

Jane Mink Rossen

SONGS OF BELLONA ISLAND

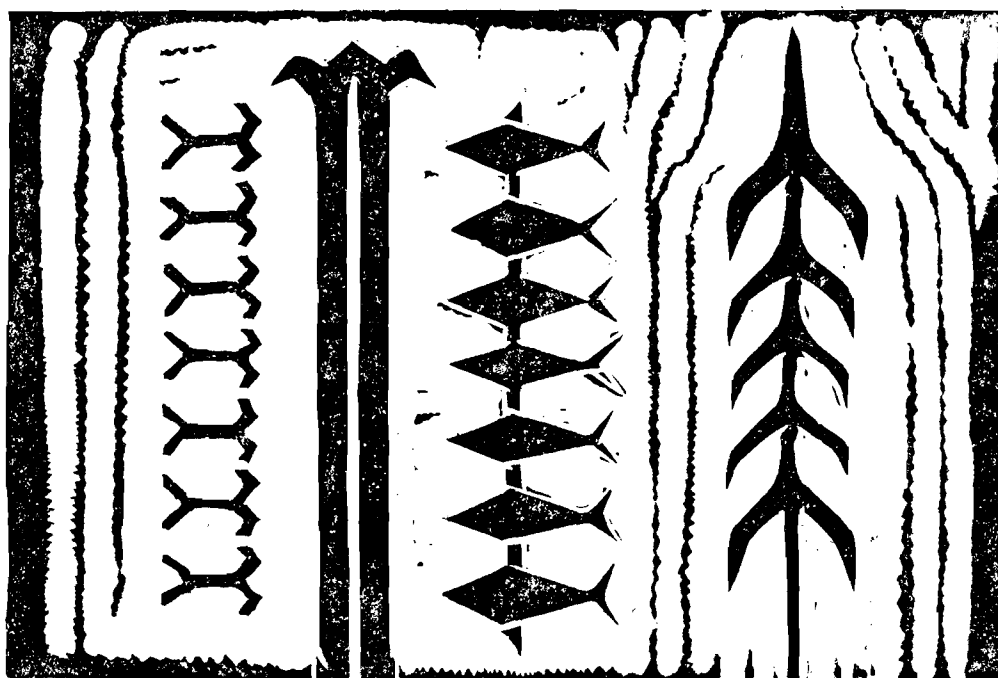
(NA TAUNGUA O MUNGIKI)

VOLUME ONE



Acta Ethnomusicologica Danica 4

(NA TAUNGUA O MUNGIKI)



Jane Mink Rosen

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Language and Culture of Rennell and Bellona Islands: Volume VI

SONGS OF BELLONA ISLAND

(NA TAUNGUA O MUNGIKI)

Volume One

To my parents and children,
and to the memory of Paul Sa'engeika,
Joshua Kaipua, Sanga'eha and Tupe'uhi.

"The sacred song goes back to the ancestors
and forward to the descendants...." (*pese* song)

I hope that the Bellonese people will find a way
to bring their own historical art and wisdom to this modern world,
and tap the strength which comes from having one's own culture.

Denne afhandling er af det filosofiske fakultet ved Københavns
Universitet antaget til offentlig at forsvares for den filosofiske
doktorgrad.

København, den 4. juni 1985

Michael Chestnutt
h. a. decanus

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Cover photograph: The dance *mako ngangī*, 1974: Jane Mink Rossen

C O N T E N T S, Volume One

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P R E F A C E

This book is written for ethnomusicologists who are interested in the musical tradition of the Pacific area, for students of Polynesian and Pacific culture who are interested in the music, and for the people of Bellona. It is the people of *Mungiki* (Bellona), a Polynesian "Outlier" in the Solomon Islands, who existentially are most concerned with their music, and that is an important consideration for me, although it is not possible for me to do the material full justice from their vantage point. It would require a Bellonese to do that, and I hope that an indigenous scholar will undertake a more thorough study, for instance of song texts, which here are treated only minimally.

My involvement with the music of Bellona started when, while working at the Danish Folklore Archives, I was invited by Poul Rovsing Olsen to do a study of songs from Bellona and Rennell recorded by the Danish anthropologist Torben Monberg and the American linguist Samuel H. Elbert in the course of their linguistic and ethnological research on Bellonese culture. Rolf Kuschel, psychologist at the University of Copenhagen, added a collection in 1968. A large part of the transcriptions in this study are based upon this material (see List of recordings, p. xii). The project, sponsored by the Danish Council for Research in the Humanities from 1970 to 1973, resulted in a manuscript, "Songs of Bellona" (*na taungua o Mungiki*), British Solomon Islands." Although the original manuscript has been revised in the light of my own field research, much of the groundwork and most of the transcriptions had been done at that time, based upon the collections of Elbert, Monberg and Kuschel. Two chapters added after I visited Bellona are transcribed from my own collections: those on *mako* songs and the *suahongi* dance. The eight transcriptions from the *suahongi* were originally published in *Ethnomusicology* 22:426-435 (1978) and the singing game in *Orbis Musicae* 5:87 (1975-76). The *mako* transcriptions and my article on the *suahongi* were made while I held graduate fellowships at the Department of musicology, Copenhagen University. A former version of Chapter Nine, The Dance, appeared in *Ethnomusicology* 25(3):447-66 (1981), with my sister, Margot Mink Colbert as co-author.

After agreeing to undertake this study I insisted upon treating the material as "music made by people" rather than a shorter and dry scientific analysis of abstract musical structure. My first introduction to Bellonese culture was through the stories published by Elbert and Monberg in *From the Two Canoes* (1965), which proved difficult to understand, because the context and the feelings they engendered were far removed from my own personal and cultural experience. As I absorbed the published material relating to Bellona, it became increasingly clear that no amount of library

research would give me an understanding of the taped material as living music. It was only when I reached the Solomons in 1974, and finally listened for the first time to live Bellonese performers, that I experienced the full power of their music. I did not expect the gift of a completely fresh perception of the music itself. I was there to learn about the music from its practitioners; what I learned was not always what I had expected to learn.

The place, the context, and especially the people who sang and explained the songs, have enriched the music for me many times over. When listening to the *saka* song by Mautikitiki, for example, I also remember the occasion on which it was sung and the human being who sang it. How much stronger the associations must be for a person who has lived on *Mungiki* all of his or her life, whose father or grandfather is singing, and for whom the symbolic and historical implications of the song have personal significance.

Part 1 was written during my Senior Research Fellowship at Copenhagen University, July 1979 - June 1982, based upon material collected during field research carried out between June 25th and September 13th, 1974 and checked during a second fieldwork period, January 20th - April 6th, 1977. Grants for field research were made available by the Danish Council for Research in the Humanities and the Faculty of the Humanities (University of Copenhagen), Dr. and Mrs Solomon Mink, and the Danish Folklore Archives, to all of whom I extend my deep gratitude.

I owe thanks to many people who taught, helped, and supported me through the years. Poul Roving Olsen, the Danish composer and ethnomusicologist, whose untimely death came in July 1982, taught me all that I know about analyzing music, keenly promoted the project, and saw me through musical analysis of most of the material presented in Part 2 of this book. I lost an invaluable teacher and colleague when Denmark lost its foremost ethnomusicologist.

Torben Monberg supplied a wealth of detailed information about each of the songs in his collections, including the texts. His knowledge of this culture and willingness to share it in discussions have given me many valuable insights. This study would not have been possible without his knowledge of the language and his continuing patience with the extremely difficult translations of the song texts. Rolf Kuschel kindly made a special collection for me on Bellona and administered a questionnaire, which I had prepared, in connection with each of the songs. The transcriptions in the present study based upon this collection are marked with the initials RK. Thanks to Hanne Salto and to Rolf for identification of persons and their descent lines.

Many thanks are due to Samuel H. Elbert, whose advice has always been timely and of great value. Hugo Zemp, of the Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique, France, helped me to revise this book twice, giving me the benefit of his enormous experience and sense of organization, and also offered valuable help with my first field recordings. Jacob Love read a previous version of Part 1 with great care and made a number of perceptive suggestions. Lisbeth Torp Jensen, research fellow at the Department of Music of the Royal Danish School of Education, read the revised version of Part 2 and made helpful editorial suggestions. Aspects of the manuscript

and the music were discussed with Professor Jan Maegaard of the Music Department, Copenhagen University, Thorkild Knudsen of the Danish Folklore Archives and Toufic Kerbage. My analysis of song style (see Chapter 16) was worked out during discussions and auditive analysis with Elizabeth Schouenborg and Dagmar Schepelern of the Music Department, Copenhagen University.

Many other colleagues and friends have given freely of their time and advice, such as anthropologist Niels Braroe and linguist Una Canger. Various aspects of the manuscript were discussed with Janet Margot Gunzenhauser, Rima Laibow, Marianne Thygesen, Myra Lewinter, Knud Sick and Kathryn Mahaffy, who has read and discussed the manuscripts throughout the years, typing many of them. Miriam Gurwicz organized the index. They all deserve my warmest thanks. I am also grateful to Jørgen Rossen for supplying the typing facilities and secretary for Part 1, to the Danish Folklore Archives for assistance with photocopying in 1983 and 1984 and to Anne Lockhart for secretarial assistance.

All the Bellonese performers deserve my first and last thanks, for without them this book would not have been possible. My special thanks go to Paul Sa'engeika, Taupongi, Jason Nguisanga, Sengeika Tepuke, Tekamu, Teghaapilu and many others, who undertook to explain the music and dance to me and gave me their hospitality in Bellona.

Toomasi Taupongi (Tp), Jason Ngiusanga and Sengeika Tepuke (Tk) translated many of the song texts; I have tried to give credits where due. Many of these translations have been included for the sake of the general contents, even when they have not been properly reworked linguistically. During his stay in Denmark in December to January 1980-81, Taupongi was able to translate over 100 songs and clarify other problems. Taupongi's visit was made possible by a grant from the Danish Council for Research in the Humanities, as were my trips to yearly International Conferences between the years 1979 and 1986. I am most grateful for this assistance. Sengeika Tepuke's visit to Copenhagen in 1982 provided another invaluable opportunity to work on the translations and other problems, although many still remain.

Music and texts were copied by Stefan Cushion and Kathryn Mahaffy, thanks to a grant from the Danish Council for Research in the Humanities, who also supported the publication of this book.

My family and friends, including some of those already named, have given help and encouragement above and beyond the call of duty. To them I offer sincere thanks for their patience and moral support.

List of recordings from Rennell and Bellona:

- 1933 The Templeton-Crocker expedition, on the yacht "Zaca," spent 12 days on Rennell Island, 6-18 June. Phonograph records, including eight listed as Blo 17A-24A were made with a microphone on coated aluminum discs. (Four of these were published on 25 cm. 78 rpm records by Studio 5505 Melrose, California.)
- 1934 Burrows published a musical transcription of recording Blo 21A (1934:41).
- 1935 Burrows transcribed and analyzed five of the records in an unpublished manuscript (1935:201-212).¹
- 1940 Burrows mentions six records in the Bishop museum from Rennell (1940:332).
- n.d. Milner published one side of a 30 cm 78 rpm record from Rennell and Bellona, among ten records from the Solomons.
- 1958-1963 Torben Monberg recorded 90 songs on Bellona.
- 1962-1963 Samuel H. Elbert recorded more than 75 songs on Rennell and Bellona.
- 1964 The Western Pacific High Commission recorded 13 traditional songs on Bellona.
- 1968 Rolf Kuschel recorded 105 songs on Bellona.
- 1974 Jane Mink Rossen recorded 397 songs on Bellona.
- 1977 Jane Mink Rossen recorded 366 songs on Bellona.

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SYMBOLS

BE Bellona, Bellonese (the BE word for the Island and its people is *Mungiki*)

DFS Danish Folklore Archives (Dansk Folkemindesamling)

g generation

PPN Proto-Polynesian

RE Rennell, Rennellese (the RE word is *Mungaba*, or *Mugaba* in RE orthography, where 'g' is pronounced 'ng', as in 'finger')

S The letter S succeeded by a number refers to a song transcribed in Part 2.

68/5.1 DFS tape designation: year/tape number; recording number

() Omitted

[] Added. Also used for Bellonese descent lines; common lineages and their abbreviations are listed below:

Ah	Ahenoa
A	'Angohi
B	Baitanga
G	Ghongau
H	Hangekumi
MI	Mata'ubea I
MII	Mata'ubea II
Ma	Matabaingei (Iho clan, Sa'aiho district)*
Mat	Mataki'ubea
N	Nuku'angoha
Na	Nangauika, Matangi district
Ng	Ngikobaka
P	Patonu
Pa	Pangangiu, Matangi district
S	Sauhakapoi
Sap	Sa'apai
T	Tongaba
Ta	Tangakitonga
Te	Tehakapaia, Matangi district
To	Tongomainge (Iho clan, Sa'aiho district)

* Bellona has three districts: members of the Iho or Taupongi clan live in Sa'aiho, the northern district; members of the Kaitu'u clan live in Ghongau, the middle district, and Matangi, the southern district, the latter marked on the list above (cf. map, fig. 3).

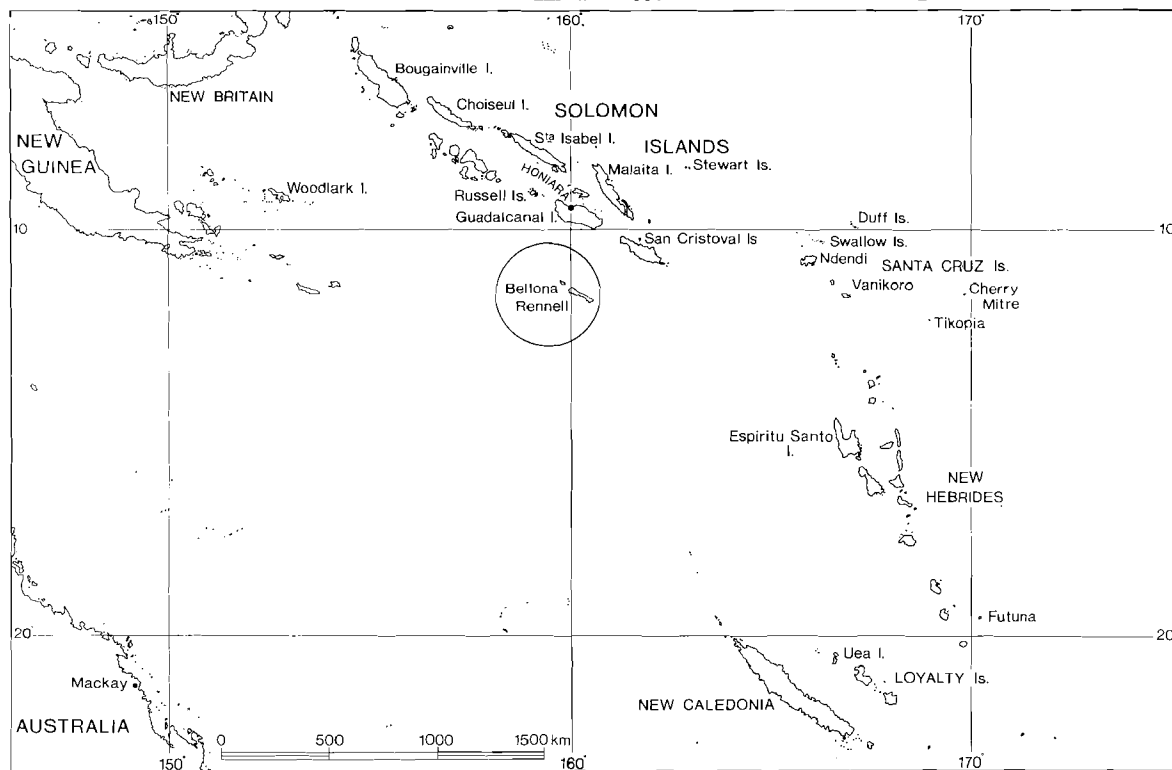


Figure 2: The Solomon Islands:
Geographic Institute, University of Copenhagen

INTRODUCTION

The work that led to the present treatise went through several phases, each with its own set of problems. The study was first organized as an analysis of musical structure and later reorganized to obtain the information on musical thought and context contained in the present volume. To begin, I undertook a study of 50 tapes from Rennell and Bellona that had been deposited at the Danish Folklore Archives by anthropologist Torben Monberg and linguist Samuel Elbert. Torben Monberg agreed to give me background information concerning the recordings, which had been collected during many years of field research, begun in 1957. Rolf Kuschel, who was about to begin his field work on Bellona, collected additional music and information in 1968. Dieter Christensen had recently published *Die Musik Der Ellice-Inseln* (1964) in collaboration with anthropologist collector Gerd Koch, which gave me reason to think that I could accomplish a similar task.

At this stage of the work, one main problem had to be overcome: it was not possible to transcribe the music until the underlying structure became clear to me through months of listening and transcribing. After I had made a study of the structure of the songs on the tapes, however, I still did not feel that I had reached a comprehensive understanding of the music. I had learned to hear, perceive, and to like the music, but felt that I lacked some significant understanding and feeling for it, that I had not yet attained access to the values and intricacies upon which it was built. My decision to go to the Solomons and experience the music performed *in situ* was prompted by my many unanswered questions and based upon the hypothesis that there was something more to be learned about the music which could only be learned by direct experience. The "message" of Bellonese music did not lie in the structural features of the music that I had transcribed and analyzed. Notes written down on paper do not accommodate those extra-musical factors that are vital for comprehension of the meaning of music; these include setting, timing, idiosyncratic characteristics of the performers, ties between music and other realms of "culture," e.g., myths, religion, aesthetic expression in general, etc. As Gregory Bateson says, "All communication has this characteristic - it can be magically modified by accompanying communication" (1975:20).

In 1974 I ventured to the Solomons for my first period of field work. Although I was only able to stay there for about three months, my perception

of the music was radically changed by this visit. When I listened to my recordings upon returning to Copenhagen, it seemed that a whole new dimension had been added - the recordings actually sounded three dimensional to me, with the crickets singing in the background. The extra dimension was my experience of the people and the performances.

The hypothesis which was my reason for going to Bellona was justified by the pivotal experience of the music before and after I went there: I had been unable to perceive and appreciate the significance of the music until I learned something about the alien "cultural grammar."

When I try to say what salient insights I gained, I can point to the information in this book as well as to certain less palpable experiences which gave me important information that had been missing from the rather extensive collection of sound recordings and published material at my disposal in Copenhagen. Seminal for me were experiences connected with sight, sound, and feeling, such as the way people relate to each other and to their music, the way they move and use their bodies, the way they speak and express themselves in sound, word, gesture, and mime; all these things and more make up vital impressions which we absorb and interpret unconsciously. Film is able to transmit the music as well as the visible aspects of behavior: movement, facial expression, and use of the voice in speech and song. The ethnomusicology "book" of the future may well include a medium such as film.

Extra-musical information is essential for understanding the broader significance of music. We understand best what we already know, and it is therefore difficult to understand music unless we are familiar with the people who produced it and their ambience. Music is encoded material based upon a socio-cultural grammar. People code the primary level of their specific cultural unconscious into every manifestation of their culture. They make music because more levels of unconscious code can be put into music than into speech

It is necessary for people to return to the primary level of the unconscious again and again to assure individual and collective well-being. "Our well being as individuals and as collective beings depends...on our ability to reconnect with these quintessential experiences of psycho-biological nutrition" (Laibow mss:8,15). Cultural manifestations such as music, myth, religion, and art provide this experience. Adrienne Kaeppler writes (1971:184):

In order to deduce and describe these differing ways of thinking about the arts, however, we must look at them not with the eyes of a Westerner, nor can we look for a Western aesthetic. Instead, we must approach our ethnographic data objectively, putting aside our own cultural notions, and attempt a grammar which would

enable a reader to learn to speak in the language and emotion of the aesthetic of the people under investigation.

Music transmits the human experience in a phonetic and tonal code. Ethnomusicology should give us knowledge about human experience by describing the grammar underlying the expression of the experience, i.e., the musical code. Music-making is characteristic of all known groups of people, and must therefore fill some basic human need. The problem of defining this "need" is situated on the borderline between ethnomusicology and psychology of music. We cannot solve this problem if we limit our focus to music-making in our own society. The meeting of the early missionaries with Bellonese music provides an excellent example of the critical nature of extra-musical information. While the sounds heard by the missionaries and by the Bellonese were identical, the extra-musical information ascribed to them by each of these groups differed radically. Assumptions based on that extra-musical information led to radically different conclusions about and interpretations of the music. According to the concepts of the missionaries, dancing and music were sinful (physical, lascivious). The missionaries devalued the music according to their conclusions and prohibited it, along with the religion. These prohibitions in turn brought about changes in Bellonese thinking and culture. Knowledge of the cultural context is necessary for the correct perception of any manifestation of the culture, such as music or art.

If we are to understand any music, we must explore its socio-cultural aspects. If we limit ourselves to our own concept of music, we are equipped only to understand our own musical tradition.

The purpose of the present study is to describe and document the musical traditions of Bellona Island as they existed between the years 1958 and 1977, and also before this time as remembered and explained by the present practitioners. (Although Rennell is not mentioned, because I did not go there, the people of the two islands maintain that their songs are the same. Comparison remains a future project, if such research is possible.) The cultural context encompasses musical behavior and thought, as expressed in terminology, concepts and oral traditions concerning the songs. This study was carried out during a period when traditional music was no longer an integral part of daily life, although it had been so during the lifetime of the older people, who practiced the tradition before Christianity was adopted in 1939. The music was passed on to their sons and daughters during a period when the framework of the traditional culture was cracking but not yet broken; this process was gradual. The musical tradition has not been passed on to the grandchildren, because of the success with which it has been

prohibited by the fundamentalist missions of the island since the Second World War. My study was made possible because the Bellonese themselves wished that the musical tradition be recorded for the sake of "their descendants." My goal in writing has been to describe the music in a language understandable to all, not to scientists alone.

The broader significance of the detailed study of music in a small society such as Bellona is in part its contribution to the growing body of research that will, it is hoped, form a foundation for the definition of music as one of the universals of human behavior. Why do the Bellonese make music and why does it sound so unmistakably Bellonese? The last half of this question belongs squarely within the field of musicology, and musicology is currently changing in recognition of the coherence that exists between musical structure and the socio-cultural patterns of the people who produce the music.

The larger Polynesian islands, such as Hawaii, Tahiti, Samoa and Tonga, underwent major cultural changes in the nineteenth century. Their traditional music and dance were variously ignored, discouraged, or banned by missionaries, and very little remained in the twentieth century when ethnomusicological collection began. Because of Rennell's and Bellona's geographical isolation, they remained free from foreign interference until 1938, and from major changes in the traditional way of life until 1949 when the first foreign missionary came to live on Bellona.

The research was initiated because a hiatus existed in Pacific ethnomusicology: Bellonese music had never been investigated, and since musical traditions on the larger Pacific Islands had changed much earlier, Bellona afforded a special opportunity for the study of a Polynesian musical tradition.

One of the major problems of Pacific anthropology has been to unravel the complex historical relationships between Melanesian and Polynesian peoples of divergent origins, both genetic and cultural. In the Solomon Islands many different cultures flourish side by side, as the archipelago has always been a cultural crossroads. Over 50 languages are spoken on the six large and many smaller islands by Melanesian, Papuan, Polynesian and Micronesian populations. Investigations of music may eventually help to shed light upon broader problems of cultural history, but in-depth studies of particular musical traditions must necessarily precede broader cross-cultural comparison.

In 1969, Mervyn McLean in *Current Anthropology* made an urgent appeal for ethnomusicological research in the Pacific. This music was and still is threatened with extinction in the immediate future, and publications about the music were rare indeed at that time. In addition to H. H. Roberts *Ancient Hawaiian Music* (1926), Handy and Winne on the Marquesas (1925),

E. G. Burrows on the Tuamotus (1933) and Uvea and Futuna (1945), Christensen and Koch on the Ellice Islands (1967), McLean and Orbell *Traditional Songs of the Maori* (1975) and other new publications have appeared in recent years, but they are far from sufficient to cover the area, and much basic work still remains to be done.

Recent studies carried out by scholars who had lived among the people they studied for extended periods of time and learned their language have revealed an untapped wealth of conscious meaning associated with music by the people who practice it.

In 1933 a few recordings of music from Rennell were made by the Templeton Crocker Expedition organized by the Bishop Museum "for scientific studies in the Solomon Islands" (B.P. Bishop Museum Bulletin 124:38, 1933). Burrows transcribed and analyzed five of the collected tunes (see list of recordings from Rennell and Bellona, Preface); he points out that the songs were recorded aboard the yacht "Zaca" and that their context and use is unknown (mss:202). Burrows himself has published widely on Polynesian culture and music and collected songs on several other islands, but did not seek out musical terminology. He says, of the natives of Uvea and Futuna, that they "have no musical theory, or next to none; and their musical vocabulary though illuminating as far as it goes, is limited" (1945:4).

Native musical terminology has since proven to be of great value in understanding music. It is only recently that contextual documentation and musical terminology have been gathered systematically or at least consciously in connection with ethnomusicological collections. Since the publication of Alan Merriam's book *The Anthropology of Music* in 1964, ethnomusicologists can no longer ignore these aspects of music. My own approach was inspired by the method propounded by Merriam, and later by cognitive anthropology and the explorations of musical thought that grew out of it. Merriam writes (1964:48):

The objective of the ethnomusicologist is to understand music not only as structured sound but as human behavior as well. Thus music must be approached in terms of the tools used in its production, the expressive language employed, the kinds of music produced, the musician as a member of society, the uses and functions of music and its creation, as well as in terms of its aural sound.

Although work inspired by these thoughts is relatively new, several impressive studies of Pacific musical traditions have already been published, such as those of Kaeppler (1971, 1972, mss 1982), Zemp (1978, 1979), Feld (1982), and Tatar (1982), which prove the value of musical concepts for the understanding of music in a culture of which the student is not a member,

a value that probably far exceeded the expectations of Merriam himself.

After my first trip to Bellona I made the acquaintance of *Cognitive Anthropology* (Tyler, 1969) which, at least indirectly, was an important addition to the theory and method that could be applied to the study of a musical tradition. It provided a way to implement Merriam's objectives that involved the concepts of the practitioners of the music, expressed in their own terminology, and a theoretical basis for my choice of classifying the musical genres according to the Bellonese system. A simplified explanation of componential analysis, as I understand it, is the identification of distinguishing attributes of terms related to a given semantic domain. My work on the semantic domain song combines elicitation of Bellonese terms with observation of musical performance. It must be emphasized, however, that the present work is a study in ethnomusicology and not an anthropological analysis.

Cognitive anthropology is an approach to the systematization of verbal information - terminology and concepts - in this case, those used by the Bellonese with reference to their musical activities. By expanding the foundation upon which to base future comparisons, cognitive anthropology also opens new possibilities for progress in cross-cultural or comparative ethnomusicology. The methods and purpose of this study were clarified during this period (phase 2). These new questions and methodological tools required me to visit Bellona once again before venturing to write this treatise on the music.

My intention at the outset was to investigate the Bellonese musical repertoire because of the intriguing variety contained within a limited number of named musical genres. These musical genres and the differences between them were the focus of the study of musical transcriptions and analysis that I had first done in Denmark. When I arrived in Bellona, I had many questions to ask concerning the song genres but the Bellonese, who emphasized other matters such as the occasions on which the songs were performed and the composers, did not respond well to my initial line of questioning. Nor was I able to obtain information of the same kind for each of the various musical genres. First-hand information was available for some but not all of them. The occasions for the performance of certain songs were so rare or even obsolete that only second-hand information could be obtained about their context. As a case in point, *unguoso* songs were formerly sung after catching a shark; but since the dietary laws of the Seventh Day Adventists forbid the eating of fish without scales, sharks are no longer caught.

In the field, the methods I used included questionnaires, structured and non-structured interviews, and sometimes participant-observation. I was led by the people with whom I worked to understand which lines of enquiry were actually appropriate and necessary to pursue, which questions to ask, and how to phrase them in Bellonese. The work processes that absorbed my attention in the field included: the recording of music during group and informal performances, and of my own observations concerning the performances, inquiries concerning concepts and terms that I did not understand, elicitation of historical material, interviews, etc. A great deal of information about each song recorded had to be written down, including content, text, and story behind its composition, i.e., the occasion for which it had been made up.

My subsequent method of approach to the material collected in the field was descriptive and analytic; I sifted through the material and tried to grasp and formulate its essential characteristics. With regard to scientific theory, I attempt to use alternative approaches of a phenomenological nature.

The lines of inquiry that developed during field work concerned the major areas reflected in chapters two to nine of this book. In these chapters I have attempted to describe "emic" distinctions, that is, the patterns of the musical tradition according to the way they are seen by the Bellonese. In the opening chapter, the conclusion and the treatment of the musical transcriptions in Part 2, I analyze Bellonese music from an "etic" or external standpoint. "Emic" distinctions are those recognized within the culture itself, whereas "etic" distinctions are those seen from the point of view of the outsider.^{1a}

The opening chapter on "The Art of Music on Bellona" provides "etic" information for the rest of the work. It points up the outstanding characteristics of this musical tradition and its place within the traditional society. Some information on the poetry and the language is also included in Chapter One.

The various Bellonese musical forms, categories, genres and song types are presented in Chapter Two. This variety of forms is the most prominent characteristic of the music and thus a necessary basis for the information in the subsequent chapters.

Chapter Three presents the musical programs of the different occasions on which music was performed within the context of the traditional culture, information which in many instances is based upon explanations rather than direct observation since the traditional culture no longer exists. Descriptions of the occasions and events that were performed for me are also given. Chapter four presents these occasions as they were experienced by three Bellonese elders.

Composers have been important in Bellonese society through the ages. Chapter Five tells about composers of the past and present, as well as about poetic composition in Bellonese terms.

Chapter Six is devoted to the oral traditions concerning some of the musical genres. These are presented in chronological order, beginning with the traditions considered by the Bellonese to be the oldest and moving forward in time to stories about the introduction of a few musical instruments in the early 1900s. The chapter ends with a brief description of the non-traditional music that is popular today.

Chapter Seven, presenting Bellonese musical terminology and concepts, covers many aspects of Bellonese musical practice and theory, as seen by the Bellonese. Terms and concepts connected with songs, singing, voice movement, melody, the division into leader and group, and rhythm accompaniment are given.

Chapters Eight and Nine, on the sounding board and the dances, are presented from the same standpoint as the preceding chapter: practice and theory are presented through the Bellonese concepts.

Dance is an essential part of the musical performance. In addition to Bellonese theory and practice, and some descriptions of movements of the arms and legs, Chapter Nine also contains a section on dance style written in collaboration with my sister, Margot Mink Colbert, who is a dancer and choreographer.

After these chapters which form the main body of this book on Bellonese musical traditions, an additional chapter presents a few comparisons with some other Polynesian musical traditions. Although I have not had the opportunity to travel in Polynesia and make my own comparisons, several colleagues have given me the benefit of their wider experiences and have provided some striking parallels that fit the Bellonese material. These are given in Chapter Ten, along with some Melanesian and Polynesian characteristics of the Bellonese musical tradition. At this stage the distinctions can only be tentative or even tenuous in nature, as few publications exist to date on other musical traditions in the Pacific. It is nevertheless clear that the *suahongi* song-dance analyzed in Part 2, which is the most important Bellonese musical form, has analogs in Tonga and Tikopia. All three of these musical performances contain polytextual passages in which two different songs are performed simultaneously. The examples from Bellona and Tonga are both archaic forms that represent bygone times, but the singing in the *suahongi* differs from that of the other Polynesian analogs in a significant manner that may be due to the influence of Melanesian behavior patterns upon the musical structure.

A short introduction to Bellona follows and, since subjective experiences are part of the dynamics of field study, field experiences are

reported in some detail at the end of this introduction. Some of the problems of fieldwork have also been discussed in a separate article (Rossen 1975-76).

The culture of Rennell and Bellona

Information concerning the culture of Bellona has been published by Elbert and Monberg 1965, Monberg 1966, Elbert 1975, Christiansen 1975, Kuschel 1975, and Elbert, Kuschel and Taupongi 1981. The following brief sketch is based largely upon these sources.

Rennell and Bellona are outlying Polynesian islands in the primarily Melanesian Solomon Islands, sharing the same language and culture. The antecedents of the present population of the two islands, according to their own oral traditions, came from a mythical homeland called 'Ubea (probably Uvea or Wallis Island northwest of Samoa) and established themselves on Rennell and Bellona 25 generations ago.

Resources are severely limited on Bellona, with its area of ca. 17 square kilometers. Human subsistence depends primarily upon horticulture and fishing, in addition to gathering and a little hunting for flying fox, coconut crabs and doves. Yams, taro and bananas are the main crops, raised by shifting cultivation. Fallows are cleared with axe and knife, and a slash and burn technique that fertilizes the soil with ashes is used for some crops. About 300 utilized plant species have been recorded. The digging stick is used to great advantage, as the soil lies in pockets in the coral matrix; some land is quite fertile (that in the center of the former reef) but some is stony and less productive. Locally made items such as bark cloth and shell adzes have been replaced by imported cloth and steel axes. The unreliable climate has occasional torrentous rain which leaches the soil, while drought and cyclones cause periods of extreme scarcity. (Christiansen 1975:158.)

The raised coral islands were isolated from other cultures because of their steep limestone cliffs, lack of harbors and economic products, in addition to the hostility of their inhabitants. In 1910 the first missionary teachers were killed on Rennell, which discouraged most missionaries and blackbirding vessels for some time. The few visitors prior to Christianization in 1938-39 are remembered, such as officials of the British government, the protestant missionary Dr. Northcote Deck between 1908 and 1911, the Australian anthropologist Ian Hogbin in 1927, the American physician S. M. Lambert in 1928 and 1933, and the American anthropologist Gordon MacGregor in 1933.

The *sa'a* 'clan' is a patrilineal and patrilocal descent group whose members trace descent from the same first immigrant. The *sa'a* is divided into a number of *kakai 'anga* whose male members reside in the same *kanomanaha* 'district'. Each district has several lineages (*hanohano*, *manaha*), whose members help each other in clearing, planting, fishing,

hunting, canoe- and housebuilding and, formerly, in fights against other lineages. *Manaha* also designates a group of homesteads owned by the *hanohano* or patrilineal kinship group descended from a specific ancestor. Twenty-one exogamous lineages exist today. The male landholders (*matu'a*) of a lineage are equal, but seniority and skill may combine to give one a higher position as a *hakahua* "to have the responsibility, right, privilege" (Elbert 1975:97).

Each landholder (*matu'a*) lived in a homestead (*manaha*) with his immediate family and had his own temple. The homestead was situated on the owner's cultivable land and lay in a circular clearing bordered by coconut palms. Open on all four sides, the thatched house had an earthen floor strewn with sand and covered with plaited mats. Behind the house lay a small kitchen house with a stone oven (*umu*). In front of the house lay a large semicircular clearing, the *ngoto manga'e*, on which rituals and dancing were conducted. A path from the *ngoto manga'e* 'cult grounds' led to the main trail which runs the length of the island.

Land is inherited through the father's lineage, the eldest son usually inheriting the largest properties. The person closest to being a direct descendant in the line of first-born sons (*hano 'anga*) often inherits the first and oldest homestead of the lineage, from which the line takes its name. The eldest son should possess the virtues admired by the Bellonese, such as generosity, diligence, modesty, and excellence in skills like gardening, dancing, poetic composition and ritual performance. If the first-born son lacks any of these, the father can give more land to a younger son or one of his age-mates in another lineage.

Unlike many other Polynesian societies, and like the Melanesian societies of the surrounding area, this society has no single strong chief and comparatively little stratification. Each of the large lineages has one or two *hakahua*. The other landholders do not have to obey a *hakahua*, but consider it an honor to serve him if he possesses the admired personal attributes. Subdivision of the lineages was a dynamic process that occurred under certain conditions. A sublineage might branch off and establish itself as a separate lineage, as for example during feuds within the lineage, or if a head of one of the sublineages was a sufficiently powerful and individualistic personality. (Elbert and Monberg 1965:6-14.)

Only two of the original clans (the Kaitu'u clan and the Taupongi or Iho clan) survive to the present day. Most of the population of the two islands are the descendants of one of the immigrants named Kaitu'u, while the people of Western Bellona are the descendants of Taupongi. Kaitu'u is believed to have composed several songs that are still in the repertoire today. These songs, which he composed on Bellona, contain more understandable words than do the songs from 'Ubea, although comprehensive translations are still

not possible. Throughout the generations, songs have been composed by individual poets, and the poet's name is retained as part of the title, along with the name of the type of poetic composition.

The missions on the islands today unfortunately prohibit the performance of traditional songs and dances and have done so since the late 1940s, when the Melanesian missionary, Gheela, came to live in Bellona for several months. The religious basis of the occasions on which the music had been performed began to disintegrate when Bellona was converted to Christianity at the end of 1938 by a gifted Rennellese named Moa. In the intervening period of gradual change from the old to the new religion, compromises were made which sometimes were comparatively harmonious. Each landowner built his own church, as he previously would have built his own temple. Christian hymns were sung that had been translated into Bellonese by Moa, using English letters and an orthography of his own invention. Traditional singing and dancing enjoyed a short revival during World War II.

In 1938 the population of Bellona numbered 428 and lived in scattered homesteads with easy access to its cultivable land. Gheela gathered the people into first one and then three villages, each centered around a church, and the present population of ca. 1000 lives in seven villages.^{1b} Because of frequent food shortage, land ownership was and is a source of conflict on these small islands, particularly Bellona which is only about ten kilometers long and two kilometers wide.

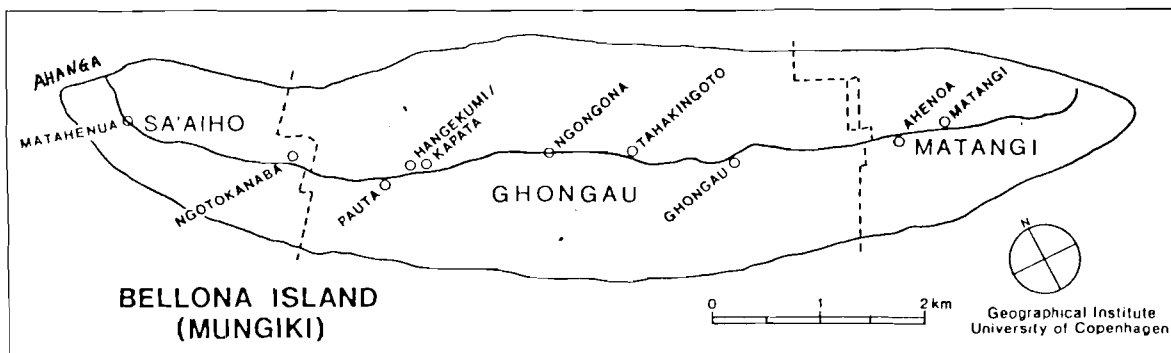


Figure 2: Bellona

Field Work

1974

I arrived in the Solomons on June 17 and left on September 13 of the same year. In the capital city, Honiara, on Guadalcanal Island, where a large Bellonese population lives and works for wages, I interviewed older people, collected statistical material, received regular language instruction, and met with church officials in an attempt to ascertain their position with regard to the performances I meant to record and, if possible, to obtain their promises that performers would not be subjected to reprisals.

In both Honiara and Bellona, people were somewhat unwilling to perform their songs and dances. Dancing had been forbidden by Christian missions since their establishment. Almost everyone on Rennell and Bellona belongs to either the Seventh Day Adventists (SDA) or the South Seas Evangelical Church (SSEC), both of which have opposed dancing and singing as part of their campaign against the traditional religion. On principle the SDA opposes dancing, although, for example, the American branch only bans couple dancing, the Australian branch bans all dancing.

On the government level, regulations for research permits had recently been introduced to prevent removal of anthropological materials from the Solomon Islands. The conditions included the provision that my recordings be copied by the Solomon Islands Broadcasting Service, and that copies of publications based on my research be sent to the Solomon Islands Library.

The first person I met after my arrival in Honiara was an older man from Rennell with traditional tattoos who sold me a plaited bag and then sat down on the floor to teach me words of the language. A bit of Pidgin English, the local vernacular, crept in as well.

My first prearranged contact in Honiara was with Jason Ngiusanga, who was an expert on the dances. In Denmark I had copies of many songs from a notebook of over 160 pages that Jason had written by hand in 1964. Jason introduced me to some of the dancers and organized the first recording session soon after I arrived. It was a Friday evening, sabbath for the SDA, and the showing was small. Although I was pleased with this first recording session, Jason was dissatisfied. He considered the 12 participants to be insufficient for a traditional performance, and explained to me that the sound produced by a small group is not the same as that of a large group, by which he meant about 20 performers.

The second time a group was organized to perform, the leader made certain that speeches were made first. Torben Monberg, who happened to be

there at the time and knew the language, introduced the subject. I then explained how my recordings differed from previous recordings and why I was asking them to record the songs again, although this had been done several times before. Members of the group rose to speak on the subject at hand or to request further information. While we awaited the result, the Bellonese met to decide whether or not to perform. After some suspense, the result was positive. Some of the issues raised were the following: what would I do with the recordings? Would people be able to listen to them free of charge after they were copied by the Solomon Islands Radio? If I published a book or record, would I earn money thereby? Dancing for tourists was well paid; what was I offering in return for their time and effort? Some people were unwilling to participate because they thought that translators might be paid but not dancers. Some people were also interested in having access to a film showing their grandfathers dancing; the film had been made in 1933 by the Templeton Crocker Expedition. Torben Monberg gave a copy to the Solomon Islands government a year later.

The process of discussion is a Bellonese way of bringing relevant problems to light in a finely adjusted democratic meeting system. People are used to expressing their views publicly, sometimes in an oblique polite manner which can be infused with symbolism. In the old days, personal conflicts were broached in the same way, which might lead to fighting. A parallel system, pertaining to songs instead of speeches, finds expression in the language of poetry.

People experienced in the traditional culture were over 50 years of age, mature enough to have been tattooed before the practice of tattooing ended after the conversion to Christianity in 1938. The most knowledgeable of the people who explained the songs to me were all very old and lived in Bellona. Several men under 50 years of age who were excellent traditional singers and dancers were sons of outstanding older singers. People under 30 years of age generally have not been exposed to the traditional songs, and do not understand the poetic language of the songs because of the rapid and radical changes taking place in recent times. There was a sizeable group of mature men who knew the style and could participate in the dances, but their knowledge of correct procedure and repertoire was limited without the leadership of the older men.

On July 17 I flew to Bellona . A good part of the island's population of 200 adults and thrice as many children met the plane, and Torben Monberg was there as well; many people shook my hand. Pastor Hatingeba of the SDA, a Bellonese who was a fellow passenger, brought me a green coconut for drinking, as big as a soccer ball.

From the landing field we walked seven kilometers to Matahenua at the west end of the island, where Tepuke and his family were to be my hosts. Matahenua Village has a church in the center surrounded by a huge lawn which is fringed by some 15 houses. These stand on stilts about a meter above the ground, and are entered by a few steps. The walls and roofs are made of sewn pandanus leaf-panels, which make a cool, pleasant interior. The roof of the church is made of corrugated iron, which lasts longer but is much hotter.

I was given a comfortable room with a window, bed and desk. Behind the house was a kitchen shed as well as a tank for rain water, which only a few families possess. Five of Tepuke's eight children also lived in the three-room house. My room was constantly full of adults who came to chat and children looking on.

Matahenua has one of the island's few beaches, reached by a steep hillside trail. Not far offshore is a submerged reef. Underwater, between the reef and the beach, sharp coral lies under foot. Outrigger canoes lay where the grass began, solid trunks hollowed out and bleached by the sun. The first Polynesian immigrants landed on this same beach, Ahanga, where they danced their *suahongi* dance.

Taupongi, who also lived in Matahenua, walked up and down the length of the island to gather people to dance for the recordings. Sometimes I ate dinner at his house. We discussed what to record and who might participate. He translated into Bellonese the questions I would need in order to inquire about individual songs, many of which centered upon composers. Every song title states the name of the composer, a fact that was new to me. Since each person is known by several names, information about the lineage and settlement of the composer is essential. Torben Monberg and Taupongi located the composers who were named in the published genealogies (Elbert and Monberg 1965) when possible. This work is no easy task because many people in Bellonese history had the same name and, on the other hand, the same person always has more than one name.

But Paul Sa'engeika, whose knowledge of the traditional culture was acknowledged by all, did not visit me and that worried me. After some persuasion, Tepuke let on that he was probably awaiting a courtesy visit from me. Four days after arriving, I set out with Tepuke, who had coached me carefully, to visit Paul. I composed and rehearsed convincing speeches all the way down the main trail. When we were almost there, Tepuke put a hibiscus behind his ear but let me know that I should not do likewise. Paul welcomed me with a speech, leaning on a long pole as did chiefs of old. I presented my gifts and made a speech in turn, telling what I wished of him and why.

On July 22 Paul came to Tepuke's house, prepared to stay a while. He was given a room. The guests each had their own room while the family shared a single room. We talked about his tattoos and the songs performed

during tattooing, and recorded two tapes with these *saka* songs sung by Paul and one or two other visitors, inside the house. At one of our dinners, Paul, Taupongi, and the other elders present decided that the first organized group performance and recording session should be a session of *pese* songs formerly sung at the *kanongoto* ritual, part of a cycle of harvest rituals, which are no longer performed.

On July 25 all the singers came from different parts of the island and gathered in front of our house. Paul was a brilliant teacher. Among other things, he showed the others how the ritual *tapa* should be draped. A meeting was held at which Monberg and I gave speeches. This time, thanks to Tepuke, mine was in Bellonese, as this was the only language understood. I showed my letters from the SDA and SSEC, which assured people that it was up to their own conscience if they wanted to help with the recordings. People were eager to hear the tapes recorded in Honiara, which aroused much comment. Paul was not satisfied with the *suahongi* recorded there because six *huua mako* songs were missing.

That day, at the first organized group performance on Bellona, it became clear that *pese* sessions are actually far more complicated than I had imagined: six song types were sung in succession, some of which were new to me. People always wanted to listen to the recordings afterwards. In discussing the recordings with Paul and Tupe'uhi during the days that followed, a Bellonese terminology for polyphony began to emerge.

Friday evening came and all activities stopped, as Matahenua is an SDA village. Everybody wandered down to the sea for a good bath. On Saturday they donned their finest clothes and attended church four or five times.

Tepuke held a bible class on the lawn beneath my window. No ordinary activities were permitted. Children were not allowed to play, nor adults to perform any work; I was told not to play my tapes too loudly. People ate leftovers from Friday's dinner; since the ovens were not prepared that day, people were hungry and consequently looked bored.

Saturday evening the deacons of the SDA church board held their meetings and we awaited their comments with some suspense. There was no formal statement, but the following day, Paul was pointedly asked if he intended to continue with the performances. I wrote to the local pastor, who gave me assurances and no further steps were taken by the church while I was on the island. On the eve of my departure, however, I received a sharp warning signal when my host, in a speech, said that people would talk about him after I left, and he and others who had helped with my work would have trouble as a result. It was not until a year later, when one of my colleagues returned to Denmark from Bellona, that I found out that there indeed had been reprisals by the local church against those who had participated in my recording sessions. Those who had participated in the dances were censured

first, and if they participated three times, were expelled from the church for a period.

I asked Paul and others questions about the song types I had heard on the tapes in Denmark, and could see that this approach irritated him in some way. It was not easy to communicate about these matters, both because they are taken for granted and because my knowledge of the language allowed for only the simplest exchanges at that time. Tepuke translated for me, but this process was somewhat frustrating because free expression was not possible. Paul worked out an alternative strategy in order to demonstrate rather than explain. He put a great deal of thought into planning a program of group performances which would teach me the proper context of the songs. This was more a sequence of performance events than of songs or song types, designed to demonstrate the proper cohesion of the songs and song types into ordered strings of segments. Each song type was performed in and was an integral part of a session in which one type followed another in a specific sequence. These sessions, moreover, were placed within the context of social and religious occasions, which were made up of both musical and non-musical events, in a regular order. Paul adapted these occasions to present-day realities, however, not being able to reproduce contextual occasions which would necessarily have to be interwoven with the social and ritual fabric of a culture that no longer existed.

In my attempts to understand the differences between closely related song types, I asked repeatedly about the difference in the clapping accompaniment for the popular *'ungu pati* and *huaa pati* song types and received contradictory answers. One day I went to visit and record an elder named Tupe'uhi who was able to show me the difference: fast clapping was used for the introductory *'ungu pati* songs and slow clapping for the *huaa pati*, and the different kinds of clapping had names. Since the clapping accompaniment to all of the *pati* songs which had been recorded in Honiara was the same, the accompaniment to some of them (the *huaa pati*) was incorrect.

Another fact was becoming clear: certain details of the music tradition had been forgotten with the passage of time, just as the distinction had become blurred in the example above. Songs and even entire song types had been dropped from the musical events performed in Honiara. For example, although the *pati* consisted of six song types in sequence, only two had been performed for me in Honiara. Older forms, such as the *kapa*, it was said, had once included about 50 songs; it is now performed with only a dozen songs by those who remember it at all, and many have forgotten it.

An important problem on Bellona, where food cannot be purchased, was to supply food for the dancers who gathered to perform in a village far from their own gardens. In the traditional culture, singing and dancing had been

performed at feasts. An invitation to such a feast meant that food would be supplied for all, since a feast was always occasioned by a large harvest of some kind. The food was distributed among the guests, and each received a portion or share of the harvest to be taken home as well. The family of the host was responsible for food preparation. In Honiara, although I could buy food at the market for the singers, food did not solve the problem, as none of the women had any real interest in preparing it. On Bellona, it was decided that the participants themselves would bring food from their gardens and I would recompense them. Four households in the village where I was staying would take turns preparing it. This did not always work out as planned, however, and the burden of collecting and cooking the food fell largely upon my hostess because, after all, the performers had come on my behalf.

A primary pitfall of working as an outsider in another culture is that one is not always aware of the problems one causes. Unlimited generosity, the most important virtue of the Bellonese, is assumed by them. Their etiquette may thus conflict with Western concepts. The conflicts engendered thereby remain beneath the surface and are expressed only in undertones. Song is one means of expressing such disgruntlement (cf. Rossen 1975-'76:76). When feuding was part of the traditional culture, the results of such conflicts could be very serious indeed. For example, the first three missionaries, who lived on Rennell for a few months in 1910, were at first made welcome, according to traditional hospitality. But serious problems arose, in part because the visitors did not distribute their stores during a time of food shortage and sickness, and they were killed (cf. Elbert and Monberg, 1965: 392-395).

When dealing with strangers and their system of values, Bellonese people, within the context of meetings such as those described on the previous pages, are able to put their excellent and traditional system of speeches into effect to express their demands directly, but such expression is not made explicit on the level of private interchange. My role as guest fitted into the system of traditional Bellonese relationships although I did not know it and had no inkling of the responsibilities that such a relationship entailed. My hosts did inform me of my responsibilities towards the other people who helped me. It has taken me a long time to understand the manners of the Bellonese and to appreciate the values from which they stem. From childhood each of us is programmed to our own cultural system, and this hinders our ability to perceive another code.

My host and hostess, Tepuke Sengeika and Ungamasi, were extremely helpful to me and I owe them a debt of thanks. As an elder of the SDA church, Tepuke did not participate in the dancing or singing. He had acquired much knowledge of traditional songs and other lore from his father and other elders and his assistance with translation and the transcription of song texts

from tapes was invaluable. On his own initiative, he also coached me to prevent me from making *faux pas*. He played a supporting role rather than taking the forefront, which brought out the best in the older men who were my most important informants and teachers. He obviously respected their knowledge and wished himself to learn from them. He was also exceptionally charitable and thoughtful towards them.

When Tepuke and Ungamasi taught me Bellonese after dinner, she would laugh at my mistakes and correct me with merciless humor, whereas he was always considerate and disliked being directly critical, although he was certainly thorough and painstaking. Tepuke had learned English when he worked in Honiara as a cook and a waiter, whereas Ungamasi, having remained at home, had not. Tepuke had also learned to read and write without the benefit of a formal education.

Ungamasi was also active in the church. She was always busy plaiting bags when not occupied with the tasks of providing and cooking the food. She and her small children would go to the gardens and return in the afternoon, loaded with yams, other garden produce, and firewood. While the stones were being heated for the oven, the women cleaned the yams and taro. Another modern daily chore was to grate ripe coconuts and squeeze the grated meat to obtain coconut cream, which is baked with the taro leaves and served as a vegetable. At dusk, the calmest time of the day, most activities ceased and people sat pensively. This is reflected in the refrain of a popular song: *na mangu te ahiahi* 'the shelter of the evening'. Small groups chatted near the women who were preparing the food. Dinner was served indoors to the men and me, sitting on the floor; the women and children joined us after dinner.

Four organized group performances of dancing were recorded on Bellona. These took place on a clearing in front of a small house, behind the village of Matahenua. I also recorded informal sessions of singing inside our house in Matahenua and elsewhere on the island.

In Honiara, where I recorded five performances in all, the dancing took place on a grassy lawn in front of a house in a suburb called White River, where many people from Bellona live. Three of the five performances were recorded in collaboration with Hugo Zemp, ethnomusicologist from the Musée de l'Homme and the Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique, Paris.

Before I left Honiara, the Solomon Islands Broadcasting Corporation recorded my tapes for their archives, according to the conditions of my research permit. They also made six cassette tape copies which they gave to the people of Bellona Island to keep.

1977

I again visited Bellona and Honiara from January 20 to April 6, 1977. This time my primary objectives were to study and record the dances on videotape, and to study certain other aspects of the music in more detail, such as sounding board rhythms, the *suahongi* dance, and oral traditions concerning the music. Torben Monberg, who had preceded me on Bellona, had kindly put his videotape equipment at my disposal for this purpose.

My hosts this time were Taupongi and his wife, Tebaiata, who also lived in Matahenua village. They had a comfortable two-room house with two smaller adjoining houses, a kitchen shed, a water tank, and an outhouse. There were five adopted children: the three youngest slept in an adjoining house; a married daughter lived in her husband's village; a married son, his young wife, Florence, and their three month old baby lived nearby and sometimes on the premises.

According to a promise I had made in 1974, I brought with me a battery-run grammophone and the record published since my last visit. On Taupongi's suggestion, he and I travelled the length of the island to visit the singers from 1974, bringing gifts and playing the record for them. In 1976 the dancers had built a Cultural Centre at a place called Hangekumi, assisted by funds from the Solomon Islands government. In this house in traditional building style, the only one on the island, they met to learn and practice the dances. They were also organized into a club with the same name as the Cultural Centre, *Mungiki Hesuinga* 'Bellona Heritage' or 'Traditions', of which Taupongi was President. The club had recently performed in Honiara at the Solomon Islands Festival of Traditional Arts, and had been filmed by Torben Monberg and Kristian Paludan from Denmark.

Taupongi and Paul, sometimes in cooperation with others, organized the performances and recording sessions held at the Cultural Centre at Hangekumi, about four kilometers down the main trail from Matahenua. Six organized group performances were held here. Some of the performers from 1974 did not participate this time, because they were now active in the church. Several others who had not performed in 1974 decided to participate in 1977, notably Tongaka (the first leader from East Bellona to participate), Tekamu (the first woman to participate on a regular basis), and three young men who were the sons of other dancers. More informal sessions were also recorded in Matahenua and in Mangui, the settlement belonging to Tupe'uhi, who was too weak to go elsewhere. Since the sessions at Mangui did not involve any dancing, they were joined by some people who wished to sing but also to observe the strict prohibition against dancing. There were technical problems with the videotape equipment: the sound-recording mechanism ceased to function after the fourth session. All was not lost, however, since

I recorded on a stereo Nagra tape recorder at the same time, and the two could later be synchronized. Unfortunately, the videotapes turned out to be of poor quality and began to deteriorate after two and a half years.

People always wanted to listen to the tapes after a recording session, and they never tired of watching the videotapes. Just before or after a performance at Hangekumi, I transcribed the song texts and wrote down explanations of the contents and the story of their composition. This had the advantage that the person who had sung a song could explain it, which can be important because, although the person who knows the song often will take the pains to tell the story behind it, another person may not. Whereas transcription of every song text was attempted in 1974, with translation of many of the songs, this was not possible in 1977, because of the extensive nature of the task and problems concerning division of labor. It was fortunate that Taupongi visited Denmark in 1979-1980 and Tepuke in 1982, and during their visits they each transcribed and translated many song texts.

I interviewed several singers concerning their lives and the role that the songs and dances had played for them. In 1974 these interviews were recorded on tape; I did not like to interrupt the speakers for fear of influencing their statements. Tepuke and I went over the tapes in the evenings, when he translated them, but they proved difficult for me to check when I returned to Denmark, because I needed help with the language. For this reason I decided in 1977 to write down the interviews as they proceeded, in dictation, despite the interruptions it caused. My language skills had improved to the extent that I could follow and write down most of what was said in Bellonese, but Tepuke or Florence translated for me when necessary.

Interviews with women were particularly important, since only one woman, a composer, consistently participated in the performances. Fortunately, several women sang and composed songs even though they did not dance. My attempts to interview other women of the same age group who did not participate elicited little relevant information, probably because of the women's sensitivity to the opinions of the church in these matters.

Everyday life with Taupongi and Tebaiata was similar to what I had experienced previously: kind hospitality and excellent food, for which I will always remember them with thanks. Tebaiata was rather reticent, partly because of her dignified reserve and partly because we did not communicate easily. She is aristocratic of bearing, large of stature, and an extremely capable woman in every way. When a cyclone threatened near the end of my stay, I admired her strength and quickness, as she boarded up the windows. Tebaiata obeyed the rules of the SDA church. The only songs she ever sang for me were the hymns translated into Bellonese by Moa.

Taupongi is very much his own man. He is characteristically self-employed and dislikes the idea of working for others. He possesses an enormous store of knowledge, learned at least in part from his father, all of which he uses actively. He is a leader in the singing and in the dancing and the only person I met who knew the vocabulary for dance movements. He has written out great numbers of song texts and translated many of them, prompted in part by his own interest. But he seldom was interested in translating during a conversation. Although he has a good knowledge of English, Taupongi spoke Bellonese to me from the time I arrived in his house: this was his pedagogic principle and he is an excellent teacher. He also has special skills at translating the poetry of the songs into English. He chooses the correct word, in keeping with the spare nature of Bellonese poetry (that is, using few words). He is not satisfied with second best, as he knows when a word is wrong. His use of English is both precise and poetic. He knows English words somewhere in the back of his mind, although he does not have the vocabulary readily available to express himself, and he searches the Bellonese-English Dictionary (Elbert 1975) with enormous patience until he finds just the right word. He enjoys a good session of talk and story telling with the others, but is often a man of few words; always discreet, he dislikes gossip.

One couple who visited us several times was Heman Haikiu and his wife Rhoda (also known as Sungu'ia). Their visits always made the atmosphere cheerful and expansive, bringing good food in coconut leaf baskets - piping hot chicken, taro, and yams - from their village two miles down the trail. Rhoda was short and round, always relaxed and smiling, with long wavy hair.

She did not sing, although Haikiu was one of the mainstays of the performing group. He gave me lessons on the sounding board. When I visited their settlement one sweltering hot day, Rhoda cooked me a fine meal impromptu and made me a bed in the shade to rest on with sparkling clean sheets and at least four pillows.

People who came to visit us in Matahenua often brought some delicacy such as a bunch of bananas or coconuts. Bellonese people are great travellers, often going to Rennell for Christmas or to Honiara for a few months, especially if they need to consult a doctor, dentist or optometrist. In accordance with the value placed upon generosity, they also send food on the monthly boat to Honiara for their relatives, even when they cannot afford it because of food shortages. Generosity is so important to them that they often give away most of what they have. Needless to say, they expect others to do likewise.

On March 8th, two days before I was to have left Bellona, Jason Ngiusanga arrived on the boat from Honiara. He and his family were returning permanently to his settlement on Bellona after having lived in Honiara for

many years. The next day I experienced his dancing on Bellona. I was to leave Bellona March 10th on a ship, and made all preparations, including the last farewell and gifts. My belongings were taken down toward the beach and back, because there was a hurricane warning on the radio. Jason made a speech, saying how sorry he was that I had to remain on Bellona without food. He then left me one of the two bags of rice that he had brought with him from Honiara! Taupongi and his son, Francis, tied palm fronds to the house to keep the wind from tearing at it. The whole family participated in securing the house against the storm, which howled sickeningly all night long. Bellona was fortunately spared that year; in 1930 it had been completely levelled - all trees and houses destroyed - as it was again in 1979.

Jason is the brother of Tebaiata. Relations between such in-laws are somewhat strained, and are kept on a polite, somewhat formal level. In "mixed company," that is, where a man's sister or brother-in-law might be present, certain inelegant words, stories, and songs are avoided. Tepuke's wife, Ungamasi, is the sister of Taupongi, so these two are also brothers-in-law. Because of this, Tepuke does not call Taupongi by that name, but uses the name Toomasi instead. My ignorance of the correct formalities must have caused people embarrassment at times. Each brother-in-law owes the other assistance. In addition, brother and sisters avoid each other; when one arrives the other will leave if possible. Other Polynesians have similar avoidance practices, e.g., Tikopia (Firth 1936).

In the above account of fieldwork, I have only tried to give a picture of the details of the everyday life I experienced on Bellona, as such accounts are rare in the literature whereas detailed portrayals of the same persons who helped me have been published three times before (Elbert and Monberg 1965, Monberg 1966, and Kuschel 1975). See Chapter Four for interviews.

ONE: THE ART OF MUSIC ON BELLONA

This chapter gives a general picture of the music into which the reader may fit the chapters to follow. It points out the characteristic features of the musical tradition and its place in Bellonese society, from the point of view of the outsider. My own reflections on the music are given here, in contrast to the succeeding eight chapters, where these phenomena are described in more detail, allowing their own character to stand out clearly. Since poetry is the foundation of both song and dance in this tradition, information about the language and its origins is also included in this chapter.

1.1 Status of music in the traditional culture

Culture has been defined as the interrelations between the parts of "that complex whole which includes knowledge, belief, art, morals, custom..." (Tylor, cited in *Ethnomusicology* 1982(1) 26:93). Bellona is well suited for a study of the musical aspect of culture because the Bellonese have specialized in music. Their artists are the musicians, that is, composers, singers, and (singing) dancers. Songs are made up for important events, where musical productions are publicly performed. The song composer is remembered, his or her name being memorialized in the song title.

There are many song types, some with and some without dancing, most of them composed and performed by men. Women have traditionally concentrated their musical creativity on a limited number of song types, especially *tangi* 'laments', the most popular of all the songs.

Although there has been a general paucity of plastic and graphic arts on Rennell and Bellona, the women have a highly refined art in their plaiting of fine bags and mats of pandanus leaves, incomparable in the Solomons. Before the introduction of Christianity, tattooing was also practiced as an art. Bellonese men today are expert sculptors, a new art intended for sale and based upon older skills in carving canoes (Monberg 1981 recounts the inception of Bellonese sculpture from a Maori inspiration). But formerly, tangible art forms were few.

Vocal music - and its associated poetry and dance - was so important in Bellonese society that one of the major social investments of time and energy has been in these arts; other leisure-time products being games and story-telling.

Musical performance is generally public rather than private or informal, and the music that belongs to the public domain is the most highly regarded and developed. Group performances are organized productions of elaborately constructed sequences of songs, with or without dancing. Status was based both upon descent and personal abilities, and special skills in poetic composition, singing, and dancing were important factors in determining a man's social position, along with other abilities.

Since musical skills were prestige-giving in the traditional society, every ambitious or even self-respecting person would be motivated to compose and perform songs and dances. Even today, Bellonese singers compose poetry, and among my recordings are songs composed by 26 of the 56 performers. All able-bodied persons would participate in the musical performances at feasts, except when they were in mourning. The host was the leader of the proceedings, both of the rituals and of the musical performances, insofar as he was able. Full participation would also demonstrate the strength of the group. At feasts, the host distributes crops harvested to the guests and thus strengthens ties with his family, friends, and allies by his generosity in giving the feast.

Musical performances had political implications too. For example, dancers bearing weapons could sometimes attack during a dance. Even the women's *tangi* songs played a part in lineage politics. In her song, a woman could incite people to avenge the death of her husband.

Women perform only certain dances and these are comparatively slow and dignified. Vigorous dances with running and leaping are the domain of men, although their most weighty dances, the *'ungu*, do not have vigorous leg movements. Despite this difference in their dances, men and women use the same movements of the arm and hand and it is these gestures that are the main components of all dances.

A Bellonese musician strives to master and coordinate six component skills:

- singing (vocal technique)
- dancing (movement)
- beating the sounding board (a skill developed by men)
- poetic composition
- choreography
- memorization of texts in the difficult "classical" and archaic language of poetry, and long sequences of song and dance ceremonies

Each of these aspects of Bellonese music has its own requirements, standards of excellence, techniques, and vocabulary. A person may not be equally skilled in all areas, and there are examples of excellent singers who are not necessarily outstanding dancers, but this is the exception. Usually singing and dancing are so highly integrated that they nearly become a single art. Singing and the accompaniment of the song on the sounding board are of course also integrated, but their coordination, as in the *papa* dance, where the accompanist also leads the singing of the song, requires a seasoned musician and is not a feat to be attempted by beginners.

As in many other cultures, the repertoire of traditional poetry and dance is a storehouse of useful phrases and formulas which are available for selection and recombination. The singer/poet/choreographer is a person who has command of this material and is innovative enough to shape it in new ways for new purposes. Only those songs which become acceptable to a group survive in the repertoire.

Several characteristic features of Bellonese musical form and practice are given here in a simplified summary:

- 1) Bellonese music consists of vocal rather than instrumental music.
- 2) Dance is based primarily upon movements of the arm and hand, while leg movements are less important.
- 3) The roles of "singers" and "dancers" are united into a group of singing dancers who perform the two arts as an integrated whole.
- 4) The roles of "poet-composer" and "choreographer" are also united (see Chapters Five and Nine).
- 5) Poetry is all-important in this integrated art (see 1.2).
- 6) Temporal organization: differentiation of song types is well developed and provides the basis for the organization of musical performances in time.
- 7) Spatial organization: the leaders of the performing group originally were the singer-composer, the expert dancer, and the ritual leader. These might be the same person or different persons.
- 8) Organization in history: songs and dances from other times and places are retained in the repertoire together with their text and remembrance of the circumstances connected with them (see Chapter Six). Such songs and dances are used to add dimensions of historic significance, and songs from two historical periods may be sung simultaneously.

Certain musical forms within this tradition have a complex texture due to their organization in time, in space and into historical layers. In the

suahongi, which is highly structured in these dimensions, two groups perform different song(-dance)s at specific points in the performance. (See Part 2, Chapter 11.)

1.2 Poetry and language

As elsewhere in Polynesia, the musical heritage here is vocal music based upon poetic composition. Poetry is the foundation upon which both the songs and the dances are built. It is the poetry of the song text that is composed rather than the music: the poet-singer chooses one of the melodic tropes appropriate to the particular type of poetry he wants to compose. Kaeppler characterizes Polynesian musical performance as "allusive danced poetry" and emphasizes the importance of allusive references in music and dance as well as in poetry. With respect to dance she says (mss:9):

The performer was essentially a storyteller who rendered the poetry into visual form by alluding to selected words of the text. The lack of the essential involvement of the legs and body in helping to convey a story differentiates a storyteller from an actor... The most important movement dimensions in Polynesia are those of the hands and arms. The performer does not become a character in a dramatic interchange and stylized gestures do not correspond to words or ideas put together in a narrative sequence. Performances are usually by large or small groups in which all do the same sequence of choreographed movements, or occasionally the men and women do separate sets of movements simultaneously.

Kaeppler suggests that allusion (indirect reference) may be a key concept in West Polynesia, and this is certainly true of Bellona. Bellonese poetry makes extensive use of allusions which are sometimes couched in archaic language. It generally avails itself of an elliptical style in which the subject and/or object of the phrase is omitted. In addition, the poetry is deliberately cryptic in the case of the short songs called *kananga* (Monberg 1974). All of this makes the poetry difficult to understand, even for a Bellonese.

The person with a particularly good memory for songs has been the scholar in this culture because of his/her extensive knowledge both of old poetic expressions and of the history for which the songs are a vehicle. The body of historical traditions carried by the songs has not been taught to young people since 1938. Bellonese vernacular has been changing with ever

increasing speed in recent years. People under about thirty years of age cannot understand the poetry without the help of an older person. Taupongi estimates that only song texts composed after approximately 1880 can be understood clearly today, and only by people of the older generation.

An older "classical" form of the language used in poetry is acquired by learning songs. The idea of "classical poetry" is well known in European languages, as readers of Anglo-Saxon poetry such as Beowulf, or even comparatively modern poets such as John Donne, can attest. In the sphere of religion, liturgies in Latin, old Slavonic and Hebrew are familiar parallels to the Bellonese predilection for revered ancient texts which are not always understood by the audiences or the participants.

Many songs tell of historic events, and some of the songs are very ancient indeed. The Bellonese know the names of their ancestors through most of the 25 generations of their history. In the first generation, according to oral tradition, eight couples set out by canoe from an island called 'Ubea. ('Ubea is probably Uvea or Wallis Island which lies west of Samoa.) The majority of the present population of Rennell and Bellona trace their ancestry to one of these immigrants, named Kaitu'u. He and his company brought with them several songs and dances, including the *suahongi*, which is Bellona's most important cultural heritage. Its text is not intelligible to the Bellonese today, although they do understand single words. The last division, which was supposedly composed in the fourth generation after the immigration, is considerably better understood, but no integrated translation can be made because people disagree about the meaning of some words, and some words are not understood at all. Such ancient texts form a portion of the song repertoire.

Linguistic research on Bellona was begun in 1957 by Elbert and Monberg. Elbert published the *Dictionary of the Language of Rennell and Bellona, Part 1, Rennellese and Bellonese to English*, and *Part 2, English to Rennellese and Bellonese* in 1981, with Rolf Kuschel and Toomasi Taupongi as co-authors. The system of Bellonese orthography used in the present book is that of these two dictionaries, which were also indispensable tools for translation of the texts into English.

Elbert writes (1975:IX): "The people on the islands of Rennell and Bellona speak a Polynesian language perhaps most closely related to Samoan, East Uvean, Futunan, and Tikopian, but containing many non-Polynesian words. The Rennellese and Bellonese dialects comprise a single language spoken by about 2,400 people."

The language includes two phonemes, **gh** and **l**, that were acquired from a non-Polynesian and non-European source. The main differences between the

two dialects is that Rennellese **g** and **ng** are both **ng** in Bellonese. Many Bellonese people try to use the Rennellese **g** when they write, even though they do not pronounce the sound. For example, Jason Ngiusanga writes his name **G**iusanga but pronounces it Ngiusanga. Many middle-aged people now keep handwritten books of song texts and stories in which they write down songs that they learn from others, especially the more learned elders (see example at end of Chapter Nine). Several people own and use cassette tape recorders for this purpose, despite their high cost in a society pressed by economic needs of every kind. There is thus still intense local interest in traditional songs even on the part of people who will not perform them. Respect for their language and traditions may eventually cause the people of Rennell and Bellona to see to it that the language is taught in school, in addition to English, at some future time.

Elbert has published widely since 1953 concerning the relationships between Polynesian languages and the place of the language of Bellona and Rennell. He says that glottochronological studies suggest a history of some 1,500 years since the separation of the language of Rennell and Bellona from Proto-Polynesian (Elbert 1953). The 25 generations in the genealogies of Bellona and Rennell cover only about 625-800 years and there is some evidence that they may be incomplete (see Chapter Six).

CHAPTER TWO: MUSICAL GENRES AND CLASSIFICATION

The most outstanding aspect of Bellonese music is its numerous genres and categories. Most of the 26 main song genres are compound in structure. There are 17 song-dance sessions in the category called *tau'asonga* which were performed at rituals for the sky gods. Both these and the special song sessions that belonged to important rituals are suites which consist of a set series of specified sequences. Compound structure is an important feature of Bellonese music, and it is also characteristic of musical forms elsewhere in Polynesia (see Chapter Ten).

The occasions celebrated marked the cycle of seasons or the life cycle. Several rituals had special programs that included their own separate repertoire of songs. The most extensive programs of songs and dances were performed at the gatherings held for the tattooing of large patterns such as the *taukuka* and for the rituals connected with the distribution of food. Economics and the traditional religion were interdependent parts of the social context in which the music was performed prior to 1939. Occasions mentioned here will be taken up in Chapter Three. In the following, some background information will be given, drawn from sources published by Christiansen, Elbert and Monberg.

Men were the ritual leaders and their lives included more ritual occasions than did those of women. The wife of a prominent man would have a *mu'aabaka* 'women's dance'. When she was older, she might have the *taupito* applied around her waist below the navel, a rare tattoo called the woman's *taukuka* because it conferred high status. Both men and women would compose one or more songs for the occasions they celebrated if they possibly could.

At about 16 years of age, a boy would be initiated as an assistant priest and his father held a *manga'e* distribution. He would be initiated as a second priest-chief the next year and as a priest-chief a few years afterward. A man held distribution rituals whenever he could obtain sufficient quantities of food from gardening or fishing, to demonstrate both his skill and his generosity. He also conducted rituals for the first fishing trip of a large canoe and when fishing for shark. As priest-chief, he would hold a *kanongoto* ritual during the cycle of harvest rituals, but some men had held only a few

of these in their lives. A prominent man would, at least once in his life, attempt to organize a *mako sa'u* expedition to visit a high status person in another village, or preferably on Rennell. He would also want to have a *taukuka* tattoo, the almost solid chest tattoo, which would enhance his prestige. This tattoo occasioned the most elaborate musical displays of all, with festivities that might continue for a month.

2.1 Musical performance in rituals

Rituals were performed for two sets of gods, the sky gods and the deities of the different districts. Ritual occasions that included dancing were dedicated to the sky gods and a *manga'e* distribution ritual to the sky god preceded several other rituals. At a ritual, a district deity might possess and speak through a medium. Some of the songs in the repertoire had been delivered through the agency of a medium and were supposedly composed by a deity.

Seasonal rituals in which music was performed included the distribution of raw food to the sky gods, the distribution of cooked food to the district deities, the cycle of *kanongoto* harvest rituals held in the temples, rituals connected with the completion of large canoes, shark fishing, and the harvesting of *ngeemungi* fruit.

Occasions in the life cycle included the *mu'aabaka* women's dance, and for men, the *mako sa'u* visit and dance and the *taukuka*. Both the *manga'e* and the *taukuka* feasts had lengthy programs that included the dances and two song sessions which could last all night, *haingaa tangi* 'doing *tangi* laments' and *mako noho* 'sitting songs'.

Rituals for the two kinds of gods differ in the kinds of music performed. The *kaba ki hange* ritual for the district deities, like all rituals, has single songs as part of the ritual dedication performed by individual ceremonial leaders. The *manga'e* and *taukuka* rituals for the sky gods include both the single songs as part of the ritual dedication, plus a musical program of 'singing and dancing' performed by an organized group, and sometimes accompanied by the sounding board. The two kinds of music performed correspond to the musical categories *ongiongi* and *tau'asonga* which are discussed below (see 2. 3).

Several other ritual occasions include song sessions with special repertoires of songs. In a song session, which is considered a single entity and has a generic name, many individual songs are performed one after another, sometimes in a set succession of song types.

In the program of the occasion, the performance units, simple or compound, are named by their generic names. These are the kinds of songs and song(-dance) sessions, which will be called genres in the following.

2.2 The organization of programs

Musical genres

For the purpose of this study, a musical genre will be defined as a simple or compound performance unit named in the program of one or more occasions. Such local categories are here called genres because Bellonese song classification is not hierarchical and I wish to avoid implying a separation into mutually exclusive categories.

The word genre as used here roughly corresponds to the Bellonese *me'a*, which is a general term for songs and dances. *Me'a* means 'thing', especially 'songs, dances' and 'poetry', and illustrates the Bellonese conception of the unity of these three arts. The word *me'a* has several levels of meaning in music, depending upon the context, and these correspond to different levels of formal organization and classification. In addition to its use as a general term, it can be used instead of the specific name for a song type, a category of songs, the whole succession of song(-dances) of a session, and the songs and dances performed in the program of a particular occasion.

A simple performance unit may consist of one song or a series of songs of one type, and in such cases the genre is the same as the song type (four of ca. 26 genres). Sessions may be simple (a series of one type of songs) or compound (songs of different types in a set order). A compound session consists of a set series of two or more song types, up to six types in succession, which are sometimes organized into divisions. The divisions and their song types have names such as '*ungu* 'head', '*otinga* 'ending' and others in between. The introductory songs ('*ungu* plus a qualifying name) are solemn and may be in an older dialect. One of the main song types often is represented by a relatively large number of songs and has a name that includes the word *hua* or *huaa* 'song, to sing', plus a qualifier. To extend the performance in time, the participants, taking turns, may sing as many songs of each type as they can remember.

Such ordered successions of types may be called sets or suites, based on the origin of the word in the dance suites of the second half of the middle ages (cf. Curt Sachs 1952:396 (1937)). This organization of the compound genres allows for progressive musical development, which enabled the *suahongi*, for instance, to become a through-composed unit.

The group participation and number of song types in various genres are shown in Figure 2 at the end of the chapter.

Song types. Song types are poetic forms called *na noho o na hatu 'anga* 'the kinds of compositions', which may be distinguished by both musical and poetic characteristics, in addition to choreographic characteristics in the case of dances. Song(-dance) types are the building blocks of a suite.

The song types are the units that have a musical identity and the musical analysis in Part 2 is primarily on the level of song types. Some characteristics of the poetry are included in Part 2, but the identity of the poetic forms themselves is beyond the scope of this work.

The title of each song(-dance) includes the name of the type to which it belongs, e.g., *te tangi a Moa* 'the lament [composed] by Moa'. The title may be extended to indicate the occasion, or the subject of the song in order to distinguish between several songs of the same kind by the same poet.

The repertoire of some song types is large, while that of others is small. Some names for song types occur in more than one genre, and the name may sometimes refer to different musical entities. Whereas the identity of *huaa pati* 'pati songs' is constant, *huaa mako* 'song-dances' occur in the context of several different dances and their musical identity depends upon the dance (see for example the *suahongi* and the *hakatenge* in Part 2).

Levels of organization. The organization of song and dance sessions into an ordered series of types provides a principle for their temporal organization. Since the programs of the ritual occasions could also be lengthened or shortened, the elasticity of the musical genres, which are component parts of the larger program, increase the expandability of the program as a whole.

- Ceremonial occasions have programs of set and optional events, some of them musical, a larger or smaller number of which may be performed.
- Some occasions have special musical programs which may be lengthened or shortened.
- The genres in such musical programs are sessions of song(-dance)s which may be lengthened or shortened by adding or omitting songs.

Earlier, the program would have been expanded to last longer on important occasions. Today, since the songs usually are performed for foreign audiences who do not understand the language, the tendency is to shorten the performance by singing fewer songs of each kind and fewer kinds of songs. Individual songs and whole song types consequently are being forgotten.

Structural complexity in musical performance has developed in three dimensions: temporal, spatial and what I will call 'historical'. Extension of the performance and the program in time is facilitated by the compound structure of the song(-dance) sessions.

Organization on the spatial level includes different roles such as those of dance leader, song leader or ritual leader (priest-chief) and group. Combined with the double chorus that performs *pese* songs, the possibility of having more than one leader has made it possible to perform two different things at the same time, which is also done in the first division of the *suahongi* at two set points.

Accounts of the history of a particular song-dance - the circumstances under which it was composed and first performed - often belong to the oral tradition that is passed on with the song. In the case of the songs and dances in the repertoire that had their origin in a particular time and place, or were brought to the islands from elsewhere by specific persons, an account of their history and the circumstances under which they were incorporated in the repertoire is likewise passed on. In the *suahongi*, where two different things are performed simultaneously, the two may differ in their text, their music, and also in the historical period of their origin - a difference in what may be called the 'historical' dimension.

2.3 Bellonese classification of songs

What are the distinctions made by the Bellonese, which constitute their classification, and what musical categories and genres do they distinguish by name? The present subchapter will take up this question. Some genre names are also verbs for ways of singing or vocal styles. As such, they will be taken up in Chapter Seven, along with other Bellonese musical concepts.

The Bellonese make a basic distinction between traditional songs, which are performed on public occasions, and other music not representative of their culture, such as foreign songs, instrumental music, and private musical amusements. The traditional songs performed at public gatherings, the main subject of this book, are called *na taungua o Mungiki* 'the [traditional] songs of Bellona'.

The word *taungua* 'song; to sing', is also a general term for songs, as when used with the plural marker *na*. *Na taungua o Mungiki* is the collective designation for traditional Bellonese songs. Traditional songs in this sense are representative of the Bellonese as a group. The Bellonese specify that songs always have words (*kupu, tautau*); they also have melody and the familiar

formal structure consisting of *tautau* 'verses' and *umenge* 'refrain'.

A further distinction is made between two major categories which will be discussed below:

-*ongiongi* songs performed as part of the ritual dedication by a ritual leader, and

-*tau'asonga* 'singing and dancing' performed by a group.

Ongiongi

Ongiongi means 'to worship, comfort; humble ceremonial words of worship and comfort'. These words may be addressed to the deities or to persons. Although the term *ongiongi* includes songs, it also includes the words of rituals and is not specifically a musical term. Songs of the kind called *ongiongi* are performed by an individual singer with or without the assistance of others, usually as single songs without dancing or rhythmic accompaniment.

Ongiongi, formerly part of the dedication of every ritual, were usually performed by the ritual leader or distinguished guests, assisted by a few others. The same songs might also be used in other situations, e.g., to entreat aid from the deities when a person felt himself in danger. The Bellonese divide *ongiongi* into two kinds: *tapu* 'sacred' or forbidden to all but religious officials which were performed only by the *tunihenua* 'priest-chief', *haihenua* 'second priest-chief' and *hakabaka* 'assistants to priests', and *he'e tapu* 'not sacred' or *maasoko* 'indiscriminate' which might be performed by anybody. A song from another category could be used in the ritual dedication if it had particular relevance for the occasion, e.g., a song from a suite might be chosen.

***Tau'asonga* 'song-dances'**

The word *tau'asonga*, 'singing and dancing' comes from the root *tau'aso* 'to dance'. The name of the dance and its songs is the same. The Bellonese have approximately 17 *tau'asonga*, some of them accompanied by the sounding board. The *tau'asonga* are musical events that were formerly performed in the public programs presented at the large feasts called *hakatahinga* 'gatherings'.

The song-dances are suites. Many songs of each type are sung almost without any pauses. There may be a series of introductory songs, special ending songs, and other types between the two.

Unaccompanied dances may begin with the leader's solo, called *ngangi*, the singular form of the verb 'to sing'. Dances accompanied by the sounding board may begin with '*ungu* 'introductory song-dances', followed by a series of *huaa mako*, literally 'song-dances'. The words '*ungu* and *huaa* are often combined with the name of the dance. In the *pati*, for example, which is a dance accompanied by clapping, the first song type is called '*ungu pati* and the next *huaa pati*.

