodily knowledge embedded with techniques that his practice uses to transform raw material into shaped and refined prestige objects. The Samoan *faletele* ancestor house[21] is a good example of how this was carried out.

A typical Samoan settlement contains a malae, ceremonial cleared ground located at the heart of the *nu'u* where founding families maintain their *paepae* foundations on which a faletele (great house) or *faletalimalo* (guesthouse) are sited. The *faletele* is a prestige object in Samoan material culture, whose primary function is to mark and embellish (in the manner of teu) a family's foundation within the nu'u. Families incur considerable amount of expense

and debt when building one. It takes years in planning in which a family would have to accumulate fine mats and the planting of breadfruit trees used as the main materials for the house. The *fono a matai* (council of chiefs) is held under its roof, and it is from here where ali'i chief and tulafale orator preside over teu activities—receiving, exchanging, and distributing prestige goods. A faletele is, therefore, a visible and concrete platform housing the most important social/ritual machinery in Samoan society. Within its boundaries the elites receive, evaluate, distribute, and circulate prestige goods. The *tufuga faufale* are the architects and builders of the faletele ever since the first house; the *Fale 'ula*, was built for Tagaloalagi (Refiti 2009b).[22]

A close study of the operation sequences of the tufuga work on the faletele (Fig. 5) reveals how the complex sets and subsets of action when mapped out unfolds a schema showing how raw materials are transformed as it flows from the bush to the center of the village, a transformation from rough to smooth, a movement from periphery to center from tā to teu. In their work, the tufuga actions and gestures are welded to techniques that transform materials. Adzes, axes, scrappers, sennit binding, and the human body become tools in

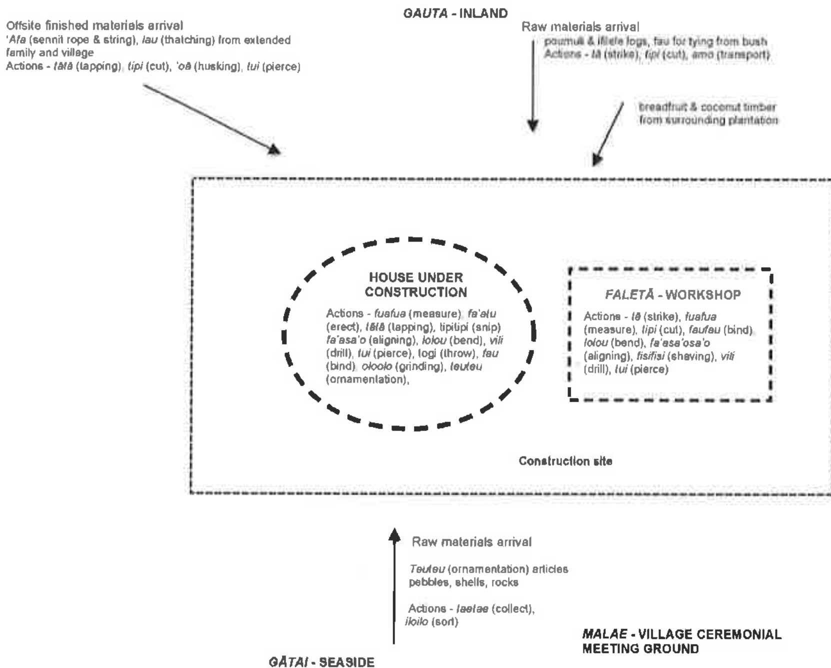

FIGURE 5. **Materials actions and construction schema.**

this operation. Mapping the actions required in this transformation (Fig. 6) against the villages' topography shows a leveling out of gestures from intense physical action to more refined movements that tends toward teu or orderliness. Tā or "hard action" takes place inland (*gauta*); teu "refined action" is carried out within and around the malae.

Timber are felled with *to 'i* axes inland by membres of the family and villagers and transported to the construction site next to the malae where the tufuga with their tools and scrappers craft the requisite parts in their workshop (*faleta*). Materials are broken down to smaller bits and pieces and then passed to the tufuga on the *fatamanu* scaffold to be fitted and bound together in the forming and shaping of the house. The flow of action from rough to smooth run in parallel with the transformation of materials, from whole and raw, to being broken down and turned into refined and exact components of the finished product. The faletele is an exact object of processed and assembled parts.

Figure 6 shows the topological sequence of gestures[23] produced by the tufuga in making the faletele. Gestures from less formal-to-formal are mapped against the construction sequences. Labor is divided into the head tufuga (H), tufuga assistances (T), and family (F).

STAGES		*tā* - chop	*tipi* - cut	*togi* - throw	*amo* - transport	*eli* - dig	*fua* - measure	*tātau* - to draw	*fa'atu* - to stand	*'ae* - climb	*fa'alava* - lay across	*lolou* - bend	*fa'asa'o* - straightened	*tātā* - hammer	*fisi* - peel	*vili* - drilling	*tui* - pierce	*fātau* - temporary lash	*olo* - rasping	*fisifisi* - to plane	*tipitipi* - trimming	*olo'olo* - smoothing	*fau* - to bind	Cultural Sequence of main feasts and contract payment events
5	Installing *paepae* platform			F	F	F	T				F		F									T		
4	Trimming thatch											T									H			Final feast & payment *umusaga*
4	Installing *fatafai*		T		T		T				T	T		T	T		T	T	T	T		T	H	Installing *fatafai* feast
4	Thatching		F	F	F		T			F	F	F	F	F			F						T	
3	Installing *tala* outer posts		T		T	FT	T		T			T	T	T	T			T		T		T	T	Finishing *tala* feast
3	Making & installing *fau*		T	T	T		T	T	T	T		T			T				T	T	T	T	T	
3	Drawing *fātuga* line		T		T		H	T	T	T		T	T		T	T	T	T		T	T			
3	Erecting scaffold for *tala* sections		T	F	FT	F	T		T		T			T	T			T						
2	Installing *itu* section posts		T		T	FT	T		T				T	T	T			T		T		T	T	Finishing *itu* feast
2	Making and installing *so'a*		T	T	T		T	T	T	T	T		T	T	T			T	T	T	T	T	T	
2	Constructing *itu* section		T	T	T		T	T		T		T	T		T			T	T	T	T	T	T	
2	Drawing *fātuga* line		T		T		H	T	T	T		T	T		T	T	T	T		T	T		T	
1	Installing *'au'au*		T	T	T		T	T		T	H	T	T		T			T		T	T	T	H	Installing *'au'au* feast
1	Erecting central posts		T		FT	FT	H	T	T	T			T	T	T			T		T		T		
1	Erecting scaffolding		T	F	FT	F	T		T	T			T	T				T						
1	Preparing site			F	F	F	H	T																
Offsite gathering materials	Sennit & finishing materials	F	F	F	F									F								F	F	Tufuga arrival feast
Offsite gathering materials	Raw materials	FT	F	F	F		T			F					F									

T = Tufuga
H = Head Tufuga
F = Family

ACTIONS - Increasing Refinement and Formality →→→

FIGURE 6. **Operational sequence of a *Faletele*.**

The operational sequence tracking the stages of the work against the gestures and actions required for each process is shown above (Fig. 5). The head tufuga (*Matua faiva*) work rate is less frequent but involves the two most important aspects of the construction; he marks the formal termination of each stage of process (installing the *'au 'au*, lashing the *talitali*, and trimming the thatch) and key moments when the building needs to be measured (*fua*) by sight or by string (*tatau*). The Matua faiva gives verbal commands throughout the building process and measures the building shape by sight (Buck 1930, 33) and would rarely physically carry out any of the work. His labor epitomizes the gestures considered dignified and refined. In the village fono, he is Matua faiva (expert), also Matai tufuga (chief architect), which affords him the status of the highest ranked tufuga, and as Shore observed, those who have the most *mana* are "prisoners of status" always bound and confined to stillness (Shore 1996, 272).

The tufuga assistants can number as few as four, and as many as ten carry out the rest of the work. Family members and villagers are involved in gathering raw and binding materials (sennit and fau—strips used for temporary ties). They carry out most of the digging and transporting materials to and from the site, erecting the *fatamanu* scaffold, and constructing the *paepae* platform after the house is built. The Tufuga's role in the activities recorded above shows that the builders' actions and gestures are closely tied to the tools required for construction.

Conclusion: A *Su 'ifefiloi*

I propose here to bring together the pieces of the bricolage above to stitch them together in a *su 'ifefiloi*[24] to provide a multifaceted fabric by overlaying the diagram of the tā-vā theory of reality (Fig. 1) and the schema describing Samoan zones of production and distribution (Fig. 4) to produce a new diagram of relations (Fig. 7) and a spatial exposition of Samoan architecture as prestige object. It shows that it is possible to diagram the forces at work in the tā-vā theory of reality, which will allow it to produce concepts that could then be applied to other situations and systems. What I have shown here is that it could be applied to Samoan architecture to create a spatial exposition of forces to reveal how a site of production and distribution becomes centralized, making all materials, actions, skills, and affects flow in a lateral direction toward a central space. It shows that tā is a causal force that works laterally or horizontally from object to object in a flow toward a point where tā is transformed into teu. Vā is the realm of imagination and predestination, acting vertically to bestow value and prestige at work in symbolic identification and valuation.

