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The Legitimation of Economic and Political Power in Tonga: A Critique of Kauhala'uta and Kauhalalalo Moieties

A thesis presented in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy in Social Anthropology at Massey University, Albany

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2007
Abstract

This thesis is a study of the legitimation of economic and political power in Tonga as a critique of Kauhala'uta and Kauhalalalo social moieties. It adopts a socio-historical method of approach but logical considerations inform every aspect of the analysis. This is done in the conviction that logic and fact do not clash but converge and concur at every point such that when they clash we should take it as a sign that either our logical theory needs revision or our observation of the actual process has been amiss. In this, I follow the main lines of the critique of illusions, romanticism, and personalism developed in the philosophical realism of John Anderson.

As the central issue of my thesis is legitimation, I have asked whether the evidence and logic square with each other. First, whether the development of legitimation language is later than the social facts, for example, later than the power which the language is designed to legitimate, as seems to be the implication in the relevant literature, or, second, whether the legitimation language has an origin different from that of the social reality it is usually associated with.

I have chosen to begin with a brief introductory history of Tongan society based on my interpretation of the origin myth of the first local putative Tu'i Tonga "King of Tonga". The myth introduces the fact that the history of Tonga is what the
senior chiefs say. This is shown in the myth through the household advice given to the local *Tu'i Tonga* by his Samoan older half brothers, *Faleua* and *Falefaa*, on how to rule. But, this household advice is just the inverse of an actual event recounted in the myth whereby the younger local *Tu'i Tonga* is murdered by his senior half brothers. So, the myth, then, is about committing a wrongdoing which leads to a socio-political reformation. Household advice in practice is murdering, so as to build a new nation.

To illustrate this new nation building process, I take into consideration the works of the 19th *Tu'i Kanokupolu*, King George *Taufa'aahau Tupou* I (~1797-1893), and the 21st *Tu'i Kanokupolu*, Queen *Salote* *Mafie'o Pilolevu Tupou* III (1900-1965), showing a *Tu'i Kanokupolu* implosion of his senior *Tu'i Tonga* and *Tu'i Ha'atakalaua* power. The main indication of this implosion is the replacement of the senior *Tu'i Tonga* household advisory system with the nineteenth-twentieth century *Tupou* dynasty's manipulated written history. King George *Taufa'aahau Tupou* I, the subject of chapter 2, presented his written version with the introduction of his 1875 Constitution. Similarly, in chapter 3, Queen *Salote Tupou* III reinforced her great, great grandfather's Constitutional principles in her confused *lau 'eiki* and *fie 'eiki* styles of genealogical poetry.

The theme, of course, promoted in this thesis, is a historical study of the struggle for power, in various forms of dualism, between the *Tu'i Tonga* and his people on top and the *Tu'i Kanokupolu* and their people below. The situation, as always
many-to-one, has been perpetuated by the synthesizing universal role of moiety division in constantly igniting the perilous conflict of interests between the two.
Table of Contents

Abstract .......................................................... i
Acknowledgements .................................................. v
Figures (1-14) ....................................................... ix
Maps (1-8) ............................................................ xxvii
Glossary .............................................................. xxxv
CHAPTER 1: Introduction .......................................... 1
CHAPTER 2: Tongan Fale “Household Advice” to a Junior Manager 42
CHAPTER 3: Konisitutone “Constitution”: A Palladium of Ha’a Ma’afu 109
CHAPTER 4: Ambivalence in Queen Salote’s Poetry .................. 174
CHAPTER 5: Conclusion ............................................. 215
APPENDICES (1-10) .................................................. 227
BIBLIOGRAPHY ..................................................... 308
Acknowledgements

This thesis would not have been possible without the involvement of a certain number of institutions and people who all deserve acknowledgement. First, I must acknowledge the PhD Scholarship Award given me from the University of Auckland as a kick-start to my research into the legitimation of economic and political power in Tonga. In particular, I would like to thank for their assistance and support my supervisors in the Anthropology Department at the University of Auckland, who showed persistent belief in my work and carried me safely on to land. Since I moved from the University of Auckland to Massey University, Albany Campus, I would also like to thank my supervisor at Massy University, Dr Eleanor Rimoldi, for her intellectual input and advice on this work. Also, I would like to acknowledge the early stage of my formal studies at 'Atenisi University in Tonga before attending the University of Auckland in New Zealand. Particularly, the courses I took on Tongan culture, philosophy, logic, and linguistics with Professor 'Ilaisa Futa-'i-Ha'angana Helu, founder and director of 'Atenisi Institute, and Dr Harry Feldman, who at the time was an American Peace Corp volunteer teaching in 'Atenisi. Their methods of teaching their respective subjects had inspired me enough to change my natural inclination towards architecture and civil engineering to the study of language and culture. The intellectual affiliation to 'Atenisi actually set up a good foundation for me when I attended the University of Auckland, double majoring in linguistics and social anthropology. In addition to
my formal studies, which I am proud to acknowledge, is the historical village of
Folaha where I grew up. Especially, the historical connection between Tonga and
Samoa is a subject central to Folaha and the origin myth of ‘Aho’eitu, the first Tu’i
Tonga “King of Tonga”, known in Samoa as Asoaitu le Folasa, considered here.
(See the version and discussion of the myth in Chapter 2 of this thesis.)

While living in Auckland for my studies, the intellectual affiliation with my ‘Atenisi
colleagues had been made even closer through conferences and seminars
arranged and held at ‘Atenisi and in Auckland. We would come together in those
meetings and shared our respective findings in a very constructive and critical
manner. The experience of these early meetings deepened my special interest in
the socio-political implications of language and culture. In the final year of my MA
postgraduate study, I even joined as a founding member of the Tongan History
and Culture Association since its establishment in 1986 or thereabout,
participating and presenting papers in its series of conferences on topics related
to my area of interest. Discussions and comments from the participants and
attendants were very helpful in the early stages and right through to the end of
defining the scope and focus of my PhD thesis.

