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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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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 Mafile'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.

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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.

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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.

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Figure 1

(Bott 1982:153, Figure 31)

Tamahā Lātūfuipeka: Her Contribution to the chiefness of modern aristocratic nobles (Titles of recent generations of aristocratic nobles are capitalised)

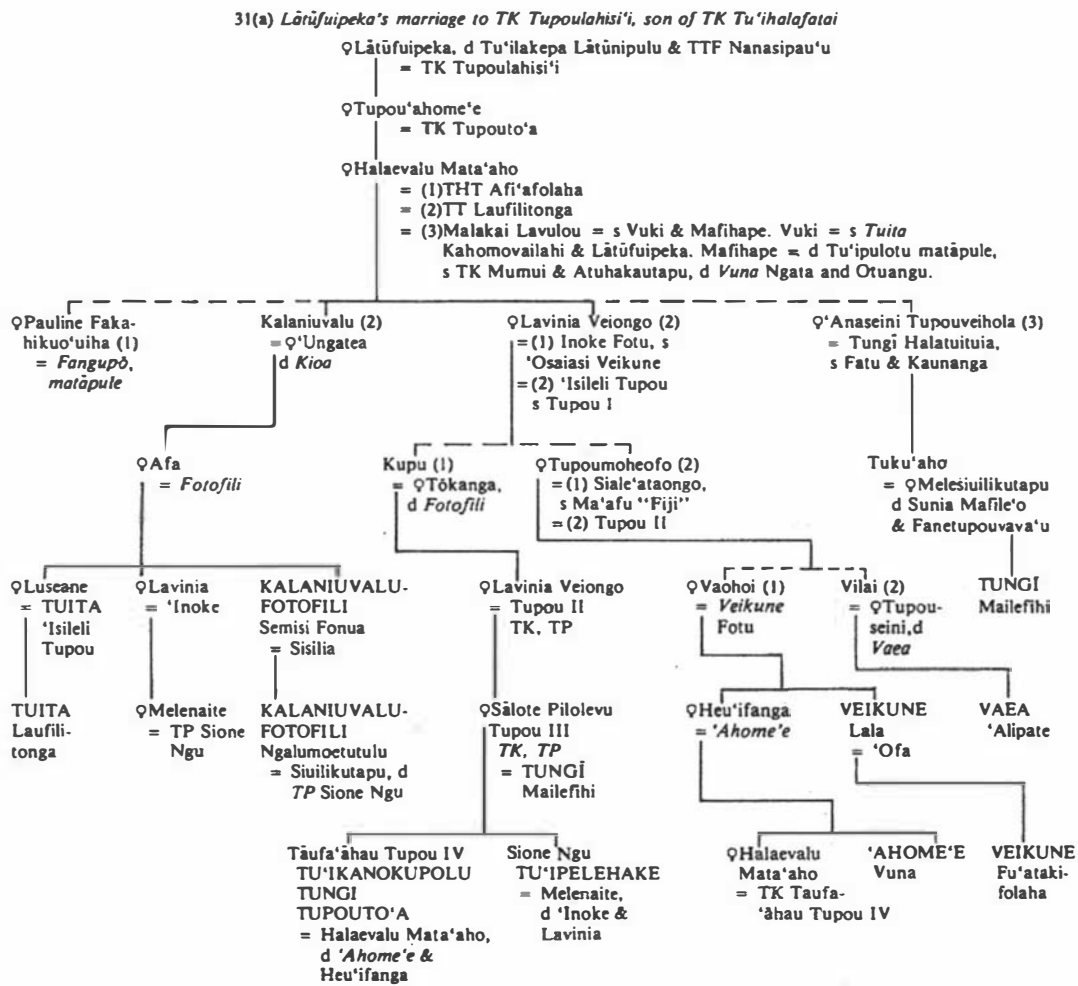


Figure 1(b)

(Bott 1982:154, Figure 31[b])

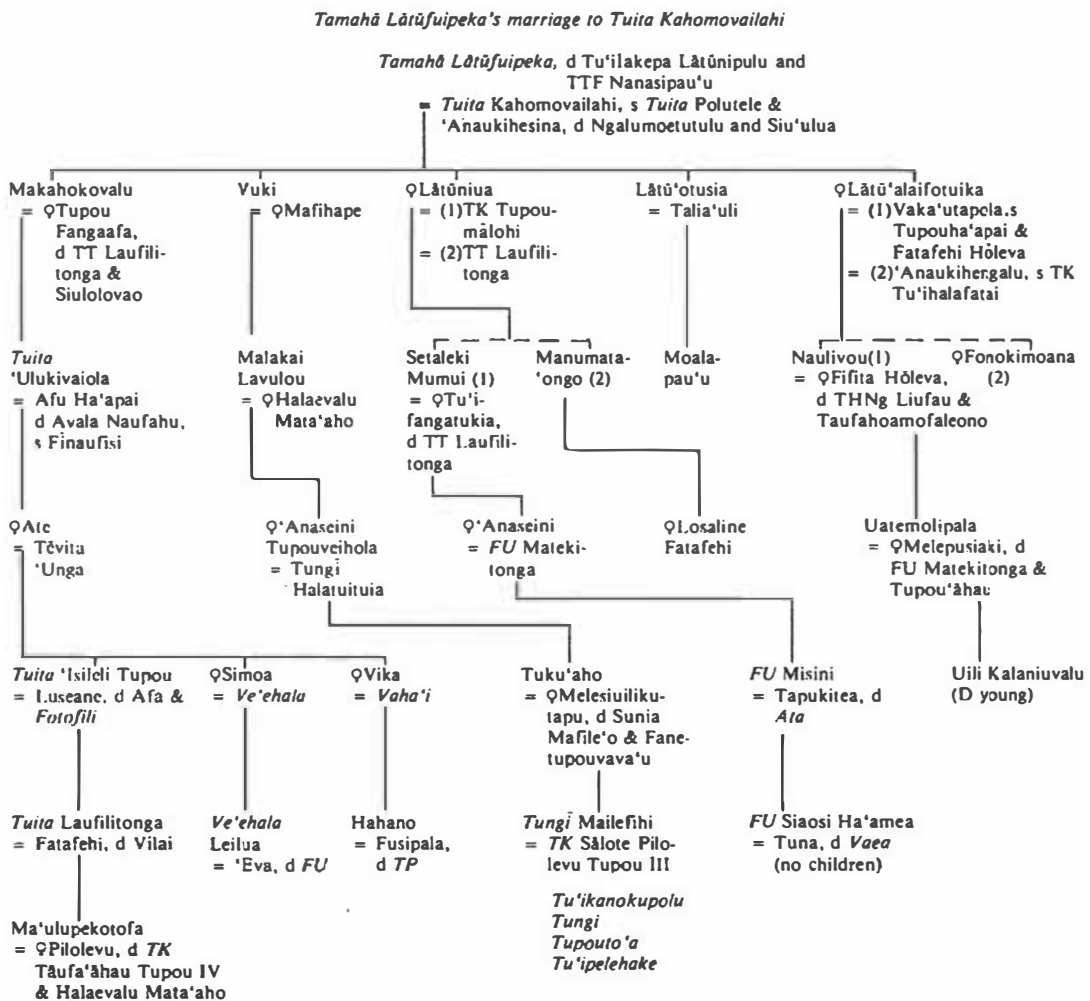


Figure 1(c)

(Bott 1982:155, Figure 31[c])

