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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.

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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)

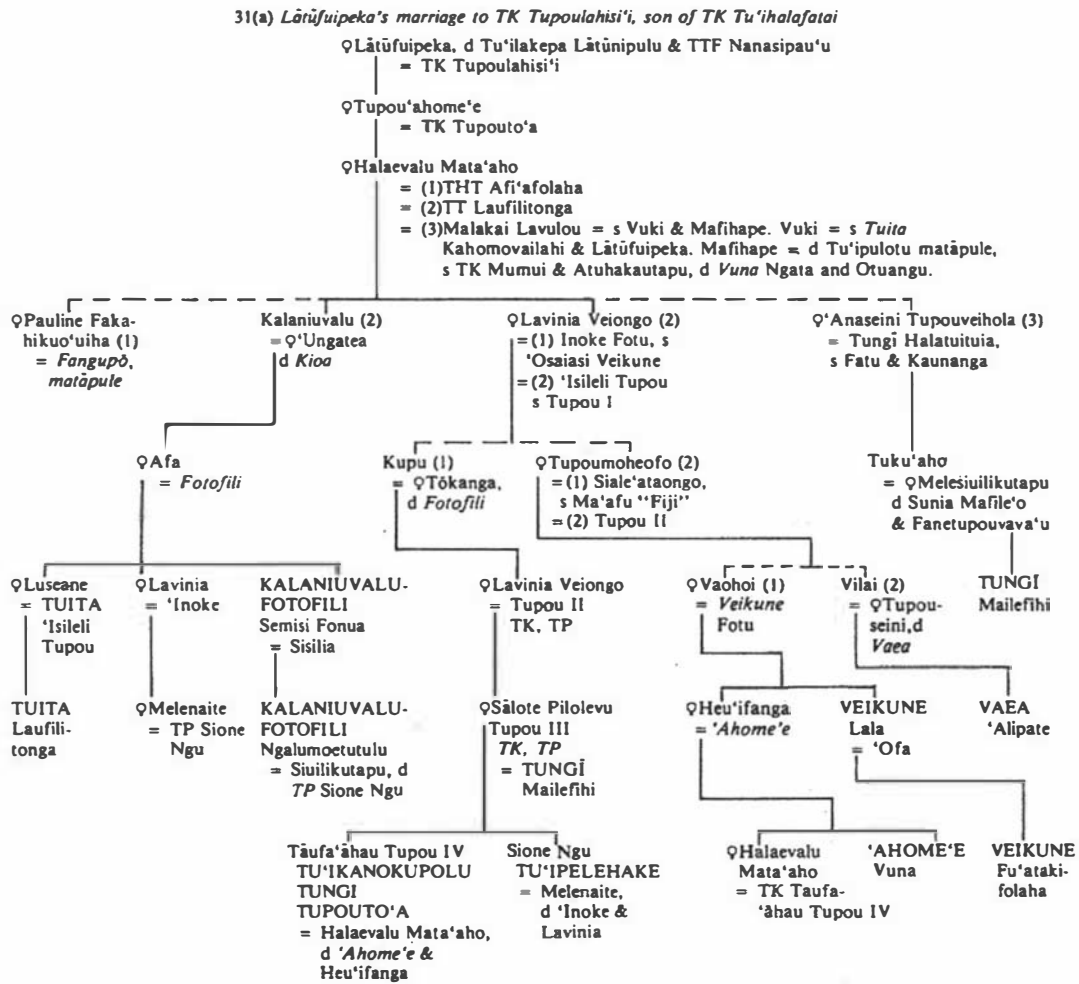


Figure 1(b)

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

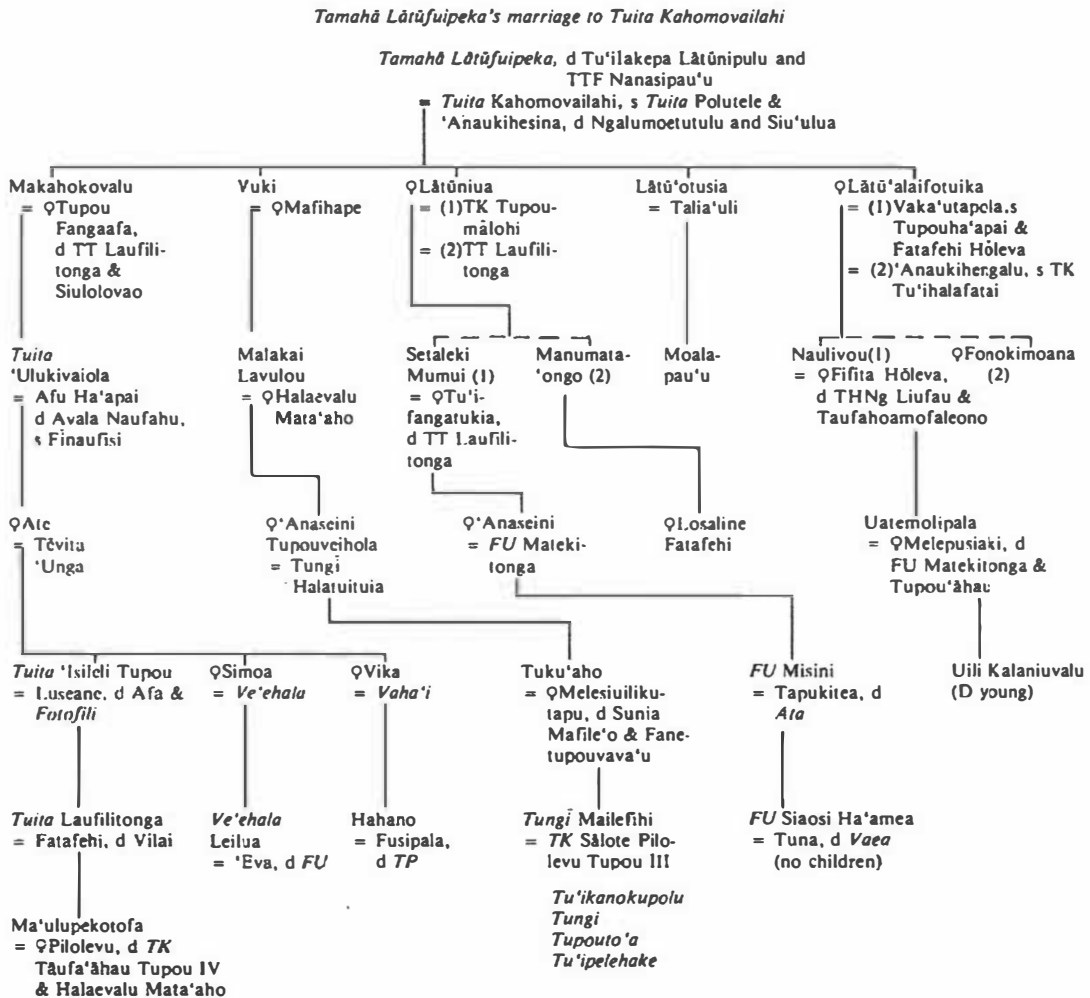


Figure 1(c)

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

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

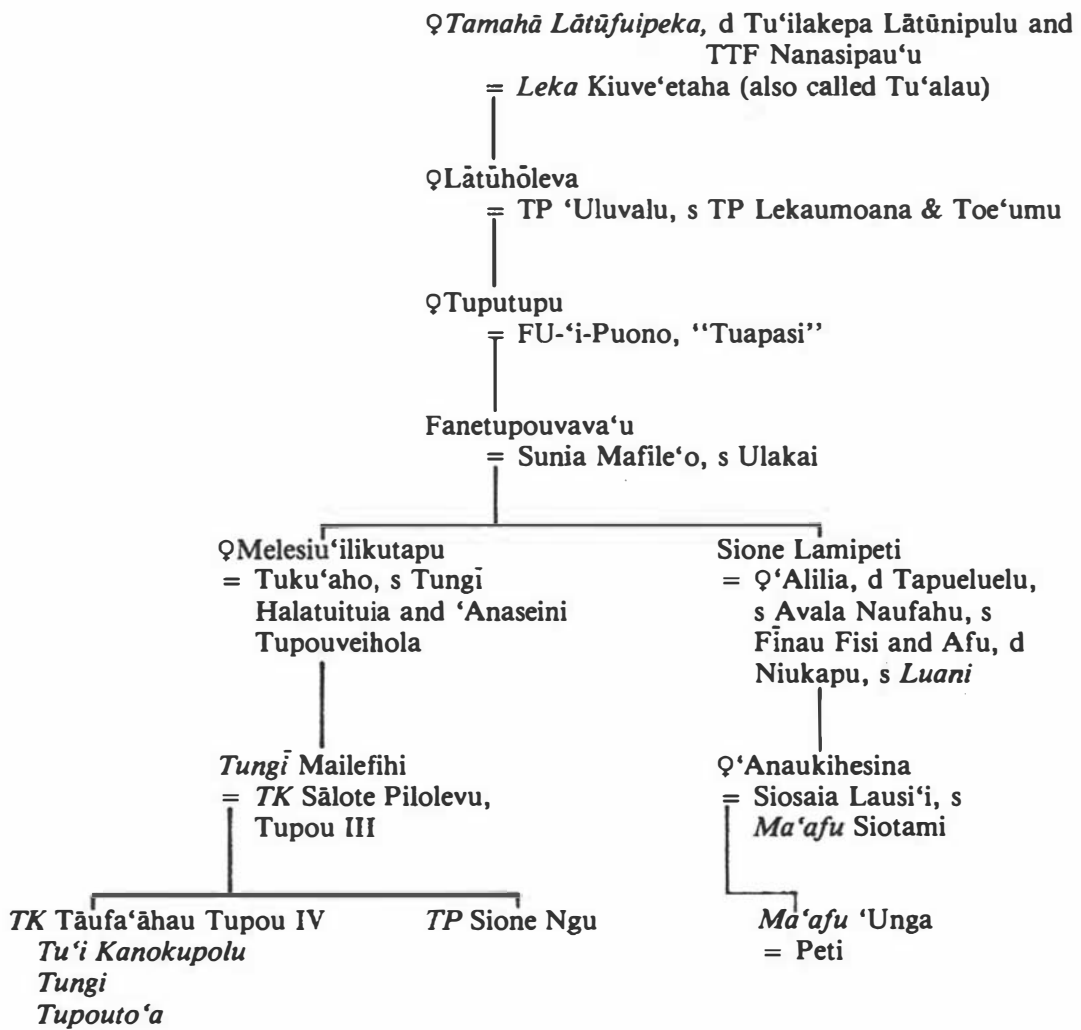


Figure 2

(Bott 1982:12, Figure 1)

Succession of Tu'i Tonga from 'Uluakimata (Tele'a) to Laufilitonga (The mohefo are italicized. Note that Tu'i Tonga Paulaho succeeded before his elder brother Ma'ulupokotofa. Tu'i Tonga Paulaho and Tu'i Tonga Fefine)

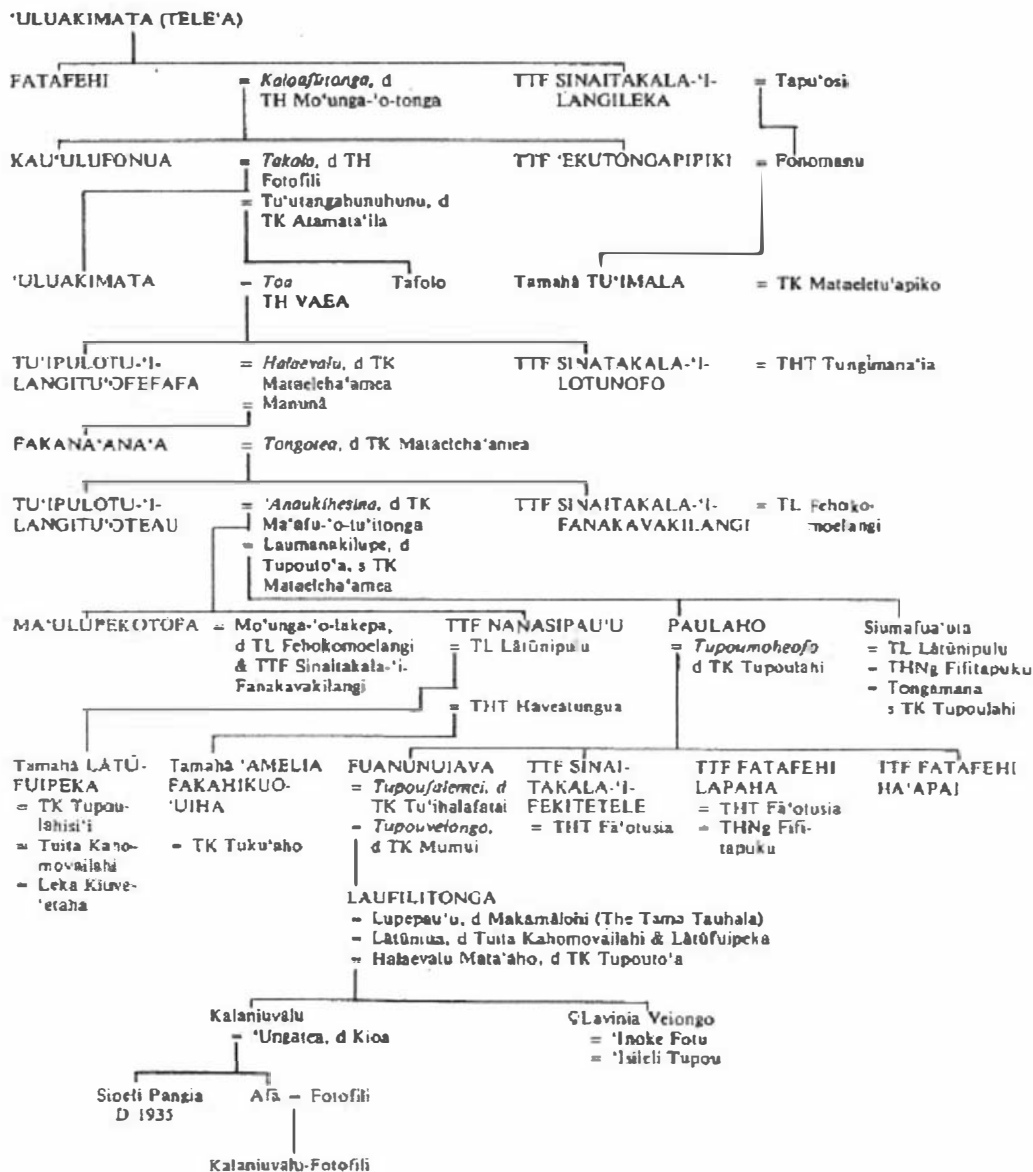


Figure 3
(Bott 1982:13, Figure 2)

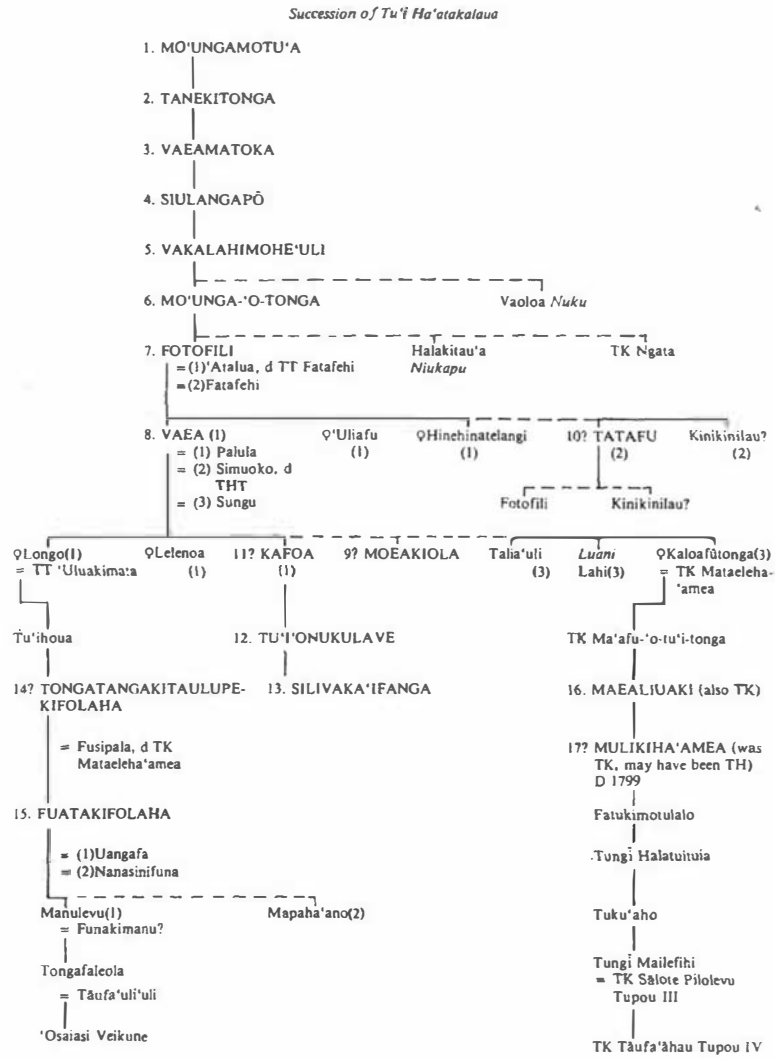


Figure 4
(Bott 1982:14, Figure 3)

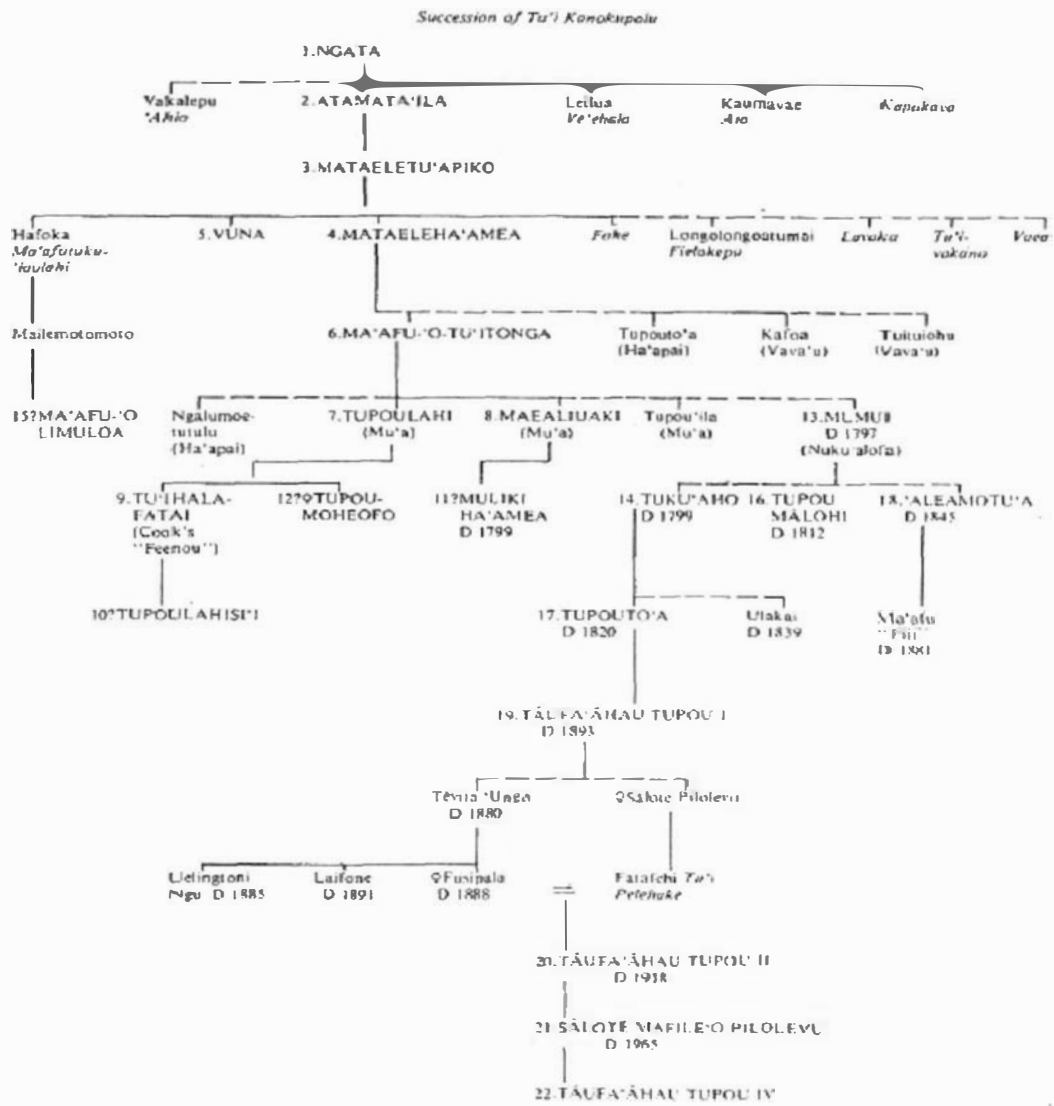


Figure 5

(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

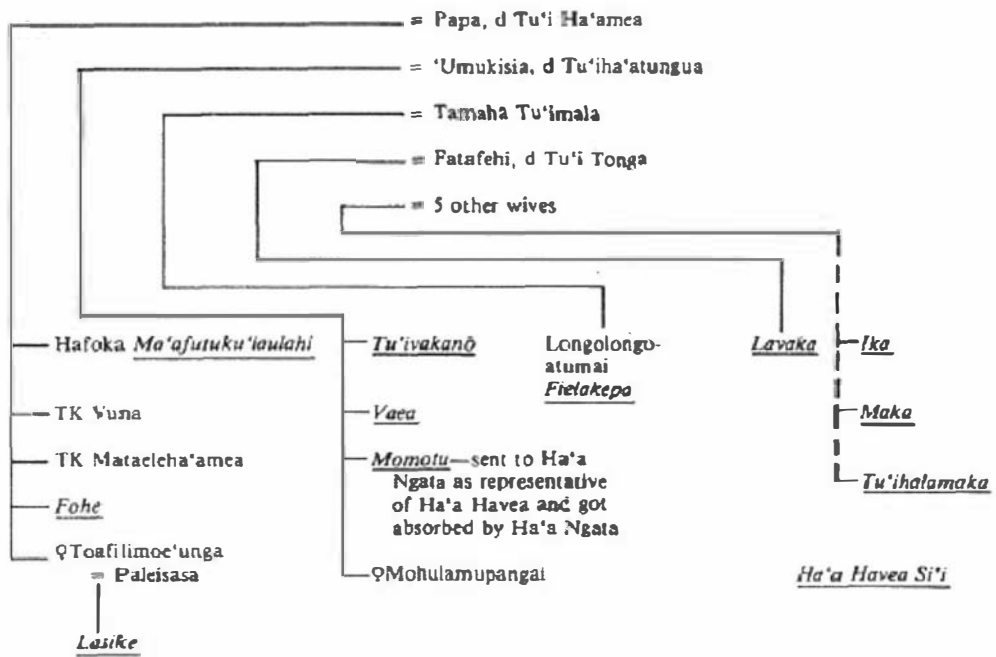
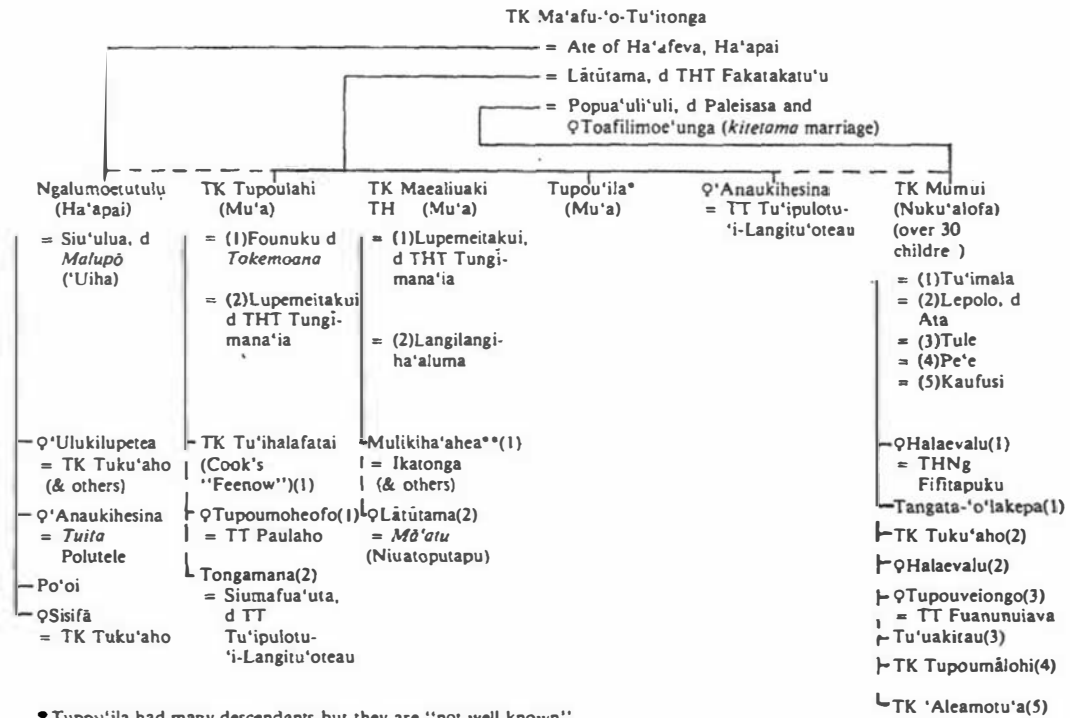


Figure 6

(Bott 1982:152, Figure 30)

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



* Tupou'ila had many descendants, but they are "not well known".
 ** Mulikiha'amea had many "well known" descendants. See Figure 19.

Figure 7

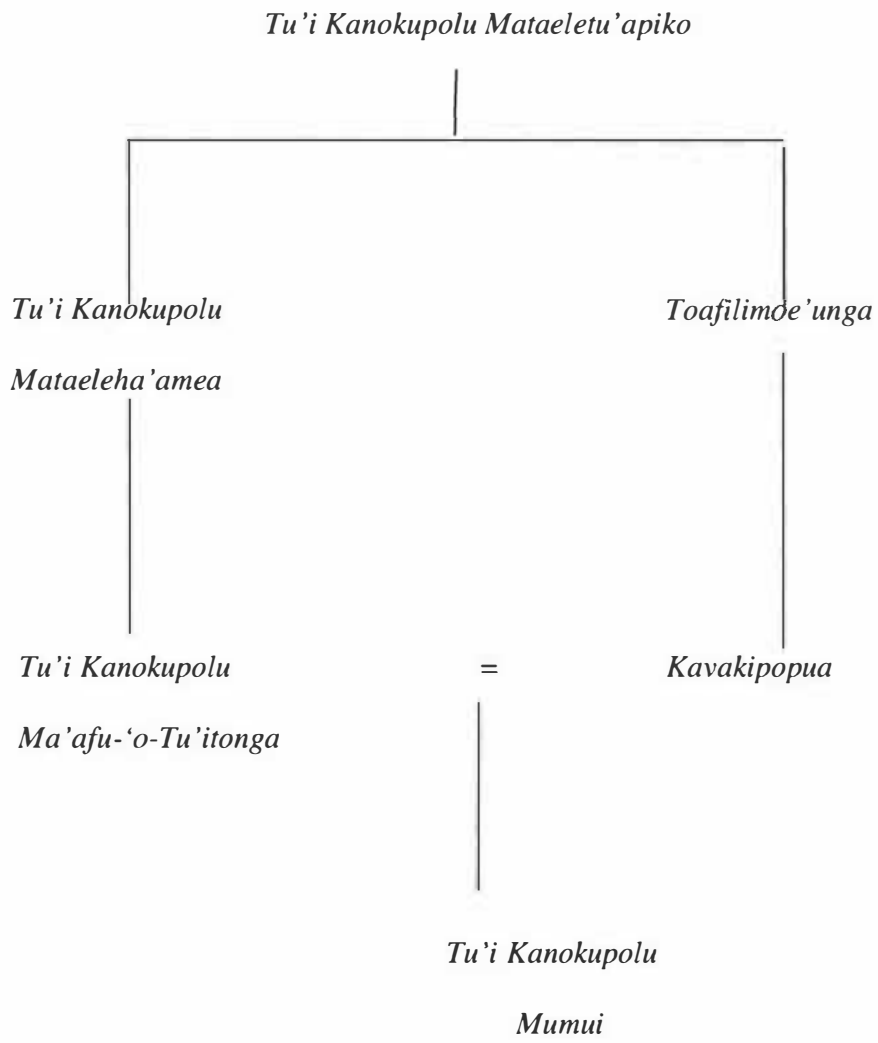


Figure 8

(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 Fatafeh's* genealogy [pages 4, 21, 31], property of the Tonga Tradition Committee, a copy of it in my possession)

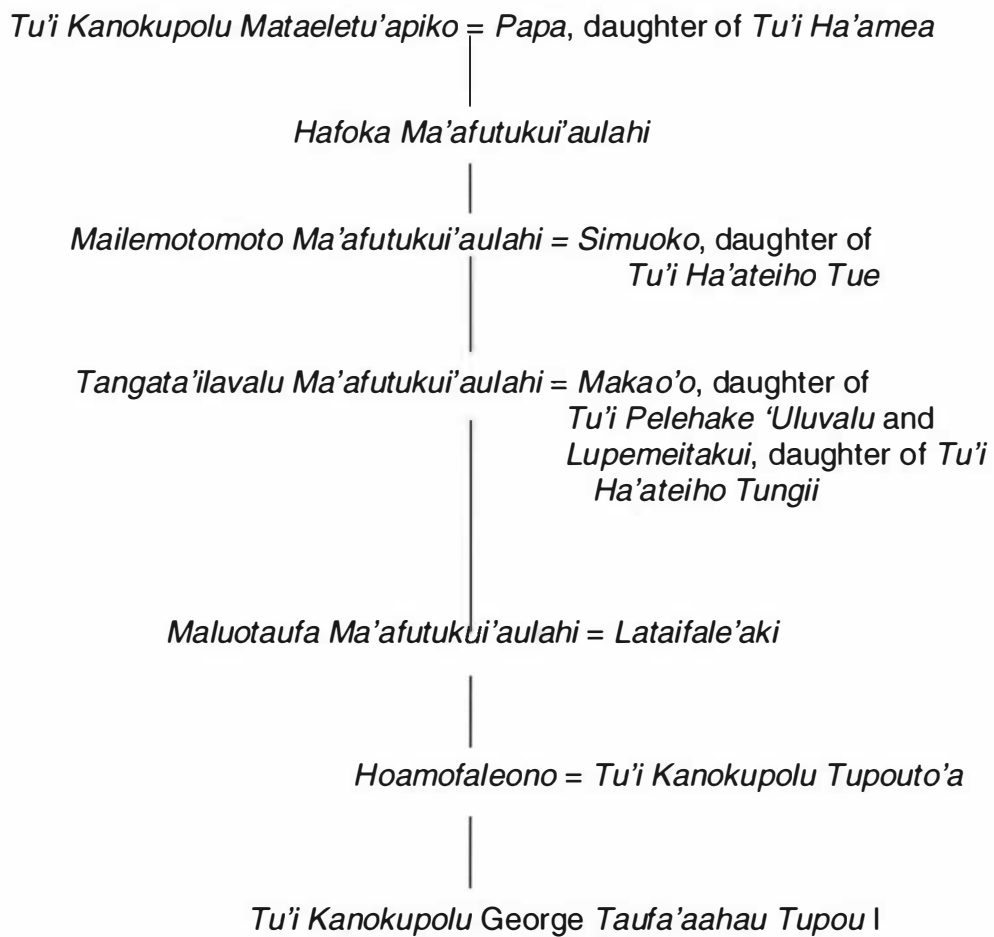
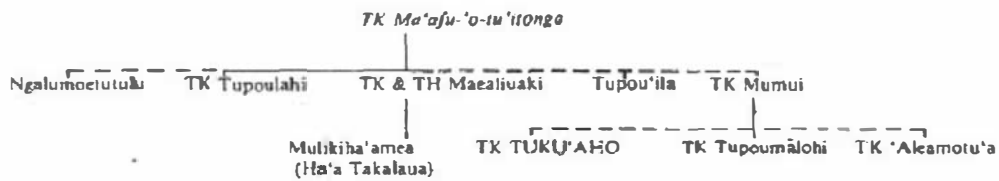


Figure 9
(Bott 1982:82, Figure13)

The Ha'a Ma'afu of Kaukolaiala

(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 ha'a are italicised)

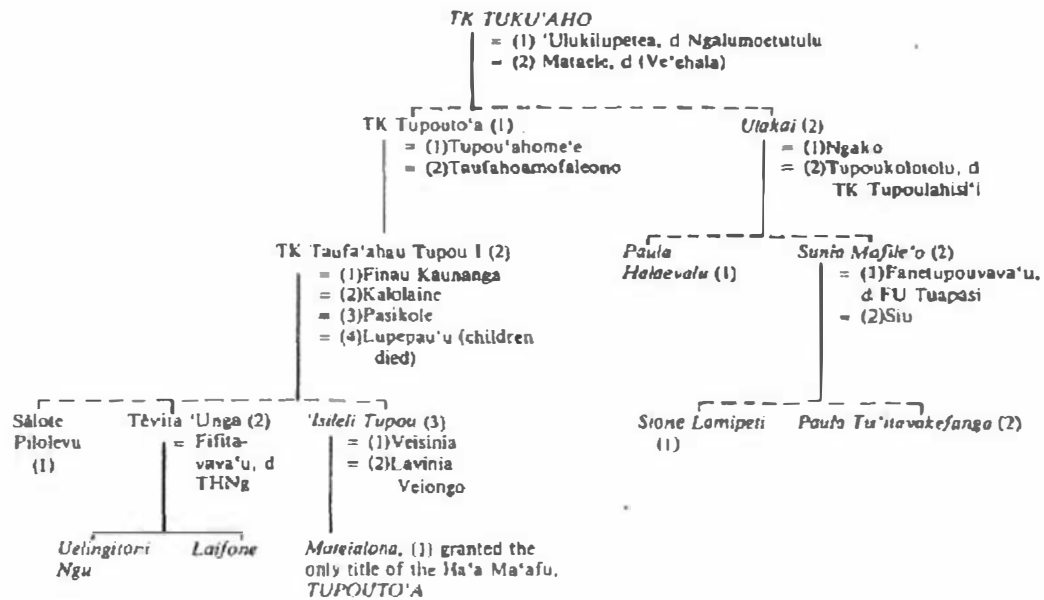


Figure 11

(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)

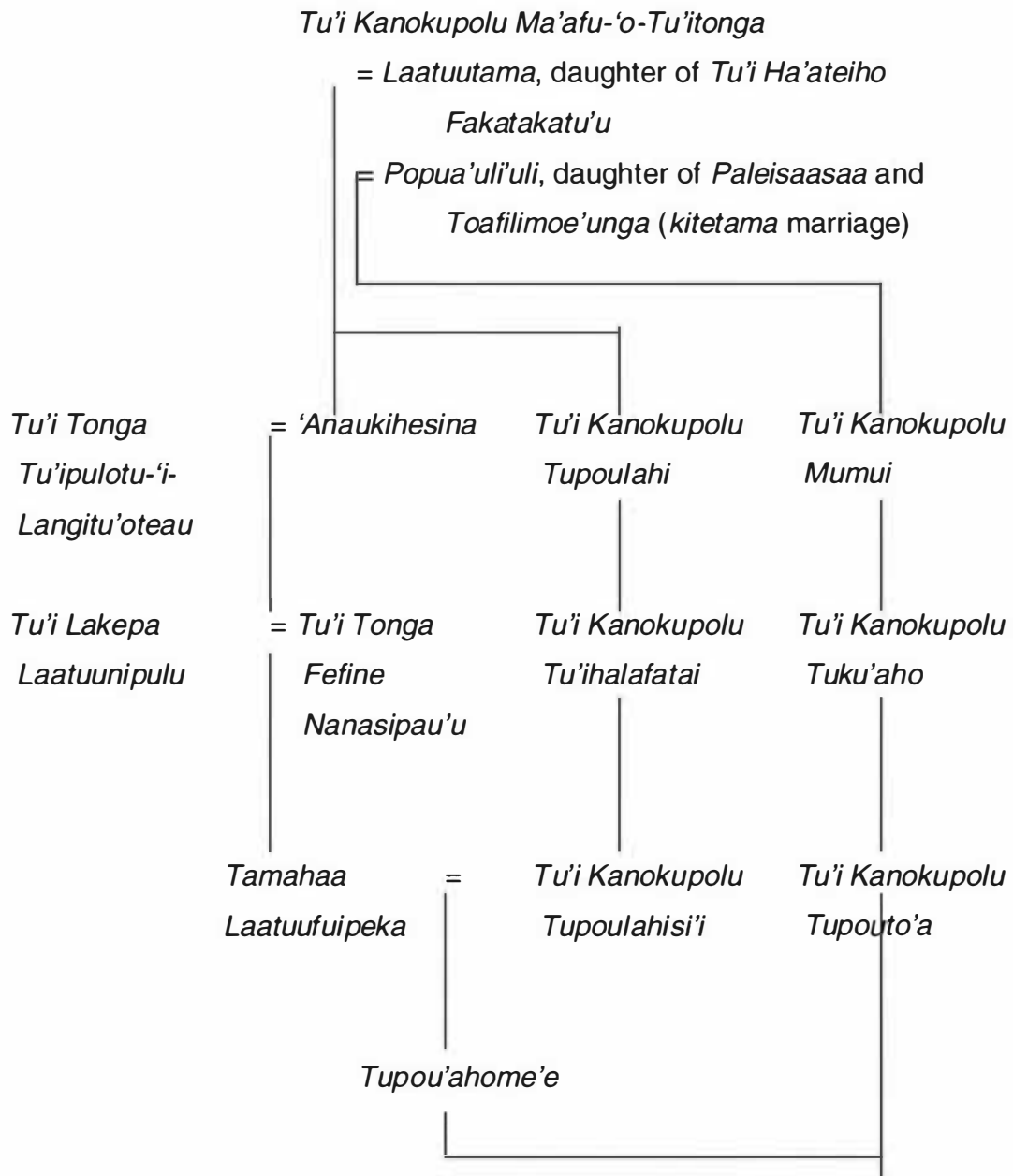


Figure 12

(Bott 1982:147, Figure 24)

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

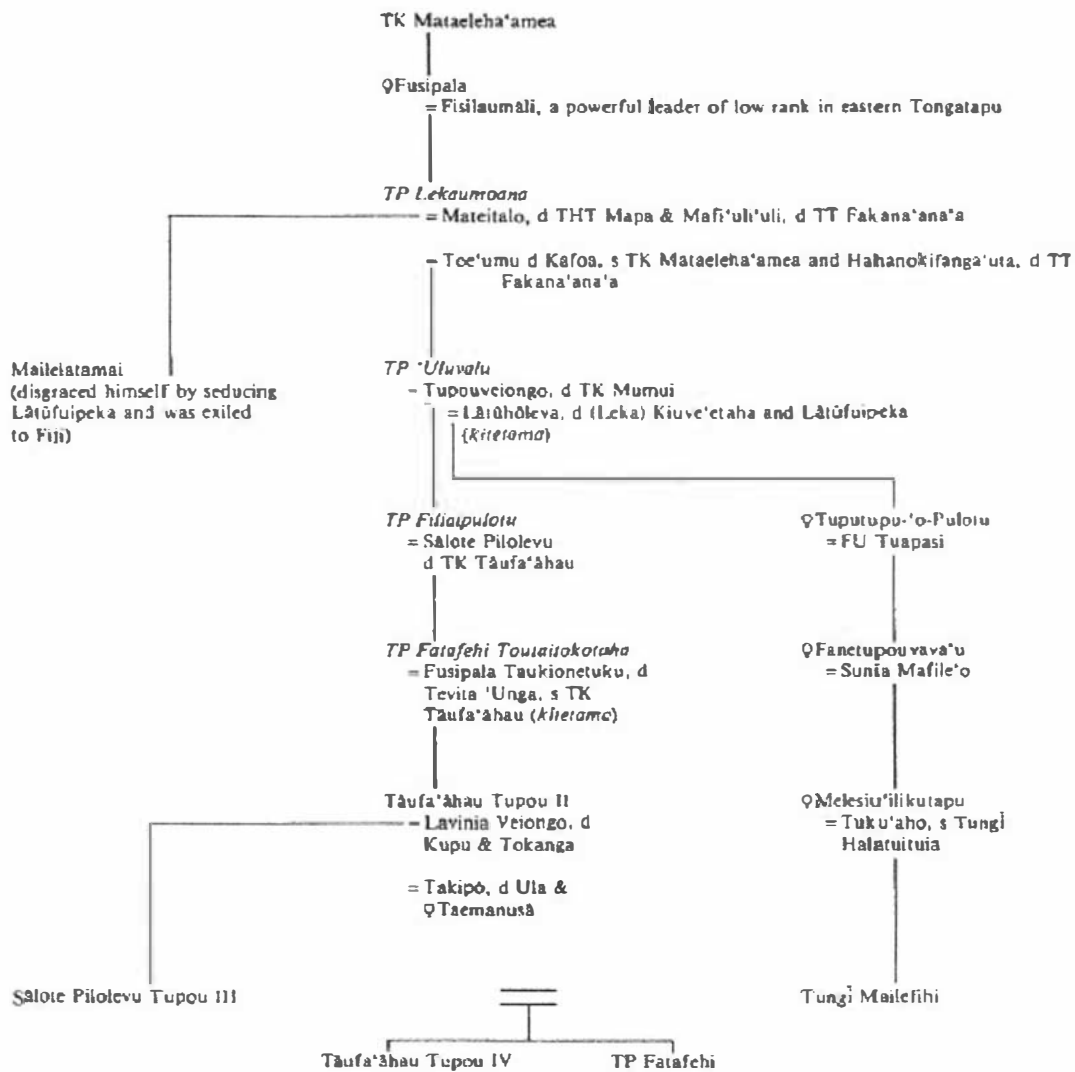


Figure 13

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

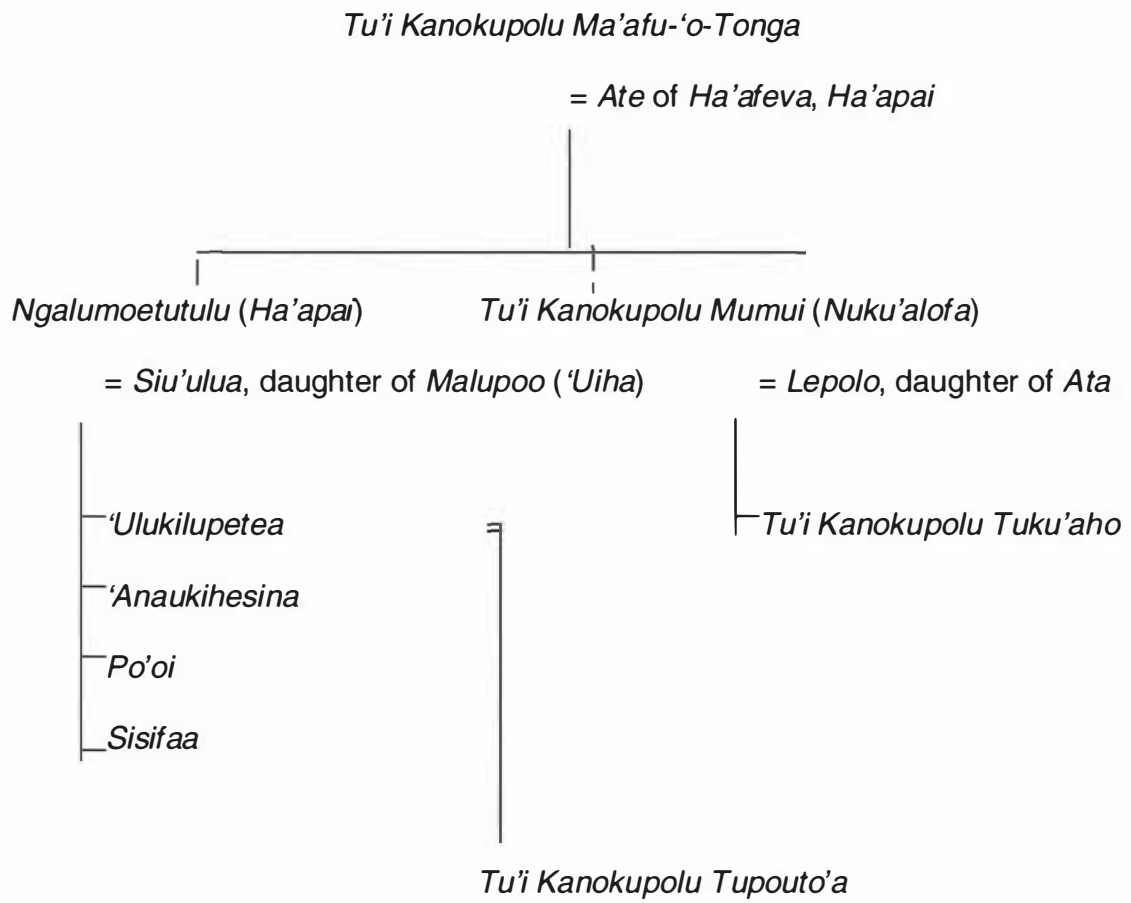
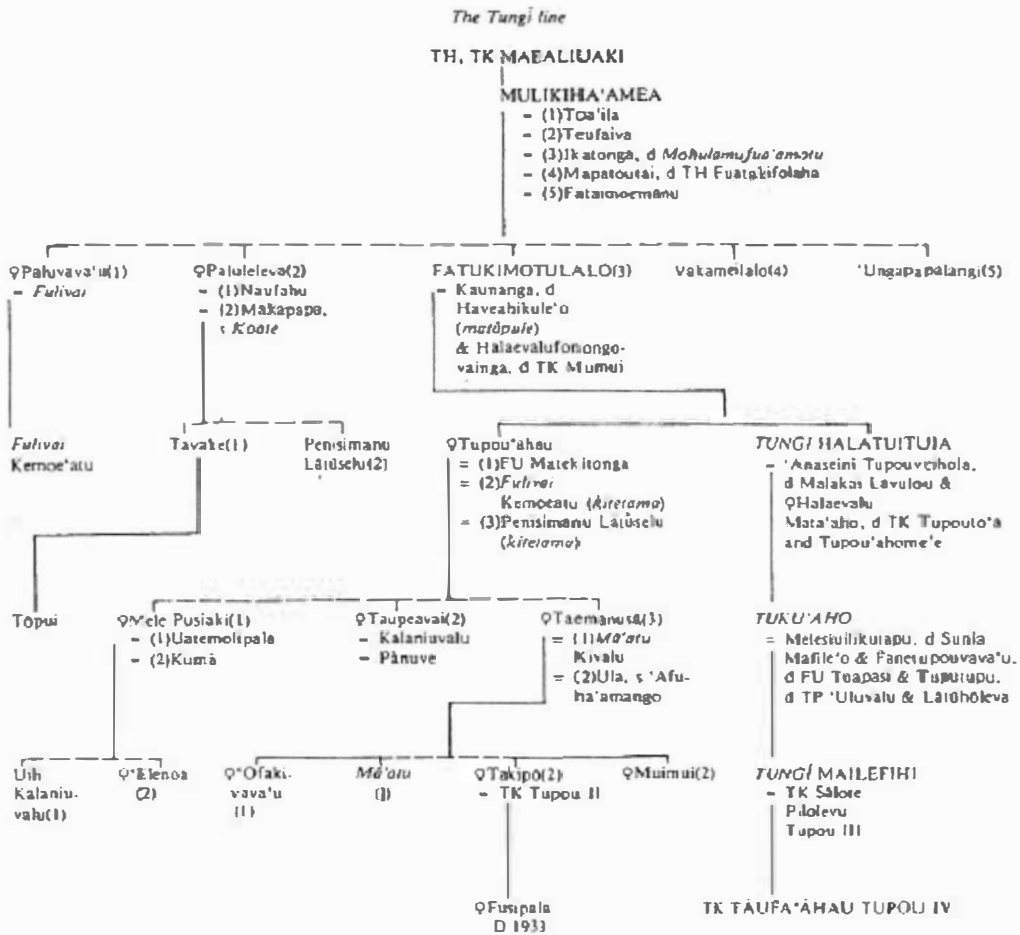
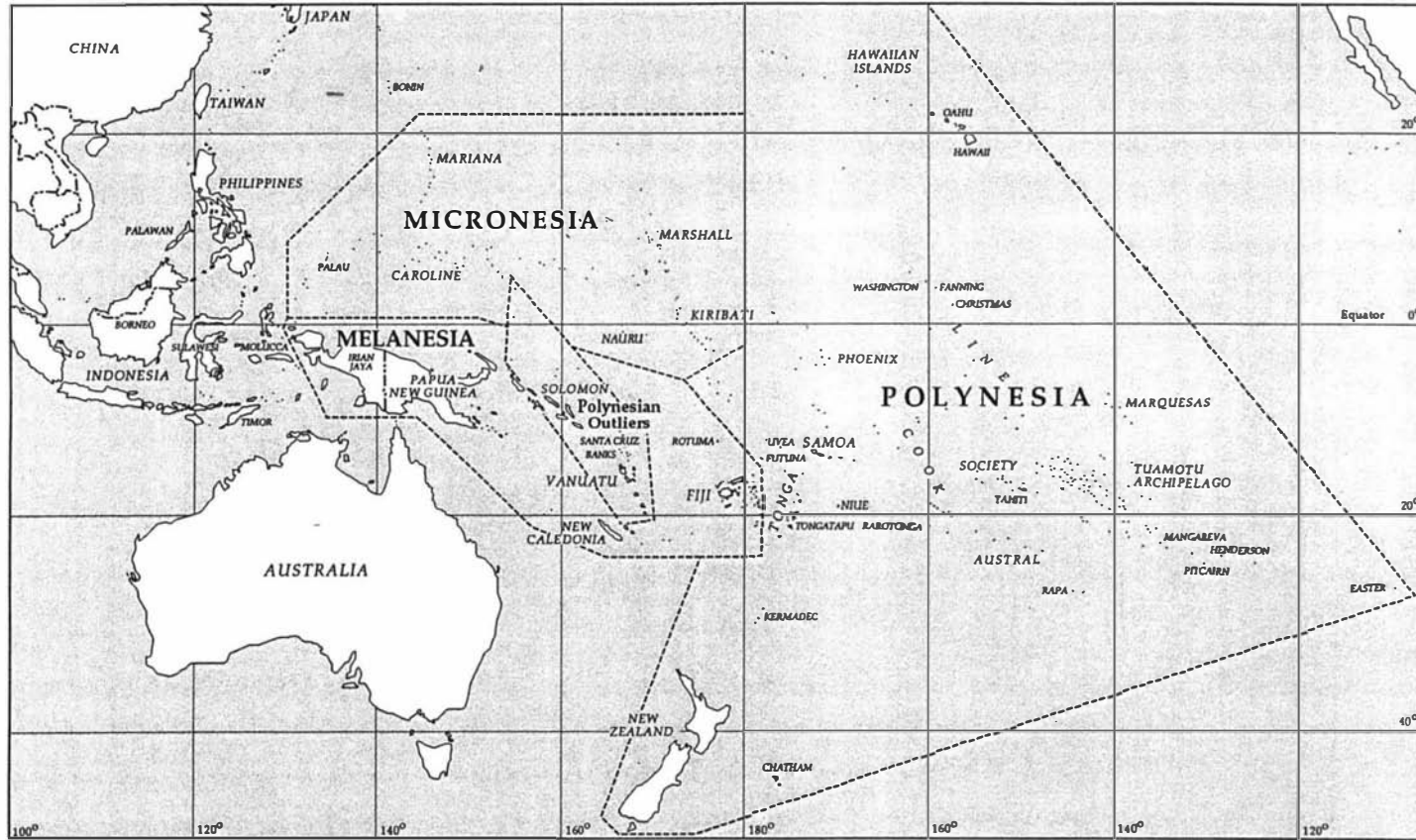


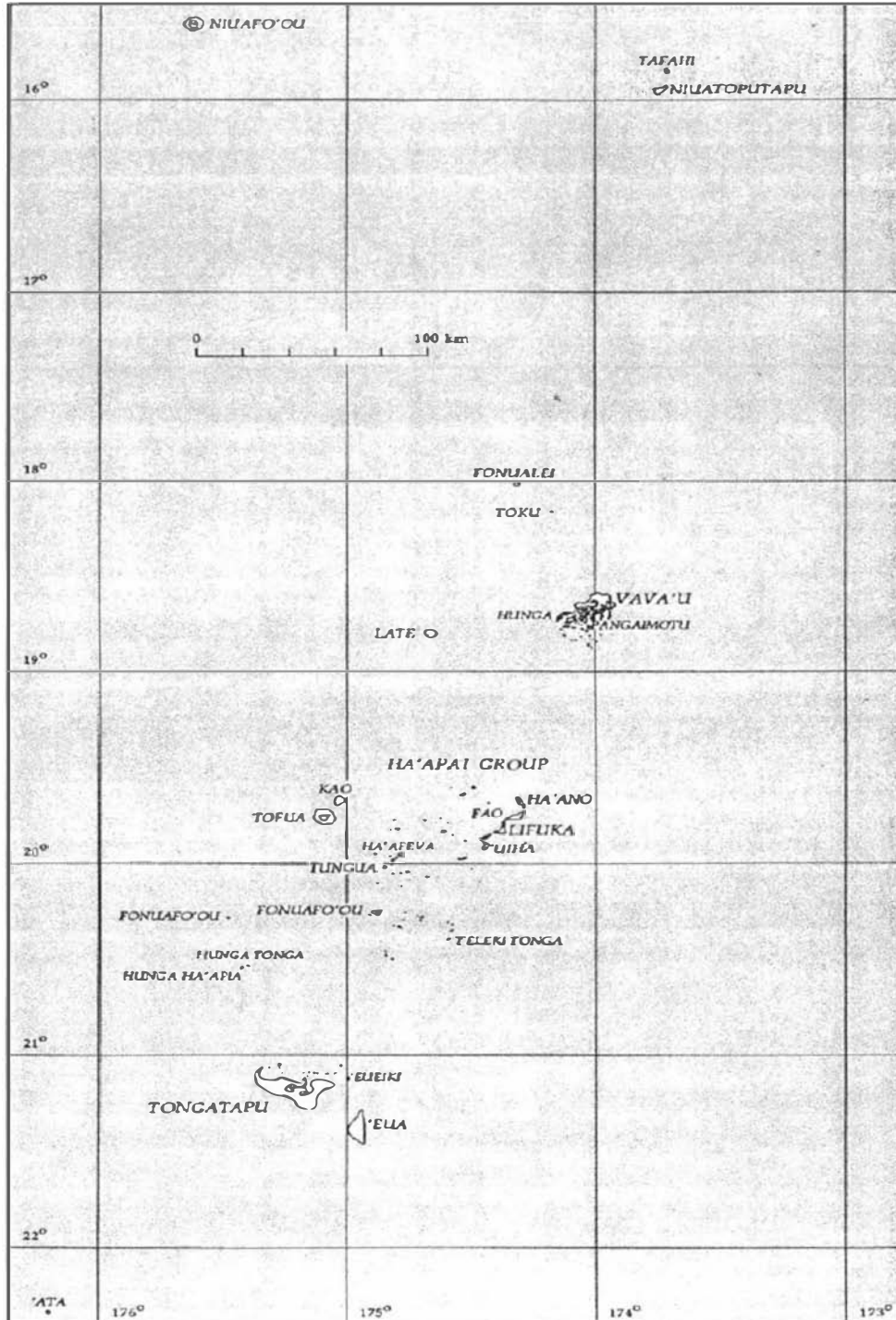
Figure 14
(Bott 1982:88, Figure 19)





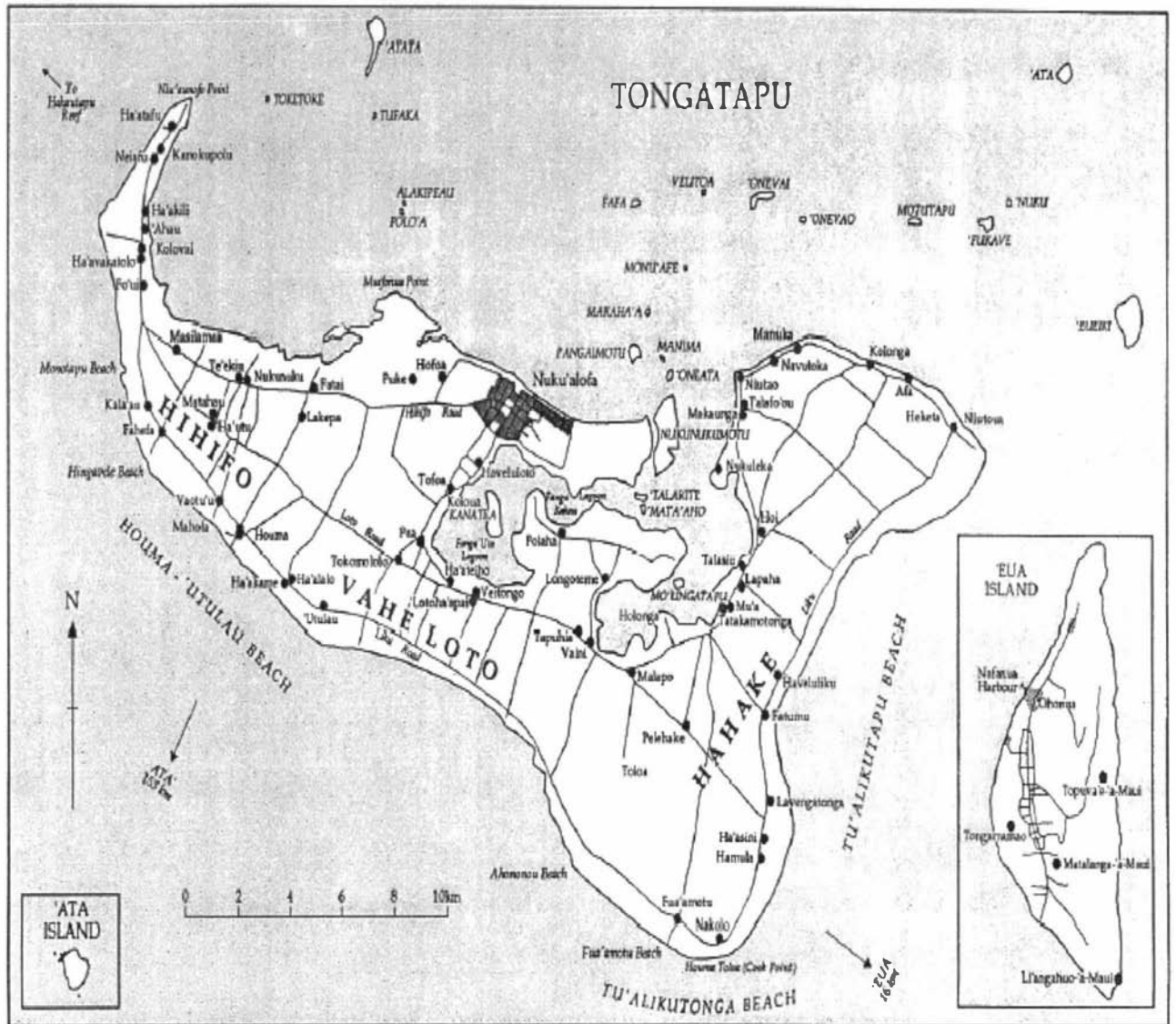
MAP 1: Pacific (Micronesia, Melanesia and Polynesia) and South East Asia

(Mahina 1992)



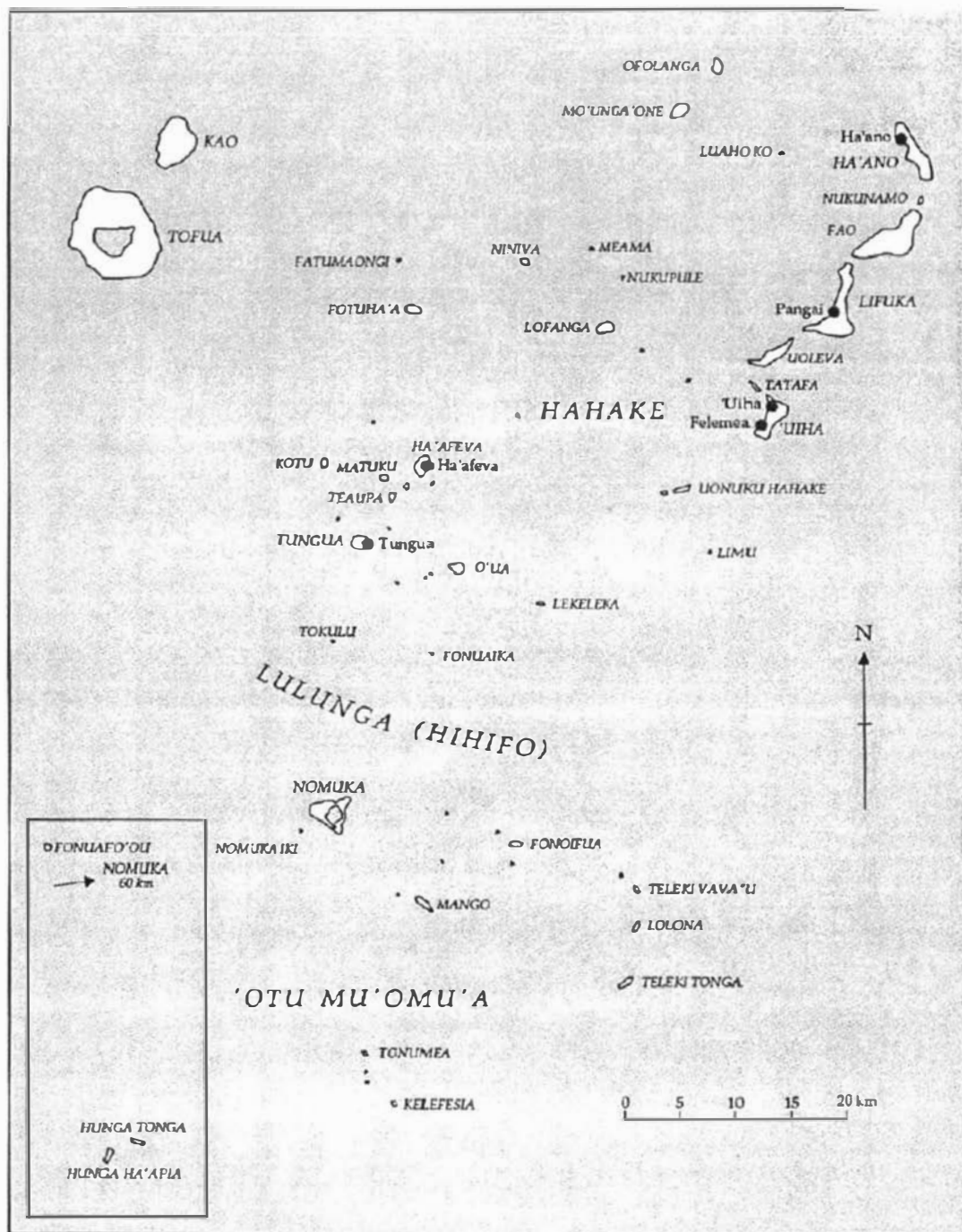
MAP 4: Tongan Islands

(Mahina 1992)



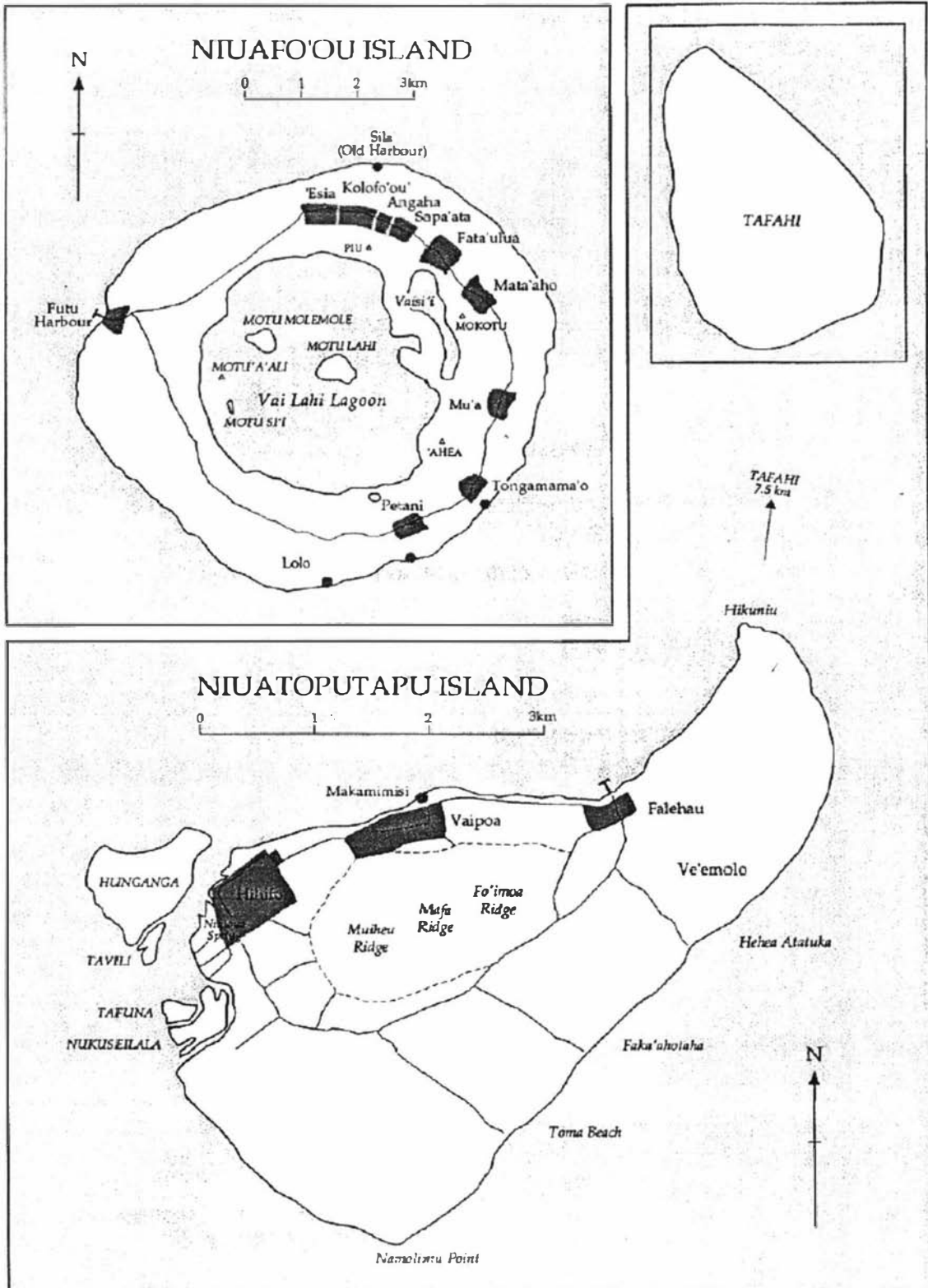
MAP 5: Tongatapu Group ('Eueki, 'Eua, 'Ata and small off-shore islands)

(Mahina 1992)



MAP 7: Ha'apai Group

(Mahina 1992)



MAP 8: Ongo Niu 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 *Malietao '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 Taatu'i'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 chieflyness
- 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 [*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 *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 *Sava'i'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

- 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

CHAPTER 1

Method, Theory and “Indigenous Anthropology”

Introduction

I have been intrigued with the problem of power in Tongan society. How does the legitimation of economic and political power work in Tonga? The aim is to understand the nature of social inequality and Tongan hierarchical and stratified society. One of the themes discussed to show this socio-hierarchical stratification is the *mataapule* system, how this system overcomes the outsiders' use of the rationalistic principle of dualism as a method of approach to the analysis of Tongan society. Focussing on the *mataapule* system is a way of summarising the legitimation of power in terms of the *heliaki* rhetoric of the *mataapule* “chief's attendant” used when receiving the people on behalf of the chief. An important aspect of the *mataapule* system in action which is so central to the discussion of the legitimation of power is the double nature of power, firstly, as to destroy and, secondly, as a protection. Food is a metaphor central to the nature of power in Tongan society. As part of the objective of critiquing dualism in action in the Tongan case of the *mataapule* system, I present it in contrast to some selected scholars' treatments of the principle of dualism, namely, the Saussurean distinction between *langue* and *parole*, the diarchy theory of Valeri and James, and the *Tu'i Tonga* and *Tu'i Ha'atakalaua* dualism. Also, I demonstrate my method of analysis rooted in logic and philosophy as to make contrast with anthropologists Marshall Sahlins' and Christina Torens' opposing views on sea-land distinction in Fiji, Phyllis Herda's discussion of Tongan genealogy as another aspect of looking at the subject of food. In particular, my discussion of the sea-land distinction and genealogy is part of my analysis of the socio-political principle of *hoko* “join” in connection with the discussion of the origin myths of the *fale* “house” and *'Aho'eitu*, the first *Tu'i Tonga* “King of Tonga”. Insider-outsider paradox is central to the contrast made here. The insider-outsider paradox is also explored in the context of indigenous anthropology. Lastly, the place of *'Atenisi* contribution to the analysis of Tongan history has to be pointed out in contrast to Roger Green's, Patrick Kirch's, and Andrew Pawley's reconstructionist position in terms of the *hoko* between Tonga and Samoa. My criticism of the Austronesian reconstructionist methodology rejects the argument that Tongan and Samoan are dialects of a proto-Polynesian language.

Reading and writing on the oral history of Tonga is always reflex interpretations of the past records of legends and myths. Written history of Tonga since then replaces the oral recounts of the Tongan people's practices at every specific point in time from generation to generation. And pertinent to this practice is the employment of the traditional *heliaki*, saying one thing and meaning another, method, in which one's subjective interest is forced over another. *Heliaki* method is the characteristic use of selected poetic words to effectuate an aesthetic distinct Tongan way of thinking about themselves in relation to their surroundings. Thus, the central focus of this thesis is an attempt to provide a critique of this poetic way of thinking of the Tongans. As meaning is the point of departure in the situation when the subject, X (moiety division), being described as Y (the legitimation of economic and political power in Tonga), the issue being specifically dealt with in this thesis, then, is how that connection between the subject and its description is discovered? The question, then, about connection is specifically a dissertation on the oral and written history of Tonga rather than, as George Grace¹ argues, a linguistic reconstruction of the connection as purely a linguistic reality.

Legends and myths are *heliaki* stories made to recite by the people about their social places in the socio-political hierarchy of Tonga. In my interpretation, they basically reflect an ideological and political program that is generally connected to a system of persecution conducted by a sun-god, namely, *Tangaloa*, in this

¹ Grace 1983

socio-political region of *Samoa'aatoa* “all Samoa including Samoa, Tonga, Fiji, Rarotonga, Tahiti, and Wahuā, which had to bring *Tu'i Manu'a* 'umiti 'food tributes of sea food’”². The occasion not only that all these islands of *Samoa*, or *Ha'amoā* in Tongan, as tribes when coming together forcefully opposing one another as each one trying to establish a social recognition within the dominion of the *Tu'i Manu'a*, they came to pay their dues for a wrongdoing that had been committed. It originated from this hierarchical structural system a Tongan value of *fatongia* “social duty”, properly translated as *fetongia*, *fetongi*, from *tongi*, as in *totongi*, “to exchange, in this context, for something bad being done”. Because of its specific allusion to the Samoa-Tonga connection and the social construction of the system of exchanging in Tonga, I consider the origin myth of *'Aho'eitu* to be central in this thesis.

The origin myth of *'Aho'eitu* has been a standard source quoted by scholars whose subject is the history and culture of Tonga. It serves as an original source supporting the idea of *Tu'i Tonga* as meaning “King of Tonga”. This is one of the issues as a cornerstone of my critique of the legitimation of economic and political power in Tonga. As a preface to my critique of the myth in the following chapters of this thesis, I need to clarify some small points in connection to the above statement about the myth. What has been quoted and referred to by scholars in their writing on the history and culture of Tonga as “the origin myth of *'Aho'eitu*” is problematic.

² Kramer 1994:9, Vol. I

In my interpretation, “the origin myth of ‘*Aho’eitu*” is a *Tongatapu*’s version. In fact, “the origin myth of ‘*Aho’eitu*” is a part which has been separated from its other half. This *Tongatapu*’s version specifically tells about the punishment of wrongdoers and the setting up on land a system of government based on a council of advisors. The other half is a *Niuatoputapu*’s version, the farthest island to the north of the mainland *Tongatapu*, which is about the origin of *Seketoa* who turned into a fish and his daughter named ‘*Ilaheva*’³. This version provides the backbone reason for the wrongdoing. It is only when the two halves are joined together that the nature of the wrongdoing becomes obvious with the contrast between the two islands, *Niuatoputapu* and *Tongatapu*. *Niu-a-toputapu* means “Coconut/head-of-sacred” and *Tonga-tapu* “food-prohibited”.