Ongiongi and *tau'asonga* are two large categories of songs, but they do not include all Bellonese songs. The non-hierarchical arrangement of categories of the domain *taungua* 'song' is shown in figure 1 (at end of chapter). More research is needed to ascertain the boundaries of some categories. For example, it is not certain whether *kananga (ose)*, a group of songs excluded from *na taungua o Mungiki*, lies within the domain of *taungua*. For this reason, a broken line connects *ose* to *taungua* in the figure.

Some different types of songs

Several important kinds of songs may be identified by the subject matter of their poetry and the context in which they are used. The songs summarized below include important genres and main song types of song or dance sessions. A glossary at the end of Part 2 presents the more than 60 Bellonese names for musical genres and their subdivisions.

Songs of praise, which are called *biki* 'to praise', have an important place in the Bellonese repertoire. In his article, "Polynesian Music and Dancing," Burrows discusses the importance of such songs throughout Polynesia. He says that political loyalty was fostered in songs praising the chiefs, and love for the homeland in songs that praised the landscape (1940:339). Such praise-songs are common among both traditional and modern Bellonese songs.

Songs of derision are called *pongipongi* 'to taunt'. Taunts are serious affronts and therefore are hidden in songs that have other ostensible meanings, in order to avoid open strife. Songs composed to deride a person or his sub-group represent personal feelings, and for this reason they would be adopted or transmitted only within the sub-group of the composer.

- ***Huaa mako*** 'song-dance' is the name of the largest song-dance type in many different men's dances, including those accompanied by the sounding board such as *hakatenge*, *mako sa'u*, *mako hakahaahine* and *papa*. The short songs, in a faster tempo than the introductory *'ungu* that precede them, may be praise-songs or taunts and may deal with any subject - historical, contemporary or humorous. See *hakatenge*, *mako hakapaungo*, *mako hakasaunoni* and *suahongi* in Part 2.

- ***Kananga*** or ***ose*** are short love songs or taunts performed privately by a man or woman. See Part 2, Chapter 3.

- ***Maghiiti*** are ritual *ongiongi* songs that praise the deities and entreat their aid. See Part 2, Chapter 2.

- **Mako** are men's dirges with many verses concerning the death of male relatives and other subjects. Performed in *mako noho* 'seated song' [sessions] by seated men, they express the poet's feelings of loss, sometimes also for the loss of his youthful powers. See Part 2, Chapter 7.

- **Pati** dance-songs often concern the important events and accomplishments of the poet's life, but may deal with any subject. The *pati* is part of the *mu'aabaka* 'women's dance' suite, and was also performed by men at the large distribution and tattooing rituals. See Part 2, Chapter 13.

- **Pese** and **hua** songs from the *kanongoto* ritual are sometimes historic songs that concern the journey of the ancestors to Rennell and Bellona and have many stanzas, which may be in an archaic dialect. They were performed in song sessions by men seated in the temples. See Part 2, Chapter 6.

- **Obo** are short *ongiongi* songs concerning the fruit called *ngeemungi*, a series of which were formerly sung during the work at the beginning of the harvest. See Part 2, Chapter 8.

- **Saka** are *ongiongi* ritual songs that praise deities or humans. Some are entreaties to the gods, some were sung in series during tattooing to take the mind of the subject from his pain. Another kind, *hakahenua tu'u*, concern sorrowful subjects, such as the death of a son, and are performed in farewell ceremonies for persons about to leave the island for faraway places. See Part 2, Chapter 3.

- **Tangi** 'laments', the main song type performed in the *haingaa tangi* session by a mixed group, formerly at the large distribution and tattooing rituals, are primarily composed by women. The songs, which have many verses, praise men and were composed at the departure or death of a husband or lover. See Part 2, Chapter 6.

- **'Ungu** forms part of the names of the opening song types in many song and dance sessions; when used alone, it specifies men's dances to the sounding board such as the *papa* and *hakatenge*. The songs are solemn and may be in an ancient dialect. See *hakatenge* and other dances in Part 2.

- **Unguso** are songs of victory that formerly were sung in a session upon catching a shark. See Part 2, Chapter 8.

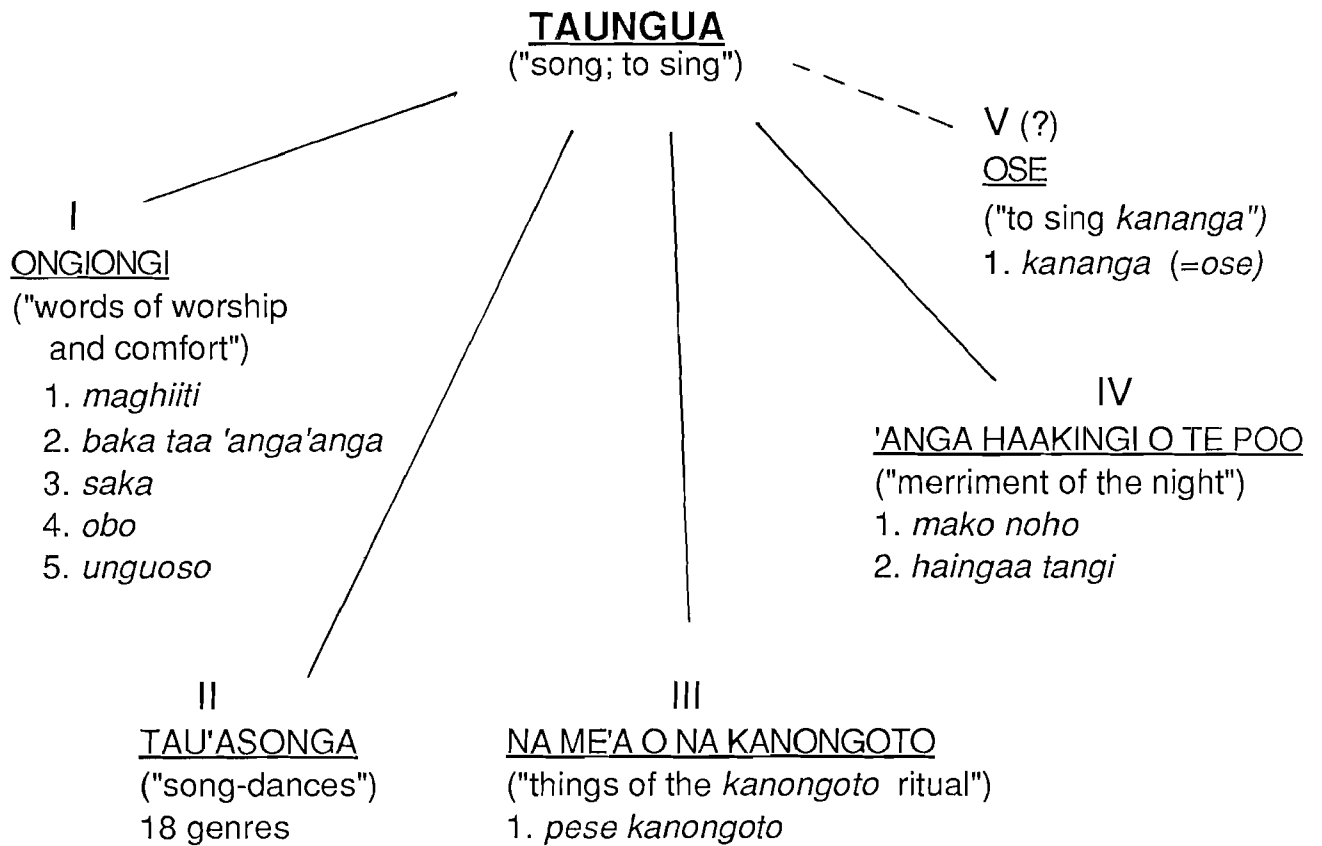


Figure 3: Bellonese categories of the domain "song".

Code: Categories are underlined; genres are numbered.

The categories of the domain *taungua* are not hierarchically arranged; further research is needed to ascertain whether *ose* lies within that domain, for it does not belong to *na taungua o Mungiki* 'the traditional songs of Bellona'.

	INDIVIDUALS	GROUP PERFORMANCE
ORGANIZATION		
single song	<i>tau</i> (solo) <i>maghiiti</i> <i>saka</i> (entreaty)	
Sessions:		
one type of song(-dance)	<i>obo</i> <i>saka</i> (for tattooing) <i>unguoso</i> <i>tene</i> (dance)	<i>taa hua 'ungu</i> (dance with <i>papa</i>)
series of a few types	<i>tukubaka</i> , <i>ngangibaka</i>	<i>ngongole</i> (dance) <i>mako tu'u</i> (dance w. <i>papa</i>) <i>mako ngangi</i> (dance w. <i>papa</i>) <i>mako hakasaunoni</i> (dance) <i>kapa</i> (dance w. <i>papa</i>) <i>mako hakasaunoni</i> (dance) <i>mako hakapaungo</i> (dance) <i>mako hakahaahine</i> (dance w. <i>papa</i>) <i>papa</i> (dance w. <i>papa</i>)
complex series of types	(solo dance) <i>mako ngenge</i>	<i>mako ki te nga'akau</i> (dance w. <i>p.</i>) <i>mako sa'u</i> (dance w. <i>papa</i>) <i>hakatenge</i> (dance w. <i>papa</i>) <i>pati</i> (dance w. <i>papa</i>) <i>mu'aabaka pati</i> (dance w. <i>papa</i>) <i>mako noho</i> (song session) <i>tangi</i> (song session) <i>pese</i> (song session) <i>suahongi</i> (dance)

Figure 4: Degree of group participation (horizontal) and complexity (vertical axis) of musical genres.

Table 1a. Musical programs for several different occasions

<u>Kaba ritual</u> (3.1)		<u>Manga'e ritual</u> (3.2)
ritual		(division)
<i>maghiiti</i>		sacred:
<i>tau</i>		I
<i>maghiiti</i>		ritual, speeches and ceremonies, including <i>maghiiti</i> , <i>unguoso</i> , story with <i>tangi</i> ,
		II
		the <i>saka</i> song <i>tau hakahenua tu' u</i> .
		IIIA
		Distribution of the <i>manga' e</i> , boxing prayer and invocation.
		(dances):
		<i>tene</i> 'boxing dance'
		<i>suahongi</i>
		<i>papa hai 'atua</i>
		debate and desacralization of <i>papa</i>
		secular:
		III B
		<i>papa ngango, pati, mako sa' u,</i> <i>mako sa' u, babange 'anga,</i> <i>mako hakasaunoni</i>
		(other musical events may be performed)
<u>Canoe hauling (baka taa 'anga'anga)</u> (3.3)		
ritual		
<i>tukubaka</i>		
<i>ngangibaka</i>		
<u>Kanongoto harvest ritual</u> (3.4)		<u>Mu'aabaka women's dance</u> (3.5)
(division)		
	<i>papa</i> dance (6 songs)	<i>taki</i> (introduction)
		<i>'ungu pati</i>
	<i>pese tu'aa mako</i>	<i>huaa pati</i>
		<i>hakataungangoto</i>
I	<i>'ungu pese</i>	<i>okeoke</i>
	<i>ngeba</i>	
	<i>na hua</i>	
II	<i>huatanga 'eha</i>	
	<i>huu hakaiho</i>	
	<i>tau baalogha</i>	
	<i>hakanguunguu</i>	
III	<i>pese baapae</i>	
	<i>pese tu'aa mako</i>	
	<i>mako ngenge</i>	

Table 1b. Musical programs for different occasions*Mako sa'u* visiting dance (3.6)

taki (introduction)
'ungu (introduction)
huua mako (5 different dance types)

Ngeemungi harvest (3.8)

maghiiti
obo
maghiiti
obo

Taukuka tattoo (3.9)

ritual and food distribution
 ritual greetings
papa dance (*haka'anga*), many songs
maghiiti
hakatau peba
hatingau
mako hakapaungo, many songs
mako hakasaunoni, many songs
pai dance, many songs
babange 'anga, many games
 all other dances

Mako noho song session (3.7)

taa hua 'ungu
papa dance
'ungu (opening of the *mako noho*)
'ungu mako
mako
keu
mako
hakataungangoto
hungu Tangangoa
hakakuu

CHAPTER THREE: SONG SESSIONS FOR DIFFERENT OCCASIONS

In the present chapter, introductory information about religion and subsistence is given first (data published by Monberg, 1966, and Christiansen, 1975). The musical programs of nine occasions are then described, in the following order:

- 1) the *kaba ki hange* ritual
- 2) the *manga'e* ritual
- 3) songs connected with large canoes and with shark fishing
- 4) the *kanongoto* harvest ritual
- 5) the *mu'aabaka* women's dance
- 6) the *mako sa'u* guest dance
- 7) the *mako noho* session
- 8) the *ngeemungi* harvest
- 9) the *taukuka* tattoo

When I arrived in Bellona, I asked numerous questions about the song genres, which had engaged my interest. Paul Sa'engeika purposely altered my focus through the musical programs he arranged for me, by means of which he taught me about the coherence of the songs and dances within the occasions to which they belonged, with emphasis upon their correct order within the program of the occasion. He was teaching me about the songs and dances themselves, not about the rituals as such or their religious nature. Since the rituals had long since been discontinued, what he presented for me were contemporized, truncated versions which should not be confused with authentic ritual procedure.

In the traditional context, occasions for musical performance were connected with large ritual feasts of various kinds. A major part of the musical repertoire was performed on two occasions: tattooing ceremonies for large tattoos such as the *taukuka*, and the *manga'e* distribution ceremony, both of which had open-ended programs of extended duration, performed outdoors for the sky gods. *Hakatahinga* 'gathering' is the general word for feast, while *ngiunga* means 'ritual offering, as of food' - *ngiu* 'to return; reciprocate; a plurality of reciprocities'. A feast always included an offering, which was presented to the guests after first being dedicated to the deities.

The rituals, constituting the economic system of exchange and distribution, were accompanied and reinforced by singing and dancing. Each ritual occasion had its own program - including food distribution, greetings and speeches, ritual formulas and songs - which was partly fixed and partly flexible enough to allow for adjustments to suit the situation. For example, song texts would be chosen which had some metaphoric relationship to the events and persons celebrated. The program had a set order and yet it was specially designed each time. Freedom within set limits also applied to the individual songs used in the ritual dedication, such as *maghiiti* and *saka*, which were seldom performed exactly the same way twice. This way of doing things is characteristically Bellonese, and is in direct contrast with that of some Polynesian cultures, where disaster was expected to result if a song performance was not word-perfect (for example, in the cases of some Maori and Hawaiian songs, cf. Malm 1967:13).

Because of the close connection between the songs and the rituals at which the food was distributed, some information about the Bellonese deities is needed for understanding the songs, and such matters play an important part in the song texts.

The Bellonese pantheon consisted of two kinds of deities, the sky gods and the regional gods who ruled in different districts. A Rennellese version of the immigration published by Elbert and Monberg tells about the establishment of the two kinds of gods (1965:187-295, T67). The great sky god Tehainga'atua said to his grandson Tehu'aingabenga, one of the prime district deities, "The islands are subject to me." Tehu'aingabenga answered: "The worshippers are mine." After he had watched his uncle Togo worshipping, Kaitu'u returned to his settlement where he built a temple for his "two deities, making Tehu'aingabenga the deity of the house, and making Tehainga'atua the god of the outside" (T67: 2-3, 34). In the following, I quote extensively from Monberg's definitive work on Bellonese religion (1966).

The gods of nature were the most fearsome; the district deities were descended from them and less powerful. Rituals for the district deities were held inside the house with offerings of cooked food. Offerings to the sky gods consisted of raw food, and their rituals were held either in the temples or outdoors, on the ritual grounds (*ngoto manga'e*). Tehainga'atua was one of the fierce sky gods controlling nature. Tehu'aingabenga and his numerous offspring were the milder district gods controlling human affairs; the ancestors were go-betweens through whom humans might approach the deities. The sky gods controlled cyclones; lightning and thunder were considered to be caused by their walking about and were signs of their activity in general, portending a gift or disaster from them. Rituals wrongly neglected incurred the sky gods' wrath

and if no food was available from rituals, Tehainga'atua would kill a priest-chief to eat instead (1966: 51). The Bellonese explicitly distinguish the two kinds of gods in the following ways:⁴

	SKY GODS (<i>'atua ngangī</i>)	DISTRICT DEITIES (<i>ngasuenga</i>)
Dominion:	nature	culture
Worshipped:	outdoors; in temples	indoors in the homesteads
Offerings:	raw foods	cooked foods
Singing and dancing:	at large rituals (some songs were performed at all rituals)	none
Names:	Tehainga'atua, Nguatupua, Tepoutu'uingangi and others.	Tehu'aingabenga and his many offspring
Rituals, among others	<i>manga'e = kaba ki ngangī</i> (<i>kaba</i> for sky [gods])	<i>kaba ki hange</i> (<i>kaba</i> for house [deities])

The division of labor between the two kinds of deities permeates Bellonese religion and, to some extent, supplied a principle for the organization of the entire society. Each individual needed district deities who could protect his interests and with whom specific transactions could be carried out. Transactions with the sky gods were necessary in order to induce these wild powers, which dealt with the uncontrollable forces of the universe, to provide food and security. The sky gods were not believed to be related to humans in Bellona (op.cit.: 44, 113-114, 36). In West Polynesian Islands such as Tikopia and Tonga, royalty are supposedly descended from the gods.

Subsistence economics and religion were combined through ritual transaction into an integrated whole, which was at the heart of the traditional culture. Some components of this whole were gifts of food from the gods, the ritual feasts at which they were distributed, the prestige accruing to a man who made large distributions, and the value placed upon generosity.

Tonu means 'gifts from the sky gods; the giving or receiving of such gifts'. Bountiful harvests of garden produce were considered *tonu*, as were large catches of fish. The sky god was considered responsible for gifts of *ngeemungi* fruit and stranded whales. Flying fish were thought to be gifts of the chief district deity; children, gifts of the gods through worshipped ancestors. In rituals, the deities were thanked for *tonu* received and they were offered shares of the *tonu* when it was distributed, since their only food was that provided for them at these rituals.

A man's prestige depended in large part upon the size and frequency of the *tonu* he received from the gods and distributed at feasts. How much he distributed in turn depended upon the size of his land holdings, his skill and industry in fishing and gardening, and the favor he enjoyed with the deities.

Ritual transactions established a relationship between man and nature - men and the sky gods exchanged goods and services with one another in this way...became bound together in a system of mutual obligations. It was the priest-chief who submitted himself to the world's dangers. By taking charge (*pipiki*) of the temple and supervising the rituals, he was the person who came closest to the dangers of the sacredness of the gods. He was subject to their punishments.... (They) felt fear when performing their priestly functions and had ritual restrictions lest their contact with '*atua ngangī*' (sky gods) afflict them and the society (p. 57).

Only the male landholders, that is people who have been initiated as priest-chiefs, were allowed to eat the *tapu* food, the food dedicated to deities (p. 124).

Food offerings were presented during larger rituals in homesteads and temples. Heaps of food were laid out on the ritual grounds, dedicated ceremonially to deities and ancestors, and later distributed among the participants (p. 107). The more food distributed and the more participants, the greater was the number of district deities invoked. In the large *kaba ki hange* (homestead) feasts with large amounts of cooked food, the priest-chief might invoke as many as 25 different deities, even including those of other districts or clans (p. 70).

Man and god could communicate through mediums and become identical in rituals in which gods spoke through certain officiating priests (p. 42).

Man created gods in his own image, their world and life resembled man, but they had power ('*ao*') over nature (p. 42).

The man holding the ritual planned the composition of its program as carefully as that of the speeches and the songs, and such planning was a cultivated art and talent. Songs were composed by and for the person holding the ritual and other songs might be composed for the occasion.

People remembered which songs had been performed in the program of a specific feast, as they did the numbers of each kind of crop distributed on that occasion, and they explained the way in which a song(-dance) was used in terms of its place within such programs. Let me cite a typical answer to a question, posed on a questionnaire, about how a song was used - in this particular case an introductory '*ungu*' song-dance by the composer Baiabe. Taupongi said that the song had been used at feasts or gatherings in the following way: "First the *manga'e* distribution of the offering, when that was ended, the invocation and the *tene*, then the *suahongi* dance, and then this '*ungu*' was beaten [to open the *papa* dance]." ⁵

The remainder of the chapter will be devoted to nine occasions for musical performances. The name of the ceremony is sometimes the same as the name of the dance performed as the main event, such as the *mako sa'u*

'visiting dance' and the *mu'aabaka* 'women's dance'. Some occasions feature special song repertoires sung in sessions. Among these are the important *kanongoto* harvest ritual and occasions for group cooperation in work, such as the harvesting of *ngeemungi* fruit, the dragging of logs for large canoes, and shark fishing. The greatest musical displays were on the occasions of the large rituals for food distribution and the tattooing of large patterns in honor of the sky gods: the *manga'e* and *taukuka* ceremonies, which included dancing.

Since these occasions have not been celebrated for some thirty years, the descriptions, based upon explanations by lineage elders and literary sources, are not complete; nor is the list of occasions intended to be exhaustive. The songs were performed for me, the occasions explained and sometimes demonstrated, but in no case was the full ceremony given.

Prior to recording sessions, the leader, sometimes in consultation with a few others, put considerable time and thought into planning the events, and the resulting sessions were well composed and organized. The leader, who planned the programs of songs, was also the expert who preferentially explained the songs and other proceedings. Food distribution, speeches, and small parts of the ritual were included when this was deemed desirable by a leader, like the highly respected Paul Sa'engeika. Rather than attempting to reconstruct the pre-Christian context, the occasions were adapted to the the current situation. For example, my own departure, or that of another person, would become the theme of the occasion, to which the speeches and songs would then be related.

In the following, general information from the literature and other sources is given first, followed by an account of the specific program presented, together with the duration of its parts. Short explanations of the contents of song texts given to me by Taupongi or Tepuke may be quoted *verbatim*. The programs of all nine occasions are outlined in Table 1.

3.1 Songs from the *kaba ki hange* 'kaba for [the] house' ([deities]?)

The traditional occasion

The *kaba*, as it is often called, differs from the *manga'e* both in the music performed and the deities for whom it is held. Only single songs are performed by individuals but no suites or dancing. It is devoted to the district deities, takes place in the house at the homestead and the offering is cooked food in baskets. In the following I have translated parts of Monberg's account (1978:90):

The word *kaba* is probably a cognate of the commonly known Polynesian word *kava* or *'ava*, a drink extracted by chewing or pressing the roots of the plant *Piper methysticum*. The drinking of this brew has a mild sedative effect, at least if consumed by the liter, but that happens only on rare occasions.

In Bellona this plant is not known, but it is reasonable to suppose that the *kaba ki hange* ritual in its original form, and in the homeland of the Bellonese before they came to Bellona, was performed with this plant. The present ritual contains no *kava*, but the juice of unripe, green coconuts is drunk, probably as a substitute for the missing *kava*...

The tubers for the distribution are cleaned, counted and cooked in the morning, while the host sends messages of invitation to other settlements. The most important guest is often a brother-in-law or father-in-law. Important men from his district and lineage are also invited, not least so if the host himself has been invited to their feasts. Who he invites naturally depends upon his own special social obligations. The guests arrive as the day wears on, bringing food as gifts: fish, bananas or coconuts, to be eaten at the meal following the ritual. The rite begins about four in the afternoon. The baskets of cooked yams have been placed in the middle of the house... the larger the display, the greater the prestige for the owner of the garden (the host).

Contemporary performances

The songs of the *kaba* are *tau*, *maghiiti* and *saka* (such as S 1-2 and 8). Songs of other kinds might be added when the leader considered the message conveyed by the text particularly appropriate for the occasion. A great many of the songs sung by individuals indoors, i.e., out of context, stem from this ritual; one of them has been published on the record Folkways FE 4373, B2.

Songs from the *kaba* recorded in Bellona in 1974 consisted of two *maghiiti* and a *tau* which would have been performed in a *kaba* held before the *kanongoto* ritual. The program of songs performed is outlined in Table 1.

The *maghiiti* sung at the *kaba* are interchangeable. In them, the worshipper often asks a deity or a person to bestow a particular benefit, refers to himself with demeaning expressions such as "your entrails" or "your buttocks" and deals with subjects connected with the ritual such as the sacred mat of the ritual and the district deity, Tehu'aingabenga, who is associated with turmeric (S 1).

Songs used in the *kaba* may illuminate the ritual. The *maghiiti* by Tu'imaka [Ng] mentions the anointing of the priest-chief with turmeric by his assistant, who represents or embodies Tehu'aingabenga, the chief district deity of the Kaitu'u clan who grew from turmeric. The song also mentions the turban (*ha'u*) worn by the priest-chief, the yams, coconuts, and turmeric used at the ritual, and the composer's "thousand" parcels of turmeric (numbers are commonly exaggerated).

Tongaka [Na] composed the *maghiiti 'amo* (S 2) when he was seriously ill, to entreat Tehu'aingabenga to cure him (he died about a year afterwards). When singing this song, Paul remembered how his father-in-law sang it while,

at the same time, anointing his face with turmeric in preparation for the ritual, reminiscent of a man shaving for a formal occasion.

Tekehu [Mata'ubea] composed the *maghiiti* published on Folkways FE 4273:B2, entreating Tehu'aingabenga to supply children to his nearly extinct settlement.

3.2 The musical program following the *manga'e* ritual

The full name of the ritual, *tuha'anga o te manga'e* 'distribution of the *manga'e* offering', is usually shortened to *manga'e*, which is defined by Elbert: "Distribution of uncooked food, formerly placed on the cult grounds (*ngotomanga'e*) or at graves, with important rituals and dances" (1975:155). The Bellonese word *ngoto* means 'grounds; enclosure' (see figure 7). The ritual grounds is called *manga'e* in many Polynesian dialects, e.g., the Maori cognate *marae* (PPN *mala'e* 'meeting place').

Each landholder performed the *manga'e* ritual once a year or more, as often as he could. The *manga'e* ritual is also called *kaba ki ngangī* 'Kaba-For-Heaven' because the distribution is dedicated to the sky gods (*ngangi* 'sky; heaven').

In his Danish book, *Mungiki* (1978), Torben Monberg describes the *manga'e* ritual and below I have translated some excerpts from his account in shortened form. Monberg explains that the guests arrive in the afternoon, after the host has made his preparations. In his role as priest-chief, the host arranges several piles of raw food for the sky god, Tehainga'atua, also called Tetupu'a.

The priest-chief presents the most sacred portion of the offering to the sky god. His heaps are laid out in a row in front of the house, under the eaves of which his representative, *bakatasi*, sits. After the priest-chief has shouted: "Your share, Tetupu'a," the guests are called in to take this part of the harvest away. It was an honor to be given the first offering-heap, an honor that almost always was shown [the host's brother-in-law].... The rest of these sacred offering heaps are given to high status persons present from the host's affinal family, his mother's family, and also to special friends.... the second priest-chief once again communicates with the district gods. The large central offering pile is divided and a portion is placed before the priest-chief, who in this case also represents the district gods. Other heaps are set out to other district gods, to the ancestors, and to obscure lesser sky gods, often female, that do not otherwise have much importance in the Bellonese pantheon.

The various heaps have, say the Bellonese, by this distribution become sacred and belong to the gods. During the distribution itself, for once, nothing is said in this Bellonese ritual.

After the distribution is finished - and it is here very important for the host, that no important guest is overlooked - he ends the ritual with the usual shout, "*maa siki* (it is concluded)," at the same time striking his flat palm on the ground. The guests answer, showing their thanks by shouting the so-called *sikiika* formula....

With this the first part of the *manga'e* distribution is finished. It lasts for approximately one hour and ends about sundown or a bit earlier. The second part, consisting of dances, begins immediately afterwards and can continue until dawn or sometimes even longer (pp. 108-110).

The musical program of the *manga'e* included two dance cycles, one sacred and one secular and optional. The first cycle comprised three "important" dances - the *tene* 'boxing dance', the *suahongi*, and the *papa hai 'atua* 'papa done [for the] gods' - and desacralization of the sounding board. The board was desacralized by pouring a libation (*kaukau*) of water upon it from a coconut shell. Just before the desacralization, a formalized debate (*hakamuna*) was held to decide whether or not to hold the optional secular cycle, called the *saumakinga* 'long drawn-out singing and dancing'.

A contemporary program

The *manga'e* program performed for me in 1974 took place over a period of two days and included four recording sessions, the longest for the ritual proper with its musical program, at different places. In the summary of events given below, the locations are marked I-IV, while the ritual and secular cycles of the musical program are marked A and B. The main cycles of the musical program, sacred and secular, are summarized at the end of the section.

Paul had designed the *manga'e* program of song-dances that follows both as a demonstration for me of the *manga'e* and as a farewell to Torben Monberg, whose impending departure was its immediate theme. Taupongi and Torben Monberg were supposedly the hosts. Paul Sa'engeika and other participants explained the contents of the individual songs to me during sessions at which I played the tapes for them. The songs recorded were as follows; summaries of the contents are given as translated for me. Since this is the longest procedure given, the summaries are in small print so that the titles stand out.

=====

I Paul Sa'engeika began this program late in the afternoon of August 5, inside Tepuke's house. Also present were Taupongi and Tekiuniu.

1) Paul led the ancient *maghiiti* composed by two women of Rennell, the last two stanzas of which were composed by an ancestor named Taupongi and his son (duration 3'20").

2) The *unguoso* by Tu'imaka (cf. Song 33), led by Paul (duration 1'57").

"Catching a shark was an event, and the song was composed by a person who was very pleased about the catch. If a person does important things, it is appropriate to sing this song for him; Taupongi has made this *manga'e* feast and therefore this song is sung in his honor."

3) Speech of thanks by Paul to Taupongi for holding the feast (duration 3'30"). The speech praises him and compares him to the sun: "we look East to see the sun, but now we look West to see him" (Taupongi is from West Bellona).

4) Paul tells a story that includes an introductory *tangi* song, *te hango kie moe a Ngemotua* (duration 6'45"). Another version of this story has been published by Elbert and Monberg (1965:340-341, T189:4 includes a line of the song). The proceedings, interrupted at this point, were resumed the next day.

II Morning of August 6, inside Taupongi's house. Paul continued the *manga'e* presentation. Paul, Joshua Kaipua and Taupongi were the singers; many people are present and they come and go, which is audible on the tapes. Torben Monberg, who is to depart the next morning, was addressed as host, together with Taupongi. Paul first thanked Torben Monberg formally for the *manga'e* in a speech, and then with the following songs. The songs chosen praise the "hosts" by allusion.

5) The ancient *saka*, *te tau hakahenua tu'u* by Sengeika of Patonu settlement (duration 2'40"). Paul compared Torben and Taupongi to the person honored in the song. "Sengeika composed this *saka* for Sa'engeahe [MI], because he was a very good man who produced and distributed abundant food.

6) Joshua sang the ancient *tau hakahenua tu'u* by Tengongo'angiki of the extinct Puka clan (duration ca. 4'12"). It is a mournful song about the end of a lineage, the father having survived his four sons, who were able gardeners and produced much food for distribution. Joshua sings this song to assist Paul in thanking the hosts, by comparing them to this family of able gardeners. These sad songs were commonly sung in leave taking.

7) Paul made a speech to Torben, thanking him, expressing sorrow that his "last son" is leaving, and implying that they may not meet again: "maybe this year or next I will die..."

III The same day at noon, on the *ngoto manga'e* in front of a small house nearby. Tupe'uhi, as the priest assistant (*bakatasi*) who represents the sky god, Tehainga'atua, was seated under the front eaves of the house. The priest-chief (Paul Sa'engeika) stood on the *ngoto manga'e* in front of the house, leaning on his long chief's staff as he spoke. Others sat all around the ceremonial grounds.

1) Ceremonial greetings, in which the priest-chief calls upon the sky god (duration ca. 8'30"). The priest-chief intones the ceremonial formula in rapid speech, mainly on the pitch B flat, his voice loud and somewhat nasalized. Passages are three to five seconds in duration, ending with prolonged syllables. Pauses between these phrases are about one second in duration. The group answers "'Aue!, Thanks!" at intervals, and twice says "*Oola, oolaa!*"

After three minutes, Tupe'uhi answered Paul in the greetings, saying in part: "Grandson Kaitu'u, my worshipper, I beg mercy of your lord, on the surface of your land." The sky god, Tehainga'atua, tells his worshippers that he requests coconuts from his parents, the feared sky gods Nguatupu'a and her brother/husband. The dialogue between them continues for some five minutes more, in the volume of ordinary speech. Paul prompted throughout when Tupe'uhi was not quick to remember. Such prompting is an instance of Bellonese permissiveness in comparison with other Polynesian cultures (op.cit.).

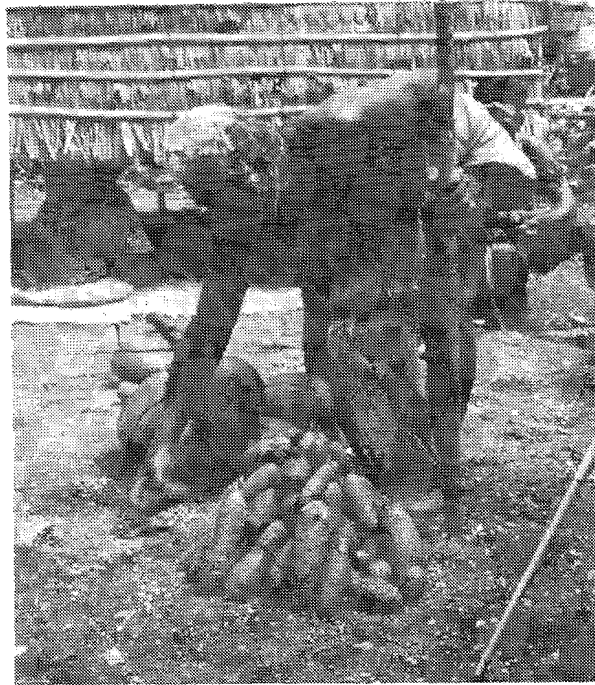


Figure 5. Paul dividing a small *manga'e* offering, 1974.

2) *Tuha'anga a te manga'e* 'distribution of the *manga'e* offering' (duration ca. 5'). Paul divided the offering, laying the yams and green coconuts in heaps (see fig. 6). The sound of coconuts being broken off the stem was the only sound heard. After this, Paul announced each share, reciting a formula, to which the recipient replied "*Aue!*, Thanks!" Each of the dancers was given a share.

Paul then said *maa siki* "it is concluded," and intoned a formula to which the guests answered with the *sikiika* formula, ending with the *ngibau*: "*siki, oooho!, 'aue*" (duration 0'50").

A 3) *Taku te husu* 'the boxing prayer or invocation', given by Paul (duration ca. 0'20"). This preface to the *tene* 'boxing dance' is "a prayer and an appeal to the dancers to stand, on the part of the ancestors, before the face of god" (op.cit.:110). This was formerly followed by a "boxing match" (*tene*) which often led to more serious fighting, sometimes with fatal consequences. Five or six generations ago Taukiu, of generation 18, decided that henceforth this "boxing" would be performed only symbolically. Even so, there are rules to prevent the confrontation of combatants who might harbor any bad feelings for each other.

One rule was that two brothers-in-law could not dance it together, because this might be taken as a sign of bad relations between them. Neither could people who really were enemies stand as opponents in this dance. The Bellonese say that theoretically, only people who belong to different family lineages might dance it, but that this was difficult to practice, because all those who came to a feast were, as a rule, related in one way or another (op.cit.:110-111).

4) *Tene* . The boxing dance, a ritual dance for the sky god, performed by two men who circle each other, and finally jump face to face on to the sounding board, symbolic of the boxing duel, which is said to have been brought to Bellona from 'Ubea with the first immigrants. Earlier, the combatants jabbed each other's body or face with their thumbs, the man who remained on his feet being the winner (Rolf Kuschel, p.c. 1980).

The sounding board was placed in the middle of the *ngoto manga'e* and the dancers arranged themselves in two lines, one on each side of the house. Paul Sa'engeika, the priest-chief and the host, led the line on the right side of the house. Haman Songo'ungi, the second priest-chief, led the line on the left of the house. They sang the following challenge, one side answering the other in an antiphonal chant. The verb used is not 'to sing' but 'to challenge' (*ungaunga*) . The text is too ancient to be understood, except for the last line, in which the host names a member of the opposing group whom he wishes to challenge.

Paul:	<i>O tuku nei, 'ongoi 'ongoi 'ongoi</i>
The other side:	<i>O tuku nei, 'ongoi 'ongoi 'ongoi</i>
Paul:	<i>Iki nei 'iki nei</i>
The other side:	<i>Hakamaa, hakamaa hakatau</i>
Paul:	<i>Iki nei ko Moa!</i>
Moa:	<i>Ma hakamatu'a ia ko Polo [Paul].</i>

The challenger and the challenged circled the sounding board, their arms and fists outstretched and thumbs protruding. The leg movement used is also called *tene* . They circled slowly for about half a minute with low, leaping steps, the only sound heard being the rhythmic movement of their feet (*he'utu'utu'aki*), then both jump and stamp (*meme'i*) on the board, face to face, ending the dance (duration 0'35"). Each returns to his own side. The chant and dance were then repeated, this time led by the other side. The two sides alternated until all the men had had a bout. On this occasion the chant and dance were repeated three times (duration in all ca. 3').

5) The *suahongi* ritual dance - the oldest, most important and most complex dance of the Bellonese tradition (duration ca. 40'). The twelve dancers were led by Paul Sa'engeika, Taupongi, Joshua and Tupe'uhi. Transcriptions from another performance (S 36-43) are analyzed in Part 2, Chapter 11.

The *suahongi* has three main divisions, the first danced in a circle and the other two danced in lines. The dancers sing an unintelligible text without accompaniment. At set points during the first division, two pieces of music with different musical textures are performed simultaneously, one of them the *suahongi* proper and the other a *pese* (S19) composed by Kaitu'u, one of the first immigrants. The spectators moved their lips with the words and their arms along with the gestures - children too - and laughed at the amusing (but unintelligible) parts, especially during the spectacular dancing of division two.

6) The *papa hai 'atua 'papa* dance done for the deities' (duration ca. 5' or longer). The person who beat the sounding board and led the singing sat in the center of the circle facing the audience, but originally would face the house where the important guests were seated. First the introductory *'ungu* song-dance was beaten and then a sequence of short *huua mako* 'song-dances', each dancer taking a turn at the sounding board to lead one or more of these. In the introductory dance, which is relatively slow, the dancers perform arm gestures while standing in place and use the feet mainly to beat time (*tuutuu*) rather than to move about.

Each *huua mako* began slowly, the dancers performing arm gestures while moving around the sounding board, gathering speed in the course of the song until, leaping and shouting at the climax, one or more dancers leaped onto the sounding board which rested on the feet of the beater; the dance slowed down again as the song ended. When a dancer wanted a turn at the sounding board, he approached the

beater and squatted; the beater handed over the sticks when finished. The new leader seated himself, lifted the board onto his feet, beat a few slow beats to get started and then began a song. So it continued until all the dancers had at least one turn as leader.

The *'ungu* composed by Paul Sa'engeika in 1937 (beaten by Hanaika, duration ca. 2'50") concerned a double canoe Paul had built for flying fish, which had two bodies that moved as one. The song was composed, practiced [and performed] for a feast that he gave after the death of his father.

Six *huua mako* concerning *ngeemungi* were then performed, each about half a minute in duration. Hanaika beat the first song, composed by a man from his lineage, Namona Puipuihenua [N] who had died about 1910. Namona had harvested 19 baskets and sang that only a strong young man could carry such a load.

Heman Haikiu then beat a song by an unknown composer about a person who, like Torben Monberg, was to leave Bellona and "might never be seen again."

Haman Songo'ungi beat an ancient *huua mako*, supposedly brought from 'Ubea with the first immigrants, and not understood today. 'Asia Tongaka then took a turn and repeated the same song.

Solomon Teika beat a *huua mako* by Teikangau Ma'anutaha Tahua [N], which had been revealed by the Bellonese medium Pangea.

Haman Songo'ungi beat another *huua mako*. The priest-chief then ended the *papa* dance by saying "*tungou* ! permission" to which the group answered "' ia!"

7) The *hakamuna* debate and *kaukau* desacralization ceremony (duration ca. 4'10"). A formal debate (*haka'atu'atu*) was then held to decide whether to end the dancing or to continue with a *saumakinga* session. Only a suggestion of the content of the long speeches is given in the following extract from a translation by Torben Monberg (p.c. 26.11.1978):

Joshua Kaipua: "Everything depends on Paul, who is leading the dancing, for we are not clever enough, Honorable Elder."

Paul Sa'engeika thanks him and says: "Not me, but for your grandfather and great-grandfather" (to humble himself after Joshua's great praise).

Solomon Teika: "Nobody else in this group can do it. Paul is the only one to look for the people and to do it with them. It is up to Paul, if he wants to continue with more dancing."

Paul: "It depends on the people, if they want to continue the dancing."

The dancers call out: "*hakamabete*, to be opened" if they wish to continue.

Paul: "This is the time to plan the *saumakinga* and to make the second *papa* dance." He then performed the libation, desacralizing the *papa*.

B The *saumakinga*.

1) The *papa ngango* 'lower board; second *papa* dance' (duration ca. 4' or longer). The dance, similar to 6) above, consisted in this particular instance of a single long dance song rather than a number of short ones.

Taupongi beat the introductory *'ungu* song-dance by Puipuihenua Namona [N] who sailed for two days, trying to reach Guadalcanal (Makira) at the end of World War II. He was brought back, according to the medium, Tongaka, by the deity Tupuimatangi, who went in search of him in a canoe. The composer, who was proud of the incident, made up this song about nearly reaching Guadalcanal (*Kenga*) and being brought back.

Taupongi beat the long dance song by Saungongo [Ng], which tells of the composer's accomplishments in netting fish and doves, hunting fruit bats, making feasts, and ending with the *papa* dance, which he says "belongs to him above all people." This kind of *papa*, with a single long dance song (*huua mako ngoa*), was danced for the first time during World War II.

2) The *pati*. A circle dance with a sequence of six song types. Seated in the center of the circle, the leader, Tupe'uhi, beat the sounding board for the first two songs and clapped to accompany the following songs. (See also 3.5, the transcriptions S 47-53 and Chapter 12 of Part 2.) First two introductory *taki* songs, one ancient and the other composed by Suaika [To] about the parrotfish and its savory liver. Two introductory '*ungu pati*' songs followed, the first by Tu'imaka [Ng] and the second an unusual and ancient double song called *te 'ungu pati a hakatuungi*, which supposedly stems from the time of the culture heroes, and consists of a slow introductory portion and a fast *huaa mako* 'dance song' that is unique in the *pati*.

Five *huaa pati* songs followed, and then the final songs, '*asoaonga* and *okeoke*. *Okeoke* 'to move back and forth' takes its name from the hand gesture that accompanies this word in the song.

3) The *mako sa'u* 'visiting dance', a circle dance (duration ca. 8'35"). Paul Sa'engeika, in the center with the sounding board, leads all songs. First an introductory *taki*, followed by an ancient '*ungu*' and nine short *huaa mako* songs, two of them being repeated, for a total of 11 dance songs. (See 3.6.) The *taki* text has been published by Elbert and Monberg (1965:315, T166).

4) *Babange 'anga* 'singing games' (duration ca. 5'). The first of the singing games performed on this occasion has been published on the record Folkways FE 4273:A4.

Te tingomate 'the resurrection' (duration ca. 2'07"). (See figure, description and text in the brochure to the record FE 4273.)

Te kongaa ma aaboi aa (meaning unknown). One man stands on the hands of four men who crouch: after singing the verse, they lift him high in the air on their hands (duration ca. 0'30").

Ha'uha'u kongoa 'winding up the loincloth' (duration ca. 1'15"). The dancers hold hands in a chain and sing, while the leader winds the chain around in a spiral and then unwinds it again. The ending is another singing game, *ngau i te tango* 'one hundred taro'.

Tau manini 'many surgeonfish' (cf. Elbert 1975:296). Two of these were performed, one composed by Takiika and one by Paul Sa'engeika (ca. 2').

5) *Mako hakasaunoni* 'dance in the style of Saunoni' (duration ca. 8').

A circle of participants sings, accompanying themselves by clapping their hands. They stand in place for the '*ungu*' introductory songs and move around the circle for the *huaa mako* dance songs. (See figure 1 in the brochure to the record FE 4273, and Part 2, Chapter 14.)

IV In the evening an outdoor dinner was held with numerous speeches. Afterwards, at about 9 p.m., eight modern songs were performed by a group of some 35 children led by Nicholas Taika, who had composed three of the songs. Of the other songs, one, composed by the children, concerned a Taiwanese ship that had been wrecked on the reef not long before. Two were Maori songs from New Zealand, which the children understood only in part. The remaining songs had been composed by young people; one concerned the happy times when youths from the two islands meet at sports events and how sad it is when they must part. These songs are not part of the traditional repertoire, and the adults who organized the performances of traditional music for me were displeased that I recorded and thereby encouraged such modern performances.

The core of the musical program of the *manga'e* feast, disregarding additions such as the modern singing that I heard (IV above), consisted of traditional songs and dances, some as part of the ritual dedication (I & II above), after which a sacred and then a secular cycle were performed (III A & B above). Taupongi (1968), in response to questions about how the individual song(-dance)s were used, said that some were *tapu o na 'atua* 'sacred for the deities' or belonged to the ceremonial *ongiongi*. Some, used "after the *manga'e* at the conclusion of rituals," constituted either "the important sacred playing," or were "used at the being happy at feasts, just for making fun at feasts when people gathered together." The latter belonged to the secular *siasia o na hakatahinga* 'happiness of the gatherings' or *'anga haakinga o te poo* 'merriment of the night' (Sengeika Tepuke, 1985).

3.3 Songs connected with large canoes and shark fishing

Traditional occasions

Dugout canoes of two sizes, both with outriggers, are used for fishing. Small canoes, called *baka* or *hua*, carry one or two fishermen, while *baka 'eha* 'large canoes' carry seven to nine persons. They are used for catching flying fish at night and also to transport people on visits to Rennell and elsewhere. Formerly, large canoes were ritually dedicated to the sky god, Tehainga'atua.

Canoe-making is a difficult task done in several stages and requiring skilled craftsmanship. Canoes were formerly hollowed out with a stone adze but steel axes are used today. The tree is chosen, felled and the shape carved out. It is then hauled down the trail, formerly with singing and shouting; the beam and seat are then chipped out and the outrigger mounted.⁶ The canoe may then have to be dragged farther and lowered by rope down a cliff to the sea. The songs called *ngangibaka* 'heavenly canoe' and *tukubaka* 'to put down canoe' were sung for the sky god while performing these tasks, and they were also sung while carrying other heavy objects dedicated to the sky gods, such as loads of *ngeemungi* fruit. The felled log which is to be carved into a canoe, and the occasions on which it was hauled down the trail or lowered down a cliff with ritual, song and shouting are known as *baka taa 'anga'anga* (Elbert 1975:32). A priest-chief would coordinate the work of a team of men when the canoe was being transported and launched by leading these songs.

Cooperation is needed for the above tasks. The person for whom the canoe is being made gives rations of food (*'oso*) to the helpers in a common meal at various stages of the work, for example, after the tree is cut down and has

been dug out a bit (*tosi*) to mark the structure, and after the outrigger has been mounted.

After the first catch, a ritual was formerly held at the temple, during which the flying fish were pierced and put on a string. The canoe was free to pass the temple after this ritual. A *manga'e* distribution of flying fish would also be held outside the temple on the ritual grounds.

Shark-fishing involved complex rituals of which I have no direct knowledge. When a shark was caught, *unguoso* songs were sung in the canoe on the way to the shore, where there was an 'oso with other kinds of food to be eaten with the shark. Sharks were caught either with a noose or a large wooden hook dyed red, to which a small fish was attached as bait. Some men were considered to be particularly accomplished shark fishermen, which gave them considerable prestige.

Some ten different shark rituals, called *no'a mangoo* (*mangoo* 'shark'), were formerly performed. A long ritual in many stages was performed upon leaving the house before fishing, and more rites were performed at the beach before embarking; the longest rite took place in the canoe, and still more were performed on the beach after fishing.

A contemporary performance

During my 1974 stay in Bellona, a large canoe (*baka'eha*) was being completed, which provided an occasion for the singing of the appropriate song repertoire, although they now are banned. While the canoe was being hauled, the song types *ngangibaka* and *tukubaka* were performed in order that I might record them (Table 1).

The tree had been completely carved out and brought to Tesauma settlement in Ghongau district. Paul Sa'engeika, who was an expert at this work, lashed on the gunwales; he later performed part of the ritual and led some of the canoe songs which accompanied the hauling. Two men seated on the ground were making small fishing nets for the canoe. Many people were watching the proceedings; and under a roof set on poles, women were preparing the food (*'oso*).

Shortly before noon, when the hauling was to begin, sixteen men took their places along the sides of the canoe, ready to go. Pieces of logs had been laid across the trail at intervals of less than a meter to facilitate the work. About that time it began to rain, which stopped the hauling after four songs had been performed.

Paul began with part of the ritual, reciting a prayer (*hakaiho'anga te baka* 'lowering the canoe') while at the same time tearing the leaflets off a coconut frond one by one. He then intoned the first song and the work began. The first two songs were ancient *tukubaka* which could not be translated. The *Ooho* !

shout of the sky god, called the *ngibau*, ends all of the canoe songs. Takiika took the lead immediately after, singing another ancient *tukubaka*. After resting the canoe a minute or so, they resumed dragging it. Paul sang the *ngangibaka* by the deity Tu'ukiteika (revealed by a medium), assisted by Haman Songo'ungi. These two songs can be heard on Folkways FE 4273:A1, where the rain, increasing to a downpour between the songs, and the sound of the canoe being dragged are audible.

On another occasion two *ngangibaka* by Taungenga [G] were recorded. The first song concerned his canoe, called Putuitekaba after the god to whom he had given the largest share at the *kaba* ritual held when the canoe was completed. The second song, which was led by Paul Sa'engeika, concerned an occasion on which his cousin Pongi [Ng] had been possessed by a district deity. At that time, Paul had called out Hehas! (Jesus) and Pongi, while possessed, became very angry because another god had been summoned.

Unguso songs from the shark rituals, such as Songs 30-32, were recorded out of context on an August night at the beginning of the flying fish season. Everyone was busy preparing canoes on the beach and a feast was held to celebrate the launching of a newly completed *baka 'eha* 'large canoe'. Formerly this feast would have been a *haka'angi* to dedicate the new canoe. We were seated on the beach on both sides of the long rows of coconut-leaf mats. Each person had before him plenty of roasted yams, a green coconut as a beverage and guests of honor were given a whole chicken, but as such a royal portion could not be provided for all the guests, the recipient shared it. In the course of the evening, the men sang and worked to finish the last details of the canoe. Some fastened the fittings in place, others dried coconut-leaf torches on a rack over a fire. A woman was asked to plait coconut-leaf baskets for the catch. Some three hours later, about midnight, the fishing began.

Eight men embarked in the new canoe, the women and old men remaining on the beach to await their return. Several small canoes went with the large one and they fished as a group. From time to time torches were lit to lure flying fish, which are also attracted by hammering on the canoe side with a net handle and calling out phrases such as "*a'u, a'u, come, come;*" "*oe; tehea koe, say! where are you?*" The fish are caught in hand nets as they fly through the air, using a long-handled oblong net and a round net with a short handle.

While waiting, the old men sang *pati* and *unguso* to the din of high wind and surf. Although the performances were inspired, the recordings are marred by noise. The catch unfortunately was small - only nine flying fish. Some of the fishermen slept awhile in a nearby cave and went out before dawn to try again.

3.4 Songs performed at the *kanongoto* harvest ritual

The traditional occasion

This important temple ritual has the largest repertoire of special songs used on that particular occasion only and includes some of the oldest historical songs of Rennell and Bellona. *Pese* clapping songs of six different kinds were sung for several hours during the ritual, which lasted from mid-afternoon until the following dawn. Performed for the sky god, Tehainga'atua, the ritual is said to have been brought with the first immigrants from 'Ubea. The ritual is highly sacred and considered dangerous because of the proximity of the sky gods. It was held in the temples of the respective landholders and the host officiated as priest-chief unless he was too young or unsure of the long ritual formulas. Each landholder, thus, did not necessarily hold a *kanongoto* every year. One elder, by his own account, had held three in his lifetime.

Culminating a complex series of rituals five days or more in duration, the *kanongoto* was preceded by a *kaba* to the district deities, a *manga'e* to the sky gods and two other rituals. After the *kanongoto*, a final ritual was held to complete the cycle within a single homestead. After this, the host would go to another homestead for another sequence of rituals; these continued, like a 'chain reaction', from homestead to homestead.

In his Danish book, *Mungiki*, Monberg describes the *kanongoto*, with photographs of from a performance held for him in 1963; a temple was specially constructed at that time, as all temples had been destroyed at the time of Christianization, and the rituals discontinued. In the following I have translated parts of Monberg's account (1978:113-122):

Only a strong-minded person could perform the rituals, as the power of the sky gods was fearful, causing one "to become dizzy with fright." But they "trusted that the district gods would protect them." The long ritual involved almost constant speaking and singing because people were afraid of the gods and afraid to stop praying. "Bellonese ritual formulas are of a contractual nature: If we give you something you must also give us something." Again and again the gods are reminded that they must bestow the benefits asked (health, fertility, coconuts) in return for the ritual performed for them, and they are promised future rituals in return. In contrast to many other rituals with enormous quantities of food distributed, the offerings here are limited to bunches of coconuts and unripe bananas. The ritual "has less direct effect on human relations," being more in the nature of "human communication with a realm of the gods, with which all have the same relationship."

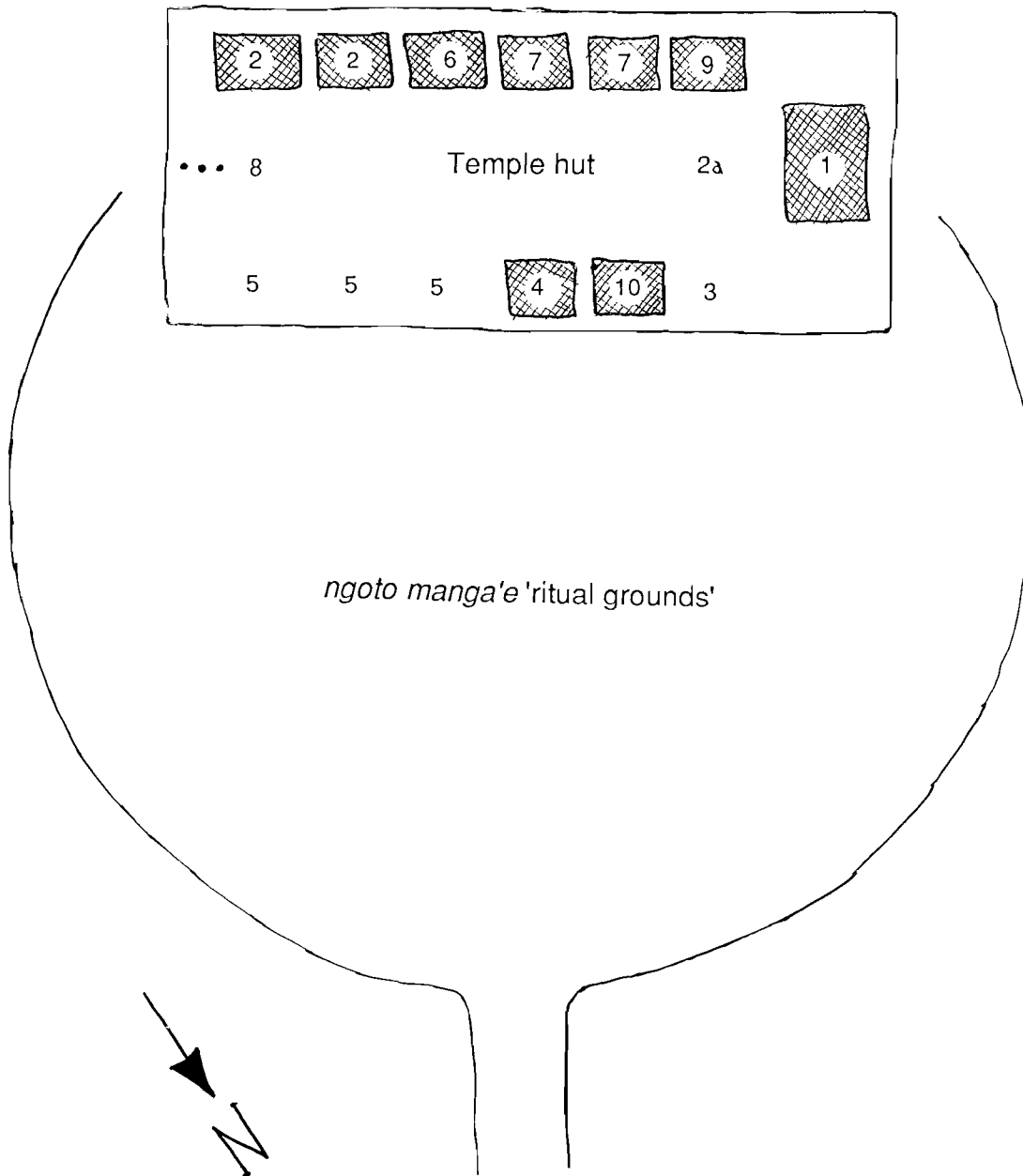


Figure 6: Nganguenga 'temple area' where pese kanongoto were performed.

1. The priest-chief (*tunihenua*). 2. Seat of the *bakatasi* 'priest assistant', representing the sky god; 2a. his place when dancing. 3. The *tungi pese* 'song leader'. 4. The *haihenua* 'second priest- chief'. 5. Singers representing human worshippers; 6. representing the main district deity, Tehu'aingabenga; 7. representing other district deities. 8. Posts representing the sky gods Nguatupu'a and her brother. The mats of two sky goddesses, 9. Baabenga and 10. Sikingimoemoe.

Monberg's account of the procedure of the ritual includes the following:

A) After distribution of the offering, the *bakatasi*, who represents the sky god, performs a solo dance [probably a *mako ngenge*] and the *papa* is performed. A meal is then eaten. B) After nightfall, the men take their places in the temple for the *pese* (their positions are shown in Figure 6). The *bakatasi* dons the sacred loincloth of the sky god for the first *pese*, a highly sacred and ancient *mako ngenge* song, which is also used in the last division of the session.

The *ngeba* and *hua tanga 'eha* songs that follow are also sacred, belonging to the sky god. The singing continues for about two hours, and then some prepared food is eaten in the temple after first having been dedicated to the district god and the ancestors.⁷ People nap until they hear the first birds. When the priest-chief awakes, he sings the *pese* to signal dawn (*te pese baapae ki te 'ao*) and the *bakatasi* dances in the final division of the session. The end of the ritual is then performed.

Contemporary performances

Programs of songs from the *kanongoto* were performed both in 1974 and 1977, preceded in both instances by a *papa* dance. Eleven *pese* were recorded in July 1974 and thirteen in February 1977. Several of the songs were repeated in both 1974 and 1977.

During the first and last *pese* the *bakatasi* performs a dance with the sacred dancing stick of the sky god. Holding the stick in his right hand and resting the thicker end on his left forearm, he raises and lowers it in time to the verses of the song by moving his left forearm alternately up and down. At the same time he does a step called *sua*, lifting one knee and then the other. He dances while the verses of the *pese* are sung, stopping after every second verse to give the sky god's mighty shout, *Oououououa!*, called *haka'o'oue* "to say the 'o'oue, a sacred form of 'aue 'thank you'" (Elbert 1975:217). The dance (also the dancer) is called the *mako ngenge*. Wearing the sacred loincloth of the sky god, the dancer stands in front of the priest-chief, over whose left shoulder the flowing end of the loincloth is draped (see the photograph on page 223).

Three *pese* texts have been published by Elbert and Monberg (1965) and three songs appear on the record *Folkways* FE 4273, one from each of the main divisions of *pese* performed during the night. Six songs from this ritual are transcribed here (S17-21 and 38).

The *pese* session performed in 1974 has three main divisions and six kinds of *pese*. This sequence begins when the men seat themselves in the temple for the session, and it should be remembered that this was preceded by a *papa* outdoors, and also by a *pese tu'aa mako* song with a dancer. An

outline of the program of song types in the session, along with their accompaniment, is given below.

PROGRAM OF THE PESE KANONGOTO SONG SESSION		
Division	Song Type	Clapping Accompaniment (see 7.5.1)
'ungu pese	<i>ngeba</i>	<i>Huu. Slow, pese hakatatau</i>
	<i>hua</i>	<i>Slow, pese hakatatau (sometimes pese pipiki, which is even slower)</i>
<i>huatanga 'eha</i>	'grand singing'. All the different <i>pese</i> are sung in turn (<i>tauhungi</i>). This is the longest division which continues until after midnight, when the men sleep awhile in the temple and start the last division at dawn.	
	<i>huatanga 'eha</i>	<i>Fast, pese bingibingi</i>
	<i>huu hakaiho</i>	<i>Fast, pese bingibingi</i>
	<i>tau baalogha</i>	<i>Fast, pese bingibingi</i>
<i>hakangungu</i>	'to protect'	
<i>pese baapae</i>	<i>pese baapae ki te 'ao, 'pese</i> to signal dawn'	
	<i>pese tu'aa mako</i>	<i>Slow, pese pipiki</i>
	<i>mako nenge</i>	<i>Fast, and then slow</i>

First Division, 'ungu pese. 1) *Ngeba* songs have two refrains. The first "*hua ngeba*, sing ngeba," follows each stanza of the first part of the song, which is performed without clapping. Clapping then begins and the refrain "*te ngaebo*, the ngeba-o" follows the remaining stanzas.

2) Two *hua* were recorded. The most famous is *na hua o na sa'a* 'songs of the clans'. Five verses are published by Elbert and Monberg (op.cit.:198, T 71), but here are seven stanzas or "songs" in all, each composed by one of the original settlers from 'Ubea. The *hua o na sa'a* are transcribed here (S 17) and published on Folkways FE 4273:B3. The Bellonese regard the text as a symbolic historic picture rather than directly translatable, and many of the words are not understood today. Another *hua* was composed by Taungenga [G], who died at sea in 1938.

3) *huatanga 'eha* (S 18-19) is both the name of the middle division of songs, and of a specific kind of *pese*, a type that has a responsive refrain that is supposedly the talk of greybirds "*toe oi - ooi toe - a ooa, tooee kaooo.*" Six songs of this kind were recorded, two composed by women who lament and

praise their husbands. One was composed by the deity Te'ungumatangi for his father-in-law, the great sky god Tehainga'atua, and delivered by a medium. The most famous of them, S 19, composed by Kaitu'u, tells of the difficulties of mastering the canoe on the vast and dangerous sea, the settlements and harbors of Bellona, and of the heavy stones the immigrants carried with them embodying the highest sky gods, Nguatupu'a and her brother, who are also embodied by yellow-eyed greybirds. The same song with a different refrain is performed as part of the *suahongi* (S 38, lower part).

4) The songs called *huu hakaiho* have the refrain "*toku mana*, my homestead" and are accompanied by fast clapping. Four of these songs were recorded. One, composed by Paul Sa'engeika, concerns his 1944 *manga'e* of "a million" *beetape* yams and his 1933 *manga'e* of 5000 *panna* yams. Another, by Puipuihenua [N], concerns his house, *ngeemungi* harvests, yams and seafood. The most famous of these songs was composed by Tu'ataa [Ma] when his son-in-law, from the extinct Tongo clan, was lost long ago while fishing at the Indispensable Reefs. The Bellonese feel that this ancient song proves the antiquity of their fishing rights to this much-disputed reef. Another song text, from Rennell, has been published by Elbert and Monberg (1965:226, T96)

5) *Pese tau baalogha* have two refrains "*iei ongo ui*, iei mountain ui" and "*ei ongo*, ei mountain." Each refrain is sung by a separate line of singers (*te tu'unganga*), antiphonally and without pause. That is, there is no pause for the soloist, who thus sings the verses against the clamor of the chorus. Jason Ngiusanga said that *tau* here is short for *taungua* 'song'. *Baalogha* means 'noise; to be noisy'. Three of these songs were recorded. One which is published by Elbert and Monberg (1965:353, T 201) and also appears on Folkways FE 4273: B4, was composed by a woman after her husband had committed suicide and expresses her regrets for having been so demanding.

The polyphony produced by singing the stanzas and the refrain together is similar to that used in *pese hakasa'amo* songs sung after *mako noho* sessions, and this technique may be related to the coordinated polyphony used in parts of the *suahongi*, where *pese* are sung at the same time as the *suahongi*.

6) The term *e tauhungi* 'to alternate' or 'to take turns' may cover the singing of the various kinds of *pese* performed during the long second division of the session called *huatanga 'eha*. One of these is *hakangungu* 'to protect, shelter', such as the song composed by Tengighingighi (S 20), an important man (*hakahua*) of an extinct lineage. Three other *pese* were recorded which do not seem to belong to any type mentioned to me by the Bellonese. Songs of the same 'type' characteristically have the same refrain. When several songs have been composed with the same refrain, this may give rise to a new song type.

The final division of the session, *pese baapae*, begins at the break of dawn. The songs of this division all have the sky god's shout performed by the solo dancer. The designations *pese baapae ki te 'ao*, *pese tu'aa mako* and *mako ngege* are synonymous to some extent, although specific songs are known by one or another of these names.

7) *pese tu'aa mako* literally means 'pese following other songs', i.e., these are the songs that follow the various *pese (tauhungi)* of the preceding division and one of these songs is also performed after the *papa* dance that precedes the singing inside the temple. Two *pese tu'aa mako* were recorded, each with the unintelligible refrain "*Auoi penei toaa ua*." Every verse line ends with the rhyme *-ua*. One of these songs, composed by Kaitu'u, the first immigrant, has been published by Elbert and Monberg (op.cit.:196-197, T 70) and a musical transcription appears here (S 21). It mentions the dangerous voyage, the landmarks of the two islands, and mentions the aboriginal inhabitants, the *hiti*. The other song, composed by Tongaka [Na], who died in 1937, is a magnificent ode to the symbols and values of traditional Bellonese life.

8) The final song of the session, the ancient *mako ngege*, which is no longer understood, is published on Folkways FE 4273:B5. After the last shout of the sky god, "*aue*, thanks" is said twice and the ending, called *naabangubangu*, which closes the *kanongoto*, is intoned by the priest-chief, who says "*nanoba!*" to which the group replies "*la!*"

3.5 Songs performed at the *mu'aabaka* 'women's dance'

The traditional occasion

A dance called the *mu'aabaka pati* was the main event at an occasion of the same name. It celebrated the wife or daughter of an important man, usually when the woman was mature and her family established. The *mu'aabaka* described in Chapter Four, for example, was held for the mother of a 12-year-old. Such a dance was performed in Honiara at my first recording session. One of the participants, a woman about 55 years of age, told me about the event, as did the dance leader.

Prior to the event, a temporary house was built for the guests and food and mats prepared. A *manga'e* was distributed early in the morning before the dance began. The woman to be honored led a group of twenty to fifty women in the dance, all wearing *ha'u* 'turbans' dyed orange with turmeric, plus wreaths of leaves, or other decorations. As a sign of favor, the husband of the dance leader told an honored guest to remove his wife's *ha'u*. Afterwards, each woman's headdress was removed by a male guest, and any woman whose headdress was not taken would have felt slighted.

The introductory *taki* song-dance was performed to the accompaniment of the sounding board, the beater playing the *taki* rhythm (*e taki*). The woman to be honored led the line of dancers and there was a second leader at the end of the line; both must be skilled dancers and have a good knowledge of the songs. The line of dancers moved slowly around from behind the house, out and around the dancing grounds, in a rather slow and dignified manner. After the line had curved around the dancing grounds, a circle was formed at a cue from the leader.

Then the *pati* dance was performed in a circle to the accompaniment of clapping, executed by one or more song leaders who sat in the center on the sounding board. Jason Ngiusanga, who organized and led the performances in Honiara, gave me the following description:

Two to four men sit in front of the sounding board to beat the songs. The dancers in the line listen to the *taki* beat and start to move with the arm gesture called *mongi*, in exact time with the beat. They practice "day and night" beforehand. The leader says "*takahungi*, make a circle," which is the cue to the women in line to form a circle. Five to ten introductory *huaa pati* are danced, in which the *kataha* 'frigate bird' arm gesture is used, and then many *huaa pati* song-dances are performed. After they take the women's headdresses, the men may join in the dance (Jason Ngiusanga, 1974).

A *pati* was filmed in 1933 by the Templeton Crocker Expedition. In it some women have their hair shorn at the crown, a sign of mourning. Two women in the center of the dancing grounds beat the sounding board for the *taki*; in the *pati*, three women clap, seated upon the sounding board (see Fig. 7). The corresponding recordings are probably Crocker Expedition Records B 1020 A and B 1024 A.



Figure 7: Mu'aabaka 'women's dance', 1933

Contemporary performances

Twenty dancers participated in the *mu'aabaka* recorded as part of a dance program held in July 1974 at White River, Honiara. The dancing took place after dark in a grassy field between the road and a few houses, with many spectators sitting on the grass to watch. Few women were willing to participate in the first session, which had been held in June, and the dance was therefore repeated. As there were only eight women, twelve men participated in order to swell the number of dancers, although only women would

traditionally have performed. Women were even more unwilling to dance in Bellona because of the inescapable church disapproval there. Although the same disapproval exists in Honiara, it is not so pervasive in a city, where people have a greater range of social activities.

Nine songs were sung, three of them published on the record Folkways FE 4274:B 1-3; the texts appear in the accompanying brochure. The songs concern many subjects such as the following: the frigate bird; the savory liver of the parrot fish; the graceful movements of a flock of birds hovering over a school of fish; a celebration feast for a house thatched with 100 leaf panels; coconut trees planted by a father and son; a beach settlement destroyed by a cyclone; the sacred canoe, called a "turmeric porpoise," that belonged to the deity Tupuimatangi; praise of the composer's dancing; and a canoe voyage to Rennell, during which the composer nearly perished. The program of song-dance types within the *mu'aabaka* is outlined in Table 1.

These *pati* songs were performed with the same fast clapping (*pese bingibingi*) accompaniment as the *'ungu pati*, whereas traditionally they should also have been accompanied by slow, measured clapping (*pese hakatatau*), an example which demonstrates the loss of significant distinctions through disuse. *Pati* sessions formerly contained a greater number of songs and were of longer duration. Whereas the 1974 *pati* dance discussed above was 22 minutes in duration, the dance lasted over 40 minutes in 1962.

A *pati* song composed by Paul Sa'engeika concerning his old age has been published by Elbert and Monberg (1965:40). Seven songs are transcribed here (S 47-53), plus an additional song in Chapter Eight.

3.6 The *mako sa'u* dance and visit

The traditional occasion

Mako sa'u literally means 'exchange dance' and the word has several levels of meaning: it is the name of an expedition or 'dance tour'; of the dance performed at the visit; the appellation for the dancers; and a verb that signifies 'to do the *mako sa'u* dance'. The trip was initiated by a leader, who organized a group visit to a specific person, often returning a previous visit at which he had been similarly honored, as in the account given below.

When a group of *mako sa'u* dancers carried their sounding board (*papa hakatau*) to another village, the visitors had the honor of beating the sounding board first, and then the hosts took their turn. When two teams danced in this way, the verb *pungesaumaki* applied, meaning "to dance long, especially two teams" (Elbert 1975:237). Many additional rituals were held in honor of the *mako sa'u* visitors.



Figure 8: The *mako sa'u* procession

in 1933, a man named Teikabengo from Rennell brought a group of *mako sa'u* dancers to visit Paul Sa'engeika on Bellona, who returned his visit in 1935-36 (this 1933 *mako sa'u* is described in Chapter Four). Even an important man like Paul made only two *mako sa'u* visits in his lifetime. The preparations required about a year, with much practicing of dances and making of gifts. The visit, which might also be made between settlements on the same island, is always an honorary visit (*te haka'eha*).

When the dancers arrived by canoe, they sent a messenger to the person for whom the visit was intended. A conversation such as the one that follows, which was given to me as a didactic example by Paul's adopted son, Jason Ngiusanga, would ensue:

Paul asks: What are they coming for?

Answer: They bring a *mako sa'u*.

Paul: Who organized the *mako sa'u* ?

Answer: Teikabengo.

Paul: For whom?

Answer: For you.

Paul: O, '*ae* 'thanks'!

Who is the *mako mu'a* 'dance leader at the head' [of the line]?

Answer: Teikabengo.

Paul: Who is the *mako mungi* 'dance leader at the end'?

Answer: Nasiu.

Paul: Who is *te tipa* 'the beater'?

Answer: Tetuha.

Paul: O, *ngaoi to'a* 'very good'!

"Sending the messenger back with the news of his acceptance, he makes food ready for the visitors. It is a great honor if someone calls on him with a *mako sa'u* and gifts, so Paul and the others must prepare their side well. Sometimes 40-50 guests come, each calling upon a specific man in Bellona and bringing gifts to that person" (Jason Ngiusanga, 1974).

The dancers stayed a day or so at the coast where they arrived, awaiting the messenger's return and practicing the dance. The next day they walked toward their destination, stopping to practice when they were within earshot. At this point, they donned fresh *ha'u* headdresses and bark loincloths dyed with turmeric. They proceeded down the main trail to Paul's settlement and, when approaching it, began to dance, moving up the trail in a column. At the head of the column, two men carried the sounding board which was beaten by a third man. When they had progressed down the main trail and bypath and had reached the ceremonial grounds in front of Paul's settlement, they did not converse with their hosts but began to dance. After the end of the first dance, the *taki*, they shouted, '*ia, aa!* This was the signal for Paul to come out of the house with gifts and to call, '*ese!* They pressed noses, greeting each other according to custom, and talking thus: "It is difficult for you to leave your home and make this arduous trip to Bellona to call upon me...."

After the *huaa mako* dance songs were finished, another man came and said, '*ese!*, presenting a gift to his visitor. When the first three men had thus been greeted, anybody could say '*ese* for a visitor and present somebody with a gift.

An account published by Elbert and Monberg concerns a group that decided to honor the people of Utumaaua settlement with a *mako sa'u* dance, in order to see a particularly fine house with curved rafters built by a man named Tematangi: "in former days, people did not just walk freely about, because of fear that... [they might] be killed, or that the person would be possessed and get sick and die.... When the Tematangi people saw the *mako sa'u* dancers, they

knew that the visitors had come with peaceful intentions. The visitors shouted '*ia*' and danced the *mako sa'u* nine times, an indication of the length of the path leading from the main trail up to the settlement" (1965:314, N165). The text of an ancient *taki* song, which is onomatopoeic in content, appears on the following page (T66).

After the dance, the visitors stayed on and other ceremonies, such as a *manga'e* with further dancing, were held in their honor.

The songs performed

The *mako sa'u*, a popular dance always performed at contemporary festivals, was danced several times for me. In 1977 a *mako sa'u* dance was performed at Hangekumi, Bellona. Two men carried the sounding board at the head of a procession that moved from the main trail to the traditional house, under the coconut trees that lined the trail (see fig. 6). Taupongi beat the *taki* and then the '*ungu*'. Both of these, like all the dance songs that followed, ended with the shout, '*ia!*', to which the group responded *aa!*. '*ia*' was shouted twice in the course of the *taki*, because the song was sung twice. When the procession reached the dancing grounds, the sounding board was set down in the middle and the line proceeded around the grounds to form a circle.

In 1974, the dance was performed both in Honiara and Bellona. Jason Ngiusanga, who was the dance leader (*taumaakonga*) in Honiara, wrote out and translated the texts of some of the songs and specified the five dance types used. Every *mako sa'u* has the same series of five kinds of *huaa mako* dances: *mongi*, the name of the arm gesture used in the dance; *hengengei*, from *ngenge* 'to leap'; *saba*, also the name of the arm gesture used; *hakahoki* 'to return', i.e., to dance in the opposite direction; and *okioki* 'to rest'. All except the last are sung twice. Sometimes a *huaa mako* of the type *mongi* is done again before the final *okioki*. Paul's father introduced one additional kind of dance, *tokatoka*, but this was not performed here. To end the *mako sa'u*, the leader says "*ngutie ngutie!*" and the group responds "'ie '*ia!*'"

The songs, which were all led by the beater, concern the following subjects: a *taki* that praises the district deity, Ataitengenga 'shine like turmeric'; an ancient introductory *taki* that mentions Bellonese place names; an ancient '*ungu*' and three ancient dance songs that are not understood; a dance song about fishing near a drifting tree where fish gathered, which was so far away that Bellona was hidden as if it had "set in the sea, like the sun"; and a dance song about *ngeemungi* oil, which was so plentiful in the composer's village that it ran to another village, where coconut shell containers could be filled as with water (the singer's grandfather had composed this song).

3.7 The *mako noho* 'seated song' session

The traditional occasion

This session is also called *mako sasa* 'crazy song' session, a name given in the underworld (origin of the name is explained in Chapter Six). During the *mako noho*, which was held in the evening for visitors who came to a village, gifts of all kinds were exchanged after the songs. It might last all night long, and belonged to the 'merriment of the night' (*'anga haakinga o te poo*) that followed a feast.

The session, performed by seated (*noho*) males, includes six kinds of songs, all of them unaccompanied. The main song type, called *mako*, are serious songs with many verses and a refrain after each. Most of the other songs are shorter, some humorous old *pongipongi* 'taunt-songs'.

A *mako* composed by Sa'obaa has been published by Elbert and Monberg, with the following descriptive comments (1965:245):

The sitting dance, also known as the crazy song (*mako sasa*), is sometimes referred to today by the pidgin English term "market." During the singing, persons one at a time leave gifts in front of others, and the recipient has to make a return gift of equal value. In the old days, sitting dances were occasions of great excitement, and land, canoes, and infants are said to have been exchanged. Two sessions were held for me, and I had to find return gifts for things as diverse as fine mats, a live duck, a walking stick, and pearl-shell spoons. The *mako noho* was a time of festivity, excitement, merriment, and food - but the songs (melodies and words) were dirges.

Sa'obaa composed his *mako* upon the death of his older brother, Hu'aitebai (The great waters). Many *mako* are composed by men to lament the death of male relatives or the passing of their youth, and are thus dirges or elegies.

Women did not participate in *mako noho* sessions because, as Taupongi explained it, '*ungu mako* 'introductory *mako*' songs were for deities such as Tetupu'a (Tehainga'atua), and women did not worship the same deities or participate in men's rituals.⁸

In 1961 Taupongi gave Torben Monberg an account of the procedure for the session, which is as follows:

When it is decided to make a *mako sasa* in a(nother) settlement, everybody in the lineage group make ovens and collect coconuts, fish, and non-edible objects, and all these things are called *tanga*..

The people gather again, men, women, and children, in the homestead where the *mako sasa* is going to take place. And they sit down in the afternoon.

First a man gets up and beats the *'ungu* [and the *papa* dance is performed]. Then people sing the *mako noho*. They go on singing, and then the crowd shouts *'ia!* Somebody says *'ese!* and takes his food to somebody else who also says *'ese*, bringing some of his food to another person. Then goes back and sits down, singing. This goes on, others *haka'ia*⁹ and say *'ese* and exchange their belongings.

When it is about to be finished, a person sings a *hakatau ngaangoto* song, following which everybody answers *'Oboke!* (*'abake* 'give'). The singer then sings: *lao kai o puo*. Again, everybody answers *'Oboke!* Then somebody sings the songs called *na hungu o Tangangoa* 'Tangangoa's feathers'. Then there is a *pongipongi* 'taunt' by the people of Nguaniua against the people of Tematinga (about a woman who ate too many *boiato* yams). This is followed by an answer composed by the people of Tematinga. Then the next person sings the final song, *hakakuukuu*, which ends with everybody answering *"Kuuuu!"* The singer says *"Ai tangi ake ma'u, sing again,"* and everybody again answers *"Kuuuu!"* Then people disperse. The *mako sasa* takes place at night.

Contemporary performances

Mako noho sessions were performed for me in 1974 and 1977.

In 1977 three dances were performed before the *mako noho* began, the *taa hua 'ungu o te mako noho*, the *papa* and *te 'ungu o te mako noho* and, in addition, a *pese hakasa'amo* session was held afterwards. For the *mako noho* session itself, 11 participants, seated on mats in horseshoe formation (Fig. 9) took turns starting the songs. They sang four *'ungu mako* 'introductory *mako*' followed by nine *mako* songs. After each of these songs the group shouted *'ia, aa!*, and then some person exclaimed *'ese!* and walked over to another person with a gift. More than one person could present gifts at the same time. The session ends with nine songs of other kinds, including *hakatau ngaangoto* and short songs such as the *hungu Tangangoa* and the final song *hakakuu*. In all 22 songs were sung, started by seven of the participants.

Mako and *'ungu mako* songs generally concern the dark side of life. The four songs transcribed here are all dirges recorded at the 1977 session. Two mourn sickness and the approach of old age, a stage of life compared metaphorically to the waning moon (S26 and S28). One mourns the death of a son-in-law who was lost at sea returning from Rennell (S27). The fourth addresses a contemporary problem: in his *mako* (S29), Solomon Teika invokes the desolate future of Bellona without land, which is a source of subsistence



Figure 9: The *mako noho*, 1977.

and pride, both as a homeland and a historical heritage. The song was composed when the Bellonese were sorely tempted by offers to purchase their richest garden land, which a Japanese phosphate company wanted for surface mining.

In 1974 five of the 11 participants initiated songs, some several times. They sang their own compositions, songs composed by relatives, and ancient songs. In all, 14 songs were performed, dealing with a large variety of subjects such as: shark fishing; fishing with the osprey; large feasts given by the composer in his lifetime; a rescue from danger on a hazardous canoe voyage; a praise-song to Tehainga'atua for an abundant *ngeemungi* harvest; a praise-song for the composer's grandfather, homage to his tattoo and his

skillfully built house; and the many flowers and fruits of the *ngaki* tree. Two of the songs were funeral dirges, two ancient taunts, and two, composed long ago in generations 14 and 11, were not understood by the singers. Taken together, a total of 28 *mako* and *'ungu mako* songs were performed in the above sessions; five of the songs were performed in both years. The program of song types within the session is outlined in Table 1.

3.8 Songs from the harvest of *ngeemungi* fruit

The traditional occasion

The *ngeemungi* tree, deemed beautiful by the Bellonese for its dark green leaves, flowers only once in three to seven years, and the small olive-like fruit develops in three months' time. Its flesh was used for puddings, and the oil extracted with hot water. The trees did not fruit when I visited Bellona. Christiansen writes (1975:189):

The nutritious seed (*lala*) is eaten. Ngeemungi oil keeps in the coconut-shell containers for as long as five years. Also the sap of the tree was used formerly to produce soot for tattooing (*tatau*) and for the making of torches... All types are probably Burseraceae (a family of aromatic trees and shrubs). Some types are *Haplolobus floribundus* (Schum.) Lank. Subsp. *salomonensis* ... The taxonomy of this species (and its related forms Santiria) is extremely difficult.

