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Veitalatala: Mātanga 'o e Talanoa

Fakatapui mo Fakatulou

'Oku ou fakatapu mo fakatulou atu ki Ha'a poto 'i he mala'e 'o e ako, kae'uma'a 'a e 'univesiti 'iloa ko AUT University. 'Oku ou faka'apa'apa foki heni ki he kau fefine mo e kau tangata kuo nau vahevahe mai mo faka'inasi 'aki au 'enau 'ilo mo e fakakaukau, pea 'oku hounga'ia ai hoku loto.

I acknowledge and express my respect and excuse myself before all scholars in their respective fields, and also before the educative world of AUT University. I acknowledge and express my respect also to the hou'eiki fafine and men who have shared insights that have increased my knowledge.
I am deeply grateful.

This thesis is submitted to Auckland University of Technology in partial fulfillment of the degree of Doctor of Philosophy.

TALITA KIUME TOLUTA'U
M.A. Art & Design [First Class honours] AUT University, 2008
B. Art & Design Honours AUT University, 2007
Bachelor of Design, AUT University, 2006

10 December 2014

Hu'anga

Hopo e la'a 'i he tafitonga
Pea taku ko e mata'ikoloa
Monū 'o hai te u talanoa
Kei tu'ulahoko 'a e 'ofa
'O pulonga ai Tonga manakoa.

The sun rises in a clear sky
And it is talked about as a treasure
Whose fortune I shall relate
Love still reigns
Enveloping beloved Tonga [1]

1 *Ta'anga ma'a Tatakamotonga*, a poem by Queen Salote Tupou III; Tongan monarch and poet (1900–1965). Cited in Wood-Ellem, 2004, p. 310.

Abstract

Veitalatala: Mātanga 'o e Talanoa

This study is concerned with representation. It considers the nature of a culturally located, discursive form called *veitalatala* and its creative translation into designed artifacts that consider the lyrical and graceful nature of Tongan women's talanoa.[2]

The designed outcomes of the project consider the memories of three *hou'eiki fafine* (Tongan women) who left their homeland to settle abroad. *Veitalatala: Mātanga 'o e Talanoa* is a creative synthesis of their talanoa, into new forms of artistic narrative, designed to capture the cultural and emotional resonance of their identities. The lyrical works orchestrate photography, animation, musical composition, sound design, filmed interviews, graphic design, sublimation printing on ngatu, and extensive postproduction experimentation, into unique texts that move the parameters of traditional documentation beyond conventional audio/visual interview. In so doing, the ngatu portraits and filmic veitalatala conceptually, contribute to the Tongan concept of luva (giving).

Although Churchward (1959) defines *veitalatala* as a distinctly poetic form of talanoa, recent interviews with Havea (2014), Puloka (2014), Taliai (2014), Manu'atu, (2014), Taufa (2014), and Taumoepeau (2014) suggest that *veitalatala* is a complex and nuanced form of communication with diverse origins. Significantly, Tongia (2014) associates the term *veitalatala* with hou'eiki fafine. He suggests that it is a harmonious form of communication historically and socially related to the female gender.

This thesis proposes through practice, that the tenets of *veitalatala* may be extended into artistic artifacts to create a contemporary, lyrical, yet culturally consistent means of representing histories and memories of Tongan hou'eiki fafine.

2 Halapua (2002, p. 1) defines talanoa as "engaging in dialogue with, or telling stories to each other absent [of] concealment of the inner feelings and experiences that resonate in our hearts and minds."

Fakamālō / Acknowledgements

‘Oku ou tomu’a tuku ha fakafeta’i ki he ‘Otua Māfimafi ‘i he ‘ene tauhi hao, foaki ivi mo e poto ma’aku, ko e mā’ulalo, masiva mo ta’e’iloa, pea lava ai ‘o taufonua ‘a e fononga ‘i he fekumi fakaako kuo u fakahoko mo e kau fafine ‘o Tongá or hou’eiki fafine Tongá. Ko e koloa ‘a Tonga ko e fakamālō; ko ia ai, ‘oku ‘oatu ‘a e fakamālō loto hounga mo’oni kiate kimoutolu kotoa pē na’a mou kau mai ki he feinga ako ni. ‘Oku te fakatauange pē ‘e taumalingi mai ‘a e ngaahi tāpuaki ‘a e Ta’ehāmai ki homou ho’omou mo’ui mo ho’omou ngaahi fāmili ‘i he tapa kotoa pē lolotonga ‘etau fononga ‘i he maama ta’e‘iloa ni.

Firstly I am indebted to my Heavenly Father for the great faith and guidance given to my journey.

I would like to express my special appreciation and thanks to my primary supervisor, Professor Welby Ings. He has been a tremendous mentor for me. He encouraged me in my research and allowed me to grow as a Pacific woman artist. His advice on both research and my career has been invaluable.

I would also like to thank my other supervisors, Mr Sione Tu’itahi and Dr Linita Manu’atu for their expertise, cultural and scholarly insight, comments and suggestions.

I would especially like to thank all of the hou’eiki fafine who have expanded, and continue to expand, my knowledge and understanding. They have supported me on many levels as I negotiated a challenging thesis that journeyed into uncharted territory.

I am deeply grateful in ways that words cannot express to my mother and father, Siniua and Uate Toluta’u for the sacrifices that they have made on my behalf. Their prayers and love have sustained me. I would also like to express my gratitude to Margaret Moala and Taaniela Valu who supported me in my writing, spent sleepless nights, and encouraged me as I strove towards my goal.

I would like to thank Mairi Gunn for her expertise and advice in relation to filming and camera use. I am indebt to Sisi’uno Helu for her beautiful musical compositions that appear in these works. I would also like to thank Asinate Anitema for collecting data on my behalf.

I wish to also acknowledge the tremendous support offered by the School of Art and Design and the Faculty of Design and Creative Technologies at Auckland University of Technology for the scholarships, grants, and assistance that have helped me to realise this thesis. I would also like to thank the AUT Textile Design Laboratory team for their expertise and advice in developing with me a way of printing photographic imagery onto ngatu.

Finally, I would like to acknowledge all of the indigenous scholars who have gone before me, who have demonstrated to the academy the value and veracity of indigenous ways of knowing. In so doing they have made space where knowledge from other cultures is positioned, not as a token or adjunct, but as a robust and cohesive contribution to ways of understanding what it is to be a thinking human being.

Contents

Table of images

Attestation of authorship

I hereby declare that this submission is my own work and that, to the best of my knowledge and belief, it contains no material previously published or written by another person, except where acknowledged nor material which to a substantial extent has been submitted for the award of any other degree or diploma of a university or other institution of higher learning.

Talita Kiume Toluta'u, 10 December 2014

Intellectual property declaration

I retain copyright in all images and artwork produced and presented as part of this thesis, apart from the following images that are the intellectual property of others listed below in the order that they appear in this exegesis:

Figure 9: Filipe Tohi (2005). *Lalava series*, (property of the artist).

Figure 10: Kulimoe'anga Stone Maka (2011). *Ngatu Tu'uli*, (property of the artist).

Figure 11: Tui Emma Gillies (2013). *Daughter of a Lost Dynasty*, (property of the artist).

Figure 35: Stamp themed postcard of Siaosi Tupou II Tonga, (attribution unknown).

Figure 36: One penny stamped postcard of Houma, (attribution unknown).

Figure 48: Tongan Ngatu (Museum of New Zealand: Te Papa Tongarewa, Registration number FE010244).

Figure 49: Tongan Post Office Stationery of the hospital at Nukualofa, (attribution unknown).

Figure 50: Black and white postcard of the Convent of the Missionary Sisters in Vava'u, (attribution unknown).

The use of the Tongan language

Throughout this thesis I have adopted the word "western" as a term referring to different peoples and cultures primarily of European descent and having cultures and societies heavily influenced by and connected to Europe.

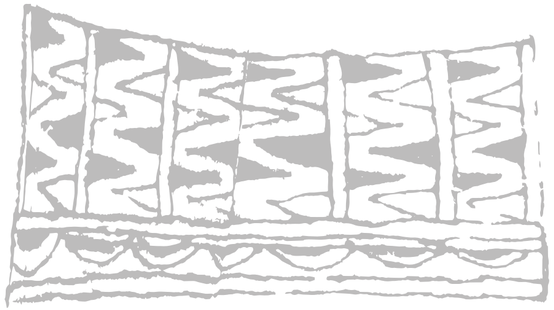
As a general rule I place Tongan phrases, terms and quotations before their translations into English.[3] This is a way of honoring the language and the positioning of Tongan epistemological frameworks as the guiding ways of knowing in the thesis. Tongan 'words' are not italicised, as the language is not an adjunct to the study.

I have utilised inverted commas in certain instances throughout this thesis, particularly when suggesting English terms or meanings for Tongan "words". This is due to the many difficulties in exact translation and in finding any equivalence for many Tongan concepts and terms. *Toloi* (macrons) and *fakau'a* (glottal stops) are used in the main body of text.

3 This also extends to interviews appearing in the appendices of the thesis.

Ethics approval and consents

This research received approval from the AUT University Ethics Committee (AUTEC) on 8 February 2012, for a period of three years until 8 February 2015.
Ethics Approval Number: 12/07
All research was conducted in keeping with the regulations and guidelines of the approval.
Interviews with indigenous scholars and artists who contributed knowledge to the framing of veitalatala were conducted through the auspices of the New Zealand Oral Histories Archive (Alexander Turnbull Library and the National Library of New Zealand: Te Puna Mātauranga o Aotearoa). While these interviews appear in the appendices and are referenced throughout the thesis, they are now (with their consent forms) archived in the National Library of New Zealand.



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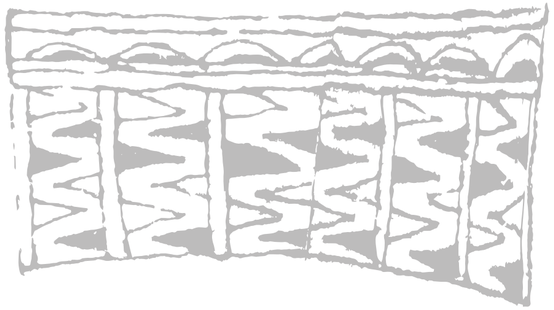


1 Introduction

This creative, practice-led thesis[4] considers the unique way that Tongan hou'eiki fafine tell stories. In creatively interpreting and applying the potentials of veitalatala it interprets the recollections of three hou'eiki fafine. The ngatu and moving image texts that form the creative component of the study explore the poetic and graced voice of recollection. Within these artworks space, time, lyricism and allusion form unique synergies that offer a culturally nuanced way of documenting the hou'eiki fafine recollections of migration journeys.

The culturally located thesis

The thesis draws deliberately on Tongan epistemological tenets. These permeate both the subject and methodology of the inquiry. This is important because the thesis does not propose Tongan culture as the subject of study inside a western academic paradigm, but rather it positions Tongan ways of knowing and researching at the core of the thesis itself. Although the academy often employs western ways of thinking and arguably reinforces these as dominant (Baecker, 2001),[5] indigenous researchers increasingly challenge this assumption. Significantly, as far back as 1958 Hannah Arendt emphasised the importance of culturally defined perspectives in a worldview, when she noted,

> "…the reality of the public realm relies on the simultaneous presence of innumerable perspectives and aspects in which the common world presents itself and for which no common measurement or denominator can ever be devised. For though the common world is the common meeting ground of all, those who are present have different locations in it, and the location of one can no more coincide with the location of another than the location of two objects. Being seen and being heard by others derive their significance from the fact that everybody sees and hears from a different position. This is the meaning of public life… Only where things can be seen by many, in a variety of aspects, without changing their identity, so that those who are gathered around them know they see sameness in utter diversity, can worldly reality truly and reliably appear" (Arendt, 1958 p.57).

While a substantial portion of this thesis draws on the thinking of certain contemporary Tongan scholars (Futa Helu, Konai Helu Thaman, 'Okustino Māhina, and Timote Vaioleti), other

4 In the field of Art and design research there is some debate over the terms practice-led and practice-based research. Candy (n.d.) suggests that "practice based research is an original investigation undertaken in order to gain new knowledge partly by means of practice and the outcomes of that practice, whereas practice-led research is concerned with the nature of practice and leads to new knowledge that has operational significance for that practice" (para. 1-2). Because the research in this thesis occurs as an operational process of gathering, developing and giving, rather than pursuing practice to 'acquire' knowledge it may be described a practice-led.

5 Baecker notes that this predominantly western bias has positioned Europe as "the palladium of infinite modernization" where "everything is contingent upon a particular, historically and regionally bounded culture, which permits certain questions and not others" (2001 p.70).

significant information has been sourced from outside of the academy. Some of this has come from indigenous scholars and artists who have contributed their insights into the meaning and nature of veitalatala. Other information has come from the eight hou'eiki fafine who consented to be interviewed for the project.[6]

The thesis as luva

Luva describes the act of gifting a *me'a'ofa* (gift). If one considers a thesis as a discrete artifact then we might we might argue it simply as a me'a'ofa. However if we examine the etymology of the word thesis we understand it as the positioning of an idea (Soanes and Stevenson, 2008, p. 1497). If we think about an idea as a living thing, then perhaps its propensity to gift lies beyond its immediate physical nature. Arguably, it is added to and integrated with, other scholarly thinking and so continues, not as an archived text but a part of a living body of thought that draws from and contributes to a process of giving and supporting the emerging thinking of others.

Thus, broadly this thesis may be understood as a luva. By this I mean it is a respectful giving. It is a creative synthesis of knowledge that has been shaped by the generosity of culturally positioned thinkers and my work is returned to them and to the wider community. While a thesis within the academy may be traditionally understood as a scholar's, *independent contribution* to knowledge (Hoddell, Street & Wildblood, 2002), I suggest that it may be considered in another way. Arguably, scholarship (including this thesis) might function as a respectful returning of processed thinking to a greater whole. In this regard the scholar is not a discrete, independent entity, but part of a community of thought from which they receive gifts and to which they return gifts (see figure 1). In so doing they draw on the past to contribute to the future. Thus, their thinking, education, inspiration and responsibility function as part of a greater construct of shared experience.

6 Senolita Vatuvei Afemui, Lose Fonua Finau, Anaseini Tabuto Kolo, Seionala Paongo, Meleane Laaina e Pangai Moungaloa, Mele Taufa, Telesia Afeaki Tonga and Lesini Finau Vakalahi.

In figure 1 we see this thesis drawing upon two tiers of support. The closest and most explicit is the knowledge of the direct contributors. This group comprises participants, scholars and artists who have been consulted in the development and realisation of the work. However, supporting this group is what we might call ancestral or cultural thought. This includes both the explicitly and tacitly known.[7] This tier represents knowledge that sustains us and helps us to understand. In this regard I am reminded of Konai Helu-Thaman's poem *Thinking* (2003) that considers thought as something beyond the individual.

You say that you think
therefore you are
but thinking belongs
in the depths of the earth
we simply borrow
what we need to know
these islands the sky
the surrounding sea
the trees the birds
and all that are free
the misty rain
the surging river
pools by the blowholes
a hidden flower
have their own thinking
they are different frames
of mind that cannot fit
in a small selfish world.[8]

Thus, I propose that a thesis like *Veitalatala: Mātanga 'oe Talanoa* is not an independent expression from "a small selfish world". It receives gifts from explicit sources and also from what cannot be defined. This may poetically be considered as "thinking [that] belongs in the depths of the earth".[9]

Figure 1:
Diagrammatic explanation of the concept of luva as it relates to *Veitalatala: Mātanga 'oe Talanoa*.
(Talita Kiume Toluta'u 2014).

In figure 1 we see positioned above the thesis and its veitalatala, the direct recipients of luva. These are those people who are now living and who may encounter the work as artistic texts or scholarly discourse. (This includes but is not limited to, those who contributed directly and indirectly to the thesis). Above them, all knowledge becomes a luva to a greater whole that may unfold over time and may become the substance upon which other thinkers will draw.

7 In using the terms tacit and explicit thinking I refer to the work of Michael Polanyi (1967), who argued that in creative acts (especially acts of discovery) we utilise both explicit, reasoned, critical knowing and 'tacit' forms of knowing. Tacit knowing he suggests is the basis for all possible knowledge because it envelops the subliminal, the archetypal and the preconscious. It is culturally resourced and is generally not known until it is employed. Tacit knowledge is the product of knowing more than we realise we know. This idea is encapsulated in his famous statement "we can know more than we can tell" (p. 4).

8 This poem was delivered in her keynote address at the 2003 Center for Pacific Island Studies Conference, in a talk entitled *Decolonizing Pacific Studies: Indigenous Perspectives, Knowledge, and Wisdom in Higher Education*.

9 In reference to Helu-Thaman's poem, the diagram contains metaphoric references to images mentioned in her text including birds, flowers and the land.

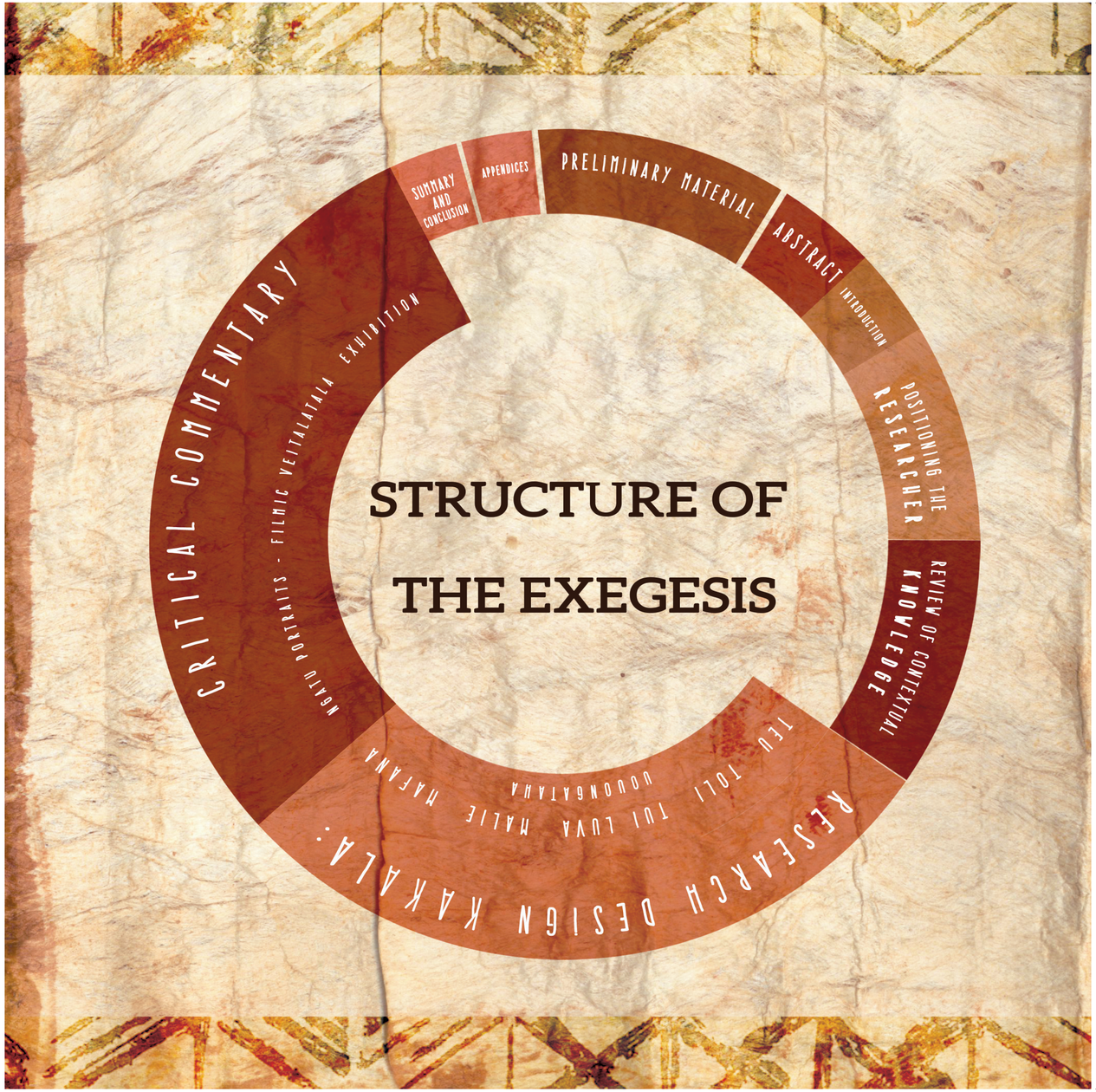
Exegesis structure

Robert Nelson in 2004 noted that in creative, practice-led research degrees the exegesis had been reconceptualised as a cultural contribution to scholarship.[10] Because an exegesis is largely shaped by the nature of the thesis it serves to unpack, it has become a site of considerable negotiation as artists and designers seek to draw greater congruencies between their practice and its contextualization (Hamilton, 2011; Paltridge, Starfield, Ravelli, & Nicholason, 2011). The word exegesis derives from the Greek *exegeisthai*, meaning to interpret, guide or lead (Soanes & Stevenson, 2008, p. 498) and in this thesis it is designed to afford both an interpretation and a guided, critical journey through the research project.

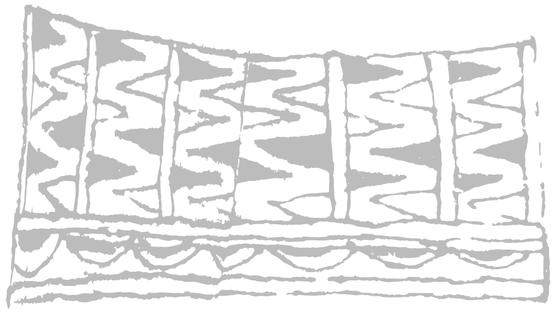
Structurally the document is divided into six chapters (figure 2).

Chapter one provides an introduction to the thesis. This is followed by chapter two that positions the researcher by placing the present inquiry in the context of her previous work. This chapter also outlines the contemporary artistic context in which the thesis resides. Chapter three offers a review of knowledge impacting on the inquiry. Chapter four describes then unpacks the kakala methodology employed in the explication of the project. Chapter five critically unpacks significant concepts. These include veitalatala, composite photography, time, the poetics of hou'eiki fafine voices and design considerations and experiments underpinning the ngatu portraits, and filmic veitalatala. The final chapter offers a review of the thesis' main ideas, its contributions to the field, and a conclusion.

Figure 2 (opposite).
Structure of the exegesis showing the proportional weighting and positioning of the main ideas.
(Talita Kiume Toluta'u, 2014).



10 Originally an exegesis was a specific form of theological writing concerned with explanation and critical interpretation (Soanes & Stevenson, 2008, p. 498).



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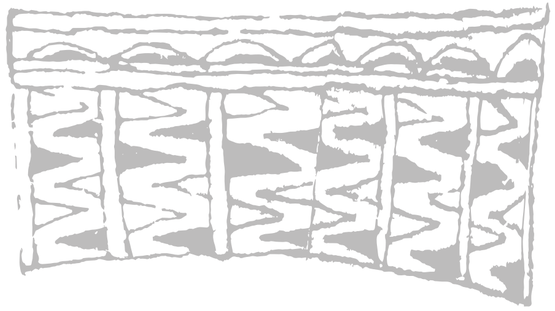


2 POSITIONING THE RESEARCHER AND THE RESEARCH

This chapter locates the thesis project in two realms of practice. The first is the existing creative work of the researcher and the second is recent practice among Tongan filmmakers and visual artists.

POSITIONING THE RESEARCHER

Voices

I grew up as a Tongan student in Auckland, New Zealand. As a young woman I entered university to study graphic design. Both pasifika and western cultures shaped my early education. The synergy they produced did much to fashion my creativity, deepen my appreciation of my Tongan culture and help me to lash together spiritual and academic dimensions into an interest in culturally influenced design.

As I matured, the Tongan voices of the hou'eiki fafine in my community permeated my ways of thinking. They caused me to reach for understanding by listening, feeling, learning and luva. The most influential person in my life is my mother. She comes from a family of ten sisters and one brother. I am surrounded by hou'eiki fafine like her to whom I look for strength and guidance in aspects of my journey. Their talanoa has shaped my understanding of culture in profound ways because my personal growth and cultural identity was (and remains) intrinsically connected to their past experiences. The stories of migration that they told me as a child were not like those written in my social studies books. Nor were they like the representations of Tongan people portrayed on the news items that flickered occasionally over the television set. They were something different. Their talanoa is full of laughter, sadness, detail, memory and loss. There are secrets alluded to, and experiences of something missing. The spaces between what they say and the distinctive ways that their recollections reconstitute time[11] are as important as what is recounted.

As I listened to and watched these hou'eiki fafine luva their stories of migration it became obvious that not only their experiences but also their unique way of recounting needed to be documented. Their largely unrecorded experiences of hardship, integration and settlement in foreign countries fuelled my creativity. Although my westernised education has brought a certain empowerment that has allowed me to avoid the challenges that these hou'eiki fafine experienced, a deep appreciation of the struggles they encountered has shaped a research trajectory that has resulted in this thesis.[12]

11 By this I mean that the rhythmic, lyrical nature of their talanoa did not play out as a linear recounting of experience.

12 The journeys of these hou'eiki fafine have taken me to countries as diverse as Australia, Hawaii USA and Tonga.

Forerunners

In 2006 my artistic interest in the experiences of Tongan hou'eiki fafine led me to photographically capture something of their diversity, power, and grace. The outcome of months of interviews and photographic sessions resulted in the publication of a book *Migrating Floral*. This text was supported by a lyrical animation of the hou'eiki fafine portraits (figure 3). What became apparent as I researched this project was the similarities between their emotional experiences and the distinctive grace of their talanoa. These women did not express their feelings dramatically, instead there was a beauty in their reserve; they peeled off layers of their stories, slowly giving deeper insights and more information.

In 2007 I became increasingly influenced by the songs and poems written by the late Queen Salote Tupou III of Tonga. Her work inspired a desire to create visual representations of the talanoa of a small group of Tongan hou'eiki fafine. In this project I was seeking the potential of metaphorical images similar to those found in her poetry, where relationships existed between land, ocean, flowers, plants, and people.[13]

The 3:21 minute documentary that surfaced from this research was a creative orchestration of images, articles, archival video footage and interviews with three hou'eiki fafine from my extended family (figure 4). These interviews were filmed in a studio but they documented experiences of a world far beyond it.

During the pursuit of my Masters degree in 2008, I became increasingly interested in the creative translation of the hou'eiki fafine personal stories of migration into filmic documentaries that operated as a form of biographical portrait. The thesis, *Talanoa: Matala 'o e Fonua*,[14] that constituted the designed outcome of the study, considered the memories of three Tongan hou'eiki fafine who left their homeland to settle in New Zealand between the 1970s and 1990s. The documentaries were designed as three lyrical garlands that formed a related unit. In an effort to find a more effective way of working with hou'eiki fafine, these interviews were filmed on location in the hou'eiki fafine original villages.

Figure 3.
Selected studio portraits from the book *Migrating Floral.*
Talita Kiume Toluta'u (2006).

Figure 4 (opposite).
Stills of Siniua Lui Toluta'u from the documentary *Migrating Floral.*
Talita Kiume Toluta'u (2007).
I used multiple layers of film that rendered footage less distinct. This emphasised a sense of nuance and texture that was in opposition to western ideas of documentaries being sharply defined.

13 Queen Salote was, and remains in the hearts and minds of Tongan people, a highly respected poet. This is principally due to the elegant and lyrical portraits she created of her kingdom, of womanhood and of the status of royalty. This was evident in her poem Matangi hake (cited in Wood-Ellem, 2004).

14 Matala 'o e fonua is a term often used to describe the growth of flowers or vegetation. It refers to the nature of life, growth, dispersal and regeneration. I felt it was applicable to my work as my mother and the other hou'eiki fafine involved in this project had grown and been nurtured in Tonga. She flowered and was dispersed by migration and flowered again in the foreign soil of Aotearoa/New Zealand.

In the project I began to reconsider documentary as something that might be redesigned to respectfully and creatively capture the cultural and emotional resonance of the hou'eiki fafine stories. In other words, I was becoming interested in something more than the narrative content of the hou'eiki fafine talanoa. The three works, while stylistically related, used filmed interviews, location footage, animation, and sound design to create discrete texts (figure 5) that sought to move the parameters of documentary beyond the expository interview. During this project I also became increasingly aware of the way the hou'eiki fafine portrayed themselves as ordinary people with nothing significant or unknown about their past. They would often play down their experience by distancing themselves from investigation or redirecting questions on to another's experiences. It was not generally in their nature to share or discuss their personal histories for public record. However, increasingly I also realised that the paths they travelled were made up of conflict, trauma, emotion, triumph and extraordinary personal achievement.

It was during this project that I first encountered the methodology kakala and I began adapting this to creative practice research in an effort to find a more culturally relevant way of working with Tongan hou'eiki fafine. In the project I also began experimenting with large photographic prints on ngatu (figure 6). Although these were intended as a form of portraiture to accompany the individual documentaries, I became increasingly aware of a unique approach to portraiture where photographic texts might suggest something of the nature of memory, loss and belonging.

This thesis makes a contribution to Pacific Research through its use of indigenous research paradigms to investigate important aspects of Pacific culture and epistemologies through creative practice. The creative practice base of this research employs a variety of indigenous media and images to express, document and represent the lives of the women participants (hou'eiki fafine). The research also draws upon the Pacific Kakala Framework to carefully prepare and luva (share) this work in an intellectual, emotional and spiritual custom unique to the identity journeys of the Pacific people.

Pacific Research is a movement that began in the late 1990s among a number of Pacific indigenous scholars and researchers including Konai Helu-Thaman. It refers to research that is informed by and embedded within Pacific Knowledge and Value Systems (worldviews; knowledge and understanding; practices & beliefs), and it involves active participation of Pacific peoples, and is relevant and responsive to their needs and aspirations. While sometimes referred to by Western researchers as a 'culturalist approach' to research, Pacific Research originated independently of cultural studies associated with the Birmingham School (UK) of the 1980s (although there are similarities between the two approaches). Pacific Research now forms a major strand in the Rethinking Pacific Education Initiative (RPEI), and is referred to as Vaka Pasifiki, with its secretariat at the University of the South Pacific's Institute of Education on the Tongan campus.

Thus, this PhD thesis may be seen as an incremental development of an ongoing concern with finding culturally resourced ways of recording the personal migration stories of hou'eiki fafine. I have increasingly become interested in how time and space, presence and memory, and the poetics of imagery might be used to talk about recollection. As such, the study seeks to elevate the experiences of hou'eiki fafine to the realm of Art, so we might luva what is too often ephemeral and, as such, too easily erasable from the recorded cultural landscape.

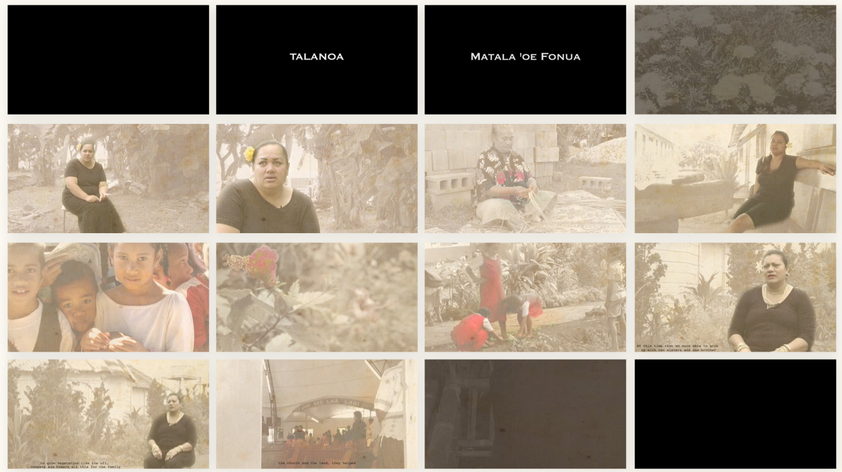


Figure 5 (opposite).
Lyrical stills from the films *Talanoa: Matala 'o e Fonua*.
Talita Kiume Toluta'u (2008).

Figure 6 (overleaf).
Large ngatu portrait of Ilaisaane Fifita Faleafa (1500 x 2000).
Talita Kiume Toluta'u (2008).

Figure 7 (overleaf).
Large ngatu portrait of Siniua Lui Toluta'u (1500 x 2000).
Talita Kiume Toluta'u (2008).

Figure 8 (following page).
Large ngatu portrait of Makeleta Tausinga Moala (21500 x 2000).
Talita Kiume Toluta'u (2008).
These hou'eiki fafine stories were the subject
of the three films that comprised *Talanoa: Matala 'o e Fonua*.


IMMIGRATION
TONGA
VISAS


Lui Fua'amotu Vea Tokelau Lui Fua'amotu

POSITIONING THE RESEARCH

This project may be seen as residing in the context of other Tongan artists who deal with identity and narrative. In positioning the project it is useful to consider two arenas of practice; Tongan filmmaking and contemporary Tongan visual arts practice dealing with ngatu and/or women's identity.

Indigenous documentary

Although there is a useful corpus of material relating to recent approaches to indigenous documentary film (Lewis, 2006; Mita, 1996; Taouma, 2004; Waititi, 2008), this thesis is concerned specifically with those related to the artistic potential and nature of stories of Tongan hou'eiki fafine and migration.
De Jong et al. (2011) have defined documentary as a hybrid film genre that attempts to represent the "real" in a creative and critical art form. The history of documentary film they suggests illustrates our struggles with the real and our attempts to represent it. Implicit in the act of documentary filmmaking they believe is the representation of the real, and the unavoidable act of creating a narrative that produces a tension. In discussing documentary they say, "Knowledge appears to be unstable, incomplete and uncertain, temporary and local. It is for this reason we speak about knowledges, which opens up the possibilities of different approaches and positions" (p. 20).

Roscoe (2000) notes that documentary has a history of being a key cultural site through which audiences have been able to access new ways of knowing the social world. She believes it can function to bring together the public and the private; the cultural and the political. Examples of this include the work of Gardener and Östör (1986), *Forest of Bliss*; Rolls, Ellis, and Turner (2004), *Children of the Migration*; Leilua & Stehlin (1993), *Indigenous People*; Urale and Hauiti (2005), *Nesian Mystik—For the People*; and Urale and Hauiti (2007), *Children of the Revolution*.[15] These works may be understood as attempts to address problematic approaches to ethnographic documentary as promulgated by filmmakers like Robert J. Flaherty in his controversial works *Nanook of the North* (1922) and *Moana* (1926).[16]

The filmmaker Kahurangi Waititi (2008) believes that the primary goal for her indigenous documentary filmmaking is to "capture the past stories and histories locked away (at their discretion) in the minds, souls, hearts and spirits of the kaumatua" (p. 4). She argues that indigenous documentary provides a connection to the past that is solidified through these new, culturally informed, visual narratives. Like Salmond (1983), she believes that the past "illuminates the future and provides identity for the present" (p. 4). These new forms of storytelling may be usefully employed to re-question certain western constructions of indigenous people's pasts.

This idea is built upon by Margaret Jolly (1997), who criticises Flaherty's documentary filmmaking process in *Moana* (1926) for its manipulative approach to representation (as evidenced in his fabrication of environments and directing of people for the construction of an idyllic offering for western consumption). Jolly critiques Flaherty's visual and written texts as selective, mediated, and reconstituted. She notes that the ethnographic integrity of his work was compromised. His work could not be objective; the lenses were set, the focal length selected, a specific point of view established, and sound recordings set for a certain range. She argues, that the documentary film is edited and therefore cannot not "record" exactly what the camera sees. Ethnographic documentary is not objective. However, the level of manipulation in Flaherty's films *Moana* (1926) and *Tabu* (1931) is distinctive. In his documentaries, the pacific hou'eiki fafine subjectivity is privileged in narratives about the power of Polynesian tradition and its confrontation with the "long hand of civilization" (Jolly, p. 142). Jolly notes that these depictions are "dated not just by their cinematic techniques but by the racist and imperialist attitudes of their era" (p. 142). Both films she suggests are "pervaded by an erotics of the exotic that has typified European visions of the Pacific" (p. 142).

15 Rolls, Leilua and Urale are indigenous pasifika filmmakers.

16 This documentary filmed in Samoa, when viewed by a contemporary indigenous audience is seen as exhibiting inauthentic cultural behavior and artificial staging.

Recent Tongan filmmaking

Fictional feature films

Although these problematic, historical works serve as a substrate from which to consider ethnographic filmmaking in the Pacific, two recent productions of full-length feature films made in Tonga serve to contextualise this project (although neither deals directly with hou'eiki fafine and their stories of migration).

In 2014, *When the Man Went South* (Alex Bernstein) premiered at the Cinequest Film Festival in San Jose. This film was the first entirely Tongan language feature and the first to be shot entirely in the kingdom (predominantly on the small outer island of 'Eua). Its fictional narrative was set in the pre-European contact period of the South Pacific when war existed amongst the villages of Tongatapu.[17]

The film contains both humour and insight but much of its impact is due to the lyrical manner in which it treats the landscape. Tonga is filmed as a diverse tropical paradise and much is made of the physical context in which the characters find themselves.

The framing of a Tongan story using Tongan language is a significant development in this film because it moves Tongan film narratives beyond the filter of the English language. By hearing Tongan spoken and having translations provided by English subtitles, we experience a reversal of the traditional western hierarchy of voice. One encounters a Tongan story translated for the West, not a western story set in Tonga that requires subtitles so indigenous speakers can understand its narration of their culture.[18]

The Tongan male narratives of identity and coming of age that form the central concerns of *When a Man Went South* also shape Jason Stutter's 2002 feature length comedy *Tongan Ninja*. This kung-fu action narrative parodies English-dubbed martial art films.[19] Contrasting in both tone and narrative structure with Bernstein's work, this film utilises a conventional hero versus villain's dynamic to polarise good and evil and flatten the complexities of cultural experience. Arguably, this makes the film's narrative easily consumable to a wide viewing public. However, the work is indicative of a number of other comedic texts generated over the last twenty years that use Pacific Island characters but culturally decontextualise them for comedic effect. Thus, *Tongan Ninja* utilises Tongan male identity and culture for its exotic potential but it fails to add anything significant to considerations of identity or indigenous culture (including that of Tongan hou'eiki fafine).

Recent television comedy

The use of decontextualied Tongan identity, invisibility of the hou'eiki fafine narratives, and exoticisation as an agent of humour is perhaps most marked in the 2014 Australian television series *Jonah from Tonga* (Lilley, 2014). This mockumentary[20] follows Jonah Takalua, a recalcitrant 14-year-old Tongan boy, his family, friends, teachers and counsellors as they try to help him become more socially acceptable. The protagonist is played (and scripted) by the Australian comedian Chris Lilley. Lilley (who is a westerner) frames and depicts Tongans using negative stereotypes. The media critic Morgan Godfrey likens his approach to 17th century minstrelsy where non-western races were "presented as stupid, sexualised or dangerous people of colour" (Godfrey, 2014, para. 8). These minstrel shows, he notes, were one of the earliest forms of mass entertainment and operated as agents for the distribution and reinforcement of the cultural stereotypes. In his 2014 article for the Guardian newspaper he noted:

> Whenever people dress in racial drag, they channel that history of racism. The power of the racist image, to quote Roger Ebert "tramples over the material and asserts only itself". The result of white people in brown face is that they wear, as essayist Greg Tate put it, "everything but the burden" of being brown. (Godfrey, 2014, para. 10).

Interestingly, while *Jonah from Tonga* may purport to be about Tongan identity, the backlash from young Tongan hou'eiki fafine has been marked. By May 2014, postings on both Facebook and Instagram were protesting against the programme.[21] Posting photos with #MyNameIsNotJonah, these hou'eiki fafine asserted a contested identity. They spoke of cultural pride, respect and educational orientations that were antithetical to those constructed by Lilley for mass television[22] and Youtube consumption. Significantly, their actions were political. As young Tongan hou'eiki fafine, they were contesting media narratives of identity and claiming a voice in the cultural landscape.

While it is not my intention to afford film texts like *Jonah from Tonga* more attention than they warrant, such material serves (antithetically) to position the work I create. *Veitalatala: Mātanga 'o e Talanoa* is not about male narratives of identity, exoticisation, parodied otherness or stereotype. It attempts in a climate of decontextualisation, to reorient how we might use film to talk about being Tongan. It seeks a culturally located approach to the generation of currently invisible Tongan narratives in the filmic landscape. But this thesis argues for more than the elevation of the Tongan hou'eiki fafine stories. It suggests that authenticity might also emanate from the way a filmmaker engages with cultural material. In this regard it is useful to consider my project in the light of two recent Tongan documentaries.

Recent Tongan documentaries

The Modern Afo of Tonga, directed by John Pulu (2009), is a documentary that features musicians Tonga Kru and Three Houses Down. It examines contemporary and traditional Tongan music styles. Although presented in English, Pulu has accessed material that is often not evident in the public domain. The nose flute recording by Dr 'Okusitino Māhina as an example, is arresting footage of a rare music instrument. The film is an example of a Tongan filmmaker recovering and contextualising cultural material that is unique to the Tongan people. What is evident in the work is a sense of cultural pride and an understanding that content and context are integrated elements.

A second documentary warranting consideration is *Tongan Ark* (Paul Janman). This was released in 2012 and offers an insightful portrait of the Tongan philosopher Futa Helu, who founded a school in Nuku'alofa in 1963 and died in February 2010. The work combines archive and interview footage to paint the picture of a complex man who exemplified the challenges of reconciling Tongan and European intellectual traditions. *Tongan Ark* offers a reflection of the unconventional attitude of the philosopher and his university. He is depicted as an educationalist who supported and encouraged freedom of thought.

The film avoids superficiality through the director's careful process of collaboration and participation with the philosopher and family, faculty and students over two years before starting the seven year filmmaking process.[23] Stylistically, it balances the subtle, poetic and indirect with the richly operatic and revitalising. What is evident in the work is the filmmaker's enablement of a voice that some might argue as oppositional. The philosopher speaks for ideas that have sometimes been positioned against tradition. These ideas are treated with respect and with sufficient space to allow them to become positioned in a careful consideration of aspiration and change. The result is a complex portrait in which Janman lifts documentary above the expository and imbues it with the complex character of the man he has interviewed. As such it becomes both a documentary and a portrait.

Contemporary Tongan visual arts practice

While there is an increasingly rich body of contemporary Tongan visual arts practice in the Pacific, this thesis is contextualised by, and makes its contribution to, work that concerns itself either with indigenous materiality or the Tongan hou'eiki fafine identity. In this regard it may be considered in the context of the recent work of three Tongan artists: Filipe Tohi, Kulimoe'anga Maka and Tui Emma Gillies.

17 The narrative concerns a Tongan hunter (Flying Fox) who is instructed to embark on a journey southwards by his village chief, so he might learn about his strengths as a man. During the expedition he encounters two warring villages and he attempts to mediate between them. Flying Fox applies the lessons he learned on his journey when he returns to his home village.

18 It is significant to note that a number of short films released in 2010 from the Tongan Filmmakers Association are presented entirely in Tongan with no English subtitles. Indicative of these are *Koe Famili moe Tfe forgiveness* (S. Nika Aipolo) and *Bridge of Love: Love Deficit* (S. Nika Aipolo). Both of these films deal with Tongan hou'eiki fafine stories.

19 The story concerns Sione, a young Tongan boy stranded on an island, who is rescued by a martial arts dojo and taught kung fu until he becomes a Tongan ninja. The plot follows him when he is sent to New Zealand to help the dojo's struggling Chinese family and their restaurant business.

20 A mockumentary is a genre of parody in which fictional events are presented in documentary style.

21 See http://www.news.com.au/entertainment/tv/backlash-over-chris-lilleys-jonah-from-tonga-as-protest-movement-gains-momentum/story-e6frfmyi-1226918651717

22 Chris Lilley produced the series in conjunction with the Australian Broadcasting Corporation. It screened on ABC1 in Australia, HBO in America, and BBC Three in the United Kingdom.