Fortunately for me at Auckland University, I met Dr Maxwell Rimoldi, now retired,
as one of my postgraduate teachers. His background in the same philosophy of
realism taught to us by Professor Helu at ‘Atenisi has been a tremendous help.
He continued working with me as my head supervisor until he retired. He, then,
remained as adviser. His constructive advice and critical reading of drafts I value highly and, I appreciate very much his time and effort spent on this work.

I would also like to thank my supervisors, Dr Eleanor Rimoldi, School of Social and Cultural Studies, Massey University, Albany Campus, and Dr ‘Okusitino Mahina, Anthropology Department, University of Auckland, for their intellectual support and patience with my work. Also, I cannot forget my fellow PhD social anthropology postgraduates, Gregg Lahood and Michael McCool, who shared a room on level 3 of the Atrium Building. We had the habit whenever one got stuck to turn around and open up an informal discussion of the problem. Often the case, the problem became even more problematic!

I extend here a special thanks to Maggie Hefer, Postgraduate Administrator of the School of Social and Cultural Studies at Massey University, Albany Campus, for her assistance in scanning the genealogical diagrams and maps. It is very much appreciated.

My most sincere gratitude is extended here also to my extended family and friends who have morally and materially supported me right through this study. I must admit that this journey is no different from someone who is ill, who needs constant care and attention, for whom moral and material support are the only remedy. I, therefore, have to thank you all for that.
Particularly, I am grateful to my parents, Tomasi Mafi and Malia Suliana, for their
tireless support all the way by way of begging me to look for a job while they are
still alive. The job that they have been asking me to look for has now finally been
completed!

Also, I am grateful to my wife, Mele Finau, my step-son and sons, Neil Ferguson
and Sonatane 'Opeti Mesake and 'Aisea Poasi 'Etimoni, for their support and
endurance right through this journey and the sacrifice they made for what I take
them to believe is a worthy cause.

To you all, your support has always provided me with excessive strength to be
able to carry out this rather ambitious and most difficult area to break through. I
have always wished that one day I will conduct a thorough, though this thesis is
not quite there yet, critique of the history of Tonga of which we are all part. To
achieve such a goal the critique has to focus on the primal two-fold aspect of
Tongan history. And, the general rule is: particular things are universally
connected!

Finally, having said that, this work is entirely my own. For any errors made here,
except as otherwise indicated, I am responsible.
Figures

Figure 1  *Tamahaa Laatuufuipeka's contribution to the chiefliness of modern aristocratic nobles*  page xi

Figure 1(b)  *Tamahaa Laatuufuipeka's marriage to Tuita Kahomovailahi*  page xii

Figure 1(c)  *Tamahaa Laatuufuipeka's marriage to Leka Kiuve'etaha*  page xiii

Figure 2  *Succession of Tu'i Tonga from 'Uluakimata to Laufilitonga*  page xiv

Figure 3  *Succession of Tu'i Ha'atakalaua*  page xv

Figure 4  *Succession of Tu'i Kanokupolu*  page xvi

Figure 5  *Genealogy of Ha'a Havea and Ha'a Havea Sii*  page xvii

Figure 6  *Genealogy of Tu'i Kanokupolu Ma'afu-'o-Tu'itonga*  page xviii

Figure 7  *Genealogy of Tu'i Kanokupolu Mataele'tapiko showing Tu'i Kanokupolu Mumui as a kitetama*  page xix

Figure 8  *Genealogy of Ma'afutukui'aulahi showing the connection with Tu'i Kanokupolu Tupouto'a*  page xx

Figure 9  *Genealogy of the Ha'a Ma'afu*  page xxi

Figure 10  *Genealogy of the Vuna Line*  page xxii

Figure 11  *Genealogy of Ha'a Ma'afu showing the transmission of the royal sacred blood*  page xxiii
Figure 12  Genealogy of *Tu‘i Kanokupolu Mataeleha‘amea* showing the *Tu‘i Pelehake* Line  page xxiv

Figure 13  Genealogy showing the relation of *Po‘oi* to *Ha‘a Ma‘afu*  page xxv

Figure 14  Genealogy of the *Tungii* Line  page xxvi
Figure 1
(Bott 1982:153, Figure 31)
Figure 1(b)
(Bott 1982:154, Figure 31[b])

Tamahá Lārūfuiepeka’s marriage to Tuita Kahomovaliahi

Tamahá Lārūfuiepeka, d Tu’i’akepa Lātūnipulu and
TTF Nanasiapu’u
= Tuita Kahomovaliahi, s Tu’i’akepa Polutele &
‘Anaaukhesina, d ‘Ngalumoe Tutulial and Siu’u’ula

- Tamahá Lārūfuiepeka
  - Makahokovalu
    - Tupou Fangaafa, d TT Laufilitonga & Siulolova’o
  - Yuki
    - 8’Atele Ha’a’apai & d Avila Naufahu, s Finaufini
  - Lātūniua
    - 8’Anaseini Tupou’chola = Tungi = Hala’unu’uia
    - 8’Anaseini Falehu’u
  - Lātū’o’usia
    - Seta’i’i’i Tomo (1)
    - 8’Anaseini Falehu’u
  - Lātū’o’alatauli
    - 8’Anaukihesina, d Tu’i’akepa Polutele &
      ‘Anaaukhesina, d ‘Ngalumoe Tutulial and Siu’u’ula

- Tuita Talau
  - Ulukivaiola
    - Au Ha’a’apai & d Avila Naufahu, s Finaufini
  - Malakai
    - Lavulou = Hala’unu’uia
  - 8’Anaseini Tupou’chola = Tungi = Hala’unu’uia
  - 8’Anaseini Falehu’u

