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DEPARTMENT OF ANTHROPOLOGY
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**Music of Takuu
(Mortlock Is.), Papua
New Guinea**

Richard M. Moyle

Occasional Papers in Pacific Ethnomusicology

No. 5, 1995

This volume is the fifth in a series of data-oriented publications on Pacific ethnomusicology. The Papers are intended for material too long or specialised for publication elsewhere, in such fields as music ethnography, analysis, descriptions of recorded collections and archiving. Contributions are welcome, and prospective authors should contact the Editor before submitting a manuscript.

Series Editor: Richard Moyle

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Archive of Maori and Pacific Music
Department of Anthropology
University of Auckland
PB 92019 Auckland
New Zealand

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CONTENTS

Acknowledgements	4
Project Description	4
General Description	6
Musical Ethnography	14
Composition	14
Teaching	17
The Samoan Connection	
The Spirit World	21
Song Performance	22
Song Structure	23
Song Poetry	23
Song Categories	25
<i>naa lani</i>	25
<i>naa luu</i>	26
<i>naa fcái</i>	26
<i>oriori</i>	28
Dance Performance	28
Dance Categories	28
<i>naa tuki</i>	28
<i>naa rwe</i>	31
<i>naa manokoho</i>	35
<i>naa hula</i>	35
<i>naa saw</i>	36
<i>te uii</i>	36
<i>naa hoe</i>	38
<i>/ʔafí/</i>	39
<i>te takere</i>	39
<i>naa sakitao</i>	41
<i>naa sore</i>	41
<i>teanuhaikave</i>	41
Introduced Dances	43
Dance Structure	44
Instruments	45
Bibliography	46

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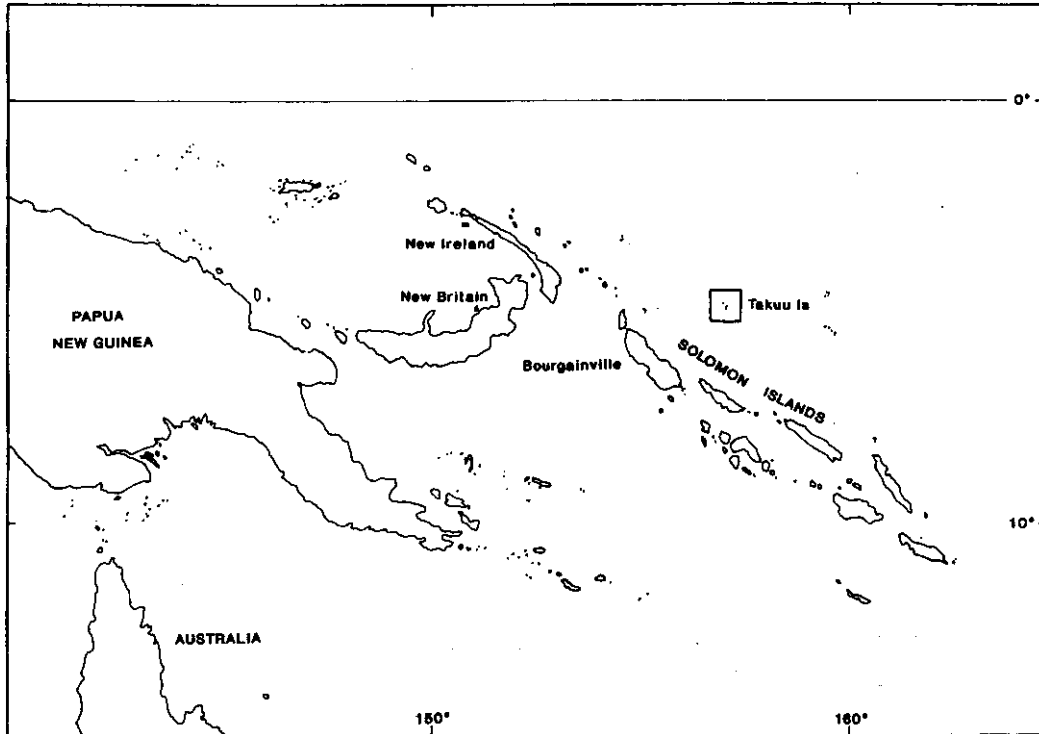
On Nukutoa, the Ariki Avo not only provided generous accommodation and detailed information on the role of the Ariki but also incorporated me into his family, bestowing the ancestral name of Sauhatu. Much of the success of this project is also due to the tenacity with which my research assistant, Natan Nake, managed to combine project duties with those of husband and father. His patience and reliability involved him working many nights as well as days and eliciting material at his own initiative.

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Project Details

This project was undertaken in the period August - October 1994 under the auspices of the Unesco-funded programme "A Territorial Survey of Oceanic Music", administered by the Archive of Maori and Pacific Music. Copies of a 60-minute sample tape recording of Takuu songs are available from the Archive, taken from the 45 hours of material recorded during this survey. Further fieldwork is planned.



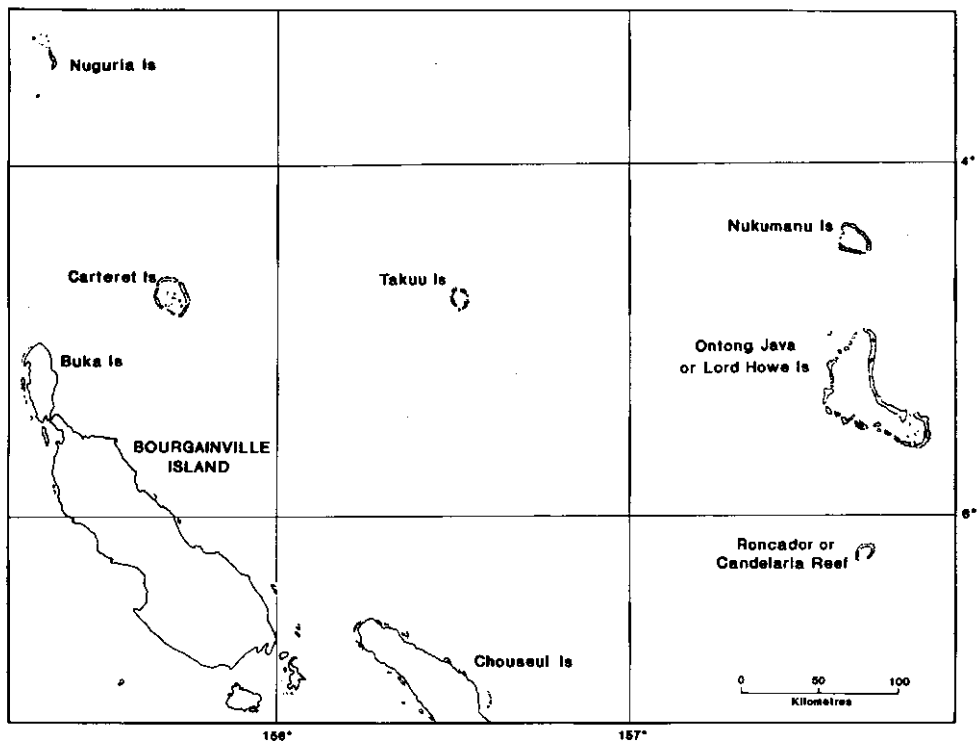
Map 1. Takuu within its Melanesian location.

General Description

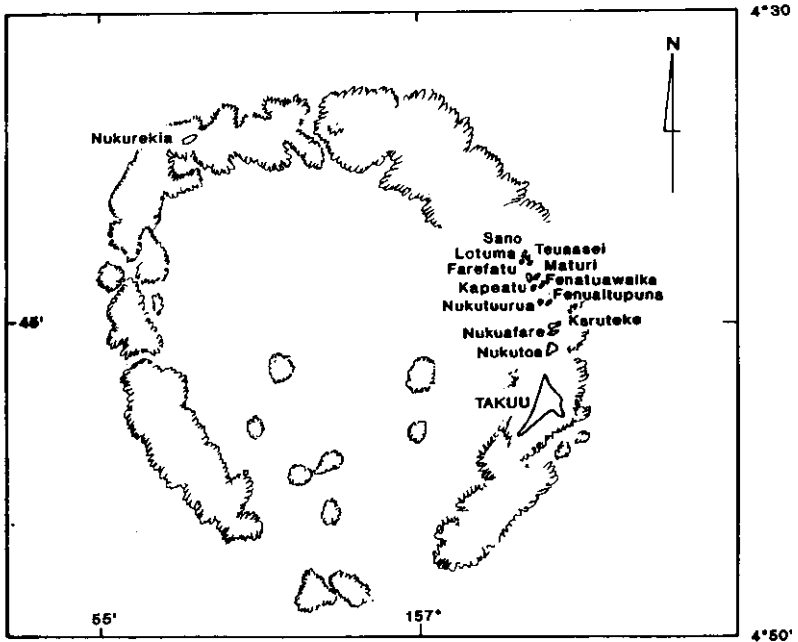
Takuu is the indigenous name for the atoll also known as Mortlock Island; the term "Mortlocks" is commonly used in a general way by non-landers to refer to the several atolls lying east of New Ireland (Map 2). Of these, Nukuria (Fead Island) and Nukumanu (Tasman Island) are also Polynesian Outliers, whereas the original Polynesian population of Kirinilau (Cartaret Islands) was displaced by an invasion from Buka Island many generations ago.