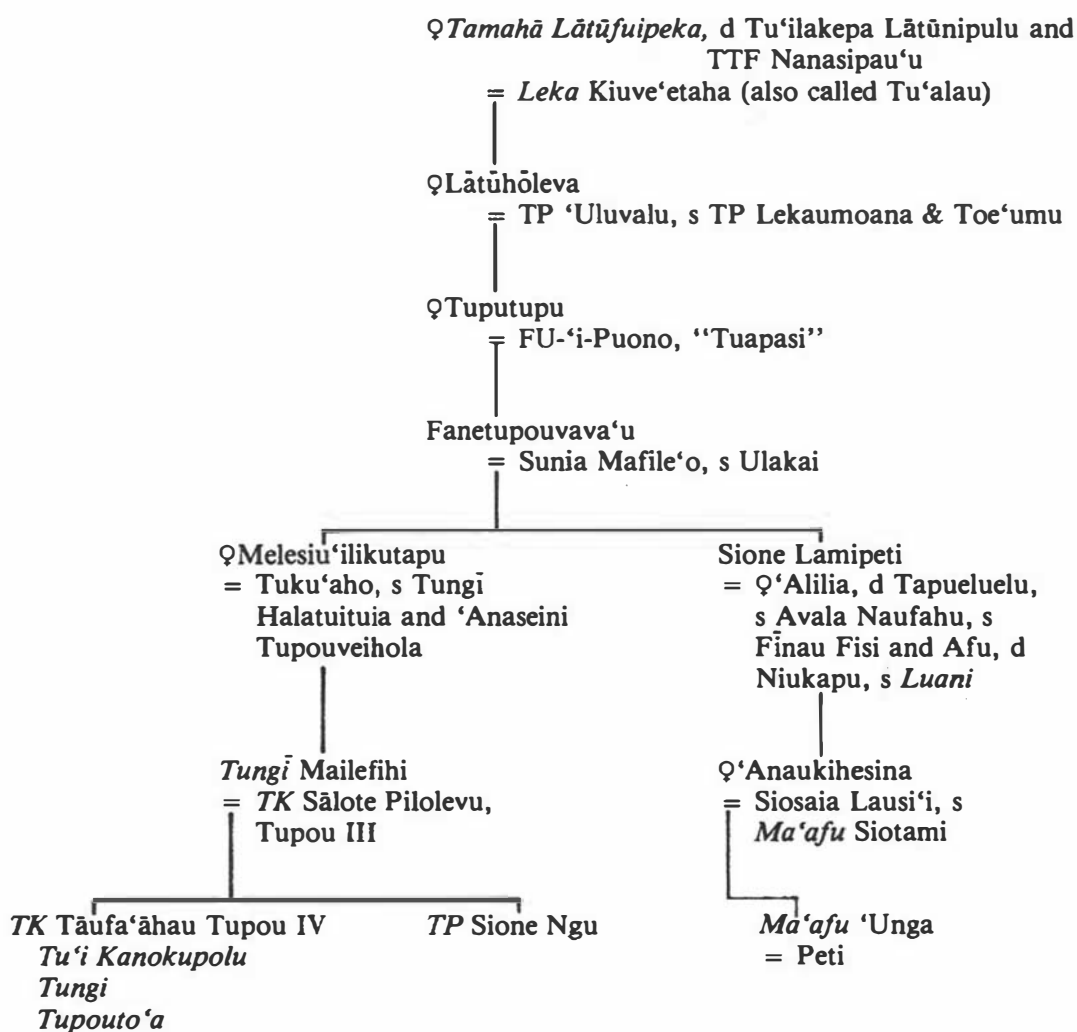
Tamahā Lātūfuipeka's marriage to Leka Kiuve'etaha (Tu'alau)

Figure 2

(Bott 1982:12, Figure 1)

Succession of Tu'i Tonga from 'Uluakimata (Tele'a) to Lauilitonga (The mohefo are italicized. Note that Tu'i Tonga Paulaho succeeded before his elder brother Ma'ulupekotofa. Tu'i Tonga are put at left regardless of age relative to the Tu'i Tonga Fefine)

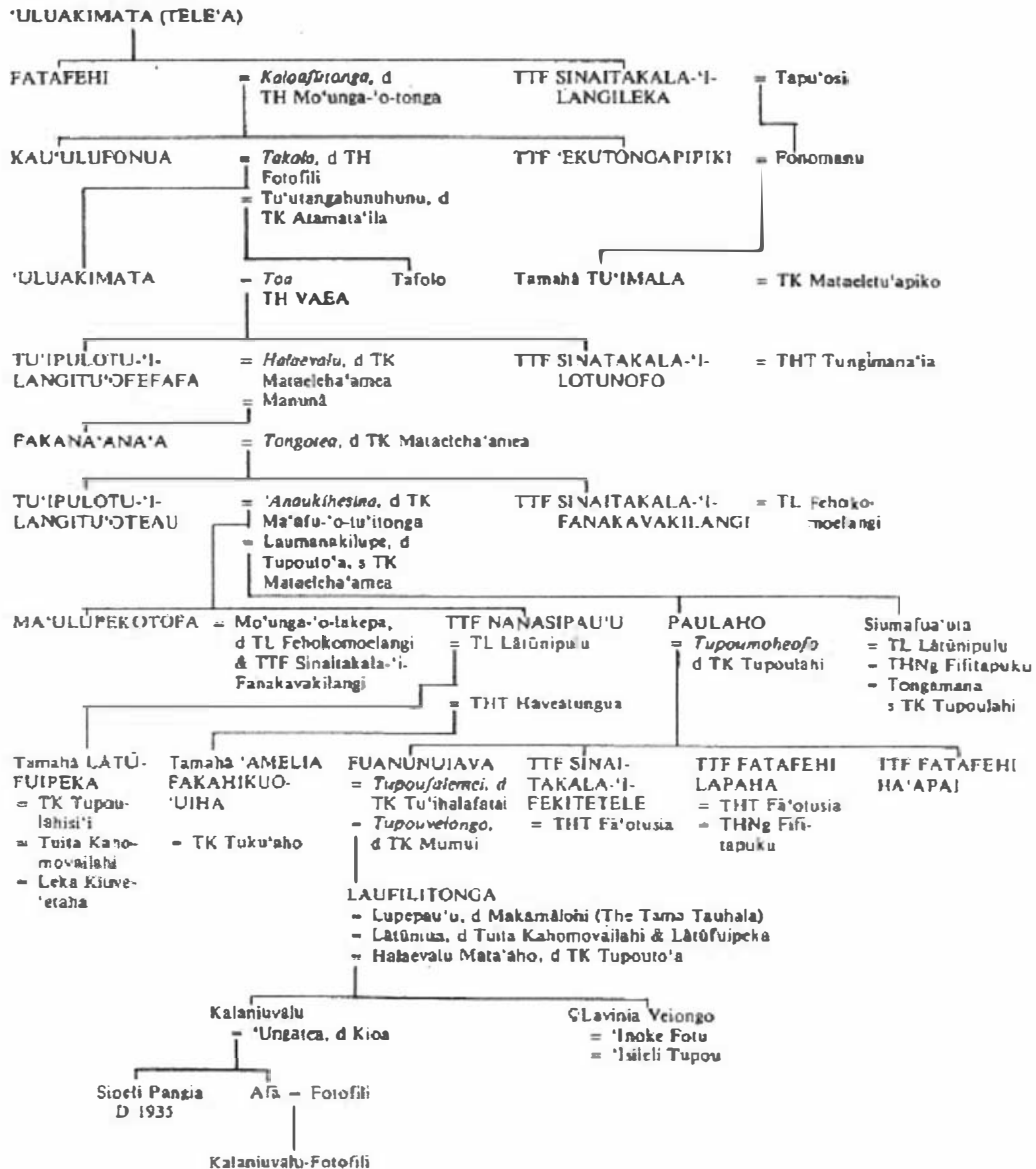


Figure 3

(Bott 1982:13, Figure 2)

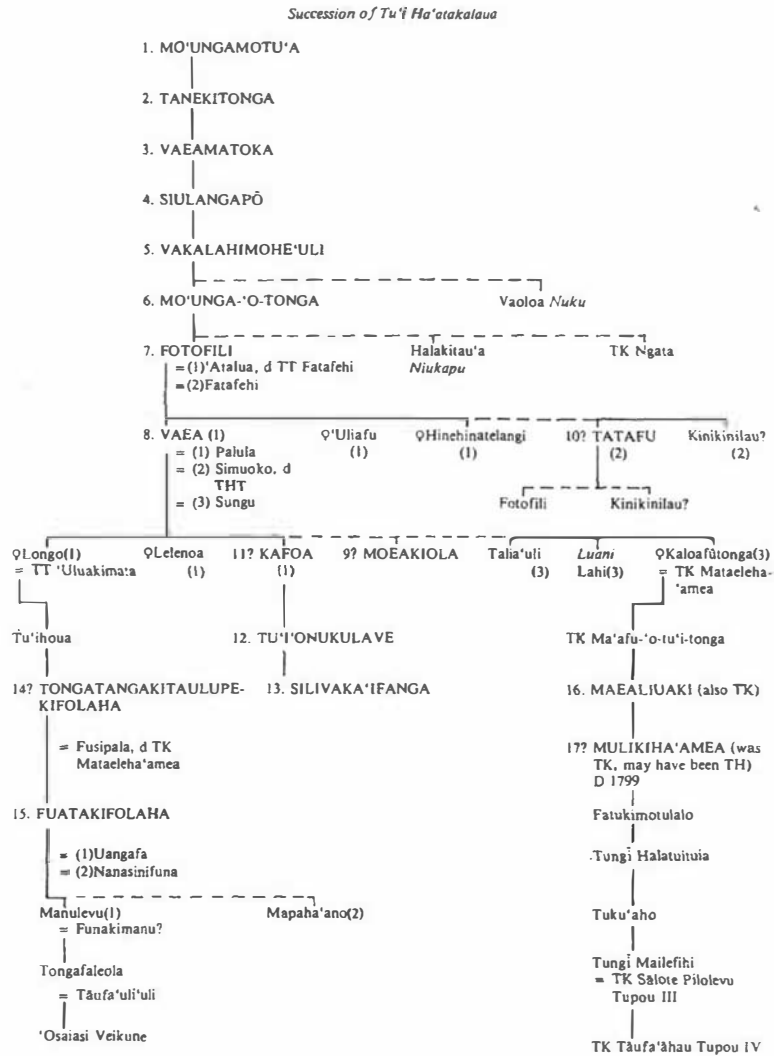


Figure 4
(Bott 1982:14, Figure 3)