- Tuita ‘Ivili Tupou
  - 8’Simoa
    - Teka’a’i = Ve’ehola = Vaka’a’i
  - 8’Vika
    - Fafi’i
  - Tuku’u’o’ho’o
    - 8’Melesiniliku’u’u, d Sunia Nake’ilio & Fane’u’u
  - Tung’i Male’fhi
    - Tu’i’akepa Pololevu Tupou III
  - Tu’i’akanokupolu
    - Tungi Tupou’Io’a
    - Tu’i’parehake

- Tu’i’akepa Polutele
  - Ma’ulupekoosofa
    - 8’Piole’vu, d TK
      Tufa’aha Tupou IV & Hala’unu’u Ma’aluho
  - Vuka Fafi’i
    - Fafi’i
  - Tu’i’akepa Polutele
    - 8’Melesiniliku’u’u, d Sunia Nake’ilio & Fane’u’u
     Tu’i’akepa Polutele
    - Fapu’u
      - Tu’i’akepa Polutele
    - 8’Melesiniliku’u’u, d Sunia Nake’ilio & Fane’u’u
      Tu’i’akepa Polutele
Figure 1(c)
(Bott 1982:155, Figure 31[c])

*Tamahā Lātūfuipeka's marriage to Leka Kiuve'etaha (Tu'alau)*

- *Tamahā Lātūfuipeka*, d Tu'ilakepa Lātūnipulu and TTF Nanisipau'u
  - = *Leka Kiuve'etaha* (also called Tu'alau)

- Lātūho'oleva
  - = TP 'Uluvalu, s TP Lekaumoana & Toe'umu

- Tuputupu
  - = FU-'i-Puono, "Tuapasi"

Fanetupouvava'u
  - = Sunia Mafio'o, s Ulakai

- Melesi'ilikutapu
  - = Tuku'aoho, s Tungi
  - Halatuitua and 'Anaseini
  - Tupouveihola

- Tungi Mailefihi
  - = TK Sālote Pilolevu,
  - Tupou III

- TK Tāufa'āhau Tupou IV
  - Tu'i Kanokupolu
  - Tungi
  - Tupouto'a

- TP Sione Ngu

Sione Lamipeti
  - = Q'Alilia, d Tapueluelu,
  - s Ava'a Naufahu, s
  - Finau Fisi and Afu, d
  - Niukapu, s Luani

- Q'Anaukhesina
  - = Siosaia Lausi'i, s
  - *Ma'afu* Siotami

- *Ma'afu* 'Unga
  - = Peti
Figure 2
(Bott 1982:12, Figure 1)
Figure 3

(Bott 1982:13, Figure 2)

Succession of Tu'Ua Ha'akala'a

1. MO'UNGAMOTU'A
2. TANEKITONGA
3. VAEMATOKA
4. SIULANGAPO
5. VAKALAHIMOHE'ULI
6. MO'UNGA-O-TONGA
7. FOTOFILI
8. VAEA (1)
9. LONGI (1)
10. TATAFU

TK Nga'a
TK Nuku
TK Nuku
TK Nuku
TK Nuku
TK Nuku
TK Nuku
TK Nuku
TK Nuku
TK Nuku

TK 'Ula'ula
TK 'Ula'ula
TK 'Ula'ula
TK 'Ula'ula
TK 'Ula'ula

TK 'Ula'ula
TK 'Ula'ula
TK 'Ula'ula
TK 'Ula'ula
TK 'Ula'ula

TK 'Ula'ula
TK 'Ula'ula
TK 'Ula'ula
TK 'Ula'ula
TK 'Ula'ula
Figure 4

(Bott 1982:14, Figure 3)
Origin of the titles of Ha'a Havea and Ha'a Havea Si'i (Ha'a Havea and Ha'a Havea Si'i titles underlined. Note membership of Lauke title through woman, Toafilimo'unga)

TK MATALETU'APIKO — 3rd TK

- Papa, d Tu'i 3ata'amea
- 'Umuksia, d Tu'i ha'atungua
- Taifahau Tu'i'amala
- Patafehi, d Tu'i Tonga
- 5 other wives

Ha'oka Ma'afatu'umahia

- TK Vuna
- TK Matalieha'amea
- Fohe
- Toafilimo'unga
- Palekasa
- Lauke

Tu'ivakao

Longolongu-atumai

Fietokepo

Makosu

Momotu — sent to Ha'a Ngata as representative of Ha'a Havea and got absorbed by Ha'a Ngata

Mohulamupangai

Ha'a Havea Si'i
Figure 6
(Bott 1982:152, Figure 30)

Senior and junior lines of Kanokupolu chiefs: Ngalumoeutulu, Tupouliha, Maetaliaki, and Mauui (For reasons of space, siblings are put one underneath the other.)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>TK Ma'afu 'o Tu'ionga</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>= Air of Ha'apai, Ha'apai</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>= Laiutama, d THT Fakatana'u</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>= Popua'uli'uli, d Paleisana and</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Q'Toofilimo'o'unga (kirome marriage)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>TK Mauui (Nuku'alofa)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>= (Nuku'alofa)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>= (over 30 children)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Ngalumoeutulu (Ha'apai)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Siu'ula, d Afu'upu (Uiha)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>= (1) Founuku d Tokemoana</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>= (2) Lepemeitakui, d THT Tungimana'ia</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Q'Ulukatuperaa</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>= TK Tuku'a ho (K)Fafafu'a fiau, d THT</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Q'Anaukihesina</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>= Tai Fo'ao Polotole</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Po'o</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>= TK Tuku'a ho</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>O'Sisila</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>= TK Tuku'a ho</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>TK Tupouliha (Mu'a)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>= (1) Founuku d Tokemoana</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>= (2) Lepemeitakui, d THT Tungimana'ia</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>TK Maetaliaki (Mu'a)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>= (1) Lepemeitakui, d THT Tungimana'ia</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>= (2) Lepemeitakui, d THT Tungimana'ia</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Tupu'ila (Mu'a)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>= TT Tu'ipulotu' i-Langitu'o'orea</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Q'Anaukihesina (Mu'a)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>= TT Tu'ipulotu' i-Langitu'o'orea</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* Tupou'ila had many descendants but they are "not well known".
** Muluki'a'amea had many "well known" descendants. See Figure 19.
Figure 7

