

CRITICAL ESSAYS

Cultural Perspectives from the South Seas



'I. F. HELU

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'I. F. HELU

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Introduction

Engaged, as we should be, in literary and cultural studies we come to grips with the abiding problems that have taxed human ingenuity in every age.

'I. F. Helu

'I. F. HELU'S IS A NAME to evoke a very particular appreciative expectation in thinking circles radiating out across the world and the life of the mind, from his natal epicentre in the South Pacific Kingdom of Tonga, in a range of interest and discussion from dance and music to the baneful and shameful effects of simple-minded vulgar development economics.

Andersonian philosopher by formal training at the University of Sydney where he studied under Professor John Anderson in the early 1960s, and by nature and perhaps even by descent in his native Islands a free-thinking, humorous, sometimes politely caustic sceptic with a profound belief in pure theoretical inquiry and a well-founded conviction that late 20th century education has been contaminated by ideology borrowed from commerce and industry, Futa Helu shows in this collection of essays how much he remains the dedicated student, the man of literature and ideas on many fronts.

Often of course these are directly practical ideas, not least because he sees much cause to mistrust the ethics and capabilities of some of those who have become entrusted with the affairs, educational, political and developmental too, of the world around him.

His own immediate practical bent has expressed itself since 1963 in the shape of a composite educational centre in Tonga, the 'Atenisi Institute – a place always struggling for subsistence, as he says, but autonomous, without obligation to either state or church. This he named in memory of Plato's school in the Athens of 2,500 years ago. And by salient comment from 'Atenisi, he has been expressing and projecting his personal analytical bent and sense of intellectual and social responsibility further, in written and oral forays into the world of Pacific affairs, for the last 35 years, with increasing impact and undiminishing élan.

As he puts it in essay 19 here: 'our so-called educated élite and trained personnel do not always appreciate that not all scientific principles have universal applicability, that most are context-specific, and also that the principles of one science at the level of social practice have to square with the findings of many other disciplines before we can arrive at viable and beneficial policies'.

Futa Helu hails, as he says, from the heartland of Polynesia, the much acculturated and yet fundamentally Polynesian Kingdom of Tonga. By birth, cultural inheritance, identification and continued choice, his home is there. Yet the concept of a global culture with its roots strongly in the minds of the classical Greek philosophers is fundamental to all his own thought and teaching.

As he said recently, in a criticism of Pacific Islands universities, all of them, as it happens, founded post-'Atenisi, and in a hurry: 'Universal culture is like a mighty river which is fed by many tributaries that come from regional and national cultures in different parts of the world'. To understand, say, democracy, one must read not only Hobbes, Locke, Rousseau, Marx and Mill, but Plato and Aristotle too. And to study, for instance, the very recently-appearing Pacific Islands imaginative writers in isolation from world literature is profoundly disadvantageous. 'We are selling ourselves short and impoverishing our youth by cutting them off from world cultures.'

Futa Helu is at home with Shelley – 'that most passionate of visionaries and English Romantic poet', as he says here, in essay 11; and with Heraclitus of Ephesus too, who is among the most tantalising because fragmentary of the pre-Socratic philosophers, and one of the most modern in appearance with his dictum that one does not step twice into the same river. This is hard on classical anthropology' – says Helu gravely, in essay 10 – 'where the doctrine of functionalism has emphasised a purposive and given character to society . . .' And the Heraclitean-cum-Andersonian precept that one should ask, not what end does a social institution serve, but what conflict is at the scene, is exemplified in much of the argument in the essays now published here.

At their heart stands Polynesia, in myth and reality. The Samoan idea of houses developing downwind, roof to floor, with open sides, from the beached, upturned, and then lifted vessels of the first colonists, comes repeatedly to Futa Helu's mind. In essay 14, 'The metamorphosis of Maui from a navigator-fisher of islands to a magical but prosaic farmer in 'Eua illustrates how myth chronicles the transformation of our culture from one with a maritime core into one with an agricultural heart.' And in essay 17: 'With regard to Tonga and Tongans, naturally, it is always good policy to remember old Heraclitus's advice: Expect the Unexpected.'

Sometimes the reader of these *Critical Essays* should do the same, for the essayist, as he should, speaks his mind freely in this substantial collection; *The Journal of Pacific History* takes especial pleasure now in publishing it.

Deryck Scarr
Ketch Ça Va
Pittwater, New South Wales

Traditional Customs and Good Governance

CUSTOMS – OR MORE GENERALLY, cultural traditions – may be defined as those forms of behaviour (activities, beliefs, values, ideals, etc.) which change so slowly that they give the impression of not changing at all, and are so because they are promoted throughout society. The complete set of such forms of behaviour for a given social group or whole society is the *culture* of that group or society.

Traditions or customs are generated empirically, being those ways of doing things, beliefs, etc. which we find to work in our particular environment, geographic or social, i.e. they promote our interests and they facilitate the achievement of our goals and what we want in general. Some customs travel but many do not, so that there is truth in saying that customs are, by and large, environment-specific. This means that cultural traditions may cease to work in their own society – if conditions there have changed radically, for example – or in new environments. They may then be rejected by the practitioners of the particular culture. Yet, more often than not, people continue to be affected by social inertia in activating old customs even when they have long ceased to be functional in their own home or new localities to which people have moved.

Two Classes of Cultural Traditions

1. Those that promote the general welfare of the group or community as a whole, e.g. sharing and co-operation. These are nearly always parts of strategies for survival in resource-poor environments. (As our elders say 'The time for economising is the time of plenty', and a rhymed proverb puts it this way: '*Me'a si'i, semolimoli'i; me'a lahi, takitaha kai*' i.e. 'Food in scarcity you must always share; in abundance, though, you need not care'.) These 'benign' values or customs usually develop in small, uncomplicated communities as parts of a coping system. As society expands, in terms of membership, space and structure, things will increase in complexity and a new kind of customs and values will soon begin to emerge.
2. This new type of traditions constitutes our second class of customs and values and their function is to maintain or consolidate the power of the

* Seminar given at the Research School of Pacific and Asian Studies, Australian National University, as part of the project 'State, society and governance in Melanesia', 4 Mar. 1997.

ruling party. An example of this class of political cultural traditions is the *kava* ceremony which shows through the positioning of the participants how power is distributed (and should remain so) in the community, and how food and other resources should be shared or distributed. (In this ceremony, while the beverage is being prepared, food – in the form of cooked pork, sugar cane, or ripe bananas – is distributed. But only the participating chiefs and their ceremonial attendants get a share, with the largest portion going to the highest chief, etc. The commoners, who do all the work on such occasions, get very little or miss out altogether.) Rituals, therefore, are object lessons or social theatre with a moral aimed at showing where power lies and how subsistence should be shared.

These two classes of customs and values are in all societies which have attained a certain level of complexity. The particular customs or traditions in the two classes may vary from society to society due mainly to differences in environment and evolutionary history. Taken together, they are simply ways of working of particular communities in their particular environments. They start as required tasks and required constraints necessary for the survival of the community. But as society becomes more and more complex conflicting demands fight more brutally in the social arena. The winning demands force their recognition and gain satisfaction. They are then known as *rights* (rights are demands which can be made good). Cultural traditions have the social force of law, though they are not law in the technical sense. But law in the jurist's or Benthamite sense is contingent on there being a network of natural rights in the first place.

Let me finish off this section by mentioning, following Naipaul and Said, what is called 'universal culture', with its traditions and values. Universal culture and universal values, as the names imply, are not peculiar to any one community or society but are the property of *all* men and *all* communities. Universal culture is a late development in universal history and became more and more defined as man's moral nature became more understood. It is a set of values designed to vouchsafe man's survival not in a particular environment but as a passenger in Spaceship Earth. This characteristic of universal culture comes out most clearly in the meaning of the latest addition to this universal set of values – human rights, which are not the rights of an individual vis-à-vis his/her tribe, or the individual versus the nation state, but the rights of a new kind of individual, the global individual. Universal culture has been largely defined by the great moral and political philosophers of the West as well as the great world religions. Like a mighty river, it has been fed by many tributaries. In the moral field, its most characteristic values are justice, tolerance and human rights; in the intellectual field, truth and objectivity; and in the artistic realm, beauty and permanence.

Good Governance

Governance is now understood as the overall sociopolitical order that results from the interaction of a number of official and non-official actors.¹ The extant literature on governance analyses multiple forms of order that arise in different situations² – within market events, within intergroup dealings, etc. The World Bank characteristically stresses an order rising out of proper management of a country's economic and social resources and advises states to be 'market-friendly' but not leave the field altogether.³ And Kooijman and Van Vliet state that governance is a structure or order that grows out of the interactions of 'a multiplicity of governing and each-other-influencing actors'.⁴ Also, work done in the National Centre for Development Studies (NCDS) has identified three meanings of governance: governance as capacity, as democracy, and as coordination.⁵

It is easily seen then that governance is a relatively new introduction into development research and related studies. But the concept can still cause surprise in those who are used to the idea that representative government or democracy takes care of what governance is now said to signify, i.e. to bring together all social interests and institutions of significance and through their representations in government work to bring about an order which is the result of the 'interaction' of these various parties or in the language of governance research, actors. Governance then goes beyond democracy and would impose another layer of representation on top of representative government. The usual justification for the suggested solution is that in Melanesia we have what are termed 'weak states'. They are, in the words of Larmour, 'organisationally weak, functionally ineffective and ethically suspect according to some societal values, but nevertheless internationally recognised'.⁶

If we are to employ the governance notion, then, in devising plans for the problem of 'weak states' we have to make sure that:

¹ Peter Larmour, 'Research on governance in weak states in Melanesia', and 'Models of governance and development administrations', papers presented at the seminar as part of the project 'State, society and governance'.

² E.g. O. Williamson and W. Ouchi, 'The markets and hierarchies perspective: origins, implications, prospects', in A. Van de Ven and W. F. Joyce (eds), *Assessing Organisational Design and Performance* (New York 1981); S. Kooijman and Van Vliet, 'Governance and public management', in K. Eliassen and J. Kooijman (eds), *Managing public organisations: lessons from contemporary European experience* (London 1993).

³ The World Bank (1993).

⁴ Quoted by Larmour.

⁵ The National Centre for Development Studies is in the Research School of Pacific and Asian Studies, Australian National University.

⁶ Larmour, 'Research on governance in weak states in Melanesia'.

- * the democratic foundation of the state in Melanesia is not thereby weakened.
- * gross duplication – in efforts and resource expenditure – does not occur, for wastage would weaken the economic base of these island countries, and
- * it does not lead to a more chaotic situation in Melanesia than is currently experienced there.

There is another side to the whole issue and it is this: one of the reasons for opting for democratic and modern forms of government in Melanesia and Polynesia was to avoid perpetuating traditional polities which gave no primacy to universal customs or values like justice and human rights. The introduction of governance in the sense explained may provide an opening for such illiberal polities to have a field day again. I am not unaware of the fact that earlier on international aid agencies, for example the World Bank and USAID, made 'governance' a central feature of their development assistance policies. Good governance was then largely equated with democratic practices, including transparency of policy-making and administration. And, more recently policy-related research at the NCDS has found governance in parts of the South Pacific to depend 'on democracy and coordination as well as capacity'.⁷ But democracy in Melanesia, and Polynesia as well, primarily means universal franchise and related powers and in general democracy has come, in modern times, to emphasise rights more than justice in the sense of fairness in the distribution of social goods – income, employment opportunity, education, freedom, self-respect, and power. I therefore propose that we adapt the given definition of governance so that the requirement of justice is explicit. It shall then read as follows: governance is a just, free social order emerging from the interplay of state and non-state actors.

This additional input for our definition of governance places on us a further responsibility. We now have to see to it that communities do not exhibit peace and socioeconomic security only but also social justice regarding all issues that matter in the life of people. So to Ostrom's 'design principles' as listed by Larmour, I would add 'A system of fair shares' which should apply not only to resource but also to 'non-resource' issues. Without going into details, I would like to make the following observations:

1. One, if not the most important, function of the state is the administration of justice.
2. Apart from 'defence' in Adam Smith's 'three functions of the sovereign', the other two can be regarded as aspects of this most important of state functions. (Here 'administration of justice' is taken broadly to mean the

⁷ Ibid.

creation and maintenance of the social context for equal and unprejudiced access to all social goods – wealth, opportunity, self-respect, and power.)

3. Functioning in this way, the state emerges as the leading actor among all involved in governance, and therefore has a special status .
4. It is this function which gives the state its moral authority rather than Weber's 'legitimate use of violence'.

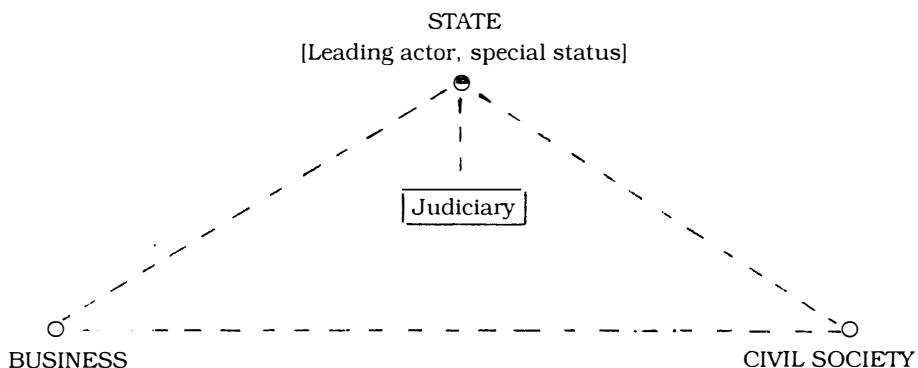
Cultural Traditions and Governance

With regard to customs in governance then we have to make sure that we use them in a way that they promote social cohesion, economic security and justice. But both the two classes of cultural traditions have their downside. The humanitarian customs, e.g. sharing, cooperation and friendliness, can be – and always are – exploited by lazy and wicked people (usually male, unmarried relatives, though women are not unknown in this practice) to get a free ride on relatives or friends, just as the same kind of people do in relation to values in the universal or global system like human rights and tolerance. And as for the second class of traditions, the 'brutal' or political customs which, as I have said, were designed to consolidate and maintain the power of the ruling class, it would be a major struggle to try and change these. Because these customs and ideals are the handiwork of the chiefly classes everywhere in Melanesia and Polynesia they will fight with everything they have to keep them in their 'pure' form. Yet even in this area changes can be introduced – and have been introduced – by the lower orders, and these can have an effect on governance. An example of these changes in Tonga relates to that symbol *par excellence* of Tongan culture, the *kava* ceremony. Commoner classes have, over time, standardised an informal *kava* party which includes no chiefs. The positioning of the participants has no significance, and the whole aim here is to freely and openly discuss topical issues and any subject under the sun that may catch the interest of those participating. I would say this informal *kava* is the most effective vehicle for political discourse in Tonga today. Many times *fono* (*kava* food) is distributed. It can be a curry or finger foods, but everyone has a fair share.

So not only the 'brutal' values and customs have to be modified, but we have also to watch out for indolent relatives and unprincipled elements who would abuse humanitarian and universal values. The 'political' values or customs are riddled with elements of oppression and injustice and the humanitarian customs with potential for exploitation and opportunism. If the former can be effectively modified and the latter protected against, they would be ideal for the purposes of governance since they would fit the social grain of island cultures.

More Triangulation

Studying papers that have been given earlier in this series, especially Peter Larmour's 'Models of Governance and Development Administration', I became inspired to present a triangulation of my own, for what it is worth. My version, however, is not quite original but derives from ideas that have been around for sometime.⁸ Therefore, my triangle may look familiar to many of you. I say, however, that Larmour's triangle – and Larmour's paper mentions Rigby's, Taylor's, Schmitter's, Ouchi's and Colebatch and Larmour's – has the singular virtue of being applicable not only on the macro but also on the micro level. I shall talk about the application of my triangle to society as a whole only and leave it to any interested parties to effect any extension, if possible, in the manner that Larmour has done with his and Polanyi's. My triangle, then, appears as below:



Although the triangle has that traditional look there are minor details in which it would differ from traditional expositions. The most important are:

- * as one can see, the Judiciary is given some kind of primacy for although the Judiciary is part of the democratic State it is special in that:
 - (a) it is not democratically constituted since its membership is strictly based on a *a special type of competence*,
 - (b) it is one, if not the, most important of State instruments in the administration of justice, and

⁸ Especially see M. Rimoldi, 'The State and Civil Society', paper given at 'Atenisi Ex-students Conference held at Auckland University, Jan. 1997.

- (c) it interprets and defines the nature and limits of State power, and in that sense is an institution to which State defers in a way it does not do to other institutions.
- * Business, in this model, includes only the heavyweights in that sector, those that materially influence public policy.
 - * Civil Society includes small businesses, farmers, churches, schools and their employees. The typical unit of the civil society is the citizen regarded as not functioning in the State.
 - * Civil Society also includes the educated élites whom, though in some cases they may look like semi-State functionaries, the nature of their work and the history of their movement put them squarely in the civil society category – not only academics and scholars but also students. In fact, the educated élite are the life and soul of the civil society.

Now, the first general point I want to make in relation to this model is that it seems to me that most discussion of civil society vis-à-vis the State in the past had paid only lip-service to civil society, with no real passion for its interests in the scheme of things. This erosion of civil society's power has been intensified in our day by the new economic orthodoxy that requires all of us to do everything we can to strengthen the private sector. If we succeed in doing this, and there seems to be no reason why we should not, civil society in Pacific islands countries will experience a further weakening. It could kill it altogether. In developed countries, where the dominance of the private sector has been in place for some time, civil society is at least propped up by a self-conscious, critical, and militant educated élite, by socioeconomic and legal structures designed to ensure that the interests of the civil society are cared for. But in Melanesia and Polynesia these institutions are either still very undeveloped or not properly implemented. At the same time, the economic development programme is going apace accompanied by the vigorous growth of the business sector which is further aided by foreign investment open door policies everywhere fostering extreme corruption in high places and sharp practices in other areas, and so on. The future of the civil society in both Melanesia and Polynesia is bleak (or black) indeed. And this is not helped by the kind of education which is being bandied about by the main institutions of the islands – the University of Papua New Guinea and the University of the South Pacific – as that most appropriate to their needs, namely a vocational, skills-based type of education. But this is not going to provide educated élites with the critical apparatus needed for rejuvenation of civil society to stand up for its rights vis-à-vis big business and a heavy-handed state.

I suppose the same kind of policies are being implemented in Australia by the present Liberal government, and it has signalled a time of suffering for

the civil society. However, I do not see much of a reaction from the academic arm of the civil society. It seems to me that the educated élite in Australia has lost its vitality and sense of social mission. Not only the Australian civil society will suffer, but the islands' educated élites will take the situation here as a model to emulate, as they always do.

Second, I come from a country which, in modern times, has never had a civil society worth speaking of. It has always been very, very weak or non-existent. This has been largely due to the special relationship between the State and culture in Tonga. In our case it has always been: Tonga is the State, Tonga is the Culture i.e. Culture is the Nation. And this is in sharp contrast to the West where the State stands apart from culture (or cultures). The case of the former Yugoslavia comes to mind naturally. But closer to home we have Papua New Guinea with her several hundred cultures or nations. They tend to balance each other out. The Solomons would be the same. In all these cases the State is apart from culture(s). The case of Fiji is interesting. Here we have two (there could be more) cultures intertwined in the same social context. But the present government seems to me to be trying to bring the State closer to one of these, namely the Fijian, and at the same time stands apart from the other culture, the Indian. So Fiji is partly like Tonga and partly like PNG.

Political centralisation, in fact, has been stronger in Tonga than anywhere else in the Pacific. It is really amazing to see how close the State is to the people. This is the opposite of what is happening in Bougainville where the State is harassed by people to set up a state along lines of traditional chieftainship. There is no direct influence of culture on the State as is the case with Tonga where the State is at the people's doorsteps, and the central government is informed through and through by the culture. This has never been the case in Papua New Guinea where the State can be said to be 'strange' to the people. (Incidentally, in pre-Mao China, though the Emperor's rule was really horrific at times, there was centralised power but not centralised ideology. However, in Mao's China – and Lenin's Russia also – there were both centralised power and centralised ideology. Of course, the ideology in both these cases was not part of the traditional culture but introduced political doctrine.) This situation, then, where State and Culture (or Power and Ideology) come together, is inimical to the development of a dynamic civil society. And this is a signal to us to be always cautious in our handling of culture and customs in relation to both governance and government.

I must say that the Tongan condition is related to the fact that Tonga was never formally colonised by any of the Great Powers. It was, therefore, easy – and now seems to be the natural tendency – for the State in Tonga to harness culture for its own ends. It seems now that the trend is for Pacific

States, as they increasingly become conscious of selfhood and independence, to go in the same direction as Tonga, i.e. assimilating culture and transforming it into ideology.

If we want a more balanced kind of governance, then, we must see civil society as equally significant and indispensable in the sociopolitical scheme as the State and Business are. Whatever policy we may be talking about we must make sure that its implementation will not give civil society a hard time. We must always bear in mind that a viable civil society is the logical/natural counterweight for the State/Business relationship and must always be given leeway to perform its balancing act. Alternatively put, this composite sector, unlike the monolithic State and Business sectors, has the characteristic input of a watchdog function, the provision of critiques, opposition and protest whenever State policy or Business influence threaten the rights of citizens, most importantly the right of equal access to social goods. And it is here that we find the academic *qua* academic taking up a central position in our picture. For just as the State is the leading actor in our governance model and has a special status as administrator of justice, so the academic (whether scholar or scientist) has a special role to play in leading the civil society in its critical role and watchdog function.

Cultural Survival

IT IS VERY REASSURING to see that the University of the South Pacific is taking a real interest in culture, and has made culture part, not only of its normal courses of study, but also of its extracurricular activities. The institution where I work has always taken education to be cultural rather than technical. This means, besides other things, that through education the student comes to have a sense of how the different departments of culture are related to each other and how they hang together in one and the same social context. Yet this can only be done if we, educators and teachers, adopt a broad and liberal approach to the disciplines, i.e. the subjects should be presented as parts of a single culture. There is a tendency, of course, to segregate different parts of the curriculum into watertight compartments. This is especially the case in relation to science and technology where the student is made to learn a set of devices to facilitate certain physical operations and transformations, but is still left without a sense of the connectedness of human achievements. So it is very encouraging to know that U.S.P. is taking culture seriously.

When I first received Professor Ravuvu's letter inviting me to come to U.S.P. I thought it a bit strange that the theme [for the Cultural Program Week] is 'cultural survival', for culture is that part of social life that survives. Of course at any point of time there would be fads, passing fashions, temporary trends, but it is only those forms of behaviour, techniques, artistic creations etc., which persist that form part of the system we call culture. This affords us a new angle on culture: what persist and survive are the most permanent productions of a community. Culture is an expression of a people's best and noblest moments. I feel the anthropologist's account of culture as the sum total of social behaviour that is learned and passed on to the next generations is not explicit enough, especially on the issues of permanence and quality. It is a definition that affords only an instantaneous view of culture, almost a pictorial, static view. It tells us what a culture is at a particular moment of time, but not what it is over time. We must see culture as what abides against a backdrop of change and evolution. There is then no question of a threat to culture within the context of a single community because the best and most permanent creations of the people will

* Opening address at U. S. P. Cultural Program Week, 27 April 1991.

tend to survive, because those traditions have internal strength – or survival value.

However, there is a context in which our theme is truly meaningful and I have no doubt this was the sense of 'Cultural Survival' the Cultural Committee was thinking about, viz., the context of culture contact. This is a situation where two – it can be more – distinct cultures come into active contact and the interactions between them are real and effective. This leads to losses (and gains) in the cultures concerned, and concessions and accommodations take place, not as something planned, but in the normal way things work. But it is always the case that one of these cultures loses much less than the other (or others) and the rest gain very little or are totally submerged in the more resilient culture (or cultures). We speak of the dominant culture as being a strong one and those that have 'disappeared' as 'dead' ones. There is however no question of a culture remaining totally unscathed in all this. A culture contact situation is one where every culture taking part must undergo some change. The Darwinian principle of natural selection applies to cultures no less than creatures in the wild.

The first major case of culture contact in the Pacific has been between Christianity and local cultures. Everywhere, we witness instances of give and take between Christianity and island cultures. In every one of them the missionaries' influence is felt in most phases of social etiquette and action. Even in our performing arts the missionary's hand is unmistakable. For example, traditionally dancers were mostly positioned alternately in relation to sex. So every dancer was flanked by two dancers of the opposite sex. And so as they jumped about they would be brushing against each other and this physical contact aroused all sorts of feelings which would spur them on to even higher levels of excitement and frenzied movement. Now to the missionaries this was not proper, and so in the *Lakalaka*, our national dance, which was developed under heavy missionary influence, the women are all ranged together at one end and the men lumped together, weeping, at the other. But, on the other hand, Christianity underwent changes as a result of this contact. Many traditional melodies were retained and worked into church music; Sunday feasts developed from Tongan customs. The clergy of one of our Wesleyan-style local churches, the Church of Tonga, internalise the histrionics of Tongan oratory so thoroughly that their sermons are more pantomime and acting than spiritual guidance or homilies. In fact I once suggested to members of this clergy that they charge admission for their prayer meetings and I argued this would fetch much needed funds for Church projects. My suggestion had the effect of breaking off communication between them and me, for quite some time. So what we have are compromise cultures and a Christianity with a Pacific face.

There are also special cases of culture contacts in the Pacific that need mention. The case of Hawaii is well known. The native Hawaiians, now a minority in their own land, are struggling, really struggling. It is pathetic. I hate to say it but I do believe it is a forlorn battle, a lost cause. It is an unequivocal indictment of the U.S.A. for not devising a better policy to deal with minority cultures which are numerous within her own boundaries. The case of Fiji is very important for all of us in the southwestern Pacific. Here we have three cultures — two 'world cultures' and a local one — intertwined in a social tussle. This has been going on for about a century or so, but I dare say a Pacific culture is certainly no match for international cultures. This is so because world cultures are, by and large, based on the morality of competition and conflict, whereas Pacific cultures, being the cultures of very small communities, are founded on values of co-operation and neighbourliness. Thus there is need for deep thought and a clear and fair policy to aid and also 'correct' the natural process of acculturation to make sure the best traits of the interacting cultures are intercrossed and reactivated in the final mix.

Let me mention, last of all, in this section, the case of the diaspora of Pacific islanders. In New Zealand, Australia, U.S.A., one sees all manner of Pacific islanders' communities. There they live, employed mostly in the most menial category of jobs, as second or third class citizens, and largely ignored by the governments of those countries. But they come into intense contact, and sharp conflict in some cases, with more powerful cultures whose values are the 'brutal' ones. And I have no doubt whatsoever in my mind that these 'Sephardic' islanders and their descendants will lose their original cultures if not in the first, then in the second generation. Though I use the Jewish analogy here, the cultures of the Pacific are not 'strong' cultures, like the Jewish, and not hardy enough to withstand the battery they are experiencing overseas. As implied above cultures like ours, that are based on appeasement and friendship are not cut out for wild conflict. The only force offering some kind of counterweight to this cultural erosion is the churches. They set up congregations everywhere there are islanders overseas creating an environment where island cultures can be kept alive and propagated to the young. But these churches are wreaking havoc in emigrants' economic lives — through church donations, annual collections, church building projects, and what not. Pacific islanders are a persecuted lot. In the social field they are encircled by foreign cultures. In the economic domain they are exploited by introduced religions.

But culture contact is not all dismal and cheerless. It can also be a time of enrichment and great artistic activity. History attests to it in the case of literature. For instance, Russian literature was nothing to speak of up to the 19th century. During that century, however, contact with the West became

really acute and then we have – in quick succession – Pushkin (born 1799), through Turgenev and Dostoevski, to Tolstoi (died 1910). It is the same with English literature in the time of Shakespeare, Scottish literature in the 14th and 18th centuries, and the upsurge of 'Byronism' in the 19th. And in our part of the world, although the missionaries came last century, it is only in the present one that European culture and way of life have actually penetrated our societies, and the result is that we are beginning to send forth a Pacific voice – Vincent Eri, John Kasalpwalova (P.N.G.), Vilsoni Hereniko (Rotuma), Pi'o Manoa (Fiji), Konai Thaman and Epeli Hau'ofa (Tonga), Albert Wendt (Samoa). The list is impressive and long.

SO, WHAT ARE WE worried about? Why do we insist on cultural survival? The answer is there are aspects of our cultures we must make sure are not lost altogether. But how do we go about this? My answer is, if we give the *problematique* a Darwinian construction, then we must give it a Darwinian solution also, i.e. the solution to 'cultural survival' is cultural adaptation. But I do not like leaving acculturation to run its own way serenely in the natural way because then everything is left up to chance and we cannot be sure if the outcome will be the optimal permutation of the best traits. The adaptation I am thinking of is a more conscious act done in full awareness of what is required. And what is required is survival – not of the fittest but of the best (and that is an adaptation of Darwinism itself, because in the cultural context the fittest and the best are distinct).

The adaptation I am advocating is akin to what philosophers are now doing with the ethical theories of utilitarianism and hedonism. We usually criticise these doctrines as prescribing actions that are wrong, or violate the rights of, or produce highly unfortunate consequences for, some few individuals, in cases where some outweighing advantage in net utility for others occurs. Philosophers propose to rectify this situation by limiting the application of the utility principle in cases where it would lead to the undesirable results; they call these limitations 'constraints'. I propose we do the same with cultural items. Let me illustrate this with a custom which is usually taken to be the centrepiece of Pacific social interpersonal morality, that is, sharing. If we allow the concept to run the full range of meanings it would end up looking like exploitation and opportunism. Obviously rights will be violated and individuals wronged and hence we must place constraints on sharing. My brother, or friend, or neighbour, for example, times it so well as to arrive at my house, three times every week, just as I and my family are about to have our evening meal so he can join us. (By the way anyone arriving in the middle of a meal must be invited to partake of it – another Pacific custom.) But the fellow – and there are so many of them, at least in

Tonga — is exploiting me and my family. If asked (though we never do) why he behaves like this, he would plead sharing. On the other hand, if brother, friend or neighbour has a daughter in an expensive school (like U.S.P.) and is short of a couple of hundred dollars for her tuition for a semester, I believe this is the right kind of sharing situation and one should try and help out. Or again, if he is building a house and needs a bit more cash to finish it, and he comes to you for a loan, you should help him. In other words, there are types of sharing that should be shunned and others which are 'non-negotiable'. The justification for this treatment of cultural values may be ultimately of a moral character, but it is also socially and economically beneficial. The community will be better off all round with better educated daughters and better housing. But a free meal provided daily for an indolent relative or friend is not going to go very far. It is an extremely inefficient use of resources and makes for strained social relations.

Next, cultural values, we must understand, are experience-derived and thoroughly relative. They are culture-specific and time-specific as well. None is absolute: they all have a good as well as a bad side. As such we have to pay great attention to where and when we activate them. For the one and the same rule that saves our life in one situation may be the cause of our undoing in another, and vice versa. Brutal values are for brutal environments and brutal times, and benign ones for benign surroundings and benign times. Therefore I recommend that Pacific people, especially our young people, internalise not only traditional ideals but their contraries as well. I call this *cultural adaptation by complementing*. As more and more Pacific people find themselves living in new and foreign environments, they will increasingly suffer for lack of cultural flexibility and adaptiveness. In the case of Tonga we inculcate into our young the virtues of co-operation and interdependence. These, however, lead in most cases to dependence and loss of confidence, especially in younger brothers and sisters who tend to look up not only to parents but also to eldest brothers and sisters — for everything. The extended family which is a socioeconomic machine that regulates the welfare of members of the clan through redistribution and allocation of resources gets exploited and abused in the same way. What will happen to people like this when you slap them down in the middle of a Californian or upstate New York community (and there are islanders in both now)? A dog eat dog society? The outcome is obvious — they will simply crumble and fall to pieces. The rate of youthful Tongans overseas who die in street gang violence is two and a half per annum! Similar statistics may exist for other Pacific islands.

So if we are going to teach our youths co-operation and interdependence we must teach them also self-reliance and independence. I suspect Asian young people fare much better in such environments because their codes of

behaviour emphasise those values that enable one to stand on one's own two feet. Similarly with generosity and openhandedness. As of now, they can only be urged in conjunction with thrift and acquisitiveness. Finally, if our moral instruction includes respect, acquiescence, and harmony, we should give them also an account of dissent and, of course, promote critical-mindedness. I fault Pacific cultures most harshly for not having criticism as part of their social morality. I have always maintained that criticism is a cornerstone of educational morality. And I take the freedom, the openness, the toleration of, and the publicity of criticism and controversy to be the crowning achievement of a society's sociopolitical development.

Now, about our arts, especially our poetry, music and dance. I would not like to see them snowed over under the barrage of pop art that is bombarding our shores at the present moment. We must promote and develop our arts along characteristic lines. We can borrow, adapt, remodel, etc. but we must not allow such borrowing or remodelling to disfigure and destroy the traditional structures. The forte of all Pacific poetry is nature poetry. It means that our forefathers had a greater rapport with the physical environment than us moderns. They appreciated much more their immediate surroundings – trees, birds, rocks, flowers. Nature poetry is a form of *humility*. It takes us back to the source of our material being and reveals to us our unity with all creatures and things, great and small. All art contains this artist's humility, a retreat from society. We must do the same with music and the dances. I like the choreographic principles of our dances. Let me mention some: aesthetic signification, spatial limitation, and sunny-side up.

Technology erodes culture – it is most effective in the area of material culture (no one makes fire now by rubbing two sticks together). Material culture can escape being forced into oblivion by new technology, by becoming socialised i.e. by giving up part or all of its functionality. The *ta'ovala* or waist mat is a case in point. The normal dress of Tongans in pre-contact times was tapa cloth. This material tears easily, and it is alright if it tears round the shoulders or from the thigh downwards; but if it tears round the midsection – thus exposing the genitals or buttocks – it would be quite embarrassing. So the *ta'ovala* developed originally as an outer garment, to insure against embarrassment (Europeans wear their insurance against embarrassment next to themselves, as an inner garment – we solve the same problem differently in different cultures: culture is a standardised set of solutions to human problems that depends on history, environment, etc). Now we in Tonga no longer wear tapa cloth but European material which does not tear easily. Still we wear the *ta'ovala*, but now not with the original function but as a social symbol of respectability, akin to the tie in European dress. And because Tongans now wear European inner wear in addition to the *ta'ovala*, they are doubly insured against embarrassment. Some Tongans are very

self-conscious and do not wear the *ta'ovala* as they do not like to feel this thing round their waist is crying out at every one they meet 'look, I am doubly insured and my genitals are impregnable'. Incidentally the history of the tie, being originally a swordwipe worn by Croatian cavalry in Napoleon's army, parallels this development, the shedding of function to achieve sociability. ('Cravat' derives from Old French for Croat.) But although technology can make the fine arts accessible, it can never really affect their genius. Our great but anonymous creators and artists join hands with the anonymous builders of the great Gothic cathedrals, with the great composers, with Shakespeare and the Greek tragedians in an atmosphere of rarest sensibility and sense of form that technology can never hope to touch.

LAST BUT NOT LEAST, I want to make a couple of remarks on an aspect of Pacific cultures that is usually neglected in discussion of this kind. I refer to forms of socialised speech and notional creativity which are sanctioned by the ages and social convention, namely oratory, repartee, humour, the art of story telling, and linguistic rivalry – in short the whole range of the verbal arts. It is a domain that is dominated by elders, but because society recognises and actively promotes it, we are never short of these masters.

I was once at a *saikava* (*yaqona*) party with Soakai, one of these old masters in my village of Kolomotu'a. We were talking leisurely and drinking the mildly narcotic beverage. Farming, as is usual, was the topic of conversation. Old Soakai did not say a word. Munching a stick of pressed tobacco, he kept his eyes half-closed. We knew he was cooking up something in his head. Then he turned to us: 'You know I once produced watermelons'. We coaxed him on. 'But my methods are different', he said, 'as soon as the creepers begin to lay out their crawlers, I walk between the rows, grab hold of the tentacles and pile them each into a heap.' And we said: 'What on earth for?' Then the old chap lowered his eyes and explained: 'You see when it comes to harvesting, instead of walking all over the whole area, you just drive between the rows and pile the fruits onto the vehicle, because the melons are already heaped up in piles. It saves energy too, you know.' And he smiled sardonically.

I will tell you a last one. When we first started to develop 'Atenisi in the mid-60s, one of the great masters of Polynesian humour and repartee stayed with us. One day I was sitting inside my little *sale* (*bure*) and beside me was this man. He was lying on his stomach as if sleeping, his head buried in his forearms. Suddenly a woman Mele – she was really mad – burst in. 'Oh, I am glad I have found you, Futa', she said, 'I have come to ask your advice on how to take Sitā to court. He bashed me up, two months ago (and here she launched into graphic language full of very descriptive adjectives). You see,

my face was all cut up and my body all bruised (more descriptive language). My arm is still sore.'

'But I cannot see any more bruises', I observed.

'They are healed now', Mele replied, 'but oh! how I wish to see the pig grill in prison for years.'

I ventured this: 'And aren't you able to find in your heart a spot or something wherewith you could forgive him?' Sītā, by the way, was Mele's boyfriend but he had left her.

'Forgive him, my foot! Prison is where I want him to spend the rest of his life!' was her reply.

It was at that point that our prostrate master decided to join the discussion. Without moving at all he let these words out of his mouth: 'Go back to Sītā and ask him to bash you up again'.

Now, you should have seen the expression on Mele's face. She had not noticed the other man really. Screaming at the top of her lungs she said: 'Who are you, suggesting I be bashed up again? Look, I am still smarting from the last one!'

'Yeah', replied our immovable 'primitive' philosopher, 'but the police won't believe you, now that the cuts have disappeared and the bruises healed. The police must have some grounds of prosecution, you know.' This was more than Mele could stand. She jumped outside and called us both 'Horse dung'.

I called our master a philosopher intentionally because I see logicians in North America have just started to work on the paradox of the Good Samaritan. It is part of the logic of agency where operators like 'see to it that' are central, abbreviated in their symbolism as STIT. For example, if one wants to see to it that 'there are hungry people who are fed', one must see to it first that 'there are hungry people'. That is STIT (there are hungry people who are fed), therefore STIT (there are hungry people). Applying this to the Good Samaritan we say, STIT (there is an injured man who is bandaged), therefore STIT (there is an injured man). This shows the GS is responsible for injuring the man first and bandaging him 'afterwards'. Applying it to this case it becomes this, STIT (Mele is bashed up and Sītā is taken to court, convicted, and imprisoned). Therefore STIT (Mele is bashed up – 'a second time'). So what the academic philosophers are investigating now our masters were already applying nearly three decades ago.

We must never allow our verbal arts to be lost. It would be equivalent to the loss of our souls. '*Ofa atu*.

Identity and Change in Tongan Society since European Contact

ALTHOUGH CHANGE IS UNCEASING, things change at different rates. In any given society, those cultural items within it which change so slowly that, in practice, we regard them as not changing at all constitute the identity of that culture. We say of those items that they persist. Why do those cultural items change so slowly? To answer this question we outline two general and complementary theses.

Thesis 1

It would advance theory if we regard society in the manner chemists regard matter. Thus society would have molecules – institutions, social classes, organisations, etc. Adopting a dynamic perspective, we look at our social molecules as processes. Our problem then is explaining the differing rates of social processes.

Social processes are never simple but are made up of yet other processes. The processes within processes may assist or retard each other depending on their specific characters. We express this fact as working in the same or different directions.

Thesis 1 then is the following: if the microprocesses are working in the same (or nearly the same) direction, the social process is fast i.e. its rate of change is high. Otherwise the social process is slow, having a low rate of change.

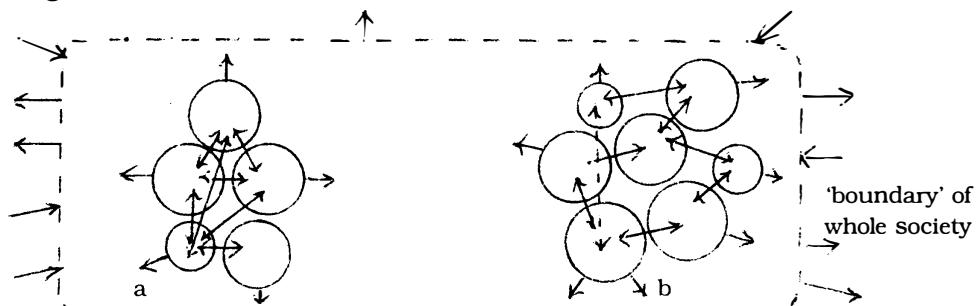


FIGURE 1 . Social molecules and rates of change (Molecule b will change faster than molecule a).

• A lecture given at the Musée de l'Homme, Paris, Oct. 1991.

Pushing our chemical analogy¹ further we say that a) the nature of the social molecules (or whole societies which are in contact), b) their general conditions, and c) the presence of social 'catalysts', are all very important factors that contribute to the rate of change of the molecules as well as the society as a whole.

Figure 1 may help clarify Thesis 1.

Thesis 2

Social molecules change most significantly under the impact of external forces, i.e. forces emanating in *other* social molecules or forces originating entirely outside the society we are studying. The history of societies shows that it is external forces which are the efficacious agents of change.² Newton's First Law of Motion applies to society no less than it does to physical objects. To paraphrase and adapt Newton: a society can only change in its rate and/or direction of evolution under the presence of unbalanced external forces. Otherwise it will continue in its normal state, i.e. an unchanging rate of slow-change in a characteristic direction.³

The idea of unbalanced external forces means that four conditions are possible.

- a) external forces may be weak and will have no impact,
- b) the internal reinforcements of a cultural item may be quite strong to render the impact of external forces inconsequential,
- c) the external forces are powerful enough to overcome any resistance to them, and
- d) some combination of all/some of the above.

We propose to study identity and change in Tonga by looking at examples from four main areas of the culture: social institutions (*kava*), moral and social values, material culture and technology, and the economy and social organisation.

¹ The Law of Analogical Argument precludes the taking of any analogy beyond a certain point. Similarly in our chemical analogy we do not imply that units below the social molecular level must be understood before social character is understood. No, the subject-matter of the social sciences is the social groupings and the relations which hold between them, though this does not mean that one cannot study individuals or self-interest and their implications.

² There is really no need to point to specific examples here. In fact there is a sense in which we can read all history as the stories of the play of external forces on social institutions or whole societies. From the standpoint of a recipient social structure or recipient society there is no such thing as internal force because it would have nothing to act upon. The notion of internal force, therefore, is a confused one. This paper exemplifies this principle for the case of Tonga.

³ Examples of historical contexts where there exist no surplus external forces (and hence only an unchanging rate of slow change) are long periods in the history of both Ancient Egypt and China.

Kava

Kava is the national, cultural drink of Tonga as it is also of Fiji and Samoa. It is made from the root and stem of a plant of the pepper family (*Piper methysticum*) which is pulverised and mixed with water to make the beverage. It is slightly narcotic and has a petrifying effect on the body though not on the mind. But *kava* is very rarely prepared and drunk purely informally, e.g. by just a single person alone – unless, of course, he is an incurable *kava*-holic. *Kava* is always drunk formally or semi-formally, i.e. by people sitting round the *kava* bowl in a relaxed fashion and talking on some topical or other subject.

Kava is the traditional symbol *par excellence* of Tongan society because it was organised in our early prehistory into a ritual which shows in a 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 their head chiefs who sit in the *kava* circle.⁴

There are five types of *kava* ceremonies ranging from the very rigidly formal *kava* circles of the chiefs to the relaxed, near-informal parties. Three of these have come down from ancient times and two are modern creations. We discuss these in turn:

1. *Tau fakalokua*. This is a *kava* party of two or three farmers or fishermen that is held at the end of the day in one of the men's houses. The *kava* may be mixed and served by one of the men's wife, a daughter, a son or one of the men themselves. The atmosphere is very relaxed, and the talk informal. The topics discussed can be anything of common interest, e.g. yam cultivation, a fishing method, and in general what they have been doing that day. This *kava* session, therefore, was one that gave farmers and fishermen the opportunity to unwind, take stock of what they achieved that day, and learn from each other. But obviously it is a cultural item which grew out of the subsistence nature of the traditional economy. The farmers and fishermen who normally participate in this *kava* party are self-employed which means they start their day when they want to or when they feel like it and this in turn is reflected in how long their *faikava* is going to be.

With the increasing change into a money economy, cash cropping and commercial fishing set a timetable for farmers and fishermen that gives less and less allowance for informal meetings between them. As a result the *tau fakalokua* is becoming rare and it is only in rural areas and smaller, outer islands that we see this *kava* still hanging on precariously.

⁴ See E. Bott, 'Psychoanalysis and ceremony', in J.L. La Fontaine (ed.) *The Interpretation of Ritual: essays in honour of A.J. Richards* (London 1972). Also same author's 'Power and rank in the Kingdom of Tonga', in *Journal of the Polynesian Society*, 90:1 (1981), 7-81.

2. *Faikava eva*. This is primarily a *kava* party of young men who go to a girl's house and ask her parents' permission for the girl to mix and serve *kava* for them.

This was the traditional method of dating. The boys would vie with each other in courting the girl or they have already agreed to let only one of them make a line with the girl, while they all support his suit by singing beautiful love songs, telling jokes or anything that would enliven the party and direct the interest of the girl onto the boy concerned. Of course, they are not always successful in this and the girl may end up falling in love with, and marrying, a different boy. However, if the boy and girl come to some kind of agreement, their respective families (most notably father's brothers or male cousins, and father's sisters, or female cousins) are informed. Their decisions are binding and they determine date, the type of celebrations for the wedding, who will do what etc., and even whether the marriage will go on or not.

However, the *faikava eva* is on the way out also. This is because other forms of dating are available in modern Tonga. Young people now conduct their courting and dating in dance halls and in nightclubs. These are more convenient and more efficient. One does not have to round up one's friends as supporters in one's wooing of a girl, or have to get the permission of parents to make a date. All one has to do is to pre-arrange with the girl to be in the same nightclub or dance hall and one goes there and tries one's luck.

3. The formal *kava*. There are different versions of the very formal *kava*:
 a) *taumafakava*. This is the most formal of all formal *kava* ceremonies. The monarch presides at this ceremony (sitting at the top of the circle opposite the *kava* bowl) and the group of *kava* mixers sit at the other 'end' of the circle. In between sit chiefs and their ceremonial attendants.

The important features of all formal *kava* ceremonies are:

(i) the positioning of chiefs in the ring indicates the rank and power of the chiefs. In general, the closer your sitting position is to the presiding person (in this case, the monarch) the higher your rank is, and the further away it is, the lower.

(ii) 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 are chiefs who sit well up in the circle, very close to the king, whose political power in society as a whole has declined quite apprec-

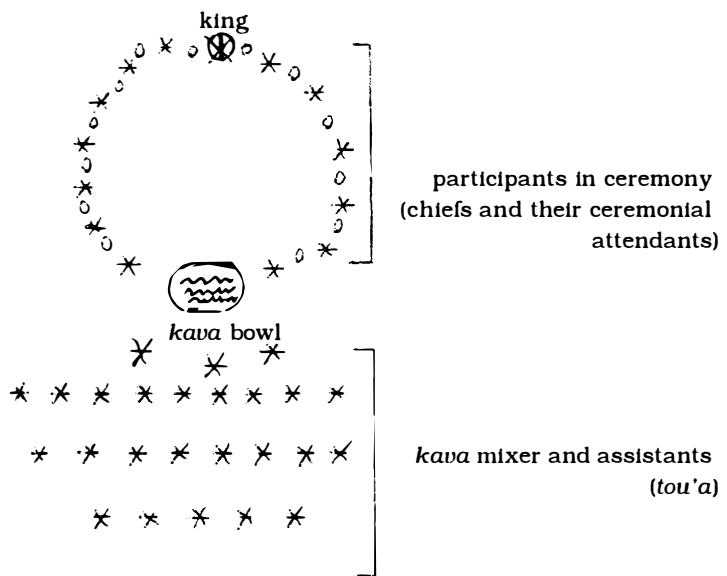


FIGURE 2 . A *taumafa kava* circle.

itably, while there are other chiefs who sit well back, closer to the *kava* bowl, who are very powerful today. Examples of the former are Nuku and Niukapu, and of the latter, Tuita, Ma'afu Tukui'aulahi, and Ve'ehala.

(iii) While the *kava* is being mixed, food presentations (*fono*) which had been placed inside the *kava* circle would be formally shared out by the officiating *matāpule* (ceremonial attendant) and helpers. Here is a ritual that is actually an object lesson or piece of didactic theatre to tell people how the resources of the land are to be distributed – the highest chief gets the biggest and best share, then down through the ranks, and commoner classes may go without, and so on.

(iv) One of the criteria for appreciation in social and political clout is genetic closeness to the royal house. This is the whole basis of the old practice of chiefly houses competing to marry off a member or members of their family into Royalty. If a chiefly house continues to fail in this for a prolonged period of time – up to over a century or so – its social image will become quite dim and political influence count for little.

- b) Nearly exactly the same procedure is followed in *kava* ceremonies at funerals, weddings, welcoming and farewelling of visitors or important church functions. The main differences are:

(i) the king is not at the place of honour, which is now occupied by the highest ranking chief present.

(ii) participants have more leeway to talk, though only one at a time, and the talk must be expressed in formal and poetical language. These formal ceremonies are the traditional venues for discussing aspects of the culture – public protocol and etiquette, social customs, traditional values, mythology, etc. These constitute our traditional 'university'.

It would be well for anthropologists and other students of Tongan culture (who have a habit of looking up informants who are made to explain things in cold blood, as it were, in a way they are not used to, an untraditional Socratic dialogic way) to note this point. They need to have some familiarity with the local language, however.

The formal *kava* in its principal forms is still very strong. This is an indication that the social structure and communicative patterns which link the different parts of society are very much as they were in the past and do not show signs of immediate change.

4. *Kava sakiasi* (Church or Sunday *kava*). The first missionaries to Tonga realised early that assimilation of aspects of the local culture would enhance their chances of converting Tongans to Christianity. One of the customs taken over by the missionaries was *kava*. Church *kava* is drunk every Sunday morning, and sometimes afternoons and evenings also. And whenever an important church occasion is taking place a *kava* ceremony is conducted. Talk is semi-informal and concentrates mainly on church affairs.

In the Church *kava* the minister of the church (if there are more than one minister present, then the most senior one) takes the place of honour in the circle. In the Protestant churches this need not be the case, for the church member who is to preach the sermon or otherwise conduct the church service (if it is a Sunday *kava* which is always served before the service) sometimes presides at the *kava* circle. In the Roman Catholic church *kava*, a priest invariably sits in the place of honour, even if there are chiefs participating.

Church or Sunday *kava* is still going strong.

5. *Kalapu kava tonga* (*Kava clubs*). This is a recent adaptation and testifies to the monetisation of the economy and social customs. There is no locality, village, or suburb without one or two *kava* clubs. These are open every week night except Sunday or at least two nights a week. Anyone can attend a *kava* club, though women are rarely seen in them, and an admission fee is charged – now between two and four dollars. You drink your fill and leave when you want to. Participants sit at different tables or sit on the floor in groups. Each group or table has a bowl (which is refilled from time to time) to share.

Talk is completely informal and very high in ribaldry, teasing and light repartee. There is nothing serious in this *kava*, the aims being simple socialising and fund-raising. It is quite the opposite of formal *kava* and has absorbed the *tau fakalokua*. It is a very, very strong form of *kava*.

All the above forms of *kava* exist side by side in Tonga though we must add that we are now witnessing the demise of the *tau fakalokua* and *saikava eva* due to changes in the society and the economy. Because of increasing encroachments of cash cropping on the subsistence economy and because it is much less bother to go to a *kava* club than raise a *kava* party in one's own house, the *tau fakalokua* has become a rarity. Similarly the *saikava eva* has surrendered its function to other types of social event, e.g. dances, nightclubs, where young and eligible people can rendezvous and have their trysts in, what seems to them, a more convenient and freer atmosphere.

On the other hand the formal and church *kava* are holding their own in the face of the socio-economic changes. This fact testifies to the power and underlying strength of the church and the chiefly system though we can see challenges to these institutions mounting on the horizon. These are going to take the form of a changed social consciousness (emphasising populist sentiments, for example), and the standard disruptive effects of economic transformation. To meet these challenges the two institutions must adapt in a way that would *reduce* their political influence. Any other way could be disastrous for them.

But the most powerful symbol of the changes coming over Tonga is the monetised *kava*, the *kalapu*. How the *kalapu* is going to change the other forms of *kava* it is too early yet to tell but it is symptomatic of the situation that money has already established itself well in the one institution that is most characteristic of Tongan culture.

Although popularly *kava* has always been viewed as the most stable and unchanging ceremony in Tongan culture, we have actually witnessed important changes in the processing of *kava* and in the forms of *kava* paraphernalia. Originally *kava* was chewed by the mixer and his/her assistants before mixing it with water. Missionaries did not think this method very hygienic and caused the root to be crushed by stones of a basaltic type — one large flat, usually circular, acting as anvil, and a smaller roundish stone, which is used by the mixer as a pulveriser. Now metallic *kava*-crushing implements and even powered machines for making *kava* powder are common. However, this powder is not used in formal *kava* circles since here the crushing of the *kava* is an essential feature of the ceremony. *Kava* ceremony equipment also has gone through significant evolution, and all dictated by efficiency, economy, and need.

It is believed that *kava* was originally served in cups made of folded green leaves (*pelu*). Later, coconut shell cups (*ipu*) were developed and these have

replaced the *pelu*. The strainer too has seen a few changes. According to the *kava* myth the first *kava* strainers were made from coconut husk fibres (*pulu*). This material has the drawback of containing all sorts of detritus which separate off in contact with water and are left floating on the surface of the liquid. So the *fau* (made from the fibrous bark of the Polynesian hibiscus tree) was developed. It is this type of strainer that is used in all formal *kava* ceremonies. But the use of the *tangai* (a small purse-like bag made of thin cloth in which the *kava* powder is deposited and then immersed and washed off in a bowl of water) is becoming very, very popular. In fact, it is only in the formal *kava* that one still finds the *fau* used to strain out the *kava* dregs. In all other *kava* parties the *tangai* reigns unchallenged.

Social and Moral Values

Scholars have suggested, but only as an analytical tool, a distinction between shame and guilt cultures.⁵ In this scheme Tongan culture would be more of a shame culture – one in which people value more their interpersonal and group relationships and spend their time shining their public image through competitive acts, e.g. demonstrations of generosity or friendliness. They avoid shame (or loss of face) like the plague. Members of guilt cultures, on the other hand, have consciences laden with guilt and they worry over things like justice, truth and rights.

The problem here is that people from shame cultures with their penchant for generosity, consensus, friendship, etc. cannot function successfully with this moral gear in a society where dog eats dog – and this is the sort of society in which Tongans increasingly find themselves in the wake of the Pacific peoples diaspora. Such peoples are perfect pawns for exploitation by peoples of cultures whose values include acquisitiveness, thrift, drive and so on. The least we can do to protect Pacific peoples against this eventuality is to acquaint them with the values of societies they are now entering as well as with the fact that different moralities come with different societies.

The impact of missionaries on local morality has been ambivalent. Their code of ethics is a mixture of Jewish and Christian values. The Jewish part soon became emphasised because it coincided with traditional values in many respects, for example in emphasising obedience, loyalty, and so on. This obviously played into the hands of the traditional chiefly classes and other holders of power in the society. The tendencies in Christian teaching towards individualism and equality, however, were ultimately subversive of the traditional morality and hence the traditional power structure.

We are now witnessing the entry into our culture of libertarian-humanist values as well as the so-called bourgeois morality. These are outcomes of the

⁵ E.g. E.R. Dodds, *The Greeks and the Irrational* (Berkeley 1963).

rise of an intellectual élite as well as a middle class in Tongan society. This is a remarkable social development but one that promises to speed up the transformation of Tonga from a traditional Pacific society into one with all the panoply of modernity.

It is also worth noting here that, although Tonga has never had a feminist movement – and probably will never have one – women are now entering the workforce in strength, and even the professions (medicine, law, and business) which have traditionally been regarded as male domain proper. Women also have indicated a will to have a part in the control of resources which heretofore have been out of bounds for them.

Material Culture and Technology

Material culture and technology are areas where change has been most marked, nay, the word is not change but, in many cases, replacement or total obliteration. Take, for example, traditional architecture. Here we have a system of building construction that starts from the roof (the independent variable in this design system) and the problem is to provide a floor plan to suit it. (According to an old myth the god Tangaloa directed the mariners of old when they had reached the islands to take their canoes, turn them upside down, prop them up on poles and they would have roofs for shelters. This is the 'explanation' for the hull-like shapes of the roofs of Samoan and Tongan traditional houses, etc.) Looked at, however, from the point of view of human adaptation, we cannot escape noting the efforts of combinative minds to create objects that can withstand strong winds, facilitate air circulation (nearly every member of the roof structure is curved), and render thatch roofing impervious to the torrential rains of the tropics. But – as the roof, so is the floor – this shape embodies social values. It is a shape that is ideal for the *kava* ceremony and other meetings where social rank is activated.

The actual building of the Tongan *faale* starts with the roof and the floor is the final part to be worked on. Therefore the roof determines the floor in a way that the floor does not do in relation to the roof. In Italian Baroque, Bernini's San't Andrea in Rome has the same overall floor plan as a Tongan *faale*, but because he made the floor his starting point his solution is radical, though still very elegant. And, of course, other solutions are possible.

Now it is hard to find specimens of this Tongan traditional architecture in the villages any more. People build European-type houses with introduced materials – concrete, sawn timber, iron, glass, etc. These last longer and do not have to be renovated every three or four years, and if built properly can withstand harsh weather conditions well. Yet European-type houses tend to be too hot in sunny weather and the spatial organisation is not one that takes into account the requirements of the local culture.

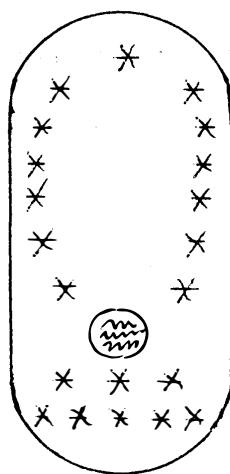


FIGURE 3. Basic shape of traditional Tongan *fale* (ideal for *kava* etc., parties).

Other examples of the traditional technology are the stone adze, the bamboo knife, shell scrapers and a host of other wood and bone items in the tool-kit of this stone-age technology. All but a precious few have been superceded by metal implements and powered tools. Because the whole aim of technology is to save labour energy and labour time, the governing principle here is efficiency. No matter how long and how well a particular type of technology has served us, as soon as a more efficient type is invented, men will turn to that and forget about the older one.

Outmoded forms of technology, however, can still retain a place in the culture by shedding part of their use-value and becoming a social symbol, or acquiring exchange-value. An example of the former is the *ta'ovala*, the waist mat worn by Tongans on top of their usual wear. It was originally developed to protect the barkcloth, a material that tears easily, from tearing round the midsection (Tongans had no use for underwear in pre-contact times). Now of course they wear European cloth and this problem does not arise, but the *ta'ovala* is retained as part of the Tongan dress being regarded as a social symbol for respect. And an example of the latter is *toloafi*, the fire-producing sticks which are rubbed together to produce fire. This is such an arduous task that no one uses the method today. But *toloafi* is featured almost daily in tourist resorts to entertain wide-eyed visitors who marvel at the fact that friction at ambient temperature yields fire. In other words the use-value of *toloafi* has disappeared, but it has acquired an exchange-value in the tourist market.

Economy and Social Organisation

Traditionally Tongans were organised into groups (clans) attached to a chief or headman.⁶ These were production and consumption local groups known as the *kāinga*. They lived in a dispersed manner and in such a way so as to occupy the whole of their land to prevent trespassing, theft, or direct attempts at appropriating clan property which, traditionally, was owned collectively.

With the reorganisation of Tonga in modern times, people began to found villages and towns and this disrupted the unity and localness of *kāinga* so we now find *kāinga* distributed over the length and breadth of whole islands and even nationwide.⁷ And to top it all, a new land tenure system was developed under European influence, one that made individual ownership the rule.⁸ These two major changes made short works of the production function of *kāinga*. The consumption function however is well and still operating but only on special occasions. This is best seen in a wedding, a funeral, or some such life-calamity event. Members of the *kāinga* who gather at such an occasion contribute to the feasts and/or the pool of durable wealth-objects which are redistributed among themselves. I have called this custom 'consumption socialism'.⁹ This type of consumption socialism keeps the *kāinga* as a whole unit together, for although some members who live close to each other interact all the time, it is only in life-calamity and life-confirming events that the *kāinga* is seen in action as a single body. Distribution of food and goods at these events reveals an important dimension of the economics of consumption socialism or for that matter of the Tongan subsistence economy. It has been the assumption of economists¹⁰ that market theory cannot be applied in any way to subsistence production not only because the two situations are so different but also because the concepts would have to be redefined in ways such that they cease to have any resemblance to their traditional meanings. Be that as it may, I still think that the modern market and the subsistence 'market' have structural correspondencies that it would be of great theoretical value to draw out.

⁶ Refer 'I.F. Helu, 'Brother/Sister and Gender Relations in ancient and modern Tonga', No. 15 in this collection.

⁷ See I. Campbell, *Island Kingdom, Tonga Ancient and Modern* (Christchurch 1992).

⁸ See A. Maude, 'Land tenure and agriculture in Tonga', PhD thesis, Australian National University (Canberra 1962).

⁹ See my 1974 paper, 'Some Economic Aspects of *Kāinga*' (No. 22 in this collection), in which this term was first used.

¹⁰ Bronislaw Malinowski's critique of the 'economic man' has been the first to precipitate this attitude. In the field of general economic history K. Polanyi's work has had a similar impact.

In modern economies, distribution embraces the two markets – the commodities market and the factors market which stands behind or underpins the commodities market and can be regarded as representing prior claims on the latter, so that these claims must be met before other claims on the commodities market will simply cease to function. Similarly in the consumption socialism of Tonga (and of all Polynesia also) there exist forms of appropriation¹¹ which have to be satisfied before distribution can continue. In any *kāinga* event, the shares of the chief(s) – they traditionally represent land – the priest(s) i.e. religion, *punake*, *ha'atufunga* or traditional artists and technicians (social capital) must be set aside first before distribution can proceed.

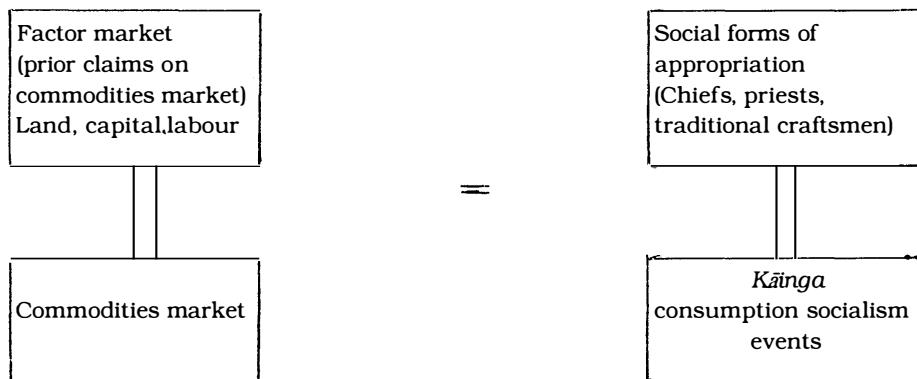


FIGURE 4. Modern and subsistence distribution.

Therefore, although key concepts, e.g. market, exchange, capital etc., differ in meaning in the two situations the overall structure of distribution is the same. We can understand society then not only by understanding modes of production but also by understanding forms of distribution (or appropriation). For just as production is more 'economic' than distribution, so distribution is more 'sociopolitical' than production. In Tongan society although the traditional modes of production (e.g. *kāinga* collective production) have disappeared, *kāinga* distribution has persisted. In other words, distribution

¹¹ I derived the ideas of the factor market underpinning the commodities market and forms of appropriation predating any productive activity whatsoever from J. Anderson's 'Production, distribution and exchange', *Australian Journal of Psychology and Philosophy*, No. 2 (1935). Their application to the analysis of Tongan subsistence economy is mine.

is not significantly connected to production as it is to social character. In as much as social groups such as *kāinga* persist in some ways their characteristic forms of distribution will persist with them though not necessarily their typical modes of production. For distribution is above all things a form of validation of social function, a recognition that certain institutions (in the case of Tonga, chiefs, priests, traditional expertise)¹² are essential for the continuance of society.

In general, prior claims as defined above have the economic effect of mobilising resources not only through distribution of goods but also through their allocation of resources. These traditional forms of appropriation, therefore, function in a subsistence economy in a manner analogous to market forces in a modern capitalist economy. That is, they significantly determine the *value* of what is produced. The important point here is that labour is not all-important in subsistence production, at least so far as value is concerned. Neither in the subsistence nor in the market economy is the Marxist theory of labour-value exemplified. And along with this theory the notion of pure competition must be rejected, i.e. the belief that there can be production situations which are free of all forms of prior claims but merely await the induction of labour. There has never been, and never will be, such a situation.

The subsistence economy, however, is continuously being weakened by the accelerating market sector development. Some 25 years ago the proportion of the subsistence sector was upwards of 80 per cent. Today, it would not be much higher than 60 per cent. Subsistence production is deployed in fulfilling traditional tasks and obligations, for example household consumption, Sunday and church feasts, village and *kāinga* (and extra-*kāinga*) contributions, gift-making and meeting outstanding 'subsistence' obligations. However, the incomes derived from cash production are, in general, also deployed in much the same ways. In other words, the same distributive agencies – the *kāinga* (where the chief is supreme) system and the church are powerful in both domains. Their combined effect is that of an economic leveller which restrains materialistic tendencies within the *kāinga* by absorbing much of the subsistence produce and income derived from the cash sector thus keeping individual incomes at much the same

¹² My economist friend S. Halapua formulates much the same ideas by adapting the standard total (national) income equation (adding a new term, $I(s)$). Thus, $Y = C + I(c) + I(s)$. $I(s)$ is Social Investment and represents the share of total income absorbed by social institutions such as the chiefs, churches, etc. – what I call forms of appropriation or prior claims. Alternatively we can refer to $I(s)$ as representing *functions* needed to keep society intact. Similarly Dr Halapua explains that without $I(s)$ in our equation the economy will have to generate a much higher volume of $I(c)$ to meet the costs of new administrative bodies, e.g. the police force and law enforcement institutions, which now have to assume those functions formerly discharged by the traditional and more truly 'cultural' institutions.

level. General culture emphasising values like hospitality and friendliness also play an important distribution role, e.g. in receiving of, and offering gifts to, visitors, foreigners and non-members of *kāinga* or church to which one belongs.

This picture, however, is changing for although *kāinga*, church and general culture are still active in terms of their traditional roles, the numbers of an emerging middle class are increasing. They are all *kāinga* members who have to produce and acquire an income well above the demands of *kāinga* and church so that after these are met they can still pursue their capitalistic goals. Although most of these individuals are businessmen, quite a few are from the chiefly class and high government officials. The incomes of the latter categories derive not from any economic production but from high salaries. (Salary structuring in Tonga follows generally the pattern of traditional privileges.) However, the price of economic prominence in this society is increased social obligations and a certain measure of social segregation if not, in some cases, outright stigma.

Human Rights from the Perspective of Tongan Culture

A Short History of the Human Rights Movement

The first international rules and procedures regarding human rights¹ were developed to protect foreigners against abuses by local authorities. During the 19th century many international tribunals and claims commissions established certain minimum standards for all nations to follow in the treatment of aliens. After World War I treaties were concluded in which European countries were specially obligated to certain standards in the protection of racial, religious and national minorities. The League of Nations was entrusted with supervising the execution of those rules.

Although international law does not usually deal with the relations between a country and its citizens, this rule ceases to apply when a nation's treatment of its population violates the dictates of humanity and justice or shocks the conscience of mankind, e.g. Nazi tyranny in the 1930s and the African slave trade in the late 18th and early 19th centuries.

All these developments came to a head at the end of World War II when sovereign powers promulgated at San Francisco, in 1945, the Charter Of the United Nations which has since served as the basic document for preserving peace among nations as well as announcing the need to observe human rights. This document, however, was felt to be of too general a nature, that the terms 'human rights and fundamental freedoms' therein have no definite meaning and so the United Nations is limited to merely 'promoting' and 'encouraging' respect for and observance of, these rights and freedoms, and cannot regard nations as fully bound to this respect or observance.

This concern at the inexplicit character of the Charter led to the setting up of the United Nations Committee on Human Rights which formulated and proclaimed the Universal Declaration of Human Rights in 1948. The Declaration puts firm content into the bare assertions of the Charter and is proclaimed by the General Assembly

as a common standard of achievement for all people and all nations, to the end that every individual and every organ of society, keeping this Declaration constantly in mind, shall strive by teaching and education to promote respect for

* Short presentation at Friendly Islands Teachers Association Seminar, Nuku'alofa, 23, 24 May 1995.

¹ In general 'rights' are demands of individuals or groups which society recognises and gives effect to (e.g. through cultural conventions or law).

these rights and freedoms and by progressive measures, national and international, to secure their universal and effective recognition and observance both among the people of Member States themselves and among the peoples of territories under their jurisdiction.

Since I believe you are all familiar with the Declaration and that copies have been distributed to FITA members, I won't enumerate the 30 Articles or analyse them but restrict myself in the remaining time to pointing out general congruencies as well as conflicts between certain dictates of the Human Rights document and Tongan culture.

Tongan Culture and Human Rights

Tongan people, in general, are famous the world over for being friendly and generous. Captain Cook testified to this by calling the islands the Friendly Isles. Social values include loyalty, humility, obedience, consensus and self-denial. But in relation to these values two points have to be made. First, these 'benign' values are part of an ethical code that applies to *commoners only*. Chiefs subscribe to a different code whose values include assertiveness, leadership, pride, courage, defiance, etc. Second, the 'liberal' values e.g. independence, criticalness, emulation, opposition etc. are conspicuous in their absence from the commoners' ethical code.

It is, however, in the areas of social hierarchy and class politics that problems with human rights do arise and as these problems influence other aspects of social life they give rise to grave hardships and privations in the life of the common people, though long conditioning (centuries) has made them impervious to this type of suffering and to love wretchedness and servility.

Because of class distinctions, most notably between chiefs and commoners, which, by the way, is the only politically effective division, Tongan culture clashes head-on with basic human rights requirements. In the specific context of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, this disagreement comes out most openly in regards to Articles 1 and 2. Article 1 states that:

All human beings are born free and *equal in dignity and rights*. They . . . should act towards one another in *a spirit of brotherhood* (my italics).

and Article 2 says:

Everyone is entitled to all rights and freedoms set forth in this Declaration, without distinction of any kind such as . . . sex, language, religion, political or other opinion, national or social origin, property, birth or other status . . . (my italics).

Now, I believe, that with the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, something new was coming into the world. I call this the concept of the global individual. We are, of course, used to the concept of the individual. We say that in traditional societies the individual was 'non-existent' or that his

interests *qua* individual were suppressed so that he directed all his exertions and thought, his whole life, for the good of the group, of society. Modern individualism posits the person within the nation and it is always individual vis-à-vis the national state. But the individualism of the Universal Declaration is new; it is global individualism, it is the individual as passenger in Spaceship Earth, to use Buckminster Fuller's term, the individual vis-à-vis all men (or all states on Earth). This conception of human rights is so new and so rich in implications, that we will make very serious mistakes in our implementation of it. For example, this new conception of human rights and the individual contains the assumption that every person, whatever his nationality, race, etc., has fully internalised and lives by liberal and non-discriminatory principles. Otherwise people will abuse the Declaration and take advantage of its provisions for egotistical, family and racial interests, just those things the Declaration was designed to discourage.

Modern political philosophers (Rawls, Dworkin) have realised that absolute equality in distribution of social goods or status etc. is a Chimera. But consideration of other conditions, such as health, economic endowment, social background, employment opportunity, educational attainments, and so on, could result in a principle of fair shares (or 'equality', taking on this new meaning). Let me illustrate what I mean by a hypothetical land tenure system for Tonga:²

1. All Tongan citizens, irrespective of sex, on attaining the age of 18, are entitled to four acres of garden land and a residential allotment in town or village of 30 poles.
2. Every Tongan citizen, irrespective of sex, on attaining the age of 18, can, if he/she wishes, and providing the Ministry of Lands has a supply of undistributed land, take out a leasehold of up to 30 acres for purposes of agriculture or business, for a period of 20 years.
3. All leaseholds in Tonga are renewable for a maximum total period of 60 years.

Such a system as the above would cater for at least two types of demands: a) that an *equal* distribution of wealth be effected and b) because people are unequal in their natural (or natal) and socio-economic endowments there should be *unequal* distribution of resources. The first requirement is taken care of by the basic entitlement of four acres. People who are not agriculturally inclined would find this entitlement more than ample. But those who have the means and will to go into farming as a source of

² The present land tenure system is skewed in the direction of males on reaching 16 when they become entitled to eight acres of gardening land and a much smaller residential allotment in the village. Only in cases where there are no male heirs can women inherit land, which normally goes from father to eldest son.

livelihood can make use of the second provision and take out leaseholds. This would introduce inequality into our system but still it will be a fair sharing and people's liberty will not be jeopardised. Also, inequality is paid for which goes to build up public revenue. The term of leases may seem too short, but we have to ensure there is always land to be leased out by the Ministry of Lands.

Now, as far as Tongan culture is concerned, human beings are never born equal in dignity and rights because national and social origin, birth and wealth all feature in the social calculus that determines one's status in the community. It is not at all unusual – in fact, it is quite common – to hear common people referred to by chiefs as *manu* (animals), the favourite species indentified with the lower orders being *pua ka* (swine). This characteristic of Tongan culture is crystallised in language with its three tiers of special vocabulary sets and functional locutions – one for the monarch, one for the chiefs, and one for commoners. The regal language is largely of borrowed terms, mainly from Samoa, that for chiefs consists of rhetorical construction, whilst that for commoners is made up entirely of derogatory terminology for animals and animal behaviour. To give an example at random, the regal term for 'child (of)' is '*alo*' which is the formal/poetical word for 'womb'; the chiefly terms are *soha* (son) and '*o fefine*' (daughter). But the formal term for a commoner's son or daughter is *uhiki* (animal young). Other examples abound which show that Tongan culture never had any instincts for human rights and that the one value, namely equality, the most important of moral goods, did not occur in traditional Tongan culture. In fact, we have a proverb that fixes this anti-egalitarian trait in the Tongan ethos: '*Oua e tangi ke tatau na'a 'ita a tāufa'āhau* (Do not aspire for equality lest Tāufa'āhau be offended).

The upshot of the class struggle is all power concentrating in the chiefly class. Although in terms of the Constitution the common people have been emancipated from the arbitrary authority of chiefs, the great legal chiefs of modern Tonga (instituted as hereditary titles in 1875) still exercise almost unlimited power over commoners by virtue of the culture which requires the latter to defer on all matters to their chiefly masters who are never to be questioned or criticised on any issue whatsoever.

Impact of Basic Inequality on Other Areas of Social Life

There has been little outward violation of human rights by way of actual physical detention or exile for religious or political persuasion – the type we find rampant in some East European, African and Latin American states. It has not been unknown in Tonga, however, as witness the religious persecution of the 1880s which resulted in the exile of Wesleyans, in droves, to Fiji. And the present trend of political enthusiasms in the country points to harsh political persecution in the future as a real possibility. In fact, the

way people in power relentlessly hunt down, in libel suits, the most vociferous critics of the present system and tradition-based privileges suggests that political persecution and subtle (therefore more pernicious) forms of human rights abuses are already in place. We can see then that human rights deprivation of the commoner classes has always been a feature of Tongan society though it existed mostly as social psychology.³ There is also a clear indication that the rule of law is becoming inapplicable to people in power.

Not only in the area of 'fundamental freedoms' — of conscience e.g. religious and political, as well as people's perception of human worth — is the Tongan traditional culture found wanting. There are also exceptionally acute deficiencies in the system when it comes to access to resources. Commoners did not merely have no say in social affairs; they also miss out in any share in the traditional distribution model.⁴ In the monetised economy of today the pattern of income distribution and accessibility to lucrative 'employments' are still deeply governed by cultural norms and traditional privileges. In such a situation, it is inevitable that human rights abuses would be quite extreme.

HUMAN RIGHTS essentially mean — and stem from — a social will to treat people as equals (as Article 1 of the Declaration requires). Of course, people are naturally unequal in terms of natal gifts, e.g. intelligence, physical strength, health, etc. We must recognise that as a basic fact of life and society but, at the same time, that is the gist of our problem — how to give people a fair share (of liberties, opportunity, resources). This is a problem to be addressed by governments but also requires the actual involvement and moral concern of us all. We must see to it that every person receives his/her fair share of social and economic goods and also that the fair shares of some individuals or groups are not employed to subsidise the projects of other individuals or groups, as is the case with old cultures like the Tongan.

I believe this to be the fundamental problem regarding human rights — our inability (or refusal) to treat people as equals. Therefore, if we can solve it we would be well on the way to disentangling the other related issues. Even if the above suggestion is too vague — space precludes spelling out the idea in detail — I believe that some such concept is required to give flesh and blood to the most important dimension of a civilised society, which is human rights.

³ See F. Tutone, 'Peace and Human Rights Education: A Tongan perspective', unpub. paper given at FITA Seminar, 1994, for a fuller discussion of this point.

⁴ This is clearly seen in the formal *kava* circle for the king or a high chief. This ceremony is a piece of social theatre to teach people how to distribute the resources of the land: the biggest share for the king (or high chief) etc., but nothing for commoners.

The Thinking of a Psychotic

A VARIETY OF MENTAL ILLNESSES has been known to Tongan people for a long time. Although some are essentially constitutional, many are manifestations of emotional conflict between basic drives and urges and a rigid social environment. A whole class of these socially-induced disorders is called '*avanga*' which covers a very wide range of neuroses and psychoses. One form of this '*avanga*' which has been a common affliction with young virgins and unmarried women in Tonga is an acute psychosis variously known as '*ave-ehe-tevolo*' ('abducted by a spirit') and *te'ia* ('slain' i.e. by a spirit). This paper attempts to identify some important effects of this particular psychosis on thinking and other conscious processes through a general description of how the disorder originates, develops, and is cured.

Materiality and mentality are not, distinct categories in traditional Tongan thinking. Consequently there was no sharp distinction between physiotherapy and psychotherapy. But in one sense, however, we can regard all Tongan folk medicine as psychotherapy. Traditional aetiology takes the causes of disease to reside ultimately in the activities of a hierarchy of spirits. Like bacteria in the scientific theory, spirits are divided into two classes – beneficent and malevolent types. The latter class is the disease-generating one. The important point, however, is that traditional medicine, like scientific medicine, is intensely pragmatic in orientation. In both we are more interested in results than explanations and dynamics or whether our beliefs are true or not. At any rate, it is probably true that the forte of traditional medicine was psychotherapy as physiotherapy is that of scientific medicine.¹

Case Histories

Two histories are given below. They were chosen because they are separated in time by four decades, the degree of control of the observational data is very different, and above all, they are differing manifestations of '*avanga*'.

1. T. of Lotofoa

T. was a girl of 14 in 1941 when her mother died. Because her father was dead also, she went to live in her eldest sister's household. The transfer was abrupt and not smooth. T.'s eldest sister was very strict, and apart from

¹ Paper given at the Thinking Conference, Harvard University, 1984.

¹ Physiotherapy and psychotherapy are used in this paper to mean medicines designed for 'diseases of the body' only and mind-related diseases respectively.

burdening her with all the household chores and care for her four young children, T. was allowed out to only two places – the village school, and church.

In February 1942, T. accompanied her eldest sister in a *vaukoka* expedition. In this work, a party of women walk through the bush looking for *koka* (*Bischofia javanica*), big sprawling evergreens whose bark sap provides the dye for tapa cloth making. After several hours the party returned to the village but T. was missing. Search parties were despatched.

After a long search T. was found among tangled bush in a marshy area her feet and skirt all covered in wet mud. She was talking to unseen people, her eyes flashing and body somewhat stiff. She was brought into the village where she fell semi-unconscious on reaching their house.

A traditional healer was summoned. She ordered some men to hold T. while she treated her by squeezing liquid drops from a herbal preparation into her mouth, nostrils, eyes, and ears. The drops were quite generous and flowed freely over T.'s face. The herb used was *lautolu* (*vigna marina*).

As soon as the treatment was over T. went into a deep sleep. She woke up after about two hours. She looked much better but somewhat shy. When her healer asked her to relate what happened she gave this account of her experiences that day: an old 'woman' came to her side while they were working under a *koka* tree and told T. to follow her. They went off the old woman somewhat to the front. They wandered from place to place. They traversed a watery area like a shallow sea. The old woman struck her and she fell. She stood up and they argued when many angry and ugly people came and tried to fight with her. She could not remember anything beyond that point.

T. became stone deaf after this episode and has been in that condition to this day. She is happily married with five children and talks about the event freely.

2. 'A. of Kolomotu'a

The events we describe here took place in the afternoon and evening of the second Sunday of May 1983 in the main island of the Vava'u Group.

'A. is a young unmarried woman of 22 and a second-year university student. She has had a boyfriend – a high school teacher at the Institute secondary level division – for some time, but because her family opposed their friendship, the only time they could keep a tryst was between classes. We could see the budding of young love and petting in corridors and library – something quite scandalous in our society – was frequently recorded. Except when attending lectures, 'A. was, and still is, chaperoned by a parent, brother and/or sisters everywhere she went or goes.

In late 1981 something very significant entered our story. An American woman anthropologist participated in our social science program by taking

up a part-time teaching job at the Institute. She also took 'A.'s boyfriend as her private tutor in Tongan language. Coming from a morally more open society, the anthropologist was naturally, more broad-minded on matters of interpersonal relationships. An intense friendship soon developed between teacher and pupil. They became very attached to each other and although the young Lothario did not give up 'A.' he only saw her rarely. It was at this point that 'A.' began to show moodiness, bad temper and general lack of interest in things including her studies.

In May 1983 I was in Vava'u with the University Afokoula, Singers of which both 'A.' and her boyfriend were members. 'A.'s mother was with us and the anthropologist happened to be in Vava'u at the same time doing some fieldwork. Except when we were rehearsing or actually performing, the boyfriend and the anthropologist would be dating.

Then came the afternoon of the second Sunday. I took some of the singers for a picnic in the beautiful beach of Keitahi. 'A.'s boyfriend and a few others were not with us. After swimming for about an hour we had a meal but it was only with difficulty that 'A.' came out of the water. She kept silent, had blank eyes and would not touch her food. We literally threw her on the truck when we boarded it to return to town for she was very reluctant to leave the beach. She wept, moaned, kept her eyes closed during the journey and did not like being touched.

When we got to her house, we carried her inside. She was really sick. She lay on the floor, rolled from side to side, moaned as if under great pain, muttered the words 'Go away! leave me!' or something to that effect. All this time her eyes were closed and did not seem to be fully conscious. At times she wrung her hands together and threw them out. We sent for an '*avanga* healer.'

The old healer soon arrived with a young assistant, both carrying twigs, with leaves on, of *uhi* (*Evodia hortensis*), *mo'ota* (*Dysoxylum forsteri*) and *nonu* (*Morinda citrifolia*) fruit and leaves. She ordered a man to crush the semi-ripe fruit and put in a piece of cloth while she busied herself with shredding leaves in her cupped hand using a stick. She then directed four strong students to restrain 'A.' while another forced her mouth open as she squeezed liquid from the fruit paste into it, then into her eyes, her nostrils, and then her ears. The milky liquid flowed quite liberally. 'A.'s face was thoroughly drenched. It is hard to describe our amazement at the instant effect of the medicine. As soon as 'A.' began swallowing the liquid her tense body started to relax and her limbs lost their tension. The old healer then dried 'A.'s face, and proceeded to massage her upper neck and temples gently applying the shredded leaves to these areas. Within 10 minutes 'A.' was sound asleep, in fact snoring.

In a little more than an hour, 'A. woke up. She looked well and was her old self again. When the old healer asked her to tell us what she 'saw', she related the following story: as she was swimming on that beach, she spied a striped fish in a hole in the rocks. She used a stick to try to spear the fish but she missed and when she looked up, a strange 'woman' was gazing down at her with a stern look. She has never seen that 'woman' before and her face seemed to be surrounded in a mild haze. She did not like her, but felt compelled to obey her orders which were not to eat on the beach or leave it. She was with her on the truck, but also six 'men' sat on her during the journey. The 'woman' left the truck when the lights of the first village on the way came into sight. Four 'men' left us at different points along the road while two 'men' went on to town with us although they did not come into the house but remained at the doorway taunting and tormenting her.

The cure seemed to be quite efficacious because 'A. has returned to normal and is her happy old self since the treatment. Her boyfriend has since married the American girl but she does not seem to mind that any more.

The Hypothesis

We wish to set down the following propositions as comprising our hypothesis for the explanation of the acute psychosis illustrated in the given case histories – its origin, development, climax, and also its general effect on mental processes. The propositions are discussed more fully in the next section of the paper:

1. Acute psychosis originates in the inability to find real solutions (as opposed to imaginary ones) to great mental anguish brought about by conflict between basic drives and urges and a rigid social environment.
2. The commonest solution to this problem is the 'flight into psychosis', i.e. the defence of neurotic fantasies. Fantasies start off as:
 - a) mild imaginary 'role playing' but gradually building up its effect, and
 - b) because fantasies are a powerful form of mental conditioning their power in inducing beliefs is very great indeed, and finally,
 - c) the effect of fantasies is cumulative yet still depending on the overall neurophysiological state of the patient.
3. The fantasy-phase continues until the belief in possible checking against reality is completely dropped when the fantasies are to all intents, for the patient, real, i.e. hallucinations set in.
4. From (3) above we conclude that psychotic thinking is characterised by the attempt to produce '*non-testable*' thoughts .
5. Because the psychotic has effectively cut off his/her thoughts from any monitoring by sensory information all his/her thinking is in the nature of error i.e. *taking something or some state which is not, to be*.

Discussion

The theory has been put forward that hallucination can be attributed to 'perceptive models' being selected purely internally, without reference to 'sensory information'. This theory can be amended and developed in the following way.

First of all, the description 'perceptive models being selected purely internally without reference to sensory information' applies not merely to hallucinations but to fantasies in general. The whole effect of fantasies is the weakening of the faith in reality and the point where that faith is completely lost also marks the onset of hallucinations.

Secondly we say that because the selection of perceptive models are purely internal there can be only one source for those models – the resources of memory. We see, however, that in fantasies there are no limits to the possible combinations of the 'models'. This can mean that memories are stored as brittle units which can be broken up into smaller ones and reassembled at will in any fancied way but certainly not as large rigid chunks of representations. This leads us to the view that memory is stored *non-contextually*.

In psychosis then only *will* and *memory*, of all the powers of the mind, are active (this would be the case in dream also). Therefore, in this context, the senses are not necessary for will and memory. In the normal state, structures are built up from 'sensory information'. On the other hand, in psychosis, the will builds up her internal structures from the 'atoms' of memory alone. It is in this sense that we can take memory to be 'internal sense'. Moreover, while in the normal state reinforcement in thinking is possible by reference to reality only because the 'world' is different from mental 'reality', in psychosis no reinforcement to thinking is possible because memory is mental 'reality' itself. We therefore, say that the thinking of a psychotic is *non-referential* (or *self-referential*).

When belief in (or knowledge of) the testability of thoughts is dropped, nay, no longer exists e.g. during sleep, the senses are functionally severed from the mind. It is at this point that purely mental creations are taken to be real, i.e. the mind hallucinates. Of course the 'thoughts' are in the mind and so they are real things, but there is here a fundamental error of objectivity. This error is present in *all* psychotic thinking. And as I said in another paper,² 'thinking is taking something to be the case', we can define psychotic thinking to be 'thinking something which is not, to be'. So the conclusion is: whereas in the normal state, judgement (which may be either true or false) is the theoretical form of the will, in psychosis, hallucination or the taking of

² See Essay 9, 'Thinking in Tongan Society', p.72.

the 'non-objective' to be real (and therefore always false) is the *only* form of the will.