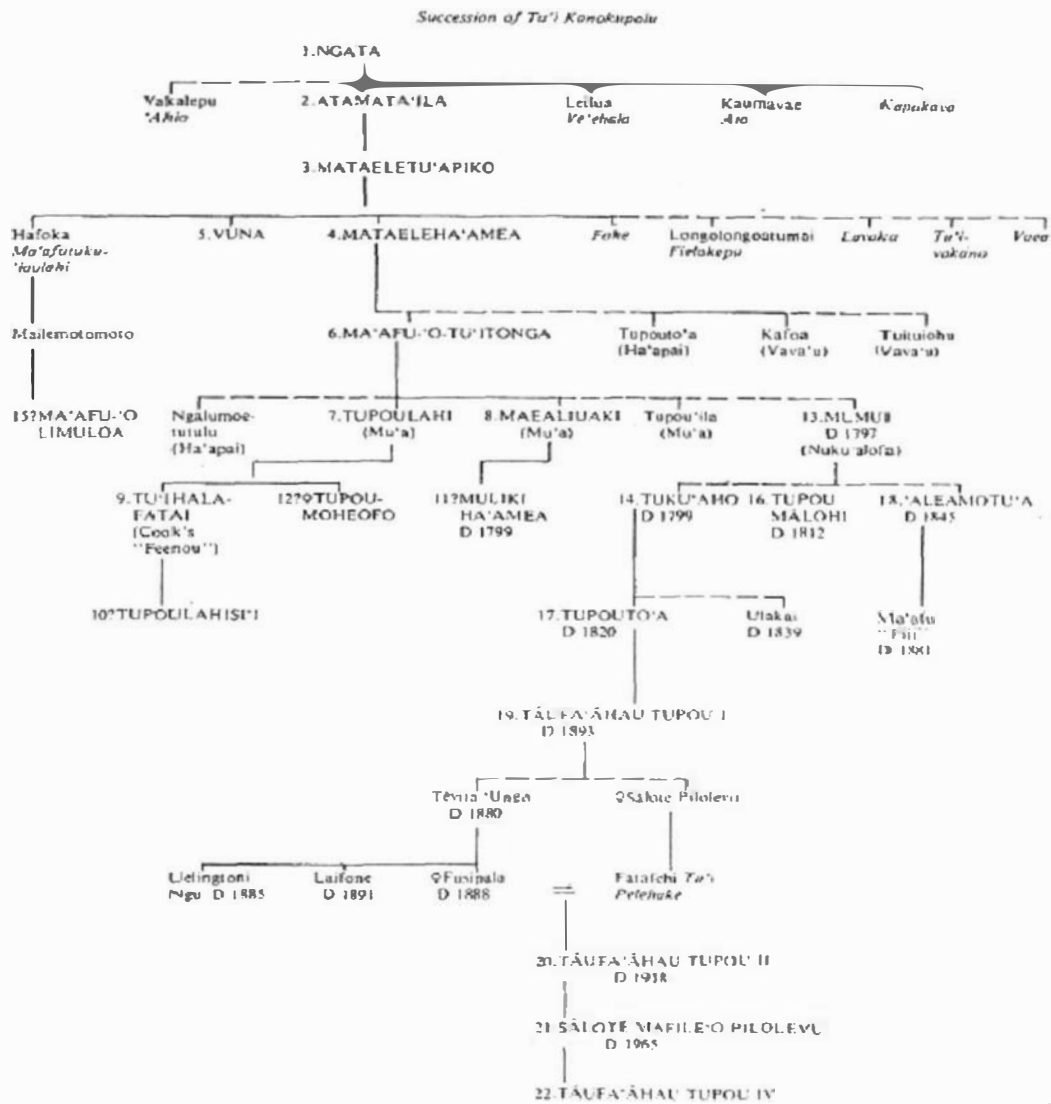


Figure 5

(Bott 1982:130, Figure 21)

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 *Lasike* title through woman, Toafilimoe'unga)

TK MATAELETU'APIKO — 3rd TK

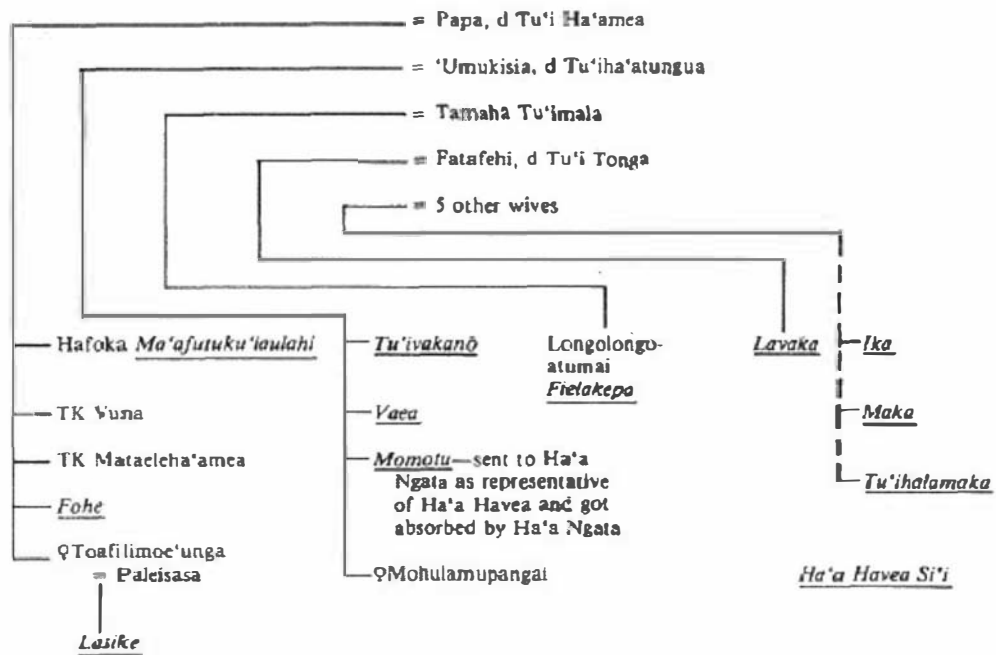


Figure 6

(Bott 1982:152, Figure 30)

Senior and junior lines of Kanokupolu chiefs: Ngalumoeututulu, Tupoulahi, Maaliuaki, and Mumui (For reasons of space, sibilings are put one underneath the other)