Tu‘i Kanokupolu Mataletu‘apiko

Tu‘i Kanokupolu

Mataeleha‘amea

Tu‘i Kanokupolu = Kavakipopua

Ma‘afu‘o-Tu‘itonga

Tu‘i Kanokupolu

Mumui

Toafilimo‘e‘unga
Figure 8

(genealogy of the connection between Ma'afutukui'aulahi of Vainii, head title of Ha'a Havea, and Tu'i Kanokupolu Tupouto'a of Ha'a Ma'afu drawn from Bott 1982:14, [Figure 3], 130, [Figure 21], and Losaline Fatafehi's genealogy [pages 4, 21, 31], property of the Tonga Tradition Committee, a copy of it in my possession)

\[
\text{Tu'i Kanokupolu Mataletu'apiko} = \text{Papa, daughter of Tu'i Ha'amea} \\
\text{Hafoka Ma'afutukui'aulahi} \\
\text{Mailemotomoto Ma'afutukui'aulahi} = \text{Simuoko, daughter of Tu'i Ha'ateiho Tue} \\
\text{Tangata'ilavalu Ma'afutukui'aulahi} = \text{Makao'o, daughter of Tu'i Pelehake 'Uluvalu and Lupemeitakui, daughter of Tu'i Ha'ateiho Tungii} \\
\text{Maluotaufa Ma'afutukui'aulahi} = \text{Lataifale'aki} \\
\text{Hoamofaleono} = \text{Tu'i Kanokupolu Tupouto'a} \\
\text{Tu'i Kanokupolu George Taufa'aahau Tupou I}
\]
Figure 9
(Bott 1982:82, Figure 13)

The Ho’a Ma’afu of Ka’uholalalo

(a) The relation of TK Tukufako to TK Ma’afu-‘o-‘u’u’u’onga

(b) Derivation of the three branches of Ha’a Ma’afu from TK TUKU’AHO
(Members of the ho’o are italicised)
Figure 10

(Bott 1982:136, Figure 22)

The Vuna Line

TK Mataetew'apiko

= Papa, d Tu'ih'a'amea of Tongatapu

TK VUNA

= Leha'uku, a Ta'ohine of Tongatapu. Father was Tu'ionukulave, s TH Kafoa. Mother was Toto'inukuo'osi, d TT Kau'ulufonsa

VUNA Ngata

= 'Otou'angū

Sisters. Ordinary women of Ha'apai

= Teukialupe

VUNA Tu'i'otau

= Tu'ifangatukia, d THNg Fiftapuku & Halave Moheofo, d TK Mumui

= 'Ulukilupetae, d Ngalumoetutulu

Simulata VUNA Takitakimalohi

= Finau

= Toe'umu, d Kafoa

♂ Tupouvaivai ♀ Tupoupapanga

♀ Tupouvaivai ♀ Tupoupapanga

♂ Tupouvaivai ♀ Tupoupapanga

♀ Tupouvaivai ♀ Tupoupapanga

♂ Tupouvaivai ♀ Tupoupapanga

♀ Tupouvaivai ♀ Tupoupapanga

♀ Tupouvaivai ♀ Tupoupapanga

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♀ Tupouvaivai ♀ Tupoupapanga

♀ Tupouvaivai ♀ Tupoupapanga

♀ Tupouvaivai ♀ Tupoupapanga

♀ Tupouvaivai ♀ Tupoupapang
Figure 11

(genealogy of Ha'a Ma'afu showing of how the royal sacred blood had been sucked in through the practice of kitetama cross-cousin marriage, drawn from Bott 1982:152, Figure 30)
Figure 12
(Bott 1982:147, Figure 24)

Descendents of Tu'i Kanokupolu Mataele'a'amea; Fusipala, daughter of Mataele'a'amea, and the development and elevation of the title of Tu'ipelehake

TK Mataele'a'amea
  QFusipala
    - Fisilaumäli, a powerful leader of low rank in eastern Tongatapu
  TP Leksumona
    - Mateitalo, d THT Mapa & Mafi'ubui, d TT Fakana'ana'a
    - Toe'umu d Kafoa, s TK Mataele'a'amea and Hahanokīfanga'uta, d TT Fakana'ana'a

Maileiamaisi
(d歧raced himself by seducing Lātūfuipeka and was exiled to Fia)  

TP 'Uluvalu
  - Tupouveongo, d TK Mumui
    = Lāțūhōleva, d (Leka) Kiuve'etaha and Lātūfuipeka (Kiterame)
  TP Fisipulile
    = Salote Pilolevu
d TK Taufa'ahau
  TP Fisafihi Towaokoroa
    = Fusipala Taukionetoku, d Tevua 'Unga, s TK Taufa'ahau (Kiterame)

Taufa'ahau Tupou II
  - Lavinia Vendo, d Kupa & Tokanga
  = Taipō, d Ula & QTasemau'ata

Salote Pilolevu Tupou III

Taufa'ahau Tupou IV
TP Fisafihi
Figure 13

(genealogy showing the relation of Po’oi to the Ha’a Ma’afu drawn from Bott 1982:142 [Figure 29],152 [Figure 30])

Tu’i Kanokupolu Ma’afu-‘o-Tonga

= Ate of Ha’afeva, Ha’apai

Ngalumoetutulu (Ha’apai)  Tu’i Kanokupolu Mumui (Nuku’alofa)

= Siu’ulua, daughter of Malupoo (‘Uiha)  = Lepolo, daughter of Ata

‘Ulukilupetea  Tu’i Kanokupolu Tuku’aho

‘Anaukihesina

‘Po’oi

Sisifaa

Tu’i Kanokupolu Tupouto’a
Figure 14
(Bott 1982:88, Figure 19)

