

Moanan-Tongan *fatongia* and *deontic* in Greco-Rome: *Fiefia*, happiness, of *tauēlangi*, climactic euphoria, and ‘*alaha kakala*, permeating fragrance - *Mālie! Bravo!*

By

Siosua Fonuakihehama Pouvalu Lafitani (a.k.a. Tōfua’ipangai)

Associate of Arts and Bachelor of Arts at ‘Atenisi University in Tonga
Master of Letters in Sociology at Australian National University in Canberra

Doctor of Philosophy
Department of Social Work
Faculty of Arts and Sciences
Australian Catholic University of Signadou Campus
223 Antill Street, Watson ACT 2602

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Statement of Authorship and Sources

This dissertation contains no material published elsewhere or extracted in whole or in part from a thesis by which I have qualified for or been awarded another degree or diploma

Dedication

I proudly dedicate this dissertation as a memory of the following Moanan and Tongan masters:

- My teacher and mentor, Professor Emeritus ‘Ilaisa Futa-‘i-Ha’angana Helu of ‘Atenisi University, who first introduced the realism, empiricism and objectivism of philosophical education and classical studies into the Kingdom of Tonga and Moanan islands at large between 1966 and 2010;
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Abstract

This dissertation discusses some logical premises or propositions of two themes with their conclusion regarding the traditional Moanan-Tongan *fatongia*, obligation, and its relation to ancient Greco-Roman *deontic*, obligation. The premise of the first theme considers *fatongia* as a worldview, *philosophia* or *weltanschauung*, which is embedded in human fundamental values and behaviors like justice, *dykaisyn* or *faitotonu*, and democracy, *demoskratos* or *pule'aetokolahi*. With the premise of the second theme, it considers *fatongia* with its specific aim, *siate*, of *fiefia* as embedded in human fundamental values and behaviours. The logical conclusion therefore of these two themes with their premises asserts that *fatongia* as a worldview with its *siate* of *fiefia* is implanted in human fundamental values and behaviours. Such a conclusion is philosophically and logically taken as the 'main argument' of this dissertation on the scientific and logical grounds of generalization and deductive-inductive method. So the overall focus then is to scientifically find out and uncover the interrelated facts in Moanan-Tongan and Greco-Roman contexts that can support the two given premises and their conclusion with its main argument. Overall, *fiefia* is viewed as a psychological and emotional product arising from delivering a particular *fatongia*, in fair and symmetrical manners, and vice-versa. Moanan-Tongan *fatongia* as a worldview is metaphorically and aesthetically considered as a social, moral, political, economic or cultural phenomenon that aims to produce *fiefia* in its divine finale of *tauēlangi*, climactic euphoria, and 'alaha kakala, permeating fragrance. *Fiefia* is symbolically and artistically equated by Tongans to the psychological and emotional state of attaining the divine climax of *tauēlangi*, and 'alaha kakala. With 'alaha kakala first of all, the etymology of *fatongia* is perceived to be stemmed from pandanus plant, *fa*, with its ripe fragrant fruits, *fua'i fa momoho*, that are immediately permeated sophisticatedly, *tongia*, when cutting, *tu'usi*, or plucking, *paki'i*. It is a situation which includes 'alaha kakala with its permeating nature when wearing garlands, *kahoa kakala*, and waist fragrant girdle, *sisi kakala*, in any performance art, *faiva*, like dance, *faiva haka* or *tau'olunga* and *fatongia* in a given social function, *kātoanga*. The etymology of *tauēlangi* furthermore appears to be derived from

faiva haka in *faiva* with its specific aim to achieve climactic happiness. So, *fiefia* plays a very crucial role in the formation and development of Moanan-Tongan *fatongia* as a worldview since ancient time. *Fiefia* in Moanan-Tongan culture then is further scientifically observed and examined in relation to the first philosophical interpretation and logically study of happiness, *eudaimonia*, in obligation, *deontic*, in Western history and culture by the ancient Greco-Roman philosophers. These are the overall crux of *fiefia* in Moanan-Tongan *fatongia* with respect to *eudaimonia* in Greco-Roman *deontic*, which may contribute positively to the study of obligation in social policy and academic circles worldwide. This can consolidate too the logical conclusion of this study with its main argument of claiming the worldview of *fatongia* with its *siate* of *fiefia* as embedded in human fundamental values and behaviours at large.

Maps of Tonga Islands, *Ngaahi Kupesi 'Otumotu Tonga*

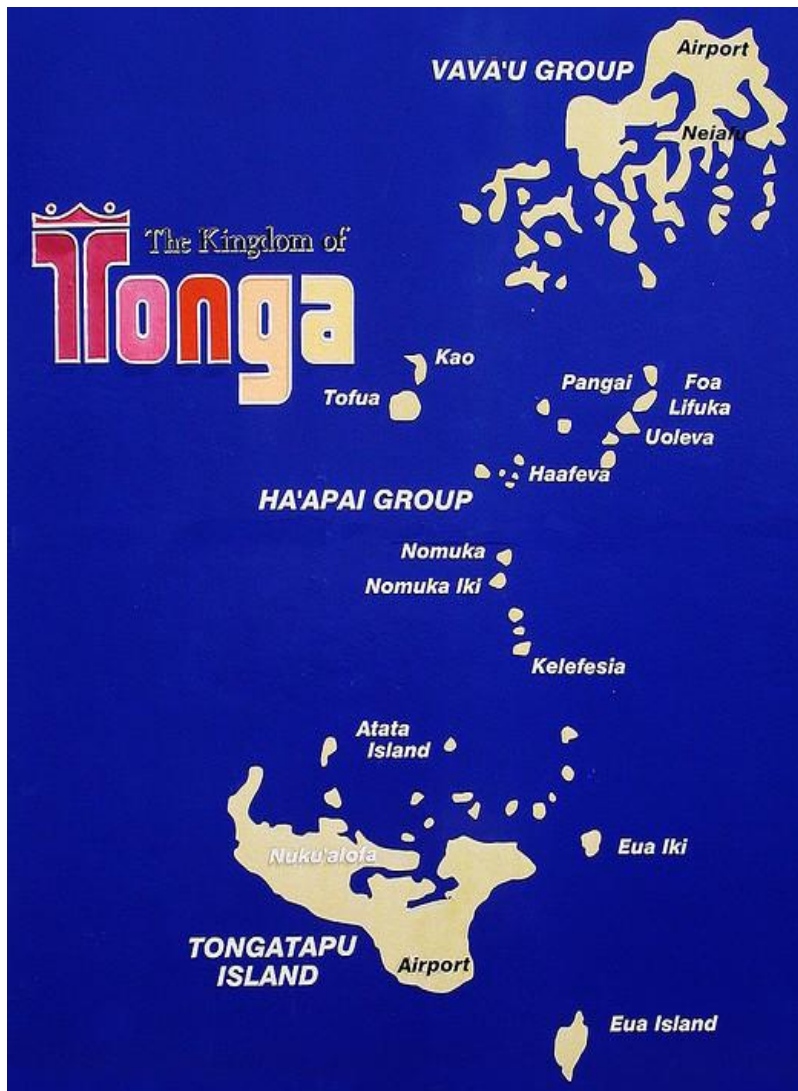


Figure 1: Map of the Kingdom of Tonga (Source: Tonga Tourism Online).

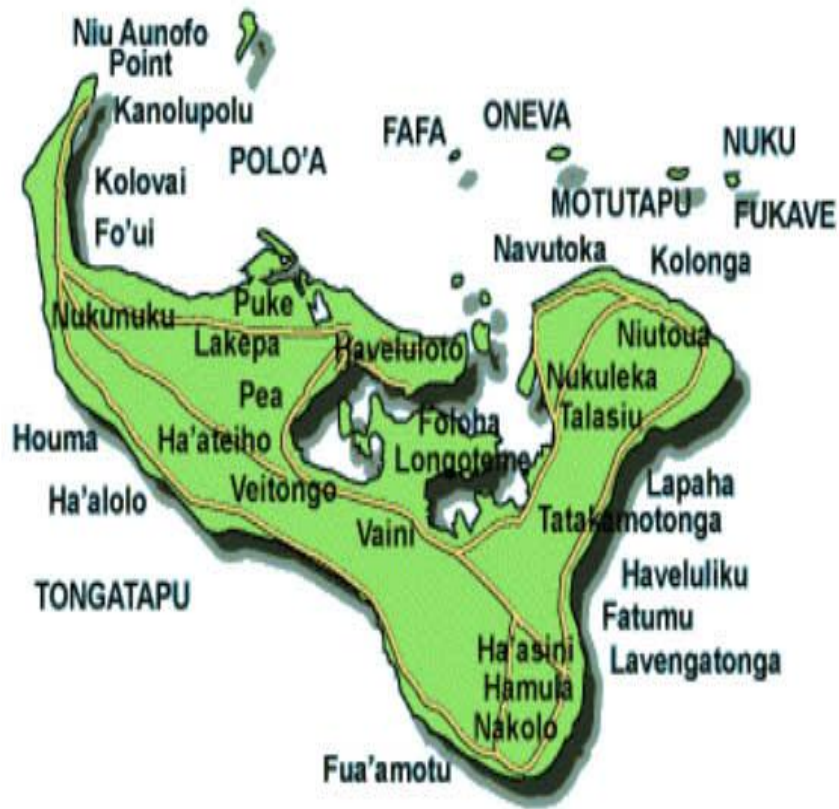


Figure 2: Map of the main island of Tongatapu (source: Tongan Map Online).

Pictures of fragrant plants, *ngaahi 'ata 'o e 'akau kakala*



Figure 3: Ripe *falahola*, *Pandanus odoratissimus sinensis*, chiefly *kakala* (Source: Wikipedia Online)



Figure 4: Ripe *falahola*, chiefly *kakala* (Source: Wikipedia Online)



Figure 5: *Heilala, garcinia callophyllum*, the most chiefly *kakala* (Source: Wikipedia Online)



Figure 6: *Heilala enga*, yellow *heilala*, chiefly *kakala* (Source: Wikipedia Online)



Figure 7: *Huni*, *phaleria dispersal*, chiefly *kakala* (Source: Wikipedia Online)



Figure 8: *Huni kula*, red *huni*, chiefly *kakala* (Source: Wikipedia Online)



Figure 9: *Huni tea*, white *huni*, chiefly *kakala* (Source: Wikipedia Online)



Figure 10: *Maile*, *alyxia stellata*, chiefly *kakala* (Source: Wikipedia Online)



Figure 11: *Fa'onehua*, *bruguiera gymnorrhiza*, chiefly *kakala* (Source: Wikipedia Online)



Figure 12: *Fatai*, *cassipoupa filiformis*, commoner *kakala* (Source: Wikipedia Online)



Figure 13: *Ahi, santalum yasi*, chiefly *kakala* (Source: Wikipedia Online)



Figure14: *Vunga, metrosideros collina*, chiefly *kakala* (Source: Wikipedia Online)



Figure 15: *Pua, fagraea berteriana, kakala* for commoners (Source: Wikipedia Online)



Figure 16: *Pua* (Source: Wikipedia Online)



Figure 17: *Siale*, *gardenia taitensis*, commoner *kakala* (Source: Wikipedia Online)



Figure 18: *Sialetafa*, *bikkia tetrandra*, commoner *kakala* (Source: Wikipedia Online)



Figure 19: *Mapa, diospyros lateriflora*, chiefly *kakala* (Source: Wikipedia Online)



Figure 20: *Pipi, parinarium glaberrimum*, chiefly *kakala* (Source: Wikipedia Online)



Figure 21: *Mohokoi*, *cananga odorat*, commoner *kakala* (Source: Wikipedia Online)

Pictures of fragrant garland, *ngaahi 'ata 'o e kaho* *kakala*

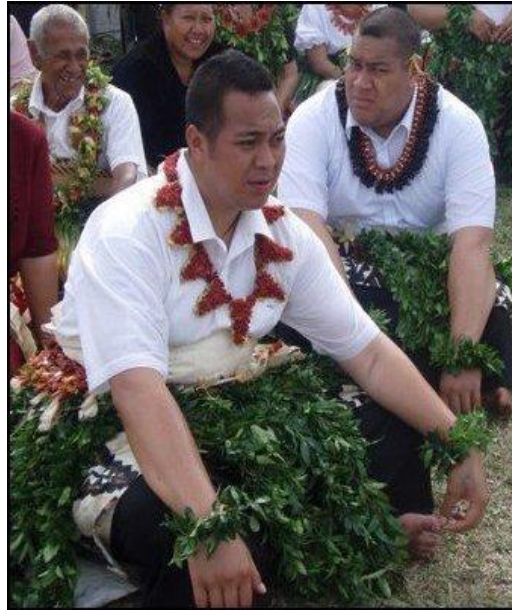


Figure 22: HRH Prince 'Ulukalala with his younger brother HRH Prince Ata, with the former wearing a fragrant garland, *kaho*, of *nusipalataha*, and the latter wearing *tuitu'u fakava'epipitongi* – both chiefly *kakala* garlands (Source: Tongan *kakala* Bebo Online)



Figure 23: *Faka'otusia*, a chiefly *kakala* garland (Source: Tongan *kakala* Bebo Online)



Figure 24: *Heilala Faka'otusia* (Source: Tongan *kakala* Bebo Online)



Figure 25: *Pito'ingalau* (Source: Tongan *kakala* Bebo Online)



Figure 26: *Tuitu'u Heilala Fakava'epitongi* (Source: Tongan *kakala* Bebo Online)



Figure 27: *Ve'eve'e Heilala* (Source: Tongan *kakala* Bebo Online)



Figure 28: *Papaifā* (Source: Tongan *kakala* Bebo Online)



Figure 29: *Loumaile* (Source: James&MeliamCocker Online)



Figure 30: *Fakamatamoana* (Source: James&MeliamCocker Online)



Figure 31: *Lala* (Source: James&MeliamCocker Online)



Figure 32: *Alamea* (Source: JamesMeliamCocker Online)

**Royal *Kava* Ceremony, *Taumafa Kava* or *Tala Hau*, during
the Coronation of the present Tu'i Kanokupolu King George Tupou V
in 2008**



Figure 33: *Taumafa Kava* at Pangai main oval, *mala'e*, in the capital of Nuku'alofa to fulfill the requirement for installing the Kingly Title of Tu'i Kanokupolu on HM King George Tupou V by drinking the first *kava* cup of the ceremony, before installing as a Constitutional Monarch under the Constitution, Laws and Christianity. Every Crown Prince must first drink his *kava* cup in a *Taumafa Kava* before crowning as a new King under the Constitution, Laws and Christianity (Source: Tongan Government Media Online)



Figure 34: HM King George Tupou V behind chief Tu'isoso from Nukunuku in Fiji. Only Tu'isoso by tradition is allowed to walk in front of HM and run around in a *Taumafa Kava* when he wants, and take away and consume His *fono*, *kava* food portion (Source: Tongan Government Media Online)



Figure 35: Kava plant with its *fakatomo*, *fonua* of the root-cap, ready to be disengaged and divided for the *tou'a*, kava mixers, from *Ha'a* Ngatamotu'a, to make the beverage for the *Taumafa Kava* (Source: Tongan Government Media Online)



Figure 36: HRH Princess Angelika Lātūfuipeka Halaevalu Mata'aho Tuku'aho, one of the three *tou'a*, *kava* mixers, from *Ha'a* Ma'afu (others were Vakautapola Vi and Sositeni Sēfesi from *Ha'a* Ngatamotu'a) is mixing *kava* in the dance, *haka*, style of *milolua fakamuifonua* (i.e. Tu'i Kanokupolu's *kava haka* style and ritual) (Source: Tongan Government Media Online)

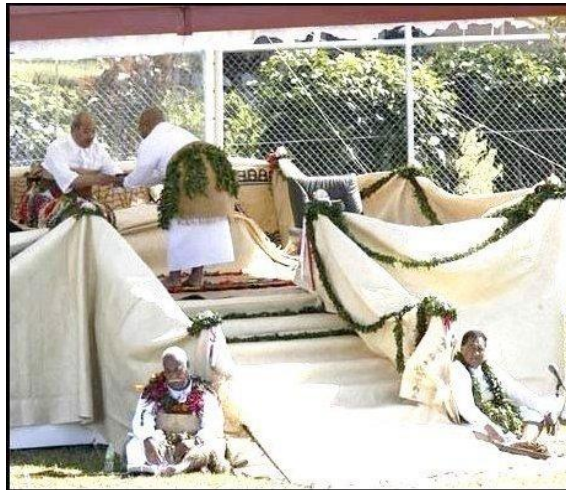


Figure 37: HM's *kava* is served by His nephew Siosifa Aleamatea Vaha'i, the *kava* for the official instalment of the Kingly title Tu'i Kanokupolu, with his principal orators, *matāpule*, Motu'apuaka from *Ha'a* Molofaha on His right and Lauaki from *Ha'a* Māliepō on the left (Source: Tongan Government Media Online)



Figure 38: HM George Tupou V is drinking His Tu'i Kanokupolu's *kava* (Source: Tongan Government Media Online)



Figure 39: Hundred pigs and baskets of food for the *kava* ceremony and its *fono*. Normally, there are distributed to the *hou'eiki*, chiefs, and their *matāpule*, chief's orators, before the *kava* is served by *Ha'a Ngata* (Source: Tongan Government Media Online)

Dances, *Faiva Haka* or *Tau'olunga*



Figure 40: Hon. ‘Anaseini Tupou Veihoa Fusitu’a, the only daughter of Hon. Sālote Lupepau’u Salamasina Purea Vahine Arii 'o e Hau Tuita and Hon, Matai’ulua Fusitu’a performing a *tau’olunga*, solo dance, with Tu’imala Kaho, the Nightingale Singer of Moana, Samiuela ‘Amanaki and Fōfō’anga Kava Club Band at the Official Opening of the Fee Wesleyan Church of Tonga in Sydney in 2008. Lupepau’u is the eldest daughter of HRH Princess Sālote Mafile’o Pilolevu Tuita and Hon. Noble Tuita. Pilolevu is the only sister of HM King George Tupou V (Source: Tongan Bebo Online)



Figure 41: HRH Princess Angelika Lātūfuipeka Halaevalu Mata’aho Tuku’aho, and Hon. Adi Pasemata Vi Taunisila behind her from the right, performing with the Kanokupolu *lakalaka* dancers during the Coronation of HM King George Tupou V in 2008 (Source: Tongan Bebo Online)



Figure 42: Shiara 'Asiuvou Lynn Astle performing Samoan *siva*, group dance, with Phoenix Performing Arts of Moana at the National Television in Tonga in 2006 (Source: National Television, Nuku'alofa, Tonga)



Figure 43: Shiara 'Asiuvou Lynn Astle with the Phoenix Performing Arts of Moana performing a Rarotongan *hula*, dance, during their 2007 Concert at the Belconnen Theatre in Canberra (Source: Phoenix Performing Arts of Moana)



Figure 44: ‘Ilaisa Lin-mei Khoo Lafitani, daughter of Siosuia Fonuakihehama Pouvalu Lafitani, performing a Spanish-Samoan *taualunga* mix at the National Television in Tonga with the Phoenix Performing Arts of Moana in 2006 (Source: Television Tonga in Nuku’alofa, Tonga)



Figure 45: ‘Ilaisa Lin-mei Khoo Lafitani performing Tongan solo dance, *tau’olunga*, on her 21st Birthday in Canberra, with Siosuia Fonuakihehama Pouvalu Lafitani and the Fōfō’anga Canberra singing from behind (Source: Phoenix Performing Arts of Moana)



Figure 46: ‘Ilaisa Lin-mei Khoo Lafitani with Phoenix Performing Arts of Moana performing the female *me’etu’upaki*, paddle dance, but with the *i*, fan, instead of the paddle, during the 2007 ACT National Multicultural Festival (Source: Phoenix Performing Arts of Moana)



Figure 47: ‘Amelia ‘Asiuvou Mary Astle-King is about to perform a Tongan *tau’olunga* in a Concert by the Free Wesleyan Church of Tonga at the Multicultural Centre in Canberra in 2008. She is the only daughter of Shiara ‘Asiuvou Lynn Astle and David King (Source: Phoenix Performing Arts of Moana)



Figure 48: Siosiua Fonuakihehama Pouvalu Lafitani (pre-wheelchair life) with the Maui Kisikisi Cultural Society performing a Tongan male solo *tau'olunga* at the ANU's Opening Day in 1989 inside the oval of the Coombs Building. 'Amelia Tipaleli Hoponoa, Kolokesa Māhina, Hūfanga Professor 'Okusitino Māhina, Sione Faka'osi, Leonaitasi Hoponoa, George Lavaka and Sione Fakalata are singing from the background (Source: Maui Kisikisi Cultural Society)



Figure 49: Siosiua Fonuakihehama Pouvalu Lafitani (wheelchair life) performing the *milolua* dance at the National Television in Tonga in 2006 (Source: Television Tonga in Nuku'alofa, Tonga)



Figure 50: Siosuia Fonuakihehama Pouvalu Lafitani performing a solo *tau'olunga* during a fundraising by the Phoenix Performing Art of Moana at Canberra in 2004 (Source: John Tucker Photography)



Figure 51: Taai Sullivan (left) is assisting Rubyn Wipiiti in performing *milolua fakalotomu'a* dance during the Annual Concert by Phoenix Performing Arts of Moana at the Belconnen Theatre in Canberra in 2007 (Source: Phoenix Performance Art of Moana)



Figure 52: ‘Apifo’ou girls performing *ma‘ulu‘ulu* during the 125 Years Jubilee of ‘Apifo’ou College in 2011 (Source: *Vahaope* Network Online)



Figure 53: Tonga High School’s Students performing a *lakalaka* during the Coronation of HM King George Tupou V in 2008 (Source: Tongan Government Media Online)

Abbreviation

‘Atenisi Foundation for Performing Arts: AFPA

Australian Catholic University: ACU

Australian National University: ANU

Brigham Young University: BYU

Central Business District: CBD

Fijian: Fj

Futunan-‘Uvean (or Wallisian): FU

German: Gem

Greek: Gk

Hawaiian: Hw

Latin: Lat

Lo’au Research Society: LRS

Regional Assistance Mission to Solomon Islands: RAMSI

Rotuman: Rot

Samoan: Sam

Tongan: Ton

Tongan History Association: THA

Tongan Research Association: TRA

University of Canberra: UC

Vava’u Academy of Critical Inquiry and Applied Research: VACIAR

Glossary

- ‘*Aati* (Ton): Tongan direct translation of art
- Acatalepsia* (Gk): the ability to withhold assent from doctrines regarding the truth of things in their own nature
- Agápe* (Gk): Love, altruism or welfare
- Ahi* (Ton): Chiefly *kakala*, traditional fragrant plant or *santalum insulare*
- Ahi-mo-e-vunga* (Ton): Fragrant garland only for the present Tu’i Kanokupolu
- ‘*Aho* (Ton): Day or symbol for Kings and men
- ‘*Ahi’ahi* (Ton): Taste
- Aisthêsis* (Gk): Sensation
- Aisthetikos* (Gk): Aesthetic
- Ako* (Ton): Education, or to study and learn
- Ako faifolau* (Ton): Navigational education
- Akonaki* (Ton): Moral theme
- ‘*Alaha kakala* (Ton): Permeating fragrance
- Alamea* (Ton): Chiefly fragrant garland, *kahoa kakala*
- Aletheia* (Gk): Truth
- ‘*Aliki* (FU): Chief
- ‘*Alofi* (Ton): Circle or roundness (see *fuopotopoto*)
- ‘*Alu* (Ton): Neutral word for people at large when walking
- ‘*Amanaki* (Ton): Hope
- Anga* (Ton): Values
- Angafai* (Ton): Maxims or moral behaviours
- Anga fakafonua* (Tong): Culture or custom (see *taufatungamotu’a-e-fonua*, *faivaola* and *tukutukulaumea*)
- Anga fakalangi* (Ton): Heavenly values and behaviours or *kupesi* of heavenly behaviours (see *langi* and *toputapu*)
- Anga kovi* (Ton): Rude behaviours or *kupesi*
- Anga’ofa* (Ton): Mercy
- Anga poto* (Ton): Moderation or prudence

Animus (Gk): Soul

Aofangatuku (Ton): Final decision or conclusion

‘*Apa’apa* (Ton): Two principal *matāpule*, King or chief’s orators, who sit on the right and left sides of the top-front position, *Olovaha*, of the Royal and chiefly *kava* ceremonies

Apatheia (Gk): Freedom from frustration

Aphasia (Gk): Suspend judgment or speechlessness

‘*Api* (Ton): Home or household, and it is traditionally regarded as the property or possession of women, whereas the sea and bush allotment and its plantation for men; so ‘*api* is the most noblest properties among all, hence the proverb “‘*Api ‘a fafine*”/Home for women”

Arête (Gk): Virtue, good or moral improvement

‘*Ata* (Ton): Photos or pictures

Ataraxia (Gk): Serenity, tranquillity or contentment

Autarkeia (Gk): Contentment or Serenity (see *ataraxia*)

Ava (Sam): Samoan word for *kava*, *piper methysticum* (see *kava*, ‘*awa* and *yagona*)

‘*Awa* (Hw): Hawaiian word for *kava*, *piper methysticum* (see *kava*, *ava* and *yagona*)

Bravo (Lat): Excellence for bravery given to a given performer by an audience in response for his or her beautiful, superb and electrifying performance (see *mālie*)

Claritas (Lat): Clarity

Consonantia (Lat): Harmony (see *maau*)

Deontic (Gk): Obligation

Demoskratos (Gk): Democracy

Dialektike (Gk): Dialectic Method

Doxa (Gk): Opinion or viewpoint

Dykaisyn (Gk): Justice

‘*Eiki* or ‘*eikiness* (Ton): Chief or chiefliness

‘*Eiki Ma’utofi’a* (Ton): Chiefs or Nobles with estate under the Constitution and Land Laws

‘*Eiki Ta’ema’utofi’a* (Ton): Chiefs without estates under the Constitution and Land Laws

Eirene (Gk): Security

Elengkhos (Gk): Method

Entolen (Gk): Command

Entrepo (Gk): Respect

Epiphrôn (Gk): Prudence or moderation (see *sophrosyne*)

Epoché (Gk): Freedom from disturbance (see *aphasia*)

Ēros (Gk): Love

‘*Esi* (Ton): Kingly or chiefly stone construction for seating

Eudaimonia (Gk): Happiness

Euhodo (Gk): Prosperity

Eupatheiai (Gk): Good feeling

Exousia (Gk): Authority

Fa (Ton): Pandanus fragrant plant known as *pandanus odoratissimus* or *pandanus tectorius*

Faafetai tele (Sam): Thank you very much

Fafine (Ton): Women

Fāhina (Ton): Commoner fragrant plant, *kakala*, or *pandanus pseudo lin*

Fahu (Ton): Social rank, *langilangi*, and authority, *mafai*, of eldest female lines over their counterpart eldest male line of ‘*ulumotu’a* when exchanging social, economic and moral resources (see ‘*ulumotu’a*)

Faifeluteni (Ton): Mixture (see *feluteni*)

Faifolau (Ton): Navigation

Faitotonu (Ton): Justice

Faiva (Ton): Art (please see *faiva* all kinds of *faiva*)

Faiva fakaoli (Ton): Art of comedy or Lineage of Comedian (see *faiva* and its different kinds)

Faiva fuhu (Ton): Art of boxing or Lineage of Boxer (see *faiva* and its different kinds)

Faiva haka (Ton): Art of dance or Lineage of Dancer (see *haka* and *faiva* and its different kinds)

Faiva lafo (Ton): Art of disc-throwing with pieces of coconut disc or Lineage of Disc-thrower (see *faiva* and its different kinds)

Faiva lea (Ton): Art of oratory (see *faiva* and its different kinds)

Faiva lovavaka (Ton): Art of Boat-racing (see *faiva* and its different kinds)

Faivaola (Ton): Successful work, past successful contribution to society and civilization or culture (see *anga fakafonua*, *tukutukulaumea* and *taufatungamotu 'a-e-fonua*)

Faiva sika (Ton): Art of javelin-throwing (see *faiva* and its different kinds)

Faiva teuteu (Ton): Art of dressing in which designer or artist just dresses himself/herself (see *tūfunga teuteu*)

Fakaafe (Ton): Traditional feast or to invite someone for a meal and feast

Faka'aki'akimui (Ton): Humility or humble

Fakaanga 'uhinga (Ton): Critical thinking or criticism

Faka'apa'apa (Ton): Respect or admiration (see *fakafetongi fetokai'aki* and *fetokai'aki*)

Fakaehaua (Ton): Alienation

Fakafeta'i lahi (Ton): Thank you very much

Fakafetongi (Ton): To exchange or change

Fakafetongi fetoka'i'aki (Ton): Social reciprocity in a respectful manner (see *fetokai'aki*, *fakafetongi* and *totongi*)

Fakafiefia (Ton): Entertainment or to entertain (see *fiefia* and *ta'efiefia*)

Fakahingoa (Ton): Naming of a person or something by a commoner or chief (see *fakahuafa*)

Fakahuafa (Ton): Naming of a person or something by a King

Fakalokua (Ton): Evening *Kava* drinking for tiredness, relaxing *kava* consumption of a few old men after a busy day of work (it is sometimes also called *kava ongosia/kava* of tiredness)

Fakalogo (FU): To obey

Fakalotoa (Ton): Motivation or to motivate

Fakalotolahi (Ton): To encourage

Fakalotolahi'i (Ton): To further encourage (see *fakalotolahi*)

Fakamāmāni (Ton): Secular or worldly in nature

Fakamatamoana (Ton): Chiefly perfumed garland, *kahoa kakala*

Fakana'ana'a (Ton): Lullaby or to stop someone from crying

Faka'ofa'ofa (Ton): Beauty

Faka'otusia (Ton): Chiefly fragrant garland, *kahoa kakala*

Fakapale (Ton): Putting money, tapa, mat and other female fine products on the body of a dancer, or performer, as an expression of artistic appreciation of *tauēlangi*, climactic euphoria

Fakapōpula (Ton): Oppression

Fakata'ata'a (Ton): Chiefly and Kingly blood-like (see *fekau'aki fakata'ata'a*, *fekau'aki fakatoto*, *fakatoto*)

Fakatapu (Ton): Introduction or prelude of traditional dance poetry, song or performance arts, and it is very fundamental in Moanan-Tongan culture and arts (see *kakano* and *tatau*)

Fakatapu ta'efilifilimanako (Ton): Fair preludes to all chiefly lineage, *ha'a*, and extended family, *kainga*, in a formal speech

Fakate'ete'epuaka (Ton): Spirality, and it is a word for when spiralling the dried leaves of pandanus plant in preparing them for weaving mats (see *vilovilo*)

Fakateki (Ton): A tilt slowly of the head from vertical upward position to the left on horizontal level and then tilt fast back vertically to the original position with a *malimali*, smile, while dancing (see *kamo*, *kalo*, *tafoki* and *tafoki fua*)

Fakatomo (Tonga): Part of the *kava* rhizome that is left behind after rooting out from the soil to be presented to the Royal and chiefly *kava* ceremonies as part of its ritual

Faka-Tonga (Ton): Tongan way or Tongan culture

Fakatoto (Ton): Commoner blood-like (see *fekau'aki fakata'ata'a* and *fekau'aki fakatoto*)

Fakatupu fakakaukau (Ton): Creative

Fākula (Ton): Chiefly *kakala*, traditional fragrant plant, of small red pandanus fruit or *pandanus corallinus*

Fala (Ton): Mat made by women and is one of their art works traditionally classified as *nimamea 'a*

Falefā (Ton): Local Advisory Body of the ancient Tu'i Tonga beginning by four celestial brothers of the first Tu'i Tonga 'Aho'eitu who had different mother from *langi* or Samoa - *fale* means house and *fā* in this context stands for four

Fale'i (Ton): Advice

Falahola (Ton): Chiefly *kakala*, aromatic plant, of big red pandanus fruit or *pandanus odoratissimus sinensis*

Famili (Ton): Tongan directly translation of the English family

Fanafana (Ton): Whispering or to whisper

Fananga (Ton): Myth or legend (see *talatupu 'a*)

Fa'onehua (Ton): Chiefly fragrant plant, and garland, for the Tu'i Tonga or *rhizophoraceae*

Fasi (Ton): Curve, leading singer or broken/fractured bone (see *ngaofe*)

Fatai (Ton): Commoner *kakala*, traditional fragrant plant, or *cassytha filiformis*

Fatogia (Rot & FU): Obligation, duty, responsibility, function or role, which is based on the metaphoric-epiphoric nature of *fiefia*, happiness with its sense of *tauēlangi*, climactic euphoria, and 'alaha *kakala*, permeating fragrance

Fatongia (Ton): Obligation, duty, responsibility, function or role, which is based on the metaphoric-epiphoric nature of *fiefia*, happiness with its sense of *tauēlangi*, climactic euphoria, and 'alaha *kakala*, permeating fragrance (see *fatongia* and its other variation like *tongia*, *mausa*, *manongi*, *ngangatatu*, *taufā* and *fatongia fiefia*)

Fatongia fiefia (Ton): The emphasis of obligation in a happy manner (see *fatongia* and *ngafa*)

Fa'unga (Ton): Social structure

Fa'unga fakamafaipule (Ton): Political power structure

Fau (Ton): Mulberry plant which its skin is used for straining *kava* with water

Fau taukava (Ton): Strainer for straining *kava* when mixing with water in a *kumete*, kava bowl

Fefine (Ton): Female or woman

Fehālaaki (Ton): Wrong, incorrect or asynchronic

Fēhauakitu 'a 'aki (Ton): Interception

Feilaulau 'i (Ton): To sacrifice or crucify

Feitu 'u (Ton): Districts

Fēkolosi 'aki (Ton): Cross-section

Fekau 'aki (Ton): Relation or relationship

Fekau 'aki fakata 'ata 'a (Ton): Blood relationship among relatives of chiefs and Kings (see *fekau 'aki fakatoto*, *fakata 'ata 'a* and *fakatoto*)

Fekau 'aki fakatoto (Ton): Blood relationship among relatives of commoners, tu'a (see *fekau 'aki fakata 'ata 'a*, *fakata 'ata 'a* and *fakatoto*)

Fēlalava 'aki (Ton): Interweaving (see *matalalava*, *matalalanga* and *matafe 'unu*)

Feluteni (Ton): To mix things together, like flowers, oil with other ingredients (see *faifeluteni*)

Fētaulaki 'aki (Ton): Intersection

Feta 'aki (Ton): White tapa, *ngatu*, which is made from the pulp of the mulberry plant (*ngatu*, *ngangatu* and *ngangatu 'alaha kakala*)

Fetokai 'aki (Ton): Respect in a reciprocal manner

Fetongi (Ton): To exchange or change

Fiafia (Sam): Happy or happiness, and it could be a corruption of Tongan *fiefia*, or vice-versa (please see *fiefia*)

Fiefia (Ton): Happiness or name of person (see *fiafia*)

Fiekau (Ton): Enthusiasm or keenness to participate or perform (see *loto-to 'a*, *māfana*, *māmāfana*, *vela māfana*, *vela* and *vela 'osi 'osi* or *tauēlangi*)

Fiemālie (Ton): Satisfaction

Fiepule (Ton): Domineering

Filifilimanako (Ton): Unfair and exclusive (see *ta 'efilifilimanako*)

Fine (Ton): Short for women, *fefine*

Fita 'a (Ton): Fieriness or aggressive

Foaki (Ton): To give

Foaki mo 'ui (Ton): Dedication or commitment

Foaki vale (Ton): Careless generosity

Folau (Ton): Journey or name of person

Folahaka (Ton): Some graceful but continuous and various hand dance movements of *haka* by a performer or choreographer (see *tekifaiva*, *matakakai*, *haka* and *mālie*)

Fono (Ton): Short version of *kaifono*, a food portion in *kava* ceremony that is distributed to each chief and it is only taken and consumed by their individual *fahu*, and *fono* is also meant law (see *kaifono*)

Fonua (Ton): Land-people, nation or society including home-ground, *fonua*, grave, *fonua* or *fonualoto*, placenta, *fonua*, root-cap of a plant, *fonua* the *fakatomo*, and *kava* ceremony, *fonua*

Fua (Ton): Fruit, to measure or carry something

Fuai'i (Ton): Fruit-like

Fua'i fa (Ton): Pandanus fruit (see *Fua'i fa momoho*, *fua*, *fua'i* and *momoho*)

Fua'i fa momoho (Ton): Ripe pandanus fruit (see please see *Fua'i fa*, *fua*, *fua'i* and *momoho*)

Fuakava (Ton): Agreement or covenant

Fuakaveinga (Ton): To carry-the-burden, or burden-bear, *fua* is to carry and *kavenga* means burden

Fualu (Ton): Name of the lake, *lepa*, where the residence Ma'ananga of *Ha'a* Lo'au was situated in the District of Ha'amea in central Tongatapu (see Ma'ananga and Ha'amea)

Fuo (Ton): Form

Fuopotopoto (Ton): Circle or roundness, and it is mainly used when talking about the circle of *kava* ceremony (see '*alofi*)

Ha'a (Ton): Chiefly and Kingly Lineages and is also used for lineage of art specialists, ranging from stone masonry to boat construction

Haka (Ton): Hand and head movements in dance with elaborated and coordinated beautiful nature or a Moanan word for dance in general (see *faiva* and *faiva haka*)

Gnosis (Gk): Knowledge

Ha'amea (Ton): District of *Ha'a* Lo'au in central Tongatapu where their residence Ma'ananga was located (see Ma'ananga and Fualu)

Ha'ele (Ton): Majestic word for the King when walking, going or travelling

Hahake (Ton): East or eastern part

Hala (Ton): Wrong, incorrect or asynchronic

Harmonia (Gk): Harmony, peace and order (see *maau*)

Hea (Ton): Chiefly *kakala*, traditional fragrant plant or *myrtaceae*

Heilala (Ton): Most chiefly *kakala*, traditional fragrant plant or *garcinia callophyllum* (see *kakala hingoa*, *kakala 'eiki* and *kakala 'iloa*)

Heliaki (Ton): Rhetoric language of oral and written words that are structurally based and built on metaphoric-epiphoric explanations. According to Māhina, Metaphoric or *heliaki fakafēkauaki* is when meaning is associative in character, for instance Fiji is equated to *pulotu*, afterlife; and epiphoric or *heliaki fakafēhauaki* is when meaning is qualitative, for example, the rise of a new King is equated to sun rise in a clear day

Hingano (Ton): Chiefly *kakala*, traditional fragrant plant of red pandanus fruit or *pandanus odoratissimus setchellii*

Hingoa fakanofu (Ton): Ceremonial title of *mātapule*, chief's orators, or *tauhi fonua*, people-land carer, that is installed on a, *tu'a*, commoner, or *fototehina*, biological or lineaged brother of a chief, by a chief (it is also metaphorically and symbolically called as *kahoa kakala*, traditional fragrant garland; see *kahoa kakala* and *huafa fakanofu*)

Hiva (Ton): Music

Hoku or *'eku* (Ton): Possessive pronoun of mine

Hoha'a (Ton); Anxiety (see *ta'enonga*)

Hou'eiki (Ton): Chief

Huafa fakanofu (Ton): Kingly Title (Tu'i Kanokupolu) when it is installed on a new King or when He names someone or something with a new title (see *kahoa kakala* and *hingoa fakanofu*)

Hu'amelie (Ton): Sweet-liquid-taste

Hu'anga (Ton): Gateway or door (see *matapā*)

Huni (Ton): *Kakala*, traditional fragrant plant, for chiefs and Kings

Hupakoe (Gk): Obedience

Hypotheseōs syllogismos (Gk): Hypothesis syllogism

Integritas (Lat): Perfection or wholeness

‘Ilo (Ton): Word for chiefs when eating and drinking

‘Ilo kava (Ton): Chiefly *kava* ceremony (see *Tala ‘Alofi*)

Ipu (Ton): Cup

Ipu kava (Ton): Cup of *kava*

Ivi ngāue (Ton): Ability

Kahoa (Ton): Garland

Kahoa kakala (Ton): Fragrant garland or symbol for chiefly and ceremonial titles
(see *hingoa fakanofa*)

Kai (Ton): Neutral word for people at large when eating

Kai fakafe (Ton): Neutral word for feast

Kaifono (Ton): Food portion for male participants in *kava* ceremony, which is only allowed to be taken and consumed by their *fahu*, higher female social ranking niece or grandniece from their eldest female sibling or paternal aunt lines (in short it is called *fono*, see *fono*)

Kaifonua (Ton): Eaters or skilled people of the *fonua*, land-people, nation or society

Kaimoana (Ton): Eaters or skilled people of the *moana*, sea-people

Kainga (Ton): Extended family and traditionally each *kainga* is belonged to a *ha’a*, lineage (please see *ha’a*)

Kainanga-e-fonua (Ton); Eaters of the soil, a phrase for commoners but with relative meaning, it is sometimes used for chiefs in contrast to higher social rank of the Kingly Lines and Royal House (it is partly different from *kaifonua*)

Kaivai (Ton): Eaters or skilled people of the *vai*, water

Kakala (Ton): Traditional fragrant plants

Kakala ‘eiki (Ton): Chiefly *kakala*, traditional fragrant plants, *kakala*, for chiefs and Kings (see *kakala*, *kahoa kakala*, *kakala hingoa* and *kakala ‘iloa*)

Kakala hingoa (Ton): Naming *kakala*, traditional fragrant plants for chiefs and Kings (see *kakala*, *kahoa kakala*, *kakala 'iloa* and *kakala 'eiki*)

Kakala 'iloa (Ton): Known *kakala*, traditional fragrant plants for chiefs and Kings (please see *kakala*, *kahoa kakala*, *kakala hingoa* and *kakala 'eiki*)

Kakala ta'e'iloa (Ton): Unknown *kakala*, traditional fragrant plants, for commoners (see *kakala*, *kakala vale* and *kakala tu'a*)

Kakala tu'a (Ton): Commoner *kakala*, traditional fragrant plants for commoners (see *kakala*, *kakala vale* and *kakala ta'e'iloa*)

Kakala vale (Ton): Foolish *kakala*, traditional fragrant plants for commoners (see *kakala*, *kakala*, *kakala tu'a* and *kakala ta'e'iloa*)

Kakano (Ton): Flesh or main body of any performance art (see *fakatapu* and *tatau*)

Kalapu Kava-Tonga (Ton): Tonga *Kava* Club, the most informal and modern *kava* of all

Kalia (Ton): Double hulled canoe

Kallos (Gk): Beauty

Kalo (Ton): A swing of the head diagonally to either left or right in 30 degrees for men and 15 for women with slight slant 4 degrees forward with a *malimali*, smile, upfront to the audience while dancing (see *kamo*, *fakateki*, *tafoki* and *tafoki fua*)

Kamo (Ton): A slight slant of the 4 degrees forward to the front audience with a special *malimali*, smile, while dancing (see *kalo*, *fakateki*, *kalo*, *tafoki* and *tafoki fua*)

Kanomelie (Ton): Sweet-flesh-taste

Kanonismi (Gk): Civic laws

Kape (Ton) Giant taro plant, one of the traditional basic starch food of Tongan and other Moanan people.

Kapakau-tatangi (Ton): Wings-of-high-pitch, which is an epithoric terms for *moa kaivao*, wild chicken

Katēgorikós syllogismos (Gk): Categorical syllogism

Kātoanga (Ton): Social function, event or occasion

Kātoanga 'ofa (Ton): Annual fundraising of Catholic churches (see *misinale*)

Kava (Ton): Traditional plant or *piper methysticum* that is only found in Moanan islands, and has been using by their Moanan natives for cultural, political, social, moral, religious, economic, medicinal and therapeutical events and practices over thousand years (see *ava*, *'awa* and *yagona*)

Kava 'a kainga (Ton): *Kava* ceremony of the *kainga*, extended family (see *Tala Fatongia*)

Kava 'eva or *faikava 'eva* (Ton): Courting *kava* between a man or young boy and his female lover

Kava fakalokua or *tau fakalokua* (Ton): *Kava* by two or three farmers, or fishermen, in the evening after work for relaxing and catching up with their individual stories of the day (see *fakalokua* or *kava ongosia*)

Kava fakasiasi (Ton): *Kava* drinking in the compounds of churches

Kava foaki (Ton): Given *kava* by one person to drink by another person, a sign of great respect

Kava mali (Ton): Wedding *kava* ceremony

Kava me 'afaka 'eiki (Ton): Funeral *kava* ceremony

Kava ngāue (Ton): Working *kava* which includes all *kava* circles in marking great deeds and achievements, for instance, *kava faito 'o*, curing *kava*, *kava toutai*, fisherman *kava* and *kava ikuna*, victory *kava*

Kava toho (Ton): Big *kava* plant that is used for Royal and chiefly *kava* ceremonies (see *kava toho fakatefisi*)

Kava toho fakatefisi (Ton): Biggest *kava* plant that is used for Royal and chiefly *kava* ceremonies (see *kava toho*)

Kātoanga kai 'anga (Ton): Consumption feast

Kau-toto (Ton): Blood-red stalks of *huni* (see *huni*)

Kavenga (Ton): Burden or tension

Kitetama (Ton): System of marriage between a chiefly or Royal couple whom some of their grandparents are sibling (see *nu 'ipi 'o* and *tamahā*)

Koloa (Ton): Words of King, treasure or works by women

Kona (Ton): Bitterness or salty

Kosmopolitês (Gk): Cosmopolitanism

Kriticos (Gk): Critical thinking

Kukuvalu (Ton): Red pandanus flower or *pandanus odoratissimus savaiensis*

Kula (Ton): Red and it is traditionally symbolized men (see 'uli)

Kulokula (Ton): Red, a symbol for men (see *kula* and 'uli)

Kulo 'umea (Ton): Clay pottery that was made by the first Moanan settlers of Tonga, and throughout some other islands of Moana, from 1,300 BC until around the 6th Century AD

Kulukona (Ton): Chiefly *kakala*, traditional fragrant plant

Kumi mo 'ui or *kumi ha mo 'ui* (Ton): Survival, search for a livelihood or search for socio-economic sufficiency

Kupesi (Ton): Maps or patterns of changes and behaviours, ways of life, or geometric pattern (see *kupesi tā-vā*. *Kupesi fefine* and *kupesi tangata*)

Kupesi fefine (Ton): Female geometric pattern – example *Tokelau feletoa* (see *kupesi*, *kupesi tangata* and *kupesi-tā-vā*)

Kupesi tangata (Ton): Male geometric pattern – example *Manulua* (see *kupesi*, *kupesi fefine* and *kupesi-tā-vā*)

Kupesi tā-vā (Ton): Rhythmic pattern (see *kupesi*, *kupesi fefine* and *kupesi tangata*)

La 'ā (Ton): Sun, symbol for men or a new King

Lahi (Ton): Big or older

Laine hangatonu (Ton): Straight line

Lakalaka (Ton): Standing group dance, one of the national modern dances derived from ancient Tongan *me'elaufola*

Lala (Ton): Commoner fragrant garland, *kahoa kakala*

Lalava (Ton): To lash or weave something with rope, coconut fibre, wire or string (see *tūfunga lalava*)

Langakali (Ton): *Kakala*, traditional fragrant plant, for chiefs and Kings or *aglaia saltatorum*

Langi (Ton): Sky, Royal Tombs, and face, head or hair of a King and Queen

Langilangi (Ton): Social rank, privilege or status (see *ngeia*)

Lau (Ton): To speak, count or gossip

Lau 'i 'akau (Ton): Leaf

Laukakala (Ton): Reciting of traditional Tongan fragrant plants

Laukau (Ton): Pride or proud

Laulau (Ton): Chant

Laumātanga (Ton): Natural poetry of pride of locality, people and their historical backgrounds

Lau koloa-ngāue (Ton): To count female and works in their individual numerical languages especially in formal functions

Lautolu (Ton): Medicinal plant known as *vigna marina*

Lavalava (Ton): Chiefly garland of *kakala*, traditional fragrant plants

Laveofo (Ton): Epic type of natural poetry

Lele (Ton): Run and it is also used for commoners when walking, going, travelling or flying

Lelei (Ton): Good

Lo'au (Ton): Ancient intellectual Lineage who were the national, regional and cultural advisors for the ancient Tu'i Tonga, *Ha 'a* Tu'i Takalaua and Tu'i Kanokupolu (they were surviving in Tonga from the 10th to 17th Centuries)

Logos (Gk): Reason, universe or nature

Lolo (Ton): Oil for food or cosmetic use

Lolo ahi (Ton): Oil for rubbing the body of a dead person

Lolo fetā'u (Ton): Oil for matured women

Lolofonua (Ton): Underworld which was ruled by the principal god Maui Motu'a

Lolo hea (Ton): Oil for Vava'u women

Lolo langakali (Ton): Oil for both men and women in evening bath

Lolo mapa (Ton): Oil for men and women celebration

Lolo niu (Ton): Coconut oil for food is different from that for cosmetic use

Lolo Pako (Ton): Oil for both men and women in pleasure

Lolo pipi (Ton): Personal oil for women

Lolo sinamoni (Ton): Oil for female morning bath

Lolo teuteu (Ton): Cosmetic oil for both men and women

Lolo tuitui (Ton): Oil for women when travelling

Loto foaki (Ton): Generosity or sharing (see *loto 'ofa*)

Loto lahi (Ton): Encouragement, courage or confidence (see *loto-to 'a*)

Loto 'ofa (Ton): Generosity or sharing (see *loto foaki*)

Loto-to 'a (Ton): Confidence or courage (see *loto lahi, fiekau, māmāfana, vela māfana, vela* and *vela 'osi 'osi* or *tauēlangi*)

Luva (Ton): When someone takes off her or his *kahoa kakala*, traditional fragrant garland, and give or present it to a lover, visitor or higher chief

Ma'ananga (Ton): Residence of *Ha'a Lo'au* at the Lake-of-Fualu, *Lepa- 'o-Fualu*, in Ha'amea district of central Tongatapu, and it is also meant a place of cleanness/clearness (see Ha'amea and Fualu)

Maau (Ton): Peace, harmony or order

Mafai (Ton): Authority

Mafaipule (Ton): Political power or political authority

Māfana (Ton): Warmth to participate in performance arts (see *loto-to 'a, fiekau, māmāfana, vela māfana, vela* and *vela 'osi 'osi* or *tauēlangi*)

Māhina (Ton): Moon, traditional calendar or name of person

Ma'itaki (Ton): Principal wife of the Tu'i Tonga selected within Tonga and overseas from different social and cultural backgrounds (see *Moheofa*)

Maka (Ton): Stone or name of person

Mala'e (Ton): Oval of the *Ha'a Tu'i Kanokupolu* for their main national and cultural functions

Malanga (Ton): Formal speech in *kava* ceremony, church and the public

Mālie (Ton): Impromptu or spontaneous response from an audience as a great appreciation for excellence of bravery by a performer in her/his very exciting, beautiful and successful performance

Mālie'ia (Ton): Artistic appreciation as a result of *mālie* from a performance

Mali (Ton): Smile

Malimali (Ton): Smile repeatedly

Malu (Ton): Security

Mama (Ton): Word for commoners when eating and drinking

Māmāfana (Ton): Burning warmth while performing (see courage, *loto-to'a*, enthusiasm, *fiekau*, warming enthusiasm, *māfana*, warmth, *vela māfana*, elation, *vela* and climactic euphoria, *vela 'osi'osi* or *tauēlangi*)

Mamahi'i-fonua (Ton): Patriots or those who love to do deeds for the *fonua*, land-people, *moana*, sea-people, nation or society at large

Māmāni (Ton): Earth or world

Manatu (Ton): Wistful thought or memory

Manongi (Ton): Beautifully fresh and light aroma from fragrant plant that can be experienced between 4am and 6am (please see *taufā tangitangi*, *taufā*, *mausa*, *ngangatu*, *ngangatu 'alaha kakala*, *ngatuvai*, *nanamu*, *tongia* and *'alaha kakala*)

Manulua (Ton): Male kupesi (see *kupesi tangata*)

Ma'olunga (Ton): High or higher

Mapa (Ton): Chiefly *kakala*, traditional fragrant plant or *diospyros lateriflora*

Mapa-ko-Mata'i'ulua (Ton): Chiefly fragrant garland, *kahoa kakala*, for the ancient Tu'i Tonga

Mata (Ton): Face, eye, entrance, front or hole

Matafe'unu (Ton): Geometric pattern, *kupesi*, in women's works of fine art, *nimamea'a* (see *fēlalava'aki*, *matalalava* and *matalalanga*)

Matahangale (Ton): Common flowers from *hangale* plant or *heritiera littoralis* that are mostly found in the villages of Nukunuku, Hofoa and Sopus in the main island of Tongatapu

Matai (Sam): Chiefly title

Mata'ikoloa (Ton): Highest virtue or good

Matala'i'akau (Ton): Flower

Matala'i'akau kulokula (Ton): Red flower, chiefly and male colour

Matalalanga (Ton): Interweaving of geometric pattern, *kupesi*, in women's works of fine art like *nimamea'a lalanga* or art of weaving mat (see *matalalava*, *matafe'unu* and *fēlalava'aki*)

Matalalava (Ton): Interweaving of geometric pattern, *kupesi*, in men's works of art like *tūfunga lalava* or art of coconut fibre lashing (see *matalalanga*, *matafe'unu* and *fēlalava'aki*)

Matangi (Ton): Wind

Matapā (Ton): Gateway, door or entrance (see *hu'anga*)

Mate-ma'a-Tonga (Ton): To die for Tonga or Tongan patriot

Mate-ma'ae-fonua (Ton): To die for the *fonua* and *moana* or Tongan patriot

Matāpule (Ton): King and chief's orators or ceremonial orators

Matāpule Ma'utofi'a (Ton): King and chief's orators with estates under the Constitution and Land Laws

Mateaki-fonua (Ton): Patriots or those who love to do great deeds for the *fonua*, land-people, *moana*, sea-people, nation or society at large

Ma'ua (FU): To obligate

Ma'ulalo (Ton): Low or lower

Ma'ulu'ulu (Ton): Sitting group dance, one of the national modern dances derived from ancient Samoan *sasa* and Tongan '*otuhaka*

Mausa (Ton): fragrance that flows in and out with the wind after a few seconds or a minute (see '*alaha kakala, manongi, taufa, taufa tangitangi, ngangatu, ngangatu 'alaha kakala, ngatuvai, tongia and nanamu*)

Me'a (Ton): Word for chiefs when walking, going, travelling or flying and it is also used for them when attending and present in a given place or event

Me'akai (Ton): Food

Mehikitanga (Tonga): Traditional title of sisters when referring to them by the children of their brothers, and it is sometimes used interchangeably with the word *fahu*. Such children normally call their partenal aunts as *mehikitanga* or *fahu* especially the eldest ones (see *fahu*)

Melie (Ton): Sweet or name of a person

Mene (Ton): Arse or buttock

Mene'uli (Ton): Black-arse or black-buttock

Milolua (Ton): Royal beautiful sitting dance for mixing *kava* but without music, the *milolua* of the present Tu'i Kanokupolu is called *Milolua Fakamuifonua* and for the ancient Tu'i Tonga is called *Milolua Fakalotomu'a* (see *Taumafa Kava* and *Tala Hau*)

Misinale (Ton): Tongan direct translation of the word missionary, and it is the name for the annual fundraising of most Methodist or Protestant churches that was formed and institutionalized in the 19th Century by early British missionaries (see *kātoanga 'ofa*)

Moa kaivao (Ton): Wild chicken

Moana (Ton): Ocean or sea

Moanans (Ton): People of the ocean or sea

Moana *hahake* (Ton): Eastern Moana

Moheofo (Ton): Principal wife of the Tu'i Tonga selected from *Ha'a Tu'i Takalaua* and later on *Ha'a Tu'i Kanokupolu*, and now it is only used for the *Ha'a Tu'i Kanokupolu* with the title of *Ha'a Moheofo*

Moli (Ton): Orange or orange fruit

Momoho (Ton): Ripe (please see *fua 'i fa momoho*, *fua 'i fa*, and *fua*)

Mo'ua (Ton & Rot): To obligate

Mo'ui (Ton): Life or alive

Nanamu (Ton): Smell

Nga (Ton): Multitude or to cry

Ngaahi (Ton): Many

Ngaahi Kupesi 'Otumotu (Ton): Maps of Islands

Ngafa (Ton): Obligation of women and the public generally with the specific aim to produce the outcomes of permeating fragrance, '*alaha kakala* (see *fatongia* and its other variation like *tongia*, *mausa*, *manongi*, *ngangatu* and *taufa*)

Ngaofe (Ton): Curve

Ngatu (Ton): Tapa cloth

Ngangatu (Ton): Prolong aroma in a piece of white tapa, *feta'aki* (see *nanamu*, *ngangatu 'alaha kakala*, *ngatuvai*, '*alaha kakala*, *tongia*, *mausa*, *manongi*, *taufa* and *taufa tangitangi*)

Ngangatu 'alaha kakala (Ton): *Feta'aki* (white tapa) aroma in a permeating fragrance (see *nanamu*, *ngangatu*, *ngatuvai*, '*alaha kakala*, *tongia*, *mausa*, *manongi*, *taufa* and *taufa tangitangi*)

Ngatuvai (Ton): Durable fragrance in a lengthy period (weeks to a month, *vai* is water and it refers to when water is mixed with scented oil, *lolo teuteu*, on a white tapa, *feta'aki*, or when fragrant plant, *kakala*, is put in water to withhold its aroma for a longer period (see *ngangatu*, *ngangatu 'alaha kakala*, *'alaha kakala*, *tongia*, *mausa*, *manongi*, *taufā*, *taufā tangitangi* and *nanamu*)

Ngāue (Ton): Work or works by men

Ngeia (Ton): Social privilege or rank (see *langilangi*)

Nima (Ton): Hand or five

Nima homo (Ton): Generosity or sharing

Nimamea 'a (Ton): Fine art of women of making tapa, mat and the like

Nimamea 'a teuteu (Ton): Fine art of cosmetic by women

Niu (Ton): Coconut plant

Nonga (Ton): Serenity

Nonu (Ton): Medicinal plant known as *morinda citrifolia*

Nu'ipi'o (Hw): Hawaiian system of marrying between chiefly brother and sister for the belief and purpose of preserving divine blood in purity (see *tamahā* and *kitetama*)

Nuku (Ton): Place of birth place (please see *nu'u*)

Nusipalataha (Ton): Chiefly fragrant garland, *kahoa kakala*

Nu'u (Ton): Place or birth place (please see *nuku*)

'Ofa (Ton): Love or name of person

'Ofa-fonua (Ton): Those who love to do great deeds and commitment for the *fonua*, land-people, *moana*, sea-people, nation or society at large

'Ofefine (Ton): Daughter

'Ofefine Lahi (Ton): Elder or eldest daughter

Ola (Tongan): Outcome

Olfacoception (Gk): Smell

Olovaha (Ton): The top-front position for the King and chief to preside in a *kava* ceremony (see *taumu'a*)

Ongo tautehina (Ton): two brothers

'Otua la'ā (Ton): Sun god

‘Otumotu (Ton): Islands or sea of islands

Paedeia (Gk): Education

Paki’i (Ton): To pluck (see *toli*)

Paongo (Ton): Chiefly *kakala*, traditional fragrant plant of red pandanus fruit or *pandanus whitmeeanus*

Papai (Ton): Garland of *kakala*, traditional fragrant plants

Papaifā (Ton): Chiefly fragrant garland, *kahoa kakala*, of *fākula*, *falahola*, *paongo*, *hingano* or *kukuvalu* (see *fākula*, *falahola*, *kukuvalu*, *paongo* or *hingano*)

Papai falahola (Ton): Chiefly fragrant garland, *kahoa kakala* (see *papaifā*)

Parrésia (Gk): Freedom of speech

Phantasia (Gk): Conception or correct impression

Philosophia (Gk): Philosophy or worldview to life

Phratría (Gk): Specific social interest, general will, public consent or feeling of brotherhood

Pipi (Ton): Chiefly *kakala*, traditional fragrant plant or *parinarium glaberrimum*

Pito’ingalau (Ton): Chiefly fragrant garland, *kahoa kakala*

Polis (Gk): City-states

Polites (Gk): Citizens of a nation or country

Politika (Gk): Civil life or political life

Pōpula (Ton): Servility

Potupotutatau (Ton): Symmetry or proportion

Po’uli (Ton): Night or symbol for women and funeral

Puaka (Ton): Pigs

Puaka toho (Ton): Huge pig

Pule’aekakai (Ton): Democracy

Pule (Ton): Ruler or to rule

Pulotu (Ton): Afterlife for chiefs and Kings or sacred place that was ruled by the ancient principal goddess Havea Hikule’o

Puluto momoho (Ton): Ripen fruit of *heilala*, chiefly *kakala* or *garcinia callophyllum* (see *heilala*)

Pununga (Ton): Nest

Protases (Gk): Premises or propositions

Sakkara (Gk): Power

Seilala (Sam): Samoan word for *heilala* (see *heilala*)

Siate (Ton): Specific interest or aim

Siale tafa (Ton): Commoner *kakala*, traditional fragrant plant, coastal gardenia or *rubiaceae*

Sina 'e (Ton): Younger brothers of the ancient Tu'i Tonga with the same mother to a *Ma 'itaki* (not *Moheofa*), and there are three divisions: *Sina 'e- 'eiki*, *Sina 'e-the-chief*, *Sina 'e 'eiki-kimu 'a*, *Sina 'e-the-first-chief*, and *Sina 'e- 'eiki-kimui*, *Sina 'e-the later-chief*

Sīnifu (Ton): Concubines of Tu'i Tonga Line (other words but for chiefs and people are *fokonofa*, *'ohoana* and *'unoho*)

Sino (Ton): Body (see *vaka-e-sino*)

Sisi kakala (Ton): Waist fragrant girdle

Sophia (Gk): Wisdom

Sophos (Gk): Wise man or person

Sophrosyne (Gk): Moderation or prudence (see *epiphrô*)

Status quo (Lat): To keep a political or social order in its present nature without any change

Syllogismos–epagoge logos (Gk): Deductive-inductive or universal-particular logic

Sumperasma (Gk): Concluding implication or conclusion

Tā (Ton): Time or to beat, form or mark

Ta 'anga or *Ta 'anga* poetry (Ton): Poetic text or oratory

Ta 'ata 'a (Ton): Word for blood of chiefs and Kings (see *toto*, *fekau 'aki fakata 'ata 'a* and *fekau 'aki fakatoto*)

Taau (Ton): Moral or fair

Ta 'efaka 'apa 'apa (Ton): Disrespectful

Ta 'efiefa (Ton): Unhappy or unhappiness

Ta 'efiemālie (Ton): Dissatisfaction

Ta 'efilifilimanako (Ton): Fair and inclusive (see *filifilimanako*)

Ta'eifo (Ton): Tasteless

Ta'emaau (Ton): Disharmony

Ta'emahu'inga (Ton): Miserable in futile manner

Ta'enonga (Ton): Anxiety

Ta'epotupotutatau (Ton): Asymmetry

Ta'etaau (Ton): Immoral or unfair

Ta'etatau (Ton): Inequality or unequality

Tafatafalangi (Ton): Horizon, when sailing in the ocean the ancient Tongan navigators used to count the layers of the sky to help them to reach their destination not on a vertical but horizontal-diagonal dimension, with its focus on the sea-land horizon

Tafine (Ton): Gender (a new word I coined in Dr Malakai Kolomatangi's (2010) book on political words in Tongan language, deriving from the Tongan words *tangata*, man, and *fefine*, woman)

Tafoki (Ton): It stands for when the head turns left or right in about 80 degrees while dancing without the whole body with a *malimali*, smile (see *tafoki fua*, *kalo*, *kamo* and *fakateki*)

Tafoki fua (Ton): It stands for when the head and the body turn left or right in about 90 degrees with a *malimali*, smile, while dancing (see *tafoki*, *kalo*, *kamo* and *fakateki*)

Tala 'Alofi (Ton): Chiefly *kava* ceremony (see *'ilo kava*)

Tala-e-fonua (Ton): Culture

Tala Fatongia (Ton): *Kava* ceremony for commoners or *kainga*, extended family (see *kava 'a kainga*)

Tala Hau (Ton): Royal *Kava* Ceremony of the *Ha'a* Tu'i Kanokupolu and Tu'i Takalaua (see *Taumafa Kava*)

Tālanga (Ton): In response to a formal speech in public or public dialogue, discussion and debate

Talangofua (Ton): Obedience

Talanoa (Ton): Normal conversation or talk critically and yet harmoniously

Tala tukufakaholo (Ton): Oral traditions, the method of preserving and transmitting knowledge and experiences from one generation to another through words of mouth and mental recollection (see *tukutukulaumea*, *taufatungamotu 'a-e-fonua*, *faivaola* and *tala-e-fonua*)

Talatupu 'a (Ton): Legend of creation or creation myth (see *fananga*)

Tamahā (Ton): It is a system of marrying between a chiefly or Royal couple whom some of their parents are sibling, or it is the eldest daughter or Tamahā (Sacred Child) of the Tu'i Tonga Fefine, Female Ruler/King of Tonga with either the Tu'i Lakepa or Tu'i Ha'ateiho from *Ha 'a Falefisi* in a *tamahā* way during the ancient Tu'i Tonga Empire (see *nu 'ipi'o* and *kitetama*)

Tangata (Ton): Male or man

Tangata ngāue (Ton): Working men and it is used also for men who count and do work inside the 'alofi, circle, of Royal and chiefly *kava* ceremonies

Tāpalasia (Ton): Exploitation

Tapu (Ton): Taboo or forbidden

Tātātau (Ton): Art of tattoo or art of copying something into something else (see *tūfunga tātātau* and *tūfunga*)

Tatau (Ton): Equality, fair or a copy of something

Tau 'a 'alo (Ton): Song for rowing canoe, and dance, while conducting *fatongia*).

Tau 'atāina (Ton): Freedom or liberty

Tauēlangi (Ton): Climactic euphoria or extreme excitement in performance art in a divine manner (see *loto-to 'a*, *fiekau*, *māfana*, *māmāfana*, *vela māfana*, *vela* and *vela 'osi'osi*)

Tauhi- 'ofa (Ton): Care

Taufa (Ton): Concentrated aroma of fragrant plants that can be experienced between 12 am and 2 am (see *nanamu*, *taufā tangitangi*, *manongi*, *ngangatu*, *ngatuvai*, *ngangatu 'alaha kakala*, *mausa* and *'alaha kakala*)

Taufa tangitangi (Ton): More concentrated aroma than *taufā* that can be experienced between 2am and 4am (see *nanamu*, *taufā*, *taufā tangitangi*, *'alaha kakala*, *tongia*, *mausa*, *manongi*, *ngangatu*, *ngangatu 'alaha kakala* and *ngatuvai*)

Taufatungamotu 'a-e-fonua (Ton): Culture or custom (see *tukutukulaumea*, *anga fakafonua*, *tala-e-fonua*, *tala tukufakaholo* and *faivaola*)

Tauhivā (Ton): Moral respect or keep social spatial relationship

Taukei (Ton): Experience (see *taukei ngāue*)

Taukei ngāue (Ton): Skill (see *taukei*)

Taumafa (Ton): Royal meal or drink

Taumafa Kava (Ton): Royal *Kava* Ceremony, and it is still very ancient or traditional in character with no modern and Western influences on it – the *Taumafa kava* of the ancient Tu'i Tonga is called *Fulitaunga* or *Fakalotomu 'a* and *Fakamuifonua* for the present Tu'i Kanokupolu (see *Tala Hau*)

Tau 'olunga (Ton): Dance (see *faiva haka*, *faiva* and *haka*)

Taumu 'a (Ton): Top-front position for the King or chief in *kava* ceremony to preside, and it is another name for *olovaha* (see *olovaha*)

Tatau (Ton): Equality or farewell part of a traditional song, poetry dance, poetry or performance art at large (see *kakano* and *fakatapu*)

Tekifaiva (Ton): It is when a performer is in rhythmic-synchronically in dance spirit together with the music and whole artistic atmosphere when performing (see *mālie*, *matafaiva*, *tonu* and *folahaka lelei*)

Tenga (Ton): Seed of plants

Teuteu (Ton): Dress up or decoration

Toafa (Ton): Desert

Tohi (Ton): Book or to write, Māhina has claimed that *kohi* seems to be the ancient version as it is seen in *kohi- 'a-Velenga*, one of the navigational stars for ancient Moanan-Tongan navigators

Tonga (Ton): South or southern part, and one of the original names for Tonga Islands was *Tongamama 'o*, Remote-south

To 'i (Ton): Sap of plants

Tokai kava (Ton): Active compound of *kava* or known in scientific terms as *kavalacton* (see *uho*)

Toka-mei/ 'i-Ma' ananga (Ton): Omnipresence or wisdom of Ma' ananga

Tokelau feletoa (Ton): Female *kupesi* (see *kupesi fefine*)

Tokelau-lotoloto (Ton): Northern-middle part

Toli (Ton): Pluck (see *paki*)

Tongia (Ton): Immediately permeating fragrance that is experienced after plucking a fragrant plant, *kakala*, and it is also alluded to mesmerized love in memories (please see ‘*alaha kakala, taufa, taufa tangitangi, manongi, mausa, ngangatu, ngangatu ‘alaha kakala* and *ngatuvai*)

Tongi (Ton): To cut, pluck, hit or cut something and it is normally referred to flowers and fragrant plants

To (Ton): Sugar-cane, fall or to plant and dig something on the ground

Totongi (Ton): To pay, pay back or exchange (see *fakafetongi* or *fetongi*)

Tonu (Ton): Right, correct or synchronic (see *totonu* and *tototonu- ‘ae-kakai*)

Toputapu (Ton): Divine, sacredness or heavenly character

Toto (Ton): Neutral word for blood and also for the blood of commoners (see *ta ‘ata ‘a, fekau ‘aki fakata ‘ata ‘a* and *fekau ‘aki fakatoto*)

Totonu (Ton): Right (see *tonu, totonu- ‘a-e-tangata*)

Totonu- ‘a-e-tangata (Ton): Human rights (please see *tonu* and *totonu*)

Tu ‘a (Ton): Commoner, one of the main social classes of Tongan society or outside the opposite of inside

Tu ‘asino (Ton): Non-body centre (see *tu ‘a* and *sino*)

Tūfunga (Ton): Art Lineage of material art works or material art work of men

Tūfunga Fonua (Ton): Socio-political and Cultural Engineer of a culture, as it was seen in title of Carpenter of Land-people that was given probably by the Tu ‘i Tonga Momo to the *Ha ‘a Lo ‘au, Lo ‘au* Lineage, of ancient Tongan society

Tūfunga kalia (Ton): Double hulled canoe, *kalia*, construction by male, Lineage of *Kalia* Builders or *kalia* builders (see *tūfunga* and *kalia*)

Tūfunga lalava (Ton): Art of coconut fibre lashing by male or Lineage of Lashers (see *tūfunga* and *lalava*)

Tūfunga lau koloa-ngāue (Ton): Art of creation of numerical counting system of gender’s works in *kava* ceremonies (please see *tūfunga* and *lau koloa-ngāue*)

Tūfunga tāmaka (Ton): Stone masonry by male, Lineage of Stone Builder

Tūfunga tātātau (Ton): Art of tattoo, Lineage of Tattoo or Tattooists (see *tūfunga* and *tātātau*)

Tūfunga teuteu (Ton): Art of dressing up someone by a designer or artist (see *faiva teuteu*)

Tūfunga tohi māhina (Ton): Art of creating calendar or Lineage of Calendar (see *tūfunga* and *tohi māhina*)

Tui (Ton): Belief, knee or to spring and spear

Tu'i (Ton) King or Ruler

Tuitui-vao (Ton): First kind of fragrant garland, *kahoa kakala*, such as *lou maile*

Tuitu'u fakavahapitongi (Ton): Most chiefly fragrant garland, *kahoa kakala*

Tukutukulaumea (Ton): Past contribution of people or culture (see *faivaola*, *taufatungamotu'a-e-fonua*, *tala-e-fonua*, *tala tukufakaholo* and *anga fakafonua*)

Tuofafine (Ton): Sisters in reference to brother(s)

Tuofefine (Ton): Sister in reference to brother(s)

Tuofefine Lahi (Ton): Elder or eldest sister

Tuonga'ane (Ton): Brother in reference to sister

Tu'usi (Ton): To cut, half or divide

Uasi la'ā (Ton): Sun clock

'Ufi (Ton): Yam, one of the main traditional starch food of Tongan and other Moanan people for over thousand years

Uho (Ton): Content or active compound of *kava* known in scientific terms as *kavalacton* (see *tokai kava*)

'Uli (Ton): Black or dirt, and *'uli* as black is traditionally symbolized women (see *kula*)

'Ulu (Ton): Head of a person or head of a lineage and family (see *'ulumotu'a*)

'Ulumotu'a (Ton): Political power, *mafaipule*, of the male line over their counterpart female line of *fahu* in exchanging of economic, moral and political resources (see *fahu*, *mehikitanga* and *'ulu*)

'Umu (Ton): Earth-oven, the traditional way of cooking in Tongan and Moanan cultures

Vā (Ton): Space or social spatial relationship

Va'e (Ton): Feet

Vāfeinofi (Ton): Social spatial harmony (see *vālelei* and *vaha'angatae*)

Vaha'angatae (Ton): Social spatial harmony (please see *vāfeinofi* and *vālelei*)

Vahe-tatau (Ton): Social justice or to distribute things in a fair manner

Vai (Ton): Water or name of person

Vaka (Ton): Boat, canoe or a medium for social interaction and things to happen
(see *vaka-e-sino* and *sino*)

Vaka-e-sino (Ton): Body-centre (see *vaka* and *sino*)

Vākovi (Ton): Social spatial disharmony (see *vātāmaki*)

Vale (Ton): Madness, stupidity, carelessness, un-wised, inexperienced or unskilled

Vālelei (Ton): Social spatial harmony (see *vaha'angatae* and *vāfeinofi*)

Vātāmaki (Ton): Social spatial disharmony (see *vākovi*)

Ve'eve'e (Ton): Chiefly fragrant garland, *kahoa kakala*, like *ve'eve'e heilala* (see *heilala* and *lavalava*)

Veiveiua (Ton): Doubt or unsure of something

Vela (Ton): Burn of enthusiasm or elation to participate in performance arts (see *loto-to'a*, *fiekau*, *māmāfana*, *māfana*, *vela māfana*, *vela 'osi'osi* and *tauēlangi*)

Vela 'osi'osi (Ton): Climactic euphoria or heavenly happiness while performing in performance arts (see *loto-to'a*, *fiekau*, *māmāfana*, *māfana*, *vela māfana*, *vela* and *tauēlangi*)

Vela māfana (Ton): Burning warmth while performing in performance arts (see *loto-to'a*, *fiekau*, *māmāfana*, *māfana*, *vela* and *vela 'osi'osi* and *tauēlangi*)

Vilovilo (Ton): Spirality (see *fakate'ete'epuaka*)

Vunga (Ton): Chiefly *kakala* for the present Kingly Tu'i kanokupolu or *myrtales*

Weltanschauung (Gem): Philosophy or worldview to life

Yagona (Fj): Fijian word for *kava*, *piper methysticum* (see *kava*, *'ava* and *'awa*)

Chapter I: Introduction

The chief's obligations (*fatongia*) were to protect the group from outside interfering or attack, to settle their disputes and to provide conditions under which his people would work and enjoy peace and prosperity. In return the people performed their *fatongia* to him by working his garden; providing him with the best of everything they produced...the whole *fatongia* relationship was governed by the principle of reciprocity (Lātūkefu, 1980: 65-66 in Herda, 1990: 50).

This Chapter first introduces a brief background regarding the main selected themes of the overall study, encompassing a brief highlight of the etymology of *fatongia*, obligation or *deontic*, in Moanan-Tongan culture. This is followed by a discussion of the logical propositions, or premises, *protases*, of the themes and their concluding implication, *sumperasma*. The discussion further examines the etymology of Moanan-Tongan *fatongia* with conjunction to *fiefia*, happiness, and its divine apex of '*alaha kakala*, permeating fragrance, and *tauēlangi*, climactic euphoria. This continues with a discussion of the four main research questions of the study, which are formulated to explicitly and implicitly help in guiding the said themes. The Chapter concludes with an explanation of the principal focus of each Chapter, beginning from Chapter II until Chapter VI of the Conclusion. Hence it is crucial to first of all introduce a brief background of the main selected themes of the overall study, encompassing a brief highlight of the etymology of *fatongia* in Moanan-Tongan culture before proceeding on.

1.1. A Brief Background

This dissertation aims to examine two main themes with their primary and secondary propositions regarding *fatongia*. They consist of two different but related propositions with their conclusion in the Aristotelian philosophical axiom of 'categorical syllogism', '*katēgorikós syllogismos*', in *Prior Analytics* (Aristotle, 1941, 1984, 1989, 1993, 1995). Logically, the focus of this categorical conception is based on the 'deductive-inductive' or 'universal-particular' logic, '*syllogismos-epagoge logos*', of "deriving one conclusion from two or more related propositions which is based on *katēgorikós syllogismos*." For instance, if "*All X are Y*" and "*All Z are X*" then by inference the proposition of "*All Z are Y*" is therefore considered as the conclusion, and this is the same in meaning with the logical statements of "*X is Y*" equals "*Y is X* (Anderson, 1962; Baker, 1986; Hu'akau, 1991)."

The common example of this categorical syllogism since Aristotle goes as follows: “If all men are mortal; Socrates is a man; therefore Socrates is mortal.” This *katēgorikós syllogismos* with its conclusion of alleging Socrates as mortal is by inference considered as valid. The question of whether it is scientifically true is another matter of concern, in which an experiment is normally conducted to test its scientific truth in conjunction with such a valid claim. Aristotle has used the concept of ‘hypothesis syllogism’, ‘*hypotheseōs syllogismos*’ in this situation (Aristotle, 1941, 1984, 1989, 1995; Anderson, 1962; Baker, 1986; Hu’akau, 1991; Helu, 1992, 1995, 1999, 2005).

Syllogistically, the conclusion of the primary and secondary propositions of the themes is envisaged and taken as the main argument of the overall study. This is based on the Aristotelian deductive-inductive conception of viewing such a conclusion, *sumperasma*, as a proposition or statement of generalization, deriving from its two related premises, *protases*. Following this Aristotelian axiom, if the primary and secondary propositions of the two themes are logically valid, as in ‘All men are mortal’ and ‘Socrates is a man’, and then their conclusion, ‘Socrates is mortal’, is by inference valid as well. The primary and secondary propositions shown below are envisaged as both logically valid, which implies that their conclusion in syllogistic terms is valid. With this Aristotelian logic, the rest of the dissertation then will be an attempt to verify the scientific truth of the valid claim of such primary and secondary propositions with their valid conclusion (Anderson, 1962; Baker, 1986; Hu’akau, 1991; Helu, 1992, 1995, 1999, 2005).

Epistemologically, the primary theme of the study upholds the proposition of considering “the ontology of *fatongia* as a worldview, *philosophia* or *weltanschauung*, to human fundamental values and behaviours.” Following this proposition, its secondary theme is based on “the proposition of considering happiness, *fiefia*, as a specific aim, *siate*, of *fatongia*.” The conclusion therefore upholds and asserts the proposition of viewing “*fiefia* in *fatongia* as a worldview that is embedded in human fundamental values and behaviours.” It is embodied that *fatongia* is the principal concept of the study, with its supportive related concepts of worldview, *philosophia*, happiness, *fiefia*, and human fundamental values and behaviours such as justice, *faitotonu* or *dykaisyn*, and democracy, *pule’aeakakai* or *demoskratos* (Burnet, 1914, 1930; Anderson, 1962; Baker, 1986; Helu, 2005; Hu’akau, 1991).

Moreover, the ‘Dialectic Method’, ‘*Dialektike*’, of Socrates or ‘Socratic Method’, ‘*Elengkhos*’, in Plato’s (1954, 1963, 2011) dialogues of *Euthyphro*, *Meno* and *Protagoras* on the question of ‘piety’, ‘*arete*’, with their shared theme of considering the definition of any main concept in a given subject-matter as fundamentally material is employed throughout the subsequent paragraphs and Chapters. This Socratic *Elengkhos* is based on the philosophical principle of cross-examining of issues by providing questions with possible answers in a dialectical manner for the purpose of testing their scientific truth in conjunction to the claim of logical validity. The notion of *Elengkhos* or *Dialektike* is based on a dialogue between two or three people in which one of them has to direct the conversation by asking questions in a dialectic and cross-examined manner. Socrates through Plato’s dialogues was the master of this *Dialektike*. This was later extended by Aristotle in his logic of categorical syllogism, *katēgorikós syllogismos*, with its deductive-inductive logic, *syllogismos-epagôgê logos*, and the differentiation of the *katēgorikos syllogismos* from the *hypotheseōs syllogismos* as mentioned earlier. According to Anderson (1962), this is all for the purpose of providing ‘clarity’ and finding out about the question of “what is the case.”

Following this *Dialektike* or Socratic *Elengkhos*, certain main concepts throughout the study are re-defined for the mere purpose of clarity by responding to what is the case and for lessening any amalgamation among the new definitions proposed by this study and those in the existing literature. All new proposed definitions are defined in two senses, for the main reason that any situation has the categories of both ‘universality’ and ‘particularity’, in the definitions of Aristotle (1941), Anderson (1962), Baker (1986), Hu’akau (1991) and Helu (2005). For these thinkers, universality stands for “all things that share some common characters in a general way,” and particularity is about “things which are peculiar to a given situation.” For example, any obligation or *fatongia* deals with the deontological question of “who is obligated to whom,” or “the feeling of being obligated to others,” which is envisaged as its form, *fuo*, because of its universality. However, some are communalistic in behaviour while others are individualistic, which is a difference in content, *uho*. For the reason that *fatongia* is selected as the principal concept of this study, the discussion now continues by cross-examining the linguistic and etymological question of “what is *fatongia*.”

1.1.2.

Metaphorical and aesthetic *fatongia*

This is the first study regarding the themes of unfolding the metaphorical and aesthetic explanation on the etymology of *fatongia*, and its social, psychological, political, moral, economic and cultural characteristics. Literally, its etymology is stemmed from the traditional Tongan sweet-smelling plant of *fa*, and *tongia* stands for ‘immediately permeating fragrance’. *Fa* is a pandanus plant, *pandanus odoratissimus*, with countless types throughout Moanan islands and other tropical places, belonging to the tropical *pandanaceae* family. *Tongia* refers to “the immediately permeating fragrance of a round bunch of ripe pandanus fruits, *fua’i fa momoho* straightaway after plucking, *paki’i*, or cutting, *tu’usi* (*momoho* is ‘ripe’ and *fua’i* is ‘fruit-like’).” *Fa* is classified in Tongan culture under the division of traditional Tongan sweet-smelling plants, *kakala* (see Figure 3 & 4 of page xvi). Overall, this is about beautiful fragrant plants, which is a question regarding the aesthetic, *aisthetikos*, of smell, *olfacoception*, that the discussion deals with further throughout the dissertation (Helu, 1997, 2006, 2008; Thaman, 1987, 1993, 2003; Thaman, 2001, 2005; Māhina, 1992, 2005, 2008b; Helu, 2008; Taliai, 2008).

1.1.2.1. *Kakala* and *Tongia* in particular

How *kakala* is traditionally defined and classified is a question of great significance, and should be addressed first before continuing further. Traditionally, in order for a plant to be included in Tongan *kakala* it must have the following two important factors: first, it must be ancient in character, which means, it existed in Tonga prior to the contact with Westerners in the 17th Century. Second, it must smell sweetly and beautifully with permeating nature, *tongia* or *’alaha kakala*, irrespective of whether it is figuratively colourful in appearance. The main factor of *kakala* is permeating scent, and the issue of colourful appearance, whether it is flower, *matala’i’akau*, leaf, *lau’i’akau*, seed, *tenga*, or fruit, *fua’i’akau*, is secondary. *Kakala* is classified into male, *tangata*, and female, *fefine*, types, as well as, chiefly, *hou’eiki*, and non-chiefly, *tu’a*, types, which are discussed further in Chapter III (see Figure 3-32 of page xvi-xxxi) (Helu, 1987, 1997, 1999, 2005, 2006, 2008; Māhina, 1992, 2006, 2010a, 2011a). Naturally, *tongia* in its immediately permeating nature is therefore referred to the freshest moment of any Tongan *kakala* straightaway after it is cut or plucked. It constitutes of the root word ‘*tongi*’ and suffix ‘*a*’. Letter *a* literally stands for ‘dispersion’, and *tongi* means ‘to hit, beat, pluck or cut’, so *tongia* is literally to hit, beat, pluck or cut and spread out, referring to the immediate dispersion of the aroma of the *fua’i fa momoho*, ripe pandanus

fruit. *Tongia* is when plucking and hitting the *fua'i fa momoho* in use straightaway from its remaining seed, *tenga* (see Figure 3 & 4 of page xvi). Traditionally, *fatongia* then must be metaphorically a *fa* or action that is smelled beautifully and sweetly in a permeating and peculiar way when operating in a social function, *kātoanga* (see Figure 22 of page xxvi & Figure 40-53 of page xxxvi-xliii). In other words, it is metaphorically a manifestation of *fiefia*, happiness, when Tongans alluding to a *fatongia* as obtaining *tongia* and '*alaha kakala* (Yuncker, 1959; Helu, 1987, 1994, 1997, 1999, 2006, 2008; Thaman, 1987, 1993, 2003; Māhina, 1992, 2005, 2006, 2010a, 2011a; Thaman, 2001, 2005; Helu, 2008; Taliai, 2008).

Tongia also metaphorically points to a very unforgettable and poignant deed or word of love by a man to his beloved partner or wife, and vice-versa, in which the latter normally feels its mesmerized impact on her life for a period of time. There is a Tongan expression that manifests this other poetical-proverbial sense of *tongia*, “‘Oku kei tongia pē hoku loto’ ‘i ho’o ‘ofa’, pea ‘oku ‘ikai ke u malava ‘o matanga mei ai’”/“I am still mesmerized by your love, and it is hard for me to disengage from it.” Sometime this sense is used in reference to a work of art that is extremely beautiful and enjoyable for the spectators or audience. *Tongia* is metaphorically and aesthetically therefore considered as implanted in the psychological and emotional stages of love, '*ofa*, *éros (agápe)*, to others and happiness, *fiefia* or *eudaimonia*, on any art work or deed that consists of the quality of beauty, *faka'ofa'ofa*, *kallos*, and harmony, *maau*, *harmonia*. Consequently, *fiefia* is considered in the study as a traditionally specific aim, *siate*, of *fatongia* among its other multiple and changeable *siate* in politics and morality for example. Its *fiefia* nature can imply that *fatongia* was perhaps formulated in the first place for the mere *siate* of *tongia* and '*alaha*, as it is suggested in the main argument of this study (Kaeppeler, 1967, 1993; Helu, 1987, 1999, 2006, 2008; Māhina, 1992, 2005, 2006, 2008a, 2010a, 2011a; Thaman, 1987, 2003; Helu, 2008; Taliai, 2008).

1.1.2.2. *Fa* as a plant in natural variation

Fa has a round main seed, *tenga*, of 9 to 14 cm in diameter bigger than the bunch of small individual used *fua'i fa momoho* of about the size of a thumbnail with different variation attaching to such a *tenga*. The *fua'i fa momoho* are plucked and used for springing, *tui*, garlands, *kahoa* and waist fragrant girdles, *sisi kakala*. The *tenga* together with the bunch of *fua'i fa* from the whole *fua'i fa* in the size of a coconut fruit, or bigger, depending on the type of pandanus species it is belonged. There are variations of *fa* in Tonga, moreover, with different names, like *fākula*, *pandanus corallinus* (small red-pandanus), *falahola*, *pandanus*

odoratissimus sinensis (bigger red-pandanus), *kukuvalu*, *pandanus odoratissimus savaiensis*, (red pandanus-flowers), *hingano*, *pandanus odoratissimus setchellii* (red-pandanus fruits), and *paongo*, *pandanus whitmeeanus* (red-pandanus fruits) (see Figure 3 & 4 of page xvi). The *fua'i fa momoho* are the normal part that are used for *kakala* except the *kukuvalu*, *pandanus odoratissimus savaiensis*, type with its red flowers, *matala'i'akau kulokula*. *Fa*, *pandanus odoratissimus*, is the second most useful plant to coconut plant, *niu*, in Moanan cultures. Some *fua'i fa* are eatable, and can be used together with the stems, *sino*, and *tenga* for medicinal purposes. The leaves, *lau'i'akau*, are used also to make different kinds of fine mats, *fala*. *Fa* therefore has some cultural, economic, social and health significance in Moanan cultures. There are male, *tangata*, and female, *fefine*, types with distinct *fua'i fa* in terms of size and shape. The *fefine* type is the most beautiful with unique permeating aroma, *tongia* or 'alaha *kakala* (Yuncker, 1959; Helu, 1987, 1988, 1994, 1997, 1999, 2005, 2006, 2008; Thaman, 1987, 1993, 2003; Thaman, 2001, 2005; Māhina, 1992, 2005, 2006, 2008b, 2011a; Helu, 2008; Taliai, 2008).