The flowers are dedicated to the gods (Tehainga'atua) with a prayer that the fruit might "ripen fast and not fall prematurely, and give oil (*ngongo*) to the god" (Elbert 1975:273, *taapui*). The fruit, regarded as a gift from the sky god, was harvested with ritual, which included *maghiiti* and short *obo* songs.

The ritual began when the harvesters left for the bush at dawn. Certain taboos were observed during this period, both by the harvesters and the people at home, to insure a good crop. If someone bore a grudge against the chief, they supposedly could ruin the crop by intentionally breaking a taboo.

Maghiiti and *obo* songs (some also known as *hatingau*), were sung when the branches of the tree were being cut and lowered down by rope. Paul Sa'engeika explained that the small fruit would be difficult to find if the branches were thrown down and that they could hurt someone.

The priest-chief sang the *maghiiti* songs assisted by the others, and the person up in the tree (*te ghaigho*) led some of the *obo* songs. While cutting branches, he led a song called *hatingau* (from *hati* 'to cut'). The songs concern the work in process. The first song, addressed to the man holding the end of

the rope on the ground, begins with the words "hold tight." Another song concerns lowering the branches by rope, and one song was a joke sung just for fun. When the man in the tree was ready to come down after cutting branches, he sang a song called *hakatau peba* about his thirst. The title may mean, 'to chant [from a thirsty] throat' (*peba* 'throat; heart'). The priest-chief gave him a drink, after which any person might sing a short *obo* called *hakamapu* 'to stop for a rest': *Tuku oo no, tuku oo no, mapu iho!* 'rest down'. The man put his foot on the ground with the words, *mapu iho!* Ordinarily the words *tu 'iho* 'put down' would be used, but the poetic expression, *mapu iho*, is used in song. That ends the cutting songs. The people carried their baskets home; the fruit was kept covered, away from rain or sun. A *manga'e* with dancing was sometimes held in connection with a *ngeemungi* harvest.

The cherished fruit has honorific names used in poetry, such as *mau*, and the honorific name "Hu'aitesongomasi 'many puddings of grated *ngeemungi*,' was invented by Lia Tengetai, of Tongomainge lineage, generation 20, for her brother, Taungenga, in remembrance of the many *ngeemungi* puddings at his rituals" (Elbert, Kuschel, Taupongi 1981:116),

Ngeemungi is found on the island of Malaita, but the fruit is not used for food there. It is said that the *hiti* taught the settlers the use of *ngeemungi*, in addition to that of flying fish, *paipai* fern and other things. Although the Bellonese thought that those *obo* which are not understood might stem from the *hiti* or culture heroes, none of the texts are in a foreign dialect. The final *obo* song, *hakatau peba*, mentioned above, was also used following completion of the *taukuka* tattoo.

Tupe'uhi composed a *maghiiti* song for his *ngeemungi* harvest in 1946 or 1947, when he harvested eight baskets of fruit one day and eight baskets the next. He made a mash of the fruit, from which he made pudding, and invited guests to a feast at which it was served.

Sa'engeahe [MI], who died in Australia about 1880, composed two *maghiiti* that were used in *ngeemungi* rituals. One concerned the deities and their medium, Tahasi, and the other concerned an accident when a *ngeemungi* branch fell during the harvest and almost killed him; he shook with fear at the thought.

A *maghiiti* and three *obo* from this ritual are transcribed here (S 4 and S30-32).

The songs performed

In July 1974, five *obo* and a *maghiiti* from the *ngeemungi* ritual were performed for me by Paul Sa'engeika, with the assistance of one or two others, inside Tepuke's house. Explanations were given by Paul and translated by Tepuke.

The program of songs recorded for the *ngeemungi* harvest is outlined in Table 1. Six songs from the ritual were sung for me. The first, a *maghiiti*, is a praise-song for *ngeemungi*. All the others are short *obo* songs. One concerns birds flying to Sa'amoā, two ibis and two sand dotterel, which say "there's your [island]." Most *obo* concern the activities at hand such as the cutting and lowering of branches by the man in the tree, and the song requesting a drink mentioned above. The following song concerns lowering the branches by rope:

Tengetenge te igha,	Run, the leaf package,
tengetenge te igha,	continue, the leaf package,
te igha e tau mai.	the leaf package is hanging here.
Tau mai ke ma'u,	Hold tight, then I ascend,
Hinake, tau ke ma'u,	Come up, hold fast
ka kau ngongongongo.	and we are singing.
Tuku ono, tuku ono -	Let down, reach down -
taungia, Ooho!	fruitful, Ooho!

3.9 Songs performed on the occasion of a *taukuka* chest tattoo

The traditional occasion

Tattooing of large patterns, such as the *taukuka* chest tattoo and the *hakasapa* on the buttocks (see photograph in Allen, ed.:136), was the occasion of feasting and dancing for a month at a time. The *taukuka*, an almost solid blue-black pattern covering the chest, was reserved for important heads of lineages (*hakahua*).

The great sky god, Tehainga'atua, bears the *taukuka*. Concerning its origin, Monberg says (Elbert and Monberg 1965:71): "Siba is a (mythical?) island from which came the *taukuka*, a solid black tattoo covering the entire chest. Nobody knew where Siba was. Some *kakai* (culture heroes) were said to have learned the art of tattooing there."

According to Taupongi, the design is said by the Bellonese to be derived from that on the back of a bluish-black insect, the *lighomangi*. This is "a bad-smelling stinging bug, Hemiptera, in coconut blossoms" (Kuschel 1975:212).

Paul's *taukuka* was applied in 1936, when he was about 38 years of age. In that same year two other men also received *taukuka*. They were Paul's father-in-law, Taaika, and Taungenga, who had his back tattooed at that time. His status was high because he was the only person who, in addition to the *taukuka* 'ango on the chest, had a full *taukuka tu'a* on the back. The last *taukuka* ceremony held on Bellona in 1938, after Moa had arrived and ended

the feuding, was the first feast attended by all the people of Bellona.

Before a tattoo was begun, an '*oso tapu 'taukuka* food offering' was distributed. A large portion was given to the person who did the tattooing, and all the guests had some. Temporary shelters would have been built for the guests. After the *taukuka* was finished, a celebration feast (*haka'angi*) was held to dedicate the new tattoo.

During the tattooing, *saka* songs were sung to distract the mind of the person under the tattooing mallet. The tattooist (*te tipa*) sings and his beating of the tattoo accompanies the songs. A tattooing *saka* has been published on the record, Folkways FE 4273:A8; another song on this record (A6) relates, in striking imagery, the meaning that the tattooed body held for the Bellonese. In this text, published by Elbert and Monberg, a man compares his sons to two blue-black whales because of their tattoos (1965:289): "Tangokona was proud of his offspring, who were completely bluish-black and shining like whales." The chorus of the song says "Radiant were the lands with the shining darkness."

The sounding board was also beaten for the person being tattooed to keep him conscious. '*Anga'anga* 'shouting, dancing' means "to shout, dance, pray, as while carving a canoe, or to alleviate the pain of one being tattooed and to keep him from fainting" (Elbert 1975:5). *Haka'anga* 'to wake someone' is a verb and also a noun designating the person who beats the *papa*.

Needles carved from the thigh bone of the ibis (*Threskiornis molucca pygmaeus* Mayr, Wolff 7:11) were used for tattooing implements. My specimens, which have four teeth, are six centimeters in length and are mounted on wooden handles 7 or 9 cm. long. The needle is mounted on the handle with finely plaited sennit string, made from coconut-husk fibre. The *au* 'needle' is beaten with the *pakiau* 'mallet', a somewhat stouter wooden stick 26 cm. in length. (See Birket-Smith 1956, Figure 62.)

The pigment (*pungu*) used is *ngeemungi* resin blackened by fire. It is smoked in a coconut shell for a few hours in a hole in the ground, covered by a stone. After being cooled and ripened for two to five days, it is scraped off into a coconut shell container and mixed with a small amount of water to make it soft. The pattern is first drawn; then the pigment is applied and incised. The outlines are marked out (*tosi*) first and then filled in. After this process, the tattooed areas swell up and if they become badly infected, it may be lethal. Tattooing of traditional patterns was discontinued for this reason, I was told. The ritual aspect of the tattooing tradition probably also played a role in the attitude of the churches.

As far as I can determine, the *taukuka* must have constituted by far the largest occasion of all for the performance of singing and dancing. Other rites were held to lengthen the program, which served to entertain the

guests, to distract the subject from his pain and to celebrate an important social event.

Two tattooing *saka* are transcribed herein. That by Mau'eha, composed when his wife died, is unique in that it honors a woman (S6); such songs always provoke comment and some mirth. Bangakaunga's song in honor of his father was composed ten or eleven generations ago, and can be only partially translated (S 10). A third song, composed by the culture hero Mautikitiki, has been published on the record FE 4273: B8; the text appears in the record brochure and also in Elbert and Monberg (1965:130, T42A).

A short program presented in 1962

No attempt was made to hold a program for me. A short version of the program for this ceremony was performed for Monberg in 1962, and he kindly allowed me the use of the tapes recorded at that time. The *taukuka* ceremony on these tapes (duration ca. two hours) consisted of the following program of events:

- 1) Paul Sa'engeika (the priest-chief) recited the *taukuka* ritual formula, the group, at intervals, responding "'*aue*, thanks" (duration ca. 5'20"). This is called *taukuka 'angohi* "To sweep or fan ritually and thus render taboo" (Elbert 1975:8).
- 2) Paul distributed the '*oso tapu, taukuka* food offering' (duration over 2')
- 3) Paul and Ma'itaki (*te haka'anga*) performed the ritual greetings (duration ca. 5'10").
- 4) The tattooist outlined the pattern, while women *mangepe* 'mourn, lament; groan' with pain for Paul, who was being tattooed (duration ca. 8'30").
- 5) *Haka'anga* 'to awaken'. Ma'itaki beat the sounding board and led the '*ungu* by Baiabe (duration ca. 8'). Baiabe came from Taumako Island in the Solomons, and this song, in his language, was the '*ungu* used at the *taukuka*. The entire *papa* dance, including the *huua mako* dance songs that followed, beaten by each dancer in turn, was approximately 15' in duration.
- 6) Paul sang a *maghiiti* (duration ca. 2'30").
- 7) Paul chanted the *hakatau peba* and performed the *ngibau* of the *taukuka*, 'the *ooho* shout' (duration ca. 0'30").
- 8) Paul, as the person being tattooed, delivered a speech and cried (*tangi*) (duration ca. 2').
- 9) Ma'itaki performed the *hatingau* from the *ngeemungi* ritual, ending with the *ngibau*, and a song (duration ca. 3').

The group performed the following dances and singing games:

- 10) The *mako hakapaungo* (duration ca. 7').

- 11) The *mako hakasaunoni* (duration ca. 4').
- 12) The *pati* (duration ca. 40').
- 13) Singing games:
 - tanimalenge* 'bite the yam' (duration ca. 5').
 - ha'uha'u kongoa* 'wind up the loincloth' (duration ca. 5'35").
 - tau manini* 'many surgeonfish' (duration ca. 3').
 - te tingo mate* 'the resurrection' (duration ca. 3').



Teghaapilu, 1977

CHAPTER FOUR: PARTICIPATION IN RITUAL - LIFE SKETCHES

In the previous chapter the occasions for musical performance were reviewed. The present chapter is an attempt, based on interviews, to show how these occasions fit into people's lives. Two of the three narrators also play an important part in the next chapter, which deals with song composers (see 5.3). Only the accounts they gave of their life histories are included here.

The three people whose stories are summarized here are Paul Sa'enge-ika, a lineage elder, his former wife, Lois Baikaba, and Tekamu Sungu'ia, the foremost woman composer today. As we have seen, the occasions of greatest personal significance were tattooing, the *mako sa'u* for men, and the *mu-'aabaka* for women, rare events which might take place only once in the life of an individual. The other rituals were repeated over and over during a person's lifetime, and their significance lay in the socio-economic sphere.

"It is axiomatic in all scientific investigation that the kind of question asked determines the response" (Tyler 1969:91). The following interviews are, in principle, undirected. The persons interviewed were asked to tell their life story and, once started, they were permitted to say what they felt moved to say without interruption and to continue until they finished of their own accord. Supplementary questions were asked afterwards, about songs composed and other musical activities. These are not intended to be in-depth interviews or detailed portrayals.

My mastery of Bellonese only allowed me to understand slow speech and to transcribe dictation, and Sengeika Tepuke and Florence Hoaika kindly translated for me, as none of the three persons interviewed spoke English. In 1974 I recorded Paul's story entirely in Bellonese. Tepuke afterwards explained the 28 minute account to me in English, but I never obtained a full written translation.

Tekamu and Lois were interviewed in 1977, Tekamu twice on two consecutive days. She was a bit shy on the first day, when Tepuke and I visited her home. She came to visit me on the following day and we had a longer, more informal talk. Florence, who translated on that occasion, also translated the interview with Lois. These interviews were written down and translated at the time, rather than being recorded on tape.

4.1 Paul Sa'engeika, a *hakahua* of Ngikobaka Lineage

In 1974 I asked Paul about his life history. Sengeika Tepuke, who was my host at the time, was able to put my questions to Paul and translated the answers for me.

Paul lived in his settlement at Kapata, in Ghongau District. The following interview took place in Tepuke's house. After the interview I realized that much of what Paul told was similar to what he said in the songs he composed: recalling distribution feasts he had held and how much of which crop had been distributed. Much additional information was also given, however, elucidating life in the traditional culture in the dramatic manner characteristic of Paul's narrative style. His delivery was rapid and, for the most part, made in a deep, resonant voice, but with frequent bursts of rising, high tones. He was also a born teacher, of a critical nature, and eager for his 'student' (myself) to get things right.

Paul was born in approximately 1892 (since the Bellonese had no calendar, age was reckoned only approximately and the time of his birth has to be reconstructed according to events with known dates, see Appendix A). The first thing Paul remembered that he considered significant was his becoming a priest's assistant about three years after the hurricane which occurred in 1910 or 1911.

At that time, all children had shaven heads. Each family had its own settlement or homestead. Paul's father, who was priest-chief at Manga'etapu temple at the time, was angry because it was time for Paul to be initiated as assistant priest (*hakabaka*), but his head was still shaven, so they had to wait several months longer. *Hakabaka* are young men being trained in rituals, where they represent and embody deities. At the feast where Paul was anointed - his coming to maturity at the age of about 16 - his father made a *manga'e* distribution of 100 heaps of bananas.

One year later his father anointed him second priest-chief (*haihenua*) at the *hakataa'otu'a* ritual for the district deity Tehu'aingabenga. Monberg writes that on such an occasion, the initiate was given the many barbed spears (see the frontispiece) sacred to this deity (1978:69).

About three years after this, he became a priest-chief (*tuniheĩnua*). On such an occasion, according to Monberg (op.cit.:70), the initiate receives the ritual paddles and the sacred staff called life-of-the-land (*ma'ungi-i-te-henua*), the embodiment of the sky god; this staff has been brought with the migrants from 'Ubea in their canoe. Only mature men could be initiated to the office of priest-chief, and Paul was married by this time, an event which took place in the intervening period of about four years since he had become

hakabaka . His father-in-law was Taaika, *hakahua* or 'chief' of the Sa'aiho district. Their relationship, like those between other in-laws, was characterized by cooperation and formality. Paul said that he had made a *taukuka* ceremony for Taaika, and that they always told stories together.

Paul learned songs from the men of his lineage - his father and father's brothers. When his father died, Paul's ambition was to accomplish even more than his father had done: to compose songs, to have a *taukuka* chest tattoo, to hold *kaba* and *manga'e* rituals, and to excel at fishing. He was blessed with abundant harvests, five thousand bananas, many thousands of yams and *beetape* yams, and he built a house ten fathoms long.

In 1933 a man named Teikabengo from Rennell brought a *mako sa'u* to Bellona, and in 1935-36 Paul returned the honor. Preparations had been begun a year before the actual departure, with a *manga'e* distribution and dancing. Seven canoes had been prepared, to bring yams, bananas, and coconuts. As of Paul's telling all the men and women who went on that trip had died, except for Ma'itaki and Paul's daughter, who now lives on Rennell. Paul brought another *mako sa'u* group to Rennell after the advent of Christianity.

In 1936 Paul received his *taukuka* tattoo. Before the tattooing had been begun, there was a food offering (*'oso tapu*) of coconuts, yams, bananas, and *panna* , of which all the participants partook. At that time, Paul's first wife had died, but he now had two other wives. His household also included a daughter by his first wife, and an adopted son, Jason, who was the son of his first wife's sister.

The *taukuka* took about three months to apply: one month for the front and one month for each of the two sides. When his *taukuka* was completed, Paul gave a celebration feast (*haka'angi*) , distributing 4000 bundles of taro.

"Having a *taukuka* is like dying - you have so much pain that you are hardly conscious," Paul said. Tekiuniu did the tattooing for Paul and when his throat was being beaten with *au* tattooing needle, Paul thought he would die. He must also have looked nearly dead, because Taungenga stopped the tattooist, he was so sorry for Paul. Taungenga had a full back tattoo (*taukuka tu'a*), in addition to the chest tattoo (*taukuka 'ango*).

Later in 1936, big troubles broke out. Paul was with Takiika and a group of fighters who killed seven men in Matangi. The feuding that resulted brought revenge killings in 1937 and 1938, immediately prior to the introduction of Christianity by Moa, and these feuds were the background for Moa's success. At the time he arrived on Bellona, a great many adult men were hiding in the bush; the whole population was living in fear, and people were tired of all the trouble and ready to welcome a religion that promised peace.

The conversion to Christianity took place during the end of the year 1938-1939. Events that occurred before and after this cataclysmic time are kept sharply divided in the minds of the Bellonese. Referred to as 'before mission' and 'after mission'. Paul says that after mission, most people in his district joined the Seventh Day Adventists (SDA), but that he himself was a member of the Southern Seas Evangelical Church (SSEC). Moa received his religious instruction from the SDA, but the SSEC arrived within the next year.

Feasts had been held in 1936 despite the trouble. Paul had a big *manga'e* with a thousand coconuts and dancing after the seven men had been killed, and later he held a *kanongoto* harvest ritual. Taungenga had another big feast with a thousand bunches of bananas, and another in 1937 at Ghongau with five hundred baskets of cooked food. There were plenty of feasts at that time - too many to remember.

When Moa arrived in 1938, he first made peace between the feuding factions in the traditional manner (*hakaiho*). A taro feast was held in Matangi for Jared Tuhamano, the *hakahua* 'chief' whose men had been killed. Soon afterwards, there was a *taukuka* feast for a man named Momoka, and this was the first feast to be attended by all the people of Bellona. At that feast, the district deities spoke for the last time through mediums, namely Tango'eha, Pongi and Sanga'eha. Paul was by this time a *hakahua*. His cousin Pongi was also *hakahua*, so that until Pongi's death the lineage had two *hakahua*.

When I knew him, Paul was the accepted authority on rituals, songs, and dancing. It had been said that when he died, the songs would die too. He was a gifted speaker and singer, whose performance in these arts was highly dramatic and witty. He was renowned as a dancer and one of only two men to have had special dancing houses 'before mission'. He died in 1979, just prior to the worst hurricane to hit the island since 1910.

4.2 Lois Baikaba of Hangekumi Lineage

Lois Baikaba, who lived in Ngongona village, Ghongau District, was Paul's wife from about 1936 to 1960. She was born sometime between 1915 and 1918 and had traditional tattoos. Her first tattoo, the *tu'u* (necklace-like lines on the chest, see fig. 10), was done when she was just developing breasts. Her second tattoo was the *ghupo* (a pattern of fish, see the print on frontispiece) on the breast. When her breasts were fully developed, she received the *kaso* (a pattern of lines down the arms) with three small *ghupo*

fish above on the shoulders. After marriage and maturity the *ibi hakanga'a* pattern and then the *'ango ba'e* were tattooed on her legs.

When Lois was about twelve years old, her mother, who died in 1964, was tattooed with the *taupito* pattern. This consists of squares of solid color applied across the waist in a row, at the level of the navel, with one central square surrounding the navel. Lois' mother was the last woman in Bellona to receive this tattoo. It was done just before her *mu'aabaka* 'women's dance'. Fifty women participated in this *mu'aabaka*, a record number, as thirty participants would be considered normal. After the *mu'aabaka*, Lois' mother decided to compose a *tangi* and *huaa pati* about the *mu'aabaka* (see end of Chapter Nine for her *huaa pati*).

The *taupito* took a long time to apply, one square of the pattern being done a day. There was some pain during the tattooing, but after the tattoo was completed there was much pain. She was happy that it went well, as dangerous infections can develop after tattooing. In addition to food during the tattooing, *Tesomo*, the woman who did the tattooing, was given some clothing, provisions and other goods as a gift before she went home.

The tattooist for Lois' first tattoo was Jaben Puia's mother, Tengaungea. The tattoo on her thighs was made by Taupongi's mother, Te'otaika. Her own mother, Teaahemako, did her arms and legs, both back and front. Te'otaika was given a fine mat (*malikope*), a tapa skirt (*kongoa*), two tapa headdresses (*ha'u*), and a necklace of glass beads obtained in 1928 from people on Lambert's American ship, "The Shark." The thigh tattoo was done three or four years after Lambert's second visit in 1933. No gifts were given to Tengaungea because she was a "cousin sister" (cross-cousin).

Lois had all her tattoos before her baby was born. Although she married Paul some years before the conversion (1938), their baby was not born until 1944. According to the local custom, Paul had more than one wife. The mission, however, forbade a man to have more than one wife, saying that one would then die and go to hell. She was afraid because he had two wives and wanted to leave, but Paul didn't want her to. She finally ran away in 1960.

In 1934, Lois saw the *mako sa'u* at Paul's settlement, *Hangekumi*, when Teikabengo came from Rennell. Though he came with many people, he could still not match the fifty who participated in her mother's *mu'aabaka*. Everybody came to such events, and were eager to see if any relatives from Rennell had come. At the time, Lois was married to Temoa and Paul to Amoika.

The wives came along on the *mako sa'u* too. The group from Rennell arrived at Matangi and stayed there one day while the messenger brought the news to Paul, who gave his answer to be brought back to Matangi.

While waiting there the men practiced the *mako sa'u*.

The next day they walked towards Hangekumi and stopped near Kapata (see map, fig. 2) for the last practice session, knowing that the sound of the *papa* would reach Paul in Hangekumi. In Kapata, they dressed in *kongoa* loincloths and *ha'u* turbans. They formed their lines after passing Pauta and proceeded to Hangekumi, the leader beating the small *papa* they had brought with them (see fig. 8). Then they started dancing. They shouted '*la!*' four or five times (this number reflects the distance the dancers had to cover, and would for example be done nine times if the road was very long).

When they arrived, the first dance was the *mako sa'u*. After the usual shout, Paul said '*ese!*' to Teikabengo, from the house where he sat and came out with a gift of clothing for Teikabengo. They then exchanged *hesongi*, 'greetings' in the traditional manner. Teikabengo wore a double *kongoa* loincloth. When Paul was in front of him, he removed his *ha'u* turban and one *kongoa* and gave them to Paul, simply laying them down in front of him.

Paul pronounced his thanks and Teikabengo answered him. Then Teikabengo began to dance again, the *huaa mako mongi*¹⁰ and ended with '*la!*' Paul's cousin Pongi then said '*ese*', and gave a gift to the last person in the line of dancers - a *kongoa* loincloth and *ha'u* headdress. Again thanks were said and then they danced another *mongi*. They danced thus three times. The first time Paul gave a gift to the leader at the head of the line (*mako mu'a*), the second time Pongi gave a gift to the leader at the end of the line (*mako mungi*), and the third time each of the remaining Bellonese dancers gave a gift to one of the visitors. But one dancer from Rennell, who happened to be left out, was very angry. This could also happen at a *mu'aabaka* 'women's dance' if there was a woman whose headdress wasn't taken by a man.

After the dancing, each Bellonese dancer had to invite one of the visitors to stay at his house; and each visitor was called *tana hongau* 'his traveller'. The same people who had exchanged gifts during the dance were now hosts and guests. They exchanged further gifts, the hosts gave their visitors *tapa* clothing for the most part.

As soon as they reached the house, the visiting wife had to present gifts to the hostess. If the visitor was not married, he himself presented two gifts, one to the host and one to the hostess. The hosts had gathered and cooked as much food as they could for the guests during their stay, and when the guests were preparing to depart, they presented them with more gifts.

During the visit, Paul prepared a feast, inviting the travellers and their hosts. It was a small feast, *te tu'utinga*, with a food offering and distribution followed by only one dance, the *papa*. The visitors beat the sounding board first, as an honor, and then the men of Bellona had their turn.

When the local people follow the visitors in performing the *papa*, this is called *papa ngango* 'following board'. The first *papa* is called *papa hai 'atua* 'sounding board done for gods', even when it is the only *papa* performed. The leader of the travellers informed Paul when he thought it time to return to Rennell. Gifts of clothing were given to the visitors before they left. They awaited fine weather, and then decided to leave the following day. Before departure each host gave his visitor a gift of uncooked food for the voyage. They went to sea at Tingoa in eastern Bellona. The host gave his guest another gift indicating that he was sorry to see him go (*hu'ai 'angoha ki tena hongau* 'in great compassion for his traveller'), and the guest did the same.

4. 3 Tekamu Sungu'ia of Tongaba Lineage

This account is based on interviews with Tekamu (born sometime between 1915 and 1919) made in her village, Ngongona, and in Matahenua. Sections in quotation marks are my translations and citations from Florence's translation of Tekamu's story.

"I was born in Tongaba and cared for by my father and mother until I became a big girl. I was the next youngest of five siblings. My older brother married and had a daughter named Tebengi. He was divorced and went to Rennell where he died. And I had my husband and children: The first son born (1942) was named 'Broad' after a white missionary. After that I had Te'usi (a girl) and Moa (a boy). Then I had a daughter named Martha, my son Hoki and another son named Mangie. The seventh and last was Dick Saungongo, born in 1962. (Her father's name was Saungongo.) And my husband died in 1976. And the end."

Both of her daughters died and she became close to Tebengi, her brother's daughter, mentioned earlier, who also composes songs. (Tebengi composed two *tangi* in praise of her husband).

"In 1946 or 1947 I had a *mu'aabaka*. After the war, when Gheela came, he stopped the Seventh Day Adventists in Bellona from celebrating Christmas." Christmas had been celebrated with traditional games and music (and still is on Rennell), but the SDA do not celebrate Christmas.

"At that time I had two children, and a baby girl who died. All my children were born in Bellona, not in Honiara - but not in the bush as in the old days. That was changed when the mission came. Times are better now - no fighting and killing, and we have medicine and medical help. Broad died of tuberculosis in 1959; he was studying at Betikama (the SDA school in Honiara) and came home for the holidays when the TB caught him.

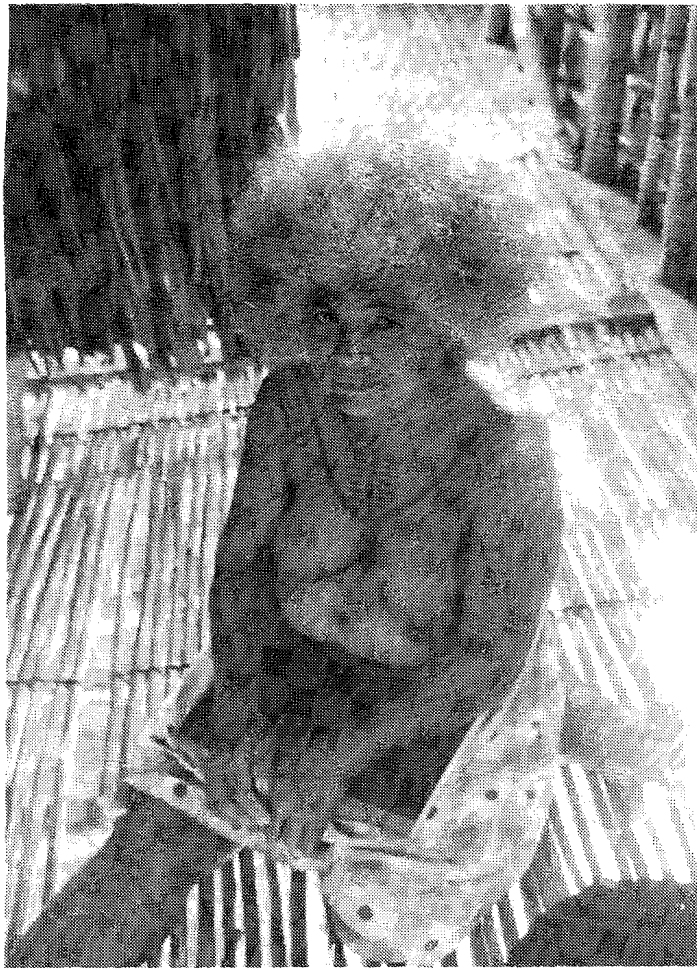


Figure 10: Tekamu, 1977. Female tattoo pattern.

(Another photograph of Tekamu appears on p. 40 of Volume Two.)

I lived with my husband before mission. He built a very big house with posts, but he had to break it up to build a church after mission, and that lasted until he got sick with polio in 1958. He died in 1976."

CHAPTER FIVE: SONG COMPOSERS AND POETIC COMPOSITION

This chapter presents the composers of the traditional songs. There are sections that deal with composing and practicing songs; the outstanding composers through the generations, historical and contemporary; and a quasi-statistical survey of the composers of the songs I collected.

In common with several other Polynesian cultures, Bellona has a tradition of singer-composers. All composers are singers and the two roles are thus unified. The combined concept is expressed in terms such as *pungotu*, which means 'singer; to compose or practice songs'. Because it is primarily the poetry that is composed, mastery of the older "classical" form of the language used in songs is necessary for composing. Almost half of the singers I recorded had composed songs.

The composer teaches his song to the group, and in performance he often initiates his own songs and sings the verses while the group sings the chorus. Songs are not personal property, and a composer would be pleased if another person sang one of his songs (see example in 5.3).

A distinguished composer of many songs is given the title *hakamu'aabaka*, a word that also means 'to compose any poetry'. Composers' names are commemorated in song titles; if a song is so old that the name of the composer has been forgotten, the word for ancient is used in the title, e.g., *te tangi tuai* 'the ancient lament'. Composers' names are known for 75% of the songs recorded. The composer's name may sometimes be forgotten in a song of no great antiquity. This is presumably less likely to happen if the composer is related to the singer, since the lineage tends to perpetuate the fame of its illustrious ancestors.

Whereas women are considered superior to men in the composition and singing of *tangi* laments, dance songs are almost exclusively the domain of men. A number of composers of both sexes are known only for their *tangi*, while six men are known only as the composers of *huaa mako*. Some women do compose song types other than *tangi*, and in the past a few exceptional women have composed many kinds of songs, including dance songs.

Of the over 200 composers identified by the Bellonese, 64% are men, 27% women, and 9% supernaturals, such as deities and culture heroes. Songs

composed by deities were delivered by human mediums. Among the composers of *tangi* the proportions of the sexes are reversed: 64% are women, 30% men, and 6% supernaturals.

Songs are traditionally learned from a father, mother, or other close relative, and through participation in the singing and dancing performed on musical occasions. In reply to a questionnaire circulated early in my research, Bellonese usually said that they had learned songs either: "from my father" or "at feasts where they were sung." It later became clear that both boys and girls also learned songs from female relatives. The mother's lineage also plays an important role for the Bellonese. The matriline is remembered, but only for a few generations, and it is the father's lineage that is most significant.

Singers are commonly related to the composer of a song they perform, and such direct relationship is significant: "In fact, much of the traditional history can be regarded as an oral rationalization of the lineage structure of the society" (Elbert and Monberg, 1965:8).

Songs are preferentially learned and remembered within a descent line, and singers tend to perform the compositions of their forefathers, although this is by no means always the case. His memory for ancient songs is in itself a matter of prestige for the singer, who thus achieves the reputation of being an expert in historical matters.

Because of the exceedingly spare nature of Bellonese poetry and its elliptical grammar, the context is often an important key to understanding the meaning of a song text, and this context is best known within the descent line of the composer. There are several reasons for this, including the prestige accorded to composers and the pride people take in their illustrious forbears; in addition, songs serve to record practical matters such as the history of land boundaries or interlineage feuds.

5.1 Composing and practicing songs

At traditional feasts, the host would compose a song for the occasion if he could. Sometimes another person composed a *biki* 'praise-song' for the host to thank him (*haka'aue*) for his generosity, and this was a great honor. As mentioned earlier, a man's prestige depended upon his generosity in the giving of feasts and his abilities in the traditional skills, which included composing and dancing. The songs composed for feasts were often *biki*. The man giving the feast might compose a *biki* for the deity thought to have granted the gift of food (*tonu*) that made the feast possible. Or he might

compose a song recounting the outstanding events of his life, such as the feasts and rituals he had held. Such a song augmented the composer's reputation and prestige. Jason Ngiusanga explained in 1974:

But nobody could ask another man to compose a song for him, or offer him payment to do so. If a man lacked the skill to compose poetry, his wife might compose a *tangi* in his praise, if she were able. Or if he had abundant harvests every year, his father or brother might compose a song for him, but he could not ask for it. The other man might think, 'Oh, this man has done a lot of things for his people - perhaps I should compose a song about everything he did to help all our people'. When the people gathered for the dance, the man heard the song sung by that person, and was very pleased. He would think of valuable gifts and give thanks to the person. He might give a big piece of land for building a house or planting a garden, or for coconut trees. 'You made a song of praise for me. This song will go on for generations and people will hear my praise'.

Composition proceeds as follows: first a person hums the tune to himself, getting ideas and practicing (*pungotu*) the song. This may be done while working or lying in bed and musing before falling asleep. (The word *hakupungotu* means 'song composer'.) The next phase is termed *hatu* 'to compose, as a song' (this word also has other meanings). During this time the words of the song are worked out in detail. In the the case of song-dances, the composer also choreographs the dance movements, primarily arm gestures, that are to go with the song, which is then ready to be sung, and the composer teaches it to the group.

Special practice melodies (*nge'o pungotu*) are used for teaching and learning certain kinds of songs, such as *tangi* and *huaa mako*. *Tangi* are taught and practiced by reviewing the verses in a sing-song chant, omitting the refrain between verses. This is a useful way to memorize these songs, because they have a great number of verses.

There are three different ways of teaching and practicing *huaa mako*, which are the most complicated of all song-dances: one for teaching the arm gestures, one for teaching the words, and one for coordination of the sounding board accompaniment with the song. These are termed:

- *hakihaki* 'to explain', in which the text is rhythmically recited and the arm gestures performed.

- *taungua hakihaki* 'to explain the song', or *pungotu taungua* 'to practice the song', in which the text is sung slowly to a practice tune differing from the real melody of the song.
- *taa* 'to beat', or *pungotu bingibingi* 'to practice fast', in which the sounding board accompaniment is beaten as in performance.

The word *pungotu* has several meanings, both as a verb and a noun: 'practice melody; singer; to sing a bit; to sing falsetto; to compose or practice songs alone' (cf. Chapter 7.4). The causative, *hakupungotu*, means 'song composer'. On Bellona, when people hummed or practiced songs to themselves, they sometimes did so in falsetto. Certain individuals were more wont to use falsetto than others. *Kananga* are practiced and sometimes performed falsetto or, as one Bellonese put it, in a "very small voice," but aside from these solo songs, falsetto is used in only one kind of traditional group songs, the *huua mako*.

There are several other terms for different ways of using the voice when practicing songs: when one person practices alone in a soft voice, it may be called *pungotu panguunguunguunguu* which also means 'to hum'. Practicing in a loud voice may be called: *pungotu nge'o 'eha* 'practicing (with) strong voice', *pungotu hakihaki* 'explanatory practice', *pungotu ghaaghaa* 'loud or noisy practice', or *pungotu hakatataki* 'long voice'.

Performances are organized and directed by a person who chooses the participants, asks them for their cooperation, and composes the program, in conference with one or two helpers. This person also participates in the performance. He must have outstanding knowledge of traditional matters and be skilled in all aspects of performance. Such a person would naturally be a lineage elder, who has a large repertoire of songs and dances, and knows the traditional context of the musical occasions and the manner of performance. There were only a few elders left who had sufficient knowledge of the traditions and, when I visited Bellona in 1977, there was a current of talk about having these men formally teach younger people before all the leaders had died out. Three of the men who were authorities on such matters had died between 1974 and 1977 and the others have died since then.

Within the context of the traditional culture, the man who gave the feast would also organize and direct the singing and dancing when he could. Every man would strive to become an expert in dancing, singing, and ritual, but others might assist him if he were young or unsure of the procedure.

Since it is a matter of honor that songs and dances be performed correctly, they are practiced diligently before a performance. This was true of feasts in earlier times and is still true today. Practice did precede the

performances I recorded, but much more preceded public performances such as the Oceanic festivals of traditional arts.¹¹

Dances are always practiced outside before a performance. In bad weather or if only certain details of words or arm gestures require attention, additional practice may be done indoors. The special ways of practicing and teaching the dances mentioned above are done sitting down, and may therefore be performed either indoors or out. Accounts of feasts and ceremonies in earlier times often include descriptions of where and for how long the group practiced their dances before a performance, as in the accounts of the *mako sa'u* given by Paul Sa'engeika and Lois Baikaba in Chapter Four. Jason Ngiusanga said that when he was a child, his adoptive father would be totally absorbed from early morning to late at night at practice sessions for *'ungu* alone.

During rehearsals and performances, some of the songs would be specially selected old songs, and a smaller number would be newly composed songs. New songs were usually introduced to me by the composer at the small indoor sessions which were the setting for many of my recordings. In the traditional context, new songs were probably taught to others at such informal practice sessions, prior to the outdoor rehearsals of large sessions in preparation for a particular occasion. I never saw newly composed songs being taught in any formal way, although several songs were presented as new songs when I recorded them. The reason for this was at least in part that such a song would be taught to friends before being presented to me. Performances for me may not have been considered important occasions, perhaps because there were so many of them, because I am a woman or because film is considered more significant. The performance filmed by a Danish film team in 1977 was apparently deemed important, as one of the dancers made up a song about it (see 5.3). I was not present at the time to see the rehearsals.¹²

The atmosphere at rehearsals is generally informal. Onlookers may sing or hum along, move their arms along with the dance gestures, or talk together, lying about - the women plaiting bags or mats, the men carving or making fish-nets. The same is true at performances, although the audience is larger.

The aim of practice sessions is to perfect the performance of the words and/or the dance movements rather than the melody. Since each Bellonese song type is built upon a limited number of models, new poetry is usually set to a known melody. When the didactic techniques mentioned above are employed, they point directly to the words, the arm gestures, or the coordination of the words and the beating. The performers also need to coordinate their singing and dancing as a group.

In some instances severe criticism was expressed, and in such cases, I was instructed to erase the recording and the group directed to re-record the piece in question when possible. This occurred when verses of a song or dance were omitted, when the clapping accompaniment to *huaa pati* songs was performed incorrectly, and when the polyphonic parts were not correctly balanced in the *suahongi*, where repetition of certain segments twice rather than the traditional four times was considered a serious omission.

There is sometimes discussion between experts as to what constitutes a "correct" performance. Different authorities or groups have slightly different versions of some songs and dances. However, comments were not made regarding the dancing or singing of an individual, at least not within their hearing. Thus, although special skill was certainly valued, and indispensable in leaders, no overt notice was taken in public of individual virtuosity or shortcomings; it is the performance of the group that counts, not that of the individual.

Granted that the dance movements and the words of the songs are generally the focus of rehearsals and that composition of a song-dance is creative within the more or less well defined limits of the existing song types, it is still no easy task to study and evaluate the relative originality invested in the words, music, and dance by a composer, especially at the present time, when creativity is no longer exercised exclusively within the framework of traditional music. Similar traditional models exist for poetry and for dance.

A most fortunate case of innovative composition occurred in 1977, when Paul Sa'engeika created a new ending for the *kapa* song-dance, which had a melody entirely his own and a sounding board accompaniment similar to that of the *hakatenge* song-dance. This example shows how the tradition of special endings operates as an avenue of innovation and renewal open to the composer and choreographer. While composition of a song-dance is creative only within the limits of the song type, with its range of melodies, rhythms and formal structures, adding a new ending allows the composer to create new and contrasting structures.

5.2 Composers through the generations

The survey and information about composers in this chapter and in Appendix B is based upon the following materials:

- a) 540 different songs recorded (383 in 1974, plus 157 in 1977).
- b) Three composers gave me notebooks containing their own compositions.

c) Six notebooks containing 206 song texts written out by Taupongi, together with statements concerning their composition. These were sent to Torben Monberg in 1973 and he gave me copies of them.

Over 200 composers were identified by the Bellonese for the songs above. For collection a), the composers' names were known for 414 songs but had been forgotten (*nimo*) for 126. Many of the latter were considered *tuai* 'ancient' but the composers' names of a few more recent songs have also been forgotten.

Of the composers, 56 are women and 132 are men, four of them travellers from other islands. Twenty-five of the composers were alive in 1974. Nineteen supernaturals are considered to be the composers of songs that were recorded. Songs attributed to deities and revealed by mediums are not necessarily of any great age, as the medium may have lived and been possessed as late as the period just preceding the introduction of Christianity (cf. Monberg, 1966, Chapter Six). For *tangi*, there are 84 composers in all, of whom five are female deities, 54 are women, and 25 are men (twelve of these persons were alive in 1974).

The identified composers start with Kaitu'u, the first *hakamu'aabaka* in generation one. Kaitu'u and the seven other immigrants, "the seven originals," are the ancestors of all other composers except for the deities and some culture heroes.

As the descendants of the original immigrants multiplied, different descent lines branched out within each clan. These lineages are essential for identifying individuals because one and the same name may be found in different lineages and generations. Elbert and Monberg have published genealogies of some lineages (1965) and these have been used to place the composers in time whenever possible, from the earlier generations to the present, that is, generations 1 to 25.

No strict chronology is possible, because of the numbers of people involved, and the fact that the genealogies are oral history and cannot be dated precisely. In recent generations, events can be dated by reference to historical events with known dates. The various lineages are not of equal size, nor have they all been investigated by researchers.¹³ Bellonese singers did not always know the lineages of Rennellese composers whose songs they sang. Few women are included in the published genealogies and female composers are therefore especially difficult to place in time, although it was sometimes possible to do so by reference to the men whom they praised in their songs.

Appendix B lists all of the identified composers, together with their lineage, generation, and the number of songs they composed of which I know.

5.2.1 Composers of the past

It may be seen in Appendix B that of the ca. 200 composers counted, 31 lived in or before generation 18, a majority lived in generations 19-22, and 25 were still living in 1974. It should be noted that, in order to facilitate comparison between living and historical composers, the living composers are only credited in Appendix B with the number of songs given to me by persons other than themselves, even if I knew that they had composed more songs.

In the first 17 generations after Bellona was colonized, two of the 23 remembered composers are outstanding in number of compositions: Kaitu'u, five of whose songs are still sung; and Baiabe who, in the twelfth generation, drifted to Bellona in a canoe from Taumako Island (possibly the Taumako in the Duff Islands, Eastern Solomons), and who is cited as the composer of six of the songs. The stories of both of these men have been published by Elbert and Monberg (1965: Chapters 8 and 18 respectively).

Generation 19 has four outstanding composers, including the immediate forebears of certain contemporary singers. Sa'o'angiki, the grandfather of Paul Sa'engeika, is credited with five songs, two of which were recorded for me by Paul, and the others by three other singers. Suaika, the grandfather of Taupongi, composed ten songs; Taupongi gave me five of these and the remainder were sung by three other singers. Matapau, the wife of Suaika, composed *tangi* for him and she was the composer of many songs sung by her daughter, Leah Tengetai. Tepuke, a great *hakahua* of Matangi (Eastern Bellona), composed seven songs; he died after the missionaries were killed in 1910. He was the uncle (mother's brother) of Paul Sa'engeika, as well as of Takiika and Tekiuniu, two brothers who also are composers. Sangoihenua of the Hangekumi lineage, represented by nine songs, died before 1910; four of these songs were recorded and five others were included in Taupongi's text collection. He composed the "counting *mako*" about a fight during which he hid in the bush, counting the days and months of his hiding.

In the twentieth generation, Tema'ungaika Tongaka came from Mugihenua, Rennell, and settled on Bellona with his two brothers, Tangosia and Tanguaba. They were never accepted because of land disputes. Tema'ungaika says, in his song, that he would have been killed himself, except that he was a medium, gave big feasts, and had a beautiful tattoo; he was in fact killed in 1937. He acted as a medium for the chief district deity, Tehu'aingabenga. Tema'ungaika's sister was the mother of Temoa (who is Taupongi's father). His two sons, Namona and Bibao, are also known composers, as is his father, Tingi'ia, all from the Matangi District. Tema'ungaika is the only member of the family who was a *hakamu'aabaka*.

Two other renowned composers of generation 20 are Puipuihenua and Sa'engeahe. Puipuihenua of the Nuku'angoha lineage, the composer of 13 songs, was killed before 1910. His wife, Temotuniu, composed *tangi* in his praise. Sa'engeahe, of the Mata'ubea I lineage, died about 1880 in Queensland, Australia, together with another composer, Puangongo [To]. They had gone there with a "Blackbirding" vessel, which conscripted labor for Australia. Sa'engeahe composed eight songs recorded by seven different singers. His wife, Teangapua, composed *tangi* praising him. Tongaka (above) composed a *pati* song for him.

Also in generation 20 lived Ha'utahi [N] and Tango'eha [Ma]. Ha'utahi, who composed seven of the songs collected, was the father of two composer-singers, Takiika and Tekiuniu, and died an old man in 1941. His wife, Tehuamau, composed *tangi* and *pati* (e.g. S 48). Tango'eha [Ma] was the composer of six songs in my collections - and many more, it was said. He acted as a medium for the deities Ekitehua of the Iho clan, Tu'uitekika, and various ancestors. His photograph can be seen in Elbert and Monberg (1965, Figure 8C) and he appears in the ethnographic films taken by the Templeton Crocker Expedition, 1933. He died quite old in 1963.

Tu'imaka of the Ngikobaka lineage, also in generation 20, composed six of the songs in these collections, performed by five different singers. He died about 1940. Saungongo, of the same lineage and generation, also composed six songs. He was father to Paul Sa'engeika and died in 1933.

The three women composers represented by the greatest number of songs were Matahia of the fourteenth generation, Paul Sa'engeika's mother Temoni of generation 19, and Temota Pogho'ungu of generation 21. Matahia, the daughter of Hu'aitengaa, generation 13 (op.cit.:59), was a great composer and inventor. She was credited with originating certain women's tattoos and weaving designs, including the *siga* design on plaited bags, the bags *kete mango* and *kete ngau niu*. About Temota I know only that she was the sister of Sapaingea of the Sa'apai lineage in generation 21, and that of her *tangi*, one was composed for Mathew Taupongi of the Matabaingi lineage and one for Puipuihenua of Nuku'angoha.

Taungenga of the Ghongau lineage in generation 22 composed ten of the songs in my collections, sung by five different singers. He is the Taungenga, mentioned in 4.1, who had full front and back *taukuka* tattoos. Returning from Rennell in 1938, he misnavigated because of bad weather and perished. His brother, Joshua Kaipua, lived until 1982.

5.3 Contemporary poet-singers

Living composers came to my attention if they sang their songs for recordings; if their compositions were performed by other singers; or if they gave me written copies of their songs. Some composers were reluctant to record their compositions because of church sanctions against traditional songs, and they might not even wish to admit having composed such songs. Those who did record songs were doing so despite strong social pressure, and this required positive motivation. The reporting of history has value for them, but positive and negative forces operated side by side and were a source of personal conflict for many people.

Despite the fact that dancing is still officially prohibited on Bellona, dances and songs are practiced regularly by a group, among whom are many of the composers described below. In 1977 the club for Bellonese traditions (*Mungiki Hesuinga*), had approximately 21 members representing three generations: eight dancers and three advisors from the older generation; eight middle-aged dancers; and three to five members of the younger generation in the learning stage, who were sons of older participants. Only one woman, Tekamu, was a regular member of this performing group.

Six of the regular performers kept notebooks in which they had written down dance movements and song texts, both their own compositions and those of others, which they considered to be of particular value. Four of them gave me such notebooks, and two people who did not themselves perform the songs gave me notebooks with song texts (see the example in Chapter Nine.)

There are commonly two or more members of a family represented among the regular performers. Often both father and son excel at singing and dancing. In one case a woman learned the songs from her uncle, who had no direct descendants. This man was also sought by other singers who had their fathers as their primary source, which demonstrates that songs are not learned exclusively from members of the closest family.

A total of 42 men and 14 women performed for the recordings, some only a single time. Seven men and five women sang but did not dance. Several composers who would not dance were willing to perform their songs sitting down at *tangi* sessions. The local fundamentalist churches enforce their prohibition of dancing, so that comparatively few people are sufficiently motivated to perform dances. Women are particularly reluctant to dance. Loss of status as a church member or official is an especially grave consideration for old people, who fear dying while suspended from the church and thus being barred from heaven.

Some 200 people from Bellona live in Honiara, plus more from Rennell. Many live in villages on the outskirts of the city, such as White River, where they can cultivate gardens and speak their own language. They have greater freedom in the capital than at home in the conservative island community. In Honiara, more women participated when dancing was performed for me, but this was done only a few times because the older, experienced singers lived on Bellona.

Analysis shows that the musical arts are handed down from one generation to the next within the family. The population of performers includes three distinct generations: the "older generation" born before 1921 and thus old enough to have received traditional tattoos before 1939; people in the "middle-age" group without traditional tattoos; and the "younger generation" born after 1940.

Members of the older generation had learned the songs and dances as active participants in the traditional culture 'before mission'. Each person had a chest tattoo: the women's like Tekamu's, and the men's like that published by Birket-Smith (1956, Figure 7) or a *taukuka*.

People born after 1921 and before 1935 belonged to the middle age-group. World War II took place during their youth. At that time, when Guadalcanal was a battlefield, missionaries did not visit Bellona. The traditions enjoyed a short revival between the years 1941 and 1949. Young people attended dances at nearby settlements and some of them received tattoos, although not chest tattoos like their elders. For example, only a row or two of small stylized fish or frigate birds on their arms or thighs, such as those in the photograph published by Birket Smith (1956, Figure 62). During the war, they learned the songs and dances from their elders according to the traditional pattern. This revival period ended in 1949, when the missionary Gheela came to live on Bellona for a short but crucial period. It was he who put a stop to many of the traditional aspects of life. For example, people had previously lived in their own settlements, but he insisted that they move together into villages centered around a church.

After the war was over, some of these people began to work for wages in Honiara. At work they learned some English or Pidgin English. A few attended mission schools elsewhere in the Solomons, where they also learned to write English. Jason Ngiusanga, the adopted son of Paul Sa'engeika, who has written out many books of song texts, was educated in this way. Solomon Teika had been a policeman in Honiara for twenty years, and was again living on Bellona by the time of my first visit in 1974. Taupongi had also been a policeman in Honiara long ago.

Members of the younger generation have not grown up with traditional music and, if they want to learn it, must make an active effort. The youngest composer of a traditional song, as far as I know, was born in 1933. A few members of this generation are also learning to perform the dances. None of them had the skill to lead a dance song and accompany himself on the sounding board. Young people did not compose traditional songs. Some younger people composed modern songs in other styles, so the tradition of song composition as such had continuity.

The younger generation has access to schooling on Bellona, where the schools went through sixth grade in 1977. The Bellonese language is not taught in school. The students learn English, although they are often shy about using it. Some of them receive a better education by going away from the island to schools in Honiara, which is often experienced as a deprivation by the young people. A number attend high school in Honiara, and a privileged few have been sent to college in Fiji or New Guinea. Taupongi's son, Francis, is one of these few; he composes modern songs.

The twenty-five living composers include nineteen men and six women. They composed 70 of the songs I collected, if the songs written down but not recorded are included. Six men and five women had composed *tangi* laments only. One of the women and five men had composed only a single song.

Table 2 shows the age distribution of the singers in Honiara and Bellona. Ten of them performed in both places on different occasions - the Bellonese are great travellers. The years of birth can only be given in rough approximation: in Bellona, dates of known events such as hurricanes, etc., were compared with the birth of each singer. The resulting chronology appears in Appendix A at the end of the book. But this was not done for the singers in Honiara, where I guessed their ages on the basis of visible criteria, such as the presence or absence of traditional tattoos.

The relation between the singers' ages and activity in composing songs is revealing. In Bellona 30 of the 36 singers had composed songs, correspondent to the relatively large number of older people there. It is notable that only three of the outstanding performers on Bellona had not, as far as I know, composed any songs, and it is possible that they had composed a song or two but did not show them to me out of modesty.

In Honiara only four of the performers had composed traditional songs, to my knowledge; of these, seven were born before 1930 and two before 1920.

TABLE 2: AGE DISTRIBUTION OF SINGERS IN HONIARA AND BELLONA

Approximate year of birth:	Number of singers:	
	Honiara	Bellona
1897 - 1909	0	7
1910 - 1919	2	6
1920 - 1929	5	8
1930 - 1939	17	8
1940 - 1949	5	3
1950 - 1955	1	4
Totals:	30	36

Before proceeding to the individual contemporary composers, I would like to remind readers that all Bellonese have many names and may be known by different names at different times of their life. Taupongi, for example, has sixteen names. Any number of names may be given at birth by the parents and some including the honorific names which are important in poetry, are acquired later. Deities likewise have several names, and there are even several designations for *Mungiki* 'Bellona' itself, such as *Nuku-Mangama* 'Abode of Light' and *Te-Nuku-Maangongo* 'The Unknown Abode'; the latter term was used to refer to the island in the period before discovery by the immigrants from 'Ubea, i.e., while they were searching.

When working in Honiara, Bellonese people often have their names shortened by employers. Because every person today also has a Christian name, it is becoming current usage to call people by their Christian name followed by their Bellonese name, which results in a form that superficially resembles Western naming.

Contemporary composers of more than one song are presented in the following. These sketches are in chronological order, the oldest first, except that members of the same family are kept together. Examples of the personal singing styles of these people are given in Part 2, Chapter 16.1, Vocal style.

PAUL SA'ENGEIKA, Ngikobaka lineage (ca. 1898-1979)

Paul, whose name in Bellonese is *Polo* 'coconut', was a *hakamu'aabaka* who composed at least twenty songs during his lifetime. He performed ten of these songs himself on the recordings, and ten more were sung or written out by others. His compositions include the following:

Five songs for the *pati*, including a *taki* introductory song-dance; an '*ungu pati* which has been published on the record Folkways FE 4274, band 2; two *huaa pati*, and two *ngauopi* ending songs. The *taki* honors Puipuihenua and his great *manga'e*, at which he distributed 1000 heaps of panna and 2000 pairs of yams. The '*ungu pati* concerns a beach settlement he made, which was destroyed by a "cunning wind" soon after. A *huaa pati* about his old age has been published by Elbert and Monberg (1965:40), beginning, "I have grown old in the lands and it makes me angry now... never more do I make plans..." Another *huaa pati* was composed "after mission" for a feast he gave, at which they performed the *suahongi*, the *papa*, the *taa hua 'ungu*, and the *pati* with this composition. He introduces the song with the above explanation and by saying: "I would like to sing a song about my house, about *ngeemungi*, and about things from the sea." There are also verses about his bananas, coconuts, and flying fish (the things from the sea). One *ngauopi* is a short song about a gift he once received, an iron axe. The other is about praying for and catching many fish.

Paul composed five *tangi*: one for Tekiou Namenge, one for Torben Monberg, one composed in 1976 about his own life, one about flying fish, and a *huhuke* for the end of the *tangi* session which is a praise-song for his youth and his large canoe (*baka 'eha*). The song for Namenge has two choruses and was composed when Namenge had gone to Rennell and Paul had remained at home thinking about him ("my shelter, gone to Rennell"). The song praises Namenge, whom he calls "my shelter against enemies", his appearance, his well-earned prosperity, his hands and their work, and his feet in dancing. He compares Namenge to the ginger plant in utility and appearance, and says that his prosperity is in accordance therewith. At the end of the song he cautions Namenge, who has many enemies, to look after himself; the song ends with the line, "Our fame will always be remembered."

For the *papa* dance, Paul composed one '*ungu* and four *huaa mako*, one a taunt composed in 1944, and one a funny and accurate description of hunting the flying fox.

For the *mako noho* session of 'seated songs', Paul composed two songs which were translated by Taupongi. One is an '*ungu mako* about his life that goes: "Daylight over the lands / I think of all my accomplishments: my nine

panna yam harvests / and taro, my gift from the deity, covering the land / my *manga'e* offerings were piled high / also the *panna*, harvest nine times, making four thousand *panna*, too much to be eaten / because of it the leaf panels on my house could be renewed / I close my song to all the things I have done / because I fed the people, sharing with all of them."

An honorific *mako* for his father, Saungongo, has 24 verses praising all his deeds, his canoe, the two kinds of fish he caught in great numbers (*'ungua* and flying fish), his rituals, his beating of the sounding board, his dancing which is likened to the slow movements of a swallow, and his appearance.

Paul also composed a *huua mako* for the *mako hakasaunoni*, a song for the game *tani malenge*, a *tukubaka* canoe-hauling song, and a *pese tau baalogha* for the *kanongoto* harvest ritual.

Paul's former wife, 'Amoika, composed a *tangi* for him. Paul was pleased when Lois sang this song, and handed her a gift immediately after to show his appreciation. The gift consisted of one or more dollar bills: money, the symbol of European-American culture, has come to have symbolic value.

JASON NGIUSANGA, Ngikobaka lineage (born about 1928)

Paul's adopted son, Jason Ngiusanga, who was a leading performer, organizer and translator, gave me none of his own compositions although he had composed at least one song. He learned many songs from Paul, and Tupe'uhi was another important source for him. Jason had compiled numerous notebooks with handwritten song texts over the years, and he has an excellent sense for documentary details, always noting the date and the name of the person from whom he learned the song. His command of English is excellent and he was extremely generous to me in explaining traditional matters, legibly writing down song texts and translating them. His wife, No'apua, participated in the women's *pati* in Honiara in 1974.

TUPE'UHI of Sa'apai Lineage (ca. 1901-1979).

Tupe'uhi was one of the most important musicians on Bellona, even as an old man. In 1977 he was severely ill, but his voice was still strong, his memory for songs remarkable, and he was definitely considered an authority on traditional songs. He was never considered to be particularly skilled at dancing, even when young. His repertoire of ancient songs was extensive and he had composed four songs.

Tupe'uhi told me that the *tauakatu* tattoo on the back of his thighs had been made by a woman and that she did not sing *saka* while tattooing. He was extremely frail and had curly grey-white hair. Tupe'uhi never married. In 1977 he was quite ill and was cared for by his niece, Teghaapilu, his

protégé and a fine singer. As a young girl, she spent much time with her uncle, from whom she learned all kinds of songs. Her singing was much admired and the Bellonese regard her as the finest living traditional singer among the women.

Tupe'uhi composed four of the songs collected, a *maghiiti*, two *taki*, and a *huaa pati*. The *maghiiti* praises his *ngeemungi* tree, which gave plentiful fruit in 1946: eight baskets one day and eight baskets the next. He made a mash of the fruit, from which he made a pudding; he invited people to a feast and served it for them. One of his *taki* also concerns *ngeemungi*: "They talk about the trees, I am the owner of the *ngeemungi* which stand in the area of Teghunga." The other *taki* praises a man named Ngatonga, who caught many *sungumenga* fish, his *tonu* from the sea. The *huaa pati* was composed about his visitor (myself), who brought him joy and gifts. This song was received with some mirth, because men did not ordinarily compose songs for women; its inclusion would not be proper according to Bellonese values of modesty.

JOSHUA KAIPUA of Ghongau lineage (ca. 1900-1982)

Joshua is one of the outstanding singers and dancers of his generation and the only man other than Paul Sa'engeika to have had a special dancing house in their day. He recorded many songs, such as the tattooing *saka* published on Folkways FE 4273:B8, and is one of the outstanding contributors to my collections. In 1977 his voice was firm and his memory intact, but his legs were failing and he could hardly walk.

Joshua's compositions include one *'ungu*, two *pese*, two *mako*, and a *huaa pati* about making fish-nets and hunting flying fox. One *mako*, with 31 stanzas, was composed after his wife and brothers had died. He mourns their loss, and the loss of his power to garden and fish as before.

HAMAN SONGO'UNGI, Ghongau lineage (born about 1930)

Joshua's son, Haman Songo'ungi, is a leading figure in the group of dancers. He also served as president of the *Mungiki Hesuinga* "Bellona Cultural Centre" for some years. His leadership derives from what he learned from his father plus his own character. His photograph, Figure 4 in the record brochure shows him performing the shout of the sky god in the final *pese* to summon dawn (FE 4273, band B5). Haman is a man of large stature - tall, with large bone structure - huge and solid. These proportions are said to have been common in the population earlier, but are rare today; only two of the other dancers have this stature. He composed three *tangi*: one about his illness in 1974, one for John Sanga (who died in 1975), and a *kamuna* naming

the dancers filmed in 1977. A *kamuna* is a *tangi* in which several persons are named. He kept a notebook with these songs and many others, together with the accompanying dance gestures.

TAKIIKA (ca. 1907-1979) and **TEKIUNI** (born about 1910), Nuku'angoha lineage.

Both brothers had traditional tattoos and had been trained as priest-chiefs before the conversion to Christianity, but refused to perform traditional dances during my visit.

Takiika, a stocky, muscular man with grey hair and a bald pate, had been an influential person in his day. He was highly argumentative, but could also be amusing. His voice, both speaking and singing, was extremely harsh, often rising in rapid spurts when he was perturbed. He was a forceful singer, as may be heard on the canoe-hauling song, band A 1 of the record Folkways FE 7243.

Both Takiika and his wife, Te'usi, were considered to be *hakamu'aabaka*. His eight compositions include two *tangi*, many *huaa mako* song-dances, and two *taki*. One of his *taki* praises his coconut trees and those of his father: his father planted trees and, when they were mature, he planted young trees underneath. One of his *huaa mako* has been published by Elbert and Monberg (1965:119). This song concerns the story of how Mautikitiki, the culture hero, goes fishing and pulls in Rennell Island, among the fish. Of the four other *huaa mako*, three are taunts, and one concerns a trip to Rennell about 1934, where he went to get a steel axe; he was sick and nearly died in Kanaba, Rennell.

Tekiuni, his younger brother, was of a milder disposition. His speaking voice, but not his singing, had a somewhat hoarse quality, like that of his brother. He participated by introducing some of the recordings, announcing the name and background of the dances in Bellonese before they were performed at a recording session in 1974. His compositions include five songs, one of which he performed. This song, a *huaa mako* called 'Auee, *Amelika* 'Woe, American', was composed during World War II. The Americans wanted to make an airstrip on land belonging to Takiika and Tekiuni; they offered Tekiuni a knife if he would clear the land of coconut trees. But after he cut down the trees no plane came. The land was desolate and there was nothing to drink without the coconuts. So he composed the following taunt about it. Torben Monberg kindly gave me the translation.

1.

'Auee, Amelika, tanga pake, Woe, American, you told a lie.
Konei tunga bunga ma te kanga. We were stupid and were defeated.

2.

Kau binu ihea? Where can I drink?
Ai i toku "pelesi," lae "uaba."* My place is destitute of water.

3.

'Auee, Amelika, tanga pake, Alas, American, you told a lie.
Tangani sa'u toku "pelesi" For no reason, you changed my place
i na kunga nga'esua. into places to spit on.

* *Pelesi* and *uaba* are the English loan words place and water.

Tekiuniu also composed a *saka* in thanks for three basketfuls of flying fish he once caught. At that time he was married and had children under ten years of age. He told me about the composition of this *saka*, saying that he composed three verses in one evening. When the song was finished, he decided to make a feast with bananas and the *sasabe* 'flying fish' he had caught. He ended his *saka* "to everything that he had done, to his *manga'e* from the sea," and with thanks to the Christian God for the *sasabe* and bananas. This ending is an excellent example of a new use for a traditional song genre.

MA'ITAKI, of Sa'apai lineage (ca. 1909 - 1985).

Ma'itaki, a fine singer, dancer and composer, recorded nine of his own songs in 1974. He did not participate in 1977. A big man, powerfully built, he looked stronger than he felt and was "feeling his age." One of his songs, a *hango kie moe*, laments the lost powers of his youth and tells about events in his life. In his youth he had been an excellent gardener, fisherman, and builder of houses, skilled at "every way of man," i.e., he fulfilled all the traditional virtues. He had been a priest-chief and had traditional tattoos. He knew no English and was reserved by nature. He disagreed with the others of the elder generation regarding the correct versions of the *suahongi* and other important song-dances, which was not unusual, as there was little agreement on these matters, but it may have been a contributory factor, along with religious grounds, for his not performing in 1977.

Ma'itaki, also known as Tongaka, is regarded as a *hakamu'aabaka*. His compositions include seven songs, several from *tangi* sessions such as the

hango kie moe mentioned above, and two '*ungu mako*, one of which is given below.

The *mako tu'u* concerns his canoe, the flying fish he caught, and his honorific name, Tema'ungaika, 'Mountain of Fish'. A *huaa mako* concerns his polishing the bones of an ancestor and mounting them as points on his spear and arrows. One '*ungu mako* is the praise-song for his 'many *ngeemungi* fruits', mentioned previously.

For *tangi* sessions, Ma'itaki had also composed a *hakasao* in 1971 about his youth and old age, and a *tangi* in 1954 about a visit by the High Commissioner and the District Commissioner to Rennell, in which he celebrates his delight and success in leading the dancing. The song is included here because it gives a graphic description of the dance sequence. He says that the people of Bellona went to Rennell for the occasion:

"all of one mind [language] ... all of Rennell came,... our good friends.
/We practiced all the dances / we did the double '*ungu* / I beat the
sounding board and led the dances / the people of Bellona and Rennell
danced. / They jumped to me* / the high commissioner clapped his
hands for me / Mr. Skipper [the District Commissioner] asked where I
was from.../ he liked my dances / Puia spoke to me, / respected me for
the dances / I was leading, / [the people of] Bellona and Rennell around
me / The *ngongole* was given to me [to lead]/ I did it like the
crossbeam [of the house] / I did the standing dance too / We used the
fan / The *ha'uha'u kongoa* I ran./ Our happy times passed. / We returned
home and separated / The High Commissioner went over the sea.
/...News came to me. / The High Commissioner will visit once more.../
We practiced every dance.../ He rose, / took off his hat to me / [He]
rested in the leaf house / walked and took pictures. / All my deeds are
finished, / I did them among the people."

* The dancers jump onto the sounding board, which rests upon his feet. Taupongi translated this song with 61 verses and two refrains: "the taro leaves are yellow" and "the child of Te'oha".

The following introductory *mako* was composed about a trip back from Rennell to Bellona, when he met with rough sea and was afraid; the song is not complete.

*Te 'ungu mako a Ma'itaki*The introductory *mako* by Ma'itaki

1. Nonoa te ngangī kau inahiaa. 2. Tuku baka kau te maataki na. 3. Ngibu te matangi o he'e pa'unga. (Umenge:) 'Euaaha ee, 'euaaha ee. 4. Ngea te moana poo na henua. 5. He'e maahonga aku tengeu'aa. 6. Kae e'a hoki toku sama nguaa. 7. Taku hoe mungi nei te 'uinga. (Umenge:) 8. Taku sae'aki ki matahenuaa. 9. Baapae mai kau inahiaa. 10. Hoki toku ma'ungi o siasia.	1. Calm sky, I watched it. 2. On board [returning] from visiting [Rennell] there. 3. Shifting wind and unclear. (Refrain:) 'Euaaha ee . 4. Rough sea at night. 5. My thoughts unclear. 6. But my double outrigger rises so strong.* 7. My paddling like lighting. (Refrain:) 8. My course [was] towards the west end of the island. 9. A signal fire [burned on Bellona] that I might see it. 10. I quickened and was happy.

* Literally, the outrigger of the canoe, which had gone under the waves and could have caused the canoe to capsize, re-emerged.

TEKAMU SUNGU'IA, Tongaba Lineage (born about 1919).

Tekamu (see also Chapter Four) was married in 1936 and had seven children, the first born in 1942 and the last in 1962. Both of her daughters died, and her polio-stricken husband died in 1976.

Tekamu composed eight songs, three of which put forth her claim to disputed land. She composed four *tangi* laments, one for her husband when he was stricken with polio; another when he died; one for her son when he was imprisoned in Honiara; and one for herself because she was left alone with nobody to help her; a *mako* dirge (usually composed by men) when her eldest son died; a *pai* for her mother's lineage; and a *pai* in praise of her father.

She was the only woman on Bellona who decided to participate consistently in dance performances for a period in 1977. As a regular church member, she did not participate in recording sessions in 1974, but having temporarily left the church in 1977, she was able to participate when I came to Bellona for the second time. Her son, Moa Ma'itaki also performed dances in 1977.

One of Tekamu's brothers who died on Rennell, had a daughter, Tebengi, born about 1933, who also sings and has composed two *tangi* in praise of her husband.

TONGAKA, Tehakapaia lineage (born about 1921)

Tongaka is an influential man in his district and a spokesman for his people. In 1974, although he did not participate in performances, he asked at a meeting in Honiara that a copy of the 1933 film of dances taken by the Templeton Crocker Expedition on Bellona be made available in the Solomons. This was done by Torben Monberg. In 1977, after having seen his father dance on the film, Tongaka decided to participate in dance performances.

Tongaka is a capable dancer, and he composed several songs which he was kind enough to write down in a notebook for me, along with thirty other songs. He is a dignified man of slim stature and tightly curled black hair. Between 1949 and 1959, he was the dresser or medical practitioner, and in 1977 he was the medical aide to Nurse Melitas at the clinic.

Among Tongaka's eight compositions are two *tangi*, one *'ungu*, three *huaa mako*, one song labelled *me'a* 'thing' (probably a long *huaa mako*) and one *ngongole*. Only one song, a *tangi*, was translated. This song has 15 verses concerning the anointing of a "godly vehicle" (*baka'atua*, an assistant to the priest-chief) who delivers the *haka'o'oue* call of the sky god at the *kanongoto* ritual. The refrain, from the *ngeba* songs of the same ritual, is "*lo ngeba-o*". The song ends: "*Haka'o'oue* in the temple / Heard there, your voice, over the sea / Spread your ritual mat, spread nine turbans* / to conclude your *baka'atua* [ritual]." (*The person who performs the ritual and spreads a ritual mat, wears nine turbans.)

TUIMA'U TE'OSAIKA, Tongaka's wife, born about 1933, also composed and sang, although she did not dance. She is the composer of at least two *tangi*.

SOLOMON TEIKA, Nuku'angoha lineage (born ca. 1924)

Solomon is a fine singer, dancer and composer, one of the mainstays of the performers on Bellona. He had been a policeman in Honiara for twenty years, and the police had estimated his year of birth to be 1921. His wife, Hazel, has traditional tattoos, but he does not. Hazel and Taupongi's wife are sisters.

Solomon wrote out two notebooks for me containing 27 songs, new and old, two of which he had composed himself. His compositions include a *mako* and two *huaa mako*, one of which concerns a land dispute. His *mako* is a highly renowned song with 15 verses concerning the future of Bellona, should

the proposed surface mining for phosphates become a reality. A majority of Bellonese are willing to sell their garden land to the mining company in order to obtain money. Solomon's *mako* is a dirge, a vivid picture of the destruction that would result from open face mining, both to traditional cultural values and also by ruining the soil for food production. The text of this song has been published (Rossen, 1977:15-17 and 1978 b:31 with a photograph of Solomon singing the song on page 30); he also sings the song on the documentary film about Bellona (1978) produced for Denmark's Radio and Statens Filmcentral.

HEMAN HAIKIU, Sauhakapoi lineage (born ca. 1924)

Heman had earlier been Government District Headman. He and his wife, Rhoda, were always helpful to me, kind and friendly. In the introduction, I have described their hospitality, and Elbert and Monberg also describe her as a magnificent hostess (1965:36).

Thin and muscular, Heman has a splendid physique and very curly hair. An excellent dancer and singer, he is another mainstay of the performing group. He had composed ten songs, which he wrote out for me in a notebook, along with other songs. He composed two *huua mako*, a *mako hakapaungo*, a *mako hakasaunoni*, a *ngongole*, four *tangi*, and a *mako*. The *mako* was composed for Paul Sa'engeika and Pongi, with whom he once went fishing, and this song concerns their skill at catching flying fish.

One *tangi* with 49 verses is for a distribution of bananas given by his father's brother, and one *tangi* with 33 verses is for Torben Monberg and Rolf Kuschel. Another *tangi* with 54 verses, composed in the 1970s, concerns an incident when he and his son were out fishing: a big wind arose and the current swept their canoe out to sea, so far from Bellona that the island appeared very small. Four men searching for them found them before sunset; if the sun had set they would have been lost.

According to custom, Heman learned the arts of singing and dancing from his father, who was also outstanding. **SANGA'EHA**, who was one of the important contributors to my collection in 1974, was lost at sea in September 1975. He was a renowned shark-fisherman and a singer of the *unguoso* sung after catching a shark. He was a venerable elder with slightly wavy white hair and the father of five nearly middle-aged sons. He bore the *hakasapa* tattoo, a large and singular pattern on the buttocks extending down to a curved point on the thighs.

TAUPONGI, Tongomainge lineage (born ca. 1928).

Taupongi was one of the main organizers and leaders of the performing group on Bellona, whose help to me was invaluable. He has a special feeling for translating Bellonese phrasing into English, always making sure that the words fit as closely as possible in style as well as in meaning. Thus his use of English is both precise and poetic; he translated many of the songs in this book. While he was a policeman for several years in Hoinara, his wife Tebaiata, remained on Bellona.

Taupongi has an enormous store of knowledge about the dances and songs, much of which he received from his father, Temoa. Although he did record a few songs for me, Temoa never participated in group performances.

Taupongi is a consummate performer, in both dancing and singing. As a dancer he is precise, graceful, and in full control, despite the fact that he is heavy and of large proportions. He is one of the very few (and the only one I met) whose knowledge of dance includes the full terminology.

A *tangi* and a *huua pati* are his only two compositions, as far as I know. The *huua pati* is about the visitors from overseas, Torben Monberg, Leif Christensen and Samuel Elbert, who brought joy and festivity to his house in 1958. The *tangi*, given below, was composed after he returned from his first trip to Denmark. It concerns his life and achievements, among them his two trips abroad: to Hawaii in 1961 to and Denmark in 1964-65. This song came to my knowledge in 1979-80, when he again visited Denmark to collaborate on Part 2 of the "Dictionary of the Language of Rennell and Bellona."

Te tangi a Taupongi

The lament by Taupongi

Recorded in Bagsværd, Denmark, 14 December 1979.

(Umenge:)

E songo kia oieeee.

1. Hakatahi ki Nukumangama o.
2. Maanatua i aku hai'anga o.
3. Kau hakangaua ke na'a o.
4. Toku mangu tupu i Taheunga,
5. Ma Ghongau te kongoa mu'a o.
6. Noho ki toku sa'a noko uta o.
7. Haangiu ai ko 'Inati 'Eha o.
8. Oku haiba he'e tausanga o.
9. I te tai ma te henua 'eha o.

(Refrain following each verse:)

E songo kia oieeee .

1. Assembling [for a feast] in Bellona.
2. Thinking about my achievements.
3. I count memories.
4. My splendor comes from Taheunga,
5. And Ghongau, the first settlement.
6. Resting in my clan from 'Ubea.
7. Acts of my life 'Inati-'Eha.
8. My accomplishments are not bad.
9. On sea and land.

10. Ngaku atu 'ai te Ha'akinga o.	10. Abundant there [my] planting materials.
11. Tangisaki ai toku henua o.	11. [People] await [the harvest].
12. Maanatu ai oku baka'eha o,	12. Think about my big canoes,
13. Noko ngungu kinai a moana o,	13. Drawn to it plentiful fish,
14. Na tukua kia kaungingia o.	14. Entrusted to the expert flying-fisherman.
15. Mangama te ngiu o te baka o,	15. Flashing into the canoe,
16. 'Ati ai aku manga'e ika o.	16. Pile up there my <i>manga'e</i> fish.
17. 'Aku noho hakatangatupu'a o.	17. My way is telling stories,
18. Ki te mata e hiti ngongonoa o.	18. Long sought out by strangers.
19. Hengeu ai na nuku mama'o.	19. People far away converse about it.
20. Tuku muna kia Ngibuhenua o.	20. Invited, Ngibuhenua.
21. Na mu'a taku hano hakangua o.	21. The first person to go twice.
22. Ohokia ingaa 'amonga o.	22. Welcomed to those lands.
23. Hokimai kau tangangongo a o.	23. I return and tell about it,
24. Ke tangiinga ai ngua henua o.	24. The two islands hear about it.
25. Hakamotu toku toku 'angoha o.	25. Cease, end my [song of] compassion.
26. Noka te nonoho te hengeua o.	26. Stop, don't mumble [it's criticism].
27. Na biki 'anga ki to'oku sa'a o.	27. The praises of my clan.
28. Tuku ki tiau tau ki mata o.	28. Ending to the splendor of my [life].

* A praise-song (*biki*) composed in 1967. The notes below explain the verses by number:

1. Nuku-mangama 'Abode -of-light', one of several honorific names for BE.
4. Taheunga: the grave of Taupongi's ancestors.
5. *Kongoa* : honorific start of a speech, preceding the particular type of settlement designated here as 'first', referring to the Kaitu'u clan; Taupongi's mother belonged to the Hangekumi lineage of this clan.
6. The Taupongi clan is his clan which travelled from 'Ubea to Bellona.
7. Taupongi has 16 names; 'Inati 'Eha means 'plentiful food offerings'.
8. Foreigners have long sought him as a source of Bellonese traditions and reported his stories abroad, so that Bellona is discussed by people in faraway lands.
18. *Hiti* = *tongohiti* 'strangers'.
- 20-22. Ngibuhenua 'encircling-lands', an honorific name for Taupongi, who was invited to Hawaii in 1961 and to Denmark in 1964 and 1979.
23. A new verse that refers to his impending return to the Solomons at the time he wrote the song down (in 1979).

CHAPTER SIX: ORAL HISTORY OF MUSICAL TRADITIONS

This chapter deals with material that can be ordered either by subject or by chronology and I have chosen the latter. Although the chronology that can be established for Bellonese history is not by any means accurate, we can roughly sketch the following time periods:

1. 'Ubean, i.e., traditions believed to have originated on 'Ubea before the emigration.
2. Migration, i.e., a possible lengthy period of wandering prior to settlement on Bellona (*Mungiki*) and Rennell (*Mungaba*).
3. The early generations on Bellona, from the time of the aboriginal population (*hiti*).
4. Recent period, i.e., the period for which dates can be established, which begins about 1880 (generation 18 to the present).

Unravelling the historical facts underlying oral traditions can be a difficult task even for the recent period (section 4 below). Some of the problems involved are discussed by Kuschel and Monberg (1977), who compare two sets of data about the same events: a Rennellese boy named Tome (Tom) went to Australia when quite young on a labor-recruiting ship. He was considered lost until, after many difficulties, he returned to Bellona in 1881 as a grown man. The commander of the ship returning him from Queensland to Bellona reported the story in writing, whereas Kuschel and Monberg recorded an account from Bellonese oral tradition; these two stories are compared in their article. Not surprisingly, the Bellonese who received Tome had quite a different view of the events than the commander of the ship.

The differences between the two stories reflect different cultural perceptions of the events and the divergent interests of the story-tellers. Such factors can shape the presentation to the extent that the historical facts are not easily reconstructed. Moreover, some events may not be preserved in memory and tradition if they have no particular value to an individual story-teller. Information also may be lost to the collective memory of the group, for example by the death of the only carrier, and it may be distorted over time in significant ways. People tend to remember selectively for example, flattering

events concerning one's own lineage might be retained and unflattering stories forgotten. The reader should keep such factors in mind when reading this chapter.

Stories about some songs and dances that originated in 'Ubea, and some that originated in the early generations on Bellona are remembered clearly in oral tradition, but this is not the case for the migration period, although some indirect evidence does exist.

The Bellona version of oral traditions concerning the discovery of Rennell and Bellona by their present inhabitants, published by Elbert and Monberg (1965:174, T66:7), tells about a small group of about 10 men and some women from East and West 'Ubea who: "go to Ngua Hutuna ('Two Hutuna') and then to Henuatai ('Sealand'), where they obtain many gods. Most of the canoes swamp in the surf and a hundred persons drown. The two surviving canoes, captained by Taupongi and Kaitu'u, land on northeast Mungaba (Rennell) and then go to Mungiki (Bellona)."

In the space of a single sentence a score of men and women have increased to over a hundred. Ngua Hutuna evidently refers to Futuna, but what is Henuatai? Elbert asks (1967:385): "Could this Henuatai of the traditions, this Sealand, have been a cover term for a homeland where the Polynesians survived for centuries in a Melanesian sea?"

In the stories about the origin of the dances there is no direct mention of such a period, but some indirect evidence may be gleaned. Certain dances originate in a past so distant that few traces remain in story.

The material in this chapter will be presented in the time periods outlined above, beginning with those dances believed to have originated in 'Ubea before the migration, and ending with a brief note concerning contemporary forms of music.

6.1 Musical Traditions from 'Ubea

As the story goes, when the two canoes reached the unknown lands for which they were searching, the people went ashore at Ahanga on Bellona and danced their *suahongi* (Elbert and Monberg 1965:176, T66:28). People today affirm that the *suahongi* was brought from 'Ubea with the immigrants, except for the *hakatamatama* ending composed in the fourth generation after the immigration. Certain other dances are likewise believed to have originated in 'Ubea (the *kapa*, *hakatenge*, *mako ngang*i, and an early form of the *papa*), but the same people maintained that they could not be certain about the origin of

these dances, because they are not mentioned in definite narratives as is the *suahongi*.

The details of stories handed down in oral tradition are thus regarded as a source of history by the Bellonese. They distinguish between such 'history', as reported in discrete, well-known narratives, and less tangible hearsay or speculation.

6.2 The Period of Migration

The only story published by Elbert and Monberg about what could have been a long period of migration from Polynesia through Melanesia to the Solomons, already cited, continues (op.cit.;174-176, T66: 9-21): "And Tongo and Kaitu'u boarded the main hull [of the double] canoe, and came and reached Henuatai..." where a hundred persons drown. Between the time when Tongo and Kaitu'u sailed, and the time when the hundred persons drowned at Henuatai, a period of generations might well have elapsed. The designation Henuatai (Sea-land or Marineland) could cover an area where the migrants wandered for centuries among Melanesian islands. The original group must have had time to multiply in numbers, as only a small group of men and women had originally left 'Ubea.

I did not hear any references to or narrations about musical events originating in Henuatai. One dance may be inferred to have originated there because of its name, *mako hakapaungo* 'dance in the style of Paungo'. Paungo is "an ancient place name, probably for San Cristobal Island" (Elbert 1975:226).

A song session said by Paul Sa'engeika to be extremely ancient, although not from 'Ubea, the *pese hakasa'amo* (*pese* in the Samoan style), may also have originated in the migration period. There is no story concerning the origin of this song session and Paul Sa'engeika said, "we only think that it is from Samoa," but we do not know with certainty, as we have no stories about its origin.

