

FROM *ORIORI* TO THE EVERLY BROTHERS:
OBSERVATIONS ON THE MUSIC OF NUKUMANU

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A decade ago, *The Garland Encyclopedia of World Music* published summaries of musical research on eight of the Polynesian Outliers (Kaeppler and Love 1998).¹ Those summaries implicitly suggested an exciting project, comparing a set of musical traditions that had similar origins in West Polynesia and developed under roughly similar conditions. At the same time, it was clear that documentation of Polynesian Outlier music was, to say the least, uneven and meaningful comparison required further data. Here we present the music of one Outlier community in the hope that it will help facilitate an overdue comparison.

Nukumanu is a Polynesian atoll in Bougainville Province of northeastern Papua New Guinea. Also known as the Tasman Islands, it includes approximately 30 islets and is 11 miles in diameter; in 1984, it supported a population of about 400 people. There is no published Nukumanu lexicon or dictionary, and detailed information about the music is unavailable in any published source (Love 1998:834). This article is based on data collected by Feinberg during four months of fieldwork in 1984.² Johnstone has provided the musical analysis.

Nukumanu has close relations with two Polynesian neighbours: Takū to the west and Ontong Java to the south. Takū labourers imported many Nukumanu dances to their atoll (Moyle 1995, in press), while Ontong Java, only 30 miles away, is even closer socially, linguistically and culturally. Ontong Java was documented by Ernst Sarfert and Hans Damm as part of the German South Seas Expedition of 1908-1910 (Sarfert and Damm 1929), again in the 1920s by H. Ian Hogbin (see particularly 1961[1934]) and in 1969 briefly by ethnomusicologist Hugo Zemp (1971, 1972; McLean 1999:233). Nukumanu and Ontong Java have been in regular contact for generations, and intermarriage is common. Sarfert and Damm's descriptions, which include terminology in both Ontong Javanese and Nukumanu, suggest considerable stability in the atolls' music.

Despite Nukumanu's isolation, by the 1980s Western influence was clearly evident. European contact began in earnest during the period of German colonial rule, from the 1880s through the First World War, when Nukumanu was incorporated into "Queen" Emma Forsayth's copra empire.³ The introduction of wage labour, foreign workers, and Christianity had a lasting effect on Nukumanu's spiritual practices and political system.⁴ After the war, the atoll continued as a private plantation under Australian control. With the outbreak of the Second World War, contact with the West diminished, and Nukumanu eventually regained control of their land (Feinberg 1986:274-75).

CHARACTERISTICS OF NUKUMANU MUSIC

Our contribution draws on half a dozen hours of recorded Nukumanu music, as well as days of watching, listening and discussing with informants the nature, meaning and context of their musical performances. Our findings shed light on composition, uses and functions, learning and instruction, performance practice and terminology, and musical concepts (cf. McLean 1972). Despite changes in context and function, older musical elements—including named genres, melodic and rhythmic style, and timbre—remained in evidence even towards the end of the 20th century.

Instruments

Traditional Nukumanu music is primarily vocal dance music with percussion accompaniment. Nukumanu instruments in the mid-1980s included solid and hollow wooden idiophones (*tamu*—thick pieces of wood, beaten with smaller hardwood sticks), bamboo stamping tubes (*lopū*), empty kerosene drums, leaf whistles (*vini*), a mouth bow (*susupu*) and such instruments of Western origin as guitar, ukulele and harmonica (*puranu*). Harmonicas and mouth bows were played exclusively by children and were considered toys rather than serious musical instruments.

Genres

Nukumanu have no single word to cover all forms of what English-speakers call “music”. However, they have an extensive vocabulary for recognisably musical phenomena. *Huhua* is a general term for ‘singing’, while ‘dancing’ is *rue*, *anu* or *sina*. Different types of dance are distinguished as much by the different *anu* ‘dance movements’ as by contrasting musical styles. *Sina* and *anu* were said to be essentially synonymous. *Rue* is a generic term for ‘dancing’, but it is used especially for dances done to the accompaniment of drumming with sticks on a sounding board, empty kerosene drum or other object. *Urue* was given as a term for drumming to accompany a dance. Beating of bamboo tubes (*lopū*, see above) for a *hava* dance is not *urue* but *tutuki*.