Nukutoa is a T-shaped island with a 350-metre lagoon frontage, each end of which is occupied by rows of canoes laid on blocks, some 80 vessels in all. Houses are arranged in eight rows parallel to the frontage and 1-3 metres apart, the rows separated by thoroughfares 3-6 metres wide; several have cookhouses at the rear. The area outside the eastern end of the *ariki*'s house constitutes the *marae*, an otherwise unnamed site where both visiting dignitaries and clan elders are entertained and commemorative clan songs are performed. Behind the last row of houses stand the Government office, a small Roman Catholic chapel, the four-room primary school and the teachers' houses. A large canoe construction area lies on the southern end of the lagoon frontage, and a smaller one is located a short distance behind the schoolyard, relocated there after the area at the northern lagoon tip became crowded with completed canoes. The final 40 metres of land stretching east towards the reef constitutes the male morning defecation area, the female equivalents located on the foreshores at the northern and southern tips of the frontage. The encircling reef is some 200 metres from the eastern tip of the island, and the rumble of the breakers is audible at all times.

Three other islets in the group — Nukureekia, Kapeiatu, Takuu — were occupied in the prehistoric and historic past, the most recent being Kapeiatu itself, which was abandoned in favour of Nukutoa two generations ago, apparently following a disagreement between the European plantation manager living there and her foreman. Although averaging only 2.6 persons per dwelling, the present population of 435 (many of whom returned to Nukutoa at the start of the Crisis on Bougainville in 1989) is considered excessive in terms of the available living space, and application for financial assistance to build communal water tanks on neighbouring islets has been made to the Provincial Government, with a view to transferring those families wanting to move. Urgent pressure elsewhere on government



Map 2. Takuu and its neighbouring islands.



Map 3. Takuu atoll.

finances resulting from the September 1994 volcanic disturbances in Rabaul may well put that application in limbo.

The main sources of cash income are from the sale of dried shark fin and beche-de-mer to a buyer on Nukumanu. The current low price for copra dissuades almost all people from this labour-intensive activity. The island's several small trade stores sell a limited range of tinned food and tobacco.

An east-west division created sometime after World War Two through the cluster of houses separates the community into two social regions of approximately equal size. Initially these were called "America" (in the north) and "Japan" (in the south), but changed in 1983 to Taloki and Sialeva, respectively.¹

Each region has its own pair of meeting houses and communal water tanks. As one part of commemorative rituals for the recent dead, men and women each occupy a house for several hours of song and informal dancing. Men also use the houses for the recreational drinking of coconut toddy (*ikareve*) one or more times each week as well as inside individual homes; invariably these occasions inspire singing. Dancing may also occur, often starting with the more restrained *tuki* and leading on to the more vigorous *rue*. Such is the effect of the alcoholic toddy, however, that it sometimes appears that the desire to perform *rue* on such occasions increases in inverse proportion to the men's mental and physical ability to do so.

The Taloki-Sialeva division is both social in the sense that it emerges on social occasions (e.g., the annual independence Day sports competitions and dancing displays, occasional dance performance on the *marae*, the three-weekly community beautification projects) and political (forming the basis for selection of representation on the island council).

The island is under the direct control of two chiefs (*tuku*) — Avo, who is the Ariki and responsible for its general health and spiritual wellbeing, and Kiipuu, who is the Pure and responsible for secular matters. The residents form five clans (*noho*) each headed by an elder (*maatua*); Avo and Kiipuu are *maatua* in their own right as well as holding their status as *tuku*. Te Noho i Tua ("The Rear Clan"), Te Noho i Loto ("The Inner Clan"), Te Noho i Saupuku ("The Southern Clan"), Te Noho i Tai ("The Lagoon Clan") and Te Noho i Tokorau ("The Northern Clan"). These names reflect their original geographical locations on the neighbouring island of Takuu and, although the names themselves have been retained on the smaller island of Nukutoa, the spatial referents have not. Each clan constitutes a patriline named after the house in which its elder lives, and possesses its own ceremonial assistant(s) to the elder (*tautua*), principal fisherman (*tautai*), large canoe (*vaka sii*) and "spirit house" (*hare aitu*); these are summarised in Figure 1.

1. Sialeva is said to be a Solomon Islands Pidgin word meaning "independent", but Taloki has a local and singular origin. "Style *hoki*" (Simply stylish) was the term northern residents used to describe themselves. "7a" represents a local child's mispronunciation of the word "style" and "*loki*" a garbling of "*hoki*". The error amused the locals to the point that they enshrined it in the name. The full name is said to be Talokihoki, but I have not heard it used.
2. On the day of performance of the *paki* dance, Avo was very much aware of the possibility of men drinking *kareve* before the performance, thereby providing the potential for spoiling it. As a counter, he and another man aimed to sponsor a canoe race early in the day, allowing the men no time for drinking, as they would all want to participate or watch the race, and putting them all in high spirits for the dance itself.

clan te noho	lineage te Hare	head te maatua	assistant te tautua	fisherman te tautai	canoe te vaka	"spirit house" te hare aitu
Te Noho I Tua	Hare Ata	Avo	Hareata, Kiipuu	Kautao	Teamarua	Hakaatui
Te Noho I Loto	Hare Mania	Kiipuu	Nake, Hareata	Lakoa	Fauvaka	Uvea
Te Noho I Saupuku	Hare Maasani	Kikiva	Seehuri	Apava	Maukena	Oneai
Te Noho I Tai	Hare Naaoro	Putahu	Nes, Uruaka	Putahu	Taoa	Ketiketi
Te Noho I Tokorau	Hare Ania	Tenehu	Nuunua, Atimu	Apoki	Tehuaroto	Tupeia

Figure 1. Named clan divisions.

The male ceremonial assistant to the *maatua* is called *te tautua*. Among his duties are the leading of formal singing, and, in this capacity, only a *tautua* may beat the *tuki* slit drum to accompany dancing on the *marae*. The choice of *tautua* for each occasion is determined by the ownership of each dance, which is clan-centred.

In the past, one of each clan's *tautua* was also its *purotu*, the living repository of the clan's artistic performance repertoire, a specialist in its songs and dances.³

Recent generations, however, have been witness to a decline in the overall number of *purotu*. By 1970 there were only two — Saare for Hare Ata and Tave for Hare Maasani — the other three clans having nobody with the appropriate qualifications. When Saare died in the early 1970s, the clan-specific focus of the position of *purotu* collapsed in favour of Tave assuming personal responsibility for the island's entire musical repertoire, a task he undertook evidently with success until his unexpected death in 1994. It is a matter of general regret that he did not train a successor, and the drumming at dance performances in 1994 was adversely criticised as inaccurate for this reason, the criticisms made more in sorrow than anything else. Although no new *purotu* has been appointed, there is the widely, but privately, voiced hope that one particular man, already a *tautua*, will fulfil this role. At the same time there is wide agreement that the quality of drumming for the ancient dances for which few specimens exist — *hoe*, *uui*, *paki* — can never be regained.

3. Cognates throughout West Polynesia include *pulotu* on East Futuna, East 'Uvea, Samoa, Sikaiana, Tokelau and Tonga; *purotu* on Tikopia; *pugotu* on Rennell.



Plate 1. The five *maatua* of Takuu in ceremonial dress on the *marae*. From top left clockwise: Avo, Kiiptu, Tenehu, Kikiva, Puutahu.

Most dances arrange the participants in two or more straight lines (*kau*) stretching either away from, or across, the *marae*. The person at the head of each line is an experienced dancer and is considered to lead the performance; such people are called *haimako* and may be either male (*haimako tanatd*) or female (*haimako hahine*) according to each individual dance. Each clan has one or more *haimako* who, in addition to leading the performance, is responsible for the memorising, rehearsal and teaching of the clan's dance repertoire. A holder of the lesser position of *tama hailani*, by contrast, is a person who knows one particular genre.

Although any of the *maatua* may dance on the *marae*, the Ariki may not: his role is *nohokooi*, to sit and provide formality by his presence alone. He may, however, dance informally off the *marae*, e.g., at Sialeva or Taloki, during the *anu hai kave* (see below).

An unexpected — and, from the perspective of this Survey, a positive — result of the Crisis on neighbouring Bougainville has been the enforced return to Nukutoa of several experienced dancers. The village men's decision to perform the *paki* dance in October, its first public performance since 1973 when it was danced for Queen Elizabeth II at Kieta, stemmed in part from the presence of seven of the 1973 dancers together with a dozen or more men who had been working elsewhere in Papua New Guinea. Similarly, the women's performance of the *hoe* dance marked its first public appearance in more than 20 years, and their *sore Faite* quartet of dances likewise received a rare showing, and required two days of formal rehearsals.

Informal group singing invariably arises from the drinking of *kareve*. The number of coconut palms milked twice daily for their juice, which is then normally stored for three days before consumption, appears sufficient to support two large-scale gatherings - involving most men - per week. Such gatherings tend to follow a group activity occurring early in the day, e.g., a sponsored race for sailing canoes, the reconstruction or re-thatching of a domestic house, repairs to the communal houses, the formal launching of a new canoe. Occasionally, however, drinking groups simply aggregate from one or two men to a dozen or more. Women's group consumption of the toddy occurs less often and apparently always in a community house adjacent to that of the men, the men having overall control of the supply. Singing usually begins within 30 minutes of the start of drinking and continues for as long as the supply of drink itself lasts; occasionally this results in all-night sessions for a few determined men. Both Taloki and Sialeva drinking houses contain a curfew bell which is rung by Avo or Kiipuu if proceedings become too rowdy. Many men deliberately refrain from food before drinking; the intention is to "spark", i.e., become sociably drunk, as soon as possible, and the hours of conversation, song and dance become imbued with the goodwill of recreational drunkenness.