Life on Rennell and Bellona during the first five generations of the genealogies was of a semi-migratory nature as people travelled between Rennell and Bellona. It is possible that the migratory period prior to the settlement on the islands is not clearly differentiated from the later semi-migratory period. Life in the earliest generations is described in Elbert and Monberg (1965:257-258, T124:4): "The activity of the three Ngatonga was to go to 'Ubea, and to return to Bellona here and to Rennell. When people wanted to worship Semoana (Tehainga'atua) and Tehu'aingabenga, they went in canoes to 'Ubea and brought back turmeric in them, so that people might use it for anointing as they worshipped Tehu'aingabenga."

Aside from these reputed trips to 'Ubea, people also migrated freely between Rennell and Bellona during the first five generations, in the sense that people had settlements on both islands and resided on each of them by turn. It was not until generation six that there was a clear division between people who lived in Bellona and those who lived in Rennell.

Information about genealogies is sparse and incomplete in the early generations, particularly for generations 1 - 5 after the immigration. People remember their own genealogies best, although some generations may have been forgotten; information about the extinct clans is particularly sketchy.

Demigods appear in stories from these early migratory periods. The story below concerns the origin of the name *mako sasa* 'crazy songs' and takes place in the underworld. The origin of the song session itself and its earlier name, *mako noho* 'seated song', is not known, but it is thought to be "a thing from the gods" (Taupongi), or to have originated "on Rennell and Bellona" (Paul Sa'engeika), i.e., during the very first generations when people lived on both islands.

The narrative concerns a man named Taingoa from Rennell who ate rats (unlike the others). When he died, he and his wife went to the underworld. They attended a strange feast at the settlement belonging to Ghaubegho and a *mako noho* was held in his honor. The other guests were *apai*, wild, unpropitiated deities who were all naked. Taingoa thought of them as lunatics because of their behavior, which made him ashamed, and hence he gave their song session the name *mako sasa* (from *sasa* 'to be crazy; lunatic').

Melanesian people on some islands of the Solomons traditionally went without clothes, unlike the people of Bellona and Rennell, which suggests the possibility that travels in Melanesian lands lent some inspiration to the Bellonese picture of the underworld presented here. It is also possible that the song session was influenced in some way by this contact with Melanesian culture. There are several aspects of the event that could have been affected, such as the music, the manner of performance, the gift-giving, etc.; I will discuss the music with reference to such possible influence in Part 2.

Te mako sasa**The crazy song [session]**

Taupongi in Denmark, December 1979.

This story, which takes place in the underworld, tells about the origin of the name *makosasa* for the *mako noho* session of sitting songs.

1. Ko Taingoa te pengea o Tengano tena takotonga i Tengiku (Tengano). Ko ia noko kai kimoa. Ka te 'atua o na kimoa, ko Ghaubegho, te ungu-ungu o Ghaubegho ko Totongosoi. Namaa mate a Taingoa o hano ki poo'ungi. Hakaputu te manaha o Ghaubegho o hai te makosasa i te poo kia Taingoa, noho a Taingoa i te hange.

2. Kae haka'ese kinai a Ghaubegho ia tona unguungu a Totongosoi, manga boo takahanga kia Taingoa. Tuku atu e Ghaubengo

ke beetau a Taingoa ma tona unguungu. Pa'a a Taingoa, hai atu a Ghaubegho: "Ee aa?" Hai atu a Taingoa: "Ee maase'i." Hai atu a Ghaubegho: "Manga kona na noho ka te haka'eha kia te koe!" He'e muna a Taingoa. Hai atu a Ghaubegho: "'Ai ina iho." Nimaa ina 'atu a Taingoa ko ba'i 'apai manga he'iti boo. Ma te ngenge atu a Totongosoi o eke ia Taingoa o beetau.

1. Taingoa was a person from Tengango, his grave was at Tengiku (Tengano). He ate rats. The deity of rats was Ghaubegho, whose wife was Totongosoi. Taingoa died and went to the underworld. In the evening everyone from Ghaubegho's settlement assembled [for a feast] and a *makosasa* was held in honor of Taingoa who sat in the house [as guest of honor].

2. Ghaubegho said 'ese to his wife Totongosoi, who went naked to Taingoa. Ghaubegho gave [her] away so that

Taingoa and his wife could copulate. Taingoa felt ashamed; Ghaubegho said: "What is it?" Taingoa said: "It's bad." Ghaubegho said, "this is just a way to honor you!" Taingoa didn't speak. Ghaubegho said, "Look around." When Taingoa looked around, all the 'apai were copulating. Totongosoi jumped up and upon Taingoa and they had intercourse.

NOTES

2. When people said 'ese, as in the *makosasa*, this announced that they were presenting a gift. Living people would give away food or other articles (even houses or canoes) when saying 'ese. But

since the gods of rats didn't have any such goods *ota'ota*, as they are called, they made a gift of their *tobigha* (buttocks, genital area). Totongosoi sat down in the house with Taingoa, after walking naked to him; the deity of rats and his people wore no clothes.

Taupongi thought that the *mako noho* might have originated with the deities, as was the case with the *papa*; but he did not cite a particular tale.

6.3 The early generations on Bellona and Rennell

This is the era of the *hiti* and *kakai* 'culture heroes', a time when persons and their generations are uncertain. When the two canoes came ashore at Ahanga, Bellona, and danced their *suahongi*, a *hiti* named Sobiki', "listened to them and went down and spied on them. When the *suahongi* was about to end, Sobiki returned (to his settlement) and told about the party of travellers at the coast" (Elbert and Monberg 1965:176-177, T66:28).

Thus, according to oral tradition, when the immigrants arrived, they confronted resident aborigines, whom they called *hiti* ('to die out, be extinct'). These people are described as being small and timid, with long hair and light brown skin, living in caves in the forest. They killed Kaitu'u's uncle Tongo (for his stinginess), and were themselves eventually killed off in successive fights with Kaitu'u (with much trickery on both sides). Elbert suggests (1962:25-31) that the non-Polynesian phonemes /gh/ and /l/ might have originated from this early population, who were possibly Melanesians. In the preliminary archaeological study conducted by Poulsen (1972), no evidence of an earlier Melanesian population was found.

The settlers lived in coexistence with the *hiti* for some time, according to traditions, and during this period the *hiti* are said to have taught them to use several indigenous plants. Some of these were important in times of food scarcity. The *hiti* taught the Polynesians how to cook the fruits of the *ngeemungi* tree, pandanus keys, and the *mango* vines, which were chewed in times of food scarcity. They were also credited with teaching people, "to catch flying fish with torches; to eat the *soi tea* (arrowroot); to climb with climbers (that is to attach a sling to the feet while climbing trees)" (Monberg 1966:92). Tapping of longicorn larvae, once a source of food, was also learned from the *hiti*.

There are several stories about encounters with the *hiti*, and a meeting between Kaitu'u and two *hiti* is the subject of a song called *te maghiiti a ngu hiti* 'the *maghiiti* by two *hiti*'. Certain kinds of songs are attributed to the *hiti*, as for instance the *obo* songs that were sung during the harvesting of *ngeemungi* fruit. The use of the fruit and the connected songs might have been

transmitted together.

It must be emphasized, however, that none of the extant songs is in any other language than Bellonese, even though some may be in an ancient form of the language. In other words, no songs are sung in a language which the Bellonese could label "*hiti*," and there is no linguistic evidence in the songs themselves to help confirm or deny the existence of these people.

The Bellonese culture heroes, called *kakai*, were thought to have lived in the earliest period of the settlement of Bellona and in 'Ubea. One such hero was the trickster Mautikitiki, also known elsewhere in Polynesia, along with Sina, who was his mother and/or his sister. Certain songs and many of the singing games (*babange 'anga*) are attributed to the *kakai*.

Taupongi told the following story about the origin of the *papa* dance and *tangi* sessions. He said that the ancestors and demigods in the story were more powerful than the people of today, and for that reason their dancing and other actions were also more powerful. The story takes place in the abodes of the deities, and the ancestors are present there. Mortals learned of these events through the agency of mediums.

It is believed that the sounding board was brought from 'Ubea, but that it was beaten differently there. The original *papa* dance from 'Ubea reputedly had different movements, and the accompaniment had a slower, more regular tempo.

The story explains the origin of the Bellonese *papa* dance with its characteristic spurts of accelerated beating, as well as the origin of *tangi* song sessions. This difficult story was first translated by Taupongi. In Denmark, Samuel Elbert suggested revisions which were submitted to Taupongi for confirmation before being worked into the text.

The feast referred to below was given by the sky god Tehainga'atua, who invited all the deities to his abode, Manukatu'u. Nguatupu'a and her brother, the parents of the sky god, were fearsome gods embodied in the two sacred stones brought from 'Ubea.

The origin of the *papa* dance and *tangi* laments

Taupongi, Tongomainge lineage, Matahenua, February 22, 1977.

1. Na papa te me'a mai na 'atua.
Noko heketi na 'atua ki na taaunga
o 'atingongo i na nuku ongatou
e tau papa. Konei na noho ongatou
tau papa 'anga ma ongatou mako
'anga. Ma te hai lobo e Mungiki ma

1. The *papa* dance is a thing [received]
from the deities. The deities possessed
mediums and explained [that] in their
abodes the *papa* was beaten. This is the
nature of their *papa*-beating
and their dancing. And Bellona and

Mungaba te 'angu i te me'a tanga ngongo i na taaunga: na huaa mako, na titipa 'anga i na papa, ma na hai tangi 'anga, noko tanga ngongo e na taaunga heketi.

2. Noko hai te hakatahinga a Tehainga'atua o hakatahi kinai na nuku ongatou. Hakaputu aano 'oti hakatau na papa. Hakatau te papa a Ekeitehua ma tena haanau. Hakatau te papa a Sangama'ungi. Hakatau na papa a na ngasuenga Mungaba ma Mungiki o 'oti. Hakatau na papa a Nguatupu'a ma tena tunga'ane. Teengaa te pengea noko taa e ia te papa a Nguatupu'a, ko Tupaukiu, te 'atua sa'amaatu'a o sa'a Tanga. Noko tanga ngongo'ia noko taa e Tapaukiu, noko eba na sa'amaatu'a o sa'a Tanga, manga tutu'u nga-'akau ongatou 'ungu i te me'a ngaa kua hiti sa'a Tanga ma te he'e tau pengea ke bonga ongatou takotonga.

3. Teengaa tasi tautupu'a ki ki te hakatahinga noko hakatau ai na papa. Noko tipa Tupaukiu, kae mako kinai a Nguatupu'a ma tona kainanga i na sa'amaatu'a o sa'a Tanga. Nimaa mako a Nguatupu'a o tighe ki te papa noko tipa ai a Tupaukiu, kaa ko Nguatupu'a ma tona tunga'ane noko mamango i ngua tusi tatau. Sa'u ake te ingi o Tehu'aingabenga o puipui e ia Mungiki ke noka te hiina'i kinai a Nguatupu'a ma

Rennell tried to imitate the acts revealed by mediums: the dance songs, the beating of the *papa*, and composition of *tangi*, as revealed by possessed mediums.

2. Tehainga'atua gave a feast and the inhabitants of the heavenly abodes gathered there. They all came and beat the *papa*. The *papa* was beaten for Ekeitehua and his offspring [by his son]. The *papa* was beaten by Sangama'ungi. The *papa* was beaten by all the district gods (of) Rennell and Bellona. The *papa* was beaten by Nguatupu'a and her brother. The person who beat the *papa* for Nguatupu'a was Tupaukiu, a deified ancestor of the Tanga clan. [Mediums] revealed [that the *papa*] was beaten by Tupaukiu, and the ancestors of the Tanga clan danced, but trees grow out of their heads because the Tanga clan had become extinct and there was no one to clean their graves.

3. There is another story about the feast where the *papa* was beaten. Tupaukiu was beating, and Nguatupu'a and her worshippers from among the ancestors of the Tanga clan danced to it. When Nguatupu'a danced and jumped on the *papa* that Tupaukiu was beating, Nguatupu'a and her brother were dressed in two tapas soaked with tattooing blood. Tehu'aingabenga held up a fan and thus he protected Bellona's people so that Nguatupu'a and

tona tunga'ane, i te kitai boo
mai a Nguatupu'a ma tona tunga-
'ane o to'o he pengea i Mungiki
o kai.

4. Kae hakatau te papa
a Mahuike ma'u. Teengaa te pengea
noko taa e ia tena papa, ko Tepua-
'oka. Noko tanga ngongo'ia
noko taa e Tepua'oka te papa a
te tamana a Mahuike. E taa e ia
kae hakatuangongo na tanginga
noko tau o hepootaki. Noko tau
o hepootaki. 'Oti.

5. Ko Singano ma tena tu-
'unganga ma tena haanau; teengaa
te pengea noko taa e ia te papa
a te tamana ko Taha'uinga. Ka
he'e na'a e au te pengea noko taa
na papa a na ngasuenga a Mungaba
ma Mungiki, o na ngasuenga a te
sa'a Kaitu'u noko hai.

6. Na hai tangi 'anga te me'a
ma'u na 'atua. Nimaa hai tangi
na 'atua eke a Hakakamu'eha,
te unguungu o Tehu'aingabenga,
'ati ngongo ai. Hatu hakapapata kinai
na tangi ma na 'aamonga nei.
Teengaa te hai 'anga e hu'aitaki
hai noho ai na tau'asonga a na
'aamonga unga. Ma te 'oti.

her brother could not see them,
lest Nguatupu'a and her brother might
come and take someone from Bellona
and eat [him].

4. Then the *papa* was given to
[the god] Mahuike too.
Tepua'oka beat the *papa* for him.
The medium said that
Tepua'oka beat the *papa* of
his father, Mahuike. It was beaten by him
and resounded in his ears making his
earrings vibrate. Hanging earrings [around
his ears in the style of the deities] and
vibrating. Finished.

5. [The *papa* of] Singano and his
offspring; the person who beat the
papa of his father was Taha'uinga
[a deity]. But I don't know the person [who]
beat the *papa* of
the district deities of Rennell
and Bellona, or the district deities
of the Kaitu'u clan.

6. The performance of *tangi* was
also received from the gods. When deities
were doing *tangi*, Hakakamu'eha,
the wife of Tehu'aingabenga, possessed
[people] and told about it. [The people of]
these islands composed *tangi* like them.
That is the reason for the great difference
in the singing and dancing of other
Polynesian Islands [which lack the *tangi*
and *papa*]. And the finish.

NOTES

2. Tupaukiu was a man of the now extinct Tanga clan, who lived in about the seventh generation after Kaitu'u and who became a deified ancestor (Elbert 1975:324).

3. Nguatupu'a and her brother were bloodthirsty; they wore tapa soaked with tattooing blood because they liked blood.

4. Tepua'oka was an unpropitiated deity (*'apai*). When a clan died out, the graves of its ancestors went untended and trees grew up there, as mentioned in 2, above. Its deities became dangerous to humans when no longer propitiated in ritual. Mahuike was a deity who caused earthquakes (op.cit.:160).

5. Singano = Ekeitehua, the great district god of the Iho clan.

6.3.1 Musical instruments in early generations

The possible existence of musical instruments other than the sounding board during the early generations on Bellona was discussed with Paul Sa'engeika and other elders. After listening to the discussions, Taupongi concluded that the *papa* and the following implements were formerly used for sending urgent messages of danger or other signals:

Bagha ki te 'to signal on the':

- *tutua*, anvil for tapa-beating (*tutu* is the sound produced).
- *kumete*, wooden container for water or pudding, i.e., bowls of different shapes.
- *kange'a*, the conch shell used as a trumpet (the sound produced is called *buki*).

The sound produced by beating a warning is called *bangongo* (Rennellese *baghobo*). With the coming of churches, the above implements were replaced by the church *belo* 'bell', which was usually a gas cylinder or a slit drum. Paul Sa'engeika and Daniel Tuhonuku have witnessed the *papa*, *kumete*, and *tutua* being used to give signals of warning. There was some agreement that the conch shell trumpet had been used by the culture heroes, although it had not been used within the memory of any living informant.

6.3.2 Women's participation in dancing in early times

Temoa, the father of Taupongi, told about a women's temple at the lake on Rennell in generation six or seven. Taupongi translated the following account. Mangiko was the *tunihenua* 'priest-chief' and it was she who started the women's temple (*nganguenga a haahine*). The women danced at this temple and that was where the *mako hakahaahine* was performed. This is the way the women's temple reputedly came to an end: "Mangiko gave birth to a baby, and after the delivery, some of the women beat the *papa* and began singing. She danced with them. When Mangiko danced after giving birth, she looked bad because of the birth, and their deity turned away from them. All those women died; they died out." (Temoa, Tongomainge lineage. At Matahenua, 15 March 1977.)

Although women participated in only two of the dances in the period immediately preceding the conversion to Christianity, several of the elders thought that women may have danced in the *suahongi* and other dances in 'Ubea, but that this practise was changed in the new homelands. There is a local theory that the beginning of the *suahongi* may have been composed by two women, as the introduction refers to the 'umu oven and the names of two women.

In the 14th generation, a renowned woman named Matahia, an inventor and innovator, composed many kinds of song-dances and is said to have performed them as well. She also invented the woven designs and plaited bags mentioned in 5.2.1, women's tattoos on the back of the legs, chest stripes, and the *taupito* tattoo around the navel .

It is thus possible that women participated more fully in dancing during earlier times than during the recent period. I was also told that women with special gifts have danced throughout history, taking an initiative that is usually the prerogative of men. This is certainly rare, however, and may have become increasingly uncommon as time progressed.

6.4 The recent period

The stories that follow concern the incorporation of two musical items into the Bellonese repertoire: a) songs and dances introduced by castaways from other islands in the Solomons, and b) flutes from Japanese fishing boat crews. Although the basic facts of these examples of cultural borrowing are well established, the stories thus far collected have not resolved themselves into clear historical details. A certain amount of ambiguity remains that may be resolved by future studies. The main problem, however, is that dates cannot be obtained for the various visits, with one exception: the most recent of the visitors returned in 1926, a date which is published by Firth (1931:190).

6.4.1 Song-dances from Tikopia and Taumako

Tikopia and Taumako, like Bellona, are Polynesian outlier islands in the Solomons. They are on a drift line to Rennell, according to an article by Ward, Webb and Levison (1973). Bellona and Rennell were extremely isolated before the era of modern transportation. Visits by castaways were rare and welcome events. Castaways were considered to be gifts of the gods. Several stories of canoes that drifted ashore (*baka se'ia*: 'drifted canoes') are reported by Elbert and Monberg (1965, Chapter 18 "Wanderings").

Tikopia. Two song-dances from Tikopia, the *mako tu'u* and the *ngongole*, were incorporated into the Bellonese repertoire at two separate times by Tikopians cast ashore on Rennell. These visitors arrived at the end of the last century and in 1926. Firth published an account (1931) given by Pa Tatai, who stayed on Rennell for six months and returned to Tikopia in 1926. Elbert and Monberg have published a short account by a Rennellese about the same two visitors, who they called Kaahika (Tahua) and Balumotu (1965:383, T226). The Tikopian phoneme /f/ corresponds to /h/ in Bellonese and thus the Tikopian name "Tafua" is "Tahua" in Bellonese.

Tongaka of East Bellona told of a man named Tahua who came to Rennell in a canoe with 60 men. The Tikopian phoneme /f/ is retained in the song included in the story; I did not note a translation for the song. A translation of this story is as follows (Tongaka, March 1977):

Currents had swept the canoe away from Tikopia and it was cast ashore on Rennell. Most of the sixty died on the way, some on the cliffs of Rennell, including the chief, Tuhenua. Another chief named Tahua cut down a coconut palm, and a man called Tuapi died at that time. There were five persons left and they lived with Tangosia on the lake [in Rennell].

Many people from Bellona went to Rennell at that time. They learned the dances *mako tu'u* and *ngongole* from the Tikopia and thus brought them to Bellona. They also learned a few *huua mako* song dances, such as this one:

te fana mea, te fana mea
tuu tau ai te abaa, tuu tau ai te abaa
futia ke, tau pana mea.

Daniel Tuhanuku, pastor of the SSEC Church at Ghongau and a lineage elder, knew of several Tikopian visitors - some six in all - who came at two different times. He calls the first Tahua "Pu Tahua *mu'a*" (*mu'a* : 'first'), and the later Tahua *mungi* (*mungi* : 'after, following'). Daniel's paternal grandfather saw Tahua *mungi* at Tegano, Rennell, before Daniel was born. His father saw another Tahua (Kaahika) at Ahanga, Bellona, and this man, who came with his brother, Balumotu, is the one that figures in the accounts of Firth and Elbert and Monberg. According to Firth, Pa Tatai and another man returned to Tikopia in 1926; this is the only date we have for all these accounts.

Daniel, whose stories are numbered 1 and 2 below, says that the dance *mako tu'u* was brought first, the *ngongole* later, and another *ngongole* even later.

1. Concerns Sangaulu and a chief called Tahua (not the same one mentioned above). They stayed at Tegano, Rennell for one year with Kagobai and his young son, Aaron Taupongi. According to Elbert and Monberg (op.cit.: Plate 3), Kagobai lived in generation 18 and Aaron Taupongi in Generation 19.

2. Concerns Balumotu and his brother Kaahika (Tahua). They also stayed at Tegano with Aaron Taupongi, who took care of them, housed them and gave them gardens.

The *mako tu'u* and *ngongole* from Tikopia

Daniel Tuhanuku, Tongaba lineage. Written account, January 1977.

1. Ngu tau'asonga nei, noko ako e te lango 'anga a Tahua ma Sangaulu. Ma Tengaughena ma Togheta ka noko boo te hongau a Mungiki nei, o hiina'i kinai. Ma ako kinai na tangata mai Tikopia ma na tangata mai Mungaba ki te hongau, o boo mai kingatou o ako ki Mungiki nei o manga tau'aso ai i ba'i 'aso. Ka te hongau a Tangaibasa ma Teahe'one ka kua nimo kongaa pengea, ma na pengea ma'u mai Mungiki nei, ka ku manga nimo ongatou ingoa o he'e na'a.

2. Boo ake ma'u a Balumotu ma te taina a Kahiika [Tahua] o haka-pata kia Aaron Taupongi i Tengano ma'u, o ako mako tu'u ngongole ho'ou.

1. Two of our dances were taught by the travellers, Tahua and Sangaulu. And Tengaughena and Doctor went on a trip from Bellona here [to Rennell] and saw it [*ngongole*] there. Men from Tikopia and Rennell taught it to the travellers from Bellona and they returned and taught to the Bellonese here and [they] danced [it] all the time. Tangaibasa and Teahe'one travelled [from Rennell to Bellona] and some other people from Bellona here [who went too], [I] forget their names.

2. Balumotu and his younger brother Kahiika [Tahua] came and stayed with Aaron Taupongi in Tengano and taught some new *mako tu'u* and *ngongole*.

NOTES

Taupongi translated the written account in 1980 and commented that if the Tikopians had stayed with less important people, instead of with the chief, they might have been killed. He heard of these two Tikopians when their ship anchored at Bellona, on the way from Rennell to Tulagi. (He says that he was about five years of age at that time.) Taupongi also saw Balumotu in 1954. They were in Honiara at the time, and Balumotu presented Aaron Taupongi with gifts, to thank him for his earlier hospitality on Rennell.

1. *Togheta* is the English loan word, doctor.

Taumako. In generation 12 and 19 after the immigration, canoes from an island called Taumako were stranded on Bellona and Rennell (op.cit.: 372-373 and 380-381, T218 and 224). This may be the Taumako in the Duff Islands of the Eastern Solomons.

Baiabe from Taumako, in the 12th generation after the immigration, was the composer of at least five songs, in a language lacking the Bellonese phonemes /gh/ and /l/. Among these songs are two *huaa mako* and two popular 'ungu introductory song-dances, one used for *taukuka* tattooing ceremonies.

The texts of these 'ungu are not understood by the Bellonese (see the text in the brochure of Folkways FE 4273:A7). The two *huaa mako* are intelligible, and one of them is part of tale T215 in Elbert and Monberg (1965:370).

6.5 Contemporary music

When I visited Bellona, traditional songs were not heard on the island, except when performed at my request. What has replaced them? The music performed today includes church hymns, children's singing games, and "island songs" composed and performed by young people with or without guitar and ukulele accompaniment. A few musical instruments have been acquired during this century, some of which have now fallen into disuse. For example, flutes were popular during the 1930's and forties but not today.

The brief review of these modern forms of music given below is intended for purposes of background orientation only.

6.5.1 Modern vocal music

Hymns. In 1937 several men from Rennell, including a man named Moa, spent half a year learning about Christianity at the SDA mission station at Batuna, on New Georgia Island in the Solomons. Moa, who implemented the conversion of the Bellonese singlehandedly in 1938-39, translated twenty SDA hymns into the language of Rennell and Bellona. He invented the orthography in which to write them down. During the years that followed the conversion, Moa's book of hymns formed a part of the Christian rituals on Bellona, and must have contributed substantially to the introduction of Christian concepts. When the missionary Gheela insisted that the hymns be sung in English, his vernacular versions of the hymns fell into disuse, but they were not forgotten.

In 1975, at the instigation of local church people, Rolf Kuschel re-edited and published *Te book taungua o te hegeungaa Mungiki o Mugaba*, "The songbook in the language of Bellona and Rennell," supplemented with a foreword and references to the English text numbers in the three SDA hymnals published in 1908, 1928, and 1941.¹⁴

Moa's translations of the hymns have been taken up again with ease, as the tradition is continuous. In this connection it is notable that older people sing each of the songs with two different melodies, "the old way" and "the new way," corresponding to melodies published in earlier and later hymnals.

In 1977, Moa's translations of the hymns were sung regularly at church services, where I recorded them. Since the majority of Bellonese speak little English, these songs are far easier for them to sing than the English counterparts, and they thus are able to give a musical performance with confidence and enthusiasm. The English texts, necessarily performed with hesitation and shyness, give an unmusical impression that is the antithesis of the authoritative performance of the Bellonese texts.

"Island songs." The composition of songs is an important traditional art, and many people can express themselves in this medium, not just a chosen few. Although the singer-composer tradition has continued up to the present, only older people today compose traditional song types while young people compose very different modern songs which they call "island songs." Many of these tell about the composers' island, praising its attributes and describing the events of everyday life. With ukulele and guitar accompaniment, the songs are sung by groups of young people, some of whom become known and, when in Honiara, broadcast their music over the Solomon Island Broadcasting System.

Although influenced by music from elsewhere, these songs are composed in the Bellonese language. There has been more than one source of influence for the songs included under this heading. Young people who were educated abroad learned new musical styles which influenced their compositions, but most had never travelled.

Some early "island songs" were composed by John Tipaika from Rennell, who attended school in Fiji, where he learned to play the guitar.¹⁵ Francis Taupongi, another composer of "island songs," attended the University of Papua New Guinea and was inspired by local music from the Papua coast near Port Moresby. Many educated people, like John Tipaika, move to the capital, but Francis Taupongi has elected to remain on Bellona, where he has started the first local fishing business.

Another influence in recent years is the music that is broadcast on the radio. There are a few portable radios on Bellona - more every year - and American country music may be heard as well as a weekly half-hour broadcast of "custom" music from different parts of the Solomons and contemporary Pan-Oceanic music.

Nicholas Taika, another composer, organized a group to perform his own and other songs when I visited the island in 1974. Many of the songs performed had been composed by a young man called Tony. Francis Taupongi did the same in 1977, organizing group performances of his and other songs for recordings. This is an extension of traditional Bellonese practice in which the organizer of an occasion composes songs performed on that occasion.

Children's songs. Even children compose songs about exciting events on the island. One song was composed by children between the ages of ten and fourteen, about a Taiwanese ship that ran aground on the reef west of Bellona. I recorded this song both in 1974 and 1977.

Children are also active in singing games. They play these games in small groups of from two to four children in the daytime, and in larger groups in the evenings. On moonlit nights the children gather and sing many kinds of songs. In 1974 three Maori songs were popular, among others. In 1977 they sang six clapping songs: one from Nauru, two from the Gilbert Islands, and three in a kind of English, a distorted copy of what they had heard. They also sang numerous songs from church, clapping and marching up and down the lawn in rows of two to four abreast as they sang. These "marching songs" were extremely popular in 1977, and almost any song could be performed in this way by changing the rhythm to a march.¹⁶

6.5.2 Musical instruments acquired in this century

Two kinds of flutes and a mouth bow were popular on Bellona during the 1930s and 'forties. They are no longer used today, except for the mouth bow which is played by children, particularly girls, between 11 and 15 years of age.

The musical bow or *hapa*. There was some discussion among informants about the origins of the musical bow: Solomon Teika thought that the mouth bow was introduced in 1938 or 1939, after which it was adopted by children under about 15 years of age. Paul Sa'engeika suggested that arrows had been used, before 1933, to play on in this way; one of the terms for this instrument, *kauhutu*, also means 'hunting bow'. Other names for the mouth bow are *hitihiti ngaungutu* "to move the lips, as to play the bow" (Elbert 1975:193), and *hapa*, from the English word "harp." In both 1974 and 1977 I recorded

mouth bows played by two different young girls. They called the instrument *hapa*, and made them of any wood at hand, with a string of nylon fishing line. In 1974 a more traditional instrument was demonstrated for me by a man, who called it *hitihiti ngaungutu*. It was made of a better quality wood and had a plaited string of sennit (coconut-husk fibre). The instrument, about a meter in length, is played by gripping it with the lips near one end and strumming the string with a short piece of coconut-leaf midrib. Two main tones are produced: one with the open string, the other by depressing the string at a distance of ca. 20 cm. (nine inches) from the far end of the bow.

The imported Jew's harp is also called *hapa*. In 1933 a man from Rennell learned to play the metal Jew's harp when working on a Japanese boat fishing for sea cucumbers on the reefs around the Solomons; he had owned a small metal instrument. I was told that it was formerly played with the flute on Rennell. I have never seen a metal Jew's harp on Bellona.

Kohe flutes. Two kinds of flutes (notched and fipple types) were introduced between 1925 and 1935. Both are called *kohe* 'stalk flute' (literally, bamboo). Japanese fishing vessels visited Rennell and Bellona repeatedly prior to 1930. The fishermen had metal flutes which the people of Rennell and Bellona copied using the hollow leaf stalks of the papaya plant.

The bamboo (*kohe*) is not a native plant but is believed to have drifted in from the sea. The name *kohe* suggests that some of the early introduced instruments were of bamboo. This is quite possible, as notched flutes are used in Southern Malaita. Musical instruments, including notched flutes, are called "bamboo" and are made of bamboo on other Islands of the Solomons (e.g., in 'Are'are: 'au : bamboo). Bamboo instruments could thus have been introduced from elsewhere in the Solomons prior to or contemporaneously with those from Japanese and/or other ships. Elbert and Monberg quote Monberg's interview with Paul Sa'engeika on the same subject (1965:298) but no additional information is given.

Paul Sa'engeika asserted that there were no flutes from the *hiti* or culture heroes when I asked him about the subject. Two accounts are given below, and flutes may have been introduced on more than two occasions.

A notched flute with four fingerholes, *kohe takihaa* (*haa* : four), was introduced in about 1926. It is probable that this came from the Solomons, where such flutes exist, at least on the southern part of Malaita Island.¹⁷ Daniel, Paul and Taupongi agreed, however, that these flutes had been introduced to Rennell from a Japanese boat. But they said that it was the two Tikopians, along with Togaka from Rennell, who taught the Bellonese how to play these flutes, when their ship anchored at Bellona on the way from Rennell

to Tulagi in 1926. They taught some Bellonese how to *pusi kohe* 'blow the *kohe*' and afterwards people began practicing all over the island.

Some years later a duct flute or recorder, *kohe takiono*, with six fingerholes (*ono* : six) was introduced. Paul and some others thought that this occurred in 1930, but Takiika says that he introduced it in about the year 1934 or 1935. He had acquired a metal instrument and learned to play it when sailing on a ship that traded timber and was based in Vanikoro in the Solomons; he recalls the ship's name as "Lapolola," that it was from New Zealand, and that Aaron Taupongi from Rennell and his two sons had sailed with him.

The *kohe* was formerly blown by women to attract men. All the girls could play these instruments in the 'forties. Tebaiata, Taupongi's wife, says that it was an innocent amusement and not objectionable to the church. One wonders, then, why it is no longer played. Other informants said that both flute-playing and *ose* (*kananga* - singing) were used to court members of the opposite sex.¹⁸ A person would play the *kohe* in the bush near someone whose attention she (or he) wished to attract.

A ribbon reed used as a toy. A musical toy called *te pungo* (*pungo* : coil, to coil) is used on Bellona. One day on the beach two young girls were blowing a toy instrument: they rolled a coconut leaf-frond spirally to form a funnel. Putting the narrow end between the lips, musical tones could be blown on the double reed thus formed. They said that the sound (*nge'o*) was used only for amusement (*babange*).

The antiquity of this toy could not be established, but the Bellonese make functional cups and funnels in the same way, using the leaves of two kinds of ferns. Similar ribbon reeds have been reported in the literature. Roberts describes a Hawaiian instrument rolled from a *ti* leaf and gives an illustration (1926:44, and Plate IIIC).¹⁹



Notched flute, 1974

SEVEN: BELLONESE MUSICAL TERMINOLOGY AND CONCEPTS

The Bellonese musical terms in this chapter will be presented in the following areas: 1. songs and singing, 2. leader and group, 3. voices and voice movement, 4. melody, and 5. accompaniment.

7.1 Singing

In Bellonese, various terms for different styles of singing are used for different kinds of songs. Some are designated by special verbs, and others by the name of the kind of song. The latter is similar to the use of the word *taungua*, the general term 'to sing', as both a verb and a noun. *Tautau* similarly means 'verse' and 'to sing' or 'to line out the verse', in addition to 'word'. Examples of names of song types that are also used as verbs include *hua*, *pese*, *saka*, and *tau*, each referring only to the singing of that particular kind of song.

Some names of song types have a broader usage as verbs than they have as nouns. For example, *maghiiti* and *unguasa* are ways of singing used for several kinds of chants that end with shouts:

- *maghiiti* : 'to sing *maghiiti*, *obo*, or *unguoso*'.
- *unguasa* : 'to sing *unguoso* or *neepungu*'.

Songs are characteristically started by a leader who sings the verses, and they are then taken up by the group. The Bellonese musical concept particular to this pattern of performance is *ngangi* 'to sing' (singular), the verb for a single person's opening a song, singing the lead, or singing the verses. *Ngangi* may be translated by phrases such as 'to sing solo; to lead a group song'. Some dances open with an unaccompanied line or verse sung by a soloist: *e ngangi e Moa* 'Moa sings solo'; the same would be said if Moa sang the verses of a *tangi*. In the *suahongi* the sections begun by a soloist in this way are called collectively *na ngangiina*. Other verbs that refer to ways of singing are as follows:

- *hakatee* : to chant, shout a chant; singing and shouting while carrying shark or other gifts from the gods down the trail; examples are the chants *maghiiti*, *unguoso*, and *tukubaka* (*tee* : to go, stroll).
- *hua*, *huaa* + qualifier: to sing a song; song.

- *nanu* : to sing after a leader; to sing responses (plural).
- *mako 'anga'anga* : to shout; shouting in the dance.
- *ose* : to sing *kananga*; the tune of a *kananga* .
- *sasa* : to sing and beat the rhythm of a *tangi* or *huaa mako* .
- *ungaunga* : to challenge; to sing the *tene* boxing chant.
- *taungua* : to sing, song.
- *tautau* : to sing the verses (singular).

7.2 Leader and group

If present, the composer of a song usually leads the singing of his or her own composition. This is in keeping with the singer-composer tradition (*ngangi* is the concept particular to this performance pattern), where a single person leads a song by either starting it or singing the verses, while the group joins in afterwards or sings the refrain. The concept covers three kinds of musical structure:

- a) Songs that have a number of stanzas, each followed by a refrain.
- b) Dance-songs that start with a solo phrase, after which the group joins in.
- c) Dance suites that are progressive in structure or through-composed, such as the *suahongi*.

There are likewise several designations for leader and group, depending upon the musical event (*me'a*). The person who leads or sings the verses is often called *te pengea e ngangi*, which literally means the same thing. Of *tangi* one would say *e ngangi e Moa* 'Moa leads', here meaning that he sings the verses. In dances accompanied by the sounding board, *te tipa* 'the beater', is commonly the song leader as well. In songs and dances with clapping accompaniment, the leader usually is called *te pese* 'the [person that] claps'. This is the case for *pati* songs and for certain parts of the *suahongi*. Another term for the leader of a song or game is *tungi* 'leader, head, base', as in *pese* songs from the *kanongoto* harvest ritual.

Umenge means 'chorus' and also 'to chorus'. This concept, for which there also are other terms, has to do with the fact that the members of the chorus may take their cue from the song leader and do not need to know all the verses of every song by heart. They must of course be well-versed in the tradition in order to be able to do this. Repeating the words after a leader, in teaching and in actual performance, is *nanu* 'to repeat, to sing responses'; this is also said of persons who are trying to learn a song and are not yet proficient. (In Honiara, one dancer complained that he and the group were

only given a chance to *nanu*, whereas he also wanted to lead songs.) Other expressions for the same thing are *ta'o muna* 'to echo, repeat the speech of others' (literally, hollow sound), and *umenge* 'to chorus'.

The group of singers may be called '*apitanga*' crowd, people; to be many' (from '*api* : brothers), or *tu'unganga* 'group, company crowd', as in the phrase *te 'apitanga ke umenge* 'the group that sings the chorus'. For rituals and *saka* the group is called *kau hekau* (*kau* : group, and *hekau* : work). A group of dancing singers is called *kau mako* or *kau makonga*, meaning respectively, 'group of dancers' and 'group dancing'.

7.3 Voices and voice movement

There are terms for different kinds of voices and movements of the voice, in the sense of melodic direction and trend. Certain smaller, ornamental movements of the voice and voice qualities are also named.

Since singing is performed by a group of individuals with different voices, heterophony is the expected result. The Bellonese explain that each person has a different *nge'o* 'voice' and hence a different way of singing, the result in ensemble being *mou hatingaa nge'o* 'variation of voices'. Although not generally used, unison is desired in certain instances, for example, *hakatahi'aki o hakasisingi* 'all together at the ending' of a song. Unison can also be expressed by saying *he'e mou hatingaa nge'o* 'no variation of voices'.

Overlapping of the parts sung by the leader and the group occurs, and also produces polyphony. The soloist sometimes starts the verses before the chorus is quite finished, and this is called *taungua sesenge* "to sing taking a shortcut to meet the chorus" (cf. Elbert 1975:255).

There are several terms for various voices: falsetto is not used in traditional group singing, but only by one singer practicing alone and in modern church singing. The other voices, singing together, produce sporadic harmony. A list of terms for different voices follows:

nge'o panguunguu: 'to have a deep voice' (*panguunguu*: to hum, mumble, sound faintly).

nge'o hakatootonu : 'to have a straight, level, medium voice' (*hakatootonu* : to be straight, straighten). "Tenor" is translated with this Bellonese term and *nge'o hakahaahine* in the Dictionary (Elbert, Kuschel, Taupongi 1981:85).

nge'o makanga : 'to have a high voice' (*makanga* : to sound loud, crackle, rattle, rumble). "Soprano" is translated with this term (op.cit.:79).

nge'o hakahaahine: 'women's voice, to have a high voice' (*haahine* : women).

This is also occasionally used for a high male voice ("tenor").

nge'o kakanga : 'to smart, as iodine in a wound; to have a piercing voice, as children or women - high and sharp as a knife (= *nge'o ghaaghaa*).²⁰
nge'o pungotu: 'practice voice, falsetto'; high, soft voice used when practicing alone (*pungotu* : to practice).

There are four terms for melodic movements that 'carries, takes, sends, or places' the voice in different ways:

tuku ki ngango : 'to send [the voice] downward' (*tuku* : to send, put, place; *ngango* : below, under).

tuku ki songongi: 'to send (the voice) diving to a deep level' (*songongi* : to go down, sink, dive). This voice sings a low interrupted drone or bourdon tone.

to'o hakatootonu : 'to sing straight or on one level' (*to'o* : to take; *hakatootonu* : to be straight, straighten). This voice commonly sings extended patterns of repeated pitches, an interrupted drone, and thus is 'straight'.

to'o 'angunga : 'to take (the voice) upwards' ('*angunga* : up, upper or high places).

Of the four concepts above, the first and last can refer to melodic movement, whereas the two in the middle pertain to traditional voice parts and their movement. These are sung by those individuals who have the appropriate voices, *nge'o panguunguu*. and *nge'o hakatootonu*. The two drone parts are illustrated in Song 42 in Part 2. These two parts combine with a higher voice part which sings the melody, to produce sporadic three part harmony; occasionally somebody sings flights of semiquavers above the melody line. This is illustrated in Song 43 in Part 2.

Smaller, ornamental movements of the voice, are the following:

hakapoponge : 'to shiver, tremble, quiver; sound faintly like distant thunder rumbling'. In *saka* songs, each verse ends with a final *ee* sound which is drawn out, a prolonged sound on a single low tone. This is sung with the glottis almost closed, so that the sound just squeaks through. When held with just the right aperture, "glottal clicks" caused by the involuntary closing of the glottis interrupt the continuous tone at frequent intervals.

okeoke : 'to shake, pull or swing back and forth'. This is a trill-vibrato, a quick movement of the voice from one pitch to another pitch and back again. The interval used may be a minor third, a major second, and perhaps a perfect fourth. It is done optionally: for example, when singing a regular series of quarter notes in a level melodic line, the

singer may vary the even notes by replacing a quarter note with two eighth notes once in a while, or sometimes a series of them (diminution).

The ornamental technique described for the *suahongi* (Part 2, Chapter 11.2.3) may be a variation of the *okeoke* (unfortunately, this point was not clarified during my stay on Bellona).

Effective use of these ornaments is much admired. One female voice was consistently praised by all. When I asked why her singing was outstanding, I was told that she used the ornament *okeoke* with expertise. But she herself said that people do not use such techniques purposely.

Another singer apparently had a different opinion. He told me about a singing style called *taungua hakaokeoke*, which was the style of a man who is now deceased (Pautangata Teika'ungua of the lineage Mata'ubea I), who used the ornament *okeoke* more than other singers. This was contrasted with the straighter, unornamented style of Tupe'uhi, a contemporary of the person named. Tupe'uhi, who was present at the time, did not confirm this evaluation, so it is possible that the discussion was provoked, at least in part, by my inquiries on this subject.

Approval or disapproval of a soloist's performance may be expressed: *ngau ngea* 'sounds well', *tautau ngaoi* 'to sing the verses well' (singular); *tautau maase'i* 'to sing the verses poorly' (singular) or *loghalogha* 'sing unclearly'. A good singer's voice may be appraised as "clear": *nge'o tangi*, 'clear voice; to speak or sing clearly; to sound clearly', as the sounding board (cf. Elbert 1975:156). One poetic description of a good voice found in a song is *nge'o pe te bangakea* 'voice (that sounds) like branches chafing in the wind'.

Other voice qualities mentioned include "weak, strident and harsh." A weak solo voice is *te mi'i nge'o* 'a small voice'. One man's voice was described as *nge'o ngii* 'hoarse, harsh, or rough voice', but apparently without pejorative connotations. His performance was considered good and this voice quality was described with some good-natured humor, as his personal idiosyncrasy. A strident voice is called *nge'o ghaaghaa* 'harsh, noisy, loud, or high voice'.

7.4 Melody

There are several terms for melody or tune, depending upon the kind of song referred to:

haatunga : 'melody, tune' applies to the song types *tangi*, *mako*, and *kananga*.
nge'o: 'voice, sound, noise; pronunciation, accent' is used for *maghiiti*, *saka*, and the *suahongi*.

ta'anga : 'melody, tune'; *ta'anga tasi* : 'to have the same tune'. The root is *taa* : 'to beat', and this concept concerns *huaa mako* dance songs beaten on the sounding board.

huhuta : 'way, character, habit, tradition, custom' applies to '*ungu*, *pese*, *huaa pati*, and *mako hakasaunoni*.

pungotu : 'practice melodies (used for *huaa mako*, *tangi*, '*ungu*, and *ngongole*); singer; to practice songs alone'.

ose : 'the tune of a *kananga* ; to sing a *kananga* '.

There was much discussion among the singers about the applications and definitions of the above terms. Some of the concepts were clearer than other and people generally could reach agreement about their meaning and the limitations of their usage. It was particularly difficult to reach a consensus regarding the term *huhuta*, which may formerly have been clearer than it is now. When I attempted to elicit information on *ta'anga*, information concerning the dance types of *huaa mako* song-dances often was given in response. Agreement was finally attained by restricting the meaning of the term to similarity in the melody of more than two *huaa mako* songs. Two '*ungu* or *huaa mako* having the same melody are designated *te taa ngua* . The informants also stated that *huaa mako* with the same *ta'anga* 'tune' can have different gestures.

The concept *pungotu* and its special 'practice melodies' proved crucial for the correct comprehension and interpretation of the songs recorded on wax cylinders by the Templeton Crocker Expedition in 1933. Determination of the song type, normally an easy matter, proved difficult for certain of these songs. When I played the recordings to Taupongi, he said that the songs are *huaa mako* dance songs, but that they were recorded in the practice manner called *pungotu taungua* . That explained why they did not have the melody and rhythm characteristic for these songs as normally performed. Both melody and rhythm are altered in this practice style: the text is sung slowly, without accompaniment, to one of several melodies used for this purpose (cf. Chapter 5). Possibly the method of recording required a small number of individuals

to sing directly into a megaphone and was thus unsuitable for the recording of a large group of dancers during actual performance. It is also possible that renditions were explicitly requested for the purpose of transcribing song texts, a request that, in my experience, is answered with such a practice melody.

There are various practice melodies for different kinds of songs, according to Taupongi: *Te pungotu i na huaa mako, 'ungu, ngongole, tangi, taki hai nge'o* 'the practice tunes of *huaa mako*, *'ungu*, *ngongole*, and *tangi* have different sounds'. According to Paul Sa'engeika, some practice melodies are the same as *kananga* tunes.

7.5 Accompaniment

Terms pertaining to the rhythmic accompaniment of songs can be divided into three main groups:

1. *pese* for hand clapping.
2. *tipatipa* for tapping, used in tattooing and *tangi*.
3. *tipa* and *taa* for sounding board rhythms.

In a discussion of the general principles underlying the names used for musical rhythms, we must also consider certain words for various kinds of percussive sounds occurring in daily life, which are used in the names of these rhythms.

Taa, *tipa* and *tuki*, which are defined below, are some of the words meaning to beat, strike, or hit. *Bingibingi* means 'to be fast'; reduplication in Bellonese indicates increasing tempo, continuous and repetitive action, and sometimes diminution. The following definitions from Elbert (1975) include modifications:

pese : 'to clap slowly'.

pesepese : 'to clap rapidly'.

tipa : 'to beat, as the sounding board; beater'.

tipatipa : 'to tap or beat rapidly, as for *tangi*; to tattoo; to flap, as caught fish in a canoe hull; to typewrite'.

tuki : 'to beat, strike, pound, smash, destroy (*tuki e te oko toku hage*, the wind blows my house down); to knock, as on a door; beater, pounder'. A single beat on the sounding board.

tukituki : 'to tap, beat, hammer; to knock rapidly and successively; to strum, as an ukulele'. To beat a summons on the sounding board.

In the musical rhythms, single beats are called *tasi* 'one' with a prefix referring to the kind of accompaniment. The following words also take prefixes: *Tatahi* 'to stand apart, separate', is used in the names of some irregular beats. *Hakatongu* indicates a triple-rhythm (*tongu* 'three'). *Bingibingi* and *tuutuu* are used for a duple-rhythms. The latter term, which refers to the pounding of bark cloth, exemplifies the way everyday percussive sounds and the activities that produce them often lend their names to rhythms and thus enter into this discussion.

Although there is no general word for musical rhythm in the language, Taupongi translated the English word "rhythm" with the following words, which are given here with their literal meanings:

taki : 'to be different, separate'; *taki* is the name of a specific sounding board beat and also of introductory songs which have that beat.

tataki : 'to separate, move or push aside' (cf. *tatahi* 'to stand apart, separate').

hakatataki : 'to resemble' (Elbert, personal communication, 1979).

Taupongi used these words in the following sentences. Referring to *saka* songs, Taupongi stated in two ways that these songs all have the same rhythm:

"*Ko ba'i saka tasi nge'o ma tasi taki*," all *saka* have one [and the same] sound and the same rhythm.

"*Ko ba'i saka tasi ona nge'o ma tasi taki*," all *saka* , one their sound²¹ and one their rhythm.

When comparing a hymn in the SDA hymnal with its Bellonese translation, Taupongi said: "*Te hakatataki'anga te taungua langusi ma te taungua English papata*," the [rhythmic] resemblance of the song in [the Bellonese] language and the song in English is similar (or equal). He explained that he was thinking of the rhythm of the words.

7.5.1 To clap the hands

Pese and *pati* songs, among others, are accompanied by clapping. Three clapping rhythms are used to accompany songs:

pese bingibingi : 'fast clapping'. One clap for each syllable sung.

pese hakatatau : 'measured clapping'. One clap for every second syllable.

pese pipiki : 'clap and hold'. One clap for every third syllable sung.

For dancing, additional terms apply to clapping performed as an arm gesture; when gesturing in dance, these claps are done only once, twice, or a few times in succession, whereas more would be called *pese* :

huu : 'to clap with cupped palms'.

paa : 'to clap with flat hands; to slap'.

These claps are performed with elbows held slightly away from body and forward. The hands are held more or less horizontal, right above left, except that left-handed persons hold the left hand above. Clapping is done by a large movement of the lower arms only, with the top hand hitting down and the bottom hand hitting up. If the clap is repeated, both hands move between claps.

7.5.2 To tap or beat rapidly

Tangi and *saka* are accompanied by fast beating which comprises the following glosses:

tipatipa : 'to tap (plural and diminutive of *tipa*); to beat fast on a *kumete* 'bowl' or any kind of wooden object.

hakatotoo : 'to beat a tattoo or fast roll, as on the tattooing needle, the sounding board, or the lime container' (the latter is also called *tukituki*).

bingibingi, *tukituki*, *tutututu* : all these are terms for fast beating.

Bingibingi 'to be fast'; *tukituki* 'to strike rapidly and repeatedly';

tutututu, see below.

Tutu means 'to tap on the tapa anvil'. The pounding of bark into tapa cloth resounded constantly in the days when this material was used for all clothing. "To beat bark cloth" is *tutu* or *baalolo*, and this was done by the women; *baalolo* means 'to beat smooth, as tapa', and *tutu kongoa* means 'to beat bark to make tapa'. *Kongoa* is the word for bark cloth in this language, whereas tapa (Hawaiian: *kapa*) is a Polynesian word used in other islands, such as Tahiti.

Areca or betel nuts were formerly (and are sometimes still) chewed with pepper leaves and lime. The burnt lime is kept in a coconut-shell container and removed with a stick. To knock repeatedly with the stick on the lime container is called *tukituki* or *hakatotoo*; this is done to shake excess lime off the stick or for the sake of the sound itself, which is considered pleasing and attractive. A similar roll of beats, produced on the sounding board or in the process of tattooing, is also called *hakatotoo*. The tattooing needle is tapped with a stick and this aural "tattoo" is the accom-

paniment for *saka* tattooing songs. *Tipatipa* means 'to tattoo', i.e., to beat the *pakiau* 'mallet' on the *au* 'tattooing needle.'

Tangi sessions. On a more specific level, *tipatipa* designates the fast beating used to accompany the songs of *tangi* sessions. These accompaniments are beaten with the hands on a log, *kumete* 'wooden bowl', or any wooden object, including the sounding board. To beat thus while singing is called *sasa* "to sing and beat time for the verses of a *tangi*" (Elbert 1975:251). When the rhythm is beaten with the hands on the sounding board, this is called *pese langi* 'to clap the end of the sounding board'. In this case, the board lies flat on the ground with no resonance chamber underneath. Several persons at a time may thus beat the rhythm on the sounding board with their hands. The exhortation *taa ake* 'let's beat and sing; may you beat and sing', may be used for *tangi* and also for *huua mako* dance songs.

The various beats used for accompanying the different song types of *tangi* sessions are called *tipatipa*, varied by the addition of qualifiers:

tipatipa : 'to tap or beat fast with the hands on a wooden object to accompany *tangi* songs. This beat has many subtle variations based upon a 3/8 rhythm (/: x x x :/).



tipatipa bingibingi (= *hakatoto'o*) : 'to beat a fast roll', as for tattooing.

tipatipa hakatatau : 'to tap measured beats'. See *tukituki hakatongu* .

tipatipa hakaokioki : 'to beat the rhythm of *hakaokioki* songs in *tangi* sessions'. See *tukituki hakatongu* .

tukituki hakatongu : 'to beat three double beats' (*tongu* : three), which are counted as follows: *tási, ngúa, tóngu* .



This relatively slow, measured beat is similar to the beat called *taa Tahua* below (7.5.3), even to the accented third beat. This beat is also called *tipatipa hakaokioki* and *tipatipa hakatatau* .

tipatipa taa tasi : literally, 'one stick at a time' (but both sticks are sometimes used together). To beat separate, single beats:

(X X X X) etc.²²
 | | | |

tipatipa tukituki = *tipatipa taa tasi*.

tutututu : 'to make two or three single beats ending *hakasao* songs in *tangi* sessions'.

7.5.3 To beat the sounding board

Because of the number of terms involved in this complicated accompaniment, many of which require some prior knowledge of the instrument for their understanding, this material will appear in the following chapter on the sounding board.

CHAPTER EIGHT: *TE PAPA* 'THE SOUNDING BOARD'

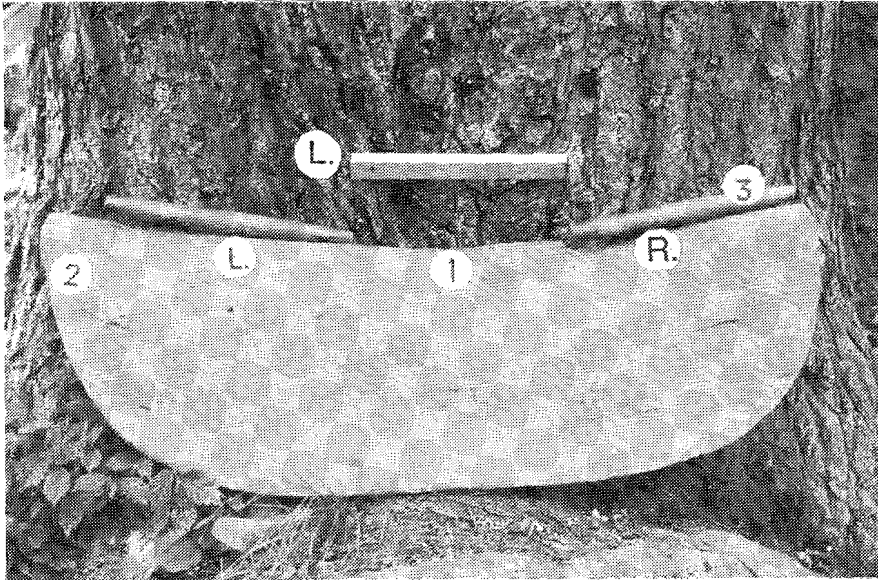


Figure 12: The parts of the sounding board.

1. Putu 'middle', 2. *langi* 'end', 3. *kau tipa* 'sticks'. L. *pa'asi sema* 'left side', R. *pa'asi hakamaui* 'right side'. The ruler (above) measures 32 cm (12.5").

The *papa* is a flat, crescent-shaped board (*papa* means 'to be flat'). The convex edge, away from the beater, is placed against a stake set in the ground. It is beaten with two stout batons, and the side toward the beater is propped up on his feet to form a resonance chamber underneath. The resulting sound is exceedingly penetrating and carries over long distances. Figure 13 shows the parts of the instrument: *putu* is the middle of the board; *pa'asi* 'side', to either side of the middle; and *langi*, the ends of the board.

The instrument is carved from the buttress roots of the *Ficus* tree ('*aoa*') Tapango. Christiansen says that any hard-wooded tree such as *apatoa* or *pau* may be used (1975:210). The concave edge is bevelled and the convex side is

squared off. The instrument in my possession, made by Heman Haikiu, is a small one. It measures 108.7 centimeters in length, 36.6 cm in width, and 4.4 cm. in thickness.

The sticks used for beating the *papa* are called *kau tipa* (*kau* : handle and *tipa* : beater; to beat). *Suki* means 'to set a stake in the ground for holding the *papa*'. The phrase *suki papa* 'to set the *papa* in place' is often used in poetry.

8.1 Beating the *papa*

Beating of the *papa* is differentiated; more than one tone can be produced by moving the sticks from the middle of the board to one side (*pa'asi*). The main part of the beating, called *hakuputu*, is done on the middle part of the board. To move the sticks to one side and beat a higher tone is called *hakasopo* 'to bring up'. When the left hand is used for this, it moves to the right side of the board, and this movement is called *hakasopo hakasema* 'to bring the left (hand or stick) up'. The part of the board labelled 'L(ef side)' on the diagram lies to the right of the beater.

The person who leads the songs and accompanies them on the *papa* is called *te tipa* 'the beater'. *Hakatau te papa* means "to give the sounding board to guests to beat first (an honor)" (Elbert 1975:292, *tau* 2.). *Tipa* and *kautipa* mean 'to beat the *papa*'. The inclusive term for all the various ways of beating the *papa* is *moutipa* or *moukautipa* (*mou-* : assorted, varied).

There are two main subdivisions under this heading: *taa*, for the introductory songs, and *tipa* for the *huaa mako* dance songs.

Since this chapter covers a large number of terms, the more general glosses will be defined first. These in turn will be useful for comprehension of the specific names presented afterwards.

Divisions of the beat

Single beats are called *tasi* (*tahi*) with various prefixes (*s* and *h* are allophones or variations of the same consonant).

taatasi (*tahi*), meaning 'to stand apart, separate', is one of the terms used for irregular beats, such as $\begin{array}{c} | : x \quad x : | \\ \quad \downarrow \quad | \end{array}$.

Duple rhythms are called *tuutuu* (from *tutu* 'to beat tapa') when slow |: x x x :|, and *bingibingi* when fast |: x x x x x x :|. 

Proportionally understood, these are the same rhythms.

Taa Tahua is a triple rhythm. Although slower in tempo, it is like *tipatipa hakatongu* (*tongu* : three) used in the *tangi* session (see 7.5.2).

General terms

(*tipa*) *hikaputu* : literally, 'to stay in the middle of the *papa*'. To beat at some length in the middle of the board (the major part of most beats).

(*tipa*) *hakasopo* : literally, 'to bring or go upward', producing a higher pitch.

1. To move the batons toward one side of the *papa* after having beaten in the middle.
2. To beat rapidly at one side of the *papa* (= *mahi*).

mahi : to be vigorous, energetic, lively; to beat with a sudden burst of speed at a higher pitch. "*Te pengea tipa, o mahi ki te pa'asi mauī*, a person beating the board, and beats faster suddenly on the right side" (Elbert 1975:159).

tukituki : to beat the sounding board to summon people to come.
One beat is called *tuki* ; more than one, *tukituki* .

tipa hakasema/ hakamaui : to beat the *hakasopo* portion in a *huua mako* dance song is called *tipa hakasema* when the left hand moves up to the right side of the board, and *tipa hakamaui* when it is the right hand that moves to the left side of the board.

tipa ngato : literally, 'to end, be finished, stopped'. To beat the final beat of a dance.

8.2 *Moutipa* (= *moukautipa*) different ways of beating the *papa*

The material to be covered here is first listed in outline form:

8.2.1 *taa* for introductory song-dances includes the beats:

taa tasi (tahi), taa taki and *taa Tahua*

8.2.2 *tipa* for *huua mako* dance songs:

A - the *hakatenge* and *mako ngang*i dances include the beats

tipa tatasi (tatahi)

tipa tongi, tipa tongitongi

tipa tuutuu

tipa bingibingi

B - for the *papa* dance, including the beats

tipa bingibingi

tipa bolobolo (= *tipa bolongua*)

tipa hakasopo (= *tipa sasau*)

C - individual beating styles

The subdivisions *taa* and *tipa* correspond to the two categories of dances (Rossen 1981:451):

- introductory song-dances with limited leg movements;
- *huua mako* dance songs with more vigorous leg movements.

Within the category *tipa*, there is a distinction between the beats used for the *papa* dance versus those used for the dances *hakatenge* and *mako ngang*i. Chapter Six discusses the historical differences between these dances (the *hakatenge* and *mako ngang*i are believed to have been brought from 'Ubea, and the *papa* to have originated in the early generations on Bellona), and there is a corresponding difference in the rhythms beaten in these two groups of dances. In addition to its use as a general term, *tipa hakasopo* has a specific manner of execution in the *huua mako* of the *papa* dance and the closely related *mako sa'u*, which is called *mahi*: to beat with a sudden burst of speed to one side of the *papa*.

Some terms designate individual idiosyncracies in beating the *papa*, and these are covered separately in group C.

8.2.1. *Taa papa*

Taa papa means 'to beat the *papa* for opening song-dances' (*taa*: to hit). The opening song-dances in the *pati* and *kapa* called *taki* have a characteristic beat called *taa taki*. 'Ungu opening song-dances use this beat

and another beat called *taa Tahua*. In all songs, single beats may precede the rhythmic accompaniment.

1) *taa tasi (tahi)* : to beat the *papa* once for opening song-dances (a single beat). *Taa tatasi (tatahi)* to beat with slow, separated beats.

2) *taa Tahua* : a beat named after Tahua from Tikopia, who is mentioned in story T226 (Elbert and Monberg 1965:383). This beat has a ternary division and is related to *tukituki hakatongu* (*tongu* : three) mentioned in 5.2.

The pattern repeated is (|: x ẋ x x ẋ x :|) on Rennell and (|: x ẋ x x ẋ ʔ :|) on Bellona.

| | | | |

| | | | |

3) *taa taki* : literally, 'to beat singly' or 'one at a time'. To beat opening songs with the *taki* beat. The pattern repeated is (|: x x. x. :|). The two sticks are used alternately.

| | |

8.2.2 *Tipa* or *kautipa*

As mentioned earlier, the sticks used for beating the *papa* are called *kau tipa*, *kau* meaning 'handle' and *tipa* 'to beat'. Since *taa* 'to hit', is reserved for opening songs, we may define *tipa* : 'to beat the *papa* for *huaa mako*; beater; general name for *huaa mako* beats. The plural, *na tipa*, means 'beats'.

A. Terms for the beats used in the dances *hakatenge*, *mako ngangi*, and *mako ki te nga'akau*, which are believed to come from 'Ubea.

1) *tuki ta tasi (tahi)* : literally, 'to strike once'. To strike the *papa* once only, as done for starting the *huaa mako* of the *hakatenge*.

2) *tipa tatahi* : literally, 'one beat and one space'.

- To beat the *papa* slowly with short spaces between each beat, often introductory to or as part of other beats. The rhythm is counted as the word *tasi* 'one', pronounced with emphasis on the first syllable, thus: *tàa-si*

(|: x x :|).

| ʔ

-Also used for the following (which I found somewhat confusing).

3) *tipa tongi* : literally, 'to cut' in Rennellese.

- The last stroke of a beat (also *tipa ngato*, above).

- Also used as an abbreviation for *tipa tongitongi*.

- 4) *tipa tongitongi* (= *tipa tongi tatasi*) : literally, 'to beat as sparks'.

This pattern, used for the dances *mako ngangī* and *mako ki te nga'akau*, is a repeated sequence of beats beginning with *taa tasi*, a single beat:

(|: x x x x x x x (x) :|).
 | | | | | | |

The beater is free to continue or to pause, by omitting the last beat in parenthesis, making the sequence longer or shorter at will. Also called *tipa tongi tatasi* (the abbreviated name for this is *tipa tatasi* which, however, also means the single beat *tipa tatasi* mentioned above).

- 5) *tipa tuutuu* : literally, 'to beat as a tapa anvil'; possibly, 'to beat twice'.

To beat the *papa*, as for the '*ungu*' of the dance *hakatenge*. The pattern repeated has a binary division of the beat (|: x x x :|). The two hands are

□ |

used alternately: left - right - left, or right - left - right. (See also B 5.)

- 6) *tipa bingibingi*: to beat the *papa* rapidly. The pattern repeated has a binary division of the beat. See 8.1, Divisions of the beat, Duple rhythms, above.

B. Terms for beats used in the *huaa mako* of the dances *papa* and *mako sa'u*.

All of these beats consist of *hikaputu* and then *hakasopo* (= *mahi*), that is, beating first in the middle of the board and then to one side with a burst of speed. On *hakasopo*, the dancers run faster, leap high with shouts, and some of them may step on the sounding board (*tighe*). Only one basic rhythm is used, *tipa bingibingi*. The following terms distinguish patterns of high and low pitches or individual peculiarities in beating.

1) *tipa bingibingi* : to beat the *papa* rapidly. This is like A6), above, except that in the *papa* and *mako sa'u* dances this beat is performed in longer sequences that end with a burst of speed (*mahi*), whereas the dances from 'Ubea are accompanied in a slower, more regular tempo.

2) *tipa hakasopo* (= *mahi*) : to beat fast at one side of the board after having beaten in the middle. In *huaa mako ngoa*, 'long dance songs', the dancers reverse direction at this point. "*Tasi ona noho ma te tipa sasau*," the same thing as *tipa sasau* (Taupongi, 1981). See also *tipa nganganga* (*tuaka*), below.

3) *tipa bolobolo* (= *bolo ngua*) : to beat the *papa* vigorously starting in the middle of the board, and then two beats at the side of the board (*bolo* : to beat as *tapa*). *Bolo ngua* means 'to beat twice'. "*Mataalangi o te papa hakasopo o bolo ngua*," first in the middle of the *papa*, (then) move aside and beat twice (Taupongi, 1981). The two terms designate the same pattern of high and low tones, but *bolo ngua* has a louder beat at the side of the board.

4) *tipa sasau* (= *tipa hakasopo*) : See above. *Sasau* : literally, 'to beat the water to drive the fish into a seine'.

5) *tipa tuutuu* : 1. to move the sticks to the side of the board at an improper time, considered an error; to beat incorrectly. 2. to beat the *ungu hakatenge* . (See A 5, above.)

C. Individual beating styles

The following terms designate individual peculiarities in beating *huaa mako* dance songs. These idiosyncracies are considered minor matters by the Bellonese. (Rolf Kuschel has data on the individuals that use each particular stroke, e.g., 3) was characteristic for Paul Sa'engeika and 1) for Taungenga [G].) When I played tape recordings of the performance to the musicians who had recorded it, and asked them the name of the beat, they did not consistently give the same name. After many discussions, it was finally concluded that the following terms are more in the nature of "nicknames."

1) *tipa nganganga* : to beat back and forth, like a woman plaiting. This is the same as *hakasopo*, above. Also called *tipa tuaka* (no literal meaning).

2) *tipa sikisiki* : literally, 'limping beat'. Similar to *tipa tuutuu* .

3) *tipa tangatangai* : to beat, pulling the batons toward oneself (*tangai* : to sharpen, thus, to beat sharply).

4) *tipa tosotoso* : literally, 'dragging beat'. To beat, pushing the batons away from oneself (opposite of *tangatangai*). Also called *uluulu*, to rub.

CHAPTER NINE: THE DANCE

Some information on the dance has been mentioned in previous chapters. (The seventeen dances which are still performed are summarized in the Glossary of Genre Names.) The present chapter has four divisions: context, the group and the individual, style and movement, and Bellonese dance terminology.

The section on style and movement was written in collaboration with my sister, Margot Mink Colbert, and has been published separately (Rossen and Colbert 1981).

9.1 Time and place, past and present

As mentioned previously, dance sessions were formerly performed on the ceremonial grounds at tattooing, *mako sa'u*, *mu'aabaka*, and *manga'e* food distribution ceremonies. The ritual leaders (the host and guest[s] of honor) sat under the eaves of the house or stood in front of the house. The dancing took place on the *ngoto manga'e* 'cult grounds' in front of the house. Other onlookers sat outdoors, around the *ngoto manga'e*.

When dances are performed today, the purpose and location are completely different. There are no ritual leaders, and modern houses, raised more than a meter above the ground on stilts, are not a suitable place for observers. Since the Second World War, dances have been performed only for visiting dignitaries and other foreigners. The dancers face the visitors, which means that they may have their backs to the house, and it should be noted that this is the reverse of the traditional direction.

In 1976 a group of dancers built *Mungiki Hesuinga* 'Traditions of Mungiki', a traditional house, the "Cultural Centre," and formed a club now named Nuku-Aviti Cultural Association, aided by funds from the government of the Solomon Islands and Danish Church Aid. One of the major functions of this club is to rehearse and perform the dances on official occasions. Its members perform in the Pacific Festivals of Traditional Arts and Music. Funding is always a problem because the Solomon Islands government has but few resources and represents an unusual number of cultural groups, each having their own arts and dances (about 50 languages are spoken in the Solomons).

Everybody on Bellona and Rennell now wears imported cotton clothing in daily life, but for important dance performances, the men wear the original clothing of their island: a loincloth, a small dancing mat with a fan tucked in back, and a headdress; the loincloth and headdress are made of tapa. Women originally wore skirts of tapa cloth; they do not perform dances in that costume today, but wear cotton clothing.

Men's dancing has attained recognition because it has been performed on public occasions. Women's dancing and singing, however, has not been performed for many years, the outside world is not aware of it. The people of Bellona have not yet regained respect for this part of their musical heritage.

9.2 The group and the individual

Dances are performed by a large group in unison, singing while they dance. Only two dances are exceptions to this rule in that there are only one or two dancers and they do not sing (see *mako ngenge* and *tene* in the glossary).

There is no tradition of improvisatory dancing. All dances are choreographed and rehearsed. The composer of a song-dance is also its leader. In the case of dances that have *papa* accompaniment, the *tipa* 'beater' leads the song and someone else leads the dancing.

Spatial formation is either a circle (*ngigho*, *mungeghi*), or lines (*haka'atu*), depending upon the dance. The former is somewhat more frequent. There are two dance leaders in complex dances: in line dances they are positioned at the two ends of the line and are called *mako mu'a* 'dancer in front', and *mako mungi* 'dancer behind'.

There are other terms for dance leaders: the *tau makonga* leads several dances, such as the *kapa*, *mako sa'u*, *mako tu'u*, and *ngongole*. The *tungi* 'base, leader' leads *babange* 'anga' 'singing games'.

The group of dancers as a whole may be called *kau mako* or *kau maakonga*, 'dancers' or 'group of dancers' (*kau* : group). Following the movements after a leader is *ta'otu'a*, 'to follow behind, as to help' (*ta'o* : to follow, and *tu'a* : back).

9.3 Dance style and movement

The dance of Bellona is a highly developed form with organized space patterns, hand movements, steps, accompaniment, and a complex vocabulary for body movements. The dance style is natural and flowing, with all

movements defined and often with tranquil dynamics. Movements are two-dimensional (i.e., up and down, forward and back), with simple curving. Twisting occurs, but only as natural follow-through and preparation for movement.

Temporal structure is complex, with two or more divisions, often consisting of several consecutive sections. These divisions correspond to the song types sung and generally have the same names: *'ungu* opening song-dances are usually followed by a series of shorter *huua mako* song-dances. Special final song-dances are common, and some dances, such as the *suahongi*, have a sequence of several divisions and subdivisions.

The basic position is with upright spine and head, and relaxed carriage. The body is used as a single unit, relaxed enough for its parts to follow through in natural waves. Knees are normally flexed with parallel feet, moving on the whole foot, flat to the ground and relaxed, with natural lifting of the heels in movement. Facial expression is composed.

All of the dances are based predominantly upon gestures of the arm and hand (*'aaunga*). There is an extensive repertoire of these gestures, which are the same for men and women. A rough count of the terms collected amounts to more than 70 arm gestures, but this was far from exhaustive.

The hands are used primarily as an extension of the arms, relaxed, with natural wrist flexion and open palms. Arms and hands are naturally relaxed and free to swing.

'Aaunga 'to gesture; gestures of the arm and hand', is a central concept, as they constitute the most intricate and varied part of the dances. There is a large repertoire of gestures and a correspondingly elaborate vocabulary. The name of each may be preceded by the words *te 'aaunga*, 'the arm gesture', as for example *te 'aaunga hakamataingi* 'the arm gesture *hakamataingi*' (see definition in 9.4).

Some arm gestures have representative meanings in that they are derived from specific actions, for example, *eba kataha* 'arms outstretched as a frigate bird soaring', but many have no explicit meaning. The arm movements often refer to specific words in the song text and are performed when these words are sung (examples are given in the *pati* song at end of the chapter). The gestures could be considered a form of accompaniment to the songs. The gestures are not used to tell a story, and there seems to be no symbolic gesture language used in dance, as far as I could determine.

Men's dances may have vigorous hopping, running and leaping, in addition to arm gestures. The vocabulary for *mako* 'dance steps' is meager compared with that for arm gestures.

The dances can be divided into two classes: those primarily performed standing (*tu'u*) in one place, and those with vigorous foot movements.

Women's dances consist exclusively of the former. Men's dances are divided between the two: the opening dances are performed in place. The *huua mako* dances that follow may have more vigorous leg movements, but these are not necessarily used in every dance.

Women's dances and men's opening dances are thus both characterized by quiet dignity and consist of arm gestures performed while standing in place (*tu'u*) or walking in measured steps (*sa'enge*). Sometimes the dancers step forward onto one foot for one arm gesture and then step back onto the other foot for the next gesture (*songo*). See summary of dance characteristics, Table 3.

Table 3: Some characteristic features of 17 current dances

NAME	SPECIFICATIONS: RITUAL; women; from Tikopia; [blank means none of these]	CIRCLE/LINE	NO. OF DIVISIONS	LEG MOVEMENTS (of <i>huua mako</i> if the dance has two divisions)
<i>hakatenge</i>	<i>papa</i>	circle	3	limited to 4 quick steps
<i>kapa</i>	<i>papa</i>	line	2	limited to single steps
<i>mako hakahaahine</i>	<i>papa</i>	circle	2	<i>tokotoko</i> (low jumps with bent legs)
<i>mako hakapaungo</i>	<i>papa</i>	line	2	<i>suasua</i> (step-hops)
<i>mako hakasaunoni</i>	clapping	circle	2	walking (limited leaps)
<i>mako ki te nga'akau</i>	<i>papa</i>	circle	2	step-hops; leaps
<i>mako ngangī</i>	<i>papa</i>	circle	2	walking
<i>mako ngege</i>	RITUAL solo		1	<i>suasua / tene</i>
<i>mako sa'u</i>	<i>papa</i>	line, circle	2+	running, leaping, etc.
<i>mako tu'u</i>	Tikopia	line		standing, hopping
<i>mu'aabaka pati</i>	women	line, circle	2+	standing, slow walking
<i>ngongole</i>	Tikopia	line	1	standing, hopping
<i>papa hai 'atua</i>	RITUAL	circle	2	running, leaping, etc.
<i>pati</i>	women	circle	2+	standing; slow walking
<i>suahongi</i> , div. 1	RITUAL	circle		standing and walking
" div. 2	RITUAL	line		<i>suasua</i> (step-hop)
" div. 3	RITUAL	line		limited to single steps
<i>taa hua 'ungu</i>	<i>papa</i>	circle	1	<i>tuutuu</i> ; single steps
<i>tene</i>	RITUAL: two men circle each other in a leaping walk with bent knees.			

9.4 Bellonese dance terminology

The great majority of the more than 80 named dance movements are for specific *'aaunga*. Terms for locomotion or movements of the leg and foot are given the name *mako*.

The Bellonese have several words corresponding to our one concept "dance:" *mako*, *'anu*, *tau'aso*, in addition to *'aaunga* for 'arm gesture'. The verb *'anu* means 'to dance and gesture, to move in dance, to soar or hover as birds'; the derived form, *'anu'anga*, means 'dancing, hovering'. The verb *tau'aso* means 'to dance and sing' and the nominalized form, *tau'asonga*, is the general term for group 'dancing and singing'. *Me'a* is the generic term covering 'dances, songs', and 'poetry'. This combination is even broader, showing that the dance is based upon songs, which in turn are based upon poetry. A dance name often designates the specific form of dancing and the dancers thereof, and acts as a verb meaning 'to perform the dance'.

Tu'u 'to stand', in the context of dancing, could be translated 'to stand and gesture' (this word also appears below with reduplication, *tu'utu'u*). *Tu'u* is an important concept because of the many dances that consist of arm gestures performed while standing in place, such as the *pati* and the *'ungu*. This is explicitly stated in such formulations as: *Ko Moa tu'u te saba kukumi* 'Moa stands (and performs) the (gesture) *saba kukumi*'. While gesturing in place, the musical accents are marked with the feet, a movement called *tuutuu* 'to tap the soles of the feet'.

Poor performance may be indicated by saying "to dance poorly" *mako*, *anu*, or *tau'aso* followed by *patu'a*, 'to make mistakes'; *bange songo*, *bange maase'i* (*bange* : to do carelessly; *songo* and *maase'i* both mean 'to be bad, not good'). Such expressions would be used if, for example, the arm gestures or leg movements were not in time with the beat, for other mistakes, or poorly coordinated movements. Conversely, to dance well may be expressed *mako*, *'anu*, *tau'aso* or *tu'utu'u ngaoi*, 'to dance well'. A good dancer, or a famous dancer, may be designated *tau'aso*, *'aaunga*, or *mako*, and names have been adopted with this intention.

The words *babange* 'to play, joke, dance', and *putatai*, *puutai* 'to sport, make fun' also mean 'to dance'. Children's games are *babangenga*, 'sport, game, joke, dance', and several of them are sung. The singing games, played in a somewhat different form by adults, were performed along with the dances in the programs performed at large tattooing and distribution feasts, as mentioned earlier. These are designated *babange'anga*, 'playing, sporting, game, dancing' and consist primarily of ancient singing games and two kinds of wrestling, *hetakai* for men and *beelunu* for women.

9.4.1 Bellonese terms for dance movements

The following definitions for some of the Bellonese terms for arm and leg movements are tentative. Whereas movements have here only been described in the context of a single dance, it will eventually be necessary to study each movement within the context of several different dances, since they may vary from dance to dance. For example, *ngiaki* was performed quickly in the *huua pati* illustrated herein, but was drawn out to cover several measures in the *suahongi*.

A) Arm movements (*'aaunga*: to gesture; gesture of the arm and hand)

The following examples of arm gestures were chosen for their simplicity. Therefore I do not claim that the chosen examples are representative. Gestures having explicit meaning have been chosen, since they are the easiest to comprehend and describe.

Some gestures may be performed with one arm or with both arms, and many are performed first to one side (*hakamaui* : to the right) and then the other (*hakasema* : to the left). Alternative designations follow the gesture name in parenthesis (= ...). Some of the glosses, such as *hungi* and *pipiki*, are parts of movements that may be combined with other parts.

The starting point of each movement is the preceding gesture and its terminal point is the succeeding gesture, except for the first and last gestures of a dance which begin and end with the arms resting at sides unless otherwise specified. All movements are performed with the body in a relaxed, natural position.

angeange : *ange* 'to stir or rile'. Alternating hands, the extended index fingers describe circles in the sagittal plane between the level of neck and abdomen. The hand moves upward, then in and downward. The fingers first point ahead and then upward. A complete gesture includes first the right and then the left hand, successively.

eba kataha (= *eba*) : literally, 'frigate bird gesturing'; *eba*, to soar, fall upon; *kataha*, frigate bird. To hold the arms tautly at an angle of approximately 45 degrees from the sides, palms downward.

eba tuutuu (= *oma*) : to perform the gesture *eba* and beat time with the feet; the gesture is held over a period of several measures. The beat is marked the feet and by slightly lifting the arms and extending the fingers.

hakamaabae : literally, 'to separate'. To separate (clenched) hands after *ngunguku* (see below). Twist the wrists (see *hungi*) and then separate the hands by letting them fall to the sides. The twist may sometimes be omitted.

hakamapu : to rest the hands, for example, on the abdomen or thighs while singing (*mapu* : to stop to rest). *Hakamapu ki te hatingaa huna* : to rest crossed (hands) on the abdomen (*ki* : on; *te* : the; *hatingaa huna* : abdomen) = *sani ngima ki 'ango* : to cross hands in front (*sani* : to cross; *ngima* : hand(s); *'ango* : front).

hakamataingi : *mataingi* : eyeshade, literally, 'eyefan'. To shade the eyes, holding radial side of one hand to the forehead like a visor.

hesua : (=tatango?). See *sua*, below.

hua ta'okupu : *ta'okupu* : hip. To touch both palms lightly to first one hip and then the other.

hungi : to twist the wrists in opposite directions; a flourish accenting the beat in other gestures, such as *hakamaabae*, above.

huu : to clap with cupped palms. *Huu hakatenge* : to clap thus while moving forward (see the leg movement *tengetenge*, below).

mongi : "To leap, as porpoise or whale" (Elbert:183). A dance gesture with hands folded in *to'o hakakaso* position (see below). Swing arms in a circular movement in frontal plane but somewhat diagonal, moving up to right shoulder and then down to waist (usually repeated in sagittal plane or to the other side, swinging folded hands forward and down to other hip). Elbert (ibid.) also states that men do this gesture more vigorously in their dances and women more placidly in theirs.

ngiaki : literally, 'to flap'. A dance gesture done with both arms at once or with one hand at a time: (1) as in the *suahongi (ngiba)* : prepare by raising arm to chest level, extending arm and hand with palm downward, and then bring the arm downward with fingers slightly retroflexed in a stroking motion; (2) as in the musical example at end of chapter: preparation is *ngunguku*, below. Lift the hands slightly and then let them fall directly downward while opening hands, keeping palms toward body and fingers toward ground throughout.

ngunguku : literally, 'to hold together'. To hold (clenched) hands together. Raise hands adjacent before abdomen, lightly clenched with palms toward body.

oma (=eba tuutuu) : literally, 'to flap slowly, as wings'. See *eba tuutuu*, above.

paa : literally, 'to slap'. To clap with flat palms. Elbows are held slightly away from body and forward. Clapping is done with a large movement of only the lower arm, with the right hand hitting down and the left hitting up, both hands moving between claps when repeated.

paa hatahata : *hatahata* 'chest'. To slap the chest lightly, a gesture done first with one hand and then the other.

pese : to clap; successive claps; it can also refer to a type of song with clapping accompaniment. See *huu*, *paa*.

pipiki : literally, 'to keep, save, hold'. To prolong the preceding gesture.

saba kukumi (=hakatu'u te ngima) : *Saba* : to protrude, to be taut; *kukumi* : to clench; *hakatu'u* : to cause to stand; *ngima* : hand. Upper arm held close to body, elbow bent and forearm raised to the perpendicular with hand loosely clenched.

sepe (=hati) : *sepe*, to cut, trim; fall; *hati*, to break or cut. The left hand is held across the body at waist level with fingers extended; the right hand is raised between the body and the left arm, then dropped outside it.

sua, hesua : *sua* : paddle; *hesua* ('aki) is the reciprocal form. To perform the gesture once with one hand and then the other, or repeatedly. The whole gesture is performed with bent elbows and clenched hands, with dorsal surfaces up. The hands are rotated alternately before the body in the sagittal plane at chest level, each hand in turn moving up and outward, then down and inward. Also, the arm movements of the *mako ngenge* dancer when he raises and lowers the dancing staff.

to'o hakakaso : a hand position similar to the vertical rafters of a house (called *kaso*); to fold the hands together with thumbs and first fingers touching at the tips, fingers interlaced but palms apart. A photograph of the

dance *kapa* (see reference in glossary of musical genres) shows this hand position. *E to'o hakakaso e Moa te 'aaunga*, Moa does the gesture *to'o hakakaso* .

tusi : to point, select, choose. To bring the right hand forward and point upward (repeat with left hand). Also, to point a stick in some dances, as the ending of the *mako hakapaungo* .

tu'uti : literally, 'to go to meet'. The gesture is performed with bent elbows. Prepare by lifting fist above right shoulder, elbow bent at about 90°, left fist beside left hip with elbow bent in frontal plane. The fists are brought together in front of the chest, left over right. Repeat, moving them apart again and together in the same way. The whole movement is done in the frontal plane.