The schema in Figure 7 illustrate that the Matua faiva or the head tufuga—point MT—controls the production process by means of minimal gestures commanding a well-orchestrated workforce or tufuga assistants. From his position he conducts the form and shape of the house on the malae with a "wave of a stick" or the folding of strings indicating their measured parts (Buck 1930, 32). The tufuga epitomizes the position of those in high rank, the more mana the more refined the gestures, the less actions required. Workers rent their bodies to hard actions or tā movements chopping and tearing raw materials apart and breaking them down into smaller components. They are carried out within the confines of the village periphery, the wasteland separating the virgin bush (*gauta*) and settlement land. The tufuga assistants convert the broken components into fitted units, starting the process of teu, which refine the parts by *fisifisi* (to plane), *tipitipi* (trimming) and *'oloolo*

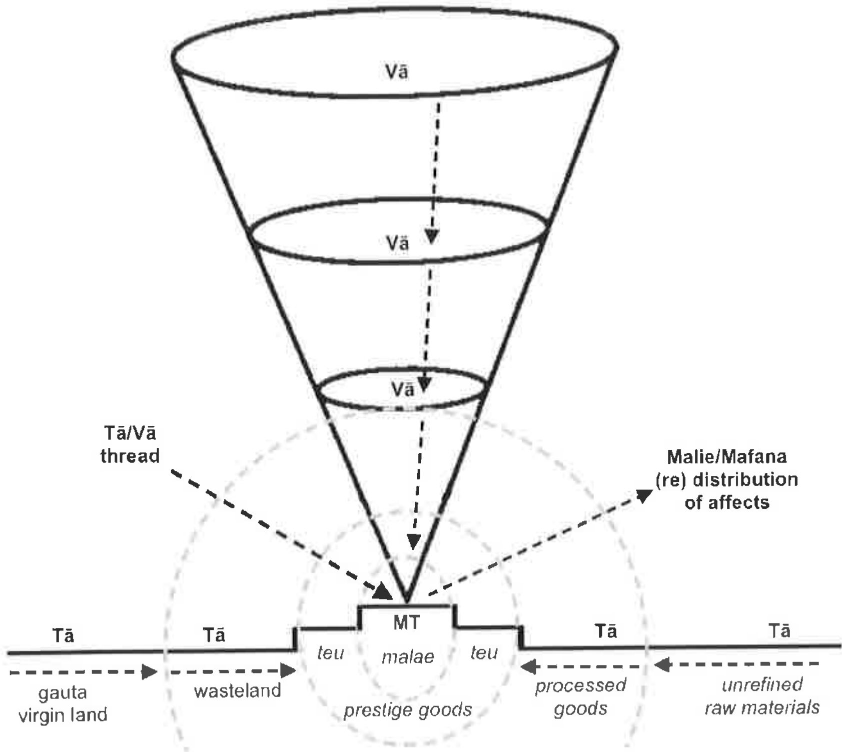

FIGURE 7. **Schema showing the spatial exposition of Samoan architecture as prestige object.**

(sanding and smoothing). The final act is the drawing together of the parts, fitting, and lashing to form a whole. *Fafau* (to lash, *lalava* in Tongan) like *lalaga* (weaving) are the most refined of manual gestures that requires the fine motor skills of nimble and trained fingers. It is this link with fine motor skills of the body in performing, weaving, and dancing, etc., that mark out the usefulness of the tā-vā theory of reality in conceptualizing meaningful and unique activities achieved by Samoan and Tongan material culture.

I hope to have shown with this spatial exposition that a particular type of thought is being developed in the Pacific by Hufanga ʻOkusitino Māhina and others[25] in which traditional concepts can be recharged, extended, and multiply to give it an afterlife. If we can no longer practice our traditions in our homelands, then surely we are able to make them mobile by coiling them into concepts, carrying them in a tool box of theory, then unpacking, operating, and performing with them when required. Pacific concepts and ideas are important here because they are the tools to be used in new places and situations allowing our lived traditions to produce new ideas and concepts. Thus, my task here has been to try to cut a new tributary from Māhina's branch of thought and join it to the reservoir of Samoan concepts and customs by using Western philosophical tools to archive this.

NOTES

1. I use Leroi-Gourhan's notion that all human actions and gestures produces graphism, which consists of lines of action centered on the body and are, therefore, technicity or gestures that we make hand-in-hand with our capacity to produce language, spoken, drawn, and written (1993: 210–12).

2. I refer here to Claude Lévi-Strauss's (1966) concept of reusing remains and debris of other events by fitting, stitching, and cobbling together "fossilized evidence of history" to form a set. I would go further and suggest that such a process creates a thinking machine that creates change like the Polynesian notion of *sui* or *fuli*—to transform—in this way, bricolage is to sew and construct with many things/materials/ideas.

3. Unless otherwise stated, I will refer to Hūfanga ʻOkusitino Māhina's 2010 paper.

4. All these writers and thinkers are first speakers of a Pacific language who use customary and traditional Pacific ideas to write for an English-speaking audience.

5. See the papers in this publication, etc.

6. Māhina was a student of Futa Helu who had introduced the work of Heraclitus and other classical Greek philosophers to his students in Atenisi University, Tonga (Campbell and Coxon 2005: 7).

7. See Plato's *Timaeus*: "The god wanted everything to be good and nothing to be bad so far as that was possible, and so he took over all that was visible—not at rest but in discord-

ant and disorderly motion—and brought it from a state of disorder to one of order, because he believed that order was in every way better than disorder" (Plato 1977, 1236).

8. See Māhina and Potauaine discussion of *Tufunga Lalava* as being concerned with "fela-lavai (intersection), of kohi (lines), and vā (spaces), where kohi are an expression of tā (time), so that the word lalava is itself a form of tā-vā (time-space)" (Māhina and Poutauine 2010, 6).

9. I use the Samoan spelling of tufuga without the *n* before the g when I am referring to the Samoan case.

10. This is the case in Giles Deleuze's adaptation of Bergson concept of actual/virtual (Bryant 2011, 102).

11. The Samoan Saveasi'uleo had a body of a man from the waist up and a lower piscatorial half that stretched away to sea. He tended his fono assembly house "supported by the erect bodies of chiefs who had been of high rank on earth, and who, before they died, anticipated with pride the high pre-eminence of being pillars in the temple of the king of Pulotu" (Turner 1884: 259–60). The Tongan Havea Hikule'o was a blind woman who ruled Pulotu and who had a royal house that the Tu'i Tonga desired to possess (Gifford 1924, 19).

12. I use Lemi Ponifasio's explanation of vā as "a conscious and responsible state of being" and "the most dangerous part of the ocean" (Ponifasio 2010).

13. Allesandro Duranti reported that he first heard teu being spoken in a *fono* council meeting where an argument took place and chiefs were imploring each other to put the vā back in order (Duranti 1981: 29–30). Teu here means to "put-in-store" and control a vital and violent force that threatens to destroy relations.

14. For writings on the vā, see Wendt (1996), Mageo (1998, 81), and Tuagalu (2008, 107–26).

15. "Va is the space between, the betweenness" (Wendt 1996).

16. The laws and restrictions that control both ones desire and the rules of communication, according to Jacques Lacan in which he proposes that The Name-of-the-Father is bound up with the superego, the Phallus, the symbolic order and the Oedipus complex (Lacan 2001, 165; for a further explanation of this link between Samoan Thought and psychoanalysis, see also Refiti 2009a).

17. I align this with Thomas Sheehan rehabilitation of Martin Heidegger's notions of *Dasein* and finitude as "co-openness," or that which is "co-extensive with finitude," the "first gift which makes it possible and necessary to take—as and to understand 'is' . . . the basis for all forms of interpersonal togetherness, the eyeball-to-eyeball of political struggle, the face-to-face of moral obligation . . . what lets us live a co-history . . . living and working together and making communal decisions" (Sheehan 2001, 200).

18. See, for instance, the honorific for all Samoa since the time of Salamasina in Meleisea (1987).

19. Bradd Shore adapted the same schema to describe Samoan social space (1996 and 1982).

20. Sacred *taupou* women are included in this rationale as prestige objects.

21. It is generally understood that the faletele is indigenous to Samoa. The faleafolau the other type used was thought to have originated in Tonga and only appeared in Samoa with the missionaries (Green and Barnes 2008). But like Micah van der Ryn (2012), I believe the faleafolau was in Samoa well before the missionaries arrived and gained prominence because it was easily adapted for use as a chapel. The *Fale'ula* ancestor house, which Tagaloa-a-lagi brought from Lagi was in the shape of the faletele (Krämer (1994, 528).

22. The Samoan origin of the name tufuga came from Tagaloalagi the Samoan progenitor who gifted the *tufugaga* sacred tool bag to the architects who built his Fale'ula house in Lagi. They came to be known by the name of this tool bag shortened to tufuga.

23. I am using paleoanthropologist Andé Leroi-Gourhan's notion of *chaînes opératoires* (1993, 233) to record and map a series of operations, which brings a primary material from its natural state to a fabricated state; the term "operational sequence" is used from here on to refer to the procedure.

24. A Samoan technique of stringing together heterogenous materials to form a richly textured outcome particularly in the composing of songs for performances or making garland decorations (Ellis 1998; Refiti 2015).

25. I include here the work of Tēvita Ka'ili, Nuhisifa Neve-Williams, Karlo Mila, Semisi Potauaine, and Bruce Moa.

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CONCEPTS OF *TĀ-VĀ* (TIME-SPACE) IN THE ART PRACTICE OF SAMOA-AOTEAROA ARTIST SHIGEYUKI KIHARA

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The meaning and kaupapa behind my work is derivative of an ancient Moana philosophy and beliefs and that's what makes it an art from the Moana . . . Art from the Moana is all about celebrating the community. . . . Shigeyuki Kihara, 2005.