Formal, sober singing appears restricted to two of the commemorative rituals associated with death. Approximately one week after a death, on an



Figure 1. Amid a cluster of *kareve* containers, a man rises to dance a *tuki*.

evening which promises to be free of rain or high wind, the village's adult population gathers on the *marae* in the presence of the five *maatua*, each clan in turn singing as many of its own *luu* songs as its members can remember. (By contrast, the gathering of the adult population for a full day of singing and dancing at either Taloki or Sialeva approximately one month after the death is sustained by constant supplies of *kareve* and tobacco.) Similarly, on the day of the *tuku mai* ritual six months after the death, the entire taro crop is harvested, brought to the death house and distributed; next day, people gather and drink until early evening and, if the night again promises to be fine, go to the *marae* and there give the first public performances of all the newly composed *tuki* for the deceased. It is the practice that the life of every local man be celebrated after death by the composition of one or more dances whose song's subject-matter is devoted exclusively to praise of the single activity which dominates the lives of all able-bodied men — fishing.

Three types of ocean fishing are imbued with extensive rituals, some widely known but others practised privately, but all of which enlist supernatural help in ensuring success; to this extent, they may be considered as sacred fishing. *Hakasoro* fishing occurs at night for the large *ravena* "castor oil fish", *pakuu* is fishing for sharks, and *sii* is fishing for bonito or tuna. The high regard in which these activities are held is reflected in the

large numbers of dances which celebrate specific notable achievements - some of which occurred more than 20 years ago - and which are known and frequently performed by all the men. Dances of the *tuki* and *rue* genres fall into this category. By contrast, *te kuu*, deep-sea hand-lining, is celebrated in *rue* dances and a single *oriori*.

Christmas Day is celebrated by the group consumption of large quantities of *kareve*, and in recent years the informal mixed dancing known as *te anu hai have* ("dancing with one's sisters"), *te anu haiavana* ("dancing with one's wife") or *te anu hai tinana* ("dancing with one's mother") may occur on the *marae* (see p.40). Similarly, the celebration of Papua New Guinea's Independence Day, aided by funds from the North Solomons Provincial Government, includes public dancing in its programme. In its 1994 celebration, the community chose to perform the *takere* and *sasale* dances, followed by several hours of recreational drinking.

Musical Ethnography

Composition

Locally composed songs and dances have one of two origins. Individual specimens of some song genres — *sore*, *tuki*, and *luu*, as well as the *takere* — are said to have been created by a spirit (*aitu*) and communicated via a medium (*pure*) to the deceased's family for the purposes of learning and subsequent performance. By contrast, it is said that all *sore*, *sau* and *u i i* dances and their songs originate in this manner. Although there is variation in the precise circumstances in which the medium sings, the pattern is clear.

An existing medium will be consulted as to who is an appropriate new medium for a recently deceased person. The new appointee will then enter the death house (the first person to do so since the death; it stays closed for normal use until the *tukumat*), and sit there. Some mediums may shake all over for as long as 30 minutes, whereas other sit quietly as in a trance. The deceased's family enters and questions the medium as to any imminent death or serious injury to family members, and asks the deceased's forgiveness for any past misunderstandings that may have occurred. Either at that meeting or a subsequent one, or at the *taanaki* when the mourners are based in the house of their clan leader for 5-7 days, the medium may break into song. The event is neither unexpected nor unusual, and all present listen keenly as the song is repeated in order to learn its details. In the case of a dance song conveyed in this manner, the appropriate movements are apparently created and taught by

members of the deceased's family, a situation which may explain the relatively small repertoire of actions.

The series of *sore* dances composed by the spirit of the woman Faite and communicated to her family via the medium Emi, Faite's niece and mother of the present Tepuka, illustrate particularly clearly the genre's function to provide reassurance and comfort to grieving relatives after the death of a family member. The text of one of these *sore* (see Ex. 6) is as follows:

E ko aku tamana i tai Te One	My fathers are at the sea at Te One
Nau e noho i loto Te One	I am living inside Te One
Tuu te aitu i loto Te One	The spirit is present inside Te One
Tuu Puukena i loto Te One	Puukena himself stands inside Te One
Sopokia maatou te maarama	We are caught out by the rising moon [as we dance]
E ni momoe ake tana urutono	[The spirit] slept at its own patch of mangroves.

Faite's soul has not been taken to some desolate place, but safely resides in the afterworld, Te One. She has not been abandoned on her own, but is in the exalted company of Puukena, principal deity on Takuu, and the familiar presence of her own father, father's brothers and mother's brothers. And she is not left idle, but is perpetually engaged in the highly esteemed activity of dancing, day and night. Faite's enduring social status and happiness are, thus, assured, to the comfort of both herself and her family on Nukutoa.

Composition, as a conscious and deliberate human activity, occurs for all other song genres, with the exception of the *paki*, *hoe* and *sasale*. A person wanting to have a particular subject or theme made into a *hula* or *lani*, for example, is free to approach one of the island's several established composers and make the request. A prolific *hula* composer, Mary Tamaki says that it takes her as little as 30 minutes to compose a new dance once she has determined the subject, beginning with the poetry. By contrast, Teinoia begins creating a new *lani* text only when he has composed the melody. And Kikiva, Kaiposu and Puutahu Sione have evolved a group method whereby Kikiva creates the poetry for a new *tuki* and recites it line by line to the other two men, who fit it to the melodic stereotype for that song genre. As witnessed in October 1994, the process was uncomplicated and took less than an hour to complete. Further periods of reinforcement and minor remoulding were required before the song was ready for teaching. Melodic stereotypes are found in all genres, which aids both the creation and learning of new items.

The dance genre *par excellence* which pampers the male ego, functioning to exalt a master-fisherman (*ki ahu te tautai*), is the *tuki*. Some *tuki* are items of self-praise, composed by a fisherman in the afterglow of an

exceptionally fine catch, for example, the tuna caught by Atimu (father of the late Tave) with Seehuri as the master-fisherman which were so plentiful as not to require the normal careful apportionment among family members — people simply came and took whatever they wanted:

<i>te hati</i>	Refrain
Hana iho taku vaka, hana iho ki te tai	My canoe is brought down, brought down to the water.
Ka sepua iho ko Sinarutai, ni sepua iho ki te tai	Sinarutai is brought down, and placed in the water.
Oo ka he tanata i te vaka e kake ma tana ika, ka soko Timu i te vaka e kake ma te inaho.	The man in the boat came back in land with his catch, but it was Atimu alone in the boat who saw the birds.
Oo ka noho mai se tanata e kite i aku ika, ka noho mai Tesasahe e kite i aku atu	A man came and saw my many fish; Tesasahe [i.e., Tave] also sat gazing at my many tuna.
Oo ka tuku atu aku ika e ua i te henua, ka hakahine se hahine te tanata i te vaka.	When I finished my fishing, people simply helped themselves to the catch; one woman danced with delight at the accomplishment of the man in the canoe.
Oo ka tuku atu aku hailama e, ua te henua ka hiahia soko Sela, Sehuri i te vaka.	When I finished my tuna fishing, people simply helped themselves to the catch. Standing by herself, Asela displayed her delight at Sehuri's accomplishment in the canoe.

Other *tuki* are composed to order, as in the case of Nuunua Posangat, who noted in a recorded interview (translated):

"Sieki [the father of the present Pure, Kiipuu] asked me [in 1961 or 1962] to compose a *tuki* for [the canoe] Hauvaka. I sat down and started to think, recalling the recent bonito-fishing contest on the island which had been won by Hauvaka, having caught the most bonito. And that is when I composed this *tuki sii* for Sieki's canoe":-

Penapena taku voko haite aku tama.	I ritually prepared my boat for my child to try out.
Ka penapena Hauvaka ni aro iho . mo ki tua	Hauvaka was ritually prepared and paddled out beyond the reef.
Oo ka te tausua te henua hurihuri taku vaka.	Those on the island made fun as my boat moved and turned about.
Oo ka te taki atu Nukutoa hakapiri Hauvaka.	Nukutoa held its competition, Hauvaka was ritually cleansed.
Oo ka te ika nia te moana ni huri	An ocean fish moved towards the ca-

mai ki te vaka.	noe.
Oo ka te atu roto te moana ni huri mai ki Hauvaka.	A bonito from inside the ocean edged towards Hauvaka.
Oo ka te atu roto te moana ni huri mai ki Sione.	A bonito from inside the ocean edged towards Sione.
Oo ka se lononia se tanata e lono tonu i tana tamana.	A man was given sound advice by his father.
Oo ka se lononia Kiipuu e, e lono tonu i Sieki.	Kiipuu was given sound advice by Sieki.

This particular *tuki* illustrates three recurring features of Takuu song poetry — emotional restraint, paired lines, and vowel changes.

Teaching

During 1993, the *purotu* Tave and a few older men began a programme of teaching dances to the younger men, concentrating on *ru e* already in the local repertoire. A different dance was learnt (or relearnt, for some men) each week and performed on the *marae*.

The death of a man normally occasions the composition of a posthumous *tuki* in his honour, the song given its first performance on the *marae* as part of the *tuku mai* ritual ending the six-month mourning period. Although composed by a man, the new *tuki* is taught first (via the composer's wife or a female member of his family) to women, in particular, to the group of women mourners who spend each day in a house designated as the mourning site (*parina*). As they sit around the walls of the *parina*, clustering outside around the doorways if their numbers grow, these women spend hours at a stretch singing the new song. In the late afternoon, they are joined at the rehearsals by their husbands before returning to their homes at nightfall.