B) Leg movements (*mako*: leg movements, dance steps)

haka'atu : "To be in a line or row" (Elbert 1975:20).

hano (singular), *boo* (plural): to walk. See also *sa'enge* .

mako (singular), *mamako* (plural): to run, to dance; dance step(s). It can also refer to a type of unaccompanied song without dancing.

mako hakahoki : to dance in the reverse direction (*hoki*, to return).

meme'i : to jump (with both feet), or stamp and stay on the sounding board; to stamp; to put one foot down and lift the other one in place, slowly hopping and changing feet, as the dancer of the *mako ngenge* . *Meme'i*, a verb meaning 'to press firmly but slowly', is the diminutive according to Elbert (1975:85). See also *tighe*, *too* .

mungeghi : to go around, make a circuit. The usual direction in dance is counter-clockwise. See *ngigho* .

ngenge : to leap, fly, changing feet while in the air, the back foot leaving the ground before the front foot comes down. *Ngengengenge* "to hop, bounce" (Elbert:55).

ngigho : to surround, form a circle, as a hawk circling, or a canoe going around the island. See *mungeghi* .

sa'enge (singular), *saa'enge* (plural): to advance, move forward slowly (with walking steps).

siisii : to hop on one foot ; the full designation is *siisii ba'e tasi* (*ba'e* 'leg'; *tasi* : 'one').

siisii ba'e ngua : to hop on one foot and then the other; (*ngua* 'two, both'); also skipping (step-hop, step-hop). See *suasua* .

songo : to move a bit, take a step in gesture dances, as the '*ungu*, i.e., one foot forward for one arm gesture, then step back onto the other foot for the next arm gesture.

suasua : to hop on one foot and then the other, and perform arm gestures. The same as *siisii ba'e ngua*, but done with gestures.

tene : to lift first one knee and foot slowly and then the other, as by dancers of the *tene* boxing dance circling each other. *Ko Moa e tene* 'Moa steps (with the dancing staff)'. See also *meme'i* .

tengetenge : four short, quick steps in a line, as in the dance *hakatenge* (step-close, step-close); literally, 'to walk or run fast'; also the designation for the singing. *Tenge* : to run in a straight line.

tighe : to leap, jump, as on the sounding board; to step on to. See *meme'i*, *too*, '*utu'utu* .

too : "To fall, descend, swoop; to alight...; to jump down upon, as enthusiastic dancers on the sounding board" (Elbert:313).

tu'u : to stand, usually while performing arm gestures.

tuutuu : to beat time with the feet, tap soles of feet. The knees bend while a forefoot taps the ground at the same time; after this plié the knees straighten and the forefoot is lifted in preparation to repeat.

'utu'utu : to step or jump onto the sounding board; to kick with bottom of foot, as done at the end of the *tene* boxing dance, body slightly bent over with clenched hands. See *tighe* and *too* .

A *pati* song-dance

The specifics of one dance song will be given, including the text, musical transcription (Fig. 13), the arm gestures shown in a diagram of musical rhythm (Fig. 15), and in drawings (Fig. 16). Lois Baikaba (L.) and Jason Ngiusanga (J.) performed the song-dance sitting down in order to obey the church edict against dancing. The song was composed by Lois' mother for her own *mu'aabaka* celebration. Her name, Teahemako, means "countless dances." Figure 14 shows Bellonese dance notation (of a different dance).

- is a tone that slides slightly upwards.
- x below the staff denotes rhythmic accompaniment (clapping).

The song has four stanzas, of which the first three consist of two verse lines each (abab), and the fourth has only one. Moreover, the first three stanzas are each repeated, while the last is sung only once. Each verse has 12 counts, but the first is sometimes omitted for a breath or because of a late start.

In the first verse of the first stanza, clapping is called for (the gesture *huu*). These claps mark a three-rhythm, which is not pronounced or even immediately apparent except in the lines with clapping. It is, however, the basis for the gestures: most arm gestures with their preparation are performed in the space of six quarter-notes. Some exceptions are *tu'uti*, which requires twice as long, and *eba*, which may be as long as necessary.

The song is sung through twice, as are all *pati* songs. The final, short stanza ends with a clap, which falls into rhythm with the claps of the first stanza immediately following it, linking the two together and producing an intriguing formal structure.

The gestures *mongi* and *sua* (*hesua*) fall on the words *mongi* and *sua* in the second stanza of the song text.

Fig. 13: Te huaa pati a Teahemako
ki tena mu'aabaka

The pati song by Teahemako
for her mu'aabaka

♩ = ca. 115 → 110

Stanza 1.

L. 8# No-ho aa-no ma ngi-ngi o -ku ma- ta-(ua)

J. 8#

L. 8# ma- a - na - tu i a - ku so - ngo - nga - .

J. 8#

3. L. 8# A-ku 'a-nga ha-nga he -nu -a ngu-a (ua).

J. 8#

L. 8# no-ko nge-a i na sa - u-ma- ki- nga (ua).

J. 8#

4. L. 8# Te tu-ku ha- no ne- i ke - e no-ka - a.

J. 8#

1.
(Repeat the whole song)

Lois Baikaba, 14 March 1977 (revised June 1984). At Matahenua, Bellona.

1. Noho aano mangingi oku mata. Maanatu i aku songonga.	Sitting then, my eyes weep. Remembering my happiness.
	(REPEAT)
2. Noko mongi 'ango kainanga. Kae sua i aku 'aaunga.	Swing arms to the sides of the ritual grounds And move with my arm gestures.
	(REPEAT)
3. Aku 'anga hanga henua ngua. Noko ngea i na saumakinga.	My dancing and singing in the two islands Goes on sounding in the continuous dancing.
	(REPEAT)
4. Te tuku hano nei ke noka.	The ending - what I have done is finished.
(REPEAT THE ENTIRE SONG)	

Figure 14: Bellonese dance notation [in brackets]

(2) TE UNGU A SAEGEAHE. 18.2.77.

[*etango*]
1. TAKU IKA TUKUAA KE HOOE, ITE HUA, NA TUKU NGO SAENGE
EEEIA, TAAKU SAOONGIBAUUA OOO

[*etukun kigotoo o haka mabae o siko*]
2. NGAANGAKI TONA NGONGO KITE HANGE.
OKU PUTU ITOKU AITU E-EE-IEA,
MATE UHI KE NGIUA OOO

[*Haka tatahe, o haka hoki mai, o haka mabae, o huu.*]
3. TONUSIA TAKU IKA TAPU EE, OKU SENGE ITOKU
A ITU E-E-E-IEA NOKO. ^{HA}TAI CHIAO

Figure 15: Diagram of musical rhythm and dance movement

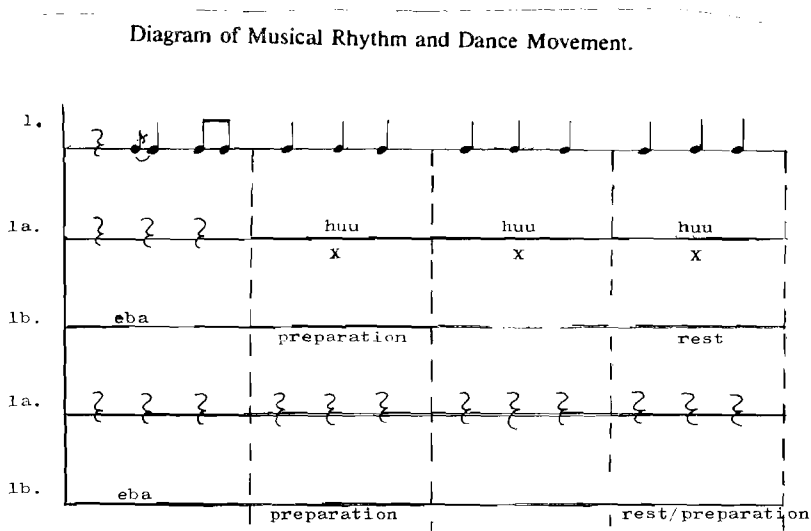


Figure 16: Dance movements

The numbers given (1b, etc.) refer to the stanzas and lines.

eba, 1b

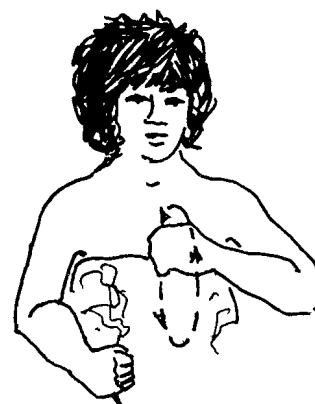


sepe, 1b

mongi, 2a



hesua, 2b

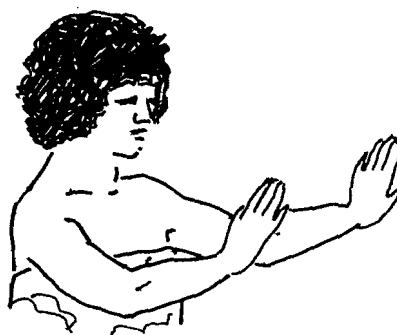




(hakamaabae), 2a

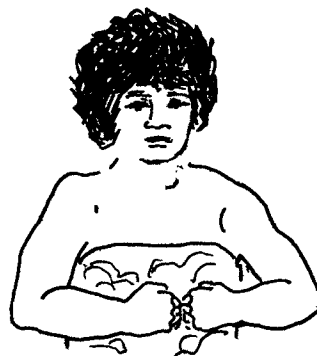


ngongu ngima,
2b

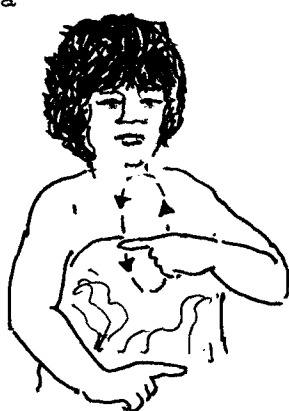




angeange, 3a



(ngunguku,
preparation)



tu'uti, 3b



CHAPTER TEN: A FEW COMPARISONS WITH OTHER MUSICAL TRADITIONS IN OCEANIA

Although this treatise is a study of Bellonese musical traditions, a few observations that cannot be overlooked concerning related musical traditions will be presented in this chapter. Comprehensive comparisons between Bellonese musical traditions and those of other Polynesian and Melanesian societies must, however, await future research.

Bellona, along with Rennell, Sikaiana, Taumako, Ontong Java (Luangiua), Anuta, and Tikopia, all of which are small islands on the eastern fringe of the Solomons archipelago, are linguistically and culturally related to West Polynesia. West Polynesia, which is distinguished by culture from East Polynesia, includes Tonga, Samoa, Uvea (Wallis Island), Futuna, Niue, Tokelau, Tuvalu (formerly Ellice Islands), and Fiji, which is transitional between Polynesia and Melanesia. The small Polynesian Islands of the Solomons archipelago were settled by people who sailed and/or drifted there from West Polynesian Islands, aided by winds and currents that favored this drift.

According to their oral traditions, the Bellonese brought the *suahongi* with them from 'Ubea when their ancestors left, 25 generations ago in search of a new land. The text, in the archaic language of an "'Ubea," is not translatable by Bellonese people today and may have been traditional on 'Ubea long before the emigration. Some musical forms similar to the *suahongi* are known from other places in West Polynesia; after a brief look at some of the linguistic relationships, these musical forms and concepts will be taken up in the following.

Linguistic relationships

In his 1967 article Elbert examined the historical validity of the oral traditions and attempted to discover the early linguistic affinities of Rennell and Bellona. In summary, the traditions concerning the migration are as follows. Text 67 from Rennell: Kaitu'u who lived on 'Ubea, dreamed of two gods who wished to possess a place called Mugaba (Rennell). He set out in a double canoe with his mother and uncle, taking two stone gods with them (Elbert and Monberg 1965:187-194). Text 66 from Bellona: Nine men from

'Ubeangango (West 'Ubea) bring two stone gods to 'Ubea Matangi (East 'Ubea) where Kaitu'u joins them. They go to Ngua Hutuna (Two Hutuna). In a place called Henuatai (Sealand), they obtain many gods and a hundred people drown. Two canoes captained by Kaitu'u and Taupongi go on to Mungaba and then Mungiki or Bellona (1965:173-177). These two establish clans that survive on Bellona today and trace their ancestry back 24-25 generations to Kaitu'u and Taupongi.

Elbert hypothesizes that the places mentioned are the following islands (1967b:260):

'Ubea Ngango: West Uvea, in the Loyalty Islands.

'Ubea Matangi: East Uvea or Wallis Island (identical with 'Ubea in the version from Rennell)

Ngua Hutuna: East Futuna and its close neighbor Alofi, collectively known as the Hoorn Islands.

Henuatai: unidentified but perhaps an atoll such as Pileni in the Reef Islands.

Mungaba: Rennell, the usual native name.

Mungiki: Bellona, the usual native name.

Elbert asks if the ancestors of the present people of Rennell and Bellona could actually have come from West Uvea or East Uvea and stopped en route at East Futuna (op.cit.:261). Chapter six discusses his suggestion that the Polynesian emigrants survived for centuries in a Melanesian area (Elbert 1967:285).

There was considerable intercommunication between Tonga, East Futuna, and Samoa. The Tongans were noted seafaring marauders and colonists, who overran the Lau Islands near Fiji, East Uvea, Niuafo'ou, and even Samoa. Burrows thinks that East Futuna was never conquered. He recorded genealogies going back 38 generations for East Uvea (1937:18) which, at 25 years to a generation, is 950 years. Burrows says that although the culture on Uvea today is largely Tongan, the culture was also Polynesian prior to the Tongan invasion "apparently late in the fifteenth century. It seems likely that the pre-Tongan culture of Wallis was much like that of Futuna and Alofi (Hoorn Islands)" (1934:70).

The 25 generations in the genealogies of Rennell and Bellona (625-800 years) may be incomplete. The undocumented early period prior to the seventh generation after Kaitu'u may well have been considerably longer than indicated in the genealogies. Elbert hypothesized, on the basis of his analysis, that when the immigrants reached Rennell and Bellona, they "found a long-established Polynesian community there that must have been started

many centuries earlier" (Elbert 1967b:283). This hypothesis has been corroborated by preliminary archaeological research (Poulsen 1972).

Elbert concludes that the language of Rennell and Bellona is "an offshoot of Proto-Polynesian and more intimately of East Futuna" (1967b:285). He suggests that a group from East Futuna (or possibly Niuafo'ou) settled on East Uvea, and that "the two Rennellese heroes, Kaitu'u and Taupongi, left there before or because of the inundation of that island by the Tongans" (Elbert 1967b:268). People from the same stock may have settled West Uvea, Ellice, Tikopia, and eventually the other Western Outliers.

Related musical forms and concepts in West Polynesia²³

As the cultural heritage from 'Ubea, the most important piece in the Bellonese musical repertoire is the *suahongi*, with its simultaneous performance of two different songs. Before I published an analysis of the *suahongi* in 1978, only one other instance of a similar polyphonic form had been reported in the literature: a polytextual song-dance from Tikopia Island in the Solomons. The *mako vae rua* or 'dance divided in twain' is mentioned as an "example of Tikopia 'polyphony' in which two groups dancing each sing a different song... a kind of 'isorhythmic motet'" (McLeod 1957:287-288).²⁴ Dancers in two lines sing two different songs at the same time in the *mako vae rua* (*mako* : 'dance'; *vae* : 'to be divided'; *rua* : 'two').

As reported at a panel dealing with these West Polynesian musical forms during the 1982 Annual Meeting of the Society for Ethnomusicology, Tonga provides another example of polytextual polyphony. Adrienne Kaeppler presented a paper on the "*Me'etu'upaki* and *Me'elaufola*, Archaic Music and Dance Forms of Tonga." The *me'etu'upaki* is performed by men ranged in several rows who change formation in the course of the dance. Sometimes they dance as a single group and sometimes in two or three groups. The poetry is not understood by Tongans today, and a linguistic analysis of the text suggests that it is closely related to Samoan and Uvean (Kaeppler mss 1982:5). In addition to coordinated polytextual parts, this dance also coordinates different dance parts and is thus, as Kaeppler says, also polykinetic. The dance is performed with small wooden paddles which are called *paki*. The word *tu'u* means 'to stand'. The word *me'e*, which is the same as *meke* in Fiji, is an archaic Tongan word that means 'choreographed melodic, rhythmic speech'. Thus the name of the dance *me'etu'upaki* means 'a musical performance standing with *paki* paddles' (op.cit.:2).

Burrows reported a dance called *tapaki*, or 'strike *paki* paddles', from Uvea and Futuna (1945:39-48). He gives musical transcriptions of three *tapaki* songs from Futuna (Fig.21-23) and two from Uvea (Fig.24), which "accompany dances, performed at great feasts." He says that each village had its own *tapaki* and that these were performed at any large feast, all men of the village participating. The songs were religious and patriotic in recounting the glories of their villages (op.cit.: 45, 47-48).

Kaeppler thinks that the archaic *me'etu'upaki* of Tonga stems from the *tapaki* of Uvea. Her arguments are: the contact between the two traditions in a context where the Uvean dance was repeatedly performed in Tonga at the *'inas*i (first fruits ceremony), the flat wooden paddles that are twirled in both dances, and the text, which refers primarily to the voyage to Tonga for the *'inas*i ceremony, linguistically related to Samoan and Uvean, is untranslatable by Tongans today as is the *suahongi* by the Bellonese.

Tonga lies south of Samoa and Uvea lies to the west. During the time of the Tu'i Tonga line of chiefs, who were defeated in warfare in the nineteenth century, tribute was brought to Tonga from Uvea, Futuna, Samoa, and Fiji for the *'inas*i ceremony (Kaeppler mss 1982:1). Both the *tapaki* from Uvea and Futuna and the *me'etu'upaki* from Tonga are performed by men twirling wooden *paki* paddles. The *tapaki* from Uvea was performed as part of the tribute brought to Tonga, in a situation where there was contact between the two peoples.

The form of polyphony and concept which I have dubbed "polytextual polyphony" is thus now known to exist in Tikopia, Tonga and Bellona. The examples from Bellona and Tonga are both archaic music and dance forms that can be traced to Uvea.

We will now discuss a few musical concepts that Bellona has in common with musical traditions in West Polynesia. It should be emphasized that this subject requires future research and that the examples herein, although suggestive, by no means represent a full exploration of the subject.

The *suahongi* was the most important of the 17 different *tau'asonga* that were formerly performed at ritual distribution (*manga'e*) and tattooing ceremonies. *Tau'asonga* are group performances of "singing and dancing," some of which have rhythmic accompaniment or shouted interjections. They consist of a sequence of formal divisions; the same applies to the *me'etu'upaki* of Tonga. The *tau'asonga* may begin with one or more introductory songs, a main body of songs, and one or more closing verses or songs. The usual translation of *tau'asonga* is 'dance', but not all *tau'asonga* have dancing²⁵ and since they characteristically consist of a string of segments, I

prefer to call them 'musical performances' or 'musical events'.

The Bellonese concept of *tau'asonga* resembles the Fijian *meke*, cognates of which are the archaic Tongan *me'e* and Hawaiian *mele*. At the 1982 Annual Meeting of the Society for Ethnomusicology, Dorothy Lee discussed the meaning of the term *meke*, which is usually translated as "dance." The Fijian *meke* may contain other kinds of movement in addition to dance (such as movements of the kava ritual and of dragging logs), in addition to rhythmic accompaniment such as that of stamping tubes and interjections of shouts, cries or grunts. Lee suggested that *meke* might better be translated as "performed metrical rhymed verse with choreographed movement" (mss 1982:6). Since the performers regard both sung and rhythmically spoken verse as *laga* (sung), a simpler way of saying the same thing might be "singing with choreographed movement" or "musical performance" which is similar to the Bellonese word *tau'asonga*.

The compound structure characteristic of Bellonese *tau'asonga* is also common in other parts of Polynesia. In Fiji, for example, "most *meke* have an introductory verse (*ucu ni meke* : nose of the *meke*), a main body (*lewe ni meke* : inner part of the flesh) and a closing verse (*kena i oti* : the end)" (ibid.).

Another widespread concept in this area is *ngangi*, which in Bellonese means 'to sing the verses or the beginning of a group song, as by one person'. The question "who *ngangi*?" means "who sings the verses?" in reference to a strophic song and "who sings the lead (or the beginning)?" in reference to dances. The word *laga* in Fiji is used in the same way. *Laga* means 'to sing' and it also designates the melody part in contrast with other singing parts. It refers to starting a song or *meke*, and by extension, the individual who starts the *meke* ...(op. cit.:3). In a *meke* performance there is an "ensemble of singers consisting traditionally of three principle voice parts: *laga* , the beginning voice; *tagica* the second voice, or the voice entering after the *laga*; and *druku* , the bass" (op.cit.:4).

In Tonga, the melody part is called *fasi* and the drone *laulalo* (Kaepler mss 1982:24, 15). Originally a six part polyphony was traditional. Today, in an evolved form called the *lakalaka*, both men and women sing the *fasi* and a lower part, while the men sing the bass and an additional part above the *fasi*. This higher part is conceived as "ornamenting the *fasi* or melody" (op.cit.).

In Bellona the men sing a high ornamented part above the melody line called *nge'o makanga* which means 'high voice part' (*makanga* 'to sound loud, high'). The low drone is called *nge'o panguunguu* 'deep voice' (*panguunguu* 'to hum, mumble, sound faintly'). The middle voice part is called *nge'o hakatootonu* 'to be straight, straighten' (cf. Chapter 7.3).

The word *tau'asonga* has cognates on other islands but with different meanings. In Tonga, for example, *tau'olunga* indicates the movement of a *hiva kakala* (*hiva* 'to sing'), and in Samoa *tau'alonga* means 'the last song', which is danced by the host or hostess.

Although songs designated by the same name are not always the same, many names for song genres are shared throughout West Polynesia; a comparison of genres and their names is an excellent subject for future research. A widespread example is the word *tangi* and its cognates (Proto-Polynesian *tangi* : 'to cry'). In Bellonese *tangi* literally means 'to weep' and it designates laments.

Many islands have cognates that also name laments, such as *kangi* in Ontong Java. Men's funeral dirges are *huakanga* in Ontong Java, as are the Tikopian cognate *fuatanga*, and *puatanga* in Anuta. A Bellonese cognate with these terms *huatanga*, has a different meaning; it designates the largest body of songs in the *suahongi* and in the *pese kanongoto* and means 'singing' (*hua* : 'song' plus *-tanga*, the nominalizing suffix).

Beaten idiophones made of wood like the *papa* of Bellona are used throughout the Pacific. The Melanesians commonly use a large slit-drum in the shape of a hollowed out tree trunk, while the opening is wider in the Polynesian "trough drum". Such instruments are reported by Fischer from Tuvalu (formerly Ellice Islands), Samoa, Uvea, Futuna, Tonga, the Cook Islands, and Tahiti (Fischer 1983:36). He also reports that a flat board is beaten with batons in Ponape (Micronesia) and cites (but does not print) a photograph of a woman beating a wooden board that rests on her knees.

In the area of immediate concern more detailed information concerning these instruments and their names is available, although a thorough comparison, again, remains in the future. Both the sounding board of Tikopia and the slot-gong of Tuvalu are called *nafa*, as is an archaic Samoan slit-drum or slot-gong, and one of Tonga that was formerly used to accompany the *me'etu'upaki*. Kaeppler says that the *nafa* of Tonga produced different tones when hit in the middle or near one of the ends, which is similar to what was earlier described for the *papa* of Bellona. In Samoa and Fiji the slit-gong is called *lali*; the Fijian *lali* is now used in Tonga for signalling. In Tuvalu the only instrument used to accompany the dance is a slit-gong; a larger instrument from Nanumanga Island is called *nafa*, and a smaller instrument from Niuatao is called *pate*.

In *Songs of Uvea and Futuna*, Burrows mentions that a wooden gong and open bamboo tubes struck on the ground were formerly used to accompany dances, but that these instruments had "gone out of use and I did not even see a specimen" (1945:92). (The same accompaniment was used for another archaic musical form of Tonga that is no longer performed, and which Kaeppler thinks has evolved into the present day genre *lakalaka* (mss 1982:19-20).)

To return to the *me'etu'upaki*, Kaeppler says that "this archaic music/dance form can be considered an embodiment of the archaic social structure" because it is performed today only by the descendants of the chiefly Tu'i Tonga line" (op.cit.:3). Formerly the dance was performed by others as tribute to the Tu'i Tonga.

Me'etu'upaki were performed on occasions of national or ceremonial importance, particularly the *'inasī* (first fruits) ceremony, at which time the people brought quantities of food to the Tu'i Tonga (a chief descended from the gods)... It is said that tribute was brought to Tonga from Uvea, Futuna, Samoa, and Fiji for the *'inasī*. The *tapaki* of Uvea and Futuna may have survived from these occasions... I suggest that the origin of the dance was in Uvea, the text referring primarily to the voyage to Tonga for the *'inasī*. Because of its appropriateness it was adapted by the Tongans for their own tribute giving... The Uvea/Futuna name *tapaki*, strike *paki*, became in Tonga *me'etu'upaki*, choreographed melodic, rhythmic speech standing with *paki* (op.cit.:16-17).

The retention of songs from one place in the repertoire of another, together with the original language, is apparently a characteristic trait in West Polynesia, and the incorporated performance has value because it represents this other and earlier tradition. The Tongans adopted the Uvean *tapaki* as a symbol of the respect due to the Tu'i Tonga line of chiefs and their special status despite their defeat. The Bellonese retained the *suahongi* from 'Ubea as a symbol and embodiment of their ancient Polynesian cultural heritage. They also adopted dances they had learned from visiting Tikopians and castaways from other islands.

In an example from Samoa of the same process, an old Samoan woman sang a dance song from Uvea and explained that at the time she learned the song her village, at the western end of Samoa, was filled with Uveans (Love, mss.) Uvea lies beyond the westernmost part of Samoa, where her village was situated. The tendency to learn other people's songs is certainly a familiar one, but retention of these songs because of the historical purpose

they fulfill is a significant trait in Western Polynesia.

Jacob Love, who carried out field work on Samoa, suggests that if Samoa brought tribute to Tonga in the South (Tonga means 'south'), the *tapaki* should be known in Samoa in some form, as well as in Tonga and Uvea (Love, op.cit.). It is also possible that it may have been known in some form elsewhere in West Polynesia. For example, a few districts of Fiji also brought tribute to Tonga. We do not know the historic circumstances concerning the *mako vae rua*, but it is a related form and an example of a tradition that has grown from the same root.

Kaepler discusses the various ways in which archaic forms have been preserved in an example from 19th century development of the *lakalaka* in Tonga by evolution and transformation (mss 1982:24-26). The *lakalaka* retained "the structural, vocal, and movement characteristics of the old form even though it lost the instrumental accompaniment." The *lakalaka* incorporates changes in floor plan characteristic of the *me'etu'upaki*, and has "developed the coordinate polyphony and the coordinate polykinetic prototypes found in...these early forms." The archaic Tongan musical forms have evolved into new forms, not by reproduction but by reference, "alluding to the old while transforming it into something new" (op.cit.:24-25,27).

Kaepler emphasizes the importance of allusion as a concept that applies to music and dance as well as to poetry. The Tongan principle known as *heliaki* means going around the point rather than going directly to it. Archaic musical forms have undergone a process of preservation and evolution in Tonga carried out in accordance with the aesthetic principle of allusion. "The concept of *heliaki* may also be widespread in West Polynesia and may be a useful aesthetic key for understanding the archaic and modern forms of music and dance of this area" (ibid.). (Bellonese *hesingihaki*: 'to pass around [a subject]', and *kupu hakangahi*: 'words with hidden or symbolic meaning'.)

Some comparisons with Melanesian music

We have just reviewed some similarities between musical concepts and traditions of Bellona and those of West Polynesia. It now remains to attempt a few comparisons with some musical forms of surrounding Melanesia.

The Polynesian aspects of Bellonese musical practice may be summed up as follows: vocal music and dance are based upon poetry; in dance, gestures of the arm and hand interpret the poetry by allusion to selected words of the text.

This characterization stands in direct contrast to some Melanesian traditions in the Solomon Islands, where instrumental music dominates. Panpipes and flutes are common in a number of Melanesian societies, such as the 'Are'are of Malaita Island, and there are correspondingly few kinds of songs. The 'Are'are distinguish seven types of songs, according to Zemp, and these are not based upon composed poetry (1973:1): "Although the melodic pattern of the two parts of a song is fixed, the sequence of the words is free.... Passages without words are frequent in all the songs and it is possible to sing a whole song without a text."

This is a citation from the record notes of Zemp's third volume of 'Are'are music (1973), which covers vocal music and many other kinds of instrumental music, while the first two volumes deal with panpipe ensemble-music. 'Are'are musicians compose descriptive music for panpipe ensembles and other instruments, inspired by everyday sounds and sights such as raindrops, noises and movements of animals or people, etc. Most of the songs are sung by two persons together in two parts reminiscent of counterpoint, and some are sung by one person alone. Group singing occurs only in divination songs among the 'Are'are, although it is more common in the northern part of Malaita Island.²⁶

Among the 'Are'are, it is thus the melody and not the poetry that is composed. Whereas poetry is the main basis of music and dance for the Bellonese and other Polynesians, this is not the case for the Melanesian societies of the Solomons. Even in vocal music, the 'Are'are improvise texts rather than depend upon pre-composed poetry that is set before performance.

Neither are arm movements based upon poetry fundamental in Melanesian dance. Movement in Melanesia is a visual extension of rhythm rather than of poetry, according to Kaeppler, who says (mss 1981: 4-5): "Movement in Melanesia was, and often still is, a vehicle for the presentation of masks and other costume contructions or the display of body decoration and ceremonial finery... Characteristic movements in many parts of Melanesia are up/down "bouncing" movements of legs and body... The movement itself, however, is often a visual and aesthetic elaboration of rhythmic pulse."

Thus Polynesian emphasis upon the composition of poetry and its visual extension in dance would seem to contrast with the improvisation of words and rhythmic movement in dance in some parts of Melanesia.

The Bellonese think about musical theory in terms of the individual differences in people's voice range, which produce variations in the melodic line that they sing. The 'Are'are have a complex musical theory based upon a literal relationship between their panpipes and the bamboo of which they are made. Terms for the panpipes and their tuning principles are based upon terms for the kinds and parts of bamboo (Zemp 1978:37-67; 1979:6-48).

Some social implications of Bellonese musical practices

Whereas some Bellonese musical traditions are related to traditions of West Polynesia and divergent from those of Melanesia in certain respects, Bellonese society resembles those of surrounding Melanesia and differs from Polynesian society in some ways. In the following we will consider the social implications of Bellonese musical practice and compare some of its characteristic forms and functions with those of Polynesia and with some Melanesian societies in the Solomons.

Two basic skills which, although not directly musical in character, are particularly important for a Bellonese musician:

- a) A good memory for the old songs, traditions, and ceremonies, and
- b) Leadership, including the power of rhetoric.

These two qualities are connected more with function than with form, and audience reaction is directed towards them rather than towards musical performance as such.

Mime is not used in performance; the performer remains apparently impassive and projects the impact of the song by voice alone, or voice plus dance movement. The singing does not make use of changes in dynamics. Those people acknowledged to be authorities and experts in song are elders who have extensive knowledge regarding traditional matters, such as ancient songs and how to conduct the dances and ceremonies, which include songs and dances. Criticism is always forthcoming if the verses are not "straight" (i.e., if their order is incorrect), if the number of repeats in a musical event is not correct, or if different parts of a group performance, such as the *suahongi*, are missing or out of balance. Such overt criticism actually concerns expertise and leadership, including memory or lack of it.

Although excellence is sought, especially in those who lead the singing and dancing, I did not hear spontaneous comments about the singing or dancing of individuals, although individual excellence in singing, dancing and beating of the sounding board is praised in song. But it is the performance of

the group as a whole that is significant rather than that of any individual member. The same emphasis upon the performance of the group as a whole holds true for most of Polynesia, as for example in Tonga and Tahiti. As an exception, individual virtuosity is sought in Samoa, but only when young people dance informally (Margaret Mead 1928:79). Whereas high ranking persons in Samoa are not required to excel in the musical arts, in Bellona such excellence is connected with competition for status. Mead maintains that encouragement of individuality during informal dancing is a "compensation for repression of personality in other spheres of life" (op. cit.:85).²⁷ Such repression is necessary because Samoa has a hierarchical society with strong chiefs, as does much of Polynesia. High ranking persons in Samoa have others to perform the specialist functions for them - such as composers, dance leaders, and "talking chiefs" - in which a Bellonese person of high status must excel.

Bellona resembles the Melanesians in having no system of supremacy among the lineage elders or *hakahua*. Although primogeniture is an important principle in both Bellonese and Samoan society, there is more mobility on Bellona. Since individual Bellonese who have special knowledge and abilities can change their status, up and coming leaders do not threaten the foundation of Bellonese society as they might in Samoa. In Bellona, the singer-composer who has additional skills considered equally important, has a chance to become a true leader or *hakahua*, if only one among several. (The Solomons Islands government has instituted the position of Supreme Chief in Bellona, but this is not a traditional office.)

When people express themselves together in song, as they do on Bellona, each individual identifies fully with the group. The group also defines itself in a political sense through the songs it performs. This identification is strengthened when a historic identity is present, as it is in the historic and archaic Bellonese songs. In the traditional society, the individual could define him or herself through songs. A song would be remembered after the death of the composer only if the group could identify with what it expressed, even when the words of the text could not be understood directly.

In Bellonese society, poetic composition thus provides an outlet for leadership drives in the individual, which in turn can mobilize the group identification and factionalization necessary to make concerted group action possible, as for example during feuds in former times.

NOTES, Part 1

Preface

¹ Thanks to Mervyn McLean for copies of the pages from Burrow's manuscript.

Introduction

^{1a} Kenneth Pike stated the difference between the "etic" and "emic" approaches as follows (Pike, 1954:8, quoted in Pelto, 1978:54): "In contrast to the Etic approach, an Emic one is in essence valid for only one language (or culture) at a time.... It is an attempt to discover and to describe the pattern of that particular language or culture in reference to the way in which the various elements of that culture are related to each other in the functioning of the particular pattern, rather than an attempt to describe them in reference to a generalized classification derived in advance of the study of that culture."

^{1b} Whereas 546 people actually live on Bellona and ca. 1700 on Rennell, 1357 people have one or more Bellonese parents as of 20 May 1984, according to Hanne Salto (p.c. January, 1986).

² The Seventh Day Adventists base their prohibition of dancing on the biblical text: "Michal the daughter of Saul looking out of the window, saw King David dancing and playing: and she despised him in her heart" (1 Chronicles 15:29; cf. also II Samuel 6:16).

Chapter Two

³ Torben Monberg, p.c., 10 May 1984.

Chapter Three

⁴ This scheme obviously fits well into the theoretical discussions of Levi-Strauss and others. Space, however, does not permit an extended examination of the subject.

⁵ In 1968 Rolf Kuschel conducted interviews for a questionnaire I had drawn up, to obtain information about the songs. I am grateful to him for completing this questionnaire for 105 songs, an arduous task for all concerned. The interview cited concerns a song on tape number DFS 68/4.1.

⁶ Canoe building is described by Christiansen (1975:84-85).

⁷ The account in *Mungiki* is here supplemented (T. Monberg, p.c. 1984).

⁸ Women worshipped their own deities, such as Bakahusu.

⁹ *Haka-* is the causative prefix, hence *haka'ia* 'to say 'ia,' *haka'ese* 'to say 'ese,' and *hakakuu* 'to make, do, or say *kuu* .'

Chapter Four

¹⁰ *Huaa mako mongi* is a kind of song-dance using the *mongi* arm gesture.

Chapter Five

¹¹ South Pacific Festivals of the Arts have been held in Fiji (1972), in New Zealand (1976), in Papua New Guinea (1980), and Solomon Island Festivals of Traditional Arts have been held irregularly (e.g. 1976).

¹² It is interesting to compare a practice session, as described by Raymond Firth on Tikopia, a closely related Polynesian culture in the Solomons. This account concerns a song practice session prior to superincision, a ceremony not practiced on Bellona (1939:397):

It is customary before a superincision ceremony to practice a number of songs so as to avoid confusion on the occasion. Some of these are old songs specially selected, others are newly composed by relatives who are gifted in this way and wish to express their affection for their child. The aim of the practice is to render the singers as near word perfect as possible; the air presents no difficulties, being of a well-known type.... Song practice usually takes place in a house in the evening or on a wet afternoon.... For Munakina the song practice was conducted at various times by (three men)...., who were among the composers.

I spent one evening lying down in the house listening. Seven men were actually singing, while the rest of the household listened or slept. The composer repeated the words of each stanza of his song twice and then they were sung. Fakasingetevasa lay down on the broad of his back and sang, resting on the legs of a friend. The latter occasionally chimed in with a falsetto rendering, correctly harmonized. Sometimes a woman sang a few phrases too, but otherwise it was left to the men.

¹³ People are not always contemporaries even if the number of their generations are the same. For example, Tuhenua /To/ is the grandfather of Tuhenua /T/; the generation of both is given as number 21 (G21). Temoa, father of Taupongi, is listed in generation 20, while Sanga'eha, of the same clan, is listed in generation 19, although the two are contemporaries and both were born about 1900.

Chapter Six

¹⁴ Hymns are also used in the SSEC Church.

¹⁵ In 1977 John Tipaika was Minister of Transportation and Roads in Honiara, seat of the Solomon Island government.

¹⁶ All over Malaita Island, people march in formation, beating on hymn books, and singing the SSEC hymns (private communication, Hugo Zemp, 1981).

¹⁷ Zemp, 1971:31-53.

¹⁸ It is my guess that these songs may have been assimilated from some other Solomon Island people, although I have no evidence for this.

¹⁹ Sachs (1940:38) tells of the English "with horn," which is similar, and his Figure 13 shows a South American ribbon reed.

Chapter Seven

²⁰ Tepuke said that this kind of singing was usual before Christianity. He characterized the American gospel and soul singer, Aretha Franklin, as having this kind of voice. He characterized Teghaapilu's voice as "high" *te nge'o ghaaghaa*.

²¹ The word *nge'o* might also be translated 'melody' or 'melodic pattern' here.

²² Taupongi sometimes used the designations *tipatipa hakatatau* and *tipatipa taa tasi* interchangeably. This may be due to the confusion between *taa tasi* and *taa tatasi* (see 8.2.1 *taa papa*). These terms were distinct, but current usage is blurred because of abbreviations.

Chapter Ten

²³ When comparing terms from different islands, consonant correspondences in Elbert 1975:XII may be useful.

²⁴ I am grateful to Sir Raymond Firth for a copy of two songs and an excerpt from McLeod's thesis (pp. 287-288) concerning *mako vae rua*.

²⁵ In the '*ungu*' of the *mako hakasaunoni*, for example, the only movement is clapping.

²⁶ Also in the Solomons, Guadalcanal Island has vocal and panpipe music, while Savo Island has vocal music only: both islands have a characteristically contrapuntal vocal (and instrumental) style with several voice parts and a drone, all parts ending in unison at the close of the stanza or piece; wide melodic range (21 semitones for example), falsetto and yodel-like changes in vocal register at the top of the range, a profusion of sectional markers, and relatively few words in the song texts. Polyphonic vocal parts in the respective languages and in translation are (Rossen 1979:474):

Guadalcanal: (*nginia* language)

Voice 1: *hihinda* 'opens'

Voice 2: *tumuri* 'follows'

Voice 3, chorus: *ngungulu* 'growls'

Additional voices:

Savo: (*savosavo* language)

nyagogu 'before'

buringa 'after'

salanguru 'growl behind'

ngurunguru 'growling' (and gasping)

geregere (an octave above final tone)

Three part polyphony in the form of a soloist and two part chorus (*nao* and *buli* 'in front' and 'behind') occur in the Solomons in Northern Malaita, To'abaita, Baelelea, Lao, and Kwaio areas.

Chapter Eleven

²⁷ Mead's view of personality has been strongly challenged by Derek Freeman in the past few years.

Part 2. Musical Analysis



Figure 17: Paul Sa'engeika: the '*ungu* opening dance, 1968

CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION

Part 2 is a study of the characteristics of certain Bellonese musical genres. When listening to the collection deposited at the Danish Folklore Archives, I was struck by the musical consistency within each of the named song genres of Bellona and Rennell. The object of my analysis is to describe the musical characteristics that identify each genre. Representative songs from most of the prominent genres were therefore selected "by ear" for transcription. In selecting these songs, an attempt was made to find examples that included the identifying characteristics of the genre but also demonstrated the range of variation within it.

The chapters are arranged in the form of a key, making it possible, without knowing its name, to locate a song in the book. I organized the chapters in this way because, for an inordinate length of time, even though I recognized a song type, it was difficult for me to remember which name to connect with it.

The Bellonese have some 60 named song types, only a limited number of which have been analyzed in the present work. Most of the ca. 27 performance units named consist of compound genres or suites, the smallest units of which are the song types (*na noho o na hatu'anga* 'types of composition'). Bellonese musical genres are treated in Part 1, in Chapters 2 and 3, and there is a glossary of Bellonese genre names, categories, and terms used for subdivisions of the compound genres.

Major divisions of the book treat songs, song sessions and dances. The chapters each treat one or more song genres. Musical structure is discussed in terms of melodic, rhythmic and formal patterns for each genre, after which the transcriptions are compared on the basis of melodic models transposed to the same level.

Songs. The first five genres examined are performed primarily by individuals and, with the exception of *kananga*, are songs from the category called *ongiong* (see Part 1, Chapter Two). *Maghiiti* and *saka* are delivered in a style called *maghiiti* (see Part 1, Chapter Seven), and *kananga* are

intoned in a similar way, although this genre is distinctly secular and, unlike all other genres in the book, is not performed in public. *Maghiiti* and *obo* songs are addressed to the gods, while *saka* and *unguoso* songs may be for either men or gods.

Song sessions and dances. The sixth genre, *pese* songs from the musical program of the *kanongoto* harvest ritual, are performed by a leader and group.

All of the genres that follow were performed in the musical programs after the large distribution and tattooing feasts in honor of the sky gods (see Chapter Three of Part 1). These comprise dirges and laments from two song sessions, the *mako noho* for men and *tangi* for women and men; dances from the category *tau'asonga* 'singing and dancing' which includes singing games; the ritual *suahongi* dance suite and the *mako hakapaungo* which are unaccompanied; the *pati* and *mako hakasaunoni* accompanied by clapping; and the *mako ngangi* and *hakatenge* accompanied by the sounding board.

1.1 Musical analysis

Analysis is based upon the musical transcriptions; musical structure is sometimes shown in the form of examples and models on the musical staff showing pitch but not duration. My aim has been to analyze selectively rather than exhaustively, pointing out salient features of each transcription rather than following a set list of characteristics, some of which would be absent in particular cases. I have used a three-part model for analysis of musical structure (formal, rhythmic and melodic patterns), inspired by the work of Claudie Marcel du Bois, but freely interpreted.

Some characteristics of the music occur so generally and apply to so many transcriptions that they may be stated at the outset as underlying principles of musical structure in this material.

Melodic structure consists primarily of whole-tone steps and minor thirds and anhemitonic pentatonic scales are common. Melodic intervals are the same as intervals produced heterophonically, and appear in the following order of frequency: fourth, major second, minor third, fifth, sixth, octave and minor seventh (see Table 5: Polyphonic intervals, in Chapter 16). This does not, however, apply to polyphonic relationships between the different songs performed simultaneously in the *suahongi*.

Although scales that consist of major second and minor third intervals predominate, the music is not fixed within their limits. One song genre, *tangi* laments, has a characteristic hemitonic series of tones that is often

pentatonic. In addition, it must be emphasized that the intervals actually employed only approximate those represented on the staff in Western musical notation. The interval of a third, for example, may be sung on Bellona as a "neutral" third rather than minor or major. In one recording, two elders varied the interval of the third between the major second and the major third. Such variation demonstrates their skill and is used as an ornamental device (see Chapter II.6).

Rhythm. A regular rhythm is basic and the majority of Bellonese songs have a steady pulse, a chain of musical units of equal time value. The syllable is an important structural unit, a series of syllable units giving the basic pulse. This pulse may be organized by means of clapping or accents into rhythmic groupings of two or three. Over one-third of the songs have mixed meters, i.e., are heterometric. More complex rhythms and isorhythms also occur, particularly in dance songs with sounding board accompaniment.

Sounding board accompaniment repeats a general pattern with great variation in detail. Transcriptions attempt to reveal overall patterns but not the endless variations, as exact transcriptions would not warrant the amount of time they would require. The beats of the sounding board do not always coincide exactly with the singer and rhythmic displacement is sought as an ornamental device.

Meter and form. Bar lines are not employed unless a song has strict rhythm, i.e., is isometric. Solid bar lines are placed at the end of a stanza or section, and partial or stippled bar lines mark other structural divisions.

The great majority (5/7) of songs are strophic in form, a small portion of these having irregular stanzas (Songs I-4). Heterometric songs often have stanzas with fairly regular verse lines, even when the number of musical units per verse line is not kept strictly equal.

Some examples in this study show rhythm without pitch which may be shown by notes without the musical staff. Accented and unaccented syllables are shown respectively as follows: ' _ _

Formal divisions may be marked **A**, **B**, etc.

Special endings. Three endings are common in this music: prolongation of the final tone, terminal glissandi, and final exclamations or shouts employing indefinite tones.

Ngibau is the Bellonese designation for the shout or call "ooho" as well as to shout in this way. This occurs, for example, at the end of Song 4, the *maghiiti* song from the *ngeemungi* ritual, and at the end of the *suahongi*

ritual dance. Another word used at the end of songs is '*Aue* 'thanks', and several others are characteristic for particular song genres.

Because special endings are such a characteristic feature, they may be indicated in analysis of formal structure by the symbols "**S**" (shout); "**Z**" for endings that use definite tones, such as the chorus in the *pese* song by Kaitu'u (lower part) in the *suahongi* (Song 38).

Shouts may end a section, in which case they are repeated if the section is repeated, or they may be interjections between two sections. The former appear before the bar line showing the end of a section, the latter after. The former would be expressed in formal analysis as **AsAs**, the latter as **AsA**. To avoid clutter, formal analysis is not usually written on the musical examples.

1.2 The coding system employed

Like the melody it represents, the code consists both of notes (stations) and of the intervals between them. For example, two tones separated by an interval of a major second, the lowest tone on the left, would be coded as (oo), while (o o) represents two tones a minor third apart. The distance is increased if the interval is a fourth (o o). A tetrachord with three tones, separated by intervals of a major second and a minor third is coded as (oo o), the lowest tone on the left.¹ The initial tone may be accented (ó), the final tone underlined (o), and the terminal tone indicated by a subscript such as (o) or _T. The coding system, which was originally intended to show the major second and minor third intervals only, has been altered to accommodate semitones by placing dots beside the main tones: (o o.) shows the minor third plus the minor second. The entire song may be coded rather than only the portion transcribed.

The intervals may also be abbreviated as follows:

M2 = major second

m2 = minor second

M3 = major third

m3 = minor third

4 = fourth

5 = fifth

m6 = minor sixth

M6 = major sixth

m7 = minor seventh

M7 = major seventh

8 = octave

I.3 Melodic models employed

The skeletons, made for the purpose of analyzing melodic structure, show the note-heads only, and stems which show the rhythm are omitted. Notes shown with open heads denote tones that occur in the song more often than those with solid note-heads; relative frequency is shown in this way although only two values are given. The model is intended to give a short, generalized picture of the pitch sequence and content of the song. The models may contain notes that appear in stanzas not transcribed. Thus, they are not based exclusively upon the transcriptions herein and cannot be reconstructed on the basis of the transcription alone.

All models are transposed to comparable positions on the staff, but not always with the same final tone. The final tone is not of special significance in Bellonese music, possibly because the penultimate syllable is accented in speech, and often in song.

The codes are shown on the pages of models at the end of each chapter, together with information about the number of tones and ambitus of the song, e.g.: - 5/8 denotes five tones/ambitus one octave.

Additional symbols used in the melodic skeletons:

	denotes pitches sounded simultaneously.
()	variation may omit these tones
Z	end of song (zv end of stanza or verse)
L	verse line (= V verse)
P	phrase

I.4 The musical transcriptions (Volume Two)

Selection of material for transcription. Transcriptions of song examples from the tape recordings were selected to represent both the regularities and the range of variation within each song genre. Stanzas were likewise selected within the individual songs to show both regularities and typical variations within the song. Two stanzas are rarely sung in precisely the same way with respect to rhythm and order of notes, and separate

transcriptions are made only to show essential differences. Repeats that contain only minor variations may likewise be omitted.

The first stanza of a strophic song is not always transcribed. The singer often warms up in the first stanza, which therefore may show irregularities not present in subsequent stanzas. The first stanza is often atypical for this reason (List 1962).

Bellonese men (and some women) generally sing in the octave below middle **C** which I have elected to notate in the **G** clef, except for some polyphonic songs that are written out in both treble and bass clefs. Songs may be transposed to avoid accidentals in the transcriptions.

Method of transcription

Conventional Western notation is used in the transcriptions with the following additional symbols: ²

-  on the musical staff denotes indefinite pitch.
-  below the staff denotes rhythmic accompaniment (clapping or the sounding board).
-  is a tone that slides downward, glissando. The approximate area of repose is shown by the end of the line, the duration by the note from which it comes.
-  is a tone that slides slightly upwards,  slightly downwards.
-  tone slightly higher than given.
-  tone slightly lower than given.
-  **a** pronounced as **o** in song; a favored vowel change at phrase endings for which I use the Danish letter **å** as a symbol.
- F** final tone.
-  indicates a tone that is sung with pulsations.
- []** = added by the author.

When a single syllable is sung on two notes, the notes are tied.
Bar lines do not imply emphasis.

The following items may also be mentioned in connection with the transcriptions, when relevant:

- The name of the lead singer; his or her lineage in brackets.
- Date and place of recording; sometimes name of collector and/or the translator of the text.
- When the song is transposed, the original pitch is shown on a small musical staff inset above the transcription.
- The tempo in musical time units per minute (MM).
- The part sung by the leader and the group are sometimes abbreviated **s.** (solo) and **gr.** (group).

1.5 Song texts

The song texts included here are those rendered in musical notation. They are selected according to musical criteria and arranged according to their Bellonese genre. They have been gathered from various sources: some have been previously published by Elbert and Monberg (1965), and these are cited by their text (T) number in that book; most were collected by the same person that collected the corresponding tape recording.

The vowels **a** and **e** in song may be doubled with a glide to fill space, producing *aua* and *eie*. The language has both long and short vowels, which may or may not be equal in song. "Final vowels may be lengthened and changed, as *Teikoo* !, a call to attract the attention of Teika when he is at a distance" (op.cit.:20). Such prolonged vowels sometimes mark the ends of musical phrases (Song 5). Short dance-song texts may be placed within the marks |: :| to indicate repetition.

Describing their translation methods, Elbert and Monberg make the point that "no two people ever translate the same, and no one person translates the same way twice" (op.cit.:28), a statement which is equally true of musical transcription. They describe four types of translation: linguistic, aesthetic-poetic, pragmatic and ethnographic, the first three of which are not suitable for the Bellonese and other ethnographic materials. In an ethnographic translation, compromises are made between such requirements

as fidelity of message and style and those of smoothness and clarity (p. 22). Whereas a linguistic translation gives the exact correlation of grammatical elements at the expense of understandability, an ethnographic translation omits distinctions not made in English (such as "we two inclusive") and adds information usually given in English but not in Bellonese (such as distinctions between he/she, his/hers, and the pronoun subjects and objects of verbs). Words implicitly understood in Bellonese but explicitly needed in English are added in brackets. In the method used, word order is changed, the subject or pronoun subject is put before the verb and the adjective before the noun. Redundancies are kept in the translation at the expense of smoothness. Since distinctions made in one language cannot always be conveyed by the other, short explanations are sometimes added in parentheses.

The texts translated in 1980-81 by Taupongi were corrected by Elbert and then rechecked by Taupongi; they were both in Denmark at the time, working on Part 2 of the Dictionary. Some texts, translated by Tepuke in collaboration with me (the *pai* songs, Songs 47-53), are raw and unpolished. Only texts of which we are reasonably certain are printed here; the texts of songs 1, 10, 33, 48 and 51 have been omitted for this reason. The texts of songs 5, 21 and 23 have been published by Elbert and Monberg (1965) and are thus omitted here. It must be emphasized that most of the translations are extremely tentative.

The notes that follow each text explain obscurities such as allusions, honorary names and cultural contexts assumed by the Bellonese but not recognized by the outsider.

The contents of the texts. The contents of the songs concern the necessities and values of Bellonese life, foremost among which is subsistence, the foods that are planted and harvested or won from the sea, which take precedence over other matters because of their scarcity. When obtained in abundance, food was considered to be a gift (*tonu*) from the gods. A man endeavored to plant and harvest large quantities of food, which he would distribute at his ritual feasts. His status depended upon the size of his ritual feasts and the generosity which he thereby demonstrated. The size of his distributions also depended upon his land holdings. Subsistence, economics and religion were inseparable. Individual motivation was directed toward distribution rather than private accumulation, and food could not be stored in the tropical climate. The deities are praised for *tonu* received and flattered in order to secure their gifts and protection in times of need (Songs 1, 2, 3, 5, 8). *Maghiiti*, *obo* and *unguoso*, songs that honor the deities, are used in rituals (Songs 1-4, 30-34).

Crops and other foods mentioned in the songs are *ngeemungi* (S4), coconut groves (Songs 49, 50), yams (Song 34), banana groves (Song 25), *sungumenga* fish, whales, shark (Songs 33-34), flying fox (Song 61) and others. Fishing voyages, often dangerous, are the subject of Songs 20, 27 and 56. A sea voyage between Bellona and Rennell, one of the most important events in a man's life, is the subject of Song 51.

Praise of persons, places, etc., is an important theme of all kinds of Bellonese songs, as well as of Polynesian songs in general (cf. Burrows 1940:339). *Tangi* laments, often occasioned by the death of a husband (S23-25), and a *pese* song (Song 18) are women's songs in praise of men. A man praises his father in Song 53, and Song 6 is unique in that a husband praises his wife. Love songs are the exceedingly short and allusive *kananga* (Songs 11-16).

Historical events, such as the voyage from 'Ubea, are the subjects of songs such as 17, 19, 21 and 55. The last was composed by a deity and transmitted through the agency of a medium. Whereas songs received in this way need not be of any great age, many songs are of such antiquity that the texts are difficult to comprehend and to translate, even for a Bellonese. Examples are Songs 17, 19 and 23, and songs that have the word *tuai* 'ancient' in their titles (Songs 25, 30, 33). Some songs, supposedly in the archaic language of 'Ubea, are no longer understood, except for individual words, and cannot be translated: the *suahongi*, *mako nganggi*, and the introductions to the *mako hakapaungo* and *hakatenge* (Songs 36-44, 57-59).

Songs composed in the first few generations after the immigration are partly understood, but comprehensive translations cannot be made without a great deal of guesswork on the part of Bellonese translators. Examples of such texts are Song 17 and the ending of the *suahongi* dance, which was supposedly composed by Iho in the fourth generation. Such translations, which would represent the translator rather than being generally accepted, are not given here.

The notes that follow each text explain obscurities such as allusions, honorary names and cultural contexts assumed by the Bellonese but not recognized by the outsider.

CHAPTER 2: M A G H I I T I

The first song genre to be taken up consists of religious songs and will necessitate mention of Bellonese deities, rituals and food products, which have been introduced in Part 1, Chapter 3. Further information on these subjects is available in books by Monberg, Elbert, Christiansen and Kuschel.

Maghiiti are unaccompanied songs with several irregular stanzas and a refrain. They were sung at rituals by the priest-chief and his assistants to invoke the deities. Members of the Kaitu'u clan also sang them, to entreat the protection of their district deity, when near the site of two sacred and dangerous stone sky gods at Ngabenga. *Maghiiti* were performed at all rituals, such as the following:

- The *kaba ki hange*, also called the *kaba* ritual. Cooked food was distributed at these rituals in honor of district deities such as Tehu'aingabenga and his offspring.
- Rituals for the sky gods performed for the distribution of their *tonu* or 'gifts'. Such gifts consisted of a harvest from the garden or the sea that was plentiful enough to be distributed, in the form of raw food, at a ritual called the *manga'e* in which the deity was thanked and given a share in the harvest; this offering was later eaten by the guests. Foods such as whale, turtle, fish (*sungumenga*, shark, flying fish, etc.), coconuts, bananas, taro, yams and *ngeemungi* were distributed.

2.1 Song texts

The texts of *maghiiti* songs, and all ritual songs, contain special phrases to honor the gods, pay homage to them and thank them for their gifts. Several honorary names for each deity are used in the songs. The sky god Tehainga'atua, for example, is also called Tetonusanga, Semoana and Tetupu'a in Song 3. (All three names appear in stanza 1.) Honorific names for the district deity Tehu'aingabenga are, for example, Hakamangukai, Tehu'aitonga, Nika (the honoured one) and Tupuitengenga (grown from turmeric).

Phrases to urge, cajole, and even threaten the deities are also used. Stanza 5 has the phrase, "I ask you for some food for your mat, to restore the health of the elder and me..." which refers to the sacred mat used when making food offerings. The deity is asked to supply food that will in turn be offered to him. The deities were dependent for their food upon ritual offerings, and if the sky god did not receive ritual food, he would eat a priest-chief instead.

Still another means commonly used to propitiate the gods is self-abasement, such as "...remove this sickness so that I may sit down at your buttocks..." (Song 2, stanza 4, third verse line, *ka kau misa ki tou noko*).

2.2 Performance

Ritual songs were performed by the priest-chief and his assistants. In contrast to other Bellonese songs, these songs are performed singly rather than in series. Individual *maghiiti* songs were performed as part of the ritual procedure. The word *maghiiti* also denotes a particular manner of singing that is employed for these songs. The stanzas consist of series of repeated tones, which are delivered with separate accents (*martellato*) under relatively high compression. When the priest-chief has to pause for a breath, the voices of his assistants should fill the gaps so that the pauses will not be audible. The first *maghiiti* on the record publication FE 4273 demonstrates the *martellato* delivery and this continuous sound, whereas the recordings transcribed are made by soloists and do have rests.

The continuousness of the sound is consistent with a central idea in Bellonese ritual performance: the *kanongoto* ritual, for instance, involves almost constant speaking and singing... because the participants are afraid to stop (Monberg 1978: 114, 122).

No two recordings of one and the same *maghiiti* song are exact replicas. According to Torben Monberg's information about the performance of the song *maghiiti 'amo* at the *kaba* ritual, Paul Sa'engeika and other Bellonese considered it permissible to leave out stanzas or to change their order.

2.3 Musical analysis (see Songs 1-4)

Four songs have been transcribed here, two from the *kaba* ritual and two from the *ngeemungi* ritual, one of which was also used in various other rituals such as that for *sungumenga* fish.

Different refrains are used for the two rituals:

- in the *kaba* ritual for the district deities: *ue a... 'aue, 'aue ' ue a... thanks, thanks'.*
- in the *ngeemungi* ritual for the sky gods: *aa ibo oo.*

Some songs also have a final shout, the *ngibau* of the sky god, which was sometimes omitted in indoor performances.

The transcriptions share the following musical features:

- The songs usually have several irregular stanzas and a refrain. Each stanza consists of four to five verse lines, the last of which is sometimes markedly longer than the others (see Songs 1 and 4).
- Some songs have two different melodic sections (**A** and **B**).
- The syllables of the verses are performed as a series of repeated notes that end with one or two longer notes.
- This series of repeated tones may be accented separately (martellato) or two by two (doublets).
- The refrain and section **B** provide a rhythmic contrast to the verses.

=====

1. The *maghiiti* by Puipuihenua for the *kaba* ritual.

Each stanza has five verses which are of unequal measure; each syllable is accented in a martellato delivery. The verse lines contain 12, 14, 12, 12 and 19 counts respectively; all are eighth-notes except for two quarter-notes ending each verse. The refrain is freer in rhythm and ends with a drop in the voice on the spoken word, *alaa*.

Two main tones an interval of a major second apart appear repeatedly in the stanza, while the melody of the refrain consists of a pendular movement that descends a minor third and returns. Ambitus is a fifth, not including the lower indefinite pitches of the final word. The intervals employed are major seconds and minor thirds, and may be coded (o oo). (See introduction, 1.2: the lowest tone is on the left.)

2. The *maghiiti 'amo* by Tongaka for the *kaba* ritual.

This song has the same melodic movement and structure as the previous song: the two main tones repeated in stanzas two and three are a major second apart, and a third tone appears a minor third below these two. This tetrachordic structure may be coded as above; a variation used at the end of

stanza three increases the ambitus by a minor third (o oo o).

Another variation at the beginning of stanzas three and four and following section **B** adds a major second to the original tetrachord; although this variation could be coded (o ooo) in itself and no half-tone steps are used, the total picture is no longer anhemitonic.

A new tetrachord, established in section **B**, is considered a modulation by the Bellonese; it may be coded (o oo). The tone underlined remains the central tone throughout the song.

All variations separately conform to combinations of major second and minor third intervals but the total picture does not. Ambitus is a minor sixth, not including the indefinite low pitches, and an octave if they are included.

3. The *maghiiti* by Sa'engeahe used in various rituals.

The first five verses show the same tetrachordic structure, rhythm and melodic movement as the two previous songs. At the end of the refrain, on the word *ala*, the singer's voice drops, after which section **B** begins. **B** has a pentachordic melody which may be coded (o ooo). Ambitus is a fifth, or a minor seventh including the low tones.

An interesting feature of the rhythm serves to join the fifth verse line to the refrain to form an extended line just before section **B**. The fifth verse consists of a series of short notes ending with a longer time unit, like the previous four verses, but it also has an extra short note. The refrain also begins with a short note (see the 5th and 6th lines of the transcription), these two combine to form a doublet, part of the new rhythm of the refrain.

4. The *maghiiti* by Sa'engeahe for the *ngeemungi*.

This short song is complete in the transcription.

The melody of the stanza of the song shows the same tetrachordic structure as the previous *maghiiti*, and melodic section **B** is pentachordic. As in Song 3, there is a drop in the voice just prior to section **B**. The song ends with the *ngibau*, the shout of the sky god to whom the song is dedicated. Ambitus is a major seventh or an octave if the *ngibau* is included.

The first four verses end with the refrain *aa ibo'o* with the rhythmic pattern.....:



The same rhythmic pattern recurs three times in the next to last line of the transcription on the words: *ka sinu ka tenge ka sinu ka*.



The melody has two formal sections, **A** and **B**. The transition between them is rhythmic, an extended line of doublets.

2.3 Discussion and summary of musical structure

Formal patterns. Three of the four songs transcribed here have two melodic sections, **A** and **B**, which differ in rhythm as well as in melody. *Maghiiti* songs do not always have regular stanzas, and some present a confusing picture of several different melodic and rhythmic sections which can only be understood with the aid of the text.

Rhythmic patterns; ending. The stanzas of a song may not all have the same number of verses, nor are the verses always of equal length. At the end of a verse, segmentation is marked by prolonged syllables.

The rhythmic patterns of the verses and the refrain differ.

- Verses are constructed of even units and end with one or more longer units.
- The rhythmic pattern of the refrain consists of two short notes between two long notes once or in series (see p.192).

These two patterns are present in every song. Other rhythmic patterns occur in some songs, both as variations and as transitions between sections. For example, the long notes that mark the end of each verse are sometimes shortened, thereby removing the marker. This results in the removal of segmentation and the formation of longer phrases made up of two verses, which occurs in songs 3 and 4. In song 3, the refrain is joined to the last verse to form a special extended final line; the short note that begins the refrain serves to hitch it onto the preceding series of short notes that make up the verse.

Melodic patterns. The ambitus of *maghiiti* songs is less than an octave. The *maghiiti* by Puipuihenua has the smallest range, a fourth, with three tones. *Maghiiti 'amo* has six tones within the range of a minor sixth. The *maghiiti* by Sa'engeahe for various rituals has five tones within a minor seventh, and the *maghiiti* of *ngeemungi* by the same composer has seven

tones within an ambitus of a major seventh.

Melodic contour of the stanzas is level, characterized by repeated tones. Two tones, an interval of a major second apart predominate, and the stanzas thus have a two-tone nucleus. These two tones often but not always appear as the initial and final tones, the lower of the two being the final, which we will call the base tone. This kind of double tonal center is common in Bellonese songs and is also known in traditional music elsewhere.

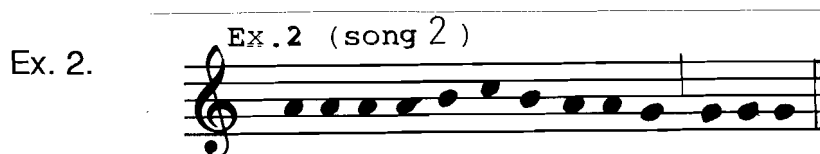
The melodic movement from the higher to the lower of these two nuclear tones, sometimes via the minor third below the base tone, can be clearly seen in the first song, the *maghiiti* by Puipuihenua. This tetrachord can be coded (o oo).

Three of the *maghiiti* transcribed have two melodic sections, **A** and **B**, sometimes with a return to **A** (see Song 2). The basic tonal constellation in section **A** of all the songs consists of the three tones of a tetrachord. There may or may not be variations and ornamental figures using additional tones.

Song 2 has an ornamental figure and a variation that together demonstrate the unusual tonality in this group of songs. The ornamental figure at the end of verse three appears several times at the end of stanzas just preceding the refrain and fits in with the usual pentatonic modes used throughout Bellonese music:



Less predictable is the variation that initiates stanzas three and four, and follows section **B**:

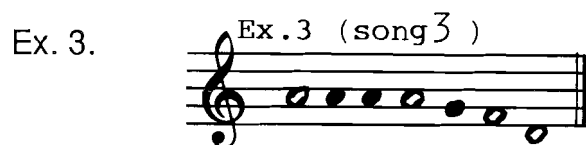


This variation appears in 10 of the 14 *maghiiti* recordings at the Danish Folklore Archives. The tritone that appears here cannot be overlooked, even though it is transitional.

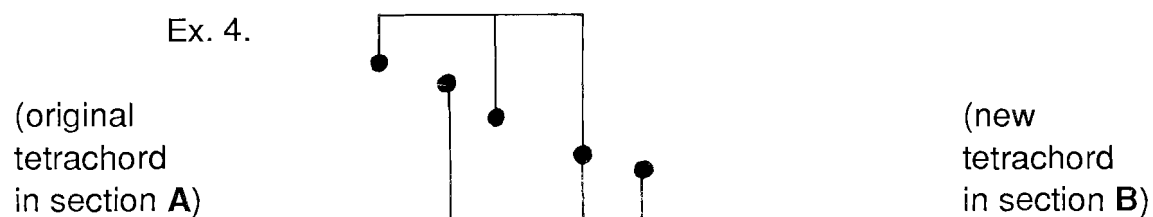
Section **B** in Songs 3 and 4 is a new melodic theme using new tonal material but including the base tone of the preceding tetrachord. The Bellonese consider this to be a modulation or change to a different "tune" or "sound." Paul Sa'engeika listened to the songs and told me when such a change occurred by using expressions such as *sa'u te haatunga* 'to change the tune',

and *sui te nge'o* 'changing sound or pitch', in contrast to *manga hano te nge'o* 'just continues the sound [or] theme'.

The pentachordic melody of section **B** in Songs 3 and 4 takes its start from the highest note of the tetrachord used in the stanza:



The modulation could be seen as a shifting of the whole original tetrachord of section **A** downward one tone in section **B**.



Tupe'uhi, 1977

MELODIC SKELETONS OF MAGHIITI SONGS

Song 1. *Ref:*

Song 2. [A] *Ref:* [B]

Song 3. *Ref:* [B]

Song 4. *Ref:* [B]

O OO 4/5

O OO•O• 7/M6

O OO 5+/5
XXO OOO

O OO 5/5
O OOO

CHAPTER 3: S A K A

Saka is an important genre of ancient and ritual songs. There are two musical groups:

- entreaties, usually to the gods and
- songs that were sung by the tattooist while tattooing; the beating of the tattoo provides an accompaniment, although it is not performed specifically as a musical accompaniment. The sound produced by striking the shaft of the needle with a mallet is designated *hakatotoo* 'to beat a tattoo or fast roll' (see Part I, 3.8 and 7.5.2). This "accompaniment" was often omitted in the recordings, which were made after tattooing had been abandoned.

Taupongi, 1968, classified *saka* songs as follows:

"For the sky god, Tehainga'atua,
for the district deity, Tehu'aingabenga,
for people (*hai na pengea*),
for tattooing (*tatau*),
for the *manga'e* distribution ritual.

"That's the way we divide the different kinds of *saka*. Some *saka* were composed by different gods, some by *hiti* (the mythical aboriginal population of Bellona, some by *kakai* (culture heroes, and some by the old people.)"

Saka are strophic songs with many irregular stanzas. Only the tattooing *saka* have refrains, which usually consist at least in part of the vowel *ee*, as for example in Song 6 and in the *saka* by Mautikitiki on the record FE 4273, band 8. *Saka* songs are primarily monophonic. Like *maghiiti* but unlike the majority of Bellonese songs, *saka* are performed by a few individuals rather than by a large group.

The *saka* performed at rituals were sung by the ritual leader and his assistants (for example, Song 9). The same songs could also be performed by one person alone to entreat the gods and ancestors for protection, if he were afraid (for example, when passing Ngabenga near the two stone gods). Songs 5, 7 and 8 are of this kind, and song 5 was composed specifically to ask protection from threatening gods in the form of whales. Songs 6 and 10 are tattooing *saka*, and both praise people.

Elbert and Monberg give the following information about the *saka* that accompany tattooing (1965:131, N42):

One kind of *saka* is sung by one person (not by a group) to a person being tattooed in order to divert his mind from the pain of tattooing. If he listens (*hakagongo*) he will not feel (*hakagongo*) the pain. The *saka* was sung only for large tattooing patterns, as the *taukuka* on the chest or the *hakasapa* on the buttocks. There was no posturing of hands or clapping. Taupongi 1961 said that the *saka* was the name of the shrill crying of the *sungatisaka* (a small beetle living in water-holes). The sound is similar to that of the cicada. The *saka* songs are said to be an imitation of this crying. Other *saka* are entreaties to the gods, as in T185, the *saka* by Tamungeu.

3.1 Performance

When *saka* were sung in the temple by the priest-chief in former times, he would be joined by the second priest-chief and the group accompanying them (*kau hekau*). When I recorded *saka* songs performed by ritual leaders such as Paul Sa'engeika, other people joined the soloist. The vowel *-ee* in the refrain of tattooing songs is prolonged and sung at a low pitch with an almost closed glottis. This sound is designated *hakapoponge* (see Part 1, 7.3).

3.2 Text and rhyme scheme

Every stanza ends with a prolonged vowel, usually *-oo* or *-ee*. The vowel *o* marks the ends of stanzas and sometimes the ends of verse lines within the stanza. In the notes to the *saka* by Tamungeu (Song 5):

When the *saka* is sung, certain vowels are changed; for instance, *taha'ota* for *taha'ata* (7), *katoonga* for *katoanga* (8), *Sa'otangota* for *Sa'otangata* (8), *ngangonga* for *nganganga* (9). Furthermore, certain words are not fully pronounced; for instance, *mata* is sung *maaa* (9), *baka* is sung *baaa* (10). As there seem to be no fixed rules for these changes, and variations do occur, these changes are not indicated in the text, which was dictated in normal speech (op.cit.:336, N 185A).

Some of the *saka* texts collected by Elbert, Monberg and Kuschel were transcribed in the form of prose rather than structured song poetry. The singer creates the rhythm of the song by emphasizing and lengthening every third syllable and by prolonging the vowels that mark the ends of structural divisions such as the stanza. It was sometimes difficult for me to follow the transcribed words of the texts as they are sung in the recordings, because the

words are distorted by the rhythmic pattern imposed upon them. In song, the syllables of the text of Song 5, for example: *Eki moana kao hakangongo i...* are regrouped so that to a non-speaker of the language they sound like: *É kimo á naka ó haka ngó ngoi... .*

Elbert and Monberg (1965) have published three additional *saka* texts with translations and notes that clearly show the importance of these songs in the traditional cultural context. The stories connected with the songs, which I will summarize below, illustrate situations in which:

- 1) something is desired,
- 2) the suppliant composes a *saka* as an entreaty and also as a gift,
- 3) the entreaty is granted because it arouses pity, and also as a reward for the valuable gift of a song.

In a story from Rennell, a man named Tetonga composes a *saka* to entreat his younger brother for a hard-rock adze.³ The younger brother listened to the thing composed for him and gave a reward for the *saka*; he permitted his brother to climb one of his coconut trees and harvest the nuts. "What can equal your poetic words with stories about every generation?" When Tetonga came down to collect the coconuts, his brother stood there with a hard-rock adze, and put it on the pile of coconuts: "This is in exchange for your *saka* composed for me" (op.cit.: 361-362, T210).

The *saka* by Tinopau concerns rejuvenation and was, according to the story, composed in the underworld. He says that Rennell is prostrate because he has died and his family line is thus exterminated. "This tattooing *saka* is Tinopau's powerful entreaty (*saka*) to Tehainga'atua (Tetupu'a) that he be rejuvenated and released from the underworld" (op.cit.: 228). When the song ended, the sky god "rose and thanked him, and grabbed Tinopau's hair... swung Tinopau about, swinging him and yanking Tinopau out of that place, and Tehainga'atua held on to Tinopau's skin, and Tinopau was young again..." (op.cit.: 227).

3.3 Musical analysis (Songs 5-10)

Stanzas from five *saka* songs have been transcribed from the collections of Monberg, Elbert and Kuschel. Only one of the texts has been published, that of Song 5, the *saka* by Tamungeu (op.cit.: 334-336, T 185A). It should be emphasized that the other translations are only tentative; they do, however, contain useful information concerning the content of the songs.

The transcriptions share the following musical features:

- The songs are isorhythmic but not isometric. The verses (= verse lines) are constructed of like rhythmic units that consist of two short notes followed by a long note, since every third syllable of the text is stressed and lengthened.
- Most verses contain four of these units; the first verse of a stanza may have six units, since the last words of the previous stanza are repeated at the beginning of the new stanza. (These words are placed at the end of the stanza in the published text of Song 5.)
- The verse may begin with a short or a long note (= syllable); it ends with one or two long notes, and the stanza ends with a greatly prolonged note.

Taupongi stated that all *saka* songs have the same rhythm and the same melodic pattern (see Part 1, 7.5). His statement regarding the rhythm is expressed in the isorhythmic principle stated above. Instead of having a fixed melody, a song is probably improvised when it is sung, using melodic formulas. Many of the melodies consist of two formulas plus a final formula. The simplest form of final formula is a rhythmic repetition of the final tone, as for example in Songs 5 and 9. The three melodic formulas are shown in the transcription of Song 8, the *saka* by Temega. (The beginning could be called formula **A**, while **B** is the descending figure that begins the second and third musical staves, and **Z** ends the transcription on the words *-nga ke ketae ngaao*.)

5. The *saka* by Tamungeu for the sky god, Tehainga'atua.

The story of how this *saka* was composed in order to protect the composer and his grandson on their return trip from Rennell is published by Elbert and Monberg (ibid.). The words of the song, and the food offerings promised therein, subdued the hostile gods who, in the form of whales, threatened the canoe. The song is an example of the magic power of words. "Words, on Bellona, are just as real as acts" (Torben Monberg, p.c. 24 October 1983).

In the story retold here, I have combined two versions, T184 and 185A: The grandson had said, "I have seen everything except the flesh of the sea" (whales). Although Tamungeu covered his grandson's mouth with his hand, their god had already heard and Tamungeu worried. Tamungeu just walked about on Rennell and composed his *saka* song. Then they returned in their

canoe. In the middle of the sea the flesh of the sea rushed up. They drifted on the open sea route, and the whales drifted alongside the canoe. The grandson was afraid and went into the hull of the canoe and emptied his bowels in the hull of the canoe in fear.

And Tamungeu began the *saka* composed on Rennell, displayed his *saka* : "Sit on the open sea, I hearken to your heart." The flesh of the sea stayed close, and the *saka* had many words, and the gods listened to them. The female god, Sikingimoemoe, said "Let's grab them!" But the male god did not agree and said: "Listen to this creature making noises here!" When there came this phrase in his *saka* : "Clear a path for me, and I will bring food offerings to your resting place (temple)." The flesh of the sea scattered. The sting ray stayed, Sikingimoemoe,⁴ assuming its shape, followed the canoe, followed on. The story ends: and Tamungeu's canoe reached Bellona, and the sting ray went back" (Elbert and Monberg 1965: 334-337).

By mentioning whales, the boy attracts them. The food offerings mentioned in the song placate the sky god. Tamungeu promises to worship even in daylight, which means even longer than usual, as the temple rituals were ordinarily performed at night and ended at daybreak.

Paul Sa'engeika sang this entreaty for Torben Monberg in connection with explanations of the temple rituals. The song was sung with rituals of seafood in the temples and in the settlements, as well as for protection at sea.

The seven irregular stanzas of the song each have from two to four verses. The first verse of each stanza has six lengthened syllables (equal to six rhythmic units), whereas all others have four. The last two words of each stanza, which are repeated as an introduction to the following stanza, produce the two extra rhythmic units.

The ambitus of the song is a major sixth, which includes five tones that may be coded: (oq oò). A sixth tone occurs occasionally.

6. The tattooing *saka* by Mau'eha [T] for his wife, Tepua.

The Bellonese, who have only two traditional songs composed in honor of women, do not entirely approve of such songs and laugh at them, as they did after recording this song. Samuel Elbert made the recording in 1962; Tepuke transcribed the words and explained the song text to me in 1981. Tepua, the wife of the composer, was Tepuke's grandmother on his mother's side.

Mau'eha, who was born ca. 1911, composed this song after his wife's death, because he missed her.

The song has 11 stanzas, each consisting of two or three verses and ending with *Ee*. Seven of the stanzas have three verse lines, three have two verses, and the last stanza has only one. Each verse has four lengthened syllables (i.e. rhythmic units). The end-rhyme is consistently -oo followed by *Ee* (the refrain). The refrain is actually *Ee - a*, but the final *a* is musically a part of the rhythmic pattern that begins the ensuing stanza (see musical transcription).

The melody, like that of the previous song, has five tones within the ambitus of a major sixth. It may be coded: (oo òoo); we here take the whole song into consideration, rather than the transcribed portion alone.

7. The *saka* by Sakana from the extinct Tongo clan.

The Tongo clan died out so long ago that the song can no longer be understood by the Bellonese. It was formerly sung as an entreaty to the ancestors and the gods for protection when passing the dangerous stone gods at Ngabenga. Temoa, who sang the song for Elbert in 1962, taught it to his son, Taupongi. A tonal skeleton of the same song, as recorded by Taupongi for Rolf Kuschel, is shown for comparison on the page of melodic skeletons of *saka* songs at the end of this chapter.

Temoa sings a pentatonic melody which, in the course of the song, attains an octave in ambitus. He varies the lowest tone so that it is sometimes a minor third and sometimes a major second below the final tone. Taupongi's rendition has the same pentatonic melody an octave in ambitus. It may be coded: (o oo òoo).

The song has five stanzas: the first three each have seven lengthened syllables or rhythmic units; the fourth, which has 14, is compounded of two verses that are joined together rhythmically; the last is shorter and has four lengthened syllables or rhythmic units. The fourth and longest stanza also introduces a new melodic formula.

8. The *saka* by Temega from Rennell for the district deity, Tehu'aingabenga.

Because he was a man and particularly a priest, Temega was not supposed to cook, but he did. Tehu'aingabenga punished him by making him sick. He composed this *saka* as an entreaty, but the deity turned away from him because of his misdeed. A scorpion entered his ear and he died. Tekiniu, who sang this song for Rolf Kuschel in 1979, said that he sang it in pre-Christian times to assuage his fears when passing the area of the two sacred stones at Ngabenga.

Rolf Kuschel's transcript of the text has 12 lines. These are sung as four stanzas with two verse lines each and a spoken ending. Each verse has from four to nine long accented notes. The first verse of each stanza, like the one transcribed here, ends with a long note followed by a short note. The second verse ends like the first verse, whereas the final verse always ends with a long note. Melodic structure consists of **A B Z**, as described on page 18. Ambitus is a minor sixth; the four structural tones may be coded: (o óo o).

9. The *saka* by Saungongo for the district deity, Tehu'aingabenga.

The words of the songs praise the district god (*kupu 'eha'eha ki te ngasuenga*) in order to please him, so that he will give gifts in return. Paul Sa'engeika, who sang this entreaty for Elbert in 1962, is the grandson of the composer. Tepuke transcribed the words and explained the song text to me.

The song has six stanzas with two to four verse lines each. The first verse of each stanza has six long accented notes (i.e., rhythmic units), while all the others have four.

The melody has five tones within the ambitus of a major sixth, which can be coded: (oo oóo). A rare accessory tone occurs a half-step above the highest note.

10. The tattooing *saka* by Bangakaunga from the extinct Hu'aingupe lineage.

Paul Sa'engeika sang this song for Rolf Kuschel in 1969; Tepuke, when he visited Denmark in 1981, transcribed the words and explained the song to me.

Bangakaunga, who lived approximately 10 or 11 generations ago, composed this song in praise of his son, who was a chief and renowned as a fisherman, gardener and dancer. He admiringly likens the blue of his son's *taukuka* tattoo to the color of a whale or the shell of a turtle.

The text has 18 stanzas, each with one to three verses, which are even more irregular in structure than in the preceding songs. The end-rhyme is consistently -oo. *Ee*, the usual mark of a tattooing *saka*, is used only irregularly in this song (after approximately every five or more verses). The refrain has a different rhythm. The verses usually have four lengthened notes or accents, but the very first verse of the song has only two, and so do some of the verses that follow the refrain.