23 Janman first encountered the philosopher when he was studying social anthropology in New Zealand. His interest caused him to devote 2004 and 2005 to teaching literature in Futa Helu's school. Through this process of immersion and respectful contribution he gradually gained Helu's confidence and was given access to 'Atenisi's archives and entrusted with designing and creating the film.

Filipe Tohi

Filipe Tohi is a *Tufunga Lalava* (a master craftsman of the traditional art of lalava). Although he was born in Ngele'ia, Nuku'alofa, he emigrated to New Zealand in 1978. His work is based on *lalava* (lashing) that was traditionally employed in joining and binding structures.[24] He sees lalava as related to memory and epistemology.

He says, "I believe lalava patterns were a mnemonic device for representing a life philosophy. Lalava patterns advocated balance in daily living and were metaphorical and physical ties to cultural knowledge" (Salmond & Raymond, 2006, para.2).

Tohi's artwork transforms traditional Tongan technology into contemporary statements of identity and experience. As a consequence, he extends his concerns with media beyond *kafa* (sinnet) and also sculpts in wood, stone and steel.

I am drawn to his work through his expressions of identity and cultural knowledge. His indigenous forms enable us to appreciate both the past and contemporary expressions of Tongan experience. In his complex geometric designs he suggests associations with the social, philosophical, navigational, and ecological ways of knowing. Thus, his work speaks not only of his homeland of Tonga, but also alludes to experiences of migration and living in New Zealand.

Figure 9 (opposite).
Lalava series. Filipe Tohi (2005). Photograph by permission of the artist.

24 This coloured sennit cord was wound and tied to create distinct geometric patterns.

Kulimoe'anga Maka

Kulimoe'anga "Stone" Maka's art is based on the sacred *ngatu 'uli* (black tapa).[25] Stone draws on his childhood in Tonga for inspiration and strength. This helps him to chart new territories and results in a renewed appreciation of traditional Tongan materials and ways of knowing. The earthy tones of his art [26] reference both the indigenous and the organic.

Stone's paintings fuse abstract form with ngatu. He is inspired by certain ngatu 'uli that were smoked for distinctive effects, as well as *ta'ovala faka'ahu* (smoked mats) and smoking used in rituals. As a result his surfaces often have a sense of the enigmatic and intangible. The circles that often appear in his work he says signify hou'eiki fafine and their place in the Tongan culture. The female essence is important to him because he believes that according to Tongan custom, "hou'eiki fafine are ranked higher than men in every part of society and circles symbolize infinity, akin to hou'eiki fafine giving life" (Tautai Contemporary Pacific Arts Trust, n.d., para. 8).

Tui Emma Gillies

Tui Emma Gillies artwork resembles that of Maka in its similar employment of ngatu as a substrate. Gillies has been influenced by her mother and grandmother who were both ngatu artists, and she is perhaps best known for her distinctive depiction of the lion that appears in Tongan iconography.[27] Gillies works directly onto ngatu. In so doing indigenous materiality contributes to the texture and tone of her "voice". Its coarse grain permeates and her delicate line work, and her palette.

Her work is both descriptive and narrative. Gillies' portrait of her mother wearing a crown, a necklace made of carvings, and a sash (figure 11), may be read as a distinctive statement about hou'eiki fafine and class. Hamilton (2014, para. 17) says of this work, "Gillies has painted a real person, rather than a symbol or motif. The naturalism of her work contrasts movingly with the airbrushed photographic portraits and flattering paintings that Tonga's real monarchs commission from pliant artists." He notes that her work is:

> … provocatively political … with its allusions to a heroic past and a stolen legacy,[28] *Daughter of a Lost Dynasty* is an undeniably nostalgic and melancholy work. But the painting gestures forward, as well as backwards. By taking a crown, an object very strongly associated with the Kanokupolu dynasty and the modern Tongan state, and putting it on the head of her mother, a commoner, Tui Emma Gillies has aligned herself with those Tongans who look forward to a more democratic, inclusive future, as well as back on a glorious past. (ibid. para. 27)

Gillies' portraiture is significant in the context of my thesis because although she also works on ngatu, she simultaneously questions traditional depictions of Tongan hou'eiki fafine. She develops unique cultural documents that honour her family but also ask us as Tongan hou'eiki fafine artists to look beyond tradition into alternative ways of re-employing cultural iconography so we might see and describe the uniqueness of hou'eiki fafine in unique and arguably more descriptive ways.

25 Ngatu 'uli is a dark-coloured bark cloth traditionally made for Tongan Royalty. Although no longer exclusively reserved for use by the monarchy, it continues to be a highly valued art form in Tonga. It is now also used at weddings and funerals (Pacific Arts Association 2012, para. 4).

26 Stone creates his own pigments from red clay and mangrove bark. The smoke in his work is produced by burning Tongan medicinal plants such as the cabbage tree, sugar cane, paper mulberry and candlenut.

27 In reference to the lion statue that stands in the middle of Nuku'alofa, on the Mala'ekula, or Red Square (see Hamilton, 2014).

28 The woman in the painting is a descendant of Finau Feletoa 'Ulukalala, the chief whose sons aligned with Taufa'ahau, when the would-be king fought against the Tu'i Tonga and Tu'i Ha'atakalaua dynasties.

CONCLUSION

In this chapter I have positioned *Veitalatala: Mātanga 'o e Talanoa* as part of an incremental progression in my design practice and ongoing reflection upon cultural identity.

Considered from the perspective of contemporary Tongan film, we see this thesis project as a move away from predominant concerns with Tongan male identity narratives, be these ethnographic inquiry or comedic texts (Bernstein, 2014; Stutter, 2002; Lilley, 2014; Pulu, 2009). However, the work may be seen as contributing to an increasing use of the Tongan language in film as its primary voice (Aipolo, 2010; Bernstein, 2014). In addition the project proposes and contributes to an incremental move towards conscious, collaborative engagement with participants (Janman, 2012), so people whose stories are told are not exoticised or reduced to cultural stereotypes.

When considered in relation to current practice in the visual arts, *Veitalatala: Mātanga 'o e Talanoa* is positioned within concerns with indigenous materials and the knowledge that is implicit in these (Kulimoe'anga Maka, Filipe Tohi). As an extension, the work elevates the identities of often underacknowledged hou'eiki fafine (Tui Emma Gillies) and positions these inside Tongan epistemological frameworks. Accordingly, nuances within the work of these artists can only be fully appreciated from inside Tongan ways of knowing.

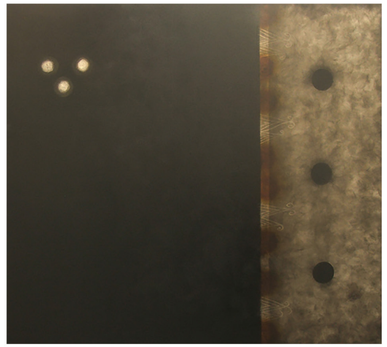
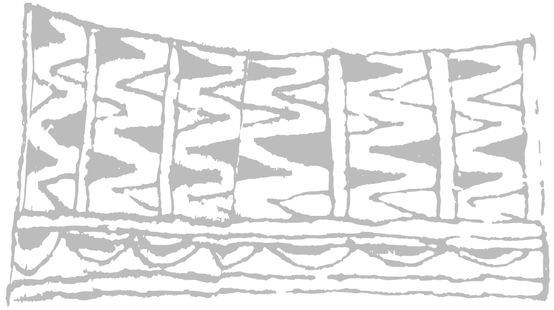


Figure 10.
Ngatu Tu'uli, smoke on canvas. Kulimoe'anga Stone Maka (2011).
Photograph by permission of the artist.

Figure 11.
Daughter of a Lost Dynasty (1000 x 1000). Tui Emma Gillies (2013).
Photograph by permission of the artist.



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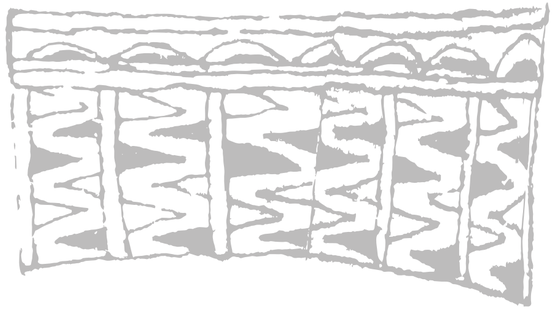


3 REVIEW OF CONTEXTUAL KNOWLEDGE

In the preceding chapter, I positioned this research in the context of contemporary practice. This chapter considers other bodies of knowledge that contextualise and contribute to this thesis. Because some of this information is written literature and some is unrecorded indigenous knowledge, the chapter is called a review of knowledge rather than a literature review.

Knowledge impacting on research includes both the explicit and tacit (Polanyi 1967), but here I outline the recorded or published contributions of theorists and thinkers who have influenced the thesis' development. In this regard I will discuss three significant arenas:

- *Knowledge relating to talanoa and veitalatala*
- *Knowledge relating to kakala as a research methodology*
- *Knowledge relating to ngatu and Tongan poetics*

KNOWLEDGE RELATING TO TALANOA AND VEITALATALA

(Churchward, 1959; Crocombe, 1975; Halapua, 2002; Kaeppler, 1993, 1999; Māhina, 1993; Manu'atu, 2000; Robinson & Robinson, 2005; Vaioleti, 2006 and personal communications with Havea, 2014; Helu, 2014; Lafitani, 2014; Langi, 2014; Manu'atu, 2014; Puloka, 2014; Taliai, 2014; Taufa, 2014; Taumoepeau, 2014; Tongia, 2014).

Churchward (1959) defines the Tongan term talanoa as "to talk (in an informal way), to tell stories or relate experience" (p. 447). Vaioleti (2006) extends this idea to suggest that talanoa is "a personal encounter where people 'story' their issues, realities and aspirations" (p. 21). This, Vaioleti suggests, allows more *mo'oni* (pure, real, authentic, truthful) information to be available for Pacific research in comparison to data derived from other means of discourse. In emphasising the importance of sharing knowledge he explains talanoa as an exchange of ideas or thinking (whether formal or informal). He notes that talanoa is almost always carried out face to face. In addition, when it occurs between parties in a group, talanoa comes with certain rules of exchange.[29] Vaioleti suggests that *tala* holistically intermingles researchers' and participants' emotions, knowing and experiences (p. 24). This intermingling, he believes, leads to a condition that

29 Praises to God are often given prior to the start of a group talanoa. Dignitaries present must also be acknowledged. Traditionally, each group will have a *lea fakafofonga* (speaker representative) to ensure that parties adhere to the rules of conversation. One person from each group will talk at a time. It is inappropriate for party members to interrupt, make personal slurs or respond with emotional facial expressions. Sometimes praises to God are not offered (for example, where one talanoa is a continuation of previous talanoa). Other times, a form of fakataputapu is given that acknowledges those who spoke before. The fakataputapu is a kind of declaration that there is "tapu" to the place. In these cases the presence of people with status is also acknowledged.

engenders an energising and uplifting of the spirit, towards a positive state of connectedness and enlightenment (see mālie in Manu'atu, 2000).[30]

Halapua (2002) (an expert in the traditional process of talanoa) believes that talanoa embraces Tongans' worldview of how people should live and work together collectively. It is formed from understandings of how Tongan people relate to one another as members of a society.[31] [32]

Finally, Robinson and Robinson (2005) describe talanoa as a form of dialogue that brings people together to share opposing views, without any predetermined expectations for agreement.[33] Talanoa, they believe, has no time restrictions and is centred on an open style of deliberation, focusing on respect, tolerance, flexibility, openness and fairness. Participants set the parameters for their discussions. Within these, one encounters principles of inclusion, reconciliation and mutual respect. The authors note that the strong customary rules concerning who participates in talanoa did not always allow for equal input from hou'eiki fafine and young people. However, it was understood, while never publicly acknowledged, that hou'eiki fafine were often a significant motivating force behind the men.[34]

VEITALATALA

Within artistic forms of talanoa, a specific lyrical mode may be located called veitalatala. Churchward (1959) describes veitalatala as "poetical talanoa" (p. 537). Veitalatala is considered to be important in preserving Tongan history and it is one of a number of variations of oral poetical art forms embedded in Tongan cultural practice.[35] In 2014, interviews I conducted with Tongan scholars revealed diverse and sometimes contradictory interpretations of the word's meaning and use.

Dr Mohenoa Puloka (the Tongan composer and choreographer) believes the term veitalatala is Samoan but is used by Tongan people. He notes that in the 15th century, Tonga was the largest naval power in the South Pacific region, and Samoa, Fiji, Futuna and Uvea were ruled by the Tonga. The people of the small island of Niua in Tonga he says, speak the same language as the people of Futuna. In the Samoan language the word vei means repeat, which he suggests is the root of Tongan words like veiveiua.

Puloka emphasises the importance of finding the root of a Tongan word (or the tanga fanau) because it will not alter, but the suffix can be prone to changes. He noted that the root word of veitalatala (or the tau in the word) is vei and the fanau or offspring of the word is tala. In a western grammatical context, the use of the prefix vei and the suffix tala combine to give meaning to the whole term. The interesting aspect of veitalatala, Puloka suggests is that the whole word is considered to be the offspring of tala in the context of the action "to tell", as in telling a story, or sending a message. This "telling" he suggests may occur through verbal exchange or other means.

30 This synergy encapsulates the essence of this research project as the designs of these veitalatala seek to reveal each *matala oe fonua* (flower petals of the land). As a form of discourse talanoa is spoken rather than written. Accordingly, the three hou'eiki fafine in my work *talanoa* (talk) and we *fanongo* (listen) to their *le'o* (voice). In this exchange we may hear our own voices in their accounts while simultaneously our spirits are uplifted and we are connected as a people.

31 In this regard it is useful to remember that Gilligan (1982) notes, "*the way* people talk about their lives is of significance … the language they use and the connections they make, reveal the world they see and in which they act" (p. 25).

32 Crocombe cited in Vaioleti (2006) notes that Pacific society traditionally communicates using deeply rooted and often complex oral traditions. In Tonga, the traditions of Talanoa through poetry, music, oratory and dance, convey concerns, admiration, sympathy, gratitude and long- suffering. Traditions for communicating these complex ideas are passed down from one generation to another with unwritten rules and etiquette.

33 This said, it should be noted that there are many forms of talanoa that we know from Tongan language including pōtalanoa, fakatalanoa, talanoa'i, talatalanoa, talanoa, and taalanga. Manu'atu (2000) for example, uses pōtalanoa as a research method. In addition, there are talanoa 'a e loto, talanoa mo e loto, talanoa 'a e fafine, talanoa 'a e tangata, talanoa 'a e tamaiki, talanoa 'a e kakai lalahi, talanoa tuhutuhu. Although there is currently little writing and analysis about these forms of talanoa they are used daily by speakers of the Tongan language (Manu'atu, personal communication, October 4th 2014).

34 Accordingly, this project engages with certain traditional values regarding the hou'eiki fafine voices. However, it argues that, by reconsidering issues arising from the sharing of knowledge, the hou'eiki fafine talanoa may help to build a better understanding and cooperation within and across our human relationships. Robinson and Robinson (2005, p. 18), note that talanoa advances knowledge about our social identities, extended families, our ethnic and tribal communities, our religious beliefs and our moral, economic and political interests. Through this, the process of talanoa is fundamentally concerned with strengthening relationships that not only connect us, but also enable us to learn from one another. However, absent from their analysis is a consideration of the spirit(s) of talanoa. There exists a *mo'ui* (life/living spirit) in talanoa. Talanoa may thus be conceived as a living force because of the spirits that energise and move the people who engage with it (Manu'atu, personal communication, October 4, 2014).

35 Among these is tala-e-fonua which, according to Māhina (1993) refers to "the ecology-centred concept of culture and history as a product of the interplay of different forms of human activity in a social context" (p. 112).

Puloka suggests that the word tala resembles the ovary where fruits or offspring of tala emerge into talatalanoa, pōtalanoa or talatalaifale. This he suggests is closely associated with the meaning of the word veitalatala. In traditional Tongan cultural practices, the roles of men and women were defined in society and the use of veitalatala was not bound by gender. He says, there is no clear distinction of gender when it comes to the use of the term. He argues that vei was often referred to as the mat or fala that people carry when travelling to a destination to deliver a message, and people would arrive at the destination with the mat papa or fala to'oto'o and unfold it before the house of the receiver. One person, regardless of gender, would take a seat on the mat and then verbally deliver the message to the listeners. The process of delivering the message he says was considered to be the act of veitalatala.

Puloka emphasises that the terms veitalatala and heliaki should not be distorted by artists, designers and poets. He states that heliaki is about using one mode to represent another and he notes that famous examples of this craft are found in Queen Salote's poems. Puloka is aware that other Tongan academics may dispute his position in this instance. He emphasises that in relation to this thesis, it is not the origin of the term veitalatala that is important but its unique application. He notes that there are numerous terminologies that Samoa, Fiji and Tonga frequently borrow and share, and he believes that the term talatalakifale holds the closest meaning to veitalatala in the sense that it is about holding conversations between tribes or many people. This may be contrasted with the word talatalanoa which, he states, is a commonly used term to describe mundane conversation.

Dr Opeti Taliai suggests that the term veitalatala is probably of Fijian origin because the word vei is Fijian. He notes that "vei" is commonly found in Tongan words as a prefix. The Tongan prefix closest to vei, he suggests, is fe and it can be used in words like fetalatala (instead of veitalatala). He discusses in some depth formal and informal aspects of Tongan language use. For instance, he notes the division found in public speaking where one must use formal language (that may be considered veitalatala) as opposed to informal conversation between acquaintances (talanoa). The act of communicating he suggests may be similar but the forum dictates a differentiation.

Taliai interprets the word talanoa as meaning people randomly talking where the subject or content of a conversation may be either useful or of little significant value. However veitalatala, he suggests, draws its meaning specifically from its situation and is associated with a greater level of formality. The word talatala he says is a reduplication of the verb tala (to tell), but the reduplication changes the meaning to explain the subject. It can also mean "to clean or clear the word" so that there are no misunderstandings. Thus we encounter a means of conveying one's thoughts to others and having the listener leave to rethink the veitalatala. This rethinking he suggests, involves mental as well as physical action.

Taliai argues that the process of unpacking a communication one has just experienced, using only language as a tool, becomes a part of veitalatala. He notes that in communicating we use language to present our thoughts, and while we are listening to a person talking, we sit and try to unwrap what we are experiencing in an effort to find the true meaning of the presented message. In public speaking, he suggests that veitalatala presents an audience with a meaning, and the aim of the speaker is to explain to the listener the theme. In this process, he suggests, one is engaged in veitalatala with an audience.

With regards to gender and the term veitalatala, Taliai notes that in traditional Tongan culture men did all the talking, but times have changed and, increasingly, women's voices are also heard in various forums. In Tonga today he says that it is predominantly men who take the front stage of public discussions. He notes that the traditional use of the word tala can be related to Tongan cultural traditions (or tala of Tonga) which historically have been under the guardianship of chosen males who were bestowed with the titles of the tala fakafonua or tala oe fonua (keepers of the

traditions of Tonga). Today he says, we know of the traditional keeper of Tonga as the tala fale. The title was bestowed upon the Tu'i Pelehake and so this role is treated as sacred among the people and the monarchy.

Taliai suggests that the role of women in veitalatala cannot be compared to that of men. This, he says, is because women impart their thinking in more informal ways. This makes the nature of their veitalatala unique and differentiated from the sacred manner of men's speech, which is governed by the keeper who oversees that Tongan culture is upheld. The role of the overseer he likens to that of a priest who is in charge of divine characteristics relating to things that are godly. According to Taliai, women have not reached the level of veitalatala; they are still largely immersed at the level of talanoa.

Dr Siotame Havea is a theologian and composer of Tongan music who has produced a song that uses the word veitalatala. The origin of the term, Havea suggests, derives from the Tongan word veipa, meaning competition. This, he says, is when people argue back and forth and words are exchanged. The prefix vei is used to signal the beginning of the discussion or "war of words" and so tala "to tell" is put into action as veitalatala unfolds before the people. Veitalatala, he suggests, is an oral process of trying to unfold the truth about something through exchanges of words or knowledge. These are continuously constructed through each talatala during the veitalatala process of communication.

Havea's ideas about the meaning of veitalatala are similar to Taliai's in the sense that they both see veitalatala as the expression of ideas that cause people to think and discuss.[36] Havea suggests that the contributions people make towards political issues may be considered as veitalatala. He suggests there is no right or wrong answer because veitalatala is about the expression of ideas or opinions which may or may not be direct or immediately clear to an audience.

However, in terms of this thesis, Siosiua Lafitani (personal communication, 2014) usefully associates veitalatala with women. He suggests the word can describe the gathering or meeting of Tongan hou'eiki fafine to talanoa. The distinctly harmonious form of communication they use he calls veitalatala, and he believes such communication may be historically and socially related to their gender. His consideration of veitalatala as a *harmonious form of discourse* resonates with Churchward's 1959 definition of the word as a "poetical" (p. 537).

Dr Linita Manu'atu (personal communication, 2014) suggests veitalatala relates to a form of communication that has a living spirit. In its composite structure the "vei" in veitalatala she suggests, is the word "va". The va is a peel of the heart, so in unison with talatala the composite word suggests that one does not expose one's heart directly. She says speakers "talk with their heart and do not pour all out in one go" (personal communication, 2014). Thus in veitalatala, she suggests, one discloses information but not all at once. To partly actualise this, veitalatala employs heliaki as a form of indirect reference. In this thesis, she suggests, the work is *tatala 'i loto* (a peeling of the heart) and it is the hou'eiki fafine who are doing this.

36 This may also be likened to Taumoepeau's thinking (personal communication, 2014) because he believes that the term is concerned with the exchange of words that capture the attention of the audience so they are able to speak and share ideas.

Knowledge relating to kakala as a research methodology

(Kahakalau, 2004; Kawagley, 1990; Latu, 2009; Manu'atu, 2001; Smith, 1999; Johansson-Fua, 2009; Taufe'ulungaki, Johansson Fua, Manu, and Takapautolo 2007; Thaman, 1992; Vaioleti, 2006).

Since this thesis is located inside Tongan ways of knowing and being, its methodological framework draws upon accumulating thinking around indigenous methodologies. Kahakalau (2004) argues, "research by indigenous researchers must be first and foremost accountable to our indigenous community" (p. 20). Smith (1999) and Kawagley (1990) argue that indigenous scholars have not only the right but also the responsibility to design research methodologies that are conversant with the values of their communities. Kahakalau (2004) believes "indigenous researchers must be able to utilise indigenous methodologies, not just at institutions controlled by indigenous peoples, or in disciplines oriented toward native studies, but even at the most conservative … universities, and in fields seemingly unrelated to native life and ways" (p. 20).

In 1992 Thaman developed a culturally responsive framework that allowed people to reclaim and reconceptualise research in a culturally meaningful way.[37] Kakala provided a philosophical position and framework for teaching and research in Pacific cultures.[38] To date this methodological framework has not been considered (or adapted) to art & design research, but this thesis undertakes such an application in relation to broader ideas surrounding contexts and approaches to creative, practice-led inquiry in the design of Tongan, culturally located stories. Thus, because I am applying Tongan ideas to original, creative practice research that posits an extension of current thinking around Veitalatala, I have chosen to adopt Kakala as a decolonising methodological framework.

In 2009 Thaman's kakala metaphor was expanded and enhanced by Taufe'ulungaki and Johansson-Fua in 2009 (cited by Johansson-Fua (2009) and called the "Kakala Research Framework" (KRF). Subsequent to Thaman's development of the kakala framework, Taufe'ulungaki, Johansson Fua, Manu, and Takapautolo (2007) added in an additional phase that they called the "teu" stage. This is the conceptualisation phase of perceptions, beliefs, and philosophies in the research process. In the kakala metaphor, this is regarded as the thinking of and planning for the kakala. Furthermore, Manu'atu (2000) has argued for the importance and centrality of *mālie* (relevancy and worthwhileness) and *māfana* (application, transformation, and sustainability). She sees these as necessary components to monitor and evaluate the overall research process. She suggests that Mālie is philosophical and mālie is the heart of Tongan knowledge. Thus, Mālie in the *loto* (spirit), thinking and acting by Tongan people can be experienced in everything they do. Thus, in talanoa or pōtalanoa for example, the spirits of the people soar, their minds are opened and moved, and their bodies experience happiness. Through mālie, Manu'atu (2000) suggests, people experience *fiefia* (joy in their spirits).

Most recently Makalesi Latu in her 2009 thesis considered talanoa as a means of focusing on an alternative approach in teaching and learning pedagogies of Tongan children in New Zealand.

37 Kakala, in Tonga, refers to a collection of fragrant flowers threaded together as a garland for a special person or special occasion. There exists in Tonga special etiquette and customs associated with kakala. Kakala reflects the integrated and holistic nature of the worldview and epistemologies of the indigenous cultures of the Asia/Pacific region.

38 In 2006 Vaioleti reaffirmed the mythology and etiquette associated with kakala in Pacific cultures.

KNOWLEDGE RELATING TO NGATU AND TONGAN POETICS

(Ngatu: Tamahori, 1963; Herda, 1999; Veys, 2009; and Lythberg, 2013).
(Tongan poetics: Shumway, 1977; Helu & Janman, 2012; Pond, 1990; Kaeppler, 1993; Māhina, 2010; and Wood, 1998).

Because the thesis draws into harmonious relationship ngatu, identity and the poetic, the research has also considered bodies of writing that discuss these areas either discretely, or occasionally as interfaces.

Tamahori's (1963) M.A. thesis, *Cultural change in Tongan bark-cloth manufacture*, outlines significant innovations in the manufacture and treatment of ngatu in Aotearoa/New Zealand. Her work was updated in 1999 by Herda, who drew parallels between traditional technological descriptions of ngatu manufacture and contemporary procedures. Drawing partially on recent historical writing like Veys (2009) documentation of the royal funeral of King Tāufa'āhau Tupou IV of Tonga, Billie Lythberg (2013) recently considered developments in construction of ngatu and issues of ngatu's status and meaning (as both a material and an expression of Tongan women's culture).

In terms of Tongan poetry, three texts have been useful in developing my thinking in this thesis. The first is Shumway's (1977) essay *Ko e Fakalangilangi: The Eulogistic Function of the Tongan Poet*. Although very traditional in its consideration of Tongan poetry as both male and focused on elevating the appreciation of the Royal family, the essay offers a useful unpacking of the context of Tongan poetry and more specifically a discussion of hierarchy in metaphors and how heliaki operates within Tongan poetry as a device for eliciting high levels of interest. The second significant text has been Helu and Janman's (2012) collection of Futa Helu's essays on Tongan poetry. While Janman's introduction is useful in contextualising Helu's work, Helu's writing has been helpful in terms of its analysis of historical features of Tongan poetry, and the distinctive use of location within what he describes as nature poetry.

A number of other writers have also contributed useful work on Tongan poetry. These include Pond's (1990) study of the poetry of Tonga's northern Niua islands, Kaeppler's (1993) consideration of the relationship between Tongan poetry and dance, Māhina's (2010) introduction to his *Maau Filifili/Selected Poems*, where he relates poetry to his ideas surrounding ta-va theory, and Konai Helu-Thaman's work.[39] This has been useful in affirming my own journey as an image-led Tongan woman poet who respectfully expands upon existing ideas and understands the lyrical in relation to the grace of women's voices. Helu-Thaman's poetry has been discussed in some depth in Wood's (1998) essay *Heka he va'a mei popo: Sitting on a rotten branch of the breadfruit tree: Reading the poetry of Konai Helu-Thaman*. In this essay Wood unpacks Thaman's poetic emphases, her ofa for people, plants and places, her ecological awareness, and her ongoing support for women's education and improvement. The essay has been useful because, in paying close attention to certain poetic devices and phrases in Thaman's work, it engages with ideas of betweenness, collective lyricism, the melancholic, heliaki, and the nature of indigenous women's poetry.

39 Konai Helu Thaman has published four collections of poetry; *You the choice of My Parents* (1974), *Langakali* (1983), *Hingano* (1987) and *Kakala* (1993).

CONCLUSION

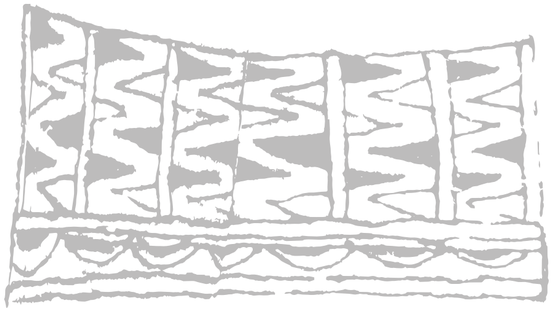
Building on a discussion of recent Tongan art practice in chapter two, this chapter has considered theoretical knowledge impacting on the design and realisation of *Veitalatala: Mātanga 'o e Talanoa*. Although no overview of influence in relation to an artwork such as this can be exhaustive (partly because tacit knowing also impacts on the creation and processing of knowledge), I have outlined significant writing from three extensive areas. Not all work developed in these areas has been included because I have focused on knowledge that has related specifically to the generation of the thesis project as an artistic inquiry.
In reviewing knowledge relating to veitalatala I positioned the review of knowledge inside influential writing on talanoa, then I noted the formative ideas emanating from the thinking of living scholars. Much of this information had to be sourced from interviews conducted specifically for the thesis.

Knowledge relating to kakala as a research methodology has focused primarily on the formative work of Professor Konai Helu-Thaman, although note has been made of developments to the methodology by Manu'atu (2000), Taufe'ulungaki, Johansson Fua, Manu, and Takapautolo (2007), and Taufe'ulungaki and Johansson-Fua (cited by Johansson-Fua (2009). This thesis applies and adapts Kakala to creative-practice research and as such it seeks to modestly contribute further thinking to the construct.

Finally I have examined writing relating to ngatu and Tongan poetics. In considering the material I have traced through the literature changes in the way ngatu has recently been adapted and conceptualised. This includes Tamahori's (1963) thesis, Herda's 1999 essay, and Lythberg's recent unpacking of the physical and cultural nature of the material.

In overviewing alternative and sometimes conflicting opinions on Tongan poetry I have considered Shumway's (1977) essay as an articulation of a traditional, male-oriented framing and Helu and Janman's (2012) analysis of historical features, and location in Tongan poetry. I have also discussed Wood's (1998) essay that examines Helu-Thaman's poetry as discourse originating from a Tongan woman's perspective that carries distinct features that include the melancholic, betweenness, and a sense of collective lyricism.

Having now outlined significant thinking impacting on *Veitalatala: Mātanga 'o e Talanoa*, it is useful to examine the kakala methodology and its application in explicating the project.



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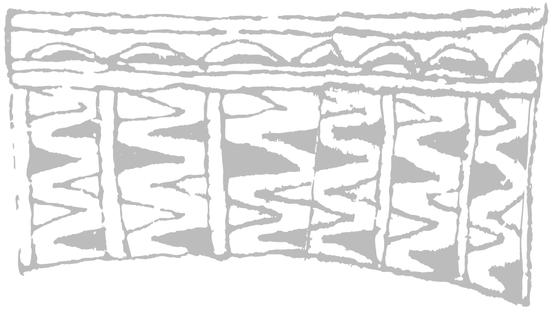


4 RESEARCH DESIGN

Manatu'i 'a e hala na'a ke toki 'osi fononga mai ai, pea kapau 'oku toka kovi 'a e hala ko ia pea 'oku tonu ke afe 'o 'alu 'i ha hala 'oku toe toka lelei ange.

Remember the path you have travelled and if it is a hazardous path then you should turn towards a path on which it is smoother to journey.

This saying is Tongan. It has often been told to me as a gentle caution by my parents and relatives. The words refer to a *hala* (path) on which we must travel. If it is toka *kovi* (hazardous) then we must seek out a better route. In relation to my creative research in this thesis I am constantly reminded of its wisdom.

This PhD charts unfamiliar waters, yet it also journeys along the same *hala toka kovi* (a rough road) or *hala toka lelei* (a flat road) that the hou'eiki fafine who form its focus experienced. Like the migrations of these hou'eiki fafine to other countries, I did not undertake this journey knowing the shape of my destination, but like them, I knew clearly the purpose of my going. In this regard, one is reminded by William and Ormand (2010) that research is "a process of seeking explanation and meaning" (para. 3). As such we may employ it when we either seek to generate new knowledge or "make a contribution to human experience" (Scrivener, 2000, p. 6).[40] In such instances we deal with astute questioning rather than simply re-orchestrating facts.

40 In this case Scrivener argues, "the creative production, as an object of experience, is more important than any knowledge embodied in it" (2000, ibid.).

Paradigm

Broadly the research design for this thesis may be understood on three layers (figure 12). The first is its paradigm. Although Creswell (2003) and Clarke (2005) divide research paradigms into considerations of their quantitative and qualitative nature, in projects like this it is useful to consider what I would argue is a subsection of qualitative research that Scrivener (2000) calls Creative Production Research. This kind of inquiry he describes as "inventive and imaginative and realised through and in artefacts" (2000, p. 15). Scrivener suggests that such research has distinct norms that separate them from research that might be defined as problem solving in its orientation. He sees the following as the norms of Creative Production Research:

- Artifacts are produced. These are not by-products of the research or illustrations of knowledge. Instead Scrivener says, "they are objects of value in their own right" (ibid. p. 6) and may be understood as "objects of experience" (ibid, p. 3).[41]
- Artifacts are original, in a cultural context. By this Scrivener means the research *reflects* culture, and concerns and interests are manifested within the creative production. He addresses the idea of originality by noting that whilst the creative outcomes may have precedents they are "not derivative or imitative of others work" (ibid. p. 5).
- Artifacts are a response to issues, concerns and interests. The work is not necessarily the solution to the problem, instead it can be a response expressed through one or more artifacts.
- Artifacts manifest these issues, concerns and interests through the process of creative production.
- The issues, concerns and interests reflect cultural preoccupations. In the instance of this thesis "cultural" is located within Tongan epistemological constructs.
- Artifacts contribute to human experience.
- As contributors to human experience, artifacts are more important than the knowledge embodied in them.

Burrell and Morgan (1979) argue that to be located in a paradigm is to "view the world in a particular way" (p. 24). Thus, *Veitalatala: Mātanga 'o e Talanoa* may be understood paradigmatically as a practice-led creative production inquiry because, through such positioning, the researcher prioritises the role of artifacts and the thinking processes that generate them. In addition she positions her research as a created cultural expression and contribution to human experience.

Methodology

The second layer of the research design is its methodology. By methodology I refer to an overarching approach to the research that is more than a discussion of methods employed in its explication. Thus, a consideration of methodology is shaped by cultural concepts and theories that underlie the tools and processes I use in developing the project.

Kakala

This thesis is located inside a Tongan epistemological framework. Because it is concerned with ways of being, knowing, and doing, methodologically it orchestrates certain traditional Tongan approaches to accessing, processing and creating knowledge. While inside this practice-led creative production thesis we may encounter certain approaches and structures that resonate with the tenets of heuristics and action research, the project's design is predicated on the tenets of kakala.[42] Kakala is based on the Tongan practice of making a special garland but it also refers to aromatic flowers used in its production (Koloto, Katoanga & Tatila, 2006.)

Figure 12 (opposite).
Description of the thesis' research design.
(Talita Kiume Toluta'u, 2014).

41 Thus, the objects are not exemplars of outcomes but the project outcomes themselves. In such research he suggests it is necessary that an articulated relationship is presented that links the artefact(s) and the issues, interests and concerns that have generated them.

42 As a storyteller of others' stories my thesis draws its essence from two different cultures; the Tongan fakatonga ways and the Western Palangi ways. Accordingly its research design has at its core, respect for traditional Tongan principles and etiquette, and western scholarly approaches based upon scholarly critique and academic review.

Thaman's 2009 construct of Kakala suggested six distinct but related stages. These were teu, toli, tui, luva, Mālie and māfana. These processes, she argued, help to enhance the research process. Employing this methodology the researcher is able to weave a garland (story) that is meaningful, appropriate and worthy of being passed on (luva e kakala). Thaman (2009) believes that as the Kakala framework is used, other dimensions will be revealed as more Tongans bring their unique understanding of the concepts into practice. This is because, she suggests, the framework belongs to all Tongans willing to use it. As Gavet (2011) notes, a *kahoa* (garland) has to be worn and is visible to all, therefore research that is undertaken using Kakala, is research that is used by and is visible to its recipients and users.

In this thesis all of Thaman's phases are used but the research as creative practice operates in the realm of *uouongataha* (to work together as one) (figure 13). Thus the research project is guided by a sense of graceful harmony. This sense of social, artistic and internal harmony supports and permeates all phases of the inquiry. It is therefore useful at this point to consider each of the phases of the methodology as they were manifested through the thesis inquiry and discuss specific iniatives in relation to them.

Teu (Conceptualisation – perceptions, beliefs and philosophies)

This may be seen as an initiating process in the methodology. Johannsson-Fua (2009) proposes the following questions that might serve to disentangle and prepare the kahoa for subsequent stages in the research process.
She suggests that the researcher asks:

- What is the research?
- How does one define it?
- What does the research mean for us?
- What is our source conceptualisation? (Who? Why?)
- What are the structural and affecting agents?

Because *Teu* is influenced by philosophies, perceptions, beliefs and assumptions about the project, Gavet (2011) suggests that this stage of the framework should be employed before the weaving phase (Teu). Thus he believes that an understanding of the purpose and reason for employing Kakala and a thorough consideration of how the research is to be shaped in a Pasifika, (or in this case a Tongan) context is imperative to the integrity of a project.

Impetus
When I consider Teu, I am reminded that I grew up in New Zealand listening to stories of struggle by Tongan hou'eiki fafine within my family regarding their adjustments to the New Zealand culture. These hou'eiki fafine shared similar experiences with other Tongan hou'eiki fafine around the world who had left the small island of Tongatapu mostly in search of economic stability in other countries. The need to document their stories became an artistic concern for me as a Tongan woman growing up in New Zealand. I was always curious about the untold experience of the hou'eiki fafine in my family, about how they adapted to and assimilated with the Western culture, and what that change meant for their Tongan identity, cultural practices and the way that they raised the next Tongan generation outside of Tonga. There is very little research and documentation on Tongan hou'eiki fafine[43] and their recollections of migration and I felt it was important to contribute to this area of research using graphic design practice[44] as a mode of retelling stories that had been hitherto undocumented.

Figure 13 (opposite).
Structure of the Kakala methodology as employed in this thesis.
(Talita Kiume Toluta'u, 2014).
The principles, components and interrelationships within the design form the substrate from which the research inquiry is activated. Phases in the top half of the diagram are concerned with the generation of the artifacts and those below relate to luva and the positioning of the artifacts in the public domain. The research is guided by uouongataha (harmony or working gracefully together) and Māfana (internal reflection sensed through a feeling of warmth).

43 I was also aware that most of the creative narratives and commentaries on identity I had experienced up to this time were predominantly those of Tongan men.

44 By graphic design practice I refer to the more recent framing of the discipline as Visual Communication Design. Since the 1980s graphic design has moved beyond concerns with print on paper. Today graphic designers work in digital and analogue domains orchestrating sound, rhythm, volume, and pace, as well as type and image.

Extension
Although my formative work had dealt with Tongan hou'eiki fafine living in New Zealand, in this thesis I wanted to extend my consideration to hou'eiki fafine now residing in other countries like Canada, Hawaii, United States of America and Australia. I felt that it was important to broaden the source of information in order to move the research focus beyond a cultural binary (Tonga and New Zealand/Aotearoa).

Veitalatala
The focus of my thinking was also concerned with the lyrical grace of storytelling; with *how* hou'eiki fafine told their stories in unique ways. Within this I wanted to creatively consider ways that memory and time (that I experienced when listening to these stories) might be communicated. I also wanted to consider issues of scale and status for these women's narratives as cultural artifacts.
All of these ideas at the outset formed the teu kakala, or perceptions and beliefs that underpinned the thesis.

Toli (Judicious collecting and selecting)

Teu kakala leads to the action of research in a physical sense. Thaman (2003) associates the recruitment and interviewing processes in her research with toli kakala or searching for and selecting the most appropriate flowers and fauna, at the most appropriate time. This process is one that requires sensitivity and knowledge. One needs to understand the nature of the flowers (people), and the deep sense of the correct texture, maturity, colour, fragrance and location.

Part of the inherent nature of toli kakala is a sensitivity to knowing the time to gather. One also has to know the potential and nature of each blossom. The designer/researcher must understand and be sensitive to the emotional beauty, the resonance of memory, and the propensity to talanoa. She must respectfully select each flower and know its potential relationship to the others. Each flower must be gathered in its purest form, without affectation or damage and it must remain true to its own nature. Thus kakala toli is not simply data gathering, it is a highly sensitive collecting and selecting. The hou'eiki fafine come from special places, villages, histories, and locations and each has migrated to another place. As their stories will be artistically arranged in a garland, I seek not only what is evident but also the resonance of spirit that lies behind each woman and her story. I think about harmony and distinctiveness, about how each flower will sit with another, how its perfume will mix with those around it, and whether it might be enhanced by the context of the artistic inquiry.

Methods employed in this phase of the research
The methods employed in this phase included:
- *faka'apa'apa* (respectful introduction)
- interviewing
- musical composition as collaborative practice
- accessing the wisdom of indigenous scholars
- collecting specialist materials (ngatu)
- gathering of peer review as the research progressed.

Faka'apa'apa
It was important that the hou'eiki fafine felt comfortable with my research. Although the project was accompanied by formal AUT ethics protocols, the research required something culturally deeper than informed consent. I greeted participants in the Tongan custom by showing respect. The act of courtesy must be shown at all times when communicating with a *matu'otu'a* (comparatively elderly) person, especially somebody who considers you to be a stranger. The tone of the researcher's voice and the way she presents herself are important because the participants must feel comfortable while in her presence (not intimidated by her words, actions and/or gestures). The hou'eiki fafine needed to feel at ease with the aims and proposed outcomes of the project and they also needed to feel comfortable in front of the camera. Accordingly, in conducting the interviews I prioritised respectful listening over "interviewing".[45]

45 By this I mean I approached the interviews as a recorder and gentle prompter not as a researcher with a list of questions that needed to be answered. Importantly, the attitude of respect and a sense that these recordings could take as much time as was needed was important. I did not consider talanoa as "data from the field", instead I saw these stories as gifts to the thesis; each recalled and created by a *hou'eiki fefine* (Tongan woman), and each one precious to her.

Interviewing the Hou'eiki Fafine
I recorded all audio-visual data on a Canon Mark II using a tascam dr-05 sound system (figure 14) . Initially, the hou'eiki fafine were interviewed in their new homeland. When approaching them in their homes or other locations, I was mindful that for most, this experience was probably new and, at first, potentially intimidating. Accordingly, I designed the interview so the participants could speak freely with minimal interruption. Thus questions were responsive and open ended. This was so the talanoa could surface without distortion or fractionalising. This was important because, in creating a Veitalatala, the rhythm, structure and tone of the participant's talanoa is as important as the content.

Interviews were transferred into digital processing environments (Final Cut Pro, AfterEffects and Soundtrack Pro) upon my return to New Zealand. Although collecting and selecting related to the hou'eiki fafine whose stories form the substrate of this thesis, I also gathered the talents and insights of many other people. These included composers, indigenous scholars, and makers of ngatu.

Musical composition as collaborative practice
In terms of gathering music for the veitalatala, I travelled to Tonga in search of a *Punake* (composer) who might contribute to the lyrical nature of the filmic work. The Tongan Punake with whom I worked, Sisi'uno Helu, is a poet, Tongan cultural choreographer, musician and composer. After I had discussed the project and showed her examples of my current work, she agreed to support the research project by constructing three songs. These exposed the high standard of Helu's compositional art. She created the original music and lyrics specifically for the veitalatala after listening to the audio version of the interviews. In doing so she sought to interpret the themes and emotions of the recorded memories.[46]

Although Sisi'uno Helu's compositions are central to the veitalatala, I also collected audio material during the post-production phase of the inquiry. This was used as audio accents or foley (sound and atmospheric effects) in the three texts. These elements were gathered and processed with the assistance of the audio designer Taaniela Valu.