So fantasies themselves, which is taking wished-for situations (i.e. situations which do not exist), as actually existing, are a form of *willing*. Ordinarily however, what is willed is some event which has not actually taken place. But in fantasies, willing can also look at the past and will that which has already taken place not to have occurred. Here the clash between knowledge and wish is so much fiercer. And granting that we believe what eases our mind and also the fact that while fantasizing we neurotically manufacture the content of beliefs, we can understand why the intensity of the beliefs of the psychotic increases with the degree of opposition between reality and his own fantastic creation until the point is reached where the beliefs are, for the psychotic, 'real'.

Examination of the two case histories given above – and all '*avanga*' cases studied – indicates that our hypothesis, as outlined above is in general, sound. That T. must have started her 'flight into psychosis' in 'role-playing' is strongly suggested by her account of what she 'saw' during the episode. The episode, that is, was, in fact, the catastrophic climax of a definite development, when T. has reached a Cinderella-state of mind and she took off with her 'mother'. As we shall see presently, although T. might have been psychologically auspicious to have an episode, in her case, (and in all cases studied) a triggering situation was necessary to precipitate it all.

And of course, we must not lose sight of the fact that although the transformation in psychosis is so far-reaching it is still, so far as the psyche is concerned, on the same footing as complete identification in histrionics, which means that the 'reality' experienced in the episode is not in the so-called 'objective world' but is purely in the mind, or more exactly, is fundamentally and *qualitatively emotional*.

In the case of 'A.' we seem to have missed the general trend of her thoughts before that fateful afternoon on the beach at Keitahi. We had assumed in all our pre-episode observations of her condition that the content of her musings would tilt towards imaginary rendezvous with her boyfriend rather than confrontations with her rival. We think now on the strength of 'A.'s account of what she experienced on the beach, that it was the other way round. 'A.' has since confirmed this position.

The cultural factor seems to be significant also. In Tongan culture, a *pālangi* (white man or woman) is superior to most people because every *pālangi* is supposed to be quite wealthy and also very clever and knowledgeable. That 'A.' felt her sense of cultural inferiority quite strongly seems to come out in her perception of the 'spirit' woman as imposing and of a somewhat fierce mien. On the other hand, it might only mean that

jealousy and kindred emotions, though based on love, are more pervasive and overpowering than the latter.

As remarked above, the 'loaded' minds of both T. and 'A. did not 'explode' of themselves but required a *triggering situation*. This situation seems necessary in all the cases we have recorded and studied. We therefore regard it as a cause at least in this Tongan form of acute psychosis. We define it as follows: the triggering situation is a physical environment which has causal efficacy in bringing about an acute psychotic episode. This is still not the Freudian 'precipitating cause' of neurosis for that is not only ideogenic — more exactly, it is the impulse of the memory of a traumatic past event — but it seems to have only a very tenuous link with the symptom. In '*avanga*', on the other hand, the triggering situation does bring about the episode immediately. There seems to be some recognition of this concept on the part of the traditional healers of Tonga for in their subdivisions of '*avanga*' we have species known as '*avanga tahi* (*avanga* 'at sea or the beach') and '*avanga 'uta*' (*avanga* 'in the bush'). The ingredients of the triggering situation are: (i) a sense of sheer freedom (ii) anonymity (iii) a sense of great elemental power even wildness or savagery (iv) natural beauty and harmony.

The triggering situation then is basically a *non-social*, nay, an '*anti-social*' situation, which, through its suggestion of freedom, anonymity, power, and harmony — a harmony which is inherent and not externally induced — is, though outwardly passive, psychologically very potent indeed. The beauty of the Tongan bush and its atmosphere of freedom must have played subconsciously on T.'s frustrated but suppressed wishes during that *vaukoka* walk. It was an invitation to freedom. T. accepted it and then she reeled in '*non-normal reality*'. 'A., similarly, must have undergone the same subconscious experience on that serenely beautiful beach. The absence of her boyfriend, the physicality of the strong current which massaged every part of her body and the infinite peace of the fastly gathering dusk supplied the missing detonation for her confused and highly-strung mind. Its floodgates, so to speak, were blasted, and 'A. was immediately engulfed in psychotic '*reality*'. But the important philosophical implication of all this is the suggestion that society might be, in a very important sense, anti-human. To produce '*primary process*' the psyche must somehow bring an end to active sensory function. In the dream form of hallucination this purpose is achieved through sleep, which, in any way, shuts off society and allows the psyche just to be '*itself*'. In the '*avanga*' hallucination, however, the anti-social dimensions of the triggering situation effect the final effacement of sensory functioning and provides the opportunity for the psyche to relish its complex but unrelated '*self*'. So that psychosis is not only an escape from reality; it is also a flight from society.

The Locality of the Treatment

Although this is a purely clinical subject we wish to make a few general observations for what they are worth for a general theory of mind incorporating a theory of knowledge.

The locality of treatment of '*avanga*' – mouth, eyes, nostrils, ears – shows clearly that Tongan healers took the view that the royal road to the central nervous system or, better still, the mind was the nerve-ends on the sense-organs. Further, that treating the sense-organs is treating the mind at least in this particular therapy. This is not exactly the position in psychiatry or neuroscience.

Although it is true that traditional healers did not analyse their concepts in the same way as a modern scientist would his ideas, it is interesting to outline the theoretical underpinnings of their practice. The following propositions would provide the first step in such reconstruction:

1. There are no means of contact between the central nervous system and things save the sense-organs.
2. When this contact breaks down as in sleep or disease, hallucination ensues.
3. To restore the patient to normal, the sense-organs must therefore be treated.³
4. Following on from (3) above, in mental disorder of the '*avanga*' type the nerve-ends on the sense-organs must be in a 'wound up' state.
5. Certain phytochemicals have the effect of relieving the tension on sense-organs.

BECAUSE OF THE epistemological focus here we have omitted to discuss some otherwise interesting related areas. One such omission is the question of how far is physical constitution or general neuronic state a factor in '*avanga*'. Another is whether the patients' virginity has any bearing on the condition at all or not, or alternatively whether '*avanga*' is a sign of weakness or is really one of strength or libidinal surfeit. These bear no direct relation to our present investigation here.

Accordingly we record the following as our general conclusion regarding the effect of the acute psychosis '*avanga*' on thinking and conscious processes:

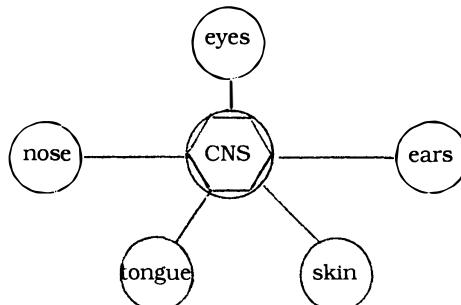
Psychosis sets in motion mental processes which are formally the same as thinking but differ from normal thought in the following ways:

³ The relationship between the central nervous system (CNS) and the five senses can be shown diagrammatically as illustrated at the end of this essay.

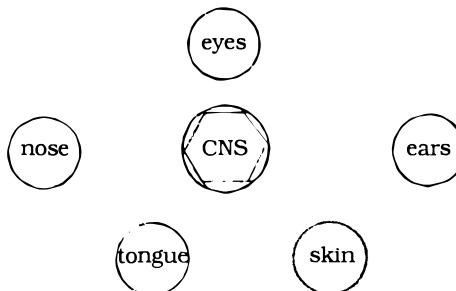
- a) Psychotic thinking is *non-referential* because it does not refer to things that exist in the 'external world' but are pure creations of the mind all based on wishes.
- b) Psychotic thinking *always involves 'error'* because it is taking something which does not exist objectively to be actually existing and is the case.
- c) The things which a psychotic 'sees' 'hears' etc exist in his/her mind as *pure feeling*.
- d) Internal thinking , as we may call psychotic thinking, is nevertheless spatio-temporal for it takes place in the mind and the mind of course is spatio-temporal. Thus internal thinking is not unreal but is as real as any mental process or object whatsoever.
- e) Psychotic thinking is *non-sensual*, i.e. it is possible only when sensory monitoring of thought has been effectively stopped.
- f) The materials of internal thinking are supplied by the resources of *memory* under the direct influence of *neurotic willing*.

Finally, reviewing the above propositions furnishes us with yet another powerful argument against behaviourism and the doctrine of sense – data as well. While the thinking of psychotics is non-sensual it has not prevented them from 'seeing' things or 'hearing' sounds which on the doctrine of sensa was impossible. The solution, then, is to reject the whole notion of sense-data and take the mind as having direct knowledge – through the perceptive relation – of things. Further, the reality of internal thinking in '*avanga*' , like dream, enables us to show as against the behaviourist that the mind is really something with distinct characters and qualities of its own.

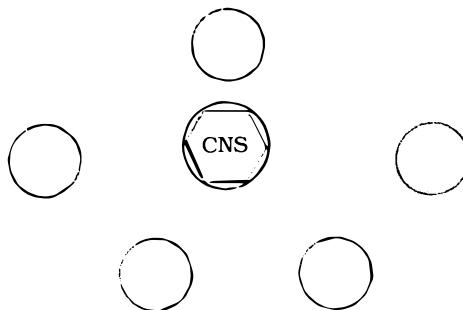
The Relationship between the CNS and the Five Senses



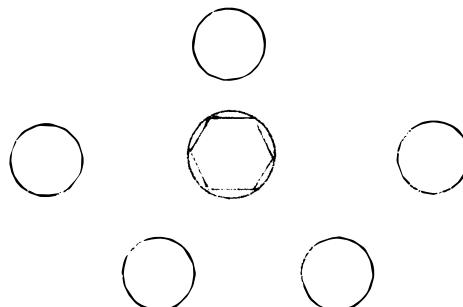
- A. The situation with a normal, psychologically healthy person (intercourse between CNS and sensation is normal and lively).



- B. The psychic relations in a 'sick' mind (psychotic), i.e. there is no interaction between CNS and senses. They all act independently of each other. Jacques Derrida's theory of meaning which makes the 'mind' flit through endless strings of referents, in fact, applies more to psychotic thinking.



- C. This is the dream state. The senses are contentless, i.e. they are functionally non-existent. But the CNS is active, for the will now freely creates its fantastic worlds out of the resources of memory (unconscious) alone.



- D. The mind is in deep, dreamless sleep. Even the CNS is also contentless in the sense explained. Dreamless sleep then is a strictly 'mindless' state. Buddhist theory has added another 'no-mind' state, viz. in orgasm during intercourse.

Mythical and Scientific Thinking: a Comparison

THERE HAVE BEEN THREE MAJOR contributions to the modern study of myth.¹ The first, stemming from the works of Tylor, Frazer and Durkheim, stimulated an interest in the mythologies of primitive peoples. The second is related to the Freudian discovery of the unthinking part of the mind (the Unconscious) and its impact on the study of myth and dreams. The third is the application of structuralist theory to the scientific investigation of myth originally worked out by the French anthropologist Levi-Strauss.

There is a sense in which we can say that the earliest students of myth were classicists. In pursuit of their antiquarian interests – especially the philological aspect – they had always had to reconstruct features of ancient society and the general climate of thought and ideology of the distant past, a work which necessitated the use of 'data' provided by myths. This was both a blessing and a misfortune. For, on the one hand, it led directly to the modern study of myth, e.g. Frazer's commentaries on Pausanias and Ovid, but it also crystallised an attitude which tended to regard Greek and Roman myths as the only true mythologies and this had a retarding effect on the study of non-classical mythologies. But as soon as cross-cultural material was supplied, most effectively by Frazer (1922) in his *The Golden Bough*, classical scholars (e.g. Gilbert Murray in Oxford, Jane Harrison, F.M. Cornford and A.B. Cook in Cambridge) began applying the novel intuitions of French sociologists (Durkheim, Levi-Brühl, Bergson) to the data.

After this initial impulse a spate of anthropological studies of non-classical, so-called primitive societies in different parts of the globe, especially in Africa and the American sub-continents, flooded the scholarly market. Among the materials thus accumulated are myths collected by Boas and his pupil-disciple, Benedict, upon which Levi-Strauss first exercised his structuralist approach. Malinowski too exercised a powerful influence on the study of myth. His main hypothesis is that the prime function of myths is the recording and validating of social institutions and he rejected the idea that myths have any speculative aspects at all. This one-sidedness has been

¹ Paper given at Thinking Conference, James Cook University, Townsville, July 1992.

In this introductory section of the paper, I rely on the work of classical scholars, especially G.S. Kirk's excellent little book *Myth: Its meaning and function in ancient and other cultures* (Cambridge 1970).

rectified in Levi-Strauss's work which implies that all myths are speculative or problem reflecting.

As is standard in any scientific inquiry, the problem of definition has always engaged workers in this field of study. Not only was definition of myth deemed necessary in itself, but it was required to distinguish myths from folktales or legends. Three views have had most support in this phase of the study of myths:

1. Myths are stories about the gods, the divine. They are sacred tales.²
2. Myth is the linguistic equivalent of ritual, myth is the *legomenon*, the thing said, and ritual the *dromenon*, the thing performed.³
3. Myth is a form of waking dream. Put differently, myth is a kind of public dream, while dream is a private or individualised myth.⁴

Scholars have tended to reject any of these definitions taken individually because each does not cover all known myths. Many myths, for example, are not about gods or do not have sacred themes. Also, many myths have no corresponding rituals and vice versa. The view that myth and dream are intimately related and have their origins in the structure of the mind has been investigated more carefully by Ernst Cassirer and the followers of Freud and Jung. Their ideas, however, are used more to describe how stories come to have 'mythical characteristics' than to formulate definitions of myth or to distinguish it from folktale.

The position taken in this paper is that myths do not differ from other stories in their content but in the way content is conceived and conveyed in narration. It is therefore sympathetic to the idea that myths are traditional stories with 'mythical characteristics'. But it differs from the psychological schools in attributing the mythical character to the nature of oral transmission rather than any basic structure of the mind. This last point is discussed and illustrated more fully below.

Finally, in these preliminary remarks, scholars have worked with a typology of myths. They have isolated three main categories:

1. purely narrative, entertaining ones,
2. iterative, operative ones, and
3. speculative, problem-reflecting myths.

² Early writers on mythology, e.g. G. Creuzer, Radermacher, and the theologian R. Otto, regarded myth as 'a form of literature — about gods'. W. K. C. Guthrie, 'The Religion and Mythology of the Greeks', in *The Cambridge Ancient History*, vol. II, and Angelo Brelich (*Gli Eroi Greci*) are of the same opinion.

³ This is J. Harrison's way of putting the matter (*Prolegomena to the study of Greek Religion*, Cambridge 1903, and *Themis*, Cambridge 1912). Other writers, e.g. C. Kluckhohn and E. R. Leach, have expressed the same view.

⁴ See J. Campbell, *The Masks of God: Vol. I, Primitive Mythology* (New York 1959).

In the case of Tonga — and the South Pacific cultures in general — it may be more to the point to use the following classification:

1. creation myths,
2. validatory—aetiological myths, and
3. speculative, problem-reflecting myths.

We now briefly relate a Tongan myth to illustrate the first two categories; the third category is illustrated by a Maori myth about Maui, a pan-Polynesian god.

Mofuike

There is a Great Being who lives in the Womb of the Earth, in the Underworld. This Great Being has a human form but he is of such colossal dimensions that he is nearly as large as the whole world. Mofuike (Earthquake) as this being is called spends his time sleeping. When he turns in his sleep the Earth experiences minor tremors. When he snores, major earthquakes result. And when he farts volcanic eruptions make their appearance (see part 2 of next section for comments on creation myths).

The Kava Myth

Once upon a time an ancient king of Tonga was on a sea voyage. His vessel was hit by an angry storm which blew it off course and he landed on a small island. There lived on the island only two people — a man and his wife — and their child who was afflicted with, and wasted by, leprosy. An important custom of Tonga is that a visiting chief is given a food presentation (usually in the form of a huge baked pig or fish).

The couple had none of these things and they resorted to slaughtering their sick child, baked her in an 'umu (earth oven) and presented her in that condition to the king. The king was moved by this show of allegiance from the parents. He ordered them to take the cooked girl and bury her in a grave. He then prophesied that in time two plants would grow out of her body. When the plants matured, he instructed the couple, they should uproot them and bring them to his residence in Tongatapu.

The king's prophecy came to pass and the plants which appeared on the leper's grave were the *kava* and *to*, sugar cane. When these were brought to the king he there and then created the *kava* ritual which is the symbol *par excellence* of Tongan culture.

This myth is in what Levi-Strauss calls the culinary (techno-economic) mode. It provides the aetiology for, and validates, the *kava* ceremony. On the other hand, it may be the mythical account of an historical struggle between an indigenous religious custom of cannibalism and human sacrifice and a foreign culture which substituted for it a vegetable rite.

Maui and Hine-Nui-Te-Po

Hine-nui-te-po was the Great Mother of all the greater gods and goddesses. She kept the secret of immortality. Maui Kisikisi was another god though of lower rank and different order. He plotted to get this secret and give it to man. (He has always been the friend and benefactor of man — he gives fire to man in another myth. Maui is the Prometheus of the Tongan ancient pantheon.)

Maui found out that the only way he could get this secret was to enter the huge body of the Great Mother, Hine-nui-te-po, through one hole (her vagina) and out of another (the mouth).

Maui realised he could only do this while the Goddess was asleep. One day Maui came across her while she was sleeping. So Maui went in through the rear opening and was travelling well in the direction of the Great Goddess's mouth when she began to stir. What happened was that Maui's ubiquitous companions, the smaller birds, were perched on a nearby tree and one of them, too concerned about Maui's safety inside the Goddess's genitals, got excited and became noisy disturbing the slumbers of Hine-nui-te-po.

Maui, inside the great body, realised she was waking, started to retrace his steps, but all to no avail. She became fully awake before Maui was out of her and she destroyed him with great fury. And so man continued being mortal and finite.

There are parallels in other cultures to this myth. The theme of immortality and human survival inspires many myths in many other cultures – e.g. that of Orpheus and Eurydice in classical mythology, and the Epic of Gilgamesh in the Mesopotamian corpus. All ancient cultures recognise the dominion of death and the vanity of the immortality hope. The two great exceptions to this are the Christians and the Americans who hug the hope that death will one day be defeated. They also have myths to go with the sentiment. But is not this – the neurotic fulfilment of wishes – an important function of myth that links it to dreams and certain forms of hallucinatory states?

General Characteristics of Mythical and Scientific Thought Contrasted

1. Mythical thought presupposes a logical hierarchy in things. Myths speak of gods, angels, demi-gods, spirits, as well as heroes, and ordinary people and things. These are regarded as not merely different as to character but also in status. Gods are not only much more powerful than men but are logically different from them. They are real in a different way from the reality of ordinary things and people. In the case of Tongan culture, spirits appear in myths as having causative efficacy, e.g. in causing illness or misadventure.⁵ Scientific thought on the other hand makes no allowances really for differences in logical status, only for distinctions in character. It is therefore based on an *ontological egalitarianism*.
2. Myth and science raise the question of whether the cosmos has a human or social content. The principle of explanation of events in myth is human interest and social organisation. The myth of Mofuike (Earthquake) illustrates this point well.

⁵ See P. A. Schilpp (ed.), *The Philosophy of Ernst Cassirer* (Evanston 1949), and L. Levi-Bruhl, *The Primitive Mentality* (London 1923).

A natural phenomenon is not viewed objectively in its own terms but is explained by portions of man – his behaviour and interests. Myth (and religion) is the traditional symbol of man's inability to get away from his self-centredness just as science is that of his eventual transcending of that form of egotism.

We are reminded of Vico's theory of the origin of language and religion.⁶ Natural phenomena and events are explained by human faculties and behaviour. In fact, Vico's theory implies that myths are about society so that their psychological content is a later accretion.

Hierarchy is a purely social invention (as opposed to a natural 'creation'). Hierarchy in the animal world is based on physical power alone (a lion, as lord of a pride, cannot pass on its status which has to be decided anew every time a leader dies or is vanquished.) Only in human society do we find hierarchical inertia, i.e. hereditary status. In the bees' society distinctions are purely of roles. The distinction of status (queen bees, workers, etc) is really an unconscious anthropocentrism.

Science, unlike myth, explains facts by other facts. And because of its logical egalitarianism, science takes the explanation and the explained to be on exactly the same ontological footing. And most importantly, natural phenomena (and things and events in general) are explained in their own terms and do not have to be referred to social organisation or norms.

Mythical thought is bounded by the demands of human security and social stability, whereas science has no special estimation for these values, treating them equally with any other thing. Technology, however, in so far as it caters for human security and sufficiency, is in this sense a fulfilment of mythical thought. Mythology is the great traditional literature of human survival and social continuity. It is essentially a yearning for an end to struggle and conflict, whereas science, in its distinctive sense, recognises the never-ending character of inquiry.

3. The mythical character that attaches to narratives, we hold, is a direct product of orality. Here it is well to be reminded of Kirk's 'narrative' characteristics and Cassirer's theory of mythical expression.⁷ Therefore when we discuss mythical thought we are at the same time discussing the character of orality. Oral language is fluid and creative. It is free and exaggerating. The result is: over time the ordinary events and objects of traditional stories take on fantastic, surreal and magical characteristics. Again we are reminded of Vico's theory that early man's ordinary speech

⁶ G. Vico, *The New Science of Giambattista Vico*, trans. T. G. Bergin and M. H. Fisch (Ithaca and London 1984).

⁷ Kirk, *Myth: Its Meaning and Function*; E. Cassirer, *An Essay on Man* (New Haven 1944), *The Philosophy of Symbolic Forms*, vol.II: *Mythical Thought* (New Haven 1953).

was poetry, though he does not give orality the prominence permitted in this paper.

(i) We represent this character of orality graphically in the diagram below:

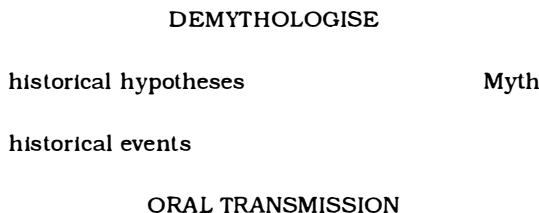


FIGURE 1. The transformation of historical events into mythical events by sustained oral transmission.

It is not implied that all myths started as history. Myths can be deliberately created for all kinds of purposes. But the point is that such creations must have the mythical characteristics in order to be myths and, moreover, that these characteristics can be described as 'oral'.

Figure 1 shows that it is at least theoretically possible to go in the opposite direction, i.e. to demythologise. This means that myths can be sources of *hypotheses about history*.⁸

(ii) Writing is anti-oral. This is so because writing arrests the fluidity and freedom of creative expression. Writing, like all forms of recording, moves in the direction of fixation of meaning and expression.

(iii) Scientific recording is the enemy *par excellence* of Orality because its primary concern is the thing, the fact. Orality – as Figure 1 clearly shows – moves away from the fact; science moves towards the fact.

4. Because of the human and social interest of myths, they are intensely political. Many Tongan myths put up certain types of human behaviour as desirable, as things to be emulated. The Maui corpus is a group of myths about a demi-god (culture-hero) whose exploits are advertised as behavioural models to be emulated and actually imitated. In myths therefore the dividing line between morality and politics is faint indeed.
- (i) Scientific thought is *apolitical* in the sense that it is concerned – unlike myth or theology which are concerned with policy – with the production of theory. And the nature of theory is such that it can never

⁸ See I. F. Helu, 'Development of intellectual skills', No. 13; also O. Māhina, 'The Tongan *Tala-e-fonua*: a vernacular ecology-centred historicico-cultural concept' (PhD thesis, Australian National University, Canberra 1992), for another formulation of the same theory.

logically give rise to policies. This can be illustrated by an actual argument.

X is Y	theory
Y is good, etc.	accepted proposition

therefore CONCLUSION

The conclusion above can never take the form of a command (i.e. a prescription for behaviour), e.g. 'Go ye and do X', because the argument would be invalid as such conclusion would not be entailed by the premises. It is therefore better to regard theory as telling us *what cannot be done in practice* – not what can be.⁹

(ii) Myths give prescriptions for behaviour by affording a system of *values* (norms or standards) which must be accepted but never questioned – or analysed. Mythical thought, therefore, buttresses the existing system or *status quo*, and cannot admit the idea that social change is inevitable. (iii) Scientific thought, on the other hand, does not distinguish between *facts* and *values*, taking the latter to be themselves facts (occurrences) which we like simply because *they help us advance our sociopolitical interests*.

5. Because of its dependence on orality and language, myth is miraculous (or magical). This is the direct consequence of the *rejection of the concept of causality*. The suspension of the law of cause and effect crystallises the magic of the mythical world, a world from which the notion of impossibility has been banished.

(i) True mythical thought proceeds not only in Humean fashion, i.e. by association and custom only, but characteristically by impossible and preposterous categories. The logical problems here are first, that anything at all ever happens and second, that we *understand* what actually happens.

(ii) Scientific thinking does not admit of the miraculous. Its fundamental assumption is that situations are linked, that influences are continuous. *Continuity* is the cornerstone of scientific thought just as *discreteness* is that of mythical thought.

6. Mythical thought has no *culture of proof*. Proof is a bid for objectivity because it is in fact an appeal to external structure. Thus myth is compatible with subjectivity.

⁹ Cf. Popper's notion of the 'technological form' of a natural law, in Karl Popper, *A Pocket Popper* ed. David Miller (Oxford 1983), 306, 307.

- (I) The 'claims to be true' of myths rest on the actual occurrences, e.g. of cities, natural landmarks, or institutions. This has the same logical form as the pragmatic theory of truth, namely that it is that which works. To that extent then pragmatism can be characterised as having mythical tendencies.
- (II) In making proof an ethic, scientific thought renders its products *public*, i.e. as things safe from private appropriation, as existing in their own right and totally independent of personal preference or caprice.

7. Mythical thought demarcates certain areas of human life or natural phenomena as *tabu*, as 'above reproach', as beyond understanding, as prohibited to discussion and inquiry.

Scientific thought, however, regards *every field as discussable*, and *tabu* as nothing but the outer wrapping for certain demands. Once this is peeled off, the contents of *tabu*, i.e. straightforward demands, are revealed.

8. Mythical thought, like poetry, infuses all things with personality, and like poetry, myths can afford great consolation, but mislead in other ways especially with regard to the actual behaviour of things.

Science has exemplified in its long history how scientific thought scored its real successes in cases where it took the interiority out of things. A classic example is Galileo taking inwardness out of things anthropomorphised in Aristotelian physics, and explaining 'their behavior with momentum and friction, forces which can be neither perceived through the sense nor felt through empathetic imagination but which must be deduced impersonally and mathematically, quite outside of experience'.¹⁰

9. Mythical thought is concerned with cosmogonies, i.e. with accounts of *origins* of things. Science, on the other hand, is concerned with cosmologies, i.e. with the *arrangement* of things, with how they are ordered at any given time. Therefore, whereas myth attempts to identify causes outside the scheme of things themselves in order to answer the What? and the Who? questions, science wrestles with the How? issues and gives a description of things themselves and how they behave.

Science then takes causes of events to be *within* the system of things themselves but never outside and apart from them, which is the fundamental supposition of myth and religion.

¹⁰ R. Harland, *Superstructuralism: the philosophy of structuralism and post-structuralism* (London 1987), 62.

10. Because mythical thought is the institutionalisation of human and social interests, it appropriates only those forms of knowledge which promote life and human welfare. Existentialism and pragmatism therefore represent mythical tendencies in modern thought – the tendency to dwell on the human predicament and human-created truths. Science, however, is disinterested, i.e. it sees all knowledge as of the same status, with their origin, usefulness and content having no bearing on this status. Science consciously aims at acquiring knowledge and so its methods are contrived, just as the fisherman who consciously aims at snaring fish contrives strategies to that end.

We never criticise either of them for their aim or their contrivances. However, the fisherman gets his knowledge as a *bonus*, whereas the scientist takes knowledge to be his primary aim, his quarry, though admittedly the scientist does gain other types of experience in carrying out his experiments (the strategies for snaring knowledge). The fisherman ranks types of knowledge, on a purely utilitarian basis, whereas the scientist *qua* scientist regards every piece of knowledge, every fact, as equally important for inquiry. This ‘epistemological’ egalitarianism is in fact part of the overall ontological identity of things which is a fundamental principle of the scientific enterprise.

Metaphor and the Ambiguity of Poetical Terms

RENE WELLEK WROTE THAT POETRY pushes language in two directions — the imagistic and the figurative.¹ In the first, language strives for sensuous particularity, to render in words the world of eye, ear, and touch. In the second we have an oblique form of discourse that seeks to convey one world by comparing it with another — and we have the tropes of eloquence.

Let us look at a couple of examples of the first type of poetical tendencies, one each from English and Tongan:

[First stanza of A. Tennyson's *Mariana*]

With blackest moss the flower plots
Were thickly crusted one and all,
The rusted nails fell from the knots
That held the pear to the gable-wall
The broken sheds look'd sad and strange:
Unlifted was the clinking latch;
Weeded and worn the ancient thatch
Upon the lonely moated grange

She only said, 'My life is dreary,
He cometh not,' she said
She said 'I am aweary, aweary,
I would that I were dead!'

[Second verse of love song *Matangi ka tonga* by Queen Sālote Tupou III]

Síi mahina 'ene huhulu!
Efiafi tangi síi kakalu
Pea ifo leva 'eku taútu
'O hange kuo u sio atu
'O mamaia ai he laumanu
'Ene 'autó i he peau
Ta koe mala kia teau!

[How th'adored moon is shining bright
As the crickets chirp at eventide
And sitting here is pure delight
Looking out and I behold,
Yon flight of birds, hovering;
With the waves they rise and fall
Alas! evil omens on me besfall

¹ Public Lecture given at 'Atenisi University, 21 Oct. 1996.

R. Wellek, *Literary Criticism* (New York 1949).

The above examples demonstrate how, in poetry, language recreates sensuous experience so that it is lived again (as if) in sensation. In the Tennyson stanza the rendering of the sense of decay and utter loss is so successful that the hearer/reader has the sensation of 'seeing' every detail enumerated and is also engulfed by the whole mood of hopelessness and desolation. The whole stanza — and, in fact, the whole poem — is the presentation of a world totally devoid of any form of attraction or goodness: no energy, no happiness, no motivation, no life; all is apathy and corruption. All is dead. And this awesome note is struck by the despairing lady in the death-wish of the last line.

Of course it is the absence of love, and the rejection of love, which have emptied the whole scene and everything in it of any value or interest whatsoever, as far as the 'jilted' lover is concerned. That has made death so welcome.

Similarly with the Queen Sâlote piece. The word painting is superb and the hearer/reader sits with her transfixed by the rhythm of the waves' and birds' motion as the simple and evocative melancholy of the peaceful evening imperceptibly encloses them, making them one with that evening. But all this, as the poem says, is an ill omen for Queen Sâlote — of the imminent, sudden death of her beloved husband. So instead of working up to an explosive climax like the Tennyson stanza, here we have anti-climax.

We can also look at this type of poetry in terms of Schopenhauer's theory of the lyric, that here language — strictly, the poet's feeling or intuition — moves alternatingly between physical and psychological geography.² Thus in our two examples, the poet and poetess concentrate first on the external, physical geography — we can feel, however, the psychological undercurrent throughout — and finally turn to the emotional landscape at the end.

Another aspect of the Schopenhauerian theory of art which can be adapted for exposition of 'imagistic' verse relates to his view of instrumental music. He regards sung music as superior because then, words act as an anchor or a ship on which the psyche rides through the violent waters of will and emotion. In purely instrumental music this guide or support is absent and the psyche is at the mercy of furious, pristine forces which can tear it to shreds. Similarly the external, material landscape can be regarded as directing, guiding, and giving form to the internal *topoi* of feelings. In the sense that the outer landscape affords form and substance to the inner scenery, we can speak of the former as 'metaphor' for the latter.

² A. Schopenhauer, *The World as Will and Idea*, trans. R. B. Haldane and J. Kemp, 3 vols (London 1925).

Figuration or Metaphor

Although recent literary writing on metaphor can be edifying,³ I want to look at the matter from a fresh angle.

Now, the mind performs two unifying acts for the universe. The first is effected through its scientific/logical aspect, through reducing things to a lowest common denominator on the basis of existence. From the point of view of *being* things cannot be differentiated; they are one. In language, this is shown by the fact that only one copula — that of 'occurrence' — serves for all sentences. For example:

There *is* an island called Tonga.

There *are* angels in heaven.

There *is* a King of Tonga.

Etc.

In logic, then, we do not have the means to distinguish things in terms of existence, for the simple fact that they differ in no way whatever. I have called this fact somewhere else 'ontological egalitarianism'.⁴

The second unifying act of the mind, it effects through its emotional aspect. In rhetoric and poetry this is done by means of metaphor. Ricoeur stresses the 'bearing over' (*meta pherein*) function of metaphor, that it is the vessel that bears ideas from the realm of silence and formlessness over to the world of utterance and form. However, I want to put this side by side with another aspect of metaphor — its unifying aspect.

Now, Northrop Frye, in defining the tropes of literature, says that metaphor shapes poetics by the impossible proposition, *A is B*.⁵ This formulation can be analysed from two angles:

1. Again, from the logical point of view, where '*A is B*' is a predicative statement with *B* as a 'characteristic' or description of 'location' *A*. Here *B* has adjectival force. In science, '*A is B*' is the basic form of theory.
2. '*A is B*' can also be taken, as Frye asserts, as the form of the metaphor. In Frye's formulation what we actually have is an identity or an 'identifying' statement, unlike the predicative form of the logical interpretation. And both *A* and *B* are substantives.

It may be worth noting that the linguistic distinctions, though legitimate enough, may mislead in some ways, since the real content of adjective, noun, or whatever part of speech we happen to deal with is *behaving in certain*

³ E.g., P. Ricouer, *Rule of Metaphor: Multidisciplinary Studies of the Creation of Meaning in Language*, trans. R. C. Czerny, K. McLaughlin and J. Costello (London 1978); G. Vico, *On the Ancient Wisdom of the Italians*, trans. and ed. L. Pompa (Edinburgh 1982).

⁴ I. F. Helu, Master Class on Poetics, 1996, unpub., recorded P. S. Keable.

⁵ N. Frye, *The Great Code* (London 1983).

concrete ways. We can say, then, that, in poetry, or whatever form of eloquence we may be looking at, metaphor reduces things to an emotional lowest common denominator and that we can speak of *emotional egalitarianism* in contradistinction to the ontological oneness of logic. (Cf. Robby Burns's 'My luv is a red, red rose').

But wherefrom the power of the metaphor? From its symmetry and its unifying function. A is B is ultimately A is A. Thus metaphor is essentially perfect symmetry and acts to reduce unsamillarity, since one side of the original equation is always already known (or at least, better known) to us.

The human psyche likes symmetry and identity because they subconsciously exude a sense of security. Herein lies the (unconscious) power of poetry — of all art, in fact — and metaphor. They reduce the frightening aspects of an unfamiliar and chaotic cosmos and make us feel safer in it. Beauty, then, as the quality of things that exhibit effective rhythm and symmetry can be traced back to the unconscious yearning for self-preservation, nay, for transcending finiteness and limitation, to become eternal.

Ambiguity of Poetical Terms

In this connection I wish to set down a simple hypothesis: poetical terms are ones which cannot shake off a *primal* (or *aboriginal*) meaning such that whatever other meanings they acquire in new contexts are superimposed on this primal sense giving rise to ambiguity. I hasten to add the proviso that primal meaning is meaning that has persisted and cannot be dislodged by new meanings a term has acquired in all the vicissitudes it has gone through. But it does not mean an *original* meaning in the sense of the very first and initial meaning the term started with, for such cannot be known for certain. An example of a word from the Tongan language which has never shed its 'primal' meaning is *túula* (the act of perching — of a bird — on an object, a tree branch, a rock etc.). It is common in Tongan parlance, formal and otherwise, to hear the sentence: '*Ikuo ke meá mai ó túula he 'Otu Háapai!*' (You have come to live or stay (perch) in the Háapai Islands). Both meanings of *túula* — the much later overlay of 'stay' or 'live', which, in this line, is to the fore, and the primal meaning of a 'perching bird' which appears to the inner eye, framing the whole picture as a backdrop — are heard.

Another such term is *siutaka*. This is a composite word comprising a verb *siu* and adverb *taka*. *Siu* embraces both 'climbing' and 'descending' in the flight of predatory birds, and *taka* indicates the 'covering of large areas or number of places'. It is impossible to hear or read that term without the image of a large sea bird on the wing flitting across the mental screen. Queen Sálote puts both terms near each other in one of her early dance songs:

*Siutaká'i he 'Utukalongalu
I he Sia ko Kafoa mo Talau
Fusi áe ekiaki ni ke álu
Háu o 'túulá'i Paleámahu*

Flying over and around 'Utukalongalu
Over also mounts Kafoa and Talau
Startled, this white tern was poised to depart
It came and perched (lived) at Paleamahu)

Other examples of poetical terms are found in:

'And earthly power doth then show likest God's
When mercy *seasons* justice ...'
(ll. 13, 14 of the 'Mercy' speech from *Merchant of Venice*)
'The *locks* of the approaching storm'
(l. 23 Shelley's *Ode to West Wind*).

The 'standard' meanings of 'season' (as 'curing for strong meats') and 'locks' ('long, shining hair') stand behind and reinforce the impact of whatever other senses the poet wanted to convey. Similarly, with the following metaphor of 'setting fractured bones' but applied to 'wrong timing':

'The time is *out of joint*. Oh cursed spite
That ever I was born to *set it right*'
(last two lines of *Hamlet* ACT II)

Poetical terms are like a faulty photograph where we take two (or more) shots on the same portion of the film and we see two pictures at once. It is in this sense that we can say that through metaphor we can mean more than what we say. They may also be compared to the *fonua* of plants. This is the mass of soil that surrounds the roots of plants. Some plants are of such a nature that when uprooted they come out with a good portion of this soil called *fonua* ('land') of the plant, while other plants come out clean when uprooted. This second class are the 'unpoetical' terms. They have lost their *fonua* and it is not possible to apprehend multiple senses in them. An example of this second class of term is *álu* ('to go') with which a poet would find it difficult to create metaphors. Q.E.D.

Scientific Method in Ancient Greece

What I want to do in this essay is to briefly trace the general history of scientific method in ancient Greece, a development which culminated in the elaboration of the method of hypothesis, though its full potential was not adequately appreciated then or exploited until we come to the 17th century of the present era in the development in Western Europe of a truly empirical science.

People commonly hold a blurred mix of two senses of the term 'scientific method'. The first is that it refers to a meticulously detailed and thorough observation and recording of all significant facts about a field or thing under study leading to a generalisation or generalisations. This is the method of Induction. The other is that it is the process of formulating a hypothesis and testing it through observation of a field or facts which the hypothesis purports to explain. But there is really only one scientific method and not two, and this is the method of hypothesis. Even if the careful marshalling of facts¹ through observation and recording should lead to generalisations, these should and must be subjected to rigorous and sustained testing by further observational facts. In other words the generalisations should be regarded and treated as hypotheses.

It is in the area of specific and practical needs that scientists usually start with collection and recording of data via observation, measurement, literature searches, surveys and so on, before a generalisation (hypothesis) is drawn. Examples are commonest in the relationship between research institutions and business, where the latter continuously requires the former to investigate areas or subjects in the latter's interest.² And it is usually — though not always — in cases where general theoretical inquiry or on-going research comes up against a new or seemingly formidable problem that hypothesis formation has to be effected rather promptly. In both cases, however, the

¹ Talk given at Tonga Science Teachers Association meeting at Takuilau College, 26 June 1997.

² Science is not mere presentation of facts, but presentation of them as ingredients of some network. A hypothesis can be defined as a proposition which claims that a fact (or facts) is connected in a certain way to other facts.

² Note that though it is true that he who pays calls the tune, that fact cannot affect in any way the scientific procedure, the nature of scientific method. Therefore, for industry to continue to progress, science must always have a degree of independence and 'purity'.

basic structure is the same: a hypothesis is proposed and tested by confronting it with observational facts.

Ionian Science

The world's first men of science were natives of Miletus, a city in Ionia, a part of the ancient Greek east, which is a narrow strip of coastal land along the western seaboard of modern Turkey. This Ionian science took its departure from the rejection of myth. Myth (and theology as well) explain things by human character and interest. They also require – in imitation of human society – a hierarchy in things. The Ionian men of science – Thales (b.625 B.C.), Anaximander (b.610 B.C.), and Anaximenes (b.585 B.C.) – rejected both these procedures. The rejection of mythico-theological thought necessitated looking at the world in its own terms. This made observation the cornerstone of science ever since.³ The rejection of hierarchy brought empiricism into Greek theory for the first time. This is the doctrine that things differ in character but not in status, that there is only one, single way of being, viz. to exist. All that was needed for explanation of events, therefore, was facts – facts are explained by other facts – and not 'higher' order entities.

The Ionians' conception of observation, however, was naive and simplistic. What they meant by it was largely what is usually referred to as common experience, what people have found, through long experience, to always obtain if certain conditions are met, all other things remaining the same. It was never observation of the contrived type that we now associate with the scientist's work. As an example of Ionian practice, the common experience of water turning into ice when sufficiently chilled, and into steam when heated to boiling point, were adequate observational evidence for Thales to base the most sweeping generalisations on, for example 'Everything is water'. And such all-encompassing statements were offered as final products, universal principles, for the concept of verification was not part of Ionian science. We can summarise the Ionian procedure then in the following way:

1. it was based either on common experience, or the most cursory observation of events;
2. it produced the most universal generalisations believed to be established by (1) above; and
3. the notions of hypothesis and verification so fundamental to any developed scientific methodology were simply absent.

If we were to express as simply as possible, and in the language of modern science, the philosophical underpinning of the work of the Ionian *phusiologoi*,

³ Again, it is difficult to observe without preconceived ideas. Popper (1933, 1934) has argued that all observations are theory-based. As Darwin once remarked, 'all observation must be for or against some view'.

it would be this: *Facts are there to give us theories.*⁴ The idea that knowledge (theory) from observation (or experience) is always provisional and approximate, that sustained observation is necessary because it makes for more and more accurate knowledge, did not occur to these early scientists, though an Ionian, Xenophanes of Colophon, one of their earliest critics, did present arguments for the impossibility of both certain knowledge and attainment of truth. A generation after Xenophanes, another Ionian, Heraclitus of Ephesus, proposed the related view that we can never know everything about a thing, event, or situation, that we can never reduce things to their lowest terms — they have no lowest terms.

Hippocrates of Cos

Much has been written, and said, on the empirical method of the medical school of Hippocrates of Cos (b.460 B.C.), for example by Aristotle and his followers in ancient times, and in our own, Heidel and Cornford among many others. Scholars now concede that though the Hippocratics made very careful observations and records of the symptoms and development of many diseases, they did not really go beyond this stage. From their raw data they made generalisations which they treated, not as hypotheses, but as bases for their medical practice. Therefore their method was, theoretically speaking, not an advance on that of the Ionians.

The Pythagoreans

After the Ionian beginnings, the epicentre of Greek scientific activity shifted to south Italy. There, an easterner, Pythagoras of Samos (b.580 B.C.), had migrated and set up his school in the city of Kroton. Pythagoras was an amazing genius. For our purposes, we remember him as the father of scientific mathematics and precursor of the atomic theory. He and his pupils also developed two experimental procedures that embodied a scientific method as well as a metaphysics.

Briefly, the first Pythagorean approach consisted in, first, identifying a well known object or system which is believed to be structurally identical to an object or field under study; second, connecting characteristics of the well-known object to characteristics of the object of study; thirdly, deducing further facts from the new picture of the interconnectedness of the two objects. Clearly this whole programme is based on a tacit assumption: *there are always systems (things, situations, or events) which, though they outwardly seem dissimilar, are in fact structurally equivalent.* This

⁴ This is how A. De Morgan (in *A Budget of Paradoxes*, 1.88) characterised the Baconian view of science also which he takes to be mistaken (quoted A.E. Taylor, *Socrates, the Man and his Thought*, London 1933).

assumption was never examined or analysed at any time by the Pythagoreans, and so it represents a possible weak link in their method that would be compounded by any shortfalls in the implementation phase. In the terminology of modern science, the different parts of this method are:

1. a model is obtained, identified (it can be constructed);
2. the model and the situation (thing, etc) under study are isomorphs;
3. the model is mapped on to the field under investigation;
4. a theory is arrived at which is used as need arises.

The most famous application of this method by the Pythagoreans was in their study of the human physical system in relation to health, i.e. medicine. The model used was the Greek lyre which they regarded as structurally identical to the human body. General correspondences were then made, e.g. that it has conditions (the cold, the hot, the wet, and the dry) that correspond to the tones (Greek *tonos*) given out by the individual strings of the lyre. In order for the lyre to have harmony (Greek *harmonia*) in its strings the tones must stand in special relationships to each other. Similarly, proportions of the bodily conditions – the cold etc. – must bear special strict relationships to each other. When this is achieved the body exhibits a special condition, namely health. Harmony in the lyre corresponds to health in the body. The medical problem then is a matter of striking this special balance between bodily qualities, and is akin to tuning – adjusting the tones – in a musical instrument. We still have traces of Pythagorean tradition in the medical nomenclature of today, e.g. tonic.

Although this Pythagorean method looks more organised than the Ionian scheme, it still treated facts (features of the model) as means to theories. It therefore represented no substantial improvement on the Ionian method. Nevertheless features or modified versions of the method have been revived by scientists from time to time. There is a whole culture of 'model building' in modern science, though the model in this case is not simply found but constructed from 'guesses' as to the form and character of the field being studied. Mapping consists in comparing features of the model – or predictions based on it – with observed behaviour of the situation under investigation. The model may be retained, modified, or rejected outright depending on the successes or otherwise of its predictions.

The other Pythagorean 'experimental' method – I have called it somewhere else 'intergeneric translation'⁵ – sought to prove another one of the Pythagoreans' characteristic doctrines in which they maintained that (a) reality is *mathematical* in nature, and (b) every event, thing, fact or situation can be fully accounted for by a simple formula. The best known application

⁵ I. F. Ilclu, *Herakleitos of Ephesus* (Nuku'alofa 1995).

of this approach is Pythagoras' experiment with the monochord where concordant intervals were translated into the full length (or fractions of it) of the monochord stretched between two fixed points but can be divided into two equal or different lengths by a sliding fulcrum, and then the lengths were expressed as ratios of the full length. Thus the octave would be represented by the ratio 2/1, the fourth by 4/3, and the fifth by 3/2, etc. The theoretical underpinning of this method was defective, however, and the Pythagoreans met with failure and they could not successfully conclude their ambitious project. Unaccomodating facts thwarted their efforts, e.g. when they attempted to express an interval in terms of other intervals they could only succeed in a few cases, such as: octave (2/1) = fourth (4/3) x fifth (3/2). But they could not be nearly as exact in many other cases. They have met the incommensurables but these could not be accomodated in their theory. And once again they were confronted with a basic truth about nature: there is always something more in any situation whatsoever. Yet, despite all that, intergeneric translation has been employed by scientists in different forms since the time of Pythagoras. One of the most famous and successful uses of the method in modern times is Godel's translation of linguistic items into numerals.

Socrates and Zeno

We come now to the final stage of the development of scientific method in ancient Greece. It seems that the term *hypothesis* began to be used more and more by philosophers and mathematicians towards the end of the fifth century for by the beginning of the fourth it was already well established.⁶ The Athenian, Socrates,⁷ was the great exponent of the 'hypothesis' method and he developed it to the stage where his great pupil, Plato, took it up and gave it its final form in antiquity.

In all probability, the Socratic development received its initial push from a method invented by Zeno of Elea (b.489 B.C.), which he explains to the young Socrates at the beginning of Plato's dialogue *Parmenides*.⁸ The method, known as *dialectic*, was extensively used by Zeno to show the absurdity of the propositions (taken as hypotheses) put forward by his adversaries in debate and then concluded that his master's, Parmenides', position — which was the opposite of his adversaries — was therefore not unique in seeming to be silly. The dialectic is the method of taking one's

⁶ Refer *Meno*, 86e.

⁷ The great Sophist, Protagoras, in Plato's dialogue named after him, refers to the method of examining the consequences of propositions as distinctively characteristic of Socrates though the word hypothesis is not used here (*Protagoras*, 351e).

⁸ *Parmenides*, 128 a-e.

adversary's fundamental proposition (taken as hypothesis) and deducing two contradictory conclusions from it. When this is the case, then, according to Zeno, we are bound to reject the proposition or hypothesis. For example, if one's adversary puts forward proposition p as statement of fact, then Zeno would produce the following argument:

1. If p, then q
2. If p, then not-q⁹
3. But q and not-q are contradictory
4. Therefore p is absurd (or false).

This is basically the method Socrates used throughout his whole career. Where he differed from Zeno was his use of the dialogic form in arriving at his conclusions, i.e. he enlisted other people's assistance to show up the absurdity of their own beliefs. He was also like Zeno in that it was other people's hypotheses that he examined. Rarely did he give any of his own, a habit that made people regard him as an intellectual 'midwife' and the 'only person who knows only one thing viz. that he knows nothing', and so on.

But even in the case of Socrates we do not find any special reference to the idea of verification in the sense of checking a theory against observational facts. Verification in this sense found its proper place later in the elaboration of Socratic thought by Plato and others in the Academy. A sound theory, in this formulation, is a hypothesis that 'saves appearances', by which phrase the Academicians meant one that satisfactorily accounts for all the relevant observed facts in a coherent way. However neither Socrates nor Plato arrived at a conception of verification that even approximated its modern extension by experiments devised expressly to verify hypotheses. This extension puts both experiment and fact in different roles and modifies their meaning. Modern experimental science enables us to summarise the position as: *Facts are there to test our theories by.*¹⁰

The modern experimental culture, of course, started with Galileo and Kepler. Since their time it has proceeded in leaps and bounds until we come to the modern science laboratory, which in the light of the above discussion can be looked upon as basically a 'verification factory'. Thus science does give us knowledge and that knowledge is reliable because it has been subjected to certain tests which we accept as valid, though we must still heed the advice of both Xenophanes and Heraclitus that there is always residual error in whatever experimental finding we make. Alternatively put, there is always

⁹ The premises of this argument are *Thesis* and *Antithesis* made much of by Hegel (and Fichte before him) in our own time. Steps 3 and 4 are different in Hegel and Marx – they fuse 1 and 2 into *Synthesis* which becomes the new *Thesis* for the next phase, and so on.

¹⁰ De Morgan's characterisation of Newton's method which he takes to be the correct view (in the book cited above). Newton's position, however, is complicated by his statement '*hypothesis non fingo*'.

something more to learn in any field whatsoever, no matter how far we have taken our inquiry in that field.

IN SUMMING UP, we must note basic definitions and distinctions. A hypothesis, first of all, is a proposition (or group of propositions) from which the fact in question is deductible. The general logical form of the relation of the fact in question, F, to the hypothesis H, is *H therefore F* though it is F that is presented to us (as problem) and we have to advance the explaining proposition, H, by a consideration of *F together with other facts* taken to be relevant for this issue. Thus we always work backwards in science from fact at issue to an explanation. The logical form of this situation is *F because H*. For H to succeed in explaining F it must show how F is *connected* to other facts. Thus as remarked in footnote 1 above, the hypothesis is a claim that a certain phenomenon is part of a network of interconnected facts. The next step then is to verify the hypothesis.

A more straightforward way of explaining the same thing is to present the hypothesis in its simplest form, i.e. the categorical singular affirmative X is Y. Taking X to be the *locality* and Y the *description* (or characteristic), verification could now take the form of observing locality X and seeing if it possesses characteristic Y. The bottom line of the whole process then is dependance on *human sensation*. If the observer's senses are normal and not defective in a way that would distort normal observation, then the findings of our experiment, etc., are fully reliable.¹¹

A favourite argument usually urged against reliance on the senses is as follows: the senses are unreliable because they tell different stories about the same event to different people. There are always differences in the same event for different people since everyone is unique in himself / herself and in their situations, so it is impossible for people to perceive the same situation in the same way. Now, the basic assumption of this argument, the assumption without which the argument falls to the ground, is that people can understand this argument and *in exactly the same way*. But if this is granted, then we have to accept that different people can perceive the same situation or event in exactly the same way. Perception (by the senses) and understanding are of the same structure — it is the awareness of the connectedness of different parts of a pattern.

¹¹ In our time Popper has argued that the mark of a scientific theory is falsifiability not verifiability.

Thinking in Tongan Society

THIS PAPER ADDRESSES THE QUESTION of the sociology of knowledge as defined by Mannheim and others.¹ A complete solution cannot be presented here, yet the argument has relevance and can form part of other attempts at a more thorough treatment. One thing is clear: a solution cannot even be attempted without some examination of the nature of thinking. It seems to me that the position of the sociologists has always been weakened by a refusal to consider seriously what the actual characteristics of thinking are. The question that interests them is not, 'what are minds?' but, 'what are the relations that mind enters into?' and this is akin to the psychologist's pet question, 'what can minds do?'. In the case of the behaviourists, because of their insistence on 'observability' (or an erroneous account of it) thinking tends to be denied existence altogether and so no account of mind can be given.

There is another minor difficulty, and that is that sociologists do not, as a rule, define their terms with sufficient rigour to permit either comment or criticism. Mannheim, for example, uses 'knowledge' and 'thinking' interchangeably and does not differentiate sharply enough between the nature and the content of knowledge. The thesis of this paper, however, is that society determines the focus or scope of thinking but not its nature, i.e. it determines *what* we think but not *how* we think. Mannheim, in fact, in discussing the sociology of knowledge as theory says 'It is a purely empirical investigation through description and structural analysis of the ways in which social relationships, in fact, influence thought'. And further on:

The existential determination of thought will also have to be regarded as a fact (b) if the influence of these existential factors on the concrete content of knowledge is of more than mere peripheral importance, if they are relevant not only to the genesis of ideas, but penetrate into their forms and content and if, furthermore, they decisively determine the scope and the intensity of our experience and observation i.e. that which we formerly referred to as the 'perspective' of the subject.²

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¹ K. Mannheim, *Ideology and Utopia: An Introduction to the Sociology of Knowledge* (New York 1936).

² Ibid., 266-7; 267-8.

Here, if Mannheim means simply that society influences the scope and content (what he calls the 'perspective') of our thoughts, then we cannot dispute him. However in the course of the discussion, he unmistakably implies that thinking as a *process* is radically changed by social processes.³ The Mannheim approach, in my view, is typical of sociological methodology in its imprecision, lack of definition, and reluctance to distinguish sharply between closely-related questions. Rex, in criticising psychometry and its use by Eysenck, goes on to argue that in evaluating intelligence power, one should take into account all environmental factors and all the complex history of not only the patient, but his race as well.⁴ The implication that all aspects of thinking are conditioned by society and history comes out very strongly.

For the above reasons, this essay is divided into two main sections: one on the nature of thinking, and the other on the influence of social forces on thinking (in this case, the influence of a specific society, Tongan society, on the thinking of its members). Tonga is a Polynesian island-kingdom in the South Pacific. The results of this discussion, however, are not culture-specific to Tongans but may apply to society in general.

The approach in this inquiry is logical rather than experimental. Logical questions will be uppermost, although some statistics from actual field studies in Tonga will be examined for the light they throw on the questions at issue.

The Nature of Thinking

In this section, I discuss some attributes traditionally regarded as belonging to the cognitive domain of the mind, namely, believing, knowing, understanding, awareness, learning, remembering, experiencing, recognising, etc. As for the passions or emotions, I shall follow the tradition of philosophers in regarding them as falling outside the purview of epistemology and will not discuss them here. The aim here is to inquire whether there is a common denominator, if at all, to all these cognitive activities.

Believing

When we believe something, we believe it to be true. It is quite inconceivable to believe something and yet hold at the same time that what is believed is false. This would be a contradiction. Put thus, the following definition of belief must be accepted: belief is taking something to be the case. Therefore, when we say we believe something, we assert that something is the case.

³ Ibid., 268.

⁴ J. Rex, 'Nature Versus Nurture: the Significance of the Revised Debate', in K. Richardson and D. Spears (eds), *Race Culture and Intelligence* (London 1972).

The assertions we make stating our beliefs are always made in the form of categorical propositions, e.g. X is Y. But this is the general form of any assertion. How then is the expression of a belief different from any other assertion? It differs in this: the truth claim is explicit in beliefs. We conclude, therefore, that the logical form of belief is 'X is Y is true'.

The question of whether our beliefs are true or false is, of course, a separate issue. When a belief, e.g. that X is Y is true, is true, the statement 'X is Y' is simply true. It does not affect the separate question of whether or not the believer is actually claiming that X is Y is true.

The pragmatic view of belief, that we believe what eases our minds,⁵ is really an account of what we are disposed to believe, not what believing is. And although it is important to know what our dispositions are, it still cannot serve as an account of believing as a process. Pragmatism professes to tell us what kinds of things we believe, but not how we believe, and only the latter forms part of the answer to the question 'what is thinking?' The pragmatic view, however, defines the limits of thinking, insofar as we cannot go beyond belief. As Peirce explains it, Belief is the resolution of Doubt, and Inquiry (or thinking) can be regarded as the search for Belief.⁶ Hence pragmatism implies mental inertia and explains the power of belief. Put crudely: people, as a rule, do not want to think, and to believe is to economise on mental energy. Thus belief can greatly promote ignorance and is therefore a tool for social control. Yet all this is not an account of what believing is, only of what we believe.

Knowing

We divide knowing into awareness and understanding. In both cases, however, some state of affairs is recognised.

Awareness. When we are aware of some situation, we see it in the context of its relations to other situations. This is the process we sometimes refer to as 'identification'. But any situation whatsoever is complex and thus to be aware of something is to recognise the interrelationships between things. Therefore, the form of the mental process involved in awareness in this (or that) is X or, more generally X is Y.

Understanding. In understanding we recognise the passage from one situation to another, or we recognise that one situation is implied by another. Formally, however, this is to recognise that X is Y (this can be analysed, of course, into A is B, therefore, P is Q, etc.).

In this sense, awareness and understanding are not radically different but are, as processes, structurally the same. However, we commonly regard awareness as somehow more 'primitive' than understanding, as being more

⁵ C. S. Peirce, 'The Fixation of Belief', *The Popular Science Monthly*, 12 (1877-78), 1-15.

⁶ Ibid.

spontaneous and sudden. But what must be borne in mind is that awareness is always posited on the cognitive level, which is also the level of analysability, and on this level, we can only characterise it in the manner I have indicated. Thus, taking knowing as a whole, we see that it is, like believing, simply to take something to be the case.

Learning

It should also be pointed out that in our dealings with things we are engaged in the activity of learning, the end-point of which is knowledge. The classic experiments of Thorndike demonstrate that we learn by trial-and-error.⁷ In our theory, the Thorndike result can be explained in this manner: the mind grappling with things given in sensation, though not in fact, as distinct, succeeds in 'seeing' that they are interrelated though only a finite number of relations are discoverable by the mind at any one time. Insight, as defined by Kohler and demonstrated by Birch and Harlow, is based upon this discovery (awareness) of the relatedness of things.⁸ So, if insight (inference) based on trial-and-error leads to discovery, then we must not think of insight as a different species of knowing but as the mind's way of using its discoveries. Insight is an extension of, and continuous with, awareness. All in all, we must concede that both these phases of mental activity are fundamentally the same in their general ends: they both result in taking something to be the case. The scope of insight (inference) is unpredictable for any given case and may be large or small. The limit is set by our interests. We stop inquiring when we have found enough for our present purposes or have satisfied our curiosity. But we never find out everything about a particular situation or thing.

Remembering

The earliest discussion of a technical nature involving recollection and remembering is found in Plato's dialogues (*Meno*, *Phaedo*, etc.) where Socrates tries to prove that knowledge is a form of reminiscence. We are, he says, reminded of Simmias the man on seeing his portrait. This recognition, Socrates rightly points out, depends on prior acquaintance with (or knowledge of) Simmias. But the Socratic view does not explain how we come to know Simmias (or the Forms for that matter) in the first place. And here we come back to Thorndike's trial-and-error or Russell's 'knowledge by acquaintance',⁹ though this can only mean that we know Simmias through interacting with him in a variety of ways and this is not what we ordinarily

⁷ E. L. Thorndike, 'Animal intelligence', *Psychological Monographs*, 1:8 (1898).

⁸ W. Kohler, *The Mentality of Apes* (New York 1925); H. G. Birch, 'The relation of previous experience to insightful problemsolving', *Journal of Comparative Psychology*, 38 (1945), 367-83; H. F. Harlow, 'The formation of learning sets', *Psychological Review*, 56 (1949), 51-65.

⁹ Bertrand Russell, *The Problems of Philosophy* (Oxford 1912).

mean by recollecting or remembering. At any rate, remembering appears to be formally the same as awareness in that they are both a 'waking up' to some relationship. Their logical form must therefore be the same: this is X, or, more strictly, X is Y. In actual situations, when we are reminded of someone on seeing his portrait, we usually exclaim, 'Oh, but that is so-and-so'.

There are, it is true, instances of remembering something where there is no identifiable occasion or reason for remembering that particular thing. We simply cannot see any connection between the remembered thing and what we have been entertaining in our mind at the time of remembering it. The act was spontaneous and apparently unrelated to any prior thoughts.

Unless it was a case of 'mental punning' (one which we cannot, for the moment, point to), there is one possible explanation: the process (or processes) leading to remembrance can, at times, be quite unconscious. This solution is not impossible because external stimulation to memory, so far as we know, is entirely absent. Nevertheless, this account of memory, whether correct or not, does not invalidate our general conclusion that to remember is to take something to be the case.

We now summarise the general results of the discussion as to the nature of thinking as follows:

1. Thinking in any form – believing, knowing, awareness, remembering, etc. – is *taking something to be the case*.
2. The logical form of thinking is *X is Y*.
3. Thinking, being a mental activity whereby the mind is related to things mental or non-mental, is therefore a *relation*.

The Influence of Society on the Thinking of Tongans

On the basis of the foregoing remarks, we can distinguish between the nature and the focus (or scope) of thinking. We define the scope of thinking as the range of subjects, areas, topics, ideas, etc., which thinking actually covers. Over the years social scientists, especially anthropologists and psychologists,¹⁰ have been building up a case for the proposition that society is a most important determinant of thinking. The trouble is that these social sciences have not been sufficiently philosophical, i.e. formal, and the implication that social factors determine even the nature of thinking has haunted the work of many sociologists and anthropologists, as we have seen in the work of Mannheim.

¹⁰ E.g. B. L. Whorf, 'The relation of habitual thought and behavior to language', in L. Spier et al. (eds), *Language, culture and personality: essays in memory of Edward Sapir* (Menasha, Wisc. 1947); B. Bernstein, 'Social Class and Linguistic Development: A Theory of Social Learning', in A. H. Halsey, J. Floud and A. Anderson (eds), *Education, Economy and Society* (New York 1961).

We must distinguish between 'being mental' and 'being social'. They are quite different things. The former has a biological or, more exactly, an electrochemical basis, though 'being mental' itself is not electrochemical. Society, on the other hand, though it may ultimately be of an instinctual origin, has only a very tenous link with biology compared with the mind's relation to the brain. This does not mean that the mind and society have no relations or that they do not interact. The fact that we find minds *in* society forces the social scientist to consider and describe their mutual effects on each other and to give an account of how they interact, something which the behaviourists are unable or unwilling to do. Yet all this cannot and does not justify the claim that the be-all and end-all of thinking is social.

Thinking, we have seen in the preceding section, is possible only in terms of the proposition, which has nothing social about it, but is the *fact* (or situation), that thinking relates to mind, or as logicians put it, that the statement conveys. This is how we think, and sociocultural factors do not touch it, though they determine the focus of our thought and restrict the scope of our thinking.

Now, because society ever changes, adapts itself, and evolves ceaselessly, so does the focus of the thinking of its members. Also, because societies differ from one another in so many respects but are also similar in many others, we find great dissimilarities as well as similarities in focus and scope of thought as we go from one society to another. Thus focus (or object) and scope of thought are variables, though thinking itself (in its essential character as a process) does not differ for any situation whatsoever.

We now shall briefly trace how society or culture determines the focus of thinking and go on to illustrate this process by concrete examples.

The Scope of Thought and Society

The view that society is the arena for the development of, and struggle between, specific interests, in the form of social classes, has been sufficiently analysed by Marxists. For purposes of theory, the interactions between *demands* may be profitably regarded as the principal characteristic of society. Demands come in different shapes and forms but it is the disguised variety that is most prevalent. When, however, they can be made good, they become *rights*. And there are extreme as well as mild forms of disguises for social demands, as well as a whole range in between. The extreme types include tabus, 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 tabu, privilege, duty, values, etc..) what we are left with are straightforward historical events: simple demands.

In the more rigid forms of disguised demands, for example tabu and sanctification, the disguise (or the whole rationale) for the demand is taken to be the punishment that is visited upon the sacrilegious. There is no reason for the observance of a tabu other than the retribution which follows fast upon breaking it. Thus through tabus, social groups or classes place their demands in suprasocial spheres. Two things are achieved: fear and ignorance are put into excellent use in social organisation, and the mind is invited not to expend energy in attempts at understanding.

As we move over the range of social demands, we find that as the disguise becomes milder, as in systems of law for example, rationality comes in between the observance of the demand and the punishment. The latter is not the sole reason for the observance of the demand. There is now a separate justification, for instance some social goal. At the same time, however, demands by being rationalised lose their weird fascination: their hold on men's minds is weakened and the punishment, no longer part and parcel of the demand, now gives a strong impression of superfluity.

It is in the motivational effect of the interplay of social forces that we must seek the mechanics of their influence on thinking. The sum total of human interactions in a society (including external influences) – the interactions and conflict of demands, the struggle between political forces, the impact of cultural and scientific ideas, the economic situation, the prevailing ideology – all these mix, combine, and react in one huge social chemistry. The resultant (in the sense that term is used in dynamics) of that chemistry at any given moment determines the climate of thought. This phrase encompasses the beliefs we hold, the ideas we emphasise, the interests we have, in short, the focus and scope of our thinking. And this, I maintain, is how society affects thought and the extent of its power. Thus, what we think is determined by our interests and social environment. Finally, what we think and how we think, as separate issues, are themselves quite distinct from the question of fact, which is settled neither by the way we think, nor by what society disposes us to think about, but simply by *what is the case*.

Tongan Society and Thinking

Though the specific influence of Tongan society on the minds of Tongans can be studied in different ways, we here consider the question from an ideological stand-point, i.e. from the angle of how sets of general beliefs do affect the object and quality of Tongans' thinking. For this purpose, I will now consider how social changes (reaction to religion) are reflected in so-called primitive thought in the form of mythology, and how modern Tongans grade their interests (resulting in a system of values) under the influence of the powerful indoctrinating forces of church organisation, socio-economic grouping, traditional customs, and so on.

Mythology

We must recognise that myths proper are deliberate creations of the mind. They have an aesthetic form and so the name 'oral literature' is quite apt. But they, at the same time, express a philosophy, a *Weltanschauung*. The insights of Vico,¹¹ especially the recognition that the contents of myths are of a social origin and that the psychological elements were later infusions, are of considerable usefulness for the understanding of mythology. But whereas the structuralist analysis tends to show up a socio-economic basis for myths, Vico's theory opens the way for a social theory of the origin of religion. In either case, the study of myths reveals that these traditional systems of thought (mythology and religion) are about the *interplay of demands in a social setting*.

Let me illustrate these points by discussing two Tongan myths. These myths are complementary because the great symbols employed cannot be understood without knowing them both. They are also what I call *ecological myths*, that is, they embody a view of the relation of man to his environment.

The Origin of the Coconut

Once upon a time there was a man and his wife. They had a most beautiful daughter whose name was Hina. They were very, very possessive of her and guarded her so jealously that she never set eyes on any human being other than her loving parents. She was strictly confined to within the boundaries of their home. Hina's days were filled with curious idleness disturbed only by the pleasant pastime of swimming in a pool near her house, an activity she indulged in every day. Now it so happened that an eel lived in the very same pool. He would lie in his hole and watch Hina go about her daily ablutions. At length the eel fell in love with the ravishingly beautiful young virgin. The eel's love deepened as the days passed, but being unable to relate to Hina in the humanly acceptable way, the poor lovesick eel resorted to sucking the piece of tapa cloth Hina used as a body scrub and left floating on the water every day after she had left the pool. This pattern of events persisted for some time and Hina became pregnant. When the parents found this out they were distraught with sorrow. When they asked Hina who was responsible for her pregnancy, she told them she had never known any man as she had never seen any others but them. But she told them about the eel in the pool. They were very sure then that it was the eel which was responsible for Hina's condition. They, at once, drained the pool, took out the eel and were going to kill it when it spoke to them thus: 'Before you kill me I want to make a dying request to you. It is this', continued the eel, 'after you have killed me, cut my head off and bury it near Hina's house and in time a plant will come out from my severed head. This plant will bear fruit which will be excellent food and drink for the child that Hina is bearing.'

¹¹ G. Vico, *The New Science of Giambattista Vico* [1725], trans. T. G. Bergin and M. H. Fisch (New York 1974).

The parents did as the eel requested and in time a plant did grow up where they had buried the eel's head. It was a plant they had never seen before for it was the very first, the original coconut palm to have grown out of the earth. It is the most useful plant in Tonga. If the fibre is taken off from a mature fruit, a huge oval nut is left. On one end of this nut are impressions that so very strongly resemble the features of an eel.

The Rock Matahina

Once there lived near the beach of Keitahi a couple who had four children, three boys and one daughter, whose name was Hina. One day the father and the three boys were out fishing and they caught a baby shark which they did not kill but brought home and gave to Hina. She was overjoyed and had a pool for the shark dug on the beach near the water.

Hina would visit the pool every day to feed her pet and the relationship between them deepened as days passed until Hina almost literally lived at the poolside feeding the shark, stroking its head and talking to it. And the shark was growing fast. One day, however, a huge hurricane hit this part of the island and giant waves came from the sea and bounded on the beach at Keitahi, washing everything away to sea including Hina's shark.

When Hina discovered her loss, she was full of sorrow and begged her parents to take her out to sea to look for her pet. The parents did as she requested and they went far out into the sea in a canoe. Hina all this time was calling out to her shark to come back to her. At last when they were already half way between Vava'u and Niue, Hina's shark swam up to them. After talking to it, Hina realised that the shark did not want to return to land but would remain in the deep, vast ocean.

Hina then told her parents to return to Vava'u without her for she had made up her mind to stay at sea with her pet shark. She then jumped into the churning waters and turned into a huge rock that comes out from the bottom of the sea and towers above the waves themselves. Her intention as she explained to her shark was for it to hide under the rock in safety during rough and stormy weather. And there stands to this day that huge rock, Mata-o-Hina, the 'eyes of Hina' which is a haven for sharks of the seas. The type of fishing known as *siu*, in which people call out to sharks from a canoe, had its origin in this story.

Interpretation

We shall now look at the myths at three levels: the society-nature relationship, the ecological level and the ideological level.

The Society-Nature Relation

Though Vico, as was noted above, focuses his study on the relationships between social groupings, for example conflict between gods as signifying the struggles between plebeians and patricians etc., and though Freud and the structuralists might emphasise revolt against custom, for example the Oedipus Complex or father killing as sinning against social law (represented here by the father figure), the ecological myths of Tonga give a social

significance to brute nature, that is, *they give the environment a role in the creation of society.*

Though man, in the course of normal activities, makes inroads into nature (Hina changing the physiognomy of the oceanic wastes by changing herself), nature establishes itself in man's society by giving it indispensable cultigens or cultivated plants. Thus we can regard the ecological myths as an 'improvement' on those myths such as the Promethean corpus, where gods make gifts to man but man does not reciprocate. The great economic stays of society are located in physical nature which man knows so well because he is quite familiar with it. It is the empiricism of these myths that distinguishes them from those about gods' bounty. The coconut palm, a plant of high sociability in Tongan culture, is given to man not by a god, but by an ordinary and humble animal, an eel. The dealings are those between equals. So if the myth of Prometheus is one about a minor god rebelling against higher ones, the ecological myths represent a revolution in thought in Tongan society – the refusal to give credit to gods for the development of that society.

But in both cases, whenever anything of permanent value is contributed, whether by man to nature or *vice versa*, a sacrifice is made. This means that all real gains made by man in building his society can only be done by unselfish effort or through serious enterprise. Hina must die to found a great and lasting tradition of fishing methods. In order to give society the coconut palm, Hina's 'lover' the eel must be sacrificed, and it, too, is transformed into something else.

The Ecological Level

Viewed from an ecological standpoint, we see in these myths the assertion of a philosophy of continuity, a continuity between man and his environment. Interactions between man and environment are not limited but include the whole range of possibilities, even the reproductive sphere. This is intensely symbolic, since reproduction in its sexual aspect is, in man's world, the supreme expression of a union which is at once physical as well as emotional. Thus these myths postulate a spiritual unity of man and nature. This oneness is expressed in terms of love (of the eel for Hina, and of Hina for her pet shark), the most powerful feeling man is capable of experiencing. And here the phrase 'love conquers all' has a deeper significance, for amongst its conquests must be included the toppling of all barriers between man and his environment.

Also present in these myths is an element of wishful thinking. The goals, taken literally, are clearly unrealisable. But here the myth partakes of the character of the dream; it provides neurotic fulfilment of a wish. The myth, therefore, like the dream, has therapeutic value as emotional release. The suspension of causality and the condition of indeterminacy (the combination of these two is what we mean by 'the magical') in myth as well as the dream

deepens the similarity. But the presence of sequential continuity (not always causal) in myth marks it out to be the work of the waking mind, that is, of the mind in attentive contact with the senses and with things. At any rate, it is quite possible that this public dream we call myth was 'primitive' man's psychoanalysis.

The Ideological Level

As works of art, myths must reflect the society in which they arise, as well as the state of knowledge, public and private mores, political conditions and so on. And they must influence people's view of things, their morality and their beliefs, their attitudes to both men and things. And above all, myths restrict their interests to those areas of social activities that tend to foster accepted ideas and preserve the *status quo*. In other words, myths are tools for maintaining a static society. They are inimical to a dynamic and liberal society. If there is a subject that mythical thought cannot handle at all, it is *the inevitability of social change*.

What is remarkable in the ecological myths is the total absence of reference to the gods. They therefore represent a change from a theistic to a naturalistic or *humanist view of things*. Man has ceased to receive gifts through the condescension of gods (e.g., fire was given to man by the demigod Maui) but instead develops his culture through direct transactions with the familiar things of his immediate surroundings. They are interdependent and they form a system, the ecosystem.

Somehow the symbols in these myths got distorted and vulgarised, and we now have the whole corpus of beliefs in spirits inhabiting every clump of trees, every niche in the land, every stretch of water at sea. Thus the shift from theism to humanism in mythology was responsible for the rise of animism. And it kept men's minds chained to thinking about spirits (which all very soon got personified): how to avoid their wrath, how to propitiate them, and how to enlist their aid in time of need. And that was how the thinking of Tongans was directed, for centuries, to things which are simply non-existent. The important point to remember, however, is that this whole intellectual ferment is indicative of a breakdown of the religious sentiment in prehistory.

Identity of a Modern Tongan

The second illustration of the way society influences thought is taken from a study conducted by a lecturer and a social psychology class in 'Atenisi University in 1978.¹² The aim of the study was to determine the nature of modern Tongans' self-view, their conception of their own 'identity'.

¹² A. Parr, 'Tongan Social Identity: an Emerging South Pacific Identity', unpub. paper, 'Atenisi Institute, 1981.

For this project, the Twenty Statements Measurement Instrument first used by Kuhn and McPartland in 1952 was employed to measure self-concept.¹³ The instrument and questionnaire was prepared in both English and Tongan; it was applied in 13 educational institutions, encompassing 976 students and staff members. The age range of the respondents was nine to 52 with median and modal age both being 17. The study statements were divided into consensual and non-consensual categories, and the responses were analysed for content.

A preliminary question here is whether, indeed, such findings as those of this study provide insights as to the relationships of social factors of thinking. This cannot be settled by answers to the question 'what am I?' alone. For one thing, the field of reference of the responses is oneself and thus constitutes products of introspection, whereas we are interested in this paper in how social forces mould thought. For another, in analysing the results of the study, the mere frequency of responses to any one type of question was assumed to be significant.

This can be maintained only on the basis of an assumption: that the facility with which people respond to questions or the ease with which they discuss issues depends on their familiarity with the topics raised by the questions or issues. And, of course, we are familiar with situations, ideas, concepts through our participation in social activities, through playing our roles as members of social groups and at the same time getting moulded, changed, and influenced ourselves by the very same activities and roles.

This response-effect of socialisation is what is actually measured by the Twenty Statements Instrument. Therefore, even though the results do not yield a direct or clear-cut answer to the question of social influence on thinking, they nevertheless provide corroborative evidence for the thesis of this paper.

The Scope of Tongan Social identity

As to the findings of the study, Parr writes, 'The South Pacific Way is not an emerging identity among the respondents of this research project. The scope of their identities is much more local and national than regional in nature, and there is very limited evidence of an encompassing pan-Pacific identity'.

Based on the findings in Table 1, which sets out the consensual identity statements in order of percentage frequency, the following conclusions may be reached. At the local level, the primary group's identity is an important part of Tongan social identity. Forty-three per cent of the respondents made family identity statements.

¹³ M. H. Kuhn and T. S. McPartland, 'An empirical investigation of self attitudes', *American Sociological Review*, 19:1 (1954), 68-76.

Also at the local level, identity with a specific area of residence, such as the Nuku'alofa area, is a moderately important part of Tongan social identity. Statements identifying with a specific area of residence were made by 36 per cent of the residents.

At the national level, identification with Tonga as a national state is a moderately important part of Tongan social identity. Of all the respondents, 38 per cent made national identity statements.

TABLE 1. Consensual Identity Statements

Type of Identity Statement	Number of Respondents Making at Least One Statement	Per cent of Total Respondents (N = 1976)
Sexual Identity	728	74.6
Religious Identity	675	69.2
Occupational and Student Identity	591	60.6
Family Identity	424	43.4
Identity with an Educational Institution	388	39.4
Tongan National Identity	367	37.6
Identity with an Area of Residence	355	36.4
Age Identity	341	34.9
Identity as a Human Being ('I am a human being')	322	33.0
Identity with a Name ('My name is...')	225	23.1
Racial Identity	147	15.1
Identity with Secondary Groups	140	14.3
Polynesian Identity	91	9.3
Identity with Primary Groups (Excluding Family)	79	8.1
Marital Status Identity	77	7.9
Other	80	8.2

At the regional level, identification with the Polynesian region of the South Pacific is a minor component of Tongan social identity. Only nine per cent of the respondents made statements of identification as Polynesians.

Perhaps the most encompassing aspect of Tongan social identity is racial identification. This was manifested generally in the statement 'I am brown', and 15 per cent of the respondents made statements of racial identification.

Granting now the abovementioned assumption that *facility* of discussion depends on *familiarity* with the questions discussed and that familiarity in turn depends on the focus of our socialisation, we see a pattern emerging in the statistics of the study. This pattern is a ranking of the potent social forces which determine the content of our thoughts. Looked at in terms of those forces, we can write Table 1 as a ranking in the following manner:

1. Certain socialised biological divisions (in this instance, sex)
2. Christianity (religion)
3. Occupational identification
4. Family membership
5. School membership (education)
6. Nationality
7. Residential area
8. Age
9. Humanity
10. Name
11. Race
12. Secondary grouping
13. Polynesian identity
14. Primary grouping
15. Social contracts (marriage)
16. Other

Comparison with Typical Experience.

Using my personal experience as a Tongan as a kind of check on the above ranking, I can certainly confirm the existence of a very high degree of correspondence between the study's findings and my personal experience as a Tongan. The following considerations are relevant to this observation.

The first three items in our list (certain social institutions, Christianity, and occupation) are the most highly esteemed departments of our culture. They are also the most frequently discussed and most intensely advertised (through indoctrination). It would be rare, indeed, to find a social situation, private or public, where these values are not openly discussed, promoted, praised, advertised or otherwise activated.

Extended family, nationality, community (residential area) and gerontocratic influence take middling positions and are not as important as the first three. The remaining identities concern the wider circles of a Tongan's relationships. They relate to matters that lie outside his immediate interests as he has been conditioned by environmental pressures. These include racial identity (Polynesian), membership in secondary groups, and Pacific identity. Therefore any identity with a global community, a sense of internationality, must be non-existent in the consciousness of Tongans. What emerges is the general picture of a belief pattern, a value system. This implies that much the same picture would result if the question posed to respondents was not 'what am I?' but 'what are the most important things in life?' or a variant of it.

Thus when Kuhn and McPartland said the question 'who am I?' is 'one which might logically be expected to elicit statements about one's identity',¹⁴ they would have been much more to the point if they had said 'to elicit statements above values'.

¹⁴ Ibid., 72.

Value Mobility.

The values revealed by the study can be regarded as being organised on an egoistic basis or principle. For convenience, they can be divided vertically into immediate, intermediate, remote, and non-existent values. Thus our findings show how a person views his relationships to other things, and he ranks these according to his perception of their distance from the self. This geometric conception of identity, I represent graphically in Figure 1.

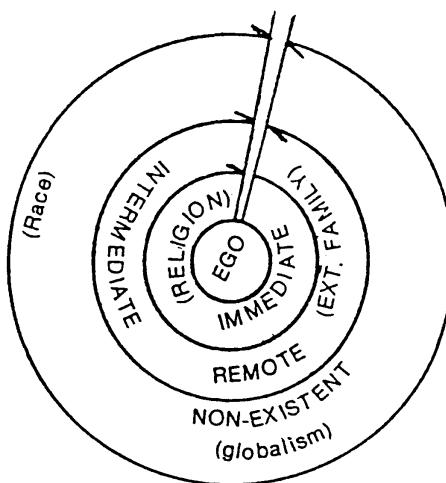


FIGURE 1

Mobility within these value sectors is entirely permissible and values can move up or down the scale according to how people fare in regard to social forces. It is revealing to see how the extended family, once the principal determinant of a Tongan's self-view, has depreciated quite markedly, and so is taken to be the breaking-point between immediate and intermediate values. The same can be said with regard to nationality and age. As a matter of fact, at one time in the past when Tongan society was still much more 'traditional', the whole intermediate sector constituted the immediate values of Tongan people. Thus the egoistic tendency shown by the study's results is indicative of a materialistic-individualistic trend in Tongan society.

These are, of course, signs of Westernisation, a process originally set in motion by the early explorers and missionaries. It is now gathering tremendous momentum, though the Western ideas quickly attached themselves to existing social substructures modifying and transforming them at the same time.

THE WHOLE OUTCOME OF THE FOREGOING general remarks is that we can, in fact, maintain – if only on logical grounds – that the distinction between *what* we think and *how* we think is a valid one. Meinong, in fact, distinguished between the act, content, and object of thought.¹⁵ The act, as he defines it, would broadly correspond to what is referred to in this paper as ‘*how we think*’, and content and object (variously) to ‘*what we think*’. Russell points out, however, that content and object, at times, are identical or, in certain thinking situations, there simply is no object of thought.¹⁶ In characterising ‘*how we think*’, I have maintained that thinking, in any of its forms, takes place by taking something to be the case, and, moreover, that this fundamental feature of thinking is a constant that persists in any thinking situation whatsoever.

The accounts of mythology and Tongans’ self-view given above have indicated nothing to prejudice the said distinction. On the other hand, they show that men’s minds are conditioned as to focus of thinking by social and environmental factors, especially the complex interplay of interests. They show, moreover, that this conditioning (also called socialisation) takes place as indoctrination, which can be coercive or psychological, by furnishing people with beliefs (persuading them that certain states of affairs do exist). But the question of fact is absolutely immaterial. The whole issue is whether the beliefs or values instilled in people do promote certain interests or not. And, incidentally, this is tied up with the whole question of how society is maintained and kept intact. For to discuss interests in the form of social movement is to discuss politics. Here, however, we are in a domain where the ruling passion is not truth but utility, fashion, and relevance. Recognising this and combining it with the pragmatic insight that we believe what we wish to take place, we can appreciate that the exercise and retention of power, or the ordering of society, must usually involve complete unscrupulousness. It may be an unpalatable idea but our conclusion forces us to this question: can society be kept under control on any bases other than irrationality and untruth?

¹⁵ A. von Meinong, ‘Concerning objects of a higher order and their relationship to inner perception’, *Journal for Psychology and Physiology of Sense Organs* (1898).

¹⁶ Russell, *The Problems of Philosophy*.

Anderson, Heraclitus, and Social Science

Anderson and Heraclitus

John Anderson's philosophy itself owes a lot to his interpretation of Heraclitus. It is not only the most thorough development of the Greek philosopher's views, but also an attempt to build on Heraclitean foundations a logically consistent ontology which is a contribution to theory and science that is unique in every way. With regard to this second goal, I believe Anderson fully succeeded. I have tried to set out the details of this undertaking in my book *Herakleitos of Ephesos*.¹

Anderson takes Heraclitus' *logos* or philosophy of process to be essentially a theory of Exchange, of ceaseless interaction between any situation or thing and its environment, giving to and receiving from each other, influencing and being influenced by each other:

Fg. 22(B). All things are exchanged for fire and fire for all things even as wares for gold and gold for wares.²

Obviously this fragment allows a commercial analogy which Anderson develops though he warns against a substantialist interpretation, e.g. a purely materialist interpretation. It is possible to characterise anything at all as a *centre of exchange*, though the exchange is not always locally balanced and can be quite unbalanced in the sense that one thing may give more or all of itself to the surroundings in which case it ceases to be anything (that 'centre' has become bankrupt). If on the other hand it gains more than it gave out, then it becomes stronger in its specific characteristics (that centre has 'realised a net profit'). But as long as there is an *empirical balance* in this exchange we can speak of the identity of particular things, of their continuing to be what they are. So, the Theory of Exchange provides not only an explanation of change but also enables us to give an account of the persistence of things as well as of their ceasing to be.

But the metaphor of Fire – the most energetic natural manifestation of movement and agitation possible for the naked senses to observe – is also used by Heraclitus to give an image of ceaseless activity and tension as the true picture of any real situation or thing. As the following fragments say:

¹ I. F. Helu, *Herakleitos of Ephesos* (Nuku'alofa 1995).

² J. Burnet, *Early Greek Philosophy* (London 1930).

Fg. 20(B). This world, which is the same for all, no one of gods or men has made; but it was ever, is now, and ever shall be an ever-living Fire, with measures of it kindling, and measures going out. R.P. 35.

Fg. 45(B). Men do not know what is at variance agrees with itself. It is an attunement of *opposite tensions*, like that of the bow and the lyre. R.P. 34 (my italics).

Fg. 62(B). We must know that war is common to all and strife is justice, and that *all things come into being and pass away through strife* (my italics).³

Heraclitus might vary the metaphor from Combustion to War, to Tension and Strife, to River (flowing water) as he actually does – Plato says that Heraclitus held that *panta rei*, ‘everything flows’ – but the fundamental vision is the same: *change, activity, complexity, tension*. The doctrine of Tension and Strife enables Heraclitus to scrutinise more closely the concept of Change. Not only is there exchange of ‘all things – for fire and fire for all things’ but ‘strife is justice’ and ‘all things come into being and pass away through strife’. Heraclitus emphasises inner agitation, oppositions and complexities in ‘an attunement of opposite tensions’.

Therefore there are not merely changes in linearly opposite directions but within any given thing or situation a whole variety of processes are acting in a vast number of different directions and opposing manners. It is only in this way that anything at all exists, and it is only insofar as these opposite and contrasting changes are balanced (in an empirical sense) that we have the persistence of a given thing or situation. So these opposing changes do, in some measure, limit and hinder (as well as support) one another. So non-linearity, multi-directionality and mutual limitation are conditions of the existence of things. That is, in fact, what the Heraclitean corpus bears out. We can agree that this account of the Heraclitean doctrine shows it to be entirely modern in its conception of science – with its emphasis on movement, change, and oppositions. It takes events to be a better description of the ‘stuff of reality’ than fixed points or rigid bodies. It also contains the germ for a logically coherent metaphysics.

Indeed there is an important sense in which we can say that Heraclitus ‘anticipated’ many of the important developments in modern science. For since the 18th century, science has been slowly but surely moving away from a static and rigid conception of matter into one of fluidity, tension, and activity, i.e. it has been moving away from Pythagoras towards Heraclitus. It is in physics and chemistry that we find the Heraclitean insights exemplified most strikingly. The youngest members of the family of the physical sciences, e.g. chaos physics and information theory (especially where it does not fit well

³ Ibid.

with entropy theory), can learn a lot from the Heraclitean main logical position.