1.1.2.3. *Tongia*, 'alaha *kakala*, *ngangatu* and *taufā*

The general word for *tongia* is 'alaha *kakala*. 'Alaha stands for permeating fragrance before, during and after *kakala* are plucked and sprung on garlands, *kahoa kakala* and waist fragrant girdles, *sisi kakala*. This particular permeating aroma normally stays on the *kahoa* and *sisi kakala* for a few hours up to a day or so before fading away. 'Alaha must not only smell sweetly but permeate into the human sense of smell as well. 'Alaha *kakala* normally goes together with other related fragrant words like *ngangatu*, prolong aroma, in a piece of white tapa (*feta'aki*), *ngangatu* 'alaha *kakala*, *feta'aki* aroma in a permeating fragrance, and *ngatuvai*, durable fragrance in a lengthy period (weeks to a month, *vai* is 'water' and it refers "to when water is mixed with scented oil, *lolo teuteu*, in a *feta'aki* or when *kakala* is put in water to withhold its aroma for a longer period). *Ngangatu* in this order of things is the least fragrance with very little sense of strong 'alaha *kakala*, even though it is still smelled sweetly and beautifully after a few weeks up to a month. *Ngangatu* is when Tongan scented oil for cosmetic purposes, *lolo teuteu*, is poured and saturated on a piece of white tapa, *feta'aki*, for a few weeks to a month and it is still smelled sweetly but without the freshest aroma of *tongia* and *alaha kakala*. Its durable sweet-smelling on the *feta'aki* by the human sense is *ngangatu* (the root word *ngatu* is the Tongan name for 'painted tapa cloth with black, 'uli, or dark red, *kula*, colour with geometric design, *kupesi*, or both). *Ngangatu* therefore is particularly referred to saturate scent on a *feta'aki* piece in a similar way, but not exactly the

same odour with *‘alaha kakala*. The scent of the latter is fresher than the former. Other related words to the above that must not be forgotten are *taufā* and *taufā tangitangi*, the former stands for “concentrated fragrance of *kakala* in the early morning from around 12 am to 2am” and the latter is about “a stronger concentrated fragrance than the former from around 2am to 4am.” *Taufā* and *taufā tangitangi* normally come before the *manongi* fragrance, which is another “special aroma that can be experienced from *kakala* between 4am and 6am but lighter than *taufā* and *taufā tangitangi*.” Overall, these beautiful aromas are different from *ngangatu* and *ngangatu ‘alaha kakala* in the sense that all of them are fresher than the latter kinds (Puloka, 1994; Helu, 2006, 2008; Māhina, 1992, 2008b, 2010a; Thaman, 1987, 1993, 2003; Thaman, 2001, 2005).”

However, *ngangatu* can be sensed too on *kahoa* and *sisi kakala* that are hung in a house for decoration, and after a few days or weeks they still smell beautifully but without the freshest nature of *tongia* and *‘alaha kakala*. The only exception is that this happens without the freshest aroma that is sensed in the case of *tongia* straightaway after cutting, hitting or plucking, as well as, the medium fragrance of *‘alaha kakala*. One main difference between *tongia*, *‘alaha* and *ngangatu* therefore is that, *tongia* is immediate in terms of its permeating and freshest scent, lasting for a few minutes to an hour; *‘alaha kakala* is a general fragrance for a few hours to a day but still permeating in nature with neither *tongia* nor *ngangatu*. *Ngangatu* is *feta’aki* fragrance lasting for a few weeks up to a month but without the freshest aroma of *tongia* and the general or medium nature of *‘alaha kakala* in a durable scope (Helu, 1999, 2006, 2008; Māhina, 1992, 2005, 2006, 2008b, 2010a, 2011a; Thaman, 1987, 1993, 2003; Thaman, 2005; Helu, 2008; Taliai, 2008).

1.1.2.3.1. Definitions of *‘alaha kakala* and *tongia*

With regard to the above explanation, *‘alaha kakala* therefore stands for the general aroma of *kakala* which occurs and spreads out in a durable scope throughout hours up to a day, unlike *tongia* that immediately comes with freshness and fades away nor *ngangatu* which lasts longer but without *tongia* and the durable fresh nature of *‘alaha kakala*. Importantly, *‘alaha kakala* and *tongia* are used often in this Chapter and throughout the discussion than *ngangatu* and its variation, so I would like to define them before proceeding on. Following the previous discussion on *‘alaha kakala*, its broader sense therefore points to “the general permeating scent of traditional *kakala* before, during and after plucking, *paki’i*, or cutting, *tu’usi*, for hours up to a day encompassing their permeating aroma on *kahoa* and *sisi*

kakala.” On the other hand, its narrow sense stands “for the medium freshness of *kakala* straightaway after the first immediately freshest moment of *tongia* and before the prolong fragrance of *ngangatu*.” In the situation of *tongia*, its general sense is defined as “the immediate freshest moment of a *kakala* straightaway after it is cut or plucked.” Its specific sense is defined as “the poignant and mesmerized impact of a deed or word of love on someone’s feeling for a period of time (Puloka, 1994, 2006, 2008, 2009; Helu, 2006, 2008; Māhina, 1992, 2005, 2006, 2008b; Thaman, 1987, 1993, 2003; Thaman, 2005; Helu, 2008; Taliai, 2008).” The difference between ‘*alaha* and *tongia*, however, is further exemplified in the following traditional Tongan proverb: “*Kuo mapaki ‘a e fa’ ka ‘oku kei ‘alaha pē*”/“The pandanus fruit has been plucked but it is still smelled sweetly.” It refers to a person who has left, or died, but people are still enjoying his or her past contributions, *tukutukulaumea* or *faivaola*, and beautiful works, *ngāue faka’ofa’ofa*, to society. ‘*Alaha* is used in this proverb instead of *tongia* perhaps because its permeating fragrance is durably general in nature but still with freshness in comparison to the immediately freshest aroma of *tongia*, and prolong *ngangatu*. In terms of meaning, ‘*alaha*, *ngangatu* and *tongia* then do not confine to just fragrance in its English definition of sweet-smelling nature instead, rather they must be permeating deeply and durably into the human inner world of smelling, *olfacoception*, or close to it. Metaphoric-aesthetically, this is the essence of Moanan-Tongan *fatongia*, in the sense that when delivering it is expected to produce sweet-smelling effect in a permeating way. In the final analysis, such a sweet-smelling effect is normally viewed as happiness, *fiefia*, the highest virtue, *mata’ikoloa* or *arête*, of all. This employment of such fragrant notions in proverbs can be experienced too in the situations of *taufā*, *taufā tangitangi* and *manongi* but is not common as in the case of ‘*alaha* and *tongia* (Puloka, 1994; Helu, 1987, 1999, 2006, 2008; Thaman, 1987, 1993, 2003; Māhina, 1992, 2005, 2006, 2008a).

1.1.2.4. *Fiefia* of ‘*alaha kakala* and *tauēlangi*

Without permeating in behaviour, the *mata’ikoloa* of *fiefia* should therefore not be regarded as ‘*alaha kakala*. In the climax of this ‘*alaha kakala*, however, the feeling of happiness, *fiefia*, which is traditionally considered as highest Tongan *mata’ikoloa* can metaphorically give people in return motivation, *fakalotoa*, to do more *fatongia* and continue to live happily, *fiefia*, morally, *taau*, and harmoniously, *maau*. Without *fiefia*, people will live unhappily, *ta’efiefia*, immorally, *ta’etaau*, and disharmoniously, *ta’emaau*, indeed. So, such three related notions are always intertwined in reciprocal and dialectic modes of exchange, as

pointed out by Lātūkefu in the above opening quotation (Helu, 1987, 1999, 2006, 2008; Māhina, 1992, 2005, 2006, 2008a; Ka’ili, 2008a).

Metaphorical-aesthetically, *fatongia* then should be traditionally planned and directed to be *tongia* and ‘*alaha kakala*, in a permeating manner with the ultimate finale of *fiefia*, happiness. Apart from the metaphoric explanation of ‘*alaha kakala* in Tongan culture, it also has two other important roles in traditional cosmetic view of beauty, *faka’ofa’ofa*, and smell, *olfacoception*. One is its aesthetic function in the *kahoa kakala*, fragrant garland, of scented oil, *lolo teuteu*, made from a mixture, *faifeluteni*, of the fragrant fluid of one or more *kakala* with coconut oil, *lolo niu*, after cooking. Another is the ‘*alaha kakala*, *tongia* and *ngangatatu* on fragrant garlands, *kahoa kakala*, and waist fragrant girdle, *sisi kakala*. Both of them are traditionally seen as home-ground, *fonua*, and nest, *pununga*, for ‘*alaha kakala* and *kakala* to be applied and employed in the languages of dance, *faiva haka* or *tau’olunga*, conversation of *talanoa* and formal speech, *malanga*, in *fatongia*. Tongans metaphorically and aesthetically refer to happy obligation, *fatongia fiefia*, as ‘*alaha kakala*, *tongia*, *taufā* and *ngangatatu* ‘*alaha kakala*. In *sisi kakala* addition, Chapter III further expands the view that the using of *lolo teuteu*, *kahoa kakala* and in performance art, *faiva*, with their permeating scent has also contributed to the reasons behind considering *fatongia* as a deed or action of pursuing *fiefia* in the manner of ‘*alaha kakala* (Helu, 1987, 1999, 2006, 2008; Māhina, 1992, 2005, 2008a; Thaman, 1987, 1993, 2003; Helu, 2008).

Tongans traditionally believe that these psychological and emotional spirit of *tongia* or ‘*alaha kakala* are built up through different levels of *fiefia* until it reaches a divine point of climactic euphoria, *tauēlangi*. For instance, a successful and happy obligation, *fatongia fiefia* can be effectively *mālie*, excellence for bravery, in the eyes of its participants and audience, in the manner of *māfana*, warmth, *vela māfana*, burning warmth, and *vela ‘osi’osi*, climactic euphoria. The latter is taken as the pinnacle of *tauēlangi* with its divine and ecstatic happiness, and *mālie* is a kind of response by the audience at large in expressing the level of their *fiefia*, be it *māfana*, *vela māfana* or *vela ‘osi’osi*. For Tongans, every beautiful and happy deed in a *fatongia* is symbolically and artistically equated to *fiefia* of ‘*alaha kakala* and *tauēlangi*, with the heavenly climactic euphoria of *vela ‘osi’osi*. *Vela ‘osi’osi* is what I have called *tauēlangi*. It is the *fiefia* above all *fiefia* or *mata’ikoloa*. People in such an elated frame of mind always psychologically and emotionally experience *fiefia* in a highly ecstatic feeling of divine nature, as shown in the words *vela ‘osi’osi*, meaning ‘burning completely’ (Kaepler, 1967, 1993, 1999; Helu, 1999, 2006, 2008; Māhina, 1992, 2005, 2006, 2008a).

In a function at Sydney in 2009, I asked some Tongans of why they were so *vela'osi'osi* and presented in a manner of gift exchange countless fine mats, *fala*, *tapa*, *ngatu*, and plenty of food, *me'akai* on the official opening of a new chapel of the Free Wesleyan church of Tonga, together with thousand up to hundred thousand dollars in envelopes (whole money collected in four days were two million dollars). They replied, “*Ne tauēlangi pea nemau 'alu 'auha ai leva, pea 'ikai kemau to e manatu'i ha me'a, fu'u vela 'osi'osi*”/“It was extremely euphoric and we just excitingly gave them everything, and we did not remember what was happening, too much climactic euphoria (Lafitani, 2009, 1992, 1998, 2008, 2010).” It is like a point of ‘hypnotisms’ in the Freudian and Heraclitean senses of waking and sleeping in the psycho-analytic world of dream, in which people do not consciously remember some of their actions when are extremely euphoric in a hypnotic way of excitement (Freud, 1913; Burnet, 1930, Anderson, 1962; Helu 1995, 1999; Māhina, 1992, 2010a, 2011a).

1.1.2.4.1. Smell, *nanamu*, and taste, ‘*ahi'ahi*

This situation sometime metaphoric-aesthetically includes related consumption words such as *hu'amelie*, sweet-juice-taste, *kanomelie*, sweet-flesh-taste, and *ifo*, delicious, referring to the same kind of *fiefia* with ‘*alaha kakala* and *tauēlangi*. Without *tauēlangi* and ‘*alaha kakala*, *hu'atāmaki*, bitter-liquid-taste or *kanotāmaki*, bitter-flesh-taste, and *ta'eifo*, tasteless, will then certainly occur (Māhina, 1992, 2005, 2006, 2008a, 2010a, 2011a; Helu, 2008; Ka'ili, 2008a, 2008b). Such a situation reminds of the interconnection between the human attributes of smell, *nanamu* or *olfacoception*, and taste, ‘*ahi'ahi* or *gustaoception*, which Aristotle (1907, 1961) has discussed together with the other three senses of touch, *ongo'i* or *tactioception*, hear, *fanongo* or *audioception*, and sight, *sio* or *ophthalmoception*, in his *De Anima*. He has alluded to smell and taste as the ‘chemical senses’, two of the same phenomenon because most of the things we taste are also related to our sense of smell. Aristotle concludes by saying that man has the poorest sense of smell and it is inaccurate when sensing natural perfume.

So, I hope that the metaphoric and aesthetic explanation of ‘*alaha kakala* in terms of *fatongia* and its *fiefia* of *tauēlangi* would give an accurate demonstration of the actual aroma of *kakala* in their own terms. This is in contrast to the above Aristotelian sense of doubting our human capacity to sense and judge the natural qualities of fragrant phenomena in nature. How the natural qualities of ‘*alaha kakala* in their own terms can be appreciated by our human senses objectively in the metaphoric light of *tauēlangi* is one essence of this work

of inquiry. In ‘*alaha kakala* and *tauēlangi*, people normally use and apply all their five senses, which always in effect measure the level of their *fiefia*, be it *māfana*, *vela* or *vela ‘osi’osi*. So it is not just the smell and taste of ‘*alaha kakala* and *kanomelie*, sweet-flesh-taste, (or *hu’amelie*, sweet-liquid-taste) in symbolic and artistic terms but how people feel, perceive and hear the atmosphere of a given *fatongia* or social function, *kātoanga*. In effect, a *fiefia* atmosphere can symbolically and aesthetically produce its *mata’ikoloa*, virtue, of ‘*alaha kakala* and *tauēlangi* (Helu, 2006, 2008; Māhina, 2010a, 2011a; Ka’ili, 2008a).

1.1.2.5. Definition of *tauēlangi*

The discussion now examines and defines *tauēlangi*. *Tau* literally means ‘to reach and arrive at the sky, *langi*’. Metaphorically, it was an allusion to when the ancient Tongan King, Tu’i Tonga, his elder sister, *tuofefine lahi*, who was the Female Ruler or King, Tu’i Tonga Fefine, and her eldest daughter, ‘*ofefine lahi*, who was called the Tamahā, Sacred-child, happily enjoyed a particular given *fatongia*, obligation, or *fakafiefia*, entertainment. Tamahā was socially and symbolically the most sacred and high social ranking, *langilangi* or *ngeia*, person in ancient Tongan society (the word *langilangi* also mirrors the same belief on the *langi* concept). She was regarded as higher in *langilangi* than the Tu’i Tonga, her mother’s *tuonga’ane*, brother.

This symbol of *langi* for such three Royal members was originally used because they were regarded as divine, *toputapu*, and chiefly, ‘*eiki*, who originally descended from above the earth, *māmāni*, through the father of the first Tu’i Tonga, ‘Aho’eitu. His father was Tangaloa ‘Eitumatupu’a from *langi*, which is now considered by Māhina (1992, 2006), ‘Ilaiu (2007), Taliai (2007) and Ka’ili (2008) to be the Moanan island of Samoa or Hawaii. They have suggested that Tangaloa ‘Eitumatupu’a was one of the Tu’i from the Manu’a Empire, which existed before the beginning of the Tu’i Tonga Empire around the 9th Century AD.

However, the special privilege of the Tu’i Tonga Fefine and Tamahā reflects the ancient Moanan-Tongan view of treating women in equal, *tatau*, and symmetrical, *potupotutatau*, ways with their male counterparts. Such a kind of treatment gave a social space, *vā*, for the *langilangi* of the Tu’i Tonga Fefine and the Tamahā to emerge and develop into a well-defined matriarchal system in ancient Moana. This was intentionally for counterbalancing the predominantly political power, *mafai’pule*, of the Tu’i Tonga and His male chiefs and warriors within the patriarchal system of the time. Māhina (1992), ‘Ilaiu (2007), Taliai (2007) and Ka’ili (2008a) have claimed that these matriarchal and patriarchal systems began a

few centuries back during the era of Maui Motu'a (Old Maui) who ruled the earth, *māmāni*, and his elder brother Tangaloa 'Eiki (Tangaloa the Chief) ruled the sky, *langi*, and their elder sister Havea Hikule'o ruled the afterlife or paradise, *pulotu* (only for the spirits of chiefs and Kings afterlife). Such thinkers have also scientifically rationalized and identified *māmāni* as Tonga, *langi* as Samoa and *pulotu* as Fiji, with the exception of Ka'ili who states that *langi* was Hawaii or Vaihi. This combination of matriarchal and patriarchal systems in ancient Tonga is discussed further in Chapter III with conjunction to 'alaha kakala, and throughout Chapter IV with reference to *Ha'a Lo'au*, Lo'au Lineage (Gifford, 1929; Bott, 1982; Māhina, 1992; Helu, 1999; Burley, 2005, 'Ilaiu, 2007, Taliai, 2007, Ka'ili, 2008).

During the reign of this Tu'i Tonga dynasty, *tauēlangi* was not applied to the commoners, *tu'a*, at large, nor the chiefs, *hou'eiki*, but only to the Tu'i Tonga, Tu'i Tonga Fefine and the Tamahā. They were the most 'eiki or divine individuals of all, which means "they were not allowed to work and think, but everything was done for them." However, *langi* in the hierarchical division of Tongan language into its three parts was applied only to the King, Tu'i, and such Royal members but not to the *hou'eiki* and *tu'a* (there were special languages for the Tu'i Tonga, Tu'i Tonga Fefine and the Tamahā differently from those for the *hou'eiki* and *tu'a*). This division of language with the employment of the word *langi* is still used nowadays but only for the present Kingly dynasty of the *Ha'a Tu'i Kanokupolu* (King of the Lineage of Kanokupolu) and not the Tu'i Tonga Line anymore (the latter was defeated and terminated by the Tu'i Kanokupolu in the 19th Century during Tongan Civil War). In the Tu'i Tonga and His Royal circles, *langi* consists of three traditional meanings: *langi* the sky, the King's head including face and hair and *langi* the Royal tombs for the King and such Royal members (Gifford, 1929; Bott, 1982; Māhina, 1986, 1992, 2006; Helu, 1987, 1997, 2006, 2008; Lehā'uli, 1985, 1987, 1988; Burley, 2005; 'Ilaiu, 2007; Taliai, 2007).

So, the word *tauēlangi* was first used for the Tu'i Tonga, Tu'i Tonga Fefine and Tamahā in a social function, *kātoanga*, where they pleasingly enjoyed and extremely euphoric as a result of an entertainment, *fakafiefia*, or happy obligation, *fatongia fiefia*. This simply means that their *langi* through facial expression of smile, *malimali*, could reflect happiness, *fiefia*, and artistic appreciation, *mālie'ia*, and were finally witnessed and experienced by people at large. Traditionally, the word *tauēlangi* was only used by people in alluding to such Royal members when enjoying any performance of *faiva* or *fatongia*. This is what I have classified as its narrow sense, and probably the etymology of *mālie* was originally derived from this sense of *malimali* or *mali*, smile, of such Royal members in performing art.

Narrowly, *tauēlangi* therefore stands for “the psychological and emotional stage in performance art whereby the Tu’i and His Royal kin-members experienced the heavenly *fiefia* of climactic euphoria, *tauēlangi* (Gifford, 1929; Bott, 1982; Māhina, 1986, 1992, 2006; Hoponoa, 1996; Kaeppler, 1999; Helu, 2008 Ka’ili, 2008a).” Later on, *tauēlangi* in the normal evolution of society was used and applied to any situation of climactic euphoria, be it kingly or non-kingly in nature. This is what I have classified as the broader sense of *tauēlangi*. Broadly, it is about “the psychological and emotional stage in performance art whereby people in general experience the heavenly *fiefia* of climactic euphoria (Gifford, 1929; Bott, 1982; Māhina, 1992; Helu, 1987, 1997, 2006, 2008; Lehā’uli, 1986, 1987, 1988; Hoponoa, 1996; Ka’ili, 2008a).”

For Tongans, *fiefia* with *tauēlangi* and ‘*alaha kakala*, even *hu’amelie*, sweet-liquid-taste, *kanomelie*, sweet-flesh-taste, and *ifo*, delicious, is symbolically and artistically a true demonstration of a prolific *fatongia*. The literal meaning of reaching the *langi* is a reflection of the extreme nature of the aesthetic quality of *tauēlangi*, which is a situation that it is considered as the highest happiness, *fiefia*, of all *fiefia*, and highest virtue, *mata’ikoloa*, of all *mata’ikoloa*. It somehow sounds similar to the Aristotelian ethical view on happiness, *eudaimonia*, and virtue, *arête*, in which the former is the highest *arête* of all *arête* in the *Nicomachean Ethics* and *Eudemian Ethics* (Aristotle, 1992, 1999). Such a situation is considered in this study to be applicable too to obligation, *deontic*, worldwide including other fundamental values and behaviours like justice, *faitotonu*, and right, *totonu* or *dykaisyn*, as discussed in Chapters II and V.

Thus we have to ask whether people can deal with human fundamental values and behaviours like *faitotonu* and *totonu* without engaging *fatongia* and its *fiefia* with the variation of *tauēlangi*, climactic euphoria, and ‘*alaha kakala*, permeating sweet-smelling manners. This question is answered as the discussion continues especially when it comes to Chapter V with its discussion of obligation, *deontic*, and its relation to fundamental values and behaviours like democracy, *demoskratos*, and justice, *dykaisyn* in ancient Greece and Rome. They are the ancient civilizations that first analysed *deontic* in its changeable, complex and multiple natures in world scholarship from scientific, logical and philosophical perspectives (Warner, 1958; Griffin, 1986; Forrest, 1986; Barnes, 1986).

In addition, this dissertation is the first work to study the ontology of *fiefia* in *fatongia* with reference to its divine climax of *tauēlangi* and ‘*alaha kakala*, encompassing

kanomelie, sweet-flesh-taste, *hu'amelie*, sweet-liquid-taste, and *ifo*, delicious. *Kanomelie*, *hu'amelie* and *ifo* are consumption words which are sometime used too when referring to *fatongia* of *fiefia* nature in whatever level it may be. This is normally happened as a result of reciprocal exchanges of *fatongia* between parties involved in a social function, *kātoanga*, equally and symmetrically, as explained by Lātūkefu (1980) in the opening quotation. Before examining further the etymology of *fatongia* and its connection to *fiefia*, the discussion now turns to the main propositions of the two themes and their conclusion in the light of Aristotle's categorical syllogism (Anderson, 1962; Baker, 1986; Helu, 1992, 1999, 2005; Hu'akau 1991).

1.2. Two propositions and conclusion

As I have stated, the dissertation logically consists of two main themes with their primary and secondary propositions, *protases*, and a conclusion, *sumperasma*, by inference in the light of the Aristotelian categorical syllogism, *katēgorikós syllogismos*, with its deductive-inductive logic, *syllogismos-epagôgê logos* (Aristotle, 1941, 1984, 1989, 1993, 1995). Scientifically, this dissertation therefore aims to ascertain the true values of all such logical propositions with their valid claims, together with some additional scientific-philosophical discussion and logical analysis (Hu'akau, 1991; Helu, 1992, 1995, 1999, 2005). The two propositions with their conclusion in the form of categorical syllogism are as follows:

- Proposition one: *Fatongia* is a worldview, *philosophia*, to human fundamental values and behaviours.
- Proposition two: *Fiefia* is a specific aim, *siate*, of *fatongia* in human fundamental values and behaviours.
- Conclusion: Therefore, the worldview of *fatongia* with *fiefia* is embedded in human fundamental values and behaviours.

Prior to the discussion of the given two propositions and their conclusion, I would like to first define the phrase 'human fundamental values and behaviours' that I have alluded to above. Following Rawls (1971, 2001) and Said (1978, 2004), human fundamental values and behaviours are generally alluded to "main moral actions which are universal in character, such as justice, *dykaisyn* or *totonu*, democracy, *demoskratos* or *pule'aetokolahi*, and happiness, *eudaimonia* or *fiefia*." Their narrow sense refers to "moral actions in Moanan and Tongan cultures like respect, *faka'apa'apa*, humility, *faka'aki'akimui*, and generosity, *loto foaki* or

nima homo.” Now the discussion returns and further examines the two propositions of the main themes and their conclusion, which is the main argument of the dissertation however.

1.2.1.

Proposition one

Proposition one argues that the notion of *fatongia* is based on how the Moanan-Tongans perceive the human fundamental values and behaviours of society. Such values and behaviours like moral respect, *tauhivā*, and generosity, *loto-foaki*, are based and evolved around *fatongia* with the *siate* of pursuing *fiefia*. It is one Tongan worldview that beside other worldviews, like *fonua*, land and people, and *moana*, sea and people, interacting with other values such as happiness, *fiefia*, in a dialectic manner of opposing and supporting modes of exchange. Proposition one then has advocated the view of perceiving worldview, *philosophia*, to be multiple and pluralistic in society rather than monistic, which means there are many worldviews in society but not just one (Anderson, 1962, 1982; Baker 1979, 1986).

1.2.1.1. Worldview, *philosophia* or *weltanschauung*

Fatongia is taken as one of the worldviews in Tongan culture, among others of its kinds, such as *fonua*, land and people, *tauēlangi*, climactic euphoria, and ‘*alaha kakala*, permeating fragrance. I identify worldview to consist of seven key behaviours: ‘pluralistic’, ‘universal’, ‘collective’, ‘moral’, ‘intellectual’, ‘permanent’ and ‘natural’. It is multiple and not monistic, common to people in general and not particular, communal but not individualistic and egoistic, part of people’s morality and not immoral, mental with a clear-cut system of thought, durable and lasting for over centuries and not short-term and not confined to human kinds but it is inclusive of nature and its ecological environment.

From Chapters II to V, the study also deals with some of the reasons on why *fatongia*, *fonua*, *moana*, *tauēlangi* and ‘*alaha kakala* are considered as worldviews in the Moanan-Tongan context. One fundamental issue that is appeared as central to the notion of worldview is the deontological question of “who is to be obligated and responsible to whom.” This is a general question that is asked in most, if not all, worldviews, and it is fundamentally important to be addressed in this sub-section.

1.2.1.1.1. Who is obligated to whom?

Proposition one proposes the worldview of *fatongia* as sharing the deontological questions of “who is obligated to whom,” “who is to obey” and “who is responsible to others.” It is overall a concern with the feeling of who is to be obligated and responsible to whom, or “the feeling of being obligated or responsible to others (Broad 1930; Ross, 1930).” It goes hand-in-hand with the feeling of helping and caring for others, with the aim of pursuing happiness, *fiefia* or *eudaimonia*, and harmony, *maau* or *harmonia*.

I am not denying the importance of other social, economic, moral and political aims and ways of working in the process, but this is to demonstrate that *fatongia fiefia*, happy obligation, in the sense of *tauēlangi* and ‘*alaha kakala* is actual in the medium, *vaka*, of space, *vā*, and *tā* throughout Moanan-Tongan culture and arts (Helu, 1992, 1997, 1998; 1999, 2005; Māhina, 1986, 1992, 1999a, 2005, 2006, 2010a; Ka’ili, 2006, 2008a, 2010).

It seems then that the feeling of being obligated to others makes it impossible to deal with other human fundamental values and behaviours like justice, *faitotonu*, and right, *totonu*, without engaging *fatongia* for that matter in the sense that has discussed above. In deontological terms, the feeling of being responsible to others is taken by this study as “the form, *fuo*, of *fatongia* and obligation at large.” On the other hand, “its content, *uho*, may be varied from one culture to another.” It appears that most if not all fundamental values and behaviours that are examined in this study cannot qualitatively and functionally exist without the involvement of the deontological expression of being responsible to others (Broad 1930; Ross, 1930).

Given the feeling of being responsible to others as a case in point, the main themes on *fatongia* in this study therefore should not be amalgamated with the functionalist outlook of perceiving everything in society as structurally functional in nature (Goldscmidt, 1966; Māhina, 1992; Helu, 1999). However, this is a special way of viewing the world with the Moanan-Tongan belief on *fatongia* with its specific aim of *fiefia*. Its foundation on the feeling of being obligated to others is seen as a human world phenomenon. Society normally operates through this particular way of caring and loving to others in the manner of asking who is responsible to whom. It is a special way of looking at the world and its normal scheme.

1.2.1.1.2. Worldviews of *fonua* and *moana*

This special way of doing things to society and life at large reminds of other two related ancient Tongan worldviews: *fonua*, land-people, and *moana*, sea-people, which support my suggestion that *fatongia* with *fiefia* is one worldview and aim but there are other worldviews and aims. For Moanan-Tongans, land and sea do not exist in isolation from people, which implies that land, sea and people are distinct and yet related to one another, and that is why the former two concepts are not treated independently from the latter throughout this dissertation. I take the worldviews of *fonua*, land-people, and *moana*, sea-people, to be also related to the development of *fatongia* as a worldview since ancient Moanan-Tongan society. This is for the main reason that *fatongia* is involved in almost all aspects of *moana* and *fonua* as a whole, and there are normally *fatongia* for every *fonua* and *moana* activity. The variations of *fonua* in Moanan cultures are *vanua*, *fanua*, *enua*, *fenua* and *whenua*, and *moana* is a common term throughout the Moanan islands. The traditional Tongan view of the natural cycle of life is based on the interaction of people with *fonua* and *moana* reciprocally and dialectically in opposed and complementary modes of operation (Māhina, 1999a, 1999b, 2006, 2010a, 2011b; Ka'ili, 2008a, 2008b).

In this case, the Moanan-Tongan *fatongia* to love, 'ofa, and care, *tauhi*-'ofa, and even to conquer and fight with others, throughout *fonua* and *moana* was largely to gratify themselves politically, socially, economically and psychologically. In the end, this was believed to have made them *fiefia* with a sense of satisfaction, *fie mālie*. People or patriots who 'ofa and *tauhi*-'ofa to serve Tonga with great deeds or commitment at large are called 'ofa-*fonua*, 'love of Tonga the nation with its *fonua* and *moana*'. Sometime they are also known as *mateaki-fonua* or *mamahi*'i-*fonua*, 'dedication to land-people', or *mate-ma*'a-Tonga, 'die for Tonga (*mate-ma*'ae-*fonua*, die for the *fonua* and *moana*)'. The latter is used as a motto of one Tongan Government's Secondary Schools, Tonga College. All are different versions of patriotism and nationalism in political terms. *Fatongia* in the Moanan-Tongan context is also based and developed on 'ofa-*fonua*, *mateaki-fonua*, *mamahi*'i-*fonua*, *mate-ma*'a-Tonga and *mate-ma*'ae-*fonua*. People therefore dedicate their lives and resources for the happiness, *fiefia*, of all *fatongia* to the *fonua* (Māhina, 1992, 1999a, 2006, 2007a, 2007b; Francis, 2006; Tu'itahi, 2005; Ka'ili, 2008a).

Tongans in ancient times generally respected the land and ocean in the manner of *fatongia* for the pursuit of *fiefia* in a reciprocal way of equal and symmetrical ways, in the sense of Lātūkefu (1980). When a *fatongia* was successful as an aftermath of conquering their

neighbouring islands for instance, it had in effect encouraged, *fakalotolahi'i*, such Tongans to feel obligated in expanding and invading more *fonua* and *moana*. Also there was a feeling of pride, *laukau*, for doing so apart from the promotion of the political power, *pule*, and authority, *mafai*, in the centre of the Kingdom. Consequently, this had led Tongans to create an Empire by expanding *fonua* and *moana* in Pre-contact Periods between the 10th and 17th Centuries prior to the arrival of Westerners (Mariner, 1917; Gifford, 1929; Lātūkefu, 1974, 1975; Bott, 1982; Māhina, 1986, 1990, 1992; 2006; Helu, 1999, 2006; Campbell, 1992; Ka'ili, 2008a, Taliai, 2007).

As reflected, *fonua* can also point to people of a nation, *kaifonua*, 'eaters or skilled people of the soil (the origin of *kainanga-e-fonua*, eaters of the soil, an ancient term for commoners, *tu'a*)'. On the other hand, *moana* covers all things in the ocean including people, *kaimoana*, 'eaters or skilled people of the *moana*', sea (*kai* means 'to eat' or 'skilled person') and *kaivai*, 'eaters or skilled people of the water (*vai* means 'water')'. Moanan people, *kaimoana* or *kaivai*, were suggested by Ka'ili (2008a, 2008b, 2010) and Māhina (1999a, 1999b, 2004a, 2004b, 2006) as the first people of the Polynesian, Micronesian, and some parts of the Melanesian, islands. This is the main reason why I have opted to use the word Moana in this dissertation instead of the problematic term, Pacific, with its 'pacifist' and 'idealist' interpretation. It is problematic because of its idealist and pacifist explanations of the Islanders as if there were no conflict of different ways of life in the past and present histories. Nowadays, we are still witnessing and experiencing conflict and war among Moanan islands such as several coups in Fiji, current political stability in Papua New Guinea, and tribal instability in the Solomon Islands with the current military assistance by RAMSI Program of Australia, New Zealand and some Moanan islands to keep peace locally. This includes Tonga with its riot in 2006 that burned about 80 % of the CBD in the capital of Nuku'alofa (Pohiva, 2006, 2008; Helu, 2008; Māhina, 2010b).

Furthermore, I have divided the word *fonua* into five senses, whereas Māhina (1999a, 2011a, 2011b), Tu'itahi (2005) and Ka'ili (2008a) have classified it into just three senses. My five senses are: "*fonua* the placenta of a woman, land and people, *kava* ceremony, root-cap of a plant and *fonua* the grave for the dead (Lafitani, 2008) (see Figure 33-39 of page xxxii-xxxv)." Māhina, Tu'itahi and Ka'ili take only into consideration the explanations of "*fonua* as a placenta, land-people and *fonua* the grave for the dead." When I asked Māhina why they did not include the other two senses of *fonua* in their definitions, he replied that they are already embedded in the land-people explanation (Māhina, 2011b, 2011c). I do not agree with him wholly, and my view on this matter is discussed and clarified in the subsequent

paragraphs. Also Tongans sometime use the word *fonua* in normal conversation of *talanoa* and in formal *malanga* in *kava* ceremony and public forums when alluding to their culture as a whole, but I have encompassed this sense in the above definition of land and people which is advocated by Māhina, Ka’ili and Tu’itahi.

Francis (2006) takes into account the explanation of *fonua* as a cap-root, or soil that grips the root of a plant, without dwelling to its social, moral, political and cultural importance and implication. Helu (1999) and Filihia (1998) both discuss *kava* ceremony without including the word *fonua* and its cultural, political, social and moral importance. Nevertheless, all explanations are dealt with the natural cycle of life generally, and each has different *fatongia* particularly in relation to their individual significance in the social, political and moral contexts of Tongan culture. In general, *fatongia* is traditionally discerned as a “duty to the *fonua*,” in its land-people definition. There is a Tongan expression which says: “*Oku tau fai ‘a e fatongia □ ko ‘etau ‘ofa he fonua*”/“We perform the obligation because of our love for the land and people (Gifford, 1929; Lātūkefu, 1974, 1975; Cummins, 1977; Bott, 1982; Faka’osi, 1993; Francis, 2006; Hau’ofa, 2005; 2008; Tu’itahi, 2005; Ka’ili, 2008a, 2010).” In general, the discussion of these different senses of *fonua* and *moana* and their relation to *fatongia* with its worldview to life has provided the theoretical foundation for the proposition of the other second premise including the overall concluding implication for this entire study.

1.2.2. Proposition two

Proposition two further claims that happiness, *fiefia*, is a specific aim, *siate*, of *fatongia*, and can be observable in other human fundamental values and behaviours. The worldview of *fonua* and *moana* as highlighted previously are also virtually prone to attain *fiefia* nevertheless. Metaphorical-aesthetically, the social interaction within *fonua* and *moana* in relation to *fatongia* is therefore expected to be fruitfully enjoyable and extremely excited in the divine happiness of *tauēlangi* and *‘alaha kakala*. Above all this has made Tongan sense of *fatongia* unique in its own rights, and also reflected the awareness of Tongans about their ecological environment as in *fonua* and *moana* situations.

In this manner, I have observed and experienced over the years that Tongans can consequently experience the psychological and emotional situations of satisfaction, *fēmālie*, motivation, *fakalotoa*, and encouragement, *fakaloto lahi*. Such situations can give way to serenity, *nonga*, of some kinds as a result of a job or *fatongia* well done. It is in fact a kind of therapy in the definition of psycho-analysis by Freud (1913), which can urge people to

continue in carrying out more *fatongia*. Māhina (1990, 1992, 2006) and Ka’ili (2008a, 2008b, 2010) spell out that political disharmony, *ta’emaau*, and dissatisfaction, *ta’efiemālie*, can happen as a result of failing to attain *fatongia fiefia*. This has directed the attention to the main argument of the study, which is the conclusion of the premises of the two main themes of this study. With this conclusion, it directs the discussion to propose that this specific aim of *fiefia* in the worldview of *fatongia* is embedded too in human fundamental values and behaviours like justice, *faitotonu*, and right, *totonu*.

1.2.3.

Conclusion as the main argument

The conclusion alleges that because of the argument in propositions one and two, *fatongia* with its specific aim of *fiefia* as a worldview, *philosophia*, is therefore implanted in human fundamental values and behaviours. Following this juncture, the psychological and emotional stage of satisfaction, *fieffie*, motivation, *fakalotoa*, and encouragement, *loto lahi*, together with serenity, *nonga*, can rise into the fore as a result.

Thus it is a kind of therapy that massages people’s minds and souls to subsequently do more *fatongia* in the manner of ‘polishing and shining their public images’, to use the definitions of Lātūkefu (1995) and Helu (1989, 1999). Tongans in this respect must ensure that their *fatongia* in the eyes of the public is successfully completed, even though this may in return cause financial difficulties. It does not matter as long as the *fatongia* is beautifully operated with sweet-smelling nature in front of the wider public. This is what I have alluded to as a *fuakavenga*, carry-the-burden, or burden-bear, instead of the permeating aroma of *fatongia* as previously discussed (*fua* is ‘to carry’ and *kavenga* means ‘burden’).

1.2.3.1. *Fatongia* and *fuakavenga*

Tongans sometime say, “*Ne lava fiefia pea faka’ofo’ofa ‘a e fatongia’, pea kuo tau fieffie mo nonga*”/“Our obligation was successfully and beautifully fulfilled, and we are in satisfaction and serenity”. Normally, Tongans do not feel happy, *fieffie*, satisfactory, *fieffie*, and in serenity, *nonga*, if a given *fatongia* is not successfully carried out. In a presentation at the 2010 *Talanoa Oceania Conference* in Sydney, I emphasised in my theme the view of perceiving Tongans in general as unhappy, *ta’efieffie*, if there are no *fatongia* around to perform (Lafitani, 2010b).

This is the main socio-psychological occasion that seems to make them happy, and feel important, without it life can be miserable, *ta'emahu'inga* (Lafitani, 1992, 1994, 1995, 1998). Due to this sense of *fatongia*, Tongans sometimes search for *fatongia* somewhere else to do, if there are none around. This can sometime put Tongan migrants abroad into a situation of requesting to those in the homelands to come and do fundraising and the like. One main reason behind this action is to ensure that people are communally engaged in the process of fundraising, which is all about the notion of 'inclusion' rather than 'exclusion'.

This spirit is somehow inclusive even though it can exclusively lead on to economic disaster for offering too much *fatongia*, which in effect can create the opposite, which is *fuakavenga*, burden-bear instead. Tongans want to include most, if not all relatives and friends, when conducting a particular *fatongia* in equal and symmetrical manners. When failing to perpetuate and uphold this fair way of doing things, people then face and experience *fuakavenga* straightaway as an aftermath, but in the normal scheme of things Tongans always proud and willing to perform a *fatongia* (Lafitani, 1992, 1994, 1995, 1998). It is very much like a situation where people are excited to perform a dance, *faiva haka* or *tau'olunga*.

As Ka'ili (2008a) has pointed out by saying that *fatongia* is an act of performance art, *faiva*, so it must be synchronic, *tonu*, and symmetrical, *potupotutatau*, otherwise a-synchronic, *hala*, and asymmetrical, *ta'epotupotutatau*, will happen. The Tongan saying that well demonstrates this point goes as follows: “*Oku ta'e'uhinga 'a e mo'ui' ka 'ikai ha fatongia*”/“Life is meaningless if there is no obligation” (Lafitani, 1992, 1994, 1995, 1998).

It is all about the psychological and emotional stage of *fiefia* with its spiritual finale of *tauēlangi* and *'alaha kakala*, comprising *kanomelie*, *hu'amelie* and *ifo*, in metaphorical and aesthetical terms. Contrarily, when it by-passes from equal, *tatau*, synchronic, *tonu*, and symmetrical, *potupotutatau*, ways in reciprocity to the other extreme of careless generosity, *foaki vale*, then *fuakavenga* will take over the whole show with its characteristics of servility, *pōpula*, exploitation, *tāpalasia*, and alienation, *fakaehaua* (Anderson, 1962; Baker, 1979; Māhina, 1992, 2006; Lafitani, 1992, 1998; Helu, 1999).

These servile, exploited and alienated characters of *fuakavenga*, on one hand, and *fatongia* with its *fiefia* nature, on the other hand, were first examined by ancient Greek and Roman scholars from scientific, logical and philosophical perspectives, which Chapter V is dealt with in details.

1.2.3.2. Greek and world perspectives

Some similar definitions of obligation, *deontic*, are found too in other world cultures, as in the moral basis of human fundamental values and behaviours such as justice, *faitotonu*, and right, *totonu*, discussed earlier. Aristotle (1995, 1999) is one of the classical Greek philosophers who first studied and examined the moral and cultural significance of happiness, *eudaimonia*, with conjunction to *deontic* in human life generally in his *The Politics*, *Nicomachean Ethics* and *Eudemian Ethics*. As cited before, Aristotle has argued that there is a highest good, virtue or *arête*, among all *arête*, which is happiness, *eudaimonia*. It is implanted in most of our human virtues, and by pursuing it we will end up in achieving mental-spiritual equality and symmetry with the manifestations of justice, *dikaisyne*, moderation or prudence, *sophrosyne*, and serenity, *ataraxia* (Rackham, 1952; Solomon, 1984; Ross 1984; Woods, 1992). This Aristotelian approach to ethics somehow shares some common features with *fiefia*, happiness, in Moanan-Tongan *fatongia*, as discussed in Chapters III, IV and V. Overall, they appear to both spell out *fiefia* as the highest good of all *arête* with some feelings of *faitotonu*, *diakaisyne*, *fiamālie*, *sophrosyne* and *nonga*, *ataraxia*.

Aristotle's (1995, 1999) *eudaimonia* is in a way similar to *fiefia* in Moana-Tongan *fatongia* in the sense of equal, *tatau*, and symmetrical, *potupotutatau*, modes of exchange. I am not saying that the ancient Moanan-Tongans had exactly the same conceptions of concepts like democracy, *demoskratos*, and civic life, *politika*, with the ancient Greco-Romans but it appears they somehow share a similar aesthetic viewpoint regarding the beauty, *kallos* or *faka'ofa'ofa*, of equality and symmetry. Nevertheless, such modes of exchange in fundamental values and behaviours as in the case of justice, *faitotonu* or *dykaisyn*, and democracy, *pule'aetokolahi* or *demoskratos*, in Greco-Rome can lead on to *eudaimonia*, or *fiefia* in the Tongan divine manner of *tauēlangi* and 'alaha kakala in *fatongia*.

That is, *faitotonu* and *totonu*, in whatever content, *uho*, they may be, exist because of the deontological impression of being obligated to others or *fatongia* in a *tatau* and *potupotutatau* modes of exchange. This can infer that without the presence of *fatongia*, or obligation at large, in this sense of *tatau* and *potupotutatau*, there will be neither *faitotonu* nor *totonu*, and vice-versa. According to Māhina (2005, 2006, 2010a, 2011a) and Ka'ili (2008a, 2008b, 2010), when things are opposed to one another in unbalanced way, we have inequality, *ta'etatau*, and asymmetry, *ta'epotupotutatau*. Contrarily, when things are complementary to one another we have *tatau* and *potupotutatau* which is the opposite indeed.

So, it is an overall attempt to bring into light most, if not all, available facts and reliable findings regarding principal questions such as whether it is worthwhile to study Moanan-Tongan *fatongia* and its specific aim of *fiefia*. Why it is so important in Moanan-Tongan culture? How it can contribute to obligation worldwide, as well as, its relation to other human fundamental values and behaviours in society? They are among those important questions for further examination. Such questions have brought into mind the challenging role of this study due to its new epistemological approach to the ontology of *fatongia* in specific and obligation worldwide, on one hand. On the other hand, there are already countless writings by seminal thinkers on obligation at large in world civilization since ancient times, especially among Eastern and Western scholars (Northrop, 1946; Plato, 1954, 1955, 1963; Littleton, 1999; McGee, 1999; Rotem, 1999; Chinnery, 1999a, 1999b; Rodgers, 2003).

Their classical works have outlined and clarified obligation, *deontic*, in its multiple, complex, changeable and conflicting manners, ranging from its social and economic to moral and political and to psychological and legal facets. Following some classical thinkers in modern Western thoughts like Arnold (1995), Burnet (1930), Warner (1958) and Barnes (1986) who believe that the Greek culture and *philosophia* provided the foundations for major issues in human life, I have therefore decided to concentrate in Chapter V on the Greek and Roman philosophers and their first scientific, logical and philosophical examinations of *deontic* (Payne, 1962; Pike, 1966; Rodgers, 2003).

This encompasses in particular its association with fundamental values and behaviours like happiness, *fiefia* or *eudaimonia*, moderation, *anga poto* or *sophrosyne* and justice, *totonu* or *dykaisyn*. These are not only fundamentally crucial to human life in general but central to the main argument of this dissertation. This comprises how they are connected to the main argument of viewing *fatongia*, obligation, with its *siate* of *fiefia* as a worldview, *philosophia*, which is implanted in human fundamental values and behaviours. The attempt here to link these classical thinkers and their works on obligation to Moanan-Tongan *fatongia* is challenging. It is due to the fact that the argument of this dissertation on *fiefia*, with its divine happiness of climactic euphoria, *tauēlangi*, and permeating fragrance, ‘*alaha kakala* or *tongia*, is derived from Moanan-Tongan *fatongia*.

As indicated earlier, nevertheless, there are similar common features between *fatongia* and the Aristotelian ethics of treating happiness, *eudaimonia*, as the highest virtue, *arête*, of all in *The Politics*, *Nicomachean Ethics* and the *Eudemian Ethics* (Aristotle, 1992,

1999). Aristotle's aesthetic view on beauty, *kallos* or *faka'ofa'ofa* in the *Rhetoric* and *Metaphysics*, is crucially related in a way to *fiefia* with 'alaha kakala, ngangatu, tongia and tauēlangi in *fatongia*. This view of *kallos* is to a certain extent observable too in his *The Politics*, *Nicomachean Ethics* and the *Eudemian Ethics*. Also one major issue in the *Rhetoric* and *Metaphysics* is the concern of Aristotle with the definition of *kallos* and *arête*, whether they are two different things of the same phenomenon (Aristotle, 2008, 2010).

Following Anderson (1962, 1982), this study has taken *kallos* and *arête* as two sides of the same phenomenon. In this dissertation, nevertheless, it is envisaged that *faka'ofa'ofa* is a good phenomenon, *lelei*, *mata'ikoloa* or *arête*, as well, as in the situation of *fiefia* with its divine features of 'alaha kakala and tauēlangi. Both are perceived as *faka'ofa'ofa* and *lelei* in their own qualitative rights, with the theoretical and aesthetic outlook of viewing *faka'ofa'ofa* as *lelei* or *mata'ikoloa* as well. Importantly, this study is not seen as a romanticist, sentimentalist and sensationalist approach to emotionally fantasize reality, and Moanan-Tongan culture and art, in the light of *fatongia* and its specific aim of *fiefia*.

However, this is as an attempt to identify and explain the *faka'ofa'ofa* or *kallos* and *lelei* or *arête* of 'alaha kakala and tauēlangi in their own natural and social qualities, independently of whether we like it or not. In doing so, this brings into account the chiefly theoretical insight of Anderson (1962, 1982), which is a 'realist ontological interpretation' of the *kallos* and *arête* of tauēlangi and 'alaha kakala in *fatongia* in an objective, independent, changeable and pluralistic manner (Anderson, 1962, 1982; Māhina, 1992, 2006, 2010a; Helu, 1999, 2005).

So the employment of some scientific and philosophical insights of Aristotle, Plato, Socrates and the Hellenistic philosophers in this dissertation is based on this realist ontological interpretation with its focus in explaining issues in their own rights. In some situations, this is exhibited in my critiques of some of these classical works in Western history of thoughts, and likewise among the thinkers in the situation of Moanan-Tongan literature. With this understanding, the Chapter will proceed on and link back the discussion to the cultural importance for this dissertation to first interpret *fatongia* on the basis of its etymology.

1.3. Etymology of *fatongia*

This is the point in which the study has included a few Moanan-Tongan scholars that I managed to interview and discuss with them my view on *fatongia* with *fiefia*, and its etymology of *fa* and *tongia* from the ripe fruits, *fua'i fa momoho*, of the pandanus plant, *kakala* (see Figure 3 & 4 of page xvi). It is a kind of metaphoric and symbolic interpretation that can be seen in another related term to *fatongia*, which is *ngafa* to be detailed later in the Chapter. However, none of these scholars has directly written intensive and detailed works on this etymology of *fatongia* or *ngafa*, even though I have shared with some of them all certain important and relevant issues on the subject-matter of the study as a whole. Let me mention the names of these Moanan-Tongan scholars whom I have discussed their views further in Chapters II, III and IV. Some of their works are briefly highlighted later in this Chapter. This comprises my past empirical studies and participation observations regarding *fatongia* among Tongans in Tonga and abroad since 1987 while studying at 'Atenisi University in Tonga. Included also are other studies on Tongans in the past, and both in the homeland and worldwide (Lafitani, 1992, 1995, 1998; Tongamoa, 1987; Cowling, 1990, 1998, 2005; Ka'ili, 2008a; van der Grijp, 1993).

The academic materials that have largely contributed to my analysis of the etymology of *fatongia* and its place in Tongan arts including *kava* ceremony (traditional Moanan drinking ceremony) are primarily from the writings of Helu (1999, 2006, 2008); Māhina (1992, 1999a, 2006, 2010a, 2010b, 2011a), Hu'akau (2005, 2007, 2010, 2011a) and Ka'ili (2008a, 2008b, 2010). Also I have included materials too from the works of Kaepler (1990, 1993, 1998, 2011) and Hoponoa (1996) on Moanan-Tongan performance arts, *faiva*. Without any personal communication with Kaepler, I managed to conduct interviews and discussions, *talanoa*, with the rest of the above scholars in Tonga, New Zealand and Australia, together with Helu (2008) and Tali'ai (2008) in New Zealand in 2008. Interestingly, without Kaepler who lives in the United States of America, the rest of these scholars including myself were all students and followers of Helu (Futa) at 'Atenisi University in Tonga. Included also is that Helu (1999) was a student of Anderson (1962) and his school of Sydney Realism in the 1950's at the University of Sydney, and this genealogical relationship is largely reflected in some aspects of the theoretical outlooks of the former regarding *fatongia* and its servile nature, which is discussed in Chapters II and III. How Anderson and his Sydney Realism have influenced Helu's interpretation of *fatongia* in this servile nature of *fuakavenga* is included and examined in this study too.

In Chapter II, I have outlined some ideas regarding this genealogical connection in academic circles, and how it is relevantly important to the discussion of *fatongia* in Tongan culture and the focus of this study. By appealing to this genealogical link of ‘Atenisi scholars and some of their influences on the course of this dissertation, I now briefly examine my discussion with Taliai (2008, 2007), who is a member of the ‘Atenisi movement, regarding his different interpretation of the etymology of *fatongia*. Among all of the above scholars, only Taliai (2007, 2008) and Ka’ili (2008) have linguistically interpreted the etymology of *fatongia*, but the latter has discussed it along the same line with that of this dissertation. So I only deal with etymology of the former in this part and Ka’ili later in Chapter II, III and IV.

1.3.1.

Taliai’s etymology

Taliai (2007, 2008) has linguistically interpreted the etymology of *fatongia* to be a corruption of the Moanan-Tongan *fetongi*, meaning ‘to exchange or change’, but not from the word *tongia* and prefix *fa* in the sense of permeating odour. He explains that the original word was *fetongi* from ‘*fe*’ and ‘*tongi*’, and *fe* means ‘the willing to do work’, and *tongi* from *totongi* which means ‘to exchange’. In his analysis of the beginning of the Tu’i Tonga dynasty around the 9th Century AD by Tu’i Tonga ‘Aho’eitu, he claims that *fetongi* largely contributed to the beginning and formation of the service of *fatongia*. I am not in line with Talia’s (2007, 2008) argument. Firstly, he does not fully develop his theoretical conception in detail with clear-cut historical, cultural, moral, and political explanations to verify how *fatongia* and *fetongi* were interplaying and transforming throughout history. Secondly, he does not provide sufficient explanations in socio-economic and commercial terms from ancient Tonga to reveal that *fatongia* and *fetongi* were actually part of a barter system in which they were both used interchangeably in most if not all social levels. Thirdly, there is no concrete evidence from proverbial and poetic phrases to show that *fatongia* was developed out from *fetongi*. Last but not least, *fetongi* does not reflect straightaway the spirit of *fiefia* in terms of *tauēlangi* and ‘*alaha kakala* in *fatongia*. It is a spirit which is observable throughout this dissertation, with its definition that is directly stemmed out from its etymology based on the notion of *fua’i fa momoho* with its permeating scent that is common among the interaction of Moanan-Tongan people as a whole. For Taliai (2007),

It originated from this hierarchical structural system a Tongan value of *fatongia* “social duty’, properly translated as *fetongia*, *fetongi* from *tongi*, as in *totongi*, “to exchange (Taliai, 2007: 3).”

I am not saying that *fetongi* was not used in the context of *fatongia* because *fakafetongi*, exchange, in the sense of ‘give-and-take principle’ is implanted in the process. However, the above-mentioned approach in doubting Talia’s etymology on *fatongia* is largely based on the main reasons I have provided above. Also the word *fetogi* in Samoan language (with no *n*) simply means ‘to throw, stone or bang something’, which is also the plural of *togi*. It has a similar meaning with Tongan *tongi* of hitting, plucking or cutting something, like a ripe pandanus fruit, *fua’i fa momoho*. It has a different explanation from *fetongi* for exchange in the sense of Taliai. With the same sense of *fatongia* and its *fiefia* of *tauēlangi* and ‘*alaha kakala*, I would like to discuss further another Tongan word of similar meaning and behaviour.

1.3.2. Etymology of *Ngafa*

In addition, there are two interrelated issues of great importance when talking about the etymology and linguistic importance of *fatongia* in conjunction to my denial of the definition of Talia. One is the concern with the etymology of the word *ngafa*, obligation, which refers to “women’s particular duty at home”, for example the *ngafa* of *women* in their fine art, *nimamea’a*, is to produce art work, *koloa*. Another is the presence of the word *fatongia* with its definition of *fiefia* in Futunan-‘Uvean (Wallisian) and Rotuman languages. They use *fatogia* with no ‘*n*’, and also *ma’ua* for the former and *mo’ua* for the latter (another word is *fakalogo* in Futunan-‘Uvean meaning ‘to obey’). In Tongan, *mo’ua* means ‘to obligate,’ likewise in Futunan-‘Uvean *ma’ua* and Rotuman *mo’ua*. However the above two languages have been scientifically and archaeologically evolved out from the Tongan language. Also Futunan-‘Uvean and Rotuman languages both have the names *fa* for pandanus, and *tongi* for cutting, plucking or hitting, which implies that the aesthetic and rhetoric sense of obligation for happiness and sweet-smelling nature may still be valid in their *fatogia* too. Nevertheless, *ngafa* is specifically used in Tongan culture when referring to women’s duty in producing *koloa* and looking after the home, ‘*api*; and also in the same sense with *fatongia* generally. *Fatongia* is traditionally the general and formal word, with masculine nature to a large extent than *ngafa*, and is normally used by people generally in all aspects of the culture. However, *fatongia* and *ngafa* somehow share the main common feature in etymological and linguistic terms, in the sense that the latter is seen as a derivative of the words ‘*nga*’ and ‘*fa*’. *Nga* means ‘crying’ or ‘to make noise’, and *fa* stands for ‘pandanus’, ‘swollen eye’, ‘flood in-out’, ‘four’ or ‘touch in searching for something in the dark (Gifford, 1923, 1929; Collocott, 1927b, 1928; Lehā’uli, 1985, 1986, 1987, 1988; Helu, 2008; Māhina, 2006, 2008)’.

As I have expanded in this dissertation, *fa* in *ngafa* seems to be referred again to the definition of ripe pandanus fruit, *fua'i fa momoho*, and its sweet-smelling nature. This is the only explanation that makes the most logical sense among them, which can mean that women or people at large cry out or struggle to produce works, *koloa*, with happy outcomes, *ola*, and permeating fragrance, '*alaha kakala*. Overall, the rest of the dissertation have used *fatongia* as the principle and formal concept, and employed *ngafa* for female works, and people in general interchangeably with the former. The following expressions reflect this gender division. "*Ko e ngafa 'o fafine 'i falehanga pea hanga ka e fatongia 'a tangata 'i tōkanga pea manga*" / "The obligation of women in the '*api* with finger-measure whereas the obligation of men in garden works with feet-measure." They are both pointed to the differently individual *ngafa* of women in the '*api* with their fingers for measuring mat and *tapa*, whereas *fatongia* for men in the garden with their feet for measuring plantation. *Ngafa* and *fatongia*, with their explanation to keep harmony, *maau*, and smell beautifully in social spatial relationships, are associated with the followings: *vaha'angatae*, *vāfeinofi*, and *vālelei*. All refer to 'social spatial harmony', and their opposite is *vākovi* or *vātāmaki*, alluding to 'social spatial disharmony'. When there is *fatongia* or *ngafa* full of happiness we experience harmony and the former, otherwise we will deal with the latter and their unhappy modes. Also this predominance of the prefix *vā*, space, in social spatial harmony words reflects my viewpoint of perceiving it as more important than *tā*, time, in traditional Moanan-Tongan social, moral, political and cultural circles (Gifford, 1923, 1929; Collocott, 1927b, 1928; Lehā'uli, 1987, 1988; Helu, 2008; Māhina, 2006, 2008a, 2008b; Ka'ili, 2008a, 2008b)." Now I would like to further discuss *fatongia* with conjunction to other related values and behaviours such as *feilaulau*, sacrifice, and *ofa*, love.

1.3.3.

Other related theoretical conceptions

As previously stated, the main difficulty of this study in epistemological terms is the attempt to justify my main logical argument in the primary and secondary themes with their conclusion. Included also is my attempt to illuminate the rhetorical and aesthetic nature of considering *fatongia* as a worldview, *philosophia*, with its specific aim of *fiefia*, in the psycho-analytical Freudian light of *tauēlangi* and '*alaha kakala* (Freud, 1913). *Fatongia* has never been thoroughly considered and discussed in this symbolic-artistic sense of *fiefia*, specifically in terms of the etymology of *fua'i fa momoho*, ripe pandanus fruits, and *tongia* with its immediately permeating scent (Lafitani, 1992, 1994, 1998, 2008). Apart from the current research, my past studies of *fatongia* since 1987 at 'Atenisi University in the Kingdom

of Tonga, the Australian National University and Sydney University are very supportive too (Lafitani, 1992, 1994, 2008a, 2010a, 2010b). As a dancer, choreographer and poet, my personal knowledge and experience of *fiefia* in Moanan-Tongan arts is incorporated into the whole endeavour for further clarifying of the issues under-consideration. From these studies, it has practically and partially embodied that *fatongia* obtains both opposed and complementary characters, regardless of its specific aim, *siate*, in pursuing happiness, *fiefia*, among other *siate* in society. This can psychologically and emotionally motivate people to sacrifice, *feilaulau*'i, everything they got for the sake of upholding traditional love, 'ofa, care, *tauhi*-'ofa, and dedication, *foaki*-'ofa, for the socio-economic benefit of others in the sense of polishing the public images of Tongans, in the words of Lātūkefu (1995) and Helu (1999, 2008).

In this situation, the givers can in turn earn psychological upgrading and socio-economic elevation too from the receivers as a reward for their sacrifice, *feilaulau*, and dedication, *foaki-mo*'ui. As stated, both *feilaulau* and *foaki-mo*'ui can be under the 'ofa-fonua definition with its different variations of *mamahi*'i-fonua and *mateaki*'i-fonua to name a few. That is, the 'ofa of land and people is a kind of patriotism and nationalism in modern definitions. People do such behaviours either by choice or force, albeit all social actions are influenced by other social influencers, and vice-versa. It can be a situation of polishing the public images in front of others by sacrificing to give almost everything to others for psychological upgrading and socio-economic elevation. Consequently, both the givers and receivers in a *fatongia* are socially rewarded and psychologically elevated to a stage of *fiefia* with *tauēlangi* and 'alaha kakala. In essence, this can happen only if people are *fiefia*, and exchange is equally and symmetrically reciprocal (Lātūkefu, 1995; Helu, 1999, 2006; Gifford, 1929; Bott, 1982; Gailey, 1987; Campbell, 1992). As a result, this can give pathway to moral respect, *tauhivā*, social reciprocity, *fakafetongi fetokai*'aki, and political harmony, *maau*, equally and symmetrically. In this point, we have beauty, *faka*'ofa'ofa or *kallos*, which is viewed as the appreciation of human and artistic virtues, *arête*, in their own terms. In this case, it is the *fiefia* of the highest virtue, *mata*'ikoloa, which is based on *tauhivā*, *fakafetongi fetokai*'aki and *maau*. Overall, this is very Aristotelian in nature, especially in his ethical philosophy of happiness, *eudaimonia*, with its justice, *dikaisyne*, moderation, *sophrosyne*, and serenity, *ataraxia*.

However, we have discussed some background issues about the theoretical backbone of this study through the light of its two propositions with their conclusion. This

includes a general overview of the Moanan-Tonga literature in reference to Aristotle's view and a few modern thinkers, with a highlight of traditional conceptions on the said propositions. All are being narrowed down to the main argument of the conclusion of treating *fatongia* with its aim of *fiefia* as a worldview, *philosophia*, which is implanted in human fundamental values and behaviours. What are then the fundamental research questions to help in guiding this main argument of the conclusion in the subsequent Chapters of the dissertation? There are four research questions that have been selected and formulated out from reviewing of the literature to help the main argument in directing and guiding the whole discussion in this dissertation.

1.4. Four Research Questions

Generally speaking, the above and previous paragraphs have guided and allowed us to arrive at a point of unfolding the major four research questions of the whole dissertation. With such major questions, they are explicitly and implicitly employed throughout to support in broadening and illuminating the main argument. Such major research questions are structured to root out the relevant and fundamental issues from the focus of individual Chapters, and their relation and distinction to one another. The four major research questions are as follows:

1. Why is *fatongia* important to Moanan-Tongan society?
2. Is its specific aim of *fiefia*, happiness, unique to Moana-Tongan society per se?
3. Why is *fatongia* considered as a worldview, *philosophia*, to human fundamental values and behaviours?
4. What are the relation and distinction between *fatongia* and the Greek and Roman philosophers' first theoretical approach to interpret obligation, *deontic*, worldwide?

1.4.1. Research question 1

Research question 1 attempts to provide answers for the main reason on why *fatongia* is important to Moanan-Tongan culture and society generally. As it is reflected previously and throughout the following Chapters, *fatongia* is envisaged as one of the main fundamental concepts and practices in both traditional and modern Moana-Tongan culture. Its content, *uho*, has changed over time but the form, *fuo*, which is based on the notion of being obligated to others, is seen to be universal and still surviving up to the present. It has provided moral respect, *tauhivā*, social reciprocity, *fakafetongi fetokai 'aki*, and political harmony, *maau*,

in *tatau*, equal, and *potupotutatau*, symmetrical ways in the past-present history of Tongan people.

This is currently observable among Tongans in Tonga and abroad as well. It seems that if there is an ancient social phenomenon that is still in active and epitome in the minds and souls of Tongans in the past one thousand years, *fatongia* is definitely the answer with no doubt (Gifford, 1929; Wood, 1943; Gailey, 1987; Bott, 1982; Campbell, 1992; Ka'ili, 2008a).

Chapters II, III and IV highlight the political, social, moral, economic, political, psychological, aesthetic, and to a great extent cultural reasons, on why *fatongia* is fundamentally important for this study, and why is always crucially material to Moanan-Tongan culture. Within this context, the second research question can further show us on why this traditional sense of *fatongia* is so material for this dissertation.

1.4.2.

Research question 2

Research question 2 attempts to provide answers on whether *fiefia* with its features of *tauēlangi* and *'alaha kakala* in *fatongia* is peculiar to Moanan-Tongan culture, or it is universal in nature. As it is shown earlier, *fiefia* as a psycho-emotional value in metaphorical-aesthetic terms may be universal to human cultures and civilization generally. It is therefore the main focus of this research question to ascertain reliable evidence for *fiefia* in its definition in Moanan-Tongan *fatongia* and its place in obligation at large, including other human fundamental values and behaviours in a situation of equal, *tatau*, and symmetrical, *potupotutatau*, modes of exchange (Helu, 1999, 2005, 2006, 2008; Māhina, 1992, 2006, 2010a; Kaeppler, 1967, 1990, 1993, 1998, 2011). Aristotle's (1995, 1999) ethical theory of *eudaimonia* and its related features of justice, *dykaisyne*, moderation, *sophrosyne*, and tranquillity, *ataraxia*, is a case in point for the ancient world cultures of the Greeks and Romans that provided the general foundation for studying obligation, *deontic*. This includes their works in creating the foundation too for connecting *deontic* to main moral values and behaviours like *dykaisyn*, *sophrosyne*, *ataraxia*, *eudaimonia* and *demoskratos*, democracy. Nowadays, different parts of the world are increasingly assimilated into the foundation of such moral values and behaviours. So, it makes sense to focus on the foundation of the scientific, logic and philosophical works of such classical Greek and Roman philosophers for that matter. In this situation, the discussion now connects the focus of research question 2 to that of research question 3 with its emphasis on the claim of treating *fatongia* as a worldview, *philosophia* or *weltanschauung*.

1.4.3.

Research question 3

Research question 3 attempts to provide answers for the main reason on why *fatongia* is considered as a worldview, *philosophia*, to human fundamental values and behaviours of society. As I have spelled out, this is based on a discussion of the original works of classical Greek and Roman philosophers in unfolding the first scientific, logical and philosophical framework for studying of *deontic*. Such a question therefore clarifies the fact that *fatongia* is not implanted in the fundamental values and behaviours for functional and structural purposes as it is shown in the works of most functional-structuralists in sociology and anthropology.

To the contrary, this is a concern with the psycho-emotional and intellectual motive of feeling obligated to others encompassing the ecological environment in the manner of love, 'ofa, and care, *tauhi-'ofa*, as in the case of *fonua*, land-people, and *moana*, sea-people with their different *fatongia*. This question raises the fact that to feel responsible to others is a common, and universal, motive to most, if not, all human kinds. Hence the fundamental values and behaviours must be in one way or another deal with *fatongia*, or obligation for that matter, in this psycho-emotional and intellectual motive of feeling obligated to others encompassing the ecological environment in the manner of love and care. On that note, the focus of this research question again brings into perspective the overall concern of the four research question regarding the distinction and relation between Moanan-Tongan *fatongia* and obligation worldwide.

1.4.4.

Research question 4

Research question 4 attempts to clarify the distinction and relation between the concepts of *fatongia* in Moanan-Tongan culture and obligation, *deontic*, in ancient Greece and Rome in dialectic way of opposed and complementary modes of exchange. This is based on the view of perceiving them as obtaining different and yet related common features, which is crucial for understanding of obligation in different cultures and academic disciplines generally. Regardless of this issue, the form, *fuo*, of feeling responsible to others and the ecological environment is seen as a permanent occurrence throughout cultural barriers. Apart from this permanence, *deontic* is being studied and examined throughout Chapter V in the case of ancient Greece and Rome to ascertain whether its form, *fuo*, is universally similar to that of Moanan-Tongan *fatongia*. The content, *uho*, may be different from culture to culture but the *fuo* has been perceived to be the same universally. So, this question attempts to provide universal answers for the distinction and relation in the *uho* and *fuo* of *fatongia* and *deontic* or

obligation in general. All the above research questions are important for the dissertation with its themes and conclusion, as well as, the Chapters with their individual focuses. In the main, such research questions somehow help to explicitly and implicitly clarify the emphasis of the themes within each Chapter by reminding the opposed and related aspects of *fatongia*. Their roles in fact are the attempt to uncover such related aspects with respect to the uniqueness of *fatongia* and its universal relation with *deontic* in the light of the scientific, logical and philosophical interpretations of classical Greek and Roman philosophers. However, the discussion continues by unfolding the main focus of each individual Chapter.

1.5. Focus of individual Chapters

This final part of the Introduction focuses in highlighting the focus of different Chapters throughout the rest of the dissertation. There are six Chapters altogether. From Chapters II to IV, the discussion attempts to provide distinct but related evidence to support the consideration of the themes with their two propositions on *fatongia* and their conclusion in the situation of traditional Moanan-Tongan culture. At the same token, they are providing answers as well in response to the four research questions of the study shown previously.

1.5.1. Chapter II with its focus

Chapter II unfolds the underlining reasons that have finally urged me to pursue further research on *fatongia* with its specific interest, *siate*, of happiness, *fiefia*. It shows some influential works and ideas on such a decision stemming from different thinkers in Moanan-Tongan literature like Helu (1992, 1998, 1999, 2008) and Māhina (1986, 1990, 1992, 1999a, 2006, 2010a) to those in Australia such as Hu’akau (2005, 2010, 2011a, 2011b, 2011c) and Camilleri (2003, 2005, 2010, 2011a, 2011b). This includes my past knowledge and experience in studying *fatongia* and its relation to Tongan and Moanan world migrations for my Master degree at the Australian National University in Canberra in 1992. The research for my first doctorate at the University of Sydney before transferring to the Australian Catholic University at Canberra in 2000 because of health reasons is further incorporated (Lafitani, 1994, 1995, 1998, 2010a, 2010b). Chapter II further deals with *fatongia* and its specific aim of *fiefia*, happiness, in Moanan-Tongan culture among Tongans living in Tonga and abroad, together with a reflection upon some of its past characteristics. How the opposite *ta’efiefia*, unhappiness, of *fatongia* can come into the fore as a result of too many *fuakavenga*, burden-bear, in a one-sided mode of operation is discussed in details. This Chapter brings to the conclusion that even though the aim of *fatongia* is to pursue *fiefia*, *ta’efiefia* appears to always

go hand-in-hand with the former dialectically among the interaction of Tongans in the past, and among those now living in Tonga and overseas. The Moanan-Tongan works of Helu (1999, 2006), Māhina (1992, 2006, 2008a, 2010a, 2011a), Hu'akau (2007, 2010, 2011a) and Ka'ili (2008a, 2008b, 2010) and their positive influences on this study are uncovered too. Following the focus of Chapter II has consequently directed the discussion to expand its scope to the related but different focus of Chapter III. It concerns with the aesthetic and rhetoric characters of *fatongia* in the context of performance arts, *faiva*, and dance, *faiva haka* or *tau'olunga*, and how they are metaphorically contributed to the *arête*, *mata'ikoloa*, of *fiefia* and its heavenly apex of *tauēlangi* and 'alaha kakala.

1.5.2.

Chapter III with its focus

Chapter III attempts to discuss the beauty, *faka'ofa'ofa* of happiness, *fiefia*, in performance art, *faiva* and dance, *faiva haka*, with conjunction to obligation, *fatongia*. *Faiva haka* with its music, *hiva*, and poetic text or oratory, *ta'anga*, is considered as the birth-ground, *fonua*, for 'alaha kakala and *tauēlangi* in ancient Tongan culture. Its first part on *faiva*, performance art, and *faiva haka*, dance, deals with the qualitative *faka'ofa'ofa* of *fiefia* in *fatongia*. This encompasses how *fiefia* with its *tauēlangi* and 'alaha kakala helps to promote the metaphorical and aesthetic operation of *fatongia* in Tongan culture. It looks at how the concept of 'alaha kakala, permeating aroma, and *tauēlangi*, climactic euphoria, in *faiva* and *faiva haka* have influenced the notion of *fiefia*, happiness, in *fatongia*, giving rise to the aesthetic and emotional effect of *mālie*. *Mālie* is generally defined as 'bravo' or 'excellence for bravery in heavenly manner', which is an electrifying response from the audience to *tauēlangi* and 'alaha kakala in a particular *faiva haka*, *fatongia* or social function, *kātoanga*. This sense of *mālie* with identical or similar explanation is also observable in other Moanan languages like those of the Samoan and 'Uvean-Futunan people but with just the letter 'a' without the emphasis sign on it.

This Chapter further discusses the nature of 'alaha kakala and *tauēlangi* in the standing group dance poetry, *lakalaka*, of *Takafalu* by Queen Sālote Mafie'o Pilolevu Tupou III of the Kingdom?" It is a part of the natural poetry of pride of locality (people and their historical backgrounds), *laumātanga*, and pride of sweet-smelling plant, *laukakala* (people and their historical backgrounds), that, I have discussed and interpreted in the light of 'alaha kakala and *tauēlangi*. The analysis of some modern views on *kakala*, sweet-smelling plants, with relation to education, *ako*, obligation, *fatongia* and life, *mo'ui*, in Moanan cultures is the last focus of this Chapter III. This is based on the post-modernist viewpoint that it is better to

revive ancient concepts like ‘*alaha kakala* and *kakala* and apply their metaphoric meanings to modern *ako*, *fatongia* and *mo’ui* than those that have been imposed upon us by Western societies with their individualistic and modern ways of doing thing (see Figure 3-32 of page xvi-xxx).)

The Chapter concludes with a discussion of how Tongan scented oil for cosmetic purposes, *lolo teuteu*, and fragrant garlands, *kahoa kakala*, together with waist fragrant girdle, *sisi kakala*, have contributed positively for the metaphorical application and employment of the notion of ‘*alaha kakala* with *tauēlangi* in a *fatongia* of extreme happiness. It also includes the claim of this study that the permeating odour of *kakala* and *lolo teuteu* in performing art is also the home-ground, *fonua*, for the metaphoric application and employment of ‘*alaha kakala* in the languages of dance, *faiva haka*, music, *hiva*, daily conversation of *talanoa* and formal speech, *malanga*, in Moanan-Tongan *fatongia* (see Figure 3-32 of page xvi-xxx). This brings the discussion to the focus of Chapter IV on *kava* ceremony and its connection to the preservation of traditional *fatongia* since ancient time.

1.5.3. Chapter IV with its focus

Chapter IV unveils the *fonua*, land-and-people, of *kava* ceremony with reference to the ancient *Ha’a Lo’au*, Lo’au Lineage, and the preservation of beauty, *faka’ofa’ofa*, and harmony, *maau*, in *fatongia*. *Kava* ceremony, under the advice of *Ha’a Lo’au* and the Tu’i Tonga, King of Tonga, is perceived as the birth-ground, *fonua*, and nest, *pununga*, for *fatongia* since the 10th Century AD up to the 21st Century. The formation of *kava* ceremony by the *Ha’a Lo’au* as the medium, *vaka*, for preserving traditional *fatongia* is seen as the form, *fuo*, of the former. My five connotations of *fonua* as the placenta, cap-root, land and people, graves and *fonua* as the *kava* ceremony are comprised also. The discussion of *Ha’a Lo’au* and different *ha’a* in the formation and seating structure of *kava* ceremony is fundamental in this Chapter. This comprises a discussion of certain *fatongia* of the chiefs, *hou’eiki*, and their ceremonial orators, *matāpule*, in *kava* ceremony, as well as, their differently individual roles in preserving power, *pule*, and authority, *mafai*, through social rank, *langilangi* or *ngeia*, and blood relationship, *fekau’aki fakata’ata’a* among relatives of *hou’eiki* and Kings, and *fakatoto* for commoners, *tu’a* (see Figure 33-39 of page xxxii-xxxv).

The Chapter continues with a discussion of traditional formal speech, *malanga*, in *kava* and non-*kava* ceremonies, and how it enhances the metaphoric and aesthetic spirit of *tauēlangi* and ‘*alaha kakala*. The cultural importance of *kai fonono*, food portion for male participants in *kava* ceremony, *fahu*, highly social rank and authority of the eldest sisters and

the female lines over their counterpart male line of ‘*ulumotu’a*, and *fakatomo*, root-cap of *kava* plant, in *Taumafa Kava* is discussed as well. This blends with some explanation and analysis of the nature of *kava* ceremony in modern times with comparison to the ancient type. With the next paragraph which is the focus of Chapter V, the discussion then moves outside the Moanan-Tongan cultural scope to ancient Greece and Rome. This is with the main purpose to work out whether the first scientific and philosophical examinations of *deontic* by the Greco-Romans are related to the ancient Moanan-Tongan *fatongia* and its aim of *fiefia* (see Figure 33-39 of page xxxii-xxxv).

1.5.4.

Chapter V with its focus

Chapter V uncovers the philosophical and scientific views on obligation by Socrates, Plato and Aristotle during the Classical Periods of ancient Greece. The intellectual movements of the Skepticism, Cynicism, Stoicism and Epicureanism, during the Hellenistic Period in Europe are encompassed too. The academic movements of the latter philosophers were seen throughout the rise of Alexander the Great to the fall of His Empire, and the rise and fall of the Roman Empire. Such two different periods in Classical Greece and beyond were so unique due to a number of historical factors. The idea about *deontic* was shifted from its emphasis on the political power of the aristocrats to those of democratic and republic values. This was in addition to the rise of science and philosophy with its dialectic method of examining reality in critical and free modes of operation (Burnet, 1914, 1930; Anderson, 1962; Griffin, 1986; Murray, 1986; West, 1995; Barnes, 1986; Helu, 1995; 2005). As a result, Socrates and his students, together with the Hellenistic philosophers that followed them, began to see and talk about *deontic* in the sense of equal and symmetrical modes of exchange, be it inside the politics, *politika*, of the city-state, *polis*, or outside its scope. Socrates was the first thinker worldwide to philosophically and scientifically examine *deontic* in detail, and its association with other fundamental values and behaviours in society such as justice, *dykai SYN*, and freedom of speech, *parrésia*. With their new scientific and philosophical outlooks, people at the time were influenced by them in a very powerful and unique manner. Effectively, this at the end had changed the direction of perceiving obligation since then. Aristotle, among Socrates and Plato, was one of the first world thinkers to argue that happiness, *eudaimonia*, should be the ultimate aim of human moral values and behaviour. It is the highest virtue, *arête*, among all human fundamental *arête*, according to him.

The Hellenistic philosophers followed up in studying major scientific and philosophical conceptions of the first three Greek thinkers with additional ideas on Aristotle’s

belief on *eudaimonia* for instance. Their overall works have revealed that if *deontic* is not carried out equally and symmetrically by the government and major institutions of the *polis* than their citizens, *polites*, and followers will be unhappy. As a consequence, the latter should not follow the government and the leaders, but remove themselves to the quietness of the garden and streets – doctrine of ‘wandering ascetics’. In general, the Hellenistic philosophers interpreted *deontic* as something that should be totally based and built around living a life of tranquillity, *ataraxia*, moderation, *sophrosyne*, and justice, *dykaisyn*, with their effect of *eudaimonia*. This should not merely confine to the life of *politika*, in the *polis*, but in the quietness within the inner-selves of people while living and wandering in segregated places such as the gardens and streets (Warner, 1958; Payne, 1962; Pike, 1966; Griffin, 1986; Annas, 1986; Barnes, 1986; Fox, 1986). Importantly, these philosophers showed us another side of *deontic*, which is based outside the domain of *politika*. As in the case of the Stoics, their main concern is to love and care only for those who live in the same way of living with them based on wisdom, *sophia*, and *dykaisyn*, *sophrosyne* of *ataraxia*, which is the apex of *eudaimonia*, the highest virtue, *arête*, of all *arête*. With these new world interpretations which are to some extent seen also as the effect of the spiritual influence from the East, like the Upanishads Movement of India around the between the 5th and 8th Centuries BC. I have only suggested such a movement because they were very influential around the same time of the increasing contact between the Greeks and Romans with India since Alexander the Great. It was their life of ‘aloofing’ from normal daily activities and upholding of ‘wandering ascetics’ that were most influential at the time. This is effectively put into general perspective by Chapter VI of the Conclusion.

1.5.5. Chapter VI with its final focus

The Conclusion is a summary of the whole dissertation regarding the focus of different Chapters, and whether they have individually provided scientific truths and reliable philosophical answers to the valid claims of the two logical propositions of the themes of the study with their logical conclusion. As shown, the latter is the main argument, or main thesis, of the study. It is a final contrast among the Chapters regarding the place of the main argument in considering *fatongia*, obligation, with its specific aim of *fiefia* as a worldview, *philosophia* or *weltanschauung*, to human fundamental values and behaviours. With the conclusion of such two themes, this Chapter and its overall concluding remarks must provide the same true explanation in compatible with the valid claim of the main argument in the proposition of such conclusion. In short, the Aristotelian categorical syllogism in the light of the two themes and their logical conclusion should match with the scientific evidence and

reliable information the dissertation discusses and examines throughout Chapters II, III, IV and V.

Overall, I hope that what I have shared in the previous paragraphs is sufficient to reflect upon the themes of this study and their conclusion. Also, there is a belief that the four main research questions are well addressed in an appropriate way to the attempt of considering Moanan-Tongan *fatongia* as having its own uniqueness, as well as, universal characters. That is, its content, *uho*, is specific-oriented whereas its form, *fu*, with the feeling of being obligated to others, is universal in character. However, this dissertation upholds the overall view that people, in whatever culture they may belong to, always seek for the psychological and emotional stage of *fiefia* in one way or another, as reflected in the previous discussion of *fatongia* with its divine apex of *tauēlangi* and *‘alaha kakala*. So, the discussion now proceeds on to the main reasons for selecting *fatongia* with its *fiefia* and *‘alaha kakala* variation as the principal concept of this entire study, and why it is important in Moanan-Tongan culture as a whole.

Chapter II: Importance of *fatongia*

As a performing art, *tauhi vā* [moral respect] is concerned with synchrony (*tonu*)...In the performing of *tauhi vā*, the correct performance of *fatongia* creates synchrony (*tonu*). In other words, synchrony (*tonu*) is the performance of *fatongia* with exactness and correctness. In contrast to synchrony, the incorrect performance of *fatongia* creates a lack of synchrony (*hala, fehālaaki*) (Ka'ili, 2008a:48-49; I inserted the phrase moral respect).

2.1. Introduction

This Chapter discusses the underlining reasons that have urged me to select *fatongia*, obligation, as the principal concept of this dissertation. Its focus falls into two main parts. The first part highlights the main reasons for my decision to select *fatongia* as the principal concept of this dissertation while living in Tonga and Australia. The next part is my analysis of the core of Helu's works on *fatongia* (Helu, 1987, 1988, 1992, 1994, 1997, 1999, 2006, 2008). In general, this is an attempt to ascertain about the synchronic, *tonu*, and asynchronous, *hala*, features of *fatongia* in Moanan-Tongan culture, to employ Ka'ili's (2008a) explanation shown in the above quotation.

The Chapter therefore attempts to provide responses to propositions one and two of the themes and their conclusion, as well as, research questions 1, 2, 3 and 4 outlined in Chapter I. All the four research questions are explicitly and implicitly employed too to guide in providing reliable and concrete evidence to such given propositions in which the conclusion is being treated as the main argument of the study. Why *fatongia* is important for this study then is the first question for further consideration.

2.2. Reasons for selecting *fatongia*

My first impression on the concept of *fatongia* was begun in the Kingdom of Tonga (see Figure 1 & 2 of page xiv & xv). This small Kingdom and always experienced *fatongia* or *ngafa* in almost all aspects of life, I was never consciously aware of its political, social, moral, religious, psychological, economic and cultural importance. This perspective was totally transformed when I started my first under-graduate year at 'Atenisi University in 1985 (Lafitani, 1985, 1986, 1988). In this small private University, I was overwhelmingly

amazed when realising the fundamental importance of *fatongia* in almost all aspects of Tongan culture for the first time. It was my initial awaking from sleeping, in the Heraclitean and Freudian senses, “to consciously realise *fatongia* as one of the fundamental values and behaviours in Tongan morality and culture (Anderson, 1962, 1982; Helu, 1995, 1999, 2005; Māhina, 1992, 2006, 2010a).”

In my undergraduate courses at ‘Atenisi from 1985-1988, I wrote 5 assignment papers to different lectures on *fatongia*. In 1989, I wrote my first postgraduate paper on such a concept as a proposal for my *Master Thesis* in sociology at the Faculty of Arts of the ANU. It was presented in the same year at the International Conference of the Tongan History Association (now known as Tongan Research Association) at Foa Island in Ha’apai of the Tongan Islands (Lafitani, 1989, 1992, 1998; Perkins, 2005). Following 1989, I wrote my *Master Thesis* in sociology at the ANU in 1990, and completed it in 1991. It was based on the contradictory and complementary nature of *fatongia* and Moanan-Tongan cultures among Moanan and Tongan migrants in Australia and Canberra in particular. Its title was called, *Tongan Diaspora: Perceptions, Values and Behaviours of Tongans in Canberra* (Lafitani, 1992). This was particularly a result of 6 months fieldwork I conducted among Tongans in Canberra between 1989 and 1990 (Lafitani, 1989, 1992, 1998). Again in 1992, I presented my first paper on *fatongia* and Tongan migration, after receiving my Master of Letters from the ANU, in another International Conference of the THA at Brigham Young University (BYU) in Laie of the State of Hawaii (Lafitani, 1998).

I continued to the University of Sydney in 1993 and started my first doctorate in sociology and social policy again on *fatongia* and Tongan migration worldwide. The University allowed and financed me in 1994 and 1995, with the financial assistance of my eldest sister ‘Ilaisa Fe’aomoeata, to conduct a fieldwork on cultural values and *fatongia* among Tongans in London, America, Hawaii, New Zealand, Tonga and Australia (Lafitani, 1994, 1995, 1998). I stopped in 1997 for health reasons which effectively confined me to wheelchair bound since then. I later transferred my doctoral study to the ACU in Canberra in 2000 during my recovery period in rehabilitation. While studying in the past years on wheelchair, I managed too to present papers on *fatongia* in different Australian conferences, seminars and workshops.

I presented a paper entitled, *Science and Obligation* in a Conference on Science at the University of Melbourne in 2003 (Lafitani, 2003). This same paper I presented at the International Conference of the LRS at the University of Sydney in the end of 2003. In 2005, I presented a paper at a Pacific Islands Workshop during the Asian Pacific Week of the ANU

in Canberra. It was entitled, *Government-People Concept with Chiefly-Tribal Lineages in public obligation among Pacific Island Politics* (Lafitani, 2005). In Tonga, I presented a paper in 2006 under the title, *Fatongia and Tongan Culture in the time of the Lo'au Lineage, Ha'a Lo'au*, at the International Conference of the LRS (Lafitani, 2006). In May 2011, I conducted a workshop for Tongan National Youth of the Tongan Uniting Churches in Australia on *Tongan Culture, History and Politics* with some emphasis on the culture of *fatongia* at Blue Mountain Camping Centre in NSW (Lafitani, 2011).

Currently, this research interest on *fatongia* and Tongan culture is still with me in this dissertation but perhaps in a more refined and mature mode. So, I would like therefore to begin this section with a discussion of the reasons in Tonga that urged me to follow up the study of *fatongia* during the past 26 years. This is followed by a discussion of the reasons that have motivated me in Australia and overseas to still continue in pursuing such a subject-matter of great significance.

2.2.1. Research Interest in Tonga

I was first inspired by Helu of 'Atenisi Institute in his classes on Moanan-Tongan culture, and *fatongia*, in 1985. He was my lecturer in philosophy, English, physics, maths, history and Tongan culture at the University Division of 'Atenisi. Helu was the founder and director since its humble and small beginning in 1966 with no finances and influences from Government and Churches. He retired in 2007 and died in 2010. It was my first year at 'Atenisi in 1985. I was studying there for my Associate of Arts and Bachelor of Arts between 1985 and 1988 (Lafitani, 1985, 1986, 1988).

Helu's (1985, 1987, 1988, 1999) perceived *fatongia* as a product of the predominant moralities of the chiefly ruling classes, *hou'eiki*, without considering the other roles playing by other social classes like the commoners, *tu'a*, in the whole process of Tongan evolution. For him, it first emerged from the changeable and complex nature of the constant interaction of the *hou'eiki*'s moralities with the contradictory moralities of the commoner classes, *tu'a*, since ancient Tongan society. Helu (1988, 1999) in the 1980's argued that the moralities of the former were originally based on aggressiveness or fieriness, *fita'a*, and domineering, *fiēpule*, whereas those of the latter were built around obedience, *talangofua*, and sharing, *loto foaki* (Mariner, 1817; Gifford, 1929; Anderson, 1962, 1982, 2007; Lātūkefu, 1974, 1975; Māhina, 1990, 1992, 2005, 2006). Later on, this Chapter discusses further Helu's specific theory of *fatongia*, and how it has influenced the main argument of this study. Also, I question the logical validity and scientific truth of his dualistic view on *hou'eiki* and *tu'a*

moralities. Helu's (1992, 1994, 1997, 1999, 2008) clear-cut classification of defining Tongan moralities in a dualistic manner sounds very much like those of Marx, and his Marxist followers (1957a, 1957b, 1957c), with the clear-cut view of the division of society into two main opposing social classes, with minimal compromised exchange except the alienation and exploitation of the lower by the most powerful groups. Marcus (1977) was one of the scholars to first point out the nature of compromised culture during the transition from Queen Sālote Tupou III to King Taufa'ahau Tupou IV, as a result of mixing traditional, or ancient, Tongan culture with those of the modern and Western influences. Helu (1999, 2008) again discussed the compromised culture later on even though it was still largely Marxist oriented with just two clear-cut division (Marcus, 1977; Morton, 1996).