Indigenous scholars
Initially I was able to access certain indigenous scholars through family networks. These people tended to be working in universities in Tonga ('Atenisi and Lo'au), so I was able to email them and arrange meetings. I sent them a summary of my thesis proposal and later met with them when I visited Tonga. My primary interest in these meetings was with their considerations of veitalatala, and with their consent I was able to record their ideas and opinions. Other indigenous scholars like Tuimala Kaho I was to access upon the recommendation of people who I was already interviewing. In cases like this I was introduced to her through Sisi'uno Helu and when I first met her I took a me'a'ofa.[47]

Figure 14.
Interview set up for recording Seionala M. Paongo (July 2013). Here I am using an EM-320E professional condenser interview microphone and a locked off camera. This allows me to record the grace of the hou'eiki fafine so we are attentive to her presence without any interference of a camera crawling around her and "inventing" movements that are not part of to her storytelling.

46 Details of these compositions are discussed in the next chapter.

47 It is part of the *anga faka-Tonga* (Tongan way) to show *anga faka'apa'apa* (respect) towards others and this is shown through a gift exchange. A failure to do so might be interpreted as not showing *'ofa* (love).

In all cases meetings were in the scholar's homes and before we met we discussed my *tupu'anga* (a place where something grows or originates from). This is a common phenomenon in first time meetings. Faka'a'apa was evidenced in my attire and demeanour. When interviewing scholars I always wore a skirt and ensured that I was modestly covered.

Gathering peer review as the research progresses
Toli kakala also involves gathering advice and critique. In the formal academic realm this has involved presentations of my thinking in progress at conferences and in reading groups. Here, experts consider my ideas and artistic expression and offer advice and contextual information. This input also permeates and influences the two following phases in Kakala; teu kakala and luva kakala (figure 13).

This peer review occured at three levels. In the thesis I sought the help and advice of Tongan linguists with regard to specific terms and concepts I was employing in my research.[48] I also accessed in the development of the thesis, the expertise of a number of film and documentary makers. Influential among these were Mairi Gunn (documentary filmmaker and cinematographer) and Professor Welby Ings (narratologist, designer and film director). In addition, specific elements of the project and emerging exegesis were presented at national and international conferences. These included:

- *Talanoa Oceania*, 10-12 September 2009, Auckland University, Auckland, New Zealand.
- *Talanoa Pasifika*, 20-23 November 2013, University of Queensland, Brisbane, Australia.
- *The Tonga Research Association Conference*, 7-12 July 2013, Auckland University of Technology, Auckland, New Zealand.

The feedback from papers and artwork I presented at these conferences enabled me to access scholarly feedback and engage my thinking with broader talanoa surrounding Tongan art and scholarship.

Collecting specialist materials (ngatu)
The ngatu for my thesis was produced by Asinate Telefoni (my mother's sister) in Fua'amotu (my mother's village). A group of hou'eiki fafine, who were all related, constructed the ngatu through its different stages and sent them to New Zealand. The ngatu was a luva to the thesis. When the pieces arrived in New Zealand my mother glued them together in the traditional way to create a surface large enough for the proposed imagery.

Tui (Developing and creating the Veitalatala)
The third process in kakala concerns the making or weaving of the garland. According to Thaman (2003) this is performed by persons who are highly skilled. On a superficial level this may be likened to data input, analysis and construction periods, when the collected and/or selected flowers are gathered and given to the *kau tui kakala* (people with special skills who weave and put the garland together). In traditional Tongan society, hou'eiki fefine select the most fragrant and appropriate flowers for the garland. They create either a traditional or contemporary design that carries within it the creativity and vision of the artist. Thus, kau tui kakala may be seen as a form of designing underpinned by composition, trialing, refining, and critcal decision making.

Methods employed in this phase of the research
A number of methods were employed in the kau tui kakala phase of the research and although they are discussed below under separate headings, they did not function as discrete elements but instead operated in productive synergies to move my design thinking incrementally forward. Broadly the methods I used in the kau tui kakala phase may be described as faka'o'onoa (indwelling), a process journal, photography, and designing exploratory artifacts.

Faka'o'onoa
Faka'o'onoa describes a form of indwelling that Tu'itahi, (personal communication, August 11, 2012) defines as a phase of the research and artistic process where the artist/researcher reflects on and immerses herself in the depth of her creativity and inner spirit. This is done in order to unravel deeper meanings and interpretations of natural and social realities.

In Western literature this state (in certain heuristic and autoethnographic research inquiries) has been discussed by Ings, 2011, 2013; Moustakas, 1990; Polanyi, 1967; and Sela-Smith, 2002. Moustakas (1990) suggests that indwelling "carries a sense of total involvement in a research theme or question in such a way that the whole world is centered in it for a while" (p. 47). He describes such immersion into research as being a "song into which the researcher breathes life not only because the question leads to an answer, but also the answer itself is infused in the researcher's being" (ibid. p. 43).

In creating the project's veitalatala I "felt" the stories told by the hou'eiki fefine and reflected upon their content and nuance. This is because the works I created were both poetic and "documentary". When I considered the hou'eiki fefine's talanoa I was not "editing" for impact. I was trying to draw to the surface the essence of the person and the relationship between her intellectual beauty and the spirit of her narrative. To do this I immersed myself in her recordings. I faka'o'onoa in her talanoa and sensed my way towards a veitalatala. These veitalatala were not long, edited sequences taken out of a flow of storytelling and judiciously rearranged. Instead they were beautifully formed essences of talanoa; small recollections that captured both a narrated memory and the grace of the storyteller. Through a process of faka'o'onoa I was able to sense my way towards the identification, refinement and embellishment of these small, precious elements. This intuitive process involved a form of immersive contemplation that led to creative considerations of sound, image, rhythm, colour and composition that were both ideational and critically reflective.

The designer's journal
Marshall and Rossman (1995) suggest a designer's journal employs subjective systems of data collecting and processing. It integrates elements of "the real inner drama of research, with its intuitive base, its halting time-line, and its extensive recycling of concepts and perspectives" (p. 15). Newbury (2001) notes the journal is "a self reflexive and media literate chronicle of the researcher's entry into, engagement with and departure from the field" (p. 7).

Throughout this project I used designer's journals as archives and sites for reflection and refinement. In the development of veitalatala, thinking was processed as sketches and notes (figure 15), and photography and diagrams (figure 16). Specifically, my designer's journal was used for three forms of thinking, diagramming relationships, storyboarding, and the design of artifacts and spaces.

Figure 15.
A page from my designer's journal, used to develop and clarify relationships relating to the structure of kakala as a methodology (see figure 13). These ideas are quickly rendered and operate to simply record and adjust ideas. They do not serve any refined aesthetic purpose beyond problem solving.

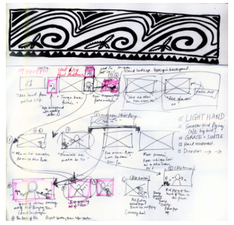


Figure 16.
An example of storyboarding in my journal (September, 2011).

48 Tongan quotes or terms used in my research had to be used correctly so as to not offend Tongan culture or the Hou'eiki Fafine participants. The tensions I had to navigate were those involved in applying traditional terms to appropriate concepts that exist in academic or contemporary documentary/narrative environments. My advisory group for this thesis consisted of Viliami Toluta'u, Siniua Toluta'u, Sione Tu'itahi, Taaniela Valu, Sisi'uno Helu and Linita Manu'atu.

Diagramming relationships
I used diagrams as a way of clarifying my thinking. As a visual communicator, information graphics enable me to make and communicate associations between elements (examples of these appear in this exegesis as figures 1, 2, 12 and 13). My journals contain numerous versions of this kind of thinking, as it is influential in how I structure ideas. This is because rough sketches can operate as a form of shorthand thinking where ideas can be trialed and considered quickly, then adapted or rejected.

In addition, the final design of the exegesis was also developed through mockups in my journals. Quick thumbnail sketches enabled me to consider issues of image and text placement, typography (including the design of chapter headings, footnotes and captions), space, page dimensions and colour continuity. Notes scattered through these sketches helped me to consider weight and type of paper, paper grain and potential binding systems.

Storyboarding
Storyboarding is a method of graphically organising thinking in sequence. I use it so I can visualise and consider shots before I begin shooting footage on location (figure 16). This saves time and helps me to think about an overall approach. However, this is only an initial consideration because this framing was significantly changed by the nature of the talanoa of each hou'eiki fafine. The notes in my storyboards were checklists or descriptions of the feelings I might be wishing to capture, or actions, themes or instructions to myself. This journal accompanied me into the field because, when I was not recording material on my own, I was able to use it in discussions with sound recordists and camera operators.

Design of artifacts and spaces
I also used sketching in my journal to think through certain design issues associated with presentation. In November 2014, I visited the University of Auckland Fale Pasifika to view the location's suitability for the examination and opening night. I had previously used this location to present my Confirmation of Candidature presentation in November 2013 and felt that it was an ideal location to present my work for the examiners and the visitors on the opening day of the exhibition. I sketched my way through potential approaches to artifacts, including a proposed seating system (figure 17), and typographical signage treatments. As a development of this process I also constructed mock up versions of the layout of the exhibition using photographed and digitally composed elements (figure 18). These enabled me to think through issues of lighting, projection, scale, and relationships between the viewer and exhibited elements. Although the public opening of the exhibition will be in this venue, the examination, because of scheduling and booking issues could not be presented in this space. Accordingly, the design in figure 18 shows a proposed layout for room WG 210 at the University.

Photography
In the project I used photography in two different ways. The first was as a method of recording material and the second as a system for refining thought. In the first approach, I photographed location imagery (figure 19).[49] I did this because it helped me to visualise the *feel* of the world. I also used location and artifact photography as a way of recording elements like foliage and landscapes that might be used later in the construction of the veitalatala.

My second use of photography was as a method of contemplating the nuances, enigmas and subtle rhythms of veitalatala (figures 20 and 21). In this regard photography became a method for creating composite, atmosphereic images that Bergstein (2010) suggests enable the "releasing of streams of emotions" (p. 18). When making these images I was able to think poetically beyond the realm of words. In such approaches photography uses subtle relationships between light and form that may suggest memory, movement and the essence of the talanoa of each hou'eiki fafine.

49 These images were taken as stills.

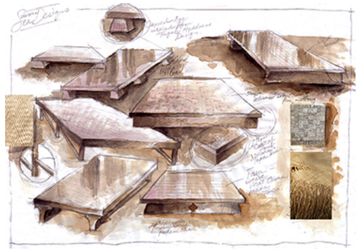


Figure 17.
An example of design drawing for proposed public seating. This was developed through sketching and written annotation. This way of working allowed me to quickly consider ideas and developments in relation to each other, and make strategic decisions that would work effectively inside material and cost constraints.

Figure 18.
Digitally constructed spatial designs for the thesis exhibition (Talita Kiume Toluta'u, November 2014).

Figure 19.
Location shots of Laie Beach, Laie, Hawaii (Talita Kiume Toluta'u, June, 2013).
Often photographs like these were concerned with silhouette and texture. This is because imagery printed onto ngatu tends to lose fine detail. In the filmic veitalatala I wanted the focus to remain on each hou'eiki fafine, so the introduced photographic elements were designed to operate as thematic supports, rather than foreground material.

Figure 20.
An example of photography used as a composite image (Talita Kiume Toluta'u, June, 2012).
Such approaches to combining imagery helped me to think through, and feel, potential treatments of the context of the talanoa of each hou'eiki fafine. I used this form of photography as a way of contemplating the landscape as a lyrical veitalatala. Herein, I dwelt and connected elements that were very subtle and so nuanced that they almost felt like the intangibility of memory. This use of photography operates as a kind of *denkraum* (thinking space) where I experience the spirit of the worlds I am building.

Figure 21.
'Ofa mei Pelehake. A contemplative landscape
(Talita Kiume Toluta'u, 2011)
Environmental images like this are assembled in Photoshop using discrete elements that in the physical world would not normally be connected. Like seemingly unrelated metaphors brought together by a poet, these elements work in subtle rhythms and harmonious placements so they suggest meaning while underscoring the lyricism of enigma and memory. In this regard they may be considered as a form of veitalatala. They talk to us in the grace of a whisper. These landscapes became very influential in the design of the final veitalatala because they were able to operate as harmonious metaphors that did not intrude upon the women's stories.

Developing exploratory moving image texts
Another significant method used in this phase of the research involved the generation of exploratory films. These were generally composed in the multi-sensory digital environments. By this I mean, I was able to explore ideas in After Effects, Final Cut Pro and Soundtrack Pro, where I could orchestrate sound, rhythm, typography, and image in ways that helped me to think about the wider idea of veitalatala. By sometimes standing outside of the talanoa of each hou'eiki fafine and considering the nature of the filmic lyrical voice I was able to gain a deeper sense of my own poetic register.

Indicative of this process is the film poem[50] I designed in 2011 (figure 22). The work was a reflection on Queen Salote's poem *'Ofa mei Pelehake*. In this film poem I considered the themes and spirit of her writing and tried to communicate my feelings about them. Her poem captures delicate and longing thoughts as she writes about her husband who is absent from the island kingdom. Experiments like this enabled me to think about the nature of sound and how this might translate into imagery. I discovered that I could easily over-congest visual material and this would lead to a loss of definition or emphasis. Film poem experiments also provided me with insights into the amount of time it took to construct layered moving image sequences.

Luva (Veitalatala is gifted or returned to others)

At the point that artifacts are completed they become luva and are gifted to others. This act is sometimes referred to as garlanding. In Tonga, a Kakala is meant to be given away as a sign of *'ofa* (compassion or love) and *faka'a'apa* (respect). The receiver of a Kakala may be a dancer, a special guest, a keynote speaker at a conference, or a student who in graduating has achieved something special in the eyes of Tongan culture.[51]

The luva phase of the research moves beyond the synergetic connection between the researcher and the participants. The culturally located issues, concerns and interests underpinning the thesis project become artifacts and tangible contributions to human experience (Scrivener, 2000). Although these contributions will be discussed in more detail in the following chapter, luva e kakala (gift to society) occurs in a variety of ways including conference presentations of emerging theories and practice, exhibitions of completed ngatu prints and filmic veitalatala, the publication of the image-poem *Migration through Creation*, and this exegesis.

Mālie (Relevancy and worthwhileness)

Although *Mālie* (relevancy) is listed here in the later stages of the framework, in practice it is employed throughout the research process as a tool for evaluating and monitoring (Johansson-Fua, 2009). Johansson-Fua (2009) suggests that when considering Mālie the researcher asks:
Was the work worthwhile?
Was it useful?
For whom was it useful?
Did it serve the needs of our communities?
Did it make sense?
Was capacity building maximised?
Was the talanoa mālie?
Was the process meaningful for those who participated?

In my thesis project, creative intersections between gathered data and visual, and oral narration nominate of a subtle application of veitalatala as a unique mode of address and transference. Thus, when we consider the relevancy and worthwhileness of the project, we see proposed and actualised a new approach to storytelling that draws upon and extends uniquely Tongan constructs.

In *Veitalatala: Mātanga 'o e Talanoa*, digital and graphic design approaches weave together a fusion of oral history, Tongan epistemology, memory, storytelling, and narrative design. The research proposes a new way of approaching documentary design that is essentially Tongan. By recording the stories of the

Figure 22.
Sequential stills from the film poem *'Ofa mei Pelehake*
(Talita Kiume Toluta'u, April, 2012).
The poem was rendered aurally as a song sung by a young child and a youth. The colouring was inspired by traditional Victorian and Edwardian postcards of Tonga (1880s-1912). These used sepia tones with spot colours. The work was also inspired by the textured lines in Tongan ngatu.

50 Film poetry is a particular media form that draws written poetry and moving image together into a harmonious synergy. In his 1984 essay *The Poetry Film*, William Wees noted that poets have become increasingly interested in this hybrid art form because poetry film:
> expands upon specific denotation of words and limited iconic references of images to produce a much broader range of connotations, associations, metaphor. At the same time, it puts limits on the potentially limitless possibilities of the meaning of words and images, and directs our responses toward some concretely communicable experience. (cited in Leropoulos, 2009, para. 19)

51 A kakala is often passed on from the original recipient to another person, who in turn shares in the original purpose for which the kakala was given (Thaman, 2003). The kakala is not just a physical object, it carries with it the spirit of its original purpose.

three Tongan hou'eiki fafine migrants, *Veitalatala: Mātanga 'o e Talanoa* seeks both to preserve narratives and propose a new, more culturally respectful way of storytelling in film.
This form of documentary is not cinematic but poetic. It draws our attention to the grace and beauty of women's storytelling, not just as a recording of narrative but also, as a poetic phenomenon. As such the research also offers a contribution to international discourse surrounding indigenous documentary. Thus both the content and the style of the work may prove worthwhile for Pacific studies, family history, humanities research, and developments in art, design and documentary film disciplines.

Māfana (Application, transformation and sustainability)

An additional consideration according to Johansson-Fua, (cited in Sanga & Thaman; 2009) is *māfana*. This relates to an internal evaluation and monitoring of the research process through the lens of the "insider, with their experience, wisdom and criticism" (p. 205). Manu'atu (ibid.) considers māfana a complex idea with a range of meanings that are related to context and closely associated with feelings, passions and emotions. Gavet (2011) notes that this concept of internal evaluation differs from the conventional Western mindset where "outsider" researchers normally conduct evaluations at the conclusion of a project. The assumption Johansson-Fua suggests is that "insiders" are unable to bring objective, critical, evaluative skills to "form an appropriate judgment on the work" (p. 205). Gavet also suggests that this shift from objectivity to subjectivity allows the knowledge holder a context inside which they might exercise their ability to be reflective, judgmental and creative. As such, like uouongataha, I do not see māfana as a distinct phase in kakala, but instead, it is an idea that embraces and permeates the whole research process (see figure 23). It is the way that the creative practitioner seeks harmony within her work. It is the interior guide that enables her to feel the "rightness" of her emerging connections between ideas.

A similar idea has been discussed recently by Moana Nepia (2013) in the Maori methodology he designed to enable creative practice in dance and film. He called this Aratika (the right, or most appropriate pathway). He argued that in creative practice one is intensely aware of a sense of concord between ideas and how one connects and expresses them. I would suggest that for indigenous artists who must navigate both the traditions of the academy and the expectations of their living and developing cultures, sensing one's way forward, finding the correct path, and remaining alert to the deeper warmth that comes from profound connection, enables one to more effectively balance both cultural respect and creative authenticity.

Figure 23.
Interior of my studio in Onehunga, August 2014. This building was constructed by my parents for this project so I could create my work in the warmth of my family. Māfana may be associated with this warmth. I found it easier to develop much of my thinking in this thesis project away from the studios available in the university.

When I work, I know that ideas are operating effectively together by the warmth emitted. Because this warmth is subjective and reflective, māfana may be also understood as an internal awareness of grace and harmony that is felt when ideas sit in concord with each other and the researcher.

Uouongataha (harmony)
In applying kakala to creative practice research, I suggest that one's artistic thinking is embraced by the principle of *uouongataha* (harmony). On an internal level the pursuit of harmony involves the graceful alignment of ideas. When well attuned it can operate as a means of sifting out what does not work and delicately connecting what does.

However, the process also relates to the thesis research as a whole because both its genesis and luva must be in harmonious accord if it is to be a respectful offering to knowledge and understanding. Thus, while *Veitalatala: Mātanga 'o e Talanoa* may be understood as producing original artifacts that manifest issues, concerns and interests through the process of creative production, it is also about respect for people and the knowledge they share with the researcher. Moreover it is about culture and the harmonious nature of researching, uncovering and designing contributions to it. All thinking within the thesis is guided by the pursuit of harmony. Congruence, coherence, and the graceful placement of elements (be they visual or written) become part of the construction of culturally influenced and influential artifacts.

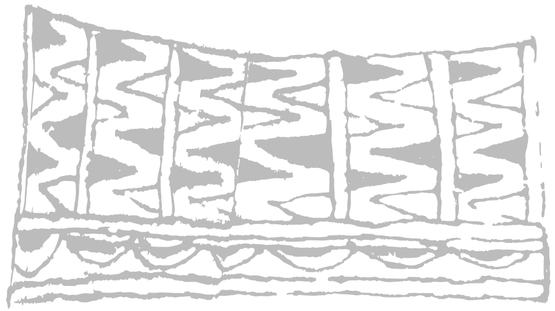
Uouongataha is also about the researcher's contribution surfacing from her doctoral study. It operates as a guide that helps me to navigate a pathway that has not been travelled before. In so doing I contribute a modest trail for future Tongan researchers to follow into the creative industries. This trail (as with all trails forged by scholars and artists) is neither absolute nor positioned as the "only right way". It is a luva and it seeks harmony with its contexts (be these the academy, the Tongan community, the arts communities or communities of women who elevate the stories of other women). Uouongtaha helps me to navigate conflicting views, emerging information and the nuances of my artistic voice. It binds me as a traveler to my work and responsibilities, and therefore becomes the spirit of the journey that connects the tangible to the unforeseen.

The hala toka kovi or hala toka lelei has to be experienced in creative practice in order to fully capture, understand, design and appreciate each aspect of the research. This thesis has involved navigating Tongan epistemological territories into which very few Tongan designers and artists ventured, yet my compass on this journey has remained consistent. The principle of uouongataha has thus acted as a magnetic energy that has compelled the work to progress through each aspect of the kakala process: Teu, Toli, Tui, Luva, being aware of both Mālie and the importance of Māfana.

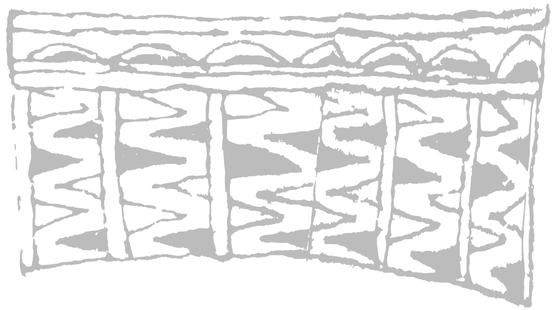
CONCLUSION
This chapter has discussed the paradigm, methodology and methods employed in the explication of the project. Located paradigmatically as creative production research, the thesis is concerned with inventive and imaginative thinking, realised *through* and *in* artifacts (Scrivener, 2000).

Methodologically, the thesis is activated through a distinctive application of kakala and is, by extension, a luva that manifests both ofa and faka'a'apa. Building on existing theories, the phases and considerations of this methodology have enabled deep reflection on the storytelling of hou'eiki fafine migrants, and enabled me to propose a distinctive form of veitalatala. Kakala has also offered a culturally appropriate and responsive framework for working closely with Tongan participants. In practice a number of methods have been pivotal to developing the project. Some of these have been significantly internal (faka'o'onoa, and photography as a thinking space), some have been collaborative, some have been used as systems of recording (interviewing, location photography, and the designer's journal), and some have offered an external lens on iterations of my thinking (external critique and review).

Having now discussed the research design for the project, the concluding chapter of the exegesis unpacks specific design thinking in relation to critical ideas that shaped the physical appearance of *Veitalatala: Mātanga 'o e Talanoa.*



NIMA



5 CRITICAL COMMENTARY

This chapter offers a critical account of the ideas and processes underpinning Veitalatala: Mātanga ʻo e Talanoa. It considers each of the works in the exhibition and the installation design itself. The chapter is accordingly divided into three parts.

The first considers the ngatu portraits. In this section I discuss the three large images of the hou'eiki fafine. I also reflect upon:
Veitalatala as portrait
Materiality and processes
Traditions and development
Status and scale
Colour and construction
Iconography
Poetics as challenge

The second section considers the three filmic veitalatala and discusses:
Veitalatala, subtlety and the poetic voice
Iconography in an image-led poem
Iconography in the filmic veitalatala
The poetics of time
Restraint and respectful quiet
Colour palettes
Music and sound
Materiality and processes

The final section discusses the exhibition design used to present the works. In so doing it considers space and print media developed for the presentation of work.

The subjective designer/ scholar

In this thesis I position myself as a subjective researcher. I do not claim objectivity or truth (Wood, 2004), but rather the ability to synthesise ideas, sound and iconography into communicative texts that reach the subtle nuances of subject in a manner that transcends the potentials of written language.

The thesis seeks to investigate and interpret the nature of veitalatala by searching through the established and into what is not yet known. While *Veitalatala: Mātanga ʻo e Talanoa* tells the stories of three hou'eiki fafine, it also tells my subjective story because the women's narratives are filtered through my aesthetic and personal values as a designer. In this process, narrated recollection is translated into veitalatala through an orchestration of photography, animation, musical composition, sound design, filmed footage, time and iconography. The resulting texts move

the parameters of traditional documentation
beyond both conventional audio/visual interviews and
photographic portraiture.

As such, the thesis presupposes knowledge as personal and cultural. In creative, practice-led research Griffiths says "the self is inescapable, because the person creating, responding to, working on, developing or evaluating performances, artifacts and practices is central to those activities" (2010, p. 185). Webb and O'Brien (2008, para. 8) add that in such instances, "knowledge and interpretation may be located in and attributed directly to the art/artist." Griffiths (1998) suggests that in all research the researcher must acknowledge and take responsibility for her subjectivity and that of the public because "all facts and information are value laden [and]… knowledge of human beings gets its meaning from the value system of the knowers (p. 46). She also emphasises that "the political and social dimensions of individuals' values systems" are important and that "… knowledge gets its meaning from the political position of the knowers, as well as from other value systems" (ibid.).

THE NGATU PORTRAITS
Paper Mulberry Secrets (where the real stories are)

Women sit
among each other
and beat heartwood
into the finest veils
of ngatu.

Stories stripped, sun-dried
soaked, scraped clean,
bark beaten lean.

Fragile layers
so thin
the tapa is barely connected
to its own self.

If you sit quietly in a village long enough
you hear this silence in the distance
mallet on anvil
like the beat of a headache.

Spider-webbed
paper promises
drying on dyed wooden blocks
like second skins
draped over the midribs
of leaves
in backyards.

Pages pasted
like hands clasped in prayer
to be decorated
with natural dyes
and elaborate strokes
suggesting symmetry
and perfect painted order.

You see,
you cannot peel this back
to the heart
without breaking it.

(Mila, 2008 p. 29)[52]

The ngatu portraits developed in this thesis are reflections upon three hou'eiki fafine.

52 Karlo Mila's poem is about women and silence, sharing and the preciousness of ngatu, not just as a material but also as a cultural fibre that unites Tongan women.

The first image is of Senolita Vatuvei Afemui. Her portrait was shot in Scarborough, Toronto (Canada) in June of 2013. Senolita was born in Tatakamotonga and raised in Kolomotu'a on Tongatapu. She was part of a large family consisting of thirteen children. The busy village life and the supportive family network of Senolita's life in Tonga left an absence and yearning for her youthful days on the friendly islands of Tonga. As she stood on the warm sands of the beaches of Nuku'alofa, she looked out to the horizon, where the sky meets the ocean, not knowing that there are other countries beyond the horizon. Senolita left Tonga at the age of seventeen and migrated to Canada to help look after her sister 's children as she was due to give birth to another child shortly after her arrival in Canada. Senolita married a Canadian national and became a mother to her beautiful daughters. When I first spoke with her I was very moved by her life experiences. The absence of her mother's guidance and direction was missed by this young seventeen year old Tongan girl. The difficult task of communicating in a foreign language and adapting to the harshness of the winter weather added to her longing to return to Tonga. She missed the security of her family, the constant love and care given by her mother's family every week in Tonga. She felt that her distant location had been a significant factor in this sense of alienation. Despite these anxieties she was very warmhearted and effervescent, and I tried to capture this and her connection with the sea in both the ngatu portrait and the filmic veitalatala that accompanies it. The veitalatala concentrates on the theme of water that permeated her childhood and contrasts with her landlocked existence in Toronto. Her pose is more relaxed than those of the other hou'eiki fafine but there is still a formality in her address. She faces us almost as if she is asking a subtle question.

Figure 24 (opposite).
Portrait of Senolita Vatuvei Afemui (1500mm x 2000mm).
Photographic inkjet print.

The second portrait is of Lesini Finau Vakalahi. It was shot in Brisbane, Australia, May 17, 2013. She was born in Faleloa on Ha'apai, but when she was ten years old, she was adopted by her uncle and she remembers crying herself to sleep because she missed her family. Her new family was made up of parents and ten siblings. Lesini was the fourth eldest child in this group. The family sustained itself by labouring on plantation fields and selling fish to the locals and visitors to the island. However, as this was insufficient to provide for the education of the younger children, it was decided that Lesini should leave the island to help support the family living on Tongatapu. In 1975, having just turned twenty-one, the family elders decided she should migrate to Aotearoa/New Zealand to live with her sister and brother-in-law. This was a tumultuous event in her life and she was both nervous and worried about the unforeseen future. In her new country she missed her family deeply. The journey had been a leap of faith for her and she encountered numerous challenges related to cultural difference and language.

Thematically this portrait deals with references to a woman who moved to many places on the land, both within Tonga and later across the world. Of the three hou'eiki fafine she is perhaps the most confident. Her pose is erect and we see the echo of her laughter just behind the main portrait.

Figure 25 (opposite).
Portrait of Lesini Finau Vakalahi (1500mm x 2000mm).
Photographic inkjet print.

The last portrait is of Telesia Afeaki Tonga. She was born in 1975 in Oahu, Hawaii. Her portrait was shot in Laie on Oahu on August 9, 2013. Not long after her birth, Telesia's parents decided to return to their homeland to teach on the main island of Tonga at Liahona High School. The family lived on the campus for eight years before they moved temporarily to the village of Lapaha, before finally settling in the village of Tofoa. Here her father built a family home that resembled a fusion of traditional Tongan and western designs. Its unique architecture she attributes to her mother's upbringing in Hawaii.

Telesia's mother was one of the first Tongans to receive a visa to travel to Hawaii in the early 1950s. Her fondest memories are associated with childhood experiences in Tonga with her mother as they sang church songs and traditional Polynesian melodies. She recalls that on Sundays, the village communities would rise early to prepare the meal to eat after church and then exchange food. This was an activity that the children looked forward to because each neighbour would send them to deliver food to the houses next door. Telesia's upbringing was largely shaped by the Christian concept of a Christlike love for others. In 1993 she received a university scholarship to study abroad. This was the catalyst for her leaving the islands of Tonga.

In this portrait I have thematically considered flowers. This is because many of Telesia's memories were associated with them (see appendix 3:3). Family is very important both in terms of lineage and the compassion she brings to being a mother. This is why I have photographed her holding her youngest child (Vai'ataa). Like the other women she maintains direct eye contact with us. This is not traditional practice for Tongan women who are often reserved when sharing personal things. My decision to photograph them looking directly at us is related to my belief in each woman's status as hou'eiki fafine.[53] The term normally describes a woman of noble lineage, but I see (and propose) each of these women as noble and precious. Their stories of migration and belonging are deep and important to our culture, irrespective of lineage.

Figure 26 (opposite).
Portrait of Telesia Afeaki Tonga (1500mm x 2000mm).
Photographic inkjet print.

53 In Tongan culture everything is ranked, from complex social relationships to foods, plants and animals. The elements and celestial bodies are also symbols that reflect socio-political status depicted in arts and crafts. Hou'eiki fafine is a Tongan term that is normally only given in reference to woman of noble ranking. Throughout this thesis I use the term to refer to all women despite their perceived status. In so doing, I am valuing each woman beyond what might traditionally be conceived of as her birthright privileges and, in so doing, I acknowledge a broader valuing associated with respect in Tongan culture.

Veitalatala as portrait

Arezou Zalipour (2011, p. 481) says, "When we consider what constitutes the essence of poetry, we are confronted with a variety of questions none of which may be answered with final satisfaction." Normally poetry is associated with the written or spoken word, but in this thesis I suggest that it might be transferred to a particular type of imagery that builds upon the Tongan concept of veitalatala.

The exact meaning of the word veitalatala is relatively disputed and Tongan experts attribute its origin to either Fiji [54] (Lafitani, 2014; Taliai, 2014), or Samoa (Puloka, 2014).

As far back as 1925, Collocott defined veitalatala as a "conversation" (p. 208), but by 1959, Churchward (1959) had translated it as "poetical talanoa" (p. 537). Recently Tongia (personal communication, 2014) discussed the term specifically in relation to hou'eiki fafine, suggesting that veitalatala can describe, "when women group together and talk about women things without the presence of the men" (Appendix 2:7).

In this thesis I frame veitalatala as a distinctive form of poetic communication that, in contrast to Puloka's and Taliai's (personal communication, 2014) views and in concord with those of Tongia (personal communication, 2014), may be applied to a unique form of communication associated with women. While I accept that such a framing is arguable, the term enables me to speak about a highly lyrical form of women's communication that unfolds the truth about something through an exchange of knowledge, where expression of ideas or opinions may or may not be direct or immediately clear to an audience (Havea, personal communication, 2014). When encountering veitalatala we engage with a communication were we unwrap what we are experiencing in an effort to find the true meaning of the presented message (Taliai, personal communication, 2014). I do not see veitalatala as either vernacular or mundane; its lyricism provides it with an artistic formality, grace and subtlety (Taliai, personal communication, 2014), and through this, it elicits a form of artistic conversation that is both elegant and distinctly Tongan.

I suggest that such discourse may be applied to both filmic material and portraiture, where we are dealing with conversations between, and by, women. In this thesis, these are conversations shared between and coconstructed by a Tongan woman designer and three hou'eiki fafine.

Puloka (personal communication, 2014) notes that tala in the context of the action "to tell" as in telling a story or sending a message, may occur through verbal exchange or by other means. Because arguably "showing" may be understood as a way of telling (be it performance or visual), the idea that a ngatu portrait tells a story of identity is conceivable.

So the ngatu portraits tell us stories. They are not photographs, they are messages that speak as assemblages of many elements (like ideas in a poem). We dwell with them and try to unwrap their meaning as they communicate without words. Within them we see subtle changes, a woman in transition, shown in more than one pose … we see the grace of a hand movement, we sense a lost piece of writing, the whisper of memories, the flight of birds. These things could not exist in a photograph, but if we understand these ngatu portraits as poetic then we receive them as something played out in front of us … lyrical stories full of grace and enigma … veitalatala.

Materiality and processes

These portraits are photographic in origin. The shoots were taken between May 2014 and August 2014. Although I initially filmed the narratives of eight women,[55] I selected these hou'eiki fafine for the final project because of the richness of their talanoa and the māfana I felt towards their situations. I felt that I had to select women with whom I felt distinct ongoongotaha so my own treatment might be more in concord with their identities.

I photographed Senolita Vatuvei Afemui, Lesini Finau Vakalahi and Telesia Afeaki Tonga in the lounges of their homes because this was a way of not disrupting their sense of comfort. In such a setting I knew that they would also be surrounded by the pictures and artifacts connected with their memories and experiences. [56]

I photographed each woman using natural light because I did not want to bring obtrusive apparatus into their worlds. This is because I did not want them to feel uncomfortable and I knew that this would influence the grace of what they shared. Although studio lighting can produce very dramatic effects, rich contrasts and heightened details, these are all arguably distortions because the environment is constructed. By photographing these women in their homes I may have lost some of this dramatic resonance, but I believe I came closer to the natural heart of who they were. Certainly, the work has distinctive and relaxed warmth that would have been impossible to capture if I had photographed the women in an artificial studio environment.

I took approximately a hundred portrait shots of each woman so I would not need to request further sittings.[57] Because these photographs were taken after filming their talanoa the women were more relaxed in front of a camera. After each shoot (while still in each country), I tested possible treatments in Photoshop CS6 to check the potential of the material I had gathered. When I returned to New Zealand I downloaded a selected series of images I had compiled from each sitting. At this point I engaged with a kakala tui process of editing and composition.

The final portraits were made up of over thirty individual layers that combined up to five separate and recomposed portraits. Each ngatu portrait contains layers of texture, environmental elements and scanned ephemera like details from passports and personal artefacts. The images also have integrated into them elements of family photographs belonging to each of the hou'eiki fafine (see figure 27).

Figure 27.
Detail of the layered portrait background in the composition of Senolita Vatuvei Afemui 's veitalatala. This composition has embedded in it a photograph of her biological aunty of whom she has vivid and affectionate memories.. We see references to the sea. The photograph of her aunty is not evident to the naked eye in the final print (unless examined very closely). I embed personal references in these veitalatala as homage to the fact that many hou'eiki fafine do not naturally reveal all that has shaped them. Some things are kept private and intimately held.

54 It is interesting that in Fijian language the word veitalatala has a very different meaning to the Tongan term. In 1850, Hazelwood (p. 121) listed it as "to sail on the same day in different directions; to separate. The primary idea is evidently that of separation." This definition is conceptually very distant from the Tongan idea of connectivity through discussion.

55 See footnote 6

56 I used the formal ethics procedures and contracts of the university to help an initial discussion about the project. While this normally ensures an ethically "safe" relationship, for me it meant we were able to talk through not only the aims of the project but also the ideas underpinning my work and why the talanoa of each woman was so important.

57 I learned the importance of this because my photoshoot of Lesini Finau Vakalahi (the first hou'eiki fefine I photographed) proved problematic. This was because the material I recorded was of insufficient standard due to its being recorded on a Canon D700. The resulting files were too small, so they pixelated important information when the images were enlarged. For the second shoot I used a Canon 5D Mark II camera. This produced larger file sizes that enabled greater levels of image expansion and combination.

The photographs were composed as psd files at 330dpi on canvas sizes set at 1500mm x 2000mm. This meant I was working with huge file sizes (approximately 2 GBS). Although I altered the colouring subtly in the portraits, because I had used natural light for the initial data gathering I was able to largely work with minimal postproduction adjustment.

Because I wanted to be certain that the women were happy with the veitalatala portraits, before compressing the final files for print I sent them digital versions of what I had created. This was so they could let me know if they had any concerns. This process also allowed them an opportunity to offer feedback on my interpretation of their identities. Only when each of the hou'eiki fafine had given her consent did I prepare files for printing on to ngatu.

The ngatu

The ngatu in this thesis was made in the customary manner by a group of approximately ten women in my mother's village. The fibre came from the inner bark of the *hiapo* (paper mulberry).[58] This was beaten into *feta'aki* (sinuous sheets) and these were joined using a paste made from the starch-laden root of the *manioke mahoa'a* (tapioca).[59] The ngatu was gifted to me in one metre width strips.

During the process of its manufacture in November 2013, I flew to Tonga to join the women. I was grateful to be able to spend time with them as they finished the last pieces for the project. This was at the stage when they were beating and drying the ngatu. I sat with them for about a week while they explained the process to me and shared stories about their lives and the village histories underpinning the nature, use and manufacture of ngatu. This significantly changed the way I understood the material because I was aware of the effort and time spent on its manufacture. I also gained a deeper understanding of the physical and social significance of ngatu in my culture. I understood and felt how ngatu brings women together, so collectively we become part of the making of art.

Gunn (2006, p. 16) notes, "the great works of Oceanic art are those that were created when the people made them for their own purposes, to help them understand their own world and their place in it." The making of the ngatu portraits may therefore be seen as both art and cultural construction. While I take responsibility (and am accountable) for the iconography, design and concepts underpinning the work, the ngatu portraits occur as a consequence of a shared commitment to an idea. Rather than simply selecting and combining materials, my learning and appreciation became part of their construction.

Figure 28.
Digital printing in process in 2013, at the AUT University Textile Design Laboratory in Auckland.

58 Broussonetia papyrifera

59 Manihot esculenta

Printing

This project required numerous tests and developments as the new technologies, material and imagery were brought into artistic resolve. Although traditionally one might have considered large-scale screen-printing for such work, developments in digital textile printing since the early 1990s have enabled me to consider printing with water soluble reactive dyes directly onto ngatu (to the best of my knowledge this has not been attempted before on such a scale). A significant benefit of working with reactive dyes is that the colorants bond with the fibre during sublimation or fixation. Thus, the colours permeate the fabric rather than operating as a surface coating (as it is the case with UV-curable formulations). This affords a more stable print. This was important for these portraits as ngatu is not stable as a substrate; it stretches and its surface can peel back.

The portraits were realised using a Shima Seiki SIP-160F flatbed, inkjet textile printer.[60] This technology enabled me to use multi-colour, adaptation and scalability. The SIP-160F also offered me a wide printing area of 1600mm x 2200mm (figure 28). Using a CCD camera to ensure accurate positioning we were able to use an associated SDS-ONE colour management system to adjust colour using an appropriate print. This was very important because ngatu (being cream) affects colour intensity. To achieve the desired print quality we worked with A3 sized ngatu samples that could be printed using "to scale" sections of the veitalatala. These details contained elements of subtlety and contrast. This enabled us to check image clarity and colour.

Figures 29-30.
Comparison between the portrait of Lesini Finau Vakalahi as prepared for ngatu and paper. Because ngatu adbsorbs colour intensity and detail, files have to be judiciously adjusted before printing. The image on the left shows a file designed for printing onto ngatu. Here detail is emphasised through increases in contrast and saturation. The image on the right shows the same file with its contrast levels decreased and its colours desaturated in preparation for printing onto paper [as in this exegesis]. In the paper version we can identify elements that are barely discernable on the ngatu print (for example, the passport stamp and handwriting in the top right hand corner).

60 I am indebted to Peter Heslop (Textile and Design Laboratory Manager) for his expertise and advice as we navigated the complexities of this process.

Each veitalatala took several hours to set up and print. Because ngatu doesn't lie flat it had to be taped into place. We also had to cut the ngatu to fit the bed and then seamlessly add additional material after printing. To achieve the appropriate print quality of the water-soluble reactive dyes on the ngatu, the height of the print heads needed to be set for the uneven nature of the material.

Restoration

The ngatu portraits were designed to be hung from the ceiling as "drops". By doing this I sought to emphasise the fabric's non-uniform nature and potential for delicate movement. Although this idea has been pursued in the final exhibition, I had to concurrently develop specific strategies for dealing with damage to the ngatu that resulted from its storage and transportation. This is because ngatu is multilayered and movement sometimes causes its surfaces to separate. This meant that after transporting the portraits in this exhibition to conferences in 2012 and 2013, the prints began to show damage in the joins and to peel back layers beneath the printed surface material. Restoring this damage involved developing a technique of strategic gluing using scalpels, fine brushes and non-water based spray adhesive (figure 32).

Renegotiating convention

It was while I was restoring the ngatu that I became concerned about the dimensions of the portraits. During test hangings I noted that the lack of length in the images tended to emphasise a kind of stolidity that belied the grace of each woman. Accordingly I designed additional panels for the top and bottom of each portrait. Rather than sewing these on, they were laid against the existing ngatu and glued in a seamless manner. Because this technique mimicked the construction of the material, the joins were imperceptible (figure 33 and 34).

Figure 31.
The final print of Lesini Finau Vakalahi on ngatu, showing the heightened contrast and diminishing of detail. These works bring to the fore the beautiful texture of the material. I do not try to pretend that this is another form of paper, but I allow ngatu's materiality to speak through, and with, the presence of the hou'eiki fafine. The ngatu is not uniformly straight on the sides. This is not a rigidly framed western portrait but a lyrical veitalatala, an expression of uniquely Tongan beauty.

Figure 32.
Restoration of the ngatu portrait of Lesini Finau Vakalahi (September 2014). The adhesive was applied in very light layers, allowing the work to dry completely before resealing layers of the feta'aki.

Figures 33-34.
Comparison of the dimensions of portraits: an original portrait with the reproportioning that layered into the ngatu additional imagery. The resulting portraits had a more graceful presence, where the length of the image became emphasised over its width.