And in the social sciences the pattern of a Heraclitean development is in evidence. The studies of group relationships, of interactions between cultural units and even between major cultures in contact show clearly how these social structures embody in actual concrete events the Heraclitean principles. Although the scientific study of society is relatively quite recent, it has already put together a technical conceptual apparatus and vocabulary that realise the Heraclitean abstract concepts, e.g. diffusion, acculturation, conflict, assimilation, amalgamation, and so forth.

Anderson and Social Science

As implied in the foregoing section, Anderson saw in Heraclitus' doctrine three basic ideas: process, tension, and complexity. These he built into his own realist logic — logic being taken by Anderson as the theory of the structure of reality. So any Andersonian analytical or critical instrument would always incorporate these fundamental concepts. It is therefore an important feature of Anderson's view of the study of society.

If there is anything that Anderson insists on — as he says Heraclitus is also doing — it is *the complexity and permanence of conflict and change* in any situation, natural or social. This is hard on classical anthropology where the doctrine of functionalism has emphasised a purposive and given character to society and social institutions to the extent that the fact that they all originated in some form of conflict — or attempts to settle conflicts — and that they are always propped up by a balance of forces and opposing movements, that social institutions change their characters at every change in the alignment of the opposing tensions, and finally that if the balance of forces is altogether destroyed, the institution or institutions concerned will surely disappear, are not appreciated. Passmore summarises the position thus, in his introduction to Anderson's *Studies in Empirical Philosophy*:

We ought not ask of a social institution 'What end or purpose does it serve?' but rather 'of what conflicts is it the scene?' That is the way in which we shall come to an understanding of its mode of operation.⁴

Similarly Anderson writes in his 1960 paper on 'Classicism':

Heraclitus, who was unremitting in his attack on subjectivist illusions, on the operation of desire or the imagining of things as we should like them to be, as opposed to the operation of understanding or the finding of things (including our own activities) as they positively are - his criticism was directed especially against

⁴ J. A. Passmore, 'Introduction', in John Anderson, *Studies in Empirical Philosophy* (Sydney 1962), xxii.

the school of the Pythagoreans — against their distortion of their material from a desire for simplicity, for the tidy and complete solution.⁵

In appreciating the cultural triumphs which have been erected into institutions and social traditions, anthropologists, sociologists and political scientists have tended to adopt a questionable stance of advocacy that is quite unscientific, positions that cannot stand a minimum of logical scrutiny. But a consideration of the above quotations would show that modern functionalists in their ardour to identify cultural purposes and absolutes are the modern Pythagoreans. In fact, it can be put down to a type of intellectual passivity that is out for the 'complete solution', for the end of study. It is an eschatological conception of science.

Anderson was, in fact, not so much concerned with institutions in the sense of unchanging social structures, as with movements. He emphasised the processual and conflictual character of social existence and that it is only through struggle and constant adjustments that institutions and social formations are able to persist and maintain their internal organisation as well as their external features. Anthropologists in over-emphasising the ethnographic side of their work make it look nothing more than 'tales of far-off lands'. In their enthusiasm to document established patterns of cultures the tensional and complex character of the social infrastructure gets left by the wayside. Ethnography must be adjusted to document society in its multifarious dynamism, to capture those contrasting forces which together make it tick, its motivating springs of activity which I take to lie not so much in the various strategies to secure subsistence but in the overt and covert struggle for sociopolitical advantage.

In the second place, the individualistic tendencies in modern life have deeply affected the social sciences. The emphasis on the importance of the individual in liberal democracy and the interpretation of capitalism as promotion of self-interest have taken a heavy toll on sociology, anthropology, history and psychology. In the work of some founding fathers (e.g. Malinowski in anthropology and Freud in psychology) the individual is given such prominence that he tends to dominate discussion *prior* to a determination of what really is the subject-matter of the particular discipline concerned.

Anderson always insisted that in social sciences we are concerned with institutions and social groupings and the action and relations resulting from their interactions.⁶ He characterised these groups as different forms of activity and as representing specific interests. The cement that binds people

⁵ Anderson, *Studies*, 194.

⁶ John Anderson, 'Freudianism and Society' (1940), reprinted in *Studies in Empirical Philosophy*, 340-58, etc.

in social groups can best be explained in terms of communication, i.e. people are able to communicate with each other if a common basis for communication exists. Such common bases, in a social context, are afforded by common ways of working or forms of activity. For forms of activity entail types of knowledge or understanding which make for intimate communication. Social movements and institutions then are 'communication centres'. The pattern of their fortunes can partly be explained in terms of intensity of the communicative activities conducted through them.

Special knowledge and common understanding demarcate groups and keep them intact. But the communication arising from this is 'inward looking', intensifying togetherness, and is the basis of group identity.

But it is the other Andersonian concept of *specific interest* which brings the group into contact (and conflict) with other groups. For it is primarily the interests and specific goals which are the engines of action in our lives as members of social movements. Within the context of the resulting social action the character and whole temper of the society concerned is determined. But this character is not fixed or static. It keeps changing from time to time. Sometimes the change is too small to be noticeable, but sometimes it is quite striking and recognisable, or the change is so severe as to be a revolution. All these, however, are due to the way specific interests interact, react against, combine and mix with each other in the total social chemistry. But the 'reactants' (to continue with the chemical terminology) are the Andersonian movements. And even if we can go on and identify catalysts for many of these changes, e.g. forces originating outside the particular society we are studying etc., this is the sort of thing that Anderson is talking about. This interpretation of the dynamism we call society obviously rules out any account of it in individualistic terms.

And although there is still a lot of interest in social movements, in institutions and social groupings of different descriptions in both social anthropology and sociology, some of the most recent trends in anthropological discourse (e.g. postmodernism, where relations between groups are not allowed), foreclose social analysis.

On the other hand, recent scholarship contains powerful works which tell against the elevation of self-interest in social and economic exchange. The principles enunciated by the classical economists are effectively controverted by Mauss (especially in *The Gift*) for anthropology and Althusser for political theory.⁷

⁷ M. Mauss, *The Gift*, trans. I. Cunnison (London 1954); L. Althusser, *Lenin and Philosophy and Other Essays*, trans. B. Brewster (London 1971), and *Politics and History: Montesquieu, Rousseau, Hegel and Marx*, trans. B. Brewster (London 1972).

Individualism in social science has been part of an embracing humanism that has been very powerful in modern thought. Existentialism and pragmatism have had a powerful impact – and they themselves are products of the same humanist excesses. Even Nietzsche, a pioneer of both movements and penetrating analyst of both the individual and culture, was sufficiently infected by this debilitating humanism to have subscribed to a humanist and utilitarian theory of truth (whatever is life-promoting is ‘true’).

These influences have landed the social sciences with a view of truth that makes it dependent on personal experience, on the immediacy and intensity of the experience. If the experience is immediate and vivid enough it is of the truth. Moreover, to challenge ‘truth’ arrived at in this way is entirely improper.

Anderson was directly opposed to this view of truth and was tireless in arguing that truth has no conditions but is absolute, that the source of any argument or statement is never the guarantee of its validity or truth-value respectively. He rejected the idea that the context of the assertion of a proposition has any bearing on its truth and always pointed to the objectivity and independence of the methods of the determination of the truth-values of statements. The scientific and critical traditions have painstakingly elaborated two such methods:

1. where a hypothesis is tested through observations within the context of an experiment (scientific method); and
2. where the proposition at issue is implied by another proposition, or propositions, that is or are accepted as true (logical proof).

Social anthropology has moved further away from this objectivity and the recognition that truth is public towards the perspectivism described above and thus finds itself in conflict with Andersonian realism. But this personalism and reliance on the source of an argument (or opinion) brings up the question of authority which Anderson rejects in all its various forms except the ‘authority’ of certain forms of judgement that are firmly based on tested procedures of inquiry as outlined immediately above, though he certainly would not subscribe to any position that even this type of ‘authority’ was not open to criticism or free discussion.⁸ One particular authority that has always been powerful and particularly so now, that of society ('social acceptance' or 'backed by living'), is analysed, fully exposed by Anderson – and, of course, rejected, e.g. in his exposition of Socrates's critique of Athenian civic morality and their notion of 'practical truth'.⁹

Hand in hand with these manifestations of personalism has come an interest in cultural symbols as such. Anderson always insisted that the

⁸ See his *Education and Inquiry* (Oxford 1980), especially chs 6, 11 and 12.

⁹ See Anderson, *Studies*, chs 17 and 18.

question of fact be addressed. And in line with this, he pointed out that symbols are symbols because they point to something else and it is these that investigators should be concerned with. In a recent paper I suggest that social customs are ultimately the institutionalisation of sociopolitical strategies aimed at enhancing the group's or class's chances in the context of the cultural struggle.¹⁰ It is this kind of suggestion that I take Anderson to be driving at when he insists that symbols must be treated as pointers, that they are not ends in themselves, and it is here that recent anthropology has quite markedly failed and diverged from realism.

The interest in symbols has been taken to incongruous heights where every artificially produced object is infused with an anthropocentric significance. For example, every piece of sculpture that is upright and whose width (or girth) is less than its height, in the hands of an anthropologist, runs the risk of being interpreted as phallic. Women anthropologists working in Tonga recently assure us that the *kava* bowl was originally designed to symbolise the human female sexual organ and when the *kava* is mixed in the bowl that is a ritual simulation of the sex act! Nothing is said about the principle of form following function or any other design principles because all man-made objects are taken to be stylisations of parts of the human body. The main problem with this type of view is that it makes no allowance for the existence of artistic creation, no allowance for the aesthetic sense. Aesthetic sense is a human response to symmetrical and rhythmic forms and phenomena in Nature. Artists give expression to these phenomena. When we say that every object made by man is inspired by male or female genitals (though they are quite symmetrical and have rhythm) we are denying that objects can be produced purely to give pleasure by their rhythmic and beautiful forms. In other words, we deny Art.

Thirdly, circumstances of modern life and changes in the academic world have crystallised in social anthropologists an unscientific attitude to certain aspects of traditional cultures. This places their practice in direct opposition to realism.¹¹ This is most evident in the approach to the sacred. What studies of the sacred are extant do not really pass beyond the usual display of data which is characteristic of the present stress on ethnography.

It is true that Durkheim was truly interested in this phenomenon but the advantage accomplished by his exploratory study¹² was not followed up by

¹⁰ 'Brother/Sister and Gender Relations in Tonga', No. 15 in this collection.

¹¹ Social anthropologists are more and more 'taking the side' of culture against science. This means neglecting the scientific task of 'giving an account' – which certainly cannot be fully served by ethnography – the task of critically understanding the sociopolitical forces that beat at the heart of customs and social conventions.

¹² E. Durkheim, *The Elementary Forms of the Religious Life*, trans. F. W. Swain (London 1915).

a serious development of his thought. Such a development could take the form of taking the sacred/profane dichotomy as behavioural prescriptions and once that is done the opposition loses its supra-social aura and becomes something ordinary and natural with which we are familiar and can easily handle. For when we talk of prescriptions for behaviour (or distinctions between forms of behaviour) we are talking about interests, i.e. we are in the realm of politics.

As I state somewhere else the sacred (the tabu or the sanctified) is nothing but the outer wrapping of a social package whose content is a straightforward demand or interest.¹³ When this wrapping is removed – the tabu lifted – we are left with an out-and-out demand (or demands). In my own culture, where the term 'tabu' originated, every sacred object or situation, human and non-human, had and still has to do with the protection of certain rights and privileges. And rights, according to Anderson, are demands that have been made good. As he says in 'Utilitarianism':

So long as we have demands that can be made good, demands that force a recognition of them and gain satisfaction – and this is so in any community – we have rights. Natural rights, then, will be demands which have to be made good if society is to exist. And whether or not there are such abiding rights, there are at least rights independent of law.¹⁴

The last two sentences of the above quotation point to the fact that this family of institutions – rights, privileges and tabus – is 'natural' to society and arises in the normal development of any community, that law in the jurist's (Bentham's) sense is contingent on there being a network of natural rights in the first place. In describing how *mores* and tabu develop in society through the operation of purely historical forces, Anderson tries to capture the complexity of this aspect of social interactions by making his account of it thoroughly Heraclitean in language as well as in viewpoint:

In considering how there came to be *mores* in a community, we must start from the fact that that community is a historical force or set of activities. Now there are relations of support and opposition between any activity whatever and others surrounding it, and likewise we can say that any historical thing has its characteristic ways of working, ways which are variously affected by its historical situation – *mores* are, in the first instance, forms of social operation, the engendering of certain states of things and prevention of others. These may be called the demands or requirements of the society. But when the demands come to be formulated by members of the society (and this takes place through conflict among the demands of members), we have *mores* in the second instance – *recognition* of what is required and what is forbidden – we have especially the operation of taboo. So there develop from customary tasks and customary

¹³ 'Thinking in Tongan Society', in W. Maxwell (ed.), *Thinking: The Expanding Frontier* (Philadelphia 1983), reprinted as No. 9 in this collection.

¹⁴ 'Utilitarianism', reprinted in *Studies in Empirical Philosophy*, 235.

constraints the notions of right and wrong — *mores* need not have survival value. They are simply ways of working of that particular community in its particular environment. . . Also there is no question of a total social morality; it is seen that there are conflicting demands, conflicting activities, conflicting forms of organisation within the society; and the upshot of such a conflict may be that what was generally recognised or sanctioned ceases to be so.¹⁵

The sacred, then, is aimed at ensuring that the flow of certain goods and services (both physical and non-physical) in certain directions is not blocked or impeded. But whereas Anderson proposed the view that society is organisation for production, his realism also facilitated the conception of society as organisation for the creation, maintenance and extinguishing (or forfeiture) of rights.

Customs of the sacred, therefore, are devices for safeguarding the sociopolitical interests of social groups. And as Anderson shows in the article from which the above quote is taken, 'they raise, of themselves, no question of goodness'. What 'ethical' character sacred customs and tabus may be said to have mean nothing more than that they protect our rights and maintain our power. The idea of the sacred is firmly based on ethical utilitarianism without the Benthamite qualification of 'the greatest number'.

But the sacred character is always regarded as a conferral — by a supramundane authority. And this seals the whole development of hierarchy in society because the supernatural agency is taken to be different from all things not only in character but also in status. When this is the case we have religion. A community that is unable to locate the rationale for its behavioural prescriptions in the supernatural realm cannot have religion. Societies that have erstwhile purely mundane or natural things for their sources of sacredness, e.g. Christianity and Buddhism, had to deify them before their systems could operate as religions.

Fourthly, anthropologists more and more are turning into a hermeneutical tool the unwarranted distinction between facts and values. For anthropologists values or norms are, like facts, discovered through experience and yet must not be questioned or analysed since, as behavioural goals, they are not governed by the law of cause and effect. Along realist lines, we can say that values are facts (since they too occur) which we like because they aid us to promote our special interests, especially our sociopolitical aims. Thus, for example, obedience is the fact that, once embodied in behaviour, will enable a person (or persons) to have control over another person (or persons).

¹⁵ Ibid., 242-3.

Max Rimoldi says:

Part of Anderson's denial of levels of reality is his rejection of attempts to distinguish values from facts (see 'Determinism and Ethics', 1928). He denies that the norms, standards and ideals, to which human practice conforms more or less closely are somehow above behaviour. He denies that they are set apart as absolute ends which cannot be subject to investigation, because they are said to be involved in another kind of causality. What he rejects is the idea that means may be investigated but that the ends or values which are the goal of behaviour are simply identified and guide rather than determine behaviour.¹⁶

The elevation of norms and values over facts has led social scientists to admit science only as a method but to reject all general and underpinning principles because they are too disruptive to their stance of advocacy, their authoritative image, and sense of security and total autonomy. But a scientist *qua* scientist is all the time concerned (and only concerned) with what is the case, and more often than not he may find out that what is the case is not exactly to his taste or interests.

Let me end this discussion by a brief consideration of Anderson's view of science. It is true that he was very interested in science and he made various observations regarding the special sciences and their relationships to philosophy as well as to each other. However, Anderson's conception of science was a very comprehensive and unifying view, one that takes philosophy to be also science as are all other fields of inquiry provided, of course, they meet his criteria for being scientific.

Although Anderson says that 'all sciences are observational and experimental', he asserts that they must also be philosophic, i.e. in addition to consideration of material or content peculiar to a particular field, the scientist must also consider questions of 'forms of situations or occurrences' and recognise 'logical categories or the formal distinction among types of problems'.¹⁷ Thus Anderson conceived of science as made up of two major components:

1. observations which must be disciplined in a culture such as that of controlled experimentalism; and
2. logical-critical principles.

But – and this is essential for an understanding of the Andersonian position – logical principles are themselves products of observation and experiment. This position is most forcefully argued for in his account of

¹⁶ M. Rimoldi, 'Knowledge Tradition and Criticism in Changing Social Contexts', paper given at the Conference celebrating the Silver Jubilee of the 'Atenisi Institute in Dec. 1991, to be published in the Commemorative volume of that Conference, *Autonomy and Creativity in Polynesia*. This is a very useful paper to which I owe a number of ideas herein discussed.

¹⁷ *Studies in Empirical Philosophy*, 6, 183, 201.

geometry.¹⁸ Logical principles, Anderson explains, are our way of understanding facts but they add nothing to the facts. They are our findings about the structure of facts that we have come to respect, but like any other proposition, they can always be denied or doubted.

Many questions regarded as 'fundamental' by scientists and philosophers would not be considered so by Anderson. The question, for example, whether science is value-free or not, though important in certain respects, Anderson would regard as requiring no special treatment, since it is largely taken care of by characterising science as 'disinterested'. To devote more time to it than it deserves betrays insincerity and can only result in the multiplication of illogicalities and dubious 'principles'. An illustration of this is the absurd manner in which the concept of objectivity has been handled by 'philosophical' and social scientists.

For Anderson different sciences treat of different materials or fields but the method is formally the same. In all of them, for instance, just as it is for philosophy, the form of the issue is always: is it so or not? All sciences apply the *same* logic — the logic of implication, of assertion and negation — and have the *same* aim: the discovery of facts and the formulation of propositions which we believe to be true.

It is not true then that social sciences are by nature less scientific than the physical sciences. Though the contexts they operate in differ greatly from those of the physical sciences the structure of the scientific approach and the nature of the logical issues involved are exactly the same. These together confer scientific character on any study. Exactness does not affect this character but reflects the way we handle method and the logical questions concerned.

Finally, as remarked earlier in the paper, the subject matter of the social sciences is social groups and the interactions between them. Of course, influences can cross boundaries of whole societies and these are often the most potent forces on social institutions and groups. At any rate, when the interactions between groups (or communities) are regarded under the aspect of power (or control) we have the discipline of History, and when the permanent products of the interactions and influences form the primary scientific interest we have Anthropology. But there cannot be *social* science outside the study of social groups and the interactions between them.

¹⁸ Ibid., 6-11.

'Atenisi University

A Tribute to Greece, Cradle of Science and Philosophy

I HAIL FROM THE KINGDOM OF TONGA, IN THE VERY HEARTLAND of Polynesia, and particularly from a school there called 'Atenisi University. It is part of a composite institution, 'Atenisi Institute, which also has a High School division and a Foundation for Performing Arts. 'Atenisi is a Tonganisation by early missionaries of Athens, Athenoi, Athenaeum or any term whatsoever standing for the capital of Greece, the city of Athena. This educational system is independent of both state and church. As such it is a system that always struggled for subsistence but, at the same time, enjoys autonomy and is free to do its own thing.

Naming the system 'Atenisi was my idea because I was involved with its development right from the beginning in 1963. I thought it would be good for Tonga – and through Tonga, the islands of the Pacific – to salute, in this small way, the country and the people which and who in ancient times gave the world philosophy and science, and not only philosophy and science, but also democracy. Incidentally the American historian Francis Fukuyama believes that in liberal democracy we have come to the end of history. And Greece and the Greeks also played a vital role in the development of what Nietzsche called our one and only institutional link to the ancient world, the Christian Church, and gave their language to the first and original recording of its scriptures. And of course in every discipline of institutionalised inquiry and civilised discourse the Greeks took the first steps and initiated their theoretical conception. It was in recognition of these achievements – perhaps the greatest ever of the human spirit and intellect – that I proposed to a small band of Tongan men called then the School Committee that our system be named 'Atenisi, the Tongan name for the Greek capital.

I want to take brief stock of what the ancient Greeks did for science, and I use the term in its general meaning which would include philosophy also, and that was the sense in which the first Greek men of science used it.

1. We have, of course, to start with the Milesian *phusilogoi*, Thales, Anaximander, and Anaximenes. They took their departure from a rejection of mythology and occultism – the belief that there are different levels of being, the upper levels providing the explanation for the things we experience. And in place of the unseen and mysterious beings, they proposed the most mundane of things as explanation for the world we know. Thales said 'Everything is water', and Anaximenes 'Everything is air'. In so doing they introduced into theory one of the two most characteristic doctrines of science

— empiricism, the view that there is only one way of being (i.e. to exist), and that we need not go outside the domain of facts to explain our world, for facts are explained by other facts. The Milesians therefore rejected cosmogonies which are accounts of the origins of things cast in terms of human interests and social organisation, and replaced them with cosmologies which are accounts of how things are arranged at any particular moment.

The Milesian *phusikoi*, of course, could not always keep their accounts logically consistent and they fell into deep difficulties, for indeed their search for an ultimate substance is a wild goose hunt. There is no ultimate substance. Yet we can see it was a great beginning — of a tradition that is unparalleled in its power and significance for human culture. They started the mechanistic explanation of the *kosmos* which then appeared as a system of things that work in concert, so that if one part is known other parts can also be known. Thus the Milesian doctrine is a doctrine of continuity and that can be taken as a general definition of empirical science, in contradistinction to myth and other rationalistic systems which are doctrines of discreteness.

2. If the Milesians were all concerned with Matter, the materiality of things, Pythagoras of Samos (and later of Kroton in Italy) and his pupils introduced Form into theory, and in pursuit of their theoretical interests they created scientific mathematics and developed an experimental culture, which, though different from the accepted version of scientific method, they did use in their studies of music and health. Briefly, the Pythagorean method consisted in identifying a field (or object) which they knew well, and which they believed to be structurally the same as a field (or object) which they wanted to study. Then they mapped certain characteristics of their model on to certain conditions of the situation or thing under study. A hypothesis or theory is produced which is then used to explain other behaviour of the object under study. The Pythagorean experiment then ends with a hypothesis, unlike the later and modern scientific practice which starts with the hypothesis. The most famous example of Pythagorean methodology is their study of health using the lyre as model.

3. But the Pythagoreans also developed an untenable dualism of the world as both One and Many, Simple as well as Complex, in a sense they could not consistently defend. It was the task of a great thinker, who was probably of their ranks but later reacted to Pythagoreanism, Parmenides of Elea, to point out that we cannot have both in the sense they required. Parmenides came down on the side of the Motionless One, the monism which Plato thoroughly criticised in his dialogue named after the great Eleatic philosopher. Parmenides is also most probably the creator of Logic and Method, which were later perfected by Plato, following Socrates. I believe also that it was Parmenides' pupil Zeno (of the paradoxes' fame) who gave scientific method its general form we have today. The Milesians, of course, pursued a method which only required the investigator to observe and experience things.

Pythagoreans complemented this view of science in the manner outlined above – that facts are there to give us theories. Zeno corrected this position by using a method where we start with a theory, and facts are there to tell us, so to speak, whether our theory (or hypothesis) is cogent or not. Socrates was the great evangelist for this new view, and we have both Protagoras (in the dialogue named after him) and Thrasymachos in the *Republic* referring to it as Socrates' peculiar way of discussing issues.

4. And then we come to Heraclitus of Ephesus who was not too interested in the materiality of things but in *change*, and he developed a philosophy of process in which every event, thing, situation, fact is seen as infinitely complex, dynamic, full of tension and inner agitation and existing in constant exchange with its environment. Heraclitus thus was introducing Time into theory and made possible an analysis akin to modern scientific analysis where events and description are the important parameters. At one time I thought that the Greeks provided all the fundamental concepts of science except Energy, but recent meditations on the Heraclitean corpus have changed that view, and I now see that Heraclitus of Ephesus saying that burning is the intensest form of activity and interaction available to unaided sense is what we moderns mean by energy. In other words, Heraclitus provided the means for identifying things as energy. As Fg. 20 (B) says: 'This world which is the same for all, no one of gods or men has made; but it was ever, is now, and ever shall be an everliving fire with measures of it kindling and measures going out' (Burnet's translation). If we take into account the time Heraclitus lived, the state of knowledge, the fact that the commonest form of energy known to people then was fire heat, we hear him as really saying: Everything is a form of energy. But the time was not right, for a new theory of energy and utilisation of non-traditional energies meant a new social consciousness and co-operation between certain departments of culture, most importantly technology, industry and commerce. And as we know from history, non-traditional energies did not begin to appear until the Industrial Revolution had become set on its course, and the 'technological' scientists – Rumford, Joule, Faraday etc. – had begun their work. It is simply amazing to find it impossible not to be reminded of the Ephesian in different areas of modern science. To give just one example from the latest and youngest of physical sciences, chaos physics: whenever chaos physicists talk of *orderly chaos* I simply cannot help remembering Fg. 47 (B) 'The *hidden atunement* is better than the open' (Burnet's translation) and also Fg. 62 (B) 'all things come into being and pass away *through strife*'. I say then that modern science is moving closer and closer to Heraclitus, in all areas, and I would add that the deepest meaning of his thought, namely that things are infinitely complex, can be regarded as the formal solution of *all* problems. Science then – all sciences – will go wrong if they diverge from this Heraclitean logical position.

5. The Pluralists, Empedocles, Leukippus, and Anaxagoras did work out theories in an attempt to defend the Pythagoreans against the Eleatic criticism. They did not succeed, of course, because they took over what was weak in the Eleatic critique, viz. the One, the Unchanging, but rejected what was sound, i.e. you cannot have both unity and plurality. But in the course of their theorising they made contributions of lasting value to theory. Empedocles introduced Force into science; Leukippus was the father of Atomism (though it was already prefigured in Pythagoras), and Anaxagoras took the first step towards a teleological, i.e. non-material, explanation of history and the *kosmos*.

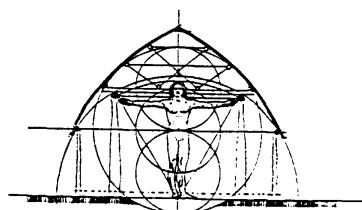
The next wave of Greek thinkers, mainly Plato and Aristotle (I regard Socrates as really belonging with the Pre-Socratics), not to mention the host of great mathematicians and scientists who followed, built on this firm foundation and continued the tradition. Modern sophistication is similarly firmly founded on the same foundation, and although we must recognise contributions to theoretical content or in preserving this heritage which came at different times between the classical period and our own day, it will always be true to say with the great Scottish scholar, John Burnet, Science is 'thinking about the world in the Greek way'.

Finally, let me mention a poem — a Lyrical Drama really — written in 1821 in Naples and dedicated to Prince Alexander Macrocordato, Secretary of Foreign Affairs for the Haspoda of Wallachia. The author was that most passionate of visionaries and English Romantic poet, Percy Bysshe Shelley, and the title of the lyrical play is *Hellas*. I want to quote three short pieces chanted by the Chorus towards the end of this drama:

If Greece must be
 A wreck, yet shall its fragments re-assemble,
 And build themselves again impregnably
 In a diviner clime
 To Amphionic music on some cape sublime
 Which frowns above the idle foam of time.
 A brighter Hellas rears its mountains
 From waves serener far;
 A new Peneus rolls his fountains
 Against the morning star
 Where fairer Tempes bloom, there sleep
 Young Cyclads on a sunnier deep
 Another Athens shall arise,
 And to remoter time
 Bequeath, like sunset to the skies,
 The splendour of its prime;
 And leave, if naught so bright may live,
 All earth can take or heaven can give.

It is my wish that this Open University will be part of the 're-assembling' of the 'brighter Hellas', this 'other Athens', which can only mean the immortal

spirit which quickened the souls of the great shining heroes of science during that great age of ancient Greece. And what 'diviner clime' and 'serener waves' could there be than the Pacific Ocean and her idyllic islands? This, indeed, is the spiritual agenda of 'Atenisi University in Tonga.



Towards a Theory of Awareness or Understanding

I WANT TO PRESENT SOME MATERIAL TOWARDS A THEORY of Awareness or Understanding, an answer to the query, 'What is really occurring, or what is meant, when someone – with wonder and satisfaction in his eyes – says "I can see it now", or "Oh, yes now I understand what you mean"? Naturally, part of the discussion will relate equally to psychology and logic.

Of late epistemologists seem to be abdicating the *philosophical* discussion of the problem of knowledge which has opened the way for neuroscientists to move in. Some of the resulting theories make the mind and thoughts occupants of the brain but are not clear as to the origin of these occupants or their actual relationships to the brain. Some neuroscientists, e.g. F. Crick (in *The Astonishing Hypothesis*), even suggest that there are 'awareness neurones'.

There is only one way of solving these problems in a simple and straightforward manner: by taking the mind as a *product* of brain processes. The brain, being a unique and complex structure, includes in its many capacities the ability to think, produce thoughts and ideas as well as to know. It coordinates and 'interprets' information from special sensors – a special camera, a special sound recorder, and so on.

However, in the course of this work, the mind (brain processes) soon learns that it is possible – and is often the case – for the information to be misleading, incomplete, and/or defective, and it also learns to correct it. These operations are very complicated. They are parts of *thinking*. However, the mind could never succeed in these if its structure were not of such a 'design' as would facilitate those operations. Therefore, although it may be that the effects of mentation are more irrational and passionate we have to hold that rationality is just as authentic a mental product as any emotion could be.

It is instructive to distinguish the work of the mind on primary sensory reports from simple comparison. In the latter case we are dealing with two separate things both of which we must have before us, as Parmenides, in criticising Socrates' copy theory of sensibles (in the dialogue of the former's name), points out. But in the case of direct sensational information, for example seeing a flower, the so-called 'sense-data' are superimposed in such

* A Guest Lecture at S. Ika's Epistemology (Philosophy II) class, 11 Sept. 1996.

a way that object and mental 'picture' have become one in perception and thought. That the two are distinct and separable is shown by the fact that objects can appear blurred or their forms distorted, or even that one object can appear as more than one, and so on. But this can only happen, assuming that the surroundings are not a cause, if either or both of the sensory or mental apparatus(es) is or are damaged partially or wholly. Thus when they are healthy and in good order they produce a perfect fit with the 'external world', a *coincidence* between things and the mental product.

What I am trying to do now has eminent ancestry, as you must be aware, in the works of Socrates and Plato in antiquity and in those of Locke, Berkeley and Hume in British empiricism, and others. The Socratic theory of Reminiscence, despite its attractive poetical/mythical coating, suffers from very serious logical difficulties. The 'proof' that knowledge is innate (contained in the *Meno*) is defective, and the idea that it is prior to birth is a wild suggestion we would find most difficult to substantiate. Equally so is the assertion that it is forgotten at birth! How, if it was ever there in the first place?

Rejecting the theory of innate ideas, Locke tried to answer the question 'How actually does experience help the mind to gain knowledge?' (Socrates' problem was how experience helps the mind to recover 'forgotten' knowledge). As you know, Locke took the mind to be a *tabula rasa*, a blank tablet of impressionable substance which at birth is absolutely pure and empty of informational content. Experience (sensations), however, starts 'writing' on it and this constitutes the knowledge of that mind.

Locke's theory I take to be too elementary. I should like him to have analysed the *tabula rasa* a bit more. Unlike Locke I do not see the mind at birth as a simple homogeneous something but a most complex mechanism. The simple fact that it can take or store 'information' shortly after birth shows that its structure is highly developed and complicated enough to do that.

We know from physiology that the sense mechanisms – eyes, nose, ears, etc. – must be 'exercised' by allowing them to freely receive, and react to, external stimuli in the first few hours after birth. Otherwise they will become and remain dysfunctional for life. The paraphernalia of sensation are so extremely sensitive and delicate. They originate and develop into maturity within a totally different environment for some considerable time and when they leave their original home they have to have the adequate level of excitation right away or are disabled for good. As for the mechanisms of sensation, so for that of mentation. It too needs immediate activation and priming though here the time allowance is more generous. But what is there in the sensations that give them the power to be indelibly impressed on the mind as knowledge?

To this question we answer with our theory which is this: the *tabula rasa* of the mind is kick-started into the active state by *rhythrical* external stimuli. 'Rhythm' in the sense of *repetition* is the key idea here. My hypothesis is that repeated presentation to the mind of the same events is required before the mechanism of the mental system is activated and set in motion. To use another metaphor, the rig of the external stimuli has to dig down to a certain level in the earth of the mental *tabula rasa* before the oil of awareness can burst out and blow wildly in different directions. And 'digging down' in this analogy is 'repetition' of occurrence. In other words, if it were impossible for events to be repeated in our universe, it would also be impossible for structures like the human mind to be aware of or recognise or understand anything at all. Mentation then is only possible because the character of the cosmos is such as it is, that events thereof can be repeated. Gilbert Ryle's model of the mind (*Concept of Mind*) as a system of dispositions is ultimately untenable because that theory does not show how mere dispositions could be translated into real events. It is the rhythmic nature of external stimuli that gives the mind its reality, strictly, that makes the brain work as a mind.

Awareness is a species of *shock* which the *tabula rasa* goes through because of the repetition of the same or very similar (near-identical) events. This state of affairs – the repetition of the same or very similar events – leads to the building up of mental records (or memories). *Coincidence* between the repeated events and mental records is bound to occur. Awareness is the sensation that these two things 'fit'. We must, however, banish from our account an implication of the Lockean-Socratic doctrine that the *tabula rasa* is passive. The dynamic and complex character of the mind is shown by the fact that although no two events (or things) are absolutely identical the mind is flexible enough to take into account their *salient and relevant features* only. It is this characteristic of the mental mechanism that establishes relationships between things and events and shows the world to be networks of patterns rendering it 'meaningful'. Awareness then appears finally as the mental act of *creating* patterns out of, and switched on by, repetition of structurally-identical events.

Let us now summarise the conclusions of our inquiry:

1. the original state of the mind is that of a very complex mechanism of tendencies and potentialities which are quickened into life by the repeating character of events in our universe;
2. repeating events have the effect of a 'shock' on the mental mechanism and kick-start it into action;
3. the 'shock' is really the *feeling* of the *fit* between events and mental records, and this feeling we normally refer to as 'being aware of, or 'recognising' or 'understanding';

4. the mental mechanism, once activated by repeating events, cuts back to the relevant structures of events and becomes aware of, first, identity, then similarity and then difference. Thus the mental act of *classifying* events, which is at the same time the *creation of patterns*, is *simultaneous with 'being aware of them'*. In fact, these are 'powers' of the mental mechanism that can only be inferred from the actual forms given them by the 'shock' of repeating external events. Hence they cannot be differentiated *per se* and it is better to take them as identical and the same act.

The rhythmic character of the universe, then, is responsible for thought just as much as the mind's internal organisation and potencies. But rhythm leads to symmetry which is the basis of beauty. It is for this reason that a beautiful situation, event or thing always has an air of stability about it. Translated into emotional terms, a beautiful thing always induces a subconscious sense or feeling of security. On the other hand, a non-beautiful event exudes an aura of peril. Thus the emotion of beauty may ultimately be the same as the emotion of security.

You will notice, of course, that I have not discussed the problem of knowledge in the traditional manner — for example a search for an indubitable form of knowledge, or, as is common in British and American philosophy, clarification of the meaning of terms. I thought it might be in order to deal with a slightly different aspect of the problem. That there is no indubitable form of knowledge (despite Descartes) is well-established by logic and by the history of science as well. But it should be pointed out also that the problem of indubitable knowledge has always been stated in the form that it is the problem of certainty in disguise, and this cannot be settled as such because there can be no objective or public standard on that basis that will allow discourse to continue.

What I have presented in this lecture are very general ideas aimed at encouraging you to do your own thinking in relation to the theory of knowledge and especially the subject of consciousness. It is very much an unexamined and unsubstantiated hypothesis in which I want to suggest materials which could form the rudiments of a philosophical theory of recognition or awareness, both mental and sensational. I am only too conscious of logical difficulties that have to be overcome and gaps that need bridging before a presentable theory is reached. Perhaps one of you will perform that very difficult task.

Development of Intellectual Skills and Creativity in the Study of Pacific Cultures

INTELLECTUAL SKILLS DIVIDE INTO TWO CATEGORIES: technical and critical. Included in the first would be the operational skills that come with, and are an essential part of, the modern technological culture and learning – facilitating gadgetry like computers, recording devices, audio-visual aids and so on. Also included in this first category would be the semi-mathematical techniques like the questionnaire, statistical tabulations, and other sampling methods. A critical apparatus, however, is developed not only by some familiarity with logic and traditional scientific method, but more importantly by an immersion in literary and cultural studies. The possession of a critical apparatus I take to be the mark of an educated person. It consists in critical-analytical penetration into the core of a problem or situation and is both more comprehensive and deeper than the usual findings afforded by technical skills alone.

Engaged, as we should be, in literary and cultural studies we come to grips with the abiding problems that have taxed human ingenuity in every age. But the more important point is that we, at the same time, learn the different responses (or solutions) which different periods offer to these permanent questions. This constitutes a tremendous enrichment of our intellectual powers. For the mind becomes equipped with a whole battery of alternatives which can be used as needs arise and gives the mind, if the process is sustained, an aspect of inexhaustibility. A technical apparatus is obviously lacking in this dimension for it is in the nature of studies that lead to its acquisition not to have the concrete models of solutions which are the hallmark of literary and cultural studies.

Immersion in humane and cultural studies moreover has the effect of mental exercises and gives the mind not only depth but quickness and agility. A person whose mind is both deep and agile is apt to come up with interesting and new perspectives not only on new problems but also on our stock notions and seeming trivialities. In other words, he/she has creativity. And there is no need to differentiate at this stage between cultures. But because our group of cultures belongs to the sub-group of Pacific cultures,

* Paper given at UNESCO Workshop 'Art and Creativity in Pacific Cultures' held in Apia, W. Samoa, Aug. 1987.

I want to illustrate the important lessons and intellectual gains which can be ours by discussing some examples of folklore, material culture and performing arts taken from some Pacific cultures. Because I am more familiar with Polynesian cultures and especially my own the examples I have chosen are from Tongan, Samoan, and Maori experience. I do hope, however, that my remarks on these cultures will have general validity for studies of other cultures in the Pacific.

The aspects of Pacific cultures I choose to discuss are taken from:

1. Tongan and Maori mythology;
2. the Tongan *sale-faka-Manuka* or the Samoan *sale-a-folau*;
3. Polynesian dances.

Mythology

Scholars usually divide myths into three types: pure myth, heroic saga, and folk tale. Pure myth (sometime called creation myth) is usually characterised as 'primitive' science or 'primitive' religion. Myths of this sort are certainly attempts by 'primitive' peoples to put some order into their world, in a few words, to explain phenomena in their environment which seemed to them important, terrifying, or interesting. Here is one from Tonga.

A great god Mosuike who lives in the Underworld spends his time *sleeping*. When he *snores* the earth trembles and when he *turns in his sleep* we have major earthquakes, and volcanoes burst out from the bosom of the Earth.

Here we have a simple (some would say simplistic) attempt to explain a terrifying natural phenomenon — earthquake. But the 'explanation' is conducted in purely human terms. The mind has not cut itself loose from its moorings in human rootedness. The elements of the 'explanation' are nothing but aspects of human behaviour — sleeping, snoring, turning in our sleep, etc. 'Primitive' man after looking at the object that requires 'explanation' returns to himself and fashions the explanation out of his own interests. Yet the fact that he creates a myth at all is to 'primitive' man's credit, for it shows beyond doubt that he recognises the fundamental truth that events have causes.

In another origin myth, that of the coconut, a ravishingly beautiful virgin, Hina, is magically impregnated by an eel which lived in her swimming pool. When her condition was found out the eel was taken out of the pool and decapitated. Its head was buried in the ground and out of that very spot the original coconut palm, the first to have grown on earth, sprouted. If the fibre is taken off from a mature fruit, a huge oval nut is left. At one end of the nut are located dentate impressions which very strongly resemble the features of an eel.

I have analysed this myth elsewhere and I refer you to that paper.¹ However, I want to make the following point: the 'explanation' in this case is not taken solely from man's behaviour. The credit falls squarely on the head of a lowly animal, an eel. The origin of the coconut lies outside man's sphere and his society in Nature. It is an admission of human finiteness and limitation. Is it primitive man's first uncertain, stumbling step towards objectivity? However, as things were, Polynesian mythology never made the final break with subjectivity. But then what mythology did?

For my last example from mythology, I take the great Papa and Rangi cycle of the New Zealand Maori. According to this myth the primeval parents of all things, Papa (Earth) and Rangi (Sky) were initially locked in an eternal embrace with Rangi laid out flat on top of Papa. Their children – all gods – crawled in darkness in the interface between the infinite bodies. Stunted and reduced by this stuffy and enervating condition, the children began to agitate for change and liberation. They agreed that the only solution to their problem was a successful separation of their parents. Tawhirimatea, god of winds and storms, was the first to try his hand at the required separation. He failed miserably. Others tried but only met with disappointment, until Tanemahuta, god of trees and forests, dug his head into the ground, used his powerful legs and feet to push Rangi in a skyward direction and managed to place their father in the azure immensity of space where he has remained to this day. Thereupon Tawhiri, out of jealousy because Tane had succeeded where he failed, resolved – and here he was assisted by Rangi – to punish Tane for his irreverence. There ensued a terrible destruction, for Tawhiri, having spawned offsprings in the form of cyclones, earthquakes, typhoons and lightning, set out to completely ravage Tane and his supporters, and desecrate all that was theirs. Tangaroa, god of the sea, took refuge in the deepest regions of the ocean. Rongomatane, god of the *kumara*, and Haumiaikitiki, god of the yam, also went into hiding.

At this point Tumatauenga, god of men, furious that his other brothers could not stand up against Tawhiri and Rangi, decided to teach them a lesson not to be cowards again. Then he lavished his full fury on Rongo, Haumia and Tane and even made nets to catch Tangaroa and his sea-children. This went on until everyone and everything was consumed in the universal conflict. However, all this madness was brought to an end through Tane wanting to have a wife. The prototype of woman, Hinehauone, was created from clay to meet this need. She gave birth to a beautiful woman Hinemataura who became Tane's wife. Other marriages followed and de facto relationships became rife. Strife was forgotten.

¹ 'Thinking in Tongan society', No. 9 in this collection.

Initially I interpreted this myth, following Vico, as an account of struggles to give Maori society a settled form. I then said that the children of Papa and Rangi represent the different forms of activity which are the major departments of society — Tangaroa the god of the sea represents the fishermen, Rongo and Haumia, gods of *kumara* and yam respectively, stand for agriculture. Tane, as god of trees and forests, that is to say, the canoe-builders and workers in wood, made the first major breakthrough in giving some order to society. Subsequent adjustments initiated by other social groupings added further modifications to the original Tane dispensation. However, as a result of recent discussions with former students,² I am led to make refinements on my original interpretation.

The story of Papa-Rangi can now be read as an account in mytho-theological symbolism of a state of society when two ruthless oppressors — perhaps the priestly class (Rangi) and a landed aristocracy (Papa) — combined forces to batten on the poorer, commoner classes. The revolution initiated by the canoe builders and craftsmen in developing ocean-worthy craft enabled the oppressed people to stage an exodus out of the slavery of this Polynesian Egypt. It is strange that Tawhiri, god of winds — a reference to the navigators, perhaps — should later support Rangi, i.e. the priesthood. The myth seems to indicate that the farmers, Rongo and Haumia, were hunted down on sea and land and fierce wars conducted in the new home of the rebellious renegades.

The first migratory canoes to have arrived in Aotearoa, then, could have been skippered by novices. However that may be, it seems quite probable that the famous Papa-Rangi cycle is a 'mythical' record of Maori prehistory, a prehistory of migration, fierce social strife and bitter rivalries, which only subsided when the 'tribes' had learned to compose their differences through treaties and other forms of political alliances.

Fale Faka-Manuka or Fale-a-solau

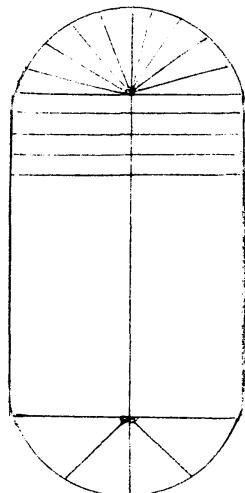
The Samoans have a myth which says that when the 'people of the sea' — the name Samoa means 'people of the sea or ocean'³ — first arrived in the islands, they had been at sea for so long that they had effectively forgotten how to build houses. So they lived under trees. But the elements could be harsh even in the paradise of the South Seas. They then applied to their god Tangaloa to help them. Their god directed them not to burn their boats but to turn them upside down, prop them up on the hull sides with poles and they would have roofs over their heads. This they did and that was the

² Especially 'O. Māhina, Comments on Papa-Rangi myth, pers. comm. held by the author.

³ J. Finney, 'The meaning of the word Samoa', *Journal of the Polynesian Society*, 88 (1979).

beginning of the *Fale-a-folau* (lit. Voyaging house). The roof plan of this house is fundamentally the same geometrically as the ancient ocean-going canoe.

Who says the ancients are old-fashioned? The recognition of this myth is the possibility of basing a system of architectural design on the roof plan and not, as all known systems are, on the floor plan. We have (or had?) our modern architecture and now post-modern architecture! The myth compels us to look at our domestic architecture with entirely new eyes. And how many great discoveries were made by regarding an old problem from an entirely new angle! The great Italian Baroque master Bernini in designing *San't Andrea*, whose floor-plan is that of the *fale-a-folau*, must have pondered over the same question in the same way 'a floor to be roofed' and his solution, though clever, is contrived. In *fale-a-folau* the problem is reversed, 'a roof to be floored', and there is no need for a solution for the problem disappears.⁴



fale-a-folau: roof plan

The *fale-a-folau* was introduced to Tonga from Manu'a, hence its Tongan name *fale faka-Manuka* (lit. Manu'a style house), probably during the reigns of the early Tu'i Tonga who had close ties with Manu'a chiefly houses. The *fale tele* (lit. grand house), Samoa's other contribution to Pacific architecture, which is nearly perfectly circular, was never adopted by Tongans probably

⁴ I know only one architect, Bruce Wardell, who is aware of all this, and who worked with us at our school.

because it is much more violently ventilated than the *sale-a-solau* and so would be too airy for the colder Tongan climate. Or perhaps it was developed later at a period when the Tonga-Manu'a relations had somehow soured. The amazing thing however is that apart from some horizontal stiffeners every member of the roof is curvilinear. It has the form of what modern architects call the concrete shell. If the wooden frame (strip rafters and all) were steel it would represent a good system of reinforcement for a concrete covering. The roof of *sale faka-Manuka* is a shell with wooden reinforcement and covering of thatch. It differs from the concrete shell of the moderns in materials only but not in conception.

Systems of Dances

In this last section of the paper, I shall make some general comparisons between systems of choreography in the South Seas. I want, by way of introducing the South Seas systems, to record some general observations on two world systems – the Bharatnatyam of India and the Classical Ballet. The Indian system, whatever its origin, seems to have developed along semantic lines so much that at times it can be prosaic. This seems inevitable in any development that emphasises semantics. It tends to be exhaustive. But the question is, does every bodily attitude have aesthetic quality? The answer would seem to be no. I believe its prosaic and exhaustive nature has tended to minimise the emotional power of the Bharatnatyam. The Classical Ballet, which is based on a stiffening disposition of the body and limbs, could enhance its emotional hold on viewers not only by decreasing 'imitative' choreography, but by minimising omnipresence and increasing localisation. Eye contact, which is an essential part of Oceanic choreography, is never cultivated in Classical Ballet.

1. The Hawaiian *hula* is primarily a sinuous motion in a vertical plane. It does not have the versatility of hand or head movements which characterise other Pacific Islands dances.
2. The Tahitian and Rarotongan *tamure* is based on a fast vibratory motion of the hips in a horizontal plane. Speed is an aim and as a result there is a minimum of palm and fingers work.
3. The Samoan *tau'aluga* is a choreography which spurns semantics and emphasises rhythm only like Papua New Guinean *sing sing*, except that in the Samoan system rhythmic articulation is combined with sequences of poses whose aim is to enhance the natural virtues of the performer. I must also mention the *faataupati* which is an essential part of *tau'aluga* and represents the highest point in the Samoans' efforts in developing a clapping vocabulary. The Tongan *fakataupasi* is similar and must have derived from the Samoan *faataupati*. All the same, the Samoan *tau'aluga*

is essentially glorified conducting and the most exciting solo dance in the world.

4. The Tongan *lakalaka* is a communal dance with many men and women participating. It is art on a large canvas and has an impressionistic appeal. The whole effect of many people singing together and bodies moving in unison like gigantic waves is overwhelming. The full arm work of the *lakalaka* can be the most elaborate in the world. If the *taualuga* excels in excitement and beauty, the *lakalaka* takes the palm for dignity and bravura.

Let us now summarise the general principles of South Pacific dances.

1. Dance is primarily keeping time with the body or parts of the body.
2. The dance aims, at the performer's level, at enhancing natural virtues of the dancer.
3. The dance, on the social level, promotes cohesion by uniting performer and viewer in an emotional bond.

*Leveleva e malanga
Ua 'uma le malanga
Tema sua, safetai lasi
Nia bona neri
Aioni
Sa kena levu saka: vinaka vakalevu
Parawa wai*

The Impact of the 'Great Migration' on Polynesian Customs: a Speculative History

THE DEBATE ON POLYNESIAN ORIGINS has been a brilliant chapter in the annals of Pacific anthropology. The main outline of a great saga of seafaring, discovery and settlement is now emerging from the pioneering works of Golson, Groube, Green, and many others.¹ The findings of archaeology have also been matched and amplified by studies in other areas, for example Polynesian languages.²

The general propositions emanating from this inquiry can now stand free from serious dispute though details and degree of accuracy can always be added or improved upon. The best known of the general propositions can be the following:

1. The ancestors of the Polynesians (the Austronesians) came originally from Coastal and Island Southeast Asia.
2. The so-called migration of the Austronesians and later of their descendants the Polynesians was from west to east in the earliest period of the settlement of Polynesia, approximately the beginning of the second millennium BC to about the 10th century AD when East Polynesians reversed the direction of dispersal to settle the Cooks and Aotearoa.

What will be attempted in this paper is an adumbration of the possible impact of the migrations and a migratory existence on the social customs and values of the Polynesian peoples. Admittedly this work can produce, at best, only broad probabilities, statements of a highly tentative nature that must await the availability of much more data on the Great Migration for them to be more closely scrutinised. At worst they can only be wild guesses with no

* Paper given at the 6th Conference of the Tongan History Association held in Nuku'alofa, 23-29 June 1993.

¹ J. Golson, 'Culture change in prehistoric New Zealand', in J.D. Freeman and W.R. Geddes, *Anthropology in the South Seas* (New Plymouth 1959), 23-74; R. Green, 'A revision of the Tongan sequence', *Journal of the Polynesian Society*, 81 (1972), 'Lapita', in J.C. Jennings (ed.), *The Prehistory of Polynesia* (Cambridge 1979), 'Models for the Lapita cultural complex: an evaluation of some current proposals', *New Zealand Journal of Archaeology*, 4 (1982), 'Settlement pattern studies in Oceania: an introduction to a symposium', *New Zealand Journal of Archaeology*, 6 (1984); L. Groube, 'Tonga, Lapita pottery and Polynesian origins', *Journal of the Polynesian Society*, 80 (1971).

² A. Pawley and R.C. Green, 'The Proto-Oceanic Language community', *Journal of Pacific History*, 19 (1984), 123-46.

scientific utility whatsoever. I shall try my best to prevent the occurrence of the second possibility.

I feel, however, that the only opening for advance in the investigation of Polynesian prehistory lies in marshalling the forces of normal science, to borrow Kuhn's term, and go to work on the abovementioned details to give flesh and blood and movement to the marvellous skeleton that the archaeologists have placed at our disposal.

Also, before proceeding any further I wish to record the fact that I am fully aware that writers have for some time now been using the term 'migration' to mean deliberate and planned journeys whether on land or at sea. I am not using the term in that limited sense but wish to push it back to its original signification of mere movement of people in bulk from one area or region to another. Whether the movement is deliberate or involuntary is not material at this stage of the inquiry nor relevant to its stated objectives.

I want to say at this juncture that it is certainly true that during the migrations an almost hopelessly complex and chaotic lumping together of events and activities was the reality of the time and it is well nigh impossible to sort them out or see a pattern in them. What I propose to do here is to throw out hypotheses, indicate corroborating ideas and invite historians and social scientists to put them to the test as new findings come to light. I do not claim to be the first to draw attention to this problem or even in the form I am presenting it in in this short essay, that is, how the whole process of the settlement of Polynesia moulded our attitudes to Nature, to our fellow men and the community as a whole, and how all this condensed into custom and morality. I shall be thrilled if I succeed in calling into action historians, anthropologists, linguists, sociologists, botanists etc to address the problem from a perspective similar to the one herein depicted.

And we must not belittle the enormity of the problem. To start with, the time-depth itself is staggering. We are talking about a process that started approximately four millenia ago and was already coming to an end about eight centuries from the present. What kind of event would have an influence on peoples' way of life and remain in their consciousness and social reality all that long? And how can we distinguish influences which originated in that period from any that have a more recent derivation? Perhaps memory can maintain itself up to eight centuries, that is all. With the aid of memory, therefore, that is, in the form of myths and legends, we can only brush the tip closest to us of this extremely long period.

We can be sure, however, that deposits in our cultures and way of life were made during the great migrations and that these are still there though certainly in a form as solid and hardened as the foundation of an old but big, tall building. To delineate the broad outlines of these deposits is the task before us now.

General Conditions and Customs

The first general assumption we make is the following: when the ancestors of the Polynesians entered the vast triangular area which they proceeded to settle, they had in their possession what can be called a 'sea culture'. By this I mean a culture in which people see things in general through the optics of the sea and the elements. I would add that land played comparatively very little part in such a culture. The depth to which this maritime orientation can penetrate into the racial consciousness can perhaps be exemplified by one branch of the Polynesian family so thoroughly identifying itself with the sea that it has come to be known to all posterity as the 'sea people' — *Samoa(na)*.³ The name 'Samoa' is in all probability a composite term consisting of two words, *Sa* (cf. Tongan *ha'a*) 'tribe', 'people' or 'race' and *moa* a contraction of *moana*, 'the sea', 'ocean'. This interpretation tallies perfectly with items in Samoan mythology and ancient religion.

One such myth is about the origin of the *sale-a-solau* (adapted in Tonga as *sale faka-manuka* i.e. *sale* in the Manu'a style). The islanders, says the Samoan myth, had been at sea for so long that they had forgotten all knowledge of house construction. Therefore when they landed in their new and permanent home they took shelter under trees, hanging rocks and caves. Finding that these cannot always do, especially when the elements become too miserable, they called upon the god Tangaloa to instruct them again on the art of house-building. Thereupon their god directed them to take their large canoe hulls, turn them upside down, prop them up on long poles, and they would have roofs over their heads. That is why the roof plan of a *sale faka-manuka* is geometrically equivalent to an overturned Polynesian canoe hull. Interestingly, the Samoan name for this architecture is *sale-a-solau* which translates into English as 'sailing house'.⁴ Here we have another example of how our sea culture in the form of naval architecture has contributed to the design and organisation of such a typically 'land' fixture as the house.

Not only has the sea made its impact on the names of whole societies like the Samoans, but it also provided designations for social classes. One of these — probably the oldest — is *tautai* and its various forms, e.g. the Tongan *toutai*. The literal translation of *tautai* is 'fighter against the sea' but a more

³ See Fitisemanu and V. C. Kelly, *Samoa: land of legends* (Apia 1960). Also Fitisemanu and G. Wright, *Sacred hens and other legends of Samoa* (Apia 1970); especially J. Finney, 'The meaning of the word Samoa', *Journal of the Polynesian Society*, 82 (1973).

⁴ It would be interesting to analyse in the manner of Levi-Strauss the reciprocal relationships between the canoe (or ship) at sea and the *fale* (or house) on land e.g. the *fale* on land is an overturned canoe hull while the canoe at sea is an upturned house roof or at sea the canoe protects people from deep waters and their denizens and on land the *fale* protects them from deep space and the elements, and so on.

functional meaning would be 'tamer of the sea'. It is the oldest word for 'navigator'. But the term has come to cover all people who 'work' the sea in any regular way, such as fishermen. To be an accomplished 'tamer of the sea' one has to acquire tact, knowledge and have fortitude and long experience. But it also involves struggle, conflict, unpredictability, incredible forces, death and destruction.

For the sea is no gentle mistress all the time and when she is in her ugly moods even the most intrepid seafarers — and the Polynesians were, if ever there were any — would have to steady their nerves if they did not want their good boats to go under. And how many canoes, nay fleets, went down to the bottom of the wide Pacific, and how many people perished on the high seas during this whole period? We cannot tell, but we can be sure of one thing: the total number is frighteningly large. Yet we still insist that the sea in many senses created the Polynesian society and common culture. Like the Hindu Trinity of Vishnu, Shiva and Brahma the sea is at once the Creator, Destroyer and Preserver of the Polynesian character. Much water has since flowed under the Polynesian cultural bridge but for the interested student the maritime genesis can still be discerned.

Naturally sea peoples would develop all kinds of strategies as responses to the hardships of sea voyages and they improved as the years and centuries passed. Better boat construction methods would have been invented, better seamanship techniques developed, better food preservation formulae found and so on. And all this concern with survival at sea slowly sank in and became part of the collective ethos. Consider the position of adiposity in the Polynesian traditional system of values. Because obese people have a greater resistance to cold and wet weather excesses and can withstand hunger and undernourishment much longer than slim and skinny persons (since they have no surplus body fat to fall back on for internal nourishment and heating),⁵ they were accorded the selection that the situation allowed.

This, in time, developed into making mere size and stature with full, well-rounded limbs into cultural values. Tongan adjectives like *molumalu* (dignified, striking) and *ngali'eiki* (chiefly, majestic) apply to such persons indicating in language the fact that social values can be jointly originated by natural selection and social action.

The Worship of Heavenly Bodies

Wherever we go in Polynesia we find whole corpuses of astronomical myths. The myths have a variety of purposes. Some are aetiological, i.e. they give an 'explanation' of certain social customs or the origin of an important

⁵ See J. E. Fullerton, 'Obesity: a new social policy perspective', *International Journal of Obesity*, 2 (1978), 267-8.

landmark; some are purely fanciful, created primarily to record some passing interest or to draw attention to some striking characteristic of an object like a constellation or meteorological phenomenon. But a great many of these myths were designed to be part of a system of astronomy that had its practical application in celestial navigation. All the principal guiding stars had very descriptive names and most had myths attached to them. According to Andia y Varela,⁶ the navigational stars of Tahiti were named after the locality of their right ascension.

But, be it noted, the tasks of time-keeping and position-finding so crucial in sea-travel have their ultimate sources in the celestial bodies. So important was this fact that in many parts of Polynesia constellations essential to navigating in the waters between the Islands were worshipped. The case of Matariki or Mataliki (Pleiades) is famous. In both Tongareva (Penrhyns) and Mangaia in the Cooks and also in Tonga this beautiful constellation of six bright stars was the object of religious devotion.

In the Cooks Matariki was so venerated and important in their ancient religion that the year was divided into two parts according to whether Matariki was visible or not after sunset.⁷ In Tonga the worship of Mataliki was attested to in myth and tales. Modern song still preserves memories of this religion. For example:

*Mataliki e kaveinga 'o Puluotu
Na'e sal ki ai si'l punou
Ko hono 'uhinga ke fakanounou
Fie talangofua ki Fonuamotu*

*Mataliki, guiding star of Puluotu
Towards you heads were bowed
As a short, easy substitute
Of homage due to Fonuamotu⁸*

This song points to an association in early Tongan society of the Pleiades with the mythical homeland, Puluotu. The Pleiades when they appear at night are in almost a NNW direction as seen from Tonga. This is also a navigational bearing of the Fiji group for voyages that originate in the Tongan Islands and this supports the claim that Puluotu was located in Fiji. It was usual in traditional navigation to set the course to any destination to be out in direction by at least five degrees in order to take care of the set caused by the Equatorial current. Then it would be up to 'the navigator to apply his own

⁶ After G. Parsonson in J. Golson (ed.), *Polynesian Navigation* (Wellington 1972).

⁷ According to W. W. Gill, *Myths and Songs from the South Pacific* (London 1976).

⁸ The last two lines are unclear and sometimes read differently.

correction for drift or leeway, depending on the direction and force of the wind and the trim and loading of the canoe'.⁹

The whole effect of this shifting, sea-voyaging life was to give the celestial hemisphere a pre-eminence in its influence on the early forms of Polynesian culture and was not challenged by any other aspect of the physical environment until well after the Polynesians had entrenched themselves in their permanent island homes. The Tongan word for 'honour', 'loftiness', and 'grandeur' is *langilangi*, lit. 'sky-like' or 'heavenly'. The sky, the atmosphere and everything therein were pregnant with significance for the Polynesian sea-nomads.

Indeed the Tongan traditional navigators had a name for the sky and the atmosphere – *kohi 'a Velenga*, 'the writing (or book of) Velenga', obviously an ancient god of the weather.

The Extended Family

It is possible to interpret this key institution of Polynesian society in a number of different ways and also for these different approaches to reinforce each other. It can be regarded, for example, as a survival strategy – the most effective and enduring – that ensures the persistence of the group within the sociopolitical system. Alternatively it can be looked upon as an economic mechanism that organises production and guarantees equitable distribution of resources within the group thus promoting cohesion and harmony. These viewpoints can, in fact, be brought together within the purposive trajectory of the extended family.

But however we may regard the extended family it was a highly rational organisation that was admirably suited to the spatial distribution of Pacific islands and archipelagos, where it was always possible for members of the same group to be dwelling in far-flung places, being spread thus by the itinerant character of their way of life.¹⁰ It was the logical social unit for peoples who were always on the move – over one quarter of the earth's surface and in the world's greatest sea. Moreover, the level of energy and resources normally commanded by the extended family set-up is many thousands times more than anything the nuclear family can ever hope to deploy and this indeed is the measure of the degree of enhanced security and survival chances that the extended family member thereby gains.

Certain inevitable conditions of the migratory life helped to shape and adapt family life even more to the exigencies of that life. A second hypothesis:

⁹ B. Hilder, 'Primitive Navigation in the Pacific', in J. Golson (ed.), *Polynesian Navigation* (Wellington 1972).

¹⁰ Vide C. M. Woodford, 'Some account of Sikaiana or Stewart's Island in the British Solomon Islands Protectorate', *Man*, 6 (1906); also C. Markham (ed.), *The Voyages of Pedro Fernandez de Quirós*, 2 vols (London 1904).

at least in the early period of the great migration reconnaissance voyages were quite common. Once a new island (or islands) was discovered and a foothold gained, return trips must have been attempted to get the rest or what remained of the community or group. It would be perfectly safe to assume that in such circumstances the scouting voyages were exclusively made up of adult, able-bodied men. These were voyages where no women, children or aged people would have been taken. It is possible that one might want to take a young beautiful wife or a favourite young son, but what would the other warrior-navigators have to say about that idea? One would scarcely dare mention such a proposal to one's partners in that sort of assignment.¹¹

The folks remaining at 'home' in this kind of scenario would be predominantly, and dominated by, females. The males would be either too young or too old. Thus the stage was set for a double role for women: they had to execute all tasks required to keep their respective families alive and at the same time make all the decisions demanded by the duties in hand. The Polynesian woman was slowly emerging as chief provider of the household as well as the ranking member. In short, the maritime orientation of Polynesian early society was contributory to the elevation of social status of women evident especially in West Polynesia which is now believed to have been settled in the earliest part of the period we are dealing with. The most famous institutionalisation of this development was, of course, the *Inasi* which is said to have really been a symbolic presentation of first-fruits to Hikule'o probably a mythical great aunt of 'Eitumatupu'a Tangaloa, the mythical father of 'Aho'etu, the first Tu'i Tonga.

Other Specific Customs

1. The central place that food has in Polynesian cultures was partly due to the nature of food rationing on sea voyages. Many people huddling together in cramped little spaces found out that they had to be utterly frugal with food and water and then involuntarily constrained to do two things: *share* and *economise*. These values though seemingly antithetical to each other do really improve the survival characteristics of a situation. Sharing is in fact a strategy for survival and arises naturally in an environment of scarcity and want. Thrift on the other hand accumulates resources and provides for sharing acts. But the two must be taken together and they were thus taken by the first immigrants into Polynesia. In Tongan culture if some person is too taken up by economising alone and not sharing he is roundly accused of *kaipo*, lit. 'to eat at night or in

¹¹ G. Murray paints a similar scenario for migrants from the north entering the Aegean during the Dark Age in his *The Rise of the Greek Epic* (Oxford 1907), 29-58.

darkness' i.e. without sharing. The sharing-thrift opposition is the paradox of survival.

2. While women and food enjoy high status in Polynesian cultures, children did not seem to fare at all well in any of them. This can be put down to the fact that whereas grown-ups had clear-cut roles to play in the scheme of things, children had no such immediate function. So that in general children did not have any great value in the eyes of the first Polynesians. In long voyages a good deal of energy must be spent in watching and looking after a so-called investment that one has to wait for ages before realising any returns on.

This attitude is still very strong with Polynesians who delight to squeeze as much mileage as they can get out of their young people but would never think of looking at the world from the youngsters' point of view. In pre-contact Tonga children were the common victims for human sacrifice¹² and they could be placed at peril if that would advance the political machinations of some ambitious adult, especially if the adult happened to be a chief, father or paternal uncle.

Many Tongan households even today are either semi prison-houses for children or child labour camps. Though we can understand the causes of this attitude, we can still see that we are selling ourselves short in depriving our posterity of the opportunity to develop in a freer environment.

3. I was led first to the theme of this paper by Gilbert Murray's discussion of the migrations to the Aegean of northerners via Thessaly in the course of the Dark Age of Greek prehistory. What struck me most in Murray's thesis was the implication that the burial urn could have been a response of a people who did not want to leave behind the remains of their dead to the insistent demands of a migratory existence. I decided to look at our own culture to determine whether the migrations affected our attitude to the dead. I was unable to find anything significant, nothing at all.

I believe there was a condition present in Polynesia which made all the difference. And that brings us to our third hypothesis: when the Austronesians first began to settle Tonga and Samoa the islands of Polynesia were uninhabited, or only very sparsely so. People would be overly concerned with their dead only if they moved among strangers, so that it would always be possible for their dead, if left behind, to be in some way molested. When this possibility is remote as would be the case in largely uninhabited islands, no effective attitude to the dead can materialise.

¹² *Vide J. Martin, Tonga Islands. William Mariner's Account, 1817* (Nuku'alofa 1981).

The Transformation of Maui

The original sea culture of the Polynesians became slowly transformed after our ancestors had settled in our islands for some considerable time and convinced themselves, over the centuries, that they had no choice but to burn their boats. This took the form of changes wrought by people becoming more and more conscious of their land environment and correspondingly less and less of the sea. This reversal of cultural focus is clearly reflected in the changes that our myths were undergoing. The clearest example is afforded by the Maui corpus.

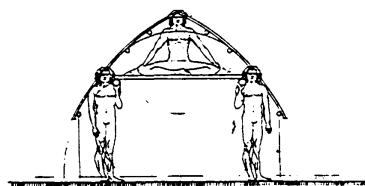
The fact that the Maui myths, in one form or another, are found in nearly every island of Polynesia seems to suggest that the number of the original settlers was small and much more homogeneous than Polynesians are at present. On this point demographers concur and say that a small band of settlers left alone for the same length of time as divided the Lapita-using inhabitants from the early contact period would easily produce the population densities reported by the first European visitors.

In the Tongan mythology Maui is originally a fisher of lands. This harmonises well with the maritime culture of the early migrations with its great symbols of sailing, of fishing and fish-hooks. Next Maui snares the Sun and compels it to move slowly above the Earth, whereas theretofore it shot across the sky speedily, every day, leaving the Earth and the people nearly always in cold darkness. Here we are still in the world of the sea and heavenly bodies though this myth seems to suggest the possible presence of the semi-divine hero in polar regions. The next myth makes Maui the Prometheus of Polynesia for he steals the secret of fire from Pulotu and gives it to man. He thus appears as the creator of culture and technology. Then in another myth, Maui tames man-eating plants and animals. And so he was also the creator of agriculture and animal husbandry. Finally in the myths of the 'Eua group, Maui settles down to becoming a farmer, planting taro and bringing into existence a wonderful natural bridge while digging in his garden one day near the northern coast of 'Eua island.

The metamorphosis of Maui from a navigator-fisher of islands to a magical but prosaic farmer in 'Eua illustrates how myth chronicles the transformation of our culture from one with a maritime core into one with an agricultural heart.

At the end of the first millennium AD the diversification of local and areal cultures was going on apace and this brought with it rivalry and competition in exploration and travel which in turn led to open inter-island and inter-group conflicts. Among the achievements of this new epoch in the case of Tonga were the establishment of the ancient kings and the Tu'i Tonga 'empire'. These new developments effected far-reaching changes to the overall character of Polynesian culture. Gone were the optimism and compatibility

of the early period. The great themes of the earlier Polynesian code of ethics were still there but were increasingly reserved for operation within one's own group or very special occasions. New values were being forged. New possibilities were in the air.



Brother/Sister and Gender Relations in Ancient and Modern Tonga

THIS PAPER PRESENTS THE SKELETON of an argument, albeit a philosopher's argument. It is therefore possible that the anthropologist and sociologist will find weaknesses in it. My only hope is that the paper will provide a fresh impulse for a re-examination of some of the stock notions associated with gender in the literature.

Tongan Concepts in Translation

There always have been shortfalls in the accuracy of the translations of Tongan (and other Polynesian) concepts. These give rise sometimes to serious misunderstanding and unsound interpretation of related traditions. One of these unfortunate translations is that of the opposition *Tuong'a'ane/Tuofefine* (*T/T*) as Brother/Sister (B/S). To bring out the limitations of this rendering we offer the following considerations:

1. B/S is a distinction entirely within the nuclear family. It has no functional sense outside it, except in a figurative or joking usage. Tongan society (and probably most Polynesian societies) did not traditionally emphasise the nuclear family, and this is attested to by the absence from the Tongan language of a term that denotes exactly this concept. It is also the fact that the English word 'family' was originally Tonganised as *famili* as it was seen that Tongan did not have a corresponding word. (*Ceteris paribus*, the principle of all linguistic appropriation is the prior absence of a concept, and therefore a term, from the borrower language.)
- a) The B/S opposition focuses on sexual categories only. It is important to note, however, that gender relations in Tongan society, at least, are given weight only through sociopolitical considerations and not the other way round. This point will become clearer as the argument unfolds.
- b) It is possible that the emphasis given to the B/S distinction by anthropologists indicates some unconscious ethnocentrism whereby European individualism, itself a historically recent phenomenon, is unwittingly imputed to a culture where it did not have much significance.¹

* Lecture given at Musée de l'Homme, Paris, Oct. 1991.

¹ Individualism as derived from liberal humanism (and some aspects of Christian theology) has stressed the worth of the individual person and the need to guard against his being buried under totalitarian bathos. But social theorists, e.g. Freud and Marx, have used the term in a different sense, *viz.* that it can provide a basis for social theory, looking at the individual as self-sufficient and as the building unit of the society. However, we know of no such historical

c) Tongan language before European contact did not have an equivalent term for the European-Christian concept of the nuclear family. Sometimes the word, '*api* ('home' or 'dwelling place'), is used but this is further evidence for the absence of the concept in traditional culture. There is also no *general* term for 'marriage'. In consequence of this, the English word 'marry' has been adopted in the Tonganised form *mali*. There is, however, a specific term *ta'ane*, but it was, and is now, used only for the marriage of members of the highest social classes. At the present time this term is applied only if either of the parties, the bride or the bridegroom, is a member of the Royal Family.

Traditional 'marriages' (*ta'ane*) were quite fluid arrangements which aimed solely at sociopolitical advantages. Such 'marriages' did not last long and the parties broke up and went on to form other similar but new arrangements and for similar reasons. This character of the Tongan *ta'ane*, in pre-contact times, is borne out by the saying: *Koe mali koe kakala pe ia* ('The spouse is but a garland of flowers') – i.e. you wear it for a short time and then give it up – for another person to wear, and so on.²

2. The T/T opposition, unlike the B/S contrast, does not accent the importance of individuals. On the contrary it has *defined groups* for its reference. All brothers and all male cousins of any woman comprise her *tuonga'ane*. All sisters and female cousins of any man comprise his *tuofefine*.
- a) The anthropologist's term 'classificatory siblinghood' goes some way towards clarifying this matter. But it does not bring out – or is not

social formation. Of course individualistic persons are only too common in all societies at all periods. But if such a person attempts to influence or dominate society – even with violence – he can only succeed by producing a platform to stand upon, so to speak, i.e. by riding on a group or movement which can act as the vehicle for his ideas or interests. Otherwise he can only perish. Heroic histories are accounts of individuals who manage to use influential movements to promote their visions, though a condition of their success is the movement controlling the individual in some real sense. As the stories of such violent individuals show, they are usually destroyed by their own societies if not by the movements they promoted themselves.

The modern ethic of *needs* which has become a central concern of social science is a manifestation of the same view. Writers like Maslow and Adler (and even Malinowski) believe society goes on the way it does because it is forced to do so by the end result of the war of individual needs. The cultural struggle, however, is always for *different ways of life* never for individual subsistence and never for mere survival. The subject-matter of the social sciences must always be an aspect of the interactions between social groups (or classes). If there is a science of the individual it cannot be a social science.

² Commoners lived together – some still do – as man and wife in *de facto* relationship. With the coming of Christianity commoners can marry in the European legal sense. Modernisation may make them revert back to their former *de facto* customs. The chiefs' *ta'ane* was 'open' in the sense it promoted social action and evolution. On the other hand marriage for love is 'closed' at least in its conception of two individuals completely wrapped up in each other. Such a concept has no social implication. As Nietzsche remarked 'No social institution can be founded on an idiosyncracy'.

interpreted to bring out – this primal fact of Tongan (or any Polynesian) society, viz. that social customs are all based on *group interests*, that these customs can only be fully understood when viewed through the optics of sociopolitical advantage.

- b) All Tongan kinship terms are of this kind. They all denote groups that embrace members of the 'nuclear family' but also persons from far beyond it. And because of this telescopic character of the Tongan naming system, post-contact Tongans have attempted to fill in where they believe Tongan culture was deficient. One way was to Tonganise English categories, e.g. *famili* (family), and recently '*aniti* (auntie), *kasini* (cousin), '*angikolo* (uncle) etc. – categories which were absent from the traditional Tongan system. The other approach was to tamper with word structure, especially the appending of the suffix '*aki* ('used as', 'in the role of'), to the traditional categories to yield the Indo-European ones thought to be missing from the Tongan system. Thus, in addition to *tamai* which, in the traditional system, meant any member of the group that includes father plus all paternal uncles plus all male cousins of father and paternal uncles, we modern Tongans now have *tamai'aki* to serve for paternal uncles and male cousins of father and paternal uncles.
- c) Similarly, in addition to *tuofefine*, which traditionally referred to any member of a group composed of all sisters and female cousins of a man, we now have *tuofefine'aki* to serve for female cousins of a man. This sociolinguistic accommodation to 'correct' a supposed defect in the traditional system has been a continuous process and has played a large part in changing the form of kin relationships.
- d) In traditional Tongan culture, the building blocks of society were the *kāinga*, the extended family or clan. The nuclear family, if it ever existed in the uppermost social classes, was a most evanescent alliance, and in the lower social strata was of no social effect in pre-contact Tonga. It was never society. Even today a sense of the family being 'outside' society, i.e. as not material to the sort of interactions regarded by Tongans as part of social action, still remains. From the point of view of Tongan culture then the most we can say of the nuclear family is that it is 'on the way to society'.³

Inaccurate translations then ultimately prevent a full understanding of how society ticks. Society is not made up of individuals but interacting groups of people. But social groups do not just interact. For unless there are *established ways of working*, unless there is morality, i.e. an accepted

³ Vico held the same dubious theory that the family was prior to society though he made it a matter of an association of *patres* in a manner somewhat reminiscent of the development of the chiefly class, *hou'eiki*, in Tonga from the heads of *ha'a* or federation of tribes.

patterning of the community of interests, there is no society. If it were possible to have people living together physically and yet their behaviour informed exclusively by self-interest, they would not be a society. It is only when people in groups ally themselves vis-à-vis other such or bigger groups and interact with them in conventional ways, both friendly or hostile, that we have society. Thus 'the social' is also, and always, political. Traditionally it was the kin groups which interacted, never the 'nuclear families' for these, as argued above, were of no social effect. And the interactions were guided by settled forms of working. The so-called B/S (but strictly T/T) avoidance rules are one of these standardised ways of working.

It is then not a case of brothers giving away sisters in marriage.⁴ It is a case, always, of the *kāinga*, the extended family, or the *ha'a*, the whole federation of tribes, giving away its women folk (who are, of course, *tuofeine* of some male members of the *kāinga* or *ha'a*) in marriage, to men (who are, of course, *tuonga'ane* of some female members) of a different *kāinga* or *ha'a*. But if we call this the 'marriage game' it is certainly a political one.

A Working Thesis

Accordingly the major premise of my argument is that any explanation of the social system, or part of it, must be a *social* explanation, i.e. it must show how a social custom (or customs) is related to a social demand (or demands) or interest (or interests). Thus the so-called B/S rules must be shown to be ultimately grounded on sociopolitical interests but not on sexual or biological ones.⁵

⁴ M. Godelier in a comment at the end of my paper reminded me that Levi-Strauss isolated three ways in which women could be given and finally came down on the theory that brothers give away sisters maintaining that the other options are not possible. (Cf. Freud where brothers band together not to give women away but to release them after killing their father.) But the Levi-Straussian formulation still suffers from sexism. What must be emphasised is that we are dealing with *social groups* interacting with each other, and not simple transactions between groups of brothers, even though the social groups concerned are usually headed by male chiefs, at least in the case of Tonga.

⁵ Anthropology has always been vitiated by a failure to address the question of fact. This is of such fundamental importance that it has prevented anthropology from becoming fully scientific. Objectivity in science does not mean mere observing and recording (refer to most anthropological accounts of magic in 'primitive' societies). In the case of the social sciences we have to identify *sociopolitical interests* which lie at the bottom of cultural behaviour. In fact a social scientist *qua* social scientist cannot go beyond this, as I should say, that is the *end* of social scientific inquiry.

The 'Sister's' and Mehikitanga Mystical Power

A group of anthropologists, mostly women,⁶ have tried to force a case for what they term the mystical power of the 'sister'. This power is, through a particular interpretation of Tongan myths that derives from Leach, also appropriated by the mother and *mehikitanga* (father's sister), i.e. by women in general. None of these writers, however, makes the case convincing. The 'explanation' given is invariably vague and inadequate. Apart from being unscientific in not giving an acceptable account of the assumption offered, it is an example of the attempt to derive culture from biology (sex). It is still an unconscious survival of the Freudian insistence that personal differences form the basis of social inequality. Social equality is not a matter of individual or personal attributes but is based on the primacy or otherwise of the movement, i.e. the putting of the common form of activity above personal interests.

Even if, for argument's sake, we go down on the side of the sexuality of women, their role in complementing men's natural sex and their capacity to reproduce – and the suggestion seems to underlie all the anthropologists' accounts – it still cannot hold water, since the argument can very easily be stood on its head.

Again, if we attend to the well-known custom of the great aunt or father's sister,⁷ *mehikitanga*, controlling the social destiny of her brother's children, the usual account is not fully satisfactory. The same mystical substance – we know not what – is being dragged in again as a basis for the custom! The suggestion that this may hark back to ancient religious practices may advance theory,⁸ but it is simply not used to advantage and, once again, it shows the anthropologist's reluctance to face the question of fact. For what, in the last analysis, is religion? Being a social institution, it is therefore a ritualistic and artistic formalisation of social customs, i.e. of sociopolitical interests. The sacred, *tabu*, and all forms of sanctification are the colourful

⁶ E.g. G. Rogers, 'Kai and kava in Niuatoputapu: social relations, ideologies and contexts in a rural Tongan community', PhD thesis, University of Auckland, 1975, and 'The father's sister is black: a consideration of female rank and powers in Tonga', *Journal of the Polynesian Society*, 86:2 (1977); C. W. Gailey, 'Putting down sisters and wives: Tongan women and colonisation', in M. Etienne and E. Leacock (eds), *Women and Colonisation* (New York 1980); E. Bott, 'Power and rank in the Kingdom of Tonga', *Journal of the Polynesian Society*, 90 (1981); P. Herda, 'Chieftainship and the sister's son in the Pacific', *American Anthropologist*, 17:4; A. Biersack, 'Blood and Garland: duality in Tongan history', in P. Herda, N. Gunson and J. Terrell (eds), *Tongan Culture and History* (Canberra 1990); K. James, 'Gender relations in Tonga: a paradigm shift', in *ibid.*; E. Wood Ellem, 'Queen Salote Tupou III and Tungi Mailefifi: a study of leadership in twentieth century Tonga', PhD thesis, University of Melbourne, 1981; etc.

⁷ Made much of by Herda, 'Chieftainship and the sister's son'; A. Biersack, 'Under the *toa tree*: the genealogy of the Tongan chiefs', in Jukka Siikala (ed.), *Culture and History in the Pacific* (Helsinki 1990), and James, 'Gender relations'.

⁸ James, 'Gender relations'.

outer wrappings for social demands. Once these are peeled off we are left with nothing but simple, straightforward demands.⁹

But the theory suffers on another consideration, namely that it is putting the cart before the horse. *Mehikitanga* (or father's 'sister') power flows from the fact that she played, and still plays, an important role in the scheme of things (*kāinga* and *ha'a*). The so-called mystical power of the sister/aunt/mother is an effect, not a cause. Finally, the fact that it was the *tuofefine* who was given away is an indication that Tongan society can at least be described as patriarchal.

Division of Labour

Studies of Polynesian prehistory suggest that division of labour along gender lines has not always been the same.¹⁰ This is only logical since division of labour changes every time the economy undergoes a major reorganisation. This issues in changes to social relationships as well as overall social conditions, which in turn react on the economy. Thus, although the base-superstructure distinction cannot be too literally maintained since they are not watertight compartments but merging processes that act and react on each other, it is at the interface between epoch-making economic reorganisations that we are able to distinguish between independent and dependant variables.

The above-mentioned studies of gender relations, though quite informative in some areas, still leave much to be desired in others, including the subject of division of labour. They suffer mainly from:

1. a certain degree of anachronism – what we observe *later* is taken to have been the case *always* – and this is applied to division of labour;
2. the feminist leanings of the authors, which distort the issues further;
3. certain concepts, e.g. mystical power of women, taken as valid for certain cultures, being tacitly assumed as applicable to Polynesian cultures;¹¹

⁹ See 'I. F. Helu, 'Thinking in Tongan Society', in W. Maxwell (ed.), *Thinking: The Expanding Frontier* (Philadelphia 1983), reproduced as No. 9 in this collection. It should be remarked also that the concern with symbols has really got out of hand, adding to our muddlement, and not helping us in any way to understand how society really works. Symbols are 'pointers' or 'road-signs' to social reality and social scientists must cut back through the tangle of symbolism to the reality it points to which I take to be sociopolitical interests.

¹⁰ P. Houghton, *The First New Zealanders* (Auckland 1980); J. Poulsen, 'A Contribution to the Prehistory of the Tongan Islands', PhD thesis, Australian National University (Canberra 1967); D. H. R. Spennemann, 'Changing gender roles in Tongan society: some comments based on archaeological observations', in Herda, Gunson and Terrell, *Tongan Culture and History*.

¹¹ I suspect the work of early anthropologists – some of them founding fathers – in Africa and Melanesia have influenced anthropologists working in Polynesia to a large extent, though largely unconsciously. *Vide* E. E. Evans-Pritchard, 'An alternative term for "Bride Price"', *Man*, 31 (1931), 36-9, and 'Nuer rules of exogamy and incest', in M. Fortes (ed.), *Social Structure: Studies Presented to A. R. Radcliffe-Brown* (Oxford 1949).

4. some being based heavily on an ethnographic and analogical approach, i.e. their empirical ingredient is simply deficient.

It is commonly held that division of labour in ancient Tonga was such that men were culturally bound to defence and war services, voyaging and deep sea fishing, while women bore the whole burden of household procurement – gardening, cooking, reef-fishing, and house-furnishing. This was generally the case not only for Polynesia but in all Oceanic communities as well.

The archaeological material lends support to this view of the patterning of gender roles in ancient Tonga from about 3500 BP to about 1300 BP, i.e. from the Dark Ages to Middle Formative Period.¹² Houghton, examining early New Zealand skeletal remains, notes that the clavicles and humeri of male individuals showed evidence of overuse of the arm in a highly distinctive manner, viz. a vigorous and powerful downward and backward directed movement of the upper arm. Houghton concluded that this movement is that of paddling/canoeing or boating in general.¹³ His argument is corroborated by a high percentage of osteoarthritis in the cranial vertebrae of the neck region.

Spennemann, working on Tongan Lapita skeletal material from J. Poulsen's site (TO-Pe-1), showed that this arthritis could also be documented for Tonga together with a much lower degree of arthritis in the lower spinal region.¹⁴ Pietruszewsky, studying human remains dated to about 1200-1500 AD, also found evidence of a high intensity of osteoarthritis in the neck region of the male vertebral columns but almost no arthritis in the lower spine region (thoracic and lumbar vertebrae), while the female skeletons showed a high percentage of arthritic vertebrae in the lower spine, with almost none in the lower neck region.¹⁵ Pietruszewsky, however, did not make any deductions from this data toward a general profile of gender specialisation at that period.

Spennemann, however, argues from these studies in the following manner:

To sum up, we can infer that during the Dark Ages it was part of the women's role to work in the garden and to bring the crops home, whereas it was part of the

¹² I first became acquainted with this body of research when I heard Dirk Spennemann deliver a paper at the first Tongan History Workshop held at Australian National University, Canberra, in Jan. 1987. I have since looked at the studies he cited and endorse his interpretation. Much of what I say here follows Spennemann as expressed in his paper cited above in fn 10.

¹³ Houghton, *The First New Zealanders*.

¹⁴ D. II. R. Spennemann, 'Report on a re-analysis and re-assessment of the Human Remains TO-Pe-I at Pea, Tongatapu', Osteological Report DRS 21, 1985, MS, Department of Prehistory, Research School of Pacific and Asian Studies, Australian National University.

¹⁵ M. Pietruszewsky, 'An osteological study of cranial and infracranial remains from Tonga', *Records of the Auckland Institute and Museum*, 6 (1969).

men's role to go fishing and to engage in long and medium distance trading and war i.e. canoeing in general.¹⁶

We are led then to the conclusion that the Late Formative Period, probably late eighth and early ninth centuries, ushered in changes that were to revolutionise the fabric of Tongan social relationships. These can only be in terms primarily of internal war and defence, because maritime activities did not seem to have declined until comparatively recently. In fact we can look at Tongan society having become, at an early period (earlier than any other Pacific society), more centralised and relatively more tightly organised so that intertribal strife could be more easily managed. And because of the more pacific conditions Tongan men were freed up for fresh roles and division of labour was ready for a restructuring.

This was not the case with other Oceanic societies – with the possible exception of Hawaii – where traditional gender roles have not changed much to this day even though the internal defence function of men has declined dramatically due to Pacific islands having adopted Westernised forms of government.

Sociopolitical changes in ancient Tonga then gave rise to new realignments in the economic functions of social classes as well as along sexual lines. In the new dispensation, which issued in a more peaceful society and an increasing emphasis on agriculture, all heavy work – house construction, canoe building, heavy gardening work and earth-oven cooking – became men's domain of specialised labour, while women were restricted mainly to the production of *koloa*, the nonfunctional wealth objects (mats, barkcloth, etc.) and the functional items manufactured from the same materials.