I believe that these moralities sometime overlap each other during their dialectic interaction in the normal course of events, and not always behaving in this Heluan and Marxist clear-cut manner of dual or dichotomic classification. Lātūkefu (1980) in the opening quotation of Chapter I of the Introduction has proven wrong this Heluan-Marxist dualistic division. I have experienced too that some chiefs help out their people in a respectful way, and do not always treat the latter oppressively in alienated, *fakaehaua*, and exploited, *tāpalasia*, behaviours. It appears that society consists of more than two main divisions with dualistic nature, and this is seen in most works of sociologists in the 20th and 21st Centuries. Their works recently interpreted and discussed society as having more than just two social classes of March as discussed by Dahrendorf (1959) and Parsons (1949). Regardless of this brief critique of Marx, and his followers, his works are still considered fundamentally vital to the theoretical and practical development of theories on social classes and social sciences at large. However, I would like to return to the influence of Helu and 'Atenisi on my view of *fatongia*.

At 'Atenisi, I began to apply this increasing research interest on such a subject-matter of *fatongia* to my other under-postgraduate courses. For instance, I wrote essays on *fatongia* in my English, political science, Tongan culture, sociology and anthropology courses between 1985 and 1987 (Lafitani, 1985, 1986, 1988; Perkins, 2005). Also, I began to observe the nature of *fatongia* very closely in churches and throughout the chiefly-feudal system, as well as, throughout other social spectrums of Tongan society in the 1980's onwards (Gifford, 1929; Lātūkefu, 1974, 1975, 1977; Cummins, 1977; Marcus, 1977; Bott, 1982; Gailey, 1987; Campbell, 1992; Helu, 1999).

With Helu (1985, 1987, 1988), he often discussed in his classes and informal interaction the view of identifying *fatongia* in the manner of exploitation, *tāpalasia*, alienation,

fakaehaua, and oppression, *fakapōpula*. He took *fatongia*, obligation, in the feudal and Christian systems in Tonga, and Europe, as a case in point for several examinations and critiques. To the contrary, Helu (1999) in his book, *Critical Essay: Cultural Perspectives from the South Seas*, discussed more on the synchronic and asynchronic sides of *fatongia* in the 1990's and beyond, but still without a clear identification of the difference between the words *fatongia* and *fuakavenga*, burden-bear. For him, they are both *fakapōpula* in behavior, apart from his personal and academic interest in inviting the late Majesty King Taufa'ahau Tupou IV as the Guest of Honor for the annual graduation ceremonies of the University since 1975 for about eleven years. This was based on his belief that it would have given the Institute a national and regional recognition in terms of cultural status and academic creditability (1988).

Helu (1985, 1987, 1988) criticized the Tongan feudal system and Christian churches for preserving and perpetuating the oppressive nature of *fatongia* should be treated as *fuakavenga* instead. At the same token, he could not totally escape and isolate himself from the cultural influences of both *fatongia* and *fuakavenga* respectively. For example, he always prepared with his staff and family members every year a huge pig, *puaka toho*, dozen baskets of yam, 'u*fi*, and giant taro, *kape*, with a collection of fine mats, *fala*, and tapa cloth, *ngatu*, and presented to the King at the graduation day. It was treated as a reciprocal appreciation in equal, *tatau*, and symmetrical, *potupotutatau*, terms for His regular attendance at the annual graduation ceremonies. Altogether the expense of this whole presentation can be summed up to around \$5,000 or more, which was very costly in those days (Lafitani, 1985, 1986, 1988).

Was this a fair reciprocal exchange in a *tatau*, equal, and *potupotutatau*, modes of behavior each year? It was a fair reciprocal, considering the fact that the King was happy to accept the invitations consecutively for 11 years. This went on until the 1990's when Helu's commitment to prodemocracy was very obvious in a revolutionary manner in the Kingdom and abroad, and its transformation impact was deeply felt by the Royal Family as a threat to the status quo. I asked Helu a question on this matter in 1997 when visiting the ANU as a Visiting Fellow to the College of Asia and the Pacific. "Why you terminated this cultural link with the chiefly class and Royal Family?" Helu (1997) replied, "It was enough, now 'Atenisi just concentrates on academic protocols, and it only invites scholars as Guest of Honor for its graduation ceremony." Interestingly, he could not maintain this aloofness from conducting traditional *fatongia* to such ruling classes up to the end of his academic career and prior to his death in 2010.

In early 2000 onwards, Helu and ‘Atenisi again re-invited members of the Royal House as Guests of Honors for their annual graduation ceremonies. One of those years was the noble of his village and head of their chiefly lineage, *ha’a* (known as *Ha’a Talafale*), HRH late Noble Prince Tu’ipelehake (‘Uluvalu) and his late wife, Princess Kaimana Tuku’aho. The influential power of Moanan-Tongan culture in shaping Helu’s life was very interesting and paradoxical too. Helu’s cousin, when approached by another ‘Atenisi’s student from different *ha’a* (*Ha’a Takalaua*) in 1999 during a crisis and argument over the administration of the Institute, explained this culturally sentimental perspective in the following words. “‘Atenisi is belonged to *Ha’a Talafale* but not your *Ha’a Takalaua*; your *ha’a* should establish their own educational Institute.” It’s a reminder that in situation of crisis, Tongans can fall back to their *ha’a* as a kind of social buffer and cushion for security, *malu*, and survival, *kumi mo’ui* (i.e. it is in a way related to the Western notion of feeling safe with the devil you know, and also for protecting vested interests and control over others). In 2006, Helu published his book, *Ko e Heilala Tangitangi ‘o Sālote Pilolevu* (2006), dedicating to HRH Princess Sālote Mafile’o Pilolevu Tuita, the only sister of the present King, His Majesty George Tupou V. Also she has been the Patron of the Division of ‘Atenisi Foundation for Performing Arts since 1987.

However, I asked him again during my visit to the Kingdom in 2008 to interview a few scholars regarding the etymology and meaning of *fatongia*. “Why are you still doing this deed, after all you always oppose the moralities of the chiefly class in your lectures and academic works, and you are also one of the leaders of the prodemocracy movement?” Helu (2008) responded, “Culture is different from academic life and they are not opposed to each other.” He continued by sharing with me his great respect for Princess Pilolevu and some of the Royal members. This is a kind of paradox in Helu’s life up to his death, which reminds us that we are all individuals within the wider control and influences of society, social institutions and social movements, to use the Andersonian sense (1962, 1982) definition (Baker, 1979, 1986; Kennedy, 1992; Olding, 1992; Weblin, 1992; Thiele, 1992, Rimoldi, 1992). Anderson (1962, 1982, 2003) and Helu (1985, 1987, 1988) always upheld the same view that individuals are powerless to society, social movements and social institutions. It appears that Helu as an individual was also powerless to the wider influences of culture and *fatongia* in specific upon his academic life, on one hand. On the other hand, he behaved as the philosopher of the prodemocracy movement and often publically criticized the *status quo* and the Royal Family.

In Helu’s funeral in 2010 by which I attended, HRH Princess Sālote Mafile’o Pilolevu Tuita was selected as his *fahu*, a female chief of sacred and highest social ranking, instead of his real *fahu* from his own extended family, *kainga*, and chiefly lineage. According

to his daughter, Sisi'uno Helu, and her siblings, Helu already planned beforehand for Princess Pilolevu to be his *fahu* (*fahu* is the elder sister of the father, or grand-sister of the grandfather, and it can trace back to the great grand-sister as partly stated in Chapter I of the Introduction). Fortunately, it was well accepted by Princess Pilolevu nevertheless because of her admiration and love of 'Atenisi and Helu's contribution to Tongan society in education, culture, arts and politics (Mariner, 1817; Gifford, 1929; Bott, 1982, 1987; Gailey, 1987; Kaeppler, 1990, 1993, 2005; Māhina, 1990, 1992; Helu, 1999, 2008; Burley, 2005; Campbell, 1992; 'Ilaiu, 2007; Taliai, 2007).

During his funeral service, the President of the Free Wesleyan Church of Tonga, Rev. Dr 'Aho, mentioned that Helu was also one of their lay preachers a few years before he died. This holds true of the Andersonian (1962) view in arguing that the values and behaviors of individuals are determined and shaped by society, social institutions and social movements. Even though the academic life of Helu (1995, 1999, 2005) was greatly influenced by Western philosophy, science and education, his culture and Christianity overall were still mightily influential on him until his death, on the other hand.

Moreover, I observed another contradictory and complementary nature of *fatongia* and *fuakavenga* in Helu's relationship with his Free Wesleyan Church of Tonga. Helu and his family prepared a traditional feast, *fakaafe*, every year to feed about 100 members of their church as an appreciation for God's love and care, comprising being members of the Christian church. For a *fakaafe* to be successfully conducted in Tonga in the 1980's, one must spend around \$2000 or more. This is another involvement of Helu in *fatongia*, but in a *fuakavenga* mode to the contrary. The differentiation of the reciprocal and non-reciprocal characters of *fatongia* and *fuakavenga*, or synchronic, *tonu*, and a-synchronic, *hala*, behaviors for that matter, is one unique contribution of this study after all. The latter is in fact an extension of the former but with one-sided character of oppression, *fakapōpula*, (Māhina, 1986, 1990, 1992, 2006, 2008a; 2008b, 2010). Overall, I have learned from Helu as a philosopher and scholar that it is easy to criticize *fatongia* and its *fuakavenga* patterns of behaviour, *kupesi*, but it is hard not to fully involve in their traditional protocols. He was still an individual within the wider scope of Moanan-Tongan culture in fact (Anderson, 1962; Baker, 1979, 1986; Olding, 1992; Weblin, 1992; Kennedy, 1992).

Some aspects of Helu's behavior outlined above are regarded as *fatongia* in Tongan culture without doubt in the manner of *fiefia* of *tauēlangi*, extreme euphoric excitement, and 'alaha kakala, permeating fragrance. This was witnessed in his respect due to

the willingness of His Majesty and Royal Guests to attend at the graduation ceremonies. Helu always showed this traditional spirit of psychological and emotional uplifting with its metaphorical and aesthetic behaviors of *tauēlangi* and *‘alaha kakala* in his graduation speeches. He normally elevated and praised His Majesty with words and expressions of extreme excitement for sparing and setting aside time to always attend the annual graduation ceremonies of ‘Atenisi University. It was sometime shown as well in his regular participation in dances during these annual functions, *kātoanga*. Helu’s appreciation was a response in an equal, *tatau*, and symmetrical, *potupotutatau*, modes of exchange, on this sense of *fiefia* for the regular attendance of His Majesty and Royal members. It is *fatongia* of *fiefia* rather than *fuakavenga*, burden-bear, in un-equal, *ta’etatau*, and asymmetrical, *ta’epotupotutatau*, ways. It is the former that Tongans tend to use the word *hu’amelie*, sweet-juice-taste, *kanomelie*, sweet-flesh-taste, and *ifo*, delicious, whereas the latter is about *hu’atāmaki*, bitter-fluid-taste, *kanotāmaki*, bitter-flesh-taste, and *ta’eifo*, flavorless. Normally they would say if they are not *fiefia* with the *fatongia*, “‘Oku hu’atāmaki ‘a e fatongia pē ‘Oku kanotāmaki ‘a e fatongia’”⁷“The obligation is bitter-fluid-taste or the obligation is bitter-flesh-taste.”

Helu’s (1987, 1988, 1992, 2008) behaviors in these annual graduation ceremonies, among others outlined above, still reflect his inability to struggle and fight against the chiefly and Christian influences of the Moanan culture. It is obvious that educated individuals like him are still socially and politically prone to assimilate and absorb into the strong moralities of society which are largely based on feudalism and Christian ethics. Helu was not strong enough to stand against their cultural impacts on his personal life in fact, even though he was one of the most controversial educated persons Tongan and Moanan societies have ever experienced in modern history. Previously, this study in Chapter I have confirmed that *fatongia* was initially and traditionally aimed to attain *fiefia* in a *tatau*, equal, and *potupotutatau*, symmetrical, way. Without fulfilling this specific aim, *siate*, its opposite of *fuakavenga* with its characters of alienation, *fakaehaua* and exploitation, *tāpalasia*, and oppression, *fakapōpula*, can rise into the fore (Lātūkefu, 1974, 1975, 1977; Bott, 1982; Māhina, 1990, 1992, 1999a, 2006; Helu, 1999).

Helu’s (1985, 1987, 1988) theoretical insight of *fatongia* in the 1980’s however is not fully accepted as valid in the context of this study. On the other hand, Māhina (1987) and Rimoldi’s (1986) insights, both lecturers of mine at ‘Atenisi, have been mostly used also as theoretical guidelines for my overall study of *fatongia* since the 1908’s. While I was studying at ‘Atenisi, Helu (1985, 1987, 1988) has largely influenced me on the oppressive side of such a subject-matter - *fuakavenga*. He influenced me too on the importance of critical thinking,

freedom of thought and classical clarity especially among the writings of classical Greeks like Socrates, Plato and Aristotle. Along the same line, Perkins who was my lecturer in ancient history, and Greek and Latin languages from 1985 to 1987 influenced and fostered my research interest in classical studies as well. This is reflected in my currently research interest with the inclusion of the views of Socrates, Plato and Aristotle on obligation, together with those of the Hellenistic philosophers after the academic life of such ‘three founding fathers’ of Western civilization as they are normally known in world history.

Helu also made some profound impacts on my study of Moanan and Tongan migrants living in Australia. His influential view on me regarding the imbalanced *fuakavenga* among the interaction of Moanan-Tongan migrants overseas and those living in Tonga with comparison to the Jewish Diaspora was manifested in my *Master Thesis* at the ANU in 1992. It appears that the amalgamation of *fiefia* in *fatongia* and the *ta’efiefia* nature of *fuakavenga*, without some clear-cut clarifications of their difference, was the main weakness in Helu’s (1985, 1987, 1988) theoretical insight in the 1980’s. Broadly, this weakness is seen too in other scholarly writings on *fatongia* by most, if not all, scholars throughout the Moanan academic circles. No Moanan-Tongan scholar has ever thoroughly discussed the distinction between *fatongia* and *fuakavenga* in the manner it has been displayed in this study (Māhina, 2008a, 2008b, 2011a).

This is with the exception of Māhina (2008a, 2008b, 2011a) who first pointed out to me this distinction for further examination, and his student Ka’ili (2008a) who is following him in expanding the former’s new *General Tā-vā, Time-Space, Theory of Reality*, as previously seen in the latter’s discussion of synchrony, *tonu*, and asynchrony, *hala*, in *fatongia*. Helu’s insight on the *fuakavenga* side of obligation however is accepted just to a certain extent. For example, this only applies and holds true when the Royal Family, chiefly classes and church leaders allow *fatongia* to be operated in a one-sided oppressive direction with no fair reciprocal exchange. Such a situation can in fact create unhappiness, *ta’efiefia*, dissatisfaction, *ta’efiemālie*, and anxiety, *ta’enonga*, as a consequence for failing to direct and operate things in an equal, *tatau*, and symmetrical, *potupotutatau*, ways (Māhina, 1986, 1990, 1992, 1999a, 1999b, 2004a, 2004b, 2006; Ka’ili, 2008a, 2010).

Fatongia can be equally and proportionally reciprocal as we have witnessed in some aspects of the cultural, social, political, economic and moral exchanges between Helu and the Royal Family. It appears that their exchanges did benefit both parties in a win-win situation. Consequently, ‘Atenisi was gradually recognized by the leaders and people of

Tonga and Moana on the cultural and national levels before receiving its regional and global credibility from overseas universities. Other factors like the academic success of his students overseas have contributed as well for this credibility. It implies too that *fatongia* can promote and advocate happiness, *fiefia*, satisfaction, *fie mālie*, and serenity, *nonga* in academic areas. It is only in the abuse and misuse of *fatongia* that we will end up in a *fuakavenga* situation instead, which Helu (1992, 1999, 2008) emphasized in most of his writings and teachings.

As discussed previously, oppression, *pōpula*, can rise into perspective only when exchange of moral respect, *tau hivā*, social reciprocity, *fakafetongi fetokai'aki*, and political harmony, *maau*, are not conducted equally in a *tauēlangi* and *'alaha kakala* manners. In doing so, this can give way to the psychological and emotional stage of happiness, *fiefia*, encouragement, *loto-lahi*, confidence, *loto-to'a*, and enthusiasm, *fiekau*, to do more *fatongia*. This is one defined line on *fatongia* between the works of Helu (1985, 1987, 1992, 1997, 1999, 2008) and Māhina (1986, 1990, 1992, 1999a, 2004a, 2006, 2008a, 2008b, 2010a).

Māhina in his works has clearly discussed the distinction and relation of *fatongia* and *fuakavenga* with their dialectically reconcilable and irreconcilable characters than Helu in the 1980's. Importantly, the former was the first scholar to point out such a distinction however (Māhina, 2008a, 2008b, 2010a, 2011a), which it seems to be amalgamated by both Tongan people and scholars respectively. This was observable in the decision of the late Majesty King Taufa'ahau Tupou IV to name one of the Tongan inter-Island ferries as *Fuakavenga*, without realizing perhaps that it is the opposite of *fatongia*. Nowadays, ordinary Tongans in general use the two terms interchangeably without realizing their distinction and relation. I first delivered my paper on the distinction and relation between *fatongia* and *fuakavenga* at the *Talanoa Oceania Conference* in Sydney in 2010.

A few Tongan women said to me after my presentation: "This is the first time for us to hear that they are totally two different words but with related meanings." I replied, "Indeed, we all have mixed up the two for a very long time, and still no one knows when this amalgamation was first happened in our history. I am so glad we have begun to discuss their distinction and relation (Lafitani, 2010b)." This is one of the main contributions of Māhina that has influenced my theoretical outlook regarding *fatongia*. On the other hand, Helu's works in the 1970's and 1980's on the oppressive character of *fuakavenga* reflects the radical influences on him by classical Western scholars like Machiavelli (1532) and Vico (2002). This seems to take place without some serious considerations of the dialectic interpretation of history by Marx (1957a, 1957b, 1957d) in his 'dialectic materialism' and Hegel (2007) in his

‘dialectic idealism’ with its opposed and complementary modes of operation, as it is perceived in the works of Māhina (1986, 1992, 1999a, 1999b, 2004b, 2006, 2011a).

However, Māhina’s (1986, 1987, 1990, 1992) serious consideration of Marx’s works on dialectic materialism and Hegel’s dialectic idealism since my study at ‘Atenisi has in a way directed my work more to the dialectic interpretation of *fatongia*. This is mainly because I have scientifically verified its logical validity and scientific truth in my past studies and observations of such a subject-matter. Māhina’s (1986, 1987, 1990, 1992) combination of the dialectic theories of Hegel and Marx in the complex interaction of idealism and materialism has been very helpful for this study as well. For Māhina (1987), “It is neither just the ideas and values nor material objects and economy that determine the direction of culture but both of them. Also all things are always exchanged and interacted in both contradictory and complementary ways, with complex, changeable, multiple and conflicting modes.” As a result, we then have harmony, *maau*, or disharmony, *ta’emamau*, or both. According to Māhina (2006, 2010a, 2010b, 2011a, 2011b), *ta’emamau* is dialectically a kind of *maau* but in an opposed mode with fast rate of change, and the latter is envisaged as a complementary mode with a slow rate of change. They are two sides of the same coin in the final analysis. For example, when things are *maau*, it means that they are in a manner of constant and permanent interaction but in a slow rate of change due to the equal interaction of its distinct but related multiple social forces (Ka’ili, 2008a). In according to Māhina (1992) and Helu (1999), when things are in a fast rate of change, we have ‘history’, and when are in a slow rate of change, we have ‘culture’.

It appears that Māhina’s lecturer, Rimolidi, at the University of Auckland, when doing his Master in social anthropology, has influenced him with the foundation of Marx (1957a) and Hegel’s (2007) works on dialectic materialism and idealism (Rimolidi 1987, 1992). Thus, Rimoldi (1986, 1987, 1992) is considered here as another scholar with influential wave as well on me while studying for my Bachelor of Arts at ‘Atenisi, albeit it was not to the same extent with the influences of Helu and Māhina. My interest on *fatongia* was further reinforced by Rimoldi (1986) and Māhina (1987) when they were teaching sociology in 1986 and 1987 at ‘Atenisi. I was a student of them. With Māhina (1987), his course on the founding fathers of sociology, especially Marx, Weber, Comte and Durkheim, has fostered my research interest on *fatongia*. Similarly, this happened too in Rimolidi’s (1986) case in his course on the neo-Marxists of the Frankfurt School, like Habermus and Marcuse, with their unified theory in critiquing some works of the traditional Marxists.

I wrote two different papers on *fatongia* and religion in Tongan society for both of them. Their feedbacks shared the common view of encouraging me to take both sides of *fatongia*, its oppressive and non-oppressive characters, and *fiefia* and *ta'efiefia* sides for that matter. Included also in their feedbacks they commonly emphasized the sociological and philosophical importance of the dialectic opposition and affinity of different factors in society, and also between the interaction of ideas and material objects in *fatongia* and culture generally. For both Māhina and Rimoldi, the view of Marx (1957a, 1957b, 1957c) that conflict is concealed until it reaches a point in time of maturity for things to come into the fore attracted my attention profoundly. I have experienced that when its mode of exchange is equal and proportional, we have harmony, *maau*, but disharmony, *ta'emamau*, happens when we fail to uphold them in a balanced way. Along the same line with these lecturers, I do not believe in upholding the Marx's utopian view that society with its dialectic materialism and conflicting ideologies between opposed social classes will end up in a stage of classless society. I have not experienced any point in human civilization in which the world or any society has come to the end of a classless society.

Moreover, Māhina's (1986) teaching of the ancient religion of *Ha'a Tu'i Tonga* Empire in prehistory and anthropology courses with his dialectic interpretation of how *fatongia* was created and allocated further fostered my research interest. He emphasized again in these two classes that when *fatongia* is distributed equally and proportionally political harmony, *maau*, was in place so people would experience happiness, *fiefia*, and satisfaction, *fitemālie*. On the other hand, the opposite of unhappiness, *ta'efiefia*, dissatisfaction, *ta'efitemālie*, and political disharmony, *ta'emaau*, occurred when the center of the Empire was failing to uphold the specific aim, *siate*, of *fiefia* in *fatongia* or *ngafa*. According to Māhina (1986, 1987), this imbalance had always caused major transformations in the political center of the Empire, including its gradual decline around the 15th Century up to its fall in the 19th Century.

As a consequence, this had given way to the formation of the two new Kingly systems of the *Ha'a Tu'i Takalaua* and *Ha'a Tu'i Kanokupolu* in the 15th and 17th Centuries. When observing the *Tu'i Tonga* Empire and the rise of the *Ha'a Tu'i Takalaua* and *Ha'a Tu'i Kanokupolu*, it has indicated that both *fatongia* and *fuakavenga* played a very important role in the whole operation. The predominance of the *fuakavenga* mode of exchanges rather than *fatongia* had definitely led to its gradual decline since the 15th Century and finally ended in the 19th Century, as a result of a long Civil War since the eighteenth century. In fact there were metaphorically too much *hu'atāmaki*, bitter-fluid-taste, *kanotāmaki*, bitter-flesh-taste, and

ta'eifo, flavorless, with *ta'efiefia*, unhappiness, and *ta'efiemālie*, dissatisfaction, in its entire operation (Māhina, 1992, 2006, Mariner, 1817; Gifford, 1929; Lātūkefu, 1974, 1995; Bott, 1982; Campbell, 1992).

Furthermore, the intellectual impacts of Māhina (1987, 2006), Rimoldi (1986, 1987), Perkins (1985, 1986, 2005) and Helu (1985, 1987, 1988) in the 1980's had urged me to change my research interest from planning to pursue a master degree in international law overseas to sociology. I had shifted and interested more on the idea of obligation, or 'division of labor' for that matter, particularly in the works of Comte, Weber, Durkheim and Weber. Generally, Helu, Māhina, Rimoldi and Perkins had largely played a major role in determining my early decision at 'Atenisi University to pursue further research on *fatongia*. My specific research interest was continuing overseas in later years when migrating to Australia for further study and reunion with the rest of my family. Before migrating, I started to learn Tongan and Samoan dances from Helu and Tuila Pusiaki during 1987 and 1988, which Māhina, and again Helu, continued to help and encourage my dance life further while living overseas, and finally I ended up taking Tongan and Samoan dances as a whole way life before and after wheel-chair bound up to the present. This was hallmarked in my post-wheelchair life when my wife Luseane and I established our Phoenix Performing Arts of Moana (PPAM) in 2002 (www.phoenix-dance.org) (see Figures 42-51 of pages xxxviii-xlii). We have consequently managed to perform two main public concerts in the Gorman House Arts and Belconnen Community Art Theatres in 2004 and 2007. Nevertheless, I decided when migrating to Australia in 1988 to study for my Master of Letters in sociology at the ANU in Canberra.

2.2.2. Research interest overseas

In 1988, I wrote my first postgraduate paper on *fatongia* and cultural conflict in my proposal for my *Master Thesis* in sociology at the Faculty of Arts of the Australian National University (ANU). As stated earlier, I presented it at the International Conference of the Tongan History Association (THA) in 1989. Following 1989, I wrote my *Master Thesis* in sociology at the ANU in 1990, and completed it in 1991. My research interest on *fatongia* that was began in 1985 at 'Atenisi first materialized in written form, *fuo*, and content, *uho*, in this *Master Thesis*, and also in a Chapter on *ECHOES of Pacific War* (1998), both at the ANU (Lafitani, 1992, 1998). Its attention and theme were both largely focused on *fatongia* and its relation to Tongan and Moanan cultures and world migration from Tonga and the other Islands to more urbanized and modernized Western countries like Australia, New Zealand and America. This comprises their ways of life in continuing to dedicate their energies and efforts

to *fatongia* for chiefs and church ministers overseas including relatives remaining in the homelands (Lafitani, 1994, 1995, 1998, 2005; Tongamoa, 1987; Cowling, 1990; van der Grijp, 2004; Ka'ili, 2008a).

When arriving at the ANU in 1988 to start my Master degree in 1989, Māhina was still doing his doctorate in prehistory at the College of Asian and the Pacific. Again, our association in discussing different issues in academic circles and *fatongia* in particular continued until 1992 in which he returned after completing his doctorate. My regular association with him and other 'Atenisi associates in Canberra and Sydney like Leonaitasi Hoponoa, Tipaleli Hoponoa (doctoral candidate), Sione Fakalata, Rev Hon. Lolomana'ia Tu'i'āfitu (Church Minister, Noble and Health Minister), Sione Faka'osi, Lisiate Ika (lawyer), Peni Langi (political scientist), Kinitoni Mafi (doctoral candidate) and Professor 'Inoke Fotu Hu'akau (President of Lo'au Research Society and Lo'au University) reinforced my commitment for studying *fatongia*, Moanan and Tongan migration worldwide, as well as, my other educational and artistic interests since 1989. Our *Maui Cultural Society* was formed in 1989 mainly for us to discuss different research issues under Māhina's leadership, and this was very helpful, including my struggle in these early years of my migration life to adapt to the new and more urbanized environment of Australia (see Figure 48 of page xli) (Māhina, 1992; Lafitani, 1992; Faka'osi, 1993; Hoponoa, 1996).

Māhina was still writing his doctoral dissertation again on the Tu'i Tonga Empire with its ancient religion but in a wider and more detailed analysis than his *Master Thesis* at Auckland University in 1986. As it was in his earlier works, *fuakavenga* and *fatongia* were more obvious in his analysis with new information, regardless of the fact that he has never used the distinction between the two Tongan words in both of his master and doctoral theses. In fact he has only started to use them during the past decade or so, but he has not written any detailed article or book on their main differences. Further, Māhina always emphasized the dialectic nature of *fatongia* among Tongan and Moanan migrants in Australia and overseas, as well as, the fact that it consists of both positive and negative characters. With the negative effects, he has used *fuakavenga* in the past decade when alluding to their values and behaviours, as it is observable throughout the content, *who*, of this dissertation.

For Māhina (1989), traditional values and behaviours of Moanan migrants always interact in a dialectic manner with those of the new environment and its more urbanized economy and modern technology with different ways of doing things. Māhina left in 1992 for New Zealand but I continued my study in 1993 for my first doctorate course in sociology and

social policy at the University of Sydney. I decided to move to social policy because I came across in some of my readings worldwide that apart from anthropology, sociology and philosophy, this is the modern discipline with a profound commitment to the theoretical and practical works on obligation.

So during my three years at the University of Sydney, I happened and was very fortunate to learn more about the sociological, anthropological, political, economic, welfare, moral and cultural significance of obligation worldwide. This has helped to widen my understanding of *fatongia* as well. It has helped me further in my world fieldwork during 1994 and 1995 when interviewing and observing *fatongia* and various problems facing by Tongan migrants in Sydney, Brisbane, London, the United States of America, Hawaii, New Zealand and Tonga. In this trip, it enabled me to visit the Universities of Oxford, Harvard and State of Washington and interviewed scholars on world migration and multiculturalism with conjunction to obligation. Their interests on my topic of research urged me to leave copies of my *Master Thesis* from the ANU in the social science libraries of these three universities (Lafitani, 1994, 1995, 1998; Cowling, 1990; van der Grijp, 2004; Ka'ili, 2008a).

Apart from Sydney and Melbourne which I have also collected information from Moanans living there, I again observed and experienced in America, Hawaii, New Zealand and Tonga the patterns of contradictory and complementary aspects in the life of Tongan migrants. Their dedication to traditional *fatongia* was still continuing very actively regardless of the complication of its negative and positive impacts on them (Lafitani, 1989, 1992, 1994, 1995, 1998). For Tongan migrants, apart from the negative impacts of *fatongia* on them when abusing it to the extreme of *fuakavenga*, they saw the different *fatongia* of fundraising as cushion, *fakamolū*, that provided them with feelings of security, *malu*, and oneness, *taha*, while struggling for socio-economic sufficiency, *kumi ha mo'ui*, overseas:

While struggling for socio-economic sufficiency (*kumi ha mo'ui*), migrants are involved in the adaptation process evident in the reasons behind the establishment of churches and the various forms of fundraising, not only because these are part of the cultural heritage, but also because they are cushions providing feelings of security and oneness (Lafitani, 1998: 86).

The above quotation shows that traditional Tongan expressions shown below were still active and alive in the lives of Tongan migrants in the 1990's and still up to the present. “‘Oku mahu'inga ange 'a e faifatongia kia hou'eiki mo takilotu' 'i ha to e me'a’/’”The delivery of obligation to chiefs and church ministers is more important than anything else,” and “‘Oku

ngāue pē 'a e Tonga' ki he fua fatongia”/“Tongans work basically to fulfill obligation.” For survival in Western society and other modern societies to the contrary, the following expressions must be put on the top of the priority list. “Paying off individual’s bills precedes anything else”/“*Oku mu’omu’a ‘a e totongi mo’ua fakataautaha’ ‘i ha to e me’a,*” and “People work only to pay off bills”/“*Oku ngāue pe ‘a e kakai' ki he totongi mo’ua.*” With Tongan migration worldwide, I have observed both the *fiefia* element of *fatongia* and *ta’efiefia* behaviour of *fuakavenga* respectively (Lafitani, 1992, 1994, 1998).

Before continuing on to the second part of this Chapter with a discussion of the core works of Helu (1992, 1999) on *fatongia* and *fuakavenga*, I would like to finish up this subsection with a discussion of my association with my supervisor, Professor Peter Camilleri (2003, 2005, 2010, 2011a, 2011b) and the Department of social work at the ACU of Signadou Campus in Canberra. Along the same line, there is a brief discussion of my affiliation with ‘Inoke Hu’akau while studying in Australia, and on my research topic in specific. How the ACU have influenced my research interest on *fatongia* in specific and obligation at large is the main focus of this discussion.

I first attended ACU in 1996 as a casual tutor on social work for one term while still studying at the University of Sydney. I was interested on the structure of the ACU, and their teachings of social work as one of its main courses, with none of such courses at the ANU and University of Canberra up to the present. In my knowledge from Sydney University, I realized that social work, or social policy, will be one of the main theoretical and practical disciplines of the 21st Century with great emphasis in spear-heading works and researches on modern obligation. This is basically due to the increasing interest in volume and momentum in its teaching and researching on related universal issues such as democracy, *pule’aetokolahi*, social justice, *vahe-tatau*, justice, *faitotonu* and right, *totonu*. More importantly, I have found out later in the association with my supervisor, Camilleri, and reading the works of social scientists in social policy and social works that obligation is one of the highest virtues among all in human interaction, to use the Aristotelian sense.

So when I felt sick in 1997 and became wheelchair bound permanently, I was transferred to the ACU in Canberra, and resumed my study in social work in 2000 (see Figure 49 & 50 of pages xli & xlii). Since then, Camilleri has been very supportive and informative in directing me to different materials on obligation worldwide, as well as, the areas of welfare and political sciences. He has encouraged me “to focus in elaborating and broadening the Moanan-Tongan view of *fatongia* and its etymology, because it is very important and original.” With my interest on classical Western philosophers and scholars, he has also

encouraged me to include their views on obligation because it is very interesting and relevantly important when comparing them to those of the Moanan-Tongan *fatongia* with its specific aim of *fiefia*.

In addition, Hu'akau (2005, 2007, 2010, 2011a) with his academic background in philosophy and logic at the University of Sydney has been very supportive and influential while conducting this research. His main contribution is in four-fold. Firstly, he has ensured that I keep my focus on the main proposition of the theme of the study and its implication. Secondly, he has asserted the importance to critically and carefully examine all theoretical outlooks selected for the research on *fatongia* prior to their application and employment. Thirdly, he has spelled out the importance to first clearly define the main concepts, or 'small units', of the theme of the study in the Socratic sense before examining other theoretical conceptions appropriate for the study. Lastly, his interpretation of *kava* ceremony since its formation by the *Ha'a* Lo'au, Lo'au Lineage, and Tu'i Tonga Line, is largely used in Chapter IV. Also, Hu'akau named our new research society in 1999 as the Lo'au Research Society (LRS), after the *Ha'a* Lo'au, with his belief that we should revive and do more studies about their lasting contributions to ancient Moanan-Tongan culture, and additionally one day establish a Lo'au University, or similar higher learning institute, with the amalgamation of Moanan-Tongan Lo'auan philosophy and that of the Greeks and worldwide.

All of the above discussion regarding the main reasons in Tonga, Australia and overseas appear to have provided some underlining backgrounds for the next section of this Chapter, with its concern in examining the main theoretical conception of *fatongia* by Helu (1992, 1999, 2005, 2008). In this section, I have unfolded and examined the reasons on why I was attracted to the concept of *fatongia* as a subject-matter of investigation in Tonga in the first place and also while studying and living in Australia since 1988. I have hand-picked Helu's view on *fatongia* for the following two reasons. Firstly, he was one of the most influential scholars in shaping my view on education, classical studies and *fatongia*, obligation, since 1985 up to his death in 2010. In 2008, I spent 5 weeks with him in Tonga while visiting to observe *fatongia* in the Coronation of the present King George Tupou V. I discussed with him most of the main issues and concepts in this study. Generally speaking, Helu and Hu'akau were the only people that I have discussed and shared most of the main issues and concepts of this dissertation, apart from my supervisor, Camilleri, and wife Luseane. Secondly, Helu was the first outstanding scholar and philosopher on Moanan-Tongan culture to study *fatongia* in detail from scientific and philosophical perspectives. Now, the discussion will examine Helu's main theoretical insight on *fatongia*, and how I relate

it to *fiefia* with its heavenly climax of *tauēlangi* and ‘*alaha kakala* together with their *kanomelie*, *hu’amelie* and *ifo* flavours.

2.3. Futa Helu on *fatongia*

This section consists of two main parts. Firstly, it is an analysis of the theoretical outlooks on *fatongia* by Helu (1992, 1998, 1999, 2005, 2006, 2008), based on the Andersonian (1962, 1982) definition of obligation. Secondly, it is a discussion of my interview with him in 2008, which portrays some changes in his outlooks on what is *fatongia* or *ngafa* when comparing to those in the 1980’s.

As I briefly mentioned, Helu was a student of Anderson at the University of Sydney between the 1950’s and 1960’s, and it is readily apparent in the core of his views on *fatongia* the profound influence by the latter on his theoretical viewpoints on such a subject-matter. Some further elaborations of his amalgamation of *fatongia* and *fuakavenga* are encompassed in this analysis as well. I begin by first examining the core of the theoretical conceptions of Helu (1992, 1995, 1997, 1998, 1999, 2006, 2008).

2.3.1. Helu’s theory

Helu’s (1983, 1999) view of *fatongia*, obligation, is well observable in his teachings on political and moral philosophy, and also in his interpretation of some controversial issues in the structure and development of Moanan-Tongan culture and politics. Following the ethical and social theories of his former teacher, John Anderson (1962, 1982, 2003, 2007), Helu promoted the consideration of treating fundamental morals such as taboo, *tapu*, right, *totonu*, privilege, *ngeia*, values, *anga*, and duty, *fatongia*, as nothing else but mere human ‘specific demands’ or ‘specific interest’ representing the ways of life of different social institutions and movements in society. According to Helu (1983: 47),

For purposes of theory, the interactions between *demands* may be profitably regarded as the principal characteristic of society...When, however, they can be made good, they become *rights*...The extreme types include taboos, curses and all forms of *sanctification*. Duty, privilege, value and the whole set of moralistic notions are all disguised demands, though of a slightly less extreme kind. In all these cases, if the social conventions are peeled off (whether taboo, privilege, duty, values, *etc.*) what we are left with are straightforward historical events: simple demands.

In an article, *Anderson, Heraclitus and Social Science*, Helu (1992:28) repeats this Andersonian insight in his analysis of the concepts of symbol or rhetoric, *heliaki*, and

sacredness, *toputapu*, with other moralistic notions in Tongan society including *fatongia*, value, *anga*, and privilege, *ngeia*. In this whole discussion *fiefia*, happiness, was not included in the discussions by Helu or the Andersonians. Helu (1992, 1999) reiterates the Andersonian explanation of seeing specific interests, or ‘simple demands’, *siate*, as the principal motive that make society ticks. This is based on Helu’s and the Andersonian theoretical outlooks that such *siate* of ‘good’, ‘*lelei*’ or *mata’ikoloa* (virtue or *arête*), which are made rights, *totonu*, are by nature wrapped-up with simple demands.

As I state somewhere else (Helu 1983) the sacred (the taboo or the sanctified) is nothing but the outer wrapping of a social package whose content is a straightforward demand or interests. When this wrapping is removed - that *taboo* lifted - we are left with an out-and-out demand (or demands). In my own culture, where the term *taboo* originated, every sacred object or situation, human and non-human, had and still has to do with the protection of certain rights and privileges (Helu, 1992: 28).

2.3.1.1. Helu and the Andersonians

This is the essence not only of Helu’s view but the Andersonian interpretation of obligation too (Anderson, 1962, 1982; Baker, 1979, 1986). There is nothing new in the quotation above when looking from the perspective of Anderson and his Sydney Realists. Given the fact that Helu (1983, 1999) has adopted and employed the moral and social theories of Anderson, it is therefore obvious from the quotation that he was just applying the Andersonian key ideas on obligation and simple demands (or specific interests, *siate* or *kaveinga*) to the studies of Moana-Tongan cultures and societies. This is where he largely focused on the *fuakavenga* side of *fatongia*. According to this Andersonian (1962, 1982) view, that Helu has wholly adopted all moralistic notions, like duty, *fatongia*, right, *totonu*, value, *anga*, privilege, *ngeia* and taboo, *tapu*, as human simple demands in disguise.

When they are made good, *lelei*, they become rights, *totonu*, which are based on the different *siate* of individual social institutions and movements interplaying in contradictory and complementary modes of operation. After studying the works of Helu (1983, 1985, 1987, 1999, 2005) and the Andersonians on this particular issue, I have come to partly accept their views on certain level but not all. I have agreed with them on the grounds that all such moralistic notions, including *fatongia*, obligation, are simple demands in disguise. When they are made good, *lelei*, then they are called rights, *totonu* (Maddock, 1992; Helu, 1992, 1995; Rimoldi, 1992; Kennedy, 1992; Weblin, 1992; Thiele, 1992).

I do not go all the way with them to the end of their analysis. In fact, they did not specifically spell out the final outcome(s) of such simple demands. I take it here to be happiness, *fiefia*. For them, this is particularly attributed to their claim that it is overall for the purpose of making it good. However, I would like to ask in what sense of good, and in whose interest. I would like to ask in this particular case on what sense of good, *lelei*, and right, *totonu*. Are they bare simple demands, *siate*, promoting just rights which are made good by the predominant moralities of society? Following the Andersonians, Helu's (1992, 1999, 1995, 2005) answer was in two parts.

First of all, they can be made good if are accepted by the predominant moralities of the ruling classes but not by the ruled. In the case of Moana-Tongan *fatongia*, it is the moralities of the chiefly class, *hou'eiki*, with their simple demands that are made good that dominate the whole process however. Another, they can be made good because duty, taboo, status and the like contain in themselves the qualities of beauty, *faka'ofa'ofa*, freedom, *tau'atāina*, courage, *lototo'a* and love, *'ofa*.

I believe that things are made good because their characters of *faka'ofa'ofa*, *tau'atāina*, *lototo'a* and *'ofa* can produce the aesthetic of happiness, *fiefia*, with its Moanan-Tongan heavenly finale of *tauēlangi* and *'alaha kakala*, and other flavours of *kanomelie*, sweet-flesh-taste, *hu'amelie*, sweet-liquid-taste, and *ifo*, delicious. I am aware for the main reason in their exclusion of happiness, *fiefia*. It is all about the view of claiming it as a 'romantic' and 'hedonistic' issue of concern. I would like to suggest that happiness, as in the case of love, *'ofa*, is a central component of *faka'ofa'ofa*, *kallos*, which is regarded by Helu and the Andersonians as an aspect of the question of "what is good". In the final analysis, they have regarded related notions such as beauty, freedom and love as part of good activities nevertheless without taking into account happiness, *fiefia*, or *eudemonia* (Anderson, 1962, 1982; 2003; Baker, 1979, 1986).

2.3.1.1.1. The question of "what is good"

For Helu (1985, 1987, 1988, 1992, 2005) and the Andersonians, good is about ideas and actions that have the 'intrinsic or natural quality' of beauty, *faka'ofa'ofa*, and freedom, *tau'atāina*. This includes courage, *loto-to'a* and love, *'ofa* (Anderson, 1962, 1982; Baker, 1979, 1986). The word that Helu and the Andersonians have been using for the interplay of different simple demands in society is specific interest or specific demand. According to them, it is the conflict of different specific interests that form the moral, social, political, economic, psychological, aesthetic and cultural bases of society.

It is a Marxist development when observing the clash of differently reconcilable and irreconcilable interests and ideologies between the capitalist and working classes in Europe. Helu (1983, 1992, 1999) and the Andersonian seem to deny the Aristotelian view of happiness, *eudaimonia*, also perhaps because of their opposition to the doctrines of hedonism and romanticism among the classical economists like Bentham (1961) and Smith (2008). Helu (1986, 1987, 1988) together with the Andersonian maintained the notion of *faka'ofa'ofa*, *tau'atāina*, *loto-to'a* and 'ofa when talking about good, *lelei*, without alluding to happiness, *fiefia*, which was Anderson's extension of Moore's (1912, 1922) view regarding the question of what is good.

Moore has suggested that there are certain things which are naturally good in themselves, which Anderson later added in examples such as freedom, love and courage encompassing beauty (Anderson, 1992, 1982). Helu (1983, 1992, 1999) just followed this view of good within things intrinsically especially if they possess beauty, *faka'ofa'ofa*, freedom, *tau'atāina*, courage, *loto'a*, and love, 'ofa. He seems to fail in identifying the fact that what is good (*ko e hā 'a e lelei*) and what is right (*ko e hā 'a e totonu*) within and among social institutions and movements can manifest themselves in the manner of happiness, *fiefia* or *eudaimonia*, also, which can be an aspect of beauty, *kallos* or *faka'ofa'ofa*.

As stated in Chapter I, Aristotle first pointed out this issue, after following Democritus (Rand, 1964; Tännsjö, 1998; Taylor, 2005), in which later schools like the Epicureanism followed during the Hellenistic period as discussed in Chapter V.

2.3.1.1.2. Good and happiness

Happiness, *eudaimonia*, for Aristotle is not only real in human life specifically when things are in equal and proportional, but also the highest virtues, *arête*, of all *arête*. Democritus before Aristotle first revealed the outlook that the supreme goal of life is contentment, *autarkeia* or *ataraxia*, arguing that joy and pain are the main distinguishing mark of things (Solomon, 1984; Woods, 1992). Helu and the Andersonians totally rejected happiness and just upheld beauty, *faka'ofa'ofa*, and freedom, *tau'atāina*, including courage, *loto-to'a* and love, 'ofa. They appear to totally miss out the fact that such four psychological and emotional impressions can be happily enjoyable, not for the pleasure of human sexual and erotic desires, but in the senses of Aristotle, Democritus and Epicurus.

This is a situation in which Moanan-Tongan *fiefia* with its *tauēlangi* and 'alaha *kakala*, including *kanomelie*, *hu'amelie* and *ifo* flavours, can come into the fore.

Fascinatingly, this study has explored that *faka'ofa'ofa*, *tau'atāina*, *lototo'a* and *'ofa* can conductively give pathway to happiness, *fiefia*, and vice-versa. Contrarily, the analysis of good, *lelei*, right, *totonu*, and simple demands, *siate*, and their relation to these psycho-emotional impressions by Helu and the Andersonians have excluded *fiefia* as a natural part of the whole process with or without our human likeness and vested interests.

For Helu and the Andersonians, it is only *faka'ofa'ofa*, *tau'atāina*, *lototo'a* and *'ofa* that are in the classification of good, *lelei*, actions, and are rights based on the different simple *siate*, of different social institutions and movements. To the contrary, I assert throughout this dissertation that people can be happy as a result of the presence of such psycho-emotional impressions, and it consists of different levels like *māfana*, warmth, *vela māfana*, elation and *vela 'osi'osi*, climactic euphoria. In the quotation from Helu (1983), there are still unclear questions in his discussion with the Andersonians regarding the relation of *lelei* to *faka'ofa'ofa*, *tau'atāina*, *loto-to'a* and *'ofa*.

One is that why they have accepted *faka'ofa'ofa* and not *fiefia* in their analysis of good activities with intrinsic and natural qualities in themselves. After all *fiefia* in this Moanan-Tongan sense of *fatongia* is a beautiful phenomenon with aesthetic nature, and this can be observable in other cultures too as Democritus, Aristotle and Epicurus explored thousand years ago (Anderson, 1962, 1982; Helu, 1992, 2005, 2006, 2008; Māhina, 1986, 1990, 1992, 1999b, 2004a, 2006, 2007a, 2008b).

As a result of their neglecting the notion of *fiefia* in all its manifestations from the whole discussion, they then have effectively missed out altogether the fact that such a notion can occur within the process of formulating *lelei*, good, behaviours in their intrinsic and natural terms, in the Andersonian and Moorian senses. As this dissertation has been maintaining, *fiefia* in a *tatau*, equal, and *potupotutatau*, propositional, mode of exchange can emerge as a result of *faka'ofa'ofa*, *tau'atāina*, *lototo'a* and *'ofa*.

In the situation of Moana-Tongan culture, we can refer to a successful *fatongia* as beautiful, lovable and courageous, and in return people can experience the feeling of freedom, *tau'atāina*, and serenity, *nonga*. There is a daily Tongan expression which exemplifies this point. “*Oku faka'ofa'ofa 'a e fatongia' ko e ola ho'omou 'ofa mo e lototo'a, pea 'oku tau ongo'i tau'atāina mo nonga he'ene lava lelei*”/“The obligation is beautiful as an aftermath of your love and courage, and we feel free and relaxed because it was successful.”

2.3.1.2. Social voluntarism, atomism and solidarism

Moreover, we have witnessed in the case of Helu when I was studying in Tonga that individuals are powerless in contrast to the wider influences of society, social institutions and movements. According to Helu (1999) and the Andersonians (Anderson, 1962, 1982, 2003, 2007), the focus of social sciences should be based on social groups rather than the individuals. Helu and Anderson's moral and social explanations of *lelei*, *totonu* and *siate*, are largely characterized and developed on the criterion of their opposing view toward the doctrines of 'social voluntarism', 'atomism' and 'solidarism' (Baker, 1979, 1986; Rimoldi, 1992; Helu, 1992; Olding, 1992; Kennedy, 1992; Weblin, 1992; Thiele, 1992). As it reflected in the above-mentioned quotation, Helu (1983, 199) has followed Anderson in advocating the belief of perceiving the dialectic interaction between different *siate*, simple demands, of individual social institutions and movements as the principal characteristic of society.

For the Andersonians, it is the intermingling of the specific interests or demands of different social institutions and movements that makes society tick, rather than the individuals. In short, social institutions and movements determine the perceptions, values and behaviours of individuals. Baker (1979: 11-12) has stated that Anderson strongly opposes to social voluntarism, social atomism and solidarism and all doctrines of 'indeterminism', that is, doctrines which are claimed not to be determined by multiple, changeable, complex and conflictual-complementary factors in life as a whole.

For Anderson (1962), social voluntarism with its emphasis on the 'uncaused free will' constituted by 'personal decisions' is stood in opposition to the conflicting tendencies of society among social institutions and movements. Social atomism is his rejection of one single cause that is claimed to determine the action of different ways of doing things, values and behaviours of individuals in the social group structure of society. He has rejected social solidarism with its emphasis that different specific demands of society are working in 'solidarity', however it is the balancing of opposed and supportive forces that keep society in harmony, *maau* or *harmonia*, as Māhina (2007a) and Ka'ili (2008a) have mentioned before.

Such indeterminist views are not fully adopted and employed in this research for the main reason. My study of *fatongia* in Moanan-Tongan culture and obligation at large has revealed that there is no single, personal or solidaristic cause to determine how Tongans

perceive and behave in a particular given situation. On the other side, there are always multiple, changeable and complex factors that determine and shape the decisions of people's moral conducts in both *fatongia* and *fuakavenga*, regardless of their opposing and supporting nature (Olding, 1992; Kennedy, 1992; Weblin, 1992; Rimoldi, 1992; Thiele, 1992; Baker, 1997).

2.3.2. *Talanoa* harmoniously yet critically

Furthermore, I would like to continue on by unveiling and analyzing my interview with Helu in Tonga on the etymology of *fatongia* or *ngafa* in 2008. I went to Tonga in 2008 for the following reasons. One was mainly to observe the modern and traditional nature of *fatongia* in the Coronation of King George Tupou V. The other reason was to interview and discuss with scholars like Helu and Māhina regarding my new interpretation of the etymology of *fatongia*, the principal concept of this study. In the section that follows, our discussions with such scholars were conducted in the light of *talanoa* conversation method. That is, we 'talked harmoniously but yet critically' in an informal manner, to partly use the definition of Māhina (2007a, 2008a, 2008b, 2010a, 2011a) and the ancient Moanan sense. I have employed the traditional meaning of such a method which Halapua (2005) has interpreted as 'talking from the hearts', as well as, the connotation of critical discussion in the Socratic *Elengkhos* of *Dialektike*.

This differentiates my sense of *talanoa* from that of Māhina and Halapua (2005, 2007), even though I have developed and derived some explanations from the views of such two thinkers compromising theologians like Havea (2010) with their inclusion of telling myths, *fananga*, whispering, *fanafana*, and stories, *talanoa*, of various kinds. When saying to talk harmoniously and yet critically, I am referring to the traditional Moanan-Tongan style of *talanoa*, which is based on talking harmoniously in a very low key of humility, *faka'aki'akimui*, or praising the audience instead of the speakers' self. This goes together with the Western sense of talking about issues in terms of the Socratic dialectic, *Dialektike*, lenses with his Method, *Elengkhos*, of analytical and critical apparatus, as it is discussed in Chapter I of the Introduction as well as Chapter V.

The traditional Moanan-Tongan *talanoa* was formulated and originally based on the notion of harmony, *maau*, and humility, *faka'aki'akimui*, while the Western sense of conversation as it was pioneered by the Greeks is based on critical thinking, *fakaanga'uhinga*. It does not mean that Moanan-Tongan culture has no *faka'uhinga*, differently, its *fakaanga'uhinga* is based on *maau* and *faka'aki'akimui* principles. Its reason is not based on the Socratic *Dialektike* but *tālanga* method deriving from formal speech, *malanga*, in *kava*

ceremony, oratory, *faiva lea*, and daily normal conversation of *talanoa*, which is further discussed in Chapter IV. With the word *talanoa*, *tala* is ‘to tell or talk’ and *noa* is ‘zero’ or ‘nothing’, so it seems, in accordance to Māhina (2007a; 2008b, 2011c), that its traditional meaning was originally dealt with talking harmoniously until the participants felt empty or tired of talking.

For Halapua’s (2005, 2007), he explains that it is a “Tongan method of talking from the heart.” What is not very clear from this discussion of *talanoa* is the amalgamation of its traditional and modern (classical Greek) senses, which I am attempting to unfold in this context. When we say *talanoa* is talking from the heart, it is not a peculiar matter for Moanan-Tongan culture per se, but is universal, and any person can talk from the heart worldwide if this is based on the artistic explanations of beauty and happiness by Māhina, Croce, Aquinas and Aristotle. So, the definition of *talanoa* I employed in my interview and discussion in Tonga with Helu and in New Zealand with Māhina (2008a), Helu (2008) and Talia (2008) was based on this said sense of talking harmoniously but yet critically. It is my combination of the traditional and modern (classical) senses of such a *talanoa*. Throughout Chapters IV and VI of the Conclusion, I have used *talanoa* in both its ancient and modern senses, and in some cases is either the former or the latter. However, my *talanoa* in Tonga and New Zealand were based on both two senses explained above.

2.4. *Talanoa* about the etymology of *fatongia*

When travelling to Tonga to *talanoa* with Helu (2008), I happened to meet in New Zealand on my way back with Māhina (2008b), Helu (2008) and Taliai (2008); all are Moanan-Tongan scholars and students of the former at ‘Atenisi University. Due to the fact that no Moanan-Tongan and Non-Moanan-Tongan scholars have ever examined the etymology of *fatongia* in the sense I am discussing and developing in this dissertation, it was fundamentally crucial for me to *talanoa* with such scholars. However, I am only discussing the view of Helu in this Chapter with reference to my *talanoa* with the rest in New Zealand.

With Helu in Tonga, I spent 1 1/2 month *talanoa* with him about my interpretation of *fatongia* as a derivative of the words *fa*, pandanus plant, and *tongia*, permeating fragrance. With those in New Zealand, I spent a week with them before returning to Australia. Helu gave me a chance as well to conduct a public seminar at ‘Atenisi University on my interpretation of *fatongia*, and 17 people attended mostly students. About three days a week I spent with Helu *talanoa* about my dissertation.

Helu (2008) was very interested in my interpretation of the etymology of *fatongia* or *ngafa* and he agreed with my claim that its traditional meaning seems to be stemmed from the words *fua'i fa momoho*, ripe pandanus fruit, and *tongia*, permeating aroma, with its main specific aim to attain *fiefia* in a *tauēlangi* and ‘*alaha kakala* with the flavours of *kanomelie*, *hu'amelie* and *ifo*. I presented to him also the distinction between *fatongia* and *fuakavenga* stemming from my association with Māhina, as well as, the latter's distinction between ‘metaphoric’ and ‘epiphoric’ nature, *heliaki*, of traditional Tongan language. Māhina sees metaphoric character as ‘associative *heliaki*’ or ‘*heliaki fakafēkau'aki*’, and epiphoric as ‘qualitative *heliaki*’ or *heliaki fakafēhauaki*’. My interpretation of *fatongia* or *ngafa* as an equivalent of *fa* and *tongia* or *nga* and *fa* of a permeating odour is a good illustration of the combination, or overlapping, of these two kinds of *heliaki*, according to Helu.

He said, “I have never thought of the distinction between *fatongia* and *fuakavenga* in the manner you are trying to uncover, it is very interesting, and it is possible for you to come up with a new direction for studying of obligation in Moanan academic circles and perhaps worldwide. In addition, Māhina's definitions of *heliaki* can also be overlapped in the scheme of things as you have indicated in your interpretation (Helu, 2008).” He smiled when I was explaining to him the old Tongan ferry to travel between the main island of Tonga, Tongatapu, and the rest of the Northern islands, with its name, *Fuakavenga*, carry the burden of *fatongia*. I said that perhaps our late King Tupou IV, who named it, was not aware that *fatongia* is different but yet related to *fuakavenga*. However, Helu (2008) said after listening to my interpretation of the etymology of *fatongia*, and my explanation about its difference from *fuakavenga*, that it might be interested to find out more about the origin of the difference between such two concepts in ancient Tonga.

One day we were *talanoa* regarding *fa*, *tongia* and ‘*alaha kakala*, he said to me, “I would like to share with you different but related meanings for *tongia* and ‘*alaha kakala* (Helu, 2008).” He said, “The words *tongia* can be different from ‘*alaha kakala*, and both of them can be different from the related words of *nanamu*, *mausa*, *manongi*, *taufā*, *taufā tangitangi*, *ngangatu*, *ngatuvai*, *ngangatu* ‘*alaha kakala* and *mahe'a* (Helu, 2008).”

For Helu, *tongia* has two meanings, a permeating fragrance that we immediately sense straightaway after the ripe pandanus fruits, *fua'ifa momoho*, are plucked, *paki'i*, or cut, *tu'usi* (general sense). *Tongia* is very immediate and not durable, as I have defined in Chapter I of the Introduction. Its other connotation refers to a feeling of wishful thought, *manatu*, for

someone's emotional words or influential deeds we do love dearly and miss terribly but who is no longer around (specific sense).

'*Alaha* is alluded to sweet-smelling plants, *kakala* that are still fresh and their aroma can stay durably for hours up to a day or so before withering away. It is generally applied to fresh *kakala* that are used in a social function, *kātoanga*, or similar event in day time (night time can change the '*alaha* nature as shown below). *Nanamu* is the ordinary and neutral word for anything that has a smell. *Manongi* is the morning fresh and light fragrance of *kakala* between 4am and 6am, but prior to this situation between 12am and 2am there is another morning '*alaha kakala*, which is known as *taufā*. It consists of a stronger scent than normal '*alaha kakala* and *manongi*; but between 2am and 4am is another stronger and more concentrated '*alaha kakala* which is called *taufā tangitangi*. Sometimes it is in short known as *tangitangi*. *Tangi* literally means 'crying out' or 'to cry out'. *Tangitangi* in a repetitive manner is therefore one way of saying that the '*alaha kakala* in this point in time symbolically behaves in a manner of crying out to the sense of smell to recognize its stronger aroma. It is stronger in fragrance with the most concentrated '*alaha kakala* of all. *Manongi* therefore is a follow-up of *taufā* and *taufā tangitangi* between 4am and 6am but with slim and lightest fragrance (Puloka, 1994; Helu, 2008).

Helu (2008) further explained that *mausa* is very similar to *tongia* in the sense of a permeating fragrance which flows in and out with the wind after a few second or a minute at any time. Unlike *tongia*, *mausa* keeps on coming and fading away repeatedly, and with the latter is sometime referred only to the fresh odour of *kakala* during dawn and early in the morning, which is sometime confused with *manongi*. *Tongia* is immediate in the freshest moment of a *kakala* and then it withers away, '*alaha kakala* is durable and longer but not infinite, and *manongi* is the special fragrance of '*alaha kakala* in the morning from 4am to 6am. As stated, the latter is a follow-up of *taufā* and *taufā tangitangi* just before the sun rise in full, and *mausa* keeps on coming and fading away repeatedly, and last but not least, *ngangatu* and its variation like *ngangatu 'alaha kakala* or *ngangatu 'alaha* and *ngangatuvai*.

Ngangatu is a beautiful fragrance that is durable but not as strong and fresh permeating as '*alaha kakala*, *tongia*, *taufā*, *taufā tangitangi*, *mausa* and *manongi*. It normally points to beautiful scent of an old garland, *kahoa*, so it is not fresh as others but is still has a unique beautiful aroma. *Ngangatuvai* is an extension of *ngangatu* but it is a mixer of water and some *kakala* on a white tapa, *feta'aki*, that gives rise to this unique graceful perfume (*vai* means 'water'). *Ngangatu 'alaha kakala* is a mixer of *ngangatu* and '*alaha kakala*. In other

words, it is a mixer of old and fresh effectively beautiful aroma. Last but not least is the word *mahe'a*, and it is only used for something that smells bad, but its behaviour is like *mausa* in the sense that it comes and then withers away (Helu, 2008). Socially speaking, when someone does something really awful, Tongans normally say, “‘*Oku mahe'a mo namu kū mai 'a e kovi 'ene ngāue*’”/“His or her horrible deed is stung and smelled awful.”

Moreover, Helu (2008) put it in the following manner when interviewing regarding the distinction and relation between *fatongia* and obligation worldwide. “Logically, they are the same but different in explanation, that is, their form, *fuo*, on the feeling of being obligated to others is the same, as you have developed in your study but scientifically the details, *uho*, on how they operate and accommodate things socially and politically may differ in accordance to individual cultures and their different ways of doing things. We generally perceive them as political-moral and socio-economic duties of people in looking after themselves notably for social and political security, welfare and cultural preservation.”

What Helu (2008) has alluded to in this context that people in their struggle for survival are responsible to protect and defend them from opposed and destructive actions are largely social and political in nature. People are concerned too with their social and economic welfare on daily basis, as well as, the moral willingness to promote their different reconcilable and irreconcilable specific interests based on political motives (Helu, 1992; 1995, 1999, 2005, 2008).

For Helu (2008, 1999), Western society seek primarily for socio-political security, economic, welfare and cultural preservation in a more individualistic mode still for the betterment of society. He added, “This is derived in our modern societies from the moral values of natural rights, human rights, natural universal responsibility and human universal responsibility, which is a kind of worldview. In most societies, this can be used in egoistic and individualistic manners as opposed to the communalistic and altruistic behaviours of Moanan-Tongan *fatongia* you are trying to unveil in your research.”

Helu (2008) continued, “I have used the words ‘global values’ for such world values and responsibilities because they are applied to other cultures worldwide and what I have called people worldwide as ‘global individuals’. They are no longer citizens of a particular nation but global values of global individuals, as it is shown in the works of modern scholars like Mathew Arnold and Edwards Said on ‘universal culture’, and John Rawls on ‘social good’ and ‘justice’. Obligation and rights are material to all such theories anyway, but

at the same token we must not confuse it with the doctrine of ‘structural-functionalism’ in social sciences, which is based on the biological and teleological claim that all things are functional in nature. I believe in the idea that obligation is a kind of right and demand of different social movements and institutions interacting in a complex, changeable and conflictual nature in society.”

Helu (2008) proceeded on and talked about *fatongia* and *fuakavenga* by explaining that in the case of Tongan culture, *fatongia* or *ngafa* is everything in life. “*Fatongia* is everything in Tongan culture, ranging from its importance within the immediate nuclear and extended traditional family systems, *fāмили* and *kainga*, to chiefly lineages, *ha’a*, and society, *fonua*, nationwide, including new different ways of life of modern social classes, with no socio-cultural boundaries, and even about the socio-ecological relationship of people with their natural environment, but with the exception of educational freedom. I am interested in your view of equating *fatongia* to worldview, and in my view, *fatongia* as a worldview to reality holds true in the situation of Tongan culture and society.”

Helu (2008) has added also that human kinds since immemorial times came into being and built civilization hand-in-hand with obligation and its different variation like duty, responsibility and role, regardless of their social, political, economic and cultural differences. In other words, human civilization and society were originated and institutionalized since the beginning of time with the human fundamental concept of obligation, *fatongia*, for survival, welfare and cultural purposes.

Importantly, Helu’s (2008) view is in line in a way with that of Lewis’ (2011) Lists on the permanent relation of universal natural responsibilities and universal natural rights, in the sense that both universal and natural phenomena go hand-in-hand. The latter has outlined and discussed obligation in terms of the interrelated notions of responsibility, duty and right, and this fits in with the claim of this study that *fatongia*, *deontic*, responsibility, duty, role, function, right and the like are different in content, *who*, but all sharing the same common form, *fuο*, of obligation generally. As shown, the *fuο* of obligation with its universal nature is the concern with the question of who is obligated to whom or the human impression of obliging to others.

Due to the relation of Helu (1999, 2008) and Lewis (2011) in the situation of obligation and rights, I now illustrate some important aspects of this intellectual link. This is particularly witnessed between the fundamental values and behaviours of human rights and

responsibilities in the wider context of obligation on the global level. Helu (2008) has pointed out that *fatongia* is a kind of duty, responsibility, role and right, with different *who* but related *who*. From Lewis, it apparently shows that rights and responsibilities always go simultaneously, as Helu has also spelled out. Lewis (2011) provides the following Lists of comparison between universal natural rights and universal natural responsibilities worldview and how such rights interact with responsibilities in opposed and complementary ways of exchange in most if not all situations.

2.4.1. Universal natural rights and responsibilities

Lewis Works with its 6 Universal Natural Rights:

1. The universal right of life
2. Right to non-interference
3. Right to natural selection
4. Right to natural habitat
5. Right to resource protection
6. Right to explore and research in natural systems

Lewis Works with its 6 Universal Natural Responsibilities:

1. Universal non-violence
2. Responsible intervention
3. Responsible selection
4. Responsible environmental design
5. Responsibility to resource reservation
6. Responsibility to transmission and extension of knowledge of natural systems

What is important from these Lists by Lewis (2011) for the concern of this subsection is the reflection of the previous claim that human rights and responsibilities in this discussion of obligation, *fatongia*, cannot exist and function separately. For all the rights on

the first List there are always responsibilities to go with them on the second List, either on a complementary or opposed way. What matters the most after all is the theoretical conception by this study that universal natural rights and universal natural responsibilities, be in the situation of *fatongia*, obligation, duty, role, task or function, always go together. We cannot totally separate them in isolation from one another. All the six points on the first List are serious matters of concern and must be considered in any process of approaching the reality of responsibilities in any point of interaction. *Fatongia* in a wider global perspective is therefore a worldview, *philosophia* or *weltanschauung*, and it cannot be exclusively isolated from moral values like human rights, *totonu-'a-e-kakai*, social justice, *vahe-tatau*, and democracy, *pule'aetokolahi*, as well.

As it has been argued before in Lewis' (2011) Lists, human fundamental values and behaviours like *totonu-'a-e-kakai*, *vahe-tatau* and *pule'aetokolahi* cannot operate and utilize without the involvement of obligation in its different variations ranging from responsibility and duty to function and role, and *fatongia*, with their non-oppressive characters to *fuakavenga*, oppressive characters. Only in the context of *fatongia* or *ngafa* (i.e. daily domestic *fatongia*) therefore we can experience human rights, social justice and democracy but not in the situation of *fuakavenga* and its oppressive characters with the elements of servility and imbalanced reciprocity. This brings us to the concluding remarks of this Chapter in the manner of a Summary.

2.5. Summary

We have observed throughout this Chapter that my decision to select *fatongia* as the main concept of this study was not merely based on my personal experiences as a Tongan who happened to grow up in one of the smallest islands in the South Seas, but also due to the great impact of Helu, in particular, and, Perkins, Māhina, Rimoldi, Hu'akau and Camilleri. While still studying at 'Atenisi University and overseas, all have influenced my theoretical outlooks on *fatongia* and education generally in different but related manners. As I have explained, I was planning to continue further study overseas in international law with the aim to learn more about the laws of the sea, air, sea, land and war. So it makes sense to say that my overall interest and keenness to study *fatongia* and its multiple, changeable and complex characters have been based and developed out from both cultural and intellectual modes of influence. It also appears that there is a need for this study of *fatongia* to be continued within the Moanan-Tongan circles, as well as, its empirical and theoretical link to obligation worldwide in academic disciplines like economics, political sciences, social policy, sociology

and religion. From ‘Atenisi and Tonga, I have expanded my study of *fatongia* and its relation to *fuakavenga* throughout this Chapter into a different level of understanding, as a result of the cultural and intellectual influences of Helu, Perkins, Māhina and Rimoldi, as well as, Hu’akau and Camilleri overseas among other seminal scholars in academic circles as a whole.

While studying for my BA with the introductory knowledge from Helu on Tongan culture and Perkins on classical studies, the arrival of Māhina and Rimoldi further shaped and directed my view regarding the distinction and relation of *fatongia* and *fuakavenga* since then. Consequently, I have become to interest more on the dialectic nature between *fatongia* and *fuakavenga*. Although Helu first embarked on me this intellectual eagerness on *fatongia* for the first time, Māhina and Rimoldi followed up in 1986 and 1987 by not only consolidating it but bringing into light some new perspectives on its link to *fuakavenga* and other related issues. All have helped me to understand that there are other fundamental values and behaviours relating to *fatongia* or *ngafa*, which they can produce beautiful permeating fragrance, ‘*alaha kakala*, and the divine climax of *tauēlangi* with the *fiefia* flavours of *hu’amelie*, *kanomelie* and *ifo*, on one hand. Consequently, this can also give rise to positive and relaxing feelings of satisfaction, *fie mālie*, and serenity, *nonga*.

On the other hand, it can end up in a *fuakavenga* situation of *ta’efiefia*, unhappiness, with the flavours *hu’atāmaki*, bitter-liquid-taste, *kanotāmaki*, bitter-flesh-taste, and *ta’eifo*, tasteless. Consequently, dissatisfaction, *ta’efie mālie*, and anxiety, *ta’enonga*, can emerge into the fore. Helu is appeared to have put more emphasis on the *fuakavenga* side of *fatongia* without clarifying the differences in most if not all of his teachings and informal *talanoa*. This includes certain issues of paradoxical nature, as in the case of his association with the late King Taufa’ahau Tupou IV and the Wesleyan church. Paradoxically, Helu has strongly criticized the Tongan feudal system and its Christian ethics, on one hand, without totally isolating himself from the reality of their political-religious practices and their influential power and energy upon him, on the other hand. In the final analysis, this again reminds us of the influential power and energy of social movements and institutions over those of the individuals. Helu in thoughts and behaviours appears to amalgamate the different but related characters of *fatongia* and *fuakavenga*. Following Māhina, it is shown that all *fatongia* are traditionally dealt with the main *siate*, specific interest, of searching for the beauty of happiness, and contrarily *fuakavenga* can take over the entire process if its main *siate* of *fiefia* is not successfully operated.

While studying overseas, Māhina was very helpful again in laying the foundation for my educational and art life at the ANU, and encouraging me to dwell further to the nature of *fatongia* and its opposite of *fuakavenga* among the life of Tongan and Moanan migrants living in Australia and overseas. Additionally, my time of studying and researching with the ANU and University of Sydney has reinforced my belief that sociology and social policy are among the main disciplines in social and applied sciences that have conducted and gathered profound and vast works on *fatongia*. Apart from related disciplines such as anthropology, economics and philosophy, sociology and social policy have reinforced my initial and later inquisitiveness at ‘Atenisi University and ACU to find out more about *fatongia* and its other relevant and important characters to the lives of Tongans and ancient Greek and Roman philosophers. With sociology, I have learned from the works of the founding fathers like Marx, Weber and Durkheim that obligation or division of labour is so fundamental to the study of pre-modern and modern societies, encompassing human kinds in general. In the University of Sydney and ACU up to the present, I have learned especially from my supervisor Camilleri the importance to bring the Moanan-Tongan *fatongia* into the study of social policy and obligation worldwide. Thus I have found out that social policy is one of the leading disciplines in studying obligation worldwide, and also the important of its connection to the fundamental values and behaviours of social justice, *vahe-tatau*, human rights, *totonu-‘a-e-kakai*, and democracy, *pule’aetokolahi*.

With Hu’akau, I have learned also the philosophical and logical importance to always ensure that the main concepts and theories of any subject-matter are critically and carefully defined first before proceeding on. For him, this should be conducted in the tradition of the Socratic cross-examination of issues and the Aristotelian way of studying logic, which has indicated in my explanations of the main themes of this study with their logical propositions of scientific and philosophical implication. The Socratic Method, *Elengkhos*, with its *Dialektike* nature for instance is still the main scientific and philosophical approach that world scientists and philosophers have been using in the past two thousand years or so. Helu has asserted that this Socratic *Dialektike* and its *Elengkhos* is the ‘world method’ for any scientific, logical and philosophical inquiry. He (2008) has explained, “Socrates discovered the Scientific *Elengkhos* for science, logic and philosophy worldwide, which is based on critical thinking and the cross-examination of issues in an objective and logical manner (Helu, 1999).” In general, this was first thoroughly highlighted and clarified in the scientific, logical and philosophical works of his well-known student Aristotle, as it is reflected in some of the Aristotelian materials using in this dissertation.

While doing my current doctorate at the ACU, I have realised too that Moana-Tongan *fatongia* still consists of space, *vā*, to be explored further in relation to welfare and social policy. This has in effect motivated me to travel to Tonga and *talanoa* with Helu for confirming and clarifying my theoretical insights on the etymology of *fatongia* among other related matters of great significance. For him, it is appeared that my research interest on obligation with its theme and *fiefia* modes of being is a valid argument in its own right, and it may contribute positively to the world discussions of obligation. Also our conversation of *talanoa* together with the interview about the distinction between *fatongia* and *fuakavenga* was well taken into account by Helu, which is also a new approach in accordance to his response to my presentation of the themes of this study.

Also my *talanoa* with Helu and the discussion in this Chapter has reminded his theoretical viewpoint when I was interviewing him in 1989 for my *Master Thesis* at the ANU regarding Tongan migrants and how their cultural values and *fatongia* have still influenced and moulded the ways they behave in the new Western environment. Helu (1989) has accounted in our interview, “Tongan culture and its moral values like *fatongia*, obligation, and *talangofua*, obedience, are based on the dominant values and behaviours of the *hou’eiki*, chiefs, in which their moral foundation and characters are built and evolved around the notion of servility and oppression.” As shown, Helu in our 2008 *talanoa* and through his academic teachings and writings did not clearly differentiate *fatongia* and *fuakavenga*, as well as, the paradoxical nature of his behaviours towards politics and religion. On one hand, he criticized politics and religion, on the other hand, he followed and involved in their social practices, as it is observable in the situation of church’s *misinale*, fundraising, and *fakaafe*, feast, as well as, the continuing presentation of food and money to HM King Taufa’ahau Tupou IV in the annual graduation ceremonies of ‘Atenisi University for over 10 years.

This Chapter concludes with my critique of the Heluan and the Andersonian views on right, *totonu*, and good, *lelei* or *mata’ikoloa* with their exclusion of *fiefia* in the whole interaction of different specific interests or simple demands in society in the manner of conflicting tendencies. From their exclusion of happiness as romantic in nature, it has in effect made them to see social movements and institutions with their different specific interests and feelings as having no *fatongia* or *ngafa* of *tauēlangi* and ‘*alaha kakala* in society. As shown, this is something that is not fully accepted and supported by this study because I have argued throughout its scope that happiness, *fiefia*, is both a human and social phenomenon. Therefore, it should by virtue exist in the medium of space, *vā*, and time, *tā*, of any human struggle for survival and for promoting reconcilable and irreconcilable different specific interests, *siate*.

I have further related Helu's outlook on universal natural rights and responsibilities to those of Lewis with his Lists on the opposed and supported modes of exchange between these two interconnected fundamental values and behaviours. It shows that natural rights and responsibilities cannot occur in isolation from each other in the normal scheme of things. In short, they are two sides of the same coin. This is one of the world issues in the area of human rights, social justice and democratic politics nowadays whereby some activists and scholars have claimed that rights can function differently from responsibilities, or obligation for that matter. Such a claim is not supported by this study, as shown in the above discussion by Helu and Lewis, as well as, neither universal natural rights nor universal responsibilities can function independently from each other. To the contrary, both are in action together all the time in an interweaving and exchanging behaviour. I have observed many world cases which show that rights with no responsibilities can lead on to disharmony, *ta'emaau*, and dissatisfactory, *ta'efiemālie*, and vice-versa.

Overall, I am sure that the above discussion can open some perspectives regarding the discussion and analysis in Chapter III, with its focus in unfolding the birth-ground, *fonua*, of *tauēlangi* and *'alaha kakala* with their *fiefia* flavours of *kanomelie*, *hu'amelie* and *ifo* in Moanan-Tongan performance art, *faiva*. This includes some discussions of the place of *'alaha kakala* and *tauēlangi* in dance poetry, traditional *kava* ceremony of Tongan culture and society since ancient times, and their values and behaviours in current situation. Both *faiva* and *kava* ceremony are perceived in this dissertation as the traditional birth-grounds, *fonua*, and nest, *pununga*, for the rise of the definition of *fatongia* with its sense of *fiefia* that is discussing and developing in this study. Now I will continue and discuss *faiva* as one of the main birth-grounds, *fonua*, for happy obligation, *fatongia fiefia*, with its heavenly climax of climactic euphoria, *tauēlangi*, and permeating aroma, *'alaha kakala*, in ancient Tonga and beyond.

Chapter III: Performance art, *faiva*

Both the quality and utility of art are made to co-exist, at least in classical Tongan arts...In this context, a pivotal distinction between the internal and external qualities of art is made. By internal qualities, reference is made to the transformative aesthetic states of *tatau*, *potupotutatau* and *faka'ofa'ofa*. On the other hand, the external qualities of art are made up of the conflicting emotional states of *māfana* (warmth), *vela* (fieriness) and *tauēlangi* (climaxed elation) (Māhina, et al, 2010:19).

3.1. Introduction

This Chapter aims to examine two main sections regarding the study of the historical and cultural background of *fiefia* in *fatongia* with its heavenly apex of *tauēlangi* and 'alaha kakala since ancient Tongan society. The first section deals with uncovering the birth-ground, *fonua*, and nest, *pununga*, of *fiefia* in *fatongia* or *ngafa* through Moanan-Tongan performance art, *faiva*, since ancient times. Particularly, it is seen that this *fonua* was probably formalizing first at the aesthetic areas of dance poetry, *ta'anga faiva*, with its dance, *faiva haka* or *tau'olunga*, music, *hiva*, and poetic text or oratory, *ta'anga* in conjunction to moral respect, *tauhivā*, social reciprocity, *fakafetongi fētokai'aki* and political harmony, *maau*. *Faiva haka*, *hiva* and their *ta'anga* in combination are perceived to be the birth-ground, *fonua*, of *fiefia* with its divine finale of *tauēlangi*, climactic exultation, and 'alaha kakala, permeating fragrance.

This gives way to the rise of their flavours of *hu'amelie*, sweet-liquid-taste, *kanomelie*, sweet-flesh-taste, and *ifo*, delicious, in *fatongia*. *Kanomelie*, *hu'amelie* and *ifo* in *fatongia*, as well as their counterparts of *hu'atāmaki*, bitter-liquid-taste, and *kanotāmaki*, bitter-flesh-taste, and *ta'eifo*, tasteless, in *fuakavenga* are seen as originated from the ancient consumption functions, *kātoanga kai'anga*, as mentioned earlier, and have been used by poets, orators and musicians in their art works as metaphoric and aesthetic expressions for a successful and enjoyable *fatongia*. In the normal scheme of things, it appears that the employment of *tauēlangi* and 'alaha kakala in *faiva haka*, *hiva* and *ta'anga* was later dialectically and adopted by *tauhivā*, *fakafetongi fētokai'aki* and *maau* activities in society. This encompasses their application in the daily normal conversation of *talanoa*, and formal

speech, *malanga* of art of oratory, *faiva lea*, and in *ta'anga* of different kinds of music, *hiva* (Pusiaki, 1987, 1988; Māhina, 1992; Helu, 1999, 2005; Kaepler, 1993, 1999; Hoponoa, 1996, Ka'ili, 2008a, 2008b).

With *kanomelie*, *hu'amelie* and *ifo*, they are not discussed in this Chapter in detail but in Chapter IV with the *fonua* of *kava* ceremony. They are important because poets, orators, musicians, and people in general normally use them in metaphorical terms when alluding to a very enjoyable and successful *fatongia* or deed. Bott (1982) first spelled out the cultural importance and implication of *hu'amelie*, *kanomelie* and *ifo*, and this was followed by Māhina (2006, 2011a) and Ka'ili (2008a) which this study is attempting to expand with some additional conceptions. In specific, these were the first scholars to discuss such terms in academic literature, apart from the fact that Tongans in general normally use them in music, oratory, poetry and normal conversation of *talanoa*. Tongans sometime say, “’Oku *kanomelie pea ifo 'a e fatongia* □ *ko 'ene tauēlangi*”/“The obligation tastes sweetly and deliciously due to its climactic euphoric nature.” In short, they would say, “’Oku *melie 'a e fatongia*”/“Obligation is sweet.” Nevertheless, this first part will proceed on and examine how the historical and cultural background of *tauēlangi* and *'alaha kakala* with their *kanomelie*, *hu'amelie* and *ifo* flavours function in dance poetry, *ta'anga faiva*, with its natural qualities in both ancient and modern situations.

With the second section of this Chapter, its focus attempts to discuss *'alaha kakala* and *tauēlangi* in traditional Tongan dance, *faiva haka*, with their related areas of pride of locality, *laumātanga*, pride of fragrant plants, *laukakala*, together with some recent interpretations of modern poetry in relation to *laumātanga*. This encompasses as well an interpretation of their relation to *fatongia* and its *siate* of *fiefia* with the climaxed euphoria of *tauēlangi* and beauty of *'alaha kakala*. I have also comprised in this interpretation my past-current practical experiences and knowledge as a Moanan-Tongan dancer, choreographer, composer, *kava* drinker and a community member in performance art, *faiva*. In general, the first part then is dealt with what this dissertation asserts as the historical and cultural birth-ground of *fiefia* with its heavenly features of *tauēlangi* and *'alaha kakala*, in performance art, *faiva*, to use Māhina's (2006, 2008a, 2010a, 2011a) translation (he translates it as *faiva*). In addition, the second part focuses in uncovering such two features in *ta'anga faiva*, *laumātanga*, *laukakala* and modern poetry, *ta'anga*. On that note, I will proceed on to the first section of this Chapter with a discussion of the birth-ground, *fonua*, and nest, *pununga*, for *fiefia* in *faiva*.

3.2. *Fiefia* in performance art, *faiva*

This section attempts to display the theoretical conception that *fiefia* with its euphoric nature of *tauēlangi* and ‘*alaha kakala* came into being within the traditional setting of performance art, *faiva*, particularly in the areas of dance, *faiva haka* or *tau’olunga*, music, *hiva* with their poetic text, *ta’anga*. This is believed to be later on dispersed into the art of oratory, *faiva lea*, daily normal conversation of *talanoa*, and all moral maxims, *angafai*, in society intentionally for the preservation of harmony, *maau*, in the *status quo*. Prior to a discussion of the birth-ground of this sense of *fiefia*, I would like to first elaborate the word *faiva*, performance art, due to some conflicting explanations in the existing literature on its definitions. Since there are still opposing and supporting views in the existing Moanan-Tongan literature on *faiva*, and also *tauēlangi* and ‘*alaha kakala* are seen as its product, it is therefore important to first identify its sense(s) I am employing in this Chapter.

3.2.1. *Faiva*

Faiva haka, dance, *hiva*, music, and their *ta’anga*, poetic text, in unison have been alluded to by Helu (1999) in Tongan as *faiva*, art. In other situations, he has referred to arts as a whole as ‘*faiva*’ also (Helu, 1985, 1997, 2006, 2008; Māhina, 1992; Hoponoa, 1996). So, it appears that there are two senses of *faiva* in this respect. Hoponoa (1996) and Māhina (1992) were among the students of Helu to follow the first sense of *faiva* as a combination of *faiva haka*, *hiva* and *ta’anga* in unison. Later on, Māhina, et al (2010; Māhina, 2005, 2006, 2010a, 2010b) have stated that this kind of explanation is not complete because Helu has excluded from the discussion other performance art, *faiva*, like *faiva lovavaka*, boat-racing art, and *faiva sika*, javelin-throwing art, including *nimamea’a*, fine art for women, and *tūfunga*, material art for men. Māhina, et al, (2010; Māhina, 2005, 2006, 2010a, 2011a) have criticized Kaeppler for her un-clear definition of the same subject-matter. In a general sense, Kaeppler (1967, 1990, 1993, 1999) has defined *faiva* as skills, *taukei ngāue*, and abilities, *ivi ngāue*, possessed by someone either in genealogical hereditary or personal acquisition. Ka’ili (2008a, 2008b, 2010), a student of Māhina, has recently suggested another general explanation by considering *faiva* as a process or event of beating time, *tā*, repeatedly in space, *vā* (James, 1988, Kaeppler, 1999).

After examining Māhina (1992, 1999b, 2004b, 2005, 2006, 2010a), Kaepler (1970, 1990, 1993, 1999, 2005), Helu (1990, 1997, 2006, 2008), Hoponoa (1996) and Ka’ili’s (2008a, 2008b, 2010) works, I have effectively divided the word *faiva* into four meanings. Two of these senses are general in behaviour and the others are specific. Firstly, “*faiva* broadly alludes to all specific skills, *taukei ngāue*, or abilities, *ivi ngāue* possessed by some individuals and social groups in society,” in accordance to Kaepler (1993). Kaepler (1990, 1993, 1999) is the expert of this version without including beauty, *faka’ofo’ofa*, and she believes that *faiva* must go together with *haka*. *Haka* for her is ‘to move the hands rhythmically’ while singing (Kaepler, 1993: 31).

In this context, Kaepler overlooks the distinction of *faiva* as performance art in Māhina’s sense and *faiva haka* as dance, as well as, in the explanation of Hoponoa (1996) after following the sense(s) of Helu. *Faiva* is taken here as different from *faiva haka* or *tau’olunga* even though the latter is part of the former. Kaepler (1993) has spelled out her general sense in the following words, “*Faiva* refers to any work, task, feat, trade, craft, or performance requiring skill or ability. When *faiva* is preceded by the possessive *hoku*, it suggests that these skills were not inherited but require input on the part of the possessor (1993: 31).” She adds in, “The verb, *haka*, means ‘to move the hands rhythmically, especially while singing’ (see Figure 40-53 of page xxxvi-xliii). Thus, ‘*faiva* with *haka*’ means a performance requiring skill in which the hands are rhythmically moved while singing (Kaepler. 1993:31).”

3.2.1.1. Performance art and arts at large

This explanation can be applied to all three divisions of arts generally in Moanan-Tongan culture, in Māhina’s (2006, 2010a, 2011a) classification, which are performance art, *faiva*, material art, *tūfunga*, and fine art of women, *nimamea’a*. For him, this is always socially and institutionally communal and hereditary in nature rather than individualistic and acquired, as suggested by Kaepler. However, Kaepler (1993, 1999) in this approach has failed on three main grounds to clearly spell out the logical and artistic characters of *faiva*: firstly, she does not define *faiva* correctly in a logical way; secondly, she does not define *faiva* and *haka* in their correct aesthetic meanings; and thirdly, she overlooks the difference between *faiva* and *faiva haka* or *tau’olunga* (see Figure 40-53 of page xxxvi-xliii) (Pusiaki, 1987, 1988; James, 1988; Kaepler, 1999).

Kaepler’s definition of *faiva* is not complete and logical, because all human actions according to her are *faiva*, and it is like when saying that all hand and feet movements

are *faiva*, which is not always the case. *Faiva* must both be beautiful and rhythmic, and likewise in the case of *haka*. All must be rhythmically and beautifully taken place in space, *vā*, with correlation and coordination to the melody of music, *hiva*, paradoxically in a far and close manner from the meaning of the poetic text or oratory, *ta'anga* (Pusiaki, 1987, 1988; Māhina, 1992).

In *faiva haka*, dance, as its Tongan translation has reflected, must have hand *haka* movements performing beautifully in a paradoxical manner in its interpretation of the *ta'anga*. Helu (1997, 1999) and Māhina (1992, 2006, 2008a, 2011c) have argued that the paradox of Tongan dance *haka* must be far and close to the meanings of its *ta'anga*. That is, its dance movements do not imitate directly the whole meanings of the *ta'anga* but only some of them. *Haka* must be close and far from the meanings in a concealed manner and not up-front and straightforward in expressing the full meanings in the *ta'anga*. This is centrally important in other aspects of *faiva* at large with their metaphorical and symbolic nature of concealing the meanings of the *ta'anga* by using poetical and proverbial words, as it is discussed later in *laumātanga* and *laukakala* as well as, Chapter IV (Pusiaki, 1987, 1988).

With Kaeppler in regard to the discussion of what is *faiva*, however, she has missed out totally that *faiva* is used only by Tongans in reference to art work of aesthetic nature, which Helu (1999), Māhina, et al (2010), Ka'ili (2008a) and Hoponoa (1996) have pointed out. The word *haka* does not only refer to the hands when it moves rhythmically in accordance to music, but must be blended beautifully in an equal and symmetrical mode repeatedly in a paradoxical way. Also, when someone says 'possessive *hoku*', it is not always true that his or her skills was not inherited, but in most cases this possessive pronoun can refer to his current knowledge, as well as, those of his ancestors which he has adopted, preserved and practised.