My paper considers concepts of *tā-vā* (time-space theory of reality) in the interdisciplinary art practice of Pacific Islander Shigeyuki Kihara, whose art is internationally acclaimed for its beauty, social criticism, and Moana identity linked to ties of community. With creative examples, I explore how Kihara's constructions of tā-vā (a) reclaim Samoan histories and identities by subverting western fantasies of "dusky maidens" and a timeless South Seas Paradise; (b) challenge western binary norms of heterosexuality and gender from the traditional space (*vā*) she occupies as a *fa'afafine*; and (c) embody Samoan deities to honor Moana spirituality and epistemologies. I further discuss ways Kihara positions her vā as fa'afafine to maintain positive relations to her Samoan community and her international circle of artist colleagues through the Moana-Samoan practice of *teu le vā*—meaning caring for or beautifying social spaces now threatened by global forces commoditizing the arts and cultures of Oceania.

Introduction

IN HIS BOOK *The Interpretation of Cultures*, anthropologist Clifford Geertz (1973) theorized that "man is an animal suspended in webs of significance which he himself has spun" (5). For anthropologists (including myself) who

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have been influenced by Geertz's ideas, cultural analysis is an interpretive endeavor seeking to understand the meanings of symbols, social relations, and connections to nature, which people conceptualize to structure their cosmologies and behavior. Although, as Geertz and others have noted, all cultures ontologically have ideas of time and space that enable people to conceptualize things diachronically and synchronically, these ideas are framed by indigenous epistemologies and their dynamics.

In Oceania, which the late Tongan anthropologist, writer, and poet Epeli Hau'ofa has called "Our Sea of Islands" (Hau'ofa 1993), Pacific Island societies have since the eighteenth century been severely impacted by western colonialism through forces of missionization, capitalism, institutional education, and militarism. Recent migration, urbanization, and globalism have brought further changes and conflicts to Pacific Island Societies. At the same time, societies and cultures of Oceania are resilient. Confronting western cultural hegemony, Pacific people have continued to honor and revitalize their traditions in their home islands as well as in new urban migrant communities in New Zealand, North America, and Europe.

Beginning in the 1960s, as a growing body of scholarship has documented, indigenous Pacific artists, writers, and scholars have contributed to a Moana (Oceania) cultural renaissance (see Adsett, Whiting, and Ihimaera 2001; Chiu 2004; Cochrane 2001; Cochrane Simons and Stevenson 1990; Hereniko and Wilson 1999; Herle et al. 2002; Küchler and Were 2005; Mallon 2002; Mallon and Pereira 1997, 2002; Mason 2004; Stevenson 2008; Vercoe 2004). Collectively, their work engages ideas and practices of Pacific indigenous knowledge and spirituality, as well as distinctive concepts of identity to challenge dominant Western values—such as egocentrism and utilitarianism. Collaborating with several of his colleagues and former students, anthropologist-historian and accomplished poet Okusitino Māhina has recently contributed a new philosophical tā-vā (time-space) theory of reality to the understanding of Polynesian culture and art (Thomas 2010). Applied across nature, mind, and society, tā-vā theory holds that all things stand in eternal relations of exchange to one another, giving rise to order (symmetry) or conflict (asymmetry), depending on how mutual transactions are mediated or transformed (Māhina 2002, 2004, 2005; Māhina, Ka'ili, and Ka'ili 2005; Māhina and Potauaine 2010).

In contrast to general Western ideas of time and space, which are conceptualized as singular, individualistic, analytic, and linear, Pacific concepts of tā (time) and vā (space) are plural, collectivistic, circular, and aesthetic (Māhina and Potauaine 2010). As Māhina and other Oceania scholars have noted, peoples of the Moana believe "the past lies ahead of the future and

people walk forward into the past and backwards into the future" (also Hau'ofa 1993; Trask 1993; Wendt 1999). In the present, where the past and future engage dialectically, there is continuous conflict seeking mediation to create balance. Unlike Western epistemologies that render reality in three dimensions, the tā-vā theory of reality is four dimensional, since time and space intersect in indigenous thought and practice. Also, unlike Western ideas where space is considered a void, vā references relational space that maintains mutual social relations between persons or groups. As Tēvita Ka'ili (2007) has richly described, caring for and nurturing social relations of vā—termed teu le vā or *tausi le vā* in Samoan culture (see Refiti [2009] and Van der Ryn [this issue] for their spatial distinctions)—is guided by a code of conduct to "beautify" the social space. Teu le vā[1] is then a productive social and artistic process where aesthetic qualities and utility coexist (Ka'ili 2007: 1–39; Māhina and Potauaine 2010, 19). But whether creating artistic productions (*tufunga*, "material arts"; *faiva*, "performance arts"; or fine arts, known in Tonga as "*Nimamea'a*"—meaning "fine hands" in western discourse), or maintaining social relations, Pacific Islanders organize tā and vā in patterned ways designed to produce harmony in situations prone to conflict and/or asymmetry. From this tā-vā perspective, art is a productive process where conditions of chaos or asymmetry are transformed into a state of order and beauty (Māhina 2002; Māhina and Potauaine 2010). As Māhina argues, the symmetrical intersection of time in space gives rise to beautiful artistic creations and harmonious social spaces (Māhina 2004; Ka'ili 2005, 5).

Given the critical role of Pacific arts today in revitalizing Moana cultures at the dynamic intersection of local and globalizing art worlds—including reasserting indigenous concepts of time and space—my paper focuses on the multimedia and performance art practice of Pacific Islander artist Shigeyuki Kihara, who resides in Auckland, Aotearoa-New Zealand. I have selected Kihara's multimedia and performance art because it has received international acclaim for its beauty, nuanced social criticism, and assertion of Moana identity and heritage. In 2003, Kihara was the winner of Creative Arts New Zealand's Emerging Pacific Artist Award; in 2008, she became the first Pacific artist to have a solo exhibition, entitled *Living Photographs*, at the Metropolitan Museum in New York; in 2009, she received Creative New Zealand Pacific Innovation and Excellence award. In 2012, she received two further honors: the New Generation Award from Arts Foundation New Zealand, and the Paramount Award from the Wallace Art Awards. The latter was for her video work entitled "*Galau afi: Waves of Fire*"—a lament inspired by the 2009 tsunami in Samoa.

Selecting examples from her fashion work (*Graffiti Dress*, *Adorn to Excess*); her mixed media prints (*Black Sunday*); her photographic series (*Faleaitu*: *House of Spirits*, *Vavau: Tales from Ancient Samoa*, *Fa'afafine*: *In a Manner of a Woman*), and her performance art (*Taualuga: The Last Dance* and *Talanoa: Walk the Talk*), I explore how Kihara's constructions of tā (time) and vā (space) direct her to (a) reclaim Samoan histories and creation stories by subverting hegemonic western fantasies of "dusky maidens" and a timeless South Seas Paradise that denies change and agency to Pacific Islanders; (b) challenge western binary norms of heterosexuality and gender from the vā (social space) she occupies in her community as a fa'afafine—broadly describing those who are Samoan and "queer," which in Kihara's case identifies her as a male to female transgender and in New Zealand is categorized as deviant; (c) pose as Samoan male and female deities to honor Moana spirituality and genealogies, including the principle that in Moana societies the past lies in front of the present and the future; (d) create works of beauty marked by the aesthetics of not only symmetry and balance, but also dramatic light. Because items (a) to (c) are all concerned with "intersecting" or "conflicting" tendencies at the interface of the subject matters under the productive process—as in the art works above that form the substance of artistic and literary commentaries of the author—they coincide with both the general and specific (epistemological) tenets of the tā-vā theory.

In her wider art practice as an art activist and curator, Kihara further positions her transgender space (vā) to maintain good social relations (teu le vā and/or tausi le vā) with her Samoan community in New Zealand and at home in the Islands. As a curator, she has also extended concepts of teu le vā to establish relations of community with Third Gender Pacific Islander artists living in Australia and the Pacific. In 2009–10, her work with establishing good community relations has come through organizing a series of cross-cultural art performances entitled *Talanoa*: *Walk the Talk*, commissioned by the Fourth Auckland Triennial (NZ), Auckland City Council (NZ), Campbelltown Arts Centre (Australia), 4a Center for Contemporary Asian Art, and other organizations in Australia interested in multicultural exchanges to create community dialogue and good will.

To establish a context for interpreting Kihara's art, I begin with a short description of her life. I then discuss her work chronologically to point out that, despite changes in its media, form, or content, common themes that reclaim Moana concepts of time-space, Moana histories and spirituality, and indigenous concepts of her vā as fa'afafine resurface throughout her work. In addition, conflicts in the personal life of the artist are projected onto the

artist's works, which are then dealt with as conflicts that are internal to them and mediated in the creative process.

Shigeyuki Kihara—A Short Biography

The late Cook Islander–Maori artist and curator Jim Vivieaere has suggested that Kihara's propensity to cross borders in her life and art to create liminal social spaces—the space in between—stems from her childhood experiences (Vivieaere 2005). Her parents are of different ethnic heritage—her father is Japanese and her mother is Samoan—and she mediated between the values of both cultures. In childhood, she also moved regularly when her father's job sent the family to live in Japan, Indonesia, and Samoa. Early in life, she also became aware of her liminal gender. When she returned to live in Samoa as a teenager, her vā as a fa'afafine was publicly recognized in high school, when she was assigned traditional female tasks (Kihara, pers. comm.).