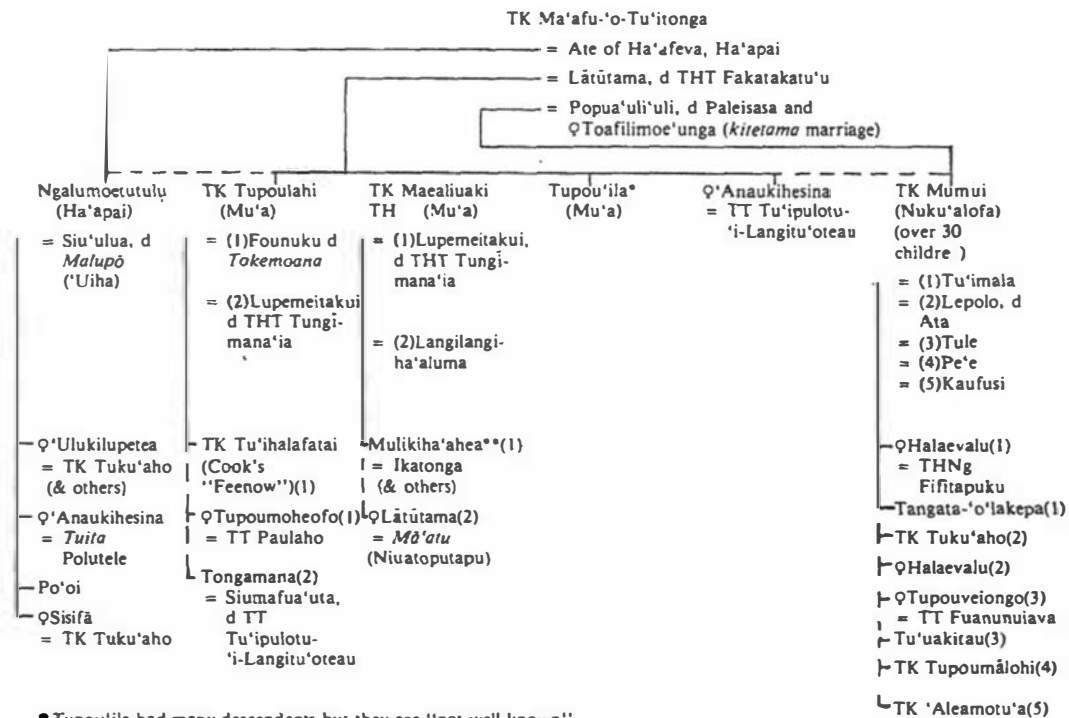


Figure 7

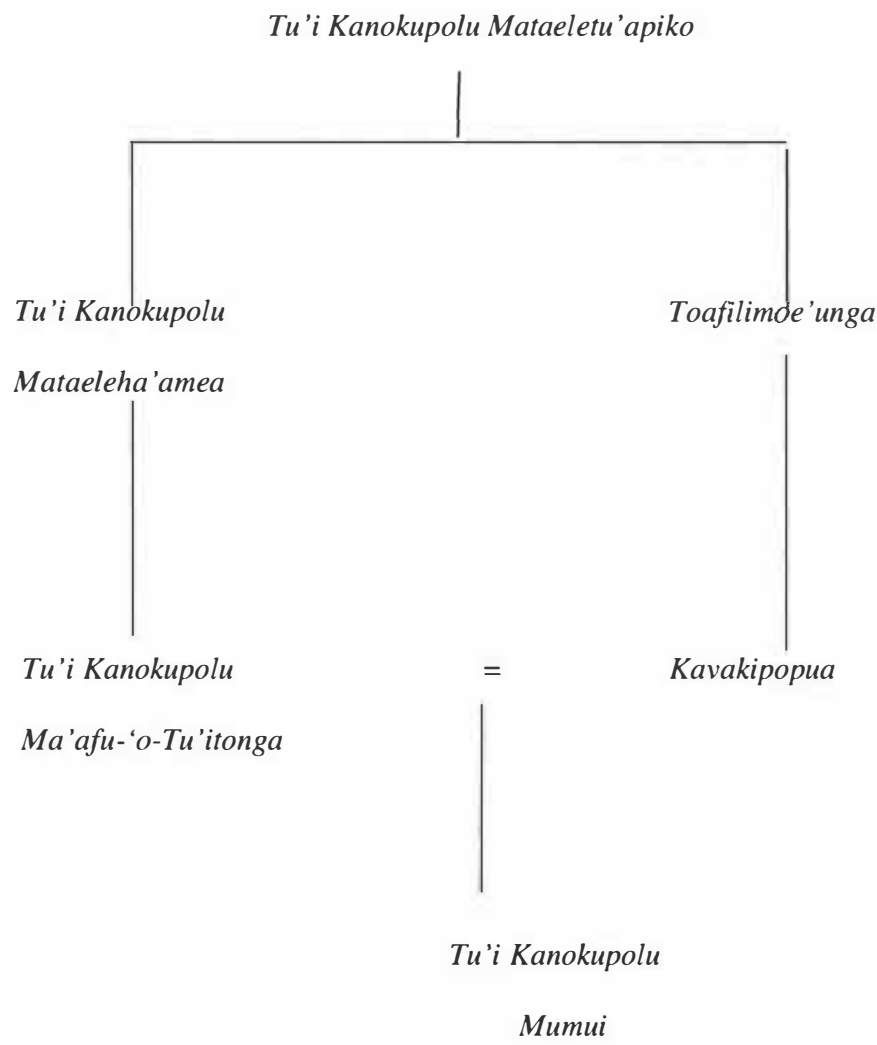


Figure 8

(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)

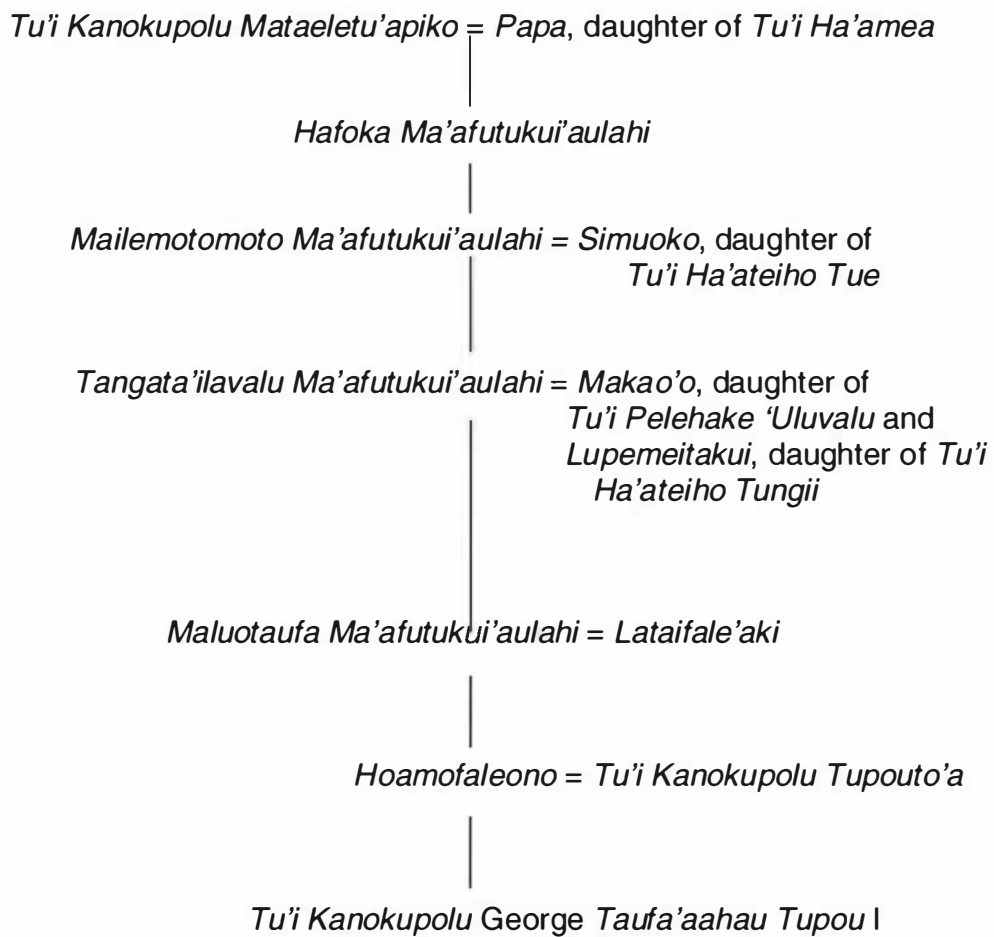
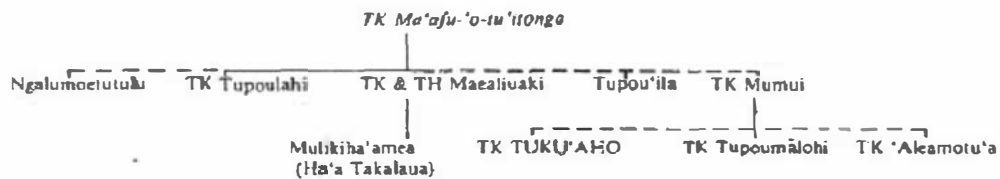


Figure 9
(Bott 1982:82, Figure13)

The Ha'a Ma'afu of Kaukolalala

(a) *The relation of TK Tuku'aho to TK Ma'afu-o-tu'itonga*



(b) *Derivation of the three branches of Ha'a Ma'afu from TK TUKU'AHO*
(Members of the ho'a are italicised)

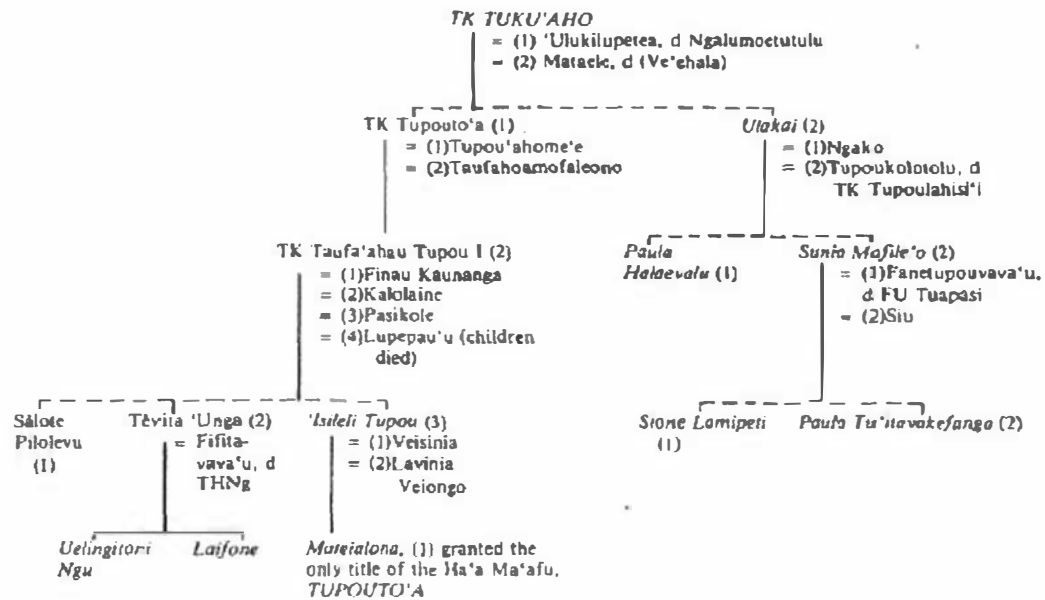


Figure 10
(Bott 1982:136, Figure 22)