The formal performance of the men's *paki* and the women's *sasale*, *hoe*, *sore*, *toha* and *hula* dances during the fieldwork period required rehearsals which were conducted identically. For the benefit of newcomers, the song was sung through several times by the more experienced participants with breaks during which the details of the poem were explained; it was sometimes necessary to speak a line before singing it to achieve unanimity of utterance. Only when the leaders were satisfied that the song had been mastered did the participants move outside from the community house and begin to learn the dance movements. Serious but not solemn, the intensity periodically broken by humorous remarks, the older, seated dancers faced the lines of younger standing ones and sang, sometimes getting to their feet to demonstrate a particular movement sequence.

Takuu people have a reputation among the Atolls for their artistic eclecticism; their interest aroused at seeing a performance while travelling

or temporarily living away from the island, they quickly learn the new song (and actions if it is a dance) and introduce it to the local community on their return to Takuu. Other items may be introduced by visitors. In 1993, for example, the family of Uruaka requested a man from Nukuria to come for the *tuku mai* of their son. He stayed three months with Puureva's family, and taught a *tuki* which is sung at parties, usually with Puureva himself leading.

The Samoan Connection

Samoa is mentioned frequently in the island's traditions and songs. The name itself is used as a general catch-all term for the otherwise distant country of destination of ancient canoe voyages and origin of introduced songs. By contrast, the *paki*, a single dance performed by club-wielding men, is commonly believed to have been obtained from that country during a voyage specifically in search of a new dance.⁴

Some non-localised distant island names referred to in oral accounts of ancient voyaging have Samoan cognates, e.g., Tuila or Uila (Tutuila), Savaiki (Savai'i). And a locally composed *hula* contains a line intended as a compliment to a women's beauty: *Akoe e tiputipu ma he Saamoa ee* - You look like a Samoan.

Parallel to this linguistic evidence of prehistoric contact with Samoa is a body of linguistic evidence from the historic past in the form of several songs to accompany the women's *toha* dances. From a large repertoire for this dance genre, several are certainly recognisable as being (or having been) in the Samoan language, e.g.,

As performed on Takuu	A Possible Samoan Reconstruction	English
<i>T.</i> Nofo lulu ma le faufaa	Nofo Lulu ma Le Faufaa	Lulu and Le Faufaa were here
A toe silelesia ta fanuu O lea malanga i apia	A toe sili le sia ta fanuu 'Ole'a malaga 'i Apia	?
He maatou le iloa pe toe saa.	Te matou le iloa pe toe sau.	They are about to go to Apia We don't know whether they will return.

4. I know of no oral or written reference to such a dance in Samoa, but the linguistic and structural similarities between the Takuu *paki* and the *tapaki* dance genre of Uvea and Futuna, which lie some 350 km from Samoa, suggest a possible alternative origin.

2.

Tofa ia Salue, tofa ia Salue	Tofa 'ia Salu e, Tofa 'ia Salu e,	Farewell, Salu; farewell, Salu
Salue sivasiva	Salu e sivasiva	Salu keeps on dancing
E kalalepu tona	E Kalelepu lena	There is Kalelepu
E kalalepu sivasiva	E Kalelepu sivasiva	Kalelepu keeps dancing.

All such songs sung on Takuu are sung in unison and have clear European features in their melodies, suggesting a relatively recent introduction. However, even older singers say that these songs have been in the local repertoire longer than they can remember.

A feature of Samoan singing generally is that the language uses the /l/ and /n/ of formal speech, as opposed to colloquial speech, which substitutes /k/ and /ng/, respectively. In contrast, some of the "Samoan" *toha* songs currently in the Takuu repertoire contain the /k/ and /ng/, e.g.,

As performed on Takuu	A Possible Samoan Reconstruction	English
Ia olo kenge fai le siva	'Ia, 'o le teine fai le siva	Yes, the girl is dancing the <i>siva</i>
He kungu fai le siva	I Letunu fai le siva	At Letunu she dances the <i>siva</i>
I le kungu e lelema	I Letunu e lelema	At Letunu ...[?]
Laakou e lelema	Latou e lelema	They ...[?]
Laakou fai le siva	Latou fai le siva.	They dance the <i>siva</i>

A possible explanation for this phonological shift was suggested by two local men, who noted that the cognate language of Peilau contains /k/ e.g., *maakou*, *kaakou*. Acknowledging the several songs of known Peilau origin in the local repertoire, they offered the quite plausible suggestion that the shift from /l/ to /k/ in *toha* of evident Samoan origin might have occurred on Peilau as the songs drifted westwards from Samoa, eventually arriving at Takuu. From its poetic content, the Samoan original was presumably a *siva* ("dance") song.

Only one individual song known to have been recorded in Samoa was also recorded on Takuu, where it is in the repertoire of *rue* dances; the Samoan version exists as a *ma'ulu'ulu* dance:

<i>rue</i>	translation	<i>ma 'ulu 'ulu</i>	translation
Eeraperape,	Dove, dove	Elupe lupe	Oh pigeon, pigeon
E rape ia horo	The dove . . .?	E lupe 'ia olo	Let the pigeon coo
Ee vaa mai Uea	The noise from Uea	Le va'a mai Uea	It's the canoe from Uvea'
Ee rape saia tia	The dove . . .?	E ifo i le tia	It alights at the snaring mound
Ee riki ai te vaa,	It strikes at the noise	E ifo 'i le va'a	It alights on the canoe.
Hihii hihii. Auee.	Hihii hihii. Auee.	Ihii, ihii, ihii.	Ihi, ihi, ihi.

Ready assimilation of foreign songs and dances into the local repertoire is not undertaken from any sense of artistic inadequacy but out of an apparently limitless desire for new material to be performed.⁶

Even the self-deprecating remark frequently stated by one man that Takuu people were "rubbish collectors", using the discards from neighbouring islands, bears out this belief. Visits to neighbouring islands by individuals (e.g., to see renew old acquaintances, to meet family members) or groups (e.g., to attend a dancing competition or the opening of a school) usually include attendance at dances and the subsequent learning of new items for the purpose of introducing them at Takuu. The creation of copra plantations on Nukumanu late last century and the use of Takuu men as labourers there on one-year contracts resulted in the introduction of the *rue* and the *hula*. Both these genres, however, are now firmly implanted in Takuu's own musical culture, and alongside songs in the Nukumanu language are many newer ones in Takuu language, their poetry dealing with

5. Note the transliteration in line 3: the Samoan *va'a* ("canoe") becomes the Takuu *vaa* ("noise"), the latter language possessing no glottal stops.
6. At a party in Sialeva in September 1994, a young man sang for the first time in public a *lani* he had composed while staying on Nukumanu. Although he normally acted as a lowly "barman" at such drinking sessions and was largely ignored by older men, he was urged to sing by his friends during a break in the boisterous singing of *tuki* songs. Within a few seconds of the start of his *lani*, the entire gathering fell silent and listened, the women in the adjoining house likewise, some people leaning forward in concentration, others familiar with the song's circumstances exchanging knowing looks, and still others tentatively adding the lower drone part whenever a line of the poem was repeated (see p.25). particularly when sung unaccompanied, may contain three or more voice parts. Individual songs from Bougainville, New Ireland, Manus, Rabaul, to name but a few locations, are usually sung at parties, but tend to be heard only after several hours of singing and dancing locally composed material.

Takuu subjects, and their musical and kinetic contents moulded to fit Takuu aesthetic preferences. Men, for example, say that Nukumanu *rue* are easy to learn because of their relatively limited repertoire of movements, whereas, they add, locally composed specimens are more varied and extensive in their gestures, and consequently require a longer learning period. And, whereas imported *hula* tend to be sung in unison, local *hula*, particularly when sung unaccompanied, may contain three or more voice parts. Individual songs from Bougainville, New Ireland, Manus, Rabaul, to name but a few locations, are usually sung at parties, but tend to be heard only after several hours of singing and dancing locally composed material.

Incorporation of foreign material is a time-honoured practice. It is a measure of the extent of eventual self-identity of such material that, for the visit to Kieta in 1973 of Queen Elizabeth II as part of her Royal Visit to Papua New Guinea, the Takuu men chose to perform two dances one of which - the *paki* - is acknowledged as having originated overseas in the prehistoric era.⁷

Takuu men, in particular, identify what they consider the culturally harmful effects of Christian missions in neighbouring atolls: traditional songs and dances on Nukuria are *puni* ("blocked off) as a result of Anglican, Uniting and Seventh Day Adventist church pressures, and on Nukumanu they are *seat* ("nonexistent").. The men cite occasions when people from these atolls have come to Takuu in order to re-learn their own songs. It is a fair generalisation to say that Takuu people believe that the strength of their own traditions is supreme among the Atolls of the North Solomons Province, a view linked to the ban placed by the Ariki Avo on missionaries and church buildings on the island.

The Spirit World

Two broad categories of spirits exist, *naa tiipua*. and *naa aitu*. The former are nebulous in appearance and mischievous and potentially harmful in nature. Very young children are teased when in unfamiliar places or outside at night by warning calls of "*Tiipua!*" by older children, but both

7. Takuu competed with the other Atolls on this occasion and won first prize for their dances. The men were invited to perform the *paki* and their other dance, the *takere*, at local nightclubs before returning home. For its dance programme at the 1993 South Pacific Arts Festival in Rarotonga, the Takuu dance programme consisted of the *takere*, four *rue* and four *toha*. The six men comprising the Takuu team were supplemented by another five, including some women, from Nukumanu. The women were to beat the *tuki* for the men's dancing. The trip was abandoned at the last moment for lack of local government funds.

children and adults stay away from particular parts of the island, especially at night, in genuine fear of these beings. By contrast, *naa aitu* figure centrally in certain types of fishing, and the songs which glorify them. To understand these operations, it is necessary to distinguish between different categories of *aitu*.