In 1989, Kihara made another transition when she was sent to an all boys boarding school in New Zealand. After graduation, because she was always creative and interested in expressing gender and cultural identity through clothing, she enrolled to study fashion at Wellington Polytechnic (now amalgamated with Massey University). Here, in the national capital, she was exposed to a young urbanized Pacific Islander street culture, which stimulated her interest in the semiotics of style. Urban Pacific culture—referring to the experience of Pacific Islander migrants—was attracted by two things: melding the boundaries between art and fashion and promoting Pacific pride and heritage to challenge New Zealand's white establishment and its dominant values. As Urban Pacific culture caught on in the late 1980s, a few cutting-edge fashion magazines began to feature new "Pasifika" fashion, drawing attention to its aesthetics and fashion activism. After graduating from Massey, Kihara began to produce and art direct fashion editorials for these publications. In doing this, she acquired technical expertise for staging high fashion shoots (dramatic lighting, elaborate costuming), which later became aesthetic components of her own photographic work. Doing research for fashion features also stimulated Kihara's interest in studying nineteenth century photographs of Pacific Islanders, whose poses seemingly mirrored the ideas western photographers had of native peoples and their society. Resistance to this exotic timeless "gaze" became, as discussed next, a focus in all her art that she wished to redress.

Kihara's flair for aesthetically powerful innovative imagery linking traditional and contemporary motifs has drawn wide recognition for her creative

talents as a Pacific artist. Her student "Graffiti Dress" and the T-shirts of her first exhibition *Teuanoa'i: Adorn to Access* were acquired in 2000 by New Zealand's National Museum Te Papa Tongarewa. In 2003, she was the recipient of Creative New Zealand's Arts Council's Emergent Young Artist Award; she was the recipient of Creative New Zealand's Arts Council's Contemporary Pacific Artist aware in 2009; and, in 2008, she became the first Pacific Artist to have a retrospective exhibition at the Metropolitan Museum of Art (New York). It included images I now discuss regarding concepts of time and space in her work.

Early Fashion Images: *Graffiti Dress*, *Adorn to Access*, *Pulp* Magazine

Kihara's earliest fashion work (*Graffiti Dress*, *Adorn to Access*, and features in *Pulp* Magazine) reflect the dislocation, humor, and frustration felt by young Pacific Islander migrants who arrived in New Zealand and had to negotiate between the socio-cultural traditions of their islands and the urban Pacific subculture they encountered in Wellington or Auckland (Colchester 2003, 167–190). Kihara entitled the "Graffiti Dress," which she made during her time as a fashion student, *Bombacific 1995.* The dress is now in the collection of New Zealand's National Museum Te Papa Tongarewa, and it mediates this important space of cultural negotiation in a design pattern combining solid colors, geometric shapes, curving and intersecting lines, and graffiti imagery. A description of the garment is posted at Arts Online Te Hāpori O Ngā Toi (courtesy of the Museum of NZ Te Papa Tongarewa No FED01056l):

> This is a long tight-fitting dress made from Dupont Lycra. It has a green yoke, long red sleeves and a high backed rolled collar. The rest of the bodice is black with a grill-like effect, created by joining geometric shapes with silver overlocked seams. At the waist is a broad silver band with black horizontal lines. The skirt has three horizontal bands of white, covered in black graffiti, which are separated by two sloping (curving) black bands (2).

As recorded by Te Papa on information provided by Kihara, the design of the garment represents the social space of a younger generation of Pacific Islanders living in New Zealand and negotiating between two worlds—their traditional islands and their new contemporary urban environment—and how to relate to them both. Stylistically, the dress emulates a traditional *mu'umu'u* which, as Kihara has discussed, was introduced by colonial missionaries to cover the "savage" native female body (Leota-Ete,

Kihara, and Raymond 2002). In the islands, the mu'umu'u or *puletasi* (a tighter fitting mu'umu'u) was made of natural cotton. Kihara has, however, created her dress in lycra (an industrial stretch fabric) and decorated it with graffiti motifs and areas of transparency to show the body underneath. The skirt, with its black bands curving round the body and patchwork of colored shapes, including vibrant red sleeves, signifies the mixing and blending of cultures of Pacific Islands people in New Zealand's urban spaces; the graffiti (an American influence) signal overtones of rebelliousness. The transparent patches in mid-section of the dress reference the precolonial body and, as noted by Kihara, signal that colonialism has not succeeded in repressing Pacific women's sexuality or ideals of beauty through covering the body and conceptualizing it as something to be feared (Kihara, pers. comm.; Leota-Ete, Kihara, and Raymond 2002, 91). In the conflicting tensions of the present, "Graffiti Dress" reasserts traditional ideas of the body beautiful while at the same time referencing that a Pacific aesthetic has never been static but adapts and transforms in time and space.

In her gallery exhibition installation *Teuanoa'i: Adorn to Excess* (2000), Kihara again uses the semiotics of clothing to reference Pacific urban street culture and to show how young Pacific Islanders are expressing their ethnic identities by wearing western styled garments, but modified to express indigenous meanings relevant to contemporary Pacific lives. In this case, 28 T-shirts were stamped with bastardized corporate logos of international and local companies. For example, Kentucky Fried Chicken was parodied to KKK; FAB detergent became FOB; and The Warehouse morphed to The Whorehouse. For the exhibition, the T-shirts, dyed in traditional colors of black or red, were hung symmetrically spaced in two rows along three gallery walls. In the center of the back wall, other T-shirts were packed into a frozen case, intended to simulate supermarket consumption and the exploitation of Third World Labor (NZ Herald 2001; Colchester 2003, 186).

Because of infringement of copyright laws, the exhibition caused an uproar, and three T-shirts were withdrawn as the companies threatened litigation. But, as Kihara commented, she achieved her message with the design and display of the work:

> . . . The re-appropriated logos subvert the system of power, which governs the lives of indigenous Pacific Peoples today. The work also reflects the pride, angst, and frustration amongst Pacific Island youth living in an urban environment, which is what I was when I first started them back in 1996 (Kihara, pers. comm.).

In voicing pride in Pacific values of community being undermined by exploitative consumerism and labor practices, young people are informed by wearing these T-shirts to look to the past to guide them into an uncertain future. In this respect *Tuanoa'i* speaks to traditional Moana concepts of time and space while at the same time protesting the asymmetrical social relations which Pacific Islanders experience in urban New Zealand.

Pulp Magazine—*Savage Nobility*

To promote her art and Pacific design, Kihara began working for *Pulp* and other avant-garde magazines, which in the late 1990s were making waves in the growing pop culture of young urban Maori and Pacific Islanders. At *Pulp*, she designed fashion features that parodied and subverted western stereotypes of Pacific Islanders and the enduring popular fantasies of the South Seas as "paradise" (Taouma 2005). A striking example is an eight-page fashion spread entitled *Savage Nobility*, where Kihara appears in the style of a living tableau labeled *A High Chief and His Subjects* (see Fig. 1). Shot in black and white, the figures are posed motionless against a blank backdrop: the chief and his attendants wear a mix of western and traditional clothing, while Kihara is dressed in a high necked black Victorian dress. This mixture of attire symbolizes the changes colonial rule has brought to Pacific Societies but which are erased by its romantic exotic fantasies of Pacific people living outside of history or being stuck in time and, thus, being, themselves, unchanging.

It is these histories and their cosmic depth in time and space that Kihara wants to reclaim through her art. The dress she is wearing is a black mourning dress and is intended to link the inherent tensions in Pacific color symbolism. Black symbolizes the many sorrows and deaths that Pacific People have suffered from Colonial rule. But when Kihara re-presents these sufferings, she empowers them and highlights her own resistance to western hegemony. As Potauaine and Māhina (2011) have critically examined, in another Moana society, Tonga, the colors *kula* (red) and *'uli* (black) oppose one another and are conceptualized across physical, psychological, and social realms, including gender. In Moana thinking and practice, 'uli (black) is associated with the night, moon, darkness, death, ignorance, and being female. However 'uli also references the earth and symbolizes attachments to the land maintained by the ancient order of chiefly titles and sacred genealogies. Black/blackness is therefore a multivocal symbol associated with both positive and negative concepts, which Kihara harnesses for her own nuanced layered meanings.

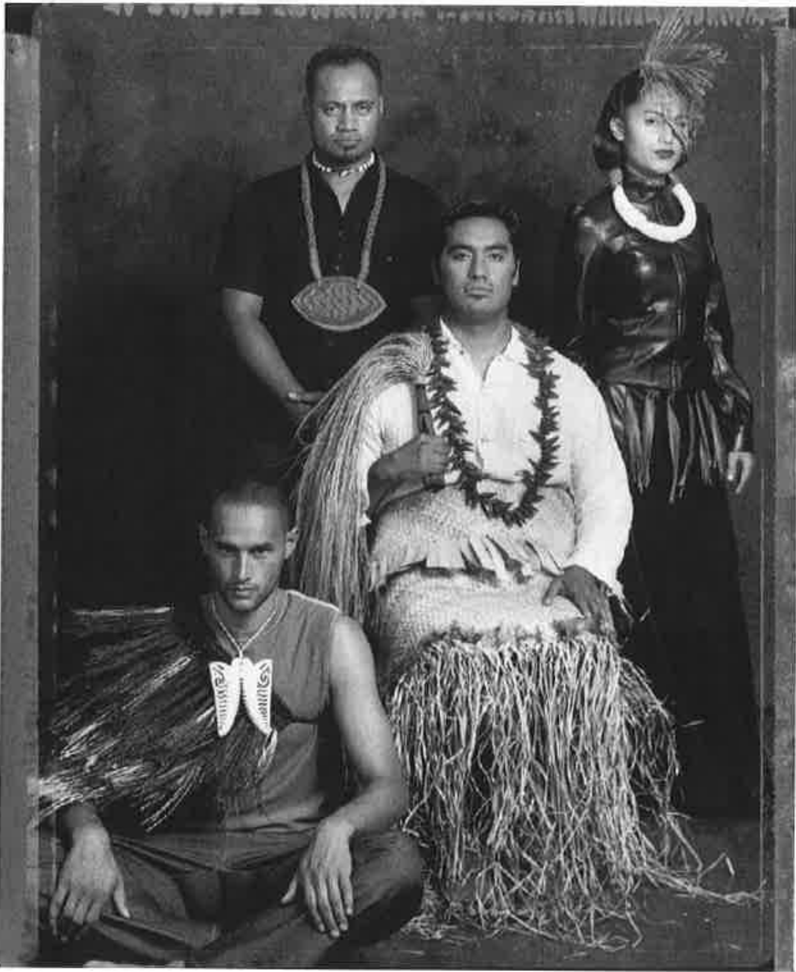

FIGURE 1. **A High Chief and His Subjects. *Pulp* Magazine Fashion Editorial, 2001. Photographer Duncan Cole and Shigeyuki and Chris Lorimer Fashion Stylists.**