The portraits in the exhibition arguably disrupt conventional use of ngatu but build upon its ongoing development as an expressive medium developed by Tongan women. As far back as 1963, Maxine Tamahori in her M.A. thesis Cultural change in Tongan bark-cloth manufacture, outlined significant changes already taking place in New Zealand/Aotearoa. These new approaches to ngatu making she described ambivalently as both "incorporating and resisting innovation" (Tamahori, 1963, p. 213). Lythberg (2013) notes that by the mid- 1980s Tongan women living in New Zealand had also begun to explore the potential of synthetic materials and new print technologies for making ngatu.[61] She notes:

> [the] … synthetic fabrics, dyes and pastes were far removed from the plants, clay and tools that had been used to make ngatu for many centuries, these women were willing to experiment with them in order to produce ngatu in their new urban contexts. Store-bought fabrics, dyes and glues were experimented with, as were pigments produced from brick dust and soot, tyre and ironmonger's paint, and a simple paste made from flour and water. (Lythberg, 2013, p. 87)

However, Lythberg (2013) records that in accordance with traditional practices, "these new materials were made into ngatu using the techniques of the koka'anga, the communal barkcloth-making work sessions" (ibid.).[62] Indeed, in 1999 Herda suggested that despite some minor differences in technique, "late 18th and early 19th century technological descriptions of ngatu manufacture could apply to contemporary procedures" (Herda, 1999, p. 152). These contemporary procedures included incorporating a base layer of reusable grocery bags with a top layer of beaten bark. Lythberg records that these ngatu were first known colloquially, as ngatu pepa (ngatu made with "paper"), and she suggests they "are now made alongside plant-based ngatu in the Tongan diaspora and in Tonga itself" (2013, p. 87).

These developments noted, the ngatu in these portraits is constructed using traditional materials and processes. It is the method of surface design and application that renegotiates convention.

61 There are diverse terms for ngatu. Lythberg (2013, p. 86) records these as ngatu ngatu, ngatu mo'oni and ngatu faka-tonga. She also notes terms for ngatu where the top layer is paper mulberry but the substrate is synthetic. These include ngatu pepa, ngatu pepa laulalo, ngatu loi and ngatu hafekasi. Completely synthetic ngatu she records as ngatu fakapalangi, ngatu loi and ngatu pepa katoa.

62 Lythberg (2013) notes that despite certain ambivalent concerns about ngatu being made with synthetic materials, "one of the first made in Auckland was gifted to Queen Halaevalu Mata'aho Ahome'e" (p. 87). Veys (2009, p. 143) also notes that in 2006, two synthetic ngatu were presented at the funeral of King Tāufa'āhau Tupou IV. Prior to this, "a synthetic ngatu was used under the King's casket, when his body was returned to Tonga from Auckland; this ngatu is now in the Pacific Cultures collection at Te Papa" (Lythberg, 2013, p. 87).

Status and scale

The final veitalatala portraits each measure 1500mm x 2700mm. I am aware that one does not normally encounter images of Tongan women at this scale. The history of women's portraiture in Tonga has traditionally been concerned with family-related photographs on walls and mantelpieces. These normally document weddings, funerals, birthdays, graduations, and royal events. Their dimensions rarely expand beyond those available in a traditional commercial photographic print.[63]

The scale of the ngatu portraits is a reflection of my respect for the women who have contributed to my research. In the Tongan culture, the larger the ngatu piece the more esteemed the event. I see the stories and identities of these hou'eiki fafine as deeply important; not just because they place a human face on issues of migration and connection to one's land of birth but also because, as often overlooked narratives, such stories and the poetic nature of their depiction are precious things.

In consciously choosing to elevate the status of women in my work I am aware that in much Tongan art, women's identities are generally not explicit (see chapter 2). As an extension of this I am also aware of the relative invisibility of women, their voices and narratives in the public domain. For example, according to the 2011 Human Development Report (HDR),[64] Tonga ranked 90th out of 187 countries in terms of the Human Development Index (HDI). In the report an indicator relating to gender inequalities showed that in 2011, Tongan women constituted 3.4 per cent of elected representatives in government. This can be contrasted with the regional averages for small island developing countries that recorded a 20.6 per cent involvement. In addition, no woman in Tonga was elected in the 2010 elections (although one was appointed to a cabinet post). This under-representation cannot be related to the low educational achievement of women because the 2011 HDR indicated that 84% of women and 87.8% of men in Tonga had at least a secondary education. (This level of education is significantly above the regional averages for other Pacific and small island developing countries). The report also indicated that there was disparity in women's participation in the labour force, with half of Tongan women represented compared to 75 per cent of Tongan men.

This poses an interesting question about the role and status of Tongan women. Moengangongo (1986) notes that traditional Tongan culture has an allocation of power based on age and birth order. The Api, or fundamental order of Tongan society is based on the oldest male's control over a family group. This *'Ulumotu'a* (oldest male) leadership is associated with responsibility to the family group, and gives the male family member power over decision making of resource allocation, family labour duties, and discipline.

However, the status and significance of hou'eiki fafine in Tongan culture is widely acknowledged (see appendices 2:7-2:12). According to my mother and aunties, the women of Tonga have their particular status within the family circle. For example, the eldest daughter of a family is considered to be the 'eiki or the fahu of the brothers' children, and her daughter(s) are also closely associated with this status. At special family events such as weddings, birthdays and funerals, the fahu will have her seat prepared in the front of the event, and she will receive gifts to compliment her status in the family or society. In addition, prior to getting married, it has traditionally been necessary to gain permission from the mehekitanga before the proposed union can be approved.

My work does not seek to disrupt these cultural traditions but it does endeavour to elevate the public significance of Tongan women. I see their stories and identities as more than domestic; they are signifiers of culture so their unique journeys are consciously positioned in the realms of public and artistic discourse. The ngatu portraits of these women dominate the room. They do not address us assertively but their presence is powerful. They are larger than the dimensions we associate with human proportion, they float on and in space aurally silent, but visually robust. The portraits are discrete but simultaneously speak of a unity between the designer and the collaborative efforts of the women who pounded and created the ngatu. They are an assertion of women's strength and identity.

The large portraits hang in anticipation of a special occasion related to Tongan custom. My family and friends have waited patiently for the conclusion of my research so they can view the presentation on ngatu. This is because it is our Tongan custom to present a gift with ngatu or *fala* (fine mats). These portraits belong to the principle of luva. They form part of a process of giving that flows backwards and forwards from, and to, a community of academics, family, friends and broader cultural discourse. They are simultaneously portraits of hou'eiki fafine and propositions regarding the significance, beauty, power and embodied knowledge of Tongan women. Their stories and presence are important. In this regard we are reminded of Sōsefo Fietangata Havea's reference to the enduring power of hou'eiki fafine, when he noted, "Educated men become great leaders, but educated women empower generations" (2009, p. 217).

Colour and construction

The colour palette, compositional inspiration and approach to iconography in the ngatu portraits in this thesis draw on a history of representation that can be traced back to the late 1800s in Tonga. It may be broadly described as composite photography.

The composite photograph

Palmer (2007) traces the design of composite photographs back to the Victorian period. Such images he suggests "resulted from the technical deficiencies of the materials available" (para.3). He records that at the time, landscape photographers often found it impossible to have land and sky properly exposed. This resulted in the practice of shooting two exposures and combining them into a single image in the darkroom. However, such approaches to identity (be it of people or place) were often seen as illegitimate; the French Photographic Society banned composite work from their exhibitions. These composite photographs were often associated with the "cut and paste" picture postcard that the Victorians used either for humour or as a method of reinforcing the chaos or exoticisation of cultural otherness.

Although early approaches to composite photography employed techniques like direct contact printing of objects onto photographic plates, double exposures, and darkroom masking,[65] composite photographic postcards were normally constructed by collaging print ephemera and photography onto paper and then rephotographing the assemblage to create a discrete text.

Figure 35.
Stamp themed postcard of Siaosi Tupou II Tonga, with the Tongan Coat-of-Arms (date and publisher unrecorded). Such cards were often constructed as photographed collages that allowed composite signifiers of identity to be assembled and consumed as a single image.[66]

63 Sizes are commercially formatted from sheets of paper especially produced for the non-specialist printing of photographs. Prints in Tonga tend to follow the New Zealand system. They are normally described with a code of the format *n*R, where the number *n* refers to the length of the shorter edge in inches. In more recent commercial photography the Super series (S*n*R), has an aspect ratio of 3:2 and provides a better proportional fit for standard 135 mm film, especially when one is seeking larger prints. Photographs normally collected for display in Tongan homes are commercially described as 3R (89 × 127 mm), envelope (90 × 205 mm), standard (102 × 152 mm), 6D (114 × 152 mm), 5R (127 × 178 mm), A4 or 6R (203 × 305 mm), or 11R (279 × 356 mm). The largest non-specialist print size normally available is the S12R (305 × 457 mm).

64 United Nations development programme: Tonga Country Profile: Human Development Indicators, 2011 http://www.undp.org/content/undp/en/home/librarypage/hdr/human_developmentreport2011.html

65 At its most advanced level these photographs were constructed in darkrooms using multiple exposures onto a single plate. Unexposed areas were masked by pieces of black velvet.

66 USA copyright law places artifacts published before 1923 in the public domain. Accordingly neither this image nor figures 37, 50, or 51 have required copyright clearance for use in the exegesis.

As a mode of representing Tonga in postcards, composite photography from the early 1900s up until the 1950s remained a popular approach. Such images employed composite photography, masking and handcolouring images (figure 36). Here identity was assembled from diverse elements including typography, illustration, collage and handpainted photography. Edwards, in her book *The Tourist Image: Myths and Myth Making in Tourism*, suggests that these frozen images formed symbolic structures that suggested a distinct kind of "reality" (1996, p. 200). However these realities were not constructed by Tongan designers. They were assembled as artifacts sold as Western renarratisings of cultural identity. These composite photographs emphasised notions of exotic sensuality, tropical splendour, adventure, refuge, and heavenly paradise … but they didn't tell authentic stories of Tongan people.

Iconography

The iconography of the portraits includes each hou'eiki fafine and her lyrical context. The portrait of Senolita Vatuvei Afemui (see figure 24), develops the theme of the ocean. Behind her, the horizon contains a ghosted fringe of *niu* (coconut palm trees) and, beneath them; hills reach down to the water. The movement of the sea mimics the rhythm of the land so the two elements are seen as a lyrical extension of each other. As our eye moves down the portrait the waves fade behind Senolita and we encounter images of fish. This is a reference to her parents making a living from the sea. Thus, like her personality, what is above and what is beneath are seen as extensions of the same thing. The fish in the portrait trace trajectories through the water. This reference to journeys is replicated in the iconography of the heavens where we see a Polynesian navigational chart that would have been used to sail across the waters of the Pacific Ocean subtly integrated.

At the base of the portrait we see Senolita's figure cradled in splays of coral. She is posed as if within an oceanic garden, here tā is both suspended and always moving. We see Senolita replicated in moments that are almost transparent. Her memories of the past, her posing of the present, and her future are cradled in the same moment. As with all of the hou'eiki fafine she wears a sei (a flower that is worn behind the ear or in the hair).

Figure 36.
One penny stamped postcard of Houma (Cape Vava'u): Blow holes. Front and back.
Date and publisher unrecorded.

Figure 37.
Detail of Senolita Vatuvei Afemui's portrait with fish and splays of coral.

Figure 38.
Detail of Lesini Finau Vakalahi's portrait with vegetation.

Senolita chose to wear a siale tafa (gardenia taitensis) as she felt it was symbolic of her beauty, personality, duties and her love and connection to her tupu'anga, Tonga.

In contrast, the iconography in Lesini Finau Vakalahi's portrait (see figure 25), is terrestrial. In reference to her memories of her family labouring on the plantation fields, she is cradled by niu, *lau'i talo* (taro leaves) and *lau'i manioke* (cassava leaves). These were some of the plants that she remembers her father growing in his plantation, and which she continues to grow today in Australia.

Behind her we see island of Ha'apai in the distance and a sense of other landmasses that make reference to Tongatapu, Aotearoa/New Zealand and eventually Australia. These lands all formed part of her life of migration from a very young age. The theme of migration across land is complemented in the cloud filled heavens where we encounter sea birds like the ghosts of memory, flying across the sky. This reference to flight pays homage to the fact that many of Lesini's journeys into new worlds were conducted through the heavens.

The imagery in this portrait is complex and metaphoric, and I am reminded of Shumway who in 1977 suggested that quality Tongan poetry avoids "sentimentality and cliched ornamentation [through]… clever heliaki which keeps the spectators guessing about the meaning of a work" (p. 29). Thus in Lesini's portrait, as in the others, I am not being didactic; I use a connection of subtle metaphors to create a context for a lyrical consideration of each woman. This use of metaphor also plays out in the sei that Lesini wears. This is a *siale* (gardenia). Shumway (1977, p. 32) notes, "All Tongan flowers or kakala have assigned rank in the Tongan poetic convention. Those appropriate for reference to royalty are the heilala, the mohokoi, the nukonuka, and the tetefa." He also says "a true poet will never presume … to consider … the gardenia as equal to the flowers of rank used to gild the names (in poems) and the bodies (in costumes) of royalty" (ibid). However, the gardenia is a much loved flower both for its modest beauty and its beautiful perfume. The hou'eiki fafine in my work are all exalted, irrespective of the traditional genealogical rank they might hold.

How they decorate themselves for the portraits is a choice they make based on personal taste and I treat their decisions with respect.

The iconography used in Telesia Afeaki Tonga's portrait (see figure 26), emphasises the memory and love of childhood. This is played out on two levels. On one hand she cradles her child whose clothing is festooned with flowers. However, flowers also cradle her. A *kaute* (hibiscus) cascades gracefully around her shoulders like the caress of a memory, but the imagery is also faded like an old print. Amongst this flora we see small white doves (figure 39). This references the love for religion Telesia had when growing up in Tonga. It also reflects the bond and fond memories she had of her mother. Thus one dove looks up to the other. The land in the background reminds us of her family home of Ha'apai (which is mountainous), but it is in fact Hawaii, the new land she now calls home.

Figure 39.
Detail of Telesia Afeaki Tonga's portrait showing doves, hibiscus and the island profile of Hawaii.

Poetics as social discourse

The works in this exhibition are a creative reflection upon the nature of women's stories and I frame them as both poetic and social texts. In 1977 Shumway said of Tongan poets and poetry: the tensions of change, which are everywhere apparent in Tonga today, are no doubt influencing his (sic) subject matter and his style. There are already signs that he may be becoming a social critic or will design his compositions more and more to fit the tastes of foreign audiences. Nevertheless it is highly unlikely that he will ever forget his first responsibility or fatongia. And it is precisely the exercise of his responsibility that helps constrain any radical tendency to rebel against the existing order of society. Whatever else he is privately, as a poet he is the social conscience of the past, reminding the people of their heritage and their implacable duty to sustain and enrich that heritage. (p. 34)

This is an interesting view and while I agree with aspects of it, his discussion notably did not include a consideration of women as poets and he suggested that questioning the order of society or challenging the sustenance of convention might somehow be outside of the cultural responsibilities of a poet.
However, I would suggest that poetry is an articulation of culture and because culture changes in response to values surrounding and impacting on it, poetry must sometimes reach beyond an "implacable duty to sustain." It may nominate voices and identities that are overlooked, it may import new ways of conceiving the lyrical (including image-led articulations) and it may be part of a dynamic that moves our thinking forward.

Kaeppler touched upon this idea in 1993 when she suggested that although Tongan poetry exhibits distinctive levels of enigma and symbolic expression, the "oratorical voice" has a significant impact on the lives of the Tongan people (1993, p. 474).[67] The juxtaposition of Tongan poetics, politics and art, she suggests, engage in very sophisticated ways.

67 In referencing this, I am aware that Kaeppler notes that this "voice" traditionally belonged to the aristocrats in a hierarchical Tongan society. By using this voice they were able to record the nation's history. As an essentially poetical instrument she suggests that this voice became the political talanoa forum of the monarchy.

Conclusion

The ngatu portraits in this thesis have a history of development that preceded its instigation (see Chapter 2). I have been interested in Tongan women's stories and identity for many years and I have as a designer, always felt a close affinity for ngatu. While positing an opinion surrounding the uniqueness and value of Tongan women, the portraits are essentially veitalatala. They speak with lyrical grace and warmth. Their layers of meaning are hidden and revealed, they reflect Lythberg's 2013 observation that that "ngatu can evoke māfana, or 'warmth of heart', an emotional response to Tongan aesthetic achievement … māfana is evoked not solely in response to how a ngatu looks but also in how well it performs when it is presented" (p. 90).

THE FILMIC VEITALATALA

Veitalatala, subtlety and the poetic voice

The three filmic veitalatala form a complement to the ngatu portraits. Reflecting on the stories and graceful narrations of the hou'eiki fafine, they give audible voice and graced movement to small excerpts of the women's interviews. The filmic works may be argued as veitalatala not only because of their lyrical nature and propensity to "speak to us", but also because of their use of heliaki in conjunction with a careful peeling of the heart (L. Manu'atu, personal communication, 2014). The poetic nature of the work may also be seen as distinctive because it functions in concord with a discernable feature of Tongan poetry where words, image, movement and sound have traditionally been integrated (Helu & Janman, 2012; Shumway, 1977; Wood, 2009).[68]

Although Lafitani notes that the word veitalatala does not appear in dictionaries (personal communication, 2014) he, like Manu'atu (personal communication, 2014) and Tafua (personal communication, 2014), associate veitalatala with a peeling back of meaning, and more specifically he connects the word to a form of repetition. This is a useful observation because these filmic veitalatala are not composed as discrete screenings; they rotate - they speak over and over. Across repeated exposures we discover more and more subtle references both to place and to nuances of personality. The images within the work are not didactic. The do not have the severity of documentary footage because as veitalatala, they do not seek to be "clear" (Havea, personal communication, 2014; Tafua, personal communication, 2014), instead their purpose is to suggest through each woman's talanoa and subtle references contained in images and music.

The veitalatala deal with small recollections that I listen to and hear as poetic. Unlike traditional oratory there is something about the modesty and informality of the women's recollections that makes them poignant and distinctive. Their poetics touch the ordinary in delicate but rhythmic ways. The following excerpt from Telesia Afeaki Tonga's talanoa serves as an example.

Those periods of time that we drove were the times that we conversed, and we would sing together as a family in the car. You know it was a little van, a mini van, but when we would drive in the mini van we would start up a song and everyone would sing, even my brothers. They didn't say they were too cool to sing at the time, they would sing and recently I received an email from my mum, no my daughter did, my eldest daughter, she told my daughter I miss the days of dropping your mum off at school because we used to bond during those times … it was those small moments when we drove all that way cause I realise now, that's how come I know her so well, her stories of her upbringing, I know her likes, her dislikes, I know … how much of a compassionate person she is because of those talks we had when we would drive to and from school (Tonga, personal communication, 2014).

68 Shumway (1977, p. 25) in discussing the integrated nature of the Tongan punake (poet) notes:
the word "poet" is a narrow English translation of the Tongan word *punake*. Many Tongans fail to make the distinction between a *punake* and a *pulotu*. *Pulotu* means composer or creator. A *pulotu fa'u* is a composer of poems or *fa'anga* which, according to the nature of Tongan *faiva*, will inevitably be put to music. A *pulotu hiva* is a creator of melodies and a *pulotu haka* is a creator of dance, a choreographer. When a single person can excel in all three of these creative activities, he achieves the distinction of *punake*.

As a transcription of the interview we read Telesia's talanoa as sentences, but if we lay the same text out poetically, it reveals a distinctively rhythmic nature.

Those periods of time that we drove,
Were the times that we conversed.
And we would sing together as a family in the car.

You know it was a little van,
A mini van,
But when we would drive in the mini van we would start up a song
And everyone would sing,
Even my brothers.

They didn't say they were too cool to sing at the time,
They would sing.

Recently I received an email from my mum,
No my daughter did,
My eldest daughter.
She told my daughter,
I miss the days of dropping your mum off at school
Because we used to bond during those times …

It was those small moments,
When we drove all that way.
I realise now, that's how come I know her so well;
Her stories of her upbringing.
I know her likes, her dislikes.
I know … how much of a compassionate person she is
Because of those talks we had
When we would drive to and from school.

Beautiful. On one level a simple recounting of a memory, but beneath its surface, her talanoa is imbued with grace and rhythm. It is this that has inspired my veitalatala.

Iconography: the image-led poem

Before developing the lyrical iconography for each of the filmic veitalatala, I created an image-led poem[69] (figures 40-44), *Migration through Creation*. This was published in Kēpa, Manu'atu, and Pepe's (2014) anthology of poetry of indigenous and Pasifika peoples: *Poems: Words & Wisdom.*[70] Creating this poem helped me to think through subtle approaches to an iconography and narration that was designed to dissolve demarcations in time.

Migration through Creation considered the biblical narrative of the creation.[71] Traditionally, time in this story was divided into seven discrete days, each contributing a separate and incremental step forward in God's fashioning of life. However, unlike the biblical narrative, in my poem signifiers of each "day" are fused. In these, time is considered as a migration where past, present and future are found dwelling simultaneously in each verse. As with much Tongan poetry, heliaki are evident but not explained. The poem contains no written commentary.

Verse one considers the separation of light from dark (Genesis 1:2-5). Here, although light and dark are signified, we also see the spirits of life to come. The future is embedded as potential. Birds fly in the same direction across this and other verses of the poem. They are sometimes clearly evident, but at other times they are so subtly integrated that we almost miss seeing them. In this first verse the landscapes are potentially Western. This is not a new thing in Tongan poetry. Shumway noted in 1977 that indigenous poetry "may borrow non-Tongan phrases and melodies to augment the traditional ones" (ibid.). In the verse we also discern traces of the handwritten word. This is in reference to the fact that the biblical story in the West was recorded using the written word, whereas in Tonga our narratives of creation were traditionally developed as oral constructions.

This verse (as with those that follow) is coloured like the pages of a water stained book; aged, much read, and weathered by time and use. Here, visual volume is subdued and the differentiation of form is indistinct space… like the first breath of a creative process.

Verse two further develops the tension between the defined and what is yet to gather form. This composite image talks about the separation of waters from the heavens (Genesis 1:6-8). But even here, beneath a nebulous, turbulent sky we encounter a sense of what is to come. In the churning ocean, we see the subtle forms of fish beginning a migration into created form.

Verse three deals with the formation of the earth and the creation of vegetation (Genesis 1:9-13). Using the stained, watermarked atmosphere of the preceding verses, this image references the sublime in its emphasis on scale. Here mountain ranges and forested hills force their way up against the sky. The verse seems suspended in a tangible frame of time, but a close examination reveals a visa stamp printed in one corner. This a reference to the migrations people will make across the earth.

Verse four discusses the creation of the firmament and the division of day from night (Genesis 1: 14-19). The tone of this verse is more cosmic but also more nuanced. The ghost of a bird migrating across the heavens still reminds us that time moves both forwards and backwards. This pigeon, a creature often associated with long flights and with carrying messages, also appears on the cover I designed for the anthology.[72] I use the flight of birds in many of my poetic texts as a metaphor for migration. Shumway (1997, p. 29) notes that such "heliaki keep the spectators guessing about the meaning of a work". The structure on the right of the image is a Polynesian navigation map traditionally made out of sticks and shells. These maps indicated the direction of winds, waves and the location of islands.

The final verse deals with the creation of creatures from the sea and birds that fly above the earth (Genesis 1: 20-23). A compilation of images are integrated into this composition that depict the serenity and beauty of the creative process referred to in these verses. The coral reef is constituted as an underwater forest with the force of waves above and migrating fish and birds moving through the expanse.

The poem ends at this verse because man was created on the sixth day and the intention of the work was to reflect upon creation up to the point that the readers would enter the narrative. This is so they might consider the unique nature of their own creation and migration as something rooted in a profound process greater than, and prefiguring, their own identity.

Figure 40 (overleaf).
Verse one of *Migration through Creation*. Talita Toluta'u (November, 2014).

Figure 41 (following page).
Verse two of *Migration through Creation*. Talita Toluta'u (November, 2014).

Figure 42 (following page).
Verse three of *Migration through Creation*. Talita Toluta'u (November, 2014).

Figure 43 (following page).
Verse four of *Migration through Creation*. Talita Toluta'u (November, 2014).

Figure 44 (following page).
Verse five of *Migration through Creation*. Talita Toluta'u (November, 2014).

69 By this I mean a poem where both the narrative and lyrical communication are constructed without words. This approach to poetry is an extension of the lyricism developed in the ngatu portraits.

70 Toluta'u, 2014, p. 28-37.

71 These works are designed as double page spreads based on the first twenty-three verses of Chapter One in the book of Genesis.

72 I also designed the cover, typographical treatment and layout of this publication.

Iconography: the filmic veitalatala
The imagery in each of the filmic veitalatala is thematic and closely tied to the extended interview of each of the hou'eiki fafine (see Appendix 3). The first veitalatala is of Senolita Vatuvei Afemui. The theme of this veitalatala is the ocean. The title is *Hala Tu'i* (the road that faces the ocean, on which the royal home is located). Senolita's veitalatala opens with bubbles rising beneath the ocean[73] (figure 45). References to water permeate the work. We see fish and reefs and subtle views from her home (Ha'apai). The heavens swim with stars in reference to her migration. We discern a full moon as an allusion to her father's navigation while fishing, and waves swell in slow motion across the reef in homage to her mother's gathering of shellfish (see Appendix 3:2).

Similar thematic approaches are taken to Telesia's veitalatala. This deals with the blossoming of flowers. In this work hibiscus, gardenia and heilala unfurl in graceful motion. In developing the iconography for this work I was reminded of the word Matala, a Tongan term that signifies the opening of a flower. It describes the delicate unfolding of each petal allowing the *manatu* (memory) to be spoken, heard, visualised and cherished. In the axiom " 'oku kei matala lelei pe 'i he 'eku manatu", the expressive natures of the "opening" and the remembered become alive through lyrical recollection (and reconstruction) of experience.

In Telesia's veitalatala we see birds flying in reference to her migration to Hawaii and in extending this idea, subtly woven into the background we see references to the landscape of her island home (figure 46).

The thematic approach taken to Lesini Finau Vakalahi's veitalatala references her memories of the plantation, her father's commitment to working there, and to the mango and guava trees that served as sustenance for her as a child. This emphasis on vegetation is offset by billowing clouds that allude to her anxiety and sadness at leaving Tonga at the age of twenty-one (see appendix 3:1).

73 These were shot using the specialised Phantom Flex4K, high-speed camera that instead of recording movement at 35 fps (frames per second), can record up to 1000 fps at 4K, and up to 2000 fps at 2K/1080p. This is how I was able to create the graceful, slow motion effect in the work.

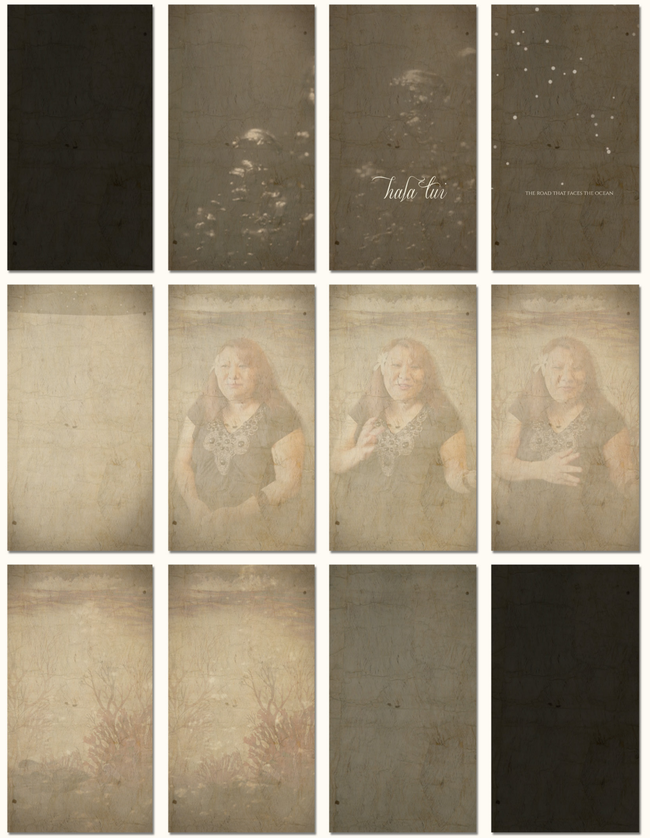


Figure 45.
Twelve consecutive frame grabs from *Hala Tu'i*; the filmic veitalatala of Senolita Vatuvei Afemui.

Figure 46.
Twelve consecutive frame grabs from *Sia Afeaki*; the filmic veitalatala of Telesia Afeaki Tonga.

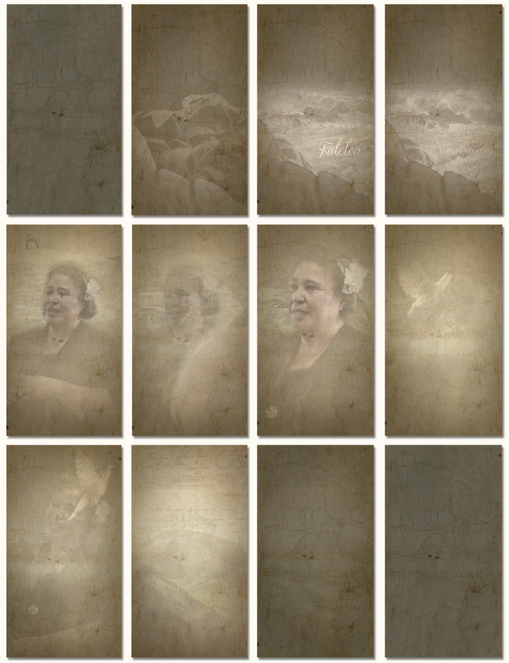


Figure 47.
Twelve consecutive frame grabs from *Faleloa*; the filmic veitalatala of Lesini Finau Vakalahi.

All three veitalatala have a certain solemnity about them. Both Wood (2009) and Helu (1978) note that this is a feature often associated with classical Tongan poetry. Helu suggests that this mood may be expressed as "a brooding, depressed, dull state" or "a sense of universal sadness and rejection which is in reality an assertion of power and joy" (p. 24). In my work this state is not melancholic, but contemplative. It unfurls a certain depth of feeling and respect. Joy is not a flash of bright colours, but a subdued consideration of unfolding and delicate beauty.

The poetics of time

A distinctive feature of these veitalatala is the manner in which they deal with time. A substantial amount has been written about the Tongan concept of time, significantly in the work of Dr 'Okusitino Māhina.[74] Within Tongan thinking Māhina suggests time may be understood as an "arrangement of the past, present and future. Herein, people are thought to walk forward into the past and walk backward into the future, both taking place in the present, where the past and future are constantly mediated in the ever-transforming present" (Māhina, 2010, p. 170). Although the focus of this thesis is on veitalatala, a consideration of time where past and future may occur in a transforming present is influential in how I conceive my work. This concern is evident in both my image-led poem *Migration through Creation* and these filmic veitalatala.

In these filmic texts there is no division between what is recalled and what is experienced at the moment of recording. The storyteller and references to her remembered story appear concurrently. There are no cuts between images; everything dissolves into a seamless orchestration of image, narrative and sound. This gives the veitalatala a distinct sense of continuity and grace. In these works we sometimes see more than one image of a woman speaking. Thus at points in the veitalatala, she may appear as a momentarily preserved moment of herself, echoing or projecting into the future.[75] Part of each woman's past movement may remain in the image as she speaks.

74 This theory currently permeates diverse fields of inquiry including architecture (Potauaine, 2010; Van der Ryn, 2012; and Moa, 2011), health (Māhina, 2002), education (Saltiban, 2012) and migration (Ka'ili, 2008).

75 This same device was evident on close inspection in the ngatu portraits.

In these veitalatala time is treated flexibly. A wave will flow forward in slow motion, but clouds and flowers will move or open faster than we can witness with the naked eye. Slowed motion, "real time" and time-lapse footage[76] are woven seamlessly into one. There is no standardised chronology. In this conflation and expansion of time I seek to capture something of the essence of memory. Here, past and present are positioned in the same space and communicate through a coexistence. Subtle expressions of harmony and grace engage with spiritual, social and psychological dimensions of identity. We do not look at documentary films of Tongan hou'eiki fafine, instead we encounter contemplations on our journey.

Restraint and respectful quiet

A distinctive feature of these filmic veitalatala is the initial quiet that accompanies each of their journeys into being. Light and sound surface from the darkness and we do not encounter the speaker immediately. Instead we dwell for a moment in the graceful movement of an organic element. This might be the slow opening of a flower or the quiet rising of bubbles under the water.[77] These immersions allow us to orient ourselves for something that is more spiritual than literal. This is what Manu'atu (personal communication, 2014), calls talking with the heart, or the spirit that lives, or Puloka (personal communication, 2014) refers to as a scene of the heart, with eyes that look into your soul. It is difficult to explain this, but in these veitalatala I am not concerned with the power of a narrated story, I am seeking the essence of women's grace through the composing of very brief, delicate contemplations. They are not designed to simply tell us information. This is why there is no assertive, competitive oratory or dramatic posturing. The veitalatala surface from silence and being structurally symmetrical, they close with a descent back into the opening imagery and quietly into silence and darkness again.
The quiet is respectful.

Colour palettes

The grade[78] in the filmic veitalatala draws on two related palettes. The first is the colouring of ngatu. In Tonga, there are two brown pigments used in producing these artworks.[79] One is made from the koka tree.[80] The application of this light brown paint is called tata'i and it is used to produce the basic pattern on the feta'aki. Once the pattern is established, the women accentuate the subtle marks using the darker brown paint from the *tongo* (mangrove).[81] The combined palette produces a subtle fusion of monochromatic [82] and analogous colour schemes.[83] Set against the warm cream colouring of the feta'aki, these colours produce a warm, chromic harmony because the range of pigment in the work is so closely related (Figure 48).

The second source of inspiration for the colouring of the filmic veitalatala is a toning treatment called sepia that was used in the 1880s as an enhancer of printed photographs. Sepia became popularised because it both inhibited the decay of chemicals on the print and also operated as an aesthetic treatment that "warmed" the traditionally cool palette of black and white photographs.

Figure 48.
Tongan Ngatu (3690x 3690).Registration number FE010244.

76 Time-lapse film is a technique where the frequency at which frames are captured (the frame rate) is substantially lower than what the eye would record. When the captured footage is played at normal speed, time appears to be moving faster and thus lapses. Thus, we see the billowing of clouds that drift across a water-stained sky, or the graceful opening of a hibiscus flower in a manner that we could never experience in "real time".

77 It is across these images that the tile of each veitalatala momentarily surfaces then disappears.

78 This is a term used in the postproduction of the veitalatala. Grading refers to the altering or enhancement of the colour of a film text. In my work I brought the palettes of the composite images in the work together using the colour-to-colour function in Adobe AfterEffects CS6.

79 Normally black paint is not used in Tongan ngatu, although it is characteristic for Fijian work. However, *ngatu tā'uli* (black-marked barkcloth) is made using a special kind of dye from the black soot of the burned flesh of *tuitui* (candlenuts). Ngatu tā'uli is normally associated with Tongan royalty and aristocracy.

80 Bischofia javanicia.

81 Rhizophora mangle.

82 Monochromatic colour schemes are developed from a single base hue and are extended using its shades, tones and tints.

83 Analogous colour schemes employ colours that are positioned next to each other on the colour wheel. The colours used in ngatu cross the yellow brown and red brown spectrum.

Figures 49-50.
Comparison between sepia stationery released by the Tongan Post Office in the early twentieth century (showing the Hospital at Nukualofa) and a black and white postcard of the Convent of the Missionary Sisters in Vava'u (spelled Vadau on the print). The first image has no publisher noted but the second was published by Soeurs Missionnaires de la Société de Marie. The photographers and dates for both artifacts are unrecorded.

Originally the sepia process involved adding a pigment made from the inky secretion of a cuttlefish during development of the print. However, later methods employed artificial toners to convert the metallic silver in the photograph to a sulphide compound that was more resistant to the effects of environmental decay. There is archived evidence of the use of sepia toning in postcard prints of Tonga between 1910 and 1919 held in the National Library collection in Wellington, New Zealand.[84] These cards can be clearly differentiated from black and white photography of Tongan locations of the period because of their distinctly warmer colour palette (see figures 49 and 50).

The limited colour palette in these veitalatala also talks of memory. When the hou'eiki fafine reflected on past events, I knew that I was listening to a lyrical recounting of experience. Their voice modulations were warm and reflective. It put me in mind of the old framed photographs my family have in the living room at home. Some of these are also sepia and somehow the warmth of their desaturated palettes speaks to me of time and the ability for the warmth of memory to reach across it.

Thus, colour in these filmic veitalatala does not have the fierce didactic realism of conventional documentary footage. It has a quiet, restrained harmony that draws attention to graceful movement, sound and narrative. It brings into quiet connection elements that in photographic realism might be discordant in a composite image (for instance, the sharp blue of the Pacific ocean, the billowing grey of folding clouds, the rich red of a hibiscus flower, and the bright colour of coral). The only colour that surfaces through the films' sepia palettes is that of each woman (see figures 45, 46, and 47). Their natural skin tones are evident but slightly desaturated so each nestles with grace into the composed quietness of the world that surrounds her.

Music and sound

Wood (2009) notes that Tongan poetry is often set to "melodic patterns" (p. 13), and Futa Helu (1978) says it is its propensity to be set to a combination of dance and music that demarcates it from Western poetic conventions. Although in these filmic veitalatala we hear a small segment of spoken memory, music and movement complement this.
All three of the veitalatala begin with atmospheric sound that surfaces quietly from the dark. Like the biblical story of creation, the nebulous is drawn into being before we encounter form. From this sound we experience the separation of dark and light.[85] The sound mix that accompanies this transition may be described as atmospheric.[86] It weaves together the beauty of waves, birds, or wind. This was material that I recorded on location in Tonga and Hawaii.[87] The layers of atmospheric sound gently lift each veitalatala in preparation for the song that will garland its narrative. As the sound surfaces, music delicately permeates it. This music then calls each hou'eiki fafine forward and eventually escorts us out of her narrative. As the veitalatala closes we are left with a decreasing atmospheric mix and a graceful close, back into darkness.

I created the soundscapes for these veitalatala using Soundtrack Pro. I then imported the edited files in After Effects CS6. Here I judiciously layered and deselected material to increase or decrease

84 Four examples held in the National Library collection in Wellington New Zealand feature photographs of: 'Ovava: Captain Cook's tree; Blowholes at Liku; the Hospital at Vava'u, and the Palace, Ha'apai, (Ref: Eph-A-TONGA-1910s-01/04).

85 See Genesis 1:2-5.

86 In film production atmospheric sound or "atmos" is the opposite of silence. It is a sonic environment that may be added to existing sound recordings. In postproduction the designer can work with complex patterns of peaks and nulls in the film's frequency spectrum. This is often used to create a strong sense of mood that underpins the emotional nature of existing footage.

87 This sound was recorded on a Tascam dr-05 sound system.

a sense of location or to support a transition from one set of imagery to the next.

Permeating the soundscapes of these veitalatala are three songs composed for the respective artworks by Mrs Sisi'uno Helu. The first song *Faleloa* was created for Lesini Finau Vakalahi and the title refers to her village in Tonga. In this work Helu focuses the lyrics on Lesini's birthplace, and the migration experience of her family living in Aotearoa/New Zealand who then moved to Australia, where she currently resides. The reference to her father in the song is very emotional in capturing his counsel to the young girl as she leaves Tonga. The memories conjured are reflected in the composition and can be felt through the performance of the singer.

Faleloa:

'E Matafonua, nofo kau folaua
Matafonua, stay for I must travel

Kumia ha mo'unga, keu taufonua
Searching for mountains, so I can land

'Isa si'ete 'ofa, 'i Houmale'eia
Alas my love, left at Houmale'eia

Kuo vaetu'ua, he 'otu muli na
Has split by the rows of lands a far

'Aotearoa, fai'anga e nofo
Aotearoa, where I now live

Tupu ai 'ete loto, keu takai lolo
In my soul it stirred, to bath in oil

Keu lalanga ha tupu'anga
So I can weave a cradle

He koe sino ni, kuo falala'anga
As I am suited and trusted

Tau / Chorus

'Isa 'a Brisbane, kuou lata ai
Alas Brisbane, I loved to live

Si'i vaitafe, kei fafana mai
Its River, remains whispering still

He 'ukuma, 'ae lotoni
As this soul bears

Tukulaumea, 'ae tamai
The guidance of a dear father.

The second song was written for Telesia Afeaki Tonga. It is titled *Sia Afeaki*. Helu composed the music and lyrics with reference to Sia's pride in her mother and father's heritage in Tonga and the new home she now enjoys in Hawaii.

Sia Afeaki:

'E Lifuka mo e Makahokovalu
Lifuka and Makahokovalu

Fai'anga ia 'a si'ete laukau
Where I took pride

Kumia 'a Afeaki, si'oto pulupulu
Searching for Afeaki, for my cloak

Ke u taufonua ki he Lolo 'a Halaevalu
So I can land at Lolo 'a Halaevalu

Fakapō si'ete lata, he taulanga mata'itofe
Alas, I love to live, at the Pearl Harbour

Fai ai e kakata mo e to'ofohe
Where I laugh and work

Uisa hoku loto, kei malave
Oh my heart still yearns

Hala maumaukoula, kou 'ofa atu pe
As my heart still yerns Hala Maumaukoula, I love you still

Tau / Chorus

'Aloha, 'Aloha nui
'Aloha, 'aloha nui

Peau 'o Waikiki
Waves of Waikiki

Sipi ai ha smoothie
Sipping Smoothies

Mo fakamahiki
And look proud.

The third composition, called *Hala Tu'i* was written for Senolita Vatuvei Afemui who now lives in Canada. Helu wrote the music and lyrics to portray Senolita's experience of growing up in her neighbourhood in Tonga where she felt obligated to keep the exterior of their house maintained all of the time because her neighbours were nobles and royal family residents. Sia's daughters performed the recording of the song as a tribute to their mother's migration experience.

Hala Tu'i

Uisa e fatongia ne tuputupu'a
Oh my duties fore told

Hala Tu'i, talia e ha'ele na
Tu'i road, reception of the Royal parade

Hono kakala, fataki e fakamalinga
Her garlands, uphold the fragrance

Mei Fangatapu, mo hono Fakahola
From Fangatapu and its pandanus

Si'oto tupu'anga, kei manatua
My origin I remember thus

Uafu ko Vuna, hono peau tā
The Vuna wharf and its fearless waves

'Isa teu folaua, 'a Kolompia
Alas I will travel, Colombia

He kuo ongo, 'a 'ete nofo masiva
My heart aches as I live afar

Tau / Chorus

Venikuva, mo hono maama
Vancouver and its lights

Ne 'ikai te u 'ilo, te u latanoa
I had no idea, I'd love to live

Kuo 'ikai ke u hanu kau lau koloa
I accept my blessings, not complaining

Fakafeta'i e tauhi 'a e 'Otua
The guidance of God, I praise.

I am deeply indebted to Sisi'uno Helu for her belief in and contribution to these veitalatala.

Materiality and processes

Like the ngatu portraits, these filmic veitalatala are encountered on large drops of feta'aki, but the images are projections. Their appearance is temporary. They fade up from the darkness, speak briefly and modestly, then they withdraw. In reference to the ephemeral nature of spoken recollection we are left with only a memory of what we have witnessed. This sense of memory as a residue is captured in the theme of each veitalatala that, upon close inspection, one can find subtly printed on to the right hand bottom corner of each drop of feta'aki.

These filmic veitalatala were shot on a Canon Mark II camera, using an audio boom so I could record the clearest sound quality possible in the home of each woman. Like the ngatu portraits, I used only natural lighting so the modesty of each story and the natural spirit of the hou'eiki fafine would be preserved. Many of the elements that surround them were shot as stills, although I filmed waves on location in Tonga and Hawaii.

The veitalatala were initially cut on Final Cut Pro X, but I eventually moved to Premiere CS5 because it enabled me to work with multiple layers of imagery and sound in less complex ways. At times these files reached up to two gigabytes [88] and contained up to thirty layers, that were integrated into the final moving image sequence.

Iterations of the work travelled back and forth between me the hou'eiki fafine so they could give me feedback on how I was interpreting excerpts of their stories. To enable this exchange, I reduced the sequences to low-resolution .Mov files, [89] so they could be received as email attachments. These files allowed me to embed sound, although its quality and that of the imagery was far lower than what is evident in the final veitalatala.