Paul Sa'engeika uses five irregular tones in the course of this long song. The melody spans three conjunct fourths with a total ambitus of a minor tenth. The lowest of the three tetrachords occurs only in the first two stanzas. Two of the irregular tones occur in the first stanza, and one is used throughout the second stanza but not afterwards. The initial note of the song never appears afterwards and must be attributed to the irregularities of "getting started."

Some of the irregular tones used in the song are probably variants of the same tone rather than independent tones. For example, two tones are flattened in descent during the fifth stanza, but this is not repeated elsewhere. One of the tonal centers is flattened in descent during stanzas 11, 13 and 20. The melody could be coded as (oo oo óo), but it is irregular.

3.4 Discussion

Until his death, Paul Sa'engeika was the singer to whom most others deferred as the authority on all traditional matters. His intonation is not as fixed as that of other singers, and transcribing the songs as he sings them therefore presents difficulties not encountered with other singers. Perhaps Paul's ability to manipulate the tonal material more plastically than most singers is one of his strengths, augmenting the evocative power of the song upon its listeners.

Most of the *saka* songs transcribed are sung by one person alone without accompaniment; heterophony sometimes occurs when others assist with the singing.

Melodic patterns. Melodic contour is undulating, with a downward tendency. Although repeated tones occur in most of the songs, extended repetition of tones is not characteristic of *saka* songs. Pentatonic scales are usual, but irregularities occur and the songs of this genre are not strictly anhemitonic. Ambitus is from a minor sixth to over an octave. The melodic structure of the transcribed songs is outlined in melodic models found immediately following the transcriptions.

Form and meter. All *saka* are strophic in form; the stanzas are irregular, not always having the same number of verse lines. The meter depends upon the text and the songs are heterometric. The form of these songs is somewhat diffuse. Burrows (1945:82) described diffuse form in the music of Uvea and Futuna.

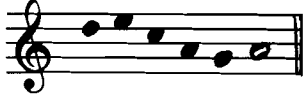
Rhythm and ending. It is the hypnotic rhythm of the singing that is most characteristic of this song genre, a constant repeating isorhythmic pattern of three syllables, two short and one long. The final notes are sustained on the rhyming vowels -oo or -ee at the ends of phrases.

Correlation of structure and function. *Saka* songs are distinguished by their rhythmic structure and the function of entreating the gods. The markedly controlled and controlling rhythm is analogous to the control it is to effect upon the gods, and through them, the world. The song is structured in order to please, coerce and control the gods. Just as it is hoped that the entreaty will induce the gods to structure part of the world in keeping with the plea of the singer, it is hoped that the song, the part of the world the singer gives to the gods, may serve as a felicitous example to the gods.

We might ask whether the tattooing *saka* serves its function of distraction from pain by the tension introduced through its irregularities, superimposed upon a regular rhythm. A man who is in great pain might require something unpredictable to hold his attention. Whereas the other *saka* are eminently predictable, tattooing *saka* have an irregular accompaniment. The tattooing *saka* sung by Paul Sa'engeika is unusual and irregular in both melodic structure and accompaniment.

The first two song genres that have been taken up here, *maghiiti* and *saka*, are used in rituals. They are performed by the ritual leader. Whereas most traditional Bellonese songs have the character of group performances, *maghiiti* and *saka* are performed by individuals. As Torben Monberg pointed out to me, the Bellonese do not distinguish between ritual formulas on the basis of whether they are recited or sung. *Saka* and *maghiiti* are "incantations, which in their totality have an actual impact on life" (T. Monberg, p.c., 24 October 1983).

MELODIC SKELETONS OF SAKA SONGS

Song 5,		oo ooo	5/6
Song 6,		oo ooo	5/M6
Song 7B,*		o oo ooo	5/8
Song 7,		o oo ooo	5/8
Song 8,		o oo.o	5/6
Song 9		oo ooo	5/7
Song 10		oo oo ooo. (↓)	8/11 ZV Z

*No transcription

CHAPTER 4. K A N A N G A

Kananga are short songs or ditties composed to express friendship (or contempt) between relatives, persons of the same or opposite sex, or merely to comment upon human situations. Many are love songs which were sung when walking on the trails or in the bush, expressing desire. Because of this they are now frowned upon by local church officials and no longer composed. Highly personal and often referring to clandestine unions, *kananga* were never sung in the presence of classificatory siblings or siblings-in-law in pre-Christian times. A *kananga* would not be sung before the father or mother of the person to whom it was composed, but only to friends, brothers of a man, or sisters of a woman. If men and women were together, they might sing another person's *kananga* but rarely their own.

This is a brief, concise form that depends primarily upon subtlety, allusion, and the humorous twists of an epigram. A song consists of only one or two verses which are not generally understandable without supplementary information. In the days before writing was commonly known, this informal poetry was an important means of discharging strong feeling, positive or negative, as for example in the fourth transcription (Song 14):

"Here stands the damned stump
because G... has left."

The stump is what is left as a reminder of the canoe cut to carry G. to Rennell to marry another man.

Because these songs were given to Monberg with the understanding that names would be kept out of any publications about them, G. (female) and M. (male) are used in the examples cited here. *Kananga* are private songs and do not rightly belong to the domain of *na taungua o Mungiki*, which consists only of songs performed in public. They are included here, however, for the sake of musical analysis.

The allusions in a song may be a secret between lovers, a message deliberately unintelligible to all but the person for whom it was intended.

Monberg's article (1974) deals with *kananga* as coded messages. Because of this secrecy, a composer would be reluctant to explain his or her own *kananga*; messages expressing contempt are also disguised to keep the author from blame and to hide his or her identity. In the following song, the composer declares his secret love in a little conversation, which could then come true if the recipient were pleased and took the opening. Pandanus leaves are used for housebuilding and establishing a family (Song 12):

Picking pandanus leaves, picking pandanus leaves,
G. appears, asking: "Whose leaves are those?"
I answer: "My leaves!"

These brief, allusive verses are reminiscent of Japanese Haiku poetry. In both cases feelings are shown by allusion to an image, situation or place in nature. But in *kananga* the feelings are always related to people. This may be direct or by reference to a time, place, image or incident potent for the persons concerned but not necessarily understandable to others:

The Solomons extend in a distant line.
That is where my *selekae* tern is.

A man, thinking of his Melanesian friend, likens her to a white tern, called *selekae* in her language.

After composing a *kananga*, the composer would not sing it directly to the person for whom it was meant, but while fishing, gardening, working in his house or in other places where people were present. "Listeners then bring the message further along the trail, usually informed, but sometimes not knowing its meaning, to the next village or even directly to the place where the right receiver could decode it, often with the help of the transmitter" (op.cit.).

A composer could, for example, sing her *kananga* when visitors arrived from the settlement of her beloved. Song 11 refers to another way to attract men; one might also play a flute within earshot of the homestead of a prospective lover, or simply give the person a present:

The guests from Matangi are coming,
I pass by at a distance
showing the *ghupo* tattoo on my thighs.

Humor is an important ingredient of these verses and there is almost always laughter after one of these songs. In Song 13 (1.6), half in jest, a man admires his own reflection, as Narcissus once did in another land:

Thank you, Tetonusanga,
Your creature here is indeed good-looking
in the pool in Ahea!

(Tetonusanga is one of the names of the sky god, Tehainga'atua.)

One kind of *kananga*, called *pongipongi* or 'taunt songs', are so pointed or directly humiliating in their humor as to make a laughing-stock of their object if the song is successful. The butt of such a taunt would sometimes react by composing a rejoinder humiliating to his opponent, or sometimes even with physical violence. The island was formerly plagued by incessant feuds between lineages. Such taunts could also be used as incitation to battle during a feud, especially in the form of men's dance songs with sounding board accompaniment in the *papa* dance: these are *huaa mako* and not *kananga*.

Today *kananga* are forbidden and letter-writing has largely replaced this art form as a means of expression. The letters are neither as short nor as subtle as the songs they replace.

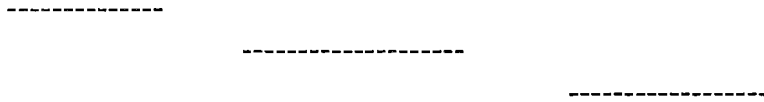
Musical analysis (see Songs 11 - 16).

There are several melodic formulas for *kananga* songs that are used again and again. Song 16 has one of the common melodies and its final cadence is particularly frequent. Variants of the same cadence appear in songs 13 and 14. Song 11 has another common ending and its melody too is recurrent.

The melodic outline of most *kananga* meanders downward. These songs are always free in rhythm and prose rhythms prevail. Singing is always by one person alone, without accompaniment. Falsetto voice is sometimes used, as well as other effects such as the spoken exclamation at the end of song 12, replacing the usual cadence. Four and five tone scales are used rather consistently in this genre, although scales of two and six tones also occur. The total range is generally an octave although it may be less, as in Song 14, or more, as in Song 11.

The melodies are made up of motifs that occur on two or three different levels, usually the interval of a fourth or a fifth apart, in descending order. The motifs on the different levels are commonly almost identical in detail.

One tone predominates on each level, the motifs themselves consisting largely of one-tone repetition. The result is a series of tonal plateaus:



The singing style used for these songs is reminiscent of the non-legato style used by Takiika in Song 1, the *maghiiti* by Puipuihenua. There is a strong, separate emphasis on each individual note and many of the notes move slightly downward. I notated these moving tones as sixteenth-notes in Song 1, but as grace notes in the *kananga* transcriptions.

Pongipongi taunts may be used in *kananga* and *huaa mako* songs, and the two genres also have melodic similarities under certain conditions. When an individual sings a *huaa mako* dance song for practice, some of the melodic patterns used are similar to those of *kananga* tunes, or *ose*. But this is true only of practice melodies sung by individuals and not of the melodies as they are sung during a group performance (see Part 1, Chapter 7.4, *pungotu*).

MELODIC SKELETONS OF KANANGA SONGS

Song 11.



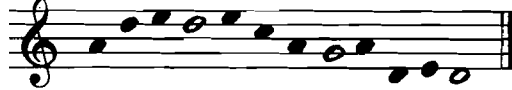
$\underline{00} \ 00 \ \acute{0} \ 0 \ 4/m11$

Song 12.



$0 \ \underline{00} \ 00 \ \quad 5/m7$

Song 13.



$\underline{00} \ \acute{00} \ 000 \ \quad 5/M9$

Song 14.



$\underline{000} \ 00 \ \acute{00} \ \quad 5/M9$

Song 15.



$\underline{000} \ 00 \ \acute{00} \ \quad 5/M9$

Song 16.



$\underline{000} \ 00 \ \acute{000} \ \quad 5/M10$

CHAPTER 5: P E S E

Pese means 'to clap', and the singers accompany these songs by clapping their hands in a regular rhythm during these songs. *Pese* songs have many stanzas, each followed by a refrain (which also begins the songs). Some songs have two different refrains, and the two refrains may be antiphonal. An all-night session of *pese* songs was performed by a group of men sitting in the temple area during the *kanongoto* harvest ritual, which has been described by Monberg (1978). *Pese* songs are also used in the *suahongi* dance ritual and following the *mako noho* seated song session.

The account of the *pese kanongoto* song session given in Part 1 (Chapter 3.4) includes a diagram of the seating arrangement during the performance of these songs in the temple. Two rows of men sit facing each other and clapping (see photograph in Volume Two, p. 33). The song leader and the priest-chief sit at the west end between the rows, with a view of all singers. The *pese kanongoto* session has three major divisions during which more than six different kinds of songs are performed. In some songs of the last division, while the others sing, one man dances with a stick, and he performs the shout of the sky god at the end of every second stanza. Three *pese* songs, one from each division, appear on the record publication *Folkways* FE 4273:B 3-5.

The parts of the leader and the group alternate during the course of a *pese* song and, in some songs, the two rows of singers alternate antiphonally. The two rows of men are called *tuku mu'a* and *tuku mungi* (*tuku* 'to put, place'; *mungi* 'to follow, go behind or after'); *tuku mu'a* sings first and *tuku mungi* follows. In one kind of *pese* song in the *kanongoto*, called *pese tau baalogha*, the two rows of singers sing a continuous antiphonal refrain at the same time as the leader sings the verses. The leader sings one thing while the group sings something else, and the parts of leader and group are thus both polyphonic and polytextual.

In the *pese hakasa'amo* songs, performed after the *mako noho*, the singers sit in two rows with the song leader at one end, but the singers sit back to back instead of face to face (see photo, Vol. 2, p. 55). The songs are similar in their formal structure to *pese tau baalogha* in that the two rows sing antiphonal refrains, but they cease singing while the leader sings his verses.

Like the *tau baalogha*, the *pese* songs performed within the context of the *suahongi* dance are polytextual and polyphonic. Two men sing short *pese* songs in a manner similar to the continuous refrain in the *tau baalogha*. They accompany themselves by clapping while singing two alternating parts and, at the same time, a group of dancers sing the *huatanga*, which is structurally equivalent to the verses in the case of the *tau baalogha*. That is, two alternating parts are sung like a continual refrain while another part is performed, and these two parts are polyphonic and polytextual.

The first *pese* in the *suahongi*, just before the six short *pese*, is a strophic song which also is sung while the group performs the *suahongi* proper. The performance is polyphonic and polytextual but, because it is a strophic song rather than alternation of short phrases, this combination of simultaneous parts is quite different from those of the *pese tau baalogha* and the short *pese* in the *suahongi*.

5.1 Song texts

Four *pese* texts and their translations have been published by Elbert and Monberg (1965: T69, T70, T96 and T201). The texts of Songs 17 and 21 are the same as T69 and T70. T96 was performed only by the priest-chiefs in the *kanongoto* ritual. It was composed by a chief named Moebagua in honor of Tinopau, who visited a settlement that the chief had quarantined for yaws. "Moebagua in compensation permitted him to fish eels in his channel. Moebagua regarded him with his clapping song and by giving him access to the channel" (op.cit.: 225). The refrain is *toku manaha* 'my home'. *Pese* songs with this refrain, called *huu hakaiho*, are sung in their second division of *pese kanongoto* sessions, called *huatanga 'eha*, and the performers accompany themselves by clapping on every quarter-note (*pese bingibingi* 'to clap fast'). Every other verse begins with the word *Aaiaba*, which is used in the song instead of Teaba, the most famous place on the lake on Rennell for fishing giant eels. This is an *-a* rhyme-scheme. "Of the 46 verses, 30 end in *-a*, the most common phoneme; 6 end in *-i*; 5 in *-o*; 4 in *-u*; 1 in *-e*" (op.cit.: 226).

The *pese* by Hakamahegoto (T201), is a woman's lamentation for her husband ending "and I ungrateful." Hakamahegoto lost her husband because she had so annoyed him with her complaints about food that he took his canoe to the open sea, where he was struck by lightning. The refrain of the song (*iei* mountain, *uie* mountain) is sung as a canon by the two rows of men. The

Pese songs with this refrain are called *tau baalogha* (*tau* is short for *taungua* or 'song', *baalogha* means 'to make noise'). The canonic refrain continues uninterrupted throughout the song. The leader sings his verses against this refrain, producing a kind of polyphony which is polytextual. The same song has been published on the record FE 4273, band B4. It has a special ending on this recording. *Tau baalogha* are performed during the second division of the session.

A song from the final division of *pese kanongoto* songs, *pese baapae ki te 'ao 'pese* 'to summon dawn', is published on the same record (band B5), and the text appears in the accompanying brochure. In the very last songs, called *mako ngenge* (*mako* means 'dance', *ngenge* 'to swing'), a dancer who does not sing with the group, swings a dancing stick (see photograph p. 223). This is similar to Song 21 (op.cit.: T70) which is performed by a dancer in the same way.

5.2 Musical analysis (Songs 17-22)

The transcriptions share the following musical features:

- *Pese* are strophic songs with many stanzas, a refrain and special endings for particular genres.
- *Pese* means 'to clap'; the accompaniment is hand clapping in a manner that is prescribed for specific genres (see Part 1, Chapter 7.5).
- In their traditional context, the songs are performed by a group and the singing is polyphonic, but several of the songs transcribed were not recorded in context.
- The stanzas are usually heterometric with an even underlying pulse (often approximately 21 pulses per stanza).
- Melodic structure is anhemitonic (i.e., without semitone intervals) and usually pentatonic, but certain exceptions are tritonic.

All of the songs except the last are from the *kanongoto* ritual, which has three main divisions of *pese* songs during the course of the night: Song 17, the *hua*, is from the introductory division, Songs 18-20 are from the second and largest division called *huatanga 'eha* (literally, 'singing many'), and Song 21 is from the last division, *pese baapae* 'to summon dawn'. Songs 19 and 21 are also used in the context of the *suahongi* dance. Song 22 is one of the *pese hakasa'amo*, which are performed following the *mako noho* 'seated song session'.

17. Songs of the clans (*na hua o na sa'a*).

Rolf Kuschel recorded this song and song 19 inside Paul Sa'engeika's house, that is, out of performance context. Takiika led the song and six other singers participated. When asked where they had learned the song, Takiika and Paul Sa'engeika said that they had learned it from their fathers, and Taupongi from a man named Tesiu.

The *hua* consists of seven stanzas composed by the ancestors of the seven original clans of Rennell and Bellona. Each ancestor composed one stanza. *Hua* means 'song' and *na* is the plural article; thus *na hua* means 'songs' and each stanza is one 'song'. These historical 'songs' may be heard on the record publication FE 4273 (B3). The text has been published in the brochure that accompanies the record. The text as a whole is no longer understood by the Bellonese, and is a symbolic picture of the past. Any translation that could be made would be highly uncertain, and for this reason, none is given here. A translation of part of the text, published by Elbert and Monberg (1965: 198, T71), gives images of the voyage and landmarks of the new islands to which the immigrants found their way in two canoes.

The *hua* were first recorded in 1933 by the Templeton Crocker Expedition. In the same collection, another song was recorded with the same melody, which proved upon investigation to be a practice version of an entirely different kind of song. That is, the same melody is sometimes used when a singer wishes to practice singing the text of a fast *huua mako* dance song; in this way he can slow down the melodic sequence in order to concentrate upon the words. (See also Part 1, Chapter 7.4 for more information about *pungotu* 'practice melodies'.)

Accompaniment consists of regular clapping in a binary rhythm commencing after the first refrain, which is sung before the first stanza. The Bellonese call this accompaniment *pese hakatatau* or 'measured clapping'. In the six recordings of the song investigated by the author, three are clapped on every other note, as in this transcription, and three are clapped in a ternary rhythm; the claps then fall on every third note. A final '*aue* 'thanks' is spoken in some versions but not in that transcribed here.

On the record (*ibid.*) the introductory refrain is sung in a ternary rhythm without clapping. The same ternary rhythm can be heard in places throughout the song, as for example each time the word *hinangángo* in the refrain is sung. The occurrence of a ternary rhythm and a binary rhythm simultaneously is not infrequent in Bellonese music (see Song 18, for example).

The *hua* has unusually long stanzas utilizing repeated tones to a large extent. Each stanza plus its refrain which is repeated is over a minute in duration, with 10 repetitions of a single tone being common, and at one point 17 repetitions appear (not given in this example). The first stanza in the transcription contains 104 quarter-notes, and **g** appears 54 times. The melody has two nuclear tones, **g** and **a**, which appear frequently in the melodic line and may also be sung simultaneously. The other tones are also used polyphonically. The melody is pentatonic and consists of two conjunct fourths without half-tone steps. The ambitus is a minor seventh, and the song can be coded as (g òò oo).

It is exceedingly difficult to determine where one stanza ends and the next begins because there are few markers. The steady clapping is uninterrupted at these junctures, and the only cadence is a brief descent to the pitch **e**, an otherwise relatively infrequent tone. The melody descends to **e** only towards the end of each stanza, and in the refrain. The very first and last notes of the refrain are **e**.

Syllabic ornamentation is used to such a high degree in this song that the text is not easily recognizable when sung, because of the distortion imposed by emphasizing every other syllable and because of syllabic ornamentation: vowels are constantly changed and prolonged, *e* becoming *eie* and *a*, *aua*.

18. The *pese* by Te'ota for her husband Tango'eha.

Elbert recorded this song inside Headman Tongaka's house. The three song leaders are Paul Sa'engeika, Tupe'uhi and Tekamu. A woman soloist, Tekamu, sings the stanzas, and the text is a woman's lamentation for the fame and splendor of her husband, from whom she is separated.

This song belongs to a type called *huatanga 'eha*, all of which have the same melody and refrain; the latter is not intelligible words but the 'talk of graybirds'. The division is also called *huatanga 'eha*. Several kinds of songs are performed during the division, as for example Songs 19 and 20.

The song begins with an introductory refrain which, in a different form, ends the song. It is sung as a solo by Paul Sa'engeika at the beginning, and by the group at the end.

Every quarter-note of the stanzas is accented equally until the next-to-last syllable, which is accented on the word *toèe*. Tupe'uhi answers

oòì , and the refrain continues antiphonally in a ternary rhythm, groups of three notes being set off by accents.

The accompaniment is hand clapping, performed on every quarter-note, which in Bellonese is *pese bingibingi* 'to clap fast'. Clapping begins after the introductory refrain and ceases before the final refrain that ends the song. This makes it difficult to determine the meter of the song because the regular pulse of the accompaniment is dominant, but it is possible to count the stanzas as eight times three or twelve times two quarter-notes. As in the case of the *hua* , binary and ternary rhythm exist at the same time, but neither is clearly defined.

Each stanza has two verse lines, the first of which is sometimes longer than the second. The meter for the first verse, second verse, and the refrain is as follows:

V1 = 4 or 5 half-notes

V2 = 4 half-notes

Ref = 4 " "

The pentatonic melody has an ambitus of a minor sixth and can be coded as (o oo óo). Melodic movement is by major seconds and minor thirds downwards, and occasionally a fourth upwards. The ascent from the finalis of one stanza to the initial of the following stanza is a minor sixth. In the cadence, the next-lowest tone is repeated before touching the lowest tone at the end of each stanza.

19. The *pese* by Kaitu'u.

This *pese* was sung in the context of both the *suahongi* dance and the *huatanga* division of the *kanongoto* ritual. Whereas Song 38 is a transcription of the song performed within the context of the *suahongi*, the songs transcribed here (19A and 19B) were recorded out of context. Monberg recorded 19B by two singers, one from Rennell and one from Bellona. Kuschel recorded 19A inside the house of Paul Sa'engeika, performed by seven singers. Rolf had asked to record these songs as performed in the old days, that is, outdoors, in action, but this was not permitted by the church, and the singers debated the propriety of performing them at all.

The song has 18 verses that tell about the dangerous sea voyage in search of Bellona, the landmarks of Bellona and the two stones embodying the two highest sky gods, which the immigrants carried with them in their canoe.

Kaitu'u is believed to have composed the song 24 generations ago, and its language is ancient but generally intelligible, although the meaning of many words is uncertain. It has been translated by Monberg, albeit tentatively, because people were not sure about the meaning of certain words. Every verse ends with the rhyme *-a*.

Clapping is performed on every quarter-note, except at the very beginning and end of the song. The verses are heterometric, with an uninterrupted stream of regular pulses followed by a short refrain, *Oie*, which adds three or four pulses. In the *suahongi*, the refrain is performed after every fourth verse.

The melody of this song has pentatonic and hexatonic variations, both anhemitonic. 19B is pentatonic with an ambitus of a major sixth and 19A is heptatonic with an ambitus of a major seventh. In both versions the terminal tone is the same as the initial tone, although the individual verses end a minor third below it. The song may be coded as (ooo óoo).

T

The melodic structure of this song differs from all other *pese* songs, in that it does not consist of two conjunct tetrachords. It has a pentachord plus a major third instead.

Song 19A has a terminal glissando, and the song ends the same way in the *suahongi* (see Song 38). In Song 19B, performed in the *pungoto* practice mode, clapping is omitted and the refrain is sung only at the end of the song. The Bellonese use this mode when practicing the words of a song and when demonstrating the text of a song, outside of its performance context.

20. The *pese hakanguunguu* by Tengighinigighi [Tehangeta'ane].

Samuel Elbert recorded this song in Honiara, Guadalcanal Island, out of context, by a soloist rather than group and without the clapping that accompanies it in performance. The singer is Sengeika Tepuke from Bellona who has a bass voice. The composer's lineage became extinct long ago.

The song belongs to the *huatanga 'eha* division of *pese kanongoto* songs. After the song genres called *huatanga 'eha*, *huu hakaio*, and *tau baalogha*, people would take turns singing different *pese*. This taking turns is called *te tauhungi* 'to turn over'. *Hakanguunguu* means 'to shelter'. The text concerns a fishing expedition on which the composer travelled around most of Bellona island.

The pentatonic melody has an ambitus of an octave and can be coded as (ooo oo óo). The stanzas have two verses with approximately 20 pulses in

each, 40 units in all. Repeated tones are numerous in this song, particularly the four central tones between the initial and the final.

21. The *pese tu'aa mako* by Kaitu'u.

The final division of *pese kanongoto* songs, called *pese baapae* 'to summon dawn', includes two song genres, *pese tu'aa mako* and *mako ngege*, in both of which a solo dancer performs with the *tapanihutu* dancing stick of the sky god. He does not sing, but dances and swings the stick up and down while the others sing the stanzas of the song. After every second stanza he stops dancing to perform the *haka'o'ou* shout. *Tu'aa mako* means 'after other songs'.

The text published by Elbert and Monberg (1965:196-197, T70) is tentative, as the meaning of a number of the words was uncertain, and the refrain is unintelligible. This ancient song, like Song 19, was composed by Kaitu'u, the original founder of what is now the largest Bellonese clan. The text pictures the dangers of the voyage to the new islands, the grandeur of the ocean and of paddling a canoe through its unpredictable vastness, the landmarks of the two islands, and the aboriginal *hiti* who lived on Bellona when the settlers arrived.

Most verses end with the rhyme *-ua*. The penultimate syllable, *-u*, is accented and longer than the final *-a*.

The song is strophic. Using the letters **V**, **R**, **S** and **Z** to designate verse, refrain, shout and parlando ending, and using colons to enclose the repeatable verse refrain shout cycle, the formal design of this song can be represented as follows: **[: VR VR S: ZS]**

A strongly accented ternary rhythm with clapping on every third syllable carries the pentatonic tune along. The accompaniment is *pese pipiki*, 'to clap and hold'

The melody undulates smoothly. Range is an octave and the final shout is at the top of this ambitus or a bit higher. The melodic structure can be coded as (o o₂ ooo). The final tone of the stanza is the main tonal center, and the stanzas often begin here. The performance is heterophonic throughout.

Three different endings are used in this song, in addition to the shouts that follow every other stanza. The song ends with a special final refrain that is partly performed in parlando or speech-song. This is followed by the *ngibau* or call to attention, a sustained shout of *Ooho*!, and finally the word *'aue*, signifying gratitude, is spoken.

Another text for the same *pese tu'aa mako* melody is a telling salutation to the basic symbols and values of traditional Bellonese life. Each stanza names an element of the culture and then tells its symbolic meaning for the Bellonese. These symbols and their attendant values were inculcated by their formulation and repetition in the song, as stated by the final stanza of the song itself: "The sacred song here is straight so it goes to those coming after; send back to the ancestors, send forward to the descendants."

22. The *pese hakasa'amo* .

These songs are performed after the *mako noho* seated song session. The performers sit back to back in two rows. The soloist, seated at one end, sings the refrain after each verse, together with the row of singers called *tuku mungi*, the second chorus. The songs resemble the *pese tau baalogha* in the *pese kanongoto* except for this fact. The leader does not sing the refrain of the *pese tau baalogha* , but continues singing the verses through the noise of the refrain, whereas he sings alone in the *hakasa'amo* .

In 1977 I recorded three ancient *pese hakasa'amo* songs and two more recent songs that had been composed by Paul Sa'engeika. The stanzas of the ancient songs were not intelligible. All the songs recorded had the same two unintelligible refrains, which are:

(*tuku mu'a*) : *Biingo biingo taaiei*

(*tuku mungi*) : *Biingo taa bingo*

and

(*tuku mu'a*) : *Singio maungo ooi*

(*tuku mungi*) : *Singio maungo ooi ea.*

In the song transcribed, the singer, a woman named Lia Tengetai performed the stanzas in the *pungotu* practice mode, that is, without the refrain.

The melody contains only three tones; two predominate, at the interval of a minor third apart. A third, higher tone, an embellishment, completes the tetrachord. The singer varies the upper interval ornamentally between a major and minor second.

5.3 Discussion and conclusion

Melody and variation. Many of the songs have pentatonic melodies. The fundamental unit of structure is a tetrachord consisting of a minor third plus a major second interval. The stanzas of the *pese hakasa'amoā* have a structure that consists of one such unit (o oo). The structure of the pentatonic *pese* songs consists of adjacent tetrachords, which share a tone between them, a structure that can be coded (o oo oo). The *pese* by Kaitu'u from the *suahongi* has a symmetrical anhemitonic hexatonic structure which consists of a pentachord plus a M3 (two M2 intervals) that can be coded (ooç úoo). The melodic skeletons of the songs transcribed are shown at the end of the chapter.

Polyphony is characteristic of *pese* songs, all of which are performed by two groups and a leader with alternating parts. The songs are sometimes antiphonal, notably the *pese tau baalogha* of the *kanongoto* and the *pese hakasa'amoā*.

Repeated tones are used in many *pese* songs and the long stanzas of the *hua* (Song 17) are dependent upon this device. Polyphony in the *hua* is also related to the use of repeated tones. The beginning of the musical transcription shows repetition of the tones **g** and **a**, and the two sometimes occur together because of heterophonic singing. Malm (1967:7) defines heterophony as different voices "performing the same tune at the same time, but each part (voice) presenting melodic or rhythmic variation." In like manner, other adjacent intervals are sounded together elsewhere in the song. The same occurs in Song 21, which has fewer repeated tones. In Song 18, heterophony based upon repeated tones also occurs, together with an intermittent drone by the male soloist.

Rhythm and meter. Most *pese* songs are heterometric, the number of syllables in the poetry being variable within certain limits. The songs are accompanied, in a regular rhythm, by clapping, either on every quarter-note (*pese bingibingi* 'fast clapping') every other (*pese hakatatau* 'measured clapping'), or every third quarter-note (*pese pipiki* 'to clap and hold'). An underlying structure of single pulses often dominates the rhythm of a song, even when the clapping is binary or ternary in rhythm. For example, the *hua* (Song 17), always retains a feeling for the underlying pulse, a regular succession of single units.

Three coordinated parts. The spatial arrangement of the performance of *pese* songs provides for the possible coordination of three parts: two choruses and a lead part. These parts are combined in different ways in three kinds of Bellonese musical performances:

1. *pese hakasa'amo*a from the *mako noho* song session,
2. *pese tau baalogha* from the *pese kanongoto* song session, and
3. the *suahongi* dance, which contains two different models.

There are two models A) in which the two choruses perform antiphonally, and B) in which they perform as a single unit.

A) In both the *pese hakasa'amo*a and the *pese tau baalogha*, the two rows of singers perform short antiphonal refrains and accompany themselves by clapping their hands on every beat. The same is true of the *ngongotuu* section of the *suahongi*, where two men perform short antiphonal *pese* and accompany themselves by clapping their hands on every beat. Simultaneously, a group of dancers perform the lead part.

B) In many other *pese* songs from the *kanongoto* ritual, the two rows of men act as a single chorus. These songs have only two parts, a chorus part and a lead part. Two examples: 1) the *pese* by Kaitu'u is performed this way in the *hua tanga* division of the *kanongoto*. 2) in the *pese mu'a* or 'first *pese*' section of the *suahongi*, the *pese* by Kaitu'u is performed while, simultaneously, a group of dancers perform the lead part, the *huatanga* of the *suahongi* proper.

Each model, A) and B), is found both in a version in which the parts are performed simultaneously and a version in which the parts alternate.

A) The lead part alternates with the antiphonal (double) chorus in the *pese hakasa'amo*a, and performs simultaneously with it in the *tau baalogha* of the *kanongoto* and the *ngongotuu* of the *suahongi*.

B) Single chorus: The lead part alternates with a single chorus in most *pese* of the *kanongoto* and performs simultaneously with it in the first *pese* of the *suahongi*.

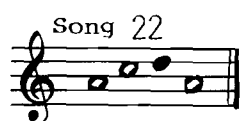
The distribution of these factors may be shown in a paradigm:

	Alternates with lead part	Simultaneous with lead part
A) Single chorus	most <i>pese kanongoto</i>	<i>te pese mu'a</i> (the first <i>pese</i>)
B) Antiphonal chorus	<i>pese hakasa'amo</i>	<i>tau baalogha</i> and <i>ngongotuu</i>

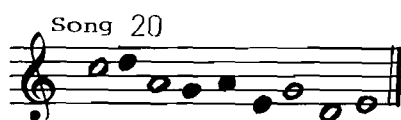


Mako ngenge, 1974

MELODIC SKELETONS OF PESE SONGS



$\underline{\underline{Q}}$ $\underline{\underline{O}}$ 3/4



$\underline{\underline{O}}$ $\underline{\underline{O}}$ $\underline{\underline{O}}$ 5/8



$\underline{\underline{O}}$ $\underline{\underline{O}}$ $\underline{\underline{O}}$ $\underline{\underline{O}}$ $\underline{\underline{O}}$ 5/6 (6/7)



$\underline{\underline{O}}$ $\underline{\underline{O}}$ $\underline{\underline{O}}$ 5/7



$\underline{\underline{O}}$ $\underline{\underline{O}}$ $\underline{\underline{O}}$ 5/8



$\underline{\underline{O}}$ $\underline{\underline{O}}$ $\underline{\underline{O}}$ 5/7

CHAPTER 6: TANGI / L A M E N T S

Tangi, the most popular of all Bellonese songs, is the main song genre in *haingaa tangi* song sessions, literally, 'doing laments'. The session was performed all night long after the men finished their dancing at the ritual feasts, and consists of a series of eight song genres (see below). Some *tangi* are ancient and others are newly composed, in the sense that new verses are set to older melodies. Skill in singing *tangi* was important for a woman and highly appreciated.

These secular songs are still composed by older people today, albeit to a limited extent and somewhat secretly. Women compose them to honor a husband or lover, often lamenting their loss by death or separation, while men compose them about various subjects, and not all the texts are sad. The faces of the singers are always downcast when singing these laments because the songs must be sung with sorrow, compassion and pity (*'angoha*). Women are considered the best *tangi* singers and composers, although men also sing and compose them. Taupongi (1968) said that men help with the singing, but these are women's songs. The local churches forbid the *tangi* that concern unmarried lovers and oppose all of them to be on the safe side.

Performance. In practice, *tangi* are performed by a mixed group sitting on the ground around one or more sounding boards (see photographs in Vol. Two, pp. 49 and 52). A leader sings the verses, and the group sings the short refrain after each. Everyone beats the rhythm with their hands on some object. Formerly wooden objects such as the sounding board or a log were used for this purpose, but today even the notebooks in which people write the songs may be used. The accompaniment is called *tipatipa* 'to tap or beat rapidly', or *pese langi* 'to clap the end' of the sounding board (see Part 1, Chapter 5.2).

Many songs based on the same melody and having the same refrain are sung after each other almost without pause. (This gives an outsider the impression of one extremely long song.) I have counted 63 different refrains for *tangi* songs, and this list is not exhaustive. Certain refrains are considered distinct song genres by the Bellonese, such as *hango kie moe*, the refrain of the songs that begin *tangi* sessions.

The songs begin and end with a refrain; the first refrain was often led by a man and if the lead singer was a woman, the song might then be pitched too low for her voice.⁶ (*Pese* also begin with a refrain but, there, men lead the verses in addition to the refrain.) The refrain is called *te umenge* and, like the word "chorus," *umenge* also means 'to sing the refrain'. To *sasa* is 'to beat and sing' the verses of a *tangi*, for example, "Moa sings the verses" is *e sasa e Moa* in Bellonese. The verses are called *tautau*, which also means 'sentence'.

6.1 Divisions of the *tangi* session and kinds of *tangi*

The Bellonese had the following divisions of the *tangi* session in the course of the night's singing:

1. *hango kie moe*. The first songs of *tangi* sessions. The refrain of these songs, *hango kie moe*, does not have any meaning as such, although *moe* means 'to sleep'. Traditionally performed without accompaniment, they are sometimes accompanied today by the same slow beating used for *hakaokioki*, below.
2. *'ungu tangi*. 'Introductory laments' are the second song type of the *tangi* session. Many of these songs are sung in succession after the *hango kie moe* songs. Performance and accompaniment as for *tangi*.
3. *tangi* 'to weep'. *Tangi* songs with many different refrains are sung in succession, songs with the same refrain following each other. The accompaniment is *tipatipa* 'to tap or beat fast', which consists of many subtle variations of a 3/8 rhythm (see 6.3 in this volume). See the different kinds of *tangi* below.
4. *hakaokioki*. A type of song sung after *tangi* songs when taking a rest (literally, 'to take a rest'). During these songs people stretch out, etc. The accompaniment is *tipatipa hakaokioki*, also called *tukituki hakatongu* 'to beat three double beats':

$$\begin{array}{ccc} x & x & x & x & x & (x) \\ \sqcup & & \sqcup & & \sqcup & \end{array}$$

5. *na tangi ki 'aoee* . A refrain or *umenge* of the songs in *tangi* sessions traditionally sung following the *hakaokioki* and preceding the *huhuke* .

6. *huhuke* . One of the final song types sung traditionally in *tangi* sessions, following the *hakaokioki* songs and preceding the *hakasao* . The refrain is: *E huhuke taia te ata te mangama, e huhuke* 'let loose the shining light, let loose'. The accompaniment is *tipatipa* by some of the group and *tipatipa taatahi* by others (single, separate beats), (see Part 1, Chapter 7.5.2)

7. *hakasao* . The penultimate song genre in *tangi* sessions; short songs with the refrain: *i obee* . The accompanying beating is slow and ends with three single beats, called *tutututu*, on the final words: *tui tui oo* .

x x x
| | |

The songs begin without accompaniment; *tipa taatasi* (*hakatatau*) follows, sometimes varied with *tipatipa*, which continues until the end of the song.

8. *hakataungangoto*. Songs at the end of traditional *tangi* sessions, before dispersing. Short songs with the refrain *toe-io* or *tuutie na honge* . Accompaniment as for 7.

Kinds of *tangi*. The Bellonese distinguish six kinds of *tangi* songs:

1. *Tangi* received in a dream (*te tangi miti*).
2. *Tangi* composed in honor of a husband (*te tangi nga'a*).
3. *Tangi* composed for a "friend" or lover rather than a husband (*te tangi ngangau*, the tangi [that] express desire).
4. *Tangi* composed for a number of men or women, sometimes but not always lovers (*kamunga*). *Kamu* , which means to compose or sing such *tangi*, also means 'to chew betel'. Elbert writes: "perhaps so-called because the beauty of the *tangi* is likened to the beauty of the red mouth of a betel chewer" (1975:118).
5. *Tangi* composed to three generations: a father, son and grandson (*tangi ki te atutongu*). I know of one such song, *te tangi a Tebai'ua ki te atutongu*.
6. *Tangi* having the same tune and refrain are called *te haatunga tangi* . *Haatunga* means 'tune' and/or 'pitch', as of a *tangi* or *kananga* .

6.2 Texts

Three *tangi* texts and one *hango kie moe* have been published by Elbert and Monberg (1965: T24, T95, T234 and T189.4). The *hango kie moe* song published (T189.4) is part of a story in which a woman is pushed into an oven. As she dies, she composes a *hango kie moe* and sings, "burn here, burn here..."

The *tangi* by Tabihakangau (T24), which has been transcribed here (Song 24), is ancient and the translation thus extremely uncertain. It must have been received by a medium, as the composer was the wife of Tupuimatangi, one of the district deities and son of Tehu'aingabenga, the main district deity.

The *tangi* by Tinopau (T95) is one of the rare Bellonese songs composed by a man in praise of his wife (see also Song 6 in this volume). In keeping with the concept that *tangi* are the province of women, Tinopau's wife, although she did not compose the song, is said to have taught it to other people. In the notes to this song Elbert writes: "all male informants readily admit feminine superiority in this area [*tangi* composition and singing]. Most verses in a *tangi* end with a single vowel, in this case *-a*. The singer, however, seems free to change to *o* if he wishes" (op.cit.: 225, N 95).

-a is indeed a common end-rhyme in *tangi* songs; *-e* is also common, and the vowel that ends the refrain is often, but not always, the one used to end the verses.

The *tangi* by Kamukiu (T234) is a song of victory composed by the wife of a man who killed the first three missionaries who came to Rennell Island in 1910. The background of the song and of the conversion is given in Chapter 19, "Christianization" (op.cit.). The song is a product of the human crisis brought about by the confrontation between two very different cultures, and the lack of mutual understanding about their respective values. The *tangi* was composed to honor the man that killed the strangers who brought sickness, forced people to build houses for their religion, wanted to rule, and came "to share the land". This song "shows the complete lack of a feeling of guilt about the killing, since the wife is praising her husband's courage in saving the island" (op.cit.: 393-394).

Unpublished *tangi* texts. Tekamu composed a *tangi* lament for her husband when he was crippled by polio, and was interviewed about the song (Elbert and Monberg, mss). The song says:

that her tears flow like dripping turmeric, that her husband has been punished by the deities, and that he who was once a strong clearer of forests lies helpless; he who supplied her with fish now is stricken and abandoned by everyone.

"Why was your husband punished?" I asked.

"He fought over land," Tekamu said. "He tore people's hair and killed." "Yes," said another, "he was always fighting and cursing."

"What gods punished him?" I asked. "God in Heaven," said Tekamu.

"He punishes just as our old gods punished."

Joshua Kaipua composed a *tangi* in 1934 to lament the departure of his five sons, who went to a mission school elsewhere in the Solomons. He was left without anybody with whom to fish. Paul Sa'engeika composed a *tangi* for Torben Monberg, in return for one that Monberg had composed for him. Ma'itaki composed a *tangi* about a dance he led in honor of the District Commissioner (see Part 1, Chapter 5.3).

Many *tangi* songs have a refrain that is too old to be understood and consists of filler syllables which cannot be translated. Many traditions have songs with refrains that carry a tune and rhythm rather than a meaning.

6.3 Musical analysis (see Songs 23 - 25).

Tangi are among the most easily recognizable Bellonese songs because of their characteristic melodic patterns, the rhythm of their accompaniment, their many short verses sung by a leader, their short refrain sung after every verse by the group and most of all by their characteristic endings. This is the only song genre that consistently has a distinct melodic cadence.

Elbert was told: "*Nimaa to'o ki 'agunga te haatunga tangi, ma te tuku ki gago tona umenge; nimaa to'o haka too tonu te haatunga tangi, to'o ke 'agaunga te umenge*, when the pitch of the *tangi* is raised, the refrain goes down; when the pitch of the *tangi* is even, the refrain is raised" (Elbert op.cit.:78). When I inquired about this, it was further explained that when the tune goes upwards at the end of the last verses, the tune of the refrain goes downward before the cadence, and that when the pitch is level at the end of the last verses, the refrain goes upward before the cadence. Although I have not yet been able to interpret this information more specifically or unequivocally in the songs, the melodies do ascend prior to the descent that ends the song.

Because these songs have such recognizable musical characteristics, three songs constitute a sufficiently representative sample of the genre. All three of the songs transcribed belong to the third and largest division of the *tangi* session, in which the songs are called *tangi*. Sessions may be shortened by omitting most of the other genres, except for a small number of *hangokie moe* songs at the beginning, especially when performed for outsiders.

23. *te tangi a Tabihakangau*,
the lament by [the goddess] Tabihakangau.

Taupongi sings the verses. The leg of a metal camp chair was beaten with two sticks during the first verse, but only the hands were used for the accompaniment in the succeeding verses.

The refrain of the song, "*Mai ae ko ngau too ani mai ee*," has no meaning. The translation of the verses is uncertain because the text is ancient:

...informants could only speculate as to the meanings, and 29 words in the 32 verses required prolonged discussion. (In the preceding story, only 1 word in about 7 lines needed explanation.) The wife seems to be praising the martial valor and power of her husband Tupuimatangi (Elbert and Monberg 1965: 104, N24).

The song has a 3/8 rhythm throughout. The accompaniment begins with one or two single beats and continues in a 3/8 rhythm until the final refrain of the song, when single beats are used again.

Repeated notes are common in these short verses. Three tones of a single tetrachord are used in the early verses, and later in the song a minor third is added above. In preparation for the ending, the final verse (32) ascends, adding two more tones and extending the ambitus to an octave. The melodic structure may be coded as (ó go ooo). The final refrain descends to end on a new tone, which is a major second below the final tone of the previous verses and is not included in the original sequence. This terminal tone is sustained and then trails off downward (what Burrows called a "trailing cadence" ⁷). Whereas the melody throughout the preceding part of the song was pentatonic, the ending establishes a sixth tone. The combined structure is shown on the last page of the chapter (melodic skeletons).

Heterophony and overlapping occur. For the refrain, the members of the chorus can choose either of two melodic sequences, and heterophonic variation combines the two variants simultaneously. While some people sing

a, others ascend a minor third to c and then descend via a. The soloist sometimes begins his verses early, before the end of the refrain. When he sings the high variant tune, the resulting heterophony is the same as that just described for the refrain.

Ex. 5 Heterophony and overlapping

Ma-i a-e kon-ga-u too a-ni,

24. *te tangi a Tabaokianga kia Taukiu [Pa]*,

the lament by Tabaokianga for her husband, Taukiu, Patonu lineage.

The song honors Taukiu, a chief who lived in generation 20, and was composed in mourning for his death. It tells of his generous rituals and of his excellence as a fisherman and house builder. Verses 22 and 23 touch upon musical aesthetics, mentioning the good sound of *suahongi* singing and of the sounding board.

This transcription shows the same rhythm and use of repeated tones as the preceding, the same short verses and refrain after each. In this song the verse and the refrain have the same melody. Heterophony occurs in the refrain.

The first verse is sung on the three tones of a single tetrachord, and the minor third above is added in the following refrain. Higher notes are used in some of the variations, but the ambitus seldom exceeds a minor seventh. In preparation for the cadence, the end of the verse is level in pitch. The last refrain ascends and then descends to the terminal tone which, as in the previous song, is a whole tone below the final tone of the previous verses. If we think of them as separate sequences, the melody could be coded (ó go oo) and the cadential sequence as (çoo o).

The accompaniment is not a symmetrical 3/8 rhythm, as the last beat is slightly longer than the first two beats. The performers strive for asymmetry and commonly beat many variations of the rhythm shown in the transcription. The accompaniment is slightly ahead of the soloist. In this case, the accompaniment is beaten with sticks instead of with the hands.

25. *te tangi tuai*, the ancient lament

In this recording, three women and eight men sing the refrain and Teghaapilu sings the verses. The performance takes place inside a house in the Honiara suburb, White River.

The song celebrates the feast of a man not remembered by name, who excels in all things. Verses 2-4 and 16 express aesthetic feelings about dancing and singing.

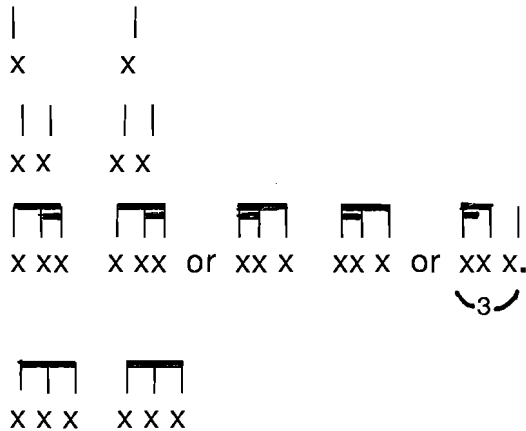
The melody has five tones within the ambitus of an octave. The soloist consistently sings a semitone interval at the beginning of each verse, and the hemitonic pentatone melody of this song is unique.⁸ In preparation for the ending, the end of the last verse is level in pitch and does not descend to the previous finalis. The final refrain again ends with a descent to a terminal tone that is a major second below the final tone of the preceding verses.

In the accompaniment, variations of a 3/8 rhythm are beaten. Teghaapilu, who is considered by many Bellonese to be the finest female Bellonese singer living today, holds back the tempo of the song so that its rhythm drags behind the rhythm of the accompaniment, thus creating tension between the two.

6.4 Discussion and conclusion

Form, rhythm and meter. *Tangi* are strophic songs with formal divisions corresponding to the parts of the leader and the choral refrain, which we may call (**AB**). Although they are laments, the songs, which are always in a 3/8 rhythm, are by no means slow. The short verses are basically isometric, but may vary slightly according to the number of syllables in the poetic line, which is not held strictly equal.

The rhythm accompaniment is usually a variation of one of the following rhythms:



The third is the most common, or a variation thereof. A skilled vocalist sings in a rhythm that is slightly slower than the rhythm of the accompaniment.

Melodic patterns. *Tangi* are fundamentally pentatonic songs with an ambitus of from a minor sixth to an octave, which is narrow in comparison with other genres. The simplest *tangi* are built upon the three tones of a tetrachord, and the majority of verses repeat these tones, ending each verse and refrain on the middle tone. (See the melodic skeleton after Song 25). The final verse and refrain, which characteristically differ from the others, may add new tones - a minor third above, followed by a descent to a new final, or rather a terminal tone. This modulation may alter the pentatonic sequence. The new sequence may be coded underneath the old one:

(o go o)

(çoo o), or the two may be combined, as in the models below, to show a hemitone which is not used stepwise. When a sixth tone is present, it always occurs above the highest tone, where it can be used in both of the possible melodic sequences.

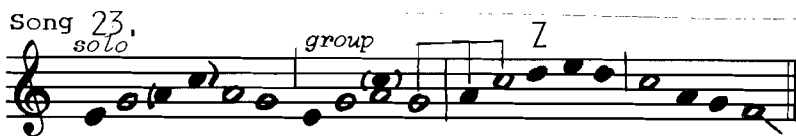
In the melodic models, **f** has been chosen as the terminal tone. It is the same for all songs, always ended by a downward glissando. Sometimes it is not used until the last verse.

Individuals sing heterophonic variations of the tune, usually limited to two parts in this genre. Any adjacent tones may be sounded simultaneously, with the possible exception of the two lowest tones. In the models the notes

connected by brackets are sounded together. In order to include a larger body of material, the models show melodic skeletons of several *tangi* songs which have not been transcribed.

MELODIC SKELETONS OF TANGI SONGS

Song 23,
solo group Z



O • OO 000 6/8

Song 24,
STANZA + REF. (solo) Z group



O • OO 000 6/m7

Song 25,
solo group solo Z group



O • OO • OO 5/8

* Z



O • OO O 5/m6

* solo group solo Z group



O • OO OO 6/m7

* solo group solo Z group



O • OO 000 7/8

* solo group solo Z group



OOO OO O 5/8

* No transcription

CHAPTER 7: *MAKO* DIRGES

Mako dirges constitute the main song genre of the *mako noho* 'seated song' session, an occasion which is described in some detail in Part 1, Chapter 3.9, and also by Elbert and Monberg (1965:244-245).

Although *mako* songs are composed for a death, the song sessions are far from solemn. *Mako noho* sessions were formerly held when visitors came to a settlement. During the session, which might last all night, gifts were given after each song. For this reason it has been called 'market' in Pidgin English (it might be called an exchange session). If one received a gift, the compliment should be returned, but later on, when it can be taken as a real gift and not a return payment. Another Bellonese name for the session is *mako sasa* or 'crazy song' session; the story of this name appears in Part 1, Chapter 6.2. The story points to the possibility that the session may have originated during the period of migration, after the group of migrants had left the island of 'Ubea in search of land and before they settled on Bellona and Rennell.

Three *mako noho* sessions were performed during my visits in 1974 and 1977; I recorded 29 different strophic songs and seven shorter ending songs. Some of the songs were recorded more than once, and ten were sung in both years. Thirteen songs were sung only in 1974 and ten in 1977 only.

Seven singers recorded their own *mako* compositions. Eighteen of the composers of these songs are from past generations. Six of the songs are so old that the names of the composers have been forgotten and the words are no longer understood (this applies primarily to the short songs that end the sessions).

Performance. The session is performed at the end of the day by seated men, without accompaniment of any kind. One woman participated in the *mako noho* that I recorded on Bellona in 1977, and she (Tekamu) had composed a *mako* song as well. I was told that women would not formerly have participated in such a session, because the '*ungu mako* 'introductory songs' were in honor of the sky god, and women did not participate in such worship with the men (Taupongi 1974).

As a guest, I, too, received presents during the *mako noho* sessions. In 1977 Paul Sa'engeika gave me a wooden shark fish-hook, which was dyed red to attract shark. In 1974 Haikiu gave me an axe he had made, and some panga nuts. Other people gave me five coconuts, a watermelon and a bag of lemons.

Vocal style. The leader sings with greater intensity than the group, and the two parts thus differ both in resonance and in compression. Whereas the group sings in a relaxed, undercompressed manner in full register, the leader sings in a highly compressed, somewhat forced voice with narrow resonance. One of the oldest singers, Tupe'uhi, uses a bourdon-tone with compression vibrato (a "braying" tone) at the lowest extreme of his vocal range in these songs.

7.1 Divisions of the *mako noho* session

As stated in Part 1, Chapter 3, an *'ungu* introductory song-dance would be performed prior to the *mako noho* session (*te 'ungu o te mako noho*). A *papa* dance would precede this on some occasions and perhaps other dances as well. The *mako noho* session proper begins with a series of *'ungu mako* songs (see, for example, the *'ungu mako* by Ma'itaki in Part 1, Chapter 5.3), and these are followed by a long series of *mako* songs. After each song, people walk over to a person of their choice and present a gift. After the *mako* songs, people sing *tauhungi*, which are led by more than one person, taking turns (*tauhungi* means 'to take turns'). These songs are followed by *keu*, which are short songs, and these in turn are followed by short songs called *na hungu o Tangangoa* 'the feathers of Tangangoa'. The final song is called *hakakookoo* 'to say koo', a short song which ends with the word *koo*. The last seven songs, which are usually the same in every session, go well together and sound like a through-composed piece. After the *mako noho* session, a session of *pese hakasa'amo*a songs was performed ('songs in the Samoan style', see Song 22).

7.2 Musical analysis (Songs 26-29)

Mako are strophic songs without accompaniment. They have a refrain after each verse; some songs have both a short refrain after every verse and a long final refrain (as Song 28). The songs end with a shout of *'la, aa* by the group, and *'Ese* pronounced by an individual who is about to present a gift

(*haka'ia* and *haka'ese* mean 'to say 'ia and 'ese').

Songs that have the same *umenge* or 'refrain' also have the same melodic pattern. The 29 songs I recorded have eight different refrains and eight melodies. The majority of the songs have long verses containing sustained tones and an undulating melodic contour.

Four strophic songs are transcribed here, three *mako* and one *hakataungangoto*. All of the songs were recorded by the author. They are arranged in order of progressive complexity of their tonal content, as are the melodic models at the end of the chapter.

26. *te mako a Tesui*, the *mako* by Tesui.

The text, translated by Taupongi, concerns the composer's old age and also the parrot-fish, which has a liver valued for its sweet taste and possibly for its healing properties. The translation needs a great deal of polishing; it is included because it indicates the content of the song text. Tesui is from the extinct Tanga Clan, and the song is too old to translate with precision.

This song has 21 verses, each ending with a short refrain, *aea*, sung by the group. The end-rhyme is *-i* in ten of the verses, *-o* in six verses and in the refrain, *-a* in six verses and *-e* in one verse. The *umenge*, a long refrain, is sung only twice, after the seventh and 21st verses.

Prior to each *'umenge*, two verses are strung together, omitting the short refrain between them, to form a unit twice as long as the other verses. Using the letters **V**, **R** and **Z** to designate verse, refrain and final refrain, and using brackets to enclose the larger repeatable cycle and colons for the internal **VR** cycle, the formal design of the song can be represented as follows: [:**VR**: **VVZ**].

The final refrain, which is in speech-rhythm, has a metric structure of approximately 12 quarter-notes. The verses are somewhat heterometric. The lead singer starts each new verse before the refrain ends, as may be seen in the transcription. The verses are ten to eleven quarter-notes in length. The refrain is four quarter-notes in length, but overlap reduces it to three. After the lead singer gets started, he consistently overlaps one quarter-note of the refrain, shortening the time interval between the verses.

Melodic structure. Two of the *mako* songs recorded have this melody and refrain. The melody has a two-tone nucleus, the lower tone being the finalis, and an occasional third tone below which completes the tetrachord. The tetrachord, however, is not always a perfect fourth in ambitus, as the highest tone is varied during the course of the song; towards the end of the song the interval between the two main tones is consistently smaller than a whole tone. This heterometric song has an underlying duple rhythm, in contrast to the triple rhythm that can be seen in the other *mako* songs transcribed.

27. *te hakataungangoto a Sungaemae*,
the *hakataungangoto* by Sungaemae

Sungaemae of the Matabaingei lineage lived in the twelfth generation. His son-in-law, Panio, went on a voyage to Rennell, and on the way back to Bellona, the group and its leader, Nausu, were killed at sea. Sungaemae was sorrowful never again to see his relative by marriage, Panio, and composed this song for him. *Te pungetahua* 'the cowries' in verse 3, and *Tehatumotu* in verse 14 are honorific names for Panio. *Nukungopua* in verse 4 is another name for Bellona (*nuku* 'abode').

The song has 14 verses followed by a refrain. The song is divided in two (*hakamaabae*) after the eighth verse, by a different refrain with new tonal material. The melodic structure is the same for verse and refrain. The verse is varied melodically, while variation in the refrain is heterophonic. Ornamentation in the form of diminution is used in the verses, two eighth-notes being sung instead of one quarter-note.

Both verse and refrain consist of two melodic arches divided by a sustained tone. The second arch is lower in pitch than the first. A five-tone framework is maintained throughout (g oo óo). The lowest interval is constantly varied, from a minor to a major third, by depressing the lowest tone. Both verse and refrain have a somewhat heterometric structure consisting of approximately 14 pulses, sometimes more and sometimes less. For example, the refrain varies between 13 and 16 pulses. The syllabic structure is more consistent: a line consists of approximately 12 syllables divided into two phrases by a sustained note on syllable 5 or 6.

The end-rhyme is *-a* throughout the song and refrain; the *-a* is sometimes sung as *-o* (shown in the text as *ǎ*). This is a common poetic change, the *o* sound being favored in poetry over the ordinary *a* sound of speech.

28. *te mako a Kangasia*, the mako by Kangasia

The composer, Kangasia, lived on Rennell (informants did not know when). The song concerns his illness, and describes how he was lying sick by the fire and the ashes covered him because he was too weak to brush them away. Sick people used to sleep by a fire to keep warm. The song begins with thunder, a portent from the gods, which the composer interprets as a gift. It proves instead to be a warning about the illness.

Taupongi translated the song text. It is included for the sake of giving some indication of the contents. However, more work by a person proficient in linguistics, together with a Bellonese, would be needed for a finished translation.

The melodic structure is based upon a pentatonic scale an octave in ambitus (o go oóo). The second lowest tone is the final tone (underlined) of both verse and refrain, and it is sustained for several beats in the middle of each.

The formal structure is strophic, each of the seven verses (nine in another rendition) being followed by a refrain. The verse and refrain have the same metric structure. There is a special final refrain which differs in melody, rhythm and meter. *'la* is shouted at the end of the song (not included in the transcription).

The song is heterometric within a well-established pattern, the verses usually having 17 beats in all. (Another *mako* with the same refrain and melodic pattern is almost perfectly regular in its metric structure, having 17 pulses in every verse and refrain.) In the song transcribed here, three verses diverge from this meter, two of these have 16 pulses and one has 20.

Both the verses and the refrain consist of three melodic segments, the first two arched and the last level in contour. There is an underlying triple rhythm except in the middle segment.

29. *te mako a Teika*, the mako by Teika

Solomon Teika, one of the singers, composed this dirge about a problem that was controversial during the years when I visited Bellona. Open-face mining for phosphates was being considered by the Bellonese. The majority of people were willing to sell their garden land for mining despite the fact that the population is totally dependent upon subsistence farming. This problem is discussed in Monberg, 1977. In his song, Solomon Teika vividly illustrates the effect surface mining would have on the island.

The song begins with a traditional poetic opening about the falling shadows of evening. The "sweet promises" mentioned in the third verse are the mining company's assurances that damage caused by surface mining can later be repaired, which are not realistic. (The island, a coral former atoll, has a thin layer of topsoil, which is not an even layer, but collects in pockets in the coral and is deepest in the middle. The only really fertile land, the middle area, contains the phosphates and would be destroyed by the proposed mining.) In verse 5 Solomon points out that desire for immediate monetary profit is selfish, unwise, and mischievous, considering that the land would be rendered useless for farming (verse 2); no growing things would remain to hinder the hot breezes (verse 4); and the grave-sites of the ancestors, respectfully tended until now, would also be destroyed, demonstrating disrespect for their work and struggles (verse 6). A further result would be depopulation of the island, since the young people would go in search of better land and prospects, leaving only old people and the dead on the island (verse 7). After signing the contract, people would be unable to stop the destruction despite their regrets (verse 8). Verse 9 reproaches the people for being drowsy in the heat of the day and lively in the shade of the evening. Verse 10 predicts that, when the land is destroyed, the foreign workers will sail off, leaving trash in place of: the main trail that always has stretched from one end of the island to the other, the coconut trees and taro that provide food (verses 11, 13, 14). With food no longer plentiful, people will become selfish (generosity being the greatest virtue for the Bellonese). The final verse speaks for itself. Another singer later composed a song on the same subject.

This song was translated by many people at several different times, because the Bellonese were eager to make as accurate a translation as possible and spent many hours discussing the wording. For example, there was the ever-present problem of whether to translate literally or figuratively (both the literal "sugar water" and the implied "sweet promises" are included in the translation of verse 3). Several versions were drafted,

and then criticized. The present translation is an improvement (by Taupongi and John Sau, for whom I acted as consultant on English usage) upon the previous translation, which had already been quite polished.

-A is the most common end-rhyme in the song, but it is not used consistently and, in fact, no musical emphasis is placed on verse endings, which flow directly into the refrain. The refrain also begins and ends the song, which is concluded by the usual exclamations ('Ia, aa - 'Ese I).

The verses that I chose to transcribe are intended to display the melodic variation used. The singer-composer performs the verses with separate emphasis on almost every note (martellato). The triple rhythm that underlies the song is obscured by this singing style, and demonstrates the Bellonese preference for models that exhibit two opposing characteristics at the same time, rather than an either/or model.

An older song, the *mako* by Tatangau from the extinct Tongo clan has the same melodic pattern and refrain.

Melodic structure is based upon a pentatonic scale (o oo oo o) with one accessory tone. Ambitus is 13 semitones.

The verses have two structural segments, each with a meter of twelve quarter notes and a triple rhythm (4 x $\overset{|}{o}$). The refrain varies between 15 and 18 quarter notes in length (5-6 $\overset{|}{o}$).

7.3 Conclusion

The formal structure of *mako* songs consists of long verse lines containing sustained tones, which consistently divide them into two phrases. Duple and triple rhythms are used.

With few exceptions, the melodies are characteristically pentatonic (see the melodic models). Polyphony occurs sporadically, during the refrain and during overlapping, when the leader begins a verse before the conclusion of the previous refrain.

The songs are characteristically performed with melodic variation and ornamentation. Changes occur in the course of longer songs, such as increase in ambitus and ornamentation. In one case the meter becomes more regular in the course of the song (the *mako* by Tesui, Song 26.).

MELODIC SKELETONS OF MAKO SONGS

Song 26.

VERSE CHORUS

○ ○○ 3/4

Song 27.

VERSE CHORUS

○ ○○ ○ 5/m7

Song 28.

VERSE CHORUS

○ ○○ ○○○ 5/8

Song 29.

VERSE CHORUS

○ ○○ ○○○ ○ 6/m9

Chapter 8: *OBO* CHANTS

Obo are short chants formerly performed when harvesting *ngeemungi* fruit (*Haplolobus floribundus* [Schm.] Lank. subsp. *salomonensis* and related forms of *Santiria*). The olive-like fruit grows on large trees. *Obo* and other songs were sung while the branches were cut.

Obo songs, as well as the use of the fruit itself, are believed to have been taught to the Polynesians when they first settled on Bellona by an aboriginal population whom the Bellonese call *hiti*. The words of the songs are, however, in understandable Bellonese. The songs are delivered with great rapidity, unlike any of the other traditional song genres. This singing style is close to that used for ritual formulas and the style may have originated from ritual. The Bellonese classify these songs as *ongiongi*, which also means "the words of rituals."

Rolf Kuschel recorded seven *obo* in 1968, sung one after another by Sa'engeika and Taupongi. The songs honor the highly esteemed oily fruit and the deities who provided it; they concern the cutting of branches during the process of harvesting the fruit and other subjects as well. The next to last *obo* is a joke, just for entertainment. *Obo* songs were also performed after the killing of a foe in former times, along with *neepungu* cries of victory.

8.1 Musical analysis (songs 30 - 32)

Obo songs are unaccompanied, approximately 20 seconds in duration, and have an irregular rhythm. The phrases are delivered in a rushed recitation based on the rhythms of speech. The three musical examples give only a rough picture of the songs, and they will not be analyzed individually. One song, which is not among the transcriptions, is responsorial.

The chants move freely between all gradations of definite pitch and indefinite speech tones, and consist primarily of repetitions of a few tones. They end with the shout, *Oooho* !, beginning on a high tone and sliding downward. A main intoning pitch and a secondary pitch, the interval of a major second above, are always present. The ambitus may be as little as a major second, as in Songs 30 and 32, or as much as an octave (Song 31).

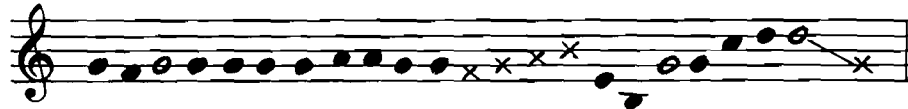
MELODIC SKELETONS OF OBO SONGS

Song 30.



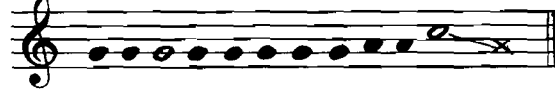
X $\acute{O}O$ O 3/4

Song 31.

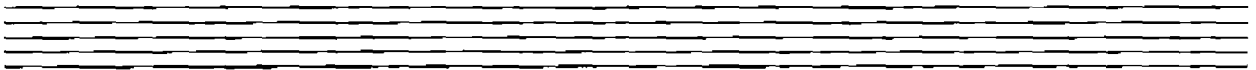


O X $\acute{O}O$ $\acute{O}O$ 5/8

Song 32.



$\acute{O}O$ O 3/4



Chapter 9: *UNGUOSO* CHANTS OF TRIUMPH

When a shark was caught, a sequence of *unguoso* would formerly be sung in the canoe on the way back to shore. The songs are no longer used, and because of the dietary laws of the Seventh Day Adventists, sharks are no longer caught or eaten.

The songs carry a great distance, being delivered in a melismatic style with sustained tones. The Bellonese said, "it's a thing that sounded very good" to listeners ashore. The songs also conveyed good news, for a distribution of shark meat would follow.

An alternative name for these songs, *unguasa*, is both a general term for the kind of singing and a verb meaning 'to be noisy, shouting'. As a general term for the singing style is used, it also applies to other shouts of triumph, such as *neepungu*, which are shouts of victory after the killing of a foe.

The texts deal primarily with shark fishing, large shark catches and other memorable distributions. One song concerns the 30 sharks caught by a Rennellese composer. Paul Sa'engeika composed Song 33, below, about a ritual feast he had held, at which he had distributed 8,000 heaps of panna yams. Song 34 has 18 verses, each beginning with the word *poopoo*, which means 'to pat the shark in satisfaction after killing it'. Song 33 also starts with this word.

These are relatively short songs, ending with responsorial exclamations called *haka'uaauaa* (to exclaim '*uaauaa*'), and a shout of *Oooho*! The term *haka'uaa'uaa*, like the English expression tra-la-la, refers to syllables used in singing which have no lexical meaning.

9.1 Musical analysis (Songs 33 - 34)

These unaccompanied songs are unlike any other Bellonese songs in their free rhythm and ornamented singing style. Two part singing is sporadically utilized to great effect. Tonal skeletons are given at the end of the chapter.

33. *Te unguoso a Paul Sa'engeika [Ng]*,
the chant of triumph by Paul Sa'engeika, Ngikobaka lineage

As the song is performed in free rhythm, it is difficult to assign time values to the notes. Four definite tones are used within the ambitus of a fifth, in addition to indefinite pitches above and below. The definite tones may be coded as (o óoo).

The song has two responsorial verse lines, each of which is repeated (**a/b a/b, c/d c/d**), and a coda. The whole couplet is repeated. The coda consists of the parlando exclamations *uaa uaa* (the *haka'uaauaa*) and the final shout. If we designate the ending as **S** (shout) and enclose the lines of the couplet in parenthesis, the formal design of the song can be represented as follows: (**1, 1, 2, 2**)**S**.

34. *te unguoso a Tu'imaka [Ng]*,
the chant of triumph by Tu'imaka, Ngikobaka lineage.

The song consists of 18 verses. Each verse has a two short text phrases, the first repeated (**1,1, 2**). The formal design of the musical phrases may be represented as (**a b c**). The word '*ave*', signifying 'thanks', occurs as an internal refrain between repetitions of phrase 1, and is spoken at the end of the song. The first phrase is sung by the leader alone and then by the group and leader together. The group sings the final phrase.

The repeated first phrase consists of *poopoo ahee* (100 heaps of round objects) in the first ten verses, and thereafter, *popo noa* (1000 heaps).

Five tones are utilized within the ambitus of an octave, plus an indefinite low tone. These can be coded as follows: (o oóo o). Each verse ends with a tone that slides downward approximately the interval of a fourth.

MELODIC SKELETONS OF UNGUOSO SONGS

Song 33.



X O 000X 4/5

Song 34.



X 0 000 0 5/8

CHAPTER 10: INTRODUCTION TO THE DANCE SONGS AND SINGING GAMES

Dance songs deserve a common introduction because they share certain features of structure and performance, and they also formed part of the same social context prior to 1939. In the present chapter, these common features are drawn together from various places in Part 1, and the musical transcription of a singing game is analyzed.

Song dances and singing games were formerly performed in connection with religious rituals for the sky god. Some of these rituals, and the *manga'e* food distribution in particular, which, along with tattooing, was the main occasion for the performance of dances, have been discussed in Chapter Three of Part 1. A repertoire of 17 dances is still performed, and these are described in the glossary.

Whenever a man harvested some crop in abundance, he held a ritual distribution of food to the gods and to the invited guests. After the food distribution, the festivities consisted of singing and dancing. Whereas the first three dances performed were part of the ritual proceedings, the other dances and singing games belonged to the secular proceedings that followed desacralization of the sounding board. If the group decided, at a ceremonial debate, to continue beyond this point, the desacralization initiated a new stage in the festivities that was secular in nature. The secular session of dancing and singing, called the *saumakinga* 'long-continuing session of songs and dances', could extend over a period of days or weeks at a time at large rituals. Informants made an explicit distinction between the ritual and the secular phases of a feast. The ritual singing and dancing was *tapu o na 'atua*, or 'sacred for the deities', whereas the secular singing and dancing of the *saumakinga* was for *siasia o na hakatahinga* the 'happiness of the feasts', in other words, for entertainment.

Na me'a o na hakatahinga 'the musical things of the feasts' include *babange 'anga* 'games' in addition to the *tau'asonga* 'dancing and singing'. Dances are usually performed by a group of male singers; there is also a women's dance and a mixed dance. Some important terms pertaining to dance from Chapters 7 and 8 of Part 1 are summarized below.

The performing group always has one or more leaders and some dances call for separate leaders for the dancing and for the singing. The designation for the leader varies according to whether the person sings and leads the dancing, sings and beats the sounding board, sings and leads the clapping or sings alone. There are several forms of the verb 'to sing', including *taungua* 'song; to sing', *ngangi* 'to begin a song', which is purely a singular form, and *umenge* 'chorus; to sing the chorus', which is a plural form. Some dance songs are started by the leader, who sings the initial phrase alone, after which the group joins in. The verb *ngangi* is used whether the leader begins the song alone or sings the verses of a strophic song. The word *umenge* is used when the group responds, by singing either the refrain or a responsorial phrase. Like the English word "chorus," *umenge* is a both verb meaning 'to sing the refrain' and a noun denoting the refrain and the group who sings it.

When singing alone, the leader is called *te pengea e ngangi* 'the person who sings alone', as when the singing is led by the dance leader. When accompanying himself by clapping, the leader is called *te pese* 'the [person who] claps'. The leader may also be called *te tungi* 'the leader; head', for example, in singing games such as the following.

Whether the formal structure of the individual dance song is strophic or responsorial, a sequence of songs is often performed in a definite order to form a serial structure more complex than any of its individual parts. The overall structure may be a through-composed combination of responsorial and strophic components, at least in its most highly developed form, the *suahongi* dance (Chapter 11).

We have encountered the term *'ungu* in previous chapters, where it designated the introductory songs in song sessions, such as those of *pese*, *tangi* and *mako* songs. The word *'ungu*, which literally means 'head', is also used in dances. The opening song-dance, generally called *'ungu*, differs musically from the many short dances that follow, which are called *huua mako* or 'dance songs'.

The movements of a dance are related to the rhythm and the words of the song. In the chapter on dance movements in Part 1, fig. 15 shows how the movements of a dance song are coordinated with the rhythm and words of the song (Chapter 8).

After analyzing a singing game, the chapters that follow will analyze dance songs that represent secular and ritual dances performed by men and women, in circles and in lines. The unaccompanied dances are taken up first (Chapters 11 and 12), followed by those accompanied by hand clapping (Chapters 13 and 14) and, finally, those accompanied by the sounding board (Chapter 15).

10.1 Singing games

A session of singing games was performed by the adults during the secular singing and dancing after the large feasts. The singing games called *babange 'anga* 'playing' or 'dancing', were also played by children in former times, but in different versions. Kuschel has published the children's versions of eight singing games and the adult version of one (1975a:44). Children today do not know these games, because they were prohibited by the newly converted Christian islanders who taught their children that all traditional songs are evil.

Considered by the Bellonese to be of ancient origin, these games are thought to have come from 'Ubea with the original settlers and/or the aboriginal *hiti* population of Bellona.

Musical analysis of *kubikubi ngoo'ata* (Song 35)

Four singing games have been published on the Folkways record FE 4273, bands A3 - 4. The musical example transcribed here is the first game on the record (band A3, a). A photograph of the game appears on the following page.

During the game, some of the players stand and some kneel in a circle, each stretching one hand into the center; the hand on the bottom of the pile lies closed upon the ground or on the sounding board. Each hand in the pile "pinches" the hand below with thumb and index finger, that is, holding the skin on the back of the hand. When they sing the last word of the song, *hohonga*, the players sometimes pinch the underlying hand a little harder than necessary. On this word, which means 'spread out', the bottom hand is spread out flat on the ground. The song is sung eight times, as each hand is spread out in turn, until all the hands lie flattened in a heap (there were eight participants in this particular recording). From the fourth verse on, members of the group sing melodic variations and the song becomes heterophonic.

The melody has four tones and one indefinite tone within the ambitus of a minor seventh. The leader begins the song alone; the group sings the end of the first musical phrase and a speech-song ending. The same two phrases are repeated eight times in free rhythm. The song is unaccompanied.

MELODIC SKELETON OF *KUBIKUBI NGOO'ATA*

Song 35,



$\underline{\text{XO}}$ $\overset{\cdot}{\text{OO}}$ O 4/m7



CHAPTER 11: THE *SUAHONGI* DANCE ⁸

When Bellona was settled 25 generations ago, the immigrants, according to oral tradition, brought the *suahongi* dance with them from 'Ubea. The word *suahongi* means "to circle or hover about, as sharks, to go around in a circle..." (Elbert 1975:264). Whereas the first division of the *suahongi* is danced in a circle, the last two divisions are danced in lines. The male singers gesture and dance throughout. Clapping is used as rhythmic accompaniment at times and is also heard as part of some hand gestures. *Pese* songs, which are included in the *suahongi*, are always accompanied by clapping.

The text, orally transmitted, is not intelligible today except for some disconnected words and certain later additions. This is the more remarkable as a performance is half an hour in duration. Although its text, in the language of the 'Ubean forefathers, is not understood, this archaic language adds to the historic import of the *suahongi* and imparts a sense of historical continuity and mystical value as well.

The *suahongi* has two components: the *suahongi* divisions and the *pese* songs accompanied by clapping which are performed with them. According to the Bellonese, the *suahongi* has three major divisions. These are further subdivided, so that there are 48 sections in all. Seven *pese* are performed during the first division. One of these *pese* was composed by Kaitu'u, one of the original immigrants, while the others are short and even more ancient. Oral tradition tells how the *pese* by Kaitu'u was composed on Rennell, and parts of the story of the journey to and discovery of *Mungaba* and *Mungiki* refer to the *suahongi*, which the settlers brought with them from their homeland, 'Ubea (ibid.:37, T67):

...and Bellona here appeared. Then was first called the name *Mungiki*, but the name of this place in ancient times was *Tenukumangongo* (The- Unknown- Abode). And Tongo said: "Oh! This is the place heard of a long time." And the two canoes came ashore, [people] went up and walked about in Ahanga and danced their *suahongi* (Elbert and Monberg 1965:T66, 22-28).

Then Kaitu'u returned here to Rennell, and landed at Mugihenua, going along the coast, composing his clapping song (*pese*) as he went, his *suahongi* dance.

The language of the main part of the *suahongi* and of the six short *pese* sung with it is archaic and must have been already traditional on 'Ubea, perhaps generations before the immigration to Bellona; no comprehensive translation is possible. The *pese* by Kaitu'u, said to have been composed 24 generations ago, is closer to the language of recent generations and is generally intelligible, although its language is ancient and the meaning of many words is uncertain (it has been translated by Torben Monberg, albeit tentatively because people were not sure about the meaning of certain words). The last division, called *hakatamatama* (literally, 'to be younger'), believed to have been composed by Iho four generations after the immigration, is 'younger' than the others. This final division was formerly limited in use to the Iho clan in their *suahongi* performances; it was the only part of the *suahongi* that was considered sacred (*tapu*), because the text mentions the names of the deities.

The *suahongi* was formerly performed as part of the ritual proceedings that followed the food distribution at feasts. The man who held the feast acted in his function of priest-chief and led the *suahongi* if he could. The *suahongi* was the first group dance to be performed at the feast - it was also the first dance to be performed on Bellona - and it was followed by the *papa hai 'atua* 'sounding board [beaten] for the deities'. These two, plus the *tene*, or 'boxing dance' that preceded them, constituted the ritual dancing, after which the dancing might end, or continue with secular dances. The *suahongi* and the *papa* were always performed at large feasts. In contrast with the songs of the *papa*, which often are chosen for their relevance to the particular occasion and sometimes composed especially for it, the *suahongi* provided the meaningful common historical background.

Correct performance of the *suahongi* was maintained by social pressure alone, without other sanctions. Prestige definitely attended men recognized for their special skills in dancing or knowledge of historical matters. When such an expert led a performance (or listened to a recording of one), his criticism was severe, as related below.

Versions of the *suahongi*.

The *suahongi* brought from 'Ubea (*te suahongi mai 'Ubea*) ended with the *ngiba*. This version is called *suahongi hakangato* 'to bring to an end, complete'. This original *suahongi* was not *tapu* 'sacred'.

In the fourth generation, Iho, of the Iho or Taupongi clan of West Bellona, composed the *hakatamatama, te me'a o na 'atua* 'the thing of the deities', in which he names the deities. Because of this, the division was considered sacred (*tapu*), while the others were not; men who had not yet been

initiated as assistants to priests (*hakabaka*) were not permitted to participate. The *suahongi* with this ending is called *suahongi hakangatahi* 'the combined *suahongi*', made by both sides, the Iho and Kaitu'u clans of Rennell and Bellona.

In generation 18, Takiika of Mata'ubea introduced a short version of the *suahongi*, omitting the last ten *huatanga* of division one and all of the *ngiba* and *hakatamamtama*.

The *suahongi* has also been shortened in recent times by reducing the number of repetitions, sections that were to be sung four times being sung twice, and sections that were to be sung twice being sung only once. The first divisions has some sections to be sung four times, but most sections of the *suahongi* are sung twice. This shortening accounts for variations in recordings of the *suahongi* during the last twenty years, and possibly has given rise to some confusion about which *huatanga* should be done four times. *Suahongi* performances prior to Christianity were full-length, and many discussions were devoted to agreeing upon the correct original version to demonstrate for me. The full-length performances were considered to be correct. According to the final consensus, the first *huatanga* of each polytextual passage was sung four times, and also the last half of the last *huatanga mu'a* (*huatanga* 6).

Recording the *suahongi* in 1974 and 1977

One of the main problems of recording this music in 1974 was that the elders, who were the experts, lived on Bellona, whereas the largest group of younger men who were interested in performing lived in Honiara. On Bellona, strong social pressure prevents active younger citizens from participating in performances of traditional music, as the missions strongly dominate public opinion. In 1974 I first recorded the *suahongi* in Honiara, performed by a group of twelve men between thirty and fifty years of age. Jason Ngiusanga, the leader of this group, said that learning the *suahongi* had taken him about six months. He had learned it from his foster-father, Paul Sa'engeika, during World War II, when the traditional dances were permitted and visits by missionaries curtailed. Thus many people of this age group are competent in traditional music, though they often do not admit it.

On Bellona, Paul Sa'engeika listened to the *suahongi* recording from Honiara and objected that it was incomplete, as six short *pese* were missing. But he said that the singing was good because the voices were young and strong. The *suahongi* was then recorded on Bellona, Paul leading a group of twelve men, several of whom were quite aged. This recording was marred by audible disagreements over proper procedure; that is, Paul Sa'engeika,

audible disagreements over proper procedure; that is, Paul Sa'engeika, recognized as an authority on traditional songs, disputed with other experts participating in the performance.

In Honiara the *suahongi* was re-recorded, and this time the six short *pese* were included. (This is the recording used for the following transcriptions and analysis. It is available on Folkways FE 4274:A1-3. However, there were only three leaders rather than the required four, and only a few of the performers were really singing, as others did not know the *suahongi* well enough.

In 1977 the *suahongi* was recorded twice on Bellona. The first of these was criticized regarding the number of repetitions of certain sections in the first division, and there were heated discussions on this subject during the first weeks of my stay. The second recording was correct in this respect. However, there were only three leaders, one of whom had to alternate leading the *pese* and the main group of dancers.

11.2 Musical concepts and practices

11.2.1 Structure of the *suahongi*

The *suahongi* consists of several main divisions and subdivisions, *na hu'aiingoa o te suahongi* 'the big names of the *suahongi*'.