Black Sunday

In 2001, Kihara presented her second solo exhibition, *Black Sunday*, which is a series of collaged prints reworked from ethnographic nineteenth century photographs and postcards of Pacific Islanders. Playing again with the

FIGURE 2. **Gossip Session. Black Sunday Series. Mixed Media, C-print, 2001.**

semiotics of the clothed/unclothed body, she adorns these noble natives with contemporary consumer goods (colored T-shirts, sunglasses, and bright lipstick) to intersect the past with the present in a style that is eye-catching and witty. Again, the intent is to reclaim Pacific history and pride in Moana values and heritage.

In *Gossip Session: See No Evil*, selected for Kihara's retrospective exhibition at the Metropolitan Museum in New York (see Fig. 2), three bare-breasted village girls work beating tapa in rhythmic beats which measure time in space (Ka'ili 2008). Collaged to wear bright colored T-shirts, the girls are redressed to represent the continuing value of women's work in community wellbeing and caring for social relationships.

The regal woman photographed in *Tasi ai afe: One in a million* (also displayed at the Metropolitan exhibition) wears the ceremonial headdress of a *taupou*—the virgin daughter of a Samoan High Chief (see Fig. 3). Traditionally, as today, the vā of the taupou represents the honor of her village and her family; her status and dutiful behavior epitomize the beauty of harmonious social relations. Her portrait is, however, slashed by a series of bars. These vertical spaces symbolize the "immobilizing gaze of the colonial photographer," which Kihara reclaims in rephotographing her image and infusing it with the vitality of color (Metropolitan Museum, press release, 2008).

But beyond reclamation, Kihara's image is also an example of indigenous photography as cultural resistance to the subjugating colonial gaze, which aimed to convince Europeans of their superiority and duty to "civilize"

FIGURE 3. **Tasi Ai Afe: One in a Million. Black Sunday Series. Mixed Media, C-print, 2001.**

primitive peoples. Colonial photography and resistance to its theoretical constructs are also the recent focus of analysis by Maxwell (2000) and Pinney and Peterson (2003), where, as Pinney argues, "photography has become a space for the inversion and critique of authorized Western models of travel, landscape, and selfhood" (13).

Another striking image from this series is the portrait of a young girl entitled *Distressed Maiden* (see Fig. 4). She wears a garland of flowers on her head and holds flowers against her breasts, while glancing warily at the camera.

As Kihara commented in an interview about her work selected for the Metropolitan exhibition, the *Black Sunday* prints were intended to raise issues about the authenticity, representation, and historicity of ethnographic colonial photography of Samoan people. More than redressing history, these issues were personal, since some of her deceased older relatives appear in these studio photographs of "dusky maidens." As Kihara comments in Federico (2009):

> By the time photography arrived in Samoa, Samoan people were already heavily indoctrinated into Christianity and, as a result, comfortable with the idea of wearing clothes. However, when Samoans went into the photography studio, the Western photographers asked people to take off their clothes and pose nude because it didn't fit into the photographers' fictitious idea of what a Samoan person should look like. . . . This raises issues about control and authority begging the question, "Who decides what is authentic?" (35).

FIGURE 4. **Distressed Maiden. Black Sunday Series. Mixed Media, C-print, 2001.**

In addition to reclaiming Samoan history in time and space, the Black Sunday series also challenges western stereotypes of Pacific Islanders and addresses social relationships with settler whites. As Kihara's statement above suggests, Pacific Islanders perceive the latter as asymmetrical and as having failed to establish harmonious exchanges integral to practicing the Moana art of teu le vā. Despite their critical content as images of resistance, the prints are, however, artistically composed, using principles of balance and symmetry and a palate of complementary colors. There is thus a degree of tension displayed between the composition of the image and its subject—the distressed maiden.

Moana Concepts of Time and Space and Spirituality

In her next exhibitions, *Faleaitu: House of Spirits*, 2003 and *Vavau: Tales from Ancient Samoa*, 2004, Kihara focuses her photographic self-portrait images on Moana concepts of time (tā) and space (vā), where she poses as portraits of Samoan Gods and Goddesses and important characters from sacred creation histories. With their dramatic lighting showing figures emerging from darkness, these images emulate the voluptuous style of the "Dusky Maiden"

genre of velvet paintings, made famous in New Zealand by Charles McPhee in the 1950s and 1960s. At the same time, as Kihara has noted, although these images use contemporary media and technology, their subjects are Moana cosmologies and legends of mythic time-space, where darkness symbolizes primal blackness, the earth, and *Pulotu*, the ancestral homeland and afterworld of Western Polynesia (Kihara, pers. comm.)

Faleaitu: House of Spirits

Faleaitu is inspired by traditional Samoan comedic theater where men—possessed by spirits—performed male, female, and transvestite roles to parody high status people or satire the vagaries of social life (Sinavaiana 1992a, 1992b; Mageo 2010). As a performance art form that engages humor, *Faleaitu* deals with conflicts in human thinking at the interface of normality and absurdity (Māhina 2008; Māhina, n.d.). Today, as traditionally, *Faleaitu* is attributed to a divine source and is intended to evoke laughter rather than convey public disrespect or anger. The gender bending associated with *Faleaitu* is hinted at in Kihara's dramatic portrait of Sina, entitled *Sina ma Tuna—Sina and her Eel* (see Fig. 5).

Here, she poses as Sina holding up the severed head of Tigilau, her ill fated loved lover, who has been transformed into an eel by her angry father. To remain together, Tigilau has instructed the grief-stricken Sina to cut off his head so he can return to life as the first coconut. This transformation mediates the relationship between life and death in a cyclic Moana concept of tā-vā (time-space), where life and death are dialectical aspects of the same reality. With blood dripping from her hand, Sina further negates all western fantasies of "dusky maidens" depicted in the velvet portraits of Charles McPhee.[2] An earlier humorous critique of McPhee's "Dusky Pacific Belle" painting was made by Sima Urale in her film *Velvet Dreams* (1997). As Kihara has noted, this film influenced her decision to redress McPhee's voluptuous imagery of young Pacific women by reappropriating his exoticizing gaze (pers. comm.)

A second portrait from the *Faleaitu* series explicitly represents Moana concepts of tā-vā (time-space) as a four-sided concept of reality, recently theorized by Hūfanga Okusitino Māhina and other Moana scholars. This portrait, entitled *Lalava Taupou: Ceremonial Maiden* (see Fig. 6), represents Nafanua, the Samoan Goddess of war.

Dramatically looming from the darkness, her head is shown adorned with an elaborate headdress made of sennit rope, twisted into a four pronged object whose sides are constructed from geometric relief designs formed by intersecting lines. Named *kupesi* in Tonga, these four-sided designs are

FIGURE 5. **Sina Ma Tuna: Sina and Her Eel. *Faleaitu:* House of Spirits Series, 2003. Mixed Media, C-print. Photographer Sean Coyle.**

found throughout Polynesia, where they are printed on tapa cloth, incised on sacred objects—such as ceremonial clubs—or tapped onto the human body as tattoos. The headdress worn by Nafanua in Kihara's portrait is the creation of internationally recognized and esteemed Tongan multimedia artist and sculptor Filipe Tohi. Trained as a master of the ancient Tongan art of *tufunga lalava* (sennit lashing), Tohi applies its mathematical formulae to produce work in wood, stone, or line which, as Okusitino has described, "can

FIGURE 6. **Lalava Taupou: Ceremonial Maiden. *Faleaitu:* House of Spirits Series, 2003. Mixed Media, C-print. Photographer Sean Coyle.**

be critically appreciated in the Tongan conception and praxis of tā and vā"—that is, a four-sided philosophical concept of time-space (Māhina 2002, 5).[3]

In Samoan history, Nafanua is a legendary figure of great importance. Called as a young woman from Pulotu, the spirit world where she resided, she disguised herself as a man to lead her people to fight their enemies. After winning a great battle that freed her village from bondage, Nafanua

established herself as powerful political leader and is reputed to have instituted the *fa'amatai* chiefly system that governs Samoa today. She also introduced the protocols of the *fono*, which include the ceremonial presentation of *kava* served by the ceremonial maiden. In naming Nafanua's portrait *Lalava Taupou*, Kihara is representing the importance of genealogy in Moana epistemology. Furthermore, Nafanua is a transformative figure. Under her rule the chaos of war was transformed into a state of peace, supported by the balanced structure of the fa'amatai chiefly system (see Refiti 2009 for further discussion). After Nafanua's death she was deified as goddess but, with the imposition of Christianity, her worship was officially overturned. However, as Kihara's portrait serves to remind, in a Moana conception of history, the past is a beacon for the future. In the taupou's sacred role of serving kava at ceremonial exchanges, initiated by Nafanua, she embodies the balanced hierarchy of social relations that maintain Samoan society in time and space.