The relevancy of mentioning these two versions is connected to how Dr ‘Okusitino Mahina⁴ records the whole myth (*Niuatoputapu* and *Tongatapu* versions) and then calls it “the origin myth of ‘*Aho’eitu*”, (the *Tongatapu* version). Whether Dr Mahina appreciates or not this separation argument is difficult to see in his thesis. My point, still, is Dr Mahina’s telling of the story in its wholeness and, I applaud Dr Mahina for stating this new dimension showing the whole story different from the others⁵ who have quoted this myth (the *Tongatapu* version) in their respective annotations of the history of Tonga. On that basis, I directly quote here Dr Mahina’s record of the

³ Full prosaic version of the myth of *Seketoa* can be found in Gifford 1924:83-84 as told by John *Panuve Ma’atu*, lord of *Niuatoputapu*; Collocott 1928:56-58.

⁴ Mahina 1992:91-92

⁵ Biersack 1990a:83; Gifford 1924:25-38; Herda 1988:28-29; Wood 1945:5

story to be the reference to my critique of the legitimation of power in Tonga, (see it in the next chapter). I would rather call it “the origin myth of fish god *Seketoa* and ‘*Aho’aitu*”, instead of “the origin myth of ‘*Aho’aitu*”, to highlight the two parts of the full story.

First relevant point in my critique of the persecution theme in connection with the myth is that the voyage from *Niuatoputapu* on landing in *Tongatapu* found of the *Talafale* “Tradition of *fale* ‘house’”. *Talafale* is about the building in Tonga of a *Tangaloa* “advisory” government of two dimensions, *Faleua* and *Falefaa*. It is “advisory” government that had been (*fale*)*ua* “levered up” from the sea and *fulihi* “turned upside down” to resting on the (*fale*)*faa* (or *fata*) “loft” of the *uma* “shoulders” of the cannibal murderers of ‘*Aho’aitu*, the youngest son of the sun-god *Tangaloa*. In short, these dimensions, in other words, express a semantic field of historical meaning in connection with persecution and the appointment of the title of *Tu’i Tonga* “King of Tonga”. The *Tu’i Tonga* title is derived from the *tu’usi kongā* “to cut into half” of ‘*Aho’aitu* for his lower part as the “prohibited food” of the high chief, thus, the *Tu’i Tonga* title is the tradition of “halving or sharing”.

To the extent of this Samoan *Talafale* colonization, the locals, following their being forced to serve the paramount tyrannical persecutor, were made to recount these legends and myths as both an affirmation of the historical identity of origin and legitimacy of the Samoan persecutor’s economic and political authority in Tonga. In which case, legends and myths are *heliaki* “saying one thing and meaning

another” inventions constructed for the purpose to legitimate the occupation of Tonga by the Samoan persecutor and his wrongdoer sons.

Given that the scope of the thesis covering the historical connection between the islands of Samoa and Tonga, the dissertation on the legitimation of economic and political power in Tonga is, thus, also a critique of *Kauhala’uta* and *Kauhalalalo* social moieties. Historically, as recorded in the origin myth of *‘Aho’aitu*, this idea of *Kauhala’uta* and *Kauhalalalo* moiety division, as a universal socio-political determiner to all forms of dualism, thinking and speaking alike, in Tongan society, thus also conveys an inverted path of a journey of the *kauhala* “wrongdoers” going from *lalo* “sea below” on to *lunga’uta* “land above” and back from above to below. The argument of the universality of the moiety division is therefore connected to the *hoko* “join” of the upturned boat as *‘ato* “roof” and the carriers as *pou* “posts” on land.

Since the focus of this thesis is the Samoa-Tonga connection, viewed with the *fale* institution brought from *Manu’a*, the emphasis is a consideration of the protection and double nature of power in terms of the *heliaki* exchanges outside the *pule*’s house between the *mata* “eyes” of the *pule* “authority” and the locals. Rather, the focus is on the power relations involved in the tripartite relationship between the *mata*, who sits outside the front part of the house to receive and speak to the people on behalf of the *pule*, who dwells inside the house, and the locals, living on and tilling of the land. Reservation of the *pule*’s authority behind the actual daily

routine of the land is to maintain the sacredness of the *pule* which, in turn, symbolically gives some power of control to the *mata* over the locals. One would tend to see that since *mata*, practically, has some control over the secular affairs of the community, he is the most powerful person on who the inactive *pule* seems to rely for his social existence. This is not to say that the power relations in this situation simply involve the *pule* and the *mata*, but, the contestation between the two is about who is powerful in the eyes of the locals. Because of his desperation to save his social status and to be still recognized as the supreme *pule* of the community, the *pule* would likewise popularize his program and redirect his focus on to the people for the reason to bring the people's attention closer on to him. Of course, this manipulation is easy to see that the *pule* is otherwise signalling to the people for a replacement of his current contested *mata*. The tripartite relationship, then, in this context, is not so simple to be some kind of a social system of teaching people of how to behave and to know certain etiquettes. Realistically, it is rather a context of contestation for power where the *mata* and *pule*, in the expense of the locals, oppose one another in trying to protect and find a social standing.

This local historical socio-political tripartite *mataapule* system discussed here, for example, can easily be seen to overcome the application of certain commonest anthropological and linguistic dualism, for example, of Levi-Strauss⁶, Ferdinand de Saussure⁷, Valeri⁸, James⁹, Torens¹⁰, Sahlins¹¹, and Herda¹². In connection, their

⁶ Levi-Strauss 1963

⁷ See Harris 1983

⁸ Valeri 1993

dualism, as a simplistic straightforward principle asserting engagement of two extremes in a one to one exchange of roles, confuses the protection and double nature of power. In the *mataapule* power relationship of *heliaki*, in the sense of concealing and revealing at the same time, the ambiguity and confusion of dualism shows as a form of usage where the *mata* acts to protect himself and as well to destroy the *pule*. Ambiguity and confusion of dualism is then connected to the *mata* as a *Kauhala'uta* invented ideological synthetic appeaser who is supposed to uphold the social order within the *Tu'i Tonga* regime. An example would be the case of the *Tu'i Tonga* human sacrifice institution of *'Aho'eitu*, as a ceremony of food presentation from the locals to their foreign new ruler. The ceremony shows a history of the power in conflict involved in the devolution of the old *Tu'i Tonga* title of sun-god *Tangaloa* as now defunct and being replaced by the later *Tu'i Tonga* youngest descendant, the *Tu'i Kanokupolu*. Human sacrifice as tradition of sharing of food has revealed as a centre of power conflict. Regionally and locally, for example, power conflict is central between the *Samoa'aatoa* islands, between the *Tu'i Tonga*, *Tu'i Ha'atakalaua*, and *Tu'i Kanokupolu* dynasties of Tonga. Thus, food, as *me'akai* "thing eatable", becomes the primal reason for the contestation for power specifically in the region comprising of Tonga, Samoa, and Fiji. Having secured full control of the food resource is an outcome of one being able to subordinate certain group of people as one's *kakai* "people", a polite form of *ta'e* "shit". The interpretation of people as shit is taken from the *heliaki* of the

⁹ James 1991

¹⁰ Torens 1990

¹¹ Sahlins 1962

“Persecutor-god” by the persecutor’s Samoan and Tongan subjects respectively as *Taeotagaloa* “Shit-of-*Tagaloa*”¹³ and *Folaha kai ta’e* “*Folaha* eats shit”.

As to the personalization of “shit” in names, Kramer¹⁴ also gives an example with the name *Malietoa* as ‘*Ae’o’ainu’u* “‘*Ae*, who devours the people”. I propose that *Tangaloa* ‘*Eitumatupu’a* in the Tongan version, by comparison, is *Tangaloa* ‘*Ae’o’ainu’u-mate tupu’a* “Mr Shit-who-devours the people-[who] rightly guess the answers to riddles”. His devouring behaviour was derived from his ability to know/tell the secrecy or whereabouts of the food being hidden through the method of playing rhetoric.

If there is something important to stress in relation to the question of meaning, it is ideology. In connection here to the relationship between thought and language is the Hegelian Zizek’s¹⁵ negative conception of ideology. Ideology, according to Zizek, is not just a system of ideas, not just an illusion or an abstract idea, but a form of social behaviour, a particular masquerading as a universal. Further to the negative conception of ideology is Zizek’s thesis of ideology as a “negation of negation” tool for disclosing the dynamic of society, which thus opens a new way for understanding of social conflict.

¹² Herda 1988

¹³ Kramer 1994, Vol. I

¹⁴ Ibid, 1994:318, Vol. I

¹⁵ Zizek 1993:230-231

I would interpret this theory of “negation of negation” in the same semantic field as the Tongan philosophy of *'ikai ke 'iai* “not that there is”. Thus, the assertion [of existence] in a Tongan context contradictorily shows it to be a form of a denial. As a Tongan philosophical rule, we simply negate, *'oku 'ikai*, the assertion that there is, *'oku 'iai*, thus, *'oku 'ikai ke 'iai*. To understand the case in question, a real communication thus goes through a process of negation of negation. Even the Cartesian *cogito*, it is subjected to the same procedure of examination.

The ideology of the *Kauhala'uta-Kauhalalalo* moiety division, for example, directly refers in the origin myth of *'Aho'eitu* to the struggle for power between the sons of different mothers of sun-god *Tangaloa 'Eitumatupu'a*, between *Tangaloa's* older sons with a Samoan woman and *Tangaloa's* youngest son with a Tongan woman. It is then these mothers and their respective children outside the house fighting for the husband's-father's divine power that which defines the focus of my analysis and interpretation of the legends and myths considered in this thesis. Thus, in terms of Zizek's theory of ideology, *Kauhala'uta-Kauhalalalo* moiety division is a kind of very powerful subjective political tool of *heliaki* with an “objective status”, via one's own “spontaneous” synthetic activity, that which changes the representations into the objects of his experience¹⁶. Again, power, in this context of *heliaki*, is both the rhetorical ability of the *mata*, for example, to represent his own *Kauhalalalo* covert personal ambition in the expense of the *pule's* objectives of the *Kauhala'uta* division. On this perspective, not only that the critique of ideology enables us to understand the social conflict as implicit in the *mataapule* system,

the philosophical principle of *Kauhala'uta-Kauhalalalo* dualism is thus overcome. The struggle of separate individual interests for power is an example of intersubjective ideological legitimization which is, again, a fundamental mechanism of legitimizing “the existing order by presenting it as a realization of a dream- *not of our dream, but of the Other's, the dead ancestor's dream*, the dream of previous generations”. In other words, by means of their struggle, both the *mata* and *pule* “realize the ancient dreams of their [respective] oppressed ancestors”¹⁷.

Me'akai, as the central idea historically woven into the conjunction of *Kauhala'uta* and *Kauhalalalo* moiety division and the *Tu'i Tonga* title, can be seen as the inversion of *honge* “famine”. For it as “something extraordinary nice to eat”, the tempting of the *me'akai* becomes a subject of contestation, a reason, for example, for the *Tu'i Tonga* fleet led by *Fasi'apule*, the master crafter, to directly challenge the Samoan *'aokai* “food beggar” who *kaiha'a* “steals by eating the prohibited food [of turtle meat] of the *ha'a* ‘family’ [of *Tu'i Tonga*]”. Contestation of this nature is a detective game of rhetoric conducted by *Fasi'apule* upon the people of *Sangone* in *Savai'i*, Samoa, which subsequently brings forward the stealer, *Lafai* his name, for inquiry into the whereabouts of the *'uno* “shell” of the *fonu* “turtle”. In my interpretation, *Lafai*, the great chief and founder of *Savai'i*¹⁸, stole the *fonu* “storage pit full of food” from Tonga. Thus, the story is an example showing the danger of food when it comes to fighting over it, the Samoans are hiding it while *Fasi'apule*

¹⁶ Zizek 1993:153; also see Mahina 1992:10 for his version of this issue.

¹⁷ Zizek 1993:117; [respective] is mine. I am addressing Zizek's position here in terms of mine as if this is what he means.

plays the detective game of rhetoric, using the *kisukava* enigmatic request fishing method, to find it. Entitled as the story of *Sangone*, (see in the Appendix 6, pages 278-281), in the uncovering of the *Hau 'o Momo* "Food as the Conquest of *Momo*", the story is about food stealing as a famine problem due to the subjugation of the islands people with the *'inasi* tradition of sharing.

The question of meaning as an ideological problem of contradiction, again, disputes George W. Grace's theory of "the linguistic construction of reality"¹⁹, which is a subject I first introduced in my MA thesis²⁰. Grace's theory is simply a variant of the Sapir-Whorf theory of linguistic relativity, advocating a structuralist linguistic methodology where the study of meaning, I argue, proceeds on from a question of the meaning of meaning (of words)²¹. The structuralist linguistic methodology is hereby taken as to be based on searching for the regressive synthetic solution to the language-induced differences in thought to generate different realities.

Recapping the argument again, the question of meaning is not about the thinker who thinks, but, about what the thinker thinks about. It is what the thinker takes to be the case is the issue at stake. Meaning, in other words, is that *ontological what the speaker refers to*, as opposed to the *epistemological how what the speaker*

¹⁸ Kramer 1994:52, Vol. I

¹⁹ Grace 1987

²⁰ Talia'i 1989

²¹ See Ogden and Richards (1949)

says is said²². While the latter is interested in the subjective formulation of language use, the former in the objective statement of thought. Furthermore, the formal question of meaning is connected to the propositional logic of *X*, the location, and *Y*, the description of the location connected by the copula²³.

In the case of the moiety division, it is part of the social system structured by the *hala* “wrongdoing” of wounding the *Tu'i Manu'a* in Samoa and leading on to the appointment in Tonga of the *Tu'i Tonga* tribute system of *'inasi* as payment for the wrongdoing committed. Contrary to the meaning of dualism employed by Edward Gifford²⁴, his interpretation of the *Kauhala'uta-Kauhalalalo* moiety division is based on what he was told about the *Tu'i Ha'atalalaua* context in the 1920's when the *Tu'i Ha'atalalaua* was living. The means used to define this division is said to be a *hala* “road”, the inland side of the *hala* being the residence of the *Tu'i Tonga* and his people and the sea side being the residence of *Tu'i Ha'atalalaua* and the *Tu'i Kanokupolu* and their people. As the focus of this thesis is on the legitimation of economic and political power in Tonga within the wider historical context of Samoa-Tonga connection, Gifford's *Kauhala'uta-Kauhalalalo* moiety idea should be about the *hala* “procession” of the wrongdoers who murdered *Tu'i Tonga Takalaua*, the founder of the *Tu'i Ha'atalalaua* office, going on to *'uta* “land above” from *lalo* “underneath the land above” with their *laulau* “sacrifice” to beg for pardon. If conducted in the same historical analytical method as outlined, Gifford's moiety

²² Talia 1989:iii-iv

²³ See Anderson 1962; Armstrong 1997; Baker 1986

²⁴ Gifford 1929:159

idea will have presented the logical connection of the moiety from the literal sea-land division²⁵ to the historical human sacrifice of *hoko* “joining” of the ‘*ulu* (*umatagata* in Samoan) of the abandoned murdered high chief and the retributive *va’e* (*sino*) of the low rank murderer. Again, it will reveal Gifford’s *Tu’i Ha’atakalaua* moiety idea as simply a version of the old meaning of the *Tu’i Tonga* moiety system. The historical meaning of the moiety system of every dynastic period then conveys a consistent history of continuity of the moiety division throughout from Samoa into Tonga.

Further to the discussion on the issue of meaning is the emphasis on the dialectic of dualism in action in Tonga in contrast to Ferdinand de Saussure’s dualism of *langue* and *parole*. As the discussion of dualisms in Tonga shows, the unity of the two opposing extremes consists, not in their co-dependence, but, in the dialectical reversal, for example, of the universal will into its opposite. Insofar as the universal will is opposed to the multitude of particular wills, it turns into the utmost particular will of those who pretend to embody it (since it excludes the wealth of particular wills)²⁶.

Heliaki or Tongan dualism in action of saying one thing and meaning another, as discussed here, is different from Ferdinand de Saussure’s dualism of *langue* and *parole*. Different in the sense that to conduct an analytical study of Tongan language of *heliaki* one has to take into consideration the historical circumstances

²⁵ See Sahlins 1962; Toren 1990

²⁶ See Žižek 1993:123

relevant to what is being said before one is able to see the meaning. One cannot use the history of the method of Saussure's dualism, again, for it is not directed at what is being said but at how *what is being said* is said. Since the history of Saussure's dualism originates from an epistemological question of how knowledge, or language to be specific, comes about, the question of meaning is very much an ontological one. Again, Saussure's dualism is a divine construction of an evolutionary plan that which determines the nature of social human relationships²⁷. In Roy Harris' summary of Saussure's dualism showing the contrast between Saussure's "Copernican" point of view and my critique of dualism in Tonga, "For instead of men's words being seen as peripheral to men's understanding of reality, men's understanding of reality came to be seen as revolving about their social use of verbal signs...Words are not vocal labels which have come to be attached to things and qualities already given in advance by Nature, or to ideas already grasped independently by the human mind. On the contrary languages themselves, collective products of social interaction, supply the essential conceptual frameworks for men's analysis of reality and, simultaneously, the verbal equipment for their description of it. The concepts we use are creations of the language we speak."²⁸ Further to my argument, the relationship that holds, even the *langue* and the *parole*, together does not necessarily imply that the *parole* only participates in the *langue*. Rather, the relationship refers to the convenient use of a universal idea to dominate a particular engagement in war of words between the thinker/speaker and his/her opponent. Once again, the relationship collapses the distinction of

²⁷ Passmore 1985

²⁸ Harris 1983:ix

Saussure between the conceptual world (*langue*) and the actual world (*parole*) in so far as to reveal the actual nature of the distinction as not distinction within another bigger distinction but it (“the language we speak”) is simply situational proposition of *X is Y*.

Further to my critique of dualism in Tonga in contrast to the opposing theories on the diarchy system between Valerio Valeri’s “father-son, elder brother-younger brother rivalries”²⁹ and Kerry E. James’ “brother-sister relationship”³⁰, the shortcoming of the two theories is their common failure to give an account of the history of Tonga from a unilineal perspective. Starting with the shortcoming of James’ theory, it is James basing her account on the ambiguous “respect one another” message in connection to the brother-sister relationship principle. James’ position appears to me to have been formulated out of Elizabeth Bott’s quotation of Queen *Salote*³¹ of a history of Tonga based on the gender relationship in association with the female titles of *Tu’i Tonga Fefine* “Female *Tu’i Tonga* or sister of the *Tu’i Tonga*” and *Tamahaa* “Sacred child”. It is, in other words, a history in connection to the high rank *fahu* “sister’s child”³². I add that James’ position as a guise of a late Tongan feminist interpretation of brother-sister relationship muddles up, thus, ignores to discuss the contradictoriness of all dualities in Tongan society. Valeri³³, on the other hand, sets out to attack James’ thesis arguing its shortcoming to have derived from her taking a Malinowskian syllogism of

²⁹ Valeri 1990, 1993, 1994

³⁰ James 1991

³¹ Bott 1982

³² Ibid 1982:169; Rogers 1977

“matrilineal complex” for granted without attempting to justify the major premise of this syllogism. But, Valeri’s counterchallenge of James’ matrilineal perspective falls in the same defect for his as being patrilineal.

One aspect of my concern about these two theories of diarchy in Tonga is their perceptions of the terms of female and male. In Tongan, the use of female and male is, of course, contextual in accordance with one’s many respective duties. For example, the same female person who is a *tuofefine* “sister” can be, at the same time, a *fa’ee* “mother”. Again, the same person can also be recognised as a *mehikitanga* “father’s sister”, a *tehina* “younger sister”, as opposed to *ta’okete* “older sister”. Similarly, the same male person who is a *tuonga’ane* “brother” can be a *tamai* “father”, even, as a *fa’ee tangata* “mother male”, etc. On another dimension of this kind of female-male social distinction as dialectical is when the brother, for example, refers to his sister as his *tuofefine* “female pair” and, the sister to her brother as her *tuonga’ane* “male pair”. In other words, in saying my *tuofefine* “sister”, it would mean she is part of me as female. Similarly, in saying my *tuonga’ane* “brother”, it means my sister is referring to me as her male part. (I am not sure whether common terms of reference like *fakafefine* “(to a man) behave like a woman” and *fakatangata* “(to a woman) behave like a man (tomboy)” in use in Tonga are later development of *tuonga’ane* and *tuofefine*, respectively.)

Tuonga’ane-tuofefine is a dialectical distinction in the arena of sibling supporting, when one is taking the other for his/her own advantage. It is a female-male

³³ Valeri 1994:75

complexity as viewed with the distinction between *uho tau* “quarrelling sons of different mothers” and *uho taha* “supporting sons of the same mother”. Such complexity in the arena of sibling supporting is shown, for example, when ‘*Aho’eitu*’s Tongan mother, supported by her brothers, and ‘*Aho’eitu*’s older half Samoan brothers’ mother, supported by her Samoan brothers, entering into war over the respective two mothers’ husband’s title. The *tuonga’ane* supports the *tuofefine*’s aspiration after the biggest *Tu’i* “share” title, which, if success, is given to the *tuonga’ane*’s son.

On the positive side of Valeri’s treatise on the socio-political history of power in Tonga, however, it points to the centrality and internal danger implicit in the Tongan society’s structural hierarchical moiety system. In carefully analysing the socio-political history of power, it can be a starting point to read, for example, the historical emergence of the *Tu’i Tonga-Tu’i Ha’atakalaua* dualism. Valeri’s treatise, of course, does not have great depth in analysis of the ‘*Aho’eitu*’ myth and the *kava* rite, thus missing out completely the connection between Samoa and Tonga in his interpretation.

Tu’i Ha’atakalaua office is an advanced new socio-political reformation from the failure of the preceded *Tu’i Tonga* rule, especially, of younger sons becoming strong leaders in the outer islands of Tonga and, as well, in Samoa. These younger *Ha’atakalaua* sons, in turn, created a strong supporting network of their older *Tu’i Tonga* brother who was based at *Tongatapu*. They became their older brother’s

mataapule, which was further reinforced with the *moheofo* marriage between their oldest daughters as principal wives of the successive older brother *Tu'i Tonga*. Elder brother-younger brother rivalry in the *Tu'i Tonga* dynasty, then, becomes an elder brother-younger brother support in the *Tu'i Ha'atakalaua* dynasty.

“Eyes of *pule*” system in the time of the *Tu'i Ha'atakalaua* regime refers to a reverse of the role of protection and the *Tu'i* title holder. In the preceding *Tu'i Tonga* regime the title holder was the younger brother *'Aho'eitu* and his protectors were his older half Samoan brothers. During that time there were several tragedies, of several *Tu'i Tonga* title holders who were murdered and mutilated. These tragedies had probably to do with continuous violent rivalries between the older brothers as who amongst the brothers the oldest of all. As likely one of several things addressed by the new *Tu'i Ha'atakalaua* office, the older brother became the *Tu'i Tonga* successor after their father *Takalaua* who was murdered and mutilated while his younger brothers became his protectors. Perhaps it is a valid statement that from this new reverse, the use of *mataapule*, in the context of brother-sister supporting relationship, between the husband and his wife's brother, so as between the wife and her husband's sister, then becomes a term of reference to one another in the situation of marriage. In other words, in the *moheofo* marriage between the *Tu'i Ha'atakalaua's* sister and the *Tu'i Tonga*, the *Tu'i Tonga* refers to his wife's *Tu'i Ha'atakalaua* brother as his *mataapule* and, vice versa, the *Tu'i Ha'atakalaua* to his sister's husband's *Tu'i Tonga* his *mataapule*. *Mataapule*, in other words, becomes the confused supporting reference of

protection between brother and sister. Brother and sister are respectively both eyes and authorities to one another. Brother's speaking- I am *pule*, my sister is my *mata*. Sister's speaking- I am *pule*, my brother is my *mata*.

Another aspect to show the origin of the senior *Tu'i Tonga*- junior *Tu'i Ha'atakalaua* dualism as a *mataapule* case in action is the use of the *toa* tree as a *hala* "pathway" between earth and sky in the myth of '*Aho'eitu*. The *toa* tree is a metaphorical reference of *totola* "hard-fleshed yams" as the contents of the '*inasi* food tribute of the *Tu'i Manu'a* from the people of Tonga given via his tutelary *Tu'i Tonga*. In other words, descending of sky-god *Tangaloa 'Eitumatupu'a* to cohabit with *Va'epopua* on earth and ascending of son '*Aho'eitu* to meet his father up in the sky via the *toa* tree indicates this exchange between the landward sky-god supreme *pule* and his seaward land cultivator *mata* of "hard-fleshed yams" and protection. Thus, the *toa* tree stands as not only a "pathway" but also a "procession of taking the '*inasi*' from *Ma'ufanga*, where was the yam plantation of '*Aho'eitu*, to *Folaha* village of *Tangaloa 'Eitumatupu'a* in the mainland of *Tongatapu* Island. The division of *Kauhala'uta* "landward side at the top" and *Kauhalalalo* "seaward side at the bottom" is division originated from this '*inasi* procession between chief *Folaha* and *Ma'ufanga*, the beach where *Tangaloa* copulated with *Va'epopua*.

Exchanging of food as one's seeking pardon for wrongdoing committed is at the same time contracting inevitable danger because of the expectations involved in the formal request. While the wrongdoer expects pardon the pardon is given with

expectation that the wrongdoer will be assisting him in his war with another chief elsewhere. So, food becomes an ambiguous commodity because of its double nature as a source of freedom and, as well, a source of power. And, because of this ambiguity of food danger, that, in connection to the marine history of *Samoa'aatoa* in the Pacific region, the *Tangaloa* tribe began to set up some strict socio-political measures to control and protect the food resources for themselves. These measures immediately caused scarcity of food and constant wars in the region.

The associated implicit danger of food is connected to an ideological contradiction when, for example, *Tangaloa 'Eitumatupu'a* sought food and was given *Va'epopua* as a *moheofo* to eat, cohabit with, while, at the same time, the giving of *moheofo* was a seeking to *ngaohi* "adopt"³⁴, *gaoi* "steal"³⁵ in Samoan, the conceived high social rank young successor as the seat of power. The destructive implication of food refers to the impregnation of the local chieftess thus creating a local descent group and a genealogical connection of support with the impregnator. In historical terms, food is a socio-political means of personal struggle for power. Like fishing, the *moheofo* food of *Va'epopua* is bait which was used to catch the highest sacred royal blood of the *Tu'i Manu'a*. But at the cost of making the local Tongan descent group the *peito*, the low-ranking, seaward providers of food in a penal system of providing even human sacrifice.

³⁴ Churchward 1959:385

Fale as upturned boat, for example, is a historical statement concerning constant wars over food resources. The victorious boat reverses its role on land to become a house of advisers focussing on the issues of security and distribution of food. It should be common knowledge that every socio-political reformation is for the *fale* architect's personal protection reason. To turning his back from the *Tu'i Tonga-Tu'i Ha'atakalaua* combined force by overthrowing the barbaric *'Aho'eitu* human sacrifice, the current *Tu'i Tonga* title holder has replaced it, again, with a joyous *'Ahome'e* feasting. Food is the driving factor to the collapse of the *pule-mata* moiety division thus allowing the free flow between the patrician and plebeian to and fro from one side to another, one replacing another. Somehow, we could argue that this concept of food as "thing eatable" would be the hidden source of freedom that would testify to the mobility of civilization and people in space and time.

Again, the issue here, (not critiqued clearly by Toren³⁶ in her addressing of Marshall Sahlins³⁷ on the issue of sexual division of labour in Fiji using the complementary symbolism of "sea" and "land" by taking men to be associated with the "sea" and women with "land"), is Toren's notion of equality, "as given by balanced reciprocity in exchange relations", since she claims both sexes are associated with the land and with the sea. Toren's interest in "what the Fijian idea of hierarchy might be and how it is brought into being, both at the level of the group

³⁵ Pratt 1982:168

³⁶ Toren 1990:63

and of the person”³⁸ is as confusing as Sahlins’ complementary symbolism. Instead, as I have repeatedly emphasized, the question of social hierarchy has to do with people of all social strata struggling for economic and political power, such as between *Tangaloa ‘Eitumatupu’a* and local *Va’epopua*, between the sons of the same father (*uho tau*) and of the same mother (*uho taha*). The story of *‘Aho’aitu* is not a fiction but a record of a real political struggle. Social hierarchy, once again, is the historical inverse taking place in a new socio-political reformation of a new ruler’s boat being turned upside down on land to replace the defeated ruler’s house roof. Thus, the replacement is correctly referred to the replacing of the leadership on land of the defeated who has been decapitated and his head abandoned into the sea.

Moheofo marriage, later known in the *Tu’i Kanokupolu* period as *kitetama*, becomes a new factor of general significance mediated by individual hunger for power. It is a universal socio-political practice to which all individuals must succumb in the game of *hoko* “joining genealogical aristocratic lines of succession to the ruling titles”. The interpretation here, in fact, disputes Kaepler’s circulating connubium theory of intermarriages between Tonga-Fiji-Samoa³⁹. Kaepler’s theory, I suspect, sets the direction for the work of Herda in her PhD thesis on “The transformation of the traditional Tongan polity: a genealogical consideration of Tonga’s past”.

³⁷ Sahlins 1976:26-42

³⁸ Toren 1990:2

³⁹ Kaepler 1978

Herda's work is significant in many ways in relation to her use of Queen *Salote's* saying that "the genealogies are the key that opens the door. To try to do anything without knowing the genealogies is like scratching around the door without the key"⁴⁰. Transformation of the traditional Tongan polity is a wide area with its own distinct complexity. Opening the door into the general genealogical house of Tonga means one must also be able to discern the socio-historical implications of the genealogy. For Queen *Salote* to say that "genealogies are the key" she is hinting at a specific understanding of the legitimization of the *Tupou* dynasty's economic and political power in Tonga. Her statement to Bott⁴¹ is a reference to the *Tupou* genealogical construction of the history of Tonga, beginning with *Tu'i Tonga 'Uluakimata*, *Tu'i Ha'atakalaua Mo'ungaatonga*, and *Mo'ungaatonga's* son, *Tu'i Kanokupolu Ngata*. In other words, it is Queen *Salote's* acknowledgement of the long historical socio-political struggle for power of the *Tu'i Kanokupolu* that ended with the *Tupou* dynasty, in her. She even composed a *lakalaka*, known as the *Takafalu*, (see the texts and translation in the Appendix 8, pages 288-295), danced by her husband's people at *Tatakamotonga* to commemorate this historical feat of the long haul into Tonga of the *vasu/fahu* sacred royal blood that unites the three kingly lines.

Dissension that gave rise to discord in the socio-political arena of Tongan elites has been responsible for the recent emergence of personalised or biographical

⁴⁰ Herda 1988:11

history. Thus, the question of “how the past should be constructed and how that construction is to be interpreted”⁴² put forth by Herda is an issue at stake. I would rather replace the term “construction” in favour of discovery⁴³, thus, the question should read, “how the past should be discovered and how that discovery is to be interpreted”.

The *vasu/fahu* sacred royal blood in connection to genealogy as a breeding place for contestation for power is fundamentally the hidden political secrecy of the *mohefo* institution practice at the time of *Tu'i Ha'atakalaua Mo'ungaatonga*. The associated idea is to eclipse the *Tu'i Tonga* representative of *Tu'i Manu'a* in Tonga. The implementation of the idea is an *'Upolu* cause by paramount chief and commander in war of *Safata*⁴⁴, *Ama*, giving his daughter, *Tohuia*, to be wife of *Mo'ungaatonga*. *Mo'ungaatonga*, again, gives his daughter, *Kaloafuutonga*, as *mohefo* to *Tu'i Tonga 'Uluakimata*, which, I think, was a spontaneous action following the *'Upolu's* presentation of *mohefo* to *Mo'ungaatonga*. Since then, the *mohefo* adoption practice has become a prime occupation of the *Tu'i Kanokupolu* line in Tonga. As a socio-political principle of adopting, this distinct operational behaviour of the *Tu'i Kanokupolu mohefo* institution is thus marked in the social division of male and female, thus, *fakahokohoko toto 'a fafine, kae fakahokohoko hingoa 'a tangata* “carrying blood the women, but carrying titles the men”. Carrying of the sacred royal blood makes women the weavers of the aristocratic kinship

⁴¹ Bott 1982:12-14, Figures 1,2,3

⁴² Herda 1988:135

⁴³ Anderson 1935:152,156; Talia'i 1989:203

⁴⁴ Kramer 1994:308, Vol. 1

network in Tonga and, carrying of the titles makes men known as the keepers of the ancestral tradition of political power.

Following this argument, overlooking historical criticism of the genealogical culture as a system of symbols⁴⁵ a gap will be created, therefore, causing lack of knowledge about the important role of genealogy in the legitimation of economic and political power in Tonga. Unlocking the door, then, is to consider the personalised genealogy structuring events as *hohoko* of blood and titles. The history of *hohoko* began as an invention of the ruling dynasty in connection to marriage alliance, primarily for economic and political colonization and protection purposes. Consequential problems associated with this genealogical power-focused institution of joining led on to dispute over land and power between the ruler's sons with different mothers at the same time as a socio-political reformation was taking place.

The polygynous practice of having several wives is a case of interest in connection with genealogy structuring events⁴⁶. Its advantage, not only supplying the conqueror with fighting men and sustenance, definitely gives the conqueror, and his councillors, better options in selecting the suitable conqueror's representative in the new subjugated land. The disadvantage, of course, is the instability in the power structure, leading on to ferocious struggle between the sons of different mothers. Again, we can use the myth of *'Aho'eitu* as an example to show this

⁴⁵ Hunt 1989:74-78; Keesing 1987. See Rimoldi (1992) for criticism of Geertz and Biersack

instability of power in the contesting sense of *hoko* when *Tangaloa 'Eitumatupu'a's* sons of different mothers fought for the title.

Herda's genealogical consideration of Tonga's past can be a relevant guide to the understanding of the history of Tonga only when the question of genealogy is about *hoko* of two contesting parties, each taking the other for an advantage. It is commonly heard that the *hoko* is the joining of a weak party and a strong party. The traditions of *Umatagata* and chief *Folasa* of *Falelima* in *Savai'i*, Western Samoa⁴⁷, and chief *Lufe* of *Folaha* in Tonga are recorded cases, which have never analyzed elsewhere, so far as I know, except here, upholding this common view. But, the weakness of chiefs *Folasa* and *Lufe* were too influential enough to weaken, regardless of the heavy burden laid on their shoulders, the mighty *Tu'i Manu'a* ferocious persecution in *Samoa'aatoa*. Therefore, I suggest that in the case of the transformation of the traditional Tongan polity, Herda's study should have highlighted the fact that the transformation had always involved human sacrifice of a low ranking person, (for example, *Folasa*), being cut into half and his lower part taken to be joined on to an abandoned upper part of a murdered high ranking person (*Tu'i Manu'a*).

My *hoko* interpretation of Herda's thesis should likewise be a point of critique of Levi-Strauss' notion of "house society" taken to be the centre of social

⁴⁶ Sahlins 1962:5

⁴⁷ Schultz 1985

organization⁴⁸. This is a notion fascinated me so much that somehow “house society” as “centre of social organization” suspiciously clicks a parallel in meaning to the Tongan *fale* as “inside, centre” where the head of the family dwells and makes decisions for the whole family members. Levi-Strauss’ “house society” of feudal Europe would then in Tonga collectively refer to the land title holders, or, the nobility class and their dependent people. But, I would argue, quite frankly, that, because Levi-Strauss’ social analysis of “house society” was based on the feudal system of Europe, its application by the Austronesianists to their study of it in Oceania commits a contextual error of relativizing the explanation of it in the different local areas in Oceania. The application, for example, by Patrick Kirch⁴⁹, one of the leading archaeologists in this big Austronesian comparative project, of Levi-Strauss’ method of social analysis is focussing on the reconstructing of the proto-“holy house”⁵⁰ of the high chief. Thus, the testing of Levi-Strauss’ notion of “house society” misses out the concrete reality of house in Oceania, particularly in Tonga, as a centre of social organization.

Kirch’s claim is tested with the *paito* of Polynesian outlier *Tikopia* for “house” that, to him, it “reveals all the core characteristics originally pointed to by Levi-Strauss⁵¹, such as a corporate body holding an estate of land, the persistence of the house name over time (and its transmission to the principal occupants of the house), varying methods of kinship affiliation to the house, the transmission of titles,

⁴⁸ Carsten and Hugh-Jones 1995; Joyce and Gillespie 2000

⁴⁹ Joyce and Gillespie 2000

⁵⁰ Kirch 2000

⁵¹ Levi-Strauss 1982:174

valuables, heirlooms, and rituals, and of course, the central role of eponymous founding ancestors”⁵². Actually, the term *paito* has a broader semantic referent than simply dwelling house, for it explicitly encompasses the concept of household, family, lineage, and thus truly represents the house in Levi-Strauss’s sense”⁵³.

It would be a useful enterprise for Patrick Kirch’s interest in the notion of “house society” if Kirch digs deeper into the socio-historical traditions of connection between *Tikopia* and Tonga. Possibly, the *Tikopian paito* is an adoption of the Tongan *peito*, or vice versa. The interesting connection, then, of the *peito* is it where the sacrificial fire for the high chief’s food being prepared and cooked. Thus, the idea of *peito* is connected to the wider practice in Oceania of tribute system of human victims as food of propitiatory offering because of a wrongdoing committed.

My concern with this Austronesian kind of reconstruction method is twofold. First, the proto-form focus prevents a Tongan-Samoan understanding of the relationship between the house and human body because it is only if we understand the connection between the house and the sea that we can understand the association between the upper part of the body and the house as shown in the Samoan concept of *umatagata* “wide chest-person”⁵⁴ and Tongan *hoko* “join”⁵⁵. Second, unlike the case of Tonga that I am presenting here, there is no historical and social analysis of the *fale* “house” concept or even of the use of the sacred-secular

⁵² Kirch 2000:107

⁵³ Ibid, 2000:107; also see Firth 1985:326

⁵⁴ Pratt 1984:102; Schultz 1985

⁵⁵ Also see my criticism of the reconstruction method on Taliai (1989).

dualism. Specifically, Kirch's methodology has not even critically progressed as far as unmasking what is behind the "masked/holy" and the relationship between *fare/fale* and *paito/peito* in both Tonga and *Tikopia*. In Tonga, for example, the relationship between *fale* and *peito* is the duty of preparing food of the latter as the "kitchen"⁵⁶ of the former, of the dwelling of the 'eiki "small sacred child". The 'eiki is the grown *hii* "semen"⁵⁷ of the 'ulu "head" of the *fare/fale* being nurtured and destined inside the *fare/fale* to be the *pule* "governor"⁵⁸ of the land.

My interest in the ideology of *hoko* came about from undertaking what started as a personal curiosity to find out more about the sociopolitical history of Tongan society. The question central to my interest is why and how Tongan society was basically divided up into two social groups and, then, later on, became imploded into one. One of the basic constituents that which is significantly and directly connected to the make-up of Tongan society and must be discussed in relation to the ideology of *hoko* is the *kainga* institution. Tongan society, in accordance with my critique here, is a *hoko* history of a royal murder and a commoner human sacrifice of propitiation, of an abandoned *Tu'i Manu'a tonga* or *konga* "half (upper body)" and *Folasa's va'e* "legs (lower part)". From this early body connection between eastern Samoan *Manu'a* and western Samoan *Savai'i*, based on *tuofefine-tuonga'ane* relationship of respect involved, the *hoko* appears to be a cultural practice originated from the *tama tu'u he fa'ee* "child stands on mother"⁵⁹

⁵⁶ Churchward 1959:407

⁵⁷ Ibid., 1959:221

⁵⁸ Ibid., 1959:419

principle. In the case of the abandoned *Tu'i Manu'a* "half", he is the other upper body-part of the murdered child of chief *Folasa's* sister. Thus, socio-culturally, chief *Folasa* is fulfilling his social duty of respecting his sister by mutilating his body so that his lower part can be joined on to his nephew's upper body for a proper burial.

In the origin myth of *'Aho'eitu*, this *hoko* ideology is as recorded the *Talafale* "tradition of *fale*", the upturned boat. *Fale*, in that context, is the *hoko* of the mutilated head (*fau* "strong hibiscus fibre" in the tradition of *Umatagata* "shoulder-person" in the Samoan version) and legs (*polata* "trunk of banana plant" in the *Lufe's* tradition). In terms of the brother-sister relationship principle, the *Talafale* tradition is the sister's sacrificed brother becoming the *pou* "post" on which the sister's child's decapitated abandoned head placed. The sister's decapitated child becomes the replaced *'ulu* "head" of the sister's headless *pou* brother on land. This join of two human parts thus gives a symbolic meaning of *fale* as the sister's brother (*pou*) supporting the sister's son (*'ato* "roof").

Being able to critically read and analyze Tongan oral traditions is owed to my formal training at *'Atenisi* Institute⁶⁰ in Tonga under the advice and teaching of the founder-director of the Institute, philosopher and ethno-scientist, Professor *'Ilaisa Futa-ki-Ha'angana Helu*. *'Atenisi*, Tonganized form of Athens in Greece where the first Academy founded by Plato, becomes the first Institute in the Pacific to teach a

⁵⁹ See Rogers 1977

curriculum based on the Greek traditionalist-classical education of criticism. Its primary objective is to prepare the students to be critical in the way they see things. From this early formal induction, I was directed to have recognized the Greek philosophy of realism that considers things, though are related to one another, as existing independently. With this critical apparatus, I was, then, able to analyse the distinction and relation of things as one state of culture and history affairs of Tonga. This is a point which marks the turn from the realm of explaining something in terms of one's interests (mythology) into explaining something in its own terms (science).

This '*Atenisi* adopted unique traditionalist classical Greek stance of explaining things as they are has, firstly, been used in my MA thesis⁶¹. Therein, I offer a critique of the linguistic historical reconstruction method. Further to that critique is the point on *hoko* between Tonga and Samoa discussed in this thesis. The flaw associated with the reconstruction method is its attempt to presuppose the proto-form from comparison of the existing dialects. Proto-form then becomes conceptualised as a void from which sprung these several dialects and, thus, making the reconstruction objective of linguistic science as to specify the void of origin with the existing dialects. The phylogenetic work by Roger Green and Andrew Pawley in their demonstration of the correlations between the archaeological and linguistic evidence of early Oceanic architectural forms and

⁶⁰ On the history of '*Atenisi*, see Coxon 1988; Hingano 1987; Petelo 1991. On '*Atenisi*'s philosophy of education, see '*Atenisi University Catalogue and Student Handbook* (1981).

⁶¹ Taliai 1989

settlement patterns, combined with evidence of comparative ethnology⁶², is an example. Regrettably, they ignore the local circumstances which, I think, are relevant in giving the phylogenetic method some historical sense. For example, the architectural connection between Samoa and Tonga is not, like the phylogenetic implication of their interest, whether these islands both have “raised timber pole houses” or some houses having an “area underneath” as found in Western Oceanic and “houses built on the ground” in Eastern Oceanic. House in Samoa and Tonga has a local origin myth. It is related as an upturned boat connected by some standing posts on to earth. The metaphoricality of this myth should be the common methodical ground for the discussion of the subject of house⁶³. We need to penetrate through the oracularity and metaphoricity of the people’s way of talking about them and their environments. The objective of locating the place of origin of a particular culture⁶⁴, using the phylogenetic techniques, needs revision in Pacific scholarship! The *‘Atenisi* method of criticism stands to oppose the phylogenetic structuralist proposal of locating the rule-governed language system which produces the utterances we make⁶⁵ by focussing only on the elucidation of the relationships involved in the statement, *X is Y*. To combat against dualism of this nature, from a realist point of view, the void has to have some real characters of its own, apart from it being spoken of, with which the void can be known.

⁶² Green and Pawley 1999

⁶³ See Frye (1990) about his discussion of metaphor and his distinction between “underthought and overthought”.

⁶⁴ Bellwood 1991; Pawley and Ross 1995; Bellwood *et al* 1995; Blench 1999; Kirch 2000; Hurles *et al* 2003

⁶⁵ See Culler 1973:21; McTaggart 1964; Rosen 1982:1-2

Similarly, Valeri's "father-son" dissertation in the context of the *'Aho'eitu* myth should be about a relationship of the son as progeny of the father or, of the *toa* tree as the connector of above (sky-father) and below (earthly mother). The *toa* as the son also means the son is the father's *foha* "yam tuber" that grows out of the father's decapitated *'ulu* "head" as metaphorically represented in the *fakatei'ulu* "cutting off the tuber of a growing yam and leave the plant where it was so that it may produce another tuber". In other words, father-son relationship is conceptualised as a propitiatory *hoko* because of a murder that had been committed and, thus, the sacrificed son was appointed with the title of *Tu'i Tonga*. Thus, in terms of the Samoa-Tonga connection, Valeri's thesis should show the moiety division between above and below as joining relationship of the two sides of the wrongdoing in seeking for pardon.

The void kept intact in the phylogenetic reconstruction methodology. For example, the erroneous interpretation and use of the Hegelian triadic philosophy of realism, thesis-antithesis-synthesis, by Green and Pawley in their demonstration of the correlations between the archaeological and linguistic, combined with evidence of comparative ethnology, of early Oceanic architectural forms and settlement patterns⁶⁶, taking the point of departure from the words back to how they are linguistically made, can only be seen as some kind of archaeolinguistic/genetic composition of the void. Archaeolinguistic reconstruction of this nature is surely reflex form of the doctrine of idealism.

Idealism should be the doctrine of ideology, the platform for analysis of the associated meanings of people's ideas. What the people's ideas are about is what the Hegelian system set out to discover. Ideology, as not so much a particular body of ideas, is the normal natural way of perceiving and analysing reality and, at the same time, an instrument of oppression. Its activity is very much synthetic in the sense of it as the resolving stage of the opposed thesis. Being the synthesis, it affirms only the difference between thesis and antithesis. Ideology, as their very difference, links up the elements of a signifying network⁶⁷. Only on this critical apparatus that phylogenetic method of linguistic analysis, testing the "evolution of cultural diversity"⁶⁸, of speaker's saying *X is Y*, can have a real test.

Interdisciplinary relations between special sciences, for example, archaeology, linguistics, and ethnology, must all be incorporated in the one logic of analysis described with the Hegelian system in Zizek's interpretation.

How the economic and political power is legitimated is not an archaeogenetic question takes it to be. Once again, it is because archaeogenetics, as an evolutionary theory, fails to recognise the social contradictions associated with the question of legitimation of power in Tonga. Its failure is implicated in my critique of the origin myth of the house in Tonga and Samoa, which suggests that linguistic preoccupation must take into consideration house as a historical record of power

⁶⁶ Green and Pawley 1999

⁶⁷ Zizek 1993:124

⁶⁸ Greenhill 2005

struggle. In that sense, legitimation of economic and political power is rather a historical dissertation in the Hegelian sense of dialectic.

As an idea of State in Hegel's philosophy, Tongan *fale* is a socio-political reconstitution in an imagination of a coherent solution beyond the real world in order to do away with the contradictions in the real world. Part of the contradictions is the sense that Tongan *fale* as the royal architectural building which encloses within the thinker-adviser of Tongan society is a protected area under the *mataapule* system. And, also, Tongan *fale* serves to secure the adhesion of the individual with the appropriate formal protocol and, thus, to preserve the power of the dominant class in society⁶⁹. Tongan *fale* is the transitionally State of inverted two houses, the banished *fale-a-folau* "house-of-navigators" in the sea and the protected *fale-a-lea* "house-of-speakers" on land, that are contradictorily reinforcing one another. In that regard, my commitment to explaining the contradictoriness of *fale* ideology is also to reveal the difficulty of this task since it is impossible to reconcile the existence of a revolutionary ideology with the assertion that all ideology subjects individuals to the dominant system. Once turned upside down on land to become a shelter, the navigators' house (*fale-a-folau*) was converted into becoming the protected parliamentarian house (*fale-a-lea*) of *mataapule* representatives. It is thus one house converted from carrying navigators (downside up) in the ocean, thus a *kato* "basket", to sheltering them (upside down) on land, thus 'ato "roof", from *folau* "navigation" to *polau* "rhetoric". It

⁶⁹ Compare with Althusser's theory of ideology (1971)

is house, thus the abandoned upper part, of *Umatangata* “Shoulder-persons” paddling in the ocean and, on land, of *tanga* “mouths” talking.

Once again, as the issue of my thesis is legitimation, the discussion of the following indicates whether or not they square with the evidence or logic. First, whether the development of legitimation language is later than the social facts, for example, power, which it is designed to legitimate, as seems to be the implication of the relevant literature, or, second, whether the legitimation language has an origin different from that of the social reality it is usually associated with.

The methodological tools I employ include some standard approaches in social historical critical analysis but logical considerations inform every aspect of my 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 Anderson⁷⁰.

In the following Chapters 2, 3, and 4, the question of the legitimation of economic and political power in Tonga will begin with a brief introduction to how the Samoan *matai*, *tamai* in Tongan, system of government had been reinforced in Tonga. I

⁷⁰ Anderson 1962

discuss this early invasion in Chapter 2 in terms of the myth of the propitiatory offering of *'Aho'eitu* to *Folaha* with the appointment of the *Tu'i Tonga* title and of the exile myth of the *fale*, as in *Talafale*, with the appointment of the *Falefaa* service to the *Tu'i Tonga* title holder in Tonga. Chapter 2 will be a brief summary of the history of connection between Samoa and Tonga, precisely, the interest is on the discussion of the concept of *hoko* "join, genealogy" in connection to the legitimation of economic and political power in Tonga.

This early rough period of struggle to establish in Tonga of the Samoan *fale faka-Manu'a* government system, originated from the island of *Manu'a* in east Samoa, had eased down when George *Taufa'aahau Tupou I* later settled the quarrel over the *Tu'i Tonga* title with the *Ha'a Ma'afu* in the nineteenth century. George *Taufa'aahau Tupou I* did this with the assistance of Christianity and missionary Shirley Baker. The latter helped George *Taufa'aahau Tupou I* in the drafting of the Tongan Constitution. As a palladium of *Ha'a Ma'afu*, Tongan Constitution becomes the main theme of discussion in Chapter 3 of George *Taufa'aahau Tupou I*'s fight to protect the powerful rank of the *Ma'afu* descent group in Tonga. Thus, the granting of the Constitution, which is a case of junior manager (*Taufa'ahau Tupou I*) taking action against his powerful uncle and brother-in-law, *Tu'i Tonga Laufilitonga*, in my view, is a written document particularly served to protect the *Tupou* dynasty of *Ha'a Ma'afu*. His taking action is reminisced in his invading the central house of *Tu'i Tonga* power in the main island

of *Tongatapu* with the fighting men from the outer small islands of the *Ha'apai* and *Vava'u* Groups. Thus, it is the invasion of *Tongatapu* by the *fale-a-folau*.

His great, great granddaughter, Queen *Salote Tupou* III, the subject of Chapter 4, at the time the *Ha'a Ma'afu* had already firmly secured the top socio-political rank in *Tongatapu* Island, reinforced the Constitution of George *Taufa'aahau Tupou* I with her artistic skill in speaking poetic and rhetoric. In her time, navigation became less importance as a way of life, whereas, the art of poetry, music, and dance was emphasized. Finally, people are being constituted with legal precepts and moral responsibilities to their King/Queen and his/her chiefly representatives. People are disciplined to respect and honour their superiors. Both these Chapters, 3 and 4, are examples of successful legitimation of economic and political power in Tonga, in the way these two important political figures have done to implode the two senior kingly lines, *Tu'i Tonga* and *Tu'i Ha'atakalaua*, into the one *Tu'i Kanokupolu* kingly line.

The main aim of these two political figures' in terms of legitimizing the economic and political power is to persecute the "sacred blood" as the fundamental seat of power. Queen *Salote*, in particular, conducts this persecution method with the marriage arrangements of her children and her immediate *Tupou* family members to the descendants of the last holder of the *Tamahaa* title, *Laatuufuipeka*⁷¹. For this

⁷¹ Bott 1982:153-154, Figures 31(a),(b),(c)

conduct to get recognized is greatly owed to the *Taufa'aahau Tupou* I's 1875 Constitution. Thus, the preservation of the "sacred blood" has constitutionally been recognised with the practice of *kitetama* "causing to appear of a chiefly child" pertaining to marriage of cousins. *Tupou* I calls this course as the *tau'ataaina* "fight to get freed" from the *Tu'i Tonga* rule.

Tu'i Kanokupolu line to which the *Ha'a Ma'afu* belongs becomes a synthetic difference opposing the persecution element of the *Tu'i Manu'a* tribute system with the conversion of Tonga into Christianity. Christianity, I am arguing, is no longer an opposing difference, but, like *fale faka-Manu'a*, Christianity is just another political instrument of persecution. The holders of position in the government are changed, but, the core socio-political structure still remains hierarchical and ruggedly stratified.

Conclusion

In contrast to Levi-Strauss' question, do dual organisations exist⁷², the emphasis of my dissertation on moiety system lies in my inside knowledge of dualities in Tonga. It is not an exercise, as would an outsider, like Levi-Strauss, do, of finding out whether dual organisations exist in Tonga. Again, my thesis does not either set out with the intention of promoting a theory of dualism, of two independent underlying principles. It, in other words, sets out to critically discuss dualities as common phenomena of Tongan society and, historically examine how they

operate and come about. As differed from the philosophical use of dualism, the real examination of dualities here is a question dealt directly with the historical connection between dualities and the legitimation of economic and political power in Tonga. So, I am taking the historical connection of the moiety system, as a particular masquerading as a universal, to be a social ideology, for example, of foreign conqueror (*Tangaloa*) in his political and economic establishment in Tonga. Once again, social moieties or the moiety system is, thus, a historical result of the fusion of an exile Samoan *Tangaloa* clan who sought refuge in Tonga and who brought with them the advisory system of *Faleua* and *Falefaa* to assist their youngest half brother of Tongan mother who became the first *Tu'i Tonga* "King of Tonga"⁷³. Historically, as the argument goes, these moieties worked both ways, dual and asymmetrical at the same time. My discussion is not a commentary located at the level of current political debates but rather in the critique of social moieties in Tonga.

⁷² Levi-Strauss 1963

CHAPTER 2

Tongan *Fale*: “Household Advice” to a Junior Manager

Introduction

In this chapter the focus is on the historical connection between Samoa and Tonga. How this tyrannical *Tangaloa* system of persecution from Samoa eventually established itself as a form of ruling dynasty in Tonga is the subject matter of discussion in this chapter. The history of Samoa-Tonga connection is introduced in terms of my criticism of Queen *Salote*'s beginning the history of Tonga with the joint reigns of the twenty ninth *Tu'i Tonga 'Uluakimata* and the sixth *Tu'i Ha'atakalaua* as transcribed by anthropologist Elizabeth Bott in the middle of the twentieth century in her book on Tongan society. Discussion of the Samoa-Tonga connection is enlightened with my analysis of the origin myth of *Seketoa* of *Niuatoputapu* and *'Aho'eitu* of *Tongatapu*, highlighting the idea of *hoko* of the abandoned head of the former and the local legs of the latter. *Hoko*, in other words, is the ideological expression of the establishment in Tonga of the Tongan *fale* “household advice (*Faleua* and *Falefaa*) to a junior manager (*Tu'i Tonga 'Aho'eitu*)”. Some cases are cited to illustrate the socio-political implications in association with this social practice of *hoko*. One is the cutting-into-half sacrifice of chief *Lufe* of *Folaha*, the village named after *Tangaloa 'Eitumatupu'a*'s title name, father of *Tu'i Tonga 'Aho'eitu*. Another is the *moheofo*, which is an *'Upolu* social institution of adopting the sacred royal blood of the *Tu'i Tonga* during *Tu'i Tonga 'Uluakimata*. Stealing and usurpation of power was the common practice leading up to the localization of power in Tonga. Discussion of the origin of the moiety division and of the changing features of the *Falefaa* system of protection throughout the three kingly lines, from *Tu'i Tonga* to *Tu'i Ha'atakalaua* to the present *Tu'i Kanokupolu* is an introduction to the next chapters.

⁷³ Compare with Rivers' discussion of moiety system idea (1920)

The discussion hereon is my review of Queen *Salote's* history of Tonga going from a point with no preceding history. The argument presented here will refer to the late Queen *Salote's* first written local history of Tonga, as transcribed by anthropologist Elizabeth Bott⁷⁴, following discussions with her Majesty in the final years of her reign. As I will show in the discussions to follow, Queen *Salote's* version of the local history of Tonga is her confirmative interpretation of a socio-political reformation in Tonga during the joint reigns of the twenty ninth *Tu'i Tonga 'Uluakimata* and the sixth *Tu'i Ha'atakalaua Mo'ungaatonga*. Queen *Salote's* version focuses on a *Tupou* dynasty's ambition to localize the history of Tonga. It is an ambition, I strongly believe, based on my interpretation of the name *Tupou*, reflected in *Tupou* decapitating the *Tu'i Tonga* line to let the *Kanokupolu* "Flesh of 'Upolu 'three heads'" *tu'u* "stands" in Tonga. (My interpretation of 'Upolu is derived from the story of the making of *Ngata*, son of *Mo'ungaatonga* and *Tohuia* of 'Upolu, as the *Tu'i* "King" of the *Hihifo* "West" District of *Tongatapu* Island. *Ngata* is the 'Ulutolu "three men in one"⁷⁵. 'Upolu, in fact, is a concept referring to the island as having only "three standing districts", thus *Tu'utolu*, namely, *Aana* [west belonging to the *Tui Aana*], *Tuamasaga* [central to the *Malietao* family], and *Atua* [east to the *Tui Atua*]. These are the most powerful chiefs holding the overall ruling power in Samoa⁷⁶. In *Tongatapu*, *Aana* is *Hihifo* [*Tu'i Kanokupolu*], *Tuamasaga Vaheloto* [*Tu'i Ha'atakalaua*], and *Atua Hahake* [*Tu'i Tonga*].) Queen *Salote* reinforces the "three men in one" working theme in Tonga focusing on the old ethno-biological

⁷⁴ Bott 1982

⁷⁵ Ibid 1982:115

belief in the *fahu* social institution⁷⁷. More of the discussion on how the *fahu* works can also be viewed in Chapter 4.

The refutation of Queen *Salote's* local history, I must emphasize, which, of course, is the subject of the discussion in this chapter, is a fuller critique of the local history, using the concept of *hoko* "join", to produce an original account of the processes preceding the present. *Hoko* is a central concept and practice in the legitimation of power as implicit in the history of the relationship between *Kauhala'uta* and *Kauhalalalo* in the period when they were most significant, before the *Kanokupolu* and their reduction to sides of the road at *Lapaha*. The relationship was from the start based on some kind of tension between sea and land, male and female, upper and lower, as expressed in bodily terms further reflected in the dynamics of the relationships between *vaka* "canoe" and *fale* "house".

Starting this historical analysis of the changing meaning of *hoko* in Samoa shows that the unity of *Samoa'aatoa* "Samoa-all"⁷⁸ culture was not simply military empire but a concept of power based on the contradictory relationship of theft and protection as aspects of the same political relationship.

The concrete analysis of the myth of *'Aho'eitu* portrays the *hoko* relationships between Tonga and Samoa, male and female, sons of different mothers, as a myth

⁷⁶ Kramer 1994:193, Vol I

⁷⁷ See Mahina (1992: Figure 2.1) which shows these incestuous sexual relationships in the beginning as founding ancestors of the kingly lines of Tonga.

of human sacrifice to a “cannibal” spirit and of *Talafale* tradition consisted of *Faleua*, *Falefaa*, and *Tu’i Tonga* titles. Following here is Dr Mahina’s relation of the myth, thus

The Origin Myth of ‘Aho’eitu

(as told and translated by Dr Mahina⁷⁹)

“*Seketo’a*, chief of *Niuatoputapu*, had a beautiful daughter, *‘Ilaheva*. Since there was no man of comparable rank to marry her in *Niuatoputapu*, *Niuafu’ou*, and *Samoa*, *Seketo’a* ordered his people to take her in a canoe to look for a husband in *Vava’u* and *Ha’apai*. She refused to land in those islands because of *Vava’u* rugged features and the active volcano of *Kao* in *Ha’apai*. Thus, they set sailed for *Tongatapu*, where she was put ashore at *Popua* in *Ma’ofanga*. Unfamiliar with the place, *‘Ilaheva* hid behind the woods. Occasionally, she would sneak out of hiding to collect shellfish in the lagoon, so the people of *Popua* had only a glimpse of her. Struck by her great beauty, they named her *Va’epopua*. But on one offshore island, *To’onangakava*, grew a huge *toa* tree reaching *Langi*, the abode of *Tangaloa ‘Eiki* and his children. *Tangaloa ‘Eitumatupu’a* used to climb down the tree from *Langi* to *Maama*, where on one occasion he sighted *Va’epopua* collecting shellfish. They then had sex in a particular spot of one island, afterward named *Mohenga* and the island *Ha’angakafa*. The couple overslept in one island, when long after dawn a flying tern woke them by its cries, and on another island they slept till late, waking up to find the light of day. As a commemoration of their sleep, the respective islands were named *Talakite* and *Mata’aho*. In time, *Va’epopua* got pregnant, then gave birth to a male child, whom his father named *‘Aho’eitu*. On returning to *Langi*, his father poured down clay forming a mound called *Holohiufi* for his son’s garden, then brought a yam named *heketala* for *‘Aho’eitu* to cultivate. One day *‘Aho’eitu* said to his mother that he wanted to see his father. *Va’epopua* anointed him with oil, then gave him a piece of bark cloth to take as a present. She advised *‘Aho’eitu* that, by climbing up the *toa* tree to *Langi*, he would find his father snaring pigeons on a roadside mound. Overcome by handsome *‘Aho’eitu*, *Tangaloa ‘Eitumatupu’a* sat down in obeisance, but he told him to rise because he was his son from *Maama*. Food and *kava* were prepared for his reception. Afterwards he sent *‘Aho’eitu* to meet his brothers, who were playing *sika’ulutoa* on the *mala’e*. His beautiful physique and skills in the sport sparked jealousy in his brothers, who killed and ate him, then threw his head into a clump of *hoi* plants. When they returned, *‘Aho’eitu* was without them. So *Tangaloa ‘Eitumatupu’a* suspecting *‘Aho’eitu* to have been

⁷⁸ Kramer 1994:9; the culture stands for all surrounding islands of Samoa including Tonga, Fiji, Rarotonga, Tahiti, Waihu, (in my interpretation, this is *Ewa* in *Oahu, Hawaii*, [*‘Eua* Island in Tonga]), all of which had to bring *Tuimanu’a* food tributes (*umiti*, *‘umisi* in Tongan).

⁷⁹ Mahina 1992:91-92

murdered summoned his sons before him. They were made to vomit, throwing up 'Aho'eitu's flesh and blood into a bowl. The head was added, and the bowl covered with *nonu* leaves. After a few days, 'Aho'eitu's dismembered body reunited and came back to life. As a consequence, he ordered that 'Aho'eitu had to descend to *Maama* and become the first *Tu'i Tonga*, while his *Langi* brothers, *Talafale*, *Matakehe*, *Maliepoo*, *Tu'iloloko* and *Tu'ifolaha* were to form the first *Falefaa*. While *Matakehe* and *Maliepoo* were to guard the *Tu'i Tonga*, *Tu'iloloko* and *Tu'ifolaha* were to help him govern and conduct his funeral."

My interpretation of the myth is that it is a tradition of a decapitated upper part chief (*Tu'i Manu'a*) abandoned into the sea and drifted from Samoa (*fale faka-Manu'a*) as a boat (*kato*) and, eventually, landed in Tonga and turned upside down to rest on a mutilated lower part of the decapitated chief's female relation as the posts (*fale*), thus becoming the roof (*'ato*) to shelter the whole jointed two-part-body title of *Tu'i Tonga*. The fundamental implication conveyed in the myth tells of the support and protection in Tonga of a wrongdoing committed in Samoa. Thus, in order to institutionalize a secured protection system for the life and political and economic privileges of this abandoned wounded *Tu'i Manu'a* in Tonga, a representative local *Tu'i Tonga* title holder with his *Falefaa* murderers made up of his Samoan older half brothers had to be appointed. Up to this point of the appointment of a *Tu'i Tonga* office in Tonga, a significant aspect can be observed about the supporting service of the *Falefaa* showing a contradiction in the nature of *hoko* between the Samoan *fale* form of government and the locals. The members of the *Falefaa* were entirely made of Samoan men as the local *Tu'i Tonga* title holder's protectors. They were in fact the wrongdoers who fled Samoa with the royal 'ula of paramount sun-god *Tagaloa*, thus known in Samoa as the stealing of

the *Fale'ula* into '*Upolu*⁸⁰. They were thieves and actors of their own theft building up a new colony of *Samoa'aatoa* in Tonga.

Stealing of the high ranking title and protecting it from being seized in this historical context of Samoa-Tonga connection are clues to finding the original meaning of the title *Tu'i Tonga* "King of Tonga". In the myth of '*Aho'eitu*, for example, *Tangaloa 'Eitumatupu'a*'s youngest son with '*Ilaheva Va'epopua* of Tonga was mutilated and, his lower part being cooked and eaten while the upper part (head) abandoned to decompose in a clump of *hoi* yams. Mutilated as *tu'usi konga* "to cut into half" is the closest we can have as the probable translation for *Tu'i Tonga*. Thus, *Tu'i Tonga* is *Tu'i Konga* "Cutting into half". It then became a kingly title in recognition of his sacrifice, to also means, sacrifice by offering his *konga* "share which is his lower part" to an abandoned decapitated loving one. Thus, the concept of *Tu'i* is, therefore, directly connected to the name '*Aho'eitu* as "Human sacrifice [share]-[to]-cannibal spirit" and founding principle of '*inasi* tribute system. It suggests that the institutionalization of the *Falefaa* protection system of the *Tu'i Tonga* office in Tonga is a *Tu'i Manu'a* interest in absorption of the local resources. (In connection and, I think, it is important, but, will not be divulged here any further, is Jacques Lacan's designations of Hegel's system as "hysteric, master, university" as a case of illustration. As Hegel the representative of the discourse of university, for Lacan, "what reigns in what one calls the Union of the Soviet

⁸⁰ Personal communication with Dr Morgan Tuimaleali'ifano in 1999, historian and lecturer in the University of the South Pacific in Fiji. Also, see Kramer 1994, Vol. I, on the mythical accounts in *Manu'a* in connection to the *Fale'ula*.

Socialist Republics is University”, that is, in the USSR, “knowledge is the king”⁸¹. Knowledge, in Tongan, is *'ilo*. Also, *'ilo* is honorific for “to eat” of an aristocrat. This latter meaning provides an interesting hint to the connection in between the regal concept of *Tu'i* and its consumptive reflex in the human sacrifice.)

The *hoko* of *Lufe* of *Folaha* and *Tu'i Tonga Havea*, as in the saying, *hoko e fau moe polata* “join of *fau* and *polata*”, on the other hand, gives another perspective of human sacrifice, highlighting, in my view, the value and impact of the brother-sister relationship principle. As the name *Lufe*, the title at the village of *Folaha*, derived from a devoted action of *Havea*'s mother's people to their kinrelation's decapitated “child”⁸², the devotion, in relation to the “secret cult” of *Luve ni Wai* “Offspring of the Water”⁸³ in Fiji, could be reference to the sacredness of the brother-sister relationship commonly practiced in Tonga as *fahu*, known in Fiji as *vasu*. It is “one medium by which individuals, disgruntled at the new social order, can gain social prestige in the community”⁸⁴.

The story of *Lufe*'s cutting into half has been related in connection to this *Tu'i Tonga* named *Havea* who was murdered while having a bath at a pool named *Tolopona* in *'Alaki*, a tract in the village of *Pelehake*. *Havea* was decapitated and the upper body part was thrown in to the sea and floated until founded by chief *Lufe*'s people of *Folaha* at a beach called *Fangaloto*. Once chief *Lufe* realised that

⁸¹ Zizek 2004:57

⁸² Bott 1982:94

⁸³ Thompson 1940:117

the upper body part belonged to *Havea*, chief *Lufe* immediately commanded his people to cut his body into half, thus the place where it happened still now called *Tu'utu'u*, and *Havea's* upper part be brought up from the water on to the land and joined together with his lower part, thus that place it happened called *Hikihoko*, before *Havea*, once again, in full body, was given a proper burial. *Tu'i Tonga Havea's* burial place (*Langi*) since then has become known as *Fangaloto*.

For *Lufe* to go to that extreme of sacrificing himself, *Havea's* mother, in the *fahu* relationship, must be chief *Lufe's* sister. Subsequently, the sacrifice must have been a form of disgruntlement that earned him the title *Lufe*. What was that new social order as the subject of chief *Lufe's* disgruntlement is a question I will come back to it as the discussion hereon unfolds.

The same kind of disgruntlement is shown in connection to the outrageousness of the *Samoa'aatoa* culture of persecution recorded in Tonga with several attempted and successive assassinations of some, most probably, tyrannical *Tu'i Tonga* title holders. Notable cases are the assassinations of *Tu'i Tonga Havea I*, *Havea II*, and *Takalaua*, which were carried out by Fijian and 'Uvean men⁸⁵. Not only that, the disgruntlement is reflected in the recurrent reformation of the *Falefaa* protection system for the sake of the *Tu'i Tonga* safety. Recurrent assassinations and reformations of the *Falefaa* protection system show the attempt to control the contestation for the power vested in the *Tu'i Tonga* title. The *Ha'atakalaua Falefaa*,

⁸⁴ Thompson 1940:117. Further, one should also consult Brewster 1922; Williams and Calvert 1852.

⁸⁵ See Bott 1982:95

for example, made up of the younger brothers, has the role of protecting their oldest brother and successor to the title of *Tu'i Tonga* after the murder of their *Tu'i Tonga* father, *Takalaua*, by men from 'Uvea⁸⁶.

The Fiji connection to Tonga at the time of *Tele'a* is a revival of the constant war between the children of the sun-god in the place where the sun sets (*Savai'i*) and those in the place where the sun rises (*Manu'a*). The Fiji connection, then, focuses on the disturbances of localization of power in Tonga, as evidenced in the several assassinations of *Tu'i Tonga* title holders mentioned above, and the founding and regulating of Tongan customs and social life by *Lo'au*. *Lo'au* is 'akau in two senses relevant in the discussion here. It means, in Samoan, "a small axe"⁸⁷ and, in Oceania, "fishhook"⁸⁸. *Lo'au*, as an axe and fishhook, in my interpretation, refers to his work as a *tuputoka* "canoe/house builder" and *fusifonua* "land hauler/founder". Thus, localization of power in Tonga is marked with the renaming of *Tele'a* as *Tu'i Tonga*, the 'Uluakimata "First Eye". *Mata* is also symbol of house⁸⁹ and fishhook.

Also, the localization of power in Tonga refers to the *hoko* by means of *mohefo* practice between *Tu'i Tonga 'Uluakimata*, *Tu'i Ha'atakalaua Mo'ungaatonga*, and *Safata* of 'Upolu. The *hoko* of *mohefo* is the central turning point of contestation of the sacred blood which later becomes a different contestation. At this point, the discussion will lead on to the following chapter on Queen *Salote's* affirmation of the

⁸⁶ Confirmation of the involvement of Fijian and 'Uvean men in the assassinations of the *Tu'i Tonga* comes from my own interpretation of the event as recorded by Bott (1982:95) and the history and culture of the lagoon area in the *Tongatapu* Island.

⁸⁷ Pratt 1984:173

political ascendancy of the *Tu'i Kanokupolu* status in her genealogical poetry.

Socio-political reformation at the time of *'Uluakimata* and *Mo'ungaatonga* is *'Upolu* localization by means of usurping the power of the *Tu'i Manu'a* and the *Tu'i Manu'a* representative *Tu'i Tonga* "King-[of]-*Tonga*" title in Tonga. How the usurpation of the *Tu'i Manu'a's* power is done, of course, has not been seriously taken as a subject of discussion. Historically, political usurpation of power has been an old practice that had to do with establishment by means of replacing an old political system. The commonest political method used from time immemorial, and which is still in practice up to present day in Tonga, is the *mohefo* "to enter into an incestuous sexual intercourse-[for]-joining purposes"⁹⁰ institution. Given that the socio-political use of *mohefo* has historically been part of nation building in the region of Tonga, there is another important implication of Queen *Salote's* local history as recorded by Bott in association with the localization and centralization theme of marriage arrangements between cruel savage *'Ahome'e* of *Hihifo* and his young brother, *Lavaka vao-leleva*, and *Tu'i Ha'atakalaua Mo'ungaatonga*⁹¹. It is the economic implication. For instance, *Kaloafuutonga*, *Mo'ungaatonga's* daughter, became the first *mohefo* wife of *Lavaka-vaoleleva's* grandson, *Tele'a*, later given the name, *'Uluakimata*. *'Uluakimata*, literally, the "First-eye"⁹², became the first local *Tu'i Tonga* title holder. The reason being, as Gifford has already

⁸⁸ Clark 1994

⁸⁹ See Gell 1998

⁹⁰ Churchward 1959:361,227. I take *mohefo* to be a variant of *mohehoko*.