It is a reflection of the communalistic nature of Tongan culture. Even in Helu's (1999: 228) definition of art at large as *faiva*, he still said that "art is that part of social action where the actors present and/or articulate and/or create beautiful forms...But whatever we think beauty is, its basis is symmetry." It must therefore be beautiful, *faka'ofa'ofa*, in equal and symmetrical ways in its own rights. *Faka'ofa'ofa* points to its sense of equal, *tatau*, and symmetrical, *potupotutatau*, mode with coordinated and correlated bodily movements occurring between the dancer and the *hiva*, music, and his audience in a rhythmic pattern, *kupesi-tā-vā*, repeatedly. At the same time, this also behaves in the manner of intensification

of tempo, *tā*. *Faka'ofa'ofa* is therefore a relation, *fekau'aki*, arising from the equal and proportional association between the dancer, music and audience, which is *faiva* indeed, in the definitions of Māhina, Helu, Hoponoa and Ka'ili except Kaeppler (see Figure 40-53 of page xxxvi-xliii).

This is due to the exclusion of the word beauty, *faka'ofa'ofa*, by the latter. Kaeppler has therefore overlooked the fact that not all works are called *faiva*, because it is like when saying that all bodily movements are dance, *faiva haka*. Helu (1999) has ensured that not all hand, feet and body movements are dance or *haka*, if so then all human movements are therefore dance. He said that this is very confusing. However, this only holds true for Helu if such movements are equally coordinated and arranged in a symmetrical, *potupotutatau*, manner with the overall sense of *faka'ofa'ofa* (Pusiaki, 1987, 1988).

This is the essence of harmony, *maau*, flowing together with *kupesi-tā-vā* of *hiva*, repeatedly, and can consequently lead on to *fiefia* of *tauēlangi* and *'alaha kakala*. Hence *faka'ofa'ofa* can then flow into the fore, and it is known as *faiva haka – faiva* in the Tongan translation of Māhina for performance art, and *haka* in Moanan general sense of explaining it as a bodily dance movement for expressing beauty, *faka'ofa'ofa* (Helu, 1999). Kaeppler has repeated the same mistake in her discussion of the word *mālie*, excellence or *bravo (brava)* in Italian, in a *tauēlangi* situation, which I will discuss later in this Chapter.

Kaeppler in this matter of concern is different from Māhina (1992, 2006, 2010a, 2011a) with the confinement of *faiva* by the latter to just performance art but not arts as a whole. Māhina, et al (2010a) have directly translated art at large in according to its direct English phoneme and etymology as ‘*aati*’, whereas Helu (1999: 228), as I stated, sometime uses *faiva* in reference to arts generally, and in some points he refers just to the combination of dance, *faiva haka*, music, *hiva*, with their poetic text, *ta'anga*, in unity. Hoponoa (1996) has followed directly this second explanation of *faiva* by Helu with no further critical examination, and he also said that some Tongan poets and choreographers he interviewed in the early 1990's for his *Master Thesis* shared the same explanation.

Māhina (2005, 2006, 2008a, 2010a, 2011a) has recently employed *faiva* as a Tongan translation for just performance art as such, based on his analysis of the concept of ‘body-centre (*vaka-e-sino*)’. I have taken this explanation as one narrow explanation of *faiva*.

Whereas *faiva* and *sino*, body-centred, both *tūfunga* and *nimamea'a* are *tu'asino*, non-body centred... These art forms were aligned along gender lines, with *faiva* and *tūfunga* are being *tangata*, male-dominated, while *nimamea'a* arts are *fefine*, female-dominated (Māhina, 2011a:144).

In this position of explaining *faiva* as a word confining to performance art, Māhina has effectively criticized both Helu and Kaeppler for mixing up its true traditional meaning in their interpretations. *Faiva* for Māhina deals only with performance art and not art as a whole, which is different from its general sense I have developed in this study. We have witnessed here the difference of *faiva*, performance art, from *tūfunga*, material art, as well as, *nimamea'a*, fine art, on one hand, as well as, art work, *faiva*, as a whole, on the other hand. So, it indicates that there are possible two senses of *faiva*, in a narrow and broader explanation, which I will later describe (James, 1988; Kaeppler, 1999).

In contrast with the combination of the skills and abilities of individuals and social groups in the definition by Kaeppler, Māhina, Ka'ili, Hoponoa and Helu have differentiated the institutional and communalistic explanations of *faiva* from the individualistic elements in Kaeppler's definition. That is, in the situation of ancient Tonga, it should be used mainly in genealogical and communalistic modes of operation rather than individualistic mode. Māhina (2011a:144) mentions some of the institutional and communalistic modes such as *faiva ta'anga*, poetry, *faiva hiva*, music, *faiva haka*, dance, *faiva lafo*, art of coconut disc-throwing, *faiva sika*, javelin-throwing and *faiva fuhu*, art of boxing.

Māhina identifies that such particular *faiva* in traditional Tongan society were passed down through genealogical blood lines within specialized *ha'a*, lineage, of experts, and extended family, *kainga*. All were based on the body and conducted under the mode of operation of social institutions and movements. Acquired skills by certain individual artists did happen too but the hereditary type of skills was the common kind of practice for transmitting art knowledge and wisdom in the past from one generation to another (Māhina, 2006, 2008a, 2008b, 2010a, 2011a; Ka'ili, 2008a, 2008b, 2010, 2011).

Hence I have classified Māhina's definition as one narrow sense of *faiva* because it is just confined to performance art. This kind of narrow sense is somehow observable too in Helu's (1987, 1988, 1999) definition of *faiva* as just the unison of dance, *faiva haka*, with music, *hiva*, and their poetic text, *ta'anga*. Helu has also applied the word *faiva* to arts at large, on the other hand, as I have previously indicated. He is similar then to the general

approach by Ka’ili (2008a), but is partly different from those of Kaeppler (1993) and Māhina’s (2011a) explanations. These theoretical and empirical differences among them are also observable in their discussions and views on the distinction and relation of *mata*, face, and *nima*, hand, in performance art.

3.2.1.2. *Mata*, face, and *nima*, hand

Following the above discussions, I therefore believe that *faiva* should be divided into two main definitions, with universal and particular characteristics. The definition by Māhina and Helu could be regarded as the narrow sense, and those by Ka’ili and again by Helu as the broader sense. Hoponoa in this case has just followed Helu’s general and specific explanations of *faiva*. I have excluded the definition of Kaeppler because she has included all human actions as *faiva*, so the English word work, run, walk or job can be called *faiva* also in that regard. This kind of inconsistency is seen too in her definition of *haka* as rhythmic hand dance movements with the exclusion of a clear-cut emphasis on beauty, *faka’ofa’ofa*. This kind of difference in interpretation is shown too in her claim that the centre of Tongan *haka* is the hands, *nima*, and hence the rest of the face, *mata*, head, ‘*ulu*, and feet, *va’e*, are there to just support the former (Kaeppler, 1967, 1993, 2005; Pusiaki, 1987, 1988).

On the other hand, Helu (1985, 1987, 1997, 1999) has explained *mata* as the ‘focal point’ instead, and the rest are supportive to it. According to him, this is the focal point that largely helps to create beauty, *faka’ofa’ofa*, in dance with the energy to enhance and motivate the explosion of *tauēlangi*. Māhina, et al (2010) and Potauaine, et al, (2011) in their analysis of the concept of face, *mata*, have helped to prove wrong the claim of Kaeppler. For them, including Helu and Hoponoa, *mata* is the focal point whereas the hands, *nima*, and feet, *va’e*, are secondary to it. I do believe that both the *nima* and *mata* should be the focal point, both playing different but related roles in the art of *faiva haka*, with the feet as the supportive parts (see Figure 40-53 of page xxxvi-xliii) (Pusiaki, 1987, 1988; Māhina, 1992, 2006, 2007a, 2010a; Hoponoa, 1996; Ka’ili, 2008a).

The *nima* are what I have called the ‘carrier’ of the meanings of the poetic text or oratory, *ta’anga*, or ‘*haka* carrier’ in Moanan-Tongan *faiva*. This sounds similar to that of Kaeppler, whereas *mata* is the leading part in helping to guide the direction of the former in its dance movement in sequence, which is similar with Helu (1999), Māhina (1992, 2006) and Hoponoa’s (1996) explanations. Māhina (1991, 1995, 2008a,) explains that *mata* precedes hands *haka*, and this fits in with its role I have explained above. The *mata*, together with the

head, 'ulu, with its five movements of *kamo*, *fakateki*, *kalo*, *tafoki* and *tafokifua*, plays another crucial role in creating different levels of *fiefia* in dance, *faiva haka* (Pusiaki, 1987, 1988; Kaeppler, 1993; Helu, 1999, 2008).

Kamo is for the head, 'ulu, to slightly slant 4 degrees forward to the front audience, *fakama'unga haka*, in dance performance with a special *malimali*, smile. *Fakateki* is to tilt the head slowly from vertical upward position to the left on horizontal level and then tilt fast back vertically to the original position with a *malimali* still to the front audience. *Kalo* is the swing of the 'ulu diagonally to either left or right in 30 degrees for men and 15 for women with slight slant 4 degrees forward and a *malimali* upfront to the audience, which is the main direction of the head and face, *fakama'unga haka*. *Tafoki* is when the 'ulu turn left or right in about 80 degrees without the whole body, and *tafoki fua* is for both of the head and body to turn altogether either to the right or left in 90 degrees with a *malimali*. For both of them the 'ulu can also do a *fakateki* or *kalo* at the same time (Helu, 1987, 1988, 1994, 1999, 2006, 2008; Pusiaki, 1987, 1988; Kaeppler, 1993; Māhina 1992, 2005, 2006, 2008a, 2010a, 2011a; Hoponoa, 1996).

In general, the *mata* and all these *haka* of the 'ulu must ensure that the facial expressions like *malimali* of different kinds can keep the eyes of the audience on just the performers. In fact, *mata* cannot go along by itself without *malimali* and facial expression in variation, with the expression of the hands *haka* and the supportive role of the feet in a coordinated and symmetrical way. Feet are therefore the main supportive part for the *mata*, 'ulu and *nima haka* movements. In my whole dance life before and after wheelchair, I have developed with my students at Phoenix Performing Art 10 different kinds of facial expressions together with *malimali* (see Figure 40-53 of page xxxvi-xliii) (Pusiaki, 1987, 1988).

This is all for enhancing the purpose of *faka'ofa'ofa*, beauty, and embracing the divine features of *tauēlangi* and 'alaha kakala. Such 10 kinds consist of various *malimali* and facial expressions of graceful uniqueness, differently from the five *haka* motifs of the 'ulu. The *mata* is only the focal point if the hands *haka* are present and in motion accordingly in a coordinated, symmetrical and supported way, and vice-versa. Therefore they are inseparable like two sides of the same coin.

The views of Kaeppler, Helu, Māhina and Hoponoa have helped me to produce the following explanation by considering both the *mata* and *nima* as fundamental to the creation of

faka'ofa'ofa in Tongan *faiva haka*. In upholding and applying most if not all of the facial expressions and head *haka* in a performance in a coordinated and symmetrical way will definitely help to root out the psycho-feelings of *māfana*, warmth, *vela* and climactic euphoria, *tauēlangi*, within a dancer and between him and his audience. Apart from this main difference on *mata* and *'ulu* between Kaeppler and Helu and his students, I still want to discuss the side of their explanations on *faiva* and *faiva haka* that can be applicable to the focus of this Chapter.

For instance, Kaeppler has failed to include beauty, *faka'ofa'ofa*, in her analysis of *faiva*, and failed too to clearly identify the three classifications of *faiva*, by Māhina. Her definition is acceptable only to the extent when *faka'ofa'ofa* is clearly encompassed and defined logically and accurately (Kaeppler, 1990, 1993, 1998, 1999, 2005, 2011; Helu 1990, 1992, 1997, 1999, 2006, 2008; Māhina, 1992, 2004a, 2004b, 2005, 2006, 2010a, 2010b, 2011a; Hoponoa, 1996; Ka'ili, 2008a, 2008b, 2010, 2011). *Faiva* as I suggested therefore must be considered openly in both its general and particular senses for the purpose of differentiating broader and narrow definitions, which are generally perceived too in the works of Tongan artists solely for the purpose of creating beauty and accuracy.

3.2.1.3. General and particular explanations

How *faiva* is used in Tongan language as a whole still reflects its broader sense I have developed out from the general definitions of Helu and Ka'ili. That is why we can still say in Tongan: “*'Ko hono faiva' 'a e tā tongitongi*”/“His artistic expertise is doing tattoo”; “*Ko hono faiva' 'a e lalanga fala*”/“Her artistic expertise is weaving mat,” and “*Ko hono faiva' 'a e sika*”/“His skill artistic expertise is javelin-throwing.” *Faiva* is still used in all of such three sentences with their differences in terms of Māhina's body to non-body centred views, as well as, subject-matters, which is derived and built on its general sense in the words of Helu and Ka'ili.

The first sentence is under the *faiva* of material art, *tūfunga*. So the word *faiva* represents the relation, *fekau'aki*, between the tattooist, *tūfunga tātātau*, and the tattooed, *tātātau*, on the medium, *vaka*, of human body whereby the beautiful piece of traditional pattern, *kupesi*, is geometrically tattooed. For the second sentence, it falls on the *faiva* of female fine art, *nimamea'a* or *ngafa* of women. The word *faiva* in the sentence points to the *fekau'aki* between the *ngafa* of weaver and weaved product, *matafe'unu* or *matalalanga*, on the *vaka* of dried pandanus leaves whereby the beautiful *kupesi* is geometrically weaved. In

the last sentence, it is on the *faiva* of material art, *tūfunga*. *Faiva* in this last sentence stands for the *fekau'aki* between the javelin thrower and the thrown object on the medium, *vaka*, of ground track. Overall, if there is no beautiful relation between the production of the producer and the produced then it infers that there is no *faiva* after all (Māhina, 2004a, 2005, 2006, 2010a, 2010b, 2011a; Ka'ili, 2006, 2008a, 2008b).

3.2.2. Definition of *faiva*

I would therefore now want to summarize the main reasons gathering from the previous discussion that have urged and directed me to classify *faiva* into two definitions in general and particular terms. With the two senses of *faiva* explained by Helu (1999) earlier, its broader sense is very similar to that of Ka'ili (2008a). Narrowly, Helu refers to “*faiva* as a combination of dance, *faiva haka*, music, *hiva*, and poetry, *ta'anga*.” Broadly, “all arts with beautiful characters in equal and symmetrical modes of operation are *faiva* too”. With Ka'ili (2008a, 2008b), *faiva* is a “beautiful piece of work with symmetrical mode of operation in rhythmic patterns, *kupesi tā-vā*, by intensifying *tā* and re-arranging space, *vā*.” So all performance art works are *faiva* as pointed out by Māhina, et al (2010).

Following Māhina, Hoponoa, Helu, Ka'ili and Māhina, et al, I would therefore like to classify the definition of *faiva* into two main parts with general and particular explanations. For the broader sense, it could refer to “any art work with beautiful, *faka'ofa'ofa*, characters of equality, *tatau*, and symmetry, *potupotutatau*, in a given medium, *vaka*, with coordination to its whole rhythmic patterns, *kupesi tā-vā*, behaving in a manner of intensifying *tā* and re-arranging space, *vā*, repeatedly.” When this is not attained then we will hear the following Tongan saying, “*Oku palakū 'a e faiva', pea 'oku 'ikai ko ha faiva ia*”/“The dance is ugly and is not a work of arts” (see Figure 40-53 of page xxxvi-xliii) (Māhina, 2006, 2007a, 2008a, 2008b, 2009, 2010a; Hoponoa, 1996; Ka'ili, 2008a, 2008b, 2010).

With its narrow explanation, it points to “any performance art with beautiful characters of *tatau* and *potupotutatau* in a given medium, *vaka*, with coordination to its whole *kupesi tā-vā*, behaving in a manner of intensifying *tā* and re-arranging space, *vā*, repeatedly.” As it is shown, the broader sense is stemmed from Helu and Ka'ili's analysis of *faiva* in general which covers performance, material and fine arts, and the narrow sense is derived and adopted from Māhina's translation of performance art. I have excluded the definition of Kaeppler due to its avoidance of the fundamental element of any art work which is beauty, *faka'ofa'ofa*. This applies as well to Helu's narrow definition of dance, music and poetry in

unity as *faiva*, with his exclusion of other performance arts, *faiva*, which Māhina has covered in his re-classification. Mainly, it is for the reason that Helu's definition on this narrow nature is incomplete as pointed out by Māhina, et al (2010; Māhina, 2011a). As I explained previously, *fiefia* with its divine climax of *tauēlangi* and 'alaha kakala in metaphoric and aesthetic terms is considered as a fundamental element of *faiva* in both senses (Helu 1997, 1999, 2006, 2008; Māhina, 1992, 2005, 2006, 2010a, 2011a; Hoponoa, 1996; Ka'ili, 2008a, 2008b). *Faka'ofa'ofa* is perceived in the realist sense of the Andersonians as embedded in the product of arts as such. It is in things themselves, which are the objects of study for researchers or subjects to explore their equal and symmetrical features (Anderson, 1962, 1982, 2003, 2007; Baker, 1979, 1982; Helu, 1999, 2005; Māhina, 1992, 2006, 2010a, 2011a). Beauty, *faka'ofa'ofa*, is not in the eyes of the beholders but in things themselves, in the words of these Andersonians. This has helped to direct the discussion to *tauēlangi* and its related product of *mālie* as a response of *fiefia* from the audience for a successful performance or *fatongia*. So the next section is a discussion of the birth-grounds of *tauēlangi* and 'alaha kakala in this realist light. I will first discuss the birth-ground, *fonua*, of *tauēlangi* and this is followed by an examination of the *fonua* of 'alaha kakala in Tongan performance art, *faiva* (Helu, 1999; Māhina, 1992, 2004a, 2005, 2006, 2010a, 2010b, 2011a; Hoponoa, 1996; Ka'ili, 2008a).

3.3. Birth-ground for *tauēlangi* in *fiefia*

Helu (1997, 1999, 2008) and Kaeppler (1990, 1993, 2005) were among the first two pioneers in Moanan-Tongan scholarship that have studied the metaphorical and aesthetical senses of *tauēlangi*, climactic euphoria, and 'alaha kakala, permeating aroma in *fiefia*, happiness. Their Moanan-Tongan contemporaries like Thaman, 'Ana Taufē'ulungaki and Māhina have in one way or another discussed such two features of *fiefia* as well, as in the theoretical works of the former on *tauēlangi* and *mālie*, excellence, and the latter on 'alaha kakala and *kakala*, traditional sweet-smelling plants. This includes Ka'ili (2008a, 2008b) and Hoponoa's (1996) works on *tauēlangi*, encompassing its link to *fatongia* by the former. The latter has mentioned that some of his interviewees mentioned dance, *faiva haka*, as a kind of *fatongia* without pursuing further its socio-political application and implication. It is somehow mirrors the previous claim of Helu and this study that for Tongans at large *fatongia* or *ngafa* is everything they do under the sun.

However, none of the above scholars has ever discussed the sense of *fatongia* with regard to its etymology of *fa* or *ngafa*, pandanus plant, and *tongia*, immediately permeating fragrance with its *fiefia* of *tauēlangi* and ‘*alaha kakala*’ that this dissertation is pursuing. This is the first study with its clear-cut dedication to ascertain the birth-ground of *tauēlangi* in *faiva haka* or *tau’olunga*, dance, and *hiva*, music, *ta’anga*, poetry, with reference to *faiva lea*, art of oratory, conversation of *talanoa*, formal speech of *malanga* and *tauhivā*, moral respect, in performance art, *faiva*, at large. This section will uncover the idea that the ‘measure of beauty’, to employ Māhina’s words, in all of the above is the ultimate stage of *mālie*, which he generally defines it as ‘beauty’, ‘*faka’ofo’ofa*’, in general, as well as, a communal response by an audience to a particular given performance with the *fiefia* of *tauēlangi* and ‘*alaha kakala*’.

The upcoming section then attempts to discuss some variation, or qualities, of *fiefia* that normally go hand-in-hand with *mālie*, excellence or *bravo*, like *māfana*, warmth, *vela*, elation, in Māhina, Ka’ili and Hoponoa’s explanations, with conjunction to *fatongia* in the medium, *vaka*, of *faiva haka*, *hiva* and *ta’anga* in unity. So, I will uncover and examine why performance art, *faiva*, is considered here as the birth-ground, *fonua*, or nest, *pununga*, for the *fiefia* of *tauēlangi* and its different qualities. Such a situation normally goes together with the *fiefia* of *mālie* in the light of *faka’ofo’ofa* or the unified climactic euphoria by an audience in response to a highly elated performance. In some cases, I discuss *mālie* and *faka’ofo’ofa* interchangeably with conjunction to *fatongia* and its specific aim, *siate*, of *fiefia* in contrast with *fuakavenga* and its consequence of *ta’efiefia*, unhappiness, on the other hand.

3.3.1. Background of *mālie*

As I have mentioned previously, Helu and Kaeppler have never discussed the actual word *tauēlangi* in their written works that I have collectively gathered nor conducted case studies of it. However, they have theoretically discussed *tauēlangi* in fragmentation based on the words *māfana* and *mālie*, albeit Helu has talked about *tauēlangi* in most of his lectures at ‘Atenisi and overseas universities. He has repeatedly discussed the word *mālie* in most of his writings with reference to the same explanations of the conception of *tauēlangi* in its ecstatic finale without using the latter in its Tongan version. Māhina (1992, 2010a) and Ka’ili (2008a) have never methodologically and empirically conducted a case study on *tauēlangi*, regardless they have theoretically discussed it in fragmentation throughout their writings. It appears that only Hoponoa (1996) in his *Master Thesis* on Tongan *haka* who has

discussed *tauēlangi* and *mālie* in a more detailed and extensive manners as a result of a case study among Tongan scholars, poets, choreographers and dancers in Tonga and overseas.

I have shown that Ka'ili (2008a) is the only scholar among the above who has discussed *tauēlangi* in *fatongia* and its relation to *tauhivā* as a performance art. This discussion of *tauēlangi* can show too in the works of Helu (1999, 2006) regarding the aesthetics of Tongan dance without referring to other areas of performance art, *faiva*, like *fatongia* and *tauhivā*. With Kaeppler (1993), she confines to the words *mālie* and *māfana* but still with some fragmentary unclear explanations relating to the conception of *tauēlangi*. Except Ka'ili, others have studied and examined the place of *tauēlangi* in *faiva haka*, *hiva* and *ta'anga*, but none has followed up and claimed its birth-ground, *fonua*, or nest, *pununga*, and its rhetoric and aesthetic contribution to *fatongia*.

Ka'ili (2008a) has equated *mālie* with *fiefia* and its qualities like *tauēlangi* to *tauhivā*, moral respect, in *fatongia*. As I have quoted in the beginning of Chapter II, he explains that *tauēlangi* and *mālie* are synchronic, *tonu*, when there are equal, *tatau*, and symmetrical, *potupotutatau*, modes of exchange; and a-synchronic, *hala*, when the modes are unequal, *ta'etatau*, and asymmetrical, *ta'epotupotutatau*. This has directed the focus of the discussion to the relation of *mālie* or *bravo* (excellence for bravery) with the variation or qualities of *fiefia*, happiness, from the audience in their natural response to *tauēlangi*, climactic euphoria, in a given performance art.

3.3.1.1. *Mālie* is *bravo* or excellence for bravery

With the extreme ecstatic excitement of *tauēlangi* in Tongan *faiva haka*, *hiva*, and their *ta'anga* nevertheless, Helu (1999) explains that dance in whatever culture it may be consists of two main functions. “This first is to consummate a feeling of unstrained exultation and effulgence.” This is based on the dance ‘expression’ and movements by the performer in relation to music or ‘rhythmic arrangements of sound’. “The second functional aspect of dance is the enhancement of natural virtues.” It is like a “magic transformation of something ordinary or banal into something resplendent and ethereal...The great Hawaiian dancer, Iolani, when asked how she felt when dancing replied, ‘I don’t know, I’m not there’ (see Figure 40-53 of page xxxvi-xliii) (Helu, 1999: 262, 2008).”

Helu in the same article did not use the word *tauēlangi* but only *mālie*. However, his explanation above of the spiritual and magic transportation of the dancer to a stage of pure

feeling of ecstatic contentment is all about the characteristics of the sentiment of *tauēlangi* in fact. In his classes and conversation of *talanoa* including my visit in 2008, he often talked about *tauēlangi* and sometime used it interchangeably with *mālie*. In the same article above, he has equated *mālie* to Italian *bravo* or *brava*. When he equates *mālie* to *bravo* then it clearly appears that the call out *mālie* is a moment of expressing the artistic appreciation within the feeling of ecstatic contentment from the audience (Helu 1999: 262-269). Also both Helu (1999) and Kaeppler (1993) have translated *mālie* on one hand as ‘well done’. On the other hand, they explain it as a product of happiness, and in specific a kind of *māfana* between the performers and the audience. The call out of *mālie* in dance is an expression that normally comes from the audience rather than the performers. It is a true demonstration of the warmth, *māfana*, and climactic euphoria of *tauēlangi* (see Figure 40-53 of page xxxvi-xliii).

Māhina (2010a) additionally claims *mālie* as a kind of ultimate beauty, *faka’ofo’ofo*, in the final analysis, arising from the dialectic interaction within and between the performers and audience in a paradoxical way. This comprises what he has alluded to at the quotation in the opening of this Chapter as the dialectic between the ‘intrinsic qualities’ of *tatau*, *potupotutatau* and *faka’ofo’ofo*, on one hand, and ‘extrinsic qualities’ of *māfana*, *vela* and *tauēlangi*, on the other hand. Thus *mālie* therefore is a kind of artistic appreciation as an aftermath of a beautiful piece of art work, or when both the “dancer and the viewer are swallowed and swirled in the recess of the magic depths of the balletic art”, to use the words of Helu (1999: 269).

One can therefore say that *mālie* is a product of *fiefia* and its various levels in Tongan aesthetic dance, which I have translated it to be excellence in bravery or *bravo* as Helu (1999) has called it. My translation here is based on the original description of the word *mālie* in Moanan languages which means ‘excellence for bravery’, as it is very obvious in the Samoan language, and is still used mostly by them in all aspects of their performance art, *faiva* (Helu, 1997, 1999, 2008; Māhina, 1992). Samoan *malie* has no sign of emphasis on its letter ‘a’ whereas in Tongan language it has emphasis ‘ā’, but both are still meant the same thing, which is, excellence for bravery, *bravo* or well done. Tongans use *mālie* but not to the extent it is being used by the Samoans (the etymology of *mālie* may be derived from the ancient Moanan-Tongan word of *mali*, a short for *malimali*, smile, but more research can be conducted on this concept). In addition, the Italian word *bravo* that Helu has equated to *mālie* is defined in Latin as ‘bravery’ too, as in the linguistic structure of *bravo* where the English word brave was originally derived from. This sense is also found in traditional Tongan fishing of sharks in

the island of ‘Eueiki near the main island of Tongatapu, where the fishermen call the sharks with the name *mālie*. It generally alludes to the bravery, beauty and excellence of the sharks to come near the fishermen when calling and inviting them to come close (for catching to kill) by throwing sweet-smelling flowers on the sea (Hoponoa, 1996; Ka’ili, 2008a, 2008b, 2010).

Mālie is very common particularly in Samoa and Tonga, and it a very old word in Moanan languages at large. What it was meant in old Moanan languages when it is referred to someone in dance, *faiva haka*, oratory, *faiva lea*, and, *angafai*, moral behaviour. It was normally referred to someone’s bravery for doing an excellent *faiva haka*, *faiva lea* or fabulous *fatongia* based on the principle of acknowledgement or appreciation, which is fundamentally central to Moanan cultures and languages as a whole (Māhina, 1992; Helu, 1999; Ilaiu, 2007; Taliai, 2007; Ka’ili, 2008a). This is especially true in Samoan group dance, *siva*, or solo dance, *taualunga*, where I think *mālie* was originated from in the first place. Helu (1987, 1999) and Māhina (1992) have argued that *faiva haka*, dance, was first introduced into Tonga from Samoa. However, this explanation of *mālie* is similar to the tradition of Italian *bravo* when it is used in European theatre concert or performance in general.

3.3.1.2. *Mālie, māfana and faka’ofa’ofa*

For Kaeppler (1993: 31-32) in her discussion of *mālie* and *māfana* without fully considering the fundamental importance of beauty, *faka’ofa’ofa* in the entire process of interaction:

The semantics keys to Tongan dance aesthetics are *mālie* and *māfana*. We can provisionally translate *mālie* as ‘well done.’ The corresponding inner state is *māfana* (inwardly warm or exhilarated), which can be experienced by both performer and spectator. *Mālie* does not necessarily mean beautiful, although dance can be beautiful as well...things can be beautiful without being *mālie*, and things that are *mālie* need not to be beautiful. To be *mālie* implies the potentiality of experiencing *māfana*.

Her discussion partly shares some similar background knowledge with those by Helu and throughout this dissertation, as well as, contradictory explanations on *mālie*, excellence of bravery, and *māfana* with conjunction to *faka’ofa’ofa*, beauty. Her explanation of *mālie* as translated as ‘well done’ or *māfana* is close to my definition but not exactly the same with my excellence for bravery. This is for the main reason that I have emphasized more the word bravery or *bravo* and *faka’ofa’ofa* in my definition of *mālie* shown below.

Kaeppler's discussion of *mālie* as well done is very similar to that of Helu on *bravo* as I have stated before, except that she has additionally suggested *māfana*, warmth, as a determined factor for the former. Contrarily, she questioned the place of *faka'ofa'ofa* by saying that sometime *mālie* can function without *faka'ofa'ofa*, and vice-versa, which is viewed in this study as a kind of contradiction in interpretation.

All variation of *fiefia*, be it *māfana*, *vela* or *tauēlangi*, within the performers and between them and the audience always give way to *faka'ofa'ofa*, and *mālie* is their overall finale as a response from the audience in appreciation of the performance, as Māhina and Helu have spelled out. In arts, some works are more *faka'ofa'ofa* and *mālie* than others, depending on the nature of coherence among their equal and symmetrical modes of operation and the extent of their re-arrangement of space, *vā*, and time, *tā*, repeatedly in an intensifying manner. We cannot have *mālie* without *faka'ofa'ofa*, and vice-versa, both are two sides of the same coin, as Māhina has pointed out by saying that *mālie* is the ultimate stage and finale of *faka'ofa'ofa*. It is the measure of *faka'ofa'ofa*, which can imply that when *mālie* is absent *faka'ofa'ofa* is out of touch as well.

In Tongan language, we can apply the word *mālie* to all kinds of art that possess the quality of *faka'ofa'ofa*, be it material, *tūfunga*, performance, *faiva*, or fine, *nimamea'a*, art. As Helu (1997, 1999) and Māhina (2010a, 2011a) have spelled out, with the former by saying that *mālie* is a relation because there is always a performer and a viewer before we will experience its characteristics. With Māhina, he generally explains *mālie* as “the ultimate state of beauty, *faka'ofa'ofa*, of all art works.” *Mālie* also refers to “an act of *fiefia* or climactic euphoria, *tauēlangi* arising from the audience as a result of the beautiful and warmth interaction between the dancers and the viewers in a particular given performance art.” It is not just a possession of one of them, but between their association in the medium, *vaka*, of the body of the dancers with their beautiful and graceful *haka* movements (see Figure 40-53 of page xxxvi-xliii) (Māhina, 1992; Hoponoa, 1996; Ka'ili, 2008a, 2008b, 2010).

It means therefore that *mālie* must be always a relation stemming from the interaction of all these aesthetic and natural qualities as a result of the coordination between the bodily movements in rhythmic patterns, *kupesi tā-vā*, of the dancer which is the medium, *vaka*, repeatedly and music, *hiva*, with its poetic text or oratory, *ta'anga*, in an intensified way. *Mālie* is therefore a product of *fiefia* through the escalating of *māfana* to *vela* and to the euphoric mood of divine climax of *tauēlangi*. So, there is a dancer and the relation between

his or her performance and the audience will automatically create beauty, *faka'ofa'ofa*. *Mālie* is increasing in volume and momentum when *fiefia* is transforming from *māfana* until it reaches to the heavenly apex of *tauēlangi* with all the 'buttons pull out', as the phrase flows (Helu, 1999, 2006; Māhina, 1992, 2005, 2006, 2010a, 2011a; Hoponoa, 1996; Ka'ili, 2008a).

Kaepler (1993: 31) continues to assert that there must be some familiarity first with the culture before someone fully experiences *māfana* with its outcome of *mālie*. She adds that there are certain characteristics of Tongan dance aesthetic that give rise to *māfana*. Some of such characteristics are: 'craftsmanship in composition', 'appropriateness', 'skill' and feeling of the performer' and 'inner state of spectator'. Craftsmanship in composition points to how well does a finished product of the dance conform to standards of society in cultural terms. In the case of a new dance poetry *lakalaka* (national group standing-dance), for instance, the beginning or prelude, *fakatapu*, of its poetic text, *ta'anga*, with its focus in hailing and saluting first to all symbols and privileges of the Royal Family and chiefly classes with their lineages, *ha'a*, must be culturally, historically and naturally linked to the main body, *kakano*. *Kakano* deals with the reasons for the main event of the day, and the final part, *tatau*, is about saying farewell to guests and everyone. After the *kakano*, now, it is a time to return to their villages (see Figure 53 of page xliii).

Kaepler's (1993: 31) explanation of appropriateness has to do with "what kind of form will best convey the intention of the artist?" Skill and feeling of the performer for her is all about the connection between the poetry and music with the audience, and if "the performer does not convey these in a manner appreciated by society, the spectator will not feel anything (Kaepler, 1993: 31)." For the last characteristic, the inner state of spectator, she refers here to the notion that the performer and audience must have the knowledge and be willing "to make the correspondence necessary in order to feel *māfana*."

I do not fully accept this point of her interpretation. As a dancer and choreographer since 1988 in Australia and overseas, I have experienced that most of my solo and group performances can produce *tauēlangi* in front a non-Tongan audience. This was always shown in their unified warm response by participating in my performance and putting money, *fakapale*, on my body, and it was based and determined by the *fiefia* of *mālie* and *faka'ofa'ofa* of my performance as a whole.

In one of my performances in Sydney in 1996, the *tauēlangi* was clearly observable among the audience with the response of *mālie* in both words and actions. The audience were constituted of both non-Tongan and Tongan audience, but the *tauēlangi* situation from my solo performance unconsciously motivated and electrified them to all jump up and down from their seats three times due to the magic and divine transformation of my personality and dance spirit into something ‘resplendent’ and ‘ethereal’, in Helu’s description. With my own experience, as long as people have personally experienced some kinds of climactic euphoria in their cultures or lives at large repeatedly, they can by nature experience again the *fiefia* of *tauēlangi* in Tongan dance (see Figure 48, 49 & 50 of page xli & xlii) (Māhina, 1992, 2005, 2006, 2008a, 2008b, 2010a; Helu, 1997, 1999, 2006; Hoponoa, 1996).

Māhina (2005: 172) in his discussion of *tatau*, equality, symmetry, *potupotutatau*, and beauty, *mālie*, defines the character of *tauēlangi*, together with his view on intrinsic and extrinsic qualities, in the following words:

As a measure of real beauty, *mālie* is intrinsic to all good works of art as a function of rhythm, symmetry and harmony achieved through the intensification of *tā*, time, and reorganization of *vā*, space. The transformative effects of the state of *mālie* has equally on performers and audience alike, are one of *māfana*, warmth, *vela*, burning and *tauēlangi*, ‘reaching the sky’ ... The after-effect is effectively hypnotic. As a form of climaxed elation, *tauēlangi* has an orgasmic effect. While *mālie* is internal to good works of art, *māfana*, *vela* and *tauēlangi*, which affect both performers and audiences, are extrinsic to them.

Māhina’s additional elaboration to the whole discussion of *mālie* in terms of *tauēlangi* and the variation of *fiefia* with intrinsic and extrinsic qualities is in three-fold. His clear-cut identification of *mālie* as an internal quality and a measure of real beauty, *faka’ofa’ofa*, while *māfana*, *vela* and *tauēlangi* as external in nature is the first elaboration. The second important issue of this elaboration is his identification of the distinction and relation of *tā*, time, and *vā*, space, and how the former is intensified with the re-organization of the latter in the situation of performance art. For the third issue, it is his elaboration of a kind of psycho-analytic nature of *tauēlangi* in a hypnotic mode with some orgasmic effect as well, to use his Freudian definition.

With the first and second issues, I will discuss them later by questioning whether it is really the case in real performance for *mālie* to fall between the dualistic interaction of intrinsic and extrinsic qualities, or are they two different aspects of the same phenomenon.

With the third issue, its psycho-analytic nature in the emergence of hypnotic element with orgasmic effect can happen in some situations. Helu (1999) and Māhina (1992) describe this behaviour of hypnotic element in some ancient dance performances which were documented by Captain James Cook, early explorers and Christian missionaries, as well as, passed down in oral traditions and myths (Mariner, 1817; Gifford, 1929; Bott, 1982; Campbell, 1992; Hoponoa, 1996; Helu, 1999, 2008).

Helu and Kaeppler in their previous analyses have both identified *mālie* as an effect of *māfana*, especially in the language of the latter, and for the former it is an effect of *tauēlangi*. They have both viewed it as an internal product happening as a result of *māfana*, very similar to that of Māhina. Māhina, et al (2010a:19) in the two previous quotations has unfolded his view on the internal or intrinsic nature of *mālie* by saying that it is mainly about “the transformative aesthetic states of *tatau*, *potupotutatau* and *faka’ofo’ofa*” that give way to *mālie*, with the qualities of *fiefia* expressing themselves extrinsically. He asserts that *mālie* is “a measure of real beauty” as I have discussed previously, and it is “intrinsic to all good works of art as a function of rhythm, symmetry and harmony achieved through the intensification of *tā*, time, and reorganization of *vā*, space (Māhina, 2005: 172).”

For Māhina (2006, 2010a, 2011a), any art work is generally nothing else but the identification, intensification and reorganization of *tā* and *vā* for the creation of *mālie*, the ultimate stage of *faka’ofo’ofa*, beauty. This is closely related to my definition of the two senses of *faiva* discussed earlier, but more importantly is the inclusion of his *Moanan Tā-Vā General Theory of Reality* into the whole discussion. He has been developing this theory since the midst 1990’s and it has effectively changed certain aspects of his theoretical conception of Moanan-Tongan culture, as well as, other academic issues as a whole. Since I have been using Māhina and Ka’ili’s works considerably throughout the dissertation, it is therefore perhaps worthwhile to briefly mention the main focus of this *tā-vā*, time-space theory of reality.

After studying such a theory, their main argument seems to be based on the following two propositions. Firstly, “all things in reality be they natural, social or mental are products of the dialectic interaction of *tā*, time, and space, *vā*, in opposing and supporting manners.” Secondly, “people can socially intensify and re-arrange *tā* and *vā* in accordance to their cultural and psychological perceptions of reality.” This standpoint is viewed too throughout the discussion of *mālie*, with the variation of *fiefia* and their link to *tā-vā* relation in the works of Māhina and Ka’ili, as well as, Hoponoa and Helu even though the latter scholars

have not discussed such a theory in the detailed and lengthy manner as it has been discussed by the former.

For Māhina and Ka’ili, *mālie* and all its intrinsic and extrinsic aspects like *tatau* and *māfana* come into existence as an aftermath of re-arrangement of *tā* and *vā*, and this can differentiate the contents, *who*, of this Moanan cultures from other world cultures. Hence Māhina, et al (2010) have translated *mālie* into English as something ‘beautiful’ after all (Māhina, 2010a), and this is similar translation used by Ka’ili (2008a: 50) and Hoponoa (1996) but not identical, along the same line with Kaeppler’s spirit of well done and Helu’s *mālie* of *bravo*. In following Māhina, Ka’ili (2008a) in his analysis of *mālie* in relation to *tauhiivā*, moral respect, and *fatongia*, obligation, suggests that *tauhiivā* is one of the Tongan golden morals that can create the former if the mode of social exchanges is reciprocal in the manner of equality and symmetry.

“In Tongan traditional dances, when a performance is superb, the audience shouts, “*mālie*,” beautiful...Likewise, when a performance of a social duty (*fatongia*) is outstanding, Tongans say “*mālie e to’o fatongia*,” that is a beautiful performance of a social duty (*fatongia*) (Ka’ili, 2008a: 50).

Ka’ili in this analysis of *tauhiivā* in Tongan *fatongia* and its relation to *faiva*, performance art, has broadened and extended Māhina’s theory of *tā-vā* profusely in social and aesthetic scopes except he did not dwell into the direction and basis of the main argument of this study. Most importantly, he has helped to embark on the gateway for my current study of the beauty, *faka’ofa’ofa*, and happiness, *fiefia*, in *fatongia*, which he has discussed it in conjunction to his study of the life of Tongans at Maui islands in Hawaii. His examination of *fatongia* in its *faka’ofa’ofa* and *fiefia* modes among such Tongans is somehow related to my main argument that *fiefia* in *fatongia*, with its divine features of *tauēlangi* and ‘*alaha kakala*, are implanted in human fundamental values and behaviours of society.

My detailed study and analysis of *fatongia* in relation to obligation worldwide and among the Greeks and Romans is another additional contribution to the works of Ka’ili, Māhina, Helu, Hoponoa and Kaeppler. Also, I have extended and added revised perspectives and definitions into the discussion of *tauēlangi*, ‘*alaha kakala*, *faiva*, *mālie* and *fiefia* slightly different from theirs (Kaeppler, 1967, 1990, 1993, 1998, 1999, 2005, 2011; Māhina, 1990, 1992, 2005, 2006, 2007a, 2008a, 2008b, 2010a, 2011a; Helu, 1997, 1999, 2005, 2006, 2008; Hoponoa, 1996; Ka’ili, 2008a, 2008b).

3.3.1.2.1. *Mālie* with *fiefia* in Hoponoa's study

Hoponoa (1996) additionally states some aesthetic insights regarding the relation of *mālie* to *māfana*, *vela* and *tauēlangi* from his fieldwork among Tongan scholars, poets, singers and choreographers in Tonga and overseas in the 1990's. He explains that his interviewees generally believed that *mālie* is a result of an 'excellent or beautiful dance performance'. Hoponoa (1996:168) explains,

The dance masters definition of a *mālie* (beautiful) dance performance is based on the "marriage" of *folahaka lelei* [graceful but continuous and various hand dance movements], *tekifaiva* [rhythmic-synchronously in dance spirit], *matakakai* [feel at home/relax in front of an audience or courage] and *maau* (bodily motions) with *māfana*, *vela* and *tauēlangi* (psycho-emotional) aspects.

Hoponoa (1996: 168) then puts some specific insights about *mālie* which he has collected directly from his interviewees, and the observation and interpretation of *folahaka lelei*, *tekifaiva*, *matakakai* and *maau* with *māfana*, *vela* and *tauēlangi*. He says that *mālie* is a product also of some importantly interrelated issues. The first issue is the assertion that (i) the creation of *mālie* (beauty) in *haka* is learned and therefore performed (ii) it is emergent (iii), it is non-symbolic, apolitical and amoral. Hoponoa reminds us about the importance of the independent nature of dance and arts with their fundamental character of beauty, differently from other social, political and moral aspects in life (see Figure 40-53 of page xxxvi-xliii).

In fact, this is also the essence of my view of *fiefia* and its qualities that are based and evolved around *tauēlangi* and '*alaha kakala* with their divine climax of climactic euphoria and permeating odour, which are pure actions of non-symbolic, apolitical and amoral after all. Apart from the political and moral aspects of dance at large, as a social unit, which also mentioned by Hoponoa (1996) as sharing by his interviewees, he has correctly identified the divine nature of *fiefia* in dance as a common art practice with non-symbolic, apolitical and amoral.

This is with no respect to no one except the creation of beauty, *faka'ofa'ofa*, in the light of the variation, or qualities, of *fiefia*, ranging from *māfana* to *vela* and to *tauēlangi* as a consequence of equal, *tatau*, and symmetrical, *potupotutatau*, exchanges of positive energies repeatedly by intensifying *tā*, time, and re-arranging *vā*, space, in a dialectic manner. Hoponoa's interviewees also perceived *faiva* and *faiva haka* as a kind of *fatongia*, and at the

same token they also asserted that it has a principal character of non-symbolic, apolitical and amoral when just concentrating on the creation of *mālie*, *faka'ofa'ofa* and *fiefia*, to use Māhina, Croce and St Aquinas' definitions. This is understood especially if we just focus on the spirit of *mālie* and why it comes into existence in the first place, as an effect of *fiefia* in the manners of *māfana*, *vela* and *tauēlangi*, which is after all a work of art, or *faka'ofa'ofa* for that matter.

All are pure feelings of *fiefia* in its divine apex. Additionally, *mālie* is something that must be learned or experienced repeatedly, and it is not naturally accidental, but it is emergent or eruptive with impromptu nature as well while performing. *Mālie* is emergent or eruptive with impromptu nature in the sense of its building up within the performers and audience the qualities of *fiefia* in variation as an aftermath of what such performers have learned and experienced over times through consistence and persistence practices and rehearsals, as Hoponoa (1996) has accounted in his discussion of Tongan *haka* (see Figure 40-53 of page xxxvi-xliii).

Helu (1999) in his discussion also explains a similar information to this theoretical and practical insight by Hoponoa. “*Mālie* is also used by masters as the basis of a classification of excellence in relation to the different parts of the body. The highest *mālie* is a beautiful face, for even before such a face is involved in a dance it is fascinating in itself. Then comes the hands, the trunk, and feet and so on (Helu, 1999: 269).” A dancer can say *mālie* to electrify and edify another dancer except himself, but unless it comes from the audience then the whole process of *mālie* is then complete. This still encompasses what Māhina has generally alluded to *mālie* as a measure of beauty or in reference to the whole beauty of any *faiva* whatsoever.

Etymologically speaking, it seems after reviewing the Moanan-Tongan literature, traditions and language that *mālie* was probably derived from the word ‘*mali*’, or the former was a corruption of the latter. *Mali* can be a short for ‘*malimali*’, ‘smile’, and the letter ‘*e*’ in *mālie* appears to stand for ‘reaching out for participation’. Letters *e* and ‘*a*’ in Moanan-Tongan language normally stand for ‘participation and dispersion’, as it is observable in the previous discussion of ‘*tongi*’ and ‘*a*’ in Chapter I regarding the etymology of *tongia* and *fatongia*. On the same etymological ground, it seems too that *fiefia* was originally derived from the words, ‘*fiē*’, ‘willingness to participate’, and ‘*fia*’, ‘mixture of things conclusively and dispersively’ (‘*fi*’ is ‘to lash’, and ‘*a*’ is ‘to engage and disperse’). In Samoan language, *fiafia* is their word for happiness, which could be the corruption of the Tongan *fiefia*, or vice-

versa. If we take the etymology of *fiafia*, it can be meant ‘to lash feeling of excitement in engaged and dispersed manners’. Thus the words *mālie* and *fiefia*, or *fiafia*, are somehow related in etymological and linguistic terms, despite the fact that further study in performing art and life at large may be required to validate such a claim.

The essence of this *fiefia* can be further observable in the doctoral thesis of Manu’atu (2000a) which has proven that *mālie* and *māfana* in their application to the situations of homework, *po ako*, and cultural festival, *kātoanga faiva*, of Moanan parents and their children in Aotearoa is very encouraging for the latter’s successful outcomes and educational achievements. They are the main social milieu for the involvement of the majority of parents in their children’s studies and activities because they have both encouraged and fostered *mālie* and *māfana*. Her thesis and later works appear to have provided academic interest and public attention on the positive and productive effect of *mālie* and *māfana* in the Moanan and Tongan social medium, despite she did not develop it to the extent of *fatongia* in universality that this study is pursuing with its sense of *tauēlangi* and ‘*alaha kakala* in contrast to *fuakavenga*. Manu’atu has confined it in the two above Moanan situations of *po ako* and *kātoanga faiva*, with some suggestions that the failure to connect this tradition of *mālie* and *māfana* to the wider social, political and economic circumstances of society can effectively create ‘marginalisation’ within and among Moanan and Tongan migrants (Manu’atu, 2000a, 2000b; Manu’atu, et al, 2001; Morton, 1996, 2003). I am arguing that *fatongia* with this sense of *fiefia* can be universal and applicable to other cultures and not just to the Moanan and Tongan people, as it is observable in the context of studying *eudaimonia*, happiness, by philosophers of ancient Greece and Rome in Chapter V. After examining *mālie* in particular from most if not all aspects of Moanan-Tongan literature in the few last paragraphs, I have consequently come up with a definitions of *mālie* in both general and particular senses.

3.3.2. Definition of *mālie*

After reviewing the interpretations of Helu, Māhina, Kaeppler, Ka’ili, Hoponoa and Manu’atu, together with my own information of the term arts at large and dance, *faiva haka*, in particular, I have come to the point of defining *mālie* in the following general and particular senses. In the broader sense, *mālie* refers “to any piece of art work which has the characters of beauty, *faka’ofa’ofa*, and happiness, *fiefia*, based on the qualities of *māfana*, *vela* and *tauēlangi*, and the aesthetic structure of equality, *tatau*, and symmetry, *potupotutatau*, occurring in a repetitive way of intensifying and re-arranging rhythmic patterns, *kupesi tā-vā*.” This is an extension of Māhina’s (2005) view of *mālie* as the measure of *faka’ofa’ofa*.

Its narrow sense stands for “the profound appreciation of the *fiefia* of *tauēlangi* and ‘*alaha kakala* with their variations in any beautiful work of art through expressing words and actions such as *mālie* in response toward the artist’s excellence for bravery in performance.” This is a derivation of Māhina’s view of *mālie* as a measure of beauty, as well as, those similar viewpoints discussed by Hoponoa (1996), Helu (1999), Ka’ili (2008a) and Manu’atu (2000a). Such definitions are applied to all arts as in the case of music, *hiva*, Tongans and people in general can experience this graceful and elegant impression of *mālie* or *bravo*. As it is revealed in *Takafalu*, there are countless Tongan *hiva* which are also full of *kakala* words for the mere purpose of symbolizing the psycho-emotional feelings of love, ‘*ofa*, social rank, *langilangi* and wishthful thoughts, *manatu*, all for the unified aim of promoting *fiefia*.

With both definitions, it reminds us of Croce’s (1902) view of beauty with its emphasis that any art is the only enterprising that edifies and uplifts us in soul and mind. Likewise, this is observable in St Aquinas (Conway, 1911) with his definition of beauty as *integritas*, perfection, *consonantia*, harmony, and *claritas*, clarity. *Mālie* then is also a combination of the spirit of Croce and Aquinas, comprising the interpretation of *mālie* by Māhina as a general term for beauty, *faka’ofa’ofa*, and a measure of it, comprising those by Helu, Ka’ili, Manu’atu and Hoponoa. This is with the exception of Kaeppler due to her doubt of the place of *faka’ofa’ofa* in *mālie*, without realising that they are like two sides of the same coin of inseparable nature. In the final part of this sub-section, I would now like to conclude it by re-defining the variation, or qualities, of *fiefia* slightly different from those by Helu, Kaeppler, Māhina, Ka’ili and Hoponoa (see Figure 40-53 of page xxxvi-xliii).

3.3.3. *Fiefia* in *māfana*, *vela* and *tauēlangi*

For Helu, Ka’ili, Māhina and Hoponoa, there are three main variation of *fiefia*, beginning from *māfana*, warmth, to *vela*, fieriness or hot and finishing at *tauēlangi*, extreme elation. With its finale, it sounds similar to ‘standing ovation’ in European theatre concert, when there is unified mass of profound and great appreciation by the audience of the performers in an exciting way, through clapping and cheering for the excellent bravery in their performance. The main difference of standing ovation with *mālie* falls into the sudden, spontaneous and non-delayed mode of behaviour of the latter, as soon as the performers reach the divine climax of happiness, everyone can straightaway call out *mālie!mālie!* They can also participate in the performance too. There is no waiting nor delaying for *mālie*, as in the case of *bravo* to some extent but not standing ovation, but it is all spontaneously built and based on

‘impromptu response’ to flow together with the variation of *fiefia* (see Figure 40-53 of page xxxvi-xliii).

In Tongan performing art, however, this impromptu response of *mālie* is accompanied by other related *fiefia* words like “*Alu ‘osi ai leva!*” “Go all the way!” “*Ikai ha to e foki!*” “No return!” “*To atu!*” “Well done!” “*Vela vela!*” “Superb superb!” and “*Vela ‘osi ‘osi!*” “Completely euphoric!” Most if not all then join the performers in a rhythmic manner of intensifying and re-arranging of *tā* and *vā* by withholding this electrifying atmosphere in its heavenly apex. The music of the dance can repeat itself until everyone either feels tired for over-exciting or have enough of the whole drama. The *integritas*, perfection, *consonantia*, harmony, and *claritas*, clarity, of *mālie* and soul of aesthetic enterprising in Aquinas and Croce’s words are totally correlated and coordinated to the variation of *fiefia* within the performers, and between them and the music, dance atmosphere and spectators. For instance, if the dancers are just in the variation of *māfana* then this will be reflected in the tone and momentum of *mālie* energies from the audience with not much extreme elation, differently from *mālie* and *fiefia* in a performance that attains *tauēlangi* with its climactic euphoria. In a way, this reminds us of the interrelation between the etymology of *mālie* and *fiefia* explained previously, in the sense of the engagement and dispersion of their characters in the divine spirit of performing art and life generally (see Figure 40-53 of page xxxvi-xliii).

In *mālie*, furthermore, it is hard for this study to follow all the way to the theoretical conceptions of intrinsic and extrinsic distinction previously suggested by Māhina and Ka’ili. They have argued that *tatau*, *potupotutatau* and *faka’ofa’ofa* are intrinsic qualities of *mālie* whereas *vela*, *māfana* and *tauēlangi* are extrinsic. I don’t support this kind of distinction for the main reason that it sounds dualistic in behaviour. I have taken *mālie* as an aesthetic effect of the interaction of equal, *tatau*, and symmetrical, *potupotutatau*, modes of operation in a dialectic manner, with the intensifying variation of *fiefia*, happiness, which can finally give way to *tauēlangi* and *faka’ofa’ofa*, beauty. This does not happen inwardly or outwardly but they interact dialectically in different opposing but supporting ways with the music, *hiva*, dance movements, *faiva haka*, and poetic text and oratory, *ta’anga* (see Figure 40-53 of page xxxvi-xliii).

Within this process, *māfana*, *vela* and *tauēlangi* in the classification of *fiefia* by Māhina, Ka’ili, Hoponoa and Helu, can rise into surface as part of the whole operation in the aesthetic finale of *faka’ofa’ofa*. This can consequently create the unified response of *mālie* in its different tones and momentum from the audience, with reference to different variation of

fiefia. The aesthetic of *tatau* and *potupotutatau*, on one hand, and *māfana*, *vela* and *tauēlangi*, on the otherhand, repeatedly interact and counter-act in space, *vā*, and *tā*, re-arranging by the performers in intensifying rhythmic way. In this process, *fiefia* and *faka'ofa'ofa* in their divine apex of no-symbolic, apolitical and amoral, as spelled out by Hoponoa, are then dispersed and shared by both the performers and spectators respectively.

This is in general associated with the specific aim, *siate*, of *fiefia* in the situation of *fatongia*. In fact, there are social, moral, political, economic, psychological aspects of *fatongia*, but its effect of *faka'ofa'ofa* and *fiefia* with *tauēlangi* and 'alaha kakala can emerge as a result of *tatau* and *potupotutatau* interacting in a dialectic way of opposing and supporting manners. *Mālie* can be heard in dances, *malanga*, formal speeches, of ceremonial orators, *matāpule*, and conversation of *talanoa*, as a result of changeable, multiple and conflicting-opposing exchanges in a reciprocal behaviours within and between the performers and spectators. Above all, their finale of *faka'ofa'ofa* can effectively motivate the audience to share their unified feeling of *fiefia* through *mālie* expression, and participating in the performance, which Māhina, Ka'ili and Hoponoa have referred to as the ultimate stage of beauty at large. All beautiful qualities of *fiefia* performance can happen in the same setting, at the same time, if music, dance and poetic text including dance *haka* movements are interweaved in equal and symmetrical ways repeatedly and rhythmically. In the normal course of event, this happens with no clear-cut division of inward and outward directions in the whole process. However, I have taken *tatau* and *potupotutatau* as the 'aesthetic structure' in which the qualities of *fiefia* are developed and unfolded accordingly, so if there is no *tatau* and *potupotutatau* then *faka'ofa'ofa* and *mālie* will not emerge into the fore, which means no *fiefia* in its pure climax of *tauēlangi* and 'alaha kakala with all their variations either.

It is difficult to say that in performance art its *fiefia* energies must have to be *tatau*, *potupotutatau* and *faka'ofa'ofa* before *māfana*, *vela* and *tauēlangi* rise into the surface. *Māfana* and *tatau* for instance do not happen separately nor in the order of transforming from *māfana* to *vela* and to *tauēlangi* in the situation of *fiefia* through re-arranging of *vā* and *tā* repeatedly and rhythmically. *Māfana*, *vela* and *tauēlangi* are all built within the increasing momentum and volume of the aesthetic structure of *tatau* and *potupotutatau*, notably when the performers rhythmically and repeatedly re-arrange *vā* and *tā* in an intensifying way. I have taken the dialectic outlook of viewing them as building in an opposed and complementary way until they repeatedly and rhythmically become in harmony with one another in an intensifying way, then *mālie* and its *faka'ofa'ofa* manner can rise into being. This is when *tauēlangi* with its metaphoric aspect of 'alaha kakala can come into the surface and be experienced by both

the performers and audience. After examining this aesthetic transformation, I have come to a point of re-defining the three psycho-emotional qualities of *fiefia*, which are *māfana*, *vela* and *tauēlangi*, in the words of Helu, Māhina, Ka’ili and Hoponoa.

3.3.3.1. Re-defining *fiefia* in *tauēlangi*

I am different from Māhina (2010a), Ka’ili (2008a), Hoponoa (1996) and Helu (1999) in the discussion of different variation of *fiefia* that can give way to *mālie* in different tones and momentum. According to Māhina, Ka’ili, Helu and Hoponoa, there are only three variation and it starts with *māfana*, warmth, to *vela*, fieriness or hot, and to *tauēlangi*, climaxed elation. For Kaeppler (1993), she has talked of *māfana* as an equivalent of *mālie*. Helu has talked about such three variation, that mentioned by Māhina, Ka’ili and Hoponoa, in some of his teachings, various informal *talanoa*, including our 2008 *talanoa*. Contrarily, I have re-defined this variation into seven levels or qualities instead, and it can be increased too, with countless emotions within and among them. As a dancer also, I do believe it begins with courage, *loto-to’a*, for start then comes enthusiasm, *fiekau*, warming enthusiasm, *māmāfana*, warmth, *māfana*, burning warmth, *vela māfana*, elation, *vela* and climactic euphoria, *vela ‘osi’osi* which is *tauēlangi* (see Figure 40-53 of page xxxvi-xliii).

In other words, *vela osi’osi* is *tauēlangi* in its divine climax. *Vela* is literally translated as ‘hot’, and *‘osi’osi* is ‘to finish completely (‘*osi* is ‘to finish’)’. People also sometime allude to *vela ‘osi’osi* as *‘alu ‘auha*, ‘to walk with nothing’, or *vela ‘auha*, ‘to burn completely’. *‘Alu* means ‘to walk’ and *‘auha* is ‘to finish completely’. Sometimes *tauēlangi* follows this multiple and changeable sequence of seven qualities, and in some situations it can instantly run from *māfana*, to climactic euphoria, *vela ‘osi’osi* or *tauēlangi*. If someone says that the dance or *fatongia* is in a stage of *māfana* or *vela*, it simply implies that it is metaphorically almost there but is still not really reached the apex of *vela ‘osi’osi*, or *tauēlangi* for that matter. Unless the situation is at the point of *vela ‘osi’osi*, or *‘alu ‘auha* the performer and the audience will not experience the heavenly expression of *bravo* or *mālie* in the ultimate stage of *faka’ofo’ofa*. Usually, this always flows together with the spirit of standing ovation at the Western theatre concert in its extreme euphoric excitement of hypnotic and electrifying nature, to use Māhina explanation. Sometime performers can feel and experience the first four qualities before dancing, depending on their personal feeling, the atmosphere of the day and the setting of the performance or social function, *kātoanga*. I have experienced that only in the presence of the last four qualities in a performance that can give birth to *tauēlangi*, and without them the rest are not sufficient to root out *fiefia* of *vela ‘osi’osi*. However, I would like to

finish off this sub-section by sharing a poem by my wife, Luseane (2003), she wrote regarding my dance performance when she first saw it in 1995. This is when I was still dance standing, now I am still dancing but from my wheel-chair since 1998. In this short poem she shows the heavenly climax of *tauēlangi* in my dance based on her experience and her observation of the *vela 'osi'osi* from the audience.

3.3.3.1.1. *Fragmented Memory*

Arrogant he stands
Gazing out to his sea of captive prey
The pungent smell of their excitement envelopes him
Sinew and muscle intertwined and perfectly toned
Erect maleness
Sheathed in feminine glory
A body wholly made
For love's painful rituals
Slowly he moves
And breath is caught like a moth
He wants them now
They open up
Sweet petals of dew
That see-saw gently to the rhythm of his dance
Eyes dart
And gaze is held
Blood pounds like possessive waves
Come to me my love
Let me taste of your body's fragrant oils
Beautiful hands that caress and mould

With promises he would never keep (see Figure 48 of page xli)

From the above poem, I now continue on and reflect upon the place of traditional Tongan sweet-smelling plants, *kakala*, and its permeating perfume, ‘*alaha kakala*, in naturally dance poetry, *ta’anga faiva* and its poetic text and oratory, *ta’anga*. How its *ta’anga* helps to enhance and reinforce the metaphoric spirit of ‘*alaha kakala* in a *tauēlangi* situation. With ‘*alaha kakala* and its permeating fragrant effects, it reminds us of the French movie entitled *Perfurme*. With its main actor, the unique aroma of his new permeating fragrant products have effectively made people to have euphoria and fantasy in a hypnotic way about the beauty, *faka’ofa’ofa*, of the world in different ways. In its extremity, it even led them to madness up to a point where they damaged and killed one another. In the following paragraphs, ‘*alaha kakala* to the contrarily normally brings positive energies to life as it is evident in the impact of *fatongia fiefia*, happy obligation, when its spirit brings into light the divine pinnacle of *vela’osi’osi*. In this context when talking about the positive energies in *ta’anga* that can motivate the *tauēlangi* behaviours, I would like now to proceed on and interpret the *ta’anga* in dance, *faiva haka*, and the main role of its meanings in creating ‘*alaha kakala* with its metaphoric meaning in enhancing *fiefia* and *faka’ofa’ofa*. So, how we can then metaphorically and aesthetically connect any *tauēlangi* and ‘*alaha kakala* into the situation of natural dance poetry is the main focus of the next section.

3.4. *Kakala in laumātanga and laukakala*

This section attempts to interpret some verses from a *ta’anga*, poetic text or oratory, of the most famous *lakalaka* dance poetry in modern Tongan performance art, *faiva*, regarding *laumātanga*, pride of locality and *laukakala*, pride of sweet-smelling plant (*lakalaka* is a ‘group standing dance for both male and female dancers’). The name of this *lakalaka* dance poetry is known as *Takafalu*, and it was composed by Her Late Majesty Queen Sālote Mafile’o Pilolevu Tupou III of Tonga. She is regarded by Moanan-Tongan scholars and artists as one of the most outstanding poets of all times in terms of classical Moanan-Tongan styles with highly metaphoric and aesthetic flavours (see Figure 3-32 of page xvi-xxxi). *Lakalaka* dance poetry for Helu (1999), Māhina (2011a), Hoponoa (1996) and Kaeppler (1993) is not only for aesthetic purposes but political, moral and psychological as well. Apart from the non-symbolic, apolitical and amoral characters of dance, *faiva haka*, in the divine pinnacle of *fiefia* and its variation with ‘*alaha kakala* and *tauēlangi*, the *ta’anga* of this kind of *lakalaka* consists of political, moral and psychological aspects as well to the contrary. This can consequently lead on to two issues of great importance. The meanings of the *ta’anga* can either

methodologically and effectively enhance *fiefia*, happiness, among the audience or people at large, or *ta'efiefia*, unhappiness, especially if certain chiefs, *hou'eiki*, lineages, *ha'a*, and extended family, *kainga*, are not included in its content. This is the paradox of this kind of dance poetry, because the poet must ensure that the *ta'anga* is 'inclusive' and not 'exclusive' in nature, and Queen Sālote was the master in both of the above methods, as discussed by Māhina (1992) and Talia (2007).

3.4.1. *Lakalaka* of *laumātanga* and *laukakala*

Apart from the metaphoric and aesthetic qualities of this *Takafalu lakalaka*, I would like first to briefly highlight the political, moral and psychological aspects of Queen Sālote's *lakalaka*. I have classified Her *lakalaka* dance of *faiva haka* into five main themes in terms of political, moral, psychological perspectives. Its first theme is to politically, morally and psychologically ensure that Her current Kingly Line, *Ha'a Tu'i Kanokupolu*, is still the most prominent ruling elite of all. The second theme focuses in ensuring that all chiefly lineages, *ha'a*, and extended family, *kainga*, from different villages and districts socially, morally and politically play their traditional *fatongia* in accordance to the traditions of such a current Kingly system. With the third theme, She makes sure that all *ha'a* continue to play their *fatongia* in a *fiefia* manner of *tauēlangi* and 'alaha *kakala*. Following this third theme, the fourth focuses in ensuring that this *fiefia* with its *tauēlangi* and 'alaha *kakala* would still be preserved by different villages and districts in future accordingly. In the last theme, She tries to inform all Tongans that the harmony, *maau*, and calm, *nonga*, of society are based on how the *ha'a* and *kainga* play their individual *fatongia* in an equal, *tatau*, and symmetrical, *potupotutatau*, mode of reciprocal exchange (see Figure 3-32 of page xvi-xxxi).

3.4.1.1. *Takafalu*

The followings are some verses from Queen Salote's famous *lakalaka* of *Takafalu* taken from Helu's (1999: 283-287) translation, but with my own interpretation of its *laumātanga* and *laukakala* of great importance to Tongan culture and tradition.

3.4.1.1.1. Tongan version

1. *Pe'i langatoli mai*
2. *Si'a fine 'o Lapaha*
3. *Mo ha taha taukei*

4. *Mei he kolo kakala*
5. *He kuo oso 'a e hau*
6. *Mo Pangai kuo tava*
7. *Ko e ha'ofanga e*
8. *Luva'anga e kakala*
9. *He ko Molimohe'a mo hono siale moto*
10. *Pea mo e langakali e 'api ko Lotunofu (repeat)*
11. *'A 'Utulifuka mo e huni kautoto*
12. *Fēfē 'a Namoaala mo e puluto momoho*
13. *Si'a 'Api ko Malila mo hono paongo*
14. *Matala e kukuvalu he vai 'o Moheofo*
15. *'Ofa 'i Takuilau heilala kilitoto*
16. *Si'i fa'onelua papai ha taha hoko (repeat)*
17. *Te u tui 'a e alamea*
18. *Ki he taukei 'o Lēlēa*
19. *Tu'itu'u pē te u luva*
20. *Ki he maka ko Loupua*
21. *Ka e ve'eve pē si'i Makamaile*
22. *Ka e tuku e lavalava*
23. *Mo 'o Nu'useilala*
24. *Ko e fakaofilani*
25. *Kakala 'o Vailahi*
26. *Ko e tuingahea*
27. *Fakamaluokatea*

28. *Sia ko Veiongo, ko au te u lele*
29. *Luva atu e kakala, ke fai ho'o pule*
30. *Levei hoku loto, nofo he Paepae*
31. *Fakafiu 'eku tu'a'ofa ki Olotele*
32. *Ka hengihengi malū*
33. *Ko hai tene lava?*
34. *Fe'ao 'i loto Mu'a*
35. *He mausa e kakala*
36. *'Ete hifo pē 'o tu'u*
37. *Langonga 'i he lala*
38. *'Ete tu'u 'o vakai*
39. *Fakaholo mamata*
40. *Laumanu ka mahiki*
41. *Mei Halakakala*
42. *Tālolo pē 'o tu'u*
43. *He maka 'i Heketā*

3.4.1.1.2. English version

1. Come, raise flower-plucking runs
2. Ye women of Lapaha
3. All experienced hands
4. From the village of flowers
5. For the king is merry
6. And Pangai is jubilant
7. 'Tis the chiefly circle

8. For giving away of garlands
9. There's Molimohe'a of the budding gardenias
10. And the *langakali* of Lotunofu (repeat)
11. Ay 'Utulifuka of *huni* with blood-red stalks
12. How is Namoala where ripening *pulu* fall?
13. Dear place of Malila with its *paongo*
14. *Kukuvalu* is blooming on the spring of Moheofo
15. Beloved Takuilau bristling with blood-red skinn'd *heilala*
16. Dear *fa'onelua, papai* of the initiates (repeat)
17. I string *alamea*
18. For the expert of Lēlēa
19. *Tuitu'u* I shall yield
20. To the rock of Loupua
21. *Ve'eve'e* only for the Makamaile
22. Reserving the *lavalava*
23. For Nu'useilala
24. The *fakaofilani*
25. Is for Vailahi
26. A string of *hea*
27. For Fakamalukatea
28. Veiongo Mound adieu, adieu
29. All garlands to you I yield, to dispose as you wish
30. How lonesome I am for life at Paepae
31. And pestered by longings for Olotele

32. At calm of dawn
33. Who can bear it?
34. A friendly stroll in Mu'a
35. Thick with scents of lowers
36. Right on, then, one stops
37. On the deserted canoe beach
38. Surveying the view
39. Feeding the eyes
40. With flights on the wing
41. Out of Halakakakala
42. Descending they alight
43. On the stone at Heketā

(Helu's translation, 1999: 283-287).

3.4.1.2. Interpretation of *Takafalu*

I am not intended to analyse this whole *lakalaka* in details but the most important point is my attempt to demonstrate the metaphorical and aesthetic significance of sweet-smelling plants, *kakala*, and their permeating fragrance, 'alaha *kakala*, in Tongan dance, *faiva haka*, music, *hiva*, and poetry, *ta'anga*. How 'alaha *kakala* is metaphorically and aesthetically considered important in relation to *fiefia* in the light of *tauēlangi* and *faka'ofa'ofa* within the aesthetic structure of equal and symmetrical exchanges is the most crucial issue in this context.

In ancient Moanan-Tongan society, its socio-political structure was both patriarchal and matriarcal in essence, as in the case of Female Ruler, Tu'i Tonga Fefine, and Male Ruler, Tu'i Tonga, as highlighted in Chapter I and IV. Also almost all things in society and nature were divided into two main classes. Firstly, things were in hierarical order of higher, *ma'olunga*, divine, *fakalangi*, sacredness, *toputapu* and 'eikiness or 'eiki, chieflyness, on one hand, and lower, *ma'ulalo*, secular, *fakamāmāni*, and commoner, *tu'a*, on the other hand. Secondly, all things were divided in accordance to gender, *tafine* - male and female order.

Men or brothers, *tuonga'ane*, were regarded as *tu'a* or lower in social status and rank when comparing to their sisters, *tuofefine*, which implies that the latter is higher in social rank than the former (Gifford, 1923, 1929; Collocott, 1927a, 1927b, 1928; Māhina, 1992, 2007, 2008a, 2008b; Helu 1999, 2008; Taliai 2007, 2008; 'Ilaiu, 2007).

This is reflected in the division of '*ulumotu'a* and *fahu* systems discussed earlier, in which former is constituted by the eldest male *tuonga'ane* line of a *ha'a* or *kainga* whereas the latter by the eldest *tuofefine* line. '*Ulumotu'a*, the male eldest line, represents the leadership of men in the medium, *vaka*, of exchanging men's works and resources, *ngāue*, among chiefly *ha'a*, lineages and their individual extended families, *kainga*. '*Ulumotu'a* is also meant the head or leader of the *ha'a*, the elder male line, including each individual *kainga*, and his main *fatongia* with the *ha'a* and *kainga* is to provide works and food resources of all kinds, which is *ngāue*, for reciprocal exchange with other *ha'a* and *kainga* in any given traditional function, *kātoanga*.

On the other side, *fahu* system represents the elder female line, who is the *tuofefine* of the '*ulumotu'a*. Her main *fatongia* with the female line is to ensure that the *koloa*, women's works, or *nimamea'a*, female fine arts and tapa, are well prepared for reciprocal exchange with other female *ha'a* and *kainga*. All female *koloa* collecting at the *kātoanga* or *fatongia* from the '*ulumotu'a* line, among other lower female lines, will be offered as belongings of the *fahu*. Within the interaction of the '*ulumotu'a* and *fahu* systems, there are also the division of resources within them into chiefly, *hou'eiki*, and non-chiefly, *tu'a*, parts, and male and female parts, in the situation of *kakala*, among others. That is, everything must be divided into male and female parts in an equal way, as shown in this division of *fatongia* between the *fahu* and '*ulumotu'a*, and male and female *kakala*, as well as, division of resources into hierarchical order with accordance to the social and political structure of society.

The classification of the most permeating fragrant *kakala* as belonging to chiefly women is a good illustration of this point. *Heilala* is one of the most chiefly *kakala* in Tongan culture with accordance to the traditional classification of *kakala hingoa* or *kakala 'iloa* of chiefly nature (*hingoa* is 'naming' and '*iloa* means 'well-known') in contrast to *kakala tu'a*, *kakala vale* or *kakala ta'e'iloa* of commoner kind - *tu'a* is 'commoner' and *ta'e'iloa* stands for 'un-recognized' or 'unknown' (see Figure 3-32 of page xvi-xxxi) (Mariner, 1817; Gifford, 1929; Newell, 1947; Bott, 1982; Māhina, 1992, 2006; Biersack, 1990; Herda, 1990). On that note, I now explain and interpret some of the *kakala* on the *Takafalu lakalaka*, from Helu's

(1999:284-287) discussion of their social, political, moral and psychological importance in Moanan-Tongan culture and traditions.

Line 1 begins with an invitation to women of Lapaha (Line 2) and any expert from the village of flowers, *kolo kakala* (Line 3) to be ready for springing garlands of different types and offering them out to different chiefs, *hou'eiki*, and districts, *feitu'u*, with their individual lieanges, *ha'a*. Lapaha is located at the southern part, *tonga*, of the fourth ancient capital of the Tu'i Tonga Empire in the whole village of Mu'a. Generally, it is situated in the eastern part, *hahake*, of the main island of Tonga, Tongatapu. Mu'a consists of two parts, the northern part, *tokelau*, is called Tatakamotonga and Lapaha at the southern part, *tonga*. The present capital is Nuku'alofa and it is situated in the northern-middle, *tokelau-lotoloto*, coastal part of Tongatapu. The ancient capital of Mu'a was established roughly between the 12th and 13th Centuries. The nick name for Lapaha and Tatakamotonga, or Mu'a for that matter, is the village of flowers or village of sweet-smelling plants, *kolo kakala* (see Figure 1 and 2 of page xiv-xv) (Gifford, 1923, 1929; Māhina, 1992, Campbell, 1992; Vānisi, 1999; 'Ilaiu, 2007; Taliai, 2007).

Another nick name for Mu'a (Lapaha and Tatakamotonga) is *kolo salusalu* (*salusalu* is a Fijian term for *kakala*), *kolo ve'eve'e* and *kolo paki-mo-e-to'i* referring to the same above explanation. *Kolo* means village or town. *Kolo salusalu* is the 'village of garland, *kahoa*, or waist fragrant girdle, *sisi kakala*. *Kolo ve'eve'e* is again alluded to the village of *kahoa* and *sisi kakala* (*ve'eve'e* is *kahoa* or *sisi*). *Kolo paki-mo-e-to'i* refers to a village of plucking - pluck, *paki*, and, *mo e*, sap, *to'i*, from leaves, *lau'i'akau*, flowers, *matala'i'akau*, seeds, *tenga*, and fruits, *fua'i'akau*, of Tongan *kakala* plants. Line 8 is about giving away of garlands, *kahoa*, and this is metaphorically a presentation to someone you admire and love, a sign of moral respect, *tauhivā*. Line 9 is Molimohe'a, was one of the residences of the Tu'i Tonga Fefine, Female Ruler or King, in Lapaha, the elder sister of the Tu'i Tonga, Male Ruler or King. *Moli* means orange and *he'a*, or *hea*, *myrtaceae*, might be the right term, is another *kakala*. It was a residence full of fruits *moli*, orange, and *hea*, *myrtaceae*. There are three main kinds of *hea* in Tonga, *heavula*, *hehea* and *heamapa* (see Figure 3-32 of page xvi-xxxi) (Thaman, 1974, 1981, 1987, 1993, 2003; Māhina, 1992, 2005, 2008b, 2010a, 2011a; Helu, 1987, 1999, 2006, 2008).

Again in Line 9, budding coastal gardenias is *siale* or *sialetafa*, *rubiaceae*, which is a chiefly, as well as, commoner *kakala*. *Langakali*, *aglaia saltatorum*, is another chiefly *kakala* and Lotunofu was a residence for the concubines, *sinīfu*, of the Tu'i Tonga in Lapaha.

‘Utulifuka in Line 11 was a residence for the Tu’i Tonga and later became symbol for the *Ha’a Tu’i Takalaua* in Tatakamotonga, and *huni*, *phaleria dispersal*, with its blood-red stalks, *kau-toto*, is another chiefly *kakala*. In Line 12, Namoala is one of the Royal tombs in Lapaha with its ripening fruit *puluto momoho*, of the *heilala*, *garcinia callophyllum*. *Heilala* is one of the most chiefly *kakala* in Tongan culture with regard to the dichotomic classification of *kakala hingoa*, naming plants, or *kakala ‘iloa*, well-known plants, of chiefly nature in contrast to *kakala tu’a* or *kakala ta’e’iloa* of commoner kind. Malila in Line 13 was another residence of the Tu’i Tonga in Lapaha, and *paongo*, *pandanus whitmeeanus*, is a *kakala* with red in colour which is another name for *fua’ifa*, pandanus fruit. *Paongo*, *falahola* or *fākula*, *pandanus odoratissimus*, *kukuvalu*, *pandanus savaiensis*, *fāhina*, *pandanus pseudo lin*, are all different kinds of *fa*, pandanus fruit. Additionally, *papai fā* or *papai falahola* is the name of a chiefly garland, *kahoa kakala*, with *fākula*, *falahola* or *paongo*. So, *papai* in short then is a chiefly *fa kakala* (see Figure 3-32 of page xvi-xxx).

With Line 14, *kukuvalu*, *pandanus savaiensis*, is the flower of another species of *fā* plants and it contains powered sweet tale. *Moheofo* was a spring in Mu’a and also the title for the principal wife of the Tu’i Tonga, which were first appointed from the daughters of the *Ha’a Tu’i Takalaua* and later on the Tu’i Kanokupolu. Its older name was *Ma’itaki* before changing to *Moheofo* around the 17th Century. Takuilau in Line 15 was one of the residences for the Tui Tonga Fefine with its blood-red skinn’d *heilala*, *garcinia callophyllum*.

Most of the colours of *kakala* are red, *kula*, as in the case of *heilala*, *huni* (*kula*, red), *fa’onelua*, *fākula*, *kukuvalu* and *falahola*. Is there any cultural significance of *kula* in Moanan-Tongan culture at large? As I have mentioned, Māhina, et al (2010; Māhina, 2010a, 2010b) and Potauaine, et al, (2011) discuss in detail the cultural and symbolic importance of *kula* and black, ‘*uli*, colours in ancient Tonga. *Kula* was a symbol for men and ‘*uli* for women. It shows in *tapa*, *ngatu*, with only two main traditional colours of *kula* and ‘*uli* are used, and symbolically moon, *māhina*, land, *fonua*, and night, *po’uli* are for women, whereas sun, *la’ā*, sky, *langi*, and day, ‘*aho*, are for men.

In Line 16, *fa’onelu*, *rhizophoraceae*, (one mangrove kind in Tonga, and is only found in Lapaha and ‘Uiha, a symbol only for the ancient Tu’i Tonga), is the only surviving mangrove of an extinct species that has beautiful bunchy red flowers in Tatakamotonga near ‘Utulifuka (symbol for Tu’i Takalaua), and *papai* is a *kahoa*, garland, of *kukuvalu*, *fākula*, *paongo* or *falahola* from the pandanus family, as previously referred to. *Alamea* is another chiefly *kahoa* that is made from *heilala*, and it is offered by the Lapaha women, *fine*, for the

Lelea people (Line 18), a nick name for the the people of the northern island of Vava'u. With Line 19, *tuitu'u* is the most highly esteemed *kahoa* in the chiefly classification of Tongan *kakala*, and it is specially made from *heilala* flowers (Thaman, 1974, 1981, 1987, 1993, 2000, 2003; Māhina, 1992, 2005, 2006, 2008b, 2010a, 2011a; Helu, 1999, 2006, 2008).

Ve'eve'e for the Makamaile in Line 21 is symbolically an allusion to the present capital, Nuku'alofa. Makamaile is a nick name for Nuku'alofa and *ve'eve'e* means special chiefly garland of different *kakala* mixture weaving from Mu'a and presenting to Nuku'alofa. *Lavalava* in Line 22 is another woven chiefly garland, *kahoa*, reserving it just for Nu'useilala (Line 23). Nu'useilala is a nick name for the northern island of Niua Toputapu, and it means many *heilala* (*seilala* in Samoan), *garcinia callophyllum*. Nu'u or Nuku means place and *seilala* is the ancient Moanan version of *heilala*. Niua Toputapu is closer to Samoa than Tongatapu and the letter 's' in Samoan is 'h' in Tongan. The Tongan word for Samoa is Ha'amoā. Line 26 is about *hea*, *myrtaceae*, one of the chiefly *kakala* (see Figure 3-32 of page xvi-xxxi).

Again in Line 29, we have the same traditional concept of giving out all garlands, *kahoa*, for disposal by Veingo Mound, a sign of respecting other chiefly lineages, *ha'a*, in Kolomotu'a. Veingo Mound is at Kolomotu'a and is located next door to the Royal palace. Traditionally, the chiefs of Kolomotu'a were descendants from the present Kingly Line of *Ha'a Tu'i Kanokupolu*. The ancient Kingly Line was the Tu'i Tonga Line in Mu'a. Now close to the end of the *Takafalu*, Queen Sālote is saying that all *kakala* will be given and presented to Veingo Mound, a clear-cut message that they are the power-holders of today but not the Tu'i Tonga in Mu'a (Kaepler, 1990, 1993, 1998, 2005; Thaman, 1974, 1981, 1987, 1993, 2000, 2003; Māhina, 1992, 2005, 2008b, 2010a, 2011a; Helu, 1999, 2006, 2008).

In this study, the most sweet-smelling *kakala* are used when reference is made to a *tauēlangi* situation. Metaphoric-aesthetically, *fatongia* does not smell gracefully and sweetly if it is only *kakala vale* of the commoners, but it must be chiefly *kakala* nevertheless to move the audience to a stage of *vela*, elation, and then to, *vela 'osi'osi*, climactic euphoria. Tongans in general are kind of people with great admiration to the *hou'eiki* class especially when social relationship and *fatongia* are 'alaha *kakala* and *tauēlangi*. They always proud of their *hou'eiki* in this circumstance for one main reason.

Their *hou'eiki* especially the Royal House and main powerful *hou'eiki* lines are the symbolic figures of different localities and sweet-smelling plants of great importance in history and culture that are included on the dance poetry. Every Tongan in one way or another is

belonged to a *kainga*, extended family, which is part of chiefly lineage, *ha'a*, and each *ha'a* is under the leadership of a *hou'eiki* or Noble. Each *hou'eiki*, chief, owns a district and villages with different *kainga* of his *ha'a* which is constituted by people of the land, *fonua*. Every one is proud of their historical *nu'u*, places, objects and *kakala* of great significance that are specifically belonged to their districts and villages but are metaphorically alluded in this *ta'anga* to chiefly men and women who are traditionally leaders of each *kainga* and *ha'a* (Kaepler, 1967, 1990, 1993, 1999, 2005; Thaman, 1974, 1981, 1987, 1993, 2003; Māhina, 1992, 2005, 2006, 2008a, 2010a, 2011a; Helu, 1999, 2006, 2008).

So when the Queen recites the pride of locality, *laumātanga*, and pride of sweet-smelling plant, *laukakala*, on *Takafalu*, they are not only purposely to cheer, edify and elevate different *hou'eiki* with their *ha'a* but their individual *kainga* as well. Everyone is therefore *māfana* when this kind of *lakalaka* is performed and sung, because it can inclusively touch every hearts and emotions in a powerful and peculiar way, especially those who are mentioned on the *ta'anga*. It is a pride in Tongan culture when dance poetry and music recite people's *nu'u*, localities of origin, their well-known *kakala* and great deeds. Tongans are extremely happy to participate in dance and donate fine mats and tapa, as well as, money on dance performers as a result.

All are a mixture of the *fiefia* qualities of *fiekau*, enthusaism, *lototo'a*, courage, *fiekau*, enthusiasm, *māmāfana*, warming enthusiasm, *māfana*, warmth, *vela māfana*, burning warmth, *vela*, elation, and *vela 'osi'osi*, climactic euphoria, of *tauēlangi*. Its top cream then is *mālie* with its beauty rising into the surface as an aftermath of this unison, together with dance *haka* movements and music, *hiva*, and their rhythmic pattern, *kupesi tā-vā*, through its intensifying and re-arranging nature in a repetitive manner. This is what matters the most, and it helps to foster the psychological and emotional climax of *tauēlangi* when listening to the *ta'anga* and watching such dance *haka* of this dance poetry in the case of *Takafalu lakalaka*. This means that the using of dance poetry, *lakalaka*, with its *haka*, in *laumātanga* and *laukakala* styles can help to make any *fatongia mālie*, *bravo deontic*, or *faka'ofa'ofa*, beautiful (Kaepler, 1993, 1998, 2005; Māhina, 1992, 2005, 2006, 2008b, 2010a, 2011a; Helu, 1999, 2006, 2008; Hoponoa, 1996; Ka'ili, 2008a).

Further, the importance of chiefs, *hou'eiki*, in this particular *ta'anga*, poetic text, also psychologically plays an important role in providing a social space, *vā*, for motivating the language of '*alaha kakala*. As it is shown, this is mainly from the fact that the most sweet-smelling *kakala* are all traditionally belonged to the *hou'eiki* in particular. In short, '*alaha*

kakala with *tauēlangi* therefore is further associated with the *hou'eiki*, chiefs, as it has shown in the previous discussion of the definition of *tauēlangi* and division of chiefly and non-chiefly *kakala* - *kakala 'iloa* and *kakala ta'e'iloa*. It is seemed that there is no *'alaha kakala* and *tauēlangi* in this context when the *hou'eiki* are not present in a *fatongia* or social function, *kātoanga*. This sense can now be replaced by a church's minister, priest, educated person or someone with similar or higher social status in modern social structure. Traditionally, the *fahu* and *'ulumotu'a* can also replace the place of the *ho'u'eiki* in *kātoanga*.

However, some traditional Tongan expressions remind us of the importance of the *hou'eiki*. "*Hongea mo hou'eiki*"/"No obligation is happily fulfilled when there is no *hou'eiki*." "*Ne taa'i 'a e vaka Mo'unga'one' ko e 'ikai hanau 'eiki*"/"People in a boat from Mo'unga'one were punished for having no chiefs on board." This leads us to the question of whether this sense of *'alaha kakala* was really a very old practice in Moanan-Tongan natural poetry of *laumātanga*, pride of locality, and *laukakala*, pride of sweet-smelling plant. So, I now turn and discuss other issues of great significance in the structure of the *Takafalu lakalaka* and some changes happening to them especially in the relation of *laumātanga* in natural poetry to the concept of *laukakala* (Gifford, 1929, Bott, 1982; Māhina, 1992, 2004a, 2006, 2010a; Biersack, 1990; Herda, 1990; Campbell, 1992; Wood-Ellem, 1999).

3.4.1.2.1. *Laumātanga to laukakala*

As shown, Helu (1999: 283-287) has translated *laumātanga* as pride of locality, but it is important to ensure that this must include pride of the sweet-smelling plant, *laukakala*, a distinction I have added in which Helu (1999) did not discuss nor any other scholar. *Laukakala* for Helu, including Māhina, Thaman and Kaeppler, was considered as an aspect of *laumātanga*. I believe that without including the former in a well-defined way, the latter in its sense of natural poetry will not be regarded as complete piece of work. Helu has mentioned this significance but did not include and identify the distinction in his translation of *laumātanga* into English.

Prior to the arrival of Westerners most if not all *laumātanga* focused mainly on historical and beautiful localities without considering *laukakala* as a distinct and yet related classification, which has exhibited in Helu's (1999) translation and interpretation of natural poetry. What I have found out in this study that *laukakala* was standing out and highly developed for the first time in natural poetry throughout the works of Queen Sālote. Helu (1999, 2006) has pointed out without acknowledging the same distinction in his interpretation of the earliest ancient natural poetry. *Laukakala* was implicitly embedded in his discussion of

laumātanga without treating it as a different but related classification of natural poetry with specific beautiful characteristics of its own.