EXHIBITION DESIGN

Space

The exhibition of these veitalatala has been a complex undertaking. This is partly because they have had to be designed for a range of venues from conferences to film festivals, and each location poses unique challenges and alterations. Ideally the works are best exhibited in very dim environments that are subtly lit with downlights picking the ngatu portraits out from the darkness. The subtle spotlights always remain on the portraits so the women are always present in the space but one by one, in order, each filmic veitalatala plays next to the woman it represents. Thus, each woman speaks in turn and there is respectful silence between each veitalatala.

Although the thesis exhibition was planned for the University of Auckland's Fale Pasifika (because of its iconic significance to tertiary education), scheduling issues meant that the examination of the work had to be relocated to a light controlled space at AUT University. This location has facilities for complete black out that the Fale Pasifka cannot afford. However, the space is not as conducive to community engagement. This is the reason for the split between the examination installation and the later, community presentation of the research.

Careful consideration has been given to how the veitalatala should hang. The large ngatu portraits and their filmic companions are designed to form a kind of pathway in the gallery space. Lythberg (2013) notes, "when Tongans line pathways with ngatu, the ngatu not only contain the mana … [they also] evoke a Māfana response, because they embody collectivity" (p. 91). Building on this idea the anthropologist Nicholas Thomas (1995, p. 143) notes:

> The art form [ngatu] is part of a process of self-revelation and has a particular importance at a moment of presentation, when everyone's efforts converge; at other times, the cloth's significance may lie in the prospect or memory of such ceremonial events, or in a particular history of exchange-paths.

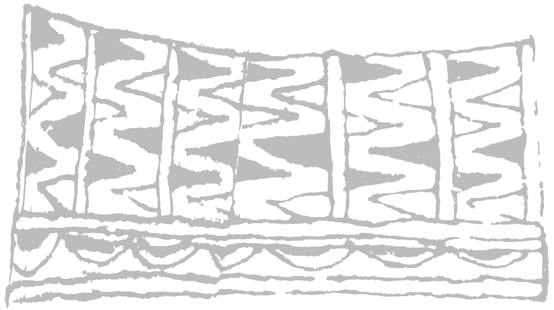
88 A gigabyte is 1000000000bytes.

89 A .Mov file format is used for saving video files that are compatible with both Macintosh and Windows platforms. .Mov files can store audio, still imagery, video, effects, and text. .Mov files are convenient for exchange on ordinary people's systems because they can play in a QuickTime only environment.

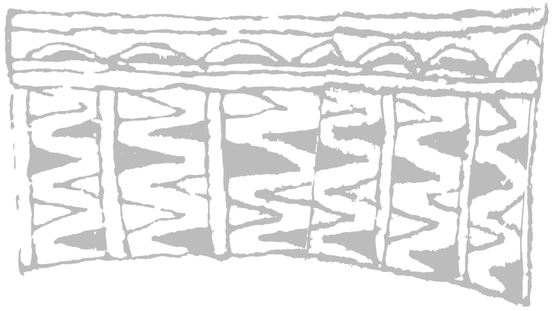
These veitalatala form part of luva; they are a gift that has been brought into being by the talents and generosity of many people. Across five years of study they have developed from concept to tangibility and they speak of Tongan pride. The spatial design and location of the exhibition reference this.

Supporting print media

Because this thesis is designed to stand between two worlds, the academy and people of my Tongan community, it must speak to both. While I have tried to make the language in this exegesis as accessible as possible it may still fail to reach out to many people in the community. However, the ideas behind the thesis and the artworks need to. Accordingly, I have developed a print catalogue to accompany the exhibition. This is a bilingual text that features print versions of each of the ngatu portraits and translations into Tongan and English of the monologues delivered in the filmic veitalatala. I have not provided subtitles on the work because this compromises the character and integrity of the women's talanoa, whether it be Tongan, English or a fusion of both. The catalogues are designed to be taken home by visitors. They contain a brief outline of the thesis in accessible language and acknowledgements of those people who helped bring it into being.



ONO



6 SUMMARY AND CONCLUSION

This exegesis contextualises a body of creative work. Together the document and my practice serve to position and make explicit ideas about representation. Although the thesis appears in discrete parts (an exhibition and a written/designed exegesis), these elements may be understood as an integrated whole that Kroll (2004, p. 4) describes as an "authorial announcement" … where designer/scholars "reveal their personalities as well as their methodologies."

In developing this thesis I am aware that I have ventured into new waters and sometimes navigated conflicting currents of thought. Like any living knowledge, Tongan ideas are neither fixed nor absolute. Scholars contribute diverse framings of thought and in that process we consider understandings and seek to move epistemologies forward. My approach over the duration of this thesis project has been to read, look and listen respectfully and then to synthesise thinking in a manner that supports the authentic development of designed works that capture the essence of Veitalatala: Mātanga 'o e Talanoa. My thesis does not seek to be disrespectful, but it does offer a reconsideration of certain ideas.

The thesis has considered the nature of veitalatala and its creative translation into designed artifacts. Both the printed ngatu portraits and the projected filmic veitalatala draw their essence from artistic considerations of three hou'eiki fafine who left Tonga to live overseas. The thesis represents a creative synthesis of their talanoa into new forms of artistic communication, designed to capture the cultural and lyrical resonance of their identities. The veitalatala orchestrates photography, animation, musical composition, sound design, filmed interviews, graphic design, sublimation printing on ngatu, and extensive postproduction experimentation. The resulting texts I have positioned both as a contribution to artistic scholarship and as a form of luva.

Exegesis summary

Structuring and designing an exegesis for creative practice PhDs can be a considerable challenge (Arnold, 2012; Brabazon & Dagli, 2010; Hamilton, 2011; Hamilton & Jaaniste, 2010; Ings, 2014; Paltridge, Starfield, Ravelli, & Nicholason, 2011), accordingly I have taken considerable effort to design this text so it not only articulates core concerns within the work (contextualisation, methodology, critical ideas and practice), but it also captures the *ethos* of the thesis as a whole. Thus, I have approached the design of information graphics in a manner that is distinctively Tongan in its aesthetic. I have also developed nuanced treatments of typography and layout so a poetic balancing of image, text and space offsets the density of the thinking. In doing this I see the design of a thesis as more than its structure; it is also the "poetic voice" with which the thinking speaks (Hamilton & Jaaniste, 2010; Ings, 2014; Nelson, 2004).

In chapter one I provided an introduction to the thesis by discussing *Veitalatala: Mātanga 'o e Talanoa* as culturally located research. I argued the significance of such contributions to the academy and discussed how Tongan epistemologies permeate both the subject and methodology of the inquiry. I then discussed the thesis as luva. This I differentiated from the idea of a me'a'ofa. I suggested that a creative, practice-led scholar is not an independent entity who offers artifacts as discrete gifts, but she instead, forms part of a community of dynamic, living thought from which she receives thinking and to which she returns thinking.

Chapter two located the thesis project in two realms of practice. The first was my own research and personal trajectory. Initially I discussed being a Tongan woman born in New Zealand who has been significantly influenced by the values and talanoa of her mother and the women in her community. I then traced a trajectory of personal design practice that showed how the concerns of *Veitalatala: Mātanga 'o e Talanoa* have surfaced through earlier research projects dating back to the photographic portraiture of my undergraduate studies.

Secondly, I considered the artistic field in which this thesis might be considered by discussing contributions from recent Tongan filmmakers and visual artists. I began by briefly discussing the nature of indigenous documentary with a focus on discourse that has surfaced from, or influenced practitioners in, the Pacific. The chapter then considered recent filmmaking relating to Tonga (in cinema and television). In so doing it drew into focus the continued underrepresentation of Tongan women's narratives and positioned the contribution of this research. Finally I positioned my creative practice in the context of three Tongan visual artists (Filipe Tohi, Kulimoe'anga Maka and Emma Gillies), all of whom deal with indigenous materials and/or representations of Tongan women.

Chapter three of the exegesis offered a review of knowledge impacting on the inquiry. In outlining thinking relating to veitalatala I noted ideas emanating from the opinions of living scholars and placed this in the context of existing references. In preparation for chapter four's discussion on methodology, and chapter five's critical commentary on the created artifacts, I also discussed knowledge relating to kakala, ngatu and Tongan poetry.

Chapters four and five drew a sharper focus on the creative practice that constitutes the primary site of inquiry in the thesis. Chapter four described and then unpacked the kakala framework employed in the explication of the project. Building on the thinking of past scholars I proposed a development of the methodology that might be useful for Tongan creative research projects. In this regard I related existing phases of the Kakala framework to stages in the creative inquiry and proposed the dimension of uouongataha that relates to ideas surrounding cultural respect and finding harmony in one's work and its broader position in the field of knowledge. In addition I discussed the development of a range of research methods including those that were essentially internal (faka'o'onoa, and photography as a thinking space), concerned with recording (interviewing, location photography, and the designer's journal), or offered an external lens on iterations of my thinking in the thesis (external critique and review).

Finally, chapter five began with a discussion of the nature of creative practice research as subjective, then offered a critical account of the ideas and processes underpinning each of the works in the exhibition, experiments supporting their development, and the installation design itself. The chapter was divided into three parts.

The first section considered the three ngatu portraits in relation to veitalatala, materiality and processes, colour, scale, image construction, and iconography. Permeating this discussion were considerations of ngatu as an evolving material in Tongan culture, a reflection upon the status of hou'eiki fafine and their stories in Tonga and a consideration of poetic expression as a form of social discourse. The second section considered the three filmic texts and discussed veitalatala in relation to issues of harmony, theme, colour, restraint and peaceful quiet, music and sound, iconography, materiality and processes, and Tongan poetics of time. The chapter closed with a discussion of design in relation to issues of placement, rhythm and print material accompanying the exhibition.

The artworks

There are six artworks exhibited at the conclusion of this thesis (three ngatu portraits and three filmic veitalatala). However, they represent only the surface of a very deep inquiry that has journeyed through practice-led experiments with film poetry and image-led poetic texts.[90] Each pair of artworks is hung on a separate spatial plane so although all of the women are evident under subtle lighting, each becomes pronounced when her filmic veitalatala is played. I argue that these artworks may be understood as veitalatala because of their lyrical nature and propensity to "speak to us", and also because they function in concord with Tongan poetry where words, image, movement and sound have traditionally been integrated.

Contributions to the field

Through its creative inquiry and critical contextualisation, this thesis proposes five contributions into a dynamic and constantly evolving luva.

The first contribution relates to the project's research design. In adapting the Kakala framework to creative inquiry (as far as I can ascertain, this is the first known instance of its application at PhD level in this type of research), I demonstrate how it can be used to work respectfully with hou'eiki fafine while simultaneously enabling the artistic researcher to reach very high levels of creative connection and harmony within her work. Rather than simply applying the framework, I have demonstrated in the thesis how its many dimensions can be adapted to a creative inquiry and I have suggested the inclusion of uouongataha as an additional consideration. This proposes the need to reach a harmonious accord if creative work is to be an effective and respectful offering to cultural knowledge and understanding.

The second contribution relates to the concept of veitalatala. Prior to this thesis, very few references to the term existed in academic writing. As it stands the meaning of veitalatala is still contested, but the thesis has demonstrated its potential utilisation as a way of describing a graceful and gently nuanced manner of communicating that we may associate with Tongan women's narration. Interviews about veitalatala collected in the process of the research are now housed in *The National Library of New Zealand: Te Puna Mātauranga o Aotearoa*. This preserves for the first time Tongan thinkers' consideration of the term. In addition the thesis proposes veitalatala as something that might reach beyond the limitations of the spoken or written word.

Thirdly, I have developed for the first time, a system of printing complex imagery using water-soluble reactive dyes on to large pieces of ngatu. This process uses newly developed capabilities of inkjet textile printing. This process posed numerous challenges and still leaves room for future development.

90 Examples of these texts are provided in chapters four and five respectively.

Fourthly, I developed a distinct form of Tongan portraiture that draws on the relatively unconsidered construction of composite photographic postcards popular in the Pacific in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. As a designer I have employed principles from this process to produce a complex and nuanced approach to capturing the lyrical nature of Tongan women's identities.

Fifthly, as an extension of this, I have added to the realm of film, a new form of indigenous documentary film making that I call a filmic veitalatala. This contributes to Pacific film making in general, and more importantly to emerging approaches to Tongan filmmaking. These lyrical, short texts utilise composite image building and sound to propose distinctive reflections on the graceful and poetic nature of Tongan women's storytelling. The filmic veitalatala are not discrete documentaries but are always shown in relation to the ngatu portraits. In this regard the thesis constructs the filmic and the printed portrait as bifurcate contributions to the representation of identity.

Further research

In a limited frame a thesis once examined serves as recognition by the academy of a candidate's ability as a researcher; as such, it forms a threshold that is crossed. However, when considered as part of the construct of luva a thesis may also become a living body that offers its thinking into realms of knowing and understanding that were the source of its genesis.

Accordingly, my intention is to present thinking within this thesis at conferences that deal with indigenous epistemologies and those that consider practice-led research in art and design. I also hope that this exegesis, as an alternatively designed academic text, may offer something to emerging discourse surrounding the nature of the exegesis in academic writing (Hamilton, 2011; Hamilton & Jaaniste, 2010; Ings, 2014; Paltridge, Starfield, Ravelli, & Nicholason, 2011). While the exegesis and the designed artifacts will be available as pdf files online at Scholarly Commons, as a printed book they may be useful in conferences similar to those in the last two years that have examined examples of how artists, designers and filmmakers find distinctive solutions to communicating both the ethos and content of their theses.[91]

Parts of this research project have already appeared in book chapters and journal articles relating to PhD research in art and design,[92] but it is my intention to reconstitute the chapter on methodology for submission to journals on qualitative inquiry or research design in creative practice-led studies. In so doing I hope to offer insights into an alternative framing of visual communication design research.

Veitalatala: Mātanga 'o e Talanoa is also currently of interest to research communities like the *Cultural Spaces & Design-Prospects of Design Education Research Project* [93] who have already made contact with the PhD programme in the School of Art and Design and have been following iterations of my work and writing. This Swiss-based research group is examining international pedagogical and research practices relating to culturally oriented design.

It is my intention to enter the three filmic veitalatala in international film festivals, including the *12th Annual Indigenous World Film Festival* [94] (Alaska, January 9-10, 2016) and the *ImagineNATIVE International Film Festival* [95] (Toronto, October 22-26, 2015). These are well-established forums that have substantial histories of screening indigenous work that renegotiates conventions of filmmaking. I also intend to lodge the filmic veitalatala with Tongan Television. I am meeting with Sisi'uno Helu to discuss the archiving of these texts so they will be available in Tonga.

Beyond research evident in this thesis, I intend to continue to expand my considerations of veitalatala and the documenting of Tongan women's stories. In the process of developing this thesis I interviewed five other hou'eiki fafine who had left Tonga to live in other countries.[96] Because their talanoa is both poignant and relevant and I will continue to create work that draws attention to the beauty and grace of their stories and their modes of telling.

Finally, as an extension of luva, I have made this journey through academia from a secondary school student who took a year out, then entered the university's certificate programme. This began ten years of study for one overriding purpose. I want to work with young indigenous designers so that they might find their authentic and validated voices and continue to contribute a richness of expression and thought both inside and outside of the academy. I have pursued practice-led research as a way of demonstrating both to myself and to others how intelligence and beauty can profile in both the written word and in realms of expression that transcend it.

… In closing …

In 1984 Konai Helu Thaman said when she talked about her work it was like "exposing yourself and that's not a very enjoyable thing to do, certainly not for me" (Wood, 2009, p. 25). I understand this. By nature I am a quiet woman who speaks and thinks primarily through images. I find public presentations of my work a challenge, often because certain ideas that I can develop in images do not translate easily into words. I am comforted in this regard by Dr Mohenoa Puloka's acknowledgement that "Tongans grow up and feel that something is showing the truth but not from the brain … I don't really trust what the brain gives … I use what my soul tells me … that's the truth, that's the truth" (Puloka, personal communication, March 17, 2014).

At the beginning of this thesis my supervisor told me that my study would be as much an emotional journey as an intellectual one. I understand this now. The toka kovi (hazardous) path was not always evident and it tested my tenacity, anxieties and thinking on many levels. I am deeply proud of my Tongan culture and I hope that my work and thinking are a testimony to this. My family and a wide range of Tongan scholars and artists have enabled me to walk a path into the unknown.

From this journey I have brought back a garland. Wood in describing Konai Helu Thaman's collection of poetry *Kakala* (1993) describes her garland as,

> … a collection of words and lines tightly woven into patterns. This garland, 'the *'tui-tu'u* (to string while walking)' might also be interpreted as referring to the art of composition in the garland/poetry as one that involves mobility (Wood, 2009, p. 16).

So I close this thesis, standing with a garland in my hands, a luva; *Veitalatala: Mātanga 'o e Talanoa*. It is a thesis rich with the perfume of ideas and the lyricism of women's stories.

It is a humble offering.

91 Three of these are worthy of note: *The Doctoral Education in Design Conference: Practice, Knowledge, Vision*, (May 22-25, 2011, Hong Kong), and two Australian conferences: The OLT funded *Effective Supervision of Creative Arts Research Degrees* (February 7-18, 2013, Brisbane), and the upcoming DDCA sponsored forum *The Outstanding Field: Artistic Research Emerging from the Academy* (March 20-21, 2015, Melbourne).

92 Ings, W. (2014). The Studio model: developing community writing in creative, practice-led PhD design theses. In C. Aitchison & C. Guerin (Eds.), *Writing groups for doctoral education and beyond; Innovations in theory and practice* (p. 190-203). Abingdon: Routledge.
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93 Project Leader Prof. Regine Halter: Fachcochschule Nordwestschweiz-Hochschule fur Gestaltung und Kunst, Switzerland.

94 http://www.alaskanative.net/en/main-nav/events/indigenous-world-film-festival/

95 https://www.facebook.com/imagineNATIVE/info?ref=page_internal

96 See footnote 6.

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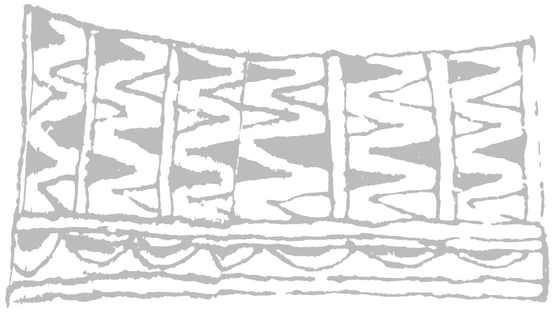
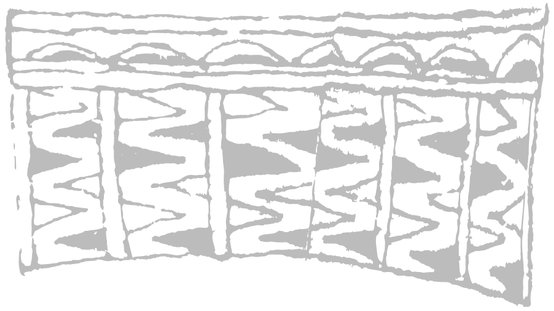


APPENDICES



APPENDICES

APPENDIX 1: Glossary of Tongan words used in this thesis

Glossary of Tongan words used in this thesis
(Wherever possible I have noted the source of the word use. Where no page number appears, the reference is from an interview conducted as part of the research).

Anga faka-Tonga - is a concept that embraces all that is said to be Tongan values and behaviour (Spickard, Rondilla, & Wright, 2002).

Fahu - the eldest sister in a Tongan family (Furuto, 2013, p. 252).
Faiva - to perform, give a performance (Churchward, 1959, p. 23).
Faka'apa'apa- respectful, humble, considerate (Vaioleti, 2006, p. 30).
Fakamālō - to give thanks, to be grateful, to feel or express gratitude (Churchward, 1959, p. 70).
Faka'o'onoa- a form of indwelling where one reflects and immerses in the depths of one's creativity and inner spirit (S. Tu'itahi, personal communication, November 4, 2012).
Fakatalanoa - to start up a conversation with (Churchward, 1959, p. 102).
Fakatapui - to set apart as sacred (Churchward, 1959, p. 105).
Fakataputapu - A kind of declaration that there is "tapu" to a place.
Fakatulou - acknowledging and paying respect.
Fakau'a - consonants (Minstry of Education, 2007, p. 14) and glottal voiceless stop ('O. Taliai, personal communication, December 1, 2014).
Fala to'oto'o (fala) - carrying mat ('O. Taliai, personal communication, December 1, 2014).
Fanongo - listen, hear, hear of (Churchward, 1959, p. 140).
Fatongia - primary responsibility (Shumway, 1977, p. 34).
Fefine - woman (Māhina, 2011, p. 190).
Feta'aki - sinuous sheets of ngatu (Lythberg, 2013, p. 86).
Fiefia - joy in their spirits.

Hala - path, road (Churchward, 1959, p. 209).
Hala toka kovi - a rough road ('O. Taliai, personal communication, December 1, 2014).
Hala toka lelei - a flat road ('O. Taliai, personal communication, December 1, 2014).
Heliaki - the use of one mode to represent another (M. Puloka, personal communication, March 17, 2014).
Hiapo - paper mulberry Broussonetia papyrifera (Lythberg, 2013, p. 86).
Hou'eiki fafine - Respectful term for women.
Hou'eiki fefine - Respectful term for woman.
Hu'anga - entrance (Churchward, 1959, p. 237).

Kafa - sinnet (Māhina, 2011, p. 190).
Kakala - fragrant flowers (Helu-Thaman, 1992, p. 256).
Kahoa - garland hung around the neck (Churchward, 1959, p. 243).
Kau tui kakala - people with special skills who weave and put the garland together.
Koka'anga - bark cloth being dyed with koka ('O. Taliai, personal communication, December 1, 2014).

Lalava - lashing.
Lau'i manioke - cassava leaves.
Lau'i talo - taro leaves.
Lea Fakafofonga - speaker representative.
Le'o - voice (Churchward, 1959, p. 293).
Luva - to give away (Churchward, 1959, p. 309).
Luva e kakala - giving away of a kakala to someone else (Helu-Thaman, 2003, p. 10).

Māfana- internal reflection sensed through a feeling of warmth. In the kakala framework this refers to "an internal evaluation and monitoring of the research process through the lens of the "insider, with their experience, wisdom and criticism" (Sanga & Thaman; 2009, p. 205).
Mālie - in the kakala framework this refers to relevancy and worthwhileness (Alkema, 2014, p. 5).
Manatu - memory.
Manioke mahoa'a koka'anga - tapioca; Manihot esculenta, Used in koka'anga to stick together the feta'aki (Lythberg, 2013 p. 87). This is different to the manioke that people eat.
Matala 'o e Fonua - "flower petals of the land", a term often used to describe the growth of flowers or vegetation (Toluta'u, 2008 , p. 20).
Mātanga 'o e Talanoa - thesis title. Mātanga describes a beautiful location that attracts people. In the sense of this thesis it refers to both a remembered location and to the moment of telling that is beautiful. Talanoa refers to the nature of speaking.
Matu'otu'a - comparatively elderly (Churchward, 1959, p. 346).
Me'a'ofa - gift (Churchward, 1959, p. 661).
Mehikitanga - father's sister ('O. Taliai, personal communication, December 1, 2014).
Mo'oni - pure, real, authentic, truthful.
Mo'ui - life/living spirit.

Ngatu - bark cloth (Māhina, 2011, p. 190).
Ngatu pepa - ngatu made with fabric fibre paper (Lythberg, 2013 p. 87).
Ngatu tā'uli - black-marked barkcloth.
Ngatu 'uli - black tapa; a dark-coloured bark cloth traditionally made for Tongan Royalty (Pacific Arts Association, 2012, para. 4).
Nifo koula - the gold plating of teeth.
Niu - coconut palm trees.

'Ofa - love, compassion (Vaioleti, 2006, p. 27).

Pasifika - a term used to describe people living in New Zealand who have migrated from the Pacific Islands or who identify with the Pacific Island because of ancestry or heritage (Anae & Mila-Schaaf, 2010, p. 49).
Pōtalanoa - literally means talking into the night (Manu'atu, 2000).
Pulotu - composer or creator (Shumway, 1977, p. 25).
Pulotu fa'u - composer of poems (ta'anga) (Shumway, 1977, p. 25).
Pulotu hiva - creator of melodies (Shumway, 1977, p. 25).
Pulotu haka- choreographer (Shumway, 1977, p. 25).
Punake- composer or poet who excels in pulotu fa'u, pulotu hiva, and pulotu haka (Shumway, 1977, p. 25).

Sei - a flower that is worn behind the ear or in the hair.

Tā - time (Māhina, 2011, p. 191).
Taalanga - a group of people discussing or debating on a particular topic.
Ta'anga - Poems.
Tala - to tell (Churchward, 1959, p. 446).
Tala fakafonua (or Tala oe fonua) - traditional names for the keeper of the traditions of Tonga ('O. Taliai, personal communication, March 17, 2014).
Tala fale - tradition of fale or house (Taliai, 2007).
Talanoa - engaging in dialogue with, or telling stories while expressing inner feelings and experiences.
Talanoa 'a fafine - women's talk, usually refer to topics that are often raised by women as most important in the realm of women (L. Manu'atu, personal communication, December 7, 2014).
Talanoa 'a e kakai lalahi - Talanoa 'a e kakai lalahi – refers to the kinds of talk and stories that are more suitable to matured people and or adults. Usually the topics or stories are not suitable to young children (L. Manu'atu, personal communication, December 7, 2014).
Talanoa 'a e loto - literally means talking of a person's heart. The phrase is used to refer to the values pertaining to (a Tongan) heart (L. Manu'atu, personal communication, December 7, 2014).
Talanoa 'a e tamaiki - refers to the kinds of talk and stories that are more popular amongst young people, children (L. Manu'atu, personal communication, December 7, 2014).
Talanoa 'a e tangata - men's talk, usually refer to topics that are often raised by men as most important in the realm of men (L. Manu'atu, personal communication, December 7, 2014).
Talanoa mo e loto (L. Manu'atu, personal communication, December 7, 2014).
Talanoa tuhutuhu - literally means talking with the hands, fingers, pointing while talking (L. Manu'atu, personal communication, December 7, 2014).
Talanoa'i - to tell, tell about (Churchward, 1959, p. 447).
Talatala - to tell tales on or about (Churchward, 1959, p. 448).
Talatala-ki-fale- holding conversations between tribes or many people (M. Puloka, personal communication, March 17, 2014).
Talatalanoa - mundane conversation (M. Puloka, personal communication, March 17, 2014), or reflective talking (L. Manu'atu, personal communication, November 4, 2014).
Tanga fanau - root of a word ('O, Taliai, personal communication, December 1, 2014).
Ta'ovala faka'ahu - smoked mats used for ta'ovala (University of Canterbury, 2010).
Tapu - forbidden, prohibited (Churchward, 1959, p. 457).
Tatala 'i loto - a peeling of the heart (L. Manu'atu, personal communication, 2014).
Tā-vā - a time-space theory initially developed by Hūfanga 'Okustino Māhina (Māhina, 2011, p. 191).
Teu - in the kakala framework this refers to conceptualisation – perceptions, beliefs and philosophies (Alkema, 2014, p. 5).
Toka kovi – uneven, rough ground or road (Churchward, 1959, p. 487).
Toli - refers to the gathering of fragrant flowers (Helu-Thaman, 1993, p. 256).
Toloi - macron/ stress marker (Ministry of Education, 2007, p. 15).
Tongo - mangrove.
Tufunga lalava - a master craftsman of the traditional art of lalava (kafa sennit-lashing) (Hoskin, 2006).
Tui - in the kakala framework this refers to the creation of a garland (Helu-Thaman, 1993, p. 256).
Tuitui - candlenuts.

Tui-tu'u - to string while walking (Wood, 2009, p. 16).
Tupu'anga - a place where something grows or originates from.

'Ulumotu'a - social institution based on men (Māhina, 2011, p. 192).
Uouongataha - to work together as one (Churchward, 1959 p. 526).

Vā - space; substance; content; relation (Māhina, 2011, p. 192).
Vei - a mat or fala people carry when travelling to a destination to deliver a message (M. Puloka, personal communication, March 17, 2014).
Veipa- competition; when people argue back and forth and words are exchanged (S. Havea, personal communication, March 17, 2014).
Veiveiua - uncertain (Churchward, 1959, p. 537).
Veitalatala - poetical talanoa (Churchward, 1959 p. 537).

APPENDIX 2a: *Transcripts of interviews relating to Veitalatala*

2:1 *DR SIOTAME HAVEA*

Title: Usage of the word Veitalatala in a song composed by Dr Siotame Havea 'Ongo kaliloa'
Person interviewed: Dr Siotame Havea
Interviewer: Talita Toluta'u
Location: Sia'atoutai Theological College, Hihifo Road, Tonga
Date: 17 March 2014, 5:00pm
Time: 00:00:00 – 00:14:46
Recording device: Tascam
Transcribed by: 'Aivi Telefoni Fakahua and Saimone Fakahua

Dr Havea: The meaning may not … the meaning may be hidden and is not very clear.

T. Toluta'u: So would you say that's like a metaphor?

Dr Havea: Heliaki is … a metaphoric … Veitalatala is when … it's like something not clear … it's unclear … it's still open for discussion … they do not know … so they think something veitalatala it's something talangai … Those people there says it's this and this … That is what a veitalatala … that thing there tells that thing is … so it seems that item is not very clear… I use this song says 'neongo 'a e veitalatala, kā kuo kite 'a e fanga fonua mo'unga' … so even it's veitalatala … even we don't trust that story, make sure that story where is the _____ there is something there which makes you know the right meaning … even it's in the stage of very unclear … but the reason why I do that veitalatala but its those mountain land because of the story …it's … the story about the foundation of Tonga … the King grew up in his house and then go _____ … even there's a talk to different meaning of political … nowadays story of politics … people are saying we have to get away from monarchical system going into a democratically system whatever … it's … even they argue they think politically but kite 'a e fanga fonua mo'unga, kite fonua mo'unga is like mountainous island you can see from afar … and you can say now this is why it was there in the beginning … so the story spread around and its not clear now just from time of Christ … in philosophy of Kalisi the explanation of decoratical system and telling of monarchal system in time of _____ system … it's from there to nowadays .. no one been able to say that this is the most right or perfect political system. Even there's a story that it's in Tonga … it's Tongan …Tonga was saved and not colonised by foreign country … and clearly shown the system used by Tonga… the system was used by Tonga that Tonga was with God.

Dr Havea: So by the time that we say that we talk about God in the system that the country is using… then it's mysteries … that mysteries means "where is praying and what does that do" … but we do know that we are trusting God, education doesn't accept trust and faith because it's not included in _____ knowledge … because the important part in here is that they are using veitalatala … even since Kalisi and Senituli and came Socrates and who else Plato and who else … which one is the most important political system, Which is the right political system … then they say it's right for most to choose democratic system.

Dr Havea: Even I am using all here … even it's still veitalatala even it's still and no one been able to prove this is exactly what we are talking about … and even they are still talking about political … but Tonga was nationally given up.

T. Toluta'u: Do you have a little understanding or a little knowledge of where the word originated from?

Dr Havea: Perhaps veitalatala … perhaps coming from … veipā … when we say veipā its fe'auhi … talatala its talanoa … this is probably where it comes from … veipā …vei my story and your story … so I'm talking forth and you're talking back and so we argue and we keep on arguing and I believe that it comes from that oral discussion from veipa … when we say vei I fight against you and you fight against me … war of words… my tala and your tala.

T. Toluta'u: So it's not a harmonious conversation?

Dr Havea: It may be, it may be not a harmony kind of conversation but somehow it is a way of trying to know what is the truth behind … we have … In my tala is my traditions, your tala is your traditions because telling it's national decision … which is tala nonofo, telling of what, family notice … so tala it's the main story that you have that guides you along the way … my tala and your tala … veitalatala I believe is a veitalatala when you talk about veitalatala we talk about veipā of the two sources … your source about your tala and my source about my tala and we sort of building up and building up.

2:2 *DR MOHENOA PULOKA*

Title: Root of the word Veitalatala and Tongan thoughts and feelings
Person interviewed: Dr Mohenoa Puloka
Interviewer: Talita Toluta'u
Location: Free Wesleyan Church Head Office, Vaha'akolo Road, Nukualofa, Tonga
Date: 17 March 2014, 10:30am
Time: 00:00:00 – 00:29:01
Recording device: Tascam
Transcribed by: 'Aivi Telefoni Fakahua and Saimone Fakahua

T. Toluta'u: So you say that the word would have been tala?

Dr Puloka: For foundation of word … Every word you know it. That's the root word. It is in whom out of it the word was produced. Word added before a word becomes the prefix and the word added after a word becomes the suffix.

Dr Puloka: The veitalatala, it's the dealing with children it's tala. With tala. To tell … telling a story, giving a message … anything that has to do with mouth communication all communication. That's veitalatala, vei it's a Samoan word.

T. Toluta'u: Not Fijian?

Dr Puloka: No … There are Fijian and Samoan words … But with Fiji and Samoa _____ century. In 15th century Samoa got independent _____ but before that way into integrity Tonga was the largest naval power in pasifika … Tonga went through _____ … So it was Tonga that ruled Samoa and Fiji, Futuna, Uvea. You know Niuan language that language originated from Futuna. But vei in Samoan language means "repeat" … originated that word veiveiua … I'm not really sure about veiveiua, anyways the important of word.

Dr Puloka: However, the word itself … the word produce word that create word, it's usage of word see we are not using nowadays … those words we don't use…and words nowadays is not typical words in 19th century, for us to know the exact meaning of a word. Because of the nature of language … In every language … it grows and it changes over time … not only that but it multiplies.

Dr Puloka: The importance of searching to the root of word…the root of word… usually the original is fixed … The product will add on to it … it's all addition.

Dr Puloka: Tala is the root word … The ovary it's tala … which veitalatala is similar to our Tongan word Potalanoa … talatalanoa … that's talatalaifale … it's … that is veitalatala … it's … talatalaifale is much more similar to veitalatala than talatalanoa … because vei is … it's a name given to a portable mat … it's a … carrying mat … portable mat … it's a mat that you carry around … People in old days, they say that when you go somewhere … you take your own little mat … just fold and bring along … just go and unfold sit on it … we call it vei … that's vei … that's veitalatala … you go unfold the mat and sit on it then you tell the message you are going with…there's also Tongan word called unfolding the little mat … unfolding a mat means it's a big mat. Big mat unfolding that's a kāinga. But for vei … it's just a little mat … that's a Samoan word.

T. Toluta'u: Yes … because when I ask about that word some people say that … their understanding is that vei originates in Fiji.

Dr Puloka: No … anyways it doesn't matter if it's originated from Fiji or Samoa …what important is that you use… because in Tonga … many Samoan words are used in Tongans … people don't know that's what I'm talking about … like_____ because that lady brought named Limapo?? She's a daughter of Amu?? Sailing to bring her to Mo'ungātonga?? The King, and they have a son named Ngata?? _____ people think that he's a Tongan, because he is speaking in Tongan but origin a Samoan, many many more. The Fijian language, all of the outer islands of Ha'apai called 'Otumu'omu'a, Nomuka, Ha'ano, Fonoi, Fotu, Matuku, islands that Fiji has ruled, and dominated by Fijian. The reason because, it was Tonga, Fiji and Samoa, so language is a good thing if it's a Fijian word but the important part why Tongans used that word, because using a different word then its taken over by Tongan people…that's the meaning of veitalatala. I mean talatalaifale is much similar.

T. Toluta'u: To talanoa?

Dr Puloka: Yes it's all the same, its still talanoa but talatalaifale there's two personal they are…it's a conversation between two tribes that's talatalaifale. Talatalanoa its just to be as a common talk with people.

T. Toluta'u: A normal conversation?

Dr Puloka: Yes, yes.

T. Toluta'u: Because you talked about vei being a mat that you would sit on as you tell a message.

Dr Puloka: Vei is a small mat.

T. Toluta'u: Yes, that only one person would sit on. Is that duty usually a male's or can it be a female's as well?

Dr Puloka: Usually it's a female's.

T. Toluta'u: So is that a gendered language then? Something that's only given to a female?

Dr Puloka: Well it could be because a veitalatala… what I mean is the mat is big but the use of it can both be male and female. In the old tradition of Tongan culture… Tongan tradition was very clear… certain things men, women, there is no cloudy about it unlike today, you don't know what (laughs) …anyways, that's just saying a word but in olden days it was very clear that that's a boy, that's a girl… but using of mat by both.

T. Toluta'u: I met with someone and they explained it could be a gendered language, that word?

Dr Puloka: I don't think so but that's a common gendered word veitalatala, because the conversation is taken place both between men and women, whether the women have second place in the congregation so as men but its not exclusively of any gender, it's a whole gender so I think its safe to say that gender is not really clear, there is no clear mark there what it is gender based.

T. Toluta'u: I came across the word from my reading and from my understanding is that it was poetic for talanoa and some people I have met with have told me that its another word for metaphor, but I'm not sure if that's even the right definition to give for veitalatala… that metaphor is the same as veitalatala.

Dr Puloka: It goes deep but its not strictly a metaphor… a metaphor is using one mode to represent another.
Do you write music?

T. Toluta'u: I don't write music.

Dr Puloka: But you have music?

T. Toluta'u: Yes.

Dr Puloka: To accompany your work?

T. Toluta'u: Yes, yes.

Dr Puloka: There is very important that in Tongan ___ making … music which is not the same as what the palangi ways of music is, but music is a song conversation and are choreographed singing, that's what the music was … you will find that that particular characteristics of music as a song conversation and a choreographed ___ there's how you make meaning With our talatala or talatalanoa or conversations, we can talk about _____ and stuff like that, we put it with music and then we have someone to dance, when it is done, then we say its over, there is ___ so music in that sense, poetry, lyrics, choreographed, dancing, is very much important in our communication … if you really really want to understand something listen to the music of the story, its words have a meaning those words … and see how it develops into a full grown choreography … then you find the real meaning … I'm a composer … I am choreographer … lakalaka it's a dance … it's something that makes the blood … the importance… main meaning …because it has been told since was born … since then … only _____ about 30 years ago the pālangi learns to touch the heart, to feel it … They were taught to stop that's an evil… for the Tongans grow up and feel that something is showing the truth but not from the brain … I don't really trust what the brain gives… I use what my soul tells me … that's the truth, that's the truth.

T. Toluta'u: Is this how you compose your music and your actions? It's through your feelings?

Dr Puloka: …Yes that's … I'm composing right now a lakalaka … but I am … do you know that word 'ānaumelie … it's 'ānau … 'ānau is the scene of the heart. The heart has eyes. It's looking into your soul.

2:3 *DR 'OPETI TALIAI*

Title: Structure of the word Veitalatala
Person interviewed: Dr 'Opeti Taliai
Interviewer: Talita Toluta'u
Location: Atenisi University, Nuku'alofa, Tonga
Date: 17 March 2014, 1:30pm
Time: 00:00:00 – 00:52:38
Recording device: Tascam DR05 Portable recorder
Transcribed by: Talita Toluta'u
Transcription: Talita Toluta'u and Taaniela Valu

T, Toluta'u: Im having a hard time finding written stuff on it (Veitalatala) so that's what I'm finding a little bit hard at the moment

Dr Taliai: what is the title of your thesis?

T, Toluta'u: So my title of my thesis is Veitalatala: Mātanga 'o e Talanoa.

Dr Taliai: That's okay, I'll help in any way I can with what I know… because I don't have to tell you that what I'm saying is correct… it's a good thing that you go and ask around to many people so you can gather their thought and then you can sort it out … That is the purpose of research … Veitalatala to me sounds like a Fijian word, because the word Vei … Vei is purely Fijian but the word Vei shows up a lot in the Tongan language and maybe, like I mentioned it being a Fijian word, maybe in the cases where vei shows up it kind of indicates that the meaning is a Fijian meaning that the Tongan have adopted and used here in Tonga in their language… and it has gone (by in time) that the Tongans presume it is a Tongan word … because it is used a lot … but every time when you see words in Tonga used by the Tongans with the Vei … Vei is a prefix … with the Vei in it immediately you think this is Fijian … the reason why I say it's important to understand that first hand because you're dealing with a language … purpose of the meaning … you are looking for the meaning of the word and it is important to know where that word comes from … because that is the point of departure of your research work, you will work out from there the meaning, that's first, it's a Fijian word. Veitalatala, my understanding is … Firstly the Tongan language has two parts … There is something that called formal language and informal language … so the Tongan language is like that … so the importance of that division is, when you do a public speech you use the formal language, so you use that language when you speak in public … the language like how we are talking that's informal and we use it … so Veitalatala is a formal word for Talanoa … Talanoa is the informal, like how we are talking, we use Talanoa. But the time we are in public speech we use Veitalatala … so the two is … the difference is one is formal and the other informal but they mean the same … so that's something important in answering your question … Veitalatala is a formal word and originates from Fiji its meaning … but the way … my interpretation of the meaning of the word to make it a bit different from Talanoa … talanoa is exactly that, just randomly talking, talking about anything, but there are things in there that are good, some things that are a waste of time, that's Talanoa. It's still useful, it is up to the individual to sift out the things that are irrelevant … Veitalatala … it is a situation that is specific and is concise to the meaning … to Talatala… is like you unwrap … you explain that thing as what it is, that's talatala. Talatala is also … to clean or clear the word … remember the word … the word is like a cover up … it is a means of conveying what you're thinking about but … but the word covers up the truth of that thing … so the thing that you are listening to me speak to you about, that's only a cover up and then you go and sit down work out what is my meaning, so you are unwrapping the language so that you can see what's inside the thing that's being wrapped up … that's what Talatala is … Talatala to me is like a process of unwrapping the language … remember that language is like … it's like a sort of tool … or a means of sending out your thinking … so you're thinking in the head about something and when you say it to someone, you put it in language, you use language to give your thought to the other person. Because he/she is sitting there listening to the Talanoa … so at the time you are looking for the meaning of that person, you sit down and unwrap the language … for example if we have a Lū that is baking in a 'Umu, it is wrapped, and you

don't know what is inside it, until you take it and unwrap the Lū and then oh, it is a Lū Sipi, it's like that … Veitalatala in public speech, you present to the listeners or the audience the meaning of the topic you are speaking about, that's Veitalatala. Talanoa like I mentioned before is talking randomly and there are a lot of Talanoa that is used in the Faikava … the men just sit around the Faikava and talk rubbish and make jokes and all those things. The rest of Veitalatala in public speech … you not only talk about the theme of the day but you have the most important people seated there and all the guests … and your purpose, your aim to explain to them about the theme, so you are Veitalatala to the audience … and like I said earlier on, Talatala is … I think our English translation for Talatala is explain, it is the process of explaining whatever the them or the case … it is shown through our voice as Fakamatala. Fakamatala, Talatala … so Fakamatala is when you Tatala, you unwrap the things, that's what Tatala means … there was another word I heard you use in your thesis which is Mātanga … It's the same thing … Mātanga to me sounds the same word as Matala … because when you unravel something, at times some people say it's Fakatangatanga… so it's different way of pronouncing the same meaning … sometimes you hear people say Talatala and sometimes you hear them Tangatanga … so don't worry about the variations in sound … they are different sounds but same word, same meaning … I think that's what I can help with with Veitalatala … that's the important thing for you to remember about that is the distinction of kind of languages in Tonga. The formal and informal … Veitalatala is the formal one, Talanoa is the informal one, so they both mean the same thing.

T, Toluta'u: Do you think that Veitalatala is also a gender language? That it is referring to the use females instead of males.