What we recognise here is the emergence of a new society in prehistoric Tonga, a new society that looked more to the land and less to the seas, a society which was becoming rigidly organised, more centralised, and increasingly hierarchical. The changes were reflected in intergroup as well as T/T relations. The point to remember here is that the new division of labour and the changed relationships reflect a new social formation, and that they in time acted on society modifying it in various ways.

Kātinga and Ha'a Politics

The unifying and centralising tendencies in the new society introduced fresh tensions into the original communities. We now must assume the forging of peacetime links of a social type such as marriage and gift-making. Sociologically speaking, however, the most important development to have been spurred on by centralisation is that of *class formation*. This cut across the tribal model of the earlier society. A description of Tongan society from

¹⁶ Spennemann, 'Changing gender roles'.

then on can be either on the basis of the tribal divisions — tribes now, in addition to internal stratification, were ranked as social units — or on the basis of class. Throughout prehistory the tribal and class characteristics were held in some rough and ready balance, with circumstances sometimes stressing one and sometimes the other.

The *ha'a* (federation of tribes whose heads are direct descendants of chiefly brothers) exemplifies this development most clearly. The head chief, 'eiki, of a tribe (*kāinga*) and a small group of close relatives form the core of the *kāinga* and hold all power and authority. The remaining, peripheral area of membership is large and made up of functionaries and persons who were (and are), to all intents, nothing but producers of goods and/or services. The goods and services were traditionally required of these members of the tribe and could be determined anew from time to time by the tribal chief or the ruling class.

The *ha'a* itself, as said above, is internally stratified with one tribe — really the head chief of that tribe — being the head or leader of the whole *ha'a*, and so on. The principle of ranking within or of the *ha'a* is primogeniture, while that within or of the tribe (*kāinga*) is genetic distance.

Finally the different *ha'a* themselves (*Ha'a Havea*, *Ha'a Ngata*, *Ha'a Latuhifo*, etc.) were ranked against the whole societal backdrop. Here the antiquity or time-depth of the foundation of the *ha'a* or of its founder was important, but politics, as usual, always made things complicated and determined the final shape of the power grid in the land.

It is within this context of struggle and rivalry, of political competition and connivance between *kāinga* within the *ha'a* and the *ha'a* among themselves, that we must look for the social logic of the elevation of the *tuofefine* over *tuonga'ane*. Tongan experience is such that it was easier, more convenient, to move women than men. But this fact — that it was women who became mobile — shows that we are dealing with a push-pull job with *male* chiefs at the pulling end at least. Thus the *tuofefine* mobility was at least partly in fulfilment of powerful chiefly demands. The whole custom of *sokonofo* — the giving of a sister or sisters or female cousins of a chief's wife as concubines to the same chief — reinforces this dynamical interpretation of *tuofefine* mobility.

We can speak then of the group's vertical mobility, its appreciation in political and therefore economic power as the *raison d'être* of T/T customs. In time social function afforded higher status (tabu, avoidance, distance, mystery) and all the panoply of high rank accrued to *tuofefine*. But this was the natural concomitant of the increase in political and economic power of the groups (*ha'a*, *kāinga*).

Koloa, Fahu and 'Brother/Sister' Avoidance

This 'new' society is that which historians, anthropologists, and even some prehistorians discuss in the literature. It is also that which Europeans found when they first came to the Islands. And it is, finally, the society which modern Tongans inherited though it has evolved and changed a lot between then and the present, fusing with missionary culture to a very large extent. Yet important parts of it have survived in the resultant compromise culture. Among these are those customs which relate to gender, the most important being *fahu*, *koloa*, and the T/T avoidance rules. Most of these customs, we may be sure, arose within, and operated for the chiefly classes only. There is no evidence that commoners had *fahu* or observed it among themselves. Its adoption by commoners in modern times is a new development and reflects the social-levelling effect of missionary teaching.

Some writers have suggested that Tongan *fahu* derived from the Fijian *vasu*.¹⁷ This is quite possible since the two communities have always been very close and completely permeable to each other. We must, however, guard against interpreting the custom as an effect of an ancient women's liberation movement. For to this day Fijian women, especially in the lower social classes, do not enjoy the high rank of Tongan women vis-à-vis men. Fijian women are culturally regarded as lower than men, and are treated accordingly. But the Fiji situation is further corroboration of the view that such customs as these were prerogatives of the upper classes only. This is consistent with the principle that, in any society, politics is the normal occupation of the upper classes — taking *fahu* to be part of the detritus of the political manoeuvres of social groups. In time, these customs gained such political profile that they tended to appear as providing the whole foundation for the social ethos.

The 'new' society, finally, was complete not only with producing, functional strata but also with ruling and leisure strata. The revised division of labour caused *tou sefine* to produce *koloa*, non-functional wealth — fine mats and painted barkcloth (*ngatu*) — used primarily for reinforcing social relations when different parties exchange these items in life calamity and life confirming events (death, marriage, birth, etc.).

Though men produced, beside food, durable items, e.g. war-clubs, canoes, buildings, walking-sticks, etc., these cannot be classified as *koloa*, for they do not fulfil the exchange criterion. They belong to the general class of technology (*ngaue sakamea'a*). These items were never exchanged. Warriors stayed with their war-clubs, fishermen with their canoes and other gear, old

¹⁷ E. W. Gifford, *Tongan Society* (Honolulu 1929); A. M. Hocart, 'Chieftainship and the sister's son in the Pacific', *American Anthropologist*, 17 (1915), 631-46; Rogers, 'The father's sister is black'.

men with their walking-sticks. When the original owners passed on, this property remained with the next-of-kin, or at least within the *kāinga*, becoming heirlooms and tribal symbols. All of these have many stories – of heroic exploits, love, sacrifice, etc. – associated with them. Witness the stories of the legendary canoe, the *Lomipeau*, or those of Vaha'i's war-club *Mohekonomokono*. Our history is written in these objects just as much as it is in our fine mats.

Outstanding Women in Tonga's Past

We find in our prehistory and precontact period the sagas of truly remarkable women. They fall into two classes – the low-born woman of exceptional beauty who was taken as wife or concubine by Tu'i Tonga or a very high chief, and the truly rare and uncommon chiefess of indomitable will and ambition. To the first class belongs Va'elaveamata and probably Va'epopua (hence her being found, and having sexual intercourse with 'Eitumatupu'a, under a tree). To the second belong Tupou Moheoso and Toe'umu.

The first two exemplify how 'sisters' (*tuoefine*) became a principal ladder on which their tribes ascended in society. 'Eitumatupu'a climbed down but Va'epopua's *kāinga* climbed up. Strictly speaking, 'Aho'eitu and his ascent is the physical symbol and realisation of his maternal *kāinga*'s appreciation in status and power.¹⁸

The latter two were pre-eminent chiefesses who vied with the most powerful chiefs of the land in political machinations and stratagem. They moved and acted freely in whatever social level and were not fettered to the domestic/private domain¹⁹ which was the lot of the women of the lower classes. Still, these brave spirits were rare enough and did not at all represent a group with any stability or persistence. They were isolated events, though it is true they could not have been possible without the special characteristics of Tongan culture. From a historical perspective they did not have any lasting influence, for politics in the society in which they lived was, in reality, man's domain. This is the message of Tongan history and the oral traditions as well. When Tuku'aho, an heir to the Tu'i Kanokupolu line, returning from 'Eua on hearing that Tupou Moheoso had made herself Tu'i

¹⁸ See Helu, 'Thinking in Tongan society'. Also, 'O. Mähina develops the view that myths are about society in a very convincing and powerful way ('Religion, politics and the Tu'i Tonga empire', MA thesis, University of Auckland, 1986), saying that the 'Aho'eitu story indicates a decline in the Manu'a (Samoa) political influence in Tonga and the corresponding rise of an indigenous chiefly house, that of the Tu'i Tonga.

¹⁹ See M. Rosaldo and L. Lamphere, *Women, Culture and Society* (Stanford 1974); S. B. Ortner, 'Gender and sexuality in hierarchical societies: the cases of Polynesia and some comparative implications', in S. B. Ortner and H. Whitehead (eds), *Sexual Meanings: the cultural construction of gender and sexuality* (Cambridge 1981). Much of what these authors say in relation to Men/Women: Public/Private bipartition derives originally from Fortes.

Kanokupolu, ended his invective by angrily shouting to her face '*Pali sie ule!*' ('Vagina presuming to be penis!'), he was giving utterance to this truth in the most sexually sexist language possible.

Gender Relations in Present Day Tonga

Since the late 18th century, foreign powerful influences have been entering Tonga. The most important have been the Christian church and through it, at first, European technology and education. The impact of the church's teaching was ambivalent. For, on the one hand, it promoted a tribalistic, oppressive morality with values such as obedience, loyalty, submissiveness and so on, and on the other, it promoted an egalitarian ethic which has become very significant in today's national, official politics and in public opinion in general. Technology and education have also had a very disruptive effect on traditional culture.

All the new influences have combined to make T/T customs not only more widespread but also more attenuated. If 'sisters' are given in marriage this can only mean that the marriages are arranged ones. Now, however, *tuo se fine* marry for love and it is only in rare cases (e.g. marriages of the Royal Family and the top-ranking chiefs) that we have marriages for political or economic convenience. This does not mean that present day marriages of commoners are not social affairs. They are. Still women in these classes are not 'given' in the sense required by the anthropologists. They probably never were and certainly are not now. As I said above, these things were, and are, the stuff of chiefly politics.²⁰

Not only low-born women marry for love. Many chiefly women today are happily married to commoners. One of the princesses initiated a national scandal by marrying a commoner. The King of Tonga had to annul this marriage and declared it unconstitutional. This princess is now married to a high chief. One of the princes married a commoner girl. The King allowed the marriage to take place but he abrogated the prince's succession right to the throne.

The forces of modernisation then are now fully in place and benefiting from the fertile soil laid down by a century of Christian missionary work and European influence. The resultant changes which are germane to a discussion of gender relations include the following:

1. the nuclear family is increasingly becoming more socially significant with a corresponding weakening of the *kāinga*;
2. T/T opposition is becoming more a B/S dichotomy;

²⁰ See S. R. Dektor-Korn, 'Tongan kin groups: the noble and the common view', *Journal of the Polynesian Society*, 83:1 (1974).

3. *tuoſefine*, i.e. women, are breaking out of the traditional domestic-private balloon leading to the breakdown of the T(men)/T(women); Public/Private equation.

The late Queen Sālote epitomises the abolition of the functional segregation of men and women. She combined in her the will and political astuteness of a Tupou Moheoso and the new consciousness of the equality of the sexes. Since her time women, chiefly and commoner, have been increasingly moving out of their traditional roles. Gailey was the first to discuss the change from women as producers of *koloa* to women as entrepreneurs, bringing commodities into the market.²¹

But that is just one aspect of the revaluation in gender relations. Just as in North America,²² women in Tonga are beginning to enter the professions that, heretofore, were a fortress of male domination – law, medicine, business. And like North America, again, the phenomenon of the 'working couple' has the effect of strengthening the emerging middle class. The number of women professionals is increasing fast. Two women – a princess and a commoner – have served in the Tongan national parliament as representatives of the people. And women's groups are very much involved in different aspects of national social and economic development.

It is men's roles in the traditional culture that have been most resistant to women's offensive. Most of these have come to be regarded as sex-specific, e.g. *matāpule* (chief's ceremonial officer), *punake* (poet) and *saifekau* (priest). With regard to *matāpule*, though women can and often do ape the role in all-women functions or *kava* circles, the role is just too public and physically stressful for the social image of woman as the ranking sex. At a funeral, for example, the *matāpule* (there usually are more than one) who is close to the deceased is usually present for the whole mourning period which may go on for a number of days (much longer if the deceased is a chief), all this time imbibing narcotic *kava*, sitting on hard floors, getting very little sleep, making speeches, going places, giving advice and a host of other responsibilities. It will never be a woman's cup of coffee.

There have been women *punake* – Queen Sālote is, without a doubt, modern Tonga's greatest poet. But *punake* has other dimensions in its connotations and functions that go beyond the creation of poetry. For example, the *punake* strictly speaking must provide the melodies for the poems and also the choreography for the dances. We must bear in mind that Tongan culture is such that poetry, music, and the dance have not been successfully separated into distinct arts – not yet, though I can discern a

²¹ C. W. Gailey, 'Our history is written in our mats', PhD thesis, New School for Social Research, Boston, 1981.

²² B. Ehrenreich, *Fear of Falling: The Inner Life of the Middle Class* (New York 1989).

clear trend in that direction. It is in *punake* as choreographer that women are mostly disqualified for the role, for the men's dance motifs are traditionally vigorous and athletic, to say the least, and women *punake* cannot very well create these – not in Tonga.

The role of *sai'ekau* has also come to be regarded as men's only. It seems that women commonly functioned as priests (*taula*) in the ancient religion of Tonga. The traditions which have come down to modern Tongans point to women being intermediaries for deities, media for spirits, and healers (healing seems to have had a religious origin in this society, as in many others). But since the coming of the Christian missionaries, women have been effectively kept away from the priesthood.

Recently the Wesleyans have shown signs of a willingness to open their clergy to women occupancy. Certainly this is a reflection of a world-wide change in religious thinking, at least in Protestantism, but it is interesting to witness how external forces are having such revolutionary impact on traditional cultures.

The cultural revolution has arrived at our shores, as usual, via the young people. We now witness young girls going out by themselves at night without chaperones, though they still avoid, if possible, their brothers' or male cousins' haunts. There are certainly no feminist connotations here, and much less any sexual associations of feminism. The whole idea of this aspect of youth culture in Tonga is to be a little freer in associations with the opposite sex. Feminism may not make headway in Tongan society since women have been elevated above men. The only problem women had was that the *kāinga* and *ha'a* constrained them to indulge only in over-politicised sex.

New Brushstrokes on the Tupou I Portrait

THE PORTRAIT OF KING GEORGE TUPOU I, THE 'MAKER OF MODERN TONGA', has become increasingly full and more settled. This is natural given the normal working of the general culture. Historians have played a central role in the whole process, of course. In relation to the subject of this presentation – the current portrait of Tupou I or Tāufa'āhau – I wish to execute some quick and sweeping brushstrokes on that portrait to see if some worthwhile new aspects may result. All this is done by two methods: an adjustment to the Kauhalalalo/Uesiliana picture of Tāufa'āhau, and the exposure of fabricated accounts employed to bolster up a Ha'apai claim regarding the birthplace of Tāufa'āhau.

Kauhalalalo-Uesiliana History

When the earliest missionaries (who provided some of the primary sources for our history) arrived in Tonga at the end of the 18th century and the beginning of the 19th, the society had already developed into one divided into two great moieties, *Kauhala'uta* and *Kauhalalalo*.

These had sociopolitical origins. Tonga became a unified society round about the ninth century A.D. under a suzerain monarch, the Tu'i Tonga. In time this overlord had built up a network of linked families whose heads were chiefs all descended from the Tu'i Tonga who was, himself, the kingpin of this network. In other words, the Tu'i Tonga had formed a Tu'i Tonga clan. This group had become quite extensive in size though its main headquarters always remained in the Hahake (Eastern) districts of Tongatapu. The Tu'i Tonga clan later came to be known as *Kauhala'uta*.

The name *Kauhala'uta* originated in the following way. During the 15th century a series of murders of the Tu'i Tonga led to the establishment of a second dynastic house, the Tu'i Ha'atakalaua. The first incumbent of this new kingly line was a younger brother of the then Tu'i Tonga. This new dynasty set up its first and principal residence in Mu'a, the ancient capital of Tonga and the traditional home of the Tu'i Tonga. It was the positioning of the two royal residences – one ancient and the other 'upstart' – in the village of Mu'a that gave the two moieties their names, *Kauhala'uta* and *Kauhalalalo*.

* Paper given at the First Workshop of the Tongan History Association held Jan. 1987 at the Research School of Pacific and Asian History, Australian National University, Canberra, Australia.

In pre-contact times the village of Mu'a was divided lengthwise into two parts by a public road, Halafonuamoa by name, that ran parallel to the lagoon coastline but in a layout that made the two parts quite unequal in size. The landward side of the road contained the major part of the village and it was there that the Tu'i Tonga's residence and ceremonial grounds were sited. This part of the village was known as Kauhala'uta (*kauhala*, side of the road; *'uta*, landward). The seaward side of the road was a very narrow strip of marshy ground and was initially the site of boatsheds, temporary shelters for fishermen, stray visitors, and support workers in the ancient capital. The new king set up house on this side of Mu'a, reclaiming part of the shallow lagoon to enlarge his residential area, which became known as Kauhalalalo (*lalo*, lower, seaward). The Tu'i Ha'atakalaua immediately became the focus of that part of society which was not included in the Tu'i Tonga network, i.e. not a part of Kauhala'uta. And that was how we came to have the two moieties, Kauhala'uta and Kauhalalalo.

At the beginning of the 17th century yet another kingly house was set up in the Hihifo (Western) district near the land's end. The new line, Tu'i Kanokupolu, had deep connections with Samoan chiefly houses; the mother of the first Tu'i Kanokupolu was a Samoan chiefess. The new royal house was formed on sufferance of both the Tu'i Tonga and Tu'i Ha'atakalaua, and in fact this first incumbent was a son of the reigning Tu'i Ha'atakalaua. The received version of the motive for the creation of both the Tu'i Ha'atakalaua and the Tu'i Kanokupolu was the desire of the older ruling line to transfer the administrative burden from its shoulders on to those of a new institution. Now that the Tu'i Ha'atakalaua was free from the responsibilities of administering the land for the Tu'i Tonga, it gradually became identified with Kauhala'uta, i.e. with the chiefly class which had no hand in administration but simply enjoyed the reverence and homage, and material tributes from all men. If we regard abject allegiance and utter devotion as acknowledgement of power or authority, then we have in the chiefs of Kauhala'uta, and especially the Tu'i Tonga, his *fahu*, and immediate relatives an instance of *free* consumption of the effects of power by persons who do next to nothing to earn or retain it. At any rate, with Tu'i Ha'atakalaua moving into orbit with Tu'i Tonga, the headship and servicing of Kauhalalalo slowly devolved on Tu'i Kanokupolu.

According to the standard history, the early missionaries arrived in the Tongan islands at the height of a power struggle between these three kingly houses. However, the Tu'i Ha'atakalaua had been declining in political standing and had in fact become defunct. The sympathies of Tu'i Ha'atakalaua supporters generally lay with Tu'i Tonga and Kauhala'uta. We really have to count Tu'i Ha'atakalaua out as not a party in the contention for power at this moment. In reality, it was a contest between the Tu'i Tonga

and Kauhalalalo as represented by Tu'i Kanokupolu and his descendants. This statement needs qualification. The Tu'i Kanokupolu factions in Tongatapu, Ha'a Ngata Motu'a, for example, never openly revolted against Tu'i Tonga or clearly challenged his authority. Nor did Ha'a Havea or anyone else. What happened was that such an open challenge finally came from a branch of the Tu'i Kanokupolu that had identified itself so thoroughly with Vava'u and Ha'apai that it would be more realistic, as argued below, to regard it as no longer Kauhalalalo. The first missionaries to have succeeded in converting Tongans to the new faith were Wesleyans who were landed at Hihifo in the early 1820s near Kanokupolu village, the original seat of the Tu'i Kanokupolu and, by then, the heartland of Kauhalalalo. It is natural then that any account of this society by the missionaries of this time would be executed from a Kauhalalalo perspective.

There are bound to be distortions to the historical account in this case. But what history does not suffer from similar defects, those that derive from stressing a partisan viewpoint? But if the records can be put right whenever they are seen as requiring correction, then it must be done, but with the proviso that the records must be regarded as still open to further refinements in the future. In the case of Tonga the data-gathering historian or ethnographer is always confronted by an informant who is 'unconsciously' very biased, being a product of intense cultural and tribal conditioning, as well as a promoter of his/her *ha'a* (tribe, lineage, district), *kāinga* (extended family, clan, village) or *kauhala* (moiety, societal division). The reputation of the informant's *kāinga*, *ha'a*, or *kauhala* must never be tarnished *vis-à-vis* other *kāinga*, *ha'a* or *kauhala*. Their image must never be shown in a bad light. Any unpleasant facts in the ethnohistory of one's *kāinga*, etc., for example a rout in battle or loss of face in some inter-*ha'a* competition, are (have been) either explained away or shrewdly recast to show defeat as victory, or dropped from the account altogether. This performance is automatic and routine and is part and parcel of the ideological side of *ha'a* and *kauhala* politics. Despite, or because of, all this, the records still have to be adjusted.

A Tradition of Rebellion

The history that has resulted from this perspectival one-sidedness is still basically useful though some short-falls may seem quite visible and require underscoring even in a slight summary such as this. The general picture that emerges from the standard accounts is one of a society where an *ancien régime* (Tu'i Tonga, Kauhala'uta) was declining fast and an assortment of chiefly factions (*ha'a*, *kāinga*) were squabbling in a haphazard manner for a share of power. Of the contenders the principal protagonists were the three aforementioned 'royal houses'. The word *Tu'i* means Ruler or Head Chief. The

Tu'i Tonga was, as the title connotes, Ruler of Tonga as a whole, while Tu'i Ha'atakalaua was Head Chief of a Tribe or Lineage (*ha'a*), that of Takalaua, the 23rd Tu'i Tonga, whose murder caused his eldest son (and next Tu'i Tonga), Kau'ulufonua I, to create the Tu'i Ha'atakalaua dynasty as 'working kings' or *hau*, and as a buffer to insulate Tu'i Tonga against future attacks; then the Tu'i Kanokupolu who must have been originally the Head Chief of a mere village. This account too needs adjustments, in the following way: the participation of the Tu'i Tonga party was ideological/political through and through, i.e. not military, and aimed at maintaining their authoritative and prestigious supremacy. The political turmoil, the *sturm und drang* of the period, was due to factional struggles *within the Kauhalalalo domain only*, and in which Kauhala'uta played no significant part at all.

Woven together with this chaotic tangle of battles, intrigues, changing alliances, and principal combatants was a thread of rebellious acts against both Tu'i Tonga and Tu'i Kanokupolu driven by a family of petty chiefs but very fierce and able warriors from Ha'apai and Vava'u. This family derived ultimately from Tu'i Kanokupolu (the third, Mataeleha'amea) but its members had identified themselves absolutely and exclusively with their traditional localities in the northern islands where they developed into a distinct social entity – Ha'a Ngata Tupu – and in time became their ruling chiefs. The Ha'apai arm of this revolutionary group was represented by Tupouto'a (a son of Tu'i Kanokupolu Tuku'aho), who had grown up in 'Uiha and Lifuka, that is, in his mother's district. His complete identification with Ha'apai did not count in his favour with Tu'i Kanokupolu supporters in Tongatapu. He was connected to the Ha'a Ngata Tupu, chiefly warriors of Vava'u, through being of the same mother as Ulukālala II (Fangupo). His son, Tāufa'āhau, was destined to inherit their legacy and bring the project of dominating Tongatapu to its successful completion.

The earliest missionaries in Tonga were from the London Missionary Society and they arrived in the islands in April 1797 when the opposition of this family to the dominion of Tongatapu chiefly lines was coming to a head. The year 1799 should be regarded as the peak of the revolutionary – in fact, secessionist – activities of this group. It may be quite inaccurate then to regard Ulukālala II and Tupouniuia as belonging to Tu'i Kanokupolu clan or Kauhalalalo even though their forebears hailed from that sector of society. Neither in their own eyes nor in those of other Tongans were these warrior chiefs from or of the Tu'i Kanokupolu tribe or camp. The character of Tongan society at this time (and it has been so for centuries), and the nature of *hou'eiki*/warrior political morality, were such that sons, grandsons, and even daughters could, if they believed it possible and advantageous, splinter off and form new chiefly lines of their own. The three half-brothers could no more be identified with the Tu'i Kanokupolu party than this latter be with

Tu'i Ha'atakalaua or that institution with Tu'i Tonga. Nor is it possible to see this alignment identifying itself with Ha'a Ngata Tupu, for the simple reason that Tupouto'a's link to that group was at best extremely tenuous. We can only tentatively refer to it as the Vava'u/Ha'apai alliance, and it was one that would have resulted in a new kingly line or some such designation had it not been for Aleamotu'a, the Tu'i Kanokupolu, offering Tāufa'āhau the Tu'i Kanokupolu title and the latter's 'need' to have a Tongatapu chiefly title to complete his ambitious plans.

In this *annus mirabilis* 1799 the group led by Fīnau and Tupouniuā performed highly treasonable acts whose meaning is clear in their defiance of Tu'i Kanokupolu and Kauhalalao while at the same time taking no notice of the Tu'i Tonga. In April of that year Tupouniuā and Fīnau went to Mu'a for the '*inasi*', the festival of the firstfruits,¹ and murdered the Tu'i Kanokupolu, Tuku'aho. During the next few months they conducted a number of battles with the Ha'a Ngata Motu'a faction of Hihifo, the first being waged on the sandflats on the northern seaboard of the western districts of Tongatapu, beating Hihifo soundly, and were generally victorious in the overall war. These were not mere challenges but clearly efforts aimed at breaking Tu'i Kanokupolu/Ha'a Ngata Motu'a power and also deterring them from meddling in the affairs of Ha'apai and Vava'u, for which they had been notorious and very unpopular for quite some time. Later the same chiefs/warriors stopped the '*inasi*' tributes from going to Tongatapu from Ha'apai and Vava'u. In depriving the Tu'i Tonga of this religious validation of his sanctity and social primacy they were challenging the time-hallowed privileges of the whole of Kauhala'uta.

The upshot of these acts is a group of chiefly warriors who were bent on eroding both Kauhalalalo and Kauhala'uta power and in carving out a territory of their own through secessionist moves. The Ulukālala half-brothers and Ha'a Ngata Tupu had become accustomed to being dominant in Vava'u since the time of Vuna and Tuituiohu, and so inroads of Tu'i Kanokupolu (Tuku'aho) and Tu'i Tonga (when Paunga was made Tu'i Vava'u later) into Vava'u affairs were not relished at all by Ha'a Ngata Tupu and provided a pretext for a showdown. Ha'apai too had been groaning under the Tu'i Tonga yoke that had been imposed very harshly by Ha'a Ngata Motu'a for several centuries. But although there had been wide discontent in both Ha'apai and Vava'u, the fearless and creative genius to translate deep disaffection into practical resistance, opposition and actual assault was generally missing in previous periods. Now, however, the Vava'u/Ha'apai rebellious threesome provide this missing link. The originator of the whole plan was, without a doubt, Fīnau Fangupo (Ulukālala II). Tupouniuā was too noble a man to have

¹ According to Sione Lātūkefu, *Church and State in Tonga* (Canberra 1974).

devised such a programme, and Tupoutoa's sentiments were still too close to the Tu'i Kanokupolu, as his later actions showed. We must see Fangupo as the mastermind who originated the plans as well as the glue that bound the triumvirate together. The fact that he was equally at home in Ha'apai and Vava'u (his mother was from the former and father from the latter) placed him uniquely in the leading position that he rightly assumed. He laid the egg that Tāufa'āhau ultimately hatched, though the latter gave it some content that perhaps his forebears never contemplated as possible even in their wildest dreams, namely the unification of *all* Tonga under the rule of a scion of their family. Tupoutoa, for sure, had his eyes on the Tu'i Kanokupolu title, but Kauhalalalo chiefs would not allow that and Fangupo's influence was too strong. It is possible that his ambition influenced his son, even though the latter's vision was much wider. The initiative for rebellion then is solely due to Ulukālala II. This in time led his nephew, Tāufa'āhau, to create a modern nation and, with the help of missionaries, made it impregnable against foreign annexation. Had it not for the Ulukālala vision, Tonga would have been ripe for colonisation, for Tongatapu could never have come up with anything – the Kauhala'uta would have continued to bask in the afterglow of the sociopolitical sunset of an era, and Kauhalalalo would still have been enmeshed in its own factional rivalries.

It may be safe then to believe that a number of chiefs in Ha'apai and Vava'u together with their retainers had, by now, ceased to consider themselves as belonging to any of the aforementioned moieties but to a third division of Tonga, though as yet still unnamed. When we come to the next generation of the same family as represented by Tāufa'āhau and Moengangongo (Ulukālala III) we might witness a further development of the original programme that was given to it by Tāufa'āhau. It seems quite certain that Tāufa's father and uncles never entertained any thought of establishing themselves in Tongatapu as leading chiefs permanently. This may have played a part in Tupoutoa's failure to secure Ha'a Ngata Motu'a and Ha'a Havea support in his bid to become Tu'i Kanokupolu. He was seen as a Ha'apai petty chief and would always live in Ha'apai, though he tried to create an illusion to the contrary by prolonged stays in the Tu'i Kanokupolu's Hahake seat of Tatakomotonga, adjacent to Lapaha, the home of both the Tu'i Tonga and Tu'i Ha'atakalaua. On the other hand, Tāufa'āhau seemed to have harboured just this possibility before the battle of Velata perhaps hesitantly and with a measure of indecision, but with confidence and resolve during and after Velata. So when Aleamotu'a expressed his desire to name Tāufa his successor, the idea fell on fertile soil indeed.

Tāufa'āhau and Ha'apai

It is certain that Tāufa would not have had a chance in the world to raise supporters and much less an army if he had grown up in Tongatapu. The fact that he was not an '*eiki* – to be one, according to the social protocol of the period, it was necessary to be a Kauhala'uta chief, which Tāufa was not – would have worked more decisively against him in Tonga than in Ha'apai. Also, Kauhalalalo was absolutely crammed with leaders/warriors all scheming and fighting with everything they had to have a place in the sun. It was truly providential that Tāufa grew up in Ha'apai where he could always count on the dedicated and unwavering support of Pangai, Koulo, Fakakakai, Lofanga, 'Otu Mu'omu'a (Nomuka, Mango, Fonoi), 'Uiha, Lulunga (Kotu, Ha'afeva, Fotuha'a) etc., which his father and uncles had already secured as their political turf. He fared the same with Vava'u via the influence and work of his uncles and now his cousin, Ulukālala III. Ha'apai and Vava'u share with Wesleyan missionaries the credit for the 'making' of Tāufa'āhau and with, and through, him the creation of modern Tonga.

To drive this point home we could pose the question, What is there that is important to our subject, the formation of modern Tonga, that is distinctly a contribution of Kauhalalalo or any Tu'i Kanokupolu (or Tu'i Tonga for that matter) before Tāufa'āhau? Specifically, which battle or battles initiated by Kauhalalalo had the intended or unintended effect of promoting the unification of Tonga into a modern sovereign state? All of Tāufa's wars of unification – on the initial pretext of protecting a Christian king against heathen hordes – were fought against none other than Hihifo, i.e. Kauhalalalo groups (Ha'a Ngata Motu'a, Ha'a Havea). It appears we will have to answer our question with a loud None!

The grand result of two generations of Vava'u/Ha'apai chiefs' truculent opposition to Kauhala'uta and Kauhalalalo, that is, to Tongatapu hegemony in the northern islands, was to unify Tonga and transform it into a modern nation. To Tāufa's mind, it must have appeared well-nigh impossible to rule Tongatapu with a Ha'apai or Vava'u title. That would be fuel for higher levels of renewed hostilities. And, of course, there was no question of him taking a Kauhala'uta title. That would be like breaking a supreme *tapu*, one that Tāufa himself would devoutly honour. A Kauhalalalo title, however, was within his reach, once he had teased out the situation with a few successful campaigns. And what better Kauhalalalo title than Tu'i Kanokupolu? The situation of the Tu'i Kanokupolu at this moment was ideal for Tāufa's ambition. The incumbent was weak; he was dependant on Tāufa and his warriors for his safety; and he was well-disposed to him in all ways, being impressed, and awed, by his physical prowess and organisational ability. No other warrior or chiefly leader in Tonga had the combination of these qualities to the same extent. Aleamotu'a just had to bypass other contenders,

nay, in effect, he was forced, on his deathbed, to nominate Tāufa as his successor to the Tu'i Kanokupolu title. In point of fact, however, his being thus named by Aleamotu'a and the concurrence of those who mattered in relation to this issue were really unnecessary. Tāufa could and most certainly would have appropriated the title even if Aleamotu'a had not led the way in that direction, granting that Tāufa now saw himself as sole ruler of Tonga and that the path of least resistance, namely, the Tu'i Kanokupolu, was open for him to take. But now that he had secured that post, much of Kauhalalalo traditional allegiance was also his, and that represented a substantial saving in military and political effort. Christian teaching also played a part in a non-military aspect of his policy that starts to appear at this point.

The conclusion we are forced to then is that Tāufa'āhau inherited a family legacy of revolution and armed struggle against established rulers, that he brought about the successful accomplishment of the project, though in a way never conceived possible (or perhaps, desirable) by its originators. Kanokupolu had taken the palm but had contributed nothing towards the final product except the name, a name which Tāufa'āhau believed he needed so much to facilitate the implementation of his plans.

Tāufa'āhau's Birthplace

There are other minor matters regarding the standard portrait of Tāufa'āhau that need sorting out. Perhaps these new brushstrokes are not of primary importance, but they have a bearing on the questions raised in the foregoing sections, and, moreover, they may help us to better gauge the magnitude of Tāufa's achievement. What has come out now is that *in the eyes of his contemporaries* Tāufa was not an 'eiki. As explained above, to be an 'eiki one has to be a member of a Kauhala'uta household. Tongan culture at this period was such that the ultimate source of authority and power was the Tu'i Tonga and his clan. Other groups may exercise some kind of power at certain periods but people understood that at some point in the groups' past history they were placed in positions of power by a Tu'i Tonga act of will or some connection to his person. And they all had to show something for it, usually in the spheres of the economy and defence, somewhat similar to the vassalage system of feudal Europe. The Tu'i Tonga and his Kauhala maintained a steady political keel for most of our prehistory. It was believed that 'eiki was a quality of a certain blood type whose *fons et origo* was the Tu'i Tonga. This 'eiki quality falls off in proportion to genetic distance from that sacred person. In practice, however, a social factor decided it all, namely whether one is of a Kauhala'uta principal family. Because Tāufa'āhau was not a Kauhala'uta chief, it is most certain he was never regarded as an 'eiki in his own day. The following considerations corroborate this assertion.

There has been a lively dispute between the people of Ha'apai and the people of Pea and Tokomololo villages in Tongatapu over the question of Tāufa'āhau's birthplace. Lātūkefu records Siola'a of Ha'apai as saying that the Tu'i Pelehake, Fatafehi, a grandson of Tāufa'āhau, in dedicating Niu'ui Hospital in 1911, stated that it was appropriate that the hospital be sited at that spot for it was there that Tāufa'āhau's afterbirth was buried.² One wonders why this was not better known in Ha'apai. The people of Pea and Tokomololo villages in Tongatapu, however, claim, that Tāufa was born in the neighbouring area of Kahoua where his mother went to stay, for that land belonged to Lavaka, a close kinsmen of her father, Ma'afu of Vaini. But the debate shows that Tāufa was a person who did not carry much weight in the society of his day. None of the great chiefs and 'eiki had any doubts attached to their place of birth. All were matters of common knowledge because they were marked by the burial places of their afterbirths. This was not done for members of the commoner classes.

Lātūkefu also records, in the same place, other 'evidence' for the Ha'apai claim. It is said, for example, that Tāufa's mother, Houmafaleono, while bearing him in pregnancy had severe morning sickness. She was taken to a tiny islet near 'Uiha Island in the hope the sea breeze would help her. But because the islet had *ngahu* (*scaevola*) growing there, lush and in plenty, exuding its nauseating odour to the bracing air, the lady vomited profusely. That is why, according to this story, the islet has been known to this day as Luangahu (*lua*, to vomit; *ngahu*, *scaevola*). This tale, however, betrays a lack of linguistic discrimination in the people of Ha'apai. The word *lua* has four meanings, one of which is that which these informants find convenient for their argument. The word also means a 'new' tiny islet that presumably grew up out of a submerged reef or shallows in the open sea, which also provides the third meaning of the term. The whole of Tonga is dotted with these tiny islets and underwater reefs and invariably they are called by a binomial which combines *lua* with another word that refers to a distinguishing character of the islet or reef, for example Luanamo, Luahoko, Lua'ui, etc. It would be rather difficult to find someone to vomit on all these places! Lastly the term means the number two (now contracted into *ua*).

The same account refers to one of Tāufa's original names, Ngininginiofolanga, as originating in the following circumstances. Tāufa was born in the island of Ofolanga (*ofo*, to wake up; *langa*, childbirth pains), named so after his mother's labour during his birth. The mother and infant were immediately taken to Lifuka where relatives wanted to make *namoa* for the child. This is an emulsion made from the flesh and milk of a young, green coconut that has been baked in an earth oven, and is the traditional baby

² Ibid., 87 n1.

food of Polynesia. There was no green coconut to be had in the whole area! So they resorted to using a *nginingini* (an old, dry coconut whose flesh has shrivelled up) which they had brought from Ofolanga Island. Alas, this is an invitation for certain death! No emulsion can be made from a *nginingini* for it has lost its beverage and the flesh is too hard and rock-like to be whipped into an emulsion like the tender flesh of a young, green nut. Moreover, the cream of a *nginingini* nut which has a very high concentration of vegetable fat would be fatal if fed to an infant. This story, like the Luangahu one, is an absurd fabrication. And by the way, the name Ofolanga refers to changes in the movements of schools of bonito fish, for Ofolanga and the neighbouring islands of Mo'unga'one and Ha'ano were centres for bonito fishing in ancient times and are some of the few areas where this type of fishing is still practiced in the traditional style.

When Tāufa was recruiting for his campaigns he was repulsed more than once, but was usually saved by his superb intelligence and cunning. The Ha'afeva warrior Tu'uhetoka initially refused to fight with him in his army, and the Ngele'ia warrior Halalova is reported to have said to Tāufa's messengers 'How presumptuous of him, to think that he is my equal!'

The Ha'apai claims then must be rejected as hocus-pocus. It does not follow, however, that the Tongatapu claim can be upheld, for this too rests on hearsay that has many loopholes, and is combined with the same sort of tall tales. The point, however, is, as said above, Tāufa was not a person of any great significance. And it is certain that Tāufa himself was keenly conscious of this fact. When he took Lupepau'u, one of Tu'i Tonga Laufilitonga's principal wives, to be his Christian wife, he was aiming to raise the social status of his children through that union. Lupepau'u was the highest female chief and probably the highest 'eiki in Tonga at this time. She was the daughter of Makamalohi, eldest son of Tu'i Ha'ateihō, but was adopted by the great Tamahā, Tu'imala, daughter of the Tu'i Lakepa, the head chief of Falefisi, the clan that had the *fahu* relationship to the Tu'i Tonga. As such Makamalohi was a *Tamatauhala*, the highest of the high, in the Tongan traditional system of social ranking.

Tāufa was also reluctant to preside at *kava* circles when Kauhala'uta chiefs were around. Even in his amorous exploits he kept well out of the way of the great 'eiki and their areas. He made all his pre-Velata conquests in small backwaters in Vava'u and Ha'apai.

The Velata encounters of the 1820s constituted the watershed that, for Tāufa, divided the old from the new. From then on he began to see Tonga as a unity, not a simple opposition between Tongatapu and Ha'apai and Vava'u. In the middle of the following decade he made bold to take Lupepau'u to wife for the reasons stated above. As the self-image transformed, so too did his general view of things, and although he was still feeling the ropes for a far

different level of power, his acts appear now to have firmness and decision. His tremendous personal abilities, his achievements, his wider appreciation of public affairs that accrued from his association with the new *lotu* and its votaries, all contributed to the acquisition of an irresistible *mana*, a charisma never before witnessed in Kauhalalalo or Ha'apai and Vava'u. In the following decade the Tu'i Kanokupolu, Aleamotu'a, died and Tāufa was instituted as his successor by Ha'a Ngata Motu'a. Ha'a Havea held out in Pea, the village of Takai and Fa'e, but what could they do? Tāufa had vanquished Tu'i Tonga and had now become the head of Ha'a Ngata Motu'a. Ha'apai and Vava'u were loyal to, and united under, him. That Ha'a Havea would succumb before Tāufa'āhau and his *tautahi* ('sea army', i.e. Ha'apai and Vava'u warriors) was a foregone conclusion, as events were to demonstrate at the beginning of the following decade. It was during this period that Tāufa slowly became '*eiki*', falsifying its biological conception. But to impute this character to him before this period is anachronistic.

If I am to express an opinion on this question I would lean more to a Tongatapu (Kahoua) birth, with the child being taken to Ha'apai quite early, perhaps not later than his first birthday. The name Ngininginiofolanga is still fairly common in Vaini village where Tāufa's mother came from, and in Fakakakai in Ha'apai, a village originally established by people from Vaini itself. That Houmafaleono was taken to 'Uiha Island in Ha'apai is most improbable because we have no evidence that Tupouto'a and Houmafaleono ever lived together in Ha'apai or elsewhere. It is possible that Tāufa's mother felt that she was already a heavy burden on Lavaka's hospitality and made plans to have the child sent to his father as soon as possible. Both of them were not welcome at Vaini. She herself had another son Fīnau by Nuku of Kolonga, not long after.

Lastly, I am quite conscious of the crudeness of the hypothesis presented here. I am also dissatisfied with the format in which I have formulated the argument. However I sincerely feel that it is high time to appreciate the contention that a Kauhalalalo/Uesiliana viewpoint exists and that it is far from blameless. I may also be reminded that history is evidence, and that if there is no evidence, then no history. However, the practice of historians has convinced me that the real meaning of the term in their usage is quotations from written material and I find nothing specially scientific in that. I am persuaded that historiography will be better off if it always keeps close to the position of the natural sciences, which is fidelity to *hypotheses that 'explain'*.

Changing Values and Changed Psychology of Tongans During and Since World War II

THERE EXISTS PRECIOUS LITTLE IN THE WAY of studies of change to the psychology of Tongans in and after the war. The lack is to be lamented, because changes to values and mindsets of people are very important, powerfully influencing all spheres of social action; but at least my essay is not going to be a lamination of references to academic publications such as we are wont to have in scholarly performances, especially if the writer happens to be a social scientist.

Incidentally, I believe it quite possible to overact in this direction. If taken to extremes, this 'reference syndrome' can become counterproductive to scholarship. It is quite possible for the investigator to become so dependent on references that he ceases to be anything other than a confounded bookworm. I venture to say that for the good of scholarship and thought in general, there comes a point when every mature scholar must put an end to his or her reading and settle down to some solid, original thinking, digging into his or her own mind and engaging the resources which she or he can truly claim as her or his own.

By way of introducing my subject, may I underscore a few general ideas which will serve as guidelines to my discussion. The first is that all except one of the mental traits I shall mention have always been identifiable in the psychology of Tongans and what occurred during the war and after was further articulation and intensification of some, and transformation of others. Second, I take the drives for security and status to be the primary human emotions. Finally, in pursuing goals deriving from those emotions, men everywhere are 'by nature' both materialistic and egotistical. A case, however, can be made for the claim that Tongans are more materialistic and egotistical than any other people in the entire Pacific.

A consideration for this assertion is the New Zealand experience with Islander communities. For years Wellington has been receiving requests from these communities for funding for a whole variety of projects. All of them except the Tongan community always presented a united front – i.e.

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only one application for any given type of project. The Tongans, however, would split up into different groups and submit four or five requests for the same project, each one of them claiming to be the true representative of the Tongan community. Of course there is no question of Wellington acceding to all these requests nor of it discovering which truly represents the community as a whole, since none of them does. Even within a single church, more than three requests for the same church project may be sent to Wellington at any one time.

This is not a simple case of lack of unity. Individualism is also involved. It is therefore wrong to take standard stereotypes at their face value. Contrary to the common image of non-Western man as communalistic in his sentiments, the members of the topmost strata of Polynesian societies have always been marked by intense individualism and self-interest. The retainers of these individuals (chiefs) behave in such a way that they present a facade of communalism and solidarity. But these retainers themselves internalise their masters' ways so well that whenever they are given the chance they exhibit exactly the same sentiments.

IT IS, OF COURSE, A TRUISM THAT MATERIALISM IN ONE FORM OR ANOTHER IS FOUND IN ALL COMMUNITIES AT ANY STAGE OF THEIR DEVELOPMENT AND THAT THE RESPONSES TO IT ARE AS MANY AND VARIED AS THE SOCIETIES THEMSELVES. MATERIALISM IN ITS MOST BASIC FORM OF 'MAKING ENDS MEET' IS PRESENT IN ALL HUMAN COMMUNITIES WHEREVER THEY ARE FOUND. BUT IT IS THE MATERIALISM THAT COMES WITH AN APPRECIABLE DEGREE OF INDIVIDUALISM AND CAPITALISTIC INCLINATION THAT IS AT ISSUE HERE. BECAUSE THIS VERSION OF MATERIALISM DID NOT ENTER TONGA AND POPULAR CONSCIOUSNESS UNTIL THE YEARS OF WORLD WAR II, I AM CALLING IT NEW MATERIALISM FOR THE PURPOSES OF THIS ESSAY.

IT SEEMS TO ME THAT THE WHOLE ECONOMIC *raison d'être* OF THE EXTENDED FAMILY, THE *kāinga*, IS TO COMBAT OR AT LEAST CONTROL MATERIALISTIC TENDENCIES WITHIN *kāinga*. IT SERVES AS A VERITABLE ECONOMIC LEVELLER BY SERVING AS A DISTRIBUTOR. IT TAKES FROM MEMBERS ACCORDING TO THEIR MEANS AND GIVES TO THEM ACCORDING TO THEIR NEEDS. IT ACTS BY ARRESTING AND DISCOURAGING PROFITEERING, INDIVIDUALISM AND ANY CAPITALISTIC AMBITION, CHOPPING OFF INORDINATELY LARGE INDIVIDUAL PROFITS AND SYPHONING THEM BACK FOR *kāinga* CONSUMPTION. SO THE *kāinga*, IN EFFECT, IS AN INSTITUTIONALISED ROBIN HOOD, TAKING FROM THE HAVES AND GIVING TO THE HAVE-NOTS. ALL THIS, OF COURSE, IS DIRECTLY OPPOSED TO PRINCIPLES OF DEVELOPMENTAL ECONOMICS, FOR IF A SOCIETY DESIRES DEVELOPMENT ITS MEMBERS MUST HAVE SOME DEGREE OF MATERIALISM IN THE SENSE EXPLAINED, THEY MUST SHOW ACQUISITIVENESS AND INDIVIDUALISM.

IT WAS THE WAR, HOWEVER, THAT CHANGED THE WHOLE CHARACTER OF TONGAN MATERIALISM FROM ITS TRADITIONAL FORM AND SET IT ON THE PATH OF RAMPANT

individualism and capitalistic interests. Although Tonga was no military staging post, and certainly no theatre of war at all, both the United States and New Zealand deployed troops in Tonga between 1941 and 1945. The U.S. military set up fair-sized camps in different parts of the main island of Tongatapu with the largest ones being in Fu'amotu (where Tonga's international airport is now sited) and Houma. There were smaller posts in other parts of the same island and also in the adjacent island of 'Eua. A small naval base was established in Ma'ufanga in 1942 and although it no longer is a base (this was pulled down in 1945) it has continued to be a port for small inter-island freight and passenger boats but retaining the name Fa Ua, which is Tongan for 'forty two', the year the base was built.

This 'occupation' was accompanied by an incredibly enormous outlay of goods and services – machines, ammunition, equipment of all kinds, vehicles, army barracks, offices, hospitals, apparatus of all descriptions, foodstuff, uniforms and clothing, and all types of supplies under the sun, etc. I need not describe this because the mass of supplies that move when modern armies become mobile is common knowledge, especially if the troops concerned are of the U.S. military. A number of U.S. camps did not have proper fences but were marked out by walls of stacked, bagged and boxed foodstuffs and other goods. The New Zealand forces seemed to be much less amply supplied. The local people passed a general judgement accordingly on the economic capacities of the two armies, and indirectly on their respective countries too. This judgement was expressed in different ways and was given fixed form by songwriters. One of the songs of this period has these two lines:

'Amelika moe tola

America with dollars

Nuasila moe peni kapa

New Zealand with copper pennies

That ranking was not a neutral observation at all but was a behavioural directive. American troops were sought out by Tongans to curry favour with for different purposes – to transact business, for gift exchanges, for friendship, for sources of information, for love relationships, and more. But the bottom line of all this courting of Americans was the acquisition of material wealth, money and/or goods. It was only when one failed to secure an American soldier for a friend that one would settle for a New Zealander.

Many stories of life in Tonga at this time are now standard fare in *faikava* all over Tonga. For the first time in their history Tongans realised that business and commerce are alternative industries to subsistence farming and that it is possible to build a way of life on them. Nearly if not all households in Tongatapu conducted some kind of small business with whole camps or individual officers and groups of soldiers by sale of

agricultural produce, marine foodstuffs, or handicrafts, or by provision of some service such as laundry.

Many Tongan civilians had permanent or semi-permanent paid employment in the two armies. Every day men or their wives would go to an army camp, or some other place, travelling in horse-drawn carts laden with all kinds of wares and hawk them wherever they saw fit, returning home in the evening where together with their spouses they would count up the day's proceeds. In one such case the wife conducted the business for the day selling vegetables and fruit from her husband's garden. As they were working out the day's earnings, the lady slapped down on the husband's lap a bundle of American greenbacks, saying 'That's yours' — meaning the money from the sale of the garden produce. But the wife still held in her hand another bundle. And the husband enquired 'What's that?' pointing to the notes in her hand. 'Oh! that's mine', snapped the wife, by which she meant payment for what she had sold of her own. And this brings us to another introduction of the war years — prostitution, an effect to be sure of the rising materialism.

THE DIRECT commodification of sexual favours seems to have been totally unknown in Tonga prior to the arrival of American and New Zealand troops in the early 1940s. It quickly built up during the war years and in no time both declared and undeclared prostitutes became quite numerous. After the war many got married straight away and settled down to a family life, but many others continued as prostitutes and made it their career, recruiting younger girls to the profession and so on. Now, though Tongans do not fully condone prostitution, they are resigned to the fact that they have to live with it. Two or three families have consistently produced prostitutes for three or four generations in a row.

In 1991 one of these threesomes was out in a stolen car and because they were all drunk, including the driving daughter, the car crashed into a roadside coconut tree killing two of them instantly — the daughter and granddaughter. Only the grandmother still lives. One month before the accident the granddaughter had given birth to a baby girl. This baby was adopted by a Belgian couple who taught Fine Arts at 'Atenisi. I was in Europe in 1992 and I visited this couple's home in Genk in Belgium and was thrilled to see that this baby is growing up in an environment of security and loving care.

Quite a number of war babies were born at this military period. After the war when they had grown up they naturally wanted to trace and contact their fathers. Hardly anyone succeeded in doing this. I did participate in a couple or so of these searches — all in vain of course, due

mainly to lack of identifying material or documents. In many cases they have been lost or destroyed by an irate, jealous stepfather. In one of these cases, the only clue we had to go by was a small 3" x 3" photograph which has been extremely dimmed by age. In another, the one clue which the mother gave us was that the soldier came from Idaho. There was no hope of conducting effective detective work on that basis. At any rate many of these war babies have grown up to become responsible and even prominent citizens of Tonga. Some are quite high up in the Civil Service, and one — a 'client' of mine — had a distinguished career in football.

Some of the mothers of these war children became so very attached to their foreign *innamorati* that they tried to go with them when the soldiers returned home at the end of the war. Some of these attempted escapades were quite ridiculous and all were discovered in time and the plans foiled. Here again we have songs to commemorate the events.

New materialism, then, with its promise of high consumption and physicality has caused a rupture in the area of traditional moral values. It is true, *de facto* relationship was the norm for commoner class union in the pre-contact period and illicit affairs were always practiced, even up to the present, but prostitution as a career, a strategy for gaining a livelihood, is certainly a World War II introduction. This points to a change in psychology and changed perspective, with people in general becoming more accommodating and more tolerant than they were before the war. The psychological kit-set that the missionaries helped to precipitate or rigidify required the earth shaking experience of a global war to crack up. Perhaps the following story graphically illustrates the extent of the 'damage' wrought on the traditional code of behaviour by the almighty dollar better than any other account. A not too young woman was raped by an American soldier and she was beside herself with grief, but when the man threw down beside her a large bundle of dollars she stopped crying and said: 'Soldier, if in the future you want a repeat performance, you know where I live'.

ANOTHER EFFECT of the war that is of great significance is migration. It is well known that Polynesian society had its own origins in migration but the great Polynesian migrations of pre-contact times were brought about by demographic factors, travails of war or suffering under oppressive rule, etc. What distinguishes migration in Tonga, both internal and external, during and since World War II is the fact that people were enticed to travel and leave their home islands by what they believed to be easy access to resources, and substantial *pālangi* resources at that — money, food, clothing, equipment, vehicles, and the rest. The image of wartime

American-occupied Tongatapu that stuck in the minds of Tongans in every part of the archipelago was of inexhaustible wealth and luxury and, attracted from all over the Island group, they proceeded to cluster round army camps in 'honey pot settlements' — to use Shirley Hughes's apposite term. After the war Tongans discovered the global economy and concluded also that it was easier to plug into this, as they believed it to be, huge current of resources, if one was in New Zealand, Australia, or the United States — that is, in one of the developed countries. And then these 'flying fishes' of Tongan migrants began jumping clear off their homeland altogether to settle in those societies.

Yet Tongan migrants in general have tended to become even more conservative in their new homes, at the cost of little understanding of how to take advantage of their new environment. At the same time, they somehow feel Tonga cannot be 'home' any more, at any rate, for their children and grandchildren, even though Tonga has not at all stood still in the interim.

ONE AREA in which local movement was inspired immediately by the opening up of the Tongan world was education. Two years after the war, in 1947, was founded the Matriculation School, known now as the Tonga High School, brainchild of the then Minister of Education and current King Tāufa'āhau Tupou IV. As the then Prince Tungī explained at the opening ceremony, the aims of the school were:

- * to identify the most intellectually gifted children of Tonga under 12,
- * to give these children special training,
- * to provide a pool of trained man-power from which future leaders and decision-makers for the country would be drawn,
- * to afford her students an education identical in level to one available at a New Zealand public school.

Among other details of the scheme, all subjects except the Tongan language and Physical Education classes were to be taught by a trained New Zealand *pakeha*; use of the local language was to be forbidden during normal school hours; and the syllabus was to be that used in New Zealand high schools, with the addition of a prescription for Tongan language.

This project had a significance that was entirely unprecedented. Theretofore all schools in Tonga were still operating in the missionary mode, training students on a re-hash of bits and pieces called a syllabus, with the express aims of providing man-power for the clergy or clerical work in government bureaus. Elementary book-keeping, shorthand,

agricultural science, scriptural studies, Tongan handcrafts and brass-band music predominated in this apology for a 'syllabus'.

This system was always justified by the argument that it tallied nicely with the 'needs of the people' at that particular moment of time and the 'state of technology' – an argument showing, in reality, no understanding at all of the people's needs and the way technology changes. And I, for my part, fault the pre-1947 system primarily because it showed no interest whatsoever in education in its distinctive meaning. Of course Prince Tungi's system too was geared to catering for provision of man-power for Government's projects – but it differed from the then current system in very important respects:

- * it aimed at teaching subjects at internationally accredited levels;
- * it did away with subjects like scripture study, Tongan handcrafts, basic gardening and brass-band music (I am now told that some of these subjects have since crept back into this school's programme of studies);
- * it was training students at much higher levels than was required by Government or society at this time;
- * its insistence on English as the medium of instruction was followed by other schools and underscored the fact that English is the logical 'foreign' language for Tonga and her modernisation programme.

What is involved here is Prince Tungi's own perception of things when he returned to Tonga in the early 40s after gaining the first university degrees ever conferred on a Tongan – BA, LLB from Sydney University. He saw that Tonga needed modernisation, and that this required trained people. Part of the strategy he devised to this end was the founding of this special school. And the rude jolt dealt by World War II on the Tongan people's psychological faculties had unconsciously prepared them to receive Tungi's wonderful innovations. *Every* family in Tonga started priming its children for Tonga High School. At present, when primary school children all over Tonga sit the secondary school entrance examination at the end of each year in which they are required to indicate their preferences for high school education, almost every child puts Tonga High School in top place.

Although education was always seen as providing a means for social mobility, Tonga High School offers the prospect of a much faster rise in bureaucratic hierarchies even to the highest ranks in Government. And, of course, this carries powerful social implications for status and authority. These are now the driving forces behind the thinking of Tongans in matters educational. The school's example has caught on with other systems, though in some respects it has also been influenced by the missionary tradition to some extent. To mention one which I take to be

retrogressive — it now has a brass-band and the bandmaster is the retired bandmaster of Tupou College, the stronghold of missionary education *par excellence*. I believe we should have moved on from brass-band music ages ago to higher forms of European music, especially music played on string instruments like the violin and piano, and also to singing European music with trained voices.

APART FROM the small, semi-mobile one-household businesses operating around the army camps during that period there were in those war years only two Tongans who had an inkling of what professional business is and who were really serious in pursuing it as a way of life. These were William Finau, *alias* Vili Solo, and Hale Vete. They both worked on a variety of business lines — from general merchandise to cinema, to taxi service, to wholesaling, to legal representation, to general agency, to marketing, and even translation work. Vili Solo was the shrewder and more intellectually agile of the two. As a student in Sydney, I had the opportunity of meeting a lawyer, Mr Jonathan Dixon, whose law firm looked after Finau's interests in Sydney, Hamburg and London. I suppose Vete was similarly successful but he was a more secretive operator and always kept a low profile.

It goes to show how completely these men had internalised the commercialist spirit of Western business that Finau at the beginning of his career wrote to his brother Kisina and sisters 'Amelia and Tupou in Ha'apai telling them never to contact him in the next 20 years while he was building up his business. After 20 years they could communicate with each other and interact as siblings once again. He pointed out to his relatives in this letter that family and kin obligations were fatal to fledgling business, that if a Tongan wanted to go into business seriously he must shun these obligations and cut off all communication with kinsmen and refuse to participate in cultural activities where he would have been obliged to contribute as a member of the extended family or community. Though this famous communication was never publicly displayed, its contents were freely related by the addressees and close relatives who claimed to have sighted it. And their story seemed to have been corroborated by the fact that Vili Solo and his relatives never saw each other for many, many years, even during life-calamity events. It was only towards the end of his life that Finau's relatives began to close in on him. He had no legitimate children and on his death his estate was divided up between his closest relatives and children. I know Hale Vete followed a similar pattern in his life, though in his case he employed many of his relatives in his firm and was able to co-operate with them on that strictly

business basis. And he did not write letters to his brothers and sisters cutting off communication.

After the war, businessmen began cropping up in large numbers, especially in Tongatapu. Many soon closed down but some hung on for longer. Not all were full Tongans. Some were half-Europeans but were born and grew up in Tonga, and quite a few were foreigners. Some Indians had entered Tonga in the 1930s and set up businesses. All these were spurred on and reinforced by Prince Tungi's supportive attitude to business and his economic policy for Tonga's development programme. In the late 1950s the Commodities Board was set up to organise copra production and marketing and so forth. A shipping agency with a merchant fleet was set up about the same time. Then the banks - Bank of Tonga, Tonga Development Bank - followed in quick succession. Now we have the ANZ Bank, MBF Bank and of course a National Reserve Bank.

In the private sector, apart from Vete, the following companies have been in the field for some 20 or 30 years now: Lipoi Tupou, 'Uiti Uata, T.M. Fisita, Papiloa Folaki, Sitani Masi, T. Nakao, in the Tongatapu area and F. Paea in Vava'u. There are of course many, many more Tongan businesses operating today but they are all of recent vintage. Mention must also be made of other firms set up by groups of people on a limited liability basis to handle the production and export of vanilla, squash pumpkin, fish and other marine products. A phenomenon that was common in Japan in the 1870s and 1880s, of feudal lords turning into businessmen, seems to be emerging in Tonga now. Members of the Royal Family such as Crown Prince Tupouto'a and Princess Pilolevu are cases in point. This great socio-economic ferment has also given Tonga a middle class which is fully conscious and confident and is destined to play an important part in Tonga's emerging capitalism. A high proportion of this middle class is *imported*, even so, and foreign investment open door policy has even attracted some transnational corporate heavyweights like Fletcher Challenge. Another important part of the Tongan middle class is a salaried group from the Civil Service and Parliament; at least 25 per cent of the House are businessmen.

ALL THIS, for me, represents a major modification of the psychology of Tongan people, their values and whole outlook on life. The Dutch anthropologist Paul van der Grijp is of the opinion that 'mode of production' and 'mode of thinking' go together. Writing on Tonga today, he says:

The contemporary socioeconomic situation in this society, characterised by the convergence of an original mode of production with a capitalist one, is

incomprehensible and inexplicable unless explicit attention is paid to the way in which modes of production and modes of thinking are combined.²

Now, although the Marxist analysis employed here has general merit, I do not see it as fully articulating the mechanics of the relationship between 'mode of production' and 'mode of thinking'. For changes to mode of production do not take place in cold blood, as it were, but under the influence of major social or political events or epoch-making changes to public policy. What started it all for Tonga was the war. But I would argue that it would have been quite possible for the commercialist ethos and the whole developmental impulse of World War II to have been lost if Prince Tungī had not been on the spot during and straight after the war, reinforcing that impulse by his revolutionary economic policies. I therefore hold World War II and Prince Tungī as providing the necessary triggering force that set Tonga on the path of modernisation and capitalist development. Specifically, Prince Tungī is the one person who saw most clearly and consciously planned Tonga's economic present. He is like an artist who proceeded to show us in a work of art what he himself first saw.

Incidentally, the Marxist account of the relationship between base and superstructure has to be spelled out more exactly, in the following way: it is only at the *interface* between major events or sociopolitical changes that the application of the Marxist thesis can be substantiated. Once the process is set in motion, the determining sides alternate all the time and in many cases the superstructure is the 'independent' variable. Global upheaval released large amounts of capital and resources and this introduced new modes of production to different parts of the world and that in its turn led to modified mental horizons, and so forth. And this is where I make the connection to another important determinant of the new economic perspective of Tongans: the present call for changes in the form of government, the setting up of the pro-democracy movement which is, without a doubt, the most important political issue of Tonga at present and promises to remain so for some time yet.

IT WOULD OF COURSE BE ABSURD TO BELIEVE THAT WE CAN PROMOTE CAPITALISM AND ECONOMIC GROWTH BUT WITHHOLD POLITICAL DEVELOPMENT INDEFINITELY. HISTORICAL EXPERIENCE SHOWS THEY CANNOT BE SEPARATED FOR TOO LONG. IN THE CIRCUMSTANCES – SINCE THE NEW MARKET ORIENTATION OF THE ECONOMY BROUGHT TO THE FORE THE PROBLEM OF DISTRIBUTION AND THE ATTENDANT ETHICAL ISSUES – IT WAS INEVITABLE THAT PEOPLE WOULD START EXAMINING THE IDEOLOGICAL

² Paul van der Grijp, *Islands of the South* (Leiden 1993), 225.

underpinnings of the culture and the government. An appreciable section of the population, therefore, has reached the conclusion that changes aimed at greater social justice and equality must be made.

Hence the popular clamour for more democracy in Tonga. This may also indicate that respect for authority, whether in the form of seniors in workplaces, traditional chiefs, or church ministers, has decreased quite appreciably. Sione Lātūkefū³ once said that the Tongan character has two sides, public and private, and that it is the public part that shows *faka'apa'apa* to leaders in society, especially chiefs and *faisekau*, which is activated at national festivals and cultural occasions: but the private personality becomes active when the individual is given a chance to be just him or herself, at general elections, or while confiding secrets to intimate friends, or when given an opportunity to migrate. It is also reasonable to regard respect for traditional authority as a strategy exploited by the weak in order to achieve some advantage – access to resources, appreciation in status, promotion in rank, and so forth. But because modern life and society offer so many alternative strategies, and in many cases much more efficient ones, the respect approach seems certain to be depressed in value.

In 1989 the American historian Francis Fukuyama published an essay entitled 'The End of History' (later expanded in his book of the same title in 1992) in which he argued that the best form of government is liberal democracy and the best form of political economy is market capitalism. He believes, moreover, that it is impossible for mankind to come up with any economic or political system which is better than these two. He says, further, that the part of the world – the West – which is already well and truly entrenched in capitalism and liberal democracy is *post-historical* while those countries, mainly in the Third World, which have not adopted these policies are still 'stuck in history'. According to Fukuyama, those countries will soon be constrained to fall into line by the more powerful and more enlightened Western countries.

I do not subscribe to Fukuyama's thesis as it stands, but I consider it could be adapted to become viable and practicable policies for *all* states. I would especially object to his view of market capitalism, since that system in its present form has extremely vicious aspects and has to be radically modified if we are to keep on using it. But his position on liberal democracy would be fairly difficult to refute if what is meant is a core idea which has been increasingly isolated over the centuries in the work of political and legal philosophers, an idea which is also related to basic

³ 'Tonga at Independence and Now', in Brij Lal and Hank Nelson (eds), *Lines Across the Sea: colonial inheritance in the post-colonial Pacific* (Brisbane 1995).

liberties. The core idea can be thus expressed: it is a *political* as well as a *moral* right of the governed to have a hand in selecting their governors. The civil liberty concerned is the freedom of choice. If this adaptation is made, I believe the first step to meeting the justice requirement of modern life and society will have been taken.

With regard to Tonga and Tongans, naturally, it is always good policy to remember old Heraclitus's advice: Expect the Unexpected. But as to the recent past we can speak of a new Tongan psychology which did not begin to issue forth until the end of World War II and is resulting at present in higher materialistic tendencies and strong individualism. The changed psychology comes in the wake of very significant events occurring in the economy — the accelerating change from subsistence to cash farming, the strengthening of the private sector — and a crisis in traditional morals. The trend is clearly in the direction of capitalism and a secular society. We can call this new mentality the *capitalist psychology*. Putting it that way, however, shows that the whole process of transformation is essentially a *Westernisation* of both the economy and the psychology of peoples which can now be taken as the quintessential thrust of recent world wars on all Third World communities.

Tonga in the 1990s

IT IS VERY TRUE NEW ZEALANDERS AND TONGANS should know each other well, not only because of their geographical closeness to each other but because our major interests overlap at so many points. This has always been the case whether one is talking about our prehistory or about the present. Although Tonga could have been an early site for the development of Polynesian culture, Tongan culture itself did not receive its classical form until influences emanating from that same great westward movement of East Polynesians which culminated in the settlement of the Cooks and New Zealand reached us. And in modern times, New Zealand and New Zealanders have played a decisive role in our defence and development, but most notably in the economic and educational fields. New Zealand has always been the sole buyer of our second most important cash crop, bananas, and other vegetables and fruit. Recently the most powerful factor in our economy has been the New Zealand-initiated Working Holiday Scheme.

It has been agreed upon that I outline what I see to be the main characteristics of my society in the 1990s. I do not want to sound as if I have joined Alvin Toffler and Co. in this new-fangled science of futurology. I am a simple student of my culture who has been fortunate enough to observe first-hand its growth for a number of years, and I believe prophecyng and tampering with the future is a tricky business indeed. More often than not it is playing with illusions whereas in the study of history we are dealing with past yet actual situations, and, moreover, one comes across concrete models all the time, and in the process develops a sense of the great difficulty of keeping standards high and, also, that culture is, in general, declining.

Yet it is a fact that the deeper one tries to see into the past the more seemingly substantial the structure of a future appears and the more tantalising it becomes to produce statements about that future. There is a comforting thought, first emphasised in the study of politics by Machiavelli: that human nature (and therefore human problems), by and large, remains the same even though less significant details do change from time to time.

I propose to enumerate some of the facts which I take to be germane to an appraisal of the situation and then set down some of the general propositions I see as following from those facts and simply leave it at that. I shall do this

* Address delivered to New Zealand Institute of Foreign Affairs and Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Wellington, May 1985.

by looking at four important aspects of our society — the economy, the population situation, education, and the overall sociopolitical scene.

The Economy

Agriculture

Although the size of the Tongan economy is, by world standards, really tiny it is at present facing grave difficulties. The root of this trouble I take to lie in the combination of two factors — the change from subsistence to a cash economy and the lack of adequate exploitable resources. The Tongan economy was, of course, traditionally agricultural and subsistence. Even 35 years ago the ratio of commercial to subsistence agriculture was still low, about five to 95 per cent. The proportion of cash farming now, however, would be about 30 per cent, so one of the most significant features of the economy now is the *expanding cash sector* and a correspondingly *shrinking subsistence sector*. This sudden expansion of the cash sector has taken in not only the traditional South Seas cash crops such as copra and bananas but has also absorbed crops of great social and ceremonial value such as the yam and *kava* (*piper methysticum*). The yam is the vegetable of the highest social meaning in Tonga and *kava* from which our national drink is made has been the symbol of our culture. These two crops are currently top money-fatchers (not counting the vanilla bean which is a newcomer and is somewhat restricted to the northerly Vava'u group where it thrives best) in a Tongan market not only within Tonga but everywhere with a Tongan community.¹

Cash farming has brought with it the use of more sophisticated equipment, but only a low percentage of our farmers have the financial capacity to acquire this and maintain it. Chemicals and pesticides have been used rather freely but whether excessive use will have deleterious effects we cannot at present say. Of late a campaign for alternative technology has been more or less active in the upper echelons of the Civil Service. But there is a fundamental flaw to this strategy — alternative technology cannot assist the economy to attain the high growth targets set by the government. Either these have to be substantially lowered or mechanised farming and high-level technology promoted.

Transfers from Tongans Abroad

Because of external migration, nearly 40 per cent of our farm labour force is abroad, and this causes very visible depressions in agricultural earnings. Yet migration more than makes up for this loss. For a number of years now remittances from Tongans living abroad (RTA for short) have been the biggest single entry in our National Income account. In the 1983/84 financial year,

¹ This is in contradiction to a U.S. Embassy report which claims coconut oil is the main export.

for instance, RTA amounted to over 16 million *pa'anga*.² The agricultural exports, for the same period, accounted for only five and a half million *pa'anga*, a mere third of RTA. We must not, however, forget that RTA is not a source you can rely on forever. Even now countries which have traditionally hosted Tongans are beginning to close their doors. Further, the Tongans who remit money to the mother country are ones who were born and grew up in Tonga, but many of them are not going to be here in the 1990s, and their children who were reared in a different environment are not going to have the same sentiments, the same attachment to the home folks as their parents had. Finally, about 80 per cent of domestic consumption and household sector expenditures are covered ultimately by remittances from abroad.

There are, then, basically, two lifelines for Tonga — RTA and foreign aid. All major development projects and about 70 per cent of total projects in Tonga are aid-funded. A royal tour and a government mission have recently taken our King and Queen and two Ministers of the Crown to Europe to arrange for the purchase of two aircraft and one boat. The aircraft will be the first planes of the newly formed government-owned Tonga Airline. But for this deal we will need about 11 million US dollars which have to be raised through loans or aid. On either count, Tonga is going to proceed precariously — through RTA which will dry up sooner or later, and through foreign aid which puts fetters on our freedom to formulate policy. I need not add that the paradox of aid applies in Tonga also, namely that foreign aid can only be fully successful when a country has become completely modernised, i.e. when the 'ills' of traditional cultures impeding the smooth implementation of foreign aid have all been removed.

Foreign Investment

Of late Tonga has been attempting to attract foreign investors. Some have actually come lured by the famous cheap labour of Tonga and the stable political system. As it is applied in Tonga, foreign investment as a strategy to assist economic development suffers from two weaknesses. First, the investments have been very small-scale and are, like alternative technology, unable to generate the economic momentum (multiplier effect or not) required by our disproportionately large targeted growth rates. Second, contrary to current opinion, foreign investment has not contributed significantly to our foreign exchange. This is partly due to administrative policy regarding investment being still undeveloped. For example, undistributed profits are the result of Tongan labour and therefore should be looked upon as a contribution to foreign exchange, but are unknown to all except the companies themselves and there are no policy measures for their release.

² A 1988 *pa'anga* equals approximately one Australian dollar or three-fourths of a US dollar.

The working capital of foreign concerns is usually raised through our local Tonga Development Bank and equipment is quite elementary, so that the original capital transfers are never substantial; and at any rate they do not represent a value in the world market. Capital formation therefore may be insignificant when compared with the benefits reaped by the overseas company. Also, indications are that foreign investors might encroach in areas where the Tongan low-level technical know-how is best suited — agriculture and agriculture-derived industries.

The situation is such that Tonga might miss the usual benefits of investment but take a full share of its ills. The only trading bank in the country, the partly overseas-owned Bank of Tonga, has become an important determinant of production and marketing policies. But because its top management and operational principles are set by a head office in New South Wales we cannot be sure that its policy will always be informed by national interests.

Legislation regarding investment is also undeveloped. Tonga does not have an equivalent of New Zealand's 1964 or 1968 legislation on land acquisition by foreign companies. (Incidentally, an overseas company by our standards is one of which 50 per cent or more of shareholding value is owned by foreigners, about twice that required for a company in New Zealand to be categorised as overseas.)

In a word, given the circumstances, foreign investment is not indispensable for Tonga. In fact there are other means of dealing with the problems foreign investment is usually intended to solve. The most threatening aspect of foreign investment, however, is its tendency to shunt off local people from participating in a real and meaningful way in development because Tonga has not yet come up with the trained manpower for this purpose. And this is related to wrong prioritisation of needs, where human resources development is at the bottom of the heap.

Oil

To solve our economic difficulties, the Tonga Government had entertained hopes of finding oil in Tonga. Surface oil seepages were spotted in different parts of the southern group of the Kingdom in the 1960s and surveys were soon conducted by Webb-Tonga Petroleum Co., a firm newly established for the purpose of looking for oil in Tonga. It started drilling in the mid-70s and in 1978 this firm drilled its fifth and last hole. All were dry. Other surveys have since been conducted, the last one being concluded early last year [1984]. No firm indication of the presence of hydrocarbons in Tonga has been forthcoming.

There could be three major drawbacks for Tonga so far as the existence of petroleum is concerned. Firstly, the archipelago is geologically too active. We witness the sudden appearance of some small pumice-ash island every 10

years or so. The whole place is dotted with the sites of these little jack-in-the-boxes. This vulcanism must have been quite excessive in the past to cause any hydrocarbons in Tonga to escape into the air long ago. The second geological flaw of Tonga is the Tonga Trench which is at least five to six miles deep within our sea territory and stretches as far as the Kermadecs in one direction and Samoa in the other. The Tonga Trench could have acted as an outlet for petroleum deposits, at least in the southern group of the Kingdom. And lastly, recent reports, especially the one on last year's survey, have spelled out in no uncertain terms that source rocks have not been identified in Tonga. According to the reports, most of the rocks of Tonga are Pleistocene and none are much older than Miocene. Our islands then are geologically quite young and have not had time to develop the source rocks required for hydrocarbon generation.

The Tonga Government is now recruiting firms for further oil prospecting and aims at off-shore drilling.

Marine and Sea-Bed Resources

There seem to be ample resources for Tonga in the sea. Geologists have confirmed that sea-bed resources — nickel, manganese nodules, etc. — are quite considerable both in quantity and quality. They occur mostly in the deeper parts of our sea territory. There is enough, they imply, for all the development we may fancy. But as to harvesting these riches, there are constraints and serious ones they are. We do not have and cannot hope to have soon the technology nor the trained manpower for such operations. Yet it is quite possible to shift our interest from oil and direct the attention of the interested firms to these resources instead. They can have access to the equipment for their exploitation and one can be very sure they are not at all oblivious of the existence of these resources.

As for the other resources — fish, shell-fish, etc. — of the sea, these are quite within our reach. But there has never been any attempt to find outside markets for this part of our marine resources. This is strange because our fish are abundant and of a high quality and the supply can be made to be as reliable as required. We send our surplus fish to canning factories in Fiji and Samoa instead! This seems to be a much less problematic and a promising area for the development of our economy. The resources are certain and plentiful — our sea territory is approximately 100,000 square miles — and assuming that markets can be developed and given good planning and effective administration there are no good reasons for this not to be a successful stay of the economy.

There are other problems, of course, but they relate more to the structure than the content of the economy, and yet are just as important as the quality and level of the economy's performance. One of those has been the clogging centralisation of important services and activities. Decentralisation according

to natural endowment and as a strategy to offset urbanisation is needed in Tonga. Just as anywhere else, though centralisation in the sense of informational presence and wise planning should always be maintained.

Another tendency that can be corrected is government or semi-government bodies acting as middlemen in more areas than is really good for the country. By discouraging competition in this way, middlemanship is, in effect, restricting production and barring the private sector from functions which it would carry out much better.

All in all, we can say that the Tongan economy is facing a bleak future. We cannot continue to put our faith on remittances and transfers from Tongans abroad. We cannot simply refuse to recognise that there can be strings attached to foreign aid. And Tonga has not always been wise in her development policies and priorities. Instead of operating in domains of proven possibilities – e.g. marine and seabed resources – Tonga has gone off and spent too long on quite doubtful areas – e.g. oil, whose existence in Tonga all survey reports so far have consistently failed to confirm. Time is so vital and the opportunity cost has been tremendous.

A development which is still insignificant but which, given the economic constraints and government policy, has the potential of pointing a direction for future development, is in the sphere of re-exporting. The best-developed industry here is soap manufacturing. Soap is imported initially, crushed and the resultant powder recombined chemically with local vegetable aromatics in a second saponification process, and re-exported. This form of elementary Singaporisation can develop into a major feature of the economy and can also grow into an emphasis on services-catering industries, though its level and scope would be limited by lack of full control of raw materials and a low-level of technical know-how.³

Population and Migration

One of the worrying things about Tonga's population is that for a long time now, natural increase has always been very positive. Recently the time span for doubling has been 15 years. It could be appreciably shorter now. According to a recent census there are nearly 100,000 people living in Tonga at the present time. Tongans who live abroad total about half that figure. Average density within Tonga is quite high (in fact higher than many South Pacific countries and Sri Lanka), about 400 per square mile.

The facts of population dynamics are those of internal and external migration, and internal migration is primarily urbanisation. Because of the aforementioned centralisation of important services – e.g. higher education, employment opportunities – the district capitals have become powerful

³ A reference to some of Singapore's economic techniques.

magnets that cause whole families and people to move *en masse* and settle in urban areas. The attendant ills of urbanisation — over-exploiting of resources, juvenile crime, increased social problems, litigation, etc. — are becoming common, in addition to inefficient utilisation of resources in the places which people have moved from. Urbanisation then causes certain resources to be totally absent.

Although previously urbanisation was seen as the end point of an internal process, the full picture of population movement now shows its true nature to be the starting point of a different and external process that takes people to Auckland or Wellington, to Sydney or Melbourne, to Honolulu, San Francisco or Salt Lake City. Of course there have been people who have short-circuited this process and jumped direct from their home village to a metropolitan destination. But by far the majority of our migrants have been 'urbanised' in Tonga before sojourning abroad.

People of the South Sea Islands including Tongans migrate to or overstay in New Zealand, Australia or the United States because they really want the material comforts and high consumption of these societies. So it is not true that South Sea islanders are not drawn to material possessions nor is it useful to say that they should not desire these things. Many of these migrants, however, give a different reason for migrating, one that is not, to their minds, as outwardly scandalous.

Apart from its economic benefits migration has a very real educative effect on Tongans. If, for some reason or other, some return to the Kingdom, they show themselves, almost without exception, to have become politically aware, sensitive to social issues, and economically progressive. Tongans are quite adaptive and so the innovations are quickly absorbed into the local culture which is thereby enriched.

What is not usually realised, however, is that Tongans who live abroad now constitute a *powerful political force*. Because of their economic thrust and inevitably higher social status, Tongans who live abroad will exert an increasingly powerful influence on government policy back home. In fact they have already done this twice in recent years — in causing reversals in cabinet determinations during the only major and successful strike in Tonga, the nurses' strike in 1980, and also in connection with legislation relating to land owned by migrant Tongans. Tongans who live abroad are certainly a force we will have to reckon with from now on.

Education

Tongan education has always been good at the lowest level. Basic literacy in the three Rs has been consistently high – over 90 per cent all the time. At the secondary level, our education has not enjoyed a uniform reputation. Originally in the late 1860s and 1870s there was an attempt (made especially by Moulton)⁴ to put Tongan secondary education on a par academically with that of England and Australia, though the medium of instruction was Tongan. After this laudably good start, the doctrine of relevance began to take root in Tongan educational planning. This required education to be geared to the needs of society and the level of technology. A wholesale pruning of the Moultonian system ensued and syllabi levels lowered to suit local conditions. This plunged Tongan education into a long period of uncertainty and confusion from which it has not fully recovered yet! The important observation, however, is that the needs of society have in the meantime risen to very high levels, but education is still, in general, patterned on the needs of a society a little after the turn of the century.

For tertiary and higher studies we sent and are still sending our scholars overseas, mainly to New Zealand and Australia. Since the 1960s, Tonga has been also served by the University of the South Pacific. But it is possible regionalism in this form may not be able to hold for long. Rumblings, in fact, have been coming from the direction of Samoa and the Solomons. They complain that U.S.P. does not benefit anyone but Fiji. And Fiji itself, according to a recent Radio Tonga statement, is poised to annex U.S.P. and turn it into the University of Fiji. Fiji, of course, bears over 90 per cent of the cost of the running of the institution. The lesson for Pacific Islanders is this: the ideal of service may not be good educational policy and unless an institution of higher learning is based on a genuine desire for learning, it cannot be of lasting value.

Tongan education is a man with good feet, a rather wobbly mid-section and no head. Literacy in the sense of general enlightenment and a basic familiarity with what can be called, following Naipaul, the international cultural tradition is non-existent. Education has always been regarded in a Socratic manner, as a tool for social development but never as a distinct movement with a distinct character, a distinct morality and a distinct way of doing things. Tongans have not yet arrived at this conception, but so much the poorer for them, educationally speaking. The institution where I work is, in a very important sense, an attempt to fill this vacuum.

⁴ J. E. Moulton, an early Methodist missionary-educator who worked in Tonga in the 1860s and 1870s.

Tonga in the past has never had a learned and critical élite which could give direction to its culture. Of late, however, some educated Tongans have cast a critical eye on the government's economic policy and are voicing their findings in the media. I believe this movement is going to grow since Tonga now has scholars who take criticism to be the very heart of education, working in different fields including education. As the number of educated people increases so will this critical corrective, but it calls for fine tuning by society as well as government. It seems certain that somewhere in the 1990s the critical stance of educators and educated will have become a dominant force in Tonga.

The Sociopolitical Situation

The changes that have come over Tonga have been rapid and far-reaching. In the early period of European contact the changes were relatively slow though still quite significant for that time. But in recent years changes have been gathering such momentum as to be quite overwhelming. The areas where the changes have been most intense have been: Westernisation of life style, growing materialism, the opening up of Tonga to the outside world and vice versa, the increase in the number of educated people, the emergence of new socio-economic or religious groupings resulting in a new distribution of power. Most of these changes, I know, take place because of fundamental changes occurring in the economic sphere, but all have combined to produce a new sociopolitical scene that seems to promise the end of the old polity.

I propose to look at the situation now by employing a 'model' taken from an actual period of European history. This may seem far-fetched but I feel I can do no better than by saying that the situation in Tonga now is very like an Italian Renaissance in miniature. By this I mean that the five ingredients of social change in Italy before the 14th century are all present in Tonga today. These are: the transformation of a feudal-agricultural economy into a commercial one; the emergence of a middle class; the weakening of a 'universal' church; the decline in the social and political status of the traditional aristocracy; and a new interest in education and the classics. I discuss these one by one.

Commercialism

The changeover from subsistence to cash agriculture has accelerated in recent years and brought with it increased trade and commerce. Tonga's external trade has not only increased in absolute bulk but also diversified in terms of commodities and markets as well, though New Zealand and Australia have remained our principal trading partners. Circumstances are such that this increase and diversification may become dramatic in the future.

It is not only commercialism that has extended out of all recognition but also its spirit. Traditionally sharing and giving were basic qualities of Tongan society that gave it its distinctive flavour. *Kole* – requesting things from relatives, neighbours, or anyone who has what one needs – is a social custom. It is based not on the ethic of economicistic exchange but on the social principle of generalised reciprocity. One who has conducted *kole* on his/her relatives or neighbours does not enter in his records that he owes this to so-and-so and has to pay it back but he understands that society, such as it is, will, in the normal course of events, present him with an opportunity to reciprocate.

One does not see this too often now. People who still *kole* off their friends or relatives now take something and try to effect a direct exchange. In fact, *kole* in its traditional form is beginning to be frowned upon. Land to which all male citizens are entitled on reaching 16, and which they were given for the asking, now has to be 'paid for' in money or in kind. This 'payment' goes to the land-distributing noble or agent. Land has become very scarce and so its 'price' has shot up quite dramatically.

But commercial activities in Tonga have another product which is going to be of great moment to the social, economic, and political development of Tonga. This is the new middle class.

The Middle Class

For the first time in our history, we are now witnessing the emergence of a middle class in our society. We have had in the past, it is true, businessmen, but these were only a very few isolated individuals averaging four at any period, and they did not as a whole take their profession seriously or feel themselves to be members of a distinct social grouping. What we have today, however, are entrepreneurs in the modern sense of the word, who are conversant with the tricks of their trade as well as its principles, and also with the special interests of their class. They have established associations to promote these interests and have all the panoply and consciousness of a distinct social class.

The composition of our middle class deserves mention. Although Tongan membership is big, especially when compared with the past, non-Tongan membership is at least just as numerous. Our middle class, therefore, is largely an *imported one*. The usual economic benefits from this class should not be overlooked. It is also possible for other powerful classes in a society to make scapegoats of an imported middle class for schemings of their own.

The Weakening of the 'Universal' Church

Traditionally the Wesleyan Church has been by far the most powerful religious (or non-religious for that matter) group in Tonga. The position stemmed originally from an early 'marriage' between this church and our Royal Family.

When the first missionaries came to the islands at the beginning of the 19th century the then king and highest chiefs of the land were openly hostile to them. But one chiefly line which was not of the highest rank or authority was well-disposed to the new teachings and welcomed the new religion. This was the Tu'i Kanokupolu clan. One of their members – Tāufa'āhau of Ha'apai – was particularly drawn to the new faith, and he happened to be the bravest as well as the wisest warrior of Tonga at this moment of our history. A 'union' between this chief and the missionaries was bound to take place. This resulted in great benefits for both parties. The missionaries received the protection they desperately needed in order to propagate their teachings in safety, and the petty chief obtained invaluable guidance from the missionaries and was able to upgrade his social standing until he became king of Tonga, after conducting a fierce civil war in which he vanquished the most powerful kings of Tonga and created a new social and political order with him as supreme head.

Except for a relatively short period toward, and after, the turn of the century, the Wesleyan Church has dominated Tongan affairs and government policy to an extent at times (in the 30s and early 40s) that was not very unlike that of the Roman Catholic Church in Europe in the Middle Ages. By the end of the 40s it became clear that other churches, especially the Roman Catholic Church, were beginning to assert themselves politically, though still quite inconsequentially. And they have remained our 'political parties'.

A great change came over this whole system in the early 70s. Because of some lack of foresight, the Wesleyans committed a series of serious blunders in their internal affairs, and this, combined with the appearance of some charismatic leaders within the Wesleyan clergy itself, caused large groups of members to splinter off and form themselves into semi-denominational groups. This was aggravated by the mere stance of two external forces. The first was the Roman Catholic Church consolidating her position through a series of careful and wise moves. She joined the Tonga Council of Churches (n.b. the Roman Catholic Church is not a member of the World Council of Churches) gaining very useful links with the Wesleyan Church. She then embarked on a much-needed rural development programme that really begins at the grassroots. The other force is the Mormon Church. This group had come to Tonga in the 1920s but did not bestir itself noticeably until the 50s when Salt Lake City started pouring money into its Tonga mission. This church is now our fastest growing denomination. Their drawcard is really the prospect of going to Salt Lake City to live and work. They are converting and baptising people by the hundreds every year. Most of their converts are ex-Wesleyans. The real strength of the Mormons, of course, is their economic power, as 2,000 years of experience is that of the Roman Catholics. In fact Salt Lake City has determined that about 15 million pa'anga be spent in

Tonga this financial year. This represents a tremendous capital outlay for our size and in such a short period. These two churches will certainly fight it out as to who is going to be the most powerful church of the 1990s. It is going to be a duel between experience and money. If the economic horizon continues to deteriorate, as I believe it will, the battle will be won by Salt Lake City. Otherwise, Rome shall prevail.