This particular contribution of Queen Sālote on *laumātanga* by including *laukakala* in the case of *Takafalu* was perhaps derived from some influences on Her from the writings of classical Western poets like William Shakespeare and William Wordsworth on the importance of flowers. This is because it is very clear from Helu's interpretation that *kakala* was not really central to the focus of ancient natural poetry, *laumātanga*. In fact *kakala* in all its variation was fundamental in our ancient oral *laumātanga* in formal speech of *malanga*, and daily conversation of *talanoa*, but its inclusion in dance poetry, *faiva ta'anga*, music, *hiva*, and dance poetry, *faiva haka*, was perhaps a later development. This is shown in Helu's (1999, 2006) interpretation of one ancient *laumātanga* in an epic style of 20 verses in the manner of *laveofo* (epic type of natural poetry) by a man known as Tūfui, which was translated by Baker in the 19th Century.

Tūfui only mentioned one plant in this *laveofo* of *laumātanga*, the *Matahangale*, *Heritiera littoralis*, which is a symbol for the *hou'eiki* or Noble Tu'i Vakanō of Nukunuku village in western Tongatapu but is not a *kakala* (*hangale* plants with their beautiful red flowers are concentrated in the coastal slum area of Nukunuku village). In another natural poetry of *laumātanga* but in a lullaby, *fakana'ana'a*, style, again recorded by Helu, it consists of 10 verses, and it is only in its last verse that talks about *kakala*. This shows that *kakala* was perhaps not very vital in terms of the language of natural poetry during those days, albeit it appears to be always a matter of great vitality in dance costumes, *faiva/tūfunga teuteu*, *malanga*, *faiva haka* and *talanoa*. The first appearance of *kakala* in *laumātanga* of a dance poetry, *lakalaka*, in its abundance and variety, was in *Takalafalu* (Kaepler, 1980, 1990, 1993, 2005, 2011; Māhina, 1992, 2005, 2008a, 2010a, 2011a; Helu, 1987, 1999, 2005, 2006, 2008). Thus I would like now to discuss the two main national and traditional classifications of *kakala* and their cultural and artistic significance.

3.4.1.2.1. Classification of *kakala*

I would like to briefly examine the two divisions of *kakala* in Tongan culture before proceeding on to the final sub-section of *fatongia* and modern perspectives of *kakala*, as well as, the birth-ground, *fonua*, of 'alaha *kakala* in scented oil, *lolo teuteu*, garland, *kahoa*, and waist fragrant girdle, *sisi kakala*. *Kakala hingoa*, naming flowers, *kakala tapu*, sacred flowers, *kakala 'iloa*, well-known flowers, and *kakala 'eiki*, chiefly flowers, are belonged to the *hou'eiki*, chiefs, one one hand. On the other hand, *kakala vale*, foolish flowers, *kakala*

tu'a, common flowers and *kakala ta'e'iloa*, unknown flowers, are the names for those of the commoners, *tu'a* (see Figure 3-32 of page xvi-xxxi). This symbolic and artistic classification reflects the main two divisions of *hou'eiki* and *tu'a*, with their different opposing and supporting moralities. As I have argued, sometimes these moralities are opposed in some situations; and are complementary in others. According to Helu (1999: 287) in this division of *kakala*,

The highest-ranking *kakala hingoa* are the *heilala* (*garcinia callophyllum*), and *fākula*, also known as *falahola* (*pandanus odoratissimus*). Then come *mapa* (*diospyros lateriflora*), then *langakali* (*aglaia saltatorum*), then *kukuvalu* (*pandanus savaiensis*), then *pipi* (*parinarium glaberrimum*), and so forth. The *kakala vale* (commoner or low-ranking *kakala*) include *fāhina* (*pandanus pseudo lin*), *sialetafa* (*coastal gardenia*), *fatai* (*cassythra filiformis*), and so forth.

“When *kakala* are strung or woven into garlands, these products are themselves also ranked...I know of no society with fuller vocabulary and more elaborate etiquette of *kakala* culture than Tonga. But *kakala* have also assumed a double significance – as symbol of respect to one’s chiefly masters and of amorous adoration also (Helu, 1999: 287; 2006).” In one of Helu’s (2006) writings on *kakala*, he equates *kahoa kakala*, garland, to marriage in ancient Tongan society, which is something that we wear now and change it tomorrow. What he meant, marriage was not seen in ancient Tonga as a bond for life. A person could have one partner today and a different one tomorrow, and this was based on the traditional belief of polygamy. In the old days, both men and women were allowed to have many partners, which was metaphorically and symbolically referred to as *kahoa kakala*, fragrant garland, in terms of amorous adoration. Equality between gender, *tafine*, is shown too in this nature of ancient marriage in which both male and female were allowed to have many partners as they wished (Mariner, 1817, Gifford, 1923, 1929; Wood, 1943; Bott, 1982; Helu, 1987, 1999, 2006; Māhina 1992; Wood-Ellem, 1999; ‘Ilaiu, 2007; Taliai, 2007).

3.4.1.2.3. Gender, *tafine*, in equality

Helu (1999) has overlooked in all his interpretation of *laumātanga* and *laukakala* another major important issue that I have mentioned earlier regarding the socio-political division of ancient Tongan society into both gender, *tafine*, distinction and relation (please see Koloamatangi, 2010, for my coining of the term ‘*tafine*’). As I said in the situation of Tu’i Tonga and His elder sister, *tuofefine*, the Tu’i Tonga Fefine, both in symbolic and artistic terms, almost all things were not only vertically hierarchical in arrangement but horizontally

tafine relation too. This applies too to the situation of *kakala*, among almost all other aspects of Tongan life with *fatongia* and *ngafa* of both men and women interplaying and overlapping each other in the process. Māhina (2006) and Potuaine, et al (2011) have elaborated and discussed this distinction in their recent works, as in the case of the symbolic of red, *kula* and day, ‘*aho*, for men; and black, ‘*uli*, and night, *po’uli*, for women.

There are male geometric pattern, *kupesi tangata*, and female geometric pattern, *kupesi fefine*, *manulua* for the former and *tokelau feletoa* for the latter for instance. Male tapa cloth, *ngatu tangata*, is dominantly *kula* in colour with predominance of *kupesi tangata*, whereas female tapa, *ngatu fefine*, is dominantly ‘*uli* with the predominance of *kupesi fefine*. Metaphorically, moon, *māhina*, and night, *po’uli*, are symbol for women, *fefine*, and sun, *la’ā*, and day, ‘*aho*, are symbol for men, *tangata* (Māhina, 2006; Potuaine, et al, 2011) . Ka’ili (2008a) has used the word *kupesi* as a Tongan translation for words such as behaviours, patterns of changes and ways of life, which I have followed and applied it for the translation of words like rhythmic pattern as *kupesi tā-vā*, behaviour, *kupesi* and geometric pattern, *kupesi* (James, 1988; Kaeppler, 1993, 1999).

On *kupesi*, Māhina (2006, 2008) has claimed that all *kupesi tangata* mostly have 45/45 degrees whereas all *kupesi fefine* have 60/30/ degrees in angles. In his work with *tūfunga lalava* master artist Tohi (2006) in New Zealand, they have found out this distinction from the principle in the art of *tūfunga lalava*, coconut-fibre lashing. They have explored that this distinction throughout most if not all Tongan arts, *faiva*, ranging from material and fine arts, *tūfunga* by men and *nimamea’a* by women, to performance art, *faiva*. In *faiva haka*, dance, this is seen in the main resting position of *fu*, curved clapping, by both men and women. For the former, it is 45/45 degrees horizontally on the waist and 60/30 for the latter upfront below the chin. They concluded that this principle seems to be originally stemmed from *tūfunga lalava*. What they have never included in their study of this distinction in principle was the *laukakala* in garland, *kahoa kakala*, and fragrant girdle, *sisi kakala*. I have found out that this does not apply to *kahoa* and *sisi* in their *kupesi*, geometric patterns, albeit there are still a distinction in terms of gender, *tafine*. For most female *kahoa* and *sisi kakala*, their size and shape are very tiny, whereas for male, they are bigger in both (see Figure 3-32 of page xvi-xxxi) (James, 1988; Kaeppler, 1993, 1999). .

In the case of *kakala*, *kukuvalu*, *falahola*, *fākula*, *fāhina*, *paongo*, and *papai fa*, garland of *fākula*, *paongo* or *falahola*, all from pandanus species, *fa*, are normally used for men and *heilala*, *langakali* and *huni* for women. *Fākula* is when *falahola* are still very tiny,

and in their maturity the latter name is then used instead. *Kukuvalu* is the flower of *fa* type of *pandanus savaiensis*. This distinction of gender in *kakala* was never discussed by Māhina, Helu and Ka’ili and in some points Kaepler referred to it in part but not its full manner as it is experiencing in this work (see Figure 3-32 of page xvi-xxxi).

This applies too to other female scholars and poets like Thaman, Koloto, Manuatu and Taufe’ulungaki who have been using and applying the notion of *kakala* in most of their works and poetry in modern societies. On the other hand, this study has brought such a distinction into consideration for the first time, and this has reminded us too its importance in the situation of *fiefia* in *fatongia* or *ngafa*. It is always a matter for both men and women respectively. With the gender, *tafine*, in *kakala*, sometimes female *kakala* is used in reference to men, and vice-versa, but there are situations in which the distinction is very clear and well-defined. For example, in Line 9 of *Takafalu lakalaka*, Molimohea was the residence of Tu’i Tonga Fefine and its *kakala* plant was mainly *siale*, coastal gardenias or *rubiaceae*, which is regarded as female *kakala* in my classification, though there is still controversy whether it is a *kakala ‘iloa* or not. Lotunofu in Line 10 was a place for the Tu’i Tonga’s concubines, *sinifu*, and its *kakala* plant was mainly *langakali*, female *kakala* and one of the high-ranking types. Line 11 shows ‘Utulifuka as a residence for the *Ha’a* Tu’i Takalaua and its provision of the principal wife, *moheofo*, for the Tu’i Tonga was dominated mainly of *huni* with its blood-red stalks. It is a female *kakala* of high-ranking type. Taukuilau in Line 15 was one of the residences for the Tu’i Tonga Fefine. Its *kakala* plant was dominantly flourished with *heilala* plant, which is the highest *kakala* with *fākula*, red-pandanus, and a female type too, except the latter is a male *kakala* (see Figure 3-32 of page xvi-xxxi) (Thaman, 1974, 1981, 1987, 1993, 2003; Māhina, 1992, 2005, 2006, 2010a, 2011a; Helu, 1999, 2006, 2008).

I take *fākula* and probably all *fa* kinds as male *kakala*. *Heilala* is the highest for female chiefs and *fākula* for male chiefs, though most people and composers have used and mixed them up interchangeably. The different types of *fa* plant are all in high-ranking with the exception of *fāhina*, white-pandanus, which a lower kind and has been used mostly by Queen Sālote’s classification in reference to male chief with low status when comparing with the divinity, *anga fakalangi*, sacredness, *toputapu*, and chiefness, *eikiness*, of the Tu’i Tonga and Tu’i Tonga Fefine. Queen Salote has used *fāhina* in the first part of *Takafalu* in metaphoric terms by alluding to chief ‘Ulukalala of Vava’u, as Fāhina ‘o *loto* Neiafu (Fāhina of Neifau), the capital of Vava’u, because he was related to both Tu’i Tonga and other lower *ha’a* when comparing to the former’s *toputapu*. However, in Lines 17 and 18, Queen Sālote reversed ‘Ulukalala’s situation by offering him the *kakala alamea* to the expert of Lēlēa (nick name for

Vava'u the island of 'Ulukalala) – *alamea* is made from *heilala*, a highest-ranking *kakala*). Furthermore, *kukuvalu* in Line 14 is accounted as the *kakala* of the spring, *vai*, of Moheofo, which is a symbol for the present kingly line, the *Ha'a* Tu'i Kanokupolu, and *Ha'a* Tu'i Takalaua (see Figure 3-32 of page xvi-xxxi).

Kukuvalu is a male *kakala* of the pandanus family, in my view, and hence it was used in reference to the Tu'i Kanokupolu and Tu'i Takalaua in the *vai* of *Moheofo*, which was located at Lapaha near the beach of Kolongahau in the old residence of the Ha'a Tu'i Kanokupolu and Tu'i Takalaua known as Fonuamotu or Fonuatanu. Line 13 shows that the residence of Malila (for the Tu'i Tonga) was covered with *paongo* plant, which is again a type of the pandanus family, a male *kakala* in fact in my classification (see Figure 3-32 of page xvi-xxxi). When it comes to Line 15, we back again to female *kakala* of the highest of all, which is the blood-red skinn'd *heilala*, and this fits in with Takuilau as a residence of the Tu'i Tonga Fefine, Female Ruler. Nevertheless, the *Takafalu* then continues with the same rule of offering female *kakala* for women and male *kakala* for men, and in some situation they share both *kakala* or male to women, and vice-versa. As I said before, in some points women would receive male *kakala* and in the reverse, but in very formal function of the Royal House and chiefs of highest social status the traditional division of *kakala* in terms of *tafine* must be correctly arranged and presented (see Figure 3-32 of page xvi-xxxi) (Thaman, 1974, 1987, 1993, 2000, 2003; Māhina, 1992, 2005, 2006, 2007a, 2010a, 2011a; Helu, 1997, 1999, 2005, 2006, 2008; Wood-Ellem, 1999).

Therefore, *fiefia* in '*alaha kakala* and *tauēlangi* must be enjoyed by both men and women, and *fatongia* with the reciprocal between the *fatongia* of men with their *ngāue* through '*ulumotu'a* and *ngafa* of women with their *koloa*, through *fahu* must always be operated in the aesthetic structure of *tatau*, equal, and *potupotutatau*, symmetrical, manners. In traditional *fatongia*, there must always be a place for both women and men respectively in the social scheme of things. interplaying in an equal and proportional mode of exchange. A failure to uphold this spirit will consequently lead on to un-equal and disproportional way of operation. Thaman is one of the female Moanan-Tongan scholars and poets who has been trying to expand some of the traditional conceptions on '*alaha kakala* and *kakala* generally in her academic works. As it is indicated later, Thaman's shortcoming in this whole attempt is her failure to grasp the ancient Monan-Tongan notion of the aesthetic structure of equal and symmetrical treatment of men and women on the same level of social rule. I have further found out that she has overlooked too that the metaphoric and aesthetic '*alaha kakala*, permeating aroma, and *kakala*, sweet-smelling plants, are traditionally fundamental in

enhancing *tauēlangi* and *mālie* in Tongan-Moana *fatongia*. Apart from this shortcoming of Thaman, she has made some important contributions to modern culture and education with conjunction to some aspects in the main argument of this study (Thaman, 1974, 1981, 1987, 1993, 2000, 2003)

3.4.2. *Kakala* in modern view by Thaman

Thaman (1974, 1981, 1987, 1983, 1991, 2000, 2003) with her profound interest in some fundamental aspects of Moanan and Tongan cultures has been trying since the 1970's to formulate a Moanan-Tonga worldview, *philosophia* or *weltanschauung* based on the traditional and natural beauty, *faka'ofa'ofa* of *kakala* in all facets. One of her main concerns is the importance and implication of *kakala* to Moanan-Tongan people in the light of their psychological, social, moral, educational and cultural values. She has written a considerable number of academic works, poems and songs on *kakala* with a great admiration of their cultural importance to Moanan-Tongan society, culture and history. She has equated some of her poems to those in Europe, and poetry of some of their classical writers like Shakespeare and Wordsworth. With all her works, she has used *kakala* as a worldview to life and education with a model based on how they are plucked, *toli*, sprung, *tui*, and presented as a gift, *luva*, for someone the giver adores, loves and respects (see Figure 3-32 of page xvi-xxxii). Her main theme, which she wants to be the basis of her worldview, is explained in the subsequent words. Three elements associated with *kakala* provide the bases for the framework: these are *toli*, *tui* and *luva*. *Toli* refers to the collection and selection of flowers, fruits, leaves and other fragrant and decorative elements needed for making a *kakala*...*Tui* is the actual making and or the weaving of the *kakala*...*Luva*, the final product in *kakala* making is the giving away or presentation of the *kakala* to someone else an act (Thaman, 1974, 1981, 1987, 1983, 1991, 2000, 2003).

3.4.2.1. *Toli*, *tui*, *luva* and education

In following these three bases of her *kakala* worldview, Thaman has continued by saying that it can contribute positively to human life and education in specific. It provides a philosophy and methodology for teaching and learning based on how *kakala* is *toli*, *tui* and *luva*. This allows her to use local knowledge and skills in familiarity with Moanan-Tongan people through education and community life. She asserts that *kakala* worldview with its model of *toli*, *tui* and *luva* can be used for studying of Moanan students in Tonga and New Zealand. She has added that *kakala* model provides useful alternative to the totalising

framework of western scientific and reductionist thinking that continues to dominate much of the work in universities and other tertiary institutions.

For her, it is an integrated, inclusive and holistic concept that values the *va/wah* or relationships between teacher and learner, and complements so-called rational, objective and impersonal consideration characteristic of modern human interactions (Thaman, 2000, 2003). Thaman concluded her development of this worldview and its model by suggesting that *kakala* embraces the four pillars of learning, as presented by the Delores Report on Education for the 21st Century. They are ‘learning to know’, ‘learning to do’, ‘learning to live together’ and ‘learning to be’ (Thaman, 1974, 1981, 1987, 1993, 2000, 2003).

I have found it hard to follow her reasons regarding this *kakala* worldview and its model of *ngafa* of *toli*, *tui* and *luva* with relation to education due to a number of reasons. It is hard for me to follow all the points she has provided regarding what *kakala* model can work for Moanan-Tongans because this model is common to almost all cultures. Some scholars like Taufe’ulungaki (2000, 2002, 2003), Manu’atu (2000a, 2000b) and Koloto (2003a, 2003b) have followed and used her model and worldview. They have claimed that it works for them but after all they were still using the Western scientific method of inquiry. However, I admire her main idea behind this whole work of considering the cultural and aesthetic significance of reviving some of the ancient Moanan-Tongan concepts like *kakala*. I do not go along with her attempt to use and apply the model of *toli*, *tui* and *luva* as a substitution for Western scientific thinking and modern human interactions. I would like to first address such a model and then secondly examine her worldview of viewing *kakala* as a substitution for Western scientific thinking and modern human interaction.

Such a model of *ngafa* of *toli*, *tui* and *luva* is not confined merely to Moanan-Tongan culture and art; it is a process that common to all human works of art, *faiva*, and daily works, irrespective of difference in cultural backgrounds. In general, we first have to collect materials in ready for the creation of a painting for instance. We normally select the best indeed to be used for creating the painting as it is asserted in the situation of *toli*. Then this follows the second stage which is *tui*, or spring, of the *kakala*. In painting, after collecting and selecting the best materials and gear we then start the next stage which is painting.

When this stage is accomplished in the situation of painting or *tui* then it comes the time or *ngafa* to give it out or *luva* to someone as a gift or sell in the market, which is observable nowadays in the situation of Island *kakala*. They *toli*, *tui* and then *luva* to someone or sell to the tourists, as mentioned by Helu earlier. Overall, I see no difference and I see no

originality in this process to use it as a substitution of Western scientific thinking and modern human interaction. There are no scientific, logical and philosophical grounds to convince me that this is a valid and true method to use for research in a special way. It is a normal method or way of doing anything in life at large. Her model does not imply uniqueness and originality both in *fu*, form, and *uho*, content, in order to change the whole development of scientific method of education in the West and modern human interaction with its logical and philosophical bases (Thaman, 1974, 1981, 1987, 1993, 2000, 2003).

3.4.2.2. Western science and modern life

This brings us to my second point of commenting on Thaman's *kakala* worldview. It is hard to see the logical validity and scientific truth behind this claim. I want to comment on the issue of scientific thinking and modern human interaction. Firstly, education, be it philosophical, logical or scientific, in the West has been developed under the principle of Socratic Method, *Elengkhos*, of Dialectic, *Dialektike*, for over two thousand years, and we have seen how it was started and its development and refinement as a social movement over centuries. This scientific method of Socrates is based on a number of fundamental issues, which the *kakala* worldview cannot be able to change its qualities and energies in logical grounds, and has not provided a new scientific, logical and philosophical method of inquiry to overtake its validity and truth structures as a whole.

Socratic *Elengkhos* of *Dialektike* which is based on the “unexamined life is not worthwhile living”/“*ho de anexetastos bios ou biôtos anthrôpôi*”, to use Socrates' own phrase. This is based on asking and examining question in a critical manner of elevating the issue or object of study and not the self or subject, and the subject-matter over the sources objectively and realistically. Its root is qualitatively based on critical thinking by questioning and cross-examining the logical valid and scientific truth of a given argument or hypothesis and the implication of its conclusion, as well as, the testing of its scientific application and usefulness in quantitative terms, as being employing throughout this dissertation.

Helu (1992, 1999, 2005, 2008) has argued for many years that this element of Western education was totally absent from ancient Moanan and Tongan cultures. This is accepted by this study after examining Moanan cultures in comparison to that of ancient Greece and Rome. Criticism in this Socratic sense was not allowed in the ancient cultures of Moanan people – tabooed subject-matter. As a result, Helu (1999, 2008) said that we have

never allowed our environment in its conditions of tabooed setting to develop education and democracy in their classical senses that were explored by the ancient Greeks and Romans.

For Helu (1992, 1999, 2005, 2008) this tabooed nature was happened in almost all other non-Western cultures too. The employment of the principle of categorical syllogism, *katēgorikós syllogismos*, as discussed in Chapter One, with its deductive-inductive logic, *syllogismos-epagôgê logos*, by Aristotle, after following Plato and Socrates, is one of the main focuses of this endeavour and development. The Socratic *Elengkhos* of *Dialektike* and the Aristotelian *katēgorikós syllogismos* has been using in all academic disciplines in Western education and world civilization, ranging from philosophy and its branches of logic, metaphysics and ethics to anthropology, sociology physics and chemistry and to post-modern disciplines such as communication and community-welfare studies.

Science, education and philosophy have never based their focus just on the inductionist mode of thinking as claimed by Thaman, they have deductionist mode too as shown in the discussion of the issue of universality verses particularity since Socrates. Perhaps the most important contribution of Western scientific thinking into academic circles is its positive energy to logically demarcate the ‘scientific and philosophical explanations’ of reality for the first time in human history of thoughts from its ‘mythical and religious explanations’ based on human subjective interests for security and survival.

One of the main issues therefore is not whether the scientific thinking is Western oriented or not, but it is to see the logical validity and scientific truth that are independently embedded on the subject-matters of any issue and hypothesis under-consideration. This Socratic *Elengkhos* is also the foundation of other aspects of modern civic life which still dominate Western societies and the world today, such as seen in the modern areas of democracy, human rights, social justice, education, judiciary, industrialization and commercialization. How can the *kakala* worldview of Thaman replace all these fundamental values and behaviours with their increasing momentum and volume on the global level is still very unclear (Anderson, 1962, 1982, 2007; Baker, 1979, 1986; Olding, 1992; Weblin, 1992).

Further Thaman has stated that our Moanan educational system should follow according to the procedures, step by step, on how to spring a Tongan *kahoa*, garland. It is not only to be looked beautifully and smelled sweetly but relevantly useful also. When talking of *kakala*, she also believes that there is endanger to their life due to Western modern invasion of

the traditional Moanan ways of life and ecological transformation of our land-people, *fonua*. Some of Thaman poems that symbolically mirror this endanger to *kakala* and the Moanan-Tongan ecological environment are in the books of *Langakali* (1981) and *Hingano* (1987). Another book is called *Kakala* (1993). She was also inspired to write *Heilala* when her eyes were caught and attracted to a sea of golden daffodils in Kew Gardens at London, and consequently she wrote the *Heilala*.

This was further inspired by Wordsworth's poem on *Daffodils*. *Heilala* for her symbolizes the solitude and lag behind of the Moanan people in coping with the modern ways of life worldwide, together with its various destructive influences, but at the same token the metaphoric-aesthetic importance of *kakala heilala* gives Moanan people moral respect, *tauhivā*, pride, *laukau*, and hope, '*amanaki*.

In order to fully appreciate this poem one would need to know what *heilala* is, and understand its significance to Tongan culture. As a flower with a cultural status and mythology, it provides the cultural context in which the poem is fashioned. Reading it without understanding this context would be to miss a significant part of the meaning of the poem, as I had done when I memorized *Daffodils*. For the Tongan reader, *Heilala* would immediately evoke a sense of importance or value since *heilala* is Tonga's sacred flower and occupies the apex of the hierarchy of all *kakala*. The poem, about the importance of literacy and education, particularly for women, has references to place names and natural features which in themselves have significant cultural meaning (Thaman, 1997: 9).

With her poem *Kakala* (1993), Thaman (1997) has explained that *kakala* is a 'symbol of love and respect', and to be given away, *luva*, to people whom we love and respect. Her next poem below, *Kakala Folau*, is a good illustration of this fundamental value and behaviour of moral respect, *tauhivā*, in the light of *kahoa kakala*, garland. Many *kakala* plants are rapidly endangered because they are being cut down to make way for foreign, often commercially-oriented, plants or export crops, as mentioned above. "What is happening to them is symbolic of what is happening to important aspects of our cultures, particularly their collective wisdom and values.

Plants and *kakala* in particular, are part of our natural and cultural world, one which I look towards and often retreat to in order to think and feel freely about many things (Thaman, 1997:10)." Her views of the traditional importance of *kakala* to give as a gift of

love, *luva*, in her model, and in reminding of traditionally fundamental values and behaviors, are further reflected in the subsequent poem entitled *Kakala Folau* (*folau* means ‘to travel’):

3.4.2.3. *Kakala Folau*

(*a gift of love*)

take this *kakala* my friend

kulukona langakali heilala

symbols of times

when love and life

were one

when the fragrance of *falahola*

embraced strangers to our shores

forests of *mapa* and *hehea*

sang songs of celebration

while *ahi* and *vunga* consoled

friends parting

but we were young then

trembling at the rhythm

of trees

that kept our secrets

from falling and spilling

over stones and sea

wondering

if the salted winds sweeping

slowly across the eyes

of the *siale tafa*

would whisper our thoughts

into the heart of the *huni* tree

(Thaman, 2003: 219-220).

Most of the *kakala* above were discussed before in *Takafalu*, except *ahi*, *santalum insulare*, and *vunga*, *myrtales*. *Ahi* and *vunga* are both traditionally regarded as chiefly and male *kakala*. The cultural importance of *kakala* in Moana is in its revival as it is reflected in Thaman's works and throughout this study, regardless of some differences between our works. This is observable too in the increasing interests of some Moanan Island nations in recent years to name their annual national and cultural festivals after their highly traditional sweet-smelling plants, *kakala*. For instance, Tonga has named her annual national and cultural festival as *Heilala Festival*, *Teuila Festival* for Samoa, *Maire Festival* for Cook Islands and *Hibiscus Festival* for Fiji.

As I have always maintained in this Chapter, I respect the best human original and beautiful works from both the past and present respectively, with a hope to use all of them for the best of the future generation. There is other beautiful Western and world flowers which are now appreciated and used by Moanan people, like roses, *lose*, and waterlily, *uotalili*, and

they are among the best flowers of Europe, albeit they are not classified as Tongan *kakala* because of their non-traditional backgrounds. I am still enjoying both of their *faka'ofa'ofa*, beauty, as well as, those of traditional Moanan-Tongan *kakala*. There is nothing wrong in partaking of the *faka'ofa'ofa* and *'alaha kakala* of distinct flowers from two or three different cultures.

In this juncture, I am interested in linking Thaman's discussion of the cultural importance of *kakala* and its contradictory and complementary connection to some modern considerations and their changeable, multiple and conflicting behaviours. She did not dwell in depth to the roots of the main argument of this dissertation with its emphasis on *fatongia* and its specific aim, *siate*, of *fiefia*. She has never seen the cultural importance of *fiefia* with its euphoric features of *tauēlangi* and *'alaha kakala* either.

In part, her attempt to value the symbolic and artistic importance of *kakala* and its application to modern life and its complexities is still relevant to the main argument of this study nevertheless. She has further expanded some themes on the domination of males in some parts of Moanan cultures. It is shown that probably her unfamiliarity with ancient traditional knowledge and wisdom on gender, *tafine*, has inclined her to claim from a modern Western feminist point of view that Moanan-Tongan culture is largely male-dominated. This was not really the case indeed as it was embodied in the previous comparison of the *tafine* relation between the Tu'i Tonga and Tu'i Tonga Fefine encompassing male and female aspects of life as it is observable in the *tafine* division of *kakala*.

Even though there are a few differences in my view on *kakala* and *'alaha kakala* with those of Thaman, her works are still important for the overall study of this subject-matter in Tongan and Moanan cultures. She has reminded us of the importance to search for the ancient wisdom and knowledge of the Moanan-Tongan culture and history, and see if they can be relevantly useful to modern development in education and life generally. It embodies that one of her main concerns is about the predominance of Western scientific mode of thinking and their modern life throughout Moanan region. The main weakness as I have pointed out is her attempt to use *kakala* worldview in her definition and its model to totally replace the world momentum and volume of Western scientific thinking and modern way of life.

This is not only impossible but her works are not comparable with the size and qualities the West has contributed to education and world civilization as a whole since the 5th Century BC. In contrast to what I have alluded to as the main weakness in Thaman's works, this study unfolds the view of treating its main argument as a contribution and addition to

education and modern life rather than a substitution. I believe that in doing so this is more realistic than her endeavour to use the *kakala* worldview and its model of *tolu*, *tui* and *luva* as a substitution. Another issue under-consideration, her view in the two poems reflect a romanticist and pacifist view of perceiving the past as better than the present Moana due to the influences of Western scientific thinking and modern ways of life.

The past and present Moana both have weak and strength deeds by which we should learn from the former and harness the latter along the main argument of this dissertation with its emphasis in considering the worldview of *fiefia* in *fatongia* as embedded in human fundamental behaviours and values. In doing so, it can take the attention to *fiefia* with its variation and divine apex of *tauēlangi* and ‘*alaha kakala*. Both *fiefia* kinds have their own individual qualities or variation with different home-ground, *fonua*, in dance, *faiva haka*, and its music, *hiva*, and poetic text, *ta’anga*, in performance art, *faiva*, for *fiefia* of *tauēlangi* together with its other variation, as well as, garland, *kahoa kakala*, waist fragrant girdle, *sisi kakala*, and scented oil, *lolo teuteu*, all for cosmetic purposes, for the *fiefia* of ‘*alaha kakala*. Since I have discussed *fiefia* of *tauēlangi* and its related qualities together with their *fonua* in *faiva haka*, *hiva* and their *ta’anga*, I would now like to discuss and highlight those of ‘*alaha kakala* before proceeding on to the Summary of this Chapter.

3.5. Home-ground, *fonua*, for ‘*alaha kakala*

The home-ground, *fonua*, and nest, *pununga*, of ‘*alaha kakala* in performance art, *faiva*, is viewed to be originally stemmed from *lolo teuteu*, *kahoa kakala* and *sisi kakala* especially when using and wearing for dance performance, *faiva haka*, or social function, *kātoanga*, among other countless activities since ancient times. After discussing the place of ‘*alaha kakala* in Moanan-Tongan culture in ancient and modern contexts, I have come to the belief of viewing garland, *kahoa kakala*, waist fragrant girdle, *sisi kakala*, and scented oil, *lolo teuteu*, as the, home-ground, *fonua*, for the metaphoric employment of the language of ‘*alaha kakala* with its *fiefia* variation in *fatongia* (see Figure 3-32 of page xvi-xxxi).

Apart from *fiefia* of *tauēlangi* and its other qualities or variation with their *fonua* again in *faiva haka* with its music, *hiva* and poetic text or oratory, *ta’anga*, in unison within the context of performance art, *faiva*, ‘*alaha kakala* appears to fall into the area of female fine art, *nimamea’a*, in the classification of Moanan-Tongan art, *faiva*, in general by Māhina (2006, 2008a, 2010a, 2011c). ‘*Alaha kakala* was first a product of the art of female *nimamea’a*, or cosmetic art, *nimamea’a teuteu*, before they are used and worn as *kahoa kakala* and *sisi kakala*

in *kātoanga* of *fatongia* and performance art, with the *lolo teuteu* rubbing all over the bodies of male and female performers when dancing.

In the art of cosmetic, *nimamea'a teuteu*, which is part of female *nimamea'a*, we have the *lolo teuteu*, *kahoa kakala* and *sisi kakala* which are where the *fonua* of 'alaha kakala was first produced before applying into art of oratory, *faiva lea*, of public speech of *malanga* and normal conversation of *talanoa*. Apart from the 'alaha kakala of all *kakala* while still attaching to the ecological plants of nature, their cosmetic beauty, *teuteu faka'ofa'ofa*, and 'alaha kakala when wearing them for *lolo teuteu*, *kahoa kakala* and *sisi kakala* for *faiva haka* and *fatongia* in a *kātoanga* have consequently given rise to their metaphoric employment in *malanga*, *talanoa* and poetic text, *ta'anga*, of music, *hiva*, and dance, *faiva haka*.

In *fiefia* of *tauēlangi* and its other variation, I have spent a lengthy discussion of them, as well as, 'alaha kakala in ancient and modern dance poetry, *ta'anga faiva haka*. Now I would like to finish off this sub-section by accounting the qualities or variation of 'alaha kakala which I have briefly discussed in Chapter I of the Introduction and other sub-sections of this Chapter, together with different *kahoa kakala* and *lolo teuteu* that are used in Moanan-Tongan performance art and other traditional social functions, *kātoanga*.

In *fiefia* of *tauēlangi* we have seven qualities altogether, beginning from courage, *lototo'a*, enthusiasm, *fiekau*, and warming enthusiasm, *māmāfana*, to warmth, *māfana*, warming elation, *vela māfana*, and elation, *vela*, and to *vela 'osi'osi* of *tauēlangi* in its divine climax. In *fiefia* of 'alaha kakala, we have immediately permeating fragrance, *tongia*, early morning fragrance, *manongi*, stronger morning fragrance in concentration, *taufā tangitangi* (or *taufā*), short aroma with the flow of wind, *mausa*, and then comes *ngangatu* aroma from saturated *lolo teuteu* on white tapa, *feta'aki*, or dried *kahoa* and *sisi* and its variation like *ngangatu 'alaha*, *ngangatu 'alaha kakala* and *ngatuvai*.

This starts with *tongia* as a direct perfume after cutting or plucking, and then comes the *manongi* and *taufā tangitangi* in the morning, *mausa* with the flow of wind, and different *ngangatu*, which finally give way to the emergence of 'alaha kakala at large. 'Alaha kakala therefore is the measure of all sweet-smelling plants or the measure of beautiful smell in Māhina's (2010a, 2011a) general sense of *mālie*. No 'alaha kakala can simply imply no beauty.

To conclude this sub-section, I would like to provide lists of *lolo teuteu* and *kahoa kakala* to demonstrate my suggestion of them and *sisi kakala* earlier as home-ground, *fonua*,

for ‘*alaha kakala* before drawing out a summary of the whole Chapter. The different *lolo teuteu* which people use daily or for *faiva* or *fatongia* in a *kātoanga* are as follows:

Lolo ahi (Oil for rubbing the body of a dead person)

Lolo feta’u (Oil for matured women)

Lolo hea (Oil for Vava’u women)

Lolo langakali (Oil for both men and women in evening bath)

Lolo mapa (Oil for men and women celebration)

Lolo Pako (Oil for both men and women in pleasure)

Lolo pipi (Personal oil for women)

Lolo sinamoni (Oil for female morning bath)

Lolo tuitui (Oil for women when travelling)

(Helu, 2008).

I have mentioned earlier some of these plants as *kakala*, which are also used for making *lolo teuteu* such as *langakali*, *hea*, *ahi* and *pipi*. The main well-known *kahoa kakala* that commoners and chiefs normally use for *faiva haka* and *fatongia* in a *kātoanga* are listed below. I managed to collect some of them and include in the Figures of Pictures of Tongan permeating fragrant plants in the beginning of the Contents of this dissertation. Other Figures have displayed just the *kakala* plants that are plucked, *tolu*, sprung, *tui*, and lashed, *fi*, or weaved, *lalanga*, into the transformed final shape of *kahoa kakala* (see Figure 3-32 of page xvi-xxxi). Those *kahoa kakala* are as follows:

Ahi-mo-e-vunga (only for the present Tu’i Kanokupolu)

Alamea (chiefly *kahoa*)

Fakamatamoana (chiefly *kahoa*)

Faka’otusia (chiefly *kahoa*)

Fa’onelua (only for ancient Tu’i Tonga and later symbol for Tu’i Takalaua)

Lala (commoner *kahoa*)

Mapa-ko-Mata i'ulua (only for ancient Tu'i Tonga)

Nusipalataha (chiefly *kahoa*)

Papai falahola (chiefly *kahoa*)

Pito'ingalau (chiefly *kahoa*)

Tuitui-vao (first kind of *kahoa* such as *lou maile*)

Tuitu'u fakavahapipitongi (most chiefly *kahoa*)

Ve'eve'e heilala (chiefly *kahoa*)

(Helu, 2008).

3.6. Summary

This Chapter has attempted to unfold some fundamental issues regarding the historical and cultural birth-ground, *fonua*, or nest, *pununga*, of *fiefia* with its heavenly climax of *tauēlangi* and 'alaha kakala in *fatongia* or *ngafa* and performance art, *faiva*. In addition, I have also discussed the place of 'alaha kakala, permeating aroma, and *tauēlangi*, climactic euphoria, in traditional Tongan dance poetry, *ta'anga faiva*, with the related areas of pride of locality, *laumātanga*, pride of sweet-smelling plant, *laukakala*. This encompasses some interpretations of their relation to modern poems and its connection to *fatongia* or *ngafa* and its *siate*, specific interest, of *fiefia*. In general, I have managed to bring both a specific and general outlooks of their association in a coherent and coordinated manner within and among all these different but related areas of cultural, economic, social and aesthetic interactions.

Throughout the discussion, I have discussed some related and distinct views regarding the notion of *faiva*, arts, with its new definition. My re-defining of *faiva* may contribute positively to the attempt of the propositions in the themes of this study to identify and spell out how the principal concept of *fatongia* or *ngafa* has acquired the *siate* of *fiefia* with its *tauēlangi* and 'alaha kakala nature. I have examined too the notion of *mālie* again with some definitions of it. I hope that my new definitions will further contribute positively to the upcoming discussions and studies of this subject-matter in Chapters IV and V. In both cases of *faiva* and *mālie*, I have found out that their new definitions can help to clarify several important issues regarding the cultural and historical birth-ground for the emergence of the seven qualities of *fiefia* of *tauēlangi*, as well as, the variation of 'alaha kakala.

My re-defining and re-classifying of their variations have shown us the dialectic manner of their multiple, complex and changeable nature interplaying in contradictory and complementary modes of operation. In fact, these human re-creations of humanizing *kakala* plants of nature to re-enforce the morality of sweet-smelling actions, in metaphorical and aesthetic terms, as well as, the root out of the seven qualities of human sense of *fiefia*, happiness, are considered as a great work of art interweaving in the climax of creating beauty, *faka'ofa'ofa*, in its final highest form of *tauēlangi*, to use Māhina, Croce and Aquinas' senses.

With *faiva*, furthermore, its broader sense embodies the importance of a beautiful work of art in its own rights, be it performance art, *faiva*, material, *tūfunga*, or fine, *nimamea'a*, art. It can be applied to the situation of art at large and performance art in particular. *Mālie* too can be applied to any art work which is beautiful, *faka'ofa'ofa*, in its general sense; or the artistic appreciation of a work of art objectively as a consequence of its virtuous effects on the audience or viewers, in its specific sense, on the other hand. With *mālie* and *faiva*, it has embodied that they cannot exist in isolation to each other, one reinforces the other and vice-versa, with the finale of divine happiness, and this is applicable too to the situation of *bravo* and standing ovation in Western context.

The two individual definitions for both *faiva* and *mālie* have given a clear-cut pathway not only about the cultural and historical birth-ground, *fonua*, of *fiefia* and its euphoric pinnacle and permeating aroma of *tauēlangi* and 'alaha *kakala*, but about its different variations also. The *fiefia* in *tauēlangi* has displayed that the combination of dance, *faiva haka*, music, *hiva* and dance poetry, *ta'anga*, is the main way that can bring out its qualities into the surface with *mālie* as the hallmark of the whole after-effects. This can effectively give way to the emergence of the qualities of courage, *lototo'a*, enthusiasm, *fiekau*, and warming enthusiasm, *māmāfana*, to warmth, *māfana*, warming elation, *vela māfana*, elation, *vela*, and to the finale of *vela 'osi'osi*, climactic euphoria, in the ultimate stage of all.

Likewise, this happens too in the case of *fiefia* in 'alaha *kakala* in its own way, slightly different from *fiefia* of *tauēlangi* but is still related to it. 'Alaha *kakala* covers all various kinds of permeating aroma, ranging from *tongia*, immediately permeating fragrance after plucking, to *taufā*, strong concentrated early morning scent from 12am to 2am, *taufā tangitangi* with its stronger concentrated aroma from 2am to 4am, to *manongi*, morning aroma from 4am to 6am, *mausa*, permeating aroma with wind flow, to *ngangatū*, scent of a white tapa (*feta'aki*), *ngangatū 'alaha kakala*, *feta'aki* scent and permeating fragrance, and to *ngatuvai*, *feta'aki* scent in lengthy period. The form, *fuo*, of *tauēlangi* and 'alaha *kakala*

appears to be the same but only their contents, *uho*, are different, that is, both produce the expression of *fiefia* in all levels, on one hand. On the other hand, one deals with the actual situation of feeling happy whereas the other focuses on beautiful fragrance when taking their *uho* into perspective.

My re-defining of *tauēlangi*, climactic euphoria, based on my intellectual, cultural and artistic aspirations, is the first of its kinds and it may help to widen the understanding of its powerful and energetic characters in maintaining the *status quo* or harmony, *maau*, in Tongan communities. I have expanded this focus from those of Kaeppler, Helu, Māhina, Hoponoa, Manu'atu and Ka'ili, which shows both narrow and broader nature of *tauēlangi*. It reminds us of two main issues regarding human life generally. Happiness in its variation is commonly a natural and social phenomenon among people at large, and another, it is a feeling which does not confine to two or three but multiple manifestations, as it is embodied in the seven characters of *fiefia* of *tauēlangi* that has been unfolded previously. As it is indicated, the climax of any *fiefia* is euphoric in behaviour, which can be experienced in any world human interaction or other performance arts like sport.

This is also thoroughly explained and discussed further in Chapter V. It manifests that ancient Greek and Roman philosophers, especially in the works of Aristotle and the Hellenic movements, first unveiled to us all that happiness, *fiefia* or *eudaimonia*, with its beauty, *faka'ofa'ofa* or *kallos*, is a real occurrence in space and time since immemorial times. This is in contrast to the view of Manu'atu that *mālie* and *māfana* are largely confined to the Moanan-Tongan situation, and can be a problem of marginalization if there is no link between them and the social, economic and cultural contexts of the wider society overseas. In other words, this Chapter shows that *tauēlangi* and its variation, as in the metaphoric and aesthetic nature of '*alaha kakala*, can be apolitical in Hoponoa's terms, with its artistic spirit of appreciating the *faka'ofa'ofa* of any human creativity in a purely positive and productive way.

At the same token, *laumātanga*, pride of locality, and *laukakala*, pride of sweet-smelling plants, of a dance poetry, *ta'anga faiva*, as in the case of the natural poetry of *Takafalu*, always help to encourage and enhance the *lototo'a*, *fiekau*, *māmāfana*, *māfana*, *vela māfana*, *vela* and *vela 'osi'osi* in a performance. This includes the *fiefia* of *tongia*, *taufā*, *taufā tangitangi*, *manongi*, *mausa*, *ngangatu*, *ngangatu 'alaha kakala* and *ngatuvai*. When different historical localities and sweet-smelling plants are metaphorically and epiphorically recited in a *ta'anga faiva* in the manner of *laumātanga* and *laukakala*, they consequently reinforce and intensify the variation of *tauēlangi* within and between the performers and spectators. This

goes simultaneously with *faka'ofa'ofa*, beauty, of the *haka*, dance, by the performers which at the end gives rise to *mālie* or *bravo* with all its natural qualities in fine tune. In the 'world of forms', to use Plato's definition, and the rise of psycho-analytic exciting effects, in the words of Freud and Māhina, *faka'ofa'ofa* and *lelei*, good, can be observable too when *laumātanga* and *laukakala* are recited and performed. It is with the same divine and psycho-analytical exciting spirit that is heard through the voice of the Hawaiian world dancer Iolani that was previously mentioned by Helu (1999), when asking how she felt during dance, she replied, 'I don't know, I am not there'.

Additionally, the classification of 'akau kakala, aromatic plants, in Moanan-Tongan culture, with their different kinds in according to the degree of fragrance, is fundamentally important and unique. The discussion has revealed that there were profound knowledge and wisdom among ancient Tongans in classifying traditional perfumed plants that must be acknowledged. Perhaps it is important too for some further studies to be expanded on this established unique body of traditional knowledge in relation to other ancient bodies of knowledge. There is not only classification of the degree of fragrance in according to their individual strength, but also in their time length to naturally maintain such strength for a certain period of time, as in the case of *taufā*, *taufā tangitangi* and *manongi*. With the former, the most elegant and best aromatic plants like *heilala* and *fākula* are reserved for the chiefly class and the less scent are for the commoner class. It is a distinction on the vertical dimension that reflects the highly stratified structure of feudal Tongan society, on one hand. On the other hand in a horizontal level, there is also a classification of aromatic plants in according to gender, *tafine*, which is based on the social rank and political power of both parties in society, with privileges to both respectively in a more equal and symmetrical ways than the classification in according to the social classes of chiefs, *hou'eiki*, and commoners, *tu'a*. This is a situation that embodies the ancient understanding regarding the importance of balancing out harmony, *maau*, symmetry, *potupotutatau*, and beauty, *faka'ofa'ofa*, in the light of happiness, *fiefia*, for preserving the *status quo*.

In the last section of this Chapter, we have witnessed how the traditional wisdom and knowledge on *kakala* and 'alaha *kakala* have influentially shaped the works of some scholars and poets like Helu to argue against the waves of change in our modern era. Their works have taken us to the romanticist and pacifist view of considering the past as good and the present and future as bad. Likewise this perpetuates the same view of considering those aspects of the outsiders as bad when comparing to those of the locals or natives. That is, it is all about the clash between the doctrines of 'outsiderism' verses 'insiderism', which is

observable in the field of anthropology. After all, both have ups and downs with no perfect world in space, *vā*, and time, *tā*. There are pros and cons in Moanan cultures and in the situation of the West, but there are ‘best’ and ‘permanence’ in both as well, to use the words of Arnold and Said, which must be upheld. For instance, the spirit of *fiefia* of *tauēlangi* and ‘*alaha kakala* in Moanan-Tongan culture should be preserved and applied to other cultures for survival and the sake of beauty, in Māhina, Croce and Aquinas’ languages. Likewise this is seen as well in the situation of Western education with its classical foundation in logic, science and philosophy that has enlightened and developed the lives of millions of people worldwide. These apolitical characters of Moanan and Western cultural art and education should not be confused with the colonial and oppressive nature of Western colonization in the past, which seems to be the case in the situation of scholars like Thaman. All of the above paragraphs therefore have reminded us that the main argument of this study and its research questions are purposely to add and compliment new ideas to culture, welfare, education and life at large.

On this note, I would like to move on to Chapter IV with its emphasis on the place of *fatongia* in the birth-ground, *fonua* of *kava* ceremony. How *kava* ceremony has provided enjoyable obligation, *fatongia fiefia*, with the climactic euphoria and permeating fragrance of *tauēlangi* and ‘*alaha kakala* is one of its main concerns. The place of *fatongia fiefia* in the oratory of *malanga*, *faiva lea* and *talanoa*, as well as, in the social, psychological, moral, religious and political structure of *kava* ceremony is also another main concern.

So I will now proceed on and discuss *fatongia* in *kava* ceremony with the *Ha’a* Lo’au, Lo’au Lineage, and ancient Tu’i Tonga Line who masterminded the formation of such a ceremony in around the 10th Century AD. Likewise in the attempt of this Chapter to uncover the home-ground, *fonua*, of *fiefia* in *tauēlangi* and ‘*alaha kakala*, the following Chapter is searching to ascertain the *fonua* of *fatongia fiefia* in *kava* ceremony. This is based on the view of perceiving this ceremony as a *fonua* for *fatongia fiefia* since the above said Century.

Chapter IV: *Kava* ceremony and *Ha'a Lo'au*

Kava is the traditional *symbol par excellence* of Tongan society because it was organized in our early prehistory into a ritual which shows in most visible way – the positioning of people in the *kava* circle, for example – how rank and power are distributed among social groups as represented by the head chiefs who sit in the *kava* circle (Helu, 1999: 20).

This Chapter aims to unwrap how the *fonua* of *kava* ceremony was first institutionalised in ancient Moanan-Tongan society by the *Ha'a Lo'au* mainly for preserving *fatongia* and the status quo. This is to materialize my view that the home-ground, *fonua*, for *fatongia* and its *siate* of *fiefia* was originally formalized within such a *kava* ceremony around the 10th Century in the aesthetic structure of equal, *tatau*, and symmetrical, *potupotutatau*, manners. I am not saying that this was the beginning of *fatongia* in Tongan culture, and I will clarify more this issue as I proceed on. *Kava* and *fatongia* appear to have gone simultaneously most of the time with the issues of social rank, *langilangi*, political power, *mafaipule*, and blood relationship, *fekau'aki fakata'ata'a* for Kings, *Tu'i*, and chiefs, *hou'eiki*. For commoners, *tu'a*, it is *fekau'aki fakatoto* (*fekau'aki* means 'connection' and *fakata'ata'alfakatoto* is 'blood-like', *ta'ata'a/toto* means 'blood'). This ancient employment of the *fonua* of *kava* ceremony for perpetuating *fatongia* in a *fiefia* manner is what I have referred to as its form, *fuo*, or culture for that matter in Māhina (1992) and Helu's (1999) definitions of culture and history. On the other hand, its content, *uho*, or history, has been changing in a faster rate than the *fuo*.

In that respect, this Chapter historically and culturally attempts to uncover some unknown facts in *kava* ceremony with its medium, *vaka*, for perpetuating and preserving the fundamental values and behaviours that have energized the survival of *fatongia* for over centuries. Apart from the above issues with their peculiarity, this Chapter also contributes some clear-cut perspectives for the first time in Moanan-Tongan scholarship regarding the oral traditions, *tala tukufakaholo*, of the *Ha'a Lo'au* with conjunction to *kava* ceremony and other related reforms between the 10th and 17th Centuries. Such *ha'a* were the masterminds who

formally instructed, together with the wish of the 10th Tu'i Tonga Momo, the institutionalization of this ceremony and its other related fundamental *fatongia* in the 10th Century (Mariner, 1817; Collocott, 1927a, 1927b, 1928; Gifford, 1923, 1929; Newell, 1947; Bott, 1982; Biersack, 1982, 1990; Herda, 1987, 1990; Filihia, 1990; Māhina, 1992, 2006; Morton, 1996; Helu, 1999, 2008).

Even though there have been major changes happening to the *uho* of such a ceremony, the *fu* that was engineered by the *Ha'a* Lo'au is still alive nowadays in both formal and informal *kava* gatherings among Tongans in Tonga and overseas. All are seen to have had given space, *vā*, for the consolidation of the fundamental values and behaviours in Tongan society such as obedience, *talangofua*, generosity, *nima homo*, and respect, *tauhivā* for over centuries. They are the moral pillars to help the preservation of *fatongia* and its *fiefia* of *tauēlangi* and *'alaha kakala*. However, when such a ceremony and its *fatongia* was abused and misused in history *fuakavenga* would then automatically rise into the surface. This included its related characters of *ta'efiefia*, unhappiness, *ta'efiemālie*, dissatisfaction, and *ta'enonga*, anxiety (Māhina, 1992; Morton, 1996).

This approach to culture and history in the *fonua* of *kava* and the *Ha'a* Lo'au is very helpful for a better understanding of the propositions of the two main themes of this dissertation and their conclusion. Also it is in a way continues to uncover some answers to the main focus of the four research questions with their individual focus. Why is *fatongia* important to Moanan-Tongan society? Is its specific aim of *fiefia*, happiness, unique to Moana-Tongan society per se? Why is *fatongia* considered as a worldview to the fundamental values and behaviours of society? What are the relation and distinction between *fatongia* and obligation worldwide? Hence this Chapter now turns to its Introduction section.

4.1. Introduction

The Chapter is divided into four main sections. The first section is a discussion of *kava* as a plant, which includes some ideas on how it is made, as well as, its other significant behaviours. With the second section, it highlights and examines the myth, *fananga* or *talatupu'a*, of Kava'onau, or Kava in short, which Tongans believe to be associated with the beginning of *kava* ceremony under the advice of *Ha'a* Lo'au. The third section is about the *Ha'a* Lo'au, who were the masterminds for the institutionalization of the ceremony. The last section is a concern with the *fatongia* of certain *ha'a*, lineage, *hou'eiki*, chiefs, and their *kainga*, extended families, in the ritual of *kava*. This includes some of their *fatongia* like

making the *kava* beverage and delivering speech, *malanga*, including the *fatongia* for the *fahu* in the *Taumafa Kava*, *Royal Kava*, and chiefly *kava*, ‘*ilo kava*. In general, I believe that almost all the above were institutionalized by the *Ha’a Lo’au* and *Tu’i Tonga Momo* with the purpose for preserving *langilangi*, *mafaipule* and *fekau’aki fakata’ata’a*, and in effect this has reinforced the surviving of *fatongia* within the *kava* ceremony since the 10th Century (Mariner, 1817; Collocott, 1927a, 1927b, 1928; Gifford, 1929; Newell, 1947; Bott, 1982; Hu’akau, 2011a, 2011b; Filihia, 1998; Māhina, 1986, 1992, 2006; Biersack, 1982, 1990; Herda, 1987, 1990).

Māhina (2011b, 2011c) interprets this socio-political engineering, *tūfunga fonua*, by the *Lo’au* as an art work of beauty, *faka’ofo’ofa*, in the performance art, *faiva*, of *tauhivā*, moral respect, in the aesthetic structure of *tatau* and *potupotu tatau* behaviours for preserving political harmony, *maau*. This was why the *Ha’a Lo’au* used the nick name, *Capenter of Land-people*, ‘*Tūfunga Fonua*’, and for Māhina, this was a beautiful work of art in performance and material arts which should be admired in its own right. His view is very similar to the theoretical outlook of Ka’ili (2008a) in Chapter III regarding the *faka’ofo’ofa* of *fatongia* when exchanging process is synchronic, *tonu*, in intensifying of *tā*, time, and re-arranging of *vā*, space, repeatedly in a symmetrical mode of exchange. In my knowledge of the historical importance of such a ceremony in Moanan cultures generally, it may be logically valid to say that ‘*Moanan-Tongan culture is kava*’, and reversely, ‘*Kava is Moanan-Tongan culture*.’ In the particular situation of Tonga, it is hard to talk about the culture without alluding to *kava* ceremony, and vice-versa. It is like talking about the culture of democracy without alluding to the philosophy, *philosophia*, of the ancient Greeks (Collocott, 1927a, 1927b, 1928; Gifford, 1929; Newell, 1947; Bott, 1982; Hu’akau, 1989; Filihia, 1998; Māhina, 1992, 2006; Biersack, 1982; Herda, 1987, 1990).

I am not saying that such a ceremony was a necessary condition for the emergence of *fatongia*, and vice-versa. As Hu’akau (2011a, 2011b) has argued that *kava* ceremony was used by the *Lo’au* as a ‘socio-political mechanism’ for building a structure not only for a new society but new Empire for the *Tu’i Tonga* dynasty. In fact, this was the beginning of the so-called *Tu’i Tonga* Empire, or Empire for the King of Tonga, which ruled its neighbouring islands such as Fiji, Samoa, Futuna-‘Uvea (Wallis), Niue, Rotuma, Rarotonga (Cook Islands), among others, for centuries. As Hu’akau has propounded that this ceremony was perhaps used by the *Lo’au* as a scapegoat for social and political control in the structure of a new Empire and beyond.

Following this conception, the discussion portrays that *fatongia* was not the creation of *kava* ceremony due to the fact that the former did exist long before the establishment of the latter. Prior to this social and political re-construction, Tongan society, according to Hu'akau (2011a, 2011b), was still very fragmented without some well-defined socio-political system and standardized fundamental morals. Prior to the formation of this ceremony, the social, political, economic and moral systems of Tongan society and its kingly system were already in place since the 9th or 8th Century but in fragmentation. It is an era that Māhina (1992) has called the 'Dark Age Period' of Tonga because of its lack of information. The Tongan dynasty was first formed around the late 8th or early 9th Century under the reign of the first Tu'i Tonga Aho'eitu, but with no traditional and mythical accounts of an Empire until the time of Momo and the *Ha'a Lo'au* (Collcott, 1927a, 1927b, 1928; Gifford, 1929; Bott, 1982; Māhina, 1992, 2011b, 2011c; Biersack, 1982, 1990; Herda, 1987, 1990; Helu, 1985, 1999, 2006; Taliai, 2007).

Its formation was unique due to the participation of the *Ha'a Lo'au* with their knowledge and skills that were new to the circumstance of Tonga at the time. Hence there are three different related issues for further consideration while pursuing this section. First, it is dealt with the historical and cultural formation of *kava* ceremony under the leadership of Lo'au Taputoka, the first Lo'au. Next, it explains the place of *fatongia* and its *siate* of *fiefia* in *kava* ceremony with its resuffle and revival in a new social and political structure at the time. With the third part, its focus unveils the metaphoric and aesthetic beauty, *faka'ofa'ofa*, of *fatongia fiefia* and its climax of *tauēlangi* and '*alaha kakala* in the poetical language of chief's orators, *matapule*, in different *kava* ceremonies with their *malanga* of *faiva lea*.

This poetical language in both metaphoric (associative *heliaki* like Fiji was known as pulotu, afterlife or sacred place) and 'epiphoric (qualitative *heliaki* like the sunset is equated to when a new King is crowned/installed)', in Māhina's (2011a) words. This ranges from the most formal gathering of the Royal *Kava* Ceremony, *Taumafa Kava*, of the present Kingly dynasty, *Ha'a Tu'i Kanokupolu* to the informal types of *kava*-Tonga club, *kalapu kava*-Tonga. However, first of all I would like to highlight the traditional and modern knowledge of the natural and botanical characters of *kava* as a plant for cultural, social, political, therapeutic and medicinal uses throughout Moana. What is *kava* and why it was first used by the *Ha'a Lo'au* in the first place is the focus of the next section (Gifford, 1923, 1929; Collocott, 1927a, 1927b, 1928; Newell, 1947; Bott, 1982).

4.2. *Kava* as a plant

Kava is a plant can only grow in Moana. It is called in botanical and scientific language as *piper methysticum* belonging to the pepper family. It is called *ava* in Samoan, ‘*awa* in Hawaiian and *yagona* in Fijian. Its roots are used to produce beverage for cultural, social, political and medicinal-therapeutic drinking throughout Moanan people in the homelands and overseas. It has sedative and anaesthetic properties with a bitter-taste, *kona*, which is believed by Hu’akau (2011a, 2011b) to be known to the *Ha’a Lo’au* in the beginning. Hu’akau continues by saying that one main reason why the *Ha’a Lo’au* used *kava* in as a *vaka* for political control of *fatongia* was perhaps based on such relaxing behaviours.

Hu’akau (2011a, 2011b, 2011c) believes that it was not by chance for them to use such a substance, but it was based on the scientific understanding that it contains some sedative and anaesthetic behaviours. Interestingly, Tongans since this era have been historically known for their heroic values and warrior mentality in warfare, and *kava* was very important to calm and relax such human characters. This could be very essential after returning from war intentionally for preserving *maau* in society. In fact, they could still be very violence and aggressive after being away for a while in the battlefield. This seems to be one way of cooling them down (Mariner, 1817; Collocott, 1927a, 1927b, 1928; Gifford, 1929; Bott, 1982; Māhina, 1992, 2011b; Campbell, 1992; Helu, 2006; ‘Ilaiu, 2007; Taliai, 2007).

4.2.1. *Kava* in body and mind

Hu’akau (2010, 2011a, 2011b) explains that the *Ha’a Lo’au* were very familiar with the plant, and importantly there was no story about *kava* in Tongan myth, *fananga*, and oral traditions *tala tukufakaholo*, prior to their arrival. It embodies that they first used the plant for specific clear purpose. This can be used for social and political control in the sense that when drinking *kava* beverage after a while the human body is relaxed, but still with ‘clarity in thinking’. I have been drinking the beverage since 1978, and this is exactly true. With Hu’akau (2011a, 2011b, 2011c), it seems that the *Ha’a Lo’au* could still control people’s minds, values and behaviours in society because their thinking process were still in fine tune.

In Sarris (2011) and Finau’s (2011; 2002) health and scientific studies, they have affirmed that scientifically this is actually the case. Sarris shares tables and data from some of his scientific experiments on how human brains are interacted with *kava*, and it resulted in proving as a medical and therapeutic treatment for anxiety, *ta’enonga*. In general, it can

therefore relax the human system, and for Hu'akau, this makes it easier for a leader to control people's behaviours. It is therefore the therapeutic effects of *kava* that perhaps urged the *Ha'a Lo'au* to use it for preserving values and behaviours which have promote *fiefia* in *fatongia*.

Apart from such therapeutic effects, it has been used in Tongan and other Moanan societies for medicine as well. In 1987 and 1988 at 'Atenisi University, I found out from interviewing traditional Tongan healers that *kava* has been used as a pain-killer, treatment for stomach ache and sore throat. In 1970, a traditional healer of a name Meleakolea Lopaki used it too with other herbal leaves like *lautolu*, *vigna marina*, and *nonu*, *morinda citrifolia*, mixing them in warm water for massaging. Apart from the works of Finau (2011) and Sarris (2011), other Moanan and non-Moanan scientists and health specialists in recent years have conducted studies on the therapeutic and medicinal sides of *kava*. Among them were Piscopo (2002), Duvem (2002) and Holmes (2002). Now it seems that *kava* was not acquired by chance but the Moanans or *Ha'a Lo'au* appear to have some detailed understanding of its social, political, moral, therapeutic and medicinal significance. This helps the discussion to proceed on and highlight the way that *kava* is made and drunk.

4.2.2. How *kava* is made

Kava is mixed with water in the case of Tonga, Fiji, Futuna-'Uvea and Samoa, and there are different ways of diluting it. This varies from concentration to moderate stage, and to less concentration depending on the nature of the ceremony. For example, the mixing of *kava* and water in a *Taumafa Kava*, Royal *Kava* Ceremony, in Tonga can be more concentrated than a *kava* in a funeral. For the former, the King and all the chiefs with their orators, *matāpule*, only have to drink one cup each even though the whole ritual can go on to 7 hours. For a funeral *kava*, men drink every night for weeks and up to months, so there is no need to make it too concentrated. With regard to how it is traditionally made, the roots of *kava* are first cleaned and dried on the sun and then bounced with stones. Its active compound, or ingredient, in Tongan is called *uho* or *tokai kava*, and its scientific term is *kavalacton*. The beverage from mixing it with water is drunk, and its residual after mixing it, *efe*, is then thrown away, or dried for re-using. This *efe* must not be confused with its *tokai kava* or *kavalacton* that is distilled at the bottom of the *kumete*, *kava* bowl, inside the water mixture (see Figure 36 & 51 of page xxxiv & xlii).

For formal *kava* like the *Taumafa Kava* of the *Ha'a Tu'i Kanokupolu*, a strainer, *fau taukava*, made from the skin of mulberry plant, *fau*, must be used for mixing it with water in a *kava* bowl, *kumete*, or *tano'a* in Fijian. It must be conducted in accordance to the

traditional customs and protocols of the Tu'i Kanokupolu by the direction of one of the *Ha'a* Ngatamotu'a, under chiefs Ata and their leader 'Ahio (Ata is known as *Pule 'o e Fonua*, Ruler of the *Fonua* of *kava*), with the command from one of the King's two principal *matāpule*, Motu'apuaka and Lauaki. This *kava* beverage is served in a cup, *ipu*, made from dried coconut fruits (see Figure 33-39 of page xxxii-xxxv) (Gifford, 1923, 1929; Collocott, 1927a, 1927b, 1928; Newell, 1947; Rutherford, 1977a, 1977b; Bott, 1982; Volkel, 2010).

On the other hand, informal *kava* like the *kava* club, *kalapu kava-Tonga*, and *kava* of tiredness, *kava fakalokua*, can use a thin sewing cloth bag for straining. People can get drunk when drinking *kava*, depending sometime on its different ways of diluting and the nature of the ceremony. Normally, it takes about 4 hours for someone to get drunk in a *kalapu kava-Tonga*. In *kava fakasiasi*, *kava* of churches, before Sunday morning services, it is hard to get drunk. This is because they only drink for one to two hours in welcoming everyone and the preacher before beginning of service. As shown, no one can get drunk in the *Taumafa Kava* because they only drink one *ipu kava* each, and in chiefly context, normal conversation of *talanoa* and oratory, *faiva lea*, are the main focus and drinking is secondary. So the momentum and volume of drinking is very slow comparing to drinking in informal gathering.

Kava in almost all levels is traditionally regarded as a medium, *vaka*, for learning public speech, *malanga*, formal conversation of *talanoa*, and art of comedy, *faiva fakaoli*, with the exception of the *Taumafa Kava* to a certain extent. It is also a *vaka* where *faiva lea*, art of oratory, like *malanga* is taught and maintained. To be a master of *faiva lea* one must be familiar with both informal and formal *kava*, basically to learn from the masters of poetical and proverbial languages, and to know how to deliver a proper speech in accordance to the principles of *faka'aki'akimui*, humility, and *heliaki*, metaphoric-epiphoria. This is traditionally where knowledge is culturally kept and transmitted from one generation to another. As the Tongan expression goes, "*Ko e kava' 'a e 'apiako 'o e Tonga, pea ko e 'apiako 'o Lo'au*" / "*Kava* is a school for Tongans, as well as, Lo'au." Following this cultural significance, I now turn and discuss the core of the myth of *Kava'onau*, and how the *Ha'a* Lo'au used it for ceremonial and cultural purposes (Gifford, 1923, 1929; Bott, 1982; Hu'akau, 2011a, 2011b; Māhina, 1992, 2006, 2011b; Biersack, 1982, 1990; Herda, 1987, 1990; Helu, 1999; Wood-Ellem, 1999).

4.3. Myth of Kava'onau

The Tongan myth, *fananga* or *talatupu'a*, of Kava'onau is very interesting due basically to its moral theme and social and political implications. The *fananga* says that there was a couple living in the residence of Faa'imata in the island of 'Eueiki in the eastern side of Tongatapu, near Heketā the Royal residence of Tu'i Tonga Momo. The name of the couple was Fevanga, the husband, and Fefafa, the wife. Their only daughter was Kava'onau. Kava'onau was a leprous. One day, Momo and his men visited 'Eueiki for holiday. It was famine at the time. In the island there was no food but only one giant taro, *kape*, the couple had spared and safeguarded for a future important *fatongia*. The King was tired and it happened he was resting and leaning to the *kape*, which means then that it was tabooed, *tapu*, because of the divinity, *toputapu*, of His Majesty.

Fevanga and Fefafa really wanted to show their moral respect, *tauhivā*, and patriotism, *mamahi'i-fonua*, by cooking their only surviving *kape*, giant taro. When they went to harvest it, Momo was leaning and resting on it. It was tabooed too to remove the King, so they decided to kill Kava'onau and cooked her in the earth-oven, '*umu*, to serve as their welcoming *fatongia* for His Majesty. Momo through his men found out about what Fevanga and Fefafa had done, so the king ordered them not to uncover the '*umu*, and changed it straightaway into a grave, *fonua (loto)* (Collocott, 1927a, 1927b, 1928; Gifford, 1923, 1929; Bott, 1982; Hu'akau, 1989, 2010, 2011a, 2011b; Filihia, 1998; Māhina, 1992, 2011b, 2011c; Biersack, 1982, 1990; Herda, 1987, 1990; Helu, 1999).

After a while, Fevanga and Fefafa saw two plants growing out from the head and feet of Kava'onau's *fonualoto*. They kept them growing until one day they saw a rat was running to the plant on her head and chewed its stem, she felt floppy and looked drunk. So, she was trying to get tithe plant on the feet, as she got there she chewed it and she was alright again, and then ran away. The couple then took the two plants to Momo, together with their *fonua* of root-cap. He informed Lo'au Taputoka to turn up from Ha'amea and interpret the whole story. Taputoka called the plant on the head, *kava* after Kava'onau, and one on the feet, *to*, sugarcane. It was sweet, *melie*, and its sweet-juice, *hu'amelie*, the rat to feel sober again. *To* has been used together in *Taumafa Kava* and chiefly *kava*, '*Ilo Kava*, for *kai fono* (*kai* is 'to eat' and *fono* is 'food'/'meeting'/'rules'), food-portion for sharing, with the same purpose to sweeten, *melie*, the bitterness, *kona*, of *kava*. Nowadays, *to* is no longer used in *Taumafa*

Kava, and it has been replaced with pigs, *puaka*, despite in some chiefly *kava* they still use **to** and *kava* together for *kai fonono*.

Bott (1982) has briefly explained in a few sentences about the symbolic meanings of *melie* and *kona* in the *fananga* of Kava'onau. For her, this could metaphorically mean that life is both *melie* and *kona* (Filihia, 1998; Māhina, 2011b; Biersack, 1982, 1990; Herda, 1987). Thus I now bring into consideration some recent interpretations of the notions of *melie* or *hu'amelie* and *kona* or *hu'akona* from Māhina's (2011b, 2011c) moral interpretation who was one of the first scholars to expand Bott's (1982) view. Also, this is a normal conception that it is used by Tongans in their *talanoa*, *malanga*, *faiva lea* and *faiva fakaoli*.

4.3.1. *Melie* and *kona*

Māhina (2011b, 2011c) has suggested a moral analysis of *melie* or *fiefia* and *kona* or *ta'efiefia* behaving in a dialectic manner of opposing and supporting modes of exchange. He continues by saying that the moral theme of the *fananga* of Kava'onau is about the struggle between *melie* and *kona*, beginning from the killing of Kava'onau purposely for the main *fatongia* to serve Tu'i Tonga Momo. It continued with this theme and ended up again in the *hu'akona* of *kava* and *hu'amelie* of *to* as the overall moral message of the story. For Māhina, Lo'au Taputoka seems to take life as always a mixture of struggle between these two opposing and relating phenomena, and their multiple and complicated related features such as moral respect, *tauhiivā*, and patriotism, *mamahi'i-fonua*, on one hand, and moral disrespect, *ta'etauhiivā*, on the other hand. Māhina (2011b, 2011c) concludes that *melie* is a symbol of *fatongia fiefia*, happy obligation, and *kona* is a symbol for *fuakavenga ta'efiefia*.

Māhina (1992, 2011a) reminds also that all *fananga*, in Vico's (2002) words, are about the explanation of reality in human subjective terms, which implies that there are fundamental values and historical themes behind them. Irrespective of whether there was a *fananga* or not, but its moral theme on human fundamental values and behaviours stands out for further interpretation. That is, there was a sacrifice made by the parents of Kava'onau as part of their *tauhiivā* and *mamahi'i-fonua* in performing their *fatongia* to the Tu'i Tonga. Momo responded with *tauhiivā* and mercy, *anga'ofa*, as part of his *fatongia* as a leader. Included in this behaviour was the *melie* and *kona* version, and so on.

Hence there are symbolically elements here of '*alaha kakala* from both sides, and this effectively gave way to the new culture of *kava* ceremony, which in return allowed a new social and political structure for *fatongia*. Additionally, Hu'akau (2011a, 2011b) said that he believes there was no real *fananga* on *kava* and *to*, but perhaps Lo'au Taputoka just created it

mainly to create a moral theme to guide and direct people under the reign of Tu'i Tonga Momo and his expanding Empire at the time. This may be a research topic for future investigation when attempting to re-interpret the core of this very important *fananga* (Collocott, 1927a, 1927b, 1928; Gifford, 1929; Kaeppler, 1967; Bott, 1982; Biersack, 1982, 1990; Herda, 1987, 1990; Campbell, 1992; Filihia, 1998; Helu, 1999; Māhina, 2011b, 2011c).

After Taputoka interpreting the story of Kava'onau, however, he then engineered the institutionalization of the first *Taumafa Kava*, in which the other chiefly and commoner's *kava* have been derived from, based on what is still now known as *Tala 'o Lo'au*, Tradition of Lo'au. In addition, he composed a *Chant of Kava'onau*, *Laulau 'o Kava'onau*, to be discussed later on, as a reminder to people the primary moral themes and rules of this whole cultural production. Further, we have certain incidents in the *fananga* that reflect all the five senses of *fonua* I have been talking about. We do have its sense of *fonua* as people and land with their tradition of *Tala 'o Lo'au*, the placenta where Kava'onau was born out from her mother Fefafa, the grave of Kava'ona *kava* and *to* plants with their root-caps and the *fonua* of *kava* ceremony. It appears that all the five senses of *fonua* played a major role in the *fananga*, and *fonua* as the root-cap of the *kava* ceremony was first formalized by Lo'au Tuputoka. It says that the *fonua* of the root-caps of the whole *kava* plant and *to* were both taken from 'Eueiki to Tu'i Tonga Momo and Lo'au. The *kava* and *to* with their root-caps were taken together and part of this procedure is still practicing in the ritual of the *Taumafa Kava*, which I will discuss later in the Chapter (Collocott, 1927a, 1927b, 1928; Gifford, 1929; Newell, 1947; Kaeppler, 1967, Bott, 1982; Biersack, 1982, 1990; Herda, 1987; Māhina, 1992, 2011b; Filihia, 1998).

4.3.2. *Chant of Kava'onau*

Lo'au Taputoka at the end of the *fananga* composed the following *Chant*, *Laulau*, summarizing the whole story of Kava'onau, and it has been passing down through generations for over thousand years:

Laulau 'o Kava'onau/Chant of Kava'onau

by Lo'au Taputoka

1. *Kava ko e kilia mei Fa'imata/Kava the leper⁸ from Fa'imata*
2. *Ko e tama `a Fevanga mo Fefafa/The child of Fevanga and Fefafa*
3. *Fahifahi pea mama/Chopped and chewed*
4. *Ha tano`a mono`angá/A bowl as a container*
5. *Ha pulu mono tatá/Some coconut fibre as a strainer*
6. *Ha pelu ke tau`angá/A fold of banana leaves as a cup*

7. *Ha mu`a ke `apa`apá/Someone as a master of ceremony*
 8. *Ha `eiki ke olovahá/And a chief to preside over it*
 9. *Fai`anga `o e fakataumafá/A place for its conduct*
- (Tran. Māhina, 2011b: 8).

This *Laulau* reminds us of a number of moral themes that have been distilled in the minds of Tongans since Lo`au Taputoka (or Tuputoka) and Momo.

Firstly, it is about the dialectic mode of interaction between the moral theme, *akonaki*, of *melie* and *kona* in the story of Kava'onau (Lines 1 and 2). Lo`au Taputoka seems to compose this part with the aim to keep in reminding people throughout the ages about the notion that life is both *melie* and *kona* all the time. Following Māhina (2011a) and Bott (1982), *melie* can lead on to *kona*, and vice-versa, and it is important to always watch out for things that can help to perpetuate and preserve *fatongia fiefia*, happy obligation, in society with its flavour of *hu`amelie* and *kanomelie*. As Māhina has spelled out, the reward for hard work with the flavour of *kona* is to consequently reap the fruits of *melie* and *fiefia*, which is a common *akonaki* for humanity worldwide.

Secondly, the *Laulau* is about the formal procedure on how to make *kava* in a *Taumafa Kava* (Lines 3 to 6). It was perhaps aimed to remind people on how to formally make *kava* in a special way for the *Taumafa Kava*, chiefly *kava* and any formal *kava* circle whatsoever. Most aspects of this procedure are still preserved today, and I witnessed this procedure and its protocol in the 2008 Coronation of King Tupou V in Tonga. Its combination with the sitting dance, *faiva haka*, which is known as *milolua*, without music, *hiva*, was beautifully and majestically unique in its own rights. Thirdly, the *Laulau* was aimed to remind of the social and political structure of society in which there should be always two principal *matāpule* in the *'apa'apa* to master and command the ceremony and guard the King in His top-front presiding position, the *Olovaha* (Lines 7 to 9).

This is all about the seating arrangement in accordance to social status, *langlangi*, political power, *mafaipule*, blood relationship, *fekau'aki fakata'ata'a*, among the King, *hou'eiki*, *ha'a*, *matāpule* and *kainga* with their individually different but related *fatongia*. As Māhina (2006, 2011b, 2011c) has reminded, this is really a beautiful piece of art work in performance art, *faiva*, all for the purpose of keeping *maau* in society. When this *maau* with its *hu`amelie*, *kanomelie* and *ifo* flavours was not properly maintained by ancient leaders, *ta'emaau* straightaway erupted into surface and caused *hu`akona*, *hu`atāmaki*, *kanotāmaki*, and *ta'eifo* (Māhina, 1992, 2006, 20011b, 2011c). In addition to that, now I would like to

present and examine *Ha'a Lo'au* and their *fatongia* as the 'Tūfunga Fonua'. This covers also their association with the notions of *fonua*, on one hand, and *mafaipule*, *langlangi* and *fekau'aki fakata'ata'a*, on the other hand (Gifford, 1923, 1929; Bott, 1982; Lehā'uli, 1985, 1986, 1988; To'amalekini, 1985, 1986, 1987; Tākapu, 1986, 1987, 1988).

4.4. *Ha'a Lo'au* the 'Tūfunga Fonua'

The *Ha'a Lo'au* have been regarded as the *Tūfunga Fonua*, Carpenter of Land-people, who were the social and political engineers, who created new major moral rules for society. Two major reforms that stood out first in this *tūfunga fonua* are as follows. One was the formation of *kava* ceremony; and second was the first re-organization of the Local Advisory Body, *Falefā*, of the Tu'i Tonga, with their *fatongia* in taking care of the King's daily activities within His compound (this should not be confused with the national and regional advisory *fatongia* of the *Ha'a Lo'au*). In addition, there are possible other *tūfunga fonua* of the *Lo'au* for future studies, which are the school of navigation, *ako faifolau*, and the construction double hulled canoe, *tūfunga kalia/vaka*, as well as, stone masonry, *tūfunga tāmaka*, creation of ancient calendar, *tūfunga tohi māhina* and creation of numerical counting system of gender's works, *tūfunga lau koloa-ngāue*. For the limited focus of this Chapter and the overall dissertation, I would like to reserve the discussion of these possible other works of the *Lo'au* Lineage for future studies, and only deal with the two above-mentioned *tūfunga fonua* for the time being.

It is worth to briefly mention this first reshuffle in the *Falefā* by *Lo'au Taputoka* in particular before continuing the discussion on the *kava* ceremony. While the *Ha'a Lo'au* advised the Tu'i Tonga on national and regional matters, the *Falefā* dealt with daily matters on moral values and behaviours of society, and looked after the King and his Royal compound. Equally, the first *Ha'a Lo'au* and *Falefā* were all foreigners, and the latter were continuing with this tradition but not the former (Gifford, 1923, 1929; Kaeppler, 1967, 1990, 2011; Rutherford, 1977a, 1977b, Biersack, 1982, 1990; Bott, 1982; Lehā'uli, 1987; Tākapu, 1986, To'amalekini, 1986; Māhina, 1992, 2006; Gailey, 1987; Herda, 1987).

This was mainly for the belief that the person of the Tu'i Tonga and His compound were too sacred, *toputapu*, and chiefly, 'eiki, for the local Tongans to deal with. In fact, some of the new members of the second *Falefā* were again foreigners like Tu'i 'Amanave and Soakai. When the first Tu'i Tonga was established, his first *Falefā* were his half-brothers with Samoan mother, and they were Tu'i Loloko, Matakehe, Māliepo and Tu'i Folaha. 'Aho'eitu's elder brother was Talafale and he formed the Tu'i Fale Ua, Second Fale, next to the Tu'i

Tonga in authority, *mafai*, and power, *pule*. Taputoka's re-organization brought Soakai and Tu'i 'Amanave both from overseas to replace Tu'i Loloko and Māliepo. Their individual *fatongia* in caring the King and His compound were influential on a daily basis, differently from that of the *Ha'a* Lo'au on national and regional level. Importantly, their two distinct but related *fatongia* have never been pointed out in Moanan-Tongan literature (Gifford, 1923, 1929; Kaeppler, 1967; Biersack, 1982, 1990; Bott, 1982; Lehā'uli, 1985, 1987; Māhina, 1986, 1992, 2006; Herda, 1987; Gailey, 1987; Filihia, 1998, Vānisi, 1999; Ilaiu, 2007; Tali'ai, 2007).

Apart from *fonua* the land and people, the placenta and *fonua* the grave have been discussed by Māhina (1992, 2006), Tu'itahi (2005), Ka'ili (2008a, 2010, 2011) and Francis (2006). This was conducted without including *fonua* the *kava* ceremony and root-cap of plants. However, this discussion will explain and uncover further the historical, political, moral and cultural importance of the last two *fonua* in the light of the works of *Ha'a* Lo'au. It is envisaged that this was also a result of a major wave of migration, and outside influences, into Tonga, as it was seen in Lo'au Taputoka's arrival with two main *ha'a*, *Ha'a* Lo'au and *Ha'a* Mene'uli. It seems that they then probably named the village of the Tu'i Tonga as *Ha'a* Mene'uli and the residence, Heketā, after this *ha'a*, and how people were treated in 'a *fuakavenga* manner (Gifford, 1923, 1929; Bott, 1982; Lehā'uli, 1986, 1987; Herda, 1987; Māhina, 1992, 2006; Kaeppler, 1999; Helu, 1999, 2008).

This *fuakavenga* mode is observable too in the stone constructions of *Maka* Fākinanga (Kingly or chiefly stone seat construction, 'esi, or sun god medium, *vaka*, in my view) and *Ha'amonga*- 'a-Maui Motu'a Trilithon. The latter was said to be a gateway, *matapā* or *hū'anga*, to Heketā, and also a sun clock, *uasi la'ā* in the view of His Majesty King Taufa'ahau Tupou IV, and medium, *vaka*, for worshipping the sun god, 'otua *la'ā*, in my view. Included in this Royal compound are the *Langi* Heketā and Mo'ungalafa, Royal Tombs, which are appeared as the first of their kind in the Kingdom. There have been scientific hypotheses and traditional outlooks on the said roles and purposes of the *Maka* Fākinanga and *Ha'amonga* but none of them has discussed the fundamental role of perceiving them as medium, *vaka*, for worshipping the 'otua *la'ā*. All the past scholars, including the *tala tukufakaholo* and culture, *taufatungamotu'a-e-fonua* (*anga fakafonua* or *tukutukulaumea*), have mentioned only the *Ha'amonga* as a *matapā* and *uasi la'ā*, and *Maka* Fākinanga as an 'esi, without alluding to them as *vaka*, for 'otua *la'ā* worshipping. However, I would like to focus below on the *Ha'a* Mene'uli, and particularly the *Ha'a* Lo'au, and then leave the other related issues like the prayer for the *otua la'ā* for future studies (Gifford, 1923, 1929; Bott, 1982; Lehā'uli, 1986, 1987; Herda, 1987; Māhina, 1992, 2006; Kaeppler, 1993, 1999; Helu, 1999, 2008).

Symbolically, *Ha'a* Mene'uli and Heketā could represent the oppressive, *fakapōpula*, nature in a *fuakavenga* manner of the Empire of Tu'i Tonga Momo to a certain extent in this early stage, as Māhina (1992) has suggested. In the sense, that *ha'a* is 'lineage' and *mene'uli* literally means 'black-arse' or 'black-buttock' (*mene* is 'arse' or 'buttock' and 'uli means 'black'). Heketā is literally "to hit until sitting and moving around with the arse (*heke* is 'to slide with the arse', and *tā* is 'to hit')." The naming, *fakahingoa*, for commoners or *fakahuafa* for chiefs, of *Ha'a* Mene'uli and Heketā might happen during the time of Momo and Lo'au Taputoka, or his son Tu'i Tonga Tātui and Lo'au Tongafusifonua (Tongafisifonua), the second Lo'au. There is another link here with the names of *Ha'a* Mene'uli and Heketā, which is the name of Tu'i Tonga Tātui. *Tā* is 'to hit' or 'mark', and *tui* is 'knee'— *tui* is also 'to spring or spear' (Māhina, 1992, 2008a; Helu, 2008). So, perhaps He was the King who continued the works that had been started by Momo and Tuputoka, in a *fuakavenga* nature, or He was the ruler with Lo'au Tongafusifonua to start the *tātui* and *heketā* of people with the assistance of their *Ha'a* Mene'uli, Lineage of Black-arse. This name *Ha'a* Mene'uli was later changed to Niutoua, Two-planted-coconuts, by Queen Sālote Tupou III last century due to its derogative meaning. It is therefore important to know who was exactly the *Ha'a* Lo'au, which is another research topic for Moanan-Tongan scholars to study further in the future. As it is shown, they were immigrants from eastern Moana, Moana *hahake*. It is then relevant to make some remark and explanation on their arrival and settlement in Tonga before proceeding on (Gifford, 1923, 1929; Collocott, 1927a, 1927b, 1928; Bott, 1982; Lehā'uli, 1985, 1986, 1987; Māhina, 1992, 2006, 2008a; Faka'osi, 1993; Vānisi, 1999).

4.4.1. Waves of Lo'au migration

It seems that there were three major waves of migration in Moana with relation to the situation of Tonga prior to the arrival of the *Ha'a* Lo'au. I am not saying that there were only three but as far as I am concerned there were three major ways of migration with impact of great importance in ancient Tonga before the *Ha'a* Lo'au. Archaeologists, linguists and anthropologists have claimed that Tongan society was settled by a first world wave of world migration down from South East-Asia by Austronesia speaking people around 1300 years BC, which they are known as Lapita people. They were named by archaeologists after an early pottery site that was found in Bismarks Islands at the northern cost of Papua New Guinea. They found the first pieces of clay pottery, *kulo 'umea*, which is a common evidence for this first major wave of migration by Lapita people, or what I have been referring to as the Moana people, instead of Pacific Island people, throughout this dissertation. The employment of the word Pacific for the region was first used by the European navigator Ferdinand Magellan of

Portugal in the 16th Century. In this dissertation, nevertheless, following Māhina (1999a, 1999b, 2004a, 2004b) and Ka’ili (2008a, 2008b, 2010, 2011), I have been using the word Moana instead, which means ‘ocean’ or ‘sea’. We also have ancient Moanan-Tongan words for eaters/skilled people of the ocean, *kaimoana*, and eaters/skilled people of the water, *kaivai*, in contrast to people of the land, *kaifonua*, or *kainanga-’o-e-fonua*, eaters of the land. The latter was later used for *tu’a* people, eaters of the *fonua*, but in a relative belittling way, and it can be relatively referred to the chiefly class in contrast to the King (Poulsen, 1977; Spennemann, 1990; Māhina, 1992; Faka’osi, 1993; Helu, 1999).

The second wave of migration was the inter-island journeys of the Maui and Tangaloa Lines between the 4th and 8th Centuries, who are regarded in some myths, *fananga*, as gods, and others as heroes. Ka’ili (2008a, 2010) and Māhina (1992, 2006) believe that this was happened probably around the time where archaeologists, linguists and anthropologists have believed that New Zealand, Hawaii, Tahiti and some eastern Moanan islands were settled around 7th and 8th Centuries by Moanans from western Moana/ islands like Tonga, Fiji and Samoa. It seems to be taken place probably between the 3rd and 7th Centuries. I have suggested to Ka’ili, Māhina and our Lo’au Research Society that some names of localities in Ha’amea like Veipahū, Ha’ateiho, Fualu, Lo’au (Luau) and Ha’amea, as well as, in the near-by island of ‘Eua in the eastern side of Tongatapu reflect this early wave migration of the Vaihian people (Lafitani, 2010a, 2011).

This was supported by my interview with Moeakiola Tunitau of ‘Eua who is now living in Canberra. Moeaki (2010, 2011) has explained, “The Hawaiian names like Kahana, Lokūpo, Ma’unga’ui, ‘Ahoa and Haunui in ‘Eua are localities that were named during this past interaction between Tongans or ‘Euans and Hawaiians. It is said that the Hawaiians came to Tonga also for annual sports like the arts of javelin, *sika*, boat-racing, *lovavaka*, and wrestling, *fangatua*. Tongans were travelling to Hawaii as well. I used to live in some of these places.” I am somehow still in doubt whether this is the same migration with those of the Maui and Tangaloa Lines, but further study in the future on this subject-matter can be conducted to find out more about its reality (McKern, 1929; Poulsen, 1977; Herda, 1987, 1990; Spennemann, 1990; Faka’osi, 1993; Māhina, 1992). Moreover, the Tongan name for Hawaii is Vaihi and we have a Tongan traditional saying, “*Ko vaihi e*”/“It is vaihi-style or vaihi-like”, alluding to something which is difficult to pursue and achieve. This manifests that Vaihi was very far for travelling, and it was difficult to travel back and forth in those days on double-hull canoe, *kalia*. If this was actually the case, then Ka’ili was the first to suggest that this was probably

the time that *Ha'a* Lo'au arrived in Tonga (McKern, 1929; Māhina, 1992; Ka'ili 2010). Ka'ili (2008a: 105-106) explains,

Tongan oral tradition poetically records the first wave of Tonga-Hawai'i migration as ascending from Maama (Earth) to Langi (Heaven), and descending from Langi to Maama. Langi was a symbolic name for Eastern Moana (Tahiti, Hawai'i) and Maama was a symbolic name for Tonga...The Tangaloa clans resided in Langi (Eastern Moana-Hawai'i), and Maui clans lived in Maama (Tonga) and Lolofonua (Vava'u)...The second wave of Tonga-Hawai'i contact occurred around the time of the Lo'au lineage, or the era of the "Tongan Maritime Empire"...During this period, there was frequent voyaging between Tonga, Futuna, 'Uvea, Samoa, and Fiji, and some long-distant voyaging between Tonga and other places. The legendary voyage of Lo'au Tongafisifonua and his two chief-orators, Kae and Longopoa, is one of the deep-sea voyaging stories during this period. Lo'au, Kae, and Longopoa undertook an ambitious voyage from Tonga to the edge of the horizon...Helu points out that they travelled towards the South Pole (Ka'ili, 2008a: 105-106).