Vavau: Tales From Ancient Samoa

Kihara's portraits in *Vavau* are inspired by Samoan *fagono* (creation stories), where, in elaborate costumes technically manipulated, she poses as male and female deities whose actions have created features of the Samoan landscape and customs of Samoan life. Similar to her earlier *Faleaitu* series, figures again emerge from darkness in a dramatic use of chiaroscuro (light and dark shading). Transformation, the importance of exchange, and Moana concepts of gender relations are concepts symbolized in the iconography of these portraits.

Maui—named for one of the portraits in the *Vavau* series entitled *Maui Ti'eti'e Talaga: How Maui Obtained Samoa's First Fire*—is a demigod and trickster who is the subject of numerous Pacific legends. He is said to have hooked up the South Island of New Zealand, to have slowed down the journey of the sun, and, as imaged by Kihara (see Fig. 7), stolen fire from the underworld after fighting with Mafui'e, the God of fire, to obtain it. Kihara shows Maui at the moment when he grasps a smoldering wooden stick whose light illuminates his face and torso. Bringing fire into the world allowed men to warm themselves and to transform raw produce into cooked food. However, fire is also a force of destruction and, in bringing it to the world, Maui disobeyed his father's command to keep its powerful forces contained deep underground.

Two other portraits from the *Vavau* series entitled *Le Loimate o Apaula—Tears of Apaula* (see Fig. 8) and *Taema ma Tilafaiga—Goddesses of Tatau* (see Fig. 9) encode the importance of transformation in tā-vā relationships linking humans to nature, or marking complementary gender relations and

FIGURE 7. **Maui Ti'eti'e Taluga: Maui and the First Fire of Samoa. *Vavau:* Tales from Ancient Samoa Series, 2004. Mixed Media, C-print. Photographer Sean Coyle.**

FIGURE 8. ***Le Loimate o Apaula*: Tears of Apaula. Vavau: Tales from Ancient Samoa Series, 2004. Mixed Media, C-print. Photographer Sean Coyle.**

transitions in the human life cycle. Apaula, who is imaged in *Le Loimate o Apaula,* is the legend of a beautiful young Samoan maiden in love with the giant Vaea. Forbidden by her family to marry him, she was sent away to Fiji. Broken hearted, Vaea fell asleep while waiting and was transformed into a mountain. When Apaula returned to Samoa to search for her lover, she was unable to find him and began to grieve. Her sorrowful tears followed profusely and formed a stream which, today, still flows through the village of Mount Vaea (Kihara, pers. comm.).

FIGURE 9. **Taema Ma Tilafaiga: Goddesses of Tatau. Vavau: Tales from Ancient Samoa, 2004. Mixed Media, C-print. Photographer Sean Coyle.**

Depicting Apaula at the moment of her deep grief, Kihara's mournful portrait symbolizes the spiritual links existing between humans and features of the natural landscape where geography is marked by human attachments, sentiments, and historical events. As 'Okusitino Māhina has pointed out, the tā-vā Moana theory of reality applies across nature, mind, and society. *The Tears of Apaula* references this idea within a Samoan epistemological context.

The origins of tattoo, referenced in Kihara's portrait of the Goddesses of Tatau, is the subject of many legends dispersed across the Pacific. In Samoa and Tonga, it is associated with the myth of the twin sisters Tilafaiga and Taema. According to this narrative, the sisters swam with a basket of tools from Fiji to Samoa, singing along the way that women were the ones to

be tattooed. But after being diverted by a large clam, they mixed up the song words and, instead, chanted that tattoos be given to men (see Dianna Georgina's paper in this issue for a variant of this myth).

As Māhina has noted, the word tatau is related to the rhythmic movement and sound of striking. Tatau also means rightness of balance as Samoan tattoo designs (*pe'a* for men and *malu* for women) are symmetrical with patterns of intersecting straight lines and larger blocks of black for men. The tatau process of obtaining the pe'a is very painful and traditionally was given to youths as a rite of passage marking the transition to manhood. At the same time, because knowledge of pe'a was passed by women to men, this transference of knowledge symbolizes the separate but complementary spheres of gender relations existing between men and women in Samoan society (Kihara, pers. comm.).

Kihara's portrait of the Goddesses of Tatau innovates the traditional iconography of mythology where the sisters are depicted as young women, separated by a floating log while swimming. Kihara does not, however, depict the sisters with separated bodies but—in a veiled reference to her own sexual identity—images them as Siamese twins joined at the shoulder. Fusing their bodies here permits the sisters to turn their heads and see one another while chanting on their journey. As Kihara explained in discussing the portrait:

> In order to find harmony and balance in the world, there must be a balance of male and female forces—and I have been looking for a visual metaphor or reference to understand this . . . how male and female can be found together in one body. . . . The new metaphor I have come up with to understand the balance of cosmology is the idea of Siamese twins where male and female energy is represented by two heads and one body. One body head is male the other female. Because they are Siamese twins and have two sets of thinking (male and female) they must work together. . . . They must have a conversation with one another. In the case of dominance each must be generous to the other, and they must balance whatever they do together. I found this twin metaphor with the Goddesses of Tatau where I pose showing them as Siamese twins. They are both female but, ideally, there must be male and female in one body for balance, but this does not necessarily mean to champion a heterosexual dynamic over others (Kihara, taped interview, 2006).[4]

This veiled reference to male and female forces melding in Moana tā-vā concepts of gender is the focus of Kihara's next major body of work entitled *Fa'afafine: In a Manner of a Woman*, to be discussed next.

Fa'afafine: In a Manner of a Woman: Melding Male–Female in the Space in Between

In her series *Fa'afafine: In a Manner of a Woman*, Kihara revisits themes of reclaiming histories for Pacific Islanders and subverting colonial voyeurism and exploitation of the Polynesian female body (Kihara 2005; Rosi 2007b). Her main focus in these haunting sepia-toned prints is, however, on challenging western assumptions that all gendered experience occurs within a binary of being male or female (Vivieaere 2005). The series comprises four individual photographs and a triptych. With the help of her technical team (all Kihara's photographic art is collaborative), several photographs have been manipulated, enabling her to pose as a man, a woman, a couple, and as a fa'afafine.

In contemporary Samoan society, fa'afafine is a term used to broadly describe those who are Samoan and "queer"—i.e., transgender, gay, intersexed, and lesbian persons. Traditionally, the term referenced born males who enacted a feminized identity by behaving like women, performing women's tasks, and, in contemporary life, often cross-dressing. Fa'afafine have been part of Samoan society since precolonial times. Although Christianity has complicated moral and social attitudes toward their lifestyles and sexuality, they have remained an integral aspect of Samoan life and artistic expression (Schmidt 2001, 2003). Like all other Samoan men and women, fa'afafine are expected to support their families and communities by contributing to social obligations and harmonious social relations. In her public statements, Kihara insists that her art is part of her community and this is what differentiates her from western artists:

> . . . In a Western global art world, it's all about celebration of the individual, while art from the Moana is all about celebrating the community. What I think a lot of historians/anthropologists/sociologists fail to acknowledge is that the community also embraces what I do as well. So it's no use for me making artwork about the Moana and about Samoan culture if I don't talk about my community because that's what makes me different from another white artist. . . . In the Pacific, our house building, our canoe building, our song and dance, our club-fighting—everything we do is an art form basically. . . . In Samoan we have a term *faiva: fai* meaning to make or create, *vā*—its space . . . *faiva* meaning to create space. Now in order to celebrate and make things deep and meaningful in our lives, we must first acknowledge *faiva* . . . creating deep and meaningful spaces in our lives (taped interview, 2005).

Kihara's statement coincides with tā-vā theory, as the meaning of faiva in Tongan is also underpinned temporally and spatially (Māhina, pers. comm.).

Today, when the appearance of fa'afafine has become increasingly flamboyant with the popularity of beauty pageants and foreign tourism seeking the exotic, they are the subject of teasing and social criticism (Mageo 2001; also Besnier 2002, 2004 for criticism in Tonga). However, in Samoa as depicted in the film *Paradise Bent* (*Filmmakers Library 1999*), fa'afafine do not experience the homophobia that they encounter after migration to New Zealand or North America (Schmidt 2005). In her *Fa'afafine* Series, Kihara directs her imagery to protest Western gender discrimination and, simultaneously, to express pride in her Moana identity through her vā as a fa'afafine—the space in between (Rosi 2007a).

In *Ugali'i Samoa: Samoan Couple* (see Fig. 10), Kihara poses as a young Samoan man and woman whose solemn demeanor, elaborate traditional adornments, and bare torso and breasts embody "savage nobility"—but also gender duality. As evident by the decor, the photograph is taken in a studio. The couple do not, however, meet the photographer's gaze, but stare distantly away as if they were statues frozen in time.

This same quality of perfect remoteness is present in her portrait *My Samoan Girl*, who is posed sitting on a Victorian chair, and in her single portraits of a young Samoan man and a woman. Exhibition press releases and/or critical comments made by western art reviewers about these portraits described them as "beautiful" because of their balanced composition, careful detail, and physical attractiveness or pathos of their subjects.[5] Yet the photos are also artificial and surreal because the photography is contrived to meet western tastes.[6]

But beyond Kihara's intention to redress the western gaze that has denied or manipulated Samoan history, something more provocative is occurring in the triptych photographs, entitled *Fa'afafine: In a Manner of a Woman*, where she poses as a reclining "South Seas Belle." In the first image (see Fig. 11), she appears with bare breasts and wearing a grass skirt; in the second, the skirt removed, she appears to be a young nude female; in the third, a penis is revealed.