Nukumanu *oriori*, the *kastam* genres discussed in this study, include: *hava*, *hiahia*, *rue*, *rani*, *hukitilo*, *horau*, *hau*, *papahau* and *nukutapu*.⁵ Among these genres, *rani* were described as *hāeo* ‘bad’—songs with offensive or sexually explicit lyrics and, perhaps, expressing malicious thoughts. The term *mako* was reported by several islanders to be a synonym for *rani*. It was regarded, however, as somewhat archaic and infrequently used in ordinary conversation. One consultant claimed that *mako* covers all musical forms other than *huatana*. Such varieties of song and dance as *hula*, *hau* and *hava*, in contrast with *rani*, were described as *tauleleka* ‘good’ or ‘fine’. *Huatana* or *huakatana* laments are quite distinct from all other genres. Along with *hea* and *rue*, they were noted by Sarfert and Damm (cf. McLean 1999:235-36) and were still actively performed in the 1980s. Formal singing or wailing accompanies Nukumanu death rituals.

Despite these genres’ continuity in form, the contexts in which they are performed have changed substantially. In 1984, *oriori* song and dance were restricted to such special occasions as Christmas, New Year’s Day and Easter. Feinberg was also told of a celebration held each September, when school children performed traditional dances.

Formal dances as well as feast activities took place in an area known as *te kaina*, the corridor between the first two rows of houses on the lagoon side of the village islet (see Figure 1). On formal occasions, when Nukumanu performed *kastam* music and dance, they adorned themselves with coconut frond and other leaf decorations as well as turmeric powder (see Figure 2).

In addition to formal celebrations officially recognised by the community government, both Nukumanu and Takū had informal musical performances during *kareve*-drinking gatherings. *Kareve* is coconut toddy. It is made from the sap of the coconut palm, which is collected daily, fermented, and then consumed—usually by men—at social gatherings. In 1984, Nukumanu men held *kareve* parties every second or third day (Feinberg 1986, 1988, 1995). *Rani*, songs bragging about exploits in fishing, love or other pursuits were often performed at these parties.

Sarfert and Damm noted competitive singing among both women and men (McLean 1999:235). As elsewhere in Polynesia, Nukumanu use music to taunt members of the opposite sex. One Nukumanu musical genre that represents gender-related rivalry and competition is known as *hava*. *Hava* performances begin with singing. The women sit together, while the men form a circle around them and face the centre. Both women and men tap the beat: the women stamp bamboo tubes approximately 90cm in length and 5 to 12cm in diameter, while the men use solid wooden poles representing spears.

In these performances, the women remain seated while the men dance, employing primarily their arms and hands. The end of the *hava* is marked by a dance in which the men repeatedly fall down on the ground and get up again in unison. One consultant characterised this as *hiahia*, ‘happiness’ or ‘celebration’. Sarfert and Damm described the dance, which they called *hea*, as an “agile men’s dance” (McLean 1999:236).

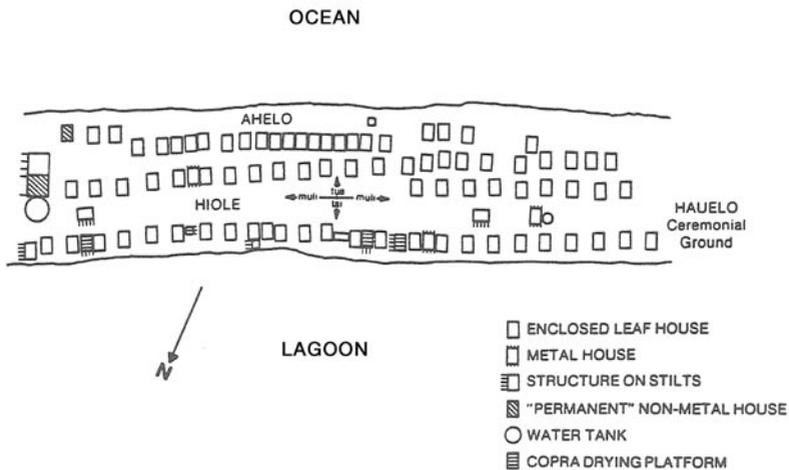


Figure 1. Amotu Village Plan, Nukumanu Atoll.