The Tonga line
TH, TK MAEALI'UKI

MULIKIHA'AMEA
- (1)Toa'ila
- (2)Teshina
- (3)Hatunga, d. Mo'olaniyau'amaru
- (4)Mapatou'ia, d. TH Fusi'itupouha
- (5)Kaini'amukau

TH. TK MAEALI'UKI

TH. TK MAEALI'UKI

Fulu'ua
- (1)Fulua
- (2)Mia'olo, t. Kodie

Fulu'ua
- (1)Fulua
- (2)Mia'olo, t. Kodie

 Patton MOTULALO(1)
- Kungua, d. Havahigale'o
(madolou')
& Hala'avao,'amumu-

Tupa'ahau
- (1)Fulu'ua
- (2)Kungua
- (3)Ko'omau (Keremoa)
- (4)Penimano (Ko'omau)

Tupa'ahau
- (1)Fulu'ua
- (2)Kungua
- (3)Ko'omau (Keremoa)
- (4)Penimano (Ko'omau)

Fulea TUI'UAMO
- A'etui Tupou'apupholo,
- d. Malako Lei'aulu &
- Ol'ava, d. TK Tupou'a

Ulu
- (1)Ko'omo
- (2)Ko'omo
- (3)Ko'omo
- (4)Ko'omo

Mepa
- (1)Ko'omo
- (2)Ko'omo
- (3)Ko'omo
- (4)Ko'omo

Tupa'ahau
- (1)Fulu'ua
- (2)Kungua
- (3)Ko'omau (Keremoa)
- (4)Penimano (Ko'omau)

Tupa'ahau
- (1)Fulu'ua
- (2)Kungua
- (3)Ko'omau (Keremoa)
- (4)Penimano (Ko'omau)

Fukupala
- (1)TK Tupou II
- (2)Mepa

TK TUPA'AHAU TUPOLI IV

Fukupala
- (1)TK Tupou II
- (2)Mepa

TK TUPA'AHAU TUPOLI IV
MAP 1: Pacific (Micronesia, Melanesia and Polynesia) and South East Asia

(Mahina 1992)
MAP 2: Western Polynesia

(Mahina 1992)
MAP 3: Samoa Islands

Mahina 1992
MAP 4: Tongan Islands

(Mahina 1992)
MAP 5: Tongatapu Group (Eueki, Eua, Ata and small off-shore islands)

(Mahina 1992)
MAP 6: Vava’u Group

(Mahina 1992)
MAP 7: Ha'apai Group

(Mahina 1992)
MAP 8: Onga Niua Group (Niuafo'ou and Niuatoputapu)

(Mahina 1992)
GLOSSARY OF TONGAN TERMS

*afo*: width of a single course of thatch on the roof of the house

*aitu*: cannibal god, as in Malietoa 'Ae'o'ainu'u, "'Ae 'Mr Shit' who devours the people", (see Kramer 1994:318, Vol. I)

*aka*: root; tuber

*Asiilagi*: Tongan for Samoan Atiilagi title name “to speak plainly in the sky”, (see Kramer 1994:533, Vol. I)

*faa*: to procure workers

*fahu*: institutionalized ceremonial high ranking status recognized with the sister's child who is the carrier of the (royal) family sacred blood. As being sacred, the sister's child is the connector between the child's high rank father's sister and the child's low rank mother's brother. He/she receives the best mats and barkcloth and highest ranking cuts of meat at funerals, weddings, and birthdays and, has the right to decide on the distribution of presents and food. In Fijian, it is known as *vasu*, (see Hocart 1924).

*fahuloa or fatuloa*: ancestral maker-ghost of genealogy is a reference to the sister as the blood carrier

*fai*: to have sexual intercourse. In its proper Tongan sense, *fai*, as in *feitama* “pregnant”, is *ngaahi-tama* "making a child".
fakahokohoko hingoa 'a tangata:

men carry the title names

fakafalepuipui:

curtained-off enclosure of a secret kava ceremony

fakafotu: fruit, (see Pratt 1982:162); the sister requesting from the brother

fakahokohoko toto 'a fafine:

women carry the blood

fakakaukau: meditation; self-reflection; immersing for cleansing purpose of the mind; intention

fakatei'ulu: to cut off the tuber of a yam plant and leave the plant where it is so that it may produce another tuber

fakatou'ia: to impregnate

fale: house; to advice

fale-a-folau: house-of-navigators

Falefaa: house of four servants who guard and direct the funeral of the Tu'i Tonga on his death

Fale faka-Manu'a:

House in a Manu'a-style of 'to wounding'

fale-a-lea: house-of-speakers

Fale kano'imata:

House lined with eye balls of the god of the Underworld

Faleua: house that is raised up
Fale'ula: Samoan concept for “House as shiny dwelling of Tagaloa, the sun-god”, (see Kramer 1994:660, Vol.I), in Tongan, is Falekula “House-red”

faliki: floor

fao: stretching tight

Faasi’apule: personal name of Tu’i Tonga Taatui’s half brother who was a skillful trickster

fata: litter; loft; to carry

fatu: to appoint

faa’ataa: to open more widely, width

fau: fibre from the bark of the giant hibiscus

fa’ee: mother; she, by giving birth (faa’ele), is providing her male sexual partner land

fa’ee tangata: children speaking, “male mother” who is the brother of the children’s mother

fefine: female; woman

feilaulau: to do sacrifice

fekai: savage; ferocious; habitually devouring living creatures

fena: piece of “over-mature yam” which, having been planted and begun to grow, may be broken off from the new plant and planted again

fie ‘eiki: denying chieftliness

fohe: oars
Tongan for Samoan Folasa, a title name of the Tangaloa family which can have two possible meanings. Firstly, as ‘o le fofoga a papaa “the voice at the title [Tonumaipe’a of Savai’i]”, Folasa is likely a corruption of folofola haa “word sacred/divine”. Secondly, as in Asoaitu le Folasa, Folasa is the name referring to the sacrifice with pola saa or pola haa “food-tray sacred” to Tangaloa, the Tü’i Manu’a. In Tumbou proper in Lakemba Island in the Lau Group, Fiji, Folasa is Poasa, the senior branch of the Cekena clan, of which the Vakavanua (Fakafanua in Tongan) title holder is Tione Mbiu, (see Hocart 1929:16). Poa, in Tongan, means “fish”. It thus makes the sacred food-tray of Tangaloa as of “fish”. [My grandfather, Sione Piu ‘o Folaha, is a namesake as Vakavanua Tione Mbiu.]

fono: food served with kava
fonu: turtle; storage pit full of food
fonua: land; placenta
fua: mullet; from fua’a “jealous” (see Appendix 3, page 257)
fue: creeper plant; to swish away flies or people; a tyrant; yam plant.