All *aitu* have personal names and are understood to be able to assume various forms, including human. Several types are distinguished:

<i>naa aitu te tai</i>	sea spirits
<i>naa aitu te moana</i>	ocean spirits
<i>naa aitu te henua/vao</i>	land/forest spirits

Success in fishing requires the cooperation and assistance of *naa aitu*. The locations for fishing — *i tai* (inside the lagoon) and *i tua* or *te moana* (beyond the reef, on the open ocean) — are the preserve (*te hare ika* lit. "fish house") of Paakeva, principal sea-deity. The souls (*naa mouri*) of dead mortals have access to *te hare ika*, and it is they, identified as *naa tama te moana* ("ocean people") who do Paakeva's bidding and bring fish to Where the hooks or nets are waiting. For this reason during night-fishing for the highly revered castor-oil fish (*ravena*), a man will call out the name of his dead father or grandfather, asking that he in turn request Paakeva to send up an abundance of fish.⁸

The sea-deity is further aided by *lau tanata Paakeva* "Paakeva's men", who are specific named *aitu* available to men on the basis of their clan affiliation. But Paakeva will act only if the correct protocols are observed.

Song Performance

Both solo and group performance of songs of the *luu* and *tuki* genres is characterised by an increase in loudness throughout the duration of each prolonged syllable, starting soft and ending loud; this style is called simply *te reo* "the voice". The practice represents learned behaviour, occurring minimally in younger adults and progressively more often as people

8. And for this same reason, a man will not call out this name while on shore, lest the ancestor tire of hearing it and disregard the crucial call when it is made at sea.

age. These same genres also feature a division of syllables into two equal parts sung to the same pitch, e.g., *iho* becomes *iho-o* in the refrain of the *sau Moehiti* (Ex. 5) and *hana* becomes *ha-ana* in line 10 of the *tuki sii* (Ex. 2). Such extensions do not appear to be confined to long vowels within a word, and may represent a device to allow either the maintenance of a particular rhythmic pattern or the achievement of a predetermined overall line duration.

Song Structure

In the course of soliciting the texts for longer songs, particularly, *n a a sau*, terminology for song structure emerged, specific sections of a song identified either by their respective first lines of text or by their structural placement, e.g., *vow* "beginning", *hati* or *hatihati* "refrain", *usu* "first verse" and *puku* "subsequent verse".

Other sections within individual specimens of *sau* women's dances include *takitaki* and *hakatuu*; these are major divisions each capable of containing its own refrain and several lines. Knowledgeable performers of the *sau* provided further structural terms, *sivasiva* and *usu*, as functional equivalents of *takitaki* and *hakatuu*. It appears that articulation of this terminology is normally limited to rehearsals.

Song Poetry

Two referential devices occur frequently in the poetry of group songs. The first is a tendency towards paired lines which are linked by a common text structure and by a progressive refinement of focus, e.g.,

In the *tuki hakasoro Moomoa*, "a man" (*se tanata*) is changed to "*Moomoa*", the man's name [these words appear in italics]:

- 1 Ki teretere te laa ee no sum hano iho *se tanata* ki te vaka no noho ki te taunotai ni mumuru ai tana kahatea ee.
- 2 Ki teretere te laa ee no suru hano iho *Moomoa* ki te vaka no noho ki te taunotai ni mumuru ai tana kahatea e

In the *tuki pakuu Haivelo*, "My boat" (*taku vaka*) and "a man" (*se tanata*) are changed to "*Haivelo*" and "*ko Sione*", the boat and personal names, respectively:

1. Uaaiee uru *taku vaka* i loto a te inaho *se tanata* ni karopa iho ki te ama
2. Uaaiee uru *Haivelo* i loto a te inaho *ko Sione* ni karopa iho ki te ama.

Similarly, in the *tuki sii Sione Hau*, "the canoe" (*te vaka*) becomes "*Sione Hau*":

1. Uaaiee he tanata ni saere iho ki *te vaka* e ania iho tana seru ka toni ki ana taurama ika nei
2. Uaaiee ko Teneke ni saere iho ki *Sione Hau* e ania iho tana seru ka toni ki ana taurama ika nei

In a *lani [i te kuu]*, "my father" (*tau tamana*) becomes "*Seiana*", the man's own name:

1. Tele tau hatu ma *tau tamana*, etc.
2. Tele tau hatu ma te *Seiana*, etc

The second tendency is towards unstated or understated emotion (except perhaps in *n a a hula*). The texts appear to function more as a mnemonic than a graphic portrayal. The following three examples are typical of this phenomenon:

The following *rue* was composed to honour Tenehu's father, Piri when, in a feat of great courage and seamanship, he singlehandedly caught a swordfish from his outrigger canoe, but contains only general information on the initial circumstances of the expedition:

Te tamana e, nau laa i tua nau tahea ma te ukaroa, nau laa i tua nau tahea ma te ukaroa.	Father, I am drifting with my shark-rope, I am drifting on the ocean-side with my shark-rope
Ko Piri e nau, nau laa i tua nau tahea ma te ukaroa.	I, Piri, am drifting on the ocean-side with my shark-rope
Taku tamana e nau ka tuu te tuahenua, nau laa i tua nau tahea ma te ukaroa.	My [dead] father and I stand at the ocean side of the island, I am drifting on the ocean-side with my shark-rope.

While out hand-lining in the ocean, Arehu hooked a swordfish. It leapt clear of the water just behind the outrigger canoe and all the men crouched low in terror. This event is commemorated in a *rue* which merely summarises the expedition in three lines:

Tere mai taku rono, tere mai te rono Arehu	News of me spread, news of Arehu spread
Ku sopo i te aumi, huri sara i te murivaka	It leapt in my wake, turning away from the stern
Taku aitu ni hano ma nau ku too i te o rua te laku.	Together, my spirit and I caught it by the bill with a double hook.

The *tuki i Nukureekia* commemorates the arrival of a sailing vessel at the atoll, the subsequent murder of a crewman and two Takuu residents, several outstanding feats of bravery and cunning, and the bombardment of the village. The sole direct textual reference to this dramatic and tragic series of events, however, is contained in the refrain:

Nimo ake, takai ake, noho ka tohitohia ko taku henua nei.	The wind went around, it changed direction; [the visitors] stayed and swept away my land.
--	--

Song Categories

1. *Naa Lani*

Naa lani are men's topical songs sung slowly and unaccompanied and typically in two voice-parts. They are typically sung at men's gatherings and performed by a small group on one side of the house, who lean forward in concentration and focus their attention on another group of men on the opposite side; this other group may respond with a *lani* of their own. *Lani* have two vocal parts, an often florid upper part sung by one or two singers over a drone sung by a larger group.

The following is a recent addition to the repertoire, composed in 1992 when a local man was sentenced to one week's labour on Nukumanu after an apparent misunderstanding over the nubility of a woman there.

Tau tamana e, koe e noho ia e nau ponotia i te hale courti, u haaloha so nau ee.	Father, why do you just sit there while I'm here in gaol? I am so sorry.
Tau tinana e, koe e noho ia e nau ponotia i te hale courti, u haaloha so nau ee.	Mother, why do you just sit there while I'm here in gaol? I am so sorry.
Special Monday nei tuu mai nau vaa lalo naa niu saele velelele naa veve hoi, u haaloha so nau ee.	On that special Monday there I was, under the coconut palms clearing away the weeds. I am simply so sorry, I am so sorry.
1991 nei nau ka mea peehea ee? nau haaloha so nau hoi, u haaloha so nau ee.	It's 1992; what am I to do? I am so sorry, so very sorry.
Tau tipuna e, oe e noho ia e nau ponotia i te hale courti, u haaloha so nau ee.	Grandfather, why do you just sit there while I'm here in gaol? I am so sorry.
1992 nei u haaloha tama e nau kamea peehea e, u haaloha so nau ee.	It's 1992; somebody is repentant. I am so sorry.

2. *Naa Luu*

As noted earlier, *naa luu* are clan-owned songs recounting episodes which occurred during the era of prehistoric inter-island voyages, a time when, according to both oral tradition and the poetry of the songs themselves, Takuu clan canoes travelled to other Polynesian islands such as Nukumanu, Luangiua, Sikaiana and Tikopia, as well as Samoa. Most of the episodes recounted in the songs occurred at sea, but some refer to land-based activities. These songs are considered the property of individual clans and executant knowledge may be confined to clan members.⁹

One result of inter-clan marriage, however, has been a widening of knowledge such that, although each belonging to different clans, a husband and wife may know and perform the songs together. As noted above, the most common context for performance is the all-night singing session occurring on the *marae* soon after the death of a resident.

The nomenclature for song structure is virtually identical to that of *naa sau*: *hatihati* "refrain" and *puku* "subsequent verse(s)". Some singers use the term *takitaki* to refer to the first verse, glossing it as "introduction". Typically led by a senior clan member and with fellow-members joining in as they feel able, performance by either men or women or mixed groups is slow and unaccompanied. An experienced lead singer will end a *hatihati* with the word "*usu*", following which the other singers will sing "*aaee*" in recognition that the song will then move to the next *puku*, i.e., without any repeat of material already sung earlier in the performance. The call "*pesia*" immediately before or after the end of the final *puku* in *luu* signals the end of the song.

3. *Naa Kai*

In common with islands within Western Polynesia (e.g., Samoa, Tonga, Uvea, Tokelau), Takuu oral tradition includes a kind of spoken fable called *te kai* in which one or more short songs are sung by one of the characters. Of the 10 recorded, all appear to have an acknowledged single owner, determined by inheritance. Unlike the situation in other Polynesian locations, the songs (*naa tani*) have discrete melodies. Nomenclature for the stories appears to focus on the identity of the central character, e.g., *te kai Sianakivi*, *te kai Kaitanotanoa*. Ex. 1 illustrates the genre.