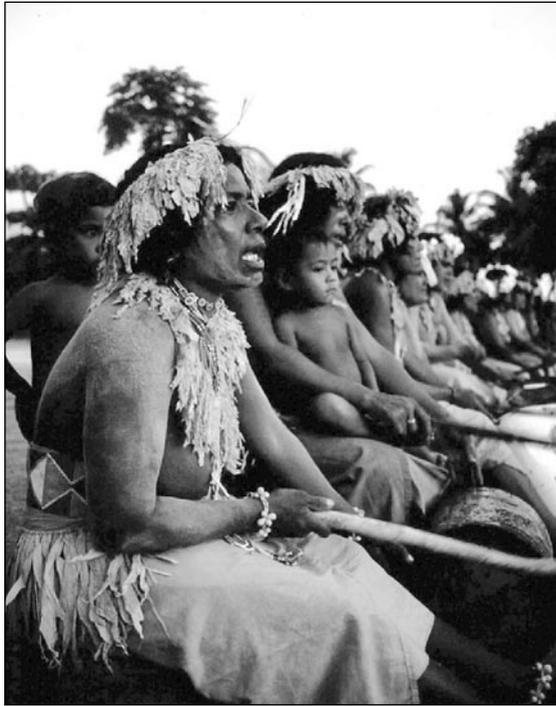


Figure 2. Women in full regalia, drumming at dance.

Urue represents another genre in which men dance while women sing and drum from a seated position (see Figures 3 and 4). Although women retain their traditional decorations, men remove adornments to perform *urue*. The women use solid sticks and empty kerosene drums to keep the beat; the men line up in rows and begin to dance slowly towards the women. As the tempo increases, the men rush forward in a frenzied dance and ultimately kick dust into the women's faces.

Instruction

Traditional dance, though not frequently performed, was still being taught to Nukumanu schoolchildren in 1984. Once a week, children were taught *kastam* dances. Boys and girls were separated during these sessions. Girls' movements emphasised graceful swaying of the hips and arms, whereas boys' movements included sharper, more aggressive motions. In general, Nukumanu dancers do not follow a leader; rather, they memorise the sequence of steps (*te anu* or *te sina*). One only looks to a leader or instructor when learning a new dance.

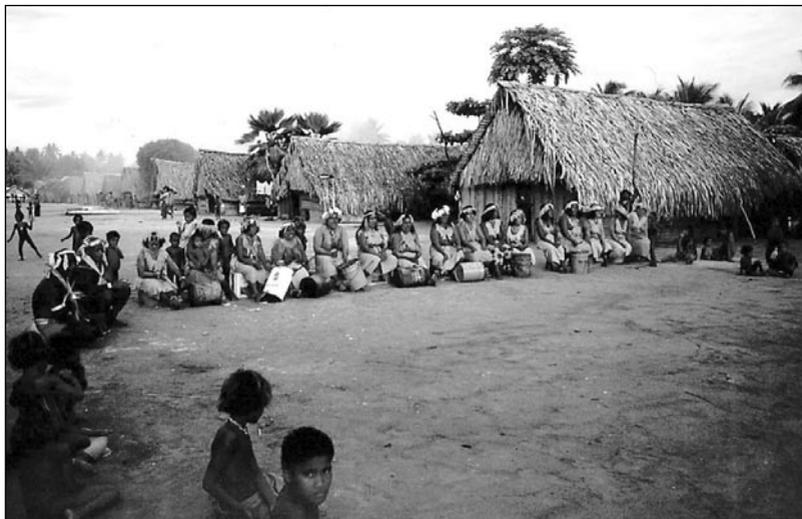


Figure 3. Women singing and drumming on dance ground.



Figure 4. Men performing *urue* dance, moving toward the line of women.

Despite the continued transmission of traditional dance, two of the most popular dance forms in 1984 included *hulahula* and *tisko*. *Hulahula* is dancing to live Western-style music played on the guitar. As of 1984, only young women played guitar for such dances. Some young men occasionally played guitar, but they did not sing *hulahula* songs and, therefore, did not perform for dances. *Tisko*, taken from the English word “disco”, denotes dancing to taped music that is played on an electronic boom box.

Musical Characteristics

Oriori appear to be relatively unaffected by Western influence. Many of those in Feinberg’s recordings exhibit a predilection for two predominant pitches: the first is repeated and regularly descends what is known in Western terms as a major second or whole tone to a second pitch, then immediately returns to the first pitch.⁶ Examples of this are found in *hava*, *rani*, *urue*, *hukitilo* and *horau*. This is illustrated by the *hava* transcribed in Figure 5.⁷

As in other Outliers (see Feinberg 1998:854, 858; Firth 1993, 1998:854; Moyle 1995, in press; Rossen 1987:312) more elaborate melodies with increased variation in pitch are found on Nukumanu. For example, *hula* melodies in our collection are pentatonic. Moyle describes *hula* on Takū as “women’s dances performed to topical

♩ = 146 to ♩ = 202

O - i E Hu - ra mai a na i - ka

E Ti - a ki - e ta - ku he - nu - a Ti - a ki - e ha - ka - ere hi -

o Ki kai te he - nu - a A - i a - ue

Figure 5. One Nukumanu *hava*.

songs” with guitar accompaniment, noting that the dance style was imported from Nukumanu (1995:35). He uses the term “triadic” to describe *hula*’s melodies as heard on Takū (Moyle 1995:35); the same term may be applied to the Nukumanu examples. Thus, although unaccompanied and sung in Nukumanu like typical *oriori*, both *hula* examples on Feinberg’s recordings include the use of five pitches, frequently outlining what in Western terms would be a major triad, as opposed to the alternation of two pitches a whole tone apart. This quality suggests the influence of Western melodies and/or harmonic relationships.