⁹¹ Gifford 1929:35-36. The interpretation for the political implication of this genealogy provided herewith is my own. Also see Bott (1982:120) mentioning the savage *Hihifo* people.

⁹² Kramer 1995:357-361, Vol. II

pointed out, is because of *Lavaka's* hospitality to the *Tu'i Tonga* during a great famine in *Tongatapu*. *Lavaka* prepared some meals of *leleva* yam-silages from his two great storage pits for the *Tu'i Tonga* and his voyaging party on their short stay in *Tongatapu* before leaving for *Vava'u*.

This case of transformed political legitimation, the *moheofo* practice as a new cultural trait, will be the focus of this chapter. It has never been adequately discussed as a strategy of an ascending group brought into play at a particular juncture, with the outcome of a new beginning of history, that of Tonga as summarized as the history merely of the *Kanokupolu*. New institutions were the practical political culture of a new ruling class. The *moheofo* practice has been introduced at the same time as the social institutions of *Tamahaa* "Child-sacred" and *Tu'i Tonga Fefine* "Tu'i Tonga Female".

This turning point marked by the introduction of *moheofo* in exactly this strategic way marks the end of an earlier relationship between Samoa (*Manu'a*) and Tonga (*Savai'i*) as parts of an older whole. This older relationship was dominated by the dualism of sacred and profane, *'uta* "above" and *lalo* "below", *hahake* "east" and *hihifo* "west", upper and lower parts of the *fale*-body, *tangata* "male" and *fefine* "female". The point is that the beginning of official history at *Lapaha* is commonly taken to be the start of the opposition between *Kauhala'uta* and *Kauhalalalo*. The present discussion will suggest that the advent of *Tele'a* and the official ancestors of the *Kanokupolu* give undue prominence to the distinction between the seaward

and inland sides of the road. The distinction is rather a formulaic expression of an older and much more subtle and complex set of distinctions centering on the power dynamics of the *fale* in the period marked by the closer relationship between the *Tu'i Tonga* and *Manu'a* represented by the *Talafale*. The classic distinction between the moieties dominant at the time of the presence of the ancestral line of the *Kanokupolu* is a simplistic one, simply marking the beginning of the decline of the archaic opposition between Tonga and *Manu'a*. The opposition between rivals to power is now marked by the social spaces brought by *moheofo* and *fahu* whereas once it was marked by the distance between the inside and the outside of the house.

Just as the simplistic phase of opposition between moieties is not representative of their whole history so too the practice of Kaeppler⁹³ in construing the marriages between Samoa, Tonga and Fiji as an eternal circulating connubial hides a truth. This is the revolutionary transitional nature of the phase of intermarriage between the *Tu'i Tonga*, *Tu'i Ha'atakalaua* and *'Upolu* expressed in the relationships between the main island groups.

Before I trace the change taking place, I want, as part of my critique of moiety division idea, to bring to the fore an update of the progress of a new focus in doing research in Oceania which takes "house", based on the feudal European noble "house society" theory of social anthropologist Claude Levi-Strauss, as the centre

⁹³ Kaeppler 1978

of social organization⁹⁴. I feel that updating this progress will then enable us to make sense of Queen *Salote*'s obscure localizing history theory of Tongan society.

With special relevance to this new focus in doing research is an article, written by a notable Oceanic archaeologist, Patrick Kirch⁹⁵, on "Holy Houses": The Transformation of Ritual Architecture in Traditional Polynesian Societies". Therein, Patrick Kirch, in reviewing Raymond Firth's ethnographic analysis of *paito* "house" in Tikopia, argues that it "reveals all the core characteristics originally pointed to by Levi-Strauss⁹⁶, such as a corporate body holding an estate of land, the persistence of the house name over time (and its transmission to the principal occupants of the house), varying methods of kinship affiliation to the house, the transmission of titles, valuables, heirlooms, and rituals, and of course, the central role of eponymous founding ancestors"⁹⁷. Kirch's hypothesis, as regarding the linkage between Polynesian houses and temples, very much based on the linguistic reconstruction method, states that "the Tikopia term *fare* is, of course, a reflex of the Proto-Polynesian term **fare/fale*, cognate reflexes of which are the usual term for 'dwelling house' throughout Polynesia (e.g., Hawaiian *hale*, Tongan *fale*). Thus the Tikopia have retained the older Polynesian term for 'house' as their word for 'temple', while innovating a new term, *paito*, for the residential structure. (Actually, the term *paito* has a broader semantic referent than simply 'dwelling house', for it explicitly encompasses the concept of 'household, family, lineage', and thus truly

⁹⁴ Carsten and Hugh-Jones 1995; Joyce and Gillespie 2000

⁹⁵ Kirch 2000

⁹⁶ Levi-Strauss 1982:174

⁹⁷ Kirch 2000:107

represents 'the house' in Levi-Strauss's sense.)"⁹⁸ The *fare/fale-paito* distinction is based on the use of the two houses but not specifically on the historical relationships of *fare/fale* and *paito* in space and time. The object of his experiment is reconstruction of the transformation of *fare* "holy houses" of traditional Polynesian societies into residential *paito*.

My concern with this kind of reconstruction method is twofold. First, the proto-form focus prevents the Tongan-Samoan understanding of the relationship between the house and human body because it is only if we understand the connection between the house and the sea that we can understand the association between the upper part of the body and the house as shown in the Samoan concept of *umatagata* "wide chest-person"⁹⁹ and Tongan *hoko* "join"¹⁰⁰. Second, based on the case of Tonga that I am presenting here, there is no historical and social analysis of the *fale* "house" concept or even of the use of the sacred-secular dualism. Specifically, Kirch's methodology has not even critically discussed, let alone unmasked, what is behind the "masked/holy" and the relationship between *fare/fale* and *paito*. In Tonga, the relationship between *fale* and *peito* is the duty of preparing food of the latter as the "kitchen"¹⁰¹ of the former, the dwelling of the '*eiki* "small sacred child". The '*eiki* is the grown *hii* "semen"¹⁰² of the '*ulu* "head" of the *fare/fale* nurtured and destined to be the *pule* "governor"¹⁰³ of the land.

⁹⁸ Kirch: 2000:107; also see Firth 1985:326

⁹⁹ Pratt 1984:102

¹⁰⁰ Also see my criticism of the reconstruction method on Talia (1987).

¹⁰¹ Churchward 1959:407

It would be a useful enterprise for Patrick Kirch's interest in the notion of house society if Kirch digs deeper into the socio-historical traditions of connection between Tikopia and Tonga. Possibly, the Tikopian *paito* is adoption of the Tongan *peito*, or vice versa. The interesting connection of *peito* is the sacrificial fire of the high chief's food preparation. The idea of *peito* is thus connected to the wider practice in Oceania of tribute system of human victims as food of propitiatory offering because of a wrongdoing committed.

Discussing the relationship between the sacred dwelling *fare/fale*-secular kitchen *paito/peito* in Samoa and Tonga is another way of showing how the body sets the scene to house¹⁰⁴. The Samoan story of the *Umatagata* "Shoulder-person" is a case study. It is about a boy born with no legs who had been carried around Samoa on a boat from *Manu'a* in the east looking for some legs. The search finally ended at the village of *Falelima* in *Savai'i* at the west, originally known as *Aopo*, where chief *Folasa le 'i'ite*, the prophet, offered legless *Umatagata* his youngest son's legs. This *hoko* of the *Umatagata* with chief *Folasa's* lower part, in my interpretation, is connected to a war in *Tauu*, the main island in the *Manu'a* Group, between two wives of *Taeotagaloa* over the *Tu'i Manu'a* title¹⁰⁵. While *Taeotagaloa* was away, *Laulaualefolasa*, the first wife of *Taeotagaloa* and daughter of chief *Folasa*, had immediately proclaimed her son the *Tu'i Manu'a* at *Lefaga* Bay, the

¹⁰² Churchward: 1959:221

¹⁰³ *Ibid.*, 1959:419

¹⁰⁴ See Schultz 1985

¹⁰⁵ See Fraser (1897:67-69) for the full story. Also see Kramer (1994:533) for duplication of the story.

original home of the *Tagaloa*'s *Fale'ula* "House-red"¹⁰⁶. The proclamation was partly also for the reason that *Laulaualefolasa* first gave birth before *Sina*, the other wife. In my interpretation, *Taeotagaloa* took *Laulaualefolasa*'s claim of the title to be an official declaration of him as dead. He returned from Fiji in a state of fury and, instead, appointed *Fa'aeenuu*, *Sina*'s son, to be the *Tu'i Manu'a*. Following this, *Laulaualefolasa* carried her wounded son from *Manu'a* to *Savai'i* and buried him at *Vaisala*. At the same time, the *Fale'ula* was shifted inland to *Fitiuta*, the home of *Ta'eotagaloa*. But, *Laulaualefolasa*'s son, on chief *Folasa*'s prophetic instruction, was to be given a title of *Asiilangi* "(to speak) plainly in the sky"¹⁰⁷ in the midst of sky-god *Tagaloa*.

Umatagata the abandoned upper part is the *vaka* "canoe" being carried over the *uma* "shoulders"¹⁰⁸ of two or more upper bodied *tangata* "men"¹⁰⁹. They are themselves the *fohe* "oars"¹¹⁰ that pretend, while in action, to be swimming in the ocean. On landing, the voyaging *vaka* is lifted and turned upside down to be a *palepale* "shelter"¹¹¹, a *fale*, from the sun and rain, resting on headless lower bodied persons *va'e* "legs"¹¹² as *pou* "posts"¹¹³ of his sacrificed mother's male brothers. This event is a recognition of the *Umatagata* as a *fahu*, derived from

¹⁰⁶ Kramer (1994:660, Vol.1) translates *Fale'ula* as "the shiny red house".

¹⁰⁷ Kramer 1994:533, Vol.1. I add on the Tongan meaning of the term as in *lea 'asi* "to speak plainly" (Churchward 1959:551) instead of Kramer's translation, "to talk in heaven", with the implication that chief *Folasa*'s proclamation of his grandson to the title of *Tu'i Manu'a* was purely attempt to steal the title belonging to the sky royal family (*Tagaloa*). In other words, chief *Folasa* was to appear in front of the sky-god for an explanation as to wrongdoing.

¹⁰⁸ Churchward 1959:526; Pratt 1984:102

¹⁰⁹ Ibid., 1959:454; Ibid., 1984:294

¹¹⁰ Ibid., 1959:193

¹¹¹ Ibid., 1959:400

¹¹² Ibid., 1959:536

¹¹³ Ibid., 1959:417

Fijian *dra tabu*, in Tongan, *ta'ata'a tapu*, meaning “blood foetus/sacred”¹¹⁴, a representation of the mother’s brother’s “descent”¹¹⁵, *kawa* in Fijian, *kava* in Tongan. The junction on land represents a new group, a new source of aid, of protection, of support of his mother’s “cross-relative”¹¹⁶ brother, *Tapuna*. It means that chief *Folasa* of *Falelima* is recognized as the supporter/cook of the wounded voyaging *Umatagata*, thus his dwelling becomes known as the *fale faka-Manu'a* “house of the *Manu'a* ‘Wounded’”¹¹⁷. As chief of the upper part “fare/fale that had been carried in the ocean with the hands” village, *Folasa* became the “Word-divine” at the *paito/peito* preparation of the fire for the human *feilaulau* “sacrifice”¹¹⁸. In *Savai'i*, *Folasa* is known as *'o le fofoga a papaa* “the voice at the title”¹¹⁹, meaning, he has the right to confer the *Tonumaipe'a* title following the death of the title-holder. In terms of the *hoko* of the *Umatagata* (*Manu'a*) and the *va'e* (*Savai'i*) the former, represented in the latter by the *Folasa* title, becomes the *'ulumotu'a* “head of the *Tonumaipe'a* in *Savai'i*”.

While the telling of the *Umatagata* centers on the head, the upper part of the human body, the origin myth of *'Aho'eitu* in Tonga emphasizes, for example, the *paito/peito* preparation of chief *Folasa*, also known in the Tongan narrative as *Tu'i Folaha*, sacrifice. This theme of sacrifice is fully expressed in Samoan as *Asoaitu*

¹¹⁴ Churchward 1959:473,457

¹¹⁵ Sahlins 1962:168

¹¹⁶ Ibid., 1962:168-169

¹¹⁷ Churchward 1959:82. *Fale faka-Manu'a* is *fale fakamonuka*, thus implying the name of the *Manu'a* Group in east Samoa after this *Tagaloa* family dispute between the sons.

¹¹⁸ Ibid., 1959:158

¹¹⁹ Kramer 1994:106

le *Folasa* “daily human tributes-[to]-underworld god, *Folasa*”¹²⁰. In this sense, *Folasa* is a cannibal. Tongan historian, Dr Okusitino Mahina¹²¹, tells the origin myth of ‘*Aho’eitu* beginning with a voyage from *Niuatoputapu* Island of ‘*Ilaheva*, daughter of chief *Seketoa*, to look for a husband who she met and cohabited with in *Tongatapu* Island. Dr Mahina through his analysis of the myth finally makes some relevant points that I would like to pursue particularly in this chapter, firstly, about tributary relationships to *Tongatapu*, the seat of the *Tu’i Tonga* power and, secondly, the weakening of the power of the *Tu’i Manu’a* over *Niuatoputapu*¹²².

I will start my analysis with the consideration of implications of specific terms used in the myth, such as the *toa* tree connecting the sky above and the earth and the yam plantation. These two points are very much interconnected in the sense that one explains the other. For example, as the *toa* tree, in my interpretation, refers to the weakening of the power of the *Tu’i Manu’a*, the yam plantation provides the explanation for it. The interconnection in relation to the theme of sacrifice is the yam plantation of *heketala* at *Holoi’ufi* in *Ma’ufanga* where ‘*Aho’eitu* and his mother, *Va’epopua*, lived. Some clay soil was poured down from the sky, home of ‘*Aho’eitu*’s father, *Tangaloa ‘Eitumatupu’a*, on to the sandy soil of *Ma’ufanga* for the preparation of ‘*Aho’eitu*’s garden of yams.

The preparation of a yam plantation is an indication, as suggested in the name of

¹²⁰ Ibid, 1994:657,659; Pratt 1984:58. Meaning given comes from my own research and analysis of given relevant stories in Samoa and Tonga.

¹²¹ Mahina 1992:91-92

¹²² Mahina: 1992:97

the place, *Holoi'ufi*, of a "procession of people-with-'ufi 'yam-tubers"¹²³ as food tributes to *Tangaloa 'Eitumatupu'a*. Procession with yam tributes is otherwise known as the *heketala* "tradition of shuffling along on the posteriors"¹²⁴ of decapitated people as victims. Cannibalism in this sense simply refers to the eating of the 'ufi "yam-tubers"¹²⁵, from *huli* "shoot, scion"¹²⁶, that have been *fakatei'ulu* "cut off leaving the 'ulu 'heads', with the plants stuck on, so that they may *tupu* 'grow'¹²⁷ again to produce some tubers"¹²⁸. From this yam culture, the Tongan *Tu'i* and the Samoan *Tupu* for "King" and "to grow", respectively, is derived. The Tongan concept of "King" is derived from the "cutting off", whereas, the Samoan King is from "shoot, scion".

The dismembering of *'Aho'eitu* by his half Samoan older brothers was an effect following on from *'Aho'eitu* outplaying his brothers in their game of *sika* "stick throwing"¹²⁹ competition. *Sika* is a game where champions are only a person, like the *toa* ironwood tree, of *to'a* "big strong man of whom others are afraid"¹³⁰. He would be, for example, the person who has been fighting his way up the social hierarchy of the *Manu'a* sovereignty, with the intention to liberate his people from constant violent domination.

¹²³ Churchward 1959:229

¹²⁴ Ibid, 1959:218,446

¹²⁵ Ibid, 1959:568

¹²⁶ Ibid, 1959:235

¹²⁷ Ibid, 1959:513; Pratt 1984:329

¹²⁸ Ibid, 1959:109

¹²⁹ Kramer 1995:383, Vol. II

¹³⁰ Churchward 1959:502

The other aspect of the *sika* competition is ‘*Aho’eitu* climbing up the *toa* tree to Samoa from Tonga as a *uho tau* “war of challenging his half Samoan brothers of different mother”. ‘*Aho’eitu*’s extraordinary powerfulness showed in his daring pressing on with no fear to meet his father and his tyrannical half brothers also became his fatal destiny. As part of his climbing up, ‘*Aho’eitu* was there to protect his father, *Tangaloa ‘Eitumatupu’a*, who I presume to be also known in Samoa as *Ta’eotagaloa* and *Folasa le ‘i’ite*¹³¹, during a big war between *Fitiuta (Ta’eotagaloa)* and *Tauu (Lefanoga, younger brother of Ta’eotagaloa)*¹³² for predominance in *Manu’a*. This war took place at the time when the *Fale’ula* had been shifted from *Lefagaa* Bay by *Taeotagaloa* inland to his home, *Fitiuta*. In this war, ‘*Aho’eitu* got murdered and descended into *malae-o-Vavau* “farewell meeting of sacrifice”¹³³ at *Tauu*. His half Samoan brothers ate his body and, they threw his head into a clump of poisonous *hoi* yams.

Socially, abandoning and poisoning is, again, reference to the *uho tau* opposition between ‘*Aho’eitu* and his half Samoan brothers. The opposition is then explained in terms of the clump of *hoi* yams wherein ‘*Aho’eitu*’s head was discarded as a *tau’angahoi* “hanging-place-of-*hoi*”. This meaning is associated with the *hoi* as a wild (poisonous) yam bearing fruit. *Hoi*, as also bearing tubers, would therefore suggest that *tau’angahoi*, as a place in *Folaha*, can also be a *tanu’angahoi* “burying place of *hoi*”. In this sense, *hoi* is *ohi* “sucker” from which the tuber has

¹³¹ Kramer 1994:554

¹³² Ibid 1994:510,537

¹³³ Ibid 1994:196,507. Translations are my own reconstruction. *Mala’e* is *maavae* “to be separated from someone” (Churchward 1959:347). *Vava’u* is Tahitian *tavaru* “fleet of human victims” (Oliver 1974:92).

grown. It, then, thus, implies that *'Aho'eitu's* fault has given *'Aho'eitu* no place in the upper social rank, and, that his lower part (tuber) has become food of sacrifice in the *'umu* "ground oven"¹³⁴ of the *Tu'i Manu'a*. In this respect, *'Aho'eitu* is a *ohi* "adopted", which, giving a reason as to why he was murdered. One half of him is *'eiki*, for he is an *iki* "younger (son)", (compare with *'uhiki* "offspring"), of sky-god *Tangaloa 'Eitumatupu'a*, and the other half of him is *tu'a* "commoner" with his mother "outside" the *fale* preparing the *'umu* of the sky-god. Once again, *'Aho'eitu* is a *tu'usi konga* "cut of a poisonous head-of yam", thus *Tu'i Tonga*.

The tyranny-sacrifice relationship between *Tangaloa* and *'Aho'eitu*, in this context, can also be viewed as reflecting a similar kind of distinction to that between the Samoan tradition of *tofi* "dividing" and the Tongan tradition of *tau* "warring"¹³⁵. Thus, for example, the murdering of *'Aho'eitu* by his Samoan half brothers means, as a *hoi yam*, he is a *tofinga* "yam piece cut off" or *pulopula* "seed-yam for planting". On the other side of the same event (murdering), *'Aho'eitu* is sacrificed. It means that *'Aho'eitu's* Tongan mother's people were forced to pay the food prize of the *sika* competition regardless of *'Aho'eitu* defeating the Samoans. Thus, the food prize has been recognized, especially in the history of Samoa-Tonga connections, as an *'Ilaheva* "Chieftess partly commoner-wrongdoer"¹³⁶, as *Va'epopua* "Legs (body) of

¹³⁴ Churchward 1959:572

¹³⁵ Taken from the Samoan saying, *e tala tau Tonga, ae tala tofi Samoa* "Tongan stories are about warfare while Samoan stories are about divisions", cited by Malama Meleisea (1987).

¹³⁶ Also see Kamakau (1991) for Hawaiian *hewa*, as *heva* in Tonga, means "sin".

punishment”¹³⁷. Marriage, therefore, in this context, is “dividing” and “war” at the same time.

My interpretation here of the name *‘Ilaheva Va’epopua*, mother of *‘Aho’aitu* and daughter of *Seketoa* of *Niuatoputapu*, is an alternative to Mahina’s aesthetic analysis that promoting a circulating intermarriage between Fiji, Samoa, and Tonga. I would prefer to show its connection to the tribute system of the *Tu’i Manu’a* in *Samoa’aatoa*. Mahina centres his analysis on the *va’e* “legs” of the *Niuatoputapu* astray beauty which attracted *Tangaloa ‘Eitumatupu’a* to cohabit with her. “Legs”, in my view, are *to’ukupu kelekele*, supporting structures for the upturned canoe on land. Her punitive lower part, as a *Tapuhia* “Sacred-crime”¹³⁸, then becomes a *Tongatapu* “section-prohibited” on which rests the *Niu-a-toputapu* “Head-of-sacredness”¹³⁹. The head is sacred, for it touches the sky, so that the legs, which stand in contact with the earth, become sacred, too. In other words, the wrongdoing of *Va’epopua* is pardoned by her intimate sexual relationship with *Tangaloa ‘Eitumatupu’a*.

The tradition of chief *Lufe* in Tonga is different from the two human sacrifice stories previously discussed, in being about cutting his body into half to have his lower part joined with the decapitated upper part of his descendant, *Tu’i Tonga Havea I*,

¹³⁷ See Churchward (1959:469,416) under *tautea* and *poopula*. “Punishment”, in terms of food, refers to the lower part of the mutilated body, the yam tuber cut off from the yam-top, taken to the *aitu*.

¹³⁸ *Tapuhia* is a big petrified stone of wrongdoers *Seketoa* and *Va’epopua* in *Folaha* which has been quarried for road construction in *Tongatapu* and now a dumping hole of *Tongatapu*’s rubbish.

¹³⁹ *Tonga* is *konga* “section”, the lower member of the whole body. “South” for *Tonga* in Samoan means “below Samoa”, thus, Samoa-Tonga connection is a whole body of *‘ulu* and *va’e* joined together.

to complete the body of the *Tu'i Tonga*¹⁴⁰. Although this event genealogically happened very much later than the previous two stories, it is important to note that the same theme of body cutting persists in the three versions.

My analysis of the story hereon is that, firstly, *Lufe's* sacrifice, like the other two cases, is a case showing the social principle of jointly working together of brother and sister, in protecting (brother's role) the burying/nurturing (sister's role) of the sacred blood of *Tangaloa*. It thus also means that the social importance of this protected and buried sacred blood means the *'eiki* born is recognized as the *fahuloa*, or, *fatuloa*. He is, in other words, the ancestral "maker-ghost" of his genealogical line of connection. And because of that he, also, as the successor to the *Tu'i Tonga* title, becomes a superior person in rank over his mother and her people of Tonga.

Thus, *Lufe's* sacrifice can be taken to indicate the working in Tonga of the social, political and economic institution of *fahu* genealogy-making system. The marriage into the *Tu'i Tonga* line, for example, of *Lufe* of *Folaha* is the latter being politically and economically woven into the high rank genealogical mat of the *Tu'i Tonga*. In this context, *Tu'i Tonga Havea* becomes the ancestral descendant of his maternal *Lufe* of Tonga. His high rank has made him as the ancestral founder of the name *Lufe* and the people of *Folaha*. To understand this kind of reasoning, there is a need to consider the implication of the name *Havea*.

Mythologically, *niu* "coconut" is the "head" of the *tuna* "eel" that its lower part being cut off, thus *'ulu* and *niu* are doublets. Thus, *Niuatoputapu* is compound of *ni-ulu-a-toputapu* "head-of-sacredness".

Havea, in Samoan *Saavea*, the founding ancestor of the *Malietao* family of *Tuamasaga* in central *‘Upolu*, is *Ha’avea* “descendants of *Ve*a”. *Ve*a, as “overripe” in Fijian¹⁴¹, is *fena* “piece of *pulopula* ‘over-mature yam’ which, having been planted and begun to grow, may be broken off the new plant and planted again”¹⁴². The implication here refers to an attempt to usurp the *Tu’i Tonga* title with the marriage of *Tu’i Tonga Puipui* to *Lufe*’s female relative, who is probably a daughter or sister to *Lufe*. *Puipui* is successor of *Tu’i Tonga Ma’akatoe*, who appears in the *Malietao*’s genealogy as a woman, daughter of *Tu’i Aana Tamaalelagi*. (*Tamaalelagi* is also the father of Queen *Salamasina*. Her mother, *Vaetoeifaga*, is daughter of *Tu’i Tonga Fa’aulufanua*. *Fa’aulufanua* is son of *Tu’i Tonga Faisautele*. Both these *Tu’i Tonga* are *Kau’ulufonua* I, *fekai* “the savage”, and *Kau’ulufonua* II in Mahina’s list¹⁴³. Thus, Queen *Salamasina* and *Tu’itongama’atoe*¹⁴⁴, [possibly *Tu’i Tonga Ma’akatoe* in Tongan], are half sisters. Bott¹⁴⁵ mentions *Vaitoifanga* [possibly *Vaetoe-i-Fanga*], a Samoan woman as wife of *Falefaa Maliepo*, from who *Lauaki*, the royal undertaker, originated.) Seemingly, this genealogy therefore suggests the reason for the assassination of *Tu’i Tonga Havea*, was to stop the ambitious advance of the *Malietao* family to take over the rule of Tonga. Following from the successful historic victory of driving *Tu’i Tonga Talakaifaiki* out of Samoa,

¹⁴⁰ See Bott 1982:94; Gifford 1929

¹⁴¹ Hocart 1929:240

¹⁴² Churchward 1959:169. *Pulopula* seems to be a derivation from the Fijian *mbula* “greeting for to live”, cognate of Tongan *muka* “to have young leaves, to send out shoot”. Stealing of the *kahokaho* yam from Fiji in the *Folau ki Pulotu* points out this derivation.

¹⁴³ Kramer 1994:32,222-224,317,394; Mahina 1992: Figure 3.1

¹⁴⁴ Ibid, 1994:223

¹⁴⁵ Bott 1982:116

*Malietoa Savea*¹⁴⁶, I suspect, begins his planning to seize the *Tu'i Tonga* title in Tonga.

This part of my historical analysis of *Havea* introduced here provides an additional reading to the *Tu'i Tonga* List of Mahina¹⁴⁷. That is, all the *Tu'i Tonga* title holders, from the 17th *Tu'i Tonga Ma'akatoe* to the 28th *Tu'i Tonga Tapu'osi*, are people from the high chiefs of 'Upolu- *Tu'i Aana*, *Malietoa*, and *Tu'i Atua*. Thus, I say that this is a period in the history of Tonga in which these 'Upolu chiefs together attempted to take over Tonga, especially from the *Tu'i Manu'a* and its representative *Tu'i Tonga*. Surely, this 'Upolu's war in Tonga had followed 'Upolu's successful victory over *Tu'i Tonga Talakaifaik'i's* terrorizing in Samoa.

The invasion of the *Malietoa* family in Tonga gives rise to two important events. First, it essentially contributes to the several consecutive murders of the 19th *Tu'i Tonga Havea I*, 22nd *Tu'i Tonga Havea II*, and 23rd *Tu'i Tonga Takalaua*, organized and directed by the head representative of the *Tu'i Manu'a*, *Talafale*. Second, after the murder of *Takalaua*, a new office of *Tu'i Ha'atakalaua* was created, headed by the second oldest son of *Takalaua* and the oldest son, *Kau'ulufonuafeikai*, succeeded to the title of *Tu'i Tonga*. As has already been stated above, *Talafale's* mission to assassinate these successive *Tu'i Tonga* title holders is twofold. It is very much *Talafale's* retaliation to 'Upolu's advance on Tonga and, *Talafale's* war against 'Upolu, the island trickster of titles. One of the 'Upolu notorious tricks in

¹⁴⁶ Kramer 1994:314,322

Tonga, for example, is the establishment of the “Three-heads”-*Tu’i Kanokupolu Ngata* which terrifies the fierce people of *Hihifo*.

Recapitulating the point of the argument stated so far, the old war-division relationship between Tonga and Samoa has established in Tonga the blood of the invading *Tangaloa* as the most valued and sanctified prize. The prize has, therefore, become a precious treasure passed down into the local population from *Tangaloa* through his daughter(s) only. Thus, this ethno-biological idea of the ancestral sacred blood passing through the female offspring is an interpretation of sexual reproduction between the outside invader and the local chieftess. It means that the *hii* “sperm” which has ejected out of the invader into the local woman’s *pali* “vagina”, is the sap of an *’uhiki* with no *to’ukupu kelekele* “earthly legs”. Thus, the ethno-biological idea of blood transference is an old philosophy of cause (sexual intercourse) and effect (birth of a child). In other words, the sexual intercourse is planting of the seed (sperm) by burying it inside the woman’s *fonua* “placenta”, which is “land”, where the seed/sperm grows into a yam/body to be eventually harvested. Perhaps one can say that the philosophy of ethno-biological cause and effect is the elitist idea of *fahu* in association with the practice of the brother-sister incestuous relationship. This is explicitly recorded as part of the Tongan creation myth¹⁴⁸.

In my brief summary of Mahina’s version of the Tongan creation myth, it conveys

¹⁴⁷ Mahina 1992:Figure 3.1

¹⁴⁸ See Mahina 1992: Figure 2.1

the theme of *hoko* “to join” of male outsider as a *fu’u tuna* “big eel”, referring to his *ule, une* “snake” in *Uvean*¹⁴⁹, “penis”, which has *fakatou’ia* “impregnated” a female local chieftess. In Mahina’s version, it tells of a couple, *Limu* “sea weed” and *Kele* “dirt”, drifting “in the middle of *Vahanoa* ‘wide expanse of sea’. [They] separated [and] came out a huge rock, *Touia-‘o-Futuna*”¹⁵⁰. I interpret the “floating in the middle of the sea” as a tranquil formal statement of *Limu* and *Kele*, a hoisted sailing canoe. It means that the canoe is a floating *kele* on which grows up a *limu*. On coming out of the water and turning upside down on land, the canoe symbolizes a situation of becoming pregnant. So, my interpretation of “a huge rock came out” suggests that it is a reference to a very heavy pregnancy. Mahina continues on to tell us that “[*Tou’ia ‘o Futuna*] angrily shook causing a series of tremors, which split open *Tou’ia ‘o Futuna*, and from it emerged four pairs of twins, male and female... Each of the brother-sister twins committed incest...”¹⁵¹. Shaking and splitting open, in my interpretation, refer to laboring and giving birth, respectively. Thus, the *hoko* theme in this myth is the sexual reproduction of a politico-economic network for the purpose of preserving the source of power within the house of the absolute supreme ruler of *Samoa’aatoa*. A clear case of such preservation purpose is the common cross-cousin incestuous marriage relationships. All twins are four mixed pairs.

The Tongan incestuous creation myth is a record of an old politico-economic

¹⁴⁹ Clark 1994

¹⁵⁰ Mahina 1992:59

¹⁵¹ Ibid, 1992:59

covenant system of preservation of the genealogical blood between *Tangaloa* and the local chief. The female offspring, in this context, are the carriers of the blood of the genealogy. They, in other words, are the *fonua* on which planting is conducted. Thus, the incestuous covenant of the brother and sister is a development aiming at reinforcing the establishment of the centralization of the control of the national resources. Interestingly, the current royal aristocratic *Tu'ikanokupolu* dynasty of Tonga can be seen to tap itself on to this old politico-economic system of preservation. Surely, it is an effective method which thus guarantees the ruling dynasty surety of prosperity and well-being. Obviously, this is a case of history repeating itself.

Another interpretative version of the *Tou'ia-'o-Futuna* creation myth is connected to the origin of the coconut. (See the text and translation of the myth in Appendix 5, pages 277-278.) In this version the impregnator *tuna* is punished for the crime of adultery, resulting in his head being cut off and buried while his lower body (the tail) gets eaten. In time, a plant grows out of the buried head which is the coconut. The retribution of the crime committed, which is the coconut, means that it remains to provide for the victim a livelihood in terms of food and shelter.

In this connection, the right approach to the meaning of the Tongan creation myth, as about committing the crime of adultery, originally highlights the theme of *mohehoko* "sleeping (having sexual intercourse) to join". It thus also highlights the theme of war and division between Tonga and Samoa.

The other point to remember here is that the planting of coconut reminds us of an old practice of *niuui* “(one’s) calling by planting coconuts (for ‘*api* ‘home’)”¹⁵². This point thus reveals a double meaning of the myth that is contradictory. While the coconut is a form of retribution for the wrongdoing committed, it also represents an ambiguity associated with self-sacrifice. As the action is a way that the wrongdoer begs pardon for his own image, the transferred young one already in the local woman’s womb, the planting of coconut, at the same time, is the wrongdoer’s calling for land as his home. The case of *Lufe*’s self-sacrifice, for example, is his calling *Navai* to be his home, after the murder of *Tu’i Tonga Havea* in the pool of *Tolopona* near *‘Alaki*, the residence of *Talafale*, and abandoning his upper body to *Folaha*.

On the whole, the fundamental basis of incest clearly shows it to be the founding principle of *ha’a* social formation as an elitist *niuui* method of the *Tu’imanu’a* regional expropriation in spreading out its imperial supremacy. Since the war originates from an internal quarrel between the sons of the original *Tangaloa* over the title and resources in *Samoa’aatoa*, the practice of cross-cousin marriage, a wider extended application of the closed brother-sister incest, enables the formation of contested alliances. Rival brothers become disoriented into marrying their own classificatory female relatives, offspring of their own sisters who have married and lived with their husbands’ people outside their own patrilocal home.

¹⁵² Gifford 1923:8, lines 58-62

These female relatives, as wives, immediately step in as assistant conciliators, but, at the same time, become rival partners.

On reconsidering the connection between *Lufe's* self-sacrifice and the *niuui* practice, I want to introduce a point inviting further discussion. To do this I go back to the *Malietoa* war in Tonga against the *Tu'i Manu'a* people, and consider again the challenging from the *Si'usei'a* "Tail-dislocated-[of] fish (sea eel)"¹⁵³ people for the power. *Si'usei'a's* mother is daughter of a *Tu'i Manu'a* and is considered to be the founder of the *Malietoa* line¹⁵⁴. Alliance with *Lufe* of *Folaha* defines the contestation as connected to a dilemma, faced by the *Tu'imanu'a*, of how to surmount the fundamental problem of hypergamous systems, of what to do with the highly honourary position of his sister's son¹⁵⁵. Assassination of *Havea* was *Talafale* firming up his role of protecting the old fight of the *Tu'imanu'a* regime to prohibit the *Tu'imanu'a's* high ranking sister's descendants from acceding to the *Tu'imanu'a* title for they were destined to remain *taule'ale'a* "untitled young men"¹⁵⁶. Since *Lufe's* fighting is for the protection of *Havea* and *Talafale's* is for the protection of the *Tu'imanu'a*, *Talafale's* reasoning makes allegation that *Lufe's* involvement is supporting a female fraudulent practice using the *Tangaloa* sacred

¹⁵³ Kramer 1994:313, Vol. 1. *Si'usei'a* is *Si'useeia*, in Tongan, it should be *Hikuhekeika* and that is how I derive the meaning as "tail-dislocated-[of] fish". This meaning is explicitly spelled out in Fison's record of tales from old Fiji, especially the story about "the beginning of death" (1907:139-161), of *Tangaloa* twisting *Hikule'o's* tail.

¹⁵⁴ Kramer 1994:312-313, Vol. 1

¹⁵⁵ Compare with the discussions on hypergamous systems of "what to do with sisters and sister's children of the highest ranking male titleholders" cited by Gell (1993:109). The *Tu'i Manu'a's* sister's son was "an anomalous and highly honourary position" Mead (1930:185). "He was 'titular heir' of the *Tu'i Manu'a*, absolutely prohibited from acceding to the *Tu'i Manu'a* title and was destined to remain a *taule'ale'a* 'untitled young man'" (Gell 1993:109).

¹⁵⁶ Mead 1930

blood rationality. But, for *Lufe's* participation, the *Tangaloa* sacred blood rationality is a revival of the sister's fighting for her claim that she, as the land, is the blood carrier, thus, should be the power holder. She is the ancestral goddess of the land. It is thus a revival of a movement towards independence from the *Tu'i Manu'a* patriarchal rule and localisation of power. As will be further shown later in the chapters on the *Tu'i Kanokupolu* movement in Tonga to follow this chapter, it is a continuation of the war of the *Savea Si'ule'o* or *Havea Hikule'o* "Havea, the guarding tail" sons of *Ve'a* in Tonga. The first *Tu'i Kanokupolu* title holder, *Ngata*, means "the Tail"¹⁵⁷, indicating the genealogical connection to *Si'usei'a* of the *Malietao* family.

Centring my analysis of the history of the *Tu'i Tonga* genealogy on legitimisation of economic and political power rather than reading out a lineal history of succession from father to son¹⁵⁸, I take the *Tu'i Tonga* genealogy, especially as a case in point. With reference to 'Okusitino Mahina's *Tu'i Tonga* List and to Phyllis Herda's genealogical consideration of Tonga's past, to the argument that there was "some kind of treaty negotiated, for the next three *kau Tu'i Tonga*, [*Tu'i Tonga-Ma'akatoe*, *Tu'i Tonga Puipuiifatu*, *Havea* I], are said to have married high-ranking Samoan women"¹⁵⁹, I submit that these views must be rejected. During this period, even up to *Tapu'osi* I, (refer to Mahina's *Tu'i Tonga* List), it is, what I call, the *Talafaaite*, recorded in the List as *Talafaapite*. It refers to an '*Upolu* culture of their women

¹⁵⁷ Kramer 1994:313, Vol.1. *Ngata* also means "snake", but, I think, the conception of "tail" has been used to refer to the actual crawling reptile. As a matter of fact, the conception includes the association of the idea of crawling with a tail being dislocated, thus making that creature to shuffle along on its posterior.

¹⁵⁸ For example, see Herda 1980; Mahina 1992

fighting a commoner course to retain their traditional power over the land which had been taken under control by their opposite sex. It is an old culture as the fundamental content of the Samoan creation myth, preserved in Tonga as the *mohefo* institution of the *Tu'i Tonga*. These women significantly represent the *Tu'i Tonga* stealing trademark of adultery and murdering to secure the adoption of the royal blood into the local female line. This is a period giving rise to various significant *Tala* "traditions" from *Talatama*, recorded in the List as successor of *Tu'i Taatui*. *Tu'i Tonga Ma'akatoe* is *Tuitogama'atoe*¹⁶⁰, indicating the presence of *Tamaalelagi*, with the same mission as the *Malietoa* later, of the *Tu'i Aana* family ruling Tonga. The women's traditional connection to this *Tu'i Tonga* is the *maka'one* "coastal layer of flat hard sandstone", as a reference to her committing of adultery and running away from the *Faleata* people (*Malietoa* family) to *Salelologa* in *Savai'i*. She steals the title of *Malietoa* and gives it to her son, *Taulapapa*, named after the place, *Saletagaloa*, her canoe tied to in *Salelologa*¹⁶¹. The meaning then of *Taulapapa* refers to the cliff in *Saletagaloa* where the canoe of *Tu'itogama'atoe* and her young lover had tied up. *Tu'i Tonga Puipui* *fatu*, the successor of *Tu'i Tonga-Ma'akatoe*, is a name after a tradition, in connection to the *Tu'i Tonga [fakafale-] puipui* "curtained-off enclosure of a secret *kava* ceremony", when *fatu* "appointing" *Taufaitoa's* son to the *Tu'i Tonga* title over *Popoa's* sons,

¹⁵⁹ Herda 1980:46

¹⁶⁰ Kramer 1994:16, 35, 223, 317, 346-347, 384-385. *Tuitogama'atoe* is maiden name of the *Salevalasi* of *Lotofaga* in *Atua* founded by Queen *Salamasina* in honour of her mother by adoption, *So'oa'emalelagi*. *Levalasi* also becomes the maiden name of the *Tonuma'ipe'a* line in *Satupa'itea* from which *So'oa'e* descends. Another *Tuitogama'atoe*, daughter of *Tuiaana Tamaalelagi*, committed adultery causing the falsification of the *Malietoa* pedigree. Her son with her husband's first cousin became *Malietoa Taulapapa*. *Tamaalelagi's* mother, *Vaeatamasoa*, is *Malietoa La'auli's* granddaughter.

¹⁶¹ Kramer 1994:347, Vol. I

Tuiavii and *Tongialelei*¹⁶². Because of this secret appointment, the older sons waged a *taufa* “war” against their youngest brother at *Toa* in *Folaha* which ended with the spearing to death of *Tongialelei* by these sons’ mothers’ brother, *Tufele* of *Fitiuta*.

The main point implicated in this discussion is about this contestation between the women of the Samoan aristocrats over the rival *Tu’i Tonga* representatives. Thus, the war history of Tonga-Samoa-Fiji connection is also about the women of respective islands performing the *‘umiti* of appetizing the *Tu’i Manu’a/Tu’i Tonga*, the *‘inasi* of gratifying the *Tu’i Tonga*’s wishes with the most food and material items one can offer. This presentation of victuals is in support of one’s proposition for a marriage¹⁶³. *Aho’eitu*’s story can therefore be interpreted as *‘Ilaheva Va’epopua*’s presentation of victuals as her marriage proposal to *Tangaloa ‘Eitumatupu’a*. *Taufaitoa*’s accepted gift of food becomes the basis of jealousy, leading on to the loser’s sons challenging the favourite son to a war. The tradition of the *fua* “mullet” (Appendix 3, pages 256-264) is another example of *‘inasi*. So is the story of *Sinaitakala-i-Langileka*, the first *Tu’i Tonga Fefine*, and is another example of marriage proposal with victuals to *Tu’i Lakemba Tapu’osi* of Fiji. Another example is the origin of the name *‘Ahome’e* of *Hihifo* in connection with the presentation of victuals for marriage to *Tu’i Kanokupolu Ngata*.

Va’epopua’s victuals of *Aho’eitu* to *Tangaloa ‘Eitumatupu’a* lead on to the

¹⁶² Ibid, 1994:388, 398-399, Vol. I

¹⁶³ Kramer 1994:397,421 (footnote 508), Vol. I

development of a system of *pulega*¹⁶⁴ “decision making council” to take care of the *Tu'i Tonga* tributary belongings from the people of the land. Seeking marriage is of utmost importance as the presentation is a contesting show between the female contestants for the mighty sacred substance of the supreme ruler of *Samoa'aatoa*. This mighty sacred substance means, to the contestants, the crown head of *Samoa'aatoa*. For a young attractive girl to become the *Tu'i Manu'a's moheofo* will mean she and her people will be on the top rank to have control of the main regional source of wealth. The main regional source of wealth refers to the *'umiti* (the *Manu'a* term), to the *'inasi* (the general Polynesian term) brought in from the *Tu'i Manu'a's* subjugated colonies.

Thus, this consumptive-productive constitution of *pulega* system, known in Tonga as *pule'anga* “government”, is basically the house of both the *Tu'i Manu'a* representative, *Talafale*, the oldest son of *Tangaloa 'Eitumatupu'a*, and *Tu'i Tonga* representative, *'Aho'eitu*, the youngest son. Similarly, in contemporary Tonga, this *pule'anga* is both the *Tu'i Pelehake*, representative of the *Tu'i Manu'a Talafale* in Tonga, and *Tu'i Kanokupolu Taufa'aahau Tupou IV*, the *Tu'i Tonga 'Aho'eitu* representative. Interestingly, today, the traditional dual relationship of consumption and production is collapsed into one running the show. Now it is the *Tu'i Kanokupolu* of the *Tupou* dynasty who is both the consumer and producer. The collapse can be viewed also with the reverse of senior-junior hierarchy. In the old system, the *Tu'i Pelehake* is the title of oldest *Talafale* in the children of *Tangaloa 'Eitumatupu'a*. In the context of today's organization, the senior-junior

¹⁶⁴ Pratt 1982:250

division is reshuffled. Queen *Salote* appointed her youngest son, *Sione Nguu*, to the *Tu'i Pelehake* title and, her oldest son, *Taufa'aahau*, to the *Tu'i Kanokupolu* title. In reversal, *Tu'i Kanokupolu* now becomes the supreme *Tu'i Manu'a* title of oldest *Talafale*, *Tu'i Pelehake* the secondary *Tu'i Tonga* title of youngest 'Aho'eitu. It is a reversal that had been manipulated much earlier by *Tu'i Kanokupolu Mataeleha'amea* with the coerced separation of his daughter, *Fusipala*, from her husband, *Tu'i Ha'atakalaua Tongatangakitaulupekifolaha*, to marry the *Fisilaumaali* of *Lafalafa* and created the title of *Tu'i Pelehake*. Thus, has been the manipulation of the two important big titles in Tonga, since Queen *Salote*, so that they are now within the house of Queen *Salote's* children who then run the Tongan government of today.

Furthermore, *pulega* is also the *fale* of *faa* "four workers"¹⁶⁵. They are responsible for guarding the *Tu'i Tonga*, a task of the first two servants and, the last two, assisting the *Tu'i Tonga* in governing and conducting his funeral¹⁶⁶. Historically, together the *Faleua* and *Falefaa*, they have been an establishment which caters for specific demands of a Samoan gang of brothers who jealously murder their talented, favourite younger half Tongan brother as part of contesting for the power to rule over Tonga. *Pulega*, then, in this context, as the joining together of these two *fale*, is a sociopolitical body of outside wrongdoers evading their sinful immoral action with the services they offer to help their decapitated half brother with respect to the affairs of his mother's land. But, such clever manipulation further confuses

¹⁶⁵ *Faa* means "four" and "to procure workers"; see Churchward 1959:18.

¹⁶⁶ Bott 1982:91; Gifford 1924:25-29

the value of help in relation to the question of who helps who. In this case, the wrongdoers-turned-leaders are only helping themselves to the local resources as made easier with their own system of protection that they themselves set up.

Take, as an example of this traditional *pulega* setting, the 'Aho'eitu yam plantation. The yam plantation, itself, represents *Va'epopua's* victuals and, at the same time, it exemplifies the execution of punishment. In planting the *konga 'ufi* "yam-pieces", (*kongokonga* "mutilated body parts"), *Va'epopua* and her people bury them in the ground and, when these buried yam-pieces grow, they, who are punished, shuffle along on their posteriors on the ground, as their punishment, pulling out the weeds. Generally, such duty of punishment reflects an ongoing lifetime obligation of the punished to take meticulous care of the yam plants, just as anyone has a duty to the growth of his own genealogy. Thus, punishment, in the context of 'Aho'eitu story, as a consequence of a quarrel between brothers of different mothers over power, is that that keeps the *pulega* staying afloat up above the chaotic social reality. The connection between above and below is that of *pule*, in *pulega*, governing "to control", and *tau* "fighting" to control. In terms of the common denominator in this "control-fight" dialectic, it is the same *kakai* "people" who control and fight for the resources.

An important aspect deeper in meaning that we need to be aware of with regard to this dialectic, is the practical implication of the *fahu* social institution, of the relationship between the mothers, including their people, and their respective

children with the same father. In connection, the children are properly regarded as descendants, not of their father, but of their respective mothers' brothers of the land. What conditions this internal scrambling for the crown of father's head is the *fahu* "foetal" relationship that these brothers have with their respective people of the land. The object of fighting is one protecting his land from getting robbed by his half brothers of different mothers.

The dialectic also goes like this. People of the land stand to protect their property, the nurturing place of their *fahu* right, from getting usurped. But, at the same time, the invader father, on trying to occupy the land, has turned his canoe upside down to rest on the shoulders of his local wife's brothers. It means his marriage to the local chieftess has immediately made his wife's brothers as his supporters.

Therefore, the protection of the land has become protection of the sister's husband, a fugitive wrongdoer fleeing away from his homeland to hide from his pursuers. So, the *fahu* status gets muddled up in an ambiguous and contradictory dialectic.

Where the son is socially high rank *fahu* and real descendant of his mother's local people, he is, at the same time, the local people's '*ilamutu* "commoner child's mutilated [lower part]" to the father's people. As '*ilamutu*, the son is food offering presented, particularly, to the father's sister as her *fakafotu* "fruit"¹⁶⁷. This provides the explanation for why there is a feeling of hatred between '*Aho'eitu* and his half Samoan brothers. They, as *fahu-ilamutu* at the same time, have no other options to sort out their own respective freedom but themselves to engage in a bloody

¹⁶⁷ Pratt 1982:162

battle, with the support of their respective mothers' people, in order to obtain recognition of supremacy. But, any truce would still become a new beginning for the next quarrel. So, fighting is the normal procedure of continuously seeking for the universal solution to the social chaotic exchanges in society. But, the fact of the matter is, the solution is just as anti as any original anti, just as well confirming the chaos of the universal. It thus provides the general outline of my critique of the politico-economic dimension of brother-sister relationship in Tonga.

The first *Falefaa* institution is made up of 'Aho'eitu's murderers, his older half brothers, *Matakehe*, *Maliepoo*, *Tu'i Loloko*, *Tu'i Folaha*. Thus the whole setting of *Tangaloa 'Eitumatupu'a* in Tonga during this time states that the first *Falefaa* is primarily for protection of their oldest brother, *Talafale*, the representative of the *Tu'i Manu'a* in Tonga. His role, then, makes him into the "household adviser", acting more like a king himself, "residing most of the time inside the house". *Talafale's* younger brothers, *Matakehe*, *Maliepoo*, *Tu'i Loloko*, *Tu'i Folaha*, in that respect, have been appointed to guard and help him in governing of Tonga and, of course, in his funeral. The murdering of 'Aho'eitu is an example. In other words, as I have tried to explain above, the dialectic involving punishment and wrongdoing implies that the murdering of 'Aho'eitu is 'Aho'eitu himself as the "day's offering of food to *Folaha* (*Tangaloa 'Eitumatupu'a*)". He is the victim and wrongdoer at the same time, thus the origin of the title, *Tu'i Tonga* "Cutting in Half". The division of duties in the *Falefaa* may have derived from the spatial division into *loto* "inside" and *tu'a* "outside" of the *Fale Faka-Manu'a* tradition of advice to wounding. Where

“inside” lies the *Tu'i Manu'a* and, at his side, sit and listen *Tu'i Loloko* and *Tu'i Folaha*, “outside” stand *Matakehe* and *Maliepoo* to guard the dwelling house of the *Tu'i Manu'a* from the locals. *Matakehe* and *Maliepoo* form up the *Tu'i Tonga* regiment of protection, while *Tu'i Loloko* and *Tu'i Folaha* form the undertakers and advisers. With respect to the *Tu'i Kanokupolu's* house, “inside” is lying the *Tu'i Kanokupolu* and, at his side, his Privy Council and the Cabinet Ministers (*Tu'i Loloko* and *Tu'i Folaha*) and, “outside” he is guarded by his royal nobles (*Matakehe* and *Maliepoo*). From this analysis, a meaning of the *Falefaa* social institution, then, has got to be connected with the general idea of protection of the power holder, *Talafale* and then later *Tu'i Kanokupolu*.

The meaning of this protection and advising/burial idea of the *Falefaa* institution can logically suggest something concealing why the *Tu'i Manu'a* needs to be protected. I am establishing here a theme of the protection which is *kaiha'a* “[stealing by] eating-[within the]-*ha'a* [of the sacred]”. In Kramer's history of Samoa¹⁶⁸, there it talks about the “stealing”, as *gaoi* in Samoan, of the *Fale'ula* “House-red” of the *Tu'i Manu'a*. In Tongan, *gaoi* is *ngaohi*, meaning “adoption”. “Stealing” is a situation about the “smashed bleeding head” *Tu'i Manu'a* who has been carried away across the sea and becomes a refugee in Tonga. When it gets into Tonga, the fleeing canoe of the stolen wounded *Tu'i Manu'a's* head is then turned upside down and covered with coconut fronds on top and, as well, the sides, hiding the *'ula* “sacred bleeding head” inside. *'Ula* in *fale'ula* as “red house” being stolen symbolizes the liberation from continuous subjugating to tyranny. As *nu'a*,

so as in *nunu'a*, 'ula is "penal consequence"¹⁶⁹ following a long duration of tyrannical rule in *Samoa'aatoa*. The *Fale'ula* then becomes the conqueror's trophy of triumph at his home.

Thus, the notion of the "house of the bleeding head" has given rise to the nemesis system known in Samoa as *tala o le Vavau* "tradition of the propitiatory sacrifice"¹⁷⁰. The tradition is about the wrapping of the human victim, as a fish, with a *laulau* "plaited coconut leaf" as offering to *Le Folasa* "The Sacred voice at the title"¹⁷¹ for pardoning of the wrongdoing. *Vavau*, as in *fau*, is a kind of long fishing-net made of the stem of the *valai* "creeper" and coconut leaves connected with the *polata* "trunk of plantain". *Lufe's* sacrifice of *hoko e fau moe polata* is an example of *tala o le Vavau*. It is the joining of the fishing-net with plantain's trunk in the tradition of bringing into the *mala'e* of *Le Folasa's* victuals of fish, represented by the plantain's trunk.

The connection of stealing to assassination then marks a turning point in the ruling system. In Samoa, it is commonly known that the *Fale'ula* royal house was stolen from *Manu'a* to 'Upolu¹⁷², suggesting that the *Tu'i Manu'a* rule came to an end

¹⁶⁸ Kramer 1994, Vol 1

¹⁶⁹ Churchward 1959:366, 382; *monuka* or *manuka*, *manu'a* in Samoan, means "to be wounded".

¹⁷⁰ T. Powell (1892:186). I interpret *Vavau* as the old tradition of *feilaulau*, meaning in *Samoa* as "doing of the laying out of food, (including human victims), on the tray (ready for offering to god for pardon)" (Pratt 1982:176).

¹⁷¹ Kramer 1994:106,529

¹⁷² "Royal house", to me, looks to be another expression for the sacredness of the head, probably derived from an old perception linking to the voyaging era of men as professional navigators and conquerors, in which, in the open space, they situationally exist in a geometrical relationship with respect to the celestial objects and their canoes' immediate surrounding elements. Head, as the faculty of reasoning, is the connector to the sky above and to earth below.

under the hands of *‘Upolu* liberators.

The problem as to when the reorganization of the *Falefaa* institution of the *Tu’i Tonga* happened is open for discussion. Bott¹⁷³ cites one possibility as going back to the time of *Tu’i Tonga Momo* and his son and successor, *Tu’i Tonga Taatui*. This claim is suspicious and Bott never investigates further. As Bott¹⁷⁴ continues, *Tu’i Tonga Momo* who lived at *Toloa*, not far from *Pelehake* in the central region of *Tongatapu*, was at war with the people of *Talafale* (*Ha’a Talafale*), who, at the time, were living at *Pelehake*. They were driven out of *Toloa* to *Heketaa* in *Niutoua* at the eastern end of *Tongatapu*. The reason for the war is not stated. I can only draw out some presumptions based on the origin myth of the first men in Tonga who grew out of a *‘uanga* “worm” of a decayed *fue* “creeper plant”¹⁷⁵.

Similar theme to the origin myth of *‘Aho’eitu* as a tuber-son offering to *Tangaloa*, the second reorganization of the *Tu’i Tonga Falefaa* has to do with the mutilation of the *Fue* yam plant¹⁷⁶ by cutting off of its *aka* “root, tuber” causing the plant to become *‘uangahia* “maggoty”. The story is told about the first men in Tonga as three maggots, *Kohai*, *Koau*, *mo Momo*, of the mutilated *Fue* of *‘Ata* Island, the “upper end of yam”¹⁷⁷ in Tonga. In other words, these men are parts of the rotten *Fue*’s maggot that being broken off, namely, *Kohai* as *Lafai* (*Savai’i* Island in

¹⁷³ Bott 1982:98

¹⁷⁴ *Ibid.*, 1982:92

¹⁷⁵ See Bott 1982:89-90 for the version of this myth.

¹⁷⁶ *Fue* “creeper” as yam plant is my interpretation based on the generic classification of it as belonging to the vine species.

¹⁷⁷ Churchward 1959:551, *‘Ata* is Tongan of Rotuman *ata*.

Samoa¹⁷⁸), *Koau* as *Lo'au* (*Oahu* Island in Hawaii and *Mbau* in Fiji), and *Momo*, as in *temomo*, “young relative” of the first two. As the first reformation in Tonga, the story is about murdering of the *Fue* “Tyrant” and, consequently, *Lo'au's* nation building following the disconnection of *Fue's to'ukupu kelekele* “legs earth-bound”.

My interpretation of *Lo'au* differs quite markedly from the annotative and symbolic descriptions given by Bott and Mahina¹⁷⁹. Bott recorded what she was told by various *mataapule* in 1959 that *Lo'au* was “an important figure in Tongan tradition. There appear to have been at least two, and perhaps three, *Lo'au*: one in the time of *Momo*, another in the time of *Tu'i Tonga Kau'ulufonuafekei*, and another much later, in the time of the second or third *Tu'i Kanokupolu*. All are said to have been *tufunga fonua*, literally ‘carpenters of the country’, meaning the founders of customs and the regulators of social life”¹⁸⁰. Similarly, Mahina records *Lo'au* as a foreigner and disputes reports that there were possibly three *Lo'au*. He, with certainty, reports that there are only two, *Lo'au Tuputoka* and *Lo'au Tongafisifonua*. He goes on to say that “the names *Lo'au Tuputoka* and *Lo'au Tongafisifonua* were probably symbolic of hegemony and counter-hegemony, effected through long distance voyaging”¹⁸¹.

Lo'au is ‘*Akau* “Tree, Plant”¹⁸², in Fijian *Lekau* “The-tree”¹⁸³. Specifically, the name refers to the identical coexistent relationship between yam planting and land

¹⁷⁸ Kramer 1994:52

¹⁷⁹ See particularly Bott 1982 and Mahina 1992

¹⁸⁰ Bott 1982:92

¹⁸¹ Mahina 1992:114

fishing with *kau* “hook”¹⁸⁴. The relationship is conceptualized with the harvesting of the yam tuber from underworld with a *kau*, known as *utu-ta’u*, and, with the surfacing of the sacred fish from the deep underwater with a hook as *tau-maa-ta’u*¹⁸⁵. Furthermore, the creeper plant on the ground is conceptualized as the fishing line and, its tuber underground, the long oval fish. And, *Tuputoka* and *Tongafisifonua* are terms of reference of *Lo’au* in connection to death and life, respectively. In other words, *Tuputoka* is *Lo’au*, the punisher, who “bewitches to sleep (die)” of the sun. In putting it to death with the *kava* cast method (*Sangone*, line 28, Appendix 6, pages 279-282), *Lo’au* is unearthing a hidden treasure of importance in Samoa as “the inmost content of Tonga’s traditions” (*Sangone*, line 37) by way of introducing the treasure to Tonga. This is, for example, the *vahe taumafa ‘oe fono* “*fono* at *kava* distributing” (*Sangone*, line 35). *Sangone* is a detective story using the manipulative *kava* cast method (*Sangone*, lines 30-34) to adopt from Samoa the custom of food distribution of the *taumafa kava*. *Tongafisifonua*, on the other hand, is *Lo’au*, the *Tonga*, who “*fusi* ‘pulls up’ land” from underworld. It is a reference to seeking new land, a new source of food. *Tuputoka* is about burying of a yam-piece to grow (planting) and *Tongafusifonua* pulling up the fish/yam tuber (harvesting) to eat.

Thus, *Lo’au*’s nation building, with the appointment of young relative *Momo* to the title of *Tu’i Tonga*, marks a new era of beginning in Tonga known as the *Hau ‘o*

¹⁸² Churchward 1959:545

¹⁸³ Ibid, 1959:254

¹⁸⁴ See Clark 1994

Momo “Sovereignty of *Momo*”. Obviously a consequential replacement of the *Tangaloa* thievish tyrannical system, it has the intention to reverse the protection of the resources under this *Momo* sovereignty. The reverse, though, is connected to *Lo’au’s* introduction of a land tenure system, of a food tributes system based on the yam cultivation. Somehow, this yam culture, because of the correlation between the yam planting and harvesting with the monthly period of *Faimalie* who stole the *kahokaho* yam from *Pulotu* (*Ko Faimalie*, lines 127-134, Appendix 1, pages 228-242), highlights the fundamental theme of *hoko* incestuous marriage between the royalties of Tonga, Fiji, and Samoa. It thus includes the marriage, for example, between *Momo* and *Nua*, *Lo’au’s* daughter. Such marriage, in my interpretation, is to keep alive, especially with a view to preserving a particular breed. Unfortunately, the marriage, based on a *talakite* tradition of making of the royal sacred blood, fails. *Nua* and *Momo* had a boy, named *Tu’i Taatui*. In other words, the generation of the royal blood dies out, because the child born should have been a female carrier of the royal sacred blood. Part of the reformation, though, consequently leads on to the replacement of *Talafale* in the *Tu’i Tonga* advisory council.

Planting-harvesting *Lo’au*, the nation builder, is a contradictory phenomenon described as a kind of yam known as *kahokaho tefau* (*Ko Faimalie*, lines 161-162) of ‘*ulu loa* “big head” (*Ko Faimalie*, line 147) who produces royal descendants (*Ko Faimalie*, line 163). As adopted from Fiji, the new *Lo’au-Momo* sociopolitical allied system has a *Tu’i Tonga Falefaa* membership made up of Fijian protectors.

¹⁸⁵ Myth of the bringing of the yam from *Pulotu* bears similar analysis to the given interpretation here. For the fishing analogy, see Lieber (1994) study of *Kapingamarangi* fishing community in Outlier Polynesia.

Providing, in this analysis of *Lo'au*, that it is a female, the *Falefaa* organization, then, seems to be focusing on the brother-sister supporting relationship. This is in contrast to the first *Falefaa* organization of senior-junior supporting system. The sister-brother supporting relationship of the *Lo'au-Momo* alliance is a system which treats the foetal blood as the most sacred substance that connects everyone into one big *kainga* social network. So, in this context, the original male senior-junior hierarchical structure of the first *Falefaa* is intersected by this localized one-of-two egalitarian ideology of the *Lo'au-Momo Falefaa* system. The egalitarian basis of the latter *Falefaa* is connected to the correlative identity within the brother-sister relationship. A brother, for example, to the sister is her *tuo-nga'ane* "other half-male". On the other hand, a sister to the brother is his *tuo-fefine* "other half-female". Thus, the Fijian *Falefaa* of *Lo'au-Momo* is an organization of men who, historically, have been assassins obviously directed by *Lo'au*, the new *Talafale*, since *Tu'i Taatui*.

With the separation from east Samoan *Manu'a*, a move that led to the appointment by *Lo'au* of his adopted *Tu'i Tonga* son-in-law, *Momo*, (*Sangone*, lines 11-14, Appendix 6, pages 279-282), there started to build up a population of Fijians in Tonga. And, it was not only the influx of the Fijians, but, assassinations of the *Tu'i Tonga* also started to build up. Like his tyrant grandfather, *Fue*, *Tu'i Taatui*, I believe, was mutilated¹⁸⁶, under *Lo'au's* instruction, by some Fijian assassins.

¹⁸⁶ Churchward 1959:522; Gifford 1924:45, *Tu'utu'u* "to mutilate", as my interpretation of Gifford's transcription of *Tutu*, a place in 'Eua, lighted up, where *Tu'i Taatui's* funeral taken place. Consult with Mariner's account of the ceremony of burying the *Tu'i Tonga* (Martin 1991:324-352), an occasion where

Mahina states that in the closing stages of *Tu'i Taatui's* reign he fled to 'Eua and later died there after having been pursued by his unknown brothers for committing incest with their sister, *Laatuutama*¹⁸⁷. I think *Tu'i Taatui* was taken there for his punishment by mutilation, thus the name of *Tapuhia* "Sacred-wrongdoing" mount. *Fasi'apule's* snatched returning of his half younger brother's dead body to *Tongatapu* for a proper family burial by replacing it with the dead body of his Fijian friend who he killed for that purpose is indication of *Tu'i Taatui's* mutilated fate¹⁸⁸.

An aspect of the Fijian influx is a connection of 'Eua which looks to me to have been occupied by a chiefly family from *Rewa* of mainland *Vitilevu* of Fiji. In Fiji, it is a historical connection directly related to the emergence of the great *Cakombau* title of Fiji. This *Rewa* chiefly family must be a very powerful family that has reached Hawaii as indicated by the place name, *Ewa*, in the island of *Oahu*. In 'Eua, the connection is the *Kaufana* title, to me, a name derived from the *Kauvandra* mountains on the main island of *Vitilevu* where *Mbau* has a shrine, to whose residing god the *Mbau* people's leading chiefs traced their ancestry¹⁸⁹. *Kaufana*, I think, could be *Kaufata*, the carriers of a dead high chief's litter. The small offshore island of *Mbau* is named after the shrine, replacing the original name, *Ulunivuaka* "Pig's Head". Possibly, there was a tributary relationship between the fishing

every man, woman, and child were provided with a *toume* "coconut spathes bundled together as torch" and a piece of *polata* "stem of plantain".

¹⁸⁷ Mahina 1992:136

¹⁸⁸ It is quite an interesting comparison and similar incident to the murder of *Tu'i Tonga Havea I* and *Lufe's* sacrifice for him. In *Folaha* there is a place where the mutilation of *Lufe* is called *Tu'utu'u*. There is also the *Tapuhia* mount and, the decapitated *Havea* floating from *Talafale's* home to *Folaha*. Is it the same incident being separated by historians? If so, then *Tu'i Taatui* is *Havea*, *Fasi'apule Lufe*, 'Eua *Folaha*, and *Lo'au Folasa le 'i'ite* (title name of *Tu'i Manu'a Tangaloai*, see Kramer 1994:554).

people of *Ulunivuaka* and the mainland *Rewa* chiefly family, from which the former received from the latter delicacies of pigs' heads. But, not until the fishing community was found out to have surreptitiously eaten a catch of fish without firstly taken it to the *Rewa* high chief, were the fisherman *Lasakau* and his people banished to *Lakemba*. Secondly, *Laatuu*, in *Laatuutama*, is a Fijian title of high chief. The lady *Tu'i Taatui* raped might have been a *tama* "daughter" of a great Fijian *Laatuu*.

Following the mutilation of *Tu'i Taatui*, three *Tu'i Tonga*, namely, *Havea I*, *Havea II*, and *Takalaua*, all fell under the counsel of *Lo'au*. Following the assassination of *Tu'i Tonga Takalaua*, and his revenge by *Takalaua's* son and successor, *Kau'ulufonuafeikai*, the *Tu'i Tonga Falefaa* organization, again, had to be restructured.

Firstly, protection of the *Tu'i Tonga* entirely was assigned as the role of the younger brothers of the *Tu'i Tonga*, forming up the new office of the *Tu'i Ha'atakalaua* line. And, secondly, the burial rite of the *Tu'i Tonga* was to be conducted by foreigners of Fijian, Rotuman, and Samoan origin, who organized themselves into two-paired houses. They are *Fale-'o-Tu'i Loloko* and *Fale-'o-Tu'i Matahau* of the right of the *Tu'i Tonga* and, *Fale-'o-Tu'i Talau* and *Fale-'o-Tu'i 'Amanave* of the left of the *Tu'i Tonga*. Their roles include food distribution, burial, and receiving of people coming to see the *Tu'i Tonga*.

¹⁸⁹ Scarr 1976:96; Derrick 1946. Since *Oahu*, recorded by Kramer (1994, vol. 1) as *Wahua*, one of the dominions of *Samoa'atoa* of sun-god *Tangaloa*, the connection to *Rewa* in Fiji is not coincidental.

For the first time since *'Aho'eitu*, separating the protection and burial functions is localizing and centralizing of the power with the local sons of *Takalaua*. The role of protection assigned to the younger brothers, in other words, is to combat the outside traditional controlling of Tongan affairs as was with the older brothers protecting their younger brother *'Aho'eitu* of the first *Falefaa*. In that case, local *'Aho'eitu* was being used and directed by his Samoan older brothers-protectors for their own politico-economic motives and interests. Burial, as a farewell rite of the dead on his journey to *Pulotu*, having been dealt with by these foreign undertakers, is, thus, symbolically appropriated with them as people who know where to take the dead.

As the *Ha'atakalaua* protective role to stabilise the local rivalries and contestations for the *Tu'i Tonga* title, it is part of *Kau'ulufonuafekai's* agenda to reverse the leadership in Tonga. *Mo'ungamotu'a*, *Kau'ulufonuafekai's* younger brother, was appointed to the title of *Tu'i Ha'atakalaua*, as the *motu'a* "first" *mo'unga* "person to whom *Tu'i Tonga Kau'ulufonuafekai* looks for protection".

I have briefly shown the historical background to the development towards localisation of power in Tonga from the dualistic connection between Samoa and Tonga to an official history of Tonga beginning at *Lapaha* of an internal opposition between *Kauhala'uta* and *Kauhalalalo* social moieties. In the brief development of the *Tu'i Tonga* (*Kauhala'uta* moiety) and *Tu'i Ha'atakalaua* (*Kauhalalalo* moiety)

division, for reasons of protection, the sixth *Tu'i Ha'atalaia Mo'ungaatonga* reinforces the original *Tu'i Ha'atalaia's* role of protecting the *Tu'i Tonga Kau'ulufonuafeikai* local *Kauhala'uta-Kauhalalalo* social moieties. The strengthening means of the *Ha'atalaia* protection role at the time of *Mo'ungaatonga* is demonstrated by the use of the Samoan ritual of cutting in half a male person, sometimes a young banana plant, for the lower part to be taken as food (of yam tuber) to complete the *moheofo* joining in cohabitation between the local chief's daughter and a cannibal tyrant. *Mo'ungaatonga*, in reinforcing the *Ha'atalaia's* support of the *Tu'i Tonga*, gives away his daughter, *Kaloafuutonga*, to be the *moheofo* of *Tu'i Tonga Fatafehi*. Thus, the exchange of support in this context is between the older brother *Tu'i Tonga's* son (*Fatafehi*) and his younger brother *Tu'i Ha'atalaia's* daughter (*Kaloafuutonga*). And, on the other hand, the exchange of support is between the *Tu'i Tonga's* daughter (*'Ekutongapipiki*) and the *Tu'i Tonga's* sister's son (*Fonomanu*), or, of anyone from the *Ha'a Falefisi* "descendants of House of Fijians (mainly *Tu'i Lakepa* and *Tu'i Ha'ateiho*)".

Building up a close knit house of support, in association with the *Tu'i Ha'atalaia* protection role of *Mo'ungaatonga*, by means of joining the low ranked woman (*Kaloafuutonga*) of the land on to the high ranked abandoned "shoulder-person" from the sky, can also be seen as a reversed process of the same marriage exchange pattern. *Mo'ungaatonga* throws himself into the sea to become a high ranked abandoned shoulder-person, found and taken into refuge in the house of chief commander-in-war *Ama* of *Safata*, Southwestern *'Upolu*. He, subsequently,

marries chief *Ama*'s daughter, *Tohuia*. The marriage, then, like the *Ha'atakalaua* protection role to *Tu'i Tonga*, is a means of seeking support from chief *Ama* in *Mo'ungaatonga*'s fighting in *Tongatapu* Island against the ferocious chief *'Ahome'e* of the *Hihifo* District.

But, known as the *'Ulutolu* "Heads-three" or "three-men-in-one", the war has been reminiscent of a trick performed by the *Safata* people to terrify the fierce people of chief *'Ahome'e*. *'Ulutolu* refers to the wrapping up with a big *tapa* cloth of cannibal chief *'Ahome'e*'s daily food of human victims consisting of *Ngata* and his older brother, *Halakitaua*, the *Niukapu* "Head-sacred", and his uncle, *Vaoloa*, the *Nuku* "Islet". The wrapping creates a one person with three heads: *Ngata* in the middle and, on his right, *Halakitaua*'s head, on his left, *Vaoloa*'s head. But, the presentation, in the eyes of the cannibal and his fierce people, was enough to terrify them into totally surrendering to *Ngata*, the "tail" with three heads, of *Safata*. Formerly known in the early *Tu'i Tonga* history as the *'Aho'eitu* daily food presentation of human victims to *le Folasa*, title name of *Taeotagaloa*, the first putative *Tu'i Manu'a*¹⁹⁰, since the *'Ulutolu* trick, the ritual, then, becomes known as *'Ahome'e* "daily food of joy". Chief *'Ahome'e*'s two daughters, *Hifo* and *Kaupo'u*, were given as wives of *Ngata* as part of the joyful celebration of Tonga's liberation from chief *'Ahome'e*'s craving for human flesh.