9. The collective term *kauluu* applies to a clan's repertoire of the songs. For reasons of privacy, no notation appears in this report.

$\text{♩} = 110$

Ko na - u, ko na - u ko Te - mu - see ne - i.

Te - mu - see ne - i se ha - tu ta - u - mi - oo.

Te - me - see ne - i se ma - noo o - ro - mi - a.

Te - mu - see ne - i se ki - rio - ki e vo - vo -

Vee - ti - o vee - ti - o vee.

$\text{♩} = 60$

E na - na e na - na te ha - tu e na - na

E ha - i - nu - mi - a, e ha - ka - ha - no - a

$\text{♩} = 130$

Tu - ee te lo - to ki a - mo - a a - mo - a se ve - ri - ve - ri.

Example 1. Two *tani te kai*.

A recording of two Samoan fables (*fagogo*) was played to adult audiences on Takuu on several occasions. Listening keenly to discern the gist of the stories despite ignorance of Samoan sentence construction and vocabulary, the audiences were quick to offer points of contrast. In the discussion among a group of men — in which they were able to discern that the Samoan culture heroine Sina (Sina also on Takuu) was a human and that she gave birth to human children, and that the culture hero Tigilau (Tinilau on Takuu) was an *ariki* — men offered two generalisations about their own *kai*. In local stories, Sina is always the daughter of an *aitu*, and bears no children in the course of the narrative, and Tinilau is always a commoner (*tanata vare*).

4. *Te Oriori*

Strictly speaking, the *oriori* is not a category of indigenous song. Residents are aware, however, that such a category does exist on neighbouring Nissan Island and, through occasional stays on that island, Takuu people have become familiar with individual specimens. While living on Nissan with his son, Puaaria Saare composed what he calls a *lani oriori* ("oriori song"), whose subject-matter is self-praise as a master-fisherman (*tautai*). As a result of frequent solo performances of the song at parties, other men now know it and Puaaria believes that these men will sing it at his funeral rituals.

The term "*oriori*" is used in another musical context on Takuu. When sung beside the corpse on the beach at Takuu Island itself, all songs belonging to *luu*, *sau* and *tuki* categories are referred to collectively as "*oriori*" because they "*oriori*" (soothe, rock) the deceased - *Naa mea e oriori te tama mate*.

There also exist a few songs relating directly to the spirit world; however, knowledge and performance of these is limited to a few individuals and details may not be included here.

Dance Performance

Several named categories of dance exist in the local repertoire. Identification of individual specimens within categories varies. Each dance of *sau*, *tuki* and *sore*, as well as several *rue*, is differentiated by a proper name: for *sau* and *sore*, this is the name of the deceased person whose spirit provided the song, and for *tuki* and *rue*, the name is either that of a clan boat or the type of fishing technique. By contrast, items in the *hula* and *toha* categories are identified by subject matter or composer.

Dance Categories

1. *naa tuki*

Tuki are men's dances, of which four named categories exist, based on their textual material: *tuki sii* (fishing for bonito); *tukipakuu* (fishing for



Plate 2. (Upper) Five men vigorously and beat the *tuki* for a *rue* dance. When the tempo quickens, the dancers advance right up to the singers.

shark); *tuki tehuna* (canoe-carving), and *tuki hakasoro* (fishing for castor-oil fish).

Insofar as these three fishing activities incorporate sets of beliefs and activities both positive (e.g., utterance of calls to personal *aitu* and ancestors, set sequences of events before and on arrival at the fishing ground) and negative (e.g., avoidance of accidental pollution through contact with women, urination while on the open ocean), they may be considered sacred activities. The chief theme of the *tuki* poetry is the boasting of a master-fisherman (*ahu te tautai*).

Most *tuki* are believed to be composed (*hatuhatu*) by local men, either living or deceased. One common occasion for composition is the death of a local man. In the six-month period between the death and the *tuku mai* ritual which formally ends the mourning period, a close relative, male or female, will compose a new *tuki*, usually but not necessarily a *tukisii*. The song is taught to the official female mourners who spend each day in a house at the rear of the village, the numbers augmented in the afternoons by their husbands for the purposes of learning the song. As noted earlier, the song, together with its own dance, is first performed after the *tukumai*, and then passes into the active repertoire for performance along with other *tuki* at semiformal parties. There is some evidence that the melodies of new specimens are modelled on those of older songs.

It appears to be incumbent upon each *ariki* that he compose a *tuki* honouring Hare Ata, the Ariki's house. Avo has composed one for this purpose and taught it to a few relatives, but it has not yet been released into the general repertoire.

Although most *tuki* in the present repertoire are danced, there exist a few which are not. Opinion varies as to the reason for this. One dancer made a distinction between those in the local style and those in the style of neighbouring Nukuria Island: *tuki* on Nukuria itself are simply songs and items composed in Nukuria style, similarly, are performed on Takuu without actions (*naa auna*). Another dancer commented that some specimens are for dancing (*naa tuki anu*) and others for singing only (*naa tuki hua* or *naa tuki huahua koi*). It is said that, if a *tuki* is to be danced, its tempo is slightly faster than one which is simply sung (see Ex. 2).

One danced *tuki* is an exception to all these practices, in that it is believed to be of spirit origin and recounts an historical event without any sense of boasting. As noted above, the *tuki i Nukureekia* commemorates the arrival of a sailing ship at Takuu, the subsequent murder of a crewman and two local residents, and the eventual salvation of the village through the Ariki's supernatural abilities. Its song composed by the spirits of the dead villagers and taught through a medium, the dance actions were later added.

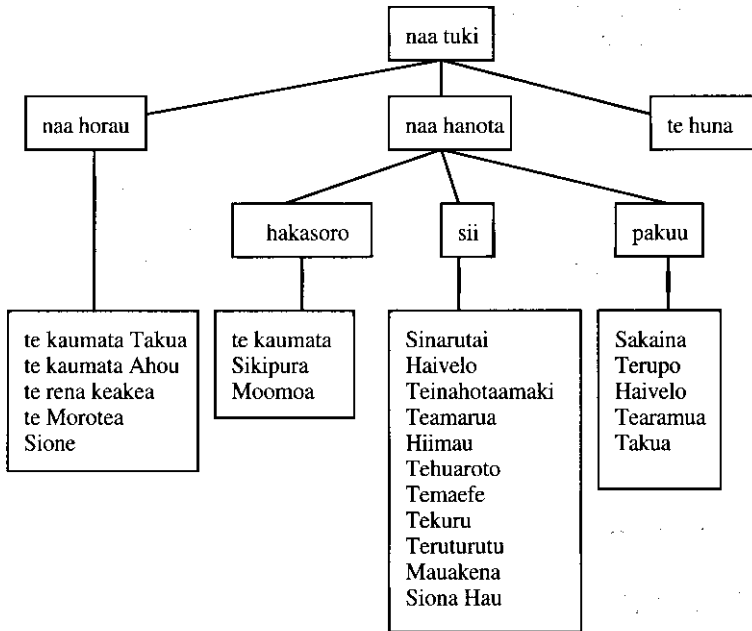


Figure 1. Categories of *tahi*.

2. *Naa Rue*

Rue are vigorous men's dances featuring a sudden increase in tempo when the text and actions are repeated. The earliest *rue* in the local repertoire are from Nukumanu, having been learnt by men labouring there in the copra plantations earlier this century; the genre itself is said to have been introduced from that island. These particular dances are now said to be relatively easy to learn because they use a limited movement repertoire, whereas locally-created specimens are more varied and take longer to learn. Nukuria also has its own repertoire of *rue* and in 1993, a Takuu man travelled there to attend the celebrations for the opening of the local high school;

on his return, he had learnt several *rue*, which he proceeded to teach. The following (Ex. 3) is typical of an imported *rue*:

♩ = 38 [unclear]

1 i ta-ku ti-pu-na ne - i

2 Ko Pa - te ta - ku a - ta ta - ko - to i tu - a o e lo - no e - i - a Te - ru - po ne - i.

3 Aa - i - ee ki ha - na - i - ho ko ko - e ki se to - ko - na ni ka - ra - na ko - e ki too ta - ma - na.

Hathari

4 Ta - ku ro - no taa - ko - to i tu - a o e lo - no i ta - ku ti - pu - na ne - i.

5 Uaa - i - ee ki u - ru a - tu ko Pa - te ki se to - ko - na ni ka - ra - tia

6 Ta - ku ro - no ta - ko - to i tu - a o e lo - no i ta - ku ti - pu - na ne - i ko Pa - te.

7 Ta - ku a - ta ta - ko - to i tu - a o e lo - no e - i - a Te - ru - po ne - i.

8 Aa - i - ee ki ha - na - i - ho ko ko - e ki too va - ka ni kaa - ra - na ko - e ki too taa - i - na.

Hathari

9 Ta - ku ro - no ta - ko - to i tu - a o e lo - no i ta - ku ti - pu - na ne - i.

10 Ko Pa - te ta - ku a - ta ta - ko - to i tu - a o e lo - no e - i - o Te - ru - po ne - i.

11 Aa - i - ee ki no - ho - ri - a i - ho te ma - na - i ni ka - ra - na ti - a tii - pu - a te ta - i.

Example 2. The start of a *tuki sii*.

Te rupe la noho te ovo.
Heoo heoo heoo , tani ho ai?
Tani ho ai tua te laakau?

The pigeon perches in the *ovo* tree.
Heoheoheo, crying for whom?
For whom is it crying behind the
tree?

Heoo heoo, tani ho ai?

Heoheo, crying for whom?

$\text{♩} = 80-110$

Te ru - pe laa no - ho i te o - vo he - oo he - oo he - oo.