Other examples of the Nukumanu’s use of multiple pitches are found in guitar and ukulele music as well as children’s *singsing*. The latter refers to children gathering to sing songs to entertain themselves. These songs, often of Western origin, include Christian subject matter and Tok Pisin lyrics. In the recordings, the children begin each song by counting in English: “One, two, three.” In short, those songs that employ several pitches tend to be accompanied by other characteristics of Western music, while many *oriori* melodies remain limited to two pitches exclusively. Thus, we conclude, while Western conventions had made their way into Nukumanu music by 1984, they had not replaced traditional Nukumanu melodic material.

While texture varies among Nukumanu musical genres, many common characteristics may be observed. For instance, the traditional music shows a preference for beginning each line of a song with a solo voice that is later joined by others. Genres such as *hava*, *urue*, *rani* and *hukitilo* are all performed in this manner. Furthermore, in cases where the songs remain in unison, Nukumanu often add one harmony line, as heard in *rani*, *urue*, *hau*, *horau* and *nukutapu*. The *hava* transcribed in this article includes harmony only when the lead singer is finishing the solo introduction and other women’s voices initially enter, at which point, the leader shifts her pitch down

♩ = 66

Te a - ho te u - o - ta Te ma - ri -
no Te u - a i ta - no ta - ni E

Figure 6. One Nukumanu *rani*.

to join the group in unison. Nukumanu harmony lines consist primarily of tertian relationships. In Western terms, this would include singing the distance of either a major or a minor third from the main melodic line (see Figure 6).

Several rhythmic conventions may be distinguished in traditional Nukumanu music. For example, many genres, including *hava*, *hiahia* and *urue*, employ sophisticated syncopation throughout (see Figure 7). Nukumanu tend to begin dances slowly and increase the tempo as they progress. Acceleration in Nukumanu dance was also described by Sarfert and Damm (1929:462-64) and is found throughout Zemp's recordings (McLean 1999:239).

Vocal timbre among Nukumanu singers is typified by a flat, straight tone that is slightly nasal. This tone quality is present in virtually all Nukumanu music, with little variation among genres.

$\text{♩} = 124$

Tau arotia...

Hu

Tau arotia...

he-re Hau e-re Hu he-re Hau e Hu he-re

Hu he-re Hau e-re Hu he-re Hau e Hu he-re

Figure 7. *Hiahia* marking the end of a *hava*.

POETIC CONTENT

The denotative meaning of Polynesian songs is often opaque, and they may be replete with foreign, archaic or invented words. Obscure metaphoric and metonymic associations are commonplace, and in order to understand a song's significance, one must be familiar with the story behind it. Often islanders perform a song without knowing precisely what it means, because they like the tune, the imagery that it evokes or the associated dance. Nonetheless, different genres of song may be distinguished on the basis of poetic or lyrical form as well as musical characteristics and dance movements. In addition, pronunciation of words may be altered for aesthetic reasons. Commonly, vowels shift so that, for example, an /a/ is pronounced as /o/.

All of this may be seen in Nukumanu songs. Here we present the full texts of the three songs whose musical transcription is given in Figures 5, 6 and 7. The first is a *hava* about a sago log that drifted to Nukumanu. The log's arrival meant an unanticipated abundance of food for many weeks. Beyond that, however, Feinberg had trouble finding anyone who could explicate the song—or even accurately transcribe all the words. After a half hour of listening to a taped version, two of his consultants gave up. Eventually, he found someone sufficiently familiar with the song to provide the following transcription and exegesis. The text and Feinberg's translation of this *hava*, from side 3, band 3 of his collection, are as follows:

<i>Moe te ariki.</i>	The chief is lying down. ¹
<i>Moe i tana hare.</i>	He is lying in his house.
<i>Oko mai te motoni E.</i>	The wind blows hard in this direction!
<i>Anake papao ona natoi.</i>	It floats this way from the east. ²
<i>Ki kai te henuo.</i>	To provide food for the island.
<i>Ai aue!</i>	Oh indeed!
<i>Moe roa Manamonatua E.</i>	Manamonatua lies there! ³
<i>O mai te matani.</i>	Here comes the wind.
<i>Anake papao ona natoi.</i>	It floats this way from the east.
<i>Tai kōkō ki kai Nukutapu.</i>	A single sago log that Nukutapu might eat. ⁴
<i>Hura mai a na ika E.</i>	The fish are coming this way! ⁵
<i>Tiaki no taku henuo.</i>	I view my island.
<i>Tiaki ho hakaerehio</i>	I see there are no fish
<i>Ki kai te henuo.</i>	For the community to consume.
<i>Ai aue!</i>	Oh alas!

<i>Hura moi ana taurano.</i>	The <i>taurana</i> fish come this way. ⁶
<i>Tiaki no tātano.</i> ⁷	I look at the men.
<i>Tiaki ho tuakeu.</i>	I perceive their desire.
<i>Ai aue!</i>	Oh alas!
<i>Turia toku raki E.</i> ⁸	I construct a canoe in the monsoon wind!
<i>Turia e toku tamano.</i> ⁹	My father constructs a canoe.
<i>Turia e toku tipuno.</i> ¹⁰	My grandfather constructs a canoe.
<i>Ki kai Nukutōpu.</i> ¹¹	That Nukutōpu might eat.
<i>Ai aue!</i>	Oh indeed!
<i>Turia toku orumano.</i> ¹²	My <i>orumano</i> dance is established.
<i>Turia e Teutohuo.</i> ¹³	Teutohuo stands up [to dance].
<i>Turia e Taue.</i> ¹⁴	Taue stands up [to dance].
<i>Ki kai Nukutōpu.</i>	That Nukutōpu might eat.
<i>Ai aue!</i>	Oh indeed!

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- Moe* could either mean ‘to be there’ or ‘to lie down’ or ‘to sleep’. These lines, thus, could also be translated as: ‘There is the chief; He is in his house’ or ‘The chief is sleeping; Sleeping in his house’.
 - This line presumably refers to the sago log.
 - Manamanatua is the name of a chiefly house and descent group. In Nukumanu poetic diction, as in some other Polynesian languages, /a/ sometimes shifts to /o/. That accounts for the pronunciation, Manamonatua, in this line as well as the substitution of *henuo* for *henua* in the first stanza.
 - Nukutapu is said to be the ancient name for Nukumanu.
 - Fish could be a metaphor for people, perhaps victims of military conquest. The significance in this song is unclear.
 - Taurano* is poetic diction for *taurana*, the name for a type of fish (also known as *te nanue*).
 - No tātano*, in normal speech, would be *na tātana* ‘the men’.
 - Toku* appears to be poetic diction for *taku*, the normal pronunciation of the Nukumanu first person singular possessive pronoun. The usual Polynesian distinction between /o/ and /a/ forms of possessive pronouns does not appear in Nukumanu.
 - Tamano=tamana* ‘father’.
 - Tipuno=tipuna* ‘grandfather’.
 - Nukutōpu=Nukutapu=Nukumanu.
 - In normal speech, *orumano* is pronounced *urumano*. It is an alternate name for a dance of either the *hava* or *hau* variety.
 - Teutohuo is a person’s name.
 - Taue is a person’s name, rendered in poetic form. Normally this name was given as Atau.

The second sample is a *rani* (from side 3, band 8). Although *rani* are generally described as songs that brag about a man's special accomplishments, it is hard to see any boastful characteristics associated with this piece. It was described as depicting a visit to the atoll's cemetery (*te kava*), apparently for a funeral. Whose funeral is unclear; some of the lyrics seem to suggest that the composer is envisioning his own. The song focuses on the hard work associated with the funerary rites, and it evokes an image of a terrible storm with rain and wind that make the singer think of the end of the world. It is unclear whether he experienced such a storm during this visit to the cemetery, or if he is beseeching his gods to prevent inclement weather before it starts. In any case, the imagery is vivid, and it is easy to comprehend the song's popularity.