Three subtexts about gender intersect here: one plays on the shocked surprise felt by western sailors when dusky maidens, whose charms had attracted them, turned out to be "lads"[7]; the second is the challenge Kihara's vā as fa'afafine poses to binary division of western models of gendered sexuality, particularly the homophobia she confronts living in New Zealand or visiting Western countries; the third—seldom noted—is to differentiate fa'afafine sexuality from homosexuality, because in the West it is labeled in the same category and treated with the same attitudes of disrespect or derision.

FIGURE 10. ***Ugali'i Samoa*: Samoan Couple. Fa'afafine: In a Manner of a Woman Series, 2005. Mixed Media, C-print. Photographer Sean Coyle.**

Tā and Vā in Kihara's performance: *Taualuga: The Last Dance*

Kihara has commented that her performance art complements her visual art. Working first with the cooperative Pasifika Divas, whose vibrant program was selected to open the 2000 Asia-Pacific Triennial in Brisbane, she collaborated with them to showcase fa'afafine styles from flamboyant drag

FIGURE 11. **Fa'afafine: In a Manner of a Woman Series; Triptych 1, 2005. Mixed Media, C-print. Photographer Sean Coyle.**

to measured expressive choreography. Since leaving the group, because she wanted to work as a solo performer, Kihara has focused on developing her innovative interpretation of *Taualuga* (Last Dance), fine tuning its choreography to reflect different venues and meanings. In 2006, her performance was created as a video work. *Taualuga* is a graceful measured dance led in traditional Samoa by the ceremonial village maiden (taupou), discussed earlier. Her slow dignified movements symbolize the Samoan ideals of respect and harmonious social order. In traditional performances, the taupou stands in a central position, moving with grace as her hand movements tell the story of her dance. On the periphery male dancers perform with rapid boisterous movements and gestures which contrast with the taupou's serenity. From the outside to the inside, the tā-vā of the dance represents a movement from chaos to order (see Georgina's paper in this issue for further analysis).

Kihara is inspired by the movements of the dance but reinterprets them to convey sadness, not celebration. She performs in a black crinoline Victorian gown, often in front of a screen that displays colonial images of Samoan life to record the impact of colonial rule. A beam of light, projected from below, then casts a moving shadow over her dancing

FIGURE 12. **Taualuga: The Last Dance. Photograph Courtesy of Shigeyuki Kihara.**

form as it changes pace and rhythms. This gives the illusion of two dancers moving together in time and space (see Fig. 12). The poignant beauty of Kihara's choreography alludes to key themes of her work: acknowledgement of the suffering of Samoans under colonialism to redress western notions of a people having no history; expressing Moana spirituality and cosmology as her performance is, as she had stated, based on a journey through Pulotu (the ancestral homeland and underworld), where she visits the future enshrouded in the past; and asserting her vā of a fa'afafine as a mediating transgendered space in the dynamic fabric of Samoan society with its strong commitment to upholding good relations of community.

> . . . I depict how the past informs the present and by doing this will make the future right. This is different from the western idea of the past influencing the future. . . . If you relive experience then the group (Pacific Islanders) can navigate across La Vasa (the Ocean of life). Dancing in this costume is difficult. It's restrictive and hard to move. It's a challenge to do. But I wanted to convey this concept of restrictedness so that our history is acknowledged . . . then we can move on (Kihara 2007, taped conversation).[8]

Kihara's Art Practice as Teu Le Vā

As noted in an earlier statement by Kihara, artists in modern society are valued for their inspired individual creativity, creating art for its own sake. By contrast, artists in Moana societies are members of their communities, where their work contributes to maintaining valued social relationships. As Tēvita Ka'ili has discussed for Tongans, the concept of caring for social relations is named *tahui vā* and is based in genealogy with spatial connections—though it can also be extended more generally to friends or members of a church. Moreover, as he states, tahui vā is an art form because it decorates and beautifies the space of social relations.

In Kihara's art practice where she works as a social activist and curator and lives the space of a fa'afafine, the concept of nurturing socio-spatial ties—popularly referred to as teu le vā in Samoan (see earlier reference for differences between teu le vā and tausi le vā)—is equally important, since caring for social relationships helps her establish and maintain ties of community with Pacific artists living in New Zealand and others living in diaspora communities in the United States or the United Kingdom. These caring social relations are maintained by both formal and informal networks with Pacific artists of diverse heritage. For Kihara, the most important social institution encouraging teu le vā for Pacific artists in New Zealand is Tautai Contemporary Pacific Arts Trust, since its mission is to support relations among contemporary Pacific artists. Kihara has been very active in this organization, engaging extensively in its promotional activities and art events. For example, Tautai artists attend each other's exhibition openings and sponsor auctions of their work to raise funds to support a variety of causes—particularly for artists travelling abroad to attend exhibitions of their art. These activities also go on informally and mutually between artists who are friends. They may live together, share a studio with other artists, and depend on artist friends for hospitality to offer lodging and food. In London, the Maori Club *Ngati Ranana* invites visiting Pacific artists to attend club meetings and aids them in other ways during their stay. Visits abroad are expensive, and Kihara draws on nurturing relationships with friends and colleagues to host her whenever the opportunity arises.

When she was a member of Pasifika Divas and, presently, in her role as a curator, Kihara works to create supportive caring relations with the wider Third Gender Pacific community. For example, Pasifika Divas donated performance money to support organizations working to prevent AIDS and others seeking to legislate the rights of Third Gendered people facing discrimination in New Zealand. Of great importance here is the difficulty transgender people confront in finding employment, which leads many to

prostitution. In her role as a curator organizing exhibitions of artists identifying as "Gender minorities of Pacific Origin" (*Measina Fa'afafine* (2007) and *Hand in Hand* (2008)), Kihara has initiated caring social relationships with indigenous third gender and gay artists in Australia and the communities that support them. However, as a Samoan artist recently informed me, teu le vā is a complex process which is "a matter of everyone being in the right place at the right time, and this is complicated by hierarchical relations, particular situations, and events" (see also Refiti 2009). Tēvita Ka'ili (2005, 2007) has also indicated that, for Tongans, practicing tahui vā is not seamless but induces conflicts when those involved perceive that relations have not been cared for appropriately.

Beginning in 2009, Kihara extended her curatorial practice to explore the relationship of interethnic community through ongoing art performances she has entitled *Talanoa: Walk the Talk*. As described on her webpage (shigeyukikihara.com), *talanoa* is a concept found in many indigenous cultures of the Pacific, but specifically in the islands of Samoa, where it refers to a process of "finding mutual ground based on exchange of ideas." Commissioned by sponsors of art events in New Zealand and Australian cities with large multicultural populations, Kihara has reconceptualized the ancient Samoan concept of talanoa to bring diverse ethnic and religious grassroots communities together in an intercultural dialogue created through collaborative street performances of music and dance (www.pacificarts.org). For *Talanoa: Walk the Talk I and II*, Kihara engaged Auckland's diverse ethic communities. She organized a collaborative performance between the Chinese Dragon Dancers and the Scottish Highland Pipe Band; another between the Brazilian Samba Band and the Cook Island Drumming Group.

Talanoa: Walk the Talk III & IV took place in Sydney, sponsored by the Campbelltown Arts Center. These performances involved four communities paired into two groups: the Mukti Gupteshwar Mandir Society joined with the Samoa Congregational Church Minto; the RSL Club of Campbelltown Community Pipes and Drums performed with Wuruniri Music and Dance troop (see Fig. 13) (Pacificarts.org). However, before any of these performances took place, Kihara met with leaders of each community to establish good social relations by discussing and mediating matters of mutual social and cultural importance. Talanoa, as the process of exchanging ideas to find common ground, is thus an aspect of teu le vā, which works to nurture relational spaces linking persons or communities together. The performances of *Talanoa: Walk the Talk* are also filmed so that the work is documented and lives on. Kihara also uses the films to discuss the issues and outcomes they present for creating art that activates and serves to promote positive

FIGURE 13. ***Talanoa: Walk the Talk 1V* (2009) Public Performance Featuring Ingleburn RSL., Campbelltown Community Pipes and Drums, Wuruniniri Music and Dance and Shigeyuki Kihara. Commissioned by Campbelltown Arts Centre, Sydney. Photographer Suzannah Wimberley.**

cross-cultural relations in multicultural communities fractured by mutual suspicion; religious intolerance; and race, gender, and cultural discrimination.

In many performance groups, younger members were born in New Zealand or Australia. Learning traditional dancing and music from their older relatives therefore helped them appreciate the preservation of traditional values and keeping their culture alive. Talanoa took the additional step of providing a platform for sharing cultural traditions with others.

In Pacific societies that have experienced colonialism and the hegemony of western values now intensified by globalization, Kihara's art and art activism are raising public awareness about redirecting concepts of traditional Moana knowledge, including concepts of time and space, for the well-being of modern societies. Talanoa, the art of talking to seek harmonious agreement, is an ancient Moana practice that Kihara hopes her recent and ongoing work will encourage others to follow. As she stated in a 2010 interview on ABC, Sydney (Kihara 2010), Talanoa brings cultures together using music and art:

> . . . The word *talanoa* in Samoan culture is used to describe a process of dialogue between two conflicting groups, where they come together in dialogue in order to find mutual ground based on love, respect, peace, and harmony. And I think in the world today there is not enough *talanoa* between cultures, between genders, between sexualities, between religions, between countries, and between various geographical regions . . . So I sought to stage *Talanoa* as a possible microcosm to see how various religious and ethnic groups can come together to have a dialogue and find mutual ground manifested through performance and through art. . . . In the T*alanoa* performances I have staged so far, the groups stand and perform together . . . For many, this is the first time they've stepped outside of their own community and actually engaged with a performance group from another culture. That's where the true dialogue comes in the process of collaboration (22 January 2010).