Te ru - pe laa no - ho i te o - vo he - oo he - oo he - oo.

Ta - ni ho a - i? Ta - ni ho a - i? Ta - ni ho a - i? Tu - a te laa - ka u.

Ta - ni ho a - i? Ta - ni ho a - i? Ta - ni ho a - i? Tu - a te laa - ka u.

Example 3. The song for an imported *rue*.

Although the beginning of the *rue* is slow, with melodic pitches quite distinct, subsequent repetitions are much faster, and singing gives way almost to rhythmic shouting. Seated singers - those beating the *tuki* and others sitting beside and behind these beaters - change their delivery style in the same manner.

By contrast, but like the *tuki*, the purpose of locally-composed *rue* is *ki ahu te tautai* - to exalt the master-fisherman. Typically, such specimens are composed after notable fishing events, e.g., the capture of two *parumea* and one *para* fish (highly valued but rarely caught) on a single outing, and the single-handed capture of a swordfish in an outrigger canoe. These kinds of *rue* may be described as *te rue pakuu* "a dance about shark-catching", *te rue hakasoro* "a dance about fishing for the castor-oil fish", or *te rue tihuna* "a dance about boat-building",

Moea tua henua
Te Hati Usuloo anau ma ki mere.
Moea tua Latuma
Te taina paua naa ika
Aamani paua naa parumea e lima

I slept on the ocean side of the island
Chorus: Usuloo, I'm in trouble.
I slept at the rear of Latuma islet.
My brother caught the fish
Aamani caught five *parumea* fish

Te ai tu huia naa ika
Kaamuti huia naa parumea

The spirit rinsed the fish.
Kaamuti rinsed the *parumea* fish.

The music of such *rue* is slower throughout and less rhythmical, and is sung unaccompanied, as Ex. 4 shows.

$\text{♩} = 144$

E ta - u ma na - u naa ta - pu - va - e naa ta - u - ta - i see la - ka - hi - a

ha - ko - ma - ta - ku E ta - u ma na - u ha - ko - ma to - - - pu.

E ta - u na na - u ha - ka - no - ho - ri - a Paa - ti - ka na ta - i a ta - u

Te - he - ke na E ta - u ma na - u ha - ko - ma - to - - pu.

U - e ta - u ma na - u naa i - ka te mo - a - na na ku o - ti

ma - i ha - ka - ma - to - ku E ta - u ma na - u ha - ko - ma - to - - ku.

U - e ta - u ma na - u naa pa - lu - ha - la te mo - a - na na ku o - ti ma - i

ha - ka - ma - ta - ku E ta - u ma na - u ha - ko - ma - to - - ku.

(spoken)

E ta - u ma na - u!

Example 4. A locally-composed *rue*.

3. *Naa Manokoho*

Dances of this genre originate from the dead, and are communicated via a medium to living relatives of a deceased person. Several specimens of this women's dance are in the local repertoire, and are similar in musical style to the *sau*.

4. *Naa Hula*

Naa hula are women's dances performed to topical songs. The dance style itself was imported from Nukumanu some 40 years ago; all such dances are guitar-accompanied. After composition, only one *hula* vocal line is formally taught, singers adding auxiliary parts if they wish; such parts are not named. It is not necessary for a *hula* to be danced on all occasions and, when performed as an unaccompanied song, there may be several seconds of silence or conversation between individual text lines. Individual lines may also be repeated ad libitum. By contrast, no such discretion is possible when the performance is danced. Performance of the *hula* was originally confined to unmarried women, and the appearance of married women at a 1994 performance on the occasion of the national Independence Day aroused criticism, particularly from local men.¹⁰

The following is a typical *hula* text, composed in the pre-Crisis period when individual school students were being awarded scholarships for study abroad:

Naa tama i te ova e a nei a he ina peehea he Ingilesi? <i>Te Hati:</i> E maku lavea ma see lavea, Nukutoa ku Slow Ahead.	Overseas children, What sort of place was "the English" place? <i>Chorus:</i> It was found, it was not found, Nukutoa, "Slow ahead".
Naa tama i te Southi ee e o Brisbane...	Children on the "Southy" over in Brisbane...
Koe aloha mai anau, nau e tele i te dollar tamaki.	You worry about me, but I'm sailing because of the big money.
Koe e manatu mai anau, nau e kai i te mini tupoto e too i te kete too tinana	You are concerned about me, but I'm eating wrapped taro leaves which I got from your mother's basket.

Hula melodies are triadic, and stereotyped melodies and supporting voice parts are common.

10. One reason for the shortage of unmarried dancers is that several young men and women are adherents of the Seventh Day Adventist or Uniting Churches, both of which frown on "heathen" dances.



Plate 3. A hula.

5. *Naa Sau*

Naa sau are women's dances from antiquity containing words and expressions not widely understood among the singers. Indeed, individual singers have different understandings of the meanings of obsolete or specialist terminology in these song texts. Each clan claims ownership of at least one specimen, but does not limit performance to its own members; it appears that fewer than 10 specimens are in the repertoire, some having been unperformed for many years and only partially remembered now. The texts and melodies are taught via a medium by the spirit of local deceased person, living descendants later composing the movements. Typically featuring a limited range of slow arm movements performed to unaccompanied singing, individual *sau* may continue for as long as 15 minutes. Melodies contain few durational values and limited pitch changes, as exemplified in Ex. 5, a section from *te sau Moehiti*.

6. *Te Uii*

For several years it was thought that executant knowledge of this dance had been completely forgotten; a single specimen exists, the property of the Noho i Tokorau. However, unbeknown to most people, the *purotu* Saare had taught it to another man before Saare himself died; in 1978, as part of the creative activities following the death of this man's brother, the dance was taught to the official mourners. Two elderly women noted that the actions for the *u ii* are identical to those of the *sau*, and that the melody is similar to that other dance.

$\text{♩} = 60$

1



Aa - i - ee ku ta - ni ma - i ko a - ku ta - ma raa na - u ee.

Hati



Ko tu - ku - a i - ho na - u ne - i ku to - nu.

2



Aa - i - ee ku ta - ni ma - i a - i ko ma - ta - va - ka raa na - u ee.

Hati



Ko tu - ku - a i - ho na - u ne - i ku to - nu.

3



Ee ka ma - u - ma - u - a mo - i na - u raa na - u ee.

Hati



Ko tu - ku - a i - ho na - u ne - i ku to - nu.

4



O aa - i - ee vo - ra - si - a raa i ta - i a ta - ku a - ra na - u ee.

Hati



Ko tu - ku - a i - ho na - u ne - i ku to - nu.

5



Aa - i - ee vo - ra - si - a ra i ta - i se sa - u ta - pu raa na - u ee.

Hati



Ko tu - ku - a i - ho na - u ne - i ku to - nu.

6



Ee ka ma - u - ma - u - a ma - i na - u raa na - u ee.

Hati



Ko tu - ku - a i - ho na - u ne - i ku to - nu.

Example 5. One section from *te sau Moehiti*.

The specimen now performed is called "*naa mee Arehu*", and relates to the woman Arehu, a leading dancer of her clan who died some 40 years ago. Through a male medium, she taught this set of dances.

7. *Naa Hoe*

Two dances having this name (*hoe*, paddle) are in the local repertoire. One is a short, introduced men's dance in which each man twice picks up and replaces a paddle lying in front of him while performing a series of energetic movements. By contrast, the women's dance of the same name is much longer, slower and of local origin. To the beating of a slit drum on the *marae*, lines of dancers process from a point some 150 metres away, singing and dancing as they come.

The October 1994 performance (Plate 4) featured one *tamahaimako* at the front of the lines of dancers, holding her paddle. The length and complexity of the dance preclude detailed attention in this present survey.



Plate 4. The beginning of the women's *hoe* dance.

8. *Te Paki*

Local belief is that this dance was observed and learnt in Samoa in the prehistoric era and subsequently introduced to Takuu, where it is now incorporated into the local repertoire."

As noted earlier, the *paki* was performed in Kieta in 1973 as part of the Province's entertainment for Queen Elizabeth II during her Royal Visit to Papua New Guinea. It apparently was not performed formally again until a sponsored performance as part of this present survey. The degree of formality associated with the *paki* is more extensive than for any other local dance, including the necessary presence of the *maatua* of two clans formerly responsible for providing dance line leaders, a ban on performing any other dance on the same day, and specific identification of the lead drummer and his two "associates" (*hakasoa te tama*).

The 1994 performance (see Plate 5) was preceded by three afternoons of rehearsal, many hours of labour in crafting the *paki* clubs, and vigorous debate as to the necessity for wearing only the traditional penis sheath (*ipeara*). Virtually all of the island's able-bodied men participated, including a rare appearance by the *tuku*, Kiipuu, the lines of dancers stretching far longer than for the 1973 performance and causing some synchronisation problems.

Because of the length and musical complexity of the dance, detailed discussion will appear in a later publication.

9. *Te Takere*

Originally intended as a dance for the sons of chiefs, the *takere* is said to have been brought from the sea by an *aitu* four generations ago. Because the associated movements were originally danced by this *aitu*, they are unintelligible to Takuu men today. Formerly danced only on special days or at commemorative rituals for the dead,¹² the dance is now performed annually as part of Independence Day celebrations (see Plate 6).

11. Although no dance of this name is known in Samoa itself, Polynesia dances using the *paki* dance club are found in Tonga (*me 'etu 'upaki*, Moyle 1987:113), Tikopia (*paki*, Firth 1985:328), Rotuma (war dances *mak paki*, Churchward 1939:277), and East Futuna (*mako ta paki*, Grezel 1878:220).
12. It is said that Nukuria Island also has a *takere*, danced for the benefit of a particular local *aitu* on the occasion of a adult death.