¹⁹⁰ Kramer 1994:9,529

Bott's interpretation of the event as being about the settling of *Ngata* in *Hihifo*¹⁹¹, therefore, in my interpretation, should be about *Mo'ungaatonga's* alliance with *Tohuia's* father to take over the *Hihifo* District from fierce chief '*Ahome'e*. *Tohuia's* son, *Ngata*, to *Mo'ungaatonga* represents her mother being the "tail" of the "shoulder-person" (*Mo'ungaatonga*) on land. *Tohuia's* people, because of *Tohuia's* relationship to *Mo'ungaatonga*, become protectors of the latter, and, of course, ultimately, of the *Tu'i Tonga*. But, the war against chief '*Ahome'e*, as the discussion unfolds, can also be seen as an ongoing '*Upolu's* struggle for supremacy in *Samoa'aatoa*. That means, '*Upolu's* localization in Tonga is meant to make *Tongatapu* its centre.

Again, *moheofo*, as joining to support, means that *Kau'ulufonua*, the first *Tu'i Tonga* son of a *Ha'atakalaua* mother, is the real descendant of *Kaloafuutonga's* brothers, *Tu'i Ha'atakalaua Fotofili* and *Tu'i Kanokupolu Ngata* and, thus, the head of both the *Tu'i Ha'atakalaua* and *Tu'i Kanokupolu* lines in Tonga. *Fotofili* and *Ngata* are *Kau'ulufonua's* legs in Tonga. They become *Kau'ulufonua's vaka* "canoe" in the sea, *Kau'ulufonua's fata* "carriers" on land.

This makes Queen *Salote's* local history of old ethno-biological *fahu* idea of *moheofo* into a reference to this Tonga-'*Upolu* joined rule. It can then also mean that the Tongan local history is a version of the '*Upolu* story of liberty from east Samoan *Manu'a* in Samoa. So, the common cause of Tonga-'*Upolu* combination

¹⁹¹ Bott 1982:115

then results in the formation of a local political structure independent of *Manu'a* in Tonga. The attempt to localize the power base, of course, is, historically, not a smooth process. *Mo'ungaatonga's* intention to localize the power base and to be independent from the *Tu'i Manu'a* rule, for example, is just as hazardous as the efforts of others before him.

How this ethno-biological principle of *fahu* works in forming a new social descent group can be viewed through the successive ascents of the *Tu'i Kanokupolu* title over the two local titles of Tonga, since *Tu'i Tonga 'Uluakimata* and *Tu'i Ha'atakalaua Mo'ungaatonga*. I argue, as the Tongan cases used show, that this old meaning of *fahu* refers to brother and sister, of both *Tu'i Ha'atakalaua* and *Tu'i Kanokupolu*, engaging in an incestuous alliance, the latter assisting the former. Local history, then, in this sense, is the incestuous method of enclosing the resources, from which power is derived, by the siblings of the same founding parents¹⁹². The key term is “assisting”, in Tongan, *tokoni*. *Tokoni* also means “to eat”. The logical implication of assisting, then, in this context, refers to incest as an old institution of “eating of the sacred”, the source of power, of the *Tu'i Tonga*. Which, of course, is the whole basis of the practice of *mohefo* by the lesser two kingly lines, first, the *Tu'i Ha'atakalaua*, but for not much longer until confiscated by the current kingly line of *Tu'i Kanokupolu*. In other words, *mohefo* is stealing the sacred blood by way of eating/swallowing it up and running away with it, (compare with the story of *Folau ki Pulotu*, lines 127-134 [Appendix 1, pages 228-242]. In the same story, the stealing is described earlier on as replacement of *Hikule'o's fale*

kano'imata “house lined with eye balls”, lines 79-80, resting on *leitana*, should be *leitangata*, “human bones”, lines 70-76.)

From time immemorial, politics in the region of *Samoa'aatoa* has been about the government of *kai* “people and food”. Both these two elements make up the central feature of politics in the region. Naturally so, because of the smallness of these island states, the scarcity of food and people thus becomes a real determining factor towards the making up of a leader. The appointment is not based on a popular democratic selection process, instead, to become a leader one has to fight for it. To become a leader means an *aitu*, “[one] who devours the people”¹⁹³. It is he to whom tributes of food are brought from his dominions, tribute known in old days as the *umiti* of the *Tu'i Manu'a* and, later, *'inasi* of the *Tu'i Tonga*. People fight over who will have the right to eat from the others. The story of *'Aho'eitu* is an example of the stealing of the *umiti* brought from Tonga to *Taeotagaloa*, recorded in Tonga as *Tangaloa 'Eitumatupu'a*, by *'Eitumatupu'a*'s sons with a Samoan wife. As a result, *'Eitumatupu'a* punished them with serving their youngest half brother, *'Aho'eitu*, as the *Tu'i Tonga*. *Taeotagaloa* is the “Shit-of-ghost-persecutor”.

This ambiguity involved with the concept of stealing can only be understood with a critique of the idea of *hoko*. *Hoko*, in the traditional sense of marriage referring to the reconciliatory intervention of the female, actually means deceiving her powerful

¹⁹² Compare with Sir Frazer's theory of incest (1949).

¹⁹³ I interpret *aitu* as *'ainu'u*, as in *Malietoa 'Ae'o'ainu'u* (Kramer 1994:318, Vol. 1). This *Malietoa* has a son named *Laulauafolasa*, a name linked to the wife of *Taeotagaloa*, as a daughter of *Folasa* (Kramer 1994:533,

male partner to steal from him. The most conspicuous illustration of how this idea of *hoko* works is the situation of having sexual intercourse. While the male partner is concentrating in masturbating himself, the female busily focuses on extracting the *hii* “sperm” from the male scrotum. The *hii* is the sacred *iki* “young (one)”, as in ‘*eiki* “chief”, who *hiki* “carries on his shoulders” the *fale’ula* of *Tangaloa*, the *Tu’i Manu’a*, on land. *Fale’ula*, as “shiny dwelling of *Tangaloa*, the sun-god”, also refers to it as the source of power, where the *inasi* of *Tangaloa* collected.

In house part terms, this sexual intercourse situation of the male on top of the female on earth joined together by the penis inside the vagina is respectively represented as the ‘*ato*, *faliki*, and *pou*. The penis as *pou* “post” mediates between the male ‘*ato* “roof” and the female *faliki* “floor”. This original house division between male and female is where the ‘*eiki* and *tu’a* “commoner” social statuses of children derived. Children are at the same time ‘*eiki* and *tu’a* with respect to their father’s upturned canoe on top joined on to the mother’s floor-mat earth below. Thus, the dialectical of the ‘*eiki-tu’a* distinction is somehow related to the social relationships between the brother (as father and husband) and his sister (as wife and mother). The brother refers to the children of his sister as ‘*ilamutu* “chiefs of partly commoner” based on their sky father and earthly mother status relationships. And, on the other hand, the sister refers to her brother’s children as her *fakafotu* “requests” for something that the latter wants. Sister’s children refer to their mother’s brother as their *fa’ee tangata* “mother male” whereas, brother’s children

Vol. 1). In *Folaha, Tongatapu*, there is a personal name as ‘*Ainu’u* and, of course, the curse of *Folaha* as *kai ta’e* “eat shit”, all allude to “shitty eating shits/food”.

to their father's sister as their *mehikitanga* "god of underworld".

The important thing to note, in connection with the analysis of the myth of *fale*, is that the sacrifice of *hoko* is a Samoan tactic of *kaiha'a fonua*. Therefore, joining is a way of stealing. The subtle connection somehow is missed out in Tongan written history, thus *kaiha'a* translated as "stealing". I can only presume that it is one of the influences of *Taufa'aahau Tupou* I's constitutional changes made in his monarchical government. *Kaiha'a*, in its traditional Samoan sense, as "eating of the sacred", is consumption of the *ivi e fonua* "resources of land". The objective is to make that land full of resources politically controlled and economically productive as one's own source of consumption. *Kai* is *fai* "having sexual intercourse". It implies, for example, that '*Eitumatupu'a*'s having sexual intercourse with *Va'epopua* of *Tongatapu* is the "exclusive use of *Tonga*", thus *Tonga-tapu* Island, politically and economically. The people of *Tonga* become a productive source of power for '*Eitumatupu'a* and *Manu'a*. *Hoko*, as genealogy, is, therefore, *kaiha'a*.

From this historical dimension of the politics of food as source of power, the shortfall of *Mo'ungaatonga*'s personal striving for power even becomes worse at the time of his marriage to *Tohuia* of '*Upolu*. Taking it to be seeking for help in his cause to localize and centralize the power of control over *Tonga* under him, *Tohuia*'s father, on the other hand, comes into the alliance with some confidential unfinished business to complete. In other words, as given by my analysis of the

history of liberty in Samoa and Tonga, the marriage arrangement of *Tohuia* to *Mo'ungaatonga* can be seen as the continuation of *Upolu* fighting for liberty from Tongan dominance in Samoa, following the expulsion from Samoa, round about the sixteenth century, of *Tu'i Tonga Talakaifaiki* by the twin brothers, *Fata* and *Tuna*. To complete the task on his hands, *Ama* must offer his service to assist *Mo'ungaatonga* in his local war against cannibal *'Ahome'e* and *'Ahome'e's* brother *Lavaka-vaoleleva*.

We have here a case of the politics of food where these men, *Ama*, *Mo'ungaatonga*, *'Ahome'e*, and *Lavaka* engage in war for power in Tonga. *Lavaka*, because of his hospitality to the *Tu'i Tonga* while in *Tongatapu* during a great famine with meals of ensilaged *leva* yams from his storage pits¹⁹⁴, was then rewarded. His grandson, *Tele'a*, succeeded to the *Tu'i Tonga* title¹⁹⁵. Quite obvious that this reward instilled jealousy in *'Ahome'e*, thus he, and his followers, moved and settled in *Hihifo*. He became a fierce cannibal person, as did his people.

Ama's evil intention, then, is to eclipse *Mo'ungaatonga's* local *Tu'itonga* establishment and to replace it with the establishment of a stronghold in Tonga of *Safata*, under the leadership of his grandson, *Ngata*, thus, in Tongan, *Ha'angata*. It must have been so hard for the people of *Fata* to have full independence, regardless of the successful driving out of *Talakaifaiki* from Samoa, to even break

¹⁹⁴ Gifford 1929:179

¹⁹⁵ Ibid, 1929:57

through inside Tonga with the objective of completely seizing the power to control resources from the hands of the Tongans.

The secrecy of this marriage contract lies in the associated ambiguity and contradiction of the practice of *moheofo*, that, while it was commonly done in former times as of a young woman of the village sleeping with a visiting chief¹⁹⁶, it is a form of power usurpation, as mentioned earlier on, ending up with Tonga being ruled by a person of *kanokupolu* “flesh-of-‘Upolu”. That person, *Ngata*, who has been recognized, due to the support of *Mo’ungaatonga* given to *Ama*, as the *Tu’i Kanokupolu* title holder, takes the place of his mother’s displaced brother as high chief of the land. He registers his status and title within Tonga as a Tongan high chief by marrying voracious chief ‘*Ahome’e*’s daughters. At the same time, *Mo’ungaatonga* gave his daughter, *Kaloafuutonga*, half sister of *Tu’i Kanokupolu Ngata*, away as *moheofo* to *Tu’i Tonga Fatafehi*, son and successor of *Tu’i Tonga ‘Uluakimata I*, for the same purpose to *ohi* “adopt” the *hii* “sperm”, or the *toto* “blood”, of the *Tu’i Tonga* so as to be the high chief of the land. *Mo’ungaatonga*’s ambitious plan, which thus also envelopes *Ama*’s hidden personal agenda in the local sociopolitical affairs of Tonga, is to adopt, as polite form of to steal, the highest supreme *Tu’i Tonga* title. With *Kaloafuutonga*’s son to *Fatafehi* becoming a high chief of the land and displacing *Kaloafuutonga*’s brother *Tu’i Ha’atakalaua*, the logical strategy of marrying into ‘*Upolu* is to hire *Ama* as a technical adviser to complete *Mo’ungaatonga*’s ambition. But, as I have said earlier on,

¹⁹⁶ Churchward 1959:361

Mo'ungaatonga's strategies fail to work effectively for *Mo'ungaatonga*. In fact, these strategies, as we can see, have been working, as has always been with the institution of *Falefaa*, for the benefit of the adviser.

Failure of *Mo'ungaatonga's* plan officially becomes exposed during the time of *Mo'ungaatonga's* grandson, *Tu'i Ha'atakalaua Vaea*, the last in the *Tu'i Ha'atakalaua* line to provide the *Tu'i Tonga* ('*Uluakimata II*) with *moheofo*. It was an era when politics tended to become personalized, culminating in the fourth *Tu'i Kanokupolu Mataeleha'amea*, with the backing of his mother's people of *Ha'amea*. *Mataeleha'amea* has been instrumental in revealing and activating *Ama's* original secret plan to have Tonga under his rule. Again, it is not until this *Tu'i Kanokupolu Mataeleha'amea*, that the first serious plan to eclipse the *Tu'i Ha'atakalaua* line as the *moheofo* consoler of the visiting *Tu'i Tonga* results in that role being seized by the *Tu'i Kanokupolu* line. The notoriety of the *Ha'amea* people in fishing and occupation of lands is a very important factor in the recent political and economic development in the local history of Tonga since the split from Samoa. Once again, as with the earliest case of cross-relative *moheofo* of *Nua* to *Momo*, the activity of the *Ha'amea* people in Tonga since then has always had a connection to reformation by joining to adopt.

Demoralizing the *Tu'i Ha'atakalaua* line, *Mataeleha'amea* or *Mataele* of *Ha'amea* has to engage in war with *Vaea's* sons with the intention to steer the *Tu'i Kanokupolu* ship into full control without the *Tu'i Ha'atakalaua*. As would have

been noted, *Mataeleha'amea's* course has been conducted in the same way that the *Hau 'o Momo* "Reign of *Momo*" became confiscated by *Lo'au* of *Ha'amea*. *Mohefo* practice, again, has been the main strategy with which to consolidate the political boundaries of the *Tu'i Kanokupolu* line in Tonga. Firstly, *Mataeleha'amea* seizes from the *Tu'i Ha'atakalaua* line the traditional role of providing *mohefo* by giving his two daughters, *Halaevalu* and *Tongotea*, respectively, as the first *Tu'i Kanokupolu mohefo*, to the *Tu'i Tonga* (*Tu'ipulotu-'i-langitu'ofefafa* and his son and successor, *Fakana'ana'a*). *Halaevalu* did not have children with *Tu'i Tonga Tu'ipulotu-'i-langitu'ofefafa*. So, an arrangement with the chief of *Mo'ungaone* for a girl to be sent to live with and have children by the *Tu'i Tonga* was then organised in the place of *Halaevalu*¹⁹⁷. This can easily be done because of *Ha'amea's* relationship to *Mo'unga'one* Island in *Ha'apai* through *Lo'au*. Chief *Kavamo'unga'one* or *Kava* of *Mo'unga'one*, so as *Taufatofua* or *Taufa* of *Tofua* Island and *Fanualofanga* or *Fanua* of *Lofanga* Island, were offspring of *Lo'au* of *Ha'amea* sent to live as representatives in *Ha'apai*¹⁹⁸.

The manipulateness of the *Ha'amea* people's struggle, on behalf of their descendant *Tu'i Kanokupolu Mataeleha'amea*, clearly shows in marrying *Halaevalu's* sister, *Tongotea*, with *Halaevalu's* adopted son, *Fakana'ana'a*, to produce the first proper *Tu'i Tonga* son with a *Tu'i Kanokupolu mohefo*. *Fakana'ana'a* is *Halaevalu's* adopted son by *Tu'i Tonga Tu'ipulotu* with *Manunaa* of *Mo'unga'one*. Bott, following what Queen *Salote* had said, based on the literal

¹⁹⁷ Bott 1982:137-139,172

¹⁹⁸ Gifford 1929:130

meaning of the name *Fakana'ana'a*, describes *Halaevalu's* adoption as a sad story of "consolation of her [*Halaevalu*] worry"¹⁹⁹. The sad aspect must be viewed rather in terms of the political manipulation of power by the people of *Lo'au*, who, as I have argued here, are fish-hookers. Queen *Salote* is the *Lo'au* today, as suggested in 1959 by various *mataapule*²⁰⁰. By means of her *mohefo* status, *Halaevalu's* practice of adoption is to complete the stealing of the *Tu'i Tonga's* sacred blood.

Another case is *Tu'i Tonga Tu'ipulotu-i-Langitu'oteau*, son of *Tu'i Tonga Fakana'ana'a* by *Tongotea*, taking his own female cross-cousin relative, the daughter of *Tu'i Kanokupolu Ma'afu-o-Tu'itonga*, as his *mohefo*.

Ma'afu-o-Tu'itonga is the brother of *Halaevalu* and *Tongotea*. This arrangement seems to be perfectly all right since *Ma'afu-o-Tu'itonga*, as blood descendant of the *Tu'i Ha'atakalaua* line, on his mother's side, only becomes recognized, on his father's side, as *Tu'i Kanokupolu*. The focus is *Tu'i Kanokupolu*, and, the cross-relative *mohefo* marriage between *Tu'i Kanokupolu (Ma'afu)'s* daughter, and *Tu'i Kanokupolu's* sister's (*Tongotea*) *Tu'i Tonga* son, confirms that.

Another case of demoralisation of the *Tu'i Ha'atakalaua* is the establishment of a connection between the *Tu'i Kanokupolu* and industrious land-owner, *Fisilaumaali* of *Lafalafa*. This was done with the taking by force of *Tu'i Kanokupolu Ma'afu-o-Tu'itonga's* full sister, *Fusipala*, away from her husband-nephew, *Tu'i*

¹⁹⁹ Bott 1982:137

²⁰⁰ Ibid., 1982:92

Ha'atakalaua Tongatangakitaulupekifolaha, by *Ma'afu's* untitled younger half brothers, to marry her again to *Fisilaumaali*. Through this union, the chiefless “flat” status of *Lafalafa*, former name of *Fisilaumaali's* home, since then, has been elevated to a chiefly “hierarchical” status of *Pelehake* “Beloved jumping porpoise”²⁰¹. The historical aspect of this elevation is a reference to the child born from the union, *Lekaumoana*²⁰². He is a *moana* “deep sea (fish)”²⁰³ caught in the *kau* “fishhook (of *Ha'amea*)”²⁰⁴, making him to the first *Tu'i Pelehake* title-holder.

Separating *Fusipala* from her *Tu'i Ha'atakalaua* husband reflects the true nature of (*Mataeleha'amea's*) personalised politics as to where power is genealogically calculated and manipulated. Genealogical calculation thus involves division into sides competing for the championship title. For example, *Mataeleha'amea's* marriage with *Kaloafuutonga*, daughter of *Vaea* and a blood descendant of her Fijian connection through her mother, *Sungu*, from *Lakemba* Island in the Lau Group²⁰⁵, quite clearly, demonstrates *Mataeleha'amea's* intention to centralise the localization of power under himself with the coercive marriage of *Fusipala* to *Fisilaumaali*.

The calculative mindfulness of *Mataeleha'amea's* socio-political strategy has been well displayed in the later big fracas between the Fijian descendant grandsons of *Ma'afu-'o-Tu'itonga* over the *Tu'i Kanokupolu* title. This fracas also sets up the

²⁰¹ Churchward 1959:408

²⁰² Bott 1982:147, Fig.24

²⁰³ Churchward 1959:359

²⁰⁴ See Clark (1994) for his linguistic reconstruction of fishhook in Oceania

preliminary transitional change in the history of government system from Samoa into Tonga to Fiji. The analysis here comes from my reading of the genealogy of the succession of the *Tu'i Kanokupolu* as recorded in Bott²⁰⁶.

Ma'afu-'o-Tu'itonga's marriages²⁰⁷, first to *Laatuutama*, daughter of *Tu'i Ha'ateiho Fakatakatu'u*²⁰⁸ and, then, to *Kavakipopua*, daughter of *Paleisasa*, son of *Tu'i Neau* of *Lakemba*²⁰⁹, with *Toafilimoe'unga*, are the sources of the rivalry. The rivalry between these two Fijian families is over who is higher in rank. *Tu'i Ha'ateiho* is second in rank to the *Tu'i Lakepa* of the *Fale Fisi* "House of Fijians" to whom the *Tu'i Tonga Fefine* marry. Since *Ma'afu* first married into the *Tu'i Ha'ateiho* line to *Laatuutama*, his son, *Tupoulahi*, succeeded to the *Tu'i Kanokupolu* title. *Ma'afu* later married *Kavakipopua* of the *Tu'i Lakepa* line and had the son, *Mumui*. Because *Mumui* is directly descended from the head of the *Fale Fisi*, he is higher in rank than his older half brother and heir to the *Tu'i Kanokupolu* title, *Tupoulahi*. The rivalry, then, within the *Fale Fisi* actually blew out between *Tupoumoheofo*, eldest daughter of *Tupoulahi*, and *Tuku'aho*, eldest son of *Mumui*, over the *Tu'i Kanokupolu* title. Specifically, the rivalry is between *Tuku'aho*, the true descendant of *Mataeleha'amea*, because of his father, *Mumui*, and *Tupoumoheofo*, on the other hand, a *Tu'i Tonga* descendant. *Toafilimoe'unga*, mother of *Kavakipopua*, is daughter of *Tu'i Kanokupolu Mataeletu'apiko*, father of *Mataeleha'amea*. In other words, *Toafilimoe'unga* and *Mataeleha'amea* are sister and brother. On the other

²⁰⁵ Hocart 1929:30

²⁰⁶ Bott 1982:14, Figure 3

²⁰⁷ See Ibid, 1982:152, Fig.30

²⁰⁸ Ibid, 1982:144

hand, *Founuku*, mother of *Tupoumoheofo*, is daughter of *Tokemoana*, son of *Tu'i Tonga 'Uluakimata II* and younger brother of *Tu'i Tonga Tu'ipulotu-'i-Langitu'ofefafa*²¹⁰. *Tupoumoheofo*, the *Tu'i Kanokupolu moheofo* to *Tu'i Tonga Paulaho*, after her cousin, *Tu'i Kanokupolu Mulikiha'amea* died, appointed herself as *Tu'i Kanokupolu*. She wanted to bring back the title to the line of *Tupoulahi*, but, of course, her action immediately nudged *Tuku'aho* into reaction. To *Tuku'aho*, *Tupoumoheofo's* action was a mere sign of disrespectful, selfish, and greedy gesture of usurpation of the power that the children of *Ma'afu-'o-Tu'itonga* all have rights to.

In relation to the question of social ranking, *Tuku'aho's* seizure of the *Tu'i Kanokupolu* title from his cousin *Tupoumoheofo* and giving it to his elderly father, *Mumui*, is *Tuku'aho's* rectification of the conflict over the title. His action is justified with his personal ambition wrapped up underneath the original socio-political intention of *Mataeleha'amea* outlined earlier on. Following the death of *Tu'i Kanokupolu Mumui*, his son, *Tuku'aho*, succeeds to the *Tu'i Kanokupolu* title. Unfortunately, *Tuku'aho's* rectification becomes a preparation for his own death. He was successfully murdered by *Tupoumoheofo's Tu'i Tonga* husband's relatives, an event that led on to the great civil war in Tonga in the mid nineteenth century.

One can say that, actually, the civil war is between the *Tu'i Ha'ateiho Havea-Tu'i Tonga* alliance and the other alliance of *Tu'i Lakepa Tu'i Neau-Tu'i Kanokupolu*.

²⁰⁹ Bott 1982:118

²¹⁰ *Koe Tohi Hohoko 'a Losaline Fatafehi*, pp.39,47

Throughout the line of the *Tu'i Ha'ateiho Havea* clan to the younger brother of *Tu'i Kanokupolu Tupoulahi, Maealiuaki*, is the *Tungii* title and, of the *Tu'i Neau* clan to *Mumui*, the *Tupou* title. *Mumui's* great grandson, *Taufa'aahau*, as the nineteenth *Tu'i Kanokupolu*, is the first *Tupou*. The *Tupou* title is connected to *Tumbou* village of the Tongans in *Lakemba* Island under the reign of *Tu'i Nayau (Tu'i Neau) Taliai* during the middle of the nineteenth century²¹¹. The significance of the end of this civil war is its part in a later *Tu'i Kanokupolu's* secret political manipulation to formalize an end to the rivalry between the *Tu'i Ha'ateiho Havea-Tu'i Tonga* and *Tu'i Lakepa Tu'i Neau-Tu'i Kanokupolu's* bloody and long war. This is the marriage of *Tungii Mailefihi* and *Tu'i Kanokupolu Queen Salote Tupou III*. Their son, *Tu'i Kanokupolu George Taufa'aahau Tupou IV*, also has the other titles of *Tungii* and *Tu'i Tonga* through his father.

Conclusion

Part of the thesis can be summarized as a sequence of two phases. In the first period (the *Kanokupolu* replacement of the *Ha'atakalaua*) there is a process whereby the supporter of power through marriage, draws that power to themselves. This is the historical outcome of the emphasis on the *mohefo*. In this period the sons of different mothers are contestants for power which complicates the usurpation. Also, the role of *mataapule* became institutionalized in Tonga and,

²¹¹ Hocart 1929:10

inherent in this institution, there was always a conflicting tendency, apparent also in the *moheofo*, whereby the supporter acting on behalf of power is put in a position where he relegates the dominant power he represents to a subordinate position at the back. When the work of *moheofo* in undermining the alliance is completed, the parallel development of the *mataapule* usurping power comes to the fore.

Speaking on behalf of the protected becomes speaking on behalf of the supposed protector/representative of power. Once the failure of the marriage alliance is transparent by the end of the first period, the two edged nature of rhetoric becomes highlighted. In the second period, the language of the Constitution and the poetry of Queen *Salote* highlight the difference internal to *heliaki*- the inherent difference between revealing and concealing. In these languages, the power of the affirmation of freedom is accompanied by the denial of freedom. The transformation of outward respect for the power of others into the assertion of concealed usurpation of that power is reinforced and highlighted in the languages of this later period once the alliance based on *moheofo* is terminated.

Moheofo at its peak in the earlier periods served as a marriage alliance whereby the *Ha'atakalaua* served as supporter of the *Tu'i Tonga*. Even at its peak, *Mo'ungaatonga* began a shift in the balance of the alliance where the supporter drew power away from the *Tu'i Tonga* who was the supported. This assumption of power through the manipulation of the very power that was supposed to be protected marked the ascendancy of the *Kanokupolu*.

The collapse of the alliance was followed by the supremacy of the *mataapule*. The power originally represented and protected has been removed and a new front is presented.

The language of internationalism replaces the symbolic representation of alliance between upper and lower which is gone completely. The arrival age of individual self interest is marked by the removal of support for allies and the turning inward of marriage- *kitetama* is prevalent. Language is the nostalgic acknowledgement of power which was once preserved as external and independent- an independent ally which is past and its power is now appropriated and internalized.

These changes in the relationship between *Kauhala'uta* and *Kauhalalalo* could never have been understood on the basis of Gifford's explanation. The developments in the nature of the relationship help to understand the theory of language and history in this thesis. As a Tongan, my exploration of linguistics has been primarily a study of semantics. But there is no model of essential meanings to be discovered. Meanings are historical outcomes and meanings are always a matter of conflict. The special nature of that conflict can only be understood in the case of Queen *Salote* by understanding the outcome at that point of ongoing conflicting social processes²¹². Queen *Salote's* language which can be taken as quintessentially Tongan is an historical outcome where the ambiguity of language is brought to the front and the real meanings of historical *tala* are suppressed and

²¹² . Anderson 1963

hidden in a rhetoric which is famous for the subtleties of metaphor. The ambivalence of concealing and revealing are continuous with the past but have a special historical emphasis in the movement between *lau'eiki* and *fie'eiki*. Queen *Salote* takes dualities, the head and tail of the fish, to mask the shift in power relations.

CHAPTER 3

***Konisituutone* “Constitution”: A Palladium of *Ha’a Ma’afu* in Tonga**

Introduction

The main theme of the 1875 Constitution of George *Taufa’aahau Tupou I* discussed in this chapter is a turning point in the war history between the three kingly lines, *Tu’i Tonga*, *Tu’i Ha’atakalaua*, and *Tu’i Kanokupolu*, for the highest social rank which legitimates one with the ultimate political control over the economic resources in Tonga. Up to that point of the construction of the Constitution, the war in Tonga had been reduced down to war between the main social *ha’a* of the *Kanokupolu* line, particularly, between senior *Ha’a Havea* brothers and junior *Ha’a Ma’afu* brothers. Both the senior *Tu’i Tonga* and *Tu’i Ha’atakalaua* kingly lines had been imploded into the junior *Tu’i Kanokupolu* kingly line by means of the *moheofo* practice. Another important theme in connection to the great force of influence of the Constitution is the joint forces of King George *Taufa’aahau Tupou I* and the Christian religion, (the Methodist Church in particular), the former as the local standing post on which the latter as the upturned drifting boat rests. Christianity and the Constitutional Monarchy become one body of two interests reinforcing one another. An important ruling of the Constitution acting as the palladium of the victorious *Ha’a Ma’afu* is the allowing of incestuous relationships within the *Ha’a Ma’afu* enclosure as a *kitetama* cross cousin inbreeding of the *fahu* sacred blood. “King of Tonga” title is now a pure bred *Ha’a Ma’afu* being a legal conception of the sacred blood.

I take the intention of the construction of the Constitution by George *Taufa'aahau Tupou I* with Queen *Salote's* salutation of announcing her own son-to-be-successor, Crown Prince *Tupouto'a*, then King George *Taufa'aahau Tupou IV*, that George *Taufa'aahau Tupou* is the *palatiume 'o Ha'a Ma'afu* “palladium of *Ha'a Ma'afu*”. In other words, as Crown Prince *Tupouto'a*, his *takafalu* “genealogical descent” is traced back to the founder of the Constitutional Monarchy and grandson of the ancestor of *Ha'a Ma'afu*, George *Taufa'aahau Tupou I*. George *Taufa'aahau Tupou I's* father, *Tu'i Kanokupolu Tupouto'a*, is son of *Tu'i Kanokupolu Tuku'aho*, the ancestor of *Ha'a Ma'afu*. Their translation as “an instrument of measurement”²¹³, according to Mahina and Taumoefolau of the Tongan text, *palatiniume 'o Ha'a Ma'afu* as “platnium of *Ha'a Ma'afu*”, (see *Takafalu*, Appendix 8, lines 1-16, pages 288-295), is still problematic. I first learnt this word, “platnium”, from Mahina’s comments on my draft. In his PhD thesis²¹⁴, he used the word “platinum” for *palatiniume*. I can only presume that Mahina and Taumoefolau were discussing this point based on the Tongan text, *palatiniume*, as the Tonganization for English “platnium”. They did not seriously take into consideration the historical context of the line, or even the whole poem, to determine the proper translation. They seemed to focus only on the pragmatic use of the word, in music, for example, it is *palatiniume* for “platnium”. My argument, to start with, there is no such word as “platnium”. There is, though, the word,

²¹³ Personal communication with Mahina in his comments on the draft of this chapter where he said, I quote, “Queen *Salote* uses the ‘platnium’ as a *heliaki* for *Tupou IV* as the head of *Ha'a Ma'afu*; ‘platnium’ is deployed here by QS as an instrument of measurement, likening *Tupou IV* as the measure of *Ha'a Ma'afu*”.

²¹⁴ Mahina 1992:193-194

“platinum”, Tonganized as *palatinume*, as one of the six metals, including “palladium”, having similar physical and chemical properties. I, then, cannot even imagine a connection of translation between “measurement” and a non-existent word, “platnium”. And, even with “platinum”, I still cannot see any connection as “a device of standard measurement”²¹⁵. Further to my conversation with Mahina, sorting out this kind of translation problem, the best way to do it, as I have said above, is to clarify the problem in terms of the history of the *Ha’a Ma’afu* appointment in the wider context of the history of *Tu’i Kanokupolu*. I take “palladium” to be the most probable term employed by Queen *Salote* and, it fits perfectly well with the historical interpretation I take of the political dialectical inversion of *Ha’a Ma’afu* replacing the *Ha’a Havea-Tu’i Tonga* combination in time and space. Therefore, Mahina’s translation of *palatinume* for “platnium”, I suggest, should be *palatiume* for palladium, thus the line, *palatiume ‘o Ha’a Ma’afu*.

An aspect of the protective character of *Ha’a Ma’afu* “palladium” is strongly featured in the historical *tau ‘i Folaha* “taking and placing in *Folaha*” of the *Tuku’aho* “presentation of the conciliatory sacrifice”, from *Tuku’aho*, after the confiscation of the *Tu’i Kanokupolu* title from self-appointed *Tupoumoheofo*, daughter of *Tu’i Kanokupolu Tupoulahi*, and conferring it on his own father, *Mumui* of *Kolomotu’a*. This war over the title between *Tuku’aho* and his first cousin, *Tupoumoheofo*, I feel, partly contributed to the building up to the main civil war between *Taufa’aahau Tupou I* and the *Ha’a Havea* later on. In-depth knowledge of

²¹⁵ Mahina 1992:193

the history is the key which enables one to see through the language layers to the fossilized naked truth of the subject under investigation²¹⁶. The point made here is taken from Emerson's theory of the origin of language framed by comparison with the geological formation of a new land, beginning with a long period of accumulation of layer upon layer of different varieties of dead shells and organisms in the bottom of the ocean, keep building and building until it emerges out of the water. Likewise, the national language of this new land is a by-product of this long ecological and social interaction between the people and their environment. Doing research involves clarification of ambiguous and irrational statements to show the logical connections, for example, of the successive *Tu'i Kanokupolu* events. The logical criterion of the clarification is that one has got to follow the implications of *X is Y*, but, not what one thinks that *X is Y*.

The Constitution as a form of protection is connected to the usurpation of the sacred royal blood in marriages to the carrier, *Tamahaa Laatuufuipeka*. In Figure 1, which is a direct duplication of Figure 31 in Bott's Tongan Society's discussion with Her Majesty Queen *Salote Tupou*²¹⁷, the flow of the sacred royal blood only through the senior female line is shown from *Laatuufuipeka* (married to *Tu'i Kanokupolu Tupoulahisi'i*) to *Tupou'ahome'e* (married to *Tu'i Kanokupolu Tupouto'a*) to *Halaevalu Mata'aho* (married to *Tu'i Tonga Laufilitonga*) to *Lavinia Veiongo* (married to *'Isileli Tupou*, son of *Tu'i Kanokupolu George Taufaa'ahau*

²¹⁶ Compare with Emerson's theory of language as "the archives of history....fossil poetry" (Chubb 1888:178).

Tupou I) to *Tupoumohefo* (married to *Siale'ataongo*, son of *Ma'afu* "Fiji") to *Vaohoi* (married to *Veikune* [*Fotu*]) to *Heu'ifanga* (married to 'Ahome'e) to *Halaevalu Mata'aho* (married to *Tu'i Kanokupolu* George *Taufa'aahau Tupou IV*) to *Salote Mafile'o Pilolevu* (married to *Tuita* [*Ma'ulupekotofa*]) to *Salote Lupepau'u Tuita* (married to *Mata'i'ulua Fusitu'a*) to the present carrier, *Phaedra Fusitu'a*. And, also, the usurped sacred blood is getting protection by means of an endogamous system of incestuous marriage and the idea is to enclose/bury the sacred royal blood in the *Ha'a Ma'afu* descent group, see Figures 1 (b) and (c).

Ha'a Ma'afu is the late inversion of the *Tu'i Kanokupolu* voyage turned upside down with genealogical connection to *Tumbou* Village of *Lakemba* Island in Fiji. Really, the Constitution, as "a palladium of *Ha'a Ma'afu*", shows it to be an instrument of social control which only defines the relationship between the *Ha'a Ma'afu* and the people as purely oppression and domination. This is the main theme addressed in this chapter.

To begin the discussion I need to recapitulate the main points from the historical analysis of the Tonga-Samoa connection given in the previous chapter, in relation to the advent of the Samoan *fale faka-Manu'a* "house wounded" government system in Tonga. The important point in connection with this analysis that the first government introduced into Tonga from Samoa was a house administered by wrongdoers who originally stole the royal *Fale'ula* of the *Tu'i Manu'a* from *Manu'a*.

²¹⁷ See Bott 1982:153

In fact, the literal meaning here, as “seat of the gods, the royal house of the *Tu’i Manu’a*”²¹⁸, suggests that *Fale’ula* is the old name for the modern institution of *moheofo*. It is the house wherein an uncivilized girl being placed to be sexually tamed and become connected with the *Tu’i Manu’a* in what is called a *muitau* “young girl getting served”. *Muitau* also implies a relationship which shows itself as an exchanging of services whereby the young girl offers her body in exchange for the foreign invader allying the local chief in war. The getting served of the young girl then recognizes the *Fale’ula* to be a *tu’ula* “house for temporary resting”²¹⁹ of the foreign invader’s upturned boat on land. Thus, we can use the same interpretation for the origin myth of *‘Aho’eitu*. He is a son from a sexual copulation by *Tangaloa ‘Eitumatupu’a* with young *‘Ilaheva Va’epopua* in her endeavour to steal the traditional *Tu’i Manu’a Fale’ula* into Tonga. It is an action expressed in Samoan with the idea of *umatagata*, an abandoned half “upper body” which was *faa* or *fata* “carried across the shoulders” (*Falefaa*), from *Manu’a* in the east and, finally, landed in *Savai’i* in the west, at the village of *Falelima*. And, it was in *Falelima* that the “upper body” then joined with the *tino* “lower body part” of chief *Folasa*’s youngest son. Again, this is an event that I take to be the historical semantic criterion for the Tongan version of the origin myth of *‘Aho’eitu*, the first putative *Tu’i Tonga* “King of Tonga”. A theory, then, of the “King of Tonga” could be read as a translation of the sacrificial *tu’usi konga* “cut in half” of a *lafalafa* “low rank commoner” (*Folasa*), a term of reference to the people of *Savai’i*, as mentioned in

²¹⁸ Kramer 1994:660, Vol. 1

²¹⁹ Churchward 1959:519

the previous chapter. The “King of Tonga” is, therefore, a universal representation of the Samoa (*umatagata*)-Tonga (*sino*) joining as one ally. In connection to stealing, the *Tu'i Tonga* concept refers to *Va'epopua* of Tonga and *Tangaloa 'Eitumatupu'a* of Samoa joining in sex to procreate a new elitist ideology of economic and political domination in Tonga. The domination is reflected in the murdering of *'Aho'eitu* and the establishment of the government administered by the murderers. It emerged as an architectural design in Tonga for the intention of covering the stolen sacred blood of domination with the turning upside down of the boat and, then, completely covering it with *pola* “plaited coconut leaves”. Stealing, in this sense, means sacrifice and burial.

The old concept of murdering, in my interpretation, is the means whereby the protected gets protected from attempted assassination on his life. In the origin myth of *'Aho'eitu*, for example, *Talafale*, a murderer himself and representative of the *Tu'i Manu'a* in Tonga, again, gets protection from his younger brothers *Falefaa* who stand face to face with murdered *'Aho'eitu*'s local Tongan relations. Thus, the meaning, then, of this protection system is recognised as a social duty of junior brothers by becoming *mataapule* “eyes-of-[the] authority” of their senior brother. The senior brother, *Talafale* in this case, is the *pule* “authority”, while the junior brothers are *mata* “eyes”. The latter, in that regard, stand outside the former's house to guard and speak on behalf of the *Tu'i Tonga* government, representative of *Tangaloa 'Eitumatupu'a* in Tonga. It would be clearer if we referred to this early socio-political arrangement as a *mataapule* system of government. The obvious

function of this system is to protect by concealing its own immoral and illegal usurpation of power as the fundamental substance of the *Talafale* “tradition of *fale* ‘advice’”. *Talafale* is covered inside his upturned boat in hiding from his pursuers while his younger brothers stand as his eye-protectors. It is the same traditional “protective” theme that has been adopted by the *Tu’i Kanokupolu* sovereignty, but with a different historical make-up, that I am about to discuss from hereon, firstly, with *Taufa’aahau* and his Constitution and, to be followed with Queen *Salote*’s ambivalence in poetry.

Thus, I want to discuss this case of the junior *mataapule* system of protection. This presentation, I must emphasize, will start with a brief on the historical background to the socio-political reformation of King George *Taufa’aahau Tupou I*, the first constitutional monarch of modern Tonga in 1875. In the context of the traditional *mataapule* organization, *Taufa’aahau*, as the youngest newcomer *Tu’i Kanokupolu*, employed a Constitution, as part of the *Tu’i Kanokupolu* fighting to get out of its enslavement from the *Tu’i Tonga*, shows his desire for protection, thus, for power. He shows that with the introduction of his Constitution drafted out for him mainly with the assistance of his close friend and mentor, Shirley Baker. The critique, then, of *Taufa’aahau*’s constitutional manipulation of the power will be outlined according to two perspectives. First, it will be based on the genealogy of successive *Tu’i Tonga*, *Tu’i Ha’atakalaua*, *Tu’i Kanokupolu*, given in Bott’s book on Tongan society²²⁰ and, the devolution of power between these three kingly lines.

²²⁰ Bott 1982:12-14, Figures 1,2,3

My idea in connection with the genealogy of succession is closely connected to my socio-political interpretation of the emergence of these kingly lines one after another. Thus, the succession is based on an authoritative response to fear of assassination that has cleverly been organised with the introduction of the divine-secular distinction. But, this organisation is often misunderstood to supposedly imply that society has a religious origin. Critias wrote on this point that the origins of society were purely non-religious and that the gods were a clever invention to keep men from misbehaving when no one was watching them²²¹. I highly regard this view to be the correct approach especially in the case of the historical culture of Tonga as treated here in this thesis. Religion is merely a human invention with a clear terrifying function, as shown in the joint reinforcement between Baker and *Taufa'aahau* mainly to protect a certain interest of the ruling order which they both represented. And, only with that terrifying function would there be, on behalf of Baker and *Taufa'aahau*, a feeling of being secured, reinforced later with the introduction of the Constitution. Particularly, the statutes of the Constitution regarding the ownership right to the land have served to reconcile a long history of disputation amongst the people of the land. One aspect of this reconciliation is the appointment of a nobility system, made up of a few selected hand-picked men who stood by ambitious *Taufa'aahau* in his war for power in Tonga. Religion and Constitution are tools used in a partnership of the founders

²²¹ Guthrie 1956:27

reinforcing one another to commit wrongdoing. I will come back to this point as the discussion unfolds.

In particular, I will dwell on those aspects of the Constitution that specifically indicate the connection of this chapter to the general theme of protection. In other words, the focus will be on how the protective aspect of the Constitution has been concocted by *Taufa'aahau* of the *Tu'i Kanokupolu* to appear to be handed down from the *Tu'i Tonga*. Secondly, the use of the Constitution by *Taufa'aahau* as protection for the *Ha'a Ma'afu* from the *Ha'a Havea* gives another perspective to the meaning of the construction of the Constitution. Thirdly, the focus is on the conspiratorial aspect of the Constitution used as an instrument for self-protection by the *Ha'a Ma'afu* and its Fijian ally. Lastly, the ultimate aim associated with the construction of the Constitution to legally implode the three kingly lines into one kingly line, has been the grand universal idea which *Taufa'aahau* carried throughout his ruling career.

While *fale* was the *Kauhala'uta* protection for the absolutism of the *Tu'i Tonga* and his local mother's people, its replacement, *Tupou* I's Constitution, is the *Kauhalalalo* protection for the freedom of the *Tupou* dynasty and *Ha'a Ma'afu* from the *Tu'i Tonga*. The Constitution, therefore, becomes the new language for the *Tu'i Tonga*'s upturned boat, held up on the shoulders of the *Tupou* dynasty. Protector *Falefaa* of the *Tu'i Tonga*, so as *Ha'atakalaua* of the *Tu'i Ha'atakalaua*, has now been George *Tupou* I's Constitution of the *Tu'i Kanokupolu* line. It must be

remembered that the *Tu'i Kanokupolu* is now taking the leading role of protecting the universal *Tu'i Tonga* royal blood. *Tupou*, the “standing pillar”, the title name of *Taufa'aahau* of *Ha'apai*, is the first Constitutional Monarch to represent the “*Tu'i Tonga* royal blood” in Tonga.

This old *Tu'i Tonga* Constitution of younger brother(s) carrying the older brother on their shoulders persists in the *Tu'i Kanokupolu* Constitution, veneered with the contradictory Christian inclusivist notion of '*ofa* “love”. Thus, the *Tu'i Kanokupolu* “house of protection” means that the carriers are legally bounded to “love”, as in '*ofa ho kaungaa'api* “love thy neighbour”, *ho famili* “your family”, *ho Tu'i* “your king”, *ho tamai/fa'ee/tuofefine/tuonga'ane* “your father/mother/sister/brother”, *ho fonua* “your country”, etc., etc. The contradiction lies in the double meanings of the Christian universalism of '*ofa* “to love” as *toofaa* “to die”. Saying '*ofa* “to love” in the context of including others, really, is the *Tupou* dynasty's rhetoric of saying *toofaa* “regal for saying goodbye”. It is, in other words, the *Tupou* dynasty's way of excluding the *Tu'i Tonga* people, done by concealing the traditional *Tu'i Tonga Fale-faa* system as a *Fale-'ofa* “loving house”.

Engineered with the assistance of the renegade missionary Shirley Baker, a close friend of *Taufa'aahau*, the 1875 Constitution is, thus, the *Tupou* Christian universal “love”. But, Christian love is contradictorily a fierce craving of perversion to desecrate the natural prohibition of the *Tu'i Tonga* royal blood. Doing Christian love in that regard would be an example of Wyndham Lewis' theme of the art of

being ruled as discussed by poet Samuel Butler with his themes of love and the romance of destruction of the man of science²²². That is, Christian love is a *Tupou* dynasty's scientific experiment of romance that can become a rage. In other words, with the Constitutional Monarch, "drunken with the notion of the power he is handling, of the vastness of the forces he is tapping, of the smallness of the individual destiny, of the puniness of the human will, briefness of life, meanness of human knowledge, etc., [his] romance of destruction can easily pass over into sadism and homicide"²²³.

Based on my interpretation of the genealogy of succession of the *Tu'i Kanokupolu*, the protection theme of the construction of the 1875 *Konisitutone* "Constitution", following *Taufa'aahau's* successful ending of the *Tu'i Tonga* line, is historically connected to the formation of the *Ha'a Havea* clan. The *Ha'a Havea* formation, I claim, started from a bitter disappointment in the appointment of younger *Mataeleha'amea*, and not eldest *Hafoka*, to the title of *Tu'i Kanokupolu*, after the death of their father, *Mataeletu'apiko*. It is rather an unusual claim for me to make, for they look to be *uho taha* sons of the same mother and are expected to work together by supporting each other. This is the point emphasized by Bott²²⁴. My claim that this is quarrel between the *uho tau* untitled brothers of different mothers, *Hafoka* and the other younger half brothers, namely, *Fohe*, *Longolongoatumai*,

²²² Tomlin 1969:204-209

²²³ Ibid 1969:206-207

²²⁴ Bott 1982

Lavaka, *Tu'ivakanoo*, and *Vaea*, and their titled brother, *Mataeleha'amea*²²⁵, (see Figure 4, page xvi). *Hafoka* and the others, then, moved out of the *Tu'i Kanokupolu's* residence in *Hihifo* to live with their wives' *Tu'i Tonga* people in the central part of the main *Tongatapu* Island. Allying with their wives' *Tu'i Tonga*, they together fought for absolute power over the *Tu'i Kanokupolu*.

How *Taufa'aahau* ended the ruling *Tu'i Tonga* line in Tonga was not a feat achieved entirely by fighting on his own. As fortunate as he was, the *Tu'i Kanokupolu* genealogical network, made up with the other kingly lines, had already been connected up since the installation of the first *Tu'i Kanokupolu* "Flesh-of-Kupolu"/*Upolu*" in Tonga. This flesh of '*Upolu* is *Ngata*, son of *Tu'i Ha'atakalaua Mo'ungaatonga* in marriage with *Tohuia*, daughter of chief *Ama* of *Safata* in '*Upolu*. Further to the weaving of the *Tu'i Kanokupolu* kin network was the distribution of the *Tu'i Kanokupolu's* brothers and their sons, as representatives of the *Tu'i Kanokupolu*, within the main island of *Tongatapu*, and to the outlying smaller islands to the north of *Tongatapu*. Through this distribution, these *Tu'i Kanokupolu* representatives respectively married the local women of these places. From this early genealogical weaving of all Tonga, a rich stock of fighting men and food was laid ready for *Taufa'aahau* to rely on in his personal war for supreme power.

²²⁵ See Ibid 1982:130, Figure 21

After his successful war, and learning from the weakness and fall of the *Tu'i Tonga* sovereignty, *Taufa'aahau* had to find a way that would not only secure him and his family with the legal right as *Tu'i Kanokupolu* to be the "King of Tonga", but, also make the *Tupou* dynasty internationally recognized. In this personal pursuit for supreme power at the level of lawfulness, *Taufa'aahau* had to look west, particularly to Shirley Baker to be his political advisor. His affiliation to the Methodist religion through his political association with Baker that this western religion eventually became *Taufa'aahau's* advisors on matters concerning government. The affiliation with the London Missionary Society was the beginning of establishing a replacement of the traditional advisory house of *Falefaa* of the *Tu'i Tonga*.

Such a move can also be seen as an indication of *Taufa'aahau* attributing the weakness and the fall of the *Tu'i Tonga* sovereignty to the *Tu'i Tonga* not making the transformation to comply with the new phase of modernization Tonga was going through at the time of contact with the west. With regard to the advantage of having a foreign advisory organisational setting, it thus provides the ruler, *Taufa'aahau* in this case, with more options to play his power game efficiently within Tonga.

This replacement is not new of course. One can see that the traditional advisory body for the King of Tonga has always been filled by some foreign group of migrants. For example, in the *Tu'i Tonga 'Aho'eitu* reign, the *Falefaa* was made up

of Samoan men, in the *Tu'i Ha'atakalaua* office, of Fijian, Rotuman, and Samoan men. And, now, in the time of *Taufa'aahau*, statesmen, disguised as the London missionaries, advised George *Taufa'aahau Tupou I* on how to protect him under the human right rules and the British Parliament model of government.

Of course, there are always some problems associated with the advisory system of foreigners. Advising the local people, for example, on things relating to how to live, always engages in a dialectical process of destruction and exploitation²²⁶. I argue, in the case of George *Taufa'aahau Tupou I*, that an advisory council of London missionaries is thus an establishment of some kind of leeway controlling mechanism over the local people and the land. It does immediately open the door to this new British political system disguised as a Christian religion to walk inside and immediately assume the administrative role of conducting the internal political affairs of Tonga. This secret political invasion began with, for example, the destruction of the old religion of Tonga associated with the *Tu'i Tonga* reign²²⁷.

Further, there is this universal link between *Taufa'aahau's* and Christianity's authentic popular longings for true community and social solidarity which, in fact, is a distortion just to legitimize the continuation of social domination and exploitation. Tongan people in this modern Christian movement are still kept under constraint, but they are no longer restrained under the old *Tu'i Tonga 'inasi* ceremony, but, in the new ruling order of *misinale* "missionary" offerings of money and items to the

²²⁶ Compare with the recent brilliant application of Hegel's dialectics theory by Herbert Marcuse in "towards a critical theory of society" (2001).

one god, they are restrained under the new *Tu'i Tonga*, who is *Taufa'aahau* himself. As a result of this combination, *Taufa'aahau* and Christianity both became the ruling reinforced ideologies. In order for them to be able to achieve the distortion of the authentic longings for true community and social solidarity, they, first, have to incorporate together. Zizek's²²⁸ statement about the role played by Christianity- in incorporating a series of crucial motifs and aspirations of the oppressed, so that truth stands on the side of the suffering and humiliated, power corrupts and so on, and in rearticulating the motifs and aspirations in such a way that they became compatible with the existing relations of domination- sums up the political legitimization process of the *Taufa'aahau*-Christianity working combination in Tonga.

Again, my critique of this outside political intervention in terms of advice reveals the nonsensicality of the Tongan myth of independence which says that only Tonga in the Pacific was never colonised, even by the Europeans. History states that Tonga has always been colonized, even way back in time, for example, by Samoa and Fiji and, of course, of these two by Tonga. But, on the part of the missionaries, their colonisation has been a clever ruse to conceal the colonising effect of their engagement in the writing of the 1875 Tongan Constitution from being seen as altogether a wrongdoing of plagiarism. One dare to ask, then, about the proper role of historiography because, in this case, one can see the tendency to record the case in accordance with how Christians think the case should be. From a Christian

²²⁷ Gifford 1929

²²⁸ Zizek 2005

point of view, for example, the *Tu'i Tonga* ceremony of *fai'aho* "human sacrifice" is taken to be a barbarian practice, (see discussion of the *'Aho'eitu* myth in the previous chapter). In the *Tu'i Kanokupolu* context, the *fai'aho* practice is still retained but with a veneered translation as "birthday". The emphasis is on the significance of the individual birthday of the King with a tremendous amount of slaughtered sacrificed animals, as substitutes for human beings in the *Tu'i Tonga* time, as if to evade the *Tu'itonga* denigratory label of the sacrificed person as insignificant. Regardless of the Christian reconciliation of substituting human with animal sacrifice, modern Christian *Tu'i Kanokupolu* rule can still be seen to be practicing the *Tu'i Tonga* style of oppressing the people as by commandeering their resources.

In a twisting way of trying to conceal the obvious colonization of Tonga by the British Empire, Reverend Wood²²⁹ cleverly presented this method with the question- are the intermittent wars in *Tongatapu* civil or wars of religion between the Methodist and Catholic? Of course, the answer is well understood by Reverend Wood as shown in the way he structures the question. His position as a member of the London Missionary Society and a statesman is shown in his attempt to protect the religious guild of his organisation. The formulation of the question is itself dualistic, functioning to confuse the issue, and therefore, discouraging the curiosity to find out who is responsible for the intermittent wars in *Tongatapu*.

²²⁹ Wood 1975

In response to Reverend Wood's question, I want to emphasise that civil wars in Tonga, really, had always been about struggle for political and economic power. The landing of the Methodist and Catholic missionaries in Tonga, in the historical context of legitimation of power, in my view, is a political upturned boat of invasion. In that context, I see the initial presence of Methodist and Catholic in Tonga as dialectically a perpetuated inversion of the old struggle between the *Kauhala'uta* and *Kauhalalalo* social moieties. Christianity's coming into Tonga with the mission of establishing a worldwide British Imperial icon of colonization, in this sense, then, can be seen as a legitimate contestant in the local arena of power struggles. The conception, then, of civil war, in this context, is *tau* "to fight" to *'ataaina* "get freed". "To get freed" means one is trying to declare individual recognition in the new colonial socio-political reformation. It also implies this is war demanding change to the current system. Therefore, by implication, once again, Christianity's connection to the Tonga civil war is not only as an ally, but, it is there fighting for its own political advantage. Christianity is fighting for its own recognition in Tongan society. It achieves that by helping its ally, the powerful *Tupou* ruling family, as the only way with which Christianity has a hope of getting its own individual freedom. In this connection, exchanging services and colonization (missionization) may be argued to be two different processes, but, somehow, *Taufa'aahau Tupou* and Christianity do get tangled up in a confusing relationship of one representing the other. The confusion arises when Methodist and Catholic separately formed respective alliances with the *Kauhalalalo* and *Kauhala'uta* social moieties, thus, the traditional opposition between *Kauhala'uta* and *Kauhalalalo* had been further expanded. The

Methodist Church joined with *Kauhalalalo*, to which belongs the *Ha'a Ma'afu* and the Catholic with *Kauhala'uta*, to which belongs the *Tu'i Tonga*. Victory at the end, *Taufa'aahau* (*Kauhalalalo*) and Methodist became one complementary colonial ruling body and *Tu'itonga* (*Kauhala'uta*) and Catholic, on the other hand, became deposed and replaced with no dramatic changes made in the socio-political hierarchical structure of Tongan society.

The alliance between the Methodists and *Taufa'aahau's* *Ha'apai* and *Vava'u* fighting men as the *Tu'ikanokupolu Kauhalalalo* in opposition to inland *Tu'itonga Kauhala'uta* strikes an important dimension to Christian colonisation in relation to the local *fale* distinction between *tu'a* "outside, commoner" and *'eiki* "inside sacred child of the land". In connection to the local *fale* distinction, the *Tu'i Kanokupolu Kauhalalalo's* place is "outside" of the *Tu'i Tonga Kauhala'uta's* "inside" dwelling. Such connection is thus reflected in the Tongan Christian written history of Tonga as the *Tu'ikanokupolu Kauhalalalo's* outside reports on the *Tu'i Tonga Kauhala'uta* inside socio-political structure²³⁰. In this sense, *Taufa'aahau's* socio-political reformation, with the granting of the Constitution in 1875, is dubbed as a symbol of the emancipation of the *tu'a* outside commoners²³¹. It was presented as a fight to get freed from the *Tu'itonga Kauhala'uta's* oppressive and domineering environment. So, the *Tu'i Kanokupolu Kauhalalalo* had to initiate a socio-political version of an inverted freedom.

²³⁰ See Bott 1982, Gifford 1929, Kaeppler 1971, Latukefu 1974, Rutherford 1977, Wood 1945, and many others, as examples.

I must call to mind Sione Latukefu's short biography of *Taufa'aahau*²³² from his early conception when his mother, *Taufahoamofaleono*, craved for human blood while she was pregnant with him, to make this point of emancipation of the commoners clear. This ferocious desire for human blood is a reference to the freeing of commoners from slavery. It is craving for power. Or, in other words, it is *Ha'a Ma'afu's* challenging (father's side) the *Ha'a Havea* (mother's side) in war. War for independence in Tonga is always conceptualised as *lingi toto* "shedding blood", involving human sacrifice either for individual fulfilment of personal obligation or for propitiatory purpose.

My socio-historical interpretation of the biography is also a challenge to Latukefu's biblical reading of it. As a Methodist Church Minister, Latukefu begins the biography with *Tupouto'a* fleeing away with pregnant *Taufahoamofaleono* to his island of *Ha'apai* to avoid *Taufahoamofaleono's* father's order to kill the baby for fear of danger to come to Tonga. This is told exactly as the biblical story of Jesus's parents fleeing from the order of Herod to kill all male babies. Husband *Tupouto'a* is Joseph, wife *Taufahoamofaleono* Mary, and father *Ma'afutukui'aulahi* Herod²³³.

The biblical character of Latukefu's biography of *Taufa'aahau's* early life might have influenced his whole attitude to think of *Taufa'aahau* as the Tongan Jesus Christ whose blood was spilled at Mount Calvary, typified with *Taufa'aahau's*

²³¹ See Neill 1955:101.

²³² Latukefu 1976

granting of the 1875 Constitution. Given the biblical character of his way of thinking, the publication of “State and Church in Tonga”²³⁴ could be a motive. But, socio-historically, the relationship between State and Church is a contradiction of one taking advantage of the other, where the two reinforce one another. And, since it is individualistic and conflicting, the reinforcement relationship is between the two ideologies, *Taufa'aahau's* Constitutional revolution and Christianity's plebeian struggle for liberation of commoners in Tonga. But, only to the extent, that the cooperation between the two had this ultimate objective to displace the paramount divinity of the *Tu'i Tonga*. Thus, the situation shows Christianity, as an interested individual reflex, playing an individual role in reinforcing the motivation to change. In that context, Christianity shows itself as the initiator of change. Good or bad is not the issue but the role of Christianity as an outside element in bringing about change in Tonga has to be acknowledged and historically evaluated.

Morality of power obtained a new direction due largely to the presence of Christianity in Tonga. As I have said, power was no longer fought for, after the civil war, when it became the legal property of ownership inherent in *Taufa'aahau's* printed 1875 Constitution of Tonga as the standard *Tupou*, from *tu'u pou*, “standing-post”. Historically, this power “standing-post” concept is an allusion to the *Tupou* as the post on which the *fata* “loft, roof part” of the *Tu'i Kanokupolu* rests. The “standing-post” is the support of the founding *Tu'i Kanokupolu's* ‘*Ulutolu* “Head-three” with *Tu'i Ha'atala Mo'ungaatonga's* son, *Ngata*. It became the

²³³ Latukefu 1976

²³⁴ Latukefu 1974

new *fata* of the *Tu'i Kanokupolu* sovereignty at *Hihifo* in *Tongatapu*, completed with the presentation of the '*Ahome'e*' "Sacrificial food-of-rejoicing", '*Ahome'e*'s two daughters as *Ngata*'s wives. The sacrifice of rejoicing has ever since remained a traditional normative custom of the *Hihifo* people in remembrance of their king "flesh of '*Upolu*'" and grandson of their local chief '*Ahome'e*'. It is such a tradition marked, for example, with the marriage of Queen *Halaevalu Mata'aho*, daughter of chief '*Ahome'e*', to *Tu'i Kanokupolu* George *Taufa'aahau Tupou IV*. The *Tu'i Kanokupolu* is still a *Hihifo* proper and social duty of the people of *Hihifo* to carry him on their shoulders.

Ngata's untitled sons formed up the *Safata*, in Tongan, *Ha'a Ngata*, who became the vanguard of their older brother *Tu'i Kanokupolu* in Tonga²³⁵. In this historical context, the 1875 Constitution, then, can be the vanguard of the *Ha'a Ma'afu* house of the modern *Tu'i Kanokupolu* line in Tonga, (see Figure 6, page xviii).

Based on the meaning of *Ha'a Ma'afu*, which I will talk about later on, I would refer to the reinforced relationship between Christianity and *Taufa'aahau* as a special conception of two parts in one working together for the same end. Perhaps I could borrow Zizek's theme of *Hegelian buggery of Deleuze*²³⁶, it may be a wrong use of his idea, but, somehow, the buggery idea draws me to an interesting possible

²³⁵ Bott 1982:120

²³⁶ I borrow this notion from Slavoj Zizek's introduction to the practice of the *Hegelian buggery of Deleuze* in "organs without bodies: on Deleuze and consequences" (Zizek 2004), "while Deleuze himself does the act of buggery, Hegel and Lacan adopt the position of a perverse observer who stages the spectacle of buggery and then watches for what the outcome will be. Lacan thus stages the scene of Sade taking Kant from behind-this is how one has to read '*Kant with Sade*'-to see the monster of Kant-Sade being born; and Hegel also is the

connection to the meaning of *Ha'a Ma'afu*. There are two interpretations of the meaning of *Ma'afu*. First, *Ma'afu*, for the Magellanic clouds²³⁷, from 'ahu, as in *faka'ahu'ahu*, means "smoky-looking clouds". In this sense, *Ha'a Ma'afu*, as descendants of *Mumui*, youngest son of *Tu'i Kanokupolu Ma'afu-'o-Tu'itonga*, when required to contribute to a funeral bereavement, will prepare the food for the 'umu "earth-oven"²³⁸. Second, as descendants of *Mumui* and chiefly considered to be members of the *Ha'a Ma'afu*, by meaning correspondence, the latter are descendants of the *mui*, as in *muimui*, "buttocks, tail-stand". This second meaning was further elaborated in Queen *Salote's* disputation of the patrilineal claim of *ha'a* membership with a fish proverb saying: "the fish is not likely to swim backwards", meaning that membership in the *ha'a* is not likely to go through the woman. But, as Queen *Salote* emphatically put it: "if the tail is strong, the fish will swim any way the tail wants to go"²³⁹. Generating a new *ha'a* membership is a cause determined by how strong and skilful in navigation is the *finemui* "lady at the back", at the rudder. *Mumui's* mother, *Kavakipopua*, is the daughter of *Toafilimoe'unga*, who is the sister of *Mataeleha'amea*, father of *Ma'afu-'o-Tu'itonga*, *Mumui's* father.

Mataeleha'amea and *Toafilimoe'unga* are brother and sister, son and daughter of *Mataeletu'apiko*. The marriage of *Ma'afu-'o-Tu'itonga* and *Kavakipopua* is a *kitetama*. *Mumui*, then, is somewhat a direct descendant of the *vasu* sacred blood of *Vuanirewa* of *Lakemba* in Fiji, for his mother's father, *Paleisaasaa*, is a direct descendant of the *Vuanirewa* royal family. Thus, the connection also points to the

observer of a philosophical edifice bugging itself, thus generating the monster of another philosophy", (Ibid 2004:48-49).

²³⁷ Velt 1990:101-102

²³⁸ See Bott 1982:82

alliance first established between *Mataeletu'apiko* and *Tu'ineau Taliai Tupou*. The outcome, then, of *Taufa'aahau's* perverse observation of the Christian “brotherhood culture” bugging itself, in this context, is the generation of the monster of an individualistic consumerism/capitalism in Tonga. The perception is that this living worm-like *vasu*, as long it is preserved within the family, has the power to suck in all the resources.

The objective of the *Ha'a Ma'afu* to preserve within the *vasu* sacred blood was sealed with the last *mohefo* provision by *Tu'ikanokupolu Tupouto'a* of his daughter, *Halaevalu Mata'aho*, half sister of *Taufa'aahau Tupou I*, to *Tu'i Tonga Laufilitonga*. The relevance of this last *mohefo* provision thus also marked the establishment of the foundation of the *kitetama* marriage as palladium of *Ha'a Ma'afu*. *Kitetama* marriage was practiced long before *Tupouto'a*, but not specifically used by one family, like the *Ha'a Ma'afu*, for political purpose. Until this time, marriage had always been assumed as an institution of support. *Kitetama* marriage, on the other hand, is a confinement of the seat of power in Tonga within the *Ha'a Ma'afu*, as the classic case of *kaiha'a*, stealing by eating of the power commonly belonging to the *ha'a* of the three dynasties of Tonga, (see Figures 7 and 6, pages xix and xviii, respectively)²⁴⁰.

Ma'afu-'o-Tu'itonga, in the extreme sense of consumerism discussed here, can be a conceptual parallel of the Samoan cruel *Taeotagaloa* mentioned in the previous

²³⁹ Bott 1982:83

chapter. Once again, the two names allude to the cruel aspect of the *vasu* cannibalism, in the case of the former, in connection to the eclipsing of the head *Tu'i Tonga* by this strong determination of rear *Ha'a Ma'afu* joining with [*Tu'ineau*] *Taliai* [of] *Tupou*²⁴¹. Cannibalism, then, is a cruel reference of the 'inasi presentation of food from the senior kingly lines, *Tu'i Tonga* and *Tu'i Ha'atalaia*, formalising their submission to their junior *Tu'i Kanokupolu Ha'a Ma'afu* descent. People of the *Tu'i Tonga* and *Tu'i Ha'atalaia* are now enslaved to pay tributes to the new "King of Tonga" socio-political system, justified by the win in the civil war of the *Ha'a Ma'afu*.

This group of untitled sons of *Ma'afu* is variously known by where they lived in Tonga with names like *Folaha* "to cut the hair of the *Tu'i Tonga*", *Kinikinilau* "cutting of the hair" (*Ma'ufanga*), *Houma'utulau* "cut of the hair", *Pakilau* "plucking of the hair/head" (*Vainii*), *paki mangamanga* "cut off of the forked-tails of dolphins/sharks" (in '*Uiha, Ha'apai*), etc. Really, the situation is about this relationship between the consumer tyrant and his cooks who grow food crops for the tyrant's *'umu* "hot oven". Generally speaking, in terms of the commoner people's duties, they grow and prepare the food of their king, including cleaning up his backside and the area where he lies after passing a motion and urinating. Originating from this traditional historical situation is the custom of *fua e fatongia* "carrying one's social duties" to their king and the chiefs of the nation. Church has

²⁴⁰ Compare with Bott's description of *kitetama* (1982:171)

²⁴¹ See *Koe Tohi Hohoko 'a Afikaipo'uli*, (Tonga Tradition Committee in my possession). In brackets are my own suggestions which are left out in the given reference. *Tupou* is *Tumbou* village in *Lakemba* Island of the *Lau* Group, Fiji, where lived *Tu'ineau Taliai*.

recently been included in addition to family (king and chiefs) and country, thus three *kiato* “shafts” to which ordinary people are obligated.

The historical origin of this cruel behaviour is connected to the traditional legitimization of power in the physical and mental aspects of contest in the region of Tonga. The one who wins is *ikuna*, meaning his claim is the right and true one over the others'. After all the fuss and blood-shed, it has *iku* “ended up” with the winner’s claim. He is, then, recognised with the role as the *iku* “tail, rudder” steering the boat of the State.

Both Christianity and *Taufa'aahau* of *Ha'a Ma'afu* together make up this producing-consuming connection in their attempt to overthrow the *Tu'itonga* system. How does this transformation come to be where it is? In other words, how does the old democratic Samoan council system of chiefly brothers eventually transform into the present monarchical dictatorship system? Part of the answers to these questions has to do with the introduction of western imperialist capitalism²⁴², brought in to Tonga by way of the London Missionary Society.

But, the transformation really begins, in my view, from a *Tu'i Kanokupolu* revolution secretly arranged between *Tu'i Kanokupolu Mataeletu'apiko*, *Lo'au* of the *Ha'amea* fishing people to whom the former allied in marriage and, *Fiamee* of *Safata*, as '*Ahome'e* of *Hihifo*, from whom *Mataeletu'apiko* was genealogically

descended. *Safata* or *Ha'angata* is made up of the untitled sons of *Ngata* with daughters of *'Ahome'e*. They are *fata/ngata* "carriers/tails", semantically corresponding to the perception of "boat/snake" swimming/floating in the water. The implication of the semantic correspondence suggests the main responsibilities of the *Safata* including the appointment, carrying, and protection of the *Tu'i Kanokupolu*. In addition to those responsibilities, they, thus, have the responsibility of sinking the *Tu'i Tonga* canoe and eclipsing the *Tu'i Tonga* title.

Instrumental to the *Tu'i Kanokupolu* revolution, in my interpretation, is *Lo'au's* advice, the law-giver, founder of customs, and regulator of social life²⁴³. *Lo'au's* advice, in other words, is clearly an indication of *Ha'amea* applying its ambitious executive role of directing and organizing the localization of the *Tu'i Kanokupolu* supremacy in Tonga. Furthermore, the advice is to the advantage of the *Ha'amea* fishing people as indicated with the appointment of *Mataeleha'amea* over his older brothers to the *Tu'i Kanokupolu* title, following the death of their father, *Mataeletu'apiko*. As Bott writes of this appointment²⁴⁴, *Mataeleha'amea* is said to be the favourite son of his mother, *Papa*, daughter of *Tu'i Ha'amea Aakatoa*, son of *Lo'au*²⁴⁵. On this localization purpose, the secrecy of the *Ha'amea* individual intention to annex Tonga would easily be done by working together with the younger, inexperienced son, instead of the older mature son. For that latter reason,

²⁴² My use of this concept is derived from Lenin's thesis of "imperialism, the highest stage of capitalism" (1917)

²⁴³ Bott 1982:92,108

²⁴⁴ Ibid, 1982:132-135

²⁴⁵ Bott 1982:131

Hafoka, the oldest who should succeed to the *Tu'i Kanokupolu* title, had to be abandoned.

As part of *Lo'au's* localization of the *Tu'ikanokupolu* in Tonga, the intention failed to extend further support of the *Tu'ikanokupolu* out to the northernmost groups of Tonga with the appointment of *Vuna*, already living in *Vava'u* Island, to the *Tu'ikanokupolu* title after *Mataeleha'amea*. *Vuna* was older than *Mataeleha'amea* but still younger than *Hafoka*. The reason for the failure, as rightly pointed out by Bott, was due to lack of support in *Vava'u*, for *Vuna's* wife and mother were from *Tongatapu*.

Ha'amea's personal executive interest in Tonga's politics, as reminded in the name of *Mataeleha'amea*, is one dimension of a bigger problem in connection with the power struggle between the sons of the *Tu'i Kanokupolu*. In the case of the *Ha'amea's* imperialistic movement to annex Tonga under *Tu'i Kanokupolu Mataeleha'amea*, *Hafoka* led the other discontented brothers and formed up a new *Ha'a Havea*. With this new *Ha'a Havea* formation, contestation for the overall power in Tonga begins between the sons of *Tu'i Kanokupolu Mataeletu'apiko*. Again, it continues through into the sons of *Mataeleha'amea*.

The nature of the contestation is twofold. First is *Hafoka's* claim to the title based on seniority and, second, *Hafoka's* dissident younger untitled half brothers of *Tu'i Tonga* mothers based on their high social rank in contrast to *Mataele* of *Ha'amea*.