Ka'ili's (2008a) first wave of migration was the Maui and Tangaloa journeys, whereas mine was the Lapita people from South-East Asia. His second wave was the Tu'i Tonga and the Lo'au. So his second is the same with my third wave. Our main difference here as well is for the fact that I am talking about the Lo'au in Tonga since the Lapita migration, and he talks about the ancient migration between Tonga and Hawaii. I take this migration of the *Ha'a* Lo'au into Tonga, and the expansion of the Tu'i Tonga Empire as the third wave, which is his second. In their arrival from the east, *hahake*, to Tonga, the major reforms of the *Ha'a* Lo'au to *fonua* in almost all my five senses had effectively changed the direction of Moanan-Tongan *fatongia* and its fundamental values and behaviours like *tauhivā*, moral respect, and *loto-foaki*, generosity, from then onwards (Mckern, 1929; Poulsen, 1977; Herda, 1987, 1990; Spennemann, 1990; Faka'osi, 1993; Māhina, 1992).

4.4.2. *Ha'a* Lo'au in blood relationship

My focus here is to highlight some blood connections, *fekau'aki fakata'ata'a*, between *Ha'a* Lo'au and the three Kingly lines in relation to the *fonua* of *kava* ceremony in association with social status, *langilangi*, and political power, *mafaipule*. This is based on the historical, political, moral and cultural importance of *fekau'aki fakata'ata'a* in the development of *fatongia*, which Herda (1987, 1990), Biersack (1982, 1990) and Wood-Ellem (1999) have identified. In their discussions of *kava* ceremony and the titles, *hingoa fakanofu*, of chiefly, *hou'eiki*, and chief's orator, *matāpule*, they have in effect unfolded how such two social phenomena are related to hereditary and acquisition. That is, *hingoa fakanofu* can be

passed down through both hereditary and acquired rights (*hingoa* means ‘name’ and *fakanofu* is ‘instalment’). I am interested nevertheless on the symbolic employment of the words blood, *ta’ata’a*, and garland, *kahoa kakala*, in *hingoa fakanofu* with conjunction to social rank, *langilangi* and political power, *mafaipule* in the situation of *Ha’a Lo’au*.

Herda (1987, 1990) in her study of the Tongan chiefly genealogy has explained the fundamental importance of this *fekau’aki ta’ata’a* through Royal and chiefly weddings for keeping harmony, *maau*, in society, on one hand. On the other hand, *ta’emaau*, can happen when installing of *hingoa fakanofu* or *kahoa kakala* on someone who is doubted, *veiveiua*, and debated, *tālanga’i*, by different *ha’a*, *hou’eiki* and *matāpule* regarding its legitimacy. Biersack (1982, 1990) explains such two social phenomena as well. Wood-Ellem (1999) in her book on *Queen Sālote Pilolevu Tupou III* also practically materializes the *maau* and *ta’emaau* nature of this *fekau’aki fakata’ata’a* and *kahoa kakala* in the Royal and chiefly circles.

What Herda, Biersack and Wood-Ellem have not discussed is how this issue can contribute to *fatongia* and its *siate* of *fiefia* in the manner of *tauēlangi* and ‘*alaha kakala*. The combination of *ta’ata’a* or acquired *langilangi* and *hingoa fakanofu*, titles, are metaphorically regarded by Tongans as *kahoa kakala*, because of the *fatongia* which associates with them. This means that *hou’eiki* or *matāpule fatongia* with their *kahoa kakala* should be smelled beautifully and sweetly, ‘*alaha kakala*. Also it can mean that such *hingoa fakanofu* or *kahoa kakala* are something they can wear, *tui*, now and when they die it will be taken off, *luva*, and *tui* on the next title holders. It is a reminder of the model of *tolu*, *tui* and *luva* that Thaman (2000, 2003) has talked about in Chapter III. However, I will persist and discuss how this metaphoric garland, *kahoa kakala*, of *fatongia* was utilized by the *Ha’a Lo’au*, among others, with conjunction to *fekau’aki fakata’ata’a*, *langilangi* and *mafaipule*.

As I mentioned, the *fonua* of *kava* ceremony was begun during the reign of Tu’i Tonga Momo at *Ha’a Mene’uli* in the residence of Heketā at the eastern, *hahake*, end of the main island of Tonga, Tongatapu. Heketā the third ancient capital of the Tu’i Tonga was situated at the northern direction of Mu’a, the fourth capital (the first capital of the Tu’i Tonga was at Folaha or Popua, then the second at Toloa, and third at Heketā). It appears that since the arrival of *Ha’a Lo’au*, they had accompanied the Tu’i Tonga as their main advisors until the 17th Century. With *fekau’aki fakata’ata’a* in all these times, Royal and chiefly inter-marriages between a couple with one of their parents as sister and brother, which is known as *tamahā* system, were a common practice for the *Ha’a Lo’au*. This reflects their eastern, *hahake*, culture of the Tahitians and Hawaiians, like their *nu’ipi’o* tradition of marrying

between chiefly eldest brothers, *tuonga'ane*, and their own sisters, *tuofafine*, for preserving divine blood in purity (Collocott, 1927a, 1927b, 1928; Gailey, 1987; Māhina, 1992, 2000, 2008a, 2010a; Burley, 2005; Ka'ili 2008a, 2010).

Tongan culture in its overall development since ancient times has adopted only the *tamahā* system, which is a relational marriage between a couple whom their fathers or mothers are sibling; and *kitetama* system whom their grandfathers or grandmothers are sibling. So, the *nu'ipi'o* system of the east has never been formally adopted by Tongan society since the arrival of the Lo'au. It was only in the case of the Tu'i Tonga Tātui, the son of Momo and Nua, that some elements of *nu'ipi'o* were well observable. He tried to have sexual intercourse with her half-sister Lātūtama but it was not successful and her Tongan relatives were so disappointed and angry. They angrily chased to murder him but he escaped to 'Eua islands. It was occupied by most of his mother's Hawaiian, or Vaihian, relatives (the capital of 'Eua is 'Ohonua, literally, 'to prepare food for Nua'). So, only the *tamahā* and *kitetama* systems that have been clearly adopted and practised in the overall prehistory and history of Tonga. There were Tongan myths of *nu'ipi'o* marriage of brothers and sisters, like the creation myth of the Stone of Tohu'ia'ofutuna, but it had never been accepted as a formal practice in Tongan culture generally. It is an issue that may be employed as a research topic for future studies to find out more about its factual details and background (Gifford, 1923, 1929; Collocott, 1927a, 1927b, 1928; Gailey, 1987; Māhina, 1992, 2000, 2008a; Burley, 2005; Ka'ili 2008a, 2010).

What Māhina and other Tongan scholars have overlooked that the *tamahā* system with its highest social ranking order in all ancient Tongan society was probably a social contribution and development of the *Ha'a* Lo'au as well. This is also due to the fact that after studying the genealogy of the *Ha'a* Lo'au it is shown that *tamahā* system has been practicing within their Ha'amea district for over centuries since the 10th Century. So the formation of such a system in Tongan society in the 17th Century was new for people at large, but not for the *Ha'a* Lo'au within their Vaihian districts of Ha'amea and 'Eua. Further, Tamahā was the eldest daughter as a result of first cousins marriage between the Tu'i Tonga Fefine and Her first cousin from the *Ha'a Fale* Fisi, House of Fiji, whose mother was the paternal aunt, *mehikitanga* or *fahu*, of the Tamahā's mother (i.e. Tu'i Tonga Fefine). So there paternal and maternal parents are brother and sister, as discussed earlier. The *tamahā* system was appeared to be established around the 17th Century before the *Ha'a* Lo'au was exiled from Ha'amea by the *Ha'a* Havea Lahi, sub-*ha'a* of the *Ha'a* Tu'i Kanokupolu (Gifford, 1923, 1929; Collocott, 1927a, 1927b, 1928; Bott, 1982; Gailey, 1987; Māhina, 1992; Campbell, 1992; Helu, 1999, Burley, 2005).

Hence I will now highlight and discuss the first Royal and chiefly marriage between the eldest daughter of the first Lo'au Taputoka (or Tuputoka), Nua, and the 10th Tu'i Tonga Momo in the 10th Century, before proceeding on the discussion with *kava* culture and *Ha'a* Lo'au. This is important because of two main reasons. Firstly, it was a turning point for the rule of the Tu'i Tonga Line to marry Nua from a foreign introduced culture into Tonga, and secondly it had later on developed into the *tamahā* system in the 17th Century under the Tu'i Tonga reign, and then *kitetama* had been practised since the 19th Century onwards under the present Constitutional Monarchy. King George Tupou II was the first *Kitetama* of the present Kingly Line (Helu, 2008), but let us discuss the Royal and chiefly marriage of Nua, the daughter of Lo'au Taputoka, and Momo the 10th Tu'i Tonga (Gifford, 1923, 1929; Bott, 1982; Gailey, 1987; Māhina, 1992; Campbell, 1992; Helu, 1999, Burley, 2005). .

4.4.2.1. Lo'au Taputoka, Nua and Momo

Nua the elder daughter of Lo'au Taputoka married the 10th Tu'i Tonga Momo. She became the principal wife, *Ma'itaki*, a system which was fully developed later on together with the *tamahā* and *Moheofo* systems (principal wife from the eldest daughters of the *Ha'a* Tu'i Takalaua and then Tu'i Kanokupolu). Māhina (1992, 2006) and Helu (1999, 2006) have pointed out that the *Ha'a* Lo'au when arriving brought with them a higher culture in comparison to the circumstance of Tonga at the time. This is shown when Tu'i Tonga Momo requested Lo'au Taputoka through his main chief's orator, *matāpule*, Lehā'uli, to marry Nua. He did not command but request the permission of Taputoka to allow his eldest daughter Nua to marry Him. Nua already had a child, Fasi'apule, with the chief of a name Nongongokilitoto from the village of Mālapo again in the eastern part of the main island near Heketā. She was no longer a virgin, which was very important and part of the culture for the King's *Ma'itaki* to be a virgin (Gifford, 1923, 1929; Collocott, 1927a, 1927b, 1928; Kaeppler, 1967; Biersack, 1982, 1990; Bott, 1982; Lehā'uli, 1986, 1987; Māhina, 1992, 2006; Helu, 1999, 2006).

When Taputoka told Lehā'uli that Nua was *fena*, a symbolic word for the seeds of yam plant, *'ufi*, when are rotten, the latter replied, "*Fena pe ka ko Nua*" / "Though it is rotten but still Nua." Nua was still the eldest daughter of Lo'au Taputoka, the leader of the *Ha'a* Lo'au. The aim of this whole matter then is very clear, for the existing culture to advance; it had to formally intertwine with the introduced one through Royal wedding. I believe this was the time that the *kahoa kakala* or *hingoa fakanofu* Tu'i Lo'au or Tu'i Ha'amea was probably installed by Momo on Taputoka as the first Lo'au title holder, even though no scholar has ever discussed this issue of naming the *Ha'a* Lo'au. From then onwards, Lo'au Taputoka and his *Ha'a* Lo'au had become the main advisors for the Tu'i Tonga dynasty on national and regional

matters until the 17th Century (Gifford, 1923, 1929; Collocott, 1927a, 1927b, 1928; Kaeppler, 1967; Biersack, 1982, 1990; Bott, 1982; Lehā'uli, 1985, 1986; Tākapu, 1986; To'amalekini, 1986, 1987, 1988; Herda, 1987, 1990; Gailey, 1987; 'Ilaiu, 2007; Taliai, 2007).

It further means that this had reciprocally elevated each other's *langilangi* and *mafaipule* respectively, and hence *fatongia* then could attain *fiefia* for both parties, which was observed in the expansion of the Tu'i Tonga Empire to its neighbouring islands. From the Royal wedding of Nua and Momo, they gave birth to Tātui who became the 11th Tu'i Tonga despite his illegitimate attempt to have *nu'ipi'o* with his half-sister Lātūtama. Tu'i Tātui further extended a series of major reforms under the guidance of Lo'au Tongafusifonua, the second Lo'au. Tu'i Tonga Tātui and Tongafusifonua were responsible for further expansion of Tongan imperialism to its neighbouring islands, and probably the construction of the *Ha'amonga-'a-Maui Motu'a* (Trilithon), Stone of Fākinanga, *Maka Fākinanga*, and the Royal tombs at Heketā (*Langi Heketā* and *Langi Mo'ungalafa*). Later on, more *Langi* were erected at Lapaha in the fourth capital of the Tu'i Tonga again under the advices of *Ha'a* Lo'au from their residence of Ma'ananga in the Lake of Fualu, *Lepa-'o-Fualu*, at Ha'amea in central Tongatapu (Gifford, 1923, 1929; Kaeppler, 1967; Biersack, 1982, 1990; Bott, 1982; Lehā'uli, 1985, 1986; Tākapu, 1986; To'amalekini, 1986, 1987; Herda, 1987, 1990; Gailey, 1987).

Ma'ananga the residence of the Lo'au symbolised their wisdom and omnipresence with respect to instructions connected with human-physical activities such as stone constructions, navigation, land tenure system and probably the creation of the Tongan annual calendar (a very scientific piece of work). Traditionally, the word *ma'ananga* pointed to the uniqueness of Lo'au's wisdom, omnipresence and scientific knowledge to predict upcoming events in a distant future, hence the ancient proverb "*Toka-'i-Ma'ananga*"/"Wisdom or Omnipresence of Ma'ananga". There are still conflicting information regarding the identification of the great of reforms between Momo and Tu'i Tonga Tātui, which reforms were belonged to the former and which were for the latter. However, the most important issue here is that Taputoka and Momo started the *kava* ceremony, and Momo and Tui Tātui expanded the Tu'i Tonga Empire under the advices of Lo'au Taputoka and Tongafusifonua (or Tongafisifonua) (Gifford, 1923, 1929; Kaeppler, 1967; Biersack, 1982; Bott, 1982; Lehā'uli, 1988, 1987; Tākapu, 1986; To'amalekini, 1986; Herda, 1987, 1990; Māhina, 1992).

Thus I believe that this overall contribution had influenced the Tu'i Tonga to always provide a special respect and treatment of the *Ha'a* Lo'au than any other Kingly and chiefly lines in Tongan prehistory prior to the formation of the *Ha'a* Tu'i Takalaua and *Ha'a*

Tu'i Kanokupolu. In most of the *fananga*, myths, and *tala-e-fonua* or *talatuku fakaholo*, culture or oral traditions, Ha'amea and the *Ha'a Lo'au* were never included nor participated in matters of political turmoil, and never teamed up by the Tu'i Tonga to participate in any war either. They were treated purely by the latter for national, regional and cultural advices on matters of great importance to the nation and their Empire. This was the case too because disharmony and war were appeared to be opposed to the worldview of the Lo'au in maintaining *fiefia* in *fatongia* for preserving harmony, *maau*, as it is apparently observable in the whole structure of the *kava* ceremony. Originally, its main structure, and aim, as it is seen later in the discussion was engineered for preserving *maau* and *fatongia fiefia*, happy obligation. In return, the Tu'i Tonga Lines gave the *Ha'a Lo'au* a special respect for their unique advisory *fatongia* and its *fiefia* nature.

It embodies that this was not carried out through when the political power, *mafaipule*, of the Tu'i Tonga was in decline while those of the *Ha'a Tu'i Takalaua* and Tu'i Kanokupolu were on the rise since the 15th Century and 17th Centuries, as discussed by Māhina (1992), Campbell (1992), Vānisi (1999), Tali'ai (2007) and 'Ilaiu (2007) (with only Māhina and Vānisi discussed the *Ha'a Lo'au*). *Ha'a Tu'i Takalaua* and Kanokupolu were originally formed by the Tu'i Tonga in the 15th and 17 Centuries to run the secular administration and daily operation of Tonga and its Empire, while the latter was elevating into the aloofing atmosphere of sacredness in a heavenly stage of higher being. However, after escaping to the small island of Tokū in the northern group of Vava'u Island as a consequence of the occupation of Ha'amea by the *Ha'a Havea Lahi* of the *Ha'a Tu'i Kanokupolu*, the *kahoa kakala* or title of the *Ha'a Lo'au* since then had been using as a symbol only for 'major waves of reform' in Tongan culture from the 10th Century up to 2008 in the Coronation of the present King George Tupou V. It is shown that only the Tu'i Tonga really admired and seriously respected the wisdom and special skills of the *Ha'a Lo'au*, but not the *Ha'a Tu'i Takalaua* and *Ha'a Tu'i Kanokupolu* through its sub-*ha'a* the *Ha'a Havea Lahi*. This has directed the discussion to further interpret *Ha'a Lo'au* and their relation to the *hingoa fakanofa* of Tu'i Ha'amea, Tu'i Ha'atu'unga, as well as, *Ha'a Tu'i Takalaua* and Tu'i Kanokupolu.

4.4.3. Tu'i Lo'au, Tu'i Ha'amea and Tu'i Ha'atu'unga

There were two main King Lines or chiefs in Ha'amea, the Tu'i Ha'amea whom I believe to be also the Tu'i Lo'au or Lo'au, and the Tu'i Ha'atu'unga at Nukunuku village of the western part of Tongatapu. Gifford (1929), Kaeppler, (1967), Biersack (1982, 1990), Bott (1982), Campbell (1992), Helu (1999) and Māhina (1992, 2006) are not sure of the titles, *hingoa fakanofa*, above whether they were three different people, combined in one person, or whether the whole saga of the *Ha'a Lo'au* were purely mythical. Gifford, Bott and Campbell mentioned Lo'au but are not sure of most its whole true saga, and Gifford and Bott have also explained that Tu'i Ha'atu'unga was from Nukunuku. Bott (1982) has pointed out that there were only two or three Lo'au which probably Taputoka (or Tuputoka), Tongafusifonua (or Tongafisifonua) and 'Aokatoa, and the rest were just symbol for major waves of reform whereby the name Lo'au was used in metaphoric terms. Campbell (1992) also shows that there are not sufficient information about them, and therefore not worthwhile and relevant to include them in any historical account of Tongan society. This is clearly witnessed in all his historical accounts and writings on Tonga in which he has never discussed *Ha'a Lo'au* as an issue of great importance in both prehistoric and historic times (see Figure 1 & 2 of page xiv & xv).

'Ilaiu (2007) in exploring the Tu'i Tonga, Tu'i Takalaua and Tu'i Kanokupolu and their blood relation, especially of the latter, with the Samoan chiefs, *matai*, has never mentioned the *Ha'a Lo'au* and their lasting contributions to Tongan culture and history. To the contrarily, he talks mostly of how Queen Sālote used the word Lo'au in reference to some major changes she conducted in the Royal *Kava* Ceremony, *Taumafa Kava* and culture, *anga fakafonua*, at large. Taliai (2007) in his discussion of prehistory to modern Tonga mentions nothing about *Ha'a Lo'au*. Taliai and 'Ilaiu have given more credit to the outside influences of Samoa and Fiji in the development of Tongan prehistory than the great works of *Ha'a Lo'au*. Ka'ili (2008a) and Vānisi (1999) give some account but without connecting them in the pattern, *kupesi*, exploring in this Chapter, likewise in the case of Māhina (1992) and Helu (1999, 2006). For the latter, in most situations he talked only of the first Lo'au, Lo'au Taputoka, whereas in other situations he referred to Tu'i Tonga Tātui as the Great Lo'au of all. I shared with Helu when I was in Tonga in 2008 my overall viewpoint regarding the *Ha'a Lo'au*, and he responded positively by saying that it is very interesting and must be recorded and expanded into a book.

Nevertheless, my findings have revealed that there were three main chiefly *hingoa fakanofu*, titles, in Ha'amea. It was the Tu'i Ha'amea who was also the Tu'i Lo'au or Lo'au, as well as, Tu'i Ha'atu'unga. I have also found out that there were about 30 Lo'au *hingoa fakanofu* from the 10th Century since Lo'au Taputoka, up to the 17th Century. Only three were well known in ancient time for their great and lasting contributions, and they were Lo'au Taputoka, Fusifonua, and Lo'au 'Aokatoa who was the last of them before they were exiled. Lo'au Taputoka was well known with his contribution to the establishment of the *kava* ceremony and other related great works like the re-organization of the *Falefā*, beginning of the stone mason construction, *tūfunga tāmaka*, and the expansion of the Tu'i Tonga Empire of Momo. Lo'au Tongafusifonua in Tu'i Tātui's rule was famous in helping the continuing expansion of the Empire, together with building the *Ha'amonga-'a-Maui Motu'a* and the expedition to bring Sangone's back from Samoa and the trip with Kae and Longopoa, *Folau 'a Kae, Kae Epic Poem*, to the horizon, *tafatafalangi*. There is a story that *Folau ki Pulotu, Expedition to Pulotu*, which was probably another influential work and contribution of Lo'au Tongafusifonua, or one of the early Lo'au, but this may be a research topic for scholars to explore more in the future (Gifford, 1923, 1929; Collocott, 1927a, 1927b, 1928; Rutherford, 1977; Māhina, 1987, 1992; Helu 1999, 2008; Taliai, 2008; Ka'ili, 2008a).

The *Folau 'a Kae* was the expedition that some scholars have concluded by saying that it was the last time for the historical appearance of *Ha'a* Lo'au in Tonga, mainly because only Kae returned back and told the story in his *Laveofu 'o Kae, Kae Epic Tale*. All the rest including Fusifonua died in a sea storm on what Helu (1999, 2008) has believed to have happened on the southern pole of the Southern Hemisphere, very close to Aotearoa or New Zealand. This claim that *Ha'a* Lo'au ended their existence due to this Kae's story is not fully accepted by this study. The last of them, Lo'au 'Aokatoa was famous because his daughter was the mother of the most powerful *ha'a* with the majority chiefs both in his time and in present Tonga, the *Ha'a Havea*. However, I will discuss the above points further later in this Chapter (Collocott, 1928; Gifford, 1929; Rutherford, 1977a, 1977b; Bott, 1982; Lehā'uli, 1986; Tākapu, 1986; To'amalekini, 1986; Māhina, 1986, 1987, 1992, 2006; Hu'akau, 1989, 2010, 2011a, 2011b; Helu, 2008).

I further propose that there were about 30 Lo'au title holders, *hingoa fakanofa*, and most of them were just using the *hingoa fakanofa* Lo'au with no second names. This was not applied to the well-known three Lo'au I have mentioned because they were well-known for their great deeds, so their second names were normally included to differentiate them separately from the other Lo'au. This is based on some information on a number of diaries from the students of Moulton at Tupou College in the later 19th Century (Mālohi, 1890, Moulton, 1921; Faupula, 1999). There were no second names except the list of about 30 Lo'au titles. Another factor, Ha'amea and the *Ha'a* Lo'au had been appeared in different oral traditions and stories during the 15th to 17th Centuries which I have gathered in Tonga and overseas, including information from two chiefs, 'aliki, from Futuna-'Uvea islands (Wallis). I met these two Futuna-'Uvean men at the 2006 Lo'au International Conference of our LRS in Tonga, and again they visited my place in Canberra during 2008 and stayed with me and my family for two weeks. They were 'Aliki Satula (2006, 2008) and 'Isaia.

'Aliki Satula and 'Isaia, together with 'Ilavalu (2006), a half-blood Tongan-'Uvean, shared with me many oral traditions about the *Ha'a* Lo'au and Ha'amea in their culture and society. These had been happening all the way from the time of the Tu'i Tonga to the emergence of the Tu'i Kanokupolu in the 17th Century, and this comprises some stories too about the Tu'i Ha'atu'unga of Nukunuku at Ha'amea district. I believe that the exile of the *Ha'a* Lo'au, which was mentioned by Gifford (1929), was happened for two main reasons. Firstly, the *Ha'a* Havea Lahi did not want *Ha'a* Tu'i Takalaua Vaea and his sons to take over and occupy Ha'amea. Secondly, the mothers of the first chiefs of *Ha'a* Havea Lahi were daughters of Tu'i Lo'au and Tu'i Ha'atu'unga. Campbell (1992) and 'Ilaiu (2007) both mention this political turmoil without encompassing some clear-cut discussions of its link to *Ha'a* Lo'au. Gifford (1929) and Bott (1982) mention that the name Lo'au was repeatedly appeared in the times of Momo and Lo'au Taputoka, and again in the establishments of the second Kingly lines of the *Ha'a* Tu'i Takalaua in the 15th Century and the *Ha'a* Tu'i Kanokupolu in the 17th Century (Māhina, 1986; Vānisi, 1999; 'Ilaiu, 2007; Taliai, 2007; Helu, 2008).

Bott (1982) continues by stating that only the first appearance was a real person, the other two were probably just major waves of reform with the employment of the *hingoa fakanofa* or *kakala hingoa* of the *Ha'a* Lo'au symbolically. Bott accounts as well that the name Lo'au was appeared in the establishment of the *Ha'a* Tu'i Takalaua and *Ha'a* Tu'i Kanokupolu, again as advisors but he is not sure on whether they were real Lo'au or just in symbolic manner of major waves. She includes a story about Queen Sālote that some of Her

matāpule referred to Her as the last Lo’au due to Her major cultural reforms in the *Taumafa Kava* and culture as a whole. I believe that they were real Lo’au. For instance, the mothers of most of the first chiefs of *Ha’a Havea Lahi* were ‘Umukisia, who was the daughter of Tu’i Ha’atu’unga of Nukunuku in Ha’amea, and Papa-ki-Ha’amea who was the daughter of Tu’i Ha’amea ‘Aokatoa, the last Tu’i Lo’au ‘Aokatoa. Both Gifford (1929) and Bott (1982) explain also that he was the last Lo’au, which is somehow opposed to their previous claim of considering that there was only one or two Lo’au, Lo’au Taputoka and Tongafusifonua, with perhaps the third Lo’au ‘Aokatoa with no clear-cut confirmation his existence somehow.

However, such two women were principal wives of the third Tu’i Kanokupolu Havea Mataele who was the father of all the first chiefs of *Ha’a Havea Lahi* and its sub-division *Ha’a Havea Si’i*. ‘Umukisia’s children were Tu’i Vakanō of Nukunuku as the eldest, and Vaea of Houma. Papa-ki-Ha’amea’s children were Hafoka who was the eldest among all and the father of the first chief Ma’afu Tukui’aulahi of Vainī, Mataeleha’amea who was the fourth Tu’i Kanokupolu after his father. His brother Vuna Tu’i’oetau who was the fifth Tu’i Kanokupolu, and their brother Fohe was the chief of Hofoa, as well as, Lasike of Lakepa. Lasike was the son of Toafilimoe’unga (with Paleisāsā from Fiji) who was the daughter of Havea Mataele and Papa-ki-Ha’amea. There were other children too but with different mothers who formed the *Ha’a Havea* altogether as a sub-division of *Ha’a Tu’i Kanokupolu* (Bott, 1982). Two other first chiefs of *Ha’a Havea Lahi* were Lavaka of Pea and Fielakepa of Haveluloto but they were sons of Tu’i Tonga Fefine Fatafahi-‘o-Lapaha and Tamahā Tu’imala with Havea Mataele. Fatafahi was the elder daughter of the 31st Tu’i Tonga Kau’ulufonua, and Tu’imala was the elder daughter of Tu’i Tonga Fefine ‘Ekutongapipiki and Fonomanu of *Ha’a Falefisi*, a Tamahā as a result of marriage of a couple whom either their fathers or mothers were sibling. Havea Mataele’s mother was Toukilupe, the elder daughter of Tu’i Ha’atu’unga, the father of ‘Umukisa’s Tu’i Ha’atu’unga father, and likewise with the father of Lo’au ‘Aokatoa, who was a Lo’au but with no clear second name (Gifford, 1923, 1929; Bott, 1982; Herda, 1987, 1990; Wood-Ellem, 1999).

These cultural and historical importances of Ha’amea are also appeared in chiefly names of the *Ha’a Havea Lahi*, *Ha’a Ngatamotu’a* and *Ha’a Ngatatupu* of the *Ha’a Tu’i Kanokupolu* and *Ha’a Tu’i Lo’au* such as Mataeleha’amea the fourth Tu’i Kanokupolu with his mother Papa-ki-Ha’amea. This shows too in the names of Tangata-‘o-Ha’amea, Man of Ha’amea, the middle name for chief/Noble Siaso Ata-‘Ulukalala. This includes well-known ancient phrases like *Toafa-‘o-Ha’amea*, Desert of Ha’amea, and *Tala- mei-Ha’amea*, Tradition from Ha’amea, and Advice and Conclusion from Ha’amea, *Fale’i* and *Aofangatuku mei*

Ha'amea. There is a common expression that I have found out about the *Fale'i* and *Aofangatuku*, which Gifford (1929) and Bott (1982) have partly mentioned, and it was explained to me by the *matāpule* Lehā'uli (1985, 1986, 1987) of the *Ha'a* Talafale from the ancient Tu'i Tonga Line. In the formation of the *Ha'a* Tu'i Takalaua in the 15th Century and the *Ha'a* Tu'i Kanokupolu in the 17th Century, there was this following statement re-appeared in all of them. “*Pea 'i he'ene lava□, pea ne tu'utu'uni 'e he Tu'i ke toki 'ave 'o aofangatuku 'e Lo'au ko e Tu'i Ha'amea*”/“When it was completed then the King commanded to take it to Lo'au the King of Ha'amea for final decision”. This means that after the discussion of major issues by the *Sina'e*, Young Brothers of the Tu'i Tonga, and *Falefā*, Daily Advisors of the Tu'i Tonga including all the *ha'a*, then the Tu'i Tonga would then allow Lo'au the Tu'i Ha'amea or Tu'i Lo'au to have the final words (Lehā'uli, 1985, 1986, 1987; Helu 2008).

With the wisdom or omnipresence of Ma'ananga, this residence also had a national, cultural, and intellectual significance that must not be forgotten to mention and further explore. The ancient proverb, *Toka mei* Ma'ananga, or '*Tokaima'ananga*' in short, was only used in ancient Tonga only for *Ha'a* Lo'au but not for chiefs and Kings. This was for the main reason that their wisdom allowed them to foresee and predict future events from Ma'ananga, but neither the Tu'i Tonga nor the Tu'i Tonga Fefine. *Toka* literally means 'to lie down or sleep' in chiefly language, and generally it means 'to be prepared'. The word *tokai* with the letter '*i*' is 'to make'; and *ma'ananga* is literally stands for 'crystal appearance'. Ma'ananga is another variation of *ma'al'anga* which is a 'place of clearness' or 'crystal water'. *Ma'a* is 'cleanness' or 'clearness' and '*anga* is 'locality of gathering' (Gifford, 1923, 1929; Collocott, 1927a, 1928b; Helu, 2008).

Solely it was the *Ha'a* Lo'au in which the proverb was first derived from. When the Methodist missionaries arrived in the 18th and 19th Centuries, they decided to use this proverb in their translation of the Bible from English, Latin and Greek into Tongan when alluding to their one God, Jehovah. So, in Tongan religion and culture of today, *tokaima'ananga* is only used for Jehovah and no one else, neither the Tu'i Kanokupolu nor any higher religious leaders like the Pope. The above explanations really show the importance of Ha'amea and Ma'ananga of the *Ha'a* Lo'au in both ancient and modern Tongan history. In ancient Ha'amea and Ma'ananga people used to say, “*Ko Lo'au pē 'oku tokaima'ananga*”/“Only Lo'au who knows everything.” In modern time, people say, '*Ko e 'Otua pē 'oku tokaima'ananga*’/“Only God knows everything (Collocott, 1927a, 1927b, 1928; Gifford, 1929; Bott, 1982; Lehā'uli, 1987, 1988; To'amalekini, 1987; Tākapu, 1988; Māhina,

1992).” Overall, it is about the wisdom or omnipresence of the *Ha’a* Lo’au, as a result of their accumulated and countless considerable knowledge with scientific nature.

The district of Ha’amea at the moment is now called Vaheloto or Loto-Tonga. It is still largely occupied by the chiefs of *Ha’a* Havea Lahi running across from Vainī village of Ma’afu Tukui’aulahi in the eastern-middle side who is also the head leader, ‘ulu, of this *Ha’a*, to the western-middle side of Nukunuku village of chief Tu’i Vakanō. This is a true testimony for the two reasons I have put forward above for why the *Ha’a* Havea Lahi took over Ha’amea in the 17th Century. It is shown too that most of *Ha’a* Havea Lahi whom their mothers were Papa-ki-Ha’amea and ‘Umukisia were ‘eiki, higher in social rank, *langilangi*, than the *Ha’a* Lo’au and Tu’i Ha’atu’unga of Ha’amea. This was mainly because their mothers were *fahu* to the male descendants of Lo’au ‘Aokatoa and Tu’i Ha’atu’unga, which implies that *Ha’a* Havea Lahi had the social and political power to order them to leave because it was better for the sons of Havea Mataele from *Ha’a* Tu’i Kanokupolu and its sub-*ha’a* *Ha’a* Havea Lahi to occupy Ha’amea than those of the *Ha’a* Tu’i Takalaua Vaea. This is my own interpretation regarding the main reason why *Ha’a* Lo’au left Ha’amea district for good in the 17th Century, which has never been clearly spelled out in the literature (Bott, 1982).

The disharmonious nature of this transition further indicates the decline of the Tu’i Tonga Empire since the 15th Century as spelled out by Gifford (1929), Wood (1943), Bott (1982), Māhina (1986, 1990, 1992, 2006), Campbell (1992), ‘Ilaiu (2007) and Taliai (2007). Overall, this has brought into light the importance of the *Ha’a* Lo’au since the first Lo’au, Taputoka, until the last Lo’au, ‘Aokatoa, including their major contributions to *fatongia* through Royal and chiefly weddings, among others like stone and *kalia* constructions. This link from Lo’au ‘Aokatoa all the way back to Taputoka through Royal and chiefly marriages reminds us of the previous discussion on the importance of blood, *ta’ata’a*, garland, *kahoa kakala*, in Tongan culture, as discussed by Herda (1987, 1990), Biersack (1982, 1990) and Wood-Ellem (1999). The exact location of Ha’amea has been another issue of controversy, which I would now like to briefly outline some historical, social, political and geographical backgrounds of it, comprising its occupation by the *Ha’a* Havea Lahi and the end of the Lo’au.

Gifford (1929) gives no clear-cut accounts of the exact district of Ha’amea in central Tongatapu. He talks of Ha’amea as the main district of the *Ha’a* Lo’au without clearly pointing out the exact location. Ha’amea as I have perceived it was started from the village of Vainī in the eastern-middle part running across to Nukunuku in the western-middle part of Tongatapu. In the centre at the *Lepa-’o-Fualu* where the village of Pea, mound Tufumāhina,

Matālikufisi, Tokomololo, Ha’ateiho and Mataki-‘Eua are now situated was Ma’ananga. It appears that Ma’ananga was on the Mound of Matatoa, *Funga Matatoa*, where the Vila of the present King George Tupou V is now located. In the epic *Tale of Kae* recorded by Rutherford (1977b) and Helu (1999), it shows that the *Ha’a* Lo’au were teaching people the art of construction *kalia*, double-hulled canoe, *tūfunga fo’uvaka*, and school of navigation, *ako faifolau*, in the Lake of Fualu, and they could sail from there out to the main lagoon of Fanga’uta (and Fangakakau) in the eastern side of Tufumāhina mound where the home of HRH Princess Sālote Pilolevu Tuita is situated (the only sister of HM King Tupou V). The Lake is where Mataki-‘Eua water well for the whole of Tongatapu is now located. From the Lake, its entrance to connect to the lagoon was used to be at the southern side of the Vila and Tufumāhina. Nowadays, this side is already covered with land and become part of the village of Pea, roughly it was between Vai-ko-puna spring and Tufumāhina slope (Gifford, 1923, 1929; Collocott, 1927a, 1927b, 1928).

However, this is a brief explanation about the history and geographical location of the Lake of Fualu and Ma’ananga residence. The eastern-middle side up to Vainī was a part of Ha’amea, and all were controlled by the *Ha’a* Lo’au before were settled by the *Ha’a* Havea Lahi and the people of the Tu’i Ha’ateiho from the *Ha’a* Falefisi, especially the village of Ha’ateiho village. The western-middle side up to Nukunuku was under the Tu’i Ha’atu’unga but overall this was belonged to the district of the *Ha’a* Lo’au and part of Ha’amea as well. There was a desert between Fualu and Nukunuku to the west, especially between the former and Lakepa, which was called the Ha’amea Desert, *Toafa ‘o* Ha’amea, as pointed out by Gifford previously. In Ma’ananga at the *Lepa-‘o*-Fualu at Ha’amea, I believe the concept of *fonua* the *kava* ceremony, and the relation to its other four senses, was first engineered and included as part of the *Tala ‘o* Lo’au, Tradition of Lo’au, and Tongan culture as a whole.

4.5. *Fonua* in prehistory

I am still questioning the main reason why the term *fonua* for *kava* ceremony and the root-cap has not been used and considered by scholars, after all ordinary Tongans use it daily in their normal conversation of *talanoa* and formal speech of *malanga*. The *kava* ceremony in all its variation is sometime called Lo’au as well. In fact, the word *fonua* was first used before Lo’au Taputoka and Tu’i Tonga Momo by the brothers, *ongo tautehina*, Tangaloa ‘Eiki of *langi*, sky, and Maui Motu’a of *lolofonua*, underworld, who were regarded as the principal gods of Tonga and most parts of Moana, with their sister, *tuofefine*, Havea Hikule’o who was the principal goddess of *pulotu*, afterlife. This reflects too the patriarchal and matriarchal nature of Moanan and Tongan society with their ways of treating one another

in an equal manner. She was regarded as the *fahu* for the lines of Tangaloa 'Eiki and Maui Motu'a, in Māhina's (1986, 1992) words (Gifford, 1923, 1929; Bott, 1982)

Hikule'o is said to be the Tu'i Pulotu, Ruler of *Pulotu*, afterlife, Maui at *maama*, earth, and *lolofonua*, under the *fonua* or underworld, and Tangaloa for the sky, *langi*. Pulotu of Hikule'o was said to be the most sacred and chiefly place among all, a manifestation of her divine *fahu* and 'eiki character. Also she was the goddess of the Tu'i Tonga dynasty until His fall in the 19th Century under King George Taufa'ahau Tupou I. In other words, the former was the representative of Havea Hikule'o in *maama*, and according to Māhina (1992), this was due to her *fahu* status over the male line of Tangaloa 'Eiki, Maui Motu'a and their descendants. The first Tu'i Tonga, Tu'i Tonga 'Aho'eitu was said to be the son of one of the Tangaloa Lines, Tangaloa 'Eitumatupu'a from *langi* (Gifford, 1929; Kaeppler, 1967, Bott, 1982; Biersack, 1982, 1990; Herda, 1987, 1990; Campbell, 1992; Māhina, 1992, 2006).

However, the first appearance of the word *fonua* and its used on a national level of the ruling order was happened during the time of the Tangaloa and Maui. One of the Tangaloa was Tangaloa *Tūfunga Fonua*, Tangaloa the Carpenter of Land-people. It says that he was the creator of the first common people, Kohai, Koau and Komomo. The principal gods, Maui Motu'a and Tangaloa 'Eiki with their sister goddess Havea Hikule'o were said to be stemmed out from the lines of incestuous or *nu'ipi'o* relations initially from the stone of Tohu'ia'ofutuna in the vast *moana*. The names Fonua'uta, Inland, and Fonuavai, Sea-land, Lolofonua, Underworld, and Taufulifonua, War-in-turning-land, were descendants of Tohu'ia'ofutuna, who gave birth to Maui Motu'a, Tangaloa 'Eiki and Havea Hikule'o. Tangaloa 'Eiki's grandson was Tangaloa 'Eitumatupu'a and he was the father of 'Aho'eitu, the first Tu'i Tonga. This also means that all Kings and chiefs were descending from Tohu'ia'ofutuna, on one hand, whereas the commoners were created by Tangaloa Tūfunga Fonua and the Tangaloa Lines, who were all descendants of Kohai, Koau and Komomo the first creations. There was also a Maui with the nick name, Maui Fusifonua, Maui the Land-fisher, who is said to be Maui Kisikisi or Tikitiki, and who fished up most of the Moanan and Tongan islands, in according to some mythical stories (Gifford, 1923, 1929; Collocott, 1927a, 1927b, 1928; Māhina, 1986, 1992).

We have seen too that the second Lo'au was Tongafusifonua, and it seems he was named after Maui Fusifonua. The brothers of a chief, *hou'eiki*, are called *tauhi fonua*, land-people caretakers. There were three Tu'i Tonga who were called Ka'ulufonua I, Ka'ulufonua II and Ka'ulufonua III. Collocott (1927a, 1927b), Gifford (1929), Newell (1947) and Bott

(1982) also talk of *tauhi fonua*, and the word *fonua* with reference only to its sense of land and people. Bott, Collocott and Gifford allude to the nick name of chief Ata in the *Taumafa Kava* as *Pule 'o e Fonua*, Ruler of Royal *Kava* Ceremony (in the sense of *fonua* as *kava* ceremony). For such scholars, it stands for *fonua* of land and people, but this overlooks the fact that Ata's title, *hingoa fakanofu*, had never used the Ruler of the *Fonua* to himself. In ancient time it was just the Tu'i Tonga, and later on was taken over by the *Ha'a* Tu'i Takalaua and then the Tu'i Kanokupolu up to the present. It appears that Ata as the *Pule 'o e Fonua* was/is alluded to the *fonua* of *kava* ceremony in *Taumafa Kava* as such, and nothings else, which can include the *fonua* of the root-cap of the *kava* plant when such a ritual is in operation (see Figure 33-39 of page xxxii-xxxv). This has led on the discussion to propose two senses of *fonua*.

4.5.1. Definition of *fonua*

All the above names with *fonua* have something in common, that is, the notion of creation of land and people, which has been regarded by Māhina, (1992, 2006, 2011b), Francis, (2006), Ka'ili (2008a) and Tu'itahi (2005) as a worldview to life. So, I believe that *fonua* was initially referring “to land and people at large,” which is taken here as its general sense, and one of the Moanan worldviews also, as discussed by Māhina (1992, 2011b, 2011c), Francis (200), Tu'itahi (2005) and Ka'ili (2008a). With the narrow sense, this includes all its other four explanations, which *Pule 'o e Fonua* is viewed as an aspect of the *fonua* of the *kava* ceremony. *Pule 'o e Fonua* is a phrase that shows evidence of what I have been attempting to unveil in this study, which is the *fonua* of *kava* ceremony, including *fonua* of the root-cap of a plant. Ata as the *Pule 'o e Fonua* is just one way of saying that he is the *Pule* of the *Taumafa Kava* of the Tu'i Kanokupolu as such, but this cannot apply to other chiefly *kava*. This is for the main reason that each chiefly *kava* ceremony, '*ilo kava*, has its own *Pule*, who is the chief of the individual *ha'a* and *kainga* of different villages. There are Tongan sayings that display this notion of *Pule* in the *hou'eiki* context of territorial control, and not like the Royal *Taumafa Kava* with its national nature in which Ata is the *Pule 'o e Fonua*. “'Oku 'i ai pē 'a e 'eiki 'o e kolo kotoa pē”/“Every village has its own chief.” “'Oku kava 'a e 'eiki kotoa pē”/“Every chief has his own *kava* (see Figure 33-39 of page xxxii-xxxv) (Gifford, 1923, 1929; Collocott, 1927a, 1927b, 1928).”

Even though there is a particular *kava* and village for every *hou'eiki* individually, the *Taumafa Kava* is the highest of all, which implies that Ata as the *Pule 'o e Fonua* can further refer to '*Pule 'o e kava*', 'Ruler of *kava*', but broadly not about the land and people, which sounds paradoxical to a certain extent. However, the *Pule 'o e Fonua* for land and people is only the King, Tu'i Kanokupolu Himself and no one else, in accordance to *Tala 'o*

Lo'au. Pāhulu (2010), a *matāpule* of Ata during our *talanoa* in 2010 confirmed to me this distinction between Ata as the *Pule 'o e Fonua* of the *Taumafa Kava*, or *Pule 'o e kava*, in particular, and *Pule 'o e Fonua* to all the land and people by His Majesty.

I have treated the rest of the four senses of *fonua* in unison as the narrow sense in contrast to its broader sense of *fonua* as land-people. As it said before, Māhina (1992, 2006, 2011b, 2011c), Tu'itahi (2005), Francis (2006) and Ka'ili (2008a) have talked of only about the three senses of *fonua*, while this study has suggested that there are five of them altogether. For these scholars, there is *fonua* the land-people, the placenta of a women and *fonua* the grave for the dead. In my case, there are five senses: *fonua* the land-people, which I have called the broader sense; *fonua* the placenta, the grave, the root-cap and *fonua* the *kava* ceremony as the narrow sense. Francis (2006) briefly mentions *fonua* the root-cap without discussing *fonua* the *kava* ceremony; and Helu (1999) and Filihia (1998) have never included the word *fonua* in their entire discussions of *kava* ceremony. In addition, I would like to encompass some general discussions of the distinction and relation of *Taumafa Kava*, *Royal Kava*, *'ilo kava*, chiefly *kava* and *kava 'a kainga*, extended family *kava* but in the light of Hu'akau's (2011a, 2011b, 2011c) interpretation (see Figure 33-39 of page xxxii-xxxv).

4.5.2. *Tala Hau, Tala 'Alofi and Tala Fatongia*

Hu'akau (1989, 2010, 2011a, 2011b) explains that Lo'au Taputoka created three main *kava* ceremonies in the beginning: *Tala Hau* for the *Taumafa Kava*, *Tala 'Alofi* for the *hou'eiki* or *'ilo kava* and *Tala Fatongia* or *kava 'a kainga* (*kava* of extended family) for the extended family (*kainga*). *Tala* is 'to tell', *Hau* stands for 'Kings' especially the *Ha'a Tu'i Takalaua* and *Tu'i Kanokupolu*. *'Alofi* is 'circle', *fuopotopoto*, or curve, *ngaofe*, of the *kava* ceremony. I do not accept this in full. This is mainly because the word *Hau* was never applied to the *Tu'i Tonga* but only the *Tu'i Takalaua* and *Tu'i Kanokupolu*, so *Tala Hau* was probably just a title, *hingoa fakanofa*, for such two Kingly lines. Māhina (1992), Vānisi (1999) and 'Ilaiu (2007) discuss this distinction on *Hau* with its traditional application and reference only to the *Ha'a Tu'i Takalaua* and *Tu'i Kanokupolu*. Apart from this difference in viewpoints, Hu'akau (1989, 2011a) has provided some meaningful explanations regarding the national classification of *fatongia* within *kava* ceremony (see Figure 33-39 of page xxxii-xxxv).

All were formulated mainly for the perpetuation and promotion of political and social harmony, *maau*, in the status quo and *fiefia* for society at large. Normally, the *Tala Hau* was organized to play three major roles: one was to discuss matters of great importance on the national level; two was to check and balance how power, *mafai*, and *fatongia* were operated in

all other social levels; and third was to allow and gather the flow of information back and forth between its forum and the *Tala 'Alofi, Tala Fatongia*. The *Tala 'Alofi* looked after the district matters and sometime villages of the *hou'eiki*, as well as, a social mediator, *fakafofonga*, between the *Tala Hau* and the *Tala Fatongia*, and *Tala Fatongia* looked after *fatongia* of individual *kainga* within the villages in according to *ha'a* division (Hu'akau, 1989, 2010, 2011a, 2011b).

Hu'akau (1989, 2011a, 2011b) said that in those days the flow of information from the bottom of the *Tala Fatongia* through the *Tala 'Alofi* up to the top of *Tala Hau* was well organized, which helped the leaders to make sound decisions for running and controlling society. *Tala Hau* was concerned more with making decision for the rest of society based on the information from *Tala 'Alofi* and *Tala Fatongia*. Further, the seating arrangement in the *Taumafa Kava* or *Tala Hau* is different from *Tala 'Alofi* and *Tala Fatongia*, which is very material for the main *fatongia* in preserving *maau* of society (Mariner, 1817; Collocott, 1927a, 1928; Gifford, 1929; Newell, 1947; Kaepler, 1967, Bott, 1982; Biersack, 1982, 1990; Herda, 1987; Māhina, 1992, 2011b; Wood-Ellem, 1999).

The Tu'i Kanokupolu and all his *hou'eiki* and their *matāpule* constitute the '*alofi* of the *Taumafa Kava* on the national level, as well documented and discussed by Collocott (1927a, 1927b), Gifford (1929), Newell (1947) and Bott, (1982). For the *Tala 'Alofi*, it is either one *hou'eiki* with a number of his *matāpule* or a few *hou'eiki* with their *matāpule*. In the situation of *Tala Fatongia*, it is only the head, '*ulumotu'a*, of a *kainga* with his own kin-members and his *matāpule* belonging to their chiefs and Kings.

With the last two *kava* circles, other people can participate but not in the *Tala Hau*. The latter is largely confined to the King's principal *matāpule*, *hou'eiki* and their *matāpule* to form the whole '*alofi*, circle, and selected people from different *ha'a* to help with certain duties like preparing the food and *kava* beverage for the *Taumafa Kava* (Hu'akau, 1989, 2010, 2011a, 2011b).

It is a special *fatongia* which is only conducted by members of the *Ha'a* Ngatamotu'a under the direction of chief Ata, *Pule 'o e Fonua*. Another *fatongia* of this *ha'a* is that they are the body guards of the King and to ensure that all chiefs and their *matāpule* are seated on the right positions of the '*alofi*, and be very respectful to His Majesty and to one another with conjunction to *kava* protocols and customs. They are allowed to use clubs, *povai*, and spears, *tao*, while seating the *hou'eiki* and their *matāpule* to ensure everything is conducted in accordance to *Tala 'o Lo'au*, Tradition of Lo'au, and oral traditions, *tala*

tukufakaholo of the Tu'i Kanokupolu (Gifford, 1923, 1929; Collocott, 1927a 1928; Kaeppler, 1967; Bott, 1982; Māhina, 1992, Pāhulu, 2010). I observed them too with their *povai* and *tao* in the seating arrangement of the *Taumafa Kava* for the Coronation of King Tupou V in 2008 (see Figure 33-39 of page xxxii-xxxv).

4.5.2.1. Seating arrangement and *fatongia*

Collocott (1927b) explains *fatongia* in *Taumafa Kava* and some of the chiefly seating arrangement in according to traditional *fatongia*, political power, *mafaipule*, social rank, *langilangi*, and blood relationship, *fēkau'aki fakata'ata'a*, to the King. His Majesty always presides on the top-front position of the 'alofi or 'ring' in Collocott's (1927a, 1927b) words. Seating arrangement and individual *fatongia* of *hou'eiki* and their *matāpule*, and their *ha'a*, reflect different *mafaipule*, *langilangi* and *fēkau'aki fakata'ata'a* in the present system of the Tu'i Kanokupolu with His Constitutional Monarchy. *Taumafa Kava* is like the traditional parliament with its Kingly title, *Huafa fakanofa*, as Tu'i Kanokupolu with the ancient customary rules based on the *Tala 'o Lo'au*, on one hand (*huafa*, instead of *hingoa*, is used only for His Majesty) (Gifford, 1923, 1929; Collocott, 1927a, 1927b, 1928; Māhina, 1992; Helu, 1999, 2008; Pāhulu, 2010).

On the other hand, the present Constitutional Monarchy has a parliament and His Majesty's *Huafa fakanofa* is King George Tupou V under the influence of the British Westminster system. There are also different *fatongia* for the two political systems, but my focus is just with the ancient type in the context of *Taumafa Kava* throughout the Pangai ovals. The latter is the general name for any green oval, *mala'e*, of the Tu'i Kanokupolu. *Taumafa Kava* is always held in one of the Pangai, which are scattered throughout the capitals of different districts, *vāhenga*, in the Kingdom. In the *Taumafa Kava* of the present Kingly line, *Ha'a Tu'i Kanokupolu* or King George V, its other traditional full name is called *Taumafa Kava Fakamuifonua*, whereas the *Taumafa Kava* of the ancient King line, Tu'i Tonga, was known as *Taumafa Kava Fakalotomu'a*. Also *Fakamuifonua* and *Fakalotomu'a* are alluded specifically to the ways in which *kava* are aesthetically mixed with dance, *faiva haka*, of *milolua*, in both *kava* circles, without music, *hiva*, as I have alluded to before. In both *Taumafa Kava*, *kava* is mixed in a dance manner, *milolua fakamuifonua* and *milolua fakalotomu'a*, by the *kava* mixer, *tou'a*, with exceptionally rhythmic patterns, *kupesi tā-vā*, of coordinated beautiful hands *haka*, head *haka* and facial movements while mixing the substance, *fonua*, with water in the *kumete*, *kava* bowl. Again we have the word *fonua* in *Fakamuifonua* of the Tu'i Kanokupolu. The word *Fakamuifonua* stands for the western

peninsula part of Tongatapu which is regarded as the traditional residence of the Tu'i Kanokupolu before they moved down to their current residence in the capital of Nuku'alofa around the 18th Century. For the Tu'i Tonga *Taumafa Kava*, the word *Fakalotomu'a* literally refers to the midst of Mu'a, the capital and residence of this old dynasty (see Figure 33-39 of page xxxii-xxxv) (Gifford, 1923, 1929; Collocott, 1927a, 1927b, 1928; Newell, 1947; Lehā'uli, 1985, 1986, 1987; Māhina, 1992, 2011b, 2011c; Helu, 1999, 2008; Wood-Ellem, 1999, Pāhulu, 2010).

In the *Taumafa Kava Fakamuifonua*, there are principal issues which are required to be addressed with conjunction to *fatongia* and *fonua*, which are both considered as two interrelated phenomena, and also both are Moanan-Tongan worldviews to life. One of the principal conceptions in the *Taumafa Kava Fakamuifonua* is the meaning of seating of the King, *hou'eiki* and their *matāpule* with reference to their political power, *mafaipule*, social rank, *langilangi*, and blood relationship, *fekau'aki fakata'ata'a*. Seating arrangement is also related to individual *fatongia* of every *hou'eiki* with their individual *ha'a* and *kainga*. This *Taumafa Kava* or *Tala Hau* since Lo'au Taputoka up to the end of the Civil War under the victory of King George Taufa'ahau Tupou I in the 19th Century has not allowed Western and modern influences to enter into its traditional protocols and ways of doing things. It is still purely ancient and traditional in all facets with no Christian, Western and modern influence on this formal level. From the *Tala 'Alofi* or *'ilo kava* of the *hou'eiki* to all other formal and informal kava, there are already intrusions and new arrangement by some of the Lo'au or major reforms of the previous monarchs since King Tupou I. Nevertheless, last of the principal issue I would like to address is the cultural and aesthetic importance of public speech, *malanga*, in the *Taumafa Kava*, and its relation to *fiefia* in *fatongia* with its climaxed elation of *tauēlangi* and *'alaha kakala* (see Figure 33-39 of page xxxii-xxxv) (Gifford, 1923, 1929; Collocott, 1927a, 1928; Newell, 1947; Kaepler, 1967; Lātūkefu, 1974, 1975; Bott, 1982; Pāhulu, 2010; Māhina, 1992, 2011b, 2011c, Hu'akau, 2011a, 2011b).

With the first part of seating arrangement in conjunction to *mafaipule*, *langilangi* and *fekau'aki fakata'ata'a*, on top-front position of the circle, *fuopotopoto* or *'alofi*, presiding the King with His chiefs, *hou'eiki*, and chief's orator, *matāpule*, on both left and right sides, *fasi*, of the *'alofi* which is the top-front curve, *ngaofe*. Interestingly, every *ngaofe* has its individual ritual names, such as *olovaha*, top-front presiding, for the King, *'apa'apa* (*'o e Hau*), right-hand and left-hand of the *olovaha*, for His two principal *matāpule*, Motu'apuaka and Lauaki (*Hau* here is another name for the *olovaha* of the Tu'i Kanokupolu). Only Motu'apuaka and Lauaki are allowed to give command in the *Taumafa Kava*. Motu'apuaka is

responsible for happy occasion or *fatongia*, *kātoanga* or *faifatongia fiefia*, and Lauaki for funeral and sad *kātoanga* or *fatongia*. Next to them on both left and right are called *fasi* ‘*alofi*’ (*fasi* means ‘part of a curve’) for *hou’eiki* who are Ve’ehala of Fāhefa on the left and Ma’afu Tukui’aulahi of Vainī on the right. The main ‘*alofi*’ from the ‘*apa’apa*’ of Lauaki and Motu’apuaka comes to an end, and then the two *fasi* ‘*alofi*’ beginning with Ve’ehala of *Ha’a* Ngatamotu’a and Ma’afu of *Ha’a* Havea Lahi (Gifford, 1923, 1929; Collocott, 1927a, 1927b, 1928; Newell, 1947; Kaeppler, 1967; Lātūkefu, 1974, 1975; Bott, 1982, 1987; Pāhulu, 2010; Māhina, 1992, 2011b, 2011c, Hu’akau, 2011a, 2011b).

Then comes the two *fasi tapu*, sacred curve, for chiefs Ata on the left *fasi* and Vaha’i on the right both from *Ha’a* Ngatamotu’a (‘police guards’ of the ceremony, also known as ‘*kulī le’o*’, ‘watch-dogs’). Their *ha’a* are the body-guards, *kau le’o*, of the *Taumafa Kava* and *kava* mixers, *tou’a*. Apart from Motu’apuaka and Lauaki, Vaha’i and Ata, with their men like Kapukava and Lātūkefu can talk if they think someone breaches the *kava* protocol, and their *kau le’o* can remove such a person out totally from the ‘*alofi*’. Teaching and instructing *kava* participants in *Taumafa Kava* and ‘*ilo kava*’ are well disciplined. Next to Vaha’i and Ata are the *fasi tou’a* which are Kapukava on the left and Momotu on the right again from *Ha’a* Ngatamotu’a, together with Lātūkefu from *Ha’a* Lātūkefu, a sub-*ha’a* of *Ha’a* Ngatamotu’a and *Ha’a* Tu’i Kanokupolu, and then finally comes the *tou’a*, *kava* mixers again from *Ha’a* Ngatamotu’a. Some said that *Ha’a* Lātūkefu is not a sub-*ha’a* of *Ha’a* Ngatamotu’a but only the sub-*ha’a* of *Ha’a* Tu’i Kanokupolu (see Figure 33-39 of page xxxii-xxxv) (Gifford, 1923, 1929; Collocott, 1927a, 1927b, 1928; Newell, 1947; Lehā’uli, 1985, 1986, 1987; Māhina, 1992, 2011b, 2011c; Helu, 1999, 2008; Wood-Ellem, 1999, Pāhulu, 2010).

The two sub-*ha’a* of the Tu’i Kanokupolu, *Ha’a* Havea and *Ha’a* Ngata, occupy mostly the *fasi* ‘*alofi*’ and *fasitapu* encompassing the *fasi tou’a* and *tou’a*, and this is basically for security and blood connection reasons. There are very important parts in the ‘*alofi*’ that must be well protected for the security of His Majesty, *olovaha* and the *tou’a*. For the former, it is where the King presides and for the latter is where the *kava* beverage is mixed. In the *olovaha*, most of the chiefs sitting at the ‘*alofi*’ after the two ‘*apa’apa*’ of Motu’apuaka and Lauaki are from the Tu’i Kanokupolu’s sub-*ha’a* like *Ha’a* Ngatamotu’a and Havea Lahi. So, the *olovaha* and *tou’a* are seated and protected by their own sub-*ha’a*, and this re-arrangement, or Lo’au, of the *Taumafa Kava* was engineered by King George Taufa’ahau Tupou I after the Civil War in the 19th Century (Collocott, 1927a, 1928; Gifford, 1929; Newell, 1947; Lehā’uli, 1985, 1986, 1987; Māhina, 1992, 2011b, 2011c; Helu, 1999, 2008; Wood-Ellem, 1999, Pāhulu, 2010).

Moreover, all of the *hou'eiki* and their *matāpule* possess most, if not all, of the three characters above, be it *mafaipule*, *langilangi* or *fekau'aki fakata'ata'a*, or all of them. For instance, on the left 'alofi next to the King presiding on the top-front position is Lauaki (the King's left principal *matāpule*) of Talafo'ou from *Ha'a Maliepō*, and then Luani of Malāpo from *Ha'a Vaea*, a sub-*ha'a* of *Ha'a Tu'i Takalaua*, with his *matāpule*, then Lavaka of Pea from *Ha'a Havea Lahi*, Fielakepa of Haveluloto from *Ha'a Havea Lahi* and then chief Tu'ivakanō of Nukunuku again from *Ha'a Havea Lahi*. Lauaki is the leader of *Ha'a Maliepō* whose main *fatongia* is to take care of the *kava* ceremony and *fatongia* in funerals and sad occasion of the King and the Royal House. The other chiefs with their *ha'a* all have their own funeral *matāpule* too, and likewise in the situation of happy occasion and *fatongia* with its leading *matāpule* Motu'apuaka and his *Ha'a Molofafa* or *Faleha'akili* (Collocott, 1927a, 1927b; Gifford, 1929; Newell, 1947; Lehā'uli, 1985, 1986, 1987; Māhina, 1992, 2006, 2011c; Helu, 1999, 2008; Wood-Ellem, 1999, Pāhulu, 2010; Kaeppler, 1967; Bott, 1982; Vānisi, 1999; 'Ilaiu, 2007, Taliai, 2007).

As reflected earlier, Luani is from *Ha'a Tu'i Takalaua* but it is now called *Ha'a Vaea*, and their main *fatongia* is to help the *Ha'a Havea* and *Ha'a Ngata* with the preparation of food for the *Taumafa Kava*. Lavaka, Tu'ivakanō, Fielakepa and all other chiefs like Fohe of Puke and their 'ulu, Ma'afu Tukui'aulahi of Vainī, are chiefs from *Ha'a Havea Lahi*, and their main *fatongia* is to prepare foods, pigs and *kava toho* with its root-cap, *fonua*. All of these chiefs of *Ha'a Havea Lahi* were originally from the Tu'i Kanokupolu *Havea Mataele*. Lauaki was originally from the *Maliepō* line which was one of the first *Falefā*, Daily Advisors of Tu'i Tonga 'Aho'eitu, the first of this Kingly line. Luani is from the *Ha'a Vaea* who were the off-shoot of the Tu'i Tonga Kau'ulufonua Fekai in the 15th Century, and the *Ha'a Havea Lahi* was from the Tu'i Kanokupolu who were the off-shoot from Tu'i Takalaua Mo'ungamotu'a in the 17th Century. All of them are then related by blood, *ta'ata'a*, in one way or another to King Tupou V, and also to Lo'au Taputoka through Nua and other Royal and chiefly weddings like Papa-ki-Ha'amea of Lo'au 'Aokatoa with *Havea Mataele* the 3rd Tu'i Kanokupolu (Gifford, 1923, 1929; Bott, 1982; Biersack, 1982; Herda, 1987; Campbell, 1992, Māhina, 1992; Vānisi, 1999; 'Ilaiu, 2007, Taliai, 2007).

In the *Taumafa Kava* or *Tala Hau*, there are 33 *hou'eiki* with Noble titles, *hingoa fakanofa Nōpele*, under the present Constitutional Monarchy, and the rest are petty chiefs, 'eiki si'i, chiefly brothers, *tauhi Fonua*, and chief's orators, *matāpule*. All are related by blood to one or all of the main three Kingly lines including *Ha'a Lo'au*. Each of the 33 chiefs/Nobles has a *matāpule* and this encompasses the King's principal *matāpule* with the leaders of

Motu'apuaka and Lauaki. All the *tauhi fonua* who have people and lands are known under the Constitution as *Matāpule Ma'utofi'a*, Chiefs' Orators with Estates. Even though they were originally chiefly brothers, *tauhi fonua*, under the Constitutional Monarch they are referred to as *Matāpule Ma'utofi'a*. It is to ensure that they are not confused with the chiefs of Noble titles, *hingoa Nōpele fakanofu*. There are currently 6 *Matāpule Ma'utofi'a* under the Constitutional Land Laws (Lātūkefu, 1974, 1975; Helu 2008).

This is similar to the distinction among the word chiefs or *hou'eiki* in the Constitution and its Laws, there are Chiefs without Estate, '*Eiki Ta'ema'utofi'a*', and '*Eiki Ma'utofi'a*', Chiefs with Estates, who are the 33 belonging to the Constitutional Noble titles. All of them are under the *ha'a* and each *ha'a* has its own *kainga* which are constituted of their district and village people of commoners, *tu'a*. In my view, all Tongans and part-Tongans are belonged to one of these *ha'a* through their fathers. Belonging to a *ha'a* is based on the fathers' *ha'a*, even though Gifford (1929) gives evidence on some female *ha'a* in the time of the Tu'i Tonga dynasty based on the social rank, *langilangi*, of the Tu'i Tonga Fefine and Tamahā. With Tongans of non-Tongan fathers, they have to follow the *ha'a* of their maternal grandfathers (Mariner, 1817, Gifford, 1923; Kaeppler, 1967, Lātūkefu, 1974, 1975, 1977; Biersack, 1982, 1990; Herda, 1987, 1990; Māhina, 1992, 2006; Helu, 1999, 2008; 'Ilaiu, 2007, Taliai, 2007). This brings the discussion to the notion of *ha'a* in Tongan history, which was predominantly a socio-political belonging of the *Ha'a* Tu'i Takalaua and Tu'i Kanokupolu, whereas *Sina'e* and *Falefā* were central to the ancient Tu'i Tonga domestic compound.

4.5.3. *Ha'a* and *Sina'e* background

At the present, there are 16 *ha'a* without counting the *Ha'a* Tu'i Kanokupolu, and all must have representatives in the *Taumafa Kava* or *Tala Hau*. This is my own classification, differently from those by Gifford (1929) and Volkel (2010) who has followed the former. In all of their accounts they have missed out to record and discuss certain *ha'a*. Gifford (1929: 33-38) does not include the *Ha'a* Moheofo, Ma'afu, Havea Si'i and *Ha'a* Lātūkefu. The following *ha'a* are those which I believe that are still in motion and function since King George Taufa'ahau Tupou I. There is the *Ha'a Moheofo* alluding to just His Majesty Tu'i Kanokupolu, and it is the highest of all *ha'a* in the Kingdom, and He is also the Crown of the current Constitutional Monarchy with its Western Royal Title of King George Tupou V. He holds too the traditional Kingly titles, *Huafa fakanofu*, of *Ha'a Moheofo* and *Ha'a* Tu'i Kanokupolu. People in formal public speech of *malanga* sometimes refer to both the King and Queen in the time of King Tupou IV as the *Ha'a Moheofo* (the present King George Tupou V

their eldest son is still single), but in the context of the *Taumafa Kava* it should be just alluded only to the persona of the Tu'i Kanokupolu. The *Ha'a Ma'afu* with their leader, 'ulu, is Tupouto'a (Crown Prince with estate) and it includes all the Royal members except the King with His own *Ha'a Moheofo* and *Ha'a Tu'i Kanokupolu*. The Queen should be belonged to the *Ha'a Ma'afu*, and occasionally to the *Ha'a Moheofo* if she is in the presence of the Tu'i Kanokupolu or His Majesty in the case of King Taufa'ahau Tupou IV. She is also not 'a *Moheofo* by tradition (a term used only for the principal wife of the ancient Tu'i Tonga) who was the eldest daughter initially of the *Ha'a Tu'i Takalaua*, and later on the Tu'i Kanokupolu. Prior to the *Moheofo* was the employment of the *Ma'itaki* title for the principal wives of the Tu'i Tonga who were selected within and from Tonga and overseas from chiefly and beautiful young women of different social and cultural backgrounds (Collocott, 1927a, 1927b; Gifford, 1929; Newell, 1947; Kaeppler, 1967; Bott, 1982; Māhina, 1992; Burley, 2005; 'Ilaiu, 2007; Taliai, 2007; Helu, 2008; Pāhulu, 2010; Volkel, 2010).

The *Ha'a Tu'i Tonga* of ancient time still use their ancient nick name of *Kauhala'uta*, Inland-leeward, in the current Tu'i Kanokupolu system, which symbolizes the inland residential areas of this ancient Kingly dynasty at Mu'a in the eastern part of the main island Tongatapu. The Tu'i Kanokupolu and Takalaua are the *Kauhalalalo*, Coastal-leeward. With the *Kauhala'uta* today it still includes the ancient Tu'i Tonga Line of *Sina'e* instead of *ha'a*. The 'ulu of *Kauhala'uta* and the *Sina'e* is chief Kalaniuvalu-Fotofili (Noble and chief of the Royal House with estate), who is a direct descendant of the last ancient Tu'i Tonga Line of Fatafehi Senalio Laufilitonga. There are three *Sina'e*: *Sina'e-'eiki*, *Sina'e-the-chief*, *Sina'e 'Eiki-kimu'a*, *Sina'e-the-first-chief*, and *Sina'e 'eiki-ki-mui*, *Sina'e-the-later-chief* of the *Kauhala'uta* line of Kalaniuvalu (younger brothers of his Tu'i Tonga Line). Currently, there are only the *Sina'e-'eiki-kimu'a* and *Sina'e-'eiki-kimui*. There is the *Ha'a Talafale* with Tu'i Pelehake as their 'ulu (Noble and Prince of the Royal House with estate). Then there is the *Ha'a Falefisi* with Tu'ilakepa as their 'ulu (Noble with estate). There is the *Ha'a Vaea* with chief Tungī as their 'ulu (Noble and Prince of the Royal House with estate). There is the *Ha'a Ngatamotu'a* with 'Ahio (chief without Noble title and estate) as their 'ulu, even though *Ata* (Noble and Prince of the Royal House with estate), the *Pule 'o e Fonua* is mostly appeared as the active leader especially in his *fatongia* at the *Tala Hau*.

There is the *Ha'a Ngatatupu* with 'Ulukalala as their 'ulu (Noble and Prince, and future Crown Prince). There is the *Ha'a Havea Lahi* with Ma'afu Tukui'aulahi as their 'ulu (Noble with estate). There is the *Ha'a Havea Si'i* and Ika as their 'ulu (*tauhi fonua* and petty chief). There is the *Ha'a Lātūhifo* and Nuku as their 'ulu (Noble with estate). There are the

Ha'a Māliepo of Lauaki and Molofaha (or Faleha'akili) of Motu'apuaka. There is the *Ha'a* Fokololo-'o-e-Hau with 'Akau'ola as their 'ulu, even though in most public appearances and occasions chief Tuita (Noble with estate) is their active leader as in the case of Ata and 'Ahio of Ha'a Ngatamotu'a (Tuita the husband of the only sister, *tuofefine*, of King Tupou V, Princess Sālote Mafile'o Pilolevu Tuita). There is the *Ha'a* Lātūkefu with Lātūkefu as their 'ulu (Mariner, 1817; Collocott, 1927a, 1927b, 1928; Gifford, 1929; Newell, 1947; Lātūkefu, 1974, 1975, 1977; Bott, 1982; Biersack, 1982, 1990; Herda, 1987, 1990; Māhina, 1992, 2006; Vānisi, 1999; Burley, 2005; 'Ilaiu, 2007; Taliai, 2007; Pāhulu, 2010; Volkel, 2010).

With the above explanations, I would like to make a few comments before proceeding on. Firstly, chiefs Tuita and Ata are seen more in public behaving as the 'ulu of *Ha'a* Fokololo-'o-e-Hau and Ngatamotu'a for two main reasons. Firstly, their lines since ancient times are more 'eiki or chiefly than the 'ulu of their individual *ha'a*, 'Akau'ola and 'Ahio. Their lines were more warrior-like as well. Secondly, Motu'apuaka and Lauaki are *matāpule* in the presence of the King, but with their own *ha'a* they are *hou'eiki*, chiefs, but not Nobles, in the eyes of their own *matāpule* and people. This is the same in the situation of *Matāpule Ma'utofi'a*, like Fotu of Leimātu'a and 'Akauola of Hunga. Thirdly, the *Sina'e* were the younger brothers of the Tu'i Tonga with the same mother (*Ma'itaki* but not *Moheofo*), and the term *ha'a* was not applied to them. His real brothers of the same *Ma'itaki* with *fekau'aki fakata'ata'a*, blood relationship, were grouped under the *Sina'e* (Gifford, 1923, 1929; Collocott, 1927a, 1927b, 1928; Bott 1982; Lehā'uli, 1985, 1986, 1987, 1988; Helu, 2008).

4.5.3.1. Definitions of *Ha'a*, *Sina'e*, *Falefā*

I think *Sina'e* was probably adopted in the first place by Tongans from the Samoan word *Sina e*, which literally means 'there is a beautiful woman', in contrast to the term *ha'a* thought it is again from 'sa' in Samoan as well, which means, 'chiefly titles', 'matai', or chiefly lineages. This could be possible because there were about 5 beautiful Samoan chiefly women of highly social ranking backgrounds who were the *Ma'itaki*, principal wives, of 6 Tu'i Tonga from between the 13th Century to the 16th Century. In Tonga, moreover, *ha'a* consists of two main divisions, in according to Māhina (1992, 2006) and Helu (1987, 1999, 2008), in which Vānisi (1999), 'Ilaiu (2007) and Taliai (2007) have later on followed and expanded in their own languages of interpretation.

Ha'a therefore refers to "individual groups that were constituted of chiefly or Kingly brothers, and their individual titles were named either after their fathers or elder male siblings," to employ Helu (1987, 1999, 2008) and Māhina's (1992, 2006) definitions. I take

this as its narrow definition, as seen in the case of *Ha'a* Ngatamotu'a or Ngatatupu and *Ha'a* Havea Lahi or Havea Si'i naming after the first and third Tu'i Kanokupolu, Ngata and Havea Mataele. *Ha'a* also stands "for all *fatongia* of different Specialized Lineages, like *Ha'a Tūfunga Vaka*, Specialists on Boat-Construction, and *Ha'a Tūfunga Tātātau*, Specialists on Tattoo." This sense could be call its broader definition because its scope is wider and general than the narrow definition (Mariner, 1817; Collocott, 1927a, 1927b; Gifford, 1929; Newell, 1947; Bott, 1982; Biersack, 1982, 1990; Vānisi, 1999; 'Ilaiu, 2007; Taliai, 2007).

So, it seems that the word *Sina'e* was more pleasingly and majestically appropriate to apply only to the brothers of the Tu'i Tonga, on one hand. The brothers of the *Ha'a* Tu'i Takalaua and Tu'i Kanokupolu with their *hou'eiki* were/are called *tauhi fonua*. *Sina'e* were only younger male children of the Tu'i Tonga and His principal wife, *Ma'itaki*, with the exclusion of the eldest male (whom to be the next Tu'i Tonga), but not with the *Mohefo* from the Tu'i Takalaua and Tu'i Kanokupolu. *Ma'itaki* were mainly selected from beautiful/chiefly women inside and outside Tonga from different social and cultural backgrounds, where *Mohefo* were selected only from the eldest daughters first of the *Ha'a* Tu'i Takalaua and then later on from the Tu'i Kanokupolu. Another closest male group to the Tu'i Tonga was the *Falefā*, Four Houses, instead of *ha'a*. Their *fatongia* were advisors on daily and local affairs of the Tu'i Tonga in His domestic compound, differently from the national, regional and cultural advisory *fatongia* of the *Ha'a* Lo'au and the national and regional administrative *fatongia* of the *Ha'a* Tu'i Takalaua and Tu'i Kanokupolu. Also, theirs were different from the administrative *fatongia* of the Tu'i Takalaua and Tu'i Kanokupolu in conducting national and local collection of productions or resources of society and the Empire for the Tu'i Tonga as in the case of *'Inasi*. It was the Annual Religious Festival of collecting the best and first productions of society to the Tu'i Tonga and His goddess Havea Hikule'o, which was later on conducted twice a year. King George Taufā'ahau Tupou I banned *'Inasi* altogether in the 19th Century after the Civil War encompassing most of the ancient rituals and religious activities (Mariner, 1817, Collocott, 1927a, 1928; Gifford, 1929; Newell, 1947; Bott, 1982; Biersack, 1982, 1990; Lehā'uli, 1985, 1986, 1987, 1988; Vānisi, 1999; 'Ilaiu, 2007; Taliai, 2007).

With the *Falefā*, its appointment was not based on *fekau'aki fakata'ata'a* but specialized skills and wisdoms rather, and its members were largely foreigners in origin. *Ha'a* in the compound of the Tu'i Tonga was generally used and applied only to the male descendants from the Tu'i Tonga Fefine, as in the case of the *Ha'a* Falefisi and also Specialist Lineages or Art Experts like *Ha'a Tūfunga Nimatapu*, Undertakers, for Kingly and chiefly funerals. Later on some changes had happened to their content, *who*, without modifying the

form, *fu*, in the context of the three Kingly Lines and their chiefs and orators in the *Taumafa Kava*. The *fu* of individual *fatongia* in the *Taumafa Kava* or *Tala Hau* since Lo’au Taputoka and Momo has been structured purposely to perpetuate and preserve the social rank, *langilangi*, political power, *mafaipule*, and blood relationship, *fekau’aki fakata’ata’a*, of chiefs and Kings. This is still observable in all levels of *kava* ceremony today, regardless of the above differences in the case of *Falefā* and *ha’a* with relation to specialized skills. However, this has directed the discussion to propose a definition I have developed regarding the word Lo’au based on their history and contributions to *kava* circles and Moanan-Tongan culture at large since the 10th Century (Gifford, 1923, 1929; Collocott, 1927a, 1928; Newell, 1947; Bott, 1982; Biersack, 1982, 1990; Lehā’uli, 1985, 1986, 1987, 1988; Campbell, 1992; Māhina, 1992, 2006, 2011b; Helu, 1999; ‘Ilaiu 2007; Taliai, 2007).

4.5.3.2. Definition of Lo’au, and King George Tupou V

I was growing up in Tonga and always hearing of old people alluding to *kava* ceremony with two different but related words, Lo’au and *fonua*. Also I later came up with the view that the word Lo’au consists of two traditional related meanings, which I shared in a series of programs on Tongan National TV and Lali TV in Tonga during my visits in 2006, 2008 and 2010. In the narrow context, Lo’au refers “to the *fonua* of *kava* ceremony especially the *Tala Hau* of the Tu’i Kanokupolu, *Tala ‘Alofi* of chiefs, *hou’eiki*, and *Tala Fatongia* of the extended family, *kainga*.” Broadly, it points to “any major reform in the *Taumafa Kava* or culture, *anga fakafonua (taufatungamotu’a-e-fonua or tukutukulaumea)*, under the wish and consent of the Tu’i Kanokupolu, or Tu’i Tonga in ancient times. This is what Gifford (1929), Bott (1982), Herda (1987), Biersack (1982), Kaeppler (1967), Campbell (1992), Māhina (1992), Vānisi (1999) and Helu (2006, 2008) have alluded to as major waves of reform since the time of Tu’i Tonga Momo and Lo’au Taputoka. Their unified view of doubt is based on the uncertainty of whether there were still Lo’au title holders, *hingoa fakanofu*, after the second Lo’au Tongafusifonua (or Tongafisifonua). To the contrarily, I have suggested that there were about 30 Lo’au individuals between the 10th Century and 17th Centuries, including the three well-known among them who were Lo’au Taputoka, Tongafusifonua and ‘Aokatoa (Mālohi, 1890; Faupula, 1999).

When I attended the Coronation of the present King George Tupou V in 2008, however, I observed that there were many major changes, or Lo’au, conducted under the wish and consent of His Majesty. On a series of TV programs during the Coronation at the National TV Tonga and Lali TV, I shared with the nation my above definitions of Lo’au including other

issues like the ancient senses of *fonua* and *tūfunga*, and the significance of the *Taumafa Kava* in the Coronation (see Figure 33-39 of page xxxii-xxxv). Five major reforms, which I have called Lo'au, were delivered and announced by King Tupou V before the Coronation. Firstly, He decided to shorten the time of the *Taumafa Kava* for the first time in Tongan history from the normal hours of 7 to 8 long to just 2 1/2 hours. I was there watching the whole ceremony. Secondly, He cut down most of the traditional *fatongia* by different *ha'a* and their *kainga* from the villages like traditional preparation of the Royal and national feasts, *taumafa*, and dances, *faiva haka*, to be just conducted by His Nobles, siblings and close extended family, *kainga*.

The third Lo'au was the creation of a *ma'ulu'ulu*, sitting dance, of over 10, 000 children from almost all primary schools in the main island of Tongatapu. It was one of the biggest and largest dance groups in Tongan history. I was watching their performance too at Teufaiva Park, and I felt and watched the heavenly apex of *tauēlangi* and *'alaha kakala* in all levels from the performers, King and all the audience in the field. People and the King were so happy, and women and men were participated in the performance with money donation of *fakapale*, as a sign of climactic euphoria of *vela 'osi'osi*. In all the entertainments I attended during the Coronation, I think there were roughly 1 million dollars or more collected or received by people from this *fakapale* method as an expression of *vela 'osi'osi*. The fourth Lo'au was the announcement of some health reforms by His Majesty, including His un-announced surprising visit to the home of a young disabled child who was dying. This was not a common practice for the King to do, however the impact of this Royal visit and the health reforms created *vela* and *fiefia* among people in general. Then the last Lo'au He delivered was the formal announcement of the political reform for the Kingdom to move from the then Constitutional Monarchy to a more democratic system (Lātūkefu, 1974, 1975; Faka'osi, 1993; Ewins, 1995; Helu, 1999, 2008; Māhina, 2010c).

The last two major reforms on health and politics were the hallmark of the Coronation, and I was interviewed again by the National TV Tonga and Lali TV Program with Kalafi Moala on the following week afterward regarding my view on the above Lo'au. I spelled out very clearly my definition of Lo'au after examining its senses and employment in history. From the above five Lo'au, I believe that this present King is somehow aware of some elements of the notion of *fatongia fiefia* of *tauēlangi* and *'alaha kakala*. When I arrived three weeks before the Coronation, people especially taxi drives shared with me their frustrations, *hoha'a*, dissatisfaction, *ta'efiemālie*, and unhappiness, *ta'efiefia*, for both the King and the then Prime Minister, Dr Feleti Vaka'uta Sevele, on various matters since the riot in 2006. Such a riot destroyed about 80 % of the CBD in the capital of Nuku'alofa. The moral

lesson in this political disharmony, *ta'emaau*, is that, when things are extremely *hu'atāmaki*, bitter-liquid-taste, *kanotāmaki*, bitter-flesh-taste, and *ta'eifo*, tasteless, political leaders must quickly find out solutions to make the whole situation tastes *hu'amelie*, *kanomelie* and *ifo* (Ewins, 1995; Helu, 1999, 2008; Vānisi, 1999; Pohiva, 2006, 2008; Taliai, 2007; Māhina, 2006, 2010c).

This was basically because people wanted and demanded democracy for about 20 years but the King and his late father, King Tupou IV, with Dr Sevele have delayed the process several times (Pohiva, 2006, 2008; Helu 1999, 2008; Māhina, 2006, 2010c). As a consequence, people were extremely *ta'efiefia*, unhappy, *ta'efiemālie*, dissatisfaction, and *hoha'a*, anxiety, up to a point where they gathered in the capital and destroyed almost everything. Everything for them was smelled awful, *namu kū*, and ugly, *palakū*. Nothing was 'alaha kakala and no *hu'amelie*, *kanomelie* and *ifo* with *fiefia*. Māhina (2010c) discusses in brief how this crisis in Tonga erupted as a result of conflict and the reluctance to provide any immediate solution of *hu'amelie* to make the *hu'akona* turns into *maau*, harmony, and *nonga*, serenity.

However, after the five Lo'au of Tupou V, all I could hear from people and taxi drivers until I left Tonga for Australia that He is the best of all the Constitutional monarchs since King George Taufa'ahau Tupou I in the 19th Century. The leaders of the prodemocracy and their followers were extremely excited when receiving the Royal announcement of political reform on Wednesday before the Coronation on Friday and Saturday of the same week. They then included the King's photo on their Coronation's Gate at Tofoa village with beautiful decorations including chiefly permeating garlands, *kakala hingoa*. It was the best and most stunning Gate of the Coronation. This encompassed a feast, *kai fakaafe*, which I attended and observed how they showed their *fiefia* in the divine manner of *tauēlangi* and 'alaha kakala. Everyone felt *māfana* and *vela 'osi'osi* for such a political news of great significance, and everything was 'alaha kakala as well.

All such five major reforms, Lo'au, consequently lessened certain traditional values and behaviours, which King Tupou V believed to still perpetuate certain elements of *fuakavenga*, burden-bear, rather than *fatongia*, obligation, with its *siate*, specific interest or aim, of *fiefia*, happiness. He is the first Monarch to believe that some of the traditional surviving *fatongia* from the first Constitutional Monarch, King Tupou I, are still practicing some *fuakavenga* elements to some extent. In general, He did not use the terms *fatongia* and *fuakavenga* in the manner unfolding here, but this is how I have interpreted His major reforms

of Lo'au. Nevertheless, some of the daily sayings regarding the words Lo'au and *fonua* in the situation of *kava* ceremony, and their traditional meanings discussed earlier in this dissertation, are as follows. “*Mālō ‘a e pukepuke’afūfula ‘a e fonua*”/“Thanks for the overall preservation of *kava* ceremony (in reference to men drinking *kava* in any social, political and cultural contexts).” Another expression is that, “*Ne fakahoko ‘a e Lo’au ‘e he Tama Tu’i ko Siaosi Tupou V ‘i Hono Hilifaki Kalauni*”/“King George Tupou V conducted a Lo'au, or major reform, during His Coronation.”

After the fall of the *Ha’a* Lo'au in the 17th Century, furthermore, the word Lo'au has been using with reference to any major reform happening to traditional *fatongia* in *Taumafa Kava*, Royal *Kava* Ceremony, or *kava* ceremony, as well as, culture generally, under the wishes and consents of Kings ruling in those periods. Queen Sālote Tupou III used the word Lo'au in Her reign, and according to Bott (1982), some of Her *matāpule*, orators, alluded to Her as the ‘Last Lo'au’ due to some of the major reforms She did in the *Taumafa Kava* and *anga fakafonua*, culture, at large. This can be seen also in the *faiva*, performance art, of *faiva lea*, oratory, in the situation of the formal speech of *malanga*.

4.5.4. *Malanga* with *tālanga*

I would now bring into the discussion the metaphoric-epiphoria, *heliaki*, and aesthetic of *malanga*, public speech, in the *fonua* of *Taumafa Kava* and in other *kava* circles with its variation in conjunction to *fatongia*. *Malanga* is not only a *faiva lea*, art of oratory, which is a performance art, *faiva*, but it is a *fatongia* too of certain chiefs and their *ha’a*. People perceive it as both a *faiva lea* and *fatongia* respectively, notably in the sense of *faka’ofo’ofa* previously suggested by Māhina (2010a), Māhina, et al (2010) and Ka’ili (2008a). As I have advocated too, *fatongia* is a practice with the *siate*, specific interest, of *fiefia*, *happiness*, because of its beautiful characteristics of *tauēlangi* and ‘*alaha kakala* encompassing their other variation or qualities. In metaphoric-epiphoric terms, both *faiva lea* and *fatongia* in the light of *malanga* must be both smelled beautifully and sweetly. *Malanga* traditionally means “to deliver a public speech without any interruption, in a *kava* ceremony.” It is normally conducted without interruption but after the *malanga* by the first *matāpule*, chief’s orator, then another *matāpule* can reply again in the manner of *malanga* either as a response in protocol terms or balance out some differences in views, *tālanga*, particularly if there is any un-balanced issue of dispute from the *malanga* of the former (Gifford, 1923, 1929; Collocott, 1927a, 1927b, 1928; Lehā’uli, 1986, 1987; Tākāpu, 1986, 1987; To’amalekini, 1986, 1987; Pāhulu, 2010).

The etymology of the word *tālānga* seems to be derived from *malānga*, and vice versa. With the former, the prefix ‘*tā*’ means ‘to beat, form or mark time’, and the root-word ‘*lānga*’ is ‘to balance out something’, so *tālānga* may mean ‘to mark or identify issues for the whole aim of balancing out difference in viewpoints.’” With the latter, the prefix ‘*ma*’ means ‘two people’ and the root-word ‘*lānga*’ is ‘to balance out something’, so *malānga* may stand for “a speech by a person to another person(s) for the main purpose of balancing out difference in viewpoints.” Traditionally, the fundamental issue of *tālānga* in *malānga* is not about telling the true and valid answers in scientific and philosophical senses, but a concern mostly with balancing out differences all for preserving *maau*, peace, and *fiefia*, happiness (Gifford, 1923, 1929; Collocott, 1927a, 1927b, 1928; Newell, 1947; Bott, 1982; Māhina, 1992; Helu, 2008).