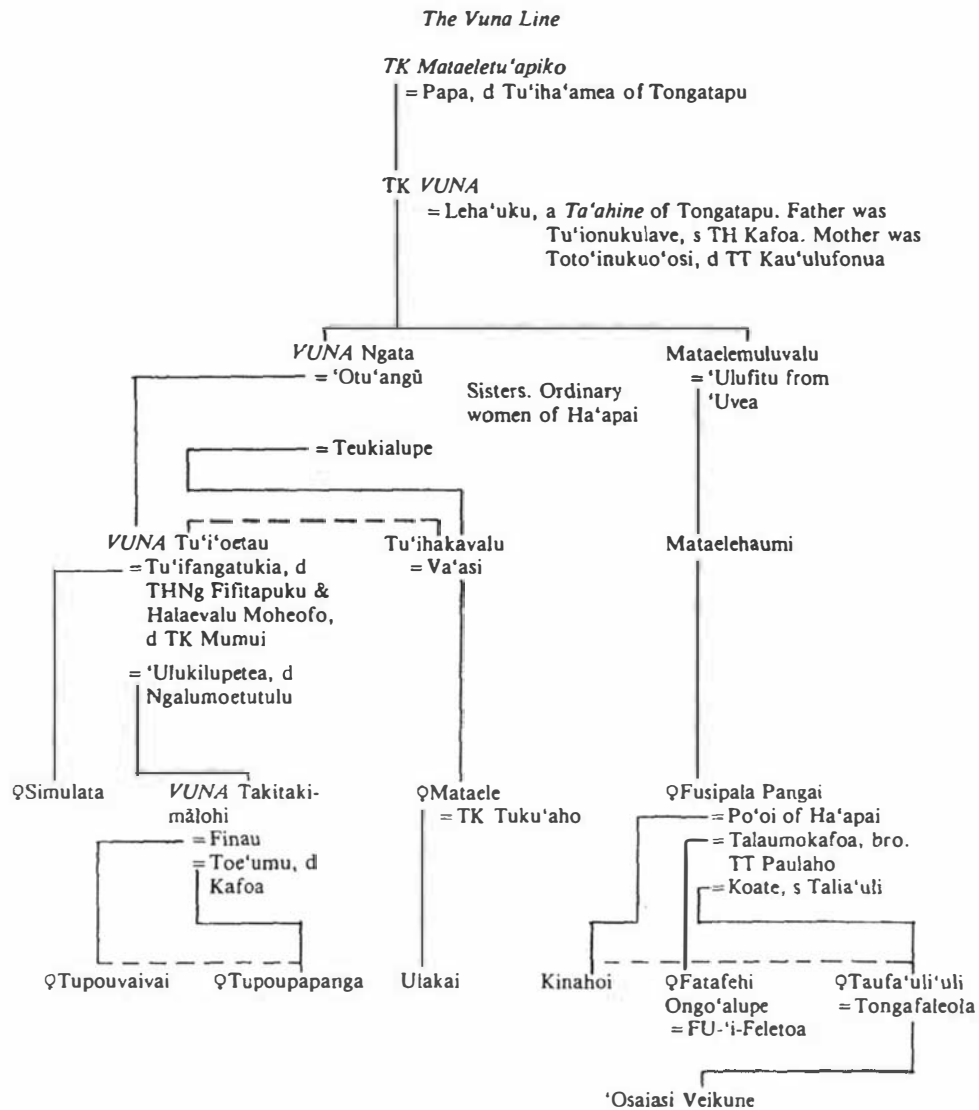


Figure 11

(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)

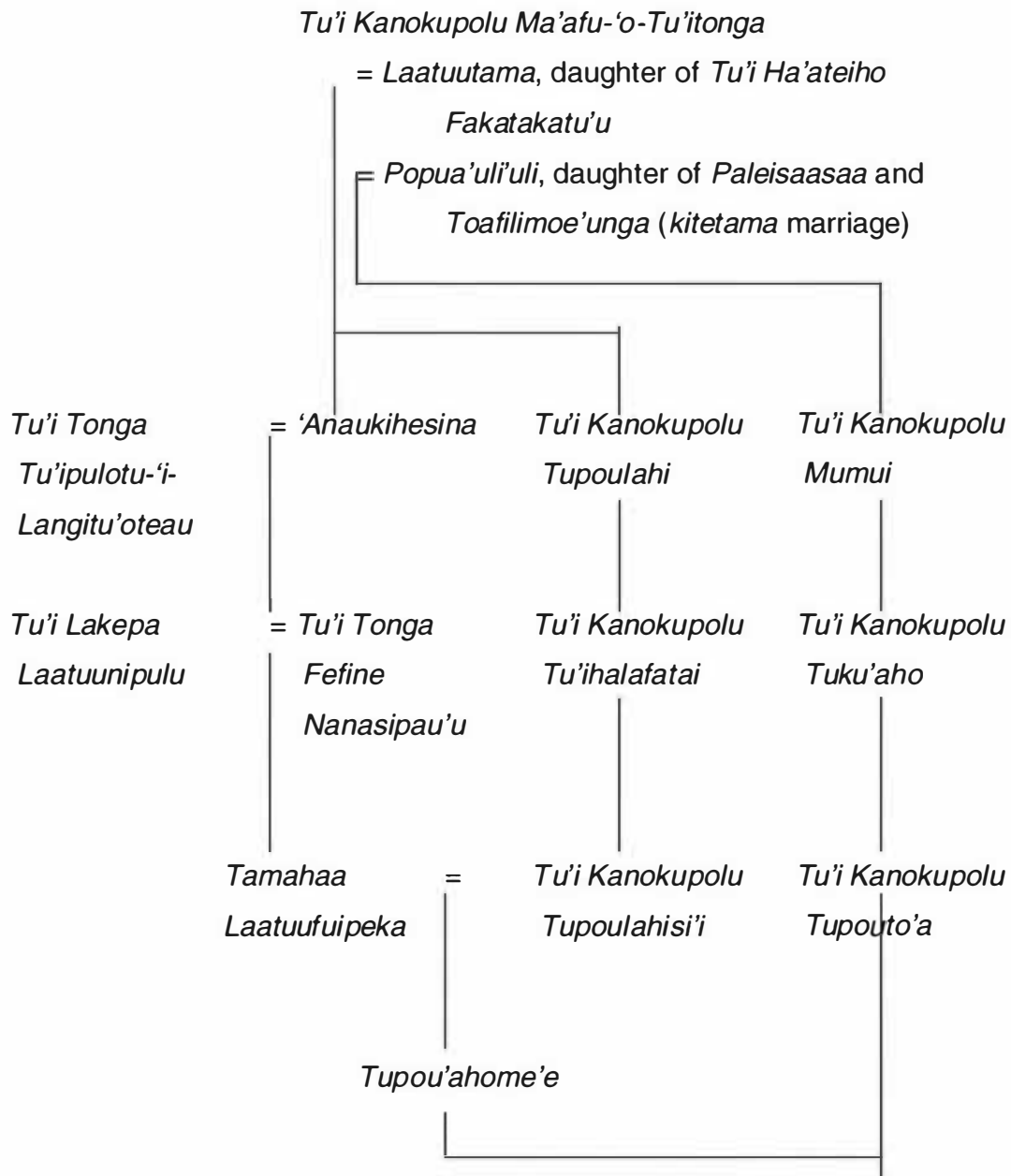


Figure 12

(Bott 1982:147, Figure 24)

Descendants of Tu'i Kanokupolu Mataeleha'amea: Fusipala, daughter of Mataeleha'amea, and the development and elevation of the title of Tu'ipelehake