Story of the first three men of Tonga, namely, Kohai, Koau, and Momo, in connection to the fue being rotten, is a record of a family struggle for power between Kohai, Koau, and their younger relation, Momo. It is a story of disintegration of the family power.
Fusifonua: Lo‘au’s title name in recognition of his skill in hauling up or founding a land

fu‘u tuna: big eel

haa: Tongan for Samoan saa “sacred”; Tongan for Fijian ca “bad” as in Cakombau “evil in Mbau”, (see Scarr 1976; Derrick 1946)

Hahake: East

hala: wrongdoing; presentation of articles of value of a descent to a funeral; pathway

Hau ‘o Momo:

Food of Momo; Sovereignty of Momo

Havea Hikule’o:

Tongan of Samoan Saavea Si‘ule’o “Havea, the guarding tail sons of Vea”

ha’a: descent group; group of younger sons protecting or challenging the Tu‘i Tonga title

Ha‘angata: Tongan for Samoan Saafata origin of Ngata’s mother, Tohua, from Saafata in ‘Upolu

Ha‘avea: Tongan for Samoan Saavea ‘descendants of Vea’

hekatala: tradition of shuffling along on the posteriors

hii: semen

Hihifo: West

Hikule’o: “Tail-guard” of the Underworld

hingoa: name; title; known as (‘iloa)
hoi: a wild poisonous yam bearing fruit as well as tubers

hoko: to join two things; genealogy

hoko e fau moe polata: a saying referring to the cutting of chief Lufe’s body of Folaha into two halves for the lower part (legs) being joined with the abandoned upper part of Tu’i Tonga Havea before giving Havea a proper burial, thus, “join the solid giant hibiscus tree and the soft trunk of plantain plant”.

holoi’ufi: procession of people with yam-tubers

huli: shot; scion

ivi e fonua: resources of land

kai: to eat; food; people

kaiha’a: Tongan for Samoan ‘aisaa “to steal by eating the inside content of the ha’a”

kainga: place to eat food; kinship group; occupancy of the house by strangers in connection to alliance through marriage

kakai: people

kakava: perspiration

kato: basket

kau: sign of plural denoting persons; hook for fishing, (see Clark 1994)

kauhala: wrongdoers

Kauhalalalo: social moiety of the wrongdoers from underworld to which belongs the Tu’i Ha’atakala and Tu’i Kanokupolu and their people
Kauhala’uta: social moiety of the wrongdoers on land to which belongs the Tu’i Tonga and his people

Kauvandra: mountains on the eastern side of Vitilevu of the Rewa District where Mbau has a shrine to whose residing god the Mbau people’s leading chiefs traced their ancestry, (see Scarr 1976); Kaufana title in ‘Eua, either Kaufata or Kaulala “carriers of the King’s litter”.

Kava: Tongan for Fijian kawa “descent, cross relation” (see Sahlins 1962:168). In Tongan kava is the fatungamotu’a “old custom or institution which is regarded as that which binds the community together”

Kele: dirt

Kiato: sticks connecting the outrigger of a canoe with the canoe itself. The term is short for kia toho “neck pulling along” usually as ‘akau toho “wood-puller, shafts”.

Kisukava: enigmatic request method of uncovering the storage pit full of food as the Hau ‘o Momo

Kitetama: causing to appear of a high ranking child

Koau: is Lo’au of Oahu in Hawaii and Mbau in Fiji

Kohai: is Lafai of Savai’i

Konga: section; part

Kongokonga: mutilated body parts

Konga ‘ufi: yam-pieces

Laatuu: Fijian title for a chief
laulau: sacrifice; plaited coconut leaf food-tray
lau ‘eiki: praising ‘eikiness connection
lea: words; to speak; to speak to by way of reproof, admonition, encouragement, or exhortation; air that makes the sounds
Lekau: Fijian “the tree”
leleva: yam silage
limu: seaweed
loto: inside the house
Lo’au: personal name meaning “an axe and fishhook” in connection to his being a “land hauler/founder” and “canoe/house builder”. Also, it is Lou’akau “leaves of plants”

Lo’au Tuputoka:
The punisher who bewitches to sleep (die) of the sun

Lo’au Tongafusifonua:
Lo’au who pulls up land from the underworld

maka’one: my Tongan interpretation of Samoan ma’atoe in Tuitogama’atoe, maiden name of the Salevalasi in Atua, ‘Upolu, in reference to her committing adultery to steal the Malietoa title, to mark the place in Savai’i where they had sex as the “coastal layer of flat hard sandstone”

Malae o Vavau:
In my interpretation, it is a Samoan “farewell meeting place of sacrifice”. Samoan *malae* is *mala‘e* in Tongan. As place of burial, it is where *maavae* “to be separated from one of you leaving”.

**maana‘ia**: young man of especially attractive to young women and skillful

**mapa**: maiden symbolic sweet-smelling flower of Talafale of Pelehake

**mata**: eyes; symbol for house (see Gell 1998) and fishhook

**mataapule**: eyes of the authority; ceremonial attendant speaking on behalf of chief, all forms of social groups

**mehikitanga**: father’s sister. As corruption of *mahiki‘anga*, the institutionalized father’s sister stands as the person on who the sister’s child’s high social status is lifted.