Specifically, these younger brothers are *Fielakepa* and *Lavaka*. *Fielakepa*'s mother, *Tamahaa Tu'imala*, is *Tu'i Tonga Fefine 'Ekutongapipiki*'s daughter. Likewise, *Lavaka*'s mother, *Fatafehi*, is *Tu'i Tonga Kau'ulufonua*'s daughter. *'Ekutongapipiki* and *Kau'ulufonua* are sister and brother. Both mothers, *'Ekutongapipiki* and *Fatafehi*, in other words, are from the upper *Kauhala'uta-Tu'i Tonga* section of the Tongan society. Forming the new *Ha'a Havea*, senior *Hafoka*, backed up by his alliance with the two high rank younger brothers, *Longolongoatumai (Fielakepa)* and *Lavaka*, is thus a case of two claims coming together into a one reinforced cause against the *Ha'amea* cause. The reinforcement is even strengthened with the *Ha'a Havea* marrying the women of the upper *Kauhala'uta-Tu'i Tonga* section in the central region of *Tongatapu* Island. Thus, the union, then, became a logical alliance of senior men (*Hafoka* and the *Kauhala'uta-Tu'i Tonga* high rank men) in a similar situation fighting against their respective own junior counterpart (*Mataeleha'amea*). The perverted appointment of *Mataeleha'amea* certainly was the outcome of the objective secrecy of *Lo'au*'s (of *Ha'amea*) advice.

*'Inoke Hu'akau*²⁴⁶, president and co-founder of the *Lo'au* Society of Research, argues that *Havea* in *Ha'a Havea* is *Mataeletu'apiko*'s first name. *Hu'akau*'s argument is based on some kind of logical naming etiquette of the *Tu'i Kanokupolu Ha'a* using the first name of the holder of the *Tu'i Kanokupolu* title. According to

²⁴⁶ Hu'akau 2001:3

Hu'akau, *Ha'a Havea* is the formation of the untitled sons of *Havea*, nicknamed as *Mataeletu'apiko*.

Interpretation of the history of *Ha'a Havea* is the problem. Had the explanation about the status of the *Ha'a Havea*, as to why it was called by that name²⁴⁷, been fully provided in the first place, in the way I do here, the full picture of the history of devolution of power later in Tonga would have also revealed the secrecy of the *Tu'ikanokupolu* revolution of usurpation and preservation of power. That secrecy can first be demonstrated with the idea of *folo* "swallowing", in its marriage terms, of the sacred royal blood institution of social ranking from Fiji by the *Tu'i Kanokupolu* into Tonga. In Samoa, people speak of this event as the stealing of the *Fale'ula* from *Manu'a* into 'Upolu, whereas, in Tonga, the stealing is from Fiji into Tonga by the 'Upolu people. While in Samoa the geographical reference of stealing is from east *Manu'a*, in Tonga, it is from west Fiji, thus, giving us a conclusion that Tonga and 'Upolu are respectively the final places of the stolen house of the 'ula/kula "sacred royal blood". This *folo* idea is mentioned in the story of voyaging to *Pulotu*, (see Appendix 1, pages 228-242, lines 133-134), where it also means *fakafeitama* "impregnation". Clarification of the interpretation must be made in connection to the *Safata* people of *Tohuia* of 'Upolu, who married *Tu'i Ha'atalaua Mo'ungaatonga* and was mother of the latter's son, *Ngata*. Making available that information should also be a ratification of *Hu'akau's* argument.

²⁴⁷ Bott 1982:133

The problem to me, as different from *Hu'akau's* argument, is what *Ha'a Havea*, as a name, stands for. What does the name mean? The meaning of the name, in this context, must at least be traced within the holistic history of Samoa-Tonga connection. And, with the availability of the full historical meaning of *Ha'a Havea*, we can, then, understand the historical basis of the later coming into existence of the *Ha'a Ma'afu*.

In the context of the Samoa-Tonga historical connection, the meaning of *Ha'a Havea* can be seen in the historical working partnership between *Ha'a Ngata* (the untitled younger brothers of *Tu'i Kanokupolu Atamata'ila*), *Lo'au*, and *Tu'i Kanokupolu Mataeleha'amea*. *Mataeleha'amea* and his untitled brothers are the grandchildren of *Atamata'ila*, son and successor of the first *Tu'i Kanokupolu Ngata*. *Ha'a Ngata*, in this relationship, has the voice in the appointment of the *Tu'i Kanokupolu* title. In *Ha'a Ngata's* appointing of *Mataeleha'amea* to the title of *Tu'i Kanokupolu*, *Mataeleha'amea's* oldest brother who should be the successor, *Hafoka*, and *Mataeleha'amea's* other untitled brothers felt deprived and *lavea* "psychologically injured from that strike". An explanation for that is the then congregation of these dejected brothers at *Lavaka's* mother's people of *Pea* who are *Kauhala'uta* relations. It was, by implication, an unacceptable strike on the face, because, to *Ha'a Havea-Kauhala'uta* section point of view, the whole appointment of younger *Mataeleha'amea* had been historically determined by a selective advisory council of junior members of the *Tu'i Kanokupolu* regime to start with. It thus also instigated a historical fate to the unfortunate situation of these

abandoned brothers that marked the beginning of the later destruction of *Ha'a Havea*. Their removal to central *Tongatapu* can be seen as a sign of reaction from the lower *Ha'amea-Kauhalalalo* camp of the *Hihifo* district to the old leadership system of *Tu'i Tonga-Kauhala'uta*, represented in central *Tongatapu* by the then *Ha'a Havea* formation at the fort in *Lavaka's* village of *Pea*. Their being cut off from *Hihifo* followed their joining by marriage to the eastern *Tu'i Tonga-Kauhala'uta* women. Thus known as the *Ha'a Havea*, or should be *Ha'a Vea*, as my proper Tongan translation from Samoan *Savea*, the implication, from the *Ha'amea-Kauhalalalo* section point of view, is that senior *Tu'i Tonga-Kauhala'uta* social moiety had gone past its best. In other words, the moiety had been *vea* "overripe"²⁴⁸, added to which, its sacredness had faded away with *Tu'i Kanokupolu Mataeletu'apiko's* marriage of wanting to be *Lakemba* to *Tamahaa Tu'imala* and, her daughter's marriage, *Toafilimoe'unga*, to *Paleisaasaa*, son of the *Tu'i Nayau* of *Lakemba*.

Wanting to be *Lakemba* was *Mataeletu'apiko's* aspiring after the *Navuanirewa* "fruit of *rewa*"²⁴⁹, a reference to the island of *Nayau* from which the *Tu'i Lakemba* royal family descended. Aspiration for the fruit of *Rewa*, which I Tonganize as 'Eua, the small offshore island to the east of *Tongatapu* Island, is the original beginning of the joining on to Fiji, thus the emergence of *Fale Fisi*, of the *Tu'i Ha'atalaaua*, in the time of *Mo'ungaatonga*, and the *Tu'i Kanokupolu*, in the time of

²⁴⁸ Hocart 1929:240

Mo'ungaatonga's son, *Ngata*. Interestingly, the proverb, *koe 'uli'uli 'a fine 'Eua* “the blackness of *'Eua* women”, may be a reference to this connection of marriage between the *Fale Fisi* men and *Tu'i Tonga Fefine*, the *Tamahaa* (oldest daughter of the first marriage) and *Tu'i Kanokupolu*. It is in other words, the dirtying of the high ranking women of *Rewa'Eua* with the *Tu'i Kanokupolu* of the *Tamahaa*. The aspiration is a figurative reference to the *Tu'i Kanokupolu* trying to reach for the *vasu, fahu* universal sacred blood which determines one's socio-political rank and economic prosperity in Tongan society.

This is intriguingly interesting from the point of view of the Constitutional framework drafted by *Taufa'aahau Tupou I*, a snatched away mother's child of *Ha'a Havea* people in *Tongatapu* by his *Ha'a Ma'afu* father of *Ha'apai* and, who later came back to destroy his mother's *Ha'a Havea* connection. We can learn from this perspective of the fundamental contradiction that is the essence of the Constitution as a patriarchal dialectic of negating his maternal connection. The essence here is considered as a gender issue, which can otherwise be interpreted as a dialectical negation of one by the other in their common fight towards one's respective freedom from the other. I am referring here to when the common judicial decision of the Constitution becomes controversial especially when the prosecuted is from the aristocratic circle. For at this level that we can witness the real prejudicial control of the Constitution as protector of the aristocratic centre of authority. At this level, in other words, the *vasu/fahu* is the real content and measure of the

²⁴⁹ See Hocart 1929

Constitution. Thus, what simply said to be a patriarchal (*Tupouto'a*)-matriarchal (*Taufahoamofaleono*) contradiction, the Constitution has been created as a universal place where every one can take his/her claim for a judicial decision. Once again, in reality, it is the new established source and cause of a new socio-political chaotic Tonga. The new chaos still maintains the old traditional moiety division but the only connection between the two is the strictly selective *vasu/fahu* sacred blood, reinforced by the late introduction of the ultimate prejudicial constitutional system of *Taufa'aahau Tupou I*. Simple patriarchal-matriarchal opposition is *Tupouto'a* negation of the *Ha'a Havea* striving for power. Thus, freedom, in this context, is not only striving for supremacy, but, also, is the searching for exemption from paying tributes commonly executed by the debtor, for example, the *Ha'a Ma'afu*, firstly, by marrying into the *Ha'a Havea-Tu'i Tonga* compound.

It is thus freedom, for example, of *Tu'i Tonga 'Uluakimata*, entering into a formal alliance with the collector, the *Tu'i Lakemba*. *'Uluakimata's* daughter, the *Tu'i Tonga Fefine Sinaitakala'ilangileka*, married the collector's son, *Tu'i Lakemba Tapu'osi* of the *Fale Fisi*. Thus, the alliance not only exempted Tonga, but, it was a sign of Tonga's conquering its own subservience to the *Rewa's* enslaving *vasu*, (*fahu* in Tongan), tributary system. We can read, then, from this analysis of an interpretation as to the way new institutions such as *Tu'i Tonga Fefine*, *Tamahaa*, and *Fale Fisi* came about. *Fale Fisi* became the *Tu'i Lakemba* royal house in Tonga. It is where the daughter of the *Tu'i Tonga* married into. *Vasu* is a reference

to the residing shrine of the *Kumbuna* people's ancestral god at a place called *Mbau* in the *Kauvandra* Mountains in *Rewa*. But, after a clever bugging of the *Ha'a Ma'afu*, the usurpation of the *vasu* "sacred blood" later became institutionalised as a *kitetama* property of the *Ha'a Ma'afu*.

So, the cultural logic of the Constitution is this historical construction of political and economic contradictory elements associated with the marriage exchange of levy payments. Once, it started with *Va'epopua* of Tonga to the *Tu'i Manu'a* of eastern Samoan *Manu'a*, as recorded in the myth of *'Aho'eitu* and, then, with *Tohuia* of western Samoan *'Upolu* to *Tu'i Ha'atakalaua Mo'ungaatonga* of Tonga and, then, with *Tu'i Tonga Fefine Sinitakala'ilangileka* of Tonga to the *Tu'i Lakemba Tapu'osi* of western Fijian *Lakemba* and, then, with the *Tamahaa Tu'imala* of *Lakemba* to the Tongan nationalised *Tu'i Kanokupolu Mataeletu'apiko* and, lastly, with the Tongan nationalised *Tu'i Kanokupolu Tamahaa Laatuufuipeka* to the Tongan individualised *Ha'a Ma'afu* enclosure. Once again, freedom is the individual fight to unrealistically get freed from the rot of paying dues and, marriage is part and parcel of that enterprise.

The marriage of *Tohuia* to *Tu'i Ha'atakalaua Mo'ungaatonga* was the beginning of *'Upolu* eclipsing the *Tu'i Ha'atakalaua* in the institution of *moheofo* (adopting of the sacred royal blood from the *Tu'i Tonga*) by assuming the adopting role. The new emerging *Tu'i Kanokupolu* title from this marriage made the move to set up a new set of paired brother (*Tu'i Tonga*) and sister (*Tu'i Tonga Fefine*) of *'Upolu* parents.

This objective did not eventuate until the marriage of *Tu'i Tonga Tu'ipulotu'ilangitu'oteau* with *'Anaukihesina*, daughter of *Tu'i Kanokupolu Ma'afu-'o-Tu'itonga*. *Tu'ipulotu'ilangitu'oteau's* mother, *Tongotea*, is a sister of *Ma'afu-'o-Tu'itonga*. So, *Tu'ipulotu'ilangitu'oteau* and *'Anaukihesina's* marriage is a *kitetama* case. Their daughter, *Nanasipau'u*, became the first real *'Upolu Tu'i Tonga Fefine* and her brother, *Ma'ulupekotofa*, the *'Upolu Tu'i Tonga*. The *kitetama* method is an incestuous practice concealed by the Samoan as *saa*, in Tongan as *haa*, "sacred". But, the Fijians protest to it as a *caa* "bad"²⁵⁰. The Fijian interpretation expresses a *Lakemban* ill-feeling for they are supposed to have the utmost right to the high status *vasu* blood. Instead, it has been usurped by the *Safata* people of *'Upolu* through their *mohefo* practice.

Usurpation clearly showed after the birth of the two legitimate *Tu'i Kanokupolu Tamahaa*, namely, *Laatuufuipeka* and *'Amelia Fakahiku'o'uiha*, by *Tu'i Tonga Fefine Nanasipau'u* to the two important men of the House of Fijians, *Tu'i Lakepa Laatuunipulu* and *Tu'i Ha'ateiho Haveatungua*, respectively (see Figure 2, page xiv). The consecration of the *Tu'i Kanokupolu* line with the usurped royal blood really begins with *'Anaukihesina*, daughter of *Tu'i Kanokupolu Ma'afu-'o-Tu'itonga*, as *mohefo* of *Tu'i Tonga Tu'ipulotu-'i-Langitu'oteau*. The marriage as a cross-cousin *kitetama* is a sign of the *'Upolu* tradition of *gaoi* "stealing", *ngaohi* "adoption" in Tongan, of the *Tu'i Tonga* sacred royal blood.

²⁵⁰ Churchward 1959:205

The usurpation aspect of the *Tu'i Kanokupolu mohefo* institution in the *kitetama* case can be seen to be an exceptional case in the Constitution ultimately for no reason but justification of the preservation of the sacred blood within the victorious enclosure of *Ha'a Ma'afu*. Such exception has constitutionally been connected by the architectural symbolisation of the champion wearing an *ao* "turban" with the building of his *Fale'ula/Falekula* royal palace as the upturning of his supreme *poopao* "war canoe" used in his war for power in Tonga. As the conqueror, he, constitutionally, has the right to the championship title, disputing his being accused of being a usurper. Again, constitutionally, might, instead of right, rules. In this context, the Constitution draws out a standard legal right of the *vasu* sacred blood with the explanation based on the concept of *tau'ataaina* translated as "freedom". *Vasu* is the reward given from the aftermath of war, for example, between the children of *Tu'i Kanokupolu Tupoulahi* (*Tupoumohefo*) and *Mumui* (*Tuku'aho*), in recognition of the *Ha'a Ma'afu* victory in getting freed from being subservient, first, with the use of *mohefo* (exogamous marriage across the kingly lines, for example, *Tu'i Kanokupolu* to *Tu'i Tonga*) and, then, finally, with the use of *kitetama* (endogamous marriage within a particular ruling kingly line, example, *Tupou* dynasty), (see Figures 1, 1[b], 1 [c], pages xi-xiii²⁵¹). Another possible perspective on the Constitutional sanctification of the *Tu'i Kanokupolu mohefo* alleged usurpation of the sacred blood can somehow be explained, for example, with the Fijian "bad" and Samoan "sacred" references to the adopted *vasu* blood. The *vasu* blood, as a subject of a bad thing happening and leading to war in Fiji, is recalled in

²⁵¹ Bott 1982:153-155

the story of the voyage to *Pulotu* as something (a yam) that had been snatched and run away with, sanctified as sacred in Tonga by the *'Upolu* stealers.

Securing of this political and economic measure of rank and wealth and making sure it was safe within the enclosure of the *Tupou* dynasty was the main concern of *Tu'i Kanokupolu Tupouto'a*, the first offspring of the founder of *Ha'a Ma'afu*, *Tu'i Kanokupolu Tuku'aho*. He expressed his concern to his son, *Taufa'aahau*, "the *Ha'a Havea* must be destroyed"²⁵². I take it that he meant for his son to destroy the demon, *Havea Hikule'o*, the vanguard of *Tangaloa 'Eitumatupu'a* in Tonga. These dying words of *Tupouto'a* to his son, *Taufa'aahau*, to stand up and fight for the *Ha'a Ma'afu's* freedom from the *Ha'a Havea-Tu'i Tonga* combination, I am arguing, have established the stand of the *Ha'a Ma'afu's* Constitution in *Tongatapu* Island, the home of *Ha'a Havea*, as the only standard governing document for all Tonga. Following the murder of his father, *Tuku'aho*, founder of the *Ha'a Ma'afu*, *Tupouto'a's* dying words reminded his son of the political and economic power of the *Ha'a Havea* and to seize it is his first and foremost role.

This father's command to son is an interesting case that seems to express the realistic nature of the contrary relationship between *uho taha* and *uho tau*. In this particular case, because it is a fight between two head-male-led *Ha'a*, the father's-command-to-son refers to the order given by the male leader of each *Ha'a* to his respective followers. *Tupouto'a*, the leader of the *Ha'a Ma'afu*, instructed *Taufa'aahau* to destroy his mother's *Ha'a Havea. Ma'afutuku'i'aulahi (Maluotaufa)*,

on the other hand, the leader of the *Ha'a Havea*, prior to *Tupouto'a's* order, ordered his people to kill his grandchild if it was a boy²⁵³.

My interpretation of the rationale for this *uho tau* fighting father-son relationship, call it a *Tupouto'a's* point of view, that *Ma'afutuku'i'aulahi's* (*Maluotaufa*) action was an indication of his attempt to claim back the *Tu'i Kanokupolu* title which he had always argued should have been his in the first place. The claim is based on the senior-junior sibling rivalry between the eldest *Hafoka* and his younger brother, *Mataeleha'amea*, between *Ma'afutuku'i'aulahi* (*Maluotaufa*), *Hafoka's* descendant and, *Tupouto'a*, *Mataeleha'amea's* descendant. Thus, based on this argument, *Ma'afutuku'i'aulahi* (*Maluotaufa*) might have considered *Tupouto'a's* action to be an indication of usurpation of power by the junior line (*Ha'a Ma'afu*) from the senior line (*Ha'a Havea*), (see Figure 8, page xx). Would that be the case, it thus encouraged *Tupouto'a* to give his son, *Taufa'aahau*, a paternal piece of advice, warning him about the political and economic implications of *Ma'afutuku'i'aulahi's* (*Maluotaufa*) personal agenda prior to his instruction to his people to kill his daughter's baby if it was a boy. It was an instruction that had hastened *Tupouto'a* to take his pregnant wife with him to his home at *'Uiha* Island in *Ha'apai*. *Ma'afutuku'i'aulahi's* (*Maluotaufa*) instruction came about when *Hoamofaleono*, during her pregnancy, craved for human blood. *Ma'afutuku'i'aulahi* (*Maluotaufa*) interpreted the craving as a bad omen, an indication that there will be bloodshed in *Tongatapu*, consequently leading on to the fall of the *Ha'a Havea* under the hands

²⁵² Latukefu 1976:57

²⁵³ Ibid, 1976:57

of the *Ha'a Ma'afu*²⁵⁴. *Tupouto'a*'s advice directly challenged the *uho taha* working-together-as-one mother-son relationship between *Taufahoamofaleono* and *Taufa'aahau*.

As a result of this contrary nature involving the *uho tau* father's command to son, the mothering role of the child as traditionally done by the wife's people had been taken over by the father's mother's people in *Ha'apai* ('*Uiha*). As it was the intention, *Tupouto'a* wanted *Taufa'aahau*, the future king of Tonga, to be raised and instructed to lead the *Ha'apai* Group (*Kauhalalalo* moiety) out of slavery from the main *Tongatapu* Island (*Kauhala'uta* moiety), the *Tu'i Tonga* residence. It was an arrangement that prepared the scene for the war against the *Tu'i Tonga* and the *Ha'a Havea* of *Tongatapu*, otherwise known as the war of the *tautahi* "sea people" (*Kauhalalalo*) of the smaller islands to get freed from their divine master *Tu'i Tonga* (*Kauhala'uta*) on the main island of *Tongatapu*.

This historical building up provides for the revolutionary dimension of the Constitution to even break this traditional expectation of the marriage praxis of support that the son-in-law, *Tupouto'a*, has to fulfil to his father-in-law, *Ma'afutuku'i'aulahi* (*Maluotaufa*). Traditionally, *Tupouto'a* and *Ma'afutuku'i'aulahi* (*Maluotaufa*) should be an ally connected in marriage by *Taufahoamofaleono*. It did not work out that way according to the relevant historical determination laid out above. The expectation, of course, was opposed by *Tupouto'a*'s own ambitious

cause, that the marriage to the *Ha'a Havea* was strategically to obtain the special social recognition to be able to enter into the consolidated social network of *Ha'a Havea* and cause it to split open. His son, *Taufa'aahau* with the chieftess woman of *Ha'a Havea*, *Taufahoamofaleono*, became the *vasu* sacred blood, the destructive spoiler of *Ha'a Havea*. It thus presents an argument that this calculated strategic marriage arrangement of *Ma'afutuku'i'aulahi* and his right hand warrior *Taakai* of the *Ha'a Havea* fell short of their intention, thus they, without any choice, had to fight back and, eventually, gave in. In the ending of the civil war, *Taufa'aahau* derogatorily expressed his anger towards his troublemaking opponents, his maternal grandfather, *Ma'afutuku'i'aulahi* of *Vainii* and chief *Lufe* of *Folaha*, as *Vainii vale, Folaha kai ta'e* "Vainii fool, Folaha shit". *Ma'afutuku'i'aulahi* and *Lufe* are both fool and contemptible. When the people of these head villages of *Ha'a Havea* did not dare to support their daughter and her child, *Taufahoamofaleono* and *Taufa'aahau*, and, instead, supported the *Tu'i Tonga*, *Taufa'aahau* subsequently felt he had been disowned and abandoned by *Ha'a Havea* and became the adopted child of the *Ha'a Ma'afu*.

The whole discussion of *Ha'a Ma'afu's* challenge of *Ha'a Havea* can ultimately be summed up with the historical event of *tau 'i Folaha* already mentioned earlier on. Because of their "lukewarm character", Queen *Salote's* characterization of *Ha'a Havea* as quoted by Bott²⁵⁵, in not supporting *Tuku'aho* during the war of chief 'Ulukalala of *Vava'u*, the murdering of *Tuku'aho* by 'Ulukalala and his men could

²⁵⁴ Latukefu 1976

implicate the involvement in the murder of the *Ha'a Havea*. Immediately after the murder of *Tuku'aho*, *Hafoka* and *Lufe*, and the *Ha'a Havea*, appointed *Ma'afu-'o-Limuloa* to the *Tu'i Kanokupolu* title, an event which prompted the *Ha'a Ngata* to subsequently murder *Ma'afu-'o-Limuloa* before completing his one day in office. *Ha'a Ngata's* anger had turned into the *Tupou-leva* "Tupou at once" title name in *Folaha*, as a reminder of the *Ha'a Havea's* unlicensed conferring of the *Tupou* title while the title was still accessible to some other candidates in the *Ha'a Ma'afu* family. *Ha'a Ngata* then appointed *Tuku'aho's* younger brother, *Tupoumalohi*, to the *Tu'i Kanokupolu* title. Probably at this time, *Tuku'aho's* son, *Tupouto'a*, was still young and immature. *Taufa'aahau's* derogative remarks upon *Ma'afutuku'i'aulahi* of *Vainii* and *Lufe* of *Folaha*, therefore, were expressions of his confusion as to why these people did not support his cause, for he was as much a *Vainii* and *Folaha* man as they were. Both *Taufa'aahau's* father, *Tupouto'a*, and grandfather, *Tuku'aho*, had married *Vainii* and *Folaha* women, respectively. *Tuku'aho's* second wife, *Mataele*, is daughter of *Tu'ihakavalu*, the name listed in the genealogy of the *Vuna* line by Bott²⁵⁵, cited in *Afuha'alaufuli's* book of genealogy (in my possession) as *Tupouleva* of *Folaha*. *Tuku'aho's* son with *Mataele* is *Ulakai*. Descendants of *Ulakai*, of *'Isileli Tupou*, son of *Taufa'aahau Tupou I*, of *Uelingatoni Nguu* and *Laifone*, grandsons of *Taufa'aahau Tupou I*, are the main groups of *Ha'a Ma'afu*, (see Figure 9, page xxi).

²⁵⁵ Bott 1982:134

²⁵⁶ Ibid, 1982:136. In Figure 13(b), page 82, Bott has *Mataele* as daughter of *Ve'ehala*. *Afuha'alaufuli* stated that *Mataele* was adopted as a daughter for *Ve'ehala*, probably by an aunt who could not conceive a child to *Ve'ehala*.

Perhaps a summary of this discussion addressing the socio-historical dimension of the Constitution can be finalized as a self-referencing universal charter. Its function and purpose for what it was made for, the Constitution has become the universal socio-political body of the maker himself. It means that while it is divided up into three main sections- rights, government, and land- as those areas covered by the Constitution, these are really the references of the maker himself. Quoting then of the Constitution in court is to use it as one's reference for defending of his/her case. But, in the case of the legislator, himself/herself as the ultimate monarch and creator of the socio-political system, he/she plays the major role of amending the Constitution, if necessary, to make sure that it carries its primary function to protect the maker himself/herself.

Such universal protective character of the Constitution of referring to itself can thus be recognized as a *heliaki*, saying one thing and meaning another, with, of course, the emphasis on the maker himself. And, because of the uncertain inclination of the Constitution to ultimately serve the monarch and his descendants, that we find in the genealogical history of the *Tu'i Kanokupolu* line a consequential constructed historical pattern of the *uho tau* brothers individually ganging up and contesting against one another for the title. The contest is who is going to be at the helm of the Constitutional Monarchy. This kind of analysis does away with the argument that the *Tu'i Kanokupolu* title is any longer a shared property of the royal brothers, as it supposedly appears to be in Bott's schematic drawing of the succession of *Tu'i Kanokupolu*, (see Figure 4, page xvi). They appear to have an equal right to the

Tu'i Kanokupolu title, but, the equal right, in fact, is a genealogical corruption disguising the ultimate social reality of *uho tau* rivalry of the royal brothers.

This multifaceted nature of Tongan social relationships of fighting over power, as, in fact, connected to the early *Tu'i Kanokupolu* localisation, undoubtedly influenced *Taufa'aahau's* frame of mind in the construction of the Constitution. It contributed to the making and centralising of power with the Constitution.

Constitution, in this sense, as symbolizing centralisation of power, marks the birth of a totalitarian state that is worthwhile considering with Hegel's critique of individualism²⁵⁷.

Hegel's critique takes *Taufa'aahau's* Constitution, for example, as an abstraction of the individual by alienating him from his land. In this sense, the Constitution has always been a means to distract the individual while his property gets invaded. Thus, the Constitution, as a symbol of totalitarian authority with absolute control, functions to dispossess, to impoverish the people. In this Hegelian view, the traditional relationship between community and state gets disconnected, resulting in the loss of community traditional values as they give way to modernization. The parochial local interested society and Tonga become citizens. They have no particular interests but abstract universal interests. *Taufa'aahau's* Constitution

²⁵⁷ Zizek 2005

suppresses the local interests, so as the marriage arrangements between group dynasties, to bring about the end of the community of dynastic interrelationships.

Taufa'aahau's modernisation has created a nation no longer part of a traditional community. For example, in the Constitution, there is no reference to traditional village titles. They have been replaced by the nobility system of few selected nobles referred to as landowners, having this role to collect levies and presentations from the people who work the land. The Constitution, then, in this context, establishes the general rule for individuals subject to noble title.

Individuals are entitled to an allotment. With the constitutional replacement, land is taken from its traditional *kaainga* formation, as still retained in Samoa, into an estate leasing formation of investment of *Tupou* and his nobles. So, allotment is defined in the land tenure system of *Taufa'aahau*, as a misconception of the old *kaainga* common ownership of land and a revival of the old principle of *'inasi* practice. Division and distribution of land to the people is one way of obligating them with social duties to the landowners and the supreme ruler of the nation.

People would then grow food on their given pieces of land firstly to fulfil their social duties with the best crops and, then, the second best will be for themselves. So, the Constitution has explicit recognition to social class which is defined more narrowly and recognised to certain need of number of titles and establish the general relationship first to the titles too, the monarchy and ordinary citizens.

The recent case of the *Taimi 'o Tonga* newspaper being banned from distribution in Tonga in 2004 is an example showing the political essential function of the use of the Constitution to control and to be amended when conflict emerged. It is a case showing the contradictoriness of the protection status of the Constitution as a legal charter. Because of the urgency to control the newspaper's way of "printing the minds and opinions of people" to be lawful, the advisory Ministers of the King of Tonga moved a motion to amend the freedom of speech clause in order to justify the banning proposal. Such a move was later declared unconstitutional with reference to clause 7 of the declaration of rights²⁵⁸ by the chief justice who presided on the case in court. In a special interview by the owner and editor of the *Matangi Tonga* newspaper, Mr Justice Gordon Ward stressed the point that laws are there to protect the people who have no power. This sums up the position of Constitution in Tonga suggesting that there is no justice in Tonga, for it simply stands to protect the king and his chiefs. Quite clearly, as noted by the Chief Justice, Tonga's law is the exercise of the king's prerogative power²⁵⁹. Justice Ward's statement has to be carefully examined because of its sense of irony, in saying one thing but meaning another.

Law and Constitution are simply political tools constructed by the king and his advisers, used to protect themselves from the people. The king and his advisers do not have power. Their power originates from the laws that they make. Power of the

²⁵⁸ Latukefu 1974:253

²⁵⁹ *Matangi Tonga*. 2nd July, 2004

“people”, on the other hand, lies in their natural abilities as *kakai* to *kai* “eat”, to *keina* “wear away”²⁶⁰ the sovereign crown of the kingdom of Tonga. So, to counter the people’s power, the established institution of *pule’anga* “government” of the Cabinet Ministers, Legislative Assembly, and the Judiciary is the structural hierarchy under which “people are thrashed” with *fatongia* “social duties” as their forever presumed destinies. *Pule’anga*, in other words, is a sacrosanct establishment that stands as protection of the King and his chief councillors.

I want to reiterate the point on *Taufa’aahau Tupou* I’s Constitution as “a palladium of *Ha’a Ma’afu*”, that it is “a palladium of freedom”. In this sense, it is a document with some degrees of ambivalence. As a moderate oligarchical policy appearing shifty and revolutionary, it is thus a combination of oligarchic and democratic elements. In connection to Critias’ oligarchical view of the origins of society as “purely non-religious, that the gods are a clever invention to keep men from misbehaving when no one is watching them”²⁶¹, the Constitution is the god, provider and ruler abstracted to be the ultimate justice of the real concrete world of complex social interrelationships. Thus, stability and integrity of Tongan society is a situation held together by the necessary opposing oligarchical and democratic elements. Therefore, freedom is never given but a product of *taufā*, of pulling one against another between the oligarchic and democratic elements. *Tau’ataaina*, then, as the Tongan translation for “freedom”, confirms the Constitution’s double

²⁶⁰ Churchward 1959:260

²⁶¹ Guthrie 1956:27. Compare with the theme of “totalitarian State” as a “Big Brother” in George Orwell’s novel, *Nineteen Eighty-four*.

functions as one's source of protection and one's tool to control social disorderliness/opposition.

Concept of "freedom", therefore, is so problematic and, often, in the situation of the Kingdom of Tonga's political economy, there is no such thing as "free" from social obligations. Translated into Tongan as *tau'ataaina*, "freedom" must be understood as a case of *heliaki* implying "one can boast that he is free to *tau* 'fight' in order to get 'ataaina 'freed". So, *Taufa'aahau* might have been making the Constitution, not only as a palladium of his successors, but, as a personal message to all Tongans, like him, who managed to get rid of the *Tu'itonga* system, that they could also do it. Fighting to get oneself freed is an essential feature of the Constitution declaring despotism. In Hart's reading of Mill's and de Tocqueville's critical study of democracy, as a good further expression of the point I am making here regarding the proper Tongan interpretation of "freedom", thus stating that "it is fatally easy to confuse the democratic principle that power should be in the hands of the majority with the utterly different claim that the majority, with power in their hands, need respect no limits". Clearly from this statement and further to my argument that the fundamental cause of social conflict is differences of interests, everyone has different wants from another. Disorder is therefore a common denominator in all situations of social grouping, a force that brings together various things and, at the same time, disperses them.

False image of democracy as part of a constitutional revolution used as a political vehicle for possession of power, *tau'ataaina* has to be understood as a war phenomenon. *Taufa'aahau*, the one who championed this movement, himself once explained this phenomenon to his relation, *Afuha'alaufuli* of *Vava'u* Island, thus as-

Ka 'iai ha taha 'e fiema'u fakamaau ho kelekele, pea ke fekau ke ne 'alu ki ho fa'itoka 'o fakata'ane ai he 'oku 'iai ha mata'ifika laki kuo lesisita ho kelekele, 'aia na'e pihii 'a e ta'e moe mimi pea toki ma'u.

If there is adjudication to your land, you must tell that person to go to your family grave and sit cross-legged there, that there is a lucky number showing the registration of your land, which means shit and urine squirted before [you] got it²⁶².

The war phenomenon of *tau'ataaina*, fighting for one's freedom, is highlighted to *Afuha'alaufuli* by *Taufa'aahau*, for him to understand that land, as the object of conflict, results in death, complete dry-out of the body. As land, like any system of government, alienable, it is, thus, a reward of those who really give everything for it. In fact, *Taufa'aahau* actually recites back to *Afuha'alaufuli* the meaning of his name as *afu* "squirting" of *ha'alaufuli* "one's all". It is also a qualifying statement highlighting the individual state of absolute loyalty.

²⁶² *Koe Tohi Hohoko 'a Afukaipo'uli*, page 238.

Part of the new establishment of the *Tu'i Kanokupolu* Constitution means that the old *Tu'i Tonga* is collapsed into the *Tu'i Kanokupolu* and, from the *Tu'i Kanokupolu moheofo* practice, there is *Tu'i Kanokupolu Fefine*. In the beginning, it was the *Tu'i Manu'a*, then known in Tonga as *Tu'i Tonga*. The *Tu'i Tonga*, then, now became known as the *Tu'i Kanokupolu*. Thus, the new establishment, then, means that the *Tu'i Kanokupolu* has now assumed the *taualunga* "ridgepole on top of the roof". Being on the top, the *Tu'i Kanokupolu* has turned upside down on the *Tamahaa* "Sacred daughter" of the *Tu'i Tonga Fefine* "*Tu'i Tonga* sister". Once again, formerly, the *Tu'i Tonga* was the ridgepole on the *Tu'i Kanokupolu moheofo*. Now, the *Tu'i Tonga* sister's daughter becomes *moheofo* to the *Tu'i Kanokupolu*. An example of the new reversal is the third *Tu'i Kanokupolu Mataeletu'apiko*, who first assumes the *taualunga* status, engaging in sexual relationship with the first *Tamahaa Tu'imala*, (see Figure 2, page xiv).

The reversal means, not returning the stolen crown from the *Tu'i Kanokupolu*, but, enclosing the sacred blood carrier, who is the *Tamahaa*, as the sacred food to be partaken only by the *Tu'i Kanokupolu* line. I will talk more on this political and economic implication of this divine consumptive ethic in the next chapter.

Again, this new reversal of *Tu'i Kanokupolu* on top of the *Tu'i Tonga* has since then been marked with the choreography of *taualunga* as *tau'olunga* dance. It is performed by a *taupoou*, "Samoan for young female virgin as the central post of

the house”, of Samoan *tamasaa* “person sacred”, as sex symbol of *Tupou*. The performance is the formality of lifting of the *taupoou* to the loft of the house where the champion *Tu’i Kanokupolu Tupou* waits, ready to deflower her. For example, the daughter of the last *Tamahaa Laatuufuipeka*, *Tupou’ahome’e*, who carried the sacred blood, married *Tu’i Kanokupolu Tupouto’a*, father of *Taufa’aahau*. From that marriage, the sacred blood has been able to be carried right down to the *Tupou* dynasty and, the current carrier is the wife of the present king, *Tu’i Kanokupolu George Taufa’aahau Tupou IV, Halaevalu Mata’aho*, (see Figure 1, page xi).

Constitutionally, the new reversal, once again, is a moral declaration of the *totonu* “rights”, the form of *pule’anga* “government”, and the *kelekele* “land”. Moral declaration can only mean the Constitutional monarch makes known his Constitutional mind to the people on the rights, government, and land. People, for example, constitutionally have the moral right to be free as “the Will of God”²⁶³. But, “Will of God”, translated as *loto ‘oe ‘Otua*, is a duplicitous phrase of *Taufa’aahau*, the creator of the Constitution, dubbing himself as the *‘Otua* “God”. By revealing the structural-functional God of the Constitution to be George *Tupou*, then, those three bodies of Privy Council and Cabinet, The Legislative Assembly and, The Judiciary²⁶⁴, in my interpretation, should foremost be recognized as simply created empty functionaries, primarily, for protection purpose. Traditionally, these official bodies merely become the *mataapule* of George *Tupou*. They are his councillors,

²⁶³ Latukefu 1974:252

legislators, and judges who speak to the people on behalf of the will of the absent “God”, George *Tupou*.

“God” as *’otua*²⁶⁵, *atua* in Samoan, is simply a reference to an important *motu’a*, *matu’a* “ancestor(s)”. Poetically, the “God” refers to the one who has instigated a major socio-political reformation that affects the lives of people and society as a whole. Thus, *Taufa’aahau*, in that sense, is a “God” and, constitutionally, recognised as the “Father of [modern] Tonga”. Again, the form of government is *Taufa’aahau* himself as the *Hau* “Champion” who has *fue* “beaten up” the *Tu’i Tonga* sovereignty. He is at the top rank of Tonga Government as the King, supported and advised by his appointed mouthpieces, the Privy Council and Cabinet Ministers. And, the land is now *Tupou*, *Taufa’aahau* title, as everyone’s *tofi’a* “heritage”.

The invention of the 1875 Constitution leads on to the death of duality and creation of monism of monarchy. Localization of power has come to completion which means the traditional *moheofo* and *Falefaa* institutions, as part of the socio-political and economic makeup of the *Tu’i Tonga* and *Tu’i Ha’atakalaua* positions in Tonga, have collapsed and merged under a new direction mainly advocated by English statesmen disguised as missionaries. For the benefit of the founder of the constitutional monarchy, traditional inter-*moheofo* marriages

²⁶⁴ *The Constitution of Tonga* [Revised Edition 1988], pp.9-10. University of the South Pacific, School of Law

between the *Tu'i Tonga*, *Tu'i Ha'atakalaua*, and *Tu'i Kanokupolu* lines have imploded into one kind of marriage. This idea of implosion, in fact, was conceived in practice since *Mataeleha'amea*. It had to do with cross-cousin marriage arrangement between children of the brother and sister of the *Ha'a Ma'afu* known as *kitetama*. Slowly the *Tu'i Tonga* and the *Tu'i Ha'atakalaua* lines would have to converge into the *Tu'i Kanokupolu* line.

The practice of *kitetama* cross-cousin marriage refers to the *Tu'i Kanokupolu*, the *Tu'i Tonga's mohefo's* brother, marrying the daughter of the *Tu'i Tonga's* sister, who carries the sacred blood of royalty. Take for example, *Tamahaa Laatuufuipeka* marrying her third cousin, *Tu'i Kanokupolu Tupoulahisi'i*. *Laatuufuipeka's* mother, *Nanasipau'u*, and *Tupoulahisi'i's* father, *Tu'i Kanokupolu Tu'ihalafatai*, are second cousins. That is, *Nanasipau'u's* mother, *'Anaukihesina*, is sister of *Tu'ihalafatai's* father, *Tu'i Kanokupolu Tupoulahi*. *'Anaukihesina's* and *Tupoulahi's* father, *Tu'i Kanokupolu Ma'afu-'o-Tu'itonga*, is the founding ancestor of the *Ha'a Ma'afu*, (see Figure 11, page xxiii).

The idea of implosion, then, in this context, shows it being practically derived from the old traditional belief of brother and sister as one incestuous pair of a working partnership. That is, the brother is the sister's *tuonga'ane* "other male-part" and, sister the brother's *tuofefine* "other female-part". The sister's "other male-part", for example, refers to the family name she inherits as her maiden name. On the other

²⁶⁵ Churchward 1959:567

hand, the brother's "other female-part" is the family blood to which he belongs as his descent. Thus, we have in Tonga the saying, *fakahokohoko toto 'a fefine, kae fakahokohoko hingoa 'a tangata* "joining/carrying blood is sister, but joining/carrying title is brother". From this special exchange between brother and sister of name and blood thus leads on to the institutionalisation of the female-*fahu* "foetus" and male-*'ulumotu'a* "head-first" titles.

Again, the implosive idea of *kitetama* marriage specifically spells out the *hoko* activity of the *Ha'a Ma'afu* to enclose the sacred *toto'i 'eiki* "chiefly blood (sperm)" of the *Tu'i Tonga Tu'ipulotu-'i-Langitu'oteau* within the *Tupou* family. This particular *hoko* enclosing is connected to the successive joining in reproduction beginning with the *Tu'i Kanokupolu Tupoulahi's mohefo* sister (*'Anaukihesina*) and the sacred *Tu'i Tonga Tu'ipulotu-'i-Langitu'oteau*. And, then, *'Anaukihesina's* daughter, *Tu'i Tonga Fefine Nanasipau'u*, joins with two men from the *Fale Fisi*, *Tu'i Lakepa Laatuunipulu* and *Tu'i Ha'ateiho Haveatungua*. *Nanasipau'u's* daughters, *Tamahaa Laatuufuipeka* (with *Laatuunipulu*) and *Tamahaa 'Amelia Fakahikuo'uiha* (with *Haveatungua*), respectively join with *Tu'i Kanokupolu Tupoulahisi'i* and *Tu'i Kanokupolu Tuku'aho*. *Tamahaa 'Amelia Fakahikuo'uiha* did not produce any children with *Tu'i Kanokupolu Tuku'aho*, so the royal blood died out with her, (see Figure 2, page xiv).

But, the royal blood was able to be passed down from *Tamahaa Laatuufuipeka* who produced some female royal blood carriers with *Tu'i Kanokupolu Tupoulahisi'i*.

Figure 1 (page xi) shows *Halaevalu Mata'aho*, wife of *Tu'i Kanokupolu Taufa'aahau Tupou IV*, as the carrier of the royal blood. I must add that it is now *Mata'aho's* granddaughter's daughter, *Phaedra Fusitu'a*, the current carrier. The pattern, then, of this successive joining is that the sacred *Tama* is hooked into land, first, from the *Tu'i Tonga* by the *Tu'i Kanokupolu mohefo*, second, from the *Tu'i Lakepa* by the *Tu'i Tonga Fefine* and, third, from the *Tu'i Kanokupolu* by the *Tamahaa*. It thus means that finally the *Tu'i Kanokupolu* has been able to produce its *kitetama* "foretold sacred *Tama*", *Tupou'ahome'e*, and, the sacred blood, then, passed down through five females to now *Mata'aho's* granddaughter's daughter.

Since the last *Tamahaa Laatuufuipeka*, the sacred blood has become a scarce *pulopula* "seed-yam" that the current carrier, *Phaedra Fusitu'a*, is still *mulomula* "immature". It is especially needed to be carefully preserved for the breeding legitimization of the power of the *Tupou* monarchy. The preservation of the *toto'i 'eiki*, as a mark of the three *Tamahaa*, namely, *Tu'imala*, *Laatuufuipeka*, and *'Amelia Fakahikuo'uiha*, is connected to major changes to the social and political system of Tonga. The first *Tamahaa Tu'imala* is linked to the change from the *Tu'i Tonga Fefine 'Ekutongapipiki-Tu'i Lakepa Fonomanu kitetama* marriage of the *fono* "food relish" of the *taumafa kava* "drinking *kava*" ceremony of the *Tu'i Tonga*, from raw fish of *'ulua* "a full-sized trevally" and *fai* "sting-ray" (*Koe Folau ki Pulotu*, Appendix 1, pages 228-242, line 105) to cooked food of *manu* "animals", as in the name of *Fonomanu*, the father of *Tu'imala*, plantains, young taro leaves with coconut milk, chicken, and a big pig, in a *'umu* "earth-oven" (*Koe Folau ki Pulotu*, Appendix 1,

lines 109-114, pages 228-242; *Sangone*, Appendix 6, lines 31-34, pages 279-282). Thus, the sacredness of *Tu'imala*, because of this change initiated in the incestuous marriage between her parents of first cousins, indicates a move inland from seashore marine economy. Inland people started to cultivate the land with the planting of the *kahokaho* yams stolen from *Pulotu*, of the plantains brought from Samoa (documented in the poem of *Sangone*, Appendix 6, line 31, pages 279-282) and, the domesticating of *puaka* "pigs" and *moa* "chickens" brought from Samoa.

Tamaha *Laatuufuipeka* is linked to the addition, from the *Tu'i Tonga Fefine Nanasipau'u-Tu'i Lakepa Laatuunipulu kitetama* marriage, of the *Ha'a Ma'afu* and the *Tupou* title of *Lakemba* in the *Lau* Group, Fiji. The addition involves the persistent request of mischievous *Nanasipau'u* for the *fuipeka* "flock of bats" of *Kandavu* Island in Fiji, *Ha'atafu* in Tonga (*Koe Folau ki Pulotu*, Appendix 1, line 5, pages 228-242), thus the name of the *kanokato* of *kahokaho* yam (*Koe Folau ki Pulotu*, Appendix 1, line 131) child as *Laatuufuipeka*, to have adopted in Tonga (*Koe Folau ki Pulotu*, Appendix 1, lines 149-156). She is going to be a *kahokaho tefau* which will multiply, (*Koe Folau ki Pulotu*, Appendix 1, lines 162-163).

The historical aspect of the request is related in association with an unpleasant arrangement to reinvigorate the social status of the *Tu'i Tonga Fefine*, first, with the *Tu'i Tonga* title being demoted to the second son of *Tu'i Tonga Tu'ipulotu-i-Langitu'oteau, Paulaho*, while his first son, *Ma'ulupekotofa*, instead, to marry *Tu'i Lakepa Fehokomoelangi-i-Fis's* would-be-*Tamaha* daughter,

Mo'unga-'o-Lakepa, and *Tu'i Tonga Fefine Nanasipau'u* marrying *Fehokomoelang'i*'s son and successor, *Tu'i Lakepa Laatuunipulu*. *Nanasipau'u*'s half sister cousin, *Siumafua'uta*, real sister of *Tu'i Tonga Paulaho*, also becomes a secondary wife to *Tu'i Lakepa Laatuunipulu*. Both the rightful incumbents to the *Tu'i Tonga* title (*Ma'ulupekotofa*) and *Tamahaa* (*Mo'unga-'o-Lakepa*) are impoverished, thus low rank. Whereas, *Tu'i Tonga Fefine Nanasi*, the troublemaker, becomes the high rank person in Tonga, as opposed to the *Tu'i Tonga* title, held by *Paulaho*, a younger brother. Of course, her daughter by *Laatuunipulu*, *Laatuufuipeka* becomes the *Tamahaa* after all that calculated stealing of the *kanokato* with the assistance of *Nanasi*'s brothers (*Ma'ulupekotofa* and *Paulaho*) and sister (*Siumafua'uta*).

This has become a classic stealing of *Hikule'o*'s *fale kano'imata* "house of eyeballs" or the *kanokato* "flesh-basket" from Fiji to Tonga by the *Ha'a Ma'afu* women told as the voyage to *Pulotu*. The story is about change which has successfully come into fruition only because of the *Tu'i Tonga Fefine Nanasipau'u*'s "mischievous character (Appendix 1, line 21, pages 228-242), being old (Appendix 1, line 37), foolish (Appendix 1, line 45), and crafty (Appendix 1, line 51)". It is about *Nanasipau'u*'s *Faimalie* "good hostile dealing with [*Hikule'o* of *Pulotu*]", referring to *Fehokomoelangi-'i-Fisi*, the *Tu'i Lakepa*. *Nanasipau'u* is the first and the only *Tu'i Tonga Fefine* of the *Tu'i Kanokupolu* line, as a *Ha'a Ma'afu* fruit from '*Anaukihesina, Tu'i Kanokupolu Ma'afu-'o-Tu'itonga*'s daughter, fishing for the *Tu'ipulotu* at the *Langitu'oteau* "hundredth sky". Sending *Nanasipau'u* to the

house of Fijians, to the *Tu'i Lakepa* and *Tu'i Ha'ateiho*, is *Tu'i Kanokupolu's* final leg of fishing for the *Tamahaa* from *Lakepa*, where the home of *Lo'au*, *Ha'amea*, is located in central *Tongatapu*. In the end, the power holding status is reversed, thus *Tamahaa Laatuufuipeka*, *Nanas'i's* daughter, occupies the divine high rank position, while *Tu'i Tonga Fuanunuiava*, son of *Tu'i Tonga Paulaho*, holds the secular low position. In other words, the reverse is that, instead of the *Tu'i Kanokupolu* giving *moheofo* to the *Tu'i Tonga*, the latter's sister (*Tu'i Tonga Fefine*) arranges the marriage of her daughter *Tamahaa* and her cross-cousin's son (*Tu'i Kanokupolu*). The arrangement is specifically a *Ha'a Ma'afu* legitimization of power as a way of reinforcing the protection of the *Tupou* dynasty. Known as *kitetama* cross-cousin marriage, it is *Nanasipau'u's* *kite* or *tala* "asking" her father's sister's son (*Tu'i Lakepa Laatuunipulu*) for the *tama* "(divine) child". This child is, of course, the *Tamahaa Laatuufuipeka*. The same procedure applied in *Tamahaa Laatuufuipeka's* marriage to *Tu'i Kanokupolu Tupoulahisi'i*. *Tamahaa Laatuufuipeka* asks her grandmother's brother's grandson for the sacred *tama*, named *Tupou'ahome'e*. The protection of the *Tupou* dynasty really started from here as a redressing of the *Ha'a Ma'afu* source of power and how it should be distributed.

The *Tupou* dynasty as a title was added on by *Taufa'aahau* to the *Tu'i Kanokupolu*, presumably to mark *Taufa'aahau's* reform of the *Ha'a Ma'afu's* management of the *Tu'i Kanokupolu* sovereignty. He, then, became the first *Tupou*, succeeded by the second, third, fourth, and now the fifth, marking the "standing pillar" of the United

Kingdom of Tonga. Because of the constant support provided by the English missionaries who were stationed in Tonga during *Taufa'aahau's* war of unification, *Taufa'aahau*, I believe, had to make a humble gesture in recognition of the protectorate role of the British Empire in his *taumafa kava* ceremony of victory. *Taufa'aahau*, in his installation to the title of *Tu'i Kanokupolu*, demanded the replacement of the *Tu'i Kanokupolu* ancestral god of war *Taliai* with the British Royal Family name, George²⁶⁶, as his modern *taumafa kava* name when his *kava* is called out.

Adopting the name George very much reflects *Taufa'aahau's* appreciation of the way the English political and economic system works and his recommendation for Tonga to become a modern Christian nation. *Taufa'aahau's* reformation really is a tidy up the aftermath of the contestation between his grandfather, *Tuku'aho*, son of youngest *Mumui*, and *Tuku'aho's* first cousin, *Tupoumoheofo*, daughter of oldest *Tupoulahi*, over the *Tu'i Kanokupolu* title. The contestation becomes prejudicially sexist to the extent that *Tuku'aho* has to abolish *Tupoumoheofo's* appointment of herself to the title of *Tu'i Kanokupolu* and banish her to *Vava'u*. He further reminds to her, being a *moheofo*, of the impossibility of being a *pali* "vagina" wanting, at the same time, to be a *ule* "penis"²⁶⁷. Because of the harshness of his remarks, *Tuku'aho* got murdered, which erupted into the great civil war in Tonga. *Taufa'aahau's* grandfather and his father had to protect the *Tu'i Kanokupolu* title

²⁶⁶ Wood 1975:97

²⁶⁷ Helu 1995

from the possibility of going astray to the *Tu'i Tonga* line, and thus, the *Ha'a Ma'afu* missing out.

On the part of *Taufa'aahau's* Constitution, as to protect the *Ha'a Ma'afu* sovereignty, there has been a need to address the subject of *tonotama* “taking somebody else’s adopted child and keeping it as one’s own”²⁶⁸ in relation to *kitetama*. The difference, in my interpretation, is, in principle, one of a contradiction. In clause 125 of the Constitution, on the law of inheritance²⁶⁹, *Taufa'aahau* states that it is lawful for those only born in marriage to inherit²⁷⁰. His amendment of the subject of *tonotama* as theft, adultery, fornication (in the Code of *Vava'u*, 1839²⁷¹), man and wife, adultery, fornication, illegitimate children (in the Code of Laws, 1850²⁷²), marriage, adultery, fornication (in the Code of Laws, 1862²⁷³) refers to the practice of *tonotama* as unlawful. But, the amendment also suggests a replacement, *tonotama* has become legalised as *kitetama* cross-cousin marriage of the *Tu'i Kanokupolu Ha'a Ma'afu*. *Kitetama* is cross-cousin marriage within the *Ha'a Ma'afu* to “causing to emerge a high chief *Tu'i Kanokupolu* successor”. That high chief successor is George *Taufa'aahau Tupou IV*.

It took that long since George *Taufa'aahau Tupou I's* construction of the 1875 Constitution for the *Ha'a Ma'afu* to finally merge the blood of the three kingly lines into one person through several *kitetama-tonotama* marriages. *Tupouto'a*, son of

²⁶⁸ Churchward 1959:494

²⁶⁹ Latukefu 1974:281-282

²⁷⁰ Ibid, 1974:281

²⁷¹ Ibid, 1974:221

Tu'i Kanokupolu Tuku'aho, said to be the founder of *Ha'a Ma'afu*²⁷⁴, began the foraging for the sacred blood by marrying the blood carrier, *Tupuo'ahome'e*, daughter of *Tamahaa Laatuufuipeka* and *Tu'i Kanokupolu Tupoulahisi'i*. *Tupouto'a's* daughter, *Halaevalu Mata'aho*, the next sacred blood carrier, was given as wife of *Tu'i Tonga Laufilitonga*, grandson of *Tu'i Tonga Paulaho* and *Tupoumoheofo*, daughter of *Tu'i Kanokupolu Tupoulahi* and first cousin of *Tuku'aho*. *Halaevalu Mata'aho's* daughter, *Lavinia Veiongo*, the next carrier, became wife of *'Isileli Tupou*, son of George *Taufa'aahau Tupou I*. From *Tupoumoheofo*, the sacred blood had been passed down to her daughter, *Vaohoi*, to daughter *Heu'ifanga*, and to daughter *Halaevalu Mata'aho*, wife of George *Taufa'aahau Tupou IV*. (See the genealogy in Figure 1, page xi.) Quite obvious from this long sequence of joined marriages of stealing the sacred blood across from the *Tu'i Tonga* line to *Tu'i Kanokupolu* via the *Tu'i Ha'atakalaua* and, at last, to *Tu'i Kanokupolu* George *Taufa'aahau Tupou IV*, that George *Taufa'aahau Tupou IV's* great granddaughter (*Phaedra Fusitu'a*) is now the carrier of the sacred blood.

In both cases, either cross-cousin or adultery, the objective is always about the emergence of the sacred *tama* through an engagement in sex with the high ranking female royal blood carrier. In other words, both *tonotama* and *kitetama* are equally aristocratic crimes of political and economic struggle for the royal blood as source of power legitimated and covered by law. The legalised *kitetama* of the

²⁷² Latukefu 1974:229-231

²⁷³ Ibid, 1974:240-243

²⁷⁴ See Bott 1982:82, Figure 13(a) and (b)

Ha'a Ma'afu is as much an unlawful action as *tonotama*. However, the point here is not about constitutional and Christian morality surrounding promiscuity, but the historical scramble for the highest social rank and political power in Tonga.

Conclusion

Hegel (1770-1831) theorised the constitutional monarchies of his day, monarchies which are copied but contradicted by Tonga's. He, in Žižek's view, says that a King is an irrational remainder, an anomaly in the process of cultural rationalisation which produces civil society which replaces (natural) traditional society based on family. In my semantic historical analysis of *Tu'i*, in the previous chapter, as contraction of *tu'usi* "to sever" for "King", there seems to be a semantic correspondence between my interpretation of King in Tonga and Hegel's "irrational remainder". Further, in Tonga, this severable idea of King of the family is spoken of with the top part of the human body as *'ulu* "head". (Historically, in Tonga, the one who was "cut into half" [chief *Folasa*'s youngest son taking the place of his father] was a relation, thus, is it possible, then, that "king", as "kin", is a title appropriated to a "bodyguard, chief commander" [chief *Folasa*] in recognition of his devotion to die for his master [*Tu'i Manu'a Taeotagaloa* or *Tangaloa 'Eitumatupu'a*].)

Kingship, Hegel says, is the exception where nature is preserved. That is, based on biological succession, kingship is a remnant of natural, rather than social, determination of legitimate status, where everyone else is free to make themselves

as a king. Once installed, the king's position in society is fixed regardless of personal capacities. There is no substance. He is a name/word only, a signature on a piece of paper.

Hegel seems inconsistent when he is taken to advocate that the decision as to who should be head of state should depend on a non-rational, biological fact of descent. To be effective the unity of the state must be embodied in an individual in whose existence alone achieves immediate existence as a result of lineage. In fact, Hegel argues that constitutional monarchy is a rationally articulated organic whole at the head of which there is an irrational element, the person of the king. The rational state is separated from the person who embodies supreme power, that is, the person through whom the state assumes the form of subjectivity. The personal qualities and competence of the king do not matter, as long as he can put his name to the law.

In Hegel's terms, but contrary to Hegel's analysis of modernism, *Tupou I* unilaterally rationalises what is natural, imploding the traditional alliance into an individualistic model based on a new culture of kingship. Kingship of the constitution is not natural nor does it represent the whole social organism regulated by law that Hegel believed monarchy should.

The law does not express the rights of civil society but imposes universal obligations and universal rights upon those which the law divests of particular

rights. In Hegel's theory, modern rational society is not imposed but is seen in the historical growth of individualistic civil society, replacing traditional community. But, in *Tupou* I, II, III, IV, and V, the constitution itself has imposed abstract universal rights and suppressed traditional communities. Individualism was not a historical growth of "modern" rationality as Hegel imagined in Europe. It was imposed by the single event of the abstract theoretical removal of particular individual obligations within a community, replaced by freedom and emancipation.

The constitution therefore reinforces the Protestant ethic of individual enterprise and universal self-interested accumulation introduced at the same time. Hegel saw that there was an apparent contradiction between the criterion of natural biological/inherited status for the ruler and the individual freedom for citizens. But, he believed that this was workable only if the monarch had no real/substantial power and had only a formal right to put his name to laws formulated elsewhere. In *Tupou* I's case, the contradiction was real because his status as ruler was not natural but artificial and he ignored the traditional communities of which citizens were a part. In Europe, unlike Athens, Hegel thought that the traditional communities of citizens had been lost.

In all instances, the granting of abstract universal rights through emancipation is meaningless because there are no particular rights acknowledged that can be exercised. This is parallel to Zizek's argument that Christianity only gives salvation

to those who always (still) have no place in society and he extends this to argue for the same in “democracy”.

The following Chapter 4 will again show the ambiguity and irrationality in connection with kingship in how the *Ha'a Ma'afu Tupou* politics of self-referencing is strengthened by Queen *Salote's* ambivalence with her distinctive method of composing the art of to rule and being ruled known as *lau 'eiki* “praising ‘eiki ‘chiefliness” and *fie 'eiki* “denying ‘eiki”. Queen *Salote* cleverly fuses together these contradictory statements by positioning the performers according to the ranking in society and then they sing and perform her composition of genealogical ranking back to her as the high ranking person sitting graciously in front from her shelter. Art as *faiva* is the commandeering of the people to *hiva* “sing” and *tau'olunga* “dance” to the *fa'u* “poetry” of the framework of the house of the *Ha'a Ma'afu Tupou* dynasty. She is a master rhetorician having the ability to pun her meanings with words of her selection. Playing with words is a game so relevant and appropriate to child rearing. Queen *Salote* as a mother is playing the role of teaching her children, her subjects alike, the etiquette of respect and submission to one's superior.

CHAPTER 4

Ambivalence in Queen *Salote's* Poetry

Introduction

In this chapter, the main theme discussed is Queen *Salote Tupou III's* rhetoric as shown in her poetic styles of composition, namely *lau 'eiki* "praising chiefly" and *fie 'eiki* "denying chiefly". Employing such poetic styles shows the ambivalent character of Queen *Salote* as a female ruler undertaking the male duty of rowing the royal boat of the "King of Tonga". The subtlety of her ambivalence as being a joint of two parts shows in her use of *lau 'eiki* and *fie 'eiki* that she is creating this space in her composition making it easy for her to move back and forth between the *Kauhala'uta* (chief) and *Kauhalalalo* (commoner) moiety division. Precisely, her ambivalent styles show her to be a crafty and heretical poetic Queen who her subjects learned to love dearly. Politically, her styles continue to maintain the *Tu'i Kanokupolu* cause of *Ha'a Ma'afu* bashing the old senior kingly lines and their supporters in the *Kanokupolu* enclosure. It is a bashing to which she proudly acknowledges in her poetry the seat of power in the backside or rudder of the *Tu'i Tonga's* boat occupied by the *Ha'a Ma'afu*.

The question dealt with in this chapter is how is Queen *Salote* representative of the *Tupou* rhetoric started by *Taufa'aahau Tupou I* and, yet, how is she distinctive within that line? The foremost unique characteristic is her poetry. She shares this with her contemporaries but her *Tupou* position makes her rhetoric different from other poets. Her poetry is characteristically heretical. She is like *Taufa'aahau Tupou I* in that she consistently and explicitly counters the position of the *Kauhala'uta*. *Taufa'aahau Tupou I* replaced the moiety system with monarchy. Whereas *Taufa'aahau Tupou I* did this through war and the law and outlawing further usurpation, Queen *Salote* does the same thing through reconstructing history especially through poetry. She, like *Taufa'aahau Tupou I*, is directly aggressive in abusing the allies of the *Tu'i Tonga*, but there is more to her that is unique.

Apart from the Constitutional derivation of her right to be ruler, Queen *Salote's* direct genealogical link to the *vasu* sacred blood made her as the connection between the *Tu'i Tonga Fefine-vasu* tradition and the modern Constitution of *Taufa'aahau Tupou I*. Queen *Salote* is the fortunate descendant of a fortunate struggle of the first *Tu'i Tonga Fefine*, *Sinaitakala-i-Langleka*, who was offered as part of the *Tu'i Tonga* propitiatory sacrifice to *Tu'i Lakemba* "Tapu'osi" of *Pulotu* in Fiji. Bott's²⁷⁵ interpretation of the meeting of *Sinaitakala-i-Langleka* and *Tapu'osi*

²⁷⁵ Bott 1982:32-33

as a romantic story is Bott's unconscious awareness of the story, in my interpretation, as part of the story of the voyage to *Pulotu*. To me, the voyage to *Pulotu* is a Tongan version of the *Tu'i Tonga* sovereignty, '*Uluakimata* in this case, coming to a full independent kingdom from the *Tu'i Pulotu* of Fiji. Likewise, the Tongan version, as mentioned and discussed in chapter 2, of the exile from Samoa of a boat of wrongdoers is the wrongdoers coming into independence from the tyrant sun god *Tangaloa*. All in all, I argue that the question of legitimation of economic and political power has been a historical mythologisation of the stealing to adopt the tyrant's scared blood, as an appeasement by means of the marriage of the subjugated wife giver to the tyrant. From here, the *vasu* ideology was institutionalised simply for the purpose of preserving this historical triumph and of securing social recognition of the sacred blood.

Queen *Salote Tupou III* is *Tu'i Kanokupolu George Taufa'aahau Tupou I's* great, great granddaughter and was only heir to the throne when her father, *Tu'i Kanokupolu George Taufa'aahau Tupou II*, died, (see Figure 4, page xvi). Queen *Salote's* half brothers could not succeed to the *Tu'i Kanokupolu* title when their father died, because they were illegitimate under *Tupou I's* Constitution.

She became the first female monarch after the 1875 Constitution. Not only that, Queen *Salote* was the first high rank monarch of the *Tu'i Kanokupolu* line since the start of fishing for the *vasu* sacred blood from the *Tu'i Lakemba* of Fiji with *Tu'i Kanokupolu Mataeletu'apiko* marrying with *Tamahaa Tu'imala*. This fishing for the

sacred blood had also been the cause of the splitting of *Mataeletu'apiko's uhotau* sons, as mentioned in the preceding chapter, and the emerging of the rival *Ha'a Havea* and *Ha'a Ma'afu*. But, it was not until *Tu'i Kanokupolu Tupouto'a* of the *Ha'a Ma'afu* married the first *Tu'i Kanokupolu* female carrier of the *vasu* sacred blood, *Tupou'ahome'e*, daughter of *Tamahaa Laatuufuipeka* and *Tu'i Kanokupolu Tupoulahisi'i*, that the catching and landing of the sacred blood became preserved in the *Ha'a Ma'afu* as its social and political indicator of high rank and power. Queen *Salote* is the great, great, great granddaughter of *Tupou'ahome'e*.

Following the landing of the *vasu* sacred blood by *Tu'i Kanokupolu Tupouto'a*, the *Ha'a Ma'afu* relied heavily on the use of the *kitetama* cross-cousin marriage method to securely enclose the sacred blood within. *Tupouto'a's* daughter's daughter, *Lavinia Veiongo*, and *Tupouto'a's* son's son, *'Isileli Tupou*, were the first *kitetama* case, giving birth to the next carrier of the sacred blood, *Tupoumohefo II*. *Lavinia Veiongo's* mother, *Halaevalu Mata'aho*, is the carrier from her mother, *Tupou'ahome'e*, and half sister of *'Isileli Tupou's* father, *Taufa'aahau Tupou I*. Since *Taufa'aahau Tupou I* outlived his son, *Tevita 'Unga*, and daughter, *Salote Pilolevu*, a *kitetama* marriage between his grandchildren had to be arranged in order to produce an heir to succeed aging *Taufa'aahau Tupou I*, (see Figure 4, page xvi)²⁷⁶. In other words, *Taufa'aahau Tupou I's* son's daughter, *Fusipala*, and *Taufa'aahau Tupou I's* daughter's son, *Fatafehi Tu'i Pelehake*, were married to beget the successor, *Tu'i Kanokupolu George Taufa'aahau Tupou II*. *Taufa'aahau*

²⁷⁶ See Bott 1982:14, Figure 3

Tupou II was later inducted into the *Ha'a Ma'afu* sexual orgy *kitetama* to keep the preservation of the *vasu* sacred blood line of high rank status. He was paired off with *Taufa'aahau Tupou* I's niece's daughter, *Tupoumohefo*, and granddaughter, *Lavinia Veiongo* junior. *Lavinia Veiongo* junior is Queen *Salote*'s mother.

Ambivalence in her poetry is a special method of rhetoric by Queen *Salote* when stressing her dutifulness to the *Tupou* system of government. She does it with the movement characteristic of her by switching from *fie 'eiki* "denying 'eiki" to *lau 'eiki* "praising 'eiki".

Tongan ethno-scientist, Futa Helu, quoted by Mahina²⁷⁷, spoke of Queen *Salote*'s method of composition as basically *lau 'eiki*, thus, her poetry is mainly *laumaatanga* "Tongan Nature poetry". Precisely, in connection with the point made by Helu and Mahina, Queen *Salote*'s poetry "praises scenic beauty-spots because of their historical associations". So, my main problem with this *lau 'eiki* argument is the tendency to ignore the foundation from which praising stems. We do, of course, talk about something that we love in a praising manner and, yet, at the same time, since we are all real human beings with real feelings, we wish to be praised alike. Precisely, as implicit in the use of *lau 'eiki-fie 'eiki* in Queen *Salote*'s poetry, use of one's style is not necessary praising one's genealogical connection to high chiefly families. Stylistic usage, one must not forget the Tongan *heliaki*, is the tendency for the user to convey his/her discontentment with something by literally degrading himself/herself. Self-degradation is indication of one's being low, not only in rank,

but, also, in feeling. The issue at stake here is the question, necessitated for what? It points at the complexity of interaction of our motives with one another and with outside things. It thus seems then to hold on to a view that there is no such thing as a dualism consisting of two pure extremities, one is the "praised" and the other "praiser"²⁷⁸. It, thus, points to the fact that self-degrading is one pressuring the superior into doing something to be able to maintain his/her position as being "praised" by becoming a "praiser". Once a "praised" is now a "praiser" and vice versa. Therefore, by "praising 'eiki'", Queen *Salote* is in denial of the other's claim to higher rank than herself. By "denying 'eiki'", Queen *Salote* is praising her claim of high rank status. So, there is a continuous dialectic, in Hegelian terms, of negation of negation²⁷⁹.

Analysis of Queen *Salote*'s styles of composition is thus an exposition of the internal dialectic of Tongan language as perfectly *heliaki* "saying one thing, and meaning another". That is, when using the *lau 'eiki* style, Queen *Salote* is "praising her sacredness" as her *fie 'eiki* "denying the other's claim to sacredness". And, when using *fie 'eiki* style, she is "denying her sacredness" as her *lau 'eiki* "praising other's claim to sacredness". Again, with the *fie 'eiki* style, Queen *Salote* is putting herself down while elevating the other to the top. Similarly, with the *lau 'eiki* style, on the other hand, Queen *Salote* is oppressing the other by elevating herself. Thus, the dialectical process of saying one thing and meaning another always reinforces

²⁷⁷ See Maahina 1992:224.

²⁷⁸ Compare with Passmore 1965:87-95

a space in between to allow the actual lively external contradiction in between the agents' claims and internal contradiction of the agent's ideology itself to resonate back and forth. The idea, then, of *vaa* "space" also means "estrangement". In space is where personal grievances coming into ferocious combat as the way they sort out their differences. In old days, it was the recognized public place where the two parties would meet up, with food offerings, to settle their problem.

An example of *heliaki* as contradiction of negation of negation is its character on presentation to be confusing. In the *lau 'eiki* style, Queen *Salote* is rowing towards the family-centred ethos of the *Tupou* dynasty, while, at the same time, looking back to the *tu'a* commoners. Looking back to the *tu'a*, she is elevating herself and, thus, the equation now reads that the *Tu'i Kanokupolu* and *'eiki* titles are equal. In the *fie 'eiki* style, on the other hand, Queen *Salote*, again, is rowing towards the ideology of the *Tupou* dynasty and, this time, looking back to the *Tu'i Tonga*. *Salote* is denying the *'eiki*-ness of the *Tu'i Tonga*. The equation thus reads that the *Tu'i Tonga* and the *tu'a* are equal and, together, they are making up the outcaste class of Tonga. Therefore, in a more revealing manner of the *heliaki* confusion, in this context, Queen *Salote* two styles draw out a social space of interaction between *tu'a* "outside" and *loto* "inside" with reference to the high chief's dwelling house. Moving back and forth in this social space is rhetorician Queen *Salote* repeatedly arguing the case of the *Tu'i Kanokupolu*, referring to herself, to be the

²⁷⁹ Zizek 1993:119-124

high rank status and inside sacred dweller in Tonga. She, as the argument goes, is the only 'eiki in Tonga.

Take her composition of *Peato* (Appendix 7, pages 283-287) as a classic example showing these dialectical exchanges between *lau 'eiki* and *fie 'eiki* styles. Queen *Salote* is, firstly, alluding to her dutiful-ness, as ruler of Tonga, to the land of *Tupou* and his family, with her superiority complex towards the boasting unnecessary behaviour of her granduncle, *Sioeli Pangia*, grandson heir of the last *Tu'i Tonga Laufilitonga*. She, in the *Peato*, is playing the *fie 'eiki* role by condemning her granduncle as a *Tu'i Tonga tu'a* "outside *Tu'i Tonga*" descendant for his habitual pretentious behaviour as a high ranking 'eiki. As a descendant of a Samoan fleeing wrongdoer who turned upside down in Tonga and became *Tu'i Tonga*, *Sioeli Pangia's Tu'i Tonga* privilege and rank came to an end when his grandfather, *Laufilitonga*, was defeated by *Taufa'aahau Tupou I* in the battle of *Velata* at *Lifuka*. Queen *Salote* is asserting her 'eiki-ness over the *lau 'eiki* of her granduncle by reminding to him of the defeat at *Velata* and the victory of her great, great, grandfather, *Taufa'aahau Tupou I*. She recites this reversal of power in *Peato* thus as,

ko 'ena ee lopa 'oe Hifofua "there is the rope of the *Hifofua*",
lolotonga no'o he 'Ovava "still tied to the 'ovava",
'o tau he Langi Taetaea "and berthed at the *Langi Taetaea*",
 (*Peato*, Appendix 7, lines 12-14, pages 283-287).