In some situations, *tālānga* is a response by one *matāpule*, chief’s orator, to another *matāpule*’s *malānga*, with the main aim to equalize un-balanced information, which may cause *ta’emaau*, chaos, and *ta’efiemālie* in social relationship, *vā* or moral respect, *tauhivā*. It is therefore important then for a *malānga* to make sure that the message delivering must fall into the subsequent classification of preserving *maau*, order, otherwise a *tālānga* may happen as a consequence. It must be in a stage of humility, *faka’aki’akimui*, and fairness, *ta’efilifilimanako*, in the words of Helu (1999, 2008). Helu has explained that all these two characteristics aim to ensure that no *tālānga* will erupt in the normal course of a *malānga*. I have classified the latter into five characteristics instead, which will be discussed later in this sub-section.

Also Helu (2008) has added that *tālānga* is also a way of praising and elevating someone’s contributions to society in a respectful and uplifting manner. That is, it is a way expressing our profound respect for someone’s great works that are still beautifully *tongia*, sweet-smelling, after plucking a flower, and ‘*alaha kakala*, permeating fragrance, if that particular person has passed away or left us for another destination (Lehā’uli, 1986, 1987; Tākapu, 1986, 1987; To’amalekini, 1986, 1987). Likewise in the situation of a funeral ‘*ilo kava* if there is a *tālānga* about the ‘*alaha kakala* permeating from some past works of a deceased chief. It is a moment for two chief’s orators, *mātapule*, to recite and exchange their different opposing and relating opinions of such a deceased chief in the midst of the ‘*ilo kava* of his funeral wake. This was mainly for the purpose of balancing out information and news regarding such a chief in front of *kava* participants and people. I observed in 1986 one Royal *tālānga* of this nature in a *malānga* between the *mātapule* of the late King Taufa’ahau Tupou IV, To’amalekini and Tākapu, with Lehā’uli from *Ha’a* Talafale (Helu’s *ha’a*) at the graduation ceremony of ‘Atenisi University. Lehā’uli was from the ancient Tu’i Tonga Line

representing Helu and ‘Atenisi, and To’amalekini and Tākapu from the present Tu’i Kanokupolu representing His Majesty King Taufa’ahau Tupou IV.

This *tālānga* took over an hour or so, which affected the program of the graduation, but no one could distract and stop them because it is *tapu*, taboo, to do so in according to traditional protocols. It was about the issue of “why special guests of the day were allowed by Helu and ‘Atenisi to sit on the stage together with His Majesty.” “Why it was allowed, To’amalekini and Tākapu opposed to it, claiming that such guests should be seated on the ground, still on their chairs, together with the rest of the people. His Majesty should be just left on the stage alone without the other guests, because this is against the traditions of the *Ha’a* Tu’i Kanokupolu, for any guest to be seated together with His Majesty on the same level. I interviewed all of these *matāpule* for a paper on culture and *fatongia* with Helu in his Tongan culture course at ‘Atenisi University, and their information about the reasons for the *tālānga* was in line with the explanation above and also with that of Helu (Lafitani, 1986; Lehā’uli, 1986, 1987; Tākapu, 1986, 1987; To’amalekini, 1986, 1987; Helu 2008).”

Collocott (1927a, 1927b), Gifford (1929), Newell (1947) and Volkel (2010) have recorded and interpreted a few speech preludes, *fakatapu*, of *malānga* in the *Taumafa Kava* of both the ancient Tu’i Tonga and present Tu’i Kanokupolu, without examining their *faka’ofa’ofa*, beauty, and *heliaki*, metaphoric-epiphoric nature in thorough. Helu (1987, 1988, 1999, 2008), Māhina (1992, 2006, 2010a, 2011a) and Kaeppler (1967, 1990, 1999) are the masters in examining *heliaki* in Tongan culture. All have never brought into consideration what I would like to share in this sub-section on *fatongia* and its essence of *fiefia*. What such scholars have missed out is the importance of *malānga* with its *tālānga* in *fatongia* and the *fiefia* of *tauēlangi* and *‘alaha kakala*, as well as, my suggestion that *malānga* was probably formulated by *Ha’a* Lo’au in the beginning of *kava* culture for the main purpose of preserving harmony, *maau*.

In King Tupou V’s *Taumafa Kava* for His Coronation in 2008, I was listening to a *malānga* by Ata the *Pule ‘o e Fonua*, and it was beautifully and sweetly spoken in metaphoric-epiphoric style of *heliaki*. Its focus in the spirit of praising the cultural and historical importance of the day and the traditional significance of some fundamental aspects of the *Taumafa Kava* was its hallmark. There was no *tālānga* delivered, which is normally part of the protocol of the *Tala Hau*, and I was informed by Pāhulu (2010) of chief Ata that it was one of the changes, Lo’au, under the wish and consent of His Majesty. However, Fa’oa still spoke regarding the reefs and shore-flats, Tovi on the harvests and vegetation, and chief Ata on the

land and people. My next focus therefore is to discuss *malanga* in relation to *fatongia* of *fiefia* in *kava* ceremony with its metaphoric-epiphoric, *heliaki*, and aesthetic, *faka'ofa'ofa*, nature.

4.5.4.1. The characteristics of *malanga*

Traditionally, *malanga* is a word for public speech in *kava* ceremony, and it seems that the *Ha'a* Lo'au introduced it in the beginning of *kava* culture during the 10th Century in the midst of the reign of Tu'i Tonga Momo, as it partly reflected in the *Laulau 'o Kava'onau*, *Chant of Kava'onau*, by the first Lo'au Taputoka. In the course of this dissertation, I have found out that *malanga* was first used only in *kava* ceremony especially in the *Taumafa Kava* or *Tala Hau*, and then in the *Tala 'Alofi* or *'ilo kava* of the *hou'eiki*. Since the introduction of Christianity, such a word has been adopted and used by the Protestants in alluding to when preaching the gospel in a formal service. So, a preacher is then called *tangata* or *fefine malanga*, male or female preacher, as a derivative of *malanga* instead with reference to the formal preaching of the gospel on the pulpit. *Malanga* is therefore now used in two senses, firstly, for a *hou'eiki* or *matāpule* when delivering a public speech in a *Tala Hau*, *Tala 'Alofi*, and *Tala Fatongia*, as well as, a preaching by a Christian preacher in a formal church service. Now it is applied also to any public speech even though its use in *kava* and church are the well-known kinds. Studying *malanga* has consequently directed me to suggest that it consists of the main five subsequent characteristics. It must be fair in its preludes, *fakatapu ta'efilifilimanako*, humility, *faka'aki'akimui*, creative, *fakatupu fakakaukau*, warmth in spirit, *fakamāfana*, as well as, metaphoric-epiphoric, *heliaki*. Let me clarify each of them, which is my addition into Helu's (2008) classification and interpretation of *malanga* shown previously (Collocott, 1927b; Gifford, 1929; Newell, 1947; Bott, 1982; Lehā'uli, 1986, 1987; Tākapu, 1986, 1987; To'amalekini, 1986, 1987; Helu 2008; Pāhulu, 2010, Volkel, 2010).

Fakatapu ta'efilifilimanako stands “for preludes in a *malanga* which acknowledge the audience in fair and equal manners before delivering the main body of its content, *uho*.” Importantly, the chief's orator, *matāpule*, must deliver the *fakatapu* first in a fair manner, that is, all *ha'a*, *kainga*, *hou'eiki* and key leaders must be acknowledged first before delivering the main issue of content of the *malanga*. In a *malanga* either inside or outside the *kava* ceremony, this is one of its chief cornerstones. The rest of the speech will be based and judged by this inclusive and fair nature of the *fakatapu*. If the *fakatapu* is fair then normally people will be *fiefia* right from the beginning of the *malanga*. The theme behind *fakatapu*, I think, is to ensure that it is inclusive and fair straightaway from the beginning of the *malanga* to its main body, and to the end rather than exclusive and unfair (Collocott, 1927a, 1927b; Gifford,

1929; Newell, 1947; Bott, 1982; Lehā'uli, 1986, 1987; Tākapu, 1986, 1987; To'amalekini, 1986, 1987; Helu 2008; Pāhulu, 2010; Volkel, 2010).

Fakatapu is built on the following main aims: firstly, it must reflect that the orator is aware of who are his audience in a given ceremony, and secondly, it must reflect that he admires all of them in equal, *tatau*, and fair, *ta'efilifilimanako*, manner. Traditionally, it was prohibited to *malanga* without *fakatapu* in the *Tala Hau*, *Tala 'Alofi* and *Tala Fatongia*, and in their different variation like *kava mali* in wedding and *kava me'afaka'eiki* in funeral. The *matāpule* or *hou'eiki* must ensure that every *ha'a* is included in the *fakatapu*, with the spirit of making every member of the audience feel belonging to a given ceremony of *fatongia*, and this helps to maintain order. Every person should feel as part of the whole ceremony, which can also make them obligated or obliged to serve society at large. There is a Tongan expression that reflects this deep sense of belonging: “*Kau he lau*”, or inversely, “*Lau he kau*”/“To be included” (Collocott, 1927b, 1927b; Gifford, 1929; Newell, 1947; Bott, 1982; Lehā'uli, 1985, 1986, 1987, 1988; Tākapu, 1986, 1987; To'amalekini, 1986, 1987; Helu 2008; Pāhulu, 2010, Volkel, 2010).

After studying the literature and oral traditions, I have come to the conclusion that Tongan *fakatapu* in *malanga* is one of the most hierarchically yet inclusively beautiful organized preludes in Moana cultures and perhaps worldwide. It is extremely hierarchical in its order but yet equally inclusive also. Interestingly, everyone must be in a way treated equally in the *fakatapu* regardless of the fact that the King is hierarchically the 'ulu of the whole ceremony and Kingdom. In some situations, Tongans are very disappointed for not acknowledging and including in proper order in a *fakatapu*, which can lead on to breakdown of social and moral respect, *taudivā*, and finally bring into surface *fatongia ta'efiefia*, unhappy obligation.

Humility, *faka'aki'akimui*, is another important characteristic of *malanga*. The chief's orator or speaker must psychologically use the traditional method of belittling him but elevating others or the targeted audience, as I discussed earlier. It is not traditionally allowed for him, even for a chief and the King, to praise and elevate his own deeds and achievements in front of others. This is *tapu*, taboo, to be shown in any *malanga*, and it is seen as very selfish and egoistic. The whole exercise here is to praise and elevate others while depicting himself as the lowest person of all (Helu, 1987, 2008). In the situation of chiefs and the King, this is applied to them as well. Even though the King is not allowed to speak at the *Taumafa Kava* but the chiefs, *hou'eiki*, are to a certain extent alright to speak in *Tala 'Alofi* or 'ilo *kava*,

and in other formal and informal *kava*, they are still all expected to use this principle of *faka'aki'akimui* in *malanga* and *talanoa*. In the special division of languages for the King, *hou'eiki* and *tu'a*, such as *taumafa* for when His Majesty eats and *ha'ele* for walking, He is not allowed by tradition to use those special words and languages to himself while *malanga* and *talanoa* publically (*taumafa* and *ha'ele* for the King, 'ilo and *me'a* for chiefs and *mama* and *lele* for commoners). To the contrary, this special language is by tradition only for the chiefs, *hou'eiki*, and commoners, *tu'a*, to use when talking and alluding to or for His Majesty but not for the latter to use them to himself, and this is traditionally based on the principle and characteristic of humility, *faka'aki'akimui*.

He must always use the 'neutral language (language of equality)' when referring to himself, as it is called by Helu (1985, 1987, 1988, 2008), Māhina (1986, 1992, 2008b) and Taliai (2007, 2008) in *malanga* or formal speech, and *talanoa*, like *kai* for 'eating' and 'alu for 'walking', including chiefly language when alluding to an audience, like *me'a* or 'go'. It is a kind of language that is perceived by these scholars to reflect the egalitarian nature of primitive societies, and it is normally used by all the social classes in Moanan-Tongan society – Kings, chiefs and commoners. Moreover, we have never heard King George V saying, "Na'a ku ha'ele pē na'aku taumafa"/"I walk majestically or I eat majestically." When addressing the audience, the King always uses the language of neutral when referring to Him and that of the *hou'eiki* when speaking to people. For instance, the King would say, "Mālō ho'omou me'a mai he 'aho□ni"/"Thank you for your nobly attendance today." As mentioned previously, *me'a* is a word for coming, walking or going of the *hou'eiki* class. A boastful person has no place in traditional Tongan *malanga*. In formal speech, *faiva lea*, art of oratory, and conversation of *talanoa*, *malanga* is based on the belief of humility, *faka'aki'akimui*, and elevating the communalistic spirit of the specific interests of the *ha'a* and *kainga* generally in the expense of the individualistic and egoistic vested interests of the individuals. Nowadays, this is so fundamental in the market and business field of human and business services, as well as, personality for people skills in Western and modern nations. It is a human wisdom that has been experienced, developed and perfected by Moanan-Tongans since ancient times (Gifford, 1923, 1929; Kaeppler, 1967; Bott, 1982; Helu, 1987, 1999, 2006; Māhina, 1992, 2006; Biesarck, 1982, 1990; Herda, 1987, 1990).

Further, *malanga* must be creative and warmth in spirit, *fakatupu fakakaukau* and *fakamāfana*. These two are always intermingled in the process. In order to attain the latter the *matāpule* must be creative, must be familiar with the culture and life, and know how to weave them together purposely for creating beauty, *faka'ofa'ofa* with the purpose of attracting *mālie*,

bravo, the ultimate stage and measure of *faka'ofa'ofa* and all *lelei* or *mata'ikoloa*, virtue. He has to bring some humours, or art of comedy, *faiva fakaoli*, into his speech as well to help in cheering up people. Also he must know how to use *laumātanga*, pride of locality, and *laukakala*, pride of fragrant plants, correctly and appropriately, including heroic deeds of great significance in his *ha'a* and *kainga* as well as his audience, and then connect to history and culture generally (Helu, 1987, 1999, 2008). Such an approach can effectively foster and enhance the *māfana*, warmth, and finally *tauēlangi*, climactic euphoria, among the audience.

Overall, this can create the qualities of *māfana*, warmth, *vela māfana*, warming elation, *vela*, elation, and *vela 'osi'osi*, climactic euphoria as well, the heavenly pinnacle of *tauēlangi* and *'alaha kakala*. If so, people will then talk of the language of *hu'amelie*, sweet-liquid-taste, *kanomelie*, sweet-flesh-taste, and *ifo*, delicious, in words and actions, and this can effectively encourage them to participate in doing more *fatongia* and other good deeds. Normally, you can hear people calling out *mālie*, as a response to a *malanga* with the tones and volumes of *māfana*, *vela māfana*, *vela* and *tauēlangi*. In Tongan culture, *malanga* with all the above characteristics can help to bring *fiefia* to people either in *kava* ceremony or other traditional and communal functions like weddings and birthdays (Kaeppler, 1967, 1999; Bott, 1982; Helu, 1999, 2008; Māhina, 1992, 2010a, 2011a; Ka'ili, 2005, 2006, 2008a, 2010, 2011). I would like to conclude this Chapter with a discussion of the last characteristic of *malanga*, which is metaphoric-epiphoria, *heliaki*, with conjunction to some views by Māhina and Ka'ili on how ancient Tongans re-arranged *tā*, time, and *vā*, space in their mental, moral, political and cultural descriptions of reality.

In *malanga*, as I have illustrated, one of its main characteristics is that its language must be metaphoric-epiphoria, *heliaki*, with proverbial and poetical words, in the definition of Māhina (2006, 2010a, 2011a) as discussed below. It is *heliaki* in *malanga* and daily conversation of *talanoa*, as well, as, art of oratory, *faiva lea*, that differentiates a Tongan from a non-Tongan orators or speakers, and its basis is built on a similar ground to the concepts of *fuopotopoto*, circle or *'alofi*, and *ngaofe*, curve or *fasi* as in the language of *kava* ceremony. On that note, I now continue and link *heliaki* in *malanga* on a *kava* ceremony, or traditional function, to the notions of *'alofi*, *ngaofe* and *vilovilo* (or *fakate'ete'epuaka*) and their related concepts of *matalalava* or *matalalanga*, interweave, *fēkolosi'aki*, cross-section, *fēhaukau'aki*, intersection, and *fēhaukitu'a'aki*, interception. *Matalalava* points to 'lashing' in the art of male coconut-lashing, *tūfunga lalava*, and *matalalanga* for 'weaving' in the art of female weaving, *nimamea'a lalanga*. *Mata* is 'eye', 'hole' or 'front', and *lalanga* is 'to weave' a mat, *fala*, for instance, whereas *lalava* is 'to lash', and another name for *matalalanga* is *matafe'unu*.

Fe'unu is 'the pattern', '*kupesi*', of a *fala* (Māhina, 2006; Māhina, et al, 2010; Potauaine, et al, 2011).

4.5.4.2. *fēlalava'aki, fēkolosi'aki, fētaulaki'aki* and *fēhauakitu'a'aki*

The discussion of the traditional concepts of *fuopotopoto*, *ngaofe* and *vilovilo* in the case of *heliaki*, with their relation to similar concepts like *matalalava* and *matalalanga*, is not new in Moanan-Tongan literature. What may be new here is my attempt to link them to *heliaki* and *malanga*. Māhina (2004a, 2004b, 2005, 2006, 2010b), Ka'ili (2008a, 2008b, 2010, 2011) and Puloka (2006, 2008, 2010) have discussed this as kind of worldview to life. They have encompassed the related notions of interweave, *fēlalava'aki*, cross-section, *fēkolosi'aki*, intersection, *fētaulaki'aki*, and interception, *fēhauakitu'a'aki*. This is a part of the theoretical development of the *Moanan General Tā-Vā Theory of Reality* by Māhina, Ka'ili and Tohi (Māhina, 2006, 2007b), with wide-ranging studies of the material arts of coconut lashing, *tūfunga lalava*, among other Moanan-Tongan performance and visual (or material) arts. Further, Māhina, Ka'ili and Puloka have suggested a view of perceiving the worldview of Tongans and Moanans to be metaphorically and epiphorically *fēlalava'aki, fēkolosi'aki'aki, fētaulaki'aki* and *fēhauakitu'a'aki*. For them, this includes *fuopotopoto*, *vilovilo* and *ngaofe* perspectives, as it is traditionally observable in the Moanan-Tongan perceptions values, behaviours and the use of languages. All are reluctant to be directly upfront with true and valid values regarding any issue under-consideration, but on the other hand, their focus is based and developed on metaphoric and epiphoric approach in the manner of *fuopotopoto*, *ngaofe* and *vilovilo*. That is, language, perceptions, values and behaviours are not upfront and directive but metaphoric and epiphoric in the nature of *fuopotopoto*, *ngaofe* and *vilovilo* (Biersack, 1982, 1990, Herda, 1987, 1990; Māhina, 1986, 1992, 2008; Kaeppler, 1993, 1999, 2005; Helu, 1999, 2008; Taliai, 2007, 2008). Thus I would like to extend this discussion of Māhina (2004a, 2004b, 2005, 2006, 2010b), Puloka (1994, 2006, 2008, 2009, 2010) and Ka'ili (2008a, 2008b, 2010, 2011) but focus more on '*alofi* and *ngaofe* in *kava* circle with some references to *vilovilo* in conjunction to *malanga* in *faiva lea* with *heliaki* nature. Helu (2008, 1999) and Puloka have discussed this *ngaofe* or *fasi* concept but with no detailed analysis by the former, and the latter has been using only the word *ngaofe* instead of *fasi* and '*alofi*. For Puloka, he argues that Tongan and Moanan worldview to life is *ngaofe*, curve, and *kohi hangatonu*, straight line for them, is perceived as *ngaofe* again. None of them uses the word '*alofi* and *fasi* except *ngaofe*. From *kava* ceremony, I have been employing '*alofi* and *fuopotopoto* or *fasi* and *ngaofe* interchangeably and likewise throughout this sub-section.

The *Ha'a Lo'au* appears to have first conceptualized some of these words in the *Taumafa Kava*, as shown in the *Laulau 'o Kava'onau*. Māhina (2011b, 2011c) has accounted that most words in the '*alofi* of the *Taumafa Kava* were originally derived from navigational terms such as *olovaha*, *fasi* and *tou'a*, encompassing '*alofi* too. *Olovaha* is the 'front part, *taumu'a*, of a double-hulled canoe', *kalia*, and canoe, *vaka* or *pōpao*. *Fasi* is 'the bending or curving part in waves' and *tou'a* is 'to empty sea water from a *pōpao*, *vaka* or *kalia*'. '*Alofi* comes from the root-word, '*alo*', which is 'to row', and the suffix '*fi*' is 'to weave or plait'. Puloka (1994, 2006, 2008, 2010) continues by saying that Tongans have never considered things in the sense of the Western thought of *kohi hangatonu*, straight line, and this is still observable in our perceptions, values and behaviours when doing things and even in the way we speak. Puloka (1994, 2010), Māhina (2006, 2010a, 2011a) and Ka'ili (2008a, 2010, 2011) have shared the same view of claiming that *fēlalava'aki*, interweave, *fēkololosi'aki*, cross-section, *fētaulaki*, intersection, and *fēhauakitu'aki*, interception, are built on the round or curved shape, and form, *fuo*, of *fuopotopoto* or '*alofi*, *ngaofe* and *vilovilo*, with interweaved shape of *matalalava* or *matalalanga*. In other words, I am in line with them in viewing that *ngaofe*, *fuopotopoto* and *vilovilo*, in the content, *uho*, of *fēlalava'aki*, *fēkololosi'aki*, *fētaulaki* and *fēhauakitu'aki* with their interweaved, *matalalava* or *matalalanga* shape are the *fuo* of *heliaki*, metaphoric-epiphoria when Moanan-Tongans are behaved and spoken in traditional and communal functions, *kātoanga*, including the normal conversation of *talanoa*.

This is further observable when Tongans are talking and using proverbial and poetical words in the *heliaki* way with its indirect behaviours of metaphoria and epiphoria. They do not directly explain the meanings of words upfront on the spot of speaking or dialoguing. Words with their individual meanings are somehow wrapped-up in the basic form, *fuo*, of *ngofe*, *fuopotopoto* or *vilovilo*, with proverbial and poetical words in the content, *uho*, of *fēkolosi'aki*, *fēhauakitu'a'aki*, *fēlalava'aki* and *fētaulaki'aki* in a *matalalava* manner. Tongans normally say in a situation of neglecting the traditional and communal importance of *heliaki*: "*Tonu ke faka'esia ho'o lea □ ka e 'oua 'e hualela pēhē □*" / "You should use metaphoric-epiphoric language rather than too upfront like that." As mentioned, upfront and directive nature in language, perception, values and behaviours are unacceptable in Moanan-Tongan culture, but people must be rather in-directive in the *fuo* of *ngaofe*, *fuopotopoto* and *vilovilo* with their *uho* of *fēkolosi'aki*, *fēhauakitu'a'aki*, *fēlalava'aki* and *fētaulaki'aki* in the manner of *matalalava*. In Chapter III, the nature of *laumātanga*, pride of locality, and *laukakala*, pride of sweet-smelling plants, in *Takafalu lakalaka* with their metaphoric-epiphoric manner is a good illustration of this point. Most of the verses are either

metaphorically or epiphorically, or both, referred to something else in a *fuo* of *ngaofe*, *fuopotopoto* or *vilovilo* way, or all of the above (Kaepler, 1967, 1990, 1993, 1999, 2005, 2011; Helu, 1999, 2006, 2008; Māhina, 1992, 2006, 2010a, 2011a, Taliai, 2007, 2008; Ka’ili, 2008a, 2008b). This can be seen in Moanan-Tongan arts of material and fine arts as well. All of them are in the *fuo*, form, of *ngaofe*, *fuopotopoto* and *vilovilo* with the *uho* of *fēhauakitu’a’aki*, *fēkolosi’aki*, *fētaulaki’aki* and *fēlalava’aki*, as seen in our traditional *tūfunga lalava*, art of coconut-lashing, and *nimamea’a lalanga* of fine mats. This is the essence of *heliaki*, speaking metaphoric-epiphorically in proverbial and poetical words. Here are two cases to elaborate more the reality of this *heliaki* in *malanga* and *talanoa*. When speaking in such a manner in *malanga*, the *matāpule* will select the poetic and proverbial names of places, and also of the audience, with conjunction to chiefly lineages, heroic deeds and either humanize or naturalize them in *ngaofe*, *fuopotopoto* or *vilovilo* manner in the *uho* of *fēhauakitu’a’aki*, *fēkolosi’aki*, *fētaulaki’aki* and *fēlalava’aki*.

For instance, instead of him talking about the real names and individual behaviours of the person Siosiuā Lafitani, he is going to mention the latter’s ceremonial name which is Pouvalu, the well-known fragrant plants, *kakala*, of his father’s and mother’s villages. This comprises the great and known heroic deeds of Siosiuā’s ancestors not in a neutral and normal language but all in poetical and proverbial terms wrapping up together in a *vilovilo*, spiral, *ngaofe*, curve, or *fuopotopoto*, circular, manner. He can humanize the physical environment of Siosiuā’s parents and ancestors, on one hand, and then naturalize their deeds too, on the other hand, in reference to the person of Siosiuā. In the case of the former, the *matāpule* can say that the ‘sun rise in its morning light speaks to us with happiness’, which is implied that the King a symbol of the sun has talked to them this morning. With the latter, the *matāpule* can say that Siosiuā is shining brighter after talking to his Majesty or the sun rise this morning, which is the implication of happiness, *fiefia*, a person has acquired after talking to His Majesty. People sometimes allude to this kind of *heliaki* as *fakaninimo*, which means ‘it makes them spinning in the head or feel fainting’, when alluding to the difficulty to understand straightaway on the spot the meaning of *heliaki* and its complexity. Some people who listen to a *malanga* or *talanoa* with a high quality of *heliaki* nature must have to seek for the experts in traditions and culture to clarify and simplify the complex and deep meanings with metaphoric and epiphoric ways. In short, the more poetical and proverbial words in a *malanga* or *talanoa* are culturally and aesthetically regarded as a high quality of *heliaki*, with its complex *uho* of *fēhauakitu’a’aki*, *fēkolosi’aki*, *fētaulaki’aki* and *fēlalava’aki* in the *fuo* of *ngaofe*, *fuopotopoto* and *vilovilo* in the behavior of *matalalava* or *matalalanga*.

For most Moanan-Tongan scholars, *heliaki* also simply means saying one thing but meaning another in a metaphoric and epiphoric way. Māhina (2011a) argues against Helu (1999), Thaman (1997), Herda, (1995), Kaeppler (1993, 1999, 2005, 2007) and Wood-Ellem (1999) for their unified and solidaristic definitions of *heliaki* by perceiving it as saying one thing but meaning another. Māhina (2011a:147-148) discusses *heliaki* as obtaining two definitions, "...there are two types of *heliaki*, viz., *heliaki fakafēhauaki* (epiphoric, qualitative *heliaki*) and *heliaki fakafēkauaki* (metaphoric, associative *heliaki*)." He elaborates it by saying that the epiphoric type is about "the qualities of two closely related ideas or images are transacted in the process, as in the symbol exchange between *kapaukau-tatangi* (wings-of-high-pitch) and *moa kaivao* (wild chicken) in the myth of the turtle of Sangone." As for the metaphoria, associative *heliaki*, the relation of two socially and historically associated objects or events are traded in the process, as seen in the exchange between *pulotu* and Fiji in the same myth of Sangone. In oral history, *pulotu* was also the symbolic name for Fiji, differently but yet related to its sense as afterlife for chiefly and Kings discussed earlier. This is found in the *malanga* at the *Taumafa Kava* and in other formal *kava* ceremonies of weddings and funerals in a *fuo* of *ngaofe*, *fuopotopoto* or *'alofi* and *vilovilo* with its *uho* of *fēhauakitu'a'aki*, *fēkolosi'aki*, *fētaulaki'aki* and *fēlalava'aki*. The importance of the permeating influences of *kava* ceremony to other aspects of life through the *Tūfunga Fonua*, Carpenter of Land-people, of *Ha'a Lo'au*, with its notions like *ngaofe* and *fuopotopoto* as shown above, is further seen too in its association with the related systems of *kai fono*, food portion in *kava*, *fahu*, high social ranking female, and *fakatomo*, root-cap of a *kava* plant in *kava* ceremony.

4.5.5. *Fono, fahu and fakatomo*

In my 2008 trip, I observed a number of very important issues in the *Taumafa kava* Coronation of King George Tupou V. I was watching the *Taumafa Kava* during the Coronation of King George Tupou V at Pangai oval beside the palace at Nuku'alofa, and I realised two points of great significance that are worth mentioning. The first point was the time of *kaifono*, sharing the food portion, of the *Taumafa Kava*. Traditionally, each *fono* of the chiefs was taken and consumed by the *fahu* descendants, female of social high-ranking lines from their father's sisters, paternal grandfather or great grandfather's sisters. The second point was the preservation of the purely traditional protocol of *Taumafa Kava* with no involvement of any outside influence like Western and Christian elements, as shown in the non-participation of 'Ahio the 'ulu of *Ha'a Ngata* in the ceremony (see Figure 33-39 of page xxxii-xxxv) (Māhina, 1992; Helu, 1999; Burley, 2005).

I observed the absence of chief 'Ahio from his *fatongia* in helping Ata and their *Ha'a* Ngatamotu'a in making *kava* and food for the *Taumafa Kava*, as well as, protecting the ceremony from any disorder. 'Ahio is the President of the Free Wesleyan Church of Tonga by which the King is the Head, and also he is the chaplain for His Majesty. This means he is not allowed to attend in the *Taumafa Kava*. As discussed before, the *Taumafa Kava* is still purely traditional with no elements of Christianity and modern influences in it. This kind of influence has only happened in the *Tala 'Alofi* of chiefs and all other formal and informal *kava* ceremonies except the *Taumafa Kava* of the Tu'i Kanokupolu, which I will discuss again later.

Since he is the chaplain for the King and President for the King's church, 'Ahio is therefore automatically out of the picture to join any part of this *Tala Hau*. As I said before, the *Taumafa Kava* is still purely traditional and ancient in content, *uho*, and form, *fuo*. Neither church's ministers, nor new social classes in modern Tonga for that matter, is allowed to participate in the *Taumafa Kava* except those *ha'a* of the old political system that I have previously mentioned and discussed. Unless if the chief is also a church's minister then he must choose which 'hat' of authority to take first, *Taumafa Kava* or out of its ritual, as in the case of 'Ahio. Is this King or any future King will change such traditional protocol and structure to accommodate and cater for the ongoing changes outside society and worldwide? King Tupou V in his Coronation conducted some major reforms in the *Taumafa Kava* as discussed before for the first time since King Tupou I by lessening its length of operation from about 7 hours long to just 2 ½ hours for instance. It was a *Lo'au* in fact but still with no inclusion of any element of Christianity and modern influences (Lafitani, 2008, 2011).

After the Civil War in the 19th Century, King George Taufā'ahau Tupou I in a *Tala 'Alofi* with chief Tu'i Ha'angana of Ha'ano at Ha'ano island in the Ha'apai Groups made this following major change, *Lo'au*. In the seating arrangement of this *Tala 'Alofi*, Tupou I allowed any religious leader or minister of the Protestants to be seated on the *vaha'i taha* of the *fasi 'alofi*. In the *Tala Hau*, *vaha'i taha* is the chiefly seat after the two principal *matāpule* (Lauaki and Motu'apuaka) of the 'apa'apa of the *olovaha*, top-front presiding position of the King. Since then religious leaders of the Protestants can sit at the *vaha'i taha* of a *Tala 'Alofi* (To'amalekini, 1985, 1986, 1987; Tākapu, 1986, 1987; Pāhulu, 2010).

With the Catholics on the other hand, the last Tu'i Tonga, Fatafehi Samuelio Laufilitonga, after defeating by Tupou I, gave his *kava*, *kava foaki*, and *fulitaunga*, top-front presiding position as it was called in His ancient reign, to Father Sevēlo, *Pātele* Sevēlo, of the French Catholic missionary in a *Taumafa Kava (Fakalotomu'a)* at the old capital of the Tu'i

Tonga in Lapaha, Mu'a. It was a difficult decision to make in fact, but it was a sign of defeating when handing over of the position of *fulitaunga* to Pātele Sevēlo in the 19th Century. Since then the Catholic Pātele can sit at the *taumu'a* of a *Tala 'Alofi* and sometime the chief takes the *vaha'i taha* while Pātele presides on the *olovaha* or *taumu'a*. In the situation of *kaifono*, Pātele can choose anyone to play the role of his *fahu* and consume his portion, especially if he is a Tongan (Lehā'uli, 1985, 1986, 1987, 1988; Māhina, 1992, 2006; Helu, 1999, 2008; Pāhulu, 2010).

In the time for *kai fono* at the *Taumafa Kava* of Tupou V, however, I saw the chiefly girls and princesses from different *fahu* lines walked into the circle, 'alofi, and took all the *fono* of individual chiefs. It is part of the ceremony in which a small portion *fono* for each chief is called out by the King's right-hand principal *matāpule*, Motu'apuaka, to be distributed and must be only taken and consumed by the *fahu* lines or their descendants. Collocott (1927a, 1927b), Gifford (1929), Newell (1947) and Volkel (2010) have recorded and explained this very important protocol, which has been surviving since the time of Tu'i Tonga Momo and Lo'au Taputoka around the 10th Century. It is a moment of showing off that their *fahu* are the highest social ranking persons of all *langilangi*, and only they have the traditional rights to take and consume the individual *fono* of the chiefs in such a formal event of public importance. The present King's *fahu* descendant was a Fijian from the Tu'isoso Line of Nukunuku village in Fiji (Māhina, 1992; Lehā'uli, 1985, 1986, 1987, 1988; Māhina, 1992, 2006; Helu, 1999, 2008; Burley, 2005; Pāhulu, 2010).

Tu'isoso chiefly title in present Fiji is a descendant from their chief Tu'ineau line who had a son of the name Tu'isoso with a chiefly woman Fetunu. She was a daughter of the first Tu'i Kanokupolu Ngata in the 17th Century, and a sister of the second Tu'i Kanokupolu Atama'ila. The brothers of Atamata'ila were 'Aho, Fakahau, Ve'ehala and Kapukava who became the first chiefs of *Ha'a* Ngatamotu'a, with the exception of the first Ata who was a son of Fakahau the brother of 'Aho, Ve'ehala and Kapukava. All such brothers including Tu'i Kanokupolu Atamata'ila were brothers of Fetunu, and so Tu'isoso was their *fahu* (there is another Tu'isoso title in Nukunuku village of chief Tu'ivakanō, the present Prime Minister, after the Fijian Tu'isoso title but he is not allowed to play this *fahu* role for His Majesty). Our present King Tupou V is the 23rd Tu'i Kanokupolu from Ngata, and he is the fifth King under the current Constitutional Monarchy since King George Taufā'ahau Tupou I (Kaepler, 1967; Lātūkefu, 1974, 1975; Bott, 1982; Biesarck, 1990; Herda, 1987, 1990; Helu, 1999, 2006; Vānisi, 1999; Burley, 2005; 'Ilaiu, 2007; Taliai, 2007).

In the *Taumafa Kava*, Royal Kava Ceremony, in addition, the huge *kava* plants, *kava toho*, or *kava toho fakatefisi* (the biggest) to be made and distributed as beverage must be first brought with its whole root-cap, *fonua*, together with its main body, *sino*, and branches, *va'a* or *kau*, unbroken into the midst of the *kava* circle, 'alofi. Its root-cap *fonua* in the *Tala Hau* is traditionally and formally known as *fakatomo*. *Fakatomo* means “something which is not completely cut off or off-shoot, but part of it is being left behind in attaching to its main body.” The *fakatomo* must be carefully carried into the Pangai oval, *mala'e*, in its own *vaka*, carrier, and it is placed inside the *kava* circle half an hour or so before the beginning of its main ritual under the direction of Motu'apuaka and Ata with his *Ha'a* Ngatamotu'a. Both men and women join hand-in-hand and pull the *kava toho* with its *fakatomo* inside the 'alofi while chanting the ancient song of *Tau'a'alo* (i.e. song for rowing canoe, and dance, while conducting *fatongia*). The following is a version of a *Tau'a'alo* with very archaic Moanan-Tongan language (which cannot be understood by most living Tongans today) (Gifford, 1929; Bott, 1982; Lehā'uli, 1985, 1986, 1987, 1988; Helu 2008; Pāhulu, 2010):

- *Ei e!* (*Angi/Command*)/Yeah!
- *E!* (*2X – Tali/ Response* in unison)/Yeah!
- Kolulu *e*, Kolulu *e!* (*2X – Fasi*, leading singer)/Oh Kolulu, Oh Kolulu *e!*
- Kolulu *e suamai vasa* (*2X- Tali*)/Oh Kolulu helps us while sailing at sea
- *Ei e!* (*2X- Angi/Command*)/Yeah!
- *E!* (*2X – Tali/Response*)/Yeah!

- *Maile ni o* (*2X – Fasi*)/*Maile* leaves we take
- *Pu ai e vao!* (*2X- Tali*)/From the shrubs and trees!
- *Ei e!* (*2X- Angi/Command*)/Yeah!
- *Ei!* (*2X – Tali/Response*)/Yeah!

- *Liku Tonga Liku Tapu* (*2X – Fasi*)/Cliff of Tonga Cliff of Tapu
- *Laulea mo e ngalu* (*2X- TALI*)/Dialogue with the waves
- *Ei e!* (*2X- Angi/Command*)/Yeah!
- *E!* (*2X – Tali/Response*)/Yeah!

- *Kou ha'u pe 'o 'a'ahi mai* (*2X - Fasi*)/I have come for visiting
- *Ko e le'o lofia 'i Vailahi* (*2X - Tali*)/A loud voice from Vailahi

• *Ei e!* (2X- *Angi*)/Yeah!

• *E!* (2X - *Tali*)/Yeah!...

(Helu, 2008, with my English translation).

As it is shown from the *Tau'a'alo*, there are commands which to be first delivered and responses are then followed afterwards accordingly. It is about the ancient god of the sea, *moana*, or wind, *matangi*, Kolulu, and it is a call for him, sea, wind, as well as, the trees and shrub inland, *fonua*, to help them while rowing the canoe or doing the *fatongia* of rowing the *vaka* or *kalia*. However, while women and men singing the *Tau'a'alo* at the *Taumafa Kava* they slide and pull the *fakatomo* on its *vaka* close to the centre of the *mala'e* and leave it there for the whole ritual. The *kava toho* in King Tupou V's *Taumafa Kava* with its *fakatomo* and rhizome was rooted out from the soil a day before the ceremony, and it must be ensured that no part of it and the branches are broken. The root-cap, *fakatomo*, with its rhizome is only allowed to be broken it is in ready for bouncing and dancing while mixing its parts with water.

Kava from the *fakatomo* parts of the rhizome must be bounced with dance, *milolua*, without music by the *kava*-mixers, *tou'a*, and served first to the King who presides on the top-front *olovaha* of the *'alofi*. *Fonua* the root-cap, or *fakatomo*, is therefore important, and it must be protected all the way until the ritual begins. This is where I think the sense of *fonua* as a *fakatomo* was first used in reference to the *kava* plant, and this is seen too in the story of *Kava'onau* with the two plants of *kava* and *to*. Their *fonua* of root-cap were both taken together with the plants from 'Eueiki to the Royal compound of Tu'i Tātui in Heketā at *Ha'a Mene'uli* village (Lehā'uli, 1995, 1986, 1987, 1988; Tākapu, 1995, 1986, 1987; To'amalekini, 1985, 1986, 1987). On that note, the discussion now turns and examines some aspects of change in the *uho*, content, of the ancient *kava* ceremony of the *Tala 'Alofi* and *Tala Kainga* that are now happening in modern *kava* circles.

4.5.5.1. *Kava* variation in ancient and modern Tonga

The previous discussions of *kava* have brought into account several important issues that are worthwhile to share in this context. One, they have shown the difference between *Taumafa Kava/Tala Hau*, *'ilo kava/Tala 'Alofi* and *kava 'a kainga/Tala Fatongia*. Second, they have reminded of the social, cultural, political, moral, therapeutic and medicinal significance of *kava*. Third, they have unveiled that all *kava* circles are *fatongia* oriented. All are based on the principle of agreement, *fuakava*, to do certain *fatongia* (*fua* is 'to carry' and *fuakava* therefore is 'to carry the agreement on *kava* circle'; the English word covenant is translated into Tongan as '*fuakava*').

Apart from the variation of ancient *kava* ceremonies shown above, Helu (1999) has suggested five main different circles or kinds of it. This “ranges from the very rigidly formal *kava* circles of chiefs to the relaxed, near-informal parties,” (Helu, 1999: 20; 2008). I agree with Helu on this classification to a certain extent. The five types of Helu are listed as follows. *Tau fakalokua* is an informal *kava* by two or three farmers, or fishermen, in the evening after daily working routines. *Faikava ‘eva*, this is a “*kava* party of young men who go to a girl’s house and ask for her parents’ permission for the girl to mix and serve *kava* for them (Helu: 1999:21).” Next is the formal *kava* which has different versions ranging from the *Taumafa Kava* and ‘*ilo kava* to *kava kainga*. This includes *kava* for weddings, funerals, birthdays, and welcoming and farewelling visitors. *Kava fakasiasi* is the church or Sunday *kava*. The last *kava* is the *kalapu kava-Tonga* which are the *kava* clubs and they are very informal and also the medium, *vaka*, for fundraising in Tonga and abroad, as well as, preserving cultural and artistic activities like arts of oral traditions, poetry, music and comedy.

What Helu has missed out is working *kava*, *kava ngāue*, of different kinds. He has overlooked to comment too on some issues regarding the demarcation between the *Taumafa Kava*, ‘*ilo kava* of chiefs and *kava ‘a kainga*, as shown on Hu’akau’s (1989, 2011a, 2011b) discussion of *Tala Hau*, *Tala ‘Alofi* and *Tala Fatongia*. Helu’s discussion of *kava fakalokua* overlooked the variety of *kava ngāue* which are not specifically part of the former, as well as, the therapeutic-medicinal importance of *kava*. *Kava fo ‘uvaka*, boat-building *kava*, *kava ikuna*, victory *kava*, and *kava toutai*, fishermen *kava*, are good examples of other aspects of *kava ngāue*. *Kava faito ‘o*, curing *kava*, exemplifies the medicinal and health importance of *kava*, which he did not discuss it as well (Lafitani, 2010; Lehā’uli, 1985, 1986, 1987, 1988; To’amalekini, 1985, 1986; Tākapu, 1985, 1986). Helu (1999) has added that:

...the *kava* circle is a ‘photograph’ of the power distribution in society. But like all photographs, it is unchanging, so, although modifications have been made at different points of our prehistory and in modern times, the photograph always lags behind social reality. For example, there chiefs who sit well up in the circle, very close to the king whose political power in society as a whole has declined quite appreciably, while there are other chiefs who sit well back, close to the *kava* bowl, who are very powerful today (Helu, 1999: 21-22).

It is evident that *kava* ceremony in all levels was so fundamental in ancient Tonga, though we have observed some major changes happening to its content, *who*, as shown in Helu’s analysis above. What he has missed out too that such changes have happened only to

its content, *uho*, but not in the form, *fuo*, as I have pointed out. I have suggested earlier in this Chapter that the *fuo* of *kava* ceremony is still the same, in its focus of perpetuating and preserving the political power, *mafaipule*, social status, *langilangi*, and blood relationship, *fekau'aki fakata'ata'a* or *fakatoto*. This still holds true in most if not all levels of modern and surviving ancient *kava*. In ancient *kava* of *Tala Hau*, *Tala 'Alofi* and *Tala Fatongia*, the *kava* forum was always used for preserving *mafaipule* of Kings, chiefs and *'ulumotu'a*, heads of *kainga*, in relation to their people. This has helped to maintain social rank, *langilangi*, political power, *mafaipule*, and blood relationship, *fekau'aki fakata'ata'a* of both leaders and followers respectively on different levels, as it is mirrored in both the hierarchical and inclusive nature of *fakatapu* in *malanga* and distribution and consumption of *fono* by the *fahu*.

Again in all of such different types of *kava*, there are always some issues relating to blood connection either through the King and his chiefs, or King and his siblings and cousins, or chiefs with his cousins and people. The *fahu* in the *kaifono* of *Tala Hau* and *Tala 'Alofi* for instance is built on her *langilangi* and *fekau'aki fakata'ata'a*. Other formal *kava* ceremonies of the *kainga* like weddings and funerals always play the role in preserving and elevating *mafaipule* of the *'ulumotu'a*, heads of the *kainga*, extended family. The upholding of *langilangi* of certain people is always witnessed too, like the *hou'eiki* or *'ulumotu'a* of the wedding couple always preside on the top-front position *taumu'a* or *olovaha* of the *kava* circles. Key people of a particular *kava* in a wedding for instance are normally related through *ta'ata'a*, or *toto*, to the chiefs and *'ulumotu'a* or *fahu*, so blood relationship, *fekau'aki fakata'ata'a* is still alive and well today. Nowadays, this is still observable to some extent in modern *kava* like the church and *kava* clubs, *kava fakasiasi* and *kalapu kava-Tonga*. In *kava fakasiasi*, the chief in a Wesleyan or Protestant context is always on the *olovaha*, top-front position, and ministers and preachers also hold a place in the *kava*, depending also whether it is a formal or informal *kava*. With the Catholics, the *Pātele*, Priest, normally presides on the top-front position, *taumu'a*, as I discussed in the last part of this Chapter (Lafitani, 1989, 1992, 1994, 1995).

Kava fakasiasi still holds the blood connection among people as it is happening in villages and some overseas churches, in which it helps to keep *ha'a* and *kainga* together in the religious circles. Those churches or associations with no *kava* circles do not have the closeness in blood, or social bond, in comparison to those with *kava*. For example, Tongan members of the Seventh Day Adventist church who do not advocate *kava* drinking in all levels is not as *vela fiefia*, elation, and *vela 'osi'osi*, climactic euphoria, in doing *fatongia* to the extent that can be seen in the situation of the Free Wesleyan Churches of Tonga. With the

latter, any of their church in Tonga and overseas can collect \$50, 000 or \$100, 000 in just one fundraising concert or *misinale*, churches' fundraisings, originally masterminded by the early Wesleyan missionaries. For the Catholic missionaries it is called *kātoanga* 'ofa, function of love.

People are normally *fiefia* to donate generously. They are well-known for collecting up to 2 million dollars or more in their major national and international functions, *kātoanga*, either on one day or a few days, by way of dancing, *faiva haka*, and donation by putting money on the dancers' body, *fakapale* and inside kava circles. Such Wesleyan churches are well-known for two main factors: preservation of drinking *kava*, and promoting and preserving *fatongia* in its *fiefia* nature. Together with other Tongan Protestants like the Free Church of Tonga and Maamafo'ou, these are the churches who have been building their own new cathedrals in New Zealand, Australia and America in the past two decades or so. Our Wesleyan church in Sydney completed a new cathedral at Mount Druitt in 2008, with a total cost of \$10 million dollars (Lafitani, 2009) that were collected from *kava* drinking gatherings and concert with dances, *faiva haka* (Lafitani, 2008).

With the informal *kalapu kava*-Tonga in Tonga and overseas, they are the focal point of fundraising, apart from the altruistic nature of the churches. The extreme nature of *fatongia fiefia* in the *kalapu kava*-Tonga is very hard to understand by foreigners and other non-Moanans in Tonga and abroad. With the remittances from Tongans abroad, approximately 150 million dollars out from around 250 million dollars a year between the late 1990's and early 2000's were solely collected from the *kava* clubs. I am a member of the Fōfō'anga *Kava* Club in Canberra and worldwide, and every week our Fōfō'anga Canberra collect about \$1000 dollars to help people who are in financial difficulty either in Australia or Tonga. The Fōfō'anga Sydney has collected over 400, 000 dollars in the past 5 years or so to purchase their own place, and they officially opened it early this year with my attendance and observed the *fatongia fiefia* and more donation of over \$50, 000 on one day celebration. The main aim for our gathering at the Fōfō'anga Canberra every Friday, and other Fōfō'anga worldwide, is to exchange news, stories and humours, preserve oral traditions, play music and donate money to help people (Lafitani, 1992, 1994, 1995, 1998, 2008). This brings the Chapter to its Summary, in which it highlights the place of *fatongia* in *kava* ceremony, and vice versa, interacting in a dialectic way of opposed and supported modes of exchange.

4.6. Summary

The previous sections and paragraphs have depicted that *kava* ceremony has been the birth-ground, *fonua*, and nest, *pununga*, for *fatongia* under the advice of the *Ha'a* Lo'au and Tu'i Tonga since the 10th Century. We have witnessed the interaction of culture and history, in which the former deals with the *fu*, form, changing in a slow rate, whereas the latter with its content, *uho*, evolving in a faster rate over space, *vā*, and time, *tā*, to use Helu, Māhina and Ka'ili's definitions. It shows that *kava* ceremony and *fatongia* have been interacted in a changeable, multiple and complex ways either in opposing or supporting modes of operation. The Chapter has started by highlighting *kava* as a plant, with its therapeutic and medicinal characteristics in relation to the reasons why the *Ha'a* Lo'au used it in the first place. How *kava* is made and its different dilutions are very material also in this section. At large, this has brought into consideration the vast and profound knowledge and skills of Tongans on how to deal with and use *kava* in different levels and for medical, hygienic and health purposes as well. They are gifted body of knowledge and skills that are also fundamental for the survival of this *kava* culture for over thousand years, without taking them seriously in the historical process such a culture could not have survived up to the present.

The discussion continues by unfolding the myth, *fananga*, of Kava'onau, and how the *Ha'a* Lo'au had used it as a social and political mechanism for preserving the *fu* of harmony, *maau*, in society. This covers as well how chiefs, *hou'eiki* and their chief's orators, *matāpule*, morally behave in the ritual and society as a whole, with the social energy to promote happy obligation, *fatongia fiefia*. *Kava* culture in that respect is a traditional forum for moral discipline apart from its political, social, medicinal and cultural significance, and it is not only confined to chiefs and their orators of *mātapule* but to both men and women who participate in traditional *kava* gatherings. It is a forum in which all social classes including the King are taught how to respect one another, for instance the King is not allowed to interfere with any ritual or protocol of the *Taumafa Kava* or *Tala Hau*. This is applied too to chiefly *'ilo kava* or *Tala 'Alofi*. *Kava* culture therefore is both multifunctional and centralized in character with one balancing the other in a symmetrical and proportional way, and no wonder why it has been the centre of culture since its formation by Lo'au Taputoka and Ha'a Lo'au since the 10th Century. Hence *kava* is culture and vice-versa.

The examination of the notions of sweetness, *melie*, and bitterness, *kona*, in the *fananga* of Kava'onau is one of the hallmarks of such a section. This comprises the sacrifice

of her parents, Fevanga and Fefafa, to kill her all for the sole purpose of fulfilling their *fatongia* to Tu'i Tonga Momo. With the *Chant of Kava'onau*, *Laulau 'o Kava'onau* by Lo'au Taputoka, this has consequently connected the *fananga* with the ritual of *kava* and society as a whole since Taputoka and Momo. This *fananga* of Kava'onau and *Chant of Kava'onau* have been the blueprint in guiding and directing the survival of *kava* culture for over thousand years. The moral message, the notions of *melie* and *kona* from this oral story have shared and implanted in people through the medium, *vaka*, of *fananga* and *Chant*, has sunk and distilled its power and energy in their psychology, regardless of whether it was true or not. The question of truth is not the issue here but its emotional-psychological impact on people that matters the most, which has internally and solidly consolidated its Kava'onau moral message within and among different generations over thousand years.

This is a *fananga* of highly emotional energy, especially in the death of Kava'onau, which has easily and quickly sunk and absorbed into the psychology and feelings of people with influential and commanding effects. Some Moanan and Tongan religious leaders like Vea (2011) and Puloka (1994) have suggested that this Kava'onau's story is very much the same in form, *fuo*, with that of Jesus but only different in content, *uho*. That is, both are rooted in the theme of *fatongia* based on the generous dedication of a whole life for the benefits of others. For instance, the red wine and bread in the sacrament of Holy Communion are symbols for the blood and body of Jesus, likewise in the *kava* beverage as a symbol for the blood and body of Kava'onau. Also both cases deal with experiencing *melie*, sweet, and *kona*, bitterness, in a dialectic behaviour, by which the former can be resulted of a prolong burden from the latter, and vice-versa. In the word of Māhina (2011b), "In human life, *melie* always comes as a result of *kona*," or best and permanence of any great deed is a result of hard work with sweat day and night."

Following the *fananga*, the discussion has proceeded on and discuss the concepts of blood relationship, *fekau'aki fakata'ata'a*, social rank, *langilangi*, and political power, *mafaipule*. This was clearly seen in the Royal wedding of Nua, the eldest daughter of Lo'au Taputoka, with Tu'i Tonga Momo, the 10th Tu'i Tonga. It is obvious from the discussion that *fekau'aki fakata'ata'a*, *langilangi* and *mafaipule* have played a fundamental role in both the life of *Ha'a* Lo'au and Tongan society since then up to our days. Even though we now have more complex economic and technological systems of neo-capitalism and satellite hyperspace through computer, *fekau'aki fakata'ata'a*, or *fakatoto*, for commoners, is still used by Kings, chiefs and commoners to preserve their communal link. Effectively, this can give *langilangi*

and *mafaipule* to those who will be climbing up in the social ladder of marrying to a higher chief or the King for example but not to those who marry to lower social class or commoners. This is highlighted in the story about the three chiefly wedding systems of *nu'ipi'o*, *tamahā* and *kitetama*. I hope it may in effect have broadened our understanding about the supporting and opposing nature of such three systems. As explained, this nature is also still observable in the present life of the churches, *siasi*, and extended family, *kainga*, which implies that *fekau'aki fakata'ata'a*, *langilangi* and *mafaipule* are still well alive and in motion.

The discussion of *Ha'a* Lo'au as Tūfunga Fonua, Carpenter of Land-people, with conjunction to *fekau'aki fakata'ata'a*, *langilangi* and *mafaipule* is also centrally significant. It brings into mind the major role of this *Ha'a* in masterminding and engineering the Tu'i Tonga reign and their national and regional influences through Royal wedding between Nua and Momo. This included the formation of *kava* ceremony as the main socio-political and psychological tool for preserving harmony, *maau*. The Royal wedding was a national union that gave *langilangi* and *mafaipule* to both parties involved for socio-political control, and also for the expansion and development the Tu'i Tonga reign from national to regional power. In the final analysis, it was a 'win-win-situation' to all firstly through the utilization of the new culture of *Ha'a* Lo'au for elevating their *langilangi* and *mafaipule* and becoming the intellectual elite of Tūfunga Fonua based on *fekau'aki fakata'ata'a* and their wisdom, *poto*, on one side. On the other side, the Tu'i Tonga used this *fekau'aki fakata'ata'a* to build their *langilangi* and *mafaipule* as well in terms of imperial expansion through the *kava* ceremony control, new politics and land tenure, stone masonry and double hulled canoe construction, among others.

Some interpretations of the *Ha'a* Tu'i Lo'au, or Tu'i Ha'amea, and the Tu'i Ha'atu'unga help to widen the understanding of the history and geography of Ha'amea, including other related events relating to the beginning of *fatongia* in *kava* ceremony. This has directed the Chapter to unveil some information on the word *fonua*, and its definitions. How it was important to *kava* ceremony and *fatongia* in conjunction to the notions of Royal *Kava*, *Tala Hau*, chiefly *kava*, *Tala 'Alofi*, and extended family *kava*, *Tala Fatongia* in Hu'akau's definitions are very central to this sub-section too. How the King, Tu'i, *hou'eiki*, and *matāpule*, are seated in the *Tala Hau* is highlighted as well. This has helped to direct the discussion to suggest some definitions of *ha'a*, *Sina'e* and Lo'au. Lo'au therefore was not just a title, *hingoa fakanofa*, of a lineage, *ha'a*, and a person, but it was also referred to any major change in the culture at large, *anga fakafonua* (*taufatungamotu'a-e-fonua*), as well as, any

wishes for major changes by the Tu'i Tonga in antiquity and Tu'i Kanokupolu in modern Constitutional era.

Formal speech, *malanga*, in *kava* ceremony with its proposed characteristics has brought into account its cultural, moral, political and aesthetic significance to society generally. Apart from its metaphoric-epiphoria, *heliaki*, with cultural ethos in fostering the willingness of people to participate more in *fatongia*, and moral-politically keep people at bay, its other aesthetic side also helps to enhance the divine climax of *tauēlangi* and '*alaha kakala* in psycho-analytic manner. In whichever way, they can all give strength for paving *maau* within the status quo. In addition, the discussion of the concepts of circle, *fuopotopoto* or '*alofi*, curve, *ngaofe* or *fasi*, and spirality, *vilovilo* or *fakate'ete'puaka*, as the *fu* of *heliaki* with their relation to their *uho* like intersection, *fēlalava'aki*, and interception, *fēhauakitu'a'aki*, has further enlightened the *heliaki* nature of Moanan-Tongan language in metaphoric-epiphoric terms. This is followed by the analysis of the related ancient words of food portion, *fono*, and root-cap of *kava*, *fakatomo*, in a *Tala Hau* and *Tala 'Alofi*, as well as, the *fahu* system, and ancient and modern *kava*, which has brought the whole Chapter to its end. All of the above have in fact provided answers to the main argument of this dissertation in the propositions of its themes and their conclusion, as well as, the four research questions that I have reiterated in the beginning of this Chapter.

I now continue to Chapter V with its attempt to highlight and illuminate some theoretical outlooks from ancient Western thoughts and civilization regarding obligation, *deontic* or *fatongia*, since the 5th Century BC in ancient Greece until 5th Century AD before the emergence of the Dark Ages. Largely, it is an endeavour to bring into mind the great works on *deontic* by Greek philosophers up to the Hellenistic scholars with conjunction to happiness, *fiefia* or *eudaimonia*, and its related words like serenity and satisfaction. Importantly, such Western thinkers were the first in world thoughts to study and analyse *deontic* from logical, scientific and philosophical perspectives. It is therefore fundamentally significant for this dissertation to find out how they had actually conceptualized fundamental and related concepts like *deontic*, obligation, and *eudaimonia* with relation to *kallos*, beauty, and *dykaisyn*, justice. I now turn and discuss *deontic* and its other related concepts with contrasting and comparing to the propositions of the themes and research questions of this dissertation.

Chapter V: Greece and Rome

Greek culture was competitive. . . It was also a culture which raised in acute form all the basic questions about human life: Is slavery wrong ('against nature')? What is the ultimate source of law, human or divine?...Is civil disobedience sometimes right? How can the rule of law be established over blood-feud and family loyalties?...What is the ideal size for a community? What is the role of heredity and what of education in the formation of character (Griffin, 1986:5-6).

This Chapter discusses certain theoretical conceptions on obligation in Western thoughts and civilization since ancient Greece in the 5th Century BC to the fall of the Roman Empire around the 5th AD. It is a discussion of the political, civic, social, economic, legal and moral obligation from the philosophical and scientific insights of Socrates, Plato and Aristotle. This is followed with a discussion of the philosophical and scientific insights from doctrines of the Skepticism, Cynicism, Stoicism and Epicureanism during the Hellenistic Age between the 3rd Century BC during Alexander the Great to the beginning of the Roman Empire around the 1st Century BC and its fall around the fifth Century AD. As a consequence, this can help to elaborate the main argument of this dissertation, with its emphasis on the ontology of considering *fatongia*, obligation, as a worldview, *philosophia* or *weltanschauung*, to human fundamental values and behaviours. Also, this Chapter will depict that the fundamental values and behaviours like democracy, *demoskratos* and justice, *dykaisyn* in relation to happiness, *fiefia* or *eudaimonia* were propounded by these classical thinkers (Tredennick, 1954; Annas, 1986; Boardman, 1986; Hornblower, 1986; Murray, 1986).

5.1. Introduction.

Without studying the ancient Western thoughts, this study may not be able to grasp some wider and comprehensive outlooks of the main argument of this dissertation. Also without doing so, I may not be able to provide some meaningful answers to the focus of research questions 2, 3 and 4 of this study. Is the specific aim of *fiefia*, happiness, unique to Moana-Tongan society per se? Why is *fatongia* considered as a worldview to the fundamental values and behaviours of ancient society? What are the relation and distinction between *fatongia* and obligation worldwide in ancient worlds?

Following this theoretical conception, I would therefore like to discuss obligation, *deontic*, in Greco-Roman thoughts with accordance to the subsequent order of section. The first section unfolds certain theories on such a concept by Socrates, Plato and Aristotle. This is

followed with some discussions of those by the Skeptics, Cynics Stoics and Epicureans during the Hellenistic Age including the Roman times. In fact, the Greeks and Romans were the pioneers in developing major theoretical conceptions regarding the fundamental values and behaviours of human life. Their studies of *deontic* with conjunction to democracy, justice and happiness were among of their main contributions to civilization worldwide. I am not intended to discuss their works in detail but just to select some theoretical conceptions on obligation with conjunction to concepts like democracy, *demokratos*, justice, *dykaisyn*, truth, *aletheia*, and happiness, *eudaimonia* (Tredennick, 1954; Annas, 1986; Boardman, 1986; Hornblower, 1986; Levi, 1986; Murray, 1986; Parker, 1986; West, 1986).

5.2. From Socrates to Aristotle

There are three sub-sections of this section. The place of obligation in the dialogues of the *Apology* and *Crito* in *Plato's The Last Days of Socrates*, *The Republic* by Plato and Aristotle's view on obligation in *The Politics* with reference to his *Nicomachean Ethics* and *Eudemian Ethics*. Particularly, the discussion describes the pluralistic and paradoxical nature of *deontic* in relation to the concepts of human interests, *phratia*, justice, *dykaisyn*, truth, *aletheia*, and knowledge, *gnosis*, in social institutions such as politics, *politika*, education, *paedeia*, and city-state, *polis* (Plato, 1954, 1955, Tredennick, 1954; Lee, 1955; Warner, 1958; Annas, 1986; West, 1986). Now I would like first to provide some general views on such three Greek thinkers.

It appears that Socrates left no written works with us but we have known of him through the dialogues of his well-known student Plato. His legacy is the Socratic Method, *Elengkhos*, of Dialectic, *Dialektike*, by reaching an answer through a dialogue of cross-examination, with the aim in attaining the truth, *aletheia*, of any issue under-consideration. Plato was Socrates' main disciple. In *Phaedo*, Plato described his master as “the wisest and justest and best of all men.” His most renowned student was Aristotle, who joined him at the age of seventeen and remained until Plato's death. On that note, I now turn and start with the discussion of Socrates in *Crito* and *Apology* (Plato, 1954; 1955; Tredennick, 1954; Lee, 1955; Synder, 1955; Warner, 1958; Annas, 1986; Hornblower, 1986; Murray, 1986).

5.2.1. Socrates in *Apology* and *Crito*

Warner (1958: 51-56) has suggested that Socrates was the inventor of moral and political philosophy. Yet, there were some circumstances in which the pre-Socratic ethical doctrine of Protagoras in the dialogue *Protagoras* and his school of Sophists, “Man is the measure of all things”/“*Anthrōpos métron*”, was reappeared in Socrates' interpretation of certain major intellectual questions at the time. Within this context, nonetheless, was the development of the conception towards what we are now alluded to as 'humanism' - the belief in perceiving man and his political community, *politika*, in the city-state, *polis*, as the centre (or measure) of ethics, culture and civilization rather than the gods or super-beings. Even though he often talked about a variety of social issues like public interests, *phratría*, of different groups, he was more concerned with ethical questions of the civic life like ‘what is good’ or ‘what is virtue’ (Plato, 1954, 1955; Tredennick, 1954; Lee, 1955; Snyder, 1955; Warner, 1958; Annas, 1986; Hornblower, 1986; Murray, 1986; West, 1986).

A long the same line, Anderson (1962) has claimed that unlike his Sophist counterparts Socrates was more concerned with moral and philosophical questions rather than developing a social theory (Baker, 1979). Snyder (1955) explains this ethical and humanistic approach by saying that the Greeks were the first secular-minded people to become interested in man morally and politically. They made many valuable contributions to the understanding of social relationships too; nevertheless they were not scientifically aware of establishing a solid structure for disciplines of social sciences (Plato, 1954, 1955; Tredennick, 1954; Lee, 1955; Snyder, 1955; Warner, 1958; Hornblower, 1986; Murray, 1986; West, 1986).

The claim by most scholars and commentators that Plato had manipulated Socrates' 'original ideas', when recording them, to suit his own viewpoint is not actually relevant to this study. What matters the most is the objectivity of the ideas in the *Apology*, *Crito* and *The Republic* with respect to the main argument of this thesis. Hence, the names of these two thinkers are sometimes used interchangeably throughout the Chapter. However, I will now begin the next sub-section with a discussion of the changeable and multiple nature of *deontic* in the *Apology*.

5.2.1.1. *Apology*

The *Apology* is a dialogue about Socrates when attending the Assembly of Athens for the allegation that he poisoned the minds of youth on the streets with his philosophical, scientific and ethical teachings. This is one of Plato's famous dialogues on Socrates with many phrases and sentences about his worldview to life, *philosophia* or *weltanschauung*. Socrates' attempt to defend his freedom of speech, *parrésia*, in the civic laws, *kanonismi*, to speak of what he referred to as justice or right, *dikaisyn*, and truth, *aletheia*, in front of the court of jury of the Athenian Assembly is among the themes of this dialogue. Accordingly, as a fellow citizen of Athens under the civic laws, *kanonismi*, one of his major duties or *deontic* was to defend the civic and political right of *parrésia*, and this was demonstrated by taking into critical examination of what he believed to be the evil and un-civic ways of society. Some examples of these ways for him were false accusations, and the attempt to suppress *parrésia* of speaking of *aletheia* and *dikaisyn*, which is after all the highest virtue, *arête*, of the *kanonismi* and worldview, *philosophia* (Plato, 1954, 1955; Tredennick, 1954; Lee, 1955; Synder, 1955; Warner, 1958; Hornblower, 1986; Murray, 1986; West, 1986).

The defending of *parrésia* through defining and criticizing these evils was conceived by Socrates as his legal and political *deontic* within the court of jury, as well as, in the politics, *politika*, of the *polis*. It shows in the *Apology* that one fundamental question of whether *parrésia* was a political and legal *deontic*, or a method of scientific and philosophical inquiry, or both, was not well defined by Socrates. For that matter, such a dialogue seems to have amalgamated freedom of speech in its political and legal connotation with the main aim of educational and philosophical inquiry in searching of knowledge, *gnosis*. It might be not actually the case because this can stand against his famous dictum in the *Apology* of the unexamined life is not worthwhile living/*ho de anexetastos bios ou biôtos anthrôpôi*. I take this as one of his specific worldviews, *philosophia*, which is somehow similar to Burnet's (1930) definition of "science as how the Greeks see the world". In the court of jury, furthermore, Socrates (Plato, 1954; 47) explains,

Very well, then; I must begin my defence, gentlemen, and I must try, in the short time that I have, to rid your minds of a false impression which is the work of many years...; and I should like to be successful in my defence; but I think that it will be difficult, and I am quite aware of the nature of my task. However, let that turn out as God wills; I must obey the law and make my defence.

The *Apology*, then, is about the striving of Socrates through the application and utilization of *parrésia* to defend himself in front of the court of jury, with some reference to

the wills of the gods, laws, *kanonismi*, justice, *dykaisyn*, and truth, *aletheia*, in the city-state, *polis*. For him, his civic *deontic* through *parrésia* is to abide the laws and unfold *aletheia* and *dykaisyn*, on one hand. On the other hand, he appears to criticize the gods of the State and their laws and tradition in the eyes of his accusers. This was principally to defend himself from the accusations made by Meletus, Lycon and Anytus. They accused Socrates of being ‘an evil-doer’, who searched into things under the earth and heaven, and he made the worst to appear as the better cause. He taught such doctrines to others, and a corrupter of the youth, and he did not believe in the gods of the State but worshipped other divinities of his own (Plato, 1954, 1955; Tredennick, 1954; Lee, 1955; Synder, 1955; Warner, 1958; Hornblower, 1986; Murray, 1986; West, 1986).

Anderson (1962) has explained that the Socratic education begins with the awakening of the mind to the need for criticism, “to the uncertainty of the principles by which it supposed itself to be guided”. For the democrats like the accusers, this was utterly opposed to their educational and civic doctrines.

What education meant for them is seen in the *Apology* where Meletus, the leading accuser, describes Socrates as the sole perverter of the youth, while everyone else improves them; and again in the *Meno*, where Anytus, the democratic leader . . . , warns Socrates not to be so free with his criticisms of Athenians and their ways. According to these good patriots, to be educated meant simply to become a good Athenian, and that was brought about by enjoying the society of the respectable citizens of Athens (Anderson, 1962:206).

Provided that he was a philosopher and a fellow citizen of the *polis*, Socrates stood firmly in embracing his right and freedom of speech, *parrésia*, to defend him from the accusations and define to the jury his other related views on *deontic*. He was definite that his *deontic* is to speak of justice, *dikaisyn*, and truth, *aletheia*. Likewise, the *deontic* of the jury for him, on the other hand, should be to speak of *aletheia* and *dikaisyn* too. *Deontic* is therefore political-moral and legal in meanings, which implies that the duty to defend and express one’s *dikaisyn* can be carried out both in the *politika* of the civic circles, as well as, in the court of jury of the Athenian Assembly. For Socrates, this *deontic* should be delivered by all parties involved - the politicians, judges, accusers and defendants correspondingly.

Through this attempt, however, Socrates also appears to have used the 'political method of persuasion' with the aim to convince the jury to believe that he is the sole teller of truth and justice, and no one else. It must be borne in mind that the concern of this section is

not intentionally to answer the question of who is the teller of truth and who is not. Nevertheless, Socrates' political method of persuasion is well reflected in this part,

I can assure you, gentlemen, in flowery language like theirs, decked out with fine words and phrases; no, what you will hear will be a straightforward speech in the first words that occur to me, confident as I am in the justice of my cause; and I do not want any of you to expect anything different... and to consider and concentrate your attention upon this one question, whether my claims are fair or not. That is the first duty of juryman, just as it is the pleader's duty to speak the truth (Plato, 1954:45 & 46).

In the court of jury, Socrates saw himself, and his *deontic*, as the sole teller of *aletheia* and *dykaisyn*, and to the contrary, his accusers had said little or nothing that is true and just. This approach in a way contains an element of subjective and humanistic motives, for the reason that truth is morally considered to be based and subjected to the human self, or subject, of Socrates rather than the facts of explanation in their own rights. The distinction between the main specific aim of education with *aletheia*, on one hand, and politics, *politika*, with *dykaisyn*, on the other hand, in terms of freedom of speech is therefore also not thoroughly demarcated.

The interpretation by Warner (1958) can further enrich our understanding of this situation nonetheless. He explains that there was also the religious fervour of faith of Socrates – “a faith in the existence of an intellectual and moral order and in the possibility of discovering it.” This may reflect in his paradoxical teaching that “Virtue is Knowledge” and that “No one does wrong voluntarily.” For Socrates, if we were able to see ‘the good’ clearly, it could be impossible for us not to choose it in preference to ‘the bad’. In short, knowledge should be applied for moral and political improvements. This is political on the ground that it can help to keep in at bay the human fundamental values and behaviours of individual citizens in relation to their political leaders. Moralistically, this can also help to maintain unity among the social relationships of citizens within the *polis*; and *deontic* on the ground of just and fair treatment (Plato, 1954, 1955; Tredennick, 1954; Lee, 1955; Synder, 1955; Warner, 1958; Hornblower, 1986; Murray, 1986; West, 1986).

Socrates' belief that there should not be any *deontic* to comply with the demands of an unjust laws, *kanonismi*, further fosters the above-mentioned outlooks, despite of his awareness that the State may in practice encourage and justify unjust actions. Accordingly, it is better for a seeker of truth not to escape from death penalty of any kind, but to uphold *parrésia*, *dikaisyn* and *aletheia* which are the *arête* of life, and escape only from doing un-

justice and immoral acts. It is a kind of *philosophia* to society anyway. We may say that the scientific concepts of truth, *aletheia*, and the moral and politico-legal concepts of justice, *dykaisyn*, are not well differentiated in this context. Of course, all of such concepts are open for educational and philosophical evaluation, and generally, they are all facts and real situations. Socrates continued by saying,

But I suggest, gentlemen, that the difficulty is not so much to escape death; the real difficulty is to escape from doing wrong, which is far more fleet of foot. . . . When I leave this court I shall go away condemned by you to death, but they [his accusers] will go away convicted by Truth herself of depravity and wickedness. And they accept their sentence even as I accept mine. No doubt it was bound to be so, and I think that the result is fair enough (Plato, 1954: 73).

It is crucial therefore to ask of whether the belief on death penalty and its link to truth is an obligation, *deontic*, for educational inquiry, on one hand, or subjective and personal interests, on the other hand. Fundamentally, the statement that Socrates is willing to be condemned to death, because of his love of *aletheia* and *dykaisyn* is personal and subjective in character. Is this a reward for pursuing the duty of justice and truth? Is it personal and obligatory to end up in such a situation? It appears that the two issues were amalgamated in this context.

In the *Apology*, it is shown that freedom of speech, *parrésia*, to criticize evil behaviours is somehow perceived in terms on the criterion of political and legal obligation, *deontic*, with a moralistic integrity. On the other hand, the seeking of knowledge via criticism is identified here as a scientific and educational method of testing the independence of truth in a given proposition. Freedom of speech as a political, legal and moralistic obligation shall then be distinguished from the main specific interest of philosophy and science, or education, in critical-logical and empirical apparatus. Even though the dictum of the unexamined life is not worthwhile living is observable in their form, *fuó*, there are some differences in their content, *uho* (Plato, 1954, 1955; Tredennick, 1954; Lee, 1955; Synder, 1955; Warner, 1958; Hornblower, 1986; Murray, 1986; West, 1986).

We can also grasp the opposing beliefs between Socrates, on one hand, and his Sophist counterparts, on the other hand, towards the subject-matter of education in this context. Socrates strongly opposes the Sophist humanism and patriotism in treating the objective of education as principally aiming to serve the conventional beliefs and status quo of the city-state (i.e. a form of the Sophist doctrine of Protagoras in Plato's *Protagoras*, as Man is

the measure of all things/*Ánthrōpos métron*/"*Homo mensura*"). So, the main specific interest on knowledge, or truth, for its own sake has therefore become secondary to the primary focus on man as the measure of all things. In the *Apology*, Socrates appears to have amalgamated the classical view on the objectivity and independence of education, which he has described in the dialogues of *Meno* and *Theaetetus*, with the humanistic outlook of his Sophist and democrat counter-parts (Plato, 1954, 1955; Tredennick, 1954; Lee, 1955; Synder, 1955; Warner, 1958; Hornblower, 1986; Murray, 1986; West, 1986).

In general, it is embodied that the so-called ways of working, specific social interests (or aims) and subject-matter are the fundamental factors which have contributed to the identification of the differences of social institutions and individual lives. For example, the question of truth, *aletheia*, on one hand, and paying obedience, *hupakoe*, to the rule of laws, *kanonismi*, on the other hand, are totally two separated ways of working. With the former, its way of doing things is the application of critical-logical and scientific apparatus with the main primary social aim to acquire the subject-matter of truth, *aletheia*. The latter focuses in the preservation of the *status-quo* through paying *hupakoe* to the rule of *kanonismi* and the established *politika*, with the main social aim to earn the subject-matter of power-control and political stability. How this issue can relate the discussion to *Crito*, with its focus on the opinion, *doxa*, and wisdom, *sophia*, of the wise man and the will, *phratiria*, of the majority is the next issue of consideration (Plato, 1954, 1955; Tredennick, 1954; Lee, 1955; Synder, 1955; Warner, 1958; Hornblower, 1986; Murray, 1986; West, 1986).

5.2.1.2. *Crito*

The central theme of *Crito* is built on the clash between the *phratiria* and *deontic* of the mass population and the *sophia* of wise statesmen, together with their link to the primacy of *kanonismi* and constitution of the *polis*. Even though *Crito*, *Phaedo*, *Euthyphro* and the *Apology* are his main dialogues during and after his final trial, and they are very sensitive to some extent in fact, he still discussed throughout some of his main worldview, *philosophia*, on education, society and life as a whole. As shown, among such dialogues, there are controversial, paradoxical and dialectic approaches from Socrates regarding his theoretical outlook on *dykaisyn*, on one hand, and *aletheia*, on the other hand.

Socrates while staying in prison awaiting for his death penalty under the laws, *kanonismi*, was approached and persuaded by Crito (an old friend of him) to escape.

But look here, Socrates, it is still not too late to take my advice and escape. . . I shall not only lose a friend whom I can never possibly replace, but besides great many people who

don't know you and me very well will be sure to think that I let you down, because I could have saved you if I had been willing to spend the money; . . . Most people will never believe that it was you who refused to leave this place although we tried our hardest to persuade you (Plato, 1954:81).

In *Crito*, the laws, *kanonismi*, of the city-state, *polis*, are to a great respect treated as the equivalent of the social interests, *phratia*, of the majority and the individuals. Socrates explained the belief that if the whole is unjust and unwise it is better than to obey the wise statesman who stands for, and upholds, political justice, *dykiasyn*, and truth, *aletheia*, of the *polis*. In specific, he preferred to follow the opinion of one man who has wisdom, *sophia*, rather than the illusion of the many. It is much better therefore to obey a wise statesman, or 'philosopher-king', who possesses good ideas and just life, as it is shown on Plato's *The Republic*. In response to Crito's persuasion to free him, Socrates expressed his belief to follow the civic *deontic* and the *kanonism* of its *politika* (Plato, 1954, 1955; Tredennick, 1954; Lee, 1955; Synder, 1955; Warner, 1958; Hornblower, 1986; Murray, 1986; West, 1986).

The opinions of the wise being good, and the opinions of the foolish bad?. . . When a man is in training, and taking it seriously, does he pay attention to all praise and criticism and opinion indiscriminately, or only when it comes from the one qualified person, the actual doctor or trainer?. . . Then he should be afraid of the criticism and welcome the praise of the one qualified person, but not those of the general public (Plato, 1954:85).

What are standing out in this quotation are the tendency of his anti-authoritarian outlook towards injustice and the illusive will of the many. In a way, Socrates was striving to unwrap what is morally good, *arête*, to society, or *politika* particularly. However, another crucial issue that is well standing out in this standpoint is his profound respect of the *kanonismi* of the *polis* with the humanistic Sophist ethos of seeing to it as the measure of all things. Generally speaking, the laws of the *polis* in the eyes of Socrates, Plato and Aristotle are regarded as a natural phenomenon, and they are legal institutions for the moral perfection of people (Plato, 1954, 1955; Tredennick, 1954; Lee, 1955; Synder, 1955; Warner, 1958; Hornblower, 1986; Murray, 1986; West, 1986). Such a theoretical conception is well accounted by Baker (1946:1) in his *Introduction to The Politics* of Aristotle.

Plato refuses private property and family life to the guardians of the Republic, because he believes that they would interfere with the moral life of the guardians, and therefore with the moral life of the state, and therefore with the true order of nature. Aristotle vindicates for every citizen both private property and family life, and regards them both as institutions belonging to all by the order of nature, because he believes that the moral life of every

citizen requires the 'equipment' of private property and the discipline of family life. Plato and Aristotle may differ; but for both there is one end - the end of a moral perfection which can only be attained in the polis - and the end is the measure of all things.

The issue on the distinction of knowledge, *gnosis*, or education, *paedeia*, and moral-political concepts such as obligation, *deontic*, was re-appeared in *Crito*, but with less dwelling on the utilitarian criterion of happiness, *eudaimonia*, of the general will, *phratría*. Socrates' view on education as a virtue is re-emerged in his analysis of *deontic* and other moral and socio-economic terms like human interests, *phratría*, and justice, *dykaisyn*. In *Crito*, the tendency of neglecting the significance and task of freedom of speech, *parrésia*, with its characters of just and wise principles, was standing out in Socrates' perspective. Perhaps this is because the court had already condemned him guilty of corrupting the youth's minds and his denial of the civic conventional values and gods. He appears not to resume the incessant struggle he earlier pursued to assert *parrésia* as a kind of fair and proper method of settling civic problems and evils - a kind of political and legal *deontic*. Instead, he tended to believe that it was his fate to face death penalty under the supervision and wisdom, *sophia*, of the expert rulers and their just judgement in the Assembly. This was identified to be the right method for the perfection of human moral behaviours, including the choice of both life and death. In general terms, political *dykaisyn*, was therefore judged by the wisdom, *sophia*, of the expert rulers rather than the common *phratría* and opinions, *doxa*, of the majority in the *polis*. This again reflects his viewpoint, *doxa*, on the world of forms and the philosopher-king in Plato's *The Republic* (Plato, 1954, 1955; Tredennick, 1954; Lee, 1955; Synder, 1955; Warner, 1958; Hornblower, 1986; Murray, 1986; West, 1986).

5.2.2. *The Republic*

The patriotic and humanistic views on obligation to seek for the happiness, *eudaimonia*, of all citizens, *demoskratos*, are material to Book I of *The Republic*. To acquire such *eudaimonia*, the ruler(s) to whom obligation, *deontic*, and obedience, *hupakoe*, are supposed to be delivered has to rule in terms of the interests, *phratría*, and opinions, *doxa*, of the ruled subjects. In his attempt to respond to the question of what is justice, *dykaisyn*, Socrates in turn raised questions against the Sophists' definition of *dykaisyn*, as the 'will or interest of the stronger'. This includes the conventional belief of considering *dykaisyn* as giving a man his duty to participate in the civic affairs that can benefit the *politika* - the political community of the city-state, *polis*. What is *dykaisyn* then? It is a question about the basis of politico-legal *deontic*, which particularly points to the reasons of why people have to obey the ruling order and the *status-quo* of the *politika*. What social, economic, moral and

political benefits they would be rewarded in doing so are another related question. Also, this is a moral question about the preservation of solidarity among the ruled subjects themselves, and politically between them and their leaders (Plato, 1954, 1955; Tredennick, 1954; Lee, 1955; Synder, 1955; Warner, 1958; Hornblower, 1986; Murray, 1986; West, 1986).

Further, Plato perceived the wise statesman or philosopher-king as the best person to rule the *polis* and for most commentators and scholars, the rule of the wise statesman is the central theme of *The Republic*. His conception of class system discloses the belief of perceiving the wisdom, *sophia*, of the philosopher-king and the 'Guardians' as the best guiding tool to rule the 'Auxiliaries' and the rest of society which comprises farmers, manufactures and traders. For the latter their virtue is obedience, *hupakoe*, whereas for the former is to rule and command, *entolen*. In such a situation, the governing body of the wise statesman can be justified only if it takes a good care of the happiness, *eudaimonia*, of the *phratia* and welfare, *agape*, of the rulers and ruled subjects. In doing so, political *dykaisyn* will thereby be recognized within the rule of laws, *kanonismi*. Political *dykaisyn* with its aim to distribute power equally, justly and wisely is acquired if the rulers are obligated to keep at bay the *phratia* of the majority citizens (Plato, 1954, 1955; Tredennick, 1954; Lee, 1955; Synder, 1955; Warner, 1958; Hornblower, 1986; Murray, 1986; West, 1986).

Socrates made an effort to differentiate the *phratia* of the subjects from that of the rulers, and also from the interests of other social activities such as a work of art. Also the ways of working of a social activity are distinct from the status of the individuals involved, which is the demarcation of the person as a source of knowledge from the issue as such. The perfection of a given piece of work is conceived to be the interest of art, which its specific aim after all is to attain, beauty, *kallos*. *Book I* of *The Republic* reveals a brief extract of this type of insight.

And the pilot - that is to say, the true pilot - is he a captain of sailors or a mere sailor?

A captain of sailors.

The circumstance that he sails in the ship is not to be taken into account; neither is he to be called a sailor; the name pilot by which he is distinguished has nothing to do with sailing, but is significant of his skill and of his authority over the sailors.

Very true, he said.

Now, I said, every art has an interest?

Certainly.

For which the art has to consider and provide?

Yes, that is the aim of art.

And the interest of any art is the perfection of it - this and nothing else (Plato, 1955:11)?

Moreover, unlike the insistence of the Sophists that political *dykai-syn* is about the interest of the stronger, Socrates in Plato's explanation looks to it as a phenomenon emerging from the effort of the rulers to take a good care of the *phrat-ria* and *eudaimonia* of the ruled subjects. So, it is about the interests of both parties through their association on the medium of politico-legal and moral *deontic*. Further, he does make a distinction between *dykai-syn* and other modes of working - humanistic and artistic considerations for instance. *Dykai-syn* can be referred to a situation in which the *phrat-ria* of the whole are being recognized and appreciated by their leaders. For Socrates, justice is far-reaching in meaning, and it does not confine itself to just making money and satisfying material necessities in the eyes of the Sophists (Plato, 1954, 1955; Tredennick, 1954; Lee, 1955; Synder, 1955; Warner, 1958; Hornblower, 1986; Murray, 1986; West, 1986). In his explanation to Thrasymachus at the end of *Book I*, Socrates accounts,

Then now, Thrasymachus, there is no longer any doubt that neither arts nor governments provide for their own interests; but, as we were before saying, they rule and provide for the interests of their subjects who are the weaker and not the stronger-to their good they attend and not to the good of the superior. And this is the reason, my dear Thrasymachus, why, as I was just now saying, no one is willing to govern; because no one likes to take in hand the reformation of evils which are not his concern without remuneration. For, in the execution of his work, and in giving his orders to another, the true artist does not regard his own interest, but always that of his subjects; . . .(Plato, 1955: 16-17)

The Socratic view of seeing the pursuit of a main specific interest to be the aim of a social activity is indeed crucial to the worldview, *philosophia*, of obligation, *deontic*, at large. Evidently, a similar kind of conception is seen too in *Crito*, which has been regarded by scholars and commentators as a master-piece of work in ancient Greece on the political nature of *deontic*. Again, there are some explanations in this dialogue regarding the distinction of the will or interest, *phrat-ria*, of the whole, *demoskratos*, from that of the individuals. *The Republic* with its central theme that the rule of the wise statesman, or philosopher-king, as the best form of governing, has again manifested the interlocking nature of different kinds of main specific social interests. It is about dealing with how they are related to the utilitarian criterion

of happiness, *eudaimonia*, and other fundamental values and behaviours such as truth, *aletheia*, and justice, *dykaisyn*.

Its opening section directs the attention to his conception of the three main components of social interest - the interests of the stronger, the weaker, and that of a particular activity or any work of art. For the first two, it was contemplated that the governing body of the wise statement can be justified if it takes a good care of the happiness, *eudaimonia* and justice, *dykaisyn* of the whole - the interests and welfare, *agape*, of ruled subjects generally. As a consequence, political and moral justice will then be recognized by the public within the laws, *kanonismi*, of the city-states

In principle, political *dykaisyn* therefore stands for the protection and justification of the main human interests, *phratría*, of the whole, and this is the situation whereby political and moral obligations enter. It is for the former to deal with the political relationship between the leaders and their subjects, and for the latter among the values and behaviours of the subjects themselves. Perhaps one main weakness of this approach is related to Socrates too much emphasis on the elevation of the interests of the weaker at the expense of the stronger, on one hand. In his strong opposition to the Sophist argument that *dykaisyn* is about the interest of the stronger, he has effectively turned to the opposite side, and postulated that for *dykaisyn* to be accountable and transparent, the interests of the weaker must be served and looked after properly by the stronger, or philosopher-king. This sounds in contradict with his other emphasis on the wisdom, *sophia*, of the philosopher-king (Plato, 1954, 1955; Tredennick, 1954; Lee, 1955; Synder, 1955; Warner, 1958; Hornblower, 1986; Murray, 1986; West, 1986).

This has overlooked the fact that the main characteristics of the stronger and the weaker have different ways of working – obedience, *hupakoe*, and command, *entolen*. They are normally conflict with each other. So, justice, *dykaisyn*, and obligation, *deontic*, are a result of the interplay of conflicting interests and ways of working of all parties while struggling through legitimacy for the accumulation of their individual power and authority at the expense of others. In short, we can only have grounds for politics if there is an open front and battlefield for conflicting interests to express their differences with one another. *Dykaisyn* is then earned as a consequence of balancing out these irreconcilable and reconcilable human characteristics through well-defined politico-legal procedures and constitutional means (Plato, 1937; Plato, 1954; Anderson, 1962; Plato 1963; Tredennick, 1954; Lee, 1955; Synder, 1955; Warner, 1958; Annas, 199; Hornblower, 1995; Murray, 1995; Price, 1995; West, 1995).

Socrates has done a superb job by scrutinizing the general and particular characteristics, together with how their particular ways of working and interests are operated in a social tussle. As seen earlier, his employment of the term interest or common interest, *phratría*, particularly points to main particular aims of different modes of life. In effect, there we have in perspective the interest of the stronger, the interest of the weaker, and that of any particular work of art. Accordingly, the interest of any work of art is its aim after all. Above all, it is revealed that such a cluster of social interests does not always generate its ways of operation in a smooth and one-sided way.