**me‘akai**: food; literally, thing as food/person/to be eaten

**me‘e**: or *eke* is Tongan for Fijian *meke* “dance of persecution”. *Eke* is title name in Kolovai

**mohe**: to sleep; honorific for going to bed and have sexual intercourse

**moheofo**: old marriage practice in which the eldest daughter of *Tu‘i Ha‘atakala*ua and *Tu‘i Kanokupolu* presented as chief wife of the *Tu‘i Tonga* and mother of the heir. There are two possible meanings to this term. First, it is *mohehoko* “sleeping to secure a royal genealogical connection” or, second, *moheo‘o*, as a regal for fakao‘o “(of a rooster) to copulate with”.

**Momo**: from *temomo* “young relative of Kohai and Koau”, the first three maggotty men in Tonga
motu’a: first; old; most senior
mo’unga: person to who one looks for protection
Mo’ungaamotu’a:

Name of the first Tu’i Ha’atakalauna “First person to whom Tu’i Tonga Kau’ulufonuafekai looks for protection”

mutu: to amputate

Niuatoputapu:

Head/Coconut-of-sacredness

Niukapu: title name as “Head/coconut-sacred”
niuui: formal calling for “home” by planting coconuts in olden days
Nuku: title name; islet; district; people, (see Pratt 1982:233)
nunu’a: penal consequence
ngaohi: to adopt and bring up a child; to make, construct, build, manufacture. The same term spelled gaoi in Samoan means “to steal”.

Ngata: personal name meaning “the Tail”, (see Kramer 1994:313, Vol.l)
palepale: shelter
pali: vagina
peito: cooking house
pola: food enclosed in plaited coconut-leaf and baked
polata: trunk of plaintain
poopao: canoe
pour: post
pule: authority; governor; to control

pule'anga: Samoan for Tongan *pule'anga* “decision making council to take care of the *Tu'i Tonga* tributary belongings from the people of the land”

pule'anga: government

pulopula: seed-yam for planting; over-mature yam

Rewa: Fijian for Tongan ‘Eua

Samoa’aatoa:

“All Samoa” including Samoa, Tonga, Fiji, Rarotonga, Tahiti, Wahua, which had to bring *Tui Manu’a* seafood tributes


sika’ulutoa: spearing the head of the casuarina/cassowary, a reference to *‘Aho’eitu*’s head, as a member of the *Samoa* or *Ha’amoana*, by his own half older brothers. My translation here disputes the translation as “spear with a head made of ironwood”, (see Churchward 1959:429)

Si’usei’a: Samoan of Tongan *Hikuhekeika* “tail-dislocated-fish” (see Kramer 1994:313, Vol.I). The Tongan form means “the eel (fish) that had its tail cut off” (Dr Wendy Pond’s translation), a reference to the story of *Hina* and the origin of the coconut. (See the text and translation of the myth in the Appendix 5, page 279.)

Taeotagaloa:
“Shit of Tagaloa, the persecutor ghost”

tala: traditions

Talafale: tradition of fale; household adviser

Talakite: tradition of making the royal sacred blood

tala o le Vavau:

tradition of the propitiatory sacrifice, (see Powell 1892:186)

tama: male of chiefly rank; male and female child of a woman or couple

Tamahaa: child of Tu’i Tonga Fefine; literally means in Samoan as “sacred child”, in Fijian as “bad child”

tama tu’u he fa’ee:

child standing on mother

Tangaloa: (from fakatanga) god who persecutes people; persecutor ghost

tangata: male; man

tapu: forbidden; sacred

Tapuhia: Sacred-wrongdoing mount

tau: war; to fight; to arrive; to moor a boat; to angle for fish with a line and hook; to hang; to set a trap; to win a race; to copulate with

taufa: war

Taufa’aahau: personal name meaning “fight of ‘Aahau, traditional residence of the Tu’i Kanokupolu’. The name originally has connection with Tu’i ‘Aahau of Ha’atafu in Hihifo, Tongatapu, a cannibal god who was given jealous ‘Ila’s daughter with chief Na’a’anamoana (Tu’i Tonga
Fatafehi in other version) to be his wife. This information can be obtained from the tradition of the Fua (Appendix 3, page 257).

taule’ale’a: Samoan of Tongan toulekeleka “untitled young men”, (see Mead 1930)

taumafa kava: formal ceremony of drinking the kava
taumaata’u: surfacing of the sacred fish from the deep with the hook, (see Lieber 1994)

Tau’angahoi: the clump of hoi yams place in Folaha said to be where ‘Aho’eitu’s head discarded. It could be tanu’angahoi “burying place of hoi’. Hoi, therefore, could be ohi “sucker”.

tau’ataaina: fight to get freed
ta’ata’a: regal for blood. In Fijian the spelling is ndra, (see Hocart 1924).

ta’ata’a tapu: sacred blood
ta’okete: older sibling of the same sex as speaker
tehina: younger sibling of the same sex as speaker
toa: casuarina tree; used in calling fowls, moa, of large flightless cassowary from the resemblance between branches and feathers.
tofi: dividing
tofinga: yam piece cut off

Tokelau: North
tokoni: to assist; polite for “to eat”

Tonga: South; as corruption of konga in Tu’i Tonga, it means “half”
Tongafusifonua: 
Harvesting of the fish/yam tubers

Tongatapu:  Section-prohibited

toputapu:  sacred; divine

toto:  blood

toto'i 'eiki:  blood of high ranking person

toume: coconut spathes bundled together and lighted used as a torch

to'a: big strong man of whom others are afraid

to'ukupu kelekele: 
legs earth-bound

tufunga fonua: carpenters of the country; the founders of customs and the regulators of social life

tuofefine: from man speaking, sister; his female half.

tuonga’ane: from woman speaking, brother; her male half.

tupu: grow; “King” in Samoan

Tuputoka:  Lo’au’s title name in recognition of his canoe/house construction for resting place of the dead; planting of yam-piece

tu’a: commoner; outside the house

Tu’i Ha’atakalaua: 
Kingly title of Ha’atakalaua meaning “Takalaua’s junior sons as protectors of their older brother, successor to the Tu’i Tonga title”

Tu’i Kanokupolu:
Kingly title of Kanokupolu meaning "flesh of outstanding value of 'Upolu"

Tu'i Tonga: King of Tonga title derived from tu'usi konga meaning "to cut into half"

Tu'i Tonga Fefine:
Female Tu'i Tonga; older sister of the Tu'i Tonga title holder; institution based on fahu

Tu'i Tonga Momo:
Dated as the 10th Tu'i Tonga title holder, Momo means crumb of a rotten fue "creeper plant", of a disintegrated swisher. He had been cut into three pieces. Momo, as in temomo, is a relation of the tyrant Fue.