Hifofua is symbol of *Taufa'aahau Tupou I*, while *'Ovava*, the dock at *Lapaha*, and *Langi Taetaea*, the incomprehensible royal tomb, are references of the *Tu'i Tonga*. Further to the ambiguity involved in these *heliaki* lines that Queen *Salote* looks as if treating her granduncle as an unrelated foreign person to her and *Taufa'aahau Tupou I*. But, *Sioeli Pangia's* grandmother, *Halaevalu Mata'aho*, is also Queen *Salote's* great, great, grandmother and *Taufa'aahau Tupou I's* half sister. *Sioeli Pangia's* father, *Kalaniualu*, is *Halaevalu Mata'aho's* son and *Taufa'aahau Tupou I's* nephew. So, the issue Queen *Salote* is raising here is connected to the *vasu* sacred blood as something that has been passed down through the female line from the *Tamahaa*. *Halaevalu Mata'aho*, in Queen *Salote's* argument, is a *vasu* sacred blood carrier and, the next carrier, *Halaevalu Mata'aho's* first daughter, *Lavinia Veiongo*, is Queen *Salote's* great grandmother. *Lavinia Veiongo* is sister of *Sioeli Pangia's* father, *Kalaniualu*. Therefore, Queen *Salote*, as a direct descendant of a *vasu* sacred blood carrier, while *Sioeli Pangia* is not, has the rank and authority, (see Figures 1 and 2, pages xi and xiv, respectively).

Fakahokohoko toto 'a fafine "blood connection of the women", is a theme, as opposed to *fakahokohoko hingoa 'a tangata* "name connection of the men", featured strongly in Queen *Salote's* struggle for power. Following her marriage to *Tungii Mailefihi*, Queen *Salote* began the restructuring of the political system of Tonga in accordance with the core principle of social organization, which is the *tuonga'ane* "brother"-*tuofefine* "sister" relationship. The pragmatic application of

this Tongan traditional female role leads to the wider implications of Queen *Salote's* presentation of a particular perspective as a universal perspective which pretends to incorporate the *Kauhala'uta* moiety.

In what way does *fakahokohoko toto* become an important application in the case of Queen *Salote* struggling for power in Tongan society? The answer to this question lies in the implication of what the pair of *tuonga'ane-tuofefine* social relationship means. The traditions of *'Aho'eitu* in Tonga and *le Aso o le Laa* "Meals of human flesh of the Sun" in Samoa²⁸⁰ are sources which can be viewed in relation to the brother-sister paradox. These traditions feature the sister (*Ui* in the Samoan version, *Va'epopua* in Tongan), after consultation with her brother (*Lua* in the Samoan version), who seduces *Tagaloa-laa* "*Tagaloa*, the Sun" to save herself and her son to the Sun, *Tagaloa-a-ui* "*Tagaloa* [junior Sun] of *Ui*", by subsequently fleeing from the Sun²⁸¹, [death in *Pulotu (Savai'i)*].

Tuonga'ane and *tuofefine* are terms for "brother" and "sister", respectively. *Nga'ane* "male" and *fefine* "female", as the root words, are generic terms for *tangata* "man" and *fefine* "woman". In the special use for "brother" and "sister", with the compound, *tuo*, the speaker (*Ui*) refers to her "brother" as her "equal in rank". For example, when the *Ui* refers to *Lua* as her *tuo-nga'ane* "brother", *Lua* is to *Ui* as her "equal in rank". *Lua* is the part of *Ui* as being *nga'ane* or *ta'ane* "male". Similarly,

²⁸⁰ Kramer 1994:547-554, Vol. 1

²⁸¹ See Kramer 1994:25, Vol. 1

Lua refers to his “sister” as his “equal in rank”. *Ui* is the part of *Lua* as being *fefine* “female”. Further, Queen *Salote*, as the “King of Tonga”, is showing part of her brother, (for example, *Vilai*), as being female. But, in the context of the argument discussed here, her husband, *Tungii Mailefihi*, is a classificatory brother of Queen *Salote*, even though he is to Queen *Salote* categorically a *fa’ee tangata* “mother male”. It may also be categorically right that *Tungii Mailefihi* is Queen *Salote*’s classificatory brother for *Tungii Mailefihi* and *Vilai* are classificatory brothers. *Vilai*’s mother, *Tupoumohefo*, and *Tungii Mailefihi*’s father, *Tuku’aho*, are first cousins. But, to read *Tungii Mailefihi* as a classificatory brother of Queen *Salote* can also follow from Queen *Salote*’s mother and *Tungii Mailefihi* as standing in a classificatory sister-brother relation. Queen *Salote*’s mother’s father, *Kupu*, and *Tungii Mailefihi*’s father are, again, first cousins.

Thus, the seeming inseparability of the sister and brother as a supporting relationship can only be interpreted as a particular masquerading as a universal. In fact, the relationship as started by the speaker, is really a one person show of one using the other part of him/her for his/her own advantage. Therefore, “equal in rank” is a misnomer. Logically, it should rather be “difference in rank”, for example, *Tungii Mailefihi* is higher in rank than Queen *Salote*, for he is directly descended from *Tamahaa Laatuufuipeka*, (see Figure 1[c], page xiii)²⁸². The duality, then, of brother-sister relationship is the real contradiction thereby produced by Queen *Salote*’s individual pursuit of the *vasu* sacred blood.

²⁸² See Bott 1982:155, Figure 31(c)

Queen *Salote*'s method of *fakahokohoko toto*, arranging after another in immediate succession of the *toto* or *kaainga* "relations", is directly associated with the idea of *kaiha'a* "stealing" as *kai* "eating" of the *ha'a*, *saa* in Samoan, "sacred". "Sacred" can be a general statement to all things prohibited as belonging to the supreme ruler. No one is allowed to touch or eat any prohibited, sanctified thing. It is a *me'a* "thing" that no one has the right to know or even to try to find out what it is. But that is what Queen *Salote*, and her great, great, grandfather, *Taufa'aahau Tupou I*, set out to break this custom with the *fakahokohoko toto* method.

"Sacred" etymologically refers here to the *hii* "sperm" of the *ta'ane*, *nga'ane* as in *tuonga'ane*, "strong fighter" who has become the '*eiki*, *ali'i* in Samoan, "young chief" and the "father/head" of the land. The sacred *hii* is the *toto* that eventually develops into foetus. Once again, eating, in this sense, refers to swallowing with the intention to steal the *ta'ane*'s sacred *hii* for the purpose of preserving it as a particular breed multiplying into many *hou'eiki* "young chiefs" in Tonga. Thus, *kai* is *fai* "having sexual intercourse" or *folo fakapetetangi* "swallowing when about to cry" (*Koe Folau ki Pulotu*, Appendix 1, line 133, pages 228-242) of the *hii*. One must recognize from the *Tu'i Tonga-Tu'i Ha'atakalaua-Tu'i Kanokupolu* genealogy that this *fakahokohoko toto* is an elitist method of sexual intercourse activity involving the senior *Tu'i Tonga* and his own classificatory sisters, daughters of his mother's brother, first, as *Tu'i Ha'atakalaua* and, then, *Tu'i Kanokupolu*. *Tu'i Tonga Kau'ulufonua*, for example, is the *ta'ane* whose *hii* is sought after by his

classificatory sister and wife, *Takala*. *Takala's* father, *Tu'i Ha'atakalaua Fotofili*, is *Tu'i Tonga Kau'ulufonua's* mother's brother. I interpret this method in chapter 2 based on the Samoan *gaoi* "stealing" of the *Fale'ula* as *ngaohi* "adopting" in Tongan as a formalization of the straight forward immoral incestuous relationship with new adopted words, *mohefo* and, later, *kitetama*. In the story of the voyage to *Pulotu*, this formalization, somehow implicit as a cornerstone of the 1875 Constitution, is interpreted as having to do mainly with the purpose of protecting the stolen *kanokato* "sacred flesh [as substance] of the basket" within the *Tu'i Kanokupolu* family. *Kanokato* is a poetic term for the *vasu* sacred blood stolen from Fiji to Tonga, (*Folau ki Pulotu*, Appendix 1, lines 125-134).

The story of this adoption of the "sacred prohibited flesh" of the *Tu'i Tonga* into the *Tu'i Kanokupolu* line actually began with *Mataeleha'amea's* two *mohefo* daughters, *Halaevalu* and *Tongotea*, to the *Tu'i Tonga*. *Tu'i Kanokupolu Atamata'ila*, grandfather of *Mataeleha'amea*, tried with his daughter, *Tu'utangahunuhunu*, as the *Tu'i Kanokupolu mohefo* to *Tu'i Tonga Kau'ulufonua* and was not successful. But, the adoption actually started with *Mataeleha'amea's* warlike *mohefo* daughter, *Tongotea*, marrying her oldest sister's adopted son and successor, *Tu'i Tonga Fakana'ana'a*. And, this is the marriage that marks the new beginning of establishing an absolute *Tu'i Kanokupolu* sovereignty in Tonga, one that began with *mohefo Tongotea* and lasted until *Tu'i Kanokupolu Tupoulahisi'i* married the *Tamahaa Laatuufuipeka*. By implication, this new beginning, as an outcome of scrambling for the "sacred flesh" of the *Tu'i Tonga* between the three

kingly lines, means that only the *Tu'i Kanokupolu* marries the *Tamahaa*. This kind of reasoning led to Queen *Salote* maintaining, from what she was told that there were three *Tamahaa*, namely, *Tu'imala* marrying *Tu'i Kanokupolu Mataeletu'apiko*, *Laatuufuipeka* marrying *Tu'i Kanokupolu Tupoulahisi'i* and '*Amelia Fakahiku'o'uiha* marrying *Tu'i Kanokupolu Tuku'aho*. Because of this kind of reasoning, *Tamahaa* is a *Tu'i Kanokupolu* prohibited marriage property. It means she is no longer recognized as a reproductive partner of any other line. Thus, for this reason, for example, *Hoko'iamailangi*, daughter of *Tu'i Ha'ateiho Tunjiimana'ia*²⁸³ with *Tu'i Tonga Fefine Sinitakala-'i-Lotunofa*, is not a *Tamahaa*. For that reason, again, that is why she married to *Tu'i Ha'atakalaua Tatafu*. In the same reasoning, marriage of *Mo'unga-'o-Lakepa*, daughter of *Tu'i Tonga Fefine Sinitakala-'i-Fanakavakilangi* to *Tu'i Lakepa Fehokomoelangi*, (see Figure 2, page xiv)²⁸⁴, to *Tu'i Tonga Ma'ulupekotofa* deposes her, too, from being recognized as a *Tamahaa*.

The marriage to the *Tamahaa* is where the legitimation of economic and political power of the *Tupou* dynasty begins and ends. In particular, it refers specifically to the marriage between *Tamahaa Laatuufuipeka* and *Tu'i Kanokupolu Tupoulahisi'i*. In fact, this marriage begins another scrambling for power within the *Ha'a Ma'afu*, particularly that between the daughter of *Tupoulahi*, *Tupoumoheofo*, and the son of *Tupoulahi's* youngest brother, *Mumui*. During this contestation, *Mumui's* son, *Tuku'aho*, was able to confiscate the *Tu'i Kanokupolu* title from *Tupoulahi's*

²⁸³ Bott 1982:87, Figure 18

²⁸⁴ See Bott 1982:12 as Figure 1

daughter, *Tupoumoheofo*, thus, making it a *Ha'a Ma'afu* inherited property down the line of *Tu'i Kanokupolu Tuku'aho*. Following the success his father did to secure the *Tu'i Kanokupolu* title, *Tupouto'a* secured the *vasu* sacred blood through his marriage with *Tupou'ahome'e*, the blood carrier and daughter of *Tamahaa Laatuufuipeka* and *Tu'i Kanokupolu Tupoulahisi'i*. From this perspective, the reason for *Tupoumoheofo's* self appointment to the *Tu'i Kanokupolu* title probably was to secure the *Tu'i Kanokupolu* title as the *vasu* sacred blood was as already within the enclosure of *Tu'i Kanokupolu Tupoulahi*, her father. *Tupoulahisi'i* "junior *Tupoulahi*", grandson of *Tupoulahi* and nephew of *Tupoumoheofo*, had secured the *vasu* sacred blood in his marriage with *Tamahaa Laatuufuipeka*. Their daughter *Tupuo'ahome'e* gave birth to *Halaevalu Mata'aho I*, the next blood carrier of *Ha'a Ma'afu*. *Halaevalu Mata'aho I* is the granddaughter of *Tu'i Kanokupolu Tuku'aho*, the founder of the *Ha'a Ma'afu*. The establishment of the *Ha'a Ma'afu* in the marriage of *Tu'i Kanokupolu Tupouto'a* with *Tupou'ahome'e* after the failure of *Tupouto'a's* father, *Tu'i Kanokupolu Tuku'aho*, to have children with *Tamahaa 'Amelia Fakahikuo'uiha*, (see Figure 1, page xi)²⁸⁵, makes the *Ha'a Ma'afu* as a beginning and an ending of high social status in Tongan society.

In the following, *Halaevalu Mata'aho I* becomes the path of offering to establish sources of food for the *Ha'a Ma'afu*. She was given as wife to three men of high social distinction, first, to *Tu'i Ha'ateiho Afi'afolaha*, grandson of *Tu'i Tonga Fefine Nanasipau'u* and *Tu'i Ha'ateiho Haveatungua*. Second, *Halaevalu Mata'aho I*

²⁸⁵ See Bott 1982:153 as Figure 31

married *Tu'i Tonga Laufilitonga*. And, third, she married *Malakai Lavulo*, grandson of *Tamahaa Laatuufuipeka*. Of all these marriages, *Halaevalu Mata'aho* I's marriage to *Tu'i Tonga Laufilitonga* that really grows and, of course, through which the *vasu* sacred blood from *Tamahaa Laatuufuipeka* being passed down to *Halaevalu Mata'aho* II, wife of *Tu'i Kanokupolu Tafua'aahau Tupou* IV and mother of the present *Tu'i Kanokupolu Tafua'aahau Tupou* V, (see Figure 1, page xi).

This leads to the wider implications of Queen *Salote's* presentation of a particular perspective as a universal perspective which pretends to incorporate the *kauhala'uta*. She pretends that that particular perspective stands for and includes the whole. Of course this kind of presentation can be seen to be an immediate direct natural response to a situation when the power is challenged. As we can see from her composition of *Peato*, for example, and her genealogical connection of people, Queen *Salote's* consistent support of the *Ha'a Ma'afu's* superior position as part of its struggle for power in Tonga has targeted the replacement of the upper *Kauhala'uta* with the *Ha'a Ma'afu* of *Kauhalalalo*. Such action on her part is indicated by the simple gesture to banish *Sioeli Pangia* of *Kauhala'uta* away from Tonga. The nature of *Sioeli Pangia's* banishment is represented in *Peato* as a *langi tataea* "incomprehensible raised and terraced burial place of *Tu'i Tonga*" (line 14, *Peato*, Appendix 7, pages 283-287) of *Ha'angongo* "terns" (line 24, *Peato*) who has *kapakau 'o Tafahi* "wings that cut" (line 36, *Peato*). This is a prosecution of *Sioeli Pangia* to the meeting (line 1, *Peato*) as a very tall *langi taataaea/kaakaaea* "*Tu'i Tonga* cemetery stealer" who, as a marine bird with a long forked tail, flies

around above the ocean looking for land to steal by levering up. Interestingly, in this prosecution, Queen *Salote* plays all the roles as prosecutor, judge, and the chair of the meeting. But, because the central issue here is about power and land, the prosecution reflects Queen *Salote's* fundamental role as protector of the *Tu'i Kanokupolu Ha'a Ma'afu's* political and economic interests. Her reaction to *Sioeli Pangia* is interpreted as her counterchallenging of *Sioeli Pangia's* claims of the lands including the *Tu'i Tonga* graves lay in *Mu'a* (line 14, *Peato*, Appendix 7, pages 283-287), the *Ha'amonga-'a-Maui* (line 7, *Peato*), and some other matters specifically relating to distribution of food and *koloa* according to ranks²⁸⁶. Queen *Salote's* response, of course, was taken from the genealogy of the *vasu* sacred blood stressing the fact, as Wood-Ellem²⁸⁷ states, the *mana* of the *Tu'i Tonga* had already been relinquished to the *Tu'i Kanokupolu* as now the *only* "king" in Tonga.

This raises the resurrection of the *mohefo* perspective. Again this is a particular institution with a specific role in the past which takes on general implications in the twentieth century. Briefly, in the past, the *mohefo* institution, as basically *tono* "adultery", thus *mohetono* the alternative of *mohefo*, was a common practice as part of the rival competition of people for political dominance and economic wealth. For example, *Tangaloa 'Eitumatupu'a* at first *tohotoho'i* "raped" *Va'epopua* and, then, they lived together as an adulterous couple. From this immoral relationship, *Tangaloa*, the *'Eitumatupu'a*, achieved the supreme political rank in Tonga,

²⁸⁶ See Wood-Ellem 1999:95-96

²⁸⁷ Ibid, 1999:96

recognized with the ceremonial *aso* “human sacrifice” from *Va’epopua’s* people. From this ceremonial recognition is derived the personal name for his son with *Va’epopua* as *‘Aho’aitu*, in Samoan as *Asoaitu le Folasa*. *Le Folasa* is *Tangaloa’s* title name as the “sacred ordainer”, who appointed the *Faleua* and the *Falefaa*, the latter as protectors of the former. *Faleua* was the “representative king”, of the *Tu’i Manu’a* in Tonga.

Formally saluted with the *Ha’a Moheofo* in public speech, the *Tu’i Kanokupolu* is formally recognized with this old custom of committing adultery. Of course, it was not until the formation of the *Ha’a Ma’afu* descendants of *Ma’afu-’o-Tu’itonga*, son and successor of *Tu’i Kanokupolu Mataeleha’amea*, with the descendants of *Tuku’aho*, that the *moheofo* practice took a new turn to be commonly known as *kitetama* “marriage of brother’s daughter and sister’s son”. What had been clearly implied in the *moheofo* “adulterous copulation” as an incestuous practice between the children of a brother-sister sibling, *kitetama*, the twentieth century replacement, took a Christian *heliaki* of the incestuous ethnobiological construction of power. Thus, *kitetama*, standing for *moheofo*, is the (immoral incestuous) marriage to presage the birth of the male chiefly rank *Tu’i Kanokupolu*. It becomes the most practical way of securing and protecting the original male sacred blood of the *Tu’i Lakemba*, now in the line of the *Tu’i Kanokupolu*. It may have looked to be a system implemented to avoid the local tension within the *Tu’i Kanokupolu* line of the royal children fighting over the *Tu’i Kanokupolu* title. My interpretation offers to

deepen the perspective of Bott's interpretation of *kitetama* marriage as reinforcing "the existing pattern of obligation and alliance"²⁸⁸.

I still ask the question, how does that pattern come about in the first place in order for Bott to be able to speak about it. For what is being called "obligation and alliance" is different from what is referred to. Elsewhere in her book, Bott mentions the *takai fala* custom as a further illustration of the pattern of obligation and duty involved in marriage where the brother's daughter has the duty of rolling the sister's son's mat. This is just the literal translation of *kitetama* marriage. The situation, to me, no doubt, looks to be a repetition of the *Tu'i Tonga* period where power seated in the sacred blood is up for everyone to grab. Once again, while in the past the object of competition was to find out who was the most skilful, *Tu'i Kanokupolu Ha'a Ma'afu* had to secure its supremacy by developing a strong and tight genealogical network into which all other families in the whole of Tonga are drawn. The bait is the sacred blood. This is a clever manipulation of power taking it to the level of wider social recognition and acceptance. Then, politics of power has become the politics of recognition. For example, in public, a powerful politician is one who is skilful in saying one thing and meaning another. Whereas, in the local level, a powerful leader is one who is connected by blood to everyone in the community. But, this is only a differentiation of one person, for example, *Tu'i Kanokupolu Queen Salote Tupou III*, appears as two in two different contexts. Also, herself, she is of many characters, a *Tu'i Kanokupolu*, a Queen, a *Tupou*, and the

²⁸⁸ Bott 1982:162

third in rank. The longer duration of one's name, the more universal is the existence of that person in terms of unifying the whole of Tonga.

Her poem of *Takafalu*, although it was recited for the investiture of her son, then her successor, *Tu'i Kanokupolu* George *Taufa'aahau Tupou* IV, to the title of *Tupouto'a*, is Queen *Salote's* record of the ascendancy of the *Ha'a Ma'afu* clan in its struggle for power in the history of Tongan society with an in-depth metaphor of adultery. As an interpretation of the first eight lines, *Ha'a Ma'afu's* ascent to the top was by way of the old custom of *muitau* "backside-copulation, prostitution" of the women of *'Upolu* by men of the three kingly lines. In terms of the *tapatolu* (*Takafalu*, Appendix 8, pages 288-295, line 3) "triangulated adulterous relationships between the *Tu'i Tonga* (Appendix 8, line 5), *Tu'i Ha'atakalaua* (Appendix 8, line 6), and *Tu'i Kanokupolu* (Appendix 8, line 7)", the political ascendancy of the *Ha'a Ma'afu* came to a full stop in *Pangai* (Appendix 8, line 8). At *Pangai*, the formalisation of the ending of the long struggle is marked with the formation of the *faka-Pangai* "to do [it] in the manner of *Panga*" a ceremony presided over by Queen *Salote's* son. *Pangai* is *paakai*, the open gathering grass-field where the formality of receiving various *ha'a* coming from all over Tonga to the occasion of investiture with their contributions of food and women's *koloa* of mats and *ngatu* takes place. As a compound of *paa* "enclosure" and *ngai*, corruption of *kai*, the concept signifies an occasion of an economic and political *paa kakai* "enclosure of people" as food of the "King of Tonga".

Adultery started, of course, with *Tu'utangahunuhunu*, daughter of *Tu'i Kanokupolu Atamata'ila* but somehow was not successful. Then, later, with *Halaevalu* and *Tongotea*, daughters of *Tu'i Kanokupolu Mataeleha'amea*, they were the first *Ha'a Ma'afu* women to have committed adultery with *Tu'i Tonga Tu'ipulotu-'i-Langitu'ofefafa* and *Tu'i Tonga Fakana'ana'a*. *Muitau* is the old sexual position of ramming the penis from behind, socially perceived as *mohetoo* "stabbing the local chieftess at night during a habitual visit for immoral purpose". But, really, it was the *mohefo* of *'Anaukihesina*, daughter of *Tu'i Kanokupolu Ma'afu-'o-Tu'itonga*, to *Tu'i Tonga Tu'ipulotu-'i-Langitu'oteau* that was the beginning of the raising of the social status of *Ha'a Ma'afu*. In other words, the *mohefo* of *'Anaukihesina* to *Tu'ipulotu-'i-Langitu'oteau* was the first *Ha'a Ma'afu kitetama*. *'Anaukihesina* is the daughter of *Ma'afu-'o-Tu'itonga* and *Tu'ipulotu-'i-Langitu'oteau* is the son of *Tongotea*. *Ma'afu-'o-Tu'itonga* and *Tongotea* are brother and sister.

Queen *Salote* explains this *Ha'a Ma'afu* political strategy showing, in terms of her marriage to *Tungii*, why and how their son got appointed with the title of *Tupouto'a*. As the *Tupouto'a*, *Taufa'aahau Tupou IV* is the palladium of *Ha'a Ma'afu* (line 16, *Takafalu*, Appendix 8, pages 288-295). He is recognized as the protector of *Ha'a Ma'afu*, referring to his father, *Tungii Mailefihi*, a direct descendant of the sacred blood from *Tamaha Laatuufuipeka*, granddaughter of the first *Tu'i Kanokupolu*

Ha'a Ma'afu kitetama 'Anaukihesina (lines 17-20, *Takafalu*), (see Figure 14, page xxvi).

To look at this protective role of *Taufa'aahau Tupou IV (Tupouto'a)* through the eyes of Queen *Salote*, we can interpret it in terms of her marriage to *Tungii Mailefihi*. Wood-Ellem quoted from agent and consul Neill recording about *Tungii Mailefihi*, as “defined by Tongan custom”, as Queen *Salote*’s “political ‘brother’”, who “respected and deferred to his ‘sister’”. His duty “was to protect the sacred ruler”²⁸⁹. It obviously appears from Queen *Salote*’s perspective in both Elizabeth Bott’s and Elizabeth Wood-Ellem’s biographies of the Queen that her idea of support is based on a socio-architectural structure of two persons joined together in a reinforced working relationship. One as the *'ulu* “head” (Queen *Salote*, for example) is the *fale'i* “advisor” and the other the *sino* “body” (*Tungii Mailefihi*) the *poupou* “supports”, as in *pou* “posts”. Queen *Salote*’s argument is always expressed in the context of *kitetama* marriage. The sister’s son and the brother’s daughter union is likened to a voyaging canoe of the high chief (sister’s son) paddled by the high chief’s wife (brother’s daughter). On land, as a *fale*, the high chief on the *fata* is carried by his wife’s people as the *pou*. This is shown in the genealogy of Queen *Salote* and *Tungii Mailefihi* from the same ancestor, *Tu'i Pelehake 'Uluvalu*, (see Figure 12, page xxiv).

'Uluvalu married two *Ha'a Ma'afu* women. The first, *Tupouveiongo*, daughter of *Mumui*, is who Queen *Salote* is descended from. Queen *Salote*’s father,

Taufa'aahau Tupou II, is the son of a *kitetama* union. The second wife of '*Uluvalu*, *Laatuuhooleva*, is who *Tungii Mailefihi* is descended from. *Laatuuhooleva*'s father, *Kiuve'etaha* (also known as *Leka*), and '*Uluvalu*'s mother, *Toe'umu*, are brother and sister. Their daughter, *Tuputupu-'o-Pulotu*, great grandmother of *Tungii Mailefihi*, is from a *kitetama* union. '*Uluvalu*'s son and daughter, *Tu'i Pelehake Filiaipulotu* and *Tuputupu-'o-Pulotu*, are Queen *Salote*'s great grandfather and *Tungii Mailefihi*'s great grandmother, respectively, (see Figure 9, page xxi)²⁹⁰. In accordance with this new twist in the principle of brother-sister relationship in the context of Queen *Salote*'s marriage to *Tungii Mailefihi*, the genealogy clearly shows the sacredness of *Tamahaa Laatuufuipeka* being reversed where her high status is equated with the role of carrying the high rank "King of Tonga" (Queen *Salote*) sitting on the *fata*.

In the analysis of the new meaning of reversal, Queen *Salote* indirectly uses her marriage to *Tungii Mailefihi*, showing the final move to unify the whole of Tonga since *Taufa'aahau Tupou I* under one rule of the *Ha'a Ma'afu Tupou* dynasty. It is a marriage which not only consolidates this *Ha'a Ma'afu* enclosing of the sacred blood but it inversely brings together the two social moieties, *Kauhala'uta* and *Kauhalalalo*, thus, *haifine e ongo kauhala* "joining of the two sides" (line 26, *Takafalu*, Appendix 8, pages 288-295) into a new implosive meaning relationship.

²⁸⁹ Wood-Ellem 1999:155

²⁹⁰ See Bott 1982:147 as Figure 24

An interesting dimension of Queen *Salote*'s argument is her discussion of the concept of *ha'a* in relation to the meaning of *Ha'a Ma'afu* with the fish proverb which says, "the fish is not likely to swim backwards", by saying, "if the tail is strong, the fish will swim any way the tail wants to go"²⁹¹. Actually, her discussion specifically refers to her husband, *Tungii Mailefihi*, that the fish is her canoe rowed by *Tungii Mailefihi*, the navigator, sitting at the backside where the tail is, and facing opposite from the front bow sits Queen *Salote*, the head. *Tungii Mailefihi*, Queen *Salote*'s political "brother", to Queen *Salote*, is the sacred head navigator of the *Ha'a Ma'afu*. As a direct descendant of the long line of female carriers of the sacred blood from *Tamahaa Laatuufuipeka* to *Laatuhooleva* to *Tuputupu-'o-Pulotu* to *Fanetupouvava'u* to *Melesiu'ilikutapu*, mother of *Tungii Mailefihi*, *Tungii* in accordance with Queen *Salote*'s new reversal argument is not higher in rank than Queen *Salote*. Because, by the rule of *kitetama* marriage, *'Uluvalu*, from whom Queen *Salote* descends, is still higher in rank than his sister's wife, *Laatuhooleva*, from whom *Tungii Mailefihi* is descended. In other words, *'Uluvalu*'s higher rank is derived from his mother, *Toe'umu*, the sister of *Kiuve'etaha* (*Leka*), father of *Laatuhooleva*. *Laatuhooleva*'s mother, *Laatuufuipeka*, even though a high rank *Tamahaa*, she is outranked by her husband's sister, *Toe'umu*. So, even though on the genealogy that descendants of *Toe'umu* are all males until Queen *Salote* and, on the other hand, that the descendants of *Kiuve'etaha* females until *Tungii Mailefihi*, high rank is read from the original brother (*Kiuve'etaha*)-sister (*Toe'umu*) pair of the *kitetama* marriage.

²⁹¹ Bott 1982:83

Also, in this sense, *Ha'a Ma'afu*, descendants of *Tu'i Kanokupolu Ma'afu-o-Tu'itonga*, are the *Tu'i Tonga* navigators. In that respect, Queen *Salote* is the *Tu'i Tonga*.

Queen *Salote's* marriage to *Tungii Mailefihi*, once again, recapitulates the role of the principal antagonists of the *Ha'atakalaua*. The eclipsing implication this time is not against the *hau* but the *Kauhala'uta*.

In contrast to her *fie 'eiki* composition of *Peato*, Queen *Salote's* composition of *Takafalu* can also be read as her *lau 'eiki* eclipsing of the *Kauhala'uta* by her marriage in alliance to the *Ha'atakalaua*. *Tungii Mailefihi* would have been a *Tu'i Ha'atakalaua* if the *Tu'i Ha'atakalaua* title had continued to be conferred down the line of his father's side. The beginning of the eclipsing of the *Kauhala'uta* was really a mission implicit in the marriage of *Tu'i Kanokupolu Mataeleha'amea* with *Kaloafuutonga*, younger daughter of *Tu'i Ha'atakalaua Vaea* and *Sungu*, daughter of *Tu'i Tumbou* of *Lakemba* in the *Lau* Group. It is connected to when the *Tu'i Ha'atakalaua* office was carrying its duty as the *mohefo* giver in correspondence to protection of the *Tu'i Tonga*. At that time, *Mataeleha'amea*, in correspondence to his *mohefo* giving to the *Tu'i Tonga*, manipulated a clever *mohefo* offering of his daughter, *Fusipala*, to *Tu'i Ha'atakalaua Tongatangakitaulupekifolaha*. The move was as subtle as a weakening of the *Tu'i Tonga-Tu'i Ha'atakalaua* connection, for *Fusipala* was later taken away by force from her husband to be the wife of *Fisilaumaali* of *Lafalafa (Pelehake)*. It had been a unique move in the

history of legitimation of power in Tonga for this was a case of coercion of power using marriage with powerful leaders in Tonga to create a *kaainga* network for *Mataeleha'amea's* own advantage. The *Tu'i Ha'atakalaua* title was brought into the *Ha'a Ma'afu* after *Fuatakifolaha* who was the fifteenth *Tu'i Ha'atakalaua* title holder, son of *Fusipala* to *Tongatangakitaulupekifolaha*. After *Fuatakifolaha* died, the *Tu'i Ha'atakalaua* title was and given to the eighth *Tu'i Kanokupolu Maealiuaki*, son of *Tu'i Kanokupolu Ma'afu-'o-Tu'itonga*. Captain Cook met *Maealiuaki* as an old man in 1777, so the transfer of the *Tu'i Ha'atakalaua* title to the *Tu'i Kanokupolu* must have happened in the 1760s or 1770s. So, the marriage of *Fusipala* to *Tu'i Ha'atakalaua Tongatangakitaulupekifolaha* was the eclipsing of the *Tu'i Tonga Kauhala'uta* to start building up the new *Tu'i Kanokupolu Tupou* dynasty. The *Ha'atakalaua*, in other words, had been appointed with a new direction as to protect the *Tupou* dynasty. The *Veikune* title was created in the line of the old *Tu'i Ha'atakalaua*, most probably to recognize its blood connection to *Fusipala*, later with *'Osaiasi*, great grandson of *Tu'i Ha'atakalaua Fuatakifolaha*. *Veikune's* son, *'Inoke Fotu*, married *Lavinia Veiongo I*, (great grandmother of Queen *Salote* and aunt of *Sioeli Pangia*), who carried the *vasu* sacred blood from her mother, *Halaevalu Mata'aho I*, half sister of *Taufa'aahau Tupou I*. From this intermarriage, the *Tu'i Ha'atakalaua*, and the *Tu'i Tonga* alike, had been immersed into the *Tu'i Kanokupolu* line in the marriage, for example, of *Tu'i Kanokupolu Tupou II* with the granddaughter of *Lavinia Veiongo I* and *'Inoke Fotu*. In this connection, *Lavinia Veiongo's* father is *Tu'i Tonga Laufilitonga*, the last *Tu'i Tonga* title holder.

Fusipala's coerced marriage to *Fisilaumaali* created another new title conceptually in connection to a pet jumping porpoise that was caught from the deep sea, thus the name of their child, the first *Tu'i Pelehake Lekaumoana*. The name *Lekaumoana* is suspicious. Firstly, his father's name, *Fisilaumaali*, would suggest that he was a *Fisi* "Fijian". Secondly, if his father was Fijian, which I believe so, then, *Lekaumoana* could probably be a namesake of *Lasakau*, the fishermen and navigators who used to live on the island of *Mbau*, fishing and navigating for the *Kubuna* people of mainland *Vitilevu*, before they were banished for surreptitious eating of a catch²⁹². This newly created title of *Tu'i Pelehake*, in my interpretation, thus, then, marks a Fijian connection as originated from a *ngaahi tama* "to make a high ranking person" of *Fusipala* for *Fisilaumaali*. The creation can be taken as a presentiment in the time of *Tu'i Kanokupolu Mataeleha'amea* which, significantly, became valuable later in the political war for supremacy of the *Ha'a Ma'afu*. The Fijian connection is further implicated in the naming of *Lekaumoana's* son, *'Uluvalu*, and *Lekaumoana's* grandchildren, *Filiaipulotu* and *Tuputupu-'o-Pulotu*. Also, it is implicated in the exile of *Lekaumoana's* eldest son, *Mailelatamai*, to Fiji and started the village of *Ndroga* (Tonga) in mainland *Vitilevu*. *'Uluvalu*, or, in Fijian, the *Vunivalu*, is title name of the paramount chief of *Mbau* (*Bau*) in Tonga. The naming of his children in reference to *Pulotu* indicates his origination from the abode of death. Because of this alleged connection to Fiji, the *Tu'i Pelehake* title, then, is a mark of the establishment in Tonga of this *Pulotu* abode of death of the *Vunivalu*. It is also an established reduplication of the original history of the Fijian *vasu* sacred

²⁹² SCARR 1976; FISON 1907:1-19

blood in Tonga. *'Uluvalu's* son, *Filiaipulotu*, with *Tupuoveiongo*, is *Filia-i-Pulotu* meaning "Selected-in-*Pulotu*". The name of *'Uluvalu's* daughter, *Tuputupu-'o-Pulotu*, with *Laatuhooleva*, bears the meaning of "Growing little by little-of-*Pulotu*". The implications of *'Uluvalu's* children's names show in Queen *Salote*, a direct descendant of *Tu'i Pelehake Filiaipulotu*, that she is a "selected" one (*vasu* sacred blood) of *Pulotu*, whereas, in her husband that he comes from a family in *Pulotu* that "grow all over the place".

The *Tupouto'a* title, the subject matter of *Takafalu*, is connected via a connection of *Ma'afu-'o-Tu'itonga* to *Ha'apai* (*Ha'afeva* and *'Uiha* Islands)²⁹³ by means of *Ma'afu's* copulation with *Ate* of *Ha'afeva* and, his son's union, *Ngalumoetutulu*, with *Siu'ulua* of *'Uiha*. *Ngalumoetutulu's* daughter's son, *Tupouto'a*, was made by his mother's people the *Tu'i Ha'apai* "Leader of *Ha'apai*", (see Figure 13, page xxv). It was a case of *Tupouto'a's* mother's brother, *Po'oi*, recognising his sister's son as his real descendant and that made *Tupouto'a* the palladium of the *Ha'a Ma'afu*. In other words, the appointment to the *Tu'i Ha'apai* title was *Po'oi's* submission of his support for the *Ha'a Ma'afu's* cause. Title and marriage are shown in this context as one consequential political engagement of brother and sister in name and blood confirmation.

Having lived and died in his mother's land, *'Uiha*, *Tupouto'a* was the only *Tu'i Kanokupolu* to have lived outside of the *Tu'i Kanokupolu's* traditional residence in

²⁹³ Bott 1982:144

Hihifo, Tongatapu Island. After his death, *Tupouto'a's* son, *Taufa'aahau Tupou I*, brought back the *Tu'i Kanokupolu* residence from *'Uiha* to *Nuku'alofa*, in central *Tongatapu*. Obviously, the bringing back of the *Tu'i Kanokupolu* residence has to do with *Taufa'aahau Tupou I* wanting to protect weak *Tu'i Kanokupolu Aleamotu'a* at *Nuku'alofa*, the uncle and successor of *Taufa'aahau Tupou I's* father, *Tu'i Kanokupolu Tupouto'a*, from the *Ha'a Havea*. It was also his time to prepare for his own installation to the *Tu'i Kanokupolu* title. *Tupouto'a* title was first granted to *Tu'i Kanokupolu Taufa'aahau Tupou I's* grandson, *Mateialona*. And, it was reinstated as the Crown Prince title (*Taufa'aahau Tupouto'a*) before he takes on the *Tu'i Kanokupolu* title as *George Taufa'aahau Tupou IV*.

From line 17 to the end of the *Takafalu* poem, the political and economic association of power with the local woman of the land is explained by Queen *Salote* through the genealogy of Crown Prince *Tupouto'a* in relation to certain important places and people in the whole of Tonga. For example, on his father's mother's side, *Melesiu'ilikutapu*, Crown Prince *Tupouto'a* is genealogically a high ranking *faahina* "white pandanus" from *Neiafu* in *Vava'u* Island (Appendix 8, *Takafalu*, line 17, pages 288-295) because *Melesiu'ilikutapu* is the last carrier of the *vasu* sacred blood from her great grandmother's mother, *Tamahaa Laatuufuipeka*, the granddaughter of *Tu'itonga Tu'ipulotu-'i-Langitu'oteau*, who was buried at *Langitu'oteau* royal tomb in *Lapaha*²⁹⁴ (Appendix 8, line 18). Having blood connection to the house of *Tu'itonga*, in this case, makes one's status a sacred high chief, thus, Queen *Salote's* son, in that context, is therefore a true *'eiki*.

The Crown Prince *Tupouto'a*, again, rose at the *Tu'alikutapu* "sacred weather shore" of *Fua'amotu* (*Takafalu*, Appendix 8, line 19, pages 288-295), where his father's great grandfather, *Fatukimotulalo*, belonged and radiated the *Houma 'Utulau* (Appendix 8, line 20). Here, Queen *Salote* is showing the *Ha'a Ma'afu* navigator connection of Crown Prince *Tupouto'a* through the imagery of the sun's ray as some kind of a *paahulu* "trail blazer". *Paahulu* then became a *taumafa kava* name of *Tungii I* when he receives his *kava* drinks. By the *vasu/fahu* sacred blood argument, the sacred blood does not flow through the Crown Prince *Tupouto'a*, then *Tu'i Kanokupolu* George *Taufa'aahau Tupou IV*, down the *Tungii* line. As he is a male, the title name goes to him. It is a rule that men connect names and women connect blood. But, through *Taufa'aahau Tupou IV*'s marriage with *Halaevalu Mata'aho*, the sacred blood is reclaimed, since *Halaevalu Mata'aho* is a direct descendant of the last *Tu'i Tonga Tamahaa Laatuufuipeka*²⁹⁵, (see Figure 1, page xi), and carrier of the royal blood.

In another interpretation of Queen *Salote*'s genealogical connection of her son to *Ha'a Ma'afu*, that while her son is a white pandanus and sacred, he is a birth of *Tu'alikutapu*, a reference to her *'Uiha* connection, to *Tungii Mailefihi*, to *Houma 'Utulau* connection. For that double connection through his mother and father, *Taufa'aahau Tupou IV* has thus been appointed to the title names of *Tupouto'a* (*'Uiha* connection) and *Tungii* (*Houma 'Utulau* connection). Uniting the two title

²⁹⁴ Gifford 1923:127

²⁹⁵ Bott 1982:153, Figure 31

names in the person of Queen *Salote's* son²⁹⁶ means that the *Kanokupolu* and *Ha'atakalaua* titles have jointly merged into the palladium of the *Ha'a Ma'afu*.

Queen *Salote* would not have composed *Takafalu* if it was not for the commemoration of the investiture of the *Tupouto'a* title on her son. The composition also is her recording of the *Ha'a Ma'afu* palladium of *Tupou*, no longer of the *Tu'i Tonga* as in *Ma'afu-'o-Tu'itonga*, since *Tuku'aho*. It is of course her marriage to *Tungii Mailefihi* and, secondly, her son, *Taufa'aahau Tupou IV*, to *Halaevalu Mata'aho* that the *Tungii* title and the sacred blood from the last *Tamahaa Laatuufuipeka* had been secured to support the *Ha'a Ma'afu* of *Tupou*.

This special assignment to fully secure the protection of *Tupou* is again expressed in Queen *Salote's* lament at the death of her son, *Tuku'aho Tau-'i-Folaha*, younger brother of *Taufa'aahau Tupou IV*. Queen *Salote* expresses her thoughts about *Tuku'aho*, anticipating him to be of use to *Tungii* and his people, to be *Taufa'aahau Tupou IV's* more serviceable younger brother²⁹⁷. If he was alive today, he would

²⁹⁶ Bott 1982:64

²⁹⁷ In Wood-Ellem (1999:164-165), Melenaite Taumoefolau's translations are as follows-

Tuku'aho Tau-'i-Folaha
Neu nonga pe 'o fiefia
 (I lived in glad anticipation)
'o lau 'eau teke 'aonga
 (of the day you would be of service)
kia Tungii mo hono kaainga
 (to *Tungii* and his people.)

Hoku 'ofa 'oku, hoku 'ofa fau
 (Oh, how great is my love)
He tehina 'o Taufa'aahau
 (for the younger brother of *Taufa'aahau*.)
Na'e lau pe tokua 'eau
 (I always thought he would one day be)

have been the next appointment for the title of *Tungii*. The title, instead, went to *Taufa'aahau Tupou IV*, (see Figure 14, page xxvi).

It is important to note that the ambivalence in Queen *Salote's* poetry expresses a Hegelian language of dialectical contradictions in connection to Queen *Salote's* personal struggle to secure the *Tupou* dynasty. Thus, the whole scenario of *lau 'eiki-fie 'eiki* dialectic of praising and denying/blaming is Queen *Salote's* political affirmation of seeking to ensure posthumous fame for herself, and the *Tupou* dynasty, so that her subjects continue to toe the line. Her extraordinary skill in rhetoric and in-depth knowledge of Tongan culture and genealogy has provided her poetry's unique ability to immortalise what is transient, thus making the political profit she, as the ruler, advantageously earns. Her poetry, like the Constitution to *Taufa'aahau Tupou I*, takes, then, the place of a *mataapule* sitting in between her and her subjects and, thus, controls them. People singing and dancing to her compositions is all about the drill of learning by heart their ruler's genealogical connections to both above (*Kauhala'uta*) and below (*Kauhalalalo*). Simply, the drill is repeating the '*uhinga* "genealogy" after her, the *mataapule*-poet.

The controlling aspect of Queen *Salote's* poetry features in the torture and oppression of her subjects with her heretical moral and cultural constructed values supported by her rhetoric for security and social recognition reasons. It is a heresy originated specifically from the historical seizure of the *Tu'i Kanokupolu* title by *Tu'i*

Kanokupolu Tuku'aho, head of the descent group of *Tu'i Kanokupolu Ma'afu-'o-Tu'itonga*, thus, of the *Ha'a Ma'afu*. At this point is the beginning of the founding of the *Tupou* dynasty, in association with the inheritance of the *Tu'i Ha'apai* title via *Tuku'aho's* wife's father, *Ngalumoetutulu*, the eldest untitled son of *Ma'afu-'o-Tu'itonga*, who is also *Tuku'aho's* uncle. Again, the founding of the dynasty is also the beginning of *Ha'a Ma'afu kitetama* adopting of the three main titles, *Tu'i Tonga*, *Tu'i Ha'atakalaua*, and *Tu'i Kanokupolu*.

The nature of the torture and oppression is related to Queen *Salote* being *mataapule*-poet while, at the same time, on top of the traditional *mataapule* system. So, for example, her personal *mataapule* will get together the people on to the *pangai* and, then, her poetry will get the people to recite and perform with bodies' movements to the texts. Her poetry plays the part as, a *Ha'a Ma'afu* member, the face of *Tupou*. And, because, she is the *Tupou III*, her compositions serve to protect her, as the *pule*, from her own subjects. Rhythmical movement of the bodies is a classic situation of the Queen *Salote's* dumb subjects beating jubilantly the texts in music back to her, along with the constant beckoning of the heads in compliance with the Queen's genealogical instructions. The expression showing appreciation of the genealogical links has, vice versa, been also a sign of a successful oppressive use that thus cunningly makes the people tick. With appreciation of this sign it often goes out from the Queen with a big appreciatory smile. In other words, the Queen's smile is indication of certainty of the effect of her

poetry as a way of expressing the power of her genealogy. In the words of Butler²⁹⁸, it is smile of a romance of destruction. Being able to enclose the people genealogically into *pangai*, the Queen has successfully gathered together the people of Tonga into the “food enclosure” of the *Tupou* dynasty.

Romance of destruction is connected to the craving for the sacred blood with the using of the *kitetama* cross-cousin marriage system by *Tu'i Kanokupolu Ma'afu-'o-Tu'itonga*, the “steersman” of the canoe of the *Tu'i Tonga*. Wanting the scared blood is a romance. So, loving it means one wants to eat it, thus, *kaiha'a* “eating of the sacred flesh”. From this conceptual perspective of romance as destruction, *kitetama* marriage is an example of *kaiha'a* as a means for social elevation, the correct interpretation of '*ofa* “love”. Precisely, marriage, in this sense, is romance of *toofaa* “putting to sleep”²⁹⁹. In two of her compositions, Queen *Salote* illustrates this stealing by “putting to sleep” in her poems of *Sangone* and *Peato*. In *Sangone*, she alludes to the success of the *Tu'i Kanokupolu* with the putting to sleep of *Lafaipana* (line 5, *Sangone*, Appendix 6, pages 279-282) by *Ulamoleka*, a nickname of the two navigators brothers, *Fasi'apule* and *Tu'itaatui*, (Appendix 6, line 22), and of *Sioeli Pangia* (line 15, *Peato*, Appendix 7, pages 283-287) by *Hifofua*, a nickname of *Taufa'aahau*, (Appendix 7, line 12). As part of their punishment, *Lafaipana* and *Sioeli Pangia* missed out on the titles which then went to their respective sisters' descendants. The *Tangaloa* title of *Lafai* of Samoa went to *Va'epopua's* child as the *Tu'i Tonga* and, later, the *Tu'i Tonga* title being

²⁹⁸ Lewis 1989:226-230.

²⁹⁹ Compare with Kavaliku's analysis of '*ofa* (1961)

replaced as *Kalanivalu* to *Afaa's* son, *Semisi Fonua*. The critique of the transformation that *Tangaloa* "Persecutor-god" becomes "cut into half" (*Tu'i Tonga*) at *Folaha* and, then, finally, "struggle with no result" (*Kalanivalu*) at *Lifuka*.

All these stealing of titles are aspects of *lau 'eiki-fie 'eiki* in which Queen *Salote* contradictorily expresses her superiority-inferiority complexes in terms of her actions of saving/protecting and disposing of the object of stealing. For her survival, Queen *Salote* practices the romantic destruction of *'ofa* "love", thus creating in her a psychology of accepting death as a fate. In such a way that has created a work ethic of support of oneself with the dedication to die if need be. The importance of it is *Tu'i Kanokupolu's* sacrificial attitude to die in order to protect the only sacred flesh of *Laatuufuipeka*, the last *Tamahaa*, from being snatched away.

I wonder how far that protection is going to sustain in a globalised economy without the collapse of the monarchical system. One way of looking at this question is the fact that the Tongan royal children have begun operating and controlling of local big businesses which can be seen as a royal move towards business partnerships with the world wide big business bullies. This means that a new form of contestation takes on to stage, now between the global elite capitalism and the local commoner people. Politics and economics merge at the top level to protect themselves from the lower level commoner people crying for democracy. The real contestation, as shown in the commoner-elite debate between poets William

Wordsworth and his friend, Samuel Taylor Coleridge³⁰⁰, shows that the enthusiastic movement of the former toward the creative identity of the real common people is explicitly political as the elitist movement of the latter. When Queen *Salote* denies the 'eiki of her old great granduncle, *Sioeli Pangia*, for example, she is, at the same time, praising her 'eiki-ness over him. Her denial means that she is putting him to sleep so that she can "eat up" her favourite dish of the 'eiki and *Tu'i Tonga* that she loves most. Her action upon *Sioeli Pangia* is nothing but a political romanticisation of securing the *Tupou* family-centred ethos, as a constant struggle for, and conflict over, power and security.

Anyway, one can see in Queen *Salote's* own poetry, in her ambivalent styles of *lau 'eiki* and *fie 'eiki*, this same kind of mentality of saying one thing but meaning another, preaching truth and history as that coming from the mouth of the chief³⁰¹. In reality, truth and history do not come as the guarantee of the powerful but they are integral parts of the historical dialectics that go on in the daily social exchanges of real people doing real things in real time. In this sense, Queen *Salote*, in a way, is seen to challenge the conservative view that power works out the truth, when she, for example, refers to the idle lifestyle of *Sioeli Pangia* in the poem of *Peato*. He is a Catholic *pieta* who Queen *Salote* criticizes, obviously, from her Methodist belief, as a *taka* "wander about" looking for a *hia 'i Fanakava* "offence which cannot be punished since there is no law against it" (*Peato*, Appendix 7, line 4, pages

³⁰⁰ See Thompson (1997) on the debate between Wordsworth and Coleridge

³⁰¹ Wood-Ellem 1999

283-287). His charges are that because he is an emerald who comes to an end (Appendix 7, line 6) and a *tamatou* “parasite” (Appendix 7, line 7) who rides on Queen *Salote*’s back, sleeping doing nothing useful (Appendix 7, line 15) but living dependently on the works of the *Tu’i Kanokupolu* and her people (Appendix 7, lines 19-20) and, waking up to drinking *kava* (Appendix 7, line 33), *Sioeli* has to be banished out of *Tongatapu* to where he originally comes from. Queen *Salote* even specifies the nature of *Sioeli*’s offence, as his name, *Pangia*, suggests, as someone who *alaalanoa* “habitually takes things belonging to other people”.

Queen *Salote* alludes this behaviour to the story of stealing of the top of *Niuatoputapu* at night by some Samoan demigods and, on being spotted with the light emitted from *Seketoa*’s arse hole, the stealers dropped the top in the ocean, thus the island of *Tafahi*, and ran away as quickly as possible. *Sioeli* has been dubbed in this context as a bird which has *kapakau ‘o Tafahi* “wings to cut the top off” (Appendix 7, line 36-37). This is generally characterized as parasitic that which became a central theme of the building of the *Ha’amonga ‘a Maui* trillithon (*tamatou na’e fafa*, Appendix 7, line 7) under the order of *Tu’i Tonga Taatui*. It symbolizes the slave morality of the commoner people carrying the *Tu’i Tonga* on their shoulders, like *ha’amo* “carrying” the food of the *Tu’i Tonga*. In that psychological moralist critique, *Sioeli* is an extinct emerald. For someone, like *Sioeli*, who regards himself as being a *pieta* cannot be truthful, therefore, not dutiful. In that regard, the *Kanokupolu* can now dare to dispute what comes from the mouth of the chief.

Queen *Salote*'s denying of *Sioeli Pangia*'s 'eiki with her praising of her own 'eiki is, once again, a revision of the received truth and history. Thus, this contradiction shows that her and her followers' claims to truth and history are as much references to the contest of others' economic and political power. Authority as the spring from which truth flows is often an idea of colonizers who challenge local power. In situations like this we can see that contesting claims to truth emerge historically. The authority of the 'eiki is being revised by Queen *Salote* because she is trying to define this authority as a result of industry and individual effort as opposed to ancient *Tu'i Tonga* interpretation of it as the continuing right of the ruler to be idle and consume. Queen *Salote*'s producer ethic of 'eiki is as expressed with imageries like *tui 'a e ongo Ha'angana* "plaiting of the two *Ha'angana*" (*Peato*, Appendix 7, line 10, pages 283-287), a reference to *Halaevalu Mata'aho*, mother of twin *Kalanivalu*, *Sioeli Pangia*'s father, and *Lavinia Veiongo*, Queen *Salote*'s great grandmother, *koka nofo'anga* "staining of tapa cloths for sitting on" (Appendix 7, line 20), and *Tongafuesia* "carrying the burden of Tonga" (Appendix 7, line 32), both references to *Tu'ikanokupolu*.

But, the ambiguity in association with making a distinction between production (*Tu'i Kanokupolu Kauhala'alo*) and consumption (*Tu'i Tonga Kauhala'uta*) is connected to the difficulty of drawing the line in an inverted system of one replacing the other. *Tu'i Kanokupolu* Queen *Salote Tupou III*'s frustration at being a producer is only her wish, that yet to happen, to be a consumer like *Sioeli Pangia*. Even the conception of *kaainga* as gathering of *kakai* "people", as in *pangai*, exchanging

and eating of food and *koloa* one another, should fall in the same interpretation. Any *pangai* is a public gathering of the dominant leader exercising his/her universal status to where all things flow, but, at the same time, a place where contestation for the supreme power will start brewing.

An argument put forward to me when I first presented this chapter to the Tongan History Association conference in 1999 in Tonga was that Queen *Salote's* denying *Sioeli Pangia's 'eiki* is a reference to *Sioeli Pangia's* impotence and uselessness. Also, according to her, *Sioeli Pangia* should not inherit his father's title that ought to come down to him but should, instead, go to his sister, *Afaa*, so it did, for she is producing, thus, she should accordingly be rewarded. But, this cannot be held as the sole reason for *Sioeli Pangia* missing out of the *Kalanivalu* title. Take note that this is Queen *Salote* punishing *Sioeli Pangia* after his appearance at *Fanakava* for surreptitiously eating the food presented to him.

Conclusion

The new form of power which has to do with individual industry has helped in securing the position of the ruler to stay firm as a post in the ground. But, that is only an interpretation rhetorically good enough to efficaciously arouse an emotional feeling of support from the commoner people while Queen *Salote* steps up to assume the traditional seat of tyranny. Tyrannical of the competition for power, again, between opposite sex, did happen during the time of *Tuku'aho*, the

14th *Tu'i Kanokupolu*. He is Queen *Salote's* great, great, great, grandfather.

Tuku'aho showed no reverence for his first cousin *Tupoumohefo* who installed herself to the *Tu'i Kanokupolu* title when he deposed the title off her and put on his own father, *Mumui*. He told her off and said that she should remain as a *pali* "female genitals" and not acting to be a *ule* "penis". *Tuku'aho's* harsh words to *Tupoumohefo* cannot be taken that he is a typical Tongan paternalist female basher. Rather, his action is a clear representation of socio-political contestation for the title power mainly between the title holder's children and his brothers' children. *Tuku'aho's* bitterness towards his first cousin arose from his concern with the joint action between *Tupoumohefo* and her *Tu'itonga* husband, *Paulaho*, who seized the *Tu'itonga* title from his half older brother, *Ma'ulupekotofa*, leaving him poor.

The basis of such impression of course is derived from a kind of self-assertion that is grounded on a claim of the *Tu'i Kanokupolu* as to his servicing role to the *Tu'i Tonga* in terms of food and people.

Power must be, therefore, a question of *fie 'eiki*, who claims what with the support of people. Because, *Sioeli Pangia* may have a legitimate claim on *'eiki*, but, in Queen *Salote's* retaliation, at the same time, she is suggesting that she does, too, have one. This dialectical denying by Queen *Salote* of *Sioeli Pangia's* social status can be seen as a dimension of the competition for power between the two, which, again, perpetuated by their respective affiliation to the Methodist and Catholic

Churches. The symbolic presentation of the conflict between the two Churches is also a conceptualisation of an inner conflict between *kauhala'uta* and *kauhalalalo* moieties. It is the kind of ambivalent behaviour that shows integration and separation of very unequal moiety divisions. He, as a mere stone structure, a symbolic Polynesian Olympian vicar on earth³⁰², lies on his back in *Lapaha*, home of idols, while being fed and taken care of by the poor people who have to work extra hard to be able to fulfill their duties to him.

³⁰² Luke 19:54:178

CHAPTER 5

Conclusions and suggestions for further research

As suggested in this thesis, historically, *Kauhala'uta* and *Kauhalalalo* social moieties are particularly seen as part of the general working theme of the legitimization of economic and political power in Tonga. The idea that *Kauhala'uta* and *Kauhalalalo* are divisions in Tonga later coming to mean between the people of the *Tu'i Tonga* and the *Tu'i Kanokupolu* and his people³⁰³ is what I take to be a clear indication of writing a history of Tonga from a structuralist perspective. Based on my critique of the history of struggle for power in the Samoa-Tonga connection, my position, on the other hand, takes the moiety division to be an idea originated from the joining (*hoko*) of a "sky" wrongdoer (*Tangaloa*) and an "underworld" wrongdoer (*Va'epopua*), thus the two wrongdoers (*Kauhala*) together form up a one *Tu'i Tonga* system of 'inasi tribute (*'Aho'eitu*) to *Folaha* in Tonga. Thus, in terms of *fale* as upturned canoe, the moiety division is the joining *fale* of upper body part (roof) and lower body part (posts) which then becomes a new centre on land occupied by the *fale* advisors with the role to direct the *Tu'i Tonga* tribute of food of the wounded *Tu'i Manu'a* victim in Tonga. In the myth of *'Aho'eitu*, it shows the moiety division as the socio-political turning point in Tonga of an inversion of

³⁰³ See Bott 1982:156

the sky wrongdoers (*Tangaloa* and his sky sons, the *Kauhala'uta*) who have fallen down on to earth via the *toa* tree and become the *Kauhalalalo* supporters of their new promoted *Kauhala'uta* successor from earth. In this connection, the idea of moiety division suggests it as a universal idea representing the particular actual situation of power struggle and the political and economic management of power and resources. It is not specifically about a social organisation of a chief-commoner welfare system. It is rather about power seizure relationship where *Kauhalalalo Tu'i Kanokupolu George Taufaa'ahau Tupou I*, for example, seizes the power and authority of the *Kauhala'uta Tu'i Tonga* circle. In reverse, *Kauhala'uta Tu'i Tonga* people become the stand of *Kauhalalalo Tu'i Kanokupolu Tupou* dynasty. (See pages 102-105 for the historical critique of this reverse.)

With the successful feat of the lower ranked *Tu'i Kanokupolu* kingly line in seizing the power and authority of the *Tu'i Tonga*, *Tu'i Kanokupolu George Taufaa'ahau Tupou I* and his great, great granddaughter, *Tu'i Kanokupolu Queen Salote Tupou III*, together made it recognised with their respective legalistic 1875 Constitution and artistic emphasis on music, dance, and poetry. It is such a success that of course came into effect after a long time of manipulated struggle of the *Safata* people of *'Upolu* with the *moheofo* institution to enclose the *'eiki* sacred blood of the *Tu'i Tonga*, which, also, opened the door for the power hungry *Safata* to implode the traditional dual *Tu'i Tonga-Tu'i Ha'atakalaua* brotherly system into the one *Kanokupolu* "flesh of *'Upolu*". In fact, the struggle for the social rank and power continued on, this time within the *Kanokupolu* circle between the royal *ha'a*

brothers and, at last, it came to a period in the *pangai* of *Ha'a Ma'afu* (*Ma'afu* brothers). *Ha'a Ma'afu* triumphantly enclosed the sacred blood within to become a legal socio-political form of legitimacy of the *Ma'afu* brothers' ranks and statuses. At last, the *Ha'a Ma'afu* of the *Tu'i Kanokupolu* line now takes over the divine right of kings of the old *Tu'i Tonga* who has been demoted to the lowest base of Tonga's socio-political hierarchy. As had been the tail of the fish, the *Ha'a Ma'afu* has now also assumed the head role of the *Tu'i Tonga*. They become the legitimate '*Ulu'i Tonga* as "Heads/Kings of Tonga" being placed on the offerings of *va'e poopula* "legs of punishment" as their stands. "Head/King of Tonga" concept is a reference to the symbolic tradition of *hoko* human sacrifice in connection with the decapitation of a tyrant whose abandoned '*ulu* "head" has been provided a *tu'ula*, *tu'unga*, *tu'u'anga* "stand" of the punished local *va'e* "legs" on land. In the *Maori* culture of New Zealand, this concept of "Head/King" is clearly reminisced with the name of the royal residence of the *Maori* King called *Turangawaewae* which, in Tongan, the same concept is *tu'u'angava'e* "legs (of chief *Lufe* of *Folaha*) as stand (of abandoned *Tu'i Tonga Havea's* head)".

This human sacrifice as the proper origin of the moiety division of *Kauhala'uta* and *Kauhalalalo* branched itself from an old ethnobiological belief in the *hoko* "genealogical blood" that had been connected through the *mohefo* practice of women of *Ha'atalalaua* and, then, later of *Kanokupolu*, being sent to be the divine *Tu'i Tonga's* sexual partners. The child being born from such *mohefo* union, because of his descending from a divine blood, marks the turning point of the two

senior kingly lines, *Tu'i Tonga* and *Tu'i Ha'atakalaua*, becoming imploded inwardly towards the lower ranked *Tu'i Kanokupolu* kingly line. The economic and political power of the *Tu'i Tonga* over the resources had slowly oozed into the centre of 'Upolu, the *Muifonua* "Land end", the *Hikule'o* "Guarding tail" of Tonga.

Realistically, the *mohefo* practice, later known as the *kitetama* cross-cousin marriage in the time of the *Ha'a Ma'afu*, is not only an affirmation of the socio-political connection between *Kauhala'uta* and *Kauhalalalo*, but, it also shows the moiety division to be a permanent single inversion process of one being carried on the shoulder of the loser. The latter is punished to be the carrier of the next successful victor. His punishment also means the loser is made to be the loser's new master's protector. In this historical sense, the theory of dualism (*Kauhala'uta* and *Kauhalalalo*) can be understood in terms of opposition triangulated into three parts- *Tu'i Tonga*, *Tu'i Ha'atakalaua*, *Tu'i Kanokupolu*- and, the third party (*Tu'i Kanokupolu*) is the synthetic connecting link between the other two opposing social forces (*Tu'i Tonga* and *Tu'i Ha'atakalaua*).

This discussion of the *mohefo-kitetama* practice brings to the fore Elizabeth Bott's writing on rank and power³⁰⁴ as a feminist dissertation that revolves around the Tongan principle of brother-sister relationship. In Bott's interpretation, using, for example, the *Tu'i Tonga Fefine* and the *Tamahaa*, the sister is "a compensatory development counterbalancing the development of the powerful *Tu'i Kanokupolu*,

³⁰⁴ Bott 1982:68

but much lower rank". Bott's conception of sister, generally, as *fefine* "woman" or "a compensatory development", cannot be more precise than my critique of it in terms of the history of struggle between the two junior kingly lines, *Tu'i Ha'atakalaua* and *Tu'i Kanokupolu*, for the sacred blood of the *Tu'i Tonga* as the seat of power.

Brother-sister principle is the particular conception of the universal *Kauhala'uta-Kauhalalalo* social moieties. Thus, the *Tu'i Tonga* (brother) and *Tu'i Tonga Fefine* (brother's daughter) distinction is some kind of a particularisation of the *Tu'i Kanokupolu* historical struggle for economic and political power. In connection, the nature, then, of this historical struggle is the *Kanokupolu* practicing of the *moheofo*, then *kitetama*, system of stealing/adopting of the source of power. The *tuofefine* "sister" and *tuonga'ane* "brother" distinction highlights a mutual cooperation by engaging in an incestuous persecuting relationship to enclose the seed of power of the impregnating *Tu'i Tonga*.

Use as an example the real beginning of the *Tu'i Kanokupolu moheofo* practice, that is, 'Anaukihesina, daughter of *Tu'i Kanokupolu Ma'afu-'o-Tu'itonga*, sent as *moheofo* to be served by *Tu'i Tonga Tu'ipulotu-'i-Langitu'oteau*. 'Anaukihesina and *Tu'ipulotu-'i-Langitu'oteau* are first cousins. Their marriage is a cross-cousin. 'Anaukihesina's father and *Tu'ipulotu-'i-Langitu'oteau's* mother, *Tongotea*, are brother and sister. Consequently, this cross-cousin marriage led on to the persecution of the sacred blood inwardly toward the *Tu'i Tonga Tu'ipulotu-'i-Langitu'oteau's* daughter, *Tu'i Tonga Fefine Nanasipau'u*. Again,

Nanasipau'u was married to her cross-cousin auntie's son, *Tu'i Lakepa Laatuunipulu*, giving birth to *Tamahaa Laatuufuipeka* who started the *Tu'i Kanokupolu Ha'a Ma'afu* incestuous internalization of the sacred child, *Tungii Mailefihi* his name. He is a tangled alyxia plant grown on the seashore. *Mailefihi* is a *heliaki* referring to the entangling of many ranks in him by his ancestral lines of descent. It is also a *heliaki* to his navigation origin on his father's side, as the *Pahulu* of the *Tu'i Tonga* voyage.

The implication of the gender study, therefore, is connected to the development in Tonga of the *kaainga* social organization as the mainstay securing the *Tupou* dynasty at the helm of power in Tonga. Generally, *kaainga* is the gathering of people related to one another by blood and marriage. It is thus a genealogical connection into one people, a significant key to the *Tupou* dynasty's success. But, despite this ideological egalitarian implication of the *kaainga* social organization sharing in eating with one another, where no one is higher but of equal status, the reality of the relationship between *Tupou* and his *kaainga* reveals the opposite of one section as the defeated producer (*tu'a*-commoners) and, the other, the victorious consumer (*hou'eiki*-chiefs). Thus, this central theme of *kai* "to eat", of *kakai* "people", in the *kaainga* politico-economic organization, is connected to the contesting aspect of eating of the source (*kahokaho* yam) of power, the *kanokato* of the occupier's canoe. The *kahokaho* yam, though socially high ranked, is the natural symbolic oblong coagulated foetus of a *foha* "son, tuber" being nurtured and grown up in the local woman's *fonua* "placenta, land".

Gender study is study not only of who begets who but, also, of the given names as themselves the recorded actual events. In order to understand these recorded events, this kind of gender study takes us both outside and inside researchers to the common subject of investigation, which is the revealing and concealing double nature of Tongan *heliaki* mode of saying one thing and meaning another.

Genealogy is a subject of talking about events in the family's history. Literally, Tongans do speak about who they are descended from. But, they relate these events emphasising the historical question of how a particular person as *X* came to be *X*. In other words, it is the *Y* (description of the subject *X*) being the focal point of the conversation. *Who begets who* is a later theme introduced into Tonga by the missionaries, thus, the written format on the Tongan history is emphasised with the idea of ancestral origin. Such research methodology prevalent in the anthropology of Tonga, in the Austronesian comparative study in Oceania, for example, has taken research with the emphasis on a unilineal evolutionary explanation. The *hoko* methodology employed in this thesis collapses that unilineal "scaffolding" evolutionary methodology³⁰⁵ to focus only on the historical relationships of real people engaging in real historical struggle to build their own respective social system of livelihood.

Like *Kauhala'uta* and *Kauhalalalo* as opposition of two halves being joined together, rank and power as a gender focus is connected with the view of society

³⁰⁵ See Groves 1963

as a socio-political arena where individual interests are perpetually in conflict. Rank and power are not strictly means of gender division, thus, female with rank and male with power. There are cases of powerful women with low rank and high ranked men with less power in the Tongan history. Women become so powerful from being married to powerful men supporters, (for example, Queen *Salote Tupou III*). So as high ranked men, (for example, *Sioeli Pangia*), who become powerless from being too self-praised and highly tyrannical. In some cases, rank is a reward for one who has carried out a personal sacrifice on behalf of his/her other male/female part. Chief *Lufe of Folaha* is one case who should have been rewarded but it did not eventuate. The reason being, I think, as connected with the later personal politics of *Tu'i Kanokupolu Mataeleha'amea* in taking away his daughter, *Fusipala*, from *Tu'i Ha'atakalaua Tongatangakitalupekifolaha* to live as wife of low ranked *Fisilaumaali of Pelehake*, that this is a case where the intention is to reverse the paramount *Tu'i Tonga* title inwardly towards his (*Mataeleha'amea*) own enclosure, later on, towards the *Ha'a Ma'afu*. (See the relevant discussion of this point on pages 102-105.)

Because of the subjective nature of people in building a safety net for the objective reason of protection that the Tongan *heliaki* mode of speaking and thinking is a historical unique way of the speakers demonstrating their objective method of controlling the situation of contact with the outside. Subject to Grice's theory of intention and uncertainty³⁰⁶, of idealism³⁰⁷, the pragmatic use of *heliaki* shows the

³⁰⁶ Grice 1972

natural ability of the speaker/thinker to be on defensive to maintain this protection theme. This is true in the situation of the *mataapule* “spokesman” mediating between the authority and the people with the fear of possible assassination. This arouses in me a special interest in the study of thinking, of what is meant, of the connection between the subject *X* and the predicate *Y* of proposition *X is Y*. Thus, the revealing-concealing character of the Tongan *tala* is what one is thinking about. For example, the *tala* of the origin of *fale* as an upturned canoe is a *heliaki* case about the concept of kingship as the abandoned head of a tyrant being given a stand by his mother’s brother. The legitimation of economic and political power in Tonga, then, is explained in terms of an abandoned head of a murdered king and legs of a sacrificed commoner being connected, thus, the latter, in fulfilling his social duty, assists the former in his war.

History then of the Tongan society is always about the struggle for economic and political power in connection with a chiefly fleeing canoe seeking help. As this is a derived interpretation of the *heliaki* of the “shoulder-person’s” canoe from *Manu’a* which sailed around Samoa looking for legs and finally got them from chief *Folasa* of *Falelima* (formerly of *Aopo*), of the abandoned *Tu’i Tonga Havea*’s upper part being floated down to *Folaha* from *Pelehake* to be joined with chief *Lufe*’s legs, the two halves have come back together to the original social relationship of one (*Tu’i Tonga* son’s mother’s brother) as the stand of the other (sister’s *Tu’i Tonga* son). In

³⁰⁷ Zizek 2006:206

both cases, *Folaha* is the sinker of *fau* log that holds down the *Tu'i Tonga/Tu'i Manu'a* floater of *polata* stem in the water from drifting away, on land to stay permanently. In other words, their being joined together in the sea is the making of the net used to ensnare the ferocious enemy who wounded the *Tu'i Tonga/Tu'i Manu'a*, on land, is the making of the *fale* into which the pardoning sacrifice of *'inasi* tributes are presented. Once again, the interpretation thus provides another aspect to understanding the idea of the moiety division which is simply a case of the weak (*polata*) abandoned head being inverted to be joined with the strong (*fau*) lower legs as standing supporter.

In accordance with the critique of the moiety division idea in this thesis, a shift of emphasis can be noticed in the study of the legitimation of economic and political power in Tonga from exogamous (*moheofo*) to endogamous (*kitetama*) sexual relationships due to the *Tupou* family of the *Ha'a Ma'afu* imploding of the three kingly lines' blood connection inwardly towards them. My amendment to this type of anthropological shift from exogamous to endogamous is an example of Tongan anthropologists missing the full historical account of the subject of power in Tonga. Sexual relationships from the past had always been endogamous until the establishment of the kingly lines that marriage became exogamous when women of lower ranked kingly line (*Tu'i Ha'atakalaua* and *Tu'i Kanokupolu*) married into men of high ranked kingly line (*Tu'i Tonga*). But, even that intermarriage arrangement of *moheofo*, from the commoner point of view, it is still endogamous,

meaning incestuous, because, to the commoner's viewpoint, the people of these kingly lines are genealogically one of the same parents.