The Decline of the Traditional Aristocracy

As implied above, the Wesleyan Church has always been the power base of our Royal Family so that if the former declines in political clout, the latter will move in sympathy. And vice versa. Both the King and the Wesleyan Church have supported an anti-Mormon campaign that is now in its third year. This plainly is playing into the hands of the Roman Catholics who have not yet outwardly moved a finger against Mormonism in Tonga and seem contented to leave things, at least at this stage, in the hands of the Wesleyan Church and the King.

We noted above that new social groupings have multiplied in recent years and though the traditional ones remain, their relative powers are not the same. Some scholars, notably Marcus, see a positive decline in the sociopolitical status of traditional chiefs and a marked increase in that of civil servants. Thus, in effect, he is proclaiming the advent of new 'chiefly' classes, higher in popular esteem – at least this is the case with Ministers of the Crown – than nobles of the Realm. There are still finer details. For example, those traditional chiefs who are able to maintain genetic or functional proximity to our Royal Family are able to retain high social standing. Those who have not done so have depreciated in social status quite visibly.

The economic development programme has also played its part in this whole process. Because of foreign aid, policy will increasingly tend to be, in an important sense of the word, made in Wellington and Canberra, London and Bonn. The influence of chiefs in this area will, more and more, count for less. Further, they are in a mood to exchange their most valuable possession (and mainstay of their power), i.e. land, for a commodity which they obviously take to be more important: money.

This break up of aristocratic power and the weakening of the most numerous and powerful church group have gone hand in hand with the corresponding rise of capitalistic attitudes and individualism. This is reflected in the day-to-day dealings between relatives and friends and in the decline of symbolic forms of activities. Realism will certainly spread in all departments of social intercourse, but a beautiful dimension of the traditional ethos will surely disappear.

Interest In The Classics

This feature of the situation is represented by a single group, but one which is growing in influence. I am referring to the institution in which I work –

'Atenisi Institute. Contrary to all educational aims in the South Pacific islands, it emphasises classical studies not only in the narrower and specific sense of concentrating on the classical tongues but also emphasising, in all departments of culture, objectivity as against subjectivism, the issue versus purpose, and truth versus satisfaction.

So far we have been teaching, apart from the traditional sciences, philosophy and mathematics, classical Greek, Latin, French, Spanish, German, Italian and Russian. This reveals a leaning towards Indo-European languages. The position, however, is that languages, being the repository of what is best and beautiful in cultures, cannot fail to give students a sense of form and order which is usually lacking in other disciplines. Moreover, the Greeks and Latins of antiquity were most clear-headed peoples, especially the former, and the study of the languages they spoke is a valuable lesson in objectivity as well as a marvellous discipline.

This classical programme at first seemed ludicrous and out of place in the society but is now beginning to gain some standing. Not only shall we refuse to take a subordinate place in the scheme of things, but we shall try to propagate our view beyond the boundaries of our society.

THE ABOVE DISCUSSION seems to show that, at least for Tonga, 'development' cannot be short-circuited but must pass through the same points and therefore arrive at the same end.

I am aware that this survey may be something of a caricature. For one thing it is too general to be of real value and for another I have left out too many things equally important and absorbingly interesting not from an academic point of view only but also from a practical perspective. Perhaps the most conspicuous omissions are Defence and Foreign Policy, but these are large issues that need separate treatment. Let me set down the following propositions as ones entailed by the facts contained in the foregoing discussion:

1. At the economic level, Tonga in the 1990s will sink deeper into dependency because of the many constraints, material, cultural and technological. Tonga might opt for a low-level form of Singaportisation – i.e. an emphasis on the services-catering industries. This can make Tonga wealthier, but her wealth will be consumer and not capital wealth.
2. Because of very possible economic hardships, social problems will tend to proliferate with keener confrontation between commoner and chiefly classes. Given this situation, the increasing strength of an educated élite could make, to put it mildly, political enthusiasms inevitable.
3. In the 1990s the Wesleyan Church will have lost its primacy in Tongan society and we will, *ceteris paribus*, witness the Mormons becoming the

most powerful church group with the Roman Catholic Church taking second place. The weakening of the Wesleyan Church will also bring about a lowering of the social status and power of both Royalty and the traditional chiefs.

4. Because of an increasing demand for external defence and economic interdependence, a South Seas awareness can develop which will effect a greater bonding of Tonga, Fiji, Samoa and New Zealand and also a greater tendency to go into orbit around Australia and/or Japan.

History, Culture, and Development

Putting the Cart Behind our own Horse

'HISTORY, CULTURE, AND DEVELOPMENT' IS A HUGE SUBJECT that cannot be dealt with adequately in the time allotted me this evening. The sub-themes – history, culture, and development – are worlds in themselves. Of necessity, therefore, my remarks will be of the most general character. I hope some kind of unity will be found in them.

My paper is divided into four parts. The first section is titled 'The Setting', in which I offer a very quick run-down of the most important events in the evolution of European society and consciousness. This is done because I believe European contact has been the most important set of events in the whole history of the Pacific, and therefore it is essential to have some rough working knowledge of Europeans and their historical background. In the second section, 'Pacific Cultures', I make some general observations as to the nature of Pacific cultures and the difficulty of writing pre-contact histories. The third part, 'European Contact', discusses how Pacific histories have been written – by expatriates up to now – and the consequences for Pacific islanders of the long exposure to European influence and domination. The final section on 'Development' sums up the discussion with, again, general observations on what can be done to correct our development strategies and secure true cultural progress. The paper is given a sub-title: Putting the Cart Behind our own Horse.

The Setting

The involvement of the European powers in the Pacific islands – which started in a small way in the 16th coming to a peak in the 19th century – was Culture Contact in a big way, a coming together of West European and Pacific cultures. Standard histories tend to dwell exclusively on the actual contacts themselves, the mechanics of the actual events and the specific details. But there is a need for us to have some general knowledge, at least, of the cultures thus brought together, for only then can we fully understand why the actors did what they did. That is why the historical setting for this momentous encounter between Europe and the Pacific is

important. But there is something unique about the 'historical setting' in relation to Europe. I proceed to explain my meaning here.

Normally when we use this term in relation to a particular event we generally mean the state of the society and culture at the particular moment in time when the event under consideration took place. The encounter between Europe and the world at large that transpired between the 15th and 20th centuries is so great an event that not only is it the Encounter of History, but it is also the prelude to the 'end of history', to borrow Fukuyama's term. It is the 'end of history' in the sense that after the European powers packed up and went home in the 60s and 70s we found ourselves satisfied that the fate of mankind is comprehended between two alternatives: either we will continue to exist in a somewhat unexceptional sort of way, as a world made up of networks of trading democracies (the Fukuyama alternative), or we will blow us all up to all eternity in a nuclear holocaust.

That this encounter is the 'end of history' is due solely to the peculiar way Europe has evolved, to the nature of European history. There is a uniqueness in European social evolution which emerged into historical consciousness in classical Greece, ran through Roman times, went into abeyance somewhat in the Middle Ages (during which period the other important ingredient of the European evolution, Christianity, was incubating), was 'reborn' in Renaissance Italy in the 15th century and never really looked back ever since. Before continuing to trace the movement of this unique spirit let us try to answer one question: what, in general terms, is the content of this uniqueness? A first answer could be this: it is a combination of *rationality* (with a part-Hegelian, part-Weberian, and part may other, meaning) and *humanism* (with a semi-Petrarchan meaning) in the *quattrocento* sense of the apotheosis of man. This answer does not fully ring true and the following remarks will clarify our meaning further. But to continue with the trajectory of the European spirit. The Reformation, Counter-Reformation, the Enlightenment and the Scientific Revolution all followed in quick succession, and to top it all that earth-shaking explosion which shook European society to its roots, the French Revolution.

Side by side with the later phases of this relentless spiritual dash went other activities of Western man which are also essential constituents of this whole dispensation. I am referring to his exploratory and geographical expansion and the development of commerce and trade. Both got off the ground at roughly the same time. Europe witnessed what success in the former could mean for a nation in economic and political terms, as the example of Spain showed after Columbus went to the New World. Commercial and trade rivalries developed and continued and thus fuelled

competition in other fields culminating in discovery and harnessing of non-traditional forms of energy, an epoch-making event we refer to as the Industrial Revolution which was really the first step into our present technological era. Thus what was happening in the intellectual/ideological sphere was fully matched by equivalent advances in the material/economic domain. We can now refine our definition of the European historical uniqueness as the unfolding of a special blend of rationality and humanism that has resulted in giving to Western man, first, liberal democracy on the political level, second, individualism on the private level, third, market capitalism on the economic level, and fourth, a highly sophisticated technological culture in both the industrial and social spheres.

But the European historical uniqueness is special in yet another way, in that the continuity and persistence of the two aforementioned key elements of that history have been intense and gave rise to the creation of a consciousness on the part of Western man that has never been met with anywhere else in the world. This was a sense of destiny. True, the Jews have had it too, but theirs was fatalistic in character. Their faith in Jehovah's power and unfailing fidelity was at the basis of the Jewish sense of destiny. The Western man's variety was predicated on faith in himself, in the permanence and necessity of struggle and enterprise. European man felt he could defy anything whatsoever. His gods can be encumbrances to his development. Nature, Mother Nature, must be subdued and can be looked upon as superfluous. Nothing can stand in his way.

Pacific Cultures

When Europeans first entered the Pacific they marvelled at finding populated islands, but they marvelled more at the high degree of racial and cultural homogeneity exhibited by inhabitants of islands so far-flung. But it is impossible to write a pre-contact history of these islands not only because the materials required for such an undertaking — records of events, definite dates, real persons, evidence of causality, etc. — are forever missing, but because these societies in their original forms represented a different type of human life, one which displays the maximum of continuity but minimum of change and such cannot give us history strictly speaking. Suppose for the argument's sake we were able to open up our distant past and look at it, what we would find would be different strategies for gaining and retaining power. Strictly speaking, they are strategies for gaining security, for power has no other value but its capacity for delivering security. Traditional society is, in point of fact, an organisation for the struggle for security. A permanent historical theme (or themes) — other than the institutionalisation of the battle for security — that persists and

outlives periods and crosses boundaries of communities is absent from Pacific cultures. Croce believes he found such a theme for European cultures, viz. liberty. And this Crocean concept can be easily harmonised with the above key-themes of rationality and humanism, since liberty as a political value can only make headway in a community where both rationality and humanism inform social practice.

And yet myths and 'incidents' (in the Spenglerian sense of the word) of the non-historical, pre-contact period of Pacific societies have their place and use, even scientific use, in both our theoretical and practical concerns with these societies. In our study of myth and other forms of oral tradition – to assess their potential for recreation of the past, even the remote past – we have come to the conclusion that oral traditions can throw general light on the form and character of ancient society. Former students of mine have developed some of these ideas in theses and other writings.¹ Broadly, the position is that a whole class of myths originated in 'historical' events, but great time-depth coupled with aspects of the belief system and 'primitive' thought and characteristics of orality have given those events myth-like forms and general appearance. The problem then is to peel off the extraordinary and fantastic overlay of many centuries in order to retrieve at least part of the factual bedrock on which the tradition or myth is based. And still academic historians refuse to call these products history in their sense, or in the sense European history is History. Their term is 'sociological theories'.² Ours is 'sources for hypotheses of history'. And I dare say there is no alternative to this approach if we want a 'history' of island societies prior to European contact. Such 'sociological theories' can help to make our understanding of post-contact, colonial history more accurate. In this enterprise sister sciences like archaeology, ethnobotany, ethnolinguistics etc. all make valuable contributions.

European Contact

Our academic histories then have their roots in the early period of European contact. The histories of the Pacific islands that have been produced, that we continue to write and revise, all trace themselves to primary sources produced in that period. The earliest of those sources were the written records of navigators/explorers – Magellan, de Quiros, Bougainville, Wallis, Tasman, Cook, Dumont D'urville, etc. The missionaries who followed fast on the heels of navigators were also

¹ The best known is 'O. Māhina of Auckland University. His writings prompted 'E. Hau'ofa of the University of the South Pacific to produce a paper 'Pasts to Remember' (1994) on this subject.

² This is the term of both Northrop Frye and M. I. Finley for this kind of 'history'.

responsible for many of the primary sources we now possess. In fact some navigators, especially the Spaniards, had priests in their ships, who, though not officially missionaries, clearly perceived the potential for the missionary vocation in Oceania. So in addition to the explorers' journals, log book annotations, and so on, we also have diaries and manuscripts – quite ample in many cases – of such as Williams, Marsden, Thomas, Pompallier, Turner, Cargill, Chevron, Geddies, etc.

The authors of these primary sources could never be fully disinterested in their observations even if they had consciously wanted to be, since their socialised subjectivity and cultural being were always there and were the very prisms through which their 'raw data' had to be organised into their final forms. But in important respects, they are all that we have with no local versions that can be used as 'controls' in our inquiry. In a great number of places, for example, our so-called creation myths have clearly been modelled on the Biblical account in the Book of Genesis, but the people are neither conscious of this nor are they possessed of alternatives. Also it is not uncommon to see islanders hold forth on a theory of Polynesian origins which locates their homeland in Mesopotamia, the 'land between the two rivers', or in Biblical Canaan. And we know where these strange accounts came from in the first place.

It is natural therefore that the first true histories of Pacific islands were all written by Europeans deriving content as well as point of view from close readings of the said primary sources. This has been the case for a long time, in fact, a little before the turn of the century up to the present moment. It is only very recently that islanders have begun to enter this professional area. But they are a small minority still – Sione Lātūkefu, Malama Meleisea, Brij Lal, John Waiko and a few others. They bring to the discipline a native command of the vernaculars and their existential being in the culture of which they write. These natal endowments are assets that were and are lacking in the support equipment of the non-indigenous historians. But it is still difficult to characterise the way in which these could actually improve the history-writing of these local products.

By far the most important dimension of the European contact, so far as Pacific islands are concerned, is an ideological transformation of their inhabitants. The long period of this encounter between Europeans and Pacific islanders was really *the 'schooling of Oceania'*. It is without a doubt the most important period in the whole history and prehistory of Oceanic societies, from their foundation some three millenia before the beginning of the Christian era down to the present day. It is so important because the futures of these societies have also been determined by this contact period. The 'schooling of Oceania' had two far-reaching consequences: 'educating'

Pacific peoples thoroughly in European values and way of life; and sealing the death warrant of Oceanic traditions.

The long association of islanders with a whole mix of Europeans — missionaries, colonial administrators, teachers, traders and what not — reached its high noon around the last quarter of the 19th century. At the opening of the present century, in the wake and aftermath of the Great War, a new consciousness began to spread over Europe and it caught the imagination of many leaders in a number of governments on both sides of the Atlantic. The colonial concept was deeply affected by the new ideology and the colonial powers began to think about packing up and going home. When they finally did in the 60s and 70s (except France, of course) the islanders had already been successfully and irrevocably colonised by foreign perceptions and ideas. This applies most aptly to the local individuals who were set up — mainly by the departing masters themselves — as successors to the erstwhile foreign leaders.

It is misleading then to say that peoples of Oceania (at the national level) are now engaged in activities of their own invention. No, what Pacific island governments are doing is imitation of what metropolitan powers have been, and are now, doing. Most island leaders (not to mention their advisers) have gone to school, or trained, at some overseas institutions where they were fully exposed to, and indoctrinated in, Western so-called progressive policies like economic rationalism and liberalisation, multiculturalism, welfare, freedom of the market, free access to education and facilities (in universities, etc.). Incidentally, such policies, in fact, give more power to island governments and university bureaucracies and in most cases prevent minorities and lower orders from rising in the social hierarchy. Never before have governments and university bureaucracies wielded such levels of control over 'subjects' and 'clients', but also never before has the university been less a critic of society than it is now.³

Further, as remarked above, Oceanic cultures have been profoundly influenced by foreign discourses, especially the Judaic whose principal 'moral' value is also security though it had to be given institutional form in order for it to be accepted by society and to have survival effect and permanence. This, of course, was merely reinforcement of cultural traits which have always been present in these societies. Therefore, when we say that islanders 'are redefining their relationships with each other and with the wider world', we forget that Western standards and values have already been built into that redefinition. The aspirations of Pacific islanders then are increasingly becoming more and more like those of peoples in

³ Refer B. Readings, *University in Crisis* (Montreal 1996), and M. Rimoldi, 'Political Perspectives on Control and Freedom', unpub. paper, 1997.

developed societies. They all want high consumption, physicality, new and shiny gadgets, and glossy, fast living. They do not realise, however, that conflict management may not be too easy, and may be impossible, in the new emerging social formations if we continue to use the same methods, nor do they understand that the traditional art and culture which they are now bent on reviving may turn out to be out of place in the communities they want to bring about. There is a lot of romanticising rubbish being written about Pacific peoples and cultures at present as if we are 'chosen races' or as if we are all that different from other peoples. We have to recognise the increasing uniformity in taste and aspirations of all peoples as a powerful emerging world phenomenon. As Feyerabend says, 'Potentially every culture is all cultures'.⁴

Development

Our development priorities then may be wrong-headed in a number of ways. First, all the basic ideas we apply are imported with our leaders in the forefront of this importation. I am not averse to imported ideas – there are no others in the island world. I simply want to dispel the hope that we will come up with original thoughts of our own. What we can do, and must, is create new arrangements, using the same imported ideas, of course, but discarding here, and adding there, to arrive at combinations which can be the basis for policies more suited to our contexts than those which have been imported wholesale into the islands in recent years but with little thought as to their suitability to our situation at the present time. We should be radical modifiers but at the same time be fully awake also to real values that we have not yet tried out. We should take care that we do not become, in addition to being a dumping ground for cheap goods from the whole Pacific Rim and New Zealand and Australia, the graveyard also for outmoded and useless ideas.

One reason for this problem stems from the fact that our so-called educated élite and trained personnel do not always appreciate that not all scientific principles have universal applicability, that most are context-specific, and also that the principles of one science at the level of social practice have to square with the findings of many other disciplines before we can arrive at viable and beneficial policies. Otherwise our efforts can only result in waste of resources and many man-hours or headache and bad conscience.

The second fault in our development approach is that our priorities are wrong. These considerations which I am now advocating may be already late but perhaps not all is lost. I see that, right from the beginning, we

⁴ P. Feyerabend, *Cambridge Classical Quarterly Review*, 2 (1967).

have always put the cart before the horse. The horse in my model is human resources development, not natural resources development or investment. They are the cart in my system. They are automatically the cart in developed countries because the horse (the trained manpower) had been ready to hand in their case. Not in ours, however. Our solution has been to bring in a foreign horse. We do precious little to develop a horse of our own by insisting that our system of education and training is not exactly geared to our development needs, or keeping the levels too dismally low so that our so-called trained manpower falls far short in capability and expertise of the levels dictated by islanders' expectations. To plan our development then is ultimately to think carefully about our education and training systems. The situation now is that the engagement of foreign horses is keeping out the majority of Pacific islanders from participating effectively in their own development, and if one day our education systems are right and our people ready to implement our development plans, our resources could have already been whittled away with nothing left for us to develop.⁵

Finally, our highest priority cannot be economic growth. Far from putting output levels in the forefront of our social development and emphasising growth and nothing but growth, I say that *distribution* is at least as important as productivity. The whole aim of production, of course, is distribution, consumption being ultimately a non-economic affair.⁶ Long before the end of the production phase, we should be clear about the rules of our distribution behaviour. Otherwise chaos will ensue. But distribution is a political matter and links up with all kinds of other fundamental values like power and especially justice.

I notice that in modern curricula, economics and economic planning are all the craze. But study of distribution as a political proposition has been kept very muted indeed, and in many schools – the University of the South Pacific being a case in point – it does not make any appearance at all in the programme of studies. In the case of USP it is not included in deference to the wishes of the almighty Participating Governments which look at political theory and philosophy as subversive activities. This is really a conventional opinion but it also betrays not only a sense of insecurity and an unwillingness to treat people as equals but a lack of

⁵ The standard foreign 'horse' has been medium investment but of late very destructive 'horses', especially TNCs and Restructuring, have entered the field and they will see to it that the two consequences of the 'schooling of Oceania' are brought to a successful conclusion.

⁶ In the sense that it seems to be a problem only because production and distribution are problems. If these were resolved there would be no consumption problem. Conspicuous consumption is tangible evidence that distribution is still very much a social problem, especially in the industrial economies.

acquaintance with contemporary political philosophy which, in the work of John Rawls, Robert Nozick and other writers, concentrates on the analysis of justice, whose core, according to these authors, is some form of fairness. In depriving our youth – who are our future citizens – of this important feature of modern thought, we are not only arresting their moral development and perpetuating socially corrosive and vile traditional privileges. We also proscribe our posterity.

All our efforts for higher productivity, for a cleaner environment, for sustainable development and all the fads of the moment will count for very little if we fail to make good progress in resolving the ethico-political issue which I am sure is going to loom larger and more menacing as we move into the new century.⁷

⁷ Space precludes discussion of other equally important issues, e.g. the advent of TNC world hegemony, the increasing abuse of universal values (like human rights and tolerance to perpetrate undue influence, etc) and cultural traditions, etc. But all these emerging problems suggest that either economics will be a non-issue in the new century or the new world order will be entirely consumed by problems of distributional ethics and good legislation, national and especially international.

A New Basis for Jurisprudence

I HAVE ALWAYS BEEN INTERESTED IN JURISPRUDENCE. I was led to it originally by my study of moral and political philosophy. I eventually reached a point where I believed that developments in jurisprudence have somehow gone wrong, that it has unknowingly contributed to the social problems of our time. In particular, I believed that I was seeing North American societies and especially the United States sinking under their own weight in crime and other forms of social dislocation and that this may be put down to imprudent developments in their legal systems. I will clarify what I mean by that statement presently.

A very general survey of the history of jurisprudence, starting with the Romans, through the barbarian/Christian inputs, the contributions of the Renaissance and the following periods down to modern times, gives a sense of a growing organism, one that has parts which seemingly were designed to work together or at least connected with each other, yet do not always function harmoniously together. Nay, some parts seem to have been engaged in some activity all the time while others are observed to have lain in relative uselessness since their inception.

One of the parts of this 'organism' which has enjoyed luxuriant growth has been substantive law, though not its entire domain but in the sub-area of *individual rights*. The development of this aspect of substantive law has gone hand in hand with other important movements – liberalism, democracy, romanticism – that accelerated the change from communalism to individualism in modern society. But the emphasis on individual freedom and individual rights has certainly got out of hand and in American society this area of law has become so confusing that jurists and legal philosophers are at a loss as to how to resolve the issue while society is rapidly deteriorating into semi-lawlessness.

The position taken up here is that the dismal scene regarding law and order in the United States is part of a general social malaise on both sides of the Atlantic that may be symptomatic of something more deep-seated which, for want of a better term, can be provisionally called unintended harmful effects of developments in jurisprudence. My aim in this short presentation is to provide considerations which may help in identifying the root of this

* Special lecture given to PHIL 3 (Philosophy of Law) class, 'Atenisi University, 7 May 1998.

problem, and to suggest as a way of relieving it a new basis for jurisprudence.

One of the factors that has contributed to this condition is the fact that our subject is not a pure, theoretical inquiry. Because of its largely pragmatic orientation it has tended to be relatively cut off from the other disciplines, doing its own thing, being satisfied with only a few big values like *justice* and *rights* that it has taken over from moral and political philosophy, whose other findings it would certainly have benefited from. This was the position with legal philosophy and jurisprudence up to the end of last century. In the present century, under the influence of Freudian psychoanalysis and its 'offshoots', jurists have caused a sea change by assisting law to assimilate principles worked out by other social sciences. These 'assimilations', I must submit, have had the general effect of causing *more* social problems instead of lessening them, and complicating legal reasoning to boot. An example of this is the tendency of courts to acquit every criminal who is diagnosed by a psychologist or psychiatrist as incapable of understanding what he has done and therefore is not responsible for his acts. Responsible or not, this policy has the effect of raising the density of both criminals and crime in the community. It therefore acts as a *punishment* for the law-abiding section of society, limiting their freedom for quiet and full enjoyment of their resources and privacy.

I want to suggest that what modern political philosophy seems to be interested in promoting, namely a just, free and good society, be made the new focus of jurisprudence instead of individual freedom or rights. This suggestion is tantamount to saying that both political and legal philosophy may have the same aim – the creation and maintenance of the good society. I am saying indeed that instead of building the good society via protection of individual and other rights we have to see individual, and other, liberties as parts of the just, free and good society, i.e. it would be theoretically possible to sacrifice individual rights and freedoms for the sake of the just and good society but not vice versa.

In the past the same idea was expressed as individual freedom being limited by consideration for others. However, this principle was interpreted as a confrontation between the individual and others, *taking one at a time*, so that it always boils down to a dispute between two individuals. Thus the matter becomes more difficult since the individuals *qua* persons start from a position of perfect equality in the matter of rights. If, however, individual rights are pitched against the requirements of a just, free, and good society, then we are already given direction for conduct of our juristic thinking as well as in the formation of rules.

As an example of this tendency for incomplete formulation of questions in traditional legal thought, we may cite Lon Fuller's position on law-making as

the 'enterprise of subjecting human conduct to the governance of rules'.¹ We, at once, are induced to ask, 'For what purpose?' Although it is possible to give different answers we can be sure that most will hinge on the idea of keeping rights intact. This enterprise, however, can get hopelessly complicated and confused over time if we confine ourselves to the rights of only two parties. We can solve our problem more easily, however, if we introduce the social dimension, in the manner explained above, and make it the decisive factor in our interpretation.

There is, however, a sense of the problem in Aquinas, the principal natural law theorist, when he lists the ways a purported law can be unjust or contrary to natural law. The first in his list is: if it aims at the law-maker's private good and not the common good (*Summa Theologiae I-II*). For Aquinas this is 'violence rather than law' and it has absolutely no binding effect on citizens. This is a separate issue from what concerns us now. For the question of what law is, is such a vast and ancient problem it may take us too far afield from our immediate quest, which is the identification of a more effective basis for jurisprudence, as if this is not a tall order in itself! Suffice it to say here that law represents the *balance of forces in society*. But Aquinas's view, at least, recognises the importance of society as a whole, though he calls it 'the common good', a term which really means an interest that satisfies everyone, and obviously there is no such interest. He would have been speaking more to the point if he had made it an issue between the law-maker's private interest and that of the good society. Finally, what is a good society? This in fact is how Socrates framed the issue, in both *Gorgias* and *Republic*, though he is talking about the politician and not the law-maker as such. A good society, we say, is one that is just and free affording its members *full freedom of enjoyment of their resources and privacy and the exercise of their powers physical, intellectual and emotional in whatever way they like without harming the rights and freedom of other members of society*.

We must now address the core area of our inquiry. How is our new basis for jurisprudence to be worked out for actual situations? How is it to be embodied in legislation? Will there be changes to other areas of law – procedural justice, punishment, the principles of dispute settling, etc. – required to accommodate this view or aspects of it? I want to answer these questions by indicating certain approaches to particular areas of law that are perceived as requiring them. These approaches are not entirely new; in fact many of them are practiced in some jurisdictions. What is new is the way they are interpreted here and the use they are put to. These examples are

¹ L. L. Fuller, *The Morality of Law* (New Haven 1969).

given to illustrate how the hypothesis I present here could be fully worked out, which is beyond the scope of this presentation.

The first I want to mention is the practice of *civil commitment*. If we keep clearly before us the requirements of a good society, then it would appear that the only rational thing to do in regard to those who are seriously disturbed and highly likely to act in a way very harmful to others is to deprive them of their liberty and commit them involuntarily to a psychiatric institution. I am quite aware of the fact that civil commitment is quite open to abuse but given adequate safeguards the requirements of the good society will be upheld, especially its capacity to facilitate free enjoyment of one's resources and privacy as long as that does not infringe on the rights of other law-abiding members of the community. Similarly with the related practice of *preventive detention*. This too is very vulnerable to abuse, yet stringent safeguards are not impossible and would enable us to prevent excesses. But the protection of innocent victims from the normal conduct of very dangerous people is of higher priority than the protection of the rights of the latter. This statement is justified by the need to maintain the just and free society. It seems to me that this is the proper place for psychiatry: the *identification* of serious mental disturbance and *potential* criminals, but not testifying to absence of responsibility in court when an innocent person or persons has (have) already been victimised.

This area of the law would also affect the rights of children in so far as their actions may come under the heading of acts without responsibility. These were always defined on the basis of age, but recent developments in juvenile delinquency and crime make it mandatory that these rights be redefined, which would require a reconsideration of the age qualification for infancy.

Dwelling still on the question of children it is a modern phenomenon that their rights vis-à-vis parental rights have appreciated tremendously resulting in greater chaos at home and in society at large. This is partly due to law being reluctant in past centuries to enter the household and look at family affairs. Such neglect resulted in all sorts of injustices like wife beating, child abuse, etc. But it is certainly not the remedy to give children the level of freedom they now enjoy. Suffering at home due to parental carelessness or overextended authority must be firmly legislated against, but parents must still be given a measure of authority and influence over their children with a view to enhancing responsible citizenship. Hart's 'legal paternalism' can be adapted to handle juvenile and youth problems in our time.²

² H. L. A. Hart, *The Concept of Law* (Oxford 1961).

Secondly, I want to refer to the subject of *damages*. The law here is unequivocal, but I want to consider the possibility of extending it to areas traditionally regarded as immune to the operation of damages for one reason or another, for example where responsibility does not exist. This would be the case in a lawsuit where justifiable or excusable homicide (or manslaughter) is preferred in defence. I want to argue that acquittal on this basis leaves society worse off because actual damage has been done and that to attain *equality*, as Kant requires,³ though not in his sense of *lex talionis*, but in the sense of restoring 'balance' as far as possible to all parts of society that were damaged by the act or acts at issue. We must, in fact, make this a principle. We must regard every legal dispute as a context where the question, Who pays? can always be meaningfully put. In the event that responsibility is missing the state and the actor must pay some damages to whomever they are rightfully due. It would be a case of society paying itself, in the sense that it goes out to preserve its integrity and goodness. But it would certainly gain in that its members' morale would generally improve making for more peace and goodwill. All forms of victimisation wrought by man, then, whether intentionally or accidentally, must be repaired by the state and/or actor in the interest of maintaining the just and good society.

Thirdly I come to the subject of *punishing the innocent*. We must do everything to ensure that the innocent are never punished, for such would constitute a serious denial of justice. But it is more important that the truly culpable is punished. We have to contrast the social effects of punishing the innocent and the failure to punish the truly liable. It is quite possible that a statistical survey of the levels of these two rates – punishing the innocent and letting off the truly liable – will show the incidence of the former to be very insignificant compared to the latter. So the criminally-compounding effect of the modern practice of law enforcement and general administration is phenomenally high. For this reason, law enforcement could start not from a position of perfect neutrality but a prejudice or *bias for conviction*, when the accused is one with a serious criminal background, to ensure that the community and law-abiding citizens do not suffer from the conduct of persons who should be brought to justice and yet are free! This would be equivalent to the Athenian law that Aristophanes attacks in *Wasps*, viz. that the rights of the poorer classes be treated as more important than those of the wealthy. It was not a Draconian law, however, in origin or nature. Such a policy might result in the conviction of innocent people, yet with proper precautions this can be kept to a minimum. The whole aim, however, is to minimise as much as possible the number of the truly culpably liable going

³ I. Kant, *The Metaphysical Elements of Justice*, trans. J. Ladd (Indianapolis 1965).

free, and spoiling the chances of enjoying social life of innocent and law-respecting people. From the point of view of the law, the rights of the innocent and law-abiding citizens should be given more weight than those of the wrongdoers and, *prima facie*, the accused.

I come lastly to a problem which relates also to the procedural part of law. I refer here to the position of the legal advocate in traditional jurisprudence as well as his status in the community. I wish to suggest first that the court, its officers and personnel should act uniformly, having the same aim – the search for what is the case. It is in this area of legal administration that *truth* becomes all-important and operational. But, and this is the important point, this can only be maintained if the court, following the Continental practice, adopts an investigatory stance rather than being an arena for a process that is confrontational in nature, as has always been the norm in Anglo-Saxon countries.

The above requirement can only be realised if the 'defence' and the prosecution are both interested in 'the truth and nothing but the truth'. This would make the work of the advocate less purely defensive. (Of course 'defending' could be part of the act of establishing the truth, but the advocate could not take it as his starting point or aim for the whole action.) The court, however, in view of what has been said above could start with a bias for conviction if the accused has a definite criminal record. Further, this requires giving up of the ancient principle of regarding the accused as innocent until a properly-constituted court finds him to the contrary. In those cases where the court does find the accused guilty, the assumption is simply false. The position then is that the court operates most of the time with an assumption which is usually proved false. The investigatory character of legal dispute settling, that it is a voyage of discovery, must be emphasised. Therefore, the court, generally speaking, should not assume one way or the other.

These are not the only changes required. The law of rights as well as procedural law will have to be adapted. The protective and punitive images of the law should be seen as emanating from the *same* act. For the 'defence' to co-operate more with the prosecution, their sources of remuneration must be the same. The lure of personal gain has always been strong for the segregation of these two parts of the court. And the lawyer's income cannot be entirely left to the whims of market forces. It has been a source of long-standing injustice that professions which command high demand, for example law and medicine, are allowed, on that basis alone, to determine their own worth. Other services, such as a physicist's, which do not sell as readily and yet may be just as essential for the good and free society and civilised life, are condemned to be always attached to some institution or corporate organisation. There needs to be harmonisation of processes and social attitude here in the name of a just and good society.

The Nitty-gritty of Teaching English to Tongan Students

WE ARE TEACHING ENGLISH, an Indo-European language, to Tongans whose native tongue is Tongan, a branch of the Polynesian language tree — itself an offshoot of Austronesian languages — which has no known link with Indo-European.

On the lexical level, however, but only on the lexical level, there can be 'correlations' between Tongan and some Indo-European (e.g. Latin) languages. Witness this list of 'cognates' picked, more or less, randomly from Latin and Tongan:

<i>Latin</i>	<i>Meaning</i>	<i>Tongan</i>	<i>Meaning</i>
1. <i>Pauca</i>	few	<i>Paka, pakau,</i> <i>pakapaka</i> (adj)	crab, thin, slender, sparse
2. <i>Matura</i>	matured, ripe	<i>matuá, motúa</i> (adj)	matured, old, elders
3. <i>auxillii</i>	help, aid, augment	<i>ásili</i> (n, adj, adv)	reinforce, aggravated
4. <i>facere</i>	to make, cause, do	<i>faka-</i>	(causative prefix)
5. <i>oro</i>	Speak, plead, pray	<i>olo</i> (v,n)	plead, beseech, beg
6. <i>laus</i>	praise, glory	<i>lau, laulau</i> (v,n)	discuss, verbosity, ode
7. <i>dua(e)</i>	two	<i>(t,l)ua</i>	two
8. <i>pes</i>	foot	<i>pesi</i> (n)	limbs, feet, claws
9. <i>factum</i>	deed	<i>fatu</i> (v,n)	to create, make, creation
10. <i>calculi</i>	pebble	<i>killikilli</i> (n)	pebble
11 <i>move</i> re	to move	<i>moveu</i> (adj,adv)	scattered, dispersed

It is in syntax, however — though no reference to deep structure etc is necessarily made here — that separation between Indo-European and Polynesian languages is most pronounced.

Now, although we commonly take language to have developed from early man's experience, the different aspects of language originated in distinct areas of human experience and at different points of his evolution. It seems safe to hypothesise that language first emerged when an insignificant species of small-sized apes gave up moving around on all fours and began the long and arduous journey towards *homo erectus*, i.e. when the mouth, and hence

the tongue, ceased being a handling/tactile apparatus – which the forepaws now were being turned into – and therefore freed up for a new specialisation – speech.

As a corollary of such a hypothesis we could regard words and other lexical fragments that are associated with movements of the hands and fingers e.g. waving and pointing, as among the earliest to have been formed. Another corollary would be: monosyllabic items predominated. The important point, however, is *meaning* must have arisen in this context as a record of the relationship between a simple sound and an action (a bodily attitude or act). Onomatopoeic items would naturally follow fast as part of this process. And so it went on, the creation of different classes of meaning which became more complex moving through referential to non-referential categories.

However *grammar* is different. For although words and terms have meaning, the ways they are put together to form linguistic structures have no meaning in that sense. For *grammar is an index of culture*. It represents standardised judgements or conventions on the environment, physical as well as social. In brief, grammar reveals a charter of morality, in the widest sense of the term i.e. a set of rules or beliefs for behaviour of the people who speak a language. And different moralities (grammars) for different peoples. Let us look at some examples. For best effect, we distinguish between normal (or natural) and acquired (or imposed) syntax. Normal syntax is syntax of a language at any period which is the result of natural development along characteristic lines prior to any intense or linguistically disruptive culture contact. Acquired syntax is a product of such a contact. We illustrate by an example from Tongan:

Normal Syn: '*Oku ('ijai éku peni*

There is (exists) my pen OR there is a pen of mine

Imposed Syn: '*Oku ou máu ha peni*

▼ ▼ ▽ ▽ ▽

▼ me possess a pen (I have a pen)

Pres. tense marker

The grammatical form of the second sentence came from English, of course, an influence that started to enter the Tongan language in the early European contact period in the work of missionaries who brought Christianity and European education to the Islands. These influences have maintained and increased their strengths and are now amplified a hundred-fold by the introduction of modern media. I suspect something similar occurred in the case of Anglo-Saxon and Norse in Britain under the influences of the Conquest, Roman Church missionaries, and scholarship, as an examination of Old English literature, e.g. *Beowulf*, might suggest.

At any rate, an analysis of sentences, such as the above, along lines of cultural character could suggest the following ideas:

1. Traditionally, for Tongans the fact of *existence* or *being there* was more significant as is implied by its initial position in the sentence.
2. Traditionally, for Indo-Europeans, specifically Teutons, the fact of *possession* or *ownership* was more significant. Hence its initial position in the standard structure.

(Here we assume that the earlier the position of an idea in the normal syntax of sentences the more important it is.)

Alternatively we can look at the difference between Polynesian and West Germanic syntax in terms of parts of speech in the following way:

<i>Tongan: Main Verb</i>	<i>Subject</i>	<i>Complement</i>
1	2	3
<i>English: Nominative</i>	<i>Main Verb</i>	<i>Complement</i>
1	2	3

Witness the opposition of ranking of action *v.* actor that Tongan and English show.

Sentences other than simple declarative ones can also be similarly analysed. They will tell the same story — the wide gap that separates Indo-European from Oceanic languages.

We have dwelt at some length on this point — that Tongan and English are worlds apart — to press home the fact that teaching English to Tongans is no one's cup of tea, that there is absolutely no quick fix for this task, no magic solution, that it is all a matter of constant, furious application, that there simply is no substitute for tough, hard slogging all the time. We have been in existence now for 30 years and all this time the medium of instruction has been English. And yet we have not been able to come up with anything, a theory or a general view on this subject, Teaching of English to Tongans, which can be said to be generally satisfactory.

Notwithstanding the above remarks we now offer two strategies which we have employed, separately or in combination, in teaching English at 'Atenisi, though the two approaches can be looked upon as applying to acquisition of any language whatsoever. The two approaches are:

1. Informal Familiarisation Process, and
2. Using Rules (Grammar).

In the IFP approach the existence of an English-speaking environment is essential. Learners are thrown into the midst of an English-speaking community, e.g. New Zealand or Australia. However, not every Tongan can afford (or would want) to send his children there. And, in a sense, that would be cheating because we are talking about strategies to be applied to Tongans who live and go to school in the Islands. Therefore, the required environment must be built up with whatever resources are available here by exposing

learners to the speech influences of native and non-native speakers of English as well. Such interaction is almost always informal and mostly in after-hours or extra-classroom situations.

This strategy has been used in Tonga to only a limited extent. Some schools ban the use of the local language during school hours. The most familiar example is Tonga High School, the best public school in Tonga as far as command of English by students is concerned. At first, the teachers at this school were mostly New Zealanders. Now the staff is very predominantly Tongan such that if teachers are speech role models then we must expect students at that school to have switched their speech style from a New Zealand to a Tongan one (cf. the 'Indian'-style English spoken in Fiji simply because teachers in Fijian schools are predominantly Fiji-Indian).

At other schools, though Tongan is not forbidden, students are strongly urged to mix with foreign members of the teaching staff as much as possible. 'Atenisi is a case in point. The success of this approach, though unmistakable — and most apparent at Tonga High School — is naturally limited as to its long-range or permanent effects. No doubt it is useful as providing a foundation on which to build later, whether to pursue studies in an area in English, or another language. However, to pursue higher studies in English, something else will have to happen if the student is to succeed. But he can no longer rely on this imported and fluid environment. More exactly the impact of this strategy on the more important and higher linguistic qualities, for example style, clarity, and precision and so on, is almost nil.

The second general approach is an in-depth engagement with rules, i.e. with grammar. Of course, the product here would, at first, be stilted and bookish, but perseverance will certainly be repaid with a less and less static, and an increasingly graceful, style, especially if this is — which it must always be — combined with serious study of texts from literature. In fact, in regard to the development of the abovementioned higher linguistic qualities, this approach is clearly immensely superior. Immersion in grammar and literary texts is absolutely necessary. It is the opinion of the writer that the alarming decline in style among present day students is due to the dismally low regard given to grammar and textual exegesis in modern school curricula. The demise of the Classics in modern education is certainly a contributing factor in the present linguistic malaise, whether spoken or written, because in Classics we do more grammar and textual analysis than anything else. In this approach drilling is important, especially with Polynesians, the making of fine distinctions through grammar (which starts so early), the classification of mistakes, etc., all make for a tremendous intellectual discipline.

Obviously the optimum method would be a combination of IFP and grammar. This is indeed what has been done in Tonga and other Pacific

islands though the proportion devoted to grammar and development of the higher linguistic powers has been very, very small. It seems we will have to play with the proportions for this mixture for a while yet before something viable or reliable can be found. Whatever proportion we will finally settle upon, one lesson of our 30 years experience is crying out for recognition: *both* approaches must be intensified in one form or another and grammar and acquaintance with past concrete models of literature must have a place of respect in our curricula. '*Ofa atu.*

Some Economic Aspects of *Kāinga*

THE TERM *KĀINGA* SHOULD HAVE AN INTERESTING ETYMOLOGY. It is a composite term made up of two particles: the word *kai* (infinitive 'to eat') and suffix – '*anga*' ('place for', 'recipient', and 'object of'). It is possible then that *kāinga* was originally a local production and consumption unit. In fact part of this original meaning persists in a standard usage of the term in modern times. Still, the term has difficulties because, on the way, it has acquired other, though related, senses all of which are of great sociological interest.

Modern practice takes *kāinga* to have two meanings. We discuss them as follows:

1. As a unit built around a chief. It is composed of a number of extended families all 'related' to the chief in some way. The chief must have originally been the holder of an essentially economic post – the chief organiser of the production and consumption activities of the group. It is tempting to compare the *kāinga* system (in this sense) with European feudalism. The Tongan overlord in pre-contact times was the Tu'i Tonga who also was the ultimate owner of all lands. These were allocated to *ha'a* (federations of *kāinga* whose head chiefs were descendants of chiefly brothers). The land given to the chief who headed a *kāinga* constituted the *feudum* in the Tongan system just as it did in the European. And like the latter it was granted in consideration of a traditional oath of fealty on the part of the chief. The structure of Tongan vassalage differed in no important way from the European version. The *kāinga* therefore was, and is, both an economic unit as well as the political power base of the chief (just like the European feudal unit).

How the *kāinga* members produced was determined by each individual or small cadres of workers into which they divided according to preference or convenience. But *what* they produced was determined by the chief (or appointed foremen) and *kāinga* had to abide by his specifications quite closely. Land was regarded as collectively owned by *kāinga* but it was understood that their chief was the only person who actually had a real say in the control and use of their land. Land could never be alienated or disposed of even by the *kāinga* chief. The freehold concept has never entered Tongan culture, neither in the past nor in modern times. In theory, the Tu'i

* Paper read to Prof. R. Crocombe's Sociology class, University of the South Pacific, Suva, Aug. 1975.

Tonga, as the only person who had property in Tongan lands – within, as well as territories outside, the kingdom – could dispose of *kāinga* or other land. However, there was never an instance of his exercising this assumed prerogative. The impossibility of alienation or disposing of land has remained an important feature of the Tongan land tenure system. In the Land Act of modern Tonga it is provided that land cannot be alienated or disposed of through sale.

Kāinga produce was distributed according to conventions originally set by the chiefly class. A good – and the best – portion went to the chief. The chief would then set aside the choicest items to be presented to the Tu'i Tonga at the '*inasi*', the festival of the first fruits, when all *ha'a* from every part of Tonga (and even from subject islands outside Tonga) would congregate in Mu'a, the ancient capital of the whole archipelago, to present their tributes to the Tu'i Tonga (the fruits of their labour, on land as well as at sea, and not only perishable products like foodstuff, but also durables like fine mats and painted bark-cloth, the work of the women folk). This could be regarded as part of the fee simple of the sole owner of the land, the Tu'i Tonga, who was the earthly representative, and high priest, of Hikule'o, the goddess of agriculture and fertility.

Part of this bounty has continued in our own day in all kinds of festivals and exhibitions, for example the annual Agricultural Shows in which a good proportion of the exhibits is given to the King, again the ultimate owner of all Tongan lands according to the Constitution. These celebrations, however, are not conducted in terms of *ha'a* or *kāinga*, but the level and style of Royal 'appropriation' are similar to the ancient '*inasi*'.

As a result of the emancipation of the *kāinga* 'serfs' by King George Tupou I in the latter part of the 19th century, *kāinga* members are by law absolutely free as to what and how they produce and how they dispose of their production. General culture, however, is still very strong and *kāinga* commoner members still subsidise, or produce for, their chief's private projects. They include catering for birthdays of the chief's children, their weddings, funerals, the chief's obligations to other chiefs or the King and even travel expenses and so on. It is not uncommon to hear *kāinga* members expressing a wish that they had their domicile on government land where they would not have to meet chiefly demands. So although *kāinga* members are not legally bound to provide these services, continuous non-performance would subject such rebellious spirits to threats of excommunication and banishment. In some chiefly estates only a few members have managed to have their portions of residential and/or gardening land registered at law. It is believed that these chiefs are reluctant to approve wholesale registration because once a commoner has his land registered he can with impunity

refuse to cater to the chief's demands, land being the principal means of the chief's hold on his *kāinga* members.

2. As the term for the extended family. This makes the term quite confusing, for *kāinga* in the other sense (as the constituent unit of the *ha'a*) is itself made up of smaller *kāinga* in the sense of extended families. The diagram below demonstrates this confusing situation clearly.

HA'A

- i) *kāinga* ----> P ---> Q ---> R etc
(building units
of *ha'a*)
- ii) *kāinga* -->a-->b-->c-->d-->e-->f-->g-->h--i-->j-->k-->l etc.
(extended families
building units of *kāinga*
in the other sense)

Note: P, Q, R etc. are headed by descendants of chiefly brothers; a, b, c etc. which are *kāinga* in the second sense are headed by '*ulumotu'a*, and comprise households or groups of households.

Also the *kāinga* in this second sense is made up of single households or nuclear families. Over time these households give rise to other households and so we have branches or internal subdivisions in the extended family form of *kāinga*. These branches of this *kāinga* are also called *ha'a*, another confusing feature of the Tongan social system. Membership in this *kāinga* is based on some genetic link through father or mother to an apical ancestor. Therefore any Tongan household can belong to two or more *kāinga* though in practice it usually belongs to only one.

The extended family *kāinga* is headed by the '*ulumotu'a* (senior male). In theory he is the most senior male member of the most senior male line that descends from the supposed apical ancestor. However, in practice, the role of the '*ulumotu'a* is usually assumed by a senior male member of a minor male line or even of a female line. This shift of authority from a member of the most senior male line to one of a less senior line is almost always due to the most senior male member(s) of the most senior male line not contributing significantly at *kāinga* reunions during life calamities or life-confirming events. Thus we find that the '*ulumotu'a* of many *kāinga* is the member who is of the highest economic worth and who contributes money (or kind) more than any other member at important *kāinga* events. And it is during these events that the '*ulumotu'a* becomes most visible and his powers are exercised fully. He is the head supervisor of *kāinga* feasts and food potlatches and has to see to it that everyone has a good feed at every meal and adequate share to take home for his/her family.

The female counterpart of the '*ulumotu'a*' is the *fahu*. The origin of this institution is clouded in mystery and is the subject of popular as well as scholarly debate. But it is safe to say that it arose in social customs that led to elevation of sisters above brothers. Although the '*ulumotu'a*' is a *kāinga*-wide institution the *fahu* usually varies from occasion to occasion. *Fahu* has gone through vicissitudes of different kinds over the centuries like the '*ulumotu'a*', and like it also its character, at any particular period, is a product of the interplay of a number of social factors, especially economic and political ones. Theoretically the *fahu* was a female descendant of the most senior female line deriving from an apical ancestor. In modern times the *fahu* in any *kāinga* event tends to be the eldest sister (or one of her children) of the father of the *kāinga* member whose funeral, birthday, marriage etc. has caused *kāinga* to come together. If it is a male person it is not uncommon for the *fahu* to be his own sister (usually the eldest) or her child (usually eldest daughter).

This *fahu* result has been disparaged by some people as tending to disrupt *kāinga* cohesion. If the *fahu* is identified at some genetic distance from the deceased, bride/bridegroom, etc., this has a greater binding force on *kāinga* than if *fahu* is too close to the member who is being celebrated at any given *kāinga* event. Similarly, the displacement of '*ulumotu'a*' from the rightful *kāinga* branch (a very senior male line) to the most economically powerful *kāinga* member has also been vilified as a practice that introduces non-Tongan customs into the culture that are damaging to it. Also both '*ulumotu'a*' and *fahu* have tended to be transferred to high chiefs who are *kāinga* members. In some cases a member of the *kāinga* who is a noble of the realm automatically becomes the '*ulumotu'a*' and a female member who is a princess or daughter of a noble becomes *fahu* through *kāinga* consent, even though both these persons have, by the traditional rules, no qualification at all for these roles. These examples show that economics and politics are responsible to the *social* character of cultural traditions. In the last tendency mentioned above, if the resulting '*ulumotu'a*' happens to be the head chief of the *kāinga* in the first sense, this modern innovation will lead to a collapsing together of the *kāinga* in the two senses, and strictly speaking to the demise of *kāinga* as extended family. Of the two forms of *kāinga* the extended family version may have been the older originating in deep antiquity when 'Tongan' society was much simpler than at later times. We can call this the tribal *kāinga*. As society became more organised and especially when a single overlord (or a small group of overlords) began to wield unifying power, chiefs under him started to carve out sociopolitical bases for themselves in the form of groups, and the *kāinga* extended families were most convenient and ready to hand for this purpose. Thus began the other institution — the feudal *kāinga*. This latter was a social reorganisation in terms of class — the chiefly

class – imposed on top of one based on known and assumed genetic ties. The term *kāinga* was kept and the economic function maintained as an integral part of the feudal form.

As remarked above, the production function of *kāinga* differs in the two forms. This is related to locality. In the feudal version, the *kāinga* is fully located in a village, or more than one village, which in almost all cases is/are sited in an estate of the *kāinga* chief. Therefore this *kāinga* can and does in many cases produce together and in the same workplaces, though in modern times where private ownership of land is the norm, people mostly produce individually, but still very close to each other. It is otherwise with the extended family *kāinga*. The members have a kingdom-wide distribution and in the recent diaspora of Tongans migrating to other parts of the world, one finds members of every *kāinga* in New Zealand, the United States, Australia, etc. It is impossible then for the extended family *kāinga* to produce together so that the production function of *kāinga* has become lost. But the consumption function is alive and well. In funerals, weddings, etc. members come together, pool their resources – food from men, wealth goods from women – and they feast together and share the contributed goods. I want to call this aspect of the *kāinga* economy *consumption socialism*. It is socialism in the sense that an institution, the *kāinga*, during important events, claims members' production as common property and causes the pooled products to be consumed and/or distributed there and then. And although the production aspect of the group is not there anymore, consumption socialism is the collective enjoyment by *kāinga* of the effects of the factors of production – land, capital, and labour. However, consumption socialism is governed by traditional rules which relate to social hierarchy. This latter is the tribal (as well as feudal) economy's equivalent of market forces in modern capitalist economies. Clearly then, consumption socialism has market features and indeed can be regarded as the 'market' in subsistence economies.

Finally the share of contribution at *kāinga* events that is expected of any member is proportional to his/her economic status. Thus the haves always contribute (or lose) more at these occasions than the have-nots. *Kāinga* then is an *economic leveller*, a social machine that works in such a way that inequality within *kāinga* does not get out of hand, chopping off differences in income and assets and performing a redistribution. Any member then is expected to give of what he owns on all these occasions, especially when one of his fellows suffers from a bad break, but he also is entitled to, and receives their aid when he himself is the victim of tragic or demanding circumstances. This effect of the *kāinga* discourages capitalistic interests and partly explains why the level of 'affluence' among members in the tribal context remained generally the same in the past.

OF THE TWO KĀINGA, the feudal version seems to have held its own fairly well. This is largely due to its localised nature. As it was, and is, in practice a social scaffolding for propping up its head chief, it is perfectly auspicious for exploitation because of its sharp geographical definition. The feudal framework of Tongan society is holding up well and although there is a discernible demand for change, the process may take some considerable time before the feudal character is adequately altered.

The other *kāinga* – the tribal form – has lost ground, however. Because of its non-local character, and the resultant physical distance between most members, the level of their commitment and ardour for *kāinga* affairs falls away in proportion to the level of contact between them. We find then that this *kāinga* has been in a state of disruption for some time. Many old *kāinga* are not their old selves still. They had grown too large and unmanageable and have split up into smaller units which, in the meantime, have grown into full and distinct *kāinga* in their own right though the links are still traceable and are activated at certain occasions. Sometimes new *kāinga* are formed around a member who has been very successful in his career, whatever it might be. But in general the compass of *kāinga* has been consistently shrinking in modern times. I estimate that three generations is the longest period in which a *kāinga* can present the same general aspect in terms of general households and their respective roles within the group. After that many households would have ceased to exist or maintain an identity, due to the operation of a number of factors such as a predominance of female members (who would marry into other households), members having died off or moved to localities (or islands and even countries) which render communication with the home base difficult, and so on.

Though it is true that the extended family can be reinforced, numerically speaking, by the creation of new households, we find that this is opposed by a new development – the growth of individualism. This comes mainly in the form of the strengthening of the nuclear family. The bottom line of all this is *kāinga* being kept within strict boundaries, with absolutely no prospect of expansion. If anything, the *kāinga* will continue to contract even further in the future. This reduced form of the tribal *kāinga* is usually designated by the word *famili*, the Tonganisation of the English word 'family'. Still, individualism is not entirely new to Tongan culture. It was however restricted to the leading chiefs of the various *kāinga* in the feudal form. What is new at the present time is its widespread character, it being quite virulent among members of the commoner classes. Among the social manifestations of popular individualism is the change in the character of the *kāinga* funeral feast. Traditionally this 'feast' was a simple pooling together of foodstuffs of all descriptions and then redistributed to *kāinga* subdivisions. This ceremony is technically known as *feipulua*. Each subdivision would take its share to its

head's house and once again subdivide its allotment into smaller shares for each household in its branch of the *kāinga*. Since the late 1930s the late Prince Tungī (Consort to the late Queen Sālote and father of the present King of Tonga) introduced a new kind of funeral feast, the *feitu'uaki*, in which every person attending the funeral is presented with a small leaf basket containing cooked root vegetables (manioc, *kaape* or taro) and cooked meat (pork and/or beef and/or mutton). During the vigil in the night before the burial people partake of tea, bread and butter meals throughout the night. Even here the changes are rapid. The *feitu'uaki* no longer sports the fresh leaf basket of cooked food but is replaced by a small plastic bag containing an assortment of raw meat. The vigil night meal also is becoming quite elaborate; full feasts of not only bread, butter and tea, but steamed chicken, beef, sausages, and boiled eggs are standard fare at almost all funerals, not only in Tonga but in overseas countries where we find Tongan migrant communities.

The rationale of these *kāinga* innovations is concern with the needs of the individual which are believed not to be always well served by the traditional customs. However, it may be the case that these customs (e.g. the *feipulua*) were originally designed to cater for both the needs of the group and the individual. *Kāinga* politics must have influenced these customs in their development resulting, in many cases, in some form of distress for some members of the group, especially those of the lowest socio-economic status. The ideal then is to revamp *kāinga* so as to maintain its *social* character (i.e. it is a group mechanism), and at the same time fulfil the requirements of a fair distributional morality.

Poverty and Welfare in Tonga

Poverty is generally understood as the chronic lack of basic necessities – food, shelter, and clothing. We have commonly assumed that poverty in this sense was widespread and even a traditional characteristic of parts of Asia, Africa and even South America. This kind of poverty – hunger, because there is dire shortage of food and people are actually dying because of hunger or problems caused by hunger; no roof over one's head, nay, not even a place which one can call home, nor a friend in the whole world who has a home to which one would be invited or welcome; and dressing in the oldest, dirtiest, and most flimsy of rags, which can only be described as masses of large holes surrounded by strings of cotton or other material – has never been known in Tonga or, I would say, in any of the South Sea Islands. This freedom from gnawing poverty, I believe, has been due to the coming together of four conditions: the geographical position of the islands, the fertility of their soils and encircling seas, the low population levels, and the nature of their social structures.

Tonga is blessed with very fertile soils – some of the most fertile soils in the world, according to soil scientists, are in Tonga – that would grow just about any plant or crop. On top of this natural endowment is a long tradition of agriculture and gardening that has always distinguished Tongans from the other islanders, giving rise to a perpetual condition of plenty – and waste – so far as staple vegetables (taro, bananas, manioc, sweet potato, yam, coconut) are concerned, all the time. No one ever goes hungry in Tonga. Of course, balanced diet is another matter, as that term is understood now. Protein, especially red meat, was not always forthcoming, though now New Zealand cholesterol-filled mutton is almost universally available in the islands because of its cheapness. Fresh beef, fish and pork also have become fairly readily available in the more urban areas. Fish and New Zealand mutton are the staple protein in the smaller islands though pork is also consumed there regularly. Tongans are fairly well clothed all the time and everyone has a household to which he/she belongs and which he/she calls home.

The one single social factor that has stood Tongans well in all ages and still does so is the extended family or clan. It is Tonga's social security. The

¹ Seminar given to Social Policy Department Staff and Students at the Australian Catholic University, Canberra, Australia, 5 Mar. 1997.

kāinga (extended family) system is a profit-sharing, redistribution mechanism because it discourages profiteering and capitalistic tendencies by lopping off disproportionate accruals and redistributing them to *kāinga* members. This is done through contributions to *kāinga* events (funerals, feasts, weddings, etc.) whose sizes are determined by worth, such that the well-to-do members bear the brunt of the outlays expenditure (food, money, durable goods, etc.) and the poorer members hardly contribute anything. Of course, the hard-hit members are seen grumbling now and with some *kāinga*, the system seems to be weakening and a move towards a more egalitarian system is quite visible. Yet the *kāinga* welfare system (for that's what it is) is still fairly strong (very strong in some contexts, for example that of migration), and we cannot predict at this stage whether it will ever be superseded at all.

The other meaning of poverty is the standardised measure used in developed countries, such as the U.S. and Australia. There are two considerations why this measure may not be fully realistic for the case of Tonga.

1. The poverty line can only be fully meaningful in an economy which has been fully monetised because ultimately we have to come down to income in *real terms* (that is why the poverty line is usually referred to as the breadline). Tonga's economy, though beginning to be monetised, is still largely subsistence.
2. *Kāinga* action is such that it is a cushion, nay, a spring mattress to soften any harsh effects of the market economy. It is therefore more realistic to speak of a general type of Tongan affluence which everyone enjoys, and this generally means that the basic necessities are never in really short supply.

Development Economics

The economists say that production, if poverty exists, must first be applied to relieving it, and that development can only be contemplated after that is taken care of. In most underdeveloped countries, therefore, development is a 'post-poverty' process. And this basically means the creation of an economy where people find that the flow of basic necessities is no problem.

It is easily seen that development should be relatively easy in Tonga because there is no poverty in the above sense. Thus all production can be applied to economic growth. But it is not as straightforward as that. Although staple starches, vegetables and fruit are always easily available, there are no other exploitable land resources other than agricultural products (e.g. no mineral resources like oil, precious stones or metal, none whatsoever). And although agricultural production can be increased to desired quotas, overseas markets are difficult to obtain. This has been an abiding constraint on the development of Tonga's export markets and, for the present, there is

no solution in sight. On top of this, the distance of the island group from the main international markets makes freight costs a prohibitive factor for the supply side of our overseas trade.

There are, however, marine resources to your heart's content in our sea territory which covers upwards of 100,000 square miles. There are nickel and manganese nodules in the deepest parts of our waters, and according to marine geologists, we have huge deposits of these. And fish, shell-fish and other organic marine resources are also truly plentiful. Here again, we have grave constraints. We do not have the sophisticated technology or the trained manpower for harvesting the metallic overlay of our seabeds, and the costs of rectifying these shortcomings are beyond our financial capacity at present. Moreover we have no canning or sea-food processing work of any sort. Some small fisheries concerns have been set up in the last two or three years, but most of their catch is sold raw to overseas markets.

Therefore, although Tonga has good and ample marine resources and good soil for commercial farming, there are serious constraints with regard to markets and technology and technical know-how that will keep our development at a slow rate.

Poverty as Lack of Money

There is, however, a sense of poverty which applies in the case of Tonga and is accepted by Tongans. This is lack of money. This sense applies to the economy as a whole — it is still largely subsistence — and especially to the fact that one always finds it hard to sell surplus production. Those who have access to some source of money income are said to be *not* poor. When we refer to someone as poor, it almost invariably means that person is devoid of a money income. The sources of money for Tonga have been cash cropping, remittances from Tongans living abroad, some foreign investments, aid, and loans (MIRAB economies).

Yet it is a fact that because people's expectations have soared very high in recent years we find them increasingly dissatisfied with the traditional affluence I have outlined above, and all are fascinated by the high consumption and physicality of modern life-styles. People regard this traditional affluence with disdain and look at it as poverty. Everyone wants money and modern luxuries.

Inequality in Tonga

Tonga has a highly stratified and hierarchical society and the principles of traditional distribution followed the hierarchical pattern quite faithfully. Thus we could say that gross inequality (and therefore injustice) distinguished Tongan traditional culture on its societal level. Therefore, for example, chiefs would have greater access to social goods — wealth, employment opportunity, power — than commoners. Things have changed in some ways but there still

are many situations and areas of social action where inequality (and corruption) is rife.

This problem is essentially political because it relates to distribution in the first place, and distribution is, in society, a political act, in the sense that it is based on *claims*, and in traditional communities no claim is higher or more powerful than the chief's claim. The Tongan government has been pursuing an economic policy aimed at transforming the economy from a subsistence to a cash one. But as I have shown, the problem is political and therefore requires a political solution.

There is recognition of this fact as shown by an up-and-coming pro-democracy movement in Tonga which aims at having Ministers of the Crown elected by the people (at present they are Royal appointees) so that they are more accountable and accordingly there is less corruption. Again, it is not as simple as it sounds and it will take time before the struggle bears any fruit.

Co-operation and Collaboration among Higher Education Institutions within the South Pacific and Beyond

Co-operation and Collaboration as Social Values

Co-operation and collaboration are age-old values in Pacific communities. Other important related values are friendliness, sharing and generosity. Captain Cook's naming of Tonga the Friendly Isles is a sensational early recognition of the role of this chapter of social mores in small Pacific Island societies. And it is most probable these values originally evolved as ingredients of a coping strategy, of overall tactics for survival. They are part of the morality of poverty. This would be most natural in resource-poor environments or in small societies of low-resource-exploitation level, and most Pacific Island societies are both or at least one. On the other hand, resource-rich islands or lands may not have communities that emphasise these values but instead develop ones which are rooted in some form of rapacious competition. In these circumstances the only thing hindering the development of the more 'brutal' values is the small size of the communities caused by geography or the low state of technology.

In small or more or less egalitarian communities co-operation and collaboration as values have a basically economic effect. As society develops and fragments into classes and institutions, these values tend, at first, to remain within single classes. Up to this point co-operation and collaboration promote harmony and peaceful co-existence between the members of small communities and of the same social classes or groups with the same aims. But it is at this point also that these values begin to show a different side – their political side. For members of the same social class can co-operate and collaborate in their struggle against other social classes. But the full effect of the political side of co-operation is witnessed in inter-class or inter-institutional co-operation and collaboration. For the most powerful class or institution in such associations will tend to dominate and exploit the less powerful classes or institutions in the name of co-operation. Needless to add, this state of affairs obtains also in international co-operation between countries. What we recognise from the foregoing analysis is that co-operation and collaboration – and in fact all the 'values of peace' – have their darker side; that when they describe relationships between members of the same social group or between groups with the same or similar interests they are quite beneficial and contribute to real progress; but between classes or

institutions with different specific aims and interests they usually become tools of oppression and control. In other words, such values are the stuff of ideology in the Marxist sense of the term, i.e. they hide the potential for coercion, exploitation, and deception that lie at the bottom of these concepts.

Co-operation and Collaboration among Higher Education Institutions

Educational institutions together constitute a historical social movement with distinct specific interests. According to the French sociologist A. Turaïne, a social movement must fulfil three requirements:¹

1. It must have a distinct identity;
2. It must at least be aware of its relationship (or obligation) to the totality, i.e., the society, as a whole; and
3. It must secure some means of its continuance.

Though Turaïne does not analyse these criteria in detail, I want to consider them for the case of education so as to bring into sharper focus the theme of this chapter and enable us to see what type of co-operative coalition is advantageous to institutions and what is harmful.

In education, the first criterion is fulfilled in terms of morality. Taking morality to be, in general, accepted experientially-derived ways of doing things, we see that education is truly unique and clearly demarcated from all other social movements and institutions. Morality issues are equated with values or general aims which are promoted by people. But these general aims or ways of doing things differ from movement to movement and from institution to institution. Educational morality is not only different from other moralities, its content, i.e. the specific interests of educational inquiry, is of a type not actively promoted in other ways of life except artistic production. One can put all values into two classes: the interested and the disinterested. In the former, we would include success, profit, fame, power, and so on, and in the latter, excellence, truth, objectivity, cosmopolitanism, and so on. Of all social movements and institutions, only education in the distinctive sense of the term has the disinterested values as specific interests. We can also characterise the difference between the non-educational and educational values as values aimed at promoting security and survival and values which are not so aimed and may, at times, jeopardise security and survival. Interested values are essentially means, that is, they bring about security and survival. Not so with disinterested aims — they are desired for their own sake.

As for the second of Turaïne's requirements, I wish to point out that this cannot be an indispensable element in the definition of education as a social

¹ A. Turaïne, *Return of the Actor: Social Theory in Post-Industrial Society* (University of Minnesota Press 1988).

phenomenon. This is not to deny that education is a social institution nor is it to deny that education can and should contribute to society's advancement — education has contributed, in fact, to society's forward movement more than any other social institution. But the requirement is simply not of its essence. Because of the disinterested nature of education as defined in this chapter, it cannot be constrained to continually and exclusively channel its energies beyond itself without compromising its true character and eventually destroying it as a distinct social movement with a distinct character of its own. Instead of being mindful of a non-existent obligation to the totality, education must always guard against being absorbed or assimilated by other interests. Once such an eventuality is allowed to take place — and this seems to be the case with higher educational institutions in the South Pacific — Turaine's first condition of a distinct identity ceases to hold. This position is usually characterised as 'élitist' or even 'Rightist' by people who forget that if education loses its true character, there will always be élites in whatever social formation we eventually end up with, not only because Pareto's doctrine and Michels's law have general validity but the nature of modern politics and market capitalism require that this be so.

Finally, for the third criterion. This seems to be the area where education as a social movement and higher education institutions as the historical expression of that movement most conspicuously fall down by making concessions which imperil their effectiveness to carry out what can be called a 'social mission'. It is precisely the fear of losing subsistence and means of continuance that allows other social institutions to completely dominate education and higher education institutions. It all comes down to an unwillingness to fight for their rights and lack of an aggressive strategy for acquisition of the means for continuity. It must be pointed out in relation to this requirement that in order for institutions of higher education to preserve their true character and uniqueness they must have a workable theory of their relations to other social institutions and, more importantly, how to deal with them on an equal footing. They must refuse in other words to be treated as essentially instrumental and ancillary in the scheme of things. Insofar as education has failed in this area it can be blamed for the persistence of certain problems in our society.

The amazing fact in modern education is that in the literature all discussions of the inter-relationships between society, education and state, the question of the character of education, and how that character would change if education is constrained to bring about this or that social or national objective, or whether education can indeed do all those things, is never considered. Always the question educationists ask is 'What can education do for society?' But the question 'What can society do for education?' never crosses their minds. This tendency comes out most

forcefully in the work of Coombs which has had a very negative influence on the younger generation of students of education.² But it all boils down to the fact that education is no longer recognised to be an independent thing with distinct characteristics but is thought of merely as an effect in the nature of a feeling, and, at most, an instrument.

We can set down the following as tacit assumptions that form the basis of a definition of education as practised in the present period:

1. Education is nothing but an instrument for social betterment. It must therefore be freely adapted in the implementation of development programmes.
2. No inner character of education is recognised and thus there is no need to worry about any harm that might be sustained as the consequence of adapting education.
3. There is no characteristic core of studies that can be recognised as the basis of any system of education. Therefore the curriculum should change from period to period according to shifts in the structure of community needs.

The whole effect of this situation on South Pacific universities is to make them obsessed with snaring aid from metropolitan governments and international institutions to fund programmes that are determined by external criteria, showing no concern with the effects of such aid on the character of the university as a historical institution or the intellectual integrity of the teaching staff. On the other hand, we can appreciate – and pity – the efforts of the people of the Pacific Islands, but it is still a fact that they are misled by the ethic of consumerism and physicality that is increasingly becoming the norm in island life today. We must see culpability for all this in the work of the leaders, who are either recruited foreign 'experts' or locals who have gone through the present system of education. In whatever way we want to look at it, it is a clear case of the blind leading the blind.

The whole rationale, therefore, of any co-operation and collaboration between institutions of higher learning – anywhere, and not only in the Pacific – is to promote education's specific interests as briefly outlined above and to vouchsafe their continuity and independence. Such aims must be pursued with a clear sense of the conflict of interests which is the foundation for the whole fabric of social process, and full awareness of the dangers inherent in the type of co-operation that brings together institutions with very different interests and of vastly different political leverage. The special case of 'collaboration' between education (especially in the scientific disciplines)

² P. H. Coombs, *Future Critical Issues in Education*, Occasional Paper, International Council for Educational Development (Paris 1981).

and states – the state is a special social institution representing, in some cases, certain powerful interests and, in others, a practical arrangement or balance between the sum of interests in society – illustrates the hidden political agenda of the notion of 'co-operation' with singular clarity. Education is always the junior partner – nay, a begging partner.

Forms of Co-operation and Collaboration Found in the South Pacific

The flyer circulated in announcement of the workshop upon which this chapter is based illustrates the kind of confusion which I have been trying to bring out in this short statement. It attests to the surrender to the powers-that-be, to the illusion of progress through co-operation between different institutions with education as a valued instrument in the whole exercise. The first sentence of this announcement runs as follows: 'Higher education has become a major vehicle for the economic, social and political development of the South Pacific region'. To complete the transformation of our institutions of higher learning into major vehicles of economic and socio-political development, corporate and public funds are dangled in front of them mainly for research and training (a term which, strictly speaking, means something totally different from, and opposed to, education). But the price for this 'assistance' is slighter literacy, skimpy scholarship, malformed and one-sided curricula, and no contribution to culture. This 'service' is provided in different ways but the principal one is the 'production' of 'manpower'. As the flyer puts it: 'they [referring to the University of the South Pacific and the University of Papua New Guinea] have produced much of the highly trained and educated manpower which now governs and manages the states of the South Pacific'.

It is impossible in a model of education which stresses the training of human resources to meet the needs of the economy to escape a careerist orientation. Two points need to be made at this juncture. First, never before have there been more trained people out of work than in today's society. Second, manpower which is the product of careerist and utilitarian models of education will work for improvement of the economy and anything at all but education. The flyer says that 'new institutions in Samoa, Tonga, French Polynesia, the Solomon Islands and elsewhere are now preparing to follow suit'. It also says that 'regional co-operation has always been a characteristic of higher education in the South Pacific'. What is usually glossed over in talk about regionalism is the fact that it is shot through and through with political and economic scheming, especially by the senior partners.

The same flyer is also sympathetic to education supporting independence while simultaneously 'improving relations among Pacific nations and between Pacific nations, the "Pacific Rim" and the rest of the world'. Now, it is not clear how exactly this intensely political assignment is going to take place.

Will it supersede the normal and traditional channels of diplomacy? Or will it flesh out a new brand of international politics? No matter how you look at it, it cannot be anything honourable, and much less anything profitable to education. But all this demonstrates the bewilderment wrought by the wrong kinds of co-operation and collaboration which proliferate in the region as a result of incautious application of the co-operative principle. It is a special case of the fallacy of composition. The types of co-operation and collaboration most commonly found in the Pacific have been forces for uniformity and regional homogeneity.

They have been mostly economic and only ostensibly non-political. For instance, the Forum Meeting — which a countryman of mine has called the gymnasium for politicking Australia — can become political when the 'aggressor' is not from the region, as in the case of the French in New Caledonia, but reverts back to non-political silence where a popular member, e.g., Fiji, is blameworthy. But what does regional homogeneity consist of? Not only do the physical fashions in the South Pacific tend to present a similar look, but also, more indelibly, they instil in people a particular mindset, a psychology that appraises economic development above all else and supplants the true focus of development — mankind's real betterment — by one of development's creatures — the production of goods and services. This is particularly malevolent because the Pacific has not been exposed to Western ways of thinking long enough (education embodies a way of thinking, the most distinctively European). And, more importantly, the type of education that the South Pacific has had up to now has been elementary and practical whereas the most distinctively European education is critical and literary (cf. with the whole history of education in Europe where the norm for centuries was literary and humane studies before any idea of political economy or developmental studies was ever even heard of). It is very clear that we now have a different ranking of priorities, one in which things are arranged according to their appeal for the machinery of production, and education makes only a perfunctory appearance therein.

What co-operation and collaboration on education there is in the South Pacific leaves so much to be desired. The most important example here is, of course, the University of the South Pacific (USP). Two types of co-operation are met with here:

- * co-operation between the participating governments with USP as the implementing agent; and
 - * co-operation between USP and other educational institutions in the region.
- As for the first, the participating governments hold the reins in all important issues, even in the domain traditionally controlled by the experts in the field: the teachers, i.e. curriculum and its content. As an example of the dearth of things educational at this institution, there is no philosophy course, there is

no classical or modern language course (apart from a smattering of French taught by a corps of young people), and there is no literature course worth the name. The criterion for this last programme seems to be 'local product' (again a political one) as against the truly educational standards of excellence and classicism. Yet it is the traditional type of education that the South Pacific most needs at her present stage of development. But the faculty have no real effect in this area. If any of them are happy with these conditions, they have been politicised to such an extent that they are as good as brainwashed. It is the same with the co-operation between USP and other educational institutions. The political and economic interests and priorities are so dominant as to colour and adulterate their relationships, and all communications between them have to be conducted along highly politicised lines. This state of affairs has been aggravated by Fiji sharking over everything. As always education is the loser. The moral of it all is: higher education institutions are simply tools for economic development and pawns in international politics.

THE FOREGOING REMARKS dispose us to conclude with the following general propositions. They can be regarded as guidelines for the formulation of a strategy for a practical reassessment and reconstruction of institutions of higher learning for the South Pacific.

1. Co-operation and collaboration between institutions of higher education in the South Pacific must be based on a clear notion of what a university symbolises, what its cultural meaning is and its place and 'mission' in the social milieu. This would necessitate a rejection of both the instrumentalist view of education and the service credo, and allowing the university to discover its real historical self which is the relentless scientific search for what is the case — in the process destroying bigotry and falsehoods, new and old, instead of being forced to buttress them — and the propagation of the best and most permanent of human intellectual and artistic creations. This aspect of co-operation between universities would especially emphasise standardisation of core areas of curricula.
2. We must do away with all forms of anti-academic reinforcements of the present situation with regard to education in order to really cleanse the air and acquire a pure heart. The most virulent types of ideology contaminating education theory now derive from commerce and industry. Thus a whole new anti-educational language is at the centre of the educator's discourse today, though he does not realise that in using it he reveals his inadequacy to deal with education as a social institution. Therefore, terms and concepts are lifted directly from industrial practice

and imposed on educational processes with no qualms whatsoever. The tacit assumption must be that industry and education are very similar types of activities — nay, that education can be manipulated in such a way as to take on an exactly industrial character. Of course, nothing can be further from the truth as an examination of part of the said language will reveal:

a) '*production of manpower*' — nothing illustrates better the industrialisation of education than this term, where we have two intensely economic/industrial terms connected together in one phrase. Institutional languages reflect the ruling economy of a period. Thus we find early Christianity, following Judaism, using a herding language and still calling people 'sheep', 'fold', etc.

Manpower is an extension of *horsepower*, a term first coined during the English Industrial (New Energy) Revolution. What is covered over is the fact that both the structure and process of education are totally different from those of industry and commerce. For one thing, the separation of owners from owned or the concept of proprietorship is not really found in education since, there, the administrative and productive functions cannot be effectively kept apart. For, unlike industry, in education the competent are the actual 'producers'. Thus to think of education in industrial terms is to add to our muddlement and destroy education and our educational institutions.

b) '*eliminating wastage*' — this is business language *par excellence* for it is the very principle of profit maximisation. In educational morality, however, profit is not a value and so wastage control is no priority. In fact the search for truth or knowledge (and the search for effective pattern in art) demands the sacrifice of resources — the quantity is no consideration — in order to gain new knowledge, or to make 'old' knowledge more exact. This means that wastage is a condition of all educational inquiry.

3. We must realise that what is happening in South Pacific institutions of higher learning is merely the remote repercussions of a worldwide crisis in culture, in general, and in education, in particular. The technological revolution has brought peoples and places closer together but at the same time social life has become incredibly more complex as people and social groupings try to cope with the rapidly changing circumstances. Many movements have contributed to the present situation. We have mentioned the technological revolution, but an economism and consumption ethos which have been concomitants of the advent of Marxism also lie at the bottom of this new humanism and salvationism that strike at the heart of disinterestedness and logically based standards. Other movements that have taken their toll on universal culture and educational inquiry are the new 'openess' condemned by Alan Bloom as really a 'closure' of the

mind,³ feminist agitations, and, most recently, postmodernist positions which are really curious mixtures of irrationalism and abandonment of positive standards. It is no wonder then that this present crisis is such a pernicious event in the history of mankind, one that threatens the very continuity of education as traditionally understood and also of universal culture. It is a resurgence of barbaric sentiments more sinister than any station in Vico's *Ricorsi*.⁴ The only hope for culture is in maintaining the true character of education by incessant and committed struggle.

³ A. Bloom, *The Closing of the American Mind* (New York 1987).

⁴ G. Vico, *La Scienza Nova*, trans. B. Frisch (New York 1953).

Pacific Universities

IT IS ENCOURAGING TO SEE THAT A NUMBER of tertiary institutions have been established in the last two or three decades in parts of the Pacific where, heretofore, there were none. Originally there were only two such schools in the island world – the University of Papua New Guinea (founded in 1965) and University of the South Pacific (open to the public in 1968). 'Atenisi University was established in 1975. In the 1980s other Pacific universities came into being – the Université Francaise, with campuses in both Papeete (Tahiti) and Noumea (New Caledonia), Pacific Adventist University in Papua New Guinea, and Universite Aoao o Samoa i Sisifo (National University of Western Samoa). Of the other tertiary institutions, the Pacific Theological College in Suva, Fiji, the Divine Word Institute (Roman Catholic) in the Solomons, and Pacific-Asia Christian University in Tonga are worthy of note. These last establishments, however, place more emphasis on theological/pastoral care studies and missionary work training than straight academic education.

This sudden burst of higher education development is of great significance for the life of Pacific islands peoples although many of them do not realise that a university is such an immense investment in monetary and/or intellectual capital or even understand what a university really means and does. Nevertheless it seems true to say that this whole ferment in the Pacific is part of the general post-World War II movement towards a more equitable distribution of resources, and that this policy applied most aptly to Third World countries and former colonies of the Great Powers. Academic doctrines known variously as modernisation or development theories were devised for this Third World reconstruction. Conceptually these theories tied in nicely with two features of the situation in the islands: Pacific peoples conceive education from a purely utilitarian/materialistic standpoint, and foreign aid is easiest to come by if donors are satisfied that the projects at issue are developmental – in the required sense – in purpose.

Accordingly most Pacific universities – especially the main ones, U.P.N.G., U.S.P. and U.F. – were set up on this principle, that they contribute to, nay, 'lead' in, the economic development of Pacific islands. This is reflected by the fact that curricula at these schools are dominated by so-called 'relevant' programmes. Ultimately the overall effect of this type of education is the raising of Gross National Product. It still leaves a lot to

be desired. For example, on the personal level, a student from any of these institutions at the end of his/her studies, goes forth with some qualification, acquires a job, makes a contribution to the economic reconstruction of his/her country, gains a livelihood, and very little else. But most have not acquired general literacy in the process, that quality traditionally understood as that which must be delivered by a formal education. This, perhaps, can be taken as the fundamental feature of Pacific universities – their lack of any form of true traditionalism. This, of course, is a world-wide phenomenon as Bill Readings depicts so convincingly in his last publication.¹

Granting, for the sake of argument, however, that the development credo is right for Pacific Island Countries there are still fundamental flaws in its implementation in the islands. These are:

- * the *prioritisation* of needs is wrong,
- * the course levels at universities and training institutes are far too low for the requirements of real development. This is most pronounced in the technical areas.

An example of the first drawback is the general programme provided by the World Bank for restructuring in Third World countries. The general needs are ranked as follows:

1. development of natural resources;
2. technical transfer;
3. human resources development.

Now, because higher education and training has had a late start in the Pacific islands, it will take quite some time – making necessary adjustments, etc. – for the islands to come up with the trained manpower equal to the tasks at hand. Therefore, development of natural resources will continue to be effected by, and remain in the hands of, foreigners – foreign investors and developers, development 'experts' and advisers, and so on. In other words, local peoples will never play a real and responsible part in their own development (apart from supplying unskilled labour for foreign developers). The World Bank prescription then is a recipe to keep local peoples out of any effective participation in the development of their island resources. It is clear then that we must invert this whole system and put human resources development in the top place, then technical transfer, and lastly the development of natural resources. If not, then by the time island peoples are ready to tackle their own development, the resources will have been much depleted or gone altogether.

The second weak spot relates to the abysmally low-level and inadequate content of courses available at Pacific tertiary institutions. They simply

¹ B. Readings, *University in Crisis* (Montreal 1996).

cannot match the development needs and especially levels (in terms of sophistication, durability and general quality) now demanded by island governments and peoples, to say nothing of the growth targets each government sets. People who have been trained in Pacific institutions, especially in the theoretical and technical fields, are actually simple technicians who should really spend some time in a metropolitan training institution in order to be of real and lasting value for island development. And those island scholarship holders who get a chance to study overseas usually opt for some esoteric little courses which, though easily completable, are not of much use back home. We are then building up in the islands this pool of basic technicians who are increasingly employed by foreign firms as trained skilled labour.

What are we to do then? First, we must do away with the belief that levels in education and training have to be firmly tied to the apron strings of the 'needs of society', and realise that people's expectations and needs proceed in spurts, and that a good rule of thumb here would be: always keep levels and standards very high, so that needs are always well absorbed with extra steam left over. Second, Pacific universities must institute first class theoretical courses in technical subjects. Third, a good research centre for both physical and social sciences should be established at some central place, ideally USP. And finally, a *first class* polytechnical institution must be set up for the region. I need not repeat the well known principle that for industry to thrive well in any context, 'pure science' must be pursued somewhere and given full autonomy to do its own thing. But the polytechnic, which makes physical transformations and embodies theoretical facts in gadgetry and other forms of technology, is the ideal bridge between 'pure' research and industry.

Of course the above would involve a phenomenal outlay of resources, both capital and human. But if we are serious about our development then Pacific universities and training institutions must be adapted in some ways similar to what has been adumbrated briefly here. I see that Australia, at least, is encouraging post-graduate training of islanders to be conducted exclusively in the island institutions. This would be a real disaster as it would certainly result in slighter and slighter competence, that is, if the Pacific tertiary institutions are not given the overhaul herein suggested.

Education and Development

THE HISTORY OF EDUCATION IN TONGA HAS SHOWN that the issue of the 'fit' between the level of education and social development is an important one for this society. This 'fit' is actually the measure of the degree of agreement or mutual assistance between education and socio-economic development. The early missionaries who came to Tonga entered a society with a stone-age technology and related aspirations in the people who otherwise lived in 'primitive' affluence. The missionaries immediately set about establishing schools, and in the work of some (most notably Moulton) instituted a system of education that was so far above the stage of development of the society that subsequent missionaries decried the lack of 'fit' between education and the needs of society. Needless to say, these later missionaries swept away Moulton's curriculum, and in its place substituted a very elementary vocational syllabus designed to meet (as they said) the needs of the people.

This loss of 'fit' between people's aspirations and the type of education and training is now repeated for Tonga with the difference that it is the people's aspirations that have run away with society while education and training lag far, far behind. This discrepancy has very serious economic implications which are fairly easy to isolate. But their social and political impact are harder to notice and yet they are more vicious and permanent. But once we begin to discern the economic problems the social ones will start to loom large because, in reality, they are the political forms of the same issues that originate in the aforementioned dislocation. The schematic below shows how the lack of 'fit' translates into different types of problems:

BAD FIT BETWEEN EDUCATION AND SOCIO- ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT	<i>translates</i> <i>into</i>	PROBLEMS IN ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT	<i>translates</i> <i>into</i>	SOCIO- POLITICAL PROBLEMS
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A Vision of the Future?

The government and NGOs of any country should always have a feel for what the future is going to be (more strictly, what it should be). And this is what we mean by a vision. For a true vision is nothing but a powerful feeling. But

* A paper given at the 'Atenisi Ex-Students' Conference, Nuku'alofa, 5-9 Dec. 1995.

In the case of a government it comes in the form of a policy, in this case an educational policy. And a government policy on education is usually said to be designed to meet the needs of the people. For a policy to be successful, however, careful study of the people, the economy, and key institutions, must be done. And this has not been done in the case of Tonga.

According to preambles to curricula revisions of the last 15 years or so, the general aim of education and training in Tonga is, in effect, to assist economic and social development in general and to enable the government to achieve national goals and objectives. This is all very well, but when we come to the contents of the curricula themselves we notice a serious flaw in the prescriptions. Two observations can be made in relation to this point:

1. although there is some appreciation of social and economic changes – as is shown by the predominance of 'relevant' subject areas, e.g. economics, commerce, computer science, industrial arts etc. – the educational authorities in Tonga, both government and churches, have not shown any appreciation of the fact that -
2. the *level* to which any particular subject should be taken is of crucial significance in this connection. This means that if education and training are to be tempered to socio-economic development two things have to be taken into account: the type of subject areas to be emphasised; and the levels at which the areas are to be taught.

The fact that this second requirement has not been appreciated by Tongan educational authorities has, and will continue to have, serious consequences for Tonga's development. However, it is one thing to identify this lack, and quite another to rectify the situation. For to raise levels in curricula involves huge outlays in funds, equipment and staffing. But I do not believe it is beyond the reach of a number of educational systems, especially the government's, to accommodate the more important upgrading required. The Tongan government commands abundant resources which could be more usefully engaged in education and training than thrown at doubtful projects and counterproductive expenditure such as salary revisions and so forth.

People's Aspirations

One way of adumbrating the needs of society and people's aspirations is to observe not only how industries fight it out in the market but also how the public sector handles its projects. On this front we record these findings:

1. Old cash crops, e.g. copra and bananas, which were the mainstay of the economy from 1920 to 1990, have, to all intents, gone out of production and new crops, e.g. vanilla, squash pumpkin etc., have been put in their place. The decisive factor is profitability. The level of domestic consumption and capital accumulation skyrocketed during the 1980s and

has not shown any sign of abating. There was no question of copra and banana being able to support such an economy. Tonga is at a point in its development where spending is seen as depending solely on income, so that if income could increase indefinitely, spending would follow suit.