Dr Taliai: Maybe you can think of it that way that the word has a gender aspect to it … I think of the talking part within the Tongan culture, it was something that only the men did… it has come to now that women are allowed to speak and it isn't a bad thing, it's very good but the question is, why was it only the male in the past not the female? I believe that question, you will have to go back to the culture, to the history of Tonga, why was that? … because there is a lot of things you have to bring forward from history's side and culture so you have an explanation for that … that question is valid that you brought forth but I believe in the past it was like that … talking in public was a male's thing … it still appears that way today … but it's starting to show now a days that female are doing the same role … slowly … we are starting to see that there is a change that is happening going into the future … another thing in relation to the question … Tala is another word for tradition … when we refer to tradition of a country like Tonga we call that Tala, the Tala of Tonga which is the tradition of Tonga … like I said earlier, the keepers in the old days or the keepers of tradition here in Tonga were the men, they were males … there was a certain people in the society back in those days who were known as the Tala Faka-fonua, Tala 'o e Fonua … maybe this name can help you … the tradition keeper of Tonga who is well known even up till this day is Tala Fale … Tala Fale was the title name, that is the title name that is kept by the Tu'i Pelehake today … that was the title name of the traditional keeper of Tonga in the past and that title name still carries through as a reminder of that role to the Tu'i Pelehake of today which is to keep the tradition … the Keeper looks after, and he is the only one that you refer to if something is mixed up, a issue … it is referred to him to finalise what is to be done … that's what a tradition keeper is … that role is with Tu'i Pelehake … if you see, Tu'i Pelehake is title name by man that has come down through men … In reference to the question on gender, the question is very true. It is still strong here in Tonga, that there are things that males do that females don't … regarding tradition, that is a male's thing … it is still important in your research to bring forth the historical dimension and the Tongan culture, and view it from today as things are changing, there are females today that are coming up to speak … but keep in mind … the important division we talked about earlier the formal and the informal… like political campaigning … the nature of that is mostly informal language the kind of talking done there … its just Talanoa, there is no Veitatala in that part … but I give mention to that because a lot of females are becoming candidates for member of parliament … even though they are in a spot that is high in society as politicians but the kind of talk they are doing is very much informal… it is different to Veitalatala… Veitalatala has to do with culture, something that is permanent in society and is kept by society… that is very formal and it is not dealt with carelessly… that's another point for you to think about… if I am to repeat that point … even though we see today that females are coming forth to speak but it is still in the context of Talanoa but they have not reached the level that I think is Veitalatala… that is a special role, it's very sacred and is kept by the male, it is only the male that has it… I'm not saying that it is going to stay unchanged like that forever but there will be a time … just like how we are talking about the title name of Tu'i Pelehake, maybe it will get to a time that there will be a Tu'i Pelehake who is a female, we can then say that she has reached the point of Veitalatala, it is no longer Talanoa but is Veitalatala … another point I want to make is that Veitalatala is very close to the position of a priest … the he talks is very close to divinity … every word he says is finalised as if he is a God … that's the Lord say do this, do that … that is one important thing about the distinction between formal and informal … formal is very sacred and is closely related to things that are Godly but Talanoa is mundane secular… so you have a secular dimension of talking and we call it in Tongan Talanoa as oppose to sacred which is Veitalatala… you will view it like that the way you discuss the issue of your thesis.

T, Toluta'u: Do you think that the word originated from Tala but over time it extended to Veitalatala?

Dr Taliai: Yes the root word is Tala … Talatala is a _____ Of the root word Tala.

T, Toluta'u: And then Vei would have come in?

Dr Taliai: Vei like I said is purely Fijian … the equivalent of Vei in Tongan is Fe. So Fe in Tongan and Vei in Fijian are both prefix attached on to the root word and the root word here is Talatala… so if you take off the Vei and put in Fe it's going to be Fetalatala … so Fe is a _____ Prefix. Meaning the situation of Talatala involves two people, one is doing the talatala to another … but Talatala is a reduplication of Tala, Tala is the root word to tell or to explain, that's what Tala means … another meaning for the word Tala is to unwrap, you unwrap something, that's Tala also … not only you think about Tala as a action verb, the action of doing the unwrapping or whatever but you also have to think of Tala in terms of when you try to … in your mind … it's a mental process you try to explain something, make it clear … that's Tala … it's a mental as well as a physical when you unwrap something … so that's Tala.

T, Toluta'u: So do you think that some of the Tongan language originates from action?

Dr Taliai: Yes… I think mostly from action … I'm glad that you raise that because … let's just talk about the Tongan language … the Tongan language is mostly based on action words, do some work, our Tongan language is like that … and that meaning appears during the time we analyse the Tongan _____ … the sentence … our Tongan sentence the verb is always first, followed by the subject and last is the object … for example … 'oku 'alu 'a Sione ki kolo. Oku alu is the verb, 'a Sione is the subject, ki kolo is the object … the abbreviation for verb is V; subject is S and O for object … the Tongan _____ structure is V, S, O. It is always V, S, O … but the point that is important here is that the syntactic structure emphasises the importance of the verb in the Tongan language because you can always take away the subject and the object and use only the verb and it still makes sense when we talk… for example if someone comes and asks me "Ko fē 'a Sione?" And I say "'oku 'alu", that's a sentence … verb only because he and I already understand what we are talking about and to shorten it "'oku 'alu", that's a complete sentence in Tongan … Unless you want to put it into a full sentence "'oku 'alu ki kolo"… our language is verb central…and it almost tells us through the Tongan _____ the point that our culture emphasises work … we do not emphasise who you are, we don't emphasise the "I" the subject, we emphasise work … that's an argument to use to explain Tongan _____ … as oppose to English _____ which is S, V, O. The subject is always first. So we can say that in English the individual is important … but English is like that … so there is a clash … our Tongans who are living overseas … we

go from a work is important and the pālangi come and it's you that is important, that transition we make to live the pālangi way becomes … there is a consequence on our culture … it results in people of our culture say that the kids are selfish and don't love us anymore … but that is how time goes, but it is important how you question it … that's something about Tongan language … not only is it a male thing like how we talked about the male and traditional keepers but it also emphasises the importance of work, that is our culture to work … why? Because when we look at the social political structure of Tonga, there is the Tu'i, Hou'eiki and commoners. And for us commoners, our responsibility is to work and protect those that are above … that is our work, we work and our work is verb central all the time … Ha'u, Tu'u, 'Alu, Lele, we only use action words. Fakalongolongo, 'oua te ke lea … it is always like that … that is our political social structure of Tonga.

2:4 *MR AFU TAUMOEPEAU*

Title: Veitalatala in the light of folk tales
Person interviewed: Afu Taumoepeau
Interviewer: Talita Toluta'u
Location: Taumoepeau residence, Fasi moe afi, Tonga
Date:18 March 2014, 4:00pm
Time: 00:00:00 – 00:27:47
Recording device: Tascam DR05 Portable recorder
Transcribed by: 'Aivi Telefoni Fakahua and Saimone Fakahua

Mr Taumoepeau: What is the purpose of this research? You understand Tongan language?

T. Toluta'u: Yes.

Mr Taumoepeau: Eh … What is the purpose of the word? What is its usage?

T. Toluta'u: The Tongan word that I'm using in my thesis …which I am currently doing as my doctorate … the word relates to the context of artwork … But I've searched for this word and the definition I'm getting its veitalatala, the poetic for talanoa. So there's a connection between talanoa and veitalatala … right?

Mr Taumoepeau: The first thing that comes to my mind as I think about the word that the Siu uses … ahh … especially the fishing for sharks … he … it is heavily used by a man NiuUelingatoni from Palau when they go to fish for sharks … and the story that is used when they go fishing for the sharks … a man … a man named Sinilau goes to and represented by the toutai… The toutai is… and when he goes he goes and talks like he is courting … He is dating with Hina … And Hina is … (Shouts out) … That is the shark … And Sinilau goes with different things … but the thing that is important is that he goes and talks with Hina and takes a necklace, food, he takes things so Sinilau can come … Hina … It gets to a stage where a rope is tied and captured the shark … ahh … but, but it is coincide the way the have communicated with each other … So we can reason in that way.

Mr Taumoepeau: Veitalatala is to talk in a way … ahh … that they are able to kāinga their understanding and to kāinga what they are talking about so they can have a good outcome … The vei is a word that is attached to the front of a lot of Tongan words … ahh … like … (shouts out) … like … The Feveitokai'aki … The vei is something that attaches something to something … A handle … A bag that has a handle … something that attaches from one side to another … The feiveitokai'aki …There is a word that is feveitokai'aki and veitokai'aki … the toka'i we understand is when you respect me, I respect you … I respect, you respect … The toka'i is also used when you sit both mui'i sene… That's where you beat the faikakai … I vei to you, you vei to me … its toka'i … you toka'i to me, I toka'i to you … it is not toka'i … so in the stand point of vei in veitalatala … if you remember there is a word pōtatala or pōtalatala that happens at night and its meaning is close … but when you veitalatala is something that fepikitaki someone's conversation with someone.

T. Toluta'u: Harmony pe ko e argument?

Mr Taumoepeau: *'Ikai … ah … 'oku 'i he 'ikai he'ikai ke mei fefiisi'aki ia, no … kapau 'e veitalatala ia 'e motu 'a e kavei ia … kapau 'e fakafekiki mo fakakikihi 'oku 'ikai ke 'i ai ha vei ia … ha kavei ia ke ne puke hangē ko e veitokai'aki …'ikai 'i ai ha taha ia te ne toka'i ha taha 'o kapau 'oku na fakakikihi ia pea na fefusi'aki … tuku kehe 'a e fa'ahinga fakakaukau 'a e kau papālangi 'oku lava pe ke fit in pē ki he kau Tonga … 'oku, 'oku, 'oku toumu'a …'Oku, 'oku 'i ai 'a e me'a ia … ko e … positive ahh … positive … positive argument if there is such a thing he… ka koe … ka koe … debate ke ma'u ha lelei mo ma'u ha mo'oni 'oku 'ikai ke hangē ko 'etau fekīhiaki faka-Tonga ke tau, takitaha fusi pe 'ene mo'oni 'ikai ke 'iai ha mo'oni ia 'e a'u ki ai … ah…'a ia kiate au, 'i he,'i he 'eku fakakaukau 'uhinga pē 'aku 'ihe veitalatala ko e talanoa lelei pē ia … ahh … ke, ke ma'u ai ha fa'ahinga me'a ke ne hanga 'o ha'i ha fakakaukau 'e ua … ah … ko e hangē pē ko 'etau 'ā'ā faka-Tonga, 'alu foki 'a e tangata ke 'ā'ā pē mo ha fefine he … ah … ke ō pē 'o talanoa lelei … ah … ko e, koe'uhi 'oku 'i ai 'ena taumu'a ko 'ene a'u pē ki he'ena 'ā'ā kuo a'u leva ki he stage 'o e veitalatala mo e talanoa ke, ke fakapapau'i pē 'oku 'i ai ha Kaveinga ke ha'i 'aki kinaua …. Ke na talanoa ke a'u ki ha tu'unga pe kuo na mali pe 'ikai he … ko e ko e ko'ena a'u koee ki ai, 'e makatu'unga pē ia'i he, 'i he veitalatala … 'oku 'i ai foki 'a e kakai tangata ni'ihi 'oku nau 'alu kinautolu ki ha fefine 'o 'ā'ā with a different intention … ah … 'oku nau manako kinautolu 'i he, 'i he pehē ko e māna'ia ia … ko'ene 'alu pē ia ki he fefine ke ne ma'u 'a e fefine ko ia, 'oku 'ikai ke 'i ai ha veitalatala ia 'i ai, he 'oku kehe 'a e 'uhinga 'a e tangata kae kehe atu 'a e 'uhinga 'a e fefine … ah … 'a ia ko e, ko e talanoa ko e 'oku ou 'oatu 'e au ia … 'e 'ikai keu tala atu 'e au ia ko e 'uhinga ia 'a e veitalatala kā ko e taha ia ''o e founga ngāue'aki 'a e veitalatala he … ko e veitalatala ko e, ko e, ko e talanoa ke ma'u ha fa'ahinga kavei ke ha'i'aki 'a e fakakaukau 'oku ma'uno'una ki loto _____ 'e ki'i kehe,'e ki'i kehe kae talanoa'i pe 'o a'u … ahh … 'i he … 'a ia 'oku ha'u foki 'a e fo'i lea ia mei he fo'i lea 'e ua ko e vei mo e tala ko e talanoa … hangē pe ko e lea lahi makatu'unga pē 'a e fakapipiki 'a e 'ū lea ia kā 'oku ou ngāue'aki … 'ko e me'a 'oku punake foki 'a Uellingatoni 'i Palau pea 'oku ne ngāue'aki 'a e faiva No'o 'Anga. 'Oku lahi 'ene ngāue'aki 'a e veitalatala. Ko e ui 'a Sinilau kia Hina ke ha'u ke na veitalatala he 'oku ha'u mo'ene tuinga fangongo, 'oku 'alu atu 'oku ha'u mo 'ene lei _____ mo 'ene kahoa … ko'ene feinga ke fekumi mai ke na talanoa pea ko e ola ia 'ena talanoa, 'ena veitalatala 'oku na a'u pe ki ha tu'unga 'oku ha'u pe 'a Sinilau 'o ha'i'aki 'a Hina, 'o 'ai 'a e maea 'o ha'i 'a Hina 'o hiki 'o ha'i… 'a ia 'oku hei'ilo he 'oku 'uhinga foki 'oku 'ikai sai … he 'e ha'u foki 'a Sinilau ia 'o 'ave 'ene 'Anga 'o fai'aki 'ene fietonu _____ kā 'oku, 'oku lahi 'a e me'a loloto 'oku hanga 'e he tamasi'i 'o fa'u he 'oku 'ikai ngata pē 'i he 'alu 'a e kau toutai 'o tauhi 'a e lao pea mo ha me'a ke attract'a e ta'ahine kae nofo 'a e ongomātu'a ia 'i 'uta … 'oku 'i ai pē 'enau fale ____ 'oku nau nofo pē 'o tuki pe honau kava 'oku 'ikai ke nau maumau'i 'a e 'ū lao … he ko'enau maumau'i pē 'a e 'ū lao 'i 'uta 'oku 'ikai ke hoko 'a e veitalatala ia 'i tahi … ahh … koe, koe that's al I can think of … kā 'oku te lava pē 'e kita 'o toki faka'uhinga 'a e veitalatala ki he 'ū me'a kehe … he ko e talanoa ia 'a e punake 'i he fāngota kae lava pē ke hoko 'a e veitalatala 'i he malanga 'a e faifekau 'i he'ene congregation… pē ko e hā 'a e fo'i kavei 'oku feinga 'a e faifekau ke talanoa ki he'ene, audience ko e me'a 'a e tohitapu mo e folofola … ko e fo'i kavei ia … ke 'osi ange pea 'e malanga 'a e faifekau.*

Mr Taumoepeau: [Trans.] No … its not pulling back forth … no … if it is veitalatala the handle will break … if it is fakafekiki and fakakikihi, there will be no vei … a handle to handle … like

veitokai'aki … there is nobody that would toka'i someone if that person is fakakikihi and they are fefūsiaki … Apart from the thinking of the Europeans … It will fit in with the Tongans … There is a positive, Positive argument if there is such a thing …It's a debate to get good and truth …It's not like our Tongan arguments where we push for our right … there will be no truth as a result … that is to me and my understanding and meaning of veitalatala … it is good conversation to gain a something that will bind two thinkings together… like our Tongan 'ā'ā … A male would go to 'ā'ā with a female … to have a good conversation … the reason because they have a good goal … When they reach the 'ā'ā stage they have reached a stage in the talks to fakapapau'i that there is a handle to bind them together … They would talk and reach a stage if the wed or not … When they reach this stage it will only depend on the veitalatala … there are some male that go to 'ā'ā with a female with a different intentions … they are attracted to thinking they are māna'ia …they go to the female just to have her … there is no veitalatala because the male has a different intention and the female has a different intention … the talks I give you is not tell you that this is the meaning of veitalatala but it is one way of using veitalatala … Veitalatala is a talk to get a handle to bind thinking that maunuunu ki loto … it will differ here, it will differ there … but the conversation will be talked to a stage … So the word is broken into two words .. Vei and tala, talanoa … like a lot of words that are attached … There is a Punake Uellingationi from Palau and he uses a lot the shark story and he uses a lot the word veitalatala.

Mr Taumoepeau: *Ko e me'a pē taha 'oku ou 'ilo'i 'oku ngāue'aki 'i he authority, ko e tangata 'oku authority 'i he language … 'a Uellingatoni he … Na'e 'i ai mo e talanoa na'e ngāue'aki 'i he siasi … You can quote … ko e me'a pē kuo mate 'a e tangata ia … ko e tangata'eiki na'e mate ia kuo 'osi 90 tupu but he was an authority 'i he ngāue fāka'eiki as punake … ko Ma'u matāpule ko e siana mei Talafo'ou … ahh …na'a ma interview mo e siana 'i he me'a na'e fai pea na'a ne fai 'a e talanoa ki he veitalatala mo hono loto.*

Mr Taumoepeau: There is one thing that I know that is used in authority, a man that has authority in language … Uellingatoni … There was also a talanoa … you can quote …the only thing he has died … he died he was already at 90 years … he was an authority; in the works of language … he has received matāpule. He is from Talafo'ou … ahh … I interviewed with the man over something that happened … he was able to talk about how he was able to veitalatala with his loto … veitalatala with his loto.

2:5 *DR LINITA MANU'ATU*

Title: Veitalatala and hou'eiki fafine: A woman's perspective
Person interviewed: Dr Linita Manu'atu
Interviewer: Talita Toluta'u
Location: Auckland, New Zealand
Date: 4 November 2014, 10:00am
Recording device: Nokia200 recorder
Transcribed by: Talita Toluta'u

T. Toluta'u: I have a number of perspectives on the word veitalatala.

Dr Manu'atu: There are many perspectives because that's what veitalatala is about. I think it is correct the way it is spoken. "Vei" to me is the word "va" right … its tatala (peel) the va is a peel of the heart … and I'm not going to expose my heart directly at you … that is the depth of Tonga … To tatala one is to make known of the relationship to talanoa … it is to cover it up so preciously… that is truth talanoa … they talk with their heart and do not pour all out in one go … that is when heliaki comes in … heliaki is when it is indirect … indirect reference … That's what I think about veitalatala. It has a spirit so that it lives … Your work is tatala 'i loto (peeling of the heart)… the women are doing this.

Dr Manu'atu: Hou'eiki fafine is a term that is formal … If we were to refer to the women … we will use hou'eiki fafine so that's the word, and if we were to take a sample they would become "kau fefine" and then you would know when they use "hou'eiki fafine 'o Tonga" these ladies are in there … but they ___ are kau fefine right because of our social structure … we refer to them as hou'eiki fafine 'o Tonga … we take from that kau fefine right … but when we are generic they are all hou'eiki fafine.

T. Toluta'u: Is there a more respectful term than that?

Dr Manu'atu: Kau fefine?

T. Toluta'u: Yes.

Dr Manu'atu: Because of our social structure it is tu'a, hou'eiki, kakai…so the women that have been chosen they come from kakai … so the term would be kakai fefine right … but because that is the plural for the whole … we take a sample from that becomes kau fefine … in a more respectable way you would say "hou'eiki fafine 'o Tonga" from that kau fefine … kau fefine. I like that more than using kaunanga … the word kaunanga … it was used a lot when the missionaries referred to the women that look after… that's not it … hou'eiki fafine is the whole group … but when its respectable you would say "fefine 'o Lotoha'angana"… you actually continue to identify the tupu'anga (place where the women orginate from)… because just to talk about kau fefine … Who? … that's bad … You would say "kau fefine 'o (blah blah blah)" … so the particular positioning is very clear… the history comes through … I think it is good to identify their tupu'anga.

2:6 *MRS SISI'UNO HELU*

Title: The meaning of hou'eiki fafine
Person interviewed: Mrs Sisi'uno Helu
Interviewer: Talita Toluta'u
Location: Auckland, New Zealand
Date: 7 November 2014, 11:55am
Time: 00:00:00 – 00:01:00
Recording device: Tascam DR05 Portable recorder
Transcribed by: Talita Toluta'u

Mrs Helu: Hou'eiki fafine is the formal way of addressing women. Of course in some cases, we address them as Si'i ngaahi fa'ē, finemui, non-married women and fānau. But if we were addressing something directly about women, we would say Hou'eiki Fafine for, e.g., breast cancer, the formal approach to referring to women ko e Hou'eiki Fafine. It has been commonly used but cannot be for women of 'eiki status, Fafine is plural form of fefine.

2:7 *DR SIOSIUA LAFITANI AND MR SEMISI TONGIA*

Title: Veitalatala: A discussion.
Persons interviewed: Dr Siosiua Lafitani and Mr Semisi Tongia
Interviewer: Talita Toluta'u
Location: Loau University, Tongatapu
Date: 15 March 2014
Time: A-3-36:00
Recording device: Tascam DR05 Portable recorder
Transcribed by: Talita Toluta'u

Dr Lafitani – What is the title of your work?

T. Toluta'u: – My working title that I have right now is 'Veitalatala: Mātanga 'o e Talanoa'.

Dr Lafitani – Because you have tala so you have three words there with Veitalatala. Vei and tala and tala. So Talatala is repetition of Tala. So you won't get that word in the dictionary. There is no meaning of Veitalatala in the dictionary. You have Tala. You have the definition of tala and talatala but not veitalatala.

Mr Semisi Tongia – There is also a Tongan talanoa. There is also another word Tala-tala-noa.

Dr Lafitani – They're different angles. In what sense do you use Mātanga?

T. Toluta'u: – The reason why I use Mātanga is because when you listen to these women's stories each woman has a beautiful spot.

Dr Lafitani – It's so amazing. So how did you come up with the three words? Veitalatala: Mātanga 'o e talanoa. I know now Mātanga and talanoa. Why you include veitalatala?

T. Toluta'u: – Their voice is like a punake to themselves. They have a poetic sense to their talanoa.

Dr Lafitani – So you say it's a poetic term for talanoa?

T. Toluta'u: – Yes and that's the reason why Veitalatala is in the thesis title.

Dr Lafitani – Like Misi mentioned Talatala…So we have tatala (so you peel something, we have tala to tell, tala to tell something, and we have talatala our rendition of to tell the tala the tala.. So vei can come from the word vai…can be diverted of vai - water… they are words that highlight the sense of vei. You have veimau but it's not veimaumau like the veitalatala… But we have the word veitatala which is a name of a place in Vava'u so veitatalo, veitala we don't have veitala. It's hard to hear any Tongan words veitala but veitalatala is a combination of tala, tala and vei. One sense of vei's part we have this word veifua. Veifua is coconut you cook and you take it to the mother after the delivery but I'm trying here to connect to vai so, if vei was derived from vai and it's going to fit with veifua, because you call this gift veifua because it's the water, it's the coconut and the fua refers to the baby, fua is the fruit of the new born baby so because the Tongan words scientifically, the way they were developed and created according to action. You look at all the Tongan words even names Lupeolo, Lupeolo, any Tongan names always words that derive from something that has happened. So that's why I say our words it's like it has a scientific sense because we develop our words from nothing. All Tongan words if you sit down to examine that it comes out from people's actions and something happens so it's very scientific in that sense. So you the vei if we say vei is also Fijian, a Fijian word. You hardly hear the Tongan use veitalatala but you can hear the words vei and talatala when the Fijians talk. Talatala talks about talatala, the Samoans talk about talatala. If we look at the word vei from vai, then we can be able to connect Tongan or all Polynesian language but if we look to vei in the sense of Fijian then veitalatala seems to be a Fijian word because we never use veitalatala in Tonga but you can hear the Fijians use it. If we look from that angle, it's like a Fijian word that was introduced veitalatala because you never hear any Tongans use the word veitalatala. The word veitalatala is not in the dictionary. You have veitala, veifua, veimau but there's no word vietalatala but it sounds as on one hand it might be a development from the Fijian language, on the other hand, because we only use talatala when we go to report something that has happened to someone and you go to report to the doctor or to the police and talatala, that's the only time we use the word talatala. You go and talatala something to the doctor but we use tatala, we use talatala in that context, apart from that we use it in normal language. If my little brother reports me to our mother, I would say to him stop talatala. Ngutu talatala but veitalatala we never use it. And so in regards to 'Okustino Māhina I was thinking along that line also because vei in the sense of water in the Tongan context you have veimau. Veimau was derived from vai…so maau when things are in order … and maybe over time just because of the evolution of language if we look at veitalatala from that context it might be vai talatala. Linguistics can talk about that but the thing is sometimes I don't bring historical and social explanation, that's the only problem with linguists, with most of their analysis. Most of their analysis of language they can derive back and go to other language but they hardly look to historical or social evidence but with veitalatala it might be a Fijian word or it's an old Polynesian language but I'm interested in when you put together veitalatala because if we take veitalatala it's a rendition of talking about something maybe in a order way so talanoa is just talk, talatala is to report, tala is to tell, talanoa is to talk until we are tired or no more ideas or discussion. Veitalatala is like in the context now of your thesis from the Fijian to the Tongan is like a repetition of talking about something that we talanoa about and it's like we keep on talking, like if we take the concept of water like in a harmonised way of repeating.

Mr Sēmisi Tongia – Another related word as well to veitalatala is another word for tatala, which also means the same thing or similar things as veitalatala, or tatala (but not for talatala) (or tatala).

Dr Lafitani – But we use the veitatala but not veitalatala.

Mr Sēmisi Tongia – But looking at the word itself, it's a combination of vai and talanoa and talatala and if you look

back to the way people live in the past particularly the women there is no other places where they do most of their talanoa or talk talatala more than they did in a female unisex meeting or gathering and in Tonga very old day in the beginning close to the beginning the only one place they have their unisex gathering is when they bath, they bath together. They normally do that at the lagoon and that's where they did their talatalanoa. Thats the unisex talanoa. Female talanoa, there are no men around. They did it in the vai. Veitalatala can also come from that when women group together and talk about women things without the presence of the men and by looking at veitalatala and pōtatala we can say that pōtatala is not the same as veitalatala. Pōtatala can be used for mixed sex, for men and women, and veitalatala can be the word for women talanoa.

Dr Lafitani – Because it looks like it's also Misi's idea is very interesting. There is a connection there also the water the vai with women, like the veipua so why we have to ask, why do they use that word when they give the first coconut , cooked coconut with water with vai and why they call it cause there is a reason as I said everything was scientific, why they call it vaifua. If we say vaifua it's the first water that you give to a woman after giving birth so there is association there the word vai or vei (associated with female).

Mr Sēmisi Tongia – There is another Tongan word veihalo. It's another word for female distinguish.

Dr Lafitani – It's like when you pick the word I think the spirit informs you because now it shows up it is very fitting with your case study about the women, because there's also like we know now veihalo. Another word veitapui. It's also associated with women too. Veitapui is when men keep their special traditional respect for their sisters. You're not allowed mix with your sisters because it is veitapui. Veitapui is the faka'apa'apa between men and women.

Mr Sēmisi Tongia - And normally it's good to look and all the vei in Tongan words because it normally comes as as a prefix to other words.

Dr Lafitani – There's another word vei that is also interesting. You know veu is the opposite of vei or vai. Veu is order so it seems now that it's just us talking that veu and vei are opposites. Vei goes together with something in order. Veimu. Veifua. Veu is when you say moveu disorder but veu comes as a suffix instead of prefix. Tatala is to unfold. Talatala is to talk with repeatedly keep on talking about something in a very harmonising ordered way. So keep on telling something in a harmonising way its like a double wave.

Mr Sēmisi Tongia - Language can also be gendered.

Dr Lafitani – Our language is gender influenced because there are words for women and there are words for men apart from the hierarchical up. We have to think of our language it is hierarchical and also masculine or patriot and monarchical. With our culture the two main divisions in our culture and language is the hierarchical from the tu'a to the hou'eiki and also every aspects of our culture was divided to be man and woman. Like the kupesi you have chiefly kupesi and you have commoners kupesi and you have female kupesi, you have male kupesi and you look at the colour. You have female colour and male colour ('Okustino Māhina talks about this).

Appendix 2b: *Transcripts of interviews relating to hou'eiki fafine*

The following six interviews were conducted in Tonga by 'Asinate 'Anitema on behalf of the thesis project. They are concerned primarily with individual perspectives on the terms veitalatala and hou'eiki fafine, and they have been useful in shaping the manner in which I use the words in this thesis.

2:8 *MR TOMASI TAUFA*

Title: Perspectives on the meaning and use of veitalatala and hou'eiki fafine
Person interviewed: Tomasi Taufa
Interviewer: 'Asinate 'Anitema
Location: Liahona, Tongatapu
Date: 30 October 2014
Time: 00:19:54
Recording device: Alcatel recording device
Transcribed by: Talita Toluta'u

Mr Taufa - *Ko e 'Olovaha ko e lea pē ia ki he Tu'i pea 'oku 'oange mo ia ki he fefine. 'A ia ko e langilangi ko ia 'o e fefine, 'oku mahulu hake ia pea ko e ngaahi fo'i 'ai ia ko e sanctified e hou'eiki fafine, faka'ei'eiki 'a ia ko 'eku, 'oku 'i ai hono lea ko e Kofēmalu, he ko hono fakatapu ko ia 'o e Pangai ko e '"o e Tu'i, 'a ia ko e fakafeta'i e Kofēmalu, ko e 'uhinga ko e fefine kei angama'a. pē'e toki 'Olovaha, pē 'o toki foaki pē 'a e fo'i langilangi ko ia ki he fefine, 'a ia ko e Tu'i pē taha ku Olovaha, pea 'oku lava leva 'o 'oange pea mo e faingamālie ko ia ki he fefine. Ko hono fakalāngilangi he 'eku manatu'i foki 'oku fahu e fefine. 'Oku entitle e fafine ia ki he 'ū me'a lahi 'a ia koee 'oku ma'u koee 'e he Tu'i. Taimi ko ia 'oku fai ai hono kava "o e fefine mali ku Olovaha leva. Fakatau ia ki he Olovaha. Ko e Tu'i pe taha 'oku fai ki ai 'a e fo'i lea ko ia kā 'oku lava pē 'o 'oange ki he fefine 'oku 'ikai ke pehē ia ko e me'a ko ia ko e me'a pē ia "o e Tu'i mo e kakai hou'eiki. 'Ikai 'oku entitle 'a e fefine fakangeingeia'i 'aki 'a e ngaahi title ko ia "o e Tu'i pea 'oku 'oange ia ma'a kinautolu, 'a ia ku kau ia ha ngaahi me'a 'oku ne fakamo'oni'i 'oku 'i ai. 'Oku mo'oni hono ngāue 'aki 'ae fo'i lea ko e hou'eiki ki he kakai fefine koe 'uhi 'o tatau tofu pē mo hono 'oange ki ai 'a e fo'i langilangi ke tangutu 'i he fo'i nofo'anga ku ui ko e 'olovaha. Pea 'oku fakatau mo hono kava, he 'oku 'ikai foki ke totonu ke kava he ko e kava pē 'a e 'eiki pea 'oku 'i ai mo hono kava 'a ia ko e fo'i langilangi kotoa ko ia 'oku 'oange ki he fefine, 'oku 'oange ko ia ki he Tu'i mo e hou'eiki. 'Oku 'i ai e matapā pē ko e social ladder ke malava ai 'a e hou'eiki fafine 'o kaka ai 'o ma'u 'a e fo'i tu'unga faka'ei'eiki ko ia mo e ngaahi 'u title ko ia 'a ia ko e kakai fefine 'oku nau ma'u 'aee, pea 'oku 'I ai, 'enau totonu mo e ngofua. Ko e fo'i me'a pē ia 'e ua kou fie lave ki ai, 'a hono fehu'ia ko ia 'o pehē ki he kakai fefine 'a e ngaahi monū'ia 'oku nau ma'u ka koe foaki pe ia 'e he Tu'i pea ko hono 'uhinga ia 'oku 'oange ai ki he kakai fefine ke nau fahu ke fakateketeke'i pē ia ki he tu'unga mā'olunga taha 'i he sōsaieti faka-Tonga. Neongo 'ene Tu'i, neongo ko ia 'oku ne tui 'a e tatā mā'olunga taha, kā 'e kei kaka hake pe 'a e fefine 'o 'oange pē ki ai ke 'alu 'o fahu.'Oku 'ikai ke pehē ia ko e 'ulu 'a e tangata he ko hono 'uhinga ko e fefine he koia 'oku ne fai kātoa 'a e fakakaukau mo e fokotu'utu'u, kehe pe 'a e me'a 'e a'usia 'e he family pea he'ikai ke lava ia 'o tau pehē pē hangē ko 'eni, taimi ko ia 'oku ngāue fakataha ai 'a Lauaki ia 'oku mā'olunga ange ia 'ia Motu'apuaka pea pehē 'e Motu'apuaka ia 'oku ma'olunga hake ia. 'Oku 'ikai ke toe kehekehe ia mo e lau koia 'a e Kaivai koe vaka ke alofaki ia koe 'uhi he kapau 'e fakafa'ahi taha e vilo takai pē ia 'ikai ke a'usia taumu'a mo e fakakaukau koee 'oku hu'u ki ai 'a e famili. 'O kapau he'ikai ha tu'unga pe koe uaifi kihe famili ko e le'o koia "o e fafine 'oku mālohi a'upito ia ki he fāmili pea mo hono tataki mo fakahinohino'i ko ia 'a e tamai hono mali. Ka 'oku 'ikai ke pehē ia ke tau hanga 'o fakata'e'aonga'i, ko hono mo'oni 'oku tau poupou'i mālohi ko e fefine ko e 'alofaki fika ua ia pe ko e tokotaha ia 'oku tokoni lahi ki hono 'alofi ko ia 'o e famili. Kā 'oku poupou peseta 100 'e he'etau tui fakalotu 'a e fefine 'oku mahu'inga tatau pe mo e tangata. Ka koe fo'i lea ko ia 'oku ngofua pea 'ataa ia ki he hou'eiki fafine. Pea 'oku 'ikai ke toe 'oange ia ki ha taha kehe pe taha na'e minisitā, pe taha na'e ako lelei, tangata. Ko e kakai fafine 'oku 'oange kiate kinautolu 'a e fo'i langilangi makehe 'a ia 'oku kau ia he fo'i faka'ilonga 'oku mo'oni ko e fo'i lea 'oku finangalo lelei 'a e Tu'i mo e Fonua pea mo e kau fatu, fatufatu fonua ke 'oange 'a e fo'i title ko ia ki ha fa'ahinga fefine Tonga pē, ha taha pē. Hangē pē ko 'ete pehe ko e kau hou'eiki fafine 'ena 'oku nau me'a mai he fai ha'atau faka'eiki pe ha fa'ahinga me'a, pe te tau pehē ke tau toe fakalaulau 'o pehē haue koe finemotu'a koe, "ikai" 'oku 'oange kotoa pē ia ki he fefine kotoa pē. Tau 'u me'a faka-Tonga 'oku tau fakalangilangi'i 'a e kakai fafine kotoa. Pea 'oku mahino ma'u pe*

pea ko Tonga ni 'oku hanga 'o 'oange 'a e langilangi ki he kakai fefine. Ko Tonga ni 'oku tau fakalangilangi'i e kakai fefine, neongo 'oku hake mai he taimi ni 'a e komēsiale 'o nau hanga 'o fusi ki lalo 'a e fonua pe ko e ngeia ko iaa 'aki 'a e 'ave 'e he mātu'a tangata honau ngaahi hoa 'o huo. Ko e ngāue ia 'a e 'ekonomika ka ko e sio ki ai 'a e ngaahi mātu'a e ni'ihi 'oku ou ilo'i lelei pe ia 'e au 'oku nau fehi'a 'aupito ke nau sio ki ha taha 'oku huo mai pe huohuo mai mo hono mali, fa'a fanongo au ia ki he lea kovi ko ia 'a e mātu'a, mātu'a nau tupu hake ka kuo nau 'osi mate, nau pehē vale fieme'a, tau pehē pē tapu pe mo au ke pehē "Ko e kulī ia mei fei'a" sio mai ki he' aho na'e 'alu ai ki he 'api fefine 'o fai 'ene 'eva, ka ko 'ena kuo ne 'ave 'o fakahuo'i ka 'oku loto lelei pē 'a e fefine ia ki ai. Kā 'oku 'ikai pē ke loto 'a e kau mamahi'i fonua ke tukuhifo 'a e ngeingeia m oe langilangi ko ia 'o e fefine. Ka koe'uhi foki ha'u 'a e kuonga, ko e komēsiale lahi taha 'ene liliu. Neongo pē 'a e politikale ka koe hū mai 'a e 'ekonōmika hangē leva 'oku tau mahu'inga 'ia leva he pa'anga. Te u heka au he ngaahi lā 'o tu'u ki 'olunga ka 'oku 'i ai pē 'a e fanga ki'i me'a ikiiki ' oku ne hanga 'o fakaho 'ata mai ko e mo'oni pe k oe kakai fefine 'oku nau entitle ki he fo'i fakalangilangi ko ia pea 'oku tali lelei ia 'e he tukufakaholo pea na'e kau ia hono tanupou 'aki 'a e mo'ui 'a e sōsaieti Tonga. Ko e lāngilangi ko ia 'o e kakai fefine. Veitalatala, ko e fo'i me'a mahu'inga taha ia 'i he lea ko e fo'i root word 'a ia ko e fo'i lea koe tala pea kapau ko e talatala 'e meimei kāinga pē ia mo e tatala. Ko 'ete hanga 'o fakatalatala ha me'a, tatau pe ia pea mo e tala kā 'oku tatau pe ia pea mo e fakamatala 'a ia ko e fo'i matala'i 'akau ko ho'o me'a 'e fai ko e fakamafolofola'i. 'A ia ko e fo'i lea pē ia 'e taha , ha'u kātoa pe ia mei he 'uhinga 'oku ou feinga ke mahino. Ko 'etau talatalanoa'i, tau pehē pē tau talatalanoa ki he me'a ko 'eni ke mahino mo'oni mo'oni 'a e me'a koee 'oku fufū 'i loto. 'Osi mahino pē 'a e Vei , ko e Vei ku ha'u ia mei he fo'i lea ko e VEIA. Ko e veia ko e hangē ko 'eni ko ho loto. Molū hifo ho loto. Tau pehē hangē ko ia ko e la'i'akau 'oku 'alu pē taimi mo 'enau melomelo, momoho, ngangana ki lalo. Ko e fo'ilea ko ia ko e vei ko e fo'i vaeua'i lea ko ia 'a e fo'i lea ko e veia, pea koe 'uhinga 'a e veia ko ha me'a 'oku 'alu pē ke movete ange. Sio 'oku kāinga pē 'a e fanga fo'ilea, 'a ia ko 'etau pehē pē 'oku kāinga pē 'a e fanga fo'i lea ia. 'A ia ko e veitalatala, Mātanga 'o e talanoa, tau pehē pē 'oku kāinga kotoa pē 'a e fanga fo'i lea ia. Manatu'i foki ko e ako'i ko ia 'a e kau leka, ko e fo'i sētesi 'i mu'a 'oku relate pē ki he fo'i sētesi hono hoko pea 'e tokoni pe 'e tokoni pē 'a e fo'i lea ' mu'a ki he fo'i lea 'i mui, pe ko e fo'i sētesi koee 'i mu'a ki he fo'i sētesi hoko, pea 'e tokoni 'aupito 'a e tōpiki ke fakamahino'i 'a e 'ū subtopic ko 'eni 'i lalo. Pea 'oku 'osi mahino leva ai ko e fo'i lea 'ena ko 'etau feinga ke veteki pea talatalanoa'i ke tau hanga 'o feinga'i tau pehē pē ke tau hanga 'o 'omai 'a e Mātanga tau pehē pē te tau 'omai 'a e fo'i lea ko e Mātanga ko e fo'i lea 'e ua, 'oku mahino ai 'oku ne 'omai 'a e 'uhinga fekau'aki pea mo e kakai, pē ko e Mātangatanga ha me'a. Tau pehē hangē ko e vali, pea te tau kumi leva ai ko fē 'a e fo'i lea ai 'e kāinga pea mo e veitalatala pea 'oku 'osi mahino leva ai ko e fohi. Sio, ko e fo'i lea pē ia he'ikai ke toe hala ia, 'a ia ko e vei ko 'etau feinga'i ha founga ke ngangana ai pea talatala toe tatau pē ia, pea tatala ia pea mo e Mātanga pea 'oku toe tatau pē ia pea mo e talanoa. Talanoa pē, tau pehē pē 'alu 'o tala 'a e me'a, nau 'osi tala, toe 'alu pē 'o tala, 'alu 'o tala noa pē na'a 'oku ngalo. Talanoa'i ka koe fo'i lea tefito ko e tala. Talanoa'i (Tala) ko hono fakamā'opo'opo ko e sai taha ko hono 'ai ki ha komipiuta, taipe'i, 'osi pea te sio tānaki atu ki ai fo'ilea kae delete 'a e fo'ilea. Toki ma'u leva 'oku fiu'u mohu loea 'aupito, ka ko e ngaahi fo'i teuteu tefito'i fakakaukau fanga fo'i konga lea ko ia. Veitalatala, Mātanga 'o e talanoa. Toe sio pē ki ai pea te mahino'i ko e fo'i lea mālie. Ko e ngaahi me'a 'ena na'a ke fai pea faifai pē 'o mahino ai 'a e fo'i talanoa koee, ko e fo'i tōpiki ko ia. 'A ia ko 'etau me'a 'eni 'oku tau fai 'oku tau veitalatala ki he hou'eiki fafine. Tau talatalanoa'i ha me'a ke tokoni ki he fakahoata mai kiate kitautolu ke ofiofi pea 'e kainga ai pē mo e me'a 'oku tau fekumi ki ai. Tau pehē tukutuku laume, 'a a ia ko e ngaahi me'a 'oku fiema'u ke veteki kā ko e fo'i lea 'oku ngāue'aki ki ha loto ha taha ku loto fefeka 'o tau pehē, masi'i me'a ni 'oku 'ikai ke veia ho loto. Fa'a 'i ai foki ha ngaahi me'a faka-Tonga, ngaahi lea motu'a na'e ngāue 'aki hangē ko e fetu'utaki. Ko e lea ia 'oku fa'u ia ko e to'o mai ha fo'i konga lea mei hē 'o tānaki ia mo ha konga lea mei hē, 'o fakapipiki naua 'o ma'u ai 'a e fo'i lea 'a ia ko e anga ia 'a e fa'u 'a e kau fatu ta'anga Tonga he taimi koee, 'a ia ko hono mahino ko ia ko e veitalatala 'osi mahino leva ia ko e vei talanoa ke movete 'a e 'ū me'a ko ia ku poloka pē 'oku ta'emahino. 'Osi mahino leva ko e vei 'oku 'i ai 'a e fo'i lea ko e veia pea 'oku kāinga leva 'a e veia pea mo e tatala pea 'oku na toe kāinga 'aupito 'i hono feinga'i ke mahino ha me'a he 'oku 'i ai ha me'a 'oku ta'emahino.

Mr Taufa - The word 'Olovaha is one that is used only when referring to kings and it is also used on women. As such women hold a prestigious position in society which is why they are referred to as the sanctified hou'eiki fafine (chiefly women). Another word used is Kofemalu to reference women during traditional presidings, to signify a woman's purity (virginity).

Royal orders were given to women to be the olovaha as well, even though the king is the only olovaha but that chance will also be given to all women. All women are entitled to a lot of things the king has. When there is a wedding, there will be a kava ceremony for the bride and the olovaha will be there. Serve it to the olovaha. The king is the only one that we can use that word to, but at the same time it can also be used to women. It doesn't mean it's only for kings and people who are royal. No, all women are entitled to the king's throne and it should be given to them to testify that he is real. It is really true that we used the word hou'eiki fafine because it has given to them the opportunity to sit on the olovaha. The kava will be served, even though they have no right to it because it's only for the chief, but the kava is the glory that's given to women that king and royalty have. There is a door or social ladder that women can climb up to get to the esteemed step and all titles that all women have, and they have the right and permission.

I have two things that I wanted to talk about concerning women. They are very lucky of what they hold from what the king has gifted to them, and that is the main reason why women are the fahu. They are placed highest in the Tongan society. No matter that he is the king, even though he wears the biggest crown, the women will still climb up to be the fahu over him. It doesn't matter that men are the head of the family, women are the ones that do all of the masterminding and organising so that the family can achieve. When Lauaki work together, he thinks that he's higher than Motu'apuaka and then Motu'apuaka will think that he is higher. It is not different from what the sailor has said, that the boat to alofaki. Because if it's on one side, the boat will keep going in a circle and it will never accomplish the plan. This is the same as a family's direction, if there is no part as a wife in a family. The voice of the woman is the strongest in the family, to lead and guide her husband. We don't need to let go, but we need to keep encouraging women very strongly.