On the other hand, the ways of operation of these social interests, *phratría*, in the normal course of events are acting and counter-acting in opposing and supporting manners. Socrates' attempt to differentiate the *phratría* of a philosopher-king and the Guardians (stronger) from that of the Auxiliaries (weaker), and also the clash of such *phratría* among the gods in his other dialogue, *Euthyphro*, further reflect the nature of such conflicting and opposing manners. In his intellectual effort to draw out the boundaries of certain social institutions and individuals together with their individual *phratría* and ways of operation, Socrates in effect inclined and amalgamated politico-legal justice, *dykaisyn*, and education, *paedeia*, to some respects. Similar to the previous analysis of the *Apology* and *Crito*, *The Republic* again through Plato displays the idea that the ways of life of education and politics are two sides of the same coin, in the view of Socrates. With its central theme that the philosopher-king is the best form of leadership, *The Republic* has appeared to promote an opposite viewpoint from the earlier claim of this research that practically education, *paedeia*, with its main specific social interest in searching of truth, *aletheia*, is distinct from the way of life of politics, *politika* in searching of power. If the main specific aim of *paedeia* is to search of the subject-matter of knowledge, *gnosis*, and *aletheia*, and *politika* is mainly for power, *sakkara*, and authority, *exousia* to rule and command, then morally a philosopher-king might not be the right person to rule a *polis*. This is for the reason, that, the terms philosopher and king already reflect these separate main aims of education and politics at large, and they are somehow in contrast to each other. The main specific interest of a philosopher for example does not fully guarantee straight away that he is going to be a good and just political leader. It is more logical to suggest that a good political leader shall be found in the hand of a wise and just politician rather than the philosopher-king of Plato and Socrates (Plato, 1954, 1955; Tredennick, 1954; Lee, 1955; Synder, 1955; Warner, 1958; Hornblower, 1986; Murray, 1986; West, 1986).

With the interest in the spirit of inquiry and the love of knowledge, the primary and immediate mode of working of a philosopher then is to demonstrate the truth of statements such as who is fit to rule and when we should obey the rulers. As we have seen in the *Apology* that the application of knowledge in a wise manner for the *phratia* of society is thus seemed to be the essence of this Socratic kind of pragmatic and humanistic insight. For the reason that the emphasis inclines to the direction of amalgamating the questions of what is (i.e. knowledge or question of x is y) and ‘what ought (i.e. application of knowledge)’, which is thereupon a form of pragmatism with certain utilitarian and humanistic tendencies. In this regard, the question of what is knowledge, *gnosis* (apple is red for example), should be differentiated from the meaning of *sophia*, wisdom. The former is about an explanation of the characteristics of things in their own terms, whereas the latter stands for the application of a given knowledge in a wise and just manner (Plato, 1954, 1955; Tredennick, 1954; Lee, 1955; Synder, 1955; Warner, 1958; Hornblower, 1986; Murray, 1986; West, 1986). The next sub-section on *The Politics* of Aristotle helps to elaborate some of the main issues on *deontic* in the works of Socrates and Plato that I have just unfolded.

5.2.3. *The Politics*

Aristotle in *The Politics* has re-examined the political obligation, *deontic*, of the subjects to the wise statesman, or rulers, and vice-versa, but from a slight distinct approach in contrast to those of Socrates in the *Apology* and *Crito* and Plato in *The Republic*. In *The Politics*, the government we ought to obey is said to be ideally of the wise; whether rule by law or without it, with or without consent, provided they act with wisdom, *sophia*, and justice, *dykaisyn*. This is with the aim to give economic security, *eirene*, and moral and political betterment, *arête*, to their citizens, *polites*, and, if possible, to make better men, they are the only genuine government. Since this cannot be secured, the next best thing is government according to laws, and this is at least better than unpredictable self-interest (Aristotle, 1941, 1946; Barker, 1946; Synder, 1955; Warner, 1958; Hornblower, 1986; Murray, 1986; West, 1986).

There are some insights in this theoretical insight which are material to the basic questions of who we should obey, when we should obey the rulers, and how welfare-distribution and the law can be carried out justly and wisely. With regards to *sophia* and *dykaisyn*, both are appeared to be the cornerstone of the whole insights, be with or without law - with or without the consent of the *phratia*. From Aristotle’s view, it is better to have a government or ruling order that can provide happiness, *eudaimonia*, wisdom, *sophia*, justice, *dykaisyn*, security, *eirene*, moral-political betterment, *arête*, for the citizens, *polites*, than laws,

kanonismi, which just serve and embrace the self-interest of individuals (Aristotle, 1941, 1946; Barker, 1946; Synder, 1955; Warner, 1958; Hornblower, 1986; Murray, 1986; West, 1986).

The spirit of the community or *phratría* is treated first-hand in the priority than that of the individuals; and for the Greeks generally, the provision of *eudaimonia*, *sophia*, *dykaisyn*, *eirene* and *arête* for the *phratría* of the community was morally the centre of political and welfare, *agape*, attention. On the other token, the self-interests of the individuals are just a part of this social or communal association. Aristotle agreed with Plato in seeing the satisfaction of self-interest and moral perfection of human life as a natural phenomenon. This is required when the state or government was formed with the intention to embrace and support the life-survival of its majority citizens, *polites*. In short, it is natural for individuals to struggle for life-survival through satisfying the self-interest of private and family life.

In the opening paragraph of *Book I*, Aristotle has expressed the political significance of a community.

1. Every state is a community of some kind, and every community is established with a view to some good; for mankind always act in order to obtain that which they think good. But, if all communities aim at some good, the state or political community, which is the highest of all, and which embraces all the rest, aims at good in a greater degree than any other, and at the highest good (Aristotle 1946:59).

Aristotle has inclined more to equate the idea of common or highest good, *arête*, to the utilitarian criterion of happiness, *eudaimonia*, physical or economic security, *eirene* mutual advantage in welfare, *agape*, and political justice, *dykaisyn*. *Dykaisyn* is seen as an end or justification of the state. Political *dykaisyn* shall be therefore based on the state, and this is the appropriate and right time for the ruled subjects to pay obedience, *hupakoe*, and respect, *entrepo*, to the rulers. Thus the *arête* can be generated in a just and wise manner. *Dykaisyn*, as an aspect of *arête* is then considered as altruistic, *agape* (Aristotle, 1941, 1946; Barker, 1946; Synder, 1955; Warner, 1958; Hornblower, 1986; Murray, 1986; West, 1986).

Every state is bound to partnership for mutual advantage, with a view to moral improvement, *arête*, among its citizens, *polites*, and not only for maintaining their rights against one another. With the form of government of the many, *demoskratos*, though they are individually inferior to the wise but are collectively superior to the contrary. In fact, people are the best judges of when they are badly treated by their rulers, in the outlook of Aristotle. If they are mistreated all they have to do is to elect and dismiss their expert rulers, and this is the best way of balancing out power, *sakkara*, and authority, *exousia*, between the many and the

expert rulers. Aristotle's moral philosophy aiming was to make virtue, *arête*, or 'good life' and happiness, *eudaimonia*, for the individual citizens, *polites*, and the majority respectively. Due to human nature, this could not be attained without *dykaisyn*, which for Aristotle is the very 'bond of union', which alone of all the virtues seems to be altruistic. In this sense of moral improvement, *arête*, with altruism, *agape*, and justice, *dykaisyn* is therefore among all *arête*, and it covers all different kinds of *arête*. Therefore, a good life of *arête* with its *agape* nature gives way to *eudaimonia*, and this is based on such a bond of union which is *dykaisyn*.

In his theory on citizenship and the constitutions in *Book III*, Aristotle develops the idea that a citizen in a strict sense is best defined by one condition, "a man who shares in the administration of justice and in the holding of office (Aristotle, 1946:93)." Again, the significance of *dykaisyn* in its different manifestations are in hand, and owing to human nature a good governing body must have to reinforce such a very bond of union. Hence, the moral obligation among the ruled subjects shall evolve around, and aim at the administration of *dykaisyn*. Likewise, the political obligation between the association of the rulers and the ruled when holding office shall again have to be characterized by such a kind of union.

In the opening chapters of *Book I*, a classification of the socio-economic aspects of *deontic* is well presented. Aristotle has observed the associations of the agrarian family life as the source of basic needs. In the local domain, he saw marriage life, taking care of slaves or servants and child rearing as the primary components of survival. In the wider context of the village system, barter exchange gives way to social inter-dependence among its citizens, *polites*, the improvements of specialization and the division of labour or obligation, *deontic*. All of these issues are largely dealt with the social, moral, political and economic importance of *deontic*. He continued the discussion of this hierarchical order, and its complexity, with an evaluation of the idea of monetary exchange and usury. This comprises its importance to happiness, *eudaimonia*, justice, *dykaisyn*, altruistic, *agape*, security, *eirene*, and moral improvement, *arête*, of the whole common interest, *phratria*, of the civic life, *polis* (Aristotle, 1941, 1946; Barker, 1946; Synder, 1955; Warner, 1958; Hornblower, 1986; Murray, 1986; West, 1986).

Book VII reveals that in most trading systems in the Greek world, money was efficient tools in exchange for Aristotle. Money in that regard has a primary use value for trade - an extension of the barter exchange system. The usefulness of this process is trading for the local consumption of the *polites*, and this is limited to their desire for goods. So, consumption goods are therefore limited to human needs - the closed circle in the natural

economy of the local community. The imposition of external trade on the limitation of this natural economy tends to disrupt the local flowing of wealth in a form of money among its citizens, *polites*. For Aristotle, this can reduce the accumulation of physical wealth in the local level, and in turn creates loss of substantial surplus that by virtue should be belonged to the generations-to-be or offspring of the future. Future offspring shall hence not be deprived from their rights and economic claims to public goods and wealth (Aristotle, 1941, 1946; Barker, 1946; Synder, 1955; Warner, 1958; Hornblower, 1986; Murray, 1986; West, 1986).

Book VII further illustrates the complexity of this sort of hierarchy in the observation of Aristotle. For society, the order of this hierarchy is physical goods (goods of the body) on the top of the priority list. This is followed by amenities from barter and monetary exchange (external goods), and then the philosophical and political virtues (psychic goods) at the bottom of the ladder. In the normal scheme of things, all of these virtues are inter-dependent. However, Aristotle favours on the inverse order of the hierarchy - psychic goods come first, and the other two follow accordingly.

Aristotle has reminded us that the philosophical and political (psychic) goods shall be the uppermost virtues - ahead of the physical goods (goods of the body) and amenities from barter and monetary exchange (external goods). Briefly, this Aristotelianism tends to advocate the familiar statement that it is in our best interest to think first (in a serious and critical apparatus) before doing any form of deeds (practical apparatus). For him, in the normal interaction of things, most individuals and institutions may prefer to follow the reverse of this hierarchical order. That is, action comes first before thinking. Aristotle was very aware of that issue among people's life at the time, and he purposely changed it to the opposite, together with the employment of justice, *dykaiosyn*, and wisdom, *sophia*, for attaining of happiness, *eudaimonia*. Such a life he considered as the highest virtue, *arête* of all *arête*. As a result, physical and economic security, *eirene*, and harmony, *harmonia*, then flourish in the *politika* of the *polis* beautifully and happily.

One of the significant issues with respect to this classification is dealt with the question of what is the place of *deontic*. The response to this question is provided in the following paragraphs but in the perspective on the idea of what we modern people are referring to as 'social justice' as an aftermath of the inter-dependence and interplay of the said virtues. I believe from studying *The Politics*, and other related works of Aristotle like the *Nicomachean Ethics* and *Eudemian Ethics*, that Aristotle was the first Greek and world thinker to provide social, moral and economic foundation for the idea of social justice in distribution

of welfare (Aristotle, 1941, 1946; Barker, 1946; Synder, 1955; Warner, 1958; Hornblower, 1986; Murray, 1986; West, 1986).

Thus the question on the place of *deontic* in the process is again coming into the fore, in the sense that there is a general awareness about the equity of distribution of social and economic goods in a just and wise manner. Also, the ensuring of the right of future offspring to economic security, wealth, happiness and public goods is another centre of the focus of social justice and welfare nowadays. Aristotle seems to pay a serious courtesy to socio-economic factors which can induce circumstances of social disadvantage and economic insecurity, which is the essence of social justice and welfare nowadays. Prosperity, *euhodos*, security, *eirene*, and welfare, *agape*, for happiness, *eudamonia*, to all interests, *phratiria*, of social groups are conspicuously valued in the given view. With all, moderation, *sophrosyne*, must be used as one of the main principle in guiding the overall process. In *Book VI of The Politics*,

It is their habit to distribute any surplus among the people; . . . To help the poor in this way is to fill a leaky jar. . . Yet it is the duty of a genuine democrat to see to it that the masses are not excessively poor. 8. Poverty is the cause of defects of democracy. That is the reason why measures should be taken to ensure a permanent level of prosperity. This is in the interest of all classes, including the prosperous themselves; and therefore the proper policy is to accumulate any surplus revenue in a fund, and then to distribute this fund in block grants to the poor (Aristotle, 1946:268-269).

As I partly stated, straightaway we find ourselves in what modern individuals are now referring to as social justice, in the sense of the moral and political endeavour to minimize social disadvantage and economic insecurity within a particular grouping(s) in society. Aristotle gave us crucially socio-economic and moral themes for the foundation of attaining social justice. First, the leaders, or democrats for that matter, should see to it that the mass of the *polis* 'are not excessively poor'. Second, poverty is the cause of defects of democracy, *demoskratos*. Third, due to the first and second points, measures of laws or rules (policy in modern terms) must be formulated and employed as a 'permanent level of prosperity'. Fourth, there is a need to 'accumulate surplus revenue in a fund, and then to distribute this fund in block grants to the poor'. This is what I have taken as the blueprint for the moral, social, political and economic foundation of modern social justice and welfare system, with the guidance of *dykaisyn*, *sophrosyne* and *sophia*.

Two further issues are discerned as crucial in respect to this Aristotelian approach. First, we have seen that wisdom, *sophia*, and justice, *dykaisyn*, can both be measured by the

rule of laws with the guidance of moderation, *sophrosyne*, as well as, the degree of security and betterment in the lives of the ruled subjects. The other issue is about the spirit of community and its treatment of things in a communal manner as significantly fundamental in comparison to the capricious self-interest of individuals. Instead of the conventional belief of perceiving the act of laws as the measure of all things, Aristotle in *The Politics* has reminded us that *dykaisyne*, *sophrosyne* and *sophia* can be obtained without the application and implementation of this form of socio-political measure. As long as the leaders can provide security and betterment to their subjects in a fair manner then the *polis* as a whole will be happy. This could give the rule of laws in democracy prosperity, *euhodos*, security, *eirene*, happiness, *eudamonia* and harmony, *harmonia* in equal and symmetrical ways (Aristotle, 1941, 1946; Barker, 1946; Synder, 1955; Warner, 1958; Hornblower, 1986; Murray, 1986; West, 1986).

We have seen that both Aristotle and Plato agreed on the ground of viewing the satisfaction of self-interest and moral perfection of life as a natural phenomenon. And this is required when the state or government was formed with the general purpose to embrace in supporting the life-survival of individuals through satisfying the self-interest of both private and family life. As a result, Aristotle further believed that the equipment of private property and discipline of family life are both necessary for the moral perfection of the state, whereas Plato treated these two as phenomena that would interfere with the life and *deontic* of the guardians and the moral principles of the *polis*. He then concluded that the life and *deontic* we should have to promote is that of the *polis* rather than the private property and family demands.

Politically, I therefore take the essence of *deontic* as a consequence of the interplay of different conflicting social interests, together with their individual ways of working, and subject-matters. Power or the acquisition of power, *sakkara* (and legitimacy or authority, *exousia*) is taken as the subject-matter of *politika*, and the process of seeking to it is the main specific aim of the *polis* as a whole. For the ruled subjects, paying obedience, *hupekoe*, to the rulers and the rule of laws, *kanonismi*, is one way of working to achieve their subject-matter of *sakkara*. For the rulers, their way of working to attain their subject-matter of *sakkara* is to rule and control the ruled. Unless there are subject-matters, specific social interests and ways of working will be futile, and vice-versa. Formally, *deontic* is seen to be logically characterized by its own special way of doing things justly and happily, and its main specific aim to attain its individual subject-matter of *sakkara*, regardless of the fact that Socrates, Plato and Aristotle overlooked a solid structure for the foundation of a social theory

on social classes Overall, I have attempted to discuss *deontic* with relation to political and social justice, wisdom, democracy, right, truth and happiness in the light of the classical works of Socrates, Plato and Aristotle. Now this Chapter carries on and discusses the worldview on *deontic* by the Hellenistic philosophers in relation to human fundamental values and behaviours like happiness, *eudaimonia*, serenity, *ataraxia*, and prudence, *epiphro*, or moderation, *sophrosyne*.

5.3. The Hellenistic Age

The Hellenistic thinkers who followed from Aristotle and Plato placed themselves in the tradition of Thales and of Socrates by staying aloof from disciplined practice developed by the above masters. After Aristotle, the general emphasis changed, the Hellenistic philosophy with its aim treated philosophy as an ‘art of living’. That is, philosophy was something that philosophers lived by, and a philosopher’s task was to discover the ‘best life’ to teach it, and to live it in the manner of serenity and in aloof from the normal administration of *dykaisyn* in the *politika* of the *polis*. Also, the Hellenistic Age was marked by a passionate concern with the theory of knowledge. The art of living must rest upon a firm knowledge on the nature of things, and the foundation of knowledge must be philosophically and artistically secure (Synder, 1955; Warner, 1958; Griffin, 1986; Price, 1986; Fox, 1986; Barnes, 1986; Crawford, 1986).

The main three doctrines of Epicureanism, Stoicism and Skepticism for instance provided quite distinctive answers to this issue of personal goodness, *arête*, justice, *dykaisyn*, moderation, *sophrosyne*, and obligation, *deontic*. For the Epicureans, they concerned with explanations of the universe based on our use of reason to terminate human fears on false beliefs such as fear of afterlife. The Stoics emphasized the importance to understand nature in order that human kinds could settle ourselves to things which we have control. For the Skeptics, “they sought consolation in the notion that human kinds do not have the means to actually understand anything, advising that we should adapt to this and stop worrying (Warner, 1958; Griffin, 1986; Price, 1986; Fox, 1986; Barnes, 1986; Crawford, 1986).

Warner (1958:140-141) explains this change in the discipline of philosophy after the time of Plato and Aristotle.

He [Aristotle] and Plato were philosophers for intellectuals..., the philosophy of the new period was provided by others, and was quite different from theirs. Perhaps the clearest indication of the changed atmosphere of philosophy can be found in the changing conception of “happiness”, the goal of life, and consequently of the means proposed for

achieving it. For one thing, this question came to be the dominant concern of philosophy, at the expense of those epistemological and metaphysical inquiries which, Plato and Aristotle at least, had been no less important and absorbing...Accordingly, almost every later school agreed in the attempt to maintain that happiness, rightly conceived, must be in the sole power of individual himself.

Warner (1958) further describes that during this early stage of the Hellenistic Age, no religion was powerful enough to serve the demand and security of people. So philosophers established schools and became the ‘wandering friars’ of this turbulent period until the rise of the Roman Empire. On that note I now carry on and first discuss the philosophy, *philosophia*, of the Skepticism.

5.3.1. Skepticism

There were two main schools of Skepticism between the 3rd Century BC and the 3rd AD: Scientific and Academic Skepticism. I am not discussing them differently in details. Apart from their main differences, both of them shared the same viewpoint in perceiving and obtaining knowledge through systematic doubt and continual testing. This means that the main characteristic of Skepticism is defined by “the systematic method of suspended judgment, systematic doubt and criticism.” One of its first well-known philosophers was Pyrrho in the Academic Skepticism who viewed things as equally indifferent, immeasurable, indistinguishable and undecidable. This whole principle is what he called *acatalepsia*, which means the ability to withhold assent from doctrines regarding the truth of things in their own nature. He believed that we should not put our trust in things and issues of reality, but we should un-commit by saying that both A and not A are true, or neither A nor not A.

As an aftermath of accepting this attitude people will then experience, firstly, speechlessness, *aphasia*, and then secondly, freedom from disturbance, *epoché*, and serenity, *ataraxia*, which at the end leads on to happiness, *eudaimonia*. So, Pyrrho’s philosophy in postulating moral life with its basis on tranquillity, *ataraxia*, and *eudaimonia* through the utilization of *epoché* made him ethically famous. *Eudaimonia* is then viewed as an outcome of this goal of life with its attitude to suspend judgment, *aphasia*, and so freedom from anxiety, *ataraxia* then straightaway rises into consideration. According to Sextus Empiricus who later recorded most of the doctrines of the early Skeptics like Pyrrho, this is more or less like a ‘shadow follows the body’ – *ataraxia* straightaway follows *aphasia*, which also implies that *eudaimonia* is acquired too as a result (Synder, 1955; Warner, 1958; Griffin, 1986; Price, 1986; Fox, 1986; Barnes, 1986; Crawford, 1986; Sextus, 1990; Wilson, 2008).

Another interesting case was about Carneades, one of the Academic Skeptics, in his ability not to take justice, *dykaisyn*, for granted, and embodied how it is possible to be wrong about it. *Dykaisyn* can be easily denied if we apply this principle of Skeptic *acatalepsia*. This reflects his Skeptic belief that people cannot possess the criterion of truth, *aletheia*. Carneades argued that if there was a criterion it must exist either in reason, *logos*, sensation, *aisthêsis*, or conception, *phantasia*. Reason itself depends on conception, and this again on sensation; and we have no means of judging whether our sensations are true or false. In a way, it sounds similar to the Sophist argument presented by Protagoras in *Theaetetus*, by which he alleged that one can put forward a convincing argument on both sides of any issue or question. To the contrary, Protagoras' convincing argument is meant to accept rather than reject opposing views (Synder, 1955; Warner, 1958; Griffin, 1986; Price, 1986; Fox, 1986; Barnes, 1986; Crawford, 1986; Sextus, 1990; Wilson, 2008).

Sextus Empiricus claimed in the light of the Pyrrhonian argument through the concept of opposites that tranquillity, *ataraxia*, follows suspension of judgment, *epoché*, in the principle of *acatalepsia*. This is a result of setting things in opposition. We oppose either appearances to appearances or objects of thought to objects of thought, when Anaxagoras countered the notion that snow is white with the argument, "snow is frozen water, and water is black; therefore snow also is black." Even though Pyrrho did not leave any writing, according to his pupil Timon, but he suggested the following issues. If someone wants to be happy he or she must consider three important factors. Firstly, how are things by nature, which is, what constitute them. Secondly, what opinion should we adopt towards them? Thirdly, what will be the outcome for those who have such an opinion (Synder, 1955; Warner, 1958; Griffin, 1986; Price, 1986; Fox, 1986; Barnes, 1986; Crawford, 1986; Sextus, 1990; Wilson, 2008). This directs this sub-section further to examine the related Hellenistic doctrine of Cynicism with its emphasis in living aloof from the normal activities of daily life.

5.3.2. Cynicism

The term Cynics moreover was a Greek word for 'dog'. Two views on why the Cynics were called in such a way: one is that they were named after the gymnasium called 'Cynosarges' ('White dog') whereby Antisthenes and his associates started the school; second is that Diogenes was nicknamed the 'Dog' due to the practice of his lifestyle. The first Cynics began with Diogenes of Sinope, with their title: they barked at those who displeased them, spurned Athenian etiquette, and lived from nature. They had no special place for the school like the others, but they believed in teaching and discussing on the streets, and considered theories as too speculative. They claimed that they are the true followers of

Socrates. Their primary interests were ethical and treated it as more a way of living than a doctrine in explication. The Cynics, whom the Stoics followed after, perceived the ‘Cynic way of life’ as a shortcut to virtue. Even though they often suggested that they have discovered the promising path to virtuous life, without considering its difficult route in living a life of poverty (Synder, 1955; Warner, 1958; Laertius, 1979; Griffin, 1986; Price, 1986; Fox, 1986; Barnes, 1986; Crawford, 1986; Navia, 1998).

Diogenes of Sinope, a follower of Antisthenes and Crates of Thebes, was known as a ‘Socrates gone mad’. This sentence reflects the radical lifestyle of Diogenes with homeless beggar who questioned all social norms and conventions. When a philosopher argued that motion is impossible, Diogenes without a single word, simply got up and began to walk and show straightaway that motion does in fact exist. Moreover, Foucault (1983) has described Cynicism in his seminar on ‘The Cynic Philosophers and their techniques’ as the most practical in essence among Skepticism, Stoicism and Epicureanism; and in addition, it was revived later on after Antisthenes and Diogenes became influential between the First Century BC and Fourth Century AD. Foucault (1983:1) has explains,

Regardless of what we can determine about the origins of Cynicism, it is in fact that the Cynics were very numerous and influential from the end of the First Century to the Fourth Century A.D. Thus in A.D. 165 Lucian –who did not like the Cynics- writes: “The city swarms with these vermin, particularly those who profess the tenets of Diogenes, Antisthenes and Crates.” It seems, in fact, that the self-styled ‘Cynics’ were so numerous that the Emperor Julian, in his attempt to revive classical Greek culture, wrote a lampoon against them scoring their ignorance, their coarseness, and portraying them as a danger for the Empire and for Greco-Roman culture...Julian was also disappointed that the Cynics were not able to represent ancient Greco-Roman culture, for he hoped that there would be something like a popular philosophical movement which would compete with Christianity.

Furthermore, Antisthenes was a student of Socrates, and as Foucault mentioned him in the quotation as the founder of Cynicism. He started the school after the death of Socrates, and Diogenes of Sinope was his student who carried out the crux of the doctrine afterwards. Like Socrates, Antisthenes regarded virtue as a necessary and sufficient condition for happiness, *eudaimonia*, together with the belief that it should be a branch of knowledge that could be taught. Virtue, *arête*, for him is all about freedom from wants through the avoidance of evil which is determined by pleasure and desire. Antisthenes in supporting this stance once said that, “I would rather go mad than experience pleasure.” Valuing anything for its own sake other than virtue is destructive, and this is harmful for ‘self-sufficiency’,

according to Diogenes (Synder, 1955; Warner, 1958; Laertius, 1979; Griffin, 1986; Price, 1986; Fox, 1986; Barnes, 1986; Crawford, 1986; Navia, 1998).

He viewed that self-sufficiency is one of the most desirable thing in life, this is because it allows people to feel independent of others which effectively allow them to be free as possible, *apatheia*. This natural life of self-sufficiency is seen on animals, and not merely animals but children too. Diogenes once saw a child drinking out of his hands, he then said the child has taught me a lesson in simplicity. He advocated that the main way to attain *apatheia* and *eudaimonia* is through discipline. There must be constant exercise and discipline of our body and soul so as to strengthen our physical and spiritual capacities. At the same token, we need to dislike for pleasure, because it can weaken us.

The pleasure from buying new clothes often can make us slaves of our own wallet and then intrude and affect our moral strength. We have to detach ourselves from such a pleasure, in order to achieve complete freedom. Furthermore, Diogenes was highly respected by Alexander the Great because of his Cynicism and practical *sophia*. While he was in his tub outside sunbathing the Alexander asked him, ‘what he could do to help him.’ Diogenes replied, “Get out of my light”. For Diogenes, the sun was more important because it allows him to have a direct contact with nature – especially for his self-sufficiency (Synder, 1955; Warner, 1958; Laertius, 1979; Griffin, 1986; Price, 1986; Fox, 1986; Barnes, 1986; Crawford, 1986; Navia, 1998).

The following quotation from Warner (1958:194) will conclude this sub-section about the Cynicism, and also link the discussion to Stoicism which emerged out mainly from the intellectual influence of the former:

By comparison with this quality the Cynics deliberately disparaged all learning, all refinement, all civilization even; they set themselves to ignore, or even (in the case of Diogenes) openly to flout, the customary conventions and properties; they determined to reject as superfluous and dispensable worldly goods, worldly positions, even freedom in the ordinary sense-for slavery....Instead of pursuing their debates in academic seclusion, they became wandering mendicant, preaching against the shams and corruption of the world, and in favour of a simple, supposedly “natural” life in which all should be equal, the whole of mankind one family. It is plain that we have here a foretaste of Stoicism; and in fact, as Stoicism developed, the Cynics languished.

5.3.3. Stoicism.

Stoic philosophers were based on the “traditionalist ideas of justice, *dykaisyn*, and not merely by specific interests, *phratria*, of the rulers.” Private property to a certain extent was absurd, on one hand. It is because the whole world was available for all, actual property rights must therefore be admired, on the other hand. For example, a seat in the theatre is in one way public and in another reserved for the one who ought to sit there. Stoicism reminds us of what is really in someone’s power. In the sense that we cannot always prevent tyrants or petty thieves in robbing, torturing or killing us, but they in turn cannot prevent our seeking for the assistance and settlement of the laws, *kanonismi*. Zeno of Citium in Cyprus was said to be the founder of Stoicism. He was born before the death of Aristotle in 322 BC. He developed Stoicism out from Crates’ Cynic position, and those of other Platonist thinkers from the Academy such as Xenocrates and Polemo, in the Stoa Poikile - the Porch, like a Garden, in Athens. This was despite Zeno’s abandon of Crates, because of the latter’s extreme view on philosophy as a discipline and life as whole (Synder, 1955; Warner, 1958; Griffin, 1986; Price, 1986; Fox, 1986; Barnes, 1986; Crawford, 1986; Long, 1986, 2002).

However, philosophers like Cleanthes of Assus and his successor Chrysippus transmuted Stoicism into a more systematic and comprehensive philosophy. Also, it was the most influential doctrine among Skepticism, Cynicism and Epicureanism during the Hellenistic Age. “Of the post-Aristotelian schools of philosophy there can be little doubt that Stoicism was the most influential. W.W. Tarn goes so far as to say that the philosophy of the Hellenistic world was the Stoa; all else was secondary (Warner, 1958:165).”

Chrysippus himself ‘differed on many points from Zeno and also from Cleanthes, to whom he would often say that he only needed to be taught the theories and would he discover the proofs for himself’. Nonetheless, the central tenets of the Old Stoics remained firm. In ethics they rejected hedonism and counselled a life of ‘virtues’; in physics they accepted a form of materialism but denied atomism; in logic they were empiricists, but they assigned a major role to reason in the development of knowledge (Barnes, 1995:368-369).

For Zeno, there are two divisions of people, the wise and the depraved. The latter are those who totally suffer from the negative experiences of life, behaving in a life of corruption, which is a reflection of their lack of wisdom with no wealth after all. Zeno believed that the study of natural phenomenon proves useful in the progress of sciences, and this can finally lead to the ethical perfection of the human being. He asserted that only the wise man is able to make astute use of the experiences he collected from life of wisdom. Stoicism from then onwards saw the world in a dualistic way whereby the two classes of Zeno,

the wise and depraved, live in two different cities. The gods and wise live in harmony on a cosmic city where their existences are depended on their involvement in *logos*, wise reason. Through this procedure, people can connect and adjust themselves to one another with unity through *logos* in a manner of natural affiliation. Man therefore through wisdom participates in the cosmic being and makes himself equal to God. The wise then for the Stoics is divine. On the other hand, the city of the depraved, with their lack of wisdom which is undesirable and insignificant in the cosmic city, cannot live together in the cosmic city with God and the wise. In the city of the wise, man becomes a citizen of the world with *deontic* and loyalty to all things in its surrounding (Synder, 1955; Warner, 1958; Griffin, 1986; Price, 1986; Fox, 1986; Barnes, 1986; Crawford, 1986; Long, 1986, 2002).

Zeno promoted that there is only one criterion for truth. He spelled out that people proceed in their quest for *eudaimonia* by granting themselves to the cosmic events is an expression of divine will. This act in accordance with the natural laws is good and wise. Conversely, the corrupted man cannot live in harmony with those laws, is unwelcome in the city of Stoics, where both gods and mortal people cohabit harmoniously. The acceptance of cosmic events is linked to truth which, according to the Stoics, is a fruit of knowledge. The Stoics upheld the view that God, Logos, and Nature are similar notions, and man is logical, because God has endowed him with part of his logos, the fruits and seeds of logic. One main difficulty of their works in ethic is to see how to reconcile the claim that man is responsible for his acts, and that of man is free, with the theory of completely determined universe. The spirit of Stoic thought and its emphasis on man's essential worth, the theme of universal brotherhood (for no man is a slave by nature), and the beneficent workings of divine nature made Stoicism one of the leading philosophic schools of its day.

In this moral perspective, it includes also their profound love and care of children, youth and future generation. Seneca of the Late Stoa explained that the Stoic insistence on our duty to family, friends, and country was more useful than an Epicurean readiness to cultivate one's garden. Seneca saw philosophy as not only deal with the intellectual but directly with the soul, *animus*, as well. The physicians cure physical problems and philosophy was to help cure the ills of men's soul. He aimed to assist people not just to exist but to live well by helping them to arrive at a state of emotional equanimity and tranquillity. When they reached such a state they were living "a life in harmony with its own nature." Seneca felt that good men were chosen to undergo hardships and adversity initially to harden them. He believed that once a person had been toughened and had attained hardships, then a higher moral or spiritual purpose could be obtained through their suffering. This leads on to the final submission of this

suffering that the moral man can become One with the divine will, which in the end the person could find true and enduring happiness (Synder, 1955; Warner, 1958; Griffin, 1986; Price, 1986; Fox, 1986; Barnes, 1986; Crawford, 1986; Long, 1986, 2002).

In the moral ground of discussing matter, Epictetus put emphasis on the role of the Stoic teacher as to encourage his students to live the philosophic life, whose end was *eudaimonia*. This is a result indeed of living the life of reason, *logos*, which for Stoics meant living virtuously and living 'according to nature'. The *eudaimonia* of those who attain this ideal consists of imperturbability *ataraxia*, freedom from passion, *apatheia*, good feelings, *eupatheiai* and an awareness of, and capacity to attain, what makes someone to be a rational being. The key for transforming oneself into the Stoic wise person, *sophos*, is to learn the power of the individual, and this is the correct use of impressions, *phantasia*.

Marcus Aurelius further reflected Epictetus' view, and the Stoics, in his *Meditations* though he was not one of his students. Marcus along the same path of Stoic judgment and impression commented to keep the self-simple, good, pure, serious, free from pretence, a friend of justice, worshipper of the gods, affectionate and good act, and kind. With the revere the gods will help them. There is only one fruit of this earthly life: a pious disposition and social acts. Marcus was a great social reformer while he was a Roman Emperor who worked for the improvement of the poor, slaves and convicted criminals (Synder, 1955; Warner, 1958; Griffin, 1986; Price, 1986; Fox, 1986; Barnes, 1986; Crawford, 1986; Long, 1986, 2002).

He was however a cruel persecutor of Christianity, mainly because he felt that this religion threatened the cultural values and traditions of the Roman Empire. Marcus emphasized the spirit on impression and wise judgment from the conception of virtue(s) and its end-product of flow of happiness life, *eudaimonia*, and free from anxieties, frustrations and emotional upsets, *apatheia*. Marcus further described other related fundamental issues on denial of emotions, like freedom from emotional upsets, *apatheia*, and good feelings, *eupatheiai*, which can lead on to do divine and intelligent acts that are in unity with Logos/Nature/God, and can result in the spirit of brotherhood, *phratría*, and cosmopolitanism, *kosmopolitês* (Synder, 1955; Warner, 1958; Griffin, 1986; Price, 1986; Fox, 1986; Barnes, 1986; Crawford, 1986; Long, 1986, 2002).

This is again a reminder of the Stoic *phratría* and *kosmopolitês* with their emphasis on brotherly love with people share in one universal spirit, as well as, the treatment of all

humans with the Stoic ethics as equal. Marcus whole view on ethics appears then to be revolved around in Epictetus' interpretation of things in our power and things are not, as well as, the importance of the cosmos and its changing environment with our judgment on them. We now continue and see how the Stoicism is different but yet related to the last school of the Epicureanism.

5.3.4. Epicureanism

Epicurus was born in 341 BC after the death of Plato. He established his school in a garden outside the city walls based on “the Platonic conception of hedonism and virtue, *arête*.” His hedonism was developed out from certain Platonic notions with respect to pleasure, knowledge and virtue as they expressed in such Platonic Dialogues as the *Protagoras* and *Philebu*. Among all of this is the virtue of prudence, *epiphrôn*, or moderation, *sophrosyne*. Atomism, which tradition was expounded by Leucippus and subsequently developed by Democritus gave Epicurus a metaphysic for his hedonistic materialism. This was based on the theoretical conception that “nothing can come from nothing” and that “all that exists is atoms and void.” Empirically, this was integrated very well with his view that pleasure is the highest human good which exist in reality (Synder, 1955; Warner, 1958; Griffin, 1986; Price, 1986; Fox, 1986; Barnes, 1986; Crawford, 1986; Long 1986; Jones, 1989).

Philosophy was viewed by Epicurus as the art of making life happy, *eudaimonia*, with prudence, *epiphrôn*, in its highest. He accounted that prudence is the noblest part of philosophy or all virtues, *arête*. Life for Epicurus is personal happiness, *eudaimonia*, with *epiphrôn*. By happiness he meant not that state of well-being and perfection of which the consciousness is accompanied by pleasure, but pleasure as such. The wise man, *Sophos*, will accordingly desire “not the longest life, but the most pleasurable.” It is for the sake of this condition of permanent pleasure, or tranquillity, *ataraxia*, that the virtues are desirable. People cannot live pleurably without living prudently, gracefully, and justly; and we cannot live prudently, gracefully, and justly, without living pleurably.

Consequently, the virtues are by nature united with a pleurable life; and a pleurable life cannot be separated from these principal factors. The virtues, in short, are to be practiced not for their own sake, but solely as a means of pleasure like medicine is used for the sake of health. Epicurus said that friendship is to be pursued by the *sophos* only for its utility; but he will begin, as he sows the field in order to reap. He should not take any part in public affairs, neither marry nor have children, but he must be humane to his slaves. He should not consider all sinners to be equally bad or all philosophers to be equally good. That

is, he will not have any very exacting standard, and will neither believe very much in human virtue, nor be very much surprised at the discovery of human frailty. In this system, prudence is therefore the source of all *eudaimonia* and of all *arête* (Synder, 1955; Warner, 1958; Griffin, 1986; Price, 1986; Fox, 1986; Barnes, 1986; Crawford, 1986; Long 1986; Jones, 1989).

Happiness and pleasure, *eudaimonia*, are neither to be found in the exercise of the mind nor in man's role as a free citizen and fraternal member of a local assembly. True happiness is found in withdrawal from normal activities in life. According to Epicurus, pleasure is the primary end of mankind, pleasure is actually meant the absence of bodily pain and troubled soul. The Epicureans lived according to their own teaching. That is, withdrawal from the confusions and activities of the city to the life of the garden. Serenity of mind and austerity of habit and of attitude were the main teaching of Epicurus and his disciple, and the Rome's Epicurean poet Lucretius upheld this belief in the highest. The worldly affairs and in the expectation that a life of withdrawal in contemplation would provide contentment and this was based at the sacrifice of obligation for others in the movement.

The Epicurean philosophers did not firmly oppose to the disengagement and to retreat from worldly responsibility, but in a way to see how freedom from anxiety might be attained. Its basis is the attempt to free mankind from superstition and the fear of death. Death for them is nothing more from the dispersion of the particular combination of atoms which transforms to human soul. So it should not be feared. For the wise, or just man for that matter, he will desire not the longest life but the most pleasurable, *eudaimonia*, with *epiphron* and *ataraxia* as its essence. Epicurus was one of the first philosophers after Aristotle, Plato and Socrates to give a well contractual theory of justice. Epicurus said that justice is an agreement "neither to harm nor be harmed", and, that we have a preconception of justice as what is useful in mutual associations. People enter into communities in order to gain protection from the dangers of the wild, and agreements concerning the behaviour of the members of the community are needed in order for these communities to function, for examples, prohibitions of murder, regulations concerning the killing and eating of animals, and so on (Synder, 1955; Warner, 1958; Griffin, 1986; Price, 1986; Fox, 1986; Barnes, 1986; Crawford, 1986; Long 1986; Jones, 1989).

Like the other virtues, justice is valued entirely on instrumental grounds, because of its utility for each of the members of society. Epicurus said that the main reason not to be unjust is that one will be punished if one gets caught. Even if one does not get caught, the fear of being caught will still cause pain. The Epicurean wise man recognizes the usefulness of the

laws, and since he does not desire great wealth, luxury goods, political power, or the like, he sees that he has no reason to engage in the conduct prohibited by the laws (Bailey, 1928; Jones, 1989; Epicurus, 1964, 1993; 1994; Gottlieb, 2000; Bakalis, 2005). This brings the discussion to its last part which is the Summary with its attempt to connect the previous discussions.

5.4. Summary

This Chapter has discussed the multiple and changeable nature of obligation, *deontic*, in ancient Greece and Rome with relation to human fundamental values and behaviours such as democracy, *demoskratos*, justice, *dykaisyn*, happiness, *eudaimonia*, and tranquillity, *ataraxia*. From the works of Socrates, Plato and Aristotle to those of the Hellenistic philosophers during Alexander the Great up to the Roman Empire, the discussion has shown that such values and behaviours could not exist and function without the presence of *deontic*. Also, I have found out that these Western philosophers were the first worldwide to embark on some logical, scientific and theoretical interpretations of *deontic* in terms of the main important questions about democratic citizens, *polites*, and their politics, *politika*, in a city-state, *polis*.

They are main important questions such as who are the right person(s) to rule, who we should obey and in what conditions, who among the individual persons and majority are fit to rule, what are the laws, *kanonismi*, to preserve *dykaisyn* in *politika*, and how can welfare, *agape*, and economy of the *polis* be distributed equally and symmetrically. What are the right values and behaviours for a citizen, *polites*, to uphold in the *politika* of the *polis*, how can they be fit in with the notion of *polites* of the world and cosmopolitanism, *kosmopolitês*, and how can the *polis* acquire prosperity, *euodos*, and security, *eirene*, are other important questions among these ancient works.

In fact, there are fundamental questions that have formed and shaped the development of world democracy and politics since these Greek and Roman philosophers. Their works have been the blueprint and guideline for our present world systems of democracy, social justice, human rights, economy, laws and welfare. As shown, Socrates, Plato and Aristotle were the founding fathers of Western civilization to provide the intellectual backbone answers for most if not all of the above questions.

In the *Apology*, moreover, it has shown that Socrates asserts the belief that freedom of speech, *parrésia*, to unfold justice, *dykaisyn*, and truth, *aletheia*, is his political, educational

and moral *deontic* to the *politika* of the *polis*. Even death penalty cannot stop him from delivering his moral, educational and political *deontic* to tell the *polis* what he believes to be true and just. With *Crito*, he continues in advocating the same notion about his political, educational and moral *deontic* to tell the *aletheia* and *dykaisyn*, together with asserting the theme that it is better to listen to the opinion, *doxa*, of the wise man, *sophos*, than the general will, *phratiria*, of the unwise majority. This includes his rejecting to escape with Crito from the prison.

For Socrates, it is all for the defence of *dykaisyn* and *aletheia* and nothings else, and death penalty is the ultimate reward of such a way of life. It is better to die justly in his moral and educational belief than to submit to the unjust and false opinions, *doxa* of the accusers from the democrats, and the unwise majority, even though it is interpreted here as somehow a personal and subjective decision to some extent. Overall, Socrates sees to his political, moral and educational *deontic* in this context as part of a whole way of life to live and to die for it with no other way of escaping out. For him, the way of life of an educator, or a philosopher, is to live and die for the glory of truth and justice, and nothing else above or beyond this matter of fact. Its method of operation is based on criticism and systematic questioning of oppressive authorities and false beliefs that on the way to hinder the mode of life of promoting freedom and truth.

In *The Republic* of Plato, we have witnessed the theme regarding the wisdom, *sophia*, of the wise man in the name of philosopher-king with his *deontic* when comparing to the will, *phratiria*, of the majority citizens, *polites*. As a result, this can give prosperity, *euhodos*, and security, *eirene*, to the *polis*. Plato through the character of Socrates shows us that if the opinions, *doxa*, and *phratiria* of the majority are unwise than it is better to follow those of the wise man, or philosopher-king for that matter. In contrast to the definition of justice by Thrasymachus and the Sophists as the will of the strong, on one hand, Plato reminds us that justice could base on the *sophia* of the philosopher-king rather.

At the end, this appears to clash with another Socratic notion in the *Apology* and *Crito* that justice is what it is good for the *politika* of the *polis* as a whole. Plato also brings into consideration a theoretical foundation regarding the main different specific interests of individual groups in the *polis*, even though he does not extend this interpretation to a theory of social class in its sociological sense. It is a crucial work in philosophy and social sciences that was later on provided by founding sociologists in social sciences in our modern era, like Marx, Weber and Durkheim.

The Politics of Aristotle, moreover, has reminded us about the importance of *dykai-syn* with its *deontic* in association to the equal distribution of welfare, *agape*, prosperity, *euhodos* and security, *eirene*, among the *polites* in the light of *eudaimonia*. This includes the importance to protect the self-interests of individuals from the *phratría* of the majority *polites*. Aristotle also reminds about the importance of *demoskratos*, disadvantage people including slaves, youth and future generation, as well as, family for the stability and survival of the *polis*, which has finally directed the attention of this Chapter to Aristotle's major role in providing the economic, moral, social and political foundation to what we are nowadays referring to as social justice. It is a situation which can be applied too to human rights and welfare system, among others.

With the Hellenistic philosophers, the Sceptics with their principle of *acatalepsia* and its seeking for consolation with the realization that human kinds do not have the means to actually understand anything, advising that we should adapt to this and stop worrying and feeling obligated to the *politika* of the *polis*. It is a method of advocating the continuous doubt, criticism and testing of any knowledge, *gnosis*, and truth, *aletheia*, under the sun, without accepting them on the face-value. This will be achieved if we suspend judgment, *aphasia* or *epoché*, with its feeling of *deontic*, which can effectively free us from anxiety and frustrations. At the end, this can produce peace in mind, *ataraxia*, which is the highest virtue of *eudaimonia*.

The Cynics with their belief on living a life of poverty and homelessness is another important matter among the Hellenistic philosophers, with the aim to perpetuate and preserve the life of self-sufficiency without obligating to the normal activities of the *polis*. It is all about living in unity with the life of nature, living in a simple way as in the simplicity in the life of animals and children. This is the main way to achieve freedom, *apatheia* as well as *eudaimonia*, but we must not confuse this kind of *eudaimonia* with pleasure for self-satisfaction which is unacceptable for the Cynics.

Stoic philosophy is based on the traditionalist idea of justice, *dykai-syn*, but not on main specific interests, *phratría*, of the rulers. Private property to a certain extent is absurd, on one hand. It is because the whole world was available for all, actual property rights must therefore be admired, on the other hand. Stoicism reminds us of what is really in someone's power, that is, what we can and cannot control. This is the correct impressions, *phantasiai*, with freedom from anxiety, *apatheia*, which gives way to good feelings, *eupatheiai*. It is *dykai-syn* after all. Also they believe of the worlds of the wise and depraved. The former and

the gods live in harmony on the cosmic city with their involvement in *logos*, wise reason. On the contrary, the city of the depraved, with their lack of *logos* which is undesirable and insignificant in the cosmic city, cannot live together in the cosmic city with gods and the wise.

For the Epicureans, philosophy is viewed as the art of making life happy, *eudaimonia*, with prudence, *epiphrôn*, in its highest, as a result of freeing from anxiety and pain, *ataraxia*. *Epiphrôn* is the noblest part of philosophy and all virtues, *arête*. Life for Epicurus is personal happiness, *eudaimonia* with *epiphrôn*, and this is the essence of justice, *dykaisyn*, with the spirit and experience of tranquillity, *ataraxia*. The wise man should desire not the longest life, but the most pleasurable, prudent, graceful and just. It is for the sake of this condition of permanent pleasure, or tranquillity, *ataraxia*, that the virtues are desirable. People cannot live pleasantly without living prudently, gracefully, and justly; and we cannot live prudently, gracefully, and justly, without living pleasantly. With pleasure, it is not about human selfishness for personal satisfaction but is based on the related concepts of *epiphrô*, *eudaimonia* and *ataraxia* which are the centre of *dykaisyn*.

All of the above have in a way confirmed and asserted the previous claim in the propositions of the themes of this study happiness in its different manifestations is a world social and natural phenomenon. It is not limited to just the Moanan-Tongan people but universal in form, *fuo*, with difference in contents, *uho*. While those views of Socrates, Plato and Aristotle are closer to that of the Moanan-Tongans with their sense of *fiefia* of *tauēlangi* and *'alaha kakala*, the Hellenistic philosophers were inclined more to happiness in tranquillity, *ataraxia*, away from the centre of traditionalist beliefs. In general, the latter is somehow the opposite of the former, even though both are dealt with happiness, *eudaimonia*, in its different variation of opposing and supporting nature.

Overall, we can therefore say that happiness of excitement and happiness of tranquillity are both scrutinized by these two groups of philosophers in Greece and Rome. Such a distinction has never been explored in the context of Moanan-Tongan *fiefia*, which is then a 'bonus' for this entire study, in the final analysis. The discussion now proceeds on to the final Chapter, which is the Conclusion, with its attempt to summarize all the Chapters, and to display how they are individually connected to one another, as well as, to the propositions of the themes with the four research questions of this dissertation.

Chapter VI: Conclusion

This concluding remark focuses in contrasting and comparing a number of interrelated issues among the Chapters with reference to the main argument or main thesis of this dissertation, as well as, its four main research questions. This includes how they have individually shared reliable evidence and meaningful interpretation with the propositions of the two main themes, and their conclusion in the philosophical axiom of the Socratic-Aristotelian categorical syllogism, *katēgorikós syllogismos*. In such a conclusion, its proposition has been used as the main argument of this dissertation. Following this Socratic-Aristotelian philosophical axiom, I have therefore unveiled in Chapter I of the Introduction that if the propositions (or premises, *protases*) of the themes are logically valid then their conclusion, *sumperasma*, is by implication valid. This implies that the main argument of this study is valid as well, which is deduced from the proposition of such a conclusion.

The propositions of this categorical syllogism are as followed. Proposition one of the primary theme asserts that *fatongia* or *ngafa* is a worldview, *philosophia* or *weltanschauung*, in human fundamental values and behaviours. Proposition two of the secondary theme asserts that happiness, *fiefia*, is a specific aim, *siate*, of *fatongia*. Therefore their syllogistic conclusion asserts that *fatongia* with the *siate* of *fiefia* is a worldview in human fundamental values and behaviours, which has been referring to as well as the main argument of this overall study. Metaphorically, everything in this inquiry is hung and evolved around in such a main argument, like a bunch of ripe pandanus fruit, *fua'i fa momoho* around its main seed, *fa*.

This last Chapter, however, attempts to contrast and compare Chapters I, II, III, IV, on one hand, and V, on the other hand, regarding the place of the primary and secondary themes with its main argument. This comprises the approach of characterizing *fiefia* as the *siate* of *fatongia*, which is metaphorically and aesthetically culminated in the divine climax of *tauēlangi* and *'alaha kakala*. This Chapter shows that the previous Chapters have demonstrated and shared the main argument of considering obligation, *fatongia* or *deontic*, as embedded in human fundamental values and behaviours, like justice, *dykaisyn* or *faitotonu*, moderation, *sophrosyne* or *fie mālie*, serenity, *ataraxia* or *nonga*, and happiness, *eudaimonia* or *fiefia*. Interestingly, there are somehow certain connections between the Moanan-Tongan *fatongia* and the Greek-Roman *deontic* that were suggested by Aristotle and to a certain extent by those of the Hellenistic philosophers, as seen in the discussion of *fiefia* or *eudaimonia* and its relation to *sophrosyne* or *fie mālie*, and *ataraxia* or *nonga* for instance. They are not

exactly the same but there are some similarities and also differences in meanings and content, *uho*, regardless of their identical in form, *fu*, which is *fiefia*, but let us start with other main issues of Chapter I of the Introduction.

In Chapter I, I have re-defined *tauēlangi* and *‘alaha kakala*. With the former, its general sense points to the psychological and emotional stage in performance art whereby people in general experience the heavenly *fiefia* of climactic euphoria. In its narrow sense, it stands for the psychological and emotional stage in performance art whereby the Tu’i and His immediate Royal kin-members experience the heavenly *fiefia* of climactic euphoria. With *‘alaha kakala*, its broader sense refers to the general permeating scent of traditional *kakala* before, during and after plucking, *paki’i*, or cutting, *tu’usi*, for hours up to a day, encompassing their permeating aroma on garland, *kahoa kakala*, and waist fragrant girdle, *sisi kakala*. Its narrow sense stands for the medium freshness of *kakala* straightaway after the first immediately freshest moment of *tongia* and before the prolong fragrance of *ngangatu*. This comprises the stronger and concentrated fragrance of *taufā* and *taufā tangitangi* early in the morning from 12am to 2am, and 2am to 4am, before the rising and dispersion of *manongi* from 4am to 6am.

Furthermore, a classification of the notion of worldview, *philosophia*, into the seven parts of pluralistic, universal, collective, moral, intellectual, permanent and natural behaviours is material to the focus of Chapter I. In following this classification, this study has verified that the principal concept of *fatongia*, as well as, *tauēlangi*, *‘alaha kakala*, *fonua*, *moana* and *fiefia* are all worldviews in ancient Moanan-Tongan culture. This is envisaged too in *fatongia* worldwide, as it can be observable in the logical, scientific and philosophical insights of Socrates, Plato and the Hellenistic philosophers in ancient Greco-Rome, despite of their differences. The last main issue in this Chapter is Taliai (2007)’s interpretation of the etymology of *fatongia*, and that of *ngafa*, in which Taliai’s definition does not match the definition of *fatongia* or *ngafa* in this this dissertation. He claims that *fatongia* was a corruption of the word *fetongi* (to exchange), and also problematically this cannot fit in to definition of *ngafa* either, in which this study has explicitly proven. I therefore carry on by outlining the main issues in all the other Chapters, beginning with Chapter II.

Chapter II discusses the underlining reasons that have urged me to select *fatongia*, obligation or *deontic*, as the principal concept of this dissertation. It focuses on the main reasons for me to select *fatongia* to be epistemologically and ontologically uncovered, commencing from when living in Tonga before migrating to Australia in 1988 for further

study. In Tonga, Helu, Perkins, Māhina and Rimoldi of ‘Atenisi University were the first to influence me in their individual ways of theorizing issues and teaching *fatongia*, and from then onwards this has shaped how I think about *fatongia*, and other fields of research interest. Helu with his critique of *fatongia* in Christian churches and the feudal modes of ruling order in Tonga urged me for the first time to seriously think about its traditional place in Tongan society, on one hand. On the other hand, he was a person who always invited His Majesty King Taufa’ahau Tupou IV as the Guest of Honour for the graduation ceremonies of ‘Atenisi University, and annually prepared a feast, *fakaafe*, to feed the members of their Wesleyan church. This includes his religious role as a preacher, *tangata malanga*, in the church, which contradicts his strong opposition to Christianity and the Tongan feudal system in the class rooms.

Helu was also proud in talking about his blood and traditional connection with the Royal Family and chiefly classes. This was witnessed in his decision before his death to select HRH Princess Sālote Pilolevu Mafile’o Tuita as his *fahu* instead of his real *fahu* in blood relationship, *fekau’aki fakatoto* or *fakata’ata’a*. It shows that Helu’s opposing and supporting views of religion and the aristocrats have had never affected his traditional *fatongia*. On one hand, it was reciprocally *tongia* and ‘*alaha kakala*, and on the other hand, it was not *tongia* in the manner of *fuakavenga*, burden-bear. The opposition of Helu to religion and feudalism but still upholding *fuakavenga* is a kind of paradox, and it is a reminder of the institutional and communal energies of obligation, *fatongia* or *ngafa*, as a worldview in shaping and influencing his life at large.

At the same time, his opposition to either *fuakavenga* or *fatongia* was a reflection of the academic influences of his teacher, Anderson, and his Sydney Realism, upon him while studying at the University of Sydney in the 1950’s and 1960’s. In this Chapter, it further exhibits how the Andersonian theory of obligation influenced Helu’s definition of human specific interests and all human fundamental values and behaviours, like simple demands in disguise when they are made good. Helu often repeated in most of his teachings at ‘Atenisi, including in his writings, the logical, philosophical and scientific nature of this Andersonian approach on the interpretation of human specific interests. It has shown that in most cases, Helu used and applied the Andersonian philosophy of education to his study of Tongan culture and other intellectual, social and political matters of concern without the public and other scholars realizing it. As indicated, he is therefore perceived in this study as a pragmatist and true follower of Anderson and his School of Sydney Realism from the University of Sydney, without examining in thorough the pros and cons of their entire academic works.

While studying at 'Atenisi, it was not only Helu who influenced my view on traditional *fatongia* especially its *fuakavenga* side, but Māhina, Rimoldi and Perkins too. Helu influenced me on *fatongia* and also on the theories of Socrates, Plato and Aristotle on *deontic*. Perkins fostered my new research interest on classical studies, and again on Socrates, Plato, Aristotle encompassing other pre-Socratic philosophers like Heraclitus, Parmenides and Thales. My interest on the Hellenistic was from my association with my supervisor Camilleri at the Australian Catholic University (ACU). In addition, Māhina and Rimoldi attracted my attention to the dialectic nature of *fatongia* and *fuakavenga* in opposed and complementary modes of exchanges. Māhina often reminded of Marx and the influential works of Hegel on him regarding dialectic materialism and dialectic idealism. I was first attracted to such a theoretical conception because of its true nature in the normal scheme of things. Rimoldi further widened my view again on Marx's interpretation of conflict as a product of concealed opposing and supporting forces. When migrating for further study at the ANU, I again met Māhina and discussed more on *fatongia* especially in the situation of the Tu'i Tonga Empire in which his PhD thesis was based. Hu'akau has been supportive as well, especially with his background in philosophy and logic, and he has played a very influential role especially in my logical and philosophical interpretations of issues.

My study at the ANU further consolidated and intensified my research interest as a consequence of studying different modern theories in sociology. I ended up conducting a field work on cultural conflicts among Tongans in Canberra based on the complex and changeable behaviours of *fatongia*. When moving to the University of Sydney to start my first doctorate in sociology and social policy, I realized then that obligation is one of the main concepts in social work, apart from the fact that it is centrally fundamental to any study of human kinds nonetheless. I stopped my study at Sydney University and moved back to Canberra for health reasons, in which I ended up on wheel-chair permanently up to the present. I resumed my doctoral study at the ACU in Canberra but with a different and yet related topic. However, my research interest on *fatongia* was never withered away totally, but has been revived, refined and expanded in the course of the production of this dissertation.

This was related to my realization that obligation is vitally material and associated with other human fundamental values and behaviours worldwide. As shown, this is observable in the concepts of social justice, *dykaisyn* or *faitotonu*, democracy, *demoskratos* or *pule'aetokolahi*, and happiness, *eudaimonia* or *fiefia*. At the ACU, moreover, I have come to the realization that *fatongia* or *deontic* is one of the worldviews not only in Moanan-Tongan culture but world cultures as reflected in its first scientific and philosophical studies

by Socrates, Plato, Aristotle and the Hellenistic philosophers. This directs the discussion to summarize Chapter III with its focus on *fatongia* as a performance art, *faiva*, with its divine pinnacle of *tauēlangi*, climactic euphoria, and ‘*alaha kakala*, permeating perfume.

Chapter III unveils the historical and cultural background of *fiefia* in *fatongia* or *ngafa* with its elated apex of *tauēlangi* and ‘*alaha kakala* since ancient Tonga. Its first section deals with uncovering the birth-ground, *fonua*, or nest, *pununga*, of *fiefia* in *fatongia* throughout Moanan-Tongan performance arts, *faiva*, particularly in the aesthetic area of dance poetry, *ta’anga faiva*, with its dance, *faiva haka* or *tau’olunga*, and music, *hiva*. This encompasses the relation of *ta’anga faiva* to moral respect, *tauhivā*, social reciprocity, *fakafetongi fetoka’i’aki* and political harmony, *maau*. *Faiva haka* with its *hiva* and *ta’anga* in unison is perceived as the birth-ground, *fonua*, of *fiefia* with its divine finale of *tauēlangi*, climactic exultation, and ‘*alaha kakala*, permeating fragrance. Metaphorical-aesthetically, this gives way to their related flavours of *hu’amelie*, sweet-liquid-taste, *kanomelie*, sweet-flesh-taste and *ifo*, delicious, expressing in satisfactory, *fakafiemālie*, and peaceful, *nonga*, modes.

Chapter III further examines the place of ‘*alaha kakala* and *tauēlangi* in traditional Tongan dance, *faiva haka*, with their related areas of pride of locality, *laumātanga*, pride of fragrant plant, *laukakala*, encompassing some recent interpretations of modern poetry with conjunction to *laukakala* by scholars like Thaman-Helu. This encompasses as well an interpretation of their relation to *fatongia* with its *siate* of *fiefia* and the beauty, *faka’ofa’ofa* of *tauēlangi* and ‘*alaha kakala*. *Fiefia* is consequently perceived as an aspect of *faka’ofa’ofa*. However, Chapter therefore does not only address the distinction and relation in purely theoretical analysis but in practical apparatus too. That is, I have also comprised in this interpretation my practical experiences and knowledge as a Moanan-Tongan dancer, choreographer, composer, *kava*-drinker and a community member in performance art, *faiva*. In this Chapter, it embodies that the definitions of performance art and art as a whole have not been properly and clearly defined, together with conflicting views on which are the right ones among them, and which should be used in academic, artistic and oratorical languages, as well as, in normal conversation of *talanoa*. After examining the fragmented works of Helu, Kaepler, Hoponoa, Māhina and Ka’ili, this study has finally brought into light a very clear-cut definition of *faiva* in two senses.

In the broader sense, *faiva* stands for all art works of beauty, *faka’ofa’ofa*, and its narrow definition refers to performance art as such, in the situation of *faiva lova vaka*, art of

boat-racing, and *faiva haka*, dance for example. This is directly a derivative from the general definitions of Helu and Ka'ili. Its narrow sense actually fits in well with the division of art, *faiva*, by Māhina into the three parts of performance, *faiva*, material, *tūfunga*, and fine, *nimamea'a*, arts, and his definition of performance art as *faiva*, while opposing to Helu's definition of the term with his confinement only to dance poetry, *faiva ta'anga*, with its three divisions of *ta'anga*, *hiva* and *faiva haka*. This includes his claim that *faiva* is body-centred whereas *tūfunga* and *nimamea'a* are non-body centred. Importantly, Helu and Hoponoa have pointed out, and reflected too upon my definition of *tauēlangi*, that it must be learned systematically and experienced repeatedly by people. As I have mentioned earlier in my experiences as a dancer, this is not always true however. In some situations, the *fiefia* of *tauēlangi* and its variation can come spontaneously from and within the positive energies of people when expressing their freedom of striving for beauty in whatever form it may be.

Moreover, the Chapter provided some new grounds for broader and narrow definitions of *mālie*, *bravo* or excellence for bravery, which is effectively a response of the viewers or spectators to a situation in performance art of reaching the heavenly peak of *tauēlangi* through the variation of *fiefia* like *māfana*, warmth, *vela*, elation, and *vela 'osi'osi*, climactic euphoria. In general, *mālie* is referred to any beautiful piece of art work with the aim to produce the permanence and excellence in life, and in particular, it is about an immediate response of *fiefia* in words and deeds to any beautiful action or performance art. It is an extension of the different and related fragmented discussions of *mālie* by Ka'ili, Helu, Māhina, Kaeppler, Manu'atu and Hoponoa. *Mālie* is generally therefore like a leveller for measuring the aesthetic effect of a particular work of art, as in the leveller of *bravo*, standing ovation or excellence in European arts. As stated, this leveller of *mālie* reminds us of St Aquinas' definition of beauty in the Medieval Ages with the positive energy of his three main characteristics of *integritas*, perfection, *consonantia*, harmony, and *claritas*, clarity. In our modern era, scholars like Croce in the West and Māhina in Moana remind us again of this aesthetic spirit of Aquinas, which I have attempted to unwrap and revive in this entire work. It is something of great importance that appears to have no place in the works of many scholars by overlooking these central characteristics of human life that are virtually implanted in fundamental values and behaviours. What we have to do is just to root them out in the analytical manner of inquiry that is created and pursued in this study of obligation, *fatongia* or *eudaimonia*.

Additionally, the discussion of *'alaha kakala* shows that there is always a drive to mix different *kakala* either in cosmetic oil, *lolo teuteu*, or aromatic garland, *kahoa kakala*,

or waist fragrant girdle, *sisi kakala*, with the final aim to produce not only sweet-smelling aroma but socio-political harmony, *maau*, also. In Moana, perhaps Tongan culture of perfumed plants, *kakala*, is one of those of Moanan societies that highly value their natural beauty based on scent rather than appearance in terms of the most permeating nature, and ranging the in accordance to the social classes and gender of the rigidly stratified political structure. There is cosmetic oil, *lolo teuteu*, to be used for certain time of the day and different functions, for women and men and for different social classes in society. Even in the situation of human pleasure and sexuality there is a special *lolo teuteu* to serve such a purpose, like *lolo pako*, *pipi* and *mapa*. The waist perfumed girdle, *sisi kakala*, is highly valued and acknowledge too on the same kind of treatment that has been explained in the case of *lolo teuteu* and *kahoa kakala*. There is a vertical classification of *kahoa kakala*, *lolo teuteu* and *sisi kakala* in according to the social and political stratified structure, on one hand, and also on a horizontal classification based on gender, *tafine*, distinction and human sexual desires.

Furthermore, Māhina's different but related view on *heliaki*, rhetoric, which is metaphoric-epiphorical has helped too for a better understanding of *Takafalu* and its natural qualities of *laumātanga* and *laukakala*. The distinction of *laumātanga*, pride of locality, and *laukakala*, pride of fragrant plant, is another important factor of great interest in this Chapter, even though Helu has treated them all under the category of the former. *Laukakala* is taken in this study as a different category from *laumātanga* yet still related to it. Other similar kinds that maybe included here are *laufaiva*, pride of *faiva*, performance, *tūfunga*, material, and fine, *nimamea'a*, arts, or *laungāue*, pride of deeds, and so forth which are common characteristics of modern music of love lyrics, *hiva kakala*. From the *Takafalu*, it shows that *laukakala* and *laumātanga* also helps to promoting *fiefia* in *fatongia*, with its ultimate service of *tauēlangi* and 'alaha *kakala*. Included also in this part is the rhetoric, *heliaki*, nature of Tongan language in a proverbial and poetic manner with the form, *fuo*, of *vilovilo*, spirality, 'alofi, circle and *ngaofe*, curve that Puloka, Māhina and Ka'ili have talked about. Regardless of their difference in content, *uho*, the *fuo* they all share is always metaphoric, epiphoric, or the combination of both, as it is witnessed in my discussion of *fatongia* or *ngafa*. To be straightforward and upfront to people are the opposite of this Tongan *heliaki* of *vilovilo*, *ngaofe* and 'alofi or *fuopotopoto* with proverbial and poetic significance and it is regarded as rude, *anga kovi*, aggressive, *fita'a*, and disrespectful *ta'efaka'ap'apa*.

The discussion of *mālie* in the last section of this Chapter has urged the study to re-define the variation of *fiefia* by changing it from the 3 classifications of Māhina, Ka'ili Helu and Hoponoa of *māfana*, warmth, *vela*, hot or fieriness, and *tauēlangi*, climaxed elation,

to seven instead. With my seven variation, courage, *loto-to'a*, comes first, and then enthusiasm, *fiekau*, warming enthusiasm, *māmāfana*, warmth, *māfana*, warming elation, *vela māfana*, elation, *vela*, and climactic euphoria, *vela 'osi'osi*, which is *tauēlangi*. The discussion of the birth-ground, *fonua*, of the worldviews of *fiefia* in *fatongia*, and *tauēlangi* and 'alaha kakala leads this section to Chapter IV with its main focus in working out the *kava* ceremony as a cultural and historical home-ground, *fonua*, or nest, *pununga*, for perpetuating and preserving of *fatongia* since the *Ha'a* Lo'au, Lo'au Lineage, and Tu'i Tonga Lines of the 10th Century.

Chapter IV attempts to identify the theoretical outlook of viewing *kava* ceremony as a cultural and historical *fonua* for perpetuating and preserving *fatongia* since the 10th Century up to the 21st Century. From the 10th to the 17th Century, the Tu'i Tonga Line and *Ha'a* Lo'au directed and guided the survival of *fatongia* within the *kava* ceremony, and vice-versa. As the Chapter has upheld all the way, it manifests that *kava* ceremony has been the main *fonua* and medium, *vaka*, for the preservation of its form, *fuo*, in perpetuating and preserving social status, *langilangi*, political power, *mafaiipule*, and blood relationship, *fekau'aki fakata'ata'a*, in different social levels of ancient and modern society. With all their opposing and supporting nature, it was a whole exercise for preserving and perpetuating harmony, *maau*, which is therefore social, political, moral and genetic in nature after all.

In fact these social, political, moral and genetic factors are very central to the status quo, and can be very destructive as well. This can happen in fact if traditional transactions and protocols among themselves, and between them and other *fatongia* of *mafaiipule* and *fekau'aki fakata'ata'a*, are not in equal and symmetrical modes of operation. Consequently, *ta'emaau*, disharmony, *ta'efiemālie*, dissatisfaction, and *ta'efiefia*, unhappiness, always erupt into the surface with no *tauēlangi* and 'alaha kakala. To the contrary, *hu'atāmaki* or *hu'akona*, bitter-liquid-taste, *kanokona*, bitter-flesh-taste, *ta'eifo*, tasteless, and all their similar flavours of bitterness then explode from within people, with no happiness, satisfaction and harmony at all.

The Chapter adds in other related important issues to its overall focus on *kava* ceremony as the cultural and historical *fonua* for perpetuating and preserving *fatongia* since Lo'au Taputoka and Tu'i Tonga Momo. *Kava* as a plant, and its medical-therapeutic importance beside its social, political, economic, moral and cultural aspects, is also presented and discussed systematically. How *kava* is made in different social and cultural levels is well described too. The myth, *fananga*, of Kava'onau with its overall moral theme on *melie*,

sweetness, and *tāmaki* or *kona*, bitterness, with the *Chant of Kava'onau*, *Laulau 'o Kava'onau* by Lo'au Taputoka, has helped to cement together the survival of the ritual of *kava* and all its different and yet related *fatongia* for over thousands years. The formalization of the nick name of *Ha'a* Lo'au as the Tūfunga Fonua, Carpenter of Land-people, since their arrival in Tonga during the 10th Century had a powerful and peculiar impact on Tu'i Tonga Momo, as well as, his son Tu'i Tātui.

The Royal intermarriage of the *Ha'a* Lo'au with the Tu'i Tonga and the rest of Tongan chiefs, *hou'eiki*, beginning with Nua the daughter of Lo'au Tuputoka and Tu'i Tonga Momo, had paved the way for the birth of Tu'i Tonga Tātui, and the expansion of the Empire locally and regionally under the advice of second Lo'au Fusifonua. This went hand-in-hand with more refinement in stone masonry as seen in the construction of the *Ha'amonga-'a-Maui* Motu'a Trilithon and the *Maka Fākinanga*, Stone of Fākinanga. The identification of the relation and distinction of the three titles, *hingoa fakanofu*, of Tu'i Lo'au, Tu'i Ha'amea and Tu'i Ha'atu'unga is important for understanding how these chiefs from Ma'ananga and Nukunuku in Ha'amea district conducted their *fatongia* to each other in a respectful and peaceful manner.

Their association with *fonua* the land and people, and the rest of other senses of *fonua* especially *fonua* the *kava* ceremony and root-cap or *fakatomo* are very central also. The discussion of *fonua* in association to the location of the residence of *Ha'a* Lo'au, and *Lepa-'o-Fualu*, Lake-of-Fualu, in Ha'amea has provided some better understanding of the main roles of *Ha'a* Lo'au in finalizing matters on the national, regional and cultural levels. The discussion in detail of *fonua* in this Chapter is vital for the concept of worldview, as it is observable in the related worldviews of *fatongia*, *tauēlangi*, *fiefia*, *moana* and *'alaha kakala*. We are again reminded of the seven characteristics of any worldview or *philosophia*, which is the opposite of monistic and solidaristic view.

Fonua with its five senses in my classification is classified into general and specific definitions. Generally, *fonua* refers to land and its people, and specifically it is the combination of all the other four senses which include *fonua* the *kava* ceremony, root-cap of a plant, placenta of a woman and *fonua* the grave for the dead. In the discussion of *fonua*, it has consequently lead to the other formal names for Royal *Kava* Ceremony, chiefly *kava* and extended family *kava* by Hu'akau which are *Tala Hau*, *Tala 'Alofi* and *Tala Fatongia*. In fact the latter reminds of the cultural and historical importance of *fatongia* in the level of *kainga*, extended family, and its relation to the chiefs and Kings. How information and moral rules

were passed through these three main different *kava* ceremonies from the lower to the higher level, and vice-versa, had helped to maintain *maau* and *fiefia* obligation in society as a whole.

The seating arrangement in the *Tala Hau* is mainly about the traditional *fatongia* of individual lineages, *ha'a*, chiefs, *hou'eiki* and their individual orators, *matāpule*, and how their *fatongia* are formulated and allocated. It is the ancient parliament for formulating customary rules and checking the power, *pule*, and the authority, *mafai*, of each *ha'a* with their *hou'eiki* and *matāpule* to always ensure that things are still in the right order. If the *ha'a* and their *hou'eiki* and *matāpule* won't conduct their *fatongia* in accordance to the traditional rules and protocol of the *Taumaifa Kava* of the present *Ha'a* Tu'i Kanokupolu, then straightaway there will be disharmony, *ta'emaau* in society as a whole. Such a seating arrangement then is fundamentally important for the preservation of social status, *langilangi*, political power, *mafaipule*, and blood relationship, *fekau'aki fakata'ata'a*, which can be a mirror of the degree of stability of *fatongia* in the wider society too.

Even though *Tala Hau* nowadays is different from the reality of events happening around and within the wider community, as Helu has suggested, due to its aloofness, the chiefly network and certain aspects in the *Tala 'Alofi* and *Tala Fatongia*, on other hand, have been assimilated and evolved together with the ongoing changes in the wider community and worldwide. The permission by Taufua'ahau Tupou I for the church ministers of the Protestant churches to sit on the left *vaha'i taha* of the top-front presiding '*alofi*, *fuopotopoto* or circle in '*ilo kava* is a good example of this point of assimilation. The other example is the permission for the Catholic Priests, *Pātele*, to drink the *kava* of the last Tu'i Tonga Samuelio Fatafehi Laufilitonga.

The interpretation of the *ha'a*, *Sina'e* and Lo'au with their new definitions may contribute positively to future studies of Moanan-Tongan culture. With *ha'a*, I have re-defined its narrow sense as a collective lineage of chiefly or kingly brothers, and their individual titles were named after their fathers or elder male siblings, in the explanations of Helu and Māhina. The general sense of *ha'a* points to a collective lineage of different specialized individuals in a particular art work, like *Ha'a Tūfunga Vaka*, Specialist Lineage in Boat-construction and *Ha'a Tūfunga Fale*, Specialist Lineage in House-building. *Sina'e* appears to be a derivative of the Samoan word, *Sina e*, which means there is a beautiful chiefly woman. With the word Lo'au, I have re-define its narrow sense as another name for the *kava* ceremony especially *Tala Hau*, *Tala 'Alofi* and *Tala Fatongia*. That is, *kava* ceremony is the Lo'au, and *fonua* is its other name. On the hand, the broader sense of Lo'au

points to any major change under the consent or wish of any King of the current *Ha'a Tu'i Kanokupolu*. Moreover, one of the rituals in the *kava* ceremony of the *Taumafa Kava* is formal speech, *malanga*, and its five characteristics I have proposed may be useful for a better understanding of its relation with the *fiefia* of *tauēlangi* and '*alaha kakala* in *fatongia*. The five characteristics of *malanga* are inclusive preludes, *fakatapu ta'eflifilimanako*, metaphoric-epiphoria, *heliaki*; humility, *faka'aki'akimui*, creative, *fakatupu fakakaukau*, and warmth in spirit, *fakamāfana*.

The explanation of *fono*, food portion for *kava*, *fahu*, female of high social ranking person, *fakatomo*, *fonua* the root-cap of *kava* plant in *Taumafa Kava* and *kava* variation between ancient and modern Tonga conclude this Chapter. This flows together with some reflections on how women in the *fahu* system are treated in a special manner with equal and higher privilege than their male counter-parts. Also, the notion of *fakatomo* brings into consideration the importance of *fonua* the root cap, and how the form, *fuo*, of *kava* ceremony is still based on the perpetuation and preservation of the political power, *mafaipule*, social rank, *langilangi*, and blood connection, *fekau'aki fakatoto*. With the *fuo*, this is the essence of the *kava* ceremony and its *fatongia*, whereas its content, *uho*, has been changing over centuries, as Helu has discussed it with respect to the different variation of *kava* ceremony in both ancient and modern history since Lo'au Taputoka and Tu'i Tonga Momo. Since this study has represented most characteristics of *fatongia* in Moanan cultures as a whole, the discussion now connects this part to the key reasons why it is fundamentally crucial to include the first formal study of *deontic* by the Greco-Roman philosophers since the 5th Century BC up to the 5th Century AD.

Chapter V examines certain theoretical conceptions on obligation, *deontic*, in Western thoughts and civilization during the Classical Periods of ancient Greece in the 5th Century to the rise of Alexander the Great, and to the rise and fall of the Roman Empire. It is a discussion of the political, civic, social, economic, legal and moral features of *deontic* from the philosophical, logical and scientific insights of Socrates, Plato and Aristotle, which was the first formal study of such fundamental values and behaviours, among other fundamental issues in human life, worldwide. This encompasses the philosophical and scientific insights of the Skepticism, Cynicism, Stoicism and Epicureanism during the Hellenistic Age to the fall of Alexander the Great. These Hellenistic movements had influenced the centuries that were followed up to the rise of the Roman Empire during the 3rd Century BC until its fall in the 5th Century AD.

The Chapter consists of three main sections. Section one with its focus in highlighting the genealogical link of Socrates to Aristotle, and between the latter's teacher Plato and his master Socrates shows their intellectual tradition in promoting the spirit of critical thinking, *kriticos*. This was happening around 15 Centuries prior to the story of Lo'au Taputoka and Tu'i Tonga Momo, but it was after the first settlement of Tonga by the Lapita or Moanan people around 15,000 BC. However in the *Apology* and *Crito*, Socrates shows how the critical examination of obligation, *deontic*, and other related concepts like justice, *dykaisyn*, truth, *aletheia* (or knowledge, *gnosis*), and common interest, *phratria*, of the majority citizens, *polites*, is fundamentally material for understanding human fundamental values and behaviours.

This is related to the main theme of *The Republic* of Plato with its emphasis that the philosopher-king with his wisdom, *sophia*, should be the leader and not the majority *polites*. Plato, Socrates and Aristotle did not develop a solid theory of social classes, but they developed some underlining foundations of it with conjunction to individually different human specific interests. Their conceptions of class system and different human specific interests disclose a view of perceiving the wisdom, *sophia*, of the philosopher-king and the Guardians as the best guiding tool to rule the Auxiliaries and the rest of society.

For the latter, their virtue is based on obedience, *hupakoe*, whereas the former and the philosopher-king are to rule and command, *entolen*. In such a situation, the governing body of the wise statesman can be justified only if it takes a good care of the happiness, *eudaimonia*, of the whole – the will, *phratria*, security, *eirene*, and welfare, *agape*, of the rulers and ruled subjects respectively. In doing so, political justice *dykaisyn*, will then be recognized within the rule of laws, *kanonismi*. Political *dykaisyn* with its aim to distribute power equally, justly and wisely is acquired if the rulers are obligated to keep at bay the *phratria* of the majority citizens, *polites*.

Unlike the insistence of the Sophists that political *dykaisyn* is about the interest of the stronger, Plato's looks to it as a phenomenon emerging from the effort of the rulers to take a good care of the *phratria*, *eirene* and *eudaimonia* of the ruled subjects. So, it is about the *phratria* of both parties through their association on the medium of politico-legal and moral *deontic*. Plato ensures that the balance of such *phratria* defines what *dykaisyn* should be in the eyes of political *deontic* and the laws, *kanonisimi*, of the *polis*. Its *politika* of *dykaisyn* must be differentiated from other modes of working of humanistic and artistic considerations. *Dykaisyn* can be therefore referred to a situation in which the *phratria* of the

whole are being recognized and appreciated by their leaders and subjects respectively. For Socrates, justice is far-reaching in meaning, and it does not confine itself to just making money and satisfying material necessities, as suggested by the Sophists. Aristotle in *The Politics* clarifies and extends further some of the above human fundamental values and behaviours with conjunction to moral and political *deontic* in a related but unique way.

The Politics demonstrates some key issues of great importance with detailed clarification of *dykaiyn* in relation to concepts like citizens, *polites*, political community, *polis*, and happiness, *eudaimonia*. Aristotle helps in clarifying again the main political questions of who we should obey, when we should obey the rulers, and how welfare-distribution and the law can be carried out justly and wisely. With regards to wisdom, *sophia*, moderation, *sophrosyne*, and justice, *dykaiyn*, they appear to be the cornerstone of the whole insights, be with or without law - with or without the consent of the *phratia*. From Aristotle's view, it is better to have a government or ruling order that can provide happiness, *eudaimonia*, wisdom, *sophia*, justice, *dykaiyn*, security, *eirene*, and moral betterment, *arête*, for the citizens, *polites*, than laws, *kanonismi*, which just serve and embrace the self-interest of the individuals.

With this moral *arête* in outcome, harmony, *harmonia*, can then be attained, a testimony for the highest *arête* of all *arête*. He ensures that the spirit of the community or the general will is treated first-hand in the priority than that of the individuals. For the Greeks generally, the provision of *eudaimonia*, *sophia*, *dykaiyn*, *eirene* and *arête* for the *phratia* of the community with its *harmonia* is morally the center of political and welfare attention. As indicated, this has brought into consideration the importance of the modern concept of social justice, and human rights, together with *sophrosyne* and *sophia*. I believe that Aristotle, following Plato and Socrates, was the first world philosopher to scientifically and philosophically provide the foundation for *deontic*, physical and economic security, *eirene*, and welfare, *agape*, in association with *sophia*, *eudaimonia* and beauty, *kallos*, as further shown in his *Nicomachean Ethics* and *Eudemian Ethics*.

In the last section of Chapter V, the Hellenistic philosophers extended the works of Socrates, Plato and Aristotle but in the manner of pragmatic philosophy with its emphasis on art of living, to live and behave accordingly to its moral or ethical themes like tranquillity, *ataraxia*, and freedom of the will, *apapheia*. It is generally an approach of following Socrates, on one hand, and Aristotle, on one hand, but with the moral basis of pragmatic philosophy based on living in aloofness from the *politika* of the *polis*, on the other hand. We

have the Sceptics with their principle of *acatalepsia* in searching for consolation with the realization that human kinds do not have the means to actually understand anything. They promoted that that we should adapt to this and stop worrying and feel obligated to others. It is a method which is based on continuous doubt, criticism and testing of any knowledge, *gnosis*, and *aletheia* under-consideration. This will be achieved if we suspend judgment, *aphasia* or *epoché*, which can effectively free us from anxiety and frustrations, and end in a peace of mind, *ataraxia*, which gives way to the highest virtue of all *arête*, which is *eudaimonia*. The Cynics with their belief on living a life of poverty and homelessness is another important matter among the Hellenistic philosophers, with the aim to perpetuate and preserve the life of self-sufficiency without obligating to normal *politika* of the *polis*. It is all about the life of living in unity with nature, living in a simple way as in the simplicity in the life of animals and children. This is the main way to achieve freedom, *apatheia* as well as happiness, *eudaimonia*, but we must not confuse this with pleasure for self-satisfaction, which is unacceptable for the Cynics. Stoic philosophy is based on the traditionalist ideas of justice, *dykaisynt*, but not merely on the main specific interests, *phratría*, of the rulers. Private property to a certain extent is absurd. It is because the whole world was available for all, actual property rights must therefore be admired. Stoicism reminds us of what is really in someone's power, what we can and cannot control. With the former, it is the only right matter for us to deal with but not the latter. This is the correct impressions, *phantasiai*, with freedom from anxiety, *apatheia* that gives way to good feelings, *eupatheiai*, which is *dykaisynt* after all. Also they believe on the worlds of the wise and depraved. The former and the gods live in harmony on a cosmic city with their involvement in *logos*, wise reason. On the contrary, the depraved, with their lack of wisdom which is undesirable and insignificant in the cosmic city, cannot live together in the cosmic city with God and the wise. For the Epicureans, philosophy is viewed as the art of making life happy, *eudaimonia*, with prudence, *epiphron*, in its highest, as a result of freeing from anxiety and pain, *ataraxia* or *apatheia*. *Epiphron* is the noblest part of philosophy, and all virtues, *arête*. Life for Epicurus is personal happiness, *eudaimonia*, with *epiphron*, and this is the essence of *dykaisynt*, with the spirit and experience of tranquillity, *ataraxia*. The wise man should desire not the longest life, but the most pleasurable, prudent, graceful and just. It is for the sake of this condition of permanent pleasure, or tranquillity, *ataraxia*, that the virtues are desirable. People cannot live pleurably without living prudently, gracefully, and justly; and we cannot live prudently, gracefully, and justly, without living pleurably. With pleasure, it is not about human selfishness for personal satisfaction but is based on the related concepts of *epiphron*, *eudaimonia* and *ataraxia* which are the centre of *dykaisynt*.

This Chapter now delivers some final remarks relating to the focus of the main argument of this whole dissertation and its main four research questions. With Chapter V on *deontic* in Greco-Roman cultures with connection to Chapters II, III and IV in Moanan-Tongan culture, this dissertation has identified the following distinction and relation between them. First, *fatongia*, obligation or *deontic*, appears as a worldview to human fundamental values and behaviours in the *politika*, *mafaipule*, of the *polis* or society when judging in accordance to the seven characteristics of worldview listed in Chapter I and early in this Chapter. This is witnessed when the Chapters have verified that all fundamental values and behaviours under-consideration cannot be dealt with in isolation from *deontic*, as also mirrored in the *fuo*, form, of *fatongia* with its focus on the fundamental question of being obligated and responsible to others, or who to be obligated to whom. The *Ha'a* Lo'au in Tonga reconstructed and rearranged *fatongia* in the medium, *vaka*, and nest, *pununga*, of *kava* ceremony with the final aim to achieve harmony, *maau* in the expense of social rank, *langilangi*, political power, *mafaipule*, and blood relationship, *fekau'aki fakata'ata'a*, which can subsequently give space, *vā*, for happiness, *fiefia*. Other human fundamental values and behaviours like moral respect, *tauhivā* and social reciprocity, *fakafetongi fetokai'aki* have been part of the whole process all for the purpose of *maau* and *fiefia*. This is the situation that produces the atmosphere for *tauēlangi* and *'alaha kakala* in metaphoric-epiphoric and aesthetic-artistic terms, with the flavours of sweet-liquid-taste, *hu'amelie*, sweet-flesh-taste, *kanomelie*, and delicious, *ifo*. Consequently, people will feel satisfaction, *fie mālie*, and serenity, *nonga*, and this with *fiefia* and *maau* always exchange in a dialectic way of opposing and supporting modes of operation. Overall, this has been conducted and re-arranged for over thousand years primarily in the *kava* ceremony of *Tala Hau*, *Tala 'Alofi* and *Tala Fatongia*, as well as, its other ancient-modern variations, including non-*kava* ceremonies.

Second, Socrates, Plato, Aristotle and the Hellenistic philosophers provided the logical, scientific and philosophical interpretations of *deontic* for the first time worldwide and its relation to other human fundamental values and behaviours like *demoskratos*, *ataraxia*, *apatheia* and *epiphron*. This is seen to have happened inside the *politika* of the *polis* all for the purpose of preserving *harmonia* and *eudaimonia*. Even though the emphasis of the Hellenistic philosophers was outside the realm of *politika* in contrast to the focus of the works of Socrates, Plato and Aristotle in the *politika*, the former still provided another option for *deontic* in a manner of spiritual with therapeutic peace of mind, *ataraxia*, through the guidance of *epiphron*. These first three philosophers set up the world to the direction of taking *deontic* and its importance in a serious way within the *politika* of the *polis*, on one hand.

On the other hand, their Hellenistic counter-parts provided the foundation for *deontic* in our soul and mind with its aloof and wandering ascetics, be it artistic or religious in character. In their focus on unity with nature in aloof and ascetic ways, they again remind us of the Upanishads Movement in India, among others, with their influential power at the time throughout the East and West respectively. The two points above are crucially material to the human fundamental values and behaviours of *eudaimonia* and *harmonia*. If *politika* is in *harmonia*, people are happy and the normal scheme of things will be in equal and symmetrical modes of operation. Likewise, if the soul and mind of people are in *harmonia*, people are happy and the normal scheme of things will be in equal and symmetrical mode of operation. Hence *eudaimonia* and prudence, *epiphros*, of the highest kind among the highest *arête* can then happen at any point in time, and in the Moana-Tongan situation, *tauēlangi* and ‘*alaha kakala* are its crown, the highest *fiefia* of all *fiefia*.

I would like to close this dissertation with William Shakespeare’s (2008) poem on the obligation or division of labour among the honey-bees.

For so Work the Honey-bees

For so work the honey-bees,
Creatures that by a rule in nature teach
The act of order to a peopled Kingdom.
They have a king and officers of sorts;
Where some, like magistrates, correct at home,
Others like merchants, venturtrade abroad,
Others like soldiers, armed in their stings,
Make boot upon the summer’s velvet buds;
Which pillage they wish with merry march bring home
To the tent-royal of the emperor.

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