Tu'i Tonga Taatui:
King of Tonga who strikes the knees of the people

Tu'i Tonga 'Aho'eitu:
'Aho'eitu, the first putative Tu'i Tonga title holder

tu'u: to stand; to cut; to ease the bowels
tu'usi: to cut down
tu'usi konga: to cut down into half

Tu'utolu: three standing districts
tu'tu'u'a: to mutilate
tu'u ua: to cut into two

'uhiki: offspring
uho taha: one umbilical cord; sons of same mother and different fathers always tend to support each other

uho tau: fighting umbilical cord; sons of different mothers and same father prone to be in fighting against each other

uho: pith; centre; umbilical cord

ule: une in the language of Uvea (see Clark 1994) as “penis”

Ulunivuaka: Pig’s head as former name of Mbau, the small offshore island of Vitilevu, in Fiji, (see Scarr 1976)

uma: in Samoan “wide chest”; in Tongan “shoulder”

umatagata: Samoan concept for “wide chest-person”, (see Pratt 1984:102); “shoulder person”, (see Schultz 1985)

utu-ta’u: yam harvesting

Vaheloto: Central District

vahe taumata ‘oe fono:
food at kava distributing

vaka: canoe; boat; canoe hull

vaka Leitana:
another poetical version of fale kano’imata “boat decorated with human eye balls”. Leitana possibly is leitangata “human eye balls”.

valai: creeper

Vava’u: in Samoan, Vavau, as in feilaulau, “to do the long fishing-net made of the stems of the creeper and coconut leaves connected with the trunks of plantain as victuals of fish”
va’e: legs

Va’epopua: personal name of ‘Aho’eitu’s mother meaning “Legs (body) of punishment”

vea: overripe (see Hocart 1929:240); decaying from over-exposure to the sun

vuka: small fish that fly out of the water into the air

‘aho: Tongan for aso in Samoan meaning “day’s offering of a human victim to a chief”, (see Pratt 1984:77)

‘Ahome’e: title name “persecution dance of the daily food sacrifice”

‘Aho’eitu: Tongan for Samoan Asoaitu, “human sacrifice of yams to a spirit” (Tangaloa ‘Eitumatupu’a)

‘Ata: Island to the south of Tonga and Rotuman for “upper end of yam”

‘akau: a tree; in Samoan as la’au, it also means “a club”, “a small axe used to behead in war”, (see Pratt 1984:173); “fishhook”, (see Clark 1994)

‘api: home

‘atamai: to appear as a shadow of the mind

‘ato: roof; thatch

‘eiki: translated in English as “chief”, “high ranking person”, “aristocrat”. It is honorific for the son of an outside high ranking person or for female sibling in connection to the brother-sister relationship principle. Etymology of ‘eiki refers to a person who tete’e “sticks out, outstanding in rank”, thus an ‘eiki tete’e. ‘Eiki, therefore, could
be a corruption of *te’eiki* “very young person” which is thus connected to life transition from babyhood to adulthood, compare with the life transition of “mullet” in Churchward (1959:250). Another use, but in a more direct informal denigration of *eiki*, is *te’efehi’i* meaning “to burst out in one place”. The “very young one” is the *te’e* “dreg” who oozes out through his/her common mother’s vagina.

‘eitu: Tongan for *aitu* in Samoan meaning “god” or “spirit” rather than “chief” (see Pratt 1984:58). Richard Moyle (1984:68, footnote 105) adds on a likeable explanation, that *Faueaa* had been taken for dead on account of his long absence from Samoa and was initially thought of and referred to as an *aitu* (spirit) of his real self, an incident occurring in 1832.

‘Eitumatupu’a:

(from Samoan *‘ainu’uu-ma-tupua*) devouring places/people and guessing answers to riddles

‘ila: having an unfortunate circumstance; a chief who is one of his/her parents being a commoner

‘Ilaheva: personal name of ‘Aho’eitu’s mother meaning “Chiefess partly commoner-wrongdoer”

‘Ilamutu: brother’s sister’s child, who is a chief, on his/her father’s side, partly commoner, on his/her mother’s side. The child is the abandoned amputated upper part (chief of local mother) being connected onto
the land resting on his/her mother's brother as post, thus he/she becomes whole again.

'ilo: honorific for “to eat”; to know

'inasi: food tributes to the Tu'i Tonga

'uanga: worm

'uangahia: maggoty

'uhi: yam tubers

'uhiki: offspring

'ula: Samoan for Tongan kula as in Fale'ula “bleeding head from smashing”

'ulu: head; leader


'Ulutolu: three heads; three men in one

'ulu'i 'uhi: yam-top

'umisi (umiti in Samoan):

tributes of sea food of the Tu'i Manu'a brought to him from Samoa, Tonga, Fiji, Rarotonga, Tahiti, and Wahua

'umu: ground-oven

'Upolu: three heads in one body, (see Bott 1982:115); in my interpretation, the term refers to the three districts in 'Upolu, namely, Aana (western district of Tui Aana), Tuamasaga (central district of Malietoa), Atua (eastern district of Tui Atua)

'uta: land; advice resulting from careful consideration; above the sea