How does *toto* "blood" become *hoko* "genealogy" should be the guide and focus of the study of the legitimation of economic and political power in Tonga. If we consider the shift from exogamous to endogamous in terms of fishing with hook and line, then sexual intercourse is an ethnobiological activity of pulling into land (placenta) the coagulated blood of the sacred sky-god navigator which, then, becomes the legitimate keeper's food source of rank and power. From the Tongan point of view, this sexual ethnobiological activity is the Tongan female sexual partner's adoption of both her Samoan and Fijian male sexual lovers' offspring. From the Samoan and Fijian points of view, it is the Tongan female sexual partner's stealing of their source of power. To the Samoan, the child of the sexual union is a stolen one (*gaoi*) and, to the Fijian, is a bad one (*ca*), thus *Tamahaa*. The murder of 'Aho'eitu by his older Samoan half brothers is an example. Being the determiner of rank and power, genealogy has to be constitutionally legalised and, in contrary to the constitutional legality, incestuously guarded to remain an inside subject of the keeper's enclosure. Stealing and adoption, no longer a distinction, are respective points of view of one (Tonga) gaining and the others (Samoa and Fiji) losing social rank and power. Genealogical connection is the universal Tongan legitimation method of gaining economic and political power within and outside Tonga.

By emphasising the central significance of moiety system and power in Tongan society we begin to gain a significant insight to that space created in *heliaki* between what people say and what they intend to mean. That space being created has given the readers a greater insight into the socio-political significance of formal *heliaki* language.

APPENDICES

(These selected poems are used only as references relevant to the discussion in my thesis. Full analysis and translations is another thesis altogether.)

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APPENDIX 1

-NARRATIVE POEMS-

(This is my re-translation of Miss Beatrice Shirley Baker's translation of the original Tongan as compiled and published in Edward Winslow Gifford's *Tongan Myths and Tales* [1924:164-167].)

This is a chant about a clever struggle (*faimaalie*) of three Tongan thieves who went to *Pulotu*, the abode of death, from Tonga, evaded (the test of) death and, fled back with the *kahokaho* yam (lines 147, 151) as the *kano* "flesh" of the *kato* "basket" (line 131). They did it with their skills in disguising (lines 84-99), with their extravagant habit in eating (lines 101-115) and having sex (lines 120-125). The errand was to steal from *Pulotu* the *fale kano'imata* "house of eye-balls" (line 80), a reference to the adoption of the child of high social status to Tonga (*Tamahaa*) (lines 130-132) through the absorption of *'eiki*, thus, *tala 'a fai* "tradition of sexual intercourse" (lines 133-136).

KO FAIMAALIE: KOE LAVE 'A
MOHULAMU

'Amusia 'a Tēpa, koe maau;
Na'e lave ki Pulotu Tu'uma'u,

Ha fonua e ongolelei fau!

Tupa!

Tu'u e ta'alo mei Ha'atafu
"Fakafu'umaka, ke u hu atu,
Ke ke ha'u mu'a ke ta oo folau
'O mamata ki Pulotu atu fau,
Ha fonua e ongo hoha'a fau!"

Tupa!

Tu'u e ta'alo 'i Muifonua,
"Alaa ee, pale mai mu'a."
"Pale atu, ke ta oo kitaua,
Pe 'alu ki fee mo e faakaua."

Tupa!

IT IS FAIMAALIE: THE CHANT BY
MOHULAMU

I envy the *Tēpa*, it was a poem;
It was a chant on the subject of *Pulotu*
Tu'uma'u,

A land of very great renown!

Clap!

Stood and beckoned from *Ha'atafu*
"Fakafu'umaka, let me enter,
For you to come for us to voyage
To go and look at *Pulotu*.
A land of dubious repute!"

Clap!

Stood and beckoned at Land's End.
"Oh dear, do paddle here."
"Paddle on, you and I go,
Where does she want to go and be
sea-sick."

Clap!

*Pea tuku e vaka mei Nuku,
Ko honau 'oho e niu motu'u,
Ko hono tata e nge'esi kuku.*

*Tu'u e ta'alo mei Muikuku
"Pale atu, 'alaa, ko Vakafuhu,
Ha finemotu'a ka mata pau'u!"*

Tupa!

*Pea fai 'enau fetapa'aki
"Fakafu'umaka, 'alaa, ko Fai"
"E, ta ko koe, pei lea mai."
"Pe kofutu si'eku viku 'i tahi.*

*Ko 'ena e va'a fau to'o mai!"
Talu ai 'ene hekeheka ai,
'O kiato tolu 'ae vaka ni*

Ka na'e kiato ua 'a Tonga ni.

And the canoe left *Nuku*,
Their provisions old coconuts,
Its bail the shell of the *kuku* shell-
fish.
Stood and beckoned from *Muikuku*
"Paddle on, dear, it's *Vakafuhu*
Such an old mischievous-eyed
woman!"³⁰⁸

Clap!

And they greeted each other
"*Fakafu'umaka*, dear, it's *Fai*"³⁰⁹
"Why is it you, well speak to me."
"For how long have I been wet in
the sea.
There's that *fau* branch bring it!"³¹⁰
From then on she sat on it³¹¹,
Thus this canoe had three sticks to
the outrigger
When Tonga had only two sticks to
the outrigger.

³⁰⁸ The woman referred to is *Faimaalie* not *Vakafuhu*

³⁰⁹ *Faimaalie*

³¹⁰ Miss Baker's translation—"there is a branch of the *fau* tree which bring!"

Tupa!

Clap!

Pale hifo honau vaka ki Fisi;

They paddled their canoe down to

Fiji;

Pea hokosia e tahi fifisi,

And came to the angry sea³¹²,

Tutula tangi fakatekefili-

Tutula cried and rolled about-

“Ko hotau vaka e kuo hili.

“Our vessel is piled up on the reef.

Kuo tau ma’u hangee ne hiki.”

We are fast held as though lifted.”

Lea mai ‘a Fai fine’eiki.

Then the old woman *Fai* spoke.

“Fakahekeheka mo tau fifili.”

“Bring on board our thinking mind.”

Pea angi mo tu’oni havili.

Then came a gust of wind.

“He papatea ‘ene tongafisi!”

“And came true her predictions!”³¹³

Tupa!

Clap!

Tutula tangi fakafo’ohake,

Tutula cried lying on his back,

“Ko hotau vaka e ka mamate,

“Our vessel will be swamped,

‘O tau maalooloo ‘i he tahi ‘o Mate.”

And we will die in the sea of

Death.”³¹⁴

Lea mai ‘a Fai koe vale,

Then spoke *Fai* the ignorant,

³¹¹ . Miss Baker’s translation-“After that she sat on it”. In the following line I replace Miss Baker’s “and” with “thus” in order to produce a logical consistency along the successive lines.

³¹² . I replace Miss Baker’s “stormy” with “angry” to reflect the human dimension of the place *Pulotu* rather than the condition out in the sea.

³¹³ . Miss Baker was obviously misled by the misprint *pepetea*, thus translated as “white butterfly” (line 55). It should be *papatea*. *Papatea* could be *Papa*, the wife of *Mataeletu’apiko*, so, thus, an indication that this story is about the marriage of *Mataeletu’apiko* with *Tamahaa Tu’imala*, daughter of *Tu’i Lakemba Fonomanu* and *Tu’i Tonga Fefine ‘Ekutongapipiki*. *Papa* is daughter of the *Tu’i Ha’amea*, a family renown for their soothsaying.

“Kehe pe ke maaloo e pale,

Kau taaliu mo lakuna hake.”

Tupa!

Fakafu’umaka ‘ene tangi ia

“Ko hotau vaka e hilifakia.”

Lea mai ‘a Fai faasi’a

“Pea kehe pe ke mo ‘alofia,

Kau ‘ai fakahekehekesia

Peau lakuna moe kanikita.”

He papatea ‘ene anga ia!

Tupa!

Pea fai mai ‘ene tala.

“Tutula, heu e vaka ki ama.

“The one thing that matters is that
you paddle,

While I bail and throw out the
water.”³¹⁵

Clap!

Fakafu’umaka who was crying

“Hey, our vessel will be piled up.”

Then spoke *Fai* the crafty

“Anyway you keep on paddling,

While I pretend to lighten the
vessel by

Throwing out the sandstone
ballast.”

The cripple who acted deceitfully!³¹⁶

Clap!

Then she spoke and said,

“*Tutula*, ward off the vessel from
the port side.

³¹⁴ Misprint as *Fate*. Baker might have thought of fate as “death”.

³¹⁵ My translations may not make any much difference from Miss Baker’s-
“Anyway thank the paddlers,
I will bail out the water.”

³¹⁶ This is a verse with descriptions of “*Fai* the crafty” (line 51) as one who “pretends” and “acts deceitfully”. Interestingly, this is also a Tongan perception of what a *mamatea* “cripple person” is. Crippled people in

Kuo ofi e vaka 'i taulanga."

The vessel is nearly at the anchorage."

Tupa!

Clap!

Pea nau tau 'i tu'a hakau,

And they anchored outside the reef,

Kae hola 'a Tutula 'o kakau,

And *Tutula* deserted and swam on shore,

Tu'uta ki he vai fakalanu,

Landed at the fresh water to rinse off the salt,

Koe vai 'i Pulotu Tu'uma'u,

A water (hole) at *Pulotu* Standing Firm,

Ko hono hingoa ko Fufuutau.

Thus, its name was *Fufuutau*³¹⁷.

Pea faka'asi ki alafolau,

And he went and looked in the canoe house,

'Oku laalanga 'a 'Elelovalu,

Was weaving there Eight Tongues,

He kui 'a Hikule'o Fakahau.

Poor grandmother of *Hikule'o* the tyrannical.

Tupa!

Clap!

Tonga are generally perceived as *pau'u* "mischievous, cunning, childish, etc" (compare with line 21). So, *Papatea*, as crafty, acts like a *mamatea*.

³¹⁷. This line talks about the ritual procedure of landing at *Pulotu*, one has to perform the *fufuutau* "concealing oneself once arriving" in the *vai fakalanu* "rinsing in fresh water" (line 63). In Fiji, *vai fakalanu* is well known as *vakadraunikau*, in Tongan *fakalou'akau*, so *fufuutau* is the rite of *fakalou'akau* "counteracting by means of counter-magic". One is drinking a concoction of selected *lou'akau* "leaves" brewed together which thus makes that person changing *lanu* "colours". The effect of *vai fakalanu*, as related in lines (86-99), that the people of *Pulotu* could not find, thus gave up searching for the Tongan voyagers. They were hidden from the people of *Pulotu*.

<p><i>Pea hifo mai ki mataafanga,</i></p> <p><i>‘O ta’alo Fai ke hao e vaka:</i></p> <p><i>Pea mei hiki fakaapaapa,</i></p> <p><i>Hu atu Fai ‘o ‘omi e vaka,</i></p> <p><i>‘O lili ki tu’a ‘o mahalaha.</i></p> <p><i>He mamate e vaka Leitana,</i></p> <p><i>E lalahia hono malamala!</i></p> <p style="text-align: center;"><i>Tupa!</i></p> <p><i>Tu’u ai Hikule’o ‘o kalanga,</i></p> <p><i>“Kuo fa’ao e langotangata.”</i></p> <p><i>Nofo’ia e fale kano’imata.</i></p>	<p>Then he came down to the beach- front,</p> <p>And beckoned <i>Fai</i> to direct in the vessel:</p> <p>And nearly lifted it out of respect, Entered <i>Fai</i> and brought out (<i>Hikule’o</i>’s) vessel,</p> <p>And threw it outside so it was smashed to pieces.</p> <p>Was wrecked the boat <i>Leitana</i>, And intense its being trampled!³¹⁸</p> <p style="text-align: center;">Clap!</p> <p>Stood up <i>Hikule’o</i> and shouted, “The human canoe-rests have been seized.”³¹⁹</p> <p>On which sat the eyeball-</p>
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³¹⁸ . Miss Baker’s translation of this line is “And many were its chips of wood!” Where our translations become conflict is the different angles that we take the word *lalahia* to mean. Miss Baker takes the root word *lalahi* “big” to also mean “many” of *malamala* “chips of wood”. I take *lalahi* to also refer to the physical “intensity” or “impact” that the boat gets from *malamala* “trampling, treading, stamping on”. In other words, in addition to my interpretation in footnote 9, the Tongan voyagers actually demolished the *Vaka Leitana*, which is a *Va’a Polata* (boat of two banana trunks) of *Hikule’o*, his house, joined by a *Va’a Fau* or *Vava’u* (line 27) from Tonga, thus *hoko e fau moe polata* “join the hibiscus branch and banana trunk”.

³¹⁹ . The criterion here of Miss Baker’s translation, “Where are the human canoe-rests”, seems to have been taken from the “searching” theme in the following lines (86-90). But, as the term *kalanga* “announcing by calling out loudly and publicly (especially in the open air)” in line 78 implies, it is different from the situation of *fehu’i* “asking”. That is, *kalanga* is shouting out in the open air a public announcement of *Hikule’o* about the Tongan occupation by force of the *fale kano’imata* “house of eyeballs” (line 80). *Fehu’i* or *fekumi* “inquiring” is emphatically distinguished in the poem to have followed the preceding line of *kalanga* as *vakule* “searching” (line 78).

	house ³²⁰ .
<i>Femaakila'i 'ene fakalava.</i>	All glaring as they lay alongside.
<i>He taleilei si'ene malama!</i>	And the whites (of the eyes) how they shone! ³²¹
<i>"Oku mou maia pe e kava,"</i>	"Are you abashed or will you have <i>kava</i> ," ³²²
<i>Ka 'oku 'ikai 'ilo ai ha taha.</i>	But no one was to be found.
<i>Tupa!</i>	Clap!
<i>"Osi mai Ha'afakananamu,"</i>	"Come all the smellers,"
<i>'O mei vakule he lalo 'akau.</i>	About to rummage about under the tree.
<i>"Kuo feefee? Tonga, kuo tau?"</i>	"How are you going? Tongans, have they arrived?"
<i>Hono mole e vaka ta'ofi ha'u,</i>	The perish of the vessel that prevents invasion,

³²⁰. *Fale Kano'imata* is the house of 'Uluakimata, the *Tu'itonga* who, Queen *Salote* claims, is the founding ancestor of the "King of Tonga", (see Bott 1982:12, Figure 1, in this thesis as Figure 2, page xii). By implication, it was at the time of 'Uluakimata that Tonga was able to commit a *kaiha'a'fa'itoka* "eating one's own family property [crown] by way of putting down [extinguishing the current ruler] to sleep". Traditionally from 'Aho'eitu, the first *Tu'itonga*, Tonga had been ruled by a chiefly Samoan family known as the *Tangaloa*. 'Uluakimata's other name in Fiji is *Niumataniwalu*, translated into Tongan as *Niu* or 'Ulu-mata-'oe-tau "head-beginning-of-the-war". *Niumataniwalu* is the ancestor of the *Tu'ikanokupolu*'s tutelary god *Taliai Tupou*, who is *Hikule'o* "watching tail", vanguard of *Tu'i Tonga 'Uluakimata*.

³²¹. Miss Baker translated this line as "And the whites (of the eyes) how they shone!" It is very hard for me to work out how she comes out with the meaning "whites of the eyes" for *taleilei*. I suspect that she takes *leilei*, from *lei*, referring to the white rounded ball, like a marble, used in pool table. If that is so then she is mixing up *lei* for marble as derived from *foo lelei* "well shaped". *Lei* is Fijian for "whale tooth". I can only work out in connection to the previous line that *taleilei* is a misprint of *tane'ine'i*, as a reference to the alongside glaring of the *fale kano'imata*.

³²². Miss Baker translated this line as "Are you abashed or will you have *kava*". *Maia* is durational form of 'omai or 'omi "to bring". The last two lines (83-84) talk about the remorse of the people of *Pulotu* at what

Kae tau 'eni vaka kovi fai."

While this very bad vessel is
anchored."

Tupa!

Clap!

Fai mai 'e Hikule'o ki ai,

Then *Hikule'o* said to them,

"Kuo fiu homau kaainga ni,

"Are tired all our people here,

Mou omi ke tau fe'iloaki."

Come and let us meet."

Mafa'a e pou pea lea mai,

Split the post and a voice spoke,

Tutula 'ene nga'eke mai,

Poor *Tutula* came waddling along,

Fakafu'umaka 'ene teka mai,

Poor *Fakafu'umaka* came rolling
along,

Na'e nofo hono ve'e tafa'aki,

Who sat at his legs side,

Nofo tonu leva pea malimali.

Sat straight up at once and smiled.

Tupa!

Clap!

Fai mai 'e Hikule'o ki ai,

And *Hikule'o* spoke to them,

"Mou oo 'o nonofo 'i fale lahi.

"You all go and stay inside the big
house.

Tau fai katoanga ki ai.

We will hold there the ceremony of
gathering.

Ta'aki e kava 'o fetuku mai,

Uproot the *kava* and bring it here,

Toho mai e ulua moe fai.

Drag here the '*ulua* (fish) and the

happened by coming in peace to *Hikule'o* with some *kava*. The people were told to keep on searching in order to earn a place in his *kava* drinking circle.

	stingray.
<i>Fonotaki e vii fuolalahi,</i>	The relish will be the big <i>vii</i> fruits ³²³ ,
<i>Taku ia koe vai kau'aki."</i>	Call it the <i>vai kau'aki</i> ." ³²⁴
<i>Tupa!</i>	Clap!
<i>Tuku atu 'a Pulotu 'o fei'umu,</i>	Dispersed <i>Pulotu</i> to do the ' <i>umu</i> , ³²⁵
<i>Fakahunga, ha'amo, haumatutu,</i>	<i>Fakahunga, ha'amo, haumatutu,</i>
<i>Pea 'omi pe moe 'ulu'ulu.</i>	And brought it with the (coconut) leaves.
<i>Taanaki 'e Fai ki hono ngutu,</i>	Collected everything by <i>Fai</i> into her mouth,
<i>Fesi moe ha'amo 'o pakangungu.</i>	Broke the shoulder-sticks and crunched them.
<i>"Osi mai Pulotu 'oku ngutu."</i>	"Is finished <i>Pulotu</i> into my mouth."
<i>"Toki ai e folau e pau'u!"</i>	"Are there ever such mischievous voyagers!"
 <i>Tupa!</i>	 Clap!

³²³ *Spondias dulcis* (Churchward 1959:540)

³²⁴ *Vaikau'aki* is a term referring to a kind of drink made from mixture of water and scraped sweet *vii* fruits, as a drink of equal ability in fighting against the *kona* "bitter" of the *kava* drink, of the taking by force of the *fale kano'imata* of *Pulotu* by the Tongans. Bitterness of the *kava* taste is symbolic drink of sea voyaging usurpers as opposed to sweetness taste of *vii* fruits of the land.

³²⁵ The first three lines (109-111) were translated by Miss Baker as thus-

"The people of *Pulotu* went to prepare food,"

"They brought food in baskets and on poles,"

"And brought it with the (coconut) leaves."

'Umu is food cooked on hot stones in an earth oven and then gets distributed into three lots- '*umu fakahunga* in baskets carried on a sledge, '*umu ha'amo* carried by two men with a stick on their shoulders, and '*umu haumatutu* in basket carried on a coconut trunk. Ceremonial gathering of competition is claimed here as an event where *Fai* as both the *loto* "centre" of *fale lahi* (line 102) and *tu'unga uu* "very centre" of the '*umu* (line 94), as a *ngutu* "hollow" (line 97) through which everything enters, outclasses *Pulotu*'s competitors.

<p><i>Fai mai 'e Hikule'o motu'a,</i> <i>"Kuo 'osi e me'a homa fonua;</i> <i>Kei toe pe ko ongo 'otua,</i> <i>Ko 'otua uku ki Lolofonua."</i></p> <p><i>Ko si'ena uku na'e poo ua.</i> <i>Talitali pea mate Lihamu'a:</i> <i>Nga'eke'eke mo mapunopuna:</i> <i>Kuo hekeheka ai 'a Tutula-</i> <i>"Keu 'ai tangitautau mu'a."</i></p>	<p>Spoke old <i>Hikule'o</i> and said, "Everything in our land is finished; The only chance left is the two gods, One is the god of divers to the Underworld."³²⁶</p> <p>They dived for two nights. Waited till <i>Lihamu'a</i> died:³²⁷ Waddled and shot out: Was sitting on him <i>Tutula-</i> "I'll cry to lay the blame on another."</p>
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Tupa!

Clap!

<p><i>Teu ke nau foki ki Tonga ni,</i> <i>Moe fotuaki 'ae 'aho lahi,</i> <i>Kamo atu Tutula kia Fai.</i></p>	<p>Preparing for their return to Tonga, And the Big Day draws near, <i>Tutula</i> makes signs to <i>Fai</i>.</p>
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³²⁶ . Miss Baker's translation of this line is "The god of the divers in the Underworld". In my translation, one of the two gods is the god of the underworld who dived with *Fai*, meaning they were having sex as part of the divine sex of retribution.

³²⁷ . *Lihamu'a* is the name of the first month in the old Tongan calendar and is the Tongan equivalent of Janus in Roman mythology. *Lihamu'a* or *Hilamu'a* is "the front face that looks forwards" and *Lihamui* or *Hilamui* "the back face looking backwards". This line suggests the time of the story was during the reign of *Tu'itonga 'Uluakimata* and the tradition of *hila ki Tapana* "glancing in the direction of *Tapana*" and the *fo'ui* tree. *Tapana* is "lightening" and *fo'ui* "misfortune caused by one's own wrongdoing". The tradition is about *'Uluakimata's* wife, *Talahiva*, who had an affair with another chief and as a result her children were officially excluded from the *Tu'itonga* privileges, thus why *Mata'ukipaa's* children, *Fatafehi* and *Sinaitakala'ilangileka*, succeeded to the *Tu'itonga* and *Tu'itonga Fefine* titles respectively. *Mata'u* is "right (not left)", *ki* "to", and *paa*, short for *tapana* "lightening", meaning the right is prohibited.

“Ke ke ha’u mu’a ‘o ‘alu ki ai,
 ‘O ‘omi ‘ae kanokato ke vakai.”
 ‘Omi leva ia ‘o holataki,
 Pea mei folo fakapetetangi.
 Talu ai ‘ene fakafeitama ai.
 Tupa!

“You better come and go to him,
 And fetch the whole works for a squiz.”³²⁸
 No sooner brought than absconded with
 it,
 Almost choked to death.³²⁹
 That’s how she was impregnated.
 Clap!

Fai mei ai e tala ‘a Fai,
 That’s the origin of Fai’s saying:³³⁰

³²⁸. *Kanokato* literally means “substance of basket”. This is in fact the central substance of the poem. It is about a voyage from ‘Eua in Tonga to *Pulotu* looking at its *fale kano’imata* and ends up running away with it back to Tonga. *Fale* refers specifically to the ‘ato “roof” or the upturned *vaka* “boat” that while initially floating on the water from *Pulotu* it is a *kato* “basket”. Thus, *kanokato* or *kano’ato* is another word for *kanofale* “main part of the *fale*”, which also refers to the *lotofale* “centre of the *fale*”. Who is the centre of the *fale* called the ‘ulu “head”. As a *tamai* he is the “father of” his son who is called *foha* “tuber” or *hako* “descendant”. The “substance” then “of the basket” is this *foha*, this *hako* or *kahokaho* “lit. multiple descendants” (line 142) yam. It means for one *kahokaho* yam further more *pulopula* “seedlings” to plant and more and more *kahokaho* yams. Notion of *kanokato*, in other words, implies a philosophy of *ola* “life” with the social status *foha*, a regal term for *ulo* “to be alight”, a philosophy which is at the same time commonly adopted into the phylogenetic study of the evolutionary development of an organism or groups of organisms. See more of this in my discussion of *fale* (Chapter 2) and *puko lea* (Chapter 1).

³²⁹. *Folo* “swallow” is a Tongan metaphysical notion of dialectics between absorption by earth of *maama* “sunlight” and evaporation by the sun of *vai* “water”. In metaphysics *folo* is the process of *inumia* “to consume by evaporation or by absorption; to drink; to undergo or experience pain or suffering”, the process of *kai* “to experience as the result of what one has done”. That is, food, and water alike, is stuffed in through the *ngutu* “orifice” or ‘utu “rock-face of coast” falling down into the *kete* “pit of the stomach”, also known the *kele* “earth”, where they get fermented. Derived from this context of *kai* is the sexual activity of *fai* “to do”. Sexual engagement of man and woman is thus perceived as an experience of pain on behalf of the woman as the result of what the man has done, as consumption by *mimisi* “absorption” by the woman of the *hii* “sperm” or *iki* “small thing” as in ‘eiki or *tama* “child” as in *maama* or *mata* “eye” or *tenga* “seed” coming from the man’s *laho* “scrotum”. *Laho* is the body-part equivalent of *tonumanga* “seed-bed”, for example, of *kahokaho* yam, thus a descendant source. See Chapters 1 and 2.

³³⁰. *Tala ‘a Fai* “tradition of *Fai*” is the telling of the absorption of the ‘eiki by *Faimalie* (lines 112-114) through a sexual intercourse. The telling begins with the allegory of *uku ki Lolofonua* “diving to *Lolofonua*” (line 104) which is a symbol of *fai* “sex”, a situation referring to the penetration of the *ule* “penis” inside the woman’s *pali* “manger, vagina”, as in *kai pali* “oral sex”. And, as *Fai* the person, the telling also refers to distribution of roles in relation to pregnancy where the brothers, *Fakafu’umaka* and *Tutula*, by “coming by the sea” (line 119) fish on the way for some fish and shellfish for their pregnant sister’s ‘umisi “craving for seafood” (line 121). In connection, the significance of collecting salty-sourced food is the need for the presence of preservative agent inside the womb to freshening and flourishing the baby. This practice is known as *fakatononga* “to preserve, to embalm”, to make the person *tu’uloa* “standing for a long time” both in the realms of death and life. *Fai* therefore in death remains as to *tapuekina e mapa na’a tuungia mo*

“Ke mo ‘alo ua ‘o ‘uhi ‘i tahi

“You two paddle and come by the
sea

Ka u hala ‘uta ‘o tatali mai

While I go by land and wait for you

He ‘oku mo ‘ilo si’oku mahaki.”

As you both know my sickness.”

Tupa!

Clap!

“Ke mo ‘alo ua ‘o hiki ‘i ‘Oa,

“You paddle you two and lift out at
‘Oa,

Koe’uhi ke ofi ki fa’itoka,

So as to be near the grave yard,

Ko Ha’amatuku ‘ae kong a vao na.”

Ha’amatuku, that piece of bush is
called.”

Maalooloo ai e fononga;

Rest there the journey;³³¹

‘O fa’aki ki he fu’u masikoka;

Leaning on to the big *masikoka*
tree;

‘O fanau ai Fai Loaloo;

And gave birth there *Fai Loaloo*;

Ta koe kahokaho ‘ulu loa.

So it was a *kahokaho ‘ulu loa*.

Tupa!

Clap!

“Kuo hao pe ho’omo omi na,

“You have got clear away with it,

Ko ‘ena tamasi’i mo ohia.”

There is a child for you to adopt.”

malakia “bestow blessing upon the *mapa* lest be set on fire and trampled” (lines 133-135) whereas the *mapa* “garland worn by the *fahu*”, as symbol here of the first *Tamahaa*, *Fonomanu*, a *kahokaho’ufi hina* “white yam” (line 131) from Fiji, will remain as a *kahokaho ‘ulu loa* or *kahokaho tu’uloa* “long-standing progeny” (line 128).

³³¹ . Miss Baker’s translation was “Well done our journey”, based on taking *maalooloo* as *maaloo* “well done”. Again, she misinterpreted *faki* in the original Tongan text (line 126) as *fa’aki* “went on” but it should be *fa’aki* “leaning against”.

<i>Ta koe fu'u kahokaho hina.</i>	So it was a big white <i>kahokaho</i>
	yam.
<i>"Pea kehe pe ke mo ngaohia,</i>	"As long you take care of it,
<i>Ka u nofo keu tapuekina,</i>	While I remain to bestow blessing
	upon,
<i>'A hoku 'akau na'a tuungia:</i>	Lest my plant be set on fire:
<i>Ke tapu e mapa na'a malakia."</i>	Forbidden the <i>mapa</i> (tree) from
	getting trampled."
<i>'A ena na'e tapu ai ia.</i>	That is why that was sacred.
<i>Tupa!</i>	Clap!
<i>Pea mei kakave 'e he hahau,</i>	And was nearly moistened by the
	dew, ³³²
<i>Kae fakalave mei 'Utulau;</i>	But fortunately 'Utulau led them
	free;
<i>'E homau kaainga laukau.</i>	For they were our proud relatives.

³³². Line 132 says of the *holataki* from Fiji to Tonga in the night. 'Utulau, a place at the western windward side of *Tongatapu* Island, is 'Otulau, the long group of islands at the eastern part of Fiji. As if to say that the same sun to the people of western Fiji rising for them from 'Otulau is now to the people of Tonga a falling *pelehake* "porpoise" over the 'utu "coastal cliff" down below the horizon at the west and a *tamahaa* "decaying child". Specifically, 'utu can also be a metathesis of *tu'u* "to cut" of *lau* "hair (of the head)", thus 'Utulau is sacrificial place where heads cut off. Therefore, mythical *Pulotu* to the *hihifo* "west" is a sacrificial place of *tu'usi* "cutting off" of heads, origin of *Tu'i* "King". It is a place of *fakahifo* "deposition from office" and "to give birth to", as opposed to *hahake* "east", place of *fakanofu* "installation to office". It is a situation of the universal sun rises and falls. Lines 161 and 162 were translated by Miss Baker as

"the *kahokaho* was ever scraped,
if planted dirty (unweeded) it will not increase,"

which, I think, the problem is the contextual use of 'umu *tefau* in line 162. 'Umu is another word for *tunu* or *hunu* "singing food", and *tefau*, from *fau*, "the dragging of this singed food by force". The whole verse is a summary of the voyage to Fiji as a case of *kaiha'a* involving killing (line 125) and run away with the child of high social status to Tonga (lines 130-132). Also, *tefau* is a name for a kind of *kahokaho* yam and this is the meaning, I think, Miss Baker adopted in her translation. But, this *kahokaho tefau* is just named after the event

Koe kahokaho 'a hai ne vau,

Kae too'uli e 'umu tefau,

Kae vave he koe tama fanau.

Tupa!

Whose *kahokaho* that was scraped,

Planted the uncooked *'umu* that

was hauled in,

And be quick for this child would

multiply.

Clap!

APPENDIX 2

(This is my re-translation of Miss Beatrice Shirley Baker's translation published in Gifford *Tongan Myths and Tales*, 1924:145-148.)

This poem recounts the exit of *Lo'au*, the socio-political builder of Tongan society, from Tonga, following a recount of a misdeed by *Kae* for stealing of the *tambua* "whale tooth" (line 139) belonged to a Fijian chief *Sinilau* who married and lived in Samoa (line 155) and had twin whales with his own father's sister (lines 70-76). He is being addressed as "the voyage of *Kae*" or "the death of Mr Shit" as a result of his stealing.

KO E FOLAU 'A KAE

THE VOYAGE OF *KAE*

Vaka ne fa'u 'i Ha'amea,

Vessel was built in

Ha'amea,

Fai laa uta pea fakaheka;

Hoisted sail, loaded and
boarded,³³³

He vaka ne ha'i 'uta ki he lepa.

The vessel that was moored in
land, in a pool³³⁴.

³³³ . Miss Baker's translation is "hoisted sail inland and loaded" based on taking *uta* of the original Tongan text as '*uta* "inland". Her translation is of the Tongan text as *fai laa 'i 'uta pea fakaheka*.

*“He fonua ko’eni e fakahela,
Taki taha ngaohi ha’ane me’a*

Ka tau folau ki he puko lea;

Tuku Tongatapu ka tau lelea.”

Tupa!

Ha’apai e ka fotuaki,

Vava’u e ka fotuaki,

Fai mai e tala ‘a toutai.

Kalo mai pe Lo’au, “Ikai,

Koe loi e tu’unga toutai.

Tau ‘ave e kaainga ni,

Ke tuku ki Tafatafa’akilangi.”

Tupa!

Pea ‘uli hifo honau vaka;

Pea hokosia e tahi tea,

Pea moe tahi fuofuanga,

Moe tahi pupulu na’e tala.

“This land here is tiresome,

Each person prepare his own

things

And let’s voyage to the talking *puko*
tree;

Leave *Tongatapu* and let’s run
before the wind.”

Clap!

Ha’apai was sighted,

Vava’u was sighted,

Reported the navigators.

Shook the head of *Lo’au*, “No,

The lies of the navigators.

Let’s take these friends,

And leave (them) at the horizon.”

Clap!

And steered down their vessel;

And arrived at the white sea,

And the floating pumice sea,

And the slimy sea that was foretold

³³⁴ . Again, confusion as to the right Tongan texts, Miss Baker translated this line as “the vessel that took cargo in a pool”. This time, as correction to her translation, the original Tongan text should be *he vaka ne ha’i*

*“Tutu’u ‘i tahi mo ‘Eua!
Koe ha ho’omou tangi na?
Ka ‘ikai ko honau kaakaa*

Pea tau mole fua ai a!”

Tupa!

Fokihanga folau e fu’u faa;

Pea fihia ai honau fanaa.

Longopoa mo Kae e kaka;

Ne na fe’ohofi ki hono va’a,

Pea na tekena ai ‘o ‘ataa.

Mole ai ‘i he langi na’e ava,

Koe potu fonua ‘oe vavaa;

Koe mole’anga ia ‘oe vaka.

Tupa!

“Tutu’u-‘i-tahi and ‘Eua!³³⁵

Why are you crying?

*Is not the treachery of the
navigators*

Whereby we will all be lost!”

Clap!

*Turning place of voyage is the great
pandanus tree;*

*There became entangled their
mast.*

Longopoa and Kae climbed;

They swarmed into its branches,

And they pushed the vessel free.

It was lost through the sky opening,

Into the land of space;

*That was the cause of the loss of
the vessel.*

Clap!

‘i ‘uta ‘i he lepa.

³³⁵ . Miss Baker translated this line as “stand to sea and ward off!” *Tutu’u-‘i-tahi* is a beloved *pele* “porpoise” in the sea whose other name in the poem is *Longopoa* (lines 28, 35). *Tutu’u-‘i-tahi* and *Longopoa* suggest that this pet fish is used by shark-catchers as a *fakapoa* “means of attracting the *longo* ‘shoal of sharks’”. Its nature as liking to *tutu’u* “stand up” as if performing a “jumping” show that which this pet fish’s real role is to call up the sharks closer to the shark-catchers’ boat. *‘Eua* is *Te-ula* “the ingenious person” (lines 35-37), or *Kae* “The Shit” (lines 28, 35). The phrase is a reference of the *Lo’au* fishing-people (*Lasakau* in Fijian version, see Scarr 1976) being banished from Tonga for *kaipoo* “surreptitiously eating of a catch”, of *Folaha*

*Longopoa mo Kae, ongo 'otua,
Ha ongo siana koia e ula,
Kuo maalie 'ena faka'uta.*

"Ha'u ta talia e tahi ka hu'a,

*Pea ta kakau ai kitaua,
Taki taha kumi hano fonua."*

Tupa!

*Too hake 'a Kae 'ene kakau;
Tu'uta he motu ko Kanivatu,
'Oku 'one'one 'ikai hakau.
'Oku toka e tofua'a 'e valu,
Moe neiufi 'apee 'e teau.
"Hoto fakapoo, heto maumau!
Na'a ma'u kita 'e he Kanivatu."*

Tupa!

*Mohe Kae he vaha'a tofua'a.
Ha'u e manu 'ene siutaka.*

*Longopoa and Kae, two gods,
Those two men were clever,
Well done their hunch.
"Come let us await the flooding
tide,
And we two swim in it,
Each seeking a land of his own."*

Clap!

*Came up Kae from his swim;
Landing at the island of Kanivatu,
Was sandy with no reef.
Aground were eight whales,
And neiufi fish about a hundred.
"Good gracious, what a waste!
I may be caught by the bird
Kanivatu."*

Clap!

*Slept Kae between two whales.
Came the bird from its fishing.*

and 'Eua, two offshore islands of main Tongatapu Island, as *kai ta'e* "eating shit". Eua was executed to death and, *Folaha*, impoverished of its land.

Ta'omia Kae pea katakata,
"Toki 'iai ha manu kafakafa.

Ma'u hifo ma'a te mu'aavaka,
Ke 'ilo 'e Tonga e me'a taha."

Tupa!

Teitei mafoa mai e ata,
Tuutuufulu pea 'aka'aka,
Teitei puna pea kapakapa;
Piki ai Kae hono fatafata.
Siu pe manu he loto moana,
Kae taaupe e fu'u tangata;
Tepa hifo ki he 'one'one pata,
Fakatoopatu 'i 'Aakana.
Pea 'alu ai 'ene uhu kava
Kia Sinilau, pea na takanga,
Tupu ai hono mataatangata;
Kae na'e 'ikai 'alofi ha kava.

Lay under (it) *Kae* and smiled,
 "Was there ever such a bird
 enormous.

I wish that I might seize it for my
 token,
 To let *Tonga* know one thing."

Clap!

Preparing the break of dawn,
 Preening and stretching,
 Preparing to fly and fluttering;
Kae held on to its breast.
 Fished the bird over mid-ocean,
 While hanging the big man;³³⁶
 Glancing down to the coarse sand,
 Falling with a thud at '*Aakana*³³⁷.
 And went to get his morning *kava*
 With *Sinilau*, who befriended him,
 And gave him social standing;
 But *Kae* did not sit in a *kava* ring.

³³⁶ . The sense of *fu'u* as "big" is consistently connected to *Kae* as a *tu'a* "commoner" (line 161) who had been made a *mataapule* "petty chief" (lines 67-68, 157).

³³⁷ . '*Aakana*, '*Aa'ana* in '*Upolu*, Western Samoa, as '*Ha'angana* of '*Ha'ano* Island in the eastern '*Ha'apai* Group, where '*Sinilau* dwelt. '*Fakatoopatu 'i 'Akana* is another expression of '*kuhuu te 'elo patuu te 'emo* "disliking the smell yet liking the taste", meaning though '*Sinilau* disliked *Kae*'s own bad smell he liked the taste of *Kae*'s ingenious advice. It refers to *Kae*'s '*fakatoopatu* "dropping of his big shit" (the '*Kanivatu*, line 48) in '*Akana*.

Tupa!

Clap!

*He ika 'a Ha'amoā ne fafanga,
Koe longo'uli moe tofua'a,
Moimoi ki vai kele ke tataka.*

*Ma'u ai 'e Ha'amoā 'o tafa,
Pea 'omi ai 'a hono alanga,
Pea 'ave 'o tau 'i fale fata.
Koe tama too he mehikitanga*

*To'o leva fakama'anga taha,
Pea 'alu ai kuo feitama;
Fanau hifo koe maahanga,
Ko Tonga mo Tununga-tofua'a.*

Fish of Samoa were fed,
A longo'uli and a whale,
Escorted to the turbid water to
get unsettled.³³⁸
(Whale) caught by Samoa and cut,
And brought its whole upper leg,³³⁹
Taken and hung in the house loft.
The adopted daughter of Sinilau's
father's sister
Swallowed it then at a mouthful,
And went away pregnant;
Gave birth to twin (whales),
Tonga and Tununga-tofua'a³⁴⁰.

³³⁸ . Miss Baker's translation, "In a small muddy water hole which they unsettled", excluded *momoi*. I am not sure whether the exclusion is a tactic style of translation or simply Miss Baker was not so sure about the word and its meaning.

³³⁹ . Miss Baker translated *alanga* as "shoulder". In accordance with my translation together with the previous line and the following line thus present an etymological derivation of *Taulanga* in the sense of the hung-up-cut-off whole upper leg as a form of "human offering" in the house loft, (see Tamasese 1994:73). This kind of offering is based on the brother-sister *faka'apa'apa* relationship principle. Somehow this "cut-off" tradition of the *alanga* is related to the birth of the *anga* "custom" of brother-sister *faka'apa'apa* or *fakatapatapa*, from *tapa*, as in *tautapa*, "urgent calling upon in need of immediate help", of the sister to her brother especially in the time of war. In other words, the social origin of this custom is derived from the common practice of *tama too he mehikitanga* or *ngaahi tama 'a mehikitanga* 'child rearing of the *mehikitanga* [father's sister] (line 76)". By means of this child rearing custom a habitual *halanga* "place used as a *hala* 'path'" of legitimation of economic and political power common in the region of Tonga, Samoa, and Fiji has been erected with the *alanga* "leg" of the brother. The brother's leg was snatched away by means of the sister then swallowing it in one mouthful, thus she is known as *mehikitanga* "taking hold of everything". *Alanga fale* "framework of house" means the posts (legs) on which rests the *fale'ulu*, see discussion in Chapter 2. Also related to this discussion is my theory of *mehikitanga* as *tono* "adultery", implicated in the old custom of cross-cousin marriage of royalties.

Tupa!

Clap!

*Nofo ai Kae pea fie 'alu;*Dwelt there *Kae* and longed to go;*Fai 'ene tala kia Sinilau,*And he asked *Sinilau*,*"Ke 'omai ha maahanga tatau,*

"To bring the twins alike,

Keu 'ai heka ange ai au,

For me to ride on,

*Ke tala ki Tongatapu,*And I will tell *Tongatapu*,*Koe taulua 'a Sinilau*That the yoke of *Sinilau's**Koe me'a malohi ange fau."*

Is wonderfully strong."

Tupa!

Clap!

*Fai ai e tala 'e Sinilau,*Then spoke *Sinilau*,*"Tununga mo Tonga, ke mo fekau;**"Tununga mo Tonga, you go on an
errand,³⁴¹**'Ave 'a Kae ki Tongatapu,*Take *Kae* to *Tongatapu*,³⁴²

³⁴⁰ . The twin whales, *Tonga* and *Tununga*, refer to exact counterpart of social exchanges that went sour when *Tonga* ate the prohibited *pungopunga* or *tutu'u* "dolphin" and *Tonga* escaped, meaning, without the contents (lines 95-96) of the order from *Sinilau* of Samoa. *Toonga* is *koloa* "treasures" of mats and *ngatu* "tapa cloths". What was consumed in *Tonga* refers to the stealing of the *tambua* (line 139).

³⁴¹ . In this context, the use of *Tununga mo Tonga* suggests a celestial object of voyage for *Tonga* from Samoa thus known as *Tuukunga mo'o Tonga* in the form of two pair of whales, the *taulua* (line 87), also means, the *fakatoukatea* "canoe formed of equal *katea* 'portion'" in between stands *Kae's* sleeping *fale vaka* "deck-house" (line 50).

³⁴² . Miss Baker translated these lines from here as thus-

"Take *Kae* to *Tongatapu*,
But remember to return for me.
Stand up and go.
Bring a bunch of coconuts and scented oil,
And uncolored tapa and coconut mats;
And leave satiated for our voyage,
Returning for me to come."

My translation tries to be consistent with the texts and the following explanation given of these lines on (Gifford 1924:149). It is a custom both in Samoa and *Tonga* of presents of coconuts, scented oil, tapa cloth, *tapakau*, being organised to give *Kae* as friend who leaves for his land after living among them for some time.

<i>Pea mo 'iloa mai foki au.</i>	And by that means [<i>Tongatapu</i>] will recognize me.
<i>Tutu'u leva 'o tofusi atu.</i>	Stand up at once and go.
<i>'Omi e fuhi niu moe fangu,</i>	Bring a bunch of coconuts and scented oil,
<i>Moe feta'aki moe takapau;</i>	And unstained <i>tapa</i> cloth and coconut mats;
<i>Ho tuku meesi ni 'etau folau,</i>	And leave merciful our voyage ³⁴³ ,
<i>'Omi keu 'alu atu."</i>	Returning for me to come."
<i>Tupa!</i>	Clap!
<i>Ko Vava'u e, teletele vaka;</i>	<i>Vava'u</i> glided by;
<i>Ha'apai e, teletele vaka;</i>	<i>Ha'apai</i> glided by;
<i>Fotu Tongatapu 'i taumu'a na:</i>	Appeared <i>Tongatapu</i> at the prow:
<i>"Tununga mo Tonga, ki he toafa,</i>	<i>"Tununga mo Tonga, to the</i> shallow water,
<i>Kau 'alu ki Ha'amea 'o tala,</i>	While I go to <i>Ha'amea</i> and tell,
<i>'Oku ma oomai moe mahanga,</i>	That I have come with the twins,
<i>Ko Tonga mo Tununga-tofua'a."</i>	<i>Tonga</i> and <i>Tununga-tofua'a."</i>

Line 93 implies *Sinilau's* wish that *Tongatapu* would take what he had done to *Kae* with great respect and be thankful. Lines 95 and 96 point to the two cultural significant plants, *niu* "coconut" and *hiapo, siapo* in Samoa, "paper-mulberry", the bark of which is used for making *tapa* cloth, the former as symbolising the male head provider of society and the latter the female skin-wrapper of society. These items given as kind-hearted presents to *Kae* stress his double social standing given in *Sinilau's* power.

³⁴³ *Meesi* "mercy" is *manava'ofa* "kind-hearted", a theme that expects social interactions at all levels to be intact and active amongst the islands of the Pacific region. *Sinilau* already had the knowledge about the rebellious character of the Tongans, but because of *Kae's* ingenuity that *Sinilau* had to try and domesticate

Tupa!

*Tu'uta Kae 'o kave kalanga,
"Osi mai Ha'amea, 'o mamata,
Mou taanaki huo to'o-alanga,*

Fofoa kofe pea 'aulala,

Ke tau toho na atu hoku vaka."

Tupa!

*Pea hao 'a Tonga 'o tala.
Nofo mai Sinilau 'o fetapa,
"Tonga e, komaa 'a Tununga?"
"Me'a mai koe ki hoku tu'a;
Ne fele e tao mei 'olunga.*

'Ikai ne taofia kimaua?

*Pea kuo mo'ua ai Tununga,
Kae hao mai Tonga koe ula."*

Clap!

Landed *Kae* and kept shouting,
"Come all *Ha'amea* and see,
Collect your spades for limb-
removal,³⁴⁴

Bamboo lancers and come in a
mass,

For us to drag out my vessel."

Clap!

And escaped *Tonga* and told.
Sat *Sinilau* and greeted,
"Tonga, where is *Tununga*?"
"Observe you my back;
Cumbered with spears coming from
above.

Were we two speared?³⁴⁵

And *Tununga* was overtaken,
But escaped *Tonga* for he is

Kae with begging humbly. The use of this term could suggest therefore that the date of this composition is about 1850 early missionary.

³⁴⁴ . Miss Baker translated this line as "collect your weeding sticks" based on a Tongan text of *mou tanaki huo toalanga*. The Tongan text given in Gifford's collection has been misprinted.

³⁴⁵ . Miss Baker translated the following two lines 118 and 119 as thus-

"It is thick with lances.
Were we two not challenged?"

	cunning.”
Tupa!	Clap!
Nofo <i>Sinilau</i> pea laaunga,	Sat <i>Sinilau</i> and complained,
“Ha’amoā, taanaki e ‘otua,	“ <i>Samoa</i> , call the gods, ³⁴⁶
Pea taanaki ki <i>Hunga</i> mo <i>Hunga</i> ;	And assemble them at <i>Hunga</i> and
	<i>Hunga</i> ;
Pea mou langa kato ai mu’a,	And you plait a basket of coconut-
	leaves,
‘Ae polopola ‘oku loua,	The two-layered food-tray,
Pea fakakavei ‘o tui ua,	With straps threaded twice,
Fakalooloa ki mui mo mu’a,	Lengthen fore and aft,
Pea tuku leva koe fakahunga.”	And leave it as a <i>Hunga</i> basket.”
Tupa!	Clap!
Pea mou fono ‘i Muifonua	“And you assemble at Land’s End
Pea fua e fa’o mei ‘Eua,	And begin the filling of the basket

Miss Baker took *taofia* to be *ta’ofia* “to be held back”, thus having “challenged” in the translation.³⁴⁶ From here *Sinilau*’s complaint as translated by Miss Baker goes like this-

“*Samoa*, collect the gods,
And assemble at *Hunga* and *Hunga*;
And plait a basket first,
The large double basket,
With handles threaded double,
Made long fore and aft,
And call it a *Hunga* basket.”

Fakahunga, as the key word in *Sinilau*’s complaint (line 130), is commonly known as *fakaua* or *fakakavei tui ua* “to be done a second time”. The implication is that *Kae* was ordered to be brought back again to *Samoa* in the state where he is being threaded inside the plaited basket of *fakahunga* to the rear (of his legs) and to the front (of his head) to be *fakata’ane* “sat with legs crossed” and *tuutuukape* “cursed” (lines 163, 164). Thus,

Pea fa'o ai 'a Fangale'ounga,
 Pea fa'o ai mo Hihifo fua,
 Pea fakamui fa'o 'a Napua,
 Pea hili ai Kae 'i 'olunga."
 Pea toki oo tu'unga 'otua,
 Kae ngalo e nifo 'i loto Mu'a.

Tupa!

"Sinilau, ko kimautolu eni;
 'Oku mau 'omi 'ae tangata ni."
 Tu'u hake leva 'o fakafeta'i.
 "Tukuaa hena kuo too mai;
 Mou oo pea mou uhu mai;
 'Oua ke 'aho pea tau fai,
 Ta na'e ha'u ko 'ene lavaki."

Tupa!

from 'Eua,
 And fill in Fangale'ounga,
 And fill in also all of Hihifo,
 And lastly fill in Napua,
 And put there Kae on top."
 And then went the gods,
 But forgot the (whale's) tooth at
 central Mu'a³⁴⁷.

Clap!

"Sinilau, here we are;
 We have brought this man."
 Stood at once (*Sinilau*) and gave
 thanks.
 "Leave him there as you have
 brought him;
 You go and come in the early
 morning;
 Until day then we will deal with him,
 Obviously he came to betray."

Clap!

kato fakahunga alludes to *kato polopola* "plaited coconut basket as food-tray". As *kato* of *kavei tui ua* and *polopola* is "basket" for *Kae* or *ta'e* "shit" on which *Kae* is being *fa'o* "put".

<p><i>'U'ua e moa- faka'aanau,</i> <i>"Moa koe ka le'o tatau</i> <i>Moe taulua 'a Sinilau."</i> <i>Ta na'e fai 'ene 'amu'amu,</i> <i>Ka 'oku tokoto 'i alafolau.</i></p> <p><i>Pongipongi hake 'o vakai atu,</i> <i>'Oku nofo Sinilau moe fa'u.</i></p> <p style="text-align: center;"><i>Tupa!</i></p>	<p>Crowed the cocks-dreaming of,³⁴⁸ "Those cocks have voices like The pair of <i>Sinilau</i>." Obviously he was wishing, While he was lying at nemesis of wrongdoing³⁴⁹. At early morn he looked out, And saw sitting there <i>Sinilau</i> with his turban on.</p> <p style="text-align: center;">Clap!</p>
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<i>"Mataapule ko'eni e vale,</i>	<i>"This petty chief is a fool,</i>
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³⁴⁷ . *Nifo* "whale tooth" was a significant *koloa* "treasure of outstanding value", used particularly in the ritual ceremony of Fijians. Being forgotten at *Mu'a*, the *Tu'itonga* residential district in *Hahake*, implies that the *nifo* "biting claw" of Fiji sank into the *Tu'itonga*'s flesh to make a hole at central *Mu'a*.

³⁴⁸ . This line was translated by Miss Baker as thus-

Crowed the cocks-like old friends,
 (Thought *Kae*), "Cocks have voices like
 The pair at *Sinilau*'s."
 Then expressed a wish he was there,
 Whereas he was lying at (*Sinilau*'s) boat shed.
 At early morn he looked out,
 And saw sitting there *Sinilau* with his turban.

Wearing turban on the head was a Fijian symbol of one as a champion. In this context the implication is that *Sinilau* by wearing turban on round his head indicates a sort of person who behaved like a bully and whose action as his name suggests that he by coercing *kini* "struck down" the *lau* "hair of the head" of others by fear. In Tongan legend, *Sinilau* is said to be a heroic attractive young man with who heroine *Hina* escaped and ran away. He must have been a Fijian bully-boy who dwelt in *Ma'ufanga-Folaha* area of the *Fangakakau* Lagoon. Two instances alluded to *holataki* "escape and run off with" in this area are, one, by *Kinikinilau* of *Ma'ufanga* of *mohefo* *Tu'utangahunuhunu*, daughter of *Tu'ikanokupolu Atamata'ila*, and, the other, by *Tongatangakitaulupekifolaha* of *Folaha* of *mohefo* *Fusipala*, daughter of *Tu'ikanokupolu Mataeleha'amea*. *Folaha* also means "to cut the *Tu'itonga*'s hair".

³⁴⁹ . Miss Baker's translation of this line is "whereas he was lying at (*Sinilau*'s) boat shed". *Alafolau* as "boat shed" carries the original meaning of *fale*, as in *fale faka-Manu'a*, "wounded head snatched and fled away with". The action of wounding and taking away of the ruler's head, in this case of *Kae*, of wounding and

APPENDIX 3

(This is my re-translation of the translation by Beatrice Shirley Baker of the tradition of the *Fua* "Mullet" published in Edward Winslow Gifford's *Tongan Myths and Tales* [1924:91-95] taken from the *Koe Makasini 'a Koliji*, Vol. 2, pp. 156-158, 1875.)

The account of the *Fua* "Mullet" is a depiction of *fua'a* "jealousy" (line 6) developed between two sisters, *'Ila* and *Hava*, who lived together as wives of a chief named *Na'a-'a-namoana* of *Fungakupolu* near *Nukuhetulu*, *Tongatapu*. *'Ila* the favourite was toppled by her younger sister's catch of mullets which then became *Na'a's* favourite delicacy. Because of *Na'a's* preference to love *Hava*, *'Ila* had to trick *Hava* one night fishing to follow *Hava* to the secret cave where lived and reproduced the mullets. After *Hava* left the cave, *'Ila* filled her basket but she was angry at the want of love of her younger sister that she opened the cave to let the fish come out and go. As a result of not being able to prevent the fish from going, *Hava* (of anger), *Na'a* (for his love of *Hava*), and *'Ila* (feeling despair) all turned into stones standing together.

KOE FUA: KOE LAVE MEI METEVA'E THE MULLET: THE CHANT FROM
 METEVA'E³⁵⁰

<i>Fanongo mai e loto matala,</i>	Listen you of enlightened minds,
<i>Kau 'ai talanoa ki he fanga.</i>	While I tell you a tale of the shore.
<i>He fine nonofo 'a 'Ila mo Hava,</i>	Two women that dwelt together 'Ila and Hava,
<i>Ne 'unoho mo Na'a'anamoana.</i>	They were wives of <i>Na'a'anamoana.</i>
<i>Nonofo nonofo pea ke anga,</i>	They dwelt together then quarrelled,
<i>He me'a mamahi koe fua'a.</i>	What a sorrowful thing is jealousy.
<i>'Alaa!</i>	Awaken!
<i>Pea fai 'ena ha'iha'i ama,</i>	They tied their torches together,
<i>Ke na oo he fakangofua fanga.</i>	At the annulment of the <i>tapu</i> of the shores.
<i>Hiki hake pea taki taha hala;</i>	Each lifted her torch and went her own road;
<i>Pea 'alu 'a 'Ila he loto fanga.</i>	And went 'Ila to the middle of the

³⁵⁰ . Baker's translation is "The consequence: the chant of *Meteva'e*", taken from the sense of *fua* as "consequence" of anger of the old couple who owned the cave where lived and reproduced the mullets in the discovery by the people of the village of their secret food supply. The couple chased the fish from the cave to

<i>Pea 'alu 'a Hava he 'au tafa,</i>	anchorage.
	And went <i>Hava</i> arriving at a
	crevice,
<i>Pea ha'u leva ia 'o tatala,</i>	And she came and opened it,
<i>'O lau 'e ia ha ava'i paka;</i>	She thought that it was a crab hole;
<i>Sio hifo ki he ika 'ene nganga;</i>	Looking down she saw the fish
	gaping;
<i>'Omi 'ene kato pea fakamanga,</i>	She brought her basket and
	opened wide,
<i>'O fili ki ai e ika kakafa,</i>	And selected the large fish,
<i>Pea hiki hake 'ene 'efihanga;</i>	And she lifted up her load;
<i>Fie ma'uma'u ki he 'ohoana.</i>	Wishing to get the affections of
	her husband.
<i>Ka ko Veiuu 'eni 'a e fanga,</i>	At <i>Veiuu</i> the name of the shore,
<i>Na'e ai e vai moe 'ana.</i>	There was the pool and the cave.
<i>'Alaa!</i>	Awaken!
<i>Pea 'alu 'a 'Ila 'i he loto tahi;</i>	And <i>'Ila</i> went in the middle of the
	sea;
<i>Ka ka 'alu 'a Hava 'i he tafa'aki,</i>	While <i>Hava</i> went along the beach,
<i>Pea mei tamate'i 'ene afi,</i>	And nearly out was her torch,
<i>Ka ka foki ki mui 'o 'eteaki.</i>	When she turned back and was

the ocean consequently filling it with mullets. Tradition of *fua* really is about the "mulletts" that do carry inside their stomachs the "yellow roes" look-alike of the lump of blood as the sacred foetus.

Pea ha'u leva ia 'o tangaki,

'Omi 'ene kato pea fakatali,

'O fili kiai e ika lalahi,

Pea fai mo 'ene taliaki:

"Ha'u koe ika 'o 'alu ki tahi,

He me'a mamahi e u'akai!"

'Alaa!

Hu atu 'a Hava 'o pulupulu;

Fanongo mai ia 'ae 'u'ulu;

Pea hu ki tu'a 'o tumutumu,

Tuva'e mo ke langa tu'u:

Toki ai hao'anga e pau'u.

Kuo fonu e kato pea pupunu.

'Alaa!

Tofusi ki mu'a 'o hele tutu'u,

careful.

And then she (*'Ila*) came and

opened the hole,

And brought her basket and held it

up,

And placed in it the big fish,

When done then she said:

"Come fish and go into the sea,

It is grievous to be greedy!"

Awaken!

Entered (the house) *Hava* and

wrapped up;

Heard the noise of something in

motion;

Went outside and wondered,

Standing up and complaining:

Were there ever such mischievous

ways.

Filled the basket then closed it.

Awaken!

Run to the front and cut off,

*Toho mai Kanatea mo Nuku,
 Faloo mai mo Nukuhetulu
 Ke fema'utaki mono pupunu,
 Kalo e ika he potu 'o Futu,
 'A e ne leke ai Mokohunu.*

'Alaa!

*Na'e mei toho mai e Toa;
 Kalo e ika he fakatonga,
 'A e ne leke ai Lifuka;
 Pea leke ai Faihavataa,
 Pea moe fanga he Fatufala.*

'Alaa!

*Toho mai 'a Ha'aloausi;
 Kalo e ika he potu vai,
 'A e ne leke ai 'Umusii.
 Ne ofi he maka Tu'ungasili,*

*Pulled Kanatea and Nuku,
 And stretched out also Nukuhetulu
 For them to meet to close up the
 passage,
 Turned the fish to the direction of
 Futu,
 Which caused the inlet at
 Mokohunu.*

Awaken!

*Was nearly dragged along the
 casuarina tree;
 But the fish turned southerly,
 Which caused the inlet at Lifuka;
 And the inlet at Faihavataa,
 And the beach at Fatufala.*

Awaken!

*Pulled out Ha'aloausi;
 Turned the fish to the other side of
 the water,
 Which caused the inlet at 'Umusii.
 Near to the stone called*

Ne toki hingoa mai ko Tu'i.

'Alaa!

Toho mai Houmatoloa,

Mo Tongololoto mo Fonuamoa.

Toho mai Mata'aho pea toka;

Kalo e ika he potu ki Tonga;

'A e ne leke ai 'a Fetoa,

Pea leke ai Faihavafoa.

Kalo e ika 'o ma'imoa,

Pea kuo lata 'i Folokotoa.

'Alaa!

Fetoho, fetoho pea 'ahoia:

Pea ui ki honau kaainga:

Ki Nga'unoho pea mo Fasi'a,

"Ko 'ena e ika ke mou talia

Tu'ungasili,

Afterwards called by the name *Tu'i*.

Awaken!

Pulled along *Houmatoloa*,

And *Tongololoto* and *Fonuamoa*.

Pulled along *Mata'aho* and it went
along aground;

Turned the fish (and swam) to the
south;

Which caused the inlet at *Fetoa*,

And the inlet at *Faihavafoa*.

Turned the fish and swam about in
play,

And made their home at

Folokotoa.

Awaken!

Pulled and pulled till it was day:

And called to her relations:

At *Ngau'unoho* and *Fasi'a*,

"There are the fish, you receive
them

Ka te 'ai tupu fakamaka kita."

'Alaa!

Nukunukumotu ko 'ena e fua,

He 'oku kakave 'e he tahi hu'a.

Ka hili 'a Muilimu mo Houma.

Pea pa ha ui ki 'Olunga;

Pale mai e folau tafua

Ha'ele ai 'eiki ki Mu'a.

Ko'ena e ika kuo hao 'uta:

Ka hao 'anai, ka hao ki tu'a,

Pea vete ai homou fonua.

'Alaa!

"Ha'afakanapa mo Ha'amatangi,

While I turn into a stone."

Awaken!

Nukunukumotu there is the fua³⁵¹,

It is taken away by the high tide.

After *Muilimu* and *Houma*.

Then send a call to *'Olunga³⁵²*;

Then paddle the fleet of small
canoes

And the chief will go to *Mu'a*.

The fish that have escaped into the
lagoon:

If they escape presently, if they
escape into the sea,

Then conquered will be your land.

Awaken!

"Ha'afakanapa and Ha'amatangi³⁵³,

³⁵¹ . Again, Baker translated *fua* in this line and the next line as "measure", thus
Nukunukumotu this is the measure,
To widen out at the high tide.

It should be clear from line 81 that *fua* in line 75 is a *ika* "fish".

³⁵² . *'Olunga* or *Ma'olunga* "Up" is reference to the home of the *Tu'i Tonga* at *Lapaha* in *Mu'a* (line 80). *'Uta* "land" and (*'o*)*lunga* "up" are two different ways of saying the same thing. So, *'uta* and *lunga* are doublets. As opposed to *lalo* "down, below", which is *vao* "uncultivated bushland", *'uta* is the cultivated land. The tradition of *fua* is a topographical description of the coastal small *vao* tracts of fishfolks in the lagoon area who mainly fish for *'Olunga*. *Kauhala'uta* moiety is mainly land cultivators whereas *Kauhalalalo* sea fishermen. Interrelationship between marriage and stealing between the two moieties is women of the former marrying to the men of the latter, men of the latter stealing food from the former. But, in the case of women,

<p><i>Ko'ena e ika ke talia mai,</i></p> <p><i>He 'oku velenga 'i hono mamahi,</i></p> <p><i>He fie fanau ki honau 'api."</i></p>	<p>There are the fish for you to keep back,</p> <p>Is pained to the uttermost,</p> <p>With the wish to give birth in their home."³⁵⁴</p>
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'Alaa!

Awaken!

<p><i>Mai 'a 'Ila, mai 'a Hava?</i></p> <p><i>Ko fe 'a Na'a'anamoana?</i></p> <p><i>Kuo hao e ika 'i he mamaha,</i></p> <p><i>Kuo hili moe funga Manavanga;</i></p>	<p>Where is <i>'Ila</i>, where is <i>Hava</i>?³⁵⁵</p> <p>And where is <i>Na'a'anamoana</i>?</p> <p>The fish have escaped in the ebbing tide,</p> <p>They have gone passed <i>Manavanga</i>³⁵⁶;</p>
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like this story of the *fua*, marrying to men of "up", there is always jealousy, leading on to *anga* "quarrel" (line 5) between the concubines.

³⁵³ . *Ha'afakanapa* and *Ha'amatangi* are both tracts of *Tungii* in *Tatakamotonga* suggest that the use of *'uta* in line 81 is reference of that end part of the lagoon area, namely, *Tatakamotonga*, *'Alaki*, *Holonga*, *Malapo*, *Vaini*, and *Longoteme*, as "inland", with the warning that their land will be plundered if the fish get away (lines 82-83).

³⁵⁴ . Baker translated this line as "With the wish for children in their home", based on the text *faanau* "children". The warning is related to a *tonotama* "stealing of an adopted child of another (*Hava*'s to *Na'a*, a *Tu'i Aana* of *Samoana* [lines 56-58]) as one's own (*'Ila* to *Tu'i 'Aahau* [lines 101-105])". *'Ila* is short for *Tohu'ia*, daughter of *Ama ia Pesetaa*, (*Pesetaa* of *Ma'ufanga* who has the title *Kama*), who adopted the boy, *Ngata*, for *Tu'i Ha'atakalaua Mo'ungaatonga*. *Ama*'s adopted daughter, *Poto Taumulimalei'a*, said to have a *taumuli* "backside" of *i'a* "fish", looks to be the *Tohu'ia* in the Tongan version. With the stolen boy, they built the first local ruling order with chief *'Ahome'e* of *Hihifo*. (See descendants of *Ama ia Fiamee* in Kramer [1994:327-328]). *Muilimu* (line 77) looks to be *Tuilimu*, young brother of *Ama ia Fiamee*, *Ha'afakanapa* (line 85) to be *Sa'anapu* in war with son of *Ama ia Pesetaa*, *Ameteolepala*, another son of *Ama ia Pesetaa*, to be *Meteva'e*, a connection to the nickname of the people of *Fitiuta*, home of the *Taeotagaloa Folasa le 'i'ite* in *Manu'a*, as *vaepapala* "stench foot" (Kramer 1994:510), thus *mete*, Fijian *mbete*, or *pete* "rash" and *pala* have correspondent meaning. The lagoon area is the place of stealing and intermarriages between the *Aana vao* invaders and the local *'uta* people.

³⁵⁵ . Baker translated this line as "Where is *'Ila*, where is *Hava*?" is based on the story teller wondering of the where about of these people. It is indicative form of frustration and anxiety of the mind as shown in line 101. Turning into stones (line 73) is form of suicide as the inevitable and acceptable action to do because of the impact of shame upon these people's kinrelations. Shame culture has been a tradition of this lagoon area, especially *Folaha*, thus the stone of *Tapuhia*.

Tali lafoa mei Ma'ufanga.

Prepare to cast the net from

Ma'ufanga.

'Alaa!

Awaken!

Tuku atu e ika ke 'alu,

Tell them to let the fish go,

Kuo hili Mounu mo 'Utupatu:

They have passed *Mounu* and

'Utupatu:

Kuo laka pe moana hauhau;

And entered the deep ocean;

Tali lafoa mei Ha'atafu.

Prepare to cast the net from

Ha'atafu.

'Alaa!

Awaken!

Koe 'atamai 'oe ika!

Oh the mind of the fish!

Nofonofo na'e molumalu,

It lived like a chief,

Pea teu 'ene tama pea 'alu;

And was prepared her child and

went;

Ko momoi kia Tu'i 'Aahau.

As a present to *Tu'i 'Aahau.*

Toki fanau ai pea ha'u.

Then increased there and

returned.

'Alaa!

Awaken!

³⁵⁶ . Baker's translation, "they have the place *Manavanga*", is suspicious, because she translated line 97 in the same way I do with this line. Both lines have the same structure. *Manavanga* is a dangerous passage on the way by sea from *Nuku'alofa* to *Mu'a*, proverbially, it is lost forever if you fall into it. So, Baker's translation, as indicated by the previous line 92, heralds a successful fleeing through the danger of *Manavanga* only because the tide was ebbing away. What is dubbed proverbially must be a danger condition only when it is high tide. *Funga Manavanga*, *Manavanga* coming up to *funga* "the surface" of the water, is another expression of *mamaha* "ebbing tide".

APPENDIX 4

(This is my edited version of this chant composed by *Tufui* and translated by Beatrice Shirley Baker in Gifford, *Tonga Place Names*, 1923:8-11, and edited by *Futa Helu*³⁵⁷.)

The significance of this poem to the thesis is the relevance of the lagoon and the small offshore islands of *Tongatapu* as a map to the myths considered such as the origin myth of *'Aho'eitu* and *Folau ki Pulotu* and as a specific reference, for example, to certain custom of asking for a piece of land in old days (line 58) used in my analysis of the origin myth of the coconut.

KOE NGAHI MOTU 'O TONGATAPU: KOE LAVEOFO

(THE ISLANDS OF *TONGATAPU*: THE WONDER-CHANT)

<i>Ke fanongo mai ee kanokano na</i>	Listen, oh, alto singers
<i>Kau lave motu pe te ke 'iloa</i>	I will sing of the islands and see if you know them
<i>Ki homautolu Fangalongonoa</i>	About our own <i>Fangalongonoa</i> ³⁵⁸
<i>Ne fua 'i 'Onevai he totoka</i>	It was first at <i>'Onevai</i> of peaceful

³⁵⁷ *Helu* used this chant in a paper he presented at the University of Hawaii in 1986 on the theme of *laumaatanga* "pride of locality" in Tonga. See Mahina 1992:245-249

	coast ³⁵⁹
<i>Koe motu lelei ia 'o Tonga</i>	That is the best island of Tonga
<i>Lata'anga 'oe fakahakonoa</i>	Where the chiefs loved to go for pleasure trips ³⁶⁰
<i>Angi 'ae matangi Tonga</i>	Blow ye south wind
<i>He-a-e-i-a-ho-la!</i>	He-a-e-i-a-ho-la!
<i>He-he-i-a-he-he-a!</i>	He-he-i-a-he-he-a!
<i>Mokotu'u 'ena, mo Velitua</i>	<i>Mokotu'u</i> there and <i>Velitua</i>
<i>Hangee ha vakatou kuo hola</i>	Like a vessel that has absconded
<i>'Ae toomohopo 'a Malinoa</i>	The falling and rising of <i>Malinoa</i>
<i>'Oka tu'u matahavili 'a Tonga</i>	When Tonga stands menaced by strong winds ³⁶¹
<i>Angi 'ae matangi Tonga</i>	Blow ye south wind
<i>He-a-e-i-a-ho-la!</i>	He-a-e-i-a-ho-la!
<i>He-he-i-a-he-he-a!</i>	He-he-i-a-he-he-a!
<i>Velitua'ihifo mo Monuafe</i>	<i>Velitua</i> -west and <i>Monuafe</i>
<i>Ngata mei Tanoa mo Fele'ave</i>	Ending with <i>Tanoa</i> and <i>Fele'ave</i>
<i>Na'a 'ita 'i loto 'oe punake</i>	Lest becomes angry the mind of

³⁵⁸ . Baker's translation: "yonder the beach of *Fangalongonoa*"

³⁵⁹ . "it was made by *'Onevai* to be calm"

³⁶⁰ . "the place allures for a pleasure trip". *Fakahakonoa* as "pleasure trips" is poetic for the family custom of *fakahako* "to cause to have descendants".

	the poet
<i>He'eku vikia 'ae mata hangale</i>	Because I praise the coast of <i>hangale</i> trees
<i>Kau foki pee au ki Hahake</i>	I will return to the east district
<i>Angi 'ae matangi Tonga</i>	Blow ye south wind
<i>He-a-e-i-a-ho-la!</i>	He-a-e-i-a-ho-la!
<i>He-he-i-a-he-he-a!</i>	He-he-i-a-he-he-a!
<i>Ko 'Ata koe motu'a fonua</i>	'Ata is the oldest land
<i>Mo 'Eueiki pea mo 'Eua</i>	And 'Eueiki and 'Eua
<i>Na'e fusi 'e Maui ki 'olunga</i>	Were pulled up by <i>Maui</i>
<i>Ko Kalau, e motu ngali niua</i>	<i>Kalau</i> , an island appearing to have plenty of coconuts
<i>Ne feke'i ai 'ae ongo 'otua</i>	Quarrelled over by two gods
<i>Ta koe fingota e fiemu'a</i>	Why it was a shellfish and cunning
<i>Kuo tuku hono nge'esi 'i 'uta</i>	Which left its empty shell on shore ³⁶²
<i>Ka ka 'alu 'o heke telefua</i>	While it went and crawled naked
<i>Angi 'ae matangi Tonga</i>	Blow ye south wind
<i>He-a-e-i-a-ho-la!</i>	He-a-e-i-a-ho-la!
<i>He-he-i-a-he-he-a!</i>	He-he-i-a-he-he-a!