Divisions:

- I. Numerous *huatanga 'eha* or *huatanga: hua* 'song', *-tanga*, nominalizing suffix (*huatanga* 'singing' ⁹), *'eha* 'many'.
- II. 7 *ngiba*, danced in lines (the number of lines depends on the number of dancers). The origin of this word is not known. (See photograph in Volume Two, p. 80.)
- III. *te hakatamatama* 'to rejuvenate': 9 *tautau* 'verses' danced in lines.

The first division is by far the longest, containing over 30 *huatanga* (the numbering is my own). The leader begins each of the four subdivisions, the first two of which are polytextual (being sung with the *pese*) and have the following designations:

- A. *Te pese mu'a* 'the first *pese*', designates the portion of the *suahongi* that consists of: four *huatanga* (called *huatanga mu'a* 'the first *huatanga*') sung together with the first *pese*. (See photograph, p. 270.)

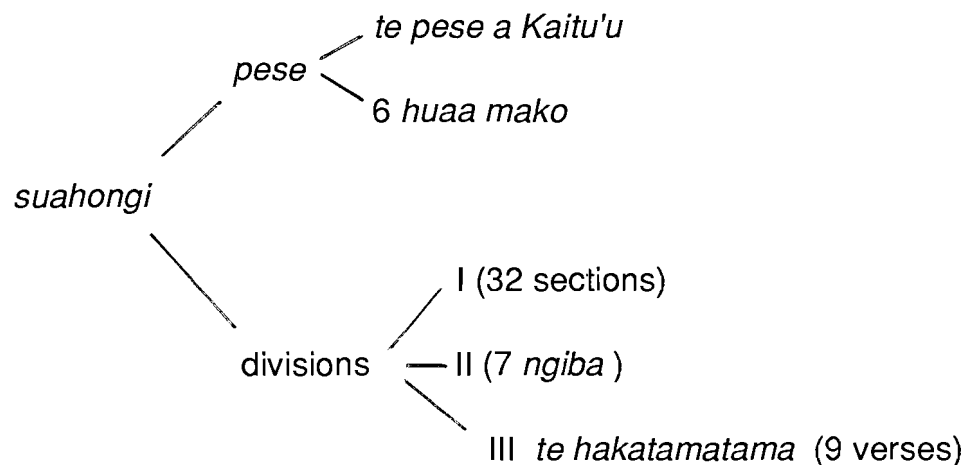
- B. *ngongotuu* designates the portion of the *suahongi* that consists of: six *huatanga* sung with six *short pese*. The origin of the word *ngongotuu* is not known, but it is said to refer to the *huaa mako* (see below).

The *pese*. Seven *pese* 'clapping songs', are performed with the above subdivisions of the *suahongi*. *Pese* is the generic term, used when referring to them collectively, but they also have the following specific names:

- A. The *pese* by Kaitu'u (*te pese a Kaitu'u*), also known as *te pese mu'a* 'the first *pese*', is performed first. It is a long strophic song with a short refrain sung after every fifth verse.
- B. Six short responsive *pese*, each consisting of one or two lines, are performed during the second subdivision, the *ngongotuu*. These are also known by the specific name *huaa mako* 'dance songs', the designation that will be used here to distinguish them from the first *pese*.

Pese 'to clap' is a general term for the clapping songs performed during the *kanongoto* harvest ritual, which had three main division of *pese* songs during the night, the second and largest called *huatanga 'eha*. There was some disagreement in 1977 as to whether this name could also apply in the *suahongi* or not, and whether it applied to all four subdivisions of the first division.¹⁰

The diagram below shows the organization of the divisions of the *pese* :



11.2.2 Leadership in the *suahongi*

Leadership is crucial in the *suahongi*. Formerly the *tunihenua* 'priest-chief' led the *suahongi*, assisted by the *haihenua* 'second priest-chief'. He was the person to *ngangi*, that is, to start the *suahongi*, lead the opening verse and other specific sections during its course, as well as leading the dancing. Other persons who knew the verses might also lead at times. The *pese*, for instance, are led by two men chosen because they know the *pese* well.

The main group of dancers is called '*apitanga* 'crowd, majority of people'. Whereas such a group formerly would have numbered from 25 to 50 men, today, with the opposition of the churches, it is not possible to assemble more than a dozen. The most important dances of the tradition, the *suahongi* and the *papa*, are those most strictly banned by the fundamentalist churches of the island.

Nor is it possible to find the four leaders needed for a performance, as few men still living know the *suahongi* or the *pese* well enough to lead them, and even fewer would defy the sanctions of the church and social pressure from the community. It is still possible to perform the *suahongi* even if there are not four leaders, as in 1977, when one leader took alternating roles.

The *tunihenua* led the dancing, started the four subdivisions of the first division and each verse of the last division. The two men who *pese* 'clap' lead the first *pese*, the *ngongotuu* and the first two *ngiba*.

The majority of dancers could follow the leaders, both with respect to dancing and singing. A performance thus requires a knowledgeable elite. Although the group-members need training in the tradition and the repertoire, they do not necessarily need complete mastery of every word and action in each song-dance.

11.2.3 Manner and style of performance

The *suahongi* is sung by a large group of dancers, preferably about twenty. From one to four men may perform the *pese*, depending upon the size of the dancing group. The first *pese* was sung by two men in the performances at which I was present (there were a dozen dancers in these performances). I was told that one singer would do if the group was smaller. The six *huaa mako*, however, being responsorial songs, by nature require two persons for their performance (or multiples of two).

When the *pese* are about to commence, the performers step out of the circle of dancers and move into the center, where they sing and clap their hands for the *pese*. Their proper manner of performance was explicitly

stated by the leader of the Honiara group: "The first person sings and the second person answers him - they clap to each other." An even more detailed procedure for the performance of these songs was demonstrated to me by two lineage elders on Bellona. They reversed roles during the singing of each of the *huaa mako* after a certain number of responses. (The number is determined by the length of the *huatanga* which is sung at the same time, that is, each of these particular *huatanga* ends with a shout; this shout signals the reversal of roles, after which the *huatanga* and *huaa mako* are repeated together.) This reversal of roles was done deliberately for each of the six *huaa mako*, one singer prompting the other if he forgot to take his turn leading: the person who started was answered by the first in turn. This reversal procedure coordinates the simultaneous singing in the *ngongotuu*, but it may not be remembered by younger performers.

The performance of these elders in the six *huaa mako* also revealed an important stylistic feature of the singing more markedly than other recordings: the lowest interval of the first *huaa mako* varies between a minor third and a major third, as measured with a monochord. This variation is ornamental and also occurs in other songs having a lower interval of a third. (The total range of the song is a fourth, and this is maintained.) It is the skilled singers, well schooled in the tradition, who use this possibility for ornamental variation to fullest effect.

11.2.4 Coordination of the polytextual parts

The musical concepts that guide the polyphonic relationship of the two parts were demonstrated for me. In both the first *pese* and the *ngongotuu*, the *pese* songs are always the lower of the two parts, and they should begin before the *huatanga* with which they are sung.

The starting notes of the polytextual parts are derived from the final notes of the sections immediately preceding them. The *huatanga* begin a fourth above this final note in both polytextual passages. The first *pese* begins a whole tone below the preceding final note, and the first *huaa mako* begins a minor third below.

The starting note of the *pese* by Kaitu'u is less stable with respect to the final note it follows. This is partly because the person performing this song adjusts the pitch level to suit his voice, which is necessary because the song covers almost an octave in range. The preceding section can easily be pitched too low for the singer of the *pese* to be able to follow any prescribed derivation of the starting note. In addition, there are two possible starting points in the scale of this *pese* (see 11.5.3). The singer can begin above the preceding final note if necessary for him. No criticism resulted, no matter

where he actually started the *pese* or what polyphonic interaction between the parts resulted from his choice.

2.5 The text

All *suahongi* performances on Bellona have a common text, orally transmitted. This text, as written down in 1959 by Taupongi and Toopue from Bellona, is the one given here. I used this written version to identify the major divisions and sections. Only the *pese* by Kaitu'u is translated, and even this translation is tentative.

2.6 Musical form

Table 4 summarizes all the *suahongi* sections of a single performance, the notes being represented as letters (see end of Chapter). In this table 4, brackets enclose those consecutive sections that form musical passages or units. Paul Sa'engeika verified my interpretation of musical passages in the *suahongi* in the following way: we listened to a recording together, and Paul told me when the melody was continuous in two succeeding sections and when a new melodic passage began. He used expressions such as: *kakabe te nge'o* 'the voice, sound, goes on'; *tasi te nge'o* 'the same voice, sound'; *manga hano te nge'o* 'just continues the voice'; *sui te nge'o* 'the following, succeeding voice'; or *sa'u te haatunga* 'to change the tune, pitch'.

Na ngangina is the collective designation for those sections begun by a leader or soloist, derived from the verb *ngangi* 'to begin a group song, as by the leader'. These sections are marked *ngangi* on Table 4.

Division I contains 31 *huatanga*, grouped into four musical subdivisions (A-D), each introduced by a leader's *ngangi*. The first two of these are polytextual. The *huatanga* of the *ngongotuu* end with exclamations and have no definite final tone. Taken together, subdivisions A and B last approximately 14 minutes with the correct number of repetitions.

In the third subdivision (approximately five minutes long), the pentatonic basis is established for the remainder of the *suahongi*, in contrast to the shifting scales with fewer tones that characterize the music until this point.

A musical passage using heterophonic singing with a kind of drone begins the last subdivision (see S 42), which is approximately 3½ minutes long, and concludes with a short section introducing the text of the *ngiba* to follow. There is then a pause while the dancers form lines for the *ngiba*.

Division II, with seven *ngiba*, is seven to eight minutes long. The first two form a musical unit with antiphonal and polyphonic singing (see S 43). A series of faster *ngiba* follow, in which the dancers can be heard to advance jumping. Most of the *ngiba* end with exclamations or shouts and have no definite final tone.

Division III, the *hakatamatama*, is approximately six minutes long. The nine verses are united into three musical passages. The first four verses form a continuous musical unit without pause, so that the separate verses can only be distinguished by the text. Falling musical phrases characterize this division, the leader beginning seven of the nine verses on the highest note of the scale.

The *suahongi* ends with rhythmic reiteration of the lowest scale note, followed by the *ngibau*, a mighty shout of *Ooho* !

11.3 Special polyphonic forms in the *suahongi*

When analyzing polyphony in the *suahongi* we must distinguish between two different forms: that produced by the heterophonic singing which ordinarily occurs in this tradition and the special polyphonic technique used in the *suahongi* whereby two disparate pieces of music, differing in text and in musical texture, are sung together. To facilitate this distinction, the more usual forms of polyphony will be treated first in the musical analysis, while polyphonic relationships in the polytextual passages are taken up separately in the musical analysis of coordinate polyphony. This expression refers to the organized coordination of the units sung together (see 11.5).

There are important differences between the first and the second occurrences of coordinate polyphony in the *suahongi*. In the first case the *pese* by Kaitu'u is sung; this is a strophic song having 18 verses and a refrain. In the second case six short responsive *pese* (*huaa mako*) are sung.

The musical technique whereby a responsive song is performed together with the *suahongi* is not unlike that used in the *pese* songs discussed in Chapter 5. In the *pese tau baalogha* and *pese hakasa'amo*a (Song 22), a continuous canon-like refrain is sung by two groups in alternation, while the verses are sung by a soloist at the same time. The refrain does not cease during the singing of the verses, so that the verse and refrain, which do sound different, are sung simultaneously, as are the *suahongi* and the *pese*.

The musical result of this kind of polyphonic singing, in the forms mentioned here, sounds obscure to one who does not know what, specifically, is taking place, proving once again the continuing necessity for fieldwork in

ethnomusicology. I could not transcribe or analyze the recordings musically until I had seen the performance, was able to follow it with written texts, and could record the *pese* and *huua mako* apart from a *suahongi* performance. Stereophonic recordings were also of great assistance for musical transcription.

11.4 Musical analysis

The eight musical examples are chosen to illustrate the two passages in coordinate polyphony (S 38 & 40) and the transition between them (S 39), as well as the diversity of music in the *suahongi*, including speech-song (S 36), passages having a kind of drone (S 42), passages ending on the lowest structural tone with characteristic rhythmic repetition of this tone (S 41), and passages with heterophonic (S 41) and polyphonic singing (S 43).

Analysis is based upon the transcriptions and the scales in Table 4.

Musical characteristics

Three endings used in the *suahongi* are: prolongation of the final tone, terminal glissandi, and final exclamations or shouts (**S**) using indefinite tones. The shout *Ooooho* ! occurs at the very end of the last division of the *suahongi* and after *ngiba* four, five and six. Other exclamations and shouts occur, such as those ending S 37, 38 and 41, which are interjections between sections. In the text, shouts are capitalized, and such interjections are located after the words designating repetition such as *hakangua* 'twice', *hakahaa* 'four times', and *hakahoki* 'repeat'. Exclamations within the section appear before these designations, and can be seen in S 36 and the upper parts of S 38 and 40. Endings using definite tones (**Z**) occur, e.g., in the refrain in the *pese* by Kaitu'u, S 38 (lower part).

Shouts are of two kinds: those ending a section and repeated when the section is repeated, and those that are interjections between two sections. The former would appear before the bar-line showing the end of the section in the musical examples, the latter after. The former would be expressed in formal analysis as **AsAs**, the latter **AAs**.

Of the 55 sections and *pese* of the *suahongi*, five have special endings with definite tones and 23 have shouted endings. As the first have no definite final tone, their scales in Table 4 may be identified by the absence of underlined final notes.

Unusual or pronounced endings often mark the end of musical passages and are absent in middle sections. For instance, *huatanga* 16 (S 41) ends a melodic passage and has responsive final exclamations; *huatanga* 24,

concluding another musical passage, ends with fast parlando recitation. Another phrase-ending marker, occurring after *ngiba* 4 and 6, is a riffle of clapping.

The **melodic structure** of the sections consists primarily of whole-tone steps and minor thirds; anhemitonic pentatonic scales predominate. Polyphonic intervals are the same as the melodic intervals, and appear in the following order of frequency: perfect fourth, major second, minor third, perfect fifth, sixth, octave and minor seventh. This does not, however, apply to polyphonic relationships between the different songs performed simultaneously, which will be analyzed in 11.5. Only the parts as separate entities are treated herein.

11.4.1 Musical analysis of separate parts

36, *ngangi*. This introduction is responsorial, repetition providing the rhyme-scheme. The melody consists of two fixed tones a major second apart plus several indefinite tones. In the final phrase, which is in speech-song, individual singers do not all chant the same pitch at the same time and my notation on the musical staff, of necessity, indicates only the general course of the melody. There is a rhythmic pattern of three, except at the beginning. In the second volta singing is occasionally heterophonic.

37. The first phrase, in speech-song, is sung by the leader at low intensity in free rhythm. Thereafter begins a tetratonic melody that is a minor sixth in ambitus and monophonic throughout. The final tone, which is also the pitch center, ends with a downward glissando, and an exclamation announces the *pese* to begin in the next section.

38 (upper part), *huatanga* 3. This melody is largely ditonic on the interval of a major second, with an additional tone a minor third below (although this tone, which usually appears as *g*, may be flattened as in the second line of the transcription). The section is sung twice and ends each time with a downward glissando followed by a shouted ending; this formal structure may be expressed as **AsAs**. The rhythmic pattern is ternary.

38 (lower part), *te pese a Kaitu'u*. This song is strophic, strophes marked by dotted bar lines in the transcription. The verses have a definite rhyme-scheme, *-a* ending each verse. However, the structural unit of the melody consists of five verses plus a refrain, which may be expressed as

AAAaz. This unit is approximately 40 seconds long, ending with a downward glissando from the last note of the refrain. The singing of the group somewhat obscures the voices of the two soloists, but the song seems to be monophonic throughout. The scale is pentatonic with one accessory tone, and the ambitus is a major seventh. Each verse has 21 (seldom 20) regular pulses duplicated in the clapping, which is often slightly ahead of the singing.

39, *ngangi*. This is a transitional section between the two polytextual passages in the *suahongi*. Its structure is progressive, consisting of a series of responsive phrases constantly changing in tempo and rhythm and ending with a final exclamation. The tetratonic melody undulates within the ambitus of a minor sixth and contains patterns of reiterated tones. The last phrase is sung heterophonically. As polyphonic intervals, major seconds appear four times, minor thirds twice, and fourths three times.

40 (upper part), *huatanga* 8. The melody is based upon two tones a major second apart, with additional indefinite tones in the shouted ending, which starts approximately a fourth above the lower of the two main tones and descends approximately an octave. After the first phrase, the rhythmic pattern is ternary. The second unit of every three is accented by lengthening the note, and clapping adds further emphasis on the fifth unit of every six. The section with its shouted ending is repeated (**AsAs**).

40 (lower part), *huaa mako* 1. This responsive melody has two main tones a minor third apart, with a third tone a major second above, the ambitus being a fourth in all. The lowest tone is both initial and final; the middle tone is variable, **f** sometimes being sung as **f#**. A responsive phrase (solo/response) constitutes the unit of formal structure, which is sung five times. While the clapping rhythm in this phrase is binary (two quarter-notes), the melodic rhythm is ternary (six quarter-notes, with accents on the first and third).

41, *huatanga* 16. This short repeated section ends a longer musical passage beginning with a *ngangi*. The leader begins with a melodic statement, this is restated and amplified by the group, and in the third and last phrase the repeated low tones are more indefinite in character and the singing is monophonic. When the section is repeated, a final exclamation is interjected so that the last tone is cut short. In the leader's solo, the pentatonic melody descends one octave; the same descent is repeated, but not as rapidly, in the heterophonic response by the group. Fourth and major seconds appear as polyphonic intervals, the fourth appearing twice as often

because this interval occurs in heterophonic variation and is repeated rhythmically as well. The rhythm could be characterized as additive. This section has a regular meter of half-note units with accents on the first quarter-note of each unit (excepting the first unit which is foreshortened). There are four segments within the section consisting of 3 + 3 + 3 + 5 half-note units.

42, *huatanga* 23. This section lies midway in a musical passage (extending from *huatanga* 22 to 24), and its ending is not marked musically in any way. The text has the formal structure **ABCD**, which corresponds to **ABBB'** in the melodic structure. A strong rhythmic pattern of three unites the three final segments into a longer musical phrase. The hexatonic melody has an ambitus of a minor seventh. The low tone, **e**, is repeated, acting as a kind of drone. The three-rhythm develops together with this reiteration of pitch. This is two-part polyphony in which the lower voice sings an interrupted drone and higher melodic variations are sung by individuals. Polyphonic intervals appear in all combinations; the major second is most frequent, followed by the fourth and minor third, in that order.

43, *ngiba* 2. This hexatonic melody has an ambitus of a ninth. Singing is polyphonic, and polyphonic intervals appear in all combinations. The formal structure of the text is **ABCDA**, corresponding to five symmetrical musical phrases, which link together in a series of melodic arches. The melodic ascent is begun by the leader, and each line is taken up by the group in two interlocking parts. The tones **e** and **a** are reiterated in extended patterns (**e** acting as a low drone) in the two last lines of the transcription. Reiterated pitch also occurs at the top of the range, but in the form of diminution. Instead of repeated quarter-notes, there is ornamentation so that each syllable is divided between **c#** and **b** in two eighth-notes. After each ascent, the melody is held suspended by flights of ornamentation coming in at different times, canon-like. The descent from **c#** to **f#** is often ornamented as well.

11.5 Musical analysis of coordinate polyphony

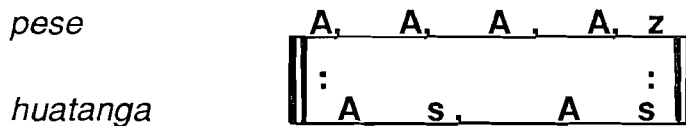
Interaction between the *pese* and the *huatanga* with which they are performed will be taken up here, to facilitate separate consideration of this important and characteristic aspect of the *suahongi*. First the polytextual passages will be described with regard to coordination of the parts. Musical analysis of the polyphonic interaction between the parts in S 38 and 40 will

be treated in 11.5.2; this relationship in some other performances, theoretical and actual, is taken up in 11.5.3.

11.5.1 Coordination of the units

The formal structure of the *huatanga* sung with the *pese* remains the same in both poytextual passages: **AsAs**, consisting of a phrase ending with an exclamation, the whole repeated. But the formal structure of the first *pese* and the *huaa mako* differ, the first being a long strophic song and the latter short responsive songs with one or two lines of text.

In the first *pese* (S 38), both of the polytextual parts consist of units of the same length, this combined unit being approximately 40 seconds long. It is not the individual verses of the *pese* that are coordinated with the *huatanga* unit (**AsAs**), but a structure consisting of four verses and refrain (**AAAaz**). These coordinated units may be shown as a graph:



This coordinated double structure is sung four times. Each time, the refrain of the *pese* ends somewhat after the *huatanga*, and the group awaits its completion before commencing anew.

Whereas the coordinated units in the first *pese* are all equal in length or duration, the six responsive *huaa mako* all differ in length, and so do the *huatanga* with which they are sung (S 40). In this case, the units coordinated are: the *huaa mako* solo and response (**s:r**), sung several times (the number of times varies), and the *huatanga*, sung twice. The shouted ending of the *huatanga*, "ooho *tuku* !", is the signal for the *huaa mako* to stop (*ooho* 'ending'; *tuku* 'to leave off').

The following list shows the total duration of each of the coordinated units in the Honiara performance (1974), the approximate duration of the single units (**As/s:r**), and how many times each of the units was sung in that performance.

Total duration	Number of unit repetitions	Duration per unit, in seconds
	<i>huatanga/huaa mako</i>	one volta(As)/s:r
0'28"	2x/5x	ca. 12"/05"
0'37"	2x/7x	ca. 18"/06"
1'09"	2x/5x	ca. 33"/15"
0'52"	2x/5x	ca. 26"/12"
0'36"	2x/4x	ca. 17"/08"
0'32"	2x/ 5 ¹ / ₂ x	ca. 14"/05"

11.5.2 Polyphonic interaction in S 38 and 40.

38, the first *pese* . The *pese* is faster in tempo than the *huatanga* , quarter-notes being about 140 and 176 MM, respectively. They also diverge in rhythm. The *huatanga* starts in the prescribed manner, a fourth above the final pitch of the preceding section. The *pese* begins a minor third above this final pitch, and the result is an irregular scale combination with semitone intervals. The scales of the two parts and the preceding *ngangi* are:

<i>ngangi</i>	d	f	g	b ^b
<i>huatanga</i>			g	b ^b c
<i>pese</i>	c ^b	d ^b	e ^b	g ^b a ^b (b ^b)

In the configuration above, **b^b** and **c** are the most frequently occurring tones in the *huatanga* , **g^b** and **a^b** in the *pese* . **G^b** is the tonal center of the *pese* because of its frequent appearance and terminal position in the refrain. This tone is heard together with **c** in the *huatanga*, forming a prominent polyphonic interval of tritone (in S 38). The most frequently occurring polyphonic intervals are major thirds, major seconds, and tritones, in that order, but many others are heard in all possible combinations, including fifths, major sixths, ninths and major sevenths.

Table 4 (end of chapter): *huatanga* 4-6 sung with the first *pese* . The harmonic relationship between the two parts remains essentially unchanged from the preceding through *huatanga* 4 and 5, because **b^b** and **c** remain the most frequent tones in these sections, and the tritone formed between **c** and **g^b** in the *pese* thus remains a dominant interval. **C** is heard less frequently in *huatanga* 6, and the combined tonality then tends to approach a pentatonic whole. However, it is not possible to ascertain all

polyphonic intervals as several irregular notes occur in *huatanga* 6, and the tonal pattern is changeable and does not emerge clearly.

40, the *ngongotuu*. The *huaa mako* has a regular binary rhythm while the rhythm of the *huatanga*, after an irregular beginning, is ternary. Although both have approximately the same tempo, at about MM140 to the quarter-note, they differ in meter and form, and the two voices are seldom in phase with each other. With regard to the polyphonic relationship between the parts, both begin as prescribed with respect to the section that precedes them: the leader of the *huatanga* begins tentatively on **f**, the final note of the *ngangi*, and then ascends a fourth to **b^b**, while the leader of the *huaa mako* descends a minor third to begin on **d**. The *pese* forms a lower tetrachord and *huatanga* an upper tetrachord, both having an accessory tone, **g**, that constitutes their common border:

Ex. 6



The combined scale is pentatonic. The most prominent polyphonic intervals are minor sixths and sevenths, perfect fourths, and a perfect fifth, while minor thirds appear infrequently.

Table 4: *huaa mako* 2-6 sung with *huatanga* 9-13.

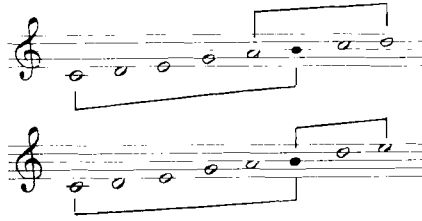
Huatanga 9 starts a half tone lower, on **a**, the upper tetrachord then becoming **f# a b**. The polyphonic intervals change correspondingly to major second, major third, tritone, fifth and major sixth. This relationship holds until the second volta of *huaa mako* four, when pitch returns to approximately the original level and the anhemitonic pentatonic intervals are restored. (The downward tendency reasserts itself at the conclusion of this polytextual passage, the soloist losing almost half a tone during the following *ngangi*; the resulting pitch level is maintained throughout the remainder of the performance, as can be seen in Table 4.)

11.5.3 Polyphonic interaction: possibilities and comparisons with three actual performances.

When separate songs are sung together in the polytextual passages of the *suahongi*, the *huatanga* always forms an upper tetrachord. The combined configuration would be pentatonic whenever the two highest notes of this

tetrachord are duplicated and reinforced in the lower part. This is frequently the case in the *ngongotuu*, as just illustrated in S 40. With regard to the first *pese*, there are the following two possibilities:

Ex. 7



The first *pese*, being pentatonic with one accessory tone at the top of the scale, cannot form a lower tetrachord as do the *huua mako*, but tends to constitute a lower pentachord instead. Both of the above configurations could result if the first *pese* began in the way prescribed in 11.2.4, as the *pese* has two possible starting points in its scale, **g** or **a** above. The first configuration actually did occur in the first *suahongi* performance recorded on Bellona in 1977. Although the starting tones were unorthodox in relation to the final tone of the previous section, the resulting configuration was nevertheless the same as one above, transposed down a half tone. (The previous final was **g^b**, the *pese* began on **f** and the *huatanga* on **b^b**.)

The same configuration at the same pitch level occurred in the performance on Bellona in 1974, after an initial adjustment. In this performance, the two groups seem to bear in towards each other to produce a combined configuration forming an anhemitonic pentatonic whole. The pitch stabilized as follows:

<i>pese</i>	b^b c d 'f g (a)
<i>huatanga</i> 3	g# b c# e
<i>huatanga</i> 4-6	g b ^b c e ^b

An example of a different kind is provided by the second performance on Bellona in 1974, where the combined configuration resulted in an irregular scale with semitones, an octave in ambitus:

Ex. 8



In this performance the *pese* was begun a major second above the previous finalis and the *huatanga* a fourth above. Here the *pese* forms a lower pentachord and adds two tones within the upper tetrachord which produces semitone intervals.

We may conclude that the tonal relationship between the parts is more constant in the *ngongotuu* than in the first *pese*, as it is based upon a higher and lower tetrachord. But even here the interrelationship is not completely stable; it may fluctuate within a single performance. On the other hand, the first *pese* is more closely coordinated with the *huatanga* by means of a formal structural organization, as shown in 11.5.1. The exact polyphonic intervals are determined partly by adjustments of one of the groups to the tonality of the other and partly by the range of the singer's voice.

11.6 Summary of musical structure

The tonal structure of most sections of the *suahongi*, as we have seen, consists primarily of minor third and major second intervals, variations of anhemitonic pentatonic structures or parts thereof. Coded scales can be used to summarize the tonality of all the sections, in order to see whether certain scale models are preferred.

One section is ditonic (oo) and one ditonic (o o).

Nine sections are tritonic, one (o oo) and one (oo o).

Of the eight tetratonic scales, four have the structure (o oo o), two (o ooo), one (o o oo), and one is irregular.

32 sections are pentatonic. One of these has a semitonic pentatonic scale. The anhemitonic models can be divided in two groups, each with and without doubling at the octave. Thus one is (ooo oo) and one (ooo oo o), while three are (o oo oo) and 26 (o o ooo).

Five sections are hexatonic. Three of these are semitonic, two have the structure (ooo ooo).

The *pese* by Kaitu'u is unique in the *suahongi* in that the scale steps 1-2-3 below the minor third interval are sung in ascending order. For comparison see S 42, which has the same three lowest whole-tone steps, but never in ascending order. Because of this difference in the structure of its scale, and because the *pese* will always be the lower of the two polytextual parts, it cannot constitute a lower tetrachord as can the *huua mako*, nor can it as easily fall into any of the common pentatonic scales of this musical tradition.

Although scales composed of major second and minor third intervals predominate, four scales are decidedly semitonic and several have accessory semitone steps.

The lowest minor third interval of a song may be flexible, sometimes being sung as a major third or, less frequently, as a major second. The interval tends to be varied ornamentally by the singer within certain limits rather than being entirely fixed. This leaves room for individual ornamental technique, and was most pronounced in the singing of two lineage elders, in whose recording of the six *huua mako* the elasticity of the interval and the variation in pitch sung were particularly striking.



Suahongi: the first pese, 1974

Table 4. Melodic structure of all *suahongi* sections

Initial and final notes are marked above (') and below (_); notes in parentheses appear only once or twice in the section.

I <i>huatanga</i>									
<i>ngangi A</i>									
37	{ 1.	e'	f#	(g)					
	{ 2.	d	f'	g'	b ^b				
coordinate polyphony with									
38	3.		g	b ^b	c	(e ^b)			
	4.		g	b ^b	c	(e ^b)			
	5.		g	b ^b	c	d	e ^b		
	6.	e	(f#)	g	a'	c	(d)		
<i>ng. B</i>									
39	7.	d	f'	g'	(b ^b)				
coordinate polyphony with									
40	8.		(f')		b ^b	c→a' b d			
	9.		f#	a	b				
	10.		f'	a	b	(d)			
	11.			g	b ^b	c	(e ^b)		
	12.	e ^b		g	b ^b	c	(d)		
	13.	e ^b		(g)	a	b ^b	c	(e ^b)	
<i>ng. C</i>									
41	{ 14.	e'	e	f#	a	b	c#		
	{ 15.	e'	e	f#	a'	b	c#		
	{ 16.	e'	e	f#	a	b	c#		
	{ 17.	e'	e	f#	a	b	c#		
	{ 18.	e'	e	f#	a'	b	c#		
	{ 19.	c#	d	e	f#	a'	b	c#	
	{ 20.		d	e	f'	g	a	c#	
	{ 21.		d	f'	g	a	(c#)		
<i>ng. D</i>									
42	{ 22.	d	e	f#	a	b	c#		
	{ 23.	c#	d	e	f#	a	b	c#	(d)
	{ 24.	c#	e	f#	a	b	c#		
	{ 25.	e'	e'	f#					
	{ 26.	e'	e	f#	a'	b	c#		
	{ 27-30.	c#	e	f#	a	b	c#		
	31.	c#	e	f#	a'	b	c#		
	32.	c#	e'	f#	a	b	c#		
<i>ngangi</i>									
II <i>ngiba</i>									
43	{ 1.	c#	e'	f#	a	b	c#		
	{ 2.	e'	e	f#	a	b	c#	d	
	3.	c#	e'	f#	a	b	c#		
	{ 4.	c#	e'	f#	a	b	c#		
	{ 5&6.	c#	e'	f#	a	b	c#		
	{ 7.	c#	e'	f#	a	b	c#		
	III <i>hakamatama</i>								
	{ 1-3.	c#	e	f#	a	b	c#		
	{ 4.	c#	e	f#	a	b	c#		
	{ 5.	e'	e'	f#	a	b	c#		
	{ 6.	e'	e'	f#	a	b	c#		
	{ 7.	e'	e	f#	a	b	c#		
	{ 8.	e'	e	f#	a	b	c#		
	{ 9.	e'	e	f#	a	b	c#		

CHAPTER 12: MAKO HAKAPAUNGO 'Dance in the style of Paungo'

This is a line dance performed without accompaniment by men carrying fighting clubs; the dancers occasionally took advantage of the situation to surprise opponents, using the weapons they carried to attack. A variety of fighting clubs and staffs were used, such as the *tapingoba* and others. This is the only secular dance that was sometimes performed before the distribution of food from the ritual grounds to the guests, but after the offering to the gods.

Paungo is probably a distortion of *Bauro*, the name of San Cristoval Island or the middle part of the island. The dance could conceivably have been borrowed from this source, as indicated by its name. San Cristoval, a Melanesian island, is the nearest neighboring island to Rennell and Bellona. Stories about canoes from Rennell and Bellona travelling to Paungo are published by Elbert and Monberg (1965:385, T22 7B; 388 T230). I was also told about a canoe voyage from Bellona to San Cristoval at the end of the Second World War. If the dance was borrowed, the event probably occurred before 1880, as no account of it remains in oral tradition, whereas events concerning dances learned from Tikopian people in approximately 1890 and 1926 are remembered. The dance step used is called *mako suasua*, which is a series of step-hops done while performing arm movements. Outsiders have observed that this step resembles Melanesian dance movements rather than Polynesian.¹¹

Recordings from 1974 have been published on the record Folkways FE 4274, band B4; a photograph of the dance appears in the record notes (Figure 3). The record contains all three of the songs transcribed below, but in slightly different versions.

12.1 Musical analysis (Songs 44-46)

In 1968 Rolf Kuschel recorded the *mako hakapaungo* on Bellona; it consists of a sequence of eight songs. Three of these recordings are

transcribed herein. The introductory song differs from the others in structure.

**44. *te 'ungu tuai o te mako hakapaungo*,
the ancient introductory *mako hakapaungo* dance song**

The ancient introductory *mako hakapaungo* is danced in place by lines of dancers. The text is too ancient to be understood and the name of the poet has been forgotten.

The text is a stanza consisting of four unequal verse lines, three of which are responsorial. The first two lines are repeated, but the second line has been omitted [] in this rendition. The lines can be represented **L1**, [**L2**], **L3** and **L4**.

The first three lines each have two phrases, the first sung by the leader alone and the second by the group (**l/gr**). The final line is chanted in speech-song by the group and ends with an exclamation and shout (**gr/S**). The song has a 2/4 pulse and free rhythm with changing accents and syncopation. The formal and metric structure are represented schematically below:

Formal and metric structure of the introductory song

<u>Formal Structure</u>	<u>Metric Structure</u>
L1: p 1 (solo), p 2 (group)	4 + 4 quarter notes
[L2: p 1 (solo), p 2 (group)	4 + 2 " "]
L3: p 1 (solo), p 2 (group)	8 + 4 " "
L4: (group)	8 " "

The three tones of a single tetrachord are used in the rendition transcribed, which can be coded as (ó oo). In the same song, as it is sung on the record publication, a fourth tone is used (ó oo o), particularly in the second line which is missing from the version transcribed.

45. *te huaa mako hakapaungo tuai*, the ancient dance song

Like the first song, this text is not understood and the name of the poet has been forgotten. The song has one stanza with four phrases and a refrain.

All *huaa mako* dance songs of the *mako hakapaungo* have the same refrain, performed in the same way. It is sung by the group at the same time as the leader sings the first phrase of the song. That is, the leader has hardly begun his phrase when the group sings the refrain (**R**), and the two overlap in the main. The leader then repeats phrase 1, after which the group sings phrase 2: the two phrases are repeated. Phrase 2 is sung once more, followed by phrases 3 and 4, to produce a long final line; all three phrases are sung by the group. The sequence is shown below:

Formal and metric structure of *huaa mako tuai*

<u>Formal Structure</u>		<u>Metric structure</u>	
L1: P 1	solo and group refrain simultaneously	7	quarter notes
		{12	
L1: P 1	solo, P 2 group	7 + 10	" "
L1:	as above	7 + 9	" "
L2: P 2, 3, 4	group	9 + 10 + 11	" "

An anapest rhythm characterizes the music and the refrain consists almost exclusively of this rhythmic pattern () which recurs throughout the song, sometimes with changing accents and syncopation.

The melody has six tones within the ambitus of an octave, plus an additional minor third in the ending; the *huaa mako* dance songs all end abruptly with a falling glissando on the final word "*nei*" which means 'here, now'. The leader's first phrase is a melodic arch, and the group sings phrase 2 on the lowest tones which include a semitone interval. The final line consists of two phrases sung heterophonically by the group (**Phrases 2 and 3**) - the intervals heard are major seconds, fourths and fifths. The final phrase (**Phrase 4**) consists largely of anapest patterns on the high tones; it ends abruptly with a single tone an octave below at the bottom of the ambitus.

**46. *te huaa mako hakapaungo a 'Aasia Te'aahitu* [H],
the dance song by 'Aasia Te'aahitu from Hangekumi lineage**

The text is recent and translatable. As in the previous dance song, the leader and group sing two different things at the same time; the leader starts and the group enters shortly thereafter, singing the refrain (**R**). The leader repeats the first line, and then sings the entire second line, once only. The song is repeated, but without the refrain. The sequence is shown below:

Formal and metric structure of *huaa mako a 'Aasia Te'aahitu*

		<u>Formal Structure</u>	<u>Metric Structure</u>
L1:	P 1	solo and Refrain group simultaneously	8 quarter notes {12 " "
L1:	P 1	solo, P 2 group	8 + 12 " "
L2:	P 3,4	group	8 + 9 " "
		REPEAT	

The rendition of the same song published on the record Folkways FE 4274:B4, d) has a slightly different formal structure, in which the final line consists of three phrases, **P2**, **P3** and **P4**, as in the previous song (45), and the final word, *nei*, is sung in the second volta only.

Ambitus is an octave, plus a fourth if we include the ending. The rhythmic and melodic patterns are like those of the previous song, except that five tones are used instead of six and there are no semitone intervals.

The first phrase and the refrain are sung on the high notes: (oó oo o)
 The group sings the second phrase on the low notes: (ooo)
 The final line is sung by all at the top of the range and ends
 with a single note at the bottom of the range: (o oo o)

12.2 Summary

Formal and rhythmic patterns. The songs of the *mako hakapaungo* are characterized by definite patterns of repetition of the phrases. The songs are heterometric and the verse lines are unequal in length.

The introductory song has four verse lines, all responsorial except for the last. These are repeated in the order **1, 1; 2, 2; 3; 4.**

All the dance songs have the same refrain (**R**), which is sung at the same time as the first phrase. They have three lines, the first two with two phrases, and the last with three. The three lines are sung through, the last two repeated, and then the word *nei* (here, now) ends the song:

solo/group

L1: P 1/R :1/2; 2, 3, 4:

L2: P 1/P 2

L3: P 2-4, *nei*.

The above formal structure is derived from comparisons of renditions of the songs performed on several occasions, for example for the recording, and not only from those transcribed. An anapest rhythmic pattern (p. 274) is used frequently in the dance songs, and the final phrases have a rhythmic cadence that ends with the word *ne-i*.

Melodic patterns. The introductory song makes use of four tones within the ambitus of a minor sixth, and several indefinite spoken tones in the final line, which ends with a shout.

The dance songs have either five or six tones within the ambitus of 16 or 17 semitones. The five-tone version (Song 46) may be coded: (q ooó oo o). Phrases 2 and 3 are heterophonic. Only the second phrase makes use of the low notes; the lowest occurs only once, as the final note.

MELODIC SKELETONS OF MAKO HAKAPAUNGO SONGS

Song 44, 1969/5:28

solo *group* *shout*

X 0 000 4+/ca.7

Song 45, 1969/5:29

solo *group* *solo* *group*

0•000 000 6/10

1969/5:30

solo *group*

1969/5:31

solo *group* *shout*

Song 46, 1969/5:32

solo *group* *solo* *group*

Z 0 000 00 0 5/ca.11

CHAPTER 13: *HUAA PATI* DANCE SONGS

The *pati* is a mixed circle dance in which the song leader or leaders sit in the center of the circle and clap their hands to the singing. *Huaa* means 'song' and *pati* may be an ancient word meaning 'to clap'. The *pati* is probably one of the old dances brought from their Polynesian homeland by the immigrants.

The *pati* dance was one of the secular dances performed at large rituals, and it is the only one of these dances in which women performed along with the men. Women performed the *pati* alone as part of the ritual called the *mu'aabaka*, which was held for the wife of an important man after she had borne children and was thus considered mature. In that context the dance had a special beginning: the dancers moving in a line to the dancing grounds while singing the introductory songs called *taki*, accompanied by the sounding board, before the *'ungu pati*.

During the introductory *'ungu pati* songs, the dancers perform arm gestures in place, facing center. These songs are accompanied by steady clapping in an even, dynamically undifferentiated pulse throughout the song. A long sequence of *huaa pati* (*pati* dance songs) then follows, in which the dancers perform arm gestures either standing in place, or walking in a ring and clapping slowly. It is the *huaa pati* songs that are analyzed in this chapter, not the introductory songs or the final songs of the *pati* session.

Musical examples from the *pati* dance of the *mu'aabaka* have been published on the record Folkways FE 4273, bands B 1-3. The song texts and a photograph of the final *okeoke* song-dance appears in the brochure that accompanies the record (Figure 2). Since few women would defy the church edict against dancing, men dominate the singing in the performances recorded. Because the movements are slow and dignified with a minimum of footwork, the *pati* is not a spectacular dance of the kind that tourists enjoy and it is not performed in modern contexts. As a result of this neglect, most people have forgotten the difference between the introductory songs and the dance songs. The *huaa pati* dance songs from the *mu'aabaka pati* session recorded in Honiara in 1974, from which the songs on the record are taken, could not be

included on the record because the clapping accompaniment was incorrect: the same accompaniment had been used for both the introductory '*ungu pati* songs (published on the record) and for the *huaa pati* dance songs, which was not correct.

Huaa pati songs are still among the most popular types of compositions, despite the fact that the *pati* dance is so seldom performed nowadays. Older people who still compose songs often choose to express themselves in this form. The songs may concern any subject, but are usually rather serious, often relating important accomplishments of the poet. Some of the songs are ancient, such as an introductory *pati* by a deity, published on the record (op.cit.: B3). Some are more recent compositions, such as the *huaa pati* by Sa'engeika about his life and old age, published by Elbert and Monberg (1965:40), and the introductory *pati* song by Sa'engeika published on the record (op.cit.: B2).

Rolf Kuschel recorded 21 *pati* songs on Bellona in 1968, which constituted almost a quarter of all the songs he recorded. These songs were translated by Tepuke in 1982 when he visited Denmark. His verbatim translations of these texts are included here; more polished translations of the poetry remain a project for the future.

13.1 Musical analysis (Songs 47-53)

The musical structure of these songs was exceedingly difficult to define at first. After studying 28 songs and transcribing eight of them I arrived at a description, only to find out that two important problems required field work for their solution: performance practice had been forgotten, and I lacked the song texts. In addition, the songs presented analytical problems because they have an ambiguous structure with regard to tonal center, rhythm, meter and formal structure.

Pati songs are sung one after another in long sequences without pauses between the songs, but unlike some of the other songs that are performed in the same way, the ends of the songs do not have any striking cadence or markers. (*Tangi* laments, for example, which are also performed in sequence without pauses, end with a characteristic cadence.) The clapping that accompanies the songs intermittently actually obscures the transition from one song to another. The beginning of the new song is also dynamically weak: the leader starts alone, and the group joins in soon afterwards; each new stanza is likewise begun in the same way. Several songs may be started by

the same song leader (the song leader in the center of the circle generally begins the songs). The leader's voice may be hesitant at the start of a new song or a new stanza. Since every stanza and song is sung twice, he becomes increasingly sure of himself as the song progresses.

The songs usually have only three stanzas, but the device of repetition enables the dance to continue for a relatively long period of time. Each stanza slows down towards the end. In Song 48, for example, the tempo decreases from M.M. 136 to M.M. 132.

Within a song, some or all of the couplets may be rhymed. The three couplets of song 50, for example, all end with *-a*. In song 52, every line and the refrain ends with *-ee*.

Formal structure consists of repeated couplets. An additional single line often occurs, either in the form of a refrain after every stanza or at the end of the song: (**AB ABC**). Of the seven songs transcribed here, two have the formal structure **AB** without the additional line, and five have the structure **ABC** with the additional single line. Song 50 consists of three couplets which are repeated. Song 52 has four stanzas, each of which has three lines; the first two lines are repeated before the final line is sung, thus (**AB ABC**). The *huaa pati* at the end of Chapter 9 in Part 1 has the structure **AB** with a single final line or coda at the very end of the song.

The average count is 12 for each line, and also for the refrain if present, although any specific line may have 11 or 13 counts. In the transcriptions, the structural divisions are set according to the lines of text. When a text line ends with the filler-syllable *-ee*, this ending may even out the number of notes in the two lines. In Song 49, for example, the refrain has only 11 counts, but the last line of the couplet preceding it, which ends with *-ee*, always has 13 counts, thus maintaining the average count of 12.

Clapping is called for in the first line of all *huaa pati* songs, on every third quarter-note (the dance gesture called *huu*; see diagram, end of Chapter Nine, Part 1). This is done only the first time; when the stanza is repeated, the final verse line (or the refrain, as the case may be) ends with a clap on the penultimate syllable, which is emphasized. When the stanza or song ends, and then is repeated, this final clap falls into rhythm with those of the first line immediately following it, linking the two together to produce an intriguing formal structure. The clapping is usually ahead of the singing, especially on the emphatic final clap.

Melody. The series of tones shown in Song 47 is the only one that contains a major triad. Only two of the notes of this triad are used in series at any one time, and I consider the three notes to be separated by a modulation. In section **B**, a pendular movement swings up a minor third and down. In section **A**, the movement proceeds upward by the interval of a fourth. The same modulation appears in Song 48 where it is shown by means of alternative codes.

The initial upbeat interval in both Songs 47 and 49 varies between a major second and a minor third, so that the note shown in parenthesis occurs only if the note beside it does not.

In Songs 50 and 51, the course of sections **B** and **C** may vary. In Song 51 the variation shows two melodic courses that may be used together, heterophonically; one is the drone melody and the other a high melodic variant.

In Song 53, two alternative melodic courses are used, one in the very first line sung, and the other in the major part of the song. (The last is shown first and the other in parenthesis below it). The melodic patterns of the sections show a descent, first over sections **A** and **B**, and again in section **C**, from the top of the range to the bottom.

The songs generally have an ambitus of approximately an octave, sometimes slightly more or less. They often have clustered tones at the top or the bottom of the range, or sometimes both, as in Song 50. Semitones occur in these clusters of tones, often in alternate melodic routes. This occurs, for example, at the bottom of the range in Songs 47 and 49, and at the top of the range in Song 49.

The musical example given in Part 1, Chapter Nine, has seven tones within the ambitus of a ninth, but one of the tones belongs to an alternate melodic route. The melody ascends and then descends over two conjunct fourths in the first section (**A**).

In the tonal skeletons, intervals sounded simultaneously are shown. Minor seconds, minor thirds, fourths, fifths and sixths may be heard. Many different intervals sung simultaneously were accepted as correct and criticism was never directed at this aspect of a performance, even when I attempted to elicit it.

I compared ten songs recorded in 1962 with the 1968 examples in order to ascertain whether the pentatonic songs were older than those showing semitone intervals, and found that they were not. Songs recorded even earlier do, however, show a somewhat higher frequency of semitone intervals

than the songs recorded in 1968. The tonal skeletons given are for the songs transcribed, which were recorded in 1968.

The most striking feature of the songs examined in this chapter is their heterophonic singing style, in which diminution occurs in the high part and an intermittent drone in the low part. Another feature of the singing style used is a rotation of the long tones by the singer, a kind of slow vibrato effect.

MELODIC SKELETONS OF HUA PATI SONGS

Song 47,



$\bar{\circ}(\cdot)\bar{\circ}$ 0000 6/m9

Song 48,



$\bar{\circ}\bar{\circ}$ 000• 7/m7
0 00

Song 49,



$(\bar{\cdot})\bar{\circ}\bar{\circ}$ 0000• 6/m9

Song 50,



0• $\bar{\circ}\bar{\circ}$ 000• 6/m9

Song 51,



•000 000• 7/8

Song 52,



0 $\bar{\circ}\bar{\circ}$ 000 5/8

Song 53,



$\bar{\circ}\bar{\circ}\bar{\circ}$ $\bar{\circ}\bar{\circ}\bar{\circ}$ 5/8
 $\bar{\circ}\bar{\circ}$ 00 00

CHAPTER 14: M A K O H A K A S A U N O N I

'Dance in the style of Saunoni'

The *mako hakasaunoni* is a secular men's circle dance performed to the accompaniment of hand-clapping. During the introductory song dance, the leader sits in the center and claps while the men stand in place and clap. The Bellonese consider clapping to be a dance movement in this case. During the dance songs that follow, the men circle at a slow run, moving and singing in a binary rhythm in 6/8 time. On the first count they swing their arms behind them; on the second they swing them in front of their bodies and clap. Each dance song ends with an exclamation and shout, *Ia, Ooho !*

Saunoni may be a place name, but one known so long ago that no stories are remembered and the origin of the name has been forgotten. This slender evidence indicates possible borrowing during the migration period after the Polynesian migrants had left 'Ubea but before they settled on Rennell and Bellona. During the migration from Western Polynesia to the Solomons, the migrants probably had contact with other island communities as they sailed, both Polynesian and Melanesian.

This dance, as recorded by Rolf Kuschel, consisted of a series of nine songs: an '*ungu*' introductory song dance followed by eight short *huaa mako* dance songs, each of which ends with a shout of *Ooho !* The introductory song and two of the dance songs are transcribed herein. In the introductory song, the composer praises a kaba ritual held by another man. The first dance song concerns the discovery of Bellona, and the second concerns fishing by canoe.

14.1 Musical analysis

The leader accompanies all songs of the *hakasaunoni* dance by clapping. The introductory song dance has regular clapping throughout on every quarter-note. The final note is sustained and then trails off. The clapping and the singing are not synchronized, however; the clapping is somewhat ahead of the singing. Rhythmic displacement between the two rhythms creates a tension that heightens the interest of the very regular rhythm of the song. The final note is sustained and then trails off.

The dance songs are all in 6/8 meter. One syllable is equal to one musical time unit (the eighth-note).

Ex. 9. Clapping in the *mako hakasaunoni* dance

Introductory 'ungu songs: (x  x  x  x )

huaa mako dance songs: (      x    x )

The introductory song has two stanzas, the first shorter than the second, and a refrain. The dance songs are couplets with two phrases in each line.

54. 'ungu mako hakasaunoni a Ha'utahi [N], introductory hakasaunoni dance song by Ha'utahi from Nuku'angoha lineage

The strictly regular syllabic pulse is unbroken from the beginning to the end of this song, which obscures the formal structure of the song so that it sounds like one long, continuous line. Taupongi notates two stanzas, which are not further divided, and a refrain after each. The second stanza, which is longer than the first, is repeated.

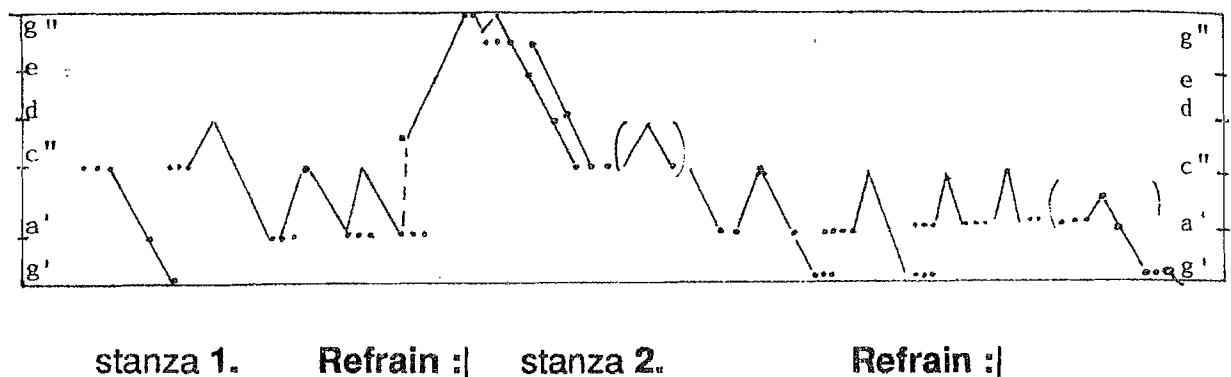
The first stanza has two responsorial verse lines, the first sung by the leader alone and the second by the group. The second stanza has three unequal lines, all sung by the group. Formal and metric structure may be represented as follows:

Formal structure	(Metric structure in quarter-notes)
Stanza 1: L1 solo; L2 group; refrain	7 + 10 + 16 quarter-notes
Stanza 2: L1 , L2 , L3 ; refrain	11 + 16 + 12 + 16 quarter-notes

Melodic phrasing is dominated by a regular pulse of dynamically undifferentiated syllables, each equal in stress and duration. Seven tones are

used within the ambitus of an octave, including one semitone interval. Melodic structure consists of two disjunct tetrachords. Except for stanza 2, melodic movement remains within the lower tetrachord. The first stanza begins with a downward sequence in the lower tetrachord, and ends without a definite cadence. The second stanza starts with a similar downward sequence in the upper tetrachord, first ascending and then descending by whole tones and minor third intervals. Melodic contour is predominantly descending with many repeated notes throughout the song.

Ex. 10. Diagram of melodic structure of *'ungu mako hakasaunoni*



Descents may combine steps of major seconds and minor thirds. The refrain is not an independent melodic unit but a linking unit, a pendular movement used as a pivot for change of melodic direction upwards to the upper tetrachord or downwards to the cadence, and involving single-tone repetition. A rule may be operating here to make almost all ascents by intervals of a fourth, particularly between the two tetrachords. In order to move from stanza 1 in the lower tetrachord to stanza 2 in the upper, the progression is from step two of the lower tetrachord to step one of the upper tetrachord (see Ex. 6). This rule would account for the absence of a cadence prior to stanza 2: if ascending movement must proceed by fourths, then a cadence using the lowest tone of the lower tetrachord could not occur before ascent to the upper tetrachord.

The *huaa mako* dance songs of the *mako hakasaunoni*

Repetition is important in both the text and the melody of the short dance songs. The first line of each song, which is responsorial, is repeated. The words form rhythmic sequences that are variations upon the basic rhythm, and the repeated sequences form a symmetrical pattern. Two different formal structures are found among the songs:

Formal Structure

A) 1, 2, 1, 2
3, 3, 4

B) 1, 2, 1, 2
3, 4, 3, 4

55. *huaa mako hakasaunoni a Baabenga* , *hakasaunoni* dance song by [the goddess] Baabenga

Songs "composed" by deities were delivered through the agency of mediums. The song concerns Bellona, the abode discovered in the sea (*nuku kitea ki moana*).

Five tones are used within the ambitus of a minor seventh: (òo o_o o). The melody has the formal structure (: **AAAA BBB** :). The text has two lines that are repeated; each line has two phrases repeated in the following way:

Formal structure

	text phrases	melodic phrases
Line 1	1, 2, 1, 2	A, A, A, A
Line 2	3, 3, 4	B, B, B

Rhythmic patterns on single tones predominate in the melody. After the song has been repeated, it ends with a shout.

56 *huaa mako hakasaunoni a Suaika* [To], *hakasaunoni* dance song by Suaika from the Tongomainge lineage

The poet was the paternal grandfather of the song leader, Taupongi. The song honors the composer's canoe: "Remember my canoe, running to the west." Suaika had made many trips, fishing by line, from Ahanga Bay westward to Tengoghuna.

The melody has seven tones within the ambitus of an octave. The first line of the song uses all seven tones, which include two semitone intervals. The second line uses five tones within the same octave ambitus, which can be coded as follows, accenting the initial tone of the second line : (ooo oó o).

The text has two lines, each with two phrases; each line is repeated and the song ends with a shout. The lines of the melody have the structure (: **A A**, **A' A'** :) and the phrases are as follows:

Formal structure

	text		melody
Line 1	1, 2, 1, 2	=	a, b, a, b
Line 2	3, 4, 3, 4	=	a', b', a', b'

The first line is longer than the second because it is extended at the juncture of phrases 1 and 2; when the leader reaches the lowest tone of the song, the group joins in on the ascent which is sung with many variations, different tones being held for varying lengths of time. Many combinations of major seconds and minor thirds are brought into play.

14.2 Summary

The introductory songs and the dance songs differ in their rhythmic and formal organization, as well as their use of internal rhymes and recurring words, what Roberts called linked assonance (1926:66). The rhythm of the introductory song consists of continuous simple pulses, with clapping on

every pulse. In the dance songs, which have a binary rhythm, the clapping falls on every second beat.

Repetition is used in all of the dance songs to produce symmetry, both repetition of phrases and the form of poetic repetition called linked assonance. Words are used as rhythmic elements, and elements from one phrase of the text are recombined in other phrases. In Song 55, for example, the words *nuku* 'abode' and *kitea* 'discovered' appear in both the first and second lines. Because the lines are repeated, the words appear several times.

The dance songs employ two different formal models, as shown on pages 173 and 174. Whereas the songs of model **A**) are characterized by rhythmic variations on a single tone in each phrase, the songs of model **B**) have heterophonic variation using seven tones. The first line of model **B**) is longer than that of model **A**); it is extended by two extra words inserted between the phrases; it is this inserted section that is ornamented polyphonically, as in Song 56. The leader sings most of the first phrases, but in the fourth (Song 56) and fifth songs the group extends the phrase with the words *ngo hano* 'will go'.

Finally, the tonal content of the *hakasaunoni* songs transcribed is summarized below by means of tonal skeletons and codes.

MELODIC SKELETONS OF MAKO HAKASAUNONI

Song 54, 00 00 00 6/8

Song 55, 00 00 0(00) 6/8

Song 56, 000•00•0(0) 7/8

CHAPTER 15: DANCES ACCOMPANIED BY THE *PAPA* 'SOUNDING BOARD'

The present chapter concerns some of the dances that are accompanied by the sounding board or *papa*. In Part 1, Chapter 6 relates oral traditions concerning the origin of some of the dances, and Chapter 8 deals with Bellonese concepts that concern the beating of the sounding board.

The sounding board itself is believed to have originated in 'Ubea, as is the *mako ngangi* dance. The *mako ngangi* is treated first because, according to evidence from the oral traditions and from texts of the songs, it may be the oldest of the dances accompanied by the sounding board. 'Ubean origin would mean an age of at least 800 years.

Dances all begin with a relatively slow introductory section, but these are of two kinds. Whereas the *mako ngangi* has a short unaccompanied introductory prelude sung (*ngangi*) by the leader alone, the *hakatenge* has an accompanied introductory song dance which is called '*ungu*'. The word '*ungu*' may be used as a general term for songs or song dances that introduce a session on one level of meaning, and on another it is specifically used to designate the genre of introductory song dances performed to sounding board accompaniment in certain slow rhythms. When the introductory song is accompanied by the sounding board, it is generally followed by a body of short, vigorous *huaa mako* dance songs.

Two different verbs are used to express the concept "to beat": *-taa* for the '*ungu*' introductory song dances, and *-tipa* for the *huaa mako* song dances. The person who beats the sounding board, called *te tipa* 'the beater', often leads the song as well as accompanying it, although this is not always the case.

The sounding board is beaten (*taa*) for the introductory songs in a relatively slow rhythm such as the following: $\overline{\square} \overline{\square} \overline{\square} \overline{\square} \overline{\square}$ (x x x x x). The *tipa* is

basically a fast duple rhythm, either: $\overline{\square} \overline{\square} \overline{\square}$ (x x x) or $\overline{\square} \overline{\square} \overline{\square}$ (x x x), but it is rarely interpreted in this simple form. The rhythm played is usually closer to 5/8 time. Changing accents and differences in tempi cause a polyrhythmic effect

between the vocal part and the accompaniment which often makes accurate notation difficult.

15.1 *Mako ngangī* 'dance [of] heaven' or 'dance [of the] sky [gods?]'

The *mako ngangī* is a circle dance performed only by men who had been initiated as *hakabaka* 'assistants to the priest-chief'. That is, the very young men could not participate. One man beats the sounding board in the middle of the circle, and one of the dancers starts the songs (*ngangi*). The dancers circle at a walk while performing a complex series of arm and hand gestures, which include clapping.

Bellonese musicians told me that the *mako ngangī* is believed to have originated in 'Ubea. The song texts are certainly of such great antiquity that they no longer can be understood. The names of the composers have likewise been forgotten.

Rolf Kuschel recorded the songs transcribed here in the Bellonese village of Matahenua. The house was full of women and children who listened with excitement to the songs of the old men. There was no sounding board on Bellona in 1968, as the dances had not been practiced for years. A "sounding board" was improvised, using the metal leg of a camp chair beaten with two *te kau* sticks originally used for tattooing. The recordings contain the background noise of crowing roosters, crying children and the chiming of the school bell.

15.1.1 Musical analysis

The two songs transcribed here are introductory songs, each of which has two repeated text lines (**AA BB**). The first line is sung by the leader alone (*ngangi*), and the second line, accompanied by the sounding board, is responsorial. The songs are characterized by sporadic heterophony including an intermittent drone and final shouts.

The other songs of the *mako ngangī* series have only a single repeated line of text, and resemble the second line of the songs transcribed. They are alike in melody and formal structure, and resemble stanzas of a single song. Such songs may be heard on the record publication FE 4274, band B7. The introductory songs on the record are variants of the songs transcribed here, but sung in reverse order.

The Bellonese call the sounding board beat used *tipa bingibingi*. It

consists of complex variations of the rhythm () or ().

57. *Te mako ngangī mai 'Ubea* 'the mako ngangī from 'Ubea

58. *Te mako ngangī tuai* 'the ancient mako ngangī'

Each of the songs transcribed consists of two repeated text lines (AA BB), the first unaccompanied and the second accompanied. The final word of the first line, *hiinootu*, is shouted, and the second line of each song ends with the shouted exclamations, *Ooho tuku, ooho!* (The three following songs, which are not transcribed, end the same way.) See cover photograph.

Melody: in Song 57, the A phrase is sung differently the first and second times: four notes are used the first time and six the second. The tonal center of the first volta becomes an ornamental note in the second. The final line uses the three notes of a tetrachord. The scales used can be coded as follows, the shared notes placed directly under each other for comparison:

1 (o oòo)

2 (òoo.òò) (the ornamental tone is indicated by a dot)

3 (òò o)

Ambitus is a major sixth, not including the falling shout on the word *hiinootu!*

The final line, accompanied by the sounding board, consists of a short phrase sung four times (**a', a, a', a**), using the three tones coded above. Additional indefinite tones occur in the final shout.

In Song 58, a deep voice sings an octave below the other men in the unaccompanied first line. The melody of the first line has five notes and is a minor seventh in ambitus. The final accompanied line, sung heterophonically on four notes, is a fifth in ambitus. The melodies of both lines can be coded, one below the other, as follows:

1 (ò oo òò)

2 (o òoo)

Rhythmic structure. The accompaniment in these songs sometimes has a different rhythm than the singing - a kind of polyrhythmic effect. In both songs, the accompanied line has four phrases. In song 58, each phrase is four triplets in length, and the accompaniment also plays four triplets (see the previous page). In S 57 the accompaniment plays the same four triplets

per phrase, but there are four eighths to each triplet in the vocal part (six quarter-notes). In both songs, the accompaniment consists of the phrase:



The rhythm of the singing and that of the accompaniment are not finely correlated and are not intended to be synchronous.

MELODIC SKELETONS OF MAKO NGANGI

Song 57, 1969/5:19	00000(0) 6/M6
1969/5:20	00 0 3/ca. 6
Song 58, 1969/5:21	0 00000 6/ca. 8
1969/5:22	0 0 0 4/ca. 6
1969/5:23-27	000 3/ca. 4

15.2 *Hakatenge*

The word *hakatenge* literally means 'to run; to do in a straight line', and the dance is performed by men in a line facing the sounding board. The dance was part of the secular session of dances, the *saumakinga*.

During the '*ungu*' introductory song dances, arm movements are performed in place. The three *huua mako* dance songs that follow each have a phrase in which the words "*tenga bai*" are chanted in speech-song. On these words, the men close in around the sounding board with a series of short running steps. Both these steps and the chanting are called *tengetenge*.

In 1968, Rolf Kuschel recorded nine songs of the *hakatenge* in close succession, the first five announced on the tape as '*ungu hakatenge*' and the last three as *huua mako hakatenge*. The songs are short, from thirty seconds (the *huua mako*) to one minute in duration (the first '*ungu*'). The songs follow each other without pause, like a through-composed suite, and the accompaniment is continuous from one song to another without a break.

The series of introductory songs recorded in 1968 all differ in musical texture. Although an additional introductory song was performed in 1974, several of those performed in 1968 were omitted and are on the way to being forgotten (all but one of these introductory songs are transcribed here.) The series sung in 1974, which is less complex musically, has been published on the record Folkways FE 4374.

15.2.1 Musical analysis

Hakatenge songs have a relatively complex structure. While the short *huua mako* songs all follow the same pattern, the various introductory songs have different patterns, which are outlined below. The text and melody often have the same formal structure.

FORMAL STRUCTURE OF HAKATENGE SONGS

Transcription nr.	Archive nr. (tape and song nr.)	Formal structure of the text
'ungu introductory songs		
59	5.9	AA BB C
60	5.10	AA BC DE FF Z
61	5.12	ABCD ABCD
<i>huaa mako</i> dance songs		
62	5.14	ABCD (= ab cd ee* ff)
not transcribed	5.15-17	AAB CCD
		(* executed four times)

The songs are performed in sequence, and the sounding board accompaniment is continuous between the songs, pauses occurring only after Songs 60 and 61. The sounding board accompaniment for the *hakatenge* songs is outlined below. The Bellonese name of the beat is given, together with the rhythm and the tempo. Where the tempo of the vocal part differs from that of the accompaniment, both are given.

RHYTHM AND TEMPO OF *HAKATENGE* SONGS

Transcription and Archive nr.	Sounding board accompaniment	(Tempo of the accompaniment)
'ungu		
59 5.9, <i>taa Tahua</i>	● =ca.165 (x x x x x)	(● =ca.65)
59 5.9, <i>taa taki</i>	 (x x x x x)	(●● =ca.62)
60 5.10, <i>taa Tahua</i>	" "	" "
5.11, <i>tipa tuutuu</i>	 (x x x x x x x)	(● =ca.142)
61 5.12, " "	" "	(● =ca.150)
5.13 " "	" "	(● =ca.145)
<i>huaa mako</i>		
62 5.14, <i>tuki tatasi</i>	free rhythm	
62 5.14, <i>tipa tuutuu</i>	● =ca. 145 (x x x x x x x)	
5.15-18, " "		

The rhythmic pattern shown for song 5.9 is typical of *'ungu* accompaniment used elsewhere. This accompaniment is rather leisurely in tempo and the verses which it accompanies are long-lined and smoothly flowing.

Songs of the second and third groups are accompanied by a duple rhythm typical of *huaa mako* songs of the *hakatenge*. The melodic line makes use of repetitions of single tones and the anapest rhythmic pattern - - '. The resulting staccato feeling contrasts with the long smooth *'ungu* lines with their constant melodic movement from one tone to another.

59 and 60. '*ungu hakatenge tuai* 'ancient introductory *hakatenge*'

The text of the songs is old and no longer understood. Song 59 (5.9) has three lines repeated in the pattern (**AA BB C**). The third line, a coda, slows down towards the end and the accompaniment emphasizes this *ritardando* with a roll of beats. In Song 59 II (5.10), the first line is repeated, the second time heterophonically (**A = abab**). The second and third lines repeat a melodic phrase twice, and then revert to (**b**): (**cccb**). From that point on the melody is progressive in form.

Rhythm. The '*ungu* analyzed here are unusual in that they have rhythmic changes within a song and passages in free rhythm climaxed by rolls of beats. The first song begins with two repeated lines which differ in melody, rhythm and accompaniment. The following rhythms are used in the formal divisions **A B** and **C**:

- A) a 6/4 rhythm accompanied by the sounding board called *taa Tahua* in Bellonese
- B) a 5/8 rhythm accompanied by the sounding board called *taa taki* in Bellonese
- C) the rhythm of section **A** is resumed in this coda, which concludes with a roll of beats.

Melody. The songs are typical of other '*ungu* in their melody, which is pentatonic and has an undulating outline. The basic scale can be coded as follows: (ò oo oo); the songs begin and end on the lowest note. Only in the first song does ambitus exceed an octave (a ninth); it can be coded as: (ooò oo oo).

61. *te 'ungu a Suaika* [To] 'the introductory song by Suaika', Tongomainge lineage

The song consists of a single repeated stanza with four lines of text: (1,2,3,4, 1,2,3,4). The words concern the *peka*, a large fruit bat: the flying fox is hanging in the tree; he is speared; the fox is poisoned and falls.

Although the song is called an '*ungu*', the rhythm of its accompaniment is that usual in *huua mako* songs. The rhythm of both songs and accompaniment is dominated by an ostinato rhythm called *tipa tuutuu*.

The final line consists of a short repeated phrase on one note, which creates a rhythmic cadence.

The melodic pattern contains many repeated tones. Five tones are used within the ambitus of a minor seventh, but two of them appear only occasionally, such as the initial tone in the transcription. The scale may be coded as follows: (ó ǫ oo o).

The soloist begins, and when the group joins him, the two parts maintain the interval of a fourth in polyplane recitation.

62. *te huaa mako tuai mai 'Ubea*, the ancient dance song from 'Ubea

Although the song cannot be comprehensively translated, it is a praise-song that concerns the coming of the first immigrants to Bellona. One phrase is missing in this rendition, but the complete song has been published on the records Folkways FE 4274, band B8d. The entire song, which has four text lines, is repeated. All lines except the third are responsorial.

The song begins in free rhythm. In the third line, the words "*tenge bai*" are chanted eight times, producing an isorhythmic sequence. The final line is a short, repeated phrase, which has a sudden ending. The accompaniment is *tipa tuutuu*, as in the previous song.

The melody, which is a fourth in ambitus, uses the three tones of one tetrachord and additional indefinite tones.

15.2.2 Discussion

Melody: In order to understand the melodic structure of the *hakatenge*, it is helpful so see the songs in relation to each other, since they are performed in succession. The song sequence forms a through-composed suite like the *suahongi*. The tonal skeletons are shown in their actual relationship to each other with regard to pitch, so that the modulations and the flexibility of the pentatonic scale are readily apparent. The songs are discussed below in the groups: I, II and III.

Group I, '*ungu* .

The melody of Songs 59 and 60 is like that of other '*ungu*', which characteristically have a pentatonic scale with its a tonal center at or near the bottom of the range. The basic scale can be coded as (ǫ oo oo), the songs beginning and ending on e. Only in the first song does the ambitus exceed an octave (a ninth).

Song 59 marks a transition: instead of coming to rest on the lowest tone, the melody swings up again to **g**, and a new tonal center is established at **g**. The following songs all have **g** as their tonal center.

Group II, *hakatenge* , Songs 5.11-13 (including Song 61).

The same scale is established a minor third higher than in the preceding songs, with **g** as the tonal center. That is, a scale consisting of the same structural intervals as the preceding scale, coded in the same way (**g** oo oo) and having the lowest tone as its final tone. Ambitus is a minor seventh. These songs have a definite melodic sequence for each of the four lines of the text stanza:

- line 1: rhythmic repetition of **g** and **b^b**, solo.
- line 2: rhythmic repetition of **g** by soloist, or **c** begun by group, or both overlapping
- line 3: This line makes use of polyphony based on rhythmic repetition of **c**, with **e^b** at times; **f** and **b^b** less frequently.
- line 4: (**D**), the cadence always ends on **g**, and has a characteristic rhythm in both words and accompaniment. The cadence proceeds from the lowest tone, to the minor third above, and down to the lowest tone again.

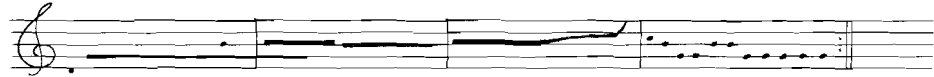
Group III, *huaa mako* . Songs 5.14-18.

Ambitus in is limited to a major sixth and only four tones are used: (o **g** o). The cadence, which proceeds from the lowest tone to the minor third above it, the reverse of the cadence in Group II, **a g, e ggg g** (these notes refer to the skeleton at the end of the chapter), is repeated twice with the characteristic rhythm in both words and accompaniment (see Song 62). It should be kept in mind that these songs are responsorial. The second verse line makes use of two-part singing. The parlando third line contains indefinite tonal material. The melodic outlines of the three groups could be drawn:

Ex. 11:

I *'ungu*

II

III *huaa mako*

Formal patterns: The *huaa mako* songs are uniform in formal structure. Rhythmic structure is also important, but not rhyme.

The *'ungu* songs are not fixed in form, particularly the first group. Songs 5.9 and 5.10 have a repetition of phrases, **AA** and **BB**, which produces rhyme. Retarded or free rhythms are used for endings.

In the second group of *'ungu*, songs 5.11-13, the whole song is sung through and then repeated. Rhythmic structure is an integral part of the form in this group and also in the *huaa mako*. Here, the songs end with a repeated rhythmic pattern.

The *huaa mako* songs have a stanza structure of four responsive lines, each of which is sung twice (**AA BB CC DD**). Rhythmic structure is striking in the parlando third line, **C**, with its chanted repetition of the same two words, and in the last line, **D**, which ends with a short emphatic rhythm repeated twice - the same rhythm in words and accompaniment.

MELODIC SKELETONS OF HAKATENGE

(Actual sequence showing pitch relationships)

I

Song 59, 1969/5:9

Song 60, 1969/5:10

1969/5:11*

II

Song 61, 1969/5:12

1969/5:13*

Song 62, 1969/5:14

III

1969/5:15 - 18*

OOO OO OO 5/m9

O OO OO 5/m7

O OO OO 5/8

O OO OO 5/m7

O O OO O 5/m9

O OO OO 5/m7

O OO 3/4

D O OO O 4/m6

* No transcription

CHAPTER 16: DISTINGUISHING CHARACTERISTICS OF THE MUSICAL STYLE

In this final chapter I attempt to sum up the analyses of the separate song genres and integrate them, along with material from Part 1, in order to define and characterize the musical style. The following subjects are discussed:

- musical structure in terms of its formal, rhythmic and melodic patterns, variation, Bellonese musical concepts, vocal style, song texts and finally,
- some concluding remarks on the difference between the polytextual polyphony of the *suahongi* and that of its West Polynesian analogs.

16.1 The musical style

Bellonese (and Rennellese) music is vocal music sung by a leader and group; only four of the 15 genres covered are performed by single individuals. Dancing is executed by the singing group. The sounding board or *papa* is the only musical instrument used to accompany traditional songs; it provides rhythm accompaniment for two of the seven dances examined. Three of the dances and six of the song genres are performed without accompaniment, two dances and one song genre are accompanied by clapping, and *tangi* laments are accompanied by fast beating with the hands upon an object.

Sequences of songs and of song types form larger performance entities or genres, which are identified by name and play an important role in this musical tradition. The first eight chapters deal with genres that are also song types, except for *pese*, which covers more than one type. The dances usually consist of a sequence of two divisions or song types, sometimes more.

Special endings are a characteristic feature of this musical tradition. A final shout is found in four song and three dance genres. Speech-song passages, indefinite in pitch, often occur at the end of a song (four genres). Special melodic closings are also used (*tangi*), as are downward glissandi from the final note (*tangi*, *unguoso*, *mako hakapaungo* dance songs) and a

sustained final tone (*maghiiti*, *mako*, some *pese*, some sections of the *suahongi*). The *hakatenge* dance songs have abrupt endings.

The endings of *huaa pati* songs are not distinctly marked, and a series of these songs sounds like one long song. Individual songs may be worked into a progressive form when informal linking together of songs in this way becomes a permanent feature of the performance.

Formal structure. Many songs are strophic in structure (five of the genres covered) and most strophic songs have a refrain (*pese*, *tangi*, *mako*). *Maghiiti* songs have irregular stanzas. Dances and several song genres have a shorter form with only one verse or a couplet (*kananga*, *obo*, games, *huaa mako* dance songs). Some *unguoso* are short and others have many short, responsorial verses/ refrains.

The great majority of songs and dances are performed by a group with a leader who either sings the stanzas or the opening of the piece. Responsorial form is common, and the Bellonese verb used for this is, *ngangi* 'to sing the verses or open a song, as by one person'. Antiphonal refrains occur in *pese* songs. More than half of the songs have stanzas with the formal structure **AB**, and over half of these are responsorial.

Meter, rhythm, tempo and dynamics. The meter of verse is determined by the poetry, which in this tradition is not required to be perfectly regular. Singularly few of the songs and dances have strict meter, most notably *tangi*, *mako hakasaunoni* dance songs and some *ungu* divisions of the dances. The vast majority of the songs transcribed are heterometric. Twelve counts is a common number, and compound meters such as 12/4 or 24/4 are sometimes found to be the underlying pattern in heterometric songs, as was the case for some *pese* and *huaa pati* songs. But inconsistencies are frequent, even in the genres that tend to have strict rhythm.

Most songs are regular in rhythm, but a minority of songs have a free rhythm with no sense of a basic, even pulse (*unguoso*, *kananga*, *obo*). Songs in a regular rhythm may have a basic pulse, a sequence of units with equal time value. The basic pulse may be organized into rhythmic units of two or three, or these may be mixed. The meter of many songs varies heterometrically between two and three, maintaining a regular pulse but without a regular meter. Songs having heterometric variation of this kind comprise over one-third of all the songs, including *pese*, *mako* and the introductory songs of dances such as the *mako hakasaunoni*. Ambiguity is a characteristic feature

of the rhythm in both *huaa pati* and *pese* songs, and sometimes makes it difficult to determine whether the rhythmic organization is in twos or in threes.

A common ending is morendo or trailing cadence.¹² Dynamics are most often tranquil (e.g., in *pese*, *mako*, *huaa pati*), but not in some *huaa mako* accompanied by the sounding board. These dances, the dancers say, "make them sweat." As the tempo accelerates, the leaping men sing at increased amplitude, ending with shouts.

Huaa pati songs proved exceedingly difficult to time with a metronome because the tempo of each stanza is faster at the beginning than at the end, for example, MM 136 -> 132. The tempo of the accompaniment to some *huaa mako* dance songs may accelerate slightly, but the tempo of the vocal part does not. Accelerating tempo in the vocal part of dance songs is known from Ontong Java, the Ellice Islands, and Taku, but not from Rennell and Bellona.¹³

An anapest rhythm recurs in two dances (*mako hakapaungo* and *hakatenge*), and it is the formative and distinguishing characteristic of *saka* entreaties. The anapest rhythm recurs in the accompaniments beaten with the hands for *tangi* and on the sounding board for *huaa mako* dance songs of

the *mako ngangi*, *hakatenge* and other dances. The rhythm $(\overline{x \ x \ x})$, as beaten for accompaniment, sometimes consists of aksak¹⁴ or aleatoric variations

upon the basic anapest rhythm, such as $(\overline{x \ x \ x} \cdot)$. The interpretations heard

include all possible variations between the duple and triple rhythms, $(\overline{x \ x \ x})$

and $(\overline{x \ x \ x})$. The Bellonese names of the rhythms used for accompaniment are:

$(\overline{x \ x \ x} \cdot)$

tipa tuutuu : beaten on the sounding board for the *hakatenge* dance

$(\overline{x \ x \ x}, \overline{x \ x \ x}, \overline{x \ x \ x} \cdot)$

tipatipa : beaten with the hands for *tangi* laments

$(\overline{x \ x \ x})$ or $(\overline{x \ x \ x} \cdot)$

tipa bingibingi : beaten on the sounding board for *huaa mako* dance songs of the

mako ngangì and other dances

It should be emphasized that the above rhythms are interpretations of the anapest. They also express a Bellonese predilection for the tension of irregularity and ambiguity in musical patterns as an aesthetic preference.

Melodic patterns and variation. Reiteration of tones occurs as thematic material in many songs; *maghiiti* ritual songs consist in large part of such reiteration, sometimes within the limited range of a fourth, as in Song 1. Sometimes the lower voice sings a drone, which is based upon the same principle, as is polyplane recitation (the latter occurs in the *suahongi* and elsewhere, see Song 41, fourth line).

Anhemitonic structure is extremely common, but strictly anhemitonic series of five and six tones occur in less than half of the genres analyzed (in *kananga*, *pese*, *mako*, *unguoso*, the game *kubikubi ngoo'ata*, and the dances *mako ngangì* and *hakatenge*). Whereas the melodic contour of pentatonic songs is most often an undulating series of arches, reiteration of tones, as in *maghiiti* songs, gives rise to a level melodic contour (see the models at the ends of the chapters).

Semitone intervals do occur in eight of the genres studied. In *obo* ritual songs only a few definite pitches occur. Like ritual formulae, these songs are recited in a rapid parlando style of speech-song. In some cases the semitone is not a part of the melodic structure, but is only touched upon in passing or sung as a variation of a neighboring tone. Such a tone may be shown in parenthesis in the skeletons. In some cases I have interpreted the melodic structure of a song that shows semitone intervals only in the total sum of its tones as modulating from one anhemitonic structure to another (in *maghiiti*, *tangi* and parts of the *suahongi*). Paul Sa'engeika, my Bellonese teacher, verified changes in melody at the points corresponding to modulation in the case of the *maghiiti* songs and in the *suahongi*. The interpretation of *tangi* structure is my own and was not discussed with the Bellonese. I consider semitones to be integrated in the melodic structure of the dance songs *huaa pati* and *mako hakasaunoni*.

Anhemitonic pentatonic structure is common in the music of Bellona (and Rennell), but all possibilities are present and the feeling is more of freedom of movement than repeating a certain pentatonic range.

Polyphonic intervals occur in over 80% of the songs. Songs are not, however, sung in parts from beginning to end. All of the common melodic

intervals are used simultaneously: major seconds, thirds, fourths and fifths, as well as less common intervals such as the sixth (see Table 5, below). The various forms of heterophonic variation described in the section entitled "Melodic patterns" produce a polyphonic texture: overlapping, high and low vocal parts using diminution and bourdon, and simultaneous melodic variation. Additional polyphonic techniques are employed in the *suahongi* ritual dance, such as interlocking antiphonal parts and canonic counterpoint for short intervals. The most extraordinary form of polyphony, used in the *suahongi*, is "coordinate polyphony," which consists of the simultaneous performance of two different pieces of music that are coordinated by the performers, each with its own distinct text, melody, rhythm and tempo.

The following characteristic musical factors were tabulated in 1974, from a representative sample of 141 songs culled from the collections of Elbert, Monberg and Kuschel. 117 songs in this sample contained one or more polyphonic intervals.