<i>Te aho. Te uota. Te marino.</i>	The day. The work. ¹ The calm.
<i>Te ua i tano matani E.</i>	The terrible wind and rain! ²
<i>Te aho mua tau palasin.</i>	That day we first carry your soil to the cemetery.
<i>Te marino, te ua i tano matani E.</i>	The calm, the rain, and cataclysmic wind!
<i>Anau e taka ma taku atua.</i>	I wander about with my deity.
<i>Te marino, te ua i tano matani E.</i>	The calm, the rain, and cataclysmic wind!
<i>Anau poi i mate au mateara.</i>	I approach death on your path. ³
<i>Te marino, te ua i tano matani E.</i>	The calm, the rain, and cataclysmic wind!
<i>Te aho. Te uota. Te marino.</i>	The day. The work. The calm.
<i>Te ua i tano matani E.</i>	The terrible wind and rain!
<i>Te aho mua tau palasin.</i>	That day we first carry your soil to the cemetery.
<i>Te marino, te ua i tano matani E.</i>	The calm, the rain, and cataclysmic wind!
<i>Anau ha 'asula i tai te kava.</i>	I proceed toward the lagoon side of the cemetery. ⁴
<i>Tau manava e puni haa mau.</i>	Your inner self is firm. ⁵
<i>Te aho. Te uota. Te marino.</i>	The day. The work. The calm.
<i>Verevere i te rani.</i>	Clear up the sky. ⁶
<i>Tau tama na i tana pārina.</i>	Your child there at his funeral. ⁷
<i>Te aho. Te uota. Te marino.</i>	The day. The work. The calm.

1 *Uota* (or *uata*) means 'to work', 'to do', or generally 'to engage in some productive activity'.

2 *Tano* was glossed by one informant as meaning 'the end of the world'. Perhaps the implication is that the wind and rain are so strong as to presage the Armageddon. It is probably a poetic rendering of *tanu* 'to bury'—suggesting that the atoll is "buried" in the wind and rain. *I* in this line is probably equivalent to *e* in normal speech: the present tense marker. *E* at the end of a line indicates emphasis or strong emotion. We note this with an exclamation point in the translation.

- 3 This line, according to one informant, implies that the singer is about to defile his interlocutor's yard, or the path near his house.
- 4 *Ha'asula* is probably a word imported from Ontong Java; Nukumanu has no glottal stop. The Nukumanu equivalent was given as *hakahura*: to move toward the lagoonward side of an islet or other area.
- 5 *Manava* literally means 'belly' or 'abdomen'. In many Polynesian communities, the *manava* is considered to be the seat of thought and emotion—similar to the Western notion of the heart and head combined. For one's belly (or insides) to be firm is a metaphor for courage, perhaps comparable to the English idiom of having "a stout heart."
- 6 *Verevere* is to sweep something clean. The sense of this line is that the singer is asking his deity to clear up the heavens and prevent the rain.
- 7 The singer, still speaking to his god, presents himself as the spirit's child.

The last song is a *hiahia* marking the end of a *hava* session. It appears on band 6, side 3, is very short and informants could not identify any denotative meaning. As one consultant stated, "*Taratara i mua rō*" 'It's simply archaic speech'. The lyrics read:

Tau aratia. Tau aratia.
Hu here. Hau ere.

A REPRESENTATIVE DANCE PERFORMANCE

Feinberg observed several formal dance performances; one fairly typical example involved an afternoon session that included *hava*, *rani* and *urue*. The following abbreviated description is taken from his field notes:

People decorated themselves with leaves and turmeric. *Tilo* [the pale, young, ceremonially charged leaves growing at the very top of a coconut palm] were placed around the dancers' waists. Men placed leaves of various sorts around their necks, heads, and over their shoulders. Some leaves were bleached to a beige color and were more or less round. Others looked like coconut or pandanus leaves, stained with yellow, orange, or red turmeric. Women, in addition to the leaves, had turmeric powder sprinkled over their chests, backs, necks, and faces, with the colors carefully arranged. The dominant shade was yellow, but the upper part of the face contained more red. Sometimes orange was added in between, giving the appearance of a gentle gradation. The first songs were *na hava*.⁸ The women sat on milk crates, or on kerosene or flour drums, in the center of the dance ground. The men sat around the periphery, facing the center, with perhaps a five- or ten-foot space between them and the women. The women had bamboo sticks ranging from two to four or five inches in diameter, and maybe three feet long. The men had solid poles, ten or fifteen feet in length, which appeared to represent spears. These implements were all tapped vertically onto the ground to keep rhythm. The

women would sing a line. Then, at the end of the line, the men and women would chant in unison, “*Ai aue!*”

The first few *hava* were just sung. Then, about a third of the way through, five elderly men stood up with arms outstretched, and they began to dance in the background. The dance was performed mostly with arms and hands.

These dances were succeeded by a few minutes of very fast drumming and dancing of the old men, who would fall down on the ground in unison, then get up and fall down again. This was repeated perhaps a half dozen times. Kipano, the paramount chief, explained that this was *te hiahia* ‘happiness’ or ‘celebration’, and he said it marked the end of the *hava*.