The second point that I wanted to talk about is the alofaki. He is the person that helped to alofi the family. Our faith has supported 100% that women are worth the same as men. The word is allowed to be attributed to all hou'eiki fafine and it isn't given to anyone, not a minister, or anyone that is well educated, or to any men. All women are given the glory to be different and that is the sign. The word hou'eiki fafine was proclaimed by the king and the country and also those who owned the lands, to be given to any Tongan woman. Like saying the hou'eiki fafine are coming, do faka'eiki or anything, or we can be murmuring saying "Oh my lord the old woman!" No, it is given to all women. In our Tongan tradition we give glory to all women. It is very understandable that it's only in Tonga that we give that glory to women. In Tonga we give glory to women even though commercialism pulls down our country, but the ngeingeia how men are taken their wife to huo. That's the economic but but I've seen and known elderly men who hated it when they see men huohuoing with their wife. I've heard bad language used by elderly men as I grew up, but now they are dead. They says vale fieme'a and excuse me for saying this but they usually say ko e kulī ia mei fe'ia "where's that dogs from." Imagine the day when he was dating the lady and going over to his home. Now he is taking her to the farm to fakahuo'i, but the woman was willing to do it. But all the mamahi'i fonua don't like to put down the ngeingeia and glory of women. But because of the civilisation and commercialisation are the biggest changes. Despite the political, when economic offerings come, we have preferred the importance of money. I can sit on the law and put it up high, but there are small things that make it clearer to our mind; that it's very true that women are entitled to a glory and many generation have accepted this because it was tanupou to the lifestyles in Tongan society. That is the glory of Tongan women.

[Regarding veitaltala] The most significant thing in words are their roots … that words are conveyed and talatala it is more related to tatala. It's like I unfold something, similar to "tala" and it is similar again to fakamatala (portray) and then it's a flower, your duty to do. It is only one word that all comes from a definition that I'm trying to make it understandable. We are communicating or we can say we are talking about this to truly understand it while it's hiding inside. Vei is very understandable

because vei comes from a word called veia. Veia is like your heart. Soften your heart. We can say that it's a leaf that time goes by and it's turning brown, ripe, falling on the ground. The word vei is a half word of the word veia and the meaning of the word veia is that something is going to be dissolved. This word is related to that word or we can say that all of these words are related, so veitalatala Mātanga 'o e talanoa we can say that all words are related to each other. Remember when we teach little children, the first sentence in front will be related to the next sentence and it helps the word in front to the word behind it, or the sentence in front to the next sentence and it helps a lot with the topic to understand all the subtopics on the bottom. It is understood that the word that we're trying to disband and we're talking about it, trying to bring the word Mātanga and we can say that we can bring the word Mātanga it has two words. It is officially expressed that it brings the importance between with people or something is worn off or damaged. We can say the paint that we can define or state the word that is related with veitalatala and it is assumed that it's peeling. Look it is the word and it's never going to be mistaken so that vei that we are trying to find a path that can be dropped and talatala is the same and tatala with Mātanga are the same as talanoa. We can talk and say please go tell them, I've already did, go again and tell them, go tell them just in case they might forget. Communicate but the subject word is tala. Tala "talanoa'i' we gathered but the best way that we type it on the computer and when we're done we can look at it and added more words and deleted some words. Find it out later that there are too many words but it is the decoration of the theme of the word. Veitalatala Mātanga 'o e talanoa. When you look at it again you will agree that it is a word with fame. Those are the things that you do, and it finally makes sense of the conveyed and that is the topic. This is what we are doing, we veitalatala about the hou'eiki fafine. We are conversing about something that will help us to bring our attention to the word and that will relate to the things that we are looking for. We can say tukutuku laumea is something that we need to break up, but the words are used in relation to the heart of someone who is hardhearted and we say "Why can't your heart be veia (softened)?". There are some old Tongan words that were used for communication. The words that are created bring a piece of a word to add to another word, to make up a new word. That is the reason that the old days of Tongan literature will usually agree that veitalatala conveys the break up all the things that are blocked or in confusion. We now know that vei comes from a word called veia and veia is related with tatala and it is also related to trying to understand something that is very confusing.

2:9 *MR TANIELA LANGI*

Title: The meaning and use of hou'eiki fafine.
Person interviewed: Mr Taniela Langi
Interviewer: Asinate Anitema
Location: Matangiake, Tongatapu
Date: 30 October 2014, 4:30pm
Time: 00:00:00 – 00:08:21
Recording device: Acatel recording device
Transcribed by: 'Asinate Anitema and Talita Toluta'u

Mr Langi: *Ko hono 'uhinga foki 'oku tau ui 'aki koee 'e kitautolu 'a e hou'eiki fafine, he koe'uhi 'oku tau faka'apa'apa ki ai pea 'oku nau pelepelengesi 'aupito honau tu'unga 'i he tau nofo faka-Tonga, kā 'oku tau toki ngāue 'aki pē 'a e hou'eiki fafine 'i ha ngaahi me'a lahi hangē ko e lotu, hangē ko ha kātoanga. Ko e kakai fefine 'i he nofo ko ia 'a e sōsaieti Tonga ko e kakai ia ne fu'u faka'apa'apa'i 'aupito 'a kinautolu, tatau pē 'a e hou'eiki pea mo e kakai fefine. Faka'apa'apa koee 'a e kakai Tonga ki he kakai fefine pea ko ene ngāue'aki koee 'a e fo'ilea koee, ko e hou'eiki fafine 'oku 'ikai ko e siasi pē 'oku ngāue 'aki pea 'oku ngāue'aki ia 'i he sōsaieti. Kapau ko ha ngaahi me'a 'oku fai te tau pehē, kapau ko ha ngaahi fakataha mo ha ngaahi 'ū me'a 'oku fai 'oku lea'aki ia 'a e fo'i lea ko ia, pea kapau ko e fakataha 'a e kakai fefine, 'osi 'i ai pē 'a e hou'eiki ia ai he Fale 'o e Tu'i pea 'oku 'i ai hono ngaahi fakatapu ia 'o kinautolu, kā ko e taimi 'oku fai'aki ai hano lea hou'eiki fafine, 'oku mou fakataha mai or tau fakataha mai he 'aho ni ko hono feinga ia ke fakahā 'a e fa'ahinga faka'apa'apa pea mo e ngeia mo e langilangi ko ia 'o e kakai fafine. Hangē ko hotau siasi 'oku 'i ai ha ngaahi tu'unga ia hangē ko 'etau fanongonongo, ko e tohi, ko e fanongonongo ki māmani ko e tangata pea moe fefine 'oku na 'i he tu'unga tatau pē. 'I he nofo fakafāmili ko e mahu'inga ko ia 'o e tangata 'oku tatau pē mo e mahu'inga pea mo e fafine. 'I he taimi koee, 'oku 'i ai 'a e ngaahi lea ia 'e ni'ihi 'oku fa'a 'ai pē ia ki he kakai fefine. Ko e finemotu'a pē ko e ki'i ta'ahine pē ia 'oku te'eki ai ke mali. Kapau te te pehē ko hoku ki'i 'uhiki, ko 'eku ki'i finemotu'a, ko e lea ko ia, ko e lea pē ia 'oku faka'aki'aki mui koe 'uhi he 'oku 'i ai 'a e hou'eiki 'oku mā'olunga ange. Ko e taimi koee 'oku fai ai 'a e ngaahi fakataha atu ai 'a e kakai fefine neongo 'oku 'i ai 'a e hou'eiki pea mo e Fale 'o e Tu'i, 'osi 'i ai pē hono fakatapu 'o kinautolu ki ai ke fakahoko mai leva. He'ikai ke pehē mai ia he 'oku takatu'a ia ke pehē mai finemātu'a Tonga ku tau fakataha mai he 'aho ni koe 'uhi ko e, te nau hanga 'e kinautolu 'o 'ohake 'a e tu'unga koee 'o e fefine ke hangē ko e hou'eikisia pea mo e 'i ai 'a e kakai mā'olunga pe te nau pehē mai hou'eiki fafine mau fiefia ke talitali lelei. 'E fakatu'a 'aupito ia mo pehē 'oku hanga 'e he hou'eiki pea mo e kakai ko iaa 'o tukuhifo e fanga 'uhiki, 'e finemātu'a kuo mou ha'u ki heni. 'Oku hanga leva 'e he lea ko ia 'o 'ohake 'a e kakai fefine ke nau tu'u 'i he tu'unga ko ia. Tau 'osi 'ilo pē 'e kitautolu 'i he'etau nofo fakafāmili kuo pau ke faka'apa'apa 'aupito 'a e fanga tuonga'ane ki honau tuofafine kā ko hono ngāue 'aki koia 'o e hou'eiki fafine koe 'uhi ke ne fakahoko 'i he'ene me'a ko hono hiki'i hake ia "o e kakai fafine ke nau a'u ki he tu'unga koee 'oku faka'apa'apa'i he kakai Tonga 'i heni. Ko e anga pē ia 'eku ki'i fakakaukau mo 'eku ki'i talatalanoa. 'Oku 'i ai pē 'a e title ia 'i he'etau siasi 'a e fine'ofa ki he hou'eiki fafine 'o hangē pē ia ki he hou'eiki pea mo e Tu'i. Ko kinautolu ia 'oku lahi taha 'enau ngāue 'aki hou'eiki fafine he 'oku 'ikai ke nau loto ke nau pehē mai si'i finemātu'a, 'e fanga 'uhiki, malō ho'omou lava mai, kuopau, 'e fākatu'a ia kiate kinautolu hono hanga leva 'e kinautolu 'o ngāue 'aki 'a e hou'eiki fafine kā ko hono mo'oni 'oku taau ia, pea 'e hou'eiki fafine ko hono faka'apa'apa mā'olunga ia 'a kitautolu ki he kakai fefine. Kā ko e pelepelengesi ko ha me'a mahu'inga pea kuopau ke tau fakaalaala mei ai, tau pehē hangē ko e FRAGILE.Hangē ko ha fu'u puha 'oku 'i ai ha kolo 'i loto 'oku 'osi tohi'i pē ai 'a e fo'i lea ko ia ko e fragile ke te fakaalaala na'a maumau. Ko ha me'a mahu'inga. Ko e pelepelengesi, ko ha me'a mahu'inga ia pea 'i Tonga ni ko e kakai fefine ko e kakai pelepelengesi.*

Mr Langi: The most significant reason for calling all women hou'eiki fafine is that we respect them highly and they are very precious, unique and special in their own ways in our Tongan culture. We usually use "hou'eiki fafine" in churches or Tongan ceremonies. All women in Tongan society are people who we rank highly. Women are highly respected in Tonga and we use the word hou'eiki fafine not only in church but also in society. If there's a special occasion or a meeting we normally speak by saying the word and if there is only a women's meeting there will be a hou'eiki residing from the house of the monarch. There will be a sacred word that will be used for them only. But when we say the word hou'eiki fafine (noble women), we are gathered together

and we are trying to show appreciation and high respect for the dignity and glory of women. In our religion we have a standard like our Family Proclamation to the World that tells us that men and women have the same responsibility as their standard. The significance of men in our family traditions is of the same importance as that of women. In time, there are different words only used about women. We use "old lady" or "little girl" only if they are not married. If we say "ko hoku ki'i 'uhiki, ko 'eku ki'i finemotu'a" these phrases are to represent low status because there is someone of superior rank present. Whenever there is a meeting or gathering for the women even though there is a hou'eiki "noble" from the house of the monarch there, there are sacred words to be used. It would be offensive or seem like "low life" if the houses of the monarch or the nobles turned around and said "finemātu'a Tonga". They would never use the term "finemātu'a Tonga (old Tongan women) are gathered here today" because they will elevate the standard of the women to be exactly the same as them. Also there will be high chiefs that will say "hou'eiki fafine "noble women" we are very excited to welcome you all". It would be quite disappointing and very rude if the hou'eiki 'noble' put down women by saying "fanga 'uhiki or finemātua you are welcome here". That phrase will lift up women to be in that situation.

We knew from the beginning when we lived in our traditional families, brothers had to respect their sisters and this is the way that we used hou'eiki fafine "noble women" because it lifted the women up to be on the top of that standard of respect in Tonga. That's the idea and my reasoning in this conversation. There is a title in our religion that is called the Relief Society for the hou'eiki fafine "noble women", which is the same as nobles and kings. People normally use the word hou'eiki fafine "noble women" because they don't want to say finematu'a "old women' or fanga 'uhiki "daughter", but in a different interpretation, it is known to the Tongan people as "little animal, thanks for coming". It is a put-down, or very rude for them to say it that way, so instead they use the term hou'eiki fafine "noble women". But in reality we use the term hou'eiki fafine to show our high respect to the women. When we say precious, special, valued, or unique, we know its significance and we need to be careful or mindful of it. Like we say, there is a big box that has valued stuff inside and outside of the box. On it is written the word fragile to tell us that we need to be careful in case it might get damaged. This can be compared to Tongan women. Precious is significant here in Tonga because women are very precious.

2:10 *MR SAMUELA FUNGALEI*

Title: The meaning and use of hou'eiki fafine.
Person interviewed: Mr Samuela Fungalei
Interviewer: Asinate Anitema
Location: Tatakamotonga, Tongatapu
Date: 1 November 2014, 11:46 am
Time: 00:00:00 – 00:09:43
Recording device: Acatel recording device
Transcribed by: 'Asinate 'Anitema and Talita Toluta'u

Mr Fungalei: *Ko 'etau lea faka'apa'apa ia he taimi 'oku tau lea 'aki ai 'a e fo'i lea ko e hou'eiki fafine ki ha kakai fefine. 'O hangē tofu pē k oha pehē mai ha taha he tv pe ko e letiō 'o ne lea mai 'aki 'a e fo'i lea ko e lave'i. Tau 'osi 'ilo'i katoa pē ko e lave'i ko e lea pē ia ki he hou'eiki pea mo e fale 'o e tu'i ka 'oku nau ngāue 'aki mai ki he kakai he 'oku 'ikai ke nau loto ke tukuhifo'i e kakai 'o e fonua. 'A ia kuo hala 'aupito 'a e ngaahi 'ū lea e ni'ihi hono ngāue 'aki he kakai tokolahi pea toki ma'u mai hono 'ū 'uhinga totonu mei ha ngaahi laipeli mei muli 'o hangē ko e 'ū laipeli 'i Nu'usila. 'Oku ou 'ilo'i 'e au 'a e taimi koē neu tupu hake ai 'oku ngāue'aki he kakai hou'eiki mo e fale 'o e Tu'i ha'anau me'a ki he kakai 'o Tonga kuopau pē ke nau pehē mai hou'eiki fafine ka 'oku 'ikai ke pehē ia ko e hou'eiki pē. 'A ia te nau pehē mai hou'eiki fefine pe te nau toe pehē mai hou'eiki tangata. Ko e lea ko ia 'oku fakahoko pē ia 'e ha taha 'i ha ha'oha'onga tokolahi. Hange kapau teu ha'u o fetaulaki moha ki'i siana he, e ki'i ongo ma'ama'a ange kapau teu pehe koe Siana, pe ko e motu'a, mahino mai kapau te u 'alu atu 'o fetaulaki moha masi'i tangata fiema'u keu 'ilo'i ha 'api ke fakahinohino mai hei'ilo na hanga ai he 'api 'o tuli au ki hala. Ko e lea faka'apa'apa pea to e fakamatāpule 'etau fetu'utaki he tau pehē hou'eiki fafine pe hou'eiki tangata. Ko e lea ko ia 'oku 'ikai pē ke 'ai ia ki ha hou'eiki pē. Ko 'etau lea fakalukufua ia hatau lea fakamatāpule. Kapau leva 'e tokolahi te tau pehē leva hou'eiki tangata. Kapau leva ko 'etau talanoa fakaetangata pē pea te tau talanoa nōmolo pē tautolu ia. Ko e taimi lahi ku ngāue tavale 'aki 'e he kakai 'a e 'ū lea kehekehe he hake mai fakalakalaka ka 'oku totonu ke ma'u 'a e 'ulungaanga faka'apa'apa foki. Fa'a pehē mai foki 'a e fakamafola lea ia 'oku mou lave'i pē ka ko e lea ia ko ia ki he hou'eiki pē ka 'oku ngāue'aki ia ki he kakai ko hono faka'apa'apa'i mai ia 'o e kakai. 'A ia ku mahino mai 'oku tau 'eiki pē neongo 'oku a'u pē ki he Tu'i 'oku ne lea fakahou'eiki mai kiate kitautolu. Hangē pē taimi ni'ihi 'oku ne pehē mai mou tokanga'i ange pē hou'eiki 'oku mou me'a mai ai ko e lea ko ia ke fai pē ki he hou'eiki ka 'oku ne faka'aonga'i mai ia kiate kitautolu. Ka koe'uhi ko e lea faka'apa'apa ia 'o e fonua 'o pehē pē kiate au faifekau, tapu atu 'eiki pe koe. 'A ia koe hou'eiki taha pē 'a e fefine neongo ko 'Eiki koe Tu'i. Hangē ko 'eni, ko e fo'i lea ko e fa'ētangata pea mo e tu'asina. Ko e tu'asina ko e lahi taha ia pea ko e fa'ētangata ko e si'isi'i taha ia. 'A ia ko e fanga ki'i tuonga'ane si'isi'i taha ko'ete fa'ē 'e ui ko 'ete fa'ētangata he 'oku nau si'isi'i nautolu 'i he'ete fa'ē pea ko e ngaahi tuonga'ane ku lalahi he'ete fa'ē ko hoto tu'asina ia 'o kita. 'E 'eiki ia 'ia kita he 'oku lahi taha ia 'i he'ete fa'ē. Neongo ko e tangata ia 'oku tapu ia ke te 'alu 'o fa'iteliha ai he 'oku lahi ia he'ete fa'ē. Ko 'ete faiteliha'anga leva 'a e fanga ki'i tuonga'ane si'isi'i taha 'ete fa'ē.*

Mr Fungalei: We speak respectfully every time we say the words hou'eiki fafine "noble women" to women. This is the same thing as if someone on the television or radio says the word lave'i "knowing". We all know that lave'i is only used for nobles and it is very wrong that most people use words without knowing the right meaning until they do research and find the right one from libraries like those in New Zealand House of the Monarch, but they are used for commoners because they don't want put down their people. As I grew up, I knew that a lot of nobles and the House of the Monarch as they performed a speech to the commoners they would say hou'eiki fafine "noble women" which is not only for hou'eiki pe "nobles". They will say hou'eiki fafine "noble women" or hou'eiki tangata "noble men", those phrases can only be used by someone in a crowd of people. Let's say if I met a man on the street it would sound light if I said "koe siana "man" or "koe motu'a "elderly man", meaning if I met with a boy on the street and I needed him to direct me to a place or where it can chase me out. Respectful words need to be used as we communicate with hou'eiki fafine 'noble women' or hou'eiki tangata "noble men". That phrase cannot be questioned. It is polite to speak lawfully. If it is to a crowd we will say hou'eiki tangata "noble men". If it is a normal conversation between men we will talk naturally. Most of the time people use different words as technology is coming through to our country, but we need also

the right attitude and respect. Sometimes a radio broadcast will say "oku mou lave'i pe 'as you all know". That word should only be used when addressing hou'eiki 'nobles', but it is now used to commoners to show respect. It is very understandable that we are eiki "noble or chief" even though the King would speak nobly "fakahou'eiki" to us commoners. Just like the time he would say hou'eiki "noble" as you can see that phrase can only be said to hou'eiki 'nobles' but he used to say it to commoners. But because it is a very respectful word of the country to say "faifekau, tapu atu, eiki pe koe" priest, noble women are the highest ranked even though the king is ranked highly. Like this saying of faetangta "uncle" and also tuasina "eldest brother of your mother", while the uncle is the youngest brother of your mother. So all of the youngest brothers of your mother would be the uncle, because they are younger than your mother but the eldest brother of your mother would be the tu'asina. He will be highly respected because he is older than your mother even though we can't really do anything to him since he's older than our mother. So the youngest brothers of our mother we can be more demanding of him.

2:11 *MRS SELA KAUFUSI*

Title: The meaning and use of hou'eiki fafine.
Person interviewed: Mrs Sela Kaufusi
Interviewer: 'Asinate 'Anitema
Location: Tokomololo, Tongatapu
Date: 5 November 2014, 9:30pm
Time: 00:00:00 – 00:02:59
Recording device: Acatel recording device
Transcribed by: 'Asinate 'Anitema and Talita Toluta'u

Mrs Kaufusi: *Ko kitautolu fefine ko e 'api ko e fefine. Hangē ko eni ko 'etau nofo fakafāmili ko kitautolu fefine 'oku tau poupou ki he mātu'a tangata 'i he me'a kotoa pē. Ko e me'a mahino pē ia kiate kitautolu fefine ko e 'api ko e 'api pe ia 'a fefine. Ko e fatongia 'a e kakai fefine. Ko e fefine ko e nofo'i 'api 'o tauhi. Nofo 'i 'api he fānau. Ko e fafine 'oku toe poupou lahi ki he mali (hoa). Ko e kau hou'eiki ko e taimi ko ia ku me'a mai ai 'a e Nōpele ki hotau ki'i kolo kuopau ke fakatapu mai – tapu ki he hou'eiki fafine. Ka ko tautolu te tau pehē tapu pea mo e tamasi'i pe ko e pehē ko ena ko e ta'ahine ena ku me'a mai. 'Oku 'ikai keu ma'u 'e au pe ko e hā 'oku 'ikai ke tau ngāue 'aki ai 'a e fo'i lea hou'eiki ki he fafine hou'eiki ka tau pehē pē ko e ta'ahine 'ena 'oku me'a mai. Ko e 'uhinga foki 'oku nau ngāue 'aki ai hono ui kitautolu ko e hou'eiki fafine ko hono faka'apa'apa'i ia 'o kitautolu 'e he kakai tangata 'o makehe 'aupito.*

Mrs Kaufusi: As women, the house is women. As we live in our family we women support the men in everything they do. It is deeply understood by women that the house is a house for women. It is our responsibility that women stay home to look after it. Women stay home with the children. The women will always give the best advice to their husband. Every time when a noble comes to visit us in our village, it is always necessary that he will fakatapu offer a "speech of acknowledging" - tapu kihe hou'eiki fafine and we will turn around by saying back to the noble "tapu pea mo e tamasi'i" or we can say "ko e ta'ahine ena ku me'a mai." The reason why they call women hou'eiki fafine is to indicate their respect for us.
It is a protocol to first acknowledge and honour the most highly respected when saying a speech.

2:12 *MR SIALE TU'IPULOTU*

Title: The meaning and use of hou'eiki fafine.
Person interviewed: Mr Siale Tu'ipulotu
Interviewer: 'Asinate 'Anitema
Location: Tokomololo, Tongatapu
Date: 5 November 2014, 9:00pm
Time: 00:00:00 – 00:06:48
Recording device: Acatel recording device
Transcribed by: 'Asinate 'Anitema and Talita Toluta'u

Mr Tu'ipulotu: *Ko e fa'ahinga 'oku mo'oni 'oku faingata'a ke te hanga 'o veteki pe faka'uhinga'i ke i ai ha taimi ke fai hano tālanga'i, 'uhinga 'o hangē ko e taimi ni ki hono talanoa'i neongo ko e faiako au ka na'e te'eki ai ke u a'usia 'e au ha fo'i poini pehē he ko e 'uhinga foki ko e hou'eiki fafine ko e fu'u me'a mahino 'aupito ia. Ka fakamatala'i lelei ke 'uhinga lelei. 'Oku 'ikai ke 'uhinga ke pehē ko e lea hou'eiki fafine pē ki he hou'eiki. Ha hono fakangeingeia pē 'o hangē ko ha me'a pē 'oku ne 'ohake ha me'a ke ne pukepuke 'a e ngeingeia 'a e kakai fefine. Tau pehē pē 'oku hanga 'e he fo'i lea 'o faka'apa'apa'i ka ko e 'uhinga 'o e hou'eiki fafine ko ha kakai fakatokolahi. Ko e fefine 'uhinga pē ki he tokotaha pē, ka ko e fafine 'uhinga ia ki he taha kotoa pē pea lea hou'eiki ki he kakai fefine. 'Oku hangē pē ha fo'i lea faka'apa'apa'i pe a 'oku 'ikai ke 'uhinga ia ke pehē ko e pehē pe hou'eiki pe a leva ko e hou'eiki pe kakai hou'eiki he kapau te tau 'ave 'a e fo'i lea hou'eiki, kapau ko e kakai fefine he 'ikai ke tau lava kitautolu 'o pehē atu ko e hou'eiki fafine ena 'i palasi pē ko e, pe a 'ai pe hou'eiki. Ko e fo'i lea ia ko e fo'i lea pe ia mei mu'a ka 'oku te'eki ai ko ha fo'i lea fa'u hake pe ko e fo'i lea pē ia mei mu'a na'e ngāue'aki ai ko e fo'i lea Tonga ko e faka'apa'apa'i pe ia ki he kakai fefine 'oku nau molumalu. Ko e kakai ke faka'apa'apa'i pea mo 'oange pē ha ngaahi lea 'oku taau pea mo fe'unga. Ko e kakai pē 'oku molumlu pea mo mahu'inga. Ko e mahu'inga ko ia 'o e kakai fefine kuopau ke 'i ai 'a e fo'i lea ke pukepuke 'aki. 'A ia ko e fo'i lea hou'eiki ko e fo'i lea ia 'oku ne pukepuke fakalokofua 'a e hou'eiki fafine. He kapau na'e pehē ko e kakai fefine ka ko 'etau ongo'i 'oku ongo fakamatatua. Ko e kau fafine pea ko e taimi ko ia 'oku tau pehē ko e hou'eiki fafine 'oku 'i ai pe 'etau fa'ahinga ongo ki ai. Kapau leva te tau pehē ko e kau fafine mei fē pea mahino 'oku tokolahi ka 'oku fakangatangata pē ka koe taimi pē 'oku pehē ai hou'eiki fafine 'oku 'ikai lava tautolu 'o tala 'a e fo'i fika pe ko e toko fiha nai 'a ia ko e fo'i lea ko ia 'oku ne hiki'i hake ia 'a e fo'i lea kotoa pe, tatau pē mei he lalahi 'alu pē 'o a'u ki he si'isi'i taha. 'A ia ko e fo'i lea hou'eiki fafine ko e fo'i lea 'oku ne fakalangilangi'i koe'uhi 'oku ne fakahikihiki'i 'a e molumolu koē 'a e kakai fefine. Hangē pē ko ha lea faka'apa'apa tau ngaue 'aki pe a ko e anga ia 'eku ma'u mo 'eku ongo ko ia 'i he taimi ni. Koe'uhi hangē ko 'eku lave ko ia 'anenai kapau teu pehē kau fefine 'oku 'ikai ko ha fu'u ongo ia 'oku fakafiemālie ka ko e taimi kotoa pē 'oku tau pehē ai hou'eiki fafine 'oku 'i ai pē ha fa'ahinga ongo 'iate kitautolu 'oku ne faka'ilonga'i ko e tokotaha kotoa pē 'oku molumalu. Ko e anga pē ia 'eku ma'ū. Ka ko e pelepelengesi 'oku kau ia ha fo'i lea ki he kakai fefine 'oku ne faka'uhinga'i ko ha kakai mo'ui taau. Ka 'oku tō hono fakamamafa hono fakakau mai ko ia 'o e hou'eiki, hou'eiki fafine 'oku ne 'omai pea fa'ū taha mai 'a e fa'ahinga ongo pea mo e malu ko ia 'o e kakai fefine mo faka'apa'apa'i 'a e kakai fefine. Ka tau hanga leva 'o fakahikihiki'i hake 'a e ngeingeia 'o e kakai fefine. Ko e pehē pē hou'eiki fafine 'oku 'i ai ha fa'ahinga ongo ia 'iate kitautolu 'oku molumalu pe a mahino ai 'oku 'i ai 'a e ngeia 'o e fefine 'i he taimi 'oku tau ngāue 'aki ai 'a e fo'i lea ko ia. Ko 'ete pehē pē hou'eiki fafine 'oku 'ikai fakangatangata leva hono fika pea ko e taha ko ia pē 'i Tonga ni ko e hou'eiki fafine. Ko e fo'i lea ko ia 'oku mahino mai 'oku ne faka'ilonga'i 'a e fefine kotoa pē.*

Mr Tu'ipulotu: It is something that is very true but it is very difficult to break it down or define its meaning. To have time to convey meaning as we are now. I am a teacher but I have never come across this situation where someone asks me about this point. The meaning of hou'eiki fafine "noble women" is very, very significant. If we describe it clearly it will be more meaningful. The word noble women "hou'eiki fafine" is not only for nobles, it is also used for commoners. It is something we use to enrich or something that can elevate something; to hold up the enrichment of women. Let us say that the word is a respectful word but the meaning of hou'eiki fafine "noble women" refers to a crowd or a group of women. If we say fefine it refers to only one person, but fafine means to everyone, meaning a lot. So the word hou'eiki is used to refer to women. It is a very respectful word. It doesn't mean that hou'eiki can only be used when addressing nobles or people who are high chiefs. If we take the hou'eiki and if it

is women we can't say to them that the hou'eiki fafine is at the palace instead we have to say hou'eiki. The word is traditional; it is not a word that was made up or collected, it was from the beginning. It is a Tongan word that is used to show respect to women. Remember that women are very modest. Women are people ranked highly and we give them words that describe their worthiness and preciousness. Women are modest and very significant. Because of the significance of women it is necessary to have the word that holds on to the tradition of the hou'eiki fafine 'noble women'. If we simply say kakai fefine, at that moment we will feel disappointed or insulted, (or instance, if someone says "kau fefine", "Hey ladies"). But when they say hou'eiki fafine we will have a joyous feeling or good feeling towards it. If we ask "Where are the kau fafine are from?" It is understood that it refers to a lot of women but there is a limit to it. But when they say hou'eiki fafine we know straight away that there are a lot of women and we can't count them to know their numbers. The word is used to lift up every other word. It is given to both the elderly and the young. The word hou'eiki fafine is a word that honours because it lifts up the modesty of women. Let's say it is a word to show respect. As for our understanding we use it daily to women and that is how I feel at this moment because as I said earlier, if I say kau fafine it won't be a good, or a wholehearted feeling, but every time we say hou'eiki fafine there will be a heartfelt feeling that shows that all women are modest. That is my understanding. It is a unique word for women who live righteously and worthily. It sounds deep when we add hou'eiki, hou'eiki fafine brings together all of the feeling and worthiness of women. We will uplift women and the value of women. When we say hou'eiki fafine there is a feeling that is more modest and we agree upon the dignity of women when we use the word hou'eiki fafine. Whenever we say hou'eiki fafine there will be no limit to its number. Every woman in Tonga is known as hou'eiki fafine. The word is described clearly and it is very understandable that it reminds us of every woman.

2:13 *MR PAANEPASA MOALA*

Title: The meaning and use of hou'eiki fafine.
Person interviewed: Mr Paanepasa Moala
Interviewer: 'Asinate 'Anitema
Location: Tongatapu
Date: 4 November 2014, 9:30pm
Time: 00:00:00 – 00:03:57
Recording device: Acatel recording device
Transcribed by: 'Asinate 'Anitema and Talita Toluta'u

Mr Moala: *Ko e tala koē 'o e' api faka-Tonga ko e 'ulu 'o e fāmili ko e tangata "man". Hingoa 'o e 'api ko e 'api 'a fafine. Kā ko e tukufakaholo he ko e nofo 'a kāinga 'oku 'ikai ke hou'eiki 'a tangata ia. Label 'ulumotu'a. Mehikitanga ko e hou'eiki ia that's why it's for hou'eiki fafine. 'Oku inherit pea tukufakaholo 'a e fahu ia. 'Oku 'ikai ke fahu ha tangata ia that's why. Ko e nofo ko ia 'a fafine Tonga ko e nofo 'a kāinga. Sio leva ki hē 'oku label leva, labellized leva ko e 'ulu 'a e famili ko e tangata pea hingoa leva 'o e 'api ko e 'api 'a fafine ko e respect ia. 'A ia 'oku fu'u respectful 'aupito 'a e hou'eiki fafine 'a ia ko hono 'uhinga ia. Ko e fo'i lea hou'eiki fafine koe'uhi ko e 'api ko e 'api 'a fafine. Ko e fo'i lea hou'eiki fafine 'oku ngāue 'aki ia ki ha fa'ahinga fefine Tonga pē. Sio ki heni fungani 'o e fahu ko e fefine (mehikitanga) 'oku 'ikai ke mehikitanga ha motu'a tangata. Kuo ke fanongo nai kuo 'i ai ha motu'a 'oku mehikitanga na – "NO" 'oku 'ikai ke pehē ke classified ko ia 'etau lea pea pehē ko e hou'eiki ē, ko e tu'a ē. ko e hou'eiki fafine ha fa'ahinga taha pē tatau ai pē ia pe ko e hā hono tu'unga 'i he sōsaieti. It is a must e lea fakahou'eiki mai ai 'a e Tu'i mo e kakai hou'eiki 'o pehē mai hou'eiki fafine ki he kakai tu'a. Ko e inherit pe a ko e tukufakaholo pe a kuopau tatau ai pē pe ko e Tu'i. Fanongo pē ko e 'oku tau angamaheni 'aki mai 'aki ha tō folofola mai 'aki he Tu'i pe koe falealea 'oku pau pe ke nau pehē mai hou'eiki fafine. Hangē pē ko Pilolevu ko e taimi 'oku nau me'a mai ai ha fa'ahinga me'a pē pe ko e tv, 'oku pau pē ke pehē mai, hou'eiki fafine. Ko ha me'a ia 'oku stable pea ma'u ia 'i he inherit tukufakaholo he sōsaieti faka-Tonga. He ko e 'uhinga ko e nofo 'a kāinga. Manatu'i ko e head of the family - tangata, hingoa 'o e 'api 'oku fakahingoa'aki ia 'o e kakai fefine ko e 'api 'a fafine.*

Mr Moala: The Tala of the traditional Tongan family is where they have the father as the head of the family. The name of the 'api "house" is women because the mother is the heart of the family. It is a tradition and it is known that men are not hou'eiki "nobles" who label them as the 'ulumotu'a. Mehikitanga "aunty" is the hou'eiki and that is why women are hou'eiki because they inherit through generations the fahu. Men will never be the fahu and that is why. The living of Tongan women is a living of relatives. Look at this, men are labelled as the head of the family and the name of the house is that women respect them. That is the reason why hou'eiki fafine are highly respected. The word hou'eiki fafine is known as the house of women. The word hou'eiki fafine can be used to any Tongan women. Look at this, the fungani of the fahu (mehikitanga). Have you ever heard of a man who is the mehikitanga – NO. It doesn't mean that our words are classified and that a person can be the hou'eiki or that person can be the tu'a "commoners". The noble women "hou'eiki fafine" can be anyone no matter what their position in the society. It is a must that the king and nobles are to say hou'eiki fafine to the kakai tua "commoners". It is inherited and also a tradition. It is also a must. It is the same given to anyone, even the king or in the parliament when we hear him or them giving a speech, they must say hou'eiki fafine. Like Pilolevu every time she gives a speech anywhere or through television it is required that she always says hou'eiki fafine. This thing is very stable and belongs to the inheritance of our Tongan society because the reasons are the living of Tongan relatives. The head of the family is the father (man). The house is named after women, as the house of women.

APPENDIX 3: Transcripts of interviews with Hou'eiki fafine

3:1 Lesini Finau Vakalahi

Title: Interview with Lesini Finau Vakalahi
Person interviewed: Lesini Finau Vakalahi
Interviewer: Talita Toluta'u
Location: Brisbane, Australia
Date: February 2014
Recording device: Tascam DR05 Portable recorder
Transcribed by: Talita Toluta'u

T. Toluta'u: What is your name, where you were born and what was your date of birth?

Lesini: My name is Lesini Vakalahi, I was born in Faleloa, Ha'apai on the 12th of August 1954.

T. Toluta'u: Lesini, what do you remember about life in Tonga?

Lesini: Life in Tonga… the life in Tonga is very hard…when I grew up, but when you live in Tonga you don't think it's hard because it's just normal … everyone doing the same thing until you come and live overseas and then you think back that was a very hard life.

T. Toluta'u: Lesini what do you remember about your life … about your home, its location … what your house looked like … where it stands inside the village?

Lesini: I grew up in Faleloa and as long as I can remember … I grew up in a big happy family … aunties and uncles and grandparents they all lived together very close and … I remember growing up we had a little Tongan house in the front that's where we slept, we had our little Tongan kitchen at the back that's where you cooked and ate and also … the lavatory or the toilet way back … so that's what I remember when I grew up … You slept at a different place and you ate and cooked and … yeah but I remember … very happy, very close families.

T. Toluta'u: Lesini why do you think your family was a happy family and that you guys were united so closely together?

Lesini: I think that … everyone helped one another I think that's why it made a family happy. It's not only my family thinking back about our little village everyone was happy because they all worked together, they lived together, helped one another, ate together. I think we did everything together. That's what made us closer and made us happy.

T. Toluta'u: What do you remember about the chores and responsibilities you had as a young woman back at home?

Lesini: My chores and my responsibilities? I am the…third number, four not third, fourth girl in the family. All the older girls were doing all the women chores and I remember well when I grew up I was the one that looking after the little ones, the little siblings and… that's what I remember because I don't remember doing any house work or anything, just to look after babies, my little brothers and sisters … something like that.

T. Toluta'u: What were Sundays like back at home?

Lesini: Sunday back at home, Sunday in Tonga is very peaceful day because when I grew up I think it still like that today, there's no shop open… when I grew up there was no vehicle so but in Tonagtapu there's no bus, no taxi, no cars, everywhere quiet, peaceful, everyone go to church, it doesn't matter which church you belong to, everyone go to church on Sundays. Everyone walking, everyone walking to church it's a very beautiful peaceful day… Sabbath day.

T. Toluta'u: And what were the Sundays like in the village?

Lesini: Sunday like in the village, every morning all the parents and grandparents make a umu, umu when they have … you know dig the hole and make a fire and cook all the food in the umu

and … after that everyone have a bath and walk to church. After church come home and get the food ready, as us young children in Tonga, our parents make so many plates of food and we have to walk from house to house to house to house and give food, they share all their food every Sunday so pretty much two or three hours after church you going and share the food and it's not really a happy times when you share food because we hungry and we wanna stay home and eat but we have to share our food with everyone in the village so that's what our Sunday like.

T. Toluta'u: So you said that…sometimes you didn't enjoy going into other neighbours' homes to share your food … Did you have any other feelings that you had towards this kind of like custom in Tonga?

Lesini: it's really nice … you know like some families they less fortunate than us, some families, because my dad was a fisherman and he go fishing and we always got plenty of fish to share with everyone, lots of families they don't have meat on Sundays, they don't have fish so they really happy when they receive whatever we give for them, that's the joy and happiest part of it that the families enjoy what we give them.

T. Toluta'u: Can you tell me a little bit about going to school in Tonga?

Lesini: Going to school in Tonga when I was little, we go to primary school … its very different from here because in Tonga you don't take lunch to school, you just wake up in the morning and whatever leftover from the day before that's your breakfast and then get ready, put on the uniform and walk to school, and lunch time walk home and eat whatever or sometimes we just go around the village to the mango trees or guava trees or whatever and pick and eat, that's our lunch and then after that walk back to school so that's the life and it's normal and we enjoy it. We always look forward for lunchtime to go and pick fruit from trees and eat.

T. Toluta'u: What was it like in the classrooms?

Lesini: Classroom … I don't think anything different of the classroom … we have teachers and we have lessons, I think … the hard the part is learning English at school because we have to read the Tongan book and we have to read a English book and it's very hard to try to pronounce the English word, I think that's hard and also fun part of being at school of how you try to pronounce the word and you giggling and make fun about it. Yeah it was fun.

T. Toluta'u: What was discipline like in school? During the time that you were at primary school?

Lesini: Discipline (laughs) at school in Tonga no muck around with the teachers in Tonga cause you have to go to school and you have to be quiet and listen, and we don't talk back when the teacher says something everyone have to listen and … if you doing something you're not suppose to do, talking while the teacher is talk or you get into trouble, so … the discipline is very, very important and for me was very strict also but what's the different from home and school still the same … our parents are very strict in home too, so yeah we grow up with life is no different.

T. Toluta'u: From your experience … what did your parents do you know, to provide food on the table?

Lesini: Okay with food in our family with income, there's no income … in my village no one go to work, there's no factories over there … except the school teachers, they teach at school and that's about it, so the life in my village is everyone go to the bush, have their own plantation. My dad was a fisherman go fishing and that's how we lived … yes my dad come home with fish and we have few of the fish put on a string, maybe ten fish for … Okay my dad is fisherman and for him is a hobby, he love go fishing and pretty much go to the bush plantation at day and go fishing at night and … that's how we live … when we get fish, put a few fish on a string maybe ten fish for 20 cents or something or so, so we get that money and buy kerosene for our lamp … flour, buy cocoa … sugar, washing powder. I think that's all, that's about it cause everyone you know got own house, your own land, your own food.

T. Toluta'u: You talked about your dad, and he went to the plantation and then he also went to the sea … did you feel like your dad was a hard workingman?

Lesini: My dad is a very hard working person … he provided for our families, when I grew up there are lots of mans that go at night and faikava but my dad never went out; he work at day and go fishing at night and that's how I remember him. He's a very hardworking man to provide for his own family.

T. Toluta'u: So he sacrificed a lot?

Lesini: Yes a lot … lots.

T. Toluta'u: Since we are talking about your parents, what are some of the things you remember were important lessons that they taught you?

Lesini: Okay … the very important lesson that I have learned from my parents is they are loving parents, they giving. My mum is almost give away everything we have and my mum grew up with the family that they got a lot of things, I'm not saying they rich but in the Tongan way they have pretty much what they need. My dad come from a very very poor family, so my mum is always giving because when she grew up, she always give, her parents always give things to their families so that's why I remember that we always give for those that less fortunate than us.

T. Toluta'u: and what would you say would be like the most important things in your life? He taimi koe nake kei 'i Tonga ai?

Lesini: the three most family, the three most important things in my life when I grew up in Tonga, first my family, I love my family very much as everyone's around me they love each other and help each other and also church, I grew up in a grandparents that put the Lord first before everything so that's how I grew up, I learn from them and also education, we always heard our parents always teach us to go to school and go to school and go to school. So that's the three most important things that had been taught when I was young.

T. Toluta'u: When did you leave Tonga? And why did you leave? And how old were you?

Lesini: I was leaving Tonga when I was 21 years old I think … when I finish from high school I stay in Tonga and start to look for a job, my parents send me to New Zealand, so I can work and help my young brothers and sisters to school.

T. Toluta'u: What do you still remember about the day when you left Tonga? And what kind of feelings did you have on that last day?

Lesini: My feeling on the day I left Tonga is a very scary moment in my whole life, leaving my families and move to another country … the scary part of that day is going on a plane, very scared, never been on a plane before and thinking of the plane on the air … is scary, and also move to a new country that … everyone talk in English that's another scary thing that I remember when I left Tonga and also I miss my family, just thinking of left them behind is a very scary thing.

T. Toluta'u: What do you remember… like what were the last words or advice your family gave you before … Do you remember anything?

Lesini: The things that I remember my last advice from my parents to go to church and to help the family back in Tonga. That's what I remember. They always say it doesn't matter where you are, you just pray to God and he will protect me whereever … Yeah that's what I remember.

T. Toluta'u: So you moved to New Zealand first … before you moved here to Australia?

Lesini: Mmhhmmm
T. Toluta'u: So … we'll talk a little bit about New Zealand … Did

you, what did you know before you left Tonga to go to New Zealand … what was your perception? Like what did you think New Zealand was going to look like?

Lesini: Okay what do I think New Zealand will be look like. All I know that's look like a very rich place and when I heard when I use to live in Tonga that Australia it's got a lot of money and … which place that's all I was thinking of, yeah.

T. Toluta'u: Anything about the land … what it was going to look like?

Lesini: Not really. I didn't think of the land what will be look like, I think because when you saw the movies you think all the overseas look the same … big brick houses and you know and rich building and concrete and yeah, all the yummy food and everyone work for money and everyone in Tonga think when you go overseas you got a lot of money, they didn't think you have to earn, work first and get the money.