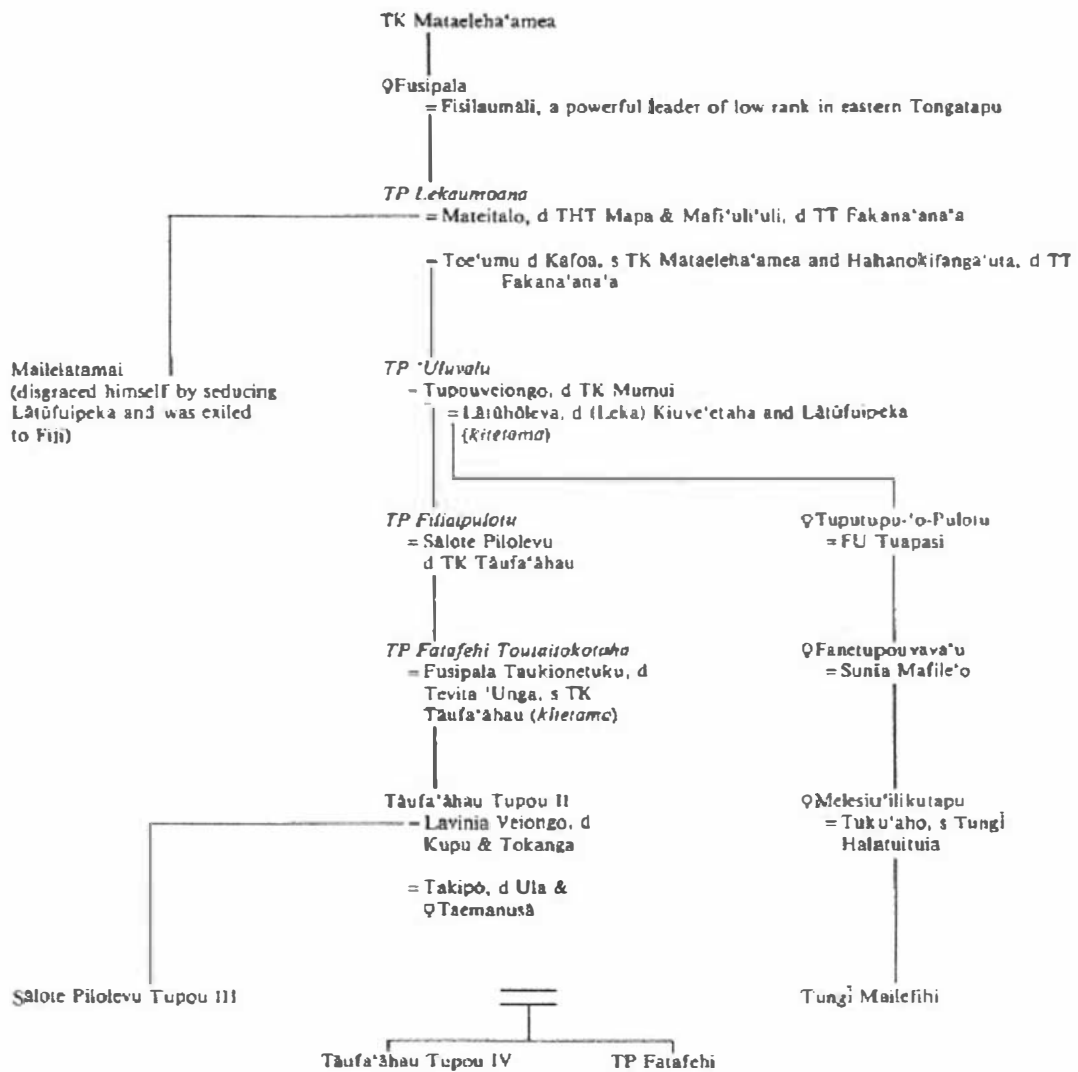


Figure 13

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

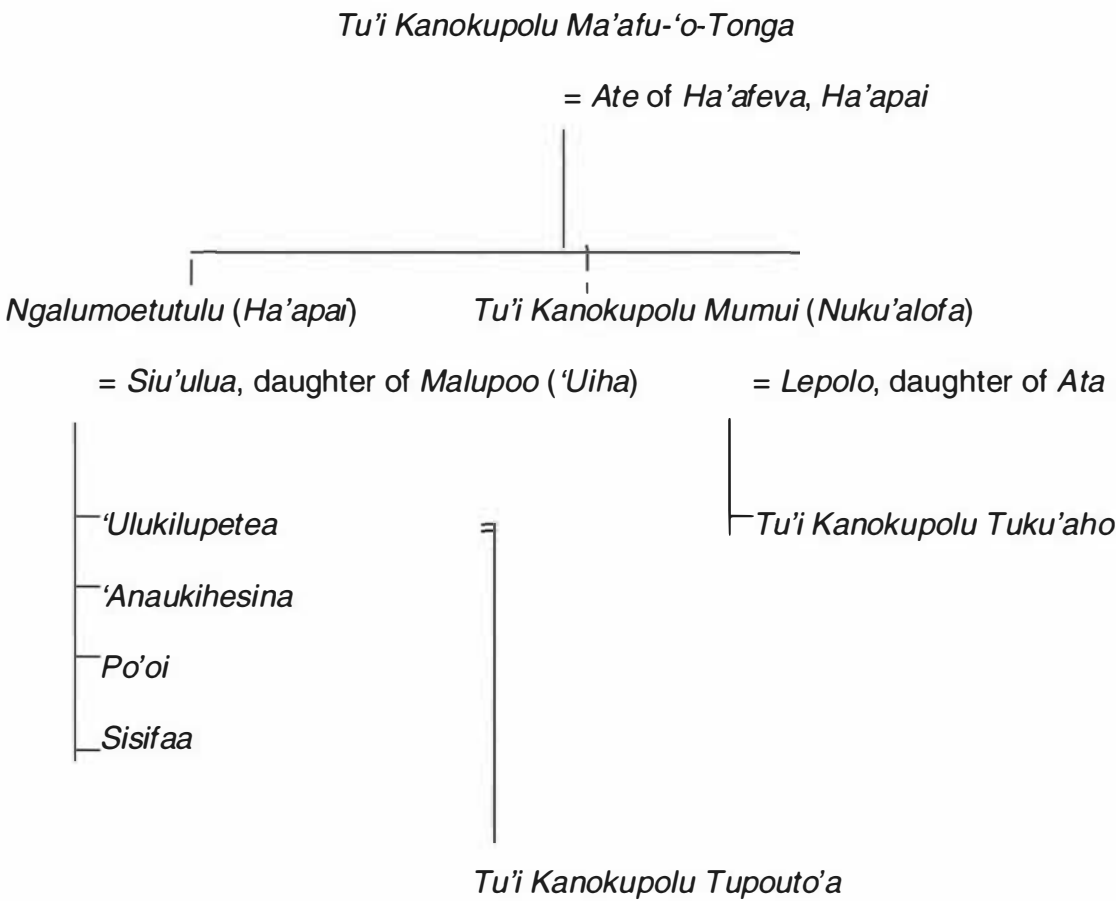
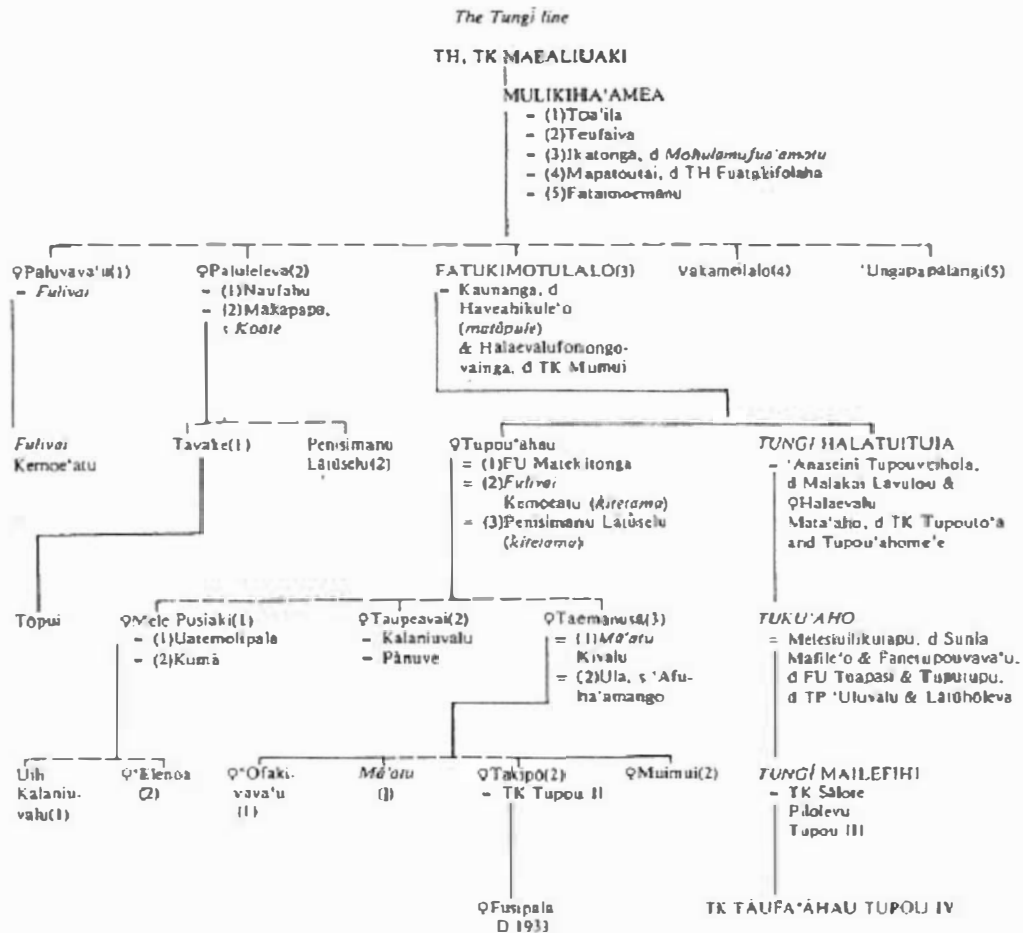
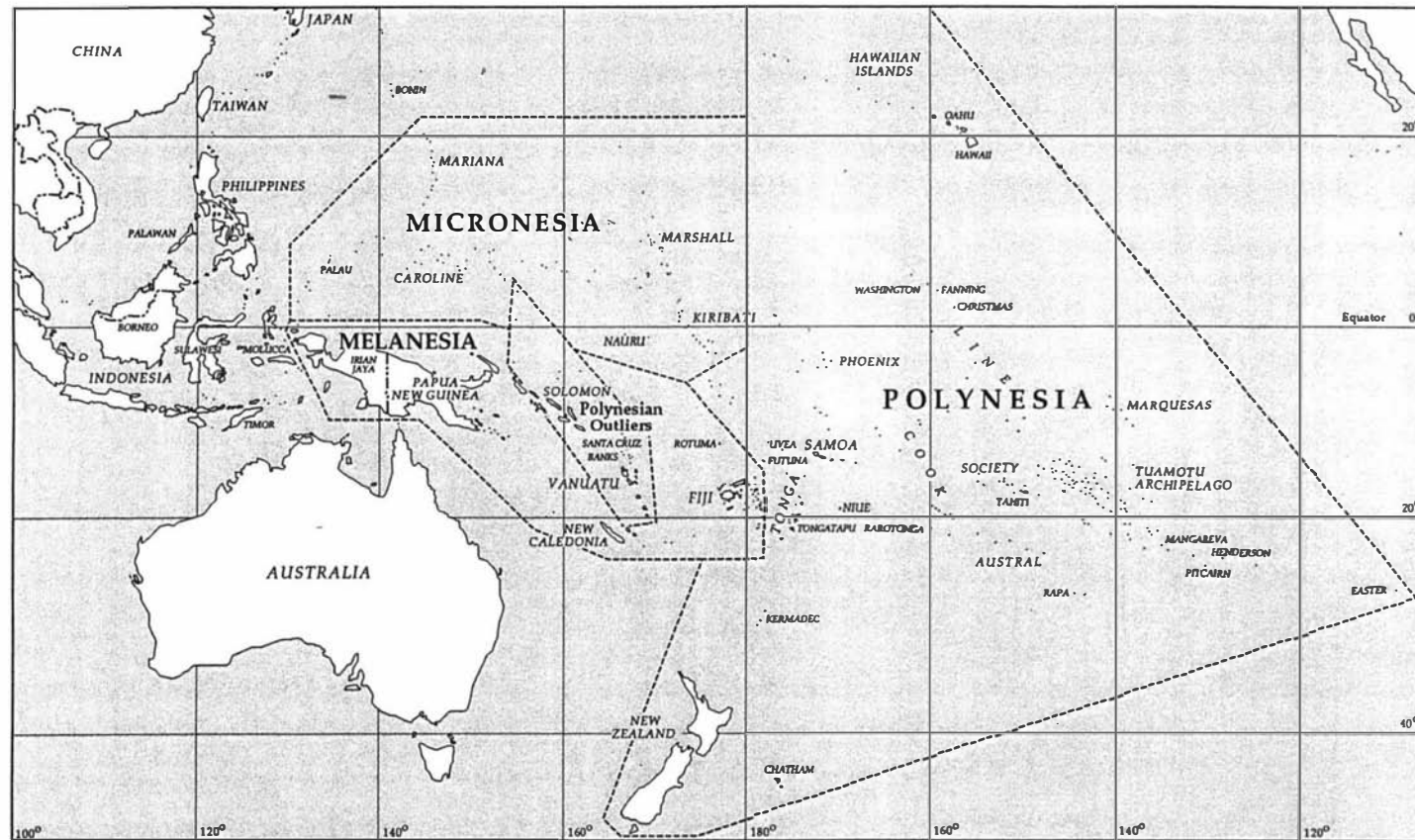