Intervals:	m3	M2	4	5	M3	6	7
minor third	89	17					
Major second	79	60	11				
fourth	75	56	50	12			
fifth	20	17	15	16			
Major third	13	9	8	9			
m3 - M3 variation	9	9	5	3	1	2	
Major sixth	4	3	4	4	0	1	
bourdon	30	23	19	23	9	24	5

Table 5: Occurrence of polyphonic intervals in 117 songs

The first column shows the number of songs which contained the named interval. The next columns show the number of songs in which that interval occurs *in addition to the other intervals* named above the column.

	number	per cent
Unaccompanied	12	8.5%
sounding board	46	32.6%
clapping an object	27	19.1%
hand clapping	64	45.4%
in triplets	30	21.3%
final clap	33	23.4%
trailing cadence	18	12.8%
final shout	36	25.5%
parlando ending	13	9.2%
special melodic ending (Z)	18	12.8%

Table 6: Accompaniment and special endings

Characteristic traits of the songs are listed here, along with the number and percentage of the songs in the sample in which they occur.

Variation. An important factor which argues against the notion that this music is anhemitonic is the flexibility and ornamental variation of the interval of the third. In the course of a song, a skillful singer will vary a particular minor third interval, augmenting it to a major third and diminishing it to a minor second as is done in Song 40 of the *suahongi* and in Song 22 among the *pese*, for example. In one of the *tangi* (Song 25), the singer consistently uses the intervals of the major third plus the minor second above it, which may be a similar variation of the two intervals of a tetrachord. Such purposeful variation involves aesthetic choice, consciously or unconsciously.

The melody of a song is not entirely fixed, and melodic variation is implemented by individual improvisation. The Bellonese explain that melodic variations are inevitable because different people have differently pitched voices. Individuals sing different variations of the melody simultaneously, which results in heterophonic variation. The following Bellonese verbs are used for the voice parts characteristic in this music:

<i>to'o hakatootonu :</i>	'to sing straight' or on a level melodic course.
<i>to'o 'angunga :</i>	'to take [the melody] upward'. In the melodic ascent, quarter-notes may be ornamentally divided into two eighth-notes (diminution).
<i>tuku ki ngango :</i>	'to send [the melody] diving to a deep level'. This is the low bourdon voice part.

Unison singing is called *hakatatahi'aki o hakasisingi* in Bellonese, 'to join together at the ending', as, for example, in Song 18.

Overlapping of solo and chorus parts, which also produces polyphony, is another form of improvisation open to the soloist. It is called *taungua sesenge* in Bellonese, which means 'to sing taking a short-cut'.

Bellonese singers use several forms of ornamental vocal technique and gave me terms for some of them. *Hakapoponge*, which means 'to tremble; to rumble like distant thunder', is a sustained low tone sung through an almost closed glottis so that glottal "clicks," produced by the involuntary closing of the glottis, interrupt the sustained tone at frequent intervals. In the tattooing *saka*, Song 6, the final -ee of the verses is sung in this way.

Vocal style. Various elements of vocal style which have been mentioned in different chapters of this volume will be reviewed below, together with a general summary of the vocal style, and examples of the styles of individual singers.¹⁵

Traditional Bellonese singing is generally relaxed and flexible with somewhat nasal voice production.¹⁶ Resonance is sometimes free, but sometimes fixed and somewhat forced in the upper register. The upper and lower registers are used, and men occasionally sing falsetto (see below). Transitions between the registers are smooth. Many singers use pronounced to optimal pharyngeal resonance and some use mouth resonance.

The attack is often gliding, with an increase in compression after the onset of the tone. Glissandi sometimes occur in melodic movement between tones and frequently at phrase endings. Words are placed well forward in the mouth; nasals at the beginning of words are a noticeable feature of the language.

Sustained tones are sometimes sung steady or "straight," i.e., without vibrato. A slow vibrato is used in some songs (*'ungu pati* and *huaa pati*), in connection with syllabic ornamentation.

Male soloists use a forceful voice with high compression when leading a song, in contrast to the more relaxed singing of the chorus. When women lead songs of genres that are generally the province of men, they also use high compression, but not when they sing their own *tangi* laments.

Although women usually sang at a higher pitch than men, they sometimes sang in a register that was too low for them because they followed the pitch set by the men in the introductory refrain that starts many of the songs including *tangi*. Compression is then weak because the soloist is not at her strongest pitch level.

Support is generally good, lung capacity well developed, and deep thoracic-abdominal breathing is used in singing. Dancing while singing promotes such coordinated use of the body, and the specific kind of dancing, primarily with arm movements, is conducive to the tranquil dynamics that characterize much Bellonese music.

Men sometimes use falsetto voice when singing *kananga* or when practicing songs (the practice mode called *pungotu*). Falsetto is also used by leaping dancers, who sing at higher than usual pitch in the *huaa mako* songs of the *papa* dance, not examined in the present volume. A harsh, braying tone with narrow resonance is sometimes used.

A non-legato tonal progression with separate emphasis on every note, similar to the martellato effect in Western music, is used in the singing of *maghiiti*, *kananga* and *mako* songs.

The following examples of the performance styles of individual singers will illustrate the general statements above.

Paul Sa'engeika had a melodious bass-baritone voice with the lowest undertones. As a soloist he sang with strong compression and sometimes employed a harsh, braying timbre. His style was dramatic, although maintaining the traditional impassive mien.

Jason Ngiusanga has a natural baritone voice. He uses low costal-abdominal breathing and optimal pharyngeal resonance, somewhat nasal. At other times he uses a narrower, more fixed resonance.

In recordings from 1962, Tupe'uhi had an extremely deep voice. He sang a deep bourdon that is no longer found among male Bellonese singers and which, I think, was an extremely important singing part in earlier times. In 1977 Tupe'uhi had a melodious, fairly nasal voice with a penetrating quality

and a compression vibrato. He used pronounced though limited pharyngeal resonance. As a soloist he tended to attack each note with an accent and to use grace notes, as on the record FE 4273, band B2. (See photograph, p. 195.)

Haman Songo'ungi has an unusual low voice with a gruff quality, as may be heard on the record FE 4273, band A4.

Ma'itaki has a clear bass-baritone voice and sings in the bass register with mouth resonance, as in the song B1 on the record FE 4273. His voice is forceful and his delivery is completely and characteristically impassive. He often sat and hummed to himself in a falsetto voice (*pungotu*), which I did not observe others doing, although I was told that it was common practice.

The singer acknowledged by many Bellonese to be the finest female soloist, Teghaapilu, who was between 42 and 45 years of age at the time of my visits, sings in the middle register (mezzo soprano) with good support and completely smooth equalization between voice registers. She uses free pharyngeal resonance with light nasality, and sings with a small, rapid vibrato (see S 25). (See photographs on p. 77 and p. 52 of Volume Two.)

Tebengi recorded her songs in a clear, flexible voice. Her aunt, Takamu, on the other hand, used her voice in a somewhat overcompressed manner with pronounced nasal resonance. When the men set the register in an introductory chorus, as in *tangi* and *pese* songs, she sang her solo in a range too deep for her, forcing her voice.

Tuima'u Te'osaika sings in a relaxed manner. Her voice is clear and flexible with deep resonance and overtones.

Solomon Teika has a strong voice, especially in its higher range, and quite nasal; he uses it assertively. The melodic progression is decidedly non-legato in his *mako*, and he attacks each note with a slight crescendo in a highly compressed, forced voice that sounds consequential.

Taupongi has a natural baritone voice which he uses in a relaxed, flexible manner, singing as he speaks. His voice is well developed and he is obviously used to singing. The registers used are lower, upper and falsetto on the highest tones (above $e^{b''''}$); the transitions from one register to another are smooth and with balanced tension. (See photograph in Volume Two, p. 9.) Although he usually sings in the traditional manner with somewhat nasal voice production and fixed resonance with the upper register a bit forced, he can also sing with a complete set of overtones, as when he sings hymns.

Bellonese musical concepts involve considerable freedom in practice. Whereas the performance of song texts receives a great deal of

critical attention, the singing is not criticized with respect to intonation or to the intervals produced heterophonically, and generally is accepted as correct. The women's art of singing of *tangi* is particularly admired.

The Bellonese say that since people obviously have different voices (*nge'o*), the result when they sing together is heterophony or *mou hatingaa nge'o* 'variation of voices'. Ornamental variation, which is called *okeoke* 'to swing back and forth', refers to diminution; it must include the variation of interval size, as such variation was remarkable in the performances pointed out as particularly skillful.

In the only study of variation, that of the *suahongi*, the polyphonic interaction between the polytextual parts was found to vary. Although there is a prescribed way to fit the two polytextual parts together, the leader does not have to follow the rule and is free to adjust the pitch level to suit his voice. All of the performances were considered correct and criticism was not expressed, even though shifts in the relationship between the parts altered some of the intervals that were sung simultaneously.

The same freedom applies to the singing of other kinds of songs. In the tetrachord that forms the core of many songs, the lower minor third interval may be augmented by either depressing the lowest note or raising the middle note. In the examples, the lowest note of the *hua* (S 17) is depressed towards the end of the song. In the *tangi* (S 25) performed by the most skillful female singer, the tetrachord consists of the major third plus the minor second interval. The performance was highly praised and this song is the only example of a hemitonic pentatone melody.

Summary of musical characteristics of Bellonese songs.

Bellonese melodies often have three to five tones; many but not all of the melodies consist predominantly of major second and minor third intervals and are anhemitone penta- and tetratonic. A tetrachord often forms the core of a melody. Musical performance is characterized by:

- vocal music based upon poetry
- many heterometric songs
- group singing with a leader
- forms mostly strophic, or two lines (especially in dance songs)
- steady tempo
- simple meters with or without clapping or *papa* accompaniment
- shouted endings
- speech-song (*sprechgesang*)
- one-note recitation

- drone based polyphony and some polyplane recitation
- 2-part polyphony based upon heterophonic elaboration; common intervals are the M2, m3(~M3), 4th and 5th
- 3-part polyphony in songs with a leader and double *mu'a/mungi* chorus
- falsetto sometimes is used when practicing songs (*pungotu*), for *kananga* and for some dance songs accompanied by the *papa*.

Although detailed comparisons await further research, we may generally state that the Bellonese art of music, like other Polynesian musical traditions depends upon the composition of poetry. Traditional Bellonese songs share many musical characteristics, including heterophonic variation, with those of other West Polynesian island cultures, whereas songs of East Polynesia, in contrast, traditionally were monophonic. Melanesian music is commonly pentatonic, and the extent of pentatonic musical structure in Bellonese music is one of the factors that differentiates it from Polynesian music. Melanesian music in the Solomons differs from Bellonese music in depending more upon the composition of instrumental music than upon that of poetry, at least among 'Are'are, and the songs differ by being contrapuntal and isometric rather than heterophonic and heterometric. In certain areas of Northern Malaita, some songs have three part polyphony with a soloist and two parts called *nao* and *buli*, which is reminiscent of the spatial organization used for *pese* songs and sections of the *suahongi*.

Song texts. Another feature of this musical tradition is the use of ancient song texts that are no longer understood (see Part 1, Chapter 1.2). Such texts are found in seven of the 15 genres included in the present volume, and the text of the *suahongi* in its entirety is so ancient that, except for certain portions and single words, it is not understood today. Such ancient texts are known to be used elsewhere in Polynesia, such as Samoa.¹⁷

Syllabic variation or ornamentation of vowels. When poetry is sung, certain changes are made in the vowels, which may render the text difficult to follow. These changes are of two kinds and occur in two positions: 1) at phrase endings and 2) within a phrase when extra filler syllables are needed. 1) At phrase endings, *a* is often sung as *o*, for example in *saka* entreaties. This kind of change involves an aesthetic preference for *o* as a sustained (sung) vowel. 2) Any vowel may be doubled to fill out a prescribed meter. *A* and *e* may be padded, by adding a glide, which produces the diphthongs *aua* and *eie*. The former technique is used to fill two spaces,

the latter to fill three spaces, and a combination stretches the padding even further, for example, *eie* can be extended to *e-e-i-e-e*. Voluntary options may exist between these methods for filling space.

Although the language has both long and short vowels, these may be treated alike when poetry is sung. Long as well as short vowels may be sung on short notes and either may be sustained, as was shown to be the case for *mako* songs (cf. Chapter Seven, Part 2).

The contents of the texts. *Maghiiti* are ritual songs praising the deities. The first two songs honor the district deity Tehu'aingabenga and are used in the *kaba ki hange* ritual. Songs 3 and 4, used in *ngeemungi* rituals, are for the sky god Tehainga'atua.

Saka are entreaties and tattooing songs. Song 5 entreats the sky god for protection on a return voyage from Rennell, when the composer feared whales, in which these gods are embodied. Songs 7-9 were sung to entreat protection when passing the sacred and dangerous area of the two stone deities at Ngabenga, Bellona. Songs 8 and 9 are directed towards the district deities Tehu'aingabenga and his offspring; Song 7 is an ancient song not translatable today. *Saka* used during tattooing (Songs 6 and 10) honor persons: Song 6 is unique in that it eulogizes a woman and entreats her return; Song 10 extols a father's abilities in fishing, gardening, and dancing.

Kananga are short, cryptic love songs, taunts and humorous songs that give their messages by allusion (indirect reference).

Pese are historical songs, some of them exceedingly ancient, according to linguistic criteria (see Part 1, Chapter 1.2). Songs 19 and 21 are generally understood, although the meaning of many words is uncertain; both concern the voyage by canoe from 'Ubea, the dangers of the sea and the landmarks of Rennell and Bellona. Song 17 is even more ancient and no translation is given here because of the guesswork involved. Song 20 concerns a fishing trip and the landmarks of Bellona (praise of places). Song 18 was composed by a woman to laud her husband. I have no information on Song 22, which has not yet been translated.

Tangi often lament the loss of a husband and acclaim men and their works. Song 23 is an ancient song with many uncertain words, praising the husband of a goddess. Another ancient *tangi*, Song 25, describes the events leading up to the "big day" of a harvest ritual (preparation of the temple, clearing the bush, planting the crops, fruition of the bananas planted) and also praises her husband's dance movements, the sound of his voice and of the *papa*. Song 24 eulogizes a husband's skill in fishing, house-building, and the generosity of his ritual feasts.

Mako songs generally concern the dark sides of life. Songs 26 and 28 sing of sickness and old age, a stage of life that is compared metaphorically to the waning moon. Simile is also used in Song 26: the liver of the parrot fish is "like a sweet cup". Song 27 mourns the death of a son-in-law who was lost at sea while returning from Rennell. Song 29 concerns the sad future of Bellona, should surface mining be permitted.

Obo and *unguoso* are songs that were used in rituals for the *ngeemungi* harvest and for shark fishing, respectively. In Song 34, the heaps of yams distributed at a ritual are counted. A shark caught is patted in satisfaction in Song 33.

The introductory songs of dances are often in an ancient language which is not understood, such as those of Songs 44-45, 57-60, and the whole of the *suahongi* dance from 'Ubea (Song 36-43). One dance song tells of fishing by canoe (Song 56, *mako hakasaunoni*), and one concerns the hunting of flying fox with poisoned spear (Song 61, *hakatenge*). The text of Song 35 concerns the game being played. Some songs have not yet been translated or interpreted (Songs 31, 33, 34, 46, 54 and 61).

Pati songs often tell of the accomplishments of life. "Industrious-Hand" sings of how he planned a garden, cleared the land and planted taro and yams (Song 52). One man praises his coconut grove and worries about its fate during a storm (Song 49); another mourns for a ruined beach area, the trees of which were cut down by "someone," an allusion to an enemy (Song 50). A Rennellese tells about his sickness, cured by a doctor who is called "Makes-Life-Return" (Song 47); a man sings the praises of his father's excellence in fishing and his "Generous-Hand" (a metonym) (Song 53).

Linked assonance is used, e.g., in Songs 55 and 56, *mako hakasaunoni*. End-rhyme occurs in *tangi*, but only in one song consistently (Song 25); a short final refrain of one or two vowels gives a similar effect (Songs 6 and 26).

Mention of singing and dancing in the song texts is of special interest because it expresses Bellonese musical aesthetics, indicating qualities of vocal and other sounds that are considered pleasing and the specific meaning they hold for the Bellonese. In one song, for example, a pleasing male voice is likened to branches chafing in the wind. (See also 7.5.2, *hakatootoo*.) Examples from the songs in this book are listed below, cited by reference to the song number followed by the verse number, but an analysis of such material remains a project for the future.

"Our farewell is the sounding board" (S 6.11)

"The *papa* heard in front" (S 24.22)

"And the *suahongi* and the good sound of singing" (S 24.23)

- "Good your movements in the center" [of the dancing grounds] (S 25.2)
 "Songs of praise (*maghiiti*) and clapping songs" (S 25.3)
 "Your smooth voice was heard therein" (S 25.4)
 "Your *papa* has resounded" (S 25.16)
 "The canoe has a pleasing sound" (S 56.2)
 "... good sound [of leaves in the wind]" (S 50.3)

16.2 Some concluding remarks regarding polytextual polyphony in the *suahongi*.

We have seen that many Bellonese musical forms and concepts are Polynesian but that the musical practices develop individualistic leadership, which fits a Melanesian type of social system (Part 1, Chapter 10). My conclusions concern the interplay of these Polynesian and Melanesian components in the polytextual polyphony of the *suahongi*, the archaic musical form described in Chapter 11.

The simultaneous performance of two separate songs with different texts was dubbed "coordinate polyphony" because the two parts of the *suahongi* are coordinated in time by specific signals; it may also be called "polytextual polyphony," since the parts have different texts. This kind of performance is of special interest because it is not an isolated occurrence in Bellonese music but seems to be particular to West Polynesia. The other West Polynesian examples I have heard, from Tikopia and Tonga, are illuminating with regard to the Melanesian and Polynesian components of the *suahongi*.

References to Tikopian and Tongan examples of polytextual polyphony are cited in Chapter 10 of Part 1. The musical examples both sound far more like ordinary polyphony than the first of the comparable sections of the *suahongi*. McLeod's descriptive epithet "isorhythmic motet" refers to a polytextual Tikopian polyphony in which the parts are audibly isometric, if not in rhythmic synchrony. In the Tongan example, three separate songs which have the same meter are performed simultaneously; even though the texts differ, the performance sounds like a single polyphonic song. This is not the case in the *suahongi*. As even a casual listener to the first division can ascertain, the texture is not always rhythmically and/or metrically synchronized. Since Rennell, Bellona and Tikopia were settled by migrants from West Polynesia, we have grounds to consider the isometric form of polytextual polyphony to be the original West Polynesian version.

The first division of the *suahongi* includes two passages in polytextual polyphony. While the second of these is somewhat similar to the other West Polynesian examples, the first has a distinctly different metric organization in addition to a different history which will be briefly reviewed in the following.

The first passage, called "the first *pese* ," consists of two historical layers which are sung simultaneously: whereas one layer came from 'Ubea, the other was composed by Kaitu'u when he and the other immigrants from 'Ubea arrived at the new islands. According to the oral tradition, Kaitu'u composed a *pese* song at that time, and it was incorporated into the *suahongi*, which also came from 'Ubea. Although the two parts are performed simultaneously and coordinated, they differ in musical texture as well as in text. They are not isometric, as may be seen in the musical transcription (Song 38). Instead of reinforcing each other's rhythmic and melodic patterns, the two parts sound as if they are not in synchrony and produce interference. This form might be called "polyrhythmic" in contrast to the synchronized form of coordinate polyphony known from West Polynesia, which McLeod called "isorhythmic."

The second polytextual passage, which is called the *ngongotuu*, came from 'Ubea with the *suahongi* itself. The *ngongotuu* consists of six short *pese*, also known as *huua mako*, performed with six corresponding portions of the *suahongi*. These parts are considerably better synchronized than those of the first *pese*, as may be seen in the transcription (Song 40).

It would seem reasonable to suppose that the *suahongi* is an example of the way in which the Bellonese combine their Polynesian heritage with the Melanesian influences they encountered in the Solomons. Whereas the migrants had experienced synchronized polytextual polyphony in West Polynesia and probably brought it with them from 'Ubea, they may well have developed the polyrhythmic form in Melanesia. The two parts performed together may represent these two different historical periods and cultures.

The increased tolerance for individuality and disorganization, and the resulting interpersonal tension, which the Bellonese learned from the Melanesians, are thus extended into the realm of music. The Bellonese performance of truly independent musical parts, coordinated in time but not synchronized, may be their original musical innovation and their contribution to world music.

One might ask the reason for the simultaneous performance of two different things in the *suahongi*. A Bellonese answer was, "because Kaitu'u

taught it that way" (p.c., Joses Taungenga 1977). This explanation is based upon the historical value of the *suahongi* to the people of Bellona. Even today, Bellonese society is characterized by tolerance for an unusual amount of discord and disagreement, a trait that could well have survival value. Opposition and dissent are ever-present and all factions are represented without resolution of differences. Perhaps this is symbolized musically in the *suahongi*: there are two leaders for the group performance and two leaders for the *pese*; this opposition is incorporated into a unified whole. Diversity is worked into the meaningful and necessary parts of the total composition rather than being resolved.

The Bellonese are known for their individualism. They stand out among the diverse peoples of the Solomon Islands for their characteristically independent attitude. They critically evaluate the rules set for them by others and hold constant debates about the validity of just about everything, including song texts performed by a group of their own people. Polyrhythmic coordinate polyphony in the *suahongi* is a musical representation of conflict.

Ambiguity is a striking feature of Bellonese music. In the course of this volume, examples have been discussed that exhibit ambiguity in rhythm, in synchronization and in the melodic intervals used. In addition, simultaneous performance of disparate pieces of music with different texts occurs in the *suahongi* and elsewhere. Each of these examples exhibits an opposition that remains unresolved; the disparities co-exist. A definite preference for ambiguity is indicated. It would be interesting indeed to see whether ambiguity is otherwise an important characteristic of Bellonese life patterns. Elbert has mentioned ambiguity in the oral traditions,¹⁸ and in my limited experience, examples from the religious and social spheres would seem to illustrate a similar aesthetic principle, the balance of opposites.

A study of another musical cultures illuminates alternatives to our own traditional patterns of thought, not only in respect to the musical but also to other aspects of social relations.

* * *

S U M M A R Y

Traditional music of Bellona is characterized by an extensive repertoire of heterogeneous musical genres performed largely by men. When this study began, I transcribed songs from Bellona that had been recorded by anthropologists between 1957 and 1968, and analyzed their musical characteristics. During my own field work in 1974 and 1977, the Bellonese demonstrated performance processes and taught me the thought processes on which they are based - their concepts and terminology. They demonstrated the significance of the song genres as parts of a larger picture or text - their role within the programs of the ceremonial occasions celebrated in the framework of the traditional culture, and in the song(-dance) suites of the ritual programs for the sky gods.

Chapter 2 elucidates Bellonese musical categories, the organization of song types into suites, and some of the different kinds of songs. Chapter 3 presents the programs, which included music, of nine occasions that were formerly celebrated. Through short interviews with three people, two of them composers, Chapter 4 tells how the occasions fit into people's lives.

Poetic composition and sung poetry is the basis of the music in this tradition. The song types - different poetic forms, each with its own melodies - are composed by known contemporary or historic persons; some, believed to have been composed by deities, were delivered by mediums. Some dances were accompanied by the sounding board (*papa*) which was the only traditional instrument. In the case of dances, the movements follow specific words and the composer is also a choreographer, choosing and coordinating the movement. The name of the poet is memorialized in the title of the song, his deeds are often its subject, and his prestige is enhanced through the skill shown in its composition (Chapter 5).

The times and circumstances under which individual songs and dances were created or incorporated into the repertoire are retained in the form of stories. Chapter 6 presents some of the historically significant stories. One of these concerns the *suahongi* dance which was brought by the ancestors of the people of Bellona and Rennell from 'Ubea, their previous homeland in West Polynesia.

Large portions of the musical vocabulary concern ways to sing and accompany songs (Chapter 7), and particularly the beating of the 'sounding board' (Chapter 8); named dance movements, especially those of the arm and hand (Chapter 9); and the diverse *me'a* 'genres' of sung (and danced) poetry (Chapter 2 and Glossary). According to Bellonese concepts of music, the singers, because they have different vocal ranges, must vary the melodic line to fit their voices, and the result is *mou hatingaa nge'o*, or 'variation of voices' which we call heterophony.

Despite the sketchy nature of the material now available and although comparisons await further research, Chapter 10 mentions some musical concepts and forms from elsewhere in West Polynesia which are related to those of Bellona. Particularly relevant is an ancient form from Tonga in West Polynesia that has much in common with the *suahongi*.

In Part 2, 62 songs from 15 different genres are analyzed. Each genre is characterized by: a) performance form by individuals or by a group and, in the latter case, its place within a suite of song(-dance)s, b) musical form, including formal structure, rhythmic and tonal patterns and c) texts. Endings are commonly marked by shouts or indefinite tones; they may otherwise have sustained or trailing final tones.

The first three genres are performed by individuals and belong to the category *ongiongi* which includes the words and songs of rituals. These are heterometric songs sung non-legato with many repeated tones. Some of them have two nuclear tones a major second apart, others have the three tones of a tetrachord as their nucleus, and some have additional definite or indefinite tones. The texts are "humble words of comfort and worship" for deities or for humans. *Maghiiti* are religious songs and *saka* are entreaties, some for tattooing. *Kananga*, often dealing with strong emotions, are private songs which are not considered representative of the song repertoire comprehended by the Bellonese concept *na taungua o Mungiki* 'the songs of Bellona'.

Obo and *unguoso* songs, performed responsively by a ritual leader and group, end with shouts and were used during activities which are dealt with in the texts. *Obo*, from the harvest ritual for *ngeemungi* fruit, are distinguished by their use of speech-like rhythms and melodies with one or two main reciting tones plus additional indefinite tones. *Unguoso*, from the shark rituals, are pentatonic songs distinguished by their melismatic style and free rhythm. They carry over long distances and were formerly shouted from the canoe to the shore in triumph over catching a shark.

Three other genres analyzed form parts of song suites performed by a group: *pese* from the the *kanongoto* harvest ritual, *tangi* and *mako* from the long programs performed at distribution and tattooing rituals. *Pese*, *tangi* and *mako* songs are based upon strophic poetry with many verses and a refrain after each. Both *pese*, which often are historic songs, and *mako*, which are dirges composed by men, have pentatonic melodies. *Tangi*, distinguished by their relatively narrow ambitus and characteristic melodic cadence, have sorrowful texts composed by women, often in praise of men from whom they have been parted.

Dances, belonging to the category *tau'asonga*, are suites of song-dances performed by a group, who dance in unison and sing heterophonically. They may be unaccompanied or accompanied by clapping or by the sounding board. The songs generally have a nuclear tetrachord, are tetra- or pentatonic and regular in meter, although all of these characteristics may be modified. The melodies of some *huaa pati* and the *suahongi*, for example, have six tones, and semitone steps. The text of the the introductory part of the dance may be older than in the main body of its dance-songs and is sometimes ancient. Texts deal with secular topics and may be humorous; *huaa pati* often concern the accomplishments of the poet.

Parts 1 and 2 are integrated in a final chapter that concerns the distinguishing characteristics of the songs and the singing style. The conclusions concern the possible Polynesian and Melanesian components in the polytextual polyphony in the *suahongi*.

* * * * *

Volume Two contains the musical transcriptions, texts and English translations of the songs analyzed in Part 2.

NOTES, Part 2

Introduction:

¹ Pentatonic tonality has long been problematic and it is not always clear how many notes a melody contains or whether to consider a particular note as accessory. I try to show notes which occur only once or twice in the course of a melody by parenthesizing them in Table 4 (Chapter 11), but this is not feasible in the models.

² I transcribed the music as I heard it, and Poul Røvsing Olsen checked many of the examples. Pitch measurements were not deemed necessary, as we generally agreed on what pitch was sung. Since our ears were originally trained in a different musical tradition, our perception of the tones was probably over-accurate or inaccurate at times. Bellonese singing is not "accurate" with reference to particular pitches. In one case I did measure intervals using a monochord, because of the obvious variation of the intervals used when two lineage elders, who recorded the *huua mako* of the *suahongi* explicitly to show how they should be sung, employed pitch variation as a means of ornamentation.

Chapter 3, saka:

³ Because Bellona has no rock, only coral, hard-rock adzes are rare.

⁴ The sky gods Sikingimoemoe and Tehainga'atua came with the whales (Elbert and Monberg 1965:336).

Chapter 6, tangi:

⁶ It is not impossible that *tangi* refrains may more commonly have been led by women in pre-Christian times.

⁷ Burrows 1933:82.

Chapter 11, suahongi:

⁸ An earlier version of this chapter first appeared as an article (Rossen 1978a).

⁹ This explanation was given by Jason Ngiusanga, who thought it similar to '*api* 'brothers', '*apitanga* "crowd."

¹⁰ The experts on Bellona reached no final agreement regarding this matter in 1977 and changed their opinions in the course of the discussions. I decided to use the designation in this paper because no other was proffered, and also because it had been generally used before the question arose. However, there is some indication that the sections of the first division following the *ngongotuu* constitute a separate division, perhaps called *na huatanga*.

Chapter 12, mako hakapaungo:

¹¹ Personal communication, Adrienne Kaeppler 1980.

Chapter 16, Distinguishing Characteristics of the Musical Style:

¹² The trailing cadence also occurs in music of the Tuamotus, the Marquesas and the Maori of Eastern Polynesia (McLean 1968:1-10).

¹³ *Musique Polynésienne Traditionnelle d'Ontong Java 1-2, Iles Salomon* (Vol. 1:A1-5, Vol. 2A6-9, B1-3); Christensen 1964 (lied 18b, 16) and my own observations on tapes collected on Takuu by Elbert (B3b3 and B5B "marae" dance). The dance names given are *lue* and *sea* (Ontong Java) and *onga*, also called *fakaseasea* (?) and *fakanau* (Ellice).

¹⁴ See Brailoui 1951:71-108.

¹⁵ For vocal technique, see Venner 1967.

¹⁶ Although I consider a slightly nasal voice production to be a characteristic of the style, it is not invariably present.

¹⁷ P. c, Jacob Love, March 1983.

¹⁸ Elbert says, regarding T189, "This story is an exasperating example of ambiguity..."(1965:341).

APPENDIX A:

CHRONOLOGICAL ORDER OF KNOWN EVENTS AND SINGERS' BIRTHS

KEY

(f) = female [] shows lineage

tu (*nihenua*) designates persons trained as priest-chiefs

These people have traditional tattoos

ca. 1880 Sa'engeahe and Puangongo died in Queensland, Australia

Paul Sa'engeika [Ng], died 1979 *tu*

Jared [Ahenoa] *tu*

Leah Tengetai (f) [To] *tu*

Temoa [To]; Sanga'eha [S], died 1974 *tu*

Joshua Kaipua [Gh]

Tupe'uhi [Sap], died 1979 *tu*

Takiika [N], died 1979 *tu*

Ma'itaki [Sap] *tu*

1910 Tekinuniu [N] *tu*

Missionaries killed on Rennell

Mau'eha Saubeetape [T] *tu*

Kumingau [Te] *tu*

Loesi Baikaba (f) [H]

Tekamu (f) [T]

Tetuha Peseika [Te]

1920 Pastor Daniel Tuhanuku [T] (became *hakabaka* 1937)

Tongaka [Te]

'Aasia Tongaka [N]

These people have no traditional tattoos

1922 Matches introduced; Sabatene brought the Japanese flute.

Solomon Teika [N]

Basiana [Te]

Esther Kaniko Elomah (f) [Sap]

Heman Haikiu [S]

Jason Giusanga [T]

1926 The men from Tikopia passed through Bellona returning home.

1927 Hakatingitango went to Russell Island plantation and returned after 7 months.

1929 Hakatingitango died.

Taupongi [To]

1930 Haman Songo'ungi [Gh]

Mac Gregor visited Rennell

Tebengi (f) [T]

Sengeika Tepuke [Ma]

Teghaapilu (f) [N]

1933 MacGregor and Lambert to Rennell and Bellona (Templeton Crocker).

Te'osa'ika (f) [B]

Teikabengo *makosa'u* to Bellona.

Takiika brought the six-holed flute.

Paul Sa'engeika took 7 canoes on a *makosa'u* to Rennell.

1936 SDA ship to Ahanga, Bellona.

Taungenga back tattoo; Paul S. *taukuka* tattoo.

Feuding began when 7 men were killed at Matangi.

Paul held a *kanongoto* harvest ritual.

1938 Moa from Rennell made peace and a taro feast was held.

Taukuka for Momoka; the last time the district gods spoke through mediums and the first time all Bellona attended a feast.

1938-1939 Mission established by Moa: all previous events are termed "before mission" and all subsequent events "after mission".

1941-1945 Pacific War; during this time traditional music was revived.

1945 An American airplane crashed on Bellona.

1946 The last big *ngeemungi* harvest was held.

1947 Three canoes from Bellona went to the Solomons.

1949 Gheela, a native missionary, took up residence on Bellona.

1952 Hurricane

- 1954 Bellonese started to work on plantations in Yandina.
- 1957 Pedal radio installed on Bellona.
First visit of S. H. Elbert.
- 1958 First visit of T. Monberg.
- 1969 Establishment of the Copra Cooperative Society.
- 1962 Hurricane
- 1967 The airstrip was built; hurricane.
- 1978 The Solomons became independent members of the British Commonwealth.
- 1979 Worst hurricane since 1911.

APPENDIX B: POET-COMPOSERS

KEY (See also Appendix A)

persons who were alive in 1974

RE = Rennell, Rennellese; Ex = extinct

g21:59; Plate 3 = generation 21; page or plate no., Elbert & Monberg 1965

T 189 = Text 189, op.cit..

Rel. = Monberg 1966

T'benga = Tehu'aingabenga, the district deity

No. of songs over one
given by other singers

'Amoika (f) [Te] g20; *tangi* to husband Paul Sa'engeika

Anaminga & Tihitihi (*hiti*); *maghiiti*

'Aasia Temangu'uia [Ah] g22; born after 1925; *tangi*

'Atoika (f); *tangi* to Sauhonu [Ma] g19

Baabenga (f) goddess (daughter of the sky god; could transform herself into a male)

Baiabe from Taumako (Duff Islands?) g12? 6 songs

Bakoto [Ma] g14; *mako*

Bangakaunga [Ex Hu'aingupe] g19-20? 2 songs

Basiana Taaikangongo [Te] g21; born ca. 1922

Bibao [Ah] g21: Plate 3 2 songs

Haibangonga'a, Ex Tongo clan

Hakakamu'eha (f) goddess (wife of T'benga) (Rel:67)	
Hakakeuika [G] g20; father of Joshua Kaipua	
Hakasaohenua, deity; son of T'benga	3 songs
Hakataungaakei, Ex Tongo Clan ca. g14	
Hakatingitango [To] g20:59	4 songs
Hakatu'ukiu [Ma] g14:59; <i>maghiiti</i>	
<u>Haman Songo'ungi</u> [G] g22; born ca. 1930; son of Joshua Kaipua	
Hatumanoko (f); <i>tangi</i>	
Ha'utahi [N] g20:57; died 1941; father of Takiika and Tekiuniu	7 songs
<u>Heman Haikiu</u> [S] g22:59; born ca.1924; son of Sanga'eha	
<u>Hosia Teikanoa</u> [Ta] g 21; born 1914	
<u>Jared Tuhamano</u> [Ah] g21; born before 1898, died 15 July 1984	
<u>Joshua Kaipua</u> [G] g21; born ca. 1900, died 1982	
Joshua Tangokona [Kanaba] RE	
Kagosia, RE	2 songs
Kaipua [Pa] g20	
Kaikangisi Kangisipua (f), Ex clan; <i>tangi</i> to Binanga [Ma] g14?	
Kaisa'unga Tebaoniu (f) RE g17:54?	
Kaisa'unga Teika'aso (f) [M II]; <i>tangi</i> to Maungu [N] g20:57?	
Kaisa'unga (f) [?]; <i>tangi</i> to husband Tepuke? g19 RE	
Kaitu'u g1:Plate 3	5 songs

Kamukiu (f) RE; wife of Kagobai g20:Plate 3

Kaniko Esther (f) [Sap] g22; born before 1920

Kapiika (f) RE; *tangi* to Tepeau RE

Kumingau [Te] g21:Plate 3; born ca. 1915 3 songs

Lia Tengetai (f) [To] g20; born ca.1900; sister of Temoa,
Taungenga;*tangi* to husband

Ma'anutaha Teikangau [N] from "Sa'amo'a" settlement

Maangie [Ta] g21:55 2 songs

Maghau, RE (= Tatiasi Tu'umatangi); quite old

Ma'itaki Tongaka [Sap] g22:55; born ca. 1915 4 songs

Ma'itaki [To]

Matahia (f) [Temanu sub-clan]; g14:59 3 songs

Matapua (f), RE; mother of Lia and Temoa, sister of Tongaka Tema'ungaika,
wife of Suaika [To]

Matthew Taupongi [S] g21; died 1967

Matthew Tighesua, RE g21:Plate 3 Kanaba; died 1971

Mau'eha [T] g20; *saka* for wife who died

Mau'eha [T] g22; born ca. 1911

Mauhenua (f) [Mat] g19; grandmother of Tekamu

Mauloko (f), goddess

Maumau, Ex Tongo clan g8:60

Mautikitiki, culture hero

Moa [Mugihenua] RE g20:54; the man who converted Bellona to Christianity

Moesango, Ex Tongo clan

Mu'akitangata [Mat] g13:Plate 3 3 songs

Naia (f) RE; *tangi* to Sa'omoana [Ng] g20

Naiham Tamua [Ma] g21

Namona [Ah]; g21:Plate 3; born ca.1900, killed 1936 3 songs

Namona [Baitanga] g21

Ngaakei [H] g22; died after 1910 and before 1933

Ngabeiika (f) [T]; *tangi* to husband Ha'utahi [N] g19

Ngeepusi (f), RE

Ngeipau Teha'usoko (f), goddess (daughter of T'benga)

Ngemotua (f); cf. T189.4

Ngibauika Hakatingi'uhi [N] g21 2 songs

Ngiuika [To] g12:59

Ngiusanga, RE

Ngongotaka, Ex Hu'aingupe clan, ca. g9

Nguatinihenua Putuitekaba, deity; son of T'benga

Niukona (f) [T]; *tangi* for Tema'unga'uhi [Te] and Tema'ungaika [Ah] g20

No'angenga (f) [Te]; *tangi* for 2 RE brothers

Nuimata (f), RE

'Osomanga'e (f) [T]; <i>tangi</i> to Tangaibasa [T] and another man	
Noongaki, Ex Tanga clan	
'Oea [Mugihenua] RE	
'Osomei [T]	
Paieke (f) [M I] g19; <i>tangi</i> to Maungu [N] g20:57?	2 songs
Panio Re g20:54	
<u>Paul Sa'engeika</u> [Ng] g21:57; born ca.1898, died 1979	10 songs
Pogho'ungu Temota (f) [Sap] g21; <i>tangi</i> to Namona and M. Taupongi g21	
Pongi [Ng] g21:57; medium; cousin of Paul S.	
Puangongo [To] g19:59; died 1880 Queensland, Australia	3 songs
Puipuiphenua Namona [N] g20:57; killed before 1910	13 songs
Sa'engeahe [M I] Ghongau g20:56; died ca.1880 Pt. Mackay, Australia	8 songs
Sa'omoana [Ng] g20:57	
Sangoihenua Topue [H] g21:55; killed before 1910	9 songs
Sa'o'angiki Tongoho'ou [Ng] g19:57; grandfather of Paul S.	5 songs
<u>Sanga'eha</u> [S] g21:59; 1900-1974; died fishing; father of Heman H.	
Sapaingea [Sap] g20:55	2 songs
Sau'eha [G] g19:55?	
Saungongo [Ng] g20:57; died 1933; father of Paul S.	6 songs
Saungongo [T] g20; father of Tekamu g21	

Sema'ia [Sap]	
Sengeika [P] g19:55	4 songs
Sikingemoemoe (f), deity (sister/wife of T'benga)	2 songs
Sikione, Ex Hatangua sub-clan ca. g10	
Sikopua (f); <i>tangi</i> to Bibao [B] g21:Plate 3	
Sina (f), culture hero (mother/sister of Mautikitiki)	2 songs
<u>Solomon Teika</u> [N] g21; born ca. 1923	
Stephen Puia [Mugihenua] RE g20:54	
Suaika [To] g19:59; grandfather of Taupongi	10 songs
Suia, Tangahau Hu'aitengaa [Mat] g16	
Sungaemae [Ma] g12:59	2 songs
Taaika [H] g22:9?	
Taangungu, Ex Hu'aingupe clan, ca. g10:58	2 songs
Taatangau, Ex Tongo clan; g7:60	
Tabake (f); <i>tangi</i> for Takiika [M I] g18	
Tabihakangau (f) goddess (wife of Tupuimatangi)	
Tahua from Tikopia; to RE ca. g18	
Takiika [B]; died before 1933	
Takiika Teikangongo [M I] g18	
<u>Takiika</u> [N] g2:57, ca.1908-1979; brother of Tekiuniu	8 songs

Takiika [M I] g18:56	2 songs
Tamungeu, Sau clan or Hatangua village, Ghongau (cf. N185)	
Tangaibasa [N] g18:273	
Tangei RE (Te'ana, W. RE); young in 1929-30	
Tango'eha [Ma] g20:59; a medium; died 1963 an old man	
? Tangokona (f) RE; <i>tangi</i> to husband Teseu	2 songs
Tangokona Taaikangongo [Ma] g13:59; completely tattooed to footsoles	
Tangomaha [Mugihenua] RE g9:219	3 songs
Tanguaba [Na] and RE, g20; killed ca. 1910; younger brother of Tongaka T.	3 songs
Taukiana [Tegano] RE	
Taukiu [Sap]	2 songs
Taukiu, Cl. [Ta] g21; strong in 1933	4 songs
Taungabea RE	2 songs
Taungenga [G] g20; died in 1938 at sea; front and back <i>taukuka</i>	10 songs
<u>Taupongi Ngibauika</u> [To] g21:59; born ca. 1929	
Taupongi Bakaunga Kaipua [H]	
Taupongi Sa'ongau [M I] g20; died in a fall while hunting flying fox	3 songs
Aaron Taupongi [Mugihenua] RE g19:54	
Tausia [Sap] g21; died before 1933	4 songs
Teaahitu 'Aasia Taangau [H] g21:9; died before 1910	5 songs

Teahemako (f) [G]	2 songs
Teahemota (f) [B] g21; born 1920	
Teangaimangu Kagosia (f)	
Teangapua (f) RE g20; <i>tangi</i> to husband Bamoa, Teikabengo	4 songs
Te'aunga (f); <i>tangi</i> to Sa'obaa	
Tebai'ua (f) = Tabake?	
Tebaukianga (f) [Mat]; <i>tangi</i> to Taukiu [P] g20:55	
<u>Tebengi</u> (f) [T] g22; born ca. 1933	
Tebengi (f) RE Hangekumi g19?; <i>tangi</i> to Tepuke [Te] g19	
Tebuni [To]	
Teghainiu, RE	
Tehu'aingabenga, district deity	3 songs
Tehuamau (f) [N]; <i>huaa pati</i> S 48; mother of Takiika and Tekiuniu	
Teikabengo Sa'opongo [Mugihenua] RE g21:Plate 3; died ca. 1940	2 songs
Teikanoa Mana'eha [Kanaba] RE g21	4 songs
Teikangongo [T] g21:50 or g16:56?	
Teikangau; <i>huaa mako</i> to Baiabe	
<u>Tekamu Sungu'ia</u> (f) [T] g22; born ca. 1918	
Tekaukau (f); <i>tangi</i> for Ngaakei	
Tekehu Momoka [M I] g20	4 songs

<u>Tekiuniu</u> [N] g21:57; born 1910	3 songs
Tekiunoa (f); <i>tangi</i> for husband Sa'uika	
Tekiusinamu Bosuka (f), Matangi; <i>tangi</i> for Saungongo and Kautasi	
Telaaghubi (f) RE	
Temangoo, Ex Tanga clan	
Telanga (f) [G]; <i>tangi</i> for husband Teniutai	
Temakoika (f) [N] g20; <i>tangi</i> for husband Tingi'ia [Pa] g19	
Temakosa'u (f); <i>tangi</i> for husband Taaika g22	
Tema'ungamako (f) [Ng] g21	
Tema'unga'uhi [Te] g20:Plate 3; killed 1936	
Temega RE	
Temoa [Mugihenua] RE g15:Plate 3 ?	
<u>Temoa Puangongo</u> [To] g20:59, born ca. 1889; father of Taupongi	3 songs
Temoni (f) [Te] g19; mother of Paul Sa'engeika	
Temota Pogho'ungu (f) [Sap] g20; <i>tangi</i> to Namona, M. Taupongi	2 songs
Temotuniu (f) [Te] g19; <i>tangi</i> to husband Puipuihenua g20	
Temotuniu (f) g20; <i>tangi</i> to husband Panio RE (Lughu g20:54?)	
Tengongo'angiki	
Tengongoika (f) [P] g18; daughter of Hakasoika g17:Plate 3	2 songs
Tengighingighi [Ex Tehangeta'ane]	
Te'ota (f); <i>pese</i> to husband Tango'eha S 18	

Tepai [T] g22

Tepai ca. g20 (or g22:Plate 3 ?) Hangekumi [Kanaba] RE; died in 1930s

Tepani Tome RE [Mugihenua] g20; to Queensland and returned 2 songs

Tepeau RE

Tepolo (f) RE; *tangi* to Takiika [g]

Tepuke Pungeingoto [Te] g19:Plate 3; died after 1910 7 songs

Tesau'anga (f) RE; *tangi* to husband Togaka g20

Tesui, born before 1862

Tetabake (f) [Ng] g19; mother of Tanguaba

Tetabake (f) *tangi* to Sauhonu [Ma], Tepai RE, g20? 2 songs

Tetuha Peseika [Te] g20; born before 1920

Te'unguhenua [G] g20; killed before 1880 by Tingi'ia [Pa] g19 3 songs

Te'unguika (f) [To] g19; *tangi* to husband Basibasi [Sap] g20 2 songs

Te'usi (f) [Ta]

Tighesua, Matthew RE g21:Plate 3

Tingi'ia [Pa] g19:Plate 3; died 1900 on voyage to RE 2 songs

Tingi'ia Sa'obaa [B] g21:56; died before 1910

Tinopaumatu'a RE [Mugihenua] g8:Plate 3; *tangi* to Nautanga (f) RE 2 songs

Tongaka Ngepetuha [Te] g21:Plate 3; born ca. 1920

Tongaka Tema'ungaika [Na] and RE g20:Plate 3; killed 1937 15 songs

Tu'ataa [Ma] g10:59

Tu'eteaki (f); *tangi* to Tepai g20

Tuhenua Betesau [T] g21; old in 1933

Tuhenua [To] g21:59; grandfather of Tuhenua Betesau, above

Tuhenua [Tegano] RE g20:Plate 3

Tuikunga from Taumako (Duff Islands?)

Tu'imaka [Ng] g20:57; died ca. 1940 6 songs

Tuima'u Teha'usoko Te'osoika (f) ['Angohi]; born ca. 1933; wife of Tongaka Ng.

Tupe'uhi Bibao [Sap], ca. g21; born 1900, died 1979

Tupuimatangi, district deity (son of T'benga) 4 songs

Tu'uiteika, district deity (son of T'benga)

Tu'utihenua [Ma] g11:59; *'ungu* to Baiabe

Wesley Topue [G]; g22; born after 1921

GLOSSARY OF BELLONESE SONGS AND GENRES

The glossary covers various kinds of named Bellonese musical entities: song types, song(-dance) suites and their subdivisions, text categories, and parts of songs. A song type has a distinct musical identity, which may vary if used within the context of different suites.

After the names of the 27 main musical genres (those that are performance entities), the following classificatory symbols are given: (O) = *ongiongí*, (T) = *tau'asonga* and (SS) = Song Sessions (see Chapter Two, Part 1, for local categories, which are not included in the glossary). Terms without such symbols are constituent parts of larger units.

'asoanga . Two songs together, as the *huaa pati* by Matahia at the end of *pati* sessions. See Chapter 3.1.

babange 'anga (T) . "Playing, sporting, game, dancing" (op.cit:27). A session of games played by adults at traditional gatherings or feasts, including *hetakai* 'trip-wrestling', *beelunu* 'hair-pulling', *hiti'anga* 'walking on hands', and the singing games: *kubikubi ngoo'ata* 'ant pinching', *tuki* 'pounding', *kini ou ta'e* 'tap your feces', *ha'uha'u kongoa* 'winding up the loincloth', *ngau i te tango* 'one hundred taro', *te tingomate* 'the resurrection', *tau manini* 'many surgeon fish', *tanimalenge* 'bite the yam', *ta'ota'o kimoa* 'rat piling', and *kongaa ma aaboi aa* . A musical transcription of the game 'ant pinching' appears in Chapter 10 of Part 2. A photograph of the last-named game is published in Rossen (1978 c:25). The 1st, 2nd and 6th songs appear on the record Folkways FE 4273 (A: 3-4), and photographs of the 1st and 6th appear in the accompanying brochure. See Chapter 3.1.

Rolf Kuschel describes *ta'ota'o kimoa* 'rat piling' in its two different forms for adults and children (1975 a:44), and the children's version of several other singing games (op.cit.:38, 39, 44, 47, 48, 49, 50).

baka taa 'anga'anga . See *taa 'anga'anga te baka* .

biki . To Praise; praise song. Not a musical genre but an attribute of many songs.

haingaa tangi (T). Literally, 'doing laments'. A song session performed by a seated, mixed group, who beat the rhythm with their hands on a sounding board, log, or other object (beating with sticks is modern). One person sings the verses and the others join in the chorus. The first song type was traditionally unaccompanied.

Women are considered the best composers and singers of these songs, which are composed to mourn the death or loss of a man, to praise the composer's husband or lover, and to commemorate a variety of misfortunes. The main song type is *tangi*, literally 'to lament, cry, weep; tears'. The session would begin at dusk and last until dawn, with the following series of song types: *hangokiemo* (this is the chorus), '*ungu tangi* 'introductory *tangi*', *tangi* 'laments', *hakaokioki* 'to rest', *huhuke* (a word in the chorus), *hakasao* 'freedom', and *hakataungangoto*.

haka'aue. To thank; song of thanks, as formerly performed at the *manga'e* ritual distribution of uncooked food; composed for a person or a god. Not a genre.

hakakookoo. The final song of the *mako noho* session. Literally, to sing *koo* or *kuu*; this word is exclaimed twice at the end of the song, in a downward glissando that begins on a high tone. See Chapter 3.9.

hakamuna. 'To teach to speak; to sing for this purpose to children'. The words are improvised over phrases used for teaching small children to talk. These are considered words of comfort (*ongiongi*, *baakongikongi*) and not real songs. During the first few years of a child's life, the parents, grandparents, and other women will sing to the child, making up little songs to quiet the child and teach it to talk. The improvised tunes follow melodic patterns resembling those of *kananga*.

hakangungu. An ancient kind of *saka*, sung after *saka* songs during tattooing. Literally, to protect; to seek shelter.

hakaokioki. See *haingaa tangi*. Literally, to take rest.

hakasao. See *haingaa tangi*. Short songs near the end of *tangi* sessions with the chorus *i obee*. Literally, to protect, safeguard.

hakatamatama (o te suahongi) . Literally, 'to be young'. The last division of the *suahongi*, composed by Iho in generation four, and thus younger than the first two divisions.

hakataungangoto. See *haingaa tangi*, *pati* . Short songs near the end of *tangi* and *pati* sessions.

hakatenge (T). *Tenge* 'to run'; *hakatenge* 'to chase, make run' (op.cit.:300). A men's dance with *papa* accompaniment. In the introductory dances (*'ungu*), the dancers stand in a curved line facing the *papa* and gesturing in place; in the dance songs they close into a tight circle around the *papa* with four fast steps called *tengetenge* 'to walk or run fast' (this step would seem to be the origin of the name). The dance is believed to have been brought from 'Ubea. Examples of the dance songs appear on the record Folkways FE 4274:B8. Songs 59-62, Part 2, Chapter 15.

hango kie moe. See *haingaa tangi*. Chorus and song at the beginning of *tangi* sessions.

hatingau. See *obo*.

ha'uha'u kongoa. Literally, wind the tapa. See *babange 'anga* above and Chapter 3.1, Part 1.

hua, *huaa* + qualifier. 1. Song; to sing a song. 2. *Hua*, see *pese kanongoto* . *Na hua o na sa'a*, 'songs by the clans', are seven stanzas or songs believed to have been composed by the first immigrants, who founded the original clans of Rennell and Bellona. The record FE 4273:B3 contains the songs, and texts are printed in the accompanying brochure.

huaa mako. 1. 'Dance songs' with one or few stanzas, commonly preceded by *'ungu* . See *mako hakahaahine*, *mako hakapaungo*, *mako ngangī*, *mako sa'u*, *papa* . 2. Six short songs also called *pese* in the *suahongi* division called *ngongotuu* (See Part 2, Chapter 11, Song 40).

huaa mako ngoa, *huaa mako hingo*. Long *huaa mako* in the *papa* dance.

huaa pati. See *pati* and Chapter 3.1. The main song type of *pati* sessions. The leader in the center of the circle accompanies the songs with slow clapping. Part 2, Chapter 13, Songs 47-53.

huatanga, *hua tanga 'eha*. See *pese kanongoto*, *suahongi*; the largest divisions in these events. *Hua* 'song'; *-tanga*, nominalizing suffix (*huatanga*, 'singing'; *'eha*, 'many').

huhuke, see *haingaa tangi*. One of the final song types of *tangi* sessions. The chorus is: "*E huhuke taia te ata te mangama, e huhuke*, let loose the shining light."

hungu o Tangangoa. Literally, Tangangoa's feathers. One of the final song types of *mako noho* sessions. Tangangoa is a culture hero for whom comets were named.

huu hakaio. See *pese kanongoto* and Chapter 3.4.

kananga. Short song or ditty: "usually of one or two verses, with hidden meanings, most commonly referring to love affairs; some are taunts and in a few the composer praises his own good looks... Highly personal and often referring to clandestine unions, *kananga* are not sung in presence of classificatory siblings or siblings-in-law. Some are so subtle that only persons involved understand. As of 1972, *kananga* allegedly were no longer composed because of church opposition" (Elbert, 1975:118). The verb *ose* means "to sing a *kananga* chant; the tune of a *kananga* . *E ose a Tebegi*, Tebegi sings a chant. *Te ose o Moa noko hatu e Tebegi*, the tune of the chant honoring Moa composed by Tebegi" (op.cit.:217).

When a group of Bellonese saw the manuscript for Part 2, they laughed to see that *kananga* were included in a book entitled *Na taungua o Mungiki*, because only songs performed in public belong to the repertoire of traditional songs, and *kananga* belong to the private sphere. Monberg published a lengthy article on *kananga* in 1974 which includes one of my musical transcriptions (Monberg 1974:430). See Part 2, Chapter 4, Songs 11-16.

kapa (T). A men's dance performed in lines. The introductory dances are unaccompanied; the dance songs are accompanied by the *papa* . Origin of the name unknown. The dance is believed to have been brought from 'Ubea. When performing this dance, the dancers wear fine mats (*malikope*) . A photograph of a performance of this dance appears in the publication by Rossen (1978 b:25). A gift is given, after the *'ungu*, by the dance leader, who first says *'ese* .

keu. 1. Songs in the *mako noho* preceding *na hungu o Tangangoa*. 2. Designation for certain ancient *huua mako* that have the same tune.

kini ou ta'e. A singing game in *babange 'anga* sessions; literally, 'tap your feces'. The song appears on the record publication FE 4273:A3c.

kongaa ma aaboi aa. See *babange 'anga*. A singing game in which one man, standing, is lifted high on the interlaced hands of the others.

kubikubi ngoo'ata. See *babange 'anga*. Literally, 'pinching ant'. In this singing game the participants stand and kneel in a circle, each with their hands in the center; the bottom hand lies upon the ground. Each hand in the pile 'pinches' the skin of the hand below with thumb and index finger. As they sing, they pinch the hand below harder on the last word. Part 2, Chapter 10, Song 35.

maghiiti (O). Unaccompanied songs with several irregular stanzas and a chorus commonly performed by ceremonial leaders; they might also be sung by individuals in danger, as entreaties to the deities. *Maghiiti* are classified by the Bellonese according to whether they are sacred or not, that is, if they were used for rituals or for people. When used in rituals, the particular occasion was named, e.g., *te maghiiti o te ngeemungi*, 'the *maghiiti* of the *ngeemungi* (ritual)'. The *maghiiti* for people were sung as a *haka'aue*, 'song of thanks', to the person holding the ceremony. According to the Bellonese, *maghiiti* were used on the following occasions (Taupongi, 1974):

For the *kaba ki hange* ritual (see Chapter 3.2), for rituals with distributions of *ngeemungi* fruit, taro, coconuts, bananas (that is, all produce except for the relatively recently imported pawpaws and potatoes), whale, turtle, *pongo* fish (surgeon fish); when walking past the sacred stones at Ngabenga. They were not sacred when used for the following fish: shark, *ungua* (crevalle), and *sungumenga*.

Elbert tells of *maghiiti* songs used to protect individuals from the two sacred and dangerous gods embodied in two stones at Ngabenga: "Kinds of sacred songs as formerly sung by members of the Kaitu'u clan when near Ngabenga, Bellona, the site of the sacred stones..." The word is also a verb meaning "to sing *maghiiti* ;...to chant in triumph, as after catching a shark or cutting *ngeemungi* branches" (Elbert 1975:159). Two *maghiiti* songs have been published on the record FE 4273: B 1-2, and the texts printed in the accompanying brochure. Part 2, Chapter 2, Songs 1-4.

mako. 1. Dance, dance song; to dance; song (rare). 2. Unaccompanied songs with many verses and a chorus; the main song type in the *mako noho* session. See also Chapter 3.9 and Part 2, Chapter 7, Songs 26-29.

mako hakahaahine, tau'asonga o na haahine (T). Literally, dance in the style of women; female dance. A men's circle dance with the sounding board, believed to have been performed by women in the distant past (generation 7 after the immigration). Some of the dance movements are said to simulate the movements of women. The dancers perform the *'ungu* gesturing in place, and the *huaa mako* moving around the *papa*. Musical examples are published on the record Folkways FE 4273:A5. A photograph of a performance of this dance is published by Rossen (1978c:102).

mako hakapaungo (T). 'Dance in the style of Paungo.' Paungo is "an ancient name, probably for San Cristobal Island... *Hakapaungo*, to be in the Paungo style" (op.cit.:226). An unaccompanied line dance performed by men with fighting clubs and staffs of many different kinds. The *'ungu* is performed in one place, the *huaa mako* dance songs moving forward toward the house; there is a special ending called *mako tukutuku*. Musical examples are published on the record Folkways FE 4274:B4; texts, explanations, and a photograph appear in the notes to the record (Figure 3). This dance was sometimes performed before the *manga'e* distribution; the dancers occasionally made a surprise attack upon opponents with their weapons in the course of the dance. See Part 2, Chapter 12, Songs 44-46.

mako hakasaunoni (T). 'Dance in the style of Saunoni'. Saunoni may be a place name, but nobody knows where it might be. A men's circle dance with clapping. The dancers perform the *'ungu* clapping in place, and the dance songs moving around in a ring, swinging arms and clapping (*mako hakasaunoni* is the term for swinging arms; *pese* 'clapping'). Musical examples are published on the record Folkways FE 4273:A2, and a photograph appears in the record notes (Figure 1). See Part 2, Chapter 14, Songs 54-56.

mako ki te nga'akau (T). 'Dance with the sticks'. A men's circle dance performed with sticks, formerly with fighting staves. The introductory verses are unaccompanied; the dance songs are performed with the *papa*. The ending is unaccompanied except for some clapping: the men face center and end by audibly poking the sticks at the center on the final words, *tuitui oo*. A photograph of a performance of this dance is published by Rossen (1978c:106).

mako noho (= *mako sasa*) (SS). Literally, 'seated song' (= 'crazy song'). A song session performed in the evening and night by seated (*noho*) males, without accompaniment. Before the *mako noho* begins, an *'ungu* 'introductory song-dance' with the sounding board is performed. The main song type is *mako*,

which are dirges composed about the loss of youth, the death of close relatives, and other sorrows.

The succession of song types is as follows: *'ungu mako* 'introductory *mako*', *mako* dirges or laments, *tauhungi*, *na keu* 'to turn back', *na hungu o Tangangoa* 'Tangangoa's feathers', and an ending song called *hakakookoo* 'to sing *koo*!'. When these songs were finished, a series of *pese hakasa'amo*a 'Samoan songs' were sung.

Mako songs end with the exclamation *'la* ! "Here! Here it is! Take it! Now!" At this signal, people presented others with gifts, saying *'Ese* ! All kinds of goods and produce were exchanged, so the name of this session became 'market' in Pidgin English. Elbert, in his definition of *mako noho*, says (op.cit.:162): "At the end of each song, persons present gifts to anyone they choose; the recipient later returns a gift of equal value; formerly canoes, mats, tapa, land, houses, and even children might be given; participants in a *mako noho* ." See Chapter 3.9.

mako ngangi (T). 'Sung dance; dance of heaven'. A men's circle dance to the *papa* which was performed by elders. The introductory songs are unaccompanied, and the *huaa mako* dance songs are accompanied by the *papa* . Musical examples are published on the record Folkways FE 4274:B7, and a photograph of a performance of the dance appears on the cover of the album. See part 2, Chapter 15, Songs 57-58.

mako ngenge. *Ngenge* 'to swing', PPN *lele* 'to fly'. To dance, as of one person swinging the *tapanihutu* staff during certain songs of the *kanongoto* harvest ritual. The dancer does not sing, but shouts after every second verse. See notes to the record Folkways FE 4273: B5 and Figure 4, showing the dancer.

makongi. Not performed. A dance attributed to the prehistoric *hiti* in a tale (Elbert and Monberg 1965:185, N66:46).

mako sasa. Literally, 'crazy song'. See *mako noho* and Chapter Six.

mako sa'u (T). 'Visiting dance' (*sa'u*, to transfer). A men's dance with *papa* accompaniment and two kinds of introductory dances, *taki* and *'ungu*, formerly performed by visitors approaching a settlement. *Taki* introductory dances are performed as the line of dancers move down the trail. A circle is formed and the *'ungu* is danced in place, followed by five kinds of *huaa mako* dance songs. See Chapters 3.6 and 4.1, Part 1.

mako tu'u (T). 'Standing dance' (*tu'u*, to stand); brought from Tikopia by castaways carried to Rennell in drifting canoes. A dance with the *papa* in which men holding fans (sometimes green branches) hop in a line. The introductory songs are unaccompanied, the men standing in place. A photograph of this dance is published by Rossen (1978c:cover). The traditional dress included the fan, which is used in this dance. If the dance is performed in modern dress, a branch or other object is substituted. To begin the dance, the dancers kneel on one knee while the first introductory song (*ngangi*) is sung.

mu'aabaka pati (T). 'Women's *pati*'. A women's dance with two kinds of introductory dances, *taki* and introductory *pati*, formerly performed for (and by) the wife of an important man. *Taki* introductory dances with the *papa* are performed as the line of dancers moves slowly from behind the house, and these are followed by introductory *pati* and *huaa pati* dances performed in a circle with clapping accompaniment. Musical examples are published on the record Folkways FE 4274: B1-3. See Chapters 3.5 and 4.2.

neepungu. To taunt a surviving foe; victory chant; to chant thus. *Manga neepungu te tau'a kia te au e noho toe i toku ta'okete kua ta'ia*, the fighter taunts me, surviving after my older classificatory brother was killed" (Elbert 1975:194). These chants were not performed for me at all. When I inquired about them I was told that they were not really songs. Each of them ends with the shout, Ooohoo! Rolf Kuschel collected six of these with five different titles (Kuschel, forthcoming).

ngangi. To sing the beginning or the verses of a group song or dance song, as by one person. The plural, *na ngangina*, is used in the *suahongi* to refer collectively to the sections started by a soloist. (Part 2, Song 36). PPN *langi* 'to sing'.

ngangibaka, tukubaka (SS). *Ngangibaka*, literally, 'to canoe-sing', from the verb *ngangi*, 'to sing the lead in a group song'; *tukubaka*, literally, 'to lower a canoe' (canoe-lower). Songs with several stanzas and a chorus sung at the *hakauu* ritual or while hauling heavy objects down a trail. See Chapter 3.3, Part 1.

A series of these songs is sung. *Ngangibaka* are performed first, when the canoe log is dragged from the bush to the settlement, and *tukubaka* while lowering the canoe down the cliff or dragging it from the settlement to the seashore. These sessions or occasions are called *taa 'anga'anga te baka*. Two of these songs are published on the record FE 4273:A1.

ngau i te tango. See *babange 'anga*. The last part of the singing game *ha'uha'u kongoa* rather than a game in itself.

ngeba. A type of song at the beginning of the *pese kanongoto* session with many verses and two choruses (*umenge*) : *hua ngeba* and *te ngeba* . No clapping is done in the first verses with the chorus *hua ngeba* ; clapping accompanies the remaining verses. *Ngeba* were also used by persons in danger at sea to appease Tehainga'atua, and in celebrations of gifts from the gods.

ngiba (*o te suahongi*). The second division of the *suahongi* consists of seven "*ngiba*," each of which is performed twice (the *suahongi* from 'Ubea ends here). The song leaders stand in front of the house and clap during the first three *ngiba* ; the lines of dancers dance towards them, end with the shout, *tena tau ngiba!* , and walk back to their places to begin anew. Part 2, Song 43.

ngibau. "To shout, call *ooho*, as in the *suahongi* dance ritual; such shouting" (Elbert 1975:57).

ngongole (T). "From the Tikopian *ngore* " (op.cit.:209). Men's dances with clapping believed introduced by wanderers from Tikopia in the 1900s. There are several different dances performed by columns of men; two are performed with long poles jointly held by the men, as in the photograph published by Birket-Smith (1951:Fig.73).

obo (SS). Short chants formerly performed at the beginning of the *ngeemungi* harvest. A series of *obo* was performed in the bush while the olive-like fruit was being harvested. The priest-chief performed the long ritual (*ongiongi*) with *manghiiti* and many *obo* songs at the *ngeemungi* tree; he led the songs and the others followed. *Obo* is also a verb meaning "To chant at the beginning of *geemungi* harvest...*E obo te geemugi*, to sing in honor of *geemugi* " (Elbert 1975:212). Before the *obo* songs, the person up in the tree sang the song called *hatingau* , 'the cutting song'. See Chapter 3.7, Part 1.

Obo are believed to have originated with the *hiti*, who taught the Bellonese the use of *ngeemungi* fruit, or Kaitu'u, who settled on Bellona 25 generations ago. The words of the songs are not in an ancient or foreign dialect; the texts concern *ngeemungi*, (species of *Santiria* and *Haplolobus*). The fruit, valued for its oil, grows on a huge tree which fruits only once in four to seven years.

The songs are chants delivered with great rapidity and ended with a shout, *oooho!*, which is called the *ngibau*. This rapid delivery is characteristic for rituals and chants rather than for songs. Part 2, Chapter 8, Songs 30-32.

oi. Unaccompanied songs with several stanzas and a chorus used at the *manga'e* distribution ceremony; a subtype of *saka*.

okeoke. A song at the end of the *pati* song-dance session. The dancers hold one arm up, forearm and fist perpendicular beside the body, upper arm horizontal to the side, and bend the fist forward from the wrist and up again three times on the word *okeoke* in the song; they then repeat the gesture with opposite arm and fist. Literally, to shake back and forth.

ose. "To sing a *kananga* chant; the tune of a *kananga*" (op.cit.:217).

papa (+ qualifier) (T). Board; men's circle dance with the sounding board. The qualifiers refer to different contexts, as the *papa hai'atua* 'papa for the gods', following the *suahongi* at rituals. The dance begins with an introductory '*ungu* performed in place; a long sequence of *huaa mako* follow, each dancer in turn seating himself at the sounding board to beat and lead one or more songs, while the group circles around him, first with slow strides, then faster and faster until they are running, leaping and shouting. At the climax, one or more of the dancers may leap onto the sounding board (*tighe*), and the dance then rapidly loses impetus and ends. "The beat on the sounding board... is at an even tempo, with sudden bursts of speed and beating at one end of the board; the dancers leap high and reverse direction at this beat" (op.cit.:98, *huaa mako*). Musical examples are published on the record Folkways FE 4274:B5-6, and photographs of the dance appear on the cover of the album, in Rossen (1978c:97), and Elbert and Monberg 1965, Figure 6 (photograph from 1933). See also Chapter 3.1, Part 1.

pati (T). Possibly an ancient word meaning "to clap, as in "Samoan. A mixed circle dance with two types of introductory song-dances. First *taki* introductory dances to the *papa* are performed with *mongi* gestures, walking in a ring. Then introductory '*ungu pati* with clapping are performed, the dancers gesturing in place. Thereafter follow a sequence of *huaa pati*, '*pati* songs', the dancers gesturing and walking in a ring with intermittent clapping. The leaders clap in the center for both of these *pati* song types. The final songs, *hakataungangoto* and *okeoke*, are performed gesturing in place. See also the musical examples and notes to the record Folkways FE 4274:B1-3; Figure 2 shows the gesture *okeoke* from the final song of the same name. Another

musical example has been published on the record accompanying the article, Rossen 1978b, band A1. See also Chapter 3.1, Part 1.

pese hakasa'amo (SS). 'Clapping song in the Samoan style'. Songs performed after *mako noho* sessions (see above) by men seated in two lines, back to back. The leader, seated at one end between the two lines, sings the verses and a chorus (*umenge mungi*); the other line sings a chorus (*umenge mu'a*) while the verses are being sung. The line or chorus that starts is called *umenge mu'a*, 'chorus ahead', and the second line or chorus is called *umenge mungi*, 'chorus behind'. This is a song session with only one kind of song. The songs are similar to *pese tau baalogha* of the *kanongoto* ritual in that they have two choruses, but they differ in seating plan and in the *tau baalogha*, only the lines sing the chorus, not the soloist. Song 22 in part 2.

pese kanongoto (SS). 'Clapping songs from the *kanongoto* harvest ritual'. A song session performed inside the temple by men seated in two facing rows; they clap hands in accompaniment (*pese*, 'to clap'). The session formerly lasted through the night until dawn and had three main divisions: '*ungu pese*, *hua tanga'eha* 'singing many', and *pese baapae ki te 'ao* 'clapping songs to summon dawn'. A *papa* dance is performed on the dancing grounds outside before the *pese* session begins.

All the songs have many stanzas. The sequence of song types is as follows: *ngeba* (a word in the chorus), *hua* (song), *huatanga 'eha*, *huu haka'aho*, *pese tau baalogha*, *pese tu'aamako*, and *mako ngege*. To sing the first *pese* song after the *ngeba* is called *haka'ungu pese* 'to introduce the *pese*'. Many of these songs have historical themes and some are among the oldest songs in the Bellonese repertoire.

Three *pese* are published on the record Folkways FE 4273 (B 3-5) and the texts appear in the accompanying brochure, along with a photograph of the *mako ngege* (Figure 4). The photograph shows the dancer who performs during the final song of the *pese kanongoto* session. He stands holding the dancing staff, with the long end of his loincloth over the shoulder of the priest-chief seated behind him. The dancer swings a staff called the *tapanihutu* during the singing and stops to give the shout of the sky god after every second verse; the dancing staff and loincloth are also those of the sky god, Tehainga'atua. This is the only solo dance among all the Bellonese dances. Part 2, Chapter 5, Songs 18-21.

pese tu'aa mako. Songs in the last division of the *pese kanongoto* song session in which a single dancer performs; he swings the dancing staff (*tapanihutu*) during the stanzas of the song. At the end of each stanza he

stops dancing and performs the *haka'o'ou* shout. See Chapter 3.4, Part 1.

pongipongi. Taunt song; to compose or sing taunt songs; taunt duel. The reciprocal form, *hepongipongi'aki*, means to engage in taunt duels. *Kananga* are commonly used for this purpose, and other songs such as *huaa mako* dance songs or even *tangi*.

pungesaumaki. To dance for a long time, especially two teams, as during visits by a group of *makosa'u* dancers.

saka (O). Songs with several irregular stanzas and a refrain "sung unaccompanied as entreaties to the gods, and also to a person being tattooed with large patterns to take his mind from the pain" (op.cit.:247).

In some rituals *saka* were sung in the temple by the priest-chief; the second priest-chief and the group accompanying them (*kau hekau*) would join in on the refrain. When sung by the tattooist, the application ("beating") of the tattoo accompanies a succession of *saka* songs; this *saka* session is called *tipa 'anga o na tatau*, 'beating of the (large) tattoos'. Such a *saka* may be heard on band A8 of the record FE 4273, and the text is printed in the record notes. Taupongi divided the *saka* (1968) into those for the sky god, for the district deity, for people, and for the *manga'e* distribution ritual. Subtypes of *saka* songs are *hakanguungu*, *oi*, and possibly *tau hakahenua tu'u*. Part 2, Chapter 3, Songs 5-10.

saumakinga. To dance for a long time; singing, dancing (of the *papa saumaki*). Formerly, the sounding board was desecralized after the ritual dances *tene*, *sauhongi*, and *papa*. The long session of secular dances sometimes performed after this desecralization is called *saumakinga* or *papa saumaki*. *Papa saumaki*, literally, 'continuing board', or "long session of beating the sounding board and dancing...; to do this" (op.cit.:225).

suahongi (T). The name of this song-dance means "to circle or hover about, as sharks; to go around in a circle...." (op.cit.: 264). An important ancient unaccompanied men's dance with three main divisions, the first danced in a circle and the last two danced in lines. The first two divisions are believed brought from 'Ubea; the last division, *hakatamatama* "to be young," is attributed to Iho, who lived in the fourth generation after the immigration. This ritual dance followed distribution (*manga'e*) and the *tene* "boxing dance," and preceded the dance *papa hai 'atua*. The music is published on the record Folkways FE 4274: A1-3, and Figure 1 in the record notes is a photograph from this dance.

Musical transcriptions, analysis, and the full, archaic text of the *suahongi* are published Chapter 11 of Part 2 (see also Rossen 1978 a). During the first divisions, an unusual form of polytextual polyphony is performed at two set points, called *huatanga mu'a* and *ngongotuu*. In principle, two different pieces of music, each with its own distinct text, melody, rhythm, and formal structure, are performed simultaneously and coordinated in an organized manner. Two dance leaders and two song leaders, one for each of the coordinated parts, are needed in the *suahongi*, which is forty minutes in duration. See also Chapter 3.1 of Part 1 and Songs 36-43, Chapter 11 of Part 2.

suahongi a haahine, suahongi hakahaahine. "Women's *suahongi*, *suahongi* in the style of women." A short *suahongi* dance performed by women on Rennell in the distant past (generation 7 after the immigration); not performed at present. Taupongi, who was born ca. 1928, explained that in his youth young men and children performed for recreation (he used the words *babange*, *putatai*, "jokingly"), but that it previously belonged to the *tau'asonga* "dancing and singing." It seems to have fallen into disuse and was never performed for me, not even as a game.

taa 'anga'anga (SS). "To shout and sing to Tehainga'atua while felling a tree for a canoe, or while dragging it to the sea, or for the *taukuka* chest tattoo" (op.cit.:269). See *ngangibaka*, *tukubaka*, Chapters 3.3 and 3.8, Part 1.

taa 'anga'anga te baka (SS). "To shout and chant ritually while felling a canoe tree and dragging it to the sea. Literally, canoe log carved and dragged (with) joyful singing" (op.cit.:32). See *ngangibaka*, *tukubaka*, and Chapter 3.3, Part 1.

taa hua 'ungu (T). A session of *'ungu* song-dances performed either for practice or as part of a program of dances. *'Ungu* otherwise are introductory song-dances in the *papa* and *mako sa'u* dances. The songs are considered to be serious and weighty, and an extensive repertoire of them exists. The dancers stand in a circle around the *papa* and perform gestures of the arm and hand while standing in one place.

taki (+ qualifier). A kind of dance and song with sounding board accompaniment, as with the *makosa'u* and *pati*; to dance and sing thus. A *taki mu'aabaka* is published on Folkways FE 4274:B1.

tanimalenge . A game, 'bite the yam', in *babange 'anga* sessions. "A cooked tuber, banana, or fruit is placed on top of a stake; the players hop on one foot and bite the yam without using hands; to play this game" (op.cit.: 286).

tangi . The main song type of *haingaa tangi* sessions. *Tangi* songs have many stanzas and a short refrain, or sometimes two refrains, and are the most popular of all Bellonese songs. They always begin with the refrain: many songs with the same refrain are sung after each other. Songs with the same refrain have the same melody; my count, which was not exhaustive, included over 50 different refrains. Part 2, Chapter 6, Songs 23-25.

ta'ota'o kimoa . Literally, 'rat pile'. A game in *babange 'anga* sessions "in which one person (*tugi*) , hiding his eyes, lies on the bottom of a pile of others; he sings out questions, and they sing answers; then they hide and whistle while the *tugi* searches for them; the songs sung; to play this game" (op.cit.:289).

tau (O). "To pray, chant, sing, as to honor or thank a worker; to chant a certain chant of the *kaba ki hange* ritual" (op.cit.: 293). *Tau* are chanted by a soloist on a few pitches only; there is no chorus, but the group responds occasionally with a spoken '*aue*, 'thanks', during and at the end of the chant.

tau manini . A singing game in *babange 'anga* sessions. Literally, to catch surgeonfish; surgeonfish swarm song. One man outside the circle "follows one inside, suddenly darting in to catch him before he leaps outside to escape. The man outside the circle (*te tege i tu'a*) sings *taumanini* ; the man inside the circle (*te tege i 'ago*) sings *tau magau* (squirrelfish swarm)" (op.cit.:296-97).

tau baalogha . Songs from the second division of *pese kanongoto* sessions, in which two groups of men continuously sing alternate refrains; the leader sings the stanzas while the refrains go on and on. *Baalogha*, literally, to make noise.

tau hakahenua tu'u . Unaccompanied songs with many stanzas and a refrain, composed for a tragic death. Used as farewell songs at parting ceremonies and formerly as the *haka'aue* 'song of thanks', at the *manga'e* ritual.

tauhungi . Literally, to turn over, take turns. Songs led by more than one person, by turns, in *pese kanongoto* (and *mako noho*) sessions.

taungua. 'Song; to sing'.

tautau. 'Verse, line' or 'stanza' of a song.

tene. 'Boxing dance' (= *mataahusu*) . *Mataa husu* is also a verb meaning "to fight first" (op.cit.:173). A men's chant and dance which, until the time of Taukiu in generation 18, preceded a 'boxing match' (a kind of fist fighting with extended thumbs used to jab the opponent) but still beginning with a boxing prayer (*takunga te husu*) ; to do this dance. Two lines of men sit or stand in front of the house on either side with their backs to the house. They chant an antiphonal challenge (*ungaunga*), after which two men, one from each side, circle each other and finally jump and stamp (*meme'i*) on the sounding board face to face; they hold arms and fists tautly outstretched (*eba kataha*) as they circle and lift each knee and foot in turn (*tene*) . The stamping would seem symbolic of the fist fighting formerly practiced. Sacred to the god Tehainga'atua and believed to have been brought from 'Ubea, the *tene* was performed after the *manga'e* ritual distribution and before the *suahongi* dance. See Chapter 3.1, Part 1.

te tingomate. A singing game in *babange anga* sessions, "in which a man acting as a non-worshipped god resurrects a dead person" (op.cit.:304). A recording, description, and photograph appear in Folkways FE 4273:A4, Fig. 3.

tubibaka. An ancient song with several verses and a refrain, sung by a soloist at the *manga'e* distribution ceremony. After first singing a *haka'aue* 'song of thanks' in honor of the priest-chief who is giving the distribution, the singer performs this song. While singing, he covers the piles of distributed food with leaves. The priest-chief thanks the singer with a speech and a gift.

tuki. Literally, to pound. A singing game following *kubukubi ngoo'ata* in *babange 'anga* sessions. The song appears in FE 4273:A3b.

tukubaka. Literally, 'to put down a canoe', which is done by lowering it by rope down a cliff. Elbert defines *tukubaka* (op.cit.:322): "A ceremonial chant, as sung while walking between temple and homestead, or when following an offering of food (*hakauu*) , with answers by others; or sung while carrying a large fish, as a shark, or while dragging a canoe or letting a new canoe down a line over a precipice; to chant thus". A series of these songs is sung; see *ngangibaka*, *taa 'anga'anga te baka*.

ungaunga. Literally, 'to challenge'. To chant or sing *tene* .

umenge. Refrain; chorus; to chorus or respond to a leader.

'ungu (+ qualifier). Literally, head. 1. Introductory songs or dance-songs of many musical events, preceding the main song type, such as *'ungu mako*, *'ungu tangi*, etc. *Haka'ungu* means 'to initiate a session', as *haka'ungu tangi* 'to sing the first *'ungu tangi* song. 2. *'ungu* (*'ungu papa*, *makosa'u*, etc.). Opening song-dance to the sounding board preceding *huaa mako* dance songs. See *taa hua 'ungu* .

unguoso (O). A series of these songs were formerly sung in succession after catching a shark, on the way back to shore in the canoe. One person began and the others joined in, following his lead. The songs have several verses and a refrain; many syllables are prolonged, almost shouted. The sound of these songs carries for a long distance, and the Bellonese said, "it's a thing that sounded very good." *Unguoso* were composed for *te ongiongi na mangoo* 'the ceremonies for sharks'.

Because of the Bellonese predilection for pronouncing *a* in song as *o*, the alternative name *unguasa*, may be the original name. *Unguasa* means "To be noisy, shouting, especially a chant of triumph after noosing a shark" (op. cit.:334). Part 2, Chapter 9, Songs 33-34.

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Te huaa pati a Tekamu kia te temana Saungongo [T],

the *pati* song by Tekamu for her father, Saungongo, of Tongaba lineage.

In this song, which is intended for public performance, Tekamu states her claim to ownership of disputed land at Meani. **X** denotes the dance gesture *huu*, a hand-clap.

1. Kau biki ki toku tamana-e
 x **x** **x**
te manu o te angohi ngangi-e.

I te ngupe ma te manu logha-e.

2. Oso ki tou baka ngangamā-e.
 x **x** **x**
Noko tonu mai Nukungeba-e.

Soanaki i te taha'ungi-e.

3. Tou tuunanga ko moana-e.
 x **x** **x** **x**
Noko sunga tau noho ai-e.

Poapoa i ou haiba-e.

4. Hoki ake ki honga henua-e,
 x **x** **x** **x**
tou 'ao te matangi sa'enge.

Pengu e koe a Meani-e.

5. Kitai hesingi e Mungiki-e,
 x **x** **x** **x**
taaunga i tou tamana-e,

Noko tuha e na 'aut mu'a-e.

x

I praise my father,

the bird on the horizon.

REPEAT

[Hunting] the dove and flying fox.

Caught by your canoe for flying fish.

Received divine gifts from Nukungeba.

REPEAT

Some more, the large fish.

Your property - all the sea!

Handsome, your staying there.

REPEAT

Good fish-smell from your fishing.

Returning ashore to land,

your power [like] the wind moving.

REPEAT

Working at Meani.

Without asking anyone's permission,

inherited from your father,

REPEAT

given by the ancestors.

REPEAT ENTIRE SONG