³⁶¹ . "when Tonga stands facing the wind"

³⁶² . "And left its empty shell on shore"

<i>Ko Lotuma mo Folokolupe</i>	<i>Lotuma and Folokolupe</i>
<i>Ko Lekiafaitau nofo pe</i>	<i>Lekiafaitau stands tucked away here³⁶³</i>
<i>Tangaloa e tu'u makehe pe</i>	There stands <i>Tangaloa</i> apart ³⁶⁴
<i>Ko Puleniafi mo Ongolate</i>	<i>Puleniafi and Ongolate</i>
<i>Angi 'ae matangi Tonga</i>	Blow ye south wind
<i>He-a-e-i-a-ho-la!</i>	He-a-e-i-a-ho-la!
<i>He-he-i-a-he-he-a!</i>	He-he-i-a-he-he-a!
<i>Nukuhe'elili pea mo Nuku</i>	<i>Nukuhe'elili and Nuku</i> ³⁶⁵
<i>Na'e hola ki ai 'ae nofo huu</i>	Fled there the refugee ³⁶⁶
<i>'Oka mohe hake e Fakatupu</i>	When the Cannibal went to sleep there ³⁶⁷
<i>Ki he hoko 'oe toenga 'umu</i>	To finish the 'umu remains
<i>Angi 'ae matangi Tonga</i>	Blow ye south wind

³⁶³ . "Lekiafaitau stands here"

³⁶⁴ . "There stands *Tangaloa* sliding". Translating *makehe* with "sliding" must have been a simple mistake, taking the text as *paheke* instead.

³⁶⁵ . "Nuku, Hee, Lili, and to Nuku"

³⁶⁶ . "Fled there the suer for pardon"

³⁶⁷ . "When the Creator went to sleep above". Baker's and Helu's translations do not clash but both saying the same idea. In connection to my discussion of this notion of *hoko* "join" (in the next line) in chapter 2, the traditional sense of *Fakatupu* here as "cannibal-creator" is taken by Baker as the god "Creator" in the bible and, by Helu as "Cannibal". *Fakatupu* originates from the sense of *kai* "eating" as *fai* "having sex". *Mohe* in the line also means "having sex". Thus, creation as "engaging in sex" is the woman partaking in "eating" or *folo* "swallowing" the *hii* "sacred child, sperm". In the next line, *hoko 'oe toenga 'umu* should literally translated as "join [in sex] of the 'umu remains".

<i>He-a-e-i-a-ho-la!</i>	He-a-e-i-a-ho-la!
<i>He-he-i-a-he-he-a!</i>	He-he-i-a-he-he-a!
<i>Ko Pangaimotu mo Makaha'a</i>	The islands <i>Pangaimotu</i> and <i>Makaha'a</i>
<i>Tu'u mai 'ae motu ko Fafaa</i>	And springs up the island of <i>Fafaa</i> ³⁶⁸
<i>Na'e fai ai 'ae taa maka</i>	The cutting of stone was done there
<i>'O uta ki Langi Taetaea</i>	And taken (the stones) to the royal tomb <i>Taetaea</i>
<i>Moe 'otu langi fua 'o Mu'a</i>	And all the royal tombs at <i>Mu'a</i>
<i>Angi 'ae matangi Tonga</i>	Blow ye south wind
<i>He-a-e-i-a-ho-la!</i>	He-a-e-i-a-ho-la!
<i>He-he-i-a-he-he-a!</i>	He-he-i-a-he-he-a!
<i>Niuui, hoo ke fakafofofo!</i>	<i>Niuui</i> , displaying defiance for the swelling up ³⁶⁹
<i>Na'e tala hono hingoa 'i he fono</i>	Your name was told at the council ³⁷⁰

³⁶⁸ . Both Baker and Helu translate this line as “And stands forward the island of *Fafaa*”. My translation of *tu'u mai* as “springs up” is connected to the idea of *Fafaa* further away from *Pangaimotu* and *Makaha'a* and as well from the main island of *Tongatapu*, that *Fafaa* only barely appears.

³⁶⁹ . Both Baker and Helu translate this line as “*Niuui/Niu'ui*, you are beautiful!” My translation given is based on my interpretation of the whole stanza as about an old method of *tala 'api* “asking for land”, also known as *niu ui* “calling [with] coconuts (already planted)”. The poet here is bringing a case of “calling

<i>Pea mao ai e lea ki loto</i>	And penetrated the words into the meeting ³⁷¹
<i>“Oku ia ‘ae niu fuongongoo”</i>	“That is mine the coconuts of large size” ³⁷²
<i>Ta ‘oku ‘ikai ha fo’i ngono</i>	But there are not even young nuts
<i>Angi ‘ae matangi Tonga</i>	Blow ye south wind
<i>He-a-e-i-a-ho-la!</i>	He-a-e-i-a-ho-la!
<i>He-he-i-a-he-he-a!</i>	He-he-i-a-he-he-a!
<i>‘Oneata fetaki mo Manima</i>	<i>‘Oneata</i> is hand in hand with <i>Manima</i>
<i>Kau a’a keu mohe ki Faasi’a</i>	While I ford to go and sleep at <i>Faasi’a</i>
<i>‘O mamata he lafo’i ‘oe ika</i>	To watch the throwing of the nets for the fish
<i>‘Oku ‘alu kovi, koe mala’ia!</i>	The catch is not good, there must be a curse! ³⁷³
<i>Ta koe ‘inasi pe ia</i>	Yet that may be the willed portion ³⁷⁴

coconuts” that was not done the proper way and, as a result, the land stealer ended up having *fakafofofo* “swelling abdomen”.

³⁷⁰ . “Your name was told at the proclamation”.

³⁷¹ . “And penetrated the words into the mind”.

³⁷² . “There are there coconuts of large size”.

³⁷³ . “If it goes wrong, it is accursed!” This translation of Baker would be correct if the Tongan text was *‘oku ‘alu kovi, koe mala’ia!*

<i>Angi 'ae matangi Tonga</i>	Blow ye south wind
<i>He-a-e-i-a-ho-la!</i>	He-a-e-i-a-ho-la!
<i>He-he-i-a-he-he-a!</i>	He-he-i-a-he-he-a!
<i>Kuo puli ai 'a Ngaa'unoho</i>	Which causes <i>Ngaa'unoho</i> to disappear
<i>Pe ha 'esi pe muiotoloto</i>	Is it mound or promontory? ³⁷⁵
<i>Nukunukumotu mo Fu'umilo</i>	<i>Nukunukumotu</i> and <i>Fu'umilo</i>
<i>Ko hai 'e a'a moe 'ungakoo?</i>	Who will ford on the spiny 'ungakoo? ³⁷⁶
<i>Angi 'ae matangi Tonga</i>	Blow ye south wind
<i>He-a-e-i-a-ho-la!</i>	He-a-e-i-a-ho-la!
<i>He-he-i-a-he-he-a!</i>	He-a-e-i-a-ho-la!
<i>Utuloa, pe ha 'esi pe ha motu</i>	<i>Utuloa</i> , is it a mound or is it an island
<i>Nukunave pea Motu Fo'ou</i>	<i>Nukunave</i> and the New Island
<i>Ne lele'i fakafuonounou</i>	It only takes a short time ³⁷⁷
<i>Koe vaka e ka 'alu ki motu</i>	There is a vessel that will go to the

³⁷⁴ . "But that is the portion".

³⁷⁵ . "And only the mound at the promontory is seen".

³⁷⁶ . "Who will ford with the spiny 'ungakoo?'" *Ungakoo* is a small sessile animal with spines dangerous to human feet (Gifford 1923:9). Churchward (1959:573) records it as "small shell-fish with long sharp projections (not edible)".

	island
<i>Ki Mounu ki he taumafa fonu</i>	To the reef <i>Mounu</i> to fish for the king's turtle ³⁷⁸
<i>Angi 'ae matangi Tonga</i>	Blow ye south wind
<i>He-a-e-i-a-ho-la!</i>	He-a-e-i-a-ho-la!
<i>He-he-i-a-he-he-a!</i>	He-he-i-a-he-he-a!
<i>Ko Motutala mo Mata'aho</i>	<i>Motutala</i> and <i>Mata'aho</i>
<i>Ha'angakafa ne mei ngalo</i>	<i>Ha'angakafa</i> was nearly forgotten
<i>Talakite feangai mo Moho</i>	<i>Talakite</i> opposite to <i>Moho</i>
<i>Na'e tu'u ai 'ae toa ongo</i>	There stood the casuarina tree of sounds
<i>Na'e holo ai pee e 'ao</i>	Over which the clouds passed in quick succession
<i>Angi 'ae matangi Tonga</i>	Blow ye south wind
<i>He-a-e-i-a-ho-la!</i>	He-a-e-i-a-ho-la!
<i>He-he-i-a-he-he-a!</i>	He-he-i-a-he-he-a!
<i>Ko Niumotu'u mo Nukulave</i>	<i>Niumotu'u</i> and <i>Nukulave</i>

³⁷⁷ . Both Baker and Helu translate this line as “Which was only nice a short time”, taking the Tongan text of *Ne lelei fakafuonounou*. The stanza is about a fishing boat for the king's turtle that goes to *Mounu* reef passing *Utuloa*, *Nukunave*, and *Motu Fo'ou* that only *lele'i fakafuonounou* “takes a short time”.

³⁷⁸ . “To the reef *Mo'unu* for the chief's turtle”. *Motu* is translated as “reef” and “island”.

Pea tolu'aki Vaomaile
E motu ko Fanakava'a'otua
Na'e tu'u pee 'i he loto Kouta

And *Vaomaile* makes a third
 The island of *Fanakava'a'otua*
 Which stood in the middle of
*Kouta*³⁷⁹

Angi 'ae matangi Tonga
He-a-e-i-a-ho-la!
He-he-i-a-he-he-a!

Blow ye south wind
 He-a-e-i-a-ho-la!
 He-he-i-a-he-he-a!

Tongomotu pea mo Ngofonua!
Namolimu e tu'u potu ki 'uta
Na'e tu'u ai e hamatefua
Na'e 'uli 'o taaimu'omu'a

Tongomotu and *Ngofonua!*
Namolimu stands nearest the shore
 There stood a single hulled canoe³⁸⁰
 Which sailed and took the lead³⁸¹

Angi 'ae matangi Tonga
He-a-e-i-a-ho-la!
He-he-i-a-he-he-a!

Blow ye south wind
 He-a-e-i-a-ho-la!
 He-he-i-a-he-he-a!

Muikuku feangai mo Nahafu

E motu lelei ko Mo'ungatapu

Muikuku which stands opposite
Nahafu
 A delightful island is *Mo'ungatapu*

³⁷⁹ . "Which stood in the middle of the mangroves". *Kouta* is large pool that dries up in dry weather.

³⁸⁰ . "There stood there a small sailing canoe".

Na'e nofo ai Putukafatau

There dwelt *Putukafatau*

Ko si'ono motu too 'i he hau

His island given to him by the
ruler³⁸²

Angi 'ae matangi Tonga

Blow ye south wind

He-a-e-i-a-ho-la!

He-a-e-i-a-ho-la!

He-he-i-a-he-he-a!

He-he-i-a-he-he-a!

Ko Nuku mo Kanatea ta'e'ofa

*Nuku and Kanatea unkind*³⁸³

Na'e nofo ai Mapafieto'a

There dwelt *Mapafieto'a*

Na'a ne tau'i Tu'i Lalotonga

He fought the *Tu'i Lalotonga*

Na'e 'ikai tali mai ka ka hola

Who did not wait for him but fled

Angi 'ae matangi Tonga

Blow ye south wind

He-a-e-i-a-ho-la!

He-a-e-i-a-ho-la!

He-he-i-a-he-he-a!

He-he-i-a-he-he-a!

Lau ai moe motu ko Pakola

Count also the island of *Pakola*³⁸⁴

Na'e tu'u pe 'ikai 'iloa

Which appeared and then disappeared

'I he muivai 'o Veitoloa

At the end of the pond of *Veitoloa*³⁸⁵

³⁸¹ . Baker and Helu translated this line as “Which sailed and struck *Mu'omu'a*”. They mistook the compound word, *taaimu'omu'a*, as *ta'i* “to strike” and *Mu'omu'a*, a place. This stanza is about a berthing place of a leader's canoe.

³⁸² . “His poor island given to him by the ruler”

³⁸³ . “*Nuku* and *Kanatea* the unkind”

³⁸⁴ . “Counting in the island of *Pakola*”

³⁸⁵ . “At the end of the water of *Veitoloa*”

Koe nofo'anga 'oe Tu'i Tonga

The dwelling place of a *Tu'i Tonga*

Angi 'ae matangi Tonga

Blow ye south wind

He-a-e-i-a-ho-la!

He-a-e-i-a-ho-la!

He-he-i-a-he-he-a!

He-he-i-a-he-he-a!

Fakimamana te mau tala

Fakimamana we will mention

Koe'uhi pe ko hono hinga-

Because of its name-

Ka kuo 'ikai hono tu'unga

Why it has no place

Na'e tu'u 'i 'Atele he puna

It stood at 'Atele at the spring³⁸⁶

Ne holoki 'i he tau 'otua

Then it was thrown down in the
war of the gods

Angi a'e matangi Tonga

Blow ye south wind

He-a-e-i-a-ho-la!

He-a-e-i-a-ho-la!

He-he-i-a-he-he-a!

He-he-i-a-he-he-a!

Vakautaika, Vakautanguu

*Vakautaika, Vakautanguu*³⁸⁷

Na'e tu'u 'i he fanga 'i Pahu

They stood at the beach of *Pahu*

Ke fanongo mai ho maau

Listen to me you, poet

Koe ngata'anga ia 'oe motu

These are all the islands

Ka 'ikai tau'i pea ke huu

If not contested, then sue for

³⁸⁶ . "It stood at *Atele* then flew away". *Puna* means "to fly" and "spring".

pardon

Angi 'ae matangi Tonga

Blow ye south wind

He-a-e-i-a-ho-la!

He-a-e-i-a-ho-la!

He-he-i-a-he-he-a!

He-he-i-a-he-he-a!

³⁸⁷ . “The vessel that sank the fish and the vessel loaded with yams”. Baker’s translation was based on the texts, *Vakangotoika*, *Vakautanguu*.

APPENDIX 5

(This is my edited version of Miss Beatrice Shirley Baker's translation from the Tongan of a tale recorded by the Rev. Dr. J. E. Moulton in Gifford, *Tongan Myths and Tales*, 1924:181.)

HINA AND THE ORIGIN OF THE COCONUT

Kaloafu mo Teuhie,

Lau foki ko'ena tama pele,

Pea ta koe fa'ahikehe.

Hoko vale 'i hona manavahee.

Tupaheo!

'Ona hopo he moana vavale.

Koe tuna ne hola ki Ha'amoā

'O nofo he Vaiola 'o Hina;

Nofonofu Hina pea feitama.

Kaloafu and Teuhie,

It is said, had a pet child,

But it was a god.

Fled they madly because of their
fear.

Beat quickly!

They jumped into the deep sea³⁸⁸.

The eel fled to Samoa³⁸⁹

And lived vigorously in *Hina's*
water;³⁹⁰

By-and-by *Hina* became

³⁸⁸ . Baker's translation: "They fled into the foaming sea". *Moana vavale* literally means "slimy deep sea".

³⁸⁹ . Baker's translation: "The eel went to Samoa".

	pregnant.
<i>"Hina ee! ke tala hao tangata</i>	"O <i>Hina!</i> you tell your man
<i>Kohai?" "Ko Tuna Olemalama."</i>	Who?" "It's Eel the human being."
<i>Hiki mai 'a Ha'amoā 'o tata,</i>	Came all Samoa and cleaned,
<i>Pea nau ohuohu pea maha;</i>	And bailed the pool till it was
	empty;
<i>Pea hiki hake a tuna 'o tafa,</i>	Lifted out the eel and cut (to pieces),
<i>Tafa pe mo kai 'a lo'imata.</i>	Cutting up while she cries.
<i>"Hiki mai e 'ulu ma'aku na'a,</i>	"Bring here the head for me please ³⁹¹ ,
<i>Pea tanutanu he tanu'anga."</i>	And bury it in the burying-place."
<i>Poo nima pea malangalanga:</i>	For five nights and then it
	appeared. ³⁹²
<i>Mu'a hifo e toume moe kaka;</i>	First came the spathe and fibre, ³⁹³
<i>Koe me'a hulu 'ena keina;</i>	It was plentiful the way they grew; ³⁹⁴
<i>Pea moe niu pulu ma'ama'a</i>	And the coconuts with light husks
<i>Koe me'a fai lolo 'ena tama;</i>	Were for making oil for their child; ³⁹⁵
<i>Ta hono sino koe fale fakaho'ataa.</i>	Cut down its body for a sun
	shelter. ³⁹⁶

³⁹⁰ . Baker's translation: "And lived in *Hina's* water of life."

³⁹¹ . Baker's translation: "Bring here the head for me,"

³⁹² . Baker's translation: "Nights five passed and then it appeared:"

³⁹³ . Baker's translation: "First came leaf pod and fibre;"

³⁹⁴ . Baker's translation: "It was wonderful the way it grew;"

³⁹⁵ . Baker's translation: "Were heavy with oil for their child;"

³⁹⁶ . This is the important line about the connection between the coconut tree, originated from the eel's head, and *fale* as are shelters. The body of the *fale*, from the floor to the roof, is all coconut materials. And, vice versa, the body of the coconut tree is a standing *tuna* on its lower part while from its head growing leaves and spathe of coconuts. When the body of the coconut tree (*tuna*) is cut down for *fale* construction (food) the coconut (head) makes contact with the earth and grows again.

APPENDIX 6

(This *lakalaka* was composed by Her Majesty Queen *Salote Tupou III* and translated by *Futa Helu*. This is the story about the stealing and bringing into Tonga of the ‘*uno/uho* “*kava*” [line 4] found in Samoa [line 14], of the ceremony of the *taumafa kava* “drinking of the *kava/ngafa* ‘duties’ and eating of the *fono* ‘food” [lines 28-35].)

SANGONE

Ne'ine'i hako mei he Tonga

Tapa e 'uhila mei lulunga

He na'e mana e Feingakotone

Fakahake e 'uno 'o Sangone

He! He! Lafaipana e pe'ike mohe aa

He! He! kae tuku mai aa si'oto faiva

SANGONE

No wonder the south was
freshening

And lightening lashed the western
skies

In thunders roared the
Feingakotone

'Twas the unloading of the shell of
Sangone

Ha! Ha! sleep well *Lafaipana*

Ha! Ha! to me the crown you've

surrendered

<i>Teu laufola haka he 'aho ni</i>	Today I dance with nimble feet
<i>Ke me'ite ai e mu'a taloni</i>	To grace 'yond royal seat
<i>Holo pe 'ae nofo 'a mu'a ni</i>	Have peace all ye of <i>Mu'a</i>
<i>Mo ha sola 'oku taka 'i Pangai</i>	Newcomers in <i>Pangai</i> the same
<i>Kau fola si'i Hau-'o-Momo</i>	<i>Hau-'o-Momo</i> I shall display
<i>He koe takafi 'e tau nofo</i>	Of this society it's been the stay
<i>He maa'imoa fai 'i Heketaa</i>	'Twas a Royal act out of <i>Heketaa</i>
<i>Na'e 'aokai mei Ha'amea</i>	Questing for sustenance in <i>Ha'amea</i>
<i>'Ise'isa na'e fena pe ka ko Nua</i>	Alas! already a <i>fena</i> yet it was <i>Nua</i>
<i>Penepena e ngatuvai faakula</i>	Most fitting consort for the <i>faakula</i>
<i>'E Fasi'apule ha'u ke ta oo</i>	<i>Fasi'apule</i> , let us go now
<i>'O tala ho 'uhinga ki he 'afio</i>	To reveal your identity at court
<i>Ke ha ai e finangalo na'e toi</i>	Bringing out the emotions hidden
<i>Na'e 'aikona pe 'o 'omai</i>	Brought in your pouch you showed with pride
<i>He na'e 'ikai fa'a hua'aki</i>	What words can never as fully abide

'E Ulamoleka poto 'i he lau

Oh *Ulamoleka* you man of many
words

Hono 'ikai ke malie kia au

How sweetly to me they sound

Ho'o tala 'ae vaha mama'o

Prophecying that vast distances
shall

Kuo vaofi hotau 'aho

Come together one and all

Kakala talaa kakala mo'oni

High ranking flowers, real flowers

'Oku faifio toki manongi

Blended together in perfumes
supreme

Kisu kava e mei Ha'amoā

Kava cast from *Samoa*

Na'e talihapo he me'a kotoa

But none was allowed to fall

Kisu e fufuu-mo-kokohu

Now, there's a *fufuu-mo-kokohu*

'Ae kau poongia-'i-vao

The *kau-poongia-'i-vao*

'Ae lou tangia-mo-kokii

The *lou tangia-mo-kokii*

Pea moe kapakau tatangi

And the *kapakau tatangi*

Kau ai e ngulungulu-mo-tokoto

The *ngulungulu-mo-tokoto*
including

Moe vahe taumafa 'oe fono

And *fono* at *kava* distributing

Pea toki 'ilo ai e koloa

Then the treasure was found

Koe kanokato e tala 'o Tonga

The inmost content of Tonga's
traditions

Talu ai pe hono fakaili

Since then it's been in jealous

	cherishing
<i>Koe fakama'u 'o hou'eiki</i>	Proud vestments for our <i>hou'eiki</i>
<i>'Oku 'ilo 'e ha taha kuo anga</i>	An expert would certainly know
<i>'Ae ola 'o Takaipomana</i>	The outcome of <i>Takaipomana</i>
<i>Kalia 'oe vahamohe, he kalia</i>	<i>Kalia</i> of the vast open sea, but
<i>na'e tau ki 'one</i>	finally came to <i>'One</i>
<i>Paki mangamanga 'i he Siangahu</i>	Bonito fishing on the way at
	<i>Siangahu</i>
<i>Koe ikamoana si'ene fotu</i>	Raising its head a denizen of the
	deep
<i>Fakahakehake 'i Fonuamotu</i>	Came up on land at <i>Fonuamotu</i>
<i>Longolongo ma'anua 'i Hakautapu</i>	The bonito are surfacing at
	<i>Hakautapu</i>
<i>No'o 'i Havelu moe koka tapu</i>	Tying on to the sacred <i>koka</i>
<i>Koe ola e 'o kou lau</i>	Such grand finale I'm talking about
<i>Fai'anga ia 'oe fetau</i>	I proudly relate in hot contention
<i>Tau tui falahola 'ene hopo</i>	Let's string <i>falahola</i> for they fastly
	ripen
<i>He kuo kakai e vaha'akolo</i>	The <i>vaha'akolo</i> with women and
	men

APPENDIX 7

(This is my own edited version of Queen *Salote's* poem of *Peato* and of 'Okusitino *Mahina's* translation of it. The poem is about Queen *Salote's* war with *Sioeli Pangia*, who is symbolised as a *Peato* "*Pieta*", and, as well, with Catholicism, the religion of the *Tu'i Tonga* dynasty. Queen *Salote* is taking *Sioeli Pangia* as an offender [line 4] challenging her reign by eating surreptitiously some food without giving it to her first [lines 14, 24]. She banishes *Sioeli Pangia* from Tonga back to his origin [line 36].)

PEATO

Tapu ange mo 'etau fakataha
'ae 'alofi na pea moe taka
ka maheikau atu 'ae tala
koe hia ka 'oku 'i Fanakava

teu talanoa ka mou silapa

PEATO

My deep respect to our meeting³⁹⁷
 to the 'alofi and the wanderer³⁹⁸
 if worn-out the announcement³⁹⁹
 it is the offender in *Fanakava*⁴⁰⁰

I shall relate while you articulate⁴⁰¹

³⁹⁷ . Mahina's translation is "sacred be our celebrated gathering"

³⁹⁸ . "for both circle of chiefs and strangers"

³⁹⁹ . "lest this verse goes astray"

<i>ki he 'oomeka 'oe 'emalata</i>	about the omega of the emerald ⁴⁰²
<i>koe tamatou he na'e fafa</i>	an unweaned child for he was carried on the back ⁴⁰³
<i>pea moe kakala too 'i hala</i>	and a <i>kakala</i> falling into misfortune ⁴⁰⁴
<i>na'e tuitu'u pea lavalava</i>	once a <i>tuitu'u</i> and a <i>lavalava</i> ⁴⁰⁵
<i>koe tui 'ae ongo Ha'angana</i>	the plait of the two <i>Ha'angana</i> ⁴⁰⁶
<i>koe Sina'e 'oku ne tala</i>	it is the <i>Sina'e</i> who warns ⁴⁰⁷
<i>ko 'ena e lopa 'oe Hifofua</i>	there is the rope of the <i>Hifofua</i>
<i>lolotonga no'o 'i he 'ovava</i>	still berthing at the ' <i>ovava</i> ⁴⁰⁸
<i>'o tau he langi taetaea</i>	and tied to the <i>langi taetaea</i> ⁴⁰⁹
<i>koe Peato fafangu ke 'aa</i>	it is the <i>Peato</i> , wake him up ⁴¹⁰
<i>pea tu'u 'a Filimoemaka</i>	and <i>Filimoemaka</i> is standing ⁴¹¹
<i>he 'oku matangi si'ono vuna</i>	for his <i>vuna</i> is stormy ⁴¹²

⁴⁰⁰ . “the wrongdoer has been to *Fanakava*”. *Sioeli Pangia*, the offender, is seeking refuge in *Fanakava* from Queen *Salote*.

⁴⁰¹ . “I shall talk but you interpret”

⁴⁰² . “about the omega and emerald”. *Sioeli Pangia* is the emerald who has come to an end.

⁴⁰³ . “yes, the *Tamatou* was carried on the back”

⁴⁰⁴ . “and the *kakala* dropped along the way”

⁴⁰⁵ . “yes, it was strung while walking and worn”

⁴⁰⁶ . “a plaited-*kakala* by the two *Ha'angana*”

⁴⁰⁷ . “and the *Sina'e* who tells”

⁴⁰⁸ . “it's now tied at the '*ovava*”. The translations of this line and the next are mixed up by Mahina and Taumoefolau (2004:263) as I have suggested above. *Hifofua* refers to *Taufa'aahau*'s boat, berthing at '*Ovava*, the dock area in *Lapaha* where a big banyan tree by the bank, with its rope tied up to the highest ranking tomb of all the *Tu'i Tonga* tombs. *Taufa'aahau* won the war, meaning he now owns the head of the *Tu'i Tonga* residence in *Lapaha*.

⁴⁰⁹ . “and berthed at *Langi Taetaea*”

⁴¹⁰ . “there is the *Peato*, wake him up”

<i>he taapuaki monuu'ia</i>	what advantageous privileges ⁴¹³
<i>'ae hou'eiki 'i Falefaa</i>	these <i>hou'eiki 'i Falefaa</i> ⁴¹⁴
<i>'o falala he koka nofo'anga</i>	to depend on the <i>koka nofo'anga</i> ⁴¹⁵
<i>he na'e mana pea 'uhila takai</i>	it thundered and lightened all round ⁴¹⁶
<i>kae taakatu'u 'a hoku loto</i>	while my mind looked at it with curiosity ⁴¹⁷
<i>pea u fifili koe haa nai?</i>	and I wonder what's that for? ⁴¹⁸
<i>'eke 'e he paa 'a Ha'angongo</i>	the claim of the enclosure of <i>Ha'angongo</i> ⁴¹⁹
<i>pea tala 'e he moli ko mamali</i>	for the <i>moli ko mamali</i> informs ⁴²⁰
<i>koe naanunga hotau 'aho</i>	that the characteristic way of today ⁴²¹
<i>he koe popoto mo manu fekai</i>	since it is friendship with a ravenous animal ⁴²²
<i>koe fetaa'aki 'ae helo</i>	it is the hero's fighting with foils ⁴²³
<i>kata pe hoku 'atamai</i>	my mind just laughs ⁴²⁴

411 . "and stand you *Filimoemaka*"

412 . "for it has been fair winds"

413 . "as the blessed luck"

414 . "of chiefs to the *Falefaa*"

415 . "leaning on the sitting-investing *koka*"

416 . "it was thunder and lightening around"

417 . "with worries unsettling my heart"

418 . "and I wondered what and why?"

419 . "asked by the shield of *Ha'angongo*"

420 . "and told by the *moli ko mamali*"

421 . "the observance of today's celebration"

422 . "like befriended to ravenous animals"

423 . "it is the rivals of the heroes"

424 . "but I smile in my mind"

he'eku 'ofa 'i he Vaha'akolo in my love of the *Vaha'akolo*⁴²⁵
'i he 'ikale 'o e 'ataa of the eagle of the freedom⁴²⁶
pea moe laione le'o Tongafuesia and of the guarding-lion,
*Tongafuesia*⁴²⁷
he 'oku 'ikai tau mai 'a 'Aakiheuhu 'Aakiheuhu is not at the dock⁴²⁸
ke mo takitaha 'o heka ai for you two to go aboard⁴²⁹
ka tau folau he kuo hako and let us sail for it is gusty⁴³⁰
'o muia e Kapakau 'o Tafahi and to follow up the *Kapakau 'o*
*Tafahi*⁴³¹
ka kumi 'a Tofua mo Kao and to find *Tofua* and *Kao*⁴³²
fuijaa ke taumu'a kiai flock of birds is your prow⁴³³
'o fetau he tatau-mo-'alo and to engage in repartee at *tatau-*
*mo-'alo*⁴³⁴
ke mo 'eva fa'iteliha ai therein you two freely walk about⁴³⁵
kau lave 'o tu'ulaahoko while I steer away from the wind to
set sail⁴³⁶
'o vakai ha tafatafa'akilangi looking for the *tafatafa'akilangi*⁴³⁷
'o salute ki he manuo and saluting to the man-o-war⁴³⁸

⁴²⁵ . "my love for *Vaha'akolo*"

⁴²⁶ . "and the eagle flying above"

⁴²⁷ . "and the guarding lion *Tongafuesia*"

⁴²⁸ . "for 'Aakiheuhu hasn't yet arrived"

⁴²⁹ . "that you each take and ride on"

⁴³⁰ . "but let's voyage for it's gusty"

⁴³¹ . "and follow *kapakau'otafahi*"

⁴³² . "searching for *Tofua* and *Kao*"

⁴³³ . "*Fuijaa* to which we steer"

⁴³⁴ . "and rival at *Tataumo'alo*"

⁴³⁵ . "therein you walk freely in leisure"

⁴³⁶ . "I shall turn with one sail on"

<i>ka ai ha vaka 'e fie folau</i>	if there is any boat wayer to sail ⁴³⁹
<i>'unu ke mama'o he kaupeau</i>	keep away from the waves
<i>he 'ikai teke ola he ta'au</i>	for you will not survive the wake ⁴⁴⁰
<i>koe fakapoo he Lomipeau</i>	I feel pity for the <i>Lomipeau</i> ⁴⁴¹
<i>'aa he! 'aa he! tama faka'ofa</i>	alas! alas! pitiable aristocrat ⁴⁴²

⁴³⁷ . “and search for a horizon”

⁴³⁸ . “and salute to the warship”

⁴³⁹ . “but if a ship wants to voyage”

⁴⁴⁰ . “withstand you not the crests”

APPENDIX 8

(This is my own edited version of Kaeppler's⁴⁴³, Taumoefolau's⁴⁴⁴, and Mahina's⁴⁴⁵ translations of *Takafalu*, composed by Queen *Salote* for her son's inauguration to the title of *Tupouto'a*. Titled *Takafalu* as Queen *Salote*'s proud acknowledgement of a long struggle for power, literally, "coming from behind", of the *Ha'a Ma'afu*, to which her husband and her, so as their son, belong. *Tupouto'a* is the only title of the *Ha'a Ma'afu* in recognition of *Taufa'aahau Tupou* I's grandfather, *Tupouto'a*, as the palladium of the *Ha'a*, who perverts the source of power from *Tamahaa Laatuufuipeka* into the *Ha'a*. *Tupouto'a* married *Laatuufuipeka*'s daughter, the carrier of the sacred blood which was passed on to their daughter, *Halaevalu Mata'aho*, who married the last *Tu'i Tonga Laufilitonga* and *Malakai Lavulo*, grandson of *Laatuufuipeka*. Queen *Salote* is descended from *Halaevalu*'s first marriage and her husband from the second marriage. Queen *Salote* is *Halaevalu*'s great, great, great granddaughter and her husband *Halaevalu*'s great grandson. Queen *Salote* was only seventeen when she married her thirty year old husband, *Tungii Mailefih*, in 1917.

⁴⁴¹ . "pity be the *Lomipeau*"

⁴⁴² . "alas! alas! poor high chief"

⁴⁴³ . Kaeppler 1990

⁴⁴⁴ . Wood-Ellem 2004:260-262

TAKAFALU

Ke fakatulou moe Takafalu

moe 'otu laine toputapu

ne fetaulaki 'o tapatolu

holo pe nofo kae lau atu

ne kamata 'ia 'Aho'eitu

afe he tuliki Fonuamotu

tu'u moe tapa 'i 'Aahau

piliote 'i Pangai e fa'u

tukuatu e fonua moe tala

Lauaki e Motu'apuaka

TAKAFALU

Bowing in homage to the

*Takafalu*⁴⁴⁶

to the past sacred row of lines

that converged to form the future

King⁴⁴⁷

you remain sitting while I relate⁴⁴⁸

it began with 'Aho'eitu (the first

Tu'i Tonga)

turned at the corner *Fonuamotu*

(seat of *Ha'atakalaua*)

stopped and flashed at 'Aahau

(first home of the *Tu'i Kanokupolu*)

Drawing history to a close at *Pangai*

hand over the land and traditions

to *Lauaki* and *Motu'apuaka*⁴⁴⁹ (two

⁴⁴⁵ . Mahina 1992:193-196

⁴⁴⁶ . "Bowing in homage" is my translation of *fakatulou*, from *tulou*. I think that the word is *tuulolo*, contraction of *tukulolo*, referring to the two sides, for example, *Tu'i Tonga-Kauhala'uta* and *Tu'i Kanokupolu/Tu'i Ha'atakalaua-Kauhalalalo*, reconciling. *Takafalu*, regal for "back (of a sovereign)" (Churchward 1959:443), is *fakatalu*, transposition of sounds, as in *fakatalutalu'aki* "to continually hark back to as a time to be remembered or to date things from" (Churchward 1959:103). This is obvious from the first two lines when Queen *Salote* uses *takafalu* in the first line and, then, repeats it in different words what she means in the second line. Kaeppler (1990) and Mahina (1992:193) translations here look lost, simply because of lacking this historical derivation of the meaning of the terms.

⁴⁴⁷ . I am quoting here Kaeppler's translation of this line (Ibid 1990:210), which, I think, a complete one as to the meaning that this line is conveying, in contrast to Mahina's (Ibid, 1992:193) translation as "to form a triangle".

chief ceremonial protocol
 attendants)
ka teu faiva mo tukuhua while I dance and make
 pleasantries⁴⁵⁰
he tangata 'o e Kauhala'uta over this man of *Kauhala'uta*
'oku taku 'i he tala e fonua who is mentioned in the tradition of
 land
'oku fio 'i he 'alofi tupu'a to have blended in the ancient
kava circle
hoto 'ofa he 'aho fakamanatu my love on this day of
 commemoration
he palatiume 'o Ha'a Ma'afu of the palladium of *Ha'a Ma'afu*⁴⁵¹
faahina 'o loto Neiafu [the] white pandanus fruit of
 central *Neiafu* (village in *Vava'u*
 Island)⁴⁵²

⁴⁴⁸ . Mahina (1992:193) gets the texts as *lau 'otu* "row counting", originated from his taking the composition as a dance, as about the organisation of the performers in the dance. Where I, like Kaeppler (1990:210), taking the line as *lau atu*, the Queen is talking in lines 5-8 about genealogical connection.

⁴⁴⁹ . This line and the previous line indicate the Queen's leaving her royal seat up the top of the *Pangai* flanked by her two attendants to bow and dance to the back seat of *Tupouto'a* behind the *tou'a* "kava mixer". Indicating her departure, she puts these lines in a calling manner of these attendants during the protocol-

tukuatu e...fonua moe tala

Lauaki e...Motu'apuaka

⁴⁵⁰ . From here (lines 11-14) Kaeppler's translations treat the texts in the plural form, thus going astray from the singular thematic subject, Queen *Salote's* son. The composition is really the Queen talking about her elation at her son's inauguration. Kaeppler has *tau* "we" instead of *teu* "I" (line 11), *he tangata* "the men" instead of "the man".

⁴⁵¹ . Both Mahina and Taumoeofolau take *palatiniume* as Tonganisation of "platinum". I take the Tonganisation to be "palladium". It fits well with my discussion of the protection theme. It can be a reference to the Greek protecting deity, *Pallas (Athene)*, from where Queen *Salote* borrowed the term. Is this the Greek equivalent of the Tongan *Tamahaa*?

⁴⁵² . As part of Queen *Salote's* genealogical recount of her son's father's origin, this line tells of his relation to *Neiafu* of *Vava'u* where her husband's mother, *Melesiu'ilikutapu*, through her mother's father, *Finau 'Ulukalala Tuapasi*. Queen *Salote's* son is only a low rank *faahina* but from a powerful family. *Neiafu* is a

'oku fotu he Langi-tu'oteau	emerging at the <i>Langi-tu'oteau</i> ⁴⁵³
'o ne hopo he Tu'alikutapu	it dismounts at <i>Tu'alikutapu</i> (in ' <i>Uiha</i>) ⁴⁵⁴
'o maama he Houma'utulau	lightening up the <i>Houma'utulau</i> ⁴⁵⁵
na'e tapa e 'uhila hoa'ataa	the lightening flashed at mid-day
'o fekau keu ha'u 'o tala	bidding me to go and tell
'ofaloto 'oe Futu-ko-Vuna	the deep love of the <i>Futu-ko-</i> <i>Vuna</i>
'otu langi moe vao kakala	of the royal tombs and the flower bushes
ki he taukei e Angitoa	to the ancestor of <i>Angitoa</i> ⁴⁵⁶
haifine he ongo kauhala	hyphen of the two <i>Kauhala</i> ⁴⁵⁷

name after the island of *Nayau* in the *Lau* Group, to the north of the royal island of the *Tu'i Lakemba*. It is the island of the *Vakavanua* "chief of the land who in charge of food crops" and kitchen of the royal *Tu'i Lakemba*, (see Hocart 1929).

⁴⁵³. *Langitu'oteau* is reference to *Tamahaa Laatuufuipeka*'s grandfather's royal tomb, *Tu'i Tonga Tu'ipulotu-'i-Langitu'oteau*, in the *Tu'i Tonga* cemetery in *Lapaha*.

⁴⁵⁴. '*Uiha* is *Tupouto'a*'s mother's place of origin in the *Ha'apai* Group, north of the main *Tongatapu* Island. The term is really a metathesis of '*uhila* "lightening" in association to the *Tu'alikutapu* "sacred backside". "Lightening" in this context is said to have come from the "backside". The meaning is connected to the part played by the "lightening" as a *malupoo* "protection-night", like the *iku* "tail", in *ila* "to be awake", *fue* "swishing away, striking the people" who conduct evil actions in the night time, particularly stealing and murdering. Thus, the connection then is the flashing of '*Uiha* and lightening *Houma'utulau*, the "backside" of *Tongatapu* Island, where *houma* or *haua* "beating about" in the sense of the '*utulau* or *tu'ulau* "beheading" human sacrifice. This connection specifically shows a genealogical human sacrifice relationship between *Malupoo*, *Tungii*, *Ma'afu* of *Vainii*, *Valu* of '*Utulau*, *Vaea* of *Houma*, and *Lufe* (from *fue*) of *Folaha*.

⁴⁵⁵. *Houma'utulau* is the *Tupouto'a* title holder's estate, really the estate of the *Tungii* (from *tuungia* "set on fire") family, who also known as the *Paahulu* "Trail-blazer".

⁴⁵⁶. *Taukei e Angitoa* is a reference to Queen *Salote*'s paternal and *Tungii*'s maternal connections through strong willed *Toe'umu* to chief *Afu* of *Ha'alaufuli* in *Vava'u*. Queen *Salote* is acknowledging here her husband's high rank over her. *Tungii* is great, great grandson of the *Tamahaa Laatuufuipeka*, (see Bott 1982:147, Figure 24 and, in this thesis as Figure 12, page xxii). Queen *Salote* uses *taukei*, in its Fijian sense, as in *taukei ni vanua* "spiritual owner of the ground" (see Derrick 1950:15, Vol. 1).

⁴⁵⁷. Following the preceding line, the "hyphen" stands for *Tu'i Pelehake 'Uluvalu*, son of *Toe'umu*, from who Queen *Salote* and *Tungii* commonly descended. These two are great, great, great grandchildren of *Toe'umu*. Therefore, the two *Kauhala* refer to the paternal *Tu'i Kanokupolu* (Queen *Salote*) and maternal *Tu'i Tonga Fefine Laatuufuipeka* (*Tungii*). In another respect, the two *Kauhala* (Queen *Salote* of '*Uiha* and

<i>pe'i langatoli mai si'a fine 'o Lapaha</i>	so come flower-picking women of <i>Lapaha</i>
<i>mo ha taha taukei mei he Kolokakala</i>	and an experienced flower stringer of the <i>Kolokakala</i> ⁴⁵⁸
<i>he kuo oso 'ae Hau moe Pangai kuo tava</i>	for the <i>Hau</i> is merry and <i>Pangai</i> is crowded ⁴⁵⁹
<i>koe ha'ofanga e luva'anga e kakala</i>	it is the chiefly gathering for the yielding of <i>kakala</i> ⁴⁶⁰
<i>he ko Molimohe'a mo hono siale moto</i>	the <i>Molimohe'a</i> and its budding gardenias
<i>pea moe langakali e 'api ko Lotunofa</i>	and the <i>langakali</i> of tract <i>Lotunofa</i> ⁴⁶¹
<i>'a 'Utulifuka moe huni kautoto</i>	' <i>Utulifuka</i> and its red-stalked <i>huni</i>
<i>feefee 'a Namoaala moe pulu tomomoho</i>	how's <i>Namoaala</i> and its <i>pulu too</i> <i>momoho</i>
<i>si'i 'api ko Malila mo hono paongo</i>	the dear tract <i>Malila</i> and its

Tungii of *Houma'utulau*) are joined together by their inaugurated son, the palladium *Tupouto'a* of *Ha'a Ma'afu*.

⁴⁵⁸ . *Kolokakala* “village of sweet smelling flowers”, symbol of *Mu'a* village in the eastern part of *Tongatapu* where the residence of the *Tu'i Tonga*, *Lapaha*, is situated, indicates specific *fatongia* “duty” of the women of this village as *tui kaho kakala* “stringing garlands of sweet smelling flowers” for dancing performances to the *Tu'i Tonga* and, also, for other purposes as well.

⁴⁵⁹ . Queen *Salote* is inverting here the traditional ranking system of *Tu'i Tonga-Kauhala'uta* (*Lapaha*) as opposed to *Tu'i Kanokupolu-Kauhalalalo* (*Nuku'alofa*), bringing the latter up to the top as the *Hau* and the former down as *Kolokakala*. Like her great, great grandfather, *Taufa'aahau Tupou I*, Queen *Salote* had this feeling of hatred towards the consumptive lifestyle of the *Tu'i Tonga*, as reflected in her use of words, for example, in lines 27-28.

⁴⁶⁰ . Following from the precedent line, the celebration is also about the traditional *Tu'i Tonga* has to *luva* “strip of” his dignity and all social privileges (lines 31-38) in *Pangai* to be distributed out as shown in the following lines (39-44). In other words, Tonga is undergoing major restructure.

⁴⁶¹ . *Lotunofa* is short for the *Tu'i Tonga Fefine Sina'itakala-'i-Lotunofa*, the last female descendant of the *Tu'i Ha'atakalaua mohe'ofa* institution. She was the last during a war between the *Ha'atakalaua* and the

	<i>paaongo</i>
<i>matala e kukuvalu he vai 'o Moheofo</i>	blooming of the <i>kukuvalu</i> at the spring of <i>Moheofo</i>
<i>'ofa 'i Takuilau heilala kili toto</i>	my love of <i>Takuilau</i> and its <i>heilala</i> <i>kilitoto</i>
<i>si'i faa'onelua papai ha taha hoko</i>	dear <i>faa'onelua</i> the necklace for a successor
<i>teu tui 'ae alamea ki he taukei 'o Lelea</i>	I will string the <i>alamea</i> for the chief of <i>Leelea</i> (<i>Neiafu</i> in <i>Vava'u</i>)
<i>Tuitu'u pe teu luva kihe maka ko Loupua</i>	<i>Tuitu'u</i> I will render to the <i>maka ko</i> <i>Loupua</i> (<i>Nomuka</i> in <i>Ha'apai</i>)
<i>kae ve'eve'e pe si'i Makamaile</i>	<i>ve'eve'e</i> only is for poor <i>Makamaile</i> (<i>Nuku'alofa</i>)
<i>kae tuku e lavalava mo'o Nu'useilala</i>	and reserve the <i>lavalava</i> for <i>Nu'useilala</i> (<i>Lifuka</i> in <i>Ha'apai</i>)
<i>koe fakaofilani kakala 'o Vailahi</i>	the <i>fakaofilani</i> is <i>kakala</i> for <i>Vailahi</i> (<i>Niuafou</i>)
<i>koe tuinga hea fakamalu 'o Katea</i>	the string of <i>hea</i> is hat of the <i>Katea</i> ⁴⁶²
<i>Sia-ko-Veiongo koau teu lele</i>	<i>Sia-ko-Veiongo</i> (<i>Kolomotu'a</i> in <i>Nuku'alofa</i>) I will run

Kanokupolu people. The next *Tu'i Tonga Fefine* is daughter of *Tongotea*, daughter of *Tu'i Kanokupolu Mataeleha'amea* to *Lotunofu's* nephew, *Tu'i Tonga Fakana'ana'a*.

<i>luva atu e kakala ke fai ho pule</i>	I yield the <i>kakala</i> for you to decide
<i>leevei hoku loto nofo he Paepae</i>	staying at the <i>Paepae</i> ⁴⁶³ worrying
	me
<i>fakafiu 'eku tu'a 'ofa ki Olotele</i>	it causes a nuisance of my love to
	' <i>Olotele</i> ⁴⁶⁴
<i>ka hengihengi maluu ko hai tene lava</i>	who can dare withstand the
	pleasantly calm early morn
<i>fe'ao 'i loto Mu'a he mausa e kakala</i>	the company with the strong smell
	of the <i>kakala</i> in central <i>Mu'a</i>
<i>'ete hifo pe 'o tu'u langonga he lala</i>	descending and standing on the
	deserted dockyard
<i>'ete tu'u 'o vakai fakaholo mamata</i>	standing and observing what an
	eye-pleasing view
<i>laumanu ka mahiki mei Halakakala</i>	flock of birds rising to the air from
	<i>Halakakala</i>
<i>taalolo pe 'o tu'u he maka 'i Heketaa</i>	alighting from the air to stand on the
	rock at <i>Heketaa</i>
<i>he 'isa hoto kaume'a ko si'oto mamana</i>	oh my friend who is my favourite

⁴⁶² . *Katea* is the main canoe as distinguished from the outrigger of the King or high chief covered with strings of *hea* while on voyaging. Dr Wendy Pond suggests that the line could mean “the string of *hea* is an umbrella of Aunt *Seini*”, that *Katea* refers to *Seini*. I do not know who this Aunt *Seini*.

⁴⁶³ . *Paepae-'o-Tele'a* is the grave-mound of *Tu'i Tonga 'Uluakimata* in *Lapaha*, taken to be the “First Eye” of Tonga, first “Royal House” in Tonga, brought into Tonga by a *Safata* chiefly family in ‘*Upolu* through intermarriage to the *Ha'atakalaua* chiefs of Tonga. Queen *Salote* argues that the correct history of the “King of Tonga” begins with ‘*Uluakimata*, with the connection to ‘*Upolu*, (see Bott 1982 and my discussion here in this thesis).

⁴⁶⁴ . Queen *Salote* expresses her humble feeling that she, as low rank, does not wish to cause any trouble for the people of *Lapaha* after the big day, that she wants to go back to her origin. But, it is a contradiction, for when she mentions her origin, ‘*Uiha*, it means to counter the high rank of traditional ‘*Olotele* “bigness” of *Lapaha*.

one

he uini e fanga hahake hopo'anga e la'aa the winds of *Fanga Hahake* and

the rising sun

he 'oku 'ilo 'e he poto 'ae mo'oni 'oe fika for the wise knows the answer to

the problem

he ko si'i 'aho 'eni e vale 'ia tama for it is this day of madness for

my child

APPENDIX 9

(This is my own edited version of the lament of Queen *Salote* at the death of her younger sister, *Fusipala*. Queen *Salote* is taking here the subjects on death and gender and, demonstrating the confusion and complexity of the brother-sister relationship. In death, the dead person becomes highly respected no matter who you are and what rank he/she in the family hierarchy. But, because of the political status of genealogical construction in the aristocratic circle focussing on power one can be powerful and powerless at the same time. It is a system which simply shows affection and, at the same time, being aggressive, as part of being a political animal. Compare Figures 19, 24 and 31 in Bott [1982:88,147,153] and lines 44-65. The lament is published in Wood-Ellem et al 2004:232-233. The date of the composition is stated as August 1933 that the lament was first published in *Ko e Tohi Fanongonongo*.)

KOE TUTULU 'A 'ENE 'AFIO HE PEKIA 'A FUSIPALA

(QUEEN SALOTE'S LAMENT AT THE DEATH OF FUSIPALA)

Talanoa mai 'ou fanongo

Announcement that I heard of⁴⁶⁵

tofu kii pea huni e lolo

sea calming and oil floating on

⁴⁶⁵ . Taumoefolau's translations of this composition will be hereafter quoted in the footnotes. Her translation of this line is "I heard tell that"

	top ⁴⁶⁶
'o kakapu 'a Ha'afuluhao	creating fogs to cover up
	Ha'afuluhao ⁴⁶⁷
peau nofo 'o fakalongolongo	and, then, I sat in silence ⁴⁶⁸
tu'u e 'umata vaeuapoo	rising the rainbow in the middle of the night ⁴⁶⁹
loovai e 'uha 'ene too	pouring of water as the rain heavily fell ⁴⁷⁰
'u'ulu e toa 'i Ha'alako	droning loudly the toa in Ha'alako ⁴⁷¹
pea 'ilo leva 'e hoku loto	my mind, then, understood ⁴⁷²
koe mana 'oe Ha'amohefo	it was the loved one of the Ha'amohefo ⁴⁷³
pongipongi hake he Falaite	on Friday, in the morning ⁴⁷⁴
kuo talanoa mai 'o pehee	word came through saying ⁴⁷⁵
koeni e tau kuo fakatee	the war had paraded ⁴⁷⁶

⁴⁶⁶ . "The waters stilled and turned into oil"

⁴⁶⁷ . "Fog covered *Ha'afuluhao*". *Ha'afuluhao* is a genealogical reference of the people of *Vava'u* as children of some Tongan high ranked chiefs who frequented and, in most cases, lived in *Vava'u* for the enjoyment of having sex with the *Vava'uan* most beautiful Samoan women (*fuluhao* "best genitals").

⁴⁶⁸ . "I sat and contemplated"

⁴⁶⁹ . "The rainbow rose in the deep of night"

⁴⁷⁰ . "The rain fell heavy and unceasing"

⁴⁷¹ . "The stones of *Ha'alako* droned". Taumoeolau corrects the text of *toa* as *toka*, thus "stones", probably referring to the stone graves at *Ha'alako*. I still retain *toa*, a reference to the casuarinas trees at *Ha'alako* when blown hard by the wind they make droning sounds.

⁴⁷² . "And then I understood"

⁴⁷³ . "It was the visitation of *Ha'a Mohefo*". *Mana* is short of *mamana*, that this sense is highlighted by Queen *Salote* in the following lines in her praising, as part of respecting, her younger sister's death.

⁴⁷⁴ . "Friday dawned"

⁴⁷⁵ . "And word came"

⁴⁷⁶ . "The war had begun"

<p><i>efiafi 'o faka'ohovale</i></p> <p><i>kuo kapa e tau 'a mate</i></p> <p><i>'o veteki si'oku loto fale</i></p>	<p>at evening came the shock</p> <p>the war of death had taken⁴⁷⁷</p> <p>and plundered the inside of my</p> <p>poor house⁴⁷⁸</p>
<p><i>hoku mate 'ofa hoku tehina ni</i></p> <p><i>ko si'i fefine mei Ha'apai</i></p> <p><i>kuo nofo lata 'i Tongalahi</i></p>	<p>my fathomless love of this younger</p> <p>sister of mine⁴⁷⁹</p> <p>she is a dear girl from <i>Ha'apai</i>⁴⁸⁰</p> <p>who had lived at ease in</p> <p><i>Tonga Lahi</i>⁴⁸¹</p>
<p><i>he 'oiaue 'e 'Elisiva</i></p> <p><i>pau ho'o nofo Mala'ekula</i></p> <p><i>pe'i tu'u hake mu'a ta hola</i></p> <p><i>keke 'eva he fanga 'i 'Uiha</i></p>	<p>oh I cry dear <i>'Elisiva</i>⁴⁸²</p> <p>surely you will live at <i>Mala'ekula</i></p> <p>please get up and let's flee⁴⁸³</p> <p>for you to walk on the beach of</p> <p><i>'Uiha</i>⁴⁸⁴</p>
<p><i>keke nofo ho ngaahi tupu'anga</i></p>	<p>for you to dwell where your origins</p> <p>are⁴⁸⁵</p>
<p><i>he fefine 'o loto Ha'angana</i></p>	<p>the woman of central <i>Ha'angana</i>⁴⁸⁶</p>

⁴⁷⁷ . “The army of death had won”

⁴⁷⁸ . “Disbanding the centre of my pitiful house”

⁴⁷⁹ . “I will die for love of this younger sister of mine”. *Mate*, meaning “to die”, also connotes “the fathomless depth of love”.

⁴⁸⁰ . “Dear woman of *Ha'apai*”

⁴⁸¹ . “Who sojourned happily in *Tonga Lahi*”

⁴⁸² . “Ah me, dear *'Elisiva*”

⁴⁸³ . “Arise now and let us flee, you and I”

⁴⁸⁴ . “To walk upon the beach of *'Uiha*”

<i>uoiaue Fusipala e</i>	oh I cry <i>Fusipala</i> ⁴⁸⁷
<i>'ofa 'i he toe homau fale</i>	love this youngest of our house ⁴⁸⁸
<i>si'i fale 'o Lopa'aione</i>	dear house of <i>Lopa'aione</i>
<i>na'e loto fale 'a fefine pe</i>	the inside was dwelt only by women ⁴⁸⁹
<i>'e Tauki'onetuku e</i>	dear <i>Tauki'onetuku</i>
<i>'Elisiva pe'i ke tu'u hake</i>	<i>'Elisiva</i> you stand up ⁴⁹⁰
<i>keke 'eva 'i hota lotofale</i>	take a walk inside our house ⁴⁹¹
<i>na'e kasa 'aki pe ho va'e</i>	with your legs to give light ⁴⁹²
<i>mate 'ofa fau hoku tehina</i>	I deeply love very much my younger sister ⁴⁹³
<i>koe moto 'oe Pule'anga Tonga</i>	the budding flower of all Tonga
<i>na'aku ngaohi ke ngeia</i>	I brought her up to be grandeur ⁴⁹⁴
<i>ke 'ilo'i 'e he 'otu fonua</i>	to be known by the islands of Tonga ⁴⁹⁵

⁴⁸⁵ "To dwell where your origins are"

⁴⁸⁶ "Woman of central *Ha'angana*"

⁴⁸⁷ "Ah me, dear *Fusipala*"

⁴⁸⁸ "How I love this youngest of our house"

⁴⁸⁹ "At whose centre only women may abide"

⁴⁹⁰ "'*Elisiva*, arise now"

⁴⁹¹ "And stroll within the centre of our house"

⁴⁹² "Whose only light were your feet"

⁴⁹³ "I will die for love of my younger sister"

⁴⁹⁴ "I bestowed honours upon you"

⁴⁹⁵ "For all lands to see and know"

<i>he uoiaue 'e Fusipala</i>	oh I cry dear <i>Fusipala</i>
<i>ho'o ako kuo ta'e'aonga</i>	your education has gone to waste ⁴⁹⁶
<i>'ofa 'i ho sino manakoa</i>	I treasure your being popular ⁴⁹⁷
<i>mo ho tu'unga laulotaha</i>	and your standing alone rank ⁴⁹⁸
<i>kuo puli 'o 'ikai kei haa</i>	have gone and no longer evident ⁴⁹⁹
<i>he uoiaue, 'e Taufa</i>	oh I cry dear <i>Taufa</i> ⁵⁰⁰
<i>faa'ele 'ae 'ulutefua</i>	birth of the only one still living ⁵⁰¹
<i>kuo 'aavea hoku tehina</i>	my younger sister has been taken away ⁵⁰²
<i>'o 'ikai si'ao tu'otu'a</i>	leaving you with no assistance ⁵⁰³
<i>Tuku'aho 'alu 'oua 'e ha'u</i>	<i>Tuku'aho</i> , go, and don't come ⁵⁰⁴
<i>he 'oku ke liongi pea ke tapu</i>	for you are <i>liongi</i> and prohibited ⁵⁰⁵
<i>he mokopuna 'o Tupou 'Aahau</i>	to the granddaughter of <i>Tupou</i>

⁴⁹⁶ "Your mind has gone to waste"

⁴⁹⁷ "How I treasure your well-loved person"

⁴⁹⁸ "And your peerless rank"

⁴⁹⁹ "Now gone from sight"

⁵⁰⁰ *Taufa* is short for *Tu'i Kanokupolu* George *Taufa'aahau Tupou* IV, oldest son of *Tungii Mailefihi* and Queen *Salote*.

⁵⁰¹ "Offspring of an only child". *'Ulutefua* refers to Queen *Salote*.

⁵⁰² "My younger sister has been taken"

⁵⁰³ "You have no other support"

⁵⁰⁴ "*Tuku'aho*, go, do not come close". *Tuku'aho* is Queen *Salote*'s second son who died before *Fusipala*.

⁵⁰⁵ "For your lowly presence is prohibited here". *Tuku'aho*, as a *liongi*, wears a big old torn mat as sign of mourning at the sister's descendant's funeral. See Bott 1982:88, Figure 19, in this thesis as Figure 14, page xxiv. *Tuku'aho*'s great grandfather, *Tungii Halatuituia*, is *Fusipala*'s great, grandmother, *Tupou'aahau*, brother. Genealogically, then, *Fusipala* and *Tuku'aho* are classificatory sister and brother.

	'Aahau ⁵⁰⁶
<i>ta kuo ngalo 'ia au e</i>	lo and behold I have forgotten
	that ⁵⁰⁷
<i>koe mokopuna koe 'o Fane</i>	you are the grandchild of <i>Fane</i> ⁵⁰⁸
<i>koe fahu ki loto Pelehake</i>	the <i>fahu</i> to central <i>Pelehake</i> ⁵⁰⁹
<i>kuo 'ahoia e takipoo</i>	daylight has come upon the wake
<i>pe'i ui 'a Manumataongo</i>	call hither <i>Manumataongo</i> ⁵¹⁰
<i>lavenoa'ia 'i hono lolo</i>	to signal the end of the vigil ⁵¹¹
<i>Taufa ho'o nofo mama'o</i>	acting for <i>Taufa</i> while being
	away ⁵¹²
<i>Vilai, Vuna mo Tungii e</i>	<i>Vilai, Vuna</i> and <i>Tungii</i>
<i>he toe 'a maatu'a tangata pe</i>	remainders of men only ⁵¹³

⁵⁰⁶ "Beside the grandchild of *Tupou 'Aahau*"

⁵⁰⁷ "Ah, but I forgot"

⁵⁰⁸ "You are also *Fane*'s descendant". *Fane* is short for *Fanetupouvava'u*, grandmother of *Tungii Mailefih*, father of *Tuku'aho*. But, Queen *Salote* is reminding here of the high rank of *Tuku'aho* in relation to *Fane* as the great granddaughter of *Tamahaa Laatuufuipeka*. In this connection, *Tuku'aho* is higher in rank to *Fusipala*.

⁵⁰⁹ "Summit of central *Pelehake*". *Tuku'aho*, in spite of his *lioni*, low rank, to *Fusipala*, also, is the *fahu* "summit of central *Pelehake*". Central *Pelehake* is reference to *Tu'i Pelehake 'Uluvalu* and his children, *Filia-i-Pulotu*, (mother is *Tupouveiongo*, daughter of *Tu'i Kanokupolu Mumui*), and *Tuputupu-'o-Pulotu*, (mother is *Laatuhooleva*, daughter of *Tamahaa Laatuufuipeka* and *Kiue'etaha*). *Tuku'aho tau-'i-Folaha*, his full name, is connected to this centrality in *Pulotu*, to the '*Uluvalu* "Head-of-sacrifice" or *Tuku'aho* "presentation-of-offering of human victim" that was *tau'iFolaha* "taken to *Folaha*". In my interpretation, *Folaha*, as *Folasa le 'i'ite* in Samoa, is *Tangaloa 'Eitumatupu'a* title name, the chief of the village of *Pelehake*, and, of course, of *Folaha*. (For this genealogy, refer to Bott 1982:147, Figure 24 and, in this thesis, Figure 12 on page xxii.)

⁵¹⁰ *Manumataongo* is Queen *Salote*'s youngest son, *Sione Nguu*, then, the *Tu'i Pelehake* title holder. See Bott 1982:147, Figure 24 (in this thesis as Figure 12, page xxii), 154, Figure 31 (b) [in this thesis as Figure 1 (b), page x].

⁵¹¹ . The meaning of this line refers to line 55, as *Taufa*, at the time, was away overseas, so *Manumataongo*, his younger brother, took over his place.

⁵¹² "Acting for you, *Taufa*, in your absence". *Taufa'aahau*, at the time, was at school in Australia.

<i>kuo mole ho mou tuofefine</i>	your sister has lost ⁵¹⁴
<i>ke mou fanau kae pule</i>	who would have governed your children
<i>'ofa he 'uhinga kuo maumau</i>	pity is the pedigree that has been wasted ⁵¹⁵
<i>fua 'a Hihifo ki Takuilau</i>	tribute of <i>Hihifo</i> to <i>Takuilau</i> ⁵¹⁶
<i>'ofa he 'uhinga kuo puli</i>	pity is the pedigree that has been vanished ⁵¹⁷
<i>fua 'a Tungii ki he Tu'i</i>	tribute of <i>Tungii</i> to the King ⁵¹⁸
<i>'ofa he 'uhinga kuo mole</i>	pity is the pedigree that has been lost ⁵¹⁹
<i>fua 'a Niukapu ki Pelehake</i>	tribute of <i>Niukapu</i> to <i>Pelehake</i> ⁵²⁰

⁵¹³ "Men only are left now"

⁵¹⁴ "Your sister is lost"

⁵¹⁵ "The pity of the tie that has been severed"

⁵¹⁶ Tribute from *Hihifo*, the residence of the *Tu'i Kanokupolu*, to *Takuilau*, symbol of the *Tu'i Tonga* was brought to Her Majesty Queen *Salote*, for her mother, *Lavinia Veiongo*, is the great granddaughter of the last *Tu'i Tonga Laufilitonga*. As granddaughter of *Ula Afuha'amango*, *Fusipala* is tribute of *Niukapu*, a name of the *Afuha'amango*'s family, going back to an original *Niukapu* who sought refuge at god *Kautai*'s house in *Mu'a* from *Taufa'aahau Tupou I*. See Bott 1982:147, Figure 24 and, in this thesis as Figure 12, page xxii. *Tupou II* is son of *Tu'i Pelehake Toutaitokotaha* and *Fusipala Tauki'onetuku*, daughter of *Tevita 'Unga*, son of *Taufa'aahau Tupou I*.

⁵¹⁷ "The pity of the tie that has faded"

⁵¹⁸ "Tribute of *Tungii* to the Monarch". On the death of *Fusipala*, *Tungii Mailefihi* took some food and *koloa* to Queen *Salote*. *Tungii*'s relation to *Fusipala* goes back to *Tungii*'s grandfather and *Fusipala*'s great grandmother as brother and sister. So, *Fusipala*'s mother, *Takipoo*, and *Tungii Mailefihi* are classificatory sister and brother.

⁵¹⁹ "The pity of the tie that has been lost"

APPENDIX 10

(This is an edited version of *Melenaite Taumoefolau's* translation of Queen *Salote's* lament at the death of her son, *Tuku'aho*, appearing in the *Songs & Poems of Queen Salote*, recently published by the *Vava'u Press*, Tonga, and edited by Elizabeth Wood-Ellem [2004:237-238]. The Queen is revealing here the relationships between certain *ha'a* with their respective duties to *Tuku'aho*. Again, she recites the intertwining of male duties, thus line 24, and female ranks, line 27, in the body of her son. The poem is really recitation of *Tuku'aho-tau-'i-Folaha*, supporting given by the *Tungii* family in "cutting off of the 'aho' offering of food to an 'eitu/aitu or Tu'i Tonga' with war at *Folaha*" [line 5]. The *Tungii* originally of *Ha'angana* of *Ha'ano* Island is who making the island of *'Uiha* one of *Ha'angana*, thus *Ongo Ha'angana* [line 15]. In line 25, Queen *Salote* is citing the coming together of the two lines as one, as *Tuku'aho* [*Tungii*] and *Taufale* [Queen *Salote*]. The date of this composition is 1936.)

⁵²⁰ "Tribute of *Niukapu* to *Pelehake*" is from *Fusipala's* mother's relations to *Taufa'aahau Tupou II's* mother, *Fusipala Tauki'onetuku*, and wife of *Tu'i Pelehake Toutaitokotaha*.

KOE TUTULU 'A 'ENE 'AFIO 'I HE PEKIA 'A TUKU'AHO

(THE LAMENT OF QUEEN SALOTE AT THE DEATH OF TUKU'AHO)

<i>'E Tungii, ke fakamolemole</i>	<i>Tungii, please forgive me</i> ⁵²¹
<i>'i he faakatu'a e faa'ele</i>	for the commoner-like of birth ⁵²²
<i>kuo 'ikai nofo 'a Taufale</i>	<i>Taufale</i> has not sat ⁵²³
<i>ke tali fekau kiate koe</i>	to accept the commands of you ⁵²⁴
<i>Tuku'aho-tau-i-Folaha</i>	<i>Tuku'aho-tau-i-Folaha</i>
<i>neu nofo pe 'o fiefia</i>	I lived and anticipated ⁵²⁵
<i>'o lau 'e au te ke 'aonga</i>	thinking you would be useful
<i>kia Tungii mo hono kaainga</i>	to <i>Tungii</i> and his people
<i>hoku 'ofa 'oku, hoku 'ofa fau</i>	how I love, how I dearly love
<i>he tehina 'o Taufa'aahau</i>	this younger brother of
	<i>Taufa'aahau</i>
<i>na'e lau pe tokua 'e au</i>	I had certainly thought ⁵²⁶
<i>'e mo'ui ko hono to'omata'u</i>	he would live to be his main
	support
<i>hoku 'ofa fau si'eku tama</i>	oh, how I love this dear child of
	mine
<i>na'e maalie hono 'uhinga</i>	his genealogy was neatly

⁵²¹ . Taumoefolau's translation has it as "Forgive me, *Tungii*"

⁵²² . In Taumoefolau's version, it is translated as "For the rudeness of the child I bore you"

⁵²³ . "*Taufale* has not stayed"

⁵²⁴ . "To do your bidding"

	arranged ⁵²⁷
<i>fua 'ae Ongō Ha'angana</i>	fruit of the <i>Ongō Ha'angana</i> ⁵²⁸
<i>moto 'oe Ha'atakalaua</i>	flower-bud of the <i>Ha'atakalaua</i>
<i>'oiaue, si'eku tama</i>	oh-me, dear child of mine
<i>he 'eiki e ongo Ha'a Ngata</i>	the high chief of both <i>Ha'a Ngata</i> ⁵²⁹
<i>mokopuna 'o 'Ulukalala</i>	grandson of ' <i>Ulukalala</i> ⁵³⁰
<i>mokopuna e motu'a ko Ata</i>	grandson of the old man <i>Ata</i> ⁵³¹
<i>Tuku'aho e Uiliami</i>	<i>Tuku'aho</i> , oh, <i>Uiliami</i> ⁵³²
<i>hoku 'ofa 'i hono sino 'eiki</i>	how I love his high rank body ⁵³³
<i>'eiki tu'unga ho'o tamai</i>	high rank derived from your father ⁵³⁴
<i>fihī'anga 'oe ngaahi tu'i</i>	in whom kingly titles mingle ⁵³⁵
<i>Tuku'aho e, 'e Taufale</i>	<i>Tuku'aho</i> , oh, <i>Taufale</i>
<i>ko si'ete tama tu'u he fa'ee</i>	it's my child who stands on the mother ⁵³⁶
<i>taha'anga 'oe ongo laine</i>	in whom the two lines merge

⁵²⁵ . "I lived happily in anticipation"

⁵²⁶ . "I thought vainly"

⁵²⁷ . "his was a regal birth"

⁵²⁸ . "tribute of both *Ha'angana*". *Ongō Ha'angana* is reference to *Tu'iha'angana* of *Ha'ano* and *Malupoo* of *'Uiha*. *Ongō Ha'angana* is *Halaevalu Mata'aho*, great, great grandmother of Queen *Salote* and sacred blood carrier.

⁵²⁹ . "lord of both *Ha'a Ngata*". Both *Ha'a Ngata* refer to *Ha'a Ngata Motu'a* and *Ha'a Ngata Tupu*, *Ata* as the head of the former and '*Ulukalala* of the latter.

⁵³⁰ . "progeny of '*Ulukalala*'"

⁵³¹ . "progeny of the old man *Ata*'"

⁵³² . *Uiliami* is Queen *Salote*'s husband's first name, William.

⁵³³ . "how precious is his chief's body". "His" in the translation stands for *Tuku'aho*.

⁵³⁴ . "derived from your father". "Your father" here stands for *Uiliami*'s, *Tuku'aho*, a direct descendant from *Tamahaa Laatuufuipeka*. See Bott 1982:88, Figure 19 and, in this thesis as Figure 14, page xxiv.

⁵³⁵ . "In whom the kings' lineages mingle"

⁵³⁶ . "my dear child who ruled over his mother". It looks like that *Taufale* is *tu'u he fa'ee*.

<i>muka 'oe Konisitutone</i>	leaf-bud of the Constitution ⁵³⁷
<i>tuku keu tangi 'o lau'aitu</i>	let me weep and recite the spirits ⁵³⁸
<i>'i he siana ni mei Halaliku</i>	for this man from <i>Halaliku</i> ⁵³⁹
<i>pe feefee'i hano liliu</i>	how am I to make the change
<i>'ae tohi lisi 'o Maka-'a-Kiu</i>	of the registration of <i>Maka-'a-Kiu</i> ⁵⁴⁰
<i>hoku 'ofa fau si'eku tama ni</i>	how I love this dear child of mine
<i>koe fua 'a Ha'a Havea Lahi</i>	he is fruit of the senior <i>Ha'a</i> <i>Havea</i> ⁵⁴¹
<i>'eiki 'o loto Nuku'alofa ni</i>	sacred child of central <i>Nuku'alofa</i> ⁵⁴²
<i>na'e tu'a ki he kolo Ngatuvai</i>	who was commoner to the <i>Kolo</i> <i>Ngatuvai</i>
<i>'ofa 'i he tangi 'a Sione</i>	how I pity <i>Sione's</i> weeping ⁵⁴³
<i>ho'o li'aki ke feefee</i>	you've left not knowing what may happen to him ⁵⁴⁴
<i>ha fua kavenga 'a e vale</i>	will have to carry burdens the incapable ⁵⁴⁵
<i>maheni falala kiate koe</i>	he who is accustomed to leaning on

⁵³⁷ . "sprouting leaf of the Constitution"

⁵³⁸ . "let me weep inconsolably"

⁵³⁹ . "For this young man from *Halaliku*". This is a reference to the southern part starting from the eastern end of *Tongatapu* Island, also known as *Houma'utulau*, discussion of this in chapter 4, stretch of land belonging to the *Tungii* family. *Halaliku* is the *hala* "road" running parallel along the coast, the *liku* or *iku* "backside".

⁵⁴⁰ . *Maka-'a-Kiu* is a place on the coast of *Fua'amotu*, *Tungii's* estate.

⁵⁴¹ . "this offering of *Ha'a Havea Lahi*"

⁵⁴² . "lord of the heart of *Nuku'alofa*"

⁵⁴³ . *Sione* is short for *Sione Nguu*, youngest brother of *Tuku'aho*.

⁵⁴⁴ . "to what end did you leave him"

⁵⁴⁵ . "the infant will carry burdens"

he neongo pee 'eku mahi

kau 'ilo koe nofo pule'i

kau laulotoa ho'o mo'ui

hoko ko hoku vaikau'aki

you⁵⁴⁶

but though I am grieving

I know this living is subordinate to
another⁵⁴⁷

I will repeat from memory your
life⁵⁴⁸

which will be my source of
comfort⁵⁴⁹

⁵⁴⁶ . "he who was accustomed to leaning on you"

⁵⁴⁷ . "I know Who reigns"

⁵⁴⁸ . "so I will just reflect on your life"

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⁵⁴⁹ . "waters of my consolation"

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