Figure 14

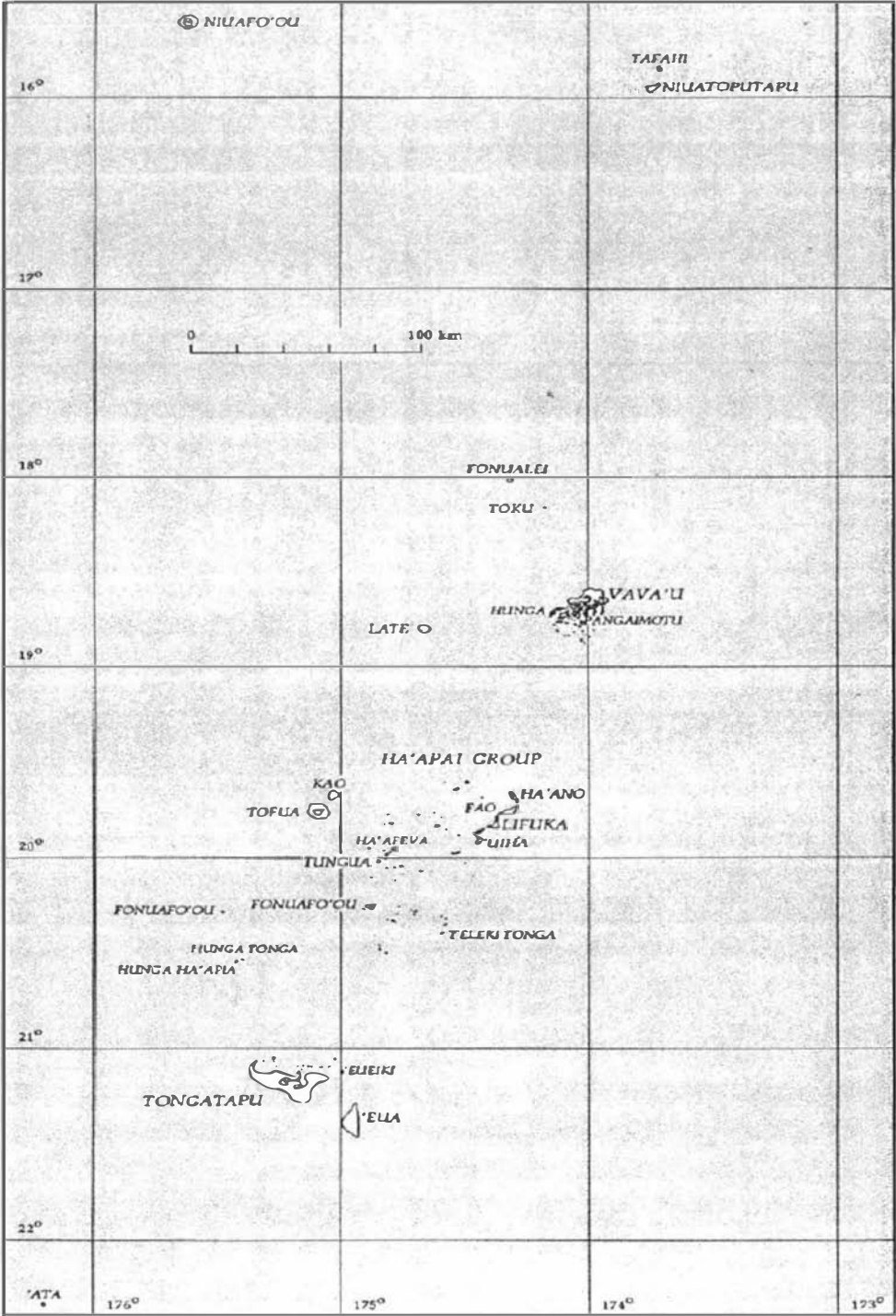
(Bott 1982:88, Figure 19)