T. Toluta'u: What was your first moment, the moment you stepped into New Zealand from the plane?

Lesini: When I step into New Zealand from the plane … wow. Was beautiful. Everything is beautiful, everything new you know just like, yeah it is like going to a new country and … all the buildings and houses, and cars and everything. Everything was so different.

T. Toluta'u: Did you notice what were the obvious changes between Tonga and New Zealand?

Lesini: The obvious change when you arrive in New Zealand of course so much different from Tonga because they have heaps of cars and is noisy everywhere because of all the vehicles and … you can see security, police, all white people you know, in Tonga I can see all black and brown but when you come to New Zealand you can see all different colours, and white everywhere its just so different, very much different.

T. Toluta'u: What were some of the … things you found difficult when you first migrated to New Zealand?

Lesini: Very difficult when I first migrated to New Zealand is language because in Tonga I went to Liahona High School and Liahona High School you not allow to talk in Tonga you have to speak English all the time, but we speak Tongan behind the teachers. So … we usually get shy to speak in English around people, but when you come here, it's very, very difficult because you have to contact anyone, everyone is always in English language and that's very, very hard.

T. Toluta'u: So how did you overcome that … the difficulty that you had speaking in English? What made you overcome it?

Lesini: To overcome the shyness and scary of speaking in English I just everyone talk to you in English and you have to reply back and start working and you go to church everyone talk in English so you reply and you learn English at the same time so I overcome that.

T. Toluta'u: Did you ever feel at anytime that you didn't belong in New Zealand?

Lesini: Did I feel anytime I didn't belong in New Zealand? Every time I know I don't belong in New Zealand because I miss my family, my family are very, very important to me. Every time I always miss them and I know that I want to go back home, I don't feel belong there even I stay with my sister, my sister married Niuean so in my house with my sister, they talk in Niuean, they talk in English so between me and my sisters we talking in Tongan but the whole time Niuean and English so it was very, very difficult.

T. Toluta'u: Were there moments that you felt like you really really missed home?

Lesini: What's the moment that I feel like I miss home? … Especially when you … because a lot of time you are talking on the phone, especially when you hear their voice or you know that your mum or dad were sick, that's the time that I really miss home and I wanna go there right away.

T. Toluta'u: What was one of the things that was your motivation to succeed in New Zealand?

Lesini: My motivation to succeed to stay in New Zealand. I think when I found a lot of friends … I start at work and I get to know people at work, so we become friends and then when you go to church and you get to know the people at church and you become friends, so the more people I know, the more I have friends so I don't really miss Tonga cause I got people there as my friends and I feel comfortable and feel like how I feel after that.

T. Toluta'u: You know how we talked about like important lessons that your parents taught you … do you still have that imbedded in you today and that you do these things?

Lesini: To apply what my parents taught me? Oh yes, if you ask my children they say oh yes … at the moment, what I'm doing I am as a member of Australian Tongan Association and … we have something food bank in my house, so I go to food bank and then pick up the food from there and bring it home and that food is for those people that who are in needs, people that have no income especially people that move into the country they have no job, so we provide food for them until they get job. So I do a lots of giving through that and whenever I heard families from church or from the community they don't work, they have no food or their children have no lunch to school, yes I fill up the box and drop off at their houses. Wherever I heard people are in need I go there and that's what my parents taught me.

T. Toluta'u: Have you been back to Tonga since?

Lesini: I been back to Tonga yes, about couple of years ago.

T. Toluta'u: Can you talk a little bit why you moved from New Zealand to Australia?

Lesini: I didn't wanna move to Australia at all, my husband want to move and he ask us as a family to move but no one want to move but we did end up moving here…for the reason my husband think that is more money here, more opportunities … for families and that's true. When we move here yes, the life here in Australia is better for us as we all know that most of New Zealand families are moving here and … yeah it's much cheaper here and … than New Zealand and … the community over here we know a lots and lots of different culture here and we work together and yeah it's just wonderful.

T. Toluta'u: What's the difference between New Zealand and Australia for you?

Lesini: Over here the difference is for me right now … I don't know if you know a few years ago there are Aboriginal and Tongan peoples and Samoan people they have gangs and then fighting one another, after that incident… we have five different womens from different countries, there's me from Tonga and one Aboriginal lady and one Samoan lady, and we have one from _____ and the other one from Papua New Guinea. We meet together and then we … form a committee or group of women as we call it different women yarning and then we get together … like maybe once every quarter, get to know one another and then share our cultures and help one another and teach our children, when we here in this community it doesn't matter how many country you come from, we have to work together and support and love each other. So I love it here, that's the different, there's nothing like that in New Zealand but over here I get to know lots of people all from different countries and we mix through this group of women and I love it. It's a wonderful opportunity to learn and to know other people cultures and see what they like.

T. Toluta'u: Do you think Australia's weather … or food that they can grow here and stuff is similar to back at home?

Lesini: Yes, it's very, very different here and New Zealand because over here is hot, the weather is … very, very warm exactly like Tonga so my husband and all the people in the Tongan

community we plant our own Tongan foods here, so in our back yard we have the yams, we have the tapioca, we have the kumara, we have the taro, so we don't grow that in New Zealand because New Zealand the weather is very cold. So in here we have our Tongan food plant around you know our back yard and it's just wonderful.

T. Toluta'u: I'm sorry I just want to back track … You said that your dad planted… had his own plantation. What were some of the things he was able to grow on his plantation?

Lesini: My dad in Tonga he plant exactly what we plant here because my dad in Tonga he got a plantation in the bush and also in our home around the village, around the back yard and the front yard and he always have garden. So over here we do similar, the taro and the yam. In Tonga you don't plant yam around in your home in the village, you can plant that in the bush. But over here in Australia you can plant all the Tongan food outside in your back yard and that's wonderful, that's the difference in here and New Zealand because of the weather.

T. Toluta'u: Do you remember … any songs or anything that maybe a song that maybe your mum taught you as a young child? Or a song that you always remember was played in your home? Or a song that you remember at church … Something that really stood out to you?

Lesini: Yes … a song something I grew up, my parents belong to the Free Wesleyan church as in New Zealand is Methodist church … I am converted and be a member of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints. So when I grew up there are few primary songs that we use to sing in Methodist church or my parent church that the song that always stood to me is 'Amusia Samuela, the other one is … Koe ki'i fonua 'i 'Oseni. That's what I always remember … and I just came back from New Zealand about few months ago and that's what we always sing with my mum and because I'm belong to the church of Jesus Christ now, I don't really remember the song that my parents' church but that's two songs I'll always sing with my mum when I went to New Zealand few months ago … (singing) 'oku 'iai ha ki'i fonua 'oku tu 'i 'oseni, nae 'ikai ke mau 'Otua, nae masiva he lelei. I think that's enough okay (laughter) that's what I remember from when I grew up from my mum and dad and because I'm in a different church now so I know our song (laughter).

T. Toluta'u: That's such a good song, it's a humble song.

Lesini: Yes it is.

T. Toluta'u: And so you remember that song, you would always sing it in the church you grew up in like in the primary classes like Sunday school?

Lesini: Yes I remember that ever since I was little and I can't take it out of my mind, sometimes I was humming it. I still remember yeah … that song.

3:2 Senolita Vatuvei Afemui

Title: Interview with Senolita Vatuvei Afemui
Person interviewed: Senolita Vatuvei Afemui
Interviewer: Talita Toluta'u
Location: Toronto; Canada
Date: July 2013
Recording device: Tascam DR05 Portable recorder
Transcribed by: Talita Toluta'u

T. Toluta'u: Talamai ho'o full name, hingoa kakato mo e 'aho nake faele ai moe feituu koe naake?

Senolita: Ko hoku hingoa ko Katinga Vatuvei Afemui … Na'e fa'ele'i au 'i Tatakamotonga 'i he aho 23 siulai 1964.

T. Toluta'u: Ai Senolita ai koe taimi naake nofo ai i Tonga teke lava o kii talamai mo fakamatala … Ki hoo moui I Tonga … what things you do remember about life in Tonga?

Senolita: Kou manatui nae mali eku fae pea mo Mula Afemui naaku tau tolu … naa mau

Senolita: Tupu 'i Nuku'alofa 'i he Hala Tu'i pea … sorry … tupu hake moe ngaahi tuonga'ane mo step sisters and brothers … fanau 'a Mula koe toko 8, fanau 'a kimautolu toko 5.

T. Toluta'u: Tell me about the responsible that you had to do because your house was tuu ihe Hala Tu'i.

Senolita: Mali 'eku fa'e mo Mula Afemui 'o mau nofo 'i he Hala Tu'i … koe me'a 'e taha 'oku ou manatu'i 'i he 'eku kei sii'si'i koe fa'a ha'ele koee 'a e Tu'i 'i he Hala Tu'i … kuo pau pe ke ma'a ma'u pe homau hala … hanga pe he'emau fa'e 'o talamai ke hiko mau pe 'a e veve … fakama'a ma'u pe 'a mu'a koe 'uhi ko'e ha'ele 'a e Tu'i … koe Ha'ele 'a e Tu'i mei mala'e kula ki he lotu especially 'a e Sapate kuopau ke ma'a ma'upe 'a e 'aho Tokonaki ki he 'aho Sapate.

T. Toluta'u: What do you remember was your ngaahi responsibility as a young woman?

Senolita: kou manatui my responsibility koe … tokonaki fana tamaiki eeki ia kita … koe osi ae kai mau fufulu ipu … Nae alu pea e tamaiki tanagata o ngaue moe ako … ko mautolu fefine naa mau fai ae fo … koe mau responsibility ia tamaiki fefine hai fo kihe tamaiki tangata, haiane enau ngaahi vala, ngaahi enau mea kai … you know I use to enjoy it and liked it … I feel the same way now …you know ihe moui koia tamini koe uhi koe tupu hake koe ihe ete fae … akoi kita ke fai ae ngaahi nae pehe i api.

T. Toluta'u: So Senolita, so you talked about your parents and as you reflect back kihe taimi koia naake mea naake sio naake … naake ako or did they teach you that you still remember that oku ke sio oku iate koe o au mai ki ahoni.

Senolita: ohhh … how to raise children. My mom was like very… um worried about us growing up to make sure we … when we go out overseas that we know how to take care of our children one day we gonna have children and we know how to take care of them and care for them…even our home … how to take care of our husband and you know akonaki au ihe eku fa'e ke poto ihe ngaue ihe cleaning moe tauhi ae fanau ke oua iai ha mea hook kia nautolu … ai ken au poto ihe ako moe poto ihe ofa moe mali ia kita … manatui au ihe tupu meihe eku fa'e ihe ngaahi akonaki aane fai ihe eku kei sii pe oku kei tuku holo pe ihe taimini oku ou kei fai pe ihe ngaahi mea niihi ihe eku tauhi eku fanau oku ou fakakaukau ma'u pe kihe eni lea … (cries) oku ikai ngalo iate au ae ngaahi akonaki eku fa'e … ko iape ihe kona koia.

T. Toluta'u: Kapau teke reflect kihe taimi koia naake I Tonga ai nofo koe I tonga koe ha three things naake sio ne mahuinga ihe moui iho nofo koia I Tonga?

Senolita: Koe mea e tolu koe fe'ofa'aki … koe tupu hake eku fae koe ha fe'ofaaki moeni fanga tungaane mo fangatokoua … nau fe'ofaki they love each other and it reflect on me now … mo hoku fanga tungaane mo eku fanga tokoua…mea e taha ne ongo nae

fangataa ihe taimi koeia but she did her best to raise us fanau… malo pe ha mea mau ihe taimi koe nae ikai mahunga ae paanga mahunga enau ofa mo feinga ke mahino kitautolu fanau ae anga ae tauhi fanau naa nau feinga pe kemau kai pea moe lotu neongo pe ikai ke faa alu o lotu (laughs) ihe ngaahi ahoni ka oku mahuinga kiate au ene pongipongi kotoa pe koene fafangu kimautolu ke tuu ke ngaahi emau mea kai, mau o lotu pea mau foki mai o kai … koe foi mea e tolu oku mahuinga kiate au kou manatui.

T. Toluta'u: You mentioned Sunday. Can you explain a little bit what Sunday was like in Tonga?

Senolita: I remember Sunday was very quiet and nothing open you know, we prepare from Saturday evening kihe Sunday … get our clothes ready for church; get our food ready… for after Church and Sabbath was very holy in Tonga… kai ke fai ha longoa'a… teuteu kotoa o lotu. Osi pe koe lotu hau mau kai osi pe koe kai mau takoto o mohe, teuteu e vala ako kihe pongipongi pea koe sapate ia kou manatui.

T. Toluta'u: koe ha ngaahi mea na ke sio from your experience that how your family able to have income or to support or feed your family?

Senolita: they grow crops. My mum and dad used to grow crops. ange he tuangaane o eku fae o oange ae konga kelekele ken au to ngoue iai o mau ngoue pe kihe kai pea ko eku fa'e mo eku tamai kou manatui nau hanga o raise e chicken … fanga moa, koe ducks. Koe fanga puaka kihe mau kai. Pea toki later on alu e fanau ki muli and then toki li mai ha seniti o tokoni mai o toki lava leva ke iai ha mau fakatau meat meihe market ka ko mostly we grow our own crops in Tonga.

T. Toluta'u: I remember you told me an experience that you're mum use to… always send you to the fish market?

Senolita: and another thing, my uncles, my mums brothers they use to grow crops too so when we don't have anything ready at that time, my mum would send me to Mu'a, to the TakamoTonga to my uncles … hau with a kato manioke he pasi ki kolo ke mau kai and then sometimes one of my mums brother Va'enuku Vatuvei, I remember him going off to the market to sell his water melon, crops … anything like faina, I remember there was peanuts, it doesn't matter what it was, before he reaches to the market he always stop by at our house, drop off basket you know for us children so that lasts us for weeks you know until another uncle will come by with some food … My mums brothers I remember they were like that with us, that's how I remember growing up. If we don't have anything they always helping us with food and stuff like that… and then another brother … he work in the market and I would go there, my mum would send me over there and he would say … I would stand there and he sees me at the market he will call me to come over and cut me the piece of beef and take home to my mum and then another, my mum had a sister (laugh) her name is Taufa … my mum use to tell me to go to the market you know that she would … na'e tamata'u, and I use to be so embarrassed when mum call me to go to her because she never calls me by my name. When she sees me and there's a bunch of people there you know tokolahi e kakai tu'u tali ke fakatau e ika and kou toitoi au I mui he akau but when she see's me she would yell at me like "ha'u e ta'ahine a Moala, ha'u kihenu atu e ika, she never calls me by my name she always call me by my mum ta'ahine a Moala and … and then you know shell give me the fish and I take it home. Every weekend my mum would send me off to the market to get fish from her so this is how we use eat … but before when I go on the way there, sio atu kihe vaka he ne lele mai oku tuu ia ki olunga kaikaila koe ika eni mei he kolo kakala, koe namu lelei (laugh) she was funny but it was embarrassed for me because I was a child (laugh) I told my mum ill never go back but she keep sending me so I cant say anything, I have to go you know (laugh) so that's how we get our food from family too if we don't have enough long time ago that's my memory.

T. Toluta'u: so was that kind of … obviously there's like unison of love in the family between your mother's brothers and sisters, what do you think was the underline thing behind why they would be so … that the way they were.

Senolita: I guess that's the way they brought up and then I feel like it's because … was poor before and that's maybe they create love for eachother so they help each other that way. I think that's probably why that they love eachother and help eachother because they were poor when they grow up so whatever they have they share it you know, even my mum, my mum sister would come, my mum will have a little bit of everything and then when she comes she said "oh" you know to my mum, I remember getting mad at her for coming over and my mum had the last two dollars, my mum would give it to her and we had nothing and then we a have a bunch of us and lots of us and she only have like four kids and like we have fourteen maybe or whatever and she would give her her last two dollars, and I remember as a child … why you taking my mums last two dollars (laugh) but because that's the way they brought up. I wasn't there when she was with her parents but I assume this was happen you know, they probably poor they don't have anything so whatever … they didn't for get that maybe because I know a experience there's people have something, they forgot about the past but I remember when they have something they share it so yeah that's my experience, that's what I think what made them help each other.

T. Toluta'u: did you feel that that way how your mother, her sisters and brothers were, did you like it was a Tongan way?

Senolita: oh yeah, I feel like that's a Tongan way, that's how I feel as a child… that was a Tongan way I assume everybody your neighbour or every family in Tonga like that, that's why I think because from my experience from my parents, from my mums side I feel like that was the Tongan way. I hope they keep it up these days cause that's my experience from my mum you know … not sure about other people but I think that's a Tongan way.

T. Toluta'u: okay, next one was … when did you leave Tonga? and koe ha ho ta'u koe nake mavahe ai mei Tonga?

Senolita: I left Tonga I was … I arrived here it was February 10, 1982 and I was 17 years old.

T. Toluta'u: and how did you get to Tonga? So like what was … like who helped you get over here? Was there someone here?

Senolita: yeah like I said earlier there were older sisters, the older children from my family they were older they came here first. I had a sister Betty, she came here and then she bought me here to Canada, she was already here in Canada so she brought me to Canada.

T. Toluta'u: do you still remember 'ae aho koe na'ake ha'u ai?

Senolita: Yes! I remember very well that the day I came here … I went to the airport to Fu'amotu airport that that was the day that the school started in Tonga, koe aho ia nae kamata ai ae ako, hu ai ae ako koeni a Tonga. I remember saw that children like dress up in their uniform and going to school. I wanted to go to school with them too but when your teenager your parents tell to go and you go (laugh) so but I remember feeling sad, didn't want' a leave the island but I was curious so I just wanted to go to see what's out here you know so and that's it, I flew from there, from Tonga, From Fu'amotu to Fiji and then Fiji to Vancouver, Vancouver to Canada and I'm still here.

T. Toluta'u: and do you remember you said feelings, do you remember the kind of feeling you had when you knew that you were going to leave your parents? And you don't know when you're going to come back and see them, whether they'll still be alive by the time you come back, do you remember those?

Senolita: yeah I was feeling sad, I didn't want' a leave my sisters and brothers and my mum. I was feeling like very sad and I'm going to miss out my friends from school. I was just starting to go from grade 11 to grade 12 at that time so I was just thinking oh I'm going to miss out on all you know the last year of school. I was just thinking of all that stuff and my brothers, my sister I love them so much I felt like I left them you know (laugh) because I was so close to them I usually do stuff for them and stuff like that I really … the feeling I couldn't express it but I just remember of

thinking of them. I was sad to leave them. I remember my brother was in the army in Fu'amotu and I remember I wanted to see him so bad and I could see him but nobody arrange for me to see him before I can leave right, so I can remember being sad about that. I was thinking of him the whole time on the way here because I didn't get to say goodbye to him so… I was thinking of my family mostly my brother and sisters and my mum you know, everybody.

T. Toluta'u: and was that the first time you were on a plane?

Senolita: yes! That was the first time I was on a plane I remember my mum was says to me … because she went to New Zealand she was already experience going on a airplane so she would say … to be careful … when you get to the airport, there would be a automated, now I know it's a automated door would open, make sure that you know don't get stuck in it (laugh) and then she would say there is these stairs that it goes up by itself make sure you don't get stuck in it too (laugh) now I know its escalator but if you go in this place I guess is elevators she tried to explain, she was telling me all that stuff, and I remember coming here and she told me about coming to Canada she said my sister would bring… she brought this little shaker that there's little snow inside and then she says to me, this how snow look like so its going to be cold in Canada, and then she brought me a big jacket and my mum says, when you get in the airport from Fiji to Canada make sure you put your jacket on cause you going to be cold. So I put the jacket on all the way from Fiji (laugh) all the way from Fiji to Canada and I was sweating. I didn't want to take it off, I was thinking my mum said to put the jacket on so I left it on (laugh) I was sweating but I put it on (laugh).

T. Toluta'u: so you remember the day you left and the feelings you had, before you left Tonga and your about to, your planning and knowing your going to this muli country, what was some of the things that you kind of imagined in your mind about this country was going to look like? And what made you think that way? Was it because people told you? Was it because you saw it in movies? Or the radio? Or what made you that Canada was going to look like?

Senolita: if I remember very well I didn't even think of anything. As a kid in Tonga I didn't think anything all I remember they show me a little shaker, this is how it's going to be like snow, I didn't think anything at all. I didn't even imagine what the countries like because Tonga is only small … when I see movie I didn't think it was real. I thought what was in the movie was not real like its just made up things and I didn't even imagine there's other countries besides Tonga so I didn't even think anything of it. I just remember they told me it's going to be cold and all those little thing my mum says to me you know there's a escalator, there is a doors open up and close by itself and there is a stairs going up on its own, that's all I imagine … I couldn't imagine anything else. Because I remember when I was little sitting 'i he matatahi and sometimes when you see the ocean and its meet with the sky, I thought that was the end. I didn't know that there is more (laugh) that's what I remember as a child. I didn't remember there's other places, I couldn't imagine where Vava'u and Ha'apai was, I go "oh maybe oh they right there" or the other side when I see trees or whatever … I didn't imagine the other country, I didn't know until I arrive here and people ask me, are you surprise when you came here? What did you think of the country? … I say I wasn't surprised because I didn't have no imagination that what would be like so I wasn't really surprised it was like, oh okay that's what they were talking about, the snow when I saw it you know so, oh when I came down the escalator to meet my sister in the airport, oh this is what my mum was saying you know like I saw this little thing she told me and I saw it so that's all I can remember you know.

T. Toluta'u: The first moment when you stepped into Canada, did you feel anything? The very first moment that you arrived here in Canada, and you saw like maybe the buildings, the cars.

Senolita: I remember getting off the airport and just coming down, follow everybody from the airplane, follow everybody to where I guess you meet before that greeting you there. I just remember I saw my sister there and I was inside so she took me outside to the car, came to her house and stuff like that … I just don't remember, I just remember thinking I wanna go home (laugh) what am I doing here? (laugh) how long am I going to be here before I go home? I don't remember anything else … I just remember I came here to visit and then I'm going to go home. You know I'm lost with the question?

T. Toluta'u: what are the differences that you saw between Tonga and Canada? what is the obvious differences? Faikehekehe koe a Tonga mo Kanata?

Senolita: oh the obvious difference is there were no Tongan people here. I came here there was no Tongan at all. It was mostly Palangi mostly at that time… after a while I see different culture but that was the most. When I use to go on the bus somewhere I always hope I see Tongans … I think I see three or four Tongans at the time when I arrived here so that was the most there was no Tongan people here.

T. Toluta'u: and how did it make you feel knowing that? Cause you come from a country that where Tonga is everywhere to a country that.

Senolita: I feel so lonely. I feel like homesick. It was the feeling of homesick, it was so bad. I wanted to go home but I didn't say to anybody … I was told to stay (laugh).

T. Toluta'u: cause what was the reason why you came? Can you tell me the reason why you came to here?

Senolita: My sister barely brought me here. I'm not sure exactly why but she brought me here because she was having a baby and I was suppose to watch her kids while she go to the hospital, that's the reason why I came here. That's all I remember, and then I was suppose to go to school and something like that, that's all I remember.

T. Toluta'u: but did that actually happen?

Senolita: I didn't end up going to school. I went to school later on after I have my kids but I didn't go to school.

T. Toluta'u: did you feel like you belonged here? And why?

Senolita: Now after 20 years I feel like I belong here, but when I first came here until 20 years later I was still homesick because I didn't feel like I belong here… even though I have my kids, that's when I start feeling I have to be here because of them but for myself I feel like I wasn't belong here you know because I miss my childhood, I miss my family, I miss those things that I you know, I miss like left school without finishing school you know like I was always wondering what would I do at home like before if I didn't come here… its always good to complete that and then go … all my friends I hear they went on a mission you know after school. I didn't get to do all that so I guess that's what it is that I miss.

3:3 Telesia Tonga

Title: Interview with Telesia Tonga
Person interviewed: Telesia Tonga
Interviewer: Talita Toluta'u
Location: Laie Hawaii
Date: July 2013
Recording device: Tascam DR05 Portable recorder
Transcribed by: Talita Toluta'u

Telesia Tonga: I've been doing a lot with Tongan culture on this side not necessarily on the academic … that's the other reason why I wanna finish my graduate work, it will just be a matter of time, faingata'a pe koe kei tokolahi 'ae fanau, because he 'ikai ke … 'ikai ke ola … to validate a lot of things that I say I have to finish, 'a 'eku ma'u e la'i pepa … but currently if I speak on cultural things its because my husband and I both teach a lot of dancing and stuff kohono uhinga koe tangata 'eiki a 'eku fa'e koe siana ko Peni Tutuila na'e punake mei Uiha, so I think I'm fortunate in that, I get a little bit of creditability from who he is but I have to build my own creditability and mine is a different situation because I am navigating in a totally foreign place, to children and adults who don't speak Tongan. So to teach them 'ae faiva pea moe anga 'oe fa'u, all that kind of stuff is a totally different challenge. It is very very different and so I'm learning a lot and I know I have a lot to share about it, about my experiences but I really have to finish school koe 'uhinga ke, so that I can publish some of the things that I learned … koe fu'u sou fo'ou ko e 'a PCC … I was invited to be part of the whole … I gotta tell you between you and me, that in itself can be a whole dissertation, he na'e fekau he siasi ke 'omi 'ae siana palangi from the main land ke tokoni kihono fa'ufa'u e show, he tried so hard to influence how we tell the story that it was no longer becoming our story. Pea nau ke au moe siana a lot of the times.

T. Toluta'u: So its more like twisting to his perspective of things?

Telesia Tonga: Yes! Yes! Cause he was telling me, "Well you know, this is what we're gonna do, we're gonna have a story of a boy kamata mei he ki he, Tonga's portion of the story is this so, how would you tell this story?" When we try to tell, he's like, "Well, it doesn't make sense to one such as I." I said, "Well this is not your cultural centre, it's ours. You need to let us tell our portion of the story true to form". The things you're asking us to enact 'oku fakamātatu'a he anga faka-Tonga you know, some of the people I work with they were more apt to just go along with what he wanted kohono 'uhinga ko 'enau faka'ongo'i koe omi he siasi 'ae siana. If we argue with him then we are not.

T. Toluta'u: Going against the church?

Telesia Tonga: Yeah, going against the church and stuff… I said no no no no, kai ke uhinga ia, oku kei mooni pe siasi ia and we can be respectful about it kae kapau te tau tukuange for these kinds of portrayals to happen, it may make sense to him and the paying customer which is what he wants ka oku fakamātatu'a ia.

T. Toluta'u: Does it downgrade our culture?

Telesia Tonga: Yeah… to have a man and a woman laying prostrate in the stage in the very beginning just laying there, because we want to depict that they were washed up on a shore, koe siteisi koeni koe Tangai. If our uncles, our parents and even kapau fafai ange kuo ha'ele mai e tu'i 'o tangutu heni would we feel good about what is being portrayed? The answer is no. So I didn't have as much support from the younger people that were also on the panel but the older folks supported me and they also encouraged me because they felt like sai koe ia teke lava 'o talanga moe siana in that, in his language, and so we had really really excellent conversations … a lot of the times the bottom line is I told him, "You know what, you are just here to produce the overall result. You need to allow us to be true to who we are because this stage a lot of kids look to Youtube anymore to know what is Tongan, we have to carefully select what we do on this stage because they'll look to it as a benchmark." Believe it or not … koe mamafa ia 'oe kavenga ko'eni. That what little things we choose … oh that must be Tongan you know, that's really traditional aye cause PCC is doing it, and when the kids mimic that off of social media, off of the internet and all that … its dangerous, and so we had very good conversations. I learned a lot about who I am from my conversations with him, I learned that the reason why I came to learn to speak English so well is so that I could tell him in his language that I'd rather be who I am, not succumb to this pressure to be … I felt like colonised in this day and age, that's what he wanted. He's like … we can't tell you to celebrate in the building of a house. I'm like what do you want? You want the reaction move that bus you know from the TV show and stuff like that. I'm like, your wanting me to tell it the way you would have it understood. If it doesn't make sense to you, people still come here because they are fascinated about who we are and why we do things, and there's little, little things throughout the Tongan section that I can show you our arguments that we have had because he wanted them to do it this way and I kept feeling oku ikai koe anga faka-Tonga ia.

T. Toluta'u: So my first question is, what is your full name, where were you born and what date?

Telesia Tonga: Okay … my name is Telesia Afeaki Tonga, I was born February 5th 1975 here, Honolulu actually, Honolulu Oahu.

T. Toluta'u: So what do you remember about life in Tonga? What are some of the things that you remember?

Telesia Tonga: Wow… my fondest memories are of Tonga… all of my childhood and my high school years were in Tonga … my fondest memories are of school growing up and my grandparents, having my grandparents, the luxury of having them close by. We had moved around a little bit and I have to say my best memories of all are travelling to the outer islands. My mothers from Vava'u and my father's from Ha'apai and we had many opportunities to travel to Ha'apai and Vava'u especially Ha'apai and so for the Christmases we spent in Ha'apai where life is so simple, those are some of the best memories of Tonga.

T. Toluta'u: Sia can you describe your house in Tonga like and its location and where it stood in the village?

Telesia Tonga: Okay … when I was younger… I would say from infancy till I could remember about 8 or 10 … between 8 and 10 we lived on campus at Liahona High School. I would say that was like living in Hawaii because the housing on the campus very much kind of American influenced … they were quite nice the houses were so I didn't know any different living there growing up. My father worked at the school as a teacher and then we moved from there to Lapaha, our home was on the outskirts of Lapaha, it was actually the very end of Lapaha called 'Alele just before Hoi which is the next town and because it was on the outskirts, we actually lived on what is called a 'Kolo Tau'. It was a traditional war fortress. My father and mother had planned… there's actually a piece of land in my family, my dad's family because we do have a great grandmother who is from Lapaha. We moved to that property because we were going to turn it into a tourist attraction. We wanted to preserve the war fortress but also have something that was kind of like what is today the Tongan national centre and the little house that we built there was not even a house we built, it was an older house … koe fale papa that was brought from another property of ours 'i … what area is that? We always called it Hu'atolitoli cause it's right across from Tolitoli, so the house was transported, transplanted because it was a family house… no one was living there anymore. We actually had the house moved over to the Lapaha property and kind of felt like we were alienated from the whole town because we were living on a huge property that was a Kolo Tau first of all, you wouldn't think anyone would live on a war fortress and then also we had to drive into town everyday, koe lele ki Nukualofa for school. My siblings all went to Tonga side school, we all did. By the time we lived in Lapaha I was in Form One at Tonga high School and we had to travel into town so it seemed like we didn't do much with our community in Lapaha for two reasons: We commuted into town so much for school and work, my father was a parliamentarian at the time but also because we were the only Mormon family in a predominantly Catholic town. So not only was the placement of our home on the outskirts, but I think socially we were also kind

of on the outskirts of what was going on in Lapaha all of the time, and it was okay, we didn't feel like we were any different its just that we were so busy, and too busy to notice what was going on.

T. Toluta'u: Did you talk about what the atmosphere of home was like?

Telesia Tonga: That's kind of what Lapaha was like. Its like we were living there but not living there with everybody because we were commuting so much but my father built a home in Tofoa, and when we finally settled in Tofoa that's where home was. Now Tofoa's quite a large town and we still lived on the, close to … it was a new development, kind of a new area in Tofoa close to the main road HalaTaufa'ahau, across from … Lavengamalie. Yeah, so when my father built that home, that's home for us, and we've been away for years, all of our best memories are in that home, the home he built for us. I think that's the other reason. And after all these experiences we had of moving from Liahona to Lapaha and then back to Tofoa, I feel like when he built our home he finally built the home that we wanted to live in. It was mostly made of coconut and all that but the way that he had designed the home was exactly how my mother and the rest of us wanted it to be. The atmosphere I think was unique to most families in that area at the time. Not only were we all attending English speaking schools since we were young, like Tonga side school and then on to Tonga High School where English is primarily spoken but the atmosphere in our home was such that we were living in Tonga but there was still a little bit of America in Tonga for us and the reason for that is that my mother migrated to Hawaii in the early 1950's. She came with a Palangi couple that had come to serve a mission in the Mormon Church, then they had … not legally adopted her but they had brought her so that she could have opportunities to go to school and so on and so forth. She was the second person that was one of two people that were given the first stamp visa in Fiji to come to the US, and she came with Patrick and Lela Dalton. He was a professor of Biology here at Brigham Young University Hawaii campus when it was still Church College. He was one of the original staff or the original faculty. So because she came here at such a young age, English is what she primarily spoke and so we spoke English at home, but the minute we stepped out of our doors we spoke Tongan, and I think now that I've shared with a lot of people that grew up in Tonga or grew up otherwise, I realise that my upbringing in Tonga was quite unique in that sense that the atmosphere was such that I think it was a very successful marrying of both cultures. My mother knew early on that we would have to leave Tonga to be educated overseas. She wanted so much for us to be just as fluent in Tongan as we were in English, so she knew the minute we stepped outside we spoke Tongan to our friends, our relatives and everywhere else. She made sure she spoke English to us at home, taught us to eat. We had dinner every night together as a family sitting at a table, and she taught us to eat with a knife and fork. Now this was done … this was met with much resistance from my brothers who all attended Atele, so they were very much like men's men, that they were… they were always fighting "We're not Palangi, we don't need to eat with a fork and a knife", but that was the atmosphere of our home. I would say it was a little piece of America kind of because she was brought up here and also the atmosphere was very much I would say very much influenced by our religion which is Latter-day Saint; we're actually Mormon's.

T. Toluta'u: So can you remember what Sundays were like back home?

Telesia Tonga: Sunday … the first word that comes to my mind is peace because Sunday you knew you were going to have church meetings and that, in fact one of the traditions in Tonga, I don't know it was made a rule but it was an unspoken rule that on Sunday, it was a day we went to church so we never wore any pants. Even when we came back after coming from church and changing I always wore a skirt or a tupenu. With my own children, I have six daughters and one son, every Sunday I ask them to still stay in… some kind of a free flowing skirt or dress or something like that because I feel that, if we dress differently on Sunday throughout the day then you'll keep it that, you'll keep the Sabbath day holy. So in Tonga for me Sunday was nothing but church, we looked forward to sharing food with your neighbours and interestingly enough, I think that we were quite privileged for lack of a better word, because my dad always had a white collar job… for most of those years when I was in high school he was a parliamentarian so as far as having good food on Sundays that was never an issue for our family and yet I looked forward to what the neighbour would give us. Even though they had … less maybe meat in their Lu, their Lu always tasted better than ours, and so Sundays was a time of sharing and I miss that, I miss that a lot about Sundays. I miss that it was home made, I miss that there was nothing but worship everywhere, all of the religions you hear the fangufangu in the morning you knew which church was starting that day yeah so Sundays was a wonderful day of peace and worship and like I said my greatest memory is that no pants or shorts or any clothing that you would wear during the week, uniform or anything like that, that would be our Sunday in Tonga.

T. Toluta'u: You mentioned your mum and your dad. What is your greatest memory of your mum back in Tonga?

Telesia Tonga: My greatest memory of my mum is that we spent a lot of time together because in the elementary years and starting years of high school we had to drive a lot from Lapaha to town, those periods of time that we drove were the times that we conversed, and we would sing together as a family in the car. You know it was a little van, a mini van, but when we would drive in the mini van we would start up a song and everyone would sing, even my brothers. They didn't say they were too cool to sing at the time, they would sing and recently I received an email from my mum, no my daughter did, my eldest daughter, she told my daughter I miss the days of dropping your mum off at school because we used to bond during those times and I'm glad you asked me that question because it wasn't so much an event or an activity or anything spectacular, it was those small moments when we drove all that way cause I realise now, that's how come I know her so well, her stories of her upbringing, I know her likes, her dislikes, I know … how much of a compassionate person she is because of those talks we had when we would drive to and from school.

T. Toluta'u: You mentioned that you guys would sing a song. Do you remember one of those songs?

Telesia Tonga: Oh yeah … they were mostly religious songs like we would sing a song that's called "tis far better to light just one little candle". We would sing a lot of Polynesian songs because my mum … when she grew up here in Hawaii, she danced all the Polynesian dances in Waikiki. Ironically I work in Waikiki now, I'm around the same kind of entertainment. I work for a lady she use to dance with right now, yeah so it's like wow … so we would sing a lot of different kinds of Polynesian songs not just religious or Tongan because she had a dance studio, the only one in Tonga where she taught Polynesian dance, and so a lot of times we would learn the songs that we would be learning for her performances and for her studio … I'm so glad you didn't make me sing one of them, thank you (laughter).

T. Toluta'u: What is your greatest memory of your father?

Telesia Tonga: My greatest memory of my father in Tonga was having dinner with him as a family. No matter how busy he was, my mother always made sure that food was ready and that the table was set so that as busy as he was, he made it a point to be at the dinners. I realise now, I can't even get that for my family, its so difficult with the hustle and bussle, and I realise then that it was very … there's a chance we could never have had that, he was so busy but because my mum made sure everything was ready he would come. We had such great conversations at the table … We had our worst scoldings at the table, we had our kindest words at the table … probably my most favourite conversation was about the sale of passports 1997 … 1992 when this all happened but I felt like it was the first time I could have an adult conversation with my dad at the table about something unrelated to family. It was about politics, because he was a politician at the time. I've never felt more validated as his daughter… that he would care about what I though about the current issues, that we could have this conversations at our dinner table and I realise now when I talk to a lot of my friends that I went to school with, Tonga High School, that was rare. Nobody had dinner with their father … everyone

was busy going and coming and no one could sit there and talk intelligently to their parents about, cause they didn't really open that conversation up, and so I realise that I'm thankful for that, that gave me the confidence to know that he cares about what I think, not just about our chores and about things to do with family and church but other things as well.

T. Toluta'u: As you reflect back to your parents, what would you say would be one of the greatest lessons that they taught you?

Telesia Tonga: Wow. I think each has individually taught me something and as a mother now I've had plenty of opportunities because they live in Tonga, to reflect on the things that they have taught me so that I can thank them for that before they're gone. My mother has taught me that … we as Tongans innately have the love of Christ. Koe 'Ofa fakaKalaisi moe 'ofa fakakainga is something that innately we're born with. How we emulate that or show that may differ and I'm thankful that my mother is someone who is very expressive of her love.
If I were to define Tongan culture, I know it is an understanding of who I am … I have found that to give a broad definition of culture for everybody is very difficult because it was almost like it was a huge buffet of things and whatever you took from that buffet, its what has become who you are. So in Tonga, even for all families that are growing up in Tonga say for instance … what we choose to observe culturally still differed from family to family. Some are more Tongan than others in that, they still spoke … so do I feel like my family was less Tongan cause we spoke English in our home? No. When we were living in Tonga we had a unique kind of a situation where we had the best of both cultures in one home. Yet I feel that the Tongan culture is my understanding of who I am, relative to not only to other Tongans and to the way Tongan who I am in Tongan society. If I were to say it in Tongan: "Koe 'ilo'i kita". That is what Tongan culture is to me, and I use to think that its all about, well I'm grateful I speak my language as a first language, I can actually do a Tongan dance. I know genealogically who I am and whom I descend from. I also understand a lot about social hierarchy in Tonga and even politics. I've always been interested in all that, but that all doesn't necessarily make up … Tongan culture for others that are just what it is for me. I understand that I can navigate through my language, through song and dance, through stories passed down in my family, all lending to the fact that it allows me to know who I am and so I don't know what Tongan culture might be for others, its whatever they chose from the buffet that is the Tongan culture, but I'm finding that now that I've migrated to the US, and I'm building and growing and nursing my own family here, what the Tongan culture is to me has become more paramount, of more paramount importance than ever before because whatever cultural values that I feel are important that make me Tongan like faka'apa'apa and 'ofa and … tauhi vaha'a. Those that have been identified by scholars before, I couldn't agree anymore … those are the pillars of who I understand myself to be, and so well I'm trying to raise my children away from Tonga, how I divulge and teach and instil those values in them is going to be really really important and so I'm finding that defining who I am and what the Tongan culture is, is happening everyday in my home away from home, away from Tonga. As I try to teach my children what I feel has been important to me growing up, and that has changed, it has changed since I've migrated because we're in a totally different world, a different environment and I have found that its been easier for me to… define what things I want to continue with my family and what things were more relevant just to Tonga because I was there … I hope that wasn't a hugely vague answer cause your asking me a question that I think is very … it's a great question like "What is the Tongan culture to me?" at different phases in my life I might have given you a different answer. If you ask me fresh out of high school, it would've been a different answer from me answering right now, for instance I'm considered a loyalist when it comes to the current situation in Tonga politically cause I'm someone who feels like the King and his family are at the apex of our culture and customs, not just our political system. When you remove them it changes the whole dynamic of everything and so that's one example of how I've changed my view of what the Tongan culture is. Has it been influenced by moving away? Yes. And the reason for that is I've learnt to appreciate more who I am and what the makeup of me has become, what I owe that to since I've moved away. Now I am able to actually look back and see, and I've been in settings like I mentioned earlier that the Polynesian culture centre with my work and my family situation in the Tongan community at large here, in different situations I have kind of been forced to take a look, an introspective look into myself to say well, who are you? What do you understand makes you Tongan? And what portions of that make up do you want to continue with your children? And how would you do that? Without the luxury of having Tonga because you learn so many things through … osmosis and through the environment, and through the community, and through the family … extended family. How are you going to do that with your children away from those places and even without the language? So I think that's why I am concerned that my answer might be a little vague as we explained because right now I'm going through that dynamic … of change with my children being old enough to really have more conversations with them and its forcing me to really find a way to explain in English, things I understand in Tongan.

T. Toluta'u: You bring up your children … obviously you have a few children. What are some of the ways that you have tried to incorporate things back at home today, to have Tongan culture still strong in your family?

Telesia Tonga: I love that question because some of the things we've done to … incorporate who we are as Tongans and what I was raised with here in Hawaii is, while in Tonga we did a lot in English at home because we knew we'd speak Tongan everywhere else … We speak Tongan at home when we conduct family home evening on Mondays its in Tongan, and there was time I thought, they don't even know what we're saying, they're fidgeting the whole time I knew that eventually it would stick because repetition is what the kids need. The other thing is my children sing, all of them sing and we teach them to sing in Tongan, and I feel like music has helped tremendously to learn the language and to … 'oku 'iai e fa'ahinga ongo, a certain feeling when you sing in Tongan and I know the children innately feel that. So in order to foster that kind of feeling and that kind of love and that kind of understanding in our home it's been a lot to do with language, a lot to do with music and even some of the things we teach them for instance; when we are gonna go to a family funeral we explain to them at least three times on the way there how we're related to the person, why we're going to actually take what we're taking and … then we ask them to tell us not only on the way there but also on the way back from the funeral. Tell us again how are we related to so and so? Or if while we are at an event we ask them to go and fe'iloaki with someone, to go and kiss them and we explain to them how we're related, we ask them to repeat to us again you know or we'll see that person somewhere, and we'll say "Do you remember how you're related to so and so?" or have them repeat those things to us. Those are some of the little ways that we are trying to teach our children how they're connected to people and who they are. Basically back to who they are … for the most part, for the time we've been here in Hawaii we've always been in a Tongan-speaking ward for church so they could be around the language as well. I also have even though we're Mormon; we've always supported the Methodist church here in our community when the youth have needed us to come and help teach dances and all that we'd go. Whenever they have Faka-me we go. I take my children there because … I want them to be exposed to other religions especially those who I feel speak and use it … they are still very strong in the Tongan culture, and so I want them to not feel any discrimination to any other religion because that's how I was raised in Tonga. If I go to a funeral today, I can sing with all the churches when they're singing their hymns because that's how I was raised. So those are some of the things I do. They've participated in Fakame before so that they could be a part of … other religions who practise their Tongan culture in this area in the community. Learning Tongan dance is huge as well.

T. Toluta'u: Because you obviously teach?

Telesia Tonga: Yes I teach dance … my husband and I just finished teaching a new Tongan section for the current show that I work for. It's a company called Tihati productions. So our new production section is a Me'etupaki.