"HEAVY WORDS AND IMPORTANT SILENCES": KWARA'AE CHILDREN LEARNING THE INDIGENOUS EPISTEMOLOGY OF WILLINGNESS AND RANK

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THE PAST THREE DECADES HAVE SEEN RESURGENT INTEREST and attendant research in indigenous epistemology, methodology and pedagogy. However, to date there are few studies that specifically examine how indigenous groups actually "do" indigenous epistemology, methodology, and pedagogy. Contributing to the few studies that address this epistemic void, in this article we examine how Kwara'ae (Solomon Islands) parents enact, model, and directly teach their children social ontology and indigenous epistemological strategies in formal teaching–counseling sessions called *fa'amanata'anga*. Specifically, we analyze four examples in three families with children of three age groups, focused on the cultural theme of willingness/laziness and rank/seniority. In these sessions, parents and children are both doing indigenous epistemology and teaching/learning the epistemology of important concepts that underlie the cultural social organization and values of Kwara'ae society.

The growth of interest in and attendant studies on indigenous epistemology, methodology, and pedagogy over the past thirty years has brought

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close to one hundred pages of text. In this paper, primarily we will be concerned with "indigenous epistemology."

Some work in indigenous epistemology concentrates on critiquing conventional Western-based research strategies and assumptions, making the case for indigenous research strategies (e.g., Smith 1999; Henry and Pene 2001; Quanchi 2004; Royal 2004; Foley 2005/2006; Nabobo-Baba 2006). Many studies examine the nature of a particular indigenous epistemology or the intersection of indigenous and outsider perspectives and practices addressing important societal issues, such as ecology, development, and education (e.g., Chisholm 1996; Roberts 1997; Meyer 1998, 2004; Gegeo 1994, 1998, 2006; Watson-Gegeo and Gegeo 1994, 1999, 2002, 2004; Gordon 2003; Subramanyam 2003; Thaman 2003; Battiste 2005; Kaomea 2005; Waldrip, Timothy, and Wilikai 2005). Analysis of the discourse of indigenous, native, or local cultural members engaged in the practice of creating knowledge (e.g., Gegeo and Watson-Gegeo 2001) is less common. However, among conference papers, published books and articles, and discussion forums we did not find any that explicitly examined the direct teaching/learning of indigenous epistemology with children in naturally occurring discourse.

Drawing on contemporary sociocultural education theory and Kwara'ae indigenous theories of knowledge construction, we begin to address the foregoing gap in the research literature by examining how Kwara'ae (Solomon Islands) parents enact, model, and directly teach the ontology of values, person-hood, and behavior through indigenous epistemological strategies and, thereby, also model these strategies as they engage their children in formal sessions called fa'amanata'anga. We analyze four examples that occurred in the same three families, between children of three age levels and their parents, focused on the socioculturally important themes of willingness/laziness and rank/seniority, respectively. We had purposely chosen young children and teenagers to show that fa'amanata'anga is not just for adults but rather a life-long important cultural activity that starts from very early on in life and continues to old age. In fact, it is

Islands. Our work has taken place in several rural villages of West Kwara'ae near the Mala'ita Provincial capital of Auki. Villagers primarily support themselves by subsistence horticulture, supplemented by selling garden produce and copra, and some also work in low-paying wage-labor jobs nearby. West Kwara'ae has undergone rapid social change since World War II as the location of Mala'ita's provincial headquarters, primary urban center of Auki, major hospitals and an airfield and as a site for ongoing intense mission and development activity (Gegeo 1994; Watson-Gegeo and Gegeo 1994, 1995, 1999a; Gegeo and Watson-Gegeo 1996, 1999). In the past thirty years, as an integral part of de-colonization, a resurgence of interest in (traditional) culture [falafala, or *kastom* in Solomon Islands Pijin (SIP)] has spread through Kwara'ae, partly because of the failure of modernization and rural development projects based on Anglo-European epistemology and assumptions about what rural villagers need (see Gegeo 1998; Gegeo and Watson-Gegeo 2001).[2] Outsider-influenced local projects are tried periodically (such as small rice plantations) but nearly always fail, leaving behind ecological damage (such as swampland that has been drained, destroying the natural food chain, obliterating sections of virgin forest, and eliminating the source of building materials) (for examples, see Gegeo 1994; Gegeo and Watson-Gegeo 2002; Watson-Gegeo and Gegeo 2014). Since the 1980s, Kwara'ae villagers have been turning back to their own ways of constructing and analyzing knowledge as a basis for designing small-scale development projects. These projects, often focusing on cultural arts (dance, music, crafts) or knowledge (Gegeo and Watson-Gegeo 2001), garden products, and food animals (chickens, pigs), are conceptualized within and guided by the traditional goal of developing the whole person (*ngwae/kini ali'afu*). The concern with *ali'afu'anga* (the being whole, complete) is rooted in the goal of achieving *gwaumauri'anga* (lit., the being at the head of life), the essence of *mauri'a le'a* (the good life; Gegeo 1994, 1998).

Achieving wholeness means that one lives by, in fact embodies, the ten key or "ultimate" (Firth 1964, 174) values that constitute the *to'ofūna* (ontological foundation or essence) of Kwara'ae culture: *alafe'anga* (unconditional love, together with kin obligations); *'adofiku'anga* (join together, doing things together as one); *aroaro'anga* (peace, peaceful behavior);

discussion of this concept, see Gegeo and Watson-Gegeo 1996).

Kwara'ae people conceive of the self or person metaphorically as a "wasp's nest of many chambers" that include physical, emotional, spiritual, intellectual, social, and behavioral characteristics. Each chamber of the person is called *kula* (part, point, or place). The *kula ki* (parts) of a person who is living in completeness are also whole, good, well-formed, and fitting, in the "eyes of culture" (falafala is conceived as a thinking person related to but separate from individual human beings). However, a kula may also be *rora* (wrong) in the sense of being *firu* (entangled). It may be *'a'a* (deformed), or *'iribolo* (not fitting) in the sense of falafala's expectations. When one or more kula ki are so described, the person is *kakabara/kwalabasa* (meandering in thought or behavior, lacking foundation or dignity), or more seriously, *korenga'a* (half) in contrast to *ali'afu* (whole). The person is also described as *gwaubali'a* (one-sided head) or *ta'ita'ibali'a* (one-sided), that is, behaving as if only one side of the head (brain) is functioning (see Watson-Gegeo and Gegeo 2013). Because such problems in a person's thinking or behavior can spread like rings in a pool (*sifolia*) to the family, kin group, village, and beyond, a problematic kula can entangle (*firua*) social relationships that need to be *fa'asaga* (straightened out).

Fa'amanata'anga is the discourse activity in which attempts at the family, kin group, or village level are made to change individual and group thinking and behavior. It always takes place within or at the end of a dispute-settling village meeting, to bring people back together, reinforce the lessons learned through the disputing process, and emphasize cultural values (see also Watson-Gegeo 1996). Fa'amanata'anga is also undertaken on a regular—sometimes daily—basis in families who try to incorporate falafala into the center of their lives. In the West, we distinguish between "counseling" and "teaching." At least at the professional level, they are undertaken by separate specialists: the psychologist or trained counselor, and the school teacher. This distinction does not hold in Kwara'ae, where values and knowledge are closely intertwined. Moreover, fa'amanata'anga is held in high respect as *ābu* (sacred), and its mamana'anga (power, efficacy) is felt and seen only when it is offered as free family or community service instead of a commodity to be exchanged for monetary gain. This is despite the

addressing emotional and behavioral issues take place simultaneously. As the traditional equivalent to formal schooling (see Watson-Gegeo and Gegeo 1992, 1994; Gegeo and Watson-Gegeo 2002), these sessions are used to teach children, and sometimes adults, bodies of theoretical knowledge on gardening, house-building, and other skills; the discourse of cultural values and behavior; kin relationships and marriage practices; and indigenous philosophy, ontology and epistemology. In the process, participants also learn *ala'anga lalifu* (high rhetoric) register[3] and discourse, because it is the speech register in which fa'amanata'anga is always conducted. Any divergence from this register renders a fa'amanata'anga session kwalabasa (meandering, unimportant), and the Kwara'ae words used are described as *sasala* (light, lack weight) and *daukō* (be suspended) instead of kulu (heavy) and *fauto'o* (firmly sitting on the ground like a rock).

The Kwara'ae perspective on teaching and learning is congruent with newer sociocultural approaches in the West that—in contrast to the "cognitivist" and "decontextualized" approaches of conventional Anglo-Euro-American schooling—argue that all cognitive activity is situated in a specifiable context. "Situated learning' is a recently developed general theoretical perspective on the "relational character of knowledge and learning," the "negotiated character of meaning," and "the concerned (engaged, dilemma-driven) nature" of the learning activity for people involved in it. As educational anthropologists Lave and Wenger (1991, 33) argue, "there is no activity that is not situated," the whole person is involved in learning, and "agent, activity, and the world mutually constitute each other." Also, as the Kwara'ae understand, Lave and Wenger argue that mind is created in social interaction. Specifically, learning happens through participation in communities of practice through "legitimate peripheral participation" (Lave and Wenger, 1991). Standpoint Theory as propounded by feminist epistemologists and philosophers also support this perspective (Alcoff and Potter, 1993; Weedon, 1997). Legitimate peripheral participation refers to "the incorporation of learners into the activities of communities of practice, beginning as a legitimated (recognized) participant on the edges (periphery) of the activity, and moving through a series of increasingly expert roles as learners' skills develop" (Watson-Gegeo 2004, 341). Kwara'ae adults and

dinner in the evening and is signaled when one of the lead speakers (usually father or mother) switches registers to high rhetoric, and speaking in a grave tone of voice and with a serious facial expression, addresses the issue or individual that is the main topic of the session. On hearing the first utterance, everyone in the room immediately falls silent. Listeners focus their eyes on the floor or in mid-space and withdraw into the first level of meditation, seeing "all black" or "all white" as their minds withdraw inward.[4] They sit still and listen to what the speaker is saying, showing no affect, and concentrating on how the message applies to themselves and their internal and external kula ki—even if only one of them is being singled out for counseling. (For a detailed discourse analysis of speaking style, framing, format, and paralinguistics, see Watson-Gegeo and Gegeo 1990.) Fa'amanata'anga is metaphorically referred to as "heavy words and important silences" because of the cultural weight of the discourse and the silences that the speaker(s) open up from time to time, such that listeners can think about what is said.

Now, we turn to an examination of fa'amanata'anga examples, with the dual purpose of identifying indigenous epistemological strategies/argumentation structure and values, across three age levels (for a full analysis of epistemological strategies in adult discourse, see Gegeo and Watson-Gegeo 2001). The three families from whom these examples are drawn are among the nine families we followed intensively for more than a decade, focusing on children from birth to teenage. The Irosulia and Alita (pseudonyms) family samples were recorded by the parents without our being present. We had asked our co-researcher parents to turn on the tape recorder at home at dinnertime and let it run. Fa'amanata'anga that takes up behavioral issues does not happen when nuclear family outsiders are present. In some cases, the parents had forgotten the tape recorder was running, and in others they deliberately turned it on when they were intending to include fa'amanata'anga in the evening's activities. All the participating parents said that they wanted us to transcribe and examine these sessions because they believed that fa'amanata'anga is the most important form of family education. Indeed, as they always emphasized, it is the thing that *fa'a'o'olo kia* (sets us on the right path) vis-à-vis falafala (culture). In this sense, and as

village life demands it, children are expected to be "adult" as soon as possible, and to this end, girls (especially) are given bush knives (machetes) and begin to work in the gardens and household when they are three years old. Young children of both genders can sustain long periods of productive work through "adult mode performances"—in which they anticipatorily assume the behavior and role of an adult (Watson-Gegeo 2001). Gardening, carrying firewood and water long distances, cooking, building leaf-thatch houses, caring for infants, cleaning, all the tasks a family performs daily require that each member is productive. In Example 1, the father and mother play on the double meaning of *'aila'anga* as (being lazy, disliking, not wanting).[5]

Example 1—Irosulia Family

Susuli (girl, three years, three months), and her twin siblings Talia (girl, one year, nine months) and Fena (boy, one year, nine months). During dinner in the family kitchen one evening, the mother urges the children to eat so they can then take a bath and go to bed. Susuli replies that she "'aial" (doesn't want to). The father suggests in that case, "tell us a story." Susuli responds, "I 'aial that, too." The father immediately begins to fa'amanata:

1 fa: I say that nothing has its source in (comes from) laziness. (loud, rise then fall to mid low)
2 A bad thing is this 'aila'anga. (quietly, low)
3 'Aila'anga don't say it from your mouth. (mid pitch, low terminal fall)
4 mo: Tell the story of the crab and the rat (to Susuli; a well-known folktale). (detached tone)
5 Su: No. (low pitch, quietly subdued, musical rise-fall)
6 fa: 'Aila'anga for a female child, being 'aila is a bad thing. (rise-fall on 'aila'anga; rise to mid high)
7 You are a female child, don't be saying 'aila'anga. OK? (mid range)
8 Su: In that case what about An?

13 You are a woman, your body should not be inflexible. (mid falling, rapid)
14 Be very willing (to work). (mid fall to low)
15 Work in the sweet potato (garden). (imperative contour, falling pitch)
16 fa: OK, Fena? (rise-fall, rise-fall)
17 mo: Work in the home (house). (imperative contour, falling pitch)
18 Fe: (Yes).
19 fa: (Make the) fire. (rise-fall)
20 Fe: What?
21 mo: If you're 'aila (and) you're a female child, that's just bad. (slowing; mid high rise on second syllable of 'aila; emphatic rise-fall on second syllable of *ta'a* [bad]; terminal mid high rise)

Epistemologically, a topic is posed to *etangia* or *tala'aena* (start) fa'amanata'anga, like all focused-discussion *ala'anga ki* (meetings), usually by a declarative statement or a question. Irosulia's "I say that . . ." re-frames the interaction as fa'amanata'anga, which includes the understanding that he is now positioned not only as Susuli's father, but more important, as falafala itself. Falafala speaks through the teacher-counselor, making his/her words *kulu* (heavy) with authority and allowing everyone some emotional distance. The declaration "Nothing has its source in 'aila'anga" articulates a cultural and linguistic lesson: 'aila has a double meaning as the stative verb/adjective (be lazy and dislike, not want). Susuli had first said 'aila to refuse food, which politely delivered is acceptable, except that Susuli's tone was petulant, something that the parents allowed to pass. What brought on the counseling was her second use of 'aila to refuse her father's request to tell a story. Telling a story was posed as a task she was asked to perform, a responsibility for her to carry out, which she resisted. In this first level of instruction on social ontology, Susuli's father gives a simplified lesson on the underlying cultural model that connects laziness and disliking to the culturally important concept of *fuli* (source).

The father's lesson on social ontology and responsibility uses the episte-

not only models behavior for her twin siblings who are eighteen months younger than she, but her behavior is closely watched by the entire village (Watson-Gegeo and Gegeo 1989, 1999b).

In lines 1–2 and following, the father uses the epistemological strategy of *'ini te'ete'e suli ru'anga* (pinching little by little along a thing), taken from the gardening practice of finding the end of a vine by running the fingers down its length, which refers to systematic reasoning in laying out or evaluating a point. Because Susuli is very young, he is talking to her less at the practical level than at the discourse level. He is emphasizing not so much the actual doing of something as he is the way of talking or saying something. Fa'amanata'anga goes step by step discursively, in this regard. By the time Susuli is nine or ten years of age, he will emphasize the doing (*sasia*) rather than the saying (*saesaea*). Saying and doing can come in any order, of course, but by learning the vocabulary of epistemic discourse, Susuli will be able to understand and participate at higher levels. Also, the father is operating out of the cultural assumption that speaking and discourse shape thinking and behavior.

Her mother repeats the request to tell a story that Susuli knows well, but Susuli again expresses dislike. Her father then fa'amanata again, introducing the gender role for a woman, being *mau'udi* (willing) and working hard (although if he were counseling her brother Fena, he would have said the same thing about men). Susuli rapidly counters her father's assertion by an early use of the epistemological strategy of *saefilongisia* (question it to pieces), prefacing her question "What about An?" with the epistemological "if–then" marker of *'ira* (if what you have said is the case, then . . .). Nine-year-old An lives nearby, is a close friend of Susuli, and everyone in the village considers her to be lazy. Susuli's father counters that An doesn't get away with laziness, saying that her father *rekoa* (strikes) her. Rekoa is a dramatic term not applied to a parent spanking a child. Susuli's father knows that dramatic language is more likely to affect Susuli, whose own discourse style is very dramatic; but also he immediately provides a gloss for rekoa by saying *kwai'ia* (spanks, strikes) and then *uraura* (whips). (An's family was also in our sample, and spanking was extremely rare among

summarizes the gender and work part of the argument.

At the age of three years, we see that already Susuli understands how to participate in debate by raising counter evidence and has a beginning command of some epistemological strategies. Through legitimate peripheral participation, she is being incorporated into Kwara'ae values, ontology, and epistemology.

Example 2—Alita Family

Dalo (boy, eight years, four months), Manu (boy, fifteen years). This session occurred in the morning when the family was prevented from going to the gardens by heavy, persistent rain. The session followed two evenings in which fa'amanata'anga had focused on Manu. To relieve the tension created by the previous two sessions, throughout the current session the parents alternate between high rhetoric seriousness and low rhetoric humor. Here the father addresses both sons:

1 fa: What prevented you from going to (the garden)?
(high rise on "what," rapid, falling, decreasing volume, interrogative fall)
2 mo: You two explain it. (loud; rise-fall)
3 Ma: I was just 'aila (lazy). (mid high rise, emphatic)
4 fa: 'Aila (dislike) food? (i.e., don't you want to eat?).
(mid rising, invitational, polite)
5 mo: (laughs lightly)
6 fa: In that case you won't eat. (lightly, mid high)
7 mo: (laughs lightly)
(Sila, girl, three years old) approaches; several seconds of low conversation between Sila and her mother, untranscribable; then session resumes)
8 fa: (Is it) 'aila'a (laziness) that you are going to do well or eating that you are going to do well? (softly, sing-song, falling)

(mid high rise on "no"; low mid, almost chanted; non-terminal fall)

13 The children here (in this village) are very lazy.
(rapidly, condensed, swingingly, non-terminal fall)

14 mo: The children are not _____ down there. (mid pitch, quietly)

15 It's just she that (.) once a child listens to (follows) her, oh goodness! (mid with rise on "to her")

16 fa: They stand down there and look into other people's houses (hoping to find food). (high then falling; volume increasing)

17 You thought that if you looked in other people's houses, you'd eat any food? (mid high, quietly, urging)

18 But where's the food? (mid high; quietly, rapidly)

19 mo: (There) isn't any food. (mid high rise, fall)

20 fa: Food (that you've worked for) when you arrive home and look in the house, will be there. (emphatic rises/falls, quietly, rapidly, low)

21 But if you 'aial (dislike, lazy about) gardening, what are you going to eat? (mid high, quietly, quickly, chanted)
(The teaching continues, pointing out both teasingly and seriously that, because they have no money, work in the gardens is necessary. Famine and hunger are raised. Having money to buy food if living in an urban area is argued also to involve working hard. The topic is closed with:)

22 fa: Do you understand the things I have said? (mid high, measured, easy)

23 Da: (laughs nervously)

24 Ma: Yes, yes. (strongly, rapidly, rising)
(Fa'amanata'anga continues, interspersed with light humor, on several topics, and the session is closed with:)

25 fa: We say (tell you) something (and) you go do it quietly.
(high mid falling to low)

26 My friend Manu _____ laziness is not what I want.
(mid falling to low)

27 mo: That kind of thing I don't want to hear. (*kaen*, "kind" in SIP).
(quietly)

the boys are older than Susuli, he can move to "so what was your reason for not doing it?"—sasia (do it) being at this age emphasized over saesaea (say it). However, what he does want them to say—and when they do not respond, the mother states it directly—is a confession, an admission that they had not wanted to work, glossed by 'aila and extracted from the older son Manu in line 3 (Dalo remains silent, in embarrassment). Confession and admission are epistemic strategies in fa'amanata'anga that release tension for everyone and negate the need to detail all the evidence supporting the charge, in this case, that the boys had not worked in the gardens as required. Building on Manu's admission, the father plays on the double meaning of 'aila, making the same link among refusal, laziness, work, willingness, and food established by Susuli's father in Example 1. Now that their sons are older, the Alita parents are more targeted on shaping the reasoning of their sons than teaching them vocabulary. Therefore, when the boys do not answer the father's question in line 5, "Do you 'aila food?" he draws the if–then conclusion himself, using 'ira—survival is the issue, we work in order to eat in order to live. The key strategies in this session are the systematic argumentation of *'ini te'ete'e sulia* and saefilongisia.

The second theme of the session is introduced by the mother as a logical follow-up to the first. The reason the boys have not been working is that they are "listening to, following" other children in the village where they live. Lately some of these children have been implicated in stealing food from other people's gardens and minor vandalism. Like Irosulia, the Alita parents use counter-examples to emphasize the nature of appropriate behavior. Alita uses the culturally charged term kelefa'i to describe other village children's looking into people's houses for food (which they would not need to do if they worked in the family gardens). Kelefa'i is the cultural violation of peering into a house usually by a male to spy on a woman, as in the English "peeping tom." It is parallel to Irosulia's use of dramatic language to persuade Susuli.

The session closes by linking doing with saying. The father states in line 26, "My Manu, I don't want 'aila'anga (laziness)," and the mother completes the thought in line 27 with "That kind of thing I don't want to hear."

Robin and his sister-in-law Mere, in whose house he lives. Robin, Mere, and the other adult (but as yet unmarried) brothers and sisters of Sale are all present. Strips of discourse typical of this session are selected here as representative of the lead speaker's style of argumentation. The only speaker in this session is Dalea, a highly respected village elder:

1 If whatever Robin needs and asks you to do, or Mere says, "Go and bring water (in this container), Sale," or "Go do this thing, Sale." (rapidly; higher pitch on quotatives)
2 That is obedience, it is the *gwalona* (source) of the family. (mid high, rise-fall to first pause, mid pitch, level)
3 The source of the family inside the family is obedience or peace. (low pitch)
4 OK thus (if) your sister-in-law says something, willingness is the good thing. (low, mid rise to high, rapidly)
5 If you see that there isn't any firewood, go cut it. (low, rapid, decelerating to "go"; high rise-fall on "cut it")
6 If you see hoeing—if the garden needs weeding, go weed it.
7 Because these things are ours (i.e., these are the basic things we do to live), my son. (mid high, falling to low; rapidly)
8 The day that you work in the garden, you have to also really work. (mid pitch, fall to low)
9 All right, the day that your sister-in-law if it—it's difficult for you all. (accelerating, mid rise to mid high on "difficult," then fall to low)
10 If Robin and all of them go to (work for) the (community) union and she finds herself in difficulty like this, "Oh Sale, you go look for (bring from the garden) some potato for us." (higher pitch on quotative)
11 Or "Stay with the two children there so I can go look for potato for us." (higher pitch on quotative)
12 You listen to (obey) her because your food is down there (at her house). (mid-high rise to high on "to her," then fall to middle pitch)
13 Making yourself important is bad. (middle pitch, emphatic)
14 Making yourself important is bad. (as line 13, more quietly)
15 Fitting (it should be that) you are humble—you listen to words (obey),

little on these kulas (points, places) to you.
(mid pitch falling to very low)
18 That's all, Sale. (mid high, rise-fall)
19 That's your kula.

Example 3 begins in the middle of a session. Dalea unexpectedly had etangia or tala'aena this session during an evening family gathering by switching to high rhetoric, assuming a grave facial expression, and saying, "Yes, I want to say something to you, my son," his eyes on Sale. The room immediately fell silent, everyone assumed a serious facial expression and lowered their eyes to the floor. Children were shushed by their parents. Dalea might have chosen to question Sale and others or engage them in conversation, but the single-speaker participation structure is particularly typical of adult fa'amanata'anga (at nineteen years of age, Sale is in the *na'ona doe'a* (in front of adultness) stage of life, eighteen to twenty-three years approximately). At this age, refusal to work is not only about survival (eating) but also about a young man or woman's future. Therefore, the speaker addresses a different level of abstraction, and an additional set of issues in social ontology beyond that in Examples 1 and 2. Dalea's main point can be summarized as, "Your social standing in the community later is shaped by what you do now." The seeds of this lesson are also in Example 1, of course, in the unstated concern about Susuli's social standing.

Three epistemological strategies are used in this example. Dalea systematically lays out how Sale should behave, using *'ini te'ete'e sulia* (e.g., lines 1, 4–6) and *didisuli ru'anga* (the chipping along a thing to produce a design), a metaphor from manufacturing stone tools in the past. It implies the careful chipping away with arguments one by one until a conclusion is reached (e.g., lines 2–3, 6, 7). The third strategy Dalea uses is manata kali ru'anga, interrogating a piece of evidence by putting it in the center and examining it in concentric circles. Dalea integrates all three of these strategies such that movement through the discourse is seamless. Through narrative and quoted speech, he enacts other people's emotions and reactions to Sale's behavior. Although the others do not speak, their concerns

figures prominently in Dalea's argument. During the forty-five minutes of this session, he elaborated on the two primary terms for source, fuli and gwalo. In line 3, *gwalona tua'a* (the source of the family) is said to be aroaro'anga (peace, peaceful behavior), one of the ten key values mentioned earlier. Subsumed under aroaro'anga is *ro'ongiru'anga* (obedience; lit., the heeding of thing); *ro'o* is a reduplicated form implying continuous hearing and following). A second key value is enoeno'anga, posed as the opposite of making oneself (falsely) important, or being proud. Here is another lesson in gender relationships, in that Dalea is telling Sale he should obey and respect his sister-in-law. *Mau'udi'anga* (willingness) is a "good thing" toward his sister-in-law, Dalea tells Sale, because he is living in his elder brother and sister-in-law's household, and they take care of him.

Lines 17–19 closes Sale's phase of fa'amanata'anga (Dalea goes on to fa'amanata two other sons on different issues). In doing so, he places the entire lesson in the context of the *kula* system: what he has just said is Sale's kula within the session, his kula within the community and family, and is about the internal kula ki in Sale himself. In principle, he is addressing ethical and moral issues in Kwara'ae social ontology from which Sale had strayed.

Lessons on Rank and Seniority

Laziness/willingness and rank/seniority are often closely associated in fa'amanata'anga, as in Example 3 where refusal to work was also a refusal to obey an elder brother and his wife. Seniority is a very important organizing principle in Kwara'ae society. Within the tribe or clan and related descent groups, kin lines (including extended families) are hierarchically ranked as senior or junior. Within the family, adults are senior to children, and older siblings senior to younger. The eldest son of the nuclear family is the head of his sibling group and will become head of the family on the death of the father. The oldest daughter also has a great deal of authority in the household because of her supervisory role in family work. The

child is called *malangela'anga*, (childishness). Her parents use a variety of techniques to stop her fussing—including comparing her to the younger twins, who are behaving well. When all fails, Susuli's father begins to fa'amanata. Simultaneously, the mother is talking to the twins and appears not to be listening to her husband but is paying attention, as becomes apparent:

1 fa: Susuli. (imperative mid pitch with rise; style used in fa'amanata'anga)
2 mo: Eat prawn (until you're) full (to Fena and Talia).
(mild directive)
3 fa: Go away from it (i.e., stop it)—if you—you fuss and things
(hesitatingly, high mid, decelerating, ending high rise)
4 mo: Very good (to Fena) (loudly, clapping, cheerfully, invitingly; mid high, fall to low)
5 fa: these two persons here will follow you, OK?
(accelerating, rapidly, terminal rise)
6 They'll follow you and then you'll all . . . (very rapid, mid falling)
7 mo: Very, very good (to Fena).
(mid high rise, fall to low, invitational repeating contour)
8 Fe: Very, very good. (as 7, fall to mid)
9 fa: You are a *'a'ana* (senior, mature) person, you're 'a'ana now.
(rapid, mid high, rise on stresses, terminal fall to low)
10 mo: [_____/ (to Fena)
11 fa: Don't cry and fuss. (high mid, swing-song)
12 Don't *malangela* (behave childishly). (lower)
13 Fe: _____ (shouts, unclear)
14 fa: Don't be childish. (strong rise-fall)
15 mo: _____/(to Fena)
16 fa: (Don't behave childishly in front of the little children.) (low, rapidly)
17 Ta: Mother, _____.
18 mo: (Go to) sleep. (rise-fall, invitational contour)

24 fa: darkness with heavy rain, strong wind, cold.
(mid rise, strong stresses, low pitch)
25 Fe: (babbling)
26 mo: *Ma'e gasu* with pitch darkness. (mid pitch, moderate speed, clear voice)
27 fa: Pitch darkness with hurricane.
(mid to mid high, moderate pace, clear voice, terminal tonal detachment)
28 mo: (to Fena)
29 fa: Thus, no; if when they cry and fuss you say to them like this, "Hey, don't you all cry again like that."
(louder, accelerating; mid high, fall to low)
30 mo: Crying is bad—don't teach them that.
(imperative, rasp on "bad") (*lanim* "teach" from SIP)
31 Fe: Don't (to Talia).
32 fa: If you cry like that (high mid, quietly, rapid)
33 mo: then
34 fa: (if) you cry like that, they will follow it.
(sustained terminal tone)

Earlier in the evening, Susuli's parents played on the double meaning of 'aila; here they play on the double meaning of 'a'ana. Beginning at about age two years six months, children who are responsible, polite, and insightful, and whose adult mode performances accomplish work in the spirit of enthusiasm and caring, are praised by "You are (almost) 'a'ana now!" meaning grown up, mature. The phrase endorses and entices children into appropriate behavior and working well. Susuli's caregivers frequently praise her this way, and she is capable of very elaborate and creative adult mode behavior. 'A'ana praise to a child occurs primarily in low rhetoric discourse and contexts. Now in high rhetoric, Susuli is learning that 'a'ana has a second meaning, senior in rank.

The father etangia or tala'aena this segment by addressing Susuli directly, and his opening example that is expanded over the segment is

twins will "follow" (imitate) Susuli's behavior. At age three years, Susuli should be beyond *angi kore* (cry and fuss), which is malangela (be childish), as they have pointed out to her before.

Propositional logic, and if–then possible outcomes for general and specific behaviors, are among parents' most used epistemological strategies with children. Causal relationships, traced out through 'ini te'ete'e sulia strategies, underlay the Alita father's, "You garden so that you eat" in Example 2. Susuli has a flair for theatrical, precocious discourse in her own adult mode performances. Thus, although it is an epistemological strategy typically used with children, Susuli's parents are especially justified in turning to metaphor and imagery to dramatically express what it would mean to family life if Talia and Fena follow Susuli in childish fussing. The metaphors are co-constructed by both parents alternating sentences, as happened in the earlier Alita segment (Example 2). The father states that the result of Susuli and her siblings all fussing together will be ma'e gasu (darkness with heavy rain, strong wind, and cold). The mother poetically repeats this metaphor and builds on it with *ma'e rodo* (pitch darkness). The father poetically repeats ma'e rodo and in a phrase structured to be parallel with the mother's, adds *kauburu* (storm); his intonation suggests hurricane and devastation. The parents' parallel constructions not only give the resulting discourse coherence and cohesion but also indicate their agreement on the points they have set out. Moreover, their co-constructions illustrate a major conversational (and especially high rhetoric) routine in epistemological discourse for showing agreement by outright repeating, or building on a partially repeated portion of, the previous speaker's utterance.

Example 5—Alita Family

Same evening, before Example 2, the father and mother fa'amanata their daughter Tatali (twelve years, seven months) with the whole family present (including Sila, three years, seven months). Sessions in this household often focus on the key cultural values of fangale'a'anga (sharing) and giving. Although very poor, this family is known for their generosity, and tends to

1 fa: What you did, don't do it again, Li (Tatali).
(mid-high falling to low)

2 I say it now to you.
(low volume, measured speech, moderate pace, terminal rise)

3 I am always saying it to you. (as line 2, terminal fall)

4 Anything, somebody asks you for, wait instead for me or your mother (to return).
(mid rise to mid high and then fall on "anything," rhythmically; decelerating with rise to mid high on "asks you for"; rise-fall on "wait"; terminal fall to low)

5 mo: She is shocked and looks away. (laughs softly, humorously)

6 Tatali (say) this, "Not my mother!" (she does not want the responsibility, either). (low pitch and volume, seriously)

7 fa: I'm not going to spank you. (mid, level contour, gently)

8 You do it after this, I'll spank you. (as line 7, slight fall)

9 You are just a child. (mid high, terminal fall)

10 Everything here in the house, I am 'a'ana (senior, i.e., in charge of).
(mid pitch, terminal fall to low)

11 Somebody comes and asks for something, (you say) "Oh, wait for my father (who) is gone."
(low rise on "somebody," fall; low rise on "asks for"; low fall on "something"; mid high rise, raspy, soft on "oh"; mid high falling, very soft, imitating girls' speech)

12 Don't just reach out and give the thing away.
(mid high falling to low)

13 Is that thing yours so that you can just give it away?
(mid high, then low and accelerating, terminal rise to mid high)

14 Si: (whines, unclear)

15 mo: What else is going on here, people?
(low, quietly, to Sila; at "here" accelerating)

16 I 'aila (dislike) hearing that kind of thing (i.e., don't make noise during fa'amanata'anga) (rapidly)

17 fa: Here in the house and garden. (high mid, fall to mid)

22 fa: (speaks aside to another child)
23 mo: You say, "That one is bad." (very softly, mid pitch, rapidly)
24 fa: (speaks aside to another child)
25 mo: You say, "This one is good." (mid, slowly)
26 Si: (speaking to father) (8.5 sec)
27 mo: If you cannot tell the bad from the good, oh!
there's nothing there.
(softly, dramatically; rise on "good" after "oh!", constricted voice)

This lesson on seniority addresses boundaries and balance. Fangale'a'anga (giving, sharing) is a very important value, but boundaries must be placed on the extent to which one shares, especially given the Kwara'ae emphasis on the responsibility of the nuclear family to provide its own subsistence and to care for its own children and elderly adults. In contrast to a child's early tendency to not want to share, Selina shares too readily, is too generous. The extreme poverty of her family intensifies why this generosity is problematic. Using the epistemological strategy of 'ini te'ete'e sulia, the father is demarcating one aspect of boundaries on giving: decisions about what to give are made by seniority. This lesson illustrates the importance of the history of the discourse in understanding a particular fa'amanata'anga session. Similar to Bakhtin's (1981) "dialogic principle"—that "all discourse is in dialogue with prior discourses on the same subject, as well as with discourses yet to come, whose reactions it foresees and anticipates" (Todorov 1984, x)—the interpretation of any fa'amanata utterance must be made in the context of previous and anticipated sessions on the same or related issues. Lessons are adjusted to a child's current level of understanding from previous applicable lessons, with the intent of extending those lessons to bring new understanding. The history of the discourse thus qualifies the meaning of a given lesson. The issue of generosity and sharing has been addressed many times in this family's fa'amanata'anga sessions and by punishment (the parents describe their own discipline style as strict—literally, quick to strike/spank').

Example 5 is a small portion of the actual session, throughout which the

village where the Alita family lives is generally egalitarian, this family observes sharper, more traditional gender lines. Also, we hear Alita's wife endorse her position—in a repeating routine (Watson-Gegeo and Gegeo 1986a) with three-year-old Sila in which she tells the girl to say, "not my mother" (line 6)—jokingly refusing the responsibility of deciding whether to respond to requests to give when the father is not present. The issue of giving has been a point of contention between Alita and his wife in the past. Sila does not repeat because her mother has not used an invitational intonation contour that would tell her she is supposed to repeat (Watson-Gegeo and Gegeo 1986a). Putative repeating routines like the one in line 6 are often used in high rhetoric contexts as a way of communicating information not part of the high rhetoric talk, such as when a woman requests betel-nut from another woman across the room through a repeating routine with a child (the child may or may not repeat, but the routine disguises the words as the child's and, thus, does not inappropriately interrupt the ongoing high rhetoric talk). Here, the mother uses this strategy to disengage herself from the responsibility laid on her by her husband in line 4 ("... wait for me or your mother ..."), and to inform her children of her disengagement.

Both parents are involved as speakers in this session, but in contrast to their efforts in Example 2, are not co-constructing arguments. Instead, the father speaks first as the mother deals with children's interruptions (such as in lines 15–16). Also, she jokingly and seriously comments on her husband's discourse, not only in the repeating routine, but in line 5 when, sitting near Tatali in the darkened room, she sees that the girl is close to tears. By commenting on her daughter's emotional reaction in a humorous way, she both informs her husband of the girl's feelings and lightens the tone of the session. When the father has finished what he wanted to say, the mother takes her turn to fa'amanata Tatali about the girl's behavior when Tatali stayed for several weeks as a paid babysitter with the mother's brother in another village. Now, it is the father's turn to deal with interruptions by the younger children.

The mother closes the session with a direct statement of what fa'amanata'anga is about: "We Kwara'ae fa'amanata our children in the

logical strategies toward that end.

Example 6—Dalea Family

The following excerpt occurred in the same session as Example 3, prior to the foregoing sequence. Here Dalea directly addresses the issue of seniority:

1 Our older sibling is our older sibling, friend.
(rise to mid high on first "sibling"; fall-rise on second "sibling"; then fall; rhythmical)
2 We should not—today we shouldn't be following, as the saying goes, "Following in the footsteps (of people different) from us."
(low, moderate pace, accelerating on quotative)
3 Any person comes along and you just follow him.
(rapid, low, quiet but emphatic)
4 Any person comes along and you just follow him. (as above, line 3)
5 No, you're 'a'ana (mature) now. (as above, line 3; with emphasis on "mature")
6 Fitting (it should be that) you and your older siblings are one.
(low, rising to mid high, terminal fall)
7 *Ne'*e (that) you all are one. (ne'e in this case means "that which we have been discussing, as culturally defined"—it references the discourse) (rise-fall)
8 All right don't think of yourself—don't think of yourself like this, Sale, "Oh, I am grown up now, I don't listen to/obey any married woman or anyone." (mid high; low rise on "oh"; quotative; rapid, chanted, decelerating at end)
9 No, when it comes to the day that something happens to you (=you want to marry), your older brother (will be the one to pay the bride-price), friend. (low rise on "no"; fall)
10 Or the day something happens to you (=you want to marry), your

work; and the place of each theme in the kula system. The two meanings of 'a'ana are also raised by Dalea, who argues that the demands of 'a'ana'anga override the privileges of being an 'a'ana person, as Sale positions himself. In fa'amanata'anga with Susuli, the Irosulia parents characterized the relationship between siblings from the standpoint of the older child's responsibility to the younger. In contrast, Dalea emphasizes the responsibilities of the younger to the older. Using the epistemological strategy of manata kali ru'anga, Dalea develops his argument in the larger epistemic space of sibling relationships across the life-span. Sale should work for his brother Robin and his sister-in-law Mere because the elder brother arranges marriages for his younger brother(s), and bears the greatest responsibility for paying the resulting bride-price. Mere's family will contribute to the bride-price, too, and she herself will lead the contingent of women who bring the bride back to the village and help her settle in. Therefore, willingness to work for an elder brother and sister-in-law are not merely their due by virtue of seniority but an investment on the part of younger siblings in their own future.

Fangale'a'anga "sharing" and *kwairokisi'anga* (reciprocity) are the overarching facts of Kwara'ae sibling relationships, illustrated and explained in various ways through fa'amanata'anga throughout life. The inevitability of sibling relationships is stressed in line 7. The implication of "you all are one" (*kaul ne' kaul na'*) is that sibling relationships are continuous and permanent. Robin and Sale are now what they have always been, and will continue to be, by biological and cultural definition. Line 7 is structurally parallel to line 1 ("our older brother is our older brother"), and elsewhere in the session to "our sister-in-law is our sister-in-law"—poetic formulations in high rhetoric signaling that they are principles of falafala. Thus, these formulations gain some of their rhetorical and epistemological force from their representation as ancient, permanent cultural principles that continue to shape the everyday reality of Kwara'ae family and community life. Dalea completes the parallel formulations by addressing Sale as *ngwade* (friend). Ngwade in this discourse location is emphatic, here as an expression of pain

To the contrary, Kwara'ae children—and Mala'ita children generally—grow up in traditions that emphasize not only learning by watching and doing but also in language-mediated interactions, including fa'amanata'anga. Legitimate peripheral participation is a strategy used throughout family and community high rhetoric and low rhetoric contexts to engage interest and develop skills. Its effectiveness for learning how to do epistemology in the context of fa'amanata'anga is represented in Sale's older brother Bulumae, who married at twenty-one years when he was just two years older than Sale in the above examples. Three years later when Bulumae and his wife's first child was a year old, Bulumae began fa'amanata'anga with the boy, in short "proto-counseling" or "counseling moments" (Watson-Gegeo and Gegeo 1986b) focused on sharing and helping. His style and approach were a re-voicing (Bakhtin 1981) of his father Dalea when Bulumae was growing up.

As an essential speech event for teaching, modeling, and practicing indigenous epistemology, the roots of fa'amanata'anga lie far in the past. In interviews with women and men who were born before 1920, we were told that, although the topics taken up in fa'amanata'anga now include issues and problems that arise from living in a globalized world, the doing of fa'amanata'anga itself is ancient and is a central element of Kwara'ae identity. They still recalled memorable fa'amanata'anga sessions with their grandparents (born in the 1800s). The persistence of this epistemologically rich event may also be related to the fact that it is not just for children. Fa'amanata'anga is a life-long social praxis: even elders can be counseled by those younger or by other elders. Gwaunga'i to gwaunga'i counseling is called *kwaifa'amanata'anga*, where *kwai-* is a reciprocal prefix indicating that the talk goes back and forth between equals. That is, kwaifa'amanata'anga is always dialogic (Bakhtin 1981), whereas fa'amanata'anga tends to be monologic in presentation and participatory only when and if the *ngwae/kini ni fa'amanata* (male/female counselor) calls for it or allows it.

In this paper, we have attempted to show the doing of indigenous epistemology and the teaching/learning of epistemological strategies in the discourse of fa'amanata'anga in three families, with children and youth

standing of where he or she belongs in the genealogical net"—and, thus, his/her rank—"is directly connected to the kinds of knowledge and social responsibilities he or she has," and "Genealogy thus becomes a framework for knowledge" (Gegeo and Watson-Gegeo 2001, 69). It is not surprising, then, that fa'amanata'anga is a primary context for teaching the many complexities of genealogy and kinship obligations, and ultimately Kwara'ae *tua lalifu'anga* (socio-ethical ontology).

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NOTES

1. *Mala'ita* is the Kwara'ae name for Malaita island, a contraction that derives from *Mala* + *baita* (large Mala) distinguishing the main island from small Mala that today is called South Malaita. Kwara'ae speakers metathesize most words in speech, centralize vowels and dipthongs, and switch "f" to "h," but always preserve the glottal stop. Thus, Mala'ita becomes *Mal'iat* in speech. When we refer to the island, we use the Kwara'ae spelling, but when we refer to the province, we use the national spelling of Malaita. For other Kwara'ae words and phrases in this article, we use the citation or underlying form except when we directly quote speech, where we accurately reproduce what a given speaker said.

2. When we refer to falafala as "tradition" or "culture," we do so within the understandings of contemporary scholarship on the hybridity, fluidity, and imagined nature of culture. Kwara'ae people are aware that falafala varies across districts, villages, families, and even individuals and incorporate those differences (or the possibilities of them) in their own process of epistemological discussion in group meetings. By no means do they believe that their culture is unchanged by history. Also, they make a distinction between indigenous culture (and its evolution) and indigenized aspects of outside cultural influences and practices (Gegeo and Watson-Gegeo 2002).

3. An important discourse skill is fluency in ala'anga lalifu (speech importantly rooted), the discourse register we call "high rhetoric." High rhetoric is spoken in all contexts and

4. In Eastern meditation, such visual experiences occur in *pratyahara*, the channeling of consciousness, an intermediate state in which the mind is open to internal and external suggestion (Mishra 1959, 66–70). Kwara'ae people describe this state in fa'amanata'anga as *gwagwa rorongo* (black + rpl = nothing; hear + repl), that is, absolutely still to the point of nothing or emptiness. Also, it relates to the semi-sacredness of these sessions.

5. Transcription conventions are as follows: underlining indicates strong primary stress; / utterance final; :: lengthened or held vowel, the number suggesting length; /= latching (no break between the utterance and the one that follows); (.) pause less than 1 second; (2) pause, length in parens; [connects where overlapping utterances begin; {} encloses best guess of a word or phrase obscured by extraneous noise; _____ untranscribable utterance; ? interrogative rise of the voice; (laugh) vocal gestures as labeled; ! emphatic expression paralinguistically marked; + bound morpheme.

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MASCULINITIES, MILITARISM, AND THE CONSTRUCTION OF GENDER IN CONTEMPORARY FIJI: PERFORMANCES OF PARODY AND SUBVERSION AS FEMINIST RESISTANCE

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THE PERFORMANCE OF MASCULINITIES, GENDERED IDENTITIES, and norms has become inextricably linked with a broader culture of militarism in contemporary Fiji. Militarism is a creeping, cumulative process by which "a person or a thing comes to be controlled by the military or comes to depend for its well-being on militarized ideas" (Enloe 2000, 3). Intersecting influences contributing to cultures of militarism in Fiji include established cultural connections celebrating the role of warriors in Fiji, patriarchal cultures that celebrate rigid and highly militarized notions of maleness, Fiji's colonial history, Fiji's history of post-independence coups, and increasing levels of militarization.

Militarism as an ideology helped British colonial powers to establish the idea of Fiji as a cohesive, unified nation state to which all Indigenous Fijian's belonged, and which should inspire loyalty and sacrifice from its members. The military in contemporary Fiji is a formidable social and cultural force. In 2005, the standing army was estimated at ten thousand, making Fiji the most militarized[1] nation in the contemporary Pacific (Teaiwa 2005, 202). Many people in the indigenous Fijian community have extended family members with military connections, and indigenous families can almost invariably trace connections to the Fiji Army or Navy, the British Army, or to UN peacekeeping forces. In addition to involvement