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TONGAN WAYS OF TALKING

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Some excellent work has been published on Tongan speech levels from a sociolinguistic perspective (e.g., Philips 1991). The purpose of this article is to contribute to the literature by describing some important, not previously well-described features of ways of talking (WOT) in Tongan. I will use as my theoretical framework George Grace's theory of language; he argued that a language is "a generalized way of talking about things" (Grace 1987: 99), a device for saying things, and it is, in turn, made up of "conventionalized ways of talking about consecrated subject-matters" (p. 103). In this article I will distinguish the following "ways of talking" (WOT):¹

- WOT 1. *lea fakatu'i*—way of talking to or about the monarch/king (*tu'i*)
- WOT 2. *lea fakahouhou'eiki*—way of talking to or about chiefly people (*hou'eiki*)
- WOT 3. *lea fakamatāpule*—polite way of talking that is characteristic of titled orators (*matāpule*)
- WOT 4. *lea fakatōkilalo / faka'aki'akimui*—self-derogatory way of talking when addressing those of higher rank
- WOT 5. *lea tavale*—way of talking to a person with whom one is familiar or with whom one is socially equal, or way of talking to or about commoners (*tu'a*)
- WOT 6. *lea 'ita*—abusive way of talking

Here I make four main claims about Tongan ways of talking:

- The number of registers described for Tongan has been underestimated. I distinguish six (above) instead of the three that are traditionally described: of king—*tu'i*, of chiefs—*hou'eiki*, of commoners—*tu'a*.
- Not enough attention has been paid to the interactional factors in operation in these ways of talking, including the fact that more than one way of talking may be used in an interaction. Complex and subtle social factors are involved.
- WOT 1-5 are used to a significant degree in non-interactional modes of expression, such as songs, poems, speeches, sermons and ceremonial orations in cultural gatherings. In particular, WOT 3 (*lea fakamatāpule*) can be viewed as a continuum, ranging from, for instance, a simple, polite, formal greeting to a more elaborate, oratorical, public speech.

- WOT 1-3 have the purpose of *fakalāngilangi* ‘to raise, extol, praise, lit. make out to reach the sky’, *fakahihihiki* ‘to compliment, flatter, lit. make out to lift high’, *faka‘apa‘apa* ‘to show respect and support, lit. behave in a way that is characteristic of ‘apa‘apa, name given to the occupants of the two positions immediately to the left and right of the monarch in the royal *kava* ceremony’. By contrast, WOT 4 and WOT 6 have the purpose of *tuku hifo* ‘to lower, deprecate, lit. put down’ but WOT 4 is self-derogatory while WOT 6 disparages others. WOT 5 is the neutral, everyday, familiar, equal-to-equal way of talking, and can be used either to praise or deprecate.

For instance, reference to the monarch in situations such as a cultural gathering or church service would use WOT 1 and 4, but in other situations, such as in violent protests or talk among people themselves, reference to the monarch could use WOT 5 and 6. Moreover, WOT 1 and 2 can be used to refer to people/things other than kings and chiefs, and kings and chiefs can be referred to using other ways of talking. The significance of WOT 3, and the fact that WOT 4 plays a stronger role in interactions that use WOT 1-3, have not been sufficiently acknowledged in the sociolinguistic literature.

It needs to be said at the outset that many Tongans do not interactionally use—or even know—WOT 1 and 2, and to some extent 3. A similar point was made by Churchward (1953: 304-5). Tongan culture does not normally provide opportunities for the bulk of commoner Tongans to interact with the monarch or chiefs. Moreover, because WOT 4 goes hand in hand with WOT 1-3, many Tongans are not accustomed to using WOT 4 either, at least in its stronger version (as in Text 1 below). Philips (2011: 250) makes the point that “[c]ontrol of lexical honorifics is a specialized form of knowledge.... The honorifics are not part of all Tongans’ everyday use in the way that is true, for example, of Japanese honorification. Nor are they built into the constitution of kinship relations, as is true for example of Lhasa Tibetan (Agha 1993)”. Furthermore, in these days of declining use of Tongan language in places like New Zealand, this situation has deteriorated further. Among the youthful population of NZ Tongans who have been raised in NZ and who have maintained fluency in Tongan, I would say WOT 1-4 are more or less absent. They speak mostly WOT 5, and research suggests that WOT 6 is also used widely (Fonua 2003, Morton 1996). According to language maintenance research, when a language declines it is the more formal ways of talking that are the first to go because language maintenance depends on use, and formal registers tend to be the least used (Davis 1998, Davis and Starks 2005, Otsuka 2007, Taumoeofalau *et al.* 2004).² Because of the esoteric nature of knowledge of some of these honorific ways of talking, it is not easy to find examples of texts that would give a good indication of the range and scope of their use, and this has influenced my choice of texts (see my selection of

Text 1 and Text 8 below). The use of a passage from a national exam script also indicates that for some children, the opportunity to learn the honorific ways of speaking may only be through the school curriculum.

That said, WOT 1-4 are, to varying extents, features of oratory and speeches, prayer and sermons, poetry and songs. These uses, though not interactional (or less so), are nevertheless significant and for some Tongans may be the modes of expression from which they have acquired these ways of talking.

Relationships between the Levels of Society and the Ways of Talking

There is no one to one relationship between the three main levels of society (king, chiefly people and commoners) and the ways of talking, but they are related in the sense that WOT 1 is a way of referring to, but not exclusively, the king; WOT 2 is a way of referring to, but not exclusively, the chiefly classes; and WOT 5 is a way of referring to, but not exclusively, commoners. WOT 5 reflects the common situation when rank is not an issue, and therefore can be used by anyone regardless of their rank as long as that situation applies. The other three ways of talking are not aimed at any particular level of society but are used mainly in accordance with the speaker's purpose. WOT 3 is a polite way of talking which is characteristic of orators, hence its name *lea fakamatāpule*, and is used to address or refer to people who are not necessarily chiefly but who are respected in the society or at least by the speaker. WOT 4 is the humiliating way of talking and is therefore a necessary corollary of WOT 1-3, but it can be used by persons of any rank to show humility. WOT 6 bears witness to the situation in which the speaker wants to release their frustration about some subject matter.

Overlapping Ways of Talking

Although I am mainly concerned with ways of talking here, I also need to make the point that ways of talking overlap in both interactions and non-interactional modes of expression. Because of this, I have found it challenging to find appropriate examples of single ways of talking to put under the heading of a way of talking. In a public speech, for instance, one finds examples of WOT 1, 2, 3, 4 and even 5. It is therefore important to note at the outset that ways of talking are not discrete categories of speech modes or speech levels but rather mixed and include one another.

ON GRACE AND WAYS OF TALKING

A language, Grace wrote, consists of “conventionalized ways of talking about consecrated subject matters” (1987: 99). Ways of talking in his conception have distinctive patterns of performance in both form and content. He proposes that ways of talking exist

... on a scale of generality from the most sharply focused (i.e. those with the most sharply focused subject matters) to the most general. As one proceeds on the scale from general to focused, each succeeding way of talking is a special development within a more general way of talking.... One can go on, in fact, to speak of an individual language... as a generalized way of talking itself. (Grace 1987: 101)

In the ways of talking I discuss in this article, WOT 5 is more general than the others, which have more focused subject matters. WOT 1-3, for instance, are used when the subject matter relates to a person (or kind of person or object) who/which is worthy of respect or worship.

According to Grace, ways of talking reflect the culture and thought of speakers since subject matters have their basis in speakers' experience of their environment. Writing about Grace's "subject matters", Pawley (1991: 341) noted that "[M]embers of a speech community will develop a body of subjects, topics or themes of discourse that reflect the conceptual worlds and concerns of its members". The ways of talking described in this paper are represented in texts which speak of subject matters that are in general conventional in and reflective of Tongan culture. Grace's characterisation of a language as a way of talking aligns the language with the culture of the speakers. "... a language is shaped by its culture, and a culture is given expression in its language, to such an extent that it is impossible to say where one ends and the other begins, i.e. what belongs to language and what belongs to culture" (Grace 1987: 10).

Grace stated that translation reveals the importance of ways of talking about things. Ways of talking can be similar across languages that share subject matters. At the same time, languages can talk about different subject matters. Referring to Grace's "subject matters" Pawley (1991:341) wrote that "speech communities which have markedly divergent cultures will have rather different sets of conventional subject matters". When a way of talking in the Source Language (SL) is present also in the Target Language (TL), then translation will be relatively easy. "Translation will predictably be easy whenever the entire discourse to be translated falls within a way of talking that is common to both languages" (Grace 1987: 105). This view predicts that if the SL text to be translated contains a way of talking that is more or less absent in the TL, then the translation will be difficult. Taumoeofolau (2004a) wrote that one of the difficulties of translating Queen Sālote's Tongan poetry into English is that English does not have honorific ways of talking. Some of Queen Sālote's poems contain honorifics. When Tongan is the TL, it is sometimes the case that honorific ways of talking appear in the translated text even though the SL lacks such ways of talking. The Moulton translation of the Bible into Tongan in the early 1900s is a case in point. The translators inserted

respectful ways of talking when they considered them to be appropriate in certain contexts despite the fact they were not so expressed in the SL text. To illustrate this practice, which shows the cultural significance of Tongan respectful ways of talking, I have included texts from the Bible (see Texts 2, 4 and 9 below).³

Grace noted (1987: 94) that "...our ways of talking about things are not completely accounted for by our grammars and our lexicons". We need to account also for idiomatology, which Grace defined as "a catchall term for everything that is necessary to know in order to speak a given language idiomatically, but which would not ordinarily be reported in a dictionary or grammatical description" (1981: 174). In describing Grace's ways of talking about things, Pawley (1991: 341) wrote:

... there is more to speaking a language than just knowing the meanings of individual words and the rules of sentence formation. One such situation is when we come across a text produced by a foreigner that is perfectly grammatical but quite unidiomatic. Another is when, armed with a good dictionary and grammar book, we are unable to make sense of a piece of text in an exotic language.

Indeed, Grace wrote that "when people speak or write, they produce text to a pattern (or patterns). Linguistic description is an attempt to describe and account for the patterns exhibited by the texts.... However,... some of the patterning has been neglected (i.e. what I have called idiomatology)" (1981: 167). Using Grace's notion of idiomatology can illuminate in the texts analysed below the use of conventions that are idiomatic and "nativelike" (i.e., typical of the speech of native speakers [see Pawley and Syder 1983]), such as techniques of raising through contrasts provided by self-derogation (Text 1 below) or honorification through the personification of places (Text 7 below), conventions that would not ordinarily be brought out in a lexical or grammatical analysis. As Pawley (1991: 367) noted in his analysis of how to talk about cricket, "what is needed here is an analytic framework that is considerably richer than the conventional grammar-lexicon model".

Grace proposed that the most significant development in languages since the emergence of full-fledged language has been "the invention of new ways of talking... ways of talking about things (or subject matters) for which there was previously no way of talking" (1987: 97). "The basis for a new way of talking... is the principle of metaphor, of speaking of one thing in terms of another... as a subject matter becomes conventional, as a new way of talking begins to crystallize, the metaphoric base also becomes largely fixed and conventional. In due time, some of the terms used in the new way of talking will be thought of as being used 'literally'" (1987: 102).

New ways of talking would be expected to contain more metaphor and more multimorphemic vocabulary because new things are being talked about in terms of old things. In her analysis of metaphorical extension of everyday words in Tongan honorific speech, Philips (2010: 321) explained that her Tongan informants did not talk about honorifics as being metaphorical: “They do not seem to think of honorifics in such terms, perhaps because those that involve metaphors are ‘dead metaphors’ or ‘frozen metaphors’, so routinized that their metaphorical quality is not at a ready level of conscious awareness.” Haugen and Philips’ (2010) study investigating the formation of the Tongan honorific register found that the chiefly vocabulary (what is here called WOT 2) has developed more recently than the regal vocabulary (our WOT 1), and part of the evidence for this is that there are more metaphorical extensions of meaning of everyday words (our WOT 5) in the chiefly vocabulary. They argued that the regal vocabulary is older and was part of a regional honorific system associated with prehistorical Tu‘i Tonga imperialism. These comments seem to be consistent with Grace’s point about the use of metaphor in ways of speaking. It is interesting that there is significant metaphorical extension of WOT 5 concepts in WOT 1-4, the implication being that WOT 5 is older and a more basic way of talking. Grace (1987: 103) wrote:

[W]ays of talking about things normally reflect assumptions which are often left unstated. Thus they often have deeper implications which may not be fully recognised by those acquiring the particular way of talking. For example, ... the way of talking chosen for reporting a specific incident (as in news reporting) may reflect assumptions about the larger context—the political and economic forces at play.⁴

A speaker may say something in order to achieve an end that is not necessarily explicitly expressed. In Tongan, speaking in the self-derogatory way (WOT 4) has the purpose of expressing respect for the addressee, or a speaker may use the conversational way of talking (WOT 5) in order to develop rapport and solidarity with a high-ranking addressee. Some writers make the point that the use of honorific terms has the purpose of constructing hierarchy (Keating 2005, Tali’i 1989). Taumoefolau (2004a) made a similar point about Queen Sālote’s poetry, which uses a mix of regal, chiefly and orator language to reinforce the unity and loyalty of her subjects.

SOME COMMENTS ON METHODOLOGY

Early work on languages with honorific speech registers, such as Javanese, Japanese, Pohnpeian and Tongan, tended simply to match a speech level with a particular category of people in the society. But in more recent years there has been a trend for scholars to delve more deeply into the sociocultural

context to produce more explanatory accounts of the use of honorific registers. Methodologically these studies have been based more on observations of actual language use, rather than relying on information provided by native speakers. In general, more variation in the use of honorifics and more context-dependent factors have been discussed than were allowed for in the more simplistic earlier studies. Examples of these more socially-nuanced studies are Uhlenbeck (1970) on Javanese, Keating (2005) on Pohnpeian and Matsumoto (1989) on Japanese (see also Agha 1994 for reviews of various studies on different languages with honorific systems).

Uhlenbeck (1970) pointed to flaws in the earlier work of Geertz (1960), who maintained that different levels of respect forms were used exclusively by persons of particular social status in Javanese society. Uhlenbeck showed that it was possible for speakers to use different styles strategically depending on the social context. Moreover, Geertz had wrongly proposed that once a speech level was chosen by a speaker to use to an addressee, the speaker would need to keep to that style in future interactions. In addition to correcting these misleading statements by Geertz, Uhlenbeck also criticised the fact that Geertz had relied too much on native speaker views instead of observing data of actual use.

Keating's (2005) study of the use of honorific speech levels in Pohnpeian used data consisting of everyday interactions to uncover subtle points in discourse that showed "the manipulation of status categories beyond simple dichotomies of high and low" (p. 25). Her analysis emphasised the importance of situational and contextual features as well as topic and stance in the choice of honorific register. Matsumoto (1989) challenged the theory of Brown and Levinson (1978, 1987) on linguistic politeness and Grice's (1975) conversational maxims, which, they maintained, were universal. Matsumoto (1989) demonstrated that the principles advocated by Brown and Levinson, and by Grice, were not applicable in Japanese. Matsumoto (1989: 219-20) maintained: "[I]n Japanese, social context seems to play a larger role than it is given in the theories of Grice or of Brown and Levinson."

This trend is also true of more recent work on Tongan speech levels. This is shown in the more analytical approaches of Churchward (1953), Tali'ai (1989), Völkel (2010, 2011) and Philips (1991, 2007, 2010 and 2011). Earlier writers, such as Mariner (1817), Gifford (1929) and the Free Wesleyan Education Office (n.d.) tended to classify the honorifics into static levels that corresponded to societal levels. Shumway (1971) showed some variations in the use of the speech levels. Most writers on Tongan, however, have accepted the traditional tripartite division of the speech levels, a point that the present treatment departs from. There has been a tendency to represent speech levels by listing words used for the king, for chiefs and for commoners in three columns. Völkel (2011: 173-74), for example, wrote: "[T]he honorific

system operates only at the lexical level, in a three-tiered structure of kingly, chiefly, and people.” While listing words in columns may be a good way of summarising the speech levels, it can be quite misleading. First, it can give the impression that the only difference between speech levels is a lexical one; for instance, that by inserting a regal word in a sentence we make it appropriate for addressing the king. Much of importance can be omitted if we go by this assumption. Grace regarded ways of talking as embracing both the grammar and the vocabulary which, in tandem, express concepts, the learning of which “...transmits not only form but also preferred subject matters, attitudes toward them, beliefs, etc., i.e. not only forms of expression but also what is conventionally expressed” (1981: 69).

I should note that there are some things that are not said to the king, e.g., it is against protocol to ask the king to do errands or chores around the house. One might remark to a schoolboy,⁵ “*‘Alu-5* ‘o ‘*omai* ‘*a e sofa mei he loki ko ē ke ke mohe-5 ai.*” ‘*Go-5* and fetch a sofa from that room and *sleep-5* on it.’ It is not likely that one could ever say to the king, “*‘Hā’ele-1* ‘o ‘*omai* ‘*a e sofa mei he loki ko ē ke ke tōfā-1 ai.*” ‘*Go-1* and fetch the sofa from that room so you can *sleep-1* on it’. The subject matter (content), not just form, is also part of the way of talking. Ervin-Tripp’s point quoted in Grace (1981: 17) supports this: “...learning what is typically American content may be part of the competence acquired along with the English language itself.” The fact that the example with the regal word substituted above does not make the sentence appropriate to address the king shows that WOT 1 is not a lexical system only. The regal words are couched in a sentence the meaning of which specifies that the modality of such an order is not part of WOT 1. Honorific lexical items occur in a context that is provided by larger linguistic structures, and without this context individual honorific words and expressions do not make sense.

In the “columns” approach, writers tend to list two or three synonyms under the commoner column. For instance, Völkel (2010: 210-13) listed under *kakai* ‘people’ words two synonyms alongside the ordinary *kakai* term. She acknowledged that these synonyms are described by Churchward as abusive and polite forms. For example, in the *kakai* column she listed the synonyms *mohe*, *po’uli* and *fokoutua* all meaning ‘sleep’. Lumping together polite, abusive and ordinary terms obscures the fact that these belong to very different ways of talking that imply different social relationships and contexts of use. This means that the abusive form is not so much a *kakai* form but a form used when the speaker, regardless of his/her rank, has the purpose of abusing an addressee, regardless of the addressee’s rank. In other words, it is not so much the rank of the persons involved in the interaction but the purpose and subject matter of the interaction that determine which way of speaking is selected. Studying ways of talking about things, rather than speech levels or

social registers, takes account of purpose and subject matter, and is a fuller, more rounded and inclusive approach to increasing understanding of the use of the speech levels in the language.

Finally, having lists of words under the headings of king, chiefs and commoners gives the impression that the words in each column are used only of the category of people in the heading of the column. This is not consistent with what we know of actual usage, as Phillips (1991, 2010) and Völkel (2010, 2011) also acknowledged. Not only can regal and chiefly vocabulary be used of God and modern elitist groups respectively, but they can also be used of other things. Each of the ways of talking can be used metaphorically in situations other than those specified in their names. This is illustrated by some of the texts given below.

To get a more complete view of the ways of talking, I provide texts and examine them for their main features and conceptual content. This approach embraces vocabulary, grammar and idioms. I examine the texts in terms of their purpose and subject matter, which in turn determine the selection of conceptual elements and their idiomatic and metaphorical nature. The texts provide a high number of conventional expressions that reflect Grace's "idiomatology" and Pawley and Syder's (1983) "nativelike selection". I have tried to make the translation of the texts as idiomatic as possible, but at the same time literal enough to indicate the idiomatology of the Tongan ways of talking. This framework of analysis would permit a much clearer recognition of the link between the Tongan language and Tongan thought and culture, though it is beyond the scope of this article to analyse this link closely. No text is limited to one way of talking, so in all the examples several ways of talking are encountered. I have avoided providing texts for the abusive way of talking for obvious reasons. However, most of the examples I give are authentic texts in the sense they are taken from the literature (Feldman 1981, Fonua 2003, Helu 1999a).

DIFFERENT WAYS OF TALKING

Lea Fakatu'i 'Way of Talking to or about the King' – WOT 1

Lea fakatu'i is the phrase used here for the way of talking to or about the king, but it is also metaphorically applied to others who are regarded as having the status of king, e.g., God (Text 2 and 3 below) and the beloved in love songs and in situations of courtship (Text 5 below).

A major feature of WOT 1 (and WOT 2 and 3) is the simultaneous use of the self-derogatory WOT 4 in discourse where the speaker refers to himself/herself. It is the semantic contrast between the raising of the king and the self-lowering of the speaker that heightens the sense of sacredness afforded the regal addressee or referent (see Text 1 below).

The conceptual content of this way of talking is full of high and lofty ideas reflecting the king's *tapu* 'sacredness', *mana* 'underlying sense of power' and *molumalu* 'dignity, lit. shady, protected area of shade, a protective aura'. This leads to the use of metaphorical concepts with indirect and euphemistic reference. *Tapu mo e langi* 'lit. [I] acknowledge the sacredness of the sky' is an opening line of a speech acknowledging the king. *Fakamālū*, the regal term for bathing, is derived from *fakamālūlū* which means to make moist and soft—clearly euphemistic in nature. *Taumaafa*, the regal word for eating, may be derived from *mafa*, the unreduplicated stem of *mamaafa* 'heavy' and *mafamaafa* 'moderately heavy', which may involve the idea of "becoming heavy" or "making heavy". Older expressions probably no longer used today are *vaotapu* 'lit. sacred bush' for toilet and *tā ki liku tā ki fanga* 'lit. hit towards cliff-bound coast, hit towards beach' for wiping the back and wiping the front. Philips (1991) gave the example of *mau fakateiapa 'a ho takafalú* 'lit. we huddle behind your royal-back [to address you]'. This is an expression that is also commonly used in reference to God.

The following three texts provide examples of the regal way of talking. Below each text is a brief analysis of the main features of the text.

Text 1. Commoner to king requesting a plot of land from the royal estate to use for gardening. This text was taken from a comprehension passage in a Tongan language paper in a national examination at Form 5 level in the early 2000s.

1. *'E Ho'o 'Afi-o-1, 'alo'ofa-1 mu'a kae matafi e tonga ho finangaló-1*
Your Majesty-1, please be royally-kind-1 and may-the-[cold]-north-wind-be-swept away-from-your-royal-will-1
2. *kae fai atu e ki 'i-4 fakahoha'a-4 fiamatamu'á-4 ni.*
 So [I] can present this little-4 cause-for-worry-4 that presumes-to-be-important-4.
3. *Ko e tu'utāmaki mo e masivá kuo vivili-3.*
 [My] neediness and poverty have become so pressing-3.
4. *'o ne o'i-3 e motu'á ni-4 ke fakata'emālū'ia-4 ki he Feitu'ūna-1/2.*
 they have compelled-3 this-old-man-4 to be—apparently-unheeding-of-the-dignity-4 of Yonder-Space-1/2.
5. *ka te-3 lele-4 mai 'o fakatangi-3 atu-3 na'a 'i ai ha'o 'ofa tōnoa-4.*
 so I-3 have run-4 here to cry-respectfully-3 in-your-direction-3 lest there be love-falling-incidently-4.

6. *kae afeitaulalo-1 mu'a e Afioná-1, 'o 'omi ha ki'i-4 tala'ivao-4*
and turn-towards-the-lowly-1 Your Majesty-1, and bring a little-4 thorny-bush-4
7. *'i he tofi'a-1 'i Matatoá, ke fai ai si'a vavaku-4 'a e motu'á ni-4.*
in the royal estate-1 at Matatoa, for this-old-man-4 to carry out a pitiful scratching-4,
8. *Ha ki'i-4 mohenga moa-4 ke tauhi'aki si'oto fanga 'uhiki-4.*
A mere4 bed-of-chickens-4 to provide for my poor litter-of-animal-young-4.
9. *'Okú te-3 kōlenga-3 atu ke faka'atu'i-3 mu'a hoto-3 mā'ulaló-4 mo e 'ikai ha falala'angá.*
I-3 beseech-3 your-direction to regard-with-sympathy-3 one's-3 lowliness-4 and [one's] not having someone-to-depend-on [meaning not having a spouse or being a widower].
10. *Ko e me'a pē 'okú te-3 lavá ko e hunuki-4 ha ki'i-4 fu'u manioke-4.*
The only thing I-3 can do is poke-4 a little-4 stalk of cassava-4,
11. *ka 'oku 'ikai ha kekekele-5, pea ko ia 'oku tu'unga-3 ai*
but there is no land-5, and that is the basis-3
12. *'a e kole fíematamu'á-4 ni. Ko e hā ha koloa 'e tō-1 mō'ó e motu'a me'avalé ni-4.*
this request that-presumes-to-be-important-4. Whatever treasure-will-fall-1 for this-commoner-old-man-4,
13. *Te te-3 tali mo e fakafeta'i-1/2/3.*
I-3 will accept with thanks-1/2/3.

Analysis: The immediate purpose is to praise and compliment the king while lowering the speaker in order for the speaker to respectfully make a request for a piece of land from the king's estate so that he can grow crops on it to feed his children. Because of the great difference in status, the speech needs to be expressed in the greatest respect possible. This is achieved through the use of a semantic contrast between complimentary concepts used of the king and self-derogatory concepts to describe the commoner speaker's perspective. Table 1 following shows this contrast of affective meaning.

Table 1.

Self-Derogatory	Other-Raising
<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Speaker apologises for disturbing other (<i>fakahoha</i> 'a line 2) 2. Apologises for presuming that his request/ he himself is important (<i>fie matamu</i> 'a line 2) 3. Rushes in without respect (<i>fakata'emālū</i> 'ia line 4) 4. "Run" here instead of "come" here (<i>lele</i> line 5) 5. Not assume that any good coming his way is on his account ('ofa tōnoa line 5) 6. Asks for only a little thorny bush befitting his low status (diminutive <i>ki</i> 'i tala 'ivao line 6) 7. Can only scratch the soil with fingers (<i>vavaku</i> line 7) 8. Refers to himself as old-man (<i>motu</i> 'á ni line 7) 9. Calls his garden a little chickens' nest (<i>ki</i> 'i mohenga moa line 8) 10. Calls his children his litter of animal young (<i>fanga</i> 'uhiki line 8) 11. Asks to excuse his lowliness (<i>mā</i> 'ulaló line 9) 12. Says his only ability is to poke a little cassava plant [the lowest prestige food-crop] into the ground (<i>hunuki ha ki</i> 'i fu 'u manioke line 10) 13. Refers to his request as cheeky because presumes to be important (<i>kole fie matamu</i> 'a line 12) 14. Refers to himself as old, foolish and a commoner (<i>motu</i> 'a me 'avalé ni line 12) 	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Refers to addressee's presence as majestic (<i>Ho</i> 'o 'Afió line 1) 2. Asks addressee to be royally-kind ('alo 'ofa line 1) 3. Asks that the addressee's "royal-will" (<i>finangalo</i> line 1) be warm and receptive (<i>matafi e tonga ho finangaló</i> line 1) 4. Avoids direct reference (You) so uses the phrase Yonder Space (<i>Feitu</i> 'una line 4) 5. Asks addressee to "come down" from on high and consider the fallen / needy / poor (<i>afeitaulalo</i> line 6) 6. Refers to addressee's land as royal-land (<i>tofi</i> 'a line 7) 7. Refers to addressee's reply as a treasure falling on the speaker (<i>ha koloa</i> 'e tō line 12) 8. Addressee is to be royally-thanked (<i>fakafeta</i> 'i line 13)

Text 1 shows that when the purpose of the discourse is personal to the speaker who addresses the king, the self-derogatory way of talking is essential to the discourse. Yet the self-derogatory way of talking is traditionally left out, or hardly discussed in the literature on Tongan honorific speech levels.

Because the purpose of this speech is to make a request to the royal addressee, the discourse is very structured and formal with a clear introduction (line 1) and conclusion (lines 12-13). The introduction prepares the way for the request by using the idiomatic phrase: *matafi e tonga ho finangaló* (line 1). In Tonga when the wind blows from the south it usually brings cold air to the land, so this idea is used metaphorically, expressing the hope that the south wind would be swept away from the king's will so that he may look kindly on the speaker and grant his request. This phrase is commonly used of God as well. In the conclusion, the speaker uses another idiomatic fixed metaphor: *ha koloa 'e tō* (line 12) 'lit. a treasure that will fall' meaning that he will be blessed to receive a word of reply from the king whatever it would be. The idea of *tō* 'falling' reinforces the psychological space of high speaking to low, and the idea of the king's reply/words being *koloa* 'treasure, wealth' means that even a negative answer will still be treasured.

Litotes (i.e., understatement) is a common rhetoric device in the self-derogatory way of talking. The speaker describes his farming the land as merely *vavaku* 'scratching the soil with his fingers' (line 7), and his would-be garden as a *mohenga moa* 'hen's nest' (line 8). Examples of productive self-lowering expressions are the use of *mohenga moa* in line 8 and *tala 'ivao* 'thorny bush' for a plot of land (line 6). Metonymy (i.e., use of a specific concept denoting something relatively small to represent a broader, bigger concept) is also used as in *hunuki ha ki 'i fu 'u manioke* 'poke [for planting] a little cassava plant [for growing crops]'.⁷

Some self-derogatory expressions may not be self-explanatory, such as the use of *lele* 'run' for *ha 'u* 'come' (line 5). 'Run' is considered to be a less dignified act than 'come' or 'walk', and usually describes an attitude of servitude, as servants 'run' to serve their master, whereas 'walking' tends to be more dignified and ladylike/gentlemanlike. *Motu 'á ni* 'lit. this old-man' (line 8) is used derogatively no matter how young the person may be, and this is because the idea of 'old-man' is considered to be less pleasing to the sight, less strong and probably more helpless. The compound adjective *me 'avale* (line 12) means 'commoner' but literally means *me 'a* 'thing' and *vale* 'foolish'. The term *afeitaulalo* (line 6) is morphemically analysable into *afe-i-tau-lalo* 'lit. turn-to-those-below' and is used by speakers who acknowledge subordination to persons of high rank such as the king and chiefly people. It is also commonly used in prayers.

As Grace has pointed out, translation difficulties arise when the source language and the target language do not talk about the same subject matter, that is to say, do not have the same ways of talking about things. Because the subject matter and content is as much a part of the way of talking as the style or form used, the self-derogatory meanings and expressions that are idiomatic in Tongan would be likely to sound strange in an English translation except in a very free translation in which the details of the self-derogatory way of talking are neutralised or left out. Honorific and self-derogatory ways of talking, however, are culturally significant aspects of Tongan respect. The use of the inclusive, singular, first-person, subject pronoun *te* (e.g., in lines 9 and 13) is more formal and respectful than the use of the exclusive, singular, first-person, subject pronoun *u*. This difference in tone would probably be lost in translation.

It is likely that ways of talking that express rank—WOT 1-4—are grammatically more complex than ways of talking that do not—WOT 5 and 6. The effect on the grammar of the purpose of a commoner requesting land from the king is that there are some structurally complex constructions. Line 3-8 is a single complex sentence with eight subordinating conjunctions. The subordinate clauses convey the details of the request for land, many of which are self-derogatory assertions and emotionally loaded. The complexity of the sentence is partly due to the speaker referring to himself as though he were in the third person: *o'i e motu 'á ni* 'compelled this old-man' (line 4), *si'a vavaku 'a e motu 'á ni* 'a pitiful scratching of this old-man' (line 7). The tentativeness of the speaker's message, such as *na'a 'i ai ha 'ofa tōnoa* 'in case there is love falling incidently' (line 5), and the need for him to maintain an intensely humiliating stance, as in the appositional phrase *ha ki 'i mohenga moa* 'a little hen's nest' (line 8) add length to the sentence. This text indicates that the kingly way of talking is grammatically complex owing to the presence of metaphor in both self-derogatory and honorific language.

Text 2. Matthew 26: 39. Extract from *Ko e Taulua*, the New Testament in modern Tongan, published by the Bible Society in 2006. This version is bilingual, with the Tongan on the left column and the English on the right. The English is from the New Revised Standard Version of the Bible, which is close to the Greek version. The Tongan version was modernised using Moulton's translation of the Bible into Tongan, which was translated from the Hebrew and Greek versions of the Bible with consultation of the King James Version in English (Jione Havea pers. comm., Aug. 2012).

1. *Pea laka si 'i atu-5 'a Sisū 'o tō fo 'ohifo-5. Peá ne toki fai leva 'ene lotu-5.*

Then Jesus took a few steps farther-5, and fell with his face to the ground-5. And he then prayed-5.

2. *'o ne pehē-3*, “*E Tamai-5, kapau 'e ala lava-3, pea 'oua te u inu-5 he ipú ni-3.*
and he said-3, “Oh, Father-5, if it is possible-3, let me not drink-5 from this cup-3.
3. *Ka neongo ia, 'oua 'e fai-5 hoku lotó-5, kae fai ho finangaló-1.*”
Yet, do not act according-5 to my will-5, but according to your will-1.”

Analysis: The most significant thing about this text is the contrast between Jesus’s use of the ordinary everyday concept *loto* ‘will’ of himself as the speaker and the venerated regal concept *finangalo* ‘royal-will’ applied to God. This fits with the underlying purpose of Jesus showing the utmost respect for God, praising God and asking God if it is possible for him not to be crucified. The contrast stands out even more, as the concepts are side by side, and especially as both Jesus and the narrator of the story (line 1) use the ordinary everyday way of talking (WOT 5, see below).

The cup is biblical metaphor, and drinking from it would be symbolic of his impending death. In this context Jesus is overwhelmed with a sense of his humanity, his mortality. He poses his question tentatively: if it is possible for him to live? He uses the ordinary word *inu* ‘drink’ and *tamai* ‘father’ in referring to himself, but when referring to God, his deference to the royal will of God is powerfully brought out by the contrasting concepts in his sentence: *'oua 'e fai hoku lotó kae fai ho finangaló* ‘not my will but your will be done’. This line (line 3) has become idiomatic in the language of prayer.

Text 3. Part of a recorded prayer to illustrate the use of WOT 1 for God.

1. *Ko e 'ofa mai 'a e 'Afióá-1 ko homau langi-3 ia,*
Your Majesty's -1 love for us is our heaven-3,
2. *ko 'emau mata'ikoloa-3, ko homau tofi'a-1/2, ko homau palataisi-3 ia.*
It is the essence-of-our-treasure-3, our royal-land-1/2, our paradise-3.
3. *Ko ho taloni-1 'oku tu'u he taukakapa fau-3.*
Your throne-1 stands in infinite heights-3.
4. *Ongona-3 mu'a 'a e fakahikihiki-3 'a e kau tōkilalo-4.*
Please harken-3 to the praises-3 by the lowly-4.
5. *'E 'Otua-1 'alo'ofa-1, 'oku ke tuai ki he houhau-1 kae fonu 'i he meesi-3.*
Royally-kind-hearted-1 God-1, you are slow to royal-anger-1 but full of mercy-3.
6. *'Oku mau mapelu-4 'i he loto fakatomala mo'oni-3 'o kole fakamātoato-3*
We bend-4 with remorse-3 in earnest supplication-3

7. *mo vete-3 atu ki he 'Afioná-1 'a 'emau ngaahi talangata 'a-5.*
and *confess-3* to *Your Majesty-1* our *disobedience-5*.
8. *'Oku mau kōlenga atu-3 ki ho 'o fakamolemólé-3.*
We *implore-3* [you] for *your forgiveness-3*,
9. *'a e efu-4 mo e me 'anoa-4 ko kimautolu.*
Dust-4 and *nothing-4* that we are.

Analysis: This text has the purpose of praising and upholding God because He is regarded in Christianity as the King of kings and Lord of lords. Although this way of talking is named after the king of Tonga, it is used metaphorically to talk about other subject matters, as in a prayer to God, the only essential requirement being that the purpose is to compliment and extol someone. Thus, a man courting his sweetheart may use this way of talking to address her (See Text 5 below).

Conceptually, this part of a prayer, like Text 1, is characterised by several regal concepts expressing veneration, such as *'Afiona* (line 1), *tofi 'a* 'royal-land' (line 2), *taloni* 'throne' (line 3), *'alo 'ofa* 'royally-kind' (line 5) and *houhau* 'royal-anger' (line 5). These are concepts used of the king. But there are also concepts that are associated with God more than with the king, for example, the English loanword *meesi* 'mercy' (line 5), *fakatomala* 'remorse' (line 6), *vete* 'confess' (line 7) and *fakamolemole* 'forgiveness' (line 8). These are ordinary concepts used in the everyday way of talking (WOT 5) but they are parts of the process of maintaining a relationship with God.

As with Text 1, self-derogatory concepts are also found here but not nearly to the extent they are found in Text 1. The reason for this is that a person relates to God as a friend or son or daughter rather than a commoner, so there is a closer relationship obtaining between God and humans than between the king and a commoner. The only two examples of self-lowering are *kau tōkilalo* 'the fallen ones' (line 4), which contrasts with *taukakapa fau* 'unfathomable heights' (line 3) in terms of location, and *efu mo e me 'anoa* 'dust and nothing' (line 9).

This text, like Tongan prayers of Methodists, is highly formulaic. Many lines are based on well-known hymns or verses from the Bible. The metaphors of lines 1 and 2, and the sentence in line 5 are based on verses of hymns, and line 5 is from a verse in the Bible.

Lea Fakahouhou'eiki 'Way of Talking to or about Chiefs' – WOT 2

Lea fakahouhou 'eiki is the chiefly way of talking, used to address or refer to chiefly people. The word *fakahouhou 'eiki* is the reduplication of *fakahou 'eiki*, formed with the causative prefix and the stem *hou 'eiki*. *Fakahou 'eiki* means

pertaining to *hou'eiki*. *Hou'eiki* is the collective name of the chiefly classes, which comprise the king's immediate family and close relations (minus the king himself who makes up the highest level of *tu'i* all by himself), the 33 titled chiefs (nobles) and their immediate families and close relatives.

As with *lea fakatu'i*, *lea fakahouhou'eiki* can be regarded as metaphorical in two ways. First, it is used metaphorically to address or refer to people who are not actual chiefs but are regarded as being like chiefs. For example, a man may regard his sweetheart as chiefly and use *lea fakahouhou'eiki* to her (see text 5 below). Similarly, *lea fakahouhou'eiki* can be used of the persona in love songs and poems as a way of honouring them. Today, despite occasional programmes by Tongan authorities on the proper use of Tongan language urging the public to use chiefly language only to chiefs, many people are now using *lea fakahouhou'eiki* for their ministers, their managers, school principals and so on.

A second way in which *lea fakahouhou'eiki* is metaphorical is that it has many metaphorical concepts encoded in its vocabulary. The nature of metaphorical concepts vary. Some are metonymic, others are euphemistic, and yet others are simply derived senses of ordinary everyday words. But the primary reason for their selection seems to be to avoid the use of the ordinary everyday word. A metonymic example is the expression for headache—*mamafa hono fofongá* 'lit. his chiefly-head is heavy', but the *lea tavale* (WOT 5) form is the literal *langa hono 'ulú* 'his head is aching'. The word for burial chamber is *foualoto* 'lit. land inside', compared to the regal word *fale* 'house' whereas the *lea tavale* is *luo* 'hole'. *Me'a*, the chiefly word for 'come, look, sit, stand and live', is the ordinary word for 'thing'. The use of *me'a* as a chiefly term is simply to avoid the use of the ordinary word. Völkel (2010) made the point that honorific language is a system of word avoidance; Clark (2010) made the same point about Samoan. The chiefly expression for bad smell, interestingly, is *namu kakala* 'lit. smelling of fragrant flowers', a euphemistic but completely antonymic (opposite in meaning) phrase.

In Tongan culture when one is addressing high-ranking people, it is disrespectful to speak directly, especially making references to body parts and bodily functions (but compare to *lea 'ita* WOT 6 below). In Tongan speaking directly impacts too abruptly and thereby lacks dignity of expression. Politeness requires round-about ways of speaking so that the impact of the message is gentle and pleasing. Thus, the regal and chiefly ways of talking tend to use *heliaki*—saying something in symbols, speaking metaphorically (see Taumoefolau 2004b). The chiefly word for 'die', for instance, is *pekia* 'lit. picked or plucked, as in flowers being picked'. The word for sleep is *toka* 'lit. to sink, to reach a calm or settled state'. When a chief eats, he is said to '*ilo* 'ordinary word for know' his food. These are examples of speaking in *heliaki*, in symbols.

The following texts, Texts 4-6, provide examples of *lea fakahouhou'eiki* and are followed by brief analyses.

Text 4. Luke 9: 38, 41-42 from the version of the Tongan Bible translated by Dr James Egan Moulton with a few Tongans (completed about 1902) showing *lea fakahouhou'eiki* (WOT 2), *lea fakatōkilalo* (WOT 4) and *lea fakamatāpule* (WOT 3). This translation is thought to have been from the Hebrew and Greek, with consultation of the English King James Version of the Bible (Jione Havea pers. comm., August 2012).

1. *Pea 'iloangé-3 na 'e kalanga-3 ha tangata-3 mei he ha 'oha'ongá-3, 'o pehē-5.*
And it became known-there-3 that a man-3 in the crowd-3 called out-3, saying-5,
2. *Tangata'eiki-3, 'oku ou kole kiate koe-3, ke ke me'a-2 mai ki hoku 'uhiki-4...*
“Sir-3, I beg of you-3 to aristocratically-look-2 at my animal-young-son-4...
3. *'oku 'i ai 'a e fa'ahikehe-3 'okú ne puke ia-3...*
there is an evil-spirit-3 that is holding him-3...
4. *Pea tali 'e Sisū-3, 'o ne pehē-3, ... Taki mai ki heni ho fohá-5.*
And Jesus replied-3 and he said-3, “...Bring your son-5 here.

Analysis: This passage shows how *lea fakahouhou'eiki* and *lea fakatōkilalo* have been inserted into this part of the Tongan Bible because of the presence of rank marking in the Tongan language. These semantic elements of rank were not in the original source languages of the Bible.

There are three speakers in this passage: the narrator of the story, the man asking Jesus for help, and Jesus. Most significant are the words of the man needing help. In line 2 he addresses Jesus with the compound word *tangata'eiki*, which is polite and respectful especially with the second element *'eiki*, meaning chiefly and respectable. The element *tangata* is also a respectful concept connoting a man of consequence, perhaps of respectable breeding. The distressed man asks Jesus to *me'a* 'aristocratically-look' at his *'uhiki* 'young of an animal'. The translator selected the word *'uhiki* for son in order to emphasise the man's purpose of showing utter respect and the awe in which he holds Jesus, and this, in turn, lends force to the seriousness of the occasion—that he is begging Jesus earnestly to heal his son. The use of *'uhiki* also reflects the condition of the boy, who is said to be possessed by demons, and the uncontrolled movements brought about by his ailments are, in a way, animalistic. Thus, it is entirely appropriate that the translator has chosen to insert these Tongan language idiosyncratic concepts into the translated text. If Tongan was the original source language of the text and English the target language, it would not be appropriate to translate literally the Tongan metaphors into English.

The point that Grace (1981) made about translation is that if the target language and the source language have the same ways of talking, then translation between them would be easy. In the present case, the target language, Tongan, possesses rank marking not present in the source language, English. It was decided that the rank marking be inserted in the target language because they rendered the text more culturally appropriate.

Jesus' reply uses the ordinary *lea tavale* word for son (WOT 5): bring your *foha* here. This is because self-derogatory language can only be used by a speaker to describe himself or his close relations. If Jesus had used the word '*uhiki*' to refer to the man's son, it would be described as abusive (WOT 6). The word '*uhiki*', among a number of other low-status words, can be used in WOT 4 to indicate great respect but it is used in WOT 6 to abuse and put down others.

The narrator of the story mostly uses WOT 3 *lea fakamatāpule*, the formal polite way of talking, and this is indicated by the use of several concepts such as '*iloange*' 'lit. known there', line 1. It is not a word that is used in informal speech. The selection of the more formal word *kalanga* 'to shout out' rather than *kaila* 'to shout' or *ui* 'call out' is more respectful.

Text 5. Constructed text (by writer) of a conversation between a courting couple. This interaction shows the use of the kingly WOT 1 and chiefly WOT 2 by a courting couple.

1. Man: '*Oku hangē ho fofongá-2 ha langi ma'á-3 'ene hoihoifua-1/2.*
Your chiefly-face-2 is like a clear sky-3 in its regal/chiefly-beauty-1/2.
2. Woman: *Tuku ia-5 he 'oku 'ikai ko ha 'eiki-2 au!*
Stop that-5 for I'm not a chief-2!
3. Man: '*Io, 'ai pē ha'o folofola-1, ta'ahine-1.*
Yes, whatever you royally-say-1, royal-maiden-1.

Analysis: Because the purpose of the male speaker is to compliment his sweetheart, he uses concepts that are classified as chiefly concepts, such as *fofonga* and *hoihoifua* (line 1). There are also regal concepts. The word *hoihoifua* is an example of a word shared between the kingly, chiefly and orator ways of talking. The simile in line 1 is a common expression said by suitors. It is also used in popular lovesongs. The term '*eiki*' in line 2 can refer to either male or female. The concept *folofola* is a regal one referring to the speaking of the king or monarch. It is the full reduplication of *fola* '(of book, etc.) to spread open, to unfold, to expose', thus revealing the content of what is being exposed, making it known. Thus, *folofola* is a metaphorical

concept that describes the speech of the king as being revealed visually. The sense of the word *ta'ahine* that is being used here is the regal one of a royal-blooded woman of any age, a term of polite admiration and respect. The use of these chiefly and regal terms is idiomatic in WOT 1 and 2. If this passage is translated into English the translator will need to look for complimentary and euphemistic terms to bring out the favourable connotations of the chiefly and regal expressions, e.g., such words as countenance or visage for *fofonga*.

Text 6. Opening line of late king's speech when the late king Tupou IV delivered a sermon at the Tongan Methodist church in Mangere in the early 2000s. He began his sermon by acknowledging the high rank of his consort the Queen.

King: *Tapu mo-3* *Kuini Mata'aho-2* *mo hou'eiki-2*.

My respects-3 to Queen *Mata'aho-2* and the *aristocracy-2*.

Analysis: The purpose of the king here was to deliver a sermon to a large congregation in a church service. He opened his speech by acknowledging, first, the presence of his consort, Queen Mata'aho, as the highest of the aristocracy and, second, members of the aristocracy. This is significant from the point of view that although he has the highest rank in the society, he still needs to acknowledge the presence in the audience of the individuals with the highest rank and the aristocracy in general. In contrast, he speaks in *lea tavale* (WOT 5) in private conversation with his consort (Text 10 below). The contrast indicates that the selection of the ways of talking to use is governed by the purpose of the discourse, which is to send a message to a large body of hearers of different ranks and statuses. In that case, the speaker, irrespective of his own high rank, follows protocol and acknowledges the person with the highest rank in the audience, irrespective of the fact that she is his wife. We may say that in public, in the presence of many who are hearing and overhearing his speech, she is not his wife but Her Majesty the Queen of Tonga. The relationship between the speaker and the addressee/audience is thus very important.

Lea Fakamatāpule 'Way of Talking Characteristic of Orators' – WOT 3

Lea fakamatāpule is the polite way of talking, used to address or refer to people who are respected but who are not necessarily chiefly, such as elderly people, ministers of religion, professionals like teachers, doctors, lawyers and so on, but it can also be used for persons whom one does not know well, or one whose status is unknown. In the latter case it is "safe" to use *lea fakamatāpule*. It is also the ceremonial way of speaking mostly because it is ceremonies

and cultural events that people such as those outlined above attend, being important parts of Tongan social life. *Lea fakamatāpule*, therefore, includes public speaking of any kind, such as sermons, speeches, ceremonial exchanges and prayers, and the term extends to features of the structure of those genres, as can be seen from the discussion of Text 7 below.

This way of speaking is named after the *matāpule*, orator or spokesperson of the chief. Respect is due to orators because they mediate between commoners, on the one hand, and kings and chiefs on the other. As orators, they are masters of the respectful ways of talking. The term *matāpule* therefore is associated with respectful speech, hence *lea fakamatāpule*.

So *lea fakamatāpule* has a wide scope of use and has the potential to be used in any situation provided that attention to politeness is maintained, even though the king or chiefs may not be present.

Scope of *Lea fakamatāpule*

From polite language _____ to oratorical language

Two kinds of *lea fakamatāpule* each occupying the extremes of the continuum are: (i) the polite way of speaking to categories of Tongans who are not chiefly but deserving of respect, such as to an elderly person or to a stranger, and (ii) the genre of oratorical speech performed characteristically by, but not limited to, chiefs' *matāpule*.

The expression of respect in both kinds of *lea fakamatāpule* is largely figurative in nature, such that many existing words are applied to new (respectful) situations. In *lea fakamatāpule*, for instance, the word *tokoni* 'help' is used for eating. Instead of *ha'u 'o kai!* 'come and eat!', the *lea fakamatāpule* version is *afe mai 'o tokoni!* 'turn this way and help!'. '*unu atu* 'move over' is in everyday speech, but in *lea fakamatāpule* it is *ma'uma'u atu* 'close up the gap [by moving over]'. One would say in ordinary language *sio ki he peesi 2* 'look at page 2', but the use of the word *sio* 'look' would be inappropriate in a situation of, say, Bible reading with a congregation. In *lea fakamatāpule*, one would say *hanga ki he peesi 2* 'turn towards page 2'. When one says goodbye to an elderly person in *lea fakamatāpule*, instead of saying '*alu ā* 'go then' in ordinary everyday speech, one would say *faka'au ā* 'be gradually gone then'. With goodnight, instead of the everyday *mohe ā* 'sleep then', one would say *po 'uli ā* 'have the night then'.

A prominent feature of oratorical *lea fakamatāpule* is the *fakatapu*. This is the formal recognition of the presence of high-ranking people in the audience. It is usually done at the beginning of public speeches (see Text 7 below). A second feature of oratorical *lea fakamatāpule* is the use of *laumātanga*, the

rhetorical device of reciting the names of beautiful or historical spots. Places in Tonga (villages, islands, etc.) have complimentary names that often consist of short descriptive phrases or multimorphemic words that describe beautiful or historical places (*mātanga*) in a village or island. Types of *mātanga* include 'esi 'raised platform formerly used as playgrounds for the children of chiefs', *sia* 'hill or mound formerly for pigeon snaring', *mala'e* 'grave or tomb or cemetery', *vai* 'pond or stream', *liku* 'cliff-bound coast', *fanga* 'beach', *ava* 'channel or passage or strait usually between islands or islets', *hakau* 'reef', *maka* 'rock or bedrock', *taulanga* 'harbour or port', *'akau* 'tree or plant', *'api* 'tract or compound or home', or *'otu motu* 'group of islands' and others. The name of such a spot comes to represent the village in which it is located or with which it is associated, and in time each village has, as its ceremonial or honorific name, the name of its *mātanga* (see Text 7 below for examples). I argue that honorific place names are important parts of *lea fakamatāpule* and are part of an important area of inquiry that Besnier (1990) refers to as the role of affect in language.

Text 7. The beginning of a eulogy at a burial ceremony. (Extract from *My Memories of David* by 'Ilaisaane Kakala Taumoefolau 2009.)

1. *Tapu-3 pea mo e 'Afió-1 'a e Ta'ehāmai-1 'i hotau lotolotonga-3.*
In reverence-3 for the Omnipresence-1 of the Invisible-1 in our midst-3.
2. *Tapu-3 mo e faka'eiki-2.*
In deference-3 for the spirit-of-the-departed-2.
3. *Tapu-3 mo e 'Eiki Nōpelé-2 Fulivai-2.*
My respects-3 to the Honourable Noble-2 Fulivai-2,
4. *'uma'ā 'a Siasoi Tu 'itavake Sūnia Mafile 'o-2 mo Hou'eiki-2.*
and also Siasoi Tu 'itavake Sūnia Mafile 'o-2 and the aristocracy-2.
5. *Fakapapu atu-3 kia 'Aholoka-i-Fangalei-3 mo ha'a matāpule-3.*
My respects-3 to 'Aholoka-i-Fangalei-3 and the class of orators-3.
6. *Tapu-3 mo e tangata'eiki faifekau-3 'a 'Ene 'Afió-1, Sekelitali 'o e Konifelenisi-3.*
My respects-3 to the High Priest-3 of His Majesty-1, the Secretary to Conference-3,
7. *kau faifekau-3, kau taki lotu-3 'o e ngaahi siasí, uītoú-3, mo e fānaú-3.*
Ministers-3, leaders-3 of the churches, and to the bereaved widow-3 and the children-3.
8. *Tapu-3 mo e mala'é ni-2 'oku toka-2 ai 'a e kau mā'oni'oni-3 mo e hou'eiki-2 'o e fonuá-3.*

My respects-3 to these burial grounds-2, where rest-2 holy men-3 and aristocrats-2 of the land-3.

9. Talangata 'iate au 'o fai ki tu 'a-3 kae 'atā-3 ke fai ha fakamāvae-3.
I apologise if I should cause offence-3, and allow [me]-3 to perform the last farewell-3.
10. Fakafeta 'i-1/2/3 mo tuku kolōlia-3 ki he 'Otuá-1 'i Langi Taupotu-3 koe 'uhi ko e 'aho ko eni,
Thanks-1/2/3 and glory-3 be to God-1 in Heaven-3 for this day
11. 'aho fakaloloma-3 kiate kitautolu kotoa pē, 'a e kaungā fononga-3, kaungā lotu-3,
be it a day of desolation-3 for us all, fellow pilgrims-3, fellow worshippers-3,
12. kaungā ngāue-3 mo e Faifekau Sea Mālōlō-3 ko Tēvita Tu 'ipulotu Taumoe folau-3.
fellow workers-3 of the Retired District Chairman-3, the Rev T. T. Taumoe folau-3.
13. 'Aho 'o e masiva-3 ko e 'ahó ni, Fulivai-2. Fe 'ekeaki-3 'e he fanga hake 'angá-3. Fangalei-3,
A day of poverty-3, this day, Fulivai-2. The landing site-3 of Fangalei-3 wonders-3,
14. mo e tōfā 'angá-1, Sakamoana-1, pea 'oku faofao mai-3 'a 'Alepea-3 'o fakasio mai-3.
and the regal-burial grounds-1, Sakamoana-1, and 'Alepea-3 is straining to see-3.
15. Pea 'oku fēhu 'i-3 'e loto Neiafu-3, 'e he fu 'u Fā ko Fieme 'á-3,
And the township of Neiafu-3 seeks to know-3, the Pandanus-called-Fieme 'á-3,
16. mo e Vai ko Lēlea-3, pea 'oku 'eke-3 'e he Falelotu ko Laumālie Mā 'oni 'oni-2,
and the Pond-called-Lēlea-3, and it is asked-3 by the Church called Holy Spirit-2,
17. Puatalefusi-3, Lolo- 'a-Halaevalú-3. Feangi 'aki-3 'a e matangi 'e fitú-3
Port-of-Refuge-3, Perfume-of-Halaevalu-3. The seven winds-3 blow back and forth-3
18. ko e hū mai mei Fa 'ihava-3 mo Pulepulekai-3. Pea 'oku 'eke-3 'e he Fale-o-Valú-3
out of Fa 'ihava-3 and Pulepulekai-3. The House-of-Valu-3 sends to know-3
19. kae 'uma 'ā 'a Tu 'ungasika-3 mo e ngaahi faka 'ilonga 'o e hakaú-3.
And so does Tu 'ungasika-3 and the markers on the outlying reefs-3.
20. Ko e fē homau fohá?-3 Ko e fē homau fohá?-3
Where is our son?-3 Where is our son?-3

21. *'UHINGA ia e fakaloloma e 'aho ni-3. Sakamoana ē-3, Pouono ē-3.*
Such is the desolation of this day-3. Behold Sakamoana-3, behold Pouono-3,
22. *ne 'i ai pē hono mohenga-3 ai. Kae fiefia 'a Siaoasi-2*
his yonder resting places-3 there. But happy are Siaoasi-2,
23. *mo e hou'eiki-2 'o Kolomotu'a-2 pea mo 'Ene 'Afió-1,*
and the chiefly people-2 of Kolomotu'a-2, and His Majesty-1,
24. *kua 'omi 'a e efuefu koulá-3 ke fakalahi'aki-3 'a e kelekele 'o Tongatapu-3.*
That the golden dust-3 has been brought to enrich-3 the soil of Tongatapu-3.
25. *'Ofa pē mu'a-3 ke hōifua mai-1 'a e 'Otuá-1, 'uma'ā 'a e kau faifekau-3*
May-3 God's pleasure-1 be upon us, ministers-3
26. *kau mateaki lotu-3 'oku tatoká-2, fakamolemole kae 'atā-3 ke fai mu'a-3*
and fellow pilgrims-3 who here rest-2, to graciously allow-3 this unworthy old-
man-4 to carry out if [you] please-3
27. *ha ki'i-4 laulaunoa-4 'a e motu'a mā'ulalo-4 ko eni he 'aho ko eni-3.*
A little-4 nonsense-4 on this day-3.

Analysis: The purpose of this speech was to eulogise the deceased, and as *lea fakamatāpule* WOT 3 is the ceremonial language, this style predominates in the speech. However, there was also *lea fakahouhou'eiki* (WOT 2) on account of the *hou'eiki* present (e.g., lines 3 and 4), and also the fact that when a Tongan dies, the deceased is always regarded as chiefly (e.g., lines 2 and 8). *Lea fakatu'i* (WOT 1) was used in reference to the late king (Tupou IV) (lines 6 and 23) and in reference to God (lines 1 and 10). It was also used in reference to the cemetery Sakamoana which was described as *tōfā'anga* 'royal-resting place', referring to the burial place of sacred ancestors of regal standing.

As this is a public speech, the text is highly structured according to the specific purposes of the lines. Lines 1-9 consists of the *fakatapu*, the acknowledgement of the revered persons present in the service. Lines 10 – 13 introduces the subject matter: it is the parting oration for the *pekia* 'chiefly term for the dead' before the body is interred. Lines 14 -25 consist of the *laumātanga*, then in lines 26-28, the speaker entreats the blessing of God and abases himself to the audience, apologising for his lowliness.

The discourse opens with the *fakatapu*, the formulaic speech act that most saliently identifies oratorical *lea fakamatāpule*. The opening *tapu mo*, or the variation *fakatapu kia*, is a public declaration along the lines of "I pledge herewith to keep sacred my relationship with so and so". The observance of the *tapu* consists of ensuring that everything the speaker is about to say will

be appropriate and befitting the circumstances of the sacred presence of so and so. The *fakatapu* bears witness to the importance of *tauhi vā* ‘nurturing relationships’ and *tauhi ‘eiki* ‘upholding chiefly people’ in Tongan culture. The order of the *fakatapu* is important, beginning with the highest to the lowest rank. It is significant that the spiritual sphere is acknowledged first, then members of the aristocracy, then members of the class of orators. ‘Aholoka is one of the *matāpule* titles of Hunga, home island of the deceased. Next is acknowledgement of leaders of the churches and the family of the deceased (lines 6 and 7). Line 8 acknowledges the burial grounds, referring again to the spiritual sphere, and line 9 is a fixed idiom, which is often said last to cover anyone else not mentioned. An apology for the lowliness of the speaker is also idiomatic, in which the speaker asks for forgiveness in case he/she unwittingly says something inappropriate.

The concept *laumātanga* consists of two words—*lau*, ‘to recite, to chant, to verbalise’ and *mātanga*, ‘scenic spot, a beautiful place’. Helu (1999b: 272) defines *laumātanga* as “to verbalise a beautiful place” and Māhina (1993: 113) as “enumerate beautiful spots”. *Mātanga* are geographical features of the land, whether natural or man-made, that have names, and these names are projected onto villages, districts or islands. These names become honorific names of the villages or islands, and are used honorifically to praise the villages of the people of a place. The names carry affective meaning in that they often conjure up feelings of nostalgia and homesickness—strong yearning for home among people who come from the place in question. The names become metaphors for the places of origin of a person, which are linked to memories of the ancestors and genealogical associations of a place.

In this text, the speaker personifies the places of origin of the deceased. Beginning on line 13, they are said to be asking for his whereabouts on this day of his burial: why is he not where he belongs? *Fangalei* ‘name of the beach at Hunga island’ and *Sakamoana* ‘name of the cemetery of the ancestors at Hunga’ are asking of each other where he is. These places are symbols of identity for the deceased. *Alepea* ‘name of the Methodist college compound where the deceased once worked as chaplain and teacher’ is described as looking around for him (line 14). The *Fā ko Fieme’a* ‘the legendary Pandanus Tree at the harbour of Neiafu, capital town of the Vava’u Group’ and the *Vai ko Lêlea* ‘name of a little pond near the waterfront of Neiafu’ are metaphors for Neiafu, and they are asking for him. They are potent expressions of identity for the people of Neiafu. The deceased grew up in Neiafu where his grandparents lived. *Lolo-‘a-Halaevalu* ‘Perfume of Halaevalu’ refers to the beautiful natural harbour of Neiafu, also known as Port of Refuge, a name given by Spanish explorers, and Tonganised as *Puatalefusi*. *Lolo-‘a-Halaevalu*, shortened to *Lolo*, has become a metaphor

for the entire Vava‘u Group. Even the seven winds were searching for any sign of “their son” at *Fa‘ihava* Strait and *Pulepulekai* Channel (see Gifford 1929: 46, 197). Boats going from Neiafu to Hunga pass by *Fa‘ihava*, where the island of Tu‘ungasika is situated, and travel through *Pulepulekai* into the bay of *Fangalei*. When these names are mentioned, sometimes in songs or poems, Vava‘u people who are away from Vava‘u or Tonga are sometimes reduced to tears of homesickness because the *mātanga* names of Vava‘u carry people’s attachment to and sense of belonging to their former homelands.

So when these names were recited in the sermon, the audience was gripped by a powerful sense of loss. For these places are not simply places but are the niches of kin groups and ancestors whose livelihoods for centuries have been tied inextricably to the land and sea of Vava‘u. *Laumātanga* is a rhetorical and poetic device that stirs the spirit to a plane of intense feeling and appreciation of their Vava‘u-ness and Tongan-ness. Thus, the name *Lolo-a-Halaevalu* carries positive regard and affect for Vava‘u. One may say that in Tongan, honorific names of places lift those places to a higher level of meaning that is associated with people’s pride in their identity in the same way that kingly and chiefly and orator words can have more favourable meanings than ordinary everyday words for the same activities, states or objects. This is hardly surprising given the emphasis placed on rank in Tongan culture. Apart from *laumātanga*, there are also other forms of *heliaki* called *laukakala* ‘reciting fragrant flowers’, *laukaveinga* ‘reciting guiding stars’, *laumatangi* ‘reciting winds’. These are the stuff of Tongan classical poetry, such as Queen Sālote’s poetry and oratory (see Taumoeofolau 2004b, also Helu 1999b, 1999c, 2003, 2006 and Māhina 1993).

Laumātanga has the effect of reinforcing and consolidating the oneness and togetherness of Tongans by extolling ancestors and places of origin and through the use of an abundance of positive concepts, many contained in metaphor. Some of these metaphors are fixed, but because metaphor is also a way of relating prior knowledge to new subject matter, it has a creative aspect that makes it capable of being productive. In the text, fixed idioms are in the *fakatapu*—the repeated use of *Tapu mo* or *Fakatapu*, and the first part of line 9. But fairly novel is the technique of personifying places, such as line 14 about *Alepea* sitting up searching, and the seven winds searching the passage and islands between Neiafu and Hunga (line 17). So expressions become fixed, but the techniques are open-ended and lead to the use of language productively. The text ends with the speaker using self-derogatory language of his message.

Lea Fakatōkilalo/Faka'aki'akimui 'Self-derogatory Way of Talking' – WOT 4
Lea faka'aki'akimui or *lea fakatōkilalo* is the humble way of talking, which is a way of talking in which a speaker deliberately uses words and expressions that lower himself/herself in order to elevate the addressee or audience. This way of talking is used when the addressee is perceived to be of much higher rank than the speaker. The Tongan words for humility are *faka'aki'akimui* 'lit. to keep back, to stay at the back', or *fakatōkilalo* 'lit. to let [oneself] fall down'. This way of talking is sometimes referred to as humiliative or self-lowering (Keating 2005), but I tend to use Churchward's term "self-derogatory" because some words/expressions are not just modest or humble but actually abusive and insulting, such as the use of the word *'uhiki* 'animal young' of one's children. So one humiliates oneself (or one's family or possessions) by disparaging oneself in order to bring out the contrast with the addressee who is thus twice elevated—by the high language used of him/her, and the low language used of the speaker.

This way of talking is used most when addressing the king and less so to chiefs and similar others. Thus, WOT 4 accompanies WOT 1-3 (see Text 1 above). The higher the person being addressed, the more lowering the level of self-disparagement. If the king is being addressed, then WOT 4 is more likely to use animal related words, such as in Text 1 line 8 *mohenga moa* 'meaning garden, lit. bed of chickens' and *fanga 'uhiki* 'meaning his children, lit. litter of animal young'. Supposing the speaker in Text 1 was asking another commoner landowner for a piece of land, he is not likely to use those words. Instead he may use just the diminutive word *ki'i* 'little' in *ki'i ngoue* 'little garden' and a phrase like *ki'i fānau paeá* 'lit. little motherless children' to refer to his children.

There is also a continuum of honouring: in *lea fakatu'i* (WOT 1), *fakalāngilangi* 'lit. hold up to the sky' or *fakahikihiki* 'lit. to lift up high' gives the greatest degree of honouring, then *lea fakahouhou'eiki* (WOT 2), then *lea fakamatāpule* (WOT 3), and finally *lea tavale* (WOT 5). So the greater the honouring, the greater the self-lowering (as Text 1 above). The same thing is said to be true also of Samoan, though perhaps less pronounced. Shore (1982: 263) wrote, "In addition to a positive signaling of respect by the use of respect terms in Samoan, there are several forms that indicate respect by humbling the speaker."

The following diagram shows that during interactions, the higher the rank of the addressee from that of the speaker, the stronger the self-lowering, the steeper the line representing the degree of self-lowering (*fakatōkilalo*).

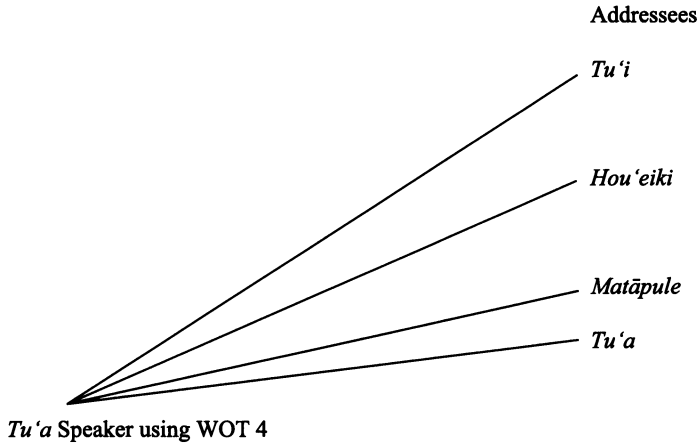


Diagram showing the degree of self-lowering in WOT 4.

Texts 8 and 9 below give further illustrations of self-derogatory language.

Text 8: In the 1980s the Tongan government established a high level committee called *Kōmiti Fakahinohino Lea Faka-Tonga* 'Advisory Committee on Tongan Language'. It was chaired by the then Deputy Premier, the late Hon. Baron Tuita, and the membership included prominent local Tongan language authorities, representatives of the media, representatives of government departments and churches, and other organisations. As Head of the Ministry of Education's Curriculum Development Unit at the time I was appointed secretary of the committee. The committee used to produce examples of appropriate use of Tongan which were sent to the media, government departments, and other organisations to advise on their use of the language. Below are some examples of *lea fakatōkilalo* listed by the committee (*Kōmiti Fakahinohino Lea Faka-Tonga* n.d.). The context is a commoner female speaker conversing with the monarch. Note that the examples are separate (constructed) utterances, not part of a connected discourse, and for this reason are separated by a line space.

1. *Tapu-3 mo e Feitu'una-1/2, na'e motu-4 hoku kakaó-4 ka ne faito'o fasi pē pea toe tākalo-4.*
 My respects-3 to Your Highness/Majesty-1/2 'lit. That-space-yonder', my leg-4 'lit. crab or lobster leg' was fractured-4 'lit. severed' and it was treated for fracture and now it is well-4 'lit. waving about' again.
2. *'Oku langa pē 'anepō hoku fo'i huimokó-4, pea 'ikai te u lava 'o lele-4 mai.*
 My back-4 'lit. lizard-bone' ached last night so I could not come-4 'lit. run' here.

3. *Kuo hinehina-4 'atā e takale-4 ia e motu'ā.*

The man's-4 'lit. old-man, referring to husband, son, or person close to the speaker' head-4 'lit. from *takalekale*, dry empty coconut' is completely white-4 'lit. the colour white'.

4. *Ne mau mama-4 mo e finemātu'a-4 'a e Feitu'una-1/2.*

We ate-4 'lit. chewed' with Your/Majesty's/Highness's-1/2 female-attendants-4 'lit. old-women'.

5. *Na'e 'osi pē 'enau mulumulū-4 pea nau felelei-4 mai.*

When they finished their bath-4 'lit. repeated stripping movements of the hand' they came-4 'lit. ran-plural' over.

6. *Fakafeta'i-1/2/3 e ma'u koloa-3 ke pūlou-4 e motu'ā-4.*

Thanks-1/2/3 for the valuable bark-cloth-3 for the old-man's-4 blanket-4 'lit. head covering'.

7. *Ko 'eku tuai ko e olo'i-4 e kake'i-4 e ki'i-4 finemotu'a ako-4.*

The reason for my lateness is that I was ironing-4 'lit. rubbing' a dress-4 'lit. leaf-wrapping of food' of a little-diminitive-4 schoolgirl-4 'lit. school old-woman'.

Analysis: The texts show that in this way of talking, culturally low-status metaphorical concepts relating to animals ('*uhiki* 'animal young', for children, Text 1 line 8), birds (*mohenga moa* 'chicken nest', for a garden, Text 1 line 8) and sea creatures (*kakao* 'crab and lobster legs', Text 8 line 1) are used to lower the self. Animal-related concepts are self-derogatory because they denote less than human looks. In the case of *mohenga moa* for a plantation or garden, there is a suggestion of clumsiness and lack of skills in growing crops.

Other derogatory concepts include the idea of being old and therefore less dignified or pleasing in appearance, such as in the use of *finemotu'a* 'lit. old-woman' for a schoolgirl (line 7) and *motu'a* 'lit. old-man' for the speaker's male relative (line 6). It is possible to include here the concept of *pūlou* 'head covering' to refer derogatively to the use to be made of the *ngatu* 'barkcloth', a category of *koloa* 'treasure, wealth' that was gifted by the chief to the commoner speaker (line 6).

Derogatory concepts also include undecorated, unmetaphorised, undisguised acts or states that are given metonymically, as in *motu* 'severed' for fractured (line 1), *mama* 'chewed' for ate (line 4), *mulumulu* 'stripping movement of hands' for bathing (line 5), *olo'i* 'rubbing movement' for ironing (line 7) and *tākalo* 'waving about' for being well again (line 1).

It seems that self-derogatory concepts are metonymic as compared with the metaphorical concepts that praise and compliment in WOT 1, 2 and 3 (see

texts above). This difference shows the importance of function in the selection and application of ways of talking. The ways of talking differ functionally and conceptually, thus determining their formal differences.

Text 9. This passage of Matthew 8: 5-8 is taken from Moulton's translation of the Bible which was completed in 1902.

1. *Pea 'i he 'ene a'u-5 ki Kāpaneumé, na'e ha'u-5 kiate ia ha senituliō, 'o kole-5 kiate ia,*
When Jesus reached-5 Capernaum, a centurion came-5 to him, and asked-5 him,
2. *'Eiki-2, ko si 'eku tamaio 'eiki 'oku fokoutua-4 'i 'api, kuo puke-5 'i he mamateá-5...*
"Lord-2," he said, "my servant lies-4 'lit. derogatory for lying' at home suffering-5 from paralysis-5..."
3. *Pea pehē-3 'e ia ki ai, "Te u 'alu-5 atu 'e au, 'o faito'o-5 ia."*
And he said-3 to him, "I will go-5 there and heal-5 him,"
4. *Ka ka tali-3 'e he senituliō, 'o ne pehē, 'Eiki-2, 'oku 'ikai te u taau*
The centurion replied-3, "Lord-2, I do not deserve
5. *ke ke hū mai ki hoku poko 'i falé-4*
to have you come under my roof-4 'lit. my skull-of-a-house'
6. *ka ke fai pē ha fo 'i folofola-1, pea 'e mo 'ui ai 'eku tamaio 'eiki.*
but just say the royal-word-1, and my servant will be healed.

Analysis: Ordinary everyday concepts are used by the narrator (underlined in line 1) and also by Jesus of himself (underlined in line 3). But it is the centurion who uses the self-derogatory way of talking to Jesus to show his purposes of begging for help and recognising the high status of Jesus. So he uses the words *fokoutua* (line 2) and *poko 'i fale* (line 5) when referring to his servant and his house. He uses high concepts when referring to Jesus—the regal word *folofola* in line 6.

It has been asked whether the use of *lea fakatōkilalo* (WOT 4) by Tongan people clashes with notions of self-esteem and makes Tongan people feel inferior in general. I would say that the use of the self-derogatory way of talking should not be taken to imply that the speaker really believes he/she is inferior *in general*. The use of WOT 4 simply indicates the speaker's awareness of the difference in status between the speaker and addressee. Clearly also some concepts are examples of litotes and they are used to underline a point, not to be taken as literally true. In the early 1970s the late noble Ve'ehala hosted

a radio programme for the Tonga Traditions Committee to advise Tongans on respectful speech. He said that according to Tongan custom, the appropriate words to give when one is presenting a *kau 'ufi* 'twenty yam tubers' and a *puaka toho* 'largest-sized pig, lit. dragged pig' is to say one is presenting a *konga 'ufi hamu* 'a piece of yam without any accompanying meat' (Ve'ehala n.d.). Even if one's table is laden with a feast of the best possible food, as host one refers to it as *fo 'i pateta* 'a mere potato' or a *konga manioke* 'a piece of cassava', the lowest-ranking foodcrop.

We may assume that such uses of the language to express respect establish it as a way of life, a significant trait of the culture and, therefore, a very important part of the Tongan worldview. It would seem, however, that this way of talking is lost to the younger generation of Tongans as Tongans go overseas, lose their familiarity with the language, and become less respectful in the Tongan meaning of respect.

It is worth noting that WOT 4 can be used with WOT 5 among commoners for example. This is because humility is greatly valued in Tongan culture and people who use WOT 4 in their speech are regarded as *poto he anga* 'clever in behaving'. Consider this exchange between friends. Mele has just graduated with a degree in economics and Sione is congratulating her.

1. Sione: *Mālō mu 'a-5, Mele, 'a e ako-5!*
Congratulations-5, Mele, on your success-5!
2. Mele: *Fai pē tātāsipá-4 pea 'ohovale-4 pē kuo lava-5!*
 Just kept on staggering-4 and suddenly-4 it was done-5!
3. Sione: *Fanongo te tau kaipola-5.*
Heard we'll have a feast-5.
4. Mele: *Ko e ki 'i-4 fakaoli-4 pē.*
 It's just a little-4 joke-4.
5. *'Alu-5 ange mo e kau leká-5 ke tau inu vai-4.*
Come-5 over with the kids-5 so we can drink water-4.

In line 2 Mele is saying that her success was not due to her intelligence. It was more like she had tumbled accidentally upon her success. In line 4 she refers to the feast to be held in her honour as a 'little joke', something of little significance and not what one might expect of a celebration. Then, eating good food at the feast (line 5) is nothing more than just 'drinking water'.

Lea Tavale ‘*Ordinary, Everyday Conversational Way of Talking*’—WOT 5
Lea tavale is the main way of talking about things in Tongan, used by everyone in ordinary, everyday life. It is the conversational language used by equals. It is used when the speaker is familiar with the addressee to the extent that they can talk *tavale*—in any old way. This is the variety of language most often described in grammars, and the one which the majority of Tongans know and use in everyday life. It is the level of use that is to be maintained if the language is declining. Studies show it is the last of the registers to be lost because it is the “unmarked” level of use (Otsuka 2007, Taumoeolau *et al.* 2004). With regard to rank, we can call it the neutral way of talking, used by a speaker to address their social equal in a way in which rank imposes no restriction because it is irrelevant at the time in question.

The word *tavale*, when applied to speaking, means freely, not subject to any rules or constraints, ‘to speak in any old way’ (Churchward 1959), so speaking everyday Tongan (WOT 5) is really speaking carelessly or freely, as though the status or rank of the addressee did not matter. Thus, when a speaker chooses to use this way of talking to someone of high status, it becomes a statement to the addressee because it sends a message that the addressee’s rank does not matter. For this reason, I argue that *lea tavale* is a level of speech that has its place in a hierarchy of ways of talking in Tongan. Thus, the term “neutral” is appropriate only when *lea tavale* is used between speakers of more or less equal rank because it is indifferent to rank. It is possible to regard it as slightly disrespectful, in that a speaker, having the freedom of expression, also has access to informal, colloquial expression, even slang. But this derives from the situation of relative freedom from the expression of rank.

Lea tavale has often been described in the literature as the *kakai* ‘people’ level of speech or *tu’a* ‘commoner’ speech level (see, for example, Völkel 2010), but this can be misleading since it implies that only commoners use this level of speech and also that it is used only in reference to commoners. In fact, anyone can use this way of talking in reference to anyone at all depending on the purpose of the talk. Moreover, it is quite common for commoners to use other ways of talking, in particular, WOT 3 *lea fakamatāpule*, and use this to address other commoners with whom a relationship of respect obtains at any particular time. Furthermore, high-ranking people frequently use WOT 5 when the need calls for it. For example, if the king and queen are talking, as long as they are aware of their more or less equal high status, their closeness as husband and wife, and as long as they are talking about ordinary everyday things, they are likely to use *lea tavale* (as in Text 10 below). However, if others are present, as in a speech to the public, formal *lea fakamatāpule* is used rather than *lea tavale* (as in Text 6 above). If two ‘*eiki*’ chiefly people’ of more or less equal rank are talking privately, provided they are at that time treating each other as friends or acquaintances, or are familiar with each other, they will be using *lea tavale*.

Sometimes WOT 5 is used as a strategy to be inclusive. It is used for the purpose of honouring in a somewhat different sense. In some situations a speaker might deliberately use WOT 5 in order to show empathy and develop solidarity with an addressee. It makes the addressee feel he is part of the speaker's in-group. For example, a speaker may use WOT 5 to invite a person to the school anniversary: 'Ei, te ke 'alu ange ki he 'etau me 'á? 'Hey, are you coming to our-plural-inclusive do?'

Several features of informality and personal tone are exemplified here, and there is no hint of any representation of rank. The use of 'ei instead of the addressee's name may be slightly disrespectful in other circumstances but here it emphasises the closeness of the relationship between speaker and addressee. The use of personal pronouns particularly the inclusive plural possessive he 'etau adds a personal feeling to the rhetorical question. The use of the word me 'a 'thing' instead of specifying the actual function adds a colloquial touch. All these are features of the familiar everyday way of talking.

The WOT 5 message above can be contrasted with its equivalent below in *lea fakamatāpule* WOT 3:

'E Seini, te ke lava ange mo e fine 'eiki
Seini, would you be able to come with the old lady
ki he fakamanatu 'o e ta 'u 68 'o e kolisi?
 to the 68 years celebration of the school?

And the same message in WOT 2 *lea fakahouhou 'eiki* may be:

Ta 'ahine pilinisesi-2, 'e hakailangitau-3 'a e finemātu 'a-4 kolisi tutukú
Your Highness-2, the old-women-4 of the ex-student association will dance-
with-joy-3
'i ha afeitaulalo-2 'a e Feitu 'una-2 'o me 'a-2 ange 'o fakakoloa-3
 if Your Highness-2 turns-to-the-lowly-2 and aristocratically-attends-2 thus
enriching-3
'a hono fakamanatua-3 'o e ta 'u onongofulumāvalu-3 'o e Kolisi Kuini Sāloté-3.
 the commemoration-3 of the sixty-eighth-3 anniversary-3 of Queen Sāloté
College-3.

An invitation to the king and queen may require a whole event. A party consisting of the President of the Old Girls Association and other office bearers and a *matāpule* to speak on their behalf may seek an audience with the queen (who will then relate it to the king). The party may make a traditional presentation before the *matāpule* articulates the invitation on their behalf.

One can use WOT 5 to refer to royalty or chiefs as a strategy to show negative sentiments. The use of *lea tavale* to refer to or address chiefly people sends a message that the speaker is showing disrespect to the chiefs in question. In 2004 I attended a function in Tonga—the launch of the book *Songs and Poems of Queen Sālote*. Many aristocrats were present, and the book was being launched by a princess, grand-daughter of Queen Sālote. There was an awkward silence when the commoner MC greeted the gathering and chatted away in WOT 5, “*Mālō ho ‘omou-5 lelei-5...!* ‘[I’m] grateful for your-5 wellness-5...’ ” To this day I still do not know if the speaker did this deliberately or just committed a *faux pas*. When that sort of thing happens, the speaker is frowned upon as *fakataau* ‘presuming to be of equal rank’. The appropriate way to begin was to start with the *fakatapu* (WOT 3) acknowledging the presence of prominent aristocrats as well as the aristocracy in general (WOT 2).

The level of language used by a speaker in conversation can switch to another level immediately if the speaker, for instance, suddenly becomes angry. Their speech can shift to WOT 6. Similarly, the speaker can shift the level of use to WOT 3 *matāpule* level if, for instance, someone of higher status joins the conversation. If the newcomer is a chief, the speaker needs to speak using WOT 2: vocabulary and expressions typical of the chiefly language (assuming that the speaker knows how to speak WOT 2). If the newcomer is a stranger who is making enquiries about something, being a stranger to the place, the level of use may shift to WOT 3: *matāpule* vocabulary and expressions. If, for some unforeseen reason, the king enters the room, then the level of use will shift to WOT 1: the regal way of talking. Everyone present will act in the conventional way of behaving that is fitting protocol for the presence of the king. For instance, the conversationalists may immediately put on their shirts, if they were relaxing with only their singlets on owing to the heat of the day. They would, if they were sitting on chairs, now get up and sit down on the floor. They would cast their heads down to the floor, and one of them will speak, slowly, loudly, and deliberately (again assuming the speaker can speak WOT 1) and if the king is being accompanied by his particular *matāpule*, the speaker would address the *matāpule* instead of the king as is the custom, and the *matāpule* would respond on behalf of the king. The conversation would turn very formal and ritualistic.

It seems then that the levels of use, accompanied by non-verbal conventional behaviour appropriate for each level, can be described as constant, while the situations may vary. So we can say that speakers and addressees may find themselves in a situation which calls for a particular level of use, and may then revoke that level of use.

Text 10. King and Queen in private using WOT 5. This episode was reported by the queen to my mother in a conversation they had about a year ago.

The King had been having long conversations with Tavi, a Danish man who lived in Tonga for a long time and was well-known for his esoteric knowledge about nature such as the nutritional and medicinal properties of plants considered useless by Tongans—he would cook and eat leaves of shrubs that Tongans do not eat. The Queen considered that she did not know enough about their topics of conversation to be able to contribute to their sessions. One day after Tavi left, this interaction took place.

1. Queen: *Peheange mai na 'á ku poto-5 ke u tokoni-5 atu 'i he lahi ho 'o ngāué-5.*

If only I was clever-5 so I can help-5 you with your work-5 [considering how much work you do].

2. King: *Me 'a mālie ho 'o valé-5! Kapau 'oku fakakina pē ho 'o valé-5, huanoa kapau na 'á ke poto-5!*

How fortunate that you are foolish-5! If your foolishness-5 is a nuisance, how much more if you were clever-5!

Analysis: Text 10 is a private conversation between the two most high-ranking people in Tonga in their time—the late King Tupou IV and his consort, Queen Mata'aho, now the Queen Mother. Because the subject matter of the text is a private one, and as the speakers are husband and wife, they are using WOT 5. The specific purpose of the queen was to express a desire to help the king with his work, but the king's purpose was to tease her. They are, therefore, using the way of talking (WOT 5) of people who are familiar with one another and who are more or less equal in rank. This kind of subject matter has no requirement for the expression of respect. In fact, teasing and making fun of someone or something is probably not compatible with complimentary ways of talking, such as WOT 1, 2 and 3, let alone the self-derogatory way of talking WOT 4, which is a serious way of expressing respect. It seems that teasing and joking may best be done using the equal-to-equal way of talking.

Lea 'Ita 'Abusive Way of Talking' – WOT 6

Lea 'ita is the angry or abusive way of talking about things. The general purpose of WOT 6 is to explicitly and verbally violate and shame others. This way of talking is often characterised by three kinds of concepts: (i) *kapekape* 'swearwords' which are words with sexual denotations and connotations because they are words for sexual parts or related to the sexual parts; (ii) insults about someone's appearance or about shameful things associated with the addressee in question, and (iii) strong, abusive words (not swearwords) that are used as insults or as warnings.

Swearwords in (i) are seriously taboo and obscene in themselves, with or without a context. Some words in (ii) and (iii) are rude in themselves, with or without a context, but they are not taboo or obscene. Examples are most of the words in the middle column of Table 3 below with the exception of the last two—*mulumulu* ‘self-derogatory and abusive for bathing’ and *afi* ‘fire, abusive for eyes’ which have senses that are not abusive. Some words in (ii) and (iii) are abusive only when the context is abusive. Examples are *taa* ‘hit’ and *paa* ‘slap’, which can occur in non-abusive contexts.

(i) *Kapekape* ‘swearwords’: Some swearwords are names of bodily parts spoken in anger, for example, *lemu* ‘part just inside the anus’, *usi* ‘anus’. Helu (1999a: 132) tells an incident about Tuku’aho, an heir to the Tu’i Kanokupolu line, who returned from ‘Eua on hearing that his female cousin, Tupou Moheofo, had made herself Tu’i Kanokupolu. He “ended his invective by angrily shouting to her face—*pali fie ule!* ‘vagina presuming to be penis’”. This is an example of the use of WOT 6 by a chief to another chiefly person. Short descriptions are sometimes used—*usi ta’ea* ‘faeces-smear anus’ usually used for younger persons, *lohofua* ‘enlarged testicles’ usually directed at older males. Some swearwords are words or phrases for sexual activities such as *fule* ‘i’ short for *tukufule* ‘i—male masturbation’ while others, regarded as less offensive, are references to bodily functions, such as *mohe mimi* ‘urinating while sleeping’ often said to a younger person, and *vale kai ta’e* ‘faeces-eating idiot’.

(ii) *Insults*: ‘Ungatea Fonua’s PhD thesis (2003) details the learning language practices of five-year-old children in Tonga who were in transition from home to school. She recorded their language practices a significant number of which can be classified as WOT 6. Following are some insults used by them: *te’epilo* ‘elo’ ‘stinking fart’, *siko / ta’e* ‘shit’, *fo’i tula* ‘bald-headed – reference to addressee’s father’, *telinga supo* ‘ears full of soup, i.e., wax’, *fo’i peka* ‘smell like a flying fox’, *mata’ivale* ‘face like an idiot’, *mata’i nana* ‘face like a despicable deaf person’, *mata’i tēvolo* ‘face like a devil/ugly face’, *mata’uli* ‘black/ dirty face’, *mata’i kulī* ‘face like a dog’s face’, *nifo’i hoosi* ‘teeth like a horse’s teeth—very large’, *pokua* ‘sore marks’, *ulu pala* ‘head full of sores’, *ulu kutua* ‘head full of lice’, *nifo’i ava* ‘teeth with holes’, *tanea* ‘skin suffering from skin disease’, *mata’i kikila* ‘prominent eyes’, *fo’i puho* ‘lit. fish eyes, prominent eyes’, *timi e maama* ‘dim the lights, i.e., prominent eyes’, *afi ulo* ‘lit. glowing fire, meaning prominent eyes’. A person can be taunted for their family members, such as *fielau he ko e hako* ‘o’ *Ofa* ‘no wonder you are a descendant of’ *Ofa*, implying that ‘*Ofa* has some shameful characteristic’. Sometimes an insult can be about

where a person comes from e.g., *mata* ‘i Paenga ‘face typical of (ugly) faces of people from Paenga village’. Sometimes an insult is a thinly disguised metaphor used pointedly, such as *mata ihuelo* ‘eyes like rays’ for someone with extra prominent eyes. A common insult used by the children is *kai ho ‘o tamai/fa ‘ē/ kui* etc. ‘eat your father/ mother/ grandfather, etc.’. It is not clear why it should be insulting—perhaps because it may have a sexual meaning (see also Feldman 1981), or it may be a reference to cannibalism.

(iii) *Strong, abusive words*: Fonua (2003) also documented how adults used strong words to shame, reprimand and warn the children. Fonua wrote that the most common warnings were the utterances *taa ‘i koe* ‘hit you’ and *paa ‘i koe* ‘slap you’. Longer versions are *taa ‘i koe ke ke kai vevela* ‘hit you till you eat burning pain’, *paa ‘i ho ngutu* ‘slap your mouth’, *paa ‘i ho mata ke ke kui* ‘slap your face till you’re blind’, *sipi koe* ‘slap you hard [with my palm]’, *hapo ‘i koe* ‘slap you [can be with something]’, *uipi kimoutolu* ‘whip you all’, *ngaahi ‘aki koe e va ‘a papá* ‘treat you to the piece of timber’, *toesi ‘i pea u ‘ai e hiná ho ‘ulu* ‘soon I’ll hit the bottle on your head’, *‘ai e fu ‘u kafá* ‘hit [you] with the sennit’, *kape ‘i e fo ‘i mata* ‘gauge the eyes out’, *fakaava ‘i hake e me ‘á na ‘u taa ‘i koe ke ke mahaki* ‘open it or I’ll hit you till you die’.

Table 2 below shows abusive concepts (WOT 6) and their equivalents in ordinary Tongan (WOT 5).

Table 2

Ordinary form	Strong/Impolite forms	Meaning in English
tangi	<i>kokō</i> ‘loud cry’, <i>kovaho</i> ‘loud angry cry’	cry
‘alu	<i>mafuke</i> ‘opened, parted’, <i>mahae</i> ‘torn’, <i>maafi</i> ‘spread’, <i>ohua</i> ‘burnt’	go
loi	<i>loi ‘elo</i> ‘stinking lie’	tell a lie
tangutu	<i>fa ‘utu</i> ‘rude for sitting’	sit
angakovi	<i>anga ‘elo</i> ‘stinking behaviour’	bad behaviour
sio	<i>kikila</i> ‘rude for see’	look
tuli	<i>nana</i> ‘rude for deaf’	deaf
mata	<i>afi</i> ‘fire, rude for eyes’	eyes
kaukau	<i>mulumulu</i> ‘stripping movement of the hand’	to bathe

It appears that there is a continuum of positive and negative meaning in some concepts. The most positive and complimentary meaning is in WOT 1, then 2, then 3. The neutral meaning is usually 5, but negative meanings are to be found in WOT 4 especially WOT 6. Table 3 shows how various concepts (in the right column) are expressed in the various ways of talking. Note that the underlined words in the WOT 6 column cannot be used in the self-derogatory WOT 4.

Although *mate* is the everyday word for dead, because of the great respect afforded the dead in Tongan culture, it is probably more common to use the *lea fakamatāpule- mālōlō* and *hiki*. It is also conventional to use the chiefly term *pekia* for deceased, regardless of whether the dead person is a commoner. This is because once a person dies, they assume a higher status than they enjoyed while they were living.

Within the abusive WOT 6, the word *mahaki* ‘emptied, diseased’ can be used in the self-derogatory WOT 4: *Kuo mahaki-4 ‘a e si‘i motu‘a ‘eku fa‘ētangatá* ‘The poor old-man who is my mother’s brother has died-4 (lit. been-emptied)’. As noted above, the self-derogatory way of talking is used by a speaker of himself and his close relatives and possessions, hence the use of the derogatory senses of *mahaki* ‘die’ and *motu‘a* ‘old-man’ of the speaker’s maternal uncle. Also, culturally the mother’s brother is of low rank compared to the speaker, so it is very appropriate that the speaker use self-derogatory language in reference to him. The other four words are too abusive to be used in self-derogatory language, so they can only be used abusively.

Sometimes some words that can be used in both WOT 4 and WOT 6 are confused by some speakers. For example, the words *fokoutua* and *mama*, when used in WOT 4, are polite and respectful because they are applied only to the speaker, who uses them in the first person: *hoku fokoutua* ‘my illness’, *‘eku mama* ‘my eating’ to bring out the contrast with honouring the other person, who is the addressee or the referent. When the words are applied to someone else, i.e., when they are used with either the second person or third person, as in *ho fokoutuá* ‘your illness’, *ho‘o mamá* ‘your eating’, *honau fokoutuá* ‘their illness’, *‘enau mamá* ‘their eating’, they take on an abusive meaning. It is becoming more common now to hear in the radio (and elsewhere) utterances such as *ko kinautolu ‘oku mama tapaká...* ‘those who smoke (lit. eat-derogatory) cigarettes...’, or *ko kimoutolu ‘oku fokoutua he suká ke mou lava mai ki he fakatahá*. ‘those of you who are suffering (lit. being ill-derogatory) from diabetes please attend the meeting’. Speakers who do not know the difference between the two uses are not aware how offensive their words are to hearers who do know the difference. There have been cases in Auckland of Tongans calling the radio station and complaining about the offensive language of some announcers. The message here is that words like *mama* and *fokoutua* are not *kakai* words ‘people words’ or *tu‘a* words ‘commoner words’, and

Table 3

WOT 1	WOT 2	WOT 3	WOT 5	WOT 4	WOT 6	Concept
<i>hala</i> 'royally-die, lit. to err, to be wrong' <i>tō e la ā</i> 'lit. sun has set' <i>unga forua</i> 'lit. hide behind the land'	<i>pekia</i> 'aristocratically-die, lit. from <i>pekia</i> , be picked, plucked'	<i>mālōlō</i> 'lit. rested' <i>hiki</i> 'lit. shifted' <i>tali hono ui</i> 'lit. answered their call' <i>folau</i> 'lit. set sail' <i>mole ene mo ui</i> 'lit. lost life'	<i>mate</i> 'die' ' <i>alu</i> go'	<i>mahaki</i> 'finished, emptied, diseased'	<i>lukaka</i> 'stiff' <i>fefeka</i> 'hard' ' <i>ēto / ēha</i> stink' <i>mahaki</i> 'finished, emptied, diseased'	Death
<i>hā'ele</i> 'royally-go, probably from <i>hā'ele</i> , "to toddle"	<i>me'a</i> 'aristocratically-go, lit. to thing'	<i>faka au ā</i> 'lit. move gradually', <i>mole mai/ atu</i> 'lit. move smoothly', <i>lava mai/ atu</i> 'lit. able to go/ come', <i>kātaki mai/ atu</i> 'lit. please go/ come'	' <i>alu</i>	<i>lele</i> 'run' <i>felelei</i> 'plural-run' <i>fekalei</i> 'derogatory for go'	' <i>ohua</i> 'burnt' <i>mahae</i> 'torn' <i>mafuke</i> 'parted' <i>maafi</i> 'spread' <i>puna</i> 'fly' <i>lele</i> 'run' <i>felelei</i> 'plural-run' <i>fekalei</i> 'derogatory for go'	Going
<i>taumafa</i> 'royally-eat'	' <i>ilo</i> 'aristocratically-eat, lit. to know'	<i>ma'u</i> 'lit. get', <i>tokoni</i> 'help'	<i>kai</i> 'eat'	<i>mama</i> 'lit. chew'	<i>fafa'o</i> 'to pack roughly', <i>ūpopi</i> 'to stuff into the mouth' <i>mama</i> 'lit. to chew'	Eating

– continued over page

WOT 1	WOT 2	WOT 3	WOT 4	WOT 5	WOT 6	Concept
<i>fale'alo</i> 'lit. house-of-royal-children'	<i>fale'alo</i> 'lit. house-of-chiefly-children' <i>tamaiki</i> 'children'	<i>fānau</i> 'children' <i>tamaiki</i> 'children'	<i>fānau</i> 'children' <i>kau leka</i> 'lit. dwarves'	<i>'uhiki</i> 'lit. animal young' <i>pikilau</i> 'lit. small kumara tubers growing on adventitious roots' <i>fanga ki 'i mātu 'a mo e finemātu 'a</i> 'little old-men and old-women'	<i>'uhiki</i> 'lit. animal young'	Children
<i>fakamālu</i> 'royally-bath, lit. to make moist'	<i>tākele</i> 'aristocratically-bath, lit. hit soil)	<i>kaukau</i> 'to bathe'	<i>kaukau</i> 'to bathe'	<i>mulumulu</i> 'lit. stripping movement of hand'	<i>mulumulu</i> 'lit. stripping movement of hand'	Bathing
<i>langi</i> 'royal-face/eyes, lit. sky'	<i>fofonga</i> 'aristocratic-face/eyes'	<i>tau'olunga</i> 'respectable-face/eyes, lit. hanging-above'	<i>mata</i> 'eyes/face'	<i>poko'imata</i> 'lit. skull-eyes/face'	<i>afi</i> 'lit. Fire' <i>fela</i> 'eyes' <i>poko'imata</i> 'lit. skull-eyes/face'	Eyes/Face
<i>tōfā</i> 'royally-sleep'	<i>toka</i> 'aristocratically-sleep, lit. (of boat) to run aground, to reach a calm or settled state' (Churchward 1959)	<i>po'uli</i> 'lit. to have the night'	<i>mohe</i> 'sleep'	<i>fokoutua</i> 'self-derogatory for sleep, lit. to be tall, erect, obvious'	<i>fokoutua</i> 'abusive for sleep, lit. to be tall, erect, obvious' <i>piziki</i> 'abusive for sleep, lit. (of eyelids) to stick'	Sleeping

they are not supposed to be used with people in general. These words should only be used in situations that call for either WOT 4 or WOT 6, regardless of the rank of the person being addressed. However, in the case of their being used, say, between friends, I would say they are being used deliberately for a special purpose, such as to make a joke or to tease.

* * *

The six ways of talking discussed above have different purposes. These purposes largely determine the choice of a way of talking. Yet, in actual use, ways of talking 1-5, as illustrated in many of the texts above, are overlapping and inclusive of one another in an interaction. This is especially true of longer non-interactive pieces such as public speeches and prayers. These contain a mix of features from the various ways of talking.

It is interesting to note that WOT 4-6 seem to be paradigmatically opposed to WOT 1-3. The latter make use of positive, favourable *heliaki* (indirectness through metaphor) hence avoidance of direct reference to body parts, excretion and sexuality. WOT 4-6 have a preference for direct mention, sometimes metonymically. WOT 6 in particular thrives on direct mention.

The use of the tripartite labelling of the speech levels commonly found in the literature needs to be reassessed for its effectiveness in giving us an understanding of the Tongan ways of talking about things. The lumping together of the abusive form, the polite form and the ordinary conversational form as synonyms under *kakai* words obscures the fact that these words are very different in terms of use, belonging as they do to different ways of talking which differ functionally as well as formally. Moreover, they are not simply *kakai* words but any speaker's words regardless of their rank. Also, addressees or referents can be anyone, again regardless of their rank. For the ways of talking are selected by a speaker depending on their purpose, e.g., if a speaker is angry with the king or chiefs, he may choose to use the abusive way of talking (WOT 6); if he wants to flatter his sweetheart, he may use the regal or chiefly way of talking (WOT 1 and 2); if he wants to develop solidarity with his *kāinga* 'extended family', he would use *lea fakamatāpule* (WOT 3); and *lea tavale* (WOT 5) can be used of and by the king and chiefs when they are regarded—or they regard themselves—as ordinary human beings. The six ways of talking discussed here are linguistic resources to be used when the need for them arises—when and if they are known.

I have used the phrase "ways of talking" to suggest that the distinctive resources of these six linguistic genres constitute full expressive subsystems in the way that Grace explicates them. "Talking" suggests open-endedness. Not only are the ways of talking "idiomatic" but they are also "productive" through the creation of new metaphor, hence new combinations of forms.

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NOTES

1. Note on the spelling of Tongan: The glottal stop is represented by an inverted apostrophe. It is a consonant and can make a difference in the meaning of words, e.g., *tu'i* 'king' and *tui* 'knee', *'uma* 'to kiss' and *uma* 'shoulder'. The macron over a vowel represents a long vowel. It can make a difference in the meaning of words, e.g., *kaka* 'to climb', *kakā* 'parrot', *kākā* 'to cheat'. A stressed final vowel in a noun means it is definite, e.g., *falé* 'the house', but *fale* 'a house'. A stress placed on the final vowel of a word preceded by an enclitic or one-syllable word indicates that the final vowel of the word is pronounced together with the enclitic, e.g., *motu 'á ni* 'this old-man' is pronounced /*motu 'ani*/.
2. In the case of Māori, however, the ability to speak formally on the *marae* remains a central skill even among those who hardly ever use Māori conversationally. Perhaps Māori society is exceptional in Polynesia in that *whai koorero* is a democratic skill—any Māori man, at least, can set his sights on becoming an orator.
3. In the re-translation of the New Testament (*Ko e Taulua* (Kōmiti Pulusi Tohitapu 'a Tonga 2006) most honorific and self-derogatory terms have been removed (from the earlier Moulton translation) in an effort to simplify the text to make it easier for younger Tongans growing up overseas to understand the Bible.
4. Considerable work has been done on the possible gulf between what is said and its function/purpose in the area of philosophy of language and in formal pragmatics, as in Archer, Aijimer and Wichmann 2012.
5. Notations used in examples and texts: A Tongan word followed by a hyphen then a number, e.g., *'Afiu-1* means the word belongs to WOT 1. Its translation also has the dash and the number, e.g., *Majesty-1*. Both the word and its translation are underlined so that the reader can more easily connect the two and understand the literal meaning of the Tongan word.

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ABSTRACT

In this article I distinguish six different “ways of talking” (after Grace 1981, 1987) in Tongan: kingly, chiefly, polite, self-derogatory, everyday and abusive ways of talking. I address the problem of words being traditionally ascribed to three speech levels of king, chiefs and commoners by recognising the existence of ways of talking

in which the three categories of words are re-distributed. Ways of talking are not just “lexical” but full expressive systems about conventionalised subject matters. They are linguistic resources to be selected for use depending on the speaker’s purpose and the social context.

Keywords: Tonga, sociolinguistics, speech levels, metaphor, self-derogatory and abusive speech