MAP 1: Pacific (Micronesia, Melanesia and Polynesia) and South East Asia

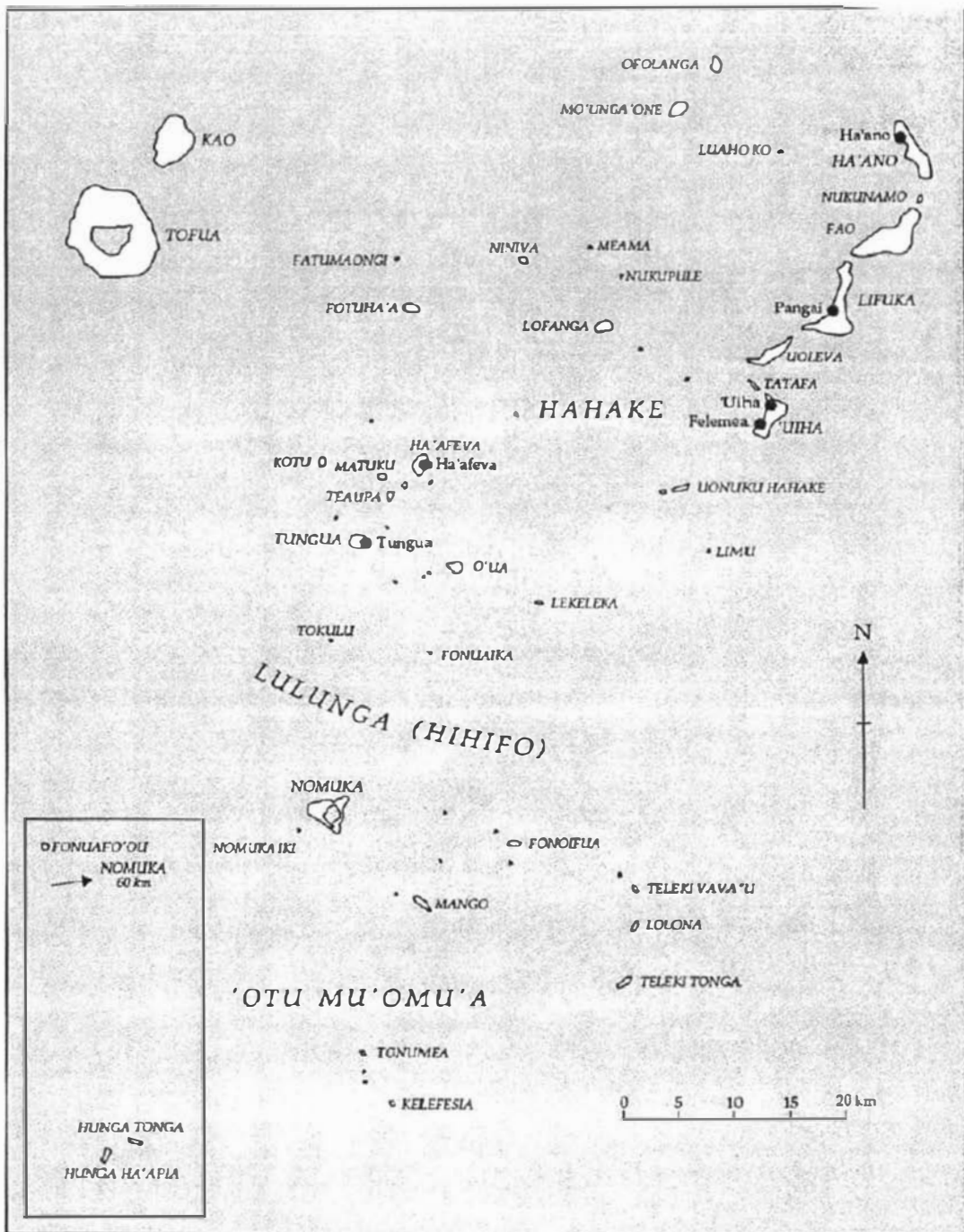
(Mahina 1992)



MAP 4: Tongan Islands

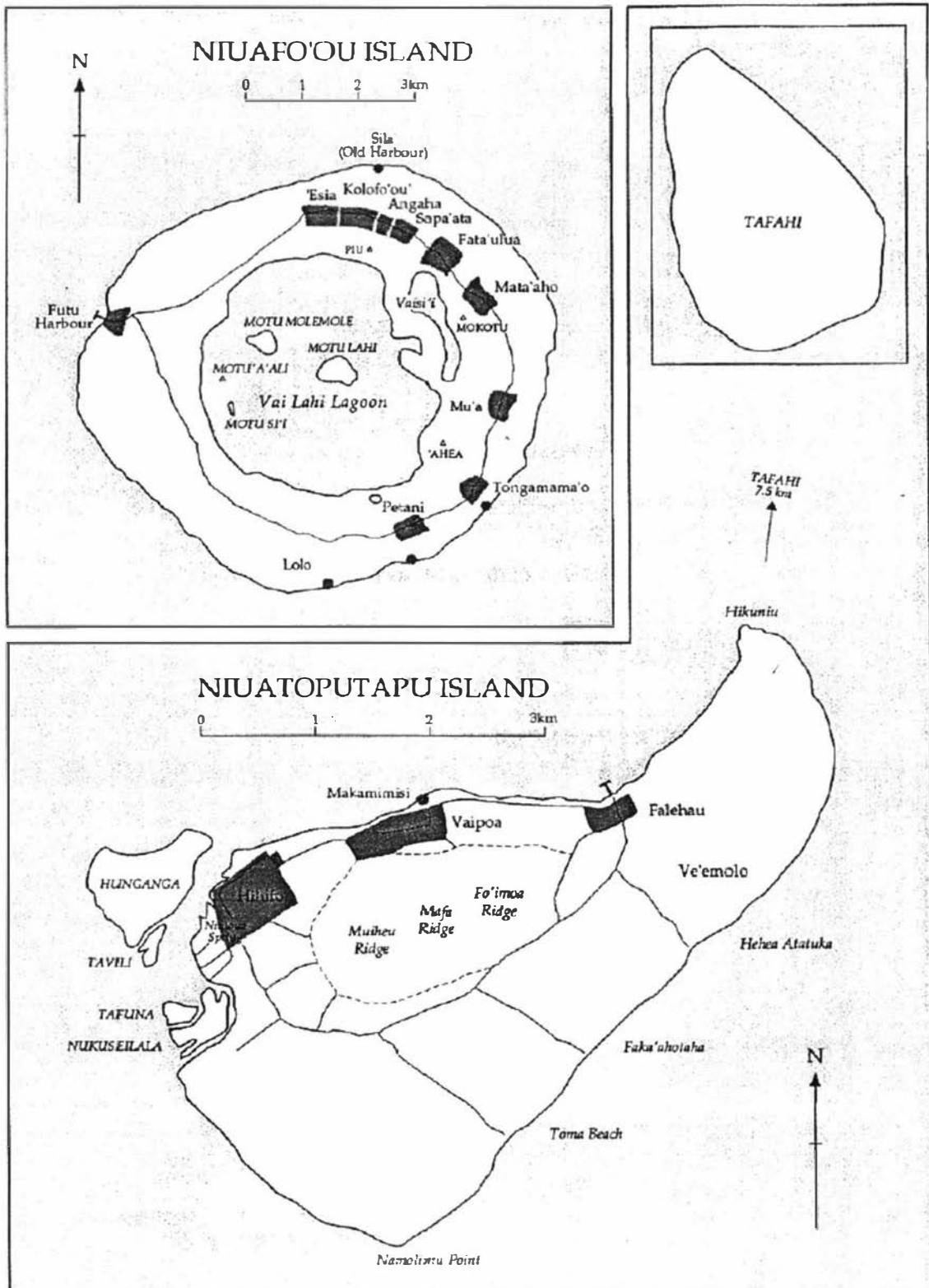
(Mahina 1992)

(Mahina 1992)



MAP 7: Ha'apai Group

(Mahina 1992)



MAP 8: Ongo Niua Group (Niufo'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 hingo '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 Taatu'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 chiefly
- fohe:* oars

Folaha: 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 [*Tonumaipē'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 *Tu'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 *Ve'a*"
- 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, *Tohuia*, from *Saafata* in *'Upolu*
- Ha'avea:* Tongan for Samoan *Saavea* 'descendants of *Ve'a*'
- heketala:* 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'atakalaua* 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 *Kauala* "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’atakalaua* 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 maggoty 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'atakalaua* "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.I)

palepale: shelter

pali: vagina

peito: cooking house

pola: food enclosed in plaited coconut-leaf and baked

polata: trunk of plaintain

poopao: canoe

pou: post

- pule*: authority; governor; to control
- pulega*: 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*: Tongan for Samoan *ti'a* "stick throwing", (see Kramer 1995:383, Vol.II)
- sika'ulutoa*: spearing the head of the casuarina/cassowary, a reference to *'Aho'eitu's* head, as a member of the *Samoa* or *Ha'amo'a*, 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

taufā: 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'utu'u: 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 taumafa ‘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 "Chieftess 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

'ufi: yam tubers

'uhiki: offspring

'ula: Samoan for Tongan *kula* as in *Fale'ula* "bleeding head from smashing"

'ulu: head; leader

'Uluakimata: First eye, (see Kramer 1995:357-361, Vol. II)

'Ulutolu: three heads; three men in one

'ulu'i 'ufi: 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