Plate 5. Pausing at the end of a dance-section, lines of men with Kiiپuu at their head hold aloft their *paki* in the dance of the same name.



Plate 6. Miming the actions of battle combat in a section of the *takere* dance.

10. *Naa Sakitao*

A women's ancient dance of which only two specimens appear to be in the repertoire. Its actions and musical style are similar to those for the *sau*.

11. *Naa Sore*

As noted earlier, the *sore* dance originates from the spirit of a recently-deceased person during the *taanaki* ritual led by a medium. Although one specimen (*naa sore Faite*) appears to be in the active repertoire, older ones are also recalled expressing similar sentiment - words of comfort to mourning family members from the spirit of the deceased. Ex. 6 is one of the quartet from this particular specimen.

J = 108

drum *Aa - i - ee ko a - ku ta-ma-na i ta - i Te O - ne. Na-u e — no-ho i lo-to Te O-ne.*
(etc.)

Hee aa - i - ee tuu te a - i - tu i lo-to Te O-ne. Na-u e — no-ho i lo-to Te O-ne.

Hee aa - i - ee tuu Puu — ke-na i lo-to Te O-ne. Na-u e — no-ho i lo-to Te O-ne.

Hee aa - i - ee so-po-ki - a maa — to - u te mo-ra-mo. Na-u e — no-ho i lo-to Te O-ne.

Hee aa - i - ee ni mo-mo - e a - ke ta-na u - ru-to-no. Na-u e — no-ho i lo-to Te O-ne.

Hee aa - i - ee ko a - ku ta-ma-na i lo-to Te O-ne. Na-u e — no-ho i lo-to Te O-ne.

Example 6. One of *naa sore Faite*.

12. *Te Anu Hai Kave*

The traditional brother-sister avoidance relationship, categorised as *napa*, "embarrassment, shame", has only recently begun to show signs of weakening. Sitting together, talking together, touching, or entering the house where the other already is are still forbidden to many siblings. On a formal

level, two exceptions operate: *te anu hai tinana* "dancing with one's mother", *te sii hai have* "trolling with sisters" - a fishing competition in which men go out with their sisters, and *te anu he have* "dancing with one's sisters" - semiformal dancing when men individually dance *aru e* or *lani* in the company of their "sisters". Despite the activity's name, men do not dance with the own sisters, but with their brothers' wives, father's sisters, or nieces. Occurring regularly only on Christmas Day, this event also occurred during the fieldwork period as part of large-scale parties.

Because this kind of dancing requires numbers of men and women to be present at the same location and in festive mood, it is limited to occasions when adults are partying in their pairs of houses at each end of the village. The decision to perform *te anu he have* and the control of it resides with the women. As the men sit and drink, occasionally singing on their own, the women in the adjoining house decide on a particular man who is then fetched by one of his female relatives, who takes hold of his wrist and leads him, with little if any reluctance, into the women's house. There, either alone or in consultation with his relatives, he decides on a particular dance, which the other women immediately begin to sing.¹³

Flanked by lines of "sisters", he performs, to the noisy delight of the women inside the house and the many children crowded around it. The women aim to involve each man present in the course of a single session of such dancing; refusal to participate is considered antisocial and a legitimate source of shame.¹⁴

Neither the elderly nor the inform are spared, the women's reasoning being that, if a man is able to attend the men's drinking session, he is also able to dance. The *anu he have* is also significant in that it is the sole public occasion when the *ariki* may dance. The men's choice to participate, and the frequent consultation and selection of a particular known item before each man's performance suggest that they too are willing participants in a temporary reversal of gender-based social authority. The dancing itself is not intended to create any notions of shame on the men's part, as the singing is no less enthusiastic and the dancing no less spirited when a man performs well. Faced with the inevitability of a kind of no-win situation, most men perform in good humour.

13. Knowing of my own interest in Samoan song and dance, my "sisters" chose a modern Samoan song when I danced in each section of the village, and performed what they believed were Samoan dance actions.
14. In a brief moment of pseudo-reluctance, one man mildly protested "*See ha i kave*" - "I have no sisters [i.e., in that section of the village]" - when he was led in, but to no avail: his wife joined in, together with several other women related to him by adoption.



Plate 7. Making a rare public appearance, the Arika Avo dances with his "sisters".

Until recent years, on the day after such a dance, each man would go out fishing, hoping for at least 50 fish if spearing or trolling, or at least 20 if using a handline. On return he summoned the women who had danced with him to mix the fish with *kanokano* taro to make the dish called *soosoro*, which they all then ate together.

Introduced Dances

1. *sasale* One of Queen Emma's employees,¹⁵ a woman from New Ireland, introduced the *sasale* dance here earlier this century, later marrying a local man. When performed on Independence Day 1994, the words were not well memorised and the number of performers singing dwindled with each successive dance section.
 2. *pingoo*, said to be a Tokelau women's dance introduced by a Tokelau woman working in Queen Emma's household, a featuring a slow start followed by rapid acceleration in the style of Tokelau *faatele* dance.
15. So-called "Queen" Emma established a commercial empire in 19th-century New Guinea, and at one stage bought Takuu and installed a Manager's house on Kapeiatu islet (Robson 1994).

3. *parono*, a women's dance using fans
4. *piloloo*, a woman's Tolai dance from Rabaul
5. *salamoni*, a women's dance from Bougainville
6. *paronu*, a men's dance using spears, now obsolete
7. *tuktuk* (or *dukduk*) a men's dance from Rabaul
8. *naa toha*, women's dances of uncertain origin

Dance Structure

Naa rue dancers set out to make eye contact with the *tuki* beaters as they dance, in contrast to the *tuki* dancers, who gaze into the distance as they perform. Similarly, women dancing the *hula* make and hold eye contact with the audience, whereas in the *sau* the dancers tend to gaze expressionless over the heads of any audience.

It is said that "all" local dances feature lines, some extending away from the *maatua*, others across the *marae*.

The *hoe*, *sasale*, *paki* and *takere* each have a *taki* section, during which the dancers process on to the *marae*, and a *sari* section, during which the dancers exit. Coincidentally or otherwise, all these are single dances, each unique. Public performance of all other dance-categories begins and ends on the *marae* itself without formality. Integral to all performances is the presence of all five *maatua* on the *marae* before performance starts.

Tuki and *rue* dances exalt essentially group activities - successful fishing for shark, tuna or castor-oil fish - which are successfully completed only through cooperative and coordinated effort, operations in which individuality is not encouraged. This kind of thematic consistency helps to perpetuate the very cultural structures which produce it. By contrast, *hula*, *lani* and *sore* offer the artistic expression for essentially personal perspective. This does, of course, not eliminate the possibility of using these media for reiterating values which coincide with those expressed in group form. By the positioning of individuals according to their status within a clan rather than on the basis of executant ability, some dances (*takere*, *paki*, *hoe*) reflect social institutions and thereby help sustain Takuu culture as a whole.

Dances of ancient origin, particularly those either obtained from *aitu* or referring to them in their poetry, reinforce the importance of the past in continuing to shape the present and affirm the presence and influence of alternate forms of reality.

Dance poetry and performance, then, affirm culturally shared meanings, reaffirming conceptions of social, political and cosmological order. Positioning the residents in time and place, the poetry suggests answers to life's crucial questions: Where did we come from? What are we doing here? Where do we go after death?

Dance appears to be the only group activity which is formally taught: not only should particular sequences of movements be mastered and memorised, but public enactment of them in must also be tightly synchronised. Compared with other group activities - fishing and land-based labour - dance exercises an additional level of control over those who perform it. This higher degree of kinesic conformity, enshrined within social recognition of those persons who are the living repositories of its repertoires, endowed with supernatural sanction through the *pure* and encouraged by high social value accruing to the constant creation of new additions to those repertoires, reflects and sustains dance as a living tradition.

Instruments

The instrument for accompanying the *rue* dances is the *tuki*, a length of stout bamboo around two metres long laid on the ground and beaten with a single stick by one or more persons.¹⁶ The beating is in unison and uses regular beats; the beaters sing as they beat, often leaning forwards towards the dancers as they do so and engaging dancers in direct eye contact. A slit drum called *tuki* and made of *akanava* wood, 20 cms in diameter and long enough for three men to sit in front of it, was used for the same purpose until some 40 years ago. The term *kalamutu* - a variant of the Pidgin term for the slit drum, *garamut* - is sometimes used for this bamboo instrument. One such drum carved on Bougainville lies next to Avo's house and is used for the *takere*, *paki*, and the women's *hoe* dances. *Hula* dances are accompanied by beating an empty tin.

The Pidgin term for the jews harp, *susap*, is known as a result of occasional residence on Bougainville and elsewhere in Papua New Guinea by Takuu residents, but the instrument itself appears not to exist on the island.

The conch trumpet made from the *Cassis* shell is called *te puu*. Formerly used to announce village meetings and to recall people to Nukutoa from neighbouring islets, the instruments have been replaced by metal bells. Despite this, new shells threaded with fresh braided sennit continue to hang in the men's meeting houses in both village divisions.

16. No large trees or clumps of bamboo grow locally because of the paucity of soil. All wood from canoe-building and all bamboo for making *tuki* come from whatever may drift to the atoll, mostly from New Ireland.

Men dancing *naa tuki* normally sing as they perform, the sound boosted by non-dancing men, who also accompany by handclapping (*[tuki] poho*) or slapping their thighs (*[tuki] paa*) in a steady pulse. This pulse creates a stronger accent - *hai auma* - to help both singers and dancers to synchronise their actions.

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