Next were *rani*, sung one or two lines at a time in unison by the women. Although *na rani* are sung by women, they are songs composed by men about their exploits.... At first these were performed with the men still sitting around the periphery. After a short while, they disbanded to remove their decorations and get ready for the *urue*.

After a half hour or 45 minutes, the men returned and gravitated to the toddy dispenser, which was off to one side of the corridor.⁹ The women moved to a row across the corridor, still sitting on cans and other makeshift furniture, but exchanging their bamboo for short solid sticks and beating rhythm on empty kerosene drums. As the women started to sing and drum, men gathered on the dance ground, lining up in one or more rows facing the women. At times there were as many as five or six rows of male dancers. They would begin dancing slowly while moving forward at a measured pace. At a certain point, half- to two thirds of the way through the song, there would be a couple of loud beats, and the tempo would increase dramatically. The men would start to dance very fast, rushing forward, jumping, and kicking up clouds of dust in the women’s faces. As with the earlier songs, the singers were women ranging in age from their mid-twenties to about sixty. The leaders of the *hava* singing were the oldest women, and they were seated directly in the center. For the *urue*, it seemed that any woman might begin a song and others would follow. The men dancing in the *urue* ranged in age from their early twenties to the island’s oldest men—unlike the *hava*, where only the oldest men danced. The *urue* dancing continued for a couple of hours, until a hard rain at about 7:30 PM put an end to the event.

CONTINUITY AND CHANGE

European influence pervades many elements of Nukumanu culture, and music is no exception. Guitar and ukulele music employs the use of common Western harmonic relationships, and Nukumanu guitarists perform such popular Western styles as rock and country. Children’s *singsing* sessions (see above) also show a European influence. In the 1980s, some of the atoll’s most popular music was Everly Brothers songs played on cassette players. On one occasion, a young man brought his large boom-box and two “Best of the Everly Brothers” tapes to one of the men’s club houses (*soa*) during an afternoon toddy-drinking party. Apoti, a respected man

of middle age and member of the Nukumanu magistrate's court, was seated in the centre of the club house and did a rendition of disco-dancing from his sitting position. The intersection of traditional with Western musical forms is also illustrated by an "official" dance in March 1984.

The dance was initiated by Eliuda Temoana, a Nukumanu man who had been living on Bougainville and working as director of the North Solomons' provincial museum.¹⁰ He had returned home to document atoll life and planned to make a video of Nukumanu music and dance. The following is an edited account from Feinberg's field journal:

Around 5 PM, people started drifting to dance ground. The women were dressed in leaf skirts, with yellow coconut frond decorations on their heads and around their necks. Their stomachs, backs, shoulders, and necks were covered with yellow turmeric powder, and their faces were dusted with red turmeric. The men were wearing either *laplaps*, shorts, or—in one case—long pants; and they were also adorned with an assortment of yellow leaves.

The women were seated on stools, benches, or logs and formed a straight line stretching across the corridor. A few had children on their laps. Some of the children were decorated, others were not. The women beat on empty 20-liter kerosene drums, which had been turned on their sides.

The men danced in a line facing the women. As the women began to sing and beat their drums, the men slowly and gracefully commenced their performance. As they danced, they moved forward. The tempo of the music and dance sped up gradually, so that by the time the men had moved from perhaps fifty to about fifteen yards away, the movements were quite fast, sharp, and dramatic. Then, continuing to perform their dance steps, they rushed forward, stopping just before the line of women.

While about a half dozen men were dancing, others were sitting along the sides of the dance ground, watching, talking, and drinking coconut toddy. As the evening wore on, the music became louder and the dancing more lively. Around 8 PM a hard rain started, and the dancers dispersed.

About nine o'clock the rain let up. Eliuda planned to film the progression from traditional to contemporary dance and had instructed participants to change into more modern clothes, then come back to dance *hulahula* with guitar accompaniment. Finally, they were to move on to "pop dancing" with tape cassettes.

Around 1980, the community government attempted to promote a "back-to-tradition" movement and decreed that there should be a "traditional" dance every night. As time passed, however, people lost interest, and these dances petered out. One reason for the change in musical predilection is the number of young men who have left to work on Bougainville, Rabaul and the mainland of Papua New Guinea. They come back with expensive boom-boxes and cassettes, and the young women are attracted to these signs of affluence.