2. The Tonga government pitches its projects at a level where most require foreign experts to implement them. Although a case can be made for the contention that local industries should be given incentives and protection, the point is that local expertise cannot give the projects concerned the finish, the strength, permanence and reliability that government—and the community—now would want to see in them. Let me mention some of these projects:

a) the Reserve Bank building. Built by Fletchers, a New Zealand based transnational corporation. A beautiful and strong building complete with modern amenities and electronic devices for smooth and efficient communication between its different parts, as well as with the outside world. It can easily be a building in downtown Auckland or Wellington. Compare this with the job done by a local contractor, e.g. the airport in Vava'u. This leaves heaps to be desired. The Reserve Bank building is a physical symbol of how people's tastes and aspirations have changed. And everything about it underscores the bad fit between the Technical/Developmental curriculum of Tongan schools and the requirements of economic development.

b) The other example that can be mentioned here is the long-standing project of trying to determine the presence or otherwise of hydrocarbons in Tongan territory. We have always engaged foreign experts and although we have trained some few Tongans in some areas of geology, their backgrounds are too specialised or generally irrelevant so that our dependency on foreign experts will continue indefinitely. Practically speaking, earth sciences in general and geology in particular have no place in the education and training of Tongans in our schools.

We can go on enumerating projects indefinitely but this is unnecessary. The aim is to show how the needs of Tongan society have broken all linkages to the curriculum and are floating freely in imitation of the lifestyles of First World countries.

Classical Economics and Pacific Island Countries (PICs)

There is another problem that needs recounting here because it affects all PICs. I am referring to the indiscriminate application of economic principles. What is not appreciated is that huge areas of classical economics are culture and/or geography specific and that if we are to apply them in the Pacific Islands they will have to be so adapted as to give them a form that would suit island contexts, but short of this, they should not be touched at all. This

indiscriminate dumping of inappropriate economics in PICs is due partly to inexperience and defective schooling on the part of island economists (or foreigners who do make it to the islands as advisers) and partly to the state of international relations today. I take one idea from this mishmash of commercial and economic 'principles' to illustrate how these are wreaking havoc across the length and breadth of the whole island world: foreign investment.

International experience is that foreign investment can only work if:

1. the economy concerned is already a 'viable' one, i.e. it has gone over the 'take-off mark, or if not yet, that there is, in the view of any reasonable human being, no question at all of it attaining 'take-off' soon;
2. the recipient economy has a strong sector of local investors, businessmen and traders, who already control an appreciable sector of the domestic as well as the export markets;
3. the subsistence economy has been sufficiently subordinated to the demands of the monetised economy.

So far as I can see, none of the islands satisfies these three conditions except Nauru, but there is a sense in which one can say that Nauru is a lost cause and its proposed 'rescue' is really like the signing of a death-warrant. But the other islands can still be salvaged. And the way is to suppress foreign investment. Of course investors will continue to knock at our door. But there is no need to herd them in. And there is certainly no call for 'open door' policies. Let investors come on their own steam — they are less numerous and less troublesome then — but let us not pile them in like a huge bounding wave to drown all cultural sense in us and exploit us all through the fact that they have capital as well as the capacity to use it properly while we in the islands have neither.

The above remarks put in mind the World Bank blueprint for Third World development: Natural Resources Development, Technology Transfer, and Human Resources development — in that order of priority. I dare say this is a perfect prescription for injurious economic development, for social dislocation and unrest, and a contribution to global deterioration in security and quality of life. Most of the major troubles in the PICs now stem from the evil effects of foreign investment (i.e. the greed, the injustices, the racism and rapacity that are at its core, but covered over by the economist's high-sounding rhetoric). Bougainville, the Fly River, the Solomon Islands Lumber Industry, the Vatukoula Mining debacle, all originated in a context where the local populations are reduced to manual labour forces with very little say in how their own resources are disposed and receiving only a tiny fraction of the total price paid for them. And this in the developmental rhetoric is called 'developing the natural resources'. But what good is there in such a system where the people are cut off from playing a meaningful part

In the 'development' of their own resources? And in time when they become aware of the fact that they have been taken for a ride, they naturally revolt. And the international community usually poohpooh such reactions and make arrangements for the investors to continue raping people's birthrights.

And all this is possible because we have put the cart before the horse, we have not permitted local people — through proper education and training, which requires that natural resources development be delayed — to do their own thing, in the sense of determining every important part of their own development. The most we can do with World Bank priorities is to turn them upside down, i.e. education (the right type) is our first requirement, then technology transfer, then only after those have been brought well under control can we usher in development of natural resources. But we cannot rush into this last phase now, because it is only another name for harmful foreign investment. To adapt Danton's motto for development in PICs: 'education, more education, always education'.

Come to think of it, we can see that modern Europe (from where all modern economics came as well as the doctrine of modernisation through economic development) is the product of a very different kind of development. Three world-shaking events epitomise the pattern of forces that converge at the doorstep of 20th century Europe — the scientific Revolution of the 18th century, the French Revolution at the end of the same century, and the Industrial Revolution in the mid-19th. Present day Europe then exemplifies the confluence of scientific/intellectual effort, political passion, and technological/industrial breakthroughs of Europeans. And beyond these, the Renaissance and Late Medieval, and so on — none of which periods had economic development pure and simple, or international trade, as a theme for national rejuvenation etc. History then, of Europe at least, does not endorse the idea of modernisation through economic development as a well trodden path to 'progress'.

The clearest case of modernisation in the required sense has been Japan. But here again, Japan's history displays unaccommodating facts which force us to seriously adapt the received version for Japan's 'revolution'. Her marvellously intricate traditional cultural infrastructure just happened to be cut out for modernisation. And she first embarked (from 1856 on) on an intensive high-level educational and training programme which took Japanese scholars to the best European universities, and which at times was a matter of life and death for many of those students. Of course, Japan emphasised technological/scientific studies at the expense of classical studies, which the writer regards as a serious fault in that early Japanese otherwise splendid educational project. But that was because the Japanese always see their own culture as elaborate and sophisticated enough to

compare well with the European, and so felt they had no need for cultural studies of a European type.

The other principal weakness of the economist's programme in PICs is the tendency to neglect local resources and certain forms of traditional experience which could be profitably included in his/her inputs and tool kit with no extra costs in adaptation or expert's fees. A very good rule for development in the islands is: utilise fully first of all what is already available locally. Once again this is another lesson of the Medieval period — investigative utilisation of what is available to people at home. Of course we must always introduce new crops, develop new resources and so on, but here again we have to exercise great care and selectivity. We cannot, as is the case now, just make profitability decide everything. For the main problem with new introductions is that usually they bring with them two things: diseases, or deleterious effects to the environment. A case in point is the squash pumpkin industry which is bringing in millions of dollars to the Tongan economy but at the same time pours hundreds of thousands of kilos of chemical substances into our soil annually. Can the huge profits of today make up for the loss in fertility of our soils 50 years hence, plus the hazards to health that would descend on our grandchildren as a result of our shortsightedness or selfish greed? I doubt it very much. In short our young economists, who come raw from school, have an assortment of ideas which they wish to experiment with, but they have very little acquaintance with the local situation and have not much wish to know about it.

The Other Curriculum

Finally, I need not go into the study of the humanities, of society and of languages since these should be an integral part of any programme of studies. The study of rights and the theory of civic virtues especially are conducive to the creation of a just and good society, since they kindle a love of justice and fairness in social dealings. And this requires these studies to be conducted analytically, for we want people to know the reason why. All this must be coupled with a grounding in expressive arts, since the community must be made up of people who appreciate beauty and good proportion in their handiwork as well as their thoughts.

WHAT I TAKE TO EMERGE from the foregoing remarks are the following general propositions:

1. Technical/developmental education in Tonga is far too low-level and must be hiked to standards where it would be able to support the demands of today's developmental needs and the aspirations of the people.

2. Foreign investment or international rip-off of island resources misnamed as development of natural resources must be exposed and radically redesigned while we concentrate on human resources development, i.e. on education.
3. Local economists and foreign advisers must be forced to make a thorough study of what we already have and to learn to fully utilise this, while taking very good care in introducing new resources and processes.
4. Study of the classics and humane letters must take its place in all school curricula.

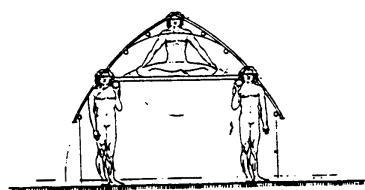
What are we to do then?

There are two things that have to be achieved. First, schools like U.S.P., 'Atenisi, U.P.N.G., etc. must institute first class theoretical courses in Mathematics and Physics and governments must set up one or two first class polytechnics for the region.

I had a chance to visit some regional technical institutes in the 1970s and I could see that many things were not up to international standards. In the area of Mathematics and Physics they didn't have much to show. Only a smattering of Applied Maths was available and geared so narrowly to the type of problems (i.e. jobs) which the teaching staff believed are those commonly met with in the islands. This is the kind of attitude that keeps the level of education and training so abysmally low in the islands – the belief that we should pitch standards at the level at which we find present needs. And it is unconsciously assumed that they will stay there for a long time, and if they change they will do so quite slowly and predictably. Alas, nothing could be farther from the truth! Expectations proceed in spurts, and so a good safe rule of thumb is the following: always keep levels and standards very high so that the 'needs of society' are always taken care of with plenty of extra energy left over.

The need for pure, theoretical inquiry cannot be underestimated and it is done best at a university or institution specialising in certain areas of theoretical research. Polytechnics cannot do this very effectively, being primarily concerned with the ability to make physical transformations or the embodiment of theoretical facts in gadgetry and other forms of technology. And this relationship between 'pure' studies and their translation into industrial techniques must always be maintained if we want our economic development to go the right way (I must add that though this is necessary it is not sufficient), and if we want the locals to be centrally involved in their own development and put an end to the dependency on 'foreign experts', and finally, if we want to put the brake on this mass conversion of island populations into nothing but skilled labour forces (this trend is also dangerous in view of the accelerated movement in the direction of automation

and robotics which threaten to throw whole sections of labour forces out of work, and so on).



Indigenous Experience and the University Curriculum

THIS YEAR, THE YEAR OF THE INDIGENOUS PEOPLES,¹ one comes to an acute realisation: that the experiences and knowledge of indigenous peoples are in danger of being lost. At the same time indigenous peoples the world over are clamouring not only for their rights to be enforced, but also their traditional knowledge to be recognised as an important part of the national heritage and to have it admitted into the curriculum of the educational system. But this insistent call for a greater acknowledgment of indigenous knowledge may really be the swan song of that species of human experience.

Yet even a casual survey of present-day society would more than satisfy one that the only hope for traditional experience lies with the university as the protector, repository and developer of the important and permanent features of peoples' experience, i.e. of culture. In fact it is through the great advances made in the *other* social institutions, especially in technology, business and industry, that indigenous experience has lost so much ground and effectiveness in modern times. But it is not as straightforward as this seems to imply. For important though indigenous experience really is, it simply cannot be heaped into the university curriculum to be apportioned out into the various disciplines. This contingency is there because the university, like any other social institution, in its official functions, is governed by strict traditions or rules. In this essay I want to isolate some of these traditions as they apply to the main disciplines of the university. Before getting into that, however, let us briefly discuss another matter, namely the relationship of the university to culture.

The University and Society

In our own time the work of anthropologists has posed an important issue: how to study traditional cultures. This has contributed to an on-going debate on methodology and other wider issues, for example whether natural and social sciences apply different methods or one and the same. Philosophers of science have given these questions a lot of thought and some like Kuhn,

* Paper given at the Higher Education Institutions Seminar, University of Waikato, New Zealand, July 1993.

¹ The problems people have with this term are well-known. It is used in this paper to refer to peoples and cultures other than the West European ones or derivatives of them.

Hanson, and Lakatos have been quite influential, though that does not mean their theories are free of serious flaws.

I believe the flyer circulated for this seminar, in posing the question of how to introduce indigenous knowledge and experience into university programmes of study, was also pointing to the fundamental issue of the relationship between the university and culture. Now, whatever other things the university may be, it is basically nothing but society itself cut up into pieces which can be more easily handled, i.e. studied and understood. It may be misleading to regard this cutting up of culture as an arbitrary process, for fundamentally the 'cutting' follows natural lines of cleavage, i.e. the 'pieces' represent the major social institutions themselves. Over the centuries these 'pieces' (disciplines or major subject areas) got chopped up further into smaller subdivisions and this is a process that will continue as long as there is society and the instinct to find out.

The truth of the foregoing remarks is borne out by history where we observe that the composition of academic curricula in different periods and different places reflects fairly faithfully the patterning – and the ranking – of the social institutions of those places in those periods. This is largely the explanation, for example, of the prominence given to theology in the curriculum of the universities of late medieval and early Renaissance periods, and also the explanation for the pre-eminence of economic and technological studies at the universities of our own day. The church was the most powerful institution in medieval society, as industry and commerce are in ours.

A recent account of social evolution in terms of the major institutions of culture is that of Habermas.² Adapting Weber and Parsons he pairs his 'three worlds' of cultural rationalisation – the cognitive, the moral, and the expressive – to the principal social institutions of science, law, and art.³ But Habermas does not seem to appreciate the unique position of the university in relation to culture: that the university is the one social institution whose primary function is theoretical inquiry into the major departments of culture. Nowhere does he recognise that his principal social institutions of science, law, and art are also principal disciplines of the university.

Culture and the university then are the obverse and converse of the same coin, society.⁴ The one is the record of the *permanent patterns* of social

² J. Habermas, *The Theory of Communicative Action* (Cambridge 1985).

³ Habermas's 'three worlds' are too subjective. How exactly do we go from them to social institutions? The tacit individualism is the bane of modern sociology. It is better to go from society to psychology than vice versa. This, in fact, is Marx's general approach.

⁴ The university is just another social institution. It studies culture which includes the university. The diagram below represents the relationship graphically:

action, the other an organisation aimed at the *understanding* of those patterns. Putting the matter thus shows that it is not a question of one institution determining, in a simple manner, how another institution should develop. It is a question of the natural development of institutions within a given social milieu.

We devote the rest of this exposition to a general consideration of what is meant by traditional 'rules' for the content of the various disciplines, and how those rules would be disposed in relation to indigenous knowledge and experience.

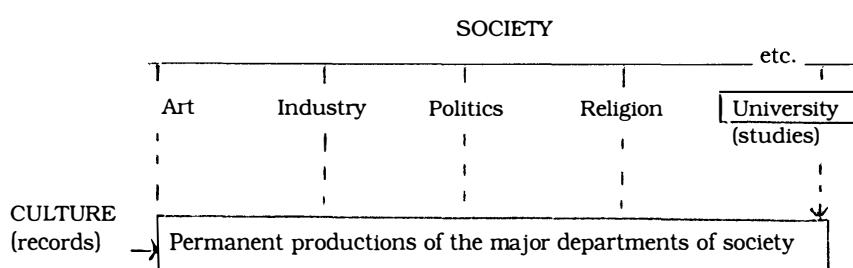
Indigenous Knowledge and Science

The two sides of university work – teaching and research – both assume the soundness of the scientific doctrine which prescribes two methods for the determination of truth-value and validity. These are:

1. the scientific method: the formation of hypotheses and their testing through observation (usually in the form of experiments);
2. logical proof: valid inferences from premises accepted as true.

Because the scientific method is really an equivalent – the testing equivalent – of logical proof, it is logical proof *in action*.⁵ However, scientists regard the methods as distinct and applicable in all fields. Thus indigenous knowledge must submit to the very same tests, because it has no superior claims to truth – no form of knowledge has. On the question of truth and validity the university cannot adapt its characteristic and standard methods without prejudice to its effectiveness.

The logico-scientific tests must be applied to all aspects of indigenous experience involving 'knowledge', i.e. to all indigenous or traditional claims that certain states of affairs are so and so. The areas that come under this description most fully are traditional technology, traditional agriculture,



⁵ All thinking follows the same general pattern: a 'hypothesis' is set up, then observations are made to confirm or de-confirm the hypothesis. Or, when a proposition is doubted (or needs proving) other propositions accepted as true are pulled together for affirmation or rejection of the proposition being tested. The observation (in an experiment) phase of the scientific method would be impossible without tacit assumptions or axioms (propositions accepted as true) which remain unstated.

traditional navigation, traditional fisheries, traditional medicine, etc., in short, any form of social activity where declarative statements accompany the activities as *essential parts* of the activities themselves. In fact traditional farmers, healers, navigators, and so forth, all have not only their particular technical vocabularies and languages but also proverbs, old sayings and formulae which help them to operate successfully in their respective fields. These we refer to collectively as indigenous or traditional knowledge. I take a concrete example from my own culture. If in an evening, say between nine and 10, *one and only one* rooster crows alone for some time, an elder (especially if he has been a navigator in his youth) would assure us that there is going to be a rather severe storm accompanied by heavy rain in the late afternoon (or early evening) of the very next day; but the bad weather, he would add, is not going to hold, for, by about eight that same evening all would be calm under a starry or moonlit sky. In this case scientific testing applies perfectly though the problem before us is not to test a hypothesis but to scientifically substantiate or refute a claim that there is some correlation between the crowing of a lonely rooster and imminent stormy weather. The testing would take the form of repeated observations, recordings and even 'controlled' experiments. For a complete proof, however, the scientific programme must move beyond the mere fact that a certain type of event *always follows* soon after another certain type of event. It must identify a *real connection*.

The above remarks point to a fundamental difference between indigenous knowledge and science. The former is a *semiology*, i.e. it is a system of associated signs where, if one sign appears, another sign or certain event *must* also appear. In fact the concept of 'real connection' as we understand it in science is absent from indigenous systems of knowledge. Science, on the other hand, requires real connections between events: it requires that for one event to *always* follow another, one must *cause* the other. Without the concept of cause we cannot distinguish science from indigenous knowledge. Alternatively put, the notion of cause is not necessary for the construction of systems of traditional knowledge. Repeated patterns of situations suffice for social action.⁶

It is common for indigenous peoples to claim a special status for their knowledge and experience. But none of them has devised a truth test apart from the pragmatic criterion of 'working in practice'. And even this criterion

⁶ To make the concept of 'cause' precise, we have to introduce the concept of *force*, i.e. in order for anything to 'cause' another event or change it must have a force which brings about the change, event etc. Hume's doctrine is allied to the semiological systems of indigenous peoples because they do not require real connections in the form of forces. Strictly speaking Hume's universe and that of indigenous peoples contain no forces.

is not clearly recognised.⁷ Therefore, there is no question of merely taking over indigenous experience in the said areas of social life and building them into university courses. They all have to pass the rigorous tests of science. The university will no longer be viable if it fails to observe this fundamental rule.

One word of warning. To understand traditional experience is not a straightforward matter. For one thing, indigenous peoples never express their knowledge in the scientific manner and sometimes deliberately aim to mislead. Sometimes the expressions employed are deceptively transparent when in reality they are quite subtle and complex. Therefore we require deep familiarity with the relevant aspects of the culture before we can start our tests. This, however, is no call for a special treatment for indigenous knowledge, only a reminder that it cannot be taken lightly.

The Case of the Arts

Although, as explained in the foregoing section, tests are in place for the propositions of ethnobiology, ethnohistory, ethnotechnology etc., we cannot say this in relation to the arts of indigenous peoples. For although the university is vitally concerned with the arts and has traditionally studied and taught them, it has not — and cannot — devise tests for truth-value and validity because truth in its logico-scientific sense has no application for the arts. This does not mean that the university has no criteria for deciding what art is 'good' and what is not. It has, and they consist of general principles which are implicit in the works of philosophers and aestheticians from Aristotle and the ancients down to Croce in our own time, and also in the writings of art critics, art historians and the artists themselves.

There are particular periods that so stand out in the quality of their artistic productions that their works cease to belong to just those periods or provinces where they were originally conceived and executed. They belong to all history and all mankind because of the universality of their appeal. Such provinces would include Classical Greek sculpture and literature, Roman civic engineering, Gothic architecture, Renaissance painting, and classical music.⁸ But art from other periods and places, including the arts of indigenous peoples, though not as universal as those mentioned, can still be great art and absolutely worthy of study.

⁷ The pragmatic theory of truth is in fact non-scientific since it does not require that real connections exist — which science specifically insists upon — over and above the fact of 'working in practice'.

⁸ These are examples from European cultures only, though I am sure there are many examples elsewhere of art works and traditions which have the same universal appeal, e.g. Islamic architecture with its Alhambra, Taj Mahal, Blue Mosque, etc.

Generally speaking art is that part of social action where the actors present and/or articulate and/or create beautiful forms. And beauty is an elusive concept. But whatever we think beauty is, its *basis* is symmetry. Art, however, is not the presentation of bare symmetry. The work of the artist can be analysed into two phases: first, the identification or creation of symmetry, and second, the moulding of symmetry. It is in the second phase that the artist shows the extent of his creativity because it is here that bare and static symmetry is quickened with a vital power transforming it into *living rhythm*. The two phases however must never be thought of as separate. In actual artistic work they fuse into one and the artist is never conscious of them as separable processes.

At the same time as 'moulding of symmetry' animates the work of art, it also tends to 'hide' the symmetrical nature of the form so that in the act of perceiving beauty in rhythmic forms energy is spent and the discovery is appreciated the more. *Ars est celare artum*.

The resources at the artist's disposal for covering up bare symmetries are myriad — colour, texture, movement, tone, tempo, etc. Now, although the illusion of movement can be created by the artist through juxtapositions of spatial repetitions it is in music and the dance that actually moving symmetries are presented through temporal repetitions or changes over time. Here perception is taxed to the utmost since the memory is required to hold images (tonal and posal) which have ceased to exist and mentally weave them together into rhythmic, beautiful forms. In music and dance, therefore, even though the listener and viewer may not be participating he is still an artist to the extent that he is, perforce, creating forms from once existing structures that he has internalised. The greatness of a work of art is measured by how far it holds the articulation of beauty and the covering up of plain repetition in enduring suspension.

In all arts, and no less in the art of indigenous peoples, these general principles are evident though more in some than in others. Different cultures treat the general principles in different ways but the products are all effective in some way or another. An example is the different ways they solve the problem of balance. In European and Asian arts the balance is quite symmetrical whereas in Polynesia — especially in music and dance — balance is usually assymetrical and the dramatic devices of climax (or anti-climax) have wide applications. But in addition to the universal principles there exist also what have been called local canons. This claim is easy to make but we simply cannot accept it at face value for I suspect that the local standards are simply how different peoples interpret the universal canon. Of course there is no question of a *real* disagreement between local standards and universal principles.

If on a specific question we believe they do disagree, the explanation is either that they are different ways of applying the same principles or they are actually not talking about the same thing. If in fact there is conflict we are bound to reject one view. At any rate, much of indigenous art is the embodiment of a completely different conception of art: much of Oceanic art, for example, especially Melanesian, aims not at the creation of beauty as such but at infusing the artwork with psychic power, i.e. with *personality*. It is in this regard that university study of indigenous arts will be repaid most handsomely. Let us, by way of illustration, contrast cognate examples from classical and Polynesian music.

The sonata form in European classical music gives an excellent illustration of how symmetry forms the basis of the rhythmic beauty of the music. Here the whole is deployed on the level of tonality only, though there are symmetries at other levels also. With the earlier composers, for example Haydn, the composition might start in a simple key, say C major, modulating to the dominant or subdominant before closing the section. In the next section, the dominant could be maintained – or change to the relative minor of C, i.e. A minor – returning to the tonic in the third or final section. In the case of Beethoven, though the sonata becomes infinitely richer and seemingly more complex – by a nesting of smaller symmetries – the overall symmetrical form of the work remains exactly the same. Although the composition is rounded off neatly, we can say at the same time that the treatment of balance or symmetry is rather tame,⁹ for it is in harmonic language that classical music shows its true mettle.

Polynesian music, on the other hand, can only offer either harsh harmonies (fourths or fifths in ancient music) or simplistic chordal positions (only I, IV, V of the scale positions are used in *all* modern music). But the other characters – melody, rhythm, volume, tempo, etc. – are so cleverly deployed that the naive harmony and lack of modulated tonality are successfully covered up, for the aim here is not so much austere beauty but *earthy excitement*. Nevertheless, symmetry is preserved but in a much subtler and yet more aggressive way than in the sonata form. For in West Polynesian

⁹ If we were to represent the balanced form of the sonata in mathematical language it would be a normal curve of the frequency distribution:



'classical' music, everything builds to a grand climax or anti-climax (the conception is akin to Greek tragedy) and there the whole composition ends.

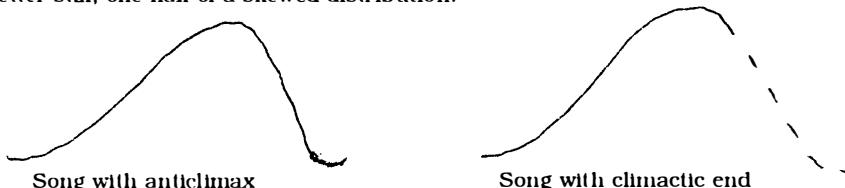
Thus in Polynesian traditional music only one half of the symmetrical form is actually drawn leaving the rest for the *imagination* to complete.¹⁰ The same kind of general analysis would bring up interesting differences in approach to other aesthetic elements; theme, for example, so all-important and quite manifest in classical music, is missing from Polynesian music.¹¹

We can add more examples to the above ones and from different areas of indigenous or traditional art, but the general point would be the same: university study of traditional art will be repaid a thousand-fold. However there is no question of the university training a person to be an artist in the sense it can train a person to be a scientist. And this is so because the natal psychological endowment for the artist is far more specialised and complex than for the scientist. The university may (it really must) be concerned with art; it may (it really must) create the environment where artistic gifts could be nurtured and drawn out; but it cannot really produce artists — poets have to be born and not made.

One final point. The best preparation for the study of indigenous art is immersion in the history and criticism of European art. And thus armed with the analytical tools of art criticism one can then embark on a serious consideration of indigenous arts. So one has to be acquainted with European art criticism in order to fully grasp the virtues of traditional art, for traditional cultures, beautiful as they are, are never philosophically self-sufficient.¹²

And the university is the logical venue for achieving this acquaintance. Therefore the university holds the keys both to the proper study of indigenous art and to the cultivation of its spirit.

¹⁰ In contrast to the neat symmetry of the sonata, that of Polynesian traditional music would be represented by only one half of the same curve with imagination supplying the missing half or better still, one half of a skewed distribution.



¹¹ The narrative character of European art, even in drama — the continuity required for understanding as distinct from feeling it — is quite strong and really never lost until we come to modern abstract art. It is otherwise with many indigenous arts which are basically non-thematic.

¹² That is, no other culture, except the West European, has forged tools for the scientific study of cultures. So we have the strange situation of having to go to European culture — strictly, to the university as a specific creation of that culture — to acquire those tools.

Morality and Protocol

As remarked earlier in the paper, Habermas pairs his moral 'world' with the institution of law in society. Because his purpose is the elucidation of the concept of purposive-rational action and the process of rationalisation, Habermas does not clarify what he means by law. I shall assume, however, that he uses the term in the jurist's sense. Now, there are differences between law in this sense and the system of tabus in traditional societies,¹³ the most important being that tabus are *ultimately* aimed as safeguarding the rights of the strong, of the ruling group.¹⁴

In the small, self-contained communities of Oceania, hierarchy has not rigidified and the mores consist of simple operational rules aimed at survival in their resource-poor, essentially maritime environments.¹⁵ Once the resources are developed, however — and this always goes hand in hand with growth in hierarchy and stratification — tabus and various sanctions for ensuring security for the ruling group make their appearance, multiply, and become entrenched in the society.

It is therefore mandatory for the university in pursuing its antiquarian interests and various preserving exercises to make sure that it is always discriminatory in these matters. The moralities of small, egalitarian communities are peace-promoting and are consonant with the needs of enlightenment and social justice. But the university must be careful not to pander to the moralities and protocols of repressive hierarchy and privilege.

There are two types of tabus. The first relates to customary tasks or customary restrictions experientially derived to enhance the survival chances of the community. These tabus are usually attributed to the Great Spirit or Universal Fire, and so on, that is, the unseen powers of Nature (Sea, Wind etc.). The second class of tabus are cover-ups for the demands of the ruling group: they are political mechanisms for ordering society. The first category of tabus is commoner in more or less egalitarian societies with relatively simple structures, such as the societies of the Amerindians, of Melanesia, and the tiniest Polynesian islands (Tokelau, Tuvalu). The second class is dominant in Tonga and Fiji, where social hierarchies and traditional privileges have been developed to levels of unrivalled perfection.

In reinforcing the last remark let us note that traditionally Tongan culture had no conception of 'sin' outside the breaking of *social* rules like the breach

¹³ See no.33 in this collection.

¹⁴ This is an ancient definition of totalitarianism (*vide Republic* Bk 1) and is in keeping with Marx's view of a capitalist government. But it fits best the traditionalist societies with rigid hierarchies.

¹⁵ Communities in Highland Papua New Guinea would be of this type constrained to remain small and elementary by difficult terrain and stone-age technology.

of protocol at a *kava* party or while talking to a chief.¹⁶ In standard terminology: 'sin' in traditional Tongan culture lacks an ethical dimension. Everything ends on the level of behaviour, that is, of the observable. In this type of society, man in his so-called moral life is a puppet that is animated by strings anchored on external points, namely social conventions.

In the domain of morals and protocol, therefore, the university would have to exercise the same discrimination regarding indigenous customs and standard behaviour. And although it must take account of ethnicity it at the same time must measure it against universality, and must apply the rule: where they clash the university must reject the ethnic prescriptions.¹⁷ Where they do not the university must do all it can to preserve both, and realise that it is then that we learn from indigenous experience new solutions to the same problems, constituting a contribution to universal culture.

Leveleva e malanga

¹⁶ It might also be remarked here that the anthropologist's account of rituals (including our *kava* ceremony) is seriously flawed. Rituals are pieces of *social theatre* designed to always impress on the audience (the community) that the demands of the ruling group or individual must be made good. The idea that the *kava* ceremony is a covenant between the leader and followers betrays utter ignorance of the nature of society. All rituals are didactic drama aimed at teaching a sociopolitical lesson and enhancing the power and security of the ruling party. (Incidentally visiting the toilet before going to bed is a biological need, not a ritual. It, moreover, has no audience except ego and teaches no politics.)

¹⁷ In general the whole thrust of the Enlightenment was to insist on the existence and primacy of universal principles. The Romantic reaction emphasised ethnic and local knowledge. We can summarise the Enlightenment principle as: we have to be moral first and ethnic after.

Battle of Wits: Ancient Rivalries Between Tongans, Samoans, and Fijians

THE SUBJECT OF ANCIENT RIVALRIES between Tongans, Samoans, and Fijians is well attested to in the literature¹ and is a favourite topic in all communal palavers that require a review of traditions. The stories come down to us as myth, for example Maui and the Magic Fish-hook of Manu'a, or as song, like the Chant of Mohulamu. Some have even been given modern reformulation – and a modern reading – as dance poetry like the *lakalaka* analysed in this paper.

The general theme of the relationships between Tonga, Samoa, and Fiji was first brought onto the level of academic discussion and debate by the publication in 1978 of Adrienne Kaeppler's paper 'Exchange patterns in goods and spouses: Fiji, Tonga and Samoa'.² This seminal paper released very useful and stimulating studies.³ Their combined effect, notwithstanding disputable details, is confirmation of the intimacy and specialness of the interactions between these communities and that such interactions were almost always in the form of exchange of prestige goods and even (as Kaeppler maintains) spouses, the 'circulating connubium'.

In this paper I want to look briefly at an aspect of this general theme – a general distrust which these communities had of each other and the ease with which each readily suspected the others of ill-will and so deceived them at the drop of a hat. This, of course, clashed with universal moral values that are found in all societies of a certain level of organisation, such as hospitality to refugees or suppliants, which were also at the basis of Polynesian cultures. But it was exactly situations of this type that we find people taking advantage of in order to accomplish their own aims, to frustrate those of others and expose their mental deficiency.

¹ Paper presented at the Tongan History Conference, Auckland, 26-28 Jan. 1995.

² E.g. E. E. V. Collocott, *Tales and Poems of Tonga* (Honolulu 1928), 61.

³ Adrienne Kaeppler, 'Exchange patterns in goods and spouses: Fiji, Tonga and Samoa', *Mankind*, 2 (1978), 242-52.

⁴ The most important are J. Friedman, 'Notes on structure and history in Oceania', *Folk*, 23 (1981), 275-95, and 'Catastrophe and continuity in social evolution', in C. Renfrew, M.J. Rowlands and B.A. Seagraves (eds), *Theory and explanation in archaeology* (New York 1982), 175-96; P.V. Kirch, *The evolution of the Polynesian chiefdoms* (Cambridge 1984); N. Gunson, 'Sacred women chiefs and female "headmen" in Polynesia', *Journal of Pacific History*, 22 (1987), 139-71; H.J.H. Claessen, 'Tongan traditions – on model building and historical evidence', Overdruk in *Bijdragen*, deel 114 (1988), 433-44.

To do all this, I shall analyse two purportedly ancient poems, *Koe Folau 'A Kae* (The Voyage of Kae) and *Faimalie: Koe Lave 'A Mohulamu*⁴ (Faimalie: Chant by Mohulamu), and one *lakalaka*,⁵ 'Sangone', a composition of the late Queen Sâlote of Tonga.

These poems, of course, represent the Tongan perspective on the matter. They therefore must contain an appreciable amount of ethnocentrism and nationalistic sentiment which would make the material less objective. No doubt Fijian and Samoan equivalents exist but they would surely suffer from the same nationalistic subjectivity. At any rate, the whole upshot of this corpus of traditions is an image of Tonga – and Tongans – as coming out on top in all instances of a confrontation with Samoans or Fijians. There is, however, an ethical basis to all these cultures which nationalism can never dislodge. I am referring to a rough and primitive justice that is always maintained in contexts calling for it. Kae is finally punished for his treachery and the shell of the tortoise, Sangone, is brought back from Samoa and returned to its rightful owner, the Tu'i Tonga. In the case of Faimalie 'her' theft of *kahokaho* benefited the Tongans and she is not visited by any form of penal retribution. She is a *fa'ahikehe* or '*otua* (spirit or goddess) and therefore beyond reproach from mere earthlings. Further, certain moral strictures apply only *within* the group. Outside it and especially if their violation brings permanent benefits to the group, violating them becomes mandatory – and moral.

The relations between Samoa, Tonga and Fiji were such that Tonga was the 'gateway' through which transactions between Fiji and Samoa must pass. This is recognised by writers on the subject including Kaeppeler and her commentators.⁶ It is therefore possible for Tonga to have been the major beneficiary from this traffic which involved tangibles and intangibles as well. But it was not due to her central position only. It was also due to the fact that Tonga is by far the smallest in terms of land area and the poorest in natural resources. Naturally Tongans would exert themselves, physically and mentally, twice as hard when confronted by any one of the other two races. It is small wonder if Tonga should benefit from this 'association' many times more – in relative terms, at least – than any of the other two players.

1. *Koe Folau 'a Kae*⁷

This poem of 172 lines⁸ is a complex mix of divers stories which the poet has fitted around the central theme of Kae's treachery and punishment. It opens

⁴ Both in E. W. Gifford, *Tongan Myths and Tales* (Honolulu 1924), 143-8 and 164-7.

⁵ Tonga's national dance in which many people, men and women, participate.

⁶ See Kirch, 'The evolution', 241; Kaeppeler, 'Exchange patterns', 250.

⁷ Gifford's version is a reprint from the original Tongan recitative in Dr J. E. Moulton's *Koe Makasint 'a Kolosi*, vol.III (1876), 58-61.

⁸ The text is divided into 20 mostly seven-line stanzas.

with an account of Loau's famous school of navigation conducted in an artificial lake (*lepa*) in Fualu (lines 1-3).⁹ When the voyage actually left Tonga the original destination was the land of the talking *puko* tree (*puko lea*) (l.5), i.e. Pulotu. But the ship got diverted to other places, and it perished in mysterious waters with Kae and Longopoa the sole survivors. Longopoa's wanderings from this point on are not traced in this poem but in another legend he did reach Pulotu and eventually made it back to Tonga. Kae, however, came to Samoa by flying on the magic bird, the Kanivatu (roc). He is befriended by the chief of 'Akana, Sinilau, from whom he received great hospitality and returned to Tonga riding on the chief's twin pet whales. On reaching Tonga, Kae rounded up his village people to slaughter (for meat) the two whales, but managed to kill only one. The other whale returned to Samoa and reported to Sinilau on the incident. Sinilau, straightaway, appealed to the Samoan 'gods' who proceeded to go to Tongatapu, and in the night collected all remains of the dead whale and a sleeping Kae. They were all brought to Samoa where severe punishment (and execution) was meted out on Kae by Sinilau and his 'ainga'. I now comment on the more important sections of the poem.

Lo'au and his Last Voyage

Everything about Lo'au points to his being an 'outsider' in Hocart's sense,¹⁰ a foreigner who introduces into the recipient community a higher culture and technology. The form of his name and things connected with Lo'au suggest a Samoan connection or penultimate origin.¹¹ The first section of the poem somehow implies that Lo'au was leaving Tonga for good. (*He fonua koeni e fakahela*, as if to say 'I'm sick and tired of this land'). The last line of the stanza seems to be saying that the voyagers soon met a severe storm which blew their ship off course (this is the force of the word *lelea*). The crew tried to comfort the passengers by telling them that Ha'apai and Vava'u would soon be sighted but Lo'au denied it saying it was a lie and that they might be heading to the 'ends of the earth' (*tafatafa'akilangi* – ll. 9-15). In other words, Lo'au had always planned to go to places never visited before by man. It is tempting to see this voyage as a *polar expedition*, which seems to be supported by the next verse, and also to see here a sea traffic between New Zealand and Tonga in prehistoric times.

In the next section the ship 'steered down' (*uli hiso*) which in Tongan navigational parlance means either 'going south' or 'going west'. The next

⁹ The lake has silted up but parts of the original depression can be seen at Fualu near Fatali.

¹⁰ A. C. Hocart, *Kingship* (1970).

¹¹ The name Lo'au may be related to the Samoan *La'au* (tree). Cf. East Polynesian *rakau* (tree), and Hawaiian *Lu'au* (formal feast). Lo'au's residence was called *Ha'amea*, possibly a contemporary Tongan rendition of *Ha'amoia*, the modern Tongan name for Samoa.

three lines (18-20) decide the direction for us, since they speak of seemingly semipolar conditions (*tahitea* — 'white sea' of snow and ice?; *tahi suofu'anga* — 'sea of pumice', ice-bergs?; *tahi pupulu* — 'thick, slimy sea'). The question is, did Lo'au go to the pole — and come back? Whatever place is described, the ship was soon wrecked just after Kae and Longopoa deserted it hiding among pandanus trees in an island the ship had visited. The two survivors parted and went in different directions.

Kae first came to the island of the Roc (*Kanivatu*), a mountain of sand in the middle of nowhere and found eight whales and about a hundred sharks aground on the beach. He slept between two whales and in the night the gigantic bird came and roosted in the same spot. Early the next morning the bird preened its feathers and stretched its enormous wings. When it took off flying low over the deep blue sea, Kae was hanging fast on to its huge breast. When it was directly above the white sands of Akana (A'ana) Kae dropped down onto dry land again.¹²

Kae in Samoa

Soon after landing in Akana, Kae formally presented himself (*uhu kava*) to Sinilau,¹³ the high chief of this part of Samoa. He was thus inducted into Samoan society and culture and given a ceremonial name or 'face' (*matatangata*) (l. 68), probably a *tulafale* or *matai* title. Through his elevation Kae commanded a certain level of status and power in A'ana, something he probably never enjoyed in Tonga (l. 69).¹⁴ When at last Kae wanted to return home, Sinilau made *atuku mesini* (l. 97)¹⁵ to Kae and sent him back to Tonga riding on his twin whales, Tonga and Tununga-tosua'a. The twins may have been sons of Sinilau himself and not whales but perhaps the mythopoet did not think cannibalism a fit topic for public consumption. But as soon as he arrived in Tongatapu Kae left the whales at the harbour and went ashore returning with kinsmen and other relatives and immediately set to killing the whales for food (ll. 103-12). One of the twin whales, however, escaped this fate and returned to Samoa to report to Sinilau of Kae's treachery.

¹² This part of our tale is certainly an importation. It is strongly reminiscent of the story of Sinbad the Sailor. But how it got to the Pacific is anybody's guess. If via Indonesia when Islam was introduced there in the 10th century, then we would have a bottom limit to dating the events of our story. But that is certainly not the last of our problems on this question. At any rate this proves that this tale is a hopeless tangle of various elements from different sources and different periods.

¹³ Sinilau (Kinilau, Tingirau) is a favourite name in all Polynesian mythology. This could indicate that when the poem was composed, the real name of the Akana chief had been forgotten.

¹⁴ To sit at a formal *kava* circle one has to have a title or 'face' (*mata*). Hence *matāpule* (a 'face' or name that carries authority), or, as in this poem, *matatangata* (a 'face' or name of a man i.e. a non-commoner).

¹⁵ I.e. a formal presentation of parting gifts.

Sinilau's Revenge and Kae's Punishment

Shocked at Kae's ingratitude, Sinilau harangued (*launga*) (l. 123) the 'gods',¹⁶ i.e. the experts of Samoa, to take revenge on the Tongan traitor. Following Sinilau's instructions the gods assembled on two islands both named Hunga on the approaches to Tongatapu. There they fashioned baskets with coconut palm leaves in a style which has remained in ceremonial use to this day (ll. 126-30). With these baskets they went to Tongatapu at nightfall and started piling into them the faeces of all who had partaken of the whalemeat and any other remains (bones, fins, etc) of the slain pet they could lay their hands on. But one important item was missing – the whale's teeth which were in Mu'a.¹⁷ And finally on top on this mountain of excrement they deposited the still sleeping Kae and hurried back to Samoa getting there just before dawn the next day. Kae was brought back to consciousness by the crowing of Sinilau's rooster which he recognised. Jumping up he came face to face with a scowling Sinilau who there and then gave him a piece of his mind and an outline of his sentence. He was to be produced, displayed in public, reviled and then executed. His grave had already been dug (ll. 154-64).

The last section of the poem describes a magical rite that is quite commonly found in Tongan mythology – the revival of the dead by mixing their remains with herbal concoctions in a *kumete* (large wooden bowl) and leaving the whole mixture undisturbed for a number of days and nights until the dead creature miraculously becomes whole again and returns to life.¹⁸ This procedure was followed in the case of Tununga-tofua'a who then rose from death – but without its teeth (l. 168).

The Name 'Kae'

Kae is the Tongan form of the Samoan '*ae*' meaning 'shit'. It could not have been the title that Sinilau gave the Tongan when he first made his acquaintance. It must be a name the Samoans started using when the Tongan's duplicity became known to them for the first time and we can be sure it was the name he was addressed by when he was returned to Samoa

¹⁶ 'Otua is used in a number of different senses – in the ordinary theological sense of some supernatural being and also of some ordinary human being who is extraordinarily clever. Thus Kae and Longopoa are called '*ongo otua*' in l.35 because they had foreseen that their ship was doomed and made plans to leave it, and they did.

¹⁷ Let (ivory) was a most highly esteemed material in Oceanic cultures. But its principal source was the whale's tooth. To this day it is the most highly esteemed prestige good in Fijian culture. Tununga's teeth being in Mu'a (the residence of the ancient Tu'i Tonga) presents no heuristic problem for us. But we are not sure whether the Samoans forgot to take the ivory or it was tabu to retrieve what had been given to the Tu'i Tonga.

¹⁸ The first Tu'i Tonga, 'Aho'eitu, after being killed by his jealous brothers was brought back to life by the same methods. See 'O. Mähina, 'The Tongan traditional history *Tale-e-fonua*: a vernacular ecology centred historicocultural concept', PhD thesis, Australian National University (Canberra 1992), 92.

— appropriately on a hill of shit — and on the day of his execution. The ancients must have understood this poem as the one with the title 'The Voyage of Mr Shit'. It was a name given in anger and hate.

The poem then may be read at two levels. At one level the Tongans have won in this contest of wits — gaining material goods and protection from the Samoans, but above all, learning from them the art of whaling, though Kae may not have been permitted to divulge the secret or teach it to others. But there is also a moral undertone to the whole poem that stresses the necessity and inviolability of universal social constants, e.g. hospitality to refugees, protection of suppliants, etc., and that they can never be jeopardised with impunity. Polynesians who observe these rules violated are disgusted, become violent and use descriptive language.

2. Faimalie: Koe Lave 'a Mohulamu

This poem is of the same length (164 lines) as *Kae*, the same form and the same style. They must date from the same period. They could both be the work of the same poet, Mohulamu.

Faimalie differs from *Kae* in that the former records a contest of wits pure and simple. It has no moral interest. There is, however, a political and nationalist interest in the poem since it clearly shows the intellectual superiority of Tongan gods (and by implication Tongan people) over the gods of Pulotu (and by extension, the Fijian people).

We have to take note of a subtle and important distinction between the two contending parties. The Tongan gods are not ordinary deities — they are essences, inmost natures or *eidos* (in the Platonic sense). Thus *Faimalie* is the spirit or essence of Slowness/Thoroughness, while *Fakafumaka* is the spirit or essence of Stoneness/Hardness and so on. The denizens of Pulotu, on the other hand, are of a lower level of being and the tasks they set for the visitors are mere magic and are external to their very natures. From the outset, then, the Pulotu gods were condemned to lose.

The Metamorphoses of Faimalie

The first 30 lines of *Faimalie* sing the incredible magical versatility of Fai whose favourite epiphany is the old woman hitch-hiking to Pulotu on the vessels of other gods. After refusing twice to have 'her' on their ship *Fakafumaka* and *Tutula*, Tongan gods on their way to Pulotu, fashioned a third connecting beam (*kiato*) between the main hull and the outrigger as a perch for Fai, thus initiating an innovation in the design of Pulotu-bound canoes (ll.24-30). On their way to Fiji a series of adventures was experienced by the voyagers — a dead calm (stanza 6), springing of leaks (stanza 7), running aground on reefs (stanza 8) — but all were solved by Fai with nonchalant cool.

On arrival Tutula swam ashore and found 'Elelovalu (Eight-tongued), the grandmother of the god Hikule'o the Tyrannical engaged in weaving inside the canoe-shed on the beach. Fai followed, threw out Hikule'o's canoe which broke into pieces, to make room for their own (ll.61-76). Then the real tests of skills began.

The Trials of Fai

The Tongans first entered a magic house whose lintels were transformed people (*langotangata*) (ll. 79, 80). They hid themselves in this house by changing into strange forms. Hikule'o and the inhabitants of Pulotu Tu'umau (Eternal Pulotu) searched for them everywhere but in vain (ll.83-90). Acknowledging their failure Hikule'o entreated them to come out of their hidden forms and meet them (ll.92-4). A post opened and Fai spoke to them, Tutula slid¹⁹ up to them, and Fakasumaka rolled in, a mere pebble (l.97).

Hikule'o then directed them to take their lodgings in the reception house where the real tests were to be held. Then he gave orders to his charges to prepare a mammoth feast in which the containers – baskets, leaves, coconut logs and fronds etc. must all be consumed by the guests (ll.101-11). But Fai was equal to the task. What do you expect of the essence of Thoroughness? 'She' cleaned up everything, food and all (ll.112-14). All other trials were successfully disposed of in the same way. The last was a diving exhibition performed by two Pulotu gods. Tutula went down with them. After two nights they came up, but Tutula was sitting atop the two gods – 'he' had choked them to death (ll.119-25).

The Smuggling of the Kahokaho

As the Tongan gods were preparing to return home Tutula suggested to Fai that they should take what treasure may lie hidden in Elelovalu's basket.²⁰ Fai then absconded the said basket, searched it for valuables and found the *kahokaho* (ll.133, 134), a yam species still unknown in Tonga at the time. 'She' swallowed one tuber which swelled her tummy as if 'she' was pregnant (ll.146, 147). On reaching Tongatapu, Fai 'gave birth' to the slender *kahokaho* (*kahokaho 'ulu loa*)²¹ thus marking the introduction into Tongan society of the most highly esteemed of its traditional vegetables.

¹⁹ Tutula in other versions of the myth is called Ha'elefeka, i.e. the essence of the Octopus or Perfect Spirit of Tactility.

²⁰ Of all Tongan root crops this species of yam is the most highly valued, and most delicious eating. It has become socialised and is also called the 'ufl 'elkt, chief's yam, and was in ancient times tabu for commoners to consume. Its mythical origin, as related in this poem, reinforces its sacredness.

²¹ The cultivation of the *kahokaho* is a real art that has evolved over centuries. It is part of the system of lunar agriculture that was widely practiced in ancient days. See essay no. 16.

3. *Sangone*

This poem is the text of a *lakalaka* dance composed by the late Queen Sālote in the late 1930s on the occasion of the transfer of the Sangone shell from the Royal Palace in Nuku'alofa to its present home, the Tupou College Museum.²²

Like most *lakalaka* 'Sangone' does not expound a continuous theme, but has a different purpose, in this case, to parade the political history of the rise of the Ha'a Moheofo, the present ruling Royal House, and to use it as a rhetorical tool against sceptical and censorious spirits. It is written in the traditional and classical style and aesthetically it is one of the most elegant of all *lakalaka*, perfect in every way. Of the 12 sections (stanzas of quite different lengths) only five are parts of the Sangone tale, the other seven being parts of different myths which the poetess judged to be pointing up the same moral.

Sangone was a pet tortoise of the famous Tu'i Tonga, Tu'i Tatui, the builder of the Ha'amonga trilithon. Samoans (gods or chiefs) visited Tonga, stole the tortoise and hurried back to Samoa. As soon as they reached home they killed the pet, ate its sweet flesh, and buried its huge shell in a secret spot in the remote fastnesses of the Tu'asivivalu. Only one mortal, the decrepit and ancient dwarf Lasaipana, knew of the secret burial place and a curse was laid on him by the gods which was that as soon as he revealed the secret place he would certainly shrink into nothingness. When this was known to the Tu'i Tonga he sent out embassies to try and retrieve the beautiful shell. All failed. At last Tu'itatui sent his elder brother Fasiapule, the most astute and shrewdest Tongan of the age.

Fasi'apule had to contend with the wily Lasaipana first who set riddles for Fasi'apule to unravel. When Fasi'apule successfully solved all the riddles the old dwarf revealed the secret place to him and then shrivelled up and died. The Solver of Riddles then proudly returned to Tonga with the shining shell of Sangone.

The Arrival of the Shell and Lasaipana's Death

The first verse of 'Sangone' depicts the day when the shell of Sangone arrived at Mu'a, the ancient capital of Tonga. Even Nature felt that something extraordinary was transpiring in the world of men. The elements were agitated — the south wind blew in fitful gusts, thunderbolts lashed the western horizon and the Feingakotone²³ groaned.

²² This dating is speculative and largely based on textual analysis of the poem. The piece of the original shell in the Tupou College Museum is about 12 inches square but of an irregular shape. It is taken to be authentic on the very eminent authority of Queen Sālote.

²³ The area in the ancient capital where formal audiences with the king were held.

In the second verse Fasi'apule laughingly bids farewell to the dead Lasaipana as he bundles away with the shell of Sangone.

A History of Fasi'apule

Fasi'apule was Tu'ilatui's elder brother from their mother, Nua's, first marriage (stanza 6).²⁴ Tu'ilatui was reared in isolation from most children, being the son of a Tu'i Tonga (Momo)²⁵ himself, and so never met Fasi'apule, until the latter, overcome by brotherly love, decided to come before the young prince. And instead of talking he produced three objects, a blood-red *toto* fruit to signify the blood tie between them, *mamae*²⁶ fruit which always look identical, and a *uhō'i fusi*²⁷ which if broken and pulled apart will still be linked by a cord-like colourless string, again, to show their genetic oneness. Tu'ilatui understood the object lesson, and invited Fasi'apule to live in his court as his advisor and spokesperson.

The Riddles (stanza 9)

Lasaipana required Fasi'apule to give the referent of the following descriptions:

1. *fusu-mo-kokohu* (hit with cupped-hand-it-gives-dust);
2. *kau-pongia-i-vao* (bunch-sainting alone-in-the-bush);
3. *lou tangia-mo-koki* (leaf that screeches-and-whistles);
4. *kapakau tatangi* (singing wings);
5. *ngulungulu-mo-tokoto* (growling-and-lying-down);

and to perform one task: distribute *fono*²⁸ at a *kava* ceremony. Fasi'apule correctly identified the definitions as follows:

1. *fusu-mo-kokohu*: bundle of dried *kava* roots which if hit with the open hand emits a cloud of dust;
2. *kau-pongia-i-vao*: bunch of wild bananas ripening among bushes;
3. *lou tangia-mo-koki*: young taro leaves which are picked with a pulling motion of the hand causing a screeching sound;
4. *kapakau tatangi*: wild fowl flying over low bush when startled;
5. *ngulungulu-mo-tokoto*: huge pig that can hardly stand up and spends its days lying down grunting for food.

He also performed perfectly in distributing *fono*. After all this his prize was the identity of Sangone's burial place, and securing the shell in his custody he returned home with the 'inmost treasure of the traditions of Tonga'.

Samoa outwitted Tonga in managing to take the King's tortoise from under the eyes of its guardians, killing it, and successfully hiding its shell for some

²⁴ To the Malapo chief, Ngongo-killitoto.

²⁵ The 10th Tu'i Tonga.

²⁶ A species of banana.

²⁷ Pith of the banana stalk.

²⁸ Food portions distributed as relish at formal *kava* ceremonies.

considerable time. Eventually, however, Fast'apule changed the balance in the affairs of the two peoples, restored his king's and country's dignity and effected general justice.

AS STATED IN THE earlier part of the paper, Tonga can be regarded as the major beneficiary in all this complex of relationships that held Samoa, Fiji and Tonga together in antiquity. Superficially they may be put down to superiority in wits, but the fact is Tonga, ever conscious of its smallness and poverty in resources must always turn to her bigger and richer neighbours and exert herself many more times as strongly if she wants to maintain economic and political parity with Samoa and Fiji — to Samoa mainly for ideas and manufactured goods (fish-hooks, *'ie tonga*, and *sale-a-folau*, dances etc.), to Fiji mainly for raw materials and cultivars (timber for canoes, yams, *kula* feathers etc.). Water always flows down, never up.

KOE FOLAU A KAE

Vaka ne sa'u i Ha'amea,
Fai la 'ula pea fakaheka;
He vaka ne ha'i ula ki he lepa.
'He sonua koeni e fakahela,
Taki taha ngaohi haane mea
Ka tau folau ki he puko lea;
Tuku Tongatapu ka tau lelea.'
Tupa!

Haapai e ka fotuaki,
Vavau e ka fotuaki,
Fai mai e tala a toutai.
Kalo mai pe Loau, 'Ikal,
Koe loi e tuunga toutai.
Tau ave e kainga ni,
Ke tuku ki tasatafaakilangi.'
Tupa!

Pea uli hiso honau vaka;
Pea hokosia e tahí tea,
Pea moe tahí fuofuanga,
Moe tahí pupulu nae lala.
'Tutuu ki tahí mo eua'
Koeha hoomou langi na?
Ka ikal ko honau kákā
Pea tau mole sua ai a!
Tupa!

5

10

5

20

THE VOYAGE OF KAE (trans. Beatrice Baker)

Vessel was built in Haamea
Hoisted sail inland and loaded;
The vessel that took cargo in a pool.
'This land is tiresome.
Let each person prepare his own things
For us to voyage to the talking *puko* tree;
Leave Tongatapu and run before the wind.'
Clap!

Haapai wil soon be sighted,
Vavau will soon be sighted,
Reported the navigators.
Shook the head Loau, 'No,
The lies of the navigators.
Let us take these friends,
And leave (them) at the horizon.'

Clap!
And steered down their vessel;
And arrived at the white sea,
And the floating pumice sea,
And the slimy sea that was foretold,
'Tatuukitahi and Eua
Why are you crying?'
Is it not the treachery of the navigators
Whereby we will all be lost!
Clap!

Fokihanga-folau e suu fa:
 Pea sihi ai honau sanā.
 Longopoa mo Kae e kaka;
 Ne na seoholi ki hono va'a,
 Pea na tekena ai o atā.
 Mole ai i he langi nae ava
 Koe potu sonua oe vava;
 Koe moleanga la oe vaka.
 Tupa!

Longopoa mo Kae, ongo otua,
 Ha ongo siana kola e ula,
 Kuo malie ena faka'uta.
 'Hau ta talia e tahī ka hu'a,
 Pea ta kakau ai kītaua,
 Taki taha kumi hano sonua.'
 Tupa!

To hake a Kae ene kakau;
 Tuuta he motu ko Kanivatu,
 Oku oneone ikai hakau.
 Oku toka e tofuaa e valu,
 Moe neiufi ape e leau
 'Hoto fakapo, hoto maumau!
 Naa mau kīta e he Kanivatu.'
 Tupa!

Mohe Kae he vahaa tofuaa.
 Ha'u e manu ene slutaka.
 Taomia Kae pea katalaka,
 'Tokī ai ha manu kafakasa.
 Mau hiso maale muavaka,
 Ke ilo e Tonga e mea taha.'
 Tupa!

Tellei masoa mai e ata,
 Tutusulu pea 'aka'aka,
 Tellei puna pea kapakapa;
 Piki ai Kae hono satafata.
 Siu pe manu he loto moana
 Kae taupe e suu tangata;
 Tepa hiso ki he oneone pata,
 Fakatopatu i Akana.
 Pea alu ai ene uhu kava
 Kia Sinilau, pea na takanga,
 Tupu ai hono matatangata;
 Kae nae ikai alofi ha kava.
 Tupu!

30

Turning-place-of-voyagers is the great
 pandanus tree;
 There became entangled their mast.
 Longopoa and Kae climbed;
 They swarmed into its branches,
 And they pushed the vessel free.
 It was lost through the sky opening
 Into the land of space;
 That was the cause of the loss of the
 vessel. Clap!

5

40

Longopoa and Kae, two gods,
 Those two men were clever,
 Well done was their hunch
 'Come, let us await the flooding tide,
 And we two swim in it,
 Each seeking a land of his own,'
 Clap!

5

Came up Kae from his swim;
 Landing at the island of Kanivatu,
 Sandy with no reef.
 Aground were eight whales,
 And neiufi fish about a hundred.
 'My god, what a waste!
 I may be caught by the Kanivatu.'
 Clap!

50

5

Slept Kae between two whales;
 Returned the bird from its fishing.
 Lay under (it) Kae and smiled,
 'Was there ever such a bird enormous.
 I wish that I might seize it for my token
 To let Tonga know one thing.'

Clap!

60

5

Preparing at the break of dawn,
 Preening and stretching,
 Preparing to fly, fluttering;
 Kae holding on its breast.
 Fished the bird over mid-ocean,
 While hanging the big man;
 Glancing down to the coral sand,
 Falling with a thud at Akana
 And went to get his morning kava
 With Sinilau, who befriended him,
 And gave him social standing;
 But Kae never set in the kava ring.
 Clap!

He ika a Haamoa ne fasanga, Koe longouli moe tofuaa, Momoi ki vai kele ke tataka. Mau ai e Haamoa o tafa, Pea omi ai a hono alanga, Pe ave o tau i sale fata. Koe lama to he mehekitanga Too leva sakamaanga taha, Pea alu ai kuo seilama; Fanau hiso koe mahanga, Ko Tonga mo Tununga-tofuaa. Tupa!	70	Fish of Samoa were fed, The longouli and the whale, In a small muddy water hole which they unsettled.
	5	(Whale) caught by Samoa and divided, And brought was its shoulder And hung in the house loft. The adopted daughter of Sinilau's father's sister Swallowed it at a mouthful, And went away pregnant; Gave birth to twin (whales), Tonga and Tununga-tofuaa. Clap!
Noso ai Kae pea sie alu; Fai ene tala kia Sinilau, 'Ke omai ha mahanga tatau, Keu ai heka ange ai au, Ke tala ki Tongatapu, Koe taulua a Sinilau Koe mea malohi ange fau.' Tupa!	80	Dwelt there Kae but wished to go; And he asked Sinilau, 'To bring the twins alike, For me to ride on, And I will tell Tongatabu, That the twin of Sinilau's Is wonderfully strong.' Clap!
Fai ai e tala e Sinilau, 'Tununga mo Tonga, ke mo sekau; Ave a Kae ki Tongatapu. Pea mo iloa mai foki au. Tutuu leva o tofusi alu. Omi e suhi niu moe sangu, Moe felaaki moe takapau. Mo tuku mesini etau solau, Omia keu alu atu,' Tupa!	90	Then spoke Sinilau, 'Tununga and Tonga, you go on an errand; Take Kae to Tongatabu, But remember to return for me. Stand up and go. Bring a bunch of coconuts and scented oil, And uncolored tapa and coconut mats; As farewell gifts for our voyager, Returning for me to come.' Clap!
Ko Vavau e, teletele vaka; Haapai e, teletele vaka; Fotu Tongatapu i laumua na: 'Tununga mo Tonga, ki he toasa, Kau alu ki Haamea o tala, Oku ma omai moe mahanga, Ko Tonga mo Tununga-tofuaa.' Tupa!	100	Vavau glided by; Haapai glided by; Appeared Tongatabu at the prow. 'Tununga and Tonga, to the shallow waters. While I go to Haamea and tell, That I have come with the twins, Tonga and Tununga-tofuaa.' Clap!
Tuuta Kae o kave kalanga, 'Osí mai Haamea, o mamata, Mou tanaki huo toalanga, Fofoa kofe pea aulala, Ke tau toho na atu hoku vaka.' Tupa!	10	Landed Kae and kept shouting, 'Come all Haamea and see, Collect your weeding sticks, Bamboo lances, and come in a mass, For us to drag out my vessel.' Clap!
Pea hao a Tonga o tala Noso mai Sinilau o fetapa, 'Tonga e, komaa a Tununga? Mea mai koe ki hoku tua:	5	And escaped Tonga and told Sat Sinilau and greeted, 'Oh Tonga, where is Tununga?' 'Observe you my back;

Ne sele e tao mei olunga.
Ikai ne taofia kimaua?
Pea kuo moua ai Tununga
Kae hao mai Tonga koe ula.'
Tupa!

Noso Sinilau pea launga,
'Haamoa, tanaki e otua,
Pea tanaki ki Hunga mo Hunga;
Pea mou langa kalo ai mua
Ae polopola oku loua,
Pea fakakavei o tui ua,
Fakaloloa ki mui mo mua,
Pea tuku leva koe fakahunga.'
Tupa!

'Pea mou sono i Muifonua
Pea sua e sao mei Eua,
Pea sao ai a Fangaleounga,
Pea sao ai mo Hihifo sua,
Pea fakanui sao a Napua,
Pea hilli ai Kae i olunga.'
Pea tokī o tuunga otua,
Kae ngalo e nīso i loto Mua.
Tupa!

'Sinilau, ko kimautolu ent;
Oku mau omi ae tangata ni.'
Tuu hake leva o fakafetai.
'Tukua hena kuo lo mai;
Mou o pea mou uhu mai;
Oua ke aho pea tau fai,
Ta nae hau ko ene lavaki.'
Tupa!

Uae e moa fakaanau
'Moa koe ke leo latau
Moe taulua a Sinilau,'
Ta nae fai ene amuamu,
Ka oku tokoto i alasolau.
Pongipongi hake o vakai atu
Oku noso Sinilau moe fa'u
Tupa!

'Matapule koeni e vale,
Osi foki neu toka lalaange
Naalaku fae naa mamate
Tapuange mo Tongatapu mo Kae,
Koe tua ena he vaka mamate.
Oku keli hono luo i malae.'
Pea tokī omi o fakataane,
Kae fai ki ai e tutukape.
Tupa!

20 It is thick with lances
Were we two not challenged?
And Tununga was overtaken,
But Tonga escaped because cunning.'
Clap!

5 Sat Sinilau and complained,
'Samoa collect the gods,
And assemble at Hunga and Hunga;
And plait a basket first,
The large double basket,
With handles threaded double,
Made long fore and aft,
And call it a Hunga basket.'

30 Clap!
'And you assemble at Land's End
And carry it and fill from Eua,
And fill at Fangaleounga,
And fill at all Hihifo,
And lastly fill at Napua,
And put Kae on the top.'
And then went the gods,
But forgot the (whale's) tooth at Mua.
Clap!

40 Clap!
'Sinilau, here we are;
We have brought this man.'
Stood at once (Sinilau) and gave thanks.
'Leave him there as you have brought him;
You go, but return in the early morning;
Wait till day, then we will inquire
Why he came to betray.'

5 Clap!
Crowed the cocks like old friends,
(Thought Kae,) 'Cocks have voices like
The pair at Sinilau's.'
Then expressed a wish he was there,
Whereas he was lying at (Sinilau's) boat shed.
At early morn he looked out
And saw sitting there Sinilau with his
turban. Clap!

50 60 60
(Said Sinilau,) 'This petty chief is a fool,
Especially after my telling him,
Lest my mother be sterile.
With all respect to Tongatapu, Kae (is)
A commoner from a swamped vessel.
Is dug his grave in the green.'
When he was brought and sat with legs
crossed
While he was cursed. Clap!

Omi he kumete o fakatasilo
 Nofo ai Tununga pea kio.
 Ka kuo ika! nalono nifo.
 'Pe koeha koa ke lilo!
 Toki fakamau oka melino
 Kae kehe ko Kae ke tuli sino.'
 Tupa!

70

Bring the bowl and make clear (the water)
 Sat (up in it) Tununga and chirped,
 But he lacked any teeth.
 'What is that to conceal!
 I will arrange when at peace
 While Kae is seeking a body.' Clap!

KO FAIMALIE: KOE LAVE A MOHULAMU

Amusia a Tepa, koe māu;
 Nae lave ki Pulo tuumau.
 Ha sonua e ongolelei sau!
 Tupa!

Tuu e taalo mei Haatafu
 'Fakafumaka, keu hu atu,
 Ke ke hau mua ta o solau
 O mamata ki Pulo tuu atu sau
 Ha sonua e ongo hohaa sau!'
 Tupa!

5

Tuu e taalo i Muisonua
 'Ala e, pale mai mua.'
 'Pale atu, ke ta o kitaua,
 Pe alu ki se moe fakalua.'
 Tupa!

10

Pea tuku e vaka mei Nuku,
 Ko honau oho e niu motuu
 Ko honau talā e ngeesi kuku.
 Tuu e taalo mei Muikuku
 'Pale atu, ala, ko Vakafuhu
 Ha sinemotua ka mata pauu!'
 Tupa!

5

Pea fai enau setapaaki
 'Fakafumaka, ala, ko Fai.'
 'E, ta ko koe, pei lea mai.'
 'Pe ko futu sieku viku i tahā
 Ko ena e vaa sau too mai!'
 Talu ai ene hekeheka ai,
 O klatu tolu ae vaka ni
 Ka nae klatu ua a Tonga ni
 Tupa!

20

Pale hiso honau vaka ki Fisi:
 Pea hokosia e tahā fisisi,
 Tutula tangi fakatekefili
 'Ko hotau vaka e kuo hilli
 Kuo tau mau hange ne hiki.'

30

And they said their salutations
 'Fakafumaka, dear, it is Fai.'
 'Why is it you, well speak to me.'
 'For how long have I been wet by the sea
 There is a branch of the *sau* tree, bring!'
 After that she sat on it,
 And this canoe had three sticks to the
 outrigger
 But Tonga had only two sticks to the
 outrigger. Clap!

5

FAIMALIE: THE CHANT OF MOHULAMU
(trans. Beatrice Baker)

I envy the Tepa, the poet;
 It was a chant about Pulo tuumau
 A land of great renown!
 Clap!

Stood and beckoned from Haatafu
 'Fakafumaka, let me enter,
 For you to come for us to voyage
 To go and look at Pulo tuu.
 A land the same of which makes restless!'
 Clap!

Stands and beckoned at Land's End.
 'Oh dear, do paddle here.'
 Paddle on, you and I will go,
 Where does she want to go and be
 seasick. Clap!

And the canoe left Nuku,
 Their provisions old cuts,
 And its bail a shell of the kuku shell-fish
 Stood and beckoned from Muikuku
 'Paddle on, dear Vakafuhu
 It is the old woman mischievous!'
 Clap!

And they said their salutations
 'Fakafumaka, dear, it is Fai.'
 'Why is it you, well speak to me.'
 'For how long have I been wet by the sea
 There is a branch of the *sau* tree, bring!'
 After that she sat on it,
 And this canoe had three sticks to the
 outrigger
 But Tonga had only two sticks to the
 outrigger. Clap!

They paddled their canoe to Fiji;
 And came to the stormy sea,
 Tutula cried and rolled about
 'Our vessel is piled up on the reef.
 We are fast as though listed.'

Lea mai a Fai fine'eiki.
 'Fakahekeheka mo tau fifili.'
 Pea angi mo tuoni havili.
 He papatea ene tongafisi!
 Tupa!

Tutula tangi fakafoohake
 'Ko hotau vaka e ka mamate
 O tau malolo i he tahi o Fate.'
 Lea mai a Fai koe vale,
 'Kehe pe ke malo e pale,
 Kau ta liu mo lakuna hake.'
 Tupa!

Fakafumaka ene tangi ia
 'Ko hotau vaka e hilifekina.'
 Lea mai a Fai fasia
 'Pea kehe pe ke mo alofia
 Kau ai fakahekehekesia
 Peau lakuna moe kanikita.'
 He papatea ene anga ia!
 Tupa!

Pea fai mai ene tala.
 'Tutula, heu e vaka ki ama.
 Kuo ofi e vaka i taulanga.'
 Tupa!

Pea nau tau i tua hakau
 Kae hola a Tutula o kakau,
 Tuuta ki he vai fakalanu,
 Koe vai i Pulotu Tuumau,
 Ko hono hingoa ko Fufutau
 Pea fakaasi ki alafolau
 Oku lalanga e Elelovalu
 He kui a Hikuleo Fakahau.
 Tupa!

Pea hifo mai ki matafanga
 O taalo Fai ke hao e vaka:
 Pea mei hiki fakaapaapa
 Hu atu Fai o omi e vaka,
 O li ki tua a mahalahala.
 He mamate e vaka Leitana
 E lalahia hono malamala!
 Tupa!

Tuu ai Hikuleo o kalanga
 'Kuo faao e langotangata.'
 Nofo ia e fale kanoimata.
 Femakilai ene fakalava.
 He taleilei siene malama!

Then the chief woman Fai spoke,
 'Bring on board our thinking mind.'
 Then came a gust of wind
 And came true her predictions!
 Clap!

Tutula cried lying on his back,
 'Our vessel will be swamped.
 And we will rest in the sea of Fate.'

Then spoke Fai the ignorant,
 'Anyway thank the paddlers,
 I will bail out the water.'
 Clap!

Fakafumaka this was his cry
 'Our vessel will be piled up.'
 Then spoke Fai the crafty
 'Anyway you keep on paddling
 While I lighten the vessel by
 Throwing out the sandstone ballast.'
 The white butterfly that was her way!
 Clap!

Then she spoke and said,
 'Tutula, ward off the vessel from the port
 side.
 The vessel is nearly at the anchorage.'
 Clap!

And they anchored outside the reef,
 And Tutula deserted and swam on shore
 Landed at the fresh water to rinse off the salt,
 A water (hole) at Pulotu Tuumau,
 Its name was Fufutau
 And he went and looked in the canoe house
 Was weaving there Elelovalu,
 The grandmother of Hikuleo the tyrannical.
 Clap!

Then he came to the beach,
 And beckoned to direct the course of the
 vessel;
 And nearly lifted out of respect (his vessel).
 Entered Fai and brought out (Hikuleo's) vessel
 And threw it down so it was smashed to pieces
 Was wrecked the boat Leitana
 And many were its chips of wood! Clap!

Stood up Hikuleo and shouted,
 'Where are the human canoe-rests.'
 He dwelt in the house (lined) with eye balls
 All glaring as they lay longways
 And the whites (of the eyes) how they shone!

'Oku mou maia pe e kava,' Ka oku ikai ilo ai ha taha. Tupa!	5	'Are you abashed or will you have <i>kava</i> ,' But no one was to be found. Clap!
'O si mai haa fakananamu,' O mei vakule he lalo akau. 'Kuo sefe? Tonga, kuo tau? Hono mole e vaka taosi hau, Kae tau eni vaka kovi sau,' Tupa!	90	Come all the smellers,' And they sought under the trees. 'Where are they? Have not the Tongans anchored?' And the vessel that prevents any one coming is gone, While this very bad vessel is anchored. Clap!
Fai mai e Hikuleo ki ai, 'Kuo siu homau kainga ni, Mou omi ke tau feiloaki.' Mafaa e pou pea lea mai, Tutula ene ngaeke mai, Fakafumaka ene teka mai, Nae nofo hono vee tafaaki, Nofo tonu leva pea malimali, Tupa!	5	Then Hikuleo said 'Are tired your friends in seeking you, Come and we will meet.' Split the post and a voice spoke, Tutula came waddling along, Fakafumaka came rolling along, Came and sat at his side Sat straight up and smiled. Clap!
Fai mai e Hikuleo ki ai, 'Mou o o nonoso i sale lahi. Tau fai katoanga ki ai. Taaki e kava o fetuku mai, Toho mai e ulua moe fai. Fonotaki e vi fuolalahi, Taku ia koe vai Kauaki.' Tupa!	100	And Hikuleo spoke to them, 'You go and sit in the big house. We will hold there our entertainment Uproot the <i>kava</i> and bring it, Drag here the <i>ulua</i> (fish) and the stingray The relish for the <i>kava</i> is the fruit of the great <i>vi</i> tree, Call it the water Kauaki.' Clap!
Tuku atu a Pulotu o felumu, Fakahunga, haamo haumatutu, Pea omi pe moe uluulu. Tanaki e Fai ki hono ngatu, Fesi moe haamo o pakangungu. 'Osí mai Pulotu hoku ngatu.' 'Tokí at e folau e pauu!' Tupa!	5	The people of Pulotu went to prepare food. They brought food in baskets and on poles, And brought it with the (coconut) leaves. Fai collected everything into her mouth, Broke the sticks and crunched them. 'Pulotu is finished into my mouth.' 'Were there ever such mischievous voyagers!' Clap!
Fai mai e Hikuleo Motua, 'Kuo osí e mea homau sonua; Kei toe pe ongo otua Ko otua uku ki Lolofonua.' Ko siena uku nae po ua. Talitali pea mate Lihamua: Ngaekikee mo mapunopuna: Kuo hekeheka ai a Tutula 'Keu ai tangi tautau mua.' Tupa!	20	Spoke old Hikuleo and said, 'Everything in our land is finished; The only chance left is two gods The god of the divers in the Underworld,' They dived for two nights, Waited till Lihamua died: Waddled and shot out: Was sitting on him Tutula 'I will cry and lay the blame on another.' Clap!
Teu ke nau foki ki Tonga ni, Moe fotuaki ae aho lahi, Kamo atu Tutula ki Fai,	5	Prepared to return to Tonga, And approached the great day, Made signs Tutula to Fai.

Ke ke hau mua o alu ki ai,
O omi ae kanokato ke vakai.'
Omi leva ia o holataki,
Pea mei solo fakapetelangi,
Talu ai ene fakafitama ai.
Tupa!

Fai mei ai e tala a Fai,
'Ke mo alo ua a uhi i tahī
Kau hala uta o tatāli mai
He oku mo ilo sioku mahaki.'
Tupa!

'Ke mo alo ua o hiki 'i 'Oa,
Koeuhī ke ofi ki saitoka,
Ko Haamotuku ae kongo vao na.'
Malolo ai e sononga;
O faaki ki he fuu masikoka;
O fanau ai Fai Loaloa;
Ta koe kahokaho ulu loa.
Tupa!

'Kuo hao pe hoomo omi na,
Ko ena tamasi'i mo ohia.'
Ta koe fuu kahokaho hina.
'Pea kehe pe ke mo ngaohia,
Kau noso keu tapuekina,
A hoku akau naa tungia:
Ke lapu e mapa naa malaia.'
A ena nae lapu ai ia.
Tupa!

Pea mei kakave e he hahau,
Kae fakalave mei Utulau;
E homau kainga laukau.
Koe kahokaho a hai ne vau,
Kae to ull e umu tefau,
Kae vave he koe tama fanau.
Tupa!

- | | |
|----|--|
| 30 | 'You better come and go to him,
And bring Kanokato to look at.'
When brought ran away with it,
And swallowed it preparing to cry.
After that she was impregnated.
Clap! |
| 5 | Then Fai spoke and said,
'You paddle and come by the sea
While I go by land and wait for you
As you both know my sickness.'
Clap! |
| 40 | 'You paddle you two and lift out at 'Oa,
So as to be near the grave yard,
Haamotuku, that piece of bush is called.'
Well done our journey;
And went onto the big <i>masikoka</i> tree;
And gave birth there Long Fai;
Why it was a <i>kahokaho</i> (yam) with a big
head. Clap! |
| 50 | You have got clear away with it,
There is a child for you to adopt.'
Why it was a big white <i>kahokaho</i> yam.
Anyway you must take care of it,
While I stop and be blessed,
Lest my plant be set on fire:
And forbidden the <i>mapa</i> (tree) or perhaps
accursed.' |
| 5 | That is why it was sacred. Clap! |
| 60 | And was moistened by the dew
And was let free at Utulau;
Because they were your proud relatives.
The <i>kahokaho</i> was ever scraped,
If planted dirty (unweeded) it will not
increase,
If quick it will multiply. Clap! |

SANGONE (a *lakalaka* by the late Queen Sālote Tupou III)
(Trans. I. F. Helu)

Ne'ine'i hako met he tonga
Tapa e 'uhila met lulunga
Na'e mana e Feingakotone
Fakahake e 'uno 'o Sangone

He! he! he! Lafaipana e
Pe'i ke mohe a!
He! he! he! Kae tukumai a
Si'ota faiva!
Teu lau folahaka he'aho ni

- | | |
|---|---|
| 5 | Little wonder the south was freshening
And lightning lashed from the west
The Feingakotone thundered forth
As Sangone's shell was landing! |
| | Heh! Heh! Oh, Lafaipana
May you sleep in peace Heh! Heh! Please
yield to me
Now the palm of competition
I demonstrate dance today |

Ke me'ite ai e mu'a taloni Holo pe 'ae nofo 'a mu'a ni Mo ha taha 'oku taka 'i Pangai Kau folo si'i Hau-o-Momo He ko e takasi 'etau nofo	10	To entertain throned monarch May these front sealers be comfortable And casual visitors in Pangai While I unfurl the Hau-o-Momo The protective shield of our society
He maa'imoa fai 'i Heketa Na'e aokai mei Ha'amea 'Ise'isa na'e "fena pe ka ko Nua" Penepena e ngatuvali fakula	5	That royal decree of Heketa To request seed yams of Haamea Alas! 'virgin no more but it's Nua' Fit cloak for garland of <i>fakula</i>
'E Fasi'apule ha'u keta o 'O tala ho 'uhinga ki he 'afio Ke ha ai e finangalo na'e to! 'O 'ilo e'osa 'oku mo'on'i Na'e 'aikona pe 'o 'omai He na'e 'ikai fa'a hua'aki	20	Fasi'apule, come let us go And tell your pedigree to the majesty Obtaining hidden royal pleasure And know what real love is That in the pouch presented For in words could not be said
E Ulamoleka polo 'i he lau Hono 'ikai ke malie kia au! Ho'o tala 'ae vaha mama'o Kuo vaofii hotau 'aho Kakala talā, kakala mo'on'i 'Oku falfio 'o tokī manongi	5	Oh, Ulamoleka clever with words How greatly I enjoy them! The ocean was vast, said you But now has shrunken small Grand garlands, noble flowers Blended they release their sweet perfumes
Kisu kava e mei Ha'amoia Na'e talihapo me'a koloa Kisu e fusu-mo-kokohu 'Ae kau pongia-i-vao 'Ae lou-tangia-mo-koki Pea moe kapakau-tatangi Kau ai e ngulungulu-mo-tokoto Moe vahe taumasa 'oe fono	30	<i>Kava</i> riddles of Samoa Solved in flight every one Riddles of <i>fusu-mo-kokohu</i> And the <i>kau pongia-i-vao</i> The <i>lou tangia-mo-koki</i> And the <i>kapakau tatangi</i> Including the <i>ngulungulu-mo-tokoto</i> And the distribution of <i>fono</i>
Pea tokī 'ilo ai e koloa Koe kanokato e tala 'o tonga Talu aipe hono fakaili Koe sakama'u 'o hou'eiki	40	At last the treasure was found The inmost gem of Tonga's traditions From then on 'twas preserved As wardrobe for our chiefs
'Oku 'ilo 'e ha taha kuo anga 'Ae ola 'o Takaipomana Kalia 'oe vahamohe He kalia na'e tau ki 'One	5	It's known to one experienced The story of Takaipomana Sailing canoe of the vast ocean Which arrived at 'One, at last
Fakalele ki he Makahokovalu Paki mangamanga i he Siangahu Koe ika moana si'ene fotu Fakahakehake 'i Fonuamotu Lolongo ma'anu a Hakautapu No'o 'i Havelu moe Kokalapu Kae ola e okou lau! Fa'anga ia 'oe setau Tau tul falahola 'ene hiopo He kuo kaka'i e vaha'akolo	50	Sailed on again to Makahokovalu Then bonito fishing at the Siangahu A great fish, it appeared Coming to land at Fonuamotu Hakautapu's quiet portentous of bonito Then tied mooring ropes on the Kokalapu That's the grand result I tell! The basis of my pride Let's string ripening <i>falahola</i> For Vaha'akolo is alive with people

South Pacific Mythology

MY OLD TEACHER, JOIN ANDERSON OF SYDNEY UNIVERSITY, maintained that if there is anything that mythical thought cannot handle it is *the inevitability of social change*. Arguing that punishment is society's way of restoring the network of relationships between institutions and the integrity of social boundaries that have been injured by unauthorised behaviour, Anderson asserted that it would still be impossible to 'maintain boundaries and avoid encroachment', 'that there will always be forces opposed to it, that *there will always be social conflict*'. He summarises his position in the following way:

while primitive thought dimly realises this (as in stories of wars among the gods) and tries to counter it (as in the conception of *Motra*, or proper apportionment which 'governs even the gods'), it cannot really grapple with what this implies – the inevitability of social change, the impossibility of the indefinite continuance of the forms of social (tribal)activity in existence at any given time.¹

When later I came to look at mythology myself, and especially Polynesian mythology, I thought an insight can still be added to the Andersonian thesis, viz. that canons of myths do present *a clear picture of cultural transformation* even though this dimension of the mythical sequences may have escaped recognition by (or interest of) the ancient peoples. I wish to illustrate this point by relating to you a Polynesian corpus of myths about the exploits of one of our demi-gods.

But I want to take Anderson's view together with a theory of Sahlins – at least as it relates to Hawaiian myths – and briefly examine them for what they are worth in terms of my own interpretation of the said corpus. Sahlins, in his account of the Lono myth, implies that myths have predictive value or *fulfilment effect* and that the fulfilment of myth is what we call history.² Of course there can be other possible readings of the Lono series. For example, it can simply be taken to be a standardised excuse for behaviour which would be otherwise intolerable in terms of the ethics of the wider society.

¹ A paper given at a Plenary Panel as part of the David Nicol Smith Seminar held at the University of Auckland 24-28 August 1993.

² From 'Psychological Moralism', a review of J.C. Flugel's *Man, Morals and Society, A Psycho-Analytic Study* which Anderson wrote in 1959 and published in the collection of his papers *Studies in Empirical Philosophy* (Sydney 1962), 363-74.

² See M. Sahlins, *Islands of History* (Chicago 1985), 103-35.

The Maui Canon

Maui is a pan-Polynesian culture hero or demi-god. Polynesian mythology admits of a distinction similar to the classicist's between epichoric (local) myths and pan-Hellenic (pan-Polynesian) myths. However, the level of conflict between the local and the overarching mythologies is much higher in the case of the classical corpus than in the Polynesian.³

The Maui canon is represented in most Polynesian island groups but it seems to me to be fullest in the Maori versions.⁴ It is a series of myths that chronicles the exploits of a trickster of a demi-god. If we take myth in Vico's sense,⁵ i.e. *as about society*, then we must regard Maui as a popular hero, a champion of the people much like Prometheus in Greek mythology.

1. The earliest Maui tale depicts him as a miraculous fisherman who fished up not fish but islands. In the Tongan version Maui fished up with hook and line the islands of 'Atā, 'Eua and 'Eueiki (Havaiki?). The 'Uveans have a myth in which Maui pulled up most islands in their group caught in his fishing net and the Maori story divides up the two main islands of New Zealand into different parts – head, mouth, tail, fins etc – of *Te Ika a Maui*, the Fish of Maui. All the above can be references to original settlements or founding or communities – this is the agreed meaning for tales of wandering and travel – but all couched in the symbolism of a marine culture and economy (fish-hooks, canoes, nets, islands, the sea, etc.).

2. The next myth shows Maui stealing fire from the Underworld and giving it to man. He narrowly escaped being caught by his pursuers whose wrath would have had fatal consequences if they had caught him. The traditional method of producing fire by rubbing two dry sticks together derived from Maui's heroic act. Maui then was the father of technology and civilisation and Levi-Strauss's *le cru et le cuit* (the techno-culinary mode) also is echoed here. The moral aspect of this myth is of great interest also and confirms the

³ Refer 'Introduction' to D. C. Pozzi and J. M. Wickersham (eds), *Myth and the Polis* (New York 1991).

⁴ Although it cannot be taken to be a law, we can regard it as a rough rule of thumb that the community giving the fullest (and most detailed) version of a myth, legend or tradition has the best claim to be the originator of that myth, legend or tradition.

⁵ G. Vico, *The New Science of Giambattista Vico*, trans. T. G. Bergin and M. H. Fisch (New York 1976), 29–269. This is the whole argument of Book I (Establishment of Principles) and Book II (Poetic Wisdom) – that when the 'expressiveness' of myth is peeled off we are left with historical events, or as I should put it, myth is about society. See also D. Bidney, 'Vico's New Science of Myth', in G. Tagliacozzo and H. V. White (eds), *Giambattista Vico: An International Symposium* (Baltimore 1969).

relativistic character of moral values. An act of a clearly unethical character is offset by another act of the highest level of humanism.⁶

3. The third group of myths recounts Maui's struggle against, and triumph over, man-eating plants and animals. Maui thus appears as the originator of agriculture and animal husbandry. The plant and beast specifically mentioned as having been domesticated by our hero were: a man-eating plant *hiapo*, the mulberry tree from whose bark *tapa* cloth is made, and a man-devouring *nifo* or wild boar.

4. The next story has Maui snaring the Sun with his fishing net. The tale says that theretofore the Sun would shoot across the sky in no time leaving people and the Earth always in darkness and bitter cold. Maui with the assistance of friends managed to catch the Sun with his net, and while thus captive set to beating the Sun with his war-club. When at last Maui released the Sun again the latter was already decrepit and weak and had to crawl across the sky at the much slower rate that we now know. It is possible that this legend may be carrying the memories of the relocation of settlers from semi-polar regions to places in the tropics or some mid-latitudes.

5. The last tale in the Tongan Maui canon presents the hero as a prosaic taro farmer in the island of 'Eua, one of the lands Maui fished up from the bottom of the ocean. One day he got into a fit (being sick of the humdrum existence he was now leading) and he smote the dry earth with his digging stick so vehemently that the hole thus created went all the way underneath the land and connected with the deep waters of the encircling sea creating a most impressive natural bridge, the *Matalanga-'a-Maui* (the planting-hole-of-Maui). That is how this demi-god ended his career in the Tongan rendition of the canon.

According to Tongan mythology then Maui started as a navigator-discoverer of islands, i.e. the founder of communities. He is next shown as also the originator of civilisation and creator of the principal departments of culture and finally ended his days in routine horticulture and farming. The sequence of myths is surely the epic of the evolution of Tongan society — the metamorphosis of a culture that was oriented to the sea with a marine economy into one based on farming and animal husbandry.