Nevertheless, despite the critical acclaim that Kihara has received in directing *Talanoa* performances to bring ethnic urban communities together through music and art, she continues to develop other community projects to raise public consciousness about the hegemonic political and economic forces still eroding the cultural and spiritual values of Pacific arts sustained by practices of teu le vā. Her more recent work—commissioned by the Campbell Arts Center and 4a Center for Contemporary Asian Art for Sydney Festival 2012 and to commemorate the fiftieth year of Samoan Independence—is a performance and video installation entitled *Culture for Sale.* Managed collaboratively with the Samoan community in Sydney, the work raises questions about the relationship between performance, identity, and money in the commercialization of Samoan culture. To stage this concept, four Samoan dancers were instructed to remain motionless at the performance venue until people walking by dropped money into bowls as payment or inserted coins into slot machines to trigger short videos of each dancer performing (see Fig. 14).

As described on the artist's webpage (shigeyukikihara.com), *Culture for Sale* (subtitled a "*Post-Colonial Völkerschau*") is informed by a popular form of late twentieth century German theatrical entertainment where natives from German colonies—including groups of Samoan men, women, and children—traveled to Germany where they were exhibited in zoos as the "exotic" other.[9] But in the wake of the fiftieth Anniversary of Samoa's Declaration of Independence, *Culture for Sale* (performance and documentary film) also raises questions about whether or not Samoa—as an increasingly popular

FIGURE 14. ***Culture for Sale* (2012) Public Performance Commissioned by Campbelltown Arts Centre and 4a Centre for Contemporary Asian Art for Sydney Festival 2012. Photographer Susannah Wimberley.**

exotic tourist destination—is not now becoming a postcolonial völkerschau where, as Kihara's webpage states "culture is for sale, and where notions of 'the other' continue to resonate in the lives of Samoan people in the so-called 'post-colonial' era." As internationally recognized contemporary Pacific Artist Michael Tuffery comments in the short *Culture for Sale* documentary, directed by Kihara:

> . . . I see the perspective of where she (Kihara) is coming from . . . of trying to buy a culture. . . . As a Pacific Islander, I do understand that when tourists come they want an "Island" experience before going back to their ordinary lives being factory workers or accountants . . . " (Kihara 2012)

Today, as Samoa seeks to expand its tourist industry, Samoan arts and culture confront the danger of becoming consumer products to satisfy western tastes for the exotic. This is an idea that resonates through all Kihara's art practice as a powerful theme of cultural resistance and assertion of Moana identity and knowledge.

Conclusions

Given the critical role of Pacific arts today in revitalizing indigenous cultures and epistemologies at the dynamic intersection of local and globalizing art worlds, this paper has critically reviewed the internationally recognized art practice of Shigeyuki Kihara, who identifies herself as a Moana artist of Samoan-Japanese heritage living in Aotearoa–New Zealand. Selecting examples from her material and performance art and recent curatorial practice, discussion focuses on how her work may be interpreted and informed by general and specific tenets of the recently developed tā-vā theory of reality working across nature, mind, and society. Given this agenda, the first section of the paper makes three arguments: first, by expressing indigenous concepts of tā-vā (time-space as a four-sided reality), Kihara opposes western ideas of time and space to reclaim Samoan history and subvert Western fantasies of "dusky Pacific maidens" and the South Seas as "paradise"; second, in asserting her traditional vā (social space) as a Samoan fa'afafine, she challenges western homophobia and binary norms of heterosexuality and affirms the role of third gender within the traditional fabric of Samoan society; third, in creating visual art and dance inspired by traditional creation stories and ritual performances, she honors ancient Moana spirituality and indigenous epistemologies, which conceptualize the ancestral past to lie ahead of the future in a cyclic unfolding of reality. Western art critics have described Kihara's art as hauntingly beautiful, noting its symmetry, harmony, and pathos. But Kihara's work also draws on traditions of Samoan comedic theater (*feleaitu*), urban pop culture, and velvet kitsch painting, giving it a suggestion of parody and over coding—traits associated with the persona of fa'afafine performances. As conceptualized by the tā-vā theory of reality, the present (where past and future intersect) is a zone fraught with conflicts. In consequence, Kihara's contemporary art achieves aesthetic power when it successfully transforms chaotic conflict into the symmetry of balanced tensions.

The second half of the paper examines Kihara's practice of the Samoan concept of teu le vā—meaning nurturing and beautifying the space of social relations. As discussed, she does this in two contexts: to secure mutually supportive relations of community with other Pacific artists and, in her recent curatorial project *Talanoa: Walk the Talk,* to facilitate relations of respect and cooperation in divided ethnic urban communities in New Zealand and Australia through dialogue and collaborative art performance. But as her latest community project, *Culture for Sale,* also communicates, Pacific arts and culture are increasingly threatened by hegemonic political and economic forces where they become little more than consumer products valued for money. This suggests that, today, contemporary Pacific artists, writers, and

performers are not only revitalizing ancient Moana concepts and practices but recycling/redirecting them into new productive arenas of action.[10]

NOTES

1. The spatial distinctions of teu le vā and tausi le vā, as discussed by Refiti (2009), are related to the circle of fa'amatai (the gathering of family chiefs in the circle of the fono council). These historical distinctions are elided by other authors, including Albert Wendt (1999) and Lilomaiava-Doktor (2009), who use teu le vā as a general concept for nurturing, decorating, and beautifying social spaces. I follow this general meaning in discussing teu le vā as it relates to aspects of Shigeyuki's art practice in this paper.

2. Australian born Charles McPhee moved to Samoa in 1939. Shortly after, he went to live in Tahiti, where he learned the techniques of painting in oils on velvet from Edgar Leeteg—well known for his lush portraits of young Pacific women. McPhee also became successful, and his work was sold internationally. In the 1950s, other painters began to imitate and popularize McPhee's style, and velvet paintings came to be labeled kitsch or "Tiki art." McPhee died at aged 92 in 2002. His work continues to be prized by collectors.

3. Okusitino Māhina has worked collaboratively with Filipe Tohi and affirms that Tohi's work with tufunga lalava has been inspirational in developing the tā-vā four-sided theory of reality divided into nature, mind, and society (Māhina 2002). (See also Kolokesa Mahina-Tuai's paper in this issue for additional discussion of tā-vā philosophical concepts in Tohi's work.)

4. For further discussion of the use of the term fa'afafine, including another statement by Kihara see Wolf (2010: 23–24). The taped interview with Kihara was conducted at the opening of *Le Vasa: Sea Change* at the LGBT Community Center in San Francisco, where she exhibited paintings from the Vavau Series and performed Taualuga: Last Dance (Rosi 2007c).

5. Virginia Webb, former research curator of the Art of African, Oceania, and North American at the Metropolitan Museum, New York, and curator *of Shigeyuki Kihara: Living Portraits* (2008), describes the portraits as beautiful; Italian art critic Celeste Federico, writing in *Aesthetica* (2009: 32–35), also refers to the images as "haunting and beautiful." In 2004, Bartley Ness Gallery's press release for Kihara's exhibition *Vavau: Tales from Ancient Samoa* similarly calls the portraits "dark and hauntingly beautiful."

6. For further discussion of how Kihara's photographs incorporate several working practices of ethnographic photographers from the nineteenth and early twentieth century, see Wolf (2010).

7. Besnier (1996, 292) cites incidents. See also Murray (2002) and Wallace (2003) on early western accounts of sexual encounters with Pacific Islanders and observations recorded about sexual relations occurring between Pacific males.

8. *Taualugaa: The Last Dance* has been performed in venues that include: The Haus der Kulteren Der Welt, Berlin, Germany; the Musee du Quai Branly, Paris, France; the Met-

ropolitan Museum of Art, New York. Kihara's most recent performance was on February 22, 2012, for the opening of the Te Papa Tongarewa art exhibition *Collecting Contemporary*. As noted by Te Papa, both Kihara's performance and video "respond to a series of historical photographs taken by New Zealand photographers including John Alfred Tatersall, Thomas Andrew and the Burton Brothers during the colonial administration of Samoa by New Zealand between 1914 till 1962." Furthermore, many of the photographs referenced by the artist are held in Te Papa's photography collection.

9. In 2011, Kihara travelled to Germany supported by the visitor's fund of the Goethe Institute, where she researched museum archives related to the German administration of Samoa from 1900 to 1914. This research included records and photographs pertaining to "Völkerschau" (human zoos).

10. In writing this paper, I thank Professors 'Okusitino Māhina, Tēvitā Ka'ili, and Ping-Ann Addo for their helpful criticisms and suggestions for clarifying my observations about tā-vā theory and Moana sacred histories. I am also very grateful to Shigeyuki Kihara (now Yuki Kihara) for taking time from her busy schedule to read the text and to give me permission to reproduce images of her multimedia and performance art work. Since I first met Kihara at the Association for Social Anthropologists in Oceania (ASAO) symposium "New Voyagers: Pacific Arts in a Global Art World" in Hawai'i in 2005, I have reviewed several exhibitions of her photographic images and attended four performances of *Tā-ualuga: The Last Dance.*

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