* * *

Musical conventions found in Nukumanu *oriori* resemble those of other Polynesian Outliers and islands of West Polynesia. Relevant characteristics include melodic material often limited to two pitches, appearance of a solo singer who is joined by a chorus, syncopation and addition of a single line of harmony. Nukumanu also share with neighbouring islands such practices as formal singing or wailing to accompany death rituals, songs of praise for notable feats, and informal performances to accompany *kareve* drinking. Gender is implicated in such genres as *hava*, which include rivalry and competition between men and women.

As of 1984, European musical conventions had not replaced more traditional musical elements. Despite new musics, dances and instruments, contact did not appear to have greatly altered the sound of Nukumanu *oriori*—despite a few such modifications as replacement of wooden sounding boards with empty kerosene drums. Many Nukumanu songs continued to be performed with musical qualities similar to those described throughout the Polynesian Outliers over the past century. The greatest change seems to be in context and function: *oriori* were performed for Western holidays or staged as part of deliberate efforts to keep traditional music alive. Western music will undoubtedly present a challenge to the preservation of traditional forms. Nonetheless, the similarities of Nukumanu *oriori* in 1984 to those described by Sarfert and Damm (1929), Zemp (1971, 1972) and Jones (1959) demonstrate considerable persistence and illustrate the value islanders have placed on what they understand to be traditional art forms.

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NOTES

1. The Polynesian Outliers comprise approximately 20 communities stretching from West Uvea in New Caledonia northward to Nukuoro in the Federated States of Micronesia. For a comprehensive outlier bibliography, see Feinberg *et al.* 2005.
2. Cassette recordings of Nukumanu music and speech are available at Kent State University's Center for the Study of World Music.
3. During the late 19th and early 20th centuries, Germany assumed administrative control of northeastern New Guinea and many offshore islands. Emma Forsyth, a Samoan-American, emigrated to German New Guinea and established a large network of coconut plantations.
4. Pre-colonial Nukumanu had separate secular and spiritual leaders, termed *tuku* and *ariki* respectively. Introduction of a cash economy and Christianity, and increased inter-community contact eroded commitment to the old socio-political and religious hierarchies. After the Germans' departure, Nukumanu forbade

Christian evangelism. During the 1990s, the community government reversed its earlier decision and declared the Church of England the atoll's official religion (see Feinberg 1986, 1990).

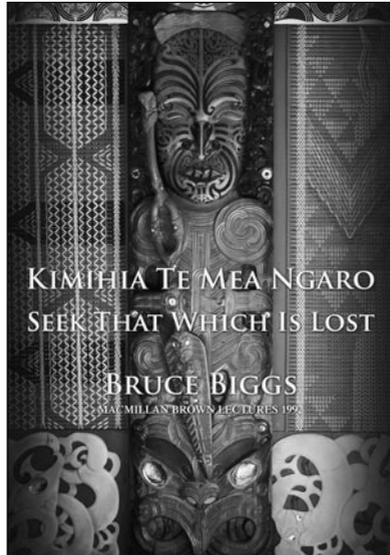
5. *Kastam* is a word in Tok Pisin, Papua New Guinea's version of Pidgin English. It means something like 'custom', 'customary', or 'traditional'. In addition to being a generic term for traditional music, *oriori* can also refer specifically to performances using bamboo tubes. We should note that /r/ and /l/ are not phonemically distinct on Nukumanu, and in some publications Feinberg has used /l/ to represent both allophones (e.g., Feinberg 1995). Here we use the /r/, which clearly appears in many musically-related Nukumanu words, in an effort to represent more accurately the language's actual sound.
6. A few Nukumanu examples in Feinberg's collection, including a *hava* and a genre called *nukutapu*, employ only a half step or semitone (as opposed to a whole step or whole tone) descent but were otherwise similar to the other melodies.
7. In musical transcriptions throughout this article, traditional pitch notation is used for sung tones. Original pitches are indicated—the examples have not been transposed. X's denote rhythmic accompaniment. Two tempo markings appear at the beginning of the *hava* in Figure 5 (a starting tempo and an ending tempo) because of the gradual acceleration, as the melody transcribed here was repeated twelve times. At the end of each repetition in this *hava*, the text "*Ai aue*" is spoken as opposed to being sung.
8. *Na* is the definite article plural. *Na hava*, thus, refers to a series of *hava* dances.
9. Many Nukumanu men had worked as bar tenders either on Bougainville or in Port Moresby. When they returned home, they improvised makeshift taps, using a siphon system and glass bottles or Japanese fishing floats, to serve fermented toddy (*kareve*).
10. In the 1980s, Bougainville Province was known as North Solomons Province.

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