6. There is one Maui myth which is found in the Maori series but is conspicuous in its absence from the Tongan traditions. In this story Maui

⁶ This myth states the ethical problem nicely. Stealing is an anti-value only when it operates *within* the group. When practiced on other groups (or 'orders of being') for the benefit of our group or humanity, thievery transforms into a moral value. Yet humanity is not a universal solvent for ethical problems. For then we are confronted with the opposition humanity/cosmos, and in this sense, care of Nature is of a 'higher' ethical value than regard for man, just as love of humanity is morally higher than care for our group ('inferred' from the group/humanity dichotomy).

attempted to obtain the secret of immortality from the Great Mother Goddess *Hine-nui-te-Po* (Great-Lady-of-the-Night) by entering her enormous body (when she slept) through a rear hole and coming out through the mouth. The Goddess awoke before Maui was completely out of her huge frame and she dismembered him with great fury. It is usual to regard this type of myth (cf. Orpheus and Euridice and the Gilgamesh myths) as 'speculation' on the impossibility of immortality for man.⁷

Yet the insights of Mary Douglas in her work on body symbolism and Victor Turner's on rituals⁸ may offer means of opening up the complex of meaning packed into this myth. It is possible then to read this story as a depiction of the body politic and that rebellious spirits who attempt a transmutation of values⁹ (represented by reversal of direction of natural processes in Maui's act) achieve their apotheoses through being sacrificed at the altar of social integrity and permanence. In fact, all the myths that epitomise the transformation of Maui (Tongan society) declare that culture is invariably the product of resolute effort by perilous enterprise — lands are being torn off from their original moorings, creatures are being subdued and made captive, fire is stolen on pain of death, etc., etc.

Mythical versus Historical Discoveries

If we now take Maui to represent the ancient seafarers who first entered that part of the Pacific known as the Polynesian triangle, we can make very general comparisons of them with the modern discoverers who came in the early period of European contact. This would be another way of using the same Maui canon to measure the validity of the Andersonian and Sahlinsian theses as well as to test them for any light they may throw on the writing of the history of the islands.

1. Mythical discoverers came for land; modern discoverers came for markets or raw materials.

⁷ See also G. S. Kirk, *Myth: Its Meaning and Function in Ancient and Other Cultures* (Cambridge 1970), 132-52. Although all mythologies conclude that immortality is ruled out for man, Americans and Christians maintain the hope that death will one day be defeated.

⁸ M. Douglas, *Purity and Danger: An Analysis of the Concepts of Pollution and Taboo* (London 1977), 128; V. Turner, *The Forest of Symbols: Aspect of Ndembu Ritual* (New York 1968), 88-9, 107.

⁹ The *Hine-nui-te-po* myth parallels at so many points the account in *Also Sprach Zarathustra* of the dragon which lies across the path of the child and on whose every scale are written the words 'Thou Shalt Not'. Both the child and Maui aim at 'reversing the tables', i.e. at creating a new morality and therefore a new type of social formation.

2. Mythical discoverers became natives;¹⁰ modern discoverers became colonial administrators.
3. Mythical discoverers domesticated man-eating plants and animals; modern discoverers domesticated 'cannibals' and 'savages'.
4. Mythical discoverers invented 'fire' (stone age technology); modern discoverers introduced new fire (metal and modern technology).¹¹
5. Mythical discoverers introduced subsistence agriculture; modern discoverers introduced the capitalist market.
6. Mythical discoverers created social systems where the individual is held down at every point by social tabus; modern discoverers introduced the ideas of liberty and rights with which the individual can wear down the rigidity of traditional conventions.

We are now in a position to make general observations, in the light of the above analysis, regarding the views advanced by Anderson and Sahlins. With regard to Anderson, we can add to his insight the recognition that myths can give us a picture of how communities have changed. This would be easier with a series of myths, a canon, like the Maui corpus than with single tales. In the case of Sahlins's view we can see that although history can never exactly reproduce mythology instructive parallels can be drawn. In other words, myth and history have a *general fit* between them, never a specific one.¹²

History of the Pacific Islands

It is now becoming common to isolate three types of histories for the islands. In the first place we have the standard histories written by foreigners. Most of these were based on diaries, reports, correspondences etc. of explorers, colonial personnel and missionaries, themselves foreigners. By and large,

¹⁰ At the end of the oral presentation of this paper, the Johns Hopkins historian John Pocock commented that he could not see the force of the distinction between 'settlers and colonists' (my original formulation). The point is well taken and I have recast the opposition as 'natives and colonial administrators', which, after all, was my original meaning.

¹¹ Efficiency is the king of technology, i.e. no matter how popular a particular technology is at any given time it would be quickly rendered obsolete as soon as more efficient technologies are developed for the same application. Reviving an obsolete technology can be effected in two ways: by replacing use-value with an exchange-value or turning it into a social symbol.

¹² It is difficult to adapt Sahlins's thesis for the case of Tonga, at least. Many navigators, sailors, and missionaries met their deaths at the hands of islanders, but in the case of Tonga, it was always the lure of the higher technology (the new fire) and trade goods that was the main motive. In fact, it is alleged that Tongan chiefs plotted to kill Captain Cook at the same time entertaining him so lavishly (which also prompted Cook to call these islands the Friendly Isles). But here the motive was again the acquisition of superior technology and firearms. The Tongans could not carry out their plan for lack of unanimity.

Also history never repeats itself exactly. For every event has unique features as well as features that it has in common with every other event. So that history can be said to repeat itself only 'partly'. Alternatively put, every historical event is *both* universal and particular.

island histories by foreigners have been quite useful and provided primary and secondary sources on which later histories were to be built. Still they were far from being entirely satisfactory. The charge of ethnocentrism is valid enough in these cases but there are other matters that require notice. One of these is the tendency of foreign historians to either bypass or overstate the negative side of island cultures. One is tempted to recognise a principle here: the *negative* aspects of a culture are never fully available to foreigners.

There is then a need to complement the first type of history by one written by native or local historians. And I am delighted to see islanders themselves – an example is Professor Malama Meleisea – producing fine histories of their own communities. Most of our historians are trained professionals who have learned every trick of the trade. But there is another twist to this approach, i.e. to adopt an entirely indigenous perspective and refuse to employ any part of the traditional standpoint of scientific historiography. This has yet to come in the case of the islands, but for the Americas it is exemplified by Nathan Wachtel's *La Vision des Vaincus*.¹³

The third type of history possible for the islands is one based on hypotheses taken from the study of myth and oral traditions. It is true that what we learn from ethnohistory is more general characters and principles of social systems than specific, concrete facts, i.e. mythology is more useful to sociology than history. Still we can engage the said hypotheses not only as control for our studies but also to suggest innovative strategies for a more exact knowledge of our prehistory. Some of the best studies in this area have been done by Dr 'O. Mahina'.¹⁴

What is important in all this is method – scientific method – and this is so because, I maintain, there is no logical difference as to *status* between the three types of history (though procedural details can be very different) since the *factuality* of the propositions enunciated in any of them are all on the same logical footing. This in fact is the case with all sciences, natural or social – they differ only as to subject matter. Thus all histories, assuming they employ scientific method, can be brought under the rubric of studies of social complexes.

Contrast this with an art which is the effective presentation of some material. Thus although both psychology and literature deal with a

¹³ N. Wachtel, *La Vision des Vaincus* (Paris 1970). Wachtel is so devoted to his methodology that he refuses to use any of the foreign names for the Americas.

¹⁴ Refer 'O. Māhina, 'The Tongan traditional history *Tala-e-efonua*: a vernacular ecology centred historicocultural concept', PhD thesis, Australian National University (Canberra 1992).

psychological complex, the former is a scientific study of personality while the latter is an artistic presentation of neurotic personalities.¹⁵

We conclude this essay with a brief discussion of the nature of myth and its relation to history (both in the general and the academic sense of the term). We may, first of all, divide myth into two main classes, both derived from ideas found in Vico: Creation myths, and 'Historical' myths.

The relation to Vichian ideas is as follows: in his theory of the origin of language Vico presents a graphic picture of how the original human inhabitants of the Earth paired natural sounds (e.g. thunder etc) with emotions inside man's bosom, and regarded the Sky as (or containing) a man-like being only infinitely superior in power and everything else.¹⁶ Adapting this view we can take Creation or Origin myths (that is, origins of parts of Nature and the natural environment but excluding origins of society and the built environment) as attempts at explaining natural phenomena in terms of human interest and social organisation.

There is nothing wrong with this type of primitive curiosity, an instinctual itch for explanation for striking and fearsome natural events. For that purpose, however, early man had no other resources but human character and practice. The question here is whether the cosmos has a human content or not. Obviously the answer is No. This does not mean that we cannot use this type of myth in ways we like. We do this all the time. But the point is: Creation myths offer nothing to Science (History) because Nature and its parts have their own ways of working which are independent of human or social interest. Hence any reliable explanation of natural phenomena must be in their own terms.

Now it so happens that certain types of human activities (e.g. farming) or important historic events (e.g. wars of conquest) often correspond exactly in their formal structures to important natural or cosmic events especially natural or cosmic cycles. When a pair of this sort is identified by people they are often united to form a single myth with the historical event imposed on the basic form afforded by the natural or cosmic event. Because of the recurrent character of these events the social component of the combination is reinforced by being brought back to memory in this cyclical and rhythmic

¹⁵ This is the case with the classics of European literature. Starting with Achilles in the *Iliad* and going through the Hamlets and Lady Macbeths down to the Rashkolnikovs, the Karamazovs, the Tartuffes, the Don Quixotes and the Ahabs etc, etc — we can see the centrality of the concern with 'peculiar' people who have some aspect of their psyche much more emphasised than the rest, i.e. people with pronounced neuroses. This can be used to distinguish literature as traditionally understood from all the stuff that passes for literature today.

¹⁶ This contains the somewhat muted suggestion that one of the human emotions at issue here was *fear*.

manner for as long as that cultural dispensation retains its identity. In fact both myth and religion aim at perpetuating a certain way of life.¹⁷

Something like this seems to be involved in the Lono myth that Sahlins expounds in *Islands of History* (Ch.4).¹⁸ It is possible that the Lono myth denotes folk-memory of a momentous and historic event in the immemorial past of East Polynesians – the conquest of their territory by 'foreigners' (God/Lono) and subsequent accommodation with the 'locals' (King/Warriors)? – or other events of such stupendous significance for their social development. And to keep society reminded of the special contribution the 'foreign' invaders made to the local culture the past event was grafted on to the recurring seasonal changes which bring with them their unique boons without which the continuity of human society and institutions cannot be maintained.

Thus a historical event is transformed into a repeating occasion by being 'mounted' on the form of a natural cycle. The product is myth which from time to time becomes the social present. The purpose of this type of myth then is the reproduction of a particular kind of society, the maintenance of a certain way of life. With the Lono cycle the Hawaiians were conditioned to preserving a type of society that originated in the 'politics of encounter' of the distant past.

With regard to the second category of myths, the 'historical' myths, we propose the following hypothesis: in preliterate societies epoch-making events stay with the 'collective memory' and in the process of transmission, orality – whose principal power is 'elaboration' in the literal sense of the term – goes to work on the 'historical' material until a stage is reached where the originally spatio-temporal events take on surreal and miraculous aspects, i.e. they become myth. The scientist's problem therefore is this: to devise a method by which we can reverse the process or demythologise, peeling off the mythical overlay in order to get down to the factual core which is 'history'. It must be added that the oral process is always harnessed by political passion to establish in myth a political programme.

We must also recognise that in purely oral transmission the desire for novelty, i.e. distinction in presentation, becomes compulsive and takes precedence over accuracy. This opens the door for distortion and actual occurrences begin to transcend the boundaries of possibility to become

¹⁷ Rituals – which have been called the 'converse' of myth (e.g. by Kluckhohn) – are the tools *par excellence* for this purpose. In all real rituals the principle is that echoed by the Christian Last Supper 'Do this in remembrance of me', which prescribes perpetuity and a certain way of life.

¹⁸ Sahlins's later work including *Islands of History* is marred by an extreme form of symbolic structuralism that takes him away from any factual content – though this may be minuscule in some cases – of myths, which is the first concern of social scientists.

fantastic and magical. The required methodology therefore would essentially consist in elimination of events or characteristics which are logically impossible; elimination of purely oral effects e.g. literary devices which are merely cosmetic but have no structural connection to the myth; identification and elimination of any superimposed political agenda in the myth.

For an example of a historical myth we may take any one from the Maui sequence referred to at the beginning of this essay. The first story in the series relates to a 'voyage of discovery' in which Maui 'fished' up most of the Polynesian islands. We are bound, therefore, to reject any idea of literal truth attached to 'islands being pulled up from the bottom of the sea by fish-hooks' and think of the story as relating to chance land-falls made in the course of pursuing a maritime way of life and economy. Thus, we can represent the 'historical' kernel of this myth by the following statement which we may assume, for the sake of argument, to be true: *a 'fishing expedition' led by Maui (or the Maui?) was the first voyage to land on such and such an island.*

So this voyage was the first such voyage to have ventured beyond a certain familiar orbit, hit upon new islands, returned home to tell people of their discovery, fired the imagination of the home folks causing an exodus to the new lands. The feat was repeated again and again until the whole of the Polynesian islands were discovered and settled. However, the earliest heroes remained in the folk-memory and they eventually became gods, i.e. their deeds, after passing through the prism of orality and the cauldron of political sentiment, became miraculous. Folk gods then were originators of dispensations or new 'civilisations'. Their deeds form the content of 'historical' myths.

It is to be noted that myth has no use for dating.¹⁹ This most important item in the historian's arsenal is, for people who are busy creating or servicing a way of life, at best, only a nicely and even unnecessary dross. Such people care about subsistence, security, permanence and perpetuity and little else beside. Yet it is still possible to determine approximate dates not only by logical examination of 'internal' evidence but also through utilisation of 'external' evidence afforded by the sister sciences—archaeology, philology, anthropology, ethnobotany etc., etc. The gradual change, for example, from a marine to an agricultural economy (which the myth of the *Matalanga-'a-Maui* embodies) can now be given a rough date by archaeology for the case of Tonga (late sixth century AD).

¹⁹ Historians have always insisted that we cannot have history in the true sense if certain conditions are not fulfilled, e.g. continuous documentation, network of dovetailing facts, a system of firm dates etc. It is in respect of this position that so-called 'ethnohistory' is treated in this brief essay throughout not as history in the scientific sense, but *sources for hypotheses about history*.

The analysis can be carried further for a higher refinement of this value. And that would give us a reference point for throwing backwards our yardstick in search of the approximate dates for the other myths in the Maui corpus.²⁰

Even if we believe that the above still falls short of history in the scientific sense the proposition enunciated at the beginning, that myths can be sources of hypotheses for history, seems to have been adequately illustrated. But if this last claim is also denied it would only be in the direction delineated herewith that we can ever hope to penetrate the iron curtain that seems to stand beyond the writings of explorers and missionaries.

²⁰ M.I. Finley ('Myth, Memory and History', in *History and Theory*, Cambridge 1965) would call 'history' extracted in this way (what I call 'sources for hypotheses about history') sociological theories.

Aesthetics of Tongan Dance

A Comparative Approach

THE KINGDOM OF TONGA IS AN ARCHIPELAGO OF 150 SMALL ISLANDS lying smack not only in the southern tropical zone but also in the region traditionally known as the South Seas. In terms of distances, it is about 400 miles to the SE of Fiji and 1,000 miles NE of New Zealand. Of the 150 islands only some 50 are inhabited by Tongans, a branch of the great Polynesian race which began settling the Pacific round about the middle of the second millennium before Christ. The remaining 100 have no inhabitants. The total land area of Tonga is about 270 square miles. The soils in most of these islands are the most fertile in the world, rendering them ideal for a variety of agricultural activities.

Although small in physical size, Tonga has contributed quite significantly to the history and culture of the South Seas and especially Western Polynesia. It has had a continuous aristocratic polity with a king at its head since the early 10th century A.D. The present incumbent of this ancient line is King Tāufa'āhau Tupou IV. He is a constitutional monarch in a state modelled largely on the Westminster system with significant local variations. Of all the old kingdoms of the South Seas, Tonga is the sole survivor, having never been colonised by a foreign power at any point in her whole history.

Tongan society is rigidly hierarchical and the culture rich, ancient and colourful. In the field of the performing arts, Tonga has produced a truly unique system. In vocal music, for example, Tongans have created a system of natural harmony unequalled for its simplicity and distinctive beauty, though here, as in the dance, Tongans have borrowed and learned from other cultures – Pacific and European – but transforming everything to suit Tonga's culture and social environment.

A Definition of Dance

To dance is to keep time with the body. This implies the idea of rhythm which has to be provided, whether externally by music or internally by the dancer's musical sense. But the important thing to grasp here is that although different parts of the body may keep different or varying beats, they are all coordinated in dance into a unity. Here lies the difference between the

* Prepared for the UNESCO World Dance Convention held in Larissa, Greece, July 1990.

ordinary movements of the body and dance movements. The former is not informed by a consciousness of overall unity.

Although in dance we are dealing with bodies moving in space and time it is obligatory on the dancing body to dispose itself in such a way that it produces some type of rhythm. Because of this requirement a dance movement is necessarily a stylisation, i.e. a product of a *selection* of certain elements, from a whole manifold of gestures and possible movements.

Function of Dance

I am able to isolate two functions. The first is to consummate a feeling of unrestrained exultation and effulgence. This is common to all art – the fever of expression, and analysed better than I can by Aquino as *fulgente* and Croce as *espressione*. Expression being a relation must therefore have a source and a receptor. Thus we have the popular conception of art as communication. So dance presupposes society. However, the overpowering feeling of unity and joy cannot arise *in vacuo*. It is induced by an environment of harmony, the most effective being that contrived by music or rhythmic arrangements of sounds.

The second functional aspect of dance is the enhancement of natural virtues. No matter how plain a person looks when not dancing, if he/she knows how to dance, he/she becomes something of peerless beauty when he/she dances. The dance then effects a magical transformation of something ordinary or banal into something resplendent and ethereal. This metamorphosis is not physical only. It is also psychological. The dancer is spiritually transported and is balanced on the tip of a pure feeling of ecstatic contentment while the ordinary, mundane personality is temporarily obliterated. The great Hawaiian dancer, Iolani, when asked how she felt when dancing replied, 'I don't know, I'm not there'.

These two functions of dance can only be carried out in these terms if people learn to dance. Learning here has two components – 'teachers' or people whose dancing can be imitated by the novice, and an environment which encourages and appreciates the dance. What is not usually recognised, however, is that when a person learns to dance, he/she also learns to alter his/her consciousness, i.e. he/she discovers other dimensions of himself/herself not before apprehended. As the dancer progresses in learning he/she begins to project two persons. One is the ordinary, familiar person we know when not dancing and the other is a new being, ephemeral but of ravishing beauty that emerges to our view only when the person dances. A dancer, then, follows a double existence and has a *double personality*. Every one of us must be like that potentially. Only the dancer, however, has mastered and controlled this 'enthusiasm' in its original sense, i.e. the

indwelling 'god' in us which Plato speaks of (*entheos, enthusiasmos*) in both *Ion* and *Philebus*.

We know that dance was used to placate or ask favour of the gods. However, this religious function of dance was not common in my culture. What was common in our society was the employment of dance for sociopolitical purposes. For instance, as sexual arousal — young virgins dancing at eventide before a high chief while he chooses a bedmate or two for the night from among the dancers. Or just providing entertainment.

Analysis of Haka Systems

Haka is a Tongan word meaning dance movement(s). Although as implied by the remarks above, Tongan dance movements are ruled by aesthetic principles, social and moral conventions have also entered their conception and modified their development. So although all *haka* are performable, not all possible bodily attitudes can be *haka*.

I want very briefly to show what appears to me to be the basis of different *haka* systems. I must confess that what I can do is only a caricature of these systems and there is no intention of downgrading them but only of prefacing my analysis of the Tongan system which I know better.

1. The Hawaiian Hula (Solo or group dance)

This is based on a gently undulating and sinuous flowing motion of the whole body in a vertical plane accompanied by fully or partly outstretched arms with the palms and fingers of the hands bending, folding, and opening continuously in a manner typical of Polynesian dancing.

2. Tahitian Tamure (Solo dance)

Tahitian dances are all based on a fast vibratory movement of the hips in a horizontal plane, the faster the vibrations the better.

3. Samoan Tau'alunga (Solo dance)

We can say of the Samoan *tau'alunga* that it is determined by purely aesthetic principles only, and has no semantic dimension dictated by the text of the dance song, and although different sections of the *tau'alunga* can be identified, there are no set movements, or more exactly, no matching of movements to words or meaning. Everything is dictated by feeling. Therefore a wrong movement is impossible if the performer has learned the art. This spontaneously gives this dance its sparkling vivacity and wonder.

4. Hollywood Musicals

Hollywood choreography exemplifies what we call *haka hoa*, the matching principle. It is based on symmetry but symmetry of the simplest kind. In our system it is the lowest type of *haka*, since, as we say, you know beforehand half of what is going to happen, i.e. it takes away freshness and suspense from the dance. If Fred Astaire kicks his left foot forward, you know for sure

he will next kick his right foot forward ('put your left foot in', etc.). It is a most predictable system.

5. *Classical Ballet*

To me this greatest of European traditional dances is based on the movements of a stiffened body of 'negligible' weight. There are two principal ways in which classical ballet differs from Tongan dance. First, because of a need to show the limpid buoyancy of a 'weightless' body the ballet dancer covers much more ground than our dancers would ever dare to do. From our point of view, there is a distracting element in considerable, continuous change of position. This may not be a very serious criticism and can be the product of ethnocentricity, but still it may be good sense in choreography to economise on locomotion.

I suppose it is also a logical effect of the narrative character of the classical ballet that, in the telling of a story, the whole choreography is subjected to the demands of a plot. In Polynesian dances though semantics can be important, ideas are never strung together in a plot.

The second important difference is in the weight given to head and eye movements. In Tongan dance the head plays a central role in coordinating movements, and the eyes and faces as a whole are the most important link between the dancer and audience.

6. *Modern American Dance*

From our Tongan (ethnocentric?) point of view, modern dance represents not an advance but a retrogression on traditional European dances. Although it is true that the movements of dance may originate in ordinary, natural movements of the body, we must still insist on the idea that dance movements are distillations of those natural movements with a view to revealing their intrinsic beauty and rhythm, i.e. with a view to art. Maxine Sheets-Johnstone in a 1978 article defined dance as: 'to live the human body in movement'. The reply is that we do this every time we walk, run, etc., but are these dance? The position is that work still has to be done on this 'raw material' before it becomes part of dances. In a later formulation of the same definition of the dance the same writer ends with 'and let the chips of meaning fall where they may'. This then is a rejection of an important dimension of movement in the raw — its purposive basis, i.e. the isolating work of artistic creation has begun. In other words dancers *qua* dancers, wherever they are, cannot escape selecting, combining, adapting and so forth. They are no mere presenters but impassioned creators under the direct inspiration of an inscrutable spirit.

Perhaps what I have said applies only to the theory of modern dance, for in practice I see a lot to be admired in the work of modern choreographers, especially Arpino. The features most foreign to Polynesian eyes would be the

literalness of the choreography, the excessively narrative nature of the dances, and the very common use of distracting factors. But I see these innovators taking ideas from other cultures and adapting them in their own way. Much good will certainly come out of this.

Analysis of Tongan Dance

It is of historical interest to find out the origins of social customs and forms of behaviour. But although we can trace certain kinds of dance, eg. the Kathakali of India, or European classical ballet, to their cultural and historical beginnings there is certainly no question of our being able to find out the 'origins' of dance as a form of human behaviour. All we can say is that dance and man are coeval.

Traditionally, dance, music and poetry did not represent separate arts but a grand and gorgeous blend of them in one great art, *saiva*. This seems to be the case in most pre-literate cultures. However as we approach modern times, in the late 18th century, we see poetical recitations enjoyed for their own sake, but punctuated with short choral bursts. Thus the dance was beginning to be seen as separable from poetry and music, and these latter as, at least, distinguishable.

Now, it is quite possible to hypothesise that Tongan dances are based on a *face-centred* choreography. This means that the face is the focus of the whole conception and creation of the different movements. In this context the motions of other parts of the body may be said to be 'supportive', that, although taken together, they form a unity, and this 'unification' is only possible because the face is there. The hand movements, so essential, and without which there cannot be Tongan dancing, for example, provide a physical frame — but what a frame, always hung with beautiful flowers or bird-filled tropical trees swaying against soft azure skies — for facial expressions. The feet too are not only means of transport, but, more than any other part of the body, must be true to rhythm so that the carried portrait of the face does not suffer from being yanked sideways or vertically too violently or clumsily, so that the other-worldly visage is lost and consequently the mysterious rapport between performer and viewer broken.

It is possible to explain this characteristic of Tongan *saiva* in terms of biology or social conventions. For example, we can imagine Tongan dances as having originally developed as sitting pantomimes for the aged, that is, for people who have lost the agility of feet and general athletic qualities. Hence the concentration on hands, fingers and facial gestures. Otherwise one could surmise that Tongan dances were developed within the rigidity of harsh and domineering chiefships, that even in what should be an abandoned and free state such as the dance, people still had to crawl, bend and never be in the vertical in the presence of their masters. However, all these considerations,

interesting as they are in providing possible scenarios for the rise of a particular system of performing arts, are beside the point. What we are primarily concerned with here are the aesthetic aspects of Tongan dance and only secondarily with those things that interest the sociologist and the biologist. Further, such considerations may take away from the fact that our choreographers, ancient and modern, are artists and creators, i.e. people who perceive dimensions in things which ordinary men do not see, being blinded by utilitarian and materialistic obsessions. The decision to develop a face-centred choreography shows tremendous aesthetic sensibility for it is a determination to give *integritas*, in Aquinian terminology, to the dance. It is also physically and psychologically sensible for the choice of the face is the ultimate choice, being the only part of the body where all the 'windows' of the central nervous system concentrate, the most expressive part of the Hindu's 'five-gated city'.

As remarked above, Tongan dances are 'half-body' systems of stylised movements as contrasted to the full-bodied dances of Europe (the classical ballet, for example), and those of Asia, e.g. the Bharat Natyam, Carnatic and Kathakali. A 'half-body' dance is one in which the motifs are concentrated on the head and hands/arms motions. We compare full-body and half-body dances in the following table:

<i>Full Body Dances (European Ballet, Bharat Natyam, etc.)</i>	<i>Half Body Dances (Western Polynesian Dances)</i>
1. Back to audience motifs common	'Sunny side up' is the rule, i.e. back to audience motifs very rare
2. Eye contact between dancer & viewer shunned	Eye contact essential
3. Motifs are full bodied	Motifs mostly for head and hands only
4. Feet very important	Feet mostly instruments of transport
5. Face has equal value with other body parts	Face is the most important body part
6. Dancer operates in large area	Dancer very restricted
7. Motifs are literal and prosaic	Motifs highly abstract and stylised
8. Fast technical turns common	Movements dignified and elegant

Some Principles

Although it would be useful and interesting to trace the influence of the environment on the choreography — Tongans sometimes speak of dance movements as originally imitative of foliage and animal motions — there is here a danger of detracting from the artistry and sensibility of the Tongan dancers. Moreover to say this is not to impart much information for we can still ask, What are foliage and animal movements really like? If we want to be really serious about this question we should be discussing aesthetic principles. Thus it would be far more useful and to the point to first look at the movements from a mechanical perspective, to enunciate general

principles of dance movements as movements which underlie most (hand) movements in the Tongan dance. Such a course would help the beginner (dancer as well as choreographer) coordinate his work better and mix tradition and innovation more effectively.

The most pervading motional pattern in Tongan dance hand and arm movements can be called the *relative motion* principle. This principle is interpreted in the same way the term is interpreted in physics. Basically the arms are pulled in opposite directions. This is done at different planes, horizontal, vertical, and oblique, and in different positions in relation to the body, directly in front, at 45 degrees to the left or right, and more limitedly behind the back as well as at different levels.

The relative motion, however, is always combined with another motion. This is the torsional continuous twisting of the hands and arms as they move against each other. Because the freedom to move increases as we go from the elbow to the palm and fingers, the amount of twisting, i.e. the size of the angle swept by the section of the hand, increases imperceptibly in the same direction ending in a graceful flurry of the fingers that is always delicious to watch. This motion, then, which is always at right angles to the basic relative motion, is based on a *propeller motion* principle. Nevertheless, it is still possible to rank these principles and say that the torsional motion is secondary, as being superimposed on the more fundamental relative motion. At any rate, these two motions exhaust the basic mechanics of hand movements in Tongan dancing.

There are two other principles worth mentioning at this juncture. These are operational guides, i.e. they are ones which the creator of the dance is always conscious of using or not. The first is called *haka hoa* or the 'pairing up' method which we mentioned in connection with the Hollywood choreography. The basic idea here is that if a particular *haka* is performed on the left then it is straight away performed on the right. If the right hand sweeps gracefully in front of the body from left to right, then straight after that the left hand does the same movement but from right to left. Therefore the pairing up principle is an 'analysis', a cutting up, as it were, of the relative motion principle into its two parts.

Haka hoa is regarded as the most elementary system of *haka* because of its predictability. Anyone who has not learned the movements of a dance can just jump in and dance along reasonably well if the system used is *haka hoa*. And dance masters abhor this for it means that they have not been subtle enough to render impossible this kind of invasion. Consequently masters have tended to avoid *haka hoa* and employ a method where the sequence of movements is not predictable at all, though they have broad structural balance and coherence. Such a system is called *haka hokohoko haka*.

The final general *haka* principle we may touch upon here stems from a linguistic requirement — the search for meaning. Here it relates to a common feature of dance systems: the desire to translate the text of the song into motional semantics. The principle can be stated as follows: the *haka* must be close to the meaning of the text; the *haka* must be far from the meaning of the text. Obviously when this paradox is worked out in dance gestures the results are stylisations, and an abstract system is produced. All great art must be of this nature; it is the evasion of utter prosaicness as well as absolute abstraction. To go too far in either direction is to lose all aesthetic qualities in one's work.

Head and Facial Haka

The head and eyes play a central role in coordinating hand and arm movements. There are four head movements; *kalo*, *kamo*, *tafoki-fua* and *sakateki*. *Kalo* bends the head slightly to the front and it is made to sweep a shallow semi-circle from left to right or vice versa with the beginning of the whole motion hitting the beat rather sharply. *Kamo* is a nod with the head falling down or raised up as if beckoning the viewer to join the dance, but always marking the time, of course. This head movement with its upward version is combined with the eyebrows raising once and again, marking the beat. The most important head movement, however, is the *sakateki*. This is a slight rhythmic and sideways fall (and back again) of the head and is theoretically the mark of the completion of a unit of *haka*. In practice, however, the dancer performs it as often as he/she feels is needed to punctuate/unify his/her performance. Thus it depends ultimately on the performer's feelings. When doing the *sakateki* the dancer's mouth must be closed though the teeth inside are slightly parted since if they meet the face may present the attitude of a scowl. *Tafoki* literally means 'to turn', but in the context of the dance it means the head as a whole must be turned if it turns at all, for it is forbidden in the Tongan dance to glance sideways. No furtive looks are permitted and full facing is the rule.

These head movements notwithstanding, the face must spend most of its time looking directly in front, a point technically known as *sakama'unga* or reference point. The reference point is best when a human being occupies it. The dancer's eyes are every now and again brought into contact with the human eyes at the *sakama'unga*. He must hold the viewer's eyes by the magic of his performance. On the other hand if he finds that no one is watching him, he has cause to worry for it means he is not doing well. The number of viewers directing their eyes at a dancer is a measure of the excellence of his performance. He is like an evangelist whose converts are the eyes of his audience.

Standardised Haka and Malie

It is easy to imagine a point in our prehistory when dance masters began to organise things more and to standardise *haka*. It is natural that such a process moves hand in hand with the evolution of society. The situation with standardised *haka* now is not unlike that of the Indian *raga* — there is a general mapping between the meaning of the text and the set movements in the morphokinetic level. So the creativity of the choreography is shown in the way it handles and adapts standardised *haka*. The most important of these are *ha'otā*, *kako*, *'alo'alo*, *tui* etc. — these can be performed by both males and females — and *lulu*, *musu*, *veteloi* etc., which are for males only.

On the other hand there are dances for just entertainment, where the dancer acts from feeling alone and attaches no semantic dimensions to his/her movements. To watch these is sheer joy. There are also war and boating dances which are performed by dancers wielding miniature wooden paddles or spears as props and so on. We cannot discuss the movements of these dances here.

Malie is the term used when the dance is well done and one hears people shouting to the dancers from time to time '*Malie!*' It is like listening to an Italian audience calling '*Bravo!*' (or '*Brava*') to a performer during a concert. *Malie* is an involuntary reaction when one finds the performance truly great, the atmosphere tense and electric, and both dancer and viewer are swallowed up and swirled in the inner recesses of the magic depths of the balletic art.

Malie is also used by masters as the basis of a classification of excellences in relation to the different parts of the body. The highest *malie* 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. These different *malie* are whole worlds in their own right and must be honed to perfection by constant practice. And this development must go together with the training of the mind so that when the accomplished dancer rises and moves in to dance, the world simply fades out of existence and he bounces on the tip of a fountain of pure bliss.

Laumatanga, Pride of Locality, in Tongan Poetry

ALL TONGAN POETRY THAT HAS COME DOWN TO US ORIGINATED IN TONGA or the neighbouring islands in generally known prehistoric and historical times. Whatever poetry our ancestors might have brought with them from an original 'homeland' must have been cast into oblivion by the relentless rush of evolution and change during those long periods between the postulated ancestors and us. This statement refers only to specific poems, to the actual corpus, for, conceivably, such original poetry, if it really existed could have – must have – influenced ancient and therefore modern poetry in ways we may never know – in form, style, structure, and general outlook.

Tongan poetry can be tentatively divided into four periods. These are: the Ancient Period (prior to the 12th century A.D.), Middle Period (12th to 18th century), Transitional Period (mid-18th to early 19th century), and Modern Period (mid-19th century to present). This is represented in the diagram in figure 1.

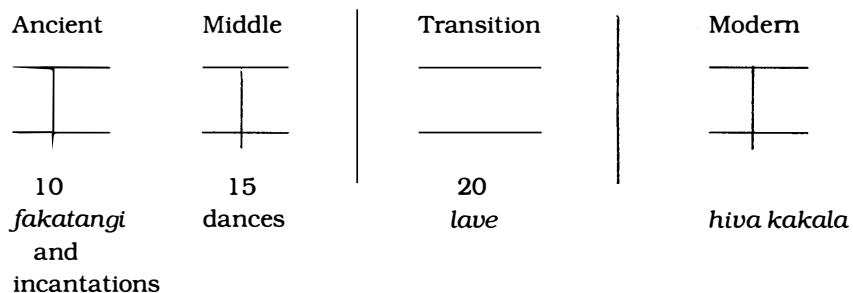


FIGURE 1. Periodisation of Tongan poetry

This division is based on general considerations of theme and form. On the thematic side, the periods broadly correspond to changes in outlook or thinking which ultimately related to changed social organisation. There would be overlaps, of course.

In the case of dance poetry, for instance, the Transition Period could have started earlier than indicated in the diagram. But like any other system of poetry, the earlier period influences the later in no uncertain way. Elements

of the older poetry live on or are developed and made more perfect in the later poetry. In the Tongan tradition, the element that persists most strongly is *style* and that which has changed most is *form*. Does that mean that style is more peculiarly a literary category than form?

The poetry of the Ancient Period consists mainly of very short poems (sometimes only two to four lines). They are usually part of a myth and usually summaries of the important points of the story. They are always chanted by the storyteller to enliven the narrative. However, the important point, in view of our purpose here, is the entirely magical outlook of this poetry. Every simple object, every little event, be it a stick or stone, a trip of the foot, a fruit falling from a tree, any thing whatsoever, is absolutely infused with magical connotations. It seems man in this period resigned his fate to, but also learned to live contentedly in, an environment that he took to be one big miraculous show. The characteristic poetry of this period includes the *fakatangi* (the myth ballads) and incantations (chanted as magical operators by priests and healers). This was the age of the gods.

Poetry in the Middle Period is marked by expanded length and definite canzonic form. The verses of a poem are still short, but the whole poem is long and there is always a very short refrain. The verses were recited by the poet himself (or herself) and the refrain chanted by a chorus trained by the poet. Ideologically, poetry in this period testifies to a clear distinction between gods and the earth and human beings, whom they created and ruled. The protagonists of the poems are demigods, that is, beings born of humans but endowed with miraculous powers. This was the age of heroes.

This period is also important as the one in which the great ancient dances of Tonga were developed and the dances of neighbouring islands entered our culture. This great cultural ferment was responsible for the marked progress in our poetical art and has left its impress on the song-like form of the non-dance poetry of that period. The poems *Folau ki Pulotu*, *Tupu'anga 'oe Fua*, *Hiva 'o Muni*, and so forth belong to this period. We can characterise the society of the Middle Period as a basically theistic one.

The Transitional Period is really a short prelude, nay, the beginning of the Modern Period in Tongan poetry. The only important element that distinguishes the two periods is the presence in the later of Christian influence. Ideologically, however, that influence is superfluous, because Christian values and values cultivated during the transition period do not clash in any important way. In fact, aspects of Christian ethics agree remarkably with Tongan morals at so many points as to warrant their being described as a particular case of Polynesian ethics. However that may be, we have in Transition poetry the testimony to a full awareness of men as human beings tied in every direction by social links to their fellow men or groupings of men

which are staggered in a rigidly hierarchically ranked system. In a word, we are here dealing with an aristocratic society.

We do not hear much of gods as such but mainly as highly socialised deities. The poems reek of social rules and tabus relating to social conduct and etiquette. Form also began to be more relaxed during this period. Poems tend to run on like the epic, though the style and content may be lyrical, like an ode gone wild without any clear definite form. The exception, of course, is dance poetry, which still abides by norms (or their revised versions) established during the Middle Period.

When the first Christian missionaries arrived in the Tongan islands towards the end of the 18th century, the tide of the power of local religion and all its panoply – priesthood, rituals, institutions, and the like – was at a low ebb. Christianity re-established the claims of religion to social power and superior status. Christianity has been so successful that one can describe Tongan society from the 19th century to the present as an aristocratic-theistic one. This is, of course, the description of European medieval society, but it is transcendently apt as a description of modern Tongan society. But whereas medieval European societies were surrounded by mostly benighted others, with comparatively little communication between them, Tonga is hedged in on all sides by modern communities with their technological revolution, which brings in its train a revolution in thought. Which certainly is for the better. All this, at any rate, is reflected in our modern poetry.

Tongan Nature Poetry

Tongan nature poetry differs from many other poetical traditions in that it is never generalised Nature, never Nature in the abstract, that the poet speaks of or addresses. It is always about a particular manifestation of Nature, concretised Nature, an actual island, a particular beach, a specific lagoon, and so forth. And well it should be, for the Tongan is noted for his *concreteness* (which in some cases is taken to be weakness in conceptualisation) and his sense of oneness with his locality – his *localness*.

Tongan nature poetry, therefore, has two principal features – specificity and localness. The observance of these two principles has given rise in our system to the poetical category of *laumatanga* (*lau*, lit. to verbalise; *matanga*, lit. beautiful place or spot). In modern dance poetry, especially the *lakalaka* (Tongan national dance for both men and women) and *ma'ulu'ulu* (a sitting dance for both sexes), the text must have a *laumatanga* section. The first section of the text is always a *fakatapu* (salutations), also referred to by the Samoan name *laulausiva*. The second part can be topical. Then comes the *laumatanga*, in which the poet recounts all the beautiful spots and parts of the locality he and the dancing group hail from. Sometimes the *laumatanga*

is incorporated into the last section of the poem, the *tatau* (farewell), but it may also be treated separately.

The *laumatanga* of modern poetry has its antecedents in the *ta'anga* (dance texts) and *lave* (epic-like odes), nature poetry, of the Middle and Transition periods. Let us look at examples of *laumatanga* from these periods. *Laveofo* by Tufui is a poem about the offshore islands of Tongatapu (Sacred Tonga), the main island of the Tongan archipelago and the scene of the greatest moments in our prehistory, including the drama of our poetical development. The simple form and the style of this poem clearly mark it out as a work of the Middle Period.

Laveofo

by Tufui (trans. Beatrice Baker)¹

Ke fanongo mai e kanokanona
Kau lave motu pe te ke 'iloa;

Ki homautolu Fangalongonoa.
Ne fua 'i 'Onevai he totoka;
Koe motu lelei ia 'o Tonga
Lata'anga 'oe fakahakonoa.

Angi 'a e matangi tonga,
He-a-e-i-a-ho-la!
he-he-i-a-he-he-a!

Mokotu'u ena, mo Velitoa;
Hange ha vakatou kuo hola,
'A e tomohopo 'a Malinoa
'Oka tu'u matahavili 'a Tonga.
Angi 'a e matangi tonga. Etc.

Velitoahihifo mo Monuafe,
Ngata mei Tanoa mo Fele'ave;
Na'a 'ita 'i loto 'ae punake,

Listen, oh, alto singers,
I sing of the islands and see
if you know them;
About our own Fangalongonoa.²
It was first at Onevai of peaceful coast.
That is the best island of Tonga,
Where chiefs loved to go for pleasure trips

Blow ye south wind
He-a-e-i-a-ho-la!
He-he-i-a-he-he-a!

Mokotu'u there and Velitoa;
Like a vessel that has absconded;
The falling and rising of Malinoa
When Tonga stands menaced by strong winds
Blow ye south wind. Etc.

Velitoa-west and Monuafe,
Ending with Tanoa and Feleave;³
Lest becomes angry the mind of the poet,

¹ From E. W. Gifford, *Tongan Place Names* (Honolulu 1923), 8-11, trans. Beatrice Baker, emended by the author.

² Fangalongonoa is a name given to the eastern part of the lagoon in Tongatapu where the ancient capital, Mu'a, is situated. It is said that Tu'itatui, the 11th Tu'i Tonga, builder of the trilithon, Ha'amonga, and creator of the *kava* ceremony, had his residence in Heketā, at land's end near the east point of Tongatapu. But the beach there is always noisy and rough, and his sister longed for quieter beaches. The Heketā beach is still known as 'Utulongoa'a (lit., noisy coast), a name given to it by the same person. After Tu'itatui died, the Tu'i Tonga shifted court to Lapaha in the inner, sheltered lagoon, which spot the same sister called Fangalongonoa (lit., silent beach). This could have taken place toward the end of the 12th century.

³ Tano'a and Fele'ave are islands facing the western part of Tongatapu.

He 'eku vikia 'a e mata hangale,
Kau foki pe au ki Hahake.
Angi 'a e matangi tonga, Etc.

Ko 'Ata koe motu'a fonua,
Mo 'Eueiki pea mo 'Eua;
Na'e fusi 'e Maui ki 'Olunga
Ko Kalau, e motu ngali niua,
Ne feke'i ai 'a e ongo otua.
Ta koe fingota e fiemu'a,
Kuo tuku hono nge'esi 'i 'uta,
Ka ka 'alu 'o heke telefua
Angi 'a e matangi tonga,
Etc.

Ko Lotuma mo Folokolupe,
Ko Lekiasaitau nofo ne:
Tangaloa e tu'u makehe pe,
Ko Puleniafu mo Ongolate.
Angi 'ae matangi tonga,
Etc

Nukuhe'elili pea mo Nuku;
Na'e hola ki ai 'a e nofo hu,
Oka mohe hake e Fakatupu,
Ki he hoko 'oe toenga 'umu
Angi 'a e matangi tonga,
Etc.

Ko Pangaimotu mo Makaha'a,
Tu'u mai 'a e motu ko Fafā,
Na'e fai ai e ta maka,
'O uta ki Langi Taetaea,

Because I praised the coast of *hangale* trees⁴
I will return to the east district.
Blow ye south wind. Etc.

'Atā⁵ is the oldest land
And 'Eueiki and 'Eua;⁶
Was pulled up by Maui.
Kalau, an island appearing to have plenty of
coconuts,
Quarrelled over by two gods
Why it was a shellfish and cunning,
Which left its empty shell on shore,
While it went and crawled naked.
Blow ye south wind Etc.

Lotuma and Folokolupe,
Lekiasaitau stands tucked away here:
There stands Tangaloa apart,
Puleniafu and Ongolate.
Blow ye south wind
Etc.

Nukuhe'elili and Nuku;⁷
Fled there the refugees
When the Cannibal went to sleep there
To finish the '*umu*' remains.
Blow ye south wind
Etc.

The islands Pangaimotu and Makaha'a,
And stands forward the island of Fafā,
The cutting of stone was done there,
And taken (the stones) to the royal tomb
Taetaea,

⁴ *Hangale* (*Luminitzera littorea*) is a small tree found in all parts of the western coast of Tongatapu, hence the nickname, the *hangale* coast.

⁵ 'Atā is a small island at the eastern end of the Tongatapu group, the farthest from the 'mainland', to the north. According to myths, this was the first island to be inhabited in Tonga and also the first to be cultivated with food crops.

⁶ 'Eueiki and 'Eua are the only islands mentioned in the poem that are still inhabited. They have East Polynesian-sounding names (Havaiki and 'Oahu – whose old name was 'Eua) and combined with the fishing legend of Maui point to (a) these legends as of East Polynesian origin and (b) that Western Polynesia was culturally influenced by the East some time about the beginning of the second millennium AD.

⁷ Explained in text. Nuku is an island used as refuge from hunting cannibals.

⁸ *Umu*: earth oven.

Moe otu langi fua 'o Mu'a

Angi 'a e matangi tonga,
Etc.

Niu'ui, ho ke fakaofoofo!
Na'e tala hono hingoa 'i he fono
Pea mao ai e lea ki loto,
Ta 'oku 'ikai ha fo'i ngono.

Angi 'a e matangi tonga,
Etc.

'Oneata fetaki mo Manima
Kau a'a keu mohe ki Fasi'a,
'O mamata he lafo'i 'oe ika.
'Oku 'alu kovi, koe mala'ia!
Ta koe 'inasi pe ia.

Angi 'a e matangi tonga
Etc.

Kuo puli ai 'a Nga'unoho:
Pe ha 'esi pe muitolotolo?
Nukunukumotu mo Fu'umilo;
Ko hai e a'a moe 'ungako?

Angi 'a e matangi tonga,
Etc.

'Utuloa, pe ha 'esi pe ha motu:
Nukunave pea motu fo'ou
Ne lelei fakafuonounou.
Koe vaka e ka 'alu ki motu,
Ki Mo'unu ki he taumafa fonu.

Angi 'a e matangi tonga,
Etc.

Ko Motutala mo Mata'aho;
Ha'angakafa ne mei ngalo;
Talakite feangai mo Moho;
Na'e tu'u ai 'a e toa ongo.

And all the row of royal tombs at Mu'a.

Blow ye south wind
Etc.

Niu'ui, you are beautiful !
Your name was told at the council
And penetrated the words into the meeting
But there are not even young nuts

Blow ye south wind
Etc.

'Oneata is hand in hand with Manima
While I ford to go and sleep at Fasi'a,
To watch the throwing of the nets for the fish.
The catch is not good, there must be a curse.
Yet that may be the willed⁹ portion

Blow ye south wind
Etc.

Which causes Nga'unoho to disappear:
Was it mound or promontory?¹⁰
Nukunukumotu and Fu'umilo;
Who will ford on the spiny 'ungako¹¹

Blow ye south wind
Etc.

'Utuloa, is it a mound or is it an island;
Nukunave and the new island;
Which was only nice a short time.
There is a vessel that will go to the island,
To the reef Mo'unu for the chief's turtle.

Blow ye south wind
Etc.

Motutala mo Mata'aho;
Ha'angakafa was nearly forgotten,
Talakite opposite to Moho;
There stood the casuarina tree of sounds

⁹ The catch made while fishing was usually attributed to the will of the gods, sometimes a convenient way to escape the wrath of irate earthly masters, if the catch was poor, as seems to be the case in this one.

¹⁰ This shows that a number of very small islands and other physical features had disappeared by then and more have between the time of the poet and the present.

¹¹ The 'ungako is a small marine sessile animal with sharp spines, dangerous to unprotected feet.

Na'e holo ai pe e 'ao.

Angi e matangi tonga,
Etc.

Ko Niumotu'u mo Nukulave,
Pea tolu 'aki Vaomaile.
E motu ko Fanakavaaotua,
Na'e tu'u pe 'i he loto kouta.

Angi 'ae matangi tonga,
Etc.

Tongomotu pea mo Ngofonua!
Namolimu e tu'u potu ki 'uta;
Na'e tu'u ai e hamatefua,
Na'e 'uli 'o ta'i Muomu'a.

Angi 'a e matangi tonga
Etc.

Muikuku feangai mo Nahafu
E motu lelei ko Mo'ungatapu;
Na'e nofo ai Putufakatau,
Ko si'ono motu to 'i he hau.

Angi 'a e matangi tonga,
Etc.

Ko Nuku mo Kanatea ta'e'ofa;
Na'e nofo ai Mapafieto'a.
Na'a ne tau'i Tu'i Lalotonga,
Na'e 'ikai tali mai ka ka hola.

Angi 'a e matangi tonga,
Etc.

Lau ai moe motu ko Pakola,
Na'e tu'u pe 'ikai 'iloa,
'I he muivai 'o Veitoloa
Koe nofo'anga 'oe Tu'i Tonga
Angi 'a e matangi tonga, Etc.

Fakimamana te mau tala
Koe'uhu pe ko hono hingoa -
Ka kuo 'ikai hono tu'unga.
Na'e tu'u 'i 'Atele he puna,

Over which the clouds passed in
quick succession.
Blow ye south wind. Etc.

Niumotu'u and Nukulave,
and Vaomaile makes a third.
The island of Fanakavaaotua,
Which stood in the middle of the mangroves.

Blow ye south wind.
Etc.

Tongomotu and Ngofonua!
Namolimu stands nearest the shore;
There stood a single hulled canoe
Which sailed and struck Mu'omu'a¹²
Blow ye south wind
Etc.

Muikuku which stands opposite Nahafu
A delightful island is Mo'ungatapu;
There dwelt Putufakatau,
His island given to him by the ruler.

Blow ye south wind
Etc.

Nuku and Kanatea the unkind;
There dwelt Mapafieto'a
He fought Tu'i Lalotonga,
Who did not wait for him but fled.

Blow ye south wind.
Etc.

Count also the island of Pakola,
Which stood, then disappeared,
At the end of the pond of Veitoloa
The dwelling place of the Tu'i Tonga.
Blow ye south wind. Etc.

Fakimamana we will mention
Because of its name -
Why, it has no place.
It stood at 'Atele at the spring,

¹² Mu'omu'a is the name given to the most southerly division of the Ha'apai group of islands in the middle of the archipelago, about 80 miles to the north of Tongatapu.

Ne holoki 'i he tau 'otua
 Angi 'a e matangi tonga,
 Etc.

Vakangotoika, Vakautangū,
 Na'e tu'u 'i he fanga 'i Pahu.
 Ke fanongo mai ho mau,
 Koe ngata'anga ia 'oe motu
 Ka 'ikai tau'i pea ke hū.
 Angi 'a e matangi tonga,
 Etc.

Then was thrown down in the
 war of the gods.
 Blow ye south wind. Etc.

Vakangotoika, Vakautangū
 They stood at the beach of Pahu.
 Listen to me you, poet,
 These are all the islands.
 If not contested, then sue for pardon
 Blow ye south wind.
 Etc.

Tufui is almost certainly a poet from the eastern part of Tongatapu, even from Mu'a, the seat of the Tu'i Tonga, the sacred kings of ancient Tonga. The fact that he treats only of the eastern islands and neglects the western islands (verse 3) may mean two things. First, that he was a native of the eastern side of Tongatapu and so could have had very little experience of the other parts. And secondly, the poem could have been of an earlier date than the consolidation of Tu'i Tonga power in the western parts of the island, through the establishment of a governor, the Tu'i Kanokupolu, there in the 16th century.

The individual verses speak of the islands and their natural virtues or historic fame. It has been the practice of archaeologists to concentrate on the main island, Tongatapu, but according to oral tradition and, more importantly, ancient poetry, the earliest sites of human settlement in Tonga are in the smaller offshore islands. One thing the myths are specific about is that the cultivation of introduced cultigens first took place in these islands. And this is natural. People going to a new place would not rush to the main island for fear of violent resistance from any inhabitants, but would settle in the smaller islands first, sending out to the others and especially to the main island reconnaissance parties from time to time. Taking into account the state of technology and the size of the group and the bigger islands, the time taken to circumnavigate and penetrate Tongatapu from coast to coast would be some 20 or 30 years, at least. That is long enough to have made some settlers in the smaller islands reluctant to join the exodus to the 'mainland', and so settlement was maintained in these islands. 'Laveofo' speaks of a time when many of these islands were peopled. Of all the islands referred to in the poem, only two are still inhabited ('Eua and 'Eueiki).

The events, supernatural or historical, the geographical landmarks, the special fauna or whatever an island is famous for are corroborated by other oral traditions. They have passed into our general culture and as such become part of our identity. What makes a locality famous, whether an event or tangible object, living or inanimate, makes the locality specially unique, for

the coming together of the locality and the event or physical object is an occurrence that is impossible to duplicate in any other part of the universe.

Another matter worth noting here is the near-total absence of figuration in 'Laveofo'. This is, of course, a standard observation for epic and purely descriptive verse like this poem. Metaphor may have entered language – strictly, eloquence – late in human evolution, when man has mastered the presentation of things and turned to comparing them, and specifically when he started to develop the lyric and its corresponding state of mind. The imagistic aspect of language, therefore, was the earlier, and can be regarded as the primary form of eloquence. In all *laumatanga*, this pre-eminence of imagery over figuration is always exemplified.

The poem is not only a complete geographical catalogue of all the offshore islands of the Tongatapu group. It is also an invaluable documentation of important prehistoric events. Some of the most interesting are:

Verse 4: According to certain myths, the oldest island of the Tonga group was 'Atā, created when the sky-god Tangaloa Tufunga (Tangaloa the Craftsman) poured down ash from his shop in the sky onto the sea below. The same myths imply that 'Atā was also the first island to have been settled and cultivated with agricultural crops, also brought down from the sky. The myths about the demigod Maui say that he, during a fishing expedition, pulled up 'Eua and 'Eueiki islands with his hook and line from the bottom of the sea. The Maui myths most probably originated in Eastern Polynesia, but that sector of Polynesia did not influence Tonga significantly until after the 12th century. This would help us to date the poem. 'Eueiki is probably the Havaiki of Eastern Polynesia, and 'Eua is the ancient name of the high plateau of Oahu Island in the Hawaiian group. The last five lines of this verse refer to the myth of two gods – one Samoan and one Tongan – fighting over the ownership of the coconut-planted island of Kalau. The Samoan god turned into a land crab inside an empty shell and the Tongan into a plover, which sat aloft in a tree keeping an eye on the crab. The Samoan tried to trick the Tongan by sneaking out of its shell, crawled to the waterfront, and started to pull the island away in the direction of Samoa. He was found out and stopped. Probably the myth refers to a period when Samoan chiefs made land claims in Tongan territory and Tongan high chiefs had not yet asserted full hegemony over that part of the islands.

Verse 6 testifies to the existence of cannibalism in prehistoric Tonga. Tongans claim that the horrible practice came here from Fiji and was perpetuated on Tongan soil by Fijians. The claim cannot be substantiated since cannibalism could have been part of the ancient religion. In fact, the *kava* ceremony, where a narcotic beverage is taken by participants, could have developed in the first place as a reaction to cannibalistic religious practices.

Verse 7 is important in locating the quarries from which came the limestone slabs for the terraced tombs of the Tu'i Tonga. Some of these quarries have in fact been identified on the beaches of these islands.

Verses 10, 11, 17, and 18 make references to islands that had since disappeared, destroyed perhaps by tidal waves, cyclones, or some geological activity. The 'war of the gods' (verse. 18/5) could have been some severe earth movement.

Verse 12: the casuarina tree here referred to is the mythical one down which the god Tangaloa 'Eitumatupua climbed to cohabit with an earth woman, Va'epopua, who, as a result, gave birth to 'Aho'eitu, the first Tu'i Tonga. The names of the islets of this group refer to stages of this couple's first intercourse.

Our second example of *laumatanga* is a *fakana'ana'a* (a romanza or lullaby 'to stop weeping'). It is from the Transition Period and was originally composed to cheer up chiefly children from Vava'u who were sojourning in Tongatapu and very homesick for their native island group.

Fakana'ana'a

Ka malu pea tau e kakapu
 I he 'otu motulalo 'o Vava'u
 Pea hange pe 'oku te folau
 O kau ka viki hangofia atu.
 Neu tu'u he toa 'i Longomapu

Tepa ki he Fakafanua'amanu
 Ki he utu mai 'a e mo'unga ko
 Talau
 Moe konga vao 'i Pahalau
 Ohuafi langa'ia 'ehe hahau
 Kuo tulekina 'ehe tokelau,
 'O tokoto hifo 'i Tolungahaku.

Falefata moe hala malumalu
 Kalo ki Koloa moe Otufangavalu;
 O mamata he loto ko Utuafu.
 Ha'u ta tukua e Hala Ngutungutu;

Kata kalo ki Tulukingavava'u
 Mo si'i hifonga 'i Anae fu
 Fanongoa mei Anapūpū

Lullaby¹³

When calm and the mist settles
 On the outer islands of Vava'u
 It seems as if I were sailing
 When I praise it to you.
 I stood at the ironwood tree in Longomapu

And glanced at Fakafanua'amanu
 To where rises the mount of Talau
 And the woods in Pahalau.
 The smoke stirred by the dew
 And tilted by the northern wind,
 Lies across Tolungahaku.

Falefata and the shady road
 Turn now to Koloa and 'Otufangavalu
 There we will see the pool Utuafu.
 Come, let us leave the Cliff road;

Let us go to Tulukingavava'u.
 And descend into the cave 'Anae fu
 And listen from the cave 'Anapūpū

¹³ Trans. Queen Sālote Tupou. From Gifford, *Tongan Place Names*, 6-7; trans. emended by the author.

Si'i ngala 'a e 'Utukalongalu.

Fakapo kuo langa a atu,
Kuo fakalolo ki tokelau
Kuo kapa talifaki a manu

'I Tu'ungasika mo Luafatu,
Luamoko moe motu ko Kitu.
Si'i falo 'a e mo'unga ko Vou
Kuo tafitonga 'ehe malu.
Uoisouke! na'a ko ha mala,
Hoto 'ofa ki Vava'u kuo langa,

He fonua ne ngali katoanga.
Na'e taha pe ki ai e tala
'I he lautele moe folivaka;
Mo hono lelei fai 'eva'anga.
Kapau ha Ha'afuluhaao hena taha

Pea ha'u mu'a 'o fanongo he
ta'anga
Viki ka to lulunga.
'Alo 'i tu'a Hunga
Ka ko Totokafonua.
Te tu'u 'i Tauta 'o mamata
ki Taula

Mo si'i siale 'o Muomu'a.
Ha maau koe 'e 'ikai a matatua;
Ko loto ke tuku a Tongatapu
Moe mata hangale kau 'alu,
Koe'uhu ke lelu ai si'oku 'ofa,
Ki he liku 'i Matuanua.
Si'i manu siu e 'ene ngā
Koe mohe 'ape e ki Liku'ā;

Kae 'a ki he Fonongatoa
'O sio hifo he Toalofa
Ki he mapuna hake 'a e la'a

To the roar of the underground
stream of 'Utukalongalu.

Oh! the bonito have come and departed,
And have moved to the north.
The birds are hovering

In Tu'ungasika and Luafatu,
In Luamoko and the island of Kitu.
The expanse of the hills of Vou
Is cleared by the calmness.
Alas! it may be a curse,
But my love for Vava'u is unbearable,

For the land of feasting and joy.
Vava'u is the one place that is discussed.
In surfing and sailing;
Its beauties are for pleasure trips.
If one of you came from Ha'afuluhaao¹⁴

Approach and listen to the song.

Praise will be too for the west.
I paddle around the back of Hunga
And to Totokafonua.
I stand on Tauta and look to Taula

And to the gardenia of Muomu'a.
The poet is not well informed;
Would that I have left Tongatapu
And the *hangale* trees and gone,
Just to weary my love,
For the weather coast of Matuanua.
The fishing bird is crying
And is going to rest at Liku'ā;

But it will awaken to fly to Fonongatoa¹⁵
And look down to Toalofa¹⁶
To the rising of the sun

¹⁴ Ha'afuluhaao is the Tonganised Samoan (Safulusao) name for the Vava'u group of islands, roughly 200 miles north of Tongatapu.

¹⁵ Fonongatoa is a beach near Liku'ā with *toa* trees lined up as marchers (Fonongatoa: lit., *toa* march).

¹⁶ Toalofa: lit., *toa* of the frigate bird *lofa*.

'I he hake 'anga 'o Lepuhā.
 Kau hake he ki Maluhola
 Kau hifo ki Finekahoafā
 'O toli he vao kulukona
 Ke 'omi ke fihuekina 'e taha,
 Maama teunga fakaniua,
 Ke ngangatu ho tau po hiva.

At the ascending place of Lepuhā¹⁷
 I'll turn up here to Maluhola
 And descend to Finekahoafā¹⁸
 To pick flowers at the *kulukona* woods,
 And bring them for someone to plait,
 To decorate us for the Fakaniua dance,
 And perfume us in our night singing.¹⁹

Vava'u is certainly one of the most beautiful spots in the whole of the South Seas. Some parts of the main island, 'Uta Vava'u and offshore smaller islands, are incredibly idyllic, and one would be hard put to find their equal in natural beauty – anywhere. The poet of this piece had powers equal to the task at hand – to create by linguistic means the almost frightening serenity of the becalmed waters and the melancholic shimmer of misty, distant islets so that the eternal moment can be lived again. This he achieves with the mellifluous syntax and vocabulary of the Transition Period, whose turns of phrase effect the magic without, unlike many modern poems, indulging in verbosity.

This poem achieves more than representation. It delineates a definite pattern of linked situations in Nature, nay, indicates that Nature is nothing but this. In lines 20-23, the poet sees the fishing birds (seagulls, black noddies, etc.) hovering low beside Tu'ungasika and the islet of Luafatu. This scene is universally interpreted in the traditional semiotic system to mean that the schools of bonito and albacore are moving there. Can the birds be wrong? The traditional answer is an emphatic Never! One can never go wrong if one looks at all beings in Nature as connected by unbreakable covenants. That is the poet's way as distinct from the way of the scientist, who talks of food-chains and intermediate stages. The poet is concerned with aggregates only.

Toward the end of the poem (lines 46-50), the poet stands above Liku'a, on the weather-coast of Holonga. Perhaps this is the most beautiful spot of beautiful Vava'u. The great height and the sheer fall of the precipitous cliffs give one a sense of flying in space. And one looks out to the endless sea or down to the snow-white sands of the wave-lapped beach almost vertically below. All this is seen through and over swaying ironwood branches, clinging vines, and flying birds that seem to emanate from underneath one's feet. If

¹⁷ Lepuhā was an ancient Tongan Casanova who, in one of his amorous quests, landed on this beach.

¹⁸ Finekahoafā: lit., woman wearing pandanus fruit garland.

¹⁹ Singing competitions were common night events in ancient Tonga. Exchange of garlands and fragrant flowers was an essential part of such pastimes and, of course, the encouragement and promotion of new love.

the time is early dawn, one would also witness the sun fizzle up from below, and then the peace of the morning would become so unbearable in loveliness that only death could top that feeling. To adapt Shelley's line for Italy: 'Vava'u, thou hast the fatal gift of beauty'.

Laumatanga in Modern Poetry

The *laumatanga* has continued strong in modern dance poetry and also in the *hivakakala* (the sung love lyric), which is the only contribution of the modern period to our musical arts. All other forms of poetry are developments of old genres. *Laumatanga* continuity must be looked upon as saving us from excessive subjectivism and sentimentality by maintaining the interest in things.

Hiva kakala gives to *laumatanga* (especially in association with the fragrant flowers of a locality) a new function – the kindling of love in the heart of woman. *Hiva kakala* then must always be understood on two levels, the physical and the emotional. And they are sung by suitors when dating their sweethearts – at a *kava* party, in her house. Below is one of 'old' vintage (1900s) from the village of Tu'anekivale in Vava'u. The village is close to the weather coast of the main island in that northern group of the Tongan islands. It faces a wide expanse of sea directly to the east. Somehow the stretch of water on this horizon has peculiarities not seen in other parts of the ocean – perhaps it is always agitated or is evaporating at a faster rate than other areas.

Anyway, whatever the cause, on clear nights the moonrise at Tu'anekivale is a rare phenomenon indeed. Seen from this coast, the moon appears first as a floating pool of fire on the horizon. Then a fiery arm reaches up and seems to hook on to something in the low sky, while the pool of fire slides up collecting itself into the form of some burning living beast, all the time giving the strong impression of climbing with some difficulty. Once detached from the sea, the moon becomes round again but abnormally large. It is only after it has attained a reasonable altitude that its figure is again cut back to normal size. Strangely enough, when viewing moonrise on this coast, absolute silence must be observed. If there is accidental noise or chatter, the swimming, climbing fiery being will not be seen. Whenever a poet from this locality writes a poem or song, one can be sure that the strange moonrise is going to make its appearance somewhere in the text.

Ha'u Mu'a Ke Ta Ō
By Tu'anekeviale poet²⁰

Ha'u mu'a ke ta ō
'O mata mahina hopo
Ke ta 'uta mo fanongo
Si'i le'o 'oe teiko
'A si'ene siu he lilifa
He moana loloto
Ko si'ene fakalavetala
Ki he hingano

Hake atu ki toafa
Tu'u ai 'o mamata
Ne hange ha sio'ata
Si'ene tapa mei he vaha!
Kuo 'ikai teu lava
Ke fa'a fakamatala
To'onga fakalata
'A e sialetafa

Come let's go together
And view the wondrous moonrise
And let's tarry and hear
The cry of the *teiko*²¹
Flying around the sheer cliffs
O'er the eerie deep
It's his love serenade
To the *hingano*²²

Turn up to the treeless plain
Stand now and look
How like a great mirror
Shining from the ocean!
Ah, but I simply cannot
Describe to you in full
Lovely, winning ways
Of the *sialetafa*²³

In reproducing lovely scenes and fragrant flowers in imagination, the *laumatanga* of *hiva kakala* is made the occasion for love, for recognition of beauty and power is the creator of love, nay, is love. But is it true that the *teiko*, in its harsh nocturnal shrieks, is making love to the *hingano*, the sweet-smelling flower of the red pandanus or the *sialetafa*, coastal gardenia with its fragrant perfumes, working quietly on the viewer's subconscious?

We take as our last example part of the text for a *lakalaka*. This one is without doubt the greatest and most beautiful *lakalaka* of Tonga, known variously as *Takafalu* and *Fakatulou*. The poetry is the work of one of the greatest literary artist that Tonga has produced, the late Queen Sālote. The *laumatanga* of this *lakalaka* is lengthy and enumerates the various homes (and the fragrant flowers traditionally associated with them) in Lapaha, the ancient village where the Tu'i Tonga, the ancient sacred kings, lived and held court. All the tracts referred to in this *lakalaka* were in ancient times used by different Tu'i Tonga as residence, or home for a principal wife, concubines, sister, and so forth. They now belong to the chief Kalanivalu, the direct descendant of the Tu'i Tonga, or some other descendant. The very life and thought

²⁰ Trans. by the author.

²¹ *Teiko* is a type of curlew or godwit that cries only at night.

²² *Hingano* is the sweet-smelling flower of a species of pandanus. It is used also in making fragrant hair oil and body rub.

²³ Indigenous coastal gardenia. It has a sweet, soothing scent.

of the people of Lapaha still throbs with all the historic and legendary associations of these homes. In fact, this is the explanation of their pride and joy in life.

This famous *laumatanga* is also known as 'Toli' (picking of fragrant flowers) and 'Tui' (stringing, weaving of garlands) and 'Luva 'Oe Kakala' (giving away of fragrant garlands). We reproduce it here unabridged:

Toli, Tui, Moe Luva Oe Kakala

(from *Takafalu*)

by Queen Sālote Tupou²⁴

Pe'i langatoli mai
Si'a fine 'o Lapaha,
Mo ha taha taukei
Mei he kolo kakala
He kuo oso 'a e hau
Mo Pangai kuo tava.

Koe ha'ofanga e
Luva'anga e kakala
He ko Molimohe'a mo hono siale
moto
Pea moe langakali e 'api ko Lotunofo.
(repeat)

'A 'Utulifuka moe huni kautoto
Fefe 'a Namoala moe pulu to
momoho
Si'i 'api ko Malila mo hono paongo
Matala e kukuvalu he vai 'o
Moheifo
'Ofa i Takuilau heilala kilitoto

Come, raise flower-plucking runs
Ye women of Lapaha,
All experienced hands
From the village of flowers.
For the king is merry
And Pangai is jubilant.

'Tis the chiefly circle
For giving away of garlands
There's Molimohe'a of the budding
gardenias
And the *langakali*²⁵ of Lotunofo.
(repeat)

Ay 'Utulifuka of *huni*²⁶ with
blood-red stalks
How is Namoala where ripening
*pulu*²⁷ fall?
Dear place of Malila with its *paongo*²⁸
*Kukuvalu*²⁹ is blooming on the
spring of Moheifo
Beloved Takuilau bristling with
blood-red skinn'd *heilala*³⁰

²⁴ Trans. by the author.

²⁵ *Langakali* is a highly esteemed *kakala* (traditional fragrant flower). The botanical name is *aglaia saltatorum*. The colour of a flower does not matter. The important thing is the smell. Tongan culture is a smell-centred one.

²⁶ *Huni* (*Phaleria disperma*) is another *kakala*. There are two species, both sweet scented, one of which has flowers with stalks of a beautiful deep red colour.

²⁷ *Pulu* is the fruit of *heilala* (*garcinia callophyllum*), the most highly esteemed flower of Tonga. When ripe, it is very red in colour and exudes a cool fragrance.

²⁸ *Paongo* is pandanus fruit, red in colour. Also a *kakala*.

²⁹ *Kukuvalu* is the flower of a species of pandanus; it contains powdered sweet talc. Moheifo is the title of the Tu'i Tonga principal wife.

³⁰ See note 27 above.

Si'i fa'onelua papai ha taha hoko
(repeat)

Teu tui 'a e alamea
Ki he taukei 'o Lelea
Tuitu'u pe teu luva
Ki he maka ko Loupua
Ka e ve'eve'e pe si'i Makamaile
Kae tuku e lavalava
Mo'o Nu'useilala
Koe fakaofilani
Kakala 'o Vailahi
Koe tuinga hea
Fakamaluokatea
Sia ko Veiongo, ko au teu lele
Luva atu e kakala, ke fai ho'ō
pule
Levei hoku loto, nofo he Paepae
Fakafiu 'eku tu'a'ofa ki Olotele

Ka henighengi malū
Ko hai tene lava?
Fe'ao 'i loto Mu'a

Dear *fa'onelua*,³¹ *papai*³² of the initiates
(repeat)

I string *alamea*³³
For the expert of Lelea³⁴
Tuitu'u³⁵ I shall yield
To the rock of Loupua³⁶
Ve'eve'e only for the Makamaile³⁷
Reserving the *Lavalava*³⁸
For Nu'useilala³⁹
The *fakaofilani*⁴⁰
Is for Vailahi⁴¹
A string of *hea*,⁴²
For Fakamaluokatea⁴³
Veiongo⁴⁴ Mound adieu, adieu
All garlands to you I yield, to
dispose as you wish
How lonesome I am for life at Paepae⁴⁵
And pestered by longings for Olotele⁴⁶

At calm of dawn
Who can bear it?
A friendly stroll in Mu'a⁴⁷

³¹ *Fa'onelua* is the only surviving mangrove of an extinct species that has beautiful bunchy red flowers. A legend says the surviving plant grew up at the spot where an ancient princess was slain.

³² Name of specially woven garland (also called *kakala*).

³³ Name of a specially woven garland (also called *kakala*).

³⁴ Lelea is the name of a pool in Vava'u. It is used in poetical and formal parlance as a name for Vava'u.

³⁵ *Tuitu'u*: this garland was first brought to earth from Pulotu, the abode of the dead, by a spirit being. It is strung from *heilala* flowers. It is the most highly esteemed garland in Tongan culture.

³⁶ Loupua is a rock in Tongoleleka, Ha'apai, used here to mean the chiefs of that group of islands. The fact that the *tuitu'u* is given to this locality means that the poet of the piece regards its chief (*Tuita*) as the highest in Tonga according to traditional ranking standards.

³⁷ Makamaile is a poetical term for Nuku'alofa, the present capital of the kingdom.

³⁸ Name of a specially woven garland (also called *kakala*).

³⁹ Nu'useilala is an old name for Niua Toputapu, in the north of the kingdom. The name means 'island of *heilala*' which may mean that plant entered Tonga through Niuatoputapu.

⁴⁰ Name of a specially woven garland (also called *kakala*).

⁴¹ Vailahi: Niuafo'ou, also in the north.

⁴² *Hea* is a sweet-smelling fruit and a *kakala* (*parinarium insularum*).

⁴³ Fakamaluokatea is a name for the island of 'Eua near Tongatapu.

⁴⁴ Veiongo is the name of hill in Nuku'alofa and symbol of the present royal house.

⁴⁵ Paepae is the best preserved of the ancient terraced tombs.

⁴⁶ Olotele was the principal residence of the Tu'i Tonga in ancient times.

⁴⁷ Mu'a is the name of the ancient capital of Tonga (also Lapaha).

He mausa e kakala	Thick with scents of flowers.
'Ete hifo pe 'o tu'u	Right on, then, one stops
Langonga 'i he lala	On the deserted canoe beach
'Ete tu'u 'o vakai	Surveying the view
Fakaholo māmata	Feeding the eyes
Laumanu ka mahiki	With flights on the wing
Mei Halakakala	Out of Halakakala, ⁴⁸
Talolo pe 'o tu'u	Descending they alight,
He maka 'i Heketā	On the stone at Heketā ⁴⁹

This is certainly a great *laumatanga*. It is indeed a pity that translations cannot do justice to the tremendous impact of the Tongan original and the subtle nuances of emotion, the different shades of meaning, the effusive and contagious joy of the flower-picking and garland-plaiting women as they trip from grove to flowering grove pelting each other with flower dust, the tender sadness, and the nostalgia. It is an expression of joy in living and a celebration of the providential fact of being a child of a beautiful and famous locality. For this was the Holy Land of ancient Tonga.

All the places mentioned in this poem – in fact, every inch of Mu'a – is filled with legendary (or mythical) associations. The people of the village still tell these tales over bowls of *kava* and of course, as in this one, sing and dance them.

At some point of our artistic development the *laumatanga* came to emphasise *kakala* (fragrant flowers) of a locality more than any other physical aspect. To such an extent that another name for *laumatanga* is *laukakala* (lit., an account of flowers). *Kakala* has an interesting etymology. It does not mean merely fragrant flower. *Kakala* is fragrant flower, fruit, leaf, wood that has mythical or legendary origin. For this reason, the rose and the lily, now well established in Tongan gardens, cannot be *kakala*, for their introduction into our culture by early missionaries is well known. They do not have a mythical beginning. I suspect, however, that time is the principal factor and given sufficient time-depth any fragrant vegetable substance would be *kakala*. But if this hunch has any validity, then the mythical character also depends on the element of time. That is, given enough time-depth, everything becomes myth.

Kakala are so important in our culture that they not only have been socialised but ranked hierarchically just like the members of society. *Kakala*

⁴⁸ Halakakala is a stretch of sea near 'Eua which was a favourite fishing ground for the Tu'i Tonga fishermen. Birds were used by fishermen as locators of fish.

⁴⁹ Heketā is the place near land's end where Tu'itatui, the 11th Tu'i Tonga, lived. He built many monuments, the most famous of which is the trilithon, a structure of three massive monoliths, two uprights and a lintel, each weighing about 18 tons. It was probably used as a grand entrance to the royal compound. This is the 'stone' referred to in the last line.

are divided into two main categories – *kakala hingoa* (chiefly *kakala*) and *kakala vale* (common *kakala*). The highest-ranking *kakala hingoa* are the *heilala* (*garcinia callophylum*) and *fakula*, 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 *fahina* (*pandanus pseudo Lin.*), *sialetafa* (coastal gardenia), *fatai* (*Cassytha filiformis*), and so forth. But this is not all. When *kakala* are strung or woven into garlands, these products are themselves also ranked. The different ways of stringing *kakala* and the patterns used have been standardised and have remained almost unchanged for centuries. I know of no society with a 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. The *laumatanga* is at once a song of respect and hymn to love.

ONE THING THAT IS CLEAR from our brief survey of *laumatanga* is the complete absence of any materialistic interest. The poet never mentions any physical aspect of the locality that is economically significant. Concern for the basic necessities are never heard of. They have no place in the universe of *laumatanga*, for this poetry can only occur after such cares have been completely forgotten or taken care of. There is no scarcity, and everything is in surfeit – and simple as a song.

Though the aspects of places treated in *laumatanga* are physical in nature, the virtues of localities are not quantitatively shared. They are qualitatively distributed. The key to discovering the qualitative uniqueness of a locality is intimacy, which presupposes sustained association. The writer is often struck by the difference in the aspect presented by a place on seeing it for the first time and its appearance after spending a night there in addition. That is, a place has to be experienced *consciously as well as unconsciously*. Conscious experience affords judgement and thought; unconscious experience, feeling and instinct. That is why a place, no matter how bland it looks at first, begins to take on, after a while, an air of attraction and warmth. This distinctiveness is what *laumatanga* is all about.

So the *laumatanga* expresses the deep philosophical truism, that any thing, any event, whatsoever is unique. Consequently, none is 'higher' than any other. But instead of being humble as consequence of this knowledge, the Tongan poets vie with each other in praising their own localities. It is a game, however, in which no one really wins. Nay, it is not a game but a noble art. And yet, *laumatanga* is not a mere poetical conceit: it is a spiritual category.

Tongan Dress

FROM TIME IMMEMORIAL, THE WAY HUMAN BEINGS ATTIRED themselves has always been governed by four principles:

1. Protection against the elements.

This is why people clothe themselves much more fully and effectively in colder climes. Their warm things are thicker and cover their entire body except the eyes and nose. As the climate becomes milder we find people clothing themselves more sparsely and when we come to the torrid zones on or around the equator we see people hardly put any clothing at all on any part of their body. On this principle, then, clothing or dress is a function of the climate.

2. Decoration.

Not only is this an aspect of man's love of beauty but it is also part of the war of the sexes where one sex contrives by every available means to enrapture, entrap and capture at least one member of the opposite sex (recently of the same sex). In days of yore, the decorative aspect was uppermost and so we had a preponderance of colourful vests, elaborate dresses, scarves, tails and the elegant cuts (*la linea italiana*, for example) of the designers. The tide has reversed and the present trend is to decrease the amount of body covering to temptingly flaunt certain parts of the body aimed at sexual arousal in viewers. This is the rationale of the miniskirt and the very low peep-through neckline in women's dress and tight-fitting T-shirts in men's.

3. Social convention.

The ideal example in our Tongan culture is the *ta'ovala* (the waist mat). Neither through dictates of nature nor forced by instinct, this dress item has been a product of our cultural evolution. Originally, the *ta'ovala* had use value only, being an outer garment worn on top of bark cloth (which ancient Tongans wore next to themselves), a material that tears very easily under strain, and so the *ta'ovala* acted as a check against unintended indecent exposure, for Tongans then had no use for underwear. This is an indication that clothing was early connected with a type of 'morality' based on sex. In Biblical tradition the connection between clothing and a sexual morality is

* An address given at Tongatapu Catholic Youth Seminar, The Basilica, Nuku'alofa, 17 Sept. 1991.

made early in man's evolution, though it came after the development of horticulture and animal husbandry. Modern sociological and psychological researches suggest that gender differentiation was a discovery made after babies were born. This may help us to decipher the symbolism of Biblical mythology, for example the Adam and Eve story, in a more realistic manner — that their awareness of their nakedness was a finding in the exploring of their sexual capacities, that it was at this point that man passes over from instinct to social convention. The Bible teaching, then, is this: sex is the dividing line between nature and culture.

4. Symbol/function.

This is the whole purpose of costumes and uniforms — that is, to show the office, status or function that the wearer holds, has, or performs. Witness the police, the priest, the nurse, the fireman, etc. As you all know, we have drawers of different costumes for different dances. The *tau'olunga* costumes are different from the *lakalaka* costumes and both are different again from the *kailao* costumes, and so on. Another example of occasion-specific costumes is our funeral wear (old tattered mat on a black uniform or suit).

In reality, however, dress usually combines some or all of the above principles. Let us see how they are embodied in our case.

WE KNOW FROM THE TRADITIONS that have come down to us that the four principles enumerated above played an important part — in many cases, combined — in the dress codes of prehistoric Tonga. We know, for example, that climate and pride of physical beauty were combined in the Tongan custom of men and virgins being topless in public (only married women or ones who had otherwise lost their virginity wore anything on top). We have the solid evidence of the explorers in this connection. Their journals are replete with fine drawings of topless men and women showing off their beautiful physique in dance or play.

Traditionally, the material and form of Tongan dress were generally uniform. This was due to the fact that what was suitable and available for clothing material manufacture was very limited. Basically only two plants were suitable and available for this purpose. These are the *hiapo* (the bark cloth mulberry) from whose bark the *tapa* (bark cloth) of Polynesia is made, and the pandanus from whose leaves a whole variety of mats and baskets are woven. Social status was therefore not distinguished in terms of the kind of material from which the dress was made, nor was it on the basis of form of the dress or costume. It was in terms of quality and size of the material and costumes that social rank or function was demarcated. And this implied that the time devoted to, and kind of, curing process as well as expertise applied

differed markedly for costumes of different social classes. As a result, the appearance, texture or overall quality were very different for the habiliments of a commoner, a *matāpule* (ceremonial attendant of a chief), a chief, and members of the Royal family. Refinement and finish were the distinguishing marks.

Our 'traditional' wear, however, was the end-point of a long period of adaptation to, and utilisation of, the resources of our physical environment. Wherever our ancestors came from originally (from Island Southeast Asia or beyond?) and whatever horticultural regimen they brought with them, they must have quickly set themselves to exploiting the fauna and flora of their new environment. Many trees were soon found to be very beneficial and pandanus was one of them. Pandanus is endemic to Polynesian (and Melanesian also) islands, growing profusely on the sandy soils and rocky coasts (its natural habitat) of every island. The fruit of some pandanus species are nutritious and quite edible — they are, to this day, staple foods in many atolls of Oceania. And the leaves of all species have been, and still are, adapted to the production of clothing items or other wares. The exploration and settlement of that vast area known as the Polynesian triangle by our seafaring ancestors was achieved by the ocean-going canoes whose lateen or sprit sails were always woven from the coarse but durable leaves of the *sa-sa*, another one of the many species of wild pandanus.

The exploration of local resources by our ancestors covered a fairly long period. Manufactured items became standardised slowly. Once this stage was reached, however, things began to remain unchanging in their principal features for the rest of antiquity. This period of slow change and stagnation in material and stylistic innovation must have been in the order of a thousand years.

THE CONSERVATISM OF THIS long period was violently shaken by European contact. Although it was the metal technology of the newcomers that attracted the Tongans most, their cloth and dress also caught the imagination of our great-grandparents. Captain Cook records that petty thieving was uncommonly rare. Any item of European material culture — tools, nails, clothing, shoes, anything at all — was in danger of being pilfered.

The group that became most influential in dress, however, were the missionaries. Under their guidance, women, both married and unmarried, began dressing themselves in a manner not too different from their European counterparts — very high necklines, ankle length trails, long sleeves and, of course, the petticoat. Men began to wear trousers, long-sleeved shirts, and the coat. The sarong-like *tupenu* (Tonganisation of turban?) soon made its appearance and became a principal outer garment beside the long trousers.

Old photographs from before and after the turn of the century testify to the great popularity of European dress for Tongans. In most of them, only a very low percentage of the posers are in Tongan garb. Thus the missionaries crystallised a revolution in Tongan dress. They had excess baggage in addition to the faith they were introducing to Tonga, in the form of ethnocentrism and puritanical prudishness, and they made sure that as little as possible of the human body was exposed in public, since, for them, the flesh was sin.

The same photographs confirm another observation, namely that the *ta'ovala* was worn as a ceremonial dress only, as it was in pre-contact times. The present vogue in *ta'ovala* use is part of the late Queen Sālote's cultural policy which modified Tongan dress codes during her long reign. One result of this policy was to diminish the use of European styles of dress while, at the same time, promoting the wearing of *tupenu* and symbols of Tongan culture and identity, like the *ta'ovala* and the *kiekie* (multi-coloured 'grass skirts'). During Queen Sālote's reign these were transformed into ordinary public wear. The *ta'ovala*, which, as stated earlier, started as insurance against public embarrassment, has now become the symbol of Tongan identity. One is regarded as fully and respectably dressed if he/she wears a *ta'ovala* or *kiekie* (mainly in the case of women), no matter how lowly (or strange) his/her other garments may seem. That is why bizarre combinations like *ta'ovala* on long trousers are possible and common nowadays.

THIS BRINGS ME TO THE PRESENT moment. I need not hold forth at length here for I am sure you know all about it. In fact, as young men and women, I know for a fact you are in the very living vortex of the present revolution in dress. New styles, new modes, new fashions are arriving on our shores like gigantic waves sweeping away old ideas and old systems. So fast and unrelenting are these changes that styles of only a few years ago, hot pants, for example, are undergoing constant revisions. More and more of body parts are being left uncovered and exposed in today's attire, so that our favourite clothes can be described as networks of large holes surrounded by flimsy and narrow bits of cloth.

All the new fashions have come to Tonga from overseas but mostly from the United States. It is the youth, you, who are most active in this importation of foreign values and cultural items. It would be wrong, however, to say that cultural innovation is always the monopoly of some age group. Other groups distinguished on social criteria, such as solo mothers and eligible worldly men, as well as on bio-psychological bases, like the *fakaleiti* (transvestites), have also been very 'progressive' and receptive to new ideas.

And we must never forget Business, which moulds and rules our tastes in ways which we cannot fully fathom or prevent.

In view of these developments it is not unreasonable to say that Tongan dress will, from now on, be dominated by overseas fashions. And because modern communication technology has shrunk the world into one small global village, their effects on our future dress systems will include the following:

1. standardisation of a universal ordinary public wear;
2. our national dress increasingly becoming symbolic, i.e ceremonial costumes;
3. increasing use of European material in the production of national dress.

With regard to point 3 above, efficiency and durability will more and more determine the direction our national dress production takes in the future. We are now witnessing the first stirrings of a revolution in *tapa* manufacture where European cloth is substituted for bark cloth. Therefore this scenario is possible: women sailing along in sartorial elegance clad in dress and *kiekie*, but on closer examination, the *kiekie* is of some European material and been tailored into the dress, becoming part of it. Another possibility is men dressed in *tupenu-ta'ovala* again incorporated into one, and all of European manufactured cloth. The moral is: national dress will eventually become a symbol and imitation. Many people loathe this trend but we cannot argue with intangible things like market forces.

The Non-Material in Tongan Culture

THE CONCEPT OF 'THE NON-MATERIAL' has an ambivalent position in Tongan culture. This is due to two characteristics of the culture: Tongan traditional 'thought' was atomic, concrete, and individualistic; and the concept of 'the non-material' is a philosophical one and Tongan traditional 'thought' is pre-philosophical.

As a result Tongan culture operated with the concept of *things* but not with that of 'matter' (or 'material' or 'non-material'). These latter were too general and unifying and had no place in the mental universe of the traditional Tongan culture.

The position is exactly the same with regard to *spirits* and 'the spiritual'. Traditionally people operated with 'spirits' but not 'the spiritual' or Spirit with a capital S.



FIGURE 1. Changing concepts of things material and spiritual in Tongan culture.

This diagram brings out important dimensions of Tongan culture. For example, although in traditional 'thought' spirits were distinct from physical things they were not regarded as 'outside' the realm of ordinary things but were thought of as freely interacting with them. It is true, however, that they were regarded as having causative efficacy while ordinary things, in themselves, were devoid of that power. It is therefore possible to hypothesise that spirits were originally invented by 'primitive' people to provide explanation for physical events, especially if they present seemingly esoteric aspects.

In post-contact Tonga the two concepts – the spiritual and the material – were introduced into the culture via European education and Christian theology. Here, as the diagram shows, the two realms are segregated and the spiritual is looked upon as more important than the material, and although

the spiritual acts on, and moves, matter, the latter is ineffective on the former.

The Idea of Pattern in the Operation of Things

Apart from the idea of spirits which, as we have suggested, probably had an aetiological origin, traditional Tongan practice was very much based on an implied order or pattern in the behaviour of things. The recognition of regularity in things is, of course, fundamental in scientific sentiment, but in Tongan culture the recognition of natural order derives from an identification of sequences of signs (also natural) which act as infallible indicators for events and therefore guides to human behaviour. Science, on the other hand, recognises real connections between situations. These approaches, the semiological and the empirical, may be ultimately one, though in practice they can manifest quite differently. We shall have more to say on this later on.

To facilitate our exposition further we compare this experientially-derived traditional knowledge to Popper's World 3. Although we cannot speak here of books or libraries or any other form of material repositories of knowledge, the attitude of Tongans to this corpus of experience is as Popper describes attitudes to World 3 to be, that is, it is marked by being a public property and it has autonomy (despite being a product of human enterprise).

We can say then that in recognising (through behaviour) that there are characteristic patterns in the operation of things, Tongans were in effect, recognising a non-material dimension of reality. I shall now briefly discuss traditional practices in which this non-material dimension of the behaviour of objects is assumed.

Spirits and material things

Animism (or hylozoism) is common in almost all so-called primitive communities. In Tongan society the relation between spirits and events is exemplified most clearly in traditional medicine. In the traditional system of healing all diseases – and even misadventures that result in injuries, such as falling off a tree – are explained by the activity of malevolent spirits. The genealogy of a pathological condition comprises two major steps: some spirits are offended by someone's violation of a tabu or some such misdemeanour; the spirits cause the offender to be visited by a disease or other disaster.

An example of a spirit-generated disease is *fesi'ia* (flexed). Symptoms include stabbing pains on a particular part of the body, a sensation of hotness on some body part, red markings on the same area. The red marks are usually interpreted as the imprint of the fingers of an unseen slapping hand of a spirit being, whose structure and whole configuration is the same as those of a human being except that it is insubstantial and completely transparent and invisible to human eyes.

The cure for this class of illnesses is administered in three stages:

1. the aetiology is related by the healer to the victim and his/her next-of-kin;
2. an ointment is prepared from herbs by the healer who applies it to the affected body part (there may also be an infusion prepared from herbs by the healer and taken internally by the patient);
3. *amoamo*, gentle stroking or light massage of the affected area by the healer who, at the same time, pronounces *sotto voce* a *lauau* or incantation (this has a very soothing effect on the victim and can be regarded as a type of *tactile hypnosis*).

Three points need making at this juncture. First, this healing method should be looked upon as the practical embodiment of an axiomatic system. The basis for this assertion is the total absence of an empirical foundation for the whole system.

This leaves us with nothing else to go by but this idea: the need for an explanation must have been felt very acutely by 'primitive' Tongans. The agency for the disease was then simply pronounced as external to the event of sickness (analogous to the agency in an event like the throwing of a stone or moving a rock), but in order to give the idea some 'concreteness' this agency is then imbued with all human qualities and interests in the manner Vico offers for the genesis of language (in self-reflecting metaphors) and of religion. Because the causes of ailments could never have been observed by the early Tongans the postulated causes, the spirits, remain unseen and unobservable. From these simple but basic axioms have come all the 'propositions' of the whole culture of spirits and the ideological system which underpins our traditional medicine.

The second point is that formally the explanation by spirits is not different from the scientific explanation by bacterial activity. Both start from a class of agents — in one case it is malevolent spirits, in the other malevolent bacteria. From this point on the methodologies diverge with one proceeding somewhat haphazardly mixing 'deduction' with trial-and-error, and the other conducting its affairs with empirical techniques and relying more on an inductive procedure. One could argue that, unlike the spirits which are merely presupposed, bacteria are empirically established in the first place. This may be so, but it is felt that the role of bacteria as *causes* (as distinct from aggravators or carriers) of disease has not been conclusively demonstrated or even fully investigated. It is quite conceivable that all diseases originate in some major changes within the system (e.g. sudden changes in energy levels) which lead on to other changes and ultimately to some malfunction which is then aggravated and perpetuated by other factors including the activity of certain types of micro-organisms.

Thirdly, the traditional form of healing explained above must have had a high enough rate of success to warrant the trust placed in it by the people.

In institutions like healing, which aim at practical results, the supporting theories need not be perfect or achieve very high rates of success to become established in the culture. All that is needed is an adequate level of success for contradicting instances can always be explained as arising from procedural slips or some such mistakes.

The above remarks show that, contrary to popular conceptions, 'primitive' people are not simply rabid believers in spirits, but that it is natural that 'primitive' man should believe in spirits. We have suggested that the hierarchy of spirits arose originally to answer for the need to explain which, on this showing, must be regarded as a basic human urge that does not depend on the level of social organisation but is an instinct, a kind of intellectual 'hunger'.

Traditional Navigation

Like all other bodies of traditional knowledge, navigational knowledge is a corpus of tested experience that has been built up from centuries of interacting with the sea, the wind systems and the influence of the more important celestial bodies like the sun and moon. We can speak of a traditional meteorology and traditional astronomy as being blended together with traditional navigation. Much of the traffic between the elements is conducted by non-material and unseen forces and sometimes had to be personalised, as were the elements themselves and the celestial bodies also. They were made into gods much like the practice in folk-medicine in relation to spirits.

What is important here is the recognition of order or regularity in the workings of Nature, and this feature of things was put to practical use in navigation, fisheries and all human endeavour connected with the sea. Here then we have a case of people operating with things of a non-material kind (knowledge) and the practice implies awareness of order – not as something imposed from outside but simply that things exhibit characteristic patterns in their behaviour. All this is conducted, be it noted, not through identifying *real* connections (in the scientific sense of the term) but through *signs* which are taken to be infallible pointers to events. Traditional knowledge then is not a logic but a semiology.

The colour of the sky and the positioning and configuration of the clouds at any given time is called in traditional navigation the *kohi-a-Velenga* ('the book or writing of Velenga'). Velenga was the god of the air and clouds, and the experienced navigator can tell forthcoming changes in the weather by reading 'the book of Velenga'. To give an example: a navigator at sea is steering his ship under a clear sky. He then spies a thin dark cloud moving slowly up and standing like a vertical stick in the far horizon. He immediately takes steps to prepare his craft and everything and everyone on it to face the

imminent danger for he would swear that a very savage storm is going to descend on the area within an hour. But when asked to go beyond the sign he would be at a loss, because, for his purposes the *kohi-'a-Velenga* is good enough – and moreover, it never fails.

Another example: if in an evening say between 8 p.m. and 9 p.m. the air is quite warm but there is a light dew on the grass, there is certainly going to be a shower or two the next day, if not during the day then (as is usual) in the early evening. Again the elder who gives you this information would not be able to state the connection between the two events – the light dew and the showers.

Examples of this meteorological knowledge can be multiplied but they are all the same – semiological in character.



FIGURE 2: Example of traditional knowledge which is semiological

In the case where traditional knowledge goes beyond the first sign we find that the new 'explanation' is again another (second) sign and we expect that if the second sign were to be explained in its turn, the 'explanation' would be yet another sign, and so on *ad infinitum*.

An example of this last case would be this: long bouts of fine weather are a sign that schools of tiny *masua* (sardines) will make their appearance on stretches of sea near islands and this in turn is a sign that the bonito, tuna and other blue fish cannot be far away (they are also shown by flights of sea birds hovering above them, another sign), and that the blue fish harvest that season is going to be a very good one.

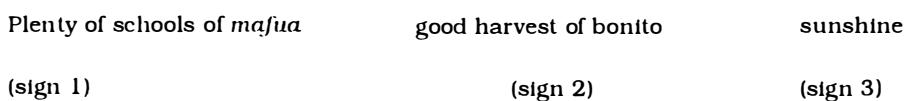


FIGURE 3: Traditional knowledge – a series of signs.

Although science can fill in between the different signs there is a sense in which we can say that the 'explanations' offered, no matter how detailed, will remain signs. This sense has two sides to it:

- none of the explanation will be logically conclusive and
- every explanation offered can still be analysed into further connections (or signs).

Traditional experience then works essentially with association. It therefore corroborates the Humean doctrine of causality. In fact Hume's thesis can be alternatively read as saying that the mind operates not logically but semiologically.

Let us analyse the idea of primitive thought as semiological a little further. We set down the following proposition first: the concept of *cause* entails the concept of *force*. Expressed in terms of the theory of class relations we say that the class 'cause' includes the class 'force'. In holding that primitive people's awareness of pattern or order in things was semiological in nature I am saying that they did not operate (so far as that awareness is concerned) with the notion of force, that the idea of force is unnecessary for the discovery of regularity in Nature.

From these remarks we can say that the content of the concept of 'cause' is 'a force (or forces) which relates two situations'. It is quite possible for a force not to act on anything and so we can still distinguish it from cause.

There is yet another important point in relation to the semiological approach. It is this: the recognition of pattern without having to employ the idea of cause means that the world can be seen to have meaning without having to use the notions of cause and power. For we only begin to see meaning in a situation when we see a pattern emerging out of it.

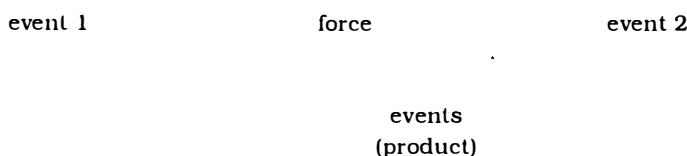


FIGURE 4. The idea of Cause (notion of Force is essential).

This diagram brings out important differences with primitive knowledge of Nature. The most important is the absence of the ideas of *force* and *product* (or effect) in traditional knowledge. The recognition of infallible markers of events took the place of cause and effect. However, in practice, the signs are sometimes regarded as the 'causes' of what they indicate. Incidentally, the outcome of Hume's doctrine, on this interpretation, is that ultimately the universe has no forces, or if it has, they are not efficacious.

THE DISCUSSION ABOVE shows the following:

1. Tongan people, traditionally (e.g. before European contact) did not have as part of their rationalising equipment the notions of *matter* and *the spiritual* (in the Axial Age sense).

2. Though the concept of Cause (and therefore Force) is implicit in the practice of traditional medicine in the specific case of *spirits* (as the causative agents in diseases) which were nothing but disembodied humans only much, much more powerful, the concept did not play a part in the experience of the elements that led to the recognition of regularity and order in Nature.
3. Notwithstanding this last point, we can still see that early Tongans (and other Polynesians) operated with non-material entities – bodies of knowledge or experience and hypotheses of agents.
4. Traditional 'thought' was in general not concerned with theoretical issues (except the question of cause in special cases, e.g. diseases) but was practical through and through. Early Tongans did not want knowledge *per se* but only as it helped them to solve their practical problems. Moreover, knowledge was arrived at not through conscious aiming but as a bonus.
5. Traditional knowledge worked through signs which at times were unconsciously taken to be causes. In other words, for primitive people the questions What? and How? were more important than Why?
6. Traditional knowledge was sufficient for the two most basic needs of early Tongans – the practical needs of day-to-day living, and the need for meaning.
7. Early Tongans did not operate with the philosophical idea of the spiritual, and though they used non-material entities like knowledge or hypotheses of spirits they certainly could not think of them as ontologically different from ordinary things.
8. If we insist on finding spirituality in Tongan culture then it means the semiotic recognition of order in Nature, i.e. in matter.

The Ethnoscience of the Cultivation of the Frail *Kahokaho*

The Term 'Ufi Mahaki

Kahokaho is a species of *Dioscorea alata* that is accorded the highest esteem in Tongan culture. Its cultivation is the most demanding and meticulous work in the whole culture of traditional gardening, requiring many years of practical training and apprenticeship under a proven master of the art of *kahokaho* cultivation. This is so because the *kahokaho* is a dainty plant which, unlike the other yam species, demands full time attention and care to produce any worthwhile yield at all. Short of this, the gardener will be a very disappointed person at harvest time.

Because of the arduousness of the work required in *kahokaho* planting and the seemingly fussy character of this yam species, traditional gardeners refer to it as '*ufi mahaki*' (lit. 'sickly yam') to designate a plant that seems almost to be a personality, one that is frail and so hard to please, like a convalescing child. In fact the technical terminology of *kahokaho* cultivation and aspects of the belief system that go with it suggest that the ancient farmers thought of *kahokaho* as having the same life cycle and relation to Nature as a young woman. To wit, the following terms are used in reference to only two items in Tongan culture:

a) *mulomula* – this means

- (i) that the yam tubers are still too young, smooth and hairless, and hence not ready for harvesting, i.e. to be food;
- (ii) that a girl is still so young as to have not yet developed pubic hairs and so not yet sexually matured.

* Presented at the South Pacific Island Peoples Science Conference by Siosifa Ika, written in July 1992.

I hereby sincerely acknowledge my great debt for the information contained in this short paper to the great Tongan masters of the *kahokaho*, especially Siaosi Fanua of Ha'aeva, Napa'a of Fu'amotu, Motuliki of Ha'atetho and To'a Malanga of Nuku'alofa. They were all producing masters up to the time of their death (except Napa'a who is living). I consider the Rev. Siaosi Fanua the greatest of them all, and the greatest master of the *kahokaho* in modern times. He was no mere evangelist of *kahokaho* gospel but amazed judges of many agricultural shows by exhibiting yams taller than him – and he was no dwarf but stood a solid 6 ft. 1 in.! He was not only the greatest but also the most articulate. Any unity of the account herein presented is due to his total grasp of the art.

- b) *'eitu'i pulopula*, which means
 - (i) the yam seedlings which are ready for planting;
 - (ii) the genitals of a grown-up virgin who is auspicious for the sex act and child-bearing.
- c) *sena*, which means
 - (i) the yam seedlings (or their condition) which have been planted and have produced tubers;
 - (ii) the genitals of a woman who has had intercourse or has had a child.

In modern Tongan *pulopula* has tended to acquire new but related meanings by generic extension. Anything – physical or non-physical – that can be seen as a form of investment can be referred to as *pulopula*. *Mulomula* and *sena* have not changed and are still fixed in their original reference.

An early usage of *sena*, *mulomula* and *'eitu'i pulopula* in the sexual sense has been passed down by legend when the 10th Tu'i Tonga, Momo, sent his embassy, the *mātapule*¹ Leha'uli, to seek the hand of a daughter of Lo'au for a royal wife. Leha'uli in his speech framed his mandate in the metaphor of yam culture. He told Lo'au that the Tu'i Tonga wished to request of him an *'eitu'i pulopula* to cultivate. By this, of course, he did not mean real yam seeds but a daughter who is sexually matured. Lo'au made reply to Leha'uli in the following terms: 'The *ta'u* (yam crop) is *mulomula*; the *ta'u* is *sena*', to convey the fact that one daughter is still too young and the other has had a child. When Leha'uli reported back to his master, the king, after pondering over the matter, shouted '*Fena pe ka ko Nua*' (Virgin no more, but she is still Nua). Nua, the elder of Lo'au's two daughters had had a child by the Malapo chief Ngongokilitoto.

Momo's reply to Leha'uli has become proverbial and is usually invoked by people (especially poets and orators) when referring to something of very high quality worth holding on to, or having, no matter how much it has been knocked about. But the royal attitude suggests the following hypothesis:

1. Lo'au was a foreigner who had entered Tonga at the head of a people whose culture and technology were seen by the local people as much higher than their own (and therefore representing a threat to the locals).
2. The king was out to get one of Lo'au's daughters. Therefore his subsequent marriage to Nua was a political one – to unite the two peoples.

The hypothesis is lent force by the fact that the union between Momo and Nua resulted in a son, Tu'itatui, the 11th Tu'i Tonga, who is, without a doubt, the greatest of the ancient kings of Tonga. Moreover, Tongan culture took a quantum leap during Tu'itatui's reign when the most important departments of the culture – rituals (e.g. *kava*), land tenure, social hierarchy, social

¹ *Mātapule* is a chief's ceremonial attendant and ambassador.

morality, government, etc. — were given standard forms which remained for centuries and still inform the structure of the culture of today. We still speak of the permanent features of Tongan culture as having been originally determined by Lo'au ('Koe tuku meia Lo'au') which I take to refer to Tu'itatui.

The analogy between yam and woman continues in yam culture being based on the phases of the moon, just as the woman, at least during the period between puberty and menopause, is governed in her sexual biology by the moon also.

The above present only broad and general resemblances especially in physical appearance but it seems the ancient Tongans took them to add up to a convincing picture of correspondences warranting the analogy — between the *kahokaho* seedling and a frail and dainty young virgin.

Different Species of Yam

Yam species are classified on different bases. One system of classification is based on physical qualities — size, form, skin texture and appearance. Basically in this system those species yielding long tubers (from $\frac{1}{2}$ ft to 3 ft normally, but instances of 6 ft are not very uncommon), are put in one class and the round types in another. It is from the long tubers that the most highly esteemed types of yams are drawn. Another system classifies yam species according to time of planting.

In general there are three plantings in the year — one in late January or early February and March (*tokamu'a*), another (the main planting) in July and August or early September (*ta'u lahi*), and the third (*tokamui*) between the *ta'u lahi* planting and the end of the year. This classification is related to the time of sprouting of seeds, for different species sprout at different times of the year, some early in the year, some later, and some later still. Our *kahokaho* can be in the early planting (*tokamu'a*) or in the main planting (*ta'u lahi*) but usually both. The late planting (*tokamui*) features mostly roundish yams, e.g. *voli*, *kulo*, *maho'a'a*, etc.

The third system of classification is based on alimentary qualities and taste. In this system the *kahokaho* takes top place and is therefore referred to as the '*ufi eiki*', i.e. the chiefly or chief's yam. In general the yams with long tubers are more '*eiki*' (chiefly) than the round ones. This is a reflection of their taste, for round yams (especially *voli* and *kulo*) are of a hard and coarse flesh, though one round species, the *maho'a'a*, is exquisite eating. This socialisation of the yam is demonstrated when yam is given in public, e.g. presented to a chief or organisation like a church. Invariably, only the long species are featured.

The Cultivation Process

One thing on which the masters of *kahokaho* culture are united is: the *pulopula* (the seedlings) must be thoroughly 'dry'. They say this is really the key to a good yield. But what does 'being dry' mean in this context? We now proceed to explain this most important idea – really the process of curing the *pulopula*.

a) The drying process.

- (i) When the yam crop is ready for harvesting, the farmer selects his *pulopula* and marks out those yam plants he has selected.²
- (ii) Then at *lekeleka mate* (first day of last quarter) he cuts the vines of the selected plants leaving only about 1½ ft of the creeper's stem on the tuber head. The farmer does not dig out these yams but visits them every three or four days and gently yanks the vines' stubs. When they just fall off cleanly each leaving a smooth socket on the tuber head, the farmer digs them out immediately.

The basis for the above procedure is the belief that there are two distinct fluids (*vai*) present naturally in any yam tuber. One is *vaivao* (bush fluid) and can only be shed when the vines are cut and the tubers still in the ground. Once they are above ground – dug out – they will never be able to rid themselves of *vaivao*. And when this happens, this fluid will dispose the seedlings to rot and decay quickly.

The other fluid is not harmful in itself to the seedlings but its quantity must be reduced – in the following way:

- (iii) The *pulopula* tubers must be left in an airy, open place on a horizontal trestle on stilts. The *kahokaho* masters believe that the most important factor for life is air. But they say that air inside a house or building of any sort is diseased air ('ea mahaki) whereas air in outdoor spaces is life-giving, healthy air ('ea mo'ui). The tubers must therefore be kept in this manner for maximum results. And they must be there for at least three months. If the *pulopula* yams are cut before three months of airing are up, the farmers say the tubers are not 'dry'.

² *Kahokaho* master Napa'a provides another method of *pulopula* selection. He says that yams have gender. Some are '*ufl sefne*' (female yams) and some '*ufl tangata*' (male yams). It is better, he says, to dig out all yams at harvest time and then set aside all '*ufl sefne*' for *pulopula* for female yams are more 'fruitful' – like all female things – than male yams. Female yams are those with a marked curvature. Male yams are all very straight. When I questioned him as to how he arrived at this opinion, he explained that it was through extrapolation from the common knowledge that *sefusa* (a secondary tuber lying on the primary one and therefore always curved) is very good *pulopula*. After trying out any otherwise curving yam many, many times he was satisfied that all curving yams are much more productive as seeds than the absolutely straight ones. His terminology is based solely on the productivity of the *pulopula* yams and not on any compositional distinction.

b) The *tofi* (cutting of the *pulopula* tubers).

(i) The cutting (*tofi*) of the tubers into seedlings is a crucial step in the whole process of *pulopula* curing. The timing has to be precise. It is governed by the phases of the moon. Masters of yam culture have two sayings. One is '*Tofi i matofī*' ('cut at second quarter') and the other is '*Tofi he áho fā*' ('cut on the fourth day'). And they explain that although the sayings seem explicit both are subtly misleading. The first one is too general, for the second quarter is a full seven day period. The second means *after* and not *on* the fourth day from the first day of the second quarter, i.e. on the fifth day. Masters were very secretive about their art and always tried to hide the tricks of the trade.

(ii) The rationale, according to the masters, of cutting the *pulopula* 'on', i.e. *after*, the fourth day (ideally on the fifth day) is that the moon's influence does nothing but merely enter newly cut flesh for three nights. The radiation is stored by the wounded yams as life energy. On the fourth night however the moon 'touches' (*alasi*) the seedlings in order to spoil and corrupt them. But this is the night after full moon and so it is already waning and therefore cannot do much to deteriorate the yam seeds.

(iii) If the *pulopula* is cut on any day other than three before full moon (or fifth after the first day of the second quarter) the combination of stored lunar-life energy and corrupting influence of the moon would be different. For example, if the *pulopula* are cut four days before full moon the seedlings will be storing energy for three night but would miss out on the night of the full moon when its influence is strongest.

And in this case, the moon 'touches' the seedlings on the fourth night after cutting and it is full moon. So woe to the yam seeds! Much of the *pulopula* will be worsted. If on the other hand the *pulopula* are cut two days before full moon, the seeds would be storing energy for two nights when the moon is waxing and one night when it is waning (first night after full moon) and so do not collect as much as they possibly could. The optimum combination then occurs when the *tofi* (cutting) takes place three days before full moon.

c) The yam tuber.

Tongan culture distinguishes different parts of the tuber and this is essential information for the yam farmer.

(i) The yam tuber is firstly subdivided laterally into three parts, as shown in Figure 1 below. As the diagram makes clear, the yam tuber's three parts are named in two ways. We are concerned with the functional system mainly. The top part is called the *matapā* (Door or Entrance) because that is where the new shoots will first sprout out from – always. In fact, of any two points on the yam, e.g. points A and B in the diagram,

that point nearest the head will always germinate and show shoots before the other point(s).

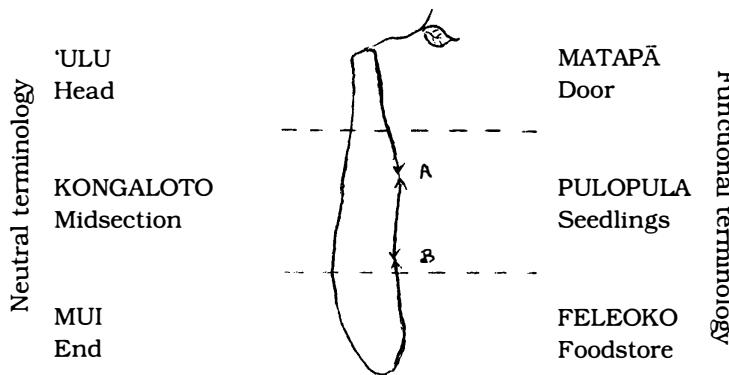


FIGURE 1: General subdivisions of the yam tuber.

The end section of the yam is termed the *feleoko* (food store) because it is observed that as soon as buds begin to come out at the head the end section starts shrinking and shows wrinkles starting at the very end, somewhat similar to a rubber ball in the process of being deflated. Because these two events – the sprouting of new shoots at the *'ulu* or *matapā* and the shrinking of the *mui* (end) – the *kahokaho* masters think of the end section as that part of the tuber where nutrients required to energise germination are stored. Hence its name *feleoko* or food store.

(ii) The tuber is also divided in another way by the *kahokaho* farmers. They say the yam tuber has a *tu'a* (back) and a *kete* (stomach). These parts of a yam tuber are identified in the following manner.

The tuber comes out originally from a seedling placed on top of a round hole filled with soft soil. The fully grown yam tuber then stands inside the hole but *always* with one side leaning on or touching the side of the hole (the hard ground), and one side completely enveloped by the soft ground in the hole. The side touching the hard earth is the *tu'a* (back) and the other side in the soft earth is the *kete* (stomach). Refer Figure 2 below.

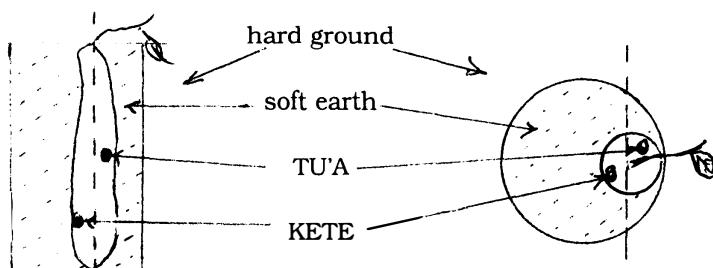


FIGURE 2. *Tu'a* and *kete* of a yam tuber.

Yam farmers believe that the *kete* side will have shoots before the *tu'a* side. In cutting *pulopula* then it is advisable to ensure that every seedling has a part of the *kete* (and part of the *tu'a*) for this would make for better results at harvest time, all things being equal. It is also believed that the *kete* has a tenderer flesh than that of the *tu'a* though this may not always be perceptible to the senses.

(iii) Below is the diagram of a reassembled tuber that has been cut for *pulopula*:

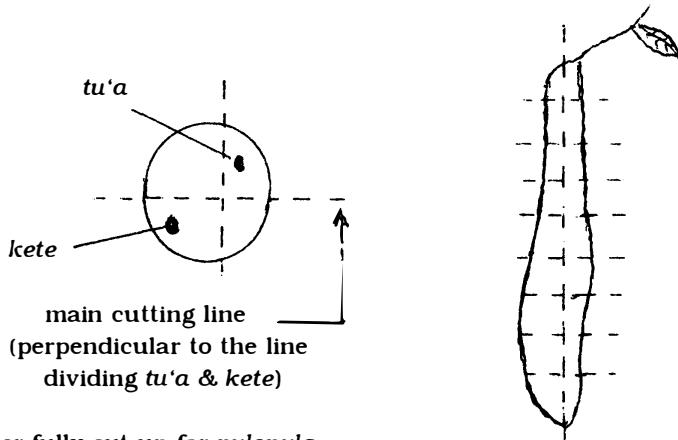


FIGURE 3. A tuber fully cut up for *pulopula*.

d) *Tanu* (burying the *pulopula*).

After the *pulopula* is cut up, a shallow hole is dug in the ground making sure that the soil is not wet or moist since this would support the decaying process in the freshly cut seeds. It is also the practice in modern yam culture to merely place the seeds on the ground and cover it with dusty, dry soil scraped from the top of the surrounding ground. At any rate, the seedlings are buried for three nights then they are taken out, placed in a leaf basket and hung on the branch of a large tree for another three nights. Then they are buried once again for three nights and this process is repeated until the shoots are well developed, when they are ready to be planted.

e) *Keli* and *sakaheka* (digging the holes and depositing of seeds in them).

A patch of ground should have been prepared by the time the *pulopula* is ready for planting. If the patch is ground that has not been broken for many years (50 or more) it is referred to as *Vao toupili* (lit. innocent bush) and must be treated in a special way. For example, the ground is regarded as 'cold' and the holes for the yam cannot be made too deep. They can only be $2\frac{1}{2}$ ft at the deepest. But next year we can use the same patch but this time the holes can be made deeper (3 ft or more) for the ground has become warmer after being exposed to the sun for at least a year.

(i) The holes excavated for the yams are usually eight to 10 inches in diameter. The top section is widened and the soil coming out of this is let fall into the hole which it fills up to about one or two inches from the top. The '*eitu'i pulopula*' is placed on top of this filling and then covered with dry soil. The soil on top of the yam seedling is usually worked into a small round mound whose periphery starts some four or so inches from the edge of the hole.

Puke (yam mound of soft, dry soil)

'Eitu'i pulopula (the yam seedling)

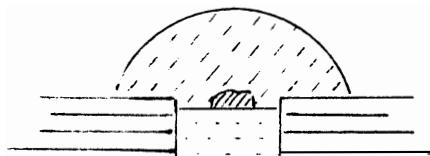


FIGURE 4. The yam mound and the seed inside the hole.

(ii) The seed is placed not too deep in the ground because the soil nutrients mostly lie close to the surface. So we should keep the root hairs of the yam concentrated in those layers of the soil which are richest in salts assimilable by plants. The alignment of the yam seed is also important. The vine will come out of the end closest to the '*ulu* (head) of the tuber. But as soon as it comes out of the soil it will turn and seek the other end. The diagram below shows this:

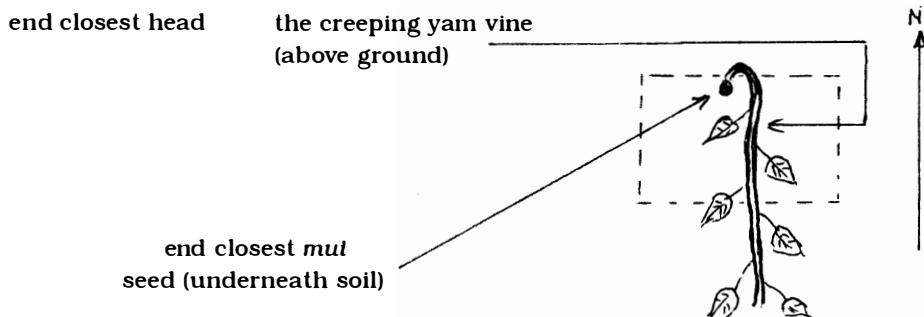


FIGURE 5. The yam vine in relation to the *pulopula*.

It is, therefore, a well kept secret of the most accomplished masters to place the yam seed in a north-south direction with the '*ulu* (head or door) end pointing to the north. The reasons for this practice are the following:

- * The cyclones of Tonga develop mostly from the north and lash in southerly directions. Therefore the vines will be *moved least* in this *pulopula* alignment.
- * The sun travelling daily from east to west is ensured of crossing the seed which lies abreast of its path. The masters say the night and day fight a duel daily on the yam seed. The night packs 'coldness' into the yam seed (and tuber when it starts to shoot down) and the warm sun takes it out during the day. And this goes on until the tuber has attained its maximum size.
- * An important opinion of the Tongan traditional growers is that growth takes place during the night, at least in the plant kingdom. No empirical evidence is adduced for the assertion but it is an accepted opinion formed from a mass of diverse experience.

f) *Tauhi* (tending the garden).

It is required that the tending be intensive and close. No weeds should be allowed to grow in the garden plot the whole time between planting and harvesting. The rule is that, for best results, the garden should be hoed everyday. Even if there are no weeds the hoe shold still be moved through the top soil to aerate the garden ground, to keep the soil cool. The masters say ('Koe uha 'a e 'ufi 'ae mata'i huo' ('The blade of the weeding hoe is the yam's rain').

After only four months (some people say five) the tubers are already well established and on their way. So it is time to carefully remove the seedlings from each yam plant, an operation known as *paki*. The seedlings are now called *sena* since they have 'given birth' to tubers. But they still have potency in them for a second planting which can be done as soon as they are removed from their original holes. A new patch need not be prepared but new holes must be dug for this secondary planting. However the holes now should be shallower than those they have just left since their zap has been partly spent and cannot give rise to tubers the same size as their first 'offsprings'. There is more wisdom in doing the *paki* earlier than later, i.e. while the seeds have more vitality in them. Moreover, leaving the seeds with the young tubers too long is not good for the latter as this would prolong their dependance and they cannot develop sustenance-acquisition strategies of their own, e.g. develop root hairs.

Aspects of Tongan Material Culture

ALTHOUGH PROFESSOR GERD KOCH'S INTERESTS WERE TRULY UNIVERSAL, I wish to offer some stray thoughts in an area of his expertise where his work has hardly been surpassed and has actually formed part of the foundation for all subsequent work in that area. I refer to the ethnography and scientific investigation of material culture in that part of Oceania which lies at the confluence of the cultures of Polynesia, Melanesia and Micronesia. In this brief essay, however, I restrict myself to the case of Tonga, a community which, according to prehistorians¹ could have been the birthplace of Polynesian culture itself.

Other aspects of Professor Koch's work which are impossible to emulate are the thematic continuity and exhaustiveness of his approach. What I shall attempt is a rambling tour of a very few features of Tongan material culture buttressing all with very general comments on the techniques and aesthetics of our design system. My only hope is that the jumble of very general observations I present here will somehow succeed in affording the reader some interest in Polynesian artistic and technological genius and will lead him on to the work of specialists of which Gerd Koch's is a shining example.

We now proceed on to a brief treatment of two examples of Tongan material culture:

1. *Tapa*-cloth design;
2. Some structural principles of the *sale faka-Manuka*.

Tapa – Bark-cloth

Tapa is known in a number of Polynesian as well as Melanesian communities. It is probably true that design, production methods and social function of *tapa* were significantly different in the earliest periods of Polynesian society from what they were at the time of early European contact. This conjecture is supported by noting the differences in the production methods of different islands, e.g. Tahiti, Samoa, Tonga, and Fiji.

The word *tapa* is common to all Polynesian languages. The core meaning is 'narrow border' or 'strip' (of some thin material), and could have referred to the original size of the first type of bark-cloth made by Polynesians or their

¹ See L. Groube, 'Tonga Lapita pottery and Polynesian origins', *Journal of the Polynesian Society*, 81 (1971); J. Golson, *Polyesian Navigation* (Wellington 1972); R. Green, 'A revision of the Tongan sequence', *Journal of the Polynesian Society*, 81 (1971), etc.

ancestors. *Tapa* is made from the bark of a species of the mulberry tree (*Brussonetia papyrifera*) specially cultivated for this purpose. Long and thin saplings of this plant, *hiapo*,² are produced. When freshly cut, the bark is stripped off providing tough and stringy pieces with average widths of three inches and average lengths of six feet. After they are cleaned, cured and soaked in water, they are placed, one by one, across a long log of wood (*tutua*) which has been flattened on one side, and then battered with a wooden mallet (*ike*) fashioned from ironwood. The effect of this beating process is to cause it to spread by a substantial reduction of the thickness of the original piece. The end-result is a narrow strip – about 10 inches in width – of soft, white bark-cloth. It could have been the case that, at first, these narrow strips (*tapa*) of cloth were used singly in all types of applications. Learning to glue these strips together to form larger pieces could have been a much later development – when the proper adhesive substances had been found. Conceivably the time spans between the use of single strips and the development of the pasting process differed significantly for different Pacific communities.

Judging by the persistence of the term *tapa* for bark-cloth in Tahiti, where Captain Cook³ picked it up and introduced it to the wider world, it may be safe to hypothesise that the time gap between the two practices – the sole use of individual strips and the invention of the pasting process – was longest in that society.

There is a lot to be said about the connection between availability and medium for an art but this has to be taken together with the fact that efficiency is the ruling principle in the survival of technology as well as standard social operations. Something like this took place in relation to the bark-cloths (and material culture in general) of Oceania. People must, at first, have experimented with what was most readily available in the environment. The Fijian name for bark-cloth, *masi*, could mean that the bark of *masi* plant (*ficus tinctoria*) was used for this purpose. This plant is endemic to South Sea islands growing most profusely on sparse soils of rocky weather coasts of islands. The *hiapo* mulberry, native of Southeast Asia, must have been introduced later, but because of its better qualities and higher overall efficiency it soon pushed the *masi* into oblivion save the name.

An account of *tapa*-related terminology in Tonga could provide some corroboration for our argument. It is in this island that the ancient art of producing units of all sizes has survived fully, gigantic pieces 50 ft and 100 ft long being quite common and sometimes a 200 ft long piece is

² The Samoans call bark-cloth *siapo* i.e. the plant and the material have the same name.

³ See J. Cook, 'MSS journals', in J. Beaglehole (ed.), *The Journals of Captain James Cook*, II (Cambridge 1961), British Mus. Add. MS 27866 & 27888 1773-4.

manufactured. This industry is the domain of women, being controlled entirely by them, and is governed by time-hallowed traditions.

If smaller pieces are required these are simply cut out from a large piece. These large units are organised into three main sections: running lengthwise at both borders, from end to end, are two narrow bands (about eight inches wide) of unpainted cloth. It is these borders that are called *tapa*; the remaining rectangular, central portion (about 50, 100, and less frequently 200 ft long) has a standard width of about eight ft. A special kind of *tapa* has wider unpainted borders (more than one ft) not only along the sides but at the two ends also, and is called *fuatanga*.

The fully painted finished product, however, is, in Tonga, always referred to as *ngatu* – never *tapa* – and can, in functional meaning, refer not only to the painted product, but also a piece of some considerable size. The white unpainted bark-cloth, whether single pieces or larger ones produced by pasting and felting, are always referred to as *feta'aki*.

The central section of a *ngatu* is subdivided widthwise into one ft bands called *langanga*. Thus a 50 ft piece (called a *launima*) would have 50 *langanga*, and a 100 ft piece (called a *lautefuhū*) 100 *langanga* and so on. These bands are painted with deep brown bark sap⁴ in different or the same designs. Smaller pieces, when required, are obtained by cuttings from these larger *ngatu* but always widthwise along dividing lines between *langanga*. A piece of four to six *langanga* is known as a *fola'osi*, an eight *langanga* piece a *fatuua*, while a 10-*langanga* piece (a square piece) has the special name of *toka hongofulu*. But all are called *ngatu* and are always the product of women's co-operative work. It is only when a specialised application is involved, e.g. certain types of dance costumes, wall hangings, etc, that small units (about five ft by five ft) are produced by one woman only and are called *tapa'i ngatu*, providing the second and last incidence of the lexical item *tapa* in the entire language of *tapa* production. *Tapa'i ngatu* manufacture has become a cottage production in the wake of the tourist industry.

What I would rather do in the first part of this paper is propose a dating system for the development of Tongan culture based on a hypothesis on the relation between art and social evolution. The hypothesis can be stated in the following manner:

- * the earliest forms of an art are always simple and abstract but ultimately referring to common objects in the environment;

⁴ The principal painting material is bark sap of *koka* (*Bischofia javanica*) but that of *tongo* (*Rhizophora mangle*), the common mangrove, is always used to bring out most sharply the outlines of the *kupesi* (designs).

- * only those features of those objects which are essential to their geometry or useful to the group of which the artists are members are employed in the design;
- * there is always a general correspondence between social and artistic development moving usually from simple to complex forms and from abstraction to realism;
- * a stage is reached in social evolution when art reverts to abstraction;
- * the two abstract phases in artistic evolution spring from different social and technological contexts which have fundamental differences for the two periods of abstract art.

Tongan Tapa Designs (Kupesi)

Tongan culture has always recognised two categories of *kupesi* – the ancient or 'chiefly' *kupesi*, and traditional *kupesi*. There is no other way of establishing this tradition as fact apart from conventional orthodoxies handed down from generation to generation. But there are, in fact, no serious challenges, practical or theoretical, to accepting this tradition. Without further ado then, we proceed to present examples of these two classes of *kupesi*. At the end of this section, we shall present a new addition to *kupesi* – modern *kupesi*.

A. Only a few examples of the oldest or 'chiefly' *kupesi* have come down to us. However, all exhibit common characteristics. The most important of these are:

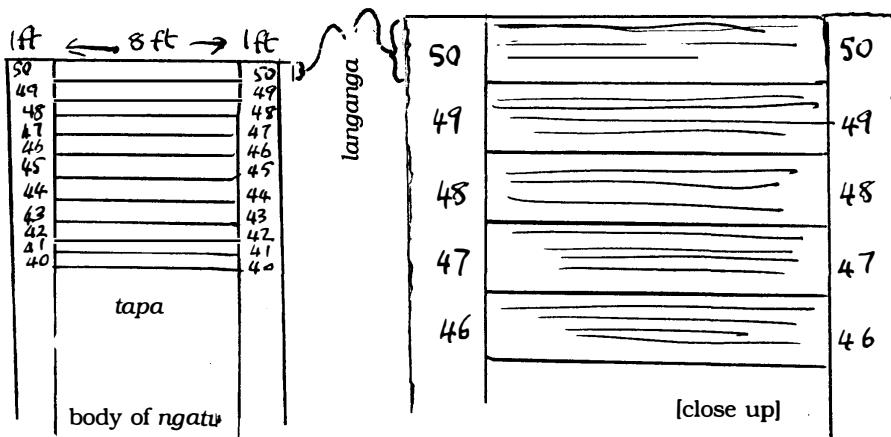
- a) a high degree of abstraction;
- b) angularity, and
- c) extreme simplicity of composition.

The most famous *kupesi* of this category are *pangaikafa* and *amoamokofe*. We describe them, one by one.

(i) *Pangaikafa* (*pangai* = 'open space or place', *kafa* = 'sennit', the cordage or roping made from the very tough, cured fibre of matured coconuts). This most chiefly of *ngatu* is one whose central rectangle is an enormous striped space. The thin lines are accents made by *kafa* strings which have been lashed on laterally to the working board on which the white unpainted cloth is spread and then smeared with the *koka*⁵ colouring. The result is one huge tracing, thin, but of even consistency with straight, horizontal lines (as viewed from the width-ends of the *ngatu*, which is the 'right way up') made

⁵ The trunk bark of *koka* (*Bischofia Javanica*) is scraped, put in a huge belt of *fau* (Polynesian hibiscus) fibre and the thick sap strained out. All this work – very strenuous – is done by women working as a band.

by the *kafa* impressions from below.⁶ The *langanga* dividing lines and the stripes can be quite confusing since they are both horizontal and made by *kafa* ribbings as well. To minimise this possibility the *kafa* ribbings for *langanga* demarcation are made thicker than usual.



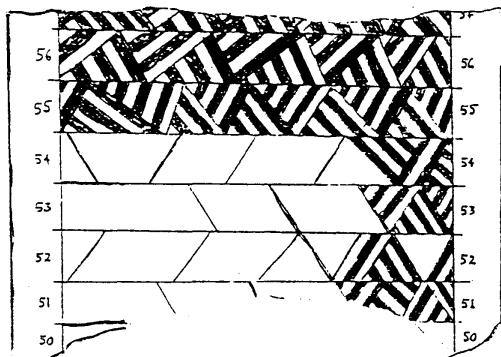
Pangaikafa (not to scale)

There has been a tendency in modern times to orient the parallel *kafa* strings in directions other than the horizontal, e.g. vertical or oblique.

(ii) *Amoamokofe*. Again, a composite term. *Amo* is homonymous; one of its meanings is a very narrow, thin, pliant strip of (usually inner) bark of a plant, especially the banana and, as is the case here, *kofe* (bamboo). In this *kupesi* the bamboo strips are strapped on to the working board. The painting process is the same as for the *pangaikafa*. But the bamboo strips are shorter and the resulting pattern slightly more complex.

We wish to underscore, once again, the intense interest in the *straight line* in early artforms. Although the materials used – *kafa*, *feta'aki*, *kofe*, etc – in *ngatu* production have utilitarian applications and high sociability in Tongan culture, there are absolutely no curving lines in this group of designs. This is an important aspect of the earliest phases of a painting art – that it is basically calligraphic, though the methods may be different.

⁶ The *ngatu* painting process in Tonga is the reverse of the *batik* process of Southeast Asia, where the design board is impressed from above.



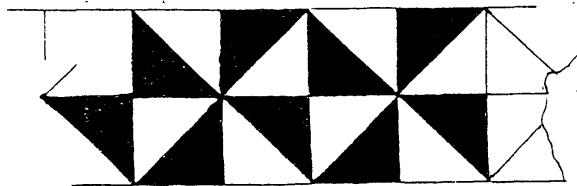
Amoamokofe (not to scale)

B. The next class of *kupesi* is what is usually meant when people speak of traditional *kupesi*. All examples of this group are representational of common, useful objects in the island environment. They refer to birds, flowers, leaves, fruit, etc., etc. The formal characteristics of this group are:

- a) a high degree of abstraction and stylisation;
- b) they are formally representationalist;
- c) composition is more complex than in ancient *kupesi*.

We give three examples from this group:

(i) *Manulua*. Of all Tongan *kupesi*, this is the most famous design. *Manulua* divides into two single words, *manu* ('birds') and *lua* ('two'). The design, therefore, is an extremely abstract pictorial rendition of two birds in contact.



Manulua design

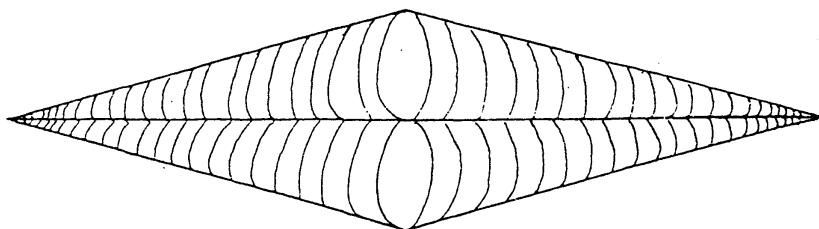
Supposedly the four wings (alternate triangles) of the two birds (there are two pairs of wings, i.e. eight triangles, in any one square) are in the same colour. We can think of the heads of the brace as reduced to a single point – the centre of the square, where the diagonals and the perpendicular bisectors of the sides all meet. But, without exception, all lines in this *kupesi* are straight. In fact, the *manulua* can be a member of a whole class of transitional designs

and can be regarded as the peak of the development of ancient *kupesi*, but also marking the moment just before the incorporation of curving lines into the traditional *ngatu* design system. All later *kupesi* employ both straight and curving lines. And this is to be expected whenever an art system begins to move away from strict formalism to representational forms.

(ii) *Tokelau feletoa*. The name of this *kupesi* is poetical and means 'northerlies (*tokelau*) ruffling a clump of ironwood (*feletoa*)'. Another tradition holds that the name refers to Ulukalala II's⁷ residence in the village of Feletoa in Vava'u and interprets the design name as 'the north (Vava'u) is a land of brave warriors (another meaning of the word *feletoa*)'. The present writer is of the opinion that the *tokelau feletoa* was of a much earlier date but was renamed in deference to the chief's achievements, a practice that is very common in this society.

The *kupesi* depicts a highly stylised filigree of *toa* but all enclosed in a diamond-shaped area.

This second device preserves the straight line principle of the 'chiefly' *kupesi* and shows how this design has developed from the earliest system.



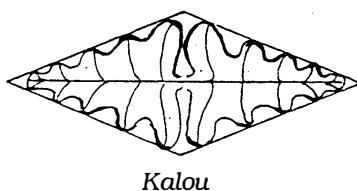
Tokelau Feletoa

The *tokelau feletoa* is probably the first *kupesi* to utilise lines of non-zero curvature, unlike *manulua* and the earlier patterns.

(iii) *Kalou*. The name is that of a species of breadfruit, a very important item in the food basket of Tongans.⁸ The organisation of the *kalou* is exactly the same as the *tokelau feletoa* except that the subject is a leaf of the *kalou* breadfruit tree instead of the stick of *toa* needles.

⁷ Ulukalala II, of Port-au-Prince fame and patron of Mariner, was a great and feared chief who played a leading role in eroding Tu'i Tonga (ancient kingly line) power facilitating the rise of the Tu'i Kanokupolu (the present ruling house of Tonga).

⁸ The famous mutiny on HMS *Bounty* took place while she was on an experimental voyage carrying cuttings from Tahiti to the West Indies to try to establish breadfruit as a food for slaves.



Kalou

The *kalou* marks the highest point attained by representational *kupesi* designers of antiquity. It has not been surpassed on this point, though more complicated units have been developed in the modern period.

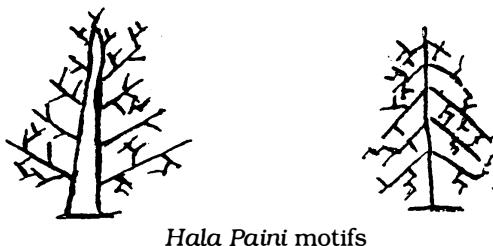
We can suggest tentative dates for these *kupesi* of the earliest period up to the time of the first contact with Europeans. The dating 'system' is based on broad considerations and thus the suggested dates are highly provisional and tentative.

The ancient or 'chiefly' *kupesi* are taken to date from the earliest period of the settlement of Polynesia, i.e. within the first millennium before the Christian era. Considerations contributing to this view include the utter simplicity of the conception, the absence of representationalism of any sort. Social formation must have been very simple, most probably made up of small, scattered settlements which, though of the same or related racial stock, had not been tied together by any political network into a single society.

The traditional *kupesi* is taken to have emerged round about the sixth to the ninth century AD when Tongan society was undergoing standardising and centralising processes culminating in the foundation of the first Tongan overlord, the Tu'i Tonga, in the 10th century. The *kupesi* of this category is testimony to familiarity with the environment – birds, trees, fruit, etc.

C. Modern *kupesi*. Modern *kupesi* follow the principles of high stylisation and representation differing mainly in the subjects of the individual designs. The favourite themes for modern designers have been symbols and heraldic signs of the modern constitutional monarchy. The regal panoply of Royalty are characteristically stylised and the heraldry literally copied or simplified. There are also attempts at greater realism, e.g. the *Laione* ('Lion', symbol of the King) and the *sisi* ('Waistband of flowers') motifs, though the realism does not go beyond the drafting stage. We give only one example of modern *kupesi*:

(i) *Hala Paini* (lit. 'Pine-tree Avenue'). Refers to an avenue of Norfolk pine trees that connects the Royal Palace in Nuku'alofa and Mala'ekula, the Royal Cemetery. It is only a short way – about one quarter of a mile – but because of its connection with Royalty it is highly venerated and even has an air of tabu about it.



Hala Paini motifs

The *Hala Paini* motif is not, unlike traditional *kupesi*, contained within regular figures, showing that these modern designs are distant enough from the original impetus to have shed that link with antiquity.

The Tongan *kupesi* then corroborates our theory in a general way. We make the following observations:

1. A high degree of stylisation and abstraction have always been strong in *ngatu* design.
2. Although interest in the basic geometry of objects has always been great, significant design was usually sufficiently 'anchored' on some real object or objects to render the patterns fairly recognisable.
3. True realism, however, has not entered *ngatu* designs, perhaps for the following reasons:
 - a) *kupesi* being a flattened, two-dimensional string and stick sculpture can neither represent objects in the round nor handle moulding;
 - b) *ngatu* production having become, over the centuries, a 'court art', must remain diagrammatic and heraldic in character;
 - c) realism in art is related to the growth of individualism in society and the history of *kupesi* – as well as other Tongan arts – suggests that individualism has not made much headway in this society though the advent of new institutions and other forces, most notably the capitalist market, are rendering Tonga auspicious for a rapid spread of individualism.⁹

By way of comparison, we can see that, in general, European visual arts have come full circle and have begun to move away from strict realism to a new type of abstract art. Though this return to abstraction includes extreme stylisation and formal reductionism, e.g. Mondrian's 'Tree' or Brancusi's 'Kiss', much of the new abstract mode derives from an interest in form as such, not form as implicit in things. Examples would include Josef Albers's *oeuvre* as well as Mark Rothko's though their interests are equally in geometry and the physicality of colour. This second coming of abstract art then must not only be preceded by a long period of realist art but should also

⁹ The history of art, especially painting, in Europe, from the Renaissance on, exemplifies this point most clearly.

exhibit an intellectualism which is absent from original abstract art. Tonga has not reached this stage.

The present tendency to discredit the kind of theory we present here – that art forms evolve from the truly simple, and even simplistic, towards the complex – may be based on incomplete analysis that looks away from unaccomodating facts which refuse to bed down with conventional attitudes. An example of an inconvenient item that has not been fully investigated is the Altamira Cave paintings. Although discussion of this issue falls outside the scope of this essay, there are serious considerations which would force us to revise our view of Altamira (and also Lascaux): either our theory is defective or Altamira is a hoax.

Traditional Architecture

The other item in the Tongan design system that I wish to describe here is an aspect of traditional architecture. The trend in the Pacific islands today is to adopt foreign designs as well as building materials for all construction, domestic as well as civic. The causes behind these changes include recognition of more permanent structures, the requirements of modern living, and flexibility of form. As a result, it is becoming very difficult to find a *fale* (building erected on traditional design) in Tonga today. The remaining examples are a very few crumbling churches. However, despite the advantages of European structures, they still have drawbacks when slapped down, pure and simple, on island environments. European houses, for example, get too hot in warm weather and too cold in cool and/or wet weather, unless they are fitted with temperature-regulating mechanisms, which, however, could be substantial additions to capital as well as recurrent costs. The traditional thatched houses of Tonga, though built in flimsy and perfectly combustible materials, are cool in warm months and warm in cold, wet periods. Again, from the point of view of social mores, the spatial organisation of European houses – especially the type most favoured in Tonga now, those erected on the bipartition principle of day/night or people/facilities – would have to be modified before they could answer fully to the demands of the local culture. Therefore, instead of rejecting local stuctures outright, it is necessary to combine the virtues of the two systems in a new architecture for Tonga.

There have been a whole variety of structures in Tongan traditional architecture ranging from the simple *fale hunuki*¹⁰ to the grand and most elegant *fale faka-Manuka*. This last structure is an adaptation of an original

¹⁰ A *fale* style where the straight roofs run straight on to ground level.

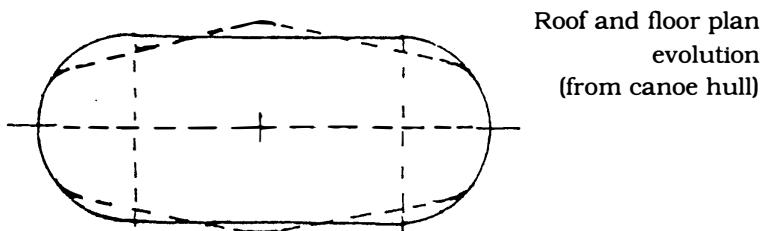
design invented in Samoa,¹¹ probably in the ninth century, and introduced to this society soon after that date or in the following century. The Tongans however, adapted the Samoan original to local conditions giving it a standardised form that has remained unchanged in its structural basics to this day. It is this system that we briefly describe in this section.

Fale Faka-Manuka

One Samoan myth says that when our ancestors first arrived in the islands, they had been at sea for so long that they had forgotten all about building construction. They, therefore, took caves, hanging rocks and sprawling trees for shelter. Of course, these could not always be fully satisfactory, especially in cold and harsh weather. So they prayed to their god, Tangaloa, to give them a solution to their problem. Tangaloa instructed them to take their ocean-going canoe hulls, turn them upside down, prop them up with poles and they would have 'roofs' over their heads.

Samoans have always taken that to be the prototype of their *fale-a-folau* (lit. 'house of the voyagers') which is the system that was introduced to Tonga via Manu'a, hence its Tongan name *fale faka-Manuka* ('house in the Manuka style').

This myth may mean two things: first, that the *fale faka-Manuka* was in its form and structural features inspired by traditional naval architecture and, second, that we have here a system where the roof is the independent variable to which a floor had to be adjusted.¹² The evolution of the system in prehistoric times resulted in a floor that was an adaptation of an elliptical figure into almost a rectangle rounded off on the shorter sides with semicircular curves.



¹¹ Some traditions say that this system was introduced to Tonga during the reign of Lolofakangalo, the second Tu'i Tonga, in the 10th century.

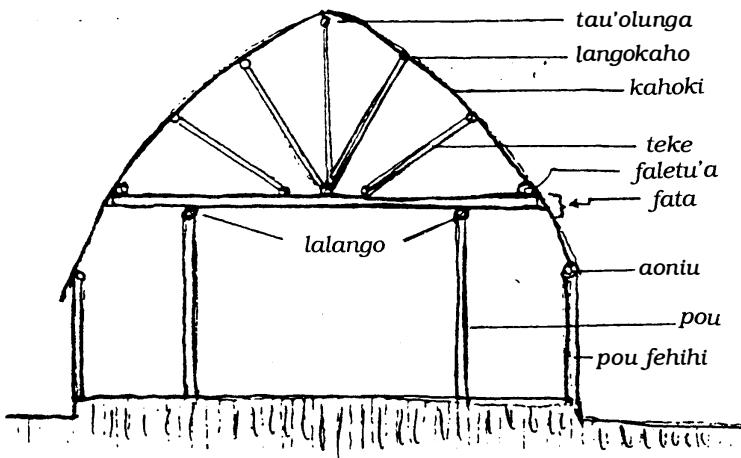
¹² It is fairly rare to come across a building tradition where the floor plan is not the given variable. Almost always the roof in form and structure has to adapt to the floor. In the Baroque period of Italy we find the floor of the *Sant' Andrea al Quirinale* in Rome almost identical to the original oval of the *fale faka-Manuka*, but although the wall remains ovoid, Bernini refuses to make the roof slavishly follow the floor plan, resulting in a most exciting solution.

Although it is possible to see the floor plan as undaring, it is almost certain that the ancient builders wanted their structure to also be cyclone resistant since severe winds are yearly routine in South Seas climates. Not only the walls but the roof structure as well are gently curved at critical points to divert or ease lateral as well as vertical loadings.

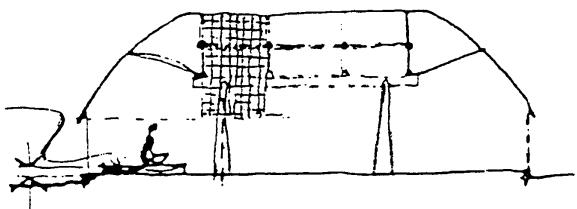
Fale Roof Frame as Stretched 'Membrane'

An intriguing feature of the roof frame *minus* the tensioning system, is that, except for one stiffener each on both straight sides and the half-domes of the ends, the topmost horizontal ridge pole (*tau'olunga*), and the bottom horizontal boundary (*aoniu*), all other members are very thin and narrow. This is why the 'rafters' are called *strip rafters* (*kahoki*). The ratio of thickness to length is always in the neighborhood of 1:150 but rarely less than 1:100.

Obviously these dimensional relationships and the structural form of the roof frame require that this latter be tensioned in the manner membrane roofs are in modern construction. The following diagrams illustrate this point:



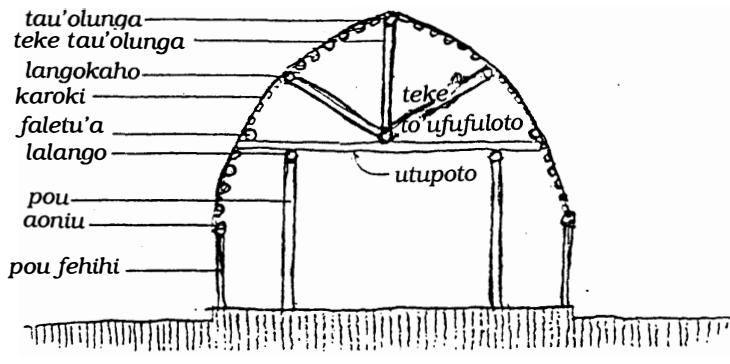
[After A. Anderson, 'Tonga: apt housing'
BArch thesis, Auckland University, 1983;
in Kaloni 1990]



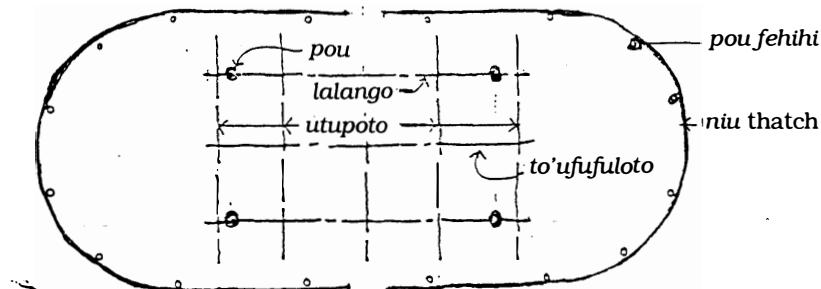
CROSS SECTION

[after Kaloni 1990]

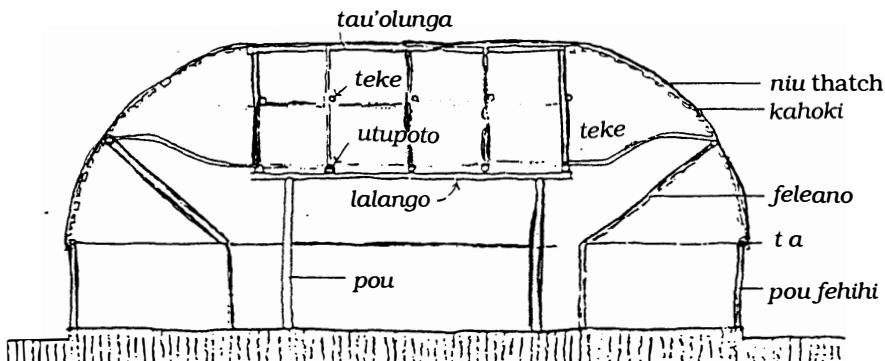
These three diagrams illustrate the general building terminologies used on the Tongan *fale* (T.K.)



MID SECTION



PLAN



LONG SECTION - FALE

[After Anderson 1983. In Kaloni 1990]

The above drawings show that some redundancy is involved in the system in that:

- a) an unnecessarily complicated trabeated structure (*fata*) is employed as basis of the load-bearing and tensioning systems;
- b) conceivably, the tensioning framework could be cantilevered from a central pylon though this would interfere with the spatial patterning which the ancients wanted;
- c) other, and simpler solutions, are quite possible.

The system as it exists today seems to suggest that the *fale faka-Manuka* had developed from the ordinary gabled triangular-roofed houses, and that the complicated *fata* (the post-and-lintel framework) of the *fale faka-Manuka* is a hangover from such earlier structures where it would have been essential. This possibility cuts across our maritime hypothesis – that the roof structure of *fale faka-Manuka* could have been suggested originally by canoe hulls. However, this may not represent an insurmountable difficulty for our theory, as it is quite possible that the naval inspiration was a later event and was incorporated into older designs as an 'imposition'.

There have been tentative attempts in recent years to purge the system of this discrepancy, but, to the present writer, they all seem ill-informed. The most notable of these efforts have been in church architecture with the most famous being the Kolovai Free Wesleyan Church and the Ma'ufanga Roman Catholic Cathedral. Although the roof forms of these buildings have remained faithful to the traditional formal conception, the tensioning structure and its supports – the post-and-beam system – have all been eliminated. This pruning of the old structure has resulted in a roof frame built with modern materials (iron, reinforced concrete, dressed stone, impregnated timber, etc.) of enormous dimensions. This approach is certainly not culturally sensitive and lacks appreciation of the technical sophistication of the ancient builders. For one thing, the traditional roof develops mainly tensile, and to a much lesser (in fact negligible) extent compressive stresses. The roofs of the 'simplified' versions in the abovementioned churches develop substantial bending stresses which the ancients seem to have gone out of their way to avoid in presenting their form – resistant architecture.

Fale Roof as Thin Shell

We now wish to suggest that the system of strip rafters *minus* the tensioning struts and the trabeated system could be replaced by reinforcing steel and used for construction of thin shells. There are three important matters that require attention here:

1. the specifications for rod sizes must follow modern practice;

2. the layout of the steel should follow first that of strip rafters and their stiffeners in the traditional *fale* design; and
3. additional reinforcements can be placed on top of the traditional pattern, if required.

Because of problems that would arise if such a thin shell were to rest directly on the ground we have somehow to solve the support problem. It is instructive to see that the traditional wall form of this *fale* is an oval drum which serves two functions – to place the roof at a higher elevation, as well as minimising the development of shear stresses or buckling within the roof frame. Thus the traditional wall form may be retained though materials can be different, or the whole wall structure replaced by stilts as supports, etc.



Oval shaped *fale* drawn by Louis de Sainson on Dumont d'Urville's first voyage, published in the *Atlas*. By permission of the National Library of Australia.

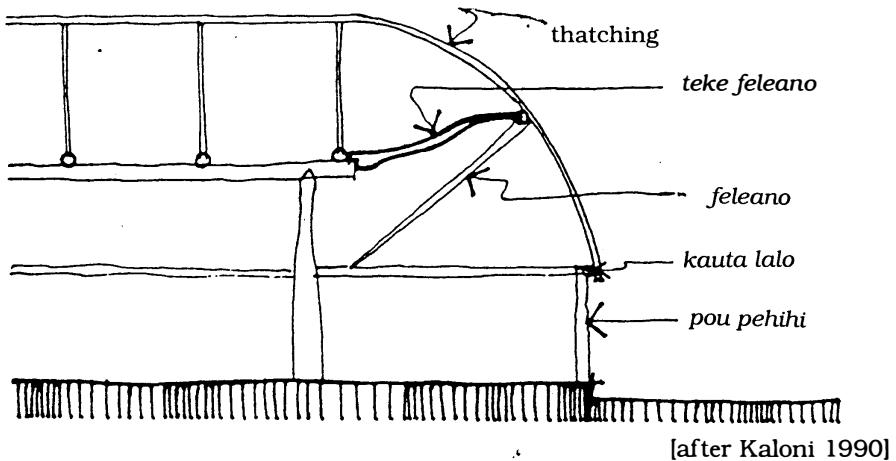
Ta and Feleano

Below we show various views of the *ta* (end half-dome). They give a fair idea of the design.

Apart from the standard analysis for half-domes, the *feleano* has special interest from a structural point of view. I wish to devote the final part of this brief essay to general observations on this crucial and fascinating feature of the *ta*.

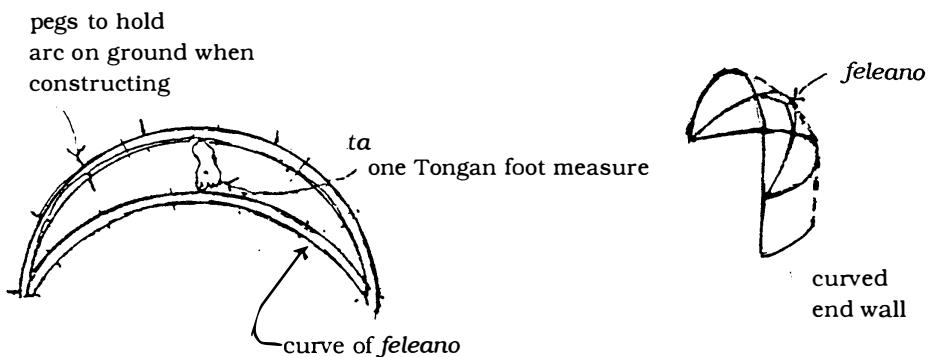
This member is the principal and central stiffener, tension 'strut' and 'form-determinant' of the end half-dome. It is an arch of much larger dimensions than the strip rafters, and which is constructed at the same

time as the *kauta lalo* (the horizontal, curving boundary member of the half-dome) in the manner depicted by the self-explanatory diagram below.



Longitudinal Section - *Fale*

On the ground, the crowns of the two arches are separated by the foot of the master-builder, who places it there while the two arches are being assembled from carefully tooled parts. This method of measurement, using body parts as units, has been called by Tongan architect Tomui Kaloni (following mathematician Poincare) 'instinctive geometry'.¹³

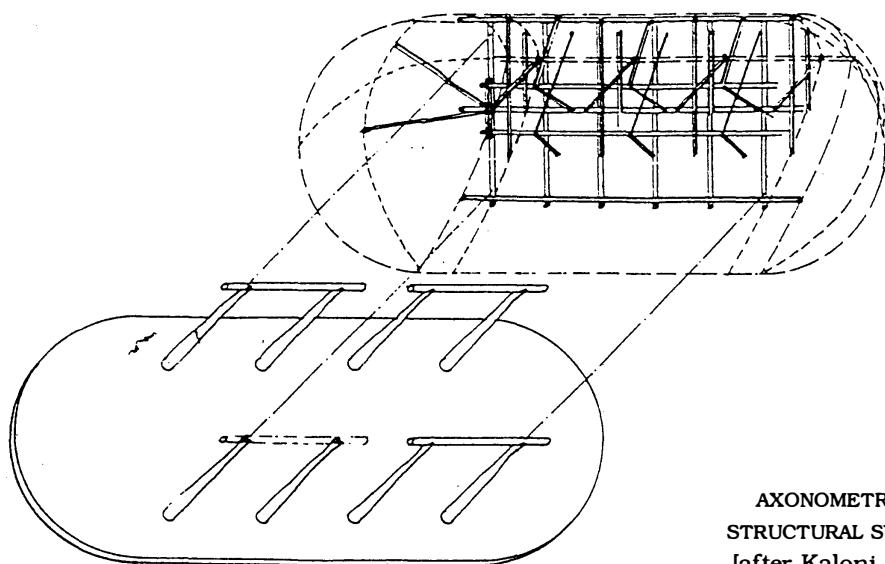


[after Kaloni 1990]

¹³ In the *ngatu* production domain, this 'instinctive geometry' is represented by the *hangā*, the distance between the tips of the thumb and middle finger when stretched to the utmost, furthest from each other.

As can be seen from the above views, the *feleano* springs from the lowest horizontal, encircling member (*aoniu*) of the whole roof structure, at the points where the end half-dome meets the central section of the roof. It then slants obliquely at about 45°, and comes to rest centrally on the whole *ta*, every strip rafter of which, equally spaced from each other, must be lashed on to the *feleano*.

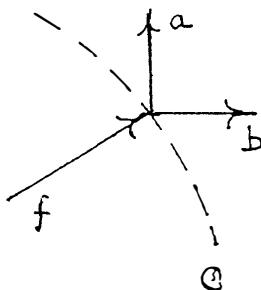
If we view the system from directly above, or axonometrically, we should have the impression that the *feleano* (taking it to be a moving point tracing it out from one side of the roof to the other) is moving in a *fourth dimension*, though admittedly, we can express all *feleano* dimensions in terms of the other three. At any rate – still regarding it as a moving point – it indicates a solid angle. It is 'reflected' by shorter and slenderer versions equally spaced and parallel to it, above and below. And it is probably the only instance, in Polynesian architecture, where the arch is set at a plane other than the vertical or horizontal.



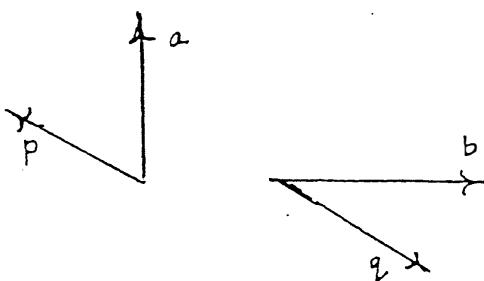
AXONOMETRIC OF
STRUCTURAL SYSTEM
[after Kaloni 1990]

Not only is *feleano* action a foil to *ta* strip rafters' tendency to straighten by channeling to earth all stresses on *ta* via a shorter path, i.e. than if stiffeners of *ta* were parallel to *kauta lalo*,¹⁴ but it is also a foil to vertical loads on the large central section of the whole roof structure. These loads would tend to give the strip rafters of that section of the roof a greater curvature which, in turn, would have a stretching effect on the *ta*. The tension struts of the inner house (they now act in the opposite direction, i.e. inward) and the *feleano* counteract these deforming forces. This *feleano* 'reaction' force is applied at the tip of *ta* strip rafters.

Feleano has the effect of unifying all *ta* action into one which then develops complex load-bearing stresses — cable and twist actions — in addition to being the resisting force to lateral loads on the main central roof section that are all channeled to the ground through the *feleano*. The statics diagrams of *feleano* action are shown below.



Of course, the components *a*, *b*, of the *feleano* thrust, *f*, can be given a 'double' resolution to indicate the level of stability the *ta* acquires through the action of this key member. Components *p* and *q* represent tensile forces of the strip rafters.



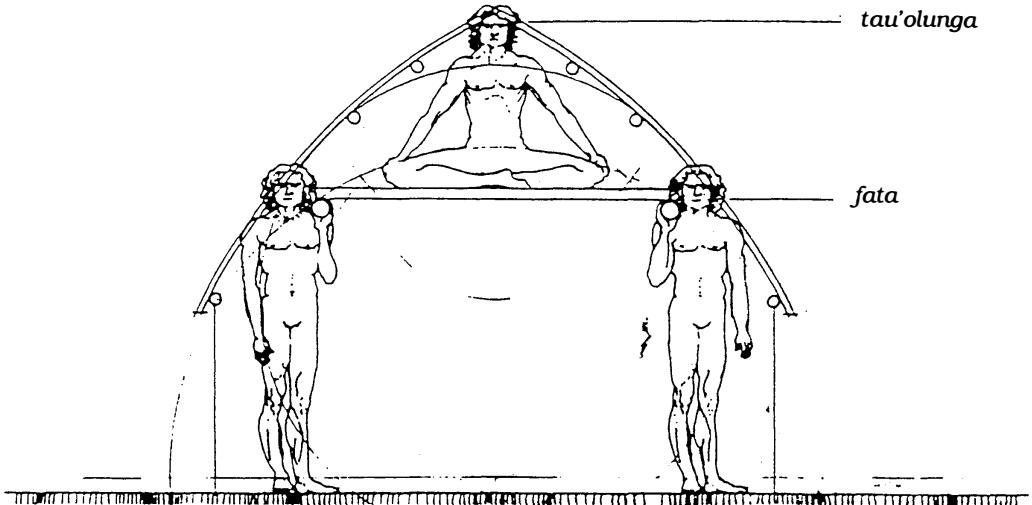
¹⁴ The general points made in this section were probably not appreciated by Japanese engineers when they built — in modern materials — large *fale faka-Manuka* units at Tonga National Centre, Nuku'alofa, with *feleano* parallel to *kauta lalo*!

The above general analysis shows the genius of Polynesian builders. This is indicated in insignificant items of local materials. It is certain that patient study would be handsomely repaid in new insights into how the ancients behaved to their environment as well as their fellows. Of course the ancient craftsmen never analysed their creations in the manner briefly outlined above but these were the results of long experience and very alert instincts.

Postscript

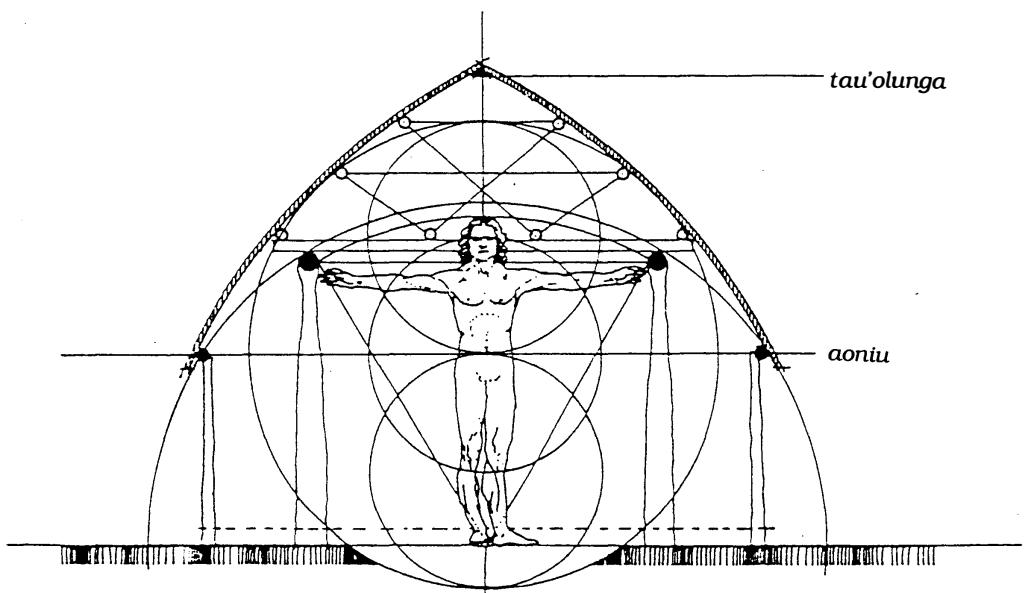
The above remarks have, in view of space limitations, been kept very general and incomplete. A full statement of the arguments presented and notions referred to can only be done in book form and length. The author would have liked to explore so many other aspects of the *ngatu* and *sale faka-Manuka*, e.g. with reference to the former, how free-hand painting is entering *ngatu* production at present, if it is at all, and regarding the latter, the sociology and anthropology of that structural system, the floor spatial organisation and ventilation conditions, all of which are worlds in themselves. The authorities on *ngatu* are the women of Tonga, especially the captains of traditional women's co-operatives, of which every village in Tonga has one or two. Regarding the *sale faka-Manuka* the most imaginative and creative master is the Tongan architect (and my former pupil) Tomui Kaloni. This artist is not only a very fine architect but a painter and sculptor of great power and originality. He seems destined for great things. In writing this paper I have benefited much from his BArch thesis, 'Tonga: architecture and rationale'. The cultural aspect, the floor spatial organisation, the asthetic and technical qualities of the *kafa* lashing system, etc., of this architecture are fully covered in this fine thesis. I have merely commented on aspects of the system that have not always been treated in extant literature.

Views of Lotofoa Methodist Church, etc. (in T. Kaloni, 'Tonga: architecture and rationale', BArch thesis, University of New South Wales, Sydney 1990).



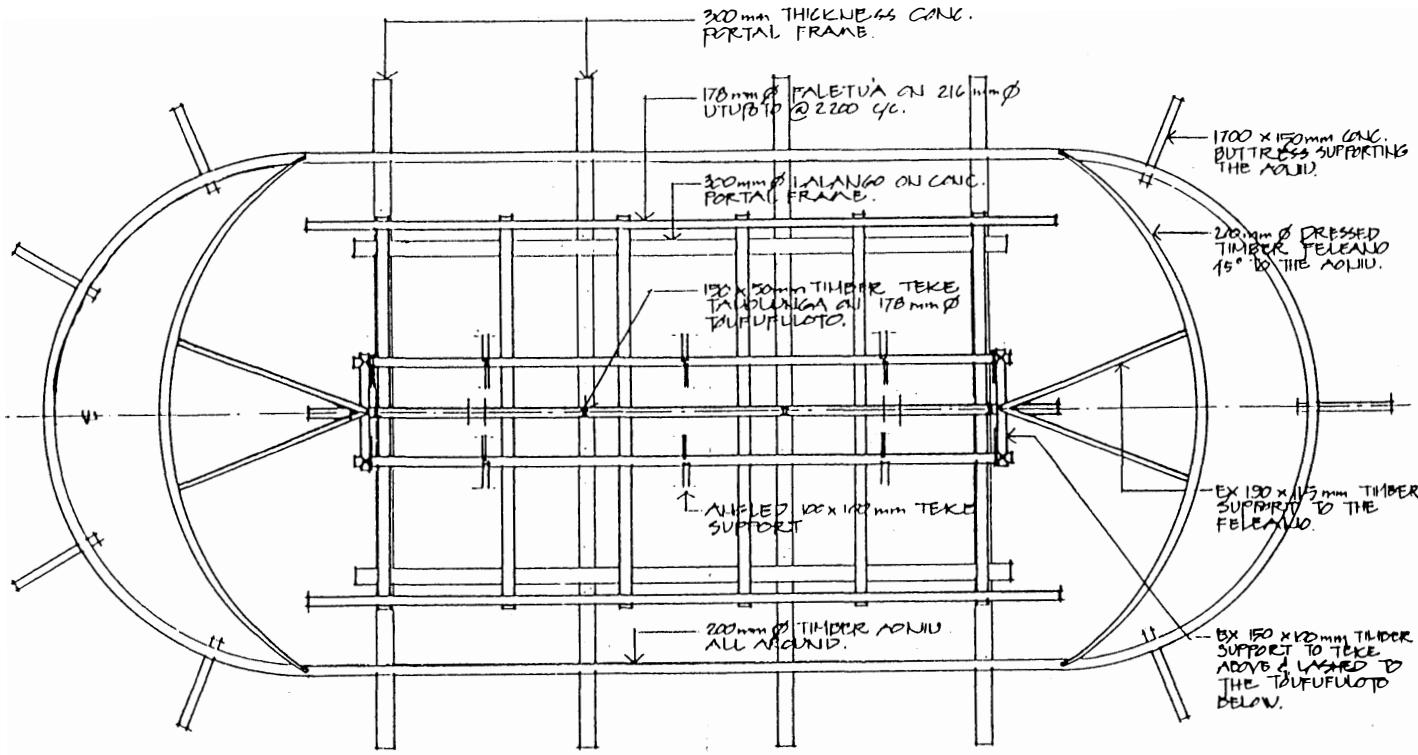
THE 'FATA' ORIGIN OF TONGAN ARCHITECTURE

Note: the cross sections used are drawn to 1:100 scale

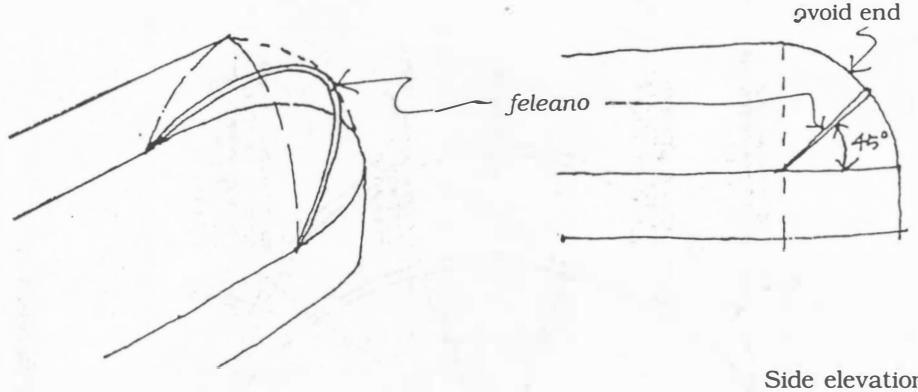


THE GEOMETRIC REPERTOIRE

BALANCE OF DUALITY

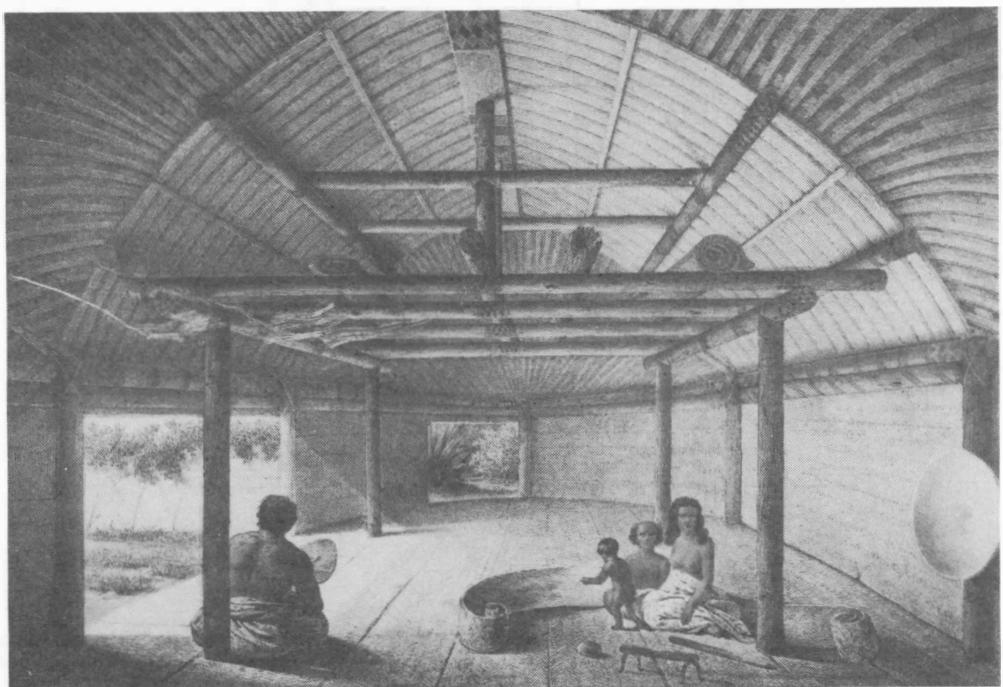


FATA LAYOUT PLAN - LOTOFOA METHODIST CHURCH - Note: all joints are fastened by:
 1. dowelled timber; and 2. lashed sennit (to hold; and to decorate)

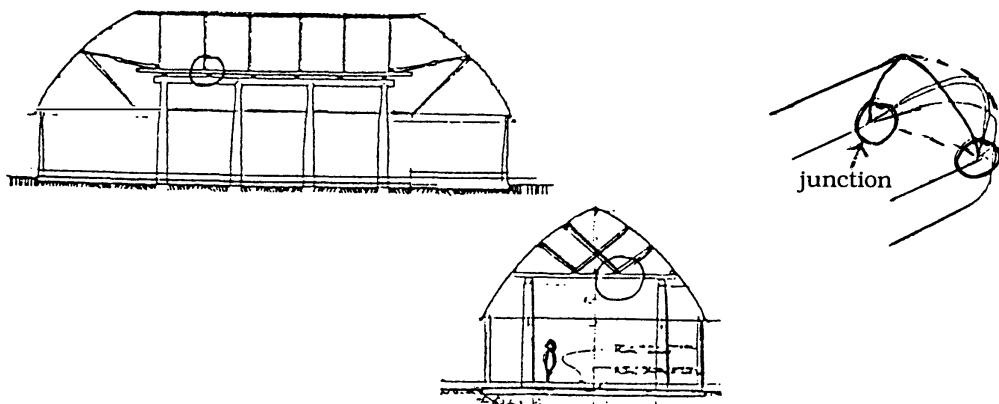


Partial axonometric

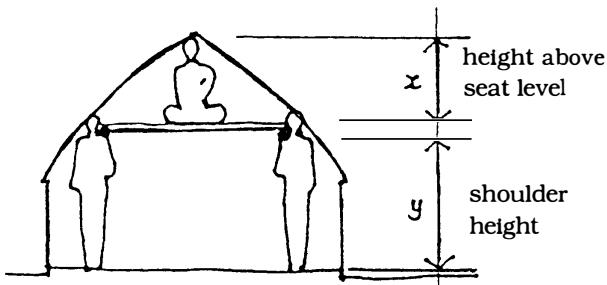
Side elevation



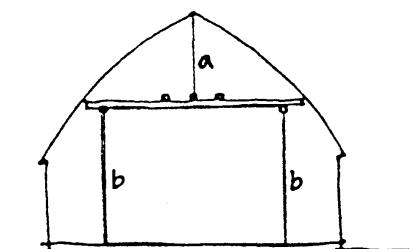
Interior of a Tongan house, drawn by Louis de Sainson on Dumont d'Urville's first voyage, published in the *Atlas*. By permission of the National Library of Australia.



Views of the *feleano* as it meets the *aoniu*



HUMAN FATA RATIO
(ref. Tutt & Adler, *New Metric Handbook* (1984), 23-7.)



TONGAN FALE RATIO
Refer to measured drawings
of Lotofoa Methodist Church
for details.

The proportion is worked out in the following by using the Human Fata Ration (xy) and the Tongan Fale Ratio ($a:b$):

$$\begin{aligned} a:b &= x:y \\ a/x &= b/y \\ 2810/900 &= 4470/1430 \\ 3.122 &= 3.125 \end{aligned}$$

Round off these numbers to two significant figures:

$$3.1 = 3.1$$

Therefore, the 'Human Ratio' is proportional to the 'Fale Ratio'.

Note: *Fata* in this sense means the whole practice of carrying the chiefs on the *fata* (stretcher or litter) during procession.

'I. F. Helu is well known in the Pacific region and in intellectual communities world-wide for his deep interest in education and the life of the mind. In a long career of thinking and writing and speaking he has addressed topics ranging from philosophy, aesthetics, history, education, mythology to the more practical and esoteric cultivation of the frail *kahokaho*, and has brought to them all insight and creativity and a degree of lateral thinking. His writing is direct and evocative, at times lyrical; and always close to his heart is Polynesia and his homeland Tonga.

In this volume Futa Helu's addresses, lectures and essays have been gathered together, giving the reader the opportunity to explore and be challenged by his ideas and enjoy the charm and immediacy of his prose.