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FEILOA‘IGA MA TALANOAGA MA ‘ĀIGA: TALANOA WITH FAMILY IN THE ARCHIVES

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ABSTRACT: This paper applies the Talanoa methodology as an archival approach to historical objects. This engagement with archives departs from, or perhaps expands, Timote Vaoleti’s initial envisioning of Talanoa as an approach for research into educational and social issues confronting Pacific people in Aotearoa. This shift employs Talanoa in the context of interdisciplinary, historical, literary, Pacific studies and Indigenous studies research. In particular, I am interested in the underexamined potential of Talanoa in particular disciplinary sites and objects of study. This paper engages Talanoa as a philosophical paradigm (methodology) and a research method in the study of ancestors’ feau (messages) in the London Missionary Society (LMS) Gagana Sāmoa (Samoan language) newspaper *O le Sulu Samoa* (*Sulu*). I argue that the *Sulu* archival record is a palimpsest through which we can see the multiple articulations of Indigenous presence that exist within and beyond the page. Firstly, Talanoa renders these embodied memories in a feiloa‘iga ma le tälatalanoaga ma ‘āiga (meeting and gathering of family) as a contact zone, where descendants reconcile affective feelings and emotions. Secondly, as a method Talanoa produces a generative dialogical Samoan reading between texts, memory recall and oral histories. Ultimately, although conversations about Pacific research methodologies have been dominated by social science disciplines and thinkers, this paper argues that in the context of archival and historical research, Talanoa methodology can be conceived as a highly productive facilitator for embodied conversations with and between relatives that cross spatio-temporal, national, cultural, ideological, corporeal and disciplinary dimensions.

Keywords: Talanoa, archives, Samoan historiography, *O le Sulu Samoa*, church periodicals

Excerpt from the obituary for Tiakono Vailuutai (Deacon of Vailu‘utai) Faleū Tuigamala T., written by Moreli Alama F.S., 1961:

Sa iloa o ia i le Matagaluega ma le Ekalesia i le faautauta tonu, ma e vave manino lona mafauau, ona o ia uiga, sa iloga ai lona tomiai i le auauna atu i le Atua i ana mea na fai. Sa fai o ia ma tinā faamoemocina o faifeau uma sa latou feagai.

She was well known as a judicious authority in the district as well as the church. Her intellect was sharp and clear, and this was demonstrated in the many forms of service she performed for God. She was a honourable matriarch, on whom many faifeau [pastors] depended.



Figure 1. Fale'u's obituary in the Aperila (Apr.) 1961 edition of *O le Sulu Samoa* newspaper, written by Moreli Alama F.S. (Faifeau Sāmoa).

I remember the “jolt”: a blow to the moa, the centre of my being. Awash with warmth, it worked its way into my chest, smothered my breath before trailing in its wake a stifled gasp of pained awe. Auē! The physical reaction was palpable. How startling it was to find, in a foreign place and under such unusual circumstances, my great-grandmother, Faleū Tuigamala, and my grandfather, Moreli Alama, in the *Aperila* (Apr.) 1961 issue of the London Missionary Society newspaper *O le Sulu Samoa* (*Sulu*) (Fig. 1). In the austere, upper stained-glass floor of a nineteenth-century church library in Ōtepoti Dunedin, Aotearoa New Zealand, encased in a Samoan language publication and so far from the balmy Samoan motu (islands) where they lived full and prosperous lives, I found them—or had they found me? We sit, nestled between tall rimu¹ bookcases bathed in the dimming autumn light, child and tua‘ā (ancestors), silent and contemplative in a daze of profound loss, joy and bewilderment.

I am moved by Alama’s sense of duty and humbled by my presumptions as he introduces me to Faleū through stoic stories of Spanish flu survival, the shifting stations of her role within the church and the solemnity of her final funeral service. While Alama was a known village pastorate leader and *Sulu* writer, the happy figure who appears in Figure 2 depicted what little I knew of Faleū. Perhaps my consternation was attributed to the lost memory of



Figure 2. Faleū Viliamu Tuigamala (centre) and her sons, Rev. Peni Tuigamala (left) and Tuiloma Vilia Tuigamala (right), at the 1953 LMS Mulifanua church dedication, led by another son, Rev. Filemoni Tuigamala. Photo courtesy of Faleū Sapapali‘i Savaiinaea.

her, the incongruous setting or the circumstances of the find. Perhaps it was even the weather on that particular day, in Ōtepoti Dunedin: an often snow-capped Victorian heritage city established by Scottish colonial settlers during the nineteenth century on Kāi Tahu whenua (sovereign land of Kāi Tahu, the local Māori tribe). The grandeur of the church library obscured earlier memory of an Indigenous presence, despite Māori kupu (words) affixed to the library shelves above us. Rather than affirming a mana whenua (Indigenous authority over land) presence and connection to the vast Te Moana-nui-a-Kiwa (Pacific Ocean), of which Aotearoa was a part, the shiny brass catalogue signs ironically accentuated a cultural and geographical dispossession.

Similarly, the *Sulu*, a Gagana Sāmoa (Samoan language) publication, was out of place. Despite Faleū and Alama's presence in this rich Indigenous Samoan text, the location of the archive itself in the Ōtepoti library was disorienting. Many questions arose. While Alama's role as a *Sulu* writer was known to the family, I was baffled by Faleū's presence. How is she here in this text? I recalled her neither as a teacher nor as a church leader, which would have explained her presence in the missionary paper I was investigating (Fig. 3). Moreover, how is this archive, resplendent with other Pacific voices, so removed from the people and fanua (land) who have yearned for them for so long? Faleū's dislocation was compounded by her name, bestowed upon her to honour her birth village of Faleū on Manono Island, Sāmoa, where her faifeau (pastor) parents served during the nineteenth century. She, me, and others, it would seem, were unmoored.

It became apparent that Dunedin city, the grandeur of the library and the *Sulu* archive were colonial artefacts that had travelled through entangled British circuits, underpinned by the logics of empire and upheld by associated discourses of European supremacy. This church archival network recorded and contained an Indigenous presence which my body was reacting to in unsettling ways.

The voluminous *Sulu* newspaper archive was primarily written in Gagana Sāmoa, with German and English added in the back page to placate the European missionaries and colonial administrators of the time (Fig. 3). It contained canonical LMS church annals, which were produced by generations of Samoan, Tuvaluan, Niuean, Rarotongan, Tokelauan, I-Kiribati, English, German, American, British and New Zealand faifeau, misionare (missionaries), faiā'oga (teachers), tama'ita'i fōma'i (nurses) and ti'ākono (deacons), many of whom formed the leadership of the various LMS Sāmoa church committees in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. While the *Sulu*, launched in 1839, was one of the earliest Samoan newspapers to publish Indigenous Pacific writers and enjoy a significant Pacific circulation and readership, most of its rare and extant copies are found in metropolises outside of Sāmoa.



Figure 3. *Sulu* newspaper issues in the Alexander Turnbull Collection, National Library of New Zealand.

TALANOA IN THE ARCHIVES

My strong visceral experiences in the archives compelled me to theorise Timote Vaoleti's approach of Talanoa as both a methodology and method for research in an interdisciplinary setting. In particular, my objective is to decolonise colonial archives through the use of Talanoa. It follows my interest in the use of Talanoa in particular—underexamined—disciplinary sites and objects of study. This entails conceptualising and situating affective Samoan knowledge as Talanoa in the context of interdisciplinary, historical, literary, corporeal, Pacific studies and Indigenous studies research. In this framing, archival jolt is a form of Talanoa: a multisensory embodied memory summoned through language, literacy, genealogy and sociohistorical links that cross temporal, ideological, sociopolitical, corporeal and disciplinary boundaries. This engagement with archives departs from, or perhaps

expands, Timote Vaoleti's initial envisioning of Talanoa "as an appropriate approach to researching Pacific educational and social issues in Aotearoa" (2006: 21). Moreover, it heeds Suaalii-Sauni and Fulu-Aiolupotea's call for further inquiry into Talanoa research methodology and methods so as to make "more nuanced sense of what they carry conceptually and involve methodologically" (2014: 333).

Specific attention to the *Sulu* archive as an artefact and a text further warrants the dual application of Talanoa methodology because, as identified by Alice Te Punga Somerville, "there are as many stories about archives as there are stories kept inside them" (2016: 121). Therefore, I argue that Talanoa methodology mobilises two complementary reading strategies in archival engagement. My objective has two underpinning goals. First, as a philosophical paradigm (methodology), Talanoa facilitates the coming together of people for a conversation. The *Sulu* artefact is the site of occurrence for a feiloa'iga ma tālatalanoaga ma 'āiga (family gathering and discussion) because archives are where "things, people and ideas come together" (p. 121). I use tālatalanoaga, talanoaga and Talanoa interchangeably because while tālatalanoaga connotes a casual informal family gathering and talanoaga assumes a more formal and purposeful discussion, both terms capture the free-flow discussion of Talanoa as envisioned by Timote Vaoleti (2006). Feiloa'iga ma tālatalanoaga pays specific attention to the seemingly fleeting archival jolts in the archives that arise when encountering the writing of tua'ā. As Samoan custom dictates, it involves the preliminary acknowledgement of all those present before proceeding to engage with their textual messages.

Second, Talanoa epistemological engagement of archives is a recovery method. Such a Talanoa process grounds the fleeting affective jolts and conceives these connections as an embodied Samoan memory. I use Sara Ahmed's (2004) economies of emotion and affect and Upolu Lumā Vaai's (2015a) notion of the faitau fa'a-usuga (dialogical reading) tool to mobilise a Samoan communal approach to engaging the jolts in the *Sulu* archive. In other words, I apply the Talanoa *method* to the multiple sites and genres of Samoan Indigenous knowledge in and beyond the archives because, as identified by David Fa'avae, Alison Jones and Linitā Manu'atu, "talanoa encompasses a practical method and the theoretical concepts used to enact that method, as well as the analysis of the information collected" (2016: 140). This practical Talanoa research method is important in archival engagement, as it pertains to the affective and emotional bridging of sites and sources of knowledges that are inherent in a Samoan reader.

For this reason, both Talanoa methodology and method are crucial to producing articulations of Indigenous presence in the *Sulu* archive, free from, or perhaps in relation to, its colonial confinement. Nonetheless, it is

the epistemological centring of the Samoan body that mobilises a highly productive reading and decolonisation of the *Sulu* archive itself. Talanoa recovers elements of communal memory by situating me in a greater Talanoa dialogue between Faleū and other family writers in the *Sulu* archive. Our bodies, which bear the brunt of colonial exchanges, are also the fecund grounds of recovery. An archival jolt which may have been momentarily experienced and lost is captured, grounded and materialised instead, thus providing deeper and richer meaning in the text. Moreover, it reclaims space for Samoan knowledge production.

TALANOA AS A DECOLONIAL FRAMEWORK

Jacques Derrida's precautionary assertion that there is "no political power without control of the archive, if not of memory" (1996: 4) provides insight into the colonial rubrics of power inherent in British archival practices. As experienced in the Ōtepoti Dunedin library, Faleū was a surprise find, disconnected and dispossessed from her ancestral land and reduced to a beautiful but brief description of her church life. However, as advised by Alice Te Punga Somerville, researchers must conduct the "time-consuming and risky unbalancing work of 'reach[ing] among comments' (in the archives but also in the stories we tell ourselves)" (2016: 124, quoting Patuawa-Nathan 1979). This resonates with Arlette Farge's powerful advice to "unlearn and not think you know it from a first reading" (quoted in Stoler 2009: 23).

The unbalancing work therefore required being cognisant of my own research foibles, prejudices and complicity in the conception of archives as monolithic and all-knowing institutional bastions of truth. It also involves moving away from an exhaustive conservatory approach in the treatment of archives to a generative and more liberating meaning-making process, as advised by the Te Āti Awa historian Rachel Buchanan.² Thus, colonial archives written in our gagana (language) are opportunities to interrogate and read deeply beyond the page using our own Indigenous frames of reference. Reading from the moa—the centre of being—is Samoan affective knowledge. It entails assuming and foregrounding Indigenous presence in colonial spaces because, ultimately, Indigenous spaces are created by the very presence of our own bodies and languages (irrespective of brass-plated enclosures). A "grounded" embodied Talanoa reading decolonises the colonial parameters of the *Sulu* archive by centring Samoan epistemological frameworks and producing highly generative readings which talk back to the fixed, displaced and reductionist colonial view of Samoan people in the archives.

Talanoa proffers a creative and meaningful platform to apply the distinctive Samoan-specific literary reading strategy that Upolu Lumā Vaai (2015a: 5) describes as *faitau fa'a-usuga* (dialogical reading). Situated in contextual theology, Upolu Lumā Vaai applies this as Talanoa methodology

where a *lalaga fa'atasi* (stitching) of *itulagi* (perceptions) of the text, author and readers is possible. This method bodes well with engaging the *Sulu* because, according to Matt Tomlinson (2020), theological studies and literary studies have applied Talanoa to literature comfortably. However, unsettled by the prescriptive nature and openness of the dialogical process, and somewhat reminiscent of a colonial hang-up with surveillance, Matt Tomlinson cautiously asks “who we expect to engage in it, and what kinds of consequences we allow, expect and try to produce” (2020: 224). Nonetheless, the quandary, according to Tomlinson, can be resolved through an interdisciplinary study of what dialogue entails. This challenge further warrants the application of Talanoa as an embodied archival approach due to its constitutive nature and its culturally specific context.

While traditionally Talanoa is derived and formulated in Tongan and Fijian cultural settings (Farrelly and Nabobo-Baba 2012: 3), the philosophical principles that resonate with Samoan epistemological process can also lead to its application trans-Indigenously. Where the *Fa'afaletui* methodology has more recently arisen out of Samoan epistemological frameworks, I have chosen Talanoa instead for its informal and flexible nature. The creative and cross-disciplinary openness is inspired by a cultural appropriateness rather than specificity. At the micro and culture-specific level, *Fa'afaletui* research methodology, which is based on the specialist domain of Samoan oratory and guilds of oratory houses, does not allow for the flexible, intimate and multitextual interrogation that Talanoa provides. Thus, rather than be restricted by strict *Fa'afaletui* protocols of *aga'ifanua* (Samoan relational protocols specifically relating to land and locality) (Simanu-Klutz 2002: 68), Talanoa is applied practically, intimately, interdisciplinarily and cross-culturally so as to produce convivial and inclusive spaces, open to the inclusion of oral histories and memory recall methods and textual bodies.

This is apt because in the realm of decolonial historical analysis, according to Richard Campbell (1993: 6), a dialogical process is a liberating force, in which a researcher is in a never-completed dialogue between “finitude, naturally and historically given, and the potentially infinite possibilities which can be entertained in thought”. Thus, Talanoa brings into conversation the archival researcher as the reader, the text and the author. The temporal flexibility of Talanoa reaches beyond time and space to bring together writers, texts and a descendant of the writers in a space to meet, see connections and wrestle with meaning. Talanoa in the archive collapses time as space and place, whereby the past is no longer just a time but also a place, as asserted by Damon Salesa (2014: 43).

In the context of archival engagement, Talanoa orients us to a past that is living, dynamic and present. David Welchman Gegeo further affirms this Indigenous notion of space as a temporal “place not of one's existential being but rather of temporary or even long-term staying” (2001:

494). In the absence of bodies (but not of presence), space and place become interchangeable sites for critical literary and embodied exchange. Indigenous Pacific conceptualisation of time as a place and space therefore conceives archives as fertile temporal and material grounds for conversation, meaning-making and more.

TALANOA AS EMBODIED EXPERIENCE

Upolu Lumā Vaai's dialogical and presuppositional reading strategy of *faitau fa'a-usuga* identifies the community reading strategies employed by Samoan readers (2015a: 9). In the context of archival engagement, reading archival texts becomes a performative act of reading alongside one's ancestors. Reflections on my powerful embodied response to the sighting of Faleū's name, and that of my grandfather, the author, required reckoning with the ways in which ideological tensions (and Indigenous presence) in historical colonial archives breach the confines of colonial surveillance, in what Bronwen Douglas identifies as "Indigenous countersigns" (2009). Peter G. Toner's (2018: 656) notion of historical archives as "contact zones", where our bodies, as stated by Melanie Benson Taylor (2019: xiv), "explode with blood, both of loss and new life", therefore provides compelling challenges for Samoan researchers working in the archives to intimately reimagine, reclaim and reproduce new ways to attend to Samoan knowledge production.

Talanoa in the archives is an embodied experience because, as identified by Melanie Benson Taylor (2019: xii), "our bodies themselves are the richest of archives". It is through the Samoan body that jolts are read, interpreted, enacted and mobilised to give meaning to the *feau* (messages) of ancestors. It is useful therefore and highly productive to conceive the Talanoa rendering of affective knowledges through a circulatory system between emotion and affect. Sara Ahmed's (2004) notions of affective economies in critical race theory asserts that emotions render themselves as a form of capital, which accrue value—affect—in a culture-specific system of circulation. Archival jolt grounded by emotion becomes embodied memory and vice versa; it is inhabited by the body and called into being through specific Samoan sociolinguistic and historiographical Talanoa strategies.

The grounding of archival jolt therefore demands a logical research framework, as urged by Laumua Tunufa'i (2016), to excavate and contextualise possible meanings. Talanoa is the dialogical and cyclical process which draws on multiple sites of knowledge to draw Faleū (and my own mother) from the archival margins and centre her in a network of proximity and genealogy where she had always belonged. Archival jolts, therefore, are not just a happenstance encounter. Rather, they are the activated, affective and animated rendering of family histories because, as asserted by Patricia Norby (in Schweitzer and Henry 2019: 10), "archives become alive when Indigenous people talk about archives in their own language".

When I read Faleū's obituary, there is clarity. The archival jolt is the wielding of my grandfather's words, the summoning of unconscious embodied histories and calling of Faleū into being. In the Ōtepoti Dunedin library, we meet. In the Ōtepoti Dunedin library I am in conversation with Alama and Faleū, and I am immediately taken back to my youth at Fasito'otai³ during my parent's tenure as faifeau, to a place where Faleū once worked the land and led community initiatives.

The affective jolt is the embodied remembering of Faleū's tulagāvae (footsteps). These footsteps had been occupied by own my mother, Tifilelei Alama Jeremiah, unbeknownst to me, as a faletua (faifeau's wife) on the same fanua at Fasito'otai 72 years after Faleū's return upon the death of her first husband. The jolt is a realisation of a new Fasito'otai, the land that is no longer foreign and where I, like my mother, was never a guest. It is a realisation that we were always children of the land. It is a new and compelling recognition of our connections to Faleū, our fanua and our fa'asinomaga that fundamentally underpinned the village pastorate leadership roles performed by my parents.

To conduct archival research is to do more. For Hayden Lorimer, "more than" representational theory pays attention to "self-evidently more-than-human, more-than-textual, multisensual worlds" (2005: 83). Talanoa activates embodied knowledges which emanate from within and beyond the conscious and unconscious. In Pacific and Indigenous theorising, reading from the moa or from the na'au/ngāhau (gut) in Hawaiian or Māori epistemological sites of knowledge is indicative of the Pacific conscious and unconscious worlds (and more). Moe mānatunatu (dreaming), which also offers possible affective insights, will not be discussed in this essay. Nonetheless, reading archives written by ancestors involves drawing forth embodied knowledge from what Kekuewa Kikiloι calls a "preconscious reservoir of past experience [... and] and a storehouse of knowledge called ancestral memories" (2010: 74).

The Samoan saying "E leai ni tagatanoa pe o ni tagata tu fanua i lo ta lalolagi o Samoa" asserts that a Samoan person is never without connection to land, honorifics and family (Le Tagaloa 1996: 11). Ancestors, who constitute the mamalu tau'ave (sacred dignity) inherent in every Samoan person, are also invoked in Upolu Vaai's presuppositional reading. He states:

In the islands, what conditions a *tagata* (person) is his/her *tuātagata* (community). As an *island reader*, his/her identity cannot be separated from the community. This is premised in the fact that a *tagata* is not just an individual. *Tagata* is communal. ... *tuātagata* includes father, mother, extended family, village, land, sea, ancestors, family titles, spirits and so forth. *Tuatagata* means *tua atu o le tagata* (deep within the person). (2015b: 36)

Reading the *Sulu* “along the archival grain”, as suggested by Ann Stoler (2009), allows for the sotto voce of my ancestors to decolonise the archive. Reconceptualising power relations as moral authority and *vā tāpui’a* (sacred relationalities) allows us to “map the multiple imaginaries” in the archives that break the “ideological captivity” of “order, linearity and totality” which hinder Island readers (Vaai 2015b: 30–31). Attending to the ways in which my grandfather Alama wrote in deferential ways about Faleū allowed me to glean the interpersonal relationalities between people, sites, networks and movements. Alama’s own practice of *vā tāpui’a* and *feagaiga* (sacred covenants), which could have been mistaken for an obsequious obligation to *Sulu* editors, shone through the fissures of Christian archives instead. This is shown through the Alama’s poignant description of the majesty of Faleū’s funeral procession, located in the solemnity and rituality of the ceremony performed by her children: a recognition of their *mamalu tau’ave*.

TALANOA AS A PHILOSOPHICAL PARADIGM (METHODOLOGY)

Conceiving the *Sulu* archive as a site of interaction between family members, *feiloa’iga ma tālatalanoaga ma ‘āiga* helped me reckon with the embodied memories that surged forth in the Ōtepoti Dunedin library. Ancestors, such as Moreli Alama, who wrote in the archives were the harbingers of more relatives, larger networks, transnational movements and intersections that lay at the heart of the LMS church. Ancestors were present in their words. Their personas, values, attitudes and commitments to their respective roles and politics are revealed through the specific Samoan ways in which they wrote.

Archives, therefore, are contested sites of possibilities. In particular, the *Sulu* archive is a site where the political act of reading in specific Samoan ways facilitates the recovery of dormant embodied memories and the coproduction of knowledge. Producing distinctive generative readings of the archives, therefore, relies heavily on the contextual positionality of the researcher who, as Upolu Vaai asserts in his hermeneutical study of Pacific Island readers, is constantly producing a *fa’atuatagata* (holistic community) reading, a presuppositional engagement with texts alongside their community (2015: 11). For Upolu Vaai, Samoans read texts alongside their ancestors by embodying all the respective elements of their *fa’asinomaga* (cultural identity). These elements include histories, family, status, gender, village, lineage, upbringing, language, culture and appointments. Samoans read through the lenses of their ancestors, whom they carry with them at all times.

Aiono Fanaafi Le Tagaloa’s conceptualisation of *tōfamanino* (philosophy) asserts two important points: first, that Samoan philosophy (and language) is underscored by multiple notions of relationality; and second, that Samoan philosophy predates literacy (Le Tagaloa 1996). Understanding the mutual

constitutive relationship between genres of Samoan knowledge, Gagana Sāmoa and Samoan literary devices reframe the *Sulu* archive as a site of different forms of exchanges. In other words, an understanding of the cultural, socioreligious, literary and performative elements of Samoan *lāuga* (oratory), *solo* (poem/chant), *fāgogo* (storytelling), *pese* (song), *faleaitu* (theatre), *tupua* (riddles), *tala fatu fau* (discourse), *tala fa'asolopito* (history), *muāgagana* (proverbs) and *tala o le vavau* (Indigenous narratives) opens up the *Sulu* archive as a compelling ontological site. Reading the interplay of these *poutū* (pillars) renders the *Sulu* archive more than a staid colonial ledger and into becoming a generative and resplendent site of Samoan expression and identity instead.

The meeting of family in the archives, through historical texts and embodied memories, renders archives as sacred points of connection that transcend time and space. Talanoa is reimagined as a casual evening meeting, after evening prayers, while awaiting the announcement of dinner, to share a convivial intimate space couched in *alofa* (love) and *māluali'i* (dignity). Functionally, this *tālatalanoaga* serves to discuss the adventures of the day, take an inventory of the required resources for planned activities and share knowledge. The *tālatalanoaga*, by its inclusive, casual and dynamic nature, assumes the involvement of all members of the kin. It takes into account the bodies in the *fale* (house): those who are sitting in the front, those in the back preparing the food and those in repose listening intently in silence.

In this respect, Talanoa methodology as archival engagement facilitates a genealogical *faitau fa'a-usuga* reading in the archives that sees everyone, including the *'au tāpua'i* (support people), such as my great-grandmother *Faleū* and many more. These support people (in the margins) are fundamental players within the family, villages, pastorate and regional networks. The proverb “*E lē sili le ta'i i lo'o le tāpua'i*”, which translates as “those who lead are not as important as those who support”, further affirms the shared responsibilities in the collective. Such a coconstitutive practice mirrors the coproduction of Samoan historical practices, which Samoan paramount chief and author Tui Atua Tamasese Ta'isi Efi identifies as being located in *'āiga*, *malae* (meeting grounds), *fono* (meetings), ceremonies and courts, and the academy (Efi 2008).

TALANOA AS RECOVERY (METHOD)

The Talanoa method reads *Faleū's* obituary as a palimpsest: a multilayered text that demands a logical research framework for the production of new meanings. This process includes unpacking the specific Samoan content, form and style of *Faleū's* obituary. Reading her obituary alongside the positionality of the writer, family oral histories, embodied memories and the text sheds light on her incredible contribution to the LMS missionary enterprise. To

counter problematic parsimonious research cultures of “sufficiency”⁴ that Puakea Nogelmeier (2010) highlights as pervasive amongst historical researchers, attention to faitau fa’a-usuga is imperative because it facilitates the necessary sociolinguistic reading of Faleū’s obituary. This process situates her life in relation to Alama, other family writers (of which there are many) and me in the moment to see the vast geographic, cultural, gendered and historical networks that she inhabited in the material world.

Engagement with archival texts, therefore, is a performative act of reading alongside one’s ancestors. Reflections on my powerful embodied response to the sighting of Faleū’s name, and of that of the author, my grandfather, required reckoning with the ways in which ideological tensions in historical colonial archives, according to Ann Stoler (2009: 19), “spil[l] over and smudg[e] the archive’s policed edges”. Talanoa facilitated a faitau fa’a-usuga of texts that revealed many forms of exchanges between an array of interrelated bodies. Not only do the words written by Moreli Alama provide key information about Faleū’s life, his use of allegory and allusions and his relational position as a faiāvā (son-in-law) elucidate a broad and deeper understanding. He invoked Faleū as an authoritative and influential matriarch that had up until that point been unseen and unknown amongst my generation of Faleū’s descendants. Her obituary, restrained and evocative, soon became the text where ancient protocols of vā tāpui’a are inscribed.

Talanoa reading and writing in Samoan language archives provides literal, cultural and historical inroads into Samoan epistemological thought. Furthermore, it was also through a dialogical engagement with texts alongside one another that a multidimensional picture of Faleū’s life was produced. Although Faleū is introduced to us by Alama as a figure of maternal moral authority, the scale of her influence can be gleaned in her daughter Litara Viliamu’s tala fāgogo (story) that was published in the December 1954 issue of *Sulu*. Through Litara’s didactical fāgogo, we gauge Faleū’s influence as pae ma le āuli (conflict resolver). This characterisation is represented by the unapologetic protagonist of Litara’s fāgogo, Sieni, an Italian matriarch in the village of Genoa, Italy, who saved Christmas by chastening her wayward husband. The moral of Litara’s fāgogo is that the gift of Christmas was found in overcoming troubles in the home. For Litara, the gift was found in the opportunity to resolve conflict and provide moral guidance rather than in her husband’s behavioural reform per se. I deduce that such a powerful lesson would have been drawn from Faleū, because Litara demonstrates through her plot and setting that these duties are not bound by geography, genre or time.

I took my grandfather’s lead literally as an archival approach to engaging with the *Sulu* archive. His deferential stance, motivated by fa’aaloalo (respect), customarily paid tribute to the genealogical links as a faiāvā. He was duty-bound to pay attention to integral parts of Faleū’s life: her career as a teacher;

her survival of the 1918 influenza epidemic which killed her first husband; her second marriage to Tuigamala and the associated shift from faletua to lead ti'ākono; and the prolific counselling work she conducted for many faifeau. This ministry work was continued by her children and grandchildren; I was privileged to watch this through my own mother's faletua work.

It would, therefore, not seem incongruous to conceive this encounter in the archives as generative, living and enduring because, as attested by Marshall Sahlins (1985: 34), "different cultural orders have their own modes of historical action, consciousness, and determination—their own historical practice". In the archives, Faleū found me and continued to talk to me through the snippets of memory, through oral history and through reflection on the highly productive literary efforts and feau produced by her children. In the archives, Faleū emerges as both the lead and supporting protagonist—the centre of a lot of church activities conducted and recorded by her children. The substantial and wide-ranging writing of her children in the *Sulu* archives reflected both Faleū's and their own contributions to literary production, education, pastorate church buildings, infrastructure developments, church administration and medical missionary work.

Specifically, this corpus of family writing in the *Sulu* included an ethnographic study of maternity practices in the Papua New Guinea highlands by her faletua granddaughter, Tafagamanu Sapolu (Aperila (Apr.) 1962: 54); the production of tala fāgogo (parables along Christian doctrine) by her faletua daughter Litara Alama (Tesema (Dec.) 1954: 43); the transportation of leper patients from Sāmoa to Makogai, Fiji, by her native medical officer son, Ropati Viliamu (Ianuari–Fepuari (Jan.–Feb.) 1932: 7–8); carpentry tutorial work at the LMS Lawes College in Milne Bay, Papua New Guinea, by her missionary son, Livigisitone Viliamu (Me (May) 1955: 112); church construction work in Mulifanua (Tesema 1953: 87); chairing national executive committees by her faifeau son, Filemoni Tuigamala (Ianuari 1955, 1977–1978); rural infrastructure development by her faifeau son-in-law, Moreli Alama (Fepuari 1956: 75), and many more.

Readers who are not related to both Alama and Faleū may not see layers of family connections, nor will they see the ways in which my grandfather exercises vā tāpui'a. In writing Faleū's obituary, Alama navigates the institutional tensions of his roles as a lead *Sulu* faifeau writer and a dutiful faiāvā. Alama's description of Faleū's funeral alludes to his own proximal relationship to the maliu (funeral ceremony) he is witnessing. He extols the magnitude of her influence on generations of ministers (including himself). His relationship to her is inferred: so too are the ways in which he lovingly pays tribute and portrays Faleū as a western queen, in accordance with the colonial tenets of the *Sulu* newspaper. However, the mamalu (majesty) of Faleū's funeral procession was not found in the one person but rather in the Indigenous relationalities of the collective. He wrote:

The district was in attendance. Her body was escorted to the church by a long procession led by the Fasitoo brass band. Her children dutifully escorted her into the church. This moving procession was long, and the family were resplendent both in white and in numbers. This spectacular display was likened to the office of a reigning Queen and her court. (*Sulu* Aperila 1961)

Faleū's obituary is a palimpsest on which family members belonging to the 'au faigāluega a le Atua (servants of God) retrace and recentre lost connections to ancestral lands. Talanoa allows for descendants such as me to trace and recall the warm familial embrace of the Fasito'otai village where my mother lived during her tenure as the faletua of the Fasito'otai EFKS church. This process allows pastorate workers, who were once required to disavow their fa'asinomaga upon entering village pastorate work, to reestablish and reconcile disconnections from ancestral lands.

While some of these nuances are clear from first reading, absence of commentary can also be seen as deferential restraint. The exercise of reading and engaging archival materials, therefore, requires identifying considerations of vā tāpui'a. Doing so requires tracing links, invoking oral histories and listening to the embodied memories that spill over and "exceed[d] the archive's ability to capture [them]" (Taylor 2003: 19–20). In the context of *Sulu* writing, these understated restraints are also deep articulations of covenant relationships situated in relationality, not only between the reader and writer but also with and alongside other *Sulu* texts.

TALANOA AS A HARBINGER

Understanding the workings of vā tāpui'a in Faleū's obituary archive requires a familiarity with subtle and nuanced forms of expression presented by metaphor, allegory, allusion and Samoan idiomatic expression. These literary devices are deployed to convey an āva fa'atamālī'i (respect) that protects and upholds the vā (sacred relational ties between bodies) when faced with ideological tension. Reading "along the archival grain" with ancestors activates texts; it is a performative and transformative act that draws on multiple genres of Samoan knowledge to reorient the *Sulu* archives from a colonial ledger of white supremacy into a rich site of Samoan resilience, autonomy and celebration, because, as advised by Albert Wendt, "Oceania deserves more than an attempt at mundane fact; only the imagination in free flight can hope—if not to contain her—to grasp some of her shape, plumage and pain" (1982: 202).

Talanoa offers the freedom and flexibility to apply Samoan-specific research philosophical paradigms and research frameworks. Talanoa also offers critical and creative platforms to facilitate embodied conversations with and between relatives that cross spatiotemporal, national, cultural, ideological, corporeal and disciplinary dimensions. The call to do so is loud and urgent because, as identified by Albert Wendt, "[o]ur dead are woven

into our souls like the hypnotic music of bone flutes; we can never escape them. If we let them, they can help illuminate us to ourselves and to one another" (1982: 203).

In this context of archival engagement, Talanoa is invoked as a philosophical paradigm brought into being as an imagined space and place where family members meet and talanoa, each representing their respective roles and status in the family in exchange of a feau. This is helpful when considering Samoan historiography as a communal affair, derived from multiple sources and invoked in the ceremonial and literary ways in which we, as recipients of that knowledge, can be gratefully cognisant (even from cold library attics in Dunedin). Talanoa in Samoan language archives provides literal, cultural and historical inroads into stories that lie at the margins of colonial archival practices and bodies. Talanoa reveals tension and possibilities of meanings; both methodology and method provide richer and more productive ways of reclaiming our stories.

Thus, the responsibility is borne by not only the collective to guide the researcher, particularly when she or he is of their own blood, but also by the researcher to reciprocate in kind; to offer rich and aesthetically pleasing multitude of meaning that is neither constrained nor singular. The willingness to see one's relatives, wrestle with their writing, draw on oral histories and recover embodied memories centres our Indigenous epistemologies and conceptually and practically opens up generous new research spaces.

Because to read alone is a disillusioning and disembodied experience.

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NOTES

1. Rimu (*Dacrydium cupressinum*) is a conifer endemic to Aotearoa New Zealand whose soft wood is well suited for furniture construction.
2. Personal communication with Alice Te Punga Somerville, April 2020, University of Waikato.
3. Fasito‘otai on the east side and Vailu‘utai on the west comprise two sides of the same Fasito‘otai village.
4. The notion of “discourses of sufficiency” is invoked by Nogelmeier to describe the parsimonious research practice of using a small selection of Hawaiian language sources as an autorepresentation of centuries of Hawaiian history. Noelani Arista (2010) expands the term “sufficiency” in relation to her work with kaona (hidden meanings) in historical Hawaiian texts.

GLOSSARY

The terms included in this glossary are Samoan unless otherwise stated.

aga‘ifanua	Samoan relational protocols relating to land and locality
‘āiga	family
alofa	love
auē	expression of deep emotional reflection
‘au faigāluega a le Atua	servants of God
‘au tāpua‘i	support people
āva fa‘atamāli‘i	respect
fa‘aaloalo	respect
fa‘asinomaga	(cultural) identity
fa‘atuatagata	holistic community acknowledgement
fāgogo	storytelling
faia‘oga	teacher
faiāvā	son-in-law
faiʻfeau	pastor
faitau fa‘a-usuga	dialogical reading; genealogical reading
fale	house
faleaitu	theatre relating to the “house of spirits”
faletua	pastor’s wife
fanua	land
feagaiga	sacred covenants
feau	messages
feiloa‘iga ma tālatalanoaga ma ‘āiga	family gathering and discussion
fono	meeting

gagana	language
Gagana Sāmoa	Samoan language
itulagi	perceptions
kaona	hidden meaning (Hawaiian)
kupu	words (Māori)
lalaga fa'atasi	stitching
lāuga	oratory
malae	meeting ground
maliu	funeral ceremony
māluali'i	spiritual protection
mamalu	majesty
mamalu tau'ave	sacred dignity
mana whenua	authority over land (Māori)
missionare	missionary
moa	centre of one's being
moe mānatunatu	dreaming
motu	islands
muāgagana	proverbs
na'au	gut (Hawaiian)
ngāhau	gut (Māori)
pae ma le āuli	conflict resolver
pese	song
poutū	pillar
solo	poem; chant
tagata	person
tala fāgogo	story
tala fa'asolopito	history
tala fatu fau	discourse
talanoaga	formal, purposeful conversation
tala o le vavau	Indigenous narratives
tālatalanoaga	casual informal gathering
tama'ita'i fōma'i	nurse
Te Moana-nui-a-Kiwa	Pacific Ocean (Māori)
ti'ākono	deacon
tōfamanino	philosophy
tua'ā	ancestors
tūatagata	holistic understanding of community
tulagāvae	footsteps
tupua	riddle

vā tāpui‘a	sacred relationalities
vā	sacred relational ties
whenua